

Lubukusu Adverbials

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Abstract

The syntax of adverbs and adverbial modifiers is an under-researched area in the study of Bantu languages. This paper is an initial description of the morphological and syntactic properties of adverbial modifiers in Lubukusu (Luyia, Bantu, Kenya). The purpose is to investigate the topic in its own right, to establish crucial diagnostic information for other studies on Lubukusu, and to initiate this area of study among Bantu languages more generally.

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. In this chapter 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 adverbials positions in Lubukusu.

Our goals in this project are mainly descriptive: first, we describe morphological properties of Lubukusu adverbs and other adverbial modifiers; second, we develop an initial syntactic typology of Lubukusu adverbial positions; third, we include a list of Lubukusu adverbials in an effort to contribute diagnostic tools to future syntactic work on Lubukusu.

The relative positions of adverbs crosslinguistically have been taken to hold important implications for the nature of human language (Cinque, 1999; Ernst, 2014; Ramchand & Svenonius, 2014; Wiltschko, 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 analytical and theoretical work on Lubukusu in the future. Throughout this chapter we do not concern ourselves with whether the forms under investigation are ‘adverbs’ in the sense of being a distinct morphosyntactic category or class. Instead we focus on the morphological and syntactic properties of elements that are used as adverbial modifiers in Lubukusu, irrespective of their categorial status.

2 Morphological Properties of Lubukusu Adverbials

This section overviews the morphological strategies for forming adverbial modifiers in Lubukusu. The nominal morphology of Lubukusu is an important starting point for this discussion, so readers unfamiliar with Lubukusu noun class morphology are

(1) Morphosyntactic strategies for forming adverbials in Lubukusu

- PP adverbials: combining nouns with the preposition *ne* ‘with’ produces PPs that are regularly used as adverbial modifiers.
- Locative classes: Nouns can be placed in locative classes
- *si-* prefix (cf. class 7) produces adverbs from roots that are not otherwise in class 7. This seems to be a very regular process.
- *bu-* prefix (cf. class 14) on a stem is a semi-regular way to form an adverb.
- *ma-* prefix (cf. class 6) to verb stems (the preprefix/augment *ka-* is absent)
- *li-* prefix (cf. class 5)
- *lu-* prefix (cf. class 11)
- 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:

- (2) a. ka-ma-indi
6-6-maize
'maize'
- b. ma-kona
MA-sleep
'in a sleeping position/manner'

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

2.1 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.

- (3) a. ne sifuba
with force
'forcefully, by force'
- b. ne butinyu
with difficulty
'with difficulty; difficultly'

- (4) Examples of PP adverbial modifiers
ne lirima 'angrily'; *ne chisoni* 'shyly'; *ne likhendekha* 'enviously'; *ne libuba* 'enviously'; *ne buri* 'fearfully'; *ne lirya* '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'

2.2 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.

- (5) Lubukusu Locative Noun Classes (Mutonyi, 2000, 26-27)

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| a. ku-mu-lyaango
3-3-door
'door' | c. (khu-) mu-lyaango
17-3-door
'on the door' | e. (e-) naarobi
23-Nairobi
'at Nairobi' |
| b. (a-) mu-lyaango
16-3-door
'near the door' | d. (mu-) mu-lyaango
18-3-door
'in the door' | |

Locative phrases may be arguments of verbs, but they are also frequently use to form both temporal and locative adverbial modifiers, as shown in (6).

- (6) Locative Adverbials by Noun Class

Class 16:	a-	<i>asilo</i>	'at night'
Class 17:	khu-	<i>khusoko</i>	'at the market'
Class 18:	mu-	<i>musilo</i>	'at/in the night'
Class 23:	e-	<i>ekoloba</i>	'evening/towards the evening'

In the examples below we outline various examples of adverbials forms that appear to be in locative noun classes. Some of these are clearly semantic locations derived from other nominals, though for the most part we don't focus on those sorts of locative forms because they are very productive in Lubukusu and relatively straightforward to generate from the morphological paradigms above (see also Mutonyi 2000, Diercks 2011, and Carstens & Diercks 2013). Instead, we focus on forms that either appear to be inherently (i.e. lexically) in these locative noun classes, or more opaque adverbial forms that nonetheless share a morphological form with each locative noun class. In each case we annotate the root that the locative form is built on.

(7) Examples of Class 16 Locative Adverbials

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

(8) Examples of Class 17 Locative Adverbials

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

(9) Examples of Class 18 Locative Adverbials

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

(10) Examples of Class 23 Locative Adverbials

ekoloba ‘time approaching evening’; *eno* ‘here’ (general location); *eyo* ‘there’; *elala* ‘completely’; *ebukwe* ‘west’; *enyuma* ‘at the back’ (general); *ebweni* ‘in front’ (general); *enje* ‘outside’ (general); *engaki* ‘in the general direction of the elevated location’; *eluchi* ‘at the river’; *emusala* ‘in the direction of the tree’

2.3 **si-**prefixed adverbials (cf. Class 7)

An additional (relatively) productive adverbial strategy is prefixing *si-* onto a root; the *si-* prefix corresponds to class 7 of the noun class paradigm.

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

Most *si-* adverbials that we’ve documented thus far are manner adverbials (i.e. describing the manner in which an action/event occurred). But not all manner adverbs are *si-* adverbs, as we will see in §3 and as some of the preceding examples have already illustrated.

(12) 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. omunya);
- *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, instead being inherently *si*-prefixed:

- (13) Inherently *si*-prefixed adverbials
sinao ‘at a distance’; *simbi* ‘near’; *sibuyi* ‘morning’; *siotya* ‘arrogantly’;

2.4 *bu*-prefixed adverbials (cf. Class 14)

This class of adverbs are mainly derived from verbs; but a few (very few) are derived from adjectives:

- (14) a. *bubi* ‘badly’
 b. *bulayi* ‘well’ (cf. *-layi* ‘good’)
 c. *bwaangu* ‘quickly’

Most *bu*- adverbials, on the other hand, are derived from verb forms, as the examples below illustrate:

- (15) Examples of *bu*-adverbials, often derived from verbs *butima* ‘hurriedly (in a running manner)’ (-tim- cf. tima, timya, khutima); *bwiendekhelela* ‘fearfully, nervously’ (-iendekhelel- cf. khukhwiendekhelela); *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)

2.5 *ma*-prefixed adverbials (cf. Class 6)

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

- (16) 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)

2.6 *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 appear to 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).

- (17) Examples of LI- adverbials (cf. Class 5)
likoloba ‘yesterday’ (for some speakers); *lichonekha* ‘day after tomorrow’
- (18) Examples of LU- adverbials (cf. Class 11)
luno ‘today’; *luukali* ‘much, a lot’; *lukoloba* ‘yesterday’ (for some speakers); *lundi* ‘again’

2.7 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.

- (19) 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'

3 Syntactic Properties of Lubukusu Adverbials

In this section we overview core word order distinctions between broad classes of 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. Likewise, we limit ourselves to a few core examples of each class. Nonetheless, just as intensive investigations of adverbs in English and other European languages have turned up nuanced and detailed sub-patterns of adverbial modification, we expect that finer-grained distinctions will emerge within the classes of adverbs that we show here upon further investigation. As this is an initial investigation (not just for Lubukusu, but for Bantu languages more generally) we limit our discussion to the following classes that we have identified:

- (20) Lubukusu attested syntactic adverbial classes:

Syntactic position	Interpretation	Examples
Clause-final (only)	duration; degree; resultatives; ideophones	<i>syo</i> ; <i>atiti</i>
Postverbal or clause-final	manner; aspectual	<i>bwaangu</i> ; <i>kalaa</i> ; <i>khale</i>
Clause-initial, or between Subj and V	evaluative; modal; frequency	<i>wakana</i> ; <i>bu-ung'ali</i>
Postverbal or clause-final, plus clause-initially	temporal	<i>muchuli</i> ; <i>sibuyi</i>
Variable based on level of modification	Focus	<i>busa</i> ; <i>-osi</i> ; <i>-ong'ene</i>
Preverbal auxiliaries	Aspectual	<i>-nga</i> ; <i>-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:

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

3.1 Crosslinguistic work on the syntax of adverbials

It is in fact well-documented that languages show impressive consistency in the structural height of adverbials based on the semantic class of the adverbial (Cinque, 1999; Ernst, 2014; Delfitto & Fiorin, 2017). So, across languages, we see the hierarchy emerging in (22) where discourse-oriented adverbials are the structurally highest, and manner adverbials the structurally-lowest.

- (22) Discourse-Oriented > Evaluative > Epistemic > Subject-Oriented (> Neg) > Manner (Ernst, 2014, 109)

English examples of the semantic classes above are given in (23), all drawn directly from Ernst's (2014) overview.

- (23) a. Evaluative: *(un)fortunately, mysteriously, tragically, appropriately, significantly, ...*
 b. Epistemic:
 - modal: *probably, certainly, possibly, maybe, definitely, necessarily, perhaps, ...*
 - evidential: *obviously, clearly, evidently, allegedly, ...*
 c. Subject-oriented adverbs
 - Agent-oriented: *wisely, intelligently, bravely, stupidly, ...*
 - Mental-attitude: *calmly, willingly, enthusiastically, ...*
 d. Manner: *loudly, quietly, quickly, slowly, well, poorly, ...*

The linear position of adverbials is not always transparent from the hierarchy in (22), depending on the clause structure of the particular language (cf. Pearson 2000, for example). But once the structural analysis of a language is considered, the hierarchy in (22) consistently emerges. We will illustrate it here for English, and then in what follows we will show that very similar patterns emerge in Bukusu.

Manner adverbials in English consistently appear towards the right of a sentence, often clause-finally. In English, this is indicative of a structurally low position.

- (24) Manner Adverbials
- a. This orchestra plays even the soft sections loudly .
- b. The committee arranged all of our affairs appropriately .
- c. She faced her fears bravely .
 (Ernst, 2014, 111)

Ernst distinguishes manner adverbials (those that describe the manner in which an event happened, so picking out a subset of those events, that have the property described by the adverbial) from clausal adverbials (all others, which presuppose the event as a whole). In English, manner adverbials must follow clausal adverbials.

- (25) Manner vs. Clausal Adverbials
- a. Karen unfortunately/stupidly/obviously tightly gripped the knife in her wrong hand.
- b. *Karen tightly unfortunately/stupidly/obviously gripped the knife in her wrong hand.
 (Ernst, 2014, 111)

The hierarchy in (22) emerges when comparing clausal adverbials amongst themselves. So the examples in (26) show that in English speaker-oriented adverbials (e.g. *luckily/definitely/clearly*) must precede subject-oriented adverbials (e.g. *wisely*).

- (26) Speaker-oriented vs. Subject-oriented Adverbials
- a. Marcia luckily/definitely/clearly will **WISELY** open all the packages with extreme care.
- b. *Marcia **WISELY** will luckily/definitely/clearly open all the packages with extreme care.
 (Ernst, 2014, 110)

This discussion simply introduces and summarizes broad cross-linguistic generalizations about adverbials. Every language introduces its own fine-grained details and distinctions. The goal of this paper is to offer an initial description of the relevant facts in Lubukusu. In the sections that follow, our descriptions often reference the categories of adverbials noted above, and as we will see, the same hierarchy emerges in Lubukusu.

3.2 Clause-final Adverbials

3.2.1 Degree and Duration

Some adverbs largely tend to appear only in clause-final position. To the extent that we've encountered, this seems to mainly include degree and duration adverbials, as illustrated in the examples below.

(27) Schematic: degree adverbial positions

[(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (*?) OBJ (✓)]

(28) syo ‘completely’

- a. Nangila a-mal-a e-chayi (syo)
1Nangila 1SM.PST-finish-FV 9-tea completely
‘Nangila completely finished the tea.’
- b. *Nangila amala (syo) echayi
- c. *Nangila (syo) amala echayi
- d. *(Syo) Nangila amala echayi

(29) atiti ‘slightly’

- a. Wafula a-umiy-e ku-mu-khono (atiti)
1Wafula 1SM-hurt-PST 3-3-hand slightly
‘Wafula slightly hurt hand (his hand).’
- b. ??Wafula aumiye (atiti) kumukhono
- c. *Wafula (atiti) aumiye kumukhono
- d. *(Atiti) Wafula aumiye kumukhono

Some duration adverbials also appear to be most natural in clause-final position, though (as we will see in §3.7 this may have to do with their use of a locative phrase:

(30) khu sise sititi ‘for a short period, temporarily’

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

(31) Additional examples of clause-final adverbials

lukali po ‘a lot’; *atiti* ‘slightly’; *khataru* ‘thrice’; *chisafari chitaru* ‘three times’

3.2.2 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” (? , 654). 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.

(32) Examples of ideophones with the verbs they occur with:

<i>ti</i>	(used with <i>-malia</i>)	completely black/dirty
<i>chwe</i>	(used with <i>-wangia</i>)	be very white/clean
<i>pe</i>	(used with <i>-besema</i>)	be very red
<i>para</i>	(used with <i>-yoma, -yomu</i> ‘dry’)	totally dry
<i>chi</i>	(used with <i>-nyira, -nyifu</i> ‘be.cold’)	very cold
<i>tata</i>	(used with <i>-nala, -boa</i>)	extremely tight
<i>tatata</i>	(used with <i>-loba</i>)	totally refuse
<i>tibo</i>	(used with <i>-tiba</i>)	lost/disappear completely
<i>chaki chaki</i>	(used with <i>-funikha</i> ‘break’)	completely broken

In all examples of ideophones that we have identified there is a strong preference for them to occur in clause-final position.

(33) *chwe* ‘very white’

- a. Nafula a-sing-a chi-ngubo cha-wangia **chwe**
 1Nafula 1SM.PST-wash-FV 10-clothes 10-become.white 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

(34) *yoma para* ‘very/completely dry’

- a. Nafula osy-a e-nyama y-oma **para**
 1Nafula 1SM.PST.roast-FV 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 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:

- (35) Chi-khafu chi-nyw-ele ka-me-chi ka-wa syo
 10-cow 10SM-drink-PRF 6-6-water 6-finish completely
 ‘Cows drank water and the water was completely finished.’

- (36) Om-w-ana a-nyw-ele ka-me-chi a-mala syo
 1-1-child 1SM-drink-PRF 6-6-water 1-finish completely
 ‘The child drank water and finished completely.’

It seems plausible that all of the ideophone patterns above are in fact secondary predicates where the ideophone element is an argument of the predicate, which would explain the highly restricted distribution of the ideophone elements. But we leave those questions for future research.

3.2.3 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.

- (37) Schematic: agent-oriented adverbial positions:
 [(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (??) OBJ (✓)]

- (38) *mukhumanya* ‘in knowledge; knowingly’

- a. Wangila a-a-r-a ka-ma-ki mu-khu-manya
 1Wangila 1SM-PST-break-FV 6-6-eggs 18-15-know
 ‘Wangila broke eggs knowingly’ (=intentionally)
- b. ??Wangila aara mukhumanya kamaki
- c. ??Wangila mukhumanya aara kamaki
- d. *Mukhumanya Wangila aara kamaki

(39) naamanyile busa ‘intentionally; while knowing’

- a. Wangila a-a-r-a ka-ma-ki n-a-a-many-ile busa .
 1Wangila 1SM-PST-breakFV 6-6-eggs C-1SM-PST-know-PRF only
 ‘Wangila broke eggs knowingly.’ (=intentionally)
- b. ??Wangila aara naamanyile busa kamaki
- c. ??Wangila naamanyile busa aara kamaki
- d. *Naamanyile busa Wangila aara kamaki

(40) kusuti ‘deliberately’

- a. Wangila a-a-bukul-a si-i-tabu kusuti .
 1Wangila 1SM-PST-take-FV 7-7-book deliberately
 ‘Wangila took the book deliberately (rudely with a sense of entitlement).’
- b. ??Wangila aabukula kusuti sitabu
- c. *Wangila kusuti aabukula sitabu
- d. *Kusuti Wangila aabukula sitabu

3.3 Low Adverbials: Manner and Location

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

3.4 Manner adverbials

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

(41) Schematic: manner adverbial positions

[(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (✓) OBJ (✓)]

(42) sifwi ‘stealthily’

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

(43) sisangafu ‘happily’

- a. Wafula a-tekh-ile ka-ma-kanda **sisangafu** (most preferred)
1Wafula 1SM-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)

(44) *kalaa* 'slowly'

- a. Ba-a-sakhulu ba-nywe-changa ka-ma-lwa **kalaa** (preferred)
2-2-elder 2SM-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 (45c) shows, the manner adverb *bwaangu* 'quickly' must precede *syo* 'completely.'

(45) *bwaangu* 'quickly' » *syo* 'completely'

- a. Wafula a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa **bwaangu syo** (preferred order)
1Wafula 1SM.PST-drink-FV 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):

- (46) a. Wafula a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa **bwaangu sisangafu** (preferred order)
1Wafula 1SM.PST-drink-FV 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.

3.4.1 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.

(47) *khale* 'already'

- a. Omwana anywele kamechi **khale**

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

(48) *khale* ‘already’ » *kalaa* ‘slowly’

- a. Om-w-ana a-nyw-ele (khale) ka-me-chi **kalaa** (preferred order)
 1-1-child 1SM-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)

3.4.2 Anaphoric and Interrogative manner adverbials

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

(49) *-ri/-ryo* ‘thus’

- a. Wafula a-a-milak-a ka-ma-bele (a-ri)
 1Wafula 1SM-PST-gulpFV 6-6-milk 1-thus
 ‘Wafula gulped milk thus.’
- b. Wafula amilaka (ari) kamabele
- c. *Wafula (ari) amilaka kamabele
- d. *(Ari) Wafula amilaka kamabele

(50) *-rie(ena)* ‘how’

- a. Wafula a-a-many-a ba-a-keni (a-rie(ena))?
 1Wafula 1SM-PST-know-FV 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 & 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.

3.4.3 Locative Adverbials

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

- (51) Schematic: locative adverbial positions
 [(*) SUBJ (*) VERB (✓) OBJ (✓)]

(52) *ano* 'here'

- a. Wangila a-chukh-ile ka-me-chi *ano*.
1Wangila 1SM-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

(53) *muchikoni* 'in the kitchen'

- a. Naangila a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda *mu-chikoni*. (preferred)
1Naangila 1SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
'Naangila cooked beans in the kitchen.'
- b. Naangila atekha *mu-chikoni* kamakanda. (OK, but not preferred)
- c. *Naangila *mu-chikoni* atekha kamakanda.
- d. **mu-chikoni* Naangila atekha kamakanda. (*without dislocation)

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

(54) *khale* 'already', *ano* 'here' (unordered wrt each other)

- a. Wangila a-chukh-ile *khale* ka-me-chi **ano**.
1Wangila 1SM-pour-PRF already 6-6-water here
'Wangila already poured water here.'
- b. Wangila achukhile kamechi *khale* **ano**.
- c. Wangila achukhile kamechi **ano** *khale*.
- d. Wangila achukhile **ano** kamechi *khale*.
- e. Wangila achukhile *khale* **ano** kamechi.
- f. Wangila achukhile **ano** *khale* kamechi.

3.5 Evaluative and Modal (High) Adverbs

There is also a class of adverbs which appear 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).

(55) Schematic: evaluative/modal adverbial positions

[(✓) SUBJ (?) VERB (*) OBJ (*)]

(56) *ekhabi endayi* 'fortunately', 'by good luck'

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

d. *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 in (57) and the examples that follow.

(57) wakana ‘perhaps,’ ‘maybe’

- a. Wakana Wafula a-lakat-a e-khafu
 perhaps 1Wafula 1SM-will.slaughter-FV 9-cow
 ‘Perhaps/maybe Wafula will slaughter a cow.’
- b. Wafula wakana ?(,) alakata ekhafu
- c. ??Wafula alakata wakana ekhafu
- d. ??Wafula alakata ekhafu wakana

(58) buung’ali ‘definitely’

- a. Buung’ali Wekesa a-a-ly-a chii-ng’eeni. (preferred order)
 definitely 1Wekesa 1SM-PST-eat-FV 10-fish
 ‘Wekesa definitely ate the fish.’
- b. Wekesa buung’ali ?(,) alya chiing’eeni. (OK, but not preferred)
- 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:

(59) busa ‘only,’ ‘indeed’

- a. Wangila a-a-nyw-a e-chayi busa
 1Wangila 1SM-PST-drink-FV 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.

(60) abulala ‘sometimes’

- a. Abulala Wafula a-kon-ang-a enje (preferred order)
 sometimes 1Wafula 1SM-sleep-HAB-FV 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* ‘only,indeed’:

(61) *lukali* ‘a lot,’ ‘mostly’

- a. Wafula a-li-chang-a ka-ma-kanda **lukali**
 1Wafula 1SM-eat-HAB-FV 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.

(62) Additional examples of high (evaluative) adverbials:¹

yaabʼ eexaβi ‘hopefully (lit. if there is luck)’; *βúuβí βúliyô* ‘regrettably’ (lit. badness which is there); *éxáβʼ ímbí* ‘unfortunately’ (lit. bad luck); *kaanjali* ‘surely’; *aundi* ‘perhaps, maybe’; *muβuŋali* ‘certainly, in truth’
ngeba ‘perhaps’

In general, we see that the modal adverbs precede the frequency adverbs. For *wakana* ‘probably’ and *abulala* ‘sometimes’ this appears when placing an adverbial between the subject and the verb, as in (63c) and (63d) below.

(63) *wakana* ‘probably’ » *abulala* ‘sometimes’

- a. **wakana** **abulala** Wafula a-kon-ang-a enje
 probably sometimes 1Wafula 1SM-sleep-HAB-FV outside
 ‘Wafula probably sometimes sleeps outside.’
- b. **abulala** **wakana** Wafula akonanga enje
- c. **wakana** Wafula **abulala** akonanga enje
- d. ?**abulala** Wafula **wakana** akonanga enje

Likewise, the evaluative adverb *bungʼali* ‘definitely’ is preferred preceding *lukali* ‘mostly’:

(64) *bungʼali* ‘definitely’ » *lukali* ‘mostly’

- a. **Bungʼali** **lukali** Wafula a-li-chang-a ka-ma-kanda (preferred order)
 definitely mostly 1Wafula 1SM-eat-HAB-FV 6-6-beans
 ‘Wafula definitely mostly eats beans.’
- b. **Bungʼali** Wafula **lukali** alichanga kamakanda
- c. ??**Lukali** **bungʼali** Wafula alichanga kamakanda
- d. ??**Lukali** Wafula **bungʼali** alichanga kamakanda

Therefore we arrive at the hierarchy of these adverbials that is sketched in (65):

(65) Evaluative (unfortunately, definitely) » Modal (probably) » Frequency (sometimes)

¹Our thanks to Michael Marlo for suggesting some of these.

3.6 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.

- (66) 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.

- (67) *muchuli* ‘tomorrow’
- Nangila a-kh-ach-e e-sikuli muchuli
 1Nangila 1SM-FUT-go-FUT 9-school tomorrow
 ‘Nangila will go to school tomorrow.’
 - Nangila akhache muchuli esikuli
 - ?Nangila muchuli akhache esikuli (not too bad)
 - muchuli , Nangila akhache esikuli
- (68) *buli nyanga/busiele* ‘everyday/always’
- Wafula a-nyw-echang-a ka-ma-lwa buli nyanga / busiele
 1Wafula 1SM-drink-HAB-FV 6-6-beer every day / always
 ‘Wafula drinks beer everyday/always.’
 - Wafula anywechanga buli nyanga / busiele kamalwa
 - ??Wafula buli nyanga / busiele anywechanga kamalwa
 - Buli nyanga / busiele , Wafula anywechanga kamalwa

- (69) 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:

- (70) Fronting a locative adverbial:
- Naangila a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda mu-chikoni .
 1Naangila 1SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
 ‘Naangila cooked beans in the kitchen.’
 - Mu-chikoni *(,) Naangila a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda .
 18-kitchen 1Naangila 1SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans
 ‘In the kitchen, Naangila cooked beans.’
- (71) Fronting a manner adverbial:
- Naangila a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda sibukusu .
 1Naangila 1SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans in.Bukusu.manner
 ‘Naangila cooked beans in a Bukusu manner.’

- b. Sibukusu *(.) Naangila a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda.
 in.Bukusu.manner 1Naangila 1SM-PST-cook-FV 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.

3.7 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 2016](#)).

(72) Locative adverbial + applicative

- a. Naangila a-a-teekh-a ka-ma-kanda mu-chikoni.
 1Naangila 1SM-PST-cook-FV 6-6-beans 18-kitchen
- b. Naangila a-a-teekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda mu-chikoni.
 1Naangila 1SM-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:

(73) 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-a-teekh-el-a ka-ma-kanda likolooba
 1Naangila 1SM-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 as in (74) and (75a), whereas others cannot (75b).

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

- (75) a. Naangila a-a-ly-a ka-ma-kanda khu-bung’ali.
 1Naangila 1SM-PST-eat-FV 6-6-beans 17-certainty
 ‘Truthfully, Naangila ate the beans.’
- b. *Naangila a-a-li-il-a ka-ma-kanda khu-bung’ali.
 1Naangila 1SM-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, but this requires further investigation.

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). We therefore see that non-location adverbials using locative morphology can share some syntactic properties with location adverbials, but not all properties. This is an area deserving further research.

3.8 Additives/Focusing Modifiers: Dependent on level of modification

Additive forms (*also, as well*) and focus modifiers 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.

(76) busa ‘only’ - immediately postverbal modifies VP

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

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

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

3.9 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.

(78) AGR-nga InfV ‘almost’

- a. Wafula eng-ile khu-kwa.
 1Wafula 1SM.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 2SM-almost-PRF INF-spill 6-6-milk
 ‘Children almost spilled milk.’
- c. *Eng-ile Wafula khu-kwa
 1SM.almost-PRF 1Wafula INF-fall

(79) AGR-kana InfV ‘almost’

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

4 Conclusions

This paper surveys a broad range of adverbial patterns in Lubukusu. As has been commonly reported for Bantu languages, Lubukusu does not appear to have a grammatical category of “adverb,” at least, not transparently. But

there are of course many ways to modify sentences: in §2 we discussed the various morphosyntactic strategies for forming adverbials. Then in §3 we discussed syntactic questions about adverb positions, showing that in many ways Lubukusu displays the same kinds of adverbial hierarchies that have been documented cross-linguistically. §3 also takes a moment to document relevant syntactic patterns, such as properties of locative adverbials and focus, among others.

This paper is meant to be descriptive: a basis for future research. That future research may be on adverbials itself, but adverbials have proven to be crucial diagnostic contexts for many kinds of syntactic investigations. Our hope is that this work, therefore, can also provide a useful toolkit both for research on Lubukusu, but also a foundation for identifying parallel adverbial diagnostics in related Bantu languages. In this spirit, we have also included an appendix with additional adverbial examples that did not appear in examples in the paper, specifically to expand that toolkit for application in other domains of syntax research on Lubukusu and other Bantu languages.

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5 Appendix: additional adverbials, for reference

- *-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’
- *bubi kabisa* ‘dreadfully’
- *bubi muno* ‘dreadfully’
- *bubi 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 khutimya litoka ku?* – can you really drive?)
- *kumwaka kukwawe* ‘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 lilyawe* ‘last week’
- *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 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 kamakesi* ‘expertly’
- *ne kamani* ‘strongly’
- *ne kamani* ‘forcefully; by force; 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 liryu* ‘politely’
- *ne lukhono* ‘in a miserly manner; close-fistedly’
- *ne lukhono* ‘in stingy way; ‘stingily’
- *ne sifuba* ‘forcefully; by force’
- *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’ (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’
- *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’

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