Language in Africa 5(2), 2024, 32–56. doi: 10.37892/2686-8946-2024-5-2-32-56

ADVERBS IN DABIDA: KEY ISSUES

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Abstract: The present paper investigates adverbs that constitute one of the major word classes in Dabida Bantu (E74a). Cross-linguistically, adverbs are uninflected lexemes that serve as a modifier of a verb, of an adjective or another adverb and even of a sentence. This paper offers the descriptive analysis of morphology, derivation, semantics and syntactic behavior of the Dabida words of this category. In addition, the paper describes the derivational and functional features of spatial and temporal pronominal adverbs derived from the demonstrative and possessive pronouns in noun class 16 (locative) agreement. Multi-word adverbials are under the description in the scope of this article, too.

Key words: Bantu, Dabida, adverb, uninflected, modifier, derivation.

1. Introduction

This article is an attempt of a multi-aspect investigation of adverbs (both notional and pronominal) in Dabida (Niger-Kongo, Bantu, E74a, the autonym is *kiɗaβiɗa*) whose speakers (*βaɗaβiɗa*) inhabit South-East Kenya (about 300,000 speakers) (Phillippson & Montlahuc 2003: 475) and North-East Tanzania (slightly over 28,000 speakers) (Joshua project). The language comprises a set of closely interconnected dialects that are mutually intelligible, and is recognized as part of the Kilimanjaro Bantu languages (Phillippson & Montlahuc 2003: 475). It serves as an indigenous language for an ethnic community,[1] yet it remains insufficiently documented and inadequately described.

[1] For a more detailed sociolinguistic review of Dabida see (Makeeva & Ryabova 2022: 38).

Most of the data is the result of author's work with two Kenyan students in Moscow who are native speakers of Mbololo (*kimbololo*) dialect of Dabida. This article focuses on the adverbs in the Mbololo dialect, which is readily comprehensible to speakers of all other Dabida dialects. The additional data sources are primary school reading tutorials "Mashomo ga imbiri" (1951) and "Chuo cha mashomo ga kawi" (1956).

Adverbs, while being the least numerous notional word category across the world's languages, are traditionally regarded as one of the major lexical classes. Despite this, they are widely acknowledged as the least homogeneous category, often described as "a category of its own right" (Halling 2018: 1). Scholars have referred to adverbs as "the least understood large class of words in natural language" (Crosswell 1981: 21) and "the most heterogeneous of all word classes" (Hasser & Kortmann 2006: 66). In the "Encyclopedia of linguistics", adverbs are defined as a lexical and grammatical class of invariable (as a rule) words that denote the property of an action, of a quality or of an object and serve to function in a sentence as adverbial modifiers, as attributes or (rarely) as predicates (Vasilyeva 1990: 322). They are "seldom inflected with the exception of comparative and superlative constructions and are rarely used as a source for derivation to other word categories (Halling 2018: 178). Cross-linguistically, adverbs modify a verb, an adjective, another adverb, or an entire clause. According to the "Oxford advanced learner's dictionary" (2020), "an adverb is a word that adds more information about place, time, manner, cause or degree to a verb, an adjective, a phrase or another adverb".

This part of speech does exist in African languages but "appears not to have received much attention in the study of African languages in general and Bantu languages in particular" (Lusekelo 2010: 59). This lack of focus persists despite the fact that, in Bantu languages – with their noun class systems and noun class agreement – adverbs are a well-recognized category. They stand out as the only notional part of speech that exists outside the noun class system and often exhibit minimal or no morphology. Bantu adverbs are described as "a remnant category of words which have but one form and neither impose nor

undergo class agreement" (Schadeberg 2003: 150) or as the words that "cannot take inflection nor govern it" (Petzell 2007: 130).

Dabida is a typical Eastern Bantu language, characterized by its 15 noun classes and an elaborate system of class agreement. Its adverbs are relatively few in number and, unlike other notional parts of speech in Dabida, do not govern or undergo agreement. Additionally, they do not exhibit morphological comparison, as they lack comparative or superlative forms. Having no concord affixes, Dabida adverbs have only very poor derivational morphology if at all.

Table 1 lists all attested adverbs. They evidently have no structural identity and cannot be analyzed as a single uniform word class. In contrast to subjects and objects, adverbs are never coded in the verb morphology.

Table 1

Adverbs in Dabida

Adverb	**Meaning**	**Semantic type**
aha	'here, hither'	place
aho	1) 'there, thither'	place
	2) 'then, at that time'	time
ahoeni	1) 'just there'	place
	2) 'just then'	time
aja	'there, thither'	place
aiɣu ~ a iɣu	'up, upstairs'	place
andeɲi	'inside'	place
andoɲi	'below, down'	place
anduaŋgi	'ever, at all'	intensifier
andwamweri	'together'	manner
andwamu	'somewhere'	place
binana ~ banana	'healthily, fine, safe and sound'	manner
ɗuhu	'in vain'	manner
hao	'where, whither'	place
huβo ~ huβu	'so, thus'	manner
ɣadî	'in the middle'	place

Continuation table 1

Adverb	**Meaning**	**Semantic type**
idȁna	‘now, at present’	time
idîme	‘today’	time
itʃo	‘day before yesterday’	time
iɣuo	‘yesterday’	time
ima	‘then, afterword’	time
imbiri	1) ‘at first, earlier’	time
	2) ‘forward’	place
isi	‘below’	place
iɣu	‘up, upstairs’	place
dʒiŋgi	‘ever, always’	frequency
kala	‘formerly, in the past’	time
kafwani	‘recently’	time
karakara	‘equally, alike’	manner
katini (~ kutini)	‘a little, not much’	degree
kavui	‘near’	place
kedȕ	‘in/to our native land’	place
keʃo	‘tomorrow’	time
kidali ~ kwa kidali	‘purposely, intentionally’	manner
kima	‘silently’	manner
kimono	‘opposite, on the opposite side’	place
kimusi	‘up straight’	manner
kimzaβo	‘in their own manner’	manner
kodȕ	‘at/to our place/home, at/to our house’	place
kutʃumba	‘very, very much, better than’	degree
kula	‘far away, afar’	place
kulakula	‘differently’	manner
kutua	‘at last, finally’	time
kwaki	‘why, wherefore’	reason
kwapo	‘at my place/my home, to my place/home’	place
laβuke	‘day after tomorrow’	time

Ending table 1

Adverb	**Meaning**	**Semantic type**
lii	‘when’	time
loli	‘indeed’	manner
loliloli	‘truly, really’	manner
mana	‘well, safely, calmly’	manner
mbaimbai	‘nearby’	place
mboamboa	‘quietly, slowly, carefully’	manner
nakio	‘at night, nighttime’	time
nadime	‘by day’	time
nakesho	‘early in the morning’	time
nitʃa	‘well, good’	manner
niko	‘then, right-now’	time
noko	‘thither, to the other side’	place
nokunu	‘here, towards me’	place
ɲuma	1) ‘then, afterwards, after’	time
	2) ‘behind’	place
putu	‘at all, absolutely’	degree
sena	1) ‘moreover’	sentence-level adverb
	2) again	frequency
ʃiɣadî	‘outside’	place
ʃwa	‘suddenly, at once’	manner
ʃwaʃwa	‘quickly’	manner
sana	‘very’ (borrowed from Swahili)	degree
toe	‘always’	frequency
tu	‘only’	quantifier
tulituli	‘often’	frequency
βaɗa	‘how’	manner
βokoni	‘thus, so’	degree
βori	‘also, as well’	degree
βoriɲi	‘openly, frankly’	manner
βoruβo	‘so, to such a degree’	degree

2. Notional adverbs

Based on their derivational structure, Dabida adverbs can be divided into underived (or primary), and derived (or secondary). The first are rather few but their semantics is highly varied: *hao* 'where, whither', *toe* 'always', *iɗana* 'now', *βori* 'also', *kula* 'far', *βaɗa* 'how', *ʃwa* 'suddenly', *ɗuhu* 'in vain', *itʃo* 'the day before yesterday', *iɣo* 'yesterday', *keʃo* 'tomorrow', *ʃiɣadî* 'outside', *sena* 'again, *tu* 'only', *laβuke* 'the day after tomorrow', *ima* 'then, after that':

(1) *Ni-ʈa-lim-aɣ-a* ***laβuke***
1SG.S-FUT-cultivate-DUR-FIN **day.after.tomorrow**
'I will be cultivating the day after tomorrow.'

(2) *Ko-ko* ***βaɗa****?*
2SG.S.PRS-COP **how**
'How are you?'

(3) ***Toe*** *ni-ʈa-kimbi-a* *Ø-ʃimba*
always 1SG.S-FUT-run-FIN CL9-lion
'I will always run away from the Lion.'

(4) *Ini* *na-kund-a* *i-fumu* *ʤ-apo* ***tu***
I 1SG.S.PRS-want-FIN CL5-spear CL5-my **only**
'As for me, I only want my spear.'

(5) *Na* ***iɗana*** *ɗi-ʈa-sariɣ-a*
and **now** 1PL.S-FUT-play-FIN
'And now we will play.'

Secondary adverbs constitute the vast majority of Dabida adverbs. The word classes from which they are derived are nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs: *kima* 'silently' < *kima* 'silence', *aha* 'here' < *aha* 'this' (cl. 16), *kulakula* 'differently' < *kula* 'far', *andwamweri* 'together' < *andu amweri* 'place one', *kutʃumba* 'very, very much' < *kutʃumba* 'to excell'.

Following their derivational structure derived adverbs can be classified in the following way: (1) denominal adverbs; (2) compound adverbs; (3) reduplicated adverbs; (4) converted adverbs.

2.1. Denominal adverbs

The denominal adverbs are derived from nouns (1) by means of the prefix *ki-* added to the noun: *kiŋgondi* ‘like a sheep, sheepishly’ < *ŋgondi* ‘a sheep’, *kimzaβo* ‘in their own manner’ < *mzaβo* ‘one’s own locality’; (2) with marker *na* ‘and, but, with’ added to a noun or to an adverb as a prefix: *nakio* ‘at night’ < *kio* ‘night’, *nadîme* ‘in the afternoon, by day’ < *dîme* ‘afternoon’, *nakeʃo* ‘early in the morning’ < *keʃo* ‘tomorrow’:

(6) *Ø-Kwaru* *u-ka-i-zer-a* *Ø-ʃimba:* *“Ø-Kaɓ-a*
CL9-hare CL1.S-CONS-CL9.O-tell-FIN CL9-Lion IMP-hit-FIN
m-baŋga ***ki-ŋgondi*** *m-ruma* *ɣu-pat-e*
CL3-cave **like-sheep** CL3-entrance CL3.S-can-FIN$_{SBJV}$
ku-tʃuriki-a”.
INF-increase-FIN
‘The Hare told the Lion: “You just strike the cave like a sheep (= a bit stronger) the entrance could widen”.’

(7) *Ba-mbololo* *β-aɗa-ɗeɗ-a* ***kimzaβo,*** *na*
CL2-mbololo CL2.S-HAB-speak-FIN **in.their.own.way** and
βa-mbale *ki-mzaβo*
CL2-mbale in.their.own.way
‘Mbololo villagers speak in their own manner, and the Mbale villagers – in their own.’
(cf. *mzaβo* ‘one’s own locality, territory of one’s settlement)

(8) *M-beβ-a* *nde-re-dîm-ieɣe* *ku-fum-a*
CL10-mouse NEG-CL10.S.PST-can-DUR.FIN$_{PFV}$ INF-leave-FIN
ʃiɣadî ***nadîme*** *angu* ***nakio***
outside **by.day** or **at.night**
‘The mice never came out of their holes, neither by day nor by night.’

2.2. Compound adverbs

The three main compound adverbs[2] come from combinations of the noun *andu* (class 16) 'place' with the indefinite pronouns *-mu* 'some, other' and *-ŋgi* 'any' and the cardinal number *-mweri* 'one', all having class 16 agreement marker *-a*:[3]

andwamu 'somewhere' < *a-ndu* + *a-mu* 'place' + 'some'
anduaŋgi 'ever, at all' < *a-ndu* + *a-ŋgi* 'place' + 'any'
andwamweri 'together' < *a-ndu* + *a-mweri* 'place' + 'one'

(9) *M-zuri na n-guru βi-ka-βuy-a* ***andwamweri***
CL1-king and CL9-tortoise CL2.S-CONS-return-FIN **together**
'The King and the tortoise returned together.'

(10) *Si-tʃa-kimbi-a Ø-ʃimba* ***anduaŋgi***
NEG.1SG.S-FUT-run-FIN CL9-lion **ever**
'I won't run away from the Lion, ever.'

(cf. corresponding free pronominal and numeral agreement in class 16: *a-ndu ku-mweri* 'one place', *a-ndu ku-mu* 'some place', *a-ndu ku-ngi* 'any place')

In available data, the adverb *anduaŋgi* only modifies verbs in the negative form serving to intensify The negative verbal meaning.

2.3. Reduplicated adverbs

Reduplicated adverbs are built through full reduplication of nouns, adjectives, or primary adverbs, with the original form remaining unchanged: *kulakula* 'differently' < *kula* 'far', *ʃwaʃwa* 'quickly' < *ʃwa*

[2] See §2.6 on one more compound adverb.

[3] In Mbololo dialect, the noun *andu* 'place' features a mixed concord. The prefix *a-*, corresponding to Common Bantu class 16 is only added to demonstrative pronouns: *andu* ***a****-dʒa* 'that place', *andu ah-****a*** 'this place'. Other words governed by *andu* are used with the prefix *ku-*, related to the Common Bantu class 17, which is not found in Mbololo: *andu ku-βaa* 'big place', *andu ku-ao* 'which place'. (But class 17 occurs in some other Dabida dialects.)

'suddenly', *loliloli* 'truly, really' < *loli* 'truth', *mboamboa* 'slowly, carefully' < *mboa* 'quiet', *mbaimbai* 'nearby' < *mbai* 'roadside':

(11) *M-ungo* *ɣw-a-βwaɣ-w-a* ***ʃwaʃwa***
CL3-flea CL3.S-PST-kill-PASS-FIN **quickly**
'The Flea was killed quickly.'

(12) *Ø-Kwaru* *i-ka-fuŋg-aɲ-ir-a* *m-komba* *ɣw-a*
CL9-hare CL9.S-CONS-tie-ASSOC-CAUS-FIN CL3-tail CL3-CON
m-bisi *na* *ɣw-a* *Ø-ʃimba* ***mboamboa*** *na* *ki-ɣoβa*
CL9-hyena and CL3-CON CL9-lion **carefully** with CL7-rope
'The Hare carefully tied the Hyena's and the Lion's tails with the rope.'

(13) *Ø-ʃimba* *e-nda-βuy-a* *i-ka-dʒok-w-a*
CL9-lion CL9.S.PST-TPR-return-FIN CL9.S-CONS-saddle-PASS-FIN
na *ma-tʃu* ***loliloli***
with CL6-anger **truly**
'When the Lion came back, great anger seized him truly.'

2.4. Converted adverbs

The converted adverbs are the most numerous and semantically varied group. They can be derived from any word class: *imbiri* 'front' > *imbiri* 'forward, in front of; at first, earlier'; *kima* 'silence' > *kima* 'silently', *kavui* 'short' (adjective in class 12) > *kavui* 'near', *kutua* 'an end, to end' > *kutua* 'at last', *kutʃumba* 'to excel' > *kutʃumba* 'very, better than', *katini* 'small' (adjective in class 12) > *katini* 'a little', *nitʃa* 'goodness' > *nitʃa* 'good, well', *loli* 'truth' > *loli* 'indeed, truly', *luma* 'time, period of time' > *luma* 'long, for a long time', *kiɗali* 'intention, aim' > *kiɗali* 'purposely, intentionally', and so on. This kind of derivation never involves any change in the form.

(14) *Mw-ana* *m-tini* *u-ka-soɣoɗ-a* ***imbiri***
CL1-child CL1-small CL1.S-CONS-approach-FIN **forward**
'The little baby has moved forward.'

(15) *U-ka-βi-lomb-i-a* *a-βo* *βa-ndu*
CL1.S-CONS-CL2.O-pray-APPL-FIN these-CL2 CL2-person
hata ***kutua*** *u-ka-fw-a*
until **at.last** CL1.S-CONS-die-FIN
'She prayed for these people until at last she died / until her death.'

(16) *Ø-ʃimba* *i-ka-βwaɗ-w-a* *andeɲi* *y-a*
CL9-lion CL9.S-CONS-catch-PASS-FIN inside CL9-CON
Ø-ɲavu *ere-βik-iloɣe* *aho* ***kiɗali***
CL9-net CL9.S.PST-place-PASS.DUR.FIN$_{PFV}$ there **on.purpose**
'The Lion got caught in a net that was set up there intentionally.'

(17) *Mwadʃime* *u-ka-βon-a* *ki-tela* *tʃi-ko*
Mwadime CL1.S-CONS-see-FIN CL7-shrub CL7.PRS.which-COP
kavui
near
'Mwadime saw a bush nearby.'

2.5. Interrogative adverbs

The interrogative adverbs that are used as wh-words deserve special attention. Three of the interrogative adverbs are underived units: *hao* 'where, whither', *lii* 'when', *βaɗa* 'how, in what way'. The interrogative adverb *kwaki* 'why, wherefore' is a compound word formed from the combination of the highly polysemous preposition *kwa* and the interrogative pronoun *ki* ('what').

(18) *M-ɣosi* *Ø-kwaru,* *ku-ɣend-a* ***hao*** *na*
CL1-old.man CL9-hare 2SG.S.PRS-go-FIN **where** and/with
i-o *m-buri?*
CL9.REF CL9-goat
'Old man hare, where are you going to with this (previously referred to) goat?'

(19) *Ø-skulu* *i-fuŋgu-lw-a* ***lii****?*
CL9-school CL9.S.PRS-open-PASS-FIN **when***?*
'When does the school open?'

(20) ***Kwaki*** *isi* *ma-tuku* *ɣ-ose* *dî-kund-a*
why we CL6-day CL6-all 1PL.S.PRS-love-FIN
ku-nuɣ-a *mw-eŋgere* *ɣw-a* *Ø-taa*
INF-follow-FIN CL3-light CL3-CON CL9-lamp
'Why do we always love to follow the light of the lamp?'

3. Pronominal adverbs

Unlike notional adverbs, pronominal adverbs do not specify the concrete properties or circumstances of an action but merely point to them.

In Dabida, pronominal adverbs are widespread. The overwhelming majority of them are converted from demonstrative and possessive pronouns in class 16 (locative). They are converted into adverbial modifiers pointing to the place or (rarely) time: *andu kwapo* 'place mine' > *kwapo* 'at my place, at my home', *andu adʒa* 'place that' > *adʒa* 'there'.

3.1. Demonstrative pronominal adverbs

Demonstrative pronouns in Dabida are divided into two major subclasses, distinguished by their morphological, syntactic, and semantic features: proper demonstratives, which are found across all Kilimanjaro Bantu languages, and "presentative" demonstratives, which are scarcely represented in Bantu languages. Dabida adverbs are only derived from proper demonstratives, which are "of three degrees: 'Near', 'Far' and 'Referential'" [Phillipson & Montlahuk 2006: 488] and mean (1) 'this, these', (2) 'that, yonder, those' and (3) 'this/that (just mentioned), these/those (just mentioned)' respectively. In class 16, they appear as *aha*, *adʒa*, and *aho*. Their derived forms function as: (1) purely spatial adverbs, with *aha* meaning 'here, hither' and *adʒa* meaning 'there, thither'; (2) the adverb *aho*, which, unlike *aha* and *adʒa*, is polysemous, carrying a temporal meaning of 'then, at that time' in addition to its common spatial sense. In its spatial usage, *aho* denotes only the location of an object ('there') and never the direction ('thither'):

(21) *Na-ku-vuy-a* *ku-tʃ-e* ***aha***
1SG.S.PRS-2SG.O-beg-FIN 2SG.S-come-FIN_{SBJV} **here**
ku-ni-tesi-e
2SG.S-1SG.O-help-FIN_{SBJV}
'I pray you come here and help me.'

(22) *Ø-Zaɣo* *r-aɗa-kai-a* ***adʒa*** *Ø-kireti*
CL10-snake CL10.S-HAB-live-FIN **there** CL9-savannah
'Snakes usually live there in the savannah.'

(23) *B-ana* *β-ose* *βe-ko* ***aho***
CL2-child CL2-all CL2.S.PRS-COP **there**
'All the children are there.'

(24) *Na* ***aho*** *m-buɣi* *i-ka-ɣor-a* *andu* *na*
and **at.that.time** CL9-dove CL9.S-CONS-say-FIN that and
dʒiŋgi *nde-i-tʃa-kimbi-a* *sena*
ever NEG-CL9.S-FUT-run-FIN again
'Then the Dove said: Well, from now on I won't run away.'

In its temporal uses *aho* can refer to the past or to the future but never to the present.

(25) *Na* ***aho*** *i-ka-dʒ-a* *Ø-izi* *i-mu*
and **that.time** CL9.S-CONS-come-FIN CL9-fly CL9-some
i-ko *na* *lu-kaso* *lu-ɓaa* *loliloli*
CL9.S.which-COP with/and CL11-arrogance CL11-great truly
'And then (that time) came a very arrogant fly.'

(26) *Idʒi* *i-tuku* *i-zima* *dʒa-vik-a* ***aho*** *na-ni*
when CL5-day CL5-other CL5.S.PRF-come-FIN **then** and-me
ni-tʃa-dîm-a *ku-ku-tesi-a.*
INF-2SG.O-help-FIN 1SG.S-FUT-can-FIN
'When the day comes and then I will be able to help you.'

The demonstrative *aho*, like all other Dabida proper demonstratives, can be used in combination with the reflexive pronoun *-eni* '-self': *andu* ***aho aeni*** *(*class 16). The meaning of such combination is 'the same already mentioned (place)':

(27) *Na-many-a* *nga-du-a* *a-ndu*
1SG.S.PRS-know-FIN 1SG.S.COND-remain-FIN CL16-place
a-ha ***a-eni*** *Ø-tʃoka* *i-tʃa-ni-mil-a*
this-CL16 **CL16-same** CL9-snake CL9.S-FUT-1SG.O-swallow-FIN
ini *na* *β-ana* *β-apo*
I and CL2-child CL2-my
'I know if I stay in this very place the snake will swallow my children and me.'

The converted adverbial counterpart of *aho aeni* takes the shape *ahoeni* and means 1) 'just/right then/that time', 2) 'just/right there':

(28) *Ø-ʃimba* *i-ka-fw-a* ***ahoeni*** *kwa*
CL9-lion CL9.S-CONS-die-FIN **right.there** because.of
ku-βaβ-ir-w-a *ni* *i-ɣo*
INF-hurt-CAUS-PASS-FIN by CL5-stone
'The Lion died just then being crippled by a stone.'
(29) *na-yo* ***ahoeni*** *i-ka-kimbi-a*
and-it **just.this.moment** CL9.S-CONS-run-FIN
'And it ran away that very moment.'

3.2. Adverbs formed from possessive pronouns

In Dabida, possessive pronouns in agreement class 16 serve as a foundational base for the formation of numerous spatial adverbs. The possessives in Dabida have the uniform pattern: the class agreement marker plus the possessive stem that integrates the connective *-a* and their forms in locative class 16 are: *kw-a-po* 'mine', *kw-a-ko* 'yours', *kw-a-ke* 'his, hers', *ko-ɗu ~ ke-du* 'ours', *ko-nyu* 'yours', *kw-a-βo* 'theirs'.

When converted into adverbial modifiers they retain their entire shape: *a-ndu kw-apo* 'place mine' > *kwapo* 'at my place/my home, to my place/my house'; *andu koɗu / keɗu* 'place ours' > a) *koɗu* 'at/to our place/home, at/to our house, inside us'; b) *keɗu* 'in/to our native land':

(30) *Ø-Koʃi i-hi y-aɗa-kai-a* ***kwapo*** *ma-tuku*
CL9-dog this-CL9 CL9.S-HAB-live-FIN **at.my.place** CL6-day
ɣ-ose
CL6-all
'This dog lives at my place all days.'

(31) *Ku-tʃ-e* ***kwapo***
2SG.S-come-FIN_{SBJV} **to.my.place**
'You should come to my place.'

(32) ***Keɗu*** *ɗe-ko na m-oɗa*
in.our.land 1PL.S.PRS-COP with CL3-river
'In our parts there is a river.'

(33) ***Koɗu*** *ɗeko na β-ana βa-tini*
at.our.home 1PL.S.PRS-COP with CL2-child CL2-small
'In our house there are babies.'

(34) *Ø-Loli e-ko* ***koɗu***
CL9-truth CL9.S.PRS-COP **inside.us**
'Truth is within ourselves.'

(35) *Ø-Pusi u-ka-ɣend-a* ***kwake***
CL1-cat CL1.S-CONS-go-FIN **to.his.place**
'The cat went to his place /to him.'

Another converted pronominal adverb is *dʒiŋgi* 'ever, always', derived from the indefinite pronoun *-ŋgi* in noun class 5 agreement, as in *i-tuku dʒi-ŋgi* 'day any'. This adverb exclusively modifies negative verbal forms and serves to intensify the negation:

(36) ***Dʒiŋgi*** *si-βon-ie ki-suka*
ever NEG.1SG.S-see-FIN_{PFV} CL7-host
'I've never seen a ghost (lit.: 'Ever I-have-not-seen a host').'

There are numerous cases when adverbs *dʒiŋgi* and *anduaŋgi* modify a verb simultaneously: the verb is preceded by *dʒiŋgi* and is followed by *anduangi*:

(37) *Na aho m-buɣi i-ka-ɣor-a andu na* ***dʒiŋgi***
and now CL9-dove CL9.S-CONS-say-FIN that and **ever**
nde-i-ʈʃa-kimbi-a sena ***anduaŋgi*** *idîme*
NEG-CL9.S-FUT-run-FIN again **at.all** as.soon.as
i-m-βon-aɣ-a mu-ndu u-ki-tʃ-a
CL9.S-CL1.O-see-HAB-FIN CL1-man CL1.S-PROG-come-FIN
'Then the Dove said: Well, from now on, on seeing a man, I won't run away from him either.'

4. Two-word adverbial constructions

In Dabida, adverbial meanings are expressed not only through specific lexical items but also via two-word constructions that function like adverbs, modifying verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs. All of these are idiomatic combinations that behave as single lexical units. The most frequently used constructions of this type are as follows.

1. Combination of the noun *ndiɣi* (class 9) 'force, strength' with the conjunction/preposition *na* 'and/with': *na ndiɣi* 'very (much)', 'strongly' (lit. 'with force' or 'with strength'). These prepositional phrases act as adverbials functionally and syntactically, since they modify verbs and adjectives describing 'a high degree' or 'a large amount'. Depending on the context *na ndiɣi* can be understood as 'very', 'intensely', 'hard', 'forcefully', 'powerfully' and so on:

(38) *Ø-Lal-a* **na** ***Ø-ndiɣi***
IMP-sleep-FIN **with** **CL9-force**
'Sleep tight.'

(39) *W-aɗa-ɣor-a* ***na*** ***Ø-ndiɣi***
CL1.S-HAB-speak-FIN **with** **CL9-force**
'He usually speaks (very) loudly.'

(40) *Ø-ɲumba y-apo ni m-ɓaa* **na** ***Ø-ndiɣi*** *sa*
CL9-house CL9-my COP CL9-big **with** **CL9-force** like
Ø-ɲumba r-a Ø-pwani
CL10-house CL10-CON CL9-coast
'My house is very big like those houses on the coast.'

2. Combination of the noun *iseɣe* (CL9) 'speed, race' with the conjunction/preposition *na* 'and/with': *na iseɣe* '(very) quickly, fast, rapidly' (lit. 'with speed'):

(41) *U-ka-i-nuɣ-a* *Ø-ʃimba* ***na*** ***Ø-iseɣe***
CL1.S-CONS-CL9.O-follow-FIN CL9-lion **with** **CL9-speed**
'He ran after the lion quickly.'

3. Combinations of a noun or an adverb with the locative particle *ko* 'there' which are used as set phrases with a function of adverbial modifiers: *ko imbiri* 'at first, in the beginning' (< *imbiri* 'at first, earlier; forward'); *ko ɲuma* 'after that, afterwards' (< *ɲuma* 'then, earlier, formerly; behind'), *ko kala* 'long ago, in former times' (< *kala* 'ancient times, antiquity'), *ko ndeɲi* 'inside' (< *ndeɲi~andeɲi* 'gut, inner side'):

(42) *Ela* ***ko*** ***ɲuma*** *Ø-tʃovu* *ere-ɓwaɣ-iloɣe*
but **there** **afterwards** CL9-elephant CL9.S.PST-kill-PASS.FIN$_{PRF}$
ni *m-ndwaβomi*
by CL1-husband
'After a while the elephant was killed by a master of the house.'

(43) ***Ko*** ***kala*** *korekoɣe* *na* *βu-ɗa* *aɣadì*
there **ancient.times** CL16.S.PST.COP with CL3-war between
y-a *Ø-ɲoɲi* *na* *Ø-ɲamandu*
CL9-CON CL10-bird and CL10-animal
'Long ago there was a war between birds and beasts.'

4. Combinations of two lexemes both carrying adverbial meaning: *dîme ɣadì* 'in the afternoon' (< *dîme* 'afternoon', *ɣadì* 'middle'*)*; *niko aho* 'and then, now-there' (< *niko* 'just now, *aho* 'at that time'); *ʃwa βori* 'at once, immediately' (< *ʃwa* 'suddenly', *βori* 'also'), *luma koni* '(for) a long time' (< *luma* 'a while, a long while', *koni* 'itself (class 16)').

(44) ***Nikoaho*** *Ø-ɲamandu r-ose na Ø-ɲoɲi r-ose*
Nowthere CL10-animal CL10-all and CL10-bird CL10-all
ri-ka-jok-w-a ni ŋ-golo
CL10.S-CONS-saddle-PASS-FIN by CL9-heart
'Now (then) both the birds and the animals were overcome with anger.'

(45) *M-zuri u-ka-βi-layir-a βa-ɗumiki β-ake*
CL1-queen CL1.S-CONS-CL2.O-promise-FIN CL2-servant CL2-her
andu idʒi m-ndu-ŋgi wa-ɣor-a i-layo
that when CL1-man-any CL1.S.PRS-say-FIN CL5-wordt
i-dʒi dʒ-a "irandaɗu" u-ɓway-o
this-CL5 CL5-CON six CL1.S-kill-PASS.FIN$_{SBJV}$
shwa βori
suddenly also
'The Queen threatened her subjects with death on the spot in case any one of them should say aloud the word "six".'

(46) *Nao Ø-ɲoɲi ri-ka-i-βeser-a ŋ-guru*
now.then CL10-bird CL10.S-CONS-CL9.O-wait-FIN CL9-tortoise
luma koni
long.while CL16.itself
'The birds have been waiting for the Tortoise for quite a while.'

5. Functional classification and syntactic behavior of adverbs

5.1. Syntactic functions and semantic types of adverbs

The main function of Dabida adverbs is to serve as predicate modifiers – both verbal (see examples in §1 and §2) and nominal:

(47) *I-ruβa dʒe-ko i-ɓaa* ***loliloli***
CL5-sun CL5.S.PRS-COP CL5-huge **really**
'The sun is very hot indeed.'

Instances of adverbial modification (describing) of adjective attributes (48) – (49) or adverbial adjuncts (50) are observed in the data, though they are relatively rare. Dabida adverbs cannot modify nouns:

(48) *M-ɣondi ɣu-dʒa ni m-latʃa* ***kutʃumba***
CL3-mountain CL3-that COP CL3-high **very**
'That mountain is very high.'

(49) *Ø-ɲumba y-apo ni m-ɓaa* ***na Ø-ndiɣi*** *sa Ø-ɲumba*
CL9-house CL9-my COP CL9-big **with CL9-force** like CL10-house
r-a Ø-pwani
CL10-CON CL9-coast
'My house is very big like those houses on the coast.'

(50) *I-tuku dʒ-imu Mwadîme ore-βuk-ieɣe*
CL5-day CL5-some Mwadime CL1.S.PST-wake.up-DUR.FIN$_{PRF}$
nakeʃo **sana**
early.in.the.morning very
'Once Mwadime woke up very early in the morning.'

Another syntactic function of an adverb is to serve as a nominal predicate:

(51) *Ne-ko* ***aha***
1SG-COP **here**
'I am here.'

Based on their meaning, Dabida adverbs can be classified into the following semantic types, which are common and typical for adverbs across languages: adverbs of place (52), time (53), manner (54), and degree (55).

(52) *M-beβa nde-re-dîm-ieɣe ku-fum-a* ***ʃiɣadi***
CL10-mouse NEG-CL10.S.PST-can-HAB.FIN$_{PFV}$ INF-leave-FIN **outside**
'Mice never came out of their holes.'

Adverbs derived from demonstrative and possessive pronouns all fall under the semantic category of place (see §2.1 and §2.2).

(53) ***Idîme*** *ni-a-dʒ-a m-sara mu-ŋgi na m-boɣa.*
today 1SG.S-FUT-eat-FIN CL3-gruel CL3-much and CL10-vegetable
'Today I shall eat a lot of gruel and vegetables.'

(54) *Mwadîme u-ka-ʃo-a n-dana na i-zaka*
Mwadime CL1.S-CONS-take.out-FIN CL9-bow and CL5-quiver
ʃwaʃwa.
quickly
'Mwadime snatched out his bow and quiver.'

(55) *Ø-**ß**eser-a* ***katini***.
IMP-wait-FIN **a.little**
'Wait a bit.'

Adverbs of frequency (55), purpose (56) and quantifier (57) also exist in Dabida, but they are very poorly attested in the data:

(56) ***Toe*** *ni-tʃa-kimbi-a Ø-ʃimba*
always 1SG.S-FUT-run-FIN CL9-lion
'I will always run away from the Lion.'

(57) *ßelee,* ***kwaki*** *isi ma-tuku ɣ-ose dî-kund-aɣ-a*
by.the.way **why** we CL6-day CL6-all 1PL.S-love-HAB-FIN
ku-nuɣ-a mw-engere ɣw-a Ø-taa
INF-follow-FIN CL3-light CL3-CON CL9-lamp
'Why do we always love to follow the light of the lamp?'

(58) *Ini na-kund-a i-fumu dʒ-apo* ***tu***
I 1SG.S.PRS-want-FIN CL5-spear CL5-my **only**
'As for me I only want my spear.'

5.2. The linear position of an adverb within a clause

The regular and most widespread positions of Dabida adverbs are as follows.

1. Immediately following the verb it modifies, or after the verb's direct object if expressed lexically by a noun phrase:

(59) *A-ßa ßa-ndu ßi-fuɣ-aɣ-a ŋ-guku*
this-CL2 CL2-person CL2.S-breed-HAB-FIN CL10-hen
ya-fwan-a ku-ri-l-iʃ-a na
CL9.S.PRS-be.nesessary-FIN INF-CL10.O-eat-CAUS-FIN and
ku-ri-lindi-a ***nitʃa***
INF-CL10.O-protect-FIN **well**
'Those people who breed hens must feed them and protect them very well.'

(60) *Ø-Izi i-ka-i-sek-a Ø-fuße* ***sena***
CL9-fly CL9.S-CONS-CL9.O-laugh.at-FIN CL9-baboon **again**
sa imbiri
as before
'The fly again began to laugh at him as before.'

It is also possible for an adverb to be placed between the verb and its object. The "canonical" linear order is altered for the sake of emphasis or focus:

(61) *Ko kala Ø-kio i-mu m-bisi*
long ago CL9-night CL9-some CL9-hyena
ere-zuɣ-iloɣe ***na ndiɣi*** *ni n-dʒala*
CL9.S.PST-torture-PASS.HAB.FIN$_{PRF}$ **with strength** by CL9-hunger
'Long ago one night Hyena was suffering painfully from hunger.'

(62) *U-o mu-ndu u-ka-ri-l-iʃ-a*
CL1-this.mentioned CL1-man CL1.S-CONS-CL10.O-eat-CAUS-FIN
nitʃa *ŋ-guku r-ake*
well CL10-hen CL10-his
'This man feed his hens well.'

2. Immediately following the adjective and another adverb; this order cannot be changed (see examples (48)–(50)).

The adverbs of time in Dabida not only appear right-adjoined to the verb (65), but left-adjoined too (64) and may appear clause-initially just preceding a lexical subject (63). When placed at the beginning of the clause these adverbs emphasize the time of the event:

(63) ***Idɗana*** *ŋ-gelo* *y-a-vik-a* *ini* *ni-ku-kir-e*
now CL9-time CL9-PRS-come-FIN I 1SG.S-2SG.O-save-FIN$_{SBJV}$
oho
you(Sg)
'Well, now it is my turn to save you.'

(64) *Ø-Iŋge* *i-ka-i-zer-a* *saβau:* ***"Idɗime***
CL9-leopard CL9.S-CONS-CL9.O-say-FIN CL9-monkey **today**
ni-ʧa-ku-dʒ-a"
1SG.S-FUT-2SG.O-eat-FIN
'Leopard told Monkey: "I shall eat you today".'

(65) *Ku-ʧa-dʒ-a* ***kafwani***
2SG.S-FUT-eat-FIN **soon**
'You shall eat in a minute.'

The following noteworthy facts should also be mentioned.

Dabida has two polysemous pronominal adverbs *aho* and *ahoeni* that are both spatial and temporal. The specific interpretation, whether spatial or temporal, depends on their position within the sentence.

aho has the two meanings: 1) 'there, thither'; 2) 'then, at that time'. Like *aha* and *adʒa*, spatial *aho* always follows the verb it modifies, or the lexical object (see examples (21)–(23)):

(66) *M-beβa* *ere-id-ieɣe* ***aho***
CL9-rat CL9.S.PST-PASS-HAB.FIN$_{PRF}$ **there**
'A rat passed by there.'

Temporal *aho* occupies initial position in a clause:

(67) ***Aho*** *Ø-kofi* *i-a-βiŋgis-a* *Ø-dʒalo* *na*
just.now CL9-dog CL9.S-PRS-pursue-FIN CL9-wart.hog and

aho *omoni u-a-ßingis-w-a ni m-bela*
just.now CL1-himself CL1.S-PST-pursue-PASS-FIN by CL9-rhinoceros
'This time the Dog was pursuing the wart-hog while Mwadime was running for his life from the rhinoceros.'

The same holds true for ***ahoeni*** which means 1) 'just there'; 2) 'just then/that time'. This pronominal adverb either has a spatial meaning when following the verb it modifies (68) or has a temporal meaning when it precedes the verb or is placed in a clause-initial position (69):

(68) *Ø-ĩmba i-ka-fw-a* ***ahoeni***
CL9-lion CL9.S-CONS-die-FIN **right.there**
'The Lion died just there.'

(69) *Ø-Fuße i-ka-m-tumbuli-a, "Ai, hata,*
CL9-baboon CL9.S-CONS-CL1.O-reply-FIN well no
na-leg-a"; na-yo ***ahoeni*** *i-ka-kimbi-a*
1SG.S.PRS-refuse-FIN and-it **just.this.moment** CL9.S-CONS-run-FIN
' "No, I have no desire for it", said the Baboon and ran away that very moment.'

The following two notional Dabida adverbs have different meanings depending on their position: *kuchumba* and *sena*. *Kuchumba* has two related senses: 1) 'much, very much' (70)–(71) and 2) 'better than' (72):

(70) *M-beßa ri-ka-kum-a a-ko*
CL10-rat CL10.S-CONS-praise-FIN CL12-this.mentioned
ka-mw-ana ***kutʃumba***
CL12-CL1-child **very.much**
'The mice praised the little mouse very much.'

(71) *I-layo i-dʒi ni loli dʒi-boie* ***kutʃumba***
CL5-matter this-CL5 COP indeed CL5-good **very**
'This plan is very good, indeed.'

(72) *Nde-i-ko Ø-ɲoɲi i-dĩm-agh-a ku-puruk-a*
NEG.PRS-CL9-COP CL9-bird CL9.S-can-HAB-FIN INF-fly-FIN

kutʃumba *i-ososi* *anduangi*
better.than CL5-bat at.all
'No bird can fly better than a bat.'

The adverb *sena* functions as a modifier when it appears directly after a verb or its lexical object:

(73) *Ø-Izi* *i-ka-i-sek-a* *Ø-Fuße* ***sena***
CL9-fly CL9.S-CONS-CL9.O-laugh.at-FIN CL9-baboon **again**
sa *imbiri*
as at.first
'The Fly again started mocking the Boboon.'

However, when this adverb appears at the beginning of a clause (often in combination with the preposition/conjunction *na* 'and, with, but') it functions as a clause-level adverb with the meaning 'moreover' or 'besides':

(74) ***Na*** ***sena*** *Ø-supu* *y-a* *ŋ-guku* *ya-fwan-a*
And **moreover** CL9-soup CL9-CON CL9-hen CL9.S.PRS-be.fit-FIN
kutʃumba *kwa* *ßa-ndu* *ßi-ko* *ßa-kongo*
very for CL2-person CL2.S.which-COP CL2-sick.person
'And moreover, chicken soup is very necessary for sick people.'

6. Conclusion

Adverbs in Dabida are a well attested part of speech whose main function is to indicate time, place, manner, degree, frequency, and purpose of an event and to modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs but not nouns. Based on their derivational structure, Dabida adverbs are divided into underived and derived forms. The derived adverbs, which constitute the vast majority, can be classified as follows: (1) denominal adverbs; (2) compound adverbs; (3) reduplicated adverbs; (4) converted adverbs.

Dabida adverbs can be formed from five word classes: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals. They are categorized into notional and pronominal adverbs. These adverbs fall into seven semantic types, with the main ones being adverbs of place, time, manner, and degree. Their most standard and widespread linear position of adverbs is immediately after the words they modify or after the verb's lexical object. While Dabida adverbs can be placed directly after the verb, preceding the verb's lexical object, this occurs rarely and is generally used for emphasis or focus.

Temporal adverbs can appear both right-adjoined and left-adjoined to the verb and may take the initial position in the clause just before a lexical subject.

Dabida has several polysemous adverbs, with their specific meanings determined by the linear position the adverb occupies in the sentence.

Abbreviations

1PL – first person plural	COND – conditional	NEG – negation
2PL – second person plural	CONS – consecutive	O – object prefix
1SG – first person singular	COP – copula	PASS – passive
2SG – second person singular	DUR – durative	PRF – perfect
APPL – applicative	FIN – final (verb) suffix	PRS – present
ASSOC – associative	FUT – future	PST – past
CAUS – causative	HAB – habitual	REF – referential
CL – noun class	IMP – imperative	S – subject
CON – connective	INF – infinitive	SBJV – subjunctive

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Received 19.10.2024. Received in revised form 18.12.2024. Accepted 24.12.2024