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On the conceptual nature of hybrid adverbials in Isu

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Abstract

We review Kießling's (2011) assessment of the emergence of hybrid adverbials from serial verb constructions in Isu of Bantoid and the Narrow Grassfield group of East Benue Congo. He posits two paths, preverbal and postverbal, that coverb elements follow as they abandon verbal properties pertaining to syntax, morphology, and tone. Our focus rests on whether this impressive array of grammatical change might reflect a particular system of semantic concepts. We contend that one lens through which to view such a system consists of a merger of Dixon's secondary concept types and Nuyts' hierarchy of categories conveying clausal modification. To support our contention, we apply the resulting system of semantic concepts to Isu preverbal hybrid adverbials, finding eight conceptual types oriented toward characterization of grammatical subject. Despite the highly tentative nature of this effort, results align with a similar range of conceptual types that occur as preverbs in West Benue Congo Yoruboid and Edoid, which have also grammaticalized from verbs.

Keywords: Isu, Bantoid, hybrid adverbials, preverbs, Benue Congo

1 Introduction

Kießling (2004, 2011) has invigorated serial verb studies in Bantoid (Rolle & Hyman 2016), particularly for the construction type initially identified as modifying by Bamgbose (1974) and later as asymmetric in Aikhenvald (2006, 2018). From his study of Isu (East Benue Congo), Kießling concludes that some verbs in serial verb constructions are evolving into a class of word forms that he identifies as hybrid adverbials (HA).

For this paper, we will suggest that a particular system of conceptual meanings may underlie preverbal HAs. In the linguistics litera-

ture such meanings are sometimes referred to as secondary concepts (Dixon 1991) or clausal modifications (Nuyts 2005). They include concepts pertaining to modality and aspect, although not of the type typically associated with traditional auxiliary or TAM categories. Many of the concepts identified by Dixon and Nuyts appear to characterize a grammatical subject rather than the speaker of an utterance. We will suggest that a system of meanings similar to those of some HAs can be discerned in languages of West Benue Congo and that the meanings of Isu HAs might usefully be compared to preverbs of West Benue Congo.

Isu is spoken in the Northwestern Province of Cameroon by roughly 10,400 speakers. It is a typical member of the West Ring cluster of the Narrow Grassfield group. Isu is SVO with verbal inflection that articulates contrastive viewpoint (perfective/imperfective aspect) and tense (four degrees of past and two degrees of future). It has prefixes that establish twelve nominal form classes as well as agreement on adposition forms. Verbal extension morphology, however, is unproductive. Phonologically, Isu is marked by a 9-vowel inventory as well as labio-velar consonants, and labial and dental affricates. It exhibits tone at high, low, and downstep high values.

As for HAs, Kießling identifies 37 forms that either precede or follow a core verb and manifest some loss of their verbal properties. He concludes that Isu HAs constitute a word class distinct from their verbal origin.

2 Properties of Isu hybrid adverbials

Kießling's analysis of serial verbs follows to some extent the tradition of Aikhenvald (2006). It finds that HAs emerge from asymmetrical serial verb constructions (A-SVC), which show a minor coverb and a major core verb. A core item in an A-SVC is a major element since it belongs to an open class of verbs. It contrasts with a coverb, which is a minor element since it aligns with a closed class of verb forms.

Kießling highlights specific properties that become abandoned as Isu forms shift their status from coverb to HA. These include functioning as core verb of a verbal predication and as base for nominalization by class 5 prefix *i-*. Additional properties pertain to verb as locus of a derivational pattern concerning pluractionality, an aspectual distinction between suffix \emptyset /*-i* for perfective (PFV) versus *-ə* for

imperfective (IPFV), a tonal distinction in which a prefixed floating low tone in the imperfective occurs on non-initial position verbs in series, and a mark for clause subordination signaled by a prefixed combination of LH tone.

Some of these properties are illustrated in (1–2), where HA forms, respectively, *màŋ* ‘just, only’ and *mbvámí* ‘just, right then’ occur. In (1a–b) *màŋ* is differentially marked for viewpoint aspect by perfective (PFV) zero suffix *-Ø* and imperfective (IPFV) suffix *-ə*. Each clause shows that *màŋ* agrees with aspect marking on main verb *zìbì* ‘fix.’

- (1) a. *ù màŋ tíálí zìbì ŋwǎ.*
 3SG just carelessly fix CF
 ‘He has just fixed it carelessly.’
- b. *ù kì màŋ-ə tíál-ə zìb-ə ŋwǎ.*
 3SG F1 just-IPFV carelessly-IPFV fix-IPFV CF
 ‘He will just fix it carelessly.’

In (2), HA *mbvámí* exhibits more than one morphological mark. It displays subordination (SO) via a floating tone prefix HL, which surfaces as H^HH, as well as imperfective (IPFV) suffix *-ə*.

- (2) *yá' ù mbvám-ə zê bê.*
 as 3SG SO:just-IPFV SO:go:IPFV SO:come:IPFV
 ‘[...] as he was just coming out.’

Not all HAs in Isu shift from coverb to HA in the same way. According to Kießling, two paths are evident: Path A and Path B. Under Path A, a HA is distinct from a coverb in an A-SVC only in one respect. Path A HAs lack syntactic autonomy; they do not predicate on their own. Members retain most verbal morphosyntactic properties. Path A HAs nominalize with *i-*, show segmentally distinct stems for PFV/IPFV, mark inflectional IPFV by a prefixed floating low tone in non-initial position of a verb series, and signal subordination by inflectional prefix HL tone.

Under Path B, HAs abandon more but not all coverb properties. Path B HAs retain limited verbal morphology expressed by tone, since they mark IPFV by inflectional prefix LH floating tone in non-initial position of a verb series and indicate subordination by an inflectional prefix combination of LH tone. Nonetheless, Path B HAs lack syntactic autonomy since they do not predicate on their own. Also, they

neither nominalize with *i-* nor exhibit segmentally distinct stems for PFV and IPFV.

In addition to these different paths characterizing loss of verb properties, HAs appear within a clause in either a preverbal or a postverbal position. Of the 25 Path A forms, 20 are preverbal and five are postverbal (Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1. Preverbal Path A hybrid adverbials

<i>bò?</i>	‘earlier’
<i>kád</i>	‘exceptionally, exclusively’
<i>kàm</i>	‘again, at all, somehow’
<i>kóǵí</i>	‘however, instead, but’
<i>kwá?í</i>	‘extremely reduced’
<i>màŋ</i>	‘just, only’
<i>mbáb</i>	‘fast, quickly’
<i>mbáŋ</i>	‘really, clearly, evidently’
<i>mbòŋ</i>	‘nevertheless, all the same, even though’
<i>mbvá mí</i>	‘just, right then, exactly’
<i>nám</i>	‘still’
<i>náŋ/ná?í</i>	‘a bit, a little’
<i>ndò?</i>	‘deliberately, intentionally, with effort’
<i>ndóŋ/ndáŋ</i>	‘very much’
<i>ndwám</i>	‘hesitantly, at all, absolutely’
<i>ndzám</i>	‘truly’
<i>ntwámí</i> <i>/twámí</i>	‘at once, immediately, just then’
<i>tsím</i>	‘seriously, even, definitely’
<i>tsàŋ</i>	‘always, habitually’
<i>tyì mí</i>	‘not properly, wrongly’

Table 2. Postverbal Path A hybrid adverbials

<i>k^hè</i>	‘without effect, failingly, in vain’
<i>kiábí</i>	‘about, around’
<i>kwài</i>	‘successfully, fortunately’
<i>kwú</i>	‘enough’
<i>táŋ</i>	‘readily, totally, forever, once and for all’

Exemplars of Path B HAs total twelve. They are evenly split between preverbal and postverbal positions (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Preverbal Path B hybrid adverbials

<i>báná</i>	‘enough’
<i>kájá</i>	‘never’
<i>ngé</i>	‘very much’
<i>ngóńá</i>	‘as well, equally’
<i>sià</i>	‘then, consequently’
<i>tà?à</i>	‘probably’

Table 4. Postverbal Path B hybrid adverbials

<i>dzì</i>	‘actually, evidently, clearly, for a moment’
<i>ká</i>	‘only’
<i>sò?ò</i>	‘also’
<i>tsà/tsàń</i>	‘always, habitually’
<i>wà</i>	‘hither (bu)’
<i>yà</i>	‘thither’

What we find in these examples besides an interesting list of forms and their associated meanings is the outcome of a grammaticalization process whereby verbs and their lexical meanings become reanalyzed as forms exhibiting grammatical meanings. The question we ask is whether underlying this grammatical reformulation of HAs there might be a system of semantic meaning types.

3 Conceptual types of Dixon and Nuyts

To proceed, we concentrate on Isu hybrid adverbials (HAs) that precede a verb and assess their relation to meaning types identified in Dixon (1991, 2006, 2010) as secondary concepts (SC) and in Nuyts (2001, 2005, 2006, 2016) as clausal modifications (CM).

Dixon identifies a class of linguistic concepts informed by comparison of verb and non-verb structures among indigenous languages of Australia and the Pacific Region as well as Standard Average European. Across languages, members of this class are realized as either verbs or grammatical forms. In contrast is another class of concepts that tend to be realized more exclusively as verbs. In addition, those concepts realized more often as verbs take noun phrases as subject

and direct object. Concepts that show more flexibility, when coded as verbs, tend to take complement clauses as subject and/or direct object. Dixon refers to the more rigidly verbal items as primary concepts and the less rigidly verbal items as secondary concepts. For a language like English, primary concepts are realized by verbs that take noun phrases as subject and direct object. Secondary concepts, also coded by verbs, semantically modify a primary verb, and tend to take some type of complement clause as subject and/or direct object.

Among the secondary concept classes identified in Dixon (1991: 168–204, 2010: 401) are the following four types (Table 5).

Table 5. Secondary concept classes

Secondary A Class

- 1 NEGATORS
- 2 SEMI-MODAL & MODAL
- 3 PHASAL (BEGINNING-ENDING)
- 4 HURRYING
- 5 DARING
- 6 TRYING

Secondary B Class

- 1 WANTING
- 2 POSTPONING

Secondary C Class

- 1 MAKING
- 2 HELPING

Secondary D Class

- 1 SEEM
- 2 MATTER/HAPPEN

Our chief interest is with non-modal Class A secondary concepts. They are illustrated with English meanings in Table 6.

Table 6. Non-modal Class A secondary concepts

Negators:	'lack,' 'without NP'
Semi-Modals:	'can, be able'(cf. modals: 'will,' 'must,' 'might')
Phasal:	'start,' 'begin,' 'continue,' 'cease,' 'finish'
Tryings:	'try,' 'succeed,' 'fail'
Hurryings:	'hurry,' 'hasten,' 'dawdle'
Darings:	'dare,' 'venture'

A somewhat similar range of meanings has been examined within the domain of clausal modification. Nuyts (2005: 20) offers a hierarchical schema of categories that encompass clausal modification. He bases his hierarchy, shown below in Fig. 1, on order and scope relations among clausal modifiers in a subclass of Germanic languages.

Evidentiality

Epistemic modality

Deontic modality

Time

Space

Quantificational aspect

Qualificational aspect

Parts of States of Affairs

Figure. 1 Schema of hierarchically ordered categories of clause modification

Our primary interest in the Nuyts schema concerns two categories at the lower end of the hierarchy, although not necessarily with their suggested order of occurrence within a clause. “Qualificational Aspect” is concerned with the internal constitution of a state of affairs, its internal phases, e.g. notions like ‘start,’ ‘finish,’ ‘continue’. “Quantificational Aspect” of a state of affairs, on the other hand, pertains to quantitative relations reflected in such notions as ‘together’. Moreover, Nuyts holds that modality of the dynamic type is a subcategory of “Quantificational Aspect”. “Dynamic modality” is concerned with the inherent capacity or internal potential of a subject participant to do something.

4 Conceptual types among Isu hybrid adverbials

Using the full schema of Nuyts we have undertaken a preliminary assessment of Kießling’s HAs. We find that the only clausal qualifications from the Nuyts schema not found in Kießling’s database are Evidentials, Deontics, Time, Space, and Parts. There are two instances of tense (*mbvámí* ‘right then’, *sià* ‘then’) for which we posit a relative tense status rather than one of absolute tense. A larger number of exemplars (six) fall to Epistemic Modality (*mbáj* ‘evidently’, *ndwàm* ‘absolutely’, *tà?à* ‘probably’, *nám* ‘still, despite conditions’, *mbò?è* ‘even though’, *ndzàm* ‘truly’), which is neither Qualificational nor Quantificational. Obviously, these initial category assignments are highly ten-

tative, based solely on translations of Isu offered by Kießling. Some assignments surely require further investigation, e.g., *sìà* as relative tense ‘then, later on’ or epistemic ‘certainly’.

Beyond this simple matching of Kießling’s Isu data with conceptual types from Nuyts, we have attempted to forge a union of Dixon’s secondary concepts (SC) of Class A and Nuyts’ clausal modification (CM) concepts of Quantificational Aspect and Qualificational Aspect. The result is eight conceptual types that tend to be oriented toward the grammatical subject along a range of dimensions, including negators (NEG), participant quantification (QUAN), aspectual quantification (ASP), phasal qualification (PHA), temporal (TEMP), manner demonstrative (MAN), volitional/ability (VOLA), and capacity (CAP).

We find that of these eight possible conceptual types that overlap among SCs and CMs, seven are evident in Kießling’s analysis of Isu. These category types and exemplars are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Conceptual types and exemplars found among preverbal Isu HAs

CAT	HAs from Isu
NEG	<i>kájá</i> ‘never’ <i>tyìmi</i> ‘improperly’
QUAN	<i>báná</i> ‘enough’ <i>kwá?í</i> ‘reduced extent’ <i>náj</i> ‘a bit’ <i>ndáñ</i> ‘very much’ <i>ngé</i> ‘very much’ <i>ngóñá</i> ‘equally’
ASP	<i>kàm</i> ‘again’
PHA	[e.g. ‘start,’ ‘cease’]
TEMP	<i>bò?</i> ‘earlier’ <i>mbáb</i> ‘quickly’ <i>ntwámíat</i> ‘just then’
MAN	<i>yà</i> ‘thither’
VOLA	<i>ndò?</i> ‘deliberately’
CAP	<i>tsím</i> ‘seriously’

Relative to Table 7, we can entertain the possibility that for some HAs in Isu their original coverb meanings have begun to evolve toward conceptual types aligned with Dixon’s secondary concepts and Nuyts’ clause-level modifications. To illustrate further several of these con-

ceptual types and their associated HAs, we present the sentences in (3–5), where we find, respectively, HA *bò?* ‘earlier on,’ *kàm* ‘again,’ and *ndò?* ‘deliberately.’ In (3), *bò?*, which we have assigned to the temporal conceptual type, occurs with imperfective suffix *-ò*. Other grammatical markers in this sentence correspond to near future F1 and immediacy IMM.

- (3) *wò kì bò?-ò líáa k^hè tsá dzì*
 2SG F1 earlier-IPFV look-IPFV in.vain IMM actually
ɲwɔ̃ ‘wé.
 CF 3SG
 ‘You still first of all look down on him.’

In (4), *kàm* from the aspectual type appears with verbal noun (VN) prefix *-í-* and preceding that a P3 (distant past) tense marker.

- (4) *ú ^hk^hú áⁿ-í-kàm fà? fúrí.*
 3SG.P3 have to-VN-again work increase
 ‘So he had to work again.’

Relative to the conceptual type capacity, HA *ndò?* is shown in (5) with a preceding grammatical form that combines immediate past (P1) with focus (FOC).

- (5) *má má ndò? twóɲó ‘wé.*
 1SG P1.FOC deliberately call 3SG
 ‘I have intentionally called for him.’

5 Conceptual types in West Benue Congo

Despite the highly preliminary nature of our findings, we can begin to glimpse the potential value of comparative-historical research that would employ elements of the Dixon-Nuyts conceptual framework and apply them not only to Bantoid of East Benue Congo but also to West Benue Congo (WBC). Such a comparative framework might center on verb series elements and their form/function evolution toward categories realizing secondary concepts and clause level modification (perhaps postverbal modification as well).

To this end, we briefly consider the relation of HAs to a word class identified in West Benue Congo as preverb (Bamgbose 1967: 18). Various Yoruba scholars, among them Bamgbose (1966, 1967),

Rowlands (1969), Awobuluyi (1978), have each identified Yoruba preverb forms and their respective meanings. In Table 8 we present samples of Yoruba preverbs arranged tentatively according to our modified conceptual framework from Dixon-Nuyts.

Table 8. Yoruba preverb forms from Bamgbose (B), Rowlands (R), and Awobuluyi (A) in our modified Dixon-Nuyts conceptual framework

CAT	Preverb B '66/'67	Preverb R '69	Preverb A '78
NEG	<i>dédé</i> 'by chance' <i>kúkú</i> 'in fact' <i>sáà</i> 'just' <i>tiè</i> 'even' <i>mà/máa</i> 'emphatic'	<i>dédé</i> 'by chance' <i>kúkú</i> 'in fact, rather' <i>sá</i> 'at least, any rate' <i>tilè/tèè</i> 'in fact' <i>wulè</i> 'for no reason' <i>dára</i> 'not good'	<i>dédé</i> 'suddenly' <i>kúkú</i> 'had better' <i>sáà</i> 'no purpose' <i>tilè/tiè</i> 'even' <i>mà</i> 'in fact' <i>wulè</i> 'in vain' <i>jé</i> 'had better' <i>kàn</i> 'simply' <i>tètè</i> 'no delay'
QUAN	<i>jùmò</i> 'together' <i>túnbò</i> 'further' <i>nìkàn/kàn</i> 'alone' <i>nìkòn/kòn</i> 'alone' <i>fì</i> 'with' <i>ba</i> 'with, for'	<i>jumò/jò</i> 'together' <i>túbò</i> 'further' <i>gidigidi</i> 'very much'	<i>jùmò jò</i> 'together' <i>nìkàn</i> 'only, alone'
ASP	<i>tún</i> 'again' <i>shì</i> 'still' <i>máa</i> 'continue'	<i>sì</i> 'still' <i>sálo</i> 'away'	<i>túbò/tún</i> 'again' <i>shìn</i> 'still' <i>pàpà</i> 'still'
PHA	<i>férèé</i> 'almost' <i>sábàá</i> 'usually' <i>jàjà</i> 'managed to'	<i>férèé</i> 'almost'	
TEMP	<i>kókó/kó</i> 'first' <i>sèsè</i> 'have just' <i>tètè</i> 'quickly'	<i>kókó/kós</i> 'first, early' <i>sèsè</i> 'just then' <i>tètè</i> 'early' <i>ha</i> 'then' <i>rora</i> 'gently, qui- etly' <i>yára</i> 'quickly'	<i>kókó/kó</i> 'first' <i>sèsè</i> 'just now' <i>jàjà</i> 'at last, finally' <i>bá</i> 'then'

MAN		<i>báyì</i> ‘like this’ <i>báun</i> ‘like that’ <i>béè</i> ‘like that, so’	
VOLI	<i>lè</i> ‘can, be able’ <i>mòómò</i> ‘intentional’	<i>lè</i> ‘can’ <i>mòómò</i> ‘deliberately’ <i>kàn</i> ‘merely, just’	<i>lè</i> ‘be able’ <i>mòómò</i> ‘intentional’ <i>dìdì</i> ‘intentional’
CAP	∅		

Preverbs also occur in Edoid Emai (Schaefer & Egbokhare 2017). They differ from auxiliaries in their interaction with imperatives. Imperatives allow preverbs but reject auxiliaries. Preverbs also differ from verbs. While verbs are lexically toneless and receive grammatical tone from aspect and tense values, preverbs have a fixed lexical tone that is affected further by grammatical tone values. A sample of preverbs from Emai appears in Table 9.

Table 9. Preverb samples from Edoid Emai

CAT	Preverb
NEG	<i>dùù</i> ‘without reason’ <i>kùkù</i> ‘without fail’
QUAN	<i>gbà</i> ‘together’ <i>zèmi</i> ‘very / very much’ <i>zèzè</i> ‘a bit, not quite’
ASP	<i>chè</i> ‘again’ <i>gbò</i> ‘too, also’ <i>sè</i> ‘continue to, still’
PHA	<i>yà</i> ‘nearly started’ <i>m</i> ‘nearly completed’
TEMP	<i>bòbò</i> ‘promptly’ <i>kpàò</i> ‘earlier’ <i>guè</i> ‘unexpectedly’ <i>tuà</i> ‘hurriedly’
MAN	<i>ìyó</i> ‘that way’ <i>ìná</i> ‘this way’
VOLI	<i>dábò</i> ‘deliberately’ <i>dóbò</i> ‘mistakenly’ <i>dúdà</i> ‘defiantly’ <i>mìtì</i> ‘ability’

CAP	<i>dègbè</i> ‘cautiously’ <i>gbùdù</i> ‘courageously’ <i>tòtóbò</i> ‘intensely’ <i>kàkégbè</i> ‘by persevering’
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What these Emai preverbs have in common is an orientation toward grammatical subject. Each preverb item relates to some dimension of a grammatical subject that is involved in event expression. A selection of preverbs with qualitative or quantitative associations to grammatical subject are presented in sentences (6–9).

Preverbs from the negator and phasal conceptual types are shown in (6) and (7), respectively. Ingressive (ING) *yà* appears in (6) with the distributed tonal pattern for proximal (PRX) past (PST), as does the ‘no reason’ form *dùù* in (7).

(6) *ólí òmòhè yà é ólí émàè.*
 ART man:PRX PST:ING eat ART food
 ‘The man almost started eating the food.’

(7) *ólí òmòhè dúù gbé ólí ófè.*
 ART man:PRX PST:naught kill ART rat
 ‘The man killed the rat for no reason.’

In (8) and (9) preverbs from the quantitative and volitive conceptual types are exemplified. Collective (COL) *gbà* in (8) occurs with the distributed tonal pattern for distal (DST) past (PST), as does volitive *mítì* in (9).

(8) *éí ímóhé ‘gbá híán ólí óràn.*
 ART men:DST PST.COL cut ART wood
 ‘The men cut the wood together.’

(9) *ólí òmóhé ‘mítì gbé ólí éwè.*
 ART man:DST PST.able kill ART goat
 ‘The man was able to kill the goat.’

6 Conclusion

Kießling has identified an emerging class of forms in the Bantoid language Isu. Formally, they have occurred as coverbs in asymmetric serial verb constructions, where they preceded a core or major verb.

They also manifested different stages of grammaticalization leading to adverb status. Kießling identifies this class of forms as hybrid adverbials. Functionally, their conceptual meanings bear on clause level modification.

It is our contention that HAs reveal conceptual similarity to preverbs that are found among West Benue Congo languages. Like HAs, preverbs provide evidence of previous or concurrent verb status, perhaps most clearly in Edoid, and manifest conceptual meanings that by their nature modify clausal elements, as suggested by our review of the Dixon-Nuyts conceptual framework.

It may thus prove fruitful to compare preverbs in WBC and HAs in EBC Bantoid more extensively. They provide a natural test for the conceptual framework provided by Dixon and Nuyts (and perhaps others). Ultimately, we may gain additional insight into the emergence of non-verb categories of clausal modification and secondary conceptualization from the way verbs in series are structured and evolve.

In this regard, we have one final comment on Kießling's overall stages of the grammaticalization path from verb to HA. According to Kießling there are four stages (I–IV) in the reanalysis of HAs.

- I Verb undergoes semantic extension: result is polysemy with full verb and coverb.
- II Full verb is dropped: result is coverb remains and retains all verbal properties, producing HA of Path A.
- III Coverb loses verbal properties coded by segmental markers: result is retention of verbal properties marked exclusively by tone, producing HA of Path B.
- IV Coverb loses tonal relics of verbal status: result is prototypical adverbs, which are maximally distinct from verbs.

We appreciate the complexity and detail of these stages. But we also wish to note that Stage II, dropping of a full verb in favor of its HA, does not occur with the same immediacy in West Benue Congo. Preverbs and the verbs or verb phrases from which they derive most often co-exist in our database for Edoid (and other WBC languages). It is not that the verbs do not drop out, they may eventually do so. But in Edoid, verbs seem content to co-exist with their related preverbs.

Abbreviations

↓ downstep, 2 second person, 3 third person, ART definite article, ASVC symmetrical serial verb construction, ASP aspectual quantification, CAP capacity, CF clause focus, CM clausal modification, COL collective, DST distal, F1 immediate future, FOC focus, H high tone, HA hybrid adverbial, IMM immediacy, ING ingressive, IPFV imperfective, L low tone, MAN manner demonstrative, NEG negation, P1 immediate past, P3 distant past, PFV perfective, PHA phasal qualification, PRX proximal, PST past, QUAN participant quantification, SC secondary concept, SG singular, SO subordination, SVO subject, verb, object; TAM tense, aspect, modality; TEMP temporal, VN verbal noun, VOLA volitional/ability, WBC West Benue Congo.

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