Focus constructions in Juba Arabic

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This paper describes the syntactic and semantic/pragmatic value of two ex-situ focus constructions—termed here as *yaú*-focus and *fí*-focus—in Juba Arabic, an Arabic-based creole spoken in South Sudan. Alongside the descriptive account, this paper argues the possible grammaticalization process (to be shown as EXISTENTIAL > (FOCUS COPULA) > FOCUS MARKER) that gave birth to the focus construction, in particular, *yaú*-focus.

1. Introduction[*]

1.1. Focus construction in Arabic-based creoles

In the linguistic literature on African languages, an interesting type of cleft-like focus strategy including a special focus marker, often termed 'emphatic copula' or 'focus copula,' has been reported in a wide range of language families. To take a few examples, Swahili *ndi-* (Ashton 1947: 179–180), Dholuo *e (ma)* (Okombo 1997: 114–117) Labwor *éné ~ ê* (Heine & König 2010: 85–86), Yoruba *ni* (Jones 2006), and Bura *án* (Hartmann, Jacob & Zimmermann 2008) can mark argument focus on an ex-situ noun phrase occurring directly before each of them.

A similar construction has been reported in the two historically closely-related Arabic-based creoles, Nubi (spoken in Uganda and Kenya) and Juba Arabic (spoken in

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South Sudan) in the forms: *yaá ~ yaa* (Heine 1982: 28–29, Kenyan Nubi), *ʾya* (Wellens 2005: 237–239, 254–259, Ugandan Nubi), *yá* (Owens 1996: 151, Nubi), *yauu* (Watson & Ola 1985: 51, Juba Arabic), *yaú* (Miller 1987, Juba Arabic), *ya-au* (Smith & Ama 2005: 184, Juba Arabic), *yá/yáwu/yawú* (Manfredi & Tosco, forthcoming, Juba Arabic), etc.

The aim of this paper is to describe the syntactic and semantic/pragmatic value and the lexical source of this morpheme, represented below as *yaú* [jauʎ] and termed *yaú*-focus, in comparison with another focus strategy exhibited by *fí* (*fí*-focus), which is also reported for Nubi (Wellens 2005: 245). Previous studies have been mainly based on spontaneous data, thus in contrast, this paper utilizes elicited data. Our main questions are as follows:

[1]   What are the (lexical) sources for *yaú*-focus and *fí*-focus?

[2]   What kind of syntactic constructions do *yaú*-focus and *fí*-focus have?

[3]   What kind of semantic value do *yaú*-focus and *fí*-focus carry?

To begin with the first question, previous studies have proposed that the pan-Arabic vocative particle *yā* is the source for *yaú* (Owens 1996: 165, Wellens 2005: 237, Manfredi & Tosco, forthcoming), on the supposition that the phonological representation of this morpheme is the same as the vocative particle in both Nubi and Juba Arabic. However, according to the author's account (Juba Arabic lexically and grammatically distinguishes pitch), although *yaú* actually has an 'allegro' (reduced) form *yǎ* [jaˑʎ] (cf. Nakao 2013: 97), it contrasts vocative *ya* [jaˌ] and a conjunction *yá* [jaˈ] 'or.'[1] For example, (1) serves as a minimal pair for the pitch distinction in Juba Arabic (*dé* 'DEM' *kélib* 'dog' and *já* 'come' are used as carriers for each morpheme).

(1)   a.   ***yǎ** kélib.* (= ***yaú** kélib.*)   'Here is a dog.'

        *dé **yǎ** kélib.* (= *dé **yaú** kélib.*)   'THIS is a dog.'

        ***yǎ** kélib já.* (= ***yaú** kélib já.*)   'Then, a dog came'

      b.   ***ya** kélib.*   'O dog; you, brat!'

      c.   ***yá** kélib.*   'Or [it may be] a dog.'

Note that *yaú* (in the allegro form, *yǎ*) is actually quite multifunctional as shown in (1a). It marks existence in the first example, and focus, which is the main topic of this paper, in the second example, and it even functions as a conjunctional adverb in the last example. On the other hand, the lexifier of Juba Arabic, Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (abbreviated:

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[1] Manfredi & Tosco (forthcoming) proposes *yáwu* as a distinct morpheme (vs. *yá* and vs. *yawú*). However, this form could not be identified by any of the author's informants.

SCA), has a similar particle *yāhú*[2] which reportedly marks existence, as in the next example (CLIK 2008: 12–13, the orthography is modified and the gloss is given by the author, according to the author's informal interview with SCA speakers).

(2) A: *'ind-ik*   *ṣābūn*   *budra?*
        with-2SG.F   soap   powder
        'Have you got powder soap?'
     B: *āí,*   **yāhú**   *ṣ-ṣābūn.*
        yes   **here.is.3SG.M**   DEF-soap(M)
        'Yes, here is the soap.'

From this fact, one may assume that Juba Arabic *yaú* was first inherited from SCA as an existential marker, and the other functions developed internally.[3] Moreover, Juba Arabic has developed another existential marker *fí* as another focus marker, to be introduced in Section 2. This process can be represented as EXISTENTIAL > FOCUS MARKER.

This paper consists of five parts. Section 1 provides a brief description of argument order in Juba Arabic. Sections 2 and 3 describe the syntactic and semantic features of both *fí*-focus and *yaú*-focus, and Section 4 examines interrogative sentences. Finally, the hypothesis EXISTENTIAL > FOCUS MARKER is re-argued in the conclusion in Section 5.

1.2. Argument order and topicalization in Juba Arabic

Before introducing our main topic, namely *yaú*-focus and *fí*-focus, a brief description of the basic argument order and topicalization in Juba Arabic is given below.

In Juba Arabic, the most basic argument order consisting of (transitive) verbal predicate is SVO, as shown in (3a). Juba Arabic has a passive-like construction, as shown in (3b), wherein the passive verb is marked by the suffix *-ú*, and the subject of the passive sentence remains in situ. As shown in (4), these arguments exhibit topicalization or left-dislocation, wherein they appear at sentence-initial position and optional 'pro' may appear in situ, in order to mark their givenness, and the newness of the predicate.

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[2] This form is for singular masculine, and SCA also has *yāhá* for feminine singular, and *yāhúm* for plural. Each form consists of the bound presentative morpheme *yā-* and a pronominal suffix (*-hu* '3SG.M,' *-ha* '3SG.F,' *-hum* '3PL(M)'). Each form can be followed by the corresponding proximative demonstrative (i.e. *yāhú da*, *yāhá di*, *yāhúm dēl*). Possible cognate morphemes for *yā-* is seen, for example, in the Arabic dialect of Šukriyya in Eastern Sudan as *ayyā-/iyyā-* (Reichmuth 1983: 109). Wellens (2005: 366–368) discusses the etymology of SCA. *yā-*, relating it to the vocative particle, but this etymology seems not to explain the forms in the Arabic dialect of Šukriyya.
[3] According to the author's informal interviews with SCA speakers, this morpheme never marks focus in SCA.

(3) a. [*jôn*]ₛ *béredu* [*jéna* *dé*]ₒ.
     [John]   bathe   [child   DEM]
     'John bathed this child.'

   b. *bi*   *katul-ú* [*bágara* *dé*]ₛ   *búkura.*
      IRR   kill-PASS [cow   DEM]   tomorrow
      'This cow will be killed tomorrow.'

(4) a. [***jôn***]ₛ**,** (*úwo*) *béredu* *jéna*   *dé.*
     [**John**] (3SG)   bathe   child   DEM
     'As for John <GIVEN>, he bathed this child <NEW>.'

   a'. [***jéna*** ***dé***]ₒ**,** *ána*   *béredu* (*úwo*).
      [**child**   **DEM**]   1SG   bathe   (3SG)
      'As for this child <GIVEN>, I bathed him <NEW>.'

   b. [***bágara*** ***dé***]ₛ**,**   *bi*   *katul-ú* (*úwo*) *búkura.*
      [**cow** **DEM**]   IRR   kill-PASS (3SG)   tomorrow
      'As for this cow <GIVEN>, it will be killed tomorrow <NEW>.'

As for the nominal and adjectival predicate, the copula does not appear in the present tense. The subject of these predicates can also be topicalized.

(5) a. *jôn*   *tálib.*
     John   student
     'John is a student.'

   b. ***jôn*,** *úwo*   *tálib.*
      John   3SG   student
      'As for John <GIVEN>, he is a student <NEW>.'

1.3. Existential constructions

In contrast to the verbal/nominal/adjectival predicates, there is a syntactically distinct type of predicate construction that includes one of the four morphemes shown in (6). These morphemes are henceforth termed 'existentials,' and are considered a closed word class.

(6) a. ***fī***   'there is/are' (EXS)   < SCA. *fī*
     b. ***máfī***   'there is/are not' (NEG.EXS)   < SCA. *māfī*
     c. ***wenú ~ wonú***   'where is/are' (INTERR.EXS)   < SCA. *wēnú*

   d. **yaú ~ yaú dé**[4]   'here is/are' (FOC.EXS)   < SCA. *yāhú* (*da*), cf. note 2.

The existentials exhibit the constituent order exemplified in (7–10), wherein the subject (exhibited here as *móyo* 'water') appears either before (7–10a) or after (7–10b) the existential predicate.

(7) a.   *móyo*   **fí**   *fi*   *talája.*
     b. **fí**   *móyo*   *fi*   *talája.*
      (**EXS**)   water   (**EXS**)   LOC   refrigerator
      'There is water in the refrigerator.'

(8) a.   *móyo*   **máfi**   *fi*   *talája.*
     b. **máfi** *móyo*   *fi*   *talája.*
      (**EXS**)   water   (**EXS**)   LOC   refrigerator
      'There is no water in the refrigerator.'

(9) a.   *móyo*   **wenú***?*
     b. **wenú**   *móyo?*
      (**INTERR.EXS**)   water   (**INTERR.EXS**)
      'Where is water?'

(10) a.   *móyo*   **yaú**   (**dé**)*.*
     b. **yaú**   (**dé**)   *móyo.*
      (**EXS**   (**DEM**))   water   (**EXS**   (**DEM**))
      '[See,] here[5] is water.'

The examples (7–10a) seem comparable to the topicalization process in (4) and (5b), since the subjects preferably (or obligatorily) appear only before the existentials when they are semantically definite, that is to say, given information.

(11) a.   *móyo*   *dé*   **fí**   *fi*   *talája.*
     b.? **fí**   *móyo*   *dé*   *fi*   *talája.*
      (**EXS**)   water   DEM   (**EXS**)   LOC   Juba
      'The water <GIVEN> is in the refrigerator.'

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[4] A (proximate) demonstrative, *dé*, redundantly co-occurs with deictic adverbs, *híni dé* 'here,' *aléla dé* 'today,' etc.
[5] The deictic interpretation of existential *yaú* is limited to the proximative meaning. Thus, (i) *yaú móyo íni* 'Here is water (gloss: FOC.EXS water **here**)' is grammatical, but (ii) **yaú móyo inâk* (gloss: FOC.EXS water **there**) is ungrammatical.

(11) c.   *úma*   *taí*   **_fí_**   *fi*   *júba.*

　　 d.? **_fí_**   *úma*   *taí*   *fi*   *júba.*

　　　 (**EXS**)   mother   POSS.1SG   (**EXS**)   LOC   Juba

　　　 'My mother <GIVEN> is in Juba.'

　　 e.   *emá*   **_fí_**   *fi*   *júba.*

　　 f.? **_fí_**   *emá*   *fi*   *júba.*

　　　 (**EXS**)   Emma   (**EXS**)   LOC   Juba

　　　 'Emma <GIVEN> is in Juba.'

　　 g.   *ána*   **_fí_**   *fi*   *júba.*

　　 h. ***_fí_**   *ána*   *fi*   *júba.*

　　　 (**EXS**)   1SG   (**EXS**)   LOC   Juba

　　　 'I <GIVEN> am in Juba.'

　　To summarize, an existential (*fí*, *máfi*, *wenú*, *yaú*) as the predicate in a sentence can mark the information structure of the subject by means of the argument order. In addition to the above discussion, the next section examines another function exhibited by *fí* and *máfi*, as a type of focus marker.

2. *fí*-focus

2.1. Grammaticalization of *fí* and *máfi*

　　Among the existentials, *fí* and *máfi* appearing in sentence-initial position followed by a noun (phrase) can take a verbal predicate as in (12). The sentences can be interpreted in two ways: i. *fí/máfi* not as a predicate, and ii. *fí/máfi* as a predicate, syntactically shown in (12a)'. In the former interpretation, which is henceforth to be termed *fí-/máfi*-focus, the reading of the TAM of the sentence depends on the TAM marking of the verbal predicate.

(12) a. **_fí_**   *sabí*   *taí*   *táni*   *já*   *min*   *béled.*

　　　 EXS   friend   POSS.1SG   certain   come   from   country

　　　 i. 'A friend of mine came from the country.'

　　　 ii. 'There is/was a friend of mine who came.'

　　 b. **_máfi_**   *zôl*   *táni*   *bi*   *kóre.*

　　　 NEG.EXS person   certain   IRR   cry

　　　 i. 'No one will cry.'

　　　 ii. 'There is/will be no one who will cry.'

(12a)' i. [*fí*   *sabí*   *taí*   *táni*]   *já*   *min*   *béled.*
        [**EXS**   friend   POSS.1SG certain]   come   from   country

    ii. *fí*   [*sabí*   *taí*   *táni*   (*al*)   *já*   *min*   *béled*].
        EXS   [friend   POSS.1SG certain   (REL)   come   from   country]

2.2. Semantic/pragmatic value of *fí-*/*máfi-*focus

To understand the grammaticalized function of *fí* and *máfi* as focus markers, let us first look at the following examples. Using the example in (13) as the base, the noun directly following *fí-/máfi*-focus cannot be a definite noun (marked here by *dé* 'DEM') as shown in (14), but it can be marked by indefiniteness-sensitive phrases as in (15) and (16).

(13) a. *fí*   *mára*   *gí*   *wógif*   *fi*   *maháta.*
         EXS   woman   IMPERF   stand   LOC   bus.stop
         'A woman is standing at a bus stop.'
      b. *máfi*   *mára*   *gí*   *wógif*   *fi*   *maháta.*
         NEG.EXS woman   IMPERF   stand   LOC   bus.stop
         'No woman is standing at a bus stop.'

(14) a.*fí*   *mára*   ***dé***   *gí*   *wógif*   *fi*   *maháta.*
         EXS   woman   **DEM**   IMPERF   stand   LOC   bus.stop
      b.*máfi*   *mára*   ***dé***   *gí*   *wógif*   *fi*   *maháta.*
         NEG.EXS woman   **DEM**   IMPERF   stand   LOC   bus.stop

(15) a. *fí*   *mára*   ***táni***   *gí*   *wógif*   *fi*   *maháta.*
         EXS   woman   **certain** IMPERF   stand   LOC   bus.stop
         'A woman is standing at a bus stop.'
      b. *máfi*   *mára*   ***táni***   *gí*   *wógif*   *fi*   *maháta.*
         NEG.EXS woman   **certain** IMPERF   stand   LOC   bus.stop
         'No woman is standing at a bus stop.'

(16) *fí*   ***júzu***   ***min***   *nâs*   *bi*   *téfigu*   *wíhida.*
      EXS   **part**   **from**   people   IRR   agree   unity
      'A part of people will be for unity.'

This seems to parallel the argument order of existentials that we examined in (11), namely, both the subject of the existential predicate and the subject of a sentence marked by *fí-/máfi*-focus cannot be definite (or cannot represent given information).

Accordingly, it seems that all the elements following *fí-/máfi*-focus are new information; thus, *fí-/máfi*-focus functions as a marker of 'sentence-focus.' And if so, *fí-/máfi*-focus must be free from left-dislocation that moves nouns with given information (cf. Section 1.2). In other words, it should be only sentence-initial subjects that can be marked by *fí*-focus (as Wellens 2005: 254 describes for Nubi).

2.3. Syntactic value of *fí*-focus

Contradicting this assumption, the next example (17) shows that an object of a verbal predicate can be marked by *fí*-focus, with obligatory object movement. The example in (18) shows that the subject of the passive-verb predicate must be left-dislocated.

(17)   [***fí***   *mára*]   *rájil*   *tô*   *dúgu*   (*úwo*).
         [**EXS**   woman]   man   POSS.3SG hit   (3SG)
        'There was a woman whom her husband hit (her).'

(18) a. [***fí***   *bágara*   *táni*]   *katul-ú*   *ma*   *jôn*.
          [**EXS**   cow   certain]   kill-PASS   with   John
         'A cow was killed by John.'

      b.**katul-ú*   [***fí***   *bágara*   *táni*]   *ma*   *jôn*.
          kill-PASS   [**EXS**   cow   certain]   with   John

In addition, *fí*-focus can occur in a finite clause as in (19); however, it cannot occur in a non-finite clause (in a causative construction, e.g., led by *wodí* 'to give ~ CAUS'), as in (20).

(19)   *aléla*   *ána*   *moksût,*   *ashan*   [[***fí***   *sabí*   *taí*   *táni*]
         today   1SG   happy   REAS   [[**EXS**   friend   POSS.1SG certain]
        já   *min*   *béled*   *taí*].
        come   from   country   POSS.1SG]
        'Today I am happy because a friend of mine came from my country.'

(20) a. *ána*   *wodí*   *zôl*   *táni*   *kátulu*   *bágara.*
          1SG   CAUS   person   certain   kill   cow
         'I made a person kill a cow.'

      b.**ána*   *wodí*   ***fí***   *zôl*   *táni*   *kátulu*   *bágara.*
          1SG   CAUS   **EXS**   person   certain   kill   cow

Additionally, in the next example, *fí yôm*, as a frequently occurring collocation, means 'one day.' Although such construction is unproductive, this example shows that even a non-argument noun can be marked by *fí*-focus.

(21) **fí   yôm,   ána   kán   gí   dóuru   fi   síka.**
     EXS   day   1SG   PAST   IMPERF   walk   LOC   road
     'One day, I was walking on the road.'

To summarize, *fí*-focus (and *máfi*-focus) functions to mark new information, but it does not exclusively mark sentence-focus. Next, we turn to another focus strategy utilized to mark argument-focus in Section 3.

3. *yaú*-focus

3.1. Multifunctionality of *yaú*: What is (not) *yaú*-focus?

As introduced earlier in Section 1.1, *yaú* is a multifunctional particle. In addition to its function as an existential (cf. 1.3), it marks argument-focus as shown in (22), which is the main topic of Section 3. For now, *yaú*-focus is interpreted as a kind of contrastive marker. Carrying this semantic value, *yaú* cannot co-occur with the demonstrative *dé*, and the interpretation is limited to an adverb 'here,' as shown in (23).

(22)   *nakáo*   *yaú*   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río.*
        Nakao   **FOC**   IMPERF   hit   Rio
        'NAKAO (not others) is hitting Rio.' / 'It is Nakao who is hitting Rio.'

(23) a. *nakáo*   *yaú*   *dé*   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río.*
        Nakao   **here** **DEM** IMPERF   hit   Rio
     b. *yaú*   (*dé*)   *nakáo* *gí*   *dúgu*   *río.*
        here   (**DEM**) Nakao   IMPERF   hit   Rio
        'Nakao, who is here, is hitting Rio.'
        * 'NAKAO (not others) is hitting Rio.' / 'It is Nakao who is hitting Rio.'

The existentials that we have observed in Section 1.3 are in complementary distribution. Thus, *fí* 'there is/are' and *wenú* 'where is/are' cannot co-occur in the same sentence as in (24a); although, *yaú* (*dé*) can co-occur with *fí*, since it is interpreted as an adverb. Additionally, *yaú* (not as *yaú dé*) also functions as a conjunctive adverb 'then/thence,' as in (25).

(24) a.*fí   móyo   wenú?
        EXS   water   INTERR.EXS
        'Where is water?'

      b. fí   móyo   **yaú**   (dé).
        EXS   water   **here**   (DEM)
        'Here is water.'

(25)   ána   géni   ma   úwo,   **yaú**   ána   ríja.
        1SG   stay   with   3SG   **then**   1SG   come.back
        'I stayed with him, and then I came back.'

Returning to our topic, *yaú* as a focus marker can occur before nominal (and adjectival) predicates. This construction is a problem that is discussed later in Section 4.1.

(26) a. dé   kélib.
        DEM   dog
        'This is a dog.'

      b. dé   **yaú**   kélib.
        DEM   **FOC**   dog
        'THIS (not 'that') is a dog.'

3.2. Syntactic value of *yaú*-focus

3.2.1. *yaú*-focus and movement

In parallel to fí-focus, the left-dislocation of the yaú-focused element is obligatory, as shown in (27). For example, the subject of a passive verb cannot occur in situ with yaú-focus. Additionally, as shown in (28), *yaú*-focus cannot occur in the non-finite clause in the same way as *fí*-focus can.

(27) a. azil-ú   [zôl   dé]   wozîr.
        select-PASS   [person   DEM]   minister
        'This person was elected for the minister.'

      b. [zôl   dé   **yaú**]   azil-ú   wozîr.
        [person   DEM   **FOC**]   select-PASS   minister
        'THIS PERSON (not others) was elected for the minister.'

      c.*azil-ú   [zôl   dé   **yaú**]   wozîr.
        select-PASS   [person   DEM   **FOC**]   minister

(28) a. *ána*   *wodí*   *jôn*   *kátulu*   *bágara*   *dé.*
        1SG   CAUS   John   kill   cow   DEM
        'I made John kill the cow.'
      b.*ána*   *wodí*   [*jôn*   ***yaú***] *kátulu*   *bágara*   *dé.*
        1SG   CAUS   [John   **FOC**]   kill   cow   DEM

Another important point is, the subtle syntactic asymmetry: the subject can be focused by *yaú* by all the author's informants, but for non-subject NPs, the informants disagreed as to whether they can be focused by *yaú*. Taking (29a) as the base, *yaú* focuses the subject of a sentence as in (29b), without problem.

(29) a. *ána*   *wodí*   *le*   *jôn*   *gurûs.*
        1SG   give   DAT   John   money
        'I gave John money.'
      b. [*ána*   ***yaú***] *wodí*   *le*   *jôn*   *gurûs.*
        [1SG   **FOC**]   give   DAT   John   money
        'I (not others) gave John money.'

However, two young Juba Arabic speakers of the Tenet people disagreed on the non-subject NPs. One could focus the direct/indirect object by *yaú* (obligatorily left-dislocated), but the other judged that it requires relativization (by *al* 'REL' and optional demonstrative *dé* to mark relative clause ending) of the predicate as in (29c–d). In addition, they also disagreed on non-argument NPs shown in (30)–(31) in the same way.[6]

(29) c. [*jôn*   ***yaú***] (*al*)   *ána*   *wodí*   *le*   *úwo*   *gurûs.*
        [John   **FOC**]   (REL)   1SG   give   DAT   3SG   money
        'I gave JOHN money.'
      d. [*gurûs* ***yaú***] (*al*)   *ána*   *wodí*   *le*   *jôn.*
        [money   **FOC**]   (REL)   1SG   give   DAT   John
        'I gave John MONEY.'

(30)   *gába*   ***yaú***   (*al*)   *úmon*   *rúwa*   *fógo*   (*dé*).
         forest   **FOC**   (REL)   3PL   go   LOC.3SG   (DEM)
         'They went to the FOREST (not other places).'

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[6] For other constituents that are not nouns, the grammaticality of *yaú*-focus seems to be unstable. For example, as the following examples show, an adverb (i) and a gerund (ii) are not commonly focused by *yaú*. (i) ? *wên yaú úmon rúwa.* (gloss: where FOC 3PL go) 'WHERE did they go?' (ii) ? *karábu yaú úmon gí ámulu.* (gloss: destroy.GER FOC 3PL IMPERF do) 'They are doing DESTRUCTION.'

(31)   *magâs*   ***yaú*** (*al*)   *ána*   *gáta*   *be*   *úwo*   *wáraga*   (*dé*).

        scissors   FOC (REL) 1SG   cut   with   3SG   paper   (DEM)

        'I cut this paper with SCISSORS (not with a paper-knife, etc.).'

3.2.2. Syntactic strangeness of *yaú*-focus

The relativization of the predicate in a *yaú*-focus sentence is, however, not limited to non-subject NPs. As the next example (22b)' shows, the subject focused by *yaú* can be followed by a relativized predicate. Moreover, the demonstrative *dé* optionally occurs in front of the NP focused by *yaú*, as shown in (22c–f)'.

(22)' a.   *nakáo*   ***yaú***   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río.*

       b.   *nakáo*   ***yaú***   *al*   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río*   (***dé***).

       c. ***dé***   *nakáo*   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río.*

       d. ***dé***   *nakáo*   ***yaú***   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río.*

       e. ***dé***   *nakáo*   *al*   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río*   (***dé***).

       f. ***dé***   *nakáo*   ***yaú***   *al*   *gí*   *dúgu*   *río*   (***dé***).

         (DEM)   Nakao   (FOC)   (REL)   IMPERF hit   Rio   (DEM)

         'NAKAO (not others) is hitting Rio.' / 'It is Nakao who is hitting Rio.'

Examples (22c–f)' seem strange when we compare them to the cross-linguistically typical 'cleft sentences,' namely because the syntactic position of *yaú* is never filled.

In addition, time adverbs (e.g., *umbári* 'yesterday'), TAM adverbs (*kán* 'PAST' and *kedé* 'SUBJUNCTIVE'), and the modal particle (*ma* 'EMPHATIC') can intervene between the focalized NP and the focus marker *yaú*. Although, these adverbial elements themselves are actually not focused by *yaú*, as shown in (32c), (33c), (34b), and (35b). In contrast, a prepositional phrase cannot intervene in this position, as shown in (36).

(32) a.   *úwo*   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*   ***umbári.***

      b.   *úwo*   *yaú*   ***umbári***   *rúwa fi gába.*

      c.   *úwo*   ***umbári***   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába.*

      d. ***umbári*** *úwo*   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába.*

        (**yest.**) 3SG   (**yest.**) FOC   (**yest.**) go LOC forest   (**yest.**)

        'HE went to the forest yesterday.' (*'He went to the forest YESTERDAY')

(33) a.   *úwo*   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*   **kán**.
     b.   *úwo*   *yaú*   **kán**   *rúwa fi gába*.
     c.   *úwo*   **kán**   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*.
     d. **kán**   *úwo*   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*.
        (**PAST**) 3SG   (**PAST**) FOC   (**PAST**) go LOC forest   (**PAST**)
        'HE has been to the forest before.' (*'He has been to the forest BEFORE.')

(34) a.   *úwo*   *yaú*   **kedé**   *rúwa fi gába*.
     b.   *úwo*   **kedé**   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*.
     c. **kedé** *úwo*   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*.
        (**SUBJ**) 3SG   (**SUBJ**) FOC   (**SUBJ**) go LOC forest
        'Let HIM (not others) go to the forest.' (*'LET him go to the forest.')

(35) a.   *úwo*   *yaú*   **ma**   *rúwa fi gába*.
     b.   *úwo*   **ma**   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*.
     c. **ma**   *úwo*   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*.
        (**EMPH**) 3SG   (**EMPH**) FOC   (**EMPH**) go LOC forest
        '(You must know,) HE went to the forest.'

(36)   * *úwo*   **fi**   **gába**   *yaú*   *rúwa*.
           3SG   **LOC**   **forest** FOC   go
           'It is he who went to the forest.'

More interestingly, the negative particle (*mâ* 'NEG') can occur directly after *yaú* (37a), between the focalized NP and *yaú* (37b), and between sentence-initial demonstrative *dé* (which is obligatorily introduced in this construction, probably because the negative particle *mâ* usually leads a predicate, and requires a syntactic subject) and the focalized NP without a clear semantic distinction. The negative particle *mâ* canonically occurs in the pre-predicate position and cannot precede any adverbs as shown in (38b). Thus, the construction in (37b) is strange even in Juba Arabic.

(37) a. (*dé*)   *úwo*   *yaú*   **mâ**   *rúwa fi gába*.
     b. (*dé*)   *úwo*   **mâ**   *yaú*   *rúwa fi gába*.
     c. *dé*   **mâ**   *úwo*   *yaú* (*al*) **mâ**   *rúwa fi gába* (*dé*).
        DEM   (**NEG**)   3SG   (**NEG**)   FOC (REL)   (**NEG**) go LOC forest (DEM)
        'HE did not go to the forest.'

(38)	a. *úwo*		*kán*	**mâ**	*kúruju*	*lúbiya.*
	b.*/?*úwo*	**mâ**	*kán*		*kúruju*	*lúbiya.*
	3SG	(**NEG**)	PAST	(**NEG**)	cultivate	cowpea

'He had not cultivated cowpeas.'

From the above observations, it can be concluded that the syntactic position of focal *yaú* does not allow us to regard it as a '(focus) copula,' in the same way as other similar focus constructions in African languages (cf. 1.1)[7].

3.3. Semantic/Pragmatic value of *yaú*-focus

Turning to the topic of the semantic/pragmatic value of *yaú*-focus, let us discuss potential questions arising in (39) in terms of *yaú*-sensitive constructions and contexts.

(39) a. Does *yaú*-focus mark exhaustivity?
      b. Does *yaú*-focus mark new information?
      c. In what kind of context is *yaú*-focus preferred?

First, for question (39a), the NPs modified by *íya* 'any' cannot be focused by *yaú*, as shown in (40) and (41). This fact seems to reject the notion that *yaú*-focus marks exhaustivity of the focused NP.

(40)	a. *íya*	*zôl*		*bi*	*ákider*	*já*	*íni.*
	b.**íya*	*zôl*	**yaú**	*bi*	*ákider*	*já*	*íni.*
	any	person	(**FOC**)	IRR	can	come	here

'Any person can come here.'

(41)	a. *úwo*	*bi*	*ákulu*	*íya*	*ákil.*		
	3SG	IRR	eat	any	food		

'S/he eats any food.'

	b.*[*íya*	*ákil*]	**yaú**	(*al*)	*úwo*	*bi*	*ákulu.*
	[any	food]	**FOC**	(REL)	3SG	IRR	eat

Actually, Juba Arabic has adverbs to mark exhaustivity, such as *barâu* 'alone/only' and *bês* 'just/only.' Such adverbs do co-occur with *yaú*-focus as in (42a, b), but marking by *yaú*-focus is not obligatory (42c). In contrast, the adverb *kamân* 'also, too' can co-occur

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[7] Also, Miller (1987) states that *yaú* functions as a copula when it is followed by a nominal/adjectival predicate. However, this statement should not be instantly rejected, and we will discuss a similar observation in Section 4.1.

with *yaú*, as in (43). These examples may allow us to assume that *yaú*-focus does not exactly mark exhaustivity.

(42)	a.	*úwo*	*yaú*	**barâu**	**bês**		*rúwa*	*fi*	*gába.*
	b.	*úwo*		**barâu**	**bês**	*yaú*	*rúwa*	*fi*	*gába.*
	c.	*úwo*		**barâu**	**bês**		*rúwa*	*fi*	*gába.*
		3SG	(FOC)	**alone**	**just**	(FOC)	go	LOC	forest

'Only HE went to the forest.'

(43)	a.	*úwo*		*yaú*	**kamân**	*rúwa*	*fi*	*gába.*
	b.	*úwo*	**kamân**	*yaú*		*rúwa*	*fi*	*gába.*
		3SG	(also)	FOC	(also)	go	LOC	forest

'HE also went to the forest.'

Turning to the next question in (39b), if *yaú*-focus marks that the focalized NP is new information, one would expect the elements occuring after *yaú*-focus to be given information. In the next example, *yaú*-focus clearly marks only the new information (i.e., Hare).

(44) a. Presupposition: (in a folktale) Fox did not know who stole his cowpea.

	b.	*taraú,*	*árnab*	**yaú**	*séregu*	*lúbiya*	*tô.*
		in.fact	hare	**FOC**	steal	cowpea	POSS.3SG

'In fact, HARE (not others) <NEW> stole his cowpea <GIVEN>.'

	c.?	*taraú,*	*árnab*		*séregu*	*lúbiya*	*tô.*
		in.fact	hare		steal	cowpea	POSS.3SG

'In fact, HARE (not others) stole his cowpea.'

However, contradictorily, the next example in (45) shows that *fi*-focus (which marks new information) can be included in the predicate part of the *yaú*-focus construction.

(45)	*dé*	**yaú**	*úfura*	*al*	**fi**	*zôl*	*áfura*	*umbári.*
	DEM	**FOC**	hole	REL	**EXS**	person	dig	yesterday

'This is the hole that a certain person dug yesterday.'

Thus, if *yaú*-focus does not exactly mark exhaustivity or new information, what kind of focus is *yaú*-focus? The third question (39c) can be answered by examining the construction and context wherein *yaú*-focus preferably occurs.

First, since Juba Arabic has no morphological device to mark comparative or superlative, *yaú*-focus is instead used to mark similar concepts, as shown in (46).

(46) *úwo*   **yaú**   *wéled*   *towîl*   *shedîd*   *fi*   *fésil*   *tómon.*
      3SG   **FOC**   boy   tall   very   LOC   class   POSS.3PL
      'HE is the tallest boy in their class.'

When counterfactual and factual events are contrasted in a complex/compound sentence (optionally marked by *bidal* 'instead'), *yaú*-focus is preferred as in (47).

(47) a. *bidal*   *úwo*   **yaú**   *kán*   *bi*   *já*   *le*   *ána,*
         instead   3SG   **FOC**   PAST   IRR   come   DAT   1SG

         lakín   *méri*   **yaú**   *já.*
         but   Mary   **FOC**   come
         'He would have come to me, but (actually) Mary came instead of him.'
      b. *kán*   *sultân*   **yaú**   *bi*   *mútu,*
         PAST   chief   **FOC**   IRR   die

         lakín   *kélib*   *dé*   **yaú**   *mútu.*
         but   dog   DEM   **FOC**   die
         'The chief was to die, but (instead) the dog died.'

In addition to these constructions, there are several contexts wherein *yaú*-focus is preferred. The next examples show that *yaú*-focus is preferred when the speaker is required to 'choose' something instead of other possible alternatives. In (48a), the speaker contrasts a 'small (bottle of) water' to a 'large' one, and in (49), 'Mama Rose' is contrasted to other persons who cooked.

(48) a. *móyo*   *abu*   *sukêr*   **yaú**   *kwês.*
         water   REL   small   **FOC**   good
         'Small (bottle of) water is good. (**It suits my needs.**)'
      b. *móyo*   *abu*   *sukêr*   *(úwo)*   *kwês.*
         water   REL   small   (3SG)   good
         '(**Generally speaking**) Small (bottle of) water is good.'

(49) a. *ána*   *dêr*   *mulâ*   *al*   *mama-rôz*   **yaú**   *rákabu.*
         1SG   want   stew   REL   Mama-Rose   **FOC**   cook
         'I want the stew that Mama Rose (and no other) cooked.'

b.?*ána*	*dêr*	*mulâ*	*al*	*mama-rôz*	*rákabu.*
1SG	want	stew	REL	Mama-Rose	cook

'I want the stew that Mama Rose cooked.'

In addition to the choosing context, *yaú*-focus is preferred for counter-arguments. In the next example, speaker B gainsays the utterance made by speaker A.

(50) A. *íta* *wóduru* *wên?*

    2SG   get.lost   where

    'Where were you lost? (Where were you, I did not see you for a while).'

    B. *ána* *fí.* *íta* **yaú** *wóduru.*

      1SG   EXS   2SG   **FOC**   get.lost

      'I have been around here. YOU were lost. (I did not see YOU for a while)'

    * *ána* *fí.* *íta* *wóduru.*

      1SG   EXS   2SG   get.lost

From all the examples examined in this section, it should be concluded that *yaú*-focus paraphrastically means 'the very [NP] followed by *yaú*, not the other possible alternatives which are associated with the [NP].'[8] In the next section, we examine this conclusion by means of interrogative sentences with/without *yaú*- and *fí*-focus.

4. Focus constructions and interrogative sentences

4.1. Interrogatives and *yaú*-focus

As discussed in Section 3.3, *yaú*-focus marks non-alternativeness of the focalized NP. Accordingly, *yaú*-focus frequently occurs in content-interrogative sentences. At first glance, the focalization of interrogatives by *yaú*-focus seems optional, as (51a) and (51b) are semantically and pragmatically the same.

(51) a. *íta* *ákulu* *sunú?*

      2SG   eat   what

    b. *sunú* **yaú** (*al*) *íta* *ákulu?*

      what   **FOC**   (REL)   2SG   eat

      'What (single thing) did you eat?'

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[8] In this sense, the function of *yaú*-focus in Juba Arabic seems to conform to the definition of "focus" in the alternative semantics (cf. Hartmann, Jacob & Zimmermann 2008).

However, when the interrogative is modified by focus adverbs, e.g., *bês* 'just/only,' *yaú*-focus is obligatorily utilized as in (52), and NPs that are not the interrogatives in a sentence cannot be focalized by *yaú*-focus as in (53). Also, the interrogative argument can remain in situ after *yaú*-focus only when the sentence contains two interrogatives, but in this construction, only the subject can be focused by *yaú*, as shown in (54).

(52) a.*íta   ákulu   sunú   bês?
       2sg   eat   what   just
    b. *sunú*   *bês*   ***yaú***   (*al*)   *íta*   *ákulu?*
       what   only   **FOC**   (REL)   2SG   eat
       'Only what did you eat?'

(53)   * *íta*   ***yaú***   *ákulu*   *sunú?*
       2SG   **FOC**   eat   what

(54) a. *munú*   (***yaú***)   *jíbu*   *sunú*   *umbári?*
       who   (**FOC**)   bring   what   yesterday
       'Who brought what yesterday?'
    b.*sunú*   *yaú*   (*al*)   *munú*   *jíbu*   *umbári?*
       what   FOC   (REL)   who   bring   yesterday

In contrast, when the predicate of the *yaú*-focus is nominal/adjectival, as introduced in Section 3.1, *yaú*-focus can precede interrogatives (i.e., predicate) as in examples (55b) and (56b). What is more interesting, the interrogatives cannot be left-dislocated or marked by *yaú*-focus in such constructions, as in (55c–d) and (56 c–d).

(55) a. *ísim*   *táki*   *munú?*
       name   POSS.2SG who
       'What (literally, Who) is your name?'
    b. *ísim*   *táki*   ***yaú***   *munú?*
       name   POSS.2SG **FOC**   who
       'What is your name?'
    c.*munú*   *ísim*   *táki?*
       who   name   POSS.2SG
    d.*munú*   ***yaú***   *ísim*   *táki?*
       who   **FOC**   name   POSS.2SG

(56) a. *shókol   tô   sunú?*
          job   POSS.3SG   what
          'What is his job?'
      b.?*shókol   tô   yaú   sunú?*
          job   POSS.3SG   **FOC**   what
          'What is his job?'
      c.**sunú*   shókol   tô?*
          what   job   POSS.3SG
      d.**sunú*   yaú   shókol   tô?*
          what   **FOC**   job   POSS.3SG

Moreover, there is another type of asymmetry that is related to the problem above. The topic of the sentence cannot be focused by *yaú* when it is followed by a verbal predicate as in (57), but *yaú*-focus can mark the topic as in (58b) and a subject NP after a topic as in (58c) when they are followed by a nominal/adjectival predicate.

(57) a. *súzi,   jéna   tô   dúgu   jéna   taí.*
          Suzy   child   POSS.3SG   hit   child   POSS.1SG
          'As for Suzy, her child hit my child.'
      b.**(dé)*   súzi   yaú   jéna   tô   dúgu   jéna   taí.*
          (DEM)   Suzy   **FOC**   child   POSS.3SG   hit   child   POSS.1SG

(58) a. *fîl   dé,   ída   tô   towîl.*
          elephant   DEM   hand   POSS.3SG   long
          'As for this elephant, its trunk is long.'
      b. *(de)*   fîl   dé   yaú   ída   tô   towîl.*
          (DEM)   elephant   DEM   **FOC**   hand   POSS.3SG   long
          'As for this ELEPHANT (not others), its trunk is long.'
      c. *fîl   dé,   (dé)   ída   tô   yaú   towîl.*
          elephant   DEM   (DEM)   hand   POSS.3SG   **FOC**   long
          'As for this elephant, its TRUNK (not legs, ears, etc.) is long.'

These facts may allow us to conclude that the syntactic distribution of *yaú*-focus depends on whether the predicate is verbal or nominal/adjective.

4.2. Answering typical content-interrogative sentences with *yaú*-focus

We have discussed the unobligatoriness of *yaú*-focus in (content-)interrogative sentences in the above section. As we might expect, *yaú*-focus is also unobligatory for answering. As (59) shows, *yaú*-focus just optionally occurs in an answer to an interrogative sentence containing *yaú*-focus.

(59) Q. *munú*   ***yaú***   *ákulu*   *lúbiya*   *dé?*
       who   **FOC**   eat   cowpea   DEM
       'Who ate the cowpeas?'
   A₁. *sultân*   ***yaú***   *ákulu*   *lúbiya*   *dé.*
       chief   **FOC**   eat   cowpea   DEM
   A₂. *sultân*   *ákulu*   *lúbiya*   *dé.*
       chief   eat   cowpea   DEM
       'The chief ate the cowpeas.'

The non-exhaustiveness of *yaú*-focus (cf. 3.3) can also be tested in an answer to an interrogative sentence. When presented with the presupposition in (60) and questions in (60)' and (60)'' prepared by the author, one of the author's informants answered as follows. In these answers, only the first nominated NP is marked by *yaú*-focus.

(60)   There was a ceremony. The attendants were ministers, officers, and artists. In addition, the president and bishops were also invited, but they did not come.

(60)' Q. *munú*   ***yaú***   *já?*
       who   **FOC**   come
       'Who came?'
   A. *wúzara*   ***yaú***   *já,*   *nâs*   *kubâr*   *ta*   *makátib*   *já,*
       minister.PL   **FOC**   come   people   big.PL   POSS   office.PL   come
       fanan-în   *kamân*   *já,*   *wa*   *nâs*   *kán*   *ketîr.*
       artist-PL   also   come   and   people   PAST   many
       'The ministers came, the big-mans in the office came, the artists came, and the people [there] were a lot.'

(60)'' Q. *munú*   ***yaú***   *mâ*   *já?*
       who   **FOC**   NEG   come
       'Who did not come [to the festival]?'
   A. *reîs*   ***yaú***   *mâ*   *já,*   *wa*   *bíshop*   *mâ*   *já.*
       president   **FOC**   NEG   come   and   bishop   NEG   come

"The president did not come, and the bishop did not come."

In another interesting case, an informant answered the question prepared by the author (61) as follows. In this example, the predicate of the question-sentence and answer-sentence disagree, and actually the predicate in the answer contains new information, cf. (44).

(61) Q. *sunú*   *yaú*   ***kárabu?***
        what   FOC   **break.down**
        'What broke down?'
     A. *lístik*   *yaú*   ***gídu***.
        tire   FOC   **get.pierced**
        'The tire (of my car) is punctured.'

4.3. Answering interrogative sentences with *fí-* and *yaú-*focus

In addition to the matters discussed above, there is another type of content-interrogative sentence that requires an answer in which the entire sentence is focused (all elements in the answering sentence are new information). As we have seen, *fí*-focus can mark sentence-focus, wherein all the constituents in a sentence are new information.

As a result, all sentences without focus (A_1), with *fí*-focus (A_2), with *yaú*-focus (A_3), and with both focus markers (A_4) could be used to answer an interrogative sentence as in (62).

(62) Q. *malú?*
        what's.up
        'What's up?'
     A_1.   *arabíya*   *taí*   *kárabu.*
     A_2. ***fí***   *arabíya*   *taí*   *kárabu.*
     A_3.   *arabíya*   *taí*   ***yaú***   *kárabu.*
     A_4. ***fí***   *arabíya*   *taí*   ***yaú***   *kárabu.*
        (**EXS**)   car   POSS.1SG (**FOC**)   break.down
        'My car broke down.'

In addition, there is another possible type of interrogative sentence wherein the interrogative is marked by *fí*-focus. To answer this type of interrogative sentence, as in

(63),[9] *yaú*-focus (A₁), *fí*-focus (A₂), and both focus markers (A₃) can be used in a similar way to (62).

(63) Q. **fí**   *munú*   *bi*   *ákulu*   *lúbiya?*
    EXS   who   IRR   eat   cowpea
    'Will anyone eat cowpea?'
    A₁.   *sultân*   **yaú**   *bi*   *ákulu*   *lúbiya.*
    A₂. **fí**   *sultân*   *bi*   *ákulu*   *lúbiya.*
    A₃. **fí**   *sultân*   **yaú**   *bi*   *ákulu*   *lúbiya.*
    (**EXS**)   chief   (**FOC**)   IRR   eat   cowpea
    'A chief will eat cowpea.'

These types of interrogative sentences in (62) and (63) contrasts to the argument-interrogative sentence examined in (59), which cannot be answered by *fí*-focus as in (59)'. These examples support the notion presented in Section 2.3 that *fí*-focus does not only mark sentence-focus, but also a certain type of argument-focus like *yaú*-focus, although its distribution is comparatively limited compared with that of *yaú*-focus.

(59)'   Q. *munú*   **yaú**   *ákulu*   *lúbiya*   *dé?*
    who   **FOC**   eat   cowpea   DEM
    'Who ate the cowpeas?'
    A₃.***fí**   *sultân*   *ákulu*   *lúbiya*   *dé.*
    EXS   chief   eat   cowpea   DEM
    A₄.***fí**   *sultân*   **yaú**   *ákulu*   *lúbiya*   *dé.*
    EXS   chief   **FOC**   eat   cowpea   DEM

5. Conclusion

Given our discussion of the the focus constructions in Juba Arabic, the syntactic and semantic/pragmatic value of *fí*-focus (with *máfi*-focus) and *yaú*-focus can be summarized as follows, thus answering questions [2] and [3] raised in Section 1.1.

[2]' a. *yaú*-focus [NP *yaú*] and *fí*-focus [*fí* NP] obligatorily left-dislocate the focalized element in a sentence, cf. (18) and (27).
    b. *fí*-focus can be schematically represented as [*fí* NP] + predicate, cf. 2.3.

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[9] Although the data is lacking, this question could be answered as 'No man will eat cowpea.'

[2]' c. *yaú*-focus can beschematically represented, according to the nature of the focalized NP and predicate of *yaú*-focus (cf. 3.2 and 4.1), as:

    i. [(DEM) subject NP (ADV) *yaú*] + (REL +) verbal predicate
      (The predicate cannot contain an INTERR.)

    ii. [(DEM) non-subject NP (ADV) *yaú*] + (REL +) verbal predicate
      (The predicate cannot contain an INTERR, and it is obligatorily relativized according to the idiolect.)

    iii. (TOP +) [(DEM) subject NP *yaú*] + nominal/adjectival predicate
      (The predicate can contain an INTERR.)

    iv. [(DEM) TOP *yaú*] + subject NP + nominal/adjectival predicate

[3]' a. *fi*-focus only marks indefinite NPs (new information, cf. 2.2), but *yaú*-focus marks any NP including those marked by *fi*-focus (cf. 4.3).

    b. *yaú*-focus marks non-alternativeness of the focused NP (paraphrastically, 'the very [NP] followed by *yaú*, not the other possible alternatives which are associated with the [NP]'), cf. 3.3 and 4.2.

    c. *fi*-focus marks both sentence-focus and/or argument-focus, cf. 2.2, 2.3, and 4.3.

Additionally, the first question can be answered briefly as follows:

[1]'   *yaú*-focus and *fi*-focus seem to have been grammaticalized from existential lexemes, namely *yaú* 'here is/are' and *fi* 'there is/are,' whose cognate forms are also seen in the lexifier, Sudanese Colloquial Arabic, cf. 1.1 and 1.3.

As shown in Section 2.1, *fi*-focus clearly shows the exact grammaticalization path shown in (64). Although it is not introduced in this paper, a precedent for similar grammaticalization seems to exist, for example, in Chinese (Li & Thompson 1989: 509–519).

(64)   EXISTENTIAL > FOCUS MARKER

However, in contrast, the grammaticalization path of *yaú*-focus seems to require more discussion, since it is not likely that *yaú*-focus followed the path shown in (64) from the crosslinguistic perspective.

As we have discussed in 4.1 (cf. [2c]'), there is a syntactic asymmetry whereby the verbal predicate cannot contain an interrogative, while the nominal/adjectival predicate can. Also note that a non-subject argument is (idiolectally) required to relativize the

verbal predicate as discussed in 3.2. In this sense, the *yaú*-focus on a subject NP followed by the nominal/adjectival predicate (i.e., [2c, iii.]') has experienced the most stable grammaticalization (namely, it can be accounted for as a focus copula in this construction), and it later expanded its use as *yaú*-focus on a subject (i.e., [2c, i]'), that on a non-subject (i.e., [2c, ii]') and that on a topic (i.e., [2c, iv]'). If these facts are taken into consideration, it should be concluded that *yaú* first grammaticalized from (focus) existential into (focus) copula, and then from (focus) copula into focus marker as shown in (65). This two-step process seems to meet the crosslinguistically usual path to grammaticalization, as proposed by Heine & Kuteva (2002).

(65)   a. (FOCUS) EXISTENTIAL > FOCUS COPULA

cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 99, LOCATIVE COPULA > EQUATIVE COPULA

b. FOCUS COPULA > FOCUS MARKER

cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 95, COPULA > FOCUS

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	the first, second, third person
ADV	adverb
CAUS	causative verb
DAT	dative (preposition)
DEF	definite particle
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic modal particle (= *ma*)
EXS	existential (= *fi*)
NEG.EXS	negative existential (= *máfi*)
INTERR.EXS	interrogative existential (= *wenú ~ wonú*)
FOC.EXS	focus existential (= existential *yaú*)
F	female
FOC	focus (= *yaú*-focus)
INTERR	interrogative
IMPERF	realis imperfect TAM marker (= *gí*)
IRR	irrealis imperfect TAM marker (= *bi*)
LOC	locative (preposition)
M	male
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase

PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REAS	reason clause
REL	relative (and attributive) clause marker
SCA	Sudanese Colloquial Arabic
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive (= *kedé*)
TAM	tense, aspect, and modality
TOP	topic

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