Object Marking in Lubukusu

At the interface of pragmatics and syntax

Justine Sikuku
Michael Diercks

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Preface

1 Development of the project

This project has been underway for our entire post-graduate careers; in June 2009 we naively started investigating object marking, thinking we could quickly document the basic patterns, supposing that the apparent lack of clitic doubling in Lubukusu would allow for a relatively straightforward documentation and analysis of Lubukusu object marking patterns. This manner of thinking was upended somewhat quickly by the audience at a talk at Rutgers in 2011, where we first encountered OM-doubling licensed by pragmatic context (our gratitude to Mark Baker for ruining our initial incorrect analysis). The reviewers and editors at Linguistic Variation didn't let us get away with writing Sikuku et al. (2018) without thoroughly engaging these pragmatic contexts, which was our first window into the pragmatic complexity of Lubukusu OM-doubling.

Only after engaging object marking patterns in related Luhya languages did we realize that our empirical generalizations arrived at in Sikuku et al. (2018) were incomplete, and therefore our analysis in Sikuku et al. (2018) was incorrect, as formulated in that work. After intensive investigation in 2019-2022, we uncovered the empirical patterns reported here, and arrived at the analytical approach adopted here. In our acknowledgments we point out the various people along the way who gave us comments and critiques that led us to the current point.

This project developed over a long period of time, with a pandemic interlude adding to delays in the work. As a result, there is a broad range of work that was inspired by this project and interacts with this project that has ended up being completed before this book was published (Langa da Câmara et al. 2024, Letsholo et al. 2024, Lippard et al. 2023, Lippard 2024, Liu 2022, Kuzmik 2022). Some of that work we are co-authors on, and some is work developed by our students. In each of those, a manuscript version of this book is cited; to the best of our knowledge, the relevant aspects of the analyses in this final version are consistent with what is cited in those works.

2 Target audience

We do want to be clear: our own expertise is morphosyntax, and this exploration has taken us into research areas that are far outside our own training, specifically in the semantics of topic and focus. This has required some amount of re-education on our part, and has resulted in a range of investigative contexts of OM-doubling that are not typically considered in investigations of OM-doubling/clitic-doubling. We do believe that this has enabled us to come closer to a highly accurate analysis of the properties of Lubukusu OM-doubling, however.

That said, there are a number of aspects of the analysis, specifically the formalization of the semantics of Lubukusu OM-doubling, where what we present is best considered simply an initial working hypothesis. We are maximally specific about the syntactic structures, but we formalize the interpretive component only to the extent that it allows us to capture the syntactic effects accurately. For all other aspects of the semantic analysis, we have contented ourselves with informal (but, still relatively precise) characterizations of the context-based meaning of OM-doubling. At other times, we adopt pre-existing analyses off-the-shelf in instances where they capture the facts we have observed. The hope is that we've put together a semantically literate analysis, though we have not attempted to be semanticists.

Our target audience for this book is made up of syntacticians, and many parts of the book are technical. But we have written this quite intentionally in a register that is somewhat distinct from a journal article. Specifically, it is our hope that the empirical data are sufficiently described, and the technical background sufficiently explained, that it will be accessible to graduate students and researchers from different theoretical backgrounds and also accessible to those who may not have been previously exposed to relevant parts of the background information. We do presuppose exposure to generative syntax and the Minimalist Program, but for anything more particular than that (and for aspects of semantics/pragmatics more specifically) we make efforts to explain the relevant background with a relative degree of explicit exposition. The result may be a bit pondersome for researchers who already share a lot of common knowledge with us. Our hope is that the explicit and detailed discussion of background literature, empirical data, and theoretical background will make the work more accessible to students and to researchers who may have less exposure to various aspects of the relevant background in the literature.

3 Transcription notes

The transcriptions in this work were performed by independent linguistic consultant Kris Ebarb based on recordings made by research assistant Kelvin Alulu of co-author Justine Sikuku over the course of three days in November 2024 using a Mixpre-3 recorder and a Sanken COS-11D omnidirectional lavalier microphone. Examples were elicited one time each in the order in which they appear in the manuscript; repetitions were recorded when notable disfluencies were noted by the speaker or elicitor.

The intent was to provide surface-level phonetic transcriptions that are accurate both segmentally and tonally. Primary phonological contrasts may be obscured by intonational features specific to particular productions of the examples. The first line of examples includes the phonetically transcribed sentence. The second line is the morphologically segmented form. We use typical Lubukusu orthographic conventions in the second line for segmental morphemes; there is no official or standardized Lubukusu orthography, but there are predictable practices based on Swahili and English orthography together with Lubukusu phonology (tone is generally not represented orthographically by Lubukusu speakers). Most notably, this means we use 'b' for [β], 'kh' for [x], 'ch' for [tʃ], 'ng'' for [ŋ], 'ny' for [ɲ], and 'y' for [j] when using these orthographic conventions for Lubukusu. For examples from Sikuku et al. (2018), we have converted IPA transcriptions of this specific list of consonants back to the orthographic representations that we use throughout this volume, to remain consistent. There are at times differences in vowel length between the morphological gloss line and the transcriptions: we are not positioned to comment on questions of phonemic vowel length, either in the transcriptions or in the semi-orthographic representations. The semi-orthographic glossed line represents typical ways of writing the relevant morphemes in the opinion of the first authors, and the transcriptions represent the recorded pronunciations (but again, notably, there is no official standardized Lubukusu orthography). Analytical questions about the morphophonology (including the tonology) are left for future work.

In the narrow phonetic transcriptions, phrase-internal pauses are denoted with "‖" and commonly cause lengthening of the prepausal vowel with a rising to super high (VV́V̋) or fall to rising (V́VV́) pattern. We transcribe such instances of pre-pausal long vowels as a typical long vowel (VV) (adding contour tones where relevant), as there is not a three-way distinction in vowel length in the language and seeing such transcriptions is highly distracting for Lubukusu speakers. The transcription note is simply that pre-pausal long vowels are extra-long. Single word or two-word utterances, especially when non-final in a small set of simi-

lar examples, are commonly realized with an elevated pitch at the right edge of the word or phrase that extends leftward, e.g. *βaláxáβukúláá* 'they'll take it12' vs. *βaláβúβukula* 'they'll take it14.' In some cases, tone marks may reflect segmentally induced perturbations of pitch rather than phonological contrasts. It is common for the initial augment vowel of a nominal to get deleted or merged with the final vowel of a preceding constituent; the transcriptions are recorded faithful to the phonetics of our recordings, but we typically include an apostrophe in these instances (' or ‘) to annotate that there has been some sort of vowel hiatus resolution.

We do note that there are a number of pauses recorded in the transcribed data for which it is unclear whether they have any phonological or prosodic status, or are simply a phonetic artifact of the particular recordings: more investigation would be needed to draw any firm conclusions. At the time of this writing, relatively little is known of the sentence-level phrasal phonology of Lubukusu, apart from some initial descriptive work by Austen (1974). Similarly, there is more work to be done to confirm vowel length in the transcriptions, especially in syllables with glides. Absolute duration of vowels varies widely for reasons such as the vowel's position within the word/sentence, and its phonetic environment (e.g. the presence of adjacent glides), among other sources of variation. Without a full working model of that system of variation, more work must be done before drawing firm conclusions from the transcriptions here. But we include phonetic transcriptions as an initial effort to document the phonetic properties of these constructions with precision.

For those example sentences presented with optional elements, we include a transcription of a sentence including the relevant item. For those example sentences that display a ungrammatical or infelicitous inclusion, such as X-(*Y)-Z or X-(#Y)-Z, we include a transcription of the sentence pronounced without that element. We generally do not provide transcriptions for ungrammatical sentences, but for the occasional pronounce-able sentence that is accompanied by a judgment (if the sentence is marginal, or infelicitous) we include a judgment annotation on both the transcription line and the semi-orthographic morphemic line, to ensure that the judgment is visually notable.

4 Glossing Notes

The remote past verbal prefix *a-* is glossed as simply PST instead of REM.PST, to improve readability of the gloss line. As is common for Bantu language glossing, cardinal numbers represent noun classes; on their own, the gloss '1' is noun class

1, and ‘2’ is noun class 2. Typically, odd numbers are singular classes, and the immediately ascendant even number is the plural of that noun class. Person is represented by pairing a cardinal number with a number gloss; so 1PL = first person plural, and 2SG = second person singular. Other glosses are listed under Abbreviations.

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Acknowledgments

Given how long we've been working on this project, it is unsurprising that we have a quite large list of people to thank.

First, our financial support has come from a wide variety of places. We have benefited from research leaves from both Moi University and Pomona College. Portions of this research were funded from a Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant (BCS-0843868), a Hirsch Research Initiation Grant from Pomona College, and a NSF Collaborative Research Grant (Structure and Tone in Luyia: BCS-1355749), the NSF-funded Afranaph project (BCS-1324404) and ongoing research support from Pomona College including from the Paul and Susan Efron fund and the Robert Efron Lectureship in Cognitive Science, as well as funds from the Fletcher Jones Foundation.

This research builds on the research reported in Sikuku et al. (2018), and we gratefully acknowledge the contributions of Michael Marlo in this ongoing work and to this project. Going back to that previous work and stretching to the present, we have benefited from comments and criticisms from Rose-Marie Déchaine, Farrell Ackerman, Michelle Yuan, Emily Clem, Travis Major, John Gluckman, Mark Baker, Vicki Carstens, Jesse Harris, Ruth Kramer, Rodrigo Ranero, Kristina Riedel, Ken Safir, Jenneke van der Wal, Amy Rose Deal, Stephanie Harves, Gary Thoms, Richard Kayne, and Jochen Zeller, among others. Audiences in many venues have contributed much to our understanding of different aspects of these phenomena: these audiences include those at the 4th International Conference on Bantu Languages, Rutgers University Department of Linguistics, UCSD Department of Linguistics (twice!), UCLA Department of Linguistics, UC Berkeley Department of Linguistics (twice!), ACAL 46 at OU, ACAL 50 at UBC, the the participants of the 3rd Afranaph Project Development Workshop, ICU Linguistics, and the NYU Department of Linguistics. In preparing this manuscript and the previous related publications, various students at Pomona College have provided valuable editorial and technical support, including Zoe Bauer, Rebecca Harvey, and Charis Kim. The Fall 2021 Topics in Syntax class at Pomona College provided a lot useful feedback; our specific thanks to Siva Zhou, Brendan Ly, Madelyn Colantes, Jackson Kuzmik, and Crisófia Langa da Câmara. The Fall 2024 Topics in Syntax class played a central role in vetting the final manuscript and they

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We want to especially acknowledge key contributors to our analytical progress. Ruth Kramer was a sounding board at many early points during this project, and has kindly tolerated listening to some of Mike's craziest ideas. Mark Baker asked the first question that pointed us to the pragmatic contexts allowing OM-doubling (in 2011), undermining our analysis of the Lubukusu object marker on the spot and pointing us in another direction. An audience member at UCSD (whose identity Mike unfortunately cannot recall) first suggested to us that the Logoori object marking patterns might be captured via a topic-comment analysis (and we later learned that Lubukusu shared many similar patterns); Jenneke van der Wal suggested something similar to us long ago (also expressing an idea similar to Güldemann's *maximal backgrounding* before that paper was even published). At ACAL 50 at UBC Rose-Marie Déchaine suggested to us that we look at the literature on English destressing and focus/givenness in intonation, which was the key to unlocking the correct empirical generalizations for OM-doubling in Lubukusu. Farrell Ackerman's suggestion to look at apparently-obligatory adjuncts in English helped us refine our empirical analysis of the interpretive side of OM-doubling. And Jesse Harris gave us multiple huge assists in refining and formalizing our analysis so that the analysis we ended up with is at least semi-responsible from a semantic perspective. Amy Rose Deal suggested we use her interaction/satisfaction model of Agree, and it turned out to be quite useful for capturing a number of aspects of Lubukusu object marking, but it also allowed an extension of these ideas to other languages (Diercks 2026). None of these people are responsible for any specific formulation in this outcome, but we wouldn't

have arrived here without them. Mark Baker also helped us refine various details of the analysis at the late stages of finalizing the manuscript.

Our anonymous reviewers at Language Science Press deserve special thanks; it is no small task to review a manuscript that is this long. Both reviews were thorough, detailed, and led to this work being much improved. One reviewer in particular reviewed each chapter with the same amount of detailed critique as if it were a journal article; we were left with a large amount of work to address their concerns, but the outcome, we think, is a more convincing and impactful piece of scholarship. In particular, that reviewer suggested many additional predictions of the analysis and diagnostics we could employ, leading to more thorough empirical argumentation.

To acknowledge our internal distribution of labor: the first author provided all of the Lubukusu data in the volume, in consultation with other Lubukusu speakers for clarity on judgments when he found it useful. The first and second author jointly identified the empirical generalizations for Lubukusu, developed the analyses that appear in the volume, and developed the argumentation. The second author put most of the conclusions into writing, which were then jointly revised and adjusted.

List of abbreviations

1	noun class 1	2	noun class 2
3	noun class 3	4	noun class 4
	(etc)		
1SG	first person singular	1PL	first person plural
2SG	second person singular	2PL	second person plural
AAE	anti-agreement effect	ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative	AGR	agreement
APPL	applicative	ASP	aspect
ASSOC	associative marker	AUG	augment
AUX	auxiliary	CAUS	causative
CJ	conjoint	CL	clitic
COMP	complementizer	COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction	COP	copula
DAT	dative	DEF	definite
DEG	degree modifier	DEM	demonstrative
DJ	disjoint	ERG	ergative
EXPL	expletive	F	feminine
FOC	focus	FUT	future
FV	final vowel	HAB	habitual
IND	indicative	INF	infinitive
INT	interjection	IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative	M	masculine
MIR	mirative	NE	emphatic verbal particle
NEG	negative	NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative	OBJ	object
OM	object marker	P	preposition

PASS	passive	PFV	perfective
PL	plural	POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect	PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun	PRS	present
PRT	particle	PST	past
REC	recent	REFL	reflexive
REL	relative	REM	remote
RFM	reflexive marker	SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive	SG	singular
SM	subject marker	TNS	tense
TOP	topic marker		

1 Introduction

1.1 What is object marking?

It is well known that across the world's languages it is possible to represent a discourse-familiar object in a reduced form as a morphophonological unit together with the verb. In the (a) examples below we see simple monotransitive predicates with lexical noun phrase objects, and the (b) examples show similar sentences where the the thematic object is instead represented as an object marker prefixed onto the verb stem (circled in the examples below).

(1) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 366)

a. N-á-bon-a paapá.
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1.father
'I saw father.'

b. N-á-(mu-) bon-a.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV
'I saw him.'

(2) isiZulu (van der Spuy 1993: 347-8)

a. Si-bon-e izitshudeni.
1PL.SM-see-PFV.CJ students
'We saw the students.'

b. Si-(zi-) bon-ile.
1PL.SM-10OM-see-PFV.DJ
'We saw them.'

Morphemes like these are often referred to as 'clitics' in the generative literature, or sometimes 'object agreement.' In the literature on Bantu languages the relatively theory-neutral term 'object marker' is most common. When discussing the Bantu language patterns we generally use the term 'object marker' in keeping with this Bantuist tradition. This has the added benefit of setting aside analytical claims at first to focus on the empirical patterns.

In many ways object marking among Bantu languages is reminiscent of Romance object clitics. A wide variety of Romance languages have clitics (usually appearing preverbally) that co-refer with objects, but there is also wide range of variation with respect to the properties of those clitics. One prominent illustration of this variation in clitic properties is whether or not they can co-occur with an *in situ* object. For example, an object clitic can co-occur with an indirect object in varieties of Spanish (3) (this co-occurrence is commonly referred to as **doubling**), but this doubling is not possible in French, as shown in (4) below. And while some varieties of Spanish allow clitic doubling of a direct object (5), many do not.

(3) Spanish (all dialects) (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 3-4)
Miguelito (le) regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.
Miguelito Cl-dat gave a candy a Mafalda
'Miguelito gave Mafalda a piece of candy.'

(4) French (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 3-4)
Jean (*lui) a donné des bonbons à Marie.
Jean Cl-dat has given the candies to Marie
'Jean gave candies to Marie.'

(5) Rioplatense Spanish (Anagnostopoulou 2017: 3-4)
Lo vimos a Juan.
Him we.saw a Juan
'We saw Juan.' (but is unacceptable in many varieties of Spanish)

We see examples of apparent clitic doubling in language families as diverse as Afro-Asiatic (6), Inuit (7), and Indo-European (8) just to cherry-pick a few recent investigations in order to illustrate the breadth of these patterns. In these examples (and throughout the volume) we adjust glosses to the Leipzig glossing standards, except in instances where it is unclear how to do so.

(6) Amharic (Kramer 2014: 594)
Almaz tämari-wa-n ayy-ätʃtʃ-at .
Almaz.F student-DEF.F-ACC see-3FS.S-3FS.FO
'Almaz saw the female student.'

(7) Inuktitut (Yuan 2021: (15c))
Context: You and a friend are now at the grocery store, looking at the options.

Kisu niri-guma-viuk .
what.ABS eat-want-INT.2SG.SBJ/3SG.OBJ
'Which one do you want?'

(8) Greek (Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004)
(Ton) idhame to Jani.
3MSG saw.1PL the John.ACC
'We saw John.'

The literature on clitic doubling of objects is extensive, far beyond what we could possibly summarize here. In §2.1 we provide an overview of relevant patterns from Bantu languages, as well as the relevant theoretical background. A major point of investigation is whether the object markers in question are agreement morphemes (the realization of φ-features—gender, number, person—on some element in the syntax) or clitics (essentially, pronominal arguments of the verb moved to a new position in the sentence). While we comment on these analytical questions, what we will see is that the question about the syntactic mechanics that allow the realization of object markers in Lubukusu is subordinated to broader analytical questions about the Lubukusu object marking constructions. We will certainly address the agreement vs. pronoun question, but it is not in fact our main concern here.

This volume specifically investigates the properties of object marking in Lubukusu. Lubukusu belongs to the Luhya subgroup of Bantu languages, of which it has been estimated that there are at least 23 different dialects spoken in Western Kenya and Eastern Uganda (Marlo 2009). Lewis et al. (2016) list the population of Lubukusu speakers at 1,433,000 based on the 2009 census. Originally classified as E31c according to Guthrie's (1948) classification system for Bantu languages, an earlier edition of the Ethnologue reclassified it to J30, and Maho (2008) to JE31c.

Lubukusu displays a number of properties connected to OM-doubling which were empirically novel in the literature on object marking/clitic doubling constructions when we first started this work, though similar patterns are (as of this writing) beginning to be reported in other languages as well: particularly, we are referring to focus-related emphatic properties of OM-doubling.[1] Sikuku et al. (2018) show that co-occurrence of the object marker (OM) with a postverbal, *in situ* object is largely judged unacceptable, as (9) shows.

[1]Concurrent work by our colleagues, students, and collaborators (some co-authored by us as well) has revealed similar patterns in Tiriki (Liu 2022), Wanga (Kuzmik 2022, Lippard et al. 2023), Cinyungwe (Langa da Câmara et al. 2024, Lippard et al. 2023, Diercks 2026), Ikalanga (Letsholo et al. 2024), and Rukiga (Lippard et al. 2023, Asiimwe 2023).

(9) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 360)

a. n-á-bon-a Wekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1.Wekesa
'I saw Wekesa.'

b. n-á-mu- bon-a (#Wekesa) **No OM-doubling**
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV (#Wekesa)
'I saw him.' (*licit in a context where Wekesa is salient in the discourse*)
*'I saw Wekesa.'

The attempted inclusion of the lexical object *Wekesa* in (9b) is unacceptable. We will consistently mark these kinds of examples as #, by which we mean it is infelicitous: unacceptable in this pragmatic/semantic context. We should note from the start that this is a very strong infelicity—we do not mean to say this simply "sounds a little weird." Rather, the attempt to include *Wekesa* in (9b) sounds highly unacceptable. But, as we will extensively demonstrate in this book, this unacceptability has its roots in pragmatic/semantic restrictions such that the same construction in a different discourse context is acceptable. For this reason, we annotate these examples as # instead of as *.

There are systematic exceptions to Lubukusu's restrictions on OM-doubling. Example (10) shows a context where OM-doubling is possible.[2]

(10) n-aa-bu- l-íílé búu-suma. **OM-doubling**
1SG.SM-PST-14OM-eat-PFV 14.14-ugali
'I DID eat the ugali!' (Sikuku et al. 2018: 360)
(licit if somebody is doubting this is true, e.g. in an argument, among other instances)

Sikuku et al. (2018) show that co-occurrence of an OM and an object (OM-doubling) is in fact available in Lubukusu, but restricted (on our report at that time) to pragmatic contexts that license verum (focus), similar to English emphatic *do*. Sikuku et al. (2018) propose that the doubling OM and non-doubling OM in Lubukusu have distinct syntactic derivations: non-doubling OMs are incorporated pronouns, and doubling OMs are agreement morphemes arising on an Emphasis head, which introduces a verum focus reading.[3] One of the cen-

[2] Ugali is the Kiswahili (and Kenyan English) word for what is essentially a relatively stiff (in consistency) cornmeal porridge that is a staple dish throughout East Africa.

[3] All of this background (both the theoretical background, and the specific claims by Sikuku et al. 2018) are discussed at length in this volume; we keep our summary brief here for introductory purposes.

tral contributions of this volume is investigating the ways in which the empirical generalizations reported by Sikuku et al. (2018) are incomplete. For example, the analysis advanced by Sikuku et al. (2018) requires that OM-doubling always have a verum reading. Notably, we report here that there are additional contexts where OM-doubling is licensed without a verum reading, contexts which were unknown to us at the time of the work on our previous paper. (11) shows that a monotransitive verb in response to a manner question may OM-double the THEME object. Crucially, no verum focus reading is necessary here to license this construction.

(11) Q: *watéexa kámákáánd' ˡóóˡrjéna*
W-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **o-rieena**?
2SG-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 2SG-how
'How did you cook the beans?'

A: *nákáteexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgu*
N-a-ka- teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG-PST-6OM-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans QUICKLY.' (not: 'I DID cook the beans quickly.')
It is especially notable that this happened quickly.

As is typical for questions, it is also possible (and probably most natural) to answer this question with the most relevant constituent alone: *bwaangu* 'quickly.' As we will do throughout, we use a whole sentence in diagnostic contexts like this because it teaches us things about OM-doubling and information structure in Lubukusu.

This one example transparently shows that the analysis from Sikuku et al. (2018) cannot be correct as formulated in that work. That said, it is entirely unclear *why* this is possible: what does focusing a manner adverb have to do with licensing OM-doubling on the adjacent THEME? And in fact, examples like this generate a clear sense for speakers that some kind of special emphasis is being placed on the manner adverb. As we will show, in many ways the Lubukusu OM puzzles appear tangential to the main kinds of discussions that have been advanced around clitic-doubling patterns cross-linguistically.

1.2 Findings and proposal in a nutshell

We want to briefly summarize the main contribution of this work in order to give the reader clarity about the direction of the empirical description and analytical

discussion. In this section we overview our main empirical findings and give a preview of our analytical conclusions.

1.2.1 Intersections of object marking and focus

We have already seen in (9) that in Lubukusu, having an (*in situ*) object co-occur with an object marker is unacceptable (in neutral discourse contexts). Sikuku et al. (2018) argue that the non-doubling OM and the doubling OM have distinct syntactic derivations: the non-doubling OM is an incorporated pronoun, but the doubling OM is the result of a Probe-Goal relation (Agree) that originates from unvalued φ-features on a functional head. This is the typical sort of agreement operation; the pragmatic constraints are proposed to be a result of a semantic operator that is introduced on that same head (which Sikuku et al. 2018 label Emphasis°, or Emph°). This analysis is illustrated in Figure 1.1.

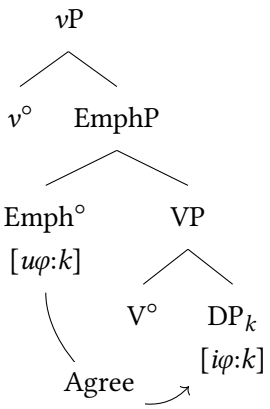


Figure 1.1: Emphasis head analysis of OM-doubling in Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018), to be revised in this volume

The analysis in Figure 1.1 predicts, however, that all instances of OM-doubling should require a verum reading. This prediction is not upheld for Lubukusu, in a wide variety of ways. The example above in (11) illustrates one of these instances. We document patterns similar to these for different kinds of adjunct material, lexical ditransitive double object constructions (DOCs), benefactive applicative DOCs, instrumental applicative DOCs, and causative DOCs; across the board, it appears that any focused element within the verb phrase is able to facilitate OM-doubling on the structurally higher object.

We see this in other focal contexts as well: exhaustive focus on a constituent via *-ong'ene* 'only' does the same thing in (12), as does contrastive focus in (13).

(12) Lexical ditransitive, focus on THEME
βáβáaná βáβookesja βáxaaná kámárééβá kóŋéné
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-b- okesy-a baa-khaana **ka-ma-reeba**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-show-FV 2.2-girls 6-6-questions
k-ong'ene.
6-only
'The children showed the girls ONLY THE QUESTIONS.' (i.e. they didn't show them the answers)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only the questions'

(13) Monotransitive, focus on a manner adverb
βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsuma bwaaŋgu ‖ selí kálaá tá
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bu- ly-a bu-suma **bwangu**, se-li kalaa
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali quickly NEG-be slowly
ta.
NEG
'The children ate the ugali QUICKLY, not slowly.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'quickly'

Likewise, focus on the entire verb phrase (rather than a specific sub-constituent) licenses OM-doubling. A variety of focus/emphatic constructions demonstrate this (see §4.3); we illustrate with contrastive focus here.

(14) *βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsuma ‖ seβátímaŋá tʃíiŋgoxó tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bu- **ly-a** **bu-suma**, se-ba-a-timany-a
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG-2SM-PST-chase-FV
chi-ngokho ta.
10-chickens NEG
'The children ATE UGALI, they didn't chase the chickens.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'eat ugali'

We can see, therefore, that it is not required to put focus on a particular sub-constituent of the verb phrase: focus on the entire *v*P itself also serves to facilitate OM-doubling.

We are intentionally using the word 'facilitate' rather than 'license' in describing the effect of focus on OM-doubling, because it turns out that this is a particular sort of focus that requires some additional context in every instance above to be entirely natural without a verum-like reading of the sentence. We describe this in §1.2.3 below. The focus effects described in this section are described in Chapters 3 and 4 of this volume.

1.2.2 Focused element must be *in situ* within the verb phrase to license doubling

Crucially, there are specific structural constraints on where the focused/emphatic element must occur in order to facilitate OM-doubling in the way noted in the previous section. In short, the surface position of the focused phrase must be within *v*P in order for OM-doubling to be licensed. For example, the temporal question in (15a) can be answered by either a cleft construction (15c) or a standard declarative (15b). It is acceptable to OM-double an object when the focus is on the *in situ* temporal adverbial in (15b), but not when the focused adverbial is clefted in (15c).[4]

(15) a. *liina nílwó ˈβáβáaná βákésa kámáíindi*
Liina ni-lwo ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka)- kes-a (ka-ma-indi) ?
when COMP-11 2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize
'When did the children harvest the maize?'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *βáβáaná βaakákésile kámáíndi likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-(ka-) kes-ile (ka-ma-indi) **li-kolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize 11-yesterday
'The children harvested maize YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

c. *líkólóóβá nílwó ˈβáβáaná βáákésíle kámáíindi*

[4] A reviewer rightfully asks how a question as in (15a) can have a verum reading. We specifically describe these as *verum-like* readings to remain somewhat agnostic as to the particular analysis during the discussion, but the same question arises in American English where it is likewise possible to use the emphatic auxiliary (which normally signals verum readings) in questions: *When DID the children harvest the maize?*. This volume will not explore this verum-like reading in questions and in relative clauses with any precision, but these are interesting questions for future research.

Li-kolooba ni-lwo ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) kes-a (kamaindi).
11-yesterday COMP-11 2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize
'It was yesterday that the children harvested maize.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

We see a similar effect with focused subjects. Focus on a preverbal subject does not facilitate OM-doubling (16), but Lubukusu allows focused subjects to appear postverbally: a postverbal focused subject does facilitate OM-doubling (17).

(16) *wékésá jéŋénêé ‖ áˈljá βúsuma*
Wekesa y-eng'ene a-a-(#bu-) ly-a (bu-suma).
1.Wekesa 1-only 1SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali
*'ONLY WEKESA ate ugali.'
OK as 'Only Wekesa DID eat ugali.'

(17) *áβúlja βúsumá wékésá jéŋéné*
A-a-(bu-) ly-a (bu-suma) **Wekesa y-eng'ene**.
1SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'ONLY WEKESA ate ugali.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

In Chapter 5 we offer relatively extensive argumentation about the structure of the postverbal domain in Lubukusu. Among our various conclusions is that postverbal subjects are *in situ* in Spec,*v*P (with other objects usually scrambled to the left of the subject), upholding the generalization that *v*P-internal focus facilitates OM-doubling.

1.2.3 Mirative focus: unexpected/significant contribution

Even in instances where OM-doubling is *possible*, it is not obligatory. In (18), both the non-doubled statement in (18b) and the OM-doubled statement in (18c) are viable answers to the temporal question in (18a).

(18) a. *βáβáanăắ ‖ βáβón' ˈómwaliˈmú líina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-a o-mw-alimu liina?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher when
'When did the children see their teacher?

b. *βáβáanăắ ‖ βaβóón' ómwalímu likolooba*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-e o-mw-alimu **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw their teacher yesterday.'

c. *βáβáanăă ‖ βamúβóónéeé ómwalímu likolooba*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-mu- bon-e o-mw-alimu **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw their teacher YESTERDAY.'
It is especially notable that this happened yesterday.

So what is the difference between (18b) and (18c)? If focus on some other element in the verb phrase was sufficient to license doubling, we might expect either that OM-doubling would be obligatory in response to the question in (18a), or perhaps something more like true optionality. But there are interpretive differences that arise in the difference between(18b) and (18c). Specifically, in the doubled sentence in (18c), there is an additional interpretive component that the fact that this happened yesterday in particular is significant. It could be significant for various reasons (e.g. perhaps the children have been waiting a long time to see their teacher, and then it finally happened yesterday).

There is a sense, generally, that a verb phrase must be adding unexpected, notable, or significant information in order for doubling to be licit. We can see this with an elaboration focus in (19), where speaker B expands on speaker A's comment. Here, OM-doubling draws special attention to the fact that it was not just ugali, but A LOT of ugali.

(19) A: *wafula á'ljá βúsuma*
Wafula a-a-ly-a bu-suma.
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali
'Wafula ate ugali.'

B: *eeeee ‖ nekáxálíí ‖ wafula áβúlja βúsuma βúkali*
Eeh, nekakhali Wafula a-a-bu- ly-a bu-suma bu-kali.
yeah but 1.Wafula 1SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali 14-much
'I agree, but Wafula ate LOTS of ugali.' (no verum necessary)

In general, the focus in question must be novel/unexpected/significant in some way in order to license doubling. Creating these kinds of scenarios can in fact license OM-doubling without any additional explicit/canonical focus construction inside the verb phrase and without a verum-like reading of the sentence. The example in (20) demonstrate this pattern.

(20) a. *Context: Hellen has seen Michael attempt to make chapatis in Kenya on multiple occasions (with very poor results). After her husband has been gone with Michael in the US for many months, she arrives to visit only*

to discover that Michael has been training on chapati-making and is now highly skilled—it is astonishing how skillful his chapati-making has become. In this context Hellen can say:[5]

b. *maíkóó ‖ atʃítééxa ‖ tʃítʃápáti*
Maiko a-chi- tekh-a chi-chapati !
1Michael 1SM-10OM-cook-FV 10-chapati
'Michael cooks chapatis!'

1.2.4 An initial parallel: English destressing

Even with a more specific idea of the particular kind of novel/unexpected emphasis that licenses OM-doubling, the syntactic implementation is not yet clear. Why should focus/emphasis on some particular phrase or interpretive element within an event description license OM-doubling an object? What does one thing have to do with the other?

There are actually relatively direct parallels from the semantics of focus/givenness and accent placement in English. As an initial example, take the example of question and answer congruence in (21).

(21) a. Who arrested Smith?
b. THE DETECTIVE arrested Smith.
(Wagner 2012: (1))

In these examples, following common annotation strategies, the intonationally-prominent constituent is represented in small caps, and the destressed constituent is underlined. So in (21b) 'the detective' is slightly louder and higher-pitched than it would have been in a more context-free declarative, where (by default) the main stress of the sentence falls on the object instead:[6]

(22) The detective arrested SMITH.

The prominence on the subject in (21b) is clearly relative, however, in the sense that it is paired with the removal of the (expected, default) pitch accent on *arrested Smith*. This contrast is evident in the differences between (21b) and (22):

[5] Chapatis are a kind of flatbread that are common in East Africa (also in the Middle East and South Asia).
[6] The full default pattern is that the main stress of the sentence falls on the most deeply embedded object.

the verb phrase in (21b) is produced with much lower pitch, annotated with underlining in (21b), as opposed to being intonationally prominent in the default cases like (22), in which stress falls on the object.

As a long history of research has noted, we see English accents shifting position based on the semantics of focus and givenness, highly conditioned by discourse context (for relevant overviews, see Wagner 2012, Wagner 2021, Rochemont 2016, Williams 1997, Schwarzschild 1999, and Büring 2016). An expression counts as *given* in a context if "its meaning, or some related meaning, is salient in that context" (Büring 2016: 18). In (21b) the VP *arrested Smith* is familiar and identifiable from discourse (being part of the original question), and as such it is treated as *given*. The sentence subject is the target of the question and the new information in (21b), however, and as a result bears the intonational prominence. As Wagner (2012) notes, contrast on the verb itself (paired with givenness of the object) results in destressing of the object and placing the pitch accent on the verb:

(23) Contrast
   a. Did the police officer release Smith?
   b. No, she ARRESTED Smith.

In fact, givenness alone on an object often seems to motivate destressing, even if the verb itself does not bear any obvious focus:

(24) a. Smith walked into a store. What happened next?
   b. A detective ARRESTED Smith.
   (Wagner 2012: (3))

There are obvious parallels to the pattern we are encountering here in Lubukusu OM-doubling. In English moving the default pitch accent off of an object (destressing) marks it as given, but English moves the default pitch accent to some other element, making it more intonationally prominent in that sentence (and, as Wagner 2012 notes, placing interpretive requirements on that prominent constituent). In Chapter 4, all of the instances of licit OM-doubling without verum focus are examples where the doubled object was discourse-given and some kind of focus (new information focus, contrast, 'only' focus) fall on a distinct verb phrase constituent. Therefore one could potentially conceptualize this pattern as OM-doubling marking an object as discourse-given and the semantics of doing so, as proposed by Wagner (2012), require focus on an adjacent element. As we will see, this is a common configuration, but not the only one: we will in the end require more sophisticated syntactic mechanisms.

1.2.5 Sketch of analysis of Lubukusu OM-doubling

Chapter 6 offers relevant background on the semantics of focus/givenness (largely based on work from English intonation), and offers an initial working hypothesis for Lubukusu object marking. Following the alternative semantics first explored by Rooth (1992) (and subsequently by a large community of researchers: see Büring 2016 and Wagner 2021 for overviews), focus is incorporated into the compositional semantics via the squiggle operator, which makes discourse antecedents accessible for the interpretation of focus. The squiggle operator marks the semantic scope of focus, i.e. the focus domain. We claim that Lubukusu OM-doubling involves merging a syntactic projection containing a squiggle operator atop *v*P, as sketched in Figure 1.2.[7] We call this projection ComP (Comment Phrase). Crucially for our account, we assume that Com° also hosts a [φ]-probe that copies features of the OM-doubled object back to itself.

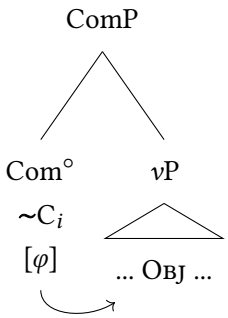


Figure 1.2: Lubukusu OM-doubling configuration, initial hypothesis to be revised

OM-doubling is therefore the result of an Agree relation, generated via a [φ]-probe on a functional head at the edge of *v*P. As far as agreement goes, this is syntactically a relatively simple proposal. The complexity comes in with the semantic context that accompanies this. That said, for the most part the nature of this semantic context is quite familiar, well-described in the literature on focus/givenness (along with relatively recent work on the conventional implicatures associated with the particular kind of focus that we claim is at play: *mirative focus*, see Chapter 7). As will become clear as we go on, Figure 1.2 will be revised with respect to the featural implementation of focus, as well as the featural implementation of the φ-Agree operation sketched in Figure 1.2. What is captured in

[7] More specifically, we claim that this is at the edge of what we call the Comment Domain, which is the *v*P plus an extra projection related to discourse-based scrambling.

Figure 1.2 as pictured here is the tight link between focus (the squiggle operator) and OM-doubling. This approach captures the fact that the structurally highest DP (in the typical instance of OM-doubling) is the one targeted by the φ-Agree relation and therefore being doubled by the OM.[8] This pattern and its systematic exceptions are described in much more depth in Chapter 8, summarized below in §1.2.7.

1.2.6 OM-doubled objects are discourse-familiar (i.e. given)

The verb phrase licitly containing a focused element is not sufficient for OM-doubling to be licit. This is evident in the answer to an object question in (25): the verb phrase here is appropriately focused in the same way any verb phrase with a focused element inside it is, and the discourse context is sufficient to license that focus (in a Q&A congruence context here). Nonetheless, doubling is unacceptable in this context.

(25) a. *βáβáanăă* ‖ *βaakésíle siina likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-kes-ile siina likolooba?
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 7.what yesterday
'What did the children harvest yesterday?'

b. *βáβáaná βakésíle kámáíindi likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-(#ka-) kes-ile **ka-ma-indi** likolooba.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested maize yesterday.'

In the answer in (25b) to the question in (25a), the *v*P is a licit focus domain, containing a focused constituent that has an appropriate focus antecedent in context. But OM-doubling is unacceptable in this context, as compared to the situation discussed in Chapter 4 and shown here in (26) where focus on a temporal adjunct naturally facilitated doubling on the object.

(26) Q: *βáβáanáă* ‖ *βákésa kámáíindi liina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kes-a ka-ma-indi **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-harvest-FV 6-6-maize when
'When did the children harvest the maize?'

[8] There are some systematic exceptions to this, which we describe and analyze in Chapter 8; we introduce these in §1.2.7.

A: *βáβáanăă ‖ βakákésíle kámáíindi likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-ka- kes-ile ka-ma-indi **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested the maize YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

Therefore, while it is necessary for the *v*P to be a licit focus domain in the relevant sense, this is not sufficient to license doubling; there does appear to be some kind of constraint on the doubled element itself. Specifically, it appears that there is a requirement that the OM-doubled phrase be discourse-familiar (*given*). In the OM-doubled sentence in (27b), the doubled object *omwaana* 'child' must refer to a specific (discourse-identifiable) child.

(27) a. *náw' ómwáaná kámáβeelę*
N-a-w-a o-mw-aana ka-ma-beele
1SG.SM-PST-give-FV 1-1-child 6-6-milk
'I gave a child milk.' (could be any child)

b. *námúw' ˈómwáaná kámáβeelę*
N-a-mu- w-a o-mw-aana ka-ma-beele
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 1-1-child 6-6-milk
'I gave a specific child milk.' (i.e. it is known who the child is)
Assuming all the other interpretive conditions are met to license doubling

On the account we will develop here, we will claim that OM-doubled objects bear a [G]-feature (for *given*) on account of being discourse-given.

(28) Sufficient Conditions for OM-doubling in Lubukusu:
1. the *v*P must be a licensed focus domain
2. the OM-doubled phrase must be discourse-given
3. the focused element must either:
   - introduce novel, unexpected information (mirative focus), or
   - offer confirmation of a debatable proposition (verum)

We describe the mechanics that implement the discourse-given properties of OM-doubled objects in Chapter 4 and again in more detail in Chapter 9.

1.2.7 OM-doubling of structurally-lower objects

As we have seen to this point, the 'default' appears to be doubling the higher object as in (29), where an attempt to OM-double the structurally lower object is unacceptable.

(29) *wékésá áβáawa βáβáanăă ‖ βíʲjánwá xúβeel' ómúlaji*
Wekesa a-(ba/#bi)-w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa khubela
1.Wekesa 1SM-(2OM-#8OM)-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts because
o-mu-layi.
1-1-good
'Wekesa gave the children gifts because he is a good person.'
(*reason adjuncts are comfortable facilitators of OM-doubling*)

However, if the structurally higher object is relatively uninformative compared to the structurally lower object, the lower object can be OM-doubled. This creates an emphatic interpretation on the lower object itself.

(30) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˈtʃáná*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'To whom did Wekesa give those gifts that we've been talking about?'

b. *semáɲá tá ‖ nekáxálíí ‖ áβíw' omúndú βíʲjánwá tʃánaă ‖ xúβeel' ómúlaji*
Se-many-a ta, nekakhali a-bi- w-a o-mu-ndu
NEG-1SG.SM.know-FV NEG but 1SM-8OM-give-FV 1-1-person
bi-anwa chana khubela o-mu-layi.
8-gifts TOP because 1-1-good
'I don't know, but he gave those (AMAZING) gifts to someone because he is a good person.' (*because gift-giving is a sign of good character*)

This is effectively the opposite pattern of OM-doubling the higher object: when doubling the higher object, any element in the verb phrase can bear emphatic focus. When doubling the lower object, that lower object itself must bear the emphatic focus.

If the intervening DP is relatively informative, however, OM-doubling the lower object is unacceptable. We use the term 'informative' here intentionally, because while some phrases that could be argued to create 'specific' objects do intervene, adding other kinds of modifiers to the intervening DP also disrupts doubling the lower object, as (31b) shows.

(31) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáná*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'Who did Wekesa give those gifts that we've been talking about to?'

b. *?Wekesa a-[bi-] w-a ba-ba-ana ba-layi [bi-anwa chana].
1.Wekesa 1SM-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2-good 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave (the) good children those gifts.'

In fact, it seems that almost any kind of additional semantic content added to the RECIPIENT DP in (30b) significantly degrades OM-doubling the THEME.

Our account of these effects centrally relies on Kratzer and Selkirk's (2020) proposals to implement focus semantics via syntactic features, and Deal's (2015, 2024) interaction/satisfaction model of Agree (along with an adaptation of Scott's 2021 proposal that interaction/satisfaction conditions can be conjoined). Our account shares these characteristics with Barany's (2023, 2024) account of object (a)symmetry. As we discuss in Chapter 8, the particular analysis of probe specifications for Lubukusu Com° in (32) allow us to capture these effects. Specifically, we claim that there are two probes on the head that generates OM-doubling constructions: a focus probe and a D-feature probe.

(32) Probe specifications for Lubukusu Com°:

a. [INT:φ ∧ G]
[SAT:FoC]

b. [INT:φ ∧ G]
[SAT:D]

The explanation for doubling the structural lower object (as in (30b)) is that, in these instances, it is the focus probe that copies back features to Com°, rather than the probe that typically does (a [D]-probe).

In the end, we propose that doubling OMs in Lubukusu are generated via relatively familiar Agree relations. But the functional heads that introduce the relevant φ-features into the structure carry semantic operators that create far-reaching effects: OM-doubled sentences carry particular semantics/pragmatics that mean that they only appear in certain kinds of discourse contexts; these semantic/pragmatic operators are adopted from relatively widely-accepted formalisms. That said, there is good evidence that these operators are in fact structurally encoded, as there are syntactic restrictions on the position of the focused elements that license doubling: focus ([FoC]) and givenness ([G]) features interact with [φ]-probing in central ways.

1.3 Roadmap for reading this book

Chapter 2 reviews core aspects of clitic doubling/OM-doubling and information structure cross-linguistically, specifically focusing on Bantu languages that provide relevant context for the patterns discussed here. In §2.1 we overview the kinds of analytical questions that clitic-doubling constructions raise, and the diagnostics that have been applied in order to understand their properties. We briefly summarize traditional approaches from different iterations of generative theory to explain clitic doubling constructions. In §2.2 we overview prominent grammatical patterns across a wide variety of Bantu languages where information structural properties of the discourse play a central grammatical role in sentential syntax. This serves two main functions: first, it shows that the Lubukusu intersection of core syntactic constructions with information structure is a quite familiar circumstance among Bantu languages. Moreso, the examples we discuss show key similarities with the Lubukusu facts.

Chapter 3 introduces core morphological and syntactic properties of Lubukusu that are valuable for understanding the empirical argumentation that follows. This chapter also introduces the basic properties of Lubukusu object marking, and the properties of related constructions that are relevant (e.g. locative marking on verbs). We also provide an introduction to the baseline facts of Lubukusu information structure.

In Chapter 4 we begin the main novel empirical work that this volume contributes. While this chapter does not outline the entire interpretive effect of OM-doubling, we begin by documenting the significant role that information structure plays in licensing OM-doubling. First, focus on/in the verb phrase plays a central role in facilitating OM-doubling. We show this for a variety of kinds of focus, as well as for a variety of kinds of *v*P-internal material. We demonstrate a surface-orientation of the phenomenon: *ex situ* focus in clefts and preverbal subject focus do not facilitate doubling, but postverbal subjects and *in situ* focus do. In the course of the diagnostic discussion we introduce a variety of novel empirical constructions that have not previously been documented for Lubukusu, including postverbal subjects, clause-final emphatic particles, and an intensifier that appears in certain configurations of compound tenses, among other things. In addition, this chapter tackles the interpretation of OM-doubled objects as well, showing that they must be discourse-given.

Chapter 5 pauses the discussion of object marking specifically (for the most part) in order to establish some important relevant background. We show in this chapter that there is a high degree of 'flexibility' in word order postverbally, and

that this is highly influenced by information structure. We show that a structural position atop the verb phrase (that appears linearly immediately following the verb) is dedicated to *discourse-prominent* material, which is a descriptive term that cross-cuts both topical and focused elements. We explain a number of word order differences as scrambling-type movements to this position. And we show that the same material that is eligible to facilitate OM-doubling via focus is eligible to participate in this scrambling, and posit the descriptive notion of a "Comment Domain" to describe this structural domain. In the course of the discussion, we provide an analysis for the position of postverbal subjects, and detail some different properties between locative adjuncts and locative applicatives that have a direct bearing on our object marking conclusions. This chapter also takes up the specific task of investigating whether OM-doubled phrases are *in situ* in their canonical positions, or if there is some movement operation linked with OM-doubling. We find no reason to believe that OM-doubled phrases move as a result of the OM-doubling operation itself (though they may still participate in the normal scrambling processes that are available postverbally).

In Chapter 6 we provide an initial analysis of OM-doubling based on the connections to English intonation and theories of givenness/focus mentioned in §1.2 above. We do not present the whole analysis in Chapter 6, but rather the initial background and claims that provide us with a framework for the subsequent chapters. Chapter 7 is where we more fully investigate the interpretation of OM-doubling. We show that both verum-like focus on the predicate and constituent focus within the verb phrase are simply a subset of a broader range of contexts that are capable of licensing OM-doubling. And in fact, it turns out that even the focus contexts considered in Chapter 4 are insufficient to explain OM-doubling, as OM-doubling is still optional in all of those contexts. And beyond that, there are a wide range of discourse contexts that license OM-doubling without any conventionally focused constituent in the verb phrase. It appears that what is necessary to license OM-doubling is that something within the *v*P, or the *v*P itself, be focused, but that the focus must explicitly be unexpected by the interlocutors, which we analyze as mirative focus. OM-doubling in Lubukusu is therefore an emphatic construction (either mirative or verum).

Chapter 8 examines a subset of OM-doubling constructions that, at first blush, appear to fundamentally contradict our initial findings. Normally the structurally higher object is OM-doubled, that object must be discourse-given, and some other element in the verb phrase is focused/emphasized. In this chapter we show that it is possible to OM-double the structurally lower object in a double object construction, but only when that object itself bears the mirative focus that

was discussed in Chapter 7. On the analysis we present, these are exceptional instances of of the focus probe copying back the φ-features that are realized on the OM, rather than the typical OM-generating probe. This discussion also serves to formalize the empirical link between OM-doubling and discourse-givenness, which is left informal until this point.

In Chapter 9 we gather all the analytical claims together and briefly summarize our proposal to account for Lubukusu object marking (including walking through the derivations of multiple illustrative examples). Chapter 10 discusses the theoretical implications of our conclusions and discusses some additional data patterns that require additional research. It also includes some brief discussion of related patterns in other Bantu languages.

2 Background on object marking and information structure

This chapter offers relevant background on object markers (§2.1) and the properties of information structure in grammar (§2.2). Readers who are familiar with both of these can likely skip to Chapter 3 with minimal consequence. For newcomers to these topics, this chapter provides the requisite background.

2.1 Diagnosing and analyzing object markers

There is an extraordinarily rich literature on object markers cross-linguistically, addressing a broad range of languages and language families. We use the term "object marker" here in a theoretically neutral manner, meant to cover the kinds of morphosyntactic constructions that are variably analyzed as object pronouns, object clitics, object agreement, etc. A central reason for retaining this traditional Bantuist terminology here is that a major analytical question for any language, and for Lubukusu in particular, is what the precise syntactic derivation is that underlies the object markers we are investigating. We make no pretense at having summarized the voluminous work on these issues, though we have certainly attempted to address the most relevant and most influential work on the topic. We do attempt, however, to give a relatively thorough overview of object marking in Bantu languages in particular.

2.1.1 Parameters of variation in Bantu object marking

Beaudoin-Lietz et al. (2004) identify three types of object-marking in their survey of over 70 Bantu languages that they identify as Types 1, 2, and 3. For Type 1, pronominalization of object arguments occurs in a pre-stem position, though independent pronouns may appear postverbally in addition to or instead of the preverbal OM. In their Type 2 languages the OM appears only post-finally, i.e. after the final vowel, the same position that locative markers appear in in Lubukusu. In Type 3 languages the OM can occur either in pre-stem position or post-finally.

Looking more specifically at Type 1 languages, in a series of papers Marten & Kula (2012) and Marten et al. (2007) report a typological study addressing parameters of morphosyntactic variation among Bantu languages, including a major component on parameters of object marking. The relevant parameters that they address are listed below in (1).[1]

(1) Parameters of the Bantu Typological Study
1. Can the object marker and the lexical object NP co-occur?
2. Is co-occurrence required in some contexts?
3. Are there locative object markers?
4. Is object marking restricted to one object marker per verb?
5. Are two object markers possible in restricted contexts?
6. Are two or more object markers freely available?
7. Is the order of multiple object markers structurally free?
8. Is an object marker obligatory in an object relative clause?
9. Is an object marker disallowed in an object relative clause?
10. Is an object marker optional in an object relative clause?

Reproduced in part from Marten et al. (2007: 259)

Marten & Kula (2012) show that there is a large degree of variation between languages on these points. We do not overview the empirical patterns for every parameter they discuss, but we do discuss some major ones here.

For example, a central area of research about object markers and clitics asks the first question: can an object marker/clitic co-occur with a lexical NP object? As has been observed across many Indo-European languages, there is variation between varieties on this point, and Bantu languages are no different. Marten & Kula (2012: (4)-(5)) show that Kiswahili (2) and Bemba (3) allow co-occurrence of an OM and a lexical postverbal object, which we will refer to as doubling or as OM-doubling (following on the well known term *clitic doubling*).

(2) Kiswahili (Marten & Kula 2012: (4))
Ni-li-(*mw-) on-a Juma .
1.SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1.Juma
'I saw Juma.'

(3) Bemba (Marten & Kula 2012: (5))

[1] For relevant follow-up studies, see Ngunga et al. (2016), Kula & Marten (2023), and Ngunga & Langa da Câmara (2024).

N-alíí-(mú-) món-a Chisanga.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1.Chisanga
'I saw Chisanga.'

In contrast, Otjiherero (4) and Kichaga (5) do not allow OM-doubling of a lexical noun phrase.

(4) Otjiherero (Marten & Kula 2012: (6))
*Mb-é vé mún-ù òvá-nátjè .
1SG.SM-PST 2OM see-FV 2-children
Intd.: 'I saw the children.'

(5) Kichaga (Moshi 1998: 142)
*Mangí n-á-lé-ḿ- zríká máná nyáma.
1.chief FOC-1SM-PST-1OM-send 1.child 9.meat
Intd.: 'The chief sent the child for (to get) the meat.'

In some ways Lubukusu has the appearance of a language like Kichaga or Otjiherero, apparently disallowing OM-doubling. But in fact it is a precisely-defined intersection between syntactic and pragmatic factors that allows it.

Even for languages where OM-doubling is possible, there is often variation as to whether or not there are contexts where OM-doubling is obligatory, as Marten & Kula (2012) describe in parameter #2 of (1). This is evident in the distinction between (2) and (3) above, where Kiswahili requires an object marker with an animate object, but it is optional in Bemba. Kiswahili does have optional OM-doubling as well, but it appears with inanimate objects, as illustrated in (6).

(6) Kiswahili (Marten & Kula 2012: (15))
Ni-li-(ki-) on-a ki-tabu.
1SG.SM-PST-7OM-see-FV 7-book
'I saw the book.'

A significant question is whether OM-doubled objects like *kitabu* in (6) and *Juma* in (2) are in fact in their canonical object position, or whether they are dislocated phrases. Such questions have long been investigated for clitic doubling constructions, and we illustrate relevant diagnostics that have been employed in Chapter 3 as we begin our investigation of Lubukusu.

Marten & Kula (2012) point out that the variable availability of OM-doubling within languages like Kiswahili is itself an informative pattern. So, for example, Riedel (2009: 199) reports that while in Sambaa OM-doubling is largely optional,

it is obligatory in select classes of DP objects (including personal names and selected kinship terms, see (14) below). And in Kichaga, which largely rules out OM-doubling (as illustrated in (5) above), doubling is obligatory with free pronominal objects, as shown in (7).

(7) Kichaga (Bresnan & Moshi 1990: 52)

a. N-ā́-ī́-m̀- lyì-í-à k-èlyá ò .
FOC-1SM-PRS-1OM-eat-APPL-FV 7-food 1PRON
'He/she is eating food for him/her.'

b. N-ā́-ī́-kì- lyí-í-à m-kà kyô .
FOC-1SM-PRS-7OM-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7PRON
'He/she is eating it for the wife.'

c. N-ā́-ī́-kì- ḿ- lyì-ī́-à òó kyò .
FOC-1SM-PRS-7OM-1OM-eat-APPL-FV 1PRON 7PRON
'He/she is eating it for him/her.'

The Kichaga requirement for pronoun doubling is a recurring exception to OM-doubling restrictions: we ourselves have encountered it in Lubukusu and in Igikuria (Bantu, western Kenya), but it also occurs in languages very familiar in the syntactic literature, e.g. Standard European Spanish (Leonetti 2008). Doubling of free pronouns is in fact the only instance we have encountered in Lubukusu where OM-doubling is essentially required as reported by Sikuku et al. (2018: 411ff).[2]

As discussed by Duranti (1979) and Riedel (2009), one way these patterns have been accounted for is to rely on a hierarchy of accessibility/topicality. Duranti (1979) attributes variation in OM-doubling behavior across Bantu languages to different languages targeting different levels of the hierarchy. That is to say, the higher a kind of object is on the hierarchies (according to Duranti, along dimensions of person, thematic role, and animacy), the more likely that kind of object is to require OM-doubling in general.

(8) a. 1st > 2nd > 3rd Person
b. Benefactive > Goal > Patient > Instrumental/Locative
c. Human > Animate > Inanimate

[2] Though even this must be stated with nuance: it is not a literal requirement, as non-doubling a free pronoun results in a distinct pragmatic reading of the sentence where the pronominal object is focused. But this is the only instance where the pragmatically neutral grammar appears to require OM-doubling.

This is meant to capture why, if a language shows mixed properties, we would expect pronouns to be the ones that are OM-doubled (and 3rd person DPs not), rather than vice versa. Similarly, if there is an animacy split, we do not expect non-animate objects to be OM-doubled and animate objects not; instead we find a Kiswahili-like pattern where animates are obligatorily OM-doubled, and non-animates only optionally so. See van der Wal (2022) for a more recent exploration of these effects.

That said, Marten & Kula (2012) point out that a hierarchy like this likely oversimplifies; as additional languages are considered, more and more intersecting factors emerge. "From the data presented, it is clear that a number of factors determine obligatory object marking in Bantu. These include semantic criteria such as animacy, inherent topicality, or thematic role, but also formal criteria such as noun class, and probably pragmatic criteria such as focus" (Marten & Kula 2012: 243). Furthermore, within the generative framework, a hierarchy like (8) is not explanatory, but rather is itself a description that requires explanation.

Another major point of variation that is often considered across Bantu languages is the number of OMs that are allowable on the verb form. Marlo (2015b: 4) notes that in his survey the largest documented case of OMs on a verbal form was 6, in Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 2002). There has likewise been documentation of 4-5 OMs, illustrated by Igikuria in the example in (9).

(9) 4-5 OPs in Igikuria (Marlo 2015b: 5, attributed to Mary Paster and Rodrigo Ranero, p.c.)

a. N-aa-hάά-yéey-é ába-íséké íchim-bíríá ko mpɛɛ́ša.
1SG.SM-PST-give-CAUS-PFV 2-women 10-money P 9.M-PESA
'I made the girls give money using M-PESA.'

b. N-aa-chí- gé- gé- bá- hάά-yéey-é na
1SG.SM-PST-10OM-9OM-9OM-2OM-give-APPL.APPL.CAUS-PFV P
mokámi.
Mokami
'I made them (cl. 2) give it (cl. 10) to it (cl. 9) using it (cl. 9) on behalf of Mokami.'

c. N-aa-chí- mó- gé- gé- bá- hάά-yéey-e.
1SG.SM-PST-10OM-1OM-9OM-9OM-2OM-give-APPL.APPL.CAUS-PFV
'I made them (cl. 2) give it (cl. 10) to it (cl. 9) using it (cl. 9) on behalf of him.'

On the more restrictive end of the spectrum, there are many languages that

limit object markers severely; for example, Kiswahili only allows one object marker on a verb.[3]

(10) Kiswahili (Marten & Kula 2012: 244)

a. Ni-li-m- p-a.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-FV
'I gave him (it).'

b. *Ni-li-i- m- p-a.
1SG.SM-PST-9OM-1OM-give-FV
Int.: 'I gave him it.'

c. *Ni-li-m- i- p-a.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-9OM-give-FV
Int.: 'I gave him it.'

A significant area of research is regarding so-called (a)symmetry in object marking and other object properties. In ditransitive predicates, there is variation across languages as to whether only one object (asymmetry), or both objects (symmetry) can bear object properties like being object marked, or being promoted to subject in a passive. We discuss the existing literature on (a)symmetry in some more depth in Chapter 8, where we investigate symmetrical and asymmetrical aspects of Lubukusu's object marking system. Again, Lubukusu displays patterns that are reminiscent of the dichotomous framing of a parameter (here, whether object marking is symmetrical or not), but also shows a range of additional complexity. For example, OM symmetry facts in Lubukusu differ based on whether the construction is a non-doubling OM or a doubling OM; non-doubling OMs are completely symmetrical insofar as we can determine, but with respect to doubling the pragmatic consequences of doubling a structurally higher object in a double object construction are very different than those of doubling the structurally lower one. Chapter 8 provides both the data and the analysis of those patterns.

The final parameter that we discuss from Marten & Kula (2012) is whether an object relative clause can bear an OM corresponding to the head of the relative clause. As (11) shows below, there is variation across languages on this front, too. Setswana requires on OM inside an object relative clause, as (11a) shows. Kiswahili optionally allows one (11b), and Lozi disallows such a construction (11c).

[3] Additional sub-patterns relating to the number of object markers are discussed by both Marten & Kula (2012) and Marlo (2015b,a), including various instances where languages exceptionally allow additional OMs to occur (e.g. when one is a first singular object, or when one is a reflexive marker). We refer the reader to that literature for an overview.

(11) a. Setswana (Marten & Kula 2012: (42))
di-kwelo tse ke *(di) bone-ng
10-books REL10 1SG.SM.PST 10OM see-REL
'the books which I saw (them) '

b. Kiswahili (Marten & Kula 2012: (44))
ki-tabu amba-cho ni-li-(ki-) som-a
7-book REL-7 1SG.SM-PST-7OM-read-FV
'the book which I read (it) '

c. Lozi (Marten & Kula 2012: (45))
*Buka ye-ne-ba-ye- bon-i ba-nana fa-tafule ki-ye-tuna.
9.book 9.REL-PST-2SM-9OM-see-FV 2-children 16-table COP-9SM-big
Intd.: 'The book which the children saw it on the table is big.'

IsiZulu, like Setswana, requires an OM obligatorily inside object relative clauses. Zeller (2014, 2015) takes this fact as foundational to the analysis of isiZulu object marking (see §2.3.2 for an overview). Likewise, Henderson (2006) takes the distinction between allowing object marking inside object relative clauses (like Kiswahili, Setswana, and isiZulu) and disallowing it (like Lozi) as a central diagnostic for identifying the syntactic derivation of an object marker, as we will discuss below.

2.1.2 Analytical perspectives on OM-/clitic-doubling

2.1.2.1 On the structure of OM-doubling

The debates in the literature on Bantu languages have largely mirrored similar debates about Romance and Indo-European (among others) on the nature of clitic doubling. The fundamental distinction that the generative syntactic frameworks allow to account for such morphemes (i.e. object markers, object clitics) is to either claim that they are pronominal elements, or that they are agreement morphemes. Agreement morphemes would be instances of verbal forms inflecting to match the features of their DP object; unvalued features on a functional projection probe for a DP goal. In contrast, an incorporation analysis assumes that the OM is itself the thematic object of the verb, and has arisen on the verb form due to a movement/incorporation operation. Simplified versions of these analytical claims are presented in Figure 2.1.

What are the predicted empirical effects of the two types of analyses displayed in Figure 2.1? There are both syntactic and morphological concerns to take into

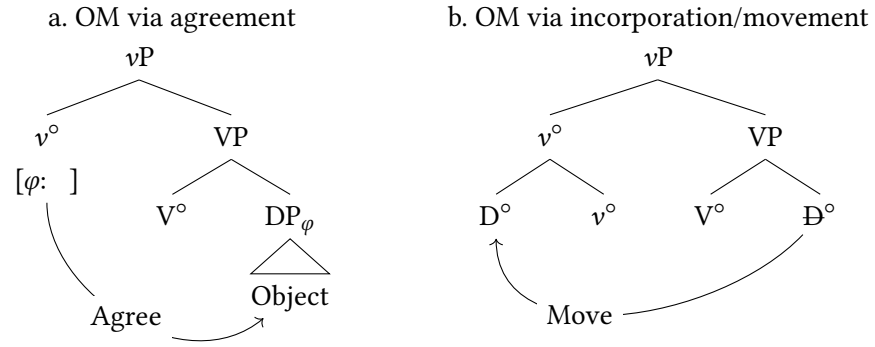


Figure 2.1: Archetypal analyses of object markers /clitics

account. Syntactically, the heart of the difference between the pronominal analysis and the agreement analysis is a simple case of a complementary distribution diagnostic applied in various environments. On a pronominal incorporation analysis of the object marker, the object marker itself is the thematic object of the verb. If this is the case, however, the classic Theta Criterion rules out the presence of another DP object in the verb phrase, as the object's theta role (i.e. thematic role, e.g. THEME or RECIPIENT) is only available to one syntactic DP (Chomsky 1981).[4] In a pronominal incorporation analysis, therefore, we would expect the presence of a lexical DP object to be ruled out when an object marker is present. In reality, to our knowledge there is no documented case among Bantu language OMs of this kind of strict restriction, because a general strategy available to languages is to include a dislocated (i.e. clause-adjoined) phrase that corresponds to a pronominal argument (Jelinek 1984, Baker 1988, Baker 2003). This is illustrated in the schematic in Figure 2.2.

Therefore the complementary distribution that we expect between a lexical DP object and an object marker is not that they cannot exist in the same sentence, but rather that an OM derived via pronominal incorporation is expected to be in complementary distribution with an *in situ* lexical DP object: they ought not both occur within the verb phrase. The question that becomes central when an OM and a lexical DP object co-occur in a sentence is whether that lexical DP object is *in situ* inside the verb phrase (i.e. in canonical object position), or if it is dislocated to some other position. An agreement analysis readily predicts co-

[4] Setting aside a Big DP analysis for the moment, which blurs this distinction (Cecchetto 2000, Bax & Diercks 2012, and van der Wal 2022, for example).

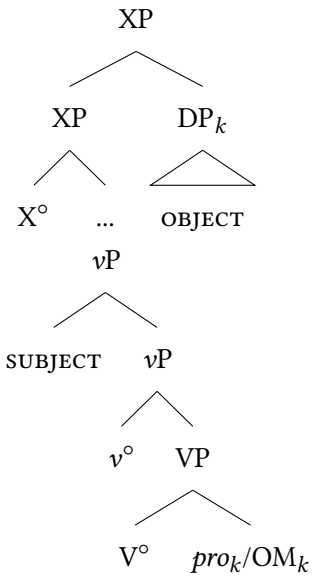


Figure 2.2: Schematic of an archetypal analysis of pronominal object argument along with a dislocated object

occurrence of an OM with an *in situ* lexical DP object; a pronoun incorporation analysis rules it out.

2.1.2.2 OMs as agreement vs. pronouns

As noted by Baker & Kramer (2018), the literature on distinguishing agreement morphemes from clitic doubling /pronominal elements is plagued with uncertainty. Part of this is terminological from the start, as various so-called "clitic doubling constructions" in Indo-European languages have been analyzed as syntactic agreement, and the morphological status as a clitic and the syntactic status as a pronominal clitic are similar properties, but non-identical. Kramer (2014) and Baker & Kramer (2018) give excellent overviews of the relevant issues. We do not systematically overview them all here, raising them instead over the course of the argumentation where they are relevant. A quick summary of the relevant distinctions is shown in (12).

(12) Properties of Clitic-Doubling vs. (Object) agreement (Kramer 2014: (7))

a. **Agreement** = affix, obligatory, realization of valued phi features on a functional head

b. **Clitic doubling** = morphophonological clitic, optional, D that has moved to a verbal functional head

A key point that has been raised by many researchers (as noted above) is that agreement is expected to be obligatory, whereas clitic-doubling tends to be grammatically optional. Riedel (2009) points out a key distinction between subject marking and object marking in Sambaa: subject markers are always obligatory in Sambaa (as in many Bantu languages, including Lubukusu) whereas object markers are often "optional" in the sense that they are not a required part of a transitive sentence. This in itself is suggestive of an analytical difference between them. Letsholo (2013: 114) illustrates this for Ikalanga, where the presence of the subject marker (i.e. subject agreement) is obligatory (13a), but object markers are grammatically optional, as the difference between (13a) and (13b) shows.

(13) Ikalanga: SM obligatory, OM optional (Letsholo 2013: 114-115)

a. Nchídzí *(wá-)ka-bón-á mbísá:na.
1a.Nchidzi 1SM-PST-see-FV 1.boy
'Nchidzi saw a boy'.

b. Nchídzí wá-ka-m- bó:n-a, mbísána .
1a.Nchidzi 1SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1.boy
'Nchidzi saw him, the boy'.

Riedel (2009) points out that in many languages, some kinds of objects are obligatorily OM-doubled. In Sambaa, proper names, kinship nominals, nominals of high social class, and local pronouns (1st/2nd person) are obligatorily OM-doubled, as (14) illustrates.

(14) Sambaa Obligatory OM-doubling (Riedel 2009: 44ff)

a. N-za-*(mw-)ona Stella.
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-1OM-see 1.Stella
'I saw Stella.'

b. N-za-*(mw)-ona tate.
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-1OM-see 1.father.POSS.1
'I saw father.'

c. N-za-*(mw-)ona askofu.
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-1OM-see 5.bishop
'I saw the bishop.'

d. N-za-*(ku-)ona iwe.
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-2SG.OM-see you
'I saw YOU.'

Other kinds of object nominals (largely, inanimates) do not require OM-doubling in Sambaa, however, as illustrated in (15). This is the same distinction that occurs in Kiswahili.

(15) Sambaa Optional OM-doubling (Riedel 2009: 46)

a. N-za-(mw-)ona ng'wana.
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-1OM-see 1.child
'I saw the/a child.'

b. N-za-(ji-)ona onakui.
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-5OM-see 5.dog
'I saw the/a dog.'

c. N-za-(chi-)ona kitezu.
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-7OM-see 7.basket
'I saw the/a basket.'

Obligatoriness (or not) is commonly invoked to argue for/against an agreement analysis of a clitic-like morpheme, which might suggest that Sambaa OMs are not agreement morphemes (on that diagnostic alone). Another similar kind of morphological argument (taken by Nevins 2011 to be definitive) is that agreement morphemes tend to be morphologically variant based on other inflectional properties of a clause: for example, subject agreement forms will often vary based on tense/aspect/mood. Letsholo (2013) shows this to be the case for Ikalanga subject markers, with the class 1 subject marker appearing as *u-* in indicatives, but *a-* in irrealis contexts.

(16) Ikalanga SM varies form based on TAM (Letsholo 2013: 113)

a. Nchídzí ú-no-bón-á mbísá:na.
Nchidzi1a 1SM-PRS-see-FV boy
'Nchidzi sees a boy.'

b. Nchídzí a-á-zo-bón-á mbísá:na.
1aNchidzi NEG-1SM-PST-see-FV boy
'Nchidzi did not see a boy.'

c. Nchídzí a-é-zhá:, Néó ú-noo-tí:zha.
1aNchidzi COND-1SM-comes Neo 1SM-FUT-run.away
'If Nchidzi comes, Neo will run away.'

Nevins (2011) argues that clitic morphemes never show this kind of variance; Letsholo (2013: 113) shows that Ikalanga OMs do not show the same variance that subject markers do.

(17) Ikalanga OM does not vary in form based on TAM (Letsholo 2013: 113)

a. Nchídzí ú-no-m- bó:n-á mbísána . **Simple declarative**
1aNchidzi 1SM-PRS-OM-see-FV boy
'Nchidzi sees the boy'.

b. Nchídzí a-á-zo-m- bó:n-á mbísána . **Negation**
1aNchidzi NEG-1SM-PST-OM-see-FV boy
'Nchidzi did not see the boy'.

In Lubukusu, as in Ikalanga, OMs are invariant in their morphological form. In Lubukusu, subject markers are also limited in their allomorphy: class 1 subject markers do show variant forms based on tense at times, though this may simply be a phonological property rather than allomorphy driven by tense/aspect (see Sikuku et al. 2018: 371, fn22).

2.1.3 On the interpretation of OM-doubling/clitic-doubling

2.1.3.1 Links to definiteness/specificity

There have long been links between OM-/clitic-doubling and definite and/or specific readings of the doubled objects (among others, see Suñer 1988, Anagnostopoulou 1999, Leonetti 2008, Bleam 2000). There is also variation between languages (and varieties of languages) in the properties of objects that correlate with clitic doubling. As Leonetti (2008) points out, "the most restrictive varieties allow [clitic doubling] with human referents and pronouns only ... but innovative varieties use .. [clitic doubling] ... even with inanimate referents and non-specific indefinites." This is illustrated for colloquial Argentinian Spanish (Porteño) by Suñer (1988: 396), who shows that specific objects may be clitic doubled (18), but the non-specific objects in (19) are incompatible with clitic-doubling.

(18) Porteño Spanish Clitic Doubling: specific objects (Suñer 1988: 396)

a. La oían a Paca / a la niña / a la gata.
her 2PL.listened P Paca / P the girl / P the cat
'They listened to Paca / the girl / the cat.'

b. Diariamente, la escuchaba a una mujer que cantaba tangos.
daily, her 3SG.listened P a woman who sang.IND tangos
'Daily, (s)he listened to a woman who sang tangos.'

(19) Porteño Spanish Clitic Doubling: non-specific objects (Suñer 1988: 396)

a. (*La) buscaban a alguien que los ayudara.
her 3PL.searched for somebody who them could.help.SBJV
'They were looking for somebody who could help them.'

b. (*Lo) alabarán al niño que termine primero.
him 3PL.will.praise the boy who finishes first
'They will praise the boy who finishes first.'

Leonetti (2008) argues that this interpretation should be analyzed as definiteness but not specificity, but the details are beside our point here. The range of interpretive properties of clitic doubling reported by Leonetti are summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Acc. clitic doubling in Spanish (Leonetti 2008: Table 1)

	Pron	Name	Def	Indef (spec)	Indef (non-spec)
St. E. Spanish	✓	-	-	-	-
Lima, Córdoba	✓	✓	✓	-	-
Porteño Spanish	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
Contact Dialects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

As we will see, in some ways Lubukusu appears to be the most restrictive kind of system in a manner similar to how Leonetti describes Standard European Spanish: OM-doubling in discourse-neutral contexts is only possible with free pronouns (but in other important ways Lubukusu has extensive doubling, in particular kinds of emphatic contexts).

This link to specificity in fact appears relatively expansive, appearing in a variety of unrelated languages. For example, Kramer (2014) shows that Amharic displays the same restriction.

(20) Amharic clitic doubling specific objects (Kramer 2014: 601)

a. Almaz doro wät'-u-n bäll-atʃtʃ-ɨw.
Almaz.F chicken stew-DEF.M-ACC eat-3F.SG-3M.SG.OM
'Almaz ate the chicken stew.'

b. Almaz doro wät' bäll-atʃtʃ(*-ɨw)
Almaz.F chicken stew eat-3F.SG-3M.SG.OM
'Almaz ate chicken stew.'

Similar effects have been observed for Bantu languages. According to Hualde (1989: 182) OM-doubling in Nyaturu creates a definite reading of an object (21a), which is not present in the non-doubled sentence (21b).

(21) Nyaturu OM-doubling (Hualde 1989: 182)

a. N-a-mʊ- onaa mwalimu .
1SG.SM-PST1-1OM-see 1teacher
'I saw the teacher.'

b. N-a-onaa mwalimu.
1SG.SM-PST1-see 1teacher
'I saw a teacher.'

As noted above, in many languages there are links between animacy, proper names (identifiable referents), and pronominal objects and OM-doubling. In Ruwund, a non-doubled object is non-specific in (22a), whereas a doubled object may be indefinite but also may be definite (22b), and proper names are obligatorily doubled (22c).

(22) Ruwund OM-doubling and specificity (Nash 1992: 565)

a. ku-kimb muntu
INF-look.for 1.person
'to look for any person'

b. ku-mu- kimb muntu
INF-1OM-look.for 1.person
'to look for a/the person'

c. ku-*(mu-) tàl Yâav
INF-1OM-visit 1.Yaav
'to visit Yaav'

But as is evident in (22b), OM-doubling nonetheless is not strictly linked with a definite reading of the noun phrase in Ruwund. And Riedel (2009) points out that definite readings do not require the presence of an OM on the verb in Sambaa.

(23) Sambaa (Riedel 2009)

a. N-za-(mw)- ona ng'wanae .
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-1OM-see 1.child.POSS.3SG
'I saw his child.'

b. N-za-(mw)- ona uja ng'wana .
1SG.SM-PRF.DJ-1OM-see that 1.child
'I saw that child.'

Likewise, we will see that by and large, Lubukusu does not restrict its OM-doubling constructions to definite objects, or to animate objects, and OM-doubling is essentially never obligatory. As we will see, some of the correlates of definiteness (uniqueness/specificity, givenness) do have connections with Lubukusu OM-doubling, but Lubukusu does not generally display definiteness, and the interpretive correlates of OM-doubling cannot be reduced to definiteness or specificity of the OM-doubled object.

2.1.4 An initial case study: Chichewa OM

It has long been claimed for a variety of Bantu languages that object markers are incorporated pronouns; on this analysis, the object marker is itself the thematic object of the verb which incorporates by a morphosyntactic process into the verb form (van der Spuy 1993 and Zeller 2009 for Nguni, Zerbian 2006 for Northern Sotho, Byarushengo et al. 1976, Duranti & Byarushengo 1977 and Tenenbaum 1977 for Haya, though see Riedel 2009 for arguments against these claims for Haya).

In their foundational paper, Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) argue that subject and object markers in Chichewa may be either grammatical agreement or anaphoric agreement (the latter being roughly equivalent to the pronominal analysis). Examples (24) and (25) show the basic object-marking alternation in Chichewa, where an object marker optionally occurs with an immediately postverbal object.

(24) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (1))[5]
Njûchi zi-ná-lúm-a alenje.
10.bees 10SM-PST-bite-FV 2.hunters
'The bees bit the hunters.'

[5]For all examples from Bresnan & Mchombo (1987), we have added noun class glosses when the information was available from the paper itself, though we do not add morpheme breaks since the paper does not provide them and we are not scholars of Chichewa. We have adjusted other glosses (e.g. IND > FV) to be consistent with other glosses in this volume.

(25) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (2))
Njuchi zi-ná-wá- lum-a alenje .
10.bees 10SM-PST-2OM-bite-FV 2.hunters
'The bees bit them, the hunters.'

Bresnan and Mchombo demonstrate that there is a strict correlation between object marking and available word orders in Chichewa: when a verb occurs without an object marker the lexical object must occur postverbally, as shown in (26).

(26) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (3))

SVO: Njûchi zi-ná-lúm-a alenje.
10.bees 10SM-PST-bite-FV hunters
'The bees bit the hunters.'

VOS: Zinálúma alenje njûchi.

OVS: *Alenje zinálúma njûchi.

VSO: *Zinálúma njûchi alenje.

SOV: *Njûchi alenje zináluma.

OSV: *Alenje njûchi zináluma.

On the other hand, when the object marker is present on the verb a variety of word orders become possible, as shown in (27).

(27) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (4))

SVO: Njuchi zi-ná-wá- lum-a alenje .
10.bees 10SM-PST-2OM-bite-FV 2.hunters
'The bees bit them, the hunters.'

VOS: Ziná-wá- luma alenje njûchi.

OVS: Alenje ziná-wá- luma njûchi.

VSO: Ziná-wá- luma njûchi alenje .

SOV: Njûchi alenje ziná-wá- luma.

OSV: Alenje njûchi ziná-wá- luma.

Bresnan and Mchombo's analysis is that the Chichewa object marker is an instance of anaphoric agreement, such that when it occurs, it is not subjected to the strict locality that they assume is necessary for grammatical agreement to occur. Therefore, they claim that the object marker is essentially an incorporated pronoun (as we would refer to it in the framework we are working in).

While there are a range of languages that have been argued to display pronominal incorporation, the comprehensive argumentation and broad influence of Bresnan & Mchombo (1987) has attracted special attention in the literature, and we will address some of the argumentation against their analysis for Chichewa here as an exposition regarding the as-yet-unsettled claims that pronominal incorporation exists as a means of object marking in Bantu languages. Riedel (2009) and Henderson (2006) raise important questions for the analysis of Chichewa object markers as incorporated pronouns. The more substantial criticisms revolve around a key prediction of B&M's analysis: if the object marker is in fact an incorporated pronoun, it ought to have originated as the object of the verb itself. Therefore, if an incorporated pronoun co-occurs with a postverbal object, that object must not be in its base position. Instead, that overt DP object must have been base-generated in some dislocated position, coreferent with the pronominal object argument. As far as we can tell, this core prediction is stable across various syntactic frameworks. In support of this analysis, B&M cite tonal evidence in their favor, relying on a phonological process in Chichewa that retracts final high tones to a low-toned preceding syllables in phrase-final position. This is illustrated by the two examples below, the second of which demonstrates the high-tone-retraction on the verb in the absence of a postverbal object.

(28) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (17))
Ndikufúná kutí áná ánga [a-pitiriz-é phúnziro.]
I.want that 2.children 2.my 2SM-continue-SBJV 5.lesson
'I want my children to continue the lesson.'

(29) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (19))
Ndikufúná kutí [a-pitiřiz-e] aná ánga.
I.want that 2SM-continue-SBJV 2.children 2.my
'I want my children to continue.'

Using this diagnostic for phrase-final position, Bresnan and Mchombo show that the tonal pattern on an object-marked verb with a postverbal object in fact shows high-tone retraction, suggesting that the object is not in fact in canonical object position.

(30) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (20))
Ndikufúná kutí áná ánga [a-li-pítířiz-e] phúnziro.
I.want that 2.children 2.my 2SM-5OM-continue-SBJV 5.lesson
'I want my children to continue it, the lesson.'

Henderson (2006) points out some troublesome syntactic facts, however, which challenge this interpretation of the tonal evidence. The first relates to B&M's use of double object constructions (DOCs) as evidence of object dislocation in the presence of an object marker. B&M note that the preferred word order of a non-object-marked DOC is V IO DO, whereas the unmarked order of an object-marked instance is V DO IO: these two examples are given below.

(31) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (23))[6]
Ndikufúná kutí [mu-pats-é alenje mphâtso.]
I.want that 2SG.SM-give-SBJV 2.hunters 3.gift
'I want you to give the hunters a gift.'

(32) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (24))
Ndikufúná kutí [mu-wa-páts-é mphâtso] alenje.
I.want that 2SG.SM-2OM-give-SBJV 3.gift 2.hunters
'I want you to give them a gift, the hunters.'

B&M note that inverting the order of the objects in (32) creates a marginal result, but notably not a fully ungrammatical result, and Henderson (2006) reports of speakers spontaneously producing such examples, though he doesn't contest the marginality of the example.[7]

(33) Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: (25))
??Ndikufúná kutí [mu-wa-páts-é alenje mphâtso.]
I.want that 2SG.SM-2OM-give-SBJV 2.hunters 3.gift
'I want you to give the hunters a gift.'

The potential availability of (33) for some speakers raises an important question about the B&M's analysis, as a word order preference is insufficient evidence – if (though somewhat dispreferred) an *in situ* object is possible with an object marker, that object marker could not have originated in the base object

[6] Some glosses here are borrowed from Henderson (2006).

[7] As an aside, in our experience of developing the description of Luhya object marking, it is in fact a common occurrence for sentences to sometimes sound unacceptable, and other times perfectly fine, and even ideal. In Lubukusu, at least, the influence of discourse structure on *both* object marking and postverbal word order makes us suspect that when we hear this kind of fieldwork report—that speakers find examples odd to the ear in a judgment task, but also spontaneously generate them sometimes—that there are probably discourse-licensing factors at play that have not been (yet) controlled for. We know nothing of Chichewa in this respect and are not making a specific claim, but we simply recognize the circumstance of this kind of variability in judgments and suspect something similar could be in play in Chichewa.

position itself. Moreover, Henderson (2006) demonstrates that even for examples like (32) with a purportedly right-dislocated object, that temporal adverbs (which are largely assumed to be *v*P/VP-adjoined) occur to the right of both objects.

(34) Chichewa (Henderson 2006: (175))
Ndi-na-funa kuti mu–wa–pats–é mphatso alenje
1SG.SM-PST-want COMP 2SG.SM-2OM-give-SBJV 3gift 2hunters
dzulo.
yesterday
'I wanted you to give the hunters a gift yesterday.'

This suggests that despite the canonical inversion of the IO and DO when an object marker is added in Chichewa, the IO is still VP-internal. This would suggest (by B&M's locality metric), that the object marker in this instance may not in fact be anaphoric agreement in this instance, but instead is grammatical agreement (i.e. not pronominal). Riedel (2009) and Henderson (2006) raise a number of additional concerns that are not critical to recount here; it is sufficient to note that both conclude, the tonal evidence notwithstanding, that there are serious questions for an analysis of Chichewa object markers as incorporated pronouns (Riedel 2009 builds a similar line of argumentation against the analysis of Haya OMs as incorporated pronouns).

As we will see below, there have been relevant analyses of related languages like isiZulu that suggest that all of the work mentioned here could be partially right and partially wrong. Specifically, Zeller (2014) suggests that OM-doubled objects are in fact right-dislocated in isiZulu, but to a structurally low position that may well be inside the domain of temporal adverbials in some languages. This makes available in Chichewa an analysis where objects are dislocated, but a low dislocation. Without advancing that specific claim for Chichewa (which surely requires further research on the issue), we will see how the isiZulu facts show strong evidence for this analysis. §2.3.2 overviews the isiZulu facts and analysis.

2.1.5 What Lubukusu shows us

We have already outlined the main claims of the volume in §1.2 of Chapter 1, but we will briefly outline what Lubukusu demonstrates with respect to the typology of Bantu OMs discussed in this literature review. Sikuku et al. (2018) argue that Lubukusu object markers have two distinct derivations: non-doubling OMs are incorporated pronouns, and doubling OMs are agreement morphemes that

arise on a functional head (Emphasis°) which introduces a semantic operator into the syntax (see Chapter 3 for an introduction to the Lubukusu facts). On that account, the operator on the Emphasis head was a verum operator, necessitating a verum reading of the clause. In this work, we maintain the analysis of two distinct derivations of OMs in Lubukusu, with a much-refined sense of what the interpretive properties of doubling are. In the end a fair number of details are different about our current analysis as compared to Sikuku et al. (2018), but the core intuition behind the analysis is similar: non-doubling OMs are incorporated pronouns, and doubling OMs arise via agreement. Important details that changed include our analyses of what heads introduce the φ-features that generate doubling, where those heads are located, and what semantic operators are involved.

What we will find, then, is that the typical syntactic argumentation about pronouns vs. agreement vs. clitics is largely peripheral in what follows. It is not irrelevant, of course, but it is a secondary concern in diagnosing the properties of OM-doubling in Lubukusu, which are driven much more by the semantic/pragmatic operators involved.

We do in the end come to specific claims about the pronoun vs. agreement morpheme debate for Lubukusu. And (as is always the case) the previous analytical and theoretical debates set boundary conditions for what the distinguishing properties of OMs/clitics can be, and are therefore centrally relevant to documenting any new set of patterns. But we would not be surprised if some future re-analysis of Lubukusu OMs with respect to the pronoun vs. agreement debate were possible *without* upending most of the contributions of this work, since our main contributions are in fact in showing that Lubukusu OM-doubling is contingent on a range of empirical properties that had not previously been outlined for Bantu OM-doubling constructions before quite recently (a range of recent work from us and our collaborators are current examples of this: Langa da Câmara et al. 2024, Letsholo et al. 2024, Liu 2022, Kuzmik 2022, Lippard et al. 2023, Lippard 2024). But before getting into those details, we want to overview the relevant background on how information structure is encoded in the grammar of Bantu languages.

2.2 Grammatical information structure

It is well known that information structure has central grammatical effects across a range of African languages, being incorporated into core morphosyntax in a manner that is not necessarily true in other language families. We discuss some

foundational/central background here in order to lay the groundwork for the description and analysis of Lubukusu object marking. As we will see, Lubukusu object marking shows a range of properties that are dependent on information structure in ways that are reminiscent of how information structure is encoded independently in the grammar of various Bantu languages. Specifically, as we outline in depth in Chapter 4, OM-doubling creates a discourse-given interpretation of OM-doubled objects, while simultaneously creating a focus requirement on some element in the verb phrase.[8] As we will see, while these patterns are not a direct replica of previously-documented patterns in object marking, they are nonetheless deeply reminiscent of other aspects of grammatical information structure across Bantu languages.

Therefore, the summary here provides a valuable backdrop for the proposals that we advance, and helps clarify also how the Lubukusu conclusions can contribute to our understanding of the languages of the region. For the most part in this chapter we discuss the relevant empirical patterns, leaving aside discussion of analyses to latter analytical chapters. Many of our proposals centrally rest on this background, as we note a number of patterns in Lubukusu that indirectly realize information structure patterns that are overtly marked in a number of Bantu languages, whether in morphology or word order.

2.2.1 What is information structure (IS)?

There is an overwhelming amount of research on information structure in the world's languages. First, there is a wealth of descriptive work on individual languages (e.g. Creider & Creider 1983, Payne 1990, among may others), there is work focused on how to diagnose information structural effects (e.g. Kroeger 2017, van der Wal 2015b). There is a long history of what we might call functionalist/pragmatically-focused work exploring the properties of information structure (Chafe 1976, 1987, 1994, Prince 1978, 1981, 1986, 1992, Gundel 1985, 1988b, Gundel & Fretheim 2004, Gundel 1988a, 1999, Vallduví 1992, McNally 1998). There is also expansive work on formal semantics and pragmatics of information structure: a small selection of the significant work on the topic (including relevant overview articles) includes Rochemont (1986), Rooth (1992), Schwarzschild (1999), Wagner (2012), Rooth (2016), Büring (2016), and Wagner (2021). A persistent question is the degree to which information structure ought to be incorporated into syntax itself: we address this work in Chapter 10. More specific to our current concerns, within Bantu languages there is extensive work on the intersection of syntax and

[8] And as Chapter 7 makes clear, this is an emphatic focus that includes additional layers of meaning beyond just focus (mirativity, among others).

information structure (see, among many others, van der Wal 2015b, Carstens & Mletshe 2015, Pietraszko 2014, 2021, Zerbian 2006, van der Wal 2006, 2009, 2022, van der Wal & Hyman 2017, Zeller 2008, 2015, 2021). An interested reader can find relevant overviews of the issues in Erteschik-Shir (2007), Krifka (2008), and Büring (2016), among other works.

What we offer in this small section is not an overview of all of this work (and what we cite above is just a small sample of what exists). Rather, we want to introduce the major terminology and concepts that we will use in this volume. The goal is to make our assumptions clear, and also to introduce these terms to readers who are unfamiliar with these concepts. We will introduce more formal/precise conceptualizations as they become necessary at latter points in the volume. In broad strokes, information structure refers to the way in which information within an utterance is presented linguistically; information is organized within utterances based on the states of mind of the participants of the conversation. One way in which this happens is that linguistic utterances can be subdivided into the parts of the sentence that are familiar (*given*) and the parts of the sentence that are new. Another kind of bifurcation occurs between what the sentence is about (an *aboutness topic*), and what is being said about that topic (the *comment*). *Focus* roughly refers to the contrastive part of an utterance, i.e. the novel contribution of the utterance, whereas *background* tends to refer to the broadly accepted/assumed portion of the utterance. These introductions are intentionally informal here; in what follows we are more precise about the kinds of information structural concepts that are commonly assumed in formal analysis.

As noted by Kučerová & Neeleman (2012), there is broad agreement on the general concepts of information structure. At the same time, there is certainly not agreement on what the foundational/primitive features of information structure are (if there even are such features). So while all researchers agree that *focus* exists in human languages, there is disagreement about how many sub-types of focus there are, whether any particular component of focus meaning is the defining characteristic of focus, and how to derive different kinds of focus from each other (or whether it is desirable at all to do so). The same goes for other information structural notions. Here, we introduce the ways in which the relevant terminology is regularly used in order to clarify our own uses of the same terms.

From a functional pragmatic perspective, Nikolaeva (2001) follows Kempson (1975) in describing the *pragmatic presupposition* as the set of propositions which the speaker assumes that the addressee has a mental representation of at the time of an utterance (whether or not either takes these to be true or not). The *pragmatic assertion* is conceptualized as "the proposition that the addressee is

expected to know as a result of hearing the sentence" (Nikolaeva 2001: 3). Lambrecht (1994: 213) then conceptualizes focus as "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition."

A similar (and relatively imprecise) use of the terms 'focus' and 'topic' is to say that focus is 'new' information to the discourse, and topics are therefore 'old' or familiar information. In general, we use the terms 'given(ness)' and 'discourse-given(ness)' to capture this notion of a piece of information or a referent being previously mentioned in the discourse (Rochemont 2016, among many others). Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) refer to these as *familiar topics*, a subset of which they call *continuing topics*: familiar topics that are discourse-given and D(iscourse)-linked with a preceding aboutness topic (at times the term *discourse topic* is used to mean something similar). Aboutness topics, on the other hand, are straightforwardly defined as the constituent whose referent is what a sentence is about (Reinhart 1981, Lambrecht 1994). But aboutness topics need not be discourse-familiar, and can themselves be discourse new: these are at times referred to as *contrastive topics* (Neeleman et al. 2009, Krifka 2007, 2008) or *shifting topics* (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). Whether all of these notions are fully independent, or derivable from more foundational features/meaning, is an issue of ongoing debate.

Likewise, 'focus' has a multitude of descriptions in the literature. As mentioned above, Nikolaeva (2001) conceptualizes focus as the portion of the pragmatic assertion that is not also presupposed (following Kempson 1975), somewhat similar to saying that focus is 'new' information. Using questions and answers is a common way to diagnose new information focus: the content that provides the missing information from the question is focused.

(35) a. Q: Who did you give the gifts to?
b. A: I gave MY NEPHEW the gifts.

On many conceptualizations of focus, it is an interpretation that relies on the availability of focus alternatives; in some sense, focus is therefore dependent on the contextual availability of some kind of contrast (see, among many others, Rooth 1985, Rooth 1992, Schwarzschild 1999, Büring 2016, Wagner 2021, Kratzer & Selkirk 2020). So an example like (36) is felicitous in a context where there was active consideration of who else the speaker may have given a gift too. Likewise, focus is natural in a context where it gives an explicit contrastive reading as in (37).

(36) I bought MY NEPHEW a gift.

(37) I bought MY NEPHEW a gift, not my NIECE.

As É. Kiss (1998) argues extensively, there is good reason to distinguish new information focus from a more restrictive kind of focus that she called 'identificational' focus, a version of what is often referred to as exhaustive focus. This kind of focus generates a stronger set of entailments that says that the focused constituent refers to the only such qualifying referent. English prosodic focus in an example like (38) does not create an exhaustive interpretation.

(38) I brought a gift for MY NEPHEW. I also brought one for MY NIECE.

In contrast, the focus particle *only* in English is exhaustive; if *my nephew* is focused with *only*, a continuation adding additional referents for whom the assertion is true is anomalous.

(39) I brought a gift for only my nephew. (#I also brought one for MY NIECE.)

Many languages have grammatical constructions that inherently create exhaustive interpretations, even without an overt exhaustive focus particle like *only* (É. Kiss 1998, Horvath 2010, Fominyam & Šimík 2017).

As is the case for topics, there is a fair amount of disagreement about the foundational properties of focus, and whether or not the various kinds of focus described above derive from the same underlying features/properties. For our present purposes, it is sufficient to clarify the terms and their typical uses. We think it is fair to say that there is not yet consensus in the literature on a universal ontology of information structure concepts or constructions. There are clear recurring patterns that are too common across languages to be a coincidence: clearly, human cognition is attentive to which information is old and new, and is attentive to aboutness relations and predication relations. But what is not clear is whether or not there are universal delineations in information structure that are consistent across languages (i.e. is there a 'Universal Grammar' for information structure specifically?).

For the most part, this volume does not engage the broadest theory questions: we will be focused on exploring the properties of object marking and doubling constructions in Lubukusu, and we will employ the particular concepts of information structure that best capture these patterns. We will leave it to future work to explore the broader theoretical questions, as important as they are. In our own discussions of the literature and in our own diagnostic work in this volume, we will aim to be granular in how we discuss information structural concepts like topic, focus, contrast, etc. That is, we will be precise in what kind of focus or what

kind of topic a particular diagnostic context is testing for. As the discussion proceeds we will become much more detailed about the underlying assumptions we adopt, and the grammatical implementation of information structure (in particular, see Chapter 6). But the grammatical patterns we report here (and the patterns they allude to in other Bantu languages) are undoubtedly highly relevant to the broader theoretical work.

2.2.2 Word order and information structure in Bantu languages

Grammatical functions are often communicated via word order cross-linguistically, but as noted by Yoneda (2011: 754), in Matengo it appears (as in many Bantu languages) that "the main function of word order is to code information structure, rather than grammatical relations." In this section we overview some of the connections specifically between word order and information structure in southern Bantu languages especially, as it has been a productive research area that has generated a high volume of insights.

For many southern Bantu languages there is a strong requirement against focused preverbal subjects. Yoneda (2011: 755) articulates the generalizations about Matengo word order in these ways:

(40) a. Topical elements occur before the verb
b. Non-topical elements occur postverbally
c. The focus of the sentence, if there is any, occurs immediately after the verb (IAV).
(Yoneda 2011: 755)

This broad pattern has been replicated in many southern Bantu languages: we overview some main relevant facts here.

2.2.2.1 Matengo word order

Yoneda (2011) shows that in Matengo, a preverbal subject is topical whereas a postverbal subject is considered part of the focus of the sentence.

(41) Matengo (Yoneda 2011: (2))[9]

[9] Yoneda (2011) does not offer full morpheme-by-morpheme glosses for verb forms; we do not add them here as we are not Matengo scholars, but a reader curious about the internal morphological structure of Matengo verbs can consult Yoneda (2025), van der Wal (2012), and van der Wal (2015a).

a. Ńkongu gu-hábwĭ:ke. (ńkongu is the topic)
3tree 3SM-fall.PFV
'The tree has fallen down.' (As a comment on a particular tree)

b. Gu-hábwiki ńko:ngo. (ńkongu is not the topic)
3SM-fall.PFV 3tree
'A tree has fallen down.'
OK as a thetic sentence (i.e. all-new)
OK as an answer to "What has fallen down?''

Because word order is so closely linked to information structure, controlling discourse context carefully is highly relevant to understanding the acceptability judgments. This can be done with a specified discourse context as in (42), for example:

(42) Matengo (Yoneda 2011: (19))
Context: Suppose I went to the neighbour's house to borrow a cooking pan and the neighbour asked me the reason. In this case, the cooking pan is the only shared information in the conversation, and thus can be expressed as the topic.

a. Ju-kájwi mwá:na. (*mwá:na* is non-topic/non-focus)
1SM-break.PFV 1.child
'My child has broken (it).'

b. #Mwaná ju-kájwí:le.
1.child 1SM-break.PFV
'My child has broken (it).'

c. Mwaná ju-kájwi pulukê:la. (*mwaná* is non-topic/non-focus)
1.child 1SM-break.PFV 18.morning
'My child has broken (it) this morning.'

d. #Ju-kájwi mwaná pulukê:la. (*mwaná* is the focus)
1SM-break/PF 1.child 18.morning
'My child has broken (it) this morning.'

Yoneda describes the data in (42) in the following way:

> If the reason for borrowing the cooking pan is that my child broke ours, then the non-topical/non- focus subject *mwaná* ''child' has to be placed after the verb, as in (42a). When this subject is the only element in the sentence, it cannot occur before the verb. If it were to precede the verb, the

> subject would be interpreted as the topic. Thus, (42b) is not an appropriate answer in this situation. In contrast, in (42c), the non-topical/non-focus subject *mwaná* 'child' is allowed to occur before the verb because there is another element, namely *pulukê:la* 'morning', after the verb. Furthermore, if the subject is placed IAV when there is another element in the sentence, as in (42d), then the subject *mwaná* 'child' would be interpreted as the focus. Therefore, the sentence would create an assumption that "someone has broken (the cooking pan)." Thus, (42d) is also not an appropriate answer in this situation. (Yoneda 2011: 760)

We are seeing some relational aspects of what counts as topic/focus, which is more clear in (43). This is an out-of-the-blue context, designed to elicit whole-sentence focus. In this instance, an intransitive subject cannot be preverbal, as that position is designated for topical material. But it can be (and in fact must be) preverbal in the case that some other material is postverbal.

(43) Matengo (Yoneda 2011: (21))
Context: Answer for the question "What has happened?"

a. Ju-hikití mû:ndo.
1SM-arrive.PFV 1.someone
'Someone has come.'

b. #Mundu ju-hikí:te.
1.someone 1SM-arrive.PFV
'Someone has come.'

c. Mundu ju-hikití ku-nyû:mba.
1.someone 1SM-arrive.PFV 17LOC-9.house
'Someone has come to the house.'

d. *Ju-hikití mundu ku-nyû:mba.
1SM-arrive.PFV 1.someone 17LOC-9.house

Next, consider an instance where the subject is focused; in this instance Yoneda (2011) uses question and answer congruence to ensure that the subject bears new information focus in the sentences in (44), all answers to the subject question in the context.

(44) Matengo (Yoneda 2011: (20))
Context: Responses to the question "Who broke the cooking pan?"

a. Ju-kájwi mwá:na. (mwá:na is the focus)
1SM-break.PFV 1.child
'My child has broken (it).'

b. #Mwaná ju-kájwí:le. (Mwaná is the topic)
1.child 1SM-break.PFV
My child has broken (it).'

c. #Mwaná ju-kájwi pulukê:la. (Mwaná not the focus)
1.child 1SM-break.PFV morning
'My child broke (it) this morning.'

d. Ju-kájwi mwaná pulukê:la. (mwaná is the focus)
1SM-break.PFV 1.child morning
'My child broke (it) this morning.'

Here, *mwana* 'child' is possible in immediately-after-the-verb (IAV) position: this is the position for narrowly focused elements in Matengo, and as such when the subject is narrowly focused, it appears in IAV and other positions are infelicitous. The example in (45) again shows narrowly focused elements being attracted to IAV position, this time showing a focused object and a focused temporal adjunct.

(45) Matengo (Yoneda 2011: (29))

a. N-a-telaka úhipa lí:so.
1SG.SM-PST-cook.SF 9.sardine yesterday
'I cooked sardine yesterday.'
OK as answer to "What did you cook yesterday?''
* as answer to "When did you cook sardine?''

b. N-a-telaka li:sú (úhi:pa).
1SG.SM-PST-cook.SF yesterday 9.sardine
'I cooked (sardine) yesterday.'
OK as answer to "When did you cook sardine?''

All of these data confirm the generalizations note above in (40) and rewritten here as (46): there is a strict correlation between information structure and word order, generally bifurcating topic and focus with the verb as the linear demarcation.

(46) Matengo word order generalizations (Yoneda 2011: 755)

a. Topical elements occur before the verb

b. Non-topical elements occur postverbally
c. The focus of the sentence, if there is any, occurs immediately after the verb (IAV).

While not identical, Makhuwa (P31, Mozambique) shows a lot of similarities in the sense of the properties of word order in the pre- and post-verbal domain intersecting with information structure. We refer the reader to van der Wal (2006, 2009, 2012) for a description and analysis of those patterns. Likewise, Zerbian (2006) shows similar conclusions for Northern Sotho (S30, South Africa).

2.2.2.2 IsiZulu word order

Like Matengo, isiZulu is canonically an SVO language. Also like Matengo, it has a firm restriction against focused material in canonical preverbal subject position. For example, *wh*-subjects are ungrammatical in this position, instead necessarily occurring postverbally or in a cleft construction.

(47) isiZulu (Sabel & Zeller 2006: (5))
a. *Ubani u-fike?
1a.who 1aSM-arrived
'Who arrived?'
b. Ku-fike bani?
EXPL17-arrived 1a.who
'Who arrived?'

We raise the isiZulu facts specifically because Selvanathan (2019) argues that IAV position in Lubukusu is a focus position, as in isiZulu (with the added proposal that it is also a Case-licensing position). However, the facts in southern Bantu languages like isiZulu display a number of important differences with Lubukusu that require caution in applying identical solutions to both of them. As noted for the other languages above, isiZulu shows a strong aversion to focused elements in preverbal position:[10]

(48) isiZulu (Zeller 2008: 241)
Ngi-mem-e wonke umuntu, kodwa ...
1SG-invite-PST 1.every 1.person but
"I invited everybody, but..."

[10] Kimenyi (1980: 51) shows a similar restriction on 'only' in preverbal position in Kinyarwanda.

a. *UJohn kuphela u-fik-il-e.
John1a only 1aSM-arrive-DJ-PST

b. Ku-fik-e uJohn kuphela.
EXPL17-arrive-PST 1a.John only
"...only John came."

Based on a similar set of restrictions in Northern Sotho, Zerbian (2006: 181) concludes that "[t]he preverbal subject must not be F-marked" (focus-marked), a conclusion that is merited for isiZulu as well (Zeller 2008). Collectively, patterns like this have led to the strong conclusion among many researchers that the preverbal position is specifically for topical/non-focused material, and the postverbal domain is for focused elements (as summarized by Yoneda in (40)). And likewise, the verb phrase domain linearly following the verb consistently acts as a focus domain across a broad range of languages.

Additional excellent resources on the intersection of information structure and word order are the recent products of Jenneke van der Wal's BaSIS project at Leiden University (Bantu Syntax and Information Structure). This includes work on Tunen (Kerr 2025), Rukiga (Asiimwe & van der Wal 2025), Makhuwa (van der Wal 2025), Teke-Kukuya (Li 2025), Kirundi (Nshemezimana & van der Wal 2025), Kinyakusa (Lusekelo et al. 2025), Kîîtharaka (Kanampiu & van der Wal 2025), and Cicopi (Nhantumbo & van der Wal 2025).

2.2.3 Broad/predicate focus

Some northeastern Bantu languages require obligatory focus marking of the verb in affirmative declarative environments, including Kikuyu, Kîîtharaka, and EkeGusii (Schwarz 2007, Abels & Muriungi 2008, Mecha 2019); in left-peripheral focus contexts this focus marker appears on the focused constituent instead of the main predicate. The sentence in (49) is the form used in what we might call 'neutral' discourse contexts: this is the standard way to express the assertion given in the English translation.

(49) Igikuria (Landman & Ranero 2018: 394)
Ichi-ng'iti *(**n**-)cha-a-it-ir-e ege-toocho.
10-hyena (FOC-)10SM-PST-kill-PRF-FV 7-rabbit
'The hyenas killed the rabbit.'

(50) Igikuria (Landman & Ranero 2018: 395)

a. *(N-)ke ichi-ng'iti (*n-)cha-a-it-ir-e?
FOC-what 10-hyena (FOC-)10SM-PST-kill-PRF-FV
'What did the hyenas kill?'

b. N-ege-toocho ichi-ng'iti cha-a-it-ir-e.
FOC-7-rabbit 10-hyena 10SM-PST-kill-PRF-FV
'The hyenas killed THE RABBIT.'

So while (50) shows that *ex situ* focused constituents bear the *n(e)-* focus marker, it also appears in simple affirmative declarative sentences, as in (49). The analysis of this focus marker is besides the point at present; the main observation here is that there is overt morphosyntactic marking of focus in most sentences in Igikuria (and Kĩîtharaka, EkeGusii, and Kikuyu). We can see, therefore, that information structure concerns (like *focus*, here) are centrally integrated with the core phrase structure of languages that are closely related to the Luhya varieties we consider here.

2.2.4 Aghem focus marking

A very useful case study for our purposes comes from a distantly related Bantu language. Hyman (2010) and Hyman & Polinsky (2010) give an overview and analysis of focus marking in Aghem (Grassfields Bantu, Cameroon), which is pervasive in Aghem through various morphosyntactic means. The unmarked clause structure of Aghem is SAuxVOX, as (51) illustrates.

(51) Aghem (Hyman 2010: 96)
tɨ́-bvʉ́ tɨ̀-bɨ̀ghà mô zɨ̀ kɨ́-bɛ́ nɛ́
dogs two PST$_1$ eat fufu today
'The two dogs ate fufu today.'

The pattern in Aghem illustrates a pattern that has emerged in a variety of African languages: the position that occurs immediately after the verb (IAV) appears to be a focus-dedicated position. In the examples below we see that the constituent that occurs in that position is interpreted as bearing some kind of special focus.

(52) Aghem (Hyman 2010: 97)
a. Tɨ́-bvʉ́ tɨ̀-bɨ̀ghà mô zɨ̀. **nɛ́** bɛ́ kɔ́
dogs two PST$_1$ eat today fufu D
'The two dogs ate fufu TODAY.'

b. À mɔ̀ zɨ̀ **tɨ́-bvú tɨ̀-bɨ̀ghà** bɛ́ kɔ́ nɛ́.
ES PST$_1$ eat dogs two fufu D today
'The TWO DOGS ate fufu today.'

The analysis that the IAV position in Aghem is a focus position is supported by the fact that *wh*-phrases must appear in IAV position, no matter what their grammatical function is. (53a) shows a temporal question, and (53b) shows a subject question—in both instances the *wh*-phrase occurs immediately postverbally.

(53) Aghem (Hyman 2010: 97)
a. Tɨ́-bvú tɨ̀-bɨ̀ghà mɔ̂ zɨ̀. **zɨ́n** bɛ́ kɔ́
dogs two PST$_1$ eat when fufu D
'When did the two dogs eat fufu?'
b. À mɔ̀ zɨ̀ **ndúghɔ́** bɛ́ kɔ́ nɛ́ à.
EXPL PST$_1$ eat who fufu D today Q
'Who ate fufu today?'

Aghem appears to have a relatively strict requirement that the IAV position be filled: in main clause affirmatives with an intransitive predicate, for example, we can see that a focus marker *no* appears in that position, in the absence of some other constituent.

(54) Aghem (Hyman 2010: 98)
a. Ò mɔ̀ bvɨ̀ *(**nò**).
SM PST$_1$ fall FOC
'He fell.'
b. Ò mɔ̀ nɛ̀ nô.
SM PST$_1$ eat FOC
'He ate (it).'

It is in fact possible for the IAV position to be empty in main clause affirmative declaratives, but this requires a particular pragmatic interpretation of the sentence. Quite interesting for our purposes, this is probably well-described as a verum-like reading, translated with the English emphatic *do* (Hyman & Watters 1984, Hyman 2010, Hyman & Polinsky 2010).

(55) a. Ò **máà** bvɨ̀.
SM PST$_1$-FOC fall
'He did fall.'

b. *Ò mɔ̀ bvʉ̀.
SM PST$_1$ fall
'He fell.' (Hyman 2010: 100)

(56) a. Ò **máà** zɨ̀°
SM PST$_1$-FOC eat
'He did eat (it).'

b. *Ò mɔ̀ zɨ̀°
SM PST$_1$ eat
'He did eat (it).' (Hyman 2010: 100)

As shown above, this correlates with a particular sort of auxiliary being used (analyzed by Hyman 2010 as a focus auxiliary), which is obligatory in these constructions.

We can therefore see this pattern emerging: Aghem requires *something* to be focused, i.e. occurring in IAV position. There is a key exception, however: clauses that bear verum-like predicate focus require the IAV position to be empty. Previewing somewhat, there are important correlations here with with the Lubukusu object marking patterns (the obligatory nature of postverbal material, the role of focus, the emergence of verum-like readings). This becomes somewhat more clear by looking at southern Bantu languages, however, where conjoint/disjoint systems grammaticalize patterns similar to the Aghem structures, but with more transparent morphological marking.

2.2.5 Conjoint/disjoint in Bantu languages

Across a broad range of eastern and southern Bantu languages, there are forms of verbal marking that correlate with the presence/absence of postverbal material: the forms are known as conjoint forms and disjoint forms.[11] As we show in this section, in languages with overt marking of conjoint/disjoint it is quite common for these properties to interact with object marking, as we discuss in §2.2.5.2 below. And while Lubukusu does not overtly mark conjoint/disjoint patterns, there are abstract parallels that are robust: just as conjoint/disjoint patterns appear to track the content of verb phrases, Lubukusu OM-doubling is likewise dependent on the presence of content inside the verb phrase. We will make all of this more precise as we go, but that is the foundation of our attention on these patterns here.

[11] This section and §5 of Sikuku & Diercks (2021) were adapted from the same earlier manuscript, and therefore may show some similarities. Their overlap in both cases is in accord with the Open Access principles of Language Science Press.

2.2.5.1 Introducing conjoint/disjoint patterns

Conjoint forms on a verb show a closer connection between that verb and what follows; disjoint forms are used when there is a looser connection with what follows, or when nothing follows the verb (van der Wal & Hyman 2017). The examples below illustrate these patterns from Setswana; CJ annotates the conjoint pattern, and DJ annotates the disjoint pattern. The conjoint form in the Setswana examples below is unmarked, disjoint is marked overtly.

(57) Setswana (S31, Creissels 1996: 109, glosses added by van der Wal 2017)

CJ Dikgomó dí-fúla kwa nokeng.
10.cows 10SM-graze at river
'The cows graze/are grazing at the river.'

DJ Dikgomó dí-á-fúla.
10.cows 10SM-PRS.DJ-graze
'The cows are grazing.'

There is a fair degree of variation across languages with respect to how the conjoint/disjoint distinction is realized. First, even within languages that robustly display conjoint/disjoint distinctions, it is quite common for these distinctions to only be realized in a subset of a language's tense/aspect forms, and also to have different morphological forms based on the tense/aspect it appears in.[12] This is illustrated for Swati in (58), where the relevant forms are bolded. In (58b) the disjoint form is an independent bound morpheme, compared to the unmarked conjoint form in (58a). But in (58c) and (58d) the conjoint/disjoint distinction is syncretic with perfective aspect, which is realized as *-é* in conjoint contexts and *-ile* in disjoint contexts.

(58) Swati (Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976: 97-98)

a. Ngi-natsa... **conjoint**
1SG.SM-drink
'I drink...'

b. Ngi-**ya**-natsa. **disjoint**
1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-drink
'I am drinking.'

[12] See van der Wal (2017) for a survey of these properties across a variety of languages, and see Ngoboka & Zeller (2017) for a description of the Kinyarwanda patterns that details well the ways in which there is variation based on the tense/aspect involved.

c. Ngi-nats-**é**... **conjoint**
1SG.SM-drink-PRF.CJ
'I have drunk...'

d. Ngi-nats-**ile**. **disjoint**
1SG.SM-drink-PRF.DJ
'I have drunk.'

In isiZulu, the predominant analysis of conjoint/disjoint is that the distinction tracks the presence of morphosyntactic content inside *v*P: conjoint is used when a constituent is inside *v*P, and disjoint is used when *v*P is empty. So (59a) occurs with the unmarked conjoint form with an overt object, but when there is no overt object the conjoint form is unacceptable in (59b); this circumstance instead requires the disjoint form (59c).

(59) isiZulu (Zeller 2015: 19)

a. U-mama u-phek-a i-n-yama. **conjoint**
AUG-1a.mother 1SM-cook-FV AUG-9-meat
'Mother is cooking the meat.'

b. *U-mama u-phek-a. **conjoint**
AUG-1a.mother 1.SM-cook-FV
Intended: 'Mother is cooking.'

c. U-mama u-**ya**-phek-a. **disjoint**
AUG-1a.mother 1.SM-DJ-cook-FV
'Mother is cooking.'

In isiZulu the *v*P is a focus domain (see §2.3.2), and as a result there is a link between conjoint/disjoint and information structure. Others have claimed that the conjoint/disjoint alternation directly references information structure in some instances (see Nshemezimana & Bostoen 2017 and van der Wal & Hyman 2017 for discussion).

Another illustration comes from Kinyarwanda, which we detail in somewhat more depth: as described by Ngoboka & Zeller (2017: 368), "the CJ form in Kinyarwanda can only be used when the verb is followed by at least one postverbal constituent," but this constituent can be many different things. Canonically, it will be the object(s) of the verb, but it can just as readily be an adjunct or another argument (which is also common of conjoint/disjoint systems). (60) shows an *in situ* object requiring the conjoint form, (61) shows a postverbal subject requiring the conjoint form, and (62) shows a *v*P-level adjunct requiring the conjoint form.

(60) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 368,373)

a. A-ba-áana ba-á-nyó-ye a-ma-tá. **CJ**
AUG-2-child 2SM-REM-drink-PFV AUG-6-milk
'The children drank milk.'

b. *A-ba-áana ba-á-**ra**-nyó-ye a-ma-tá. **DJ**
AUG-2-child 2SM-REM-DJ-drink-PFV AUG-6-milk
'The children drank milk.'

(61) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 369,373)

a. Murí iyo mi-nsi ha-á-íig-aga a-ba-áana ba-ké. **CJ**
18.LOC 4.DEM 4-day EXPL-REM-study-IPFV AUG-2-children 2-few
'In those days few children studied.'

b. *Murí iyo mi-nsi ha-á-**ra**-íig-aga a-ba-áana ba-ké.
18.LOC 4.DEM 4-day EXPL-REM-DJ-study-IPFV AUG-2-children 2-few
'In those days few children studied.' **DJ**

(62) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 369,373)

a. A-ba-áarimú ba-á-kór-ye néezá. **CJ**
AUG-2-teacher 2SM-REM-work-PFV well
'The teachers worked well.'

b. *A-ba-áarimú ba-á-**ra**-kór-ye néezá. **DJ**
AUG-2-teacher 2SM-REM-DJ-work-PFV well
'The teachers worked well.'

When nothing follows the verb, the disjoint form is used:

(63) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 370)
A-ba-áana ba-á-**ra**-nyó-ye. **DJ**
AUG-2-child 2SM-REM-DJ-drink-PFV
'The children drank.'

The disjoint form can be used when an element follows, but when this occurs the following element is dislocated, marked by a clear prosodic break (a distinctive pause).

(64) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 372)
A-ba-áarimú ba-á-**ra**-kó-ye *(,) ejó.
AUG-2-teacher 2SM-REM-DJ-work-PFV yesterday
'Teachers worked, yesterday.'

There are clear intersections with information structure for Kinyarwanda conjoint/disjoint marking. Specifically, disjoint marking appears to be linked with narrow verb focus, or predicate focus, whereas conjoint marking is more consistent with focus on something in the postverbal domain. This is illustrated in (65), where the adverb *cyaane* can follow both a conjoint and a disjoint verb form.

(65) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 380)

a. A-**ra**-kór-a cyaane.
1SM-DJ-work-FV hard
'He works hard.' (*see comments below for context*)

b. A-kór-a cyaane.
1SM-work-FV hard
'He works hard.' (*see comments below for context*)

"According to Givón (1975), an example such as [(65a)] expresses predicate (VP-) focus; it can answer a yes-no question or can be used in 'all new' contexts. In contrast, in [(65b)], focus is on the adverb; the example can hence be used as an answer to a question such as 'How does he work?'" (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 380). So there are clear links in some cases with information structure. That said, Ngoboka & Zeller (2017) conclude that there cannot be direct links with information structure and conjoint/disjoint marking, as there are many instances where (for example) narrow focus on the verb is compatible with conjoint marking rather than requiring disjoint marking. Building on an argument from Buell (2006) regarding isiZulu, Ngoboka & Zeller (2017) show that in Kinyarwanda a context can be constructed where there is narrow verb focus (typically linked with disjoint marking), but with a postverbal constituent (the adverb *néezá* 'well') that would be expected to require the conjoint form of the verb. It is the unmarked conjoint form that appears:

(66) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 377)
Si-n-íigiish-a néezá aríko n-vúg-a néezá.
NEG-1SG.SM-teach-FV well but 1SG.SM-speak-FV well
'I don't teach well, but I speak well.'

Ngoboka & Zeller (2017: 385) conclude that "it is not possible in Kinyarwanda to combine the DJ verb form with a genuine complement of the verb, even when the intended interpretation would be compatible with the scope of focus normally established by the DJ form (i.e. VP-focus)." An account that instead links conjoint/disjoint marking with a particular syntactic structure (e.g. the content of

the verb phrase), and separately maps the verb phrase onto particular discourse interpretations, can capture many of the similar patterns but does not require a one-to-one mapping of conjoint/disjoint to interpretation. While Lubukusu does not have a conjoint/disjoint pattern (at least, not that we have identified), the analysis for OM-doubling that we advance similarly relies on a structural domain dedicated to particular information-structural-effects: see Chapters 4 and 5 in particular.

2.2.5.2 Intersection of conjoint/disjoint with object marking

Conjoint/disjoint morphological patterns interact with object marking in many languages, which is not surprising if the conditioning factor for conjoint marking is whether there is a postverbal constituent inside the verb phrase. In Setswana, if an OM is on the verb in a simple monotransitive, the verb appears in the disjoint form (67b); if the object is a full DP following the verb, the verb appears in the conjoint form (67a). The disjoint form in (67b) is the *a-* prefix on the verb.

(67) Setswana OM requires Disjoint (S31, Creissels 1996: 112-113)

a. Re-thúsá Kítso. **conjoint**
1PL.SM-help 1.Kitso
'We help Kitso.'

b. Re-**a**-mo- thúsá Kitso. **disjoint**
1PL.SM-DJ-1OM-help 1.Kitso
'We help him, Kitso.'

The opposite scenarios are presented in (68): it is ungrammatical to have a verb form bearing an object marker in the conjoint form (at least, without additional material after the verb) (68a), and likewise the disjoint verb form without an object marker on the verb (with the postverbal object in its canonical position) is also unacceptable (68b).

(68) Setswana OM+CJ/DJ Creissels 1996: 112-113)

a. *Re-mo- thúsá Kítso. **conjoint**
1PL.SM-1OM-help

b. *Re-**a**-thúsá Kítso. **disjoint**
1PL.SM-DJ-help

Kinyarwanda shows similar patterns, evident in the mini-discourse in (69), where a question has two possible answers. When only the OM is used in A1 a

disjoint form appears, but when a full DP noun phrase is used after the verb in A2 the conjoint form of the verb is used.

(69) Kinyarwanda (Ngoboka & Zeller 2017: 377)

Q: U-téekerez-a ikí kurí Yohaáni?
2SG.SM-think-FV what 17.LOC 1.John
'What do you think about John?'

A1: Yohaáni? n-**ra**-mu- áang-a. **disjoint**
1.John? 1SG.SM-DJ-1OM-hate-FV
'John? I hate him.'

A2: Yohaáni? n-áang-a u-riíya mu-huúngu. **conjoint**
1.John? 1SG.SM-hate-FV 1-DEM 1-boy
'John? I hate that guy.'

We can see from Setswana and from Kinyarwanda, then, that there is a clear interaction between object marking and conjoint/disjoint marking. Following the reasoning from Ngoboka & Zeller (2017), this suggests that object marking removes a lexical object from the scope of the focus that appears to be marked with the conjoint form; moreso, if conjoint/disjoint only indirectly marks focus (which seems to be clear in a number of languages) and more directly notes the presence/absence of material inside the *v*P, we can then conclude there are structural differences in the position of lexical DP objects when they are object marked. In the language that it has been best researched—isiZulu—it has become clear that this is precisely what is happening.

2.3 Object marking and information structure

In this section we offer some very brief comments on the documented connections between OM-doubling and pragmatic interpretive effects linked with information structure. In short, there are a growing number of works that specifically link information-structure effects to object marking properties (i.e. where discourse-based contexts make grammatical distinctions).

As we noted above in (8), Duranti (1979), Duranti & Byarushengo (1977) suggested that the likelihood of an object being object marked was linked with its relative topicality, which could be described by topicality scales including things like person and animacy. Mursell (2018, 2021) specifically claims that Kiswahili object marking is topic agreement (Siedl & Dimitriadis 1997 advance a similar claim; see also Allan 1983). Similar observations have been advanced for Bembe

(Iorio 2015) and Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987). We provide two case studies here, on Manyika Shona in §2.3.1 and isiZulu in §2.3.2. The isiZulu patterns and history of analysis will be particularly influential for us moving forward. van der Wal (2022) provides additional analytical engagement with the intersection of object marking and information structure: we discuss the particular aspects of her proposals relevant to our concerns in Chapter 8.

2.3.1 Case study: Manyika Shona object marking

For multiple languages, it has been claimed that object marking designates the marked object as non-focus. So if the object is familiar from context and is non-focused in the sentence, OM-doubling is acceptable in Manyika Shona.

(70) Manyika Shona (Bax & Diercks 2012: 191)
OM-doubling non-focused object

a. Ndi-ani w-aka-werenga bhuku ri-ya?
It.is-1.who 1SM-PST-read 5.book 5-that
'Who read that book?'

b. Tendai ndi-ye w-aka-(ri)- werenga bhuku ri-ya .
1Tendai FOC-1 1SM-PST-(5OM)-read 5.book 5-that
'Tendai read that book.'

In contrast, in contexts where the object falls within a focused constituent, OM-doubling is unacceptable in Manyika Shona. This is true when the *v*P is new information focus, as in (71), as well as in an out-of-the-blue context, which we expect to place the whole sentence in focus.

(71) Manyika Shona (Bax & Diercks 2012: 191)
No Doubling in focused contexts

a. Tendai w-aka-ite-nyi?
1Tendai 1SM-PST-do-what?
'What did Tendai do?'

b. Tendai w-aka-(#ri)-werenga bhuku nekukasika.
1Tendai 1SM-PST-(#5OM)-read 5.book quickly
'Tendai read the (particular) book quickly.'

(72) Manyika Shona (Bax & Diercks 2012: 192)
Context: as a response to the question, 'What happened?'

Tendai a-ka-(#ri)-hya sadza r-angu.
1Tendai 1SM-PST-(#5OM)-eat 5.sadza 5-my
'Tendai ate my sadza.'

Bax & Diercks (2012) conclude that Manyika OM-doubling is necessarily non-focus. Zeller (2014, 2015) draws a similar conclusion for isiZulu, and Pietraszko (2023) arrives at a similar conclusion for Ndebele; we give a detailed case study of isiZulu object marking in §2.3.2.

2.3.2 Case study: isiZulu object marking

There is a long history of research on isiZulu object marking (Adams 2010, Buell 2005, 2006, Cheng & Downing 2009, Halpert 2012, van der Spuy 1993, Zeller 2012, 2014, 2015: among others).[13] Zeller (2012, 2014, 2015) aggregates and synthesizes this work well, and we largely rely on his work for our summary here. In what follows we present a relatively thorough overview of what is known about the object marking properties of isiZulu, laying a foundation for our discussions of Lubukusu to come.

First, isiZulu only allows a single object marker on the verb form: attempts to pronominalize both objects via OMs on the verb are unacceptable, as (73) shows.

(73) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 220)

a. U-John u-nik-e a-ba-ntwana i-zi-ncwadi.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-give-PST AUG-2-child AUG-10-book
'John gave books to the children.'

b. *U-John u-ba- zi- nik-il-e.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-10OM-give-DJ-PST

c. *U-John u-zi- ba- nik-il-e.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-10OM-2OM-give-DJ-PST

Instead, if one wants to pronominalize both objects, only one may be represented via an OM on the verb, and the other must be a free pronoun following the verb. As (74) shows, however, the grammar does not restrict *which* object may be an OM as opposed to a free pronoun. Either object may be represented as an OM.

[13] Earlier versions of this section were the basis of the descriptions of isiZulu object marking that appear in Diercks et al. (2024), Langa da Câmara et al. (2024), and Diercks (2026). It is reprinted (with edits) in accordance with Language Science Press's Open Access policies, and therefore sections of those works may show similarities with this section.

(74) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 220)

a. U-John u-ba- nik-e zona.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-give-PST 10PRON
'John gave them to them'

b. U-John u-zi- nik-e bona.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-10OM-give-PST 2PRON
'John gave them to them.'

This turns out to be a quite general property of isiZulu object marking, that it is what has often been termed "symmetrical" in the literature on Bantu languages, meaning that either object in a ditransitive can display primary object properties.[14] With respect to object marking, then, isiZulu is symmetrical, illustrated again in (75).

(75) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 227)

a. U-Langa u-phek-el-a u-mama i-nyama.
AUG-1a.Langa 1SM-cook-APPL-FV AUG-1a.mother AUG-9.meat
'Langa is cooking meat for mother.'

b. U-Langa u-m- phek-el-a i-nyama (u-mama).
AUG-1a.Langa 1SM-1OM-cook-APPL-FV AUG-9.meat AUG-1a.mother
'Langa is cooking meat for her (mother).'

c. U-Langa u-yi- phek-el-a u-mama (i-nyama).
AUG-1a.Langa 1SM-9OM-cook-APPL-FV AUG-1a.mother AUG-9.meat
'Langa is cooking it for mother (the meat).'

This symmetry ends up playing a major role in Zeller's (2014, 2015) analysis of isiZulu object marking, as we will see below.

There are some restrictions on what kinds of objects may be OM-doubled: unaugmented noun phrases (which behave as negative polarity items) cannot be object-marked, and the same is true for simple *wh*-phrases, as (76) shows.[15]

(76) isiZulu (Adams 2010: 42–43)

a. A-ngi-(*m)-thand-i mu-ntu.
NEG-1SM-1OM-like-NEG 1-person
'I don't like anyone.'

[14] See the introduction to Chapter 8 for a brief literature review.
[15] In §4.4.4 we discuss the distribution of unaugmented DPs in Lubukusu.

b. U-zo-(*m)-qabul-a bani?
1SM-FUT-1OM-kiss-FV 1a.who
'Who will he kiss?'

As Zeller (2012: 226) reports, however, there does not appear to be a strict correlation between OM-doubling and definite or specific readings of the OM-doubled object. So in an example like (77), while (i) is an available reading (where the doubled object is definite), in fact this construction is the preferred way to express the meaning in (ii), with an indefinite, NPI-like reading of the object.

(77) isiZulu Doubling Indefinite Object (Zeller 2012: 226)
A-ngi-zi- bon-anga i-zi-ndlovu .
NEG-1SM-10OM-see-NEG AUG-10-elephant
(i) 'I didn't see the elephants.'
(ii) 'I didn't see (any) elephants.'

As Zeller (2012: 227) states, "Constructions such as [(77)] hence show that the object marker in isiZulu is compatible with indefinite objects in certain contexts." So while OM-doubling is generally correlated with definite-like interpretations in isiZulu, it does not require a definite interpretation of the doubled object (see Zeller 2023 on the same point).

As we saw above for Setswana, OM-doubling in a simple monotransitive requires the disjoint verb form in isiZulu. So a transitive sentence without an object marker appears in the unmarked conjoint form in (78a), but when an OM appears on the verb (even with the lexical DP object still appearing postverbally) the verb must be in a disjoint form (78b).

(78) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 222)

a. Ngi-theng-a le moto. **conjoint**
1SG.SM-buy-FV 9DEM 9.car
'I'm buying this car.'

b. Ngi-*(ya)-yi- theng-a le moto . **disjoint**
1SG.SM-DJ-9OM-buy-FV 9DEM 9.car
'I'm buying (it) this car.'

The predominant proposal has been that overt postverbal objects that are object-marked on the verb are in fact dislocated from their base position, appearing outside the *v*P (van der Spuy 1993 et seq.). This explains the conjoint/disjoint facts, presuming that conjoint marking is taken to indicate that a constituent

remains inside *v*P, and disjoint marking is when *v*P contains no argument or adjunct constituents on the surface (van der Spuy 1993, Buell 2005, 2006, Halpert 2016, 2017). IsiZulu shows a lot of consistent evidence that affirms this analysis. For example, OM-doubled arguments occur to the right of manner adverbs:

(79) isiZulu (Zeller 2015: 20)

a. Si-bon-a i-n-kosi kahle.
1PL.SM-see-FV AUG-9-chief well
'We are seeing the chief well.'

b. *Si-yi- bon-a i-n-kosi kahle.
1PL.SM-9OM-see-FV AUG-9-chief well

c. *Si-bon-a kahle i-n-kosi.
1PL.SM-see-FV well AUG-9-chief

d. Si-yi- bon-a kahle i-n-kosi.
1PL.SM-9OM-see-FV well AUG-9-chief
'We are seeing him well, the chief.'

Assuming that manner adverbs adjoin at the edge of *v*P, this suggests that OM-doubled arguments move outside *v*P:

(80) . . .siyibona kahle]$_{vP}$ . . . inkosi = (79d) (Zeller 2015: 20)

Double object constructions show the same pattern: when the indirect object is OM-doubled, as we might expect, the indirect object DP cannot appear in its canonical position (81b), instead occurring to the right of the direct object (81c). This is consistent with a right-dislocation of OM-doubled objects.

(81) a. U-John u-nik-a a-ba-ntwana i-mali.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-give-FV AUG-2-child AUG-9.money
'John is giving the children money.'

b. *U-John u-ba- nik-a a-ba-ntwana i-mali.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-give-FV AUG-2-child AUG-9.money

c. U-John u-ba- nik-a i-mali a-ba-ntwana.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-give-FV AUG-9.money AUG-2-child
'John is giving the children money.'

Another diagnostic comes from the properties of focused phrases in isiZulu. It is well-established that focused phrases in isiZulu must appear *v*P-internally. This is shown for exclusive focus with *kuphela* 'only' in (82) and for *wh*-elements (assumed to be inherently focused) in (83).

(82) isiZulu (Zeller 2015: 20)

a. Ku-fik-e u-Sipho kuphela.
17.EXPL-arrive-PST AUG-1a.Sipho only
'Only Sipho arrived.'

b. *U-Sipho kuphela u-fik-ile.
AUG-1a.Sipho only 1SM-arrive-PST

(83) isiZulu (Zeller 2015: 20)

a. Ku-sebenz-e bani?
17.EXPL-work-PST 1a.who
'Who worked?'

b. *U-bani u-sebenz-ile?
AUG-1a.who 1.SM-work-PST

If it is true that OM-doubled phrases must be outside *v*P, it is predicted that OM-doubling of focused phrases would be impossible: the examples in (84) and (85) show that this prediction is upheld.

(84) isiZulu (Buell 2008: (6))

a. Ngi-bon-e **u-Sipho** **kuphela**.]$_{vP}$
1SM-see-PST AUG-1a.Sipho only
'I saw only Sipho.'

b. *Ngi-m- bon-ile]$_{vP}$ **u-Sipho** **kuphela** .
1SM-1OM-see-PST AUG-1a.Sipho only

(85) isiZulu (Buell 2008: (5))

a. U-cul-e **i-phi** **i-n-goma**?]$_{vP}$
2SM-sing-PST 9-which AUG-9-song
'Which song did you sing?'

b. *U-yi- cul-ile]$_{vP}$ **i-phi** **i-n-goma** ?
2SM-9OM-sing-PST 9-which AUG-9-song

Zeller (2015) argues that the appropriate analysis of these patterns is that object markers arise via an agreement relation with a functional head at the edge of *v*P, which triggers movement of the relevant object to a right-facing specifier of the functional projection. Figure 2.3 sketches this analysis.

Zeller (2015) argues that the relevant feature triggering this Agree relation is an A′-feature related to the discourse status of objects that undergo this short right-dislocation. Zeller proposes that it is an *anti-focus* feature that accomplishes this

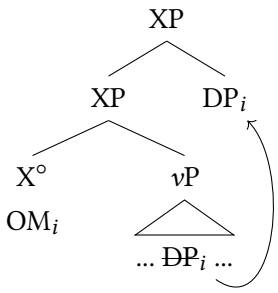


Figure 2.3: Zeller's (2015: (65)) analysis of isiZulu object marking

in the syntax. This explains, among other things, why isiZulu object marking is 'symmetrical' (i.e. either object of a ditransitive can be object-marked): the anti-focus Probe does not necessarily find the closest DP, but instead finds the closest anti-focus-marked DP.

(86) isiZulu (Zeller 2015: 23)

a. Ngi-m- theng-el-a u-bisi u-Sipho . **conjoint**
1SG-1OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-11.milk AUG-1a.Sipho
'I'm buying him milk, Sipho.'

b. *?Ngi-m- theng-el-a u-Sipho u-bisi. **conjoint**
1SG-1OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-1a.Sipho AUG-11.milk

c. Ngi-lu- theng-el-a u-Sipho u-bisi . **conjoint**
1SG-11OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-1a.Sipho AUG-11.milk
'I'm buying it for Sipho, the milk.'

The pattern in (86a) and (86b) is what is expected based on the discussion that preceded: if object marking is connected with a (short) right-dislocation, we expect an object-marked indirect object to appear to the right of other objects that remain in vP. Notice in all of the examples in (86) the verb appears in the conjoint form: in each of these instances, only one object is dislocated, and therefore one remains inside vP, requiring a conjoint form (on the empirical analysis discussed above, that the isiZulu conjoint/disjoint distinction tracks whether there is surface content inside vP).

Zeller's (2014, 2015) proposal that isiZulu object marking is derived via an A′-probe finds further support in the properties of relative clauses. Specifically, Zeller (2014) shows that Bantu languages appear to have three kinds of patterns

with respect to object marking inside object relative clauses: languages that disallow object marking in those contexts, languages that optionally allow it, and languages that obligatorily require object marking of the extracted object in an object relative clause. IsiZulu is the third type of language, as illustrated in (87).

(87) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 220)
I-kati [u-m-fana a-*(li-)theng-il-e] li-ya-gul-a.
AUG-5.cat AUG-1-boy REL.1SM-5OM-buy-DJ-PST 5SM-DJ-be.sick-FV
'The cat which the boy bought is ill.'

This is consistent with Zeller's analysis of OM-doubling constructions: the A′-probe that generates object marking is also central to A′-extracting objects in other contexts.

An intriguing pattern emerges from similar ditransitives, however, which will have interesting intersections with our findings for Lubukusu. Whereas the examples of object marking in ditransitives (86) above show the verb retains a conjoint form (presumably because the non-object-marked object remains inside the *v*P), it is also possible for the verb to appear in a disjoint form in similar sentences:

(88) isiZulu (Zeller 2015: 23)
a. Ngi-**ya**-m- theng-el-a u-Sipho u-bisi. **disjoint**
1SG.SM-DJ-1OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-1a.Sipho AUG-11.milk
'I AM buying milk for Sipho.'
b. Ngi-**ya**-m- theng-el-a u-bisi u-Sipho. **disjoint**
1SG.SM-DJ-1OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-11.milk AUG-1a.Sipho
'I AM buying milk for Sipho.'

The examples above both use the disjoint morpheme, showing that the *v*P is empty, and therefore both objects have vacated the *v*P. As mentioned above, Zeller (2015, 2014) proposes that isiZulu OMs result from agreement on a functional head above *v*P. Anti-focus features probe from X and find an anti-focus object. The agreed-with object raises to a right-facing Spec,XP, arising at the right-edge of the *v*P. If the *v*P does not have additional content, a disjoint form appears on the verb.

In constructions like (88a), however, the RECIPIENT undergoes this object marking process, but the THEME is also unfocused and cannot remain inside *v*P (a focus domain in isiZulu) and therefore is right-dislocated. Zeller terms these *double right dislocation* constructions (DRD) and notes:

> As indicated by the translations, constructions such as [(88a)] are typically interpreted as expressing verum (polarity) focus, an interpretation that is not available for [other] right dislocation constructions. Other interpretations occasionally reported by speakers are narrow verb focus, or habituality of the activity expressed by the verb. All these interpretations fall under the category 'auxiliary focus' discussed in Hyman and Watters (1984), which is defined as focus 'placed on any of the semantic parameters which serve as operators on propositions: tense, aspect, mood, polarity.' (Zeller 2015: 23, fn8)

Zeller goes on to comment in a later footnote,

> [T]he obligatory dislocation of all non-focused material in DRD-constructions specifically may be a consequence of the auxiliary focus interpretation typically associated with these constructions ... Interestingly, Hyman & Watters (1984) show that in the Bantu language Kirundi, auxiliary focus is expressed by the disjoint form of the verb (Meeussen 1959, Ndayiragije 1999). The same may be the case in isiZulu, but recall that the choice of the disjoint form in isiZulu also depends on constituency: the disjoint form of the verb cannot be followed by *v*P-internal material ... Therefore, dislocation of all *v*P-internal material may be required in isiZulu to create the syntactic environment in which the morphological exponent of auxiliary focus is licensed." (Zeller 2015: 32, fn 14)

We note this pattern specifically because it has interesting parallels to relevant Lubukusu patterns. Recall that in Aghem, the only time that the IAV position may be empty is when there is a verum-like predicate focus reading of the sentence. We saw that Kinyarwanda disjoint marking is linked with a similar kind of reading. And here in isiZulu we see that a disjoint form (suggesting an empty *v*P) is linked with a verum-like reading of a ditransitive construction as well. This is notable because the main empirical contribution of Sikuku et al. (2018) was to show that OM-doubling in Lubukusu is possible in verum-like contexts, and not in neutral discourse contexts.

As noted by Zeller (2015: 32, fn 14), as quoted above, this kind of emphatic reading of sentences is in fact a quite common occurrence across Bantu languages, linked with an empty verb phrase (and disjoint morphology on the verb). Güldemann (2003) aggregates the collective properties of conjoint and disjoint morphology in Table 2.2 (modified for our purposes here). Similar patterns are documented more recently by Kerr & van der Wal (2023) and Bloom Ström & Zeller (2023), connecting verum-like readings both to object marking but also to other grammatical constructions as well.

Table 2.2: Cross-linguistic properties of conjoint vs disjoint (and similar constructions) (adapted from Güldemann 2003: 328)

	Disjoint Verb Form	Conjoint Verb Form
Postverbal constituent:	optional	obligatory
Verb position:	can be the only constituent and clause-final	not the only constituent, not clause-final
Postverbal material:	discourse-old	discourse-new, asserted
Complement is:	anaphoric, definite, generic	indefinite
Object marking is:	possible	impossible
Emphasis on:	positive truth value (verum)	postverbal constituent
focus pattern:	Predicate within the scope of focus, complement/adjunct extrafocal	Complement/adjunct within the scope of focus, predicate extrafocal

2.3.3 Information structure and object marking outside Bantu

As we noted in Chapter 1, in our own previous work on Lubukusu we demonstrated that OM-doubling was largely unavailable except in verum focus contexts (e.g. emphatic *do* contexts in English, *Maya DID eat my rice!*). We will see these data again throughout this volume.

Outside of Bantu languages, while there are occasional references to 'emphatic' interpretations resulting from OM-doubling, most of the relevant work is on information structural effects of clitic doubling, object agreement, and differential object marking. A prominent thread of work is on so-called *secondary topic* constructions (Nikolaeva 2001). Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011) discuss a broad range of constructions crosslinguistically that are utilized for topicalizing objects, wherein object agreement constructions feature prominently. They refer to this as a secondary topic as in most instances the primary topic role is still fulfilled by the subject of the sentence, as is canonical.

For example, in Tundra Nenets (a Uralic language spoken in Russia), object agreement cannot be used when an object is focused. So to answer any of the questions in (89), the non-object-agreeing verbal form must be used in (89d), and using the object-agreeing form is unacceptable.

(89) Tundra Nenets (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011: 128)

a. What happened?

b. What did a/the man do?

c. What did a/the man kill?

d. xasawa ti-m xada^{o} / *xada^{o}da
man reindeer-ACC kill.3SG.SBJV kill.OBJ.3SG.SBJV
'A/the man killed a/the reindeer.'

In contrast, when the object is put in a context where it is no longer in the focal domain and is topical, object agreement becomes acceptable. In contexts that invoke predicate focus (90) or focus on some other sentential component like a locative phrase (91), object agreement becomes fully natural, as the objects triggering the agreement are now discourse-familiar.

(90) Tundra Nenets (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011: 128)

a. What did a/the man do to the/a reindeer?

b. xasawa ti-m xada^{o}da / xada^{o}
man reindeer-ACC kill.OBJ.3SG.SBJV kill.3SG.SBJV
'A/the man killed a/the reindeer.'

c. xada^{o}da
kill.OBJ.3SG.SBJV
'He killed it.'

(91) Tundra Nenets (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011: 129)

a. Where did John hit Peter?

b. Wanya Pyetya-m pedara-x$^{\circ}$na ladə^{o}da / *ladə^{o}
John Peter-ACC forest-LOC hit.OBJ.3SG.SBJV hit.3SG.SBJV
'John hit Peter in the forest.'

This is a pattern that we will see recurring for Lubukusu: instances where focus/emphasis on some other element in a sentence licenses object marking of an object. This fits with the notion of object agreement being topical if it is also necessarily linked with focal requirements. Nikolaeva (2001) and Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011) report similar patterns for Ostyak (another Uralic language), and as we discuss in §4.6, Kalluli (2001, 2008, 2016) shows similar kinds of focal requirements for clitic doubling constructions in Greek and Albanian. These patterns are not identical: as we will see, in Lubukusu this focal emphasis must lie specifically within the verb phrase, which does not seem to be the case for these other languages. And, as we have noted throughout, Lubukusu OM-doubling is not reducible to topic/focus, but instead is an emphatic focus construction that includes an additional layer of meaning.

Overall, there is a fairly robust (and growing) link in the literature between differential object marking constructions and information structure (whether object agreement, object marking, clitic doubling, or differences marking the nominal objects themselves) (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011, Bárány 2023, van der Wal 2022). In addition to ones we have noted here, there are also similar patterns (of object agreement being associated with object topicality outside of Bantu languages) reported in a range of other languages: Itelmen (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2002), Tabassaran (Kibrik & Seleznev 1980, as discussed in Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011), Ostyak (Nikolaeva 2001, Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011), and Tigrinya (Kifle 2007, 2011).

2.3.4 Relevant takeaways re: grammatical information structure

The discussions above show that integration of focus and other aspects of information structure with core syntactic structures and operations is common within Bantu languages. Aghem has a focus position that usually must be filled, but is necessarily empty in a construction bearing verum-like predicate focus. Conjoint/disjoint morphology often tracks the content of *v*P (conjoint = *v*P material, disjoint = empty *v*P). Furthermore, it is common crosslinguistically for disjoint constructions to be associated with predicate focus. We see this kind of pattern arising in isiZulu double right-dislocation constructions, where both objects have vacated *v*P: these constructions necessarily have a verum-like predicate focus reading.

In Bantu languages and in other languages showing the so-called 'secondary topic' properties of differential object marking, there are robust intersections between object marking patterns and information structure. We discussed two substantially relevant case studies from Manyika Shona and isiZulu above. As we will discuss in this volume, Lubukusu OM-doubling is not identical to any pattern of grammaticized information structure that we have noted here (object marking or otherwise), but it shows analogs of many of the patterns we have summarized here.[16] Specifically, there are strong connections with the conjoint/disjoint systems. As we will see, Lubukusu also appears to have a focus domain that is roughly parallel to the *v*P, which becomes evident in OM-doubling constructions (cf. chapter 4). Likewise, we will show that OM-doubling is connected with not only a discourse-given reading of the doubled object, but also with an

[16] As we have mentioned, this work on Lubukusu inspired parallel work in other Luhya languages and other Bantu languages, so we do now know that these Lubukusu patterns are replicated in a number of other languages: see Liu (2022), Kuzmik (2022), Langa da Câmara et al. (2024), Lippard et al. (2023), Diercks (2026), and Letsholo et al. (2024).

emphatic focus interpretation of some other entity in the verb phrase (or the verb phrase itself). Chapter 4 discusses the givenness and focus properties of OM-doubling constructions, and Chapter 7 discusses the emphatic readings.

That said, Lubukusu has no overt conjoint/disjoint marking (at least, not that we have discovered yet).[17] And many of these *v*P-oriented focal effects generally only seem to emerge in OM-doubling contexts. In isiZulu, for example, there are certainly intersections with object marking but object marking and conjoint/disjoint appear to be separate systems. That's not clearly the case in Lubukusu. In addition, there is no clear evidence within Lubukusu of object-marked elements leaving the focal domain (Chapter 5); this is in contrast with isiZulu, where the aggregated evidence for OM-doubled objects leaving the verb phrase is rather compelling.

So as we can see, then, patterns of information structure in word order, agreement patterns, and conjoint/disjoint distinctions across Bantu languages are deeply instructive to us in our work on Lubukusu. That said, the patterns we will see are non-identical and will require a different analysis than we have previously seen advanced for related languages.

[17] Lubukusu does have a melodic high tone deletion process on verbs that happens in almost all contexts where the verb is followed by another constituent, except the clause-final negation morpheme, which is known to be structurally high (Michael Marlo, pc). The results of the investigation in this volume would suggest that this melodic high deletion may occur specifically in "conjoint contexts," but this needs to be investigated in a specific range of new diagnostic contexts based on the findings in this volume. Either way, it is certainly clear that there is no analytically transparent morphology (e.g. a discrete segmental morpheme) that marks conjoint/disjoint contexts in Lubukusu. The tonal patterns are quite complex and are still under investigation.

3 Introducing relevant aspects of Lubukusu

Lubukusu is a Bantu language of the Luhya subgroup, spoken in a variety of areas in western Kenya. Luhya (also written Luyia) is a subgroup of Bantu languages that Lewis et al. (2016) treated as a 'macrolanguage,' that is, a group of languages that are mutually intelligible to varying degrees (also at times referred to as a dialect continuum).[1] As is familiar among Narrow Bantu languages, objects in Lubukusu can take a pronominal-like anaphoric form that appears within the verbal form, after tense and subject agreement (among other prefixes) but preceding the verb stem.

(1) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 360)

a. *náβóna wekesa*
N-a-bon-a Wekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1.Wekesa
'I saw Wekesa.'

b. *námúβona*
N-a-(mu-) bon-a.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV
'I saw him.' (licit in a context where Wekesa is salient in the discourse)

3.1 Relevant Lubukusu morphological patterns

The morphological structure of the verbal form in Lubukusu is similar to what appears in many narrow Bantu languages (see Meeussen 1967). Canonically the first morpheme on a verbal form is the subject marker (i.e. subject agreement),

[1] Marlo (2009) estimated that in Western Kenya and Eastern Uganda there are 23 different language varieties within the Luhya group. The 2009 Kenyan census reported an ethnic Luhya population of 1,433,000. To our knowledge the actual number of Lubukusu speakers is unknown, with no recent survey or report. Maho (2008) classified Lubukusu as JE31c in their update of Guthrie's (1948) original classification system for Bantu languages.

followed by tense/aspect morphology, followed by the object marker.[2] The morphosyntax of the object marker, of course, is the target of study of this volume.

(2) Lubukusu verbal form (initial schematic)
SM-TNS-OM-verb.root-EXT-FV

After the verb root, various derivational morphemes may appear, often referred to as verbal extensions. These tend to be valence-changing morphology (e.g. causatives, applicatives, reciprocals, passives). Select aspectual morphology can also appear as verbal suffixes (typically, habitual/imperfective and perfective cross-linguistically). -FV represents what researchers of Bantu languages refer to as the 'final vowel,' which is obligatory and can encode some aspects of tense/aspect and mood (the final vowel in Lubukusu for indicatives is *-a*, but for subjunctives is *-e*). In Lubukusu and a variety of other Bantu languages, selected tense and aspect morphology occurs around the final vowel slot too, including (at times) modification of the final vowel.

There is additional morphology that appears on the verbal form as well: negation is marked either preceding the subject marker (for declarative negation) or after the subject marker (in extraction contexts and dependent clauses[3]), and certain locative particles and discourse particles can appear as verbal enclitics following the final vowel. Negation typically appears in one of the two places it is marked in the schematic in (3).

(3) Lubukusu verbal form (more complete schematic)
NEG-SM-NEG-TNS-OM-verb.root-EXT-FV-LOC

For the most part, we make an effort to keep tense/aspect/mood properties of clauses simple and stable across examples in order to simplify the reader's parsing of glossing and interpretations. These core schematics capture most of the verbal morphology that will appear throughout this volume, both for Lubukusu and for the other languages we discuss.

Another key morphological property of Bantu languages that is necessary to understand the data that follow is that verbal inflection (as well as inflection on other functional elements in the clause) bears features for noun class. Here again we illustrate with Lubukusu, which has a robust noun class system wherein

[2] Complex systems of tone-marking accompany most tense/aspect morphology; we largely find these patterns to be peripheral to our concerns here, and therefore set aside the issue of tone for the most part.

[3] Certain declaratives in the perfective can also have this secondary negation, such as *Wekesa a-kha-tim-a ta* 'Wekesa has (not yet) run.'

Table 3.1: Lubukusu Noun Classes (Mutonyi 2000: 6)

Class	Pre-Prefix	Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	o-	mu-	ómukhasi	‘woman’
2	ba-	ba-	babaana	‘children
3	ku-	mu-	kúmukhono	‘arm/hand’
4	ki-	mi-	kímikhono	‘arms/hands’
5	li-	li-	lilyaanda	‘ember’
6	ka-	ma-	kamaanda	‘embers’
7	si-	si-	sisyaangu	‘sponge’
8	bi-	bi-	bibyaangu	‘sponges’
9	e-	N-	eendubi	‘basket’
10	chi-	N-	chiindubi	‘baskets’
11	lu-	lu-	lúlwiika	‘horn’
12 (Diminutive)	kha-	kha-	khákhaana	‘small child’
14	bu-	bu-	búbwíino	‘ink’
15	khu-	khu-	khukhwaanja	‘to begin’
16 (‘at’)	a-		amulyaango	‘at/near the door’
16a (‘towards’)	sya-		syamulyaango	‘towards the door’
17 (‘on’)	khu-		khumulyaango	‘on the door’
18 (‘in’)	mu-		mumulyaango	‘in the door’
20 (Augmentative)	ku-	ku-	kúkwaana	‘big child’
(4) (Augmentative)	ki-	mi-	kímyaana	‘big children’
23 (‘in the vicinity of’)	e-		énaaróbi	‘at Nairobi’

Table 3.2: Lubukusu Object Marker Morphology (Mutonyi 2000: 40)

Class	Object Marker	Example	Gloss
1st sg	N-	balá**am**bukúlá	'they'll take me.'
1st pl	khu-	balá**khu**bukúlá	'they'll take us.'
2nd sg	khu-	balá**khu**bukúlá	'they'll take you (sg).'
2nd pl	mu-	balá**mu**bukúlá	'they'll take you (pl).'
1	mu-	balá**mu**bukúlá	'they'll take her/him.'
2	ba-	balá**ba**bukúlá	'they'll take them.'
3	ku-	balá**ku**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 3).'
4	ki-	balá**ki**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 4).'
5	li-	balá**li**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 5).'
6	ka-	balá**ka**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 6).'
7	si-	balá**si**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 7).'
8	bi-	balá**bi**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 8).'
9	ki-	balá**ki**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 9).'
10	chi-	balá**chi**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 10).'
11	lu-	balá**lu**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 11).'
12	kha-	balá**kha**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 12).'
14	bu-	balá**bu**bukúlá	'they'll take it (cl 14).'

all nominals are specified for some noun class and trigger agreement in that noun class on a variety of functional categories within a clause. Noun classes are lexically specified for the most part, though some classes allow for derivations of nominals in a new noun class from its lexical noun class (e.g. locatives, augmentatives, dimunitives). Table 3.1 gives Mutonyi's (2000) noun class chart for Lubukusu (modified only to match the orthographic system we use in this volume).[4] Following the Bantuist tradition, we gloss these classes in sequential cardinal numbers, with groupings of singular and plural consisting of each odd number (singular) paired with the immediately ascendant even number (plural of the same class). So class 2 is the plural of class 1, class 4 is the plural of class 3,

[4]Recent work from the first author has also identified a class 21, which is pejorative and augmentative. So *omuseecha* 'man' becomes *liseecha* 'big useless man.'

etc. It is quite common for Bantu languages to have two morphemes on nominals marking noun class, and Lubukusu shares this property: the one closest to the nominal root is usually called the *(noun class) prefix* with the affix preceding that called the *initial vowel* (in some languages), the *augment*, or the *pre-prefix*.

In Lubukusu, as in most Narrow Bantu languages, many different functional elements in a clause inflect to match nominals in noun class. This includes elements as diverse as subject markers on verbs, complementizers, demonstratives, quantifiers, and even manner adverbials (just to name a few). Likewise, object markers share a noun class with their discourse antecedent. Table 3.2 shows the forms that pre-stem object markers take in Lubukusu; locative objects are generally marked distinctly as postverbal enclitics, as discussed in §3.3. An initial example appears in (6) below.

3.1.1 OMs cannot co-occur with a single *in situ* lexical object

Initial evidence suggests that OMs cannot double (co-occur with) *in situ* objects in neutral pragmatic contexts. We see this pattern in (4a)-(4c).

(4) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 366)

a. N-á-ba-bon-a (#baa-soomi).
1SG.SM-PST-2OM-see-FV (2.2-students)
'I saw them.' (not 'I saw the students.')

b. N-á-mu-bon-a (#paapá).
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV (1father)
'I saw him.' (not 'I saw father.')

c. N-á-ka-bon-a (#ká-ma-baale).
1SG.SM-PST-6OM-see-FV (6-6-stones)
'I saw them' (not 'I saw the stones.')

As noted by Riedel (2009), there are differences across languages about how DPs of different animacy or social importance may be differentially object marked. We illustrate with different kinds of objects along this cline in (4a)-(4c) to illustrate that these factors (to our knowledge) do not affect the viability of doubling in Lubukusu.[5]

All instances that we have encountered, OM-doubling an unmodified monotransitive object is unacceptable in neutral discourse contexts.[6] The restriction

[5] As we noted in Sikuku et al. (2018), OM-doubling is in fact the default construction when a free object pronoun is used: see §9.4.

[6] As we discuss throughout this volume, the inclusion of additional material in the verb phrase makes additional emphatic readings possible.

against the kind of doubling shown in (4a)-(4c) is so strong that many speakers cannot accommodate these examples by instinctively constructing a distinct discourse context. In fact, for quite a while we ourselves thought examples like these were strictly ungrammatical because of the degree of their unacceptability (barring additional context). If anything, despite annotating these as '#' (given that their most appropriate description is that they are infelicitous barring additional context), this somewhat undersells their unacceptability: most speakers we have encountered will outright reject examples like these as impossible until discourse contexts are introduced that make them viable (even native speaker linguists themselves). Sentences we mark with # are deeply unacceptable without appropriate context.

3.2 A single (symmetrical) OM

What appears to be a relatively strict constraint in Lubukusu (and in many Luhya varieties we have looked at in this regard) is that only a single OM can appear on the verb: attempts to overtly mark two objects on the verb form elicit strong intuitions of unacceptability from speakers.

(5) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 402)

a. Wéékésá k-á-teekh-el-a náánjálá by-ákhúlya.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-cook-APPL-FV 1Nanjala 8-food
'Wekesa cooked Nanjala food.'

b. *Wéékésá k-á-bi- mu- teekh-el-a.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-8OM-1OM-cook-APPL-FV
Intended: 'Wekesa cooked her it.'

c. **Wéékésá k-á-mu- bi- teekh-el-a.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-1OM-8OM-cook-APPL-FV
Intended: 'Wekesa cooked her it.'

As (5b) and (5c) show, the relative order of two OMs on the verb is irrelevant, it is always ungrammatical to object-mark two (or more) objects with pre-stem OMs. The only potential exception that we have found to this generalization is with locative objects: two objects can be 'pronominalized' (in the pre-theoretic sense) via verbal morphology as long as one of them is a locative, in which case it is represented via a locative enclitic.

(6) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 405)

N-á-mw- eekesy-á-mo .
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-show-FV-18LOC
'I showed him the inside of there.'

§3.3 describes the properties of the locative enclitic in more detail.

The same verb cannot occur with two pre-stem OMs. But it is grammatical to object-mark either argument of a distransitive verb, as (7b) and (7c) illustrate. This property has been referred to as object 'symmetry' in the literature (cf. chapter 8 for discussion).

(7) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 406)
a. N-á-a wéékésá síi-tabu.
1SG.SM-PST-give.FV 1.Wekesa 7.7-book
'I gave Wekesa the book.'
b. N-á-mu- a síi-tabu.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give.FV 7.7-book
'I gave him the book.'
c. N-á-si- a Wekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-7OM-give.FV 1.Wekesa
'I gave it to Wekesa'

Despite the so-called symmetry of object marking shown in (7) for the lexical verb *-a* 'give,' it is still impossible to represent both objects as OMs on the verb:

(8) a. *N-á-mu- si- a.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-7OM-give.FV
b. *N-á-si- mu- a.
1SG.SM-PST-7OM-1OM-give.FV

In general, if speakers want to anaphorically refer to two objects, the structurally higher object is represented as a pre-stem object marker and the other simply undergoes null object drop, as shown in (9).

(9) N-á-mu- a $pro_{class.7}$.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give.FV
'I gave [it] to him.'

Another potential exception to the single-OM generalization is reflexive markers (RFMs), if reflexive markers were to be considered object markers: we discuss RFMs in §3.6 below.

3.3 Locative enclitics and their properties

As is common for Narrow Bantu languages, certain noun classes allow derivation from lexical nouns in distinct noun classes. For example, a noun from another class may be placed into class 12 in Lubukusu to form a diminutive (*o-mw-aana* '1-1-child' becomes *kha-kha-ana* 12-12-child 'small child'). Almost all locative noun phrases are formed in this way, with a nominal from some distinct class being placed into class 16, 17, 18, or 23. (10) shows that locative nominals are created from non-locative nominals by replacing the lexical pre-prefix on a nominal with a locative class pre-prefix.

(10) Locative DPs in Lubukusu (Mutonyi 2000: 25-27)

a. ku-mu-saala
3-3-tree
'tree'

b. a-mu-saala
16-3-tree
'near the tree'

c. khu-mu-saala
17-3-tree
'on the tree'

d. mu-mu-saala
18-3-tree
'in the tree'

Locative nominals in Lubukusu are referred to in discourse-anaphoric contexts in a distinct way from objects from other noun classes; rather than appearing as pre-stem prefixes on the verb, they instead appear as postverbal enclitics.

(11) Lubukusu (Diercks 2011a: 69-70, transcription added)
βáásóórééríí ‖ *xéβáéɲdʒá tʃíˈndémú músíkúúri* ‖ *βátʃíípóˈólámo*
Ba-a-soreeri khe-ba-enja chi-n-demu mu-si-kuuri ...
2-2-boy PROG-2SM-look.for 10-10-snakes 18-7-field
ba-a-chi-nyola-mo .
2SM-PST-10OM-find-18LOC
'The boys are looking for snakes in the field ... (and) they found them (in) there.'

(12) Lubukusu (Diercks 2011a: 68, transcription added)
múmúsirú ‖ kúmwíʲítí ‖ kwákwilemo
Mu-mu-siru, ku-mw-iti kw-a-kw-ile-mo .
18-3-forest 3-3-tree 3SM-PST-fall-PFV-18LOC
'In the forest a tree has fallen.'

Diercks (2011a) outlines a variety of patterns relevant to the syntax of the locative clitic in particular. What is relevant for our current purposes is that this postverbal clitic position in Lubukusu is designated solely for locatives, and cannot host agreement with objects from other noun classes:

(13) Lubukusu (adapted from Diercks 2011a: 70)
a. *ómúxasíí ‖ áíílil' ómúseetʃá wewéé ‖ βílaʲási mútʃíkóoni*
O-mu-khaasi a-a-il-il-a o-mu-seecha wewe bi-lasi
1-1-woman 1SM-PST-take-APPL-FV 1-1-husband 1.her 8-potatoes
mu-chikoni.
18-9.kitchen
'The woman took potatoes to her husband to the kitchen.'
b. *ómúxasíí ‖ ámúiililaá mútʃíkóoni*
O-mu-khaasi a-a-mu-il-il-a-(*bi/*byo) mu-chikoni.
1-1-woman 1SM-PST-1OM-take-APPL-FV-8OM 18-9.kitchen
'The woman took them to him in the kitchen.'

This is in contrast to patterns that emerge in some Bantu languages where morphemes in that position serve as secondary object markers. Take, for example, the examples below from Lunda:

(14) Lunda (Kawasha 2007: 44)
a. Mu-mbanda wu-a-sh-il-a ka-ánsi ka-báka mu-i-hébi.
1-woman 1SM-PST-put-APPL-FV 1-child 12-corn LOC-5-basket
'The woman put the corn for the child in the basket.'
b. Mu-mbanda wu-a-mu-sh-il-a-mu ka-báka.
1-woman 1SM-PST-1OM-put-APPL-FV-LOC 12-corn
'The woman put the corn for him/her in it.'
c. Mu-mbanda wu-a-mu-sh-il-a-ku mu-i-hébi.
1-woman 1SM-PST-1OM-put-APPL-FV-12OM LOC-5-basket
'The woman put it for him/her in the basket.'

Lunda allows a second (non-locative) object marker to appear as an enclitic on the verb, as (14c) shows.

And in fact, there does not appear to be a particular thematic or grammatical role associated with the locative clitic: as Sikuku et al. (2018) show, if a context can be constructed where a locative noun phrase receives a thematic role that is not canonically a location, it is still represented on the verbal form as an enclitic, not as a typical pre-stem object marker. In (15) the THEME object of *-eekesya* 'show' is often a non-location, but a location can fill that role. When it does, that THEME object (that happens to be a location) is object marked via a locative enclitic.

(15) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 405)

a. N-éekesy-a lionéeli múu-n-ju.
1SG.SM.PST-show-FV 1.Leonell 18-9-house
'I showed Leonell the inside of the house.'

b. N-éekesy-á-mó lionéeli.
1SG.SM.PST-show-FV-18LOC 1.Leonell
'I showed Leonell it/there.'

Only locatives that are verbal arguments may be marked by the locative clitic on the verb; locative adjuncts cannot be. Slightly modifying data from Diercks (2011a), we can see that the distinction between (16) and (17) illustrates this. (16) shows that the *khumesa* 'on the table' can be represented on the verb with a class 17 locative clitic.

(16) Lubukusu (adapted from Diercks 2011a: 72)

a. *wékésáá ‖ árá sítaβu xúméesa*
Wekesa a-a-r-a sii-tabu khu-mesa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-put-FV 7-book 17-9table
'Wekesa put the book on the table.'

b. *wékésáá ‖ árááxó sítaβu*
Wekesa a-a-r-a-kho sii-tabu.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-put-FV-17LOC 7-book
'Wekesa put the book there.'

In the very similar structure in (17b) in which the locative is an adjunct and not an argument, however, the locative cannot be represented on the verbal form.

(17) Lubukusu (adapted from Diercks 2011a: 73)

a. *wékésáā ‖ áandik' éé^{l}bárwá ‖ xúméesa*
Wekesa a-a-ndik-a e-barua khu-mesa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-write-FV 9-letter 17-9table
'Wekesa wrote a letter on the table.'

b. *wékésáā ‖ áandikáx' é^{l}bárwá*
Wekesa a-a-ndik-a-kho e-barua.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-write-FV-17LOC 9-letter
*'Wekesa wrote a letter (on) there.'
OK: 'John wrote a letter for a little while/at some point.'

There is an available reading of (17b), but the locative clitic is not interpreted as a discourse-anaphoric reference to a location, but rather as a partitive modifier of the event, which is homophonous with the class 17 locative clitic.[7] It *is* in fact possible to use a locative clitic in this scenario to describe the location 'on the table,' but a locative applicative construction must be used in (18), making the locative phrase an argument of the verb.

(18) Lubukusu (Diercks 2011a: 73)
wékésáā ‖ áandikíláx' éé^{l}bárwá
Wekesa a-a-ndik-il-a-kho e-barua.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-write-APPL-FV-17LOC 9-letter
'Wekesa wrote a letter (on) there.'

This further demonstrates the pattern that was evident comparing (16) and (17a): a locative clitic can only anaphorically refer to locative arguments, not locative adjuncts.

We have encountered only one instance where a non-subject can be marked twice on the verb: there is a pre-stem locative OM that only appears together with the postverbal locative clitic.

(19) a. *ómwáanăā ‖ ámúsí^{l}íŋgá^{l}mó*
O-mw-aana a-a-mu-sing-a-*(mo).
1-1-child 1SM-PST-18OM-wash-FV-18LOC
'The child washed in there.'

b. *ámwíimbilá^{l}mó*
A-a-mw-imb-il-a-*(mo).
1SM-PST-18OM-sing-APPL-FV-18LOC
'They(sg) sang in there.'

[7] See Irimia & Schneider-Zioga (2022) for work on partitive uses of Kinande class 17.

c. *ámúkóná^{l}mó*
A-a-mu-kon-a-*(mo).
1SM-PST-18OM-sleep-FV-18LOC
'They(sg) slept in there.'

d. *ámúliilá^{l}mó*
A-a-mu-l-il-a-*(mo).
1SM-PST-18OM-eat-APPL-FV-18LOC
'They(sg) ate in there.'

It is an issue for future research why the pre-stem locative OM only appears as an instance of multiple exponence with the postverbal locative clitic.[8] The contrast between using only the postverbal locative clitic and using this double-marked construction appears to be one of emphasis for Lubukusu: the double-marked construction emphasizes the location.[9]

It is possible to have a prestem locative object marker without requiring a postverbal enclitic, illustrated in (20).

(20) a. A-khu-kis-a
1SM.PST-17OM-hide-FV
'He hid the surface.'

b. A-mu-kis-a
1SM.PST-18OM-hide-FV
'He hid the inside.'

The first author's initial instinct is that certain types of verbs (like *-kisa* 'hide' here) can make an *entire* location an object of the verb, and this seems to be what facilitates marking the location with a pre-stem object marker as opposed to the postverbal locative enclitic (examples like (20) are the only ones we've identified that allow marking locatives with solely a pre-stem locative OM). Locative object marking in general requires additional research; for the most part we set these issues aside in this volume.

3.4 OMs co-occurring with DP objects

In §2.1 we discussed a broad range of research on object markers and clitics that address the phenomenon of clitic doubling, where an object clitic co-occurs with

[8] This doubly-marked locative object marking construction is possible with class 16, 17, and 18 (class 18 is illustrated in (19)). This construction is not available with class 23, to our knowledge.

[9] Locative subjects can be marked on the verb twice as well, in locative inversion constructions (Diercks 2011b, 2017).

the *in situ* lexical DP. As is well-documented, many varieties of Kiswahili require doubling of an animate object, but in all varieties that are documented, doubling requires a specific reading of the doubled object.

(21) Kiswahili (ud Deen 2006: 231)
Juma a-li-mw-on-a m-tu.
Juma 1SM-PST-1OM-see-IND 1-person
'Juma saw the person / *a person.'

This question of both the availability (or not) of clitic doubling, and its interpretation when it occurs, is very familiar to syntacticians. We refer the reader to chapter 2.1 for a discussion of the relevant patterns in other Bantu languages. In contrast to Kiswahili, OM-doubling in Lubukusu is unacceptable in discourse-neutral contexts, as the following subsections make clear.

3.4.1 OM-doubling is unacceptable in neutral contexts

As extensively documented by Sikuku et al. (2018), in neutral discourse contexts it is not possible to OM-double an *in situ* object.

(22) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 360)
a. N-á-bon-a Wekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1.Wekesa
'I saw Wekesa.'
b. N-á-(mu-) bon-a (#Wekesa). **No OM-doubling**
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV (#1.Wekesa)
'I saw him.' (*licit in a context where Wekesa is salient in the discourse*)
*'I saw Wekesa.'

(23) *námúwa kámáβeele*
N-a-(mu-) w-a (#o-mw-aana) ka-ma-beele.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 1-1-child 6-6-milk
'I gave him/her milk.'
*'I gave the child milk.'
(*doubling unacceptable without additional context*)

For our current purposes, we simply define 'neutral discourse contexts' as sentences that are either out of the blue, or where there is no explicit context provided generating an atypical information structure (e.g. topic readings, focus

readings) for the constituents of the clause. The most helpful delineation that we have found about the use of so-called 'neutral' contexts is that offered by Goldberg & Ackerman (2001: 799), which mirrors very well our use of the term: "Since every acceptable sentence evokes a certain context of use, what distinguishes sentences marked by a pound sign from those that are fully acceptable is therefore a matter of degree. The only real difference is that some contexts are more general or easily accessible than others. In the text below, we refer to contexts that are very general and easily evoked as NEUTRAL CONTEXTS, but it should be borne in mind that the idea of a neutral context is only an idealization." The distinction between neutral and non-neutral sentences will become more clear once we draw distinctions with the particular non-neutral discourse contexts where OM-doubling is licit.

3.4.2 On the position of lexical DP objects

The question emerges, of course, of how to know the precise position of the lexical DP object when it is in an attempted/apparent doubling construction. Sikuku et al. (2018) provide a variety of diagnostics (in neutral discourse contexts) arguing that instances where an OM co-occurs with a lexical DP object, the DP object is necessarily *ex situ*. This is obvious for clitic left dislocation constructions, for example, where the lexical DP object exceptionally appears at the left edge of the clause, and there is a coreferent OM on the verb.

(24) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 367)

a. N-á-siim-a Wekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-like-FV 1.Wekesa
'I like Wekesa.'

b. Wéékésá, n-á-*(mu-) síim-a.
1.Wekesa 1SG.SM-PST-1OM-like-FV
'Wekesa, I like him.'

Less obvious is what's happening in the postverbal domain, where it can be hard to determine the structural position of a constituent, absent some of the morphological cues that clarify this issue in some Bantu languages (e.g. conjoint-disjoint morphology: see §2.2.5). Sikuku et al. (2018) point to several distinctions in the position of objects that are conditional on the presence or absence of OMs, however, which directly suggest that co-occurence of the two (in neutral discourse contexts) requires the lexical object to be *ex situ*. For example, in neutral

contexts the OM can co-occur with a postverbal object, but it is obligatorily accompanied by a very noticeable prosodic break (i.e. a long pause). In (25) we mark this with a comma, showing that its absence is unacceptable.

(25) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 368)
N-á-ki- bon-a #(,) ée-m-bwa .
1SG.SM-PST-9OM-see-FV 9-9-dog
'I saw it, the dog.'

As noted in the translation in (25), the lexical DP object gets an afterthought topic reading here.

We can see a similar result in (26), imitating the kind of diagnostic used for Haya and Chichewa in §2.1. (26b) shows that when the OM is on the verb, the lexical DP object appears naturally to the right of the temporal adverbial, but keeping the object in its canonical position to the left of the adverb is unacceptable in neutral contexts, as shown in (26c).

(26) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 369)

a. N-aa-bóóne baa-soomi likolooba. **no OM**
1SG.SM-PST-see.PFV 2.2-students yesterday
'I saw the students yesterday.'

b. N-aa-ba- bóóne likolooba, baa-soomi . **OM+dislocation**
1SG.SM-PST-see.PFV yesterday 2.2-students
'I saw them yesterday, the students.'

c. #N-aa-ba- bóóne baa-soomi likolooba. **OM, no dislocation**
1SG.SM-PST-2OM-see.PFV 2.2-students yesterday

It appears, then, that in neutral contexts the OM and the *in situ* lexical DP object are in complementary distribution: that is to say, OM-doubling appears to be unacceptable. The only clear exception to this is free pronouns in object position, which are doubled by an OM on the verb (directly opposite the pattern of lexical DP objects). This is not obligatory, but a non-doubled sentence has a focused interpretation of the free pronoun object.

(27) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 411)
N-á-khu- bon' eewe .
1SG.SM-PST-2SG.OM-see you(SG)
'I saw you (sg).' (not 'I DID see you.')

This exception for pronouns in part demonstrates the clarity of the overall generalization: co-occurrence of an OM and an *in situ* lexical DP object is unacceptable in neutral discourse contexts. The OM may well co-occur in a sentence with a lexical DP object, but that object must be dislocated, whether right-dislocated or left-dislocated. Given the available analytical approaches, this is consistent with a pronominal incorporation analysis of the OM, where the OM is the thematic argument of the predicate and incorporates into the verb in the course of the syntactic derivation; this would serve to explain the complementary distribution of the OM and an *in situ* lexical object. (On this approach, the doubling of a free pronoun in (27) can be viewed as simply pronunciation of both the head and tail of the chain). We analyze these patterns in §9.4.

To complete the data description from above, we saw in (24b) that left dislocation of an object requires an OM on the verb. Right dislocation of an object is also possible with an OM on the verb (26b). Notably, right dislocation does not require an OM on the verb:[10]

(28) N-aa-boone likolooba, baa-soomi. **Dislocation without OM**
1SG.SM-PST-see.PFV yesterday 2.2-students
'I saw them yesterday, the students.'

3.5 No OMs in extractions in neutral contexts

Another prominent area of investigation of object marking is whether an object extraction construction (relative clause, cleft, question) can contain an OM that is coreferent with the extracted object. Henderson (2006) argues that whether or not OMs can occur in object relative clauses reveals whether the OM is a pronominal object (if OMs cannot occur inside a relative clause that their associated lexical DP is the head of) or an agreement morpheme (if they can/must). Similar to Henderson's line of reasoning, Zeller (2014, 2015) takes the obligatory object marking of the head of an object relative clause in isiZulu as a central fact motivating his analysis of object marking as agreement with an element that A′-moves out of the *v*P. At first blush, Lubukusu patterns like the languages that Henderson (2006) labels pronominal incorporation languages: OMs cannot be coreferent with extracted objects in neutral contexts. The examples in (29) show that an OM cannot occur in a relative clause where its associated DP is extracted.

[10] A reviewer points out that this pattern seems to be recurring across many Bantu languages: left dislocation of DP objects requires an OM on the verb; right-dislocation of object DPs does not require an OM on the verb.

(29) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 371)
Wéékésá k-á-som-a síi-tabu ní-syo n-á-(*si)-kul-a.
Wekesa 1SM-PST-read-FV 7.7-book COMP-7 1SG.SM-PST-(*7OM)-buy-FV
'Wekesa read the book which I bought.'

(30) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 371)
N-á-bon-a ó-mu-khasi ní-ye wéékésá k-á-(*mu)-siim-a.
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-woman COMP-1 1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-(*1OM)-love-FV
I saw the woman who Wekesa loves.'

Likewise, it is unacceptable to object mark an extracted object in a cleft:

(31) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 372)
a. (K-á-b-a) wéékésá ní-ye n-á-(*mu)-bon-a.
1SM-PST-be-FV 1.Wekesa COMP-1 1SG.SM-PST-(*1OM)-see-FV
'It was Wekesa who I saw.'
b. Naanu ni-ye w-á-(*mu)-bon-a?
1.who COMP-1 2SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV
'Who did you see?'

Again, on the surface this might suggest that Lubukusu is behaving like a pronominal incorporation language (for example, Letsholo 2013 takes similar facts to require a pronoun incorporation analysis of object marking in Ikalanga). That said, we will see that findings reported in the chapters that follow present significant confounds for the application of this kind of diagnostic (co-occurrence with the extraction of the object-marked object) in the way that previous researchers have done for other languages. As we will show, OM-doubling in Lubukusu requires a discourse-given interpretation of the doubled object and an emphatic focused reading of some other element in the verb phrase. Barring those, verum-focus like readings of clauses license OM-doubling. But it is quite complicated to generate those interpretive properties in the backgrounded portions of relative clauses, so for the most part we will set aside the properties of doubling inside relative clauses for future research (see Chapter 10 for a brief discussion of the relevant facts).

3.6 OMs and reflexive markers

Reflexive constructions in Lubukusu are formed in a typical manner for Bantu languages, with a reflexive marker (*i-*) appearing on the verb in the same pre-stem position that OMs occur in.

(32) Lubukusu (Sikuku 2012: (1))
wékésáá ‖ áíisíˡíímá
Wekesa a-a-i-siim-a.
Wekesa 1SM-PST-RFM-like-FV
'Wekesa likes himself.'

Reflexive markers and OMs share similarities beyond their morphological position. Somewhat similar to OMs, cooccurrence of the RFM and a lexical DP is unacceptable, though to our knowledge it is always unacceptable for RFMs (whereas this volume goes into depth about how/when doubling is acceptable for OMs).

(33) Lubukusu (Sikuku 2012: (15))
a. *sítáwáá ‖ ámútíila*
Sitawa a-a-mu-tiil-a (#o-mw-aana).
Sitawa 1SM-PST-1OM-hold-FV 1-1-child
'Sitawa held him, (the child).'
b. *sítáwáá ‖ áíítíila*
Sitawa a-a-i-tiil-a (*o-mw-aana).
1.Sitawa 1SM-PST-RFM-hold-FV 1-1-child
'Sitawa held herself (*the child).'

(34) Sitawa a-a-i-tiil-a (*Sitawa).
1.Sitawa 1SM-PST-RFM-hold-FV 1.Sitawa
'Sitawa held herself (*Sitawa).'

Both OMs and RFMs readily co-occur with pronominal elements, as noted in (35), though they appear to differ in what is the default construction: when RFMs cooccur with a reflexive pronoun (as in (35a)) there is an emphatic reading, whereas an OM doubling a free pronoun is a discourse neutral way of using a free pronoun.

(35) Lubukusu (Sikuku 2012: (16),(17))
a. *wékésáá ‖ áíisíˡím' óómwéene*
Wekesa a-a-i-siim-a o-mw-eene.
Wekesa 1SM-PST-RFM-like-FV 1-1-own
'Wekesa likes HIMSELF.' (emphatic)
b. *wékésáá ‖ áˡmúsíima níye*
Wekesa a-a-mu-siim-a ni-ye.
Wekesa 1SM-PST-1OM-like-FV 3SG-1
'Wekesa likes them (sg).' (non-emphatic)

It is not obvious whether or not RFMs ought to be considered OMs themselves. They do share many properties, but at least one point of departure is that RFMs can co-occur with another pre-stem OM, whereas that is not possible for OMs more broadly.

(36) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 404)

a. *Wekesa k-a-mu-ba-siim-isy-a.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-1OM-2OM-like-CAUS-FV
'Wekesa made him like them.'

b. *wékésáá ‖ ámwíisíimisja*
Wekesa k-a-mw-ii-siim-isy-a.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-1OM-RFM-like-CAUS-FV
'Wekesa$_i$ made him$_k$ like himself$_k$.'

Another similar exception that occurs in many Bantu languages is with the first singular object marker, which can exceptionally appear together with another OM in many languages, but Lubukusu lacks this pattern (Marlo 2014: 13).

The reflexive marker, like anaphors crosslinguistically, comes with a large amount of detailed complexity that deserves its own volume. This small section here is only to note the connections between the two: the interested reader should consult Sikuku (2012), Safir & Sikuku (2011), and Baker et al. (2013).

3.7 Intermediate conclusions on Lubukusu object marking

In many ways, object marking in Lubukusu behaves the way we would expect if Lubukusu was a pronoun incorporation language: we see multiple instances above where it is unacceptable to have an OM on the verb co-occur with its associated lexical DP object in its *in situ* position. The only instances where we see the OM and the object naturally co-occur are if the lexical DP object was clearly dislocated, outside adverbials and following a clear prosodic break. And the OM is unacceptable when coreferent with an extracted object in an object cleft or relative clause: this is again expected if the OM is a pronominal element, as an extraction gap should rule out the occurrence of a pronoun (unless the language independently has resumption; Lubukusu does not use overt resumptive pronouns in A′-extraction).

However, this is a wholly incomplete picture of object marking and OM-doubling in Lubukusu, as the rest of this volume will lay out. As we will see in the chapters that follow, there are a diverse array of morphosyntactic, semantic, and discourse

contexts that can license OM-doubling quite naturally. But the patterns reported above here are also centrally relevant, because part of the puzzle of Lubukusu object marking is to explain why OM-doubling requires detailed pragmatic contexts to be licit when non-doubling OMs appear to have straightforward pronominal functions.

3.8 Monotransitive OM-doubling (Sikuku et al. 2018)

This section largely reports the results of Sikuku et al. (2018), in a highly summarized fashion. It also sets forward the foundational observation about Lubukusu OM-doubling: the distribution of OM-doubling is almost entirely governed by pragmatic conditions. This section focuses on doubling in monotransitive environments, where a common facilitator of OM-doubling are the kinds of discourse contexts that license verum focus in English and related languages.

3.8.1 Doubling simple monotransitives with verum focus

OMs may co-occur with lexical DP objects in neutral contexts in the event that the lexical object is right- or left-dislocated. Neutral contexts do not allow for OMs and *in situ* objects to co-occur, however. That said, similar syntactic configurations also allow for OM-doubling as long as the pragmatic context is appropriate.[11] The conditions that speakers most regularly identify as licensing OM-doubling (in simple monotransitives) are when the proposition in question is being doubted by somebody in the conversation, and the speaker is attempting to settle an issue under debate, to give the final word: these very naturally occur in an argument, for example. As Sikuku et al. (2018) show, a viable generalization regarding this interpretive effect is that OM-doubling may occur in environments that license verum focus, resulting in a similar interpretation as that evoked by so-called emphatic *do* in English (e.g. *Charlie DID eat my sandwich!*). So, the examples that were unacceptable/infelicitous above are licit in the case that somebody is doubting the speaker, and the speaker wants to confirm that they are certain that this event did happen.[12] Notably, in examples like (37)

[11] The relevant syntactic contexts here are simple monotransitives with minimal verb phrase content: verb phrase content, including modifiers, plays a role in facilitating doubling. See §4.2 and §4.1 below for more details.

[12] We will see in Chapter 7 that there are additional contexts where this emphatic interpretation may occur that do not license verum in English, suggesting a superseding analysis that includes verum readings but is not limited to them. We continue to report the verum contexts here for two reasons: 1) they are an important licensing condition for OM-doubling, and 2) Sikuku et al.

there is no prosodic break between the verb and the object, and an array of other diagnostics suggest that the doubled object is *in situ* inside the verb phrase (see §5.6 for details, also see Sikuku et al. 2018).

(37) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 366)
Context: I told you that I saw the students, but you doubt me, saying that you don't believe that I did. I can respond:
N-á-ba- bon-a baa-soomi .
1SG.SM-REM-2OM-see-FV 2.2-students
'I DID see the students!'

Therefore OM-doubling *is* possible in Lubukusu, but is pragmatically constrained. A large portion of Sikuku et al.'s (2018) work is devoted to outlining the range of pragmatic constraints on this verum-like pattern, and providing an analysis. We briefly outline some of the relevant evidence here, but refer the interested reader to that paper for a more detailed, systematic empirical argument. As shown in (38), a response to a yes/no question is insufficient to facilitate OM-doubling:

(38) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 382)
Q: W-aa-l-íile búu-suma?
2SG.SM-PST-eat-PFV 14.14-ugali
'Did you eat ugali?'
A1: N-aa-l-íile búu-suma.
1SG.SM-PST-eat-PFV 14.14-ugali
'I ate ugali.'
A2: #N-aa-bu- l-íile búu-suma .
1SG.SM-PST-14OM-eat-PFV 14.14-ugali
'I DID eat ugali.'

Answers like A2 tend to be interpreted by speakers as suspicious, as if the speaker is protesting too much and they must be concealing something (much as is the case for English emphatic *do* in the same context). In contrast, if the proposition is treated as familiar but in question/under debate, OM-doubling *is* a licit response:

(39) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 378-379)

(2018) center their analysis on verum particularly, so it is valuable to understand the previous work on the issue (as the extended contexts discussed in this volume had not been uncovered at that time).

a. Lionéeli a-l-iilé kú-mú-chéele kwéeli?
1Leonell 1SM-eat-PFV 3-3-rice really
'Did Lionell really eat the rice?'

b. Lionéeli a-kú- l-iile kú-mú-chéele.
1Leonell 1SM-3OM-eat-PFV 3-3-rice
'Lionell DID eat the rice.'

It is not necessary that OM-doubling arises in a context of doubt, or in an argument; rather, any discourse context that is consistent with a speaker providing confirmation or adding certainty to a discourse-established proposition allows for OM-doubling:

(40) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 383)

A: Wéékésá se-k-aa-nyw-ééle ká-ma-lwá tá.
1.Wekesa NEG-1SM-PST-drink-PFV 6-6-beer NEG
'Wekesa didn't drink the beer.'

B: Yée, wéékésá se-k-aa-ká- nyw-ééle ká-ma-lwá tá.
yes, 1.Wekesa NEG-1SM-PST-6OM-drink-PFV 6-6-beer NEG
(In agreement) 'Yes, Wekesa DIDN'T drink the beer.'

Building on a diagnostic from Gutzmann & Castroviejo Miró (2011: 153), Sikuku et al. (2018: 391) show that the speaker-certainty portion of the meaning of verum constructions ought to be considered non-propositional, i.e. not part of the asserted meaning of the sentence. As (41) shows, while it is possible to deny the propositional content of an OM-doubled sentence in the response from Speaker B, it is not possible to deny Speaker's A certainty.

(41) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 391)

A: Wéékésá k-á-si- sóm-a síi-tabu!
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-7OM-read-FV 7.7-book
'Wekesa DID read the book!' (in an appropriate context)

B: Se-bú-lí búú-ŋálí tá!
NEG-14s-be 14-14-truth NEG
'That's not true!'

- OK: It's not true that Wekesa read the book.
- #It's not true that you are certain of that.

Sikuku et al. (2018) argue that this is evidence for a non-propositional meaning of OM-doubling, ultimately arguing for an Emphasis head on which the Agree relation arises that results in OM-doubling. Gutzmann & Castroviejo Miró (2011: 159ff) describe verum as "an instruction of the speaker, who wants to downdate ?p [a questioned proposition] from the Question Under Discussion," (QUD) where the QUD is a model of conversation that considers the common goals of interlocutors as a set of ordered questions, which conversational participants address in sequence. They follow Engdahl (2006: 95) in claiming that downdating the QUD (as occurs in verum focus) involves removing questions from the QUD that have been resolved. Verum therefore functions as an instruction that an issue is resolved, is settled, and should be left alone.

This pattern is relatively clear in a Lubukusu retelling of the biblical story of Peter denying Jesus. In this story Jesus is being arrested and a mob of people are attempting to identify people who are associated with him. Peter denies knowing Jesus three separate times, being questioned three different times. The "three times" aspect is central to the story, as Jesus had predicted that Peter would disown him three times. Sikuku et al. (2018: 379) use a Lubukusu translation of this narrative to show the illocutionary force of OM-doubling as an instruction to interlocutors to leave an issue alone as settled. So note in (42)-(44) that OM-doubling is illicit in the first two exchanges ((42c),(43c)) but is licit in the third (44c).[13]

(42) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 28)

a. Bá-báá-ndú b-á-reeb-a pétero, "o-mány-ile ó-muu-ndu
2-2-people 2SM-PST-ask-FV 1.Peter 2SG.SM-know-PFV 1-1-person
yu-no?"
1-DEM
'So people asked Peter, "Do you know this person?"'

b. Pétero k-á-chiib-a, "see-mú-many-ile tá."
1.Peter 2SM-PST-answer-FV NEG.1SG.SM-1OM-know-PFV NEG
'Peter answered, 'I don't know him.''

c. #"See-mú- many-ile ó-muu-nd' u-yú tá."
NEG.1SG.SM-1OM-know-PFV 1-1-person 1-DEM NEG
'I DON'T know this person.'

[13] We will note that on retrospect given the additional findings of this book beyond the original work in Sikuku et al. (2018), the final instance of doubling also is felicitous if it is interpreted as a reprimand to the addresses; see Chapter 7.

(43) a. B-á-mu-rééb-a luundi, “o-mány-ile ó-muu-ndu yu-no?”
SM-PST-1OM-ask-FV again 2SG.SM-know-PFV 1-1-person 1-DEM
‘They asked him again, “Do you know this person?”’

b. Pétero k-á-chiib-a, “see-mú-many-ile tá.”
1.Peter 2SM-PST-answer-FV NEG.1SG.SM-1OM-know-PFV NEG
‘Peter answered, ‘I don’t know him.’’’

c. #“See-mú- many-ile ó-muu-nd’ u-yú tá.”
NEG.1SG.SM-1OM-know-PFV 1-1-person 1-DEM NEG
‘I DON’T know this person.’

(44) a. B-á-mu-rééb-a lw-á kháátaru, “o-mány-ile
2SM-PST-1OM-ask-FV 11-ASSOC three 2SG.SM-know-PFV
ó-muu-ndu yu-no?”
1-1-person 1-DEM
‘They asked him a third time, ‘Do you know this person?’’

b. Pétero k-a-chiib-a, “see-mú-many-ile tá.”
1.Peter 2SM-PST-answer-FV NEG.1SG.SM-1OM-know-PFV NEG
‘Peter answered, “I don’t know him.”’

c. “See-mú- many-ile ó-muu-nd’ u-yú tá.”
NEG.1SG.SM-1OM-know-PFV 1-1-person 1-DEM NEG
‘I DON’T know this person.’

Sikuku et al. (2018: 380) report,

> The intuition of speakers here is that the OM-doubling in the third round of questioning ensures that questioners don’t come back to Peter with another inquiry, in essence saying ‘this response is final, don’t ask again.’ Note here that in this context, even on a second round of questions OM-doubling is infelicitous. This is because of the entire discourse context, however. If there were no third round of questioning, it would be perfectly acceptable to OM-double after the second round of questions. But if Peter had OM-doubled the object after the second round of questions, it would have then been very strange for the inquisitors to insist on asking the question a third time, because the issue would have already been clearly resolved. OM-doubling an object essentially settles the issue.

3.8.2 Summary: verum-like licensing of OM-doubling

The quintessential instance of OM-doubling with verum-like emphasis, then, is a response that affirms the veracity of some claim in the face of doubt, and that the OM-doubled clause is a move to settle the issue. Speakers report that OM-doubling in these kinds of sentences outside of verum pragmatic contexts sounds unnecessarily argumentative, much like English emphatic *do* sounds in an out-of-the-blue context, because it presupposes that the addressee disagrees with the speaker.

(45) **Conditions on Lubukusu OM-doubling** (Sikuku et al. 2018: to be revised here)
   1. The proposition uttered is relevant to the question under discussion (QUD).
   2. OM-doubling communicates a speaker's certainty that the proposition should be added to the common ground and therefore that the QUD must be downdated:
      - In a denial of a proposition;
      - Addressing doubt about an issue under discussion;
      - In agreeing with a preceding assertion.
      - OM-doubling is a conversational move to put the issue to rest, to end the discussion on the matter.

Sikuku et al. (2018) show how these patterns are hallmarks of a verum interpretation, and offer a more detailed pragmatic analysis than we report here because, as the following chapters will show, the empirical pattern is in fact more complex than originally reported by Sikuku et al. (2018).

3.9 Previous analysis: two kinds of OM in Lubukusu

Sikuku et al. (2018) proposed an analysis of object marking in Lubukusu that distinguished non-doubling OMs from doubling OMs, in order to explain the distinctions in clausal interpretation that result from OM-doubling. Specifically, non-doubling OMs are argued to be incorporated pronouns, whereas doubling OMs are agreement morphemes that arise on an Emphasis head.

In that work, we adopted the m-merger analysis of clitics argued for by Kramer (2014) and Harizanov (2014), similar to the parallel that was first suggested by Matushansky (2006). On Matushansky's (2006) approach to head movement, heads move to the edge of the phrase-structure-in-progress, and then undergo morphological merger to form a complex head. This is illustrated in Figure 3.1. The

benefit of this account of head movement is that it manages to capture head movement effects while not abandoning the Extension Condition (the expectation in our theory that all instance of Merge extend the root of the structure: Chomsky 2001). Matushansky also suggests that this approach could be used to explain cliticization processes.

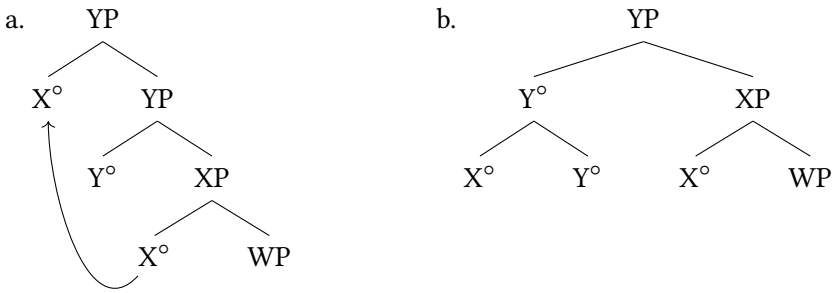


Figure 3.1: Matushansky-style head movement: phrasal-type movement to the edge of YP, followed by morphological merger

Kramer (2014) and Harizanov (2014) assume this kind of approach to cliticization, but extend Matushansky's approach to clitic doubling, arguing that full DPs can undergo m-merger as well to be realized as a D head as part of a complex head with the verb. As discussed by Sikuku et al. (2018), it is difficult to extend this analysis to Lubukusu because it would require in some way linking the interpretive effects of OM-doubling with the morphosyntactic process of reducing a full DP to a D head, a part of the proposed process which neither Kramer (2014) nor Harizanov (2014) spell out in much detail. It is not clear what the interpretive effects of doubling should have to do with this reduction operation. Therefore, Sikuku et al. (2018) do not attempt to explain OM-doubling on this approach. That said, the simple cliticization analysis works quite well for Lubukusu. On this approach, non-doubling OMs are incorporated pronouns: they are first merged into a thematic object position, but as weak pronouns they object shift to the edge of *v*P, as is quite common for weak pronouns. From this position, they undergo m-merger with v° to form a complex head, becoming incorporated into the verbal form as head movement of the verb proceeds. Figure 3.2 illustrates the derivation of non-doubling OMs in Lubukusu.

On the approach adopted by Sikuku et al. (2018), doubling OMs have a completely different syntactic derivation. Rather than being derived by movement and m-merger, doubling OMs are agreement morphemes—the realization of an

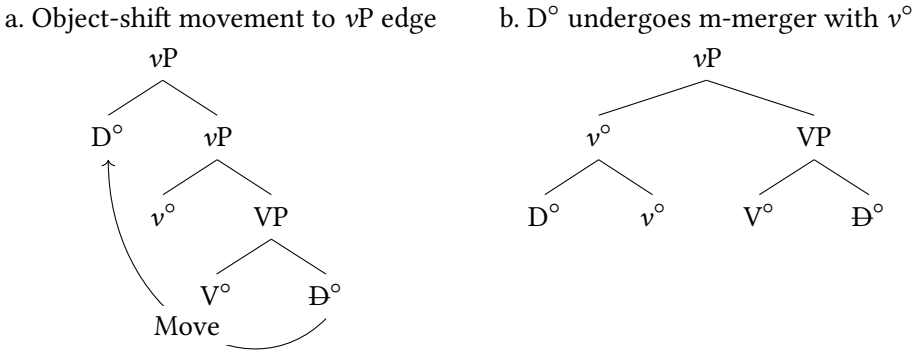


Figure 3.2: M-merger analysis of non-doubling OMs in Lubukusu, per Sikuku et al. (2018); OMs are D heads

Agree relation originating from unvalued φ-features on a functional projection. Central to that account, the functional projection that introduces φ-features on an Emphasis head, which bears the semantic operator that generates the verum-like reading. Figure 3.3 illustrates this, where the φ-features on Emph° probe their c-command domain and receive a value from the φ-features of the DP object that they find as a Goal. We maintain a similar distinction in derivation between doubling and non-doubling OMs in this work, so something will need to be said about why OMs with distinct derivations are nonetheless morphologically identical; see §8.10 for discussion.

There are various empirical upsides to this approach. First, it captures the interpretive differences between sentences containing non-doubling OMs (simple pronominalization) and sentences containing OM-doubling (which was restricted to verum focus in Sikuku et al. 2018, though we show a more extensive set of interpretive effects in this volume). It also can capture important locality effects: while either object of a ditransitive may undergo object shift and be incorporated as a non-doubling OM, there are stricter locality effects on OM-doubling, a typical expectation of Agree-based phenomena (we do not summarize the data here, as it is discussed at length in Chapter 8). What we will see is that while our analysis of non-doubling OMs is entirely unchanged, the analysis of OM-doubling changes somewhat from what we first proposed in our previous work.

The key point here is that the analyses in Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3 are specifically designed to rule out the possibility of OM-doubling in a non-verum context. This analysis turns out to be unsustainable: a large variety of focus-related properties of the verb phrase can in fact facilitate OM-doubling without a verum-like

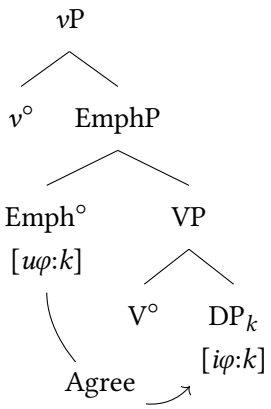


Figure 3.3: Emphasis head analysis of OM-doubling in Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018), to be revised in this volume

reading. We illustrate one here to preview the direction of discussion. In (46) the manner question creates the relevant context, and OM-doubling is possible in the answer.

(46) Q: *wátéexa kámákáá^{l}nd' óó^{l}rjéna*
W-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **o-rieena**?
2SG-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 2SG-how
'How did you cook the beans?'

A: *nákáteexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgu*
N-a-(ka-) teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG-PST-6OM-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans QUICKLY.' (not: 'I DID cook the beans quickly.')
Additional emphasis on 'quickly'

The example in (46) is very natural, and notably requires no verum-like reading of the clause despite the presence of OM-doubling. Instead, this sentences creates an emphatic reading on 'quickly.' This means, quite straightforwardly, that the analysis proposed by Sikuku et al. (2018) cannot be correct as formulated there. Notably, OM-doubling in the answer in (46) is optional; including doubling yields the emphatic reading, and leaving the doubling OM out of the response is simply an answer to the question (albeit a somewhat wordy one).

Therefore while the discussion in §3.8 captures true generalizations about the nature of doubling in monotransitive contexts without additional focused ele-

ments in the verb phrase, they represent an incomplete set of generalizations about Lubukusu object marking, and a new analysis will be necessary. Throughout this volume, we annotate OM-doubling as optional, but below the translation we also specify the interpretations (verum, emphasis) that result from the OM-doubling sentence. As the monograph proceeds, we will become more and more specific about the nature of the emphatic interpretation and the contexts that license the emphasis, but in service of first clarifying the focus constraints, we limit our discussion of the emphasis for now to simply mentioning that it exists.

3.10 Background on information structure in Lubukusu

Before concluding this background chapter on Lubukusu, it is relevant to address some basic background about information structure. The OM-doubling constructions we will investigate here are highly dependent on particular configurations of information structure: discourse-given phrases, focused phrases, emphatically focused phrases, and the like. But as a baseline, we introduce how information structural concepts are typically expressed in Lubukusu, independently of OM-doubling constructions in particular.

3.10.1 Expressing focus

Lubukusu does not have a strict word order requirement for focused phrases, whether new information focus or otherwise. So the ditransitive sentence in (47) with canonical S-V-IO-DO word order can be used to answer any of the questions in (48).

(47) *wékésáá ‖ áréerera βáásáalé ‘tʃáaji*
Wekesa a-a-rer-er-a ba-saale e-chayi
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 9-tea
‘Wekesa brought (his) friends tea.’

(48) a. *naanúű ‖ ówáreerera βáásaalé ‘tʃáaji*
Naanu o-w-a-rer-er-a baa-saale e-chayi
1.who 1COMP-1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2.2-friends 9-tea
‘Who brought their friends tea?’

b. *wékésáá̋ ‖ áréerera naanw’ itʃááji*
Wekesa a-a-rer-er-a naanu e-chayi?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 1.who 9-tea
‘Who did Wekesa bring tea to?

c. *wékésáā́ ‖ áréerera βáásaalé síina*
Wekesa a-a-rer-er-a baa-saale siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2.2-friends 7.what
'What did Wekesa bring to (his) friends?

What we see here is that question and answer congruence for distinct constituents, the canonical diagnostic for new information focus, creates no word order distinctions in the answers to the questions. Therefore, new information focus on a constituent does not place any strict restriction on word order. We will see below that other constructions can answer constituent questions like this (e.g. clefts can answer each of the questions in (48)), so there are options for expressing focused expressions, but they are not strictly necessary.[14]

Contrastive focus likewise does not place a strict word order requirement on a sentence; the same canonical word order we encountered in (47) is compatible with contrastive focus on any of the arguments.

(49) a. *wékésáā́ ‖ áréerera βáásaale bé^{l}wé tʃáaji ‖ selí βáβéeβúsí tá*
Wekesa a-a-rer-er-a ba-saale b-ewe e-chai, se-li
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 2-POSS 9-tea NEG-be
ba-b-ebusi ta.
2-2-parents NEG
'Weekesa brought HIS FRIENDS tea, not his parents.'

b. *wékésáā́ ‖ áréerera βáásaale bé^{l}wé tʃáaji ‖ selí 'ká^{l}awá tá*
Wekesa a-a-rer-er-a ba-saale b-ewe e-chai, se-li
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 2-POSS 9-tea NEG-be
e-kawa ta.
9-coffee NEG
'Wekesa brought his friends TEA, not coffee.'

c. *wékésáā́ ‖ áréerera βáásaale bé^{l}wé tʃáaji ‖ selí náafulá tá*
Wekesa a-a-rer-er-a ba-saale b-ewe e-chai, sa-a-li
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 2-POSS 9-tea NEG-1SM-be
Nafula ta.
1.Nafula NEG
'WEKESA brought his friends tea, not Nafula.' (i.e. Nafula didn't bring the tea)

[14] It is worth noting that each question is quite naturally answered with the single relevant constituent, but including whole sentences as answers in question & answer congruence contexts likes this provides us with valuable diagnostic insight.

There is obviously a clear contrast here with some of the other languages described in Chapter 2; both Matengo and Zulu, for example, have strict restrictions on word order that are based on focus (those being just two examples of many languages with similar restrictions). Specifically, a recurring restriction across southern Bantu languages is that preverbal subject position cannot host focused material. But Lubukusu does have this strict restriction: focused constituents can be in any position, including in subject position.

(50) *wékésá jéɲénêé ‖ áréerera βáásaalé ‘tʃáaji*
Wekesa y-eng’ene a-rer-er-a ba-saale e-chayi.
1.Wekesa 1-only 1SM-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 9-tea
‘Only Wekesa brought his friends tea.’

There is variation in word order with interpretive effect (as we discuss in Chapter 5), but focused elements are not restricted from occurring in subject position.

As is common among Bantu languages, clefts can be also used to express focus in Lubukusu, as first described in depth by Wasike (2007).

(51) *ali wékésáá ‖ wáréerera βáásaale béˡwé tʃáaji*
A-li Wekesa o-w-a-rer-er-a baa-saale b-ewe e-chai.
1SM-be 1.Wekesa 1COMP-1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2.2-friends 2-POSS 9-tea
‘It is Wekesa who brought his friends tea.’

A cleft as in (51) can answer the subject question in (48a), but can be used independently to trigger focus effects as well. Clefts in Lubukusu create a D-linked focus reading, but not an exhaustive focus reading. So (51) yields a reading where Wekesa is identified as the one who brought his friends tea from a set of possible candidate tea-bringers. But clefts do not yield an exhaustive interpretation; the cleft in (51) can be naturally used with a continuation that identifies someone else who did the same.

(52) *ali wékésá wáréerera βáásaale βéˡwé tʃáaji ‖ nafulá yesí áβáreerer’ etʃáaji*
A-li Wekesa o-w-a-rer-er-a ba-saale b-ewe e-chai ...
1SM-be 1.Wekesa 1COMP-1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 2-POSS 9-tea
Nafula y-eesi a-a-ba-rer-er-a e-chai
1.Nafula 1-also 1SM-PST-2OM-bring-APPL-FV 9-tea
‘It is Wekesa who brought his friends tea ... Nafula also brought them tea.’

This is a very truncated overview of how focus is grammatically realized in Lubukusu, but it at least provides a baseline for understanding the empirical analysis of OM-doubling that follows.

3.10.2 Expressing topics

As we discussed in Chapter 2, there are many distinct but overlapping notions of topichood, including discourse-given elements (old-information topics), aboutness topics (what a sentence is about), and discourse topics (the ongoing coherent issue/referent that a discourse is about). As is common cross-linguistically, the topic of a Lubukusu sentence is generally the subject. We use the same sentence as above for our baseline comparison, the double object construction in (53a). As we will do at various points in this volume, we use an aboutness prompt to diagnose an aboutness topic (Frey 2004, Erteschik-Shir 2007). The subject in (53a) is a natural aboutness topic, and demoting that aboutness topic and promoting the object in a passive is infelicitous if the underlying subject is the aboutness topic.

(53) *xéˡɲdʒá xúxuβoolélá xuwekesa*
Khe-n-ja khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-Wekesa.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-1.Wekesa
'I am going to tell you about Wekesa.'

a. *wékésáá ‖ áréerera βáásaalé tʃáaji*
Wekesa a-a-rer-er-a ba-saale e-chayi.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 9-tea
'Wekesa brought (his) friends tea.'

b. *#βáásaaléé ‖ βáréererw' etʃáˡájí ne wekesa*
#Ba-saale ba-a-rer-er-w-a e-chayi ne Wekesa.
2-friends 2SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 9-tea by 1.Wekesa
'The friends were brought tea by Wekesa.'

In contrast, the passive is a natural choice when the underlying object is declared to be the aboutness topic.

(54) a. *xéˡɲdʒá xúxuβoolélá ˡxúβásaale*
Khe-n-ja khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ba-saale.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-2-friends
'I am going to tell you about (the) friends.'

b. *βáásaaléé ‖ βáréererw' etʃáˡájí ne wekesa*
Ba-saale ba-a-rer-er-w-a e-chayi ne Wekesa.
2-friends 2SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 9-tea by 1.Wekesa
'The friends were brought tea by Wekesa.'

As we will discuss at length in this book, however, topical elements are not required to be in subject position, either. One illustration of this is the topic particle *chana*, which identifies what Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) call a *continuing topic*, an aboutness topic that is also discourse-familiar. As the examples in (55) demonstrate, *chana* may appear on any argument of the verb, assuming that the discourse context is appropriate.

(55) a. *ómwana tʃánăá ‖ áréerera βáβéeβúsí tʃáaji*
O-mw-aana chana a-a-rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi e-chayi.
1-1-child TOP 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 9-tea
'The aforementioned child brought (their) parents tea.'

b. *ómwanăá ‖ áréerera βáβéeβúsí tʃán' éetʃáaji*
O-mw-aana a-a-rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi chana e-chayi.
1-1-child 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents TOP 9-tea
'A child brought tea to the aforementioned parents.'

c. *ómwanăá ‖ áréerera βáβéeβúsí tʃáaji tʃáná*
O-mw-aana a-a-rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi e-chayi chana.
1-1-child 1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 9-tea TOP
'A child brought their parents the aforementioned tea.'

The conclusion that we reach is that subjects are topical, but topical elements (both discourse topics and aboutness topics) are not restricted to preverbal subject position. We will have more to say about this in Chapter 5, as there is much more nuance to be explored. But as a baseline description of the facts, this suffices for now.

3.10.3 No overt conjoint/disjoint

The final point that is relevant for our current concerns is to show that, in contrast to some other Bantu languages (e.g. isiZulu, Kinyarwanda, Makhuwa, etc), Lubukusu does not show obvious conjoint/disjoint distinctions on verbal forms. So we can see in (56)-(58), for example, that there is no difference in verbal form whether or not there is an overt object in the verb phrase.

(56) a. *majií ‖ átéexa*
Mayi a-a-teekh-a.
1.mother 1SM-PST-cook-FV
'Mama cooked.'

b. *mají átéexa tʃíɲeɲi*
Mayi a-a-teekh-a chi-nyenyi.
1.mother 1SM-PST-cook-FV 10-vegetables
'Mama cooked the vegetables.'

(57) a. *majiĭ́ ‖ axááteexa*
Mayi a-kha-teekh-a.
1.mother 1SM-PROG-cook-FV
'Mama is cooking.'

b. *majĭĭ́ ‖ axááteexa tʃíɲeɲi*
Mayi a-kha-teekh-a chi-nyenyi.
1.mother 1SM-PROG-cook-FV 10-vegetables
'Mama is cooking vegetables.'

(58) a. *majĭĭ́ ‖ alitééxa*
Mayi a-li-teekh-a.
1.mother 1SM-FUT-cook-FV
'Mama will cook.' (indefinite future)

b. *majĭĭ́ ‖ alitééxa tʃíɲeɲi*
Mayi a-li-teekh-a chi-nyenyi.
1.mother 1SM-FUT-cook-FV 10-vegetables
'Mama will cook vegetables.' (indefinite future)

We do not systematically show all tenses and aspects, but we have not encountered any verbal inflection akin to conjoint/disjoint in any tense/aspect in Lubukusu (and, notably, none has been reported in previous work on Lubukusu).[15]

[15] It is plausible that something akin to conjoint/disjoint distinctions could emerge from the phrasal tonology of verbs in Lubukusu, but that is not yet researched, so we are unable to comment.

4 Information structural effects of OM-doubling

The diagnostics outlined in the literature debating whether OMs are agreement morphemes vs. pronominal clitics turn out to be insufficient to capture the properties of OM-doubling in Lubukusu. OM-doubling is in fact possible in Lubukusu, but is heavily constrained by pragmatic context. This chapter gives a (largely descriptive) outline of the necessary conditions on pragmatic contexts that facilitate OM-doubling.[1]

In short, a significant interpretive effect of OM-doubling is, in part, an information-structural bifurcation within verb phrase where the OM-doubled object is discourse-given, and there is a focused element inside the verb phrase. This creates a number of effects similar to a range of properties reported in Nikolaeva (2001) and Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011) for a range of languages, as we discuss in what follows. Nikolaeva (2001) introduced the term "secondary topic" for objects marked as topical, and in a number of ways the properties we report here are similar to the previously-reported secondary topic constructions (with additional nuanced details, of course, to be reported).

Throughout this chapter, we use the term 'facilitate' to describe when a syntactic or discourse context markedly improves the acceptability of OM-doubling. We specifically use this term rather than a more typical term like "license" because, as we will show at the end of this chapter and in what follows after, these focus effects are not in fact direct licensers of doubling. Rather, the pragmatics/semantics of OM-doubling are dependent on the focus contexts discussed here, but in every case in this chapter OM-doubling is optional in the sense that there is a syntactic version of the sentence that is grammatical without OM-doubling. In a more accurate sense, OM-doubling is not truly optional as there are distinct interpretations associated with the OM-doubling construction as compared to a parallel sentence without OM-doubling.

[1] A portion of this chapter is an expanded version of Sikuku & Diercks (2021). It is included here with permission of the authors and in accordance with Language Science Press's Open Access policies.

But none of the focal effects that we discuss here can be said to license OM-doubling on their own. When we explore the difference between doubled and undoubled sentences we see that doubling requires a subtle, but necessary, additional layer of pragmatic meaning, which we informally refer to as *emphatic focus* and which we analyze in Chapter 7 as *mirative focus*. This is why we use the term "facilitate" in a non-technical but descriptively useful sense: these focus contexts are a (mostly) necessary condition for OM-doubling, but they are not themselves sufficient. Throughout this chapter we annotate examples to make clear that there is an additional layer of emphatic meaning, but that the focus contexts discussed here nonetheless markedly improve the naturalness of the examples under consideration.

4.1 Focus facilitates OM-doubling

4.1.1 A somewhat hasty conclusion

In the course of establishing the verum (focus) analysis, Sikuku et al. (2018) argue that focus on an object cannot facilitate OM-doubling, based on examples like (1). The example in (1) is constructed to place contrastive focus on the object.

(1) Lionéeli k-á-(#ku-) ly-a kú-mú-chéele, se-k-á-ly-á
1Leonnel 1SM-PST-3OM-eat-FV 3-3-rice NEG-1SM-PST-eat-FV
búu-sumá tá.
14.14-ugali NEG
'Leonell ate the rice, he didn't eat the ugali.'

As it turns out, this conclusion is not completely accurate. The example reported in (1), without any additional context, is indeed infelicitous. But as we will see below, focused objects in fact *can* be OM-doubled, though the circumstances have to be very carefully controlled. But beyond that, it turns out that focus in fact plays a central role in facilitating OM-doubling. The key, however, is that the typical context where a focused element facilitates doubling is when some element that is distinct from the OM-doubled object is focused inside the verb phrase. So focus on some XP naturally allows a distinct object to be OM-doubled, as the example in (46) from Chapter 3 illustrated. Again, to be clear, we will also show that object marking focused elements is not impossible (and is, in some instances, preferred), but OM-doubling a focused monotransitive object as in (1) is nonetheless usually unacceptable. These nuances play a central role in our final analysis in Chapter 9 so we will not explore them here. The point

is that despite the relevance of facts like (1) (where a focused object does not license OM-doubling), focus does in fact facilitate OM-doubling. All of the cases we explore here in this chapter are the 'default' sort of scenario, where the focus that facilitates OM-doubling is on some element distinct from the doubled object DP.

4.1.2 New information focus facilitates OM-doubling

The discussion that follows adopts the common assumption that *wh*-words are focused phrases and (in answers to *wh*-questions) the constituent that is new information bears new information focus (question and answer congruence: see Krifka 2007, van der Wal 2015b, Büring 2016, among many others). As we will see, a phrase bearing new information focus inside the *v*P improves the naturalness of OM-doubling on a distinct object argument, and *wh*-questions themselves also improve the naturalness of this OM-doubling pattern in many instances as well.

Given the broad range of potential verb phrase content, we do not pretend to give an exhaustive description of all possible factors that facilitate OM-doubling. But each subsection here shows how different combinations of focused constituents inside the verb phrase can facilitate OM-doubling.

First, we can see in the example below that when a temporal adjunct is questioned, or when a temporal adjunct bears new information focus, OM-doubling an object is more natural without a verum reading.

(2) Q: *βáβáaná βáká'késá kámái'ndí líina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ka-) kes-a ka-ma-indi **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize when
'WHEN did the children harvest the maize?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'when'

A: *βáβáaná βaakákésile kámáíndi likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-(ka-) kes-ile ka-ma-indi **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested the maize YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

This is additional confirmation of the pattern first introduced in (46) of Chapter 3 for manner adverbials: focus on a structurally low adverbial can facilitate OM-doubling on a distinct object.

An important point here and throughout the entire monograph is that in question and answer congruence contexts, answering with a whole sentence is not the most natural way to answer the question. So, as is likely no surprise, a typical answer to the question in (2) would simply be "likolooba" ('yesterday'). Similarly, a response to the question in (2) that contains a whole sentence would most naturally use pronominal arguments (a null subject and an undoubled OM as an object pronominal).

(3) Q: *βáβáaná βáká'késá kámái'ndí líina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kes-a ka-ma-indi **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize when
'When did the children harvest the maize?'
A: *βaakákésile likolooβa*
Ba-ka-kes-ile **likolooba**.
2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV yesterday
'They harvested it yesterday.'

Including whole sentence responses with all the relevant constituents, however, allows us to diagnose properties of sentences, so we continue to do so throughout the volume.

It is not only focused adjuncts that create this effect of improved naturalness of OM-doubling: it is found with focused objects as well. In a benefactive applicative construction the RECIPIENT canonically precedes the THEME.[2] We see in the example below that focus on the THEME facilitates OM-doubling the RECIPIENT object, both in the question itself and in the answer where the THEME object bears new information focus.

(4) *βáβáanăă ‖ βaaβákéseele βáβéeβúsí síina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ba-) kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **siina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 7.what
'WHAT did the children harvest for their parents?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

(5) *βáβáanăă ‖ βáβákéséla βáβéeβúsí kámáíindi*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ba-) kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **ka-ma-indi**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-maize
'The children harvested MAIZE for their parents.'

[2] There is flexibility in word order in all double object constructions (to the extent that we have encountered them, at least); this is discussed at length in Chapter 5.

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'maize'

There is a fair degree of additional complexity that emerges in double object constructions, which we set aside for the moment in service of establishing the core generalization connecting focused constituents to OM-doubling. For more details on (a)symmetry of object marking and word order as well as the structural position of these doubled objects, see Chapters 5 and 8.

We see the same pattern in an instrumental applicative double object construction. In (6), OM-doubling is facilitated by questioning the instrument or having new information focus on the instrument in the answer to the question:

(6) Q: *maíʃáá ‖ ákákúlulilaá ‖ kámákáá'ndá síina*
Maisha a-a-(ka-) kulul-il-a ka-ma-kanda **siina**?
1Maisha 1SM-PST-6OM-stir-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 7.what
'WHAT did Maisha stir beans with?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

A: *maíʃáá ‖ ákákúlulila kámákáánda kumukaŋgo*
Maisha a-a-(ka-) kulul-il-a ka-ma-kanda **ku-mu-kango**.
1Maisha 1SM-PST-6OM-stir-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 3-3-spoon
'Maisha stirred beans WITH A SPOON.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'with a spoon'

And as in the other double object constructions above, in a causative double object construction, focus on one of the objects (the THEME, here) facilitates OM-doubling with the other (here, the causee).

(7) Q: *ómwanăá ‖ átʃíliisja tʃíxáafú síina*
O-mw-aana a-a-(chi-) li-isy-a chi-khafu **siina**?
1-1-child 1SM-PST-10OM-eat-CAUS-FV 10-cows 7.what
'WHAT did the child feed the cows?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

A: *ómwana átʃíliisja tʃíxáafú kámáíndi*
O-mw-aana a-a-(chi-) li-isy-a chi-khafu **ka-ma-indi**.
1-1-child 1SM-PST-10OM-eat-CAUS-FV 10-cows 6-6-maize
'The child fed the cows MAIZE.'

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'maize'

The pattern here is therefore quite robust: focus on an object or low adverbial can facilitate OM-doubling quite naturally on another object. We have limited ourselves to what seems to us to be the 'baseline' instances here, where the structurally highest object is OM-doubled. This is not the only pattern: specifically, it is possible to focus the higher doubled object, and it is possible to double the structurally lower object as well, if that lower object bears the emphatic focus that is associated with OM-doubling (see Chapter 8).

Reason adjuncts (e.g. answering a reason question) are also facilitating contexts for OM-doubling.

(8) Q: *βáβáanăă ‖ βáká'késá kámáíindi xúβeelá 'sí*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ka-) kes-a ka-ma-indi **khubela si**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize because 7.what
'WHY did the children harvest the maize?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'why'

A: *βáβáanăă ‖ βáká'késá kámáíindi xúβeelá βáβéeβúsí βáβáβoolela*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ka-) kes-a ka-ma-indi **khubela**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize because
ba-b-ebusi ba-a-ba-bolel-a.
2-2-parents 2SM-PST-2OM-tell-FV
'The children harvested the maize BECAUSE THEIR PARENTS TOLD THEM TO.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on the reason

And just to revisit the example shown above, we have also seen that new information focus on a manner adverbial facilitates OM-doubling without verum:

(9) Q: *wátéexa kámákáá'nd' óó'rjéna*
W-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **o-rieena** ?
2SG-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 2SG-how
'How did you cook the beans?'

A: *nákáteexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgu*
N-a-(ka-) teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG.SM-PST-6OM-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans QUICKLY.'

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'quickly'

We have seen two patterns emerge robustly in this section. First, object *wh*-questions and adjunct *wh*-questions (reason, manner, temporal) facilitate OM-doubling a distinct object in the verb phrase (note that all of these questions are *in situ* questions, which is relevant to the discussion moving forward). Second, in a whole-sentence answer to one of those *wh*-questions, OM-doubling is facilitated on an object that is distinct from the constituent bearing focus. Relevant for all of these syntactic constructions is that in the absence of these contexts evoking focus on a particular postverbal constituent, OM-doubling is illicit (unless there is a verum-like reading of the sentence). But given the focus contexts here, OM-doubling is licit without a verum-like reading of the sentence.

4.1.3 Focus with *-ong'ene* 'only' facilitates OM-doubling

Additional focus strategies can facilitate doubling. For example, OM-doubling is relatively natural if you put focus on a constituent in the *v*P using the exhaustive focus particle *-ong'ene* 'only'. We illustrate with several kinds of ditransitives.

(10) Benefactive ditransitive, focus on THEME
βáβáaná βáβáreerera βáβéeβúsí káméetʃí kóŋéné
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ba-) rer-er-a (ba-b-ebusi) **ka-m-echi**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-water
k-ong'ene.
6-only
'The children brought their parents ONLY WATER.' (i.e. they didn't bring anything else)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only water'

(11) Lexical ditransitive, focus on THEME
βáβáaná βááβókesja βáaxaanăă ‖ kámáréέβá kóŋéné
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(b-) okesy-a (baa-khaana) **ka-ma-reeba**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-show-FV 2-girls 6-6-questions
k-ong'ene.
6-only
'The children showed the girls ONLY THE QUESTIONS.' (i.e. they didn't show them the answers)

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only the questions'

(12) Causative ditransitive, focus on THEME
ómwáana átʃíliisja tʃíxáafú kámáíí'ndí kóŋéné
O-mw-aana a-a-(chi-) li-isy-a (chi-khafu) **ka-ma-indi**
1-1-child 1SM-PST-10OM-eat-CAUS-FV 10-cows 6-6-maize
k-ong'ene.
6-only
'The child fed the cows ONLY MAIZE (i.e. didn't feed them anything else).'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only maize'

Therefore we can see that focus with *-ongene* 'only' facilitates doubling in a manner quite similar to how new information focus does, across a variety of relevant contexts.

4.1.4 Contrastive focus facilitates OM-doubling

Contrastive focus shows the same effects as the patterns shown above. When a *v*P-internal constituent is contrastively focused (here diagnosed by a continuation that clarifies which constituent is contrastively focused), OM-doubling is natural without a verum reading. (13) demonstrates this for a manner adverb, (14) contrasts a locative argument, (15) contrasts an entire verb phrase, and (16) contrasts the doubled object itself.

(13) *βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsuma βwaaŋgu ‖ selí kálaá tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(bu-) ly-a (bu-suma) **bwangu**, se-li kalaa
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali quickly NEG-be slowly
ta.
NEG
'The children ate the ugali QUICKLY, not slowly.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'quickly'

(14) *βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsumá mútʃíkóoni ‖ selí múmúkúúndá tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(bu-) l-il-a (bu-suma) **mu-chikoni**, se-li
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-APPL-FV 14-ugali 18-kitchen NEG-be
mu-mu-kunda ta.
18-3-garden NEG
'The children ate the ugali IN THE KITCHEN, not in the garden.'

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'in the kitchen'

(15) *βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsuma ‖ seβátimaɲé tʃíiŋgoxó tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bu- **ly-a** **bu-suma**, se-ba-a-timany-a
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG-2SM-PST-chase-FV
chi-ngokho ta.
10-chickens NEG
'The children ATE UGALI, they didn't chase the chickens.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'eat ugali'

(16) *βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsuma ‖ selí kúmútʃéˈélé tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bu- ly-a **bu-suma**, se-li ku-mu-chele ta.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG-be 3-3-rice NEG
'The children ate THE UGALI, not the rice.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'ugali'

4.1.5 Intermediate summary

To summarize, to this point we have found that focus plays a central role in facilitating OM-doubling in Lubukusu. While verum contexts are indeed natural licensing environments for OM-doubling, focus contexts more broadly also play an important role, as we see many instances here where focus on an object or a structurally low adjunct—whether new information focus, contrastive focus, or focus with *-ong'ene* 'only'—naturally facilitates OM-doubling on a distinct *in situ* object. We will see in the next section that the specific structural position of the focused elements is important: only focused elements within a specific structural domain (roughly the *v*P) play this role in facilitating doubling.

4.2 Focused phrases must be *v*P-internal to facilitate doubling

§4.1 showed that focusing a postverbal constituent is a straightforward way to facilitate OM-doubling on an object without a verum interpretation of the clause. The current section shows that this effect has a structural constraint, namely, that only (surface-) *v*P-internal constituents are relevant for licensing doubling in this

way. So *ex situ* focus, focused locative adjuncts, and focused subjects all fail to facilitate OM-doubling.

4.2.1 *Ex situ* focus does not facilitate OM-doubling

First, while focus facilitates OM-doubling, the focused element must remain *in situ* within the verb phrase in order to do so. For example, a clefted focused phrase (raised out of the verb phrase) does not facilitate OM-doubling in the same way, even if the correlated gap/trace is inside the verb phrase. As (17) shows, OM-doubling an object with a clefted temporal adverb requires a verum-like reading to be acceptable:

(17) *#lwaβéʲélé líkólóóβá ‖ níʲlwó βáβáaná βáákésile kámáííndi*
#Lwa-b-ele **likolooba**$_k$ ni-lwo ba-ba-ana ba-ka- kes-ile
11SM-be-PFV 11.yesterday COMP-11 2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV
ka-ma-indi t$_k$.
6-6-maize
'It was yesterday that the children harvested the maize.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

Cleft constructions (*ex situ* focus) are acceptable strategies for answering *wh*-questions in general (and, specifically, are acceptable to answer *in situ wh*-questions as well). But while an *in situ* answer to a question facilitates OM-doubling (we saw this for a parallel example in (2) above), a cleft like (17) that contains OM-doubling is always infelicitous without additional discourse context.

The same pattern occurs with *ex situ wh*-questions. This time, as expected, OM-doubling is unacceptable in the question itself (18a) as there is no focused element in the verb phrase to facilitate doubling. And as above, answering the question with *in situ* focus in (18b) is natural with OM-doubling, but answering with *ex situ* focus together with OM-doubling in (18c) is infelicitous.

(18) a. *liina nílwó βáβáanăă ‖ βákáʲkésá kámáííndi*
Liina ni-lwo ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) kes-a ka-ma-indi ?
when COMP-11 2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize
'When did the children harvest the maize?'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *βáβáanăă ‖ βaakákésile kámáííndi likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-(ka-) kes-ile ka-ma-indi **li-kolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize 11-yesterday
'The children harvested maize YESTERDAY.'

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

c. *líkólóóβá níˈlwó βáβáanăă ‖ βáˈkésá kámáííndi*
Li-kolooba ni-lwo ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) kes-a
11-yesterday COMP-11 2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV
kamaindi .
6-6-maize
'It was yesterday that the children harvested maize.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

The same paradigm is given below but testing for focus on the direct object in a benefactive applicative double object construction. As above, the *in situ wh*-question facilitates OM-doubling on the verb in (19a), and an answer with the focused direct object *in situ* facilitates OM-doubling as well (19b). And while a cleft construction naturally answers the question, OM-doubling in the object cleft is infelicitous (19c).

(19) a. *βáβáanăă ‖ βáβáˈkéséla βáβéeβúsí síina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **siina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 7.what
'WHAT did the children harvest for their parents?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

b. *βáβáanăă ‖ βáβáˈkéséla βáβéeβúsí kámáíndi*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **ka-ma-indi**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-maize
'The children harvested MAIZE for (their) parents.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'maize'

c. *káβá ˈkámáíˈndí níkó βákésela βáβéeβúsí*
Ka-a-ba **ka-ma-indi** ni-ko ba-a-(#ba-) kes-el-a
6SM-PST-be 6-6-maize COMP-6 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV
ba-b-ebusi .
2-2-parents
'It was the maize that the children harvested for the parents.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

And as we would expect at this point, these effects are replicated in (20): a *wh*-cleft in (20a) is insufficient to facilitate OM-doubling: the *in situ* answer to (20a) may facilitate doubling (20b), but the clefted answer may not (20c).

(20) a. *sina níʲsjó βáβáaná βákésela βáβéeβúsɨ́*
Siina ni-syo ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ba-) kes-el-a
7.what COMP-7 2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV
ba-b-ebusi ?
2-2-parents
'What did the children harvest for their parents?'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *βáβáanăă ‖ βáβáʲkéséla βáβéeβúsí kámáíndɨ́*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ba-) kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **ka-ma-indi**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-maize
'The children harvested MAIZE for (their) parents.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'maize'

c. *káβá ʲkámáíʲndí níkó ʲbákéselaa ‖ βáβéeβúsɨ́*
Ka-a-ba **ka-ma-indi** ni-ko ba-a-(#ba-) kes-el-a
6SM-PST-be 6-6-maize COMP-6 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV
ba-b-ebusi .
2-2-parents
'It was the maize that the children harvested for the parents.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

We do not illustrate with all the other kinds of *in situ*/*ex situ* pairings that are imaginable (e.g. different kinds of double object constructions, different kinds of adverbials, etc). But we have not encountered an instance when this kind of pattern is not upheld: it is quite general. And as we will see below, the *in situ* (*v*P) focus requirement emerges in other grammatical contexts outside of clefts vs. *in situ* focus.

4.2.2 Preverbal subject focus does not facilitate OM-doubling, postverbal subject focus does

Putting focus on a preverbal subject does not create the appropriate conditions for OM-doubling to occur without a verum-like reading. (21) shows in a Q&A

congruence environment that neither *wh*-focus on a subject nor new information focus on a preverbal subject in the answer to that question is sufficient to facilitate OM-doubling without a verum-like reading:

(21) Q: *naanŭ̋ ‖ wakésile kámáííndi̯*
Naanu w-a-(#ka-) kes-ile (ka-ma-indi) ?
who 1SM-PST-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize
'Who harvested the maize?'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

A: *βáβánaaná βaakésile kámáííndi̯*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) kes-ile (ka-ma-indi) .
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize
'The children harvested the maize.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

Likewise, preverbal subject focus with *-ong'ene* 'only' does not facilitate OM-doubling without verum:

(22) *βáβáaná βóóŋénêe ‖ βáréerera βáβéebúsí káméetʃ'*
Ba-ba-ana **b-ong'ene** ba-a-(#ba-) rer-er-a (ba-b-ebusi
2-2-children 2-only 2SM-PST-2OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents
ka-m-echi.
6-6-water
'Only the children brought their parents water.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

Contrastive focus on the preverbal subject (like the other kinds of focus above) also cannot facilitate OM-doubling:

(23) *βáβáanaá ‖ βáˈljá βúsuma ‖ selí βáβéeβúsí tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#bu-) ly-a (bu-suma) , se-li ba-b-ebusi ta.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG-be 2-2-parents NEG
'THE CHILDREN ate ugali, not the parents (i.e. the parents didn't eat ugali).'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

However, Lubukusu allows subjects to occur postverbally if they bear focus (24b) or if they are right-dislocated (24c); the latter property is relatively unsurprising for Bantu languages (or any that languages that allow afterthought topics). It is the non-dislocated postverbal subjects that are of particular interest here.

(24) a. *wékésá á-ljá βúsuma*
Wekesa a-a-ly-a bu-suma.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali
'Wekesa ate ugali.'

b. *á-ljá βúsumá wékésá jéŋéné*
A-a-ly-a bu-suma **Wekesa** #(**y-eng'ene**).
1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.'

c. *á-ljá βúsuma ‖ wekesa*
A-a-ly-a bu-suma *(,) Wekesa.
1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa
'He ate ugali, Wekesa.' (Wekesa = afterthought topic)

As shown in (25), a focused subject in this position can facilitate OM-doubling on a THEME object without any additional verum-like reading, and without focus on any other constituent:

(25) *áβúlja βúsumá wékésá jéŋéné*
A-a-bu- ly-a bu-suma **Wekesa y-eng'ene**.
1SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'ONLY WEKESA ate ugali.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only Wekesa'

This shows a relatively significant difference with the right-dislocated postverbal (non-focused) subject, which is quite unnatural with doubling.[3]

(26) ??A-a-bu- ly-a bu-suma *(,) Wekesa.
1SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa
'He ate ugali, Wekesa.' (Wekesa = afterthought topic)

The specific position of the postverbal subject is not simple to sort out. Given what we have seen to this point, the evidence suggests that the postverbal subject occurs inside *v*P, as it can facilitate doubling. We will affirm this in Chapter 5, where we argue that postverbal subjects of this sort are in fact *in situ* in Spec,*v*P. It is not straightforward to build this analysis, however, because as the examples in (24b) and (25) illustrate, a postverbal subject occurs most naturally *after* the

[3] For this sentence in particular, it was confusing to figure out what its particular interpretation is even supposed to be.

object arguments. Given the complexity of the data and argumentation, however, we leave a full discussion for Chapter 5. In summary, focused elements must occur inside the proper structural domain in order to facilitate OM-doubling. We can think of that structural domain as *v*P at present, though in Chapter 5 we will show that while it is typically *v*P, it can sometimes be slightly larger than *v*P.

4.2.3 Locative adjuncts do not facilitate doubling

Focused locative adjuncts do not facilitate OM-doubling without a verum-like reading in Lubukusu. So in the example below, we see that neither question focus nor new information focus on a locative adjunct facilitates OM-doubling without verum:

(27) a. *βáβáaná βákesa kámáííndi wae*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-)kes-a ka-ma-indi **wae**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize where
'Where did the children harvest maize?'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *βáβáaná βákesa kámáííndi mumukunda̱*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) kes-a ka-ma-indi **mu-mu-kunda**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize 18-3-shamba
'The children harvested maize in the shamba.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

The same pattern emerges with *-ong'ene* 'only' focus, which we showed above to facilitate OM-doubling inside the verb phrase. When a locative adjunct is focused with *-ong'ene* 'only', OM-doubling is unacceptable without a verum reading.

(28) *βáβáaná βákesa kámáíí'ndí múmúkúndá mwóóŋéné̱*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) kes-a ka-ma-indi **mu-mu-kunda**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize 18-3-shamba
mw-ong'ene.
18-only
'The children harvested the maize ONLY IN THE SHAMBA (not anywhere else).'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

It is clear here that locatives are not inside the domain where focus facilitates OM-doubling. Our discussion until this point consistently demonstrates that the

focused element facilitating OM-doubling must occur overtly in *v*P (excluding focused preverbal subjects and *ex situ* *wh*-phrases and focused phrases in clefts). Based on this, we simply assume here that locative adjuncts occur outside *v*P. This conclusion is confirmed in the discussion of word order effects in Chapter 5, relying on evidence from word order, doubling, and additional properties of postverbal focus. The empirical demonstration of this conclusion is rather lengthy, though, so we simply note the eventual conclusion here.

4.3 Focus on the *v*P itself facilitates doubling

We argued in §4.2 that the constituents that bear the relevant information structure must be within the verb phrase (roughly equivalent to *v*P) in order to facilitate OM-doubling. Notable thus far is that there does not appear to be a requirement that any particular kind of argument or adjunct be focused, but rather that there just be *some* focused element inside the verb phrase. The non-specific aspect of this generalization is somewhat curious, especially as the element being doubled in all the cases we have examined so far is not even the focused element itself. What does one thing have to do with the other? We do not solve this yet, but rather in this section we expand the puzzle by showing that focus interpretations on the verb phrase itself are able to facilitate doubling, independent of focus on any particular *v*P-contained constituent.[4]

4.3.1 NE intensifier facilitates OM-doubling

Wasike (2007: 335) documented a morpheme (which we gloss simply as NE) that he analyzed as *wh*-agreement, a reflex of A′-movement. It only appears in imperatives and in compound tenses (auxiliary-verb constructions), appearing in front of the subject marking on the main verb.

(29) *sina níʻsjó mwáβá nemuxolạ*
Siina ni-syo mw-a-ba **ne**-mu-khol-a?
7.what COMP-7 2PL.SM-PST-be **NE**-2PL.SM-do-FV
'What was it that you were doing?'

[4] In Sikuku et al. (2018) we previously reported that there was some aspect of attention/foregrounding of the verb phrase that was necessary for OM-doubling (and foregrounding/attention on constituents outside the verb phrase failed to license doubling). But the work at that point had not discovered this full range of effects; those patterns can readily be subsumed under the *v*P focus analysis we adopt in this work.

(30) *némutímí*
Ne-mu-tim-e.
NE-2PL.SM-run-SBJV
'(You) run.'

The relevance of this morpheme for our current purposes is that it is another facilitating context for OM-doubling, as we show below. In this work we are not able to fully engage all the properties of this morpheme, but it is clear that NE cannot itself be *wh*-agreement, as it readily appears on the main verb in compound tenses in non-extraction contexts:[5]

(31) *wékésá áβá naáɲwa kámálwa βuli ɲaŋga*
Wekesa a-ba (**n**)-a-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa buli nyanga.
1.Wekesa 1-be **NE**-1SM-PST-drink-FV 6-6-alcohol every day
'Wekesa certainly used to drink alcohol everyday.'

So the N(E)- morpheme is not obligatory in Lubukusu. The interpretive contribution of N(E)- is hard to pin down, but it communicates a sense of emphasis. So in the example above, with N(E)-, the speaker is more committed to the truth of (31) but without N(E)-, (31) is more or less neutral.

NE would appear to be related to the preverbal focus marker that appears in a number of northeastern Bantu languages, including Kikuyu, Kîîtharaka, and Igikuria (Schwarz 2007, Abels & Muriungi 2008, Landman & Ranero 2018, Morimoto 2017). In these languages, NE appears on standard declaratives as a verbal prefix (32a), but is pulled off the verb in focus constructions like *ex situ wh*-questions (32b) and focus clefts (32c).

(32) Kikuyu (Schwarz 2007)
a. Abdul **ne**-a-ra-nyu-ir-ɛ mae.
Abdul FOC-SM-TNS-drink-ASP-FV 6.water
'Abdul drank water.'
b. **Ne**-kee Abdul a-ra-nyu-ir-ɛ?
FOC-what Abdul SM-TNS-drink-ASP-FV
'What did Abdul drink?'
c. **Ne** mae Abdul a-ra-nyu-ir-ɛ.
FOC 6.water Abdul SM-TNS-drink-ASP-FV
'Abdul drank WATER.'

[5]There certainly are interactions with extraction: even for the first author of this book, certain extraction environments make NE obligatory, for reasons that we do not currently understand.

The Lubukusu NE is clearly not identical to its Kikuyu analog. It only appears in compound tenses (and on the main verb, not prefixed to tense); it is not the same focus marker that appears in cleft constructions; its intensity interpretation is not obviously the same standard focus interpretation of the focus marker in these other languages. Given its similarities in form and interpretation it is quite plausibly historically related, but synchronically it appears to be distinct. As we note in §4.3.1.2, however, there are also some intriguing parallels in between Lubukusu and Kikuyu in the properties of NE that are similar to conjoint/disjoint patterns.

4.3.1.1 On the interpretation of NE-

While we do not want to derail the main point of discussion here, we do want to clarify somewhat what the interpretation of NE- is, since its interaction with doubling is relevant to our conclusions here. Our best (informal) analysis is that NE- is an intensifier that modifies the predicate: it appears to add that an event is happening repeatedly, or happening with increased intensity. For example, if the context is a simple question about the predicate, answering with a compound tense with NE- sounds odd:

(33) a. *wékésá áβá áxolá síina*
Wekesa a-a-ba a-khol-a siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be 1SM-do-FV 7.what
'What was Wekesa doing?'

b. *wékésá áβá á'tʃéxéla xʊ́sóokǫ*
Wekesa a-ba (#n)-a-chekh-el-a khu-soko.
1.Wekesa 1SM-be (NE)-1SM-laugh-APPL-FV 17-9.market
'Wekesa was laughing in the market.'

Here, adding NE- seems to add unnecessary information to the exchange that wasn't asked for. However, if the question includes mention of iterative activity, answering with a NE- compound tense is very natural.

(34) a. *wékésá áβá áxolá síina βuli xasę*
Wekesa a-a-ba a-khol-a siina buli khase?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be 1SM-do-FV 7.what every 9.time
'What was Wekesa doing constantly?'

b. *wékésá áβá naatʃéxéla xʊ́sóokǫ*

Wekesa a-ba #(n-)a-chekh-el-a khu-soko.
1.Wekesa 1SM-be NE-1SM-laugh-APPL-FV 17-9.market
'Wekesa was laughing (constantly) in the market.'

In fact, the response in (34) would be comparatively unnatural *without* the NE- intensifier here; this context makes it highly desirable to include NE. As we might expect, then, if a question backgrounds the entire predicate, for example in a subject question, using NE- in the answer is infelicitous:

(35) a. *naanú wáˈβá naatʃéxéla xʊ́sóokǫ*
Naanu o-w-a-b-a n-a-a-chekh-el-e khu-soko?
1.who 1C-1AAE-PST-be-FV NE-1SM-PST-laugh-APPL-FV 17-market
'Who was laughing in the market?'

b. *wékésá áβá áˈtʃéxéla xʊ́sóokǫ*
Wekesa a-ba (#n)-a-chekh-el-a khu-soko.
1.Wekesa 1SM-be (NE)-1SM-laugh-APPL-FV 17-9.market
'Wekesa was laughing in the market.'

In this instance answering with NE- adds information that was not requested and sounds as if the speaker is answering a different question than what was asked. But, for example, if the question references the intensity of the event being referenced, NE- is desirable in the response.

(36) a. *naanú wáˈβá naatʃéxéla xúsóˈókó lúkalĭ̋ ‖ βali ifwé xúúlílę*
Naanu o-w-a-b-a n-a-a-chekh-el-a khu-soko
1.who 1C-1AAE-PST-be-FV NE-1SM-PST-laugh-APPL-FV 17-market
lu-kali bali efwe khu-ulil-e?
11-much/more COMP we 1PL.SM-hear-SBJ
'Who was laughing in the market so loudly so that we all could hear?'

b. *wékésá áβá naatʃéxéla xʊ́sóokǫ*
Wekesa a-a-ba #(n-)a-chekh-el-a khu-soko
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be NE-1SM-laugh-APPL-FV 17-9.market
'Wekesa was laughing (uproariously) in the market.'

NE- seems to amplify the degree of some aspect of a meaningful element associated with the predicate or utterance: frequency, intensity, and even politeness. This occurs quite commonly in exchanges with (and between) young children. So consider a scenario where a child has come into possession of some candy; another child may well ask them for some, in which case their request would probably be expressed as in (37).

(37) *mbééxǫ́*
M-b-ee-kho.
1SG.OM-give-SBJV-KHO
'Please give me (some).'

If their request was refused, however, and they still wanted the candy (as surely they would) they could add NE- to their request to intensify the request.

(38) *néˡúmbééxǫ́*
Ne-u-m-b-ee-kho.
NE-2SG.SM-1SG.OM-give-SBJV-KHO
'PLEASE give me some!'

The interpretation of the request bearing NE- is something equivalent in Mainstream U.S. English to a child's plea in a similar context, *pretty pretty please???* The request is intensified, but here it is interpreted as extra, extra polite (perhaps even obsequious).

The NE- intensifier may appear on imperatives that are pragmatically commands rather than requests as well, with a reading that the speaker is trying to ensure that the commanded action takes place. There are two forms of imperatives here: what we will call the bare imperative in (39a) that just utilizes the verb root, and the subjunctive imperative in (39b) that uses the subjunctive form of the verb.

(39) a. *ɲw' étʃáˡájí joó*
Nyw-a e-chai yoo!
drink-FV 9-tea 9.your
'Drink your tea!'

b. *xóˡɲwé tʃáˡájí joó*
Kh-o-nyw-e e-chai yoo.
KH-2SG.SM-drink-SBJV 9-tea 9.your
'Drink your tea.' (subjunctive)

c. *némuɲw' étʃáˡájí joó*
Ne-mu-nyw-e e-chai yoo!
NE-2PL.SM-drink-SBJV 9-tea 9.your
'You (pl) certainly drink your tea!'

In (39c) the interpretation is that the speaker is affirmatively requiring that the action take place—the request itself appears to be intensified. That is to say, this is not a command to drink the tea repeatedly, or intensely, but rather, an intensified request itself.

4.3.1.2 NE- prefers additional information in the verb phrase

Furthermore, the NE- focus morpheme seems to track the presence of postverbal material, whether adjuncts or arguments. So when nothing follows the verb, NE is preferably absent (40), but when an adjunct (41) or argument (42) follows the verb, the construction sounds better *with* NE:

(40) *wékésá áβá naatʃéxą́*
Wekesa a-a-ba (??**n**)-a-chekh-a.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be NE-1SM-laugh-FV
'Wekesa used to laugh.'

(41) *wékésáá ‖ áβá naatʃéxá βuli ɲaŋgą*
Wekesa a-a-ba ??(**n**)-a-chekh-a buli nyanga.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be NE-1SM-laugh-FV every 9day
'Wekesa used to laugh every day.'

(42) *wékésáá ‖ áβá naatʃéxéla βáβáaną*
Wekesa a-a-ba ??(**n**)-a-chekh-el-a ba-ba-ana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be NE-1SM-laugh-APPL-FV 2-2-children
'Wekesa used to laugh with the children.'

In some ways these patterns are reminiscent of conjoint/disjoint systems in southern Bantu languages (van der Wal & Hyman 2017), where a specific morpheme on the verb tracks the presence of verb phrase material, or focal material. And as Morimoto (2017) notes, the Kikuyu NE focus marker itself shows patterns akin to conjoint/disjoint, though in the opposite alignment (the absence of NE on the verb in Kikuyu indicates that the verb is non-final, i.e. a conjoint-like form, whereas the presence of NE correlates with verb-finality, i.e. a disjoint-like form). But Lubukusu NE is definitely not the same thing as a conjoint/disjoint marker: the additional information that is added to make NE acceptable may simply be contextual, as we saw in (34). We therefore understand examples like (41) and (42) to be instances where additional information associated with the semantic content of the verb phrase naturally provides more information from which a hearer can interpret a potential emphatic contribution. But more work is necessary to precisely articulate the interpretive effect of NE.[6]

[6] A reviewer comments that there may likewise be parallels with what Hyman & Watters (1984) called *auxiliary focus*, where some verbal expressions (including negation and progressive aspect, among others) are essentially inherently focused and focus cannot be on another element

4.3.1.3 OM-doubling in compound tenses with NE

As noted above, an additional prediction of our account is that if the *v*P may be focused apart from constituent focus within the *v*P, that OM-doubling should be acceptable no matter what the content of *v*P. Notably for our purposes here, OM-doubling sounds more natural with the NE morpheme in a compound tense.

(43) *wékésá áβáaáɲwa ˡkámálwa βuli ɲaŋga*
Wekesa a-a-ba a-(#ka-) nyw-a ka-ma-lwa buli nyanga.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be 1SM-6OM-drink-FV 6-6-alcohol every day
'Wekesa used to drink alcohol everyday.'
(*without any additional context*)
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

(44) *wékésá áβá naakáɲwa ˡkámálwa βuli ɲaŋga*
Wekesa a-a-ba **n**-a-ka- nyw-a ka-ma-lwa buli nyanga.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-be **NE**-1SM-6OM-drink-FV 6-6-alcohol every day
'Wekesa certainly used to drink alcohol everyday.'
(*without any additional context*)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

Doubling sounds better with the NE intensifier; there is added confidence about the truth of the assertion in (44). This is accomplished without any obvious additional context or constituent focus inside *v*P, rather, a *v*P-level modifier is sufficient for OM-doubling to be acceptable.

4.3.1.4 NE and imperatives (and doubling)

As noted above, the NE- intensifier can also occur on subjunctive imperatives, which tends to have the interpretive effect of increasing the force/urgency of the speaker's command.

(45) a. *xóˡɲwé tʃáˡájí joó*
kh-o-nyw-e e-chai yoo
KH-2SG.SM-drink-SBJV 9-tea 9.your
'Drink your tea.' (polite)

(see also Güldemann 2003). We do not find any differences in the paradigm from (40) based on negation or tense/aspect of the sentences; the judgments for NE remain the same based on the presence (or not) of postverbal material. We agree that the Lubukusu NE morpheme would benefit from additional work, but given our attention on matters of object marking and OM-doubling, we must set aside those questions for future research.

b. *nóʲɲwé tʃáˡájí joó*
n-o-nyw-e e-chai yoo!
NE-2SG.SM-drink-SBJV 9-tea 9.your
'Drink your tea!' (urgent)

Applying this to OM-doubling, we can see that doubling the object is acceptable but requires a verum-like interpretation (46a). But if NE- is used, doubling does not require that verum-like interpretation (46b).

(46) a. *#kiɲwé tʃáˡájí joó*
#Ki- nyw-e e-chai yoo !
9OM-drink-SBJV 9-tea 9.your
'Drink your tea!'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence (something like 'DO drink your tea.')

b. *nókíɲwé tʃáˡájí joó*
N-o-ki- nyw-e e-chai yoo !
NE-2SG.SM-9OM-drink-SBJV 9-tea 9.your
'Drink your tea!'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

4.3.1.5 Intermediate NE conclusions

What we see, then, is that the NE intensifier licenses OM-doubling without a verum-like reading of the clause. But the NE intensifier clearly does not modify a particular sub-constituent of the verb phrase, instead applying to the entire event. While it is not transparent which syntactic constituent NE does modify, it is reasonable to assume that it modifies the *v*P or a roughly equivalent structure.

4.3.2 Clause-final emphatic particle NI

An additional context where we see properties of the clause licensing OM-doubling (as opposed to a particular *v*P sub-constituent) is with the clause-final particle NI. This particle is ambiguous in most contexts, either marking a yes/no question or adding some kind of emphasis to the sentence.

(47) *wékésáá ‖ áljá βúsumá nɨ̰*
Wekesa a-ly-a bu-suma ni.
Wekesa 1SM.PST-eat-FV 14-ugali NI
'Did Wekesa eat ugali?'

'Wekesa *really* ate ugali.'[7] (i.e. he did in fact eat it)

NI appears to occur structurally quite high when it marks a question, as it must occur to the right of the clause-final negation marker (which otherwise always occurs in a clause-final position). We take this to suggest that NI occurs in a high CP-level position.

(48) *wékésá sé'áljá βúsumá tá nĩ́*
Wekesa se-a-ly-a bu-suma ta ni.
1.Wekesa NEG-1SM.PST-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG NI
'Did Wekesa not eat ugali?'
*'Wekesa really didn't eat ugali.'

Notably, however, in this example (where NI is unambiguously structurally high, as indicated by its position with respect to negation) the emphatic reading is inaccessible, and instead only the yes/no question reading of NI is available. We take this to indicate that the distinct interpretations of NI are linked to a structural ambiguity: the yes/no question reading is associated with a structurally high position of NI (presumably CP-level), and the emphatic interpretation is associated with a structurally lower position, which is why it disappears when the co-occurrence with negation disambiguates the structural height of the particle. We do not have clear evidence of the structurally lower position in the same way we do for the higher position in (48), but it naturally fits with the rest of the Lubukusu pattern we see below to assume that the emphatic reading of NI is modifying the predicate in some way, assumed here to be *v*P.

That said, the NI particle also cannot occur *inside* the clause-final negation particle, as shown in (49).

(49) *Wekesa se-a-a-ly-a busuma ni ta.
1.Wekesa NEG-1SM-PST-eat-FV ugali NI NEG

It is not clear to us whether this is some kind of morphosyntactic or morphological restriction on the position of the overt NI itself, a semantic restriction resulting from the interaction of NI and negation, or some other kind of restriction. We are nonetheless inclined to believe that a structurally lower attachment site is possible in non-negated sentences, explaining the lack of emphatic reading in (48).

[7] There is no obvious difference in pronunciation between these interpretations, prosodic or otherwise.

The relevance to our current concerns is that the emphatic clause-final *ni* particle is another OM-doubling licensing context, wherein OM-doubling may occur without any additional discourse-, semantic-, or morphosyntactic context.[8]

(50) *wékésáá ‖ áβúlja βúsumá ní*
Wekesa a-a-bu- lya bu-suma ni.
Wekesa 1SM-PST-14OM-eat 14-ugali NI
'Wekesa *really* ate ugali.'

Again, we see the same pattern that we saw above; it is properties of the clause, or an event-level constituent, that allow for OM-doubling without verum, and it does not necessarily rely on the focal properties of an argument or adjunct of the verb.

4.3.3 Contrastive focus on whole *v*P

We saw in §4.1.4 that contrastive focus on some *v*P element facilitates OM-doubling an object. In addition, contrastive focus on the entire verb phrase likewise licenses doubling of an object contained in the verb phrase.

(51) *βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsuma ‖ seβátimaɲé tʃíiŋgoxó tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bu- **ly-a** **bu-suma**, se-ba-a-timany-a
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG-2SM-PST-chase-FV
chi-ngokho ta.
10-chickens NEG
'The children ATE UGALI, they didn't chase the chickens.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'eat ugali'

This is an additional demonstration of how the focus requirement appears to be centered on the verb phrase, not necessarily on any particular element inside the verb phrase.

[8] The yes/no-question version of the particle NI does not readily facilitate OM-doubling. It is possible to OM-double an object in a yes/no question with NI, but it requires significant discourse context or extralinguistic context licensing it (in the manner discussed in Chapter 7); the yes/no question with NI is not itself a facilitating context for OM-doubling. Given the *v*P-centric nature of OM-doubling, this is to be expected if the yes/no version of NI is syntactically high, outside the *v*P.

4.3.4 Intermediate summary: *v*P is a significant domain

In this subsection we have seen various pieces of evidence (NE intensifier, NI emphatic particle, contrastive focus on *v*P) that focus on a particular lexical argument or adjunct within the verb phrase does not appear to be necessary to facilitate OM-doubling: focus/emphasis on the entire *v*P also facilitates doubling. Whether these particles might rightfully be called 'focus' is a very fair question, though contrastive focus on the verb phrase is more clearly a focus construction. We do not belabor that question here, however, because we will see in Chapter 7 that overtly (grammatically) focused constituents are simply a subset of the environments that make for natural OM-doubling constructions.

4.4 OM-doubled objects are discourse-given

The sections that preceded show that OM-doubling is much more natural if some constituent in the verb phrase is focused (including the possibility of the verb phrase itself being focused). But to this point we have not discussed the interpretation of OM-doubled objects themselves. The conclusion that we reach in this section is that OM-doubled objects are discourse-given.

4.4.1 Restrictions to *given* objects

In canonical OM-doubling constructions, the structurally highest DP is the one doubled by the OM. But it is not sufficient for the verb phrase to contain a focused element, and a DP with *φ*-features. This is evident in the answer to an object question in (52): the verb phrase here appropriately contains a focus, suggesting that OM-doubling should be relatively acceptable. Nonetheless, doubling is infelicitous in this context.

(52) a. *βáβáaná βáakésile sina likolooβa̰*
Ba-ba-ana ba-kes-ile siina likolooba?
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 7.what yesterday
'What did the children harvest yesterday?'

b. *βáβáaná βáakésile kámáííndi likolooβa̰*
Ba-ba-ana ba-(#ka-) kes-ile **ka-ma-indi** likolooba.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested maize yesterday.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

Based on everything we have proposed thus far, nothing rules out OM-doubling in the response in (52b): there is a focused element in the verb phrase, and an object that could be agreed with. But OM-doubling is unacceptable in this context nonetheless, as compared to the parallel situation shown in (53) where focus on a temporal adjunct naturally facilitates doubling on the object.[9]

(53) Q: *βáβáaná βáká'késá kámái'ndí líiŋa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(ka-) kes-a ka-ma-indi **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-(6OM)-harvest-FV 6-6-maize when
'WHEN did the children harvest the maize?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'when'

A: *βáβáaná βáakákésile kámáíndi likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-(ka-) kes-ile ka-ma-indi **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested the maize YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

We suggest that there is a requirement that the OM-doubled phrase be discourse-familiar (i.e. *given*).

(54) Sufficient Conditions for OM-doubling in Lubukusu (to be revised):
1. the *v*P must be a focus domain
2. the OM-doubled phrase must be given (i.e. discourse-familiar)

The following subsections describe the interpretive restrictions on OM-doubled phrases; these patterns are consistent with the OM-doubling Agree relation being dependent on the givenness (i.e. discourse-familiarity/salience) of the object being doubled.

4.4.2 OM-doubling tends to yield specific readings

As is common for clitic-doubling cross-linguistically, OM-doubled objects in Lubukusu are interpreted as *specific*. So whereas the undoubled object in (55a) yields a non-specific reading of the object, if the appropriate discourse conditions are met for doubling in (55b), the doubled object is interpreted as specific and familiar.

[9] A reviewer inquires what happens if the object is new information, but something else in the sentence is focused. We consider this configuration along with a range of additional relevant ones in Chapter 8.

(55) a. *náw' ómwáaná kámáβeelę*
N-a-w-a o-mw-aana ka-ma-beele.
1SG.SM-PST-give-FV 1-1-child 6-6-milk
'I gave a child milk.' (could be any child)

b. *námúw' ˡómwáaná kámáβeelę*
N-a-[mu-] w-a [o-mw-aana] ka-ma-beele.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 1-1-child 6-6-milk
'I gave a specific child milk.' (i.e. the child is discourse-familiar)
assuming interpretive conditions are met to license doubling

This kind of effect is familiar from extensive research on clitic-doubling and differential object marking, and is consistent with a requirement that OM-doubling must be discourse-given (though specificity and givenness are not identical concepts).

4.4.3 Objects with demonstratives are more readily OM-doubled

As would be expected based on the observation above, an object DP that contains a demonstrative allows OM-doubling much more naturally than a bare nominal object:

(56) a. ?*náβáβona βáβáana*
?N-a-[ba-] bon-a ba-ba-ana.
1SG.SM-PST-2OM-see-FV 2-2-children
'I DID see (the) children.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *náβáβona βáβáana aβǫ*
N-a-[ba-] bon-a [babaana abo].
1SG.SM-PST-2OM-see-FV 2-2-children 2.DEM
'I DID see those children.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

Both of the examples in (56) require a verum-like reading of the sentence to be acceptable without additional context, but the addition of the demonstrative in (56b) marks a significant improvement in naturalness over (56a). Likewise, (57) shows that when the focal requirements of OM-doubling are met by a constituent within *v*P (or *v*P itself), OM-doubling is more natural with a demonstrative than without one. In (57) the OM-doubled phrase is itself the focused element; this is a new configuration, but we will see more examples like this as the volume proceeds.

(57) Q: *naanu níjé ˡwáβóną*
Naanu ni-ye w-a-bon-a?
1.who COMP-1 2SG.SM-PST-see-FV
'Who did you see?'
A: *náβáβona βáβáana aβǫ*
N-a-ba- bon-a **ba-ba-ana** ?(**abo**).
1SG.SM-PST-2OM-see-FV 2-2-children 2.DEM
'I saw THOSE CHILDREN.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'those children'

(58) Q: *wáβóna βáβáana aβó líiną*
W-a-bon-a ba-ba-ana (abo) **liina**?
2SG.SM-PST-see-FV 2-2-children 2.DEM when
'When did you see those children?'
A: *naaβáβóóné ˡβáβáana aβo likolooβą*
N-a-ba- bon-e ba-ba-ana ?(abo) **likolooba**.
1SG.SM-PST-2OM-see-FV 2-2-children 2.DEM yesterday
'I saw those children YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

The construction lacking a demonstrative is not necessarily ungrammatical or strongly unacceptable. Rather, by annotating those constructions as '?' we are simply communicating that the OM-doubling construction with the demonstrative is comparatively more natural. We understand this to be a result of discourse-based specificity; the degree to which a specific referent is reconstructable from the context determines (in part) the naturalness of doubling, so explicit morphosyntactic marking of discourse-specificity (e.g. with a demonstrative) makes OM-doubling sound comparatively natural. Bare nominals can be discourse-given and specific if the discourse context makes this clear; for the demonstrative-less examples above to be acceptable, the reference of the OM-doubled phrase must be familiar from the linguistic or extra-linguistic context.

4.4.4 (Non-)doubling of unaugmented objects

Lubukusu is like many Bantu languages in using two noun class prefixes on nominals, as shown in the Table 4.1. The initial prefix is often referred to as the pre-prefix, the augment, or the initial vowel/augment vowel (in many languages, the

pre-prefix consists of only a vowel for all noun classes, though this is only true for a subset of noun classes in Lubukusu). We will use the term 'augment' here given the predominance of that term in the syntactic literature focused on this issue.

Table 4.1: Partial listing of Lubukusu noun class morphology, based on Mutonyi (2000: 6)

Class	Augment	Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	o-	mu-	omukhasi	'woman'
2	ba-	ba-	babaana	'children'
3	ku-	mu-	kumukhono	'arm/hand'
4	ki-	mi-	kimikhono	'arms/hands'
5	li-	li-	lilyaanda	'ember'
6	ka-	ma-	kamaanda	'embers'
7	si-	si-	sisyaangu	'sponge'
8	bi-	bi-	bibyaangu	'sponges'
9	e-	N-	eendubi	'basket'
10	chi-	N-	chiindubi	'baskets'

The topic of the augment across a variety of languages has generated a large range of insightful research, which we cannot even begin to properly overview here. For some of the initial influential work on the syntactic properties of the augment, see Hyman & Katamba (1993) and Progovac (1993) and see Halpert (2025) and Gambarage (2019) for excellent overviews. Among the patterns that are documented, it has been noted that the presence/absence of the augment can signal definiteness/indefiniteness, that the lack of an augment gives a noun phrase qualities similar to NPIs (being licensed under negation, for example, but not in affirmative declaratives), or that the presence of an augment denotes either an assertion of existence or a belief of existence (Gambarage 2019).

Without going into too much depth, it appears that Lubukusu augments behave somewhat similarly to the patterns above, though much more research is necessary before we can say anything too definitive about them. In general, augments are obligatory on nominals and their absence only appears to be licensed in a very narrow range of contexts. One of these, as noted above, is in negative contexts, and the non-augmented nominal gets an NPI-like interpretation

(roughly equivalent to English 'any,' e.g. *anyone*, *anything*). Each example below shows the contrasting obligatory presence of the augment in subject position.

(59) a. *sísííndú sjákwą́*
*(Si)-si-indu sy-a-kw-a.
7-7-thing 7SM-PST-fall-FV
'Something fell.'

b. *senáβóˈná sííndú tá*
Se-n-a-bon-a si-indu ta.
NEG-1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 7-thing NEG
'I didn't see anything.'

(60) a. *ómúúndú ákwą́*
*(O)-mu-ndu a-a-kw-a.
1-1-person 1SM-PST-fall-FV
'Someone fell.'

b. *senáβóˈná múúndú tá*
Se-n-a-bon-a mu-ndu ta.
NEG-1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1-person NEG
'I didn't see anyone.'

We also see augments disappearing in discourse contexts where the relevant nominal specifically has no referent:

(61) Q: *naanú xolile sinǫ*
Naanu o-khol-ile si-no?
1.who 1SM-do-PFV 7-this?
'Who did this?

A: *múúndú tá*
(*o-)mu-ndu ta
1-1-person NEG
'Nobody.'

Generally, augments are not acceptable in non-NPI-licensing environments, but in coercing them into that context, the interpretive effect is quite informative.

(62) *náβóna muundų*
N-a-bon-a mu-ndu.
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 1-person
'I saw a potential person.' (*see context below*)

Not: 'I saw an unspecified person.'

The example in (62) would be an uncommon sentence, but could be said. Importantly, it cannot mean 'I saw a person,' where the object is simply assumed to be indefinite or non-specific. Rather, in this context it cannot even be assumed that what was seen was actually a person at all. So this could be uttered in a scenario where the speaker is out at night and they see movement in the dark and they think it could be a person, but they are not certain it is a person. If the augment was added to the object in (62) this would yield the interpretation 'I saw a person,' where it is assumed the person exists even if they could not be identified. In this way, the augment seems to introduce an existence presupposition, similar to the patterns documented by Gambarage (2019).[10]

The example in (62) could also be described as a generic description. Augments also can be lacking on generic descriptions, as illustrated in (63).

(63) *Context: the speaker visits the US, and in coming back wants to comment on the diversity in the country without saying anything specific about anyone. They can say:*
náβóˈná βáándú ná βaandu̧
N-a-bon-a ba-andu na ba-andu.
1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 2-people and 2-people
'I saw all types of people.'

Given the range of research on constructions where augments may be absent, there are many empirical issues to explore that go well beyond our current purposes (Progovac 1993, Hyman & Katamba 1993, Halpert 2016, Gambarage 2019, Carstens & Mletshe 2015, 2016, Pietraszko 2021, Carstens 2023). At present, we will simply be utilizing non-augmented DPs for their status as non-specific DPs as a way to diagnose the properties of object marking.

Given the interpretive link of OM-doubling with specific, identifiable objects, we would expect it to be impossible to OM-double an unaugmented object. (64b) shows that this prediction is upheld; the sentence in (64b) is constructed as an appropriate licensing context for OM-doubling, with focus on the THEME object and attempting doubling of the RECIPIENT object. Doubling is acceptable, but only if the augment on the doubled object is present: it is ungrammatical otherwise.

[10] A reviewer mentions that some languages allow augments to be omitted in the case of a quantified subject: e.g., *Every child read a book*, on a distributive reading of the indefinite object. Lubukusu requires augments on the object nominals in such contexts.

(64) a. *wékésáá ‖ seawélé múúndú músirekeré éswítí jóɲéné ˡtá*
Wekesa se-a-w-el-ele mu-ndu mu-si-rekere e-switi
1.Wekesa NEG-1SM-give-APPL-PFV 1-person 18-7-village 9-candy
y-ong'ene ta.
9-only NEG
'Wekesa didn't give anyone in the village only sweets.' (i.e. he was generous and gave everyone multiple things)

b. *wékésáá ‖ seamúweléeléé ‖ ómúúndú músirekeré éswíˡtí jóɲéné ˡtá*
Wekesa se-a-mu- w-el-ele *(o)-mu-ndu mu-si-rekere
1.Wekesa NEG-1SM-1OM-give-APPL-PFV 1-person 18-7-village
e-switi y-ong'ene ta.
9-candy 9-only NEG
'Wekesa didn't give anyone in the village ONLY SWEETS.' (i.e. he was generous and gave everyone multiple things)

The obligatory augment in (64b) is in some ways compatible with what we have seen thus far. If augments presuppose the existence of the referent, discourse-given objects should be incompatible with the lack of an augment (and OM-doubling requires a discourse-given object). At the same time, the NPI-like interpretation of (64b) (signaled in the translation) is surprising because it is not clear how a discourse-given phrase could receive a quantificational and non-specific interpretation akin to an NPI. We will discuss how these apparently incompatible properties can co-exist in §4.4.6 where we will also see additional examples of the same sort of pattern. In short, what is discourse-familiar here is the domain restriction on the quantified phrase, rather than the non-specific referent of the nominal (here, we have specified that it is nobody *in the village*).

The OM-doubling example in (64b) makes another point for us which we do not take up in depth until Chapter 5: because non-specific indefinites are expected to be *in situ* in the verb phrase, this is an initial argument that OM-doubled objects remain *in situ*. We will offer much more on this topic in Chapter 5.

4.4.5 OM-doubling possible with focused objects

In contrast to what we previously suggested in Sikuku et al. (2018), focused objects can themselves be OM-doubled. We will see many more examples of this in the chapters that follow (including Chapter 8, where it is shown that a specific subset of objects *must* be focused in order to be doubled). We do not delve into the full range of these focused-doubling constructions here; rather, our intention

in reporting these data here are largely to show that it is *possible* to OM-double focused objects.

The various examples below show that objects with *-ongene* 'only' can be doubled, but doubling is much more natural when the doubled phrases are readily identifiable in the discourse context. So in (65) we can see that an exhaustively focused CAUSEE may be OM-doubled (where it itself is the licensing focus for OM-doubling), but the causee must also be discourse-given for the sentence to be natural.

(65) *ómwaná tʃíliisja tʃíxáafii ‖ tʃótʃóɲéné ˈkámáííndi̱*
Om-w-aana a-a-chi- li-isy-a **chi-khafu ?(e-cho) ch-ong'ene**
1-1-child 1SM-PST-10OM-eat-CAUS-FV 10-cows DEM-10 10-only
ka-ma-indi.
6-6-maize
'The child fed ONLY THOSE COWS maize.' (they didn't feed any of the other animals maize)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Requires discourse-familiar cows in the context
Additional emphasis on 'only those cows'

A demonstrative is not literally obligatory (as a bare noun can also be discourse-given) but including a demonstrative makes the sentence comparatively more natural (requiring less extralinguistic context to make it acceptable). And either way, the cows must be identifiable in the discourse context for the sentence to be natural.

Another example demonstrates the same pattern: (66) shows that a focused RECIPIENT in a lexical ditransitive can be doubled:

(66) *βáβáaná βáβóokesja βááxaaná βóóɲéné̱é̱ ‖ kámáréeβa̱*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-b- okesy-a **baa-khaana b-ong'ene**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-show-FV 2.2-girls 2-only
ka-ma-reeba.
6-6-questions
'The children showed ONLY THE GIRLS the questions.' (i.e. they didn't show the boys)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
The girls must be identifiable/previously mentioned to be acceptable
Additional emphasis on 'only the girls'

In the same way, a focused RECIPIENT in a benefactive applicative construction can be doubled (67):

(67) *βáβáaná βáβáˈkéséla βáβéeβúsí βóóɲéné ‖ kámáííndị́*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- kes-el-a **baa-bebusi b-ong'ene**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2.2-parents 2-only
ka-ma-indi.
6-6-maize
'The children harvested maize for ONLY THEIR PARENTS.' (not for anyone else)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only their parents'

In general, it is acceptable to have discourse-given focused elements, as Büring (2016: 28) illustrates with the example in (68), where either of the prompts in (68a) can be responded to with the sentence in (68b).

(68) a. Kim's mother nominated Sam. / Who did Kim's mother nominate?
b. She nominated KIM$_F$.
(Büring 2016: 28)

This is somewhat at odds with Kratzer and Selkirk's (2020) claim that focus-marked elements cannot also be marked as discourse-given. On their account new information is not focus-marked, so an instance like (68) might be explained on their account by the absence of a [FoC] feature on the object. But there are clearly instances where exhaustive focus in English is compatible with a discourse-familiar object.

(69) a. Did Kim's mother nominate Sam, too?
b. No, she only nominated KIM$_F$.

We do not fully explore here Kratzer and Selkirk's proposals about the incompatibility of givenness- and focus-features: clearly, empirically-speaking, discourse-familiar elements can be focused. And, in Lubukusu it is clear that focused objects can themselves be OM-doubled, but it comes with a requirement that they be discourse-familiar as well.

Another instance of OM-doubling focused phrases is with *wh*-phrases. As (70a) shows, it is unacceptable to OM-double a bare *wh*-phrase. Nonetheless, (70b) shows that OM-doubling is natural as long as the *wh*-phrase is D-linked.[11]

[11]This same pattern has been reported for a wide range of languages: see Kramer (2014) for Amharic and Kallulli (2008) for Albanian, among others.

(70) a. *wátúúl' ááβóna naanu̱*
Watulo a-a-(*mu-) bon-a naanu ?
1Watulo 1SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1.who
'Who did Watulo see?'

b. *wátúúl' áámúβona mwalímu síinu̱*
Watulo a-a-(mu-) bon-a o-mw-alimu siina ?
1Watulo 1SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1-1-teacher 7.what
'WHICH TEACHER did Watulo see?'
Additional emphasis on 'which teacher'

Assuming that the function of D-linking is to introduce a domain restriction on the quantificational element in the *wh*-phrase, here we simply assume that what is given in this in (70b) is the set of referents identified by the domain restrictor: here, some relevant set of teachers.

It is clear from this section that there is nothing about OM-doubling that is itself incompatible with focused phrases. It was clear from Chapter 4 that an OM-doubled phrase need not be focused, but this section affirms that OM-doubled phrases *can* be focused, presuming that they are discourse-given.

4.4.6 Doubling quantified phrases

Baker & Kramer (2018) claim that the ability to object-mark quantified phrases (or not) can be used to distinguish object agreement (acceptable with quantified phrases) from clitic doubling (unacceptable with quantified phrases), claiming that clitics are pronouns. The reasoning behind their claim is tangential at the moment, with the reliable takeaway being that this restriction may be used to diagnose the syntactic properties of the object marker.

As a general rule, OM-doubling a universally quantified phrase in Lubukusu is unnatural. The example in (71) uses *-ong'ene* 'only' focus on the THEME in a lexical ditransitive to create an environment that normally licenses doubling, but in this instance does not naturally do so.

(71) *%námúwa βuli mwaanăă ‖ kámáβeelé kóŋéŋę́*
%N-a-mu- w-a buli mw-aana **ka-ma-beele k-ong'ene**.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-FV every 1-child 6-6-milk 6-only
'I gave every child ONLY MILK (no snacks).'
Additional emphasis on 'only milk'

That said, we annotate the example in (71) with a % rather than a # because it is possible for (71) to be quite natural. What is required here is that a specific set of

children needs to be familiar in the discourse—so if the context is sufficient that (71) would be interpreted more as 'I gave every one of those children over there only milk,' then doubling follows quite naturally. So while doubling a quantified object is not automatically natural, if the domain restriction of the quantifier (i.e. the relevant set of individuals that the quantifier quantifies over) is accessible and salient to the audience, OM-doubling follows naturally given an appropriate context. This is evident in the examples in (72) where the domain restriction is made explicit. (72a) specifies that that domain restriction is familiar to the speaker (*every child that I know*) and OM-doubling sounds natural without more context. (72b), in contrast, is similar to (71): the domain restriction here does not clarify any familiarity in the discourse or to the interlocutors (*every child wearing a hat*) and therefore (72b) is only acceptable if the context provides a discourse-familiar set of children wearing hats.[12]

(72) a. *námuwá βuli mwaanaá níjé ámáɲilé ˡkámáβeelé kóɲéné*
Na-mu- w-a buli mw-aana ni-ye e-many-ile
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-giveFV every 1-child COMP-1 1SG.SM-know-PFV
ka-ma-beele k-ong'ene
6-6-milk 6-only
'I gave every child that I know ONLY MILK (no snacks).'
Additional emphasis on 'only milk'

b. *%námuwá βuli mwaán' ófwaárír' ékófyó ˡkámáβeelé kóɲéné*
%Na-mu- w-a buli mw-aana o-fwar-ir-e e-kofyo
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-giveFV every 1-child AAE-wear-TNS-FV 9-hat
ka-ma-beele k-ong'ene
6-6-milk 6-only
'I gave every child wearing a hat ONLY MILK (no snacks).'
Additional emphasis on 'only milk'

4.4.7 Doubling a negative polarity item

The interaction of OM-doubling with a negative polarity item (NPI) provides one more example of discourse-familiar domains of quantifiers being sufficient to license OM-doubling. The example in (73) shows that the negative polarity item (NPI) *omundu yesiyesi* 'anyone at all' can be OM-doubled:

(73) *wafulá séámútéexel' ómúúndú jesí jesi tʃáˡají jóɲéné ˡtáawe*

[12] Our thanks to an anonymous LSP reviewer for suggesting this diagnostic.

Wafula se-a-a-(%mu-) tekh-el-a o-mu-ndu y-esi y-esi **e-chai**
1.Wafula NEG-1SM-PST-1OM-cook-APPL-FV 1-1-person 1-any 1-any 9-tea
y-ong'ene tawe.
9-only NEG
'Wafula didn't prepare ONLY TEA for anyone at all.' (i.e. he prepared everyone tea + a snack)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only tea'

We annotate this with % as with the quantifier example in the preceding section. An NPI by its very nature cannot refer to a specific individual, showing that reference to a specific individual is not a requirement of OM-doubling. An example like (73) is only possible if there is a distinctive sense that the speaker is referring to 'anyone at all *out of a specific, familiar set of people*,' for example referring to guests at the particular table at the restaurant that has already been under discussion. So for (73), a viable context would be: *the team of employees at a local restaurant are debating whether or not a particular table of guests has received their order. Someone accused the server for that table of failing to bring a snack to some of the guests at that table when they were served their tea.* (73), with OM-doubling, can be uttered in response. By the same line of reasoning, the configuration in (73) becomes very natural in (74) (with no additional context offered) if we specify the group being quantified over.

(74) *wafulá séámútéexel' ómúúndú jesí jesi xumésa oxwe' tʃáˡají jóɲéné ˡtáawe*
Wafula se-a-a-mu- tekh-el-a o-mu-ndu y-esi y-esi
1.Wafula NEG-1SM-PST-1OM-cook-APPL-FV 1-1-person 1-any 1-any
khu-mesa okhwo **e-chai y-ong'ene** tawe.
17-9.table 17.DEM 9-tea 9-only NEG
'Wafula didn't prepare ONLY TEA for anyone at that table.' (i.e. he prepared each of those people tea + a snack)
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only tea'

Likewise, question and answer congruence can be used to generate a new information focus context, which likewise licenses doubling on the NPI object:

(75) Q: *wafula átéexela βáβáándú síiɲa*
Wafula a-a-tekh-el-a ba-ba-andu siina?
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-cook-APPL-FV 2-2-people 7.what
'What did Wafula prepare/cook for (the) people?'

A: *wafulá séámútéexel' ómúúndú jesí jesi sííndú tá*
%Wafula se-a-a-mu- tekh-el-a o-mu-ndu y-esi y-esi
1.Wafula NEG-1SM-PST-1OM-cook-APPL-FV 1-1-person 1-any 1-any
si-ndu ta
7-thing NEG.
'Wafula didn't prepare/cook ANYTHING for anyone.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'anything'

- ✓ *Context A: Wafula is the chef at a restaurant. One table of guests had requested that the chef make them something of his own choosing, and so the server comes and inquires as to what Wafula prepared for that table of guests.*
- *# Context B: the staff at the restaurant is simply inquiring about what Wafula has been preparing for the unspecified guests at the restaurant tonight.*

The OM–doubled version of (75) gives a sense of expectation that Wafula was supposed to prepare something for some specific people (the group of guests at the aforementioned table), but none of these people got the favour. The non-doubled sentence, on the other hand, is more neutral. While it could refer to the same situation, it is also possible that in the non-doubled sentence the speaker does not have any specific people in mind that were not cooked for. It may simply mean that Wafula did not just cook at all. In doubled version of (75), however, the implication is that in a given group of people, none was cooked for. Therefore, while it *is* possible to OM-double an NPI, it nonetheless creates an interpretation of a discourse-familiar set which the NPI quantifies over. This fits with the facts from the preceding sections; the implicit domain restriction on a quantificational element may be the relevant discourse-given component of an object that licenses OM-doubling.

4.4.8 OM-doubled objects as aboutness topics

There is a clear intersection of 'aboutness' topichood with OM-doubling in Lubukusu. For example, with a prompt that explicitly requires an aboutness interpretation of the relevant object in (76), OM-doubling becomes largely obligatory.

(76) A: *xéʲɲdʒá xúxuβoolélá xuwekesa*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-Wekesa.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-1.Wekesa
'I am going to tell you about Wekesa.'

B: *námúwela wékésá βáβáaná βíˡjánwáā́ ‖ éeɲuma wéxuxúˡúmbáā́ ‖ βjátʃáná nendí náˡíróbi̯*
N-a-(#?(mu-)) w-el-a (Wekesa) ba-ba-ana bi-anwa enyuma
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 2-2-children 8-gifts behind
we-khu-khu-m-b-a bi-a-chana ne-n-di Nairobi.
ASSOC-15-15-1SG.OM-give-FV 8-ASSOC-TOPIC when-1SG.SM-be Nairobi
'I gave the children gifts for Wekesa after he gave them to me when I was in Nairobi.'

As was the case for question and answer congruence, an aboutness topic is not necessarily preferred to occur in object position: aboutness topics are consistently subjects in Lubukusu, as in many languages. However, grammatical and felicitous sentences can be constructed where aboutness topics are in object position. They are informative for our purposes here because we can explore the impact on full sentence structure, as is the case with question and answer congruence where we use full sentences to answer *wh*-questions.

What we cannot actually see from this example is whether OM-doubling becomes obligatory when the relevant object is an aboutness topic. This is because it is not immediately evident whether doubling is itself a strategy for marking aboutness topics or if aboutness topics are simply exemplars of a more fundamental property that is linked with OM-doubling (namely, givenness). We suggest that it is the latter. A first indication of this comes from (77), taken from Sikuku et al. (2018: (26)). Example (77) replicates a diagnostic from Neeleman et al. (2009), which identifies contrastive topics. By establishing what a sentence is about, and then replacing that with a new topic, the context ensures that the phrase under consideration is both contrastive and topical. So in (77b) the contrastive topic is *kúmúchéele* 'rice.'

(77) a. Naan' úú-l-iilé búu-sumá lúnó músilo?
1.who 1SM-eat-PFV 14.14-ugali today night
'Who ate the ugali tonight?'

b. See-mány-á khú búu-sumá tá, nekákháálí lionéeli
NEG-1SG.SM.know-FV 17 14.14-ugali NEG, but 1Leonell
a-(#kú-) l-iile (kúmú-chéele).
1SM-#3OM-eat-PFV 3-3-rice
'Well, I don't know about ugali, but Leonell ate the rice.'

Here we have another topic in the second conjunct, but it is contrastive, and discourse-new. Presumably if topichood itself was the triggering context for OM-

doubling, the contrastive topic in (77) should suffice and OM-doubling would be possible and perhaps near-obligatory (but in (77b) it is not).

Furthermore, while an aboutness prompt in (76) makes OM-doubling highly desirable (akin to obligatory), (78) shows that this does *not* license OM-doubling in a monotransitive construction without additional context.

(78) a. *xéʲɲdʒá x:uβoolélá xúβáana tʃáɲá*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ba-ana chana.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-2-children TOP
'I am going to tell you about those kids we are talking about.'

b. *wékésá ápa βáβáana tʃáɲá*
Wekesa a-(#?ba-)p-a ba-ba-ana chana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-(#?2OM)-beat-FV 2-2-children TOP
'Wekesa disciplined the kids we are talking about.' (# without additional context)

This of course is in contrast with the situations where a monotransitive object was itself focused, as discussed above in §4.5.2. Therefore, despite aboutness topics being strong candidates for OM-doubling, they are not sufficient to license a doubling construction. This leads us to think that the conditioning environment that makes doubling so desirable in (76) is not the aboutness topicality as much as it is the extremely high degree of salience invoked by the aboutness prompt for the discourse-given aboutness topic in the sentence that follows.

4.5 Revisiting monotransitive doubling

As we arrive at the end of this complex array of data description, it is worthwhile to revisit some of the restrictions in monotransitive doubling constructions that we started with (and, which Sikuku et al. 2018 give much attention to) to confirm what constraints persist and what constraints might be otherwise explained by the information structural effects we describe here.

4.5.1 Unacceptable monotransitive doubling

Now that we have identified the role of givenness/familiarity, it is valuable to re-confirm that this fails to license doubling on its own, even if givenness is a necessary component of doubling. We can do this by revisiting the earliest restrictions we considered, those placed on monotransitive sentences. One instance is an aboutness prompt, which quite obviously makes an object discourse-given,

but does not itself license OM-doubling, as (78b) made clear. That said, the context in (78) lacks the requisite focus effects. What happens if we combine focus and discourse-familiarity in the ways we have seen thus far? OM-doubling is still illicit in (79), even where the answer to a monotransitive object question is a discourse-familiar DP as in (79b) (where the object is topic-marked by *chana* 'the X we are talking about' and bears new information focus).

(79) a. *wékésá ápa naanu̱*
Wekesa a-a-p-a naanu?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-beat-FV 1.who
'Who did Wekesa discipline?'

b. *wékésá ápa βáβáana tʃáná*
Wekesa a-a-(#ba-) pa ba-ba-ana chana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-(#2OM)-beat-FV 2-2-children TOP
'Wekesa disciplined the children we are talking about.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

We can see here that simple monotransitives with the relevant focus and givenness are not conducive to OM-doubling on their own. Chapter 7 will argue that mirative (emphatic) focus is necessary to license doubling, which adds some unexpected/unsolicited information. Because (79b) directly answers the question, the response is expected, and therefore infelicitous with OM-doubling.

4.5.2 Acceptable monotransitive doubling

So is OM-doubling simply impossible in monotransitives for some reason? Certainly not: many examples of licit OM-doubling from Chapter 4 were monotransitives with focused adjuncts, and verum focus readily licenses doubling in monotransitives.

We can see another example of this in (80), a Q&A context which also serves to elucidate what is behind this issue for us. As illustrated in (80a), it is possible to OM-double a D-linked object question in a simple monotransitive. Nonetheless, answering that question (80b) with an OM-doubled sentence (even with a discourse-familiar object) is unacceptable.

(80) a. *wékésáā́ ‖ áβáapa βaana síina̱*
Wekesa a-a-(ba-) pa ba-ana siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-(2OM)-beat-FV 2-children 7.what
'WHICH CHILDREN did Wekesa discipline?'

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'which children'

b. *wékésá ápa βáβáana tʃáŋą́*
Wekesa a-a-(#ba-) p-a ba-ba-ana chana .
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-(#2OM)-beat-FV 2-2-children TOP
'Wekesa disciplined the children we are talking about.'

The pattern illustrated in (80) points us in a direction that is explored in much more depth in Chapter 7, namely, that there is an additional requirement on OM-doubling that the verb phrase contains something novel, unexpected, or especially significant in some way; in (80b) the object is not sufficiently informative. But in a context where something in the verb phrase adds noteworthy information, monotransitive doubling is perfectly acceptable. In response to the object question in (81), 'which chapati do you want?' it is infelicitous to use an OM-doubling sentence to simply identify the desired chapati, as in (82a). However, if in identifying the chapati you also add descriptive/evaluative information, OM-doubling your response sounds natural, as in (82b).

(81) *wéɲá ˩tʃápáti síiŋą*
W-eny-a chapati siina?
2SG.SM-want-FV 9.chapati 7.what
'Which chapati do you want?'

(82) *as answers to (81)*:

a. *#eŋkjéɲa tʃápáti ijo*
#En-(ki-) eny-a (chapati eyo) .
1SG.SM-9OM-want-FV 9.chapati 9.DEM
'I want that chapati.' (*see discussion below for acceptable contexts*)

b. *eŋkjéɲa tʃápá˩tí ˈndaji ijo*
En-(ki-) eny-a (chapati en-dayi eyo) .
1SG.SM-9OM-want-FV 9.chapati 9-good 9.DEM
'I want that GOOD chapati.'
Something stands out as exceptionally good about that particular chapati

What we see, then, is that adding some unsolicited information into the object can license OM-doubling in a simple monotransitive completely naturally. So, it appears that simple monotransitives do create limitations on OM-doubling, but

they do not disallow OM-doubling. What is key is creating the correct conditions. This includes a focus requirement and a givenness requirement, but the examples above show that this also is insufficient. The emphatic (mirative) focus is also necessary, as Chapter 7 shows.

4.6 Parallel properties cross-linguistically

Kallulli (2000) shows that Greek and Albanian clitic doubling is dependent on information structure in many ways similar to what we have seen here for Lubukusu. We overview the relevant properties here as perhaps the closest cross-linguistic precedent for the patterns we report here. (83) gives a simple monotransitive OM-doubling context; as can be seen, the clitic-doubled sentences in both languages are translated with verum focus in English.

(83) Verum-like interpretation with direct object doubling (Kallulli 2000: (4))

a. Albanian
*(E) pashë Jan-in.
him.CL saw-I the Yannis
'I did see John'

b. Greek
*(Ton) idha ton Yánni.
him.CL saw-I the Yannis
'I did see John'

Likewise, it appears that neutral discourse contexts disallow clitic doubling. So in out-of-the-blue contexts (all-new contexts where no sub-constituent of the sentence is focused), clitic-doubling is infelicitous in both Albanian (84) and Greek (85).

(84) Albanian clitic doubling infelicitous Out of the Blue (Kallulli 2000: (10))

a. What happened?

b. Jan-i (#i) hëngri fasule-t.
Yannis (#them.CL) ate beans-the
'Yannis ate the beans'

c. Jan-i (#e) piu një birrë.
Yannis (#her.CL) drank a beer.F
'Yannis drank a beer.'

(85) Greek clitic doubling infelicitous Out of the Blue (Kallulli 2000: (10))

a. What happened?

b. O Yánnis (#ta) éfaye ta fasólia.
the Yannis (#them.CL) ate the beans
'Yannis ate the beans.'

c. O Yánnis (#tin) ipje mia bira.
the Yannis (#her.CL) drank a beer.F
'Yannis drank a beer.'

In fact, any clitic doubling construction where the clitic-doubled phrase falls inside the focused portion of the sentence is judged as infelicitous, in both languages. The examples in (86) are the prompts for the data that follow.

(86) a. What did Ana read?

b. What did Ana do?

c. Who read the book?

d. What did Ana do to/with the book?

A non-clitic-doubled sentence in Greek can readily answer any of the questions in (86), as shown in (87).

(87) Greek (Kallulli 2000: (13a))
I Ana diavase to vivlio.
the Ana read the book
'Ann read the book'
In response to (86a): ✓ **Object Question**
In response to (86b): ✓ **VP Question**
In response to (86c): ✓ **Subject Question**
In response to (86d): ✓ **V Question**

In contrast, (88) shows that in Albanian a non-clitic-doubled (transitive) sentence can only answer an object question or a VP question. It is infelicitous to respond to a V-centered question or a subject question with an undoubled sentence.

(88) Albanian (Kallulli 2000: (13a))
An-a lexoi libr-in.
the Ana read book-the
'Ann read the book'
In response to (86a): ✓ **Object Question**

In response to (86b): ✓	**VP Question**
In response to (86c): #	**Subject Question**
In response to (86d): #	**V Question**

The data sets in (87) and (88) essentially provide our baseline for comparison. The examples that follow are clitic-doubling sentences. (89) shows that when the object is clitic-doubled in Albanian, it is only licit as a response to a subject question or a V question, i.e. when the object does not fall within the new information focus.

(89) Albanian (Kallulli 2000: (15a))
An-a e lexoi libr-in.
Ana it.CL read book-the
'Ann did read the book'/'ANN read the book'

In response to (86a): #	**Object Question**
In response to (86b): #	**VP Question**
In response to (86c): ✓	**Subject Question**
In response to (86d): ✓	**V Question**

The identical pattern occurs in Greek, as shown in (90).

(90) Greek (Kallulli 2000: (15b))
I Ana to diavase to vivlio.
the Ana it.CL read the book
'Ann did read the book'/'ANN read the book'

In response to (86a): #	**Object Question**
In response to (86b): #	**VP Question**
In response to (86c): ✓	**Subject Question**
In response to (86d): ✓	**V Question**

Kallulli also shows that it is unacceptable to clitic-double *wh*-objects in both languages, as shown in (91). This would appear to be another instance of clitic-doubling being incompatible with focus on the clitic-doubled object.

(91) Ungrammatical to clitic-double *wh*-objects
a. Albanian (Kallulli 2000: (17))
Kë/çfarë (*e) pe?
[who/what].ACC it/him/her.CL saw-you
'Who/what did you see?'

b. Greek (Kallulli 2000: (17))
Pjon/ti (*ton/to) idhes?
[who/what].ACC him/it.CL saw-you
'Who/what did you see?'

Kallulli also shows that contrastive focus generates the same restriction: clitic-doubled objects cannot fall in the focus domain of the sentence.

Furthermore, there are contexts (dependent on information structure) where clitic-doubling becomes obligatory:

> Direct object DPs in Albanian are obligatorily clitic doubled in constructions with *wh*-subjects, as well as in yes/no questions, as shown in [(92)] and [(93)], respectively. Similar facts are reported for Greek by Agouraki (1993), who notes that in questions, either yes/no or *wh*-questions, a doubling clitic is strongly preferred. These facts are also predicted under the hypothesis that clitic doubling exempts direct object DPs from focus domains (that is, from phrases that are marked [+Focus]). (Kallulli 2000: 220)

(92) Albanian subject question requires clitic doubling (Kallulli 2000: (18))
Kush *(e) pa fëmijë-n?
who it.CL saw child-the
'Who has seen the child?'

(93) Greek subject question requires clitic-doubling (Kallulli 2000: (19))
Pios *(to) ídhe to pedhí?
who it.CL saw the child
'Who has seen the child?'
(Agouraki 1993: 154)

Subject focus generated by the focus particle 'even' also makes clitic doubling required in Albanian, as shown in (94).

(94) Clitic doubling with subject focus (Kallulli 2000: (26))

a. Albanian
Madje Pap-a *(e) vizitoi Tiranë-n.
even Pope-the *(it.CL) visited Tirana-the
'Even [the Pope]F visited Tirana'

b. Greek
Akoma ke o Papas (ta) episkeftike ta Tirana.
still and the Pope (them.CL) visited the Tirana
'Even [the Pope]$_F$ visited Tirana.'

In a similar fashion, the examples in (95) place focus on the verb alone, leaving the object outside the focus domain. In these instances, clitic doubling appears to be obligatory in Albanian and strongly preferred in Greek.

(95) Verb focus requires clitic doubling (Kallulli 2000: (25))

a. Albanian
Pap-a *(e) vizitoi madje Tiranë-n.
Pope-the *(it.CL) visited even Tirana-the
'The Pope even [visited]$_F$ Tirana'
i.e. 'As for Tirana, the Pope even visited it.'

b. Greek
O Papas os ke ?(ta) episkeftike ta Tirana.
the Pope till and ?(them.CL) visited the Tirana
'The Pope even [visited]$_F$ Tirana'
i.e. 'As for Tirana, the Pope even visited it.'

Kallulli (2000) concludes that clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek requires a non-focused reading of the clitic-doubled object, rendering it compatible only with contexts where the focus of the sentence falls outside the object.

This shows clear similarities with Lubukusu, as there is very close interaction between focus and doubling. The patterns are clearly non-identical, however: subject focus is explicitly *not* a licensing context in Lubukusu, whereas it makes doubling obligatory in Albanian and virtually so in Greek. In contrast, we have not yet encountered circumstances in Lubukusu that require OM-doubling with a non-pronominal object.[13] What we can see, though, is that robust interaction with information structure has been previously documented for clitic doubling constructions. Like Kallulli, we have shown that that OM-doubling requires the doubled object to be discourse-given (Kallulli refers to it as *topical*). We will provide a precise theory of focus domains for Lubukusu that will explain the focal effects in Chapter 6.

The secondary topic constructions described by Nikolaeva (2001) and Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011) are another relevant instance showing significant parallels with Lubukusu. For both these patterns and the Greek and Albanian patterns, however, one significant difference we will show with Lubukusu is that Lubukusu OM-doubling appears to be dependent on information structural configurations, but information structure is not alone sufficient to describe OM-doubling patterns. Chapter 7 discusses the range of emphatic readings that arise

[13] We consider some possible instances of near-obligatory OM-doubling in Chapter 7.

in OM-doubling constructions that are layered on top of the focus readings. Likewise, the Lubukusu patterns are restricted to the verb phrase in a way that these other languages are not.

4.7 Intermediate conclusions

To sum up the findings of this chapter, we have seen that the contexts in which OM-doubling occurs include verum discourse contexts, but expand far beyond those. Rather, it appears that as long as something in the verb phrase is focused (or, the verb phrase itself is focused), OM-doubling becomes much more natural without a verum focus reading. And OM-doubled phrases themselves receive discourse-given readings. We summarize these patterns in the flow chart Figure 4.1.

We have been careful in how we have articulated these descriptions here, because while focus in/on the verb phrase does seem to be strongly correlated with OM-doubling, it turns out that OM-doubling is neither restricted to overtly marked focus contexts, nor is focus itself sufficient to license doubling. This is evident already in the fact that in almost every instance of OM-doubling we presented in this chapter, OM-doubling was optional. That is, focus constructions do not require doubling, and discourse-familiar objects do not require doubling. In Chapter 7 we tackle the issue in more detail as to what differences arise (in these optional doubling circumstances) between otherwise identical sentences: one with OM-doubling and one without. To preview a bit what we will find, we will see that focus generates a set of interpretations that are a necessary condition for OM-doubling, but are not a sufficient condition for OM-doubling; OM-doubling (even in the kinds of sentences discussed here) requires an additional emphatic interpretation layered on top of the focal interpretation: we argue in Chapter 7 that this is mirative focus. So Figure 4.1 will have to be adjusted somewhat by the end of the book, but it is a fairly comprehensive encapsulation of the overall patterns that our analysis must account for.

In addition to contributing to our understanding of OM-doubling, we have seen here the first evidence for a structural domain in Lubukusu where specific processes are restricted to; in this instance, OM-doubling is only possible if focused phrases are overtly present inside the verb phrase. So while there are clear facilitative effects of focus with respect to OM-doubling, and clear structural restrictions on where the focus must occur to facilitate doubling, it is also clear that there is more work to be done to clarify the specific syntactic structures where focus applies, and the specific interpretations that result from doubling.

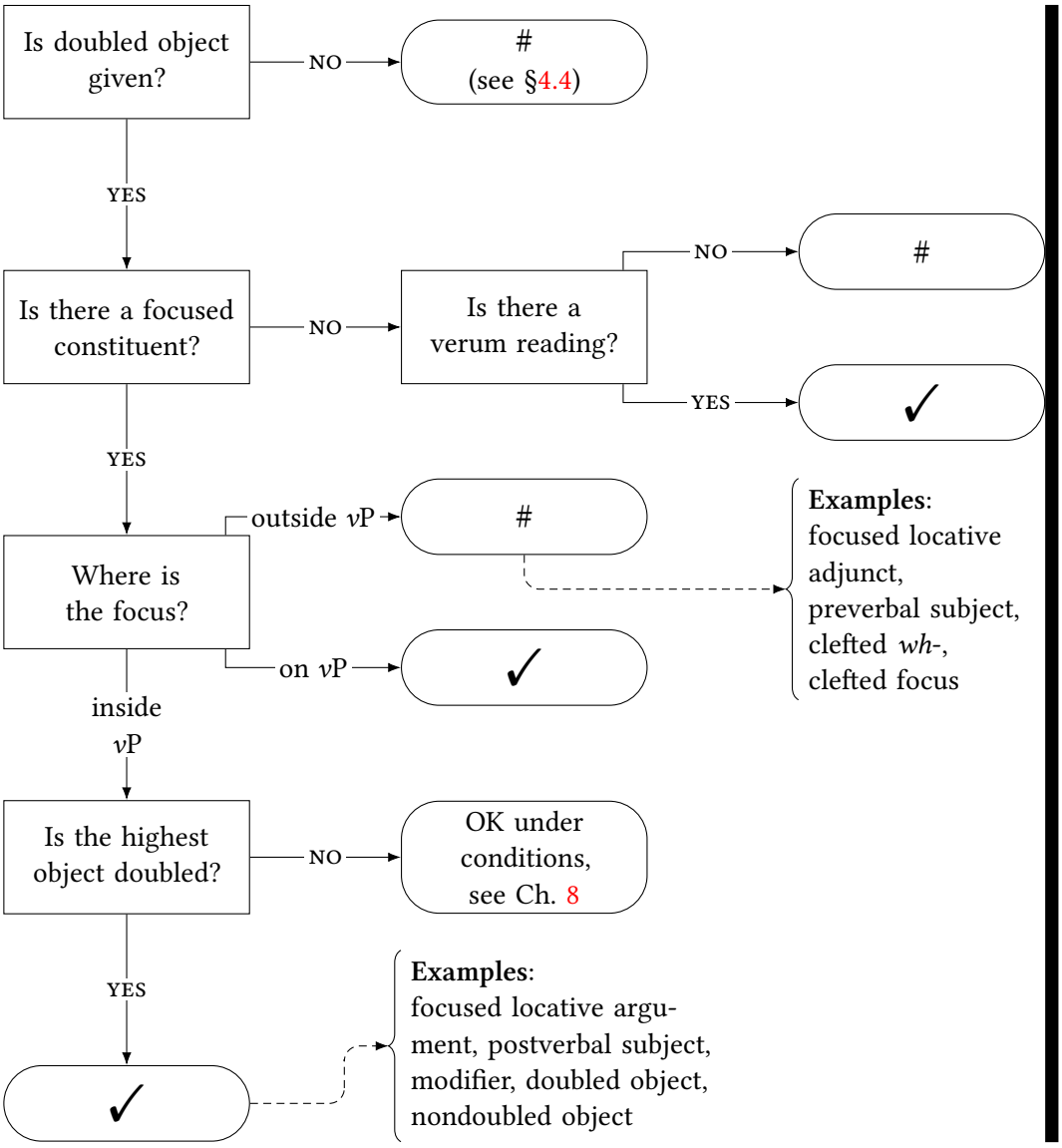


Figure 4.1: A flow chart illustrating the various constraints on OM-doubling contexts; to be very modestly updated in Chapter 7

5 The Comment Domain: Exploring postverbal phrase structure

5.1 An interlude: clarifying the structure of the verb phrase

5.1.1 On the relevance of *v*P structure

To this point, we have clarified three main patterns about OM-doubling in Lubukusu. First is that OM-doubling a monotransitive object is generally unacceptable in discourse-neutral environments, but can be rendered acceptable by verum-like focus contexts (this was the main empirical generalization established by Sikuku et al. 2018).[1] Second, we showed that verum focus is not the only discourse environment that facilitates OM-doubling: placing focus on any additional constituent within the verb phrase (or on the verb phrase itself) drastically improves/facilitates the acceptability of OM-doubled sentences. Finally, we have shown that OM-doubled objects must be discourse-given.

We are still quite far from an actual analysis, however. We have claimed that *v*P is a relevant focus domain, but have remained quiet on the particular structures within *v*P itself. Specifically, the position of subjects is diagnostically valuable for us: focused preverbal subjects cannot facilitate OM-doubling, but postverbal subjects can. But postverbal subjects are novel data in the Lubukusu literature, and it cannot be taken for granted what position they are in; we will arrive at a precise analysis of postverbal subjects in this chapter.

Beyond that, a significant analytical question relating to clitic doubling cross-linguistically is what the structural position of the doubled object is: part of what makes clitic doubling a syntactic puzzle is that two syntactic elements (the object clitic, and its associated lexical DP object) appear to possess the same thematic role and grammatical role in a sentence. This puzzle is mitigated if one of these elements is not in fact a lexical argument of the verb, which necessitates understanding precisely what position the lexical DP object is in: is it in fact an

[1] That is, a monotransitive object with minimal additional material in the verb phrase, a point that will become relevant in later chapters.

argument of the verb in doubling constructions? So an important piece of our analysis will be reaching some clarity on the structural positions of doubled objects (§5.6).

But none of these questions can be addressed accurately and precisely until we have a better understanding of the general phrase structural properties of the postverbal domain in Lubukusu, which has never been the subject of any intensive investigation. That is the main task for this chapter.

5.1.2 On the notion of a 'Comment Domain'

As discussed in §4.2, focused phrases must be internal to the verb phrase in order to facilitate OM-doubling, otherwise doubling is unacceptable (without a verum reading, at least). This focus-related property of the verb phrase (and its concomitant grammatical effects) is in fact relatively familiar within the Bantu language family. Some languages have overt verbal morphology that signals whether there is syntactic content in the verb phrase or not; this is the conjoint/disjoint distinction described in §2.2.5.[2] A notable additional similarity is that conjoint/disjoint is surface-oriented in the way that OM-doubling licensing seems to be: conjoint forms are generally available cross-linguistically only in the event that something is focused in the verb phrase *overtly*, similar to how a focused phrase must be overtly in the verb phrase to facilitate OM-doubling without verum in Lubukusu.

There are some core differences, however. As §2.3.2 showed, object marking in isiZulu (as in many other languages) seems to directly interact with conjoint/disjoint morphology: object-marked objects have been argued to leave the verb phrase, hence triggering disjoint marking on the verb (if nothing else is in the verb phrase, at least). But in Lubukusu these effects largely only appear in the context of OM-doubling, and are not present otherwise. So it does appear that there is some low domain in Lubukusu (roughly *v*P) that is relevant to focus and which interacts with other syntactic processes (e.g. object marking), but it is not transparent what the precise structure is, how to identify it, or why it only seems to show up in OM-doubling constructions.

What we will see in this chapter (and in following chapters) is that while other effects similar to conjoint/disjoint are not transparently obvious in Lubukusu (e.g.

[2] And it appears that other Bantu languages have grammatical patterns that are not strictly conjoint/disjoint patterns but which nonetheless are sensitive to the content of the verb phrase: Morimoto (2017) discusses the ways in which the Kikuyu focus marker shares similarities with conjoint/disjoint patterns, and Hyman (2017) discusses a range of overlapping patterns, including penultimate lengthening, metatony, and tone cases.

there is no overt segmental conjoint/disjoint morphology), there are similar *v*P-level effects. Various constructions (including postverbal scrambling operations and compatibility with the NE- intensifier) are only available to constituents that occur inside a particular relevant structural domain, and are unavailable to constituents that lie outside that same domain.

In what follows, we will be referring to this structural domain as the *Comment Domain*. We borrow this term from the notion of topic/comment information structure: the "topic" is usually conceived of as what a sentence is about (Reinhart 1981), and the comment is whatever is being expressed about the topic. So while a topic is what something is being said *about*, in a sense the comment then is the heart of what is being communicated in an utterance, i.e. the "something" that is being communicated about the topic (see Mithun 1984, Gundel 1988b, Creider & Creider 1983, Mereu 2009, among many others). As the empirical argumentation proceeds we will develop a more and more refined notion of both the function and interpretation of the Comment Domain, as well as reaching clarity about the precise demarcation of this structural domain. It is clear thus far that it is roughly equivalent to the verb phrase (we assume *v*P here) though we will see that this is not precisely correct. But it will be useful at times to be able to refer to the domain before we know its exact structure, and this is what we use the term *Comment Domain* for. To be clear, we are not proposing that the "Comment Domain" is a theoretical concept, but rather it is a way to discuss the relevant domain in a pre-analytic sense.

5.2 Information structure effects on object word order

Despite the well-established link between information structure and syntactic structure in the southern Bantu languages (e.g. see §2.2.5 for some summary), there is relatively little such work on northern Bantu languages.[3] This is true of Lubukusu as well, where (to our knowledge) there is only one brief proceedings paper that bears on the relevant issues (Selvanathan 2019). Before discussing that paper in §5.2.2, we will briefly overview the existing literature on the effects of information structure on postverbal word order particularly, considering the IAV (Immediately-After-the-Verb) effect that has been repeatedly documented for postverbal focused elements across various Bantu languages. In Chapter 2 we previously introduced the empirical properties with respect to information

[3] This is not to say that there is none: for example, we discuss the obligatory focus-marking in Igikuria, Kîîtharaka, and Kikuyu in Chapter 2.2.

structure and word order, but without discussion of the proposed analytical approaches. We briefly revisit the relevant empirical patterns here, while expanding the discussion into the proposed analyses.

5.2.1 The Immediately-After-the-Verb (IAV) position

As was noted in §2.2.4, Aghem displays focus-related patterns of word order that motivated Watters (1979) to propose that the linear position immediately after the verb (IAV) is a focus position. This is illustrated in (1) where the canonical word order places the location after the THEME object, but a question and answer congruence diagnostic shows that focused elements appear immediately following the verb: both *wh*-words (2a) and new information foci in the answer to the *wh*-question (2b).

(1) Aghem (Watters 1979: 147)
Fɨ́l á mɔ̀ zɨ́ kɨ́-bɛ́ án ‘sóm.
friends SM P2 eat fufu in farm
‘The friends ate fufu in the farm.’

(2) Aghem (Watters 1979: 147)
a. Fɨ́l á mɔ̀ zɨ́ ghɛ́ kɨ́-bɛ́?
Friends SM P2 eat where fufu
‘Where did the friends eat fufu?’
b. Fɨ́l á mɔ̀ zɨ́ án ‘sóm kɨ́-bɛ́.
Friends SM P2 eat in farm fufu
‘The friends ate fufu in the *farm*.’

Van der Wal (2006) shows that similar patterns arise in Makhuwa (Bantu, Mozambique, P30), where question and answer congruence also shows preference for focused phrases to appear in IAV position. So despite canonical VERB-RECIPIENT-THEME word order, a THEME question in (3a) utilizes VERB-WH.THEME-RECIPIENT word order, and the answer in (3b) shows the same word order:

(3) Makhuwa (van der Wal 2006: (13))
a. O-m-vah-alé esheení Teresínya?
2SG.SM-1OM-give-PFV what 1Teresinha
‘What have you given Teresinha?’
b. Ki-m-vah-alé ekanetá (Teresínya).
1SG.SM-1OM-give-PFV 9pen 1Teresinha
‘I gave (her/Teresinha) a pen.’

The inverse is true when the RECIPIENT is questioned; in this case, VERB-RECIPIENT-THEME word order occurs in both the question (4a) and answer (4b).

(4) Makhuwa (van der Wal 2006: (14))

a. O-m-vah-alé páni ekanéta?
2SG.SM-1OM-give-PFV who 9pen
'Who did you give a pen?'

b. Ki-m-vah-alé Teresínyá (ekanetá).
1SG.SM-1OM-give-PFV 1Teresinha 9pen
'I gave (it/a pen) to Teresinha.'

Van der Wal (2006) proposes that these patterns can be explained on an analysis of a low focus projection (FP) in Makhuwa (which she equates with the linker projection proposed by Baker & Collins 2006). Focused material raises directly to this position. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1.

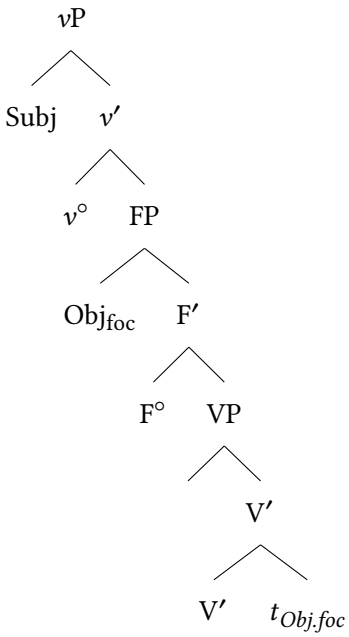


Figure 5.1: Low focus projection in Makhuwa (van der Wal 2006)

Assuming that the verb raises to v°, the linear adjacency is derived via this structure; van der Wal (2006) explicitly links the properties of this low focus

position with the availability of disjoint marking in Makhuwa. She argues that the conjoint/disjoint alternation in Makhuwa is directly linked with information structure, as opposed to the kind of indirect link that has been motivated for isiZulu via constituency (where conjoint/disjoint tracks the presence of syntactic material in *v*P, and the *v*P is a focus domain). So it is possible to have disjoint verb forms in Makhuwa with no indication that the object is outside of the verb phrase, as shown in (5).

(5) Makhuwa (van der Wal 2006: (31))
Ki-náá-thípelá epúrí ile.
1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-bury 9goat 9DEM
'I am burying that goat.'

Van der Wal (2006: 251) analyzes this as a dependency between a higher focus projection FocP (between TP and *v*P) and the lower focus projection shown in Figure 5.1. According to van der Wal,

> the verb moves cyclically from V to v via the head of FP. This is where the verb is valued for focus: if the specifier of the lower focus projection is filled by the focal object, the verb is marked [-F]; if the specifier is empty, the verb is valued [+F]. The vP is then selected by the tense markers in the inflectional domain. Because the inflectional domain merges morphologically to the verb stem, it creates a dependency and can thus see the specification of the verb stem. If it is valued [-F], the inflectional domain knows that there already is a focused element inside the vP and the higher FocP is zero. If the inflectional domain encounters a [+F] verb stem in vP, it spells out the DJ marker in (high) FocP.

In later work van der Wal (2009) modifies this approach, not because a dedicated focus projection does not capture the facts for Makhuwa, but because it demonstrably cannot extend to capture IAV effects in Aghem and isiZulu. For example, a single focus projection postverbally might predict that there cannot be multiple focused elements postverbally. This appears accurate for Makhuwa, where multiple 'only' focused objects are ruled out in (6) and multiple *wh*-objects are also unacceptable (7), instead being formulated as two distinct questions.

(6) *Maria o-m-vah-ale ekamitsa paahi Aputaala paahi.
1.Maria 1-1-give-PFV.CJ 9.shirt only 1.Abdallha only
int. 'Maria gave only Abdallah only a shirt'

(7) O-m-vah-alé pánî | eshéénî?
2SG.SM-1OM-give-PFV.CJ 1.who 9.what
'To whom did you give (it)? what?'

However, van der Wal (2009) points out that the correlates in isiZulu and Aghem are perfectly acceptable, as the examples below show.

(8) isiZulu (Buell 2009)
U-zo-nika bani ini?
2SG.SM-FUT-give 1.who 9.what
'Who will you give what?'

(9) Aghem (Hyman & Polinsky 2010: 223)
À mɔ zɨ́ ndúghɔ́ kwɔ̀-kɔ̀ zɨ̀ǹ ?
ES PST1 eat who what when
'Who ate what when?'
'When did who eat and what?'

Additionally, in isiZulu focused phrases do not appear to move over other non-focused phrases to IAV position, rather, other non-focused phrases appear to vacate the *v*P, as argued by Buell (2009), Zeller (2014, 2015), and Cheng & Downing (2012) (and as summarized in §2.2.5). Van der Wal (2009: 250ff) interprets these conclusions to mean that a dedicated focus position is not in fact the best way to capture IAV focus, even in Makhuwa where the dedicated focus projection could in fact capture the facts well.

5.2.2 Previous proposal: IAV focus in Lubukusu

In a number of ways Lubukusu counts as a "symmetrical" language, in that different objects can often bear primary object properties (e.g. related to word order, object marking, passivization, etc). Selvanathan (2019) notes that in a ditransitive double object construction, the objects can appear in either order. We note also that the REC-THEME order in (10a) is the canonical order.

(10) Lubukusu (Selvanathan 2019: 628)

a. *báásaaní bárúmira maarjá ꜜbítabu̱*
Ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a Maria bi-tabu.
2-men 2SM-send-APPL-FV 1.Mary 8-book
'The men sent Mary books.'

b. *ββáásaaní ββárúmira ββítaβú má'árjá*
Ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a bi-tabu Maria.
2-men 2SM-send-APPL-FV 8-book 1.Mary
'The men sent Mary books.'

Selvanathan (2019) argues that Lubukusu has a focus projection that attracts focused phrases, structurally below the final position of the verb. This is proposed to explain preferences between the word orders when one of the objects bears new information focus, illustrated in (11) and (12) below.

(11) Lubukusu (adapted from Selvanathan 2019: 629)

a. *naanu ní'já ββáásaaní ββárúmira ββítaββ̧u*
Naanu ni-ye ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a bi-tabu?
1.who COMP-1 2-man 2-send-APPL-FV 8-book
'Who did the men send the books to?'

b. *ββáásaaní ββárúmira maarjá 'ββítaββ̧u*
Ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a Maria bi-tabu.
2-men 2SM-send-APPL-FV 1.Mary 8-book
'The men sent Mary books.'

c. #*ββáásaaní ββárúmira ββítaβú má'árjá*
#Ba-saani ba-rum-ir-a bi-tabu Maria.
2-men 2SM-send-APPL-FV 8-book 1.Mary
'The men sent Mary books.'

(12) Lubukusu (adapted from Selvanathan 2019: 629)

a. *naanu ní'já ββáásaaní ββáápa lúkalį̀*
Naanu ni-ye ba-saani ba-a-p-a lu-kali?
who COMP-AGR 2-man 2SM-PST-beat-FV 11-much/more
'Who did the men beat fiercely?'

b. *ββáásaaní ββáápa joá'ná lúkalį̀*
Ba-saani ba-a-p-a Yohana lu-kali.
2-man 2SM-PST-beat-FV 1.John 11-much/more
'The men beat John fiercely.'

c. #*ββáásaaní ββáápa lúkalí 'jóáną̀*
#Ba-saani ba-a-p-a lu-kali Yohana.
2-man 2SM-PST-beat-FV 11-much/more 1.John
'The men beat John fiercely.'

In both of these examples, the object that is expected to be immediately postverbal (per canonical word order) bears new information focus (diagnosed via question and answer congruence). In both instances, the answer to the question prefers the focused element immediately after the verb, and the opposite postverbal word order is infelicitous.

Selvanathan argues that focused elements move to a focus projection below *v*P and above other constituents contained inside *v*P. He equates this projection with the linker phrase (not dissimilar to the suggestion of van der Wal 2006), in particular adopting Baker and Collins' (2006) suggestion that part of the role of the linker is to Case-license objects. Selvanathan argues that this explains a particular exception to the pattern he notes that occurs with select manner adverbs.

It is clear that the facts reported by Selvanathan (2019) reveal an influence of information structure on postverbal word order. That said, they present an incomplete picture of the empirical situation. Selvanathan (2019) does show that some focused phrases prefer to occur IAV. Specifically, (11) and (12) show that when a benefactive indirect object is questioned in a cleft, an answer to that question prefers to be in the IAV position.

There are many reasons, however, to think that the empirical generalizations assumed by Selvanathan (2019) are incomplete. We show just a selection here; in the next section we report a more complete picture of information structure effects on postverbal word order in Lubukusu. To preview those findings, it is readily possible to have *wh*-phrases *not* occur in this position, as (13) and (14) show. This suggests that there is not in fact a requirement for focused phrases to end up in IAV position.

(13) a. *wékésáá ‖ áwá βáβáana aβó ˡsíiŋa*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 7.what
'What did Wekesa give those children?'

b. *wékésá áwá ˡsíina βáβáana aβǫ*
Wekesa a-a-w-a siina ba-ba-ana a-bo?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 7.what 2-2-children DEM-2
'What did Wekesa give those children?'

(14) a. *wékésá áwá naanu kámákuɲá ˡké kamátʃáániˌ*

Wekesa a-a-wa naanu ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give 1.who 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?[4]

b. *wékésáá ‖ áwá kámákuŋá ˈké kamátʃááˈní náanu̯*
Wekesa a-a-wa ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani naanu?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea 1.who
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?

As an initial analytical comment, the availability of a *wh*-RECIPIENT re-ordered as in (14b) suggests that right-dislocation is not the explanation for the non-canonical word order, as it is broadly attested that *wh*-elements cannot be left- or right-dislocated.[5]

We explore in depth below what is allowing for this kind of variation in word order, but we can see here that it oversimplifies the issue to simply claim that focused elements move to the immediate/IAV postverbal position. We will even see instances in what follows of where the focused element (the *wh*-phrase) is not only *possible* outside the IAV position, but is *preferred* outside that position. This means that calling the IAV position a focus position (i.e. a position particularly restricted to focused material) is an oversimplification, despite the fact that focused material is sometimes attracted to the IAV position.[6]

5.2.3 Question-Answer congruence and object word order

There is strong influence of information structure on word order in the postverbal domain in Lubukusu.

[4] The gloss for the final vowel is removed in these particular examples (and select similar examples that follow) in order to facilitate the visualization of the data.

[5] Our thanks to an anonymous reviewer for making this observation.

[6] There are a number of additional problems with the claims in Selvanathan (2019); for example, the isiZulu-like account of moving backgrounded elements out of the verb phrase to generate IAV focus is ruled out by Selvanathan because of a lack of object marking on the verb with non-IAV-focused elements. As this volume shows, however, analyzing OM-doubling requires careful control of the pragmatic context that was not well understood at the point of that research, so Selvanathan could not have controlled for it. The findings of this volume would suggest, however, that assuming object-marked objects to be dislocated (and therefore the lack of object marking to indicate non-dislocated) is the improper generalization to build analytical conclusions from.

5.2.3.1 Responses to *wh*-clefts: new information focus in IAV position

First, we find that the specific pattern reported by Selvanathan (2019) does hold: in response to an *ex situ* question (i.e. a *wh*-cleft), the constituent bearing new information focus preferably occurs immediately after the verb. (15) gives the canonical word order for a ditransitive construction with *-wa* 'give' in Lubukusu: SUBJECT-VERB-RECIPIENT-THEME.

(15) *wékésáá ‖ áwá βáβáana aβóó ‖ kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánį*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

In the examples that follow, we use '#' to represent a sentence that is infelicitous, i.e. unacceptable in the provided discourse context. We use '#?' to annotate that a sentence is less preferred in a given context, but the judgment is not as extreme as declaring it infelicitous (mimicking the * vs. ? distinction that is conventionally adopted for marking ungrammatical and marginal sentences, respectively).

(16) a. *naanu níˈjé wékésáá ‖ áwá kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánį*
Naanu ni-ye Wekesa a-a-w-a ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.who FOC-1AGR 1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani?
6-6-tea
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?'

b. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánį*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

c. #?*wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃááˈní βáβáana aβǫ*
#?Wekesa a-a-w-a ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
ba-ba-ana a-bo.
2-2-children DEM-2
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

The intuition here is that (16b) is a very natural answer to the clefted RECIPIENT question in (16a), but (16c) is comparatively less natural: specifically, to the ear of the first author, this gives the sense that the interlocutor answering the question is delaying the important piece of their response, postponing the prominent element. This is an intuition that re-occurs throughout the discussion below.

In contrast, both word orders are relatively acceptable responses to a THEME question posed via a *wh*-cleft, as shown in (17c).

(17) a. *sina níˡsjó wékésá áwá βáβáana aβǫ*
Siina nisyo Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo?
7.what FOC-1AGR 1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2
'What did Wekesa give those children?'

b. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuŋá ˡké kamátʃáánį*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

c. *wékésá áwá kámákuŋá ˡké kamátʃááˡní βáβáana aβǫ*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
ba-ba-ana a-bo.
2-2-children DEM-2
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

(17b) and (17c) are the same sentences as in (16b) and (16c): the key difference is that because the nature of the question has changed (a THEME question in (17a), as compared to the RECIPIENT question in (16a)) (17c) is now a completely acceptable response, and in fact mildly preferred (though (17b) remains perfectly acceptable).

Here we see, therefore, that which constituent bears new information focus definitely affects word order: the THEME *kamakunya ke kamachani* 'bags of tea' is natural in IAV position when it bears new information focus, and unnatural when the RECIPIENT bears new information focus, in which case the RECIPIENT preferably occurs in IAV position. That said, the word order in the (b) examples appears to be acceptable no matter what the question is (SUBJ VERB RECIPIENT THEME). As we will see below, this is a consistent pattern—SUBJ VERB RECIPIENT THEME word order is available in any context. We take this to mean that it is

the underlying, discourse-neutral word order (which we will at times call the canonical word order, or the basic word order).

This is an equivalent pattern to that reported by Selvanathan (2019). That paper shows that the underlying word order is effectively 'locked in' when the canonically IAV argument is questioned. What Selvanathan's work didn't show, however, is that examples like (17c) exist, wherein a previously infelicitous word order is made quite natural if the IAV element bears new information focus. That said, the possibility of the canonical word order in response to any question does not immediately follow from Selvanathan's analysis (more evidence showing that is given in what follows). More to the point, the empirical generalization that focused material always occurs in the IAV position is itself flawed, as we saw in §5.2.2 and as we will outline extensively below.

5.2.3.2 Contrastively focused phrases do not necessarily occur IAV

We collect a variety of contrastively focused phrases in the paradigms below. The main analytical point that we make here is that there is not a clear generalization about a single best way to communicate contrastive focus. That is to say, contrastive phrases are not obligatorily attracted to the IAV position. All of the contrastively focused constituents considered here have natural positions apart from IAV position. For some they are even much preferred outside that position. For all of these constructions, we use a ditransitive predicate so that the variable word orders can be investigated across the same syntactic context in each instance.

First, we can consider contrastive focus on a RECIPIENT object in a lexically ditransitive verb. (18a) shows that (unlike what we might expect if IAV position is a focus position) a contrastive RECIPIENT is actually dispreferred in its canonical position (at least, if separated from the expressed alternative, cf. (18c)). Rather, a contrastive RECIPIENT readily appears at the right edge of the sentence in (18b).

(18) *Context: the speaker is comparing different possible recipients of the bags of tea*

a. ??*wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃááni ‖ selí βáβéeβúsí tá*
??Wekesa a-a-w-a **ba-ba-ana** **a-bo** ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani se-li ba-b-ebusi ta.
6-6-tea NEG-be 2-2-parents NEG
'Wekesa gave THOSE CHILDREN bags of tea, not the(ir) parents.'

b. *wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˈkékamátʃááˈní βáβáana aβo ‖ selí βáβéeβúsí tá*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
ba-ba-ana a-bo se-li ba-b-ebusi ta.
2-2-children DEM-2 NEG-be 2-2-parents NEG
'Wekesa gave THOSE CHILDREN bags of tea, not the(ir) parents.'

c. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβóó ‖ selíí ‖ βáβéeβúsí tá ‖ kámákuɲá ˈkékamátʃáánį*
Wekesa a-a-w-a **ba-ba-ana a-bo** se-li ba-b-ebusi
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 NEG-be 2-2-parents
ta ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani.
NEG 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
'Wekesa gave THOSE CHILDREN bags of tea, not the(ir) parents.'

Likewise, for a contrastive THEME we see no preference for IAV position; if anything, we see the opposite. Again, the contrastive constituent in (19a) appears readily at the right edge, though this is of course the natural position for a THEME argument. But placing the contrastive THEME in IAV position is not natural, as (19b) shows.[7]

(19) *Context: the speaker is comparing different possible gifts which Wekesa gave to the children*

a. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˈkékamátʃáánį ‖ selí tʃínduβi tʃéé ˈβúúló tá*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo **ka-ma-kunya k-e**
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani se-li chi-n-dubi ch-e buu-lo ta.
6-6-tea NEG-be 10-10-bags 10-ASSOC 14-millet NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea, not bags of millet.'

b. *wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˈkékamátʃááˈní βáβáana aβǫ ‖ selí tʃínduβi tʃéé ˈβúúló tá*
??Wekesa a-a-w-a **ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani**
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
ba-ba-ana a-bo se-li chi-n-dubi ch-e buu-lo ta.
2-2-children DEM-2 NEG-be 10-10-bags 10-ASSOC 14-millet NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea, not bags of millet.'

[7] It is not clear to us whether the ?? judgment in (19b) is pragmatic infelicity or grammatical marginality, we leave it annotated as ?? but it may well be ?#.

c. *wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánííˀ ‖ selí tʃínduβi ‖ tʃéé ˈβúúlóő ‖ βáβáana aβó tá*
?Wekesa a-a-w-a **ka-ma-kunya k-e** **ka-ma-chani**
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
se-li chi-n-dubi ch-e buu-lo ba-ba-ana a-bo ta.
NEG-be 10-10-bags 10-ASSOC 14-millet 2-2-children DEM-2 NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea, not bags of millet.'

Example (19c) shows that keeping the contrastively focused phrase local to its expressed alternative improves the sentence. And in fact, it is possible that (19c) is grammatical and it is phonological weight (and the relatively light phonological weight of the RECIPIENT in this example) that causes the degraded judgment here. So, one could think that the only issue with (19b) and with the similar construction with the RECIPIENT in (18a) is that the expressed alternative is not local to the contrastively focused phrase. But we will see multiple examples in what follows below where non-locality between the contrastive constituent and the expressed alternative is perfectly natural, suggesting that that is not the problem with (19b) and (18a). Again, we are not trying to resolve the issue of how contrast works; instead, we are only showing that there is no requirement for contrastive phrases in IAV position, which is clear from these examples.

This lack of an IAV requirement is also evident for manner adverbials, which are naturally contrastive in their base position in addition to IAV position.

(20) a. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃááni βwaaŋgu̱ ‖ selí kálaá tá*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani **bwaangu** se-li kalaa ta.
6-6-tea quickly NEG-be slowly NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea QUICKLY, not slowly.'

b. *wékésá áwá βwááŋgú ‖ βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánu̱ ‖ selí kálaá tá*
Wekesa a-a-w-a **bwaangu** ba-ba-ana a-bo
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV quickly 2-2-children DEM-2
ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani se-li kalaa ta.
6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea NEG-be slowly NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea QUICKLY, not slowly.'

Contrastively focused temporal adverbials are acceptable in IAV position, though not required to be in that position, as shown below:[8]

(21) a. *wékésá awéélé ˡβáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˡké kamátʃááni lunó síβúi ‖ selí ákólóóβá tá*
Wekesa a-w-ele ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-PFV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani **lu-no** **sibui** se-li a-koloba ta.
6-6-tea 11-today morning NEG-be 16-yesterday NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea THIS MORNING, not yesterday.'

b. *wékésá awéélé lunó síβúˡí βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˡké kamátʃáánị ‖ selí ákólóóβá tá*
Wekesa a-w-ele **lu-no** **sibui** ba-ba-ana a-bo
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-PFV 11-today morning 2-2-children DEM-2
ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani se-li a-koloba ta.
6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea NEG-be 16-yesterday NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea THIS MORNING, not yesterday.'

The contrastive locative arguments in (22) also show that contrastively focused material is not required in IAV position.

(22) a. *wékésá áwéela βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˡké kamátʃááˡní múuɲdzụ ‖ selí músíkúrí tá*
Wekesa a-a-w-el-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags
k-e ka-ma-chani **mu-n-ju** se-li mu-si-kuri ta.
6-ASSOC 6-6-tea 18-9-house NEG-be 18-7-field NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea IN THE HOUSE, not in the field.'

b. *wékésáá ‖ áwéela múˡúɲdzú βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˡké kamátʃáánị ‖ selí músíkúrí tá*
Wekesa a-a-w-el-a **mu-n-ju** ba-ba-ana a-bo
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 18-9-house 2-2-children DEM-2
ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani se-li mu-si-kuri ta.
6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea NEG-be 18-7-field NEG
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea IN THE HOUSE, not in the

[8] The word *síβúi* 'morning' in these examples could likewise be transcribed *síβúwi* to overtly represent the glide. We opt for the option that more closely matches speakers' phonological intuitions.

field.'

The takeaway lesson is that there is definitely not a requirement that contrastively focused phrases occur in the IAV position. That position is certainly compatible with contrastive focus (even when it is the non-canonical position of a constituent, e.g. temporal adverbs or locatives).[9] But there is not any strict grammatical restriction of contrastively focused phrases to that position.

5.2.3.3 Aboutness topics and IAV position

Beyond the fact that not all focused phrases are attracted to the IAV position, we also see that non-focused elements can be strongly preferred in the IAV position, given the appropriate discourse context. (23a) and (23b) are identical sentences apart from postverbal word order: (23a) gives the basic RECIPIENT-THEME word order, and (23b) is the inverted THEME-RECIPIENT word order.[10]

(23) a. *wékésáá̋ ‖ áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˡké kamátʃáánị́*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

b. *wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˡké kamátʃááˡní βáβáana aβǫ*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
ba-ba-ana a-bo.
2-2-children DEM-2
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

The diagnostics below will consider whether (23a) and (23b) are felicitous continuations following the declaration of different aboutness topics. Here, the diagnostic itself we borrow from Frey (2004), where a speaker declaring "I am going

[9] We have not yet discerned if there is any mild preference for contrastive focus in that position (as there is for *wh*-focus and new information focus). As the data patterns are clearly complex and this is an aside from our main argumentation in this chapter, which is itself simply necessary background for the main concern of object marking in this volume, we set this aside at this point.

[10] A reviewer asks whether it is possible that instead of aboutness topics attracted to IAV position, that other elements simply disprefer that position. As we saw above and will see below, there does not seem to be a unifying characteristic of material that can appear in non-IAV positions postverbally.

to tell you about X," was clearly shown to require an aboutness topic reading of 'X' in the continuation in German. We can see that preverbal subjects are natural aboutness topics in Lubukusu, as we first discussed in Chapter 3.

(24) a. *xéˈɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xuwekesa*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a Wekesa.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa
'I am going to tell you about Wekesa.'

b. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuɲáˈké kamátʃáánị*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

Likewise, an aboutness prompt targeting an internal argument is naturally answered by a passive sentence (25b) or a left-dislocation (25c) of the aboutness topic.

(25) a. *xéˈɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xúβáana aβǫ*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ba-ana a-bo.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-2-children DEM-2
'I am going to tell you about those children.'

b. *βáβáana aβóǒ ‖ βáéeβwa kámákuɲáˈké kamátʃáánị*
ba-ba-ana a-bo ba-a-e-bw-a ka-ma-kunya k-e
2-2-children DEM-2 2SM-PST-give-PASS-FV 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'Those children were given bags of tea.'

c. ba-ba-ana a-bo, Wekesa a-ba-w-a ka-ma-kunya
2-2-children DEM-2 1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-give-FV 6-6-bags
k-e ka-ma-chani.
6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
'As for those children, Wekesa gave them bags of tea.'

We can also use aboutness prompts to elucidate the structure of the postverbal domain. While promoting an internal object to subject position is perhaps the most natural way to follow an aboutness prompt about an internal object, it

is readily possible to offer continuations that keep the internal arguments in the postverbal domain: this would essentially be a secondary topic construction of sorts (Nikolaeva 2001). The results of aboutness prompts for internal arguments are informative for our current concerns. So in (26) the RECIPIENT *babaana abo* 'those children' is established as the aboutness topic; in this context where (23a) and (23b) are potential continuations, the RECIPIENT-THEME word order in (23a) is very natural, but the inverted THEME-RECIPIENT word order in (23b) is infelicitous.

(26) *xéʲɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xúβáana aβǫ*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ba-ana a-bo.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-2-children DEM-2
'I am going to tell you about those children.'
✓: (23a) (REC-THEME)
#: (23b) (THEME-REC)

In (27) the THEME argument is established as the aboutness topic, and the same sentences are attempted as continuations. Here the results shift: the inverted THEME-RECIPIENT word order is now natural and the preferred response (while the RECIPIENT-THEME word order remains acceptable).

(27) *xéʲɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xúmákuɲá ʲké kamátʃáánį*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ma-kunya ke
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'I am going to tell you about the bags of tea.'
✓: (23a) (REC-THEME)
✓: (23b) (THEME-REC) (most natural response)

There clearly is a robust effect of information structure on word order in Lubukusu involving the IAV position. That said, it should also be clear that this is not the same as the IAV effects that have been previously documented for Bantu languages, which have been reported to be directly or indirectly linked with focus. Instead, in Lubukusu focused phrases are not required to move to that position, and non-focused phrases are sometimes the phrases that are desired in that position (e.g. clearly-established aboutness topics). This pattern is quite similar to what was reported for the entirely unrelated (though geographically close) Nilotic language Kipsigis by Bossi & Diercks (2019). In Kipsigis, a

V1 language, there is similarly a lot of variability in postverbal word order that is likewise highly influenced by information structure. Kipsigis IAV position attracts *wh*-phrases, new information focus, and aboutness topics; when there are multiple such phrases, the constituent that speakers consider "most important" to what they are communicating is placed in that position. Example (28) gives the canonical word order for a Kipsigis ditransitive, and (29) shows that the preferred word order when forming a *wh*-question is to move the *wh*-constituent to immediately postverbal position.

(28) Kipsigis canonical word order (Bossi & Diercks 2019: (20))
Koo-Ø-ɑl giirwɑɑgiindet aartɛɛt ɑmut.
PST-3SG-buy chief goat yesterday
'The chief bought the/a goat yesterday.'

(29) Kipsigis *wh*-questions, preferred word orders (Bossi & Diercks 2019: (21))

a. Koo-Ø-ɑl ŋoo aartɛɛt ɑmut?
PST-3SG-buy who goat yesterday
'Who bought the/a goat yesterday?'

b. Koo-Ø-ɑl nee giirwɑɑgiindet ɑmut?
PST-3SG-buy what chief yesterday
'What did the chief buy yesterday?'

c. Koo-Ø-ɑl aʊ giirwɑɑgiindet aartɛɛt?
PST-3SG-buy when chief goat
'When did the chief buy a goat?'

Focusing on a few central word order distinctions, we can see that constituents bearing new information focus are also preferred in immediately postverbal position, with the caveat that the canonical word order is also always available. So in a question-answer congruence context, the THEME question in (30) creates an expectation that in answers to that question, the THEME will bear new information focus. As we can see in (31), both VSO word order and VOS word order are acceptable in response to the object question.

(30) Kipsigis object question (Bossi & Diercks 2019: (22))
Koo-Ø-min nee lɑɑgook komie?
PST-3PL-plant what children well
'What did the children plant well?'

(31) Kipsigis Object New Info Focus (Bossi & Diercks 2019: (23))

a. Koo-Ø-min laagook baandeek komie. VSO-Adv
PST-3PL-plant children maize well
'The children planted the maize well.'

b. Koo-Ø-min baandeek laagook komie. VOS-Adv
PST-3PL-plant maize children well
'The children planted the maize well.'

If the immediately postverbal position is where focused material is attracted, we expect (31b) to be acceptable, which it is. (31a) is also acceptable, because the canonical word order is acceptable in almost all pragmatic contexts. A distinction between the two emerges in response to the subject question in (32).

(32) Kipsigis subject question (Bossi & Diercks 2019: (37))
Koo-Ø-min ŋoo baandeek komie?
PST-3SG-plant who maize well
'Who planted the maize well?'

(33) Kipsigis Subject New Info Focus (Bossi & Diercks 2019: (38))

a. Koo-Ø-min laagook baandeek komie. VSO-Adv
PST-3PL-plant children maize well
'The children planted the maize well.'

b. #?Koo-Ø-min baandeek laagook komie. VOS-Adv
PST-3PL-plant maize children well
'The children planted the maize well.'

Again, the canonical VSO word order is available in (33a) in response to the subject question this time. But this context makes (33b) infelicitous, presumably because VOS is a derived order which may only be derived when the object bears the appropriate information structural designation, as it does when it is a *wh*-element, or when it bears new information focus. All of this would be compatible with the immediately postverbal position in Kipsigis being designated as a focus position, at least when it is occupied by a non-subject.

There is at least one instance where the canonical VSO word order becomes infelicitous, however, and that is when a non-subject is a clearly designated aboutness topic. In (34) *baandeek* 'maize' is established as the aboutness topic, which is the THEME object in the responses in (35). In this context the strongly preferred response is the VOS order in (35b) that moves the aboutness topic to immediately postverbal position. This preference is so strong in this instance that the canonical VSO order in (35) is actually infelicitous.

(34) Mwɔ-ɔn kiit agɔbɔ bɑɑndeek.
tell-1SG.OBJ thing about maize
'Tell me something about the maize.'

(35) a. #?Kii-Ø-min Kiproono bɑɑndeek.
PST-3SG-plant Kiproono maize
'Kiproono planted the maize.'
b. Kii-Ø-min bandek Kiproono.
PST-3SG-plant maize Kiproono
'Kiproono planted the maize.'

Bossi & Diercks (2019) use the term *discourse-differentiated* to refer to the constituents that are attracted to that position (adapting Mikkelsen's 2015 work on the preverbal position in Danish V2); they are not discourse-neutral, but there appears to be no unifying natural class apart from this. They propose that all discourse-related grammatical features exist in a rudimentary feature hierarchy, where all such features also are marked with the discourse feature [δ]. They propose that the underspecified [δ] feature itself may also occur on heads in the syntax, however, with the result that it can be satisfied by entering an Agree relation with any δ-bearing constituent. This explains why both topical elements and focused elements are preferred in that position.

Clearly Lubukusu has many similarities with this set of Kipsigis facts; while focused phrases are preferred in IAV position, aboutness topics are also attracted to that position. For the course of this discussion on Lubukusu, we will refer to this position and the constituent being attracted there as *prominent*, *discourse prominent*, and/or *discourse-differentiated*, with all of these terms to be interpreted interchangeably. As in Kipsigis, it appears that the single constituent attracted to this position is interpreted as the most important, intended to be the considered the most conversationally salient by interlocutors.

In this way, there is clearly no requirement that a focused element occur in IAV position, and there are predictable contexts where non-focused constituents appear in IAV position even when there are other focused constituents postverbally. So, first considering the data from (13) (repeated here as (36)), we can evaluate which contexts make which word order in object questions more acceptable.

(36) a. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó síiŋa*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 7.what
'What did Wekesa give those children?'

b. *wékésá áwá síina βáβáana aβǫ*
Wekesa a-a-w-a siina ba-ba-ana a-bo?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 7.what 2-2-children DEM-2
'What did Wekesa give those children?'

In a context where a speaker declares the topic of their upcoming sentence explicitly, there is a strong influence on word order: the aboutness topic is preferred in the position immediately following the verb. In (37) the RECIPIENT 'children' is established as the aboutness topic; the questions in (36) could then follow the aboutness-establishing prompt (if the speaker is asking a preliminary question beginning the conversation, perhaps eliciting some relevant information before continuing their story). In this instance the *wh*-word is actually preferred NOT in the IAV, as the aboutness topic *babaana abo* 'those children' is highly preferred in IAV position.

(37) *xéˡɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xú βáβáana aβǫ*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ba-ana a-bo.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-2-children DEM-2
'I am going to tell you about those children.'
✓: (36a) (REC-WH.THEME)
M: (36b) (WH.THEME-REC)

The intuition here is that the aboutness prompt creates a preference for the about-constituent in IAV position. In (36b) here as a continuation of (37), the *wh*-THEME is in the IAV position and the about-constituent is to the right. The sentence is not properly infelicitous, but it is not preferred, and carries a distinct sense that the important piece of the discussion is being delayed (so we have annotated it with a *M* here as a marked form).

The same pattern replicates itself with a RECIPIENT question. Take the two word orders of a RECIPIENT question below:

(38) a. *wékésá áwá naanu kámákuɲá ˡˡké kamátʃáánį*
Wekesa a-a-wa naanu ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give 1.who 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?

b. *wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˡˡké kamátʃááˡní náanų*
Wekesa a-a-wa ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani naanu?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea 1.who
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?

When the THEME is established as an aboutness topic, the preferred word order in the RECIPIENT question is THEME-RECIPIENT in this instance, again placing the *wh*-word in (14) in non-IAV position.

(39) *xéˈɲdʒá x:uxuboolélá xúmákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánị*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ma-kunya ke
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-6-bags 6-ASSOC
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'I am going to tell you about the bags of tea.'
$\mathcal{M}$: (38a) (WH.REC-THEME)
✓: (38b) (THEME-WH.REC) (preferred order)

In (39) both word orders from (38) are possible. Like above, it is not outright infelicitous or unacceptable to put the about-THEME to the right and to place the *wh*-phrase in the IAV position, but it (again) carries a distinct pragmatic sense that something is distinctive here, that the speaker is delaying the prominent constituent, the important information, until the end of the sentence.

If all other aspects of the discourse context are neutral, *wh*-phrases are in fact preferred after the verb. So the contexts we will consider here are ones where all the mentioned constituents are known/familiar, and the *wh*-phrase is the only piece of unknown information. In a THEME question, as we would expect at this point, both word orders of the question are acceptable; the base RECIPIENT-WH.THEME word order is always acceptable, and the WH.THEME-RECIPIENT word order is acceptable because the WH.THEME, being focused, is a discourse-differentiated phrase and therefore is comfortable in IAV position.

(40) *Context: We know that Wekesa gave those children something, but we don't know what.*

a. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó síiną*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana o-bo siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 7.what
'What did Wekesa give those children?'

b. *wékésá áwá síina βáβáana aβǫ*
Wekesa a-a-w-a siina ba-ba-ana o-bo?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 7.what 2-2-children DEM-2
'What did Wekesa give those children?'

We are able to see the relevant distinction arise in a RECIPIENT question. In this case, the WH.RECIPIENT-THEME order is preferred, and the inverted word order would only be acceptable if there were some particular emphasis on the THEME (as we saw with the preceding aboutness prompts).

(41) *Context: We know that Wekesa gave bags of tea to someone, but we don't know who he gave them to.*

a. *wékésá áwá naanu kámákuŋá ˡké kamátʃááɲ̩*
Wekesa a-a-wa naanu ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give 1.who 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?

b. *#wékésá áwá kámákuŋá ˡké kamátʃááˡní náanu̩*
#Wekesa a-a-wa ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani naanu?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give 6-6-bags 6-ASSOC 6-6-tea 1.who
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?

The asymmetry between (40) and (41) is expected: V-RECIPIENT-THEME word order is the canonical/basic word order, and hence is always acceptable. Therefore (40a) is natural even when the *wh*-THEME is not in IAV position. The *wh*-RECIPIENT in (41b), on the other hand, is in a non-canonical position which must have been generated by some movement, but it is not a word order that is consistent with the discourse-differentiated phrase (the *wh*-RECIPIENT) being located in IAV position.

Altogether then, this gives us more clarity about the properties of the postverbal domain: while the patterns from (16b)/(17c) and (40b)/(41b) show that focused phrases do in fact show a preference for IAV position, the aboutness contexts clearly show that focus-in-IAV is only a subset of a broader pattern. At least at present, the most that we can say is that discourse-prominent constituents (which can be either aboutness topics or focused phrases, from what we have established here) occur in the IAV position. Along with this, the basic (discourse-neutral) word order of postverbal constituents (REC-THEME for these ditransitives we have been considering) is typically available no matter what the discourse context is. We know of one exception to that: non-RECIPIENT object aboutness topics (generated by an aboutness prompt) rule out the default word order.

5.2.3.4 Q&A with *in situ* Qs: IAV position replicates itself

Reusing the same two sentences we were using to answer the questions above, we can see that (42a) gives the default RECIPIENT-THEME word order, and (42b) the inverted THEME-RECIPIENT word order.

(42) a. Recipient-Theme Order
wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánɨ
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana a-bo ka-ma-kunya k-e
1.Wekesa 1sm-pst-give-fv 2-2-children dem-2 6-6-bags 6-assoc
ka-ma-chani.
6-6-tea
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

b. Theme-Recipient Order
wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃááˈní βáβáana aβǫ
Wekesa a-a-w-a ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani
1.Wekesa 1sm-pst-give-fv 6-6-bags 6-assoc 6-6-tea
ba-ba-ana a-bo.
2-2-children dem-2
'Wekesa gave those children bags of tea.'

Looking below, then, we can see that the word order in the question itself plays a large role in which word order is most natural in response.

(43) a. *wékésá áwá naanu kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃáánɨ*
Wekesa a-a-wa naanu ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani?
1.Wekesa 1sm-pst-give 1.who 6-6-bags 6-assoc 6-6-tea
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?' In response:
✓: (42a) (Rec-Theme)
#: (42b) (Theme-Rec)

b. *wékésá áwá kámákuɲá ˈké kamátʃááˈní náanɥ*
Wekesa a-a-wa ka-ma-kunya k-e ka-ma-chani naanu?
1.Wekesa 1sm-pst-give 6-6-bags 6-assoc 6-6-tea 1.who
'Who did Wekesa give bags of tea to?' In response:
✓: (42a) (Rec-Theme)
✓: (42b) (Theme-Rec)

We see a similar pattern to what we saw above: the basic, neutral word order (Recipient-Theme) is acceptable in all circumstances, but the inverted word order requires particular licensing. What is key here is that what licenses the inverted Theme-Recipient word order is *not* that the theme bears new information focus, as was the case for responses to clefted questions. Instead, here we see that the conditioning factor as to whether the theme can be in IAV is if the theme was in IAV in the question itself. We see the same with the theme questions below.

(44) a. *wékésá áwá βáβáana aβó síiną*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana o-bo siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2 7.what
'What did Wekesa give (to) those children?' In response:
✓: (42a) (REC-THEME) (default response)
✓: (42b) (THEME-REC)

b. *wékésá áwá síina βáβáana aβǫ*
Wekesa a-a-w-a siina ba-ba-ana o-bo?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 7.what 2-2-children DEM-2
'What did Wekesa give (to) those children?' In response:
✓: (42a) (REC-THEME)
✓: (42b) (THEME-REC) (default response)

Here, as we would expect at this point, both word orders are acceptable in response to both questions. This is because the inverted question with THEME-RECIPIENT word order allows for the inverted THEME-RECIPIENT word order in the response, and the canonical RECIPIENT-THEME word order is always available. It is notable that the inverted word order (42b) seems like the most naturally and almost automatic response to the inverted word order in the question: this is perhaps not surprising, as the THEME in this instance was itself placed in the IAV position in the question (as the *wh*-word) and also bears new information focus in the response. And while these examples use a lexical ditransitive 'give,' benefactive applicatives that also bear a RECIPIENT-THEME argument structure behave identically.

5.2.4 Intermediate Summary: discourse-based postverbal scrambling

It is clear at this point that word order in the postverbal domain is heavily influenced by information structure, as has been reported for a broad range of language families. Like other Bantu languages (e.g. Makhuwa, Matengo, isiZulu, Aghem, Sesotho) there appears to be a preference for focused phrases in the postverbal domain to appear in the IAV position. Rather than IAV position being specifically a focus position, however, aboutness topics are also desirable in that linear position, effectively supplanting other focused constituents (e.g. *wh*-phrases). For now, we conceptualize this with a single structural position (Prominence Phrase, PromP) that these discourse-prominent phrases move to, as sketched in Figure 5.2.

While the PromP hypothesis does not specifically have a long history of precedent, there is a long tradition of argument for there being positions roughly

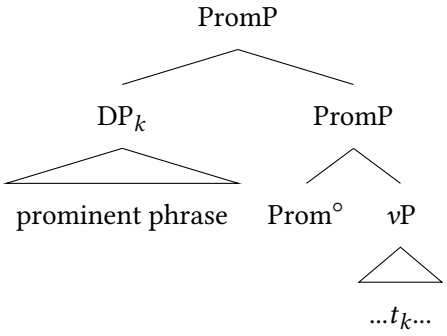


Figure 5.2: Working hypothesis: Lubukusu postverbal scrambling

around the edge of *v*P that are dedicated to properties of information structure (Cecchetto 1999, Jayaseelan 2001, Paul 2002, Belletti 2004, Frey 2004, Lacerda 2020, Mursell 2021).

As we mentioned above, Kipsigis showed a very similar pattern with respect to there being a "prominent," "discourse-differentiated" position following the verb that both focused elements and aboutness topics are attracted to. The structure we are adopting for Lubukusu (Figure 5.2) is adapted from Bossi and Diercks' (2019) proposal for Kipsigis. Bossi & Diercks (2019) propose that there is a hierarchy of discourse-related grammatical features, where all such features also are marked with the discourse feature [δ]. This allows for the occurrence of an underspecified [δ] feature on heads in the syntax, with the result that it can be satisfied by entering an Agree relation with any δ-bearing constituent. This explains why both topical elements and focused elements are attracted to that position.

As for the Lubukusu analysis, our current purpose is to clarify the structure of the verbal domain sufficiently to be able to understand object marking and OM-doubling, so for the time being we simply need a working hypothesis to build from as the volume moves forward. Therefore, we will assume that this "prominence" position attracts discourse-differentiated phrases, i.e. those phrases that possess some kind of discourse [δ] feature. Assuming there is an underspecified [δ] feature on Prom°, this feature is satisfied by a discourse-differentiated phrase, i.e. a phrase bearing some discourse feature.[11]

[11] As for why aboutness topics must move there if they are clearly established, it may be that there is a cognitive restriction to a single aboutness topic (i.e. the very nature of aboutness is that there is a particular identified aboutness topic). If this is so, the aboutness topic would necessarily be the discourse-differentiated phrase, if an aboutness topic was clear in the sentence. That, of course, is merely speculation.

There is an alternative analysis available that is worth considering, in order to set it aside. We've seen that both focused phrases and aboutness topics can scramble to the left edge of the verb phrase, immediately after the verb (IAV). But we see a difference in preference between them – aboutness topics are preferred in IAV position, and *wh*-phrases and new information focus only appear there if there isn't an aboutness topic. But there are two ways this could be analyzed – one is the analysis we have adopted in (45a), where there is one "prominence" position, and elements inside *v*P compete for being in that position (with the properties of the various competitors mattering, i.e. aboutness topics will win). The other is what is sketched in (45b), where there are actually two kinds of information structural positions at the edge of *v*P (Aboutness, and Focus), and the Aboutness position is the structurally higher of the two.

(45) a. [Prom [*v*P …]]
b. [About [Foc [*v*P …]]]

This is testable by pairing an aboutness prompt with a *wh*-question that questions a different postverbal constituent, and seeing whether there is movement of the *wh*-phrase even with the aboutness phrase. This requires at least a third postverbal constituent in order to clarify the position of the *wh*-phrase. So in (46) the speaker follows the aboutness prompt by asking a clarifying question, resulting in a pairing of the aboutness topic *musirekere* 'in the market' and the *wh*-THEME *siina* 'what.' Because the *wh*-word is the direct object, we expect it to be structurally lower than (and canonically to the right of) the RECIPIENT argument *babaana* 'children.'

(46) *xéʲɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xúsírekerẹ́*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-si-rekere.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-7-market
'I am going to tell you about the market.'

a. *wékésá áwéela músírekere βáβáaná síiną*
Wekesa a-a-w-el-a mu-si-rekere ba-ba-ana siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 18-7-market 2-2-children 7.what
'What did Wekesa give the children in the market?'

b. #?*wékésá áwéela músírekeré síina βáβáana*
#?Wekesa a-a-w-el-a mu-si-rekere siina ba-ba-ana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 18-7-market 7.what 2-2-children
'What did Wekesa give the children in the market?'

In the continuations in both (46a) and (46b) the locative object *musirekere* 'in the market' is immediately postverbal, as expected for aboutness topics. The key is the contrast between (46a) and (46b), where the *wh*-THEME is preferred in its canonical position in (46a), and the inverted word order in (46b) is mildly degraded, and dispreferred. If the structure sketched in (45b) was the correct analysis, we would expect a strong preference for (46b) in this context, which is the opposite of what we find. As such, we conclude that (45b) is not the correct analysis of the scrambling-type movement to immediately postverbal position, and instead that something like (45a) is more appropriate, as sketched in Figure 5.2.

5.3 Illustration: locative adjuncts vs locative arguments

Locative adjuncts and applied locative arguments are particularly of interest for us, largely because locatives appeared to be somewhat exceptional among (relatively) low adverbials in not licensing OM-doubling when they are focused. We assumed in §4.2 that this meant that locative adjuncts were structurally external to the relevant domain, which we assumed to be (roughly) *v*P. With the additional understanding of the postverbal domain developed in this chapter, however, we are better able to empirically demonstrate that this is the case.

First, we can see in the simple example below that locatives may "optionally" (in a sense) be included in a clause either as adjuncts or as applicative arguments.

(47) *wékésáá ‖ éembela múkelesjá*
Wekesa eemb-(el)-a mu-kelesya.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-APPL-FV 18-church
'Wekesa sang in the church.'

There are interpretive differences that come with the locative applicative (as opposed to a locative adjunct): in this instance, speakers tend to want to translate the applicative version as something like "Wekesa sang *from* the church," (see Jerro 2016 for discussion of the various distinct interpretations that arise from locative applicative constructions). In other instances, there is a more distinctive partitive reading (i.e. a location within a location). So in (48) a locative applicative on the verb *-kona* 'sleep' sounds strange when describing the specific location of the physical sleeping (in a bed), but is reasonable when describing the sleeping occuring inside a larger location, such as the town where the sleeping is happening (in Bungoma).

(48) a. *wékésá ákóna musitaanda*

Wekesa a-kon-(*el)-a mu-si-taanda.
1.Wekesa 1SM-sleep-(*APPL)-FV 18-7-bed
'Wekesa slept in the bed.'

b. *wékésá ákónel' eeβuŋoma*
Wekesa a-kon-(el)-a e-Bungoma.
1.Wekesa 1SM-sleep-(APPL)-FV 23-Bungoma
'Wekesa slept at/in Bungoma.'

In addition, there is another aspect of interpretation that we have not yet identified clear diagnostics for, but which does centrally relate to many of the issues we are describing here. When a location is introduced via an applicative (as opposed to simply being included as an adjunct) there is a clear sense that the location is inside the important part of the sentence that the speaker is communicating to the addressee. A location introduced without an applicative (i.e. as an adjunct) gives the distinct sense of being incidental, less central information. So in the two examples in (49), which differ only in the presence of the applicative, (49a) gives the sense that the speaker cares about the location of the singing, that the location is a central part of what is being communicated. In contrast, in (49b) the speaker cares (and means for the addressee to care) more about the singing, and the location that the singing occurs in is simply incidental information.

(49) a. *wékésá émbela múkelesjá*
Wekesa eemb-el-a mu-kelesya.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-APPL-FV 18-church
'Wekesa sang in the church.'

b. *wékésá émba múkelesjá*
Wekesa eemb-a mu-kelesya.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-FV 18-church
'Wekesa sang in the church.'

We will see more about these sorts of facts as the discussion develops, as this intuition will be central to our analysis in the end.

Most relevant to our current concerns, there are clear structural differences between locative adjuncts and locative applicatives (which also interact with our central concern of OM-doubling). A locative adjunct must occur to the right of a manner adverb, as shown in (50).

(50) a. *wékésá émba lúkalí múkelesjá*

Wekesa eemb-a lu-kali mu-kelesya.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-FV 11-much/more 18-church
'Wekesa sang loudly in the church.'

b. *%wékésáá́ ‖ éemba múkelesjá ˈlúkali*
%Wekesa eemb-a mu-kelesya lu-kali.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-FV 18-church 11-much/more
*?*On intended reading:* 'Wekesa sang loudly in the church.'
Ok as: "Wekesa sang in the church most of the time."

In contrast, a locative introduced by an applicative in the otherwise-identical sentence must occur to the left of the manner adverb. Assuming manner adverbs occur at the edge of *v*P, this shows that locative adjuncts are outside the verb phrase and locative arguments are inside the verb phrase.

(51) a. *%wékésá émbela lúkali múkelesjá*
%Wekesa eemb-el-a lu-kali mu-kelesya.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-APPL-FV 11-much/more 18-church
*?*On intended reading:* 'Wekesa sang loudly from the church.'
Ok as: "Wekesa sang from the church most of the time."

b. *wékésá émbela múkelesjá ˈlúkali*
Wekesa eemb-el-a mu-kelesya lu-kali.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-APPL-FV 18-church 11-much/more
'Wekesa sang loudly from the church.'

Locative arguments (introduced by applicatives) may participate in the prominence-based re-ordering of postverbal material; this is unacceptable with locative adjuncts. As an initial example, we can see that a locative occurring after an object can optionally co-occur with an applicative, the applicative becomes obligatory in (52c) when the locative occurs in the IAV position.

(52) a. *wékésá ‖ ásóma sítaβú múuŋndʒu*
Wekesa a-som-a si-i-tabu mu-nju.
1.Wekesa 1SM-read-FV 7-7-book 18-9.house
'Wekesa read the book in the house.'

b. *wékésá ásómela sítaβú múuŋndʒu*
Wekesa a-som-el-a si-i-tabu mu-nju.
1.Wekesa 1SM-read-APPL-FV 7-7-book 18-9.house
'Wekesa read the book in the house.'

c. *wékésá ásómela mú-úɲdʒú sítaβu*
Wekesa a-som-el-a mu-nju si-i-tabu
1.Wekesa 1SM-read-APPL-FV 18-9.house 7-7-book
'Wekesa read the book in the house.'

d. * Wekesa a-som-a mu-nju si-i-tabu
1.Wekesa 1SM-read-FV 18-9.house 7-7-book
'Wekesa read the book in the house.'

We can interpret this to mean that locative adjuncts must be outside the relevant domain for arguments, to the right of the verb phrase.[12] On the other hand, the natural position of an applied locative is inside this domain. When we apply our aboutness prompts like we used above to make the location the prominent constituent, we find that it is licit to move the locative phrase to the IAV position when the verb bears an applicative (and the locative is an argument), but that same scrambling operation is unavailable for the adjunct locative (when the verb bears no applicative), as was shown above in (52d).

(53) *xé-ɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xúuɲdʒu*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-nju.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-9.house
'I am going to tell you about the house.'
#: (52a)
✓: (52b)
✓: (52c) (preferred order)
*: (52d)

As we might expect, with this prompt the preferred word order places *munju* 'in the house' directly after the verb (52c). The word order in (52b) where the locative follows the object is also acceptable (for reasons we do not entirely understand yet).[13] But to the point here, there is a strong contrast between these examples and the non-applied locative (the locative adjunct), which is unacceptable in this context as shown by the always-ungrammatical (52d) (lacking an applicative).

We see converging evidence here: there appears to be a relevant domain where the 'significant' information of the sentence is located (to be clarified as we proceed). A locative that appears with an applicative is within this domain, and a

[12] Whether this is derived via right-adjunction or leftward movement of the entire verb phrase is tangential to our current concerns.

[13] This is the default order, which may be related to the explanation for why it is possible, but aboutness topics in general are preferred in IAV position.

locative without an applicative is outside this domain. Word order suggests that this is a structural fact: the locatives introduced by applicatives are structurally lower than those that are not (with the applied locatives appearing to the left of the manner adverb). This domain also seems to be the structural domain where prominence-based scrambling applies as well: locatives introduced by applicatives preferably appear in IAV position, but locative adjuncts cannot undergo discourse-based scrambling to IAV position. This converges with our previous findings as well about object marking: focused arguments, manner adjuncts, and temporal adjuncts (among other things) facilite OM-doubling an object. Locative adjuncts lie outside this domain: this is why focus on a locative adjunct cannot license OM-doubling (without a verum-like reading).

It is this structural domain that we refer to as the *Comment Domain*. This is also where we will claim the interpretive difference between locative adjuncts and arguments discussed above (49) derives from: locative arguments are inside the Comment Domain and therefore are considered part of the focal point of the sentence, whereas locative adjuncts are interpreted as largely incidental pieces of information, outside the focal point of the sentence. Notably, this correlates with the findings about object marking and conjoint/disjoint morphology across many Bantu languages, which are likewise dependent on a domain roughly equivalent to *v*P (see chapter 2.2 for discussion of the relevant literature).

Our working hypothesis for the postverbal structure of Lubukusu was introduced in Figure 5.2, where the landing site of IAV scrambling is a position above *v*P. If this hypothesis holds up, this would suggest that the Comment Domain includes at least PromP (and therefore, associating the Comment Domain with only *v*P is insufficient). We will continue to clarify the relevant structural domain as we proceed.

A more complex sentence supports the same main conclusions, with some more clarity about the structural positions of arguments and the IAV position of prominent arguments. We will first establish some relevant baseline facts involving ditransitives with a locative applicative, after which we will look at the impact of prominence-based scrambling of postverbal material. First, we see (as is familiar by now) that a lexical ditransitive verb has so-called 'flexible' postverbal word order, as shown in (54).

(54) a. *wékésá áwá βáβáaná βíˡánwá*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts
'Wekesa gave the children gifts.'

b. *wékésá áwá βíˡánwá βáβáana*
Wekesa a-a-w-a bi-anwa ba-ba-ana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 8-gifts 2-2-children
'Wekesa gave the children gifts.'

We see some interesting patterns emerge with locative arguments when we consider them alongside the canonical word order of objects in (55). Noting that in (55) we are looking at locative applicatives specifically, we can see that the preferred position of the locative argument *munju* 'in the house' is between the RECIPIENT and the THEME (55b), and that the clause-final position is also acceptable (55a). IAV position for the applied locative argument sounds odd without additional context.

(55) a. *wékésá áwéela βáβáana βíˡánwá múuɲdʒu*
Wekesa a-a-w-el-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa mu-nju.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts 18-9.house
'Wekesa gave the children gifts in the house.'

b. *wékésá áwéela βáβáaná múˡúɲdʒú βíˡánwá*
Wekesa a-a-w-el-a ba-ba-ana mu-nju bi-anwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 2-2-children 18-9.house 8-gifts
'Wekesa gave the children gifts in the house.' (preferred position of *munju*)

c. #?*wékésá áwéela múˡúɲdʒú βáβáaná βíˡánwá*
#?Wekesa a-a-w-el-a mu-nju ba-ba-ana bi-anwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 18-9.house 2-2-children 8-gifts
'Wekesa gave the children gifts in the house.'

When the objects are inverted in their order, we see a difference in the distribution of the locative *munju* 'in the house' as well: here, the linear position between the two objects is now dispreferred and the IAV position and the clause final position are now the preferred positions.

(56) a. *wékésá áwéela βíˡjánwá βáβáaná múuɲdʒu*
Wekesa a-a-w-el-a bi-anwa ba-ba-ana mu-nju.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 8-gifts 2-2-children 18-9.house
'Wekesa gave the children gifts in the house.'

b. ??*wékésá áwéela βíˡjánwá múˡúɲdʒú βáβáana*
??Wekesa a-a-w-el-a bi-anwa mu-nju ba-ba-ana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 8-gifts 18-9.house 2-2-children
'Wekesa gave the children gifts in the house.'

c. *wékésá áwéela mú¹úɲdzú βí¹jánwá βáβáana*
Wekesa a-a-w-el-a mu-nju bi-anwa ba-ba-ana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 18-9.house 8-gifts 2-2-children
'Wekesa gave the children gifts in the house.'

Controlling the pragmatic contexts clarifies these patterns. We consider each of the sentences from (55) and (56) as possible continuations of an aboutness prompt that identifies one of the postverbal arguments as the aboutness topic. As each numbered example below offers six judgments, the data set complexifies quickly, so allow us to briefly preview the conclusions. First, it will become evident that RECIPIENT-THEME-LOCATION in (55a) is the canonical word order, as it is always acceptable. Likewise, we will see further confirmation that the discourse-prominent constituent arises in IAV position, as was discussed at length above. Here, the aboutness prompt results in the aboutness topic moving to IAV position. These two patterns will help interpret the data sets below.

We can see in (57) that when the RECIPIENT *babaana* is identified as the aboutness topic, it is preferred in IAV position, and any other order that moves it out of that position is degraded.

(57) RECIPIENT Aboutness Topic
xé¹ɲdzá x:uxuβoolélá xúβáana
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-ba-ana.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-2-children
'I am going to tell you about the children.'
✓: (55a) (REC-THEME-LOC)
✓: (55b) (REC-LOC-THEME)
#?: (55c) (LOC-REC-THEME)
#: (56a) (THEME-REC-LOC)
#: (56b) (THEME-LOC-REC)
#: (56c) (LOC-THEME-REC)

We see a similar pattern when the THEME is the aboutness topic. In (58) the aboutness prompt targets the THEME *bianwa* 'gifts,' and the acceptable word orders are the two that place the THEME in IAV position, and the canonical word order (which is always acceptable). Other word orders are degraded.

(58) THEME Aboutness Topic
xé¹ɲdzá ¹xúxuβoolélá xúβí¹jánwá

Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-bi-anwa.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-8-gifts
'I am going to tell you about the gifts.'
✓: (55a) (REC-THEME-LOC)
#?: (55b) (REC-LOC-THEME)
#?: (55c) (LOC-REC-THEME)
✓: (56a) (THEME-REC-LOC)
✓: (56b) (THEME-LOC-REC)
#: (56c) (LOC-THEME-REC)

Looking at prominence-based movement of the locative argument, some of what we see is expected, but some surprising. The canonical word order is acceptable (as always) and the word orders with the locative in the IAV position are now acceptable, following an aboutness prompt targeting the location itself. This is to be expected at this point. It is not clear in (59) why (55b) is acceptable in response to this prompt, however.

(59) LOCATIVE Aboutness Topic
xéʲɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá xúuɲdʒu
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-nju.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-9.house
'I am going to tell you about the house.'
✓: (55a) (REC-THEME-LOC)
✓: (55b) (REC-LOC-THEME)
✓: (55c) (LOC-REC-THEME)
#: (56a) (THEME-REC-LOC)
#?: (56b) (THEME-LOC-REC)
✓: (56c) (LOC-THEME-REC)

It is evident from these three data sets that the canonical word order is always available, and this is further confirmation that the aboutness prompt, identifying an aboutness topic, allows and often prefers that topic to occur in IAV position (which we are referring to as a prominence position). Most relevant to our point, locatives introduced by applicatives readily undergo scrambling to the IAV position, diagnosed here via an aboutness prompt like we have done previously for other arguments and adjuncts in the Comment Domain.

This is in clear contrast to the properties of locatives without an applicative, which show none of these prominence-based movements. This is evident in (60), where the locative adjunct is acceptable in clause-final position (60a), but the

locative adjunct immediately postverbal is ungrammatical without an applicative morpheme on the verb (60b).

(60) a. *wékésá áwá βáβáaná βíʲjánwá múuɲdʒu*
Wekesa a-a-w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa mu-nju.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts 18-9.house
'Wekesa gave the children gifts.'

b. *wékésáā ‖ áwéela múʲúɲdʒú βáβáaná βíʲjánwá*
Wekesa a-a-w-*(el)-a mu-nju ba-ba-ana bi-anwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 18-9.house 2-2-children 8-gifts
'Wekesa gave the children gifts.'

These data imply that the IAV position is not available for a locative unless it is introduced by an applicative, and as we saw in (59), it occurs in that position precisely when it is the discourse prominent constituent, like many other arguments and low adjuncts.

This re-affirms what we saw above in (50): it is not possible to place a locative adjunct in the IAV position. The only way that the word order in (61b) is acceptable is if there is an applicative on the verb.

(61) a. *wékésáā ‖ émba lúkalí múkelesjá*
Wekesa eemb-a lu-kali mu-kelesya.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-FV 11-much/more 18-church
'Wekesa sang loudly in the church.'

b. ??*wékésá émba múkelesjá ʲlúkali*
??Wekesa eemb-a mu-kelesya lu-kali.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST.sing-FV 18-church 11-much/more
On intended reading: 'Wekesa sang loudly in the church.'

To summarize: locatives that are introduced by an applicative (and are therefore arguments) are perceived as part of the important, central part of what is being communicated in the sentence. Locative arguments participate in the discourse-based scrambling to IAV position, and they occur structurally lower in the clause (presumably inside *v*P); in contrast, locative adjuncts have none of these properties.

These results suggest that locative adjuncts are relatively structurally high (outside the Comment Domain), whereas locative arguments are structurally lower, (inside the Comment Domain). This is because if locative adjuncts are located structurally higher than PromP, we would expect locative adjuncts to

be unable to move downward into Spec,PromP, per standard Merge-based assumptions that movement is only upward and not downward. This also makes predictions in accordance with our previous observations on the properties of OM-doubling and the NE intensifier in compound tenses, both of which seemed to operate on the verb phrase (or, to be more precise now, the Comment Domain): focused locative arguments ought to license doubling and be viable with NE modification, and locative adjuncts should be degraded in those contexts. This is precisely what we find, as shown in (62) below. As (62a) shows, the locative *khusoko* 'market' can optionally occur with an applicative on the verb, but in order for doubling to be licit the verb must occur with the applicative morpheme (62b). That is to say, only a focused locative argument facilitates doubling; locative adjuncts cannot facilitate doubling, even if focused.

(62) a. *wékésáá ‖ áβónela βáβáaná xúsóoko*
Wekesa a-bon-(el)-a ba-ba-ana khu-soko.
1.Wekesa 1SM-see-APPL-FV 2-2-children 17-9.market
'Wekesa saw the children at the market.'

b. *wékésá áβáβonela βáβáaná xúsóˈókó xwóŋéné*
Wekesa a-ba- bon-#(el)-a ba-ba-ana **khu-soko**
1.Wekesa 1SM-2OM-see-APPL-FV 2-2-children 17-9.market
khw-ong'ene.
17-only
'Wekese saw the children ONLY AT THE MARKET.' (i.e. didn't see them anywhere else) *OK without verum, with applicative*
Additional emphasis on 'only at the market'

Similarly, we saw above that in compound tenses the NE- focus marker adds an intensified reading, but also tends to be more natural when there is material within the verb phrase (and comparatively unnatural without that). Given this, we predict that the locative argument should easily occur with NE-, but the locative adjunct would be comparatively unnatural. This is precisely what we find in (63).

(63) a. *wafulǎǎ ‖ áβá atʃéxá ˈxúsóoko*
Wafula a-a-ba (??n)-a-chekh-a khu-soko.
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-be (??NE)-1SM-laugh-FV 17-9.market
'Wafula was laughing at the market.'

b. *wafulǎǎ ‖ áβá naatʃéxéla xúsóoko*

Wafula a-a-ba n-a-chekh-el-a khu-soko.
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-be NE-1SM-laugh-APPL-FV 17-9.market
'Wafula was certainly laughing at the market.'

Therefore, we see converging patterns. The distinct behaviors of locative adjuncts vs. locative arguments (i.e. those introduced via an applicative on the verb) suggest that locative adjuncts are outside the Comment Domain (we are assuming at present to be the *v*P+PromP). This is not an isolated fact, however: the locative adjunct vs. argument distinction behaves as predicted by our various preceding constructions that also seem to operate on the Comment Domain (prominence scrambling, OM-doubling, NE-focus). This offers additional confirmation that these collective patterns are drawing on the same structural domain: that is to say, additional confirmation that such a structural domain exists in Lubukusu.

5.4 The Comment Domain

It should be clear at this point that there is a structural domain that is relevant both for particular interpretive effects and also for demarcating the structural domain within which certain syntactic operations occur in Lubukusu. As Chapter 4 documented in relative depth, OM-doubling is readily available in Lubukusu but is pragmatically restricted; that chapter showed how focus on constituents that lie (roughly) inside *v*P serves to facilitate doubling, but focused constituents outside that domain fail to do so. Likewise, we have seen in this chapter that discourse-based scrambling to IAV follows the same pattern: we showed that locative adjuncts that do not facilitate OM-doubling (when focused) also do not participate in scrambling to the IAV position. Likewise, the NE intensifier that can appear in compound tenses is comparatively unnatural when there are no overt constituents inside the Comment Domain (again evident in the contrast between locatives with and without the applicative).

(64) Properties associated with the Comment Domain in Lubukusu
1. OM-doubling facilitated by focus on constituents inside this domain.
2. Constituents inside this domain can participate in scrambling to IAV (those outside this domain cannot)[14]
3. The NE intensifier is much more natural if there are overt constituents inside the Comment Domain

[14]This is the result of the assumption that movement cannot be downward in the phrase structure.

4. Interpretation: elements inside the comment domain are interpreted as part of the "important" part of the sentence—part of the point of uttering the sentence in the first place

We arrived at our term for this domain (the *Comment Domain*) specifically because of the final property listed in (64): constituents inside this domain are interpreted as part of the central commentary of a sentence, whereas those outside it are judged as merely incidental information. On the assumption that subjects are identified (generally) as aboutness topics, the predicate (verb + arguments/adjuncts) can be canonically identified as the comment about that subject topic. This kind of topic-comment structure is quite common across languages. The conclusion of a relatively low domain that appears to have focus properties is entirely unsurprising from a cross-linguistic perspective. As we introduced in Chapter 2.2, *v*P has been argued to be a focus domain across a large swath of Bantu languages, especially southern Bantu languages (e.g. isiZulu, Xhosa, Northern Sotho, among others: see Chapter 2.2 for details).

5.5 The structural position of postverbal subjects

As mentioned in §4.2.2, focused subjects may occur postverbally, but we must establish what their precise position is. First, we will repeat the pattern that we saw previously: a focused subject may appear postverbally.[15]

(65) a. *wékésá jéɲéɲéé ‖ áréerera βáásaalé tʃáaji*
Wekesa (y-eng'ene) a-rer-er-a ba-saale e-chayi.
1.Wekesa (1-only) 1SM-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 9-tea
'(Only) Wekesa brought his friends tea.'

b. *áréerera βáásaalé étʃáaji ‖ wékésá jéɲéné*
A-rer-er-a ba-saale e-chayi Wekesa #(y-eng'ene).
1SM-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 9-tea 1.Wekesa (1-only)
'Only Wekesa brought his friends tea.'

As is illustrated in (65b), the most natural position for a postverbal focused subject is at the right edge of the other arguments in the sentence. And as the examples in (66) show, without additional context, placing the subject in IAV position or in between the object arguments receives marginal judgments (though the former is more degraded than the latter).

[15] Focused subjects are not required to appear postverbally; Lubukusu allows focused preverbal subjects.

(66) a. *#áréerera wékésá jéŋénée ‖ βáásaalé tʃáaji*
#A-a-rer-er-a Wekesa y-eng'ene ba-saale e-chayi.
1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 1-only 2-friends 9-tea
'(Only) Wekesa brought his friends tea.'

b. *??áréerera βáásaalé wékésá jéŋéne tʃáaji*
??A-a-rer-er-a ba-saale Wekesa y-eng'ene e-chayi.
1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 1.Wekesa 1-only 9-tea
'(Only) Wekesa brought his friends tea.'

On the face of it, this would seem to suggest that the postverbal focused subject is not *in situ* in its base position in Spec,*v*P; if so, we might naturally expect it to occur above (and therefore preceding) the other object arguments.[16] However, there are reasons to believe that this conclusion might be premature. First, as we saw above, postverbal subjects license OM-doubling; this suggests that they are inside the Comment Domain, based on everything we have seen thus far. But to occur on the right edge they would have to move *above* *v*P, and it is not clear how much structure there is above *v*P that is still in the Comment Domain.

Contrary to what the right-edge position of postverbal subjects might suggest, there is in fact good evidence from the availability and interpretation of postverbal subjects that suggests that they are in fact *in situ* in Spec,*v*P. Using a diagnostic from question/answer congruence, we can see that the most natural context for (67b) is one that makes verb phrase focus licit. That is to say, the postverbal subject in (67b) naturally yields a focused interpretation of the verb phrase as a whole.

(67) a. *wafula áxóla siiɲa*
Wafula a-a-khol-a siina?
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-do-FV 7.what
'What did Wafula do?'

b. *áréerera βáásaalé tʃáajií ‖ wafulạ*
A-a-rer-er-a ba-saale e-chayi Wafula.
1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 9-tea 1.Wafula
'Wafula brought his friends tea.' (with some sort of emphasis on *Wafula*)

We have already proposed as a working hypothesis that there is a prominence position that is high within the Comment Domain, which prominent constituents

[16] This assumes uniformly left-branching specifiers.

scramble to (and, which places them in IAV position). On that same assumption, the pattern in (67) receives a natural explanation if the subject is in fact in Spec,*v*P and the remnant of the lower VP has raised to Spec,PromP (a remnant movement because the verb has head-moved out of VP).

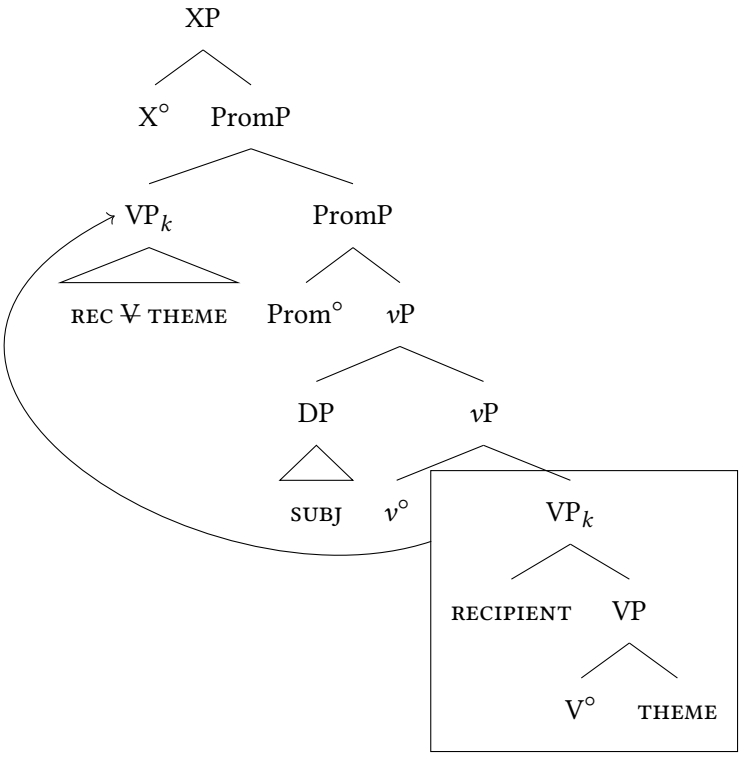


Figure 5.3: The structure of clauses with postverbal subjects in Lubukusu. Assumes head movement of verbs to some position above PromP, generically drawn as XP here.

This does make various predictions. First, if scrambling to PromP is what derives significant variation in postverbal word order in the first place, in a VP focus context with a postverbal subject we would expect that object inversion of the THEME before the RECIPIENT would be degraded. This is precisely what occurs:

(68) a. *wafula áxóla siiną*
Wafula a-a-khol-a siina?
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-do-FV 7.what
'What did Wafula do?'

b. *?*áréerere tʃáaji βáásaaléé́ ‖ wafulá jéŋéné́*
*?A-a-rer-er-a e-chayi ba-saale Wafula y-eng'ene.
1SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 9-tea 2-friends 1.Wafula 1-only
'(Only) Wafula brought his friends tea.'

This is presumably the case because if right-edge postverbal subjects are in fact derived as part of VP prominence constructions, the subject came to be to the right of the objects because the VP raised to Spec,PromP (over the subject in Spec,*v*P). But if this is the case, there is no longer a mechanism available to derive inversion of the THEME over the object (because that is derived via movement to PromP). As a result, only (67b) is available, (68b) is not.

This does raise the question, however, of whether a postverbal subject can occur when a single constituent raises to Spec,PromP. This is in fact precisely what happens when OM-doubling co-occurs with a postverbal focused subject: it is now very natural to have the subject occur between the doubled RECIPIENT and the THEME in (69).

(69) *áβáreerera βáásaaléé́ ‖ wékésá jéŋéne tʃáaji*
A-a-ba- rer-er-a ba-saale **Wekesa** **y-eng'ene** e-chayi.
1SM-PST-2OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 1.Wekesa 1-only 9-tea
'ONLY WEKESA brought his friends tea.'
Additional emphasis on 'only Wekesa'

Again, this follows straightforwardly from the structure hypothesized in Figure 5.3: if the doubled object is moving to the prominence position, we would expect it to be in the IAV position, and for the subject to be in the second position after the verb. This is illustrated in Figure 5.4.

However, it is less clear why (70) is also acceptable.

(70) *áβáreerera βáásaalé tʃáꜜájí wékésá jéŋéné́*
A-a-ba- rer-er-a ba-saale e-chayi **Wekesa** **y-eng'ene**.
1SM-PST-2OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-friends 9-tea 1.Wekesa 1-only
'ONLY WEKESA brought his friends tea.'
Additional emphasis on 'only Wekesa'

We assume here that this is a VP prominence construction similar to (67b), and the RECIPIENT is object-marked in its position inside the moved remnant in Spec,PromP, as illustrated in Figure 5.3. But it should be clear that the sudden acceptability of the word order in (69) when the RECIPIENT object is both prominent and OM-doubled follows quite naturally from two pieces of our argument

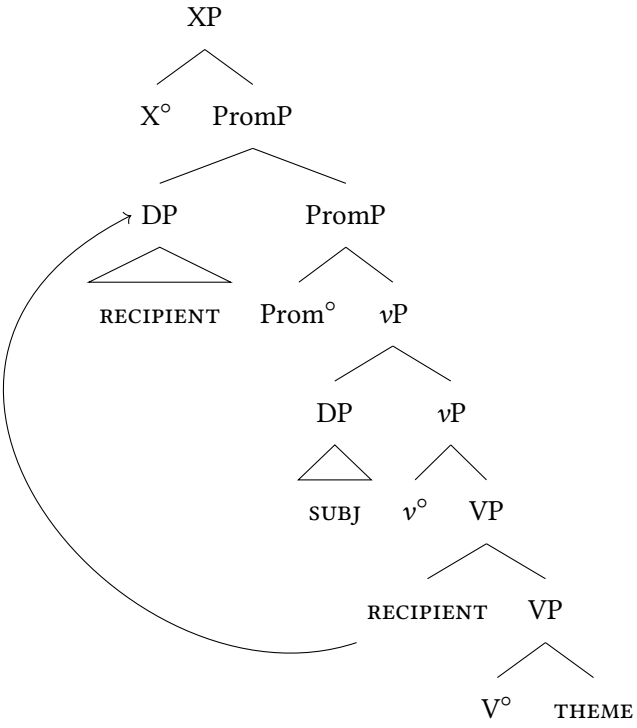


Figure 5.4: The postverbal structure of OM-doubling in an example like (69) with a prominent object and a postverbal subject. Assumes head movement of verbs to a position above PromP (drawn generically as XP here). There is no VP movement in this instance (in contrast to Figure 5.3); the RECIPIENT is prominent, not the VP. Mechanics of OM-doubling itself are not represented here; see Chapter 6.

that we have been working to establish: a position where prominent arguments scramble to (ending up in IAV position), which we have labeled PromP, and that postverbal subjects remain *in situ* in *v*P.

This analysis also predicts that the THEME should be able to move to PromP and be OM-doubled. The judgments are much more fragile here, but it does appear that such a construction is possible, as shown in (71).

(71) *Context: We've been talking about how there is such good tea in the region, and lots of kids bring tea to their friends at school. But Wafula's friends all brought poor quality tea, only Wafula brought the good stuff.*
ákíreerer' etʃáˈájí ndají tʃánââ ‖ wafulá jéŋéné ˈβáásaalę

A-a-ki- rer-er-a e-chayi e-ndayi chana Wafula y-eng'ene
1SM-PST-9OM-bring-APPL-FV 9-tea 9-good TOP 1.Wafula 1-only
ba-saale.
2-friends
'ONLY WAFULA brought his friends that good tea that we've been talking about.'
Additional emphasis on 'only Wafula'

That said, the context and judgments are highly nuanced here, to a degree that wasn't necessary for the RECIPIENT object doubling in (69) (for reasons we do not entirely understand). Our best guess is that it is attributable to the nuanced circumstances that make inversion possible in the first place, paired with the nuances of what licenses postverbal subjects in the first place, along with the interpretive constraints on doubling. But more research will be necessary to establish this. We conclude that the initial assumption that postverbal subjects stay within *v*P is merited, and therefore their ability to license OM-doubling falls in line with the structure of other focus licensers of OM-doubling.

A reviewer inquired as to whether these postverbal subject constructions might in fact be pseudo-clefts, explaining the right-edge position of the subject (and the focal reading of the subject). So the question is whether a sentence in (72) in fact realizes the equivalent of the English *(The one) who ate the ugali is Wekesa.*

(72) *á-ljá βúsumá wékésá jéŋéŋ́*
A-a-ly-a bu-suma Wekesa y-eng'ene.
1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.'

It is quite clear that this is not the case, however: subject clefts require a type of complementizer agreement, and when a class 1 subject is extracted, the subject agreement appears in an altered form (*u-/o-* instead of *a-*), the so-called anti-agreement effect (Wasike 2007, Diercks 2010). So the pseudo-cleft equivalent of (72) appears in (73).

(73) *ówálja βúsumăắ ‖ alí wékésá jéŋéŋ́*
O-w-a-ly-a bu-suma (a-li) Wekesa y-eng'ene.
1COMP-AAE-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali (1SM-COP) 1.Wekesa 1-only
'Who ate the ugali is Wekesa.'

The optional presence of the copula in a pseudo-cleft is also diagnostic: an *in situ* postverbal subject is ungrammatical with a copula preceding the subject.

(74) *A-a-ly-a bu-suma a-li Wekesa y-eng'ene.
1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 1SM-COP 1.Wekesa 1-only
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.'

As suggested to us by the same reviewer, the proposal that subjects remain *in situ* inside the verb phrase predicts that we might see this reflected in the scope possibilities of quantificational elements. We consider this here for the universal quantifier *AGR-oosi* 'all' and sentential negation. Unlike the English translation in (75), Lubukusu does not have scope ambiguity with a universal quantifier in subject position: the only available reading for (75) is that for all children, they did not eat (the universal quantifier scopes over negation, so in this instance no children ate ugali).

(75) *βáβáaná βóosí séβáljá βúsumá tá*
Ba-ba-ana b-oosi se-ba-a-ly-a bu-suma ta.
2-2-children 2-all NEG-2SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG
'All the children didn't eat ugali.' ✓∀ > ¬ ; * ¬ > ∀

Compare that to the other reading in English, where negation receives high scope (*it is not the fact that all the children ate ugali*: that is, not all ate, but perhaps some ate). So English allows both low and high scope readings of a universal quantifier in subject position, whereas Lubukusu only allows a high scope reading of the quantifier in a parallel construction.

There is a version of the sentence where negation scopes over the universal quantifier, namely, one where the quantifier *AGR-oosi* floats away from the subject, remaining postverbal, presumably *in situ* inside the *v*P.

(76) *βáβáaná séβáljá βúsumá βóosí tá*
Ba-ba-ana se-ba-a-ly-a bu-suma b-oosi ta.
2-2-children NEG-2SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 2-all NEG
'All the children didn't eat ugali.' * ∀ > ¬ ; ✓¬ > ∀

Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, when the subject remains postverbal in a subject focus context, wide scope of the quantified subject is unavailable, with only embedded scope available.

(77) *séβáljá βúsumaá ‖ βáβáaná βóosí tá*
Se-ba-a-ly-a bu-suma ba-ba-ana b-oosi ta.
NEG-2SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 2-2-children 2-all NEG
'ALL THE CHILDREN didn't eat ugali.' * ∀ > ¬ ; ✓¬ > ∀

This is consistent with an analysis where the subject remains inside the *v*P and therefore inside the scope of negation.

A similar question is whether postverbal subjects might in fact be right-dislocated. We repeat an example here that we first introduced in §4.2.2: the right-dislocated subject in (78c) appears following a prosodic break, and receives an afterthought topic reading. In contrast, the *in situ* postverbal subject receives focused reading, and occurs without a prosodic break.

(78) a. *wékésá á-ljá βúsumạ*
Wekesa a-a-ly-a bu-suma.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali
'Wekesa ate ugali.'

b. *á-ljá βúsumá wékésá jéŋéŋẹ́*
A-a-ly-a bu-suma **Wekesa** #(**y-eng'ene**).
1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.'

c. *á-ljá βúsuma ‖ wekesạ*
A-a-ly-a bu-suma *(,) Wekesa.
1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa
'He ate ugali, Wekesa.' (Wekesa = afterthought topic)

The conclusion that postverbal subjects remain *in situ* inside the *v*P also appears to be justified given that postverbal subjects participate in the discourse-based scrambling to IAV position that we have been analyzing as movement to the PromP position, above *v*P. So despite the fact that postverbal focused subjects are preferred as the rightmost argument in neutral contexts, that is not the only possible word order, as (79b) shows.

(79) a. *á-ljá βúsumá wékésá jéŋéŋẹ́*
A-a-ly-a bu-suma Wekesa y-eng'ene.
1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.'

b. *á-ljá wékésá jéŋéné -βúsumạ*
A-a-ly-a Wekesa y-eng'ene bu-suma.
1SM-PST-eat-FV 1.Wekesa 1-only 14-ugali
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.' (OK on interpretation discussed below)

Given our generalizations to this point, we would assume that the postverbal subject here is a potential participant in the same scrambling operation(s) that

affected word order for postverbal objects more generally, and this appears to be the case. We again use our aboutness prompt to generate the clearest intuitions. We can see that an aboutness prompt that targets the postverbal subject creates a context where the V-Subj-Theme word order is preferred.

(80) *xéʲɲdʒá xúxuβoolélá xuwekesa̱*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-Wekesa.
prog-1sg.sm-go-fv 15sm-2sg.om-say-appl-fv 17-1.Wekesa
'I am going to tell you about Wekesa.'
theme-subject (79a): OK
subject-theme (79b): Good, and better than (79a)

This fits with our analysis to this point that the aboutness prompt triggers discourse-based scrambling to the IAV position (which we label the PromP syntactic projection). The fact that V-Theme-Subj word order is also acceptable here is unsurprising if this is considered the 'base' word order of a postverbal subject construction.[17]

As a reviewer points out, (80) also raises a question about the interpretation of postverbal subjects: (80) is a prompt for aboutness topics, but in this context the postverbal subject *Wekesa yeng'ene* is focused. There is a traditional assumption that focus and topic are incompatible, and in some conceptualizations of focus and topic, they certainly are: if topics are discourse-given, backgrounded information, and focus is newly asserted information, then we might expect topic and focus to be incompatible (Kempson 1975, Nikolaeva 2001, Lambrecht 1994). But we assume that the kind of topic we are discussing here is an aboutness topic (Reinhart 1981), which is not necessarily incompatible with the semantic alternatives that focus introduces. Krifka (2008: 265) suggests that "[t]he topic constituent identifies the entity or set of entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the [Common Ground] content." Krifka explicitly suggests that contrastive focus is composed of a topic that is focused, and we assume something similar is at work here (see Neeleman et al. 2009 for a similar conclusion).

When the aboutness prompt targets the Theme object, we see the same pattern we saw above as when the prompt targeted the structurally highest object:

[17] This is somewhat tricky, though, because in this instance we would have to assume that the aboutness prompt targeting the postverbal subject *Wekesa* did not actually trigger movement of Wekesa to PromP, but rather the lower VP still moved to PromP. Here we must assume that the discourse conditions licensing a postverbal subject in the first place must be sufficiently strong to merit this movement even when the subject is clearly identified as an aboutness topic. A more fine-grained study of the semantics of phrases attracted to PromP is clearly necessary.

that object is preferred to remain in IAV position, and any other re-ordering is degraded.

(81) *xéˈɲdʒá x:uxuβoolélá ˈxúβúsumạ*
Khe-n-j-a khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-bu-suma.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-14-ugali
'I am going to tell you about ugali.'
THEME-SUBJECT (79a): Good
SUBJECT-THEME (79b): #?

This pattern confirms several conclusions for us. First, the fact that postverbal subjects participate in discourse-based scrambling is further evidence that they remain inside the Comment Domain, and therefore the preference for them to occur as the rightmost argument should not be attributed to them being right-dislocated. This also further confirms the proposed position of the PromP projection, which must be above Spec,*v*P to allow constituents to front to IAV in front of the subject, but this position also allows for subjects to move there in subject-aboutness contexts like (80) (pre-empting movement of some other phrase to that position in that instance).

But if we conclude that postverbal subjects are *in situ* inside the *v*P, the instances of OM-doubling with postverbal subjects discussed above in fact raise some important questions about the locality of probing that generates OM-doubling constructions. The fact that OM-doubling is facilitated by postverbal subjects suggests that the base position of subjects is inside the scope of whatever head generates OM-doubling. But this raises a cyclicity puzzle: why do subjects in their base position not intervene in the object marking relation with objects in instances where the subject ultimately moves out of *v*P? We do not delve into this in too much depth here, as we have not established our account of OM-doubling yet. But we will revisit this question in Chapter 9 and Chapter 10, where we suggest that the heads generating OM-doubling undergo Late Merger.

5.6 On the position of OM-doubled objects

This discussion of postverbal word order equips us well to investigate the question of the position of OM-doubled objects. We will examine the relevant concerns here, concluding that Lubukusu OM-doubled objects show no evidence of movement out of the *v*P domain: they appear to be *in situ* in the *v*P.

5.6.1 Links between clitic doubling and object shift

Vikner (2017) offers an overview of object shift phenomona in Scandinavian languages, which serve to illustrate a phenomenon that is well documented across a broad range of languages. In short, in many languages a lexical DP (and often a non-specific DP) may remain *in situ* inside the verb phrase, but a pronoun obligatorily moves out of the verb phrase. This is evident in Icelandic, where *aldrei* 'never' is taken to demarcate the edge of the verb phrase. (82) shows that lexical DPs may optionally either remain inside the verb phrase (82a), or move outside the verb phrase (82b). Pronouns, in contrast, necessarily move out of the verb phrase (83).

(82) Icelandic Object Shift: full DPs (Vikner 2017: (4))

a. Af hverju las_v Pétur aldrei [$_{VP}$ t_v þessa bók] ?
Why read Peter never this book

b. Af hverju las_v Pétur þessa bók aldrei [$_{VP}$ t_v] ?
Why read Peter this book never

(83) Icelandic Object Shift: Pronouns (Vikner 2017: (5))

a. *Af hverju las_v Pétur aldrei [$_{VP}$ t_V hana] ?
Why read Peter never it

b. Af hverju las_v Pétur hana aldrei [$_{VP}$ t_V t_{hana}] ?
Why read Peter it never

Because many languages show a clear link with specificity of object DPs for *both* clitic doubling and short scrambling/object shift constructions, many researchers have proposed formal links between the two (see Sportiche 1996, Suñer 2000, Nevins 2011, Kramer 2014, Harizanov 2014, among others). For example, Kramer (2014) argues that clitic doubling in Amharic arises from an object-shift-like movement of the object DP to the edge of *v*P, and reduction of the structurally higher DP to a pronominal element (the object marker that appears on the verb). In this way, object shift feeds clitic doubling on Kramer's analysis, which she assumes to generally be true for languages with specificity-requirements on clitic doubling in the way that has been commonly reported.

5.6.2 IsiZulu object marking and movement out of *v*P

Among Bantu languages, the most well-studied language with respect to its object markers has been isiZulu, up to this point. We recounted some of these facts

previously, but they are relevant here so we revisit them briefly. First, Cheng & Downing (2009) show that the right edge of *v*P corresponds to the right edge of a phonological phrase in isiZulu. This is relevant, because (as Zeller 2015 reports) an OM-doubled object appears after a prosodic break, signalling the edge of the phonological phrase. Prosodic breaks in isiZulu are evident from the lengthening of the penultimate syllable in the phonological phrase, as Zeller marks with the ## in (84b).

(84) a. Ngi-ya-yi-theng-a i-moto.
1SM-DJ-9OM-buy-FV AUG-9.car
'I bought (it), the car.'

b. Ngi-ya-yi-the:nga]$_{vP}$ ## imo:to.
(Zeller 2015: (3))

Another key point that is evident in (84) as well as in the examples in (85), is that object marking on the verb correlates with disjoint marking on the verb. Disjoint marking correlates with an empty verb phrase in isiZulu, whereas conjoint marking appears when the verb phrase contains syntactic material in the surface representation (see §2.2.5). So when an object is present following the verb (in the verb phrase) conjoint marking appears in (85a). Without the overt object, however, conjoint morphology is unacceptable (85b), and disjoint is required (85c). The key point is that when an object is OM-doubled, disjoint marking becomes obligatory (when there is nothing else inside the verb phrase), as (85d) demonstrates.

(85) isiZulu (Zeller 2015: (5),(7))

a. Ngi-fund-e i-n-cwadi. (✓conjoint)
1SG.SM-read-PST.CJ AUG-9-book
'I was reading/studying a book.'

b. *Ngi-fund-e. (*conjoint)
1SG.SM-read-PST.CJ

c. Ngi-fund-ile. (✓disjoint)
1SG.SM-read-PST.DJ
'I was reading/studying.'

d. Ngi-yi- fund-ile/*-e i-n-cwadi. (✓disjoint / *conjoint)
1SG.SM-9OM-read-PST.DJ/*PST.CJ AUG-9-book
'I was reading/studying it, the book.'

This leads to the conclusion that OM-doubled phrases in isiZulu are moved out of the verb phrase. This has been confirmed by a variety of diagnostics (see Zeller 2015, Halpert 2016, Zeller 2021, and references therein). One new diagnostic for our discussion comes from Halpert (2016: 130), based on van der Spuy's (1993) observation that vocatives appear to demarcate a position similar to that of manner adverbials. So the object *ibhola* 'soccer' appears to the left of the vocative *Mama* in a conjoint sentence as in (86a). If *ibhola* appears to the right of the vocative, a disjoint form is required (86b) and the conjoint form is ungrammatical (86c).

(86) isiZulu vocatives mark *v*P (Halpert 2016: 130)

a. USipho u-(*ya-)dlala ibhola Mama (phandle). **(conjoint)**
AUG.1Sipho 1SM-(*DJ-)play 5.soccer 1.mother (outside)
'Sipho is playing soccer, Mom, outside.'

b. USipho u-ya-li- dlala Mama ibhola. **(disjoint)**
AUG.1Sipho 1SM-DJ-5OM- play 1.mother 5.soccer
'Sipho is playing, Mom, soccer.'

c. *USipho u-(li-) dlala Mama ibhola. **(*conjoint)**
AUG.1Sipho 1SM-(5OM-)play 1.mother 5.soccer

Zeller's (2015) analysis is that OM-doubled objects are Goals of an anti-focus ([AF]) probe on an XP that occurs outside *v*P. This accounts for the symmetrical nature of OM-doubling (either object may be marked as anti-focus, and therefore either object may be the most local set of relevant features for the probe). It also explains the short movement of the object, if that XP is the landing site for the OM-doubled object. See §2.3.2 for a full overview of the relevant patterns.

5.6.3 Lubukusu postverbal word order for *v*P-level adverbials

At first glance, it could easily appear as if Lubukusu has similar patterns to those in isiZulu. It is possible to generate sentences like (87b) that appear on the surface similar to the isiZulu patterns of object marking and word order, with the OM-doubled object readily to the right of a temporal adverb. But while this word order is possible, the preferred position of an OM-doubled object is actually in its canonical word order, as shown in (87a) and (87c).

(87) a. *βáβáaná βáká'késá kámáíí'ndí líiŋa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ka- kes-a ka-ma-indi **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize when
'WHEN did the children harvest the maize?'

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'when'

b. *βáβáaná βáakákésile líkólóóβá kámáííndị*
Ba-ba-ana ba-ka- kes-ile **likolooba** ka-ma-indi.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV yesterday 6-6-maize
'The children harvested the maize YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

c. *βáβáaná βáakákésile kámáííndi likolooβạ*
Ba-ba-ana ba-ka- kes-ile ka-ma-indi **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested the maize YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

We could attempt to interpret (87b) as evidence for an isiZulu-like movement of OM-doubled objects to the right, perhaps moving out of the verb phrase. That said, Lubukusu's extensive patterns of discourse-based scrambling in the postverbal domain should give us pause: (87b) could just as well be movement of the temporal adverbial to the IAV position, expected to be possible in this instance as it bears new information focus. Beyond that, the canonical word order in (87c) is in fact the preferred order here, even further undermining a direct parallel.

This is not to suggest that there are no restrictions on postverbal word order; as we have seen previously, certain kinds of adverbials appear to fall outside the Comment Domain and do not participate in Comment Domain processes. And we see this re-affirmed here: re-ordering of postverbal doubled arguments does not allow a doubled object to appear outside the locative adjunct in (88). While an OM-doubled RECIPIENT in a benefactive applicative can appear somewhat readily *in situ* (88b) or to the right of the THEME (88c) in response to a THEME question (88a), it is unacceptable to the right of a locative adjunct, as shown in (88d). That right-side position is only acceptable with a distinct prosodic break and with an afterthought topic reading, marking the object as right-dislocated.

(88) a. *siina ní^{l}sjó wafula áteexela mají wewé ^{l}mútʃíkóonị*
Siina ni-syo Wafula a-teekh-el-a mayi wewe
7.what COMP-7 1.Wafula 1SM-cook-APPL-FV 1mother 1his
mu-chikoni?
18-9kitchen
'What did Wafula make for his mother in the kitchen?'

b. *wafula ámúfukila mají wewé βúsumá mútʃíkóonį*
Wafula a-mu- fuk-il-a mayi wewe **bu-suma**
1.Wafula 1SM-1OM-make-APPL-FV 1.mother 1.his 14-ugali
mu-chikoni.
18-9kitchen
'Wafula made UGALI for his mother in the kitchen.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'ugali'

c. *wafula ámúfukila βúsumá mají wewé mútʃíkóonį*
Wafula a-mu- fuk-il-a **bu-suma** mayi wewe
1.Wafula 1SM-1OM-make-APPL-FV 14-ugali 1.mother 1.his
mu-chikoni.
18-9kitchen
'Wafula made UGALI for his mother in the kitchen.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'ugali'

d. *wafulăă ‖ ámúfukila βúsumá mútʃíkóonį ‖ mají wewé*
Wafula a-mu- fuk-il-a bu-suma mu-chikoni *(,)
1.Wafula 1SM-1OM-make-APPL-FV 14-ugali 18-9kitchen
mayi wewe .
1.mother 1.his
'Wafula made her ugali in the kitchen (his mother, that is).'
Notice the lack of emphatic reading; includes afterthought topic reading of the right-dislocated object

This final example of right-dislocation helps emphasize for us a conclusion from Sikuku et al. (2018) that we retain in this volume: undoubled object markers are simply pronominal objects. They can be paired with lexical objects in a different domain (e.g. left-dislocated, or right-dislocated as in (88d)) but non-doubling OMs are a fundamentally different syntactic phenomenon in Lubukusu from doubling OMs.

Other typically clause-final adverbials (like the degree adverbial *syo* 'completely') also must follow the position of a re-ordered OM-doubled phrase. In (90) the doubled object is preferred in the position it is written in, largely acceptable in the position following the temporal adverb (marked by a checkmark), but impossible after the degree adverbial.[18]

[18] A reviewer notes that completive aspect, on Cinque's (1999) influential analysis, is expected

(89) *náŋgílá ámál' etʃáˈájí líina*
Nangila a-a-mal-a e-chayi liina?
1.Nangila 1SM-PST-finish-FV 9-tea when
'When did Nangila finish the tea?'

(90) *náŋgílá áakímalile tʃáaji likolooβa ‖ sjó*
Nangila a-[ki-] mal-ile ([e-chayi]) likolooba (✓) syo (*).
1.Nangila 1SM-9OM-finish-PFV 9-tea yesterday completely
'Nangila finished the tea completely yesterday.'

The facts above are consistent with our previous conclusions that locative adjuncts are structurally higher than manner adjuncts and other kinds of adjuncts that do fall within the Comment Domain. Looking no further than the isiZulu patterns we might quickly conclude that OM-doubled objects are moving to a clause-medial position to the right, just as in isiZulu, which is above *v*P-level adverbials but below structurally higher elements like locative adjuncts, clause-final *syo*, negation, etc. But again, this conclusion would be hasty, because all of these patterns are also likewise captured by proposing a prominence position which arguments and adjuncts may scramble to. So if *busuma* 'ugali' in (88c) moves to the IAV position, the doubled object may simply be unmoved in its base position.

Sorting this out is certainly a challenge, because a notable (negative) outcome of our investigation is that we have yet to identify a functional element or adverbial element that demarcates the edge of *v*P (or, the edge of the Comment Domain) that both 1) shows distinctions in word order based on doubling constructions, and 2) does not itself participate in prominence-based scrambling movements. So above, we see temporal adverbials and THEME arguments in different word orders with respect to doubled objects, but both predictably participate in prominence-based scrambling (and as discussed extensively in §5.2, these word order variations are not dependent on doubling).

There is some relative clarity on the left edge of the Comment Domain, where it appears that no material moves outside of certain postverbal adverbials. The

to be structurally low. But the obligatory clause-final position here (and lack of interaction with *v*P properties related to object marking and focus) suggests a structurally high position of *syo* 'completely' in Lubukusu, outside the Comment Domain. But there also appears to be an object-dependency for *syo*: it marks a sense of the object being completed. So more work is necessary to explore the precision properties of *syo* and its place in the crosslinguistic typology of adverb positions.

adverbial *luno* is ambiguous: when in the immediately postverbal position it receives the interpretation 'today,' but in other positions it is interpreted to mean 'this time.'

(91) *wékésá áweelé lúnó βáβáana aβó βíʲjánwá βjóŋénę́*
Wekesa a-a-w-ele lu-no ba-ba-ana a-bo bi-anwa
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-PFV 11-today 2-2-children DEM-2 8-gifts
bi-ong'ene.
8-only
'Wekesa gave those children only gifts today.'

It is possible that *luno* 'today' demarcates the left edge of *v*P, and as such, syntactic operations on *v*P-level material might result in movement beyond this adverbial which could then hypothetically be taken to demarcate left of *v*P. No such patterns emerge here, however. Both prominence-based movement and OM-doubling leaves the relevant objects to the right of the *luno* 'today' adverbial. The parentheticals in (92) mark possible positions of the relevant objects; in (92a) the scrambled THEME can occur to the right of *luno* 'today' but cannot occur to its left (on the intended reading of the adverbial). Likewise, the doubled RECIPIENT in (92b) only appears to the right of *luno* 'today' and cannot appear to its left.

(92) a. *wékésá áweelé lúnó βíʲjánwá βjóŋéné ˈβáβáana aβǫ*
Wekesa a-a-w-ele (*) lu-no (bi-anwa bi-ong'ene)
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-PFV 11-today 8-gifts 8-only
ba-ba-ana a-bo (✓).
2-2-children DEM-2
'Wekesa gave those children only gifts today.'
*movement to the left of 'luno' is * on intended reading of adverbial*

b. *wékésá áaβáwélé ˈlúnó βáβáana aβó βíʲjánwá βjóŋénę́*
Wekesa a-ba-w-ele (*) lu-no (ba-ba-ana a-bo) **bi-anwa**
1.Wekesa 1SM-2OM-give-PFV 11-today 2-2-children DEM-2 8-gifts
bi-ong'ene (✓).
8-only
'Wekesa gave those children ONLY GIFTS today.'
*movement to the left of 'luno' is * on intended reading of adverbial*
Additional emphasis on 'only gifts'

There are of course two possible conclusions here: either *luno* 'today' demarcates the left edge of the Comment Domain and scrambled objects and OM-doubled objects do not leave that domain, or that analysis of the position of *luno*

is inaccurate and it is structurally higher (necessarily with a relatively high position of the verb as well), and we cannot yet know if these movements are leaving the *v*P/Comment domain.

All of this discussion still leaves us without an independent diagnostic that directly and obviously demarcates the edges of *v*P/the Comment Domain in a way that generates any contrasts between elements inside that domain, and elements leaving that domain. Again, this could simply reflect that we have not identified the relevant diagnostics, or perhaps we *have* and there are no object-shift-like movements out of this domain, at least not in the contexts we have been investigating (aside from potentially structurally-high right-dislocated afterthought topics). To illustrate, consider (93): here, the doubled RECIPIENT *omwaana chana* 'the child we have been talking about' can grammatically occur in multiple positions, but it cannot occur outside the locative adjunct at the right edge. This is despite the fact that it is explicitly marked as familiar/known, which is often a condition of dislocation to the right edge crosslinguistically.

(93) a. *ómwalíˈmúú ‖ ámúˈw' ómwana tʃánâá ‖ sítaβú sjóŋénę́ ‖ βúlají xúsóokǫ*
O-mw-alimu a-a-mu- w-a (o-mw-aana chana) **si-i-tabu**
1-1-teacher 1SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 1-1-child TOP 7-7-book
sy-ong'ene (✓) bulayi (✓) khu-soko (*).
7-only well 17-9market
'The teacher gave the child (that we were talking about) ONLY A BOOK well in the market.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only a book'

b. *ómwalíˈmú ‖ áwáá ‖ ómwana tʃáná sítaβú sjóŋéné ‖ βúlají xúsóokǫ*
O-mw-alimu a-a-w-a (o-mw-aana chana) **si-i-tabu**
1-1-teacher 1SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 1-1-child TOP 7-7-book
sy-ong'ene (✓) bulayi (✓) khu-soko (*).
7-only well 17-9market
'The teacher gave the child (that we were talking about) ONLY A BOOK well in the market.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only a book'

So yet again, we see that locative adjuncts appear to be outside the relevant domain; movement of doubled objects (if they are indeed moving in this context) remains inside/lower than the position of a locative adjunct. And, notably, the

presence or absence of the object marker plays no apparent role in ruling in or ruling out object positions: the same positions are available to an object whether it is doubled or not. As we encountered above, the right-side position of the object that is unacceptable above is possible with a distinct prosodic break and an afterthought topic reading.

(94) *ómwalíˈmú ómúwa sítaβú sjóŋénéé́ ‖ βúlají xú sóˈókóő ‖ ómwana tʃáŋ́á*
O-mw-alimu a-a-mu-w-a si-i-tabu sy-ong'ene bulayi
1-1-teacher 1SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 7-7-book 7-only well
khu-soko *(,) o-mw-aana chana.
17-9market 1-1-child TOP
'The teacher gave them(sg.) only a book well in the market (the student that we were talking about, that is).'

The availability of the doubled object appearing both inside the manner adverb *bulayi* 'well' and outside it could lead one to presume that movement outside the Comment Domain is possible, with *bulayi* potentially demarcating the edge of that domain. Crucial for our concerns, however, *bulayi* 'well' participates in the discourse-based scrambling itself: (95) shows that if the context raises the discourse prominence of the manner of the event, this licenses the occurrence of the manner adverb in IAV position, as we would expect based on the discussions above:

(95) a. *ómwalíˈmú áwáa ‖ arjé ‖ ómwana tʃáná sítaβú sjóŋéné ˈxú sóokǫ*
O-mw-alimu a-w-a a-rie o-mw-aana chana si-i-tabu
1-1-teacher 1SM-give-FV 1-how 1-1-child TOP 7-7-book
sy-ong'ene khu-soko.
7-only 17-9market
'How did the teacher give the child (that we were talking about) only a book in the market?'

b. *ómwalíˈmú áwá βúlajú mwana tʃáná sítaβú sjóŋéné ˈxú sóokǫ*
O-mw-alimu a-w-a bulayi o-mw-aana chana si-i-tabu
1-1-teacher 1SM-give-FV well 1-1-child TOP 7-7-book
sy-ong'ene khu-soko.
7-only 17-9market
'The teacher gave the child (that we were talking about) only a book well in the market.'

Therefore the linear order of *bulayi* cannot be taken as rigid, and cannot be relied on to diagnose any particular syntactic position. The same is true of a

temporal adverbial: *likolooba* 'yesterday' can also participate in the prominence-based scrambling to the IAV position:

(96) a. *ómwalíˈmú áwá liin' ómwana tʃáná sítaβú sjóŋéné ˈxú sóokǫ*
O-mw-alimu a-a-w-a liina o-mw-aana chana si-i-tabu
1-1-teacher 1SM-PST-give-FV when 1-1-child TOP 7-7-book
sy-ong'ene khu-soko?
7-only 17-9market
'When did the teacher give the child only a book in the market?'

b. *ómwalíˈmw áwelé líkólóóβ' ómwana tʃáná sítaβú sjóŋéné ˈxú sóokǫ*
O-mw-alimu a-w-ele likolooba o-mw-aana chana si-i-tabu
1-1-teacher 1SM-give-PFV yesterday 1-1-child TOP 7-7-book
sy-ong'ene khu-soko?
7-only 17-9market
'The teacher give the child only a book in the market yesterday.'

Therefore, we cannot rely on a constituent appearing to the right of one of these adverbials as reliable indicators of movement to the right edge of the verb phrase.

5.6.4 Vocatives diagnosing the edge of *v*P

As we noted above, isiZulu vocatives appear to demarcate the right edge of *v*P: if material appears between the vocative and the verb a conjoint form is required (because *v*P has content), but if the vocative immediately follows the verb a disjoint form is required (because *v*P is empty, in that case) (Halpert 2016, van der Spuy 1993). In a similar fashion, a vocative on the right edge of the clause in Lubukusu also appears to be capable of demarcating the edge of the Comment Domain, though the patterns are not quite as clearcut as in isiZulu. We can see with an adjunct clause (presumably outside the Comment Domain), the vocative may appear to the right or left of the adjoined clause. Locatives used as adjuncts alone behave the same way (hence the parenthetical in the examples below), though the sentences are more natural using the entire adjunct clause.[19]

(97) a. *teéˈxá kámákáándăă ‖ noolí mútʃíkóoni ‖ maíʃ*

[19] Locative adjuncts are somewhat finicky, in the sense that in most instances they would preferably be communicated as applicative structures, so carefully controlled circumstances are necessary to make a locative adjunct sound completely natural.

Tekh-a ka-ma-kanda (ne o-li) mu-chikoni, Maisha.
cook-FV 6-6-beans COMP 2SG.SM-be 18-9kitchen, 1.Maisha
Cook the beans (when you are) in the kitchen, Maisha

b. *teéˈxá kámákáánda ‖ maíʃ ‖ noolí mútʃíkóonị*
Tekh-a ka-ma-kanda, Maisha, (ne o-li) mu-chikoni.
cook-FV 6-6-beans 1.Maisha COMP 2SG.SM-be 18-9kitchen
'Cook the beans, Maisha, (when you are) in the kitchen.'

However, if we use a similar sentence with a locative applicative so that the locative behaves as part of the Comment Domain (see §5.3 for details), it becomes relatively unnatural to have the vocative appear between the object and the locative argument.

(98) a. *teexélá ˈkámákááˈndá mútʃíkóoni ‖ maíʃ*
Tekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda mu-chikoni, Maisha.
cook-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 18-9kitchen, 1.Maisha
'Cook the beans in the kitchen, Maisha.'

b. *?teexélá ˈkámákááˈndáá ‖ maíʃ ‖ mútʃíkóonị*
?Tekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda, Maisha, mu-chikoni.
cook-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 1.Maisha 18-9kitchen
'Cook the beans in the kitchen, Maisha.'

These patterns are all compatible with Halpert's (2017) analysis of the isiZulu vocative facts, that is, that vocatives are outside the domain relevant for calculating conjoint/disjoint (which is *v*P in isiZulu). We could likewise assume that vocatives on the right edge of the clause in Lubukusu cannot be inside *v*P/PromP, though they can be outside structurally higher adjuncts as well, as (97) shows.

Taking these assumptions into account, we can investigate whether or not OM-doubled objects behave as if they remain inside *v*P. Long story short: it does appear to be the case that OM-doubled objects remain *in situ*. Our baseline example is in (99).

(99) *tʃíxáafú ˈxétʃíˈljá βúˈɲásí xúúŋgíla ‖ maíʃ*
Chi-kahafu khe-chi-li-a bu-nyasi khu-n-gila, Maisha.
10-cows PROG-10SM-eat-FV 14-grass 17-9-road 1.Maisha
'Cows are eating grass on the road, Maisha.'

When the object *bunyasi* 'grass' is OM-doubled in the examples in (100), the vocative is natural clause-finally, but the vocative cannot appear directly between the verb and the doubled object.

(100) a. *tʃíxáafú ˈxétʃíˈβúljá βúˈɲásí xúúŋgíla ‖ maíʃ*
Chi-kahafu khe-chi-bu- li-a bu-nyasi khu-n-gila, Maisha.
10-cows PROG-10SM-14OM-eat-FV 14-grass 17-9-road 1.Maisha
'The cows are eating grass on the road, Maisha.' (assuming appropriate context for doubling)

b. ??*tʃíxáafú ˈxétʃíˈβúljá ‖ maíʃ ‖ βúˈɲásí xúúŋgíla*
??Chi-kahafu khe-chi-bu- li-a, Maisha, bu-nyasi
10-cows PROG-10SM-14OM-eat-FV 1.Maisha 14-grass
khu-n-gila.
17-9-road
'The cows are eating, Maisha, grass on the road.' (assuming appropriate context)

If Lubukusu behaved like isiZulu object marking, we would expect an OM-doubled object to appear to the right of vocative phrases, having moved outside the verb phrase. As (100b) shows, this is not the case in normal instances. It is in fact possible for an object-marked object to appear to the right of a vocative (and a locative adjunct), but it requires a large prosodic break and an afterthought topic reading, suggesting a structurally high right-dislocation.

(101) *tʃíxáafú ˈxétʃíˈβúljá xúúŋgíla ‖ maíʃ ‖ βúɲasi̧*
Chi-kahafu khe-chi-bu- li-a khu-n-gila, Maisha *(,) bu-nyasi .
10-cows PROG-10SM-14OM-eat-FV 17-9-road 1.Maisha 14-grass
'The cows are eating it in the road, Maisha ... grass, that is.'

In short, there is no evidence from vocatives for any kind of obligatory rightward movement of OM-doubled phrases.

5.6.5 Using IAV-scrambling as a diagnostic for the left edge of *v*P

So it does not look like OM-doubled objects are moving outside the Comment Domain to the right edge. Likewise, there does not appear to be movement of OM-doubled phrases to the left of their base position, either. We can diagnose this using the working hypothesis of discourse-based scrambling to IAV position proposed earlier in this chapter. We proposed that a there is a structural position for discourse-differentiated material that appears atop *v*P. Verbs raise past this position, with the result that the Prom constituent is usually in the position immediately after the verb (linearly-speaking).

(102) V [Prom [vP ... t_V ...]]

On this analysis of scrambling, a constituent that moves to Spec,PromP essentially demarcates the left edge of *v*P. Building on the series of examples in (99)-(100) the context in (103) ensures that the locative phrase is an aboutness topic and is therefore attracted to that position. (103b) shows that it is possible to OM-double the object *bunyasi* 'grass' when the locative phrase is moved to the Prominence position atop *v*P.

(103) a. *xéˡɲdʒá ˡx:úxuβoolélá ˡxúúŋgíla*
Khe-n-ja khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-n-gila.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-9.road
'I am going to tell you about the road.'

b. *tʃíxáafú ˡxétʃíˡβúljá xúúŋgíláá ‖ βúɲasi ‖ maíʃ*
Chi-kahafu khe-chi-bu- li-a khu-n-gila bu-nyasi , Maisha.
10-cows PROG-10SM-14OM-eat-FV 17-9-road 14-grass 1.Maisha
'The cows are eating grass on the road, Maisha.'
(assuming appropriate context for doubling)

c. ??*tʃíxáafú ˡxétʃíˡβúljá xúúŋgíla ‖ maíʃ ‖ βúɲasi*
??Chi-kahafu khe-chi-bu- li-a khu-n-gila, Maisha
10-cows PROG-10SM-14OM-eat-FV 17-9-road 1.Maisha
bu-nyasi .
14-grass
'The cows are eating grass on the road, Maisha.'
(assuming appropriate context for doubling)

Important here is that (103b) also contains a vocative following the object. This suggests that the OM-doubled object has not moved out of the *v*P, either to the right or to the left.

We can see the same effect in a ditransitive construction, where the RECIPIENT indirect object can be OM-doubled, bracketed by an aboutness topic on the left edge and the THEME direct object to its right (which we presume to be *in situ*, lacking any evidence—interpretive or otherwise—for it to have moved).

(104) *Context: Wekesa has been traveling and is returning to the village, and is bringing gifts. Here, the prompt is that the speaker declares that they are going to detail the ongoings in the village, and continues to say that Wekesa brought the children in the village incredible, wonderful gifts.*

a. *xéˡɲdʒá ˡx:úxuβoolélá ˡxúsírekerẹ*

Khe-n-ja khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-si-rekere.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15SM-2SG.OM-say-APPL-FV 17-7-village
'I am going to tell you about the village.'

b. *wékésá áβáwela músírekeré βáβáaná βíʲjánwá βílají póó ‖ maíʃ*
Wekesa a-ba- w-el-a mu-si-rekere ba-ba-ana **bi-anwa**
1.Wekesa 1SM-2OM-give-APPL-FV 18-7-village 2-2-children 8-gifts
bi-layi po, Maisha.
8-good very 1.Maisha
'In the village, Wekesa gave the children EXTREMELY GOOD GIFTS, Maisha.'

Again, here, the aboutness prompt triggers movement of the aboutness-locative to the IAV position. We have analyzed this IAV position as Spec,PromP on the left edge of *v*P. And here, the focused direct object 'very good gifts' helps create the pragmatic context that licenses doubling of the RECIPIENT object. Recall from Chapter 4 that focused objects have to be internal to the verb phrase in order to facilitate OM-doubling, suggesting that the THEME DP 'very good gifts' is *in situ*. The inclusion of the vocative to the right of the THEME object affirms this conclusion. Given these assumptions, the only plausible position for the OM-doubled object *babaana* 'children' to be occupying is its base position. Again, we find no evidence that OM-doubled objects are in any position other than their base position, at least in canonical contexts. We have at times seen OM-doubled objects dislocated, or in some alternative position (e.g. in Spec,PromP), but in all instances that appears to be explainable by independent processes and is in no way integrally linked with OM-doubling itself.

5.6.6 Conclusions: positions of doubled objects

We have seen that objects (whether OM-doubled or not) cannot move outside of non-Comment-Domain adverbials, shown here for locative adjuncts and *luno* 'today.' These Comment-Domain-external adverbials do not participate in any of the discourse-based scrambling we have discussed here. Likewise, we have seen that any argument or adjunct *within* the Comment Domain is subject to these scrambling processes, and therefore cannot be relied on in isolation to demarcate the edge of the verb phrase. We provided several word order arguments that OM-doubled objects remain *v*P-internal, though this evidence is somewhat more indirect, relying on aggregated conclusions about the position of vocatives, IAV-scrambled phrases, and focused objects. All of the evidence concurs with the

conclusion, however, that there is no movement of OM-doubled phrases as a consequence of OM-doubling. Variations in word order that occur in OM-doubling contexts appear to be identical to word order options that are available otherwise, suggesting that the word order distinctions are tangential to object marking itself.

The exception to the generalization that objects remain *v*P internal is that there are right-dislocated objects, which (like left-dislocated objects), share distinctive interpretive and syntactic properties that diverge from those of the doubling constructions. In those contexts (and others) we may see an OM on the verb, but this OM is the non-doubling OM, which is essentially a pronominal form. Sikuku et al. (2018) analyzed non-doubling OMs as incorporated pronouns, an analysis that we retain in this work (see §9.4).

We didn't comment on the issue above, but we also note that in §4.4.4 and §4.4.6 we discussed a number of instances where unaugmented and nonspecific nominals can license OM-doubling (provided that a relevant discourse-familiar domain restriction on the quantification is provided). Standard assumptions presume that non-specific indefinite objects remain *in situ* inside the verb phrase (Diesing 1992, among many others). This is yet more convergent evidence that OM-doubled objects show no evidence of leaving the *v*P.

The analytical conclusion that we reach is that doubling simply does not influence word order with respect to moving objects outside of some relevant domain. On this conclusion, word order is explained by the discourse-based properties of focus, aboutness topic, and backgrounding that we have argued for previously in this volume, and object marking interacts with these operations at times, but is independent from them. This conclusion matches the facts well, but is notably distinct from a number of the patterns reported for many other languages.

5.7 Conclusions

In this chapter we document a range of properties of the verb phrase, including those listed in (105).

(105) Properties of the Lubukusu postverbal domain
- Postverbal constituents may be re-ordered based on their relative information structure (i.e. discourse-based scrambling).
- Focused elements and aboutness topics are attracted to the immediately postverbal position, which we analyzed as Spec,PromP.

- A number of properties apply to PromP and its complement *v*P (scrambling, NE-intensifier, "main point" interpretations, facilitating OM-doubling).
- Locative adjuncts lie outside this domain; locative arguments are inside this domain.
- Postverbal subjects are possible when focused, and usually appear *in situ* in Spec,*v*P.

We used these observations collectively to motivate the descriptive notion of the "Comment Domain," which we can now take to mean the constituent that includes PromP (when present) and Prom's complement *v*P. And we used these conclusions to show that OM-doubled objects remain *in situ*. As we will see in the next chapter, we will propose that this domain can at times be structurally identified as the complement of a functional head which demarcates a focus domain, which we will simply call Com(ment)° (and which we will discuss with more precision in the next chapter). This kind of structural domain associated with focus-type interpretations is quite familiar from Bantu languages, especially southern Bantu languages, where the *v*P has frequently been argued to be a focus domain (see Chapter 2.2). An initial structure illustrating this is given in Figure 5.5.

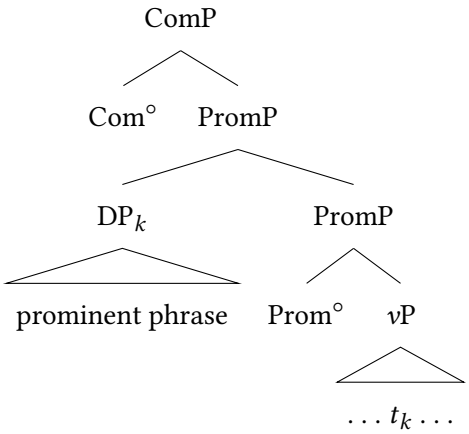


Figure 5.5: Maximal structure of the Lubukusu Comment Domain (PromP is optional; when PromP is not present, *v*P is the complement of Com°)

6 An initial working hypothesis for Lubukusu OM-doubling

This chapter serves to lay out a working hypothesis for the properties of OM-doubling in Lubukusu. From the start, we want to note that this is not the *final* analysis (either of the interpretation of OM-doubling, or of the syntax of OM-doubling). There are nuanced details of the construction that emerge in the following chapters that will clarify details of the analysis. But establishing a working hypothesis will give us a framework to understand the additional facts as they come. As will quickly become evident, the best empirical parallels for the patterns of Lubukusu object marking in fact come from the semantics literature on intonation, focus, and destressing in English. At least, we should say, the best empirical parallels that are documented and analyzed in the syntactic literature: we suspect patterns like this may well be relatively widespread among Bantu languages.[1]

6.1 Central empirical patterns (so far)

From what we have seen thus far, there are some central empirical patterns that an OM-doubling analysis must account for. First, doubling is largely unacceptable with simple monotransitive objects (without additional discourse licensing). That said, this OM-doubling is readily licit in contexts that license verum focus.

(1) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: (32))
Wéékésá k-aa-ka- nyw-ééle ká̱ma-lwa !
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-drink-PFV 6-6-beer
*Wekesa drank the beer.
OK: 'Wekesa DID drink the beer!'
Acceptable in an argument about whether or not Wekesa drank the beer.

And beyond verum focus contexts, we saw that a range of additional focus contexts can facilitate doubling. So if a manner/temporal adjunct or another ob-

[1] See Chapter 10 for discussion.

ject in the verb phrase is focused, OM-doubling the structurally higher object follows quite naturally.[2] (2) is repeated from (7) in Chapter 4.

(2) Q: *ómwaná átʃíliisja tʃíxáafú síiɲą*
O-mw-aana a-(chi-) li-isy-a chi-khafu **siina**?
1-1-child 1SM.PST-eat-CAUS-FV 10-cows 7.what
'WHAT did the child feed the cows?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

A: *ómwaná átʃíliisja tʃíxáafú kámáíndį*
O-mw-aana a-(chi-) li-isy-a chi-khafu **ka-ma-indi**.
1-1-child 1SM.PST-10OM-eat-CAUS-FV 10-cows 6-6-maize
'The child fed the cows MAIZE.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'maize'

And we saw that focus/emphasis on the predicate itself (rather than some constituent contained within the verb phrase) also facilitates OM-doubling. (3) is repeated from (50) in Chapter 4.

(3) *wékésá áβúlja βúsumá nį̋*
Wekesa a-bu- lya bu-suma ni.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-14OM-eat ugali NI
'Wekesa REALLY ate ugali.'

All of this suggests that OM-doubling creates some kind of emphatic interpretation, but crucially, the default outcome in all of these contexts is that OM-doubling targets some non-focused object, whereas some other element inside the *v*P is focused (or, the entire *v*P itself).[3]

There are grammatical restrictions on what kinds of focus facilitate OM-doubling. Specifically, the focused phrase needs to fall within the Comment Domain, which we argued in the previous chapter is PromP: a structural domain slightly larger than the *v*P in Lubukusu (or, the Comment Domain is *v*P if PromP is not present). This is why preverbal focused subjects do not license doubling, but postverbal focused subjects do.

[2] This point is one which comes with caveats: specific circumstances exceptionally allow for OM-doubling of structurally lower objects. These circumstances and structural conditions are laid out in Chapter 8. For now we consider these cases as the default, and more straightforward to provide an initial analysis for.

[3] This will not be the final generalization, but it is a good first approximation, and a common instantiation of the relevant pattern.

(4) a. *#wékésá jéŋéné ‖ áβúlja βúsumạ*
#Wekesa y-eng'ene a-[bu-] ly-a [bu-suma].
1.Wekesa 1-only 1SM.PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.'

b. *áβúlja βúsumá wékésá jéŋéné*
A-[bu-] ly-a [bu-suma] **Wekesa y-eng'ene**.
1SM.PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'ONLY WEKESA ate ugali.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'only Wekesa'

This is also why *ex situ* focused phrases do not facilitate doubling, but *in situ* ones do:

(5) a. *liina níˡlwó βáβáaná βákésa kámáííndị*
Liina ni-lwo ba-ba-ana ba-a-[(#ka-)] kes-a [ka-ma-indi]?
when COMP-11 2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize
'When did the children harvest the maize?'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *βáβáaná βáakákésile kámáííndi likolooβạ*
Ba-ba-ana ba-[ka-] kes-ile [ka-ma-indi] **li-kolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize 11-yesterday
'The children harvested maize YESTERDAY.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'yesterday'

c. *líkólóóβá níˡlwó βáβáaná βáákésíle kámáííndị*
li-kolooba ni-lwo ba-ba-ana ba-[(#ka-)] kes-ile
11-yesterday COMP-11 2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV
[ka-ma-indi].
6-6-maize
'It was yesterday that the children harvested maize.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

To help envision the overall pattern of facts, we reprint Figure 4.1 from Chapter 4 here as Figure 6.1.

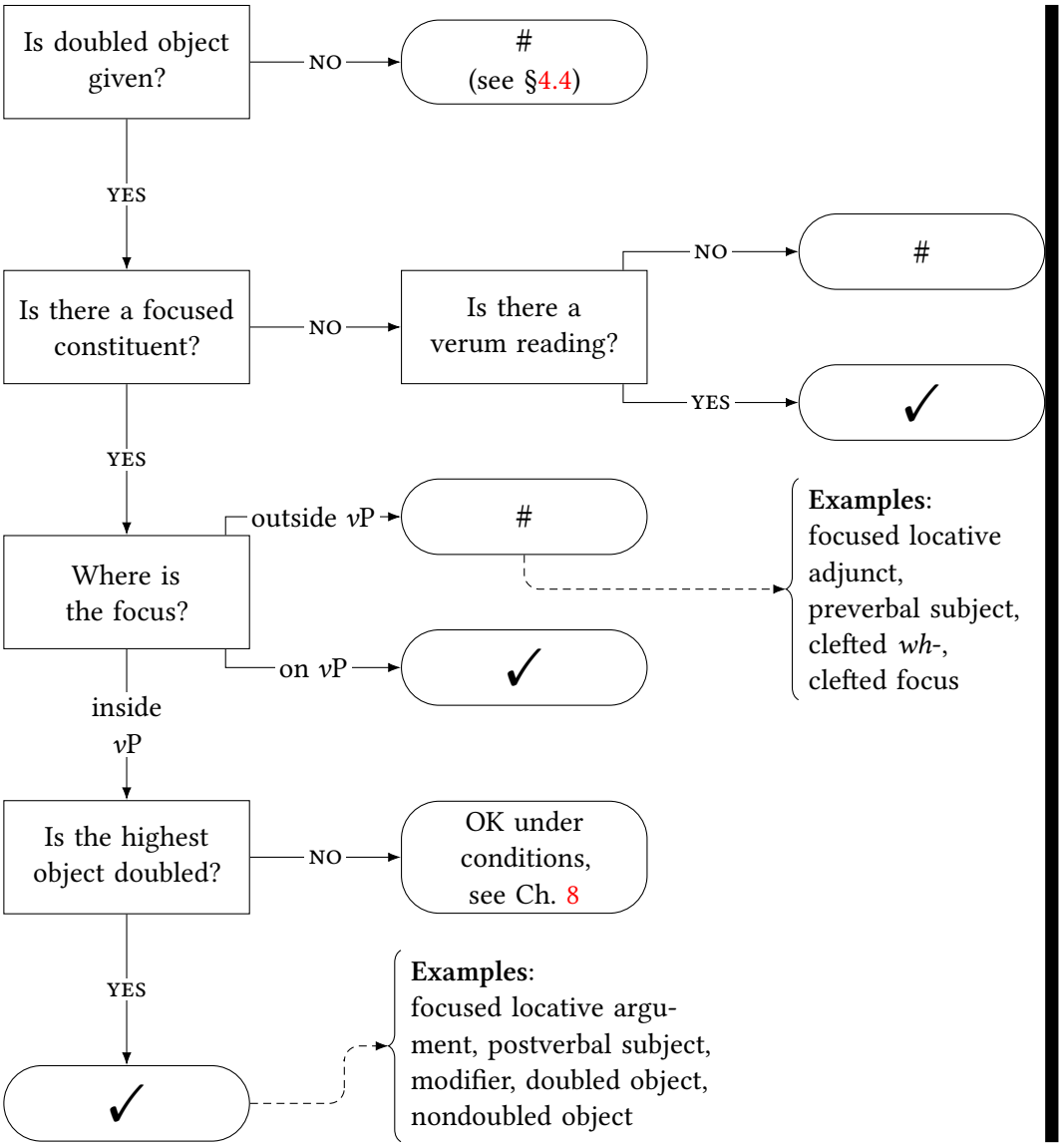


Figure 6.1: A flow chart illustrating the various constraints on OM-doubling contexts. To be very modestly updated in Chapters 7 and 9.

6.2 An initial parallel: English destressing

A question that may be on the reader's mind is: what does one thing have to do with the other? Clitic doubling an object does not appear to have any obvious link with emphatic interpretations of other constituents in a clause. Or phrased the other way, why does OM-doubling an object create an emphatic reading on something *else* inside the verb phrase? There are actually relatively direct parallels from an unexpected domain, the semantics of focus and accent placement in English. As an initial example, take the question and answer congruence instance in (6).

(6) a. Who arrested Smith?
b. THE DETECTIVE arrested Smith.
(Wagner 2012: (1))

In these examples, following common annotation strategies in the relevant literature, the intonationally-prominent constituent is represented in small caps, and the destressed constituent is underlined. So in (6b) 'the detective' is slightly louder and higher-pitched than it would have been in a more discourse-neutral declarative, where (by default) the main stress of the sentence falls on the object instead:

(7) The detective arrested SMITH.

The prominence on the subject in (6b) is clearly relative, however, in the sense that it is paired with the removal of the (expected, default) pitch accent on *arrested Smith*. This contrast is evident in the differences between (6b) and (7): the verb phrase is produced with much lower pitch, annotated with underlining in (6b), as opposed to being intonationally prominent in the default cases, like (7).

As a long history of research has noted, we see English accents shifting position based on the semantics of focus and givenness, highly conditioned by discourse context (e.g. Wagner 2012, Rochemont 2016, Williams 1997, Schwarzschild 1999, Büring 2016, Wagner 2021, among others). An expression counts as *given* in a context if "its meaning, or some related meaning, is salient in that context" (Büring 2016: 18). In (6b) the verb phrase *arrested Smith* is familiar and identifiable from discourse (being part of the original question), and as such it is treated as *given*. The sentence subject is the target of the question and the new information in (6b), however, and as a result bears the intonational prominence. As Wagner (2012) notes, contrast on the verb itself (paired with givenness of the object) results in destressing of the object and placing the pitch accent on the verb:

(8) Contrast
   a. Did the police officer release Smith?
   b. No, she ARRESTED Smith.

In fact, givenness alone on an object seems to motivate destressing, even if the verb itself does not bear any obvious focus:

(9) a. Smith walked into a store. What happened next?
   b. A detective ARRESTED Smith.
   (Wagner 2012: (3))

As noted by Büring (2016), focus/givenness marking via intonation is inherently relational. Here, marking the object *Smith* as given by moving the stress (the nuclear pitch accent, NPA) off of it necessarily places the stress on some other element. But focus and givenness themselves are also *conceptually* relational: something is discourse-given with respect to some other element of a sentence.

To illustrate, Wagner (2012) shows that givenness marking in English (accomplished via destressing) necessitates that the adjacent constituent be interpreted in light of a set of alternatives (roughly, focus: see Rooth 1985, Rooth 1992, and much following work). He illustrates this by examining partially destressed noun phrases in particular. Default stress assignment usually places the prosodic stress on the lexical nominal in the object in English (marked with small caps here):

(10) Mary's uncle brought a red CONVERTIBLE.
   (Rochemont 2016)

Wagner (2012) shows that when appropriate contexts are constructed, only those that provide sets of alternatives for the sister of the destressed element (where the accent is moved to) allow for destressing:

(11) *Mary's uncle, who produces high-end convertibles, is coming to her wedding. I wonder what he brought as a present.*
   a. He brought [a CHEAP convertible.]
   b. # He brought [a RED convertible.]
   (Rochemont 2016: 60)

In the context in (11) *convertible(s)* is discourse-salient, and it may therefore be destressed (marked as given) in (11a). Wagner (2012) emphasizes that this destressing is only possible, however, when the sister of the destressed phrase is

potentially interpretible with a relevant set of alternatives. In (11) the context makes *high-end convertibles* salient, so the fact that Mary's uncle brings a cheap convertible is a relevant contrast. In contrast, (11b) is infelicitous because the context makes available no relevant alternatives to *red*. Therefore, marking *convertibles* as given in (11b) is unacceptable not because of the discourse-based properties of *convertible*—it is appropriately marked as given via destressing—but rather because of the discourse-based properties of an adjacent constituent.

There are obvious parallels to the pattern we are encountering here in Lubukusu OM-doubling. In English moving the default pitch accent off of an object (destressing) marks it as given, but English moves the default pitch accent to some other element, making it more intonationally prominent in that sentence (and, as Wagner 2012 notes, placing interpretive requirements on that prominent constituent). In Chapter 4, all of the instances of licit OM-doubling without a verum-like reading were examples where the doubled object was discourse-given and some kind of focus (new information focus, contrast, exhaustive focus with 'only') fell on a distinct verb phrase constituent. Therefore, one way to conceptualize this pattern is that OM-doubling marks an object as discourse-given and the semantics of doing so, as proposed by Wagner (2012), require focus on an adjacent element (intentionally leaving the details vague for the moment).

Both the empirical context and the resulting analytical work is extraordinarily complex in this domain: it is fair to say that it is still a quite active area of ongoing research (see Büring 2016, Rooth 2016, and Wagner 2021 for relatively recent overviews). We do know enough about both the English analysis of focus domains and the Lubukusu facts at this point in this book, however, to be able to formalize a framework for our argumentation as the volume proceeds.

6.3 Givenness and focus in English intonation

The examples noted in §6.2 illustrate how English intonation is deeply influenced by information structure. Before examining the analytical links with Lubukusu, we first outline the relevant data patterns and analytical proposals about English intonation and stress assignment. Our summary here closely follows the summary laid out by Büring (2016), though we do draw from other work as relevant. Büring's overview relies on a wide range of existing work on English intonation and focus (e.g. Selkirk 1996, Williams 1997, Rooth 1992, Schwarzschild 1999).

As Büring (2016: 3) notes, one syllable in an English sentence is usually perceived as the 'strongest': the pitch accent that occurs on this syllable is referred to as the *Nuclear Pitch Accent* (NPA). English contains default accenting patterns,

such that in so-called 'neutral' declarative environments, the NPA falls on the structurally lowest element within the verb phrase, as was shown in (7), and in another example in (12).

(12) Maya needs to get ready for SCHOOL.

As a general rule, the NPA in a sentence falls on the complement of the verb in a transitive sentence, or on the verb itself in an intransitive sentence. Büring (2016) captures this with what he describes as a rule for default prosody, given in (13).

(13) Default Prosody:[4]
Put pitch accents on open class elements; put the minimal number to guarantee that each syntactic phrase contains at least one PA.
(Büring 2016: 81)

Because the aim of the rule is to reduce the number of accents to the minimal necessary to accent every phrase, the complement of the verb usually accomplishes this for the complement itself as well as all dominating phrases (e.g. VP, TP, CP, etc).[5]

However, the NPA is realized in different positions depending on the emphatic properties of a sentence (i.e., information structure, based on discourse). So in response to a subject question in (15), the NPA falls within the subject (the focused constituent) in the various answers to the question. This compares to the default prosody in (14), where the NPA falls on the complement of the verb, as expected according to (13).

(14) Jerome ordered SHELLFISH.

(15) Q: Who ordered shellfish?
a. [JEROME]$_F$ ordered shellfish.
b. [My next door NEIGHbor]$_F$ ordered shellfish.
c. [The guy at the table over by the WINdow]$_F$ ordered shellfish.

[4] Additional conditions are necessary to ensure this captures the full-sentence prosody, but the description here is sufficient for our purposes.

[5] This rule oversimplifies, and getting into the full detail of pitch accent placement unearths a deep and rich debate about the interaction of prosodic structure, syntactic structure, and accent placement, including the nature of the prosodic constraints and the degree of mapping between syntactic and prosodic structures. The description in (13) is sufficient for our current purposes, but see Büring (2016: Ch. 6-7) for an extended overview and citation of the extensive relevant literature.

(Büring 2016: (13))

The potential answers in (15) are informative to us, as we see two relevant patterns. First, the NPA (marked with the small caps) falls at a predictable location within the focused constituent. Second (and of course related) there is no NPA in its usual, default position (on the object), signaling the givenness of the object (and verb) in this instance. Büring captures this in the generalization in (16).

(16) Focus–Pitch Accent Relation, following Jackendoff (1972)
The last default pitch accent within the focus is the last pitch accent in the sentence.
(based on Büring 2016: 14)

"According to [(16)], there are no special rules of pitch accenting within a larger focus [e.g., the phonologically larger subject focus in [(15c)]. Focus 'narrows down' the space within which the NPA is to be found, and as such 'overwrites' default accenting. But within a larger focus, default accenting takes over again" (Büring 2016: 14). This is illustrated by the default position for the pitch accent within a subject focus in (16), on the last lexical item in the subject. The other important piece of (16), however, is the lack of accent on what follows the NPA: this corresponds to the de-accenting that is underlined in (15). So we see two things working in parallel here: the NPA will fall within a focused element, but in doing so necessarily removes (expected) pitch accents from the constituents that follow. And as we saw in §6.2, destressing also is explicitly a way to mark DPs as *given*. So a major area of (ongoing) research on the semantics of intonation and focus/givenness in English is whether the assignment of the NPA and the destressing/deaccenting of given elements are one and the same operation, whether they are two distinct and interacting operations, whether focus/givenness themselves are inherently the same larger concept (with multiple facets) or whether they are conceptually distinct, and so on.

6.4 Some basics on the semantics of focus

Most modern accounts of the semantics of focus are built on the core observations of Rooth (1985) and Rooth (1992); we continue to follow Büring's account here. Per Büring (2016: 19), "Focussing is a relation between three things: a Focus, a Focus Domain (F-domain), and a Context." Following Büring's semi-formal exposition, consider a basic contrastive focus context as is exemplified in (17).

(17) a. Linus ate Maya's food.

b. No, CHARLIE ate Maya's food.

Borrowing terms from Büring, here, the focus in (17b) is *Charlie*.[6] The F-domain in (17b) is the entire sentence, and the sentence in (17a) is the Focus Antecedent that provides the necessary context to license the focus. The constituents that are not focused in the F-domain (here, *ate, Maya's food*) can be described as part of the BACKGROUND of the F-domain. Therefore, an F-domain is frequently a constituent which contains a focus-background information structure. This is represented as in (18), marking the sentence as the F-domain and subject *Charlie* as the focus (annotated with an F-mark here).

(18) $[\![\text{CHARLIE}_{\text{F}} \text{ ate Maya's food}]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$

The brackets signal the semantic denotation of a phrase, and following Büring's annotations the '$\mathscr{F}$' subscript denotes that this is a focus domain, with focus alternatives (more on that below).

So what is focus itself? A widely-adopted convention within the semantics literature is to treat focus as a set of alternative meanings that has some antecedent in the discourse. So understanding the meaning of the focused sentence in (17b) to be a set of alternatives, we expect those alternatives to take the form of the mini-formula in (19) where a variable is inserted in the place of the focused element.

(19) x ate Maya's food

The simplified formula in (19) represents the set of all alternatives where different individuals are substituted for x: Kaela ate Maya's food, Alex ate Maya's food, etc. Intuitively, this follows from our interpretation of (17b), where the addition of the contrastive focus creates a sense that it was in fact Charlie, and not someone else, that ate Maya's food. These alternatives are described by Büring as *F-alternatives*, and the convention of writing $[\![\text{E}]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$ represents the set of F-alternatives of E. So, $[\![\text{CHARLIE}_{\text{F}} \text{ ate Maya's food}]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$ is the set of alternatives [[x ate Maya's food]]. This annotation contrasts with the ordinary semantic denotation of the sentence in (17b), annotated as the 'ordinary' denotation by Büring parallel to the focused denotation as $[\![\text{E}]\!]_{\mathscr{O}}$. So in this instance, the ordinary semantic denotation of the sentence is annotated $[\![\text{Charlie ate Maya's food}]\!]_{\mathscr{O}}$, which is just the proposition that Charlie ate Maya's food.

[6] Our understanding is that terms like focus, background, F-domain, and focus antecedent are commonly used in these ways, but not universally so.

A central aspect of focus is that it is *anaphoric*: it calls up some particular salient aspect of context as a part of its meaning. So *CHARLIE$_F$ ate Maya's food* invokes F-alternatives, but also presupposes that one of those alternatives is salient in the discourse, licensing the use of focus. So in (17) the fact that the sentence "Linus ate Maya's food" is preceding in the discourse licenses the use of focus on *Charlie* in (17b). If the actual context of the discourse/Common Ground does *not* contain a relevant Focus Antecedent, focus is interpreted as unacceptable (which we mark as #, meaning infelicitous, unacceptable in the given context). To give an example, a common point of debate in various sports is who is the GOAT, i.e. the "Greatest Of All Time." If someone walks up and out of the blue says, "MESSI is the greatest footballer of all time," (where the NPA is on *Messi*) but there has been no preceding discussion of the best footballers, or of any other player potentially being the GOAT, then that statement is infelicitous. So we will see that a model of focus needs not only to include reference to sets of alternatives, but also reference to a particular discourse context or Common Ground within which it is salient that one of the focus alternatives of the focused element exists. So, in discussing the GOAT, if it had previously been claimed, "Ronaldo is the greatest footballer of all time," it is now completely licit for someone else to say, "MESSI is the greatest footballer of all time," because one of the focus alternatives of the second sentence already existed in the discourse (the focus antecedent).

Büring (2016: 21) introduces a typology of focus interpretations that is helpful for understanding the array of focus interpretations that are available, and also for understanding how we are going to model Lubukusu OM-doubling. To orient the discussion, note that any of the contexts in (20) can provide sufficient context to license the focus in (21), but it can reasonably be labeled a different kind of focus in each instance.

(20) a. They bought a blue table.
b. They bought a round table.
c. What kind of table did they buy?
d. They bought some kind of table.

(21) They bought a RED table.
(Büring 2016: 21)

In (21) the NPA falls on the adjective *red*, and *table* is destressed; that is to say, *table* would be the default position of the NPA but in this context it appears on *red* instead. This is therefore a focus context, but what *kind* of focus depends on which prompt in (20) the sentence in (21) is responding to. If (21) is responding to

(20a), in that instance (21) contains what Büring calls *exclusive contrastive focus*—*exclusive* in the sense that the contrast is direct. When responding to (20b), (21) is still contrastive, but does not create the same direct contrast (as 'red' is not an obvious alternative to 'round'). Büring refers to this as *unrelated contrastive focus*.

Standard assumptions about question & answer congruence contexts assume that the constituent in the answer that fills in for the *wh*-word in the question bears new information focus (what Büring calls *answer focus*). The question in (20c) being answered by the statement in (21) is a canonical instance of Q&A congruence. Here, assuming that questions can be modeled as sets of propositions, the canonical approach is that the Focus Antecedent of the answer focus falls in the set of propositions invoked by the question itself.

The type of focus that will be most useful to us moving forward is what Büring identifies as *elaboration focus*, the type of focus that occurs on *red* when (21) follows the statement in (20d). In this instance, there is not a clear contrast with any element that precedes (whether direct contrast or unrelated) but moreso it elaborates on something that precedes. Büring (2016: 21) offers this description of elaboration focus:

(22) Elaboration Focus:
The Existential F-Closure ... of the F-alternatives is contextually salient.
(Büring 2016: 21)

So, the interpretation of the focused phrase we are considering in (21) looks something like (23), which says that there exists a property (∃P) such that they bought a table that has that property P.

(23) ∃P[They bought a P table]
(Büring 2016: 21)

Here, "existential F-closure" (∃F-Clo) uses an existential operator (∃) to bind the variable (P) inserted in the position of the focused element. The definition of elaboration focus in (22) says that one of the alternatives invoked by the meaning in (23) exists in the context. Because the proposition *They bought some kind of table* in (20d) is in the discourse context in this instance, (21) is licensed as focus. In fact, on the straightforward assumption that all tables have *some* sort of properties that can describe them, the simple proposition *They bought a table* would itself always license a focus, since it entails (23). Therefore, an elaboration focus is always available if there are existing propositions in the discourse/Common Ground (which, of course, there always are).

6.5 The grammar of focus

With these notions established, we are positioned to describe theoretical approaches to the grammar of focus that will help us analyze Lubukusu object marking. The findings here (and their implementation to account for related patterns in related Bantu languages) will undoubtedly contribute to future theorizing about the grammatical implementation of information structure. Among other things, there is a persistent debate about if/how information structure ought to be syntactically represented (Rooth 1992, Aboh 2010, Fanselow 2006, Neeleman & van de Koot 2008, Kratzer & Selkirk 2020, Hartmann 2016, Skopeteas & Fanselow 2011, Titov 2019, 2020, Szendrői 2017, Struckmeier 2017, Fanselow & Lenertová 2011). Our analysis here clearly lands on the conclusion that givenness and focus have syntactic representation via features, which are active in the course of the derivation. There are many other aspects of the formal syntax/semantics of focus that our analysis will prove relevant for; however, we maintain our attention on the Lubukusu OM-doubling puzzle itself at present.

6.5.1 Licensing focus

Rooth (1992) built a theory of focus that was capable of incorporating the discourse-pragmatic aspects of focus interpretations with compositional semantics.[7] As discussed by Rooth (1985) and Rooth (1992), despite focus being a discourse-pragmatic phenomenon, it also comes into play with truth-conditional compositional semantics as well. So the interpretation of a sentence with the focus-sensitive adverbial *only* is different depending on which constituent is focused. As Rooth recounts, in the context given in (24), (24a) is false and (24b) is true.

(24) *Context: Mary introduced Bill and Tom to Sue, and there were no other introductions.*
   a. Mary only introduced [Bill]$_F$ to Sue. (false)
   b. Mary only introduced Bill to [Sue]$_F$. (true)

This necessitates an integration of the calculation of intonational focus with truth-conditional semantics. Rooth (1992) accomplishes this via the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator, which combines with a null pronoun and its syntactic sister <δ> and introduces particular presuppositions about the semantics of <δ>.[8] As annotated

[7] Büring (2016: Ch. 3) walks through the historical development of theories of focus and givenness, particularly pertaining to English intonation.

[8] To maintain consistency with the summary presented throughout this chapter (which uses the formulations of Büring 2016) we report Büring's (2016: 37-38) articulations of Rooth's analysis.

in Figure 6.2, C is the unpronounced pronoun, which draws a value from context in the same way that any pronoun draws a meaning from context.

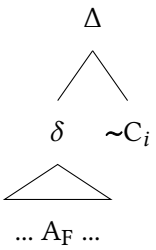


Figure 6.2: Rooth's (1992) theory of focus, as presented by Büring (2016)

On Rooth's approach (as summarized/adjusted by Büring) the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator introduces a presupposition that the focused element in its complement has an appropriate antecedent in context. That is, a structure like this is acceptable only if C's value matches one of the focus alternatives introduced for the F-marked element in δ.[9] Discourse context provides an antecedent, and this is incorporated into the compositional semantics of the sentence via the C variable. So for our example (18) above repeated here as (25), the set of F-alternatives introduced includes the propositions in (26) (among other similar propositions).

(25) a. $[\![\text{CHARLIE}_F \text{ ate Maya's food}]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$
b. $\exists x[x \text{ ate Maya's food}]$

(26) a. Kaela ate Maya's food.
b. Alex ate Maya's food.
c. Linus ate Maya's food.
d. Franco ate Maya's food.
e. ... etc.

Walking through the application of the analysis in Figure 6.2, C calls back to the mini-discourse in (17), repeated here as (27). Figure 6.3 visualizes this with the formalism given above.

(27) a. Linus ate Maya's food
b. No, CHARLIE ate Maya's food.

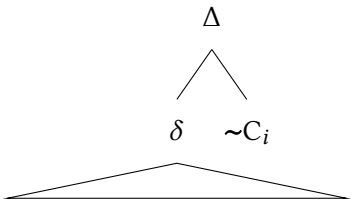


Figure 6.3: Sketch of the relevant focus mechanics for (27b)

Here, the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator introduces the presupposition that C is an anaphoric element that references something in the discourse that is among the F-alternatives set introduced by the complement of C (i.e. (25) and (26)). The mini-discourse in this case includes (27a), and therefore C can anaphorically refer back to that sentence. Given that (27a) is one of the F-alternatives in (26), the conditions on appropriate use of SQUIGGLE are met, and the sentence is acceptable.

6.5.1.1 A refinement of the anaphoric requirement

Additional work has developed detailed theories linking accent placement to interpretation, systematically explaining the interpretations of both focused elements and discourse-given elements in any context. This includes Selkirk (1984), Selkirk (1996) and Rochemont (1986) (among others), but we focus on Schwarzschild's (1999) expansion on Selkirk's work here in order to explore the question of what can be an appropriate focus antecedent. As Büring notes, Schwarzschild's proposal essentially unifies givenness and focusing, captured by the shared feature of given and focused phrases that they both require a salient discourse antecedent[9] Discourse-given phrases (stated over-simplistically) are those that have been previously mentioned (or, those whose meaning is particularly salient in context). Focused phrases are not previously mentioned in this way, but, as the discussion of Rooth (1992) shows, a focused phrase requires a salient discourse antecedent that is among the focus alternatives of the phrase's focus denotation. So a focused phrase is not itself previously mentioned in the discourse, but one of its F-alternatives is.

[9]This is oversimplified: as pointed out by Büring (2016), Schwarzschild (1999), and others, the definition of the antecedence relation must include both individuals and sets of individuals, but the precise semantic formalization that goes beyond the point here.

Schwarzschild's (1999) notion of GIVENness is intended to capture this shared discourse-anaphoric property between discourse-familiar (given) phrases and focused phrases. Importantly, the term GIVEN is different from the sense of lowercase *given* as saliently accessible in the discourse.

(28) Definition: GIVEN
A constituent E is GIVEN in a context Cx iff Cx provides a salient meaning which is in $[\![E]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$ (if E denotes an individual), or which (after existential closure, if necessary) entails the ∃F-Clo of E.
(based on Büring 2016: 50)

> [B]eing GIVEN as per [(28)] amounts to a slightly weakened version of being an expression containing an elaboration focus ... But where an elaboration focus requires that the F-domain's ∃F-Clo itself be salient, [(28)] is content already if it is merely entailed by something salient. Due to this weakening, GIVENness can be met for, say, [(29)] not only if the proposition that someone won is salient (i.e. elaboration focus), but also if any particular proposition, like that Sam won, is salient. (Büring 2016: 50)

(29) Kim won.
(Büring 2016: 50)

(30) a. $[\![\text{Kim}_{\text{F}}\ \text{won}]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$
b. ∃x[x won]

Here, (30a) describes the focus denotation of the sentence in (29). Existential closure of the focus variable ∃F-Clo(‹KIM_{F} won›) results in the semantic form in (30b). Per the definition of GIVENness in (28), in order for this to be licensed, the context must contain mention of a proposition from the set [x won] or entail that ∃x[x won] (there exists some x, such that x won). So if the discourse contains the proposition *Maya won*, this entails that there exists someone who won, therefore being sufficient context to license the structure in (29). Similarly, as Büring notes, even a simple mention of winning requires that somebody won, which sufficiently entails the GIVEN constituent in (29). Table 6.1 shows how different antecedents (after existential closure) entail the ∃F-Clo of (29) (i.e. (30b)).

In most instances in this work, we use familiar diagnostics for focus and simply assume that focus is appropriately licensed. But there are various points when accounting for the patterns requires precise discussion of the licensing context akin to what is described here. More specifically, the analysis of mirative focus that we adopt in Chapter 7 relies on traditional focus-theoretic semantics as described here.

Table 6.1: Description of the relationships between focus antecedents and focused phrases. All of these are possible antecedents of (29). (Büring 2016: 50)

Antecedent (underlined)	∃Clo(ant.)		∃F-Clo(‹KIM$_F$ won›)
Someone won.	∃x[person x & x won]	→	∃x[x won]
Jack won.	jack won	→	∃x[x won]
Having won is wonderful.	∃x[x won]	↔	∃x[x won]
Who won?	∃x[person x & x won]	→	∃x[x won]
Which player won?	∃x[player x & x won]	→	∃x[x won]

6.5.2 A syntactic approach to focus/givenness

Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) argue based on a variety of evidence that a single [F] feature is insufficient to capture the distribution of pitch accents in English focus constructions. Instead, they argue that information structure is encoded in Standardized American and British English by two kinds of features: [FoC] features, which encode the notion of contrast, and [G] features for givenness, which encode the notion of discourse-familiarity. Arguing on the basis of default prosody in all-new contexts, Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) make the case that "[t]]here is no feature for newness in English, nor is there a feature that lumps together FoCus and newness" (Kratzer & Selkirk 2020: 15). Newness in their system is simply unmarked (featurally-speaking), which means that *given* elements cannot also be simply unmarked; instead, *given* elements require their own distinct form of marking, the [G] feature.

On their account, a [G] feature marks a constituent as discourse-familiar; they define givenness as an instance where calculating alternatives yields a singleton set (i.e. a set containing only one individual): this definition is formalized in (31). In their formulation in (31), the subscript A refers to the calculation of Alternatives, the equivalent of the $[\![\alpha]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$ notation used above, as adopted from Büring.

(31) **Givenness** (Kratzer & Selkirk 2020: 34)
An expression α is Given with respect to an individual, property, or proposition a in C iff $[\![\alpha]\!]_{A,C}$ = a.

According to Kratzer & Selkirk (2020: 34),

> [T]he [G]-feature introduces a Givenness requirement that has to be satisfied by the utterance context, regardless of how deeply embedded the fea-

> ture may be. [G] does not contribute anything to the truth-conditional content of the expressions it attaches to, nor does it affect the computation of alternatives … The appropriateness of [G] does not depend on the mutual beliefs or expectations of discourse participants. All [G] cares about is whether something has been said before or is otherwise contextually salient. (Kratzer & Selkirk 2020: 34)

As for focus, Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) claim that a [FoC] feature creates a contrastive focus interpretation (not being involved with 'newness' focus). They implement this with a relatively standard Alternative Semantics (Rooth 1992), similar to what is described in the preceding section. As introduced above, O-values are the 'ordinary' truth semantic values (that do not take into account focus alternatives), whereas A-values are where 'alternatives' are calculated and interpreted. These correspond to Büring's $[\![E]\!]_{\mathcal{O}}$ (ordinary denotation of E) and $[\![E]\!]_{\mathcal{F}}$ (focus denotation of E), respectively.

(32) **The contribution of [FoC]** (Kratzer & Selkirk 2020: (45))

a. O-values:
$[\![[\alpha]_{\text{Foc}}]\!]_{\text{O,C}} = [\![\alpha]\!]_{\text{O,C}}$

b. A-values:
For α of type τ, $[\![[\alpha]_{\text{Foc}}]\!]_{\text{A,C}} = D_\tau$ (the set of all possible entities of type τ).

As is common for work on focus, they assume that "[t]he computation of the O-value of $[\alpha]_{\text{Foc}}$ in a context C overlooks [FoC]-marks and outputs the O-value of α in C" (Kratzer & Selkirk 2020: 34). In contrast, for a focused element of some semantic type, the focus denotation (A-value, in their terminology) is the set of all possible entities of the same semantic type. Following a long tradition originating with Rooth (1992), Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) assume that [FoC]-marked constituents are obligatorily c-commanded by the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator. "Like [G], the meaning contribution of the ~ operator is expressive (use-conditional). Also like [G], the operator establishes an anaphoric relation to a discourse referent" (Kratzer & Selkirk 2020: 35). These assumptions are fairly standard for work on the semantics of focus.

Where Kratzer and Selkirk's (2020) account diverges from previous work is in their explicit claims about the syntactic properties of focus/givenness, positing [FoC] and [G] as syntactic features. They suggest (without in-depth exploration) that the relationship between the operator and the [FoC]-marked element can

be implemented via an Agree relation: the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator bears a [FoC]-probe that requires valuation by a [FoC] feature, and probes its c-command domain for a [FoC] feature. The result is a configuration much like [WH]-constructions, with potential long-distance feature valuation relationships possible between the operator and the element marked with the interpretable version of the feature.

Their articulation of a focus probe is particular to them, but there is a large and growing literature positing discourse-related syntactic features (which can participate in syntactic operations, including probe-goal relations). See, among others, Miyagawa (2010, 2017), Mursell (2018, 2021), Bárány (2023, 2024), Zeller (2015), Pietraszko (2023), and van der Wal (2022), among others. Our own analysis of Lubukusu OM-doubling will join the chorus arguing for the presence of information structure features in the syntax.

6.6 Lubukusu OM-doubling as elaboration focus

The question then becomes how to apply these previous approaches to focus to Lubukusu object marking; we take up this issue now. Our claim is that OM-doubling constructions in Lubukusu grammatically (and morphosyntactically) encode the fact that a specific kind of focus occurs within the verb phrase: we will develop an account of mirative focus effects in depth, while also pointing to other kinds of emphatic focus that also go beyond the core properties of focus. That said, the initial analysis that we present here is sufficiently close to the final analysis offered in Chapter 9 that the reader can adopt the assumptions here moving forward: very little will be changed from this; instead, later on we will add projections and semantic operators to add emphatic effects, and we will make the feature composition of the probes more precise. For now, however, we focus on how to explain the focus-dependent aspects of the OM-doubling construction.

6.6.1 Core aspects of initial proposal

Rooth (1992) proposes that the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator is at a specific structural height, demarcating a specific focus domain. We claim that Lubukusu OM-doubling involves merging a syntactic projection containing a SQUIGGLE operator atop the highest projection in the Comment Domain (this highest projection will be PromP or *v*P, depending on the sentence). In Chapter 5 we introduced this projection as the Com(ment) Phrase, headed by Com(ment)°, because it demarcates the Comment Domain. Now we are adding details about the featural properties of Com°: it contains the SQUIGGLE operator, a probe for focus, and the [*φ*]-probe

that generates OM-doubling. Assuming PromP is only included in constructions with scrambling to IAV position, we show the simpler version of the structure in Figure 6.4.

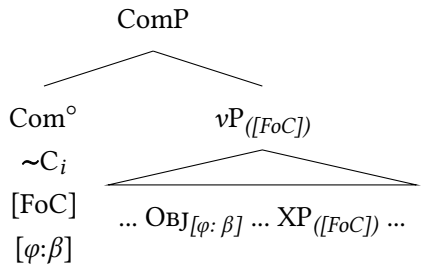


Figure 6.4: Lubukusu OM-doubling configuration (to be revised); Com° c-commands a [FoC] feature, which may be contained within the complement of Com° or may be on Com° itself.

This follows Büring's (2016) presentation of the structure of focus (following on the proposals of both Rooth 1992 and Schwarzschild 1999), but incorporating the syntactic [FoC] feature as suggested by Kratzer & Selkirk (2020). The structure in Figure 6.4 serves to designate the Comment Domain in Lubukusu as a focus domain, which requires an appropriate antecedent in context because the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator presupposes an appropriately licensed focused element in its complement. In identifying a focus domain, per Kratzer & Selkirk (2020), we assume this requires that the SQUIGGLE operator and its attendant [FoC]-probe find a [FoC] feature goal in its c-command domain.[10] Therefore, OM-doubling constructions are licit when there is some focused element inside the Comment Domain, which requires a salient focus antecedent in the discourse context.

But where does the morphological OM itself come from? Our claim is that the functional head that introduces the SQUIGGLE operator bears a [φ]-probe (as is the case for many functional projections in Lubukusu and in other Bantu languages). These φ-features initiate an Agree relation, which (via search by closest c-command) finds the structurally highest DP and the φ-features on the Com° are valued by the φ-features of the Goal DP, by standard assumptions about Agree (Chomsky 2001). This is illustrated in Figure 6.5 for a construction with a focused THEME and OM-doubling of the RECIPIENT object. The RECIPIENT object is the most local Goal to the [φ]-probe on Com°, valuing the φ-features on Com°

[10] Kratzer & Selkirk 2020 assume that the squiggle operator bears a [*u*FoC] feature that serves as a probe, per the standard formulation of Agree (Chomsky 2001). Our formalization here is different: see §8.9 for details. For now, we simply refer to this element as the [FoC]-probe.

(note, this presupposes previous movement of the agent out of *v*P, which will be discussed in §6.7). Following Kratzer and Selkirk's (2020) syntactic implementation, the squiggle operator bears a [FoC]-probe that must find a [FoC]-marked element as a Goal (which in Figure 6.5 is the THEME).[11]

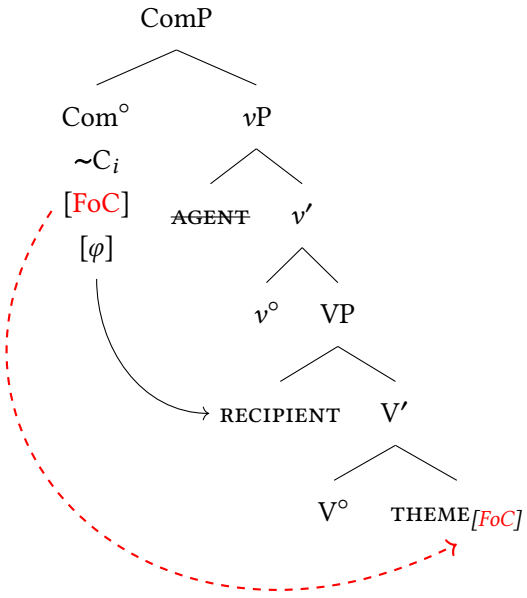


Figure 6.5: Derivation of basic Lubukusu OM-doubling construction (without Prominence Scrambling). To be refined in Chapter 7 and Chapter 9.

While Com° clearly contains complex probing requirements, in the most straightforward instances of OM-doubling, the [FoC]-probe and the [φ]-probe search their c-command domain separately and are valued separately. Chapters 8 and 9 will offer more commentary on this, considering various more exceptional contexts and considering the theoretical consequences for probes with complex probing requirements. At present it is sufficient to consider these as separate probes undergoing separate Agree operations, but we do note that there will be interactions to be considered. The precise nature of both of these probes will be refined, with the final analysis arising in §8.9: until then we will continue to refer to them as the [FoC]-probe and the [φ]-probe.

[11]The Interaction/Satisfaction approach to Agree that we adopt in Chapter 8 allows for Agree to fail to find a Goal with no syntactic consequence; since at least Preminger (2009, 2014) it has been considered possible for derivations with failed Agree operations to converge nonetheless.

There are aspects of this analysis that are quite similar to our previous proposal (Sikuku et al. 2018). In that work we proposed a dedicated functional projection that we called Emphasis, which contained a verum operator and also bore unvalued φ-features that underwent an Agree relation with the structurally highest DP. There are some key differences with our current proposal, however (driven by the large amount of additional empirical discovery since that work was completed). Quite obviously, the proposed semantics of the operator borne by this head under our current proposal are different: previously we limited this to a verum operator, whereas we are proposing now that this contains a more general focus operator. In addition, in Sikuku et al. 2018 we also suggested that Emph° merged *below* *v*P, rather than above it (where we are now proposing that ComP merges). The proposal in Sikuku et al. (2018) was specifically to account for some properties of (a)symmetry that emerged with respect to doubling in verum focus contexts. The additional findings in this volume about the structure of the postverbal Comment Domain (PromP, postverbal subjects, etc) all necessitate a structurally higher position of ComP than we had proposed for EmphasisP in Sikuku et al. (2018). We investigate the properties of (a)symmetry in Chapter 8.

6.6.2 Deriving focus effects in Lubukusu OM-doubling

This section walks through the analysis of some selected examples from Chapter 4 that are intended to be representative of the range of patterns of OM-doubling that occur. For now we restrict our attention to the focus effects of OM-doubling: §6.8 below adds the dimension of the discourse-given interpretation of the OM-doubled object.

6.6.2.1 Deriving OM-doubling with THEME focus

First, we consider an instance of OM-doubling a RECIPIENT object in the presence of a focused THEME object. The examples in (33) are repeated from (19) in Chapter 4. Here in both the question and the response, OM-doubling is licit (assuming the additional emphasis that we will analyze in Chapter 7). For our present purposes we will focus on the response in (33b). As is the case throughout, the most natural answer to this question is just the constituent that answers the question directly (*kamaindi* 'maize'), but we provide answers to questions with whole sentences since the diagnostic context for focus helps to clarify the properties of OM-doubling generally.

(33) a. *βáβáaná βáaβákéseele βáβéʲéβúsí síiŋa*

Ba-ba-ana ba-a-[ba-] kes-el-a [ba-b-ebusi] **siina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents what
'WHAT did the children harvest for their parents?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

b. *βáβáaná βáβákéséla βáβé'éβúsí kámáííndị*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-[ba-] kes-el-a [ba-b-ebusi] **ka-ma-indi**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-maize
'The children harvested MAIZE for (their) parents.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'maize'

Based on the analysis we have presented thus far, why is OM-doubling licit in (33b)? First, if we assume the syntactic structure for (33b) as proposed in Figure 6.4 above, we get the structure seen in Figure 6.6. In that structure, Com° is merged bearing a [φ]-probe, which probes its c-command domain and finds the RECIPIENT DP as a Goal under closest c-command.[12] In the structure in Figure 6.6, the RECIPIENT indirect object is class 2, copying back class 2 φ-features to Com°. This results in the class 2 object marker in (33b).[13] We get into more detail about the nature of this [φ]-probe in §6.8 below (it is linked with discourse-givenness): for now we direct our attention to the focus effects.

In this instance, our focused element is *kamaindi*$_{[FoC]}$ 'maize,' and the sister of ~C$_i$ is *v*P, so the relevant focus domain is annotated as such in (34a) (using English word glosses for ease of reference for those readers who are not Lubukusu speakers). Following the semantics for focus from Büring (2016), itself built on the work of Rooth (1992) and Schwarzschild (1999), we substitute a variable for the F-marked element (maize), and existential closure (∃F-Clo) creates a propositional meaning that can be entailed in context, as shown in (34b).

(34) a. ⟦children harvest-for parents maize$_F$⟧$_{\mathcal{F}}$
b. ∃x[children harvest-for parents x]

As we have seen in Chapter 4, focused interpretations are required components of OM-doubling constructions. Following Kratzer & Selkirk (2020), this is

[12] The irrelevance of the first-merge position of the agent subject in Spec,*v*P is non-trivial; it is not just subjects that are exempted from Com's probing, but all moved phrases. We set aside the issue for now; we offer an initial discussion in this chapter in §6.7, before returning to the issue in Chapter 9.

[13] We discuss the nature of the morphological rules inserted the OM forms in §8.10.

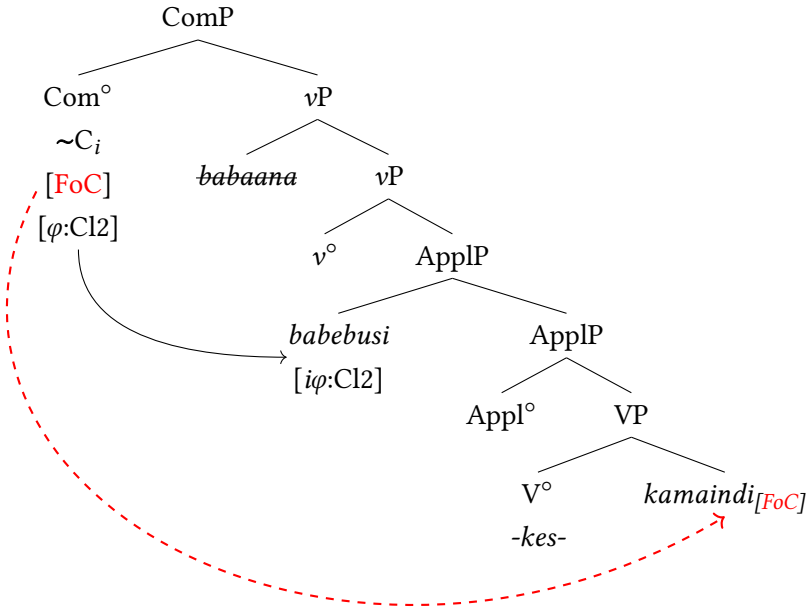


Figure 6.6: Syntactic derivation of (33b), assuming verb movement to at least Com°

implemented syntactically by an Agree relation, with a [Foc]-probe on Com° that must find a [FoC] feature in its c-command domain (unlike the [φ]-probe, which targets DPs specifically). This ensures that a [FoC]-marked element will occur inside the Comment Domain (roughly *v*P) in an OM-doubling construction. There is a sense in which this differs from typical [φ]-probes, which are now well-established since Preminger (2014) to be able to fail without crashing the derivation. Our assumption here is that while the [FoC] probe is the syntactic implementation of a focus relation (which has morphosyntactic consequences), the semantic and pragmatic requirements of the focus operator are still at play whether or not the syntactic probe successfully finds a goal. So the failure of the [FoC]-probe to find a goal does result in an unacceptable sentence, but this is not because a failed Agree relation crashed the syntactic derivation, but because the semantic/pragmatic requirements of the focus operator have not been met.

As for the semantic content of Com°, we have claimed that it bears the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator, which introduces an anaphoric element (C$_i$) that finds its referent (the focus antecedent) in the existing discourse. This pronominal serves to provide the relevant focus antecedent for the [FoC]-marked phrase inside the complement of Com°. In this situation, then, the context must provide a meaning

that entails (34b): ∃x[children harvest-for parents x], there exists some x such that someone harvested x for the parents. So what is the licensing anaphoric element, here, which entails (34b)? It is well-established that questions license focus in the response. Büring (2016) suggests that answer focus may simply be licensed simply because "raising a certain question makes salient the proposition that the question has a true answer. In other words, the question 'Who did they see?,' while not implying that they saw someone (after all, one can answer 'no one'), would be said to nevertheless make salient the proposition that they saw someone" (Büring 2016: 23).[14] Questions license focus on their answers, and in this context, the denotation of the question therefore entails (34b), satisfying the presuppositions of the squiggle operator. In this way, the conditions on $\sim C_i$ are satisfied, and the sentence is felicitous in this context.

For the most part as this volume proceeds, we will not concern ourselves with the semantic details of how every different kind of focus satisfies focus antecedent requirements imposed by $\sim C_i$. In general, we will assume that focused phrases that are appropriately licensed in discourse context satisfy the usual requirements on focus antecedents. To the extent possible we will limit the precise formal discussion of focus licensing as much as possible, to facilitate the syntactic argumentation.

6.6.2.2 Deriving OM-doubling with adjunct focus

The reader may recall from Chapter 4 that any focused constituent can facilitate OM-doubling, as long as it is inside the Comment Domain (roughly, *v*P), even including adjuncts. We repeated example (46) from Chapter 4 as (35) here.

(35) a. *wátéexa kámákáá'nd' óó'rjéŋą*
W-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **o-rieena**?
2SG-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 2SG-how
'How did you cook the beans?'

b. *nákáteexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgų́*

[14] Apart from that, however, the semantic denotation of a question is often conceived of as a set of propositions (the set of possible answers, essentially), which would likewise contain propositions that entail (34b), and therefore the $[\![vP]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$ is a licit F-domain. In this way, questions license focus on their answers, because any of the possible answers to "What did the children harvest for the parents" would entail that there exists some thing that someone harvested for the parents (∃x[children harvest-for parents x]). That is to say, if the denotation of a question $[\![\text{QUESTION}]\!]_{\mathscr{O}}$ is the set of possible answers, one possible answer (to choose a random one) is "The children harvested beets for their parents."

N-a-ka- teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG-PST-6OM-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans QUICKLY.' (not: 'I DID cook the beans quickly.')
Additional emphasis on 'quickly'

As was the case previously, in Figure 6.7 the object marking operation is itself uncomplicated, a Probe-Goal Agree relation by which the [φ]-probe on Com° searches its c-command domain and find the closest c-commanded Goal DP, here the class 6 THEME object *kamakanda* 'beans.'

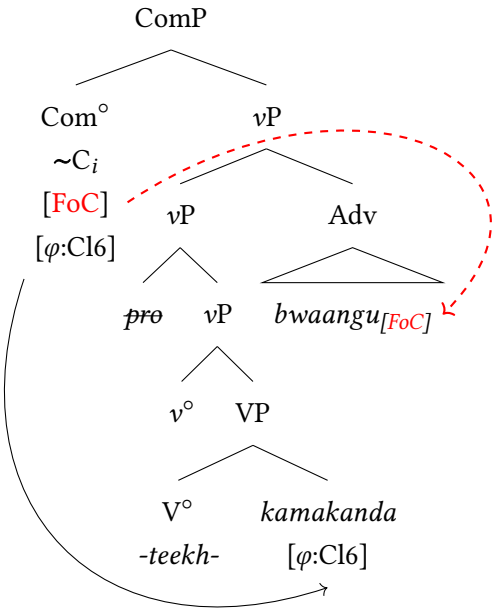


Figure 6.7: Syntactic derivation of (35b), assuming verb movement to at least Com°, and assuming a *v*P-adjoined position of the manner adverbial. [FoC] Agree relation not explicitly pictured here.

The ~ operator on Com° requires a focused element in its c-command domain. This has a syntactic implementation: the [FoC]-probe on Com° requires a [FoC]-marked element in its complement. This analysis does not, however, require that focused element to have any particular thematic status within the predicate, nor does it require that the focused element have any particular relationship with the Goal of the [φ]-probe (the OM-doubled phrase), either. As such, adjuncts within the *v*P are just as able to facilitate OM-doubling as arguments are. Here, following the same logic as the previous example, the denotation of the manner question in

(35a) provides an appropriate focus antecedent for the focused manner adverb in (35b). As such focus is licensed appropriately (the presuppositions of ~ are met and the [FoC]-probe finds a Goal), and the [φ]-probe finds a Goal, resulting in an acceptable OM-doubling construction.

6.6.2.3 Deriving OM-doubling with *v*P focus

As we showed in Chapter 4 and will show extensively in Chapter 7, focus on a particular sub-constituent of *v*P is not a prerequisite for OM-doubling to be licit. To take one example, it is possible to contrastively focus the entire *v*P, which facilitates OM-doubling.

(36) *bábáaná bábúlja búsuma ‖ seβátimaɲé tʃíiŋgoxó tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bu- **ly-a** **bu-suma**, se-ba-a-timany-a
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali NEG-2SM-PST-chase-FV
chi-ngokho ta.
10-chickens NEG
'The children ATE UGALI, they didn't chase the chickens.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'eat ugali'

Here, the entire verb phrase is [FoC]-marked, and so the focus antecedent will be some contrasting verb phrase in context (here, the overt alternative that is provided in the example). Again, the [FoC] feature on Com° simply must find [FoC] in its c-command domain: the [FoC]-marked *v*P in this case is sufficient, and therefore OM-doubling is licit. The [φ]-probe finds the THEME object as a Goal, as the most local (in this case, only) DP c-commanded by Com°. This is illustrated in Figure 6.8, where (as before) the [φ]-probe and the [FoC]-probe search independently and find different goals. The [φ]-probe finds a DP with φ-features, but the [FoC]-probe is not so restricted, instead simply needing to find a goal with a [FoC] feature, which can appear on any semantically contentful element.

The structure in Figure 6.8 is also the structure of the verum-like readings that seem to allow OM-doubling in most constructions, as recounted in Chapter 4 and as discussed at length by Sikuku et al. (2018). To give an example as a reminder, if the proposition in (37a) is stated, another interlocutor can disagree with an OM-doubling sentence in (37b), which is translated rather well here with emphatic *do* in English.

(37) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 384)

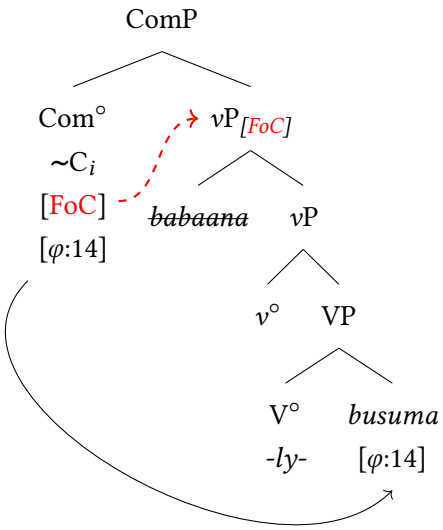


Figure 6.8: Syntactic derivation of the OM-doubled clause in (36), assuming verb movement to at least Com°. To be revised in Chapter 9.

a. Lionéeli k-á-ly-a búu-suma.
1Leonell 1SM-PST-eat-FV 14.14-ugali
'Leonell ate the ugali.'

b. Táawé, se-k-á-bu- ly-a búu-sumá tá.
no NEG-1SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14.14-ugali NEG
'No, he DIDN'T eat the ugali.'

Our claim will be that these verum-like readings are effectively a version of the predicate focus construction sketched in Figure 6.8. There is more to be said about these, but we will claim that the core structure is effectively what we have sketched in Figure 6.8.

6.6.2.4 Deriving non-doubling with *v*P-external focus

An important component of the findings of Chapter 4 was that focused material had to be *v*P-internal in order to facilitate OM-doubling; verum-like discourse contexts were required to license OM-doubling constructions if a sentence with OM-doubling contained focus but its surface position was outside the verb phrase.[15] We showed this with the difference between preverbal and postverbal

[15] Or, more precisely based on Chapter 5, outside the Comment Domain, which includes PromP if it is present.

subjects, *in situ wh*-questions and *ex situ wh*-questions (clefts), new information focus *in situ* in Q&A congruence, as well as *ex situ* focus in Q&A congruence contexts. We also concluded based on a wide variety of diagnostics that locative adjuncts fall outside the Comment Domain, whereas locative applicative arguments occur inside it. This pattern is illustrated with subject focus in the examples below. (38) shows that a focused preverbal subject does not suffice to license OM-doubling without a verum-like reading of the predicate. In contrast, the postverbal focused subject in (39) licenses OM-doubling quite naturally.

(38) *βáβáaná βóŋénéˡéé ‖ βáréerera βáβéˡéβúsí káméetʃ*
Ba-ba-ana **b-ong'ene** ba-a-(#ba-) rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi
2-2-children 2-only 2SM-PST-(2OM)-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents
ka-m-echi.
6-6-water
'Only the children brought their parents water.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

(39) *áβúlja βúsumá wékésá jéŋéŋé*
A-bu- ly-a bu-suma **Wekesa** **y-eng'ene**.
1SM-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali 1.Wekesa 1-only
'Only Wekesa ate ugali.'
Not: Only Wekesa DID eat ugali.
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

We have placed a strong structural restriction on the focus domain in Lubukusu focus domain in OM-doubling constructions, proposing a functional projection (ComP) that appears in a particular position (atop *v*P, or PromP if it is present). All canonical OM-doubling constructions possess a ComP.[16] The ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator presupposes that its sister contains a focused element, and that the focused element is appropriately discourse-licensed: only the structural domain contained in the sister of Com° (i.e. constituents c-commanded by Com°) are part of this calculation (because the grammar requires an Agree relation with a probe on Com°). Therefore, the focus-semantic requirements of Com° cannot be met by a focused phrase outside of the Comment Domain. In (38), while the sentence contains a focused element, at the surface it appears in preverbal subject position (Spec,TP) and therefore is not in the c-command domain of the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator on Com°. Therefore, when [FoC] on Com° probes it does not find an appropriate Goal, resulting in an infelicitous and ungrammatical sentence.

[16]We will examine an exceptional instance in Chapter 7.

6.7 A countercyclic Merge

A key aspect of the OM-doubling patterns is that the *surface* content of *v*P is what matters for licensing OM-doubling: e.g. *in situ* focused objects/adjuncts facilitate doubling, while clefted ones do not, and focused subjects do not affect doubling in preverbal position, but when they remain postverbal they do. Recall (19) from Chapter 4, repeated here as (40). Focus in the *in situ* answer to the THEME question in (40b) is capable of facilitating OM-doubling on the RECIPIENT object. A key contrast comes when answering the same question by focusing the THEME via a cleft construction, as in (40c). In the case of the THEME object cleft, focus on the THEME object *cannot* license OM-doubling the RECIPIENT object.

(40) a. *βáβáaná βáβáꜜkéséla βáβéꜜéβúsí síiną*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **siina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents what
'WHAT did the children harvest for their parents?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

b. *βáβáaná βáβáꜜkéséla βáβéꜜéβúsí kámáíndį*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **ka-ma-indi**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-maize
'The children harvested MAIZE for (their) parents.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'maize'

c. *káβá kámáíꜜndí níkó ꜜβákésela βáβéeβúsį*
Ka-a-ba **ka-ma-indi** ni-ko ba-a-(#ba-) kes-el-a
6SM-PST-be 6-6-maize COMP-6 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV
ba-b-ebusi .
2-2-parents
'It was the maize that the children harvested for the parents.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

It is the surface position of focus that matters for calculating the acceptability of OM-doubling.

This kind of "surfacey" pattern is in fact quite familiar within Bantu languages, specifically from conjoint/disjoint patterns. Recall from §2.1 and §2.2 that the isiZulu conjoint/disjoint distinction tracks the presence of overt *v*P-internal material. So a sentence with an overt *in situ* transitive object must be in the unmarked conjoint form, as in (41a). The same predicate used without an overt

object, and with a preverbal subject in (41b), requires the disjoint form, as the *v*P is empty of verbal arguments/adjuncts on the surface. When the subject appears postverbally *in situ* in *v*P, however, the unmarked conjoint form re-emerges (41c).

(41) isiZulu (Halpert 2016: 120-121)

a. UMlungisi u-(*ya-)pheka iqanda. **(conjoint)**
aug.1Mlungisi 1SM-(*DJ)-cook AUG.5egg
'Mlungisi is cooking an egg.'

b. UMlungisi u-ya-pheka. **(disjoint)**
AUG.1Mlungisi 1SM-DJ-cook
'Mlungisi is cooking.'

c. Ku-(*ya-)pheka uSipho. **(conjoint)**
17SM-(*DJ)-cook AUG.1Sipho
'Sipho is cooking.'

This surface-orientation of conjoint/disjoint patterns is a recurring pattern for languages where conjoint/disjoint has been researched.[17] Thus, the pattern we report for Lubukusu (where a grammatical system is attending to the presence of overt material inside the verb phrase) is in fact a well-documented pattern in the Bantu language family.

The patterns illustrated for preverbal/postverbal subjects in (38)/(39) and for *ex situ* (clefts) and *in situ* focus in (40) pose some fundamental problems for the Minimalist derivation of the structures we have proposed. Standard Minimalist assumptions dating to Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) require that syntactic structures are built via cyclic Merge operations, with the result that syntactic structures are built "from the bottom up." That is, verbs merge with objects first, before merging with subjects, before merging with tense, and so on. But given our proposed structures, Com° merges atop *v*P, and per Minimalist assumptions, we would expect the [*φ*]-probe to search at the point that Com° is merged, finding the *in situ* agent subject in Spec,*v*P, as sketched in Figure 6.9.[18]

This would incorrectly predict that OM-doubling would target the subject in virtually all OM-doubling constructions, because (assuming a strict cycle of structure building) the subject in Spec,*v*P will be the structurally highest DP in the

[17] That said, we do not want to understate the variation that occurs in these patterns across languages (van der Wal & Hyman 2017), and we also do not want to understate just how much empirical research remains to be be done on these patterns in the language family.

[18] This depends on the version of Agree; on some versions of Agree probing operations only commence at the edge of the phase (c.f. Chomsky 2001).

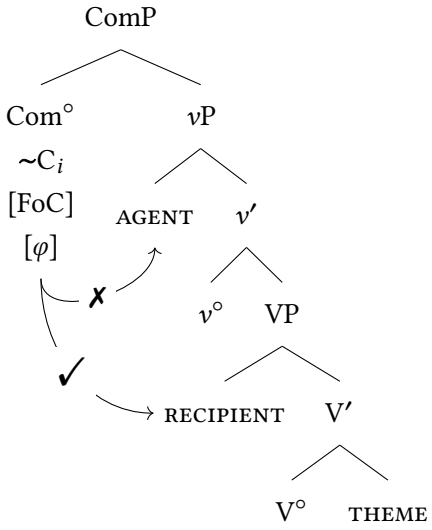


Figure 6.9: An illustration of the expected intervention of the subject in its base position (Spec,*v*P in all OM-doubling configurations, assuming a strictly cyclic derivation. The closer goal (the AGENT) does not Agree, but the more distant Goal (the RECIPIENT) does Agree, contrary to expectation.

c-command domain of Com°, as Figure 6.9 shows.[19] This of course runs afoul of the obvious fact that object markers mark objects, not subjects.

Likewise, this applies to the central issues about focus as well: focused subjects, and focused objects/adjuncts, are only facilitators of OM-doubling when they are *in situ* inside the *v*P. But when any of those have moved to positions higher than Com°, those movement operations bleed the Comment Domain of the content necessary for OM-doubling to be licit. But given that the movements are to structurally higher positions in the syntactic structure, assuming a strict cycle for structure building, at the time that Com° is merged into the structure, ComP is the root node (again, as in Figure 6.9). Therefore all the *v*P material is, at that point in the derivation, still *in situ* inside *v*P.

Clearly, the "action" of Com° must happen countercyclically. This precise countercyclic issue is quite familiar from Bantu languages, both for object marking and for conjoint/disjoint issues. This has been most clearly articulated for object marking by Zeller (2015) for isiZulu. Zeller shows that isiZulu object-marking is the result of an anti-focus probe, which searches its c-command domain and finds

[19] The main exception would be instances of prominence scrambling to Spec,PromP.

the most local DP marked as anti-focus. As in Lubukusu, the projection where object marking originates is demonstrably *higher* than *v*P, as the DPs that it attracts cannot trigger conjoint marking on the verb. As Zeller notes, however, all preverbal subjects in isiZulu are anti-focus marked (preverbal focused subjects are ungrammatical) suggesting that T° is also an anti-focus probe. This presents the same ordering paradox that we encounter for Lubukusu: assuming a strict cyclic derivation, the probe that generates the OM should in fact find the subject in Spec,*v*P as its goal, as it will always be the most local DP in this configuration. This (incorrectly) predicted intervention of subjects is illustrated in Figure 6.10.

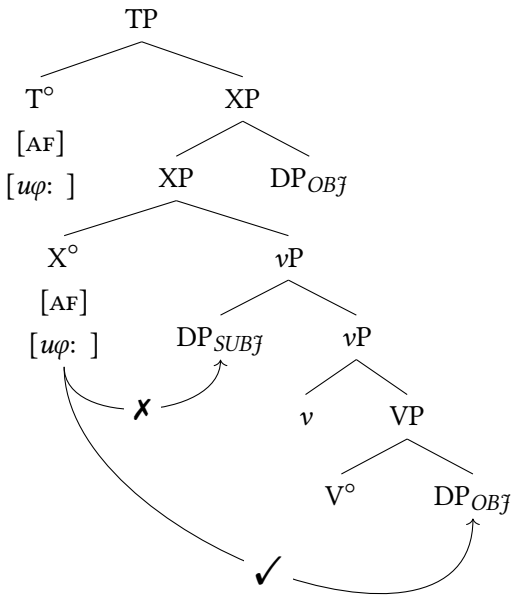


Figure 6.10: Illustration of countercyclicity on isiZulu object marking, on the analysis of Zeller (2015). Subjects in Spec,*v*P in isiZulu should intervene for the OM probe, but in fact do not.

Zeller's (2015) solution is a countercyclic one: he stipulates that T° must always probe first, as articulated in (42). So the derivation proceeds after the OM-generating head X° is merged, and only after T° is merged and the subject moves out of *v*P does the OM-generating head X° probe. Assuming a lower copy in a movement chain cannot itself be a Goal for Agree, the copy of the subject in Spec,*v*P does not intervene, and the anti-focus features on X° probe and find an object, attracting that object to Spec,XP.

(42) The "T Always Probes First'' principle (TAPF) (Zeller 2015: (68))

> The first *v*P-external PROBE-GOAL relation in a derivation must involve the uninterpretable features of T.

Zeller's TAPF in (42) accounts for the isiZulu facts, and as far as we can see, would account for many of the Lubukusu facts around subject intervention as well: we could propose that since T must probe first, Com° does not probe until after T° has attracted the subject. That said, Agree operations are a central part of the narrow syntactic cycle on most Minimalist approaches. (42) is pure stipulation, and it is not clear why something like (42) ought to hold. Furthermore, requiring T to probe first does not solve all the other aspects of surface-orientation of Lubukusu OM-doubling: a cleft construction like (40c) involves movement of an operator to the left periphery, not to T. Nonetheless, it likewise bleeds OM-doubling constructions, as only the *in situ* focus construction in (40b) can license doubling. So even if Zeller's TAPF can address the issue of subject intervention for Lubukusu, it cannot address the entire collection of facts that show the surface-orientation of OM-doubling.

Pietraszko (2023) offers an alternative account where the EPP feature responsible for subject movement is located on the same head as the OM-generating probe.[20] By crucially ordering the operation of these features (EPP preceding OM-probe), she is able to account for the departure of subjects from *v*P before OM-probes do their work. This effectively removes the countercyclic component by placing the relevant features on the same head and stipulating the order in which they operate. While this is an improvement over the TAPF, the same questions apply regarding how to explain the effects on focused phrases as well (likewise required to be inside *v*P on the surface). Perhaps this can be likewise accomplished via also ordering a relevant A′-feature on the same head as well and requiring both the EPP feature and the A′-feature do their work before the OM-probe does its work. But it starts to feel as if we are missing a generalization: the work of Com° is derivationally late.

Instead, we opt for a Late Merger account of Com°, which would likewise work for isiZulu object marking as well. There are a broad range of proposals that propose a Late Merger operation that is capable of adding structure countercyclically, i.e. outside the strict bottom-up cycle of structure building (Lebeaux 1988, 2000, Takahashi & Hulsey 2009, Abe 2018, Stepanov 2001, Zyman 2021, Bhatt & Pancheva 2004). The canonical sequence of structure building is as shown in (43), proceeding from bottom-up.

[20] This is similar to how Halpert (2016) accounts for the non-intervention of subjects in their base position in her account of Zulu conjoint/disjoint.

(43) $V + DP \rightarrow [_{VP}\ V\ DP\ ] + v \rightarrow [_{vP}\ v\ [_{VP}\ V\ DP\ ]\ ] + \ldots$ (etc)

In contrast, Late Merger analyses propose that some piece of structure is added into the overall structure only *after* higher structures have been added, as shown in (44). In this schematic, Late Merger effectively inserts LP into the structure after the other structure has been built.

(44) a. $[_{XP}\ X\ [_{YP}\ Y\ [_{ZP}\ Z\ ]\ ]\ ] + LP \rightarrow$
b. $[_{XP}\ X\ [_{YP}\ Y\ \boxed{[_{LP}\ L}\ ]\ [_{ZP}\ Z\ ]\ ]\ ]$

We do not summarize the range of evidence for Late Merger here, but the reader is welcome to consult the references cited.[21]

On a Late Merger approach to our puzzles here, instead of the probing of Com° (and X°, for Zeller) being delayed until after T° probes (and subjects move), instead the derivation proceeds without Com° being merged into the structure at all, and only after T° has probed and attracted the subject to Spec,TP does Com° merge into the structure and do the work of generating the OM. Therefore, this account accomplishes the same delay in the features of Com° probing, but without adding a new (arbitrary) principle requiring T° to probe first (and, delaying probing by lower heads). Likewise, it explains the cleft constructions as well, presuming that Late Merger occurs after the point that the CP target of operator movement has merged, offering another advantage over the TAPF Principle (also over an account based on the stipulated timing between EPP and OM probes). The nature of the countercyclicity of the operation is of course a real theoretical concern, but the Late Merger analysis groups these object marking constructions with a broad range of other countercyclic constructions that have been documented, as opposed to stipulating a new kind of countercyclicity for the isiZulu/Lubukusu/Ndebele object marking issues alone. We discuss the larger theoretical concerns about Late Merger more in Chapter 10.

Allow us to walk through the details of a countercyclic derivation of object marking in Lubukusu, to be maximally clear, taking (45) as an example.

(45) *βáβáaná βáβáʰkéséla βáβéʲéβúsí síiną*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **siina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents WHAT
'WHAT did the children harvest for their parents?'

[21] Of course, from a core structure-theoretic perspective Late Merger is highly problematic, and it is not clear that it should exist as a theoretical construct (Chomsky 2019, Sportiche 2019). We use Late Merger here to capture the facts, but if Late Merger is abolished from the theory, these facts must count among those that require an account from whatever replaces Late Merger.

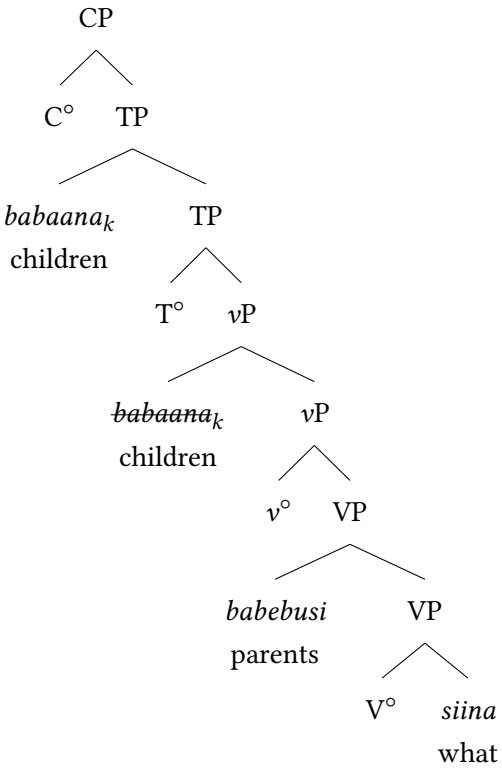


Figure 6.11: The structure of (45), before Late Merger applies

Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence
Additional emphasis on 'what'

On a Late Merger approach that we are proposing here, the core structures of the sentence structure are built, without merging CommentP. This structure is shown in Figure 6.11. It is only after at least TP is constructed (and after relevant movements have occurred, like the subject moving to Spec,TP) that CommentP is merged into the structure in the position we have been proposing, above *v*P.[22] The result of this Late Merger operation is illustrated in Figure 6.12.

Because Com° is not merged until after higher structures are built, the subject has already moved, and (assuming that an entire chain must intervene in an Agree relation and not just the tail of the chain) the subject does not intervene

[22] Assuming a 'by phase' Late Merger operation per Zyman (2021), Late Merger of Com° would occur once the C° phase head is merged. But the details here are not critical for our purposes.

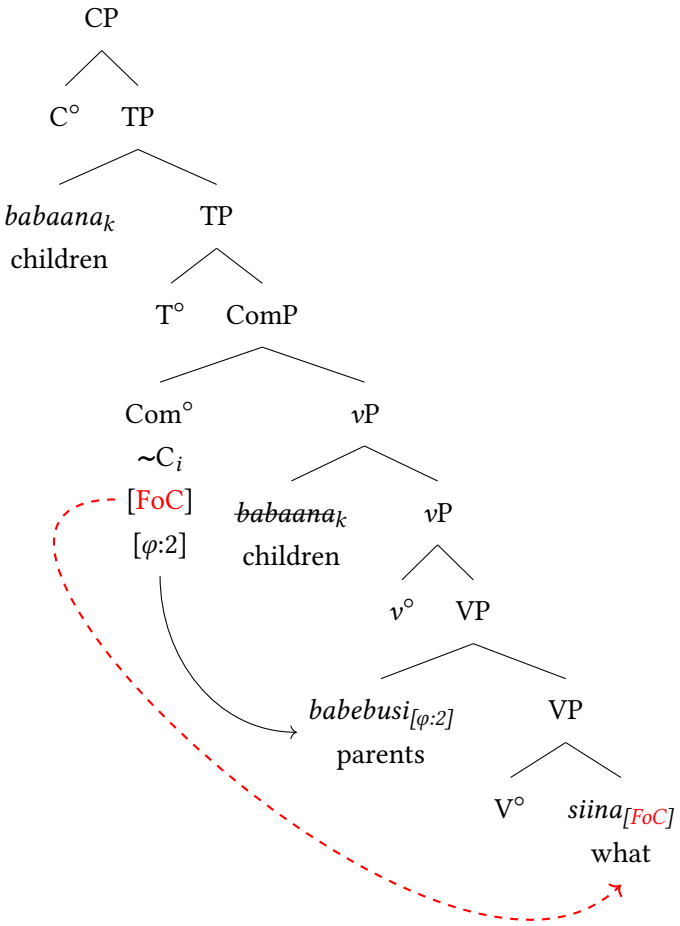


Figure 6.12: The structure of (45), after Late Merger applies

between Com° and the RECIPIENT object in the example in (45), which is the actual Goal of the OM-doubling Probing operation by the [φ]-probe on Com°. Com° contains the squiggle operator and the [FoC]-probe that searches for a [FoC] Goal: in (45), illustrated in Figure 6.12, the *wh*-THEME is that Goal.

A number of details are quite critical here to building a workable analysis: what are the constraints on available countercyclic operations? Is there any legitimacy to countercyclic analyses in the first place? What are the relevant features on a DP that make the DP (in)eligible to participate in Agree operations? All of these are important to the viability of the account, but are not central to being able to understand the empirical chapters that follow. As such, we set them aside until Chapters 9 and 10, where we present our final analysis and theoretical implications, though we do address the issues in part in the intervening chapters as well.

As one final note: an anonymous LSP reviewer with a keen eye for detail observes that select instances of postverbal subjects pose a potential intervention problem for this analysis: the countercyclic analysis we advance here accounts for the vast majority of non-intervention of subjects. But in Lubukusu we noted that it is possible for subjects to remain *in situ* inside the verb phrase (§5.5). And these postverbal subjects themselves can be the emphatic focus inside an OM-doubling construction. Why do these subjects not intervene for an OM-probe? As we discuss in §5.5, typical cases of these constructions require movement of another object to Spec,PromP, which could be used to posit that the object is more local to the OM probe than the subject is in those instances. But in the select instances where the postverbal subject itself seems to be in Spec,PromP, why do we not find the subject intervening for the OM-probe? Such constructions surely deserve their own extensive investigation, because their precise interpretations are hard to pin down; for now, we will simply assume (following traditional work on Agree, specifically Carstens (2001)) that agreeing with particular heads deactivates Goals from continuing to participate in Agree relations. It is clear from Bantu languages that DPs can participate in Agree relations multiple times (Carstens 2011), but the assumption here is that agreement with particular heads—in this instance agreement with a matrix T° before Com° is merged—deactivates the subject as a Goal for Agree. This is a reasonable assumption, we think, though these particular sub-constructions would benefit from more intensive investigation.

6.8 Adding givenness: the interpretation of OM-doubled objects

Recall from §4.4 that OM-doubled objects are generally interpreted as identifiable, specific, and discourse-familiar. That sequence of evidence leads us to conclude that for OM-doubling to be licit, in addition to the focus requirement on the complement of Com° (the [FoC]-probe must find a Goal) there is also a requirement that the phrase serving as the Goal of the φ-feature Probe on Com° must itself be discourse-given. But what is the best way to implement this observation in our analysis? There seem to be two main possibilities. Assuming that givenness is grammatically encoded via a [G]-feature on a phrase (following Kratzer & Selkirk 2020), it is possible that 1) the [φ]-probe in fact is something like a [G]-probe that incidentally also carries φ-features, and only finds as a licit goal a G-marked object, or 2) it is possible that the φ-features are the probing features and will always find the structurally closest goal, but that via this Agree relation Com° assigns a [G]-feature to the OM-doubled object. We will call the first analysis above the G-Activity analysis, since it assumes that a [G]-feature on the Goal makes that Goal accessible to be agreed with ('active,' borrowing terminology from Chomsky 2001). The second analysis we can call the G-Valuation analysis, since it assumes that the object is valued for givenness as a result of participating in the Agree relation.

(46) Two hypotheses on the link between OM-doubling and givenness
   1. **G-activity:** Assume that a [G]-feature makes a DP eligible as a target for Agree, akin to unvalued Case features on the canonical Agree mechanics. The OM-generating [φ]-probe is in fact a [G]-probe, and φ-features are valued as side effect of this [G]-Agree relation.[23]
   2. **G-valuation:** The OM-generating probe is in fact a standard [φ]-probe. But the Agree relation between Com° and a DP values the DP itself as discourse given (assigns a G-feature).

This is empirically testable in a context where we include a potential intervening DP in an OM-doubling Agree relation, but ensure that the intervening DP is not given (while likewise setting the stage for the entire construction to meet the general OM-doubling requirements).

(47) Com° [$_{vP}$ ... IO$_{[FoC]}$ ... DO$_{[G]}$ ...]

[23] This is effectively Zeller's (2015) account of isiZulu object marking.

In a configuration like (47), the G-activity analysis makes distinct predictions from the G-valuation analysis.

(48) Predictions re: configuration in (47)
1. **G-Activity** predicts OM-doubling the lower object (DO, here) to be natural
2. **G-Valuation** predicts OM-doubling the lower object (DO, here) to be unnatural

Take a RECIPIENT question in (49); in answering the question, on the G-activity approach we'd expect the discourse-given THEME object *echai eyo* 'this tea' to be the comfortable Goal of Agree in this instance. The RECIPIENT here is discourse-new and as such is incompatible as an OM-doubled object in this context (barring additional context making it discourse-given).

(49) *wafula átéexela naanu itʃáaji*
Wafula a-tekh-el-a naanu e-chai?
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-cook-APPL-FV 1.who 9-tea
'Who did Wafula make tea for?'

a. *wafula átéexela papá wewé 'tʃáaji ijo*
Wafula a-(#ki-) tekh-el-a papa wewe e-chai e-yo .
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-9OM-cook-APPL-FV 1.papa 1.his 9-tea DEM-9
'Wafula made this tea for his father.

b. *wafula átéexela papá wewé 'tʃáaji ijo*
Wafula a-(?mu-) tekh-el-a papa wewe e-chai e-yo.
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-(?1OM-)cook-APPL-FV 1.papa 1.his 9-tea DEM-9
'Wafula made this tea for his father.

In the responses to the question in (49) we can see that neither object is eligible for OM-doubling, barring additional context. The discourse-new focused RECIPIENT object is not a good target for object marking (as we have seen generally), despite Q&A congruence contexts generally facilitating OM-doubling. If the OM probe sought out discourse-given Goals, we'd expect OM-doubling of the THEME object to follow naturally here. But in (49a) OM-doubling the THEME is unacceptable. All of this is inconsistent with the G-Activity analysis.

In (50) we present another context that gives a RECIPIENT object new information focus, but the context does not provide an antecedent, so it ought not be given in context, but the THEME object is present in the question in (50a), so it is discourse-given in the answers.

(50) *Context: Wekesa bought flowers, and we expected him to give them to someone special. So we inquire, only to find out that he simply gave them to a stranger.*

a. *wékésá áwá naanu kámáúwa*
Wekesa a-a-w-a naanu ka-ma-ua?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 1.who 6-6-flowers
'Who did Wekesa give flowers to?'

b. *wékésáá ‖ áwá ómúreendé kámáúwá*
Wekesa a-a-w-a o-mu-rende ka-ma-uwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 1-1-stranger 6-6-flowers
'Wekesa gave a stranger the flowers.'

c. *wékésáá ‖ ámúˈw' ómúreendé kámáúwá*
Wekesa a-a-[mu-] w-a [o-mu-rende] ka-ma-uwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 1-1-stranger 6-6-flowers
'Wekesa gave a stranger the flowers.' (*a surprising act, to give them to a stranger instead of someone you love.*)

d. *#wékésáá ‖ ákáˈw' ómúreendé kámáúwá*
#Wekesa a-a-[ka-] w-a o-mu-rende [ka-ma-uwa].
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-give-FV 1-1-stranger 6-6-flowers
'Wekesa gave a stranger the flowers.' (unacceptable in current context)

The unacceptability of (50d) could be considered evidence against the G-Activity analysis, because if the φ-features on Com° were seeking the [G]-marked Goal, in this context it would be *kamauwa* and not *omurende*. That said, the acceptability of (50c) is also not exactly expected given the G-Valuation analysis—how is it that we can OM-double a non-given element, when we have repeatedly seen evidence above for a requirement for OM-doubled objects to be interpreted as discourse-given? We have in fact identified a limited class of circumstances that appear to allow OM-doubling of a non-specific object, which we discuss in Chapter 7. So what we find is that (50) makes it impossible to reduce the analysis to one of the two hypotheses offered in (46): OM-doubling clearly does not only find the closest G-marked object as a Goal (or else (50d) should be acceptable here), but it also does not necessarily value an OM-doubled object as given, or else (50c) would be unacceptable. So there is more to be settled before we can finalize an analysis.

It is worth noting that it is precisely these contexts where isiZulu behaves quite differently from Lubukusu, as described in §2.3.2: Zeller (2015) calls the probing

feature [AF] 'anti-focus,' but the analysis is precisely what we have described as the G-Activity analysis—the OM probe specifically seeks out a discourse-given DP, ignoring intervening non-given DPs (Pietraszko 2023 shows that Ndebele behaves the same). This is clearly not the pattern in Lubukusu, however.

So, what we know thus far is that OM-doubled objects in Lubukusu are discourse-given in virtually all instances, arguably requiring a [G]-feature. It is still unclear, however, what the precise mechanisms for this are. Nothing has changed from our previous analysis, but we have added an observation that φ-agreement with Com° has a requirement that in the resulting configuration, the OM-doubled object has a [G] feature (requiring that the object be discourse-given). This updated analysis is summarized in (51) and illustrated structurally in Figure 6.13. At this point, we intentionally leave the discussion vague as to the precise implementation of [G]-feature marking on OM-doubled goals, especially given the exceptional availability of some non-specific OM-doubled objects as in (50c); this analysis will be formalized in Chapter 8. For the present, we simply annotate both Com° and the doubled DP with a [G]-feature to note this requirement, with more details to come.

(51) **Lubukusu OM-doubling (approximation, to be revised)**
1. Com° introduces a [φ]-Probe and the SQUIGGLE focus operator (~C_i)
2. SQUIGGLE presupposes an appropriately focused constituent in its complement; its [FoC]-probe will search and find a [FoC] Goal in its c-command domain.
3. That focus may be on the entire *v*P or on a subconstituent.
4. Successful φ-Agree with Com° also typically requires that the Goal DP be discourse given (bearing a [G]-feature).

Returning to our illustration from the previous chapter, reconsider the example in (52) of a focused/emphasized temporal adjunct, with OM-doubling of a monotransitive object.

(52) a. *βáβáaná βáβóˈn' ómwalíˈmú líina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-a o-mw-alimu **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher when
'When did the children see their teacher?

b. *βáβáaná báamúβóón' ómwalímu likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-mu- bon-e o-mw-alimu **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw their teacher YESTERDAY.'
It is especially significant that this was yesterday

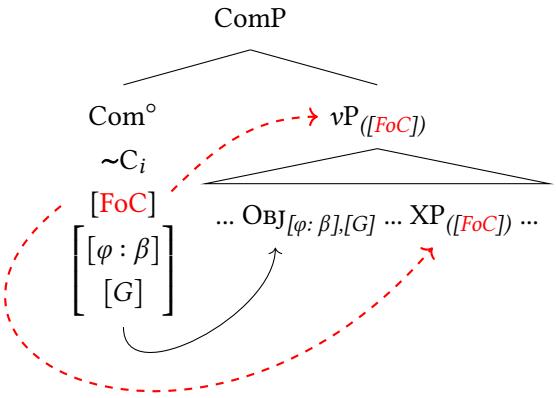


Figure 6.13: Lubukusu OM-doubling configuration (second approximation, to be revised in Chapter 9)

The analysis of (52) (as it stands at this point in the volume) is illustrated in Figure 6.14. As previously, the temporal adjunct is appropriately focused in context, satisfying the presuppositions of the SQUIGGLE operator on Com°. The [FoC]-probe on Com° searches and finds the [FoC]-marked temporal adjunct as a Goal. Com° bears φ-features that Agree with the THEME DP *omwalimu* 'teacher,' this Agree relation is successful because the THEME DP is discourse-given, bearing a [G]-feature. This requirement of the OM-doubled DP to be [G]-marked is the new addition here.

There are still important theoretical questions that are not resolved here. For example, are there necessary links between givenness and focus? This link is captured here by stipulation: the head bearing the focus operator (Com°) is stipulated to be associated with [G] (givenness) as well. This is somewhat dissatisfying, given the broad empirical connections cross-linguistically between givenness and focus. That said, the theoretical (un)relatedness of givenness and focus continues to be a bedeviling question in the literature, and we will not solve the issue in this volume. Likewise, the relative connection between givenness and φ-valuation and the relative disconnection between that operation and Com°'s [FoC]-probing operation both raise questions about the mechanics of Agree on heads with multiple features. This analysis will suffice as we move forward, as we need to address additional empirical patterns before we can finalize the analysis, and consider the theoretical impact of the outcome. What we will eventually argue for is that the probe on Com° is in fact (in part) specified to find a discourse-given Goal (but the probe is not itself a simple [G] probe, as we will see in Chapter 8).

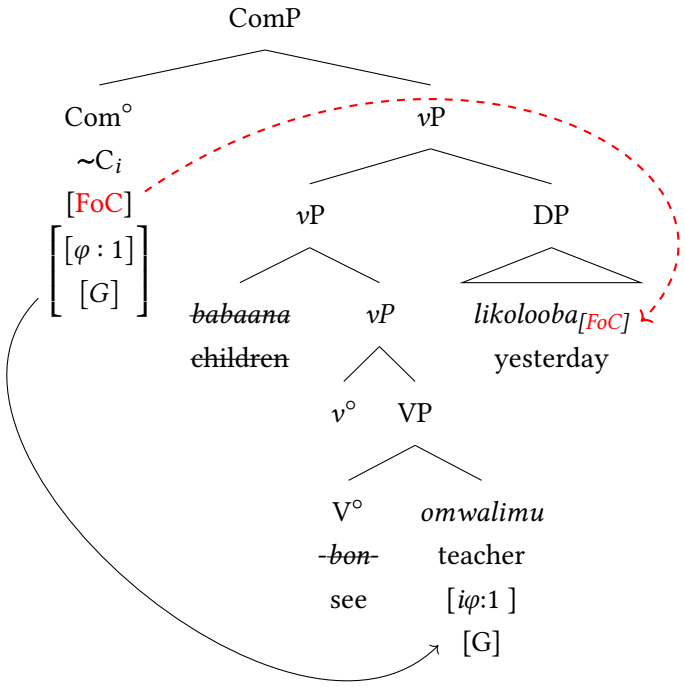


Figure 6.14: Structure of (52b) (2nd approximation, to be revised in Chapter 9)

6.9 Summary: an initial analysis of of Lubukusu OM-doubling

The key components of our analysis to this point are given in (53).

(53) **Components of OM-doubling analysis (first approximation, to be revised)**

a. OM-doubling arises syntactically from a basic Agree relation, initiated by a [φ]-probe on a functional head above *v*P (which we called Com°).

b. The focus requirement on OM-doubling is due to the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator that is part of Com°.

c. The ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator presupposes that the context provides a focus antecedent for a focused phrase inside the complement of Com°.

d. The relationship between ~ and the [FoC]-marked element is implemented via an Agree relation initiated by a [FoC]-probe (details of the Agree relation will be established in §8.9).
e. The [φ]-probe on Com$^{\circ}$ has a givenness requirement
f. To explain the surface-orientation of the OM-doubling construction, we propose that ComP merges countercyclically, after TP has already been built.

There are several major empirical components to be added to the analysis: what we have addressed to this point is not the final word on either the interpretive effects of OM-doubling (Chapter 7), the locality of probing (Chapter 8), and the specific formalization of the features involved in the Agree relation (Chapter 8).

6.9.1 Not conventional focus

The analysis put forward in this chapter is largely built on the findings from Chapter 4, where we established that if some constituent in the verb phrase (including the verb phrase itself) is focused, OM-doubling is much more natural. That said, we will see in Chapter 7 that there are also additional contexts where OM-doubling is licensed without anything that would likely be described as a conventional focus construction. One pattern that we discuss there is illustrated in (54); the -KHO verbal enclitic modifies an event (meaning something like 'a little bit') and licenses OM-doubling.

(54) *nafulăă ‖ áká^{ɬ}ɲwáxóó ‖ kámáβeelę*
Nafula a-ka- nyw-a-#(kho) ka-ma-bele .
1.Nafula 1SM.PST-6OM-drink-FV-KHO 6-6-milk
'Nafula drank milk just A LITTLE BIT.' (OK without verum)

There is no conventionally focused element in (54) but doubling can happen quite naturally here without a verum-like reading. Instead, OM-doubling appears to impose an emphatic reading of some sort on the partitive -KHO modifier.

At the same time, focus itself is not a sufficient analysis, either: there has to be an added layer of meaning (as we have alluded to at various points). One context that accomplishes this is when there is something unexpected, surprising, or significant about the focused element. Recall (53) from above, repeated here as (55) with some limited modifications.

(55) a. *βáβáaná βákésa kámáíí^{ɬ}ndí líina*

Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kes-a ka-ma-indi **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-harvest-FV 6-6-maize when
'When did the children harvest the maize?'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *βáβáaná βáakákésile kámáííndi likolooβa*
Ba-ba-ana ba-[ka-] kes-ile [ka-ma-indi] **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested the maize YESTERDAY (finally).'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

When the object *kamaindi* 'maize' is doubled in (55b), it creates an additional sense that it is especially impactful that the time was yesterday specifically. So, it follows naturally in a situation where the children were supposed to have harvested the maize for quite some time but kept putting it off, and finally they completed their chore yesterday. In fact, on a simple new information focus reading of (55b) where *likolooba* 'yesterday' simply answers the question, OM-doubling is quite unnatural.

This is the reason that we chose to say repeatedly in Chapter 4 that focus 'facilitates' OM-doubling rather than licensing it. In fact, our focus-based analysis advanced here is retained in our final analysis in Chapter 9. But an additional piece needs to be added to explain why the focus reading specifically requires this additional sense of an unexpected element. We tackle this task in Chapter 7, where we also see an additional range of licensing environments.

6.9.2 Not precisely GIVEN, per Schwarzschild (1999)

In the analysis presented here, we have presented English destressing/stress shift as an analog for Lubukusu OM-doubling. There are a number of relevant similarities, namely, the ways in which there is a tight-knit connection between givenness and focus: in English, destressing an object for givenness necessarily puts prosodic prominence (and some degree of focus interpretation) on the adjacent element. Likewise, OM-doubling an object in all the examples we have considered thus far required some kind of focus on some other element in the verb phrase (or, required a verum-like reading of the clause), and the doubled argument needed to be discourse-familiar. Adopting Büring's (2016) sketch of Rooth's (1992) focus operator and Schwarzschild's (1999) GIVEN relation (a semantics of focus-background structures), we showed how if the relevant operator is overtly syntactically present in OM-doubling constructions we can capture a large range of the facts reported to this point.

It is important to note, however, that the interpretive effects of English (de)stressing and Lubukusu OM-doubling are non-identical. One place this appears is in partially given contexts. So in response to a question that asks for a property of a table that was purchased, it is necessary to destress *table* (where the nuclear pitch would go by default) and instead realize the NPA on the adjective *red*, which is the new information. So here the object of the sentence is partially given, with the property *red* taking on focus as novel information and the head of the DP *table* being given.

(56) a. What type of table did you buy?
b. We bought a RED table.
c. #We bought a red TABLE.

Therefore, the object (and the verb phrase) here are GIVEN in the sense of Schwarzschild (1999), licensed in (56b) by the question that preceded. So why is the default pattern in (56c) impossible? There are various mechanisms proposed: Schwarzschild (1999) proposes the principle Avoid F, which requires F-marking to be avoided if possible; Büring (2016) articulates this as Maximize Background, which requires that everything that *can* be backgrounded *must* be backgrounded. Either way, because *table* in (56c) is discourse-given due to the question in (56a), it is preferred without a pitch accent in this instance.

The parallel kind of sentence to (56b) is unacceptable in Lubukusu, however. If Lubukusu were directly parallel to English in these regards, we would expect to be able to OM-double in the context of a partially given object, as a focused element inside the object DP would be compatible with the GIVENness presupposition of the squiggle operator. As (57) shows, however, this is unacceptable in Lubukusu.

(57) a. *xaafu síina ní|jó wákuląą*
Khafu siina ni-yo w-a-kul-a?
9.cow 7.what COMP-9 2SG.SM-PST-buy-FV
'What type of cow did you buy?
b. *xwákú|l' ééxáaf' ímbesemų*
Khw-a-(#ki-) kul-a e-khafu embesemu .
1PL.SM-PST-9OM-buy-FV 9-cow 9-red
'We bought a RED cow.'

We should note that this is not because it is simply illicit in Lubukusu to OM-double a partially given object (which would be a reasonable assumption, given

the interpretive restrictions we have seen on OM-doubled phrases). In fact, this is a context we will discuss later where an elaboration focus context does readily accept OM-doubling in a monotransitive without a verum reading of the clause.

(58) a. *βáβáaná βáβóꜜn' ééxáaf*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-a e-khafu.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 9-cow
'The children saw a cow.'

b. *βáβáaná βáakíβóón' ééxáaf' ímbesemu̱*
Babaana ba-a-(ki-) bona e-khafu embesemu .
2-2-children 2SM-PST-9OM-see-FV 9-cow 9-red
'The children saw a RED cow.'
Red cows are a rare and special kind of cow.

For OM-doubling to be licit, the elaboration focus *cannot* be something that could have been expected. Q&A congruence contexts necessarily create an expectation for an answer, and therefore even though (57) does provide a focus context inside *v*P, and even though the object here contains given elements, (57) specifically asks about the type of cow, so the response is not especially unexpected or notable. The idea that doubling requires an unexpected or notable interpretation turns out to be a frequent property of doubling contexts, as is discussed at length in Chapter 7.

So it should be clear that while the analysis sketched in this chapter captures many components of the OM-doubling construction, there is more work to be done.

7 Doubling as an emphatic strategy

To this point we have seen there are complex interpretive and structural factors implicated in OM-doubling. OM-doubled objects are typically discourse-given (though not always), and OM-doubling is facilitated by a focused element in the Comment Domain (roughly, *v*P). We have argued that OM-doubled objects remain *in situ* inside the Comment Domain, and any word order distinctions are explainable as part of independently available scrambling operations.

Our present topic is to finalize our description and analysis of the interpretation of the OM-doubling construction as a whole. OM-doubling constructions require that there be something unexpected and/or surprising (either for the speaker or the addressee) in order for OM-doubling to be natural in Lubukusu. We analyze these as mirative focus constructions, relying on recent analyses of mirative focus in Romance languages to formalize the analysis.

7.1 Lessons from obligatory adjuncts

7.1.1 "Just keep talking": Logoori object marking

Logoori (like Lubukusu) is a Bantu language of the Luhya subgroup, which is also spoken in western Kenya. We note one key observation here from our work on Logoori for the purposes of our current discussion. Logoori has some parallel properties to Lubukusu, which appear in various ways. For example, monotransitive OM-doubling is usually degraded. Our consultant Isaac Kilaha Thomas captured the generalization by saying that when an object is OM-doubled, the sentence is fine as long as you "just keep talking," adding additional information to the sentence. So, the example in (1b) shows an OM-doubled monotransitive, but it is degraded: Isaac's comment was, "this offers information, but I want to know, 'why?' It sounds incomplete." As (1c) below shows, however, adding a purpose clause to the sentence makes the OM-doubled sentence sound completely natural.

(1) a. Adaro a-sɛk-ɛr-ɛɛ Kageeha.
1.Adaro 1SM-laugh-APPL-PST 1.Kageeha
'Adaro laughed for Kageeha.'

b. ??Adaro a-mu- sɛk-ɛɾ-ɛɛ Kageeha .
1.Adaro 1SM-1OM-laugh-APPL-PST 1.Kageeha
'Adaro laughed for Kageeha.'

c. Adaro a-mu- sɛk-ɛɾ-ɛɛ Kageeha ??(kidʒira Kageeha
1.Adaro 1SM-1OM-laugh-APPL-PST 1.Kageeha reason 1.Kageeha
y-a-ri nu-vuvɛɾɛɛɾi).
1SM-PST-be with-sadness
'Adaro laughed for Kageeha because Kageeha had sadness (was sad).'

Isaac's intuition was that an OM-doubled simple monotransitive was insufficiently informative without adding more content to the sentence. And in fact, English appears to have a parallel pattern in select contexts: we will see that looking at the previous work on obligatory adjuncts in English provides us with some important insights into Lubukusu object marking.

7.1.2 Obligatory adjuncts in English

Perhaps most surprising from the Logoori pattern is that adding an adjunct appears to rescue an otherwise-unacceptable sentence; we saw the same in multiple examples of Lubukusu doubling configurations. This is surprising precisely because a defining feature of adjuncts/obliques is their optionality, that they are not required in any way by a predicate or a sentence as a whole. In fact, it turns out that there are some contexts from a well-documented language (English) which are directly analogous to these Logoori/Lubukusu patterns. Adjuncts are apparently obligatory in a variety of contexts in English, including short passives (2), adjectival past participles (3), middles (4), and cognate objects (5).[1]

(2) a. # This house was built. **Short passive**
b. This house was built last year.

(3) a. # a built house **Adjectival participle**
b. a recently built house

(4) a. # This book reads. **Middle**
b. This book reads easily.

(5) a. # Pat laughed a laugh. **Cognate object**

[1]Our thanks to Mark Baker

b. Pat laughed a hearty/quiet laugh.
(Goldberg & Ackerman 2001: 798-799)

As Mark Baker pointed out to us, select predicates behave similarly, requiring additional content to be felicitous.

(6) a. Skylar worded the letter #(carefully).
b. Victor behaved ??(badly).[2]

These puzzling patterns have been tackled by various scholars (Grimshaw & Vikner 1993, Batiukova & Pustejovsky 2013), and at times the unacceptable constructions above have been annotated with * as ungrammatical rather than # as infelicitous. We follow Goldberg & Ackerman (2001) in annotating these as infelicitous.

The heart of Goldberg and Ackerman's (2001) proposal is built on the long-standing observation that all sentences must have an information focus of some sort (Lambrecht 1994, É. Kiss 1998). According to them, the reason that additional modification is necessary for the examples in (2)–(5) is that without that additional modification, the utterances are essentially uninformative and therefore pragmatically infelicitous to utter.

> [T]he idea that every utterance requires a successful assertion (or successful focus) should be understood in terms of the second half of Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity or Horn's (1984) R-principle, 'make your contribution necessary; say no more than you must.' Since it is not normally necessary to utter a sentence that contains only redundant or recoverable information, uttering a sentence without a successful focus typically violates the maxim of quantity. (Goldberg & Ackerman 2001: 804).

Goldberg and Ackerman defend this claim with a wide range of evidence. We summarize some of it here, and continue to discuss their evidence in the subsections that follow as we use their diagnostics to engage with parallel Lubukusu examples. What we will see throughout is that there are various ways of "saying something," of making an otherwise relatively uninformative sentence more informative. These contexts not only license the kinds of sentences above without the supposedly obligatory adjuncts, but they also likewise license OM-doubling in parallel contexts in Lubukusu. Our eventual analysis will not have the same

[2] Without the adverbial, the sentence is acceptable specifically on the reading that Victor is behaving well.

precise nature as theirs (theirs is a Gricean analysis based on the maxim of Quantity). But the similarities are informative enough to merit a discussion of their diagnostic contexts here in order to apply their diagnostics to Lubukusu OM-doubling.

The first of these is very familiar to us at this point: verum focus. Whereas (7a) is not felicitous in a neutral context, (7b) shows that adding verum focus to the sentence licenses it straightforwardly (assuming a discourse context that licenses verum). Small caps in the examples below indicate exceptional prosodic prominence, which in English signals focus in the contexts considered here.

(7) a. # This house was built.
b. This house WAS built.
(Goldberg & Ackerman 2001: 804)

Other kinds of additional focus (via intonation) in English likewise license these kinds of constructions without the addition of the adjuncts that otherwise seemed obligatory, as illustrated in (8).

(8) a. The HOUSE was built (not the garage)
b. The house was BUILT (not just designed)
(Goldberg & Ackerman 2001: 804)

We have likewise seen the influence of focal effects in Lubukusu, discussed at length in Chapter 4. There are some key differences (e.g. Lubukusu has a specific structural domain within which focus must fall to license doubling), but the link with focus itself is notable.

In the sections that follow, we outline a variety of additional contexts where doubling appears to be licensed in precisely these sorts of pragmatic ways, where the licensing condition seems to simply be that the utterance is sufficiently informative given the context. In each case we draw a direct correlation to the kinds of contexts that Goldberg & Ackerman show license the constructions in (2)–(5) *without* the addition of an adjunct, i.e., other ways to make the utterance sufficiently informative aside from adding a descriptive clausal adjunct.

7.2 "Adding information" appears to license OM-doubling

7.2.1 Adding information inside the doubled DP

One component of the pragmatic analysis of (apparently) obligatory adjuncts in English is that all that is necessary for the short passive and these related constructions to be licensed is for there to be sufficient information offered to make

an utterance worth saying. This shows up clearly in the properties of cognate objects: Goldberg & Ackerman (2001) cite Opdycke's (1941) *English Grammar* as saying of cognate objects, "the repeated idea in the object should usually be intensified by a modifier; otherwise there is no purpose in repeating it." This addresses the distinction between monotransitive sentences with simple cognate objects, and those in which the cognate object bears a modifier:

(9) a. # I dreamed a dream.
b. I dreamed a scary dream.

Goldberg and Ackerman's (2001) proposal is that the problem with (9a) is that it is not sufficiently informative, violating Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity. (9b) contrasts precisely because the modifier that is added to the cognate object offers additional information, which then therefore clarifies a purpose to its inclusion in the first place. So their claim here (which we are inclined to agree with) is that the unacceptability of (9a) is pragmatic in nature, though we are not concerned at the moment whether a Gricean analysis or some other kind of analysis is best.

We see a parallel kind of effect happening in Lubukusu OM-doubling. We have seen many instances already where doubling a simple monotransitive object is unacceptable without additional syntactic or semantic context (e.g. a verum-like reading). However, there are contexts where adding information to the doubled DP itself licenses doubling quite naturally. In the scenario below, one person simply reports information in a simple monotransitive, which the second person agrees with, but expands into more detail by adding a modifier to the DP object.

(10) A: *wafula á'ljá βúsuma*
Wafula a-ly-a bu-suma.
1.Wafula 1SM-eat-FV 14-ugali
'Wafula ate ugali.'
B: *ééé ‖ nekáxálí wafula áβúlja βúsuma βúkali*
eeh, nekakhali Wafula a-(bu-) ly-a bu-suma bu-kali .
yeah, but 1.Wafula 1SM-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali 14-much
'I agree, but/though Wafula ate LOTS of ugali.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

Here doubling is not required, but if it is included, it yields an interpretation that draws special attention to the fact that Wafula ate a significant amount of ugali. Notably, this sentence lacks the verum-like affirmation reading.

This is quite surprising from a cross-linguistic clitic-doubling perspective: to our knowledge, at least, the factors known to contribute to differential object

marking of objects via clitic doubling are things like familiarity, specificity, and animacy—all properties that would apply to an entire DP. Here we have an instance where new information contained within a DP motivates object marking of the entire DP. In this way we again see a pattern more like English destressing for Givenness marking, where DP-internal constituents can be marked as contrasting (DP-internally) with respect to givenness/focus. In (12) the second statement expands on the first. Because *ugali* is referenced in (11), it is discourse-given, and as such is destressed in (12a). This destressing moves the NPA off the (otherwise default) position on *ugali* onto the added information (*a lot*). As (12b) shows, the context established by (11) makes what would be the default position of the NPA (on the word at the end of the verb phrase) infelicitous.

(11) Wafula ate UGALI.

(12) a. Yes: in fact, Wafula ate A LOT of ugali.
b. #Yes, in fact, Wafula ate a lot of UGALI.

This property of English is unsurprising because intonation is used to mark these information structural effects, which operates on a linear morphophonological string and therefore is expected to shift between adjacent constituents, whether inside of a DP or not. But a clitic-doubling relationship (whether underlyingly an Agree relation or a result of a movement operation) should operate on entire DPs, and it is surprising here to find internal properties of the DP controlling the viability of doubling, especially properties of the DP that are not known to generally have clause-level morphosyntactic effects (as opposed to, say, (in)definitess, specificity, etc). To our knowledge, the relative informativeness of DP-internal content has not been previously documented to affect clause-level properties like agreement, clitic-doubling, or object shift (though we will note, it also does in Logoori).

7.2.2 Newsworthy information can be purely contextually-marked

As pointed out by Goldberg & Ackerman (2001), what makes a sentence worth uttering can be completely contextual, such that even without adding anything new to the grammatical context, a previously-unacceptable sentence becomes licensed. Recall from above the example in (13).

(13) # The house was built.

Goldberg & Ackerman (2001) point out that while (13) is usually unacceptable without additional grammatical material in the sentence, it can in fact be uttered in some scenarios (example adapted from Goldberg & Ackerman 2001: 807).

(14) *Context: Treasure was buried in a certain spot, but later a house was built on that spot such that the treasure became inaccessible. The owner of the treasure can concede their loss by saying:*
(shrug of shoulders) The house was built. (i.e., there's nothing I can do about it now).

Here, the speaker is communicating their acceptance of a frustrating situation; the implicature created by flouting the maxim of Quantity here is sufficiently informative to make the otherwise uninformative sentence acceptable to utter. The point that Goldberg & Ackerman (2001) are making with (14) is to show that the restrictions that apparently require obligatory adjuncts are in fact pragmatic, and not grammatical.

We see the same thing with middles, which often require adjuncts to be acceptable (e.g. *this book reads #(easily)*). Goldberg & Ackerman (2001) point out, however, that if context makes uttering an adjunct-less middle construction informative, the sentence is no longer unacceptable.

(15) a. # This purse zips.
b. <How do you close this purse?> It snaps/It zips/It buttons.
c. <Where do we enter the secret passageway?> The bookshelf opens.

Again, the same principle is at play: there is nothing ungrammatical, per se, about an adjunct-less middle construction. The persistent concern is whether the sentence says something informative, because otherwise it would not be worth saying (in most neutral discourse contexts).

We see quite similar things with Lubukusu OM-doubling. We have previously (extensively) documented how verum-like focus situations license OM-doubling. However, there are additional situations not dissimilar to the ones constructed in (14) and (15) where OM-doubling is licensed in discourse contexts that do not license English verum focus, but which do render the sentence informative in isolation.

(16) *Context: Wafula is lying on the couch, clearly bloated with a bulging belly, napping somewhat uncomfortably. On seeing the scene someone could ask, "what's going on with him?" which could be answered:*
wafula áβúlja βúsuma
Wafula a-bu- ly-a bu-suma .
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali
'Wafula ate ugali.' *(carries some sense of 'Wafula shouldn't have eaten, because look at what it has gotten him, but here we are!')*

Here, there is no disagreement and the proposition is not in question: this would not be a verum focus context. Likewise, there is no clear 'focus' in any traditional sense on a specific constituent or on the verb phrase in particular. In this case, the context makes clear how this is particularly informative, which is sufficient to license the higher degree of informativity required by OM-doubling.

Goldberg & Ackerman (2001) point out another similar instance. They note that Grimshaw & Vikner (1993) observe that in the case of the short passives, the obligatory adjunct requirement is limited to verbs of creation; short passives with other predicates are not problematic:

(17) a. # This house was built.
b. This house was destroyed.
c. Your conversation was recorded.

Grimshaw & Vikner (1993) build an account of obligatory adjuncts that centrally relies on the verb class distinction, arguing that the adjuncts are required in some instances because those predicates consist of two subevents (*process* and *result state*), which both need to be realized grammatically. In contrast, Goldberg & Ackerman (2001) argue that the requirement ought to be conceived of as pragmatic in nature, and therefore that even verbs of creation can be licit without obligatory adjuncts and without additional focus. "If the method of creation is somehow unusual, then a verb of constructive accomplishment can itself provide a meaningful assertion (that is, play the role of focus), without emphatic stress or an obligatory adjunct" (Goldberg & Ackerman 2001: 804). This explains the contrast between the two sentences in (18).

(18) a. # This cake was baked.
b. This cake was microwaved.

So, because the reasonable expectation is that a cake that exists must have been baked to become a cake in the first place, there is no clear purpose of the utterance in (18a) without additional context. But microwaving a cake is an unusual manner of creation and therefore a newsworthy piece of information. As such, the short passive is perfectly acceptable without any additional licensing conditions.

We see the same effect at play in Lubukusu OM-doubling. If the predicate is surprising enough, OM-doubling is natural.

(19) *Context: Ugali is a hugely culturally important food: for most people, they don't consider themselves to have eaten at all if they have not eaten ugali.*

The sentence below says that someone threw out ugali, which is a surprising act.
wafula áβúˈmwáta βúsuma̧
Wafula a-(bu-) mwat-a (bu-suma).
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-14OM-throw.out-FV 14-ugali
'Wafula threw out the ugali.'

Here, no additional context is needed to license OM-doubling. Whether or not Wafula discarded ugali does not need to be in doubt, and there is no obviously focused constituent here. Rather, the very act of throwing out ugali is significant (and infuriating) enough to license OM-doubling. This is of course centrally distinct from the act of eating ugali, which is the most reasonable thing to do with ugali. And as we have seen above, it is quite unnatural to OM-double in a sentence about eating ugali.

(20) #*wafula áˈljá βúsuma βuno̧*
#Wafula a-(bu-) ly-a (bu-suma bu-no).
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-14OM-ate-FV 14-ugali 14-this
'Wafula ate this ugali.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

What we see, then, is a persistence of the parallel between English obligatory adjuncts and Lubukusu OM-doubling. There seems to be an added requirement when OM-doubling occurs that some aspect of what is being communicated is particularly significant.

Because this point is a significant one in clarifying the role of object marking, we will illustrate with another example, again where context itself makes a monotransitive doubling construction sufficiently informative to license doubling without verum or any other focused constituent.

(21) *Context: In Bukusu traditions, it is traditional for a man to bring a woman he has married back to his hometown, to his parents' place. Because of this, if a man shows up in his hometown with an unfamiliar woman at his side who he is introducing to people, it is taken as a sign that he has married her. In this particular context, a man has come home with a woman who (for various obvious reasons) is below his social status and below the social status of his family. In this case, his father can very readily ask him, "have you married this woman?" In this case, the question comes with a deep sense of gravity and concern.*

wámújilíl' óómúxasi juno
W-a-mu- yil-ile o-mu-khaasi yu-no ?
2SG.SM-PST-1OM-marry-PFV 1-1-woman 1-this
'Have you married this woman?' *(in the context above)*

Again, here, we see that doubling in a monotransitive context (which is otherwise highly infelicitous in neutral discourse contexts) is perfectly appropriate. Here, again, the context makes the utterance highly informative/significant, in the sense that the sentence communicates not only an information question, but that the question itself is weighty, and there are large social consequences of the answer to the question.

The relevant contexts do not need to all be so socially weighty, however, and they do not need to be emotionally negative.

(22) *Context: Hellen has seen Michael attempt to make chapatis in Kenya on multiple occasions (with very poor results). After her husband has been gone with Michael in the US for many months, she arrives to visit only to discover that Michael has been training on chapati-making and is now highly skilled—it is astonishing how skillful his chapati-making has become. In this context Hellen can say:*
maíkó átʃíteexa tʃítʃápatį
Maiko a-chi- tekh-a chi-chapati !
1.Michael 1SM-10OM-cook-FV 10-chapati
'Michael cooks chapatis!

The descriptive term "newsworthiness" (borrowed from Mithun 1984) does well to capture the licensing contexts here: OM-doubling creates a sentence that is expected to be especially informative, to carry some piece of newsworthy information (which presupposes, as we will see, that this information could not have been expected/predicted by the interlocutors).

7.2.3 Matters of degree: highly newsworthy events

The pattern we see above is that the newsworthiness of the reported information matters for the naturalness of OM-doubling. This appears to be a matter of degree, as well. If the information being reported is maximally newsworthy, maximally significant, then reporting an event without OM-doubling can sound unnatural (even in simple monotransitive, a grammatical context that otherwise strongly resists OM-doubling). The example in (23) outlines a particular situation

that is viewed as scandalous in Bukusu culture: in this instance, OM-doubling is heavily preferred.

(23) *Context: In Bukusu culture, a young man should not marry a widow. If this is to happen, it is considered highly scandalous. In the situation being considered, a father has gone away for some time, and returns only to have his wife inform him that their 19 year old son Wafula has married an older widow. In this instance, the wife can report to her husband:*
wafula ámúꜜβéjá namulexʷạ
Wafula a-#(mu)-bey-a namulekhwa.
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-1OM-marry-FV 1.widow
'Wafula married a widow.'

In this context, leaving the OM out of the sentence would be potentially inappropriate because it would run the risk of downplaying the event, as if it didn't really matter. But this would be a life-altering sort of event that could not possibly be discussed as if it were an inconsequential piece of information. So here, having a sentence that includes OM-doubling is more natural than using a sentence without it.

7.2.4 Exceptional reflexives license doubling without verum context

Grimes (2002) describes uses of the reflexive in Lusaamia, another Kenyan Luhya language. He describes uses of the reflexive marker that (somewhat exceptionally) do not require a reflexive reading of the verb, but rather result in a "purposeless" reading of the predicate, that the event being described was occurring for no particular reason. This appears to occur in a subset of constructions that employ both the reflexive marker and a causative morpheme.

(24) a. Okelo y-**ee**-xub-y-a eŋomba. [**Lusaamia**]
Okelo 1SM-RFM-beat-CAUS-FV drum
'Okelo is drumming for no reason.'

b. oxw-**ee**-lomaloma-y-a
INF-RFM-talk-CAUS-FV
'to talk to oneself, complain loudly, talk all over for no reason'

c. Emba y-**ee**-sam-y-a.
dog 9SM-RFM-bark-CAUS-FV
the dog is barking for no reason

d. oxw-**ee**-xeŋg-y-a ekaratasi
INF-RFM-cut-CAUS-FV paper
'to cut something for no reason'

e. oxw-**ee**-xin-y-a
INF-RFM-dance-CAUS-FV
'to make self dance, dance for no apparent reason'

Lubukusu shares this property—similar readings are available for the cognate predicates in these examples.

(25) a. *wékésáá ‖ éˈxúpj' éŋoma*
Wekesa a-**e**-khup-y-a eng'oma.
Wekesa 1SM-RFM-beat-CAUS-FV drum
'Wekesa is drumming for no reason.'

b. *xúxwíˈíβóŋja*
khu-khw-**i**-bon-y-a
15-15-RFM-see-CAUS-FV
'To show off oneself/display pride'

c. *épúsí jitímja*
E-pusi y-**i**-tim-y-a.
9-cat 9SM-RFM-run-CAUS-FV
'The cat runs for no reason.'

d. *xúxwíˈímáálísja̰*
khu-khw-**i**-mal-isy-a
15-15-RFM-smear-CAUS-FV
'to smear (something) with no reason'

e. *xúxwíˈíímbja*
khu-khw-**i**-imb-y-a
15-15-RFM-sing-CAUS-FV
'sing for no apparent reason'

Relevant for our particular concerns here, we can see that doubling is licensed without a verum-like reading (or any other constituent bearing obvious term focus). Rather, this simply serves to emphasize the (apparent) purposelessness nature of the activity.[3]

[3]The causative and reflexive are both a required part of this construction in Lubukusu: we presume the same for Luusamia but that needs to be confirmed.

(26) a. *wékésáá ‖ áˈkjéxúpj' éŋóma*
Wekesa a-ki- **e**-khup-y-a e-ng'oma .
1.Wekesa 1SM-9OM-RFM-hit-CAUS-FV 9-drum
'Wekesa beat the drum WITH NO PURPOSE.'

b. *xúˈkjéβónj' éŋgúβo*
khu-ki- **e**-bon-y-a e-ngubo
15-9OM-RFM-see-CAUS-FV 9-dress
'To show off a dress/display WITH PRIDE'

c. *xúkjemáalisj' éɲdʒu*
khu-ki- **e**-mal-isy-a e-nju
15-9OM-RFM-smear-CAUS-FV 9-house
'to smear the house FOR NO REASON'

d. *xúmwiimbj' ómwana*
khu-mu- **i**-imb-y-a o-mw-aana
15-1OM-RFM-sing-CAUS-FV 1-1-child
'make a child sing FOR NO APPARENT REASON'

In all of these instances there is no verum reading, instead simply additional emphasis on the extra meaning that the reflexive contributes here (apparent purposelessness).

7.2.5 Pluractional verbs license doubling without verum context

A common process among many Bantu languages is reduplication of the verb, which results in a pluractional reading of the predicate; in languages of the region this tends to give a reading that the event has occurred repeatedly and haphazardly/chaotically.

(27) Lubukusu (Mutonyi 2000: 119)

a. *xuulima*
khu-u-lima
15-15-cultivate
'to cultivate'

b. *xuulimalima*
khu-u-lima-lima
15-15-cultivate-RED
'to cultivate repeatedly'

(28) Lubukusu (Mutonyi 2000: 119)

a. *xúxalaaŋga*
khu-u-khalaanga
15-15-fry
'to fry'

b. *xúxalaaŋgaxalaaŋga*
khu-u-khalaanga-khalaanga
15-15-fry-RED
'to fry repeatedly'

Relevant for our concerns here, the pluractional predicates license doubling without a verum-like reading or any additional focus, whereas this is not the case for the non-pluractional predicates.

(29) a. *wékésáá ‖ átímatima tʃimbilo*
Wekesa a-tima-tim-a chi-m-bilo.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-run-RED-FV 10-10-race
'Wekesa ran a race aimlessly.'

b. *wékésáá ‖ átʃiˈtímátima tʃimbilo*
Wekesa a-chi- **tima-tim**-a chi-m-bilo.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-10OM-run-RED-FV 10-10-race
'Wekesa ran a race AIMLESSLY.'
(with special attention on the aimless nature)

In the OM-doubled instance in (29b) there is a clear emphasis on the 'aimless' nature of the race-running.

7.2.6 Partitive event modifiers licensing doubling

Another instance where a modifier of an event licenses doubling independent of the properties of particular objects is the partitive modifier *-kho* 'a little bit.' Taking the same form as the class 17 locative enclitic, *-kho* appears in the post-final position on the verb, following the final vowel.

(30) a. *nafula áɲwá ˈkámáβeele*
Nafula a-nyw-a ka-ma-bele.
1.Nafula 1SM.PST-drink-FV 6-6-milk
'Nafula drank milk.'

b. *nafula áɲwáxó kámáβeele*
Nafula a-nyw-a-kho ka-ma-bele.
1.Nafula 1SM.PST-drink-FV-KHO 6-6-milk
'Nafula drank milk just a little bit.'

Setting aside the particulars of the *-kho* construction,[4] we can see that it interacts with OM-doubling. As expected, a doubling construction with a simple monotransitive is only acceptable with a verum-like reading, as shown in (31).

(31) *nafula áɲwá ˈkámáβeele*
Nafula a-(#ka-) nyw-a (ka-ma-bele).
1.Nafula 1SM.PST-6OM-drink-FV 6-6-milk
*Nafula drank milk.
OK: 'Nafula DID drink milk.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

However, the same sentence modified with *-kho* is acceptable without any verum reading, as shown in (32).

(32) *nafula ákáˈɲwáxó kámáβeele*
Nafula a-a-ka- nyw-a-kho (ka-ma-bele).
1.Nafula 1SM-PST-6OM-drink-FV-KHO 6-6-milk
'Nafula drank milk JUST A LITTLE BIT.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

Here, the interpretation comes with an emphasis on the fact that this happened just a little bit—that is, the '*-kho*' is the relevant 'added information' that is being emphasized.

7.3 A revision: "add something unexpected"

Up until this point we have been suggesting that OM-doubling creates a sentence that is interpreted as particularly informative. There are clearly a wide variety of ways that a piece of information can qualify as sufficiently "informative," and while the discussion to this point has helped identify a variety of discourse scenarios that license OM-doubling, in some sense we have done very little to

[4] There are interesting questions to be investigated here, e.g. its specific semantics and its structural position.

identify a precise natural class of such scenarios. What does it mean to "be informative," when presumably this is itself somewhat of a requirement on any kind of utterance in the first place?

What provides immediate insight is that we find OM-doubling disappearing in contexts where it was previously acceptable: if a context which was previously newsworthy becomes familiar and therefore no longer newsworthy, OM-doubling becomes likewise degraded. Similarly, exploring the apparently optional instances of OM-doubling that we saw repeatedly with focused *v*P material in Chapter 4 yields insight about the specific contribution of OM-doubling. What we find is that speaker or addressee expectations seem to be playing the crucial role: if a piece of information is reasonably unexpected, it can play the role of licensing OM-doubling.

7.3.1 When KHO partitive is expected

We noted above in (32) that the partitive event modifier KHO can facilitate doubling. If a context can be constructed where a *-kho* could be *expected*, however, we see a very different result with respect to OM-doubling. Take, for example, a situation where someone is sick: in this context, they are expected to have very little appetite. In this context you can say the sequence in (33).

(33) a. *líkólóóβ' ómúlwáˡálé aalííléxó βúsuma*
Likolooba, o-mu-lwaale a-l-ile-kho bu-suma.
yesterday 1-1-sick.person 1SM-eat-PFV-KHO 14-ugali
'Yesterday, the sick person ate ugali (a little).'

b. *#lún' ómúlwáˡálé ˡáβúlíiléxó βúsuma*
#Lu-no, o-mu-lwaale a-bu- l-ile-kho bu-suma.
11-today 1-1-sick.person 1SM-14OM-eat-PFV-KHO 14-ugali
'Today, the sick person ate ugali (a little).'

So whereas in (32) *-kho* was sufficient to license doubling, in (33b) *-kho* it is not so. What is the difference? Given the context in (33), both that the person is sick in the first place and that it has already been stated that yesterday they ate only a little bit in (33a), the inclusion of *-kho* in (33b) is expected. And this is the intuitive sense of what is inappropriate about (33b)—it sounds odd because nothing in the sentence is new; there is nothing particularly informative. The modifier *-kho* can license doubling when it is not otherwise expected, but if it is expected it cannot. This suggests a more refined characteristic of what it means to "be informative" in the sense that this chapter has shown to license OM-doubling. It seems that

the requirement is in fact to be informative in a manner that was not expected by the interlocutors.

7.3.2 Throw out ugali (again)

The same goes for our example of how an unexpected predicate-object pairing itself can merit OM-doubling. (34) is repeated from (19) above.

(34) *wafula áβúˈmwáta βúsuma*
Wafula a-bu- mwat-a bu-suma .
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-14OM-throw.out-FV 14-ugali
‘Wafula threw out the ugali.

An example like (34) is acceptable with OM-doubling precisely because ugali is a culturally central food and it is astounding to throw it out. However, if we consider a context where Wafula is visiting his American friends in California, we get a very different result.

(35) *Context: Wafula and his wife are visiting their Californian friends, and they are consistently making them Kenyan food in an effort to acculturate them to Kenyan things. But the American friends are not developing a taste for ugali, and keep failing to eat it. So on an almost daily basis, Wafula is throwing out uneaten ugali. In this context, Wafula’s wife could say in a resigned and disappointed manner:*
wafulǎǎ ‖ ámwata βúsumá lúundi
Wafula a-(#bu-) mwat-a bu-suma luundi.
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-14OM-throw.out-FV 14-ugali again
‘Wafula threw out the ugali again.’

Here, as with our sick person eating only a small amount in (33b), it is actually expected (at this point in the mini-narrative) that Wafula threw out the ugali. As such, in this context there is nothing particularly newsworthy (in the sense of being unexpected) in the utterance in (35), and as a result OM-doubling is comparatively unnatural.

7.3.3 Novel degree modifiers

Another instance of doubling being established (and undone) by context comes from degree modifiers. Degree modifiers of a predicate license OM-doubling when novel, but not when they are familiar.

(36) *Context: There are two children in the house, with different tastes in food. Alex is generally indifferent towards rice—he eats it but it is nothing special to him. Maisha, on the other hand, loves rice so much that she has dubbed herself "Queen Rice."*

a. *ááléeksj ákúlíilé kúmútʃéˈélé kúmúkali*
Alex a-ku- l-ile ku-mu-chele ku-mu-kali .
1.Alex 1SM.PST-3OM-eat-PFV 3-3-rice 3-3-a.lot
'Alex ate a LOT of rice.'
Doubling is acceptable without a verum-like reading of the sentence

b. *maíʃá áliilé kúmútʃéˈélé kúmúkali*
Maisha a-(#ku-) l-ile ku-mu-chele ku-mu-kali .
1.Maisha 1SM.PST-3OM-eat-PFV 3-3-rice 3-3-a.lot
'Maisha ate a lot of rice.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

In this context, OM-doubling is natural in (36a) because it is notable that Alex ate so much rice. Maisha ("Queen Rice"), on the other hand, is expected to eat very large amounts of rice and therefore OM-doubling is unnatural in this context, as (36b) offers no especially notable information. If the extreme degree modifier *po* is used to describe Maisha's rice consumption, however, OM-doubling becomes acceptable again because *po* is communicating that (even for her) this is extraordinary.

(37) *Context: Same as (36)*
maíʃá ákúlíilé kúmútʃéˈélé kúmúkalí póó
Maisha a-ku- l-ile ku-mu-chele ku-mu-kali po .
1.Maisha 1SM.PST-3OM-eat-PFV 3-3-rice 3-3-a.lot DEG
'Maisha ate an EXTREME AMOUNT of rice.'

Even this may be undone by context, however. Take a context where (as at times happens with children) Maisha is going through a phase of habitually over-eating, every evening eating more rice than she should and ending up with a bellyache afterwards. In this context, the amount of rice eaten merits the *po* degree modifier, but OM-doubling is illicit, precisely because it is now a discourse-familiar circumstance. There is no novel, unexpected information being added to the common ground in this instance.

(38) *Context: Maisha is going through a phase of habitually over-eating, every evening eating more rice than she should and ending up with a belly-ache afterwards*

maíʃá áliilé kúmútʃé́élé kúmúkalí póó ‖ luundi ŋg' omáɲílẹ
Maisha a-(#ku-) l-ile ku-mu-chele ku-mu-kali po , lundi nge
1.Maisha 1SM-3OM-eat-PFV 3-3-rice 3-3-a.lot DEG, again COMP
o-many-ile.
2SG.SM-know-PFV
'Again, as you know, Maisha ate an extreme amount of rice.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the sentence

7.3.4 New information focus alone does not license OM-doubling

New information focus is the sort of information focus that is placed on the constituent bearing new information in question and answer congruence contexts. So in (39) the answer that is offered in (39b) to the question in (39a), the object (*chichapati*) is expected, because we directly inquired about what was being cooked. New information focus on an object does not (itself) license doubling on that object.

(39) a. *wafula átéexa siina*
Wafula a-a-tekh-a siina?
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-cook-FV 7.what
'What did Wafula cook?'

b. *wafula átéexa tʃítʃápátị*
Wafula a-a-(#chi)-tekh-a chi-chapati.
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-10OM-cook-FV 10-chapati
'Wafula cooked chapatis.'

This pattern is not novel, as it is part of the original data description from Sikuku et al. (2018). But the unacceptability of doubling in (39b) is important to the current context because it helps refine our notion of what is necessary in order to "be informative" in a way that licenses OM-doubling. Here, (39b) sounds odd with OM-doubling because the new information simply answers the question, and it is expected in a Q&A exchange that the addressee provide information in response to a question. So OM-doubling does not simply require information to be novel, but it also requires that it be unexpected based on our shared context. If someone asks the object question in (39a) and somebody else answers straightforwardly, it may have been unknown what exactly Wafula cooked, but the fact that he cooked something at all is presupposed and it is expected that the question is answered. Therefore the sentence as uttered in (39b) is not all

backgrounded/familiar information, but neither is it reasonably unexpected information. For example, (39b) is acceptable with doubling if it is already known that Wafula hates cooking chapatis and never cooks them, but in this instance he did cook chapatis.

This helps explain the distinction that we saw at the end of Chapter 4. Adding new information to a DP cannot license OM-doubling (on its own) when that information was specifically requested: when the question in (40) specifically inquires about the type of cow, an answer containing a property describing a cow is expected, therefore OM-doubling is unacceptable.

(40) a. *xaafu̱ síína ní'jo wákula̱*
Khafu siina ni-yo w-a-kul-a?
9.cow what COMP-9 2SG.SM-PST-buy-FV
'What type of cow did you buy?

b. *xwákul' ééxáaf' ímbesemu̱*
Khw-a-(#ki-) kul-a (e-khafu embesemu).
1PL.SM-PST-(#9OM-)buy-FV 9-cow 9-red
'We bought a RED cow.'

But in an elaboration focus context as in (41), the property *embesemu* 'red' is provided unsolicited, making it a novel contribution and therefore the right kind of added information to license OM-doubling.

(41) *Context: Red cows are rare, and are considered special.*

a. *βáβáaná βáβó'n' ééxáafu̱*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-a e-khafu.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 9-cow
'The children saw a cow.'

b. *βáβáaná βákíβon' eéxáaf' ímbesemu̱*
Babaana ba-a-(ki-) bona (e-khafu embesemu).
2-2-children 2SM-PST-(9OM-)see-FV 9-cow 9-red
'The children saw a RED cow.'

This raises important analytical questions, however, because we saw in Chapter 4 that new information focus on some other element in the verb phrase does appear to facilitate doubling. The important point here is that in all of those contexts doubling is still optional, and revisiting those environments will be informative if we explore the precise differences between a doubled sentence and an undoubled sentence. We take that up in §7.4.

7.3.5 A final diagnostic: an incredulity particle

Discourse context is what is especially important to licensing OM-doubling; particularly, contexts which clarify when a piece of information being communicated is particularly newsworthy, interpreted as being novel information that is unexpected based on the interlocutors' shared knowledge.

There are some grammatical contexts that are themselves marked, or bringing within themselves some kind of distinctive meaning. This includes the pluractional reduplication contexts, the "purposeless" reflexive marker constructions, and the partitive predicate modifier *kho*; all add something to a sentence reflecting an intentional addition from the speaker, and all tend to be compatible with OM-doubling (barring additional context), with the emphasis of OM-doubling applying to the interpretive contribution of those elements. This pattern is relatively clear with the clause-final question particle kụ. This particle creates an emphatic yes/no question, as illustrated in (42) below, which is only possible in incredulity contexts.

(42) *wékésá á'ljá βúsumákụ́*
Wekesa a-a-ly-a busuma kụ.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali Q.EMPH
'Did Wekesa really eat ugali?!?' (only an emphatic question, not a neutral yes/no question)

This emphatic question particle facilitates OM-doubling without any additional context, as would be expected on the generalization being developed here.

(43) *wékésá áβúlja βúsumákụ́*
Wekesa a-a-bu- lya bu-suma kụ.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-14OM-eat 14-ugali Q.EMPH
'Did Wekesa really eat the ugali?!?'

As we have mentioned before, we will propose that the unifying notion behind all of these patterns is that of mirative focus.

7.4 Interpretive distinctions between doubling and non-doubling sentences

A key point is that OM-doubling almost always appears to be *optional*. In (44a), both the non-doubled statement in (44b) and the OM-doubled statement in (44c) are viable answers to the question.

(44) a. *βáβáaná βáβó^{l}n' ómwalí^{l}mú líina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-a o-mw-alimu **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher when
'When did the children see their teacher?

b. *βáβáaná βáaβóón' ómwalímu likolooβǫ*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-e o-mw-alimu **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw their teacher yesterday.' (no doubled)

c. *βáβáaná βáamúβóón' ómwalímu likolooβǫ*
Ba-ba-ana ba-mu- bon-e o-mw-alimu **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM.PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw their teacher YESTERDAY.'
Notes on the interpretation in text below

So what is the difference between (44b) and (44c)? If focus on some other element in the verb phrase was sufficient to license doubling, we might expect either that OM-doubling would be obligatory in response to the question in (44a), or perhaps something more like true optionality. But there are interpretive distinctions that arise in the difference between (44b) and (44c). Specifically, in the doubled sentence in (44c), there is an additional interpretive component that the fact that this happened yesterday in particular is significant. It could be significant for various reasons. For example, the children have been waiting a long time to see their teacher, and then it finally happened yesterday. Or perhaps yesterday was a special holiday and so it was notable that they saw the teacher on that day. The possibilities really are endless: the distinction is that it is noteworthy or newsworthy in some way that it was yesterday and not another day. We see something similar for (45).

(45) a. *βáβáaná βákéséla βáβéeβúsí síiną*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **siina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents what
'What did the children harvest for their parents?'

b. *βáβáaná βákésela βáβéeβúsį́ kámáííndį*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **ka-ma-indi**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-maize
'The children harvest maize for their parents.'

c. *βáβáanáā ‖ βáβá^{l}késéla βáβéeβúsį́ kámáííndį*

Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- kes-el-a ba-b-ebusi **ka-ma-indi**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-harvest-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-maize
'The children harvest maize for their parents.'
Notes on the interpretation in text below

In (45), (45b) is the default and has a neutral interpretation (providing the information that answers the question in (45a)). (45c), on the other hand, presupposes something notable or unexpected about the event. It may be about the children: perhaps the children are known to be so unhelpful, so therefore it is surprising that this time they helped their parents. Or the parents are notable people in some ways—perhaps you benefit by helping them, or they are very ungrateful but despite that they were still helped; or finally, something may be notable about the maize—it is very special, or perhaps it is so bad that nobody wants to harvest it, but the children did.

We can see a similar effect in another example that has been used throughout the volume (first noted in Chapter 1), repeated here in (46).

(46) a. *watéexa kámákáá'nd' óó'rjéna*
W-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **o-rieena**?
2SG.SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 2SG-how
'How did you cook the beans?'

b. *natéexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgᵘ*
N-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG.SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans quickly.'

c. *nákáteexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgᵘ*
N-a-ka- teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG.SM-PST-6OM-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans QUICKLY.'
Notes on the interpretation in text below

Here, again, (46b) is the neutral answer that simply provides the information requested by the question in (46a). (46c) presupposes some additional context and emphasis. One such scenario is that beans are normally not easy to cook (they take a long time to get soft, usually) but surprisingly, this time they were cooked quite fast. Another example context for (46c) could be someone's first encounter with an Instant Pot (a countertop pressure cooker that cooks beans quickly). (46b), in contrast, has no such emphatic "noteworthiness" interpretation.

As one last example, we see this arising not only in Q&A contexts, but in any instance where a doubling construction is available alongside a non-doubling construction. In (47) we use contrastive focus on a manner adverbial to demonstrate this.

(47) a. *βáβáaná βáˈljá βúsuma βwaaŋgʉ́ ‖ selí kálaá tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ly-a bu-suma **bwangu**, se-li kalaa ta.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-eat-FV 14-ugali quickly, NEG-COP slowly NEG
'The children ate the ugali quickly, not slowly.'

b. *βáβáaná βáβúlja βúsuma βwaaŋgʉ́ ‖ selí kálaá tá*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bu- ly-a bu-suma **bwangu**, se-li
2-2-children 2SM-PST-14OM-eat-FV 14-ugali quickly, NEG-COP
kalaa ta.
slowly NEG
'The children ate the ugali quickly, not slowly.'
Notes on the interpretation in text below

Again, here, the OM-doubled sentence has a distinct interpretation from the undoubled sentence. In (47b), one possible scenario is that there is something about the ugali that makes it odd when eaten fast: perhaps the ugali was so hot that they were expected to eat it slowly, but didn't, to everybody's amazement. So the emphasis here is that the fast manner in which the eating happened is unexpected and notable.

In all of these instances we see the same pattern arising: the OM-doubling construction adds some additional information, which makes some constituent or component meaning of the verb phrase notable, unexpected, or significant. It appears, then, that the choice of an OM-doubled sentence explicitly signals to interlocutors that the speaker is including information that is unexpected in some way.

This in fact fits with what we saw in §7.3.4, that new information focus is incapable (on its own) of licensing doubling. So while focus does clearly 'facilitate' doubling in the sense that focused constituents inside the verb phrase make OM-doubling much more accessible/comfortable for Lubukusu speakers (as documented extensively in Chapter 4), there is an additional interpretive component layered onto this focus.

7.5 A better generalization: "add something unexpected"

At this point we have come closer to the proper empirical generalization that captures when OM-doubling sentences are possible.[5]

(48) Lubukusu OM-Doubling Generalization (informal, still incomplete):
OM-doubling is licensed in Lubukusu when the speaker is overtly including information in the verb phrase domain of the sentence that is conversationally significant and/or unexpected to interlocutors while simultaneously recognizing the OM-doubled object as discourse-given.

On this approach, the focus contexts of various sorts that we documented as facilitating OM-doubling in Chapter 4 were not the sole licensing conditions for doubling. Rather, it would appear that focus contexts are simply natural 'carriers,' as it were, of these additional interpretive pieces of OM-doubling. Focus is a frequently-employed grammatical mechanism to draw an addressee's attention to something notable. And when there is a (grammatically, contextually) focused constituent in a clause, there is a strong bias for the novel, unexpected interpretation to lie on that constituent. So it is not as if the initial discussion of focus was in fact off-base. Rather, it seems that this is a particular kind of focus, and one which may also be applied to implicit elements in a clause. This will be the basis of the formalization we present in the next section.

7.5.1 A relevant parallel: mirative focus in Romance (and beyond)

A useful empirical parallel comes from recent research on a sub-type of focus fronting constructions that has been referred to as *mirative fronting* (Cruschina 2012). This has been most thoroughly investigated in several Romance languages, so we mainly direct our attention there, but it has been documented more broadly than that as well. As noted by Aikhenvald (2012: 435) "The concept of 'mirativity' is a relatively recent arrival" in linguistic analyses. Constructions with mirative effects have been described across the world, but most credit DeLancey (1997, 2001) with establishing the concept of mirativity, defined as "conveying information which is new or unexpected to the speaker," with 'surprising' being a frequently used descriptor for a mirative context. The example below comes from Magar, a Central Himalayish (Tibeto-Burman) language of Nepal.

[5] At least, according to our current state of knowledge.

(49) Boi-e chitua-ke ŋap-o (le).
father-ERG leopard-DAT shoot-NMLZ IPFV.MIR
[I realise to my surprise that:] 'Father shot the leopard!'
(Aikhenvald 2012: 441)

While a fair amount of literature on mirativity is connected with evidentiality (see, for example, Peterson 2010, Rett & Murray 2013), as Aikhenvald (2012) notes, in many languages mirative effects have no connection with evidentiality.

> By using the term "mirative", our aim is to contribute to the empirical call for "further in-depth studies of how languages mark new information and surprise in their grammars" (Aikhenvald 2004: 215). However, there is no consensus as to whether mirativity must be treated as a separate category (Aikhenvald 2004, Torres Bustamante 2012, 2013, a.o.) or as an overtone or extension of evidential markers (Lazard 1999, 2001, Rett & Murray 2013, a.o.). The issue is particularly difficult to tackle in light of the wealth of different phenomena that manifest an unexpectedness import across languages: most notably exclamative clauses (see, a.o., Zanuttini & Portner 2003, Rett 2011, Peterson 2010, 2015, Giurgea n.d., exclamations (Rett 2011), European Portuguese "evaluative fronting" (Ambar 1999), (some uses of) German A′-fronting (Frey 2010), unembedded *dass*-clauses in German (Grosz 2011), the mirative use of the imperfect in Spanish (Torres Bustamante 2012, 2013), and mirative evidentials (Rett & Murray 2013)." (Bianchi et al. 2016: 4)

It is our contention that Lubukusu OM-doubling ought to be added to this list of disparate constructions that mark mirativity grammatically.

A recent connection to mirativity that is especially helpful for analyzing Lubukusu OM-doubling comes from a type of focus fronting that occurs in a range of languages that Cruschina (2012: 117-118) and Bianchi et al. (2016: 3-4) refer to as *mirative fronting*. Each of the examples below (aggregated first by Bianchi et al. 2016: (1)-(4)) are instances of canonically SVO languages that move a constituent to a clause-initial position, conveying that the information being offered is "unexpected or surprising:" that emphatic reading is marked with italics in the examples below.

(50) French (Abeillé et al. 2008: (19a))

Tu sais ce qui est arrivé? Le candidat du patron, ils ont
you know what is happened the candidate of-the boss they have.3PL
refusé!
refused
'You know what happened? They refused *the boss's candidate*!'

(51) Sicilian (Cruschina 2012: 71, (92))

a. Chi successi?
what happen.PST.3SG
'What happened?'

b. A machina m' arrubbaru!
the car me.CL stole.3PL
'*My car* was stolen!'

(52) Italian (from S. Veronesi, No man's land, Milan 2003)
Sai come lo chiamava il suo amico? "Novellino"
know.2SG how him.CL called.IPFV.3SG the his friend greenhorn
lo chiamava.
him.CL called.IPFV.3SG
'Do you know how his friend called him? He called him *greenhorn*.'

(53) Hausa (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007: 385, (38))

a. Mèeneenee yà fàaru?
what 3SG.REL.PRF happen
'What happened?'

b. Dabboobi-n jeejìi nee mutàanee su-kà kaamàa.
animals-of bush PRT men 3PL-REL.PRF catch
'The men caught *wild animals*.'

Mirative fronting of this sort has been analyzed in relative depth in French (Authier & Haegeman 2019), Spanish (Cruschina 2019a), and Italian (Bianchi et al. 2016).

(54) Italian mirative fronting (Bianchi et al. 2016: 22)
Context: Lucy is telling news about her friend's new boyfriend
Un anello di diamanti le ha regalato!
a ring of diamonds to-her.CL has given!
'He gave her *a diamond ring*!'

Bianchi et al. (2016) demonstrate that these kinds of constructions do in fact qualify as instances of narrow focus, but cannot be reduced to a particular pragmatic interpretation of contrastive focus constructions, as there are prosodic and syntactic distinctions between contrastive focus fronting and mirative fronting. Bianchi et al. (2016) claim that the mirative interpretation of these constructions derives from a conventional implicature, belonging to a separate tier of meaning from truth-conditional (at-issue) meaning.

The first empirical aspect of these mirative fronting constructions to report is based on the diagnostic that conventional implicatures are non-deniable by a speaker, in that speakers have committed themselves to the implicature. This is evident in an expansion of (54), where attempts by the speaker to cancel the mirative interpretation are infelicitous. (Every example in (55) is the same speaker.)

(55) Italian mirative fronting (Bianchi et al. 2016: 22)
Context: Lucy is telling news about her friend's new boyfriend

a. *Un anello di diamanti* le ha regalato!
a ring of diamonds to-her.CL has given!
'He gave her *a diamond ring*!'

b. #Ma non c'è niente di strano.
but not there's niente di strano
' ... #But there's nothing strange about it.'

c. #Ma la cosa non mi sorprende.
but the thing not me.CL surprises
'... #But that doesn't surprise me.'

The mirative import of the mirative fronting construction (55a) cannot be denied by the speaker without creating a contradiction, a feature of conventional implicatures. This distinguishes them from conversational implicatures, which are deniable (cancellable) and arise from context directly rather than linked with specific grammatical constructions or lexical items (Potts 2007b).

Cruschina (2019a) illustrates this distinction for mirative fronting in Spanish, spelling out the distinct meanings of (56) in (57), where μ represents the mirative meaning. This is all one speaker, as in the Italian example above; in (56) a speaker denies the mirative implicature of (56a), but this creates a contradiction.

(56) Spanish (Cruschina 2019a: (17),(20))
Context: Mary and Gabriel just got married, and their friend Anna comments

a. ¡Y yo que pensaba que no tenían ni un euro!
and I that think.IPFV.3SG that not have.IPFV.3PL not-even a euro
¿Sabes qué?! ¡A las MalDIvas fueron de luna de miel!
know.PRS.2SG what to the Maldives go.PST.3PL of moon of honey
'I thought they were penniless! Guess what?! To the Maldives they went on honeymoon.'

b. #pero no es nada extraño ...
but not be.PRS.3SG nothing strange
'but that's not strange...'

c. #pero eso no me sorprende...
but that not me.CL surprise.PRS.3SG
'but that doesn't surprise me...'

(57) Propositional (p) and mirative (μ) interpretations of (56a) (Cruschina 2019a: 137)

p = They went to the Maldives on honeymoon (the propositional content of the sentence)

μ = p is unexpected (the mirative meaning)

Again, as for Italian above, the speaker cannot deny the μ interpretation without a contradiction; being 'non-deniable' in this way is typical of conventional implicatures, as the speaker, by using mirative fronting, has committed themselves to both dimensions of meaning (p and μ).

That said, a listener can deny the propositional and mirative meanings of a mirative fronting statement distinctly (themselves not making the same commitments as the initial speaker when the initial speaker makes an assertion). This affirms that these are in fact separate dimensions of meaning. We can see these two dimensions of meaning in Italian mirative fronting, because the propositional content can be denied without denying the mirative content, and vice versa.

(58) Italian Mirative Fronting, where (58b) is a listener response to (58a)

a. Pensa un po': *un anello di diamanti* le ha regalato!
think a little: a ring of diamonds to-her.cl has given
'Guess what! He gave her *a diamond ring*!'

b. Niente affatto! (Chi ti ha detto questa assurdità?)
nothing at-all! who you.CL has told this absurdity
'You're wrong! (Who told you this absurd thing?)'
(Bianchi et al. 2016: 24)

The propositional meaning of (58a) is that a ring was transferred in possession; the non-propositional meaning is the mirative component, that this is surprising. As Bianchi et al. (2016) point out, by rejecting the propositional content in (58b), this second speaker hasn't made any commitment as to whether this is surprising or not. So the propositional content can be denied independently of the mirative component (and, in this example, clearly affirms that this proposition would be surprising, if true).

The flip scenario is also possible: mirative content can be denied independently of propositional content.

(59) Italian Mirative Fronting, where (59b) is a listener response to (59a)

a. Pensa te! *Un anello di diamanti* le ha regalato!
think you a ring of diamonds to-her.CL has given
'Just think about it! He gave her *a diamond ring*!'

b. Non c'è niente di strano.
Not there's nothing of strange
'There's nothing strange about that.'

Here, a listener can in (59b) deny the surprisal aspect of the mirative fronting construction in (59a), but that denial does not bear on the second speaker's acceptance (or not) of the propositional content of the assertion in (59a). Again, this confirms the mutually independent aspects of these two dimensions of meaning.

Cruschina (2019a: 138) shows that Spanish mirative fronting has the same effect; (60) shows that listeners in (60c) can deny the mirative meaning of the first speaker's (60a), without denying the propositional content. That is, (60c) does not deny the location of the honeymoon: it even presupposes its truth. Instead, (60c) is simply denying the surprisal interpretation. This is in contrast to (60b), which is a denial of the propositional content itself.

(60) Spanish mirative fronting, possible listener responses

a. ¿Sabes qué?! ¡A las MalDIvas fueron de luna de miel!
know.PRS.2SG what to the Maldives go.PST.3PL of moon of honey
'Guess what?! To the Maldives they went on honeymoon!'

b. ¡Te equivocas! ¡No es verdad!
REFL be-wrong.PRS.2SG not be.PRS.3SG truth
'You're wrong! That's not true!'

c. ¡No es nada extraño!
not be.PRS.3SG nothing strange
'There's nothing strange about it!'

So from both Italian and Spanish we see this pattern in mirative fronting: clauses employing this construction introduce a conventional implicature, which is non-deniable by a speaker without creating a contradiction (i.e., it is tied directly to the syntactic construction) but it *is* separable from propositional content nonetheless. So while the speaker is committed to the implicature, the audience can deny the propositional content and the mirative content separately, without implications for the other dimension of meaning when they do so.

7.5.2 A model of Romance mirative fronting

So how can these patterns be modeled? Cruschina (2019a) and Bianchi et al. (2016) report the same analysis for mirative interpretations in mirative fronting constructions, which can be extended relatively directly to Lubukusu OM-doubling. Cruschina (2019a) offers a relatively informal description of the more formal analysis presented in Bianchi et al. (2016). We present them in that sequence here, in an attempt to make this accessible to the broadest range of readers possible. After presenting their analysis, we show (empirically) that Lubukusu OM-doubling interpretations are well-modeled on this approach and we adapt the analysis presented by Cruschina (2019a) and Bianchi et al. (2016) to account for the Lubukusu facts.

Cruschina (2019a) illustrates this for the Maldives honeymoon example discussed above in (56a). First, Cruschina notes that "in order to understand unexpectedness we need to compare alternatives with respect to their quality of being probable" (Cruschina 2019a: 139). The 'alternatives' here are understood by Cruschina (2019a) and Bianchi et al. (2016) to be introduced by the focus involved in mirative fronting in Romance. As discussed at length in Chapter 6, the interpretation of focus has long been thought to include invoking alternatives. In this instance, Cruschina (2019a: 140) suggests we "think of these alternatives as propositions which have the same background as the asserted proposition in [(62)] and which only change with respect to the focus part, as shown in [(62)]."

(61) ¡**A las Maldivas** fueron de luna de miel!
¦——focus——¦ ¦——background———¦
(Cruschina 2019a: 140)

(62) [λx. went (gabriel, mary, x)]

p_1	Fueron	*a Madrid*	de luna de miel
p_2	Fueron	*a Roma*	de luna de miel
p_3	Fueron	*a París*	de luna de miel
p_4	Fueron	*a las Maldivas*	de luna de miel
...			
p_n	Fueron	*a Polo Norte*	de luna de miel
		¦——focus——¦	

(Cruschina 2019a: 140)

Cruschina (2019a) articulates the analysis in this way:

> These alternatives are all possibilities that the speaker has in mind: the actual number and the actual possibilities that may be relevant in the specific situation will depend on the context and on the knowledge shared by the conversational participants. Moreover, these possibilities need to be ordered and ranked according to a basic principle, that is, what is more normal (and hence expected) on the basis of the speakers' common ground and knowledge. In the literature, this principle or criterion is known as the 'stereotypical ordering source', which defines normality according to the normal course of events (Kratzer 1991, 2012). The alternatives are thus ranked according to expectations. We can therefore consider the alternative propositions at the top of the list in [(62)] as the more likely, while the alternative propositions at the bottom of the list are the most unlikely. Of course, the ranking can differ between speakers according to their beliefs and knowledge about the situation. If they share some common knowledge, conversational participants could also share the same ordering of the expectations, so that the asserted proposition p4 may be unlikely for the whole conversational community. (Cruschina 2019a: 140)

Cruschina (2019a) therefore defines the mirative implicature as in (63).

(63) Definition of Mirative implicature (Cruschina 2019a: 141)
μ is the conventional implicature that p is less likely than other focus alternative propositions.

This is phrased precisely: the proposition under consideration (say, p_4 *they went to the Maldives on honeymoon* in (62)) need not be the least likely proposition (imagined as a honeymoon at the North Pole in (62)): there will always be less

probable outcomes than one which has in fact happened. What is central on this analysis of mirative focus is that there are potential outcomes that are *more* probable than the stated proposition but which did not occur; the asserted proposition is less likely than some other possible propositions. In fact, Cruschina (2019a) proposes that all that is necessary for mirative focus to be licensed is for there to be at least one more probable proposition.

Likewise, Bianchi et al. (2016) conceptualize mirative meaning as communicating that the expressed proposition is less likely than at least one alternative proposition. Central to their account, however, is that the felicity of mirative fronting requires that some conversational participant has not already accepted the propositional content as true. But interestingly, it does not have to be the speaker; mirative fronting in Italian does not require the the speaker themselves find the proposition novel/surprising. In the example below, however, the speaker (Mary) is re-affirming something that she already knew to be true, but it was in a context where her addressee had explicitly not accepted it as true:

(64) *Context: Mary's parents are talking about an exam that Mary has just taken, where the maximum score is thirty with distinction. Mary's mother, after talking to Mary over the phone, asserts that Mary got the top score, but her husband does not accept this claim. They check the score published on the university website and Mary's mother, pointing at the screen, utters:*
Te l' avevo detto: *trenta e lode* le hanno dato!
you.cl it.cl had.1sg said thirty with distinction her.cl have.3pl given
'What did I tell you? She got *thirty with distinction*!'
(Bianchi et al. 2016: 23)

In contrast, in a context where all conversational participants already presuppose the truth of an assertion, mirative focus is unacceptable.

(65) *Context: Suppose that Mary has just come home and informed her parents that she got the top score on the test. As soon as Mary leaves the room, one of them utters:*
#Non posso crederci: *trenta e lode* le hanno dato!
Not can believe-it thirty with distinction her.cl have.3pl given
'I can't believe it: she got *thirty with distinction*!'
(Bianchi et al. 2016: 24)

Therefore it is not necessary that an assertion be surprising or unlikely to the speaker themselves, who may in fact have previously known the statement to

be true. But for a mirative focus to be licit, some conversational participant must have not yet presupposed the proposition. This kind of pattern is not unfamiliar to mirativity cross-linguistically, where the surprise/novelty/unexpectedness may be that of the speaker or of the audience/addressee.

(66) The range of mirativity readings (Aikhenvald 2012: 437)
- sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization (a) by the speaker, (b) by the audience (or addressee), or (c) by the main character;
- surprise (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
- unprepared mind (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
- counterexpectation (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character;
- information new (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character.

A full discussion of the formalization of this account goes into more detail than is necessary for us here: the reader is referred to Bianchi et al. (2016) for full details. The brief summary is that they model the unexpectedness of mirative focus as comparative unlikeliness, centrally linked to the properties of focus in the clause. Their model uses Pott's (2007a) formalism of pairing multidimensional meanings with "a special composition operator •, one that we can think of as a kind of expressive glue" that joins together a propositional meaning and an expressive meaning; the denotation in (67) is explained below.[6]

(67) Denotation: focus-based implicature operator (Bianchi et al. 2016: (29))
$[\![\text{F-IMP}_C]\!] = \lambda p_{\langle s,t\rangle}.p \bullet (\exists p'_{\langle s,t\rangle} \in C)(p'$ is a better possibility than p w.r.t. a relevant modal base and stereotypical ordering source).

To restate this more informally, (67) says that for some normal sentence meaning (call it p), that proposition p is less likely than some alternative proposition (call it p').

This is the operator for them that generates the mirative implicature in the mirative fronting contexts they consider. It pairs the propositional, truth-conditional meaning of its sister ($\lambda p_{\langle s,t\rangle}.p$) with the not-at-issue meaning, the mirative reading, the denotation of which sits on the right side of the • annotation in (67). The

[6] In example (67), C is the set of alternatives introduced by the focus operator. p and p' are propositions, with the existence of p' being the mirative interpretation. These propositions have the standard semantic type $\langle s,t\rangle$.

mirative reading says that for the proposition *p*, there exists some other (related but non-identical) proposition p′, and p′ is more likely than *p* given the set of contexts under consideration, i.e., the 'modal base' referred to in (67) (which, here, is the set of propositions in the common ground combined with the discourse commitment sets of conversational participants).[7] This "provides a natural and conceptually economical solution to the problem of the modal base, but note that it implies a radical shift of perspective: it defines the mirative import not with respect to the speaker's individual beliefs (or commitments), but rather, with respect to the shared commitments of the conversational community" (Bianchi et al. 2016: 26).

Centrally to this account, the denotation in (67) says that p′ (the contextually-accessible 'more probable' proposition) is an element of the free variable C, which is adopted from Rooth (1992) (as discussed at length in Chapter 6). The value of C "is constrained to be a subset of the focus semantic value of the proposition; this subset C constitutes the quantificational domain of the existential quantifier of the implicature" (Bianchi et al. 2016: 20). That is to say, when they say that there exists some alternative proposition p′ that is more likely than the proposition in our sentence, that p′ is assumed to come from some set of alternatives. Where do these alternatives come from? According to (67) they are those referenced by C, which (crucially) is introduced by Rooth's (1992) ~ operator. So the set of alternatives being referenced is, in fact, the set of focus alternatives introduced as a part of the work of the ~ operator and focus-marking.

In this way, the explanation of mirativity in the mirative fronting circumstances (as set forward by Bianchi et al. 2016) is an operator which creates an implicature, but specifically a focus-based implicature, as the mirative operator depends on the semantics of focus. Bianchi et al. 2016 therefore hypothesize compositional layers, where focus occurs (syntactically) internal to the mirative focus implicature operator (F-IMP) as illustrated in (68) (where the Greek letters labeling brackets are just to clarify levels of structure).

(68) $[_{\chi}$ F-IMP$_C$ $[_{\phi}$ $[_{\alpha}$ XP$_F$ ... $t_{\alpha}]$ ~C $_{\phi}]$ $_{\chi}]$
(Bianchi et al. 2016: (30))

[7] The "ordering source" is a metric that states what is more or less likely, i.e., what ranks propositions by likelihood. According to Bianchi et al. (2016), at least for Italian mirative fronting, they propose the notion of an *evaluative commitment*, a speaker commitment based on a cloud of ordering sources, rather than just a single ordering source that determines relative likelihood.

7.6 Lubukusu OM-doubling as mirative focus

Conventional implicatures have distinctive properties. For example, a speaker commits themselves to the content of the implicature. That said, the emphatic interpretation (the mirative content) is separable from the propositional content: the propositional content can be denied while accepting the mirative content, and the mirative content can be denied while accepting the propositional content. Lubukusu shares these properties with the Romance mirative fronting constructions. To begin, (69) shows that a speaker cannot deny the mirative content of their own OM-doubled sentence.

(69) *βáβáaná βáamúβóón' ómwalímu likolooβǫ*
Ba-ba-ana b-a-mu- bon-e o-mwa-limu likolooba ...
2-2-children 2SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw the teacher YESTERDAY.'
(It is particularly significant that it was yesterday that the teacher was seen)

a. *#nekáxálíí ‖ líljeneelí séelilí líkéní tá*
... #nekakhali li-li-eneli se-li-li li-keni ta.
but 5-5-that.one NEG-5SM-be 5-news NEG
'... but that's not news.'

b. *#nekáxálíí ‖ líljeneelíí ‖ selísindusjá tá*
... #nekakhali li-li-eneli se-li-sindusy-a ta.
but 5-5-that.one NEG-5SM-startle-FV NEG
'... but that doesn't surprise me.'

In (69) the two continuations in (69a) and (69b) are both unacceptable, creating a clear contradiction. In this way it is clear that the speaker is committed to the mirative content of (69) (that the fact that this event yesterday is noteworthy, significant, or surprising), as is typical of conventional implicatures.

Nonetheless, the mirative content is separable from the propositional content. Again following the diagnostics from Bianchi et al. (2016), in (70) the mirative content is denied by the addressee, but the propositional content is left untouched. The addressee responses in B1 and B2 in (70) show clear acceptance of the proposition that the children saw the teacher, only denying that this is noteworthy or surprising.

(70) A: *βáβáaná βáamúβóón' ómwalímu likolooβǫ*
Ba-ba-ana b-a-mu- bon-e o-mwa-limu likolooba ...
2-2-children 2SM-PST-1OM-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw the teacher YESTERDAY.'

(It is particularly significant that it was yesterday that the teacher was seen)

B1: *nekáxálí líljeneelí séelilí líkéní tá ‖ étʃaaŋg' ééndaal' eejóó ‖ βúlí lítʃumạ*
… nekakhali li-li-eneli se-li-li li-keni ta! E-ch-aang-a
but 5-5-that.one NEG-5SM-be 5-news NEG 1SM.come-HAB-FV
e-ndalo e-yo buli li-chuma.
9-day 9-this every 5-week
'… but that's not news! She comes that day every week.'

B2: *nekáxálí líljeneelí ˈsélísindusjá tá ‖ étʃaaŋg' ééndaal' eejó βúli litʃumạ*
… nekakhali li-li-eneli se-li-sindusy-a ta! E-ch-aang-a
but 5-5-that.one NEG-5SM-startle-FV NEG 1SM.come-HAB-FV
e-ndalo e-yo buli li-chuma.
9-day 9-this every 5-week
'… but that doesn't surprise me! She comes that day every week.'

Conversely, the propositional content can be denied without denying the mirative content. In (71) the addressee responds to our same OM-doubling statement by claiming the sentence cannot be true, but contextually clearly showing that this would be surprising if it *were* true.

(71) A: *βáβáaná βáamúβóón' ómwalímu likolooβọ*
Ba-ba-ana b-a-mu- bon-e o-mwa-limu likolooba.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-1OM-see-PFV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw the teacher YESTERDAY.'
(It is particularly significant that it was yesterday that the teacher was seen)

B: *βúβwénooβwó seβulí βúŋálí tá ‖ saalí mwírámbó tá*
Bu-bw-en-o-bwo se-bu-li bu-ng'ali ta! sa-a-li
14-14-self-DEM-14 NEG-14SM-be 14-truth NEG, NEG-1SM-be
mw-i-rambo ta!
18-9-country NEG
'That can't possibly be true! She's not in the country!'

The "newsworthy" or "unexpected" readings of OM-doubling can arise from the same core mirative implicature that Cruschina (2019a) and Bianchi et al. (2016) propose for Spanish and Italian, respectively; as reported in (63) above, the mirative implicature is that the proposition being reported is less likely than other focus alternatives.

Using the informal description from Cruschina (2019a), we can consider a basic example of the sort we have discussed for most of the volume; in (72), a manner question may be answered with an OM-doubling construction in (72b).

(72) *Context: The beans were very tough, very dry, and were clearly going to require a lot of cooking to be edible.*

a. *watéexa kámákáá^{l}nd' óó^{l}rjéna*
W-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **o-rieena**?
2SG.SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 2SG-how
'How did you cook the beans?'

b. *nákáteexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgu̱*
N-a-ka- teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG.SM-PST-6OM-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans QUICKLY.'

If OM-doubling is used in (72b), the OM-doubled response places a particular emphasis on the manner adverb, so it is particularly noteworthy that this happened quickly. The scenario here is that these beans are particularly tough, and so were expected to need to cook for a very long time, but instead they cooked quickly (which was surprising). In (73) we use the informal presentation of alternatives from Cruschina (2019a) (here, of alternative manners), from a very restrictive range of possibilities (cooking speeds), in order of likelihood given this context (tough, dry beans). As is apparent, in a situation where cooking speeds are predicted to be slow but are in fact fast, there are a large range of more likely propositions than that the beans cooked quickly (namely, any range of slower times).

(73) *Context: Cooking tough beans, such that slow speeds are most likely*
[λx. cook (1SG, beans, x)]

p_1	I.cook	beans	*very slowly*
p_2	I.cook	beans	*slowly*
p_3	I.cook	beans	*at the usual speed*
p_4	I.cook	beans	*quickly*
...			
p_n	I.cook	beans	*immediately*
			¦——focus——¦

Recall the formalization of mirative focus from Bianchi et al. (2016) that we reported in (67) for the focus implicature (repeated as (74) here). This articulates

the mirative focus interpretation as not-at-issue meaning that arises via a conventional implicature (the • separates the propositional meaning from the not-at-issue meaning). The right-side of the • is the conventional implicature, which states that there is some alternative proposition (that is an element of the set of alternatives C, which we revisit below) that is more likely than the proposition that is actually reported (i.e., *p*).

(74) **Denotation: focus-based implicature operator** (Bianchi et al. 2016: (29))
$[\![\text{F-IMP}_C]\!] = \lambda p_{\langle s,t\rangle}.p \bullet (\exists p'_{\langle s,t\rangle} \in C)(p'$ is a better possibility than p w.r.t. a relevant modal base and stereotypical ordering source).

As (73) makes explicit, in (72b) there are alternatives that are more likely than the one that is reported (namely, any speeds of cooking that were slower than what actually happened). This is where the "unexpected," or "surprisal" reading is claimed to arise: there exists a more likely proposition than the stated, at-issue proposition.

This relies on the presence of these alternatives in the compositional semantics of the sentence, however. As (74) states, Bianchi et al. 2016 claim that these alternatives arise via Rooth's ~ SQUIGGLE operator. Bianchi et al. (2016: (30)) presented this in the schematic in (68) above (repeated here as (75)), wherein the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator with its context-referencing variable C are inside the scope of the focus implicature operator.

(75) $[_\chi$ F-IMP$_C$ $[_\phi$ $[_\alpha$ XP$_F$ ... $t_\alpha]$ ~C $_\phi]$ $_\chi]$
(Bianchi et al. 2016: (30))

Speaking of the syntactic status of the focus implicature operator specifically (F-IMP$_C$), Bianchi et al. (2016: 39) state:

> A yet open question concerns the status of the implicature trigger in the structure [(75)] ... Not everyone would accept the hypothesis that the implicature trigger dubbed "F-IMP" corresponds to a covert element in the syntactic tree. Note however that, if the mirative import had no syntactic incarnation, the only possible trigger for the implicature would be the prosodic marking ... This would require the interpretation process to apply to a syntactic structure augmented with prosodic information — a not unreasonable assumption, but one that clearly departs from the usual T-model of the generative framework. In this respect, a syntactic implementation would seem to be the most conservative solution.

We suggest that Lubukusu overtly realizes the focus implicature operator, which they suggest is covertly present in Romance mirative fronting. Slightly modifying the analysis from Chapter 6, we claim that the object marker arises on a functional head that hosts a mirative operator (Bianchi et al.'s (2016) F-IMP, which we will label MIR for transparency). We call this head Emph° (for *emphasis*). In normal instances Emph° sits immediately atop Com(ment)°. Like Com°, Emph° bears a [φ]-probe that copies φ-features back to itself. In most instances, we claim that Emph° is valued by φ-features on Com°. So we still assume that Com° is centrally involved (both interpretively, in most instances, as well as structurally, participating as a mediator in the string of Agree relations). But we claim that the object markers themselves in fact arise on Emph°, meaning that they are morphologically specified as the spellout of φ-features on Emph°, copied back to Emph° by Emph°'s [φ]-probe.[8] We assume head movement of verbs to at least Emph°.

For the mechanics of Agree to work, here, we assume that the [φ]-probe on Emph° is solely a probe for φ-features, finding the structurally closest φ-features (having no other features associated with the probe, in contrast to the complex probe on Com°). This follows a feature-sharing approach to Agree (Frampton & Gutmann 2000), where functional heads can Agree with each other, ultimately valued as a result of one of those functional heads Agreeing with a DP with the relevant features.

Figure 7.1 shows that the adverbial bears a [FoC]-feature. As we discussed in Chapter 6, the semantics of focus requires replacing the focused element with a variable, and existentially closing the variable. The result is the denotation in (76), stating that there is some property such that there was a bean-cooking event (e) and that event (e) bore that property.

(76) $\exists P[\text{cook}(1\text{SG},\text{beans},e) \wedge P(e)]$

The set of contextually-relevant properties is partially represented in (73) above, which is introduced into the composition of the sentence by C, the variable that introduces relevant context into the focus semantics of the sentence (following Rooth 1992). This, in turn, provides the alternatives referenced by the denotation of the mirative operator, which requires that there exists some more likely proposition than the one reported in (72b) (which, given the context described for (72), there is, and this can therefore be felicitously uttered in this instance).

[8] The reader may be wondering what motive there is for having two distinct [φ]-probes: the main empirical evidence is discussed in §7.9 and §7.10.

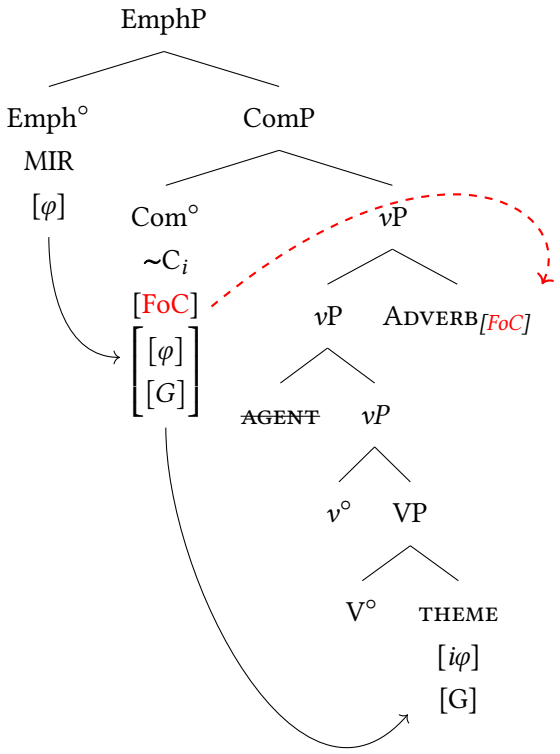


Figure 7.1: Schematic of derivation of OM-doubling construction in (72b), with a focused adverbial. Provisional structure, to be revised in Chapter 9.

OM-doubling is the product of an Agree relation. Here it is slightly indirect, but still the realization of Agree: Emph° Agrees with Com°, which Agrees with the THEME in this instance. While we do follow quite directly on the proposed structure for mirative focus in (75), proposed by Bianchi et al. (2016), it is nonetheless reasonable to question the dissociation of the focus-related projection (Com°) and the head where object markers actually arise, which we claim here to be Emph°. This is especially true given that Figure 7.1—which is in fact the typical arrangement of OM-doubling—places these two heads immediately adjacent.

As we will see in §7.9, however, there is good reason to think that these two projections can be separated from each other at times. Specifically, it is possible to have the Emph° merged without Com in its complement, which results in an object marking relation that is not actually mediated by Com°, with some

resulting interpretive distinctions. Therefore we will see that there is good reason (empirically-speaking, with respect to Lubukusu OM-doubling) to structurally separate the source of the mirative readings (Emph°) and the focus properties (Com°), and also to associate the object marker morphemes with Emph° instead of with Com°.

7.7 Emphasis beyond mirative readings

As noted by Cruschina (2021) and Cruschina (2019b), focus fronting across various European varieties is consistent with corrective functions rather than mirative functions. The examples in (77) were aggregated in Cruschina (2021: 8).

(77) a. Italian (Rizzi 1997: 286)
Il tuo libro ho letto (, non il suo).
the your book have.1sg read not the his
'Your book I read (, not his).'

b. Italian (Belletti 2004: 17)
A Gianni l'ho dato (non a Piero).
to Gianni it-have.1sg given not to Piero
'I gave it to Gianni (not Piero)'.

c. Spanish (Zubizarreta 1999: 4239)
Manzanas compró Pedro (y no peras).
apples bought.3sg Pedro and not pears
'Pedro bought apples (and not pears).'

In each of these instances, the fronting operation yields a sense of correcting an addressee's incorrect expectation, therefore presenting information that would not be expected by the addressee. Likewise, Cruschina (2019b) shows that Hungarian focus fronting (along with mirative and exhaustive functions) can have corrective functions as well.

(78) *Context: Anna and Beatrice talk about Lea, Gianni and their recent wedding*

a. Ha jól értettem, a Virgin-szigetekre mentek
if correctly understand.pst.1sg the Virgin-Islands.to go.pst.3pl
nászútra.
honeymoon.to
'If I've understood correctly, they went to the Virgin Islands on honeymoon'.

b. Nem, tévedsz! A MALDÍV-SZIGETEKRE mentek
no be.wrong.2sg the Maldives.to go.pst.3pl
nászútra, nem a Virgin-szigetekre.
honeymoon.to not the Virgin-Islands.to
'No, you are wrong! To the Maldives they went on honeymoon, not to the Virgin Islands!'

Bianchi et al. (2015), Cruschina (2019b) and Cruschina (2021) have a relatively narrow definition of corrective focus, being those instances where "those contexts in which a reply containing the focus element corrects part of a previous assertion" (Bianchi & Bocci 2012, Bianchi 2013). However, similar kinds of corrective readings have been noted with other mirative constructions crosslinguistically as is evident in the typological literature on miratives. As noticed by Aikhenvald (2012: 437), although miratives are employed for instances of a sudden discovery or realization, surprise, and unexpected new information, miratives are attested whether these mental states are those of the speaker or those of the addressee. To pick out just a few examples, particles with mirative functions are also associated with corrective/reprimanding readings in Hebrew (Yael & Roi 2008), Catalan (Rigau 2012), and Korean (Rhee 2018).

Trotzke (2017) points out a similar pairing of interpretations in German. As noted by Frey (2010), there is a specific A′-movement in German that is associated with neither (simply) focus or contrast, but instead with an emphatic interpretation that Frey analyzes as a conventional implicature, and describes as "reflect[ing] a ranking with a highest element imposed by the speaker among the alternatives evoked by the stressed element" (Frey 2010: 1434). This fronting movement often has a mirative reading, as in (79).

(79) *Context: Steffi Graf was one of the greatest tennis players ever to play.*
Wie hat denn Steffi Graf im Turnier gespielt?
'How did Steffi Graf do in the tournament?'

a. VERLOREN hat sie!
lost has she

b. Sie hat VERLOREN!
she has lost
'She lost.' (Trotzke 2017: 17)

However, the same construction can also be used in a context where the speaker, rather than expressing their own surprise, is stating something that is taken to

be entirely expected. "In other words, the proposition is not the least likely, but rather the most likely alternative" (Trotzke 2017: 34). In (80) this reading appears because the most likely thing to be doing at night for most people is sleeping.

(80) Was hast Du heute Nacht gemacht?
'What did you do last night?'

a. Ich habe geSCHLAfen.
I have slept

b. GeSCHLAfen hab ich! Was denn sonst? ('What else?')
(Frey 2010: 1426; paraphrases are Trotzke's)
(Trotzke 2017: 34)

Trotzke (2017) calls this the 'reprimand reading,' and rather than analyzing these as miratives, Trotzke calls both miratives and reprimands two instances of *emphasis for intensity*: this kind of emphasis invokes a scale of alternatives, but will pick out either the *most* likely alternative (a reprimand function), or the *least* likely alternative (the mirative function). Trotzke's (2017: 34) emphasis operator therefore is disjunctive, presupposing that the asserted content is either the most, or least, likely of the alternative propositions.

One possible approach to verum-like readings would be to follow Bianchi et al.'s (2016) suggestion that reprimand readings could simply be considered as a subtype of mirative focus. Rather than introduce a disjunctive operator, the set of "(un)likely propositions" under consideration may also include what the *addressee* considers (un)likely propositions. This captures the intuition that mirative-like constructions can be used in almost the exact opposite sort of manner from their stereotypical use: emphasizing that something is most likely, i.e., obvious (to the speaker, at least), as opposed to surprising. But it also captures the intuition that seems to pop up over and over again in this literature, that the "most likely" interpretations are (in all reported instances we have encountered) interpreted as reprimands or corrections: reprimands of this sort are instances of asserting a fact that is contrary to what an addressee believes, which is of course only necessary when the addressee considers the asserted proposition unlikely.[9]

[9] It seems likely to us that this could be relatively easily modeled on Bianchi et. al.'s adaptation of a proposal from Farkas & Bruce (2009), which includes speaker's discourse commitments along with mutually accepted proposition in the Common Ground as the set of propositions that mirative implicatures take into account. Rather than the relevant Context Set including only the speaker's discourse commitments, it would also need to include those of other conversational participants' as well. Formalizing this goes outside our core concerns, here, and therefore we will leave our suggestion at an informal level here.

"Reprimand readings" of OM-doubling are available relatively generally in other kinds of OM-doubling contexts. In (81), for example, a question is asked that has an obvious answer, and OM-doubling is a licit response.

(81) *Context: I come home and there is dinner on the table. I ask, "Where did Wekesa cook beans?"*
wékésá ákáteexela kámákáá'ndá mútʃíkóonį
Wekesa a-a-ka- tekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda **mu-chikoni**.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-cook-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
'Obviously, Wekesa cooked the beans IN THE KITCHEN."

Here OM-doubling may be used to answer that question, because on a normal night at home, there is no real question about where food was prepared, as the only place that food is prepared at home is in the kitchen. So answering with OM-doubling here carries a sense of "*Where else could it have been*? *Why even ask?*" We can see similar effects with other examples that we encountered previously. For example, in responding to the temporal question in a context where the person who answers considered the answer to be something the questioner ought to have known, a reprimand-like reading occurs, not a surprise reading.

(82) *Context: Yesterday was a harvesting day in the home and everybody knows this. It is therefore obvious that the children harvested the maize on this day.*
Q: *βáβáaná βákésa kámáíí'ndí líina*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kes-a ka-ma-indi **liina**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-harvest-FV 6-6-maize when
'When did the children harvest the maize?'
A: *βáβáaná βáakákésile kámáííndi likolooβą*
Ba-ba-ana ba-ka- kes-ile ka-ma-indi **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-6OM-harvest-PFV 6-6-maize yesterday
'The children harvested the maize YESTERDAY! (You should know this.)'

Likewise, in a community where it is well known that children harvesting maize only do it on the instructions of their parents, if someone nonethless questioned why children harvested maize, the response could be an OM-doubled sentence that carries an emphatic sense that this is drawing attention to the obviousness of the reason (and, perhaps, noting surprise that the questioner did not know this).

(83) *Context: In our community, parents' instructions cannot be ignored and everybody knows they must give instructions for the maize to be harvested.*
Q: *βáβáaná βákésa kámáíí́ⁱndí xúúβeelá sı̨́*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-kes-a ka-ma-indi **khubela si**?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-(6OM)-harvest-FV 6-6-maize because what
'Why did the children harvest the maize?'
A: *βáβáaná βákáⁱkésá ⁱkámáíí́ⁱndí xúúβeelá βáβéeβúsí βáβáβoolelaı̨*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-[ka-] kes-a [ka-ma-indi] **khubela**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-harvest-FV 6-6-maize because
ba-b-ebusi ba-a-ba-bolel-a.
2-2-parents 2SM-PST-2OM-tell-FV
'Obviously, the children harvested the maize because their parents told them to.'

We can likewise see similar effects in simple/bare monotransitive doubling (though, as we note in §7.8, sentences with more *v*P content are generally more natural with OM-doubling). An example of this is shown in (84).

(84) *Context: Watulo and Nafula have been dating since they were in secondary school, they have been romantically involved for a long time, and the whole community knows they are destined to be together. A community member hears that Watulo has married and asks "Oh! who did he marry?" In this context, a response could be:*
wátúúl' ááⁱmúβéjísja naafulaı̨
Watulo a-a-[mu-] bey-isy-a [Nafula].
1.Watulo 1SM-PST-1OM-marry-CAUS-FV 1.Nafula
'Come on, of course Watulo married Nafula, don't be silly!'

Here again, this is something that should have been obvious to everyone, so the response here takes a playful (rather than harsh/stern) stance in response, but it can also sound surprised or even sarcastic from the speaker as well (the fact that the addressee didn't know is what is surprising). Another parallel example is given in (85).

(85) *Context: Every time that Nafula visits her parents from the US, she brings her parents a gift of a laptop computer, because the computers sold in the US are cheaper and better quality than can be found in Kenya. This is widespread knowledge in the community. After her most recent visit, her parents are talking about how wonderful and supportive their daughter is,*

with such good character, bringing her parents such good gifts. Someone asks "What did Nafula bring her parents?" another person can answer with this sentence/meaning:
ákíreer' eékompjúuta
A-a-ki- rer-a e-kompyuta .
1SM-PST-9OM-bring-FV 9-computer
'She brought a computer, of course.'

So again, these are instances where the speaker herself is not surprised at the information that she is reporting, nor does she herself consider it noteworthy (quite the opposite). It is challenging to disentangle the components of the "surprise" in these reprimand readings, because at times they do seem to carry a sense of "speaker surprise," but in these cases carrying the sense that the speaker is surprised at that fact that the addressee does not know the relevant information. There is clearly much more to be done to completely refine the interpretive possibilities of OM-doubling. Following the proposals of Cruschina (2019a,b) and Bianchi et al. (2015, 2016), Cruschina (2021) argues that the various readings associated with focus fronting are the result of conventional implicatures introduced above a focus domain, which (as with the mirativity analysis noted above) are all focus-dependent interpretations. So on the account sketched by Cruschina (2021), a projection outside the focus projection contains the operator(s) associated with the relevant conventional implicatures.

(86) The structure of focus-associated implicatures (FAI)
[FAIP FAI° [mir]/[corr]/[exh] [FocP XP Foc° [...]]]
(Cruschina 2021)

On this approach, various operators are potentially hosted in FAI°. So while we have noted a large number of mirative constructions in this chapter (including the more standard readings and the reprimand readings), it is plausible that the projection that houses the mirative operator is something akin to FAI°, which can in fact host different kinds of operators generating different focus-associated emphatic interpretations.[10] In what follows, we assume that the Emph° proposed above is simply the mirative version of FAI°. We continue to label the head that generates OM-doubling and the emphatic readings as Emph° rather than FAI°, largely because it is more transparent with respect to the kind of interpretation it references.

[10] Notably, there is at least some evidence that focus fronting is associated with verum-like readings, see Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009).

(87) Focus-associated implicatures in Lubukusu (Emph) (first version)
[$_{\text{EmphP}}$ Emph° $_{\text{[mir]}}$ [$_{\text{ComP}}$ Com° [...]]]

The possibility of additional emphatic interpretations for OM-doubling in addition to mirative and verum is addressed by Lippard et al. (2023), including exhaustive readings, corrective readings, and intensity readings; that work considers Lubukusu but also related Bantu languages (Cinyungwe, Wanga, Tiriki, Rukiga). At present we will simply posit that Emph° contains the mirative operator in Lubukusu, leaving open the possibility that it could contain others as well.

In Lippard et al. (2023), we observed that exhaustive interpretations do not appear independently of mirative or verum readings in Lubukusu, though it can be a component of a mirative reading itself. So Lubukusu is not among those languages that would bear an exhaustive operator on Emph°.

(88) Lubukusu (Lippard et al. 2023: 92)
βáβáaná βáβáˈkúlíla βáβéeβusi tʃíŋguβ̞u
Ba-ba-ana ba-[ba-] kul-il-a [ba-b-ebusi] chi-ngubo.
2-2-children 2SM.PST-2OM-buy-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 10-clothes
'The children bought the parents clothes.'
Available interpretations:
- OK: The children have never done this before. (mirative, not exhaustive)
- OK: The children are so selfish that they only consider their parents and not other people. (mirative and exhaustive)
- # statement of fact that clothes were purchased for only the parents (exhaustive, not mirative)

In Lippard et al. (2023), we also noted that there are occasional readings that do not completely fit the mirative interpretation. The intensity reading in (89) is not contrary to expectation (i.e., not mirative emphasis) and it does not need to be a verum-like confirmation of the event/proposition. On the reading in (89), (89) simply emphasizes the amount of beer Wekesa drank.

(89) Lubukusu (Lippard et al. 2023: 93)
wékésá ákáɲwa kámál̪wa̰
Wekesa a-a-[ka-] nywa [kamalwa].
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-drink 6beer
'Wekesa drank beer.'
Available interpretations:

- The sentence is an emphatic confirmation of the act. (verum)
- It is a well-known fact that Wekesa does not drink, so seeing him drink is surprising. (mirative surprise)
- It is a well-known fact that Wekesa is a drunkard, so any doubt is met with this sentence. (mirative reprimand)
- The sentence expresses the sheer amount of alcohol consumed. (intensity)

This intensity reading does not appear to be dependent on an additional layer of meaning that could be identified as mirative; in (90) the same reading is available even when the context makes clear it is a not a surprise, or new information to the interlocutors.

(90) *Context: The speaker and addressee both know the amount of rice Maisha can consume if left unchecked.*
maíʃáá ‖ kúlja kúmútʃéele
Maisha a-a-ku- lya ku-mu-chele .
1.Maisha 1SM-PST-3OM-eat 3-3-rice
'Maisha ate (a lot of) rice.'

It is not clear to us at this point whether intensity readings as in (89) and (90) ought to be reduced to a focus-associated implicature, or whether they are indicative of yet another type of emphasis arising from OM-doubling. Lippard (2024) explores an even broader range of such diverging interpretations for Cinyungwe OM-doubling, concluding that an alternative analysis is desirable to the focus-associated conventional implicature: see §7.11. For now we proceed with the recognition that continuing research on these topics will continue to raise intriguing questions, especially in the realm of the interpretive effects of OM-doubling.

7.8 Verum-like readings as a variety of predicate focus

One might think that verum-like readings could be subsumed under the mirative readings on the reprimand function described above: both reprimands and verum have a corrective sort of function in dialogue. It would certainly be appealing to be able to reduce the emphatic interpretations available to a single concept. But this analysis does not appear to match the interpretations available—that is to say, it seems straightforward in an interpretive sense that the verum-like readings can be distinguished from the mirative interpretations, even on the reprimand readings. So the example given in (91) is available on the range of interpretations noted below the example.

(91) *wékésá ákáɲwa kámál̥wa̰*
Wekesa a-a-ka- nyw-a ka-ma-lwa .
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-drink-FV 6-6-beer
'Wekesa drank beer.' (*see interpretations below*)

a. It could be just an emphatic confirmation of the act. (*Indeed, Wekesa drank beer.*; *Wekesa DID drink beer.*)

b. It could be a well known fact that Wekesa does not drink and therefore seeing him drink is surprising prompting the response in (91). (*Wekesa drank beer?!?*)

c. It could be a well known fact that Wekesa is a drunkard and hence any doubt is met with (91). (*Of course Wekesa drank beer.*)

d. The sheer amount of alcohol is noteworthy. (*Wekesa really drank (a lot of) beer!*)

There is a clear intuitive sense that the emphatic confirmation reading noted in (91a) (what we have been calling a verum-like reading) is a distinct reading/circumstance from the others, including the reprimand reading in (91c). So while the reprimand readings of Lubukusu object marking are clearly attested in the various examples that preceded, the intuitive sense is that the verum-like confirmation reading is nonetheless a separate reading, to be used in separate circumstances.[11]

How is this separate reading generated? One of the motivations here is that for the first author, there is a persistent intuition that a verum-like reading is a default reading that seems to rescue otherwise-unacceptable sentences. This intuition coincides with a recent approach to such verum-like readings in Bantu languages, namely, that they are the result of a kind of predicate-centered focus that is achieved indirectly, by backgrounding all other relevant material (Güldemann 2016, Kerr & van der Wal 2023, Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023). Güldemann (2016) proposes based on a variety of languages that in addition to direct focus marking, another way of marking focus linguistically is indirectly, via backgrounding other material. "The crucial requirement for backgrounding to assume the central role for focalization is that it is MAXIMAL in the sense that it removes all but one potential focus host from the assertion domain. That is, focus can be effectively

[11] Mark Baker points out to us that this could be a vague meaning, rather than being ambiguous; that is, it could be one broad and underspecified meaning rather than multiple distinct specific meanings. This is the kind of approach adopted for Cinyungwe in a parallel sort of construction by Lippard (2024), and is certainly deserving of detailed consideration for Lubukusu in the future. See §7.11 for some initial discussion.

established formally by 'subtracting,' so to speak, other potential ALTERNATIVE targets to such an extent that only a single host candidate for focus assignment remains" (Güldemann 2016: 577-8).[12] This makes the reasonable assumption that backgrounding only exists in the context of focus, and therefore focus can be essentially assigned by default, to whatever has not been backgrounded. That indirect focus is then either compatible with the discourse context (and felicitous), or incompatible (and therefore infelicitous).

Kerr & van der Wal (2023) argue that this strategy is at play in a variety of constructions to mark verum-like readings, OM-doubling included. One of the more transparent ones is instances of left dislocation of objects. In (92), one way of generating a verum-like reading in a context where the proposition is under debate is to left dislocate the object.

(92) Kîîtharaka (Kerr & van der Wal 2023: 455)
Context: You're accused of not bathing the child, which was one of your tasks.
Ka-anǎ, i tû-ka-thaamb-iir-i-e.
12-child FOC 1PL.SM-12OM-wash-PFV-IC-FV
'The child, we DID bathe him/her.'

Here, Kerr & van der Wal (2023) posit that left dislocation backgrounds the object and the focus interpretation instead is restricted to operators (TAM, polarity, or verum). They argue that the same is at play for OM-doubling in languages with Lubukusu-like patterns (including Rukiga). And this is precisely what Bloom Ström & Zeller (2023) argue occurs in isiXhosa and isiZulu as well.

The account as we have developed it thus far, however, cannot simply allow OM-doubling to mark verum indirectly via the backgrounding of the object, with nothing else to say about verum: there are too many additional interpretive effects of doubling. As we have discussed throughout this chapter, our claim is that Com° itself does not introduce OM-doubling, as Com° itself is not sufficient to explain the interpretive effects of OM-doubling. Instead, OMs themselves are introduced based on the features of Emph°, mediated by Com° (we will see more evidence for separating Emph° and Com° in §7.10). Therefore, we still expect Emph° to be implicated in the verum-like readings because OMs are not generated on Com°. Our suggestion is that Emph° can also introduce a verum operator, as proposed by Sikuku et al. (2018), though verum is not specifically proposed by Cruschina (2021) to be among the focus-associated implicatures hosted by FAI°.

[12] See É. Kiss (2012) and Cheng & Downing (2012) for similar proposals of creating focus-background structures via backgrounding operations.

(93) Focus-associated implicatures in Lubukusu (Emph) (final version)
[$_{\text{EmphP}}$ Emph° $_{\text{[mir]/[ver]}}$ [$_{\text{ComP}}$ Com° [...]]]

On this account, the indirect truth-marking approach is still in effect (Güldemann 2016, Kerr & van der Wal 2023, Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023). Essentially, maximal backgrounding of the components of the verb phrase results in predicate-centered focus (this backgrounding is achieved in part via the givenness-dependent agreement from Com° that is realized via OM-doubling). And it is this predicate-centered focus that receives an emphatic interpretation when the Emph° is introduced. Presumably because the verum requires a backgrounded reading of the proposition under consideration, it is simply incompatible with any verb phrase that is not entirely composed of discourse-given constituents, making an OM-doubling construction (without additional *v*P material) a compatible way of expressing verum.

This line of thinking also helps explain an otherwise-curious fact about Lubukusu OM-doubling. In the intuitions of the first author, as the number of distinct constituents in *v*P increases, the naturalness of OM-doubling likewise improves even independent of any sort of obvious emphasis. And we can see in (94) that when a benefactive applicative is added to a lexical ditransitive verb (creating a 4-place predicate), OM-doubling the benefactive object is quite natural without any noticeable term focus on the remaining *v*P-internal objects.

(94) a. *náwéla wékésá βáβáaná βíʲjánu̯ɔ́*
N-a-w-el-a Wekesa ba-ba-ana bi-anwa.
1SG.SM-PST-give-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 2-2-children 8-gifts
'I gave the children gifts for Wekesa.'
OK without verum, without additional context

b. *námúwela wékésá βáβáaná βíʲjánu̯ɔ́*
N-a-mu- w-el-a Wekesa ba-ba-ana bi-anwa.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 2-2-children 8-gifts
'I gave the children gifts for Wekesa.'
OK without verum, without additional context

We see the same effects with *v*P-level adjunct material as well; the following sentences are very natural with OM-doubling and without any particular subconstituent being (obviously) focused:

(95) a. *námúwela wékésá βáβáaná βíʲjánwá βúlaji*

N-a-[mu-] w-el-a [Wekesa] ba-ba-ana bi-anwa bulayi.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 2-2-children 8-gifts well
'I gave the children gifts well for Wekesa.'
OK without verum, without additional context

b. *naamúweeléele wékésá βáβáaná βíʲjánwá likolooβa̱*
N-a-[mu-] w-el-a [Wekesa] ba-ba-ana bi-anwa
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 2-2-children 8-gifts
likolooba.
yesterday
'I gave the children gifts yesterday for Wekesa.'
OK without verum, without additional context

c. *námúwela wékésá βáβáaná βíʲjánw' éeɲuma wéxuxúˡúmbá βjátʃáná nendí náˡíróbi̱*
N-a-[mu-] w-el-a [Wekesa] ba-ba-ana bi-anwa enyuma
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 2-2-children 8-gifts behind
we-khu-khu-m-b-a bi-a-chana ne-n-di Nairobi.
ASSOC-15-15-1SG.OM-give-FV 8-ASSOC-TOPIC when-1SG.SM-be Nairobi
'I gave the children gifts for Wekesa after he gave them to me when I was in Nairobi.'
OK without verum, without additional context

This fact suggests to us that a sufficiently complex sentence is intuitively judged by speakers to be sufficiently unpredictable, on its own, to be appropriate with OM-doubling. If the verum-like reading of OM-doubling arises in part due to maximal backgrounding and therefore indirect predicate-centered focus, verum-like readings will not appear in a context where the backgrounding is non-maximal; that is to say, OM-doubling an object here does not result in an obvious alternative element to bear the default focus. So this is supportive of an approach to verum readings as, in part, the result of maximal backgrounding.

We cannot say that we fully understand these facts, though. For one, the interpretive contribution of OM-doubling in these sentences is really unclear, which is difficult to accommodate in the analysis we have advanced so far. Our analysis thus far predicts an emphatic focus reading here, which is not obviously triggered by OM-doubling in these examples. Furthermore, a direct expansion of the indirect focus approach would be to claim that OM-doubling is *always* an indirect focus-marking strategy. That is to say, all the preceding instances in this volume where some other element bears focus in the *v*P could be instances of indirect focus resulting from backgrounding the object (and not, as we have

claimed, [FoC] features on constituents participating in an Agree relation with a [FoC]-probe on Com°). But Chapter 8 will show that the empirical predictions of such an account do not hold, hence we will continue to argue for the role of [FoC] features in the analysis. But that, on some level, leaves examples like (94) and (95) a bit mysterious. So in some senses this pattern is reasonable in light of an approach analyzing verum readings of OM-doubling as a result of indirect focus marking on the predicate itself. But they also raise additional questions, since it is a challenge to extend the indirect focus analysis to the full range of patterns. We discuss this a bit more in Chapter 8, but will unfortunately leave some of these questions open for future research as well.[13]

As noted by Bloom Ström & Zeller (2023), the apparent association with verum-like readings and the focus associations of OM-doubling (in both isiZulu and Lubukusu) are informative from a theoretical perspective as well. Some approaches to verum constructions argue for a dissociation from focus, suggesting that verum is a separate phenomenon (Gutzmann et al. 2020). According to Bloom Ström & Zeller (2023: 520), "Our results therefore demonstrate that the parallel between the strategies used for the expression of focus and verum is not only found in languages such as German or English, in which both phenomena are marked through pitch accent. It is also attested in languages which for the most part use non-intonational means to structure the propositional content of a sentence to distinguish between old and new information." Lubukusu would seem to suggest the same conclusion here, for the same reasons.

On a more narrow analytical issue, this also would necessitate that the verum operator on Emph that we would need to assume here could not be the conversational operator that we suggested was the case in Sikuku et al. (2018), based on work by Gutzmann & Castroviejo Miró (2011), among others. The results here lead us to think that the verum-like readings here are focus-associated readings, and therefore whatever the operator is yielding the emphatic verum reading, that it ought to be focus-dependent in a manner similar to how we suggested the mirative readings are. We will set aside the particulars of such an operator for now, simply noting that the one proposed in Sikuku et al. (2018) cannot be directly adopted.

[13] Mark Baker suggests to us that perhaps adverbs must always have some degree of focus, since they are not syntactically obligatory and therefore there is some significance to them being included in the sentence to begin with; so perhaps in these instances we can argue for the presence of [FoC] features on those grounds.

7.9 Mirative Focus without the Comment Phrase

In §7.2 we gave some instances of OM-doubling where, if a proposition was on a whole completely unexpected, it is possible to OM-double an object without any obvious constituent focus on the verb phrase itself. Example (96) is repeated from example (23) above.

(96) *Context: In Bukusu culture, a young man should not marry a widow. If this is to happen, it is considered highly scandalous. In the situation being considered, a father has gone away for some time, and returns only to have his wife inform him that their 19 year old son Wafula has married an older widow. In this instance, the wife can report to her husband:*
wafula ámúꜜβéjá namulexʷᵩ
Wafula a-mu- bey-a namulekhwa !
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-1OM-marry-FV 1.widow
'Wafula married a widow!'

The example in (96) is notable analytically because the object in (23) *namulekhwa* 'a widow' is non-specific. This sentence is not saying that there was a particular widow that Wafula married, or that there is a mutually known widow that Wafula married. This contrasts with other contexts where we have seen a specificity/givenness requirement on the object. And in a minimally different scenario, we see that those specificity effects re-emerge.

(97) *wafula ámúβona namulexʷᵩ*
Wafula a-mu- bon-a namulekhwa .
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-1OM-see-FV 1.widow
'Wafula DID see a *(specific) widow.'

A reviewer raises the concern that while an example like (96) displays doubling of an unknown object (i.e. not discourse-given), that it is not necessarily non-specific (as Wafula is indeed marrying a particular individual). But it is indeed possible to construct examples where the object is radically non-specific and doubling is acceptable, if the overall situation is sufficiently astonishing.[14]

(98) *Context: Wafula has a desire to marry a widow, but it's not a desire to marry any particular person. As an act of rebellion to spite his parents, he simply wants to do a taboo thing.*

[14] Our thanks to Mark Baker for his comments on this point.

Wafula eny-a a-mu- bey-e namulekhwa y-esi y-esi !!
1.Wafula 1SM.want-FV 1SM-1OM-marry-SBJ 1.widow 1-any 1-any
'Wafula wants to marry any widow!!'

It is not immediately clear why examples like (96) and (98) exceptionally allow OM-doubling with a non-given, non-specific object (when so many other doubling constructions clearly require that a doubled object be given/specific). The intuition that comes through is that in this instance, rather than some subcomponent of the event being surprising/informative, it is the whole proposition that is. This seems to be a class of exceptions, in fact, as the only other instances we have encountered of non-given, non-specific objects being OM-doubled likewise fall into that "the entire situation is surprising" category. Take another example here: as mentioned in Chapter 5, unaugmented phrases can also have generic readings, such as the phrase *baandu na baandu* 'all sorts of people' (cf. ba-ba-andu 2-2-person 'people').

(99) *βaandu na βaandu*
ba-andu na ba-andu
2-person CONJ 2-person
'all sorts of people'

It is possible for a generic reading of a noun phrase to persist when it is OM-doubled in a context that licenses it. As we wrote this chapter right at the dawn of the COVID-19 pandemic, when stated around March 2020 the sentence in (100) was acceptable for OM-doubling.[15]

(100) *kolóná^{l}váílaasíĩ ‖ elí xéé^{l}βátiila βaandu na βaandu*
Coronavirus e-li khe-e-BA-tiil-a ba-andu na ba-andu .
9.Coronavirus 9-be PROG-9SM-2OM-catch-FV 2-person CONJ 2-person
'Coronavirus is infecting all sorts of people.' (*Doubling OK on account of the fact that it's quite shocking that this is happening!*)

Another similar illustration arises from an example we encountered in Chapter 4, repeated here in part as (101).

(101) *Context: Wekesa bought flowers, and we expected him to give them to someone special. So we inquire about who he gave the flowers to, only to find out that he simply gave them to a stranger.*

[15] It is of course notable that since roughly 2021, (100) is no longer acceptable for OM-doubling unless it is on the reprimand reading, as predicted by the mirative analysis. Years into the pandemic, the sentence in (100) is surprising to virtually nobody.

a. *wékésá ámúˈw' ómúreendé kámáúwa̧*
Wekesa a-a-mu- w-a o-mu-rende ka-ma-uwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-1OM-give-FV 1-1-stranger 6-6-flowers
'Wekesa gave a stranger the flowers.' (*a surprising act, to give them to a stranger instead of someone you love.*)

b. *#wékésá ákáˈw' ómúreendé kámáúwa̧*
#Wekesa a-a-ka- w-a o-mu-rende ka-ma-uwa .
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-give-FV 1-1-stranger 6-6-flowers
'Wekesa gave a stranger the flowers.' (unacceptable in current context)

As we mention in Chapter 5, (101b) provides evidence against the OM-Probe simply seeking out DPs that are made Active by a givenness feature, because we would expect agreement with *kamauwa* to be acceptable, which it is not (69b). Less clear was why it is possible to OM-double *omurende* 'stranger,' which is discourse-new and non-specific. The intuition here aligns with the two examples that preceded, however; here it seems to be an emphasis on the entire scenario being unbelievable, rather than a more targeted mirative focus on a sub-constituent of the event.

What seems most likely to us here is that these are instances of a structurally *higher* focus. They all appear to be instances of what has been described as a "hot news" statement (e.g. *The POPE died.*) (Bolinger 1954), which Sasse (1987, 1996, 2006) and Garcia (2016) identify as a sub-type of thetic sentences (a sentence with only a comment, no topic). We suggest that these are instances where no Com° has been merged into the structure, and instead the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator associated with focus is incorporated directly at the clause-level.

In these cases, then, the focus domain is the entire clause.[16] This is meant to capture the intuition that the entire proposition is the newsworthy piece of information. Note, this has one major benefit: in this instance, exceptionally, ~C merged to TP to create the relevant focus structures for MIR, and Com° is not included. This also means that, exceptionally, in this instance the OM-doubling operation is directly between Emph° and the theme object, and is not mediated by Com°. Given that we analyzed the givenness requirement of doubled objects

[16] A reviewer inquires as to whether this is in fact the case, since there is a subject that is a plausible topic here. We would suggest that these are in fact instances of thetic sentences (comment-only sentences) where the subject in this instance is not a topic. Recall that Lubukusu does not require preverbal subjects to be topical and/or non-focused, so we expect thetic sentences to have preverbal subjects.

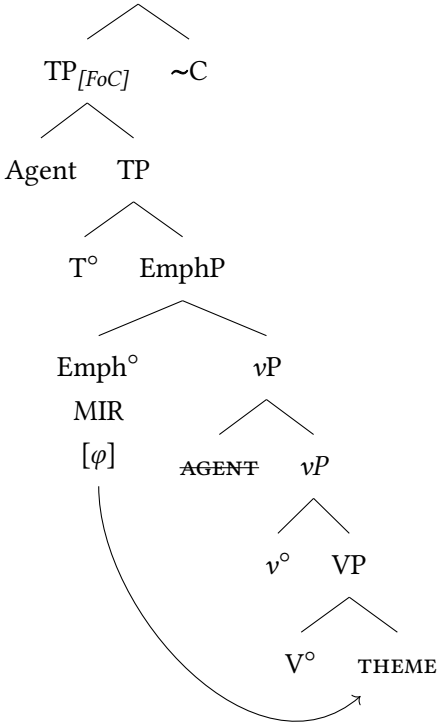


Figure 7.2: Modeling a structurally high focus domain. To be revised in minor ways in Chapter 9.

as a result of Com° and not Emph°, this is the expected result.[17]

An important question is in the compositional semantics: the reader may recall that the mirative operator on Emph° centrally relies on the set of focus alternatives introduced into the compositional semantics by the context-based anaphoric element C. In Figure 7.2, however, ~C is merged structurally higher than Emph°, meaning that the focus alternatives are not within the (syntactic) scope of Emph° when it is merged. How does the OM-doubling construction

[17] If we allow for ~C to be merged in positions other than Com°, it is reasonable to wonder why can other positions of the focus operator not occur? Specifically, could something like subject-internal focus license OM-doubling (by merging ~C atop the agent DP)? We assume here that in order to semantically compose in the countercyclic manner we have suggested, the mirative operator must be part of the same extended projection as the focus operator and the C variable, and hence being merged atop the subject DP is not sufficient to accomplish this.

compose semantically? In fact, it is a quite general property of conventional implicatures that they are either scopeless, or are interpreted with the highest scope. As Potts (2007b: 12) points out, "CIs always project to the highest possible point" in a clause. For example, take Potts' (2007b: 31) example in (102); here, the epithet *that jerk Connor*, which reflects a derogatory atittude of the speaker toward Connor. Importantly, that negative evaluation cannot be attributed to the matrix subject *Sue* in this instance: it only reflects the attitude of the speaker.

(102) Sue wrongly believes that that jerk Conner got promoted.

This is a central part of Potts' analysis of conventional implicatures: they are part of a multidimensional analysis of meaning, where some meaning is "at-issue," and other meaning is not, and Potts develops a particular descriptive logic to describe such content, including the bullet (•) annotation. Crucially, conventional implicatures apply to at-issue meaning but not the other way around:

> The guiding idea ... is that CIs bear an asymmetric relationship to at-issue meanings: they apply to at-issue meanings to produce CI meanings. We do not have at-issue meanings applying to CI meanings, regardless of the resulting type. The asymmetry encodes, as transparently as possible, the idea that CIs are comments upon an asserted core. (Potts 2007b: 57)

Potts develops rules of composition that allow for the combination of at-issue meaning while leaving not-at-issue meaning untouched. Without reporting the formalization here (see Potts 2007b: 57ff for details), Potts (2007b) describes them informally as in (103).

(103) a. At-issue meanings apply to at-issue meanings to produce at-issue meanings.
b. CI meanings apply to at-issue meanings to produce CI meanings. (Potts 2007b: 58)

The result, then, is that not-at-issue meaning is passed up a structure as the at-issue meaning composes: since at-issue content cannot apply to CI meanings, conventional implicatures are simply interpreted with highest scope as a result. Our assumption, here, is that that CI content of the mirative projection projects like the meaning of other conventional implicatures. So while the mirative focus implicature is introduced structurally lower, it passes up the structure and can

therefore access the sentence-level focus alternatives introduced by the focus operator at the root in these instances of an exceptionally large focus domain.[18]

It is clear that there is a difference between the verum-like predicate focus contexts (which were first reported by Sikuku et al. (2018) and which we discuss throughout this volume) and the whole-clause focus contexts we are discussing in these sections. Many of our examples requiring discourse-given objects in Chapter 4 were in fact verum constructions. Analytically-speaking, the verum-like readings are canonical structures, simply instances where the entire *v*P predicate is focused as opposed to some sub-constituent of the verb phrase (and a verum operator sits in EmphP). This means those constructions include the Com° head that mediates the OM-doubling agreement. In contrast, we suggested that the whole-sentence focus contexts here lack a Com°, as the focus involved (while still relying on the operator introduced by Emph°) is interpreted via the focus operator merged at the root instead of being merged via Com°. We suggested that this explains the lack of givenness requirement in OM-doubling in just these instances of a larger focus domain, as the G-marking aspect of the OM-doubling construction is introduced by Com°, not by Emph°. Therefore while the interpretive distinction is not always transparent, there ought to be demonstrable empirical differences between a predicate focus OM-doubling construction and a whole-sentence-focus OM-doubling construction: namely, predicate focus ought to require a discourse-given interpretation of the doubled object, in contrast to the cases of whole-sentence focus.

7.10 Additional evidence for separating EmphP from ComP

Additional evidence for separating ComP and EmphP comes from Cinyungwe, which offers strong evidence for equivalents of ComP and EmphP behaving in distinct ways. Langa da Câmara et al. (2024) show that in Cinyungwe (Bantu, Mozambique) movement of objects to the right is associated with givenness of the moved element and focus on the unmoved element(s). Crucially, movement is independent of OM-doubling in Cinyungwe, so neither example in (104) contains an OM.

[18] A reviewer wonders whether the late merge account of ComP and EmphP provides a problem for the semantic composition, that is, limiting the ability for the relevant readings to be 'passed up" the structure the way that conventional implicatures are argued to compose semantically. We know of no specific work exploring late merger proposals with respect to semantic composition, but presumably late merged material composes semantically according to normal semantic mechanisms, just the same as normally merged material.

(104) Cinyungwe (Langa da Câmara et al. 2024)

a. Baba a-da-phik-a ci-mbamba mwakankulumize.
1father 1SM-PST-cook-FV 7-beans quickly
'Father cooked the beans quickly.'

b. Baba a-da-phik-a mwakankulumize , ci-mbamba.
1father 1SM-PST-cook-FV quickly 7-beans
'Father cooked the beans QUICKLY.'

OM-doubling in Cinyungwe is possible both with constructions with movement and constructions without movement, adding an emphatic interpretation in both instances.

(105) Cinyungwe (Langa da Câmara et al. 2024)

a. Baba a-da-ci- phik-a **mwakankulumize** , ci-mbamba .
1father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV quickly 7-beans
'Father cooked the beans QUICKLY.'
- *a clarification about the manner in which beans were cooked*

b. Baba a-da-ci- **phik-a** **ci-mbamba** **mwakankulumize**.
1father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV 7-beans quickly
'Father really/certainly COOKED THE BEANS QUICKLY.'
- *Acceptable in contexts where the entire predicate is focused, such as:*
  - *there is a disagreement about whether the event occurred*
  - *the speaker wants to emphasize that this is in fact what happened*
- *Unacceptable in the manner-focus contexts noted above for (105a)*

On Langa da Câmara et al.'s (2024) analysis, OM-doubling is associated with a [φ]-probe on Emph° and movement of objects is associated with the givenness/focus features on ComP, borrowed from this Lubukusu proposal. So while it is much more subtle to disentangle the focus/givenness effects with the emphatic properties of OM-doubling in Lubukusu, Cinyungwe clearly distinguishes the two, associating movement with focus/givenness and OM-doubling with emphatic interpretations. We take this as additional support for distinguishing these functions into separate syntactic projections for Lubukusu as well.

7.11 Considering an alternative analysis

Lippard (2024) gives an in-depth investigation of the kinds of emphatic readings that arise in Cinyungwe, suggesting an alternative analysis that is worth consideration, though a true investigation of this kind of alternative approach to Lubukusu will require much additional work. Initial work on the emphatic interpretations of Cinyungwe OM-doubling (including by the authors of this book) argued for an approach based on the approach we adopt here: OM-doubling is generated by agreement from an Emph projection, and the emphasis based on OM-doubling can be analyzed as a conventional implicature (Langa da Câmara et al. 2024, Lippard et al. 2023).

Lippard (2024) took that work forward, specifically investigating the semantics and pragmatics of the emphatic reading itself. Lippard argues that the range of interpretations of Cinyungwe OM-doubling goes beyond mirative readings, but that there are examples that likewise are not reducible to verum readings. (106) shows multiple interpretations of a Cinyungwe OM-doubling construction that do not occur in the parallel use of English emphatic *do* in the same discourse context (107).

(106) Cinyungwe (Lippard 2024: (28))
Mphaka ya Kapenu ya-Ø-li- phat-a khoso !
9.cat of 1.Kapenu 9SM-REC.PST-6OM-catch-FV 6.rat
'Kapenu's cat caught a/the rat!'

- # neutral context, no cat/rat discussion
- ✓ in response to 'There's no way Kapenu's cat caught a/the rat!' (*salient prejacent*)
- ✓ in response to 'Kapenu's cat is really old.' (*salient subject*)
- ✓ in response to 'The rat in our garden is really fast.' (*salient object*)

(107) English (Lippard 2024: (28))
Kapenu's cat DID catch a rat!

- # neutral context, no cat/rat discussion
- ✓ in response to 'There's no way Kapenu's cat caught a/the rat!' (*salient prejacent*)
- # in response to 'Kapenu's cat is really old.' (*salient subject*)
- # in response to 'The rat in our garden is really fast.' (*salient object*)

Lippard argues that the emphatic readings of Cinyungwe OM-doubling are best captured as a Gricean conversational implicature, which she refers to as an *atypicality manner implicature*: the doubling construction adds an emphasis that marks the associated (non-emphatic) proposition as atypical in some way, following Rett (2020). By adding an object marker, the speaker triggers a manner implicature, since they could have said the truth-conditionally-identical sentence without an object marker. Lippard suggests that OM-doubling therefore creates the implicature that "the situation described is atypical in a way pertinent to the marked phrase" (Rett 2020: 65).

We are skeptical of the success of an analysis based on a manner conversational implicature for Lubukusu, for several reasons. First, the emphatic interpretations of Lubukusu OM-doubling are clearly focus-associated; a large range of focus diagnostics result in emphatic focus on constituents that are predictable based on the focus diagnostics. It is not immediately obvious how a Gricean conversational implicature can be specifically focus-associated in this way (though it will certainly be interesting in future work to explore how this can be). Second, it is not clear why this particular construction generates this specific set of interpretations. There are other grammatical mechanisms available (adjusting word order, for example, to create a marked grammatical construction) which do not result in these particular interpretations. So while a conversational implicature account does explain the broad range of readings, we would probably expect a broader range of readings, associated with a broader range of constructions, if a conversational implicature was what underlies Lubukusu OM-doubling. The existence of a particular grammatical construction (OM-doubling) that creates these readings suggests, in our minds, that a conventional component of the grammar generates these interpretations (as opposed to agrammatical pragmatic reasoning). Finally, the (a)symmetry effects that we will discuss in Chapter 8 are challenging to explain without grammaticalized probe/goal agreement mechanisms connected with information structure features. While conventional implicatures are expected to be introduced by lexical items (such as a functional head), it is the opposite for conversational implicatures, which ought not be tied to any particular lexical item or grammatical construction.

Nonetheless, as we noted in §7.7, even in Lubukusu we have encountered some interpretations of OM-doubling that are difficult to subsume under mirativity, verum readings included. The approach here (that EmphP can host different kinds of focus-associated operators) can accommodate this reality, but it does have the weakness of positing separate operators on the same head: the unity of a single conversational implicature generating these interpretations is certainly attractive. And we are enthusiastic at the prospect of competing analyses like

that of Lippard (2024) generating yet more careful work on these constructions in Lubukusu in the future.

7.12 Intermediate Conclusions: OM-doubling is an emphatic strategy

We have shown that it is not sufficient to describe OM-doubling in Lubukusu as merely dependent on a bifurcation of information structure inside the verb phrase. While there are clear links with focus and givenness (as discussed at length in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6), there is an additional layer of expressive meaning in Lubukusu OM-doubling, which we have identified as a mirative interpretations resulting from a focus-associated conventional implicature operator introduced on a functional head merged atop Com°. The mirative operator ensures that the proposition expressed must be comparatively unlikely compared to other focus alternatives (from the perspective of either the hearer or the addressee), with the result that OM-doubling creates one of two sorts of implicatures: 1) that the event is unexpected, surprising, especially noteworthy, or 2) that the event was obviously true (and the listener ought to know that).

In addition, we have suggested that the same projection (Emph°) is implicated in verum readings. In these contexts, OM-doubling is associated with a discourse-given interpretation of all *v*P-internal material, which we suggested marks the predicate itself as focused (an interpretation of similar claims from Güldemann 2016, Kerr & van der Wal 2023, and Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023). We still assume that Emph° hosts an emphatic operator, in this case the verum operator.[19]

We have claimed that the emphatic mirative implicature and the verum reading are introduced by separate operators from the focus effects, on separate syntactic projections. We argued for this based on the existence of doubling constructions in the absence of the expected focus/givenness effects of ComP, and also due to the clear dissociation of the two in Cinyungwe.

We still have not laid out specific proposals about the morphological spellout rules for object markers; this is intentional, since the discussion in Chapter 8 is going to provide additional detail that is necessary for a precise proposal. That said, one key point has been added in this chapter that is important to make clear: we argue that doubling OMs in Lubukusu are the spellout of *φ*-features

[19] In that previous work we proposed a similar analysis, but the verum operator was introduced on an Emphasis head that was structurally lower than *v*P, which we have argued to be incorrect in this work. Likewise, in this work we assume that the verum operator is focus-associated, not the conversational operator adopted in Sikuku et al. (2018).

on Emph°. These features are mediated by the features on Com°; the [φ]-probe on Emph° finds the φ-features on Com° as a goal. But the morphological spell-out of (doubling) OMs in Lubukusu is the spellout of Emph° alone. φ-features on Com° simply have no morphological specification in Lubukusu.[20] And we likewise have not revisited the morphological spellout of the non-doubling OMs, either: see §8.10 and §9.4 for discussion.

To conclude the chapter, we revisit the flow chart that we first introduced at the end of Chapter 4, with minor adjustments based on the conclusions from this chapter. It is not sufficient that there be a focus in the sentence, it must be an emphatic focus. Likewise, we add the possibility of doubling a non-given object in the event that the sentence is interpreted as 'hot news,' as described in §7.9. The updated chart is given in Figure 7.3.

[20] Our thanks to an anonymous reviewer for raising this question.

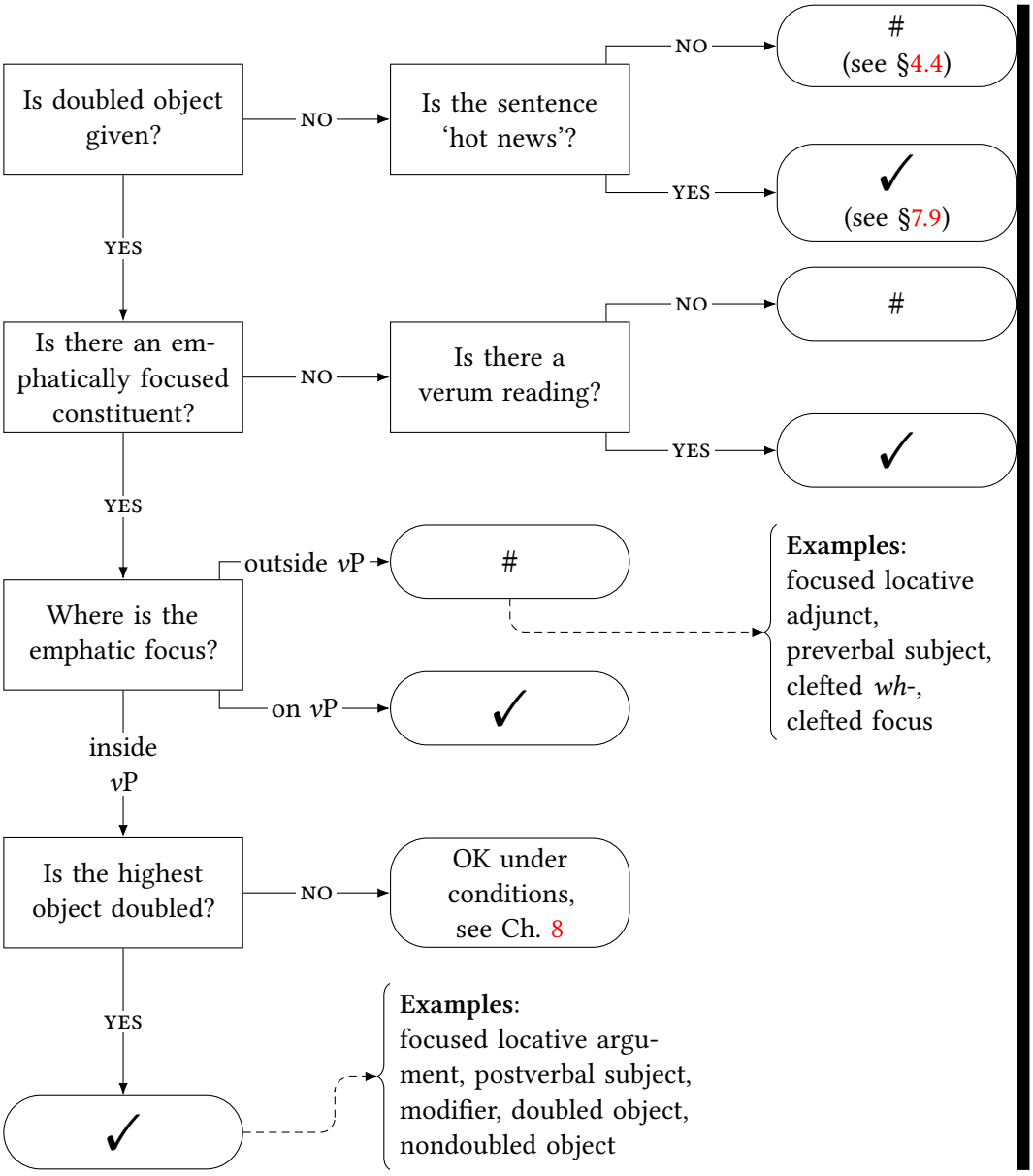


Figure 7.3: A flow chart illustrating the various constraints on OM-doubling contexts. To be very modestly updated again based on Chapter 8. Final chart is given in Chapter 9.

8 (A)symmetry: When doubling tracks [FoC] instead of [G]

In this chapter we tackle an issue that arises commonly across Bantu languages in discussions of object marking constructions, that of so-called '(a)symmetry:' does only the structurally higher object display primary object properties, or are those properties available to additional postverbal objects as well? In the course of engaging this question, however, we reveal additional important environments for understanding the properties of Lubukusu object marking more generally, such that this discussion not only expands our understanding of (a)symmetry in Bantu languages, but it critically influences our analysis of Lubukusu OM-doubling in particular. Specifically, instances of "symmetrical" doubling will allow us to better understand the interaction of the different probing features on Com°.

In Lubukusu, it is possible in select circumstances to OM-double the structurally lower object of a ditransitive.

(1) *βáβáaná βákáreerera βáβéeβúsí káméetʃí kóŋéŋé*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ka- rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi ka-m-echi
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-water
k-ong'ene.
6-only
'The children brought their parents ONLY WATER.'
(requires particular kinds of additional context, see discussion in what follows)

In (1), it is in fact possible to OM-double the lower object under specific pragmatic circumstances. In (1) and in similar examples throughout this chapter, there is no prosodic break or afterthought topic reading (which were hallmarks of right dislocation), suggesting that these are not simply instances of right-dislocated objects. And the particular emphatic readings associated with this construction clearly distinguish it as well.

In the instances we have discussed thus far in this volume, the typical pattern is for the OM-doubled structurally highest object to be discourse-given and

for some other element to bear emphatic focus. In contrast, what appears to license OM-doubling of a structurally lower object in examples like (1) is if that lower object bears particular focus/emphasis itself, almost the opposite of the patterns reported thus far in this volume (where the emphasis regularly appears to be on some other element, distinct from the OM-doubled object). We argue, in fact, that this arises in just those instances where the structurally lower DP (or some sub-constituent of the lower DP) is the novel focus element bearing a [FoC] feature. Crucially, a component of that same structurally lower DP must also be discourse given, bearing a [G]-feature. We will propose an analysis based on a proposal about the nature of complex probes: non-locality emerges as an exceptional instance of spelling out the features of the [FoC]-probe, rather than the probe that typically spells out OM-doubling (what we have been calling the [φ]-probe, to be revised in this chapter).

Before we get to the Lubukusu facts, we (very) briefly overview the existing literature on so-called '(a)symmetry' among objects in multiple object constructions. There is growing recognition of the role of information structure in distinguishing apparent symmetry between objects (Zeller 2015, van der Wal 2022, Bárány 2023); the Lubukusu facts add a new empirical pattern to the discussion and as such require a novel analysis.

8.1 Object (a)symmetry in Bantu languages

It is well known among Bantuist syntacticians that there is variation among Bantu languages in the properties of objects in ditransitive constructions.[1] Bresnan & Moshi (1990) show that some languages have *asymmetrical* properties, wherein only one object shows so-called 'primary' object properties like being object-marked, being passivized, licensing reciprocals, and unspecified object

[1]Less well-known is that there is often inter-speaker variation within a "language" in this same property; we have encountered this frequently among speakers of the same Luhya varieties, where (for example) some speakers of Tiriki show symmetrical patterns, and other asymmetrical patterns. This is despite the fact that this variation appears to crosscut demographic categories like age, clan, etc, and can occur among speakers living within the same small town. We have seen similar variation across Lubukusu speakers with respect to OM properties, albeit less systematically investigated. As we will see, these properties in Lubukusu are centrally related to the pragmatics of discourse. The first author is optimistic that with sufficient context, Lubukusu speakers will agree on the judgments reported here. The second author is in cheerful disagreement, less optimistic that there is uniformity and instead suspecting actual grammatical differences. Clearly this is an issue for extended investigation.

deletion.[2] On the other hand, some languages show symmetrical behaviors, where either object may show primary object properties. Jerro (2016) shows that Kinyarwanda shows symmetry in this sense, as illustrated by (3), where either object in a benefactive applicative may be promoted to subject position in a passive construction.

(2) Kinyarwanda (Jerro 2016: 154)
Umu-gabo a-ra-ndik-ir-a umw-ana in-kuru.
1-man 1SM-PRS-write-APPL-IPFV 1-child 9-story
'The man is writing the story for the child.'

(3) Kinyarwanda (Jerro 2016: 154)

a. Umw-ana a-ra-ndik-ir-w-a in-kuru (n' umu-gabo).
1-child 1SM-PRS-write-APPL-PASS-IPFV 9-story by 1-man
'The child is being written the story (by the man).'

b. In-kuru i-ra-ndik-ir-w-a umw-ana (n' umu-gabo).
9-story 9SM-PRS-write-APPL-PASS-IPFV 1-child by 1-man
'The story is being written for the child (by the man).'

Jerro contrasts the Kinyarwanda pattern with the asymmetry found in Chimwi:ni (Kisseberth & Abasheikh 1977), where only the BENEFACTIVE object in a benefactive applicative may be promoted to subject position (5a), and it is ungrammatical to do so with the THEME object (5b).

(4) Chimwi:ni (Kisseberth & Abasheikh 1977: 188,(27b))
Hamadi ∅-wa-pik-il-ile wa:ana cha:kuja.
Hamadi SM-OM-cook-APPL-FV children food
'Hamadi cooked food for the children.'

(5) Chimwi:ni (Kisseberth & Abasheikh 1977: 189,(31-32))

a. Wa:na wa-pik-il-ila cha:kuja na Hamadi.
children SM-cook-APPL-FV food by Hamadi
'The children had food cooked for them by Hamadi.'

b. *Cha:kuja sh-pik-il-ila wa:na na Hamadi.
food SM-cook-APPL-FV children by Hamadi
Intended reading: The food was cooked for the children by Hamadi.

[2] Previous theoretical treatments of such patterns include Kimenyi (1980), Marantz (1984), Baker (1985), and Baker (1988), among others: see Bresnan & Moshi (1990) for a robust summary of the preceding literature.

Bresnan & Moshi (1990) note similar differences across languages in object marking: (6) shows that in Kichaga "any or all of the multiple objects may be expressed by object markers on the verb, including both patient and beneficiary object markers on an applied verb" (Bresnan & Moshi 1990: 150).

(6) Kichaga symmetrical object marking (Bresnan & Moshi 1990: 150-151)

a. N-ǎ-ǐ-m̀- lyì-í-à k-èlyâ.
FOC-1SM-PRS-1OM-eat-APPL-FV 7-food
'He/She is eating food for/on him/her.'

b. N-ǎ-ǐ-kì- lyí-í-à m̀-kà.
FOC-1SM-PRS-7OM-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife
'He/She is eating it for/on the wife.'

c. N-ǎ-ǐ-kì- ḿ- lyì-ǐ-à.
FOC-1SM-PRS-7OM-1OM-eat-APPL-FV
'He/She is eating it for/on him/her.'

As pointed out by Baker (1988) and Bresnan & Moshi (1990), Chichewa behaves asymmetrically in this respect: it is grammatical to object mark the BENEFACTIVE argument (7b), but object marking the THEME argument in a ditransitive is unacceptable (7c).

(7) Chichewa asymmetrical object marking (Baker 1988: 266-7)

a. Amayi a-ku-mu-umb-ir-a mtsuko mwana.
1.woman 1SM-PRS-1OM-mold-APPL-FV 3.waterpot 1.child
'The woman is molding the waterpot for the child.'

b. Amayi a-ku-mu- umb-ir-a mtsuko.
1.woman 1SM-PRS-1OM-mold-APPL-FV 3.waterpot
'The woman is molding the waterpot for him.'

c. *Amayi a-na-u- umb-ir-a mwana.
1.woman 1SM-PST-3OM-mold-APPL-FV 1.child
'The woman is molding it for the child.'

Work on object marking cross-linguistically has also turned up more nuanced restrictions: for example, in Sambaa it is possible to object-mark multiple objects on the verb. It is possible to OM-double the structurally lower THEME argument, but only in the event that the structurally higher RECIPIENT argument is also OM-doubled (8c). It is impossible in a ditransitive to have the structurally lower THEME argument be the only one OM-doubled on the verb (8d).

(8) **Sambaa** (Riedel 2009: 106)

a. N-za-nka ng'wana kitabu. **no OM**
1SG.SM-PFV-DJ-give 1child 7book
'I gave the child a book.'

b. N-za-m- nka ng'wana kitabu. **OM for IO**
1SG.SM-PFV-DJ-1OM-give 1child 7book
'I gave the child a book.'

c. N-za-chi- m- nka ng'wana kitabu. **OM for IO and DO**
1SG.SM-PFV-DJ-7OM-1OM-give 1child 7book
'I gave the child a book.'

d. *N-za-chi- nka ng'wana kitabu. **OM for DO but not IO**
1SG.SM-PFV-DJ-7OM-give 1child 7book
Intended: 'I gave the child a book.'

Riedel (2009) analyzes this as a product of an intervention effect for an Agree relation. It is possible to object-mark the THEME in (8c), according to Riedel, because once the RECIPIENT argument is the Goal of the Agree relation in (8c), that DP becomes 'invisible' to a second Agree relation with the THEME argument, losing its status as a potential intervener. Riedel (2009: 108) concludes that "DPs with checked features do not block Agree for DPs with unchecked features in their domain, while DPs with unchecked features do."

This contrasts with isiZulu, for example, where either object may be object-marked on the verb, but never both.

(9) **isiZulu** (Zeller 2015: (21))

a. Ngi-m- theng-el-a u-bisi u-Sipho.
1SG.SM-1OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-11.milk AUG-1a.Sipho
'I'm buying him milk, Sipho.'
(Zeller 2015: (16))

b. Ngi-lu- theng-el-a u-Sipho u-bisi.
1SG.SM-11OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-1a.Sipho AUG-11.milk
'I'm buying it for Sipho, the milk.'

(10) **isiZulu** (Zeller 2012: 220)

a. U-John u-nik-e a-ba-ntwana i-zi-ncwadi.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-give-PST AUG-2-child AUG-10-book
'John gave books to the children.'

b. *U-John u-ba- zi- nik-il-e.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-10OM-give-DJ-PST

c. *U-John u-zi- ba- nik-il-e.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-10OM-give-DJ-PST

There is a broad range of work on these kinds of symmetrical patterns. In their foundational work on the issue, Bresnan & Moshi (1990) argue for a parameter that governs the variation, such that a notion like '(a)symmetry' is itself grammatically encoded. Baker (1988) had framed this as a parameter in the assignment of accusative case. McGinnis (2001a,b) ties the property of 'symmetry' (i.e. structurally lower objects bearing primary object properties) to the properties of Applicative Phrases, the syntactic projections that introduce additional arguments into a verbal extended projection (and are morphologically realized as the applicative morpheme in Bantu languages). McGinnis (2001b) argues that the distinction between symmetrical and asymmetrical double object constructions can be derived from the difference between high and low applicatives (Pylkkänen 2008). For example, high applicatives in a benefactive construction can be analyzed as phases and therefore can bear edge features. The edge feature on Appl° can bring a structurally lower THEME object to the edge of ApplP along with the RECIPIENT object, which places them equidistant to higher probes, allowing both objects to participate in relevant grammatical processes like object marking and passives (i.e. creating symmetry). McGinnis argues that low applicatives (those merged directly with the THEME object) are not phases, and therefore do not create that same equidistance that results in symmetrical effects between objects. Jerro (2016) and Jeong (2007) provide additional overviews of applicative constructions across Bantu languages, including symmetry effects showing that high and low applicatives do not behave this consistently within individual languages. van der Wal (2022) discusses the full range of these effects in depth; we engage with her work below.

Zeller's (2015, 2014, 2012) analysis of the isiZulu patterns argues that the symmetry in isiZulu object marking arises because the OM probe is specifically an anti-focus probe, so it can target the structurally closest phrase bearing anti-focus features, specifically. But because either object may bear these features (or not), the instances where the THEME is object-marked are not locality violations, because the potential intervener (the RECIPIENT object) in those instances does not bear an anti-focus feature. Bárány (2023) makes a similar case for (a)symmetry across various languages being linked with topicality, implemented via an interaction/satisfaction model of Agree. Van der Wal (2022) argues for incorpo-

rating definiteness/givenness/accessibility into person features, accounting for their pervasive participation in OM-doubling constructions.

So, a growing portion of work on symmetry is taking into account the role of information structure as central in generating (a)symmetry distinctions: this includes Zeller's (2014, 2015) proposals for isiZulu, Van der Wal's (2022) broad account for Bantu (a)symmetry, and Barany's (2023) account of asymmetry effects based on a topic probe. It may be that there is no role of information structure in those properties in the symmetrical languages that were previously under investigation, or it may simply be that the nuanced pragmatics of information structure often are only accessible to analysts once a language is extensively researched in core grammatical properties, and those languages ought to be revisited. Either way, Lubukusu (a)symmetry clearly implicates information structure. And the Lubukusu object marking symmetry facts are quite different than those previously reported for other languages, providing a significant new pattern to the theoretical discussion.

8.2 (A)symmetry in Lubukusu, existing work

There is existing work in Lubukusu already on concerns of (a)symmetry among objects. For example, Baker et al. (2012) show that benefactive applicatives show symmetry in word order (11), passivization (12), and object marking (13):[3]

(11) Lubukusu symmetrical word order (Baker et al. 2012: (4))

a. *wékésá átéexela sáá^{l}rá βjáxúljᵩ́*
Wekesa a-a-tekh-el-a Sara by-akhulia.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-cook-APPL-FV 1.Sara 8-food
'Wekesa cooked food for Sara.'

b. *wékésá átéexela βjáxúljá sáárᵩ́*

[3] Baker et al. (2012) show that causatives pattern similarly symmetrically in Lubukusu, but causatives show an exception when one of the objects is a local pronoun (1st/2nd person); in this instance, the local pronoun may only be the causee, and is unacceptable as the THEME. Investigating the connections between this asymmetry and the doubling patterns reported in this volume is an interesting domain for future research, but goes beyond the scope of the current work (for the most part, causatives behave like all other double object constructions considered in this work, but we have not investigated this local pronoun exception further). Similarly, Jerro (2019) discusses an instance of exceptional (a)symmetry appearing in Lubukusu in ingestive predicates, but that likewise goes beyond our core concerns, being something that can be revisited in the context of our proposals here.

Wekesa a-a-tekh-el-a by-akhulia Sara.
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-cook-APPL-FV 8-food 1.Sara
'Wekesa cooked food for Sara.'

(12) Lubukusu symmetrical passive (Baker et al. 2012: (5))

a. *sáárá átéexelwa βjáxúlją́*
Sara a-a-tekh-el-w-a by-akhulia.
1.Sara 1SM-PST-cook-APPL-PASS-FV 8-food
'Sara was cooked food.'

b. *βjáxúljá βjátéexelwa sáárą*
By-akhulia by-a-tekh-el-w-a Sara.
8-food 8SM-PST-cook-APPL-PASS-FV 1.Sara
'The food was cooked for Sara.'

(13) Lubukusu symmetrical object marking (Baker et al. 2012: (6))

a. *wafula ámwíirira lííxeesę́*
Wafula a-mw- ir-ir-a li-khese.
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-1OM-kill-APPL-FV 5-sheep
'Wafula killed a sheep for him/her.'

b. *wafula álíirira wekesą́*
Wafula a-li- ir-ir-a Wekesa.
1.Wafula 1SM.PST-5OM-kill-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa
'Wafula killed it for Wekesa.'

In Chapter 5 we argued that symmetrical word order as in (11) is explained by prominence-related scrambling to Spec,PromP. Sikuku et al. (2018) show that symmetry is lost in verum contexts: doubling is possible, but only the structurally higher object can be OM-doubled, and symmetrical word order is lost as well. In that work we generalized that conclusion to all doubling constructions, as at the time verum constructions were the only environments that we were aware of that licensed doubling. This chapter shows that this is not accurate, and it is in fact possible to OM-double structurally lower objects, without verum-like readings, in the event that the context is controlled in the manner that we have established up to this point in the volume for licensing OM-doubling. That said, the facts reported by Sikuku et al. (2018) are accurate: in verum-like contexts only the structurally higher object is accessible for doubling, and word order is restricted as well. We revisit these patterns in §8.14.2 below, as well as an additional pattern where symmetry is lost in Lubukusu OM-doubling.

8.3 Lubukusu non-doubling OMs are symmetrical

As documented by Sikuku et al. (2018) and Baker et al. (2012), in Lubukusu double object constructions it is possible to object-mark either object on the verb in non-doubling constructions.

(14) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: (68)-(69))

a. N-á-a wéékésá síi-tabu.
1SG.SM-PST-give.FV 1.Wekesa 7.7-book
'I gave Wekesa the book.'

b. N-á-mu- a síi-tabu.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give.FV 7.7-book
'I gave him the book.'

c. N-á-si- a weekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-7OM-give.FV 1.Wekesa
'I gave it to Wekesa.'

This is true of lexical ditransitives (14), benefactive applicatives, and causatives. It is also true of instrumental applicatives, which show a relevant distinction from the others: specifically, in instrumental applicatives the applied argument (the INSTRUMENT) is structurally lower than the THEME. In other applicative/causative constructions, the 'added' argument is structurally higher than the THEME object. Nonetheless, either argument may still be object-marked.

(15) **Lubukusu** (Sikuku et al. 2018: (71))

a. N-áasaak-il-a chíi-xú é-yaaywa.
1SG.SM.PST-chop-APPL-FV 10.10-firewood 9-axe
'I chopped the wood with the axe.'

b. N-áasaak-il-a é-yaaywá chíi-xu.
1SG.SM.PST-chop-APPL-FV 9-axe 10.10-firewood
'I chopped the wood with the axe.'

(16) **Lubukusu** (Sikuku et al. 2018: (72))

a. N-á-ch- aasaak-il-a é-yaaywa.
1SG.SM-PST-10OM-chop-APPL-FV 9axe
'I chopped it with the axe.'

b. N-á-ky- aasaak-il-a chíi-xu.
1SG.SM-PST-9OM-chop-APPL-FV 10-firewood
'I chopped the wood with it.'

8.4 Lubukusu OM-doubling *appears* less symmetrical

OM-doubling appears less symmetrical than the non-doubling OM constructions noted in (13)-(16). It is very natural to OM-double the RECIPIENT in a ditransitive, but OM-doubling a THEME is unacceptable in a sentence like (17).

(17) *wékésá áβáawa βáβáanǎá ‖ βíʲjánwá xúβeel' ómúlaji*
Wekesa a-(ba /#*bi*)-w-a ba-ba-ana *bi-anwa* khubela
1.Wekesa 1SM-(2OM/#8OM)-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts because
o-mu-layi.
1-1-good
'Wekesa gave the children gifts because he is a good person.'
(*reason adjuncts are comfortable licensing contexts for OM-doubling*)

Across a broad range of examples (including lexical ditransitives, benefactive applicatives, instrumental applicatives, and causatives) the structurally higher object is readily OM-doubled (if context allows), but the structurally lower one resists OM-doubling. For example, attempting to double the structurally lower object from the instrumental applicative in (15) above is unacceptable without additional context.

(18) *#nakíjasaakila tʃíʲíxw' ííjajwa*
#N-a-ky- aasaak-il-a chíi-xu e-yaaywa .
1SG.SM-PST-9OM-chop-APPL-FV 10-firewood 9axe
'I chopped the firewood with the axe.'

We can see this by trying to replicate the focus-background kinds of contexts that we have seen thus far facilitating doubling, in (19) focusing the RECIPIENT, and in (20) focusing a temporal adverbial. In both instances, doubling the structurally lower object is unacceptable without additional pragmatic context.

(19) *βáβáaná βáréerera βáβéeβúsí βóŋéné ʲkáméetʃi*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) rer-er-a **ba-b-ebusi b-ong'ene**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 2-only
ka-m-echi .
6-6-water
'The children brought water to only their parents .'

(20) a. *βáβáaná βáréerera βáβéeβúsí káméetʃi líina*

Ba-ba-ana ba-a-rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi ka-m-echi liina?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-water when
'When did the children brought their parents water?'

b. *βáβáaná βáreeréere βáβéeβúsí káméetʃi likolooβą*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-(#ka-) rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi (ka-m-echi)
2-2-children 2SM-PST-6OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-water
likolooba.
yesterday
'The children brought their parents water yesterday.'

These are just illustrations of the broad-reaching pattern: while OM-doubling the structurally highest object is regularly available (as we saw repeatedly in Chapter 4 and in other chapters in this volume), doubling the structurally lower object is much less available. We detail the pragmatic and grammatical conditions that make it possible to OM-double the structurally lower object in what follows, while also clarifying the ways in which the default operation is to double the structurally higher object.

8.5 'Relative informativity' licenses doubling lower object

Despite the robust trend of doubling the structurally higher of two objects, there are contexts where OM-doubling the structurally lower object is entirely natural. These contexts are those in which the structurally lower object is interpreted as highly informative in context, and the intervening object is relatively uninformative. In (21) the nominal topic marker *chana* 'the X we are talking about' is added to the THEME object, and the RECIPIENT is the nonspecific nominal *omundu* 'person' which is simply interpreted as 'someone' here. As is evident in (21b), it is completely acceptable here to OM-double the THEME object.

(21) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáná*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'To whom did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about?'

b. *semáɲá táá ‖ nekáxálíí ‖ áβíw' omúúndú βíʲjánwá ˡtʃánáá ‖ xúβeel' ómúlaji*

Se-many-a ta, nekakhali a-bi- w-a o-mu-ndu
NEG-1SG.SM.know-FV NEG, but 1SM-8OM-give-FV 1-1-person
bi-anwa chana khubela o-mu-layi.
8-gifts TOP because 1-1-good
'I don't know, but he gave those (amazing) gifts to someone because he is a good person.' (because gift-giving is a sign of good character)

Here, the OM-doubled response in (21b) gives the sense of answering, "*Who is that lucky person that got those wonderful gifts?*" because OM-doubling the lower object here communicates that there is something especially significant about that lower object, in context. Here, the natural interpretation is that the gifts are excellent, quite special gifts. The sense is that all of the attention of both the speaker and the audience is on the nature of the gifts, and the nonspecific RECIPIENT is relatively inconsequential despite the fact that it is the constituent that is questioned by the preceding interrogative. As (22b) shows, when the RECIPIENT has somewhat more specific reference (*babaana* 'children' instead of *omundu* 'someone'), OM-doubling of the structurally lower THEME is still possible in this kind of context:

(22) a. *wékésáá ‖ áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˈtʃáŋ́*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'To whom did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about?'

b. *wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwá ˈtʃáŋ́*
Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa chana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave (the) children those gifts.'

That said, the relative informativity of the intervening RECIPIENT argument matters a lot in determining the acceptability of OM-doubling the structurally lower argument. In (23b) where the RECIPIENT contains a demonstrative, doubling of the structurally lower THEME is borderline ungrammatical.

(23) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˈtʃáŋ́*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'To whom did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about?'

b. *?*wékésá áβíwa βáβáana aβó βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́á*
*?Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana a-b-o
1.Wekesa 1SM-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children DEM-2-DEM
bi-anwa chana .
8-gifts TOP .
'Wekesa gave those children those gifts that we were talking about.'

One could potentially interpret the marginality of (23b) as a specificity effect: perhaps the most local *specific* object is targeted by OM-doubling. This is insufficient, however: notably, any kind of descriptive content added to the RECIPIENT degrades OM-doubling the structurally lower THEME. In (24b) adding an adjective to the RECIPIENT argument disrupts OM-doubling of the THEME.

(24) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́á*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'Who did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about to?'

b. *?wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βáálají βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́á*
*?Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana ba-layi bi-anwa chana .
1.Wekesa 1SM-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2-good 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave (the) good children those gifts that we were talking about.'

Any kind of additional semantic content added to the RECIPIENT DP in (22b) significantly degrades OM-doubling the THEME, including the following:

(25) Properties of 'interveners'
- Possessives (e.g. *babaana ba Nafula* 'Nafula's children')
- Demonstratives (e.g. *babaana abo* 'those kids')
- Quantifiers (e.g *buli mwana* 'every child')[4]
- Adjectives (e.g. *babaana balayi* 'good children')
- Topic marker (*babaana chana* 'the children we were talking about')
- Focus particle (*babaana bong'ene* 'only the children'/'the children alone')

Inserting any of the examples in (25) as the RECIPIENT in (22b) results in the sentence being judged as marginal at best, and closer to fully unacceptable. Notably, this also includes focused interveners, not just given/topic-marked interveners. (26) illustrates the final element in the list in (25).

[4]This is notable, as DPs quantified by *buli* are not even the most natural targets for OM-doubling, though OM-doubling such a DP is not ruled out.

(26) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˩tʃáŋ̍á*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'Who did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about to?'

b. **?wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βóŋ̀éné ˩βíʲjánwá ˩tʃáŋ̍á*
*?Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana b-ong'ene bi-anwa chana .
1.Wekesa 1SM-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2-only 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave only the children those gifts that we were talking about.'

It is clear that given/topical elements are not the only kinds of elements that can intervene: focused elements cause the same intervention effect.

So while it is entirely possible to OM-double the structurally lower object, this is subject to what looks like an intervention effect.[5] So while (as (21) shows) it is perfectly acceptable to OM-double the structurally lower object, it not only depends on properties of that lower object (itself retaining some degree of emphatic interpretation), but also depends on the content of the intervening RECIPIENT argument. This kind of intervention effect is an unfamiliar one, where there is not a clear natural class of interveners apart from them being "informative."

8.6 More locality effects

Despite the restriction on the intervening object to be relatively uninformative, it is possible to OM-double the THEME with a relatively informative RECIPIENT if the THEME is scrambled to IAV position. (27) differs only minimally from the contexts considered in the examples above, here scrambling *bianwa chana* 'the gifts we are talking about' to IAV position in the question as a way of inducing this scrambling in the answer in (27b). Even though *both* the RECIPIENT and the THEME are topic-marked with *chana* as significant in the discourse context, OM-doubling the THEME is perfectly natural.

(27) a. *wékésá áwá βíʲjánwá ˩tʃáná naanu̍*
Wekesa a-w-a bi-anwa chana naanu?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 8-gifts TOP 1.who
'Who did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about to?'

[5] We are marking this unacceptability as ungrammatical as opposed to infelicitous, because we are unaware of pragmatic contexts that make sentences like those in (23b) and (26b) acceptable.

b. *wékésá áβíwa βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáná ˡβáβáana tʃáŋ́*
Wekesa a-bi- w-a bi-anwa chana ba-ba-ana chana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 8-gifts TOP 2-2-children TOP
'Wekesa gave the gifts we have been talking about to the children we have been talking about.'

Notably, the RECIPIENT may be enriched with additional content *without* disrupting OM-doubling of the THEME. In this case, the clause-final RECIPIENT could be enriched with any of the DP-internal material from (25) above, and the construction is still naturally acceptable. In (27b) we illustrate with the topic marker *chana* 'the X we are talking about.'

The same content question, with the alternative word order in question and answer creates the expected intervention effect, however:

(28) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'Who did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about to?'

b. *?*wékésá áβíwa βáβáana tʃánâá ‖ βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́*
*?Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana chana bi-anwa chana.
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 2-2-children TOP 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave the gifts we have been talking about to the children we have been talking about.'

Clearly, the structural height or linear order of the respective arguments matters in licensing OM-doubling; this has the straightforward appearance of an intervention effect, as when the structurally lower object is moved over an intervening DP it is accessible to the OM-doubling relation (27), but when it remains structurally lower than the intervener, unacceptability results (28b). These kinds of locality effects are to be expected for an Agree relation, and are highly familiar cross-linguistically.[6]

That said, an Agree relation that targets the most "informative" constituent is theoretically and empirically unfamiliar (to us, at least), as is an intervention effect created by an "informative" DP, as opposed to some more familiar syntactic feature/property (e.g. Case features, φ-features, etc). However, we suggest that an Agree relation driven by a [FoC]-probe should in fact be *expected* to be subject

[6]The same pattern emerges with other kinds of double object constructions as well, though for the sake of space we do not illustrate more examples here.

to such kinds of constraints, and the instances of intervention above are in fact instances of a [FoC]-marked XP intervening in the Agree relation. There are still details to be sorted out, however; specifically, if the [φ]-probe and [FoC]-probe conduct separate searches, how does an intervening [FoC]-marked phrase disrupt the [φ]-agreement? We will address this below.

8.7 Focus restrictions in symmetrical OM-doubling

In this section we outline the focal effects of the 'symmetrical' doubling contexts we observed above, again drawing on work from the semantics/pragmatics of English intonation and destressing. The first subsection describes the interpretive properties of doubling lower objects, overviews the relevant background from English, and offers a working hypothesis for explaining the symmetrical OM-doubling we saw above. We then examine an alternative account to be rejected, before formalizing the analysis in §8.9.

8.7.1 'Symmetrical' doubling restricts the range of focus interpretations available

Focus interpretations are heavily restricted in instances of OM-doubling a structurally lower object, as opposed to OM-doubling the structurally higher object. To see how this is the case consider the context below, and the examples that follow where we compare OM-doubling different objects.

(29) *When bringing cows as part of the dowry, you want the bride's family to be appropriately impressed, so it earns you respect to bring good cows. (Cows are necessarily part of a dowry, traditionally.) Conversely, if you bring sickly cows or bad breeds, or thin/skinny cows, it will be viewed as disrespectful and the family will feel that you are not valuing their daughter. So in this context, Wafula was saving for a long time and finally collected the money and the animals to be able to pay the dowry so he can marry his fiancé. In the sentence expressed below, there is a clear sense of emphatic emphasis that it is noteworthy that this happened yesterday, that he has **finally** succeeded, after a very long time. There is attention on the timing of this long-awaited task and the speaker is expressing that it is notable that it happened yesterday after a long wait.*

a. *wafula áaβáréeréere líkólóóβá βááˈxwé tʃíxáaf*

Wafula a-ba- rer-ere **likolooba** ba-akhwe chi-khaafu.
1.Wafula 1SM-2OM-bring-PFV yesterday 2-in.laws 10-cows
'Wafula brought (his) in-laws cows YESTERDAY (finally)."

b. *wafula áaβáréeréere βáá^{l}xwé tʃíxáafu likolooβ̩a*
Wafula a-ba- rer-ire ba-akhwe chi-khaafu **likolooba**.
1.Wafula 1SM-2OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows yesterday
'Wafula brought (his) in-laws cows YESTERDAY (finally)."

We see here that OM-doubling the RECIPIENT object naturally licenses emphatic focus on the temporal adverbial, which can be in IAV position (Spec,PromP) or in its canonical position. In the same context, however, it is impossible to OM-double the THEME object *chikhaafu* 'cows' to get the same emphasis on 'yesterday.'

(30) *In the same context as (29): this FINALLY happened*

a. *#wafula áatʃíréeréere βáá^{l}xwé tʃíxáafu likolooβ̩a*
#Wafula a-chi- rer-ire ba-akhwe chi-khaafu **likooloba**.
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows yesterday
'Wafula brought (his) in-laws cows YESTERDAY (finally)."

b. *#wafula áatʃíréeréere líkólóóβá βáá^{l}xwé tʃíxáafu̩*
#Wafula a-chi- rer-ire **likooloba** ba-akhwe chi-khaafu .
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV yesterday 2-in.laws 10-cows
'Wafula brought (his) in-laws cows YESTERDAY (finally)."

The examples in (30) could be acceptable in some context that made the cows especially notable, but in the context in (29) they are unacceptable. Instead, if the sentence was making note that the cows which Wafula brought were especially fat (i.e. healthy, meaning a good dowry), then OM-doubling the structurally lower object follows quite naturally. To aid the visualization we only circle the head of the OM-doubled DP in these instances.[7]

(31) *In roughly the same context as (29), but in this case the cows themselves are notable because of how healthy and fat they are: this is a very good dowry*
wafulăă ‖ áatʃíréeréere βáá^{l}xwé tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkali tʃóŋéné likolooβ̩a

[7] In the examples that follow we only circle the relevant head noun of the doubled DP for typesetting purposes.

Wafula a-chi- rer-ire ba-akhwe **chi-khaafu** **chi-nefu**
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-fat
lu-kali **ch-ong'ene** likolooba.
11-much/more 10-only yesterday
'Wafula brought his in-laws only really fat cows yesterday'

Likewise, the cows could be notable for being skinny, because it means that Wafula's dowry is especially bad.

(32) *In roughly the same context as (29), but in this case the cows themselves are notable because of how skinny and sickly they are: this is a terrible dowry*
wafula áatʃíréeréere βááˈxwé tʃíxáafú tʃíŋawú lúkali likolooβ̥a
Wafula a-chi- rer-ire ba-akhwe **chi-khaafu** **chi-ng'au**
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-skinny
lu-kali likolooba.
11-much/more yesterday
'Wafula brought his in-laws really skinny cows yesterday.'

We see, therefore, that (like we saw above) it is possible for the structurally lower object to be focused in particular ways which make it possible to double the lower object. This makes the observation from (30) all the more significant, however: while there is still a significant connection with emphatic focus in this kind of 'symmetrical' doubling, the focus effects of doubling a structurally lower object are centered on that structurally lower object itself. This is a strong departure from the doubling patterns we saw throughout Chapter 4 and analyzed in Chapter 6, where doubling the RECIPIENT in a ditransitive (or the THEME in a monotransitive) most naturally creates focus on some *other* element in the Comment Domain, distinct from the doubled object.[8]

In the examples below we can see this quite clearly when OM-doubling the highest object as opposed to OM-doubling a structurally lower object. (33) offers a variety of contexts for which (34) can serve as a response. In each of these, in responding to a question with a doubled sentence, the answer must carry some unexpected element that is being emphasized on the new-information-focused element in order to be completely naturally licensed, following the conclusions from Chapter 7, that doubling is an emphatic focus strategy. In service of keeping the data descriptions to a manageable length, here, we simply assume for each judgment offered in (34) that some kind of relevant context is accommodated to license doubling.

[8] It is not required that emphasis be on some non-doubled constituent (the doubled DP may be focused), but it is quite common, perhaps even the typical pattern.

(33) a. **Temporal Question**:
wafulaá ‖ áareeréere βááˈxwé tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkalí líiną
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe chi-khaafu chi-nefu lu-kali
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-fat 11-much/more
liina?
when
'When did Wafula bring his in-laws really fat cows?'

b. **Theme Question**:
wafula áareeréere βááˈxwé síina likolooβą
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 7.what yesterday
'What did Wafula bring his in-laws yesterday?'

c. **Recipient Question**:
wafula áareeréere naanu tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkali likolooβą
Wafula a-rer-ire naanu chi-khaafu chi-nefu lu-kali
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 1.who 10-cows 10-fat 11-much/more
likolooba?
yesterday
'Who did Wafula bring really fat cows to yesterday?'

d. **VP Question**:
wafula áaxolilé síina likolooβą
Wafula a-khol-ile siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-do-PFV 7.what yesterday
'What did Wafula do yesterday?'

(34) *wafula áaβáréeréere βááˈxwé tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkali likolooβą*
Wafula a-ba- rer-ire ba-akhwe chi-khaafu chi-nefu
1.Wafula 1SM-2OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-fat
lu-kali likolooba.
11-much/more yesterday
'Wafula brought his in-laws really fat cows yesterday.'
Particular emphasis varies based on which question it is responding to
In response to (33a): ✓ **Temporal Question**
In response to (33b): ✓ **Theme Question**
In response to (33c): ✓ **Recipient Question**
In response to (33d): ✓ ***v*P Question**

What this says is that the sentence in (34) is an acceptable answer to any of the

questions in (33). Stated another way, OM-doubling the RECIPIENT in a ditransitive is consistent with emphatic focus on any *v*P-internal material, whether the RECIPIENT, the THEME, a temporal adjunct, or the entire verb phrase. Again, an appropriate context is required for focusing each of these constituents, but for expositional purposes we do not detail them here (e.g., a mirative context: see Chapter 7 for a full discussion).

These variable focus possibilities are lost, however, when doubling the structurally lower object. As (35) shows, when the *chikhaafu chinefu lukali* 'really fat cows' is doubled, the sentence is only a good response to a direct object question (i.e. a circumstance with emphatic focus on the THEME direct object). Whereas in (34) any *v*P sub-constituent may bear focus (or the *v*P itself), in (35) only the THEME may do so. Again, keep in mind that the answers must be contextually unexpected/notable in order to be completely natural here, but we limit the amount of discourse context we provide for expository purposes.

(35) *wafula áatʃíréeréere βááˈxwé tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkali likolooβa̰*
Wafula a-chi- rer-ire ba-akhwe **chi-khaafu** **chi-nefu**
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-fat
lu-kali likolooba.
11-much/more yesterday
'Wafula brought his in-laws really fat cows yesterday.'

In response to (33a): #	**Temporal Question**
In response to (33b): ✓	**THEME Question**
In response to (33c): #	**RECIPIENT Question**
In response to (33d): #	***v*P Question**

Doubling the highest object is consistent with emphatic focus on any constituent inside the *v*P (and with focus on the *v*P itself). In stark contrast, doubling the structurally lower object in a ditransitive construction is only compatible with emphatic focus on that same lower object, and infelicitous otherwise.

This has impressive similarity with English facts about default assignment of the nuclear pitch accent, as documented extensively in that literature (Zubizarreta 1998, Selkirk 1996, Büring 2016). The default assignment of the nuclear pitch accent (NPA), i.e. the main prosodic stress in the sentence, would be to the object *eggs* in (36), annotated in small caps.

(36) Alex ate EGGS.

This assignment of the pitch accent is consistent with focus on the object, e.g. in response to the question in (37a). But it is also consistent with verb phrase

focus, in response to the question in (38a), and with broad sentential focus, in response to the out-of-the-blue prompt in (39a). In each of the examples below, the intonation is identical (with the NPA occurring on *eggs*), despite the size of the focused constituent varying in each instance, controlled for by the initiating question in each instance. The bracketed constituent marks the focus in each answer.

(37) a. What did Alex eat? **THEME Question**
b. Alex ate [EGGS]$_F$.

(38) a. What did Alex do? **VP Question**
b. Alex [ate EGGS]$_F$.

(39) a. What happened? **Out of the Blue Question**
b. [Alex ate EGGS]$_F$.

We can see, therefore, that in English the default assignment of intonational prominence (the nuclear pitch accent) is consistent with a focus of variable sizes, given the default assignment rules for nuclear pitch accents (to the last word, roughly, of the focused constituent). This is analogous (not in the fine-grained details, but in the general overall picture) to the default OM-doubling of the structurally higher object: it is consistent with any focus-background structure that includes an emphatic focus on or in the verb phrase.

Compare that with the example in (41b), where the NPA has moved off *eggs* and instead rests on *ate* (the de-accented *eggs* is discourse-given in this instance). This is inappropriate for answering any of the questions from above:

(40) a. What did Alex eat?
b. What did Alex do?
c. What happened?
d. #Alex ATE eggs.

Instead, the only focus that is appropriate for a sentence with an NPA on the verb is verb focus, where the object is specifically discourse-given in context.

(41) a. What did Alex do with eggs?
b. Alex [ATE]$_F$ eggs.

What we see, then, is that the grammatical strategies used for marking focal domains can create focus ambiguities, and default marking of a focus domain shows a tendency to be compatible with the broadest range of contexts. In English, default stress assignment paired with the structure of English creates scenarios where the presence of the NPA on the object is consistent with focus on constituents of various sizes, as long as they all have the object as the final element inside them (and therefore, the stress-bearing element). In Lubukusu, the default demarcation of the focus domain seems to be the edge of *v*P, which results in object marking the highest object. But a focus operator at (roughly) the edge of *v*P is consistent with focus on a variety of constituents internal to the verb phrase.

The correlations between English and Lubukusu here suggest that it is only particular contexts that license non-default information structures, and therefore these create more constraints on possible interpretations.[9] There are important differences, however. The grammatical mechanism that implements focal distinctions in English is intonation, and therefore we find strong linearity effects—sub-constituents of sentence constituents may be directly marked as focused or given (whether bearing the NPA or destressed). But the structural dependency of object marking operations (dependent on mechanisms of Agree, and hierarchical structure) result in distinct DPs being targeted through the combination of merging Com° heads, and Agree relations, and prominence-related scrambling to PromP. In this instance, we do not see focus/givenness effects shifted among sub-constituents of DPs or other XPs in the same way, as the grammatical mechanisms encoding the information structure do not have the same fluidity that intonation does.

We will analyze this in terms of the properties of complex probes. Recall the featural analysis we have arrived at for the probing operations originating on Com°, which is illustrated in Figure 8.1: the focus operator (~) introduces a [FoC]-probe that searches its c-command domain and finds a [FoC]-marked XP. Likewise, the [φ]-probe on Com° searches its c-command domain for a DP bearing φ-features, and the Goal DP's φ-features are copied back to the [φ]-probe on Com°. This Agree relation also requires that the Goal DP be discourse-given, which we will formalize below in §8.9.

[9] This is not to suggest that there are no ambiguities that arise even in these contexts; it is arguable, for example, that *Alex* ATE *eggs* is consistent with *eggs* being given, even if the verb itself is not focused. Our point here is not to argue for a shared system between Lubukusu and English, however, but rather our purpose is to continue to show by analogy that these are two quite distinct grammatical systems for encoding quite similar information-structural considerations.

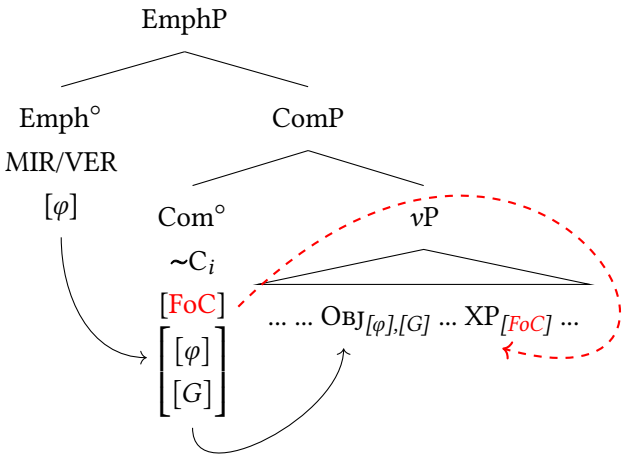


Figure 8.1: Schematic of features/heads generating OM-doubling in Lubukusu. To be revised in §8.9.

A central part of the analysis sketched in Figure 8.1 is that [FoC] and [φ] can probe separately, finding separate goals, allowing the derivation to converge. This captures many empirical facts where the OM-doubled object (i.e. the one that is the Goal for the [φ]-probe) is not the focused element. In fact, most instances we have considered in this volume to this point show such a dissociation. The pattern of so-called 'symmetrical' OM-doubling discussed in this chapter is the only instance that we have encountered where an OM-doubled object must itself necessarily be focused. We have certainly seen other instances of φ-valuation and [FoC]-marking converging on the same object, but this is the only instance where OM-doubled objects appear to be *required* to be emphatically focused.

In fact, a similar restriction can appear even in instances where we might expect OM-doubling to be completely licit. In (42) we see a basic RECIPIENT question, and in the response there is OM-doubling on the THEME object. When the structurally higher object is OM-doubled, we would expect [FoC] on Com° to be free to find any [FoC]-marked element as a Goal. But this context emphasizes the gifts, and OM-doubling the THEME object in the ditransitive further emphasizes the noteworthy gifts. If we attempt to add unsolicited information in the response (*while visiting from Nairobi*), it creates a confusing sense that the speaker is emphasizing two separate things at the same time.

(42) *Context: in a discussion of some specific excellent, impressive gifts that Wekesa gave to someone in the village.*

Q: *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáná*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'Who did Wekesa give those (good) gifts that we were talking about?'

A: *wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwá ˡtʃánáā ‖ (#naakéˡníjé x:wamá náiróβ̞í)*
Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa chana
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts TOP
(#na-a-keniy-e khu-khw-ama Nairobi).
NE-1SM-visit-SBJ 15-15-from Nairobi
'Wekesa gave children THOSE GOOD GIFTS while he was visiting from Nairobi.'

What we find in (42A), then, is that even in instances where the mechanisms as stated might generally be able to license a construction, we find a preference for one where the [FoC]-marked element and the OM-doubled object are one and the same. So what is the difference, then, between ditransitive constructions OM-doubling the RECIPIENT, vs. those doubling the THEME, when both of them have focus on the theme?

(43) *Context: in a discussion of some specific excellent, impressive gifts that Wekesa gave to someone in the village.*

a. *wékésá áβáwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáną́*
Wekesa a-ba- w-a ba-ba-ana **bi-anwa chana**.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave children THOSE GOOD GIFTS.'

b. *wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáną́*
Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana **bi-anwa chana**.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave children THOSE GOOD GIFTS.'

This is a very nuanced distinction, but (intuitively-speaking) in (43b) all of the attention seems to be on the THEME when the THEME is doubled. We speculate that this interpretive distinction has to do with where [G]-marking has fallen, and there is a distinct interpretation that arises with a phrase that is both [G]-marked and [FoC]-marked. We discuss the mechanics of this more below, though we do expect that future research will be able to clarify interpretive distinctions like this one.

The proposal that we put forward in §8.9 is that non-local doubling occurs in instances where the object marker is the spellout of the [FoC]-probe, rather than

the typical OM-doubling probe (which we have been referring to as the [φ]-probe to this point). But before we formalize this (which will require introducing some new Agree-based formalisms), we will consider an alternative analysis based on the mechanisms we have already introduced, showing that it is not a viable approach.

8.7.2 Alternative to be rejected: embedded focus domains

There is a relevant alternative analysis to be entertained, and its exploration helps to clarify the behavior of the probing features. We will reject this analysis on an empirical basis, showing that an approach based on the properties of featurally complex probing heads is preferable, as we lay out in §8.9. The alternative that we consider briefly here is the idea that these are instances of focus domains being reduced in size, explaining the smaller range of licit focal interpretations. We introduce some relevant theoretical background here, followed by a discussion of its potential application to Lubukusu.

Büring (2016) discusses some particular complexities associated with partial givenness in English; take for example the Q&A congruence context in (44), where a VP question results in focus on the VP in the answer.

(44) a. What should Kim's mother do?
b. # She should [$_{\text{VP}}$ visit KIM]$_{\text{F}}$.
c. She should [$_{\text{VP}}$ VISIT Kim].

The default assignment of the NPA should place it on the final element inside the focus: since the focus is on the verb phrase in the answer, we would expect the NPA to fall on Kim, as in (44b). This is infelicitous in this context, however (unless there were some additional context making Kim a licit contrastive focus). Instead, the natural intonation places the NPA on *visit* in this context, as shown in (44c). As Büring notes, one way to account for this is to allow for givenness marking (call it [G]-marking) on constituents. Therefore, (44c) would have the representation in (45).

(45) She$_{\text{G}}$ should$_{\text{G}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ VISIT$_{\text{F}}$ Kim$_{\text{G}}$].

In this case, a rule about de-accenting given elements could succeed in forcing the NPA off of *Kim* and onto *visit*. Büring offers an alternative, however, which can accomplish the same thing without allowing [G]-marking into the theory. He proposes that focus domains may be stacked: that is to say, he proposes that it is possible to embed an F-domain inside a focus.

(46) $[_{\gamma}\ [_{\gamma}\ [_{\gamma}\ \ldots\ [\alpha_{F}\ \beta]\ldots]\sim C_{i}\ ]_{F}\ \ldots\ ]\sim C_{i}$
(Büring 2016: 71)

Applied to our specific instance here, there would be an F-domain here embedded inside the VP, which is itself focused as well. So the VP here is both focused, and the F-domain for the F-marked verb that is inside the focus.

(47) $[_{TP}\ [_{TP}$ she should $[_{VP}\ [_{VP}$ visit$_{F}$ Kim $]\sim C_{i}\ ]_{F}\ \ldots\ ]\sim C_{i}$
(Büring 2016: 71)

This manages to capture the givenness of *Kim* without introducing a specific set of grammatical markings for givenness, though the semantic theoretical parsimony is not our main concern here. We could not retain Büring's suggestion of eschewing [G]-marking for given elements, because as noted in Chapter 6 OM-doubling is restricted to elements that are grammatically marked as given. Relevant for our concerns is that this notion of a focus operator embedded within another focus operator provides an analytical toolkit to offer an explanation for the instances of 'symmetrical' OM-doubling we have observed, where the structurally lower object is OM-doubled.

The alternative analysis (that we will reject on empirical grounds below) proposes two Com° heads. OM-doubling a structurally lower object is an instance of an embedded focus domain: in these instances, a Com° head is either merged directly atop the structurally lower DP or somewhere else *v*P-internally, such that the OM-doubled object is the most local to the [*φ*]-probe on Com°.

(48) $[_{ComP_2}\ Com_{2}{}^{\circ}\ [_{vP}\ \ldots$ RECIPIENT $\ldots\ [_{VP}\ V\ [_{ComP_1}\ Com_{1}{}^{\circ}\ [$ THEME $\ldots$

In the structure entertained in (48), the structurally lower Com° head ($Com_{1}{}^{\circ}$ in (48)) merges directly with the THEME argument, and as such the [*φ*]-probe on $Com_{1}{}^{\circ}$ probes its c-command domain and agrees with the only DP goal available, the THEME DP. (Merging Com° atop VP, but below *v*P, would yield a similar result.)

The structurally higher Com° at the edge of the Comment Domain ($Com_{2}{}^{\circ}$ in (48)) then is valued for the features of the THEME because of an Agree relation between $Com_{1}{}^{\circ}$ and $Com_{2}{}^{\circ}$, directly parallel to the obligatory Agree relation between focus projections proposed by Quek & Hirsch (2017) to explain the scope of *only* in English. On this account (to be rejected), the restriction of focused material to the doubled object itself in instances of non-local OM-doubling is explained by this smaller focus domain, generated by a focus domain embedded in the usual focus domain (ComP at the edge of *v*P). On this approach, the

apparent non-locality is not in fact due to a non-local Agree relation, instead the lower Com° probes its c-command domain and still finds its most local DP as a Goal. The non-locality would instead be derived by a stipulated obligatory feature-sharing relationship between the multiple Com heads. This possible analysis is illustrated in a tree structure in Figure 8.2.

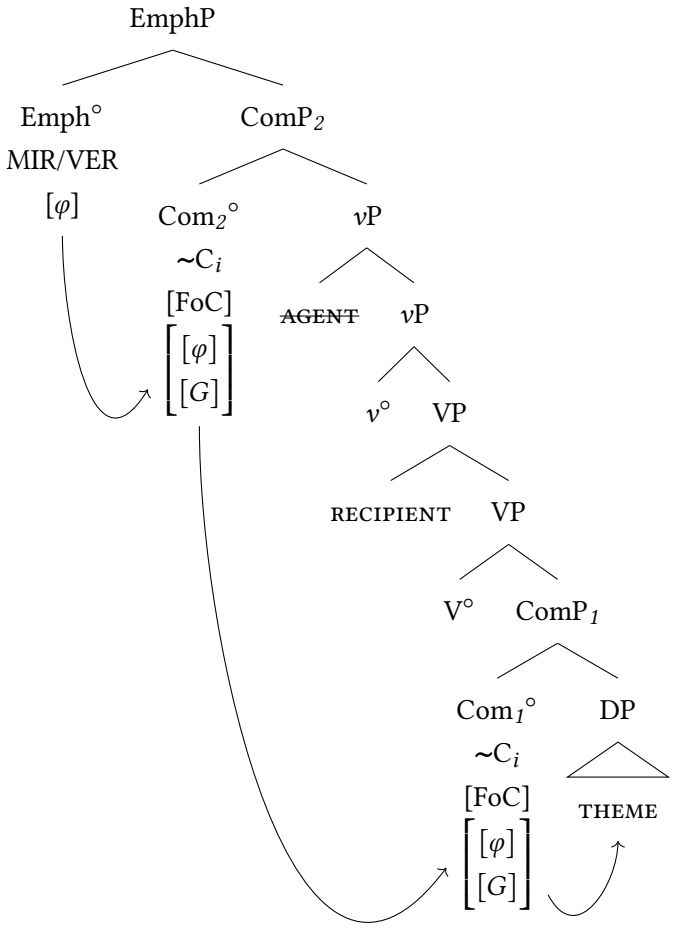


Figure 8.2: Multiple ComP derivation of Lubukusu OM-doubling construction, to be rejected on empirical grounds.

This kind of approach makes an important prediction that is distinct from the analysis that we will adopt here. Namely, a key aspect of the analysis of OM-doubling in canonical contexts is that the focused element and the target of φ-Agree need not be the same XP, and in many instances are not. We explained this by claiming that the [FoC]-probe and [φ]-probe on Com° probe independently. There is no reason that the features on an embedded Com° should behave any differently. As such, the Multiple-Com° analysis predicts that non-local OM-doubling should be compatible with focus on some different element, as long as both Goals (of [FoC] and of [φ]) fell within the scope of the lower Com°. What we find, however, is that this prediction is not upheld.

Consider the tri-transitive object below, which is generated via an applicative morpheme on the lexical ditransitive verb *w-* 'give.' Here the RECIPIENT object is structurally lower than the BENEFACTIVE object, but higher than the THEME object. (49) attempts a doubling construction in this context, doubling the RECIPIENT object, in an attempt to emphasize the THEME object.

(49) *Context: I have been distributing some really fantastic, special gifts on behalf of Wekesa. I want to report this, emphasizing how impressive the gifts are.*
náwéla wékésá βáβáaná βíʲjánwá βíílaji tʃáŋ́á
N-a-(#ba-) w-el-a Wekesa ba-ba-ana **bi-anwa bi-layi**
1SG.SM-PST-2OM-give-APPL-FV 1.Wekesa 2-2-children 8-gifts 8-good
chana
TOP .
'I gave the children those really good gifts we were talking about on behalf of Wekesa.'
Attempted: 'I gave the children THOSE REALLY GOOD GIFTS WE WERE TALKING ABOUT on behalf of Wekesa.' (emphatic focus on the THEME object)

On the multiple-Com approach here, we would expect that OM-doubling the RECIPIENT *babaana* 'children' would be perfectly acceptable: Com$_1$° could merge atop the constituent containing the RECIPIENT and the THEME (but excluding the BENEFACTIVE object). From this position, the [φ]-probe on Com$_1$° could find the RECIPIENT object as a Goal, and the [FoC]-probe on Com$_1$° could find [FoC] on the THEME object as a Goal. As we can see, however, this attempted combination of doubling and emphasis in (49) is infelicitous/confusing. Instead, non-local OM-doubling of the intermediate object here is only acceptable if the emphatic focus is on that RECIPIENT object *babaana* 'children' itself. In the next section we bring together the pieces of our analysis to analyze these facts.

8.8 Focused given elements

Before finalizing the analysis in §8.9, we need to examine one final constraint on OM-doubling. To explore the various interpretive constraints on a structurally lower doubled object, let's revisit an example from above: recall from (35) that OM-doubling the THEME object is possible in response to a THEME question.

(50) a. *wafula áareeréere βááˡxwé síina likolooβạ*
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 7.what yesterday
'What did Wafula bring his in-laws yesterday?'

b. *wafula áatʃíréeréere βááˡxwé tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkali likolooβạ*
Wafula a-chi- rer-ire ba-akhwe chi-khaafu chi-nefu
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-fat
lu-kali likolooba.
11-much/more yesterday
'Wafula brought his in-laws REALLY FAT COWS yesterday.'

We note first that we see the same kinds of interpretive restrictions that we observed repeatedly in Chapter 7; there must be an 'unexpected' interpretation that is a component of the doubling context, which we have analyzed as a mirative focus implicature that arises from a focus implicature operator on a dedicated functional projection (Emph°). In (50) this arises from the exceedingly expressive answer to the question that is highly detailed about the quality of the cows that are brought, and OM-doubling (as opposed to answering with an undoubled sentence) emphasizes the excellent qualities of the cows. That said, (51) shows that if the question explicitly inquires about the qualities of the cows (hence making discussion of the qualities of the cows expected in the discourse), OM-doubling sounds unnatural. (51) accomplishes this with a D-linked question. The same sentence that was acceptable in (50b) is now unacceptable in (51b) as an answer to the D-linked question in (51a).

(51) a. *wafula áareeréere βááˡxwéé ‖ xaafú síina likolooβạ*
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe khaafu siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws cows 7.what yesterday
'What type of cows did Wafula bring his in-laws yesterday?'

b. *wafula áareeréere βááˡxwé tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkalí tʃóŋéné likolooβạ*

Wafula a-(#chi-) rer-ire ba-akhwe chi-khaafu chi-nefu
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-fat
lu-kali ch-ong'ene likolooba.
11-much/more 10-only yesterday
'Wafula brought his in-laws only very fat cows yesterday.'

This is parallel to the patterns we have seen repeatedly throughout this volume, where new information focus is not sufficient to license OM-doubling when it is discourse-expected to be offered. We will propose in the next section that we can explain doubling of structurally lower arguments as instances of the complex set of probing features on Com° exceptionally realizing the features of the [FoC]-probe, rather than the so-called [φ]-probe. Therefore the THEME in this instance not only values [φ] on Com°, but also bears a [FoC]-feature and is the goal of the [FoC]-probe. Following the analysis we laid out in Chapters 6 and 7 for how doubling works, this predicts that the THEME DP itself should be focused (and therefore appropriately focus-licensed in context). But we have also consistently seen that OM-doubled objects are also discourse-given—while we have already seen from the literature that it is entirely possible to have given, focused elements (either partially given focus, or entirely given focus), it is an empirical question as to whether this is true in these instances for Lubukusu doubling.

In fact, it does appear to be true that even structurally-lower OM-doubled objects must also be discourse-given. While a novel THEME (bearing new information focus, in response to a THEME question) readily facilitates doubling the RECIPIENT object in (52b), the same context does not allow OM-doubling of the THEME in (52c). Here the THEME itself is entirely new information, a focused element, and context provides no reason to accommodate a discourse-given reading of 'bags of sugar.'

(52) a. *wafula áareeréere ββááˡxwé síina likolooβ̨a*
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 7.what yesterday
'What did Wafula bring his in-laws yesterday?'

b. *wafula áaβáréeréere ββááˡxwé kámákuɲé kátaarú kámáβoofú ké ésu̧kaarį́*
Wafula a-(ba-) rer-ire ba-akhwe ka-ma-kunya ka-taru
1.Wafula 1SM-2OM-bring-PFV 2-parents 6-6-bags 6-6-three
ka-ma-bofu k-e sukari.
6-6-big 6-ASSOC 9sugar
'Wafula brought his in-laws three big bags of sugar.'

c. *#wafula áakáréeréere βáá^{l}xwé kámákuɲé kátaarú kámáβoofú ké ésʊ́kaarį́*
#Wafula a-ka- rer-ire ba-akhwe ka-ma-kunya ka-taru
1.Wafula 1SM-6OM-bring-PFV 2-parents 6-6-bags 6-6-three
ka-ma-bofu k-e sukari.
6-6-big 6-ASSOC 9sugar
'Wafula brought his in-laws THREE BIG BAGS OF SUGAR.'

Again, this is not entirely surprising, as we have seen that new information focus on an object is not sufficient, on its own, to license doubling on that object. What is somewhat more surprising is that even an elaboration focus here does not make the sentence completely natural, either. The context below is constructed so that a third party (C) expands on B's answer to A's question. So A inquires what Wafula brought his in-laws, and though B answers that it was sugar, C expands to explain that it was in fact impressive, large bags of sugar. This kind of elaboration focus on an object was precisely what licensed OM-doubling of that same object in previous contexts that we observed and doubling *is* possible in a response from C in these examples, but only doubling of the RECIPIENT object, as shown in (53C1). In the same context, emphasizing the same object, it is impossible to OM-double the THEME object in (53C2). This is the case despite the fact that emphatic focus does fall on the THEME object here, as the construction generally requires.

(53) A: *wafula áareeréere βáá^{l}xwé síina likolooβą*
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 7.what yesterday
'What did Wafula bring his in-laws yesterday?'

B: *wafula áareerélé ésʊ́kaarį́*
Wafula a-rer-ere sukari.
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 9sugar
'Wafula brought sugar.'

C1: *wafula áaβáréeréere βáá^{l}xwé kámákuɲé kátaarú kámáβoofú ké ésʊ́kaarį́*
Wafula a-(ba-) rer-ire ba-akhwe ka-ma-kunya ka-taru
1.Wafula 1SM-2OM-bring-PFV 2-parents 6-6-bags 6-6-three
ka-ma-bofu k-e sukari.
6-6-big 6-ASSOC 9sugar
'Wafula brought his in-laws THREE BIG BAGS of sugar.'

C2: #*wafula áakáréeréere βááˡxwé kámákuɲé kátaarú kámáβoofú ké ésɥkaarį*
#Wafula a-ka- rer-ire ba-akhwe ka-ma-kunya ka-taru
1.Wafula 1SM-6OM-bring-PFV 2-parents 6-6-bags 6-6-three
ka-ma-bofu k-e sukari.
6-6-big 6-ASSOC 9sugar
'Wafula brought his in-laws three big bags of sugar.'

While it is fine for participant C to OM-double the RECIPIENT when producing an elaboration focus on the THEME in (53C1), in the alternative (53C2) *sukari* 'sugar' is familiar from context, but the elaboration focus results in a structure where the discourse-given element (sugar) is not the head noun in the elaboration focus context in either (53C) alternative, instead relegated to an associative modifier. The head noun is a discourse-new nominal, bearing emphatic focus in this instance. This suggests that the discourse-given element must be the head of the doubled object in order to license OM-doubling. And in fact, (54) below shows that when this is true in a parallel context, doubling is completely acceptable.

(54) A: *wafula áareeréere βááˡxwé síina likolooβą*
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 7.what yesterday
'What did Wafula bring his in-laws yesterday?'

B: *wafula aareeríré tʃíxáaf*
Wafula a-rer-ire chi-khaafu.
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 10-cows
'Wafula brought cows.'

C: *wafula áatʃíréeréere βááˡxwé tʃíxáafú tʃínefú lúkalį*
Wafula a-chi- rer-ire ba-akhwe chi-khaafu chi-nefu lu-kali.
1.Wafula 1SM-10OM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 10-cows 10-fat very
'Wafula brought his in-laws REALLY FAT COWS.'

So, what we see from the contrast between (53) and (54) is that while some kind of emphatic focus on the structurally lower object is necessary to license doubling of the lower object, in addition to this, the head nominal must be given/accessible in context in order for the DP to be eligible to participate in the Agree relation that generates the OM.

We can see a circumstance where OM-doubling follows naturally in the 'bags of sugar' example by adjusting the context: when the relevant bags are already highly familiar, it is natural to OM-double the THEME object.

(55) *Context: there must be something special about these particular bags of sugar. The bags were in a local market for some time, but people didn't have money to buy them all, so they sat there for a long while but the good son-in-law came and bought all of them and brought them to the in-laws.*

So there is an element of surprise here: nobody else could afford those bags, but Wafula could. In this context it follows naturally to OM-double the THEME:

(56) a. *wafula áareeréere ßáá^{l}xwé síina likolooßą*
Wafula a-rer-ire ba-akhwe siina likolooba?
1.Wafula 1SM-bring-PFV 2-in.laws 7.what yesterday
'What did Wafula bring his in-laws yesterday?'

b. *wafula áakáréeréere ßáá^{l}xwé kámákuŋá kámáßoofu akó ké ésʉkaarį*
Wafula a-ka- rer-ire ba-akhwe ka-ma-kunya ka-ma-bofu
1.Wafula 1SM-6OM-bring-PFV 2-parents 6-6-bags 6-6-big
ako k-e sukari.
6.DEM 6-ASSOC 9sugar
'Wafula brought (his) in-laws those big bags of sugar.'[10]

In this instance, the bags in question are familiar in the discourse, expressed as such via the inclusion of a demonstrative in the answer in (56b). Furthermore, it is particularly significant that it was those particular bags of sugar that he bought. So this is an instance of a DP that is both given (the bags are familiar), and focused in the relevant way (those bags are significant and the purchase of those, as opposed to others, is socially impactful). The intuitive sense is that the more information-rich and salient the lower object is the better a candidate it is for OM-doubling; that is to say, the lower object is discourse-given and contain-ins notable information, whether via possessives, demonstratives, modifiers, or other material.

Instances of partially-given focused phrases (where a portion of a constituent is given and another portion is focused) are familiar from the literature on English prosodic focus.

(57) a. John ate a green apple.

[10] Additional notes on interpretation here: The bags should have characteristics of standing out from the rest of the items that could have been bought. They must have some kind of value, as our context here requires, but they could also stand out (for example) by being devalued, rather than being highly valuable: perhaps everyone despises these particular bags, and Wafula came and got them.

b. No, he ate a RED apple
(Schwarzschild 1999: (20))

This is an instance of partial givenness of the object DP (and, necessarily, all constituents that dominate DP)—the existence of *an apple* is given in context, but the property *red* is novel: contrastive focus in the sense of Büring (2016). Therefore, we should not be surprised at all to see partially given DP constituents, and taking into consideration that OM-doubling implements the grammar of marking focus/givenness, it is also unsurprising that we would see this borne out in a single DP. The context in (55) clearly entails the existence of some particular (relevant) bags of sugar that stand out from other (usual) bags of sugar, qualifying the THEME DP as appropriately licensed, having a focus antecedent in context. So it appears, then, that for a structurally lower object to be object-marked, it must be both discourse-given *and* focused.[11]

So why did our dowry example in (30) appear to be exempt from the familiarity/givenness constraint that appears to apply in this context? Recall from that instance that what appears to be a simple answer to a *wh*-question targeting the THEME argument in a benefactive ditransitive licenses OM-doubling on the THEME, so it is not clear that any element from the THEME object is given. In fact, it is quite likely that it *is* subject to the same kind of constraint, and that the cultural context actually made the head noun of the doubled object (*chikhaafu* 'cows') familiar/given. Cows are traditionally a foundational part of a dowry among the Bukusu people (as with many people in East Africa), and therefore any discussion of what kind of dowry was being offered in relation to a potential marriage would render the existence of *chingaafu* 'cows' (by situational/cultural knowledge) entailed by the discourse context.

The takeaway lesson from this section is that while structurally-lower objects must themselves bear emphatic focus in order to be OM-doubled, this is not a sufficient condition. The givenness requirement on OM-doubling that should be familiar to us at this point is still in effect: doubling a structurally lower object (like a THEME object in a benefactive applicative construction) requires that the doubled object be both focused and given.

[11] We saw a similar situation appear with monotransitive doubling in (10) of Chapter 7.

8.9 Formalizing non-local ('symmetrical') OM-doubling

8.9.1 Summarizing the interaction of focus, givenness, and OM-doubling

In almost all instances, OM-doubling the structurally highest object is the grammatical outcome. It is only when the lower object is focused and given (and the intervening object is wholly backgrounded and uninformative) that OM-doubling that lower object is acceptable. Doubling in general is possible with focused objects as long as the general requirements on OM-doubling constructions are met, so the possibility of [FoC] occurring on the Goal of the OM-doubling Agree operation is not shocking. But the non-local doubling of a structurally lower object *requires* focus on that object, whereas we have encountered no other constraint on OM-doubling where the OM-doubled object is required to be focused. In all instances of doubling, of course, emphatic focus is involved. But it is quite common for the [φ]-probe that accomplishes OM-doubling to find a different goal from the [FoC]-probe: in Table 8.1 this possibility is represented in Row 1, where [FoC] falls on the THEME object and the RECIPIENT object is [G] and OM-doubled, but recall from Chapter 4 that this configuration is possible with focus on any other *v*P-internal element as well. Therefore, in general, there is no requirement that [FoC] and OM-related [φ] find the same goal.

The empirical discussion that has preceded regarding which DPs can be OM-doubled (and when) in ditransitive constructions has of course been complicated. The overall pattern for the distribution of [FoC], [G], and which object's φ-features are represented by the OM is sketched in Table 8.1. The cells in Table 8.1 represent all logically possible distributions of features for focus, givenness, and doubling in a ditransitive. As it has become empirically clear that OM-doubled DPs are always discourse-given, however, we have grayed out all rows that separate the OM-doubling Goal from a [G]-feature, which are all unacceptable. This chart assumes the presence of one given element and one focused element in a verb phrase; this is a simplification of course, and we explore further predictions for more complex information structures in §8.11.

On the account advanced thus far, Rows 1-2 in Table 8.1 are predicted. Row 1 is our 'base case,' where the [φ]-probe finds the structurally highest object, and the [FoC]-Probe independently Agrees with the [FoC]-marked lower object (here, again, the [FoC]-marked element is the lower object, but recall that it can be any XP inside the Comment Domain). Row 2 was a less typical case, but still follows from our analysis: OM-doubled objects may be focused as long as they are also discourse-given. D-linked *wh*-phrases are a prime instance of this kind of

Table 8.1: Chart of the possible combinations of focus, givenness, and OM-doubling in a lexical ditransitive construction. The circled feature set marks which object is OM-doubled. Dashes mark arguments that bear neither [G] or [FoC]. Chart assumes V-RECIPIENT-THEME word order.

	RECIPIENT DP	THEME DP	Acceptability
1	(G)	[FoC]	✓
2	(G) [FoC]	-	✓
3	[FoC]	(G)	*
4	-	(G) [FoC]	✓
5	(-)	[G],[FoC]	*
6	(FoC)	[G]	*
7	[G]	(FoC)	*
8	[G] [FoC]	(-)	*

configuration. So the [φ]-probe still finds the most local object as a Goal, which in this case happens to be an object that is also focused.

Row 3 is the kind of construction that argues against the OM-generating probe as a [G]-probe (what we called G-Activity). If the OM-generating probe was simply a [G]-probe seeking a [G]-marked DP, and [FoC] probes separately, we would expect the configuration in Row 3 to be acceptable, but it is not (OM-doubling the THEME object, with emphatic focus on the RECIPIENT DP). Example (50a) of Chapter 4 showed that the pattern in Row 3 is unacceptable. Notably, this is the precise configuration that is acceptable in isiZulu, and which motivates Zeller (2015) to offer a version of the G-Activity analysis for isiZulu (see Pietraszko 2023 for a similar analysis of Ndebele object marking, and Bárány 2023 for a similar approach to symmetrical objects).

Row 4 is the central issue we are concerned with here, in the context of the other rows. Clearly, as a general rule, focus and φ-Agree are not obligatorily linked in Lubukusu with respect to OM-doubling, as it is quite common for the φ-features that value the features of the OM to come from a DP other than the focused element in the sentence. Rather, it appears to be that the only way that strict locality is not obeyed in Lubukusu OM-doubling is if the φ-features that are copied back to the probe(s) on Com° are from the same DP that is the Goal of the [FoC]-probe. As pointed out for example (49) above, it appears that any non-local OM-doubling necessarily is an instance of the OM-doubled object being jointly focused and discourse-given. In the next section we outline an Agree-theoretic

account that is capable of capturing this collection of facts.

8.9.2 Interaction and Satisfaction

The standard approach to Agree (since Chomsky 2000, 2001) is that Probes are syntactic elements (usually on heads) that are merged into the structure bearing uninterpretable, unvalued features (*u*F). Those features need to be valued (or checked/deleted, depending on the version of the theory) in the course of the derivation: as Probes, they search their c-command domain for an element that bears the valued, interpretible counterpart of the *u*F that is performing the search. Those values are then copied back to the probe, which is either then deleted, or simply "content" having sought out a value (again, depending on the precise version of the theory, which has seen many minor adjustments over time: cf. Carstens 2001, Pesetsky & Torrego 2007, Carstens 2011, and Preminger 2014, to name just a few significant pieces of work on the topic). As discussed by Deal (2024), this approach raises some significant theoretical questions, not least of which is why something like uninterpretable, unvalued features ought to exist in the first place, if their only purpose is to be made to disappear in the course of a derivation.

In a series of recent work Deal (2015, 2024) has proposed an alternative version of the Agree relation that still retains the notion of Probes and Goals, but redefines the nature of Probes specifically.

> [Can] a distinct etiology for Agree [be] identified — one which would avoid the postulation of uninterpretable features, on one hand, and provide a more straightforward explanation for feature copying, on the other[?] Perhaps the most direct resolution of both issues lies in the suggestion that Agree most fundamentally is exactly what it looks like: a device for introducing featural redundancies in syntax. Why should natural language syntax have an operation with this property? Because syntactic structures shape the input to morphological and in turn phonological structures, which are used in human communication; redundancy in communication is useful for information transfer in view of noise. The existence of an operation that generates redundancies in syntactic representations has the downstream effect of allowing communication to be redundant without requiring redundant information to be stored in the lexicon (e.g. in verbs that lexically select only for very particular classes of potential arguments). From this perspective it might be further speculated that the operations Merge and Agree, between them, represent the two major functions for which human language is so

> well adapted: Merge facilitates recursive processes of cognition and thus higher-order thought, whereas Agree facilitates communication and thus collaboration and social organization. (Deal 2024: 6)

It has become well established that probes are relativized as to the features they probe for: a WH-probe searches for WH-features, a [φ]-probe searches for φ-features, etc. And in fact, a lot of research has shown that even [φ]-probes can be highly refined, seeking (for example) only plural features, only person features, etc (see, for example, Béjar & Rezac 2009 and Preminger 2014, among others). Deal (2015, 2024) proposes that probes are specified for an interaction condition, i.e. the feature(s) that a probe will copy back to itself. At the same time, it is well documented that probes at times *stop* their search after finding a Goal: therefore, Deal also proposes that probes may optionally be specified for a satisfaction condition, i.e. a feature that, once found, halts the probe's search. Crucially, interaction and satisfaction conditions need not be the same. "This is because features are copied to create redundancy, not to repair a defect in the features of the probe such as uninterpretability or unvaluedness" (Deal 2024).

(58) Comparison of four dimensions of Agree (Deal 2024: 7)

	***u*F model**	**Interaction/Satisfaction model**
1.	Certain lexical items are intrinsically defective	Certain lexical items have the ability to create redundancy
2.	Agree happens to repair these defects	Agree happens to create redundancy
3.	Agree stops when the deficiency is repaired (or there is no more structure)	Agree stops when the satisfaction condition is met (or there is no more structure)
4.	Agree transfers only the feature in which there is a deficiency	Agree transfers all interaction features until the satisfaction condition is met

Deal formalizes this by suggesting that probes are represented with an interaction condition and a satisfaction condition: [INT:α,SAT:β]. She likewise notes that the conditions can in principle be single features, or sets of features: this distinction will prove central to account for Lubukusu OM-doubling, and we discuss this in much more detail in §8.9.3. To illustrate this with a familiar example, Deal gives the conditions for a familiar example like [φ]-probes on T in (59).

(59) English-like T probe: [INT:φ,SAT:φ]

a. Interaction with [φ]: [φ] and all features that it geometrically dominates are copied to the probe.
b. Satisfaction by [φ]: copying [φ] halts further probing of additional potential goals.
(Deal 2024: (9))

The analysis in (59) derives why T acquires φ-features from a DP goal in its c-command domain, but also why it Agrees with the most local goal, as T is satisfied once it finds a DP with φ-features.

As argued by Deal (2015), there are instances where the interaction and satisfaction conditions of a probe are non-identical. Deal (2015) addresses this issue in the realm of complementizer agreement: in (60a) we see an embedding complementizer bearing second person agreement, and in (60b) we see it bearing plural agreement, second person, and first person.

(60) Nez Perce C: [INT:φ, SAT:ADDR]

a. ke-m kaa *pro* nees-cew'cew'-teetu *pro*
C-2 then 2SG OBJ.PL-call-HAB.SBJ.SG 1PL
2sg subj/1pl obj: 'When you call us'

b. ke-pe-m-ex kaa *pro* cew'cew'-tee'nix *pro*
C-PL-2-1 then 1PL call-HAB.SBJ.PL 2SG
1pl subj/2sg obj: 'When we call you'

Deal argues that "[a]greeing C in [Nez Perce] copies all φ-features from all DPs until it encounters [ADDR]. In [(60a)], the first [φ]-bearing element probed by C contains the [ADDR] feature; C copies features from this DP only, resulting in second person agreement affix *-m*. Because the satisfaction feature has been encountered, there is no further probing by C. In [(60b)], by contrast, the subject meets the interaction condition (it bears [φ]) but not the satisfaction condition (it lacks [ADDR]). Accordingly, C copies [φ] and all entailing features from both the subject and the object, resulting in a form that encodes plural (from the subject), second person (from the object), and first person (from the subject)" (Deal 2024: 10).

What we can see in (60b), then, is that Nez Perce complementizer agreement shows overt evidence of a probe interacting with more features than just those of the DP that terminates its search. The relevance for Lubukusu is that we will be able to capture the patterns of OM-doubling by specifying probes for particular interaction and satisfaction conditions. Before we explore that, however, we need to look at the ways in which these conditions on probes can be more complex than detailed in this introduction here.

8.9.3 Detailing the properties of complex probes

There is a growing amount of research on what we can call 'complex probes,' i.e. heads bearing multiple probing features of different sorts. For example, Coon & Bale (2014) argue that person and number probes in Mi'gmaq are fused, searching jointly for the appropriate person and number features, attracting a Goal satisfying both probing features, or in the absence of a matching DP, attracting a Goal that is the Best Match according to an algorithm that evaluates the closeness of match. In contrast, both Bossi & Diercks (2019) and Van Urk (2015) argue that a mixed A/A′-position can be explained by a complex probe (including both an A-feature and an A′-feature) that is satisfied by two distinct XPs, satisfying each of the probing features separately.

Scott (2021) formalizes this notion of complex probes in Deal's (2015, 2024) framework. Scott investigates Immediately-After-Verb (IAV) effects in Ndengeleko, where it appears that focused material moves to the IAV position (see Chapters 2.2 and 5 for discussion of IAV effects). For example, the canonical order of double object constructions is S V DO IO, as illustrated in (61).

(61) Ndengeleko (Scott 2021: 6)
Hadiya a-m-pakul-i-a mbaa Kusokuwa pa-ki-inza.
1.Hadiya 1SM-1OM-serve-APPL-FV 9.rice Kusokuwa 16-7-kitchen
'Hadija is serving Kusokuwa rice in the kitchen'

In a RECIPIENT question, however, the *wh*-indirect object must occur IAV, rather than in its canonical position.

(62) Ndengeleko (Scott 2021: 6)
a. U-m-pa-ya **nyaí** kilyó?
1SG.SM-1OM-give-APPL who food
'Who are you giving food to?'
b. *U-m-pa-ya kilyó **nyaí**?
1SG.SM-1OM-give-APPL food who

Similar to some previous proposals (e.g. van der Wal 2006 for Makhuwa, Sabel & Zeller 2006 for isiZulu), Scott analyzes this pattern as the result of focused material moving to a Focus projection that is the sister to the ultimate landing site of the verb, which she suggests is a Mood projection (our PromP proposal is a similar analysis of an IAV effect).

The key for our current purposes is Scott's observations about how the conjoint/disjoint distinction in Ndengeleko appears to interact with this focus projection. Specifically, Scott notes that the expression of verb focus requires a nominalization of the verb itself; an auxiliary form bears tense and agreement, and the lexical verb appears in a nominal form (class 15, used for gerund-like and infinitive-like verbs).

(63) N-and-á *(ú)-telek-a pilau.
1SG.SM-AUX-FV 15-cook-FV rice.
'I am COOKING rice.'

Scott analyzes this as an instance of the verb itself moving to Spec,FocP. But the nominal form of the verb is instructive here, according to Scott: specifically, she takes this to indicate that the attracting features on FocP require not only a focused element, but also a nominal element. She captures this using Deal's (2015, 2024) interaction/satisfaction model of Agree, identifying both interaction conditions and satisfaction conditions. For interaction conditions, she simply uses the feature set $\mathcal{F}$, proposed by Baier (2018), "a set to which all φ-features (Φ) and A′-features belong: $\mathcal{F}$={Φ,A′}" (Scott 2021: fn 12). The satisfaction condition is a conjunction of features.

(64) Probe specifications on Ndengeleko Foc°:
[INT:$\mathcal{F}$] [SAT:FOCUS and n]

The heart of her claim is the conjunction in the satisfaction condition, claiming that in order for the probe to be satisfied, it must find both focus features and nominal features on the same XP. She draws parallels with the findings of Bossi & Diercks (2019): in Kipsigis there is also an A′-probe that attracts necessarily nominal elements. But as Bossi and Diercks point out, in Kipsigis this may be satisfied by two distinct elements (a non-nominal focus, and the closest nominal, the subject), whereas in Ndengeleko a similar situation requires nominalization of any non-nominal focus. As Scott claims, "the probe continues until it finds both features together" (Scott 2021: 18). Therefore, probes that have multiple satisfaction conditions may be either conjoined (required to be satisfied by the same Goal) or non-conjoined (possibly satisfied by two distinct Goals).

The key for our concerns here is the distinction between conjoined satisfaction/interaction requirements and non-conjoined requirements: the ability for the conditions on some probes to be designated as necessarily joint, but also to have probes designated with multiple features that are not conjoined, will be a central part of our analysis.

8.9.4 Interaction and Satisfaction in Lubukusu OM-doubling

Recall Table 8.1 from above, repeated here as Table 8.2 for convenience. Our main question is how to explain a pattern of OM-doubling that appears largely consistent in the requirements it places on the verb phrase, identifying both a [G]-marked element and a [FoC]-marked element in the complement of Com°. As a general rule, OM-doubling targets the most local DP object, and something in the complement of Com° bears emphatic focus; crucially, the [FoC]-marked element need not be the OM-doubled object, and quite often is not. Exceptionally, however, when the highest DP is non-focused (informationally lightweight) and also non-given, it is possible to OM-double a structurally lower object, as long as that lower object is bearing emphatic focus. This is the heart of the puzzle: why is focus dissociated from the OM-doubled object in instances of local doubling, but in instances of non-local doubling focus is crucially associated with doubling?

Table 8.2: Chart of the possible combinations of focus, givenness, and OM-doubling in a lexical ditransitive construction (with one focused phrase and one given phrase in the verb phrase). The circled feature set marks which object is OM-doubled. Dashes mark arguments that bear neither [G] or [FoC].

	RECIPIENT DP	THEME DP	Acceptability
1	(**[G]**)	[FoC]	✓
2	(**[G] [FoC]**)	-	✓
3	[FoC]	(**[G]**)	*
4	-	(**[G] [FoC]**)	✓
5	(**-**)	[G],[FoC]	*
6	(**[FoC]**)	[G]	*
7	[G]	(**[FoC]**)	*
8	[G] [FoC]	(**-**)	*

We propose an account based on Deal's (2015, 2024) framework, also utilizing Scott's insight about conjunction (or not) of conditions on Agree.[12] There are two distinct probes introduced by Com°: the [FoC]-probe (65a), and the probe that usually targets the structurally highest object (65b).

(65) Probe specifications for Lubukusu Com°:

[12] Our thanks to Amy Rose Deal for encouraging us to ponder an account along these lines, and also to Madeline Bossi specifically for repeated discussions about these mechanics.

a. [INT:FoC, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
   [SAT:FoC]
b. [INT:D, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
   [SAT:D]

We discuss each probe in turn. For the [FoC]-probe (65a), the satisfaction condition is clearly [FoC], but we specify the probe as interacting with elements that are *both* [G]-marked and φ-marked. This conjunction is in the spirit of Scott (2021), and directly follows on a similar proposal by Bárány (2023), who proposes applying conjunction of conditions on Agree for discourse features (see also Bárány 2024). Therefore, the [FoC]-probe will not be satisfied until it locates a [FoC]-marked element in its c-command domain, but it also interacts with (i.e. copies back to itself) the [φ] and [G] features of phrases that are marked for *both* [φ] and [G]. This means this probe does not interact with non-[G]-marked DPs unless they are focused. This is crucial as well, as the [FoC]-probe also interacts with [FoC]-marked elements, and this interaction condition is not conjoined with the [φ] $\wedge$ [G] interaction condition, meaning that it also interacts with elements that are solely [FoC]-marked, even if they are not [G]-marked. But φ-features are only copied back from [G]-marked phrases.

Similarly, the other probe in (65b) also has a complex interaction condition. This is the probe that generates OM-doubling in typical instances (Row 1 in Table 8.2). Crucially, it finds the most local object, and stops probing after that point in all instances. To capture this, we specify the probe as satisfied by D-features (finding the most local DP), and interacting with (copying back to itself) a conjunction of [φ] and [G], just as was the case with the [FoC]-probe. The result here is that this probe (which we will now call the [D]-probe) will *always* be satisfied by the first DP that it finds, whether or not that DP has φ-features (which it always will be) but also whether or not it is [G]-marked (which it may or may not be).

The heart of our claim is that it is not always the same probe that copies back the φ-features that are realized by the OM in OM-doubling constructions. In our canonical instances (row 1 in Table 8.2), the [D]-probe and the [FoC]-probe find different Goals: the [D]-probe finds the structurally highest DP and copies back the φ-features of the [G]-marked DP. The [FoC]-probe, on the other hand, finds some [FoC]-marked element in the c-command domain of Com°. In the ditransitives we are considering here, as Row 1 designates, the [FoC]-marked element can be the structurally lower object.[13] We discuss the morphological spellout of

[13] Notably, the [FoC]-marked THEME object in Row 1 cannot copy back φ-features to the probe, since it is not also [G]-marked.

the result of these Agree relations in §8.10.

In Row 2 circumstances, the [FoC]-probe and the [D]-probe both find the same Goal: the [G]-marked, [FoC]-marked RECIPIENT object. In this case, Com° bears the φ-features of that RECIPIENT DP via two different sources, the [FoC]-probe and the [D]-probe, as both are designated as interacting with [G]-marked, φ-bearing elements.

Row 4 is the main puzzle of this chapter, so-called 'symmetrical' doubling of the structurally lower object. To help us envision this pattern, we repeat the examples from above; (66) shows non-local doubling of the structurally lower object, an illustration of the Row 4 pattern. (67) lists alternative versions of the RECIPIENT object in (66) that would disrupt doubling of the THEME object in (66).

(66) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́á*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1SM-give-FV 1.who 8-gifts TOP
'Who did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about to?'

b. *semáɲá táá ‖ nekáxálí áβíw' omúúndú βíʲjánwá ˡtʃánáá ‖ xúβeel' ómúlaji*
Se-many-a ta, nekakhali a-bi- w-a o-mu-ndu
NEG-1SG.SM.know-FV NEG, but 1SM-8OM-give-FV 1-1-person
bi-anwa chana khubela o-mu-layi.
8-gifts TOP because 1-1-good
'I don't know, but he gave those AMAZING gifts to someone because he is a good person.' (because gift-giving is a sign of good character)

(67) Properties of 'interveners'
- Possessives (e.g. *babaana ba Nafula* 'Nafula's children')
- Demonstratives (e.g. *babaana abo* 'those kids')
- Quantifiers (e.g *buli mwana* 'every child')
- Adjectives (e.g. *babaana balayi* 'good children')
- Topic marker (*babaana chana* 'the children we were talking about')
- Focus particle (*babaana bong'ene* 'only the children'/'the children alone')

Notice that even a demonstrative on the RECIPIENT object disrupts OM-doubling of the lower object, in addition to inclusion of any other additional kind of informative modifier (we have not found a kind of modifier that does not behave this way). We take this to mean that in order for non-local doubling of a THEME object to hold, the intervening object may not be *either* [FoC]-marked or [G]-marked.

As noted previously in this chapter, doubling of lower objects is only possible when the lower object bears emphatic focus, but the head of that lower object must be discourse-given. The feature specifications therefore are as marked in Row 4 of Table 8.2: the RECIPIENT object is marked as *neither* [G] nor [FoC], and the THEME object bears *both* [G] and [FoC].

Given this set of assumptions, for an example like (66b), the probe specifications in (65) yield the result that the D probe will be satisfied by probing the RECIPIENT object, but crucially will *not* copy back φ-features to Com°, because the interaction condition for the [D]-probe is the conjunction of [φ] and [G], and in this instance the RECIPIENT object is only φ-marked, not [G]-marked. On the other hand, in (66b) the THEME object is also [FoC]-marked, meaning that it is a licit Goal for the [FoC]-probe. In this instance, the [FoC]-marked THEME object also meets the conjoined interaction condition ($\varphi \wedge$ G, because it bears φ-features and is [G]-marked), with the result that the φ-features of the THEME object are copied back to Com°. In this instance, then, the [D]-probe has failed to copy back any φ-features, but the [FoC]-probe has successfully done so. The result is that Com° bears the φ-features of the structurally lower object, but *not* those of the structurally higher object. This is illustrated in (68).

(68) SAT: FoC, INT: $\varphi \wedge$G

$[_{\text{ComP}}$ Com° $[_{\nu\text{P}}$ ~~Agent~~ ν° $[_{\text{ApplP}}$ RECIPIENT Appl° $[_{\text{VP}}$ V° THEME]]]]

SAT: D, no $\varphi \wedge$G

But what about Row 3 from Table 8.2? As a reminder, Lubukusu crucially differs from languages like isiZulu (Zeller 2015), Cinyungwe (Langa da Câmara et al. 2024), and Ndebele (Pietraszko 2023). Lubukusu OM-doubling cannot be directly linked with a G-probe (or as Zeller and Pietraszko suggest, an anti-focus probe) specifically because of circumstances like Row 3: if the OM-generating probe were simply relativized to find a [G]-marked Goal, we would expect configurations like Row 3 to be acceptable (as they are in isiZulu, Cinyungwe, and Ndebele). But as we have discussed above, in Lubukusu they are unacceptable. (69) provides a Row-3-style context, which shows that despite the general possibility of doubling THEME objects, configurations like (69b) are nonetheless unacceptable.[14]

(69) *Context: Wekesa bought flowers, and we expected him to give them to someone special. So we inquire, only to find out that he simply gave them to a stranger.*

[14] Example (69b) would only be acceptable if emphatic focus fell on the THEME object *kamauwa* 'flowers,' which is not possible in this context.

a. *wékésá áwá naanu kámáúwą́*
Wekesa a-a-w-a naanu ka-ma-ua?
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-give-FV 1.who 6-6-flowers
'Who did Wekesa give flowers to?'

b. *#wékésáá ‖ áká'w' ómúreendé kámáúwą́*
#Wekesa a-a-ka- w-a o-mu-rende ka-ma-uwa .
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-give-FV 1-1-stranger 6-6-flowers
'Wekesa gave a stranger the flowers.'

This again is captured by the probe specifications in (65). In this instance the [D]-probe is satisfied by the RECIPIENT object (as it always is) and does not continue to probe. The RECIPIENT object is not [G]-marked, however, and as such no φ-features are copied back to Com°. But the [D]-probe stops probing, having been satisfied. And in this case, the RECIPIENT object is focused, so the [FoC]-probe is *also* satisfied by the RECIPIENT object, meaning that neither probe in this instance can copy back the φ-features of the THEME object. The result here, of course, is that we derive the lack of OM-doubling in Row-3-type configurations. This lack of doubling the lower object in (69) is schematized in (70), where the RECIPIENT object is the focused element that would be bearing emphatic focus.

(70) [ComP Com° [vP ~~Agent~~ v° [ApplP RECIPIENT Appl° [VP V° THEME]]]]
SAT: FoC, no φ ∧G
SAT: D, no φ ∧G

Our probe specifications do not allow for either probe on Com° to target the lower object in this instance; hence, (69b) is unacceptable.

8.9.5 Intermediate summary: deriving non-local doubling

In this section we have sketched a featural analysis of the probes on Com° in Lubukusu that can derive the properties of OM-doubling not only in the canonical instances of OM-doubling the structurally highest objects, but also the exceptional instances of OM-doubling structurally lower objects with their distinctive information structural constraints. As sketched in (71) (repeated from (65) above), the Lubukusu Com° has two distinct probes, each with their own sets of interaction/satisfaction conditions.

(71) Probe specifications for Lubukusu Com°:

a. [INT:Foc, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
   [SAT:FoC]
b. [INT:D, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
   [SAT:D]

Central to our explanation is that OM-doubling of structurally lower objects is in fact the result of a different probe copying back φ-features to Com° than in instances of the structurally higher object being doubled. A complex set of circumstances (grammatical and discourse-contextual) is necessary to license the OM-doubling of lower objects. But when they hold, the result is that the [D]-probe fails to copy back φ-features, but the [FoC]-probe does so successfully, resulting in the distinctive interpretation of non-local OM-doubling.

Clearly, it would be a mistake to call Lubukusu OM-doubling 'symmetrical.' This type of label applies reasonably well for non-doubling OMs, where either object appears to have equal access to being represented as a non-doubling OM on the verb. And while there are certainly instances where the non-structurally-highest object can be OM-doubled in Lubukusu, the interpretive consequences are quite distinctive. And as we have seen, these components of interpretation are quite plausibly grammatically encoded. So while the grammatical mechanisms of OM-doubling do make so-called 'symmetrical' doubling available, it is in fact a distinct probe that accomplishes this Agree relation, resulting in a distinct distribution of focal effects in these instances.

We are omitting conversation about verum-like readings and the structure of non-doubling pronouns in this discussion to attend to the issue at hand. We deal with both questions in Chapter 9.

8.10 Morphological spellout of object markers

It is worth making some quick comments about the morphological spellout of object markers. We have proposed that doubling OMs are the realization of φ-Agree on Emph°. We propose that these OMs are the spellout of D features and φ-features on the verbal form, spelled out as an object marker.[15] Following the

[15] As pointed out to us by Momoka Schmidt, this requires that the probe on Emph° be more than simply a [φ]-probe, as it must also be capable of copying back a D-feature as well. We continue to discuss it as a [φ]-probe given the transparency of that terminology, but a more precise articulation of the probe on Emph° would include a probe capable of copying back a D-feature.

standard assumptions of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, McGinnis 2017), we have the spellout rules in (72) where OMs are assumed to spell out a nominal feature (D) and φ-features on Emph°, in a verbal context.

(72) Sample Vocabulary Insertion rules for Lubukusu OMs

Cl.1,D,Emph°	⟷	/m-/
Cl.2,D,Emph°	⟷	/ba-/
Cl.6,D,Emph°	⟷	/ka-/
Cl.9,D,Emph°	⟷	/ki-/

The presence of a D feature is central to explaining some key aspects of the OM-doubling construction. The interaction/satisfaction model allows for a probe to interact with multiple different DPs containing the relevant features (per the probe's interaction specifications), meaning that the probe is copying back to itself features from multiple DPs. This is especially true given the presence of multiple probes on our analysis. Potential challenges show up most clearly in instances of double object constructions where the higher object is OM-doubled, but the lower object bears emphatic focus (a relatively typical instance of OM-doubling).

(73) [[Probe$_{[FoC]}$,Probe$_{[D]}$] ... DP1$_{[G]}$ ... DP2$_{[FoC,G]}$ ...]

In instances like these, because both the [D]-probe and the [FoC]-probe interact with φ-features, we expect the [D]-probe to copy the features of DP1 back to the probing head, and the [FoC]-probe to copy back the features of DP2 to the probing head. That the features of DP2 are copied back is critical to explaining instances where OM-doubling tracks the structurally lower object, as we outlined in what preceded, but the analysis then predicts that the features of DP2 are copied back to the probe anytime that DP2 bears focus and is [G]-marked, not only instances where DP1 fails to copy back features. So the question becomes this: why in 'typical' instances are the features of DP1 realized as the OM on the verb and not the features of DP2, when the analysis says that the probing head bears features of both?

We propose that this can be addressed by assuming some degree of structure in the features copied back to probes. That is to say, rather than assuming an unstructured grab-bag of features on the probing head from the various DPs in its scope, we assume that (at minimum) features valued as a result of interaction conditions on probes are structured on the probing head in bundles according to which probe copied the features back. So in the case of the schematic in (73), the

features on the probing head after Agree has occurred would be structured (at minimum) by retaining information about which probe those features came from, as sketched in (74). In (74) there are multiple representations of φ and G features, the ones values on the [FoC]-probe, and the ones valued on the [D]-probe.

(74) Typical doubling of DP1 in (73), features of probing head:

[FoC]-probe:	φ, G	(from DP2)
[D]-probe:	D, φ, G	(from DP1)

The assumption of a D feature as part of the interaction condition of the [D]-probe becomes central. Standard approaches to Vocabulary Insertion (Marantz 1997, Halle & Marantz 1993) assume some version of the Subset Condition, which assumes that Vocabulary Items with the greatest number of matching features are inserted. But a similar application of Subset Principle reasoning can apply to which features a Vocabulary item can be inserted for. In (74), the features arising on the [FoC]-probe are a subset of the overall features on the probing head, so we assume that inserting a Vocabulary Item representing those features is preferred over inserting a Vocabulary Item that draws features from distinct subsets of the total features on the head (the same way that inserting features at a single head is preferable to inserting a Vocabulary Item for features realized on distinct heads). Given these assumptions, we would expect a Vocabulary Item to be inserted for the [D]-probe in (74) (which will be features from DP1), as that probe has copied back *both* a D feature and φ-features.

So why can the features of the lower object ever be realized, if the [FoC]-probe does not copy back a D feature? Recall that OM-doubling DP2 occurs precisely in instances where DP1 fails to copy back φ-features, so the results of the Agree operations are as in (74).

(75) Exceptional Doubling of DP2 in (73), features of probing head:

[FoC]-probe:	φ, G	(from DP2)
[D]-probe:	D	(from DP1)

In a circumstance as in (75), there are no φ-features in the [D]-probe bundle to be spelled out as an OM. As above, the [FoC]-probe on its own didn't copy back both D-features and φ-features, but in precisely the cases where DP2 is doubled, we see that the probing head as a whole *does* contain all the relevant features: a [D] feature from the [D]-probe and φ-features from the [FoC]-probe, therefore allowing an OM to be spelled out which will, crucially, spell out the features from the [FoC]-probe, which came from DP2. So in the absence of a clear subset of the

features qualifying for insertion of a Vocabulary Item, features from the entire head can be used. But in accordance with the Subset Principle, vocabulary items are inserted for individual probes if possible (specifically the [D]-probe, as it is the only probe copying back D features), with an expanded set of features being considered only when there is no subset of features that qualified.

One disadvantage of the spellout rules sketched in (72) is that they only straightforwardly account for doubling OMs. If we removed the restriction to Emph° from the features the OM forms spell out, we could potentially use the same spellout rules for both non-doubling OMs and doubling OMs, as both result in a bundle of D features and φ-features being realized at the edge of the verb phrase. But removing Emph° from the description would then incorrectly predict that OMs are inserted at Com° as well. One option for solving this is to posit the rules as they have been presented in (72) and assume that a separate (parallel) set of spellout rules applies to non-doubling OMs. But this is highly redundant and strains credulity.

The account we will adopt here is that Emph° can be present in both emphatic and non-emphatic sentences, and that non-doubling OMs move to Emph°, and are spelled out in that position (see §9.4 for details). This requires an analysis where Emph° only sometimes includes emphatic operators, and in other instances does not (because non-doubling OMs are not emphatic in the way that doubling constructions are). This is parallel to approaches to negation that Polarity Phrases (in a long line of work dating to Laka 1990): rather than negation occurring in a NegP that is only present in negative sentences, one can assume that a Polarity Phrase (often labeled ΣP) is present that can be specified as either positive or negative. In the same way, if we assume that Emph° can be specified as either emphatic or non-emphatic but is otherwise present in the structure, and we assume that non-doubling OMs cliticize at this level of structure (as laid out in §9.4), we can assume spellout rules for objects markers as in (72) that realize both doubling OMs and non-doubling OMs.

8.11 Exploring additional predictions

Of course, the chart in Table 8.2 is a simplification: a sentence need not contain only one focused element or only one given-marked element. So what happens when more possibilities are considered? An extension of that chart considers a broader (but still not exhaustive) range of possibilities, including instances where neither object is [G]-marked and instances where both objects are [G]-marked.

We lay out a range of these possibilities in Table 8.3.[16]

Table 8.3: Expanded chart of the possible combinations of focus, givenness, and OM-doubling in a lexical ditransitive construction, more options of given/focused phrases in the *v*P. The circled feature set marks which object is OM-doubled. Dashes mark arguments that bear neither [G] or [FoC]. Grayed out lines in this chart are all instances of the lower object being OM-doubled.

	RECIPIENT DP	THEME DP	Prediction	Acceptability
9	(-)	-	#	#
10	-	(-)	#	#
11	([G])	[G]	#	% (see comments below)
12	[G]	([G])	#	#
13	([FoC])	[FoC]	#	#
14	[FoC]	([FoC])	#	#
15	([FoC])	-	#	#
16	[FoC]	(-)	#	#
17	(-)	[FoC]	#	#
18	-	([FoC])	#	#
19	([G] [FoC])	[G]	✓	✓
20	[G] [FoC]	([G])	#	#
21	([G])	[G] [FoC]	✓	✓
22	[G]	([G] [FoC])	#	#

The circled feature set in Table 8.3 represents the doubled object, as in the previous charts. The predictions are given in a distinct column in the chart to clarify the account given thus far. We claimed above that only [G]-marked phrases may be OM-doubled, hence anytime a non-[G]-marked element is doubled, we predict unacceptability. Likewise, all instances of doubling the lower object (the grayed-out rows) should be instances of the [FoC]-probe copying back features; hence, all of these instances that are acceptable should be cases where the lower object is focused, but only instances where the higher object is not also focused or [G]-marked (e.g. Line 14, which we saw evidence of above in (26), and which we revisit below).

[16] Our gratitude to an anonymous reviewer not only for outlining these predictions, but also for sketching ideas for how to test each of them.

First, we can test Lines 9/10 of the chart by constructing a scenario where both objects are new information and therefore neither one is discourse-given or contrastive/emphatic. A simple verb-phrase-oriented question does the task here. As (76) shows, it is infelicitous to double either object in this scenario.

(76) *wékésá áxóla siiną*
Wekesa akhola siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-do-FV 7.what
What did Wekesa do?

a. #*wékésá áβáwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwą́*
#Wekesa a-ba- w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts
'Wekesa gave children gifts.'

b. #*wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwą́*
#Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts
'Wekesa gave children gifts.'

Both objects being new information (and with no additional emphasis placed on either object) is unacceptable. This is consistent with our account: with neither object [G]-marked, neither should successfully interact with the relevant probes, so it should be impossible to copy back the φ-features of an object to Com° / Emph°.[17]

Now consider (77), which evaluates Lines 11/12 of Table 8.3. This is the instance where both objects are discourse given, but neither object is focused. We use question and answer congruence to help clarify which element is focus-bearing/ emphatic.

(77) *βáβáanaaβó βáɲóla tʃ́ʲswííʲtí bárjeeną*
Ba-ba-ana abo ba-a-nyool-a chi-switi ba-ryeena?
2-2-children 2DEM 2SM-PST-get-FV 10-sweets 2-how
'How did those children get those candies?'

[17] Especially for (76a), it is necessary to control for accommodation; it is readily available to pragmatically accommodate an imagined context that could license (76a), so it is necessary to restrict the interpretation to the discourse context that is provided. The same comment applies to all attempted instances of doubling the structurally higher object through the rest of this section.

a. *%wékésá áβáwa βáβáana aβó tʃíswííti itʃǫ*
%Wekesa a-ba- w-a ba-ba-ana abo chi-switi echo.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-give-FV 2-2children 2DEM 10-candy 10DEM
'Wekesa gave the children those candies.'
It is noteworthy that Wekesa gave them to the children.

b. *#wékésá átʃíwa βáβáana aβó tʃíswííti itʃǫ*
#Wekesa a-chi- w-a ba-ba-ana abo chi-switi echo.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-10OM-give-FV 2-2children 2DEM 10-candy 10DEM
'Wekesa gave the children those candies.'

(77b) is unacceptable in this context, as predicted: OM-doubling a lower object is acceptable only with emphatic focus on the lower object, and this scenario does not induce that. Beyond that, the [G]-marked RECIPIENT should result in the [D]-probe being successful, yielding no opportunity for the [FoC]-probe to spell out the features of the lower object. (77a) is somewhat more surprising, but in fact here the interpretation is that Wekesa giving them the candies is noteworthy: here, it is likely that that the verbal predicate is receiving mirative emphasis. Because it is possible to OM-double implicit verb phrase material (as discussed extensively in Chapter 4, it is challenging to rule out a a sentence like (77a). That said, it is only possible with the same emphatic reading we have been documenting throughout, so we are inclined to interpret this as consistent with our analysis thus far: the [D]-probe is successful in agreeing with the RECIPIENT object, and as long as some emphatic reading of the verb phrase can be accommodated the sentence is acceptable. Barring that, the sentence is infelicitous (at least, without a verum-like reading of the sentence).

To evaluate Lines 13-14, we consider an instance where both objects are questioned specifically to construct a scenario where both objects are plausible bearers of focus but neither is discourse-given. We put focus particles on both objects in the answer here to ensure that they are contrastive (not just unmarked new information). No additional context is assumed in these instances, in an attempt to ensure that there is no [G]-marking of either object. So both objects are assumed to be novel referents.[18]

(78) *wékésá áwá naanu siina*

[18] As both of these sentences are anomalous, a reviewer wonders whether doubly-marked object focus constructions are possible at all. Indeed, a sentence like (78a) is perfectly acceptable without OM-doubling.

Wekesa a-w-a naanu siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give 1.who 7.what
'Who did Wekesa give what?'

a. #*wékésá áβáwa βáβáaná βóŋéné βíʲjánwá βjóŋéné*
#Wekesa a-ba- w-a ba-ba-ana b-ong'ene bi-anwa
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2-only 8-gifts
by-ong'ene.
8-only
'Wekesa gave only children only gifts.'
On a reading where the children are unknown/nonspecific

b. *?*wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βóŋéné βíʲjánwá ʰtʃáŋ́á*
*?Wekesa a.PST-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana b-ong'ene
1.Wekesa 1SM-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2-only
bi-anwa chana.
8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave only children only gifts.'

The sentence in (78a) is relatively natural if the children are discourse-familiar (something like "only those children").[19] If both objects refer to discourse-new referents, however, even bearing contrastive focus here does not comfortably license OM-doubling. This is to be expected: the interaction conditions on both probes on Com° are conjoined with G-features; if neither object is [G]-marked, it should be impossible to copy back φ-features to Com° (and subsequently Emph°).

Looking at Lines 15-16, we again use a multiple *wh*-question to create a circumstance where both objects are new information (and we again assume in the responses that that neither refers to a discourse-familiar referent). In (79) we place a focus particle on the RECIPIENT to help test for emphatic focus on that object.

(79) *wékésá áwá naanu siiŋ́a*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give 1.who 7.what
'Who did Wekesa give what?'

a. #*wékésá áβáwa βáβáaná βóŋéné ʰtʃíswíitį́*
#Wekesa a-ba- w-a ba-ba-ana b-ong'ene chi-switi.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2-only 10-candy
'Wekesa gave only children candies.'

[19] Speakers can readily accommodate this reading, so it must be explicitly controlled for.

On a reading where the children are unknown/nonspecific

b. *#wékésá átʃíwa βáβáaná βóŋéné ˈtʃi̯swíitį́*
#Wekesa a-[chi-] w-a ba-ba-ana b-ong'ene [chi-switi].
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-10OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2-only 10-candy
'Wekesa gave only children candies.'

(79a) is readily acceptable if the children are identifiable in context. Barring that, (79a) is infelicitous; in this context we are assuming unknown children, hence the # annotation on the example. And (79b) is more straightforwardly unacceptable. Both of these patterns accord with what we predict based on the data and analysis up until this point: if neither object is [G]-marked, neither object is eligible to copy φ-features back to Com° /Emph°.

Lines 17-18 follow in much the same way. The same context can be used here (a multiple *wh*-question interrogating the objects of the ditransitive), where no additional information/context is assumed, so neither object in the response is discourse-familiar. In this response, the RECIPIENT is left as simple new information (and the referent non-given), and *-ong'ene* 'only' marks contrast on the THEME object in these instances.

(80) *wékésá áwá naanu siiną́*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu siina?
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give 1.who 7.what
'Who did Wekesa give what?'

a. *#wékésá áβáwa βáβáaná tʃi̯swíiˈtí tʃóŋéné*
#Wekesa a-[ba-] w-a [ba-ba-ana] chi-switi ch-ong'ene.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-give-FV 2-2children 10-candy 10-only
'Wekesa gave children only candies.'
On a reading where the children are unknown.

b. *#wékésá átʃíwa βáβáaná tʃi̯swíiˈtí tʃóŋéné*
#Wekesa a-[chi-] w-a ba-ba-ana [chi-switi ch-ong'ene].
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-10OM-give-FV 2-2children 10-candy 10-only
'Wekesa gave children only candies.'

Similar to above, (80b) is readily acceptable if the relevant candies are familiar from context. Barring this, this sentence sounds odd. And (80a) could again be acceptable if the children are discourse-familiar from context, but if they are wholly new information, unspecified children who are unknown to the interlocutors, it is an infelicitous sentence.

For the final lines of Table 8.3, we are considering circumstances where both objects are discourse-given, but one of the objects is also focused for emphasis. We provide some detailed context to establish the relevant givenness and focus features on each element. Lines 19/20 established a focused/given RECIPIENT object, the intended bearer of emphatic focus in these contexts. The lower object is also established as given.

(81) *Context: We all know that fire is not a toy and is not for children to play with, and especially not for young children to play with, as they are not mature enough to know how to be safe with it.*
naanu níʲjé wékésá áwá kumulilo
Naanu ni-ye Wekesa a-w-a ku-mu-lilo?
1.who COMP-1 1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give-FV 3-3-fire
'Who did Wekesa give fire to?

a. *wékésá áβáwa βáβáaná βááʲtíítí jaβo kumulilǫ*
Wekesa a-ba- w-a ba-ba-ana ba-tiiti abo ku-mu-lilo.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give-FV 2-2-children 2-small 2DEM 3-3-fire
'Wekesa gave fire to those young children!'

b. #*wékésá ákúwa βáβáaná βááʲtíítí jaβo kumulilǫ*
#Wekesa a-ku- w-a ba-ba-ana ba-tiiti abo ku-mu-lilo.
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give-FV 2-2-children 2-small 2DEM 3-3-fire
'Wekesa gave fire to those young children!'

Our account predicts in these instances that doubling the higher object should be natural, but doubling the lower object should be infelicitous: both the focus probe and the [D]-probe should find the RECIPIENT object in this context and with these responses, which would grammatically result in OM-doubling of the higher object, but which makes it impossible to generate OM-doubling on the lower object (because both probes are satisfied by the RECIPIENT and would halt their probing). And indeed, this is precisely what (81) shows. (81a) where the RECIPIENT object is OM-doubled is acceptable, but doubling the lower object in (81b) is infelicitious.

Finally, consider Lines 21-22 from Table 8.3. In these lines, again, because the higher object is [G]-marked, it ought to rule out OM-doubling of the lower object. We construct a scenario in (82) that leads to both the RECIPIENT argument and the THEME argument being [G]-marked, whereas the THEME argument bears emphatic focus. The goal is to make the lower object a viable object for OM-doubling via the [FoC]-probe, while simultaneously making the higher object ([G]-marked

here) a successful Goal for the [D]-probe. Our account as constructed predicts that the [D]-probe will be successful here, meaning that the [FoC]-probe (while also in principle successful) has no opportunity to become the spellout of the OM on the verb.

(82) *Context: We all know that babies/little children get ill from eating unripe mangos, and should not be given unripe mangos. So it would be remarkable to give a baby an unripe mango. We just brought home both ripe mangos and unripe mangos, along with other fruit, from the market. (So we're aware of what fruit we're talking about). One person asks the other:*
siina níꜜsjó wékésá áwá ꜜβáβáana βanǫ
Siina ni-syo Wekesa a-w-a ba-ba-ana bano?
7.what COMP-7 1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give-FV 2-2-children 2DEM
'What did Wekesa give to these children?'

a. *wékésá áβáwa βáβáana βánó kámáémbé ꜜkámáβísị*
Wekesa a-[ba-] wa [ba-ba-ana bano] ka-ma-embe
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-give-FV 2-2-children 2DEM 6-6-mangoes
ka-ma-bisi.
6-6-unripe
'Wekesa gave these babies the unripe mangos!'

b. *#wékésá ákáwa βáβáana βánó kámáémbé ꜜkámáβísị*
#Wekesa a-[ka-] w-a ba-ba-ana bano
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-give-FV 2-2-children 2DEM
[ka-ma-embe ka-ma-bisi].
6-6-mangoes 6-6-unripe
'Wekesa gave these babies the unripe mangos!'

Again, the predictions of our account are upheld in this instance: OM-doubling the higher object in (82a) is natural, but OM-doubling the lower object in (82b) is infelicitous.

This discussion exploring the predictions outlined in Table 8.3 has been lengthy, but it should be clear at this point that a large lineup of predictions of the account that we have laid out are upheld. Of course, as the extensive literature on the formal semantics of deaccenting in English and related languages has shown, there is an almost endless array of possible circumstances by which to evaluate information structural constraints. We do not mean to imply we have tested every possible relevant configuration. But certainly as a first attempt at analyzing these properties in Lubukusu the account advanced here is fairly successful.

8.12 Addressing alternative approaches

8.12.1 An alternative approach to symmetry from van der Wal (2022)

A prominent alternative approach to symmetry in object marking in Bantu languages comes from van der Wal (2022). She captures the broad pattern across many languages that relative topicality is often a conditioning factor for OM-doubling structurally-lower objects (what is essentially the Zulu-like pattern that we have discussed repeatedly).

First, van der Wal (2022) adopts a proposal that animacy and definiteness can be unified as properties of [PERSON] features (Richards 2008, 2015, Ormazabal & Romero 2007, Adger & Harbour 2007). It is well established that languages show hierarchical effects where nominals that are higher on a hierarchy of animacy or definiteness are preferentially marked in some way.

(83) Hierarchies of prominence/salience (Aissen 2003: 437)

a. Animacy Scale
Human > Animate > Inanimate

b. Definiteness Hierarchy:
Proper name > Pronoun > Definite NP >Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

This often shows up in differential object marking constructions, among other places, as objects higher on the relevant scales are more readily object-marked (see van der Wal 2022 for extensive discussion and literature review). van der Wal notes that "[w]hile animacy is typically an invariable property of referents and their referring nouns, definiteness is not. Nevertheless, the mental representations of referents are at a certain level of activation, familiarity, and uniqueness, depending on the context situation and the preceding co-text. Upon selecting a referent and accessing its referring expression from the mental lexicon, then, this level translates into being marked for [PERSON] or not" (van der Wal 2022: 51). That is, she suggests that the scalar property of definiteness can map onto a binary [PERSON] feature. Crucially, languages vary in terms of what position on the relevant hiearchy counts for being [PERSON]-marked: whereas one language might require that a DP be at least a pronoun to be [PERSON]-marked, another language may allow definite R-expressions to be [PERSON]-marked. Once this is allowed, variation in object marking of definite DPs can be readily reframed as object-marking of [PERSON]-marked DPs. van der Wal adopts a defective Goal/Big DP analysis where the relevant feature bundles are wrapped around a DP,

and are incorporated into the probing head in the appropriate contexts (following on the approach of Roberts 2010). The details of that aspect of the account go beyond our particular concerns here.[20]

van der Wal proposes that this approach to [PERSON] features can readily be extended to givenness as well. If the relative activation of mental representations from definiteness are incorporated into the marking (or not) of a phrase with [PERSON], this overlaps with the behavior of givenness as well. "The presence of a [PERSON] feature on a third person noun means that it is high on one or more of the scales of animacy, definiteness, and givenness. And these are exactly the properties of doubled/object-marked objects in the Bantu languages" (van der Wal 2022: 51). Setting aside the details of how this is represented on nominals directly, we can see how this approach can explain restrictions of OM-doubling to given and/or definite DPs: a probe properly configured to search for a [PERSON] feature can find only definite/given DPs of the relevant sort. We do not adopt this particular approach to givenness, but some adjustment of it may well be capable of accounting for the givenness-driven portions of the Lubukusu patterns. One aspect of why this approach is desirable is that it uses a familiar kind of syntactic marking of nominals ([PERSON] features) to account for aspects of information structure driving syntactic operations. But as we have seen here, the Lubukusu effects seem to require focus features directly incorporated into the syntax as well, reducing the benefit of constructing an alternative account for givenness in particular.

When it comes to symmetrical OM-doubling, van der Wal (2022) builds on proposals from Haddican & Holmberg (2012, 2014, 2018) where an intervening argument in a multiple object construction can be licensed in alternative ways, making it invisible to higher probing, effectively making lower objects accessible to higher probes (making the construction symmetrical). Let us lay out how this works. A common approach to double object constructions currently is that arguments are introduced by argument-introducing heads, such as an Applicative head. Adding an argument also requires licensing that additional argument,

[20] It may well be possible to reframe a portion of our proposals here in a defective Goal/Big DP approach as opposed to simple feature valuation. The biggest issue to explain on this approach would be why there are systematic differences with doubling and non-doubling OMs in Lubukusu: if all doubling constructions are incorporation of defective goals into probes, it becomes harder to explain why non-doubling OMs are completely symmetrical (without the concomitant shifts in focus interpretations) whereas OM-doubling structurally lower objects shifts focus to the structurally lower object itself. We do not get into the details here as, for our current purposes, the proposals from van der Wal (2022) that are most relevant have to do with her approach to (a)symmetry.

so the common assumption is that the argument introduced by ApplP (the RECIPIENT here) is licensed in the typical way, by $v°$, and Appl° itself licenses an argument in its complement. So while the THEME argument would typically be licensed by $v°$ in a monotransitive, in a double object construction, it is licensed by Appl°. This is illustrated in Figure 8.3.

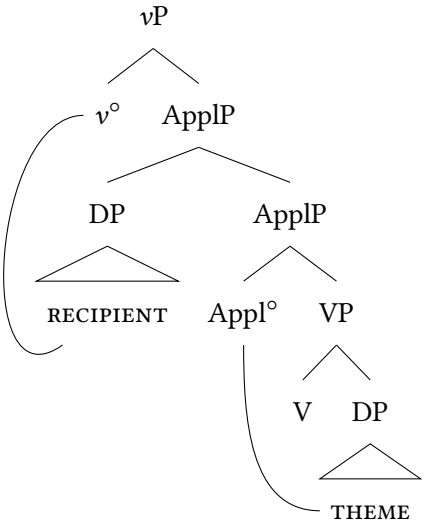


Figure 8.3: Standard account of object licensing by Appl phrases. Lines represent licensing relations

However, if a circumstance can be constructed where the argument introduced by Appl° is also licensed by Appl° itself, that argument would become invisible for higher licensing operations. In these instances, $v°$ could then license the THEME argument as the THEME is now the most local accessible/active object. This is sketched in Figure 8.4.

Van der Wal (2022) extends this approach from Haddican & Holmberg (2012, 2014, 2018) to account for the relevant (a)symmetrical doubling constructions in Bantu languages, suggesting that the ability of Appl° to license DPs are constrained by the properties of the DP argument that it introduces. She calls this the Flexible Licensing Parameter (84). Throughout this discussion we abstract away from various details from the proposal (specifically, the nature of the licensing features and the directionality of probing/licensing) in order to focus on the central relevant issues.

(84) Flexible Licensing Parameter (FLiP) (van der Wal 2022: 111)

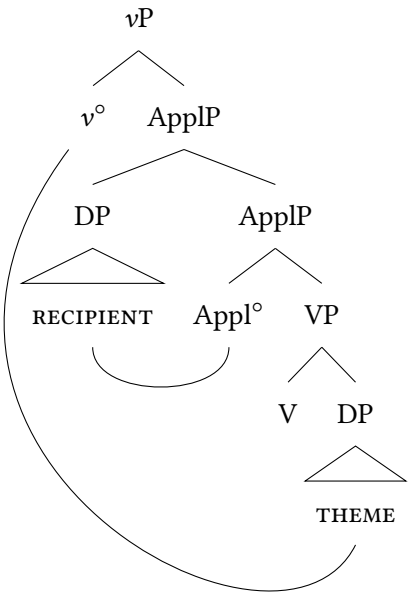


Figure 8.4: Appl licenses its own RECIPIENT object, deactivating it for licensing from v°. The THEME is now licensed by v°. Lines represent licensing relations

> The features and feature values that a head can license [are/are not] restricted to those of the argument introduced in its specifier.

What the FLiP accomplishes is tying which argument is licensed by which head to the properties of the arguments themselves. The benefit of this is that it can help explain symmetrical OM-doubling constructions where those constructions centrally implicate the relative information structure of the relevant arguments. So if Appl° introduces a [PERSON]-marked RECIPIENT, it will be capable of licensing a [PERSON]-marked THEME; this results in the typical configuration where the higher object is licensed by v°, and the lower object licensed by Appl°.

But in the event that the RECIPIENT argument is not [PERSON]-marked, per the FLiP it is not possible for Appl° to license a [PERSON]-marked THEME argument in its complement. This allows a configuration, therefore, where Appl° licenses the argument it introduces in its specifier, leaving the THEME to be licensed by v°. This pattern is illustrated in Figure 8.6.

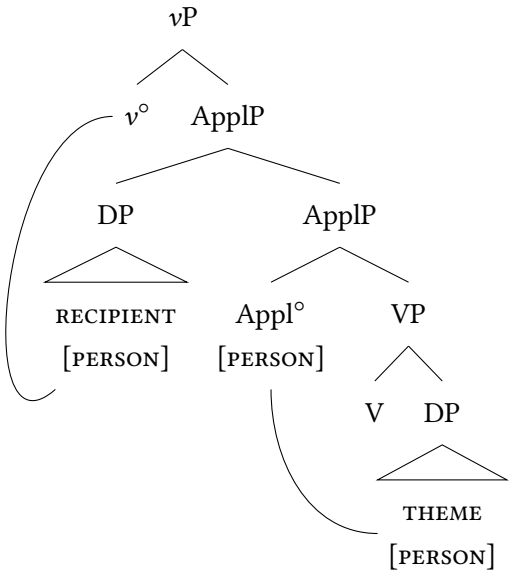


Figure 8.5: FLiP effects: [PERSON]-marked RECIPIENT argument enables Appl° to license [PERSON]-marked THEME argument.

Again, in this discussion we are abstracting away from various details from van der Wal's proposal about the directionality of probing and which features are probing here; the assumptions adopted by van der Wal (2022) diverge from our own in this volume and would take some time to explain and discuss. For our purposes here, we can simply assume that OM-doubling in any of the instances discussed above results in Agree from $v°$, so whichever argument is licensed by $v°$ results in OM-doubling of that argument. The details are of course important, but are not relevant to our immediate discussion.

The reason that we do not need to discuss all these details, however, is that the inherently relational aspects of this proposal make incorrect predictions about Lubukusu instances of so-called 'symmetrical' doubling. For example, this approach captures very nicely the Zulu-like pattern where a focused RECIPIENT object and a discourse-given THEME object results in OM-doubling of the THEME object. A focused (non-[PERSON]-marked) RECIPIENT object bleeds the ability of Appl° to license a [PERSON]-marked THEME object. Therefore Appl° must license the RECIPIENT, making the THEME object accessible to licensing (and the OM-probe) from $v°$. But in Lubukusu OM-doubling a lower object results in very different interpretive effects, both of the OM-doubled object and of the verb phrase

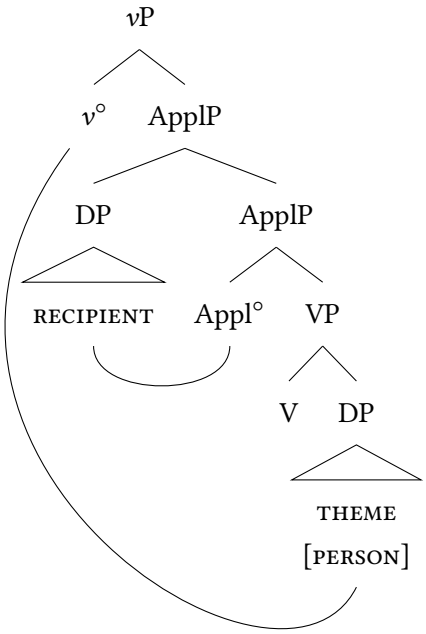


Figure 8.6: RECIPIENT is not [PERSON]-marked, and therefore Appl° does not license the [PERSON]-marked THEME. Appl° licenses its own RECIPIENT object, deactivated it for licensing from $v°$. The [PERSON]-marked THEME is now licensed by $v°$. Lines represent licensing relations.

overall. OM-doubling the lower object does seem to be dependent in part on the properties of the RECIPIENT argument: this we can account for via typical locality effects of Agree. But far from the situation where the same properties that drive OM-doubling of the higher object are what are driving OM-doubling of the lower object (as is implicit in the FLiP), in Lubukusu it seems that an entirely different sort of probe results in OM-doubling of higher objects and lower objects: OM-doubling a lower object specifically tracks the emphatically focused argument.

The FLiP is specifically predictive about relative topicality of two objects. But the Lubukusu pattern of facts extends far beyond information structure of two arguments: OM-doubling of higher objects results in emphatic readings that include objects but not *only* objects, instead also including verb phrase properties

and *v*P adjuncts. The FLiP offers no direct way of articulating that broader pattern, but also specifically would predict the same thing that Zeller's anti-focus probe predicts: doubling of lower objects occurs when structurally higher objects are focused, and lower objects are discourse-given.

We cannot comment on the broad typological predictions that the FLiP makes; it clearly has many benefits broadly. The reason it is not useful in our particular scenario is not especially surprising: the Lubukusu pattern of facts reported here is specifically and crucially quite different from the more general pattern of OM-doubling effects that Zeller's (2015) and Pietraszko's (2023) anti-focus analyses and van der Wal's (2022) flexible licensing analysis are designed to account for. It will be an important future research question to see whether the account we advance for Lubukusu can also be modified to explain the same pattern of effects cross-linguistically that those other accounts address. As constructed here, our ComP analysis (with multiple probes doing different work) does not directly explain the broader cross-linguistic patterns. Diercks (2026) begins the exploration of how adjusting the properties of the probes on Com° might accomplish this, but much more work remains to be done.

8.12.2 Alternative formulations of probes

It is also worthwhile to consider some alternative formulation of the probe(s) on Com° to show how these alternatives run into empirical problems.[21] If we assume that object markers are generated by a clitic doubling operation that is dependent on Agree relations (rather than distinctly being about valuation of *φ*-features, as proposed here), we could potentially simplify the proposal to include a single information-structural probe that deals with focus and givenness.

For these, we make a couple of assumptions. First, while adopting the proposal that focus/givenness may have morphosyntactic representation as features, these alternatives depart from Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) in assuming that, per the traditional semantic approach, the squiggle operator on Com° is sufficient for implementing focus; the result is that it is irrelevant (for the sake of argument) whether a probe interacts with a [FoC] feature for the appropriate semantic licensing of focus. This allows for specifying a probe as interacting with and/or being satisfied by a [FoC] feature (as focus clearly interacts with the *φ*-marking involved in object marking), but it need not find a [FoC]-marked goal in order to

[21] This arises from a discussion with Amy Rose Deal, who suggested versions of these hypotheses: we report what we considered the most plausible such alternatives here. We thank her for her insightful questions and comments on this topic.

semantically license focus, which is simply accomplished per standard assumptions by the squiggle operator. Likewise, assume for the sake of argument that all Agree relations copy back φ-features, so there is no need to designate that in the probes as well. On this approach, consider the probe specification in (85). Both of the alternatives considered below (to be rejected) include a disjunction, specifying that the probe is either satisfied by or interacts with [FoC]- or [G]-marked elements. The first is in (85).

(85) Alternative Com° probe hypothesis A (to be rejected):
[INT:FoC ∨ G]
[SAT:G]

This specifies that a probe will interact with (i.e. copy back features, including φ-features, from) any [FoC]- or [G]-marked DP, but is satisfied as soon as it finds a [G]-marked element. Interacting with either [FoC] or [G] allows for the typical cases and the exceptional cases of non-local OM-doubling; the satisfaction by [G] would explain the lack of [G]-marking on intervening objects when non-local doubling occurs (Row 4 in Table 8.2). But this approach makes less clear why there is a [G]-marking requirement for Lubukusu OM-doubling more generally, as we might expect non-[G]-marked focused elements to be able to be OM-doubled (which they generally are not). It also leaves uncertain what would occur in instances of the unacceptable isiZulu-like case where DP1 is focused, and DP2 is [G]-marked (Row 3 of Table 8.2): both DPs would copy back φ-features to the probing head, so it is unclear why it is impossible to realize the φ-features of the lower [G]-marked phrase.

One way to address this would be to specify the probe as being *satisfied* by either [FoC] or [G], so that the probe halts its probing upon encountering any information structural feature. The schema in (86) sketches this alternative, which also specifies the probe as only interacting with [G]-marked elements. This has the advantage of capturing the restriction on doubling to discourse-given phrases

(86) Alternative Com° probe hypothesis B (to be rejected):
[INT:G]
[SAT:FoC ∨ G]

By specifying the probe as being satisfied by finding either [FoC] or [G], we could capture the fact that the probe needs to find a phrase marked with one of those features, but upon finding one of those its probing is halted. This specification captures all of the rows of Table 8.2, so when just considering an unmodified ditransitive we can capture the facts.

But we have shown a range of additional patterns where this analysis runs into several problems. The most notable one is the same data that challenges the two-ComP analysis considered and rejected based on the tri-transitive data in (49). There we demonstrated that whenever OM-doubling is non-local, the Goal of the Agree relation (the DP that is doubled) must necessarily itself bear the emphatic focus that arises with the doubling construction. It is difficult to enforce this requirement without including focus features as a necessary part of the specification of the probe: the disjunction in (86) would allow the probe to be satisfied with and interact with only [G]-marked elements, which would allow for a structurally lower object to be OM-doubled while the focus lies on some other element in the clause.[22]

The alternative in (86) also predicts that a focused or discourse-given element intervening between the probe and the OM-doubled object ought to result in unacceptability, because the probe ought to halt as soon as it finds a focused element. But we have seen examples where this is completely acceptable. For example, in (87b) a focused adverbial intervenes between the verb and the OM-doubled object. And in (88) we repeat an example where a locative aboutness topic is attracted to the immediately postverbal position, intervening between the verb and the THEME object which is OM-doubled in this example. Aboutness topics are generally available goals for OM-doubling, so they would satisfy this probe. So in both instances we might expect an intervention effect, but in fact we do not see one.

(87) a. *nááŋgílá ámála etʃáˈájí líiŋa*
Nangila a-a-mal-a e-chayi liina?
1.Nangila 1SM-PST-finish-FV 9-tea when
'When did Nangila finish the tea?'

b. *nááŋgílää ‖ áakímálile líkólóóβ' étʃáˈájí sjó*
Nangila a-ki- mal-ile likolooba e-chayi syo.
1.Nangila 1SM-7OM-finish-PFV yesterday 9-tea completely
'Nangila finished the tea completely YESTERDAY.'

(88) a. *xéˈŋdʒá x:úβoolélá xuuŋgila*
khe-n-ja khu-khu-bol-el-a khu-n-gila.
PROG-1SG.SM-go-FV 15-15-say-APPL-FV 17-9.road
'I am going to tell you about the road.'

[22] It is for this same reason that a simple [G]-probe likewise fails to explain the Lubukusu facts.

b. *tʃíxáafú xétʃíˈβúljáá ‖ xúúŋgílá βúɲasi̯ ‖ maíʃ*
Chi-kahafu khe-chi-bu- li-a khu-n-gila bu-nyasi , Maisha.
10-cows PROG-10SM-14OM-eat-FV 17-9-road 14-grass 1.Maisha
'The cows are eating grass in the road, Maisha.'
(assuming appropriate context for doubling)

Therefore we see that OM-related probing cannot be specified as being complete upon finding either a focused element or a given element. In most cases it necessarily finds the most local DP, which is discourse-given in most instances. It is only the exceptional instances where a non-given DP causes that probing operation to halt without copying back φ-features. And it is only in those instances where the φ-features of the focused element are necessarily realized on the OM. A simple disjunction of a probe for a given or focused element cannot capture these effects.

No matter what, it does appear that there are disjunctive requirements on the probing properties of Com° in Lubukusu: there are times when OM-doubling appears to be a relatively straightforward probe seeking DPs (our [D]-probe) but there are also times when OM-doubling specifically appears to track focus itself (our [FoC]-probe). Attempting to simplify based solely on information structural features runs into problems in one place or another, as we have shown here. Hence we include two separate probes, both of which need a discourse-given Goal to copy back φ-features, and one of which is satisfied upon finding a DP goal of any sort.

8.12.3 Indirect focus marking does not naturally account for these patterns

In §7.8 we discussed a proposal that a focus interpretation of a constituent can arise through *maximal backgrounding* (Güldemann 2016). This has been argued to underlie verum-like readings in OM-doubling constructions (Kerr & van der Wal 2023, Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023), and we propose that this is a central part of the mechanism for generating verum-like readings of OM-doubling in Lubukusu. In instances where there is no material inside *v*P apart from the OM-doubled object, we proposed that this an instance of maximal backgrounding, wherein the *v*P itself (by default) is interpreted as focused, the predicate-centered focus of Güldemann (2016).

As we discussed briefly in (7.8), this does raise the question of whether indirect focus-marking (via maximal backgrounding) could be at play in all OM-doubling constructions in Lubukusu. That is to say, in a now-familiar example

like (89), a plausible account is that OM-doubling is a strategy for backgrounding the OM-doubled object, leaving only the manner adverbial in this example to be interpreted as the focused element.

(89) Q: *watéexa kámákáá^{l}nd' óó^{l}rjéŋa*
W-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **o-rieena**?
2SG-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 2SG-how
'How did you cook the beans?'

A: *nákáteexa kámákáánda βwaaŋgu*
N-a-ka- teekh-a ka-ma-kanda **bwaangu**.
1SG-PST-6OM-cook-FV 6-6-beans quickly
'I cooked the beans QUICKLY.' (not: 'I DID cook the beans quickly.')
It is especially notable that this happened quickly.

There are multiple reasons why this indirect focus marking account breaks down, however, leading us to retain an account where focus is in fact directly marked by [FoC] features (and participating in [FoC] Agree relations). We have shown throughout that subject focus never results from OM-doubling; we have therefore posited ComP as the grammatical mechanism demarcating the focus domain in Lubukusu. So in some sense focus-marking is already **not** indirect: we have to grammatically encode a portion of the clause that is eligible for focus-marking.

The patterns of (a)symmetry discussed in this chapter are yet further reasons to reject an indirect focus-marking analysis of all the OM-doubling constructions. Doubling of a structurally lower object in a ditransitive construction has essentially the opposite effect of what we might have expected on an indirect focus-marking account. Instead of that lower object being backgrounded, and perhaps focus landing on the higher object, in these instances the OM-doubled object itself is the emphatically focused element. This follows naturally from an account where there is a [FoC]-probe and these constructions result from exceptional spellout of the results of the [FoC]-probe. But they are precisely the opposite of what we would have expected from an indirect focus account of all aspects of Lubukusu OM-doubling. So while we still rely on the maximal backgrounding account of verum-like readings (which seems to capture those effects reasonably well), it cannot be extended to explain all Lubukusu OM-doubling patterns, despite the fact that indirect focus intuitively seems to describe precisely what is happening in many instances.

8.13 Maximize Background: more on intervention effects

8.13.1 [FoC]-intervention

The assumptions that we have introduced thus far can serve to explain the intervention effects that we encountered above. As described in §8.5, non-local OM-doubling of a structurally lower object is disrupted if the intervening object is relatively informative: rather than a familiar kind of intervention effect where the case-agreement properties of an intervening DP determine whether it intervenes, instead it is how informative that intervening DP is that determines its intervention. While this would be a surprising kind of intervention for a [φ]-probe, it is not at all surprising for a [FoC]-Probe. Novel, unsolicited information is a prime candidate for [FoC]-marked material: if we assume that there is pressure to grammatically mark novel, unsolicited information as [FoC], this would explain the interaction of "informative" DPs and OM-doubling.

As we mentioned in Chapter 6, Büring (2016) describes *elaboration focus* as instances where unsolicited information is added to an exchange. This is a focus like any other, but it does not require (for example) a focus particle or a Q&A context to elicit the focus interpretation. We had suggested then that Lubukusu OM-doubling can be conceptualized as an elaboration focus, in part because it does not require a specific discourse prompt to license it (a speaker can just add something emphatic at their pleasure) but also because an elaboration focus is a somewhat ideal strategy for introducing surprising or noteworthy information into an exchange. Büring's articulation of an elaboration focus does not require a particular emphatic reading, of course. Rather, as in all instances of typical focus diagnostics in this monograph, the focus context provides a focus interpretation that is a plausible host for the mirative interpretation. Notably, the elaboration focus contexts are modeled with the same focus mechanics as any other focus.

8.13.2 Maximize Background

The prohibition against a focused phrase intervening in doubling of a non-local object seems to be an instance of a broader pattern. This kind of information structural effect is in fact familiar from research on focus and givenness, though the details of the grammatical realization of focus/givenness affect how it appears. An important part of most proposals about the distribution of focus/givenness propose some kind of mechanism to limit the amount of focus-marked elements. Two such principles are shown in (90) and (91).

(90) Avoid F

> F-mark as little as possible, without violating the GIVENness Requirement.
> (Schwarzschild 1999: 156, as described in Büring 2016: 53)

(91) Maximize Background (Büring 2016: 66)
In any tree, maximize the number of (non-synonymous) constituents that are in the background.

The general principle is that if focus is identified and appropriately semantically licensed, we ought to limit focus-marking on other elements in general (this being a principle to explain the attested distribution of focus marking). Notably, these principles here are distinct from the "maximal backgrounding" proposal discussed previously (Güldemann 2016). Maximal backgrounding in Güldemann's sense is essentially a focus strategy, achieved via backgrounding. The principles in (90) and (91) are attempts to capture a broad generalization about information structure, that in principle, any non-focused information ought to be backgrounded. Büring's articulation that information structure seeks to "maximize background" makes it somewhat more clear; this would appear to be a general property of acceptable structuring of information, presumably tailored for human attention. Therefore, whatever the formulation, it seems to be a general principle of information structure that focused elements should be minimized, and backgrounded elements maximized.

To take a specific example, consider (92), where an informationally-light indirect object in (92b) allows OM-doubling of the lower theme in (92b), but the addition of an associative possessive construction in (92c) makes that attempted OM-doubling construction unacceptable.

(92) a. *wékésá áwá naanu βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́á*
Wekesa a-w-a naanu bi-anwa chana?
1.Wekesa 1sm-give-fv 1.who 8-gifts top
'Who did Wekesa give those gifts that we have been talking about to?'

b. *wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwą́ ˡtʃáŋ́á*
Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa chana .
1.Wekesa 1sm-8om-give-fv 2-2-children 8-gifts top
'Wekesa gave the children those gifts that we were talking about.'

c. *wékésá áwá ˡβáβáana βá nááfulá βíʲjánwá ˡtʃáŋ́á*
Wekesa a-(*?bi-) w-a ba-ba-ana b-a Nafula
1.Wekesa 1sm-8om-give-fv 2-2-children 2-assoc 1.Nafula

bi-anwa chana
8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave Nafula's children those gifts that we were talking about.'

On the explanation we have given here, (92b) is an instance where the non-local OM-doubling operation is possible because the [FoC]-probe is not satisfied by the structurally higher object; the structurally lower object is [FoC]-marked and [G]-marked, and therefore copies back its φ-features to Com° (and, crucially, the [D]-probe fails to copy back φ-features). The extra information provided inside the indirect object DP in (92c) (without additional discourse context) creates the sense for speakers that the indirect object is not entirely background information, and with the possibility (or even likelihood) of an intervening object bearing a [FoC]-feature, the [FoC]-probe would be satisfied by that most local object, eliminating the exceptional set of feature-valuation circumstances that allow for non-local OM-doubling.

8.13.3 An unexpected parallel from isiZulu

While there is not detailed investigation of such "Maximize Background" effects (to our knowledge) in Bantu languages, or specifically in object marking contexts among Bantu languages, there are some curious effects that have been reported in isiZulu which are suggestive of a similar pattern.[23] The standard pattern is shown in (93), where the OM-doubled object necessarily moves to the right (analyzed by Zeller Zeller 2014, 2015 as right-adjunction to a functional projection on top of *v*P).[24]

(93) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 222)

a. U-John u-nik-a a-ba-ntwana i-mali.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-give-FV AUG-2-child AUG-9.money
'John is giving the children money.'

[23] For clarity, there *is* work on Güldemann's (2016) *maximal backgrounding*, which is an indirect focus strategy via overtly backgrounding all/most material in a clause (Kerr & van der Wal 2023, Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023). What we are referring to here does potentially overlap, but is not conceptually the same (and is effectively the inverse situation). Here we are referring to instances where focus on an element necessitates that other information be backgrounded, which preceding work has suggested is a general principle of information structure: backgrounding what information is not in focus.

[24] We summarized the core patterns of isiZulu object marking in §2.3.2.

b. *U-John u-ba- nik-a a-ba-ntwana i-mali.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-give-FV AUG-2-child AUG-9.money

c. U-John u-ba- nik-a i-mali a-ba-ntwana.
AUG-1a.John 1SM-2OM-give-FV AUG-9.money AUG-2-child
'John is giving the children money.'

Zeller notes that there is inter-speaker variation (and apparently some degree of intra-speaker gradience) on the acceptability of examples like (93b) above, which OM-doubled an *in situ* indirect object. He offers examples (94) and (95) as instances where some isiZulu speakers (at times) accepted these examples as at least marginally acceptable.

(94) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 223)
%Ngi-yi- theng-el-e i-nja u-bisi.
1SM-9OM-buy-APPL-PST AUG-9.dog AUG-11.milk
'I bought milk for the dog/a dog.'

(95) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 223)
%U-Langa u-m- phek-el-a u-mama i-nyama.
AUG-1a.Langa 1SM-1OM-cook-APPL-FV AUG-1a.mother AUG-9.meat
'Langa is cooking meat for mother.'

Zeller notes, however, that what makes a significant difference in judgments is the relative complexity of the indirect object itself. He offers the example in (96) as an illustration, showing that judgments of the exceptional *in situ* doubled indirect object are clarified to be wholly unacceptable when that indirect object is made more complex, here with a possessive.

(96) isiZulu (Zeller 2012: 223)
*Ngi-m- theng-el-a u-m-ngane wa-mi le moto namhlanje.
1SM-1OM-buy-APPL-FV AUG-1-friend 1POSS-1SG 9DEM 9.car today
'I'm buying this car for my friend today.'

In that work Zeller simply comments on the empirical findings. In later work Zeller offered a much more precise account of OM-doubling in isiZulu (centrally linked, in fact, to focus and givenness, as summarized in §2.3.2). But to our knowledge this small fact was left mysterious, and surely for good reason—why should the relative complexity of an intervening indirect object matter to a φ-Agree relation? On the account we have developed here, it does not: but it does quite reasonably matter to focus domains and what material is backgrounded, and therefore

ought to matter to a [FoC]-Agree operation. It is an interesting area for future research, to investigate whether instances like (94) and (95) might be instances where *in situ* object marking of the RECIPIENT/BENEFACTIVE object creates focal interpretations that are limited to the THEME object. So rather than the focused constituent necessarily being *v*P (per usual in isiZulu), perhaps in certain constructions the focal domain can be construed more narrowly. Zeller's analysis of isiZulu object marking explains it as an Agree relation in anti-focus features, and that anti-focus features drive movement out of *v*P in many instances (as the *v*P is focused). If the focus can be narrowed in some circumstances to the THEME object itself, this would make the canonical position of the indirect object part of the backgrounded portion of the sentence, eliminating the need to move out of the *v*P focus domain. This would also provide hope of explaining the highly variable judgments that Zeller reports. If such a construction is as highly context-dependent as the Lubukusu constructions appear to be, perhaps controlling for focus domains in a similar manner will clarify judgments for isiZulu speakers as to when *in situ* OM-doubled indirect objects are possible.

This is, of course, an interesting parallel to Lubukusu because there is surprising similarity—in both instances, the relative informational complexity of an indirect object plays a role in object marking. But in the isiZulu example it has to do with OM-doubling the indirect object, but leaving it *in situ*; in Lubukusu, it has to do with attempts to OM-double the structurally lower THEME object. But the unifying factor may be the information structure designations being invoked by the syntax (i.e. what is backgrounded and focused), despite the mechanisms of that backgrounding operation being distinct in the two languages.

8.13.4 Maximizing background outside the Comment Domain

Given the constraints discussed here for non-local OM-doubling, we might expect these constraints on focus (/tendency to maximize givenness) to extend outside the focus domain specifically. This kind of givenness effect is in fact well-documented in other domains. Consider the examples from Czech below. Generally speaking, in Czech if a constituent is marked as given, all constituents to its left are also marked as given, and a discourse-new element preceding a given element is considered infelicitous.

(97) Czech (Kučerová 2012: 2)
SVO: Chlapec našel lízátko.
boy.NOM found lollipop.ACC
(i) 'A boy found a lollipop.' ← new > new

(ii) 'This boy found a lollipop.' ← given > new
(iii) 'This boy found this lollipop.'←given > given
(iv) # 'A boy found this lollipop.' ← # new > given

The interpretation in (iv) above is not unexpressable in Czech, however. It simply requires moving the given object to the left of the non-given subject:

(98) Czech (Kučerová 2012: 3)
OVS: Lizátko našel chlapec. ← given > new
lollipop.ACC found boy.NOM
'A boy found this lollipop.'

Kučerová's analysis is to propose a givenness operator that propogates upwards (i.e., structurally higher constituents are interpreted as given), such that given elements must move into the scope of the givenness operator in order to to be licensed.

We see a quite similar pattern emerge in Lubukusu. (99) shows that the noun *omundu* 'person' may be used to generate a non-specific reading similar to English *someone*.

(99) *ómúúndú áwá ˡwékésá sítaβúũ ‖ xúuβeelá álólexanoo ‖ oolíí ‖ óólwiile*
O-mu-ndu a-w-a Wekesa sii-tabu khubela a-lolekhan-a
1-1-person 1SM.PST-give-FV 1.Wekesa 7-book because 1SM.PST-seem-FV
oli o-lwi-ile.
that 1AAE-tire-PFV
'Someone gave Wekesa a book because he looked like he was bored.'

However, in the OM-doubling contexts shown in (100), it is possible to have a specific subject as in (100a), but doubling makes the non-specific subject in (100b) unacceptable.

(100) a. *naafula ámúwa wékésá sítaβú xúuβeelá álólexan' ooliij óólwiilę*
Nafula a-mu- w-a Wekesa sii-tabu khubela
1.Nafula 1SM.PST-1OM-give-FV 1.Wekesa 7-book because
a-lolekhan-a oli o-lwi-il-e.
1SM.PST-seem-FV that 1FV-tire-PFV-FV
'Nafula gave Wekesa a book because he looked like he was bored.'
b. ??*ómúúndú ámúwa wékésá sítaβú xúuβeelá álólexan' ooliij óólwiilę*

??O-mu-ndu a-mu- w-a Wekesa sii-tabu khubela
1-1-person 1SM.PST-1OM-give-FV 1.Wekesa 7-book because
a-lolekhan-a oli o-lwi-il-e.
1SM.PST-seem-FV that 1SM-tire-PFV-FV
'Someone gave Wekesa a book because he looked like he was bored.'

We can see, therefore, that the requirement to maximize background material extends beyond just the *v*P-internal materials. Rather, it seems that the semantic/pragmatic operators introduced via OM-doubling have effects that extend up the clause, as well.

We can see a similar pattern at work here in an instance of OM-doubling a D-linked *wh*-object in (101). This is acceptable in (101a) with a proper name as a subject, but unacceptable in (101b) with a nonspecific subject.

(101) a. *wékésá áβáapa βaana síínạ*
Wekesa a-(ba-) p-a ba-ana siina ?
1.Wekesa 1SM.PST-2OM-beat-FV 2-child 7.what
'Which children did Wekesa discipline?'

b. *ómúúndúw ápa βaana síínạ*
O-mu-ndu a-(#ba-) p-a ba-ana siina ?
1-1-person 1SM.PST-2OM-beat-FV 2-child 7.what
Which children did someone discipline?

To sum up, we see that OM-doubling not only has interpretive consequences for the Comment Domain (imposing focus/givenness requirements on the verb phrase) but it also places some degree of interpretive constraints on elements *outside* the Comment Domain. From what we have encountered so far, it seems that the restriction on subjects in OM-doubling constructions is that they cannot be focused, nor can they be non-specific. This is consistent with them being necessarily backgrounded, which is *also* consistent with the kinds of principles proposed for focal constructions, i.e. that non-focal material ought to be backgrounded (e.g. AVOID F, MAXIMIZE BACKGROUND). This does not fall out directly from the analysis of OM-doubling that we have proposed, but from what we have encountered on the literature on focus and givenness, it is generally accepted that some kind of information structural constraint is necessary along these lines. We will not explore this further here, but we do think this will be an interesting line of research for future work, and clearly relevant to correlating issues in the literature on the semantics of focus/givenness.[25]

[25] As a reviewer observed, (99) instead has the appearance of a thetic sentence (a sentence with

8.14 Conclusions

8.14.1 How to double a structurally lower object

We conclude that the violations of locality of Agree in so-called 'symmetrical' doubling are driven by the complex nature of the probes on Com°. When focus contexts are carefully controlled in a ditransitive context, it is clear that the focal effects of OM-doubling a BENEFACTIVE/RECIPIENT argument are not equivalent to those that occur when OM-doubling the THEME argument.

We showed in (34) that OM-doubling the structurally higher argument is consistent with focus on any element in *v*P, which is consistent with OM-doubling resulting from a construction marking the *v*P as the relevant F-domain (ComP merges atop *v*P, or atop PromP if it is present). In contrast, when the structurally lower argument is OM-doubled in (35), this is only consistent with focus on that structurally lower argument itself. We showed that in these instances, the structurally lower argument is focused, containing a [FoC]-marked argument that requires a focus antecedent in the discourse context. But there is a givenness requirement on the lower DP as well, as we observed previously in Chapter 4 to be a necessary component of OM-doubling more generally. This givenness in fact was required not just to be present inside the DP, but the head noun itself appears to have a givenness requirement.

Our explanation was built on Deal's (2015, 2024) interaction/satisfaction model of Agree, where probes are specified separately for the features they interact with (copy back to the Probe) and the features of a Goal that will satisfy them, i.e. halt their probing. As discussed throughout the preceding chapters, we assume two distinct probes on Com°, a focus-related probe and a more strictly local [*φ*]-probe. In §8.9 we formalize this by saying that one probe is satisfied by [FoC], and the other by a D-feature. Both probes interact with [G]-marked DP objects bearing *φ*-features.

(102) Probe specifications for Lubukusu Com°:

a. [INT:FoC, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
[SAT:FoC]

b. [INT:D, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
[SAT:D]

only a comment, and no topic). So one way of conceptualizing this might be to say that a topical subject is necessary for ComP to be present.

As §8.9 lays out, these probe specifications successfully capture a large range of OM-doubling contexts. In this chapter we focused mainly on ditransitive predicates, but Chapter 9 outlines how this final analysis can capture the full range of effects we have documented in this volume.

8.14.2 Outstanding questions about (a)symmetry

8.14.2.1 Non-doubling OMs are symmetrical

Despite the fact that symmetry in OM-doubling is highly constrained to particular contexts, recall the point where we started: non-doubling object marking is in fact straightforwardly symmetrical, as either object in a ditransitive may be object-marked on the verb if it is familiar from context (essentially, pronominal contexts). (103) is repeated from (14) above; the RECIPIENT argument is object-marked in (103b) and the THEME argument is object-marked in (103c).

(103) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: (68)-(69))

a. N-á-a Wéékésá síi-tabu.
1SG.SM-PST-give.FV 1.Wekesa 7.7-book
'I gave Wekesa the book.'

b. N-á-mu- a síi-tabu.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give.FV 7.7-book
'I gave him the book.'

c. N-á-si- a Weekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-7OM-give.FV 1.Wekesa
'I gave it to Wekesa'

None of the restrictive focus contexts necessary to generate OM-doubling of the THEME are present in examples like (103c), so how is it possible to object mark the structurally lower object here? In Chapter 9 we will adopt the analysis from Sikuku et al. (2018) that doubling OMs and non-doubling OMs have fundamentally different syntactic derivations in Lubukusu. Whereas OM-doubling is an Agree relation originating on Com° (and therefore being linked with the nuanced interpretive effects we have described at length in this work), non-doubling OMs are simply clitic pronouns that incorporate into the verbal form via an object shift movement to some functional head followed by m-merger. See §9.4 for details.

8.14.2.2 No symmetry in verum contexts

Sikuku et al. (2018) show that in verum contexts there is no symmetry, not only with respect to OM-doubling but also in terms of word order. These sentences are elicited in a verum context on a verum-like reading, and the only valid sentence is one with canonical word order, with the structurally higher object being OM-doubled.

(104) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: (70))

a. N-á-mu- a Wéékésá ká-ma-lwa.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give.FV 1.Wekesa 6-6-beer
'I DID give Wekesa the beer.' (in appropriate contexts)

b. *?N-á-mu- a ká-ma-lwa Weekesa .
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-give.FV 6-6-beer 1.Wekesa
Intended: 'I DID give Wekesa the beer.'

c. ??N-á-ka- a ká-ma-lwa Weekesa.
1SG.SM-PST-6OM-give.FV 6-6-beer 1.Wekesa
Intended: 'I DID give Wekesa the beer.'

d. *N-á-ka- a Wéékésá ká-ma-lwa .
1SG.SM-PST-6OM-give.FV 1.Wekesa 6-6-beer
Intended: 'I DID give Wekesa the beer.'

The same pattern occurs in instrumental applicatives: here (as is well established) the THEME is the structurally higher object, and here the canonical word order is required (THEME>INSTRUMENT). In this instance, only the THEME argument can be OM-doubled.

(105) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: (73))

a. N-á-ch- aasaak-il-a chíi-khú é-yaaywa.
1SG.SM-PST-10OM-chop-APPL-FV 10-firewood 9-axe
'I DID chop the wood with the axe.' (in appropriate contexts)

b. *?N-á-ch- aasaak-il-a é-yaaywá chíi-xu .
1SG.SM-PST-10OM-chop-APPL-FV 9-axe 10-firewood

c. ??N-á-ky- asaak-il-a chíi-khú é-yaaywa .
1SG.SM-PST-9OM-chop-APPL-FV 10-firewood 9-axe

d. *N-á-ky- aasaak-il-a é-yaaywa chíi-khu.
1SG.SM-PST-9OM-chop-APPL-FV 9-axe 10-firewood

In our previous work, we misinterpreted these effects to mean that Lubukusu does not allow OM-doubling of structurally lower objects. The nature of the generalization has changed, however: it is in fact possible to OM-double structurally lower objects, so the question instead is now, "why can structurally lower objects not be OM-doubled in verum-like contexts?" Our current thoughts are that the focus structure that generates doubling of structurally lower objects is incompatible with the focus structure that generates the predicate focus that is employed in verum-like discourse contexts. We have previously proposed that these verum-like contexts are in fact instances of predicate focus, where the entire *v*P bears a [FoC]-feature. On the other hand, the structures that generate OM-doubling of structurally lower objects require that the structurally lower object bear the [FoC]-feature. As such, a predicate focus construction is incompatible with the structures that are necessary to generate so-called 'symmetrical' OM-doubling.

As for the variable word order, it is not clear to us why scrambling operations would be ruled out in predicate focus constructions; that is an issue for future work.

8.14.2.3 No symmetry with *mpaka* 'even'

Another instance we have found of the symmetrical properties of OM-doubling disappearing is when an object is modified with the focus modifier *mpaka* 'even.' We have less to say about this pattern, but report it here as an issue for future research. In short, modifying *either* object in a ditransitive with the scalar focus particle *mpaka* 'even' eliminates the kinds of symmetries that we discuss in this chapter, similar to the verum readings discussed in the preceding section. In the first set of examples below, the RECIPIENT is modified with *mpaka* 'even,' and in the second set, the THEME is. In both instances, word order symmetry is lost (even without OM-doubling), and symmetry in OM-doubling is impossible as well.

As (106) shows, when the RECIPIENT is modified with *mpaka* 'even,' word order is restricted to the canonical positions.

(106) a. *ómwalíˈmú áwá páká maíʃá sítaβu̯*
O-mw-alimu a-w-a mpaka Maisha si-i-tabu.
1-1-teacher 1SM-give-FV even 1.Maisha 7-7-book
'The teacher gave even Maisha a book.'

b. **ómwalíˈmú áwá sítaβú páká maíʃ*
*O-mw-alimu a-w-a si-i-tabu mpaka Maisha.
1-1-teacher 1SM-give-FV 7-7-book even 1.Maisha
'The teacher gave even Maisha a book.'

Likewise, while it is possible to OM-double the RECIPIENT, it is impossible to OM-double the THEME.

(107) a. *ómwalíʲmú ámúwa páká maíʃá sítaβu̯*
O-mw-alimu a-(mu-) w-a (mpaka Maisha) si-i-tabu.
1-1-teacher 1SM-1OM-give-FV even 1.Maisha 7-7-book
'The teacher gave EVEN MAISHA a book.'
It is notable that Maisha received a book.

b. **ómwalíʲmú áʃíwa mpáká maíʃá sítaβu̯*
*O-mw-alimu a-(si-) w-a mpaka Maisha (si-i-tabu).
1-1-teacher 1SM-7OM-give-FV even 1.Maisha 7-7-book
'The teacher gave even Maisha a book.'

And the examples in (108) show that the other possible permutations of OM+word order distinctions are impossible as well.

(108) a. **ómwalíʲmú ámúwa sítaβú mpáká maíʃ*
*O-mw-alimu a-(mu-) w-a si-i-tabu (mpaka Maisha).
1-1-teacher 1SM-1OM-give-FV 7-7-book even 1.Maisha
'The teacher gave even Maisha a book.'

b. **ómwalíʲmú áʃíwa sítaβú mpáká maíʃ*
*O-mw-alimu a-(si-) w-a (si-i-tabu) mpaka Maisha.
1-1-teacher 1SM-7OM-give-FV 7-7-book even 1.Maisha
'The teacher gave even Maisha a book.'

We see the same exact pattern occurring when it is the THEME that is modified with *mpaka* 'even.' That is to say, it does not matter which argument is modified in this way, the same *v*P-level effects result. (109) shows the loss of word order flexibility with an 'even'-modified THEME.

(109) a. *ómwalíʲmú áwá maíʃá mpáká sítaβu̯*
O-mw-alimu a-w-a Maisha mpaka si-i-tabu.
1-1-teacher 1SM-give-FV 1.Maisha even 7-7-book
'The teacher gave Maisha even a book.'

b. **ómwalíʲmú áwá mpáká sítaβú máíʃ*
*O-mw-alimu a-w-a mpaka si-i-tabu Maisha.
1-1-teacher 1SM-give-FV even 7-7-book 1.Maisha
'The teacher gave Maisha even a book.'

And again, *mpaka* 'even' rules out the possibility of OM-doubling the structurally lower object in (110), and the other permutations of OM+word order are again impossible in (111).

(110) a. *ómwalíʲmú ámúwa maíʃá mpáká sítaβu̱*
O-mw-alimu a-mu- wa Maisha mpaka si-i-tabu
1-1-teacher 1SM-1OM-give-FV 1.Maisha even 7-7-book
'The teacher gave Maisha even a book.'
It is notable that Maisha received a book.

b. **ómwalíʲmú áʃíwa maíʃá mpáká sítaβu̱*
*O-mw-alimu a-si- w-a Maisha mpaka si-i-tabu .
1-1-teacher 1SM-7OM-give-FV 1.Maisha even 7-7-book
'The teacher gave Maisha even a book.'

(111) a. **ómwalíʲmú ámúwa páká sítaβú máíʃ*
*O-mw-alimu a-mu- w-a mpaka si-i-tabu Maisha
1-1-teacher 1SM-1OM-give-FV even 7-7-book 1.Maisha
'The teacher gave Maisha even a book.'

b. **ómwalíʲmú áʃíwa páká sítaβú máíʃ*
*O-mw-alimu a-si- w-a mpaka si-i-tabu Maisha.
1-1-teacher 1SM-7OM-give-FV even 7-7-book 1.Maisha
'The teacher gave Maisha even a book.'

We do not have a precise proposal of what about the semantics of *mpaka* 'even' creates so many morphosyntactic restrictions. What is interesting is that it finds a parallel from Makhuwa conjoint/disjoint. Makhuwa has a conjoint/disjoint distinction, where sentences with *in situ* objects have conjoint-marked verb forms, and those without *in situ* objects are marked as disjoint. A notable exception, however, is when the object is modified by *hata* 'even,' in which case the conjoint form becomes unacceptable, and the disjoint form is required (van der Wal 2009).

(112) Makhuwa (Jenneke van der Wal, pc)

a. Ki-n-thúm' étomati paáhi.
1SG.SM-PRS.CJ-buy 10.tomatoes only
'I buy only tomatoes'

b. *Ki-náá-thúma etomátí paáhi.
1SG.SM-PRS.DJ-buy 10.tomatoes only

(113) Makhuwa (Jenneke van der Wal, pc)

a. *O-c-aale hata eshima.
1SM-eat-PFV.CJ even 9.shima
'He ate even shima.'

b. O-hoó-cá hátá eshíma.
1SM-PFV.DJ-eat even 9.shima
'He ate even shima.'

Again, it is not clear to us *why* such restrictions occur in Lubukusu. Our suspicion is that it is linked with the kind of focus semantics involved. Makhuwa conjoint forms are linked specifically with exhaustive focus (van der Wal 2011), and this exhaustive focus appears to be incompatible with the scalar focus of *hata* 'even.' Lubukusu prominence scrambling and OM-doubling generally appear to employ an alternatives-based semantics to explicitly or implicitly note that the asserted focused alternative is the one that the proposition is true of, and not some other alternative referent. The semantics of *even*, on the other hand, are scalar: while there is debate about the particulars, the meaning of *even* is often composed of, in part, a scale of propositions ranked by likelihood (see the introductory discussion of Greenberg 2016, and the references cited therein).

Makhuwa conjoint/disjoint, Lubukusu OM-doubling, and Lubukusu word order restrictions have tight links with exhaustive focus, whereas the treatment of alternatives for the scalar semantics of *even* appears to be fundamentally different, and perhaps even semantically incompatible. Future research is clearly necessary on this topic, but we expect the issue to expand beyond Lubukusu OM-doubling.

9 Explaining Lubukusu OM-doubling (the final analysis)

At this point, we have offered all of our empirical description, empirical generalizations, and analytical claims. Chapter 3 gave basic background on Lubukusu object marking and OM-doubling, and Chapters 4 and 5 offered initial description of OM-doubling and relevant postverbal structures. In Chapter 6 we gave an initial analysis based on the structural implementation of focus in Lubukusu. Chapter 7 refined the empirical generalizations of the interpretation of OM-doubling constructions, and also (as a result) refined the syntactic analysis. In Chapter 8 we focused on the exceptional instances of OM-doubling the non-structurally-highest DP; this exploration led us to a refined notion of the nature of the probing features that generate OM-doubling.

In this chapter we aggregate the relevant empirical generalizations, and summarize our main analytical claims. We walk through the derivation of additional examples with the goal of clarifying and illustrating the analysis.

9.1 Summary of core empirical generalizations

As an initial point of reference, Figure 9.1 provides the final version of the flow chart describing the various circumstances that license (and fail to license) OM-doubling in Lubukusu. The discussion that follows describes the sequence of discussion in the volume to this point that argues for these conclusions.

First, OM-doubling in simple monotransitives (i.e. without additional material in the Comment Domain) is largely unacceptable, as discussed by Sikuku et al. (2018) and in §3.8. This is not without exception, however: verum-like discourse contexts license OM-doubling, as reported by Sikuku et al. (2018) and in §3.8.1.

A major empirical contribution of this volume is to show that the findings of Sikuku et al. (2018) were incomplete: Chapter 4 shows that many kinds of focus facilitate OM-doubling (e.g. new information focus, exhaustive focus with *-ong'ene* 'only,' contrastive focus). Crucially, however, the focused phrases that facilitate OM-doubling are structurally-restricted: any (and only) focused phrases contained in the Comment Domain (*v*P+PromP) facilitate OM-doubling in this

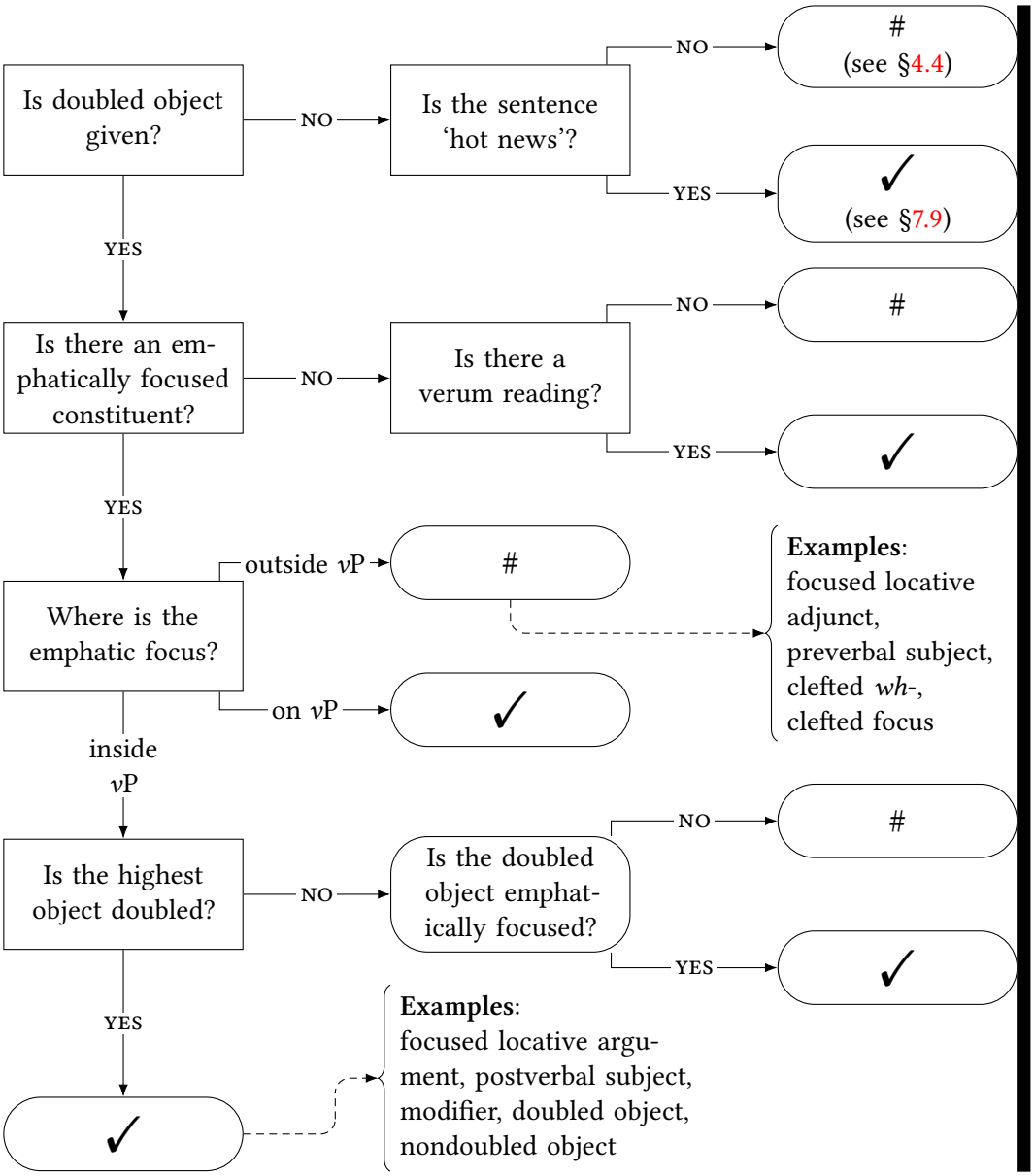


Figure 9.1: A flow chart illustrating the various constraints on OM-doubling contexts. Final version.

way (§4.2). So, any kind of focused object argument qualifies, as do postverbal subjects, and *v*P-level adverbials. Preverbal subjects, locative adjuncts, and clause-final particles do not qualify. Chapter 4 also added a pattern about the interpretation of OM-doubled phrases themselves: in most instances, the OM-doubled object must be interpreted as discourse-given, i.e. specific or identifiable. In §7.9 we added the observation that this is not absolute; in select instances it is possible for the OM-doubled object to be non-specific (namely, where the entire sentence bears emphatic focus, as opposed to some particular sub-constituent; so-called 'hot news' sentences).

Chapter 5 gave important background, clarifying this notion of the 'Comment Domain' and clarifying the structure of the postverbal domain. In that chapter we investigated flexible postverbal word order, arguing for a discourse-prominence position atop *v*P (which we called PromP), but which was still positioned within the Comment Domain. Various grammatical constructions were shown to be sensitive to material inside this domain, but insensitive to material outside it, including the NE-intensifier, scrambling operations, OM-doubling, and the interpretive sense of a constituent being part of the "main point" of the sentence. Based on those findings, §5.6 concluded that OM-doubled objects are quite often *in situ* in their canonical positions; there does not appear to be anything about the syntax of OM-doubling in Lubukusu that requires doubled objects to move.

Chapter 7 formalized key details about the properties of typical OM-doubling constructions. There we showed that OM-doubling is typically associated with a sense that some element of the sentence was unexpected; we argued that this is best modeled as mirative focus, based on existing analyses of mirative fronting in Romance languages. This is still focus-dependent, but adds an additional layer of emphatic interpretation on top of the focus.

Chapter 8 dealt with a prominent area of research in Bantu languages—namely, (a)symmetry—i.e. whether it is possible to object-mark and OM-double only the structurally highest object, or whether (apparent) non-local doubling of a structurally lower object is possible. We showed that it is in fact possible to OM-double structurally lower objects in Lubukusu, but that this creates a distinct set of focus interpretations. OM-doubling of a structurally higher object is consistent with focus on various constituents inside the Comment Domain (the emphatic focus is not necessarily but possibly found on that higher object itself), but OM-doubling a structurally lower object is more restrictive, requiring that the lower object itself be [FoC]-marked. When a THEME object is OM-doubled in a benefactive ditransitive, for example, the sentence is not felicitous in contexts with focus on the verb phrase, on the BENEFACTIVE argument, or on an adjunct. So we see that this pushes back against typical accounts of so-called 'symmetry' that treat it

as merely a syntactic parameter: the distinct range of interpretive effects when doubling a structurally lower object requires an account that can explain the pragmatic consequences.

9.2 Final analysis of Lubukusu OM-doubling

Our core analysis of Lubukusu OM-doubling is that it is an emphatic focus strategy that is built on the syntactic implementation of focus structures via functional projections in the extended projection of the verb phrase. Doubling object markers themselves arise from φ-features on the focus-associated emphatic projection (EmphP that contains operators introducing expressive interpretations: see §7.5.1, §7.5.2, §7.6). But the agreement relations are (usually) mediated by functional projections that also bear φ-features and the focus operator (ComP); it is a probe on Com° that (usually) Agrees directly with the OM-doubled DP object itself. We illustrate this in Figure 9.2, where an XP is [FoC]-marked as the focused element in this instance. As we detail below, the semantics of the operators on Com° and Emph° determine the contexts that OM-doubling may occur in. In Figure 9.2 and in all examples considered in this chapter we omit PromP (or, more specifically, we set aside examples that would require PromP to be present) in order to focus on the mechanisms for OM-doubling.[1]

A key point is that the OM-doubled object is necessarily discourse-given. See §4.4 for the empirical evidence showing this to be the case. In §8.9 we formalized this in Deal's (2015, 2024) interaction/satisfaction model of Agree, within which features are neither uninterpretable nor unvalued: instead, probes are designated as to the feature(s) they copy back to the probe from a Goal (interaction condition), and the feature(s) that halt the probe's search (satisfaction condition). On our analysis (as modeled in Figure 9.2) Com° contains two probes: a focus probe and a nominal [D]-probe, as illustrated in (1). The [FoC]-probe is satisfied once it interacts with a [FoC]-marked constituent, but it *also* interacts with any constituent that has φ-features and is discourse-given ([G]-marked). Here we assume (following Scott 2021 and Bárány 2023) that conditions on probes are potentially conjoined, necessitating that the conjoined featural conditions be jointly met by a Goal. So per the proposal in (1a), the focus probe will also copy back the φ-features of a Goal, but only if that Goal DP is discourse-given. Com° also has a

[1] We proposed PromP in Chapter 5 to account for scrambling movements and their associated interpretive effects. These various word orders intersect with object marking in various ways (especially with respect to obviating intervention effects when agreeing with structurally lower objects in a ditransitive, as discussed in Chapter 8), but discussing them here would overcomplicate the current overview discussion.

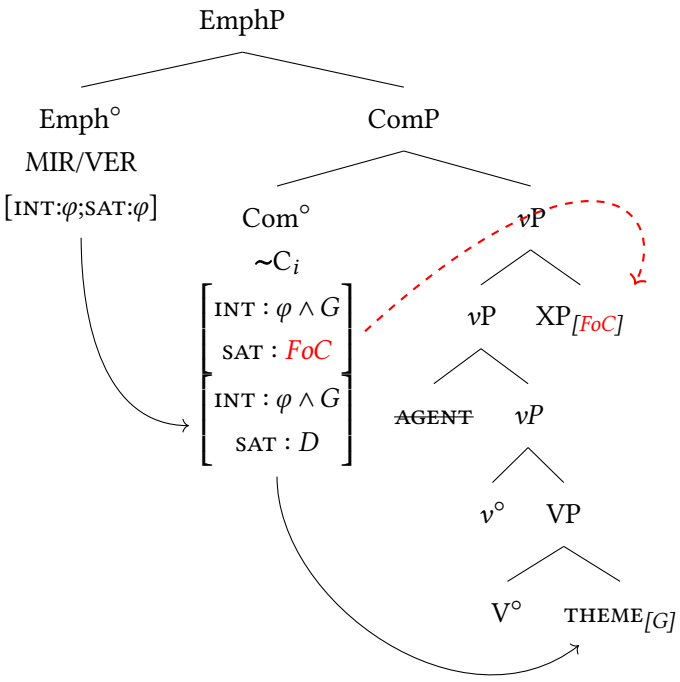


Figure 9.2: A schematic of a typical instance of OM-doubling. Final Version. We omit PromP to focus on the mechanisms of OM-doubling.

probe that seeks a nominal element, which we represent with a D feature. This probe is also specified to interact with DP Goals that have both φ-features and G-features.

(1) Probe specifications for Lubukusu Com°:
   a. [INT:FoC, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
      [SAT:FoC]
   b. [INT:D, $\varphi \wedge$ G]
      [SAT:D]

The probe on Emph° is a [φ]-probe that interacts with φ-features, and is also satisfied by φ-features. The result is that in all instances where Com° is present, the [φ]-probe on Emph° will be satisfied by the features on Com°. On our analysis, the doubling OM in Lubukusu is in fact the realization of Emph°, rather than Com° directly.

A central component of our claim, laid out in §6.7 and §7.6, is that the relevant functional projections (Emph°, Com°) merge into the structure countercyclically, after the rest of the structure of the sentence is built. This is necessary because it is only the surface syntactic positions of the relevant syntactic elements that are considered (whether as a target for the [φ]-probes, or for the calculation of the focus effects). So movement of agents (in all instances) and (for example) *ex situ wh*-phrases and focused phrases must occur before the 'action' of the OM-generating heads takes place, which we suggest occurs because Emph° and Com° merge into the structure after higher structure like TP and CP has merged. See the referenced sections for empirical argumentation (and cross-linguistic support), and see §10.1.2 in the Conclusions for thoughts on the broader justification of such countercyclicity.

Our analysis is that OM-doubling is a mirative focus strategy in typical instances, and there are two distinct semantic/pragmatic operators that are syntactically present and that play a central role in the OM-doubling construction, as outlined in the discussion of the structure in Figure 9.2. As for the pragmatic licensing, we have shown (empirically) that there must be focus in or on the verb phrase in order to license OM-doubling, and that this focus needs to carry an emphatic interpretation: being surprising or unexpected to the speaker or listeners (mirative focus), or confirming a debatable proposition and emphasizing that proposition in some way (verum-like readings). These empirical generalizations are described in depth in Chapters 4 and 7.

We modeled this in accordance with relatively widely-utilized aspects of the alternative semantics of focus and givenness (Rooth 1992, Schwarzschild 1999, Büring 2016), specifically following the newer grammatical implementation from Kratzer & Selkirk (2020). Our account is also based on relatively recent proposals about mirative focus (Bianchi et al. 2016, Cruschina 2019a). As discussed in §6.5, the semantic denotation of focus involves replacing the focused element with a variable and applying existential closure to the resulting denotation (∃F-Clo, existential closure of the focus variable), resulting in a propositional form of the sort, "there exists some x such that x [something]." (3b) is the resulting proposition for the focused sentence in (2).

(2) Maya left.
(Büring 2016: 50)

(3) a. $[\![\text{Maya}_{[\text{FoC}]}\ \text{left}]\!]_{\mathcal{F}}$
b. ∃x[x left]

The denotation of this existential closure in (3b) is essentially a set of alternatives: all the possible propositions 'x left': *Alex left*, *Maya left*, *Lionell left*, etc. The core aspect of licensing a focused element is that one of those alternatives is either present in the discourse context, or entailed by the discourse context (Schwarzschild 1999, Büring 2016, Kratzer & Selkirk 2020: among many others).

So (2) is felicitous in a context if the context contains a proposition that entails that there exists some individual such that that individual left (∃x[x left], i.e. (3b)). A typical sort of antecedent, therefore would be a sentence like "Alex left," or "Linus left," both of which could be felicitously responded to with (2). Following Rooth (1992), the relevant context is represented in the semantic composition of the sentence in (2) by the variable C (which represents the relevant focus antecedent), and the ~ (SQUIGGLE) operator, whose role is to introduce the presupposition that the sister of the operator contains a focused element.[2] Figure 9.3 represents this schematically.

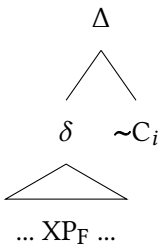


Figure 9.3: Information Structure Interpretation Condition, per Büring (2016: 69): presupposes that the contextually supplied value of C_i is an appropriate focus antecedent for the focused element in the sister of ~.

We claimed that ~C_i is present in the narrow syntax of Lubukusu, merged as Com°. Com° also bears a nominal [D]-probe that Agrees with an object in its c-command domain (see Figure 9.2). Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) propose that both the ~ operator and the focused element bear syntactically-represented probes/features for focus and givenness, and that their syntactic relationship is implemented via an Agree relation. We adopt this approach, though adapted to the interaction/satisfaction model of Agree, where the probe is specified [INT:FoC,φ ∧G; SAT:Foc] (in our instance), and the Goal bears a [FoC] feature. The [FoC]-probe must find a goal in order for the sentence to be acceptable, but this is

[2] At least, this is how it is articulated in Büring's 2016 synthesis of Rooth's and Schwarzschild's proposals; Schwarzschild's notion of GIVENness came later than Rooth's squiggle operator.

not due to the derivation crashing on account of Agree failing (Preminger 2014). Rather, if the [FoC] probe does not find a goal, this means that the requirements of the focus operator are likewise not met by the sentence, and therefore it is interpreted as infelicitous.

As we demonstrated in Chapter 7, however, this alone is not sufficient to explain Lubukusu OM-doubling; rather, an additional operator is present (again, overtly in the syntax, as shown above in Figure 9.2) that introduces the emphatic interpretation of OM-doubling: either a mirative or a verum-like reading of the clause. Additionally, we claimed that this projection is in fact where the object marker itself arises. Emph° has a [φ]-probe that searches its c-command domain, and in most cases finds the φ-features on Com° as a Goal.[3] Because Com° itself Agrees with some object DP, the features of that Goal are then passed to Emph°.[4] This structure is shown in Figure 9.4, with explanation of the mirative operator below.[5]

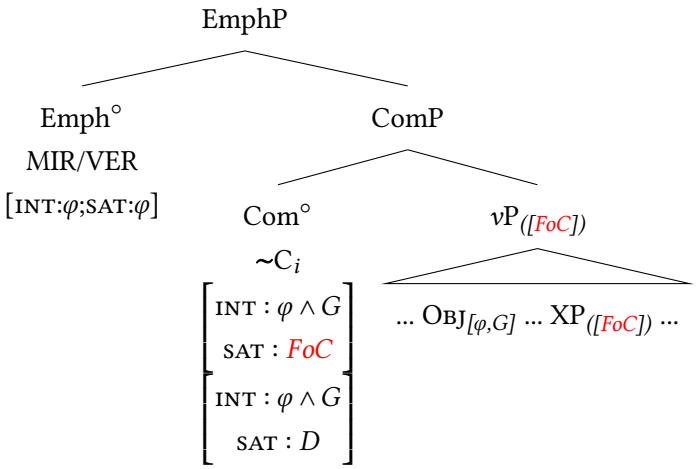


Figure 9.4: Lubukusu OM-doubling configuration (final). Both potential [FoC]-marking options are annotated here with parenthetical [FoC]-marks, though only one would be present in any given OM-doubling construction.

[3] To be more precise, this probe must copy back values for [φ] and [D]; we continue to it as a [φ]-probe because the diagrams are surely complex enough already.

[4] Depending on the particular assumptions about Agree, this may require Com° to probe and be valued before Emph° does. Some theories of Agree (e.g. Frampton & Gutmann 2000) do not require this specific sequence of timing.

[5] A reviewer asks what happens when there is no object: we comment on this briefly in §10.2.5.

The focus-associated implicature projection (Emph°) introduces the operator that generates the mirative or verum implicature that is the final analytical component necessary to explain the interpretive effects of OM-doubling. Cruschina (2019a) describes the mirative implicature informally as in (4).

(4) Informal definition of Mirative implicature (Cruschina 2019a: 141)
μ is the conventional implicature that p is less likely than other focus alternative propositions.

More formally, Bianchi et al. (2016) propose that this implicature is generated by an operator merged in the syntax, which creates multidimensional meaning, pairing truth-conditional, propositional meaning with a conventional implicature (the two meanings on either side of the • in the denotation below). This operator is defined in (5).

(5) Denotation: focus-based implicature operator (Bianchi et al. 2016: (29))
$[\![\text{F-IMP}_C]\!] = \lambda p_{\langle s,t\rangle}.p \bullet (\exists p'_{\langle s,t\rangle} \in C)(p'$ is a better possibility than p w.r.t. a relevant modal base and stereotypical ordering source).

This states that for some proposition p (with its normal meaning on the left side of •) there exists some alternative proposition (p′), and p′ is a better possibility (i.e., is more likely to be true) than p. This "comparative unlikelihood' of p is what gives a mirative focus sentence the interpretation that what is being communicated is unexpected, or surprising, or newsworthy, because the implicature created here is that there is at least one (and perhaps more than one) alternative proposition(s) that is more likely than what is being communicated in the mirative sentence.

Crucially, (5) states that this alternative proposition (p′) is an element of the set of propositions C, which is the tool Rooth used (along with the squiggle operator) to introduce focus antecedents into the semantic composition of a sentence. In this way, the operator in (5) as proposed by Bianchi et al. (2016) is focus-dependent, and they propose that it requires a focus structure in its scope to provide the relevant context (C) that provides the more likely proposition(s) p′ that are central to the mirative focus implicature. They represented this schematically as in (6).

(6) $[_{\chi}$ F-IMP$_C$ $[_{\phi}$ $[_{\alpha}$ XP$_F$ ... $t_{\alpha}]$ ~C $_{\phi}]$ $_{\chi}]$
(Bianchi et al. 2016: (30))

This is the basis on which we proposed the dual structures of Emph° and Com° both contributing (in typical circumstances) to the generation of an OM-doubling

construction, as we illustrated in Figure 9.4. The 'typical' instance of Lubukusu OM-doubling, therefore, is where the structurally highest object is doubled (as that object will be the goal of the [D]-probe on Com°, that copies back φ-features and G-features) and some other element inside the verb phrase is focused (the Goal of the [FoC]-probe on Com°). The focus operator on Com° presupposes that its complement contains an appropriately licensed focused phrase, meaning that *v*P (or PromP, in some instances) contains a focused phrase that has a focus antecedent in the discourse context. This predicts, however, that *any* focused phrase in the relevant domain (c-commanded by Com°) ought to license OM-doubling (presuming the emphatic interpretation is also available), which explains the diversity of potential licensing contexts that we have documented for Lubukusu OM-doubling.

An apparent exception to the typical derivations noted above are instances where a monotransitive object in an OM-doubling construction is the sole constituent inside *v*P. We have seen several instances where this occurs. First are the circumstances that we previously analyzed as verum focus in Sikuku et al. 2018: we likewise analyze these as verum constructions (with a verum operator on Emph°) where the entire *v*P bears a [FoC] feature (as the focused element: §9.3.1.4), but also bears a [G] feature as the *v*P is discourse-given in context. In addition, it is in fact possible for a simple monotransitive object itself to satisfy all the various demands arising from an OM-doubling construction, though it requires that this object be focused, be compatible with mirative focus particularly, and *also* be discourse-given. We see instances like this in elaboration focus and with D-linked *wh*-objects, discussed below in §9.3.1.3.

Again, these are all sub-cases of the typical case, wherein the focus may fall on any constituent in the Comment Domain, as a result of Com° merging at the edge of *v*P (and Emph° merging atop ComP). We walk through the derivation of specific relevant examples in §9.3.1 below. There are several applications of these core OM-doubling mechanisms to a narrower set of empirical contexts, however, which have different syntactic and semantic effects.

First, to explain the relatively exceptional availability of OM-doubling with a non-local object, we argued that these were instances where the [D]-probe fails to interact with the φ-features of the DP that satisfies it, because that DP is not [G]-marked. In these instances, it is instead the φ-features resulting from the [FoC]-probe that are realized on the object marker. This is illustrated in Figure 9.5. This explains the necessity of non-local OM-doubling to have mirative focus on the OM-doubled DP itself, whereas the canonical pattern of mirative OM-doubling displays mirative focus on some *other* element in the *v*P, distinct from the OM-doubled object.

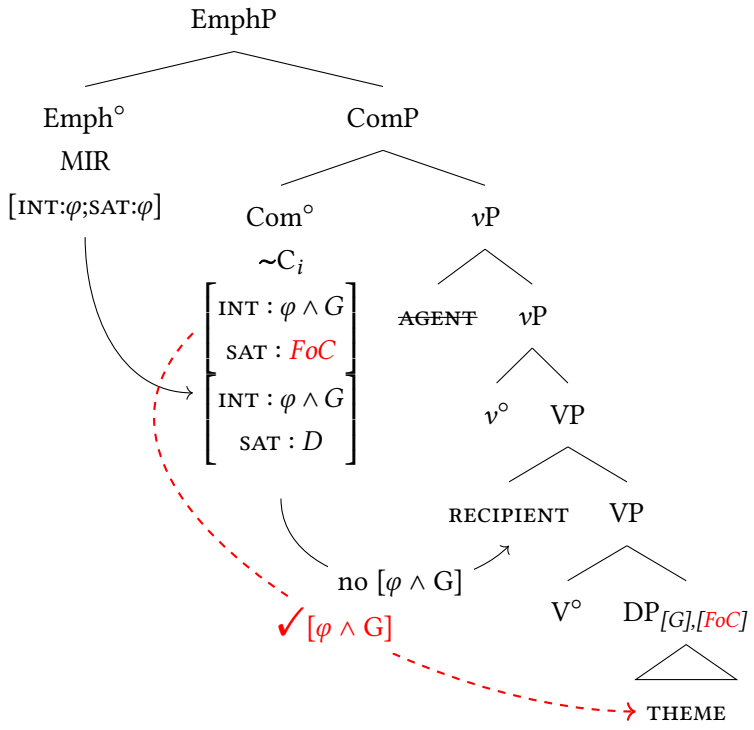


Figure 9.5: The structure of non-local OM-doubling, so-called 'symmetrical' OM-doubling (final).

We proposed the final structural configuration for OM-doubling as an explanation for a particularly narrow subset of exceptional cases of OM-doubling. Specifically, in §7.9 we showed that—contrary to the usual pattern—there are exceptional circumstances where an OM-doubled object does not need to be specific/given in context. The circumstances where this occurs appear to be unified, however, in that they are all instances where an entire proposition is treated as the mirative focus, rather than the verb phrase or some sub-constituent of the verb phrase. We argued that these are instances of whole-sentence focus, and as such do not contain a ComP at all. We illustrate this in Figure 9.6.

Because these are instances of whole-sentence focus, we do not expect to see a focus domain embedded inside the [FoC]-marked focused phrase; as such, the [φ]-probe on Emph° exceptionally probes the Goal DP directly in these instances (i.e. without the mediation of Com°). Because the givenness requirement of the DP object is derived from valuation in the Agree relation with Com°, these con-

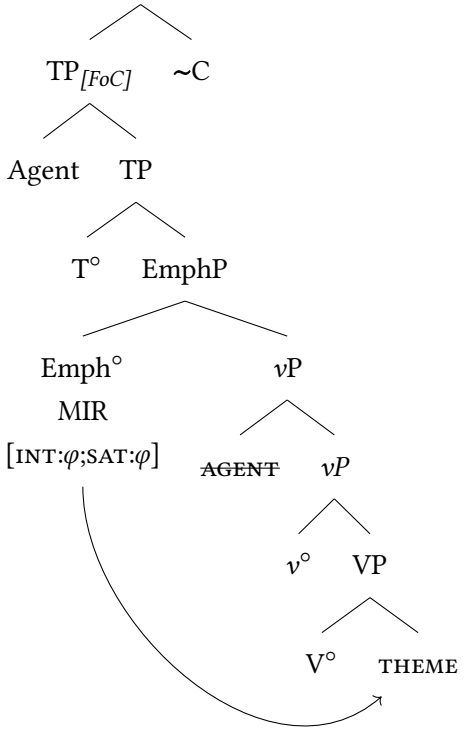


Figure 9.6: Structurally larger focus domain, which exceptionally allows for a non-given object to be OM-doubled due to the absence of Com°. Final Version.

structions are those that exceptionally allow OM-doubling with non-specific objects.

As we discussed briefly in §7.9, this raises some semantic composition questions: how does the mirative focus operator on Emph° access the relevant variable C arising on ~C, which is merged to the root node in Figure 9.6? We suggested that this is a result of a canonical property of conventional implicatures (CIs): they asymmetrically apply to at-issue content (i.e. at-issue content cannot apply to a CI), resulting in CIs necessarily always taking widest scope. See §7.9 for details.

9.3 Sample derivations of OM-doubling

In this section, we walk through derivations of specific examples to show how this analysis plays out. The first one we discuss we give maximal detail, for clarity,

and as we proceed we do not rehash details where they can be readily extrapolated from the previous discussion.

9.3.1 Derivation of typical OM-doubling constructions

9.3.1.1 OM-doubling BENEFACTIVE with focused THEME

The benefactive applicative double object construction in (7) has exhaustive focus on the THEME argument and the BENEFACTIVE indirect object is OM-doubled.

(7) *Context: The parents arrived home after a long journey, and the children went off to the kitchen to fetch them refreshments. It would be expected that sufficient refreshments would be brought, including various kinds of food, tea, etc. Instead, the children brought back only a cup of water.*
βáβáaná βáβáreerera βáβéeβúsí káméetʃí kóŋéné
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-ba- rer-er-a ba-b-ebusi **ka-m-echi**
2-2-children 2SM-PST-2OM-bring-APPL-FV 2-2-parents 6-6-water
k-ong'ene.
6-only
'The children brought their parents ONLY WATER.' (i.e. they didn't bring anything else)

As we did previously, we assume head movement of the verb to at least Emph°, though we do not represent it in the structures here for the sake of visual clarity. We show two relevant structures here. The first is Figure 9.7, which is the structure that is built before Emph° and Com° are merged (recall, these projections are merged countercyclically on the proposal we advance here). Here, the AGENT subject in Spec,*v*P is the Goal for an Agree relation from T, and raises to Spec,TP.

As Figure 9.8 shows, it is only after the entire sentence structure is built (we show it up to TP here) that Emph° and Com° are merged. We assume that these structures are merged simultaneously, triggering the relevant Agree relations on Com° and on Emph°: the [*φ*]-probe on Emph° Agrees with Com°, and the [D]-probe on Com° agrees with *babebusi* 'parents,' successfully copying back the *φ*-features of that DP because it contains both [*φ*] and [G], meeting the interaction conditions of the [D]-probe on Com°. This results in the class 2 *φ*-features of the BENEFACTIVE indirect object *babebusi* arising on Emph°, which are spelled out as the class 2 object marker *ba-*. The [FoC]-probe also searches its c-command domain, finding the [FoC]-marked THEME object in this case; in this instance, the THEME object is not discourse-given, and therefore does not copy back *φ*-features (though the probe is satisfied by the [FoC]-marked THEME object).

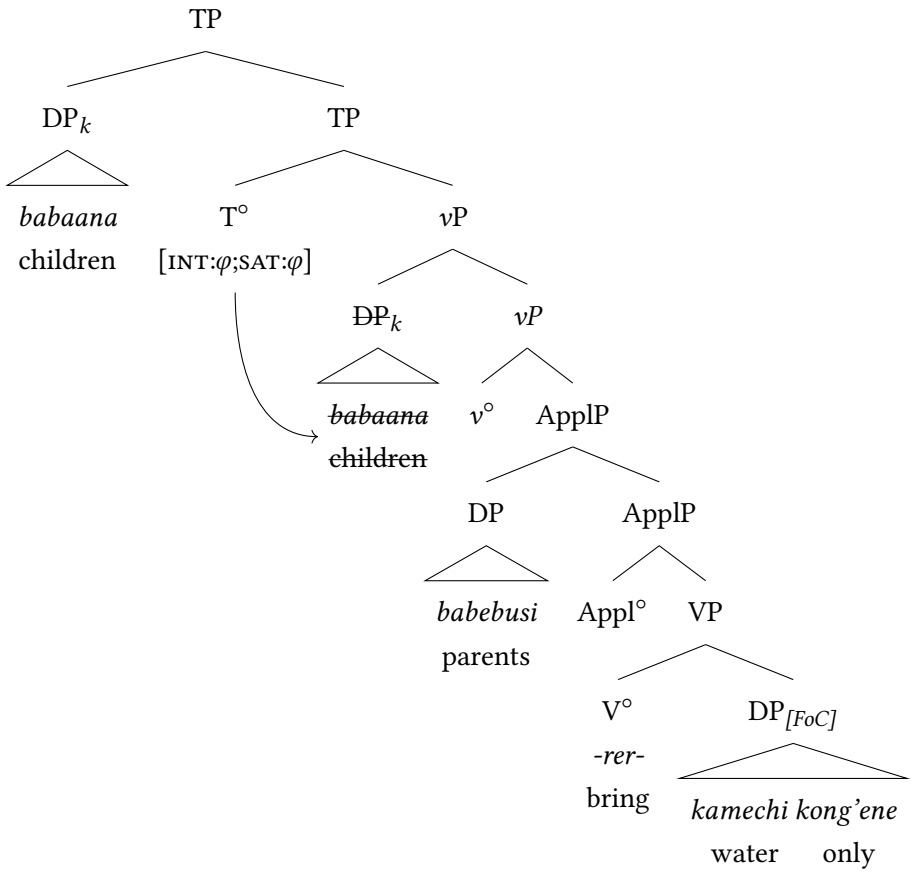


Figure 9.7: Structure of (7), before the Late Merger of Emph° and Com°.

Recall that the ~C operator/variable pairing on Com° introduces a presupposition that the complement of Com° contains an appropriately licensed [FoC]-marked element, namely, one that has an appropriate focus antecedent in context. First, this requires that there be a focus variable inside *v*P: in this case, there is one, introduced by the [FoC]-marked DP *kamechi kong'ene* 'only water.' The focus denotation after the focus variable undergoes existential closure (∃F-Clo) is represented in the partial formal structure in (8b),

(8) a. $[\![\text{bring parents water}_{[FoC]}]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$
b. ∃x[children brought parents x]

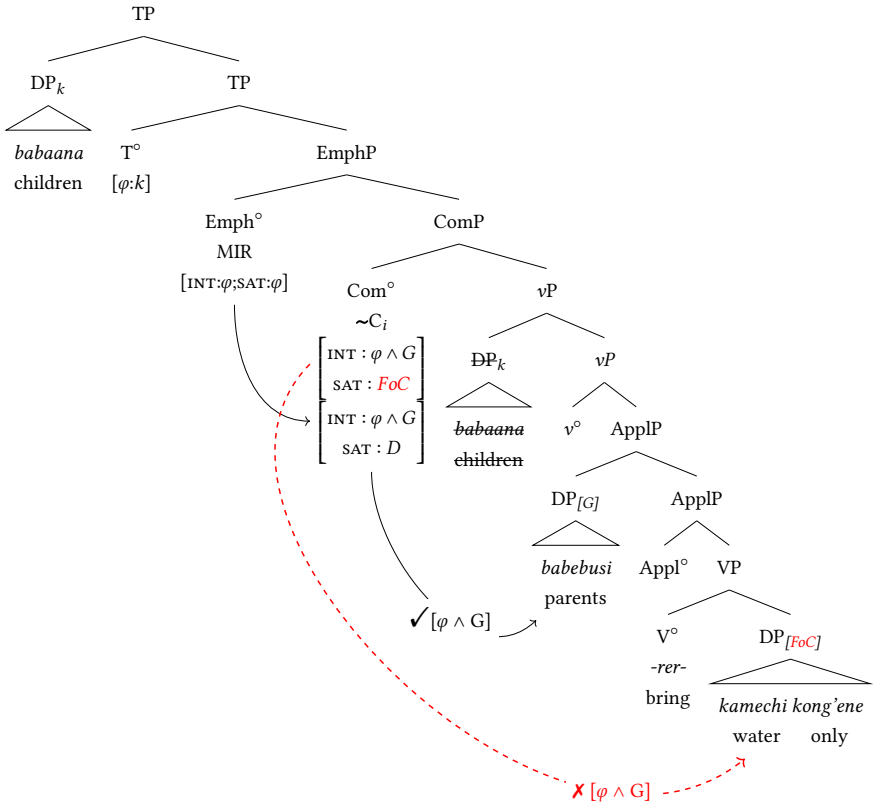


Figure 9.8: Structure of (7), after the Late Merger of Emph° and Com°.

In order for the presuppositions introduced by the squiggle operator on Com° to be met, the context must contain a focus antecedent that is either a member of the set (8b), or entails (8b). In this instance, that means that the context provides some antecedent that entails that the children brought the parents something. Here, the context is the domain restriction on the 'only' quantifier that is made relatively explicit in the discourse context: the set of possible things that the children could have brought to their parents (C), given the cultural context that refreshments are brought to travelers upon their arrival. Any of those available propositions (e.g. *the children brought their parents rice*, *the children brought their parents chicken*, *the children brought their parents tea*) entails (8b), and therefore the presupposition introduced by ~C is licit.

The last component of the meaning is that the proposition reported in (7) is unexpected, and especially significant: the mirative focus reading. As noted in

Chapter 7, this is not-at-issue meaning, a conventional implicature, and not a part of the propositional meaning of the sentence. The operator that introduces this implicature (F-IMP$_C$, which we have labeled MIR for transparency) is introduced by Emph°, and carries the denotation noted above in (5). It relies on the context set that introduces potential values for C (which is introduced by Com°). This context set includes the kinds of propositions noted above: *the children brought their parents rice*, *the children brought their parents chicken*, *the children brought their parents tea*. The interpretation introduced here is that the proposition (p) that the children brought their parents only water must be less likely than some other proposition available in the context-based set C (p′), with the surprise/significance reading that arises here coming from the comparative unlikelihood that the parents were brought only water, as opposed to other/more refreshments (which would be more culturally appropriate).

On this account, OM-doubling arises from φ-features being valued on Emph°. The semantics of Emph° itself, however, are dependent on the focus operator introduced on Com° (introducing the alternatives that are considered by the mirative operator), and the agreement relation is also (in typical cases) mediated by Com° as well.

9.3.1.2 OM-doubling THEME with focused temporal adverb

Taking another example that we have seen previously, in (9) we have a context that makes the adverbial in the question especially significant.

(9) *Context: The children have been waiting a long time to see their teacher, having expected to see the teacher at many previous points but never managing to do so. They finally saw their teacher yesterday, so they are very excited.*

a. *βáβáaná βáβón' ómwalíˈmú líiną*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-a o-mw-alimu liina?
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher when
'When did the children see their teacher?

b. *βáβáaná βámúβóóˈn' ómwalímu likolooβą*
Ba-ba-ana ba-mu- bon-a o-mw-alimu **likolooba**.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 1-1-teacher yesterday
'The children saw their teacher YESTERDAY (finally!).'

The relevant structure for (9b) is the same as the schematic introduced above in Figure 9.2, so we do not re-draw it here. The temporal adverbial (assumed to be

*v*P-adjoined) bears a [FoC] feature as the focused element. Picking up the derivation after T° has merged and Agreed with/attracted the AGENT subject *babaana* 'children,' Emph° and Com° are Late Merged, as part of the countercyclic analysis we propose here. Com°'s probes do their work: the [FoC]-probe searches its c-command domain and finds the [FoC] feature on the temporal adverbial, meeting its satisfaction condition. The temporal adverbial is not discourse-given in this instance, however, and therefore the [FoC]-probe does not copy back φ-features (given the conjoined interaction condition: $\varphi \wedge$ G).[6] The [D]-probe, on the other hand, finds the DP THEME object *omwalimu* 'teacher' as a Goal. Because the THEME object has [φ]-features and a [G] feature, the [D]-probe can also copy back those features to Com°, which are therefore also acquired by Emph°, which spells out the OM.

As part of the standard semantics of focus, the focused object is replaced with a variable and the focus domain undergoes existential closure. The result is the denotation in (10), stating that there is some property such that there was a teacher-seeing event (e) and that event (e) bore that property (assuming a restriction to this being a temporal property).

(10) $\exists P[\text{see(children,teacher,e)} \wedge P(e)]$

In order to be licensed in context, then, there must be a focus antecedent: the context must provide a proposition that entails (10). The normal denotation of a question is the set of possible answers to that question. In the case of the question in (9a), therefore, the denotation of the question is a set of propositions including propositions such as *The children saw the teacher last week*, *The children saw the teacher last month*, *The children saw the teacher last year*, etc. Each such proposition entails (10) (as each contains a property describing when the children saw the teacher). As such, the presupposition introduced by the focus operator on Com° are satisfied and the focus is licit. The mirative implicature that is added by the mirative operator on Emph° adds the secondary meaning that this is an unexpected and/or significant result (a conventional implicature). This is calculated by considering the context introduced by the focus operator (here, the set of alternative propositions mentioned above). All that is necessary is that at least one of those propositions was more likely than the proposition in (9b). In the context provided for the sentence in (9b), the implicature induced by the operator on Emph° is that all of the previous-to-yesterday alternatives were more likely than just seeing the teacher yesterday. So it is particularly significant, therefore, that this event has finally happened.

[6] Also, the adverbial may not itself have [φ] to copy back.

9.3.1.3 Doubling simple monotransitive objects

Of course, the doubled object itself can also satisfy the various constraints on OM-doubling. So, for example, a speaker can state a basic simple monotransitive in (11a), after which another person can affirm but expand on what they said in (11b) by essentially repeating the first sentence, but adding a descriptive adjective inside the object.

(11) a. *βáβáaná βáβóˈn' ééxáafu̧*
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-bon-a e-khafu.
2-2-children 2SM-PST-see-FV 9-cow
'The children saw a cow.'

b. *βáβáaná βákíβon' eéxáaf' ímbesemu̧*
Babaana ba-a-[ki-] bona [e-khafu embesemu].
2-2-children 2SM-PST-9OM-see-FV 9-cow 9-red
'The children saw a RED cow.'
(*with emphasis on the fact that it was red, as that is the most highly valued sort of cow*)

To borrow Büring's (2016) term again, this is an elaboration focus, where emphasis is placed on the information that elaborates on an otherwise discourse-given statement. The relevant denotation to be considered, therefore, will be the focus denotation shown in (12a), which (after replacing the focus variable and existential closure) yields the proposition in (12b).

(12) a. $[\![\text{see a red}_{[FoC]}\ \text{cow}]\!]_{\mathscr{F}}$
b. ∃P[children saw a P cow]

As noted by Büring, elaboration focus of this sort is entailed by any proposition where children saw a cow, based on the assumption that all cows have some property. This means that (12b) is somewhat trivially entailed by (11a), and therefore the complement of Com° is appropriately licensed in Figure 9.9, as required by the presuppositions of the focus operator on Com°.

Again, the implicature created by the mirative operator on Emph° requires that the context contain some alternative proposition that is more likely than the expressed proposition (i.e. that the children saw a red cow). Here, what is available in context is ∃P[children saw a P cow], on the assumption that all cows have properties that can describe them. It is the cultural context that makes available the ordered alternatives—interlocutors are well aware of what sorts of cows exist, and they are also aware that red cows are more rare, and more special, and

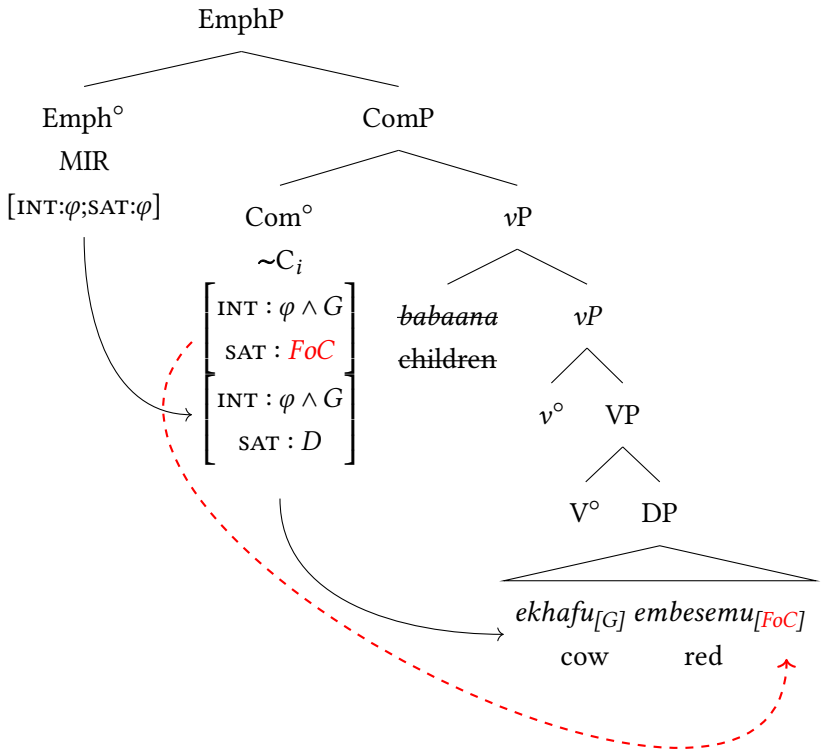


Figure 9.9: Derivation of OM-doubling in (11b), an elaboration focus in a simple monotransitive. Final Version.

therefore significant. Therefore it is comparatively unlikely that the kids would have seen a red cow as opposed to a cow with another set of properties, and in this way the OM-doubling construction creates the unexpected/newsworthy mirative implicature.

In this instance, the [FoC]-probe and the [D]-probe both find their Goals in the same DP object. As we have noted before, it is quite common for those probes to find distinct Goals (still creating a licit OM-doubling construction), but they can find Goals within the same DP as well, as in this instance.[7]

[7] A reviewer asks whether the [FoC]-probe here also finds the DP, or finds the adjective phrase contained within the DP. We are inclined to say that it finds the adjective within the DP in large part because the [FoC]-probe is quite obviously not limited to finding DPs (emphatic adverbials and verb phrases license OM-doubling, as do other kinds of implicit emphasis), and the entire DP is not [FoC]-marked. So we presume that the probe is satisfied by the [FoC]-marked AdjP itself in this instance.

9.3.1.4 Verum-like licensing of OM-doubling

As one last example of the 'typical' OM-doubling configuration, let us consider the context originally identified by Sikuku et al. (2018), discourse contexts that license verum focus, and which are readily translated with verum focus in English, as illustrated in (13).

(13) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 383)

a. Wéékésá se-k-aa-nyw-ééle ká-ma-lwá tá.
1.Wekesa NEG-1SM-PST-drink-PFV 6-6-beer NEG
'Wekesa didn't drink the beer.'

b. Wéékésá k-aa-[ka-] nyw-ééle [ká-ma-lwa] !
1.Wekesa 1SM-PST-6OM-drink-PFV 6-6-beer
'Wekesa DID drink the beer!'

We have suggested in this work that such sentences are not reducible to mirative predicate focus constructions, and that a verum operator similar to that adopted by Sikuku et al. (2018) is still necessary. In verum-like discourse contexts like this, we propose that *v*P is the [FoC]-marked element, but it is also [G]-marked as well, as it is entirely discourse-familiar in this context. Figure 9.10 outlines this structure. We followed a variety of recent work on so-called *maximal backgrounding* (or indirect truth-marking) that claims that one way of achieving the predicate-centered focus of verum is by backgrounding all non-verbal material inside the verb phrase (Güldemann 2016, Kerr & van der Wal 2023, Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023).

The structure in Figure 9.10 shows that the THEME DP is the Goal of Agree with Com° in this instance (via the [D]-probe), copying back the *φ*-features of the THEME DP to Com°; the features of the THEME provide the value of the *φ*-features on Emph°. In this instance these are the class 6 *φ*-features of *kamalwa* 'beer,' which results in the class 6 OM *ka-* on the verb.

But Com° places interpretive requirements on its complement: the [FoC]-marked element has to have a focus antecedent in the discourse. In this instance the [FoC] antecedent is somewhat obvious, the near-identical proposition (simply non-negated) that precedes it in context. In a verum discourse context, the entire proposition is familiar and established in the discourse, and therefore this is an instance of an entirely given focused element (which is why we annotate the *v*P in Figure 9.10 with a [G]-mark as well). Sikuku et al. (2018) follow the analysis of verum as a kind of non-propositional/expressive meaning (similar to miratives)

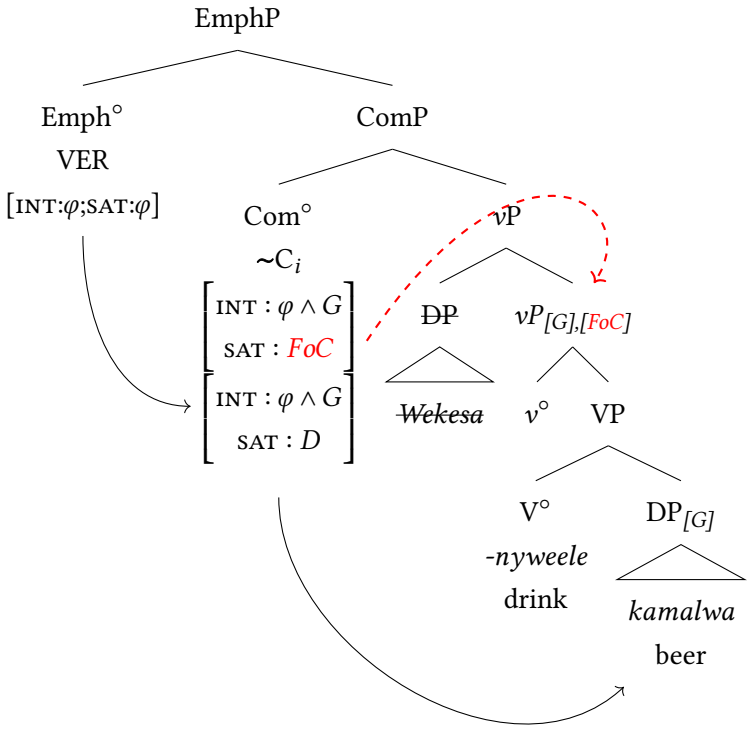


Figure 9.10: Derivation of OM-doubling in (13b), a predicate focus construction that is readily used in discourse contexts that license verum focus. Final Version.

which represents a discourse-move by the speaker to downdate the question under discussion: that is, to settle discussion on an issue. We therefore assume that these verum-like readings are the result of a focus-related construction (induced by maximal backgrounding of all other *v*P-material); we cannot assume the same conversational operator that we assumed in Sikuku et al. (2018), which was not focus-related. Instead, we assume a more traditional focus-related verum operator (*contra* Gutzmann et al. 2020). In this way we are claiming that the verum readings are essentially a predicate focus construction, following proposals of Kerr & van der Wal (2023), Bloom Ström & Zeller (2023), and Güldemann (2016).

9.3.2 Derivation of non-local OM-doubling

Having discussed a variety of examples of the so-called 'typical' configuration of OM-doubling, we want to walk through some of the atypical instances. Our

claim is that instances of apparently non-local OM-doubling are instances where the probe that typically accomplishes OM-doubling (the [D]-probe) fails to copy back φ-features to Com°, and instead it is the [FoC]-probe that copies features back. The result is that the typically-available dissociation of the OM-doubled object and the focused element is not available in instances of non-local OM-doubling: instead, in these instances the OM-doubled object must contain the emphatically focused element.

(14) *Context: The gifts in question are exceedingly generous.*
wékésá áβíwa βáβáaná βíʲjánwá ʰtʃáŋ́á
Wekesa a-bi- w-a ba-ba-ana bi-anwa chana .
1.Wekesa 1SM-8OM-give-FV 2-2-children 8-gifts TOP
'Wekesa gave children those AMAZING, WONDERFUL gifts we have been talking about.'

We explained this pattern by relying on the interaction/satisfaction model of Agree (Deal 2024). By assuming two distinct probes (a [FoC]-probe that typically finds the focused element, and a [D]-probe that typically copies back features of the most local DP), we captured the patterns of doubling above. But as we laid out in Chapter 8, these instances of non-local doubling exceptionally place interpretive requirements not only on the doubled object, but also on intervening objects, which may be *neither* [G]-marked nor [FoC]-marked (or else an intervention effect results). We claim that in these instances, the [D]-probe is satisfied by the structurally higher object *without* copying back φ-features; instead, the features copied back to Com° by the [FoC]-probe are realized as the OM on Emph°. These probes are both satisfied by licit Goals in this construction, as shown in Figure 9.11. The [D]-probe finds the most local DP and stops probing, as is typical. The key in this instance is that because the most local DP lacks a [G]-feature, it fails to copy back φ-features to Com° because of the conjoined interaction requirement on the [D]-probe (which interacts with φ-features on a DP only when the DP is [G]-marked).

The example in (14) induces a reading where the gifts are highly significant (presumably because they are amazing gifts, in this context), such that the kids are extraordinarily lucky to be receiving them. The context is one which assumes there are a variety of different kinds of gifts that Wekesa could have given, but these particular gifts are among the most unlikely to have been given because they are so special. The topic-marker *chana* 'the X we are talking about' marks the object as discourse-given, as well, meaning that in this context the DP THEME is both all-given and focused.

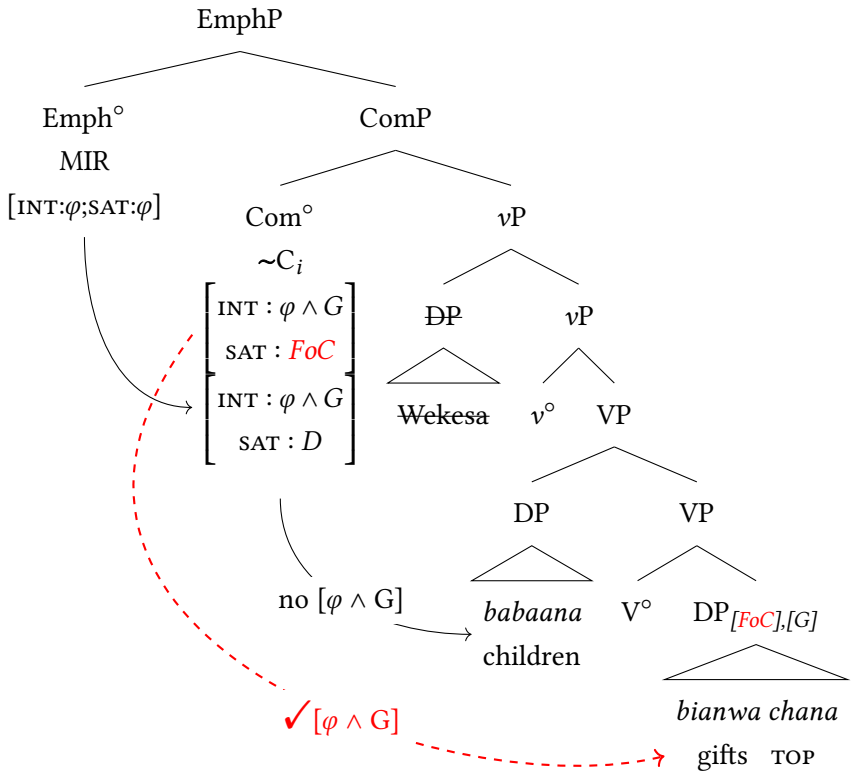


Figure 9.11: The derivation of (14), an instance of non-local OM-doubling derived interaction/satisfaction model of probes on Com°. Final Version.

9.3.3 Derivation of whole-sentence mirative focus

As a final example, in Chapter 7 we discussed a set of examples that exceptionally allow for OM-doubling of a non-specific object. One such example is repeated in (15), where the OM-doubled object, crucially, is not interpreted as a particular widow: the mirative import instead refers to the entire situation, as a young man marrying a widow is considered scandalous.

(15) *Context: In Lubukusu culture, a young man should not marry a widow. If this is to happen, it is considered highly scandalous. In the situation being considered, a father has gone away for some time, and returns only to have his wife inform him that their 19 year old son Wafula has married an older widow. In this instance, the wife can report to her husband:*

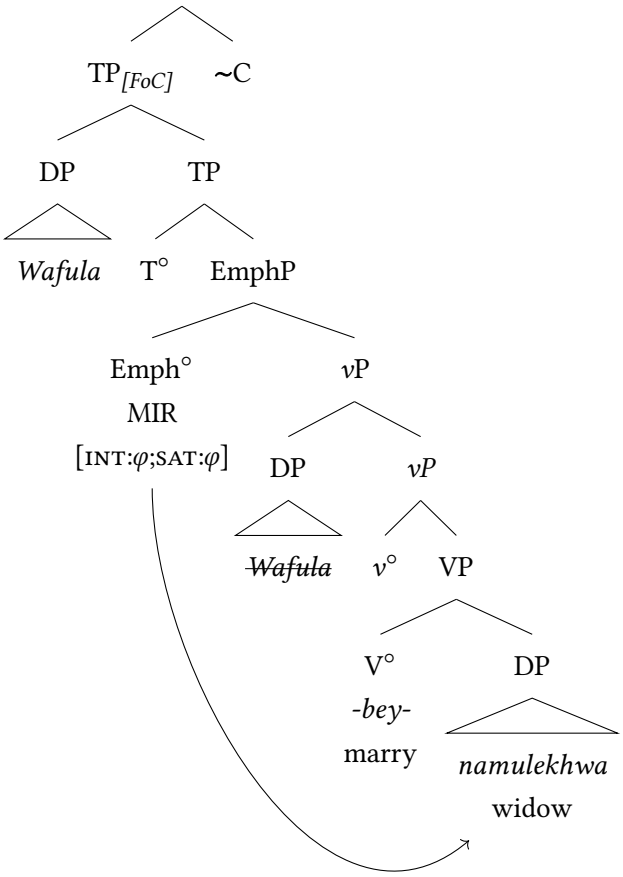


Figure 9.12: The structure of (15): OM-doubling in whole-sentence focus. Final Version.

wafula ámúˈβéjá namulexᵩ̣a
Wafula a-mu- bey-a namulekhwa !
1.Wafula 1SM-1OM-marry-FV 1widow
'Wafula married a widow!'

As we discussed, we analyzed these situations as the only instances (that we have discovered, at least) where OM-doubling is created in Lubukusu without being mediated by the Com°. Here, the focused constituent does not appear to be restricted to the *v*P per usual, instead the entire sentence is in focus. The focus domain is not mediated by any particular syntactic structure, instead consisting of simply the squiggle focus operator (~) being merged at the root, as illustrated in Figure 9.12. In this instance, we assumed that the mirative conventional implicature projects to the root (as it always does), semantically composing with focus at the root. The result is that sentence-wide mirative focus is exceptionally the only instance where non-given OM-doubled objects are possible, because the agreement relation that generates the OM on Emph° is not mediated by Com° in just these instances.

9.4 The structure of non-doubling OMs

We have written at length about OM-doubling constructions, having said almost nothing about non-doubling OMs, i.e. object markers that occur in the absence of an overt *in situ* lexical DP object. In fact, we have almost nothing new to say, instead adopting our previous analysis (Sikuku et al. 2018). On this analysis, non-doubled OMs are pronominal elements that incorporate into the verbal structure in the course of the syntactic derivation.

(16) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018)
námúβona
n-a-mu$_k$-bon-a ~~mu~~$_k$.
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV
'I saw her/him.'
(licit in a context where a referent is salient in the discourse)

None of the pragmatic licensing contexts for OM-doubling (discussed extensively in this volume) apply for non-doubling contexts. The only pragmatic context that is necessary to use a non-doubled OM is the same as any plain old pronoun—a discourse antecedent must be accessible in the discourse context or must be able to be easily accommodated.

Sikuku et al. (2018) argued that a pronominal incorporation analysis of non-doubling OMs can be built from the theory of cliticization suggested by Matushansky (2006) and developed further by Kramer (2014) and Harizanov (2014). Matushansky's approach to head movement re-envisions head movement to better accord with Chomsky's (1995) Extension Condition, which required that every Merge operation extend the root node of the existing structure. Matushansky (2006) suggested that head movement could be derived from phrasal-type movement to the edge of the root node, followed by morphological merger (m-merger) which reduces the two adjacent heads to a single head.

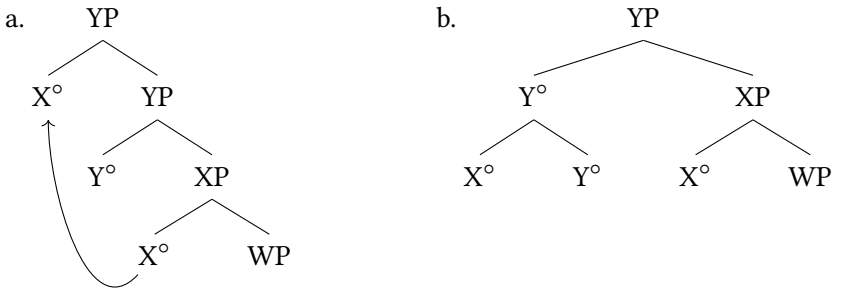


Figure 9.13: Matushansky-style head movement: phrasal-type movement to the edge of *v*P, followed by morphological merger

This approach serves to derive head movement without tampering with the existing structure in the course of Internal Merge. Matushansky suggested this account could be extended to explain clitic placement, and Kramer (2014) and Harizanov (2014) (with some non-trivial revisions) argue that it can be used to derive clitic-doubling as well. They claim that an object-shift-like movement can bring an object DP to the edge of *v*P, which may be reduced to a D° head and undergo morphological merger with *v*°. Both the D° (head) and DP (tail) of the movement chain may be pronounced, then, resulting in clitic doubling.

As we discussed in Sikuku et al. 2018, there are good reasons why the clitic-doubling operation suggested by Kramer and Harizanov ought not be extended to OM-doubling circumstances in Lubukusu, which are only intensified given the findings of this current project. Specifically, the entire emphatic interpretation of the OM-doubling construction would need to be 'triggered' by the process of reducing a full DP to a D°, the core operation that makes clitic doubling possible. First, the precise nature of that operation is very much an open question, so it is a somewhat unfounded analytical move to make that the center of the interpretive

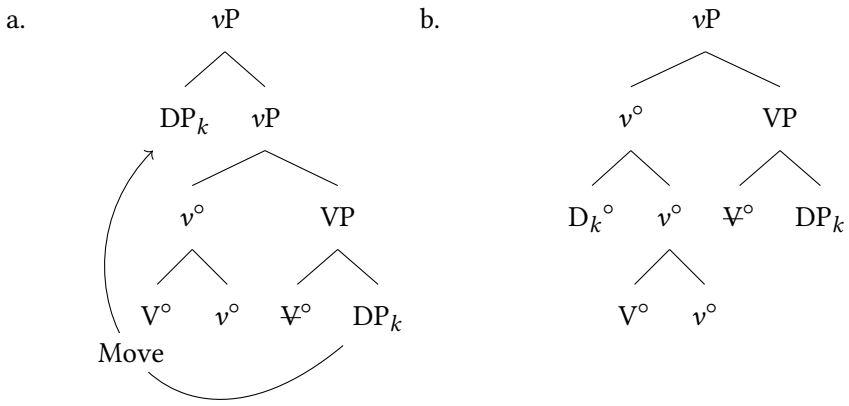


Figure 9.14: Clitic-doubling via object shift and m-merger, per Kramer (2014)

effects of doubling. But furthermore, as discussed in this paper, there are multiple semantic/pragmatic operators that appear to be overtly syntactically represented in Lubukusu, accounting for a broad range of detailed syntactic and interpretive effects. There is no clear way in the current generative model to incorporate that into the reduction operation that reduces a copy of the DP object to D°.

That said, the core cliticization operation that they propose (object shift to the edge of *v*P, and m-merger) accounts very well for the properties of non-doubling OMs in Lubukusu. Our claim is that non-doubling OMs are D° heads that are merged as arguments of the verb. Following Kramer (2014), as lone D° heads they are simultaneously maximal/minimal projections (DP/D), and as such may undergo phrase-like movement to the edge of the verbal domain. In this work we make a small revision to our previous analysis: we assume that these pronominal forms move to the edge of EmphP, and undergo m-merger with Emph°, as illustrated in Figure 9.15. Recall that in §8.10 we proposed that EmphP is present in both emphatic and non-emphatic sentences (similar to how a Polarity Phrase is present in both negative and affirmative sentences). To simplify the visual representation we just show the lowest projection (VP) and highest projection (EmphP) in these illustrations. The benefit of proposing that the cliticization site for non-doubling OMs is Emph° (and not *v*°, as proposed by Kramer (2014) for Amharic) is that it places the features relevant to realizing OMs on Emph° for both doubling and non-doubling OMs. This allows the spellout rules in (72) of Chapter 8 to be employed for both doubling and non-doubling OMs: a single set of morphological forms, but which realize the results of distinct syntactic op-

erations (movement and m-merger for non-doubling OMs, Agree-based feature valuation for doubling OMs).

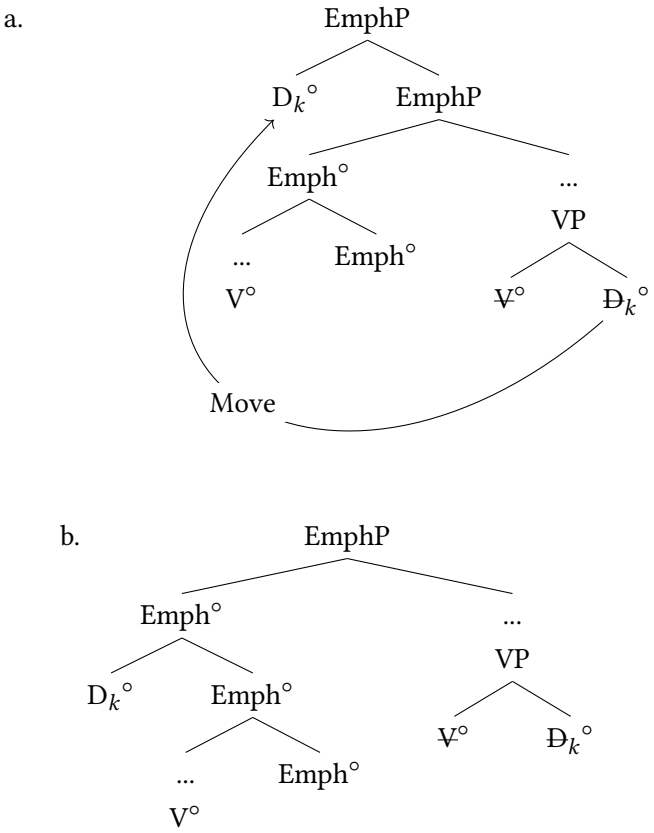


Figure 9.15: Derivation of non-doubling object marking constructions in Lubukusu

This allows for an account of the truly symmetrical effects of non-doubling OMs in Lubukusu—if we assume that any object is equally eligible to undergo object shift to the edge of EmphP in Lubukusu, any object may be realized as an OM on the verb. This assumption is non-trivial, of course: there is a vast amount of crosslinguistic variation and concomitant research on the (a)symmetry of object shift movements (among others, see Haddican & Holmberg 2012, 2014, 2018, Holmberg et al. 2019). But at minimum, the availability of object shift across intervening DPs is well-established, and proposing a distinct mechanism here for non-doubling OMs in Lubukusu offers an explanation for the distinct locality effects between doubling and non-doubling object marking.

We note in the overview chapter on cliticization (Chapter 2.1) that the most restrictive clitic-doubling languages are those that allow clitic doubling only with free pronouns in object position, and no other kinds of DP objects. There are ways in which Lubukusu replicates the patterns of these languages, despite also having robust OM-doubling as part of a mirative focus strategy. Specifically, there is one instance where OM-doubling is possible without any mirative focus interpretation, and that is when the object is a free pronoun.

(17) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 411)
N-á-khu-bon' eewe.
1SG.SM-PST-2SG.OM-see you(sg)
'I saw you (sg).' (not 'I DID see you.')

On the analysis presented here, this is simply an instance of pronouncing both the head and the tail of the chain: in (17) the 2nd person singular pronominal features (presumably simply [φ] and [D]) when realized on the verb spell out as the OM (*khu-*), but when realized distinct from the verb, they spell out as the free pronoun *eewe*.

So, to illustrate with precision, consider our non-doubling example from above, repeated here for convenience. Figure 9.16 shows the structure of the relevant portions of (18), with the structure in (a) showing the structure before m-merger, and the structure in (b) showing the structure after m-merger.

(18) n-a-mu$_k$-bon-a ~~mu~~$_k$
1SG.SM-PST-1OM-see-FV
'I saw them(sg).'
(licit in a context where a referent is salient in the discourse)

It is reasonable to wonder why, if object markers and free pronouns are underlyingly the same syntactic elements, they do not have the same morphological forms. In Lubukusu, object markers and free pronouns share noun class features and therefore sometimes show (morphological) formal similarities, but generally free pronouns and object markers have distinct morphological forms. This is generally unproblematic from the perspective of Distributed Morphology, where spellout rules regularly include specification of the morphosyntactic contexts where the particular spellout applies. For our purposes, the pronominal features when spelled out alongside a verbal form yields an object marker (per the spellout rules described in Chapter 8): elsewhere, they yield a free pronoun.

A reviewer notes that distinguishing doubling and non-doubling OMs in this way might predict that both could plausibly occur in the same construction. To

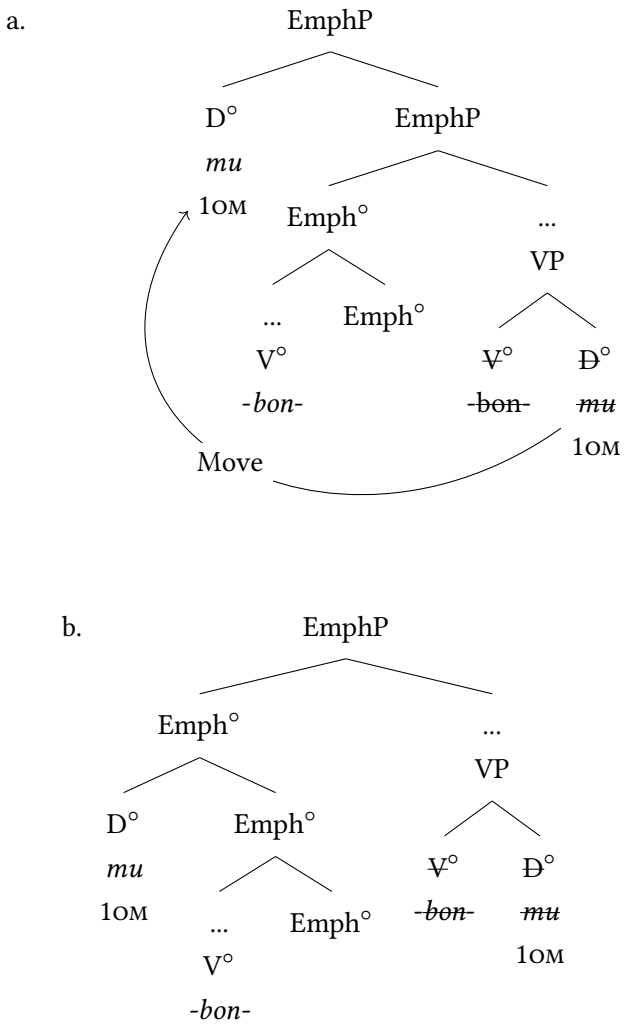


Figure 9.16: Derivation of non-doubling object marking constructions in Lubukusu

the best of our knowledge, this never happens. There are various ways this can be accounted for in the system we've constructed. One approach would be to build into the properties of the different realizations of Emph° the distinct properties that the analysis requires: the emphatic Emph° bears the relevant semantic operator and φ-features, but for some reason is not a viable cliticization site. The non-emphatic Emph°, on the other hand, could be a valid cliticization site, and lacks the properties that lead to OM-doubling. But the better explanation may in fact be simpler: there could be a templatic constraint on OMs, such that only one can ever appear on the verb at a time. Such a constraint is necessary for non-doubling OMs on their own: if non-doubling OMs are incorporated pronouns, there is no obvious reason to restrict the incorporation operation to only allowing a single object to incorporate (especially since this is possible in many other Bantu languages: Marlo 2015b). Nonetheless, only a single OM may appear on the verb; an independent morphological constraint can explain this. At present, we opt for this constraint, though future work might show that other approaches are more desirable. Whatever this constraint is, it likewise explains the lack of co-occurrence of non-doubling and doubling OMs.

10 Conclusions and Broader Implications

This volume is the culmination of 15 years of on-and-off work on Lubukusu object marking. It took so long in large part because the proper empirical generalizations are located in domains that are quite far from where we started looking. Our investigation began in 2009 considering classic syntactic designations: is the Lubukusu OM a pronoun/clitic, or is it an agreement morpheme? And now the end result is a monograph investigating object marking that only tangentially discusses that issue. Instead, we have shown that the Lubukusu OM-doubling construction is defined by its semantic and pragmatic properties as much as by its syntactic ones. Lubukusu OM-doubling marks the predicate as containing an emphatic focus, encoding a conventional implicature (dependent on discourse-based focus semantics) that is explicitly represented in the syntax, resulting in an OM-doubling construction.

This chapter discusses our conclusions, and broader implications of this work. §10.1 discusses various theoretical implications of our analyses here; these theoretical issues surely deserve more attention, but they go beyond our core concerns here in this volume. §10.2 discusses various outstanding issues that we have not been able to tackle, or that we are yet unsure how to analyze. And §10.3 offers some final thoughts on the implications of these findings for work on object marking and clitic doubling in the Bantu language family, and more broadly. We do not re-summarize our proposals here: we refer the reader to Chapter 9 for an overview of our analytical conclusions.

10.1 Theoretical implications

While this entire analysis is based on formal theoretical work in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, at the same time this is largely an empirical investigation: a long-form attempt to precisely describe the properties of object marking in Lubukusu. That said, our conclusions have a range of theoretical implications, as well as methodological consequences for others investigating similar issues. Each of these topics deserves extended engagement, but for the purposes of this

volume we simply briefly discuss the relevance for ongoing theoretical discussions and leave the actual theory work for the future.

10.1.1 How much pragmatics in syntax?

A persistent question in syntactic theory is to what extent pragmatics and/or discourse-based semantics ought to be represented syntactically, as opposed to being restricted to the post-syntactic domain. As it was put by Kratzer & Selkirk (2020: 1), "[d]espite many years of research, there is no common ground on how to identify [information structure] concepts, what their place in grammar is, or whether there is any theoretical unity or value to them." While Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) analyze English focus and givenness via syntactic features (realized intonationally), the vast majority of work on English information structure keeps the discussion in the semantic and prosodic domains, which is not surprising given its grammatical realization in English (mainly in prosody) (see Büring 2016, Wagner 2021, and Rochemont 2016 for overviews of the relevant literature). This particular volume, despite its length and complexity, is (compared to work on English) simply an initial foray into the realm of focus and givenness in Lubukusu. Nonetheless, what we have learned thus far is deeply informative about where information structure must lie in the grammar.

Our analysis of Lubukusu object marking explicitly incorporates pragmatics/discourse semantics into the syntax in multiple ways. First, the ~ (SQUIGGLE) focus operator and the mirative operator are both assumed to be represented explicitly in the syntax, making up the lexical content of the heads that implement the morphosyntactic operation of OM-doubling (Com° and Emph°). Following Kratzer & Selkirk (2020), the focus requirement on OM-doubling constructions is explained via an Agree relation initiated by a [FoC]-probe that searches and finds a [FoC]-feature on/in the *v*P as a Goal. In addition, we have proposed that the Agree relation itself is dependent on a [G]-feature on the OM-doubled DP.

Given how deeply integrated pragmatic concepts like givenness and focus are with the properties of object marking, it is hard to imagine how the syntactic analysis could capture the facts without direct reference to the pragmatic concepts. Furthermore, object marking and clitic doubling have always been considered core syntactic concerns (as have related analytical concepts like pronominalization, object shift, Agree, etc). So it is likewise hard to see how the construction itself in Lubukusu could be dismissed as non-syntactic. The result is that we find ourselves with no choice but to allow discourse-semantic features/operators to be explicitly represented in the syntax, as we have done throughout.

This raises important questions about what constraints there are on what pragmatic content can be grammaticalized in the syntax. Classical Gricean pragmatics is, by definition, extra-syntactic. Conversational implicatures are based on human rationality, Common Ground, and shared principles/expectations of communication like the Cooperative Principle. Conventional implicatures (as discussed by Potts 2007b) take on the kind of conventional, lexicalized form more often associated with compositional syntax/semantics (though clearly with different compositional properties). And while discourse notions like topic, focus, givenness, and contrast are all often considered 'pragmatic' in some sense (as they are context-dependent), all are also commonly grammatically encoded. It is extraordinarily well-documented at this point that many languages have dedicated structural positions (and concomitant morphology) for topicalized elements and focused elements (among many others, see Rizzi 1997, Aboh 2004, 2016). There is a quickly growing amount of work on the role of information structure features in syntax (Kallulli 2001, 2008, Zeller 2008, 2015, Miyagawa 2010, 2017, Kishimoto 2018, Mursell 2018, 2021, Bárány 2024). Nonetheless, it is still contentious to what degree, if at all, information structure ought to be incorporated into the syntax (Fanselow 2006, Aboh 2010, Horvath 2010, Fominyam & Šimík 2017, Hartmann 2016, Neeleman & van de Koot 2008, Kratzer & Selkirk 2020, Hartmann 2016, Skopeteas & Fanselow 2011, Titov 2019, 2020, Szendrői 2017, Struckmeier 2017, Fanselow & Lenertová 2011). A strict Minimalist approach to syntax does not have any clear mechanism for incorporating information structure features into syntactic structures, as information structure is not a lexical property of lexical items.

OM-doubling in Lubukusu shows that an undoubtedly syntactic property of a language cannot be analyzed without direct syntactic reference to both formal features linked to information structure, and explicit integration of syntactic/pragmatic operators into the narrow syntactic structure and typical syntactic operations like Agree. We have followed Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) (and much preceding work) in assuming direct syntactic integration of formal features for focus and information structure, which participate in normal syntactic operations like Agree, movement, etc. The empirical and analytical results reported in this volume can therefore be viewed as robust affirmation of the syntactic move by Kratzer & Selkirk (2020) (this argument is advanced explicitly by Diercks 2026). In the end, refining our sense of what can be syntactic (and what cannot) is important, and Lubukusu object marking makes valuable contributions to this theoretical discussion, showing that much empirical ground can be covered by counting [G] and [FoC] among the set of morphosyntactically-encoded features.

Hartmann's (2016) articulation of a separate information structure module is specifically of interest on this point. Hartmann claims that there is a specific information structure module that is positioned in between the narrow syntax and PF/LF: once a phase is constructed but before being transferred to LF/PF, the information structure module evaluates the content of that phase and adds relevant features to the phase. The phase (now enriched with information structure features) is then passed through syntactic operations again before being spelled out and transferred to LF and PF. An advantage of an approach like this is that it handles two problems at once for us: it is an account of how information structure features end up in syntax in the first place, and it also accounts for why they behave as if they are derivationally-late (see discussion in §10.1.2). It requires a fairly robust modification to how spellout works, of course, so it is a nontrivial addition to our framework. But it is an approach that is largely compatible with the account we have advanced here (especially if, for example, adding information structure features to the edge of a phase allows for merging heads containing those features, though this is not the specific proposal that Hartmann 2016 advances). We do not attempt to resolve these questions here, but these are the kinds of higher-level theory debates that the Lubukusu OM-doubling construction finds itself at the center of.

10.1.2 Surface-oriented syntax: on countercyclicity

Recall that a central part of Lubukusu OM-doubling is its surface orientation: there must be a focused phrase in *v*P/PromP (or *v*P itself must be focused) in order for OM-doubling to be licit. But crucially, this is surface-oriented: *in situ* focused subjects license doubling, but preverbal subjects do not. Likewise, *in situ* focused objects/*v*P-adjuncts license doubling, but *ex situ* focus does not. And we have seen that the head triggering OM-doubling must be outside *v*P/PromP, yet when it probes it finds an object and never the subject in Spec,*v*P as a Goal, suggesting that at the time that the OM-triggering head is probing, the subject has already been moved out of the way, bleeding the potential intervention effect. All of these patterns suggest that only the surface positions of elements are taken into account for OM-doubling concerns.

We explained this by claiming that Com° and Emph° are Late Merged: the clause structure is constructed without them, and only after TP has merged and subjects are probed/moved to Spec,TP do Com° and Emph° Late-Merge and Agree to generate OM-doubling. This serves to explain the surface orientation of the construction; see §6.7 for a discussion of this countercyclicity, along with

§9.3.1.1 for a specific discussion of the relevant portion of the derivation. As discussed in §6.7, Zeller's (2015) account of isiZulu object marking requires a similar countercyclicity, though he implements it with a requirement that T° always probes first, so the probing of the head generating object marking is delayed until after T° probes. Pietraszko (2023) accounts for a similar pattern by imposing crucial ordering of probing of EPP vs. the OM-generating probes on the same head: this ensures that subjects are raised out of the position where they might intervene before the OM-generating probe searches for a Goal. Conjoint/disjoint patterns are similarly surface-oriented, as conjoint forms (in isiZulu, for example) only appear in isiZulu when an XP appears *v*P-internally on the surface. Halpert (2016) likewise accounts for this by stipulating the order of probing of features that drive movement out of *v*P and conjoint marking, respectively. As far as we can tell, the delayed/ordering probing that captures surface orientation in the proposals mentioned above would be amenable to Late Merger accounts, but we leave a full re-analysis of those previous proposals for future research. The point is that the countercyclic nature of Lubukusu object marking is in fact familiar from related languages.

Part of why an ordered probing account is difficult to apply to Lubukusu is that it is *also* the position of focused elements inside the *v*P that is crucially surface-oriented as well (e.g. moved *wh*-phrases are not eligible for emphatic focus in OM-doubling constructions, but *in situ* ones are). So it is not enough to stipulate the probing of T° before the OM probe, or to require that subjects move first. Of course, it is not impossible to assert a finely-grained ordering of probes that includes not only the EPP that triggers subject movement, but also whatever intermediate EPP-like trigger of *wh*-movement as well out of the *v*P, both of these operating before the OM probe searches. But this approach starts to take on an *ad hoc* flavor, and also gives a sense that we might be missing an overall generalization: the operation of relevant information structural operations simply appears to be derivationally late (see Hartmann 2016 for a similar observation).

A crucial question for syntactic theory, however, is whether such countercyclic operations ought to exist in our theory at all. Perhaps not surprisingly, we think there is a place for countercyclicity in syntax, but the issue is by no means settled (see, for example, commentary from Chomsky 2019 and Sportiche 2019). We do not engage the question in depth here, other than to note that countercyclic Merge processes like the one adopted here are well-attested in the literature to account for a broad range of grammatical patterns (Lebeaux 1988, 2000, Takahashi & Hulsey 2009, Abe 2018, Stepanov 2001, Zyman 2021, Bhatt & Pancheva 2004, Diercks et al. 2024). Whatever the explanation is for countercyclicity like this (and an explanation is certainly necessary), our main con-

tribution here on this point is to be clear that OM-doubling constructions in at least Lubukusu, isiZulu, and Ndebele ought to be considered in the search for a theoretically explanatory account of Late Merger and countercyclicity more generally.

10.1.3 Semantics of focus and givenness

The most impactful work on the core theoretical issues of the semantics of focus and givenness has come from English and other Western European languages. As always, there is much to be learned from how components of language arise in very different linguistic contexts. In our own case here, it is clear that the grammatical properties that encode givenness/focus are vastly different between English and Lubukusu. Whereas the relevant portions of English grammar is largely in the linearized distribution of pitch accents, in Lubukusu it is (Late) Merge and Agree that do the grammatical work.

What we have not been able to do yet is explore the ways in which the different patterns here are revealing for theories of the semantics of focus and givenness. It is always a challenge to disentangle different components of linguistic competence in an analysis: it is often not clear how much of an explanation ought to be advanced based on syntactic mechanisms vs. morphological operations vs. semantic properties, etc. Linguistic variation helps us in these ways: it allows us to see what properties of language are consistent across languages, and which vary. Detailed investigations of focus and givenness in a different grammatical implementation (Agree/clitic-doubling, as opposed to intonation) should help clarify which parts of the English focus and givenness findings are due to semantic/cognitive properties that ought to be universal, as opposed to which arise from syntactic/grammatical patterns, which we expect to be subject to variation. The properties of givenness/focus that persist across both intonational languages and object-marking languages will provide insight about what aspects of information structure are based on the semantic/pragmatic/cognitive properties of information structure, and which aspects are due to the grammatical mechanisms that encode them. One area we think is promising for this is the question of whether focus and givenness are two distinct components of the grammar, or the dual realization of one property. Because intonational languages like English mark focus via a nuclear pitch accent, moving the NPA does two things at once: it focuses a new constituent, but deaccents the default position of the NPA. This addresses a question a reviewer raised: "If there are two sets of features on Com, what guarantees that Com° has both? Under what circumstances could Com°

only have the [FoC]-probe, for example (as this can be understood as necessary for the operator), but not the [D]/[φ]-probe?"

In Lubukusu, we see that OM-doubling requires both givenness and focus, but they correspond to different Agree operations that are not intrinsically linked the way that accenting a new element is necessarily linked with de-accenting the default-accented element in English. One way of interpreting this evidence is via two conclusions: 1) focus and givenness are in fact necessarily linked, but 2) the link is not implemented formally in the grammatical mechanism itself, because (in principle) object marking could be marking focus without saying anything about givenness. This could suggest, then, that focus and givenness, despite being distinct conceptually and grammatically, must nonetheless co-occur (perhaps because of cognitive principles: it is possible that they are fundamentally two facets of the same function of directing interlocutors' attention). We do not actually know the answer to this, and in some ways Lubukusu might not be the best language to thoroughly investigate it, since OM-doubling always *also* involves an emphatic reading, adding layers of complexity to diagnosing the focus and givenness relations. Perhaps a language like isiZulu, Cinyungwe, or Ndebele would be a better test case, with apparently the same Com° properties but in ways that are distinguished from emphatic readings (object movement for Cinyungwe, OM-doubling for Zulu). Van der Wal's (2022) account of symmetry effects via flexible licensing directly connects the features of one argument to the features of the other in a way that is dissociated in our own work here. But at the same time, our work—while showing that givenness and focus can be satisfied independently from each other—clearly shows that the same element can be marked as both focused and given at the same time. So the ways in which distinct information structure constructs can overlap and diverge from each other is informed directly by the work we put forward here. Again, we do not attempt to engage these theoretical questions properly in this volume, but we think there are important conclusions to be learned in this empirical domain that can deeply inform the theoretical work on formal properties of focus and givenness.

Furthermore, we know from existing and ongoing research that object marking constructions in other Bantu languages may be performing similar functions, such as in isiZulu (Zeller 2015) and Ndebele (Pietraszko 2023), in related Luhya languages (Liu 2022, Kuzmik 2022, Lippard et al. 2023), in Cinyungwe (Langa da Câmara et al. 2024, Lippard et al. 2023), in Ikalanga (Letsholo et al. 2024), in Manyika Shona (Bax & Diercks 2012), perhaps in Kiswahili (Mursell 2018). We also know from research on object marking constructions across Bantu languages that there is rich morphosyntactic diversity in the properties of object

marking. These constructions are still under-researched with respect to the information structure (at least, relative to the depths of detailed research have been performed on focus and givenness in Indo-European languages). This suggests not only that more research on these Lubukusu patterns could be informative, but that additional research in these domains across Bantu languages could yield similarly useful insight.

10.1.4 Vergnaud licensing ('abstract Case')

There is a long history of research investigating the distribution of noun phrases in Bantu languages (see, among others, Harford Perez 1985, Baker 2003, Diercks 2012, Halpert 2016, van der Wal 2015c, Carstens & Diercks 2013, Carstens & Mletshe 2015, Sheehan & van der Wal 2018, 2016, Pietraszko 2021, Carstens 2023). As many have pointed out, there are systematic ways in which the distribution of noun phrases in many Bantu languages can be distinguished from the patterns in Indo-European languages, which were the languages that generative theory was first developed to explain. Theories of abstract Case, sometimes called 'Vergnaud licensing' or just DP licensing, articulate the distribution of overt DPs in a language. Harford Perez (1985) and Diercks (2012) argue that Case is simply not active in Bantu languages. There is extended debate on these issues, however: Halpert (2012, 2016) argues that Case is present in isiZulu, but is obscured in many instances, only emerging in the distribution of DPs lacking augments. Carstens & Mletshe (2016) argue (based on the closely related Xhosa) that many of those same effects can be explained by information structure, but they still note a role for Case in explaining a sub-pattern related to psychological predicates. The discussion continues in an attempt to understand the distribution of DPs in Bantu languages, for example in work like Carstens & Mletshe (2015), Pietraszko (2021), van der Wal (2022), and Carstens (2023), among others.

We do not have an extended discussion to contribute on this issue, apart from a singular observation: in Lubukusu, at least, the entire distribution of objects and object marking is accurately described without reference to Case/Vergnaud licensing, whereas information structure notions are central to explaining the patterns. The question of DP licensing in Bantu languages persists, and we do not articulate any particular challenge here. But the general irrelevance of Case is consistent with broader patterns in the Bantu language family. It is suggestive to us that many of the aspects of DP-licensing that are handled by so-called 'abstract Case' in many language analyses may in fact be analyzable on the basis of information structure in Lubukusu (and related Bantu languages). A suggestion worth pursuing is that [FoC] and [G] could be doing the same work that so-called

"abstract Case" does in some languages. This idea is not new: for example, van der Wal (2022) suggests that information structure features like [TOPIC] can be values of Case features, and Carstens & Mletshe (2015) suggest that a Focus projection can Case-license DPs. So similar ideas are in the literature, but more work is necessary to establish a generalizable theory.

10.2 Outstanding empirical issues for Lubukusu object marking

Despite the relatively thorough nature of this study, there are a number of empirical questions that we have not entirely resolved, and a number of smaller observations that are worth reporting (because they are relevant to a number of potential alternative analyses), but which did not fit naturally into any of the argumentation in the volume to this point.

10.2.1 Interpretive effects of OM-doubling

In our previous work (Sikuku et al. 2018), we established that verum contexts readily license OM-doubling. In this work we showed that OM-doubling is not limited to those contexts, and showed in Chapter 7 that mirative focus contexts likewise license OM-doubling. Our analysis in the end assumes that two different operators (mirative and verum) may appear on Emph°. We find this disjunction dissatisfying, especially since the maximal backgrounding analysis would seem to suggest that these are both integrally connected to the focus properties of ComP. Furthermore, Lippard's (2024) ongoing work on a parallel set of patterns in Cinyungwe points to the possibility that even these generalizations may not capture the full range of the kinds of emphatic interpretations that are associated with OM-doubling (see our discussions in §7.7 and §7.11 for more details).

We envision future work following Lippard's (2024) lead in pushing the boundaries of what kinds of emphatic readings are consistent with OM-doubling constructions. Perhaps there is an analysis available of emphatic focus that includes the mirative readings (and the apparent properties of conventional implicatures that it carries) but which can encompass both the verum-like readings and the other sorts of readings that Lippard (2024) has identified for Cinyungwe (presuming their equivalents are present in Lubukusu). We do not expect any findings there to alter the broader syntactic patterns we have identified and analyzed in this work: presumably that work would simply be clarifying the semantic properties of the operator(s) present on Emph° (and specifically whether there is one

single emphatic meaning, or multiple distinct emphatic meanings). But as we have learned at this point, we also cannot simply assume that the interpretive properties that are discovered will not have any effect on the syntax. So there are still more domains of research on this topic that require future work.

10.2.2 OM-doubling extracted phrases

A major diagnostic area in research on clitic doubling and OM-doubling is the viability of OM-doubling an extracted object, such as object marking the extracted object in an object relative clause. Some researchers on Bantu languages have even identified these patterns as central to understanding the properties of OMs (Zeller 2014, Henderson 2006). Despite our extensive investigation of OM-doubling in this volume, we have said very little about relative clauses and clefts; the main reason for this is that we are unsure of the proper analysis, and even of how to properly describe the patterns. In this short subsection we simply report some of the puzzles we have encountered.

Zeller (2014) argues that there are three kinds of OMs in Bantu languages: 1) object agreement morphemes, 2) pronominal clitics, and 3) the reflex of A′-movement of an object. He takes relativization to be a key diagnostic here, following Henderson (2006): object agreement languages optionally allow an OM in an object relative clause (coreferent with the head of the relative clause), as in Sambaa:

(1) Sambaa (Riedel 2009: 160)
Matonte n-(ya)-m-nk-iye-yo ya-aa-izw-iye.
6.bananas 1SM-(6OM)-1OM-give-PFV-6.RM 6.SM-REM.DJ-ripen.PASS-PFV
'The bananas which I gave him are ripe.'

In contrast, pronominal clitic languages disallow OMs in the same contexts:

(2) Kinyarwanda (Zeller & Ngoboka 2015)
*i-bi-tabo u-mu-kozi a-bi-bar-a
AUG-8-book AUG-1-worker 1SM-8OM-count-FV
Intended: 'the books that the worker counts'

And in some languages (e.g. isiZulu), OMs are required when the coreferent object is extracted in a relative clause:

(3) isiZulu (Zeller 2014: 359)

i-n-cwadi [i-si-tshudeni e-si-*(yi)-funda-yo]
AUG-9-letter AUG-7-student REL-7SM-9OM-read-RS
'the letter that the student is reading'

(4) isiZulu (Zeller 2014: 359)
i-kati [u-m-fana a-*(li)-theng-ile]
AUG-5.cat AUG-1-boy REL.1SM-5OM-buy-DJ.PST
'the cat which the boy bought'

Zeller (2014, 2015) identifies these facts as central to understanding isiZulu object marking; he claims that object marking in isiZulu realizes an A′-relation which feeds extraction (in A′-extraction contexts).

Lubukusu shows a distinct pattern that we are still unsure how to evaluate. In Sikuku et al. (2018) we reported that relative clauses (and clefts) disallow object marking with the head of the relative clause.

(5) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 371-2)
a. Object Relative Clause
Wéékésá k-á-som-a [síi-tabu$_k$ ní-syo
Wekesa 1SM-PST-read-FV 7.7-book COMP-7
n-á-(*si)-kul-a t_k.]
1SG.SM-PST-(*7OM)-buy-FV
'Wekesa read the book which I bought.'
b. Object Cleft
(K-á-b-a) wéékésá$_k$ ní-ye n-á-(*mu)-bon-a t_k.
1SM-PST-be-FV 1.Wekesa COMP-1 1SG.SM-PST-(*1OM)-see-FV
'It was Wekesa who I saw.'

Given the range of additional patterns we have discussed in this work, we now know we can construct a context that can in principle license OM-doubling (e.g. a distinct contrastively focused constituent inside *v*P). As such, it is possible to test this with more precision. In doing so, we have used contrastive focus in order to create a context that naturally contains focus internal to a relative clause. What we find is that OM-doubling the extracted object is unnatural without a verum-like reading of the lower clause.

(6) Q: *wáβóna sítaβú ní'sjó naafula ákúlil' eesisomelo*

W-a-bon-a sii-tabu ni-syo Nafula a-a-kul-il-a
2SG.SM-PST-see-FV 7-book COMP-7 1.Nafula 1SM-PST-buy-APPL-FV
e-si-somelo?
23-7-school
'Did you see the book that Nafula bought at the school?'

A: *táá^{i}wé ‖ náβóna sítaβú ní^{i}sjó naafulaá ‖ ákúlile xúsóokǫ*
Tawe, n-a-bon-a (sii-tabu) ni-syo Nafula
NEG 1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 7-book COMP-7 1.Nafula
a-a-(#si-) kul-il-a khu-soko.
1SM-PST-7OM-buy-APPL-FV 17-9.market
'No, I saw the book that Nafula bought at the market.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the predicate inside the relative clause

A similar result holds when extracting the THEME object from a double object construction.

(7) Q: *wáβón' eetʃááji ní^{i}jó wafula átéexela mají wewé*
W-a-bon-a e-chai ni-yo Wafula a-tekh-el-a
2SG.SM-PST-see-FV 9-tea COMP-9 1.Wafula 1SM.PST-cook-APPL-FV
mayi wewe?
1.mother 1.his
'Did you see the tea that Wafula cooked for his mother?'

A: *táá^{i}wé ‖ náβón' eetʃááji ní^{i}jó wafula átéexela papá wewé*
Tawe, n-a-bona (e-chai) ni-yo Wafula
No 1SG.SM-PST-see-FV 9-tea COMP-9 1.Wafula
a-(#ki-) tekh-el-a **papa** **wewe**.
1SM.PST-9OM-cook-APPL-FV 1.father 1.his
'No, I saw the tea that Wafula prepared for his father.'
Doubling requires a verum-like reading of the predicate inside the relative clause

Similar results occur in instances of object marking extracted objects in clefts, where verum-like readings inside the extracted-from relative clause are required to make OM-doubling of extracted objects acceptable.[1]

[1]It is not even clear what it means to have a verum-like reading in these contexts (which are not verum contexts). All we mean is that it feels like a similar kind of emphasis.

We have found instances of OM-doubling inside clefts/relative clauses without verum-like readings, but they have all been instances where OM-doubled object is focused and stays in the verb phrase, as in (8). (These are not instances of OM-doubling the extracted object, of course.)

(8) *jáβ' éetʃááʲjí níjó naafula ámúteexela papá wewé jéŋéŋ́*
Y-a-b-a e-chai ni-yo Nafula a-mu- tekh-el-a
9SM-PST-be-FV 9-tea COMP-9 1.Nafula 1SM.PST-1OM-cook-APPL-FV
papa wewe y-eng'ene .
1.father 1.his 1-only
'It was tea that Wafula prepared for only his father.'

At this stage, we do not have much to contribute on these questions. The interpretive contributions of OM-doubling inside relative clauses and clefts is clearly complex and will require more research to understand with precision. The crosslinguistic variation on this point suggests that understanding these in Lubukusu will contribute a lot to our understanding of both Lubukusu and the crosslinguistic patterns within Bantu languages, but we have to leave it to future research to explore this.

10.2.3 OM-doubling in complement clauses

Given the sentence-level interpretation induced by OM-doubling, it is reasonable to wonder whether OM-doubling is possible in non-matrix contexts (especially given the restrictions in relative clauses noted above). As the examples below show, OM-doubling is licit in both non-finite and finite embedded clauses. (9) shows that an infinitival complement of *-enya* 'want' readily allows OM-doubling within it.

(9) *ááleks éééŋâá ‖ maíʃá xúʲkúljá kúmútʃéʲélé kúmúkalí póó*
Alex e-eny-a Maisha khu-ku- ly-a
1.Alex 1SM-want-FV 1Maisha 15SM-3OM-eat-FV
ku-mu-chele ku-mu-kali po .
3-3-rice 3-3-a.lot DEG
'Alex wants Maisha to eat LOTS OF RICE.'
Licit in a context where, for example, Alex wants her to eat more rice than usual

Similarly, it is possible to OM-double an embedded object under a verb of speech, given appropriate context:

(10) *ááleksj álóma ali maíʃá ákúlja kúmútʃéˡélé kúmúkalí póó*
Alex a-lom-a a-li Maisha a-[ku-] lya
1.Alex 1SM-speak-FV 1-COMP 1.Maisha 1SM-3OM-eat-FV
[ku-mu-chele ku-mu-kali po] .
3-3-rice 3-3-a.lot DEG
'Alex says that Maisha ate LOTS OF RICE.'

10.2.4 OM-doubling complement clauses

Another relevant question is whether complement clauses *themselves* can be OM-doubled. (11) suggests that this is in fact possible, though we do note that the precise nature of clausal complementation is an open area of investigation in Lubukusu (cf. Major et al. 2025).

(11) *ááleksj álílómá ali maíʃá áljá ˡkúmútʃéˡélé kúmúkalí póó*
Alex a-[li-] lom-a a-li Maisha a-lya
1.Alex 1SM.PST-5OM-speak-FV 1SM-COMP 1.Maisha 1SM-eat-FV
ku-mu-chele ku-mu-kali po.
3-3-rice 3-3-much DEG
'Alex DID say that Maisha ate lots of rice.'

10.2.5 Emphasis without an object

The analysis of OM-doubling presented here raises questions about how emphatic interpretations occur with intransitive predicates. As documented by Lubukusu Sikuku et al. (2018), there are two different morphosyntactic strategies for verum sentences with intransitive predicates. The first is illustrated in (12), an OM-doubling construction with a cognate object. Such constructions can readily be captured via the mechanisms discussed in this book.

(12) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 414)

a. Násyóómbé (k)á-[lw-] iimb-a [lú-lw-iimbo] .
1.Nasiombe 1SM.PST-11OM-sing-FV 11-11-song
'Nasiombe DID sing a song.'

b. Násyóómbé (k)á-[chi-] chekh-a [chii-njekho] .
1.Nasiombe 1SM.PST-10OM-laugh-FV 10.10-laugh
'Nasiombe DID laugh laughs.'

The second strategy is a verb-doubling strategy, with one inflected verb and a class 15 infinitival form of the verb, as illustrated in (13) -(15). As (15) shows, this verb doubling strategy is also available for predicates that have cognate object doubling constructions.

(13) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 414)

a. Waafulá (k)áa-kw-a khúu-kw-a
1Wafula 1SM.PST-fall-FV 15.15-fall-FV
'Wafula DID fall.' (literally 'Wafula fell to fall')

b. *Waafulá (k)á-khu- kwa khúu-kw-a
1Wafula 1SM.PST-15OM-fall-FV 15.15-fall-FV

(14) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 414)

a. Kú-mú-píira kw-á-piriingikh-a khúu-piriingikh-a
3-3-ball 3SM-PST-roll-FV 15.15-roll-FV
'The ball DID roll.' (literally 'The ball rolled to roll.')

b. *Kú-mú-píira kw-á-khu- piriingikh-a khúu-piriingikh-a
3-3-ball 3SM-PST-15OM-roll-FV 15.15-roll-FV

(15) Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018: 415)

a. Násyóómbé (k)éemb-a khú-khw-iimba
1Nasiombe 1SM.PST.sing-FV 15-15-sing
'Nasiombe DID sing.' (lit. 'Nasiombe sang to sing.')

b. Násyóómbé (k)á-chekh-a khuu-chekha
1.Nasiombe 1SM.PST-laugh-FV 15.15-laugh
'Nasiombe DID laugh.' (lit. 'Nasiombe laughed to laugh.')

Class 15 is well known to be ambiguous between verbal and nominal uses across Bantu languages (similar to *-ing* forms in English), so it is not obvious whether the class 15 elements in these examples are verbal or nominal. As we noted in Sikuku et al. (2018), to our knowledge Lubukusu lacks a class 15 object marker; it's not clear to us whether these two strategies are equivalent cognate object constructions and there is a morphological gap for OM-doubling, or if the class 15 verb doubling construction is in fact a separate construction.

The new work in this book raises new questions for emphasis in intransitive constructions. Because OM-doubling is associated with emphatic constructions more broadly (not only verum), a new range of questions are raised about how emphatic focus is encoded in intransitive predicates. As (16) shows, both of the

emphatic strategies noted above for verum focus in intransitives are available for non-verum emphasis of an adverbial in those same intransitive predicates. (16a) uses the class 15 verb-doubling construction to emphasize the adverbial *buubi* 'dangerously,' and (16b) uses the cognate object doubling strategy to emphasize the adverbial *lukali* 'loudly.'

(16) a. Wafula a-a-kw-a khuu-kw-a bu-ubi
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-fall-FV 15-fall-FV 14-dangerously
'Wafula fell DANGEROUSLY.'
The danger is especially notable.

b. Nasiombe a-a-lw- iimb-a lu-lw-iimbo lu-kali
1.Nasiombe 1SM-PST-11OM-sing-FV 11-11-song 11-loudly
'Nasiombe sang LOUDLY.'
The loudness is especially notable.

In some ways, these facts are readily compatible with the account we advance in this work. (16b) is simply an OM-doubling construction like any other. And in (16a), if we assume the class 15 verb forms are nominals, we could assume all the same morphosyntax for OM-doubling, but with no morphological realization for the class 15 object marker. That said, more work is necessary to confirm whether these class 15 forms are in fact nominal or verbal; if they instead show verbal properties, these constructions certainly raise additional questions for the analysis of emphatic focus in Lubukusu. But the properties of class 15 elements themselves are not yet understood more generally in Lubukusu, so we leave this as an issue for future research.[2]

We also note that it is possible to use intonational emphasis in intransitives as well to communicate something similar to the mirative emphasis constructions.

(17) Wafula a-a-kw-a BU-UBI.
1.Wafula 1SM-PST-fall-FV 14-dangerously
'Wafula fell DANGEROUSLY.'

Therefore, some aspects of emphatic focus in intransitive constructions fit nicely with the account we have presented here, but the class 15 apparent verb-doubling construction certainly requires further research.

[2]It does seem notable that the morphosyntactic strategy for emphatic focus is still a doubling construction in examples like (13)-(16); even when OM-doubling is not available for emphasis, a doubling construction is nonetheless used for for emphasis, here something that looks like verb doubling.

10.3 Final Word: object markers and clitics in Bantu and beyond

Investigations of object markers/clitics, and OM-doubling/clitic-doubling, has long been a mainstay of syntactic research. It has proved to be devilishly tricky to draw broad generalizations about these kinds of constructions, as the range of cross-linguistic variation (and even variation between different kinds of clitics within a single language) is extraordinarily complex. In many ways, our findings here about Lubukusu only add to the complexity.

We believe these findings to be very important for research on object markers and doubling constructions within Bantu languages. Given that many Bantu languages show similarities in how information structure is represented grammatically, and that object marker doubling has already been demonstrated to interact with the properties of givenness/focus (Zeller 2015, Bax & Diercks 2012), we suspect that patterns similar to those in Lubukusu may be more widespread than has been documented at present. As a small example, there are a number of recent/ongoing projects demonstrating that a range of emphatic interpretations like mirativity and verum (in addition to focus and givenness patterns) are attested for a range of other languages: see Kuzmik (2022) on Wanga, Liu (2022) on Tiriki, Langa da Câmara et al. (2024) and Lippard et al. (2023) on Cinyungwe, Letsholo et al. (2024) on Ikalanga, and Asiimwe (2023) and Lippard et al. (2023) on Rukiga. And other work on related languages is uncovering many similar effects based on object marking patterns and related constructions (Mursell 2018, Kerr & van der Wal 2023, Bloom Ström & Zeller 2023, Lippard 2024, Zeller 2021). While these exact patterns are not replicated everywhere, there are nonetheless cross-linguistic parallels as well (Nikolaeva 2001, Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011, Kallulli 2000, 2001, 2016).

Beyond that, it may well be the fact that—similar to our own early experience with Lubukusu—existing syntactic generalizations stated solely on the basis of morphosyntactic evidence in some languages may be incomplete; additional investigation based on fine-grained pragmatic distinctions may well reveal additional syntactic patterns that need to be accounted for.[3] Beyond the fact that this investigation clarifies empirical domains that must be investigated to understand object marking in Bantu languages, the intersection of morphosyntactic grammatical properties and pragmatics/discourse-semantics raises important

[3]For example, initial investigation by Diercks into the southern California variety of Mexican Spanish suggests that clitic doubling of direct object clitics, traditionally viewed as ungrammatical, is acceptable in verum contexts and in contrastive focus contexts. But that work is ongoing.

theoretical concerns, as we discussed earlier in this chapter. We have also shown how even the basic structural analysis of the construction is dependent on counteryclic mechanisms, which is itself a contentious claim. All of these are not unheard of syntactically, but certainly have not yet come to widespread acceptance among syntacticians.

On the other hand, what were (for us, at least) some of the more mysterious aspects of OM-doubling have turned out to be relatively mundane/canonical instances of focus constructions. By assuming overt syntactic representation of the squiggle focus operator we manage to capture the full range of distinct-yet-interacting patterns: locality matters for OM-generating Agree operations, any focused element in *v*P licenses doubling, focus external to *v*P does not license doubling, non-local doubling *requires* focus on the doubled object, etc. Clearly there is much to learn about syntax both from Lubukusu and from object marking constructions across the Bantu language family.

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