

## Two analyses of East-Bantu reverse pseudoclefts

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The Bantu languages), Kĩtharaka (Kenya E54), Kirundi (Burundi, JD62), Rukiga (Uganda JE14), Kinyakyusa (Tanzania M31), and Cicopi (Mozambique, S61) all show a construction with the linear order ‘NP copula pronoun (S) V’:

- (1) I-j-a-m-bwiga jo iji n-gu-loond-a.  
 AUG-9-CONN-9-ginger 9.COP 9.DEM.PROX 1SG.SM-PRS-want-FV  
 ‘With ginger is what I want.’ [Kinyakyusa]
- (2) Mû-biira n’ uu Karîmi a-riing-iré.  
 3-ball COP 3.PRO 1.Karimi 1SM-kick-PFV  
 ‘A ball is what Karimi kicked.’ [Kĩtharaka]
- (3) Muhógo ni-yó Paméla a-ryá-téeka.  
 9.cassava COP-9.PRO 1.Pamela 1SM-FUT-cook  
 ‘It’s cassava that Pamela will cook.’ [Rukiga]

In this talk, we show that this one linear order actually hides two possible underlying structures (see table below), and that each language shows ambiguity.

	NP	cop	pro	(S) V	
1	NP	=	free relative		‘Elena is (the one) who we like’
2	(NP)	it is	PRO <sub>FOC</sub>	relative	‘Elena, it is HER that we like’

Structure 1 is a reverse pseudocleft, a copular construction of which the postcopular NP is a free relative (marked by a demonstrative as a relative clause marker). Typically, the initial NP forms the focus.

Structure 2 is an initial NP followed by a basic cleft in which the pronoun is clefted. This analysis finds evidence in the possibility of a prosodic break after the left-dislocated NP. In (3), the initial NP *abazungu* is a topic, and the pronoun *bó* forms the focus. Since both refer to the same referent, this referent functions as both.

- (3) (Passing through a city, commenting on a school they just drove by.)  
 Iyi shure, abazungu, ni bó bayubatse.  
 i-yi shure a-ba-zungu ni bó ba-á-yi-ubak-ye<sup>H</sup>  
 5-DEM1 5.school AUG-2-white.people COP 2.PRO 2SM-PST.RMT-5OM-build-PFV.REL  
 ‘This school, the white people, it is them who built it.’

When the initial NP is the focus, e.g. when modified by ‘only’ as in (5), it can either be a fragment answer plus basic cleft, or a reverse pseudocleft.

- (5) Abahuúngu gusa ni bó tuvukána.  
 a-ba-huúngu gusa ni ba-ó tu-vúukan-a<sup>H</sup>  
 AUG-2-boy only COP 2-PRO 1PL.SM-be.sibling-FV.REL  
 ‘We only have brothers.’ [Kirundi]  
 lit. ‘Boys only; it’s them that are sibling with us.’ / ‘Boys only are who are s with us.’

In the talk, we use syntactic, prosodic, and interpretational evidence to distinguish the underlying structures and show the ambiguities for each language.