

Yorùbá (Adéşólá 1997, 2004, cf. Brody 1995)

- (6)a. O pa Lékan.
2S.NOM strike L.
'You hit L.'
- b. Lékan ni o pa.
L. NI 2S.NOM strike
'It's L. you hit'
- c. Pí-pá ni Lékan-án pa ọ.
H-hit NI L-H hit 2S.ACC
'L actually *hit* you' (only optionally contrastive)
- d. O pa Lékan ni?
2S.NOM strike L. NI
'You hit L., didn't you?'
- (7)a. Fílà ni olówó o rẹ ẹ kọ sí ilẹ.
hat Σ owner 3S.GEN H reject to ground
'Its _i owner rejected a *hat*_i'
- b. Fílà ni wón bèrè{ pé bí/bóyá} mo rà.
hat Σ 3P.H ask say whether 1s buy
'They asked whether I bought a *hat*'
[Hungarian parallels to (7a-b)]

Ìgbo (Émènanjọ 1978, 151; 1984; C. Úchèchúkwu *p.c.*)

- (10)a. Ó rì-ri ọtara.
3S eat-CL pasta
'S/he ate (the) pasta'
- b. Ó rì-ri ọtara e-rí. [...LH]
3S eat-CL pasta NOM-eat
'S/he did indeed eat (the) pasta, as expected'
- c. Ó rì-ri e-rí. [...LH]
3S eat-CL NOM-eat
'S/he ate something, as expected'
- d. *Ó rì-ri.
3S eat-CL
- e. Ọ byà-ra.
3S come-CL
'S/he arrived [here]'
- f. Ọ byà-ra a-byá. [...LH]
3S come-CL NOM-come
'S/he did indeed arrive [here], as expected'

Kimatuumbi (Odden 1984, 1996; Manfredi 2006a)

- (8)a. CL_S kalang-itee ñáma.
fry-PERF animal
'... recently fried meat/fried *meat*'
- b. CL_S a kálang-itee ñáma.
AUX fry-PERF animal
'...fried meat/fried *meat*'
- c. CL_S kalang-aa ñáma.
fry-PROG animal
'...is frying *meat*' (narrow focus only)
- d. CL_S kalang-a-ee ñáma.
fry-PROG-TNS animal
'...was frying *meat*' (narrow focus only)
- (9)a. CL_S tí kalaang-áa ñáma.
AUX fry-ASP animal
'...recently *fried* meat/*fried* *meat*'
- b. CL_S a-tí kalaang-áa ñáma.
AUX-AUX fry-ASP animal
'...*fried* meat/*fried* *meat*'
- c. CL_S endá kalaang-áa ñáma.
AUX fry-ASP animal
'...is *frying* meat/*frying* *meat*'
- d. CL_S ende-é kalaang-áa ñáma.
AUX-TNS fry-ASP animal
'...was *frying* meat/*frying* *meat*'

- (11)a. Ọ fù-rù a-fù. [...LL]
3S out-CL NOM-out
'S/he exited'
- b. Ọ dà-ra a-da. [...LL]
3S down-CL NOM-down
'S/he fell down/S/he failed an exam'
- c. Ọ zù-ru e-zu. [...LL]
3S complete-CL NOM-complete
'It's complete'
- (12)a. Ọ fù-rù á-fù. [...HL]
3S out-CL NOM-out
'S/he actually *did* exit, don't deny it'
- b. Ọ dà-ra á-dà. [...HL]
3S down-CL NOM-down
'S/he actually *did* fall/fail, don't deny it'
- c. Ọ zù-ru é-zù. [...HL]
3S out-CL NOM-out
'It actually *is* complete, don't deny it'

3. 'Foot-driven' focus movement

three alternative formal accounts of (5)

- (13)a. V-to-I movement: {BK1 = yes, BK2 = no}. (Koopman 1984; Baker 1988; Manfredi 1991; Déchaine 1993; Stewart 1998).
b. DM-style affix linearization in the PF branch: no semantic or tonal consequences, cf. (1c).
c. Parametric spellout: {BK1 = late i.e. TP or ΣP, BK2 = early i.e. VP} (Manfredi 2006b).

supplementary hypotheses to (13c)

- (14)a. BK finite inflection projects as the sentential polarity (assertion) operator Σ (Déchaine 1992, cf. Laka 1990).
b. Focus is the overt scope of Σ, read as prosodic scope-marking, as in Hungarian (Kornai & Kálmán 1988; Piñón 1992; Surányi 2004).
consequences of (13c) for BK
- (15)a. In BK1, the last-resort, high focus morpheme is external merge of Σ: a true copula introducing presuppositional cleft.
b. In BK2, the high focus head is internal merge of Σ creating focus C: a "compula" (Manfredi 1987, 110; cf. Nash & Rouveret 1997).

Yorùbá

- (16)a. Aṣọ́ funfun.
cloth.H white
'[The] cloth(ing) is white'
- (17)a. Aṣọ́ funfun ni.
cloth white NI
'It is white cloth(ing)'
'Is it white clothing?'
- (18) aṣọ́ funfun
cloth white
'white cloth(ing)'
- b. Aṣọ́ kò funfun.
cloth NEG white
'[The] cloth(ing) isn't white'
- b. Aṣọ́ funfun kó.
cloth white NEG
'It is not white cloth(ing)'

4. Apparent ex-situ focus in BK1 (contra Manfredi 1993)

Ìgbo (cf. Robinson 1974)

- (19)a. Úchẹ̀ ta-ra ánu.
U. chew.L-CL animal
'U. chewed (the) meat' [Úchẹ̀ = HL]
- b. Ọ̀ (bù) kwa Úché̀ ta-ra ánu?
3S.NOM.L COP too U. chew.L-CL animal
'Did U. chew (the) meat?' [Úché̀ = HL]
- c. (Ó̀ bù) ánu kà [Úché̀ tà-ra].
3S.NOM COP meat COMP U.H chew.L-CL
'It's *meat* that U. chewed' [Úché̀ = H!H]

Àkan [tone as partly indicated by Boadi (1974)]

- (20)a. Mè kɔɔ sukuù.
IS go.PAST school
'I went to school' [verb LL]
- b. (È yɛ) sùkuù na mé kɔɔ.
3S COP school FOC IS go.PAST.REL
'It's *school* that I went to' [verb HHH]
- c. Sukuu ne [bea ko a mé kɔɔ no].
3S COP place SPECIF REL IS go.PAST.REL DET
'*School* is where I went to' [verb HHH]
- d. [Bea ko a mé kɔɔ no] ne sukuu.
place SPECIF REL IS go.PAST.REL DET COP school
'Where I went to is a school' [verb HHH]

relative plus copula also possible in BK2 e.g. Yorùbá

- (21)a. Lékan ni [ɛni tí o pa].
L. NI person_{OP} REL 2S.NOM hit.
'L. is who you hit'
- b. [Èni tí o pa] ni Lékan.
person_{OP} REL 2S hit NI L.
'Who you hit is L.'

5. Multiple dedicated focus positions? (Aboh 2006, cf. Hyman & Polinsky 2006)

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