Adverbs in Kenyang

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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-adjoined or right-adjoined 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.

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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 classifed 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, carefully…*) introduce material relating to the subject of the clause. Event-oriented adverbs comprising manner, time and degree adverbs (like *completely, frequently* and *eloquently…*) introduce material relating to the event structure. Lastly, focus adverbs (including *almost, merely, 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 Jackedoff'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 *treads 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 semantic 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 Kenyang. Morphologically, it shows that Kenyang 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 Kenyang, (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) Jonh 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 *closed* 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 *hit* the ball with a bat *b. The ball *hit* 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 *legibly*
(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; nevertheless,* 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 *recently*

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

(15) *Tomorrow* is Tom's birthday
(16) *Yesterday's ceremony* 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:

(17) Mood speech act (frankly)>Mood evaluative (fortunately)>Mood evidential (allegedly)>Mod epistemic (probably) >Tpast(once)>Tfuture (then)>Mood irrealis (perhaps)>Mod necessity (necessarily)>Mod possibility (possibly)>Mod volition (willingly)>Mod obligation (inevitably)>Mod ability/permission (cleverly >Asp habitual (usually)>Asp repetitive (again)>Asp frequentative (often)>Asp celerative (quickly)>Tanterior (already)>Asp terminative (no longer)>Asp continuative (still) >Asp perfect (always)>Asp retrogressive (just) >Asp proximative (soon) > Asp durative (briefly) > Asp generic/progressive> Asp prospective (almost) > Asp completive (completely) > Asp p/competive (tutto)>Voice (well)>Asp celerative (fast/early)>Asp completive (completely)>Asp repetitive (again) >Asp frequentative (often).

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 *soon-sooner-soonest, well-better-best* etc. With respect to derivational morphology, the highly productive suffix –*ly*-is used to derive a large proportion of adverbs from adjectives, for example, *slow-ly; rude-ly; honest-ly* 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:

(18) **adjective**   **adverb**
      Gentle   gently
      Happy   happily
      Lente (slow)   lentement   (slowly)
      Malheureux (unfortunate) malheureusement   (unfortunately)

(19) **noun**   **adjective**
      Man   manly
      Day   daily
      World   worldly

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* b.
                Tomorrow Tom will visit his family
        c.   Tom is planning *tomorrow very carefully* d.   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 (25)
          Tom walks *quite slowly*

        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)   m̀-mɔ̀   ǎ   kɔ   *sáìrí*   (adj as manner adverb)
     1-child   3SG.IPFV   walk beautiful/nice/well
     "The child walks beautifully/nicely/well"

(27) *ɛ̀-sáìrí*   m̀-mɔ̀   (adjective used attributively)
     7-beautiful/nice   1-child
     "A nice child"

(28) m̀-mɔ̀   à   tʃì   *sáìrí*   (adjective used predicatively)
     1-child   1.SG COP well
     "The child is well"

(29) Ako   ǎ   rɛm kɛ̀-pɨ   *màndù* (adjective as adverb)
     Ako   3SG.IPFV talk 14-talk   briefly
     "Ako talks briefly"

(30) a.*màndù* m̀-mɔ̀   /   *màndù*   ǹ-nòk/mà-ɲɛ̀p (attributive use)
     Small 1-child   /   small   3-soup/6-water
     "A small child"   /   "A bit of soup/water"
b.   m̀-mɔ̀   à   tʃì   *màndù*   (adjective used predicatively)
     1-child   1.SG COP small
     "The child is small"

(31) a.ɛ̀-kwà   ɛ̀-nɛ̌ ɛ̀   *pɛ̀tì* à   ǹ-ɲù
     7-plantain 7-this 7SG   soft in   3-mouth
     "This plantain is soft in the mouth"

b.   Eta   ǎ   ŋá nɛ̀-ɲɛ́   *pɛ̀tì*
     Eta   1SG.IPFV chew 11-food   gently/slowly
     "Eta 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:

(32)	Verbs	Gloss	Adverbs	Gloss
	mɨkɨrì	"to sprain"	mɨkɨrí-í	"twistedly"
	sɨkɨ	"to tilt"	sɨkɨ-ɨ	"sideways"
	dɛŋ	"to pound"	dɛŋ-ŋ	"slowly"
	fù	"to walk away"	fú-ú	"plainly"
	ŋwàŋ	"scratch"	ŋwàŋ-ŋ	"brightly"
	kpàk	"fold"	kpák	"quietly"

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

(33)a. Ebai   à   mɨkɨrí   ɛ-kàk ɛ-yi
       Ebai   1SG.PFV   sprain   7-leg 7-POSS.3SG
       "Ebai has sprained his leg"

   b. Ebai   ǎ   kɔ   *mɨkɨrí-í*
       Ebai   1SG.IPFV   walk   twistedly
       «Ebai walks twistedly»

(34) a. Besong à   kpàk   ǹ-dɛn   ŋkɛm Besong
                1SG.PFV   fold   9-dresses   all
       "Besong has folded all the dresses"

   b. Besong   à   wɛrɛ *kpák*   à-mfây   bɛ-kɔk
       Besong   1SG.PFV   sleep quietly   LOC-on   8-bed
       "Besong is lying quietly on the bed"

(35) a.   Ako   ǎ   dɛŋ   ɛ-kwà   ǹtàh   β-ɔ
       Ako   1SG.IPFV   pound   7-plantains   for   2-children
       "Ako is pounding plantains for the children"

   b. Ako   ǎ   kɔ   *dɛŋ-ŋ*
       Ako   1SG.IPFV   walk   slowly
       "Ako is walking slowly"

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

(36) ɛ-kɛt   ɛ   ʧí   sɨkɨ
      7-house   7.SG COP   tilted
      "The house is tilted"

(37) ǹ-tì   Ako   à   ʧí   fú
      3-head   Ako   5SG   COP   plain/empty
      "Ako is dull"

        Some nouns, when combined with the preposition *nɛ* "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: βɛbê *nɨ* "anger", *màŋák* "happiness", *kɛbòŋ* "wisdom/intelligence", *kɛrìŋɛ* "ignorance", *mɛŋɛmɛ* "greed", *ɛkɔm* "strength", *bɛtàŋ* "power", *màgŋkày* "surprise". The following constructions illustrate their use as phrasal adverbs in Kenyang

(38)a. Eta   à   dɛn   m-mwɛrɛ   à-wì   nɛ   βɛbé   ǹ-tɨ́
      Eta   SG.PFV   beat   1-friend   1-POSS.3SG with   pains 3-
      heart
      "Eta beat his friend angrily"

b.   nɛ   βɛbé   ǹ-tɨ́   kɛ   Eta   á   dɛn
      with   pains 3-heart   Foc   Eta   1SG.PFV   beat

      m-mwɛrɛ   à-wì
      1-friend   1-POSS-3SG
      "It is in anger that Eta beat his friend"

c.   *Eta   nɛ   βɛbé   ǹ-tɨ́   à   dɛn   m-mwɛrɛ   à-wi
      Eta   with pains 3-heart   1SG.PF   beat   friend   1-
      POSS-3SG   V
      "Eta beat his friend angrily"

(39)a. Ashu ǎ   kì   bɛ-tèk   ǹtàh yà   nɛ   màŋàk
      Ashu   1SG.IPFV do   7-work   for   me   with   happiness
      "Ashu works for me happily"

b.   nɛ   màŋàk with   kɛ   Ashu ǎ   kì   bɛ-tèk
      happiness ǹtàh   Foc   Ashu 1SG.IPFV   do   7-work
      yà
      for   me
      "It is with happiness that Ashu works for me"

c.   *Ashu nɛ   màŋàk   ǎ   kì   bɛ-tèk
      Ashu with   happiness   1.SG.IPFV do   8-work
      ǹtàh   yà
      for   me
      "Ashu works for me happily"

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):

(40) nɛnɛ   "now"   (41) fǎ   "here"
      ɛʧɔŋ   "today"   àfɔ   "there"
      ɛyù   "yesterday"   náy   "over there"
      mbwɛrɛ   "tomorrow"

Sentences (42-44) illustrate their use in the language:

(42)a. Ebob ǎ   rɔŋ   ɣɔ   ǹ-fɔ   nɛnɛ
       Ebob 1SG.IPFV   go   see   1-chief   now
       "Ebob is going to see the child now"

   b. nɛnɛ Ebob ǎ   rɔŋ   ɣɔ   ǹ-fɔ
       now   Ebob 1SG.IPFV   go   see   1-chief
       "Ebob is going to see the chief now"

   c. ?Ebob nɛnɛ ǎ   rɔŋ   ɣɔ   ǹ-fɔ

(43)a. Agbor à   pù   ɲɔ   m-mɨk   ɛʧɔŋ
       Agbor 1SG.PFV   NEG   sweep 3-floor   today
       "Agbor will not sweep the floor today"

   b. ɛʧɔŋ Agbor à   pú   ɲɔ   m-mɨk
       today Agbor 1SG.PFV   NEG   sweep 3-floor
       "Today Agbor will not sweep the floor"

   c. *Agbor   ɛʧɔŋ à   pú   ɲɔ   m-mɨk

(44)a. Eta   à   tò   bà-wɛd   náy
       Eta   1SG.PFV   throw 6-oil   over there

       "Eta threw some oil over there"

   b. náy   kɛ   Eta   á   tó   bà-wɛd
       over there   Foc   Eta   1SG.PFV   throw 6-oil
       "It is over there that Eta threw water"

   c. *Eta   náy   à   tò   bà-wɛd
       Eta   over there   1SG.PFV   throw 6-oil

Adverbs derived from compounding are quite rare in Kenyang:

(45)a. màndù mpòk Adj   b.   bɛyà   mpòk
            + Noun   plenty +   time
       Small   time   "often"
       "soon"/"shortly"

    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.

(46)a.   nɛ-ɲɛ   nɛ   bɨ   *màndù*   *mpòk*

11-food   11SG.IPFV   cook small   time

"Food will be ready soon"

b.   Eta   ǎ   wɛrɛ mpè   *bɛyà*   *mpòk*

Eta   1SG.IPFV stay   awake   many / penty time

"Eta often stays awake"

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, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, 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: *kputupkputup* "a running elephant", *tukutuku* "water fall", *gbaŋgbaŋ* "sound of a slap", *kpaɲaraŋaraŋ* "sound of hardware (metal/ceramic) falling", *gburururu* "sound of dragging something over a surface", *ràɣàràɣà* "loose and flabby as in flabby buttocks", *fírírí* "very small mouth", *fòkòfòkò* "sound of weightless objects". Kenyang constructions illustrating these ideophones are shown below:

(47) ǹ-tɔŋ   à   gwàb m-mɔ 1-   *gbàŋ gbàŋ*

teacher   1SG.PFV slap   1-child   vigorously ATT

"The teacher slapped the child vigorously"

(48) mà-ɲɛp   ǎ   fú   ǹdù   ǹ-dà   *tuku tuku*

6-water   6SG.IPFV flow from 3-container like a water fall ATT

"Water flew / gushed from the container like a water fall"

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, exocomparative 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 he/she has* (Cinque 1999:86). Kenyang distinguishes the following speech act adverbs and adverbials

(49)

a. tɛtɛp
    "true / truly"

b. nɛ   ǹtɨ   nɛ-ŋkɛm
    with   heart   Agr-all
    "honestly, heartily"

c. nɛ   ǹdòŋ / ɛfà
    with   heart luck
        "luckily"

d. nɛ   ŋkàysì
    with   thought
        "thoughtfully"

e. bɛ   máká   ǹdù

    to   add   on
    "to add onto / in
        addition"

f. nɛ   màgŋkày
    with   surprise
        "surprisingly"

g. nɛ   βɛdyɛrɛ ǹtɨ
    with   clean heart
        "with kindness"

h. tɛmʧók   "suddenly"

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

(50) a. Ako   à   rɔŋ   ɛ-syɛ   tɛtɛp
         Ako   1SG.PFV   go   7-market   truly
         "Truly Ako went to the market"

     b. Ako   à   rɔŋ   tɛtɛp
         Ako   1SG.PFV   go   truly
         "Truly Ako went"

     c. tɛtɛp   Ako   à   rɔŋ   ɛ-syɛ
         truly   Ako   1SG.PFV   go   7-market
         "Truly Ako went to the market"

     d. Ako,   tɛtɛp, à   rɔŋ   ɛ-syɛ   Topicalization
         Ako,   truly, 1SG.PFV   go   7-market
         "Ako, truly, he went to the market"

     e. *Ako   à   tɛtɛp   rɔŋ   ɛ-syɛ
         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 Kenyang adverbs:

(51) a. ŋgɔfú "maybe/perhaps" b. nɔʧɔŋ "certainly"

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

(52)a. Enoh à   rɔŋ   ɛ-tɔk   ŋgɔfú
      Enoh 1SG.PFV   go   7-village   maybe/perhaps
      "Maybe/perhaps Enoh went to the village"

b.   ŋgɔfú   Enoh à   rɔŋ   ɛ-tɔk
      maybe/perhaps   Enoh 1SG.PFV   go   7-village
      "Maybe/perhaps Enoh went to the village"

*c.   Enoh à   ŋgɔfú rɔŋ   ɛtɔk

(53)a.   ---   à   kwɛn nɔtʃɔŋ   nɛ-mɔ
      Pro   1.SG.PFV   fail   certainly   11-exam
      "S/he has certainly failed the exam"

b.   nɔtʃɔŋ   pro   à   kwɛn nɛ-mɔ
      certainly   pro   1SG.PFV   fail   11-exam
      "certainly s/he has failed the exam"

*c.   pro   à   nɔtʃɔŋ kwɛn nɛ-mɔ

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: nàɲá   "already"
       --the frequentative aspect: nɔkɔ   "often", ɛntɨkɨ mpòk "always" -
       -the continuative aspect: wɛrɛ   "still",
       --the completive aspect: ŋkɛmkɛm   "entirely/completely"
       --the habitual aspect: mày   "usually"
       --the terminative aspect: pɛ   "no longer"
       --the proximative aspect: màndù mpòk "soon"
       --the repetitive/restitutive aspect: pɛ   "again"
       --the celerative aspects: nàyák "quickly"; ǹtókɲtók "fast/early"
       --the durative aspect: kpáɲkìm   "briefly"
       --the prospective aspect: mbú   "almost"

They occur in the following examples:

(55) a. Ebob   à   *pɛ*   kì   bɛ-tɨk   ǹtáh   ǹ-fɔ
          Ebob   1SG.PF   no longer   do   8-work   for   1-chief
          (Terminative aspect)
          "Ebob no longer works for the chief"

      b. *Ebob   *pɛ*   à   kì   bɛ-tɨk   ǹtáh   ǹ-fɔ
          Ebob   no longer   1SG.PFV   do   8-work   for7-chief

      c. *Pɛ   Ebob   à   kì   bɛ-tɨk   ǹtáh   ǹ-fɔ
          No longer   Ebob   1SG.PFV   do   8-work   for   1-chief

      d. *Ebob   à   kì   bɛ-tɨk   ǹtáh   ǹ-fɔ   *pɛ*
          Ebob   1SG.PFV   do   8-work   for   1-chief   no
          longer

(56) a. ǹ-ɲà   à   pɔ   *ŋkɛmkɛm*   (Completive Aspect)
          9-meat   9SG.PFV   rotten completely
          "The meat is rotten completely"

      b. ǹ-ɲà   *ŋkɛmkɛm*   à   pɔ
          9-meat   completely   9SG.PFV   rotten
          "The meat is completely rotten"

      c. *ŋkɛmkɛm   ǹ--ɲà   à   pɔ
          completely   9-meat   9SG.PFV   rotten

      d. *ǹ-ɲà   à   *ŋkɛmkɛm*   pɔ
          9-meat   9SG.PFV   completely   rotten

The examples show that aspectual adverbs are VP adverbs. They can precede or follow the VP but cannot appear sentence-initially as revealed in the ungrammaticality of (55c) and (56c) respectively.

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, pɛtì kpák quietly, fû plainly, ŋwàŋ brightly, tɛrɛ staringly/fixedly, ŋɔrì sluggishly, nàyák fast. They are right adjoined to the verb—[VP--#]

(57) a. Enoh ǎ   kɔ   pɛ̀tì
         Enoh 1SG.IPFV   walk slowly
         "Enoh walks slowly"

     b. *Enoh ǎ   pɛ̀tì   kɔ
         Enoh 1SG.IPFV   slowly walk

     c. *Pɛ̀tì Enoh ǎ   kɔ   1SG.IPFV
         slowly Enoh   walk

     d. *Enoh pɛ̀tì ǎ   kɔ
         Enoh slowly 1SG.IPFV   walk

(58) a. Tabe à   tʃɔkɔ ǹdù bɛ-kɔk   kpák
         Tabe 1SG.PFV   sit   on   8-bed   quietly
         "Tabe is sitting on the bed quietly"

     b. *Tabe kpák   à   tʃɔkɔ ǹdù bɛ-kɔk
         Tabe quietly   1SG.PFV   sit   on   8-bed

     c. *Kpák   Tabe à   tʃɔkɔ ǹdù bɛ-kɔk
         quietly Tabe 1SG.PFV   sit   on   8-bed

     d. *Tabe à   kpák   tʃɔkɔ ǹdù bɛ-kɔk
         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 kɛbòŋ 'intelligence', màŋkák 'happiness', mɛŋɛmɛ 'greed' and βɛbéntɨ 'anger' combine with the preposition nɛ 'with' to produce adverbials like nɛ mɛŋɛmɛ 'greedily' nɛ kɛbòŋ 'intelligently', nɛ màŋkák 'happily' and nɛ βɛbéntɨ 'angrily'. These manner adverbials appear as adjuncts to V or VP as exemplified in the following:

(59) a. Eta à   púrí   m-mwɛrɛ   à-wì   nɛ
         Eta 1SG.PFV   push   1-friend   AUG-3SG.POSS   with
         βɛbéntɨ
         anger
         "Eta pushed his friend angrily"

     b. *Eta nɛ   βɛbéntɨ   à   púrí   m-mwɛrɛ   à-wì
         Eta   with anger   1SG.PFV   push   1-friend   1-Pos-his

     c. *nɛ   βɛbéntɨ   Eta à   púrí   m-mwɛrɛ   à-wì
     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 kɛ. 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 sɔt "take" can co-occur with manner adverbials as in

(60) Eta   à   ɔt   βɛbínǰ   à   púrí   m-mwɛrɛ   à-wì
     Eta   1SG.PFV take   anger   1SG.PFV push   1-friend AUG-
     3SG.POSS
     "Eta pushed his friend in anger"

We note from the preceding examples that manner adverbs and their adverbial 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 ʧí "is" in the language.

(61) ʧí   peǰ   kɛ   Eta   ǎ   kɔ
     Cleft   slowly   Foc   Eta   1SG.IPFV   walk
     "It is slowly that Eta walks"

(62) (ʧi)   nɛ   βɛbínǰ   kɛ   Eta   à   púrí   m-mwɛrɛ   à-wì
     (It is) with   anger   Foc   Eta   1SG.PFV   push   1-friend AUG-
     3SG.POSS
     "It is with anger that Eta pushed his friend"

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 (Givòn 1993:73). As indicated above, frequency is discernible from two elements each constituting a semantic nucleus in the language:

(63)
a.   ǹdɔŋ   à-mɔt   b.   ǹdɔŋ   ɛ-rát
     FREQ-time   AGR-one   FREQ-time   AGR- three
     "one time"   "three times"

c.   ǹdɔŋ   nɛ fú   d.   ǹdɔŋ   ɛʧák
     FREQ-time   x-certain   FREQ-time   again
     "sometime"   "sometime to come/in future"

(64)
a.   ɛntɨkɨ   mpòk à   b.   ɛntɨkɨ   ǹɲywòp
     FREQ-every Time   FREQ-every   day
     "every time/always"   "every day"

c.   ɛntɨkɨ   béti   d.   ɛntɨkɨ   ǹtàŋ
     FREQ-every morning   FREQ-every   month
     "every morning"   "every month"

(65)
a.   mpòk   nɛ fú
     FREQ-time   x-certain
     "sometime"

a.   ǹʤɛrɛ   mmyɛ mbwɛrɛ   (66)
     FREQ-only   year tomorrow   c.   ǹʤɛrɛ   ɛʧɔŋ
     "only next year"   FREQ-only   today
                                      "only today/today only"

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

(67)a. Eta   à   tòk   mà-ɲɛp   ǹdɔŋ   ɛ-rát
       Eta   3SG.PFV   fetch 6-water   FREQ-time   AGR-three
       "Eta fetched water three times"

*b. Eta   à   tòk   ǹdɔŋ   ɛ-rát   mà-ɲɛp
    Eta   3SG.PFV   fetch FREQ-time   AGR-three   6-water

*c. Eta   ǹdɔŋ   ɛ-rát   à   tòk   mà-ɲɛp
    Eta   FREQ-time   AGR-three   3SG.PFV   fetch   6-water

*d. ǹdɔŋ   ɛ-rát   Eta   à   tòk   mà-ɲɛp
    FREQ-time   AGR-three   Eta   3SG.PFV   fetch   6-water

c. ǹdɔŋ   ɛ-rát   kɛ   Eta   á   tók   mà-ɲɛp
   FREQ-time   AGR-three   Foc   Eta   3SG.PFV   fetch   6-water
   "It is three times / thrice that Eta fetched water"

(68)a. m-mɛm   ǎ   kɛm   Tabi   ɛntɨkɨ   ɛwàk
       6-acohol   6SG-IPFV   catch Tabi   FREQ-every   day
       "Tabi is drunk everyday"

b. ɛntɨkɨ   ɛwák   m-mɛm   ǎ   kɛm   Tabi
   FREQ-every   day   6-acohol   6SG.IPFV   catch Tabi
   "Every day Tabi is drunk"

c. ɛntɨkɨ   ɛwàk   kɛ   m-mɛm   ǎ   kɛm   Tabi
   FREQ-every   day   Foc   6-acohol   6SM.IPFV   catch Tabi
   "It is every day that Tabi is drunk"

d. m-mɛm,   ɛntɨkɨ   ɛwàk   kɛ   ǎ   kɛm   Tabi
   6-acohol,   FREQ.every day   Foc   6SG.IPFV   catch Tabi
   "As for acohol, everyday Tabi is drunk"

(69)a. Ebai   à   sò   m-mwɛt   ǹʤɛrɛ   ɛtʃɔŋ
       Ebai   1SG.PF   wash   3-body   FREQ.only   today
       "Ebai bathed himself today only"

b. ǹʤɛrɛ   ɛtʃɔŋ   kɛ   Ebai   á   sô   m-mwɛt
   FREQ-only   today   Foc   Ebai   1SG.PFV "It   wash   3-body
   is only today that Ebai bathed himself"

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)   fà   'here'   à-fɔ   'there'
       ndù   'on'   LOC-there
       náy   'over there'   à-mmɨk   'on the ground'
       nɛkwú   'besides/around'   LOC-ground
       kwɛkwɛt   'near/in the vicinity'   à-mfày   'above/on top'
                                                 Loc-top
                                                 à-mbɨ   'in front'
                                                 LOC-front
                                                 à-ǹsɛm   'behind'
                                                 LOC-back à-
                                                 ǹtɛn LOC-   'under/below'
                                                 down

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 ŋkɨ 'farm', ɛsyɛ 'market', ɛkátɨ 'school', etc. These adverbs can occur in CP and VP as high and lower class adverbs, as illustrated in the following sentences:

(71)a. Ako   à   gyɛp bɛ-kátì   ɛ-βá   náy
      Ako   1SG.PFV   throw 8-books   AUG-2SG.POSS   LOC.over there
      "Ako threw my books over there"

   b. náy   kɛ   Ako   á   gyɛp bɛ-kátì   ɛ-βá
      over there   Foc   Ako   1SM.PFV   throw books   AUG-1SG.POSS
      "It is over there that Ako threw my books"

(72)a. Ako   ǎ   wɛɾɛ à-mbɨ   bɛ-kɔknɛ   m-mɔ (as preposition)
      Ako   3SG.IPFV   sleep LOC-in front 8-bed with   1-child
      "Ako sleeps in front / at the front of the bed with the child"

   b. Ako   ǎ   wɛɾɛ à-mbɨ   (as locative adverb)
      Ako   1SG.IPFV   sleep LOC-in front / at the front
      "Ako sleeps in front / at the front"

   c. à-mbɨ   kɛ   Ako   ǎ   wɛɾɛ nɛ   m-mɔ
      LOC-in front Foc   Ako   3SG.IPFV   sleep with 1-child
      "It is in front / at the front that Ako sleeps with the child"

(73)a. Ako   à   ɾɔŋ   ɛsyɛ
      Ako   3SG.PFV   go   LOC.market «
      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 Kenyang clauses.

(74)a. ɛtʃɔŋ   'today'   e. bèkwù f.   "evening"
   b. mbwɛɾɛ   'tomorrow'   ŋgósí   "afternoon"
   c. ɛyú   'yesterday'   g. Sunday   "Sunday"
   d. bětì   'morning'   h. Friday   "Friday"

(75)a. ---   sɛ   pú   ɾɔŋ   ɛ-kátì Pro   bětì
              1PI.IPFV   NEG   go   7-school   morning
      "We are not going to school in the morning"

   b. β-ɔ   bá   ɲísí   bɛ   wɛɾɛ kɛ-nɔ   nɛ   ŋgǒɨ́
      2-children   2PL.PFV   refuse to   sleep 14-sleep   in   afternoon
      "The children refused to sleep in the afternoon"

(76)a. mbwɛɾɛ   běkwù   b. mmyɛ   ɛyú   c. mmyɛ   mbwɛɾɛ
      tomorrow   evening   year   yesterday   year   tomorrow
      "Tomorrow evening"   "Last year"   "Next year"

(77)a. Egbe **ǎ** βé m-mɔ *mmyɛ mbwɛrɛ* year
       Egbe 1SG.IPFV give birth 1 child tomorrow
       "Egbe will deliver a baby next year"

b. *mmyɛ mbwɛrɛ* Egbe **ǎ** βé m-mɔ
   year tomorrow Egbe 3SG.IPFV give birth 1 child
   "Next year Egbe will deliver a baby"

c. **ʧí** *mmyɛ mbwɛrɛ* kɛ Egbe â βé m mɔ
   it is year tomorrow Foc Egbe 1SG.IPFV give birth 1.child
   "It is next year that Egbe deliver a baby"

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

(78) ǹdɔŋ ɛʧɔŋ ɛ-rát 'in three days from today'
     FREQ.time today AUG three

(79)a. bà-tɔŋ bâ ywě m-mwɛt ǹdɔŋ ɛʧɔŋ ɛ-rát today
       2 teacher 2PL.IPFV rest 3 body FREQ.time "The AUG-three
               teachers will be on vacation in the next three days"

b. ǹdɔŋ ɛʧɔŋ ɛ-rát bà-tɔŋ bâ ywě m-mwɛt
   FREQ.time today AGR-three 2-teacher 2PL.IPFV rest 3-body
   "In three days teachers will be on break / vacation"

c. ǹdɔŋ ɛ ʧɔŋ ɛ-rát kɛ bà-tɔŋ bâ ywě
   FREQ.time today AGR-three Foc 2-teacher 2PL.IPFV rest
   m-mwɛt
   3-body
   "It is in three days that teachers will be on break/vacation"

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

(80) mà-mmyɛ á wɛrɛ á-rát 'three years ago'
     6-year 6PL.PFV stay AGR three

(81)a. ǹ-fɔ à gwù mà-mmyɛ 6- á wɛrɛ á-rát
       1-chief 1PL.PFV die year 6PL.PFV stay AGR-three
       "The chief died three years ago"

b. mà-mmyɛ á wɛrɛ á-rát kɛ ǹ-fɔ á
   6-year 6PL.PFV stay AGR-three Foc 1-chief 1SG-PFV
   gwú
   die
   "It is three years ago that the chief died"

Further, the time/temporal properties can be relativized, as in (82) and (83):

(82)a. mà ǹɲòp   à nɛ   á   ʧwɔ   nɔ
     6-day   **AUG-Rel**   6PL.IPFV   come   Def
     'in the days to come/in a few days to come'

     b.   Sunday   à-nɛ   á   fwɛt   nɔ
     Sunday   **AUG-**   6SG.PF   pass   Def
     Rel 'last Sunday'   V

(83)a. Atem à   pɛtnsɛm   ɛ-tɔk   Sunday   à-nɛ
     Atem 3SG.PFV   return   7 village   Sunday   **AUG-Rel**
     á   fwɛt
     6SG.PFV   pass
     pass
     "Atem returned to the village last Sunday"

     b.   Sunday   à-nɛ   á   fwɛt   kɛ   Atem á
     Sunday   **AUG.Rel**   6SG.PF   pass   Foc   Atem 3SG-PFV
     pɛtnsɛm   ɛ-tɔk
     return   7-village
     "It is last Sunday that Atem returned to the village"

Time/temporal adverbs can appear VP-final or in the left periphery of the clause by focalization.

(84)a. Ako   à   nâ   ɛ-kwá   ɛyú
     Ako   3SG.PFV   cook   7-plantain   yesterday
     "Ako cooked plantains yesterday"

     b.   (ʧì)   ɛyú   kɛ   Ako   á   nâ   ɛ-kwá cook
     (CLFT)   yesterday   Foc   Ako   7-plantain
     3SG.PFV "It is yesterday that Ako
     cooked plantains"

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

(85)a.   ɛyú   Ako   á   nâ   ɛ-kwá
     Yesterday   Ako   3SG.PF   cook   7-plantains
     "Yesterday Ako cooked plantains"

     *b.   ʧì   ɛyú   Ako   á   nâ   ɛ-kwá   cook
     It is   yesterday   Ako   3SG.PFV   7-plantains

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

(86)a.   β-ɔ   bá   βɨkɨ   ɲɔ   m-mɨk   ǹdù   mmyɛ
     2-children   2PL.PFV   NEG   sweep 3-floor   for   year
     "The children have not swept the floor for one year"

     b.   ǹdù   mmyɛ (kɛ)   β-ɔ   bá   βɨkɨ   ɲɔ   m-mɨk
     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. ɲù   cʧák   b.   ɲù   ɛmɔt
        way   other   way   one
        "differently"   "similarly / the same"

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

(88) a. bɛ-nɔk ɛ-káti   ɛ-bɛn   bɛ   síŋ   ɛɲùmɔt
        8 stick   7 book   8 these   8PL.IPFV   write   the same
        "These pens write similarly"

b.   ɛɲùmɔt   kɛ   bɛ-nɔk   ɛ-káti   ɛ-bɛn   bɛ   síŋ
        similarly   Foc   8 stick   7 book   8 these   8PL.IPFV   write
        "These pens write similarly / Similarly these pens write"

*c.   bɛ nɔk ɛ káti ɛ bɛn bɛ   ɛɲùmɔt   síŋ

(89) a. ŋ-gàŋ   à-wɛ   ă   kì   bɛ-tik   ɲùʧák
        1 doctor   AUG 2SG.POSS   1SM.IPFV   do   8-work   different
        "Your doctor works differently"

b.   (ʧì)ɛɲùʧák   kɛ   ŋ-gàŋ (ìt   à-wɛ   à 1SM.IPFV
        is)different   Foc   1-doctor   AUG-2SG.POSS
        kì   bɛ tik
        Do   8-work
        "Your doctor works differently"

*c.   ŋgàŋ à-wɛ ă   ɛɲùʧák   kì   bɛtik

3.3.9 Adverbs of Restriction

Adverbs of restriction are focused sensitive particles like only, just, and even, having a focused element in their scope. Kenyang uses the particle ǹdʒɛrɛ to interpret constructions with 'only' and 'just' and ɛʧì for 'even'. These adverbs can appear sentence-initially and post verbally, as shown below:

(90)   a.   m-mɔ   à   kwù   ǹdʒɛrɛ   ǹ-tà
            1-child   1SG.PFV   buy   only / just   3-cap
            "The child bought only / just a cap"

        b.   ǹdʒɛrɛ   ǹ-tà   kɛ   m-mɔ   á   kwú
            only / just   3-cap   Foc   1-child   1SG.PFV   buy
            "The child bought only / just a cap"

        *c.   m-mɔ à   ǹdʒɛrɛ kwù   ǹ-tà

(91)   a.   m-mɔ   ă   kwù   ɛʧì   ǹ-tà
            1-child   1SG.IPFV   buy   even   3-cap
            "The child is buying / will buy even a cap"

        b.   ɛʧì   ǹ-tà   m-mɔ   ă   kwù
            even   3-cap   1-child   1SG.IPFV   buy
            "The child is buying even a cap"

        *c.   m-mɔ ă   ɛʧì   kwù   ǹ-tà

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

(92) *ɛʧì   ǹ-tà   kɛ   m-mɔ ă kwù

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:

[AspAdv ⪢ -#VP]

(93) Ako   à   pɛ   kì   bɛ-tɨk   ǹtà   yí
      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:

VP-#AspAdv>EpisAdv>ManAdv>SpeechAdv>FreqAdv>TimeAdv>LocAdv

(94) Eta   ǎ   wɛrɛ nɔkɔ   ŋgɔfú   sâìrí
      Eta   1SG.IPFV   sleep ASP.used to   EPIS.ADV.maybe   MAN.ADV.well

      tɛtɛp   ǹdɔŋ   ɛpáy ǹdù   ǹtàŋ   ɛβé
      SP.ADV.truely   FREQ.time   two   TimeADV.for   month   LOC.bush

"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) tɛtɛp   ŋgɔfù   ǹdʒɛrɛ   Eta   kɛ   á
      SPE.truely   EPIST.maybe   REST.only   Eta   FOC   3SG.PFV

      náŋá   fwɛt   nɛmɔ sâìrì exam   ǹdɔŋ   ɛpáy mmyɛ two
      ASP.already   pass   MAN.well   FREQ.time   TEM.year

      ɛyú   ǹdù   ɛkátì bàβé
      yesterday   LOC.in   school medicine

"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 tɛtɛp[Epist Adv[Spec ŋgɔfù[Restit Adv[Spec ǹdʒɛrɛ[FocP[Spec Ako[Foc kɛ[TP[Spec Ako[T á[Asp Adv[Spec náŋá[VP [Spec Ako[V fwɛt[NP[Spec nɛmɔ[Man Adv[Spec sâìrí[Freq Adv[Spec ǹdɔŋ ɛpáy[Temp Adv[Spec mmyɛ ɛyù[Loc Adv[Spec ǹdù ɛkátì bàβé]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]] 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.

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