

Exclusive focus particles in Yorùbá*

Ka-Fai Yip, Olabode Adedeji

Yale University

kafai.yip@yale.edu, olabode.adedeji@yale.edu

1. Introduction

➤ Two types of exclusive focus particles

- English *only*: Adverbial-adfocal distinction (Jackendoff 1972, Büring & Hartmann 2001, Hole 2013)
- Co-occurrence/doubling: rare, if not impossible (but see Bayer 2020:64-65)

- (1) John **only** gave MARY_F a book (adverbial/sentential *only*)
 (2) John gave **only** MARY_F a book (adfocal/adnominal/constituent *only*)
 (3) *John **only** gave **only** MARY_F a book (*doubling)

Intended meaning: ‘The only one that John gave a book to was Mary.’

- (Standard) Yorùbá ‘only’: *kàn* and *nìkan* (Bisang & Sonaiya 2000, Howell 2016)¹
 - *Understudied*: very little descriptions on their syntactic & semantic properties
 - Note: there is no prosodic stress to mark focus in Yorùbá

- (4) John **kàn** fún Mary_F ní iwé (preverbal particle *kàn*)²
 John only give Mary SEC book
 ‘John only gave Mary a book.’

- (5) John fún Mary_F **nìkan** ní iwé (adfocal particle *nìkan*)
 John give Mary only SEC book
 ‘John gave only Mary a book.’

- (6) John **kàn** fún Mary_F **nìkan** ní iwé (Exclusive doubling)
 John only give Mary only SEC book
 ‘The only one that John gave a book to was Mary.’ (truth condition = (4)/(5))

- **Exclusive doubling** (also known as ‘only’-concord)
 - Apparently only one particle is interpreted as the exclusive operator/quantifier
 - ☞ **Form-meaning mismatch!**
 - Similar phenomena are attested cross-linguistically:
 - Cantonese (P. Lee 2019, Yip to appear)
 - Korean (Y. Lee 2005)
 - Dutch (Barbiers 2010, Hole 2015)
 - Mandarin (Hole 2017, Sun 2021, Yip to appear)
 - German (Hole 2015, Bayer 2020)
 - Vietnamese (Hole 2013, 2017, Erlewine 2017, Quek & Hirsch 2017, Sun 2021, Yip to appear) ...
 - Kasem (Aremu 2024a)
- The **operator-particle** approach (Bayer 1996, 2020, Lee 2005, Barbiers 2010, Quek & Hirsch 2017, Bassi, Hirsch & Trinh 2022, Hirsch 2022, Sun 2021, Branam & Erlewine 2023, among many others)
 - The adverbial/sentential ‘only’ is an exclusive operator; the adfocal ‘only’ is a “concord marker”

- (7) [OP_{only} ... [Prt_{only} [focused element]] ...] (OP=operator, Prt=semantically inert particle)
- ↑ syntactic dependency ↑

* Some early data comes from the fieldwork class “Semantic Investigations in an Unfamiliar Language” (2020 Fall) taught by Prof. Veneeta Dayal at Yale. We are very grateful to the language consultant, Aishat Adekunle. For discussion and comments, we thank Daniel Aremu, Veneeta Dayal, Mitcho Erlewine, and the audience at SNEWS 2021 (UConn). All errors are of course ours.

¹ There is another adfocal particle *lásán* ‘just’ which is not reported in Bisang & Sonaiya (2000). In some occasions, *lásán* ‘only’ is not interchangeable with *nìkan* ‘only’. Throughout this talk, we only focus on *nìkan* and *kàn*.

² Abbreviations: 1, 2, 3=first, second, third person respectively; COMP=complementizer; FOC=focus marker; HAB=habitual aspect; NEG=negation; PL=plural; PFV=perfective aspect; PROG=progressive aspect; Q=question particle; SEC=secundative preposition; SG=singular. Secundative prepositions, such as *ní* (with a high tone) in (4), introduce the theme argument like *iwé* ‘book’ in ditransitive constructions with recipients (Atoyebi, Haspelmath & Malchukov 2011). It should be distinguished from copular *ni* and focus marker *ni* (both with mid tones).

➤ Today's goals

- #1 To provide detailed descriptions of the exclusive focus particles in Yorùbá
- #2 To show that exclusive doubling, despite surface similarities to operator-particle dependencies, should **not** be treated alike
 - We argue for an *opposite* view in Yorùbá, dubbed as the **quantifier-particle** analysis, where:
 - Nìkan* is an **exclusive quantifier**;
 - Kàn* is a **scope-marking particle** without exclusive interpretation

(8) [... [Prt_{only}= *kàn* ... [QP [focused element] Qu_{only}=*nìkan*] ...] (Qu=quantifier)

- To acquire wide scope, *nìkan* may undergo: Covert movement, as marked by *kàn*
Overt (focus) movement

(9) [FocP [Foc' ni ... [FP [F' Prt_{only}= *kàn* ... [QP [focused element] Qu_{only}=*nìkan*] ...]

Roadmap

- §2. Focus association
- §3. Covert movement
- §4. The quantifier-particle analysis
- §5. Conclusion
- §6. Appendices

2. Focus association

2.1. *Adfocal nìkan*

➤ In-situ focus

- *Nìkan* immediately follows the focus associate, as in (10)
 - Cannot follow a verb to mark verbal focus (*kàn* would be used, see below)
- Cannot associate at a distance, as in (11)

(10) Ayò_F {*nìkan*} fún_(*F) {**nìkan*} Adé_F {*nìkan*} [ní iwé]_F {*nìkan*}
Ayo only give only Ade only SEC book only
'{Only} Ayo gave {only} Ade {only} a book.'

(11) Ayò [fún_(*F) Adé_(*F) [ní iwé]_(F)]_(F) *nìkan* (associate:*V/VP/*IO/DO)
Ayo give Ade SEC book only
'Ayo only gave Ade a book.' (but not {#buy_V/buying Olu a drawing_{VP}/#Olu_{IO}/a drawing_{DO}})

➤ Ex-situ focus

- *Nìkan* moves along with the focus associate to a focus position marked by *ni* (cf. Jones 2006, Aremu 2024b)

(12) *Ni* focus movement (with *nìkan*)

- John *şe* German *nìkan* (**ni*) lẹ̀ẹ̀mejì (in-situ)
John do German only FOC twice
'John only took German twice.'
- German *nìkan* *ni* John *şe* __ lẹ̀ẹ̀mejì (movement)
German only FOC John do twice
'It is only German that John took twice.'

2.2. *Preverbal kàn*

➤ Syntactic position: *kàn* can only occur in-between the subject and verb

(13) {**kàn*} Ayò {*kàn*} fún {**kàn*} Adé ní iwé
only Ayo only give only Ade SEC book
'Ayo only gave Ade a book.'

- **Kàn** locates at the preverbal field and has rigid ordering with other preverbal particles (see Appendix 6.1)

(14) The general clausal schema in Yorùbá

Adjunct — Topic/Focus — COMP — S — {Particles} — V — O — Adjunct
⏟
(*Adjunct)

(15) The preverbal field in Yorùbá

S — NEG — {Q/ONLY} — MUST — {HAB/PFV} — {MAY/PROG} — V
 S — *kò/kíí* — {*há/kàn*} — *gbòdò* — {*máa/tí*} — {*lè/ní*} — V

➤ In-situ focus

- **Kàn** may **associate at a distance** with the focus in its scope (c-commanding domain)
- **Cannot** associate with the **subject**, which is outside its scope

(16) $Ayò^{(*F)}$ **kàn** [$fún^{(F)}$ $Adé^{(F)}$ [$ní$ $ìwé^{(F)}$] $^{(F)}$] (potential focus associates: V, DO, IO, VP, *S)

Ayo only give Ade SEC book
 ‘Ayo only gave Ade a book.’ (but not {buy_v/buying Olu a drawing_{VP}/Olu_{IO}/a drawing_{DO})

➤ Ex-situ focus

- When the focus associate is moved **outside kàn’s scope**, **kàn** may associate with it
 - Also observed in Kasem (Aremu 2024a)
 - Unlike adverbial ‘only’ in various languages, which must c-command its associate (Erlewine 2014)

(17) Ex-situ object focus

- John **kàn** *şe* German_F (in-situ, object focus)
 John only do German
 ‘John only took German.’
- German_F** **ni** John **kàn** *şe* _ (movement, object focus)
 German FOC John only do
 ‘It is only German that John took.’
- German_F** **nikan** **ni** John **kàn** *şe* _ (movement, object focus)
 German only FOC John only do
 ‘It is only German that John took.’ (truth condition = b)

(18) #It is GERMAN_F that John only took.

- Movement also renders subject focus possible³

(19) Ex-situ subject focus

- John^(*F) **kàn** *wá_F* (in-situ, only verbal focus)
 John only come
 ‘John only/just came (and did nothing else).’
- John_{F}}** **ni** *ó* **kàn** *wá* (movement, subject focus)
 John FOC 3SG only come
 ‘It is only John that came.’
- John_{F}}** **nikan** **ni** *ó* **kàn** *wá* (movement, subject focus)
 John only FOC 3SG only come
 ‘It is only John that came.’

➤ **Kàn** also allows for a (scalar) downplaying reading, which we set aside in this talk

(20) [John **kàn** *şe* German] **ni**. (*ó túnşe* Faransé.)
 John just do German FOC 3SG also do French
 ‘John just took German (as a requirement, nothing special). He also took French.’

³ Subject movement triggers obligatory resumption in Yorùbá, and subject gaps are not allowed (*cf.* Adesola 2010).

3. Covert movement

3.1. Wide scope 'only'

➤ Adfocal particles often display scopal ambiguities (e.g., Taglicht 1984, Rooth 1985 for English; see Yip to appear for Vietnamese)

- As opposed to adverbial particles, which are interpreted with the surface scope

(21) I knew (that) he had learnt [**only** [Spanish]_F] (Taglicht 1984: 150)

- only* > *knew*: I knew that he had **only** learnt [Spanish]_F, i.e., hadn't learnt any other language
- knew* > *only*: I **only** knew that he had learnt [Spanish]_F, i.e., didn't know about any other language

➤ *Nikan* shows similar scopal ambiguities

- When an in-situ **object focus** with *nikan* is embedded in a complement clause, the exclusive operator may take **wide scope over the matrix predicate**, and may co-occur with matrix *kàn*
- Put differently, *nikan* acquires a wide scope reading across CP boundaries
- *Kàn* is interpreted with the surface scope

(22) Wide scope across CPs (object focus)

Olùkó kò mò [bóyá John ɕe Faransé], ...
 teacher NEG know whether John do French, ...

'The teacher doesn't know whether John took French or not, ...'

- ... # Olùkó mò [pé John *kàn* ɕe German *nikan*] (know > only)
 teacher know COMP John only do German only
- ... # Olùkó mò [pé John *kàn* ɕe German] (know > only)
 teacher know COMP John only do German
- ... Olùkó mò [pé John ɕe German *nikan*] (only > know, know > only)
 teacher know COMP John do German only
- ... Olùkó *kàn* mò [pé John ɕe German] (only > know)
 teacher only know COMP John do German
- ... Olùkó *kàn* mò [pé John ɕe German *nikan*] (only > know)
 teacher only know COMP John do German only

(a,b,c): '#The teacher knows that John only took *German*.' (and knows that John didn't take French)

(c,d,e): 'The teacher only knows that John took *German*.' (but doesn't know about French)

- Wide scope *nikan* is truly embedded:

(23) Olùkó (*kàn*) mò [pé John ɕe German *nikan* *lẹ̀ẹ̀meji*] (only > know)

teacher only know COMP John do German only twice

'The teacher only knows John took *German* twice.' (but doesn't know that John took French twice as well)

3.2. Island effects

➤ The wide scope reading is **unavailable** across an island boundary

➤ **Complex NP islands** formed by relative clauses

- Consider a scenario (24) which facilitates the wide scope reading in (25) with a relative clause structure

(24) "Chocolate feeding" Scenario: [Group A: dog & rat | Group B: rat | Group C: dog]

Student group A fed both dogs and rats chocolates, B fed only rats chocolates, and C fed only dogs chocolates. Since dogs cannot eat chocolates whereas rats can, both groups A and C should be punished

- Narrow scope: only A got punished ☞ a not-so-responsible teacher
 The teacher punishes [_{DP} students [_{CP} who **only** gave DOGS chocolates]] (punish > only)
- Wide scope: both A and C got punished ☞ a responsible teacher
 The teacher **only** punishes [_{DP} students [_{CP} who gave DOGS chocolates]] (only > punish)

- *Nikan* fails to acquire the wide scope reading across a CNPI boundary

(26) Absence of wide scope across complex NP islands

Olùkó náà fi iyà jẹ [DP àwọn akẹ̀kọ̀ọ́ [CP tí wọ̀n fún ajáF *nikan* ní chocolate]]
 teacher the usesuffer beat PL student COMP 3PL give dog only SEC chocolate
Narrow: ‘The teacher punishes students who only gave *dogs* chocolates.’ (=A) (punish > only)

- To obtain the wide scope reading, matrix *kàn* must be adopted **without** embedded *nikan*
 - With the embedded *nikan*, only a downplaying reading of *kàn* is obtained (≠exclusive doubling)

(27)a. Olùkó náà *kàn* fi iyà jẹ [DP àwọn akẹ̀kọ̀ọ́ [CP tí wọ̀n fún ajáF ní chocolate]]
 teacher the only usesuffer beat PL student COMP 3PL give dog SEC chocolate
Wide: ‘The teacher only punishes students who gave *dogs* chocolates.’ (=A & C) (only > punish)

b. Olùkó náà *kàn* fi iyà jẹ [DP àwọn akẹ̀kọ̀ọ́ [CP tí wọ̀n fún ajáF *nikan* ní chocolate]]
 teacher the just usesuffer beat PL student COMP 3PL give dog only SEC chocolate
Narrow+downplaying: ‘The teacher just punishes students who only gave *dogs* chocolates.’ (=A) (punish > only)

➤ Adjunct islands (skipped for the time being)

- *Nikan* also fails to acquire the wide scope reading across an adjunct island boundary

(28) Absence of wide scope across adjunct islands

Olùkó náà mò [pé_[adjunct] bí John bá ẹ German *nikan*], inú olùkó German yóò dùn]
 teacher the know COMP if John if do German only stomachteacher German will sweet
Narrow: ‘The teacher knows that if John only took German, the German teacher will be happy.’
 (And knows that John also took French, the German teacher will not be happy) (know > only)

- Again, the wide scope reading can only be obtained with matrix *kàn* and **without** embedded *nikan*

(29)a. Olùkó náà *kàn* mò [pé_[adjunct] bí John bá ẹ German], inú olùkó German yóò dùn]
 teacher the onlyknow COMP if John if do German stomachteacher German will sweet
Wide: ‘The teacher only knows that if John took German, the German teacher will be happy.’
 (But doesn’t know about French) (only > know)

b. Olùkó náà *kàn* mò [pé_[adjunct] bí John bá ẹ German *nikan*], inú olùkó German yóò dùn]
 teacher the just know COMP if John if do German only stomachteacher German will sweet
Narrow+downplaying: ‘The teacher just knows that if John only took German, the German teacher will be happy.’ (And knows that John also took French, the German teacher will not be happy) (know > only)

3.3. *Interim summary*

(30) The syntactic and semantic properties of exclusive particles in Yorùbá

		<i>Nikan</i>	<i>Kàn</i>
Particle types		Adfocal particles	Adverbial/preverbal particles
Syntactic position		Immediately follows focus, except V	In-between Subj and V
Focus association	<i>In-situ</i> focus	Adjacent to the focus	At a distance, c-command the focus
	<i>Ex-situ</i> focus	Must move together	Associate with the moved focus <i>without</i> c-commanding it
Wide scope when embedded	Across CP	✓	✗
	Across islands	✗	✗

- We argue *against* an operator-particle analysis for Yorùbá, where *kàn* is the exclusive operator (*contra.* the Op-Prt analysis proposed for other languages in Y. Lee 2005, Quek & Hirsch 2017, Sun 2021, Yip to appear, etc.)

(38) An operator-particle analysis for Yorùbá (to be rejected)

[OP_{only}=*kàn* ... [*focused element*] Prt_{only}=*nìkan*] ...] (OP=operator, Prt=semantically inert particle)

↑ syntactic dependency ↑

(39) Three arguments against *kàn* as the exclusive operator

- Association with multiple foci*
Kàn fails to establish independent focus association that is distinct from *nìkan*
- Association with ex-situ focus*
Scope is determined by the ex-situ focus (where *nìkan* may remain unpronounced), not *kàn*
- Ellipsis* (see Appendix 6.2)

4.2. *Argument #1: Association with multiple foci* (cf. Yip to appear for Cantonese/Mandarin/Vietnamese)

- In a multiple-focus configuration where **only one focus is within *kàn*'s scope** ...
 - If *kàn* is really an OP ☞ We expect to see distinct focus association with a multiple 'only' reading

(40) Only John only read English books.

Multiple 'only' reading: 'John is the only person who only reads English books.'

(41) Prediction made by the operator-particle analysis⁴

[F1 *nìkan* ... [*kàn* [F2 ...
| |

- If *kàn* is not an OP ☞ No distinct focus association, *kàn* is dependent/"parasitic" on *nìkan*

(42) Prediction made by the quantifier-particle analysis

[F1 *nìkan* ... [*kàn* [F2 ...
| |

- Doubling of *nìkan* and *kàn*
 - Ex-situ subjects + in-situ objects

(43) Baseline

- John_F *nìkan* ni ó máa-ń ka àwọn iwé Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì (Subject focus)
John only FOC 3SG HAB-PROG read PL book English
'Only *John* reads English books.'
- John ni ó *kàn* máa-ń ka [àwọn iwé Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì]_F (Object focus)
John FOC 3SG only HAB-PROG read PL book English
'John only reads *English books*.'

- *Kàn* fails to associate with the object when the subject bears exclusive focus with *nìkan*
 - Multiple 'only' reading can only be obtained with multiple *nìkan*

(44) Multiple foci on the subjects and objects

[Context: Who only reads English books?]

- John_{F1} *nìkan* ni ó *kàn* máa-ń ka [àwọn iwé Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì]_{F2}
John only FOC 3SG only HAB-PROG read PL book English
OK Subject focus: 'John is the only person who just reads English books (e.g., for fun).'
(#other people read both English books and French books)
*Multiple 'only': 'John is the only person who only reads English books.'
(and other people read both English books and French books)

⁴ Presumably, there is another OP higher than *nìkan* to associate with F1.

- b. John_{F1} **nikan** ni ó **kàn** máa-ń ka [àwọn iwé Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì]_{F2} **nikan**⁵
 John only FOC 3SG only HAB-PROG read PL book English only
 OK Multiple ‘only’: ‘John is the only person who only reads English books.’
 (and other people read both English books and French books)

- Each occurrence of **nikan** corresponds to one exclusive operator
- **kàn** fails to establish focus association independent of a clausemate **nikan**

4.3. *Argument #2: Association with ex-situ focus*

- Recall: Exclusive OP in other languages generally need to **c-command the overt focus associates** (Erlewine 2014)
 - The c-command requirement is **exceptionally lifted** for **kàn** (see also Aremu 2024a for Kasem adfocal *yerane*)
 - quite surprising if **kàn** is really an OP

(45) Association with ex-situ focus outside **kàn**'s c-command domain (reproduced from (17))

German_F (**nikan**) ni John **kàn** ɕe _
 German only FOC John only do
 ‘It is only German that John took.’

- Further evidence from scopal interaction with **negation**
 - In both examples below, **kàn** is lower than the negation
 - **Pre-focus** negation: negation scopes **over** ‘only’
 - **Post-focus** negation: negation scopes **under** ‘only’
 - The readings remain the same with **nikan** pronounced

(46) Pre-focus negation⁶

- a. kì-í ɕe German ni John **kàn** ɕe _ (NEG > only)
 NEG do German FOC John only do
 ‘It is not only German that John took (but also French)’ (i.e., John took German & French)
- b. kì-í ɕe German **nikan** ni John **kàn** ɕe _ (NEG > only)
 NEG do German only FOC John only do
 ‘It is not only German that John took.’ (truth condition = a)

(47) Post-focus negation

- a. German ni John **kò** **kàn** ɕe _ (only > NEG)
 German FOC John NEG only do
 ‘It is German that John just didn’t take’ (i.e., John didn’t take German – he took French & Latin)
- b. German **nikan** ni John **kò** **kàn** ɕe _ (only > NEG)
 German only FOC John NEG only do
 ‘It is German that John just didn’t take’ (truth condition = a)
- The above suggests that the scope of ‘only’ is determined by the **ex-situ focus**, instead of **kàn** !
 - Sourced from an unpronounced **nikan**

(48) kì-í [[ɕe German {EXCL/**nikan**} ni [John **kàn** ɕe]] (NEG > only)

(49) [ɕe German {EXCL/**nikan**} ni [John **kò** **kàn** ɕe]] (only > NEG)

⁵ The multiple ‘only’ reading is scope-rigid – it’s [only John > only English books], and there cannot be a reading [only English books > only John] (i.e., “English books are the only thing that only John reads, and for French books, John and Bill reads them”; which would imply that “John reads both English books and French books”)

⁶ When both exclusive focus particles are absent, the pre-focus negation only negates the prejacent instead of the exclusivity. This suggests that the exclusivity in (46) does not come from the clefting/*ni* itself, but rather from one of the exclusive focus particles (**nikan**, as we argue for).

(i) kì-í ɕe German ni John ɕe _
 NEG do German FOC John do
 ‘It is not German that John took.’ (i.e., John didn’t take German)

5. Conclusion

➤ Summary of the talk

- #1 We provided detailed descriptions of the exclusive focus particles in Yorùbá
- #2 We showed that exclusive doubling, despite surface similarities to operator-particle dependencies, should *not* be treated alike
 - We argued for an *opposite* view in Yorùbá, dubbed as the **quantifier-particle** analysis, where:
 - Nìkan* is an **exclusive quantifier**;
 - Kàn* is a **scope-marking particle** without exclusive interpretation

(50) [... [Prt_{only}= *kàn* ... [QP [*focused* element] Qu_{only}=*nìkan*] ...] (Qu=quantifier)

- To acquire wide scope, *nìkan* may undergo: Covert movement, as marked by *kàn*
Overt (focus) movement

(51) [FocP [Foc' ni ... [FP [F' Prt_{only}= *kàn* ... [QP [*focused* element] Qu_{only}=*nìkan*] ...]

6. Appendices

6.1. The preverbal field in Yorùbá

(52) The preverbal field in Yorùbá

S — NEG — {Q/ONLY} — MUST — {HAB/PFV} — {MAY/PROG} — V
 S — *kò/kií* — {*ha/kàn*} — *gbòdò* — {*máa/ti*} — {*lè/ní*} — V

➤ The following examples show that *kàn* is rigidly ordered with other particles in the preverbal field

(53) Adé {*kò*} *kàn* {**kò*} jẹ̀ irẹ̀ṣì (NEG > *kàn*, **kàn* > NEG)

Ade NEG only NEG eat rice
 'Ade didn't only eat rice.'

(54) Adé {*kií*} *kàn* {**kií*} jẹ̀ irẹ̀ṣì (NEG > *kàn*, **kàn* > NEG)

Ade NEG.HAB only NEG.HAB eat rice
 'Ade doesn't only eat rice.'

(55) a. Sẹ̀ Adé {**ha*} *kàn* {**ha*} ka iwé kan nìkan? (*Q > *kàn*, **kàn* > Q)

Q Ade Q only Q read book one only
 'Does Ade only read one book?'

b. Sẹ̀ Adé ha ka iwé kan nìkan?

Q Ade Q read book one only
 'Does Ade only read one book?'

(56) Adé {**gbòdò*} *kàn* {*gbòdò*} jẹ̀ irẹ̀ṣì (*MUST > *kàn*, *kàn* > MUST)⁷

Ade must only must eat rice
 'Ade only must eat rice' (i.e., rice is the only compulsory food, meat is optional)
 NOT: 'Ade must only eat rice' (i.e., meat is prohibited)

(57) Adé {**ti*} *kàn* {*ti*} ka iwé kan (*PFV > *kàn*, *kàn* > PFV)

Ade PFV only PFV read book one
 'Ade has only read one book.'

⁷ A scopal mismatch arises with negation and 'must':

(ii) John {*kò*} *gbòdò* {**kò*} tí-ì dé
 John NEG must NEG PFV arrive
 'John must not have arrived.' (MUST > NEG)
 NOT: 'It is not the case that John must have arrived' (*NEG > MUST)

7. References

- Adesola, Oluseye. 2010. The non-agreeing subject resumptive pronoun in Yoruba. *Topics in Kwa Syntax*, 65-89.
- Aremu, Daniel. 2024a. Towards a propositional concord approach for exclusives in Kasem. Paper presented at WCCFL-42, UC Berkeley.
- Aremu, Daniel. 2024b. Topic and focus asymmetries in Yorùbá. In Anke Himmelreich, Daniel Hole and Johannes Mursell, eds., *To the left, to the right, and much in between: A Festschrift for Katharina Hartmann*, 185-204. Frankfurt: Goethe University Frankfurt.
- Atoyebi, Joseph, Martin Haspelmath, and Andrej Malchukov. 2011. Ditransitive constructions in Yorùbá. In Andrej Malchukov, Martin Haspelmath, and Bernard Comrie, eds., *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions: A Comparative Handbook*, 145-165. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Barbiers, Sjef. 2010. Focus particle doubling. In *Structure preserved: Studies in syntax for Jan Koster*, edited by Jan-Wouter Zwart and Marc de Vries, 21-30. Amsterdam/New York: Benjamins.
- Bassi, Itai, Aron Hirsch, and Tue Trinh. 2022. Pre-DP *only* is a propositional operator at LF: a new argument from ellipsis. In *Proceedings of SALT 32*, 814-830.
- Bayer, Josef. 1996. *Directionality and logical form: On the scope of focusing particles and wh-in-situ*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Bayer, Josef. 2020. Why doubling discourse particles?. In Ludovico Franco and Paolo Lorusso, eds., *Linguistic Variation: Structure and Interpretation*, 47-72. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bisang, Walter, and Remi Sonaiya. 2000. Information structuring in Yoruba. *Linguistics* 38(1): 169-197.
- Branan, Kenyon, and Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine. 2023. Anti-pied-piping. *Language* 99(3): 603-653.
- Büring, Daniel, and Katharina Hartmann. 2001. The syntax and semantics of focus-sensitive particles in German. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 19(2): 229-281.
- Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka. 2014. Movement out of focus. PhD dissertation. MIT.
- Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka. 2017. Vietnamese focus particles and derivation by phase. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 26(4):325-349.
- Hirsch, Aron. 2022. *Only* as a form-meaning mismatch. Handout distributed at Oberseminar, University of Göttingen.
- Hole, Daniel. 2013. Focus particles and related entities in Vietnamese. In Daniel Hole and Elisabeth Löbel, eds., *Linguistics of Vietnamese: An International Survey*, 265-303. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.
- Hole, Daniel. 2015. A distributed syntax for evaluative 'only' sentences. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 34(1): 43-77.
- Hole, Daniel. 2017. A crosslinguistic syntax of scalar and non-scalar focus particle sentences: the view from Vietnamese and Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 26(4):389-409.
- Howell, Anna. 2016. A Hamblin semantics for alternative questions in Yoruba. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 20*, 359-376.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jones, Susie. 2006. Focus in Yorùbá: a semantic/pragmatic account. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 46: 143-160.
- Lee, Peppina Po-lun. 2019. *Focus Manifestation in Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese: A Comparative Perspective*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Lee, Youngjoo. 2005. Exhaustivity as agreement: The case of Korean *man* 'only'. *Natural Language Semantics* 13(2): 169-200.
- Quek, Yihui, and Aron Hirsch. 2017. Severing focus form and meaning in Standard and Colloquial Singapore English. In Lamont Andrew and Tetzloff Katerina, eds., *Proceedings of the 47th Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*, 15-24. GLSA, Amherst, MA.
- Rooth, Mats. 1985. Association with focus. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Sun, Yenan. 2021. A bipartite analysis of *zhiyou* 'only' in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 30:319-355.
- Taglicht, Josef. 1984. *Message and Emphasis: On Focus and Scope in English*. Longman.
- Yip, Ka-Fai. To appear. Agreeing with 'only'. In *41st West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Cascadilla Proceedings Project. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/007525>