

Lubukusu Adverbial Syntax

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1 Introduction

The syntax of adverbs is a largely under-researched area in the study of Bantu languages. It is even often offhandedly said that Bantu languages do not possess many/any adverbs.¹

In this presentation we show that Lubukusu has a very rich inventory adverbial modifiers (whether they are properly lexical adverbs or not), and provide an initial typology of adverbial positions in Lubukusu.

Our goals in this project are largely descriptive:

1. Describe morphological properties of Lubukusu adverbs and other adverbial modifiers;
2. Develop an initial syntactic typology of Lubukusu adverbial positions;
3. Develop a thorough list of Lubukusu adverbs.

The preceding three goals are largely focused tasks that serve three larger purposes:

4. Contribute to the overall documentation of Lubukusu;
 5. Take steps toward a more systematic understanding of adverbials in Bantu languages;
 6. Lay the groundwork for more detailed syntactic investigation of other aspects of Lubukusu.
- The relative positions of adverbs crosslinguistically have been taken to hold important implications for the nature of human language (Cinque 1999, Ernst 2002, Ramchand and Svenonius 2014).
 - Adverbials have also played an important role in diagnosing syntactic structure in many languages, and a more thorough understanding of adverbials in Lubukusu will serve various theoretical goals in the future.
 - We do not concern ourselves with whether the forms under investigation are properly adverbs, or some other class of elements. Instead we focus on the morphological and syntactic properties of elements that are used as adverbial modifiers in Lubukusu.
 - This presentation is the current state of work-in-progress, so we will be quite happy to receive your comments and criticism.

¹ The major exception to this characterization are locative phrases, which are at least sometimes well-characterized as adverbial modifiers (though . Bantu locatives have received a large amount of research both with respect to their internal structure (e.g. Bresnan and Mchombo 1995, Carstens 1997), their clause-related properties (e.g. Jerro in progress, Diercks 2011a,b), and in the course of general language description as well (for example, locatives are discussed in depth in Nicole's (2013) grammar of Digo, Van Otterloo's (2011) grammar of Kifuliiru).

Roadmap:

- Section 3: Morphological Properties of Lubukusu Adverbials
- Section 4: Syntactic Properties of Lubukusu Adverbials
- Section 6: Conclusions
- Section 8: Appendix: List of Lubukusu adverbials

2 A Brief Introduction to Relevant Lubukusu Morphology

(1) Lubukusu noun class morphology, partial list (Mutonyi 2000:6)

Class	Preprefix	Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	o-	mu-	omukhasi	‘woman’
2	ba-	ba-	babaana	‘children’
3	ku-	mu-	kumukhono	‘arm/hand’
4	ki-	mi-	kimikhono	‘arms/hands’
5	li-	li-	lilyaanda	‘ember’
6	ka-	ma-	kamaanda	‘embers’
7	si-	si-	sisyaangu	‘sponge’
8	bi-	bi-	bibyaangu	‘sponges’
9	e-	N-	eedubi	‘basket’
10	chi-	N-	chiindubi	‘baskets’
11	lu-	lu-	lulwiika	‘horn’
12 (Diminutive)	kha-	kha-	khakhaana	‘small child’
14	bu-	bu-	bubwiino	‘ink’
15	khu-	khu-	khukhwanja	‘to begin’

3 Morphological Properties of Lubukusu Adverbials

(2) Morphosyntactic strategies for forming adverbials in Lubukusu

- Syntactic Strategies
 1. **PP adverbials**: combining nouns with the preposition *ne* ‘with’ produces PPs that are regularly used as adverbial modifiers.
- Morphological Strategies
 2. **Locative classes**: Nouns can be placed in locative classes
 3. **si- prefix** (cf. class 7) produces adverbs from roots that are not otherwise in class 7. This seems to be a very regular process.
 4. **bu- prefix** (cf. class 14) on a stem is a semi-regular way to form an adverb.
 5. **ma- prefix** (cf. class 6) to verb stems (the preprefix/augment ka- is absent)
 6. **li- prefix** (cf. class 5)
 7. **lu- prefix** (cf. class 11)
- ‘Other’ non-derived strategies
 8. some adverbials don’t show clear morphological correspondences to other grammatical forms (ideophones and others).

While many of the derivational strategies for forming adverbials rely on morphological forms that are homophonous with noun class prefixes (si-, bu-, ma-, li-, lu-), there are also important differences. For example, noun classes that have two prefixes on nouns (usually referred to as the prefix and the pre-prefix, or augment) have only a single prefix in the adverbial forms:

- (3) ka-ma-indi ma-kona
 6-6-maize MA-sleep
 ‘maize’ ‘in a sleeping position/manner’

Therefore there are reasons to believe that the adverbial prefixes are not noun class morphemes, but independent forms that presumably developed on analogy with the noun class morphology.

3.1 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE ADVERBIALS

Many forms of verbal modification can be accomplished via prepositional phrases, particularly by combining the preposition *ne* ‘and,with’ with a noun of some sort.

- (4) Ne sifuba
 With force
 ‘forcefully, by force’

Ne butinyu
 With difficulty
 ‘with difficulty; difficultly’

- (5) Examples of PP adverbial modifiers

ne lirima – angrily; ne chisoni – shyly; ne likhendekha – enviously; ne libuba – enviously; ne buri – fearfully; ne liryā – politely; ne sileka – rudely; ne bunyindafu – bravely; ne kamani – strongly; powerfully; ne kumwoyo kwosi – whole-heartedly; ne lukhono – in stingy way, ‘stingily’; ne busangafu – happily; ne esauti – loudly

3.2 LOCATIVE ADVERBIALS

As is familiar across Bantu languages, nouns may be placed into locative noun classes to form a phrase that refers to a location. In Lubukusu, noun classes are generally formed by replacing the pre-prefix of a nominal with a locative form.

- (6) Lubukusu Locative Noun Classes

a. ku -mu-lyaango	‘door’	(Mutonyi, 2000)
3-3-door		
b. a -mu-lyaango	‘near the door’	
16-3-door		
c. khu -mu-lyaango	‘on the door’	
17-3-door		
d. mu -mu-lyaango	‘in the door’	
18-3-door		
e. e-naarobi	‘at Nairobi’	
23-Nairobi		

Locative phrases may be arguments of verbs, but they are also frequently use to form both temporal and locative adverbial modifiers.

(7) Locative Adverbials by Noun Class

- Class 16: *a-* *asilo* ‘at night’
- Class 17: *khu-* *khusoko* ‘at the market’
- Class 18: *mu-* *musilo* ‘at/in the night’
- Class 23: *e-* *ekoloba* ‘evening/towards the evening’

(8) Examples of Class 16 Locative Adverbials

<i>akoloba</i> ‘evening’ (-koloba)	<i>asi</i> – down on the ground; under
<i>atiti</i> ‘a little; slightly’ (-titi)	<i>anyuma</i> – at the back (-nyuma)
<i>asilo</i> ‘night/early night’ (-silo)	<i>abweni</i> – at the front (-bweni)
<i>aembi</i> ‘near’ (-imbi)	<i>angaki</i> – at an elevated place (-ngaki)
<i>aleyi</i> ‘far’: (-leyi)	<i>akari</i> – at the center; in the middle (-kari)
<i>abulala</i> – sometimes; at times: (-lala)	<i>anje</i> – outside (-nje)
<i>aundi</i> – perhaps: (-ndi)	<i>andulo</i> – at the side (-ndulo)
<i>alala</i> – at times: (-lala)	<i>abulala</i> – sometimes (-lala)
<i>ano</i> – here: (-no)	<i>alala</i> – at times; sometimes (-lala)
<i>ao</i> – there (there near) (-o)	<i>amusala</i> – by the tree (-sala)
<i>aa</i> – there (here near)(-a)	

(9) Examples of Class 17 Locative Adverbials

khuusa – on time
khubung’ali – on truth; (*ima khubung’ali* – stand on truth; unwaveringly)
khundulo – on the side; by the side
khusitanda – on bed
khusoko – on the market

(10) Examples of Class 18 Locative Adverbials

<i>muchuli</i> - tomorrow	<i>mukhukorwa</i> – in ignorance/ignorantly
<i>musilo</i> –in the dead of the night	<i>mubwimbi</i> – in short
<i>mwiangilwe</i> – midday	<i>mubuleyi</i> – at length
<i>mubusilu</i> – in stupidity/stupidly	<i>mukari</i> – inside
<i>mubwikisi</i> – in secrete/secretly	<i>mungaki</i> – above
<i>mumakoso</i> – in error/erroneously	<i>mumbo</i> – east
<i>mububeyi</i> – in falsehood/falsely	<i>munju</i> – in the house
<i>mubung’ali</i> – in truth/truthfully	<i>muchikoni</i> – in the kitchen

(11) Examples of Class 23 Locative Adverbials

<i>ekoloba</i> – time approaching evening	<i>ebweni</i> – in front (general)
<i>eno</i> – here (general location)	<i>enje</i> – outside (general)
<i>eyo</i> – there	<i>engaki</i> – in the general direction of the elevated location
<i>elala</i> – completely	<i>eluchi</i> – at the river
<i>ebukwe</i> – west	<i>emusala</i> – in the direction of the tree
<i>enyuma</i> – at the back (general)	

3.3 SI-PREFIXED ADVERBS (CF. CLASS 7)

An additional (relatively) productive adverbial strategy is prefixing *si-* onto a root.

(12) *si-bukusu* ‘in a Bukusu way/manner’

Most *si-* adverbials that we've turned up thus far are **manner adverbs**. But not all manner adverbs are *si-* adverbs, as we will see in section 4.

(13) Examples of *si-*prefixed adverbials

Sifutari ‘in a backing manner; backing’ (-futar- cf. futara, khufutara)

Sifula – very quickly (in the manner of rain) (-fula cf. efula)

Sifwi – stealthily; thief-like (-ib- cf. iba, omwiifwi)

Siminyi – in the manner of a deaf person; deaf-like (-miny- cf. minyala, omuminyi)

Sibofu – in the manner of a blind person; blindly (-bofu cf. omubofu, bofula)

Sisilu – stupidly (-sil-, cf. omusilu, silwaala)

Sikesi – cleverly (-kesi cf. omukesi, kamakesi, kesia)

Simwamu - resolutely (not derived)

Sinyumaanyuma – in backing manner; backing (-nyuma cf. enyuma)

Sikokho – in the manner of a chicken (-kokho cf. engokho, khakokho)

Sikhasi – in the manner of a woman (-khasi cf. omukhasi, khakhasi)

Sikhana – in the manner of a girl (-khana cf. omukhana, khakhana)

Sisoreri – in the manner of a boy (-soreri cf. omusoreri, khasoreri)

Sitwaya – in the manner of a rooster (-twaya cf. etwaya, kutwaya)

Sikara – tiredly (-kara cf. omukara)

Sinyalu – in a dirty manner (-nyalu cf. omunyalu)

Simiku – in the manner of a male sheep (-miku cf. limiku)

sibukusu ‘in a Bukusu way/manner’ (-bukusu cf. Lubukusu, Babukusu)

sisungu ‘in a British/English way/manner’ (-sungu cf. omusungu)

There are at least some inherently *si-* prefixed adverbials that don't appear to be derived from other morphological forms, being inherently *si-*prefixed:

(14) Inherently *si-*prefixed adverbials²

sinao ‘at a distance’

simbi ‘near’

sibuyi ‘morning’

siotyia – arrogantly

² To be clear, by this we mean *si-*prefixed adverbials that, to our knowledge, don't have related morphological forms.

3.4 BU-PREFIXED ADVERBS (CF. CLASS 14)

This class of adverbs are mainly derived from verbs; but few (very few) are derived from adjectives e.g. *bulayi* ‘well/good’ from the adjective *-layi* ‘good’

- (15) a. Bubi
‘badly’
- b. Bulayi
‘well’ (also ‘good’)
(cf. adjective *-layi* ‘good’)
- c. bwaangu
‘quickly’

While there are some BU- adverbial forms that are derived from adjectives (e.g. *bulayi*), many BU- adverbials derived from verb forms.

- (16) Examples of BU-adverbials, often derived from verbs
butima – hurriedly (in a running manner) (-tim- cf. tima, timya, khutima)
bwiendekhelela – fearfully, nervously (-iendekhelel- cf. khukhwendekhelela)
butundubikha – unexpectedly (-tundubikha cf. khutundubikha)
bukhatatalafu – reluctantly (-khatatala cf. khukhatatala)
bukhikha – diagonally (-khikha cf. khukhikha)
buleyi – at length (-leyi cf. omuleyi)
bukololofu – in an upright manner; righteously (-kolol- cf. kolokha, kololosya)

3.5 MA-PREFIXED ADVERBS (CF. CLASS 6)

The ma-prefixed pattern (correlated to class 6 nominal morphology) is relatively restricted, but the examples that do appear all have an interpretation relating to physical position in some way.

- (17) MA-adverbials (physical position)
makalama – in a lying-on-your-back-looking-up position (-kalama cf. khukalama)
mema – in a standing/upright position (-ima cf. khukhwima)
makona – in a sleeping position/manner (-kona cf. khukona)
mekhala – in a sitting position/manner (-ikhala cf. khukhwikhala)
mafulama – in a bending-butts-up position (-fulama cf. khufulama)
mabwibwi – very early in the morning/in the wee hours
makhelebende – very early in the morning/in the wee hours
mafumala – in a lying on-your-tummy-face-down position
mema – ‘in standing/upright manner’ (-ima = stand, stop)
makalama – ‘in the lying-on-your-back position’ (*kalama* = look up)

3.6 LI- AND LU- PREFIXED ADVERBIALS (CF. CLASS 5 AND CLASS 11)

This classification is clearly less productive; there are limited examples of adverbial modifiers that begin with *li-* and *lu-*, which correspond to class 5 and class 11 noun class morphology (though it is unclear to us whether this is a real morphological or historical correspondence).

(18) Examples of LI- adverbials (cf. Class 5)

likoloba – yesterday

lichonekha – day after tomorrow

(19) Examples of LU- adverbials (cf. Class 11)

luno today

luukali – much, a lot

lukoloba ‘yesterday’ (for some speakers)

3.7 NON-DERIVED ADVERBIAL FORMS

There are also a variety of adverbial modifiers that do not appear to be derived from other lexical roots, and which don’t show morphological correspondences to paradigms elsewhere in the language.

(20) Examples of non-derived/non-analogous adverbial forms

kalaa – slowly

swa – fully

po – very

khale – long ago; already

syo – completely

chaki – completely

sayi – now

kusuti – in an entitled manner

wakana – perhaps

nono – so

pebe – so then

kakhaba bali – even though; although

wakana – maybe

karibu – about

lundi – again

4 Syntactic Properties of Lubukusu Adverbials

- To control the scope of the investigation, we only consider simple transitive verbs at present (SVO) considering which positions in such a sentence adverbs are possible in.
- We expect that finer-grained distinctions will emerge within the classes of adverbs that we show here, but at present build our classification on the adverbs that we have.
- We at times use the terms “high” and “low” adverbs to refer to the structure positions these adverbs are presumed to occupy.
 - “High” adverbs occur structurally above other parts of the sentence, and are adverbs that tend to be initial or final (the outermost portions of a sentence in either direction).
 - “Low” adverbs are thought to modify either v/VP, occurring relatively low in syntactic structures, and tend to occur around other v/VP internal material.

(21) Lubukusu attested syntactic adverbial classes

Syntactic position	Interpretation	Examples
Clause-final	degree duration ideophones resultatives	<i>syo, atiti</i>
Postverbal or clause-final	manner aspectual	<i>bwaangu, kalaa, khale</i>
Clause-initial, or Between Subj and V	evaluative modal frequency	<i>ekhabi endayi, wakana, buung'ali</i>
Postverbal or clause-final, plus clause-initially	temporal	<i>muchuli, sibuyi</i>
Variable based on modification	Focus	<i>busa, -osi, -ong'ene</i>
Preverbal auxiliaries	Aspectual	<i>-nga, -kana</i>

In general, we find that the following tendencies for linear precedence hold in Lubukusu, which we will illustrate in the process of describing the classes of adverbials below:

- (22) Evaluative (*unfortunately, definitely*) >> Modal (*probably*) >> Frequency (*sometimes*) >> Aspectual (*already*), Location (*here*) >> Manner (*quickly/slowly*) >> Degree of completion (*completely, slightly*) >> Resultatives/Secondary predicates

4.1 CLAUSE-FINAL ADVERBIALS

4.1.1 Degree and Duration

Some adverbs largely tend to appear only in clause-final position. At present, this seems to include degree and duration adverbials, as indicated by examples below.

(23) Schematic: degree adverbial positions

[(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (*?) OBJ (✓)]

(24) *syo* 'completely'

- a. Nangila a-mala e-chayi **syo**
 1Nangila 1SA.PST-finish 9-tea completely
 Nangila completely finished the tea
- b. *Nangila amala **syo** echayi
 c. *Nangila **syo** amala echayi
 d. ***Syo** Nangila amala echayi

- (25) atiti ‘slightly’
- Wafula a-umiye ku-mu-khono **atiti**
1Wafula 1SA-hurt 3-3-hand slightly
‘Wafula slightly hurt hand (his hand).’
 - ??Wafula aumiye **atiti** kumukhono
 - *Wafula **atiti** aumiye kumukhono
 - ***Atiti** Wafula aumiye kumukhono

Some duration adverbials also appear to be most natural in clause-final position, though (as we will see in section what) this may have to do with their use of a locative phrase:

- (26) khu sise sititi ‘for a short period, temporarily’
- Ba-ba-limu ba-fung-ile si-kuli **khu si-se si-titi**.
2-2-teacher 2SA-close-PRF 7-school 17 7-period 7-short
‘The teachers closed the school for short period (temporarily).’
 - ??Babalimu bafungile **khu sise sititi** sikuli
 - ??**Khu sise sititi** babalimu bafungile sikuli
 - ??Babalimu **khu sise sititi** bafungile sikuli

- (27) Additional examples of clause-final adverbials
lukali po ‘a lot’
atiti ‘slightly’
khataru ‘thrice’
chisafari chitaru ‘three times’

4.1.2 Ideophones and Secondary predicates

Ideophones are “marked words depictive of sensory imagery” that are notable in many languages “for their special sound patterns, distinct grammatical properties, and sensory meanings” (Dingemanse 2012).

In Lubukusu these tend to take the form of very brief (or reduplicative) morphological forms. These ideophones are all paired with a specific verb form, as shown in (28):

- (28) Examples of ideophones with the verbs they occur with
- Ti** (used with -malia) – completely black; completely dirty
 - Chwe** (used with -wangia) – be very white; be clean
 - Pe** (used with -besema) – be very red
 - Para** (used with -yoma, -yomu ‘dry’) – totally/completely dry (super dry; very dry)
 - Chi** (used with -nyira, -nyifu ‘be.cold’) – very cold; totally cold
 - Tata** (used with -nala, -boa) – extremely tight
 - Tatata** (used with -loba) – totally refuse
 - Tibo** (used with -tiba) – lost/disappear completely
 - Chaki chaki** (used with -funikha ‘break’) – completely broken

In all of our examples here there is a strong preference for a clause-final position.

(29) chwe ‘very white’

- a. Nafula a-singa chi-ngubo cha-wangia **chwe**
 1Nafula 1SA.PST-wash 10-clothes 10-become.white/clean very.white
 ‘Nafula washed clothes very white (very clean).’
- b. *Nafula asinga chingubo **chwe** chawangia
 c. *Nafula asinga **chwe** chingubo chawangia
 d. *Nafula **chwe** asinga chingubo chawangia
 e. ***Chwe** Nafula asinga chingubo chawangia

(30) yoma para ‘very/completely dry’

- a. Nafula o-sya e-nyama **y-oma para**
 1Nafula 1SA.PST-roast 9-meat 9-become.dry completely
 ‘Nafula roasted meat very dry.’
- b. *Nafula osya enyama **para yoma**
 c. *Nafula osya **para** enyama **yoma**
 d. *Nafula **para** osya enyama **yoma**
 e. ***Para** Nafula osya enyama **yoma**

Many of these forms also appear to be occurring inside a resultative construction of sorts. We have uncovered a number of additional examples of agreeing (but untensed) verb forms which appear to be secondary predicates, but require additional research:

- (31) Chi-khafu chi-nyw-ele ka-me-chi **ka-wa syo**
 10-cow 10SA-drink-PRF 6-6-water 6-finish completely
 ‘Cows drank water and the water was completely finished.’
- (32) Om-w-ana a-nyw-ele ka-me-chi **a-mala syo**
 1-1-child 1SA-drink-PRF 6-6-water 1-finish completely
 ‘The child drank water and finished completely.’

4.1.3 Agent-oriented adverbials

Adverbials referring to intention/volition are necessarily (semantically) agent-oriented. These adverbial forms show a consistent syntactic patterning no matter what their morphological structure, whether a locative form (34), a adjunct clause (35), or what looks like a bare adverbial element (36). In all instances clause-final position is most natural, with clause-initial position ruled out. Clause-medial positions are all degraded to some degree for these adverbials.

(33) Schematic: agent-oriented adverbial positions

[(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (??) OBJ (✓)]

- (34) *mukhumanya* ‘in knowledge; knowingly’
- Wangila a-a-ra ka-ma-ki **mu-khu-manya**
1Wangila 1SA-PST-break 6-6-eggs 18-15-know
Wangila broke eggs knowingly (=intentionally)
 - ??Wangila aara **mukhumanya** kamaki
 - ??Wangila **mukhumanya** aara kamaki
 - ***Mukhumanya** Wangila aara kamaki
- (35) *naamanyile busa* ‘intentionally; while knowing’
- Wangila a-a-ra ka-ma-ki **n-a-a-many-ile busa**.
1Wangila 1SA-PST-break 6-6-eggs C-1SA-PST-know-PRF only
Wangila broke eggs knowingly (=intentionally)
 - ??Wangila aara **naamanyile busa** kamaki
 - ??Wangila **naamanyile busa** aara kamaki
 - ***Namayile busa** Wangila aara kamaki
- (36) *kusuti* ‘deliberately’
- Wangila a-a-bukula si-i-tabu **kusuti**.
1Wangila 1SA-PST-take 7-7-book deliberately
‘Wangila took the book deliberately (rudely with a sense of entitlement).’
 - ??Wangila aabukula **kusuti** sitabu
 - *Wangila **kusuti** aabukula sitabu
 - ***Kusuti** Wangila aabukula sitabu

4.2 LOW ADVERBIALS: MANNER AND LOCATION

The low adverbials that we discuss here generally may occur either clause-finally or immediately postverbally – we generally assume that they are adjoined to VP or *v*P.

4.2.1 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbs tend to be structurally low adverbs, but which are not wholly restricted to clause-final position.

(37) Schematic: manner adverbial positions

[(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (✓) OBJ (✓)]

(38) *sifwi* ‘stealthily’

- Wafula ol-ile engo **sifwi** (most preferred order)
1Wafula 1SA.arrive-PRF 16.home stealthily
‘Wafula arrived home stealthily.’
- Wafula olile **sifwi** engo
- *Wafula **sifwi** olile engo
- ***Sifwi** Wafula olile engo

(39) *sisangafu* ‘happily’

- a. Wafula a-tekh-ile ka-ma-kanda **sisangafu** (most preferred)
 1Wafula 1SA-cook-PRF 6-6-beans happily
 ‘Wafula happily cooked beans.’
- b. Wafula atekhile **sisangafu** kamakanda
- c. *Wafula **sisangafu** atekhile kamakanda
- d. ***Sisangafu** Wafula atekhile kamakanda (without a pause between adverb and subject)

(40) *kalaa* ‘slowly’

- a. Ba-a-sakhulu ba-nywe-changa ka-ma-lwa **kalaa** (preferred)
 2-2-elder 2SA-drink-HAB 6-6-beer slowly
 ‘Elders usually drink beer slowly.’
- b. Basakhulu banywechanga **kalaa** kamalwa
- c. *Basakhulu **kalaa** banywechanga kamalwa
- d. ***Kalaa** basakhulu banywechanga kamalwa

We can see that there are precedence relations between adverb classes. Given what we’ve seen thus far, we would expect *syo* ‘completely’ to occur exclusively clause-finally, and as the example in (41)c shows, the manner adverb *bwaangu* ‘quickly’ must precede *syo* ‘completely.’

(41) *bwaangu* ‘quickly’ >> *syo* ‘completely’

- a. Wafula a-nywa ka-ma-lwa **bwaangu syo** (preferred order)
 1Wafula 1SA.PST-drink 6-6-beer quickly completely
 ‘Wafula quickly drank beer completely.’
- b. Wafula anywa **bwaangu** kamalwa *syo*
- c. *Wafula anywa kamalwa *syo* **bwaangu**
- d. *Wafula anywa *syo* kamalwa **bwaangu**

Likewise, even within the ‘manner’ class there are preferences for linear order, where *bwaangu* prefers to be in the position closest to the object (presumably structurally lowest):

- (42) a. Wafula a-nywa ka-ma-lwa **bwaangu** *sisangafu* (preferred order)
 1Wafula 1SA.PST-drink 6-6-beer quickly happily
 ‘Wafula quickly drank beer happily.’
- b. ?Wafula anywa **bwaangu** kamalwa *sisangafu*
- c. *?Wafula anywa kamalwa *sisangafu* **bwaangu**

More research is needed within each class specifically to clarify the properties of each adverb within a class, with respect to the others.

4.2.2 Aspectual adverb *khale*

We have found one aspectual adverbial (*khale* ‘already’) that patterns similar to manner adverbs in showing a low syntactic distribution, though preferring immediate postverbal position over clause-final position.

(43) *khale* ‘already’

- a. O-mw-ana a-nyw-ele **khale** ka-me-chi (preferred order)
 1-1-child 1SA-drink-PRF already 6-6-water
 ‘The child has already drank water.’
- b. Omwana anywele kamechi **khale**
- c. *Khale omwana anywele kamechi
- d. *Omwana khale anywele kamechi

The fact that *khale* is preferred in immediately postverbal position suggests a preference for *khale* preceding manner adverbs, which generally prefer clause-final position (despite immediate postverbal position being acceptable). This is confirmed by a pair-wise comparison.

(44) *khale* (already) >> *kalaa* (slowly)

- a. Om-w-ana a-nyw-ele **khale** ka-me-chi kalaa (preferred order)
 1-1-child 1SA-drink-PRF already 6-6-water slowly
 ‘The child already drank the water slowly.’
- b. ?Omwana anywele kamechi kalaa **khale** (preferred over (c)/(d), but not over (a))
- c. ??Omwana anywele kamechi **khale** kalaa
- d. ??Omwana anywele kalaa kamechi **khale**

4.2.3 Anaphoric and Interrogative manner adverbials

The anaphoric and interrogative manner adverbials both agree in phi features with the subject of the clause.³ Like other manner adverbials, they occur clause-finally or between verb and object.

(45) *-ri/-ryo* ‘thus’

- a. Wafula a-milaka ka-ma-bele **a-ri**
 1Wafula 1SA.PST-gulp 6-6-milk 1-thus
 ‘Wafula gulped milk thus.’
- b. Wafula amilaka **ari** kamabele
- c. *Wafula **ari** amilaka kamabele
- d. ***Ari** Wafula amilaka kamabele

³ Carstens and Diercks 2013 investigate the properties of agreeing ‘how,’ but do not address ‘thus’ in any depth.

- (46) -rie(ena) ‘how’
- a. Wafula a-manya ba-a-keni **a-rie(ena)**?
 1Wafula 1SA.PST-know 2-2-guest 1-how
 ‘How did Wafula know guests?’
- b. Wafula amanya **arie(ena)** bakeni?
 c. *Wafula **arie(ena)** amanya bakeni?
 d. ***Arie(ena)** Wafula amanya bakeni?

Carstens and Diercks (2013) analyze *-rie(ena)* ‘AGR-how’ as adjoined to *vP* and agreeing with the subject in its based position, an analysis which presumably applies to *-ri* ‘thus’ as well.

4.2.4 Locative Adverbials

Locative adjuncts may occur in this same basic position as well:

- (47) Schematic: locative adverbial positions
 [(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (✓) OBJ (✓)]
- (48) ano ‘here’
- a. Wangila a-chukh-ile ka-me-chi **ano**.
 1Wangila 1SA-pour-PRF 6-6-water here
 ‘Wangila poured water here.’
- b. Wangila achukhile **ano** kamechi
 c. *Wangila **ano** achukhile kamechi
 d. ***Ano** Wangila achukhile kamechi
- (49) muchikoni ‘in the kitchen’
- a. Naangila a-teekha ka-ma-kanda **mu-chikoni**. (preferred)
 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
 ‘Naangila cooked beans in the kitchen.’
- b. Naangila atekha **muchikoni** kamakanda. (OK, but not preferred)
 c. *Naangila **muchikoni** atekha kamakanda.
 d. ***Muchikoni** Naangila atekha kamakanda. (*without dislocation)

The evidence suggest that locations are most closely structured with *khale* than with manner adverbs, as *khale* and *ano* are unordered with respect to each other.

- (50) *khale* ‘already’, *ano* ‘here’ (unordered wrt each other)
- Wangila a-chukh-ile **khale** ka-me-chi ano.
1Wangila 1SA-pour-PRF already 6-6-water here
‘Wangila already poured water here.’
 - Wangila a-chukh-ile kamechi **khale** ano.
 - Wangila a-chukh-ile kamechi ano **khale**.
 - Wangila a-chukh-ile ano kamechi **khale**.
 - Wangila a-chukh-ile **khale** ano kamechi.
 - Wangila a-chukh-ile ano **khale** kamechi.

4.3 EVALUATIVE AND MODAL (HIGH) ADVERBS

There is also a class of adverbs which seem to require being clause-initial, with some tolerance for occurring between the subject and verb. These adverbs tend to be evaluative or modal adverbs where the speaker is giving an evaluation of the sentence (generally consistent with Cinque’s 1999 cross-linguistic hierarchy of distribution of adverbials).

- (51) Schematic: evaluative/modal adverbial positions

[(✓) SUBJ (?) VERB (*) OBJ (*)]

- (52) *ekhabi endayi* ‘fortunately,’ ‘by good luck’

- E-khabi e-ndayi** Wafula a-ba a-tekh-ile ka-ma-kanda
9-luck 9-good 1Wafula 1SA.PST-be 1SA-cook-PRF 6-6-beans
‘Fortunately/by good luck Wafula had cooked beans.’
- ??Wafula **ekhabi endayi** aba atekhile kamakanda
- *Wafula aba atekhile kamakanda **ekhabi endayi**
- *Wafula aba atekhile **ekhabi endayi** kamakanda

For most of these adverbs it is possible to have the adverb occur between the subject and the verb, though in most instances these sound more natural with a slight prosodic break between the adverb and the verb, as is seen above in (52), and in the examples that follow.

- (53) *wakana* ‘perhaps, maybe’

- Wakana** Wafula a-lakata e-khafu
perhaps 1Wafula 1SA-will.slaughter 9-cow
‘Perhaps/maybe Wafula will slaughter a cow.’
- Wafula **wakana** [?](,) alakata ekhafu
- ??Wafula alakata **wakana** ekhafu
- ??Wafula alakata ekhafu **wakana**

(54) buung'ali 'definitely'

- a. **buung'ali** Wekesa a-lya chii-ng'eeni. (prefers this one)
definitely 1Wekesa 1SA.PST-eat 10-fish
'Wekesa definitely ate the fish.'
- b. Wekesa **buung'ali** ?(,) alya chiing'eeni. (OK, better than the two below)
- c. Wekesa alya **buung'ali** chiing'eeni. (not that bad)
- d. Wekesa alya chiing'eeni **buung'ali**. (not that bad)

In general, adverbials used in high (non-dislocated) positions receive evaluative sorts of interpretations. The adverbial *busa* generally means something like *only*, but when it occurs in clause-initial position, it is unacceptable on the previous interpretation but now yields a meaning something like "indeed," as shown in the example below:

(55) busa 'only,' 'indeed'

- a. Wangila a-a-nywa e-chayi **busa**
1Wangila 1SA-PST-drink 9-tea only
'Wangila merely drank/took tea.'
- b. ?Wangila aanywa **busa** echayi
- c. *Wangila **busa** aanywa echayi
- d. ***Busa** Wangila aanywa echayi
* Wangila just drank tea
OK 'indeed Wangila drank tea.'

In addition to evaluative adverbs, some frequency adverbs share a similar position, being preferred initially but also acceptable occurring between the subject and the verb.

(56) Abulala 'sometimes'

- a. **Abulala** Wafula a-kon-anga enje (preferred)
sometimes 1Wafula 1SA-sleep-HAB outside
'Wafula sometimes sleeps outside.'
- b. Wafula **abulala** akonanga enje (OK, but not preferred)
- c. ??Wafula akonanga **abulala** enje
- d. ??Wafula akonanga enje **abulala**

Lukali 'a lot, mostly' again varies in its interpretation based on its position, similar to *busa*:

(57) lukali 'a lot,' 'mostly'

- a. Wafula a-li-changa ka-ma-kanda **lukali**
1Wafula 1SA-eat-HAB 6-6-beans a.lot
'Wafula eats beans a lot.'
- b. ??Wafula alichanga **lukali** kamakanda

- c. Wafula **lukali** alichanga kamakanda
 *Wafula eats beans a lot.
 ? Wafula mostly eats beans.
- d. **Lukali** Wafula alichanga kamakanda
 * Wafula eats beans a lot.
 OK Wafula mostly eats beans.

(58) Additional examples of high (evaluative) adverbials⁴

<i>yaaβ' eexaβi</i>	'hopefully (lit. if there is luck)'
<i>βiuβi βúliyô</i>	'regrettably' (lit. badness which is there)
<i>éxáβ' iimbi</i>	'unfortunately' (lit. bad luck)
<i>kaañali</i>	'surely'
<i>aundi</i>	'perhaps, maybe'
<i>muβuñali</i>	'certainly, in truth'
<i>ngeba</i>	'perhaps'

In general, we see that the modal adverbs precede the frequency adverbs. For *wakana* and *abulala* this appears when placing an adverb preverbally, as in (c) and (d) below.

(59) wakana (probably) >> abulala (sometimes)

- a. **wakana** abulala Wafula a-kon-anga enje
 probably sometimes 1Wafula 1SA-sleep-HAB outside
 'Wafula probably sometimes sleeps outside.'
- b. abulala **wakana** Wafula akonanga enje
- c. **wakana** Wafula abulala akonanga enje
- d. ?abulala Wafula **wakana** akonanga enje

Furthermore, the evaluative adverb *bung'ali* 'definitely' is preferred preceding *lukali* 'mostly':

(60) bung'ali 'definitely' >> lukali 'mostly'

- a. **Bung'ali** lukali Wafula a-li-changa ka-ma-kanda (preferred order)
 definitely mostly 1Wafula 1SA-eat-HAB 6-6-beans
 Wafula definitely mostly eats beans
- b. **Bung'ali** Wafula lukali alichanga kamakanda
- c. ??Lukali **bung'ali** Wafula alichanga kamakanda
- d. ??Lukali Wafula **bung'ali** alichanga kamakanda

Evaluative (unfortunately, definitely) >> Modal (probably) >> Frequency (sometimes)

⁴ Many of these examples of evaluative adverbs were first described to us by Michael Marlo and Maurice Sifuna.

4.4 TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS: LOW OR TOPICALIZED

Additionally, there is a class of adverbs that can appear low in a structure (clause final, medial between verbs and objects) but which also occur quite naturally in clause-initial position.

(61) Schematic: temporal adverbial positions

[(✓) SUBJ (?) VERB (✓) OBJ (✓)]

In the event that the adverbs are fronted they occur with a brief prosodic break following them, suggesting that in these instances they are dislocated as topics.

(62) muchuli ‘tomorrow’

a. Nangila a-kh-ach-e e-sikuli **muchuli**
 1Nangila 1SA-FUT-go-FUT 9-school tomorrow
 ‘Nangila will go to school tomorrow.’

b. Nangila akhache **muchuli** esikuli

c. ?Nangila **muchuli** akhache esikuli (not too bad)

d. **Muchuli** , Nangila akhache esikuli

(63) buli nyanga/busiele ‘everyday/always’

a. Wafula a-nyw-echanga ka-ma-lwa **buli nyanga / busiele**
 1Wafula 1SA-drink-HAB 6-6-beer **every day / always**
 ‘Wafula drinks beer everyday/always.’

b. Wafula anywechanga **buli nyanga/busiele** kamalwa

c. ??Wafula **buli nyanga/busiele** anywechanga kamalwa

d. **Buli nyanga/Busiele** , Wafula anywechanga kamalwa

(64) Additional examples of low adverbials that can topicalize

lwa nyinga ‘occasionally’
lwa nyinga busa ‘just occasionally’
kumwaka kukwawele ‘last year’
sibuyi ‘in the morning’
akoloba ‘in the evening’
luno ‘tomorrow’

This topicalization process is not limited to temporal adverbs:

(65) Fronting a locative adverbial

a. Naangila a-teekha ka-ma-kanda mu-chikoni.
 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
 ‘Naangila cooked beans in the kitchen.’

b. Mu-chikoni *(,) Naangila a-teekha ka-ma-kanda.
 18-kitchen 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook 6-6-beans
 ‘In the kitchen, Naangila cooked beans.’

(66) Fronting a manner adverbial

- a. Naangila a-teekha ka-ma-kanda sibukusu.
 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook 6-6-beans in.Bukusu.manner
 ‘Naangila cooked beans in a Bukusu manner.’
- b. Sibukusu *(,) Naangila a-teekha ka-ma-kanda.
 in.Bukusu.manner 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook 6-6-beans
 ‘In a Bukusu manner, Naangila cooked beans.’

Nonetheless, the overarching intuition is that this fronted (presumably left-dislocated) position comes very naturally for temporal adverbials, and feels more marked for other forms like manner adverbials and locatives.

4.5 AN ASIDE: NON-LOCATION ADVERBIALS IN LOCATIVE FORMS

It is well documented that locative forms in Bantu languages have a range of special properties. One of those in Lubukusu (and other languages) is that they may co-occur with an applicative that doesn't add an argument to the verb, rather essentially placing additional restrictions on the interpretation of the locative (see Jerro, in progress).

(67) Locative adverbial + applicative

- a. Naangila a-teekha ka-ma-kanda mu-chikoni.
 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
- a. Naangila a-teekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda mu-chikoni.
 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
 ‘Naangila cooked beans in the kitchen.’

Non-locative adverbials cannot co-occur with an applicative in the same way:

(68) Non-locative adverbial + applicative

- a. *Naangila a-kha-ch-il-e e-sikuli **muchuli**
 1Naangila 1SA-FUT-go-APPL-FUT 9-school tomorrow
- b. *Naangila a-teekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda **likolooba**
 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook-APPL-FV 6-6-beans yesterday

Interestingly, some non-location adverbials taking locative forms can co-occur with the applicative in this way (69), whereas others cannot (70)c.

- (69) Naangila a-teekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda mu-bwikisi.
 1Naangila 1SA.PST-cook-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 18-secret
 ‘Naangila cooked the beans secretly (in secret).’

- (70) a. Naangila a-a-lya ka-ma-kanda **khu-bung’ali**. (preferred word order)
 1Naangila 1SA-PST-eat 6-6-beans 17-certainty
- b. Naangila a-a-lya **khu-bung’ali** ka-ma-kanda. (OK, but not preferred)
 1Naangila 1SA-PST-eat 17-certainty 6-6-beans
 ‘Truthfully, Naangila ate the beans.’

- (71) *Naangila a-a-li-il-a ka-ma-kanda **khu-bung'ali**.
 1Naangila 1SA-PST-eat-APPL-FV 6-6-beans 17-certainty

Our initial observation is that low adverbials in locative form (e.g. manner adverbials) may occur with the applicative, but evaluative adverbs may not.

Interestingly, while *khubung'ali* is an evaluative adverb by interpretation, it occurs syntactically in positions similar to other locatives (postverbally or immediately postverbal), while *not* sharing all properties of locatives (* with applicative).

4.6 ADDITIVES/FOCUSING MODIFIERS – DEPENDENT ON LEVEL OF MODIFICATION

Additive forms (*also, as well*) in general occur in a syntactic position that accords with their semantic modification relationships. That is to say, if the focus is on the subject of a sentence the position of the adverbial is in a different position than if the focus is on the event, or the object. In Lubukusu these are agreeing forms as well, where the additive agrees with the element it is syntactically/semantically modifying.

(72) *busa* ‘only’ - immediately postverbal modifies VP

- a. Wangila a-a-nywa busa e-chayi, se-a-ki-tekha ta
 1Wangila 1SA-PST-drink only 9-tea NEG-1SA.PST-9OM-cook NEG
 ‘Wangila just drank tea, he did not cook (prepare it).’
- b. ??Wangila a-a-nywa busa e-chayi, se-a-ki-nywa ne ku-mu-kati ta
 1Wangila 1SA-PST-drink only 9-tea NEG-1SA.PST-9OM-drink ne 3-3-bread NEG
 ‘Wangila just drank tea, he did not drink it with bread.’

(73) *busa* ‘only’ – clause-final modifies object DP

- a. Wangila a-a-nywa e-chayi busa, se-a-ki-nywa ne ku-mu-kati ta
 1Wangila 1SA-PST-drink 9-tea only NEG-1SA-9OM-drink with 3-3-bread NEG
 ‘Wangila drank just/mere/‘dry’ tea, he did not drink it with bread.’
- b. ?? Wangila a-a-nywa e-chayi busa, se-a-ki-tekha ta
 1Wangila 1SA-PST-drink 9-tea only NEG-1SA-9OM-cook NEG
 ‘Wangila drank just/mere/‘dry’ tea, he did not drink it with bread.’

There are two other focus markers that generate focus interpretations, but generally appear to modify arguments in the clause rather than serving an adverbial function (*-osi, -ong'ene*).

4.7 AGREEING ASPECT MARKERS

There is a class of elements that we classify as aspectual auxiliaries, that communicate meaning that parallels that communicated by adverbial modifiers in various languages.

In Lubukusu these appear with the structure AUX-Infinitive, where the auxiliary agrees with the subject and bears tense/aspect. They must strictly occur between the subject and the infinitive verb, which is why we analyze them as auxiliaries rather than adverbials.

(74) AGR-nga InfV ‘almost’

- a. Wafula **eng-ile** khu-kwa.
1Wafula 1SA.almost-PRF INF-fall
‘Wafula almost fell (earlier today/yesterday).’
- b. Ba-ba-ana b-eng-ile khu-chukha ka-ma-bele.
2-2-child 2SA-almost-PRF INF-spill 6-6-milk
‘Children almost spilled milk.’
- c. ***Eng-ile** Wafula khu-kwa
1SA.almost-PRF 1Wafula INF-fall

(75) AGR-kana InfV ‘almost’

- a. Ka-me-chi **ka-kana** khu-wa
6-6-water 6SA-almost INF-finish
‘Water is almost finished’
- b. ***Kakana** kamechi khuwa

5 Conclusions

This presentation surveys a broad range of adverbial patterns in Lubukusu.

(76) Lubukusu attested syntactic adverbial classes

Syntactic position	Interpretation	Examples
Clause-final	degree duration ideophones resultatives	<i>syo, atiti</i>
Postverbal or clause-final	manner aspectual	<i>bwaangu, kalaa, khale</i>
Clause-initial, or Between Subj and V	evaluative modal frequency	<i>ekhabi endayi, wakana, buung’ali</i>
Postverbal or clause-final, plus clause-initially	temporal	<i>muchuli, sibuyi</i>
Variable based on modification	Focus	<i>busa, -osi, -ong’ene</i>
Preverbal auxiliaries	Aspectual	<i>-nga, -kana</i>

Broadly speaking, we see a linear precedence relation of adverbial structures:

- (77) Evaluative (*unfortunately, definitely*) >> Modal (*probably*) >> Frequency (*sometimes*) >> Aspectual (*already*), Location (*here*) >> Manner (*quickly/slowly*) >> Degree of completion (*completely, slightly*) >> Resultatives/Secondary predicates

These findings are not altogether dissimilar to existing work on similar issues: Cinque (1999: 106) proposes a universal hierarchy of functional heads, which he takes to introduce adverbials of different sorts.

- (8) *The universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections*
 [*frankly* Mood_{speech act} [*fortunately* Mood_{evaluative} [*allegedly* Mood_{evidential} [*probably* Mod_{epistemic} [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood_{irrealis} [*necessarily* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{possibility} [*usually* Asp_{habitual} [*again* Asp_{repetitive(I)} [*often* Asp_{frequentative(I)} [*intentionally* Mod_{volitional} [*quickly* Asp_{celerative(I)} [*already* T(anterior) [*no longer* Asp_{terminative} [*still* Asp_{continuative} [*always* Asp_{perfect(?)} [*just* Asp_{retrospective} [*soon* Asp_{proximative} [*briefly* Asp_{durative} [*characteristically(?)* Asp_{generic/progressive} [*almost* Asp_{prospective} [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} [*tutto* Asp_{PlCompletive} [*well* Voice [*fast/early* Asp_{celerative(II)} [*again* Asp_{repetitive(II)} [*often* Asp_{frequentative(II)} [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}]

Ongoing research:

- Included in the appendix is a list of adverbials. We are still in the process of classifying all of these according to their syntactic properties.
- More detailed investigation of individual adverbs may serve well to further investigate theoretical proposals like Cinque (1999) and Ernst (2002). This initial work makes that possible.
- We are continuing to investigate the ways in which these syntactic patterns of adverbials intersect with known syntactic constructions (locative inversion, object symmetry, clitic-doubling, etc).
- We are continuing to look for adverbials that appear in the middlefield of the clause, which might be useful for delineating the structure of the clause. Compound tenses (aux+verb constructions) are mostly incompatible with an adverb intervening: we have only found two adverbs that can appear in this position (but for neither is it the preferred position):

(78) Compound tenses: wakana ‘perhaps/maybe’

- a. **Wakana** Wafula a-ba a-nywa ka-ma-lwa (preferred order)
 perhaps 1Wafula 1SA.PST-be 1SA-drink 6-6-beer
 ‘Perhaps Wafula was drinking beer.’
- b. Wafula **wakana** aba anywa kamalwa
 c. Wafula aba **wakana** anywa kamalwa

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8 Appendix: List of adverbials

- -ak- - ???
- -e khurakho – next
- -e khuranga - first
- -e khuukya – incredibly
- -e khuukya – remarkably
- -e khuukya – wonderfully
- -e khuukya po - amazingly
- -enga khuwa/khumala – almost
- -esi – too, also, as well
- -kana khuwa – almost
- -londakho/ -londela – next
- -nga khumala/-ngile khumala – almost finished
- -nga khumala/khuwa – nearly
- -noka - thoroughly
- -ong'ene - solely, alone, exclusively, only
- -osi – entirely, completely
- -sili – still
- -verb-aka-kho – fairly
- abulala – sometimes; at times
- abuwanga - plainly
- abwene – precisely, exactly
- aembi – near
- akari – in the middle
- akoloba – evening
- alala – sometimes, at times
- aleyi – far
- aluno ari - this time period
- ano – here
- asi – under
- ata - even
- atiti – slightly, hardly, just a bit
- atiti kho – moderately
- aundi - perhaps
- bubi – poorly, badly, terribly

- bubu kabisa - dreadfully
- bubu muno - dreadfully
- bubu po - terribly
- bukhatatalafu – reluctantly
- bukhikha – diagonally
- bukololofu – in a straight/upright manner, in a right/correct manner
- bulayi – well, carefully, safely
- bulayi kabisa – perfectly
- bulayi kho – reasonably
- bulayi sana - perfectly
- buleyi – at length
- buli lwosi - always
- buli mwaka – every year
- buli mwesi – every month
- buli nyanga - every day
- buli nyanga – every day
- buli sa – all the time
- burafu – hard (as in khupa burafu – hit hard)
- burekerefu – carefully
- busa – simply, merely, just, purely,
- busi sana - dreadfully
- busiele – always, everyday
- butima – hurriedly
- butundubikha – unexpectedly
- bwangu - quickly
- bwiiendekhelela – fearfully, nervously
- bwiiitetefu - nervously
- chaki – used with the verb *funikha* ‘break’ - completely (break completely)
- chaki chaki (used with *funikha* ‘break’) – completely
- chisafari chingali - frequently
- chunu chunu – completely
- chusi - recently (Kiswahili borrowing)
- ebukwe – west
- ebweni/abweni – in front
- ekhabi embi - unluckily
- ekhabi endayi – luckily, fortunately/by good luck
- ekhabi mbi – unfortunately/by bad luck
- enje / anje – outside
- enyuma/anyuma – behind
- eyo – there
- kabisa - profoundly, fantastically, hugely, thoroughly, absolutely, completely, utterly, truly, totally
- kalaa - slowly, carefully
- kamili - precisely (Kiswahili borrowing)
- kang’ali – certainly, truly
- karibu – almost, nearly, virtually (Kiswahili borrowing)
- khabili – twice
- khale – already, long (time) ago,
- khangu - quickly
- khataru – thrice
- khu sise sititi/khu sise sisiimbi – temporarily
- khubira - exceedingly
- khubwene - precisely
- khundulo/andulo – beside; on the side
- khutuma – exceedingly
- kiachali - accidentally (Kiswahili borrowing)
- kiasi – moderately (Kiswahili borrowing);
- kimiaka mindali na mindali – forever (lit. many and many years)
- ku - really (only in questions – e.g. ewe onyala khutumya litoka ku? – can you really drive?)
- kumwaka kukwawele – last year
- kumwaka kukwicha – next year
- kumwaka kuno – this year
- kusuti – deliberately, by force (Kiswahili borrowing)
- kwanza – first (Kiswahili borrowing)
- lichonekha – day after tomorrow
- lichuma lilicha – next week
- lichuma lilyawele – last week
- likoloba - yesterday
- likoloba – yesterday
- lubeka - partly
- lukali – a lot, much, frequently, often, considerably, highly, greatly,

- tremendously, enormously,
immensely
- luleyi – long
 - lundi – again
 - luno – today
 - luno luri – today; this time period
 - lwa nyinga (busa) - occasionally
 - mabwibwi – dawn/very early in the morning
 - mafulama – bending/mooning manner
 - mafumala – in a lying-on-the tummy position/manner
 - makalama – in a lying-on-the-back-facing-up position/manner
 - makhelebende – dawn/very early in the morning
 - makona – in sleeping manner
 - mapema – early, earlier (Kiswahili borrowing)
 - matayi – earlier
 - mekhala – in seating manner
 - mema – in a standing manner/position
 - milele – forever, permanently (Kiswahili borrowing);
 - mubokhongo - supremely
 - mubukali – extensively, supremely
 - mubuleyi – at length
 - mubung’ali – frankly, practically, truly, honestly, sincerely, in truth, truthfully
 - mubutekhele – weakly
 - mubwimbi – in short
 - muchuli - tomorrow
 - mukhumanya – intentionally
 - mukhwibanabana - showing embarrassment/sheepishly
 - mumbo – East
 - mumilembe – safely
 - mungaki/khungaki – above
 - mungila embi - poorly
 - mungila embofu - profoundly
 - mungila embolu - simply
 - mungila endayi kho – reasonably
 - mungila engwalafu – purely
 - mungila enyala - sufficiently
 - mungila etosya - sufficiently
 - muno – utterly
 - musilo – night
 - mwiiangilwe; ne liangile – when the sun is up in the sky; midday
 - na ng’ali – presumably, probably
 - ne bubetefu
 - ne bukali - supremely
 - ne bung’ali – probably, truly, honestly, sincerely, positively, presumably
 - ne bunyindafu – bravely
 - ne buri - nervously, fearfully
 - ne busa – otherwise
 - ne busangafu - happily
 - ne busilu – stupidly
 - ne busubifu – truly, honestly, sincerely
 - ne butekhele - weakly
 - ne butinyu – with difficulty
 - ne chisoni – shyly
 - ne esauti - loudly
 - ne esauti – loudly
 - ne kamakesi - expertly
 - ne kamani - strongly
 - ne kamani - strongly
 - ne kamani – forcefully; by force
 - ne kamani – strongly; powerfully
 - ne kumwoyo kumusiro – heavy heartedly
 - ne kumwoyo kwosi - strongly
 - ne kumwoyo kwosi – whole heartedly
 - ne kumwoyo kwosi – whole heartedly
 - ne kumwoyo kwosi – whole-heartedly
 - ne kumwoyo mulala – half heartedly
 - ne kumwoyo mulala – whole heartedly
 - ne libuba – enviously
 - ne likhendekha – enviously
 - ne lilisindukha – with shock; shockingly
 - ne lilyenya – intentionally

- ne lirima – angrily
- ne lirima – angrily
- ne lirya - politely
- ne lirya – politely
- ne lukhono – in a miserly manner; close-fistedly
- ne lukhono – in stingy way; ‘stingly’
- ne sifuba – forcefully; by force
- ne sileka – rudely
- ne sileka – rudely
- ne sinani – with dedication
- ng’ali – certainly
- ng’ali ng’ali – really, truly, honestly, sincerely
- nga – somewhat
- Ngeba - perhaps
- nolekhasya nende – relatively
- paka - thoroughly
- pila luyoka - Quietly
- po – very, immensely, fantastically,
- poli poli – unprovoked; without reason
- raisi – easily, plainly
- saa yote– all the time (Kiswahili borrowing)
- saangine – sometimes (Kiswahili borrowing)
- sana - absolutely, considerably, totally, a lot, very (perhaps a Kiswahili borrowing?)
- sayi - now
- sayi sayi – now now
- sibofu – in the manner of a blind person; blindly
- sibuyi – morning
- sifula – very quickly (in the manner of rain)
- sifutari – in a backing manner; backing
- sifwi – stealthily; thief-like
- sikara – tiredly
- sikesi – cleverly
- sikhana – in the manner of a girl
- sikhasi – in the manner of a woman
- sikokho – in the manner of a chicken
- simbi – near
- simiku – in the manner of a sheep
- siminyi – in the manner of a deaf person; deaf-like
- sinyalu – in a dirty manner
- sinyumaanyuma – in backing manner; backing
- siotyia – arrogantly
- siotyia – arrogantly
- sisilu - foolishly
- sisilu – stupidly
- sisoreri – in the manner of a boy
- sitwaya – in the manner of a rooster
- swa – full; fully
- syo – completely, totally, utterly
- syo- completely, entirely
- timbo (used with timba) – completely dark
- wakana - perhaps