

## Object marker doubling in Ikalanga

Recent and ongoing work on the Bantu languages Lubukusu and Cinyungwe has investigated the various pragmatic conditions that facilitate the co-occurrence of an object marker with its lexical *in situ* object (OM-doubling) (Sikuku and Diercks, 2021; Langa da Camara et al., 2021; Lippard et al., 2021). In some regards, OM-doubling in Ikalanga (Bantu, Botswana) patterns similarly with Lubukusu and Cinyungwe: Letsholo (2013) notes that Ikalanga OM-doubling creates an emphatic reading, which we analyze here as *verum*, following the analyses for Lubukusu and Cinyungwe.

- (1) Nchidzi            w-a-**gu**-ngw-a,                            **busukwa**  
 1.Nchidzi        1SM-PST-14OM-drink-FV        14.beer  
 ‘Nchidzi DID drink the beer.’

Expanding on Letsholo’s (2013) work, we show OM-doubling is licensed under further conditions. Like Lubukusu, Ikalanga allows OM-doubling when another vP-internal element bears focus. Corrective focus on a temporal adverb, for example, facilitates OM-doubling.

- (2) Q: W-aka-bon-a        bana ibabaje        be    ikwele        tshipi ya-ka pinda?  
 1SM-PST-see-FV    2.child 2.DEM    ASSC 7.school        last week  
 ‘Did you see those students last week?’

- A: A, nd-aka-**ba**-bon-a                            madekwe,        **bana ibabaje**  
 No 1SM.SG-PST-2OM-see-FV        yesterday        2.child 2.DEM  
 ‘No, I saw those children *yesterday*.’

Other natural contexts for Ikalanga OM-doubling include mirative readings of surprise, and contexts with exhaustive focus on a vP-internal element—both facilitate doubling in Lubukusu too (Sikuku and Diercks, 2021).

However, Ikalanga diverges from previously-seen patterns in some key aspects. While Lubukusu doubled objects remain *in situ* (evidenced by their position preceding manner adverbs (3a)), Ikalanga requires doubled objects to be right-dislocated, offset by an obligatory prosodic break (3b).<sup>1</sup>

- (3) a. N-a-**ka**-teekh-a                            **ka-ma-kanda** bwaangu                            [Lubukusu]  
 1SM.SG-PST-6OM-cook-FV    6-6-beans        quickly  
 ‘I cooked the beans *quickly*.’ (responding to a manner question)  
 (Sikuku and Diercks, 2021, 102)

- b. Bana            b-aka-**li**-j-a                            ngebunya \*(,) **delele**                            [Ikalanga]  
 2.child        2SM-PST-5OM-eat-FV    slowly        5.okra  
 ‘The children ate the okra *slowly*.’ (correcting the manner of eating)

<sup>1</sup> Doubled objects in Cinyungwe can also be right-dislocated, but it is not required, and creates slight interpretive differences (Langa da Camara et al., 2021).

Zeller (2012) reports and analyzes a similar connection between object dislocation and doubling in Zulu; work is underway to determine if a similar analysis can be adopted for Ikalanga.

Ikalanga shows further distinction in that the doubled object is sometimes focused. This contrasts with Lubukusu and Cinyungwe, where when OM-doubling occurs, focus falls on a different element (like the adverb in (3a)). In some instances, Ikalanga follows the same pattern ((2) and (3b)); in others, OM-doubling causes focus to fall on the doubled object itself:

(4) Q: Bana            b-aka-j-a                    delele chini?  
2.child        2SM-PST-eat-FV        5.okra how  
'How did the children eat the okra?'

A: #Bana        b-aka-**li**-j-a                    ngebunya,        **delele**  
2.child        2SM-PST-5OM-eat-FV        slowly            5.okra  
'The children ate the okra slowly.'  
- *Infelicitous because the noun carries unnecessary emphasis*

Investigation is underway as to why and when focus falls on the doubled object rather than a different element.

This paper revises the results of Letsholo (2013) by documenting a wide range of emphatic interpretations of OM-doubling and the requisite syntactic configurations. Our findings show interesting overlap with ongoing work in other Bantu languages, while nonetheless providing key distinctions that enrich the various OM-doubling patterns documented.