Cleft Constructions and Focus in Kirundi

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Abstract

Although cleft constructions are one of the main focus marking devices in Bantu languages, they have received little attention. This corpus-based study aims at remedying this lack by examining the intricate morphosyntax and semantics of clefts in Kirundi (Bantu, JD62) and the different functions they fulfil in its information structure, which mostly pertain to argument focus marking. As we demonstrate in this article, clefting is subject to high formal constraints in Kirundi; specific morphemes and word order changes are the main strategies to mark focus. We also show here that, in addition to the cross-linguistically common cleft types (basic clefts, pseudoclefts and inverted pseudoclefts), Kirundi also distinguishes a type that we call 'cleft-like' constructions, which relate to clefts but are structurally or functionally divergent. A sub-type of the latter category contains several constructions in which the scope of focus is extended to the entire sentence.

Keywords: cleft constructions, focus, Bantu, information structure

Introduction

The present article addresses the rich and complex morphosyntax of cleft constructions in Kirundi (Bantu, JD62) and the role they play in its information structure. Following Lambrecht (2001: 467) – and accordingly also Jespersen (1937; 1949) on which Lambrecht's work is largely based – we regard a basic cleft construction (BC) as "a complex sentence structure consisting of a matrix clause headed by a copula and a relative or relative-like clause whose relativized argument is coindexed with the predicative argument of the copula. Taken together, the matrix and the relative express a logically simple proposition, which can also be expressed in the form of a single clause without a change in truth conditions."

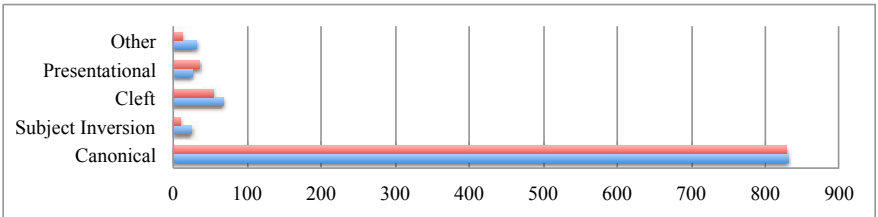
(1) Basic cleft (BC) = matrix clause (MC) + relative clause (RC)
MC = cleft marker (CM) + clefted constituent

Beside its syntactic and semantic non-compositionality, a BC has the specific feature of being an identificational equative formation. It is used in Kirundi to mark focus. We consider focus to be a broad functional category which 'indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions' (Krifka 2007: 18, following Rooth 1992). As we show in this article, the clefted constituent in Kirundi is generally in the scope of focus in that it represents the most salient pragmatic information which the hearer has to seize according to the speaker or is part of it (cf. Dik 1997: 326). In many languages of the world, at least one sentence accent necessarily indicates the focus (Lambrecht & Michaelis 1998). Kirundi differs in this respect because it does not need any focus accent. Specific morphemes and changes in linear word order fulfil this function. On the other hand, as we demonstrate in this article, Kirundi ties in with the general tendency to distinguish at least three main focus categories (Lambrecht 1994): 1) predicate focus (PF)[1], which is the unmarked focus category standing for a topic-comment articulation, 2) argument focus (AF), which is used for identifying or specifying an argument (often with contrastive articulation), and 3) sentence focus (SF), which introduces a new discourse entity or event (thetic articulation).

Although clefts are one of the main focus marking devices in Bantu languages (Demuth 1987; Suzman 1991; Sabel & Zeller 2006; Cheng & Downing 2013; Hamlaoui & Makasso 2015), especially in conversation, they have received little attention. Some Burundian grammarians took a certain interest in clefting in Kirundi (Sabimana 1986: 189-222; Ndayiragije 1999; Bukuru 2003: 295), but only in a subsidiary way. No systematic and thorough study on the matter exists. This study aims at filling this gap by means of a detailed analysis of Kirundi cleft constructions based on a text corpus of 196,000 oral and 2,033,000 written tokens, whose compilation was started at Ghent University under the supervision of Gilles-Maurice de Schryver as part of the PhD research that led to the dissertation of

1. This is not to be confounded with 'predication focus' or 'predicate-centred focus' as defined by Güldemann (2003: 330-331), i.e. focus that is centred on either the verb lexeme or a predication operator linked with the verb expressing values such as polarity, truth, time, aspect, or modality, but excludes objects and adjuncts. In Kirundi, this kind of focus is marked by the so-called 'disjoint' (Nshemezimana & Bostoen forthcoming).

Mberamihigo (2014). Apart from cleft constructions, which are biclausal, the corpus also provides evidence for two main types of monoclausal focus strategies with distinctive word order configurations. A first type consists of those constructions displaying canonical SVO word order in which the so-called morphological 'conjoint/disjoint alternation' is used to distinguish between object and adjunct focus on the one hand and predicate-centred and sentence focus on the other hand. As argued in Nshemezimana and Bostoen (forthcoming), only the disjoint is a dedicated focus marker in that it has a distinctive morphological form which signals that the event to which a predicate refers is the most salient pragmatic information in a given communicative setting. In the absence of this 'event focus marker', the constituent following the verb is focussed by default. In a sentence with canonical word order, this is either an object or an adjunct. A second type of monoclausal focus constructions consists of those in which the subject is post-verbal. These are the so-called 'subject inversion' constructions (Marten & van der Wal 2014) of which several subtypes exist in Kirundi according to Nshemezimana (2016: 111-186): patient inversion also known as 'subject-object reversal', instrument inversion, complement inversion, formal locative inversion, semantic locative inversion, and default agreement inversion with the expletive **ha-** subject marker. All share the same discursive function, i.e. subject focus, except disjoint-marked expletive inversion constructions, which are found in thetic statements. In contrast to clefts, subject inversion constructions received much attention in Bantu linguistics (Bresnan & Kanerva 1989; Demuth & Harford 1999; Ndayiragije 1999; Marten 2006; Zerbian 2006; Buell 2007; Bostoen & Mundeke 2011; Creissels 2011; Zeller 2013; Guérois 2014; Hamlaoui & Makasso 2015).



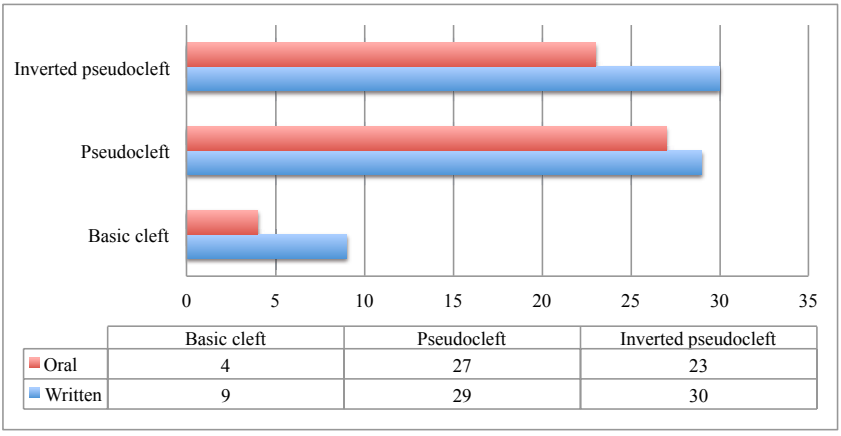
	Canonical	Subject Inversion	Cleft	Presentational	Other
Oral	829	10	54	36	13
Written	831	25	68	26	32

Figure 1. Distribution of sentence types in a randomly selected sample of 982 written and 942 oral Kirundi sentences

In natural Kirundi language use, subject inversion constructions are relatively marginal compared to clefts, as is shown in Figure 1, which represents the distribution of sentence types in two randomly selected and representative corpus samples consisting of respectively 982 written and 942 oral Kirundi sentences. The bar graph in Figure 1 displays the same proportions for both sub-corpora. The overall majority of sentences comply with the canonical SVO word order (respectively 84.6% and 88%). Cleft constructions (respectively 6.9% and 5.7%)

are clearly a more common focus strategy than subject inversion constructions (respectively 2.5% and 1%). Presentational constructions (respectively 2.6% and 3.8%), which some scholars regard as a subcategory of cleft constructions (Léard 1992; Lambrecht 2001), also occur more frequently than subject inversion. We do not consider presentational constructions here, since they are distinct from clefts both functionally and morphosyntactically. They are not identificational equatives and they involve other markers, such as **hari** 'there is', **nga**+demonstrative 'here it is' or desemanticized perception verbs (Nshemezimana 2016: 257-295).

Cleft constructions into Kirundi can be subdivided into three main categories: basic clefts, pseudoclefts, and inverted pseudoclefts. The notion "basic" is used here with regard to the structure of the different cleft constructions in Kirundi and not with regard to their frequency of usage. As shown in Figure 2, which represents the proportion of different cleft types identified in the corpus samples, constructions cross-linguistically considered to be pseudoclefts are significantly more frequent than so-called "basic" clefts in Kirundi. In the sample of written sentences, pseudoclefts (42.6%) and inverted pseudoclefts (44.1%) represent together 86.7% of all cleft constructions. In the sample of oral sentences, they even stand for 92.6% of all cleft constructions, i.e. respectively 50% and 42.6%.



	Basic cleft	Pseudocleft	Inverted pseudocleft
Oral	4	27	23
Written	9	29	30

Figure 2. Distribution of cleft types in a randomly selected sample of 982 written and 942 oral Kirundi sentences

This corpus-based study starts with a description of the main components of Kirundi cleft constructions in §1. Subsequently, the different cleft types are discussed according to both their morphosyntactic-semantic and pragmatic properties: basic clefts in §2, pseudoclefts in §3 and inverted pseudoclefts in §4. Some cleft-like constructions that relate to clefts but are structurally or functionally deviant are dealt with in §5.

1. Constituents of Kirundi cleft constructions

In this section, we discuss the main formal elements of Kirundi cleft constructions: the copula (§1.1), the clefted constituent (§1.2), and the relative clause (§1.3).

1.1. Copula

In Kirundi, cleft copulas are verbs with a weak degree of verbality in terms of valence, modality, and grammatical person marking. As we argue below, some of them have evolved into dedicated cleft markers, a property that is attested across languages (Lambrecht 1994; Blanche-Benveniste 2002; Muller 2002). Kirundi has three types of copula to mark clefting: 1) the invariable particle **ni** (84% in the written corpus sample and 89% in the oral corpus sample) and its negative counterpart **si** (respectively 6% and 2%), 2) a series of composite forms based on the root **-ri** with its concord prefixes (respectively 9% and 7%) and 3) those based on the root **-a** which is combined with negation markers, such **-ta-** and **nti-** (respectively 1% and 2%).

The copulas **ní** and **sí** are widespread in Bantu and have been reconstructed in Proto-Bantu (Meeussen 1967: 115). They are well documented in the Great Lakes Bantu languages closely related to Kirundi, such as Masaba (JE31) (Purvis 1907), Kinyarwanda (JD61) (Kimenyi 1980) and Kiha (JD66) (Harjula 2004). They can neither be marked for subject agreement nor incorporate TAM morphology, but are marked by a high tone in Kirundi, as shown in (2) to (4). Meeussen (1959: 176) considers them as part of a paradigm of so-called "*indices*" which constitute a complex together with the nominal or pronominal form that follows and therefore writes them as joined to the following word, a convention to which we and others do not adhere, because they are still to be considered as separate words in Kirundi. The copulas **ní** and **sí** only occur in the main clause, where they are equivalent to the indicative mood and fulfil different functions which Mikkelsen (2005) associates with copular clauses: predication (2), specification (3), and equation (4), but not location.

(2) **Iyo ng'iingo ní nshaásha**.
"This measure is new."
(*IgitaboCamategeko*, Laws, 2000s)

i-i-o	**N-giingo**	**ní**	**N-shaásha**
AUG_9-PP_9-DEM_{II}	NP_9-measure	COP	NP_9-new

(3) **Umugoré sí Frida gusa**.
"The woman is not just Frida."
(*Ikirezi*, Theatre, 1990s)

u-mu-goré	**sí**	**Frida**	**gusa**
AUG_1-NP_1-woman	NEG.COP	Frida	only

(4) **Mushíkiwé ní umubáanyi waanje**.
"His sister is my neighbour."
(*Dialogue02050914revu*, Magazines, 2010s)

mushíkiwé	**ní**	**u-mu-báanyi**	**u-aanje**
his.sister	COP	AUG_1-NP_1-neighbour	PP_1-$POSS_{1SG}$

From this last use as identificational equative copula, **ní** and **sí** have evolved into dedicated cleft markers through the loss of their characteristic high tone and the bleaching of their different copular meanings. In Kirundi, they specifically mark focus within clefts, though not yet within monoclausal constructions, as is the case in certain other Bantu languages, such as Kikuyu (Schwartz 2003). When introducing the matrix clause of a Kirundi cleft construction, as in (5) and (6), they no longer function as an identificational copula, but specifically mark identificational focus. The fact that low-toned **ni** and **si** are still distinctive in terms of polarity suggests that they have not fully grammaticalized yet into dedicated discourse markers, even if **si** is particularly rare in cleft constructions, especially in oral discourse (occurring in only 2% of all clefts).

(5) **Ni amaráso yáacu yaséesetse**.
"It is our blood that was shed."
(*BVUrwimo*, Peace, 2000s)

ni	**a-ma-ráso**	**a-áacu**	**a-á-sees-ek-ye^{H}**
CM	AUG_6-NP_6-blood	PP_6-$POSS_{1PL}$	SP_6-REM.PST-shed-NEUT-PFV.REL

(6) **Si mwe mwaántooye**.
"It is not you who chose me."
(*UbwuzureBushasha*, Religion, 1960s)

si	**mwe**	**mu-á-N-tóor-ye^{H}**
NEG.CM	you.PL	SP_{2PL}-REM.PST-OP_{1SG}-choose-PFV.REL

The copula **-ri** also corresponds to a Proto-Bantu reconstruction, i.e.***-di** (Meeussen 1967: 86). In contrast to **ní** and **sí**, it can be marked for subject agreement and incorporate certain tense morphology (Meeussen 1959: 145-147). The copula **-ri** stands in complementary distribution with **ní** and **sí** in that in the main clause it only expresses predication, specification and identification/equation in tenses other than the present, as shown in (7), where it marks predication in the remote past.

(7) **Abakényezi baári beénshi mu basérukira imigaambwe**.
"Women were numerous among the party representatives."
(*EUfinal*, Politics, 2010s)

a-ba-kényezi	**ba-á-ri**	**ba-iínshi**	**mu**	**ba-sérukir-a**
AUG_2-NP_2-woman	SP_2-REM.PST-be	NP_2-many	LOC_{18}	NP_2-represent-FV
i-mi-gaambwe				
AUG_4-NP_4-party				

In the present tense, **-ri** can only express location in the main clause, as illustrated in (8).

(8) **Ico kigabiro kiri ku musózi Munyínya**.
"This memorial tree is on Munyinya hill."
(*IragiNdanga*, Traditional Culture, 2000s)

i-ki-o	**ki-gabiro**	**ki-ø-ri**	**ku**	**mu-sózi**
AUG_7-PP_7-DEM_{II}	NP_7-memorial.tree	SP_7-PRS-be	LOC_{17}	NP_3-hill

Munyínya
Munyinya

Furthermore, **-ri** occurs in either relative clauses, as in (9), or in other subordinate clauses, such as indirect speech clauses introduced by the complementizer **kó** in (10) to (12). The functions of **-ri** in subordinate clauses are similar to those of **ní** and **sí** in the main clause. It expresses predication, as in (9), specification, as in (10), and identification, as in (11). In addition, as shown in (12), it can also convey location, as in the main clause. When it is used in the present tense and does not express location, as in (10), it invariably occurs as **ari**. The initial prefix **a-** marks neither agreement nor co-reference and can therefore be considered to be an expletive marker.

(9) **Bígeze aho**, **uwarí mukurú muri bó arabahooyahooya**.
"Then, he who was of age amongst them calmed them."
(*UbwuzureBushasha*, Religion, 1960s)

bi^H-ø-ger-ye		**a-ha-o**	**u-u-á-ri^H**
SP_8.CJC-PRS-arrive-PFV		AUG_{16}- PP_{16}-DEM_{III}	AUG_1-PP_1-REM.PST-be.REL
mu-kuru	**muri**	**ba-ó**	**a-ø-ra-ba-hooyahooy-a**
NP_1-big	LOC_{18}	PP_2-SBST	SP_1-PRS-DJ-OP_2-calm-IPFV

(10) […], **bavuga kó abatuutsi arí ubwoko bwaátoowe n'Imáana**.
"[…] they say that the Tutsi are an ethnic group which was elected by God." (*GL0881*, *Politics*, 1990s)

ba-ø-vúg-a	**kó**	**a-ba-tuutsi**	**a-ri^H**
SP_2-PRS-say-IPFV	that	AUG_2-NP_2-Tutsi	EXPL-be.REL
u-bu-óoko		**bu-á-tóor-u-ye^H**	
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-ethnic.group		SP_{14}-REM.PST-elect-PASS-PFV.REL	
na	**i-Ø-máana**		
by	AUG_9-NP_9-God		

(11) **Ntitwoovuga kó bóóse baári abatagatifu**.
"We cannot say that all were saints."
(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

nti-tu-oo-vúg-a	**kó**	**ba-óóse**	**ba-á-ri^H**
NEG-SP_{1PL}-POT-say-IPFV	that	PP_2-all	SP_2-REM.PST-be.REL
a-ba-tagatifu			
AUG_2-NP_2-saint			

(12) **Bavuga kó Imáana irí mu kibaánza ca mbere**.
"They say God ranks first (lit. God is in the front place)."
(*CU101118Ubu*, Peace, 2010s)

ba-ø-vúg-a	**kó**	**i-Ø-máana**	**i-Ø-ri^{H}**	**mu**
SP_2-PRS-say-IPFV	that	AUG_9-NP_9-God	SP_9-PRS-be.REL	LOC_{18}
ki-baánza	**ki-a**	**N-mbere**		
NP_7-place	PP_7-CON	NP_9-front		

In cleft constructions, **-ri** replaces **ni** and **si** in tenses other than the present, as in (13), or when the cleft occurs in a subordinate clause, as in (16). At the beginning of a cleft's matrix clause, **-ri** maintains its capacity for subject marking, as shown in (13), where it agrees with the noun class of the clefted noun **abarimiro**.

(13) **Baari abarimiro baakuundá kunywá itaábi ryiínshi**.
"It was the people from Kirimiro who used to smoke a lot of tobacco."
(*BBW1010033Imana*, Information, 2010s)

ba-a-ri	**a-ba-rimiro**	**ba-a-kúund-a^{H}**	**ku-nyó-a**
SP_2-N.PST-be	AUG_2-NP_2-Rimiro	SP_2-N.PST-love-IPFV.REL	NP_{15}-smoke-FV
i-Ø-taábi	**ri-iínshi**		
AUG_5-NP_5-tabacco	NP_5-much		

If a singular speech participant is clefted, as in (14a), **-ri** does not agree with the clefted participant, but takes the default class 1 subject prefix, in contrast to its regular subject agreement as a copula (Meeussen 1959: 145-147). If a plural speech participant is clefted, in (14b), **-ri** either agrees with the clefted participant or takes the default class 2 subject prefix.

(14) a. **Ico gihe yaári jeewé nasiivyé gusa**.
"At that time, it was me only who was absent."
(*Introspection*[2])

i-ki-o	**ki-he**	**a-á-ri**	**jeewé**	
AUG_7-PP_7-DEM_{II}	NP_7-time	SP_1-REM.PST-be	me	
N-á-siib-ye^{H}			**gusa**	
SP_{1SG}-REM.PST-be.absent-PFV.REL			only	

b. **Ico gihe twaári/baári tweebwé twasiivyé gusa**.
"At that time, it was us only who were absent."
(*Introspection*)

i-ki-o	**ki-he**	**tu/ba-á-ri**	**tweebwé**	
AUG_7-PP_7-DEM_{II}	NP_7-time	SP_{1PL}/SP_2-REM.PST-be	us	
tu-á-siib-ye^{H}		**gusa**		
SP_{1PL}-REM.PST-be.absent-PFV.REL		only		

2. Data labelled as 'introspection' were generated by the second author on the basis of his native speaker competence.

In certain tenses and moods, such as the future or the potential, **-ri** is used in its invariable expletive form and preceded by the copula **-ba**, which carries subject and TAM marking. The cleft marker **ari** itself is marked by the characteristic high tone of the so-called 'conjunctive' mood (Meeussen 1959: 109), as shown in (15).

(15) **Booba arí báa báana baajé**?
"Would it be these children who have come?"
(*Ntusige*, Theatre, 1970s)

ba-oo-bá	**aᴴ-ri**	**ba-a**	**ba-áana**	**ba-Ø-əz-yeᴴ**
SP_2-POT-be	EXPL.CJC-be	PP_2-DEM_{IV}	NP_2-child	SP_2-PRS-come-PFV.REL

The invariable expletive form **ari** is also used when the cleft is part of a subordinate clause and conveyed in the present tense, as in (16).

(16) **Mbona arí je yiitwáararitse gusa**.
"I see that it is in me only that he is interested."
(*Abahungu*, Education, 1980s)

N-Ø-bón-a	**aᴴ-ri**	**je**	**a-Ø-iitwáararik-yeᴴ**	**gusa**
SP_{1SG}-PRS-see-IPFV	EXPL.CJC-be	me	SP_1-PRS-be.interested-PFV.REL	only

The expletive form **ari** also has a restrictive equivalent **atari** in cleft constructions. Although the prefix **-ta-**, which follows the expletive **a-**, usually marks negation, this is not the case in clefts, where it rather adds a restrictive value to their content. Moreover, for clefts with **-ta-** to be felicitous, they must be part of the main clause and articulated with a proper exclamation or interrogative intonation. In the case of an exclamation, **atari** could be paraphrased as 'it is just X who/that…', as in (17), whereas in the context of questioning it conveys the idea of 'isn't it?', just like with **si** in (18a), but with more intensity, as in (18b).

(17) CONTEXT: "*Is it Maria or Suzanne who has just hit Peter*?"
N'ukurí Suzaána atarí we yakubíse Peetéro!
"As a matter of fact, Suzanne, it is just her who has hit Peter."
(QUIS[3], 2010s)

n'ukurí	**Suzaána**	**a-ta-rí**	**wé**	**a-a-kúbit-yeᴴ**	**Petero**!
in.fact	Suzanne	EXPL-NEG-be	her	SP_1-N.PST-hit-PFV.REL	Peter

(18) a. **Ha ha ha**! **None si wewé wabígize**?
"Ha ha ha! Is it not you then who has done it?"
(*Igiti,* Theatre, 2010s)

nooné	**si**	**wewé**	**u-á-bi-gir-yeᴴ**?
then	NEG.CM	you.SG	SP_{2SG}-REM.PST-OP_8-do-PFV.REL

3. QUIS refers to Kirundi data which were generated through the 'Questionnaire on Information Structure' with native speakers other than the second author (Skopeteas *et al.* 2006).

b. **Atarí wewé wabígize none?**
"Is it **really** not you then who has done it?"
(Transformation from *Igiti,* Theatre, 2010s)[4]

a-ta-rí	**wewé**	**u-á-bi-gir-ye^{H}**	**nooné**?
EXPL-NEG-be	you.SG	SP_{2SG}-REM.PST-OP_{8}-do-PFV.REL	then

Adverbials such as **n'ukurí** 'in fact' (17) and **nooné** 'then' often join the **-ri** marker in cleft constructions. Depending on the discursive context, they can even be compulsory. In (17), for instance, **n'ukurí** cannot be omitted as long as the sentence is prosodically marked as an exclamation.

The last copulas occurring in Kirundi clefts are **ntaa** and **atáa**, which are built on the same root **-a** in combination with a negation marker. The exclusive copula **ntaa** 'there is no(t)', which comprises the negation marker **nti-**, belongs to the same paradigm of "*indices*" as **ní** and **sí**, which Meeussen (1959: 176) distinguishes as forming a complex together with the following noun or pronoun. It also only appears in main clauses, as in (19).

(19) **Ntaa gukéekeranya**.
"There is no doubt."
(*CMPPR_Brahnam*, Religion, 2010s)

ntaa	**ku-kéekerany-a**
NEG.COP	NP_{15}-doubt-FV

The copula **ataa**, which comprises the negation prefix **-ta-** preceded by the expletive marker **a-**, stands in complementary distribution with **ntaa** in that it only occurs in subordinate clauses (Meeussen 1959: 87). Such is the case in (20).

(20) **Nabóna atáa batuutsi agiríra náabí**.
"I saw that he did not do evil to the Tutsi."
(lit : I saw that there were no Tutsi to whom he did evil.)
(*Iciza*, Novels, 1970s)

N-á-bón-a	**atáa**	**ba-tuutsi**	**a-gir-ir-a**	**náabí**
SP_{1SG}-REM.PST-SEE-IPFV	NEG.CM	NP_{2}-Tutsi	SP_{1}-do-APPL-IPFV	evil

These negative copulas could be compared to the negative copula construction 'there is no' (cf. French '*il n'y a pas*'). Their positive equivalent is the copula **hari** 'there is', (cf. French '*il y a*'), which introduces existential-presentational clauses. However, in the context in question, they are not presentational constructions, because they match the formal properties of a cleft (see 1) and they can be converted into a single clause without altering the initial truth conditions, as demonstrated in (21b).

4. Corpus data transformed on the basis of the native speaker competence of the second author are indicated with "Transformation from".

(21) a. **Ntaa bwóoko bwáahemutse**.
"There is no ethnic group which betrayed."
(*Ijambo.Ntare.6607*, Politics, 1960s)

ntaa	**bu-óoko**	**bu-á-hemuk-ye^{H}**
NEG.CM	NP_{14}-ethnic.group	SP_{14}-REM.PST-betray-PFV.REL

b. **Ubwóoko ntibwáahemutse**
"The ethnic group did not betray."

u-bu-óoko	**nti-bu-á-hemuk-ye**
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-ethnic.group	NEG-SP_{14}-REM.PST-betray-PFV

1.2. Clefted constituent

In Kirundi, only three part of speech categories can be clefted: nouns, pronouns, and adverbs. Moreover, certain syntactic functions are more often involved in clefting than others. Subjects are most often clefted (44.6% in the oral corpus sample, 60.6% in the written corpus sample), either as a noun, as shown in (15), or as a pronoun, as shown in (22).

(22) **Ni je nabátooye**.
"It is me who elected you."
(*Yaga*, Religion, 1960s)

ni	**je**	**N-á-ba-tóor-ye^{H}**
CM	me	SP_{1SG}-N.PST-OP_{2PL}-elect-PFV.REL

Objects can also be clefted, but it happens less frequently, especially in written language: 37.5% in the oral corpus sample and only 25.3% in the written corpus sample. Moreover, object clefting is generally only allowed when the relative clause does not contain a lexical subject. The latter pertains to discourse-old information to which can only be referred with an anaphoric subject pronoun, as is the case in (23), where the subject prefix of the relative verb **yanyóoyé** refers to the aforementioned referent who praises the superior qualities of the cow. The focussed object **ay'íinká** highlights that he has not drunk the milk of any domestic animal but the cow.

(23) **Ni ay'íinká yanyóoyé**
"It is that of the cow that he has drunk."
(*Agahogo*, Songs, 1990s)

ni	**a-a-a**	**i-N-ká**	**a-a-nyó-ye^{H}**
CM	AUG_{6}-PP_{6}-PRCS	AUG_{9}-NP_{9}-cow	SP_{1}-N.PST-drink-PFV.REL

Passivation is another strategy used to enable the clefting of a logical object. It allows deleting the lexical subject, as in (24), or demoting it to an oblique agent phrase, e.g. **n'abáansi** 'by the enemies', so that the object can become part of the matrix.

(24) **Baári abatuutsi baároonderwa**.
(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)
"It was the Tutsi who were targeted."
ba-á-ri **a-ba-tuutsi** **ba-á-roond-er-u-a^{H}**
SP_2-REM.PST-be AUG_2-NP_2-Tutsi SP_2-REM.PST-look-APPL-PASS-IPFV.REL

When the clefted object is questioned, as in (25) and (26), it can co-occur with a lexical subject. Otherwise, a BC is less accepted, as shown in (27); a PC, as in (28), would then be preferred.

(25) **Ni igikí umuuntu yookorá** ?
"What is it that a person can do?"
(*WTF_Ibigize*, Health, 2010s)
ni **i-ki-kí** **u-mu-ntu** **a-oo-kór-a^{H}**
CM AUG_7-PP_7-what AUG_1-NP_1-person SP_1-POT-do-IPFV.REL

(26) **Ni ndé Mungu yatóoye ngo abé Nyina wa Yeézu**?
"Who is it whom God chose to be the mother of Jesus?"
(*Yaga*, Religion, 1960s)
ni **nde** **Mungu** **a-á-tóor-ye^{H}** **ngo** **a-bá-e**
CM who God SP_1-REM.PST-choose-PFV.REL QUOT SP_1-be-SBVJ
mother PP_1- CON Yezu
Nyina **u-a** Jesus

(27) **?Ni umwáana Kabura yakúbise**
"It is a child that Kabura hit"
(*Introspection*)
ni **u-mu-áana** **Kabura** **a-á-kúb-ye^{H}**
CM AUG_1-NP_1-child Kabura SP_1-REM.PST-hit-PFV.REL

(28) **Uwó Kabura yakúbise ni umwáana**
"The one that Kabura hit is a child"
(*Introspection*)
u-u-ó **Kabura** **a-á-kúb-ye^{H}** **ni** **u-mu-áana**
AUG_1-NP_1-PRCS Kabura SP_1-REM.PST-hit-PFV.REL CM AUG_1-NP_1-child

Certain adverbs can also be clefted in Kirundi, though not all. The temporal adverb **keénshi** 'often', for instance, can occur in the matrix clause of a Kirundi cleft construction, as shown in (29). However, other temporal adverbs, such as **kera** 'long ago', are incompatible with clefting, even if they belong to the same semantic category. Replacing **keénshi** by **kera** in (29) would make the sentence ungrammatical, even if the relative verb occurred in the remote past tense. More research is needed to establish which adverbs are accessible to clefting in Kirundi.

(29) **Ariko ni keénshi tuyareénga**.
"But it is often that we violate them (the laws)."
(*Kw'isoko_2010_50*, Religion, 2010s)

a. **ariko ni keénshi tu-Ø-ya-réeng-a^{H}**
but CM often SP_{1PL}-PRS-OP_6-violate-IPFV.REL
b. **ariko ni * [kera] tu-á-ya-réeng-a^{H}**
but CM long.ago SP_{1PL}-REM.PST-OP_6-violate-IPFV.REL
Intended meaning: "But it was long ago that we violated the laws."

1.3. The relative clause

Relative clauses (RC) in Bantu are mainly marked by morphosyntactic and/or prosodic means (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982). When there is a dedicated relative morpheme, such as a relative pronoun, it often occurs as an integrated part of the conjugated verb. Kirundi relative verbs are not marked by a dedicated relative pronoun or particle. Prosody plays a decisive role in signalling relative clauses. It is only a high tone with a relatively variable surface realization in the conjugated verb form that allows distinguishing a relative clause from a main clause.[5] Meeussen (1959: 106) calls this high tone "*postradical*", since it is most often – though not always – realized on the syllable following the root. For convenience sake, we associate it here in the glossing to the verb's final suffix, which usually is an aspectual marker, using a period. In a direct relative, as in (30), the head noun of the relative clause is also its subject and triggers subject agreement on the relative verb.

(30) (…) **abakózi baávyiize néezá**
"(…) employees who learned well."
(*Inzira*, Politics, 2000s)

a-ba-kózi	**ba-á-bi-íig-ye^{H}**	**néezá**
AUG_2-NP_2-employee	SP_2-REM.PST-OP_8-learn-PFV.REL	well

In an indirect relative, the head noun of the relative clause is not its subject and does not trigger any agreement on the relative verb, as seen in (31) and (32). The antecedent is most often a prototypical object, as in (31), but can also be an oblique argument, such as the comitative participant in (32).

(31) **Impanuuro umwaámi yaháaye abaruúndi bíiwé**.
"The advice that the king gave to his Burundians."
(*Amakuru*, Politics, 1960s)

i-N-hanuuro	**u-mu-aámi**	**a-á-há-ye^{H}**
AUG_{10}-NP_{10}-advice	AUG_1-NP_1-king	SP_1-REM.PST-give-PFV.REL
a-ba-ruúndi	**ba-íiwé**	
AUG_2-NP_2-Rundi	NP_2-$POSS_1$	

(32) **Ababáanyi tubaaná** (…)
"The neighbours with whom we live together (…)"
(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

5. The prosodic phenomena presented in this article are mainly perception-oriented and based on both oral and oralised written data from the corpus. We intend to examine these phenomena in the future from an instrumental perspective.

a-ba-báanyi **tu-Ø-bá-an-a^{H}**
AUG$_2$-NP$_2$-neighbour SP$_{1PL}$-PRS-be-ASSOC-IPFV.REL

Headless direct relatives, which Meeussen (1959: 82, 109) calls "*l'autonome*" or "*relatif substantivé*", are characterized by an initial vowel, the so-called 'augment' (Meeussen 1959: 63), as shown in (33).

(33) (…) **abasába ubuhuunzi**.
"… those who seek asylum."
(*UDI_5.KumenyaAmategeko*, Education, 2000s)
a-ba-Ø-sab-a^{H} **u-bu-huunzi**
AUG$_2$-PP$_2$-PRS-search-IPFV.REL AUG$_{14}$-NP$_2$-asylum

Headless indirect relatives, as in (34), are introduced by the so-called "*précessif*", which consists of the marker **-ó** preceded by the augment and the pronominal prefix (Meeussen 1959: 97-98).

(34) (…) **Abaruúndi bateze ivyó muzóobaázanira** (…).
"(…) Burundians wait for what you will bring them (…)"
(*Ubuzima*, History, 1990s)
a-ba-ruúndi **ba-Ø-tég-ye** **i-bi-ó**
AUG$_2$-NP$_2$-Rundi SP$_2$-PRS-wait-PFV AUG$_8$-PP$_8$-PRCS
mu-zoo-ba-əzan-ir-a^{H}
SP$_{2PL}$-FUT-OP$_2$-bring-APPL-IPFV.REL

Prosodically, Kirundi does not distinguish between a restrictive RC (35) and a cleft RC (36). In both cases, the RC forms together with the antecedent one single intonation unit which ends with a conclusive descending intonation marker and which we mark here with parentheses.

(35) **Ababáanyi tubaaná bóobó baári báababóonye**.
"The neighbours with whom we live together, as for them, they had seen them."
(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)
a. **(a-ba-báanyi** **tu-bá-an-a^{H})** **ba-ó-ba-ó**
AUG$_2$-NP$_2$-neighbour SP$_{1PL}$-be-ASSOC-IPFV.REL PP$_2$-SBST-PP$_2$-SBST
ba-á-ri **ba^{H}-a-ba-bón-ye**
SP$_2$-REM.PST-be SP$_2$.CJC-N.PST-OP$_2$-see-PFV
b. ***[(a-ba-báanyi)** **(tu-bá-an-a^{H})]** **ba-ó-ba-ó** **ba-á-ri ba^{H}-a-ba-bón-ye**

(36) **Ni wewé twiizéeye**.
"It is you whom we had believed."
(*Kw'isoko_2012_15*, Religion, 2010s)
a. **(Ni** **wewé** **tu-á-íizeer-ye^{H})**
CM you SP$_{1PL}$-REM.PST-believe-PFV.REL
b. **Ni** ***[(wewé)** **(tu-á-íizeer-ye^{H})]**

However, the two RC types are distinct with regard to their syntactic and semantic formation. While a cleft RC stands in an independent predication relation to the antecedent (cleft constituent), a restrictive RC depends on its antecedent, which it modifies and to which it assigns a restrictive value.

2. Basic clefts

2.1. Morphosyntactic and semantic properties

A basic cleft construction (BC) in Kirundi, which is comparable to an 'it-cleft' in English, contains a matrix clause (MC) and a relative clause (RC). The MC is composed of 1) a sentence-initial cleft marker (= CM) and 2) a clefted constituent. The latter plays a double role in the BC; it is both the predicate of the MC and the argument of the verb in the RC. MC and RC are prosodically united in one single intonation unit. Consequently, a basic cleft construction as in (5) does not allow for an intonation break between its MC and the RC or for any syntactic modification that separates the two clauses, as illustrated in (37), where the comma represents an intonation pause.

(37) ***Ni amaráso yáacu**, **yaséesetse**.
"It is our blood that was shed."
(*BVUrwimo*, Peace, 2000s)

ni	**a-ma-ráso**	**a-áacu**	***(a-á-sees-ek-ye^{H})**
CM	AUG_6-NP_6-blood	PP_6-$POSS_{1PL}$	SP_6-REM.PST-shed-NEUT-PFV.REL

2.2. Pragmatic properties

A BC is a binary information-structural construction which contains a focal unit (FU) and a non-focal unit (= topical unit = PPRS). Its matrix clause (MC) corresponds to the focal unit (FU), whereas its relative clause (RC) stands for the pragmatic presupposition (PPRS) of the sentence, i.e. what Prince (1978) calls 'hearer-old'. A Kirundi example is presented in (38):

(38) a. **Nii ndé azóonkíza iki kibiribiri kiinkweégera urupfú**?
"Who will save me from this body which attracts the death to me?"
(*Ikete,* Religion, 1970s)

ni	**ndé**	**a-zóo-N-kíz-a^{H}**	**i-ki-i**	**ki-biribiri**
CM	who	SP_1-FUT-OP_{1SG}-save-IPFV.REL	AUG_7-PP_7-DEM_I	NP_7-body

ki-Ø-N-kweég-ir-a	**u-ru-pfú**
SP_7-PRS-OP_{1SG}-attract-APPL-IPFV	AUG_{11}-NP_{11}-death

b. **Ni Yeézu Kristu azóogukíza ico kibí**.
"It is Jesus Christ who will save you from this evil."
(*Ikete,* Religion, 1970s)

ni	**Yeézu**	**Kristu**	**[a-zóo-ku-kír-i-a^{H}**
CM	Jesus	Christ	SP_1-FUT-OP_{2SG}-save-CAUS-IPFV.REL

i-ki-o	**ki-bí**
AUG_7-PP_7-DEM_{II}	NP_7-evil

This sentence is extracted from a biblical text in which the apostle Paul asks who will deliver him from his sinning nature. The answer in (38b) is a BC that comprises the FU **ni Yeézu Kristu** and the PPRS **azóogukíza ico kibí** (= RC). The latter conveys propositional content that is made accessible in the corresponding question in (38a), which means that it is already activated in the short-term memory of the interlocutors at utterance time.

However, this basic information structure is not valid for all BCs in Kirundi. Some rather behave pragmatically as what Prince (1978) calls 'informative presupposition' clefts. Such clefts are used in contexts where the propositional content is presented as known although the addressee does not necessarily share this common knowledge. The example in (39), a sentence taken from a biblical narrative that tells about the apostle Paul who speaks to his believers of what is at the source of their salvation, could be interpreted in this way.

(39) **Ni ubuuntu bwaátumye múkira**, **kubéera ukweémera kwáanyu**.
"It is the grace which had made that you were saved because of your belief."
(*UbwuzureBushasha*, Religion, 1960s)

ni	**u-bu-ntu**		**bu-á-túm-ye^{H}**	
CM	AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-humanity		SP_{14}-REM.PST-cause-PFV.REL	
mu^{H}-kír-a		**kubéera**	**u-ku-éemera**	**ku-áanyu**
SP_{2PL}.CJC-be.cured-IPFV		because	AUG_{15}-NP_{15}-belief	PP_{15}-$POSS_{2PL}$

By means of this utterance, the apostle asserts that his addressees are saved by the grace of God because of their faith. And in doing so, he assumes that they, as Christian believers, are aware of that, although there is no assurance that they actually do, since there is no discursive ratification for that, which explains the appearance of the afterthought **kubéera ukweémera kwáanyu** ('because of your faith'). The RC **bwaátumye múkira** 'which saved you' does not retake earlier given information, but rather represents supposedly common knowledge, which maintains its presupposed quality even when (39) is converted into a PC, as in (40).

(40) **Icaátumye múkira ni ubuuntu**.
"What had made that you were saved is the grace (of God)."
(Transformation from *UbwuzureBushasha*, Religion, 1960s)

i-ki-á-túm-ye^{H}	**mu^{H}-kír-a**	**ni**
AUG_{7}-PP_{7}-REM.PST-cause-PFV.REL	SP_{2PL}.CJC-be.cured-IPFV	CM
u-bu-ntu		
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-humanity		

BC	**Type (T)**		**MC**	**RC**	**Example**
	T_1 = AF	T_{1a}	Focal	Non-focal PPRS	(38b)
		T_{1b}	Focal	Focal Informative presupposition	(39)

Table 1. Focus types expressed via BC

3. Pseudoclefts

3.1. Morphosyntactic and semantic properties

While pseudoclefts (PC) are logically equivalent to basic clefts (BC) – both are equatives with an identificational reading – they differ from them in terms of syntax because their RC occurs in initial position in headless form; the most known case of such a marked formation is Jespersen's example from English 'What I like best is champagne'. In terms of prosody, PCs are distinct from BCs in that they comprise two intonation units instead of one unique unit. In Kirundi, the first unit ends with an ascending continuative intonation (end of RC), followed by an intonation break on the first syllable of the second unit which ends with a conclusive intonation marker (end of MC). Consequently, the intonation segmentation of a PC is as in (41).

(41) **Ibibáangamiye uwo mucó ni amadiní yiigíisha kó kizirá gukóreesha imití y'íkiruúndi**.
"What hampers this practice are the religions which teach that it is prohibited to use (traditional) Rundi medicine."
(*IragiNdanga*, Traditional Culture, 2000s)

(i-bi-ø-báangam-ir-ye^{H}		**u-u-o**	**mu-có)**
AUG_8-PP_8-PRS-hamper-APPL-PFV.REL		AUG_3-PP_3-DEM_{II}	NP_3-practice
(ni	**a-ma-diní**	**a-Ø-íigíish-a^{H}**	**kó**
CM	AUG_6-NP_6-religion	SP_6-PRS-teach-IPFV.REL	that
ki-Ø-zir-a^{H}		**ku-kór-ish-a**	
SP_7 -PRS-be.prohibited-IPFV.REL		NP_{15}-do-CAUS-FV	
i-mi-ti	**i-a**	**í-ki-ruúndi)**	
AUG_4-NP_4-medicine/tree	PP_4-CONN	AUG_7-NP_7-Rundi	

The headless RC of a PC, as in (42), comprises a relative verb which is marked by an initial augment and functions as a noun.

(42) **Icaánzanye ni ukuroondera ubumwé**.
"What made me come was the quest for friendship."
(*IjamboRyaGishi*, Traditional Culture, 1980s)

i-ki-á-N-əz-an-ye^{H}	**ni**
AUG_7-PP_7-REM.PST-OP_{1SG}-come-CAUS-PFV.REL	CM
u-ku-roond-er-a	**u-bu-mwé**
AUG_{15}-NP_{15}-look-APPL-FV	AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-one

The nominalization of the RC **icaánzanye** ('what made me come') is marked by the augment. As shown in (41) and (42), the headless RC of a PC usually does not manifest noun class agreement with the clefted constituent in the MC. It tends to take a default pronominal prefix belonging to either the singular class 7, as in (42), or its plural equivalent class 8, as in (41). Prototypical members of this noun class pair in Kirundi and other Bantu languages are inanimate referents, such as

objects, tools, and utensils (Katamba 2003: 115). It also contains the generic noun for 'thing(s)', i.e. **kintu/bintu**. In the headless RC of PCs, such as (41) and (42), the pronominal prefixes of classes 7 and 8 can be considered to be impersonal markers. Kirundi does allow grammatical agreement between the two clauses of the PC, such as in (43), transformed from (5), but it is rather uncommon with inanimate referents in natural language use.

(43) **Ayaséesetse ni amaráso yáacu**.
"What was shed is our blood."
(Transformation from *BVUrwimo*, Peace, 2000s)

a-a-á-sees-ek-ye^{H}	**ni**	**a-ma-ráso**	**a-áacu**
AUG_6-PP_6-REM.PST-shed-NEUT-PFV.REL	CM	AUG_6-NP_6-blood	PP_6-$POSS_{1PL}$

Some authors, such as Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* (1990), consider the rectional link between both clauses, like in (43), as evidence for the monoclausal nature of PCs, in which the COP constituent would function as a simple auxiliary. However, this claim does not hold well for Kirundi, as the language provides more ample evidence of PCs without any grammatical linking markers, as in (41) and (42). Such is also the case in (44).

(44) **Icaátumye yáanka ni kubéera haári mu mpéra caane**.
"What had made him refuse is because it was too much towards the end."
(*BBC120216Ferguson*, Information, 2010s).

i-ki-á-túm-ye^{H}		**a-áank-a**	**ni**	**kubera**
AUG_7-PP_7-REM.PST-make-PFV.REL		SP_1-refuse-IPFV	CM	because
ha-á-ri	**mu**	**N-péra**	**caane**	
SP_{16}-REM.PST-be	LOC_{18}	NP_9-end	much	

Our Kirundi data fit better the hypothesis which considers this kind of nominalization as a cognitive-discursive strategy that reduces the cost of perceptive processing (Apothéloz 2012), especially because the attested RCs (left clauses) are relatively short compared to the corresponding MCs (right clauses). MCs can be easily extended in order to meet certain discursive needs, such as repairing reformulations and determinative extensions. A case in point is presented in (45a), in which the noun phrase **abiígiisha** 'teachers' is extended by the restrictive RC **biígiisha ku mashuúle y'i Mugoogo** 'who taught in the schools of Mugongo', and which conserves its grammaticality after its conversion into a BC, as in (45b).

(45) a. **Abaádukijije ni abiígiisha biígiisha ku mashuúle y'i Mugoogo**.
"Those who had saved us were the teachers who teach in the schools of Mugongo."
(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

a-ba-á-tu-kir-i-ye^{H}			**ni**	**a-ba-iígiisha**	
AUG_2-PP_2-REM.PST-OP_{1PL}-save-CAUS-PFV.REL			CM	AUG_2-NP_2-teacher	
ba-Ø-íigish-a^{H}	**ku**	**ma-shule**	**a-a**	**i**	**Mugoongo**
SP_2-PRS-teach-IPFV.REL	LOC_{17}	NP_6-school	PP_6-CON	LOC_{19}	Mugongo

b. **Ni abiígiisha biígiisha ku mashuúle y'i Mugoogo baádukijije**.
"It is the teachers who teach in the schools of Mugongo who had saved us."
(Transformation from *Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

ni	**a-ba-iígiisha**	**ba-Ø-íigish-aᴴ**	**ku**	**ma-shule**	**a-a**
CM	AUG_2-NP_2-teacher	SP_2-PRS-teach-IPFV.REL	LOC_{17}	NP_6-school	PP_6-CON
i	**Mugoongo**	**ba-á-tu-kir-i-yeᴴ**			
LOC_{19}	Mugongo	SP_2-REM.PST-OP_{1PL}-save-CAUS-PFV.REL			

In (46), the RC of the PC is introduced by the so-called 'precessive' **icó**, as usually is the case in headless indirect relatives, as we have shown in (34) (§ 1.3). Here as well, the most commonly used 'precessive' pronouns are those of classes 7 (**icó**) and 8 (**ivyó**).

(46) **Icó dukorá ni ukugerageza kubáhuuza vyúkuri**.
"What we do is to try to reconcile them sincerely."
(*CU100427*, Peace, 2010s)

i-ki-ó	**tu-ø-kór-aᴴ**	**ni**	**u-ku-geragez-a**
AUG_7-PP_7-PRCS	SUJ_{1PL}-PRS-do-IPFV.REL	CM	AUG_{15}-NP_{15}-try-FV
ku-ba-huuz-a	**vyúkuri**		
NP_{15}-OP_2-reconcile-FV	sincerely		

The RC of a PC can be light-headed in Kirundi, as in (47), where the generic noun **ikintu** 'thing' is used to introduce the RC **kibabáje** 'which is shocking'. The augment, which usually marks the verb of a headless subject relative, as in (33), occurs here on the generic head noun.

(47) **Aríko ikiintu kibabáje n'ukó haáciiye hajamwó imigwi y'úbubaandi**
"But what is shocking is that groups of bandits were formed afterwards."
(*Mushingantahe*, Peace, 2000s)

aríko	**i-ki-ntu**	**ki-bábaz-yeᴴ**	**ni**	**u-ku-ó**
but	AUG_7-NP_7-thing	SP_7-shock-PFV.REL	CM	AUG_{15}-PP_{15}-PRCS
ha-á-ci-ye	**ha-gi-a-mwó**	**i-mi-gwi**	**i-a**	
SP_{16}-REM.PST-pass-PFV	SP_{16}-go-IPFV-$PSTF_{18}$	AUG_4-NP_4-group	PP_4-CON	
u-bu-baandi				
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-bandit				

3.2. Pragmatic properties

In terms of sentence pragmatics, PCs are particular in that their left clause, the headless RC, encloses referential and presupposed content that needs to be ratified by the subsequent right clause, i.e. the MC (Higgins 1973). Consequently, the RC has a non-focal function, whereas the MC is focal. In Kirundi, the ratification condition of the RC is prosodically marked by the ascending continuative intonation at its end, which is followed by an intonation break at the beginning of the MC. This specific sentence intonation pattern not only allows indicating the incompleteness of the sentence with just the RC, but also indicates the boundary between the two clauses

involved. Moreover, these prosodic properties point out that the RC is subject to a special discursive operation, that is, topicalisation. As a result, every PC in Kirundi comprises a 'marked' topic conveyed by the RC (= PPRS) and a 'marked' focus conveyed by the MC (= FU), as we can see in (48).

(48) **Aríko icó twoovugá ni ukó ubutuúngaane bw'ábaantu butaburá agaháze**.
"But what we could say is that justice of men is not free from imperfection."
(*CU100529*, Peace, 2010s)

aríko	**i-ki-ó**	**tu-oo-vúg-a^{H}**	**ni**	**ukó**
but	AUG_7-PP_7-PRCS	SP_{1PL}-POT-say-IPFV.REL	CM	that

u-bu-tuúngaane	**bu-a**	**a-ba-ntu**	**bu-ta-búr-a^{H}**
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-justice	PP_{14}-CON	AUG_2-NP_2-person	SP_{14}-NEG-lack-IPFV.REL

a-ka-háze
AUG_{12}-NP_{12}-imperfection

PCs are heavily dependent on the referential context for their adequate interpretation, since their sentence-initial presupposed proposition forms a connection between the content that is predictable and the content that needs to be focalised. That is why in conversation they frequently occur inside Q-R pairs (Prince 1978; Blanche-Benveniste 1997). However, they can also occur in monolocutions to which sentence (49) testifies.

(49) **Abashígikiye uwo mucó ni abahiígi**.
"Those who support this practice are the hunters."
(*IragiNdanga,* Traditional Culture, 2000s)

a-ba-shígikir-ye^{H}	**u-u-o**	**mu-có**	**ni**	**a-ba-hiígi**
AUG_2-NP_2-support-PFV.REL	AUG_3-PP_3-DEM_{II}	NP_3-pratice	CM	AUG_2-NP_2-hunter

The topical proposition **abashígikiye uwo mucó** 'those who support this practice' expresses the PPRS that (1) there is a specific practice (i.e. traditional hunting), which can be inferred from the accessible context, i.e. an inquiry into hunting practices in certain areas of Burundi, and (2) that practice is supported by certain people, which are identified in the focalised proposition as hunters. Without the inferential context, the PPRS could not fulfil its linking function here and would hinder the discursive coherence.

Contrast is a frequently used discursive device in Kirundi PCs, which for reasons of expressiveness may be marked by a contrastive accent. Contrast can pertain to the MC of the PC, as in (50b), or to a couple of MCs united in one PC, as in (51).

(50) a. **Ni baandé banywá umunánaási**?
"Who is it who drinks pineapple beer?"
(*CU110826Ishu*, Peace, 2010s)

ni	**ba-ndé**	**ba-ø-nyó-a^{H}**	**u-mu-nanasi**
CM	PP_2-who	SP_2-PRS-drink-IPFV.REL	AUG_3-NP_2-pineapple

b. **Inzogá y'úmunánaási inyoobwa na bóóse. Aríko abayíkuúnda gusúumba ni abaantu bakenyé**.
"Pineapple beer is drunk by everyone. However, those who love it most are the poor."
(*CU110826Ishu*, Peace, 2010s)
i-N-zoga **i-a** **u-mu-nánaási** **i-ø-nyó-bu-a** **na**
AUG_9-NP_9-beer PP_9-con AUG_3-NP_3-pineapple SP_9-PRS-drink-PASS-IPFV by
ba-óse **ariko** **a-ba-ø-yi-kúund-a^{H}** **ku-sumb-a** **ni**
PP_2-all but AUG_2-PP_2-PRS-OP_9-love-IPFV.REL NP_{15}-surpass-FV CM
a-ba-ntu **ba-Ø-ken-ye^{H}**
AUG_2-NP_2-person SP_2-PRS-be.poor-PFV.REL

Besides its contrastive articulation, the AF of (50b) specifies the variable of the argument in an exhaustive way, which means that the AF stands for the entire set of elements able to be replaced with the variable (Declerck 1988; Lambrecht 2001). In (51), a contrast is made between two propositions.

(51) **Ivyó dutuunzé si ivyaácu ni ivyáawe**.
"What we have at our disposal is not ours but yours; it is yours."
(*Karaba*, Theatre, 1960)
i-bi-ó **tu-túung-ye^{H}** **si** **i-bi-aácu** **ni**
AUG_8-PP_8-PRCS SP_{1PL}-have-PFV.REL NEG.CM AUG_8-PP_8-$POSS_{1PL}$ CM
i-bi-áawe.
AUG_8-PP_8-$POSS_{2SG}$

This PC contains a shared RC (= PPRS) that introduces the topic **ivyó dutuunzé** 'what we have' and a double MC whose propositions **si ivyaácu** ('it is not ours') and **ni ivyáawe** ('it is yours') are put in contrast. Contrast comes about by means of the interplay between the refutation of the identificational proposition of the first MC and the affirmative identification of the second MC.

	Type (T)		RC	MC	Example
PC	T_1 = AF	T_{1a}	Non-focal PPRS	Focal Identification/specification	(48)
		T_{1b}	Non-focal PPRS	Focal Identification/specification + Contrast	(50b)
		T_{1c}	Non-focal PPRS	Focal Refutation-identification + Contrast	(51)

Table 2. Focus types expressed via PC

4. Inverted pseudoclefts

4.1. Morphosyntactic and semantic properties

Inverted pseudoclefts (IPC) are identificational formations that start, just like BCs, with the identifying sequence, mainly a noun phrase that appears in sentence-initial position and that is followed by a RC that appears after the copula, as in (52) and (53), where the clefted constituent is subject of the RC. In both cases, the clefted constituent, which belongs to class 2, is co-referenced by the anaphoric pronoun **bó**, which is traditionally called a 'substitutive' (Meeussen 1959: 83-88) and takes over its grammatical function in the subordinated clause. In contrast to PCs, the RC of an IPC is not headless, because the substitutive cannot be replaced by an augmented relative verb. Replacing **bó babajá** by **ababajá** in (52) and **bó baámufashije** by **abaámufashije** in (53) would make these IPCs ungrammatical.

(52) **Abatwáarwa bavuga kó abatwaáre arí bó babajá imbere murí vyóóse**
"The subjects say that the leaders are the ones who lead them in everything."
(*CU110603Ubu*, Peace, 2010s)

a-ba-twáar-u-a	**ba-ø-vúg-a**	**kó**	**[a-ba-twaáre**	**a-rí**
AUG_2-PP_2-lead-PASS-IPFV	SP_2-PRS-say-IPFV	that	AUG_2-NP_2-leader	EXPL-be
ba-ó	**ba-ø-ba-gí-a^{H}**	**imbere**	**murí**	**bi-óóse]** ^{IPC}
PP_2-SBST	SP_2-PRS-OP_2-go-IPFV.REL	in.front	LOC_{18}	PP_8-all

(53) **Abayisaraámu ni bó baámufashije caane**.
"Muslims are the ones who helped him [Rwagasore] a lot."
(*CU110427*, Peace, 2010s)

a-ba-yisaraámu	**ni**	**ba-ó**	**ba-á-mu-fásh-ye^{H}**	**caane**
AUG_2-NP_2-Muslim	CM	PP_2-SBST	SP_2-REM.PST-OP_1-help-PFV.REL	much

When the clefted constituent of an IPC is the object of the RC, as in (54), it is also anaphorically resumed by a coreferential pronoun, in casu **ryó**. The latter is not to be confounded with the so-called 'precessive', which introduces a headless indirect relative and takes the augment. Replacing **ryó** by **iryó** in (54) would make the IPC ungrammatical.

(54) **Ijuru ní ryó uboná**.
"The sky is what you see."
(*Bangaryabagabo*, Short Stories, 2000s)

i-juru	**ni**	**ri-ó**	**u-Ø-bón-a^{H}**
AUG_5-sky	CM	PP_5-SBST	SP_{2SG}-PRS-see-IPFV.REL

In other words, morphosyntactically speaking, IPCs distinguish themselves from PCs not only by the fact that their RC is sentence-final, but also because they are always introduced by an anaphoric pronoun. Hence they are not headless, as PCs are, but light-headed. The pronominal head of IPCs also makes them structurally different from BCs whose clefted constituent cannot be a substitutive that is

coreferential with a left-dislocated topic preceding the CM, as **umugeni** in (55). It can only take a pronominal clefted constituent when no dislocated topic constituent precedes the cleft marker, as in (22) above.

(55) **Umugeni, ni ndé yamútsiindiye** ?
"The future bride, who is it that conquered her?"
(*Imigani*, Folktales, 1980s)

u-mu-geni	**ni**	**ndé**	**a-á-mu-tsiind-ir-ye^{H}** ?
AUG_1-NP_1-future.bride	CM	who	SP_1-REM.PST-OP_1-win-APPL-PFV.REL

However, similar to the other cleft types, IPCs can be converted into corresponding canonical monoclausal constructions without modifying the propositional content, as in (56) and (57) compared to (52) and (53) respectively.

(56) […]**kó abatwaáre babajá imbere murí vyóóse**.
[…] "that the leaders lead them in everything."
(Transformation from *CU110603Ubu*, Peace, 2010s)

kó	**a-ba-twaáre**	**ba-ø-ba-gí-a**	**imbere**	**murí**	**bi-óóse**
that	AUG_2-NP_2-leader	SP_2-PRS-OP_2-go-IPFV	in.front	LOC_{18}	PP_8-all

(57) **Abayisaraámu baáramufáshije caane**.
"Muslims helped him a lot."
(Transformation from *CU110427*, Peace, 2010s)

a-ba-yisaraámu	**ba-á-ra-mu-fásh-ye**	**caane**
AUG_2-NP_2-Muslim	SP_2-REM.PST-DJ-OP_1-help-PFV	much

4.2. Pragmatic properties

IPCs in Kirundi represent a distinctive information-structure type, because they include a fronted sentence-initial constituent that plays a double pragmatic role. It has both a focal articulation in the proposition of the left clause and a topical articulation in the proposition of the right clause. The right clause serves as presupposed discursive context to the fronted constituent; it even may reduplicate it. IPCs are thus highly context-sensitive. They appear in conversation as well as in narration, often with a contrastive articulation. They are frequently attested in Q-R sequences, as in (58).

(58) a. **Abatáanga ubusáserdoóti ni baandé**?
"Those who confer priesthood are who?"
(*Ikatekisimu*, Religion, 1920s)

a-ba-Ø-táang-a^{H}	**u-bu-sáserdoóti**	**ni**	**ba-ndé**?
AUG_2-PP_2-PRS-give-IPFV.REL	AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-priesthood	CM	PP_2-who

b. **Abeépiskoópi basa ni bó bataangá iryo sakrameentu**.
"The bishops alone are the ones who confer that sacrament".

a-ba-eépiskoópi	**ba-sa**	**ni**	**ba-ó**	**ba-Ø-taang-a^{H}**
AUG_2-NP_2-bishop	NP_2-only	CM	PP_2-PRCS	SP_2-PRS-confer-IPFV.REL

i-ri-o **Ø-sakrameentu**
NP_5-sacrament AUG_5-PP_5-DEM_{II}

In this Q-R pair, the noun phrase **abeépiskoópi basa** (‘only the bishops’) of the answer in (58b) fulfils the function of AF with reference to the proposition conveyed in the matching question in (58a). This focal constituent specifies the variable of the argument non-exhaustively, since it denotes a closed set of selected referents; i.e. only X and no other, X being the variable. The same noun phrase also fulfils the function of topic with reference to the proposition expressed in the subsequent cleft **ni bó bataangá iryo sakrameentu** ‘it is the ones who confer that sacrament’. Co-referential resumption of the subject-argument is required here. The example in (59) shows a contrastive IPC, which is extracted from a narrative about education in Burundi.

(59) **Murúumva reeró kó uwo mugoré ata kagayé afisé, ahuúbwo umugabo ni wé yagíze ikosá ry’ákagayé**.
“You understand today that that wife is not the one who has contempt, but the husband is rather the one who had committed the error of contempt.”
(*Akanovera*, Education, 2000s)
mu-ø-ra-umv-a **reeró** **kó** **u-u-o** **mu-goré** **ataa**
SP_{2PL}-PRS-DJ-understand-IPRV today that AUG_1-PP_1-DEM_{II} NP_1-wife NEG.CM
ka-gaye **a-Ø-fit-ye^H** **ahubwo** **u-mu-gabo** **ni**
NP_{12}-contempt SP_1-PRS-have-PFV.REL but AUG_1-NP_1-husband CM
we **a-a-gir-ye^H** **i-Ø-kosa** **ri-a** **a-ka-gaye**.
him SP_1-REM.PST-act-PFV.REL AUG_5-NP_5-error PP_5-CON AUG_{12}-NP_{12}-contempt

Contrast is set in this utterance between the focal referent **ahuúbwo** (‘the husband’) articulated in the affirmative IPC and the topical referent **umugore** (‘the wife’) articulated in the preceding refutation. It is the mirrored pragmatic reading of refutation-affirmation that creates contrast here, in addition to the sentence-initial phrase **ahubwo** ‘rather’, which amplifies its discursive effect.

Unlike what is usually the case, the clefted constituent of an IPC does not need to represent discourse-new information. As shown in (60), where the interlocutor explains why she does not feel free to go out, it may be discourse-old but still focal, as is the case for **ababáanyi** ‘the neighbours’.

(60) **Igitúma tudashobóra gutéembeerana ukó dushaaká ni ukó ababáanyi bé n’ábaándi batuboná. Kenshi ababáanyi ni bó baduteéranya n'ábavyéeyi**.
“What makes that we cannot go together as we wish is that the neighbours and the others could see us. Often, the neighbours are the ones who threaten us with the parents.”
(*Abahungu*, Education, 1980)
i-ki-Ø-tum-a^H **tu^H-ta-shóbor-a** **ku-téembeer-an-a**
AUG_7-PP_7-PRS-cause-IPFV.REL SP_{1PL}.CJC-NEG-can-IPFV NP_{15}-go.out-ASSOC-FV
ukó **tu-Ø-shaak-a^H** **ni** **ukó** **a-ba-báanyi** **bé** **na**
like SP_{1PL}-PRS-wish-IPFV.REL CM that AUG_2-NP_2-neighbour with and

a-ba-ndi		**ba-Ø-tu-bón-a^{H}**		**kenshi**	**a-ba-báanyi**
AUG_2-PP_2-other		SP_2-PRS-OP_{1PL}-see-IPFV.REL		often	AUG_2-NP_2-neighbour
ni	**ba-ó**	**ba-Ø-tu-téerany-a^{H}**		**na**	**a-ba-vyéeyi**.
CM	PP_2-SBST	SP_2-PRS-OP_{1PL}-treathen-IPFV.REL		with	AUG_2-NP_2-parent

The clefted constituent **ababáanyi** 'the neighbours' had been mentioned before, but is still focal, because the speaker uses the IPC here to highlight it as the most salient among alternatives. The RC contains discourse-new information which can be considered as an appendix (Mertens 2012), an extension that provides additional but not essential communicative information.

	Type (T)		Fronted constituent	MC + RC	Example
IPC	T_1 = AF	T_{1a}	Focal Identification	Non-focal PPRS	(58b)
		T_{1b}	Focal Identification + Contrast	Non-focal PPRS	(59)
		T_{1c}	Focal Given	Focal Appendix	(60)

Table 3. Focus types expressed via IPC

5. Cleft-like constructions

There are constructions in Kirundi that are somehow related to cleft constructions but do not hold all of their formal or functional properties. The first type of construction which easily may be confused with a PC is a kind of equative construction with an attributive quality, as in (61).

(61) **Uwutágira uwíiwé ní nyagupfa**.
"The one who does not have his own ones is worthy of death."
(*Duharanire,* Peace, 2000s)

u-u-tá-gir-a^{H}	**u-u-íiwé**	**ní**	**nyagupfa**
AUG_1-PP_1-NEG-have-IPRV.REL	AUG_1-PP_1-$POSS_1$	COP	worthy.of.death

Although the sentence in (61) has the morphosyntactic properties of a PC, the adjective **nyagupfa** is not clefted but functions as attribute of the subject in order to convey the equative-attributive expression 'to be worthy of death'.

The following case shows how certain discursive contexts do permit semantic detaching of the two clauses of a BC, but not without altering its 'marked' equative status. Even though the response in (62b) has the exact formal properties of a BC, its two comprising parts are semantically disconnected and have the following reading: [MC= 'X was talking with Y' + RC= 'X was telling a story to Y']. It is just a 'basic' equative construction. The RC determines the antecedent **Nziisabira** and adds a secondary predication to the cleft construction. The formal transformation in (62c) confirms the unmarked equative status of (62b) without changing the initial truth

conditions. The operation consists of completely detaching the two clauses of (62b) by modifying its prosodic properties. The auxiliary **yaríko** is no longer marked by the 'postradical' high tone that characterizes relative clauses in Kirundi.

(62) a. **Uwó mwaaríko muravúgana ni ndé**?
"The one with whom you were talking is who?"
(*Amazi,* Theatre, 1970s)

u-u-o	**mu-a-rikó^{H}**	**mu-ra-vúg-an-a**	**ni**	**ndé**?
AUG_1-PP_1-PRCS	SP_{2PL}-N.PST-PROG.REL	SP_{2PL}-DJ-talk-ASSOC-IPFV	CM	who

b. **Ni Nziisabira yaríko araánciira umuganí**.
"It is Nzisabira who was telling me a story."
(*Amazi,* Theatre, 1970s)

ni	**Nziisabira**	**a-a-rikó^{H}**	**a^{H}-ra-N-ci-ir-a**
CM	Nziisabira	SP_1- N.PST-PROG.REL	SP_1.CJC-DJ-OP_{1SG}-tell-APPL-IPFV

u-mu-ganí
AUG_3-NP_3-story

c. **Ni Nziisabira, yarikó araánciira umuganí**.
"It is Nzisabira, he was telling me a story."
(Transformation from *Amazi,* Theatre, 1970s)

ni	**Nziisabira**	**a-a-rikó**	**a^{H}-ra-N-ci-ir-a**
CM	Nziisabira	SP_1- N.PST-PROG	SP_1.CJC-DJ-OP_{1SG}-tell-APPL-IPFV

u-mu-ganí
AUG_3-NP_3-story

Yet sentence (62b) could still be conceived as a BC, but a BC of a special kind; i.e. a reduced BC, because it is reduced to its MC, which functions as predicate phrase. Kirundi accepts this particular construction type, provided that the referential content of the elided RC is accessible in the available discursive context, which in this case is enclosed in (62a) but is not endowed with the appropriate "alternative" for its interpretation as a BC. Furthermore, example (62b) is also problematic as to how to determine the pragmatic value of its RC. Like sentence (38b), it is part of a Q-R sequence in which the element asked about is the subject of the governing verb. But unlike (38b), the proposition of its RC **yaríko araánciira umuganí** 'who was telling me a story' is not presupposed in the matching question. Neither is there a context that provides presuppositional content. The RC of (62b) is thus distinct from a typical cleft RC. It is a semantically detached RC, i.e. an appositive RC, which forms an independent predication relation through which a new assertion is established in addition to what is asserted in the preceding MC. In that case, how do we make out whether the RC of (62b) holds any presuppositional value? A conversion test provides the answer to this question. If the RC is anyhow presupposed, then it should allow switching the order of the BC clauses and in doing so it should function as a referential support to the available predication, as in a PC. This operation is excluded here, as is displayed in (63), which would be an infelicitous construction in Kirundi as an answer to (62a).

(63) **ʔUwaríko araánciira umuganí ni Nziisabira.**
"The one who was telling me a story was Nzisabira."
(Transformation from *Amazi,* Theatre, 1970s)

u-u-a-rikó^{H}	**a^{H}-ra-N-ci-ir-a**	**u-mu-ganí**
AUG_1-PP_1-N.PST-PROG.REL	SP_1.CJC-DJ-OP_{1SG}-tell-APPL-IPFV	AUG_3-NP_3-story
ni	**Nziisabira**	
CM	Nziisabira	

What impedes the RC of (63) to take a sentence-initial position in front of the copula, which is usually reserved for topical and hence presupposed content, is its non-presupposed focal content. Consequently, in the same context as that of (62), an answer like (64) would be acceptable, because the content of its inverted RC **uwó twaaríko turavúgana** 'the one with whom I was talking' is presupposed and directly accessible in the corresponding question in (62a).

(64) **Uwó twaaríko turavúgana ni Nziisabira**.
"The one to whom we talked was Nzisabira."
(Transformation from *Amazi,* Theatre, 1970s)

u-u-ó	**tu-a-rikó^{H}**	**tu^{H}-ra-vúg-an-a**
AUG_1-PP_1-PRCS	SP_{1PL}-N.PST- PROG.REL	SP_{1PL}.CJC -DJ-talk-ASSOC-IPFV
ni	**Nziisabira**	
CM	Nziisabira	

The most salient information component of the equative construction in (62b) is the constituent **Nziisabira**, which has a double information-structural articulation. Its denotatum has a focus relation to the left proposition in which it assumes a semantic argument role. It is the argument focus (AF). Its denotatum also has a topic relation to the right proposition, which has a topic-comment articulation (unmarked focus). It should be noted that even though the right proposition contains focal value, it has not the same degree of focality observed in the left proposition, because it does not partake in the pragmatic relation that offers a satisfactory solution to the question asked in (62a). Information-wise, it rather functions as an appendix. Additional proof for this analysis is given in (65), which is a perfectly acceptable PC-conversion of the construction in (62b).

(65) CTXT: Who is the one to whom you talked?
Uwó twaaríko turavúgana ni Nziisabira yaríko araánciira umuganí.
"The one to whom we talked, it is Nzisabira who was telling me a story."
(Transformation from *Amazi,* Theatre, 1970s)

u-u-ó	**tu-a-rikó^{H}**	**tu^{H}-ra-vúg-an-a**	**ni**
AUG_1-PP_1-PRCS	SP_{1PL}-N.PST-PROG.REL	SP_{1PL}.CJC-DJ-talk-ASSOC-IPFV	CM
Nziisabira	**a-a-riko^{H}**		
Nziisabira	SP_1-N.PST-PROG.REL		
a^{H}-ra-N-ci-ir-a		**u-mu-ganí**	
SP_1.CJC-DJ-OP_{1SG}-tell-APPL-IPFV		AUG_3-NP_3-story	

In (66b), the RC is also part of the focal information, but this construction structurally related to a BC is not uttered in an AF context. It is rather to be considered as a thetic statement (Sasse 1987). In Q-R sequences, such statements occur as answers to questions conveying the general idea of 'what is happening?' or 'what happened?', as in (66a). The R-part contains the discursive object enquired about which relates to the whole sentence and thus conveys SF, as in (66b), where it fulfils a presentational-eventive function. Although this example matches the formal properties of a BC, it does not match its functional properties, as the given semantic context does not allow selecting an "alternative" that clefts require.

(66) a. **Habaaye iki**?
"What is happening?"
(QUIS, 2010s)
ha-ø-bá-ye **iki**
SP_{16}-PRS-be-PFV what

b. **Ni umuuntu yiitáaye mu rúuzi**
"It is a person who has thrown himself in the river."
(QUIS, 2010s)
ni **u-mu-ntu** **a-Ø-i-tá-ye^{H}** **mu** **ru-úuzi**
CM AUG_1-NP_1-person SP_1-PRS-REFL-throw-PFV.REL LOC_{18} NP_{11}-river

Lastly, 'inferential constructions' corresponding to the French *c'est que* constructions, as in (67), are also ambiguous ones. The question whether they are subordinated or not has cross-linguistically raised a lot of discussion (Declerck 1992; Delahunty 1995; Pusch 2006). In Kirundi, they are frequently attested, as in (67).

(67) **Uwagíriye náabí mugeenziwé, uwabábaje uwuúndi, uwiíshe, uwutéeranije abaándi**. **beén'uúwo n'impeérezwa y'íiwé Imáana ntíyaákiira**. (Gen. 4. 5; Mt. 5, 23-26). ***Ni ukó abá yíikuuye itéeká y'umwáana w'Imáana***.
"He who did evil to his neighbour, he who hurt another, he who killed, he who sows discord among people ... that one, even his offering, God will not accept it. (Gen. 4. 5; Mt. 5, 23-26). *It is that he removed his own dignity as a child of God*."
(*Ikete,* Religion, 1970s).
u-u-á-gir-ir-ye^{H} **náabí** **mu-genziwe**
AUG_1-PP_1-REM.PST-do-APPL-PFV.REL evil NP_1-his.friend
u-u-á-bábaz-ye^{H} **u-u-ndi**, **u-u-á-íic-ye^{H}**,
AUG_1-PP_1-hurt-PFV.REL AUG_1-PP_1-other AUG_1-PP_1-REM.PST-kill-PFV.REL
u-u-téerany-ye^{H} **a-ba-ndi** **beéne** **u-u-o**
AUG_1-PP_1-sow.discord-PFV.REL AUG_1-PP_1-other like AUG_1-PP_1-DEM_{II}
na **i-N-perezwa** **i-iwe** **Imana** **nti-i-i-akiir-a**
and AUG_9-NP_9-offer PP_9-$POSS_1$ God NEG-SP_9-OP_9-accept-IPFV
(Gen. 4. 5; Mt. 5, 23-26) **ni** **ukó** **a-bá-a^{H}**
(Gen. 4. 5; Mt. 5, 23-26) CM that SP_1-be-IPFV.REL

a^{H}-i-kúur-ye **i-Ø-téeka** **ri-a** **u-mu-áana**
SP_1.CJC-REFL-remove-PFV AUG_5-NP_5-dignity PP_5-CON AUG_1-NP_1-child
u-a **Imana**
PP_1-CON God

This inferential construction (in italics) contains the marker **ni** and a subordinated clause introduced by the complementizer **ukó**. The subordinated clause functions as a predicate phrase that relates to the pre-copulative content, which is not lexically expressed but is inferred from the context and is therefore called 'inferential'. This sort of construction is distinct from a BC mainly because the constituent that comes after the copula is a complementizer (**ukó** or variants) which is followed by a regular subordinated clause expressed in the relative mode, as is regularly the case after (**u**)**kó** (Meeussen 1959: 224).

There are also inferential constructions that closely relate to PCs but still differ from them in that their pre-copulative clause (left clause) does not belong to the categories that permit clefting (noun phrase and substantivized RC). Consequently, a PC reading of sentence (68) is excluded.

(68) **Níibá utávyeémera ni ukó urí murí wáa murwi w'ábiíhebuuye.**
"If you do not believe in it, it is that you belong to that category of desperate people." (*Imbonesha123*, Magazines, 2010s)
níibá **u-tá-bi-éemer-a** **ni** **ukó** **u-ri^{H}** **murí** **u-áa**
if SP_{2SG}-NEG-OP_8-believe-IPFV CM that SP_{2SG}-be.REL LOC_{18} PP_3-DEM_V
mu-rwi **u-a** **a-ba-i-hébuur-ye^{H}**
NP_3-category PP_3-CON AUG_2-NP_2-REFL-despair-PFV.REL

Although the complementizer **ukó** regularly serves as a referential construction marker in Kirundi, there are constructions in which it does not play this role, as in (69).

(69) **Icó twookorá ni ukó twoogabanya ubutégetsi**.
"What we could do it is that we could share power."
(*CU101004Ukwege*, Peace, 2010s)
i-ki-ó **tu-oo-kór-a^{H}** **ni** **ukó** **tu-oo-gabany-a**
AUG_7-PP_7-PRCS SP_{1PL}-POT-do-IPFV.REL CM that SP_{1PL}-POT-share-IPFV
u-bu-tégetsi
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-power

The sentence in (69) is a PC, but of a special kind. It is an 'amalgam cleft' (Declerck 1992), which is characterised by a fully or partly reduplication of the subject and the verb in the two clauses it comprises. In this case of an amalgam pseudocleft, it is the subject **tu-** (1PL) and the tense marker of the main clause that are repeated in the subordinated clause. Without these features, (69) would be a regular PC, just like its equivalent in (70):

(70) **Icó twookorá ni ukugabanya ubutégetsi**.
"What we could do is to share power."
(Transformation from *CU101004Ukwege*, Peace, 2010s)

i-ki-ó	**tu-oo-kór-a^{H}**	**ni**	**u-ku-gabany-a**
AUG_7-PP_7-PRCS	SP_{1PL}-POT-do-IPFV.REL	CM	AUG_{15}-NP_{15}-share-VF
u-bu-tégetsi			
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-power			

Additional proof for (69) being a PC and not an inferential construction is that it allows to eliminate the equative phrase without altering the truth conditions of the sentence, as is displayed in the corresponding juxtaposed construction in (71).

(71) **Icó twookorá**, **twoogabanya ubutégetsi**.
(Transformation from *CU101004Ukwege*, Peace, 2010s)
"What we could do, we could share power."

i-ki-ó	**tu-oo-kór-a^{H}**	**tu-oo-gabany-a**
AUG_7-PP_7-PRCS	SP_{1PL}-POT-do-IPFV.REL	SP_{1PL}-POT-share-IPFV
u-bu-tégetsi		
AUG_{14}-NP_{14}-power		

Conclusion

Clefting in Kirundi involves formally complex biclausal constructions which convey a propositional content that is logically simple. The systematic query of a randomly selected corpus sample of nearly 2000 Kirundi sentences has pointed out that cleft structures are far more common focus constructions in both written and oral language use than the so-called 'subject inversion' constructions. Of the three cleft constructions attested, pseudoclefts and inverted pseudoclefts are the most productive, while 'basic' clefts turn out to be rarely used in natural Kirundi. Both pseudoclefts and inverted pseudoclefts are highly context-sensitive, which is reverberated through a multiplicity of subtypes, which are often difficult to pinpoint.

As for their pragmatics, clefts are primarily used in Kirundi for the purpose of marking argument focus. Clefts are in complementary distribution with another kind of biclausal constructions, i.e. presentationals, which tend to convey sentence-focus. According to the corpus sample queried for this study, clefts are more commonly relied on to focus subjects than to focus objects whose clefting is moreover subject to more constraints. Pronouns and adverbs are the only other clefted word categories, though only rarely, and not across the whole paradigm in the case of adverbs, a constraint which needs more in-depth study.

With regard to the information-structural properties of the relative clause, two types of cleft constructions are identified: 1) clefts with a non-focal relative clause that functions as pragmatic presuppositional background, and 2) clefts with a focal relative clause which may serve various discursive purposes. In basic clefts, it has been observed as the conveyor of an informative presupposition; in inverted pseudoclefts, as an informational extension or focal appendix. Moreover, contrastive articulation frequently appears in PCs and ICPs, occasionally with a contrastive

accent on the focal unit so as to amplify its expressive load, an intonational feature that requires dedicated experimental research, just like the intonation of Kirundi clefts more generally.

In addition to the three prototypical cleft types, Kirundi also distinguishes what we have called 'cleft-like' constructions, since they look or behave like clefts but are deviant with respect to certain of their formal or functional features. This peripheral category contains a number of in-between constructions which hold properties of both cleft and presentational constructions and which seem to facilitate the introduction of new referents and situations into the discourse. In these cases, the scope of focus is broadened to the whole sentence.

Finally, it should be noted that, in Kirundi, the mapping of morphosyntax and information structure is relatively rigid concerning clefting – not only as regards the subject argument but also as regards the other arguments – which is reflected in the marginal function that is allocated to sentence prosody in this language.

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Abbreviations

AF	argument focus
APPL	applicative
ASSOC	associative
AUG	augment
BC	basic cleft
CAUS	causative
CJC	conjunctive mood
CM	cleft marker
CON	connective
COP	copula
DEM_x	demonstrative of type/degree x
DJ	disjoint
EXPL	expletive
FU	focal unit
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
$[\ldots]^H$	floating high tone
IPC	inverted pseudocleft

IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative prefix
MC	matrix clause
N.PST	near past
NEG	negative
NEG.CM	negative cleft marker
NEG.COP	negative copula
NEUT	neuter/neutron-passive
NP	noun prefix
OP	object prefix
PASS	passive
PC	pseudocleft
PF	predicate focus
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PP	pronominal prefix
PPRS	pragmatic presupposition
PRCS	precessive
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PST	past
PSTF	postfinal
RC	relative clause
REF	reference
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
REM	remote
SBST	substitutive
SF	sentence focus
SG	singular
SP	subject prefix

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Résumé

Bien que les constructions clivées constituent l'un des principaux marqueurs de focus dans les langues bantu, peu d'attention leur a été accordée. La présente étude sur base de corpus a pour but de remédier à cette lacune en examinant la morphosyntaxe complexe et la sémantique des clivées en kirundi (bantu, JD62) ainsi que les différentes fonctions qu'elles remplissent dans sa structure informationnelle, qui se rapportent essentiellement au marquage de focus argumental. Comme nous le démontrerons dans cet article, les clivées en kirundi font l'objet de fortes contraintes formelles ; les principales stratégies permettant de marquer le focus utilisent des morphèmes spécifiques et le changement de l'ordre des mots. Nous montrerons également qu'en plus des types de clivées communs dans bien des langues (clivées de base, pseudoclivées et pseudoclivées inversées), le kirundi distingue aussi un type que nous appelons « constructions d'apparence clivée », qui s'apparentent aux clivées, mais en sont éloignées du point de vue structurel ou fonctionnel. Parmi elles, une sous-catégorie contient plusieurs constructions dans lesquelles la portée de la focalisation s'étend à la phrase entière.