Adverbs in Kenyang

Tabe Florence A. E \(^1\)

Abstract

Kenyang (a Niger-Congo language spoken in Cameroon) has both pure and derived adverbs. Characteristic features of Kenyang adverbs can be captured from event structure constituting different functional projections in the syntax. Thus the behaviour of adverbs in this language is inextricably bound to both syntactic and semantic phenomena. The nature of the interface between them is explained based on their distribution and properties in the language. The adverbs can appear left-adjointed or right-adjointed to the verb. From a cartographic perspective, Kenyang adverbs can occupy different functional heads comprising the CP, IP and VP respectively. Each syntactic position affects the semantics of the proposition. The possibility of adverb stacking is constrained by the pragmatics of the semantic zones and the co-occurrence and ordering restrictions in the syntax. The ordering is a relative linear proximity rather than a fixed order. The theoretical relevance of the analysis is obtained from the assumption that there is a feasible correlation between the classes of adverbs and independently motivated functional projections, on the one hand, and on the existence of a one-to-one correlation between syntactic positions and semantic structures, on the other hand.

Keywords: event structure, adverb taxonomy, interface, adverb focus, adverb ordering

1.0 Introduction

Adverbs have been treated as the least homogenous category to define in language because their analysis as a grammatical category remains peripheral to the basic argument structure of the sentence. Adverbs have been analysed as predicates (Roberts 1985; Rochette 1990), as arguments (McConell-Ginet 1982; Larson 1985), as modifiers (Sportiche 1988), and as operators (Laenzlinger). Several reasons account for this lack of clarification. The first is attributed to the fact that adverbs do not present a homogeneous class. Givón (1993:71) sees adverbs as least homogeneous and the hardest to define. According to Payne (1997:69) any word with semantic content (i.e. other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective is often put into this class of adverbs. In the same light McCawley (1996:664) observes that the diversity of things that adverb has been applied to is in keeping with traditional definitions of it as modifier of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb, which in effect class as adverbs all modifiers other than adjectives. Adverbs cannot be declined and they are often grouped with prepositions and conjunctions as a subgroup of particles. This explains why they form a very heterogeneous group containing numerous overlapping with other grammatical categories. Secondly, because adverbs demonstrate a correlation between syntactic and semantic structures, the behaviour of adverbs has been analysed as inextricably bound to both syntactic and semantic phenomena (Tenny 2000:285-6). However, the analysis of what constitutes a syntactic or semantic underlying representation of adverbs in a sentence structure is unclear. In order to understand the nature of the interface between them, there is need to identify the syntactic or semantic elements necessary in explaining the distribution and properties of adverbs. Different approaches have been adopted for the classification of adverbs. One approach identifies them into distinct groups constrained by their syntactic and semantic properties.

\(^1\) Department of African Languages & Linguistics. University of Yaoundé 1, Cameroon. Email: fatenoh@yahoo.co.uk
Advocates of this line of thought (Jackendoff 1972; Travis 1988, etc.) posit that various types of adverbs may select for propositions, speech acts or events, each of which interacts with syntactic principles to produce different adverbial behaviours. The analysis supposes that the nature of the syntactic constituent that licenses the adverb determines its semantic interpretation. The latter is obtained given the semantic features associated with the adverb. In Jackendoff’s (1972) analysis, adverbs are semantically classified into four groups. These comprise the speaker-oriented adverbs; subject-oriented adverbs; event-related adverbs and focus adverbs. The speaker-oriented adverbs such as frankly, unfortunately among others carry information relating to the speaker. Subject-oriented adverbs (including clumsily, carelessly...) introduce material relating to the subject of the clause. Event-oriented adverbs comprising manner, time and degree adverbs (like completely, frequently and clearly...) introduce material relating to the event structure. Lastly, focus adverbs (including almost, hardly, utterly...) introduce material which is discourse-oriented for scope purposes. The syntactic distribution of these adverbs relative to the hierarchical constituent structure shows that subject-oriented and speaker-oriented adverbs are sentence-level adverbs, while the event-related adverbs are verb phrase-level adverbs. Focus adverbs, in contrast, are hosted by the Aux head - a position dominated by the Aux node. Travis (1988) fine-tunes the nature of the mapping between the semantic and syntactic composition of Jackendoff’s adverbs by suggesting that the speaker-oriented adverbs take scope over CP, the sentence adverbs take scope over IP, the subject-oriented adverbs take scope over INFL, and the event-oriented adverbs take scope over the verb. Another approach put forward to capture the cross-linguistic generalization on the distributional properties of adverbs is that of Cinque (1997). Given Cinque, there is no direct one-to-one correlation between the syntactic and the semantic composition of the adverbs. Thus the relation between the syntactic position occupied by an adverb and the semantic role discharged by the latter remains essentially non-compositional. Rather, emphasis is on teasing out the distinguishing syntactic properties of each adverb by showing associated positions of each with respect to a distinct functional projection. Recourse to the semantic contribution of adverbs on the syntax is captured indirectly. The adverbs types and their semantic properties are mirrored from an inventory into the various functional projections in the syntax.

Tenny (2000:290) adopts an approach that tracks a middle ground between the views that have been projected above (that is, whether there is a direct mapping between semantic/syntactic composition or just a syntactic projection of functional heads with an indirect link to its semantic properties) in determining the distribution of adverbs. Tenny maintains that the semantic composition of the event is mediated in the syntax by a relatively small inventory of functional projections mirroring that composition. If one’s observation is right, Tenny’s treatment of adverbs is in consonant with that projected by Jackendoff (1972) and Travis (1988) earlier indicated. However, Tenny focuses more on elements lower down in the syntactic composition of the clause. In particular, the event structure closer to the verb and internal to the event, rather than issues that appear at the higher level of the clause structure like speech acts, propositions, among others. As for the phrasal projection of adverbs, the literature supposes that adverbs can occupy adjoined positions (Ernst 1997), specifier positions (Laenzlinger 1993; Cinque 1997), can self-project into a maximal projection (Pollock 1989), and as being defective categories without a maximal projection (Travis 1988). This paper identifies and describes adverbs in Kenyan. Morphologically, it shows that Kenyan has both pure and derived adverbs. It assumes that adverbs interact with event structure in different ways by presenting a lexical decomposition of the event structure constituting of different functional projections that host various adverbs in the language. Thus the semantic and syntactic properties of adverbs are mirrored from an event structure constituted of semantic zones and translated through functional projections in the syntactic component. It also examines the distribution of S-adverbs (sentence-level adverbs/higher adverbs) that appear outside the event composition and introduce material for information packaging in the language. The research is purely descriptive and intended to complement the task of developing a concise grammar of Kenyan, (a poorly documented language spoken in the South West Region of Cameroon). Notwithstanding, aspects of the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995 and subsequent works) and the feature-based theory of adverb syntax (Alexiadou 1997; Cinque 1999; Laenzlinger 2004, among others) will be alluded onto where necessary. The paper is structured into three sections. The first presents an overview of the nature of event structure in the clausal architecture. Section 2 defines the relevant semantic zones of adverbs projected in the literature.
Section 3 focuses on Kenyang, the language being investigated. It describes the morphology, semantic composition and syntactic distribution of adverbs in the language showing the location of each adverb in the proposed adverb taxonomy, the co-occurrence relations of each of the adverbs classes with event structure, the facts relating to adverbs that appear outside the event composition and the place of these adverbs in the mapping between syntactic/semantic correspondences (in the context of an extended event structure of functional projections and semantic zones). It also defines the sequencing of adverbs in an extended clause structure in the language. The last section concludes the paper.

1. Lexical Decomposition of Verbs with Event Interpretations

Semantically, adverbs have been traditionally partitioned into predicate operators and sentence operators, which correspond to some extent to the familiar distinction into VP-adverbs and S-adverbs. Many adverbs are subcategorized by the verb which plays a significant role in mirroring the event types and the semantic/syntactic properties attributed to each. All thematic heads in the VP and vP domains express event structure. If a verb projects multiple theta-roles, multiple VP-like projections will have to be articulated in the syntax. Following Tenny (2000), events are compositionally determined as having initiation and termination. Such compositionality, Tenny asserts is derived through information from the verb, its arguments, and any adjuncts that appear in the clause. Initiation and termination are grammatically represented in the clausal functional projections. I assume in this context that the interpretation of events with initial bound and terminal bound can be harnessed through adjuncts such as adverbs and adverbials. Lexical semantics posits that the semantic interpretation of a verb be derived from a structural representation of the event designated by the verb. A lexical decomposition of the verb suggests that it encodes two major events: an outer event having causation effects and an inner or core event which translates the result of causation. The inner event encodes a change of state resulting from the cause effect of the outer event. Many changes of state verbs have this property, as illustrated in the following:

(1) John broke the glass
[X CAUSE [Y BECOME [NOT VALUABLE]]]

That X causes Y to change into a state of being shattered represents a core event with a final state of some change in the direct object, which is the glass becoming shattered. The inner or core event is interpreted here as having an end state or is terminally bound. Event verbs with inner structure have distinguishing aspectual properties. Tenny (2000) observes that one indicator of the aspectual property of finite temporal duration of events is the felicity of adverbial expressions in denoting such finite temporal duration. For example, we have in ten minutes as illustrated in (2):

(2) Tim cooked the meal in ten minutes

Telicity is also an important ingredient in defining verbs with event structure. In relevant literature, the inner event of such verbs bears an associated entailment that some state holds of the object at the end of the event. It goes, following Tenny (2000) that, the core event...includes a becoming into a terminal state that holds of the direct object. That final state makes the verb telic; supplying a definite end point to the temporal extent of the event represented by the verb. The verbs with core events are precisely those with necessary temporal end states associated with some change in their direct object. Many verbs with event readings also show the kind of transitivity alternations expressed in causative/inchoative constructions and middle constructions.

(3) Kitts does the door  Causative the door closed  Inchoative

There are however verbs that lack such complex event structure. These are verbs whose inner event cannot be grammatically separated from the general event described by the verb either through transitive alternations (causative/inchoative) or by use of middle construction. They have no incremental theme or necessary change of state in their reading, and they lack a causative component in their interpretation. The verbs are also not telic. They are not felicitous with phrases of temporal duration such as ten minutes. These comprise verbs of contact like hit and touch, verbs of psych state like love, know and verbs of perception like hear and see. The following constructions portray the causative/inchoative forms of such verbs corresponding to the structures in (3) above:

(4) a. Jim loves Mary *b. Mary loves
(5) a. Fred hits the ball with a bat *b. The ball hits with a bat
(6) a. Bill saw the man who owns the shop *b the man who owns the shop saw

In the phase-based theory of Chomsky (2001, 2008), event structure correlates with the v*P phase. The v*P is a proposition introduced by a light verb that projects an external subject. The complement of v is the VP. The VP hosts the main verb and hence the core event of the proposition, while the v*P hosts the event external and thus outer to the core event. Most adverbs are base-generated within this phase (these are the low class and lower class adverbs). They begin their journey in the v*P phase before being projected through movement for focus or topic reading. Adverbs that occur above the v*P phase are CP phase adverbs. The CP phase is where distinctions in clause typing and information structure are represented. This goes to say that adverbs that are legible to event structures can be syntactically projected within the vP phase, while those that are opaque to event structure are syntactically projected by the CP phase. The discussion proceeds with an overview of the semantic zones of adverbs in Section 2.

2. Adverbs Classes and Semantic Zones

Adverbs express various kinds of meaning. They function as adjuncts, modifying a VP as shown in (7) and (8):

(7) Jane is writing quickly
(8) The king walks majestically

They may also serve as modifiers, modifying an adjective within an AdjP as in (9) and (10) or another adverb within an AdvP as in (11).

(9) The novel is amazingly interesting
(10) The soup is sufficiently rich in ingredients
(11) The judge studied the verdict extremely carefully

Adverbs may also function as peripheral dependents modifying an entire clause. They do so by either connecting it with what has preceded or by commenting upon it by expressing an aspect of the speaker’s attitude towards the content of the clause:

(12) Bob drives poorly, methodically; his car is in remarkably good state (13) Interestingly, the call for a strike was not respected by everyone

They may serve as complements:

(14) The police apprehended the murderer readily

Bare NP adverbs exhibit distributional properties peculiar to NPs, given that they can appear in specifier positions restricted to NPs:

(15) Tomorrow Tom’s birthday
(16) Yesterday’s army was fascinating

The heterogeneous nature of this form class is not limited to the definition but also to the analysis as well as classification. Adverbs have been analysed and classified variously. Within the feature-based theory (Alexiadou 1997; Cinque 1999; Laezlinger 2004, among others) adverbs merge as specifiers of clause initial functional projection. Laenzlinger (2004) maintains that: Each class of adverb [...] is confined to a simple position, which is identified as the specifier position of a corresponding semantically related functional projection. Such an approach readily fits in with the LCA (Kayne, 1994) conception of phrase structures, as advocated by Alexiadou (1997) and Cinque (1999). Specifiers are unique left-branching adjoined phrases. In Kayne’s system, multiple adjunctions are banned, as well as right attachment of specifier. The only possible configuration is [Spec X0 Comp]. Adverbs are adjoined specifiers attached to the left. Linearly they precede the head with which they are associated. In line with the feature-based theory, therefore, each adverb corresponds to a particular Spec position of distinct maximal projections. Each defined Spec projection can be suitably correlated with the defined canonical order of clausal functional heads. The clausal functional heads are defined with respect to the semantics of the adverbs.
Cinque (1999:55) identifies the following semantic zones for adverbs:


Cinque proposes a universal hierarchy of adverbs that correlates with a fixed universal hierarchy of functional projections which distinguishes among: an ordered sequence of “higher”-sentence adverbs, an ordered sequence of “lower” VP-adverbs and an unordered sequence of VP-internal “circumstantial” adverbs. The theoretical relevance of the classification depends on the feasibility of the correlation between adverbs and independently motivated functional projections, on the one hand, and on the existence of a one-to-one correlation between syntactic positions and semantic structures, on the other. Cinque (1999) supposes also that the relative ordering of these adverbs in clause structure is fixed cross-linguistically. That is, the behavior of adverbs in different clausal configuration remains the same for all languages. Of course cross-linguistic variation with respect to adverb positioning (resulting from movement operations) has been reported. This will not be highlighted in this paper. Having presented an overview of relevant literature on adverbs, I shall now go on to examining adverb phenomenon in Kenyang, the object of this paper.

3. The Morphology, Semantic Composition, and Syntactic Distribution of Adverbs in Kenyang

The objective in this section is twofold: to provide generalisations which might be relevant for a satisfactory formal characterization of adverbs on syntactic and semantic grounds and to contribute in the development of a concise grammar of Kenyang, a language with very little linguistic literature.

3.1 Morphology of Kenyang Adverbs

As far as inflectional morphology is concerned, the literature suggests that adverbs fare rather poorly. Only a handful inflects for grade like *sensassenti, vel-halter* etc. With respect to derivational morphology, the highly productive suffix -ly is used to derive a large proportion of adverbs from adjectives, for example, *slowly, rudely, fastly* etc. Other adverb-marking suffixes include -wards and -wise. Their use is not as productive as -ly-suffix. Morphologically, in English, the adverbial affix -ly and its equivalents like *ment* in French and *mente* in Italian must co-occur with adjectives as modifiers to derive adverbs. The only exception relates to modified nominal elements that carry the same derivational affix to become adjectives rather than adverbs in English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gentle</td>
<td>genity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>happily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lente (slow)</td>
<td>lentement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malheureux (unfortunate)</td>
<td>malheureusement (slowly)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>manly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>worldly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English has pure adverbs (e.g. soon, now), derived adverbs (e.g. gently, happily, slowly, skyward) as well as adverbs resulting from compounding (e.g. thereafter, forthcoming, henceforth). There are also adverbials with characteristic features of NPs and PPs. Adverbials can occur in every respective NP position, as subject, objects and as objects of prepositions.

(20) a. Tom will visit his family **tomorrow**
    **tomorrow** Tom will visit his family
    c. Tom is planning **tomorrow**. Tom will travel to the city by **tomorrow**

Many adverbials can also take the’s possessive, as in (21):

(21) **Tomorrow’s journey** to the city will be very interesting
Unlike adverbs, however, adverbials cannot co-occur with modifiers like *very, *quite, etc.

(22) *Tom will visit his family *quite tomorrow
(23) *Very tomorrow Tom will travel to the city
(24) Very gently Tom delivered his message to the congregation

Kenyang does not have an open class of adverbs like its English counterpart. The category of adverb in some cases is interpreted from the phonological modification of the citation form of the verb or from the syntactic position of the adjective in Kenyang clauses (cf Baker 2003:230-37 for related view and examples). The following constructions show that adjectives in Kenyang can have either a manner adverb interpretation in VP-final position or used attributively or predicatively with/without morphological change.

(26) n-mɔ̀  a kɔ̀ sɔ́r (adj as manner adverb)
     1-child 3SG.IPV walk beautiful/nice/well
     "The child walks beautifully/nicely/well"

(27) ñ-sɔ́rì  n-mɔ̀ (adjective used attributively)
     7-beautiful/nice 1-child
     "A nice child"

(28) n-mɔ̀  a tʃi sɔ́rì (adjective used predicatively)
     1-child 1.SG COP well
     "The child is well"

(29) Ako  ñ  rèm kɛ̀-pɛ̀ mɔ́ndù (adjective as adverb)
     Ako 3SG.IPV talk 14-talk briefly
     "Ako talks briefly"

(30) a.mɔ́ndùn-mɔ̀ / mɔ́ndù n-oŋ/mɔ̀-pɛ̀ (attributive use)
     Small 1-child / small 3-soup/6-water
     "A small child" / "A bit of soup/water"

b. n-mɔ̀  a tʃi mɔ́ndù (adjective used predicatively)
     1-child 1.SG COP small
     "The child is small"

(31) a.ɛ̀kwɔ̀  ɛ̀-nɛ̀  ñ pɛ̀lì  ɛ̀ nɔ́ (attributive use)
     7-plantain 7-this 7SG soft in 3-mouth
     "This plantain is soft in the mouth"

b. ɛ̀tɔ̀  ná nɛ̀-pɛ̀ pɛ̀lì
     1SG.IPV chew 11-food gently/slowly
     "Età is chewing food slowly"

Adverbs can also be derived morphosyntactically from verbs in Kenyang. The verbs are converted to adverbs by virtue of their syntactic position in the clause structure. The conversion from verb to adverb is usually accompanied by some phonological modification of the verb root either tonally or by lengthening of the final sound or both.
Examples of such verbs include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mikhí</td>
<td>&quot;to sprain&quot;</td>
<td>mikhí-i</td>
<td>&quot;twistedly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikhí</td>
<td>&quot;to tilt&quot;</td>
<td>sikhí-i</td>
<td>&quot;sideways&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dëq-g</td>
<td>&quot;to pound&quot;</td>
<td>dëq-g</td>
<td>&quot;slowly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fǎ-ā</td>
<td>&quot;to walk away&quot;</td>
<td>fǎ-ā</td>
<td>&quot;plainly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qwāŋ-ŋ</td>
<td>&quot;scratch&quot;</td>
<td>qwāŋ-ŋ</td>
<td>&quot;brightly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpák</td>
<td>&quot;fold&quot;</td>
<td>kpák</td>
<td>&quot;quietly&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They appear in the following Kenyang constructions as verbs in (33a-35a) but as adverbs in (33b-35b) respectively:

(33)a. Ebai á mikhí | e-kik e-yi
Ebai 1SG.PFV sprain 7-leg 7-POSS.3SG
Ebai has sprained his leg

b. Ebai á ko mikhí-i
Ebai 1SG.PFV walk twistedly
Ebai walks twistedly

(34) a. Besong á kpák ŋ-deng 9kem Besong 1SG.PFV fold 9-dresses all
Besong has folded all the dresses

b. Besong á were kpák a-mfay be kpó
Besong 1SG.PFV sleep quietly LOC-on 0-bed
Besong is lying quietly on the bed

(35) a. Ako á dëq g-kwá ŋtah b-so
Ako 1SG.IPV pound 7-plantains for 2-children
Ako is pounding plantains for the children

b. Ako á kó dëq-g
Ako 1SG.IPV walk slowly
"Ako is walking slowly"

Some of these verbs can be used predicatively as adjectives when they co-occur with the copular tʃi.

(36) e-kikt e tʃi sikhí
7-stand 7-3G COP tilted
"The house is tilted"

(37) ŋ-ti ŋ-g Ako á tʃi fō
3-head Ako 5SG COP plain/empty
"Ako is dull"

Some nouns, when combined with the preposition ni “with/in” may be used as adverbials to describe the manner in which the action depicted by the verb was performed. Often these adverbials occur as adjuncts to V or VP. The nouns comprise: bëbe ni “anger”, mëk “happiness”, këbb “wisdom/intelligence”, kënh “ignorance”, mëm “greed”, e-kəm “strength”, bë-kay “power”, mëkay “surprise”. The following constructions illustrate their use as phrasal adverbs in Kenyang
The literature on adverbs, as indicated above, characterizes them as a mixed bag and a notoriously difficult class to define both semantically and grammatically. This is because they range from the purely lexical to the grammatical and show diversity not only in meaning, but also in their grammatical behaviour. What is usually considered as prototypical adverbs and having some lexical characterization express information relating to place, time, frequency, etc. Kenyang also has a variety of closed class particles not related to adjectives or verbs that might be considered prototypical and pure adverbs. These comprise the temporal adverbs in (40) and the spatial adverbs in (41):
The structure in (45a) is a proximative adverbial which signals the time anticipated for the execution of an action yet to occur, while (45b), a frequentative adverbial  indicates whether the execution of the event occurs serially/ many times.
3.2 Ideophones as Adverbs

Some adverbs are derived from ideophones. The latter being a vivid representation of an idea in sound or a word, often onomatopoeic which describes a predicate qualitative or adverb in respect to manner, color, smell, action, state or intensity (Welmers 1973:461). An ideophone is an onomatopoetic representation of a concept, often consisting of reduplicated syllables and not adhering to the phonotactic structure of the given language. Some manner adverbs in Kenyang are ideophones. They are used to describe the manner in which an action is performed by appealing to some of our sixth senses. These include the following sound concepts: kuniku “a running elephant”, tuhunu “water fall”, gongay “sound of a slap”, karaa “sound of hardware (metal/ceramic) falling”, gunuru “sound of dragging something over a surface”, rayeka “loose and flabby as in flabby buttocks”, firiri “very small mouth”, fokofoko “sound of weightless objects”. Kenyang constructions illustrating these ideophones are shown below:

(47) m-ŋep ā tu ŋu m-ŋa tuku tuku
K-water 6SG.PVF flow from 3-container like a water fall ATT
“Water flowed/gushed from the container like a waterfall”

Focus in the remaining discussion in this section is on identifying and classifying the different forms of adverbs with respect to their semantic composition and their syntactic distribution in Kenyang clause structure.

3.3. Semantic Composition and Syntactic Distribution of Kenyang Adverbs

On the basis of their semantic composition, adverbs will be examined following these properties: epistemic adverbs, speaker-oriented adverbs, manner adverbs, aspectual adverbs, temporal adverbs, frequency adverbs, locative adverbs, excomparative adverbs, and adverbs of restriction. Syntactically, adverbs are the heads of adverb phrases (AdvPs), which function as modifiers of verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and even entire clauses. As heads of adverbs of phrases, they themselves can be modified by intensifiers (e.g. too, very, rather). The syntactic distribution will focus on defining the precise location of each class of adverb within the clause structure. It seeks to identify and distinguish lower and low clause adverbs from higher clause adverbs. We should be able to see those adverbs that appear preverbally or postverbally, as well as adverbs that appear sentence-initially. The discussion will also examine the function and distribution of adverbial expressions in the language. Let’s now turn to the first semantic zone in our discussion.

3.3.1 Speaker-Oriented Adverbs

Semantically, speaker-oriented adverbs following Givón (1993:74, 2001:92) convey the speaker’s attitude toward the truth, certainty or probability of their proposition. They mirror the speaker’s degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition based on the kind of information that he has (Cinque 1999:86). Kenyang distinguishes the following speech act adverbs and adverbials...
Syntactically, speech act adverbs appear VP-final and in CP as illustrated in the following:

(49) a. niŋəp
    "true/truly"

b. ne ṅiŋem
   with heart Agr-all
   "honestly, heartily"

c. ne ɲənəŋ/ɛfə
   with heart luck
   "luckily"

d. ne ŋkəysi
   with thought
   "thoughtfully"

e. he mázi ɲdụ
   to add on
   "to add onto/in
   addition"

f. ne mágkay
   with surprise
   "surprisingly"

g. ne ędye ɲiți
   with clean heart
   "with kindness"

h. temifæk "suddenly"

Syntactically, speech act adverbs appear VP-final and in CP as illustrated in the following:

(50) a. Ako á ɬoŋ e-ŋye niŋəp
    Ako 1SG.PFV go 7-market truly
    "Truly Ako went to the market"

b. Ako á ɬoŋ niŋəp
    Ako 1SG.PFV go truly
    "Truly Ako went"

c. niŋəp Ako á ɬoŋ e-ŋye
    truly Ako 1SG.PFV go 7-market
    "Truly Ako went to the market"

d. Ako, niŋəp, á ɬoŋ e-ŋye
    Ako, truly, 1SG.PFV go 7-market
    "Ako, truly, he went to the market"

e. "Ako á niŋəp ɬoŋ e-ŋye
    Ako 1SG.PFV truly truly 7-market
    "Truly Ako went to the market"

Speech act adverbs/adverbials (no matter their syntactic position) have scope over the entire proposition, as they express the speaker’s judgment/attitude about the truth condition of the proposition. Syntactically, speech act adverbs are high class [#-IP] and lower class adverbs [VP-#]. They are not low class adverbs [*#-VP] as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (50e).

3.3.2 Epistemic Adverbs

Cinque maintains that epistemic adverbs express the speaker’s degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition based on the kind of information he/she has. Characteristically, these adverbs cannot be straightforwardly negated, lack corresponding negative counterparts and are non-veridical. In English, epistemic information is encoded in adverbs such as ‘maybe, perhaps’, among others). Epistemic interpretation is derived from the following Kenyan adverbs:

(51) a. ngəfú “maybe/perhaps” b. naŋgin “certainly”

Syntactically, they appear in sentence-initial position and postverbally hence they are high class and lower class adverbs, as illustrated in the following:
3.3.3 Aspectual Adverbs

Aspect refers to the internal temporal structure of a verb or sentence meaning. Aspectual adverbs therefore focus more on the temporal aspects of the event or activity depicted by the predicate with respect to whether the event/activity is unaccomplished (i.e. recurring, continuing) or has been accomplished (i.e. completed or has an end point). Aspectual adverbs have scope over the VP. In Kenyang they comprise:

(54) --the anterior aspect: nägi "already"
--the frequentative aspect: nok "often", enti ki mpók "always"
--the continuative aspect: weri "still",
--the completive aspect: ngúmkém "entirely/completely"
--the habitual aspect: náy "usually"
--the terminative aspect: pé "no longer"
--the proximative aspect: mându mpók "soon"
--the repetitive/restitutive aspect: pé "again"
--the celebrative aspect: náyak "quickly", ñitoktronk "fast/early"
--the durative aspect: kpañkim "briefly"
--the prospective aspect: máfi "almost"
They occur in the following examples:

(55)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>*Ebob</td>
<td>*pɛ</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>be-tık</td>
<td>ñtíah</td>
<td>ń-íó</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>no longer</td>
<td>1SG.PFV</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>8-work</td>
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<td>(Terminative aspect)</td>
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<td><em>Ebob no longer works for the chief</em></td>
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<td>a.</td>
<td>*Ebob</td>
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<td>b.</td>
<td>+Pɛ</td>
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<td>be-tık</td>
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<td>No longer</td>
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<td>1SG.PFV</td>
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(56)

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<td>a.</td>
<td>ñ-ña</td>
<td>*pó</td>
<td>yčëmkém</td>
<td>(Compleitive Aspect)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>9-meat</td>
<td>9SG.PFV</td>
<td>rotten</td>
<td>completely</td>
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<td><em>The meat is rotten completely</em></td>
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b.   

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<td>9-meat</td>
<td>completely</td>
<td>9SG.PFV</td>
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<td><em>The meat is completely rotten</em></td>
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3.3.4 Manner Adverbs

Studies on manner adverbs characterize them as modifying verbs with event structure (Ernst 1984:91-3). In connection with their semantics and clausal readings, such modification, following Wickboldt (2000:34), has the effect of suspending the telicity of a telic description. Similarly, Pustjovsky (1991:70) maintains that manner interpretation of adverbs/adverbials has scope over the process, not the transition or culmination of an event. Generally, manner adverbs describe the way an event was executed. They are usually stressed for discourse purposes, in particular, for focus. In doing so, they restrict the range of events referred to by the VP by suggesting an alternative set of possible states of affairs (cf. Mc Connell-Ginet 1982 for detailed discussion). Manner adverbs in Kenyang comprise: màndù softly/briefly, pëtì quietly, fì plainly, ńvál brightly, ñeś staringly/fixedly, ńvò sluggishly, ńfì fast. They are right adjoined to the verb— [VP-- #]
The manner in which an action depicted by the verb is executed can also be captured by some adverbials in the language. Nouns such as kəbọ́n ‘intelligence’, màŋkák ‘happiness’, mẹŋẹme ‘greed’ and ṣẹ̀bẹ̀nti ‘anger’ combine with the preposition ne ‘with’ to produce adverbials like ne mẹŋẹme ‘greedily’ ne kəbọ́n ‘intelligently’, ne màŋkák ‘happily’ and ne ṣẹ̀bẹ̀nti ‘angrily’. These manner adverbials appear as adjuncts to V or VP as exemplified in the following:

(57) a. Enoh á ko ẹ̀fọ̀
Enoh 1SG.IPfv walk slowly
‘Enoh walks slowly’

b. +Enoh å ẹ̀fọ̀ ko
Enoh 1SG.IPfv slowlywalk

c. +ẹ̀fọ̀ Enoh å ko 1SG.IPfv
slowlyEnoh walk

d. +Enoh ẹ̀fọ̀ ti å ko
Enoh slowly 1SG.IPfv walk

(58) a. Tabe á yọkọ́ ndù be-kók ẹ̀pàk
Tabe 1SG.PFV sit on 8-bed quietly
‘Tabe is sitting on the bed quietly’

b. +Tabe ẹ̀pàk å ẹ̀kọ́ ndù be-kók
Tabe quietly 1SG.PFV sit on 8-bed

c. +Kọ́k Kẹ́tobé ẹ̀kọ́ ndù be-kók
quietly Tabe 1SG.PFV sit on 8-bed

d. +Tabe å ẹ̀pàk yọkọ́ ndù be-kók
Tabe 1SG.PFV quietly sit on 8-bed

The manner in which an action depicted by the verb is executed can also be captured by some adverbials in the language. Nouns such as kəbọ́n ‘intelligence’, màŋkák ‘happiness’, mẹŋẹme ‘greed’ and ṣẹ̀bẹ̀nti ‘anger’ combine with the preposition ne ‘with’ to produce adverbials like ne mẹŋẹme ‘greedily’ ne kəbọ́n ‘intelligently’, ne màŋkák ‘happily’ and ne ṣẹ̀bẹ̀nti ‘angrily’. These manner adverbials appear as adjuncts to V or VP as exemplified in the following:

(59) a. Eta á puri m-mwẹrẹ 1-wí nẹ̀nẹ̀ ṣẹ̀bẹ̀nti
Eta 1SG.PFV push 1-friend AUG-3SG.POSS with anger
‘Eta pushed his friend angrily’

b. +Eta nẹ̀ ṣẹ̀bẹ̀nti á puri m-mwẹrẹ 1-wí
Eta with anger 1SG.PFV push 1-friend 1-POs-his

c. +ẹ̀nẹ̀ ṣẹ̀bẹ̀nti Eta á puri m-mwẹrẹ 1-wí
with anger Eta 1SG.PFV push 1-friend AUG-3SG.POSS
‘Eta pushed his friend with anger’

For most Kenyang speakers, adverbials appear VP-final. If these have to appear in sentence-initial/IP, they must be followed by a focus morpheme kẹ. On very rare instances, one can hear the speakers fronting such adverbials in the matrix clause position without the focus particle. Adverbials can also occur in complex syntactic constructions involving a defective verb like “take” to produce a serial verb construction (Osam 1994; Saah 2004). In Kenyang, the verb sọt “take” can co-occur with manner adverbials as in
We note from the preceding examples that manner adverbs and their adverbal counterparts cannot be fronted in Kenyang without resulting to ungrammaticality. The latter can be rendered grammatical by focusing and clefting. The cleft particle is homophonous to the copula ʧì “is” in the language.

3.3.5 Frequency/Repetitive Adverbs

Identified in the literature as repetitive or frequentative (Cinque 1999:04), these adverbs serve in modifying the semantic interpretation of the event structure by spelling out the number of times that the action was executed, is executed or will be executed along a time frame. In Kenyang, frequency adverbs are mostly realized as noun phrases. One element in the NP expresses frequency, while the other expresses the nominal. Frequency adverbs have scope over the entire event-clause or proposition (Givón 1993:73). As indicated above, frequency is discernible from two elements each constituting a semantic nucleus in the language:

Frequency adverbs can occur VP-final and in sentence-initial in TP/IP. Consider the following constructions:
3.3.6 Place or Locative Adverbs

Place or locative adverbs serve to identify the location of an object with respect to its spatial configuration. They comprise the following:

(70) 'à 'here'
  nhì 'on'
  máy 'over there'
  nükku 'beside/around'
  kwelkwê 'near/in the vicinity'
  à-fó 'there'
  LOC-there
  à-mutäk 'on the ground'
  LOC-ground
  à-mây 'above/on top'
  LOC-top
  à-mbi 'in front'
  LOC-front
  à-ññëm 'behind'
  LOC-back à-ññëm LOC-down 'under/below'
The locative morpheme -à co-occurs with nominals to produce most of these adverbs in the language. As we can see, many of these expressions are inherently prepositional. Place/locative adverbs can also be bare noun phrases like ɲki ‘farm’, ɛsɛ ‘market’, ɛk’à ‘school’, etc. These adverbs can occur in CP and VP as high and lower class adverbs, as illustrated in the following sentences:

(71a) Ako á ɡɛp be-ńtì e-ýì ɲ́y
Ako 1SG.PFV throw 8-books AUG-2SG.POSS LOC.over there
“Ako threw my books over there”

b. ɲ́y ke Ako á ɡɛp be-ńtì e-ýì
ever there Foc Ako 1SM.PFV throw books AUG-1SG.POSS
“It is over there that Ako threw my books”

(72a) Ako á weɛ á-ńtì be-końse m-ńo (as preposition)
Ako 3SG.IPV sleep LOC-in front 8-bed with 1-child
“Ako sleeps in front/at the front of the bed with the child”

b. Ako á weɛ á-ńtì (as locative adverb)
Ako 1SG.IPV sleep LOC-in front/at the front
“Ako sleeps in front/at the front”

c. á-ńtì ke Ako á weɛ ne m-ńo
LOC-in front Foc Ako 3SG.IPV sleep with 1-child
“It is in front/at the front that Ako sleeps with the child”

(73a) Ako á iŋj e-ye
Ako 3SG.IPV go LOC.market s
Ako went to the market

3.3.7 Time/Temporal Adverbs

Time/temporal adverbs situate an event structure within a particular time frame. They have scope over the entire proposition. Morphologically, these may be single words or compounds. Because they locate events within some specific time frame, time/temporal adverbs are bound by tense, aspect and mode. Examples (74-75) and (76-7) illustrate these adverbs and their use in Kenyan clauses.

(74a) eŋj “today”
e. bekw a “evening”
b. mbɛɛ “tomorrow”
nŋó “afternoon”
c. ɛy “yesterday”
g. Sunday “Sunday”
d. bɛ “morning”
h. Friday “Friday”

(75a) — sɛ pu 1ŋj ɛ-ńtì Pso ńin
1PL.IPV NEG go 7-school morning
“We are not going to school in the morning”

b. á 2 children 1PL.IPV refuse to sleep 14 sleep in afternoon
“The children refused to sleep in the afternoon”

(76a) mbɛɛ “tomorrow”
b. mmy “yesterday year”
c. mmy “next year”

“Tomorrow evening” “Last year” “Next year”
(77)a. Egbe á ìmé m-mọ mé mọ́yọ̀ ǹgbọ́rẹ́ lọ́wọ́ i 1 yọ̀rù̀ 3G.IPFV give birth 1 child tomorrow

“Egbe will deliver a baby next year”

b. ìmé mọ́yọ̀ ǹgbọ́rẹ́ Egbe á ìmé m-mọ à 1 yọ̀rù̀ 3G.IPFV give birth 1 child tomorrow

“Next year Egbe will deliver a baby”

c. ìlé ìmé mọ́yọ̀ ǹgbọ́rẹ́ kò Egbe á ìmé m-mọ à 1 yọ̀rù̀ 3G.IPFV give birth 1 child tomorrow

“It is next year that Egbe delivers a baby”

Time/temporal adverbs can co-occur with frequency adverbs to express the time frame of the event:

(78) ñígbà mí-rí òsò ìwọ̀ 3G.IPFV time today AUG three ‘in three days from today’

(79)a. bá-òwọ́ bá 1 2 teacher 2PL.IPFV est 3 body FREQ.time today AGR-three ‘The teachers will be on vacation in the next three days’

b. ìgbà 1 2 teacher 2PL.IPFV est 3 body FREQ.time today AGR-three ‘In three days teachers will be on break/vacation’

c. ìgbà 1 2 teacher 2PL.IPFV est 3 body FREQ.time today AGR-three ‘For three days teachers will be on break/vacation’

Sometimes, the time frame is expressed by a finite clause, as in (80) and (81):

(80) niì-mọ̀ gbẹ̀ lọ́rù̀ 3G.IPFV stay 6-year AGR-three ‘three years ago’

(81)a. ǹ-tó á gbẹ̀ lọ́rù̀ 3G.IPFV die 1-chief 6-year AGR-three ‘The chief died three years ago’

b. niì-mọ̀ gbẹ̀ lọ́rù̀ 3G.IPFV stay 6-year AGR-three AGR-three ‘For three years ago that the chief died’

Further, the time/temporal properties can be relativized, as in (82) and (83):
Time/temporal adverbs can appear VT-final or in the left periphery of the clause by focalization.

(84)a. Ako à ná e-kwa egyi
Ako 3SG.PFV cook /-plantain yesterday
"Ako cooked plantains yesterday"

b. (fí) egyi ke Ako à ná e-kwa cook (CL1/1)
yesterday Foc Ako 3SG.PFV "It is yesterday that Ako cooked plantains"

The adverb can be focalised without the focus morpheme ëk. In such context, the cleft morpheme is optionally absent. It is assumed for these constructions that focusing is marked by intonation.

(85)a. egyi Ako à ná e-kwa
Yesterday Ako 3SG.PFV cook 7 plantains
"Yesterday Ako cooked plantains"

b. fí egyi Ako à ná e-kwa cook
It is yesterday Ako 3SG.PFV "It is yesterday that Ako cooked plantains"

Time/temporal adverbs can be preceded by the preposition ñdù ‘for’. The preposition functions in defining the direction and magnitude of the time frame through which the action or event is executed.

(86)a. ñ-ò bá ñψí ki nò m-mik ñò ñuyr
2-children 2PL.PFV NEG sweep 3-floor for year
"The children have not swept the floor for one year"

b. ñò ñuyr (ke) ñ-ò bá ñψí ki nò m-mik
for year (Foc) 2-children 2PL.PFV NEG sweep 3-floor
"For a year the children did not sweep the floor"

3.3.8 Exocomparative Adverbs

Exocomparative adverbs require an implicit comparison of an entity to some other entity. They include: similarly, differently, equivalently, parallel, etc. Constructions with exocomparative adverbs show that generically some functioning event is similarly, differently or equivalently to some other contextually identified functioning event by entity. The similarity/equivalence or difference of such events is judged on the basis of the comparison class of functioning events by the entities in reference. Exocomparative adverbs can appear as high class, low class and lower class adverbs in clause structures.
Kenyang exocomparative adverbs comprise:

(87) a. čhá ɛʧì kí ɛʧì
   "way other different" "similarly / the same"

Syntactically, they appear VP-finally, however they can be focused to sentence-IP, as illustrated in the following constructions:

(89) a. bá ńʤɛ ɛʧì kí ɛʧì
   8 stick 7 book 8 these 8PL.IPVF write the same
   "These pens write similarly"

b. čhá ɛʧì kí ɛʧì ke ńʤɛ
   "similarly 8 stick 7 book 8 these 8PL.IPVF write"
   "These pens write similarly / Similarly these pens write"

* c. bá ńʤɛ kí ɛʧì kí bá ɛʧì

(90) a. m-mó ń tā ɛʧì
   1-child 1SG.IPVF buy only / just 3-cap
   "The child bought only / just a cap"

b. ɛʧì ń tā ke m-mó ń kwú
   only / just 3-cap Foc 1-child 1SG.IPVF buy
   "The child bought only / just a cap"

* c. m-mó ń ɛʧì kwú ń tā

(91) a. m-mó ń kwú ɛʧì ń tā
   1-child 1SG.IPVF buy even 3-cap
   "The child is buying / will buy even a cap"

b. ɛʧì ń tā m-mó ń kwú
   even 3-cap 1-child 1SG.IPVF buy
   "The child is buying even a cap"

* c. m-mó ń ɛʧì kwú ń tā

The restrictive adverb, ɛʧì, must not be accompanied by the focus maker ke in clause initial position, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (92) below.

(92) *ɛʧì ń tā ke m-mó ń kwú
3.4 Adverbs Co-occurrence/ Sequencing in Kenyang.

Cinque (1999) argues for a fixed order hypothesis whereby a unique canonical order of adverbs is attested cross-linguistically. Accordingly, each adverb is based generated in the specifier of a dedicated functional projection XP. The distribution of the functional XPs is constrained by syntactic, semantic and pragmatic considerations to adduce their typological facts. In virtue of the preceding discussion, syntactically, adverbs can be left adjoined or right adjoined to the XP they modify in Kenyang. The distribution of the adverbs is sensitive to the argument considerations of the clause. The adverbs are hierarchically ranked and the ranking plays a crucial role in determining the relative linear proximity of each to the event structure. Preverbal (low class) adverbs are basically aspectual and follow the ordering below:

\[ \text{[AspAdv --> #VP]} \]

(93) Ako i pe ki be rik ni ti yi
Ako 3SG.PFV ASP-ADV no longer do 8-work for him
“Ako no longer works for him”

Postverbal (lower class) adverbs are sequenced as follow:


(94) Eta a were mko gofi si ni
Eta 1SG.IPFV sleep ASP.used to EPIST-ADV maybe MAN-ADV well

tespe SP-ADV.truly ngofi spay ngi amig ebe
SPE-ADV.truly nogo Epist may be Rest only Eta FOC 3SG.PFV

“Truly, maybe Eta used to sleep well twice a month in the bush” Adverb stacking can be captured from the following sentence, showing both CP (high class) adverbs and v*P (low and lower class) adverbs.

(95) tespe gofi ndige Eta ke a
SPE-ADV nogo Epist maybe Rest only Eta FOC 3SG.PFV

npi It mbe xam spay mmy two
Asp.already pass MAN.well FREQ.time TEMP.year

“Truly, maybe Eta is the only student who passed the exams twice last year in the medical school” The label bracketing representation in (96) below highlights the discourse or scope properties of each of the semantic zones of adverbs interacting with the syntax in the preceding sentence, (95) respectively. (96) [SpAct Adv][Spec t:xep][Epist Adv][Spec n:go][Restit Adv][Spec ndz:n:FocP][Spec Ako][Foc ke][TP][Spec Ako][T a][Asp Adv][Spec npi][VP][Spec Ako][V f:et][NP][Spec ndz:m][Man Adv][Spec sain][Freq Adv][Spec ndz:ei spay][Temporal Adv][Spec mmy eyu][Loc Adv][Spec ndu ek:hi b:ge:] With respect to linear ordering, the schema in (97) could be proposed for Kenyang, as a relative linear proximity not fixed, contrary to the universal hierarchy or adverb ordering in the literature. This is obtained based on Kenyang data presented above where some adverbs have ambiguous positions in the functional projections. (97) SpecAct Adv > EpistAdv > RestAdv > FocP > TP > AspAdv > ManAdv > FreqAdv > TempAdv > LocAdv.

4. Conclusion

The cartographic presentation of adverbs illustrated in the preceding discussion indicates that they can occupy different syntactic positions in Kenyang clauses comprising: CP, IP and VP respectively. Each syntactic position affects the semantics of the proposition. The possibility of adverb stacking is constrained by the pragmatics of the semantic zones and the co-occurrence and ordering restrictions in the syntax. The adverbs occur in a relative linear proximity, rather than a fixed order in the syntax depending on the semantic interpretation of the event structure.
References