The pragmatics of object marker doubling in Cinyungwe

Word count: 12,862

Abstract This paper investigates the emphatic meaning of object marker doubling (OMD) constructions—in which a DP object and an associated object marker (OM) co-occur—in Cinyungwe, a Mozambican Bantu language. We propose that OMD has two licensing conditions: first, that the main event expressed by the sentence is contextually salient, and second, that the OMD prejacent addresses the current question of the Question Under Discussion (QUD). If these conditions are met, OMD introduces a manner implicature that the prejacent is atypically surprising, atypically true, or atypically important, depending on the pragmatic context. We provide original Cinyungwe data to support this analysis. We also discuss a previous approach to Bantu OMD (as introducing a mirative or verum conventional implicature), and we draw comparisons between OMD and another means of marking emphasis in Cinyungwe, as well as between OMD and clitic doubling in Verbicarese, an Upper Southern Italian Dialect. Cinyungwe is an understudied language; as such, this research contributes not only to our understanding of Cinyungwe object marking but also to our understanding of the diversity of emphasis marking strategies crosslinguistically.

Keywords: Cinyungwe; object marking; manner implicature; pragmatics; Mozambique; Bantu

1 Cinyungwe and the linguistic landscape of Mozambique

Mozambique is a linguistically diverse country where more than twenty indigenous Mozambican Bantu languages are spoken—perhaps as many as forty—alongside Portuguese and Mozambican Sign Language (INE 2019; Ngunga 2021). Although more than eighty percent of the population speaks a Bantu language as their first language (L1), the sole official language of Mozambique is the colonial language Portuguese, which is spoken by less than half of Mozambicans and is the L1 of only 16.6% (INE 2019; Ngunga et al. 2022; Langa da Câmara 2025).

Cinyungwe, the focus of this paper, is spoken in central Mozambique, in the provinces of Tete and (to a lesser extent) Manica. It belongs to the N40 group of Bantu languages, along with Cinsenga, Cikunda, and Cisena (Maho 2009). Cinyungwe and Cisena are two of the few non-tonal Bantu languages (Hyman 2017).

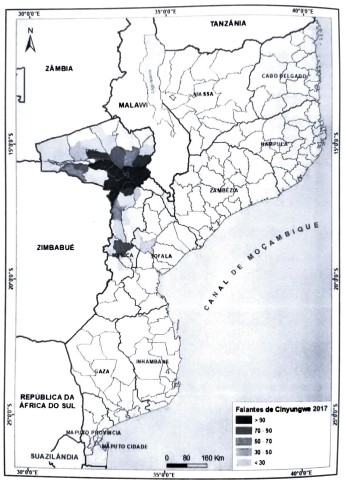


Figure 1: Speakers of Cinyungwe (Ngunga et al. 2022)

According to the 2017 Mozambican national census, about 470,000 people aged 5 and up in Tete and 50,000 in Manica speak Cinyungwe at home more often than other languages (INE 2019). This amounts to 22% of the population of Tete, 3.3% of the population of Manica, and 2.3% of the entire population of the country.

In some rural primary schools in Mozambique, students are initially taught in their L1 alongside Portuguese. Portuguese gradually replaces the Bantu language as the language of instruction, and students study their L1 as a subject until grade 5 or 6. As of 2022, there are 57 Cinyungwe-Portuguese bilingual schools in Tete (particularly in the Marara district) and 16 in Manica (Langa da Câmara 2024a).

1.1 Previous linguistic work

The published descriptive and theoretical work on Cinyungwe is still somewhat limited. There are two grammars of Cinyungwe, but both were written by European Christian missionaries (Courtois 1900; Martins 1991). There are three doctoral dissertations written on topics in Cinyungwe (Rego 2012; Ivanov 2018; Langa da Câmara 2018). Much recent linguistic work examines morphosyntactic and sociolinguistic aspects of the language (Ngunga & Langa da Câmara 2019; Langa da Câmara & Lusekelo 2023; Langa da Câmara & Ngunga 2023; Langa da Câmara et al. 2024; Lippard et al. 2023a; Langa da Câmara 2025). Ngunga et al. (2022) provides an overview of Cinyungwe's phonetic inventory and orthography.

1.2 Morphosyntactic background

1.2.1 Noun classes

Noun classes are a central aspect of Bantu morphology and fundamental to understanding object marking. Cinyungwe has 13 noun classes, an infinitive class, and 3 locative classes, as shown in Table 1. Most of the noun classes are organized into singular-plural pairs; for example, classes 1 and 2 contain singular and plural human nouns. Exceptions are class 14, which contains uncountable nouns such as *udziwi* 'knowledge' and *uci* 'honey'; and class 15, which marks the infinitive. Many nouns bear a prefix indicating their noun class, as with *cirewedwe/bzirewedwe* 'language(s)'. Some nouns only have an overt class prefix in their plural form, as with *poto/mapoto* 'pot(s)'. Class 9/10 nouns like *mbwaya* 'dog(s)' have the same form regardless of number.

Noun class can be deduced from agreement, such as subject and object markers on the verb. Other elements that inflect for noun class are pronouns, numerals (e.g. *-bodzi* 'one', *-wiri* 'two'), adjectives (e.g., *-svipa* 'black'), possessives, and demonstratives. The paradigm for *mphaka* 'cat(s)' is shown in Table 2.

1.2.2 Verbal morphology

The structure of a Cinyungwe verb is shown in (1). Note that negation does not appear in (1); clausal negation in Cinyungwe either attaches to an auxiliary (e.g., *a-li-be ku-dy-a* 'did not eat') or follows the main verb (e.g., *a-ndza-dy-a lini* 'will not eat').

(1) Cinyungwe verb form
SM-TNS/ASP-OM-verb.root-EXT-FV = PTCL

The obligatory first prefix is the subject marker (SM), which agrees with a third-person

subject in noun class. For first- and second-person subjects, the relevant person/number agreement morpheme appears here. The SM is followed by tense/aspect morphology and the object marker (OM), which refers to an object in the sentence. When an OM appears, it is always placed immediately preceding the verb root.

Table 1: Noun classes in Cinyungwe, adapted from Ivanov (2018)

Class	Prefix	Example	SM	OM
Noun classes				
1	mu-	munthu ‘person’	a-	mu-
2	(w)a-	wanthu ‘people’	(w)a-	wa-
3	mu-	muti ‘tree’	u-	u-
4	mi-	miti ‘trees’	yi-	yi-
5	li-	livu ‘book’	li-	li-
6	ma-	malivu ‘books’	ma/ya-	ma/ya-
7[1]	ci-	cirewedwe ‘language’ cimbwaya ‘dog of atypical size’	ci-	ci-
8	bzi-	bzirewedwe ‘languages’ bzimbwaya ‘dogs of atypical size’	bzi-	bzi-
9	n/m-	mbwaya ‘dog’	yi-	yi-
10	n/m-	mbwaya ‘dogs’	zi-	zi-
12	ka-	kambwaya ‘small dog’	ka-	ka-
13	tu-	tumbwaya ‘small dogs’	tu-	tu-
14	u-	udziwi ‘knowledge’	bu-	bu-
Infinitive class				
15	ku-	kudya ‘to eat’		
Locative classes				
16	pa-	pamuyi ‘in the garden of the house’	pa-	pa-
17	ku-	kumuyi ‘to the house’	ku-	ku-
18	mu-	m’muyi ‘inside the house’	mu-	mu-

Table 2: Agreement with *mphaka* ‘cat(s)’, adapted from Ivanov (2018)

Class	Noun	Pn.	SM	OM	‘one/two’	‘black’	Pssr.	Pssd.	Demonstratives
9	mphaka	iyo	yi-	yi-	yibodzi	yisvipa	ya-	-yene	ino, iyi, iyo, ire
10	mphaka	izi	zi-	zi-	ziwiri	zisvipa	za-	-zene	zino, izi, izo, zire

The morphemes following the verb root include verbal extensions, the obligatory final vowel, and certain particles. Verbal extensions in Bantu languages are derivational suf-

[1] Whereas classes 12/13 are consistently diminutive, there is dialectal variation in the augmentative use of classes 7/8.

fixes that appear between the verb root and final vowel. In Cinyungwe, some of these are the passive (*-e(d)w/-i(d)w*), applicative (*-er/-ir*), causative (*-es/-is*), and reciprocal (*-an*) morphemes. The "default" final vowel is *-a*; *-e* appears on subjunctive verbs. Post-final-vowel particles include *=mbo* 'also', *=di* 'really', and *=tu* 'quickly'; *=di* is briefly discussed and compared to OMD in §6.1.

An example of a complex verb form, which stands alone as a full sentence, is shown in (2). Acceptability and felicity judgments for Cinyungwe examples throughout this paper were provided by the second author. In cases of uncertainty and/or to verify judgments, both authors consulted additional Cinyungwe speakers.

(2) Context: You expect an animal to be illuminated by lightning to impress a person who is watching.
Yi-ndza-yetim-ir-idw-a.
9SM-FUT-lighten-APPL-PASS-FV
'It will be lightened for someone.' (Langa da Câmara 2024b)

1.2.3 Syntax

The standard word order in Cinyungwe is SVO, as shown in (3). This example assumes a standard or neutral pragmatic context; that is, the proposition occurs discourse-initially ("out of the blue") or in response to a general question like "What happened?" Postverbal subjects (4) and locative subjects (5) are possible, with information structural effects. Subject pronouns are expressed by subject markers by default, but overt pronouns can also be used (6).

(3) Q: How is your family?
Suwe a-da-nemb-a li-vu.
Suwe 1SM-PST-write-FV 5-book
'Suwe wrote a book.'

(4) a. Context: You hear a noise and ask what happened.
Mu-ti u-da-gw-a. preverbal subject
3-tree 3SM-PST-fall-FV
'A tree fell.'

b. Context: We have a shared expectation about whether the tree will fall.
U-da-gw-a mu-ti. postverbal subject
3SM-PST-fall-FV 3-tree
'The tree fell.'

(5) a. Q: Where did the animals sleep?
Mbwaya ya-gon-a m'-muyi. locative adjunct
9.dog 9SM.REC-sleep-FV 18-3.house
'The dog slept in the house.'

b. Context: It was so hot that all the people slept outside.
M'-muyi mwa-gon-a mbwaya. locative subject
18-3.house 18SM.REC-sleep-FV 9.dog
'In the house slept the dog.'

(6) Q: What did the girl give to the rabbit?

A: *(Iye)* *a-mu-pas-a* *dzi-luwa.* overt vs. non-overt pronoun
1.PN 1SM.REC-1OM-give-FV 5-flower
'She gave it a flower.'

Lexical ditransitives and benefactive/malefactive applicatives have different default object word orders in Cinyungwe: DO≺IO in lexical ditransitives (7) and IO≺DO (8) in applicatives. In causative ditransitives (9), the word orders are equally possible in pragmatically neutral contexts.

(7) Q: What's happening?
Yavu *a-ku-pas-a* *ma-luwa* *m-wana.* lexical ditransitive:
1.grandmother 1SM-PRS.PROG-give-FV 6-flower 1-child DO≺IO
'Grandmother is giving flowers to the child.'

(8) Context: A guest arrives at the house and is greeted by the children.
N-da-gul-ir-a *a-zi-baba* *wa-ko* *caya.* applicative:
1SG-PST-give-APPL-FV 2-10-father 2-2SG.POSS 9.tea IO≺DO
'I brought your parents tea.'

(9) Q: What happened?
a. *Wana* *wa-dy-es-a* *ci-manga* *nkhuku.* causative:
2.child 2SG.REC-eat-CAUS-FV 7-maize 10.chicken DO≺IO
'The children fed the chickens maize.'

b. *Wana* *wa-dy-es-a* *nkhuku* *ci-manga.* causative:
2.child 2SG.REC-eat-CAUS-FV 10.chicken 7-maize IO≺DO
'The children fed the chickens maize.'

2 Theoretical background

In this section, we provide an overview of the theoretical assumptions guiding our analysis throughout the paper.

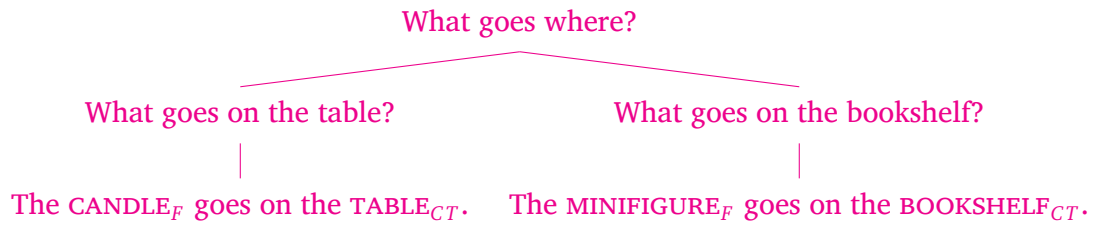
2.1 The question under discussion

The question under discussion, or QUD, is a partially ordered set of questions that conversation participants attempt to answer through the course of a conversation. It is assumed to never be empty, always containing at least a general question like "What is the world like?" or "What is the way things are?" (Stokke 2018; Zimmermann & Onea 2019). QUD models provide a useful framework for analyzing information structure.[2]

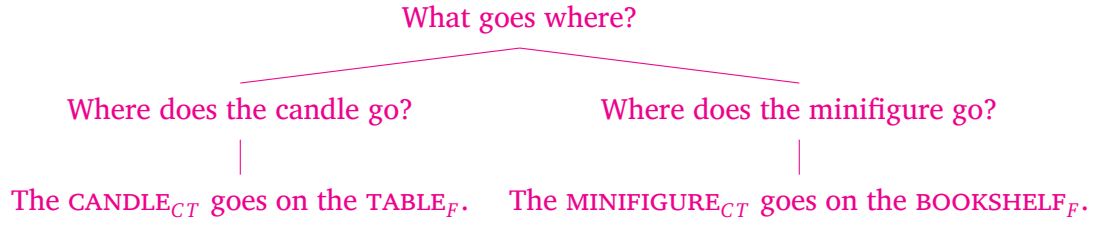
One way to visualize the QUD is as a hierarchical discourse tree, where the broadest question branches into subquestions that it entails (Büring 2003). For example, in a context where two roommates are unpacking, the QUD might include 'What goes where?' with subquestions like 'What goes on the table?' and 'What goes on the bookshelf?' as in (10). Alternately, 'What goes where?' could branch into subquestions like 'Where does the candle go?' and 'Where does the minifigure go?' (11). Answers to subquestions are also included in a discourse tree.

[2] F and CT indicate focus and contrastive topic, respectively. See Büring (2003) for more details.

(10)



(11)



A proposition can address the QUD by answering one of its (sub)questions or by providing a new subquestion (Benz & Jasinskaja 2017). Responses can address different subquestions while still addressing the same larger question(s). The subquestion that a speaker is addressing through their utterance is often called the *current* or *maximal question* (Beaver & Clark 2008; Velleman & Beaver 2016; Zimmermann & Onea 2019; Amido & Buchczyk 2023). In this paper, for consistency, we will use the term current question, abbreviated CQ, but the concepts are the same. An utterance must address the current question in order to be felicitous (Simons et al. 2010). However, the current question need not be explicit. For example, in (12), the subquestion 'What goes on the table?' is implicit; the addressee (A) can reconstruct it based on B's answer. This reconstruction of an implicit question is termed accommodation (Büring 2003; Velleman & Beaver 2016).

(12) A: What goes where?
(What goes on the table?) ⇐ accommodation
B: The CANDLE$_F$ goes on the TABLE$_{CT}$.

2.2 Givenness and salience

As Velleman & Beaver (2016) explain, *givenness* refers to two distinct concepts in the literature. The first is based on familiarity and identifiability. The second is stricter and can be defined in terms of coreference and entailment (Schwarzschild 1999). Consider the example in (13), which is adapted from Lakoff (1971).

(13) Agatha *called* Billy *a capitalist* and then HE insulted HER.

In (13), *insulted* is marked as given through deaccenting. Again, there is a process of accommodation here. Whether or not the addressee also believes calling someone a capitalist is an insult, they are likely to infer that *call x a capitalist* entails *insult x*, at least in the context of this discourse.

Salience is a closely related concept to the second type of givenness and is sometimes used interchangeably with it (Amido & Buchczyk 2023). Some authors use *salient* for a discourse antecedent (in (13), *called x a capitalist*) and *given* for its corresponding discourse anaphor (in (13), *insulted*) (Simons et al. 2010; Velleman & Beaver 2016; Roberts 2022).

Recent work on ellipsis has proposed a constraint called Local Givenness, which is based on local contextual entailment and salience (Kroll 2019).[3] This constraint, of course, raises the question of what it means for a proposition to be maximally salient. Some authors have defined salience as relevance to the QUD or, similarly, as a property of information encoded by the most recent main assertion (Kroll 2019).

(14) **Local Givenness**: A TP α can be deleted iff *ExClo*($[\![\alpha^g]\!]$) expresses a proposition p, such that $c_L \subseteq p$ and p is maximally salient. (Kroll 2019: 35)

For the purposes of this paper, to avoid confusion, we will refer to *contextual entailment* instead of *givenness/salience* whenever possible.

3 Object marking

3.1 Solitary object markers

As mentioned in §1.2.2, an OM appears within the verb form and refer to an object of the same noun class. Most commonly, an OM replaces the object it refers to and functions like a pronoun; we will call this type a solitary OM. For example, the class 7 object *cimbamba* 'beans' in (15a) is replaced by the class 7 OM *ci-* in (15b).

(15) a. Q: What happened yesterday?
Baba *a-da-phik-a* *ci-mbamba* *bwino.*
1.father 1SM-PST-cook-FV 7-beans well
'Father cooked the beans well.'

b. Q: How were the beans?
Baba *a-da-*(*ci-*) *phik-a* *bwino.*
1.father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV well
'Father cooked them well.'

In a ditransitive, an OM can replace either object, but only one OM can appear on a single verb.

(16) a. Q: What's happening with the child?
Yavu *a-ku-*(*mu-*) *pas-a* *ma-luwa.*
1.grandmother 1SM-PRS.PROG-1OM-give-FV 6-flower
'Grandmother is giving her flowers.'

b. Q: What's happening with the flowers?
Yavu *a-ku-*(*ma-*) *pas-a* *m-wana.*
1.grandmother 1SM-PRS.PROG-6OM-give-FV 1-child
'Grandmother is giving them to the child.'

c. * *Yavu a-ku-*(*ma-*) (*mu-*) *pas-a.*

d. * *Yavu a-ku-*(*mu-*) (*ma-*) *pas-a.*

Nouns in Cinyungwe are not marked for definiteness or specificity, as shown by the ambiguous interpretation of *mwana* 'child' in (17a). The ambiguity can be removed by

[3] *ExClo* in (13) indicates existential closure.

continuing the sentence with the NPI phrase *ne na m'bodziyo* 'at all', which is only compatible with the indefinite reading (17b). In contrast, a solitary OM must have a specific referent (17c) and is not compatible with the 'at all' continuation.[4]

(17) Context: You went to the street where children are usually playing football, but no one was there (or, the child you were looking for wasn't there).

a. *Ndi-ri-be* *ku-won-a* *mwana.*
1SG-AUX-NEG 15-see-FV 1.child
'I didn't see any child.' **OR** 'I didn't see the/a (particular) child.'

b. *Ndi-ri-be* *ku-won-a* *mwana* *ne* *na* *m'-bodzi-yo.*
1SG-AUX-NEG 15-see-FV 1.child NEG with 1-one-NPI
'I didn't see any child at all.'

c. *Ndi-ri-be* *ku-mu-* *won-a* *(#ne* *na* *m'-bodzi-yo).*
1SG-AUX-NEG 15-1OM-see-FV NEG with 1-one-NPI
'I didn't see them (a particular person).'

3.2 Object marker doubling

In some Bantu languages, an OM and its co-referring object can co-occur (e.g., see Zeller 2014). OMD often interacts with conjoint/disjoint alternations, which are associated with the relationship between the verb and any postverbal material (Van der Wal 2017; Buell 2005; van der Spuy 1993; Zeller 2015). So far, we have not observed explicit conjoint/disjoint marking on Cinyungwe verbs. In Cinyungwe, OMD is possible but only occurs in particular pragmatic contexts. In neutral contexts, it is infelicitous, as shown in (18).[5]

However, in certain pragmatic contexts, such as in (19), OMD is completely natural. We assume that manner adverbs can be used to mark the edge of *v*P (Ernst 2020; Langa da Câmara 2024a). The appearance of *bwino* 'well' to the right of *cimbamba* 'beans' thus indicates that the doubled object is *vP*-internal in (19).

(18) Q: What happened yesterday? *or* How was your dinner yesterday?
#Baba *a-da-ci-* *phik-a* *ci-mbamba* *bwino.*
1.father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV 7-beans well
Intended: 'Father cooked the beans well.'

(19) *Baba* *a-da-ci-* *phik-a* *ci-mbamba* *bwino!*
1.father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV 7-beans well
'Father really cooked the beans well!'

✓ Father is bad at cooking and does so very infrequently. Tonight he made beans, and they're nice: an extraordinary event.
✓ Someone denied that Father, who believes women should do the cooking, cooked the beans well (or at all). But the speaker saw the beans Father cooked.

[4] A reviewer notes that the English versions of (17b) and (17c) are not problematic with a definite object: *I didn't see {the child/them} at all.* This is a very different use of *at all.* Whereas (17b) means there is not a single child that the speaker saw, the version with a definite object means that for some particular child, the speaker did not see them for any amount of time. This may be due to a difference in scope: perhaps English *at all* can range over a *v*P or event, whereas *ne na m'bodziyo* can only range over the DP it shows class agreement with.

[5] A hashtag # indicates infelicity in a given context. An asterisk * indicates syntactic ungrammaticality.

Recall that the referent of a non-doubling OM is necessarily specific. This is not the case with OMD. As (20) shows, a negative indefinite DP can be doubled.

(20) Context: You went to a street where boys are always playing football, expecting a large group of kids, but it was empty.
Ndi-ri-be *ku-mu-* *won-a* *m-wana* *na* *m'-bodzi-yo.*
1SG-AUX-NEG 15-1OM-see-FV 1-child with 1-one-NPI
'I really didn't see any child at all.'

Bantu OMD has recently been linked to various emphatic interpretations (Sikuku et al. 2018; Liu 2019; Colantes & Letsholo 2022; Lippard et al. 2023a). We use the words *emphasis* and *emphatic* throughout this paper as descriptive umbrella terms. Languages differ with respect to whether OMD involves object dislocation and the range of emphatic interpretations of OMD, but Lippard et al. (2023a) report verum and mirative interpretations of OMD in Lubukusu, Cinyungwe, Tiriki, Wanga, and Ikalanga. Despite similarities between OMD in Cinyungwe and mirative/verum constructions in various languages, we will argue that OMD does not specifically encode either of these meanings, although it is felicitous in both types of contexts.

Before discussing OMD in further detail, it is necessary to disambiguate it from a distinct construction that can appear very similar on a surface level: object dislocation. When controlling for the presence of a prosodic break, dislocation and OMD consistently pattern differently in terms of the contexts in which they are felicitous, and only the presence of a prosodic break can reliably predict these differences.

3.3 Object right dislocation

In Cinyungwe, a DP object can be dislocated outside of the *v*P. Sometimes this is evident from word order, but a more reliable diagnostic is the presence of a prosodic break between the verb and the object. Object right dislocation is possible both with and without the associated OM appearing on the verb, but the presence of an OM affects the interpretation of the sentence, as shown in (21).

(21) a. In response to 'What happened (to the book)?' *or* 'What did Siriza do with the book?' *or* 'Siriza borrowed the book':
Siriza *a-da-li-* *b-a* , *li-vu.* dislocation with OM
Siriza 1SM-PST-5OM-steal-FV 5-book
'Siriza stole it, the book.' *or* 'Siriza STOLE the book.'

b. In response to 'Siriza borrowed the book':
Siriza *a-da-b-a* , *li-vu.* dislocation without OM
Siriza 1SM-PST-steal-FV 5-book
'Siriza STOLE the book.'

(21a) is acceptable in several different types of contexts. In a neutral context, it has a clarification interpretation (where a speaker adds the DP object as an afterthought to avoid miscommunication). It can also be used response to certain *wh*-questions (resulting in new information focus) or in a context that licenses corrective focus on *adaba* 'stole'—

that is, a context where the speaker is correcting an assertion or implication that Siriza did something else with the book. By contrast, (21b) is necessarily corrective.[6]

The sentences in (22) and (23) are identical strings except for the presence/absence of a prosodic break. In response to a *wh*-question about the direct object, only the dislocation construction can be used. By contrast, in a disagreement about whether the whole event occurred, only the OMD construction can be used.

(22) Q: What did the girl give to the rabbit?

a. *A-mu- pas-a dzi-luwa , sulu.* dislocation
1SM.REC-1OM-give-FV 5-flower 1.rabbit
'She gave it a flower, the rabbit.'

b. #*A-mu- pas-a dzi-luwa sulu .* OMD
1SM.REC-1OM-give-FV 5-flower 1.rabbit

(23) Context: A girl holds out a flower to a rabbit, which takes it—a bizarre event. Semo says, 'Did you see that? The girl gave a flower to the rabbit!' No one believes him, so he insists:

a. #*A-mu- pas-a dzi-luwa , sulu.* dislocation
1SM.REC-1OM-give-FV 5-flower 1.rabbit

b. *A-mu- pas-a dzi-luwa sulu .* OMD
1SM.REC-1OM-give-FV 5-flower 1.rabbit
'She really gave a flower to the rabbit!'

4 Alternative analyses

Lippard et al. (2023a) report mirative and verum interpretations arising from OMD in (at least) five Bantu languages: Lubukusu (Kenya, JE31c), Cinyungwe (Mozambique, N43), Tiriki (Kenya, JE413), Wanga (Kenya, JE32a), and Ikalanga (Botswana/Zimbabwe, S16). They also report intensity and reprimand interpretations in Lubukusu and exhaustive interpretations in Tiriki and Wanga. Lippard et al. (2023a) propose that these emphatic interpretations are introduced through conventional implicatures. In this section, we will explore the categories of mirativity and verum to show that, despite their compatibility with OMD in Cinyungwe, OMD does not actually encode either meaning.

4.1 Mirativity

Mirativity is most often associated with speaker surprise and counterexpectation, but other subtypes have been defined, such as sudden realization and new information (Aikhenvald 2012; AnderBois 2024; Bianchi et al. 2016).[7] In *sudden realization* mirativity, the

[6] Versions of the sentences in (21) without the prosodic break (audible pause) are syntactically possible but, according to the second author's judgments, restricted to different pragmatic contexts from those that license (21a) and (21b). For a more complete paradigm of different levels of correction, see §4.2.2.

[7] Aikhenvald (2012) distinguishes between counterexpectation and surprise, such that counterexpectation relates to the speaker's prior knowledge, while surprise relates to their emotional reaction. However, we do not know of any languages whose mirative strategy encodes one and not the other, so we conflate these categories. Following AnderBois (2024), we also do not treat "unprepared mind" as a distinct mirative subtype.

speaker suddenly learns or remembers information or recognizes a pattern. In *new information* mirativity, the proposition constitutes new information for the speaker.
In this framework, although a mirative meaning may encompass multiple or all of these meanings, it is also possible to disentangle them. Suppose a speaker misses their bus almost every day. Today, they glance at their watch and realize they are running late. The information is not unexpected or surprising; it's an almost-daily occurrence. In a language with a mirative construction that specifically encodes sudden realization, mirativity would be felicitous in this context. AnderBois (2024) argues that the Tagalog particle *pala* is of this type.

(24) New information + sudden realization
Context: My friend and I are looking for a private place to talk in a student center which is always crowded. I say:
May mga estudyante naman ***pala*** *dito* Tagalog
EXIS PL student PTCL MIR here
'Oh, but there's a lot of students in here.' (AnderBois 2024: 7)

(25) Sudden realization
Context: You are asking me what I did yesterday and I am listing things I did before I momentarily draw a blank and then remember suddenly and say:
Tapos, nagbeach (nga) ***pala*** *ako.* Tagalog
after go.to.beach.PFV PTCL MIR DIR.1SG
'Oh yeah, then I went to the beach.' (AnderBois 2024: 8)

Table 3 shows selected examples of reported manifestations of mirativity in different languages, organized into three categories: prosodic, syntactic, and morphological.

Table 3: Reported manifestations of mirativity crosslinguistically

method	languages	examples	sources
prosodic	various, e.g., English	exclamation intonation	Rett & Sturman (2021) Rett (2022)
syntactic	Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, Sicilian, Sardinian, French	focus fronting	Bianchi et al. (2016); Cruschina (2019)
morphological	Mandarin Finnish German Tagalog	adverb *guoran* particle *-pä* intensifiers particle *pala*	Wu (2008) Malchukov (2004) Gutzmann & Castroviéjo Miró (2011) AnderBois (2024)

Mirativity, as with illocutionary meaning more broadly, is overwhelmingly speaker-oriented (DeLancey 1997; AnderBois 2024). Previous work has identified rare addressee-oriented instances of mirativity and other supposedly speaker-oriented constructions, which may be accomplished through "perspective shifting" (Aikhenvald 2012; Harris & Potts 2009). Here, following Rett & Sturman (2021), we acknowledge this data but treat mirativity as speaker-oriented.

4.1.1 OMD in mirative contexts

OMD is compatible with all three subtypes of mirativity we have discussed—if they occur in combination with each other. In (26), the speaker(s) have suddenly discovered that the woman is not young and beautiful. This information is new and counter to their expectations.

(26) Context: A young man has married an older woman. When his family meets her they are shocked; knowing how happy the man is, they expected someone young and beautiful.
[+sudden realization, +surprise/counterexpectation, +new information]

U-da-mu- lowol-a n-kazi umweyi?!
2SG-PST-1OM-marry-FV 1-woman already
'You already married this woman?!' (Lippard et al. 2023a)

In contrast to Tagalog *pala*, sudden realization alone is not sufficient to license OMD in Cinyungwe. Note that this is not an argument against a mirative analysis, simply against an analysis of OMD as sudden realization mirativity.

(27) Context: Kapenu lists several things that happened today but forgets about his cat catching a rat. Then he remembers.
[+sudden realization, −surprise/counterexpectation, −new information]

#Na mphaka y-angu ya-li- phat-a khoso.
and 9.cat 9-my 9SM.REC-5OM-catch-FV 5.rat
Intended: 'And my cat caught a rat.'

New information and sudden realization together (without independent of surprise/counterexpectation) are also insufficient to license OMD. It thus seems most accurate to say that OMD is compatible with the surprise subtype of mirativity specifically. We will answer the question of why this is in §5.1.3.

(28) Context: Kapenu's cat is a good hunter. Just now, he saw her catch a rat. He is pleased but unsurprised. There is nothing particularly notable about the event.
[+sudden realization, −surprise/counterexpectation, +new information]

#Mphaka y-angu ya-li- phat-a khoso.
9.cat 9-my 9SM.REC-5OM-catch-FV 5.rat
Intended: 'My cat caught a rat.'

4.1.2 Problems with a mirative analysis

OMD is possible in a context where no mirative meaning is available.[8] In (29), Maria already knows that Suwe wrote a book. The information does not constitute a sudden discovery, and it is neither new nor surprising to her. This contrasts with a mirative

[8] One could argue that (29) is an instance of addressee-oriented mirativity. We do not take this view here, but it would still be compatible with our ultimate analysis.

English exclamatory sentence: *(Wow,) Suwe wrote a book!* would be infelicitous in the context in (29).

(29) Context: Maria says that Suwe wrote a book, but her friend is doubtful. Maria shows a copy of the book as proof and says:
[–sudden realization, –surprise/counterexpectation, –new information]

Suwe a-da-li- nemb-a li-vu !
Suwe 1SM-PST-5OM-write-FV 5-book
'Suwe DID write a book!'

The availability of OMD in non-mirative contexts does not automatically rule out an analysis that treats each interpretation differently. In this paper, however, we propose a unified analysis of different uses of OMD, in order to explain the semantic similarities among them. For an analysis that treats the interpretations differently, see Sikuku et al. (2018) and Lippard et al. (2023a).

Another problem with a mirative analysis is that mirativity is often assumed to be optional (DeLancey 1997). That is, even in a mirative context where *Wow, Suwe wrote a book!* would be felicitous, we do not expect a speaker to be mandated to express their surprise with a mirative particle and surprise intonation. Consider a speaker who is known to be deadpan and serious, or even a typically effusive speaker who is too tired to muster mirative marking. By contrast, OMD is occasionally (pragmatically) necessary. An example of this is shown in (30), where the proposition that Mother bought maize is pleasantly surprising to the speaker.

(30) Context: Semo and Siriza are debating whether their mother bought maize. Siriza guesses yes; Semo guesses no. Neither of them is confident in their prediction. When Siriza is proven correct, she excitedly says:
[+sudden realization, +surprise/counterexpectation, +new information]

Ni-khan-a lazawu! Mayi a-#(ci-)gul-a ci-manga !
1SG.REC-have-FV reason 1.mother 1SM.REC-7OM-buy-FV 7-maize
'I was right! Mother bought maize!'

A third challenge for a mirative analysis is that OMD has discourse licensing conditions that we would not expect with mirativity. Consider (31). Kapenu's lazy cat catching a rat is a surprising event, but OMD is not natural here.

(31) Context: Kapenu's sisters are talking about his cat: 'It's lazy and useless!' Just then, the cat passes by with a rat in its mouth.
[+surprise/counterexpectation]

?*Mphaka ya Kapenu ya-li- phat-a khoso !*
9.cat of Kapenu 9SM.REC-5OM-catch-FV 5.rat
Intended: 'Kapenu's cat caught a rat!'

We will return to the question of OMD's licensing conditions of licensing conditions in §5.1.

4.1.3 Interim summary: OMD does not encode mirativity

Building on Aikhenvald (2012) and AnderBois (2024), we break down mirativity into three components: surprise/counterexpectation, sudden realization, and new information. OMD is compatible with surprise/counterexpectation—independently or in combination with the other components)—but it is also sometimes felicitous with none of them. Unlike mirativity, OMD is occasionally obligatory and has discourse licensing conditions. Based on these facts, we argue that OMD does not encode mirativity, despite its compatibility with mirative meanings.

4.2 Verum

The concept of verum was introduced by Höhle (1992), focusing on German. It is often intuitively described as emphasis or focus on the truth of a proposition, particularly in contexts of conflict or disagreement, thus its semantic associates are propositions. There is also a common syntactic generalization that its linguistic manifestation appears above *v*P, such as at the CP or Pol(arity)P level. One of the least controversial examples of verum is English emphatic *do*, a type of *do*-support that is not syntactically motivated and often bears prosodic stress, as shown in (32).

(32) They said he didn't have a lot of patients but... he DOES have a lot of patients. (Wilder 2013: 145)

Theories of verum generally fall under two views (Gutzmann et al. 2020). Under the focus accent thesis (FAT), verum arises through focus on a verum operator (present in every sentence) or on the sentence polarity (Wilder 2013; Littell 2016; Lohnstein 2018; Lee 2019; Goodhue 2022). Under the lexical operator thesis (LOT), verum is introduced through a lexical operator that is only present in verum sentences (Hartmann 2013; Kandybowicz 2013; Gutzmann et al. 2020; Bill & Koev 2021). More recently, Kerr & Van der Wal (2023) proposed a third view, the Backgrounding and Underspecification Thesis (BUT), where verum is marked indirectly through backgrounding.

4.2.1 Approaches to verum

Given the ongoing debate surrounding verum, before determining whether Cinyungwe OMD constitutes an example of it, we review influential approaches to the phenomenon and outline our own. Most previous work on verum agrees that the prejacent p—the proposition denoted by a verum sentence, as verum does not affect truth conditions—must be salient, familiar, or given. Approaches diverge in how to formalize or conceptualize this, however.

Wilder (2013) argues for an alternative set $\{\neg p, p\}$ evoked by the prejacent and discourse context. Goodhue (2022) proposes that $\neg p$ is available as a focal target through contextual salience or other means, such as presupposition accommodation. Lee (2019) argues that the speaker must be committed to p and encounter some form of addressee resistance. Romero & Han (2004) link verum to speaker certainty that p should be added to the common ground, particularly in cases of conflict—whether overt disagreement or speaker-internal conflict that the addressee is unaware of.

Other work approaches verum from a QUD perspective. Gutzmann & Castroviéjo Miró (2011) propose that verum is an instruction to downdate the QUD—to remove $?p$, which is maximal (highly relevant) in the QUD (i.e., $?p$ is the CQ). Matthewson & Glougie

(2018) state that verum is felicitous if ?p is maximal in the QUD and the speaker "wants to prevent $\neg p$ from entering the common ground" (176). Similarly, Gutzmann et al. (2020), building on Gutzmann & Castroviéjo Miró (2011) and Romero & Han (2004), state that verum requires "an open conflict between salient alternatives or the final settlement of a question" (14). For a speaker to utter VERUM(p), the possibility of $\neg p$ must be salient. Thus, they argue, verum is an attempt to prevent the QUD from being resolved with $\neg p$.

Kerr & Van der Wal (2023) have proposed a three-way typology of verum strategies (an alternative to viewing the FAT, LOT, and BUT as competing theories, one of which is universally true). In Type I languages, verum is marked directly as focus; in Type II languages, it is marked directly by a dedicated marker; and in Type III languages, it is marked indirectly via backgrounding.

In this paper, we will assume the following discourse licensing conditions for verum.

(33) **Discourse licensing conditions**
In a discourse context C, a sentence VERUM(p) is felicitous iff there is a previous utterance in C that
a. explicitly adds ?p to the QUD as the new current question or
b. directly addresses the current question ?p.

We assume that ?p denotes the set $\{p, \neg p\}$ (Hamblin 1973). This alternative set can be introduced by asking ?p or by embedding p under a modal or in a conditional antecedent. If ?p is already the current question, (33b) can be accomplished through asserting p or asserting or presupposing $\neg p$. This licensing condition is consistent with the examples in (34) of environments where verum is felicitous in English, adapted from Matthewson & Glougie (2018) with added examples. Note that verum is optional in the contexts in (34), not required. For instance, in (34d), the second speaker could instead reply simply with a response particle: 'Yeah.' Opting to use verum here will likely result in an implicature, perhaps that the number of patients is very large or that the speaker is anticipating resistance.[9]

(34) Environments where VERUM(p) is felicitous

a. **Correcting a previous utterance**
A: He doesn't have a lot of patients. $\neg p$
A': Why doesn't he have a lot of patients? $ps(\neg p)$
B: He DOES have a lot of patients.

b. **Correcting uncertainty or negative expectations**
A: {Maybe/I doubt} he has a lot of patients. MODAL-p
A': If he has a lot of patients, we should go early. COND-p
B: He DOES have a lot of patients.

c. **Emphatic agreement**
A: He has a lot of patients. p
B: He DOES have a lot of patients.

d. **Answering questions**
A: Does he have a lot of patients? ?p
B: He DOES have a lot of patients.

[9] Some authors have argued that verum in response to a simple polar question as in (34d) is infelicitous. We find this response to be acceptable since, as Bill & Koev (2021) note, a context can be out-of-the-blue without being neutral.

e. **Questioning a previous utterance**
A: He has a lot of patients. *p*
B: DOES he have a lot of patients?

The licensing conditions are also consistent with the examples in (35) of environments where verum is infelicitous in English. In (35b), the current question at the time of A's utterance is arguably 'Is it always busy here?' or 'Why is it always so busy here?', which differs from ?*p* ('Does he have a lot of patients?'). Verum is not available in Speaker B's response, but (35B') looks deceptively similar to emphatic *do*, except that the object *patients* is prosodically focused. It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze (35B') further, but it is relevant to point out that it is non-identical to the verum strategy of English emphatic *do*.

(35) Environments where VERUM(*p*) is infelicitous

a. **Discourse-initially or out of the blue**
Context: B sits down and sighs.
A: What's up?
B: #He DOES have a lot of patients.

b. **Correcting a previous implicature**
A: Ugh, it's always so busy here.
⇒ *implicated: It's unfair/there's no reason for it to be so busy.*
B: #He DOES have a lot of patients.
B': Well, he DOES have a lot of PATIENTS.

Table 3 lists selected examples of reported manifestations of verum crosslinguistically.

Table 4: Reported manifestations of verum crosslinguistically

method	language	example	source
prosodic stress	German	on verb or C	Höhle (1992)
	English	on auxiliary/copula	Gutzmann et al. (2020)
syntactic movement	English	negative preposing	Romero & Han (2004)
	Spanish	DP fronting	Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal (2009)
	South Marghi	verb raising	Hartmann (2013)
	Xhosa, Zulu	dislocation	Bloomström & Zeller (2024)
doubling constructions	various Bantu	topic doubling	Kerr & Van der Wal (2023)
	Spanish	clause doubling	Muñoz Pérez & Verdecchia (2023)
exclamatives	Portuguese, German	*whether*-exclamatives	Amido & Buchczyk (2023)
particles	Dutch	particle *wel*	Sudhoff (2012)
	Gitksan	particle *k̲'ap*	Matthewson & Glougie (2018)
	Cinyungwe	clitic *=di*	Kerr & Van der Wal (2023)
	Conchucos Quechua	clitic *=mi*	Bendezú-Araujo (2023)
auxiliaries	English	emphatic *do*	Gutzmann & Castroviéjo Miró (2011)
verbal affixes	Bole, Ngizim	suffixes *-tu*, *-na*	Schuh (2005)
	Kwak'wala	prefix *ʔm-*	Littell (2016)
	Gusii, Kîîtharaka	prefix *ni-*	Kerr & Van der Wal (2023)
adverbs	English	*really*	Romero & Han (2004)
	German	*tatsächlich*, *wirklich*, *echt*	Müller (2023)

The verbal affixes category may seem the least likely to involve a relatively high syntactic associate (and the most similar to OMD). However, second-position clitics can be analyzed as adjoining to the complementizer. Littell (2016) notes that the Kwak'wala verum marker can "modify the sentence as a whole" but attaches "to the first word in the sentence" (44), and Schuh (2005) analyzes the Bole and Ngizim totality extensions as "auxiliary focus" on TAM or polarity, following Hyman & Watters (1984). Also of note is the inclusion of Cinyungwe *=di* as a verum particle. We will discuss this particle briefly in §6.1.

4.2.2 OMD in verum contexts

Like verum constructions, OMD in Cinyungwe is infelicitous out of the blue, as previously shown in (18). A verum-like example of OMD was previously shown in (29), repeated here as (36).

(36) Context: Maria says that Suwe wrote a book, but her friend is doubtful. Maria shows a copy of the book as proof and says:
Suwe a-da-li- nemb-a li-vu !
Suwe 1SM-PST-5OM-write-FV 5-book
'Suwe DID write a book!'

Many instances of OMD are consistent with common characterizations of verum. For example, (37) meets the licensing condition in (33): both *p* ('Mother bought maize') and ¬*p* ('Mother did not buy maize') are part of the background discussion. (37) can also be translated into English using emphatic *do*.

(37) Context: Semo and Siriza have been debating whether their mother bought maize. Siriza confidently predicts yes; Semo predicts no. When Siriza is proven correct, she says:
Ni-khan-a *lazawu!* *Mayi* *a-ci-* *gul-a* *ci-manga* *!*
1SG.REC-have-FV reason 1.mother 1SM.REC-7OM-buy-FV 7-maize
'I was right! Mother DID buy maize!'

OMD is also compatible with the characterization of verum in the literature as often involving conflict or disagreement. For example, consider the mini-dialogue in (38), where OMD is used instead of corrective focus in the final response to conversation-ending effect.

(38) Corrective and verum responses in a conversation, from mildest to strongest

a. Context: Someone says that Siriza borrowed the book. You say:
Neye, *a-da-b-a.*
no 1SM-PST-steal-FV
'No, she STOLE (it).'

b. Context: The person does not believe you, so you say:
Neye, *a-da-b-a* *,* *li-vu* .
no 1SM-PST-steal-FV 5-book
'No, she STOLE (it), the book.'

c. Context: But they still are not convinced, so you say:
Neye, *a-da-li-* *b-a.*
no 1SM-PST-5OM-steal-FV
'No, she STOLE IT.'

d. Context: Again, they insist that she borrowed it. You say:
Neye, *a-da-li-* *b-a* *,* *li-vu* .
no 1SM-PST-5OM-steal-FV 5-book
'No, she STOLE IT, the book.'

e. Context: Yet again, they insist that she borrowed it, and you've had enough. You say:
Neye, *a-da-li-* *b-a* *li-vu* *!*
no 1SM-PST-5OM-steal-FV 5-book
'No, she REALLY STOLE THE BOOK!' (And the conversation is over.)

4.2.3 Problems with a verum analysis

There are two main problems with a verum analysis. First, recall that the semantic associates of verum are propositions, and the syntactic associates are above *v*P, most often at CP or PolP. In many (if not all) cases, OMD also semantically associates with propositions. However, its syntactic associate intuitively seems to be the object, which is *v*P-internal. (Recall the evidence for this from manner adverbs, presented in §3.2.) A

syntactic/semantic associate mismatch is not unheard of (see Branan & Erlewine 2023), but it differs from the patterns reported for verum.

Second, recall the licensing conditions of verum constructions in (33) and the environments for verum in (34). While OMD readily occurs in contexts like those in (34), this is not a requirement, as shown below in (39).

(39) Context: Kapenu's sisters are talking about a notorious one-eared rat that has been destroying everyone's gardens: 'It's so fast!' 'It's uncatchable!' Just then, Kapenu's cat passes by with the one-eared rat in its mouth.
Mphaka ya Kapenu ya-li- phat-a khoso !
9.cat of Kapenu 9SM.REC-5OM-catch-FV 5.rat
'Kapenu's cat caught a/the rat!'

The OMD prejacent in (39) is the proposition 'Kapenu's cat caught the rat'. Neither of the felicitous contexts explicitly adds ?p ('Did Kapenu's cat catch the rat?') to the QUD or directly addresses ?p. To emphasize the point, (40) shows that this does not align with English emphatic *do*.

(40) A: There's a rat destroying everyone's gardens. It's uncatchable!
B: #Kapenu's cat DID catch the rat!

4.2.4 Interim summary: OMD does not encode verum

Building on previous scholarship on verum, particularly Matthewson & Glougie (2018), Gutzmann et al. (2020), and Kerr & Van der Wal (2023), we proposed discourse licensing conditions for VERUM(p): the prior discussion must include an utterance that (a) explicitly adds ?p to the QUD as the current question or (b) directly addresses the current question ?p. We also understand verum to have a relatively high syntactic associate, corresponding with its semantic associate being the proposition. But as we have shown, the licensing conditions of OMD are weaker than those of verum, and OMD has a syntactic/semantic associate mismatch. Based on these facts, we conclude that, as with mirativity, OMD is compatible with but does not encode verum.

4.3 Beyond verum and mirativity

Although mirative and verum-like interpretations of OMD are the most common, other interpretations are possible. For example, (41) communicates that Semo not only drank beer, but drank a lot of it, which Lippard et al. (2023a) refer to as an intensity interpretation. Since this interpretation is more readily available with *bwadwa* 'beer' than *madzi* 'water', they conclude that it likely does not arise independently from OMD (i.e., is not encoded by the OMD construction).

(41) Context: Semo arrives home, not walking well. Someone asks what happened.
Semo a-da-li- mw-a bwadwa .
Semo 1SM-PST-5OM-drink-FV 5.beer
'Semo drank (an extraordinary amount of) beer.' (Lippard et al. 2023a: 93)

The sentence in (42) has an exhaustive interpretation. Again, Lippard et al. (2023a) note that the exhaustive meaning only arises in particular contexts; (42) cannot be used in a more neutral context with the same exhaustive meaning.

(42) Context: Someone denied that Kapenu would start a fire or claimed that he would do so for his (male) friend. The speaker knows that, since the women have no dry wood, Kapenu will help them, but he will not start a fire for anyone else.

Kapenu a-ndza-wu- gas-ir-a a-kazi moto .
Kapenu 1SM-FUT-3OM-start.fire-APPL-FV 2-woman 3.fire
'Kapenu will start fire for the women only' (Lippard et al. 2023a: 92)

In addition to these previously reported examples, there are instances of Cinyungwe OMD that are distinct from both verum and mirativity (and thus could not be explained as arising indirectly from verum/mirativity). Consider the English dialogue in (43) between two sports fans before and after a game. In this example, ?p is (ignoring tense) 'Does the red team win the game?'

(43) A1: There's no way the red team will lose the game.

B1: Definitely not, I agree.

Non-linguistic event: The red team wins.

A2: ✓ The red team won the game.
#The red team DID win the game! verum
#Wow, the red team won the game! mirative

Speaker A cannot use a verum construction in (43), which is expected. The prior discussion (A1 and B1) does not add ?p to the QUD, nor does it directly address ?p. Instead, in (43A1), Speaker A asserts ¬LOSE(red team, game). This can be seen as *indirectly* addressing ?p—if a team does not lose, they either tie, win, or forfeit, so Speaker A's assertion shrinks the set of possibilities.[10] However, it only *directly* addresses a different question: 'Does the red team lose the game?'

Speaker A cannot use a mirative construction in (43A2) either. This result is also expected, because WIN(red team, game) is neither unexpected or surprising to the speaker. We are not assessing new information or sudden realization mirativity here, because to the best of our knowledge, mirative English exclamation intonation does not encode these independently of surprise/counterexpectation.

In sum, (43) is incompatible with English mirative and verum strategies, which is consistent with what we know about these meanings. Now we will consider a Cinyungwe version of this dialogue. In (44), OMD is acceptable in Speaker A's comment following the match (A2).

(44) A1: *Anyakubvala bzakubvala bzifwira aniluz-a lini m'pikixanu wa m'pira lero cipo.*
'There's no way the red team will lose the football match today.'

B1: *Indedi! Ndi-ku-bzi-won-a-mbo.*
'Indeed! I agree.'

Non-linguistic event: The red team wins.

[10] Depending on the context, it is possible for ¬LOSE(red team, game) to *contextually* entail WIN(red team,game). This would require a context where only wins and losses are potential outcomes.

A2: *A-nya-kubval-a bva-kubvala bzi-fwira a-wu- win-a m'-pikixanu wa m-pira !*
2-who-dressed 8-clothes 8-red 1SM.REC-3OM-win-FV 3-game 3.of 3-ball
'The red team (*lit.* the ones wearing red clothes) really won the football match!'

(44) constitutes additional evidence against a mirative or verum analysis. Moreover, along with various data throughout this paper, (44) shows that OMD is highly context-dependent, which is a characteristic not of conventional implicatures (as proposed in Lippard et al. (2023b)) but of *conversational* implicatures.

5 Analysis: manner implicatures

We have shown that OMD in Cinyungwe marks a form of emphasis that, while compatible with both verum and mirativity, does not directly encode either of these meanings. This raises two important questions. First, what are the precise licensing conditions of OMD? They must be weaker than those of verum but strong enough to rule out OMD in discourse-initial/pragmatically neutral contexts. Second, how does OMD seem to semantically associate with propositions but syntactically associate with objects?

5.1 Licensing conditions of OMD

To define the licensing conditions of OMD, we first need a precise definition of what qualifies as an OMD construction.

(45) **Definition of OMD in Cinyungwe**
A construction is an OMD construction iff
a. an overt DP object and an associated OM (an OM agreeing in noun class with the object) co-occur in the construction, and
b. they are not separated by an element marking the right edge of *v*P (a prosodic break or a manner adverb).

This definition singles out OMD as it occurs in Cinyungwe; object right dislocation is excluded, even with the presence of an OM, because dislocation always involves a prosodic break. This definition may also apply to other Bantu languages where OMD does not occur with a prosodic break, such as Rukiga (Asiimwe 2023), Tiriki (Liu 2019), and Lubukusu (Sikuku et al. 2018). However, in some Bantu languages, OMD apparently *requires* object dislocation (and thus a prosodic break) but nevertheless results in emphatic interpretations similar to those of Cinyungwe OMD. An example of this type of language is Ikalanga (Letsholo et al. 2024).

An OMD construction must meet two licensing conditions to be felicitous. These conditions do not account for the range of emphatic meanings contributed by OMD; they are pragmatic preconditions for its use.

(46) **Discourse licensing conditions**
a. Assertions
In a discourse context C, a declarative OMD construction with a prejacent proposition p is felicitous iff p entails a complete answer to the CQ in C.
b. Questions
In a discourse context C, an interrogative OMD construction of the form ?p is

felicitous iff any complete answer to ?p would entail a complete answer to the CQ in C.

These conditions are inspired by but not identical to the concept of relevance. Relevance to the QUD is defined in terms of propositions and sets of propositions. Specifically, an assertion is relevant to the current question (CQ) if it is a partial or complete answer to the question. This means it must contextually entail the evaluation (i.e., true or false) of one or more alternative propositions (i.e., potential answers) in the current question (Roberts 2012; Zimmermann & Onea 2019). (45) is a stronger constraint in that the prejacent must be a complete answer to the CQ.

A question, meanwhile, is relevant if it is a subquestion (i.e., subset) of the current question or otherwise part of a strategy to answer the CQ (Zimmermann & Onea 2019). (46) instead requires that answering ?p completely will always answer CQ completely. It is possible for CQ to be a subset of ?p, instead of the other way around. (Note that the subset relation also permits sets to be equivalent.)

5.1.1 Addressing the current question

There are several ways for an OMD prejacent to address the CQ. Unlike verum, we argue, OMD does not require *directly* addressing the QUD, which helps explain the range of contexts in which OMD appears.

OMD *prejacent directly addresses* CQ

One way for an OMD prejacent p to address the CQ is for p or $\neg p$ to have been uttered previously. If someone previously said p, this can result in verum-like OMD, which emphasizes the truth of p (47). If someone previously said $\neg p$, it can result in mirative-like OMD, which emphasizes that p is surprising or unexpected in (47b). In these situations, no accommodation is needed to bridge the connection between the CQ and the OMD prejacent, because the CQ is ?p.

(47) CQ: 'Did Mother buy maize?'

a. Context: Semo and Siriza are debating whether their mother bought maize. Siriza confidently says yes; Semo says no. When Siriza is proven correct, she says:
Ni-khan-a lazawu! Mayi a-ci- gul-a ci-manga !
1SG.REC-have-FV reason 1.mother 1SM.REC-7OM-buy-FV 7-maize
'I was right! Mother DID buy maize!'

b. Context: As before, but both Semo and Siriza predicted no.
Ti-kha-li-be lazawu! Mayi a-ci- gul-a ci-manga !
1PL-PST.IPFV-AUX-NEG reason 1.mother 1SM.REC-7OM-buy-FV 7-maize
'We were wrong! Mother DID buy maize!'

OMD *prejacent indirectly addresses* CQ

If the prejacent is not logically, semantically entail an answer to CQ, an addressee may attempt to accommodate the OMD sentence based on the discourse context. If the CQ is implicit, the accommodation process may also involve identifying the CQ. Accommodation is not necessarily always successful; in the event where it failed, an addressee would find an OMD utterance infelicitous.

Let's assume that the CQ in (48) is 'Is Suwe still bad at writing?' or 'Is Suwe still unscholarly?' In order to accommodate (48), Maria's interlocutor can assume (or assume that Maria assumes) that people with these qualities do not write and publish books. With this added information, (48) entails that 'Yes, Suwe is bad at writing' is false.

(48) CQ: 'Is Suwe (still) bad at writing?'
Context: Maria is talking about her old school friend Suwe: 'She was a bad student.' 'She could never write well.' Just then, she sees a book for sale with Suwe's name as the author.

Suwe a-da-li- nemb-a li-vu !
Suwe 1SM-PST-5OM-write-FV 5-book
'Suwe wrote a book!'

In (48), the speaker is biased towards an affirmative answer to the CQ ('yes, she is still bad at writing'). Since the prejacent instead contextually entails a negative answer ('no, she is not bad at writing'), the OMD sentence has a mirative-like interpretation. In a context where the speaker's expectation differs from that of the addressee, and *p* supports the speaker's expectation, a verum-like interpretation would be more likely.

OMD *prejacent addresses background* CQ

In this case, the CQ is established through common knowledge, rather than through previous utterances in the current conversation. It can be established by background discussion or nonlinguistic means (i.e., information that the conversation participants all know but have not stated explicitly).

Accommodation is required in order for the addressee to identify the question as the CQ rather than a lower-priority question. This helps explain why we would not expect a very broad question in the QUD (e.g., 'What is the world like?') to be an accessible CQ for OMD purposes.

In (49), the background gossip about Kapenu's cat is so salient that when Kapenu's sisters see the evidence of rat-catching, they are shocked. The motivation for the speaker to use OMD is clear even without further explicit linguistic context. Like (48), this is a mirative-like example, because the prejacent's contextual entailment contradicts the expected answer to the CQ.

(49) CQ: 'Can Kapenu's cat catch rats?'
Context: Kapenu's cat is famously lazy, to the point that this is a common topic of gossip around the village. Kapenu's sisters are not discussing this currently, but the idea of the cat successfully hunting rats is obviously ridiculous to all of them. It doesn't even need to be mentioned. Just then, they see the cat pass by with a rat in its mouth.

Mphaka ya Kapenu ya-li- phat-a khoso !
9.cat of Kapenu 9SM.REC-6OM-catch-FV 6.rat
'Kapenu's cat caught a rat!'

Questions

Recall that a question can address the CQ by providing a subquestion to it (Roberts 2012;

Büring 2003). OMD is possible with questions in Cinyungwe, both polar questions and *wh*-questions. In (50), the OMD prejacent meets this requirement by repeating the CQ, because $\{p, \neg p\}$, like all sets, is a subset of itself.

(50) CQ: 'Who ate the curry?'
Context: You have been talking about the curry for some time. You are getting frustrated trying to find out what happened to it.
Mbani a-da-ci- dy-a ci-sayi ?!
who 1SM-PST-7OM-eat-FV 7-curry
'Who really ate the curry?!'

5.1.2 On pragmatically 'neutral' contexts

Earlier in this paper, we claimed that Cinyungwe OMD is infelicitous in contexts variously termed as neutral, discourse-initial, or out-of-the-blue. In light of the possibility of a background CQ, we revisit that claim here. It is easy to find ill-defined (or not-at-all-defined) references to these concepts in the literature. They are very useful as shorthand in pragmatics research.

Is OMD possible discourse-initially/out of the blue? We predict yes, though rarely. First, it would require a situation like (49) where the prejacent addresses a background CQ. Second, it would have to occur at the beginning of the conversation, such as if only one of Kapenu's sisters saw his cat with the rat, and she was so shocked that she immediately ran to tell the others.

Is OMD possible in a neutral context? Here, it seems less likely that the answer is yes, because background-CQ-addressing instances of OMD are expected only in exceptionally notable situations (such as the one described in the previous paragraph). There is an additional question about what would qualify as a legitimately neutral context for information structural purposes. This is beyond the scope of this paper but is worth considering.

Our thinking on this topic is similar to that of Bill & Koev (2021), who observe that "a verum-marked declarative may be quite felicitous as a conversation starter if an epistemic conflict can easily be accommodated, for example because such a conflcit goes back to another conversation that both speaker and addressee have just witnessed" (Bill & Koev 2021: 190). In any case, the most accurate distinction between contexts where OMD is felicitous and those where it is infelicitous is whether or not its pragmatic licensing conditions are met.

5.1.3 Aside: Why 'mirative' OMD must be surprising

In §4.1 we differentiated between three subtypes of mirativity: surprise and counterexpectation, sudden realization, and new information. We can now explain, on the basis of the licensing conditions in (46), why mirative-like OMD does not occur in unsurprising contexts.

In (51), repeated from (27), the event described by the sentence involves sudden realization but not counterexpectation/surprise. The OMD prejacent here is only a (very) partial answer to the CQ, and there is no additional contextual information that would lead the addressee to accommodate a more specific CQ like 'What did the cat do today?'.

(51) CQ: 'What happened today?'
Context: Kapenu lists several things that happened today but forgets about his cat catching a rat. Then he remembers.
#*Na mphaka y-angu ya-li- phat-a khoso* .
and 9.cat 9-my 9SM.REC-5OM-catch-FV 5.rat
Intended: 'And my cat caught a rat.'

In (52), the event is new information but not surprising. The topic of Kapenu's cat is salient, but the OMD prejacent is not relevant to answering the CQ. As far as we know, there is no correlation between a cat's fur color and its hunting skills.

(52) CQ: 'What does Kapenu's cat look like?'
Kapenu's sisters are talking about his cat's uncommon pattern: black with white patches. Just then, the cat passes by with a rat in its mouth.
#*M.phaka ya Kapenu ya-li- phat-a khoso !*
9.cat of Kapenu 9.REC-6OM-catch-FV 6.rat
Intended: 'Kapenu's cat caught a rat.'

5.1.4 Interim summary

We have defined the licensing conditions of OMD in Cinyungwe such that OMD requires the prejacent proposition p to entail a complete answer to the CQ, and we have explored the different ways in which the prejacent can address the CQ. In other words, we have shown when it is possible to utter an OMD construction, but not what happens once it is uttered. In the next subsection, we will present our analysis of the emphatic interpretations of OMD constructions.

5.2 OMD introduces an atypicality manner implicature

If the licensing conditions in (46) are met and a speaker utters an OMD sentence, the interpretation of the sentence will include something 'extra' beyond the semantic meaning of the OMD prejacent itself. This something extra is a form of emphasis that marks the prejacent as atypical, with the flavor of atypicality determined by the context. In a mirative-like interpretation, the prejacent is understood to be atypically surprising. In a verum-like interpretation, it is atypically true. Another interpretation is that the prejacent is atypically important. This is consistent with non-mirative, non-verum examples such as (44) and (50).

We propose that this atypicality emphasis is a manner implicature, a type of conversational implicature that results from flouting Grice's (1975) Maxim of Manner, one of four maxims that are subparts of the Cooperative Principle. Conversational implicatures arise when a speaker flouts one or more maxims but the addressee assumes they are still trying to be cooperative and must have a good reason for "breaking the rules".

(53) **Maxim of Manner**: Be perspicuous.
i. Avoid obscurity of expression.
ii. Avoid ambiguity.
iii. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
iv. Be orderly.
(Grice 1975: 46)

OMD can be viewed as flouting the third instruction of the Maxim of Manner to "be brief." Compared to an otherwise identical sentence lacking an OM, an OMD construction contains an additional morpheme. This makes OMD morphologically marked. However, an OMD construction does not contribute any additional descriptive, at-issue information that is not already entailed by its prejacent.

According to Rett (2020), markedness is a closely related concept to manner implicatures that flout the instruction to be brief, which she terms *atypicality implicatures*. By using a marked construction instead of an unmarked alternative, a speaker indicates that "the situation described is atypical in a way pertinent to the marked phrase" (Rett 2020). In the case of OMD, the morphologically marked phrase is the VP, but the marked meaning applies to the whole prejacent proposition *p*.

5.2.1 Manner implicature diagnostics

Grice's diagnostics for conversational implicatures in general include calculability, nondetachability, and cancelability, although the latter property is not expected to always apply to manner implicatures (Grice 1975). Later work identified additional diagnostics: reinforceability, discourse-sensitivity, and embeddability (Rett 2020). We will apply several of these diagnostics to OMD in Cinyungwe.

Discourse sensitivity is obviously satisfied; in fact, it is one of the licensing preconditions we defined for OMD. Rett (2020) notes that all conversational implicatures, including manner implicatures, are QUD-sensitive, and their cancelability depends on whether they constitute at-issue content.

Calculability means that an addressee can work out an implicature based on a sentence's conventional semantic meaning, the conversational maxims, the discourse context, and the common ground (Grice 1975). In (54), an addressee might calculate the implicature as follows: Siriza could have omitted the OM *ci-* and the literal meaning would have been the same. She must be indicating that something about the situation isn't typical. We've been telling her she's wrong all day, and she just found out she was correct. She must have used OMD to emphasize that she knew what she was talking about all along.

(54) Context: All day, Siriza's siblings and cousins have been saying her mother didn't buy maize. Siriza insists that she did. Her mother comes home with maize in her shopping bag.

Mayi	*a-da-ci- gul-a*	*ci-manga*	*! Ni-khan-a*	*lazawu!*
1.mother	1SM-PST-7OM-buy-FV	7-maize	1SG-AUX-FV	reason

'Mother really did buy maize! I was right!'

(54) can also be seen as an example of reinforceability. The continuation *Nikhana lazawu!* 'I was right' is acceptable even though this is communicated, at least partially, through the implicature.

Manner implicatures differ in terms of embeddability. The implicature in the English sentence (55) is that Jane is not directly responsible for the sheriff's death; it arises from the use of the phrase *caused to die* instead of *killed*. However, it is ambiguous whether it is the judge or the speaker who believes this about Jane. In other words, the implicature can be interpreted locally (at the level of the embedded clause) or globally (at the level of the matrix clause).

(55) The judge believes that Jane caused the sheriff to die.
(Rett 2020: 68)

In Cinyungwe, an OMD construction can appear in an embedded clause, but the emphatic meaning cannot be embedded. This is shown in (56).

(56) *Maria a-lew-a kuti Semo a-da-li- wereng-a li-vu* .
Maria 1SM.REC-say-FV that Semo 1SM-PST-5OM-read-FV 5-book
'Maria said that Semo really read a book.'
Acceptable contexts:
Maria was surprised that Semo read a book, but the speaker was not.
OK: Both Maria and the speaker were surprised that Semo read a book.

Cinyungwe OMD is more speaker-oriented than the manner implicature in (55). This is consistent with (55) being a descriptive manner implicature, whereas the meaning of OMD is more expressive.

5.2.2 A parallel in English *it*-clefts

It-clefts in English (along with similar structures in other languages) sometimes carry a not-at-issue exhaustive inference (Horn 1981; Velleman et al. 2012). This is illustrated in (57), where A2's question is infelicitous in response to B1.[11]

(57) A1: Who smiled?
B1: It is Mary that smiled.
A2: #Who else smiled? (Destruel et al. 2015)

Horn (1981) argues that this meaning is a conversational implicature. He does not name the maxims involved but implies that it may be Quantity and/or Relevance. More recently, this meaning has variously been characterized as a presupposition (Büring & Križ 2013) or a conventional implicature (Velleman et al. 2012). The possibility of the exhaustive meaning being introduced through a manner implicature has been largely overlooked (Vasishth & Zimmermann (2009) is a possible exception).

When a conversational implicature account is dismissed, it is usually because the exhaustive meaning is (at least most of the time) not cancelable (Destruel et al. 2015; Velleman et al. 2012). However, recall that cancelability is not expected to always apply to manner implicatures Grice (1975); Rett (2020). In fact, Horn observes that "a speaker who uses a cleft has gone out of her way to employ the construction" so reduced cancelability may derive "from the form of the implicature-carrying expression and the availability of conceivable 'simpler' alternatives" (Horn 1981: 133-4). Though Horn does not make the connection explicit, his characterization ties reduced cancelability to markedness and, as a result, to the Maxim of Manner.

The *it*-cleft in (56) is morphosyntactically marked, compared to its simpler alternative ('Mary smiled'), just as an OMD construction is marked in relation to its prejacent. Neither clefts nor OMD affect the at-issue descriptive meaning of the sentences in which they appear. It seems to us that a manner implicature analysis is a desirable approach for both phenomena.

[11] Thank you to the anonymous reviewer who suggested to us that *it*-clefts might be manner implicatures and worth comparing with OMD.

5.3 Why OMD?

Despite the diagnostics discussed in §5.2.1, the connection between the syntactic construction of OMD and an atypicality manner implicature may still seem strange. The only morphological difference between a typical transitive sentence and an OMD sentence in Cinyungwe is the presence of an object marker. How is it that this morpheme results in emphasis on an entire proposition?

First, perhaps focus and emphasis in Cinyungwe can only be communicated morphosyntactically, through movement or affixation. We are not aware of any prosodic methods of marking focus in Cinyungwe (such as English stress and intonation). Recall that corrective focus, for example, is accomplished through object right dislocation. There is also the emphatic post-final-vowel particle *=di*, which we will introduce in the next section. Thus, it is not surprising that manner implicatures would be introduced morphosyntactically.[12]

Furthermore, the emphatic meaning of object dislocation is more narrow in scope. Dislocation results in focus on postverbal material that remains in VP (or if none exists, on the verb itself). Potentially, the only way to emphasize an entire proposition in Cinyungwe is to emphasize an event, and the only way to emphasize an event is to increase the morphological markedness of the *v*P without adding descriptive content. This argument assumes that propositions existentially quantify over events (Davidson 1967). For example, the (simplified) denotation of the prejacent *event* of *Mayi adacigula cimanga* 'Mother bought maize' can be represented as in (58a) and the prejacent *proposition* as (58b).

(58) a. λe.buying(e) $\wedge$ AGENT(*mayi*,e) $\wedge$ THEME(*cimanga*,e)

b. $\exists$e[buying(e) $\wedge$ AGENT(*mayi*,e) $\wedge$ THEME(*cimanga*,e)]

Our analysis is supported by another difference between dislocation and OMD. Recall that there are two types of ditransitives in Cinyungwe with different default object word orders: lexical ditransitives (DO$\prec$IO) and applicatives (IO$\prec$DO). In object right dislocation constructions, these word order differences disappear. With both types of ditransitives—and regardless of which object is focused—the focused object appears immediately after the verb, and the given, non-focused object (if it appears at all) is dislocated.

Lexical ditransitive examples with corrective focus on an object are shown in (59) for focus on the DO and in (60) for focus on the IO. Note that the felicitous A2 responses in (59) and (60) are not the only acceptable sentences here. The most natural responses would elide the non-focused object or pronominalize it (via an object marker).

(59) A1: Did you see that? The girl gave a flower to the rabbit!
B1: No, it was grass, not a flower!
A2: *Neye, a-pas-a dzi-luwa , sulu.*
no 1SM.REC-give-FV 5-flower 1.rabbit
'No, she gave a FLOWER to the rabbit.'

A2': # *Neye, a-pas-a sulu , dzi-luwa.*
no 1SM.REC-give-FV 1.rabbit 5-flower

[12] As a reviewer points out, there is precedent for morphosyntactic encoding of pragmatic meanings in African languages. As one example, Owusu (2022) shows that the determiner *nó* in Akan (Ghana) is subject to licensing conditions and analyzes it as encoding a familiarity presupposition.

(60) A1: Did you see that? The girl gave a flower to the rabbit!
B1: No, it was a cat, not a rabbit!
A2: #*Neye, a-pas-a dzi-luwa , sulu.*
no 1SM.REC-give-FV 5-flower 1.rabbit

A2': *Neye, a-pas-a sulu , dzi-luwa.*
no 1SM.REC-give-FV 1.rabbit 5-flower
'No, she gave the RABBIT a flower.'

Applicative examples with corrective focus on an object are shown in (61) for focus on the DO and in (62) for focus on the IO.

(61) A1: Did you see that? The girl bought cakes for the dog!
B1: No, it was dog treats, not cakes.
A2: *Neye, a-gul-ir-a mi-kate , mbwaya.*
no 1SM.REC-buy-APPL-FV 4-cake 9.dog
'No, she bought CAKES for the dog.'

A2': #*Neye, a-gul-ir-a mbwaya , mi-kate.*
no 1SM.REC-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog 4-cake

(62) A1: Did you see that? The girl bought cakes for the dog!
B1: No, it was a cat, not a dog.
A2: #*Neye, a-gul-ir-a mi-kate , mbwaya.*
no 1SM.REC-buy-APPL-FV 4-cake 9.dog

A2': *Neye, a-gul-ir-a mbwaya , mi-kate.*
no 1SM.REC-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog 4-cake
'No, she bought the DOG cakes.'

In contrast, in the case of OMD with a verum-like interpretation, the word order difference is preserved, and only the indirect object can be doubled. This is shown in (63) for a lexical ditransitive and in (63) for a benefactive applicative.

(63) A1: Did you see? The girl gave a flower to the rabbit!
B1: You're lying! That would never happen.
A2: #*N-da-bzi-won-a, ni cadidi! A-li- pas-a dzi-luwa*
1SG-PST-8OM-see-FV COP true 1SM.REC-5OM-give-FV 5-flower
sulu!
1.rabbit
'I saw it, it's true! The girl really gave a flower to the rabbit!'

A2': *N-da-bzi-won-a, ni cadidi! A-mu- pas-a dzi-luwa sulu !*
1SG-PST-8OM-see-FV COP true 1SM.REC-1OM-give-FV 5-flower 1.rabbit

(64) A1: Did you see? The girl bought cakes for the dog!
B1: You're lying! That would never happen.
A2: *N-da-bzi-won-a, ni cadidi! A-yi- gul-ir-a mbwaya*
1SG-PST-8OM-see-FV COP true 1SM.REC-9OM-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog
mi-kate!
4-cake
'I saw it, it's true! The girl really bought cakes for the dog!'

A2': # *N-da-bzi-won-a,* *ni* *cadidi!* *A-*[*mi-*] *gul-ir-a* *mbwaya*
1SG-PST-8OM-see-FV COP true 1SM.REC-4OM-buy-APPL-FV 9.dog
[*mi-kate*] *!*
4-cake

While OMD is of course possible with direct objects (as in monotransitives), and more work is needed on OMD in ditransitives, these examples suggest a preference for doubling indirect objects or, depending on the syntax of lexical ditransitives, the highest accessible internal argument. As we show briefly in the next section, this pattern is also seen in Indo-European clitic doubling. Additionally, assuming indirect objects occupy a structurally higher position than direct objects, this is potentially consistent with OMD's semantic association with events and propositions.

Finally, the manner implicature analysis helps explain the range of interpretations of OMD. Since atypicality implicatures are sensitive to the discourse context both for acceptability and interpretation, we would expect to see more interpretative variation with this type of implicature than with a conventional implicature.

In the next section, we compare OMD to *=di*, another apparent emphasis marker in Cinyungwe, and we present similarities between Cinyungwe OMD and clitic doubling in Verbicarese.

6 OMD, *=di*, and clitic doubling

6.1 The emphatic post-final-vowel particle *=di*

As another form of emphasis marking, it is worth comparing *=di* with OMD. The particle *=di* is one of three particles that attach to the right of the final vowel (typically, as its name suggests, the final vowel is the rightmost morpheme). The other particles are *=mbo* 'also' and *=tu* 'quickly'.

(65) Context: You were looking for a specific group of children.
*N-da-won-a=**di*** *w-ana* *w-entse.*
1SG-PST-see-FV=really 2-child 2-every
'I really did see all of the children.'

The particle *=di* appears in many of the same contexts as OMD, independently (66b) or alongside OMD (66c). The interpretive differences among these sentences are subtle and require further study. Whereas (66a) must be used by the convincer, (66b) and (66c), which include *=di*, can also be used by the convincee to acknowledge their mistake and that they have changed their mind.

(66) Context: an argument about whether Father cooked the beans

a. *Baba* *a-da-*[*ci-*] *phik-a* [*ci-mbamba*] *!* (OMD)
1.father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV 7-beans
approx. 'Father really cooked the beans!'

b. *Baba* *a-da-phik-a=**di*** *ci-mbamba* (*=di*)
1.father 1SM-PST-cook=PTCL 7-beans
approx. 'Father really cooked the beans!'

c. *Baba* *a-da-ci-* *phik-a* = ***di*** *ci-mbamba* ! (OMD + =*di*)
1.father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV = PTCL 7-beans
approx. 'Father really cooked the beans!'

The addition of =*di* sometimes seems to intensify the emphatic interpretation of an OMD sentence, as in (67).

(67) Context: Someone asks if it's true that Sekerani plucked the bananas.
Sekerani *a-da-ma-* *ch-a* = ***di*** *ma-figu* .
Sekerani 1SM-PST-6OM-pluck-FV = DI 6-banana
'(I'm certain of it,) Sekerani really plucked the bananas.'

There is not a complete overlap between acceptable contexts for OMD and =*di*. For example, OMD would be felicitous in the contexts in (68) and (69), but =*di* is not.

(68) Context: Maria's friends are making fun of Kapenu's cat, saying that it is too old and lazy to be helpful. Maria is defending the cat. Just then, the cat passes by with a rat in its mouth. Maria says...

Mphaka *ya* *Kapenu* *ya-phat-a* = ***di*** *khoso!*
9.cat 9.of Kapenu 9.REC-catch-FV = DI 6.rat
Intended: 'Kapenu's cat really caught a rat!'

(69) Context: A one-eared rat is destroying gardens. Maria and her friends believe it cannot be caught. Just then, Kapenu's cat passes by carrying the rat in its mouth. Maria says...

Mphaka *ya* *Kapenu* *ya-phat-a* = ***di*** *khoso!*
9cat of Kapenu 9SM.REC-catch-FV = DI 6.rat
Intended: 'Kapenu's cat really caught the rat!'

Note that all of the acceptable =*di* examples above are cases where emphatic *do* could be used in English, and both of the infelicitous =*di* examples are cases where emphatic *do* would also be infelicitous. The particle =*di* thus seems to pattern more closely with verum meaning than OMD. Indeed, Kerr & Van der Wal (2023) recently argued that =*di* is a dedicated verum marker in Cinyungwe, the only such marker they are aware of in a Bantu language. Alternatively, an anonymous reviewer suggested that =*di* could mark contrastivity in the sense of Zimmermann (2008), that is, emphasizing an element that the speaker thinks will be unexpected to the addressee.

Finally, OMD and =*di* interact slightly differently with negation. In (70) and (71), the translations are the same. However, according to the second author's intuitions, (70) additionally implies that the speaker has evidence of what actually happened to the book. Perhaps these sentences differ in terms of evidence source or close association with the verb. Further research is needed; comparisons with =*di* could provide evidence in support of or against the manner implicature analysis of OMD.

(70) *Siriza* *a-li-be* *ku-b-a* = ***di*** *li-vu,* *a-da-li-kumbir-a.* =*di*
Siriza 1SM-AUX-NEG INF-steal-FV = really 5-book 1SM-PST-5OM-borrow-FV
'Siriza really didn't steal the book, she borrowed it.'

(71) *Siriza a-da-li- b-a lini li-vu , a-da-li-kumbir-a* OMD
Siriza 1SM-PST-5OM-steal-FV NEG 5-book 1SM-PST-5OM-borrow-FV
'Siriza really didn't steal the book, she borrowed it.'

6.2 Verbicarese dislocation and clitic doubling

Crosslinguistic similarities between Cinyungwe OMD and clitic doubling (CD) in unrelated languages suggest that the Cinyungwe patterns we report may be present in other language families.[13] In this subsection, we focus on Verbicarese, an Upper Southern Italian dialect (USID) spoken in the village of Verbicaro (Idone & Silvestri 2019; Ledgeway & Maiden 2016). To the best of our knowledge, the pragmatic emphatic aspects of CD in Verbicarese have not been previously reported. The standard word order in Verbicarese is SVO (72).

(72) *ViɣYa a Giusa craja.*
see.1SG.PRS DOM Giusi tomorrow
'I will see Giusi tomorrow.' (Giuseppina Silvestri, p.c.)

Verbicarese has several dislocation constructions, which are distinct from CD. Left dislocation is possible with or without a clitic (73a); right dislocation requires a clitic (73b).

(73) a. *A Giusa, (a) viɣYa craja.* left dislocation
DOM Giusi CL.FSG see.1SG.PRS tomorrow
'Giusi, I will see her tomorrow.' (w/clitic) *or* 'I will see GIUSI tomorrow.'

b. *A viɣYa craja, a Giusa.* right dislocation
CL.FSG see.1SG.PRS tomorrow DOM Giusi
'I will see her tomorrow, Giusi.' (Giuseppina Silvestri, p.c.)

Verbicarese CD is only felicitous in certain pragmatic contexts. In (74), CD is infelicitous out of the blue but acceptable in a verum or mirative context—both contexts in which OMD is felicitous in Cinyungwe, as shown in (75).[14]

(74) *A viɣYa a Giusa craja!*
CL.FSG see.1SG.PRS DOM Giusi tomorrow
approx. 'I will see Giusi tomorrow!'
contexts:
out of the blue
✓ in response to 'There's no way you'll see Giusi tomorrow!'
✓ background discussion on how no one sees Giusi anymore

(75) *Baba a-da-ci- phik-a ci-mbamba bwino!*
1.father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV 7-beans well
'Father really cooked the beans well!'

[13] It is debated whether object markers in different Bantu languages are agreement morphemes or clitic pronouns (see Baker & Kramer 2018). Additionally, the distinction between agreement marker and clitic pronoun may not be entirely clear-cut (see Cournane 2010). See also Haspelmath (2023) on what counts as a word and to what extent *clitic* is a useful and natural category.

[14] A reviewer notes that the last context with (74) might also lead to subject focus. We would be surprised if this is the case, however, since the context makes the subject *Giusi* given.

✓ Father is bad at cooking and does so very infrequently. Tonight he made beans, and they're nice: an extraordinary event.
✓ Someone denied that Father cooked the beans well (or at all), because he believes women should do the cooking. But the speaker saw the beans Father cooked.

In ditransitives, CD does not result in emphatic interpretations. In an answer to a *wh*-question about the direct object, indirect object CD is obligatory and the standard object order is unchanged (DO≺IO), as shown in (76).

(76) Context: "What did you give to Giusi?"
Dd-aja *data* *a* *giacchetta* *a* *Giusa.*
CL.to.her-I.have given the jacket to Giusi
'I gave the jacket to Giusi.'

In response to a *wh*-question about the indirect object, direct object CD is obligatory and indirect object CD is optional, as in (77). Additionally, the order of the objects is reversed (IO≺DO).

(77) Context: "Who did you give the jacket to?"
(Dd-)(a-)aja* *data* *a* *Giusa* *a* *giacchetta.*
CL.to.her-CL.it-I.have given to Giusi the jacket
'I gave the jacket to Giusi.'

The ditransitive pattern is different from Cinyungwe, but we still see a preference for indirect object doubling, the sensitivity of the doubling construction to the QUD, and the salience of the prejacent event . In monotransitives, the similarities are more striking. These Verbicarese facts suggest that OMD is not an isolated phenomenon but something more universal. This supports the atypicality manner implicature analysis, because we would not expect a manner implicature to be restricted to a single construction and a single language family.

7 Conclusion

In this article, we have presented a pragmatic analysis of object-marker doubling constructions in Cinyungwe. In order to be felicitous, OMD constructions must meet a pragmatic licensing condition: the prejacent proposition must entail a complete answer to the current question of the QUD. We discussed several ways in which the CQ can be addressed (directly, indirectly, with a background CQ, and through subquestions).

The second part of our analysis is that, as a morphologically marked construction that flouts the Maxim of Manner's instruction to 'be brief', OMD contributes an expressive manner implicature that the prejacent must be associated with a marked meaning. Specifically, OMD encodes atypicality emphasis, which makes it felicitous in mirative and verum contexts despite the lack of a complete overlap between these meanings and atypicality emphasis.

As further support for our analysis, we briefly discussed the Cinyungwe particle =*di* and clitic doubling in the Upper Southern Italian dialect Verbicarese. There are many avenues for future work involving comparisons between Bantu OMD and CD in other languages, as well as for investigating methods of emphasis and focus in Cinyungwe more broadly.

Abbreviations

1	first person *or* class 1
2	second person *or* class 2
3–18	class 3, 4, etc.
APPL	applicative
AUX	auxiliary
ASP	aspect
CQ	current question
COP	copula
CT	contrastive topic
EXT	verbal extension
F	focus
FUT	future tense
FV	final vowel
INF	infinitive
NEG	negation
NPI	negative polarity item
OM	object marker
OMD	object marker doubling
PTCL	particle
PASS	passive voice
PN	pronoun
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive aspect
PRS	present tense
ps	presupposition
QUD	question under discussion
REC	recent past tense
PST	past tense
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
TNS	tense

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