Grammaticalization in Fanakalo: simplification, complexification, and acceleration

Alexander Andrason

University of Cape Town

The present article studies the structure of the resultative stream (a part of the verbal system that hosts grams diachronically evolving along and synchronically modelled by means of the resultative path: resultative > perfect > perfective/past and resultative > stative > present) in the Fanakalo pidgin as compared to the lexifier Nguni languages (Zulu/Xhosa). The evidence indicates that the organization of the resultative stream in Fanakalo is different from that found in Nguni, attesting to both simplification and complexification, as well as the acceleration of the movement along the resultative path and the cline of structural grammaticalization. This corroborates the views concerning the increase in complexity of stabilized and expanded pidgins and the observation suggesting the acceleration of grammaticalization processes in a situation of contact.

1. Introduction

Fanakalo – also referred to as Kitchen or Mine Kaffir/Zulu (the term Kaffir is offensive), Pidgin or Basic Bantu/Nguni, Isilunguboi/Chilunguboi, Isilololo/Cilololo, Isikula, Cilapalapa, Isipiki, and Cikabanga (BPCL 1975:704) – is a Nguni-based pidgin with Zulu and Xhosa as lexifiers and/or superstrates (Cole 1953, Berry 1971, Trudgill 1983:181, Thomason & Kaufman 1988:183, Holm 1989:555-557, Adendorf 1995, Mesthrie 1989, 2006a:76, 2006b, Matras 2009:208). Fanakalo is predominately – although not exclusively – used in situations involving work and trade. The former type of context comprises a wide range of employer-employee relationships in homes, farms, construction sites, and mines. The latter type is mainly associated with Indian shops and businesses (Holm 1989:555, Adendorff 1995:177, Mesthrie 1989:211, 2006b:430, Childs 2010:706, Pewa 2011:13, Mesthrie & Surek-Clark 2013:34, Velupillai 2015:28).

The history of Fanakalo is rich and its socio-linguistic context has changed over the last two centuries. The language emerged as a pre-pidgin jargon in the Eastern Cape with Xhosa as the (initial) superstrate (Mesthrie 1989:12-13). This emergence was due to secondary hybridization, that is, an imperfect (targeted or partially targeted) second language acquisition by Germanic speakers (mostly those of English, Afrikaans/Dutch, German, and even Norwegian), and the use of a foreigner talk by Nguni speakers in labor environments with the aim of facilitating communication (Mesthrie 1989:224, Adendorf 1995:185-188, Pewa 2011:13). Subsequently, the language spread to KwaZulu-Natal, a predominantly Zulu area, where it was stabilized (Mesthrie 2006a:77). This stabilization was stimulated by the arrival of Indians, who became the most common users of the pidgin (Mesthrie 1989:216, 1995:188, 2006b:430). Thanks to Indians, Fanakalo expanded beyond employee-employer (or, in colonial days, master-slave) relationships and was utilized in trade and entrepreneurial activities. The spread of Fanakalo to Natal and its re-use by Indians led to the tertiary hybridization of the initial jargon, necessary for its transformation into a genuine pidgin.[1] In the late 19th century, Fanakalo

---

1 Indians still extensively use Fanakalo, even outside KwaZulu-Natal (Ferraz 1984:107). In 1978, more than 99% of the Indian men in Zambia and almost 85% of Indian women were familiar with the pidgin (Ferraz 1984:107). Regarding the concept of secondary and tertiary hybridization consult Whinnom (1971) and Mühlhäusler (1986); see also section 2.2.

expanded to even more diversified linguistic environments in Gauteng and the Northern Cape, where it was henceforth extensively used in the mining industry (Cole 1953, Mesthrie 2006a, 2006b). This consolidated its tertiary hybridization, stabilization, and expansion (Brown & Ogilvie 2009:412, Pewa 2011:14). In this new setting, Fanakalo became a lingua franca employed for communication not only between Bantu and non-Bantu speakers, but also between the speakers of different Bantu languages themselves. Subsequently, the language has been carried to other regions in South Africa as well as to Mozambique (Research Focus 2011:14), Zimbabwe (Taberer 1905), Zambia (Epstein 1959, BPCL 1975:704), and even further north in Africa (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:183, Holm 1989:555, Versteegh 2008:178). Fanakalo has never developed into a creole due to its sociological environment being generally incompatible with nativization. This incompatibility is especially evident in the conditions of (seasonal) migrant labor involving predominantly male workers who lived in a single-sex hostel system. In such conditions (traditional) family life, communication between parents and children, and eventually an inter-generational language transmission have been *de facto* impossible (Research Focus 2011:14).[2]

As I mentioned above, from a formal linguistic perspective, Nguni languages are Fanakalo's lexifier(s). According to some estimations, 70% of the lexicon derives from Nguni, while only 30% may be traced to English and Afrikaans/Dutch (Cole, 1953:549; for a critical evaluation of these numbers see Adendorff 1993:24, 1995:178, 180-181). As Zulu and Xhosa are closely related, being mutually intelligible, and as the pidgin emerged and grew in the area of the Nguni dialectal continuum in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, the specification of either Zulu or Xhosa as the lexifier seems to an extent unfeasible and, perhaps, unimportant (Mesthrie 2006a:76-77). Nevertheless, despite this fact and the traceability of a great bulk of the vocabulary of Fanakalo to both Nguni varieties, Zulu lexemes seem to predominate (Cole 1953:2) due to the stabilization and growth of the pidgin in KwaZulu-Natal in the 19th century (Mesthrie 2006a:77). In contrast, the grammatical structure of Fanakalo has a non-Nguni or non-Bantu character. Sometimes, it has been proposed that Fanakalo grammar (or part of it) resembles the initial Germanic substrate: mainly English and Afrikaans/Dutch, although also German and Norwegian (Mesthrie 2006a:77, Research Focus 2011:14).[3] This would arguably reflect Fanakalo's origin, as it first emerged due to the need to communicate among English, Afrikaners/Dutch, and other European colonizers with Nguni speakers (Mesthrie 1989, 2006a:77). This type of developmental scenario is rather unusual in colonial settings, where the lexicon of a pidgin is usually drawn from a language that is politically more powerful (that of colonizers), while the less powerful language (that of colonized people) contributes to the structure (Schiffman 2010:742). Fanakalo inverts this typical formula for colonial pidgins: The lexifier is an African language (which entertained a lower status) whereas the structure apparently draws on European languages (which entertained a higher status; see Child 2010:706).[4]

Within the complex category of pidgins (see section 2), Fanakalo is classified as a stabilized pidgin (to some degree, shifted towards an expanded pidgin) – a descendant of a pre-pidgin jargon that, as I

---

[2] For a detailed study of the origin of Fanakalo consult Mesthrie (1989, 1992, 2006a, 2006b) and Holm (1989:555-557). For a description of the social and demographic history of Fanakalo in South Africa see Research Focus (2011:14-24)

[3] Such non-Nguni/Bantu or Germanic-like features may *inter alia* include high analyticity and the inverse decay of the synthetic-agglutinative morphology typical of Bantu, the presence of independent subject pronouns (instead of subject-agreement prefixes), the absence of object agreement and noun classes, and the use of an article. However, all such apparently non-Nguni/Bantu grammatical features found in Fanakalo need not be attributed to the Germanic substrate but can be explained by referring to the regular nature of pidgins (see sections 2 and 4 below).

[4] Despite their relevance for the crystallization and stabilization of Fanakalo, Indians have contributed little to the lexicon and grammar of the pidgin.

explained above, was partially developed under the influence of Nguni foreigner talk (Mesthrie 2006a, 2008:265, Versteegh 2008). Complying with the definition of a stabilized pidgin, in its current form, Fanakalo exhibits "a [relatively] clear-cut and stable structure and is typically used in the work domain [that is] sharply circumscribed" (Mesthrie 2008:265). Nevertheless, as is also typical of pidgins, Fanakalo is not a closed and uniform language system (Adendorff 1995). Although Fanakalo has indeed frequently involved 'asymmetrical' communications between the more powerful and the less powerful, been employed in work and trade contexts, and largely concerned non-affective domains, there are examples of the use of Fanakalo in the spheres of life that are not transactional and labor-related (Adendorff 1995, Mesthrie 1989:212, 2006b:430), in communications that are symmetrical, and as an expression of solidarity among participants who are economically, socially, and politically equal (Adendorff 1995:177, 189, 194). Even the work domain itself is varied and pertains to, *inter alia*, trading, mining, farming, and the household (Adendorff 1995:177-178, 189-191). Overall, neither diachronically nor synchronically, and from neither a formal nor sociolinguistic perspective, has Fanakalo constituted a monolithic phenomenon. Rather, it should be viewed as dynamic and fluctuating: a continuum of contact varieties that range from less to more stabilized and from more Nguni-lexifier-like to more European-substrate-like (Adendorff 1995:177-178).

The present article addresses one issue in Fanakalo grammar, namely the acceleration of the grammaticalization process of verbal constructions travelling along the so-called 'resultative path', and the possible simplification and/or complexification of this section of the grammar (referred to as 'the resultative stream'), if compared to the lexifier Nguni languages, i.e., Xhosa and Zulu. The study continues the line of research suggested by Heine & Kuteva (2010) and the author's own analyses previously developed for other contact languages, both pidgins (Pidgin Icelandic; Andrason 2008) and interlanguages (students' Spanish interlanguage; Andrason & Visser 2015).

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Pidgins and pidgin continuum. The complex definition of Fanakalo proposed in the previous section reflects the intricacy of pidgins and their dynamics. That is, instead of constituting static objects, pidgins are dynamic phenomena spanning the so-called 'pidgin continuum' (Mühlhäusler 1986). The pidgin continuum is a conceptual and historical axis that unifies the different types of pidgins. It ranges from pre-pidgin jargons on the one end, to stabilized pidgins and, later, expanded pidgins, on the other end (DeCamp 1971, Mühlhäusler 1986, Childs 2010:704). Stabilized and expanded pidgins may additionally display stages of the so-called 'post-pidgin continuum'. During this latter (and optional) development, pidgins experience relexification processes due to the pressure of the lexifier language. They reshape their pidginized structure and vocabulary ('basilectal end') to resemble more closely the structure of the superstrate, lexifier, and/or target language ('acrolectal end') through a range of intermediate varieties ('mesolectal stages'; Mühlhäusler 1986:237-238). The gradient and dynamic understanding of a pidgin explains two further facts commonly associated with these types of language-contact varieties. First, there is no grammar-based definition of a pidgin that could apply to all possible examples of pidgin language systems (Mühlhäusler 1986, see also Thomason 2001:167-174). Second, pidgins can share properties with other kinds of language-contact varieties, especially foreigner talk and creoles, as these constitute stages that respectively precede and follow the edge-stages of the pidgin continuum (Thomason 2008:245; see also Baker 2001).

Despite the internal heterogeneity of pidgins and the fact that pre-pidgins, stabilized pidgins, and expanded pidgins exhibit distinct grammatical features and sociological contexts of use – and, as I will explain in the next section, distinct degrees of simplification/complexification and advancement of grammaticalization processes – all of them do share certain properties. In general terms, pidgins emerge

in situations of "partially targeted or non-targeted second-language learning" (Mühlhäusler 1986:5). Often, initial speakers have limited opportunities, capacities, and/or interest in acquiring the new language and are additionally exposed to foreigner talk employed by target-language speakers (Muysken 2001:160, Childs 2010:704). In most cases, pidgins arise due to communicative needs among speakers who do not share a common medium of communication (Siegel 2010:814, Holm 2010:253, Joseph 2010:624, Childs 2010:704). Therefore, pidgins are functionally restricted to precisely determined contexts, predominantly work and trade milieus (Childs 2010:704), and draw on the language systems that are phylogenetically, typologically, and socio-culturally distant (Childs 2010:704, Holm 2010:254). Pidgins tend to be developed in a rapid, abrupt, and "catastrophic" manner (Muysken 2001:160) and, crucially, have no native speakers who would have acquired this language through a parent-to-child transmission (Holm 2010:254, Childs 2010:704, Noonan 2010:60). Lastly, from a purely linguistic perspective, pidgins exhibit a remarkable degree of simplification in comparison with their feeding languages, whether superstrates, substrates, lexifiers, or targets (Childs 2010, Joseph 2010, Parkvall & Bakker 2013; see however Roberts & Bresnan 2008).[5]

2.2 Simplification and complexification. As is evident from the characteristics of pidgins discussed in the previous section, pidgins are closely related to the question of simplicity/simplification and complexity/complexification. Simplification is not only viewed as a critical force in the emergence of pidgins but is also included in the definition of pidgins itself (Siegel 2008:190, Trudgill 2010:310). Indeed, Fanakalo is often referred to as a *simplified* version of Zulu, Nguni, or Bantu (Sebba 1997, Kaltenbrunner 1996, Versteegh 2008:178).

In pidgin literature, simplification implies the impoverishment of structural aspects of a language system. Simpler signifies being composed of fewer components and governed by fewer rules – therefore, simpler means fewer words, fewer phonemes, fewer (bound) morphemes, fewer categories, fewer paradigms, fewer syntactic patterns, etc. (Andersson 2005:40, Siegel 2008:189-190, 2012, Parkvall 2008, Trudgill 2010:313, Siegel, Szmrescanyi & Kortmann 2014). Complexification is the opposite of simplification. This understanding of simplicity and complexity largely draws on the Gell-Mann type of measuring complexity. Gell-Mann complexity refers to the non-random information comprised in a system or the system's regularity. It quantifies the order encapsulated with rules, as contrary to disorder, and specifies how elaborated the rules governing a system are and thus how intricate the system's organizational depth is. The more elaborated the rule is, the more complex it is (Gell-Mann 1995, Gell-Mann & Lloyd 2004). Out of all complexity quantification manners, Gell-Mann complexity is considered to be the most appropriate for measuring the complexity of linguistic systems (Trudgill 2004, McWhorter 2001, 2005, 2007, 2009, Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009, 2012:16, Nichols 2009:111-114, Dahl 2011, Andrason 2022, Andrason, Sullivan & Olko 2023).[6]

As mentioned above, pidgins exhibit a considerable structural simplicity in comparison to their feeding systems (Trudgill 1986, 2010:306, Siegel 2008:190). This well-known fact has been demonstrated quantitatively by Kusters (2003). Simplicity in pidgins typically implies limited

---

[5] Nevertheless, as I will explain below, during their development along the pidgin continuum, especially when transitioning from the phase of a stabilized pidgin onwards, pidgins tend to increase their complexity (Mühlhäusler 1986:5-11).

[6] An alternative complexity measurement is Kolmogorov complexity. This type quantifies the randomness (disorder) of a descriptive series that regulates the system or its parts. The longer the descriptive series is, the more complex it is. An entirely random series is the longest and, hence, the most complex. In contrast, the more regular a series is, the less complex it is (Li & Vitányi 2008. For a more detailed discussion of complexity measures consult Peliti & Vulpiani (1988), Rescher (1998), Edmonds (1999), and Mitchell (2009), as well as Andrason (2022) and Andrason, Sullivan & Olko (2023) and the references therein.

vocabulary, regularization (or the decrease of exceptions), an increase in lexical, morphological and syntactical transparency (or the decrease of opacity), a loss of redundancy (or the avoidance of repetition of information, e.g., agreement), and a reduction in synthetic morphology (Mühlhäusler 1977, Trudgill 1986, 1996, 2010:307-308, Childs 2010:704, Joseph 2010:624, Parkvall & Bakker 2013). For pidgins, simplification is also sometimes viewed as acquisitional and natural easiness (Trudgill 2009, 2010:313), where simpler means less difficult to be learned during non-native adult language acquisition (Trudgill 1993, 2010:310, 313, Labov 2007:382). Under this view, analytical, regular, transparent, motivated/iconic, and necessary is "easier" than synthetic, irregular, opaque, arbitrary, and redundant (Trudgill 2010:310, Andersson 2005:46) because this latter set of properties implies higher cognitive cost (Trudgill 2010:313, see also Bakker 2003).

Although the role of simplification in pidgins' life-cycle is fully recognized, language contact, including pidginization, also contributes to the complexification of the languages involved in it (Trudgill 2010:306). Indeed, contact between languages may be responsible for additive change (Nichols 1992, Trudgill 2010:309, Andrason 2022) and lead to "diversification and to the creation of new grammatical categories" (Heine & Kuteva 2005:258, Andrason 2022). As a result, both simplification and complexification are relevant in language contact and the evolution of pidgins (Heine & Kuteva 2005:258, Trudgill 2010:309, Andrason 2022:215). What distinguishes simplification and complexification is that they operate differently at different moments in the life cycle of pidgins: simplification is the strongest in pre-pidgins and stabilized pidgins, while on the way from stabilized to expanded pidgins, complexification gradually gains its relevance (cf. Mühlhäusler 1986). This will be evident from the subsequent discussion.

Pre-pidgins (or pre-pidgin jargons), which occupy the initial stage on the pidgin continuum, exhibit the greatest degree of simplicity and maximal impoverishment. Pre-pidgins are secondary hybrids emerging from contact of the speakers of two languages. Pre-pidgins do not constitute a shared code but a collection of idiolectal ad-hoc strategies characterized by holophrastic talking, lexicalization, pragmatic structuring, contextual dependency, and iconicity (Mühlhäusler 1986:135-169). The grammar of pre-pidgins lacks syntactic rules and morphology. Syntax is governed by pragmatic principles and allows for at most two-word utterances. The lexicon is limited, which results in the high polysemy of words and their categorial multifunctionality. New items, whether words or constructions, are typically analytical (Trudgill 1983:178, Mühlhäusler 1986:135-137, 142, 145-147, Holm 1988:4-5).[7]

At least some of the simplicity found in pre-pidgins can be traced to foreigner talk (Siegel 2008:190). This stems from the fact that, in their communication with the speakers of the substrate, the speakers of the lexifier try to accommodate the former by using a simplified register of their own tongue (Geraghty 1978, Siegel 1987, 2008:190, 2010:814-815, Mesthrie 2008:270, Bakker 2008:138, Versteegh 2008:168-171, Holm 2010:252-254, Roberge 2010:423). Indeed, foreigner talk exhibits simplicity features that are analogous to those typical of pre-pidgin (Versteegh 2008; see also Ferguson 1971, 1977) being driven by transparency, saliency, economy, and iconicity (Siegel 1997, Jourdan 2008:374-375, Mesthrie 2008:270) and attesting to a radical reduction of phonological, semantic, and morphological complexity. Synthetic forms tend to be replaced by analytical constructions, irregular patterns are eliminated, and redundant items (e.g., allomorphs, synonyms, and agreement markers) are

---

[7] In the most extreme case, pre-pidgin would have no rules. While such systems are viewed as maximally simple, they can also be regarded as highly complex from the perspective of Kolmogorov complexity measure due to their randomness. That is, they are unpredictable (there is almost nothing to be learned) and ambiguous (they heavily depend on pragmatics; cf. Mühlhäusler 1986:4, 142).

scarce (Versteegh 2008:168, 171, Siegel 2010:814, Holm 2010:253-254). Similar to pre-pidgins, foreigner talk is an ad-hoc, idiolectal, and pragmatically driven phenomenon (Mesthrie 2008:270).[8]

Stabilized pidgins constitute a subsequent step on the pidgin continuum. A stabilized pidgin is a tertiary hybrid: the language is extended to multilingual environments beyond the original bilingual contact and the lexifier/superstrate is no longer targeted but becomes socially remote. A stabilized pidgin is socially homogenous which means that its contexts of use tend to be uniform and restricted. The social status, employment, and/or economic situation of the speakers of a stabilized pidgin are identical or similar (Trudgill 1983:178, Mühlhäusler 1986). Importantly, the language ceases to exhibit radical idiolectal variations and develops some pan-lectal conventions (Siegel 2010:816). As such conventional rules emerge, grammatical (lexical and syntactic) structures become more stable thus replacing pragmatic encoding (Mühlhäusler 1986, Mesthrie 2008:264). Therefore, stabilized pidgins are at least slightly more complex than pre-pidgins, even though they still exhibit a great deal of simplification if compared to their substrates, superstrates, and lexifiers (Mühlhäusler 1986:147-176, Holm 1988:5-6, Thomason 2001:159-160). Since new lexical and grammatical structures usually are driven by universal strategies such as naturalness, univocity, uniformity (analogy), and derivational shallowness, stabilized pidgins are maximally regular (Mühlhäusler 1986:4, 169).

Expanded pidgins are the last developmental stage on the pidgin continuum (which, as explained above, does not mean the end of a pidgin evolution). Expanded pidgins tend to increase their complexity in comparison with pre- and stabilized pidgins. By following principles of language evolution and drawing on universal cognitive strategies, new forms, words, and meanings are coined and/or developed further. Although inflections and derivations are usually achieved analytically, synthetic/morphological encoding emerges as well. Indeed, while pre-pidgins lack any productive rule-driven word formation and stabilized pidgins produce new words through compounds and circumlocutions, expanded pidgins allow for more abstract patterns of word formation, including properly derivational ones (Mühlhäusler 1986:176-204). The lexicon is enlarged and stylistic variations, synonyms, and metaphors develop (Mühlhäusler 1986:205). Grammaticalization processes that are cognitively motivated and driven by usage become more patent. Expanded pidgins also spread across society. They may be employed outside of the original range of use (Mühlhäusler 1986:176) and reflect the greater incorporation or diffusion of the initial speaker groups (previously a subordinate class) into society and/or their more intense interethnic contact (Mesthrie 2008:264).

2.3 Grammaticalization. Grammaticalization has received less attention than other changes operating during language contact (Heine & Kuteva 2010:101; see however Wiemer, Wälchli & Hansen 2012). Similar to the issue of simplicity/complexity discussed in the previous section, grammaticalization is a multifaceted concept. It has, at least, two dimensions: phenomenological and heuristic. First, as a grammatical phenomenon, grammaticalization refers to the gradual and usage-driven (as well as in great part cognitively motivated) development of a lexical element to a grammatical element, or to the evolution of an element from less grammatical to more grammatical. This typically involves phonetic/phonological   reduction,   decategorization,   positional   fixing,   morphologization (synthetization), increase in frequency, and semantic bleaching (Kuryłowicz 1975:52, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Dahl 2000, Hopper & Traugott 2003, Narrog & Heine 2011, 2021). Second, as a theory, grammaticalization provides means to explain why constructions, including those analyzed synchronically, are structured in the manner they are (Heine,

---

[8] For more in-depth studies of foreigner talk, consult Ferguson & DeBose (1977), Heine (1979, 1983), Ferguson (1981), Ellis (1994), and Versteegh (2008).

Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Heine 1997, Haspelmath 1998, 2003, Bybee 2010, Heine & Kuteva 2010:88, Andrason 2016a, 2016b).

Contact-induced grammaticalization refers to grammaticalization that takes place under the impact of external factors (Stolz 1992, 2006, Heine & Kuteva 2010:88).[9] There are three types of contact-induced grammaticalization: 'ordinary' contact-induced grammaticalization (by analogy to a category in the model language, a corresponding category is developed in the recipient language by means of its own material, which by following universal grammaticalization strategies evolves independently from the category of the model language), replica grammaticalization (the entire grammaticalization process is copied from the model language to the recipient language), and polysemy copying (the polysemy of a category is replicated rather than the gradual usage-driven grammaticalization process itself; Heine & Kuteva 2003, 2005, 2010:89, Bruyn 2008:400-401). In pidgins, most instances of grammaticalization are induced by contact. This contact-induced grammaticalization is in turn responsible for a large part of the morphosyntax of pidgins (Kortmann & Schneider 2011:277) and greatly contributes to their gradual complexification at a stabilized and expanded pidgin stage (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2010:94).

Grammaticalization in contact languages – with the exception of polysemy copying – exhibits two characteristics that are typical of general grammaticalization: unidirectionality (more advanced stages do not develop into less advanced ones) and gradualness (the development advances via a step-by-step sequence of stages) (see Heine & Kuteva 2010:99; cf. Thomason 2007). It also exhibits two further, closely related characteristics. First, speakers usually do not replicate a highly grammaticalized construction from the feeding language. They rather copy the less grammaticalized form and then proceed by following regular grammaticalization paths (Heine & Kuteva 2010:99). Second, contact tends to accelerate a grammaticalization process and the progression along a grammaticalization path (Heine & Kuteva 2010:94). That is, in a situation of contact, patterns that in the feeding language are less advanced (those that are analytical and express meanings corresponding to more initial evolutionary stages) tend to be grammaticalized at the expense of patterns that are more advanced (which are synthetic and express meanings corresponding to subsequent evolutionary stages). The former patterns develop into regular and principal forms in contact varieties, exhibit meanings associated with further developmental stages, and often increase their syntheticity. In contrast, the latter patterns become even more advanced or disappear completely. As the constructions that are equivalent to those found in the feeding language are taken further along their structural and functional grammaticalization paths, the outcome is a more advanced profile of the grammar than in the modeled/feeding system (Heine & Kuteva 2006, 2010:96-97, Kortmann & Schneider 2011:278). My own studies on Pidgin Icelandic (an Icelandic-based immigrant pre-pidgin; Andrason 2008) and a Spanish-based learners' interlanguage in South Africa (Andrason & Visser 2015) fully confirm Heine & Kuteva's (2010) observations.

3. Evidence

In this section, I will describe the formal (morphosyntactic) and functional (semantic) properties of the constructions evolving along the so-called resultative path, found in two Nguni languages that constitute the lexifiers of Fanakalo, i.e., Zulu and Xhosa, and in Fanakalo. Following my previous work (Andrason 2016a), I will refer to this part of grammar as a resultative stream.

---

[9] For a discussion of specific cases consult Kuteva (1998, 2000) and Heine & Kuteva (2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2010).

The resultative path models the evolution of verbal constructions that begin their grammatical life as resultatives and completives. When located in a present time frame, these constructions gradually develop into either past or present tenses.

Given these two different outcomes, the resultative path consists of two subsidiary sub-paths: an anterior path and a simultaneous path (Andrason 2014, 2016a). By following the anterior path, a present resultative proper acquires the senses of a present perfect and, subsequently, those of a definite past, first perfective and next simple (non-perfective) (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988:3-63, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:55-57, 98, 104-105, Squartini & Bertinetto 2000:406-407, 414-417 and 422, Dahl 2000:15, Nedjalkov 2001:928-940, Heine & Kuteva 2007a:151, Andrason 2016a). The various senses of a present perfect are usually acquired in the following order: inclusive, resultative, and experiential perfect (Andrason 2014, 2016a). The temporal distance from the enunciator's here-and-now that is grammatical in definite-past uses is similarly expanded in a predetermined order: immediate, hodiernal, hesternal, recent, and distant. Furthermore, definite-past usage is first generalized in spoken language from where it spreads to discursive genres of written texts and eventually to narrative (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Andrason 2016a). Resultative proper constructions can also develop within past and future time frames. This gives rise to past perfects (pluperfects) and future perfects respectively. Subsequently, constructions that express these two senses may lose their taxis (perfectal) nuances and become acceptable in the function of a distant past (coinciding with the endpoint of the anterior path located in a present time frame) and simple future (Andrason 2014, 2016a). In contrast, by travelling along the simultaneous path, a resultative proper acquires the senses of a resultative stative present (perfectal nuance), stative present (aspectual nuance), and present tense (temporal nuance) (Maslov 1988:70-71, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:74-78, Drinka 1998:120, Andrason 2014, 2016a). While the anterior path may (eventually) attract all predicates (either dynamic or static), the simultaneous path typically applies to non-dynamic predicates (static and adjectival verbs, as well as verbs that favor static inferences, e.g., sensory verbs; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Andrason 2014, 2016a).[10]

Verbal constructions that evolve along the resultative path are also subject to a structural grammaticalization process. The most crucial of these involve: a development from analytical and syntactic structures into synthetic and morphological structures; phonological and morphological reduction and ultimately loss of transparency and decategorization; increase in frequency through generalization in a wider set of syntactic, pragmatic, stylistic, and any other (extra-)linguistic contexts (Hopper & Traugott 2003, Heine & Kuteva 2007a).

The evidence provided in further parts of this section draws on both original empirical field research and examples extracted from texts published previously. Unless indicated otherwise, Xhosa [Xh] and Zulu [Zu] examples come from my database. This database includes sentences solicited from three native speakers of Xhosa originating from the Eastern Cape who, at the time of my research, lived in the Western Cape. Fanakalo examples that are not accompanied by a reference also come from my database. This database includes sentences produced by three Fanakalo speakers. Two of them lived in KwaZulu-Natal. One resided in the Western Cape. The Nguni and Fanakalo databases were composed through a series of interviews during which the speakers were asked to translate sentences (from Xhosa or English), express meanings prompted by the author, or perform certain linguistic tasks. With regard to both the Xhosa and Fanakalo databases, my point of interest and focus concerned the variation of uses. The aim was to document the range of formal and semantic possibilities that are available to a language viewed as a holistic social phenomenon, although not necessarily to every single speaker separately.

---

[10] For a detailed description of the resultative path, including the anterior and simultaneous sub-paths as well as other subsidiary developmental scenarios, consult Andrason (2014, 2016a).

3.1 The lexifier system. The resultative stream is populated in Nguni by four main grammatical constructions, henceforth referred to as grams: the ILE, the A, the BE-ILE and the A-BA/YE-ILE gram.[11]

The ILE gram is formed by using the subject prefixes identical to those found in the present tense and by replacing the verbalizing ending -*a* with the suffix -*ile*, e.g., *ndi(ya)funda* 'I study' > *ndifundile* 'I (have) studied'. Some types of verbs exhibit allomorphs in -*eCe* (e.g., -*ala* > -*ele*, -*ana* > -*ene*, and -*atha* > -*ethe*) and -*i* (*hlutha* 'be full' > *hluthi*; Jordan 1966:73-75). If followed by an argument or adjunct, the ILE gram exhibits an allomorph in -*e*, e.g., *ndifunde incwadi* 'I (have) read a book'. In negative, a special set of negative subject/agreement markers is used and the suffix -*anga* replaces the element -*ile*: *andifundanga* 'I didn't study'. In cases where an ILE gram would be followed by other ILE forms used in a coordinated-consecutive function, these are replaced by the so-called subjunctive mood: imperfect/present (the subjunctive proper) if the meaning is stative present or perfect/past (the consecutive) if the meaning is present perfect or past (Du Plessis & Visser 1993, Oosthuizen 2016:21-28).

In Xhosa scholarship, the ILE gram has been defined as a perfect/completive (Oosthuysen 1975, 2016, Du Plessis 1978, Du Plessis & Visser 1992, Nxopo 1993) or an immediate/near past (Du Plessis & Visser 1992, Visser 2005). These definitions reflect the fact that the gram has traditionally been associated with the idea of completion (the action has been concluded or finished) and/or a past time frame that is proximate to speech time (Oosthuysen 1975, 2016, Du Plessis & Visser 1992, Visser 2005, 2015). A comparable range of definitions have been proposed for Zulu (Van Eeden 1956, Doke 1965, Posthumus 1983, 1990:23, 2006, 2008, Taaljard & Bosch 1988, Poulos & Msimang 1998, Groenewald 2014). While each of the above-mentioned definitions is true to some extent, none of them encompasses all the meanings that the ILE gram can convey. The extensive semantic potential of ILE can however be accommodated, explained, and systematized if one views it from a grammaticalization perspective, i.e., as matching determined fragments of the resultative path.

To begin with, the ILE gram is commonly used as a present perfect with a patent value of current relevance. In this function, the gram conveys two senses associated with perfects: resultative and experiential. As a resultative present perfect, the ILE gram introduces dynamic events that have occurred previously. However, as the results of these actions remain unchanged, the gram also informs one about certain properties that pertain to present situations (cf. McCawley 1971, Kiparsky 2002:1). See *ndizilahlile* 'I have lost them' (i.e., my keys) = 'I still haven't found them' in (1.a) and *wophule ingalo* 'he has broken (his) arm' = 'his arm is still hurt' in (1.b).

(1)   a.   Unazo   izitshixo   zakho?   [Xh]
              you.with.them   keys   of.you
              'Do you have your keys?'

              Hayi,   ndizilahlile
              no   I.them.loose.ILE
              'No. I have lost them.'

       b.   Kutheni engakwazi ukudlala   ngoku   [Xh]
              why   he.cannot   play   now
              'Why cannot he play now?'

---

[11] The names of the grams make reference to their most patent structural characteristics. For instance, the inflected auxiliary form -*be* and the suffix -*ile* in the BE-ILE gram; and the A-set of subject prefixes, the inflected auxiliary forms -*ba* or -*ye*, and the suffix -*ile* in the A-BA/YE gram. The structure of each gram will be explained in detail in this section (see footnote 13).

Wophule   ingalo
he.break.ILE   arm
'He has broken his arm.'

The ILE gram can also be used to convey an experiential perfect meaning: The subject of the verb is familiar with performing a given action, which in turn constitutes that person's general experience regardless of the time of its occurrence (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:62, Comrie 1976:52-54, Jónsson 1992:129-145, De Haan 2011:457). See *uye kumbona* 'you have visited' in (2.a) and *ndidibene* 'I have met' in (2.b). While such uses are attested, other constructions are the more common means of encoding an experiential-perfect value in Nguni. This holds especially true for the locution built around the auxiliary *khe* inflected in the A gram (see below) and followed by the perfect/past subjunctive: *Wakhe wabulala umntu?* 'Have you ever killed a man?'; *Ewe, ndakhe ndabulala umntu* 'Yes I have killed a man'. In the negative variant of this experiential construction, an additional auxiliary is used, the deficient verb *zange*: *Zange ndikhe ndiyitye* 'I have never eaten it'. As will be evident from the following discussion, the A form also expresses an experiential-perfect function, in fact more commonly than the ILE gram.

(2)   a.   **Uye**   kumbona   kangaphi   umama   wakho ukusukela ngo   2010? [Xh]
             you.go.ILE to.see   how.many.time(s) mother   of.you starting   at   2010
             'How many times have you gone to visit your mother since 2010?'

       b.   **Ndidibene** naye   kanye   [Xh]
             I.meet.ILE   with.him   once
             'I have met him once.'

It should be noted that the ILE gram is usually not used in the function of an inclusive present perfect. In this usage, an action or state holds without interruption from a determined point in the past to the present moment; see *Bill has lived in Timbuktu for ten years* (Comrie 1976:52-54, 60, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:62, De Haan 2011:456). To convey this meaning, Nguni employs the present tense: *Ndineminyaka emithathu ndihlala eKapa* 'I have lived in Cape Town for three years'; or a periphrasis with the verb *ukuqala* 'to start, begin' inflected in the ILE or the A gram: *Ndaqala ukuhlala eKapa ngo 2010* 'I have lived in Cape Town since 2010 (lit. I started living in Cape Town in 2010)'.

The ILE gram is extensively used in the function of a definite recent past (see 3.a), thus cooccurring with certain near-past-time adverbials, for instance *ebusuku* '(last) night' (3.a) and *izolo* 'yesterday' (3.b). In contrast, expressions that would locate the action in a distant past (e.g., *nyakenye* 'last year') are acceptable less frequently or are ungrammatical. However, the exact extent of remoteness compatible with ILE cannot be strictly determined. It is rather subjective and, in some contexts, the temporal distance can expand to one year or even beyond this (3.c).[12]

(3)   a.   **Ndisebenze**   ebusuku   [Xh]
             I.work.ILE   at.night
             'I worked at night.'

       b.   **Ndiyithengile** izolo   [Xh]
             I.buy.it.ILE   yesterday
             'I bought it yesterday.'

---

[12] Regarding the line separating a recent past from a distant past, consult the discussion related to the A gram further below in this section.

	c.	**Ndimbulele**	iminyaka	emithathu	edlulileyo	[Xh]
		I.kill.him.ILE	years	three	that.are.passed	
		'I killed him three years ago.'				

The ILE gram commonly expresses perfective past events, representing an action as punctiliar (single and discrete), complete, and bounded (Dahl 1985:78, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:54, 287, De Haan 2011:451):

(4)		**Bambulele**	izolo	ngo	4:40	[Xh]
		they.kill.him.ILE	yesterday	at	4:40	
		'They killed him yesterday at 4:40.'				

Nevertheless, the ILE gram can also be used in non-perfective contexts that communicate duration in the past:

(5)	a.	**Ndidlale**	iiyure	ezilishumi	izolo	[Xh]
		I.play.ILE	hours	ten	yesterday	
		'I played for 10 hours yesterday.'				

	b.	**Ngifunde**	ekholishi	nyakenye	[Zu]
		I.study.ILE	in.college	last.year	
		'Last year I studied in the college.' (Posthumus 1983, in Nxopo 1993:84)			

In certain subordinated clauses, the ILE gram is used in one of the functions associated with past perfects (pluperfects): it reports a perfectal or past action from an already past perspective:

(6)		Ndabona	ukuba	**utyile**	[Xh]
		I.saw	that	he.eat.ILE	
		'I saw that he had eaten.'			

With static and adjectival verbs, the ILE gram functions as a stative present (7.a-b). In this usage, ILE expresses a non-dynamic, usually permanent, adjective-like quality or condition of the subject of the verb. Such stative-present expressions are typically intransitive and interact with a dynamic present, triggering an aspectual contrast between a state (ILE) and an activity (present tense; cf. Andrason 2014:26-27).

(7)	a.	**Ndilambile**	ngoku	[Xh]
		I.be.hungry.ILE	now	
		'I am hungry now.'		

	b.	Iimpahla	**zomile**	ngoku	[Xh]
		clothes	they.be.dry.ILE	now	
		'The clothes are dry now.'			

The ILE gram is not employed as a stative past in main clauses. That is, the expression *Ndinxilile izolo* with the intended meaning 'I was drunk yesterday' is ungrammatical. In a past time frame, a different construction must be used, the so-called recent and remote continuous past tenses, i.e., *Bendinxilile izolo* and *Ndandinxilile izolo* respectively (see further below). A stative-past reading with ILE is only possible in reported speech similar to the past-perfect senses described above.

The ILE gram can also appear in real factual conditional protases where it expresses an event or activity that has not been materialized yet but should have already occurred at a given time in future

(8.a). When static and adjectival verbs appear in this context, they communicate the idea of a future state (8.b).

(8)	a.	Ukuba	**ugqibe**	ukupheka	ngaphambi	kwentsimbi	yesihlanu	uze	[Xh]
		if	you.finish.ILE	to.cook	before	of.hour	fifth	you.come	

uncede   uphake
please   you.dish.up
'If you have finished cooking before five you must please dish up.'

	b.	Ukuba	**ulambe**	phambi	kwentsimbi	yesihlanu,	uze	utye	[Xh]
		if	you.be.hungry.ILE	before	of.hour	fifth	you.come	you.eat	

'If you are hungry before five, eat!'

Another gram travelling the resultative path is the A gram. This construction is marked with a special set of subject prefixes that contain a long vowel *a* [aː] and the ending -*a* added to the root/stem. In a coordinated-consecutive function, the A gram is replaced by the perfect/past subjunctive (the consecutive; Du Plessis & Visser 1993, Oosthuizen 2016:21-28). The two grams differ in the following: the initial vowel *a* in the A gram is long and bears falling tone; in contrast, in the perfect/past subjunctive, it is short and bears low tone. This phonetic distinction is only preserved in "measured speech" whereas in "fluent speech", the two grams are indistinguishable (Oosthuysen 2016:201). The negative of the A gram is identical to that of the ILE form: it is encoded by the negative subject/agreement prefixes and the suffix -*anga* or expressed analytically by means of the construction with *zange* 'never' (see above).

In Xhosa scholarship, the A gram is traditionally classified as a distant/remote (Oosthuysen 1975, Du Plessis 1978, Nxopo 1993), distant (Du Plessis & Visser 1992), non-immediate (Louw & Jubase 1963), or prior-to-yesterday past (Mncube 1957). Sometimes, the narrative character of the gram is emphasized (Du Plessis 1978). Some scholars suggest that the gram expresses the idea of past completion or accomplishment (Du Plessis 1978), while others observe that the construction can refer to both punctiliar moments and extended periods in the past (Nxopo 1993). The classification for Zulu is analogous (Posthumus 1983). More recently, Groenewald (2014) argued against the classification of the A gram in Zulu as a remote past, as it can refer to both recent and remote events in the past. Instead, he proposes to define the construction as a narrative past with the primary function to mark actions as 'seminal'.

I will begin the discussion of the semantic potential of the A gram with its most prototypical value – definite past. The A gram is commonly used with expressions or in contexts that explicitly locate the action in a past time frame (9.a). If the time is not specified explicitly (9.b), the construction still locates the occurrence of an action in the past and entails that the event expressed by the verb does not continue to the present, but rather stopped occurring before speech or coding time (Posthumus 1983, Nxopo 1993). Crucially, the results of the action may have changed since its performance and thus need not be currently relevant (Van Dyk 1952).

(9)	a.	Uta'mkhulu	wam	**wayithenga**	ngo	1950	[Xh]
		grandfather	of.me	he.buy.it.A	in	1950	

'My grandpa bought it in 1950.'

	b.	**Ndasebenza**	efama	[Xh]
		I.work.A	at.farm	

'I worked at a farm.'

When expressing past actions, the A gram typically implies temporal distance (see examples 10.a-b below). This property is related to the cognitive detachment of the A gram from the here-and-now of the speaker evident in its incompatibility with the nuance of the current relevance mentioned above. As is the case of ILE, the remoteness of the A gram is difficult to be determined precisely. According to some authors, the construction is common with actions occurring more than 12 months before speech time (Zotwana 1991). However, instances where it is used in a less distant past time frame can also be found (Groenewald 2014). Overall, the A gram may only be employed with prior-to-yesterday past adverbials (Mncube 1957). In contrast, it is incompatible with recent-past (e.g., *izolo* 'yesterday') and "inclusive" adverbials (*namhlanje* 'today') and thus does not appear in the functions of a hodiernal or hesternal past (Posthumus 1983, Nxopo 1993).

(10)   a.   **Ndambulala**   iminyaka   emithathu   edlulileyo   [Xh]
            I.him.kill.A   years   three   that.are.passed
            'I killed him three years ago.'

       b.   **Ngafunda**   ekholishi   nyakenye   [Zu]
            I.study.A   at.college   last.year
            'Last year I studied in the college.'   (Posthumus 1983, in Nxopo 1993:84)

The discussion above means that there is a temporal gray sphere in which the ILE and A grams overlap (Posthumus 1990:23, Groenewald 2014). This overlap also results from the fact that currently the ILE construction may be employed in past-time contexts which were previously restricted to the A form (Zotwana 1991). What still sharply distinguishes the A gram from the ILE gram is not necessarily a temporal distance but rather the extensive use of the former construction to narrate past events (see Groenewald 2014).

In its past-tense uses, the A gram frequently indicates perfective events:

(11)   a.   **Ndambona**   nge   15   zikaJuly   1995   (speaking in 2016)   [Xh]
            I.him.see.A   in   15   of.July   1995
            'I saw him on the 15th of July 1995.'

       b.   Isakhiwo   **saqhushumba**   ngesaquphe   [Xh]
            building   it.blow.up.A   suddenly
            'The building blew up suddenly.'

However, the A gram can also express non-perfective activities, i.e., those that are extended in time (12.a) and repetitive or habitual (12.b-c):

(12)   a.   Uta'mkhulu wam   **wafunda**   isingesi   iminyaka   elishumi   ebutsheni   bakhe   [Xh]
            grandafather of.me   he.study.A   English   years   ten   in.youth   of.him
            'My grandpa studied English for 10 years in his youth.'

       b.   **Wathetha**   **wathetha**   [Xh]
            he.talk.A   he.talk.A
            'He talked and talked.'   (Nxopo 1993:81)

       c.   Imbila   **yatya**   ingca   ubomi   bayo   bonke   [Xh]
            rock.rabbit   it.eat.A   grass   life   of.him   all
            'The rock-rabbit ate grass all of its life.'   (Nxopo 1993:80)

When derived from static and adjectival verbs, the A gram regularly expresses ingressive past actions. Often, albeit not always, their aspectual interpretation is perfective. In contrast to the ILE gram, the A gram does not yield stative senses in such cases (cf. Van Eeden 1956):

(13)   **Ndalamba**   nge   15 kaApril   1993   [Xh]
         I.be.hungry.A   on   15 of.April   1993
         'I got hungry on the 15ᵗʰ of April 1993.'

The A gram can sometimes be used as an experiential perfect (14). As I explained in a paragraph dedicated to the ILE gram, the periphrasis with *khe* is more common in this function.

(14)   **Ndadibana** naye   kanye qha   ebomini   bam   [Xh]
         I.meet.A   with.him   once   only   in.life   of.me
         'I have only met him once in my entire life.'

Apart from the ILE and A grams, the resultative stream in Nguni hosts two other constructions: the BE-ILE and A-BA/YE-ILE grams. These two grams form part of a larger "compound" ILE (recent past) and A (remote past) series (see Andrason 2018). In all these constructions, the auxiliary *ukuba* 'be' or *ukuya* 'go' is inflected in the ILE (the BE-ILE gram) or the A gram (A-BA/YE-ILE), being followed by a participial form: a participial present, participial future, or, more relevant for this study, participial ILE (cf. Jordan 1966:181-187). All "compound" forms, including those containing a participial ILE, were originally analytical. However, in a modern language usage, they typically appear as synthetic: *ndibendi ndidlalile > bendidlalile* 'I had played' (BE-ILE) and *ndaba/ndaye ndidlalile > ndandidlalile* 'I had played' or *waye edlalile > wayedlalile* 'he had played' (A-BA/YE-ILE).

The BE-ILE gram is derived from the verb *ukuba* 'be' inflected in the ILE gram and the participial ILE form of the meaning verb. This construction expresses the values of a recent-past anteriority (i.e., past perfect) with non-static verbs (15.a) and a recent stative past with static verbs (15.b). The BE-ILE gram can also be introduced from a future temporal perspective (15.c). The A-BA/YE-ILE gram is composed of the auxiliaries *ukuba* 'be' or *ukuya* 'go' inflected in the A gram and the participial ILE variant of the meaning verb.[13] The A-BA/YE-ILE gram conveys the idea of distant-past anteriority (past perfect) with non-static roots (15.d) and distant stative past with static roots (15.e).[14]

(15)   a.   Uthe   kum   **ebeyilibele**   idilesi   yam   [Xh]
             he.told   to.me   he.forget.BE-ILE   address   of.me
             'He told me that he had forgotten my address.'

        b.   Izolo   **bendilambe**   usuku   lonke   [Xh]
             yesterday   I.be.hungry.BE-ILE   day   entire
             'Yesterday I was hungry the whole day.'

        c.   Xa   efika   ngomso,   uzakuthi   **ebeyifundile**   le   ncwadi   [Xh]
             When   he.arriving tomorrow   he.will.say   he.it.read.A-BA/YE-ILE   this   book
             'When he arrives tomorrow, he will say that he (has) read this book.'

---

[13] The final vowel *-e* in *ye* results from the "neutral[ization]" of the orignal *-a* (Oosthuysen 2016:241). According to Oosthuysen (ibid. 242), *y* in *ye* is the "semi-vocalized" form of *b* found in the auxiliary *ukuba*.
[14] There are other constructions that convey the ideas of perfect and past: *bendisebenza* 'I used to work, was working, has been working [recent]', *ndandisebenza* 'I used to work, was working [remote]', *sele* + as 'already'; *khe/zange* ever/never. They will not be studied in this paper (see Andrason 2018).

d. **Ndandiyilungisile**   imoto   ukufika   kwakho   [Xh]
   I.it.fix.A-BA/YE-ILE   car   having.arrived of.you
   'I had fixed the car when you arrived.'

e. Amakhwenkwe **ayenxilile**   [Xh]
   boys   they.be.drunk.A-BA/YE-ILE
   'The boys were drunk.'

The table below summarizes the most important aspects of the semantic potential of the four grams described in this section:

Table 1: Semantic potential of the ILE, A, BE-ILE and A-BA/YE-ILE grams in Nguni

ILE	A	BE-ILE	A-BA/YE-ILE
- present perfect of current relevance (resultative and experiential) - definite recent past - perfective and non-perfective (durative) past - stative present - past perfect (subordinate clauses) - stative past (subordinate clauses) - future perfect and stative future (subordinate clauses)	- present perfect experiential - definite remote past - narrative past - perfective and non-perfective (durative) past	- recent past perfect - recent stative past	- distant past perfect - distant stative past

3.2 The Fanakalo system. The resultative stream in Fanakalo is populated by three grams: the ILE, ZO ILE, and GATE grams.

Out of the two fully synthetic forms travelling the resultative path in Nguni, i.e., the ILE and A grams, only the former has survived in Fanakalo, while the latter has been lost (or may have never existed in the pidgin). The ILE gram in Fanakalo is exclusively marked by the suffix *-ile*. The subject/agreement prefixes are absent, being replaced by obligatorily analytic subject pronouns that precede the verb: [Xh] *ndihambile* > [Fa] *mina hambile* 'I went'. The Fanakalo ILE is usually classified as a past tense (Bold 1971:9, Kramers 1958:676, Erasmus & Baucom 1976:40, Swain 1976:81, Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:15, Heine 1973:132, Holm 1989:556, Persson 2012:24-27) or a perfective (Mesthrie 2006a:79). Some scholars (e.g., Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:15) correctly emphasize the polysemous nature of this gram as it may correspond to the English past (*I did*), present perfect (*I have done*) and pluperfect (*I had done*). Similar to Nguni, the large polysemy of the Fanakalo ILE gram can be grasped and accounted for in its totality by matching it with certain portions of the resultative path.

To begin with, the ILE gram is employed in Fanakalo in present-perfect functions. One such perfectal meaning is a resultative present perfect:

(16)   Lo   ambulens yena   **figile**   [Fa]
            the ambulance it   arrive.ILE
            'The ambulance has arrived.' (= it is here)

The perfectal uses of this type exhibit a patent value of current relevance indicating that the state triggered by an action remains unchanged until the present moment:[15]

(17)   a. Mina   **valile**   lo festele   [Fa]
            I   close.ILE   the window
            'I have closed the window.' (= it is closed now)

        b. Yena   **hambile** lapa   lo   stolo   [Fa]
            he   go.ILE   to   the   store
            'He has gone to the store.' (= he is there and not here)

The ILE gram also expresses the value of an experiential present perfect. In fact, it is the only construction that may convey this function in Fanakalo (18.a-b). In contrast, the inclusive perfect sense is not compatible with the ILE gram. As in Nguni, this meaning is communicated by the present tense.

(18)   a. Ipi   wena   **hambile**   [Fa]
            where   you   go.ILE
            'Where have you gone/been?' (= the addressee is already back)

        b. Mina   futi   **fundile**   lo Fanakalo   [Fa]
            I   also   study.ILE the Fanakalo
            'I have also studied Fanakalo.' (= I have had this experience)

The ILE gram is frequently used to introduce immediate or recent past events and activities, as is typical of the ILE gram in the lexifier (19.a-c; for further examples consult Erasmus & Baucom 1976:54, 60 and Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:43).

(19)   a. Mina   **fikile**   izolo   [Fa]
            I   come.ILE   yesterday
            'I came yesterday.'

        b. Yenazonke **shayile**   skati   ka fayif   [Fa]
            they   finish.work.ILE   time   of five
            'They finished work at five.' (Bold 1971:37)

        c. Yena   **donzile**   lo   ntambo ka lo Mqibelo   [Fa]
            he   pull.ILE   the   hose   on the Saturday
            'He pulled the hose on Saturday.'   (Erasmus & Baucom 1976:46)

Nevertheless, the ILE gram is also extensively employed as a distant past, being compatible with any extent of temporal remoteness (20.a). In this function, the ILE construction commonly features in narratives where it introduces primary (seminal) events and advances the story line (20.b):

---

[15] For more examples of this type consult Hopkin-Jenkins (1947), Bold (1971:9, 30, 34), Erasmus & Baucom (1976:70), and Pewa (2001:73).

(20) a. Mina   aikhona   bonile   lo umfana, mina   **hambile**   na   yena
           I   not   see.ILE   the boy   I   go.ILE   with   him
           lapa lo skolo   [Fa]
           to   the school
           'I have not seen the boy with whom I went (used to go) to school'. (Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:44-45)

      b. Loskati mina **pumile**   lapa   lo palas, mina   **fikile**   lapa   lo   Goli   [Fa]
          when   I   left.ILE   at   the farm   I   arrive.ILE   in   the   Johannesburg
          'After leaving the farm I arrived in Johannesburg.'   (Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:54-55)

A past action expressed by the ILE gram may be punctiliar, complete, and bounded – and thus perfective:

(21) a. Mina   **bulalile**   lo payip   izolo   [Fa]
           I   break.ILE   the pipe   yesterday
           'I broke the pipe yesterday.'

      b. Lo s'gebengu' yena   **thathile**   zonke lo mali   gamina   [Fa]
          the criminal   he   take.ILE   all   the money my
          'The criminal took all my money.'   (adapted from Pewa 2001:65)

However, the ILE gram can also introduce activities that are not perfective, but rather continuous/progressive (22.a) or repetitive/habitual (22.b; see also example 20.a):[16]

(22) a. Mina   **lindile**   wena lapa   ka lo ofis   [Fa]
           I   wait.ILE   you here   at the office
           'I was waiting for you at the office.'

      b. Upi   wena   **sebenzile**   pambili   wena   fikile   lapa   [Fa]
          where   you   work.ILE   before   you   come.ILE   here
          'Where did you use to work (had you worked) before you came here?'   (Bold 1971:39)

Furthermore, the ILE gram may be used as a past perfect (pluperfect) indicating anteriority in the past (cf. Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:15):

(23)   Yinindaba wena   hayikona   puzile   lo muti   mina   **nigile**   wena?   [Fa]
          why   you   not   drink.ILE   the medicine I   give.ILE   you
          'Why did you not drink the medicine I had given you?' (Bold 1971:24)

With some static and adjectival verbs, the ILE gram conveys the sense of a present state (see 24.a-c below; cf. Swain 1976:81-83). Nevertheless, several such examples may also be interpreted dynamically, i.e., as present perfects or perfective pasts. For instance, (24.c) can be read as 'has gotten hungry' or 'got hungry' (for further examples, see Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:35, Bold 1971:27, 31, 32, 33, Swain 1976:81, 83 and Pewa 2001:59).

(24) a. Yena   **valekile**   [Fa]
           he   be.stupid.ILE
           'He is stupid'

---

[16] Further cases can be found in Hopkin-Jenkins (1947:45) and Erasmus & Baucom (1976:41, 60). The idea of duration in the past can also be expressed by present-tense forms: *Yena imba, loskati mina fikile lapa lo umgodi* 'He was digging when I got to the excavation' (Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:29).

b. Lo sporo   yena   streyit   na   lo payip yena bendekile   [Fa]
   the rail   it   straight   and   the pipe it   be.bend.ILE
   'That rail is straight and the pipe is bent.'   (Erasmus & Baucom 1976:65)[17]

c. Lo ngan'   yena   **lambile**   sterek   [Fa]
   the child he   be.hungry.ILE   very
   'The child is very hungry.'   (Pewa 2001:59)

Sometimes, the forms that have a stative value in ILE can be used as adnominal modifiers and thus as adjectives:

(25)   Mina   funa   lo pikanin   karos,   kodwa muhle, **tambile**   [Fa]
          I   want   the little   kaross   but   nice   be.soft.ILE
          'I want a little kaross, but nice and soft.'   (Bold 1971:30)

Static and adjectival verbs can be employed within a past time frame, yielding the sense of a stative past (see Erasmus & Baucom 1976:48-61). This usage is grammatical in both dependent (as in Nguni) and main clauses (contrary to Nguni):

(26)   a. Mina   **lambile**   izolo   [Fa]
          I   be.hungry.ILE   yesterday
          'I was hungry yesterday.'

       b. Yena   **pilile**   lo Sitatu   [Fa]
          he   be.well.ILE   the Wednesday
          'He was well on Wednesday.'   (Erasmus & Baucom 1976:46)

The ILE gram is also compatible with a future time frame. In such cases, it refers to an action that has not occurred yet but will be materialized in the future. This usage is limited to subordinated clauses where an event or a situation expressed by the ILE gram is introduced from a future perspective. Two such contexts predominate. First, the future sense of ILE is found in subordinated temporal clauses introduced by the conjunction *loskati* 'when':

(27)   a. Loskati lo samente   yena   **omile**,   tina   zo   yimsa mapal   [Fa]
          when   the cement   it   be.dry.ILE   we   will   erect poles
          'When the cement has dried, we will erect the poles.'   (Bold 1971:39)

          (after giving some orders)
       b. Loskati wena   **yimbile**   lo mhlabati,   faga   lo manyoro   [Fa]
          when   you   dig.ILE   the soil   put   the manure
          'When you have dug up the soil, put some manure.'   (Bold 1971:40)

Second, the future sense of the ILE gram – not necessarily a future-perfect but rather a simple-future value – is common in real factual conditional protases after the conjunction *noko* 'if':

(28)   Noko   mina   **lahlegile**   yena,   yena   zo   shaya mina   [Fa]
          if   I   lose.ILE   it,   he   will   punish me
          'If I lose it, he will punish me.'

The future sense of ILE attested in subordinated clauses is possible with static or adjectival verbs:

---

[17] Note that the ILE gram (*bedekile*) is equivalent to the adjectival construction (*yena streyit*).

(29) a. Noko   lo sikruf yena **pukile**,   faka   lo nyuwan   [Fa]
          if   the screw   it   be.broken.ILE put   the new
          'If the screw is broken, put a new one.' (Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:30)

      b. Noko lo   mafuta yena **pelile**,   landa futi   lapa   lo   shapu   [Fa]
          if   the   oil   it   be.finished.ILE   fetch more   at   the   shop
          'If the oil is finished, go and get some more from the shop.' (Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:30)

In order to communicate futurity in main clauses, the form in *-ile* must be headed by the future tense auxiliary *zo* 'will', yielding the ZO ILE gram. With non-static verb, the reading is future perfect (30.a), while with static roots, the meaning is simple or stative future (30.b; compare with Bold 1971:9, 29):

(30) a. Mina   **zo**   **hambile**   kusasa   [Fa]
          I   will   go.ILE   tomorrow
          'I will have gone tomorrow.'

      b. Lo ndawo yena   **zo**   **bolile**   [Fa]
          the place   it   will   be.septic.ILE
          'The place will be septic.'   (Bold 1971:29)

The form in *-ile* appears with all types of roots/stems and in all syntactic contexts. Regardless of whether the verb ends in *-ala* or *-ana*, whether it is followed by an argument or adjunct, and whether it appears in a coordinated-consecutive function, it always exhibits the ending *-ile* (31). This means that neither the allomorphic variants in *-e/-i* nor the subjunctive forms (present/imperfect and past/perfect) are attested in Fanakalo. However, a few verbs do not take the ILE gram. The most important among these are *funa* 'want' and *khona* 'be'. To convey a past meaning, such verbs make use of the marker *gate*, e.g., *mina gate funa hamba* 'I wanted to go' (Mesthrie 2006a:82) or *mina gate khona lapa lo Goli* 'I was in Johannesburg'.

(31)   Lo inja   yena   lumile   lo mntwana   [Fa]
           the dog   it   bite.ILE   the child
           'The dog bit the child.'

Fanakalo also lacks a special negative variant in *-anga*, which in the lexifier Nguni replaces the suffix *-ile*. Rather, the form in *-ile* is employed with all polarity values and the negative is formed by placing the negator (*h*)*aikhona* (32.a) or *hayi* (32b) before the ILE form (Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:16).

(32) a. Lo mntwana yena   hayikona **figile**   izolo   [Fa]
          the child   he   not   come.ILE   yesterday
          'The child didn't come yesterday.'

      b. Lo salukaz'   yena   hay'   **philile**   [Fa]
          the old.woman   she   not   be.well.ILE
          'This old woman is not well.'   (Pewa 2001:66)

The negative uses of the ILE gram attest to semantic properties that are identical to the affirmative uses described above. Among these, the most common are present perfect (33.a), definite (recent and distant) past (cf. 32.a, above), stative present (cf. 32.b, above), and stative past (33.b):

(33)   a.   Mina   aikona   **bukile**   lo taweni wena   pumile ku   yena   [Fa]
              I   not   see.ILE   the town   you   came   from   it
              'I have not seen the town from which you came.'   (Hopkin-Jenkins 1947:44)

        b.   Yena   ayikona   **pas-opile**   [Fa]
              He   not   be.careful.ILE
              'He was not careful.'   (Erasmus & Baucom1976:61)

Apart from ILE, Fanakalo has another construction whose development and synchronic variation may be explained in terms of the resultative path – the GATE gram (Mesthrie 2006a:82-83). This gram consists of the element *gate* and the ILE form of the meaning verb. As part of the GATE gram, the morpheme *gate* may appear both verb-initially (i.e., subject + *gate* + verb-ILE) and clause-initially (i.e., *gate* + adjunct + subject + verb-ILE). Mesthrie (ibid. 82) – who to the best of my knowledge is the only author acknowledging the presence of this construction in Fanakalo – defines it as an "anterior".

The most salient element in the GATE gram, i.e., the morpheme *gate*, is a successor of the Nguni form *kade* (Mesthrie 2006a). In Zulu, *kade* is a free morpheme – an adverb – that conveys a temporal meaning 'long (time) time' and accompanies both the A and the ILE grams: *Kade ngamgcina* 'It has been long time ago since I saw him' or *Kade ngisebenzile* 'I finished work a while ago'.[18] Xhosa also contains the form *kade* which features as a bound morpheme in a periphrasis built around the compound A past: *ndandikade ndidlala* 'I used to play' and *ndandikade ndonwambile* 'I used to be happy'. (This latter construction is limited to stative verbs and seems ungrammatical with dynamic predicates: **ndandikade ndisebenzile*). Given that, similar to the situation in Zulu, Fanakalo *gate* may be detached from the verb and placed clause-initially, the Zulu construction seems to be the more likely source of the GATE gram.

Indeed, as in Zulu, the morpheme *gate* can be used in Fanakalo as a temporal adverb. In such cases, it occupies a sentence-initial position and is obligatorily separated from the ILE verb by a subject pronoun (cf. Mesthrie 2006a:82):[19]

(34)   **Gate**   kala   mina   **hambile**   tegwin   [Fa]
        GATE   beginning I   go.ILE   Durban
        'Long ago, I went to Durban.'   (Mesthrie 2006a:82)

However, in many instances, *gate* is not a genuine adverb but rather a preverbal marker – part of the GATE gram. In this function, it typically appears in an internal position within the verb phrase, i.e., after the subject pronoun (35.a-b; Mesthrie 2006a:82), although as mentioned above, its placement before subject pronouns is also grammatical (35.c). The GATE gram mainly functions as a distant past and past perfect (pluperfect; cf. Mesthrie 2006a:82). With static roots, the GATE gram conveys the meaning of a stative past (e.g., *mina gate lambile* 'I was hungry').

---

[18] In an equivalent function in Xhosa, the adverbial *kudala* is employed. As in Zulu, it can appear with the A and the ILE grams: *Ndamgqibela kudala* 'It has been a long time since I saw him' and *Ndimgqibele kudala* 'I saw him a long time ago'.

[19] The element *gate* can also be used with the present-tense gram, conveying the value of past continuity/progressivity or habituality/iterativity: *Mina gate hamba* 'I used to go' (Mesthrie 2006a:82). As I explained above, this construction is the regular past tense of the verbs that do not appear in the ILE gram, e.g., *funa* 'want' and *khona* 'be'.

(35)   a.   Mina   futhi   **gate**   **hambile**   khaya   ga   yena   lapha   plane   [Fa]
              I   too   GATE   go.ILE   home   of   him   in   aeroplane
              'I too had (once) gone to his house by plane.'   (Mesthrie 2006a:82)

        b.   Mina   futhi   **gate**   **limalile**.   We!   Mina   iwile   lapha   bathroom   [Fa]
              I   too   GATE   be.hurt.ILE   oh   I   fall.ILE   in   bathroom
              'I also had got hurt. Oh! I fell in the bathroom.'   (Mesthrie 2006a:83)

        c.   **Gate**   mina   **hambile**   last   year   lo   March   [Fa]
              GATE   I   go.ILE   last   year   the   March
              'I went (there) in March last year.'   (Mesthrie 2006a:82)

The following table summarizes the principal aspects of the semantic potential of the verbal grams found in Fanakalo:

Table 2: Semantic potential of the ILE, ZO ILE and GATE grams in Fanakalo

ILE	ZO ILE	GATE
- present perfect of current relevance (resultative and experiential)	- future perfect - stative future	- distant past - past perfect - stative past
- definite past – recent and remote (including narrative)		
- perfective and non-perfective (durative, progressive, habitual)		
- past perfect		
- stative present and stative past		
- stative future, future perfect, and future (subordinate)		

4. Discussion

The evidence provided in section 3 demonstrates that the organization of the resultative stream in Fanakalo substantially differs from that found in Nguni. When compared to its lexifier, the pidgin system attests to both simplification and complexification, as well as the further advancement of both semantic and structural grammaticalization processes.

In Nguni, the resultative stream is travelled by four grams. The sub-stream containing grams that start their evolution in a present time frame (i.e., developing from a present resultative proper) is populated by two grams: the more advanced A gram and the less advanced ILE gram. The A gram spans the final section of the stream and covers the stages of a definite past and, especially, its remote and narrative types, as well as residually that of an experiential present perfect. The ILE gram spans the middle fragments of the stream and covers the stages of a stative present, present perfect (resultative and experiential), and recent past (Figure 1.A). The ILE gram also travels the resultative path located in past and future time frames, matching its initial stages: those of a stative past and past perfect (Figure 1.B) as well as a stative future and future perfect (Figure 1.C). This phenomenon, however, pertains only to certain subordinated clauses. In a past time frame, the resultative stream additionally contains

the BE-ILE and A-BA/YE-ILE grams which, contrary to ILE, are not restricted to syntactically dependent contexts in their stative-past and past-perfect uses (Figure 1.B).[20]

Figure 1: The resultative stream in Nguni

(A) *present time frame*

					A
	ILE		ILE		

| non-stative | stative | resultative | perfect | recent | distant/narrative |
| present | present | present | present | past | past |

(B) *past time frame*

	ILE		ILE		
	B/Y-ILE		B/Y-ILE		

| stative | perfect | distant |
| past | past | past |

(C) *future time frame*

	ILE		ILE

| stative | perfect |
| future | future |
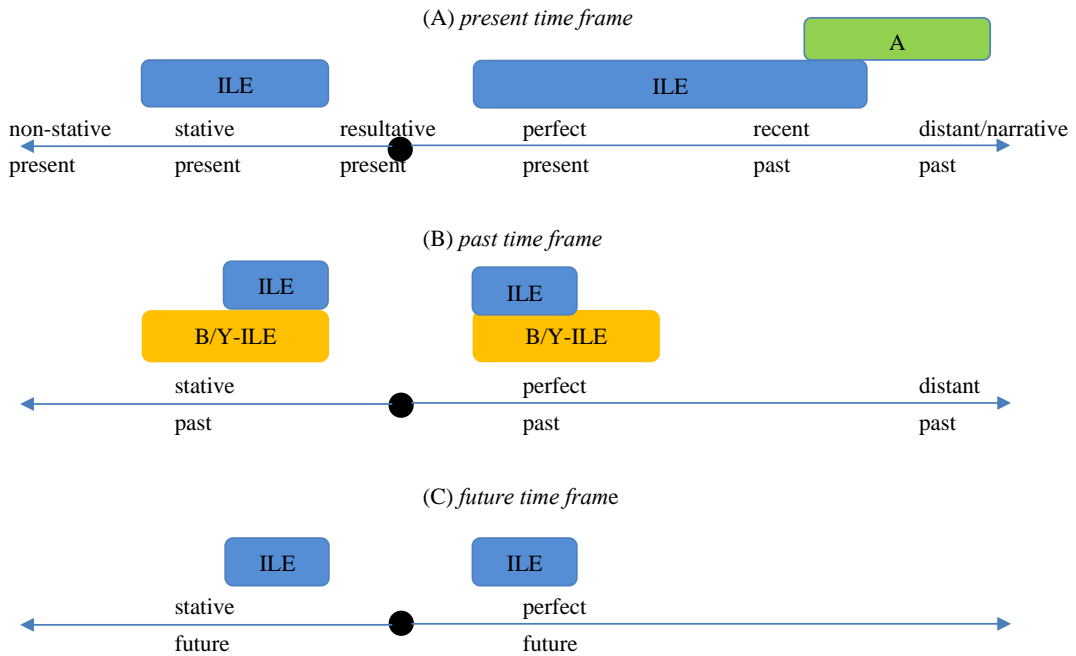
In Fanakalo, the resultative stream consists of three constructions: the ILE, ZO ILE, and GATE grams. The ILE gram covers the entire length of the anterior part of the resultative path. This means that its semantic potential also includes senses that in Nguni are reserved for the A gram: a distant and narrative past. No other grams – including the A gram – populate the present-time-frame resultative stream (cf. Figure 2.A). The ILE gram also spans the entire length of the resultative path located in a past time frame, admitting uses as a stative past and past perfect in all contexts, not only in subordinate clauses as is the case of the lexifier (Figure 2.B). Additionally, the ILE gram travels the resultative path located in a future time frame and expresses stative-future, future-perfect, and simple future senses. Similar to Nguni, these uses are confined to subordinate contexts (Figure 2.C). Importantly, the ILE gram is compatible with all polarity values and syntactic contexts. Inversely, the variety in -*anga* and other negative constructions as well as the allomorphs in -*e*/-*i* – that all feature in the lexifier – are unattested in the pidgin. The ILE gram also appears in coordinated-consecutive contexts in place of the subjunctive forms used in Nguni. The resultative stream in Fanakalo is populated by two further grams which are absent in the lexifier: GATE and ZO ILE. The GATE gram spans the entire length of a past-time-frame resultative path and is used as a stative past, past perfect, and distant past (Figure 2.B). The ZO ILE gram populates the initial part of the future-time-frame resultative path, functioning as the

---

[20] The two compound grams, i.e., BE-ILE and A-BA/YE-ILE, are grouped together under the label B/Y-ILE. The size difference between certain boxes (e.g., the ILE and B/Y-ILE grams in a past time frame) refers to the following fact: some grams exhibit restrictions in their use with senses corresponding to the mapped stage, while others are commonly (and/or prototypically) employed in that function. The black dots indicate the historical and conceptual input of the two sub-paths of the resultative path, i.e., the resultative-proper sense.

main expression of stative-future and future-perfect senses in all types of syntactic configurations (Figure 2.C).

Figure 2: The resultative stream in Fanakalo[21]

(A) *present time frame*

	ILE		ILE		
non-stative	stative	resultative	perfect	recent	distant/narrative
present	present	present	present	past	past

(B) *past time frame*

GATE	GATE	
ILE	ILE	
stative	perfect	distant
past	past	past

(C) *future time frame*

ILE	ILE
ZO ILE	ZO ILE
stative	perfect
future	future
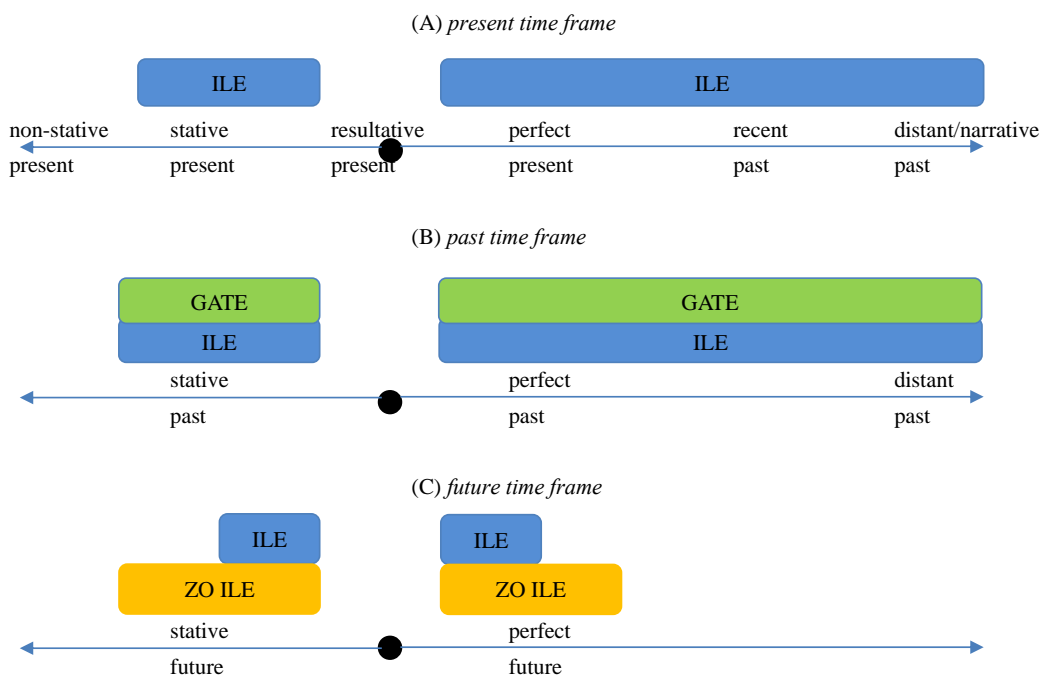
The absence of three lexifier grams in the pidgin, i.e., A, BE-ILE, and A-BA/YE-ILE, and the elimination of several other variants or alternative constructions that in Nguni are used instead of the ILE gram in certain contexts may be interpreted as direct manifestations of simplifying processes that have affected the resultative stream in Fanakalo. Indeed, the functions associated with A, BE-ILE, and A-BA/YE-ILE in Nguni are conveyed in Fanakalo by the ILE gram, which exhibits only one form instead of a number of forms attested in Zulu and Xhosa. However, this impoverishment has been counteracted by the development of two novel constructions in Fanakalo, i.e., the GATE and ZO ILE grams, which either feature in Nguni as loose clausal combinations or are simply absent. This demonstrates that simplification is not the unique force that has been operating in the Fanakalo verbal system – the system has undergone complexifying processes as well (*contra* Persson 2012:26-27).

Neither the simplification of the Fanakalo grammatical structure studied in this article nor its complexification need be attributed to the Germanic substrates, contrary to what is sometimes claimed in scholarship (cf. Mesthrie 2006a, Research Focus 2011). To begin with, the elimination of the A gram in Fanakalo and the reduction of the present-time-frame resultative stream to one construction, i.e., the ILE gram, cannot be explained as English, German, or Norwegian influence. In fact, these three Germanic languages exhibit a system that is similar to that found in the lexifier Nguni languages, composed of two fully grammaticalized resultative-path grams: a (simple) past (preterite) and a present perfect. Should the verbal system of Fanakalo have been modeled to match English, German, or Norwegian grammar, the present-time-frame resultative stream would more likely have retained the

---

[21] In a future time frame, the ILE gram used in conditional protases expresses general (simple) future actions, not necessarily perfectal ones. Therefore, in this context, the gram could be depicted as spanning the entire length of the anterior path.

two-gram structure attested in Nguni. However, the Fanakalo system does approximate another Germanic language spoken in South Africa – Afrikaans. Contrary to the above-mentioned Germanic varieties, Afrikaans includes only one fully-productive gram developing along the resultative (anterior) path in a present time frame, i.e., *het gemaak* 'I have/had done, did, was doing', which, like the Fanakalo ILE, is the successor of an earlier present perfect. Nevertheless, while the original simple past tense is no longer productive, it is still attested with the auxiliary verbs 'be' and 'have' (*was* 'was/were' and *had* 'had') and a few modal verbs (*kon* 'could', *sou* 'should', *moes* 'had to', *wou* 'wanted'). Because of this fact and for the reasons that I will detail below, the simplification of the resultative stream in Fanakalo is rather attributable to factors unrelated to the Germanic substrate(s), even if some Afrikaans influence cannot be ruled out. Given that Nguni subject/agreement markers have been lost in Fanakalo – which is an inflection-impoverishing process typical of pidgins – the Fanakalo ILE gram may reflect not only the Nguni ILE itself but also the forms *bendihambile* (BE-ILE) and *ndandihambile* (A-BA/YE-ILE). Accordingly, due to universal morphological processes operating in pidgins, the three categories of the lexifier, i.e., ILE, BE-ILE and A-BA/YE-ILE, have merged into one. The same loss of subject/agreement markers explains the absence of the A gram in Fanakalo. If the A gram had survived, its form would be undistinguishable from the present tense: compare **mina hamba 'I went' < *ndahamba* [Xh] with *mina hamba* 'I go, am going' < *ndihamba* [Xh]. In other words, out of the inherited grams, only ILE could preserve a systemic contrast between present (*mina hamba*) and past (*mina hambile*).[22]

Germanic languages also fail to be responsible for the complexification of the resultative-stream system in Fanakalo. The development of the GATE gram reflects a strategy that is pervasive in pidgins: drawing on a peripheral analytical periphrasis found in the lexifier (i.e., Zulu/Xhosa), a new construction is developed in a contact variety (i.e., Fanakalo). This original analyticity is still visible in Fanakalo since the *gate* marker may be located outside of the verb phrase or even used as a temporal adverb (Mesthrie 2006a). The formation of the ZO ILE gram stems from an analogical system-internal pressure whereby the ILE gram (the most common expression of perfectal and stative senses in Fanakalo) and the ZO gram (the only future-tense marker found in Fanakalo) jointly yield a new analytical construction. The combination of a perfect/stative type gram with a future-type gram in order to deliver a future perfect and/or stative future is crosslinguistically highly common, both in contact and non-contact varieties (Bybee Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Andrason 2016a). In neither of these complexifying developments, Afrikaans could have served as a model system as it lacks comparable constructions. This, in turn, means that any decisive contribution of this language to the simplifying processes attested in Fanakalo, which I discussed in the previous paragraph, is also unlikely.

With respect to grammaticalization, both semantic and structural, the following movements can be observed. Semantically, the Fanakalo ILE gram exhibits a more advanced profile than the equivalent construction in the lexifier. The Fanakalo ILE has expanded its usage to a distant narrative past, which constitutes the final evolutionary stage on the resultative path – more specifically, its anterior sub-path – located in a present and past time frame. The Fanakalo ILE has also regularized its stative-past and past-perfect uses, which in Nguni were limited to certain subordinate contexts, and, in conditional

---

[22] The survival of the ILE gram is, on its own, an interesting phenomenon since the input form is synthetic in the lexifier. This is relatively uncommon in pidgins, where verbal affixes, including TAM markers, are unlikely to survive as productive inflections (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:184, Holm 1989:556, Adendorff 1995:188). However, even though less common, the preservation of a lexifier's TAM inflections in contact varieties is possible (cf. Roberts & Bresnan 2008). For instance, in Lingua Franca (an extinct Mediterranean pidgin), the bound morpheme *-ato* (originally, a past participial ending) was employed to derive the past tense (e.g., *ti mirato* 'you saw'; Holm 2010:253). Fanakalo attests to other morphological devices derived from Nguni suffixes, such as the causative extension *-isa*, passive *-wa*, past passive *-iwe*, and benefactive *-ela* (cf. Mesthrie 2006a:79).

context, expanded its future uses from perfectal and stative to simple (i.e., non-perfectal). In turn, the A gram, which is already highly advanced on the resultative path in the lexifier, has been replaced by the ILE and thus eliminated. Additionally, the resultative stream in past and future time frames has been populated by a new wave of analytical/periphrastic constructions absent in the lexifier: GATE and ZO ILE. The first of them has significantly advanced along the resultative path, reaching its final sections, while the other is confined to initial stages. As a result, the structure of the resultative stream in Fanakalo looks more advanced if compared with Nguni: new constructions have been developed and travelled along the resultative path, while the grams that have already existed have spread further to the final extremes of the anterior and simultaneous sub-paths. The increase in grammaticalization is also visible from a structural perspective. The Fanakalo ILE gram has spread to the uses previously restricted to other allomorphs and variants, being generalized in all polarity values (including negative) and syntactic contexts (including when followed by an argument or adjunct and when appearing in a coordinated-consecutive function). The GATE gram, although still analytical, has incorporated the element *gate* into the verbal phrase and grammaticalized it as a TAM marker. In other words, instead of constituting a peripheral periphrasis, the construction became a genuine TAM gram.

Similar to simplification/complexification, the acceleration in semantic and structural grammaticalization attested in Fanakalo cannot – solely or even primarily – be attributed to Germanic influence. As I explained above, in English, German, and Norwegian, the resultative stream, specifically its anterior sub-path, is populated by two grams. One of them is the less advanced 'perfect'; the other is the more advanced '(simple) past' or 'preterite'. Although these two Germanic grams do not match the ILE and A grams semantically, their position on the stream are comparable, covering its medial and final sections, respectively. Should English, German, or Norwegian have motivated the verbal system of Fanakalo, the distinction between the two grams (ILE and A) and their respective semantic potential and positions on the stream would have remained unchanged. I have also explained above that Afrikaans only includes one gram developing along the resultative (anterior) path – *het gemaak* 'I have/had done, did, was doing'. Like in Fanakalo, the extent of the semantic and structural grammaticalization of this gram has increased greatly if compared to its source in Dutch or Flemish: The original present perfect has spread to the functions previously reserved to a (simple) past tense (definite past) and the several irregular patterns of the participle (which is the second element in the gram) have been levelled. Nevertheless, rather than being a direct imitation of the Afrikaans system, the movement of the ILE along the resultative/anterior stream (and the elimination of A grams) as well as the further grammaticalization of the form in *-ile* to all types of contexts (and the elimination of other variants) reflects a universal evolutionary tendency common across languages and already active in Nguni languages (cf. section 3.1). As expected, the pidgin has simply accelerated these semantic and structural developments.

5. Conclusion

The present article demonstrates that the resultative stream in Fanakalo attests to both simplification and complexification and overall exhibits a more advanced profile with regard to semantic and structural grammaticalization than its Nguni lexifiers: Xhosa and Zulu. Neither simplification, complexification, nor acceleration of grammaticalization attested in Fanakalo are solely or primarily attributable to Germanic influence. Rather, all these phenomena result from and/or draw on universal tendencies common in pidgins, other types of contact varieties, and human language more generally. The study corroborates thus the views concerning the increase in complexity of stabilized and expanded pidgins (Mühlhäusler 1986) and the observation suggesting the acceleration of grammaticalization processes in the situation of contact whereby less advanced grams survive and spread further along the

path, while more advanced grams tend to disappear (Andrason 2008, Heine & Kuteva 2010, Kortmann & Schneider 2011, Andrason & Visser 2015)

Abbreviations

A	A gram
A-BA/YE-ILE	A-BA/YE-ILE gram
BE-ILE	BE-ILE gram
FA	Fanakalo
GATE	GATE gram
ILE	ILE gram
XH	Xhosa
ZU	Zulu
ZO ILE	ZO ILE gram

References

Adendorff, Ralph. 1993. Ethnographic evidence of the social meaning of Fanakalo in SA. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 8(1). 1-27.

Adendorff, Ralph. 1995. Fanakalo in South African. In Rajend Mesthrie (ed.), *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistic*, 176-192. Cape Town: David Philip.

Andersson Lars-Gunnar. 2005. What makes a language hard? In Christer Kiselman (ed.), *Symposium on communication across cultural boundaries*, 40-48. Prague: Kava-Pech.

Andrason, Alexander. 2008. The *BÚNA* construction in Pidgin Icelandic. *Íslenskt mál* 30. 121-140.

Andrason, Alexander. 2014. From resultatives to present tenses – simultaneous path of resultative constructions. *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 26(1). 1-58.

Andrason, Alexander. 2016a. *A complex system of complex predicates: Tense, Taxis, Aspect and Mood in Basse Mandinka from a grammaticalization and cognitive perspective.* Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University PhD Dissertation.

Andrason, Alexander. 2016b. From vectors to waves and streams: An alternative approach to semantic maps. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics* 45. 1-29.

Andrason, Alexander. 2018. Is the "BE compound tense" in Xhosa (Nguni) a Serial Verb Construction, or not? *Linguistica Copernicana* 15. 195-225.

Andrason, Alexander. 2022. Complexity of endangered minority languages: The sound system of Wymysorys. In Matt Coler & Andrew Nevins (eds.), *Contemporary Research in Minoritized and Diaspora Languages of Europe*, 213-260. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Andrason, Alexander, John Sullivan & Justyna Olko. 2023. Language simplification in endangered languages? – Inflectional categories of nouns and verbs in Eastern Huasteca Nahuatl and Wymysorys. *Studies in Language* 47(1). 190-241.

Andrason, Alexander & Marianna Visser. 2015. Affordances perspective and grammaticalization – incorporation of language, environment and users in the model of semantic paths. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching* 5(4). 663-698.

Baker, Philip. 2001. No creolisation without prior pidginisation. *Te Reo* 44. 31-50.

Bakker, Peter. 2003. Pidgin inflectional morphology and its implications for creole morphology. In Ingo Plag (ed.), *Yearbook of Morphology 2002*, 3-33. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Bakker, Peter. 2008. Pidgins versus creoles and pidgincreoles. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, 130-157. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bakker, Peter & Yaron Matras. 2013. Introduction. In Peter Bakker & Yaron Matras (eds.), *Contact languages*, 1-14. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Berry, J. 1971. Pidgins and creoles in Africa. In Thomas Sebeok (ed.), *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 510-536. The Hague: Mouton.

BPCL = Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages. 1975. *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications* 14. 704-706.

Bold, John D. 1971. *Fanagalo*. Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland.

Brown, Keith & Sarah Ogilvie. 2009. *Concise encyclopedia of the languages of the world*. Oxford: Elsevier.

Bruyn, Adrienne. 2008. Grammaticalization in pidgins and creoles. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, 385-410. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bybee, Joan. 2010. *Language, usage and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bybee, Joan, Rivere Perkins & Wiliam Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Childs, Tucker. 2010 Language contact in Africa: A selected review. In R. Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 695-713. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cole, Desmond T. 1953. Fanagalo and the Bantu languages in South Africa. *African Studies* 12. 1-9.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dahl, Östen. 2000. The tense and aspect systems of European languages in a typological perspective. In Östen Dahl (ed.), *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*, 3-25. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Dahl, Östen. 2011. Grammaticalization and linguistic complexity. In Heiko Narrog & Bernd Heine (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, 153-162. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DeCamp, David. 1971. Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, 349-370. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Haan, Ferdinand. 2011. Typology of tense, aspect, and modality systems. In Jae Jung Song (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic typology*, 445-464. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Depraetere, Ilse & Susan Reed. 2000. The Present Perfect Progressive: Constraints on its use with numerical object Nps. *English Language and Linguistics* 4(1). 97-114.

Detges, Ulrich. 2004. How cognitive is grammaticalization? The history of the Catalan *perfect perfràstic*. In Olga Fischer, Muriel Norde & Harry Perridon (eds.), *Up and down the cline: The nature of grammaticalizatoin,* 211-227. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Doke, Clement Martyn. 1965. *Textbook of Zulu grammar*. Cape Town: Longmans.

Drinka, Bridget. 1998. The evolution of grammar: Evidence from Indo-European perfects. In Monika Schmid, Jennifer Austin & Dieter Stein (eds.), *Historical linguistics 1997*, 117-133. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Du Plessis, Jan Adriaan. 1978. *IsiXhosa 4*. Parrow: Oudiovista.

Du Plessis, Jan Adriaan & Marianna Visser. 1992. *Xhosa syntax*. Pretoria: Via Afrika.

Du Plessis, Jan Adriaan & Marianna Visser. 1993. Co-ordination and the subjunctive in Xhosa. *South African Journal of African Languages* 13. 74-81.

Edmonds, Bruce. 1999. *Syntactic measures of complexity*. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Ellis, Rod. 1994. *The Study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Epstein, Albert. 1959. Linguistic innovation and culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15. 235-253.

Erasmus, Josias & Kenneth Baucom. 1976. *Fanakalo – through the medium of English*. Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

Ferguson, Charles. 1971. Absence of copula and the notion of simplicity: A study of normal speech, baby talk, foreigner talk, and pidgins. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, 141-150. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, Charles.1977. Baby talk as a simplified register. In Catherine Snow & Charles Ferguson (eds.), *Talking to children: Language input and acquisition*, 209-235. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferguson, Charles. 1981. "Foreigner talk" as the name of a simplified register. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 28. 9-18.

Ferguson, Charles & Charles DeBose. 1977. Simplified registers, broken language, and pidginization. In Albert Valdman (ed.), *Pidgin and creole linguistics*, 99-125. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ferraz, Luiz Ivens. 1984. Fanakalo: a pidgin caught in a crisis. *York Papers in Linguistics* 1(11). 107-118.

Gast, Volker & Johan van der Auwera. 2012. What is 'contact-induced grammaticalization'? Examples from Mayan and Mixe-Zoquean languages. In Björn Wiemer, Bernhard Wälchli & Björn Hansen (eds.), *Grammatical replication and borrowability in language contact*, 381-426. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Gell-Mann, Murray. 1995. What is complexity? *Complexity*, 1(1). 16-19.

Geraghty, Paul. 1978. Fijian dialect diversity and foreigner talk. In Albert J. Schütz (ed.), *Fijian language studies: Borrowing and pidginization* (*Bulletin of the Fiji Museum* 4), 51-67. Suva: Fiji Museum.

Groenewald, Hermanus Christoffel. 2014. A re-evaluation of tenses in isiZulu. *Literator* 35(1). Art. 1062. 1-8. http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/lit.v35i1.1062

Haspelmath, Martin. 1998. The semantic development of old presents: New futures and subjunctives without grammaticalization. *Diachronica* 15(1). 29-62.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2003. The geometry of grammatical meaning semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison. In Michael Tomasello (ed.), *The new psychology of language*, 211-242. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Heine, Bernd. 1973. *Pidgin-Sprachen im Bantu-Bereich*. Berlin: D. Reimer.

Heine, Bernd. 1979. Some linguistic characteristics of African-based pidgins. In Ian Hancock (ed.), *Readings in creole studies*, 89-98. Ghent: E. Story-Scientia.

Heine, Bernd. 1983. *The Nubi language of Kibera: An Arabic Creole.* Berlin: D. Reimer.

Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Cognitive Foundations of grammar.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi & Friederike Hünnemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization. A conceptual framework*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2003. Contact-induced grammaticalization. *Studies in Language* 27. 529-572.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2006. *The changing languages of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd & T. Kuteva. 2007a. *The genesis of grammar: A Reconstruction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2007b. Identifying instances of contact-induced grammatical replication. Paper presented at the symposium "Language Contact and the Dynamics of Language:

Theory and Implications," Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, 10-13 May.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2010. Contact and grammaticalization. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 86-105. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Holm, John. 1988. *Pidgins and creoles. I.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holm, John. 1989. *Pidgins and creoles II.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holm, John. 2010. Contact and change: Pidgins and creoles. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 252-261. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hopkin-Jenkins, K. 1947. *Basic Bantu*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Hopper, Paul & Elisabeth Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jónsson, Jóhannes Gísli. 1992. The two Perfects of Icelandic. *Íslenskt mál* 14. 129-145.

Jordan, Archibald Campbell. 1966. *A Practical course in Xhosa*. Johannesburg: Longmans.

Joseph, Brian. 2010. Language contact in the Balkans. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 618-633. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Jourdan, Christine. 2008. The cultural in pidgin genesis. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, 359-381. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kaltenbrunner, Stefan. 1996. *Fanakalo: Dokumentation einer Pidginsprache*. Vienna: Universität Wien, Institut für Afrikanistik.

Kiparsky, Paul. 2002. Event structure and the perfect. In David Beaver, Luis Casillas Martínez, Brady Clark, & Stefan Kaufmann (eds.), *The construction of meaning*, 1-20. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Kortmann, Bernd & Agnes Schneider. 2011. Grammaticalization in non-standard varieties of English. In Bernd Heine & Heiko Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, 263-278. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramers, W. 1958. Fanakalo training for learner officials. In *Papers and Discussions of the Association of Mine Managers*, 665-685. Johannesburg: T.C.M.

Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1975. The evolution of grammatical categories. *Esquisses Linguistiques* 2. 38-54.

Kusters, Wouter 2003. *Linguistic complexity: The influence of social change on verbal inflection*. Leiden: Leiden University PhD dissertation.

Kuteva, Tania. 1998. Large linguistic areas in grammaticalization: auxiliation in Europe. *Language Sciences* 20(3). 289-311.

Kuteva, Tania. 2000. Areal grammaticalization: the case of the Bantu-Nilotic borderland. *Folia Linguistica* 34(3/4). 267-283.

Labov, William. 2007. Transmission and diffusion. *Language* 81. 344-387.

Li, Ming & Paul Vitányi. 2008. *An introduction to Kolmogorov complexity and its applications*. New York: Springer.

Louw, Jacobus Abraham & J. B. Jubase. 1963. *Handboek van Xhosa*. Johannesburg: Bonapers.

Maslov, Jurij. 1988. Resultative, perfect and aspect. In Vladimir Nedjalkov (ed.), *Typology of resultative constructions*, 63-85. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Matras, Yaron. 2010. Contact, convergence, and typology. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 66-85. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

McCawley, James. 1971. Tense and time reference in English. In Charles Fillmore & Terence Langendoen (eds.), *Studies in linguistics and semantics*, 96-113. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

McWhorter, John. 2001. The world's simplest grammars are creole grammars. *Linguistic Typology* 5(2/3). 125-156.

McWhorter, John. 2005. *Defining creole*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McWhorter, John. 2007. *Language interrupted: Signs of non-native acquisition in standard language grammars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McWhorter, John. 2009. Oh nɔɔ!: a bewilderingly multifunctional Saramaccan word teaches us how a creole language develops complexity. In Geoffrey Sampson, David Gil, & Peter Trudgill (eds.), *Language complexity as an evolving variable*, 141-163. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meakins, Felicity. 2013. Mixed languages. In Peter Bakker & Yaron Matras (eds.), *Contact languages*, 159-228. Boston. De Gruyter Mouton.

Mesthrie, Rajend. 1989. The origins of Fanagalo. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* 4(2). 211-240.

Mesthrie, Rajend. 1992. Fanakalo in colonial Natal. In Robert K. Herbert (ed.), *Language and society in Africa: The theory and practice of sociolinguistics*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Mesthrie, Rajend. 1995. Language change, survival, decline: Indian languages in South Africa. In Rajend Mesthrie (ed.), *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistics*, 116-128. Cape Town: David Philip.

Mesthrie, Rajend. 2006a. Differentiating pidgin from early interlanguage – a comparison of Pidgin Nguni (Fanakalo) and interlanguage varieties of Xhosa and Zulu. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 25(1). 75-89.

Mesthrie, Rajend. 2006b. Fanagalo. In Keith Brown & Anne Anderson (eds.), *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, 124-136. Oxford: Elsevier.

Mesthrie, Rajend. 2008. Pidgins/creoles and contact languages: An Overview. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, 263-286. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Mesthrie, Rajend & Clarissa Surek-Clark. 2013. Fanakalo. In Susanne Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.), *Survey of pidgin and creole languages, Vol. III: Pidgins, creoles and mixed languages based on languages from Africa, Asia, Australia and the Americas*, 34-41. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, Melanie. 2009. *Complexity: A guided tour*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mncube, Francis. 1957. *Xhosa manual*. Johannesburg: Juta & Company.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1977. *Pidginisation and simplification of language*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1986. *Pidgin and creole linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Muysken, Pieter. 2001. The origin of creole languages: The perspective of second language learning. In Norval Smith & Tonjes Veenstra (eds.), *Creolization and contact*, 157-174. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Narrog, Heiko & Bernd Heine. 2011. Introduction. In Heiko Narrog & Bernd Heine (eds.), *Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, 1-16. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Narrog, Heiko & Bernd Heine. 2021. *Grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nedjalkow, Vladimir (ed.). 1988. *Typology of resultative constructions*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Nedjalkov, Vladimir. 2001. Resultative constructions. In Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, Wulf Oesterreicher & Wolfgang Raible (eds.), *Language typology and language universals: An international handbook. Vol. 2*, 928-940. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Nedjalkov, Vladimir & Sergej Jaxontov. 1988. The typology of resultative constructions. In Vladimir Nedjalkov (ed.), *Typology of resultative constructions*, 3-62. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Newby-Rose, Heidi. 2011. *Fanakalo as a trade language in KwaZulu-Natal*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University MA thesis.

Nichols, Johanna. 1992. *Linguistic diversity in space and time*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nichols, Johanna. 2009. Linguistic complexity: A comprehensive definition and survey. In Geoffrey Sampson, David Gil & Peter Trudgill (eds.), *Language complexity as an evolving variable*, 110-125. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peliti, Luca & Angelo Vulpiani (eds.). 1988. *Measures of complexity: Proceedings of a conference held in Rome, September 30–October 2, 1987*. Berlin: Springer.

Pewa, Nonhlanhla Charlotte. 2011. *Fanakalo in South Africa: An overview*. KwaDlangezwa: University of Zululand MA thesis.

Noonan, Michael. 2010. Genetic classification and language contact. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 48-65. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Nxopo, Mzimasi Calvin. 1993. *The meaning of the four basic tenses in Xhosa*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University MA thesis.

Oosthuysen, Jacobus. 1975. *Leer self Xhosa*. Wynberg: Juta.

Oosthuysen, Jacobus. 2016. *The grammar of isiXhosa*. Stellenbosch: Sun Media.

Parkvall, Mikael. 2008. The simplicity of creoles in a cross-linguistic perspective. In Matti Miestamo, Kaius Sinnemäki & Fred Karlsson (eds.), *Language complexity: Typology, contact, change*, 265-285. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Parkvall, Mikael & Peter Bakker. 2013. Pidgins. In Yaron Matras & Peter Bakker (eds.), *Contact languages*, 15-64. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Persson, Minna. 2012. *Tempus och aspekt i pidginisering*. Stockholm: Stockholm University MA thesis.

Posthumus, Lionel. 1983. *Werkwoordkategorieî in Zulu.* Bloemfontein: Universiteit van die Oranje Vrystaat.

Posthumus, Lionel. 1990. Time Reference in Zulu. *South African Journal of African Languages* 10(1). 22-28.

Posthumus, Lionel. 2006. The spectrum of the *-be* relative tenses of Zulu. *South African Association for Language Teaching* 40(1). 100-116.

Posthumus, Lionel. 2008. Naming the so-called continuous past tenses of the south-eastern Bantu languages with particular reference to Zulu. *South African Journal of African Languages* 28(1). 69-79.

Poulos, George & Christian Msimang. 1998. *A linguistic analysis of Zulu*. Cape Town: Via Afrika.

Rescher, Nicholas. 1998. *Complexity: A philosophical overview*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Research Focus. 2011. Mining qualifications authority. Research into the implementation of the MQA's policy with specific reference to the phasing out of Fanakalo. Centurion: Research Focus.

Roberge, Paul. 2010. Contact and the history of Germanic languages. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 406-431. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Roberts, Sarah & Joan Bresnan. 2008. Retained inflectional morphology in pidgins: A typological study. *Linguistic Typology* 12. 269-302.

Schiffman, Harold. 2010. Language contact in South Asia. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 738-756. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Schwenter, Scott. 1994. The grammaticalization of an anterior in progress: Evidence from a Peninsular Spanish dialect. *Studies in Language* 18. 71-111.

Sebba, Mark. 1997. Contact languages: Pidgins and creoles. Hampshire & New York: Palgrave.

Siegel, Jeff.1987. *Language contact in a plantation environment: A Sociolinguistic history of Fiji.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Siegel, Jeff. 1997. Mixing, leveling, and pidgin/creole development. In Arthur K. Spears & Donald Winford (eds.), *The structure and status of pidgins and creoles*, 111-149. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Siegel, Jeff. 2008. Pidgins/creoles and second language acquisition. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, 189-218. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Siegel, Jeff. 2010. Contact languages of the Pacific. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 814-836. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Siegel, Jeff. 2012. Accounting for analyticity in creoles. In Bernd Kortmann & Benedikt Szmrecsanyi (eds.), *Linguistic complexity: Second language acquisition, indigenization, contact*, 35-61. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

Siegel, Jeff, Benedikt Szmrecsanyi & Bernd Kortmann. 2014. Measuring analyticity and syntheticity in creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 29(1). 49-85.

Squartini, Mario & Pier Marco Bertinetto. 2000. The simple and compound past in Romance languages. In Östen Dahl (ed), *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*, 385-402. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Stolz, Thomas. 1992. On turning bellies into locatives. Mesoamerican, universal or both? *Papiere zur Linguistik* 47(2). 165-189.

Stolz, Thomas. 2006. Contact-induced typological change. In Dieter Stern & Christian Voss (eds.), *Marginal linguistic identities: Studies in Slavic contact and borderline varieties*, 13-30. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Swain, I. 1976. Fanakalo grammar. In Josias Erasmus & Kenneth Baucom (eds.), *Fanakalo – through the medium of English*, 80-83. Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

Szmrecsanyi, Benedikt & Bernd Kortmann. 2009. Between simplification and complexification: non-standard varieties of English around the world. In Geoffrey Sampson, David Gil & Peter Trudgill (eds.), *Language complexity as an evolving variable*, 64-79. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Szmrecsanyi, Benedikt & Bernd Kortmann. 2012. Introduction: Linguistic complexity. In Bernd Kortmann & Benedikt Szmrecsanyi (eds.), *Linguistic complexity*, 6-34. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Taaljard, Petrus C. & Sonja E. Bosch. 1988. *Handbook of isiZulu*. Pretoria: J. L. Van Schaik.

Taberer, W. S. 1905. Mashonaland natives. *Journal of African Society* 4. 311-336.

Thomason, Sarah. 2008. Pidgins/creoles and historical linguistics. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, 242-262. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Thomason, Sarah. 2001. *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Thomason, Sarah. 2007. Social and linguistic factors as predictors of contact-induced change. Paper presented at the symposium "Language Contact and the Dynamics of Language: Theory and Implications," Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, 10-13 May.

Thomason, Sarah & Thomas Kaufman. 1988. *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Trudgill, Peter. 1983. *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Trudgill, Peter. 1986. *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Trudgill, Peter. 1993. *Dialects*. London: Routledge.

Trudgill, Peter. 1996. Dual-source pidgins and reverse creoloids: northern perspectives on language contact. In Ernst Håkon Jahr & Ingvild Broch (eds.), *Language contact in the Arctic: Northern pidgins and contact languages*, 5-14. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Trudgill, Peter. 2004. On the complexity and simplification. *Linguistic Typology* 8. 383-388.

Trudgill, Peter. 2009. Sociolinguistic typology and complexification. In Geoffrey Sampson, David Gil & Peter Trudgill (eds.), *Language complexity as an evolving variable*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trudgill, Peter. 2010. Contact and sociolinguistic typology. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 299-319. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Van Dyk, Philippus Reynolds. 1952. *Die tydvorms van die indikatiefmodus in Zoeloe*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University MA thesis.

Van Eeden, Bernardus Izak Christiaan. 1956. *Zoeloe grammatika*. Stellenbosch: Universiteirsuitgewers en Boekhandelaars.

Velupillai, Viveka. 2015. *Pidgins, creoles and mixed languages. An introduction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Versteegh, Kees. 2008. Non-Indo-European pidgins and creoles. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The handbook of pidgin and creole studies*, 158-186. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Visser, Marianna. 2015. *Xhosa 2014, 244. Syntax*. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Wiemer, Björn, Bernhard Wälchli & Björn Hansen (eds.). 2012. *Grammatical Replication and Borrowability in Language Contact*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Zotwana, Sydney Z. 1991. *Xhosa in context: From novice to intermediate*. Cape Town: Perskor.

Alexander Andrason
Centre for African Studies
University of Cape Town
aleksand@hi.is | alexander.andrason@uct.ac.za