

## Emphatic Interpretations of Object Marking in Lubukusu and Cinyungwe

In Lubukusu (Bantu, Kenya) and Cinyungwe (Bantu, Mozambique), OM-doubling—the co-occurrence of an object marker with a lexical DP object—is infelicitous in neutral pragmatic contexts. For example, neither (1) nor (2) is acceptable out of the blue. However, certain contexts make OM-doubling possible in both languages. In these contexts, doubling constructions receive emphatic interpretations that are very different from interpretations of non-doubling object marking constructions (which are acceptable in neutral contexts).

- (1) **Lubukusu** (Sikuku et al., 2018, 360)  
N-aa-βu- l-ílé βúu-suma .  
1SG.SM-PST-14OM-eat-PFV 14.14-ugali  
'I DID eat the ugali!'  
• # out of the blue  
• ✓ in response to listener denial or doubt
- (2) **Cinyungwe**  
Baba a-da-ci- phik-a ci-mbamba .  
1father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-FV 7-beans  
'Father really/certainly cooked the beans.'  
• # out of the blue  
• ✓ in response to listener denial or doubt

It has been previously documented that OM-doubling interacts with focus/givenness (Bax & Diercks, 2012; Zeller, 2015; Mursell, 2018), as well as verum (Sikuku et al., 2018). But we have observed at least four emphatic interpretations of OM-doubling in both languages: verum (emphasis that a proposition is true, as in (1) and (2)), mirativity (emphasis that information is surprising, as in (3)), exhaustivity (emphasis that only one element is relevant, as in (4)), and intensity (emphasis on amount, as in (5)).

- (3) **Cinyungwe**  
*Context: A young man has married an older woman and brought her to see his family. His family is shocked and asks the young man the following question in front of his new wife.*  
U-da-mu- lowol-a n-kazi umweyi?  
2SG-PST-1OM-marry-FV 1-woman already  
'You already married this woman?'
- (4) **Cinyungwe** (Langa da Câmara et al., 2021, xxiii)  
Baba a-da-ci- phik-ir-a Semo ci-mbamba mwakankulumize.  
1father 1SM-PST-7OM-cook-APPL-FV 1Semo 7-beans quickly  
'Father cooked beans quickly for only Semo.'
- (5) **Lubukusu**  
Wekesa a-ka- nywa kamalwa .  
1Wekesa 1SM.PST-6OM-drink 6beer  
'Wekesa drank a lot of beer.'

With appropriate pragmatic contexts, most of these emphatic interpretations can arise from OM-doubling in both Lubukusu and Cinyungwe. One exception is exhaustivity, which appears to be limited to a particular syntactic context in Cinyungwe. We provide diagnostics for identifying these emphatic meanings in Bantu languages, and we discuss the possibility of different types of emphasis being analytically related. For example, mirative readings may overlap with reprimand readings, which appear to emphasize that information is obvious (Aikensvald, 2012; Trotzke, 2017; Frey, 2010; Cruschina, 2021).

We analyze these emphatic interpretations as conventional implicatures, influenced by recent work on a similar range of emphatic interpretations arising from focus fronting in Indo-European languages (Cruschina, 2012, 2019, 2021; Bianchi et al., 2015, 2016). We show that emphatic interpretations of OM-doubling in Lubukusu and Cinyungwe share properties with conventional implicatures and expressive meanings, such as multidimensionality, non-deniability, and speaker-orientation. Finally, we report initial evidence from other Bantu languages (mainly Tiriki, Wanga, and Ikalanga), demonstrating that emphatic interpretations of OM-doubling are not limited to Lubukusu and Cinyungwe. Our findings show that these interpretations are central to the nature of OM-doubling; without an appropriate pragmatic context, OM-doubling is unacceptable.