Characteristic of ex-situ focus constructions:

- Focalization of term, verb, and predication is possible in canonical position (+/- morphologically marked) (cf. column 1 and 2).
- Subject focus or sentence focus on the other hand are always morphosyntactically encoded (cf. column 3).
- Any non-subject constituent including nominalized verb can also be focalized ex-situ (cf. column 4).

### 1. Focus system in affirmation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. subject / sentence</th>
<th>4. non-subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SVx(O) Konni</td>
<td>OS(x)V Konni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SxV(O) others</td>
<td>OXS V others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tē</td>
<td>tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nÀ</td>
<td>(di)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>kà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/+ topical status of sentence-initial constituent

- copulative pattern
- narrative pattern
The verb shows tonal agreement with the discourse role of the subject in indicative (perfective) environments.
Who has eaten the beans?

Mary has eaten them.

5. Buli: (Mary)LE verb

6. Konni: Mary verb inf -NA CL

7. Dagbani: Mary verb inf N-eat CL

3.2 Comparison with relative clause

- structural features of relative clauses with restrictive reading shared throughout the language sample:
  - indefinite pronoun
  - verb without tonal agreement with subject
  - clause-final determiner
The people which have left, ... 

My [child] is sick.
Only part of the relative clause features are shared by SF (and NSF): use of a subordinating morpheme close to the verb and occurrence of an infinite verb form without tonal subject agreement.

→ SF construction contains a hypotactic predicate which conveys background information as a non-restrictive relative clause
12a. Konni: beans
She has eaten beans.

12b. Wa
My wife has gone to Wa.

4.2 Comparison with narrative clause - available structures for the expression of sequential events in indicative:
- clause chain
- verb chain
- no tonal agreement with subject
sequential clauses in narration in Buli:

14a. A woman had three children, and she sent the eldest child ...

14b. ... the youngest child brought the tomatoes home, and she (mother) cooked them.

sequential clauses in narration in Konni:

15a. There were a woman and her three children, and she sent the eldest child ...

15b. to go and buy tomatoes for her to cook soup, and the child took a different road ...

sequential clauses in narration in Dagbani:

16a. A woman was standing with her three children, and she sent the eldest child ...

16b. ...
There is complete structural identity between the “non-focal” part of NSF and a sequential clause type used in narration.

→ NSF contains a paratactic predicate which conveys the comment on a marked non-subjectival topic


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