TRACING THE ROOTS OF PIDGIN GERMAN

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1. Introduction

Any study of the available literature on pidgin German (and related reduced varieties of German) must give the impression of a relatively recent and strictly localized phenomenon. This impression is reinforced by the fact that neither Reinecke's (1937) survey of 'marginal languages' nor Reinecke et al.'s (1975) bibliography of pidgins and creoles contains reference to pidgin German. The situation is partially rectified by Hancock's (1977) compilation which lists reduced or pidginized varieties of German in various parts of Europe and in a recent article of mine (Mühlhäuser, 1979a) where I refer to some overseas varieties of pidgin German. Since then I have obtained a substantial body of additional evidence on both literary and real-life forms of pidgin German.¹

Before discussing these findings some brief remarks should be made about terminological issues as regards pidgins in general, since uncertainty and inconsistencies in this area are at least partially responsible for the neglect of pidgin German. First and foremost is the fact that pidgins are dynamic rather than static phenomena and the pidginists should therefore be interested in their entire development from early individual jargons to socially sanctioned stable pidgins and creoles. Secondly, it should be kept in mind that pidginization involves only partially targeted acquisition of a second language by adults. Reduced varieties of German are also found among native German speakers, mainly the foreigner talk and motherese or baby talk registers, but also in other circumstances favouring linguistic regression, including pathological conditions. As with a pidgin, foreigner talk is best seen as a continuum, its variable complexity being related to the ability of speakers of a language to partially retrace their linguistic development.² This would seem to be a more realistic view than that of an artificial variety created to keep foreigners in their place, a view which appears to be supported by a recent study of Hinnenkamp (1982).

It is also useful to distinguish between foreigner talk (used by native speakers to address foreigners) and the language (e.g. German) as spoken by foreigners. Stereotyped pidgin German in literary texts sometimes blurs the boundary between the two. The German spoken by foreigners can be either targeted¹ (interlanguage type) or untargeted (pidgin).

In summary, I would suggest the following preliminary classification of varieties:

1. stable pidgins (tertiary hybrids in the sense of Whinnom, 1971) including interlanguage,
2. unstable jargon varieties (secondary hybrids),
3. creolized varieties (second languages having become first ones among a new generation of speakers),
4. foreigner talk and baby talk,
5. artificial pidgins and reduced varieties,
6. reduced literary varieties,
7. settlers' dialects (generally simplified and mixed but seldom reduced).
German-derived examples of these categories include:

(1) Pidgin German of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918, in use among the settlers from various parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire and between those settlers and the multilingual indigenous population. A brief description of this variety is given by Mitrovic (1972, pp. 137-141). A further scrutiny of the Schuchardt archives might yield additional material. Another variety is the pidgin German used by guestworkers who have migrated from Germany to Australia (Clyne, 1975).

(2) Most varieties of guestworker German as well as the pidgin German of West Africa, New Guinea, Kialutschou and possibly Namibia. More about the overseas varieties will be said below. Only those varieties spoken in West Germany from about 1960 onward are well documented.

(3) The only creolized variety of German is Unserdeutsch spoken in Rabaul (Papua New Guinea) and around Brisbane. As well as in field notes by Mosel and by Mühlhäusler, a description of this language is given by Volker (1982). It is not clear to me whether Yiddish (listed by Hancock, 1977) should be included under German based creoles or creoloids.

(4) A comprehensive account of real life and literary varieties of present-day German foreigner talk is given by Hinnenkamp (1982). Other reduced varieties, such as baby talk (Ammensprache) and lover’s language still await closer investigation. Some interesting proposals concerning the latter are found in Leisi (1978).

(5) The influence of literary varieties of German on the development of pidgin and foreigner talk varieties was first raised by Clyne (1975). A study of literary pidgin German in South Seas literature is given by Mühlhäusler (1977, 1979b). More data will be given below.

(6) Two artificial reduced varieties of German were developed during the First World War, though for obvious reasons neither of them was ever implemented. They will be briefly discussed below.

(7) A reasonably comprehensive body of settler dialects of German exists for both European and overseas settlements. Whilst these varieties are strictly outside the scope of the present discussion, this literature often contains references to second-language varieties and this is of interest to pidginists and creolists. Wurm (1978) gives a detailed discussion of the use of settler dialect data in arguments concerning language mixing, pidginization and creolization. Similar remarks, with regard to the development of Afrikaans, are also found in Louw (1948). This point will not be followed up in my paper, however.

2. Overseas varieties of German

2.1. Introduction

Over the centuries German has been in contact with numerous other languages and there can be little doubt that reduced varieties of German were used in many parts of Europe long before German colonial expansion overseas. To what extent such forms served as a model for overseas varieties is not known, but it seems warranted to assume at least some modicum of continuity, derived from both the geographical mobility of individuals and/or a tradition of literary forms of reduced German.

The first colonial venture by a (private) German firm occurred in South America (Venezuela) in the 16th century. It fizzled out after only eleven years of occupation. The second enterprise, the establishment of a trading post in West Africa (Gross-Friedrichsburg) lasted somewhat longer (from 1683 to 1728). Nothing is known about the linguistic situation in either of these colonies. However, it seems unlikely that any form of pidgin German which might have been spoken there would have served as the starting point of a continued tradition of simplified German. It is hoped that more details about this point will become known soon.

German colonization proper only began after German Unification in 1871 and came to an abrupt end in 1914. In this short period of time only some 25,000 Germans lived among the 13,500,000 indigenes of the various German-controlled territories and German influence remained significant in only two territories after World War I, namely South West Africa (Namibia) and New Guinea.

For our discussion of developing pidgins it seems useful to distinguish between two kinds of German colonies, those where a lingua franca was already in existence and those with no firmly established means of cross-linguistic communication. As Germany was a late arrival on the colonial scene, the first type is in a definite majority, as can be seen from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colony</th>
<th>Established lingua franca</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
<td>Swahili, English (among Indians and some coastal dwellers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West Africa</td>
<td>Afrikaans and reduced forms of Afrikaans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamerun</td>
<td>Pidgin English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>Pidgin English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>Samoan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English (among elite)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pidgin English (on plantations)</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Guinea</td>
<td>Some pidgin English in coastal areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some Bazaar Malay on mainland New Guinea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kialutschou</td>
<td>Some pidgin English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micronesia</td>
<td>Some pidgin English</td>
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This table suggests that one would expect two kinds of developments leading to pidgin German: (1) gradual reflexification of existing lingua franca and (2) the development of independent varieties of reduced German. Whilst available information for individual colonies is very unevenly distributed, it would seem profitable to consider these briefly.

2.2. German East Africa

The factors which mitigated against the development of pidgin German in this colony include:

(1) the small number of German settlers and colonials,
(2) the existence of an indigenous lingua franca, Swahili,
(3) official and semi-official support for Swahili.

These matters are discussed in more detail by Brumfit (1972). It appears that considerably more effort was spent in eradicating the use of English than in either discouraging Swahili or encouraging a wider use of German. Another concern of both missionaries and administrators was that Swahili had become closely associated with Islam, as is evident from a study of its lexical composition at the time. There were efforts, reported by Walther (1911, p. 97), to change this situation:
The development takes place in the following way: the numerous foreign loans in Swahili, mainly of Arabic origin, are removed and replaced with German words, i.e. we are dealing with a 'dearomatization and germanization' of Swahili (transliteration note).

It appears that this practice did not make many inroads into the core of the Swahili lexicum and it is highly unlikely that an eventual relexification would have resulted. However, our present knowledge of the German language in East Africa is not great and future research may come up with surprises.

2.3. German West Africa (Togo and Kamerun)

Of the two German possessions in West Africa, Togo and Kamerun, the latter is by far the more important in the study of the development of pidgin forms of German because of (1) the much larger size of the German population, (2) its economic structures and (3) the size of the German-controlled army and police. Prior to the arrival of the German colonizers some form of pidginized English was in use in the coastal areas of both colonies. The arrival of German rule promoted the development of this pidgin English, particularly in Kamerun, where it became institutionalized in numerous official and non-official contexts. This can be seen, for instance, from the existence of a dictionary and phrase book (Hagen, 1910) which ‘was acquired by every official arriving in the country’ (Emonts, 1922, translation mine). Plans to introduce pidgin German are discussed by Emonts (1922, p. 229):

German would have been an excellent lingua franca . . . if one had opted for language similar to pidgin English, a simplified German without difficult forms of the article, the noun, the verb and other parts of speech. This would have sounded somewhat strange for the ears of a German, but it would have been an easy and useful means of communication with the blacks and for mission work . . . (my translation).

In actual fact, such plans were never implemented, though it appears that small pockets of pidgin German may have existed on certain mission posts. Unlike Tok Pisin, which at one time had a large component of German-derived lexicum, Kamerun pidgin English exhibits hardly any traces of German adlexification or relexification.

Valuable source of information on simplified forms of German are the numerous letters written by inhabitants of Togo and Kamerun to teachers, missionaries and compatriots of German. Most of these letters exhibit a mixture of formally and informally acquired German. I have collected a sizeable number of such letters which I hope to analyse in more detail. Here follow two examples:

(1) Letter from Kamerun (from Karsten, 1897, p. 99):

O lieber Bruder bei uns geht sehr Schlecht
Unsere Vater noch gesund er krönt jeder Tag
Und Deine Bruder Friedrich sin auch noch nicht gesund. Aber Dein muss jeder Fragt:
Morgen gewesen war in Afrika das lieb Gott
Muss uns hoch zu gesund bleiben in Afrika.

Viele Leute ist es in Kamerun dass Mutter Nagquadine
Hat ein Kind geboren Herr Daniel seine
Haus fertig zu bauen.

Dear Brother, things are bad with us. Our father is not yet better he ill everyday and you brother Friedrich also not yet healthy. But you must pray this morning for us in Africa that the dear Lord must help us to stay healthy in Africa. Many people have died in Kamerun, your mother Nagquadine has given birth to a child Mister Daniel’s house has been built.

Pidgin features include:
(a) phonological simplification (German ch becomes k),
(b) absence of copula and dummy es 'it',
(c) lack of grammatical agreement between nouns and verb forms,
(d) pronoun forms are not inflected for case (we instead of uns),
(e) same word order in main and subordinate clauses.

In the morning when I woke up I went to the post office. There I received your letter.

The water (river) here is full now. Then a crocodile caught six men. Yesterday a house burned down here, a cat on the roof had seven kittens, but it could not take along the kittens and burnt them with in the ashes.

Pidgin features again include many of these listed above plus the variable absence of the definite article.

2.4. South West Africa (Namibia)

When Germany established control over South West Africa, Afrikaans had already been established as a major lingua franca in the southern parts of the territory. Because of the large number of German settlers and because of their concentration in certain areas Germany soon acquired the status of a lingua franca there and continues to be used as such.

A great deal has been written about the settler’s dialect form of German used by the White population (a summary is Noeckler, 1963) but no study has been made, to my knowledge at least, either of the use of German by the indigenous black population or of the simplified German used by farmers to give orders to their black workers. Such a study would seem to be an urgent priority.

2.5. German Micronesia (Caroline, Mariana and Marshall Islands)

Although these islands were acquired from Spain, English traders and missionaries had spread both regular and pidgin varieties of English to many of the islands. Due to the small size of the individual islands and their populations, attempts to replace English and Spanish with German appear to have been relatively successful. In contrast to Samoa and New Guinea, the German settlers appear not to have resorted to pidgin English in their dealings with the indigenes, in spite of the fact that early sources indicate that pidgin English must have been relatively widespread in Micronesia. In a report on the development of the German colonies in the South Seas (Denkschrift über die Entwicklung der Deutsch-
gebiete in Afrika und der Süddeutsehe im Jahre 1906/7. Reichstag Aktenstuck zu Nr. 622, S. 4123) we read:

One has to agree with the teachers’ complaint that their pupils have had insufficient opportunities to apply their knowledge of German outside the classroom. However, one can observe a change for the better, since the German settlers avoid the use of pidgin English in their dealings with the natives. In the Marianas, pidgin English has been eradicated well and truly for some time now. In addition, it must be mentioned that the use of German has become established, particularly among the younger natives, not only in Saipan but also in Palau and Yap (my translation).

Solenberger (1962) reports that German influence was still found in the Marianas in the early 1960s:

In the short period from 1899 to 1914 a small staff of Germans so impressed these inhabitants of the Northern Marianas who were educated within that period that they still show a marked preference for German speech, literature, music and dances. Use of German by both islanders and some of the recent American administrators carries the prestige of a somewhat authoritarian efficiency which the islanders are fond of ascribing to the Germans. In 1952 most Chamorro and Carolinian leaders were products of the German Volksschule, and the handwritten German alphabet remained in use for personal correspondence in Carolinian—which is rarely written otherwise (pp. 59-60).
Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain samples of German as used by Micronesian speakers and so cannot comment on the degree of pidginization that might have occurred among them. Again, a study of German in Micronesia would seem to be an urgent priority, as it is going rapidly out of use.

2.6. Kiautschou

There were more German settlers in Kiautschou than in any other Pacific colony. In addition, there was no strong tradition of English-dominated trade. As a result, the position of the German language before 1914 was a strong one. Friederici (1911) writes:

DURING the campaign in China, the Chinese 'boys' of my cavalry regiment spoke a smattering of German, in spite of the fact that no one had made an effort to teach them this language. When I was last in Tientsin [Kiautschou], quite a few Chinese spoke German. I understand that nearly all Chinese who are in touch with the Germans speak the language of the latter (p. 97, my translation).

Unfortunately, I cannot provide figures on German school education in Kiautschou. However, it appears that a considerable effort was made to spread German through education. The Deutsche Kolonialzeitung writes:

In Kiautschou, much has been done in recent years in the field of instructing the Chinese in the German language. We do not know to what extent English is used in everyday communication. However, judging from the attitudes of the Tientsin Neuesten Nachrichten, it would seem that the role of German as the everyday language of Kiautschou is quite satisfactory (24 May 1913, my translation).

In Germany's Chinese possession pidgin German appears to have developed mainly through trivialization of an earlier pidgin English. Hesse-Wartegg (1898) remarks on the language used by the proprietor of the Hotel Kaiser in Kiautschou:

The proprietor with his friendly smile had already learned German. 'Ik zhe Deutsch', he addressed me while making deep bows. 'Gebornol a gebene pamisch open Oetel, kommen Sie, luksi, no hebe pai man, no hebe doma, bei an bei.'

Since this Spanish-English-German-Chinese dialect differs from native to native, I want to add the German translation: Ich kann Deutsch, der Gouverneur hat mir Erlaubnis gegeben, ein Hotel zu eröffnen, kommen Sie, besuchen Sie es; ich habe noch keinen Gast, weil ich keine Zimmer habe, aber noch und nach. The words pamischu, luksi, pai and bei an bei are not German, but belong to the lingua franca used between the Chinese and the Europeans, the so-called pidgin English. Pamiischu or 'permission', luksi means 'look see', pai stands for 'piece', for the Chinese do not say 'one man, two men' but one piece man, two piece man, bei an bei is English 'by and by' (p. 10, my translation).

Another example of this mixed relexicalizing pidgin was found in the Kiautschou-Post (1911, p. 240): 'Deutschland master in schipp plenti make make bumm!' 'the Germans in their men-of-war'. No lexical influence from pidgin English is found in the following sentence quote by Kueas (1915, p. 134): 'Esselden ich wollen mehl Schampin, chinaboi ghen floitti' ('Excellenz wollen keinen Champagner mehr, der Chinesische Diener wird fortgehen'). Your Excellency don't want any more champagne, the Chinese servant will go away (my translation).

It appears that there was a good deal of variation in Kiautschou pidgin German. In addition to such 'untargeted' varieties one finds second language German learned by educated Chinese in a more formal learning context. An example of the following extract from a letter presented in a court case dealing with a written insulting proposition to a German lady (quoted from Kiautschou-Post):

Bei gestem abend schamte ich auf der Insel gegen zwanzig Uhr die Herrschaft, ins Recht zu kommen. Last night I was ashamed to watch you sitting on your veranda from the street opposite because there were lots of people and I was afraid they would ridicule me (1912, p. 119, my translation).

2.7. Samoa

When Germany took over Samoa in 1899, both English and pidgin English were fairly well established, the former as the normal means of communication in the small multinational white community, the latter among the imported black plantation labourers (cf. Muhlhauser, 1976). In fact, Samoa remained the 'least German colony of the German Reich' (Samoaansche Zeitung, 26 July 1913, my translation) until the end of German control.

Official attempts to promote German in Samoa date from the beginning of colonial control, when attempts were made to exclude other European languages from the school system.

An attempt to spread German to a wider section of the population was made in 1909 when a government school for Samoans (mainly members of aristocratic families) was set up in 1909. Out of 23 weekly hours of tuition, 9 were devoted to the study of German. In 1911, 60 Samoans attended this government school. There was also a government school for white and mixed-race children with 14 white and 127 mixed-race children.

V. Koenig (1912) writes:

The pupils exhibit particular interest for military exercises which take place under the guidance of a former noncommissioned officer of the Samoan police force. The school has been quite successful, and it constitutes the best way to promote German ways and education for a working life (p. 731, my translation).

Outside the government offices English was even more widely used than inside. There was a frequently mentioned (and often deplored) tendency among the German settlers to use English as their everyday language in their dealings with Samoans and non-German Europeans. A pidgin variety of English was used with the 1000 or so Melanesian workers employed on the plantations of the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft.

I have not been able to obtain samples of German as used by Samoans but I am fairly confident, having read the bulk of literature relating to German Samoa, that no pidgin German ever developed there. Equally minimal was German influence on the pidgin English of the black indentured workers, only four lexical items of unambiguous German influence being recorded, namely:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>Pidgin English</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buiter</td>
<td>butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirke</td>
<td>church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raus</td>
<td>to throw out, remove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobak</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
</tr>
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</table>

As this pidgin was firmly institutionalized on the Samoan plantations, there was no need for further borrowing or replacement with pidgin German. The situation was thus similar to that in Tanganyika where Swahili was the established lingua franca and German therefore was in a functional no-man's-land.

2.8. German New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhems Land and Bismarck Archipelago)

There are a number of reasons why German New Guinea would seem to have been the best locale for the development of pidginized and creolized varieties of colonial German. They include:

1) Large areas of the country had not been contacted by Europeans before the arrival of the Germans,
2) Most mission stations were firmly in German hands,
(3) there was no dominant indigenous lingua franca,
(4) there was a strong plantation and contract labour system.

However, in spite of these favourable conditions, German New Guinea's principal language of wider communication was pidgin English (Tok Pisin) when German colonial control came to an end.

When Germany first established control over the Bismarck Archipelago and Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land, little was known about the linguistic situation of the new colony. The general opinion at the time was that a greater knowledge of the languages spoken there would lead to the best solution of the communication problem.

From its inception in 1884 to 1899, German New Guinea was administered by the New Guinea Company of Berlin, while after 1899 it was an imperial colony of the German Reich. It appears that the New Guinea Company was not seriously concerned with questions of language policy, its main preoccupation being to economicize and consolidate the colony. Those in charge of the areas controlled by the company adopted a laissez-faire attitude, thereby encouraging the spread of pidgin English (Tok Pisin) in the Bismarck Archipelago and Coastal Malay on the New Guinea mainland. Apparently no efforts were made to spread the German language in the first years of German control. Friederici's attack on the New Guinea Company (1911) on account of its failure to implement effective German language policies sums up the official attitude:

When the New Guinea Company assumed sovereignty, it encountered pidgin English and, as the representative of the German Empire, faced a task which, at the time, would probably not have been difficult to solve in the national interest. Yet nothing, or virtually nothing, happened in this respect (p. 94, my translation).

In contrast, the years between 1900 and 1914 were characterized by the attempts of the German colonial government, and in particular the governor, Dr. Hahl, to eradicate pidgin English and replace it with German. The administration recognized that the replacement of pidgin English with German would be a very gradual process. The implementation of such a policy had to rely on two factors: first, the gradual relexification of Tok Pisin with lexical items of German origin and its eventual replacement by pidgin German; and second, formal schooling of large numbers of New Guineans in German.

Regarding the introduction of German by means of education, little progress was made in establishing state schools, their total enrollment in 1912 being about 500 compared with more than 22,000 students enrolled in mission schools.

An education ordinance intended to restructure and vastly expand teaching facilities, in particular those for teaching German, was to become law in January 1915. One of the central aims of this new ordinance was to eradicate pidgin English.

However, World War I came to the colony shortly after the education ordinance had been drafted, and the new language and education policies which might have changed the linguistic situation in German New Guinea remained unimplemented.

The views of the German government were not entirely endorsed by private parties such as the colonial home-lobby, visitors to the colony, and the white settlers, nor in the private opinions of government officials. Yet since the latter two groups were directly involved in the day-to-day implementation of language policies, the success or failure of official policies depended directly on them.

The opinions of the colonial home-lobby coincided with, and certainly influenced, the later official policy of promoting the use of German as a colonial lingua franca. However, these attitudes, as represented in publications such as the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, were derived from patriotic ideals rather than realistic assessment.

The function of language in the colonies as seen by this group was primarily to secure and perpetuate political control, and to this end it was necessary to enforce the use of the language spoken in the mother country. In German New Guinea this problem was seen as a particularly urgent one since the widespread use of English, particularly pidgin English, in the colony was regarded as a direct threat to German control. If English were spoken in a German colony, it was argued, it was only a question of time before an English administration would follow the English language.

However, these were the idealistic wishes of those not involved in the harsh realities of everyday life in the colony. For the German settlers and lower ranking officials more immediate, pragmatic considerations overruled the well-meant proposals of outsiders. Thus, as far as German business interests were concerned, communication had to be brought about effectively and cheaply. Tok Pisin, already successfully employed on the German plantations in Samoa and on German trading stations in the Duke of Yorks, the Blanche Bay area and New Ireland, was maintained because of its convenience. These pragmatic considerations were reinforced by certain others, mainly the desire of settlers and planters to maintain social distance between themselves and the blacks, since a knowledge of German by the New Guineans would enable servants to understand conversations which they were not supposed to overhear. Friederici (1911) is one of the many writers who discusses this alleged:

inconvenience of not having a language at the disposal of the master race once German had become generally known, a language in which one could not be understood or overheard by unauthorized natives. Presumably the government only partially supports this opinion with which many officials and certainly a large proportion of the settlers would, however, agree (p. 97, my translation).

The argument that one should deny the indigenous population any form of access to the German language is also documented for other German colonies. For a more general discussion see Kindt (1904).

In spite of several attempts to introduce a policy of simplified German, the use of German of any kind was very restricted in New Guinea. Pidginized forms were spoken around Rabaul and other government settlements and on a number of mission stations, particularly geographically isolated ones such as Ali Island, but apparently not in the principal school for communication skills, the plantations. I have discussed New Guinea pidgin German in a number of places (1977, 1979a) and will therefore not go into great detail here. Instead I will give three types of test examples:

Text 1. Speaker Fritz from Ali Island, 1973. This text is structurally very close to Tok Pisin and probably largely the result of relexification. Fritz is also a fluent speaker of Tok Pisin.

PG (Pidgin German): Ja frueher wir bleibehn. Und dann Siapan kommen.
TP (Tok Pisin): Yes bipo mipele stap. Na bisai Siapan Kiem.
E (English): yes, at first we remained. Then the Japanese came.

TP: Mipele mea go but bilong mipele. Mipele stap na go bikoles.
E: We must go to our boat. We stayed and then

PG: Feetland gehehn.
TP: Mipele stap na go bikoles.
E: We went to the mainland.

Text 2. Speaker Camila, Ali Island, 1973. This text gives the impression of an
independently developed pidgin German. The speaker may have learned it from German
Sisters in a mission kitchen.

**FG:** Früher ich war Aßschafern. Ich gut arbeiten. Ich war noch

**E:** Earlier I was Aßschafern. I work well. I was still

**FG:** klei. Ich gehen. Ich dann bleiben. Dann ich grosse Mädchens.

**E:** small. I go. Then stay. Then I big girl.

**FG:** Dann ich arbeiten. Plantar work. Ich hauswok bleiben. Dann

**E:** Then I work. Plantar work. I stay. Then stay. Then

**FG:** ich arbeiten gut. Ich gut Kochen. Dann zu Haus kommen.

**E:** I work well. I cook well. Then at home come.

**FG:** Dann ich kommen, dann bleiben, dann heiraten. Ich heiraten.

**E:** Then I come, then stay, then marry. I marry.

Text 3. Letter written by Wilhelmina Eikaleo of Tumule Island (quoted from *Styler Missionsbote*, 1902). This letter reflects the kind of German learned in mission schools.


Dearest noble sisters. Two missionaries have died. Father Spogcen and Schillermacher. No one has died. Sisters Vateria and Magdalena were ill. Sister Sioba was ill too. My father was baptized, his name is Gerhart. My mother has died. My grandmother is still alive. Her name is Wilhelmine. My grandmother is not baptized. 14 girls belonging to the two sisters Kristofo helped us sleep (7 went down, go to sleep). Maria Hol has a big sore with lots of blood. Last night there was an earthquake. The girls cried a lot and the picture of Jesus in the church fell down and broke. Greetings to all the sisters. — Wilhelmina Eikalea.

The above text samples reveal a wide range of variability in the grammar of reduced German, suggesting that one is dealing with large or secondary hybrids rather than with stable pidgeons. This should not prevent us from also noting a strong incidence of such typical pidgeon features as absence of copula, absence of inflections, reduced number of prepositions, and the prevalence of temporal ordering rather than logical ordering in discourse structure. However, and this appears to be equally pronounced in the early stages of pidgeon development, no conventions for fixed word order appear to have emerged.

This, then, concludes this brief survey of pidgeon German in the German colonies. It would seem highly desirable that the linguistic rescue work that can still be carried out in some of them (particularly in Namibia) should be undertaken soon.

3. Creolized varieties of pidgeon German

3.1. Introduction

In discussing pidgeon German in New Guinea I have emphasized the lack of linguistic stability of the various reduced forms of German. Any creole German that developed on the basis of such input would seem to be an ideal test case for Bickerton's bioprotein theory of creolization. It is in this light that we want to discuss the only known creole German *Unserdeutsch* of Rabaul and surroundings.

3.2. Historical background

Bickerton (1981) lays down two main conditions for creoles in the most narrow sense: (i) they arose out of a prior pidgeon which had not existed for more than a generation, (ii) they arose in a population where not more than 20% were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80% was composed of diverse language groups (p. 4).

There can be little doubt that *Unserdeutsch* meets both conditions. As regards the former condition, it arose in the context of the establishment of a school and orphanage for mixed race children in the late 19th century. It is interesting to note that these children appear to have possessed no full knowledge of any language on their arrival. Janssen (1932) reports:

The mission could not remain indifferent to the sad plight of these children. It began to collect them and when their numbers continued to grow it founded its own institution in 1897 where they were to be educated by the sisters. Now that was a really difficult enterprise. The whites are generally ignorant of the natives' language and in conversation with them make use of pidgins English, the workers' language, which is a mixture of corrupted English and native dialects. The halfcastes mostly speak only this pidgin English with a few bits of native language heard from their mother, which of course differs according to the home. On their arrival at the mission station they are therefore hardly able to make themselves understood (p. 150, my translation).

This 'pidgin English' refers to *Tok Pisin* which at the time was still a very rudimentary language.

What does not emerge from this quotation is that the children were not only of mixed German-Tolai and other New Guinean parentage but also of Trukese, Chinese, Guinean, Filipino and other origins. At the mission school the students were taught High German and must have acquired at least the rudiments of this language. It is very difficult indeed to find fluent speakers of High German among the mixed race community. Rather, High German appears to have remained a functionally and structurally restricted school language, comparable to English in many Papua New Guinean classrooms. In the dormitories, on the other hand, a pidginized German began to develop among the pupils. It has predominantly German vocabulary and its close structural similarity with *Tok Pisin* suggests that, as Volker (1982) suspects, some relexification was involved. The Australian occupation of Rabaul and German New Guinea in 1914 caused a number of changes at the Yunaipo mission and the mission settlement, among them the serious weakening of German as a target language. These changes are characterized by Volker (1982) as follows:

In the mid-1920s, at the same time the school was absorbing a large number of these new students, the new government complicated the linguistic situation by decreeing that the Yunaipo school would have to switch to teaching medium in German. This teaching medium was German teachers as it was for the students, as many of them knew only school English. German was therefore still used for many years as an emergency language when an English explanation was not understood or proved to be too complicated. In some subjects, such as mathematics, explanations were normally in English, while the textbook was in German. At this time the students were divided into two groups, those of mixed-race European background and those of other backgrounds. All students received one lesson of German grammar and handwriting a week. Special emphasis was placed on this lesson with the part-European group. Outside the school German was used nearly always; 'Unser-

Deutsch' among the students and with the new adult former students and their families, who tended to settle near the mission, and 'Normaldeutsch' with the missionaries. German was also used in many church activities (even some Tolai choirs were taught German Christmas carols!) and in the work shops where the teenage boys were apprenticed. English was rarely used in the mission outside the classroom (p. 11).

The last passage suggests that *Unserdeutsch* had indeed become the home language of a small community within a single generation. It also underlines the continued existence of an *Unserdeutsch-Normaldeutsch* (the latter used for speaking with missionaries and religious purposes) and *Tok Pisin*, comparable to a pidgin/creole-superoordinat language in many similar settings (e.g. Afrikaans of Reheb Basters vs official Dutch, creole vs French in Haiti and Reunion).
With regard to Bickerton's second condition for a creole it must be borne in mind that the mission, administration and plantation area of the Gazelle Peninsula was a linguistically highly mixed community composed of the indigenous Tolaι, Samoan-English mixed-race people, Germans, black workers from mainly parts of German New Guinea, English, Australians, Chinese, Malay and others. Speakers of German certainly never came near the 20% threshold stipulated by Bickerton and the diversity of speakers of other languages can be in no doubt. It should also be noted that, within the period in which Unserdeutsch arose, official and semi-official language policies changed a number of times. Both German and Tolaι were used in official functions by the German colonial administration and the various missions operating in the area.

Plantation owners, traders and settlers, on the other hand, supported the use of Tok Pisin and this language was also used by government officials and missionaries on occasions. Even English was at times used for official government business. Next to Melanesian pidgin English (Tok Pisin), Chinese pidgin English was also used in the Gazelle Peninsula. A detailed discussion of language policies in this area is given in Mühlhäuser (1979b).

According to Bickerton, condition (1) would ensure that the pidgin model was highly impoverished, whereas condition (2) would ensure that no single other language could serve as an important model for the regrammaticalization of the developing creole. An examination of the linguistic evidence from Unserdeutsch reveals, however, a rather poor fit between Bickerton's biographical universe and creole German structures. Even more surprisingly, second-language Tok Pisin shows a greater agreement with Bickerton's categories than first language Unserdeutsch. Before considering possible reasons for this I shall discuss, as much as this is feasible in view of my restricted data, the various constructions singled out as diagnostic by Bickerton:

(1) Movement. Rules moving focused constituents to sentence-initial position. Such rules are found both in Tok Pisin and Unserdeutsch, e.g.

Nur ein Name ist mir bekannt
Only one name I could not find.

(2) Article. Definite article for presupposed-specific NP; an indefinite article for asserted-specific NP; and zero for nonspecific NP. Unserdeutsch does not appear to follow this system (nor does Tok Pisin), as can be seen from the following utterance.

Ich lese einen Brief I read a (particular) book.

According to Volker (1982, p. 37) "reflecting perhaps the lack of articles in Tok Pisin, the use of either article is optional and in many sentences, Vanuopape Germans omitted an article where this would not have been possible in English or Standard German".

(3) Tense-modality-aspect system. Neither Tok Pisin nor Unserdeutsch appear to fit into Bickerton's suggested universal framework for creole languages. Like southern dialects of German (spoken by the majority of the German mission workers) Unserdeutsch has only one past tense, next to present and future tenses. Like Tok Pisin and English, but unlike High German, it signals the distinction between durative and non-durative aspect. The important distinction in Tok Pisin between inception and completion, on the other hand, is not found in Unserdeutsch.

(4) Realized and unrealized complements. The data available to me do not permit any definite statements on this point, though it appears the evidence is negative rather than positive.

(5) Relativization and subject copying. Whereas Tok Pisin conforms to the universals postulated by Bickerton in this area of grammar, Unserdeutsch does not. The most common relative pronoun appears to be wo, as in:

Der Mensch, wo es am bauen die Haus, hat gehauen sein Finger.
The man who was building a house hurt his finger(s).

It must be noted that the use of wo (standard German 'where') as a relativiser is also common in southern German dialects and that wo is used as a relativizer in many other pidgins and creoles, including Tok Pisin, where it emerged in the recent past. It is therefore unlikely that Tok Pisin provided a model for this construction.

(6) Negation. Neither Tok Pisin nor Unserdeutsch conform to the conditions for negation in creoles laid down by Bickerton.

(7) Existential and possessive. Whereas the same lexical item is used to express existentials (there is) and possessives (have) in many creoles and in Tok Pisin, Unserdeutsch does not have this construction. This is surprising since Tok Pisin model (mi got mani—there is money) was available and southern German dialects also have this feature (es hat Geld e.g. the child has money or there is money).

(8) Copula. In Unserdeutsch the copula is conspicuous by its presence and, what is more, it is reflected for person and tense.

(9) Adjectives as verbs. Adjectives are used as verbs in many creoles and in Tok Pisin but not in Unserdeutsch. Other changes of grammatical category are observed in this language, however, in particular abstract noun becoming verb or adjective. It would seem that the presence of a verb-adjective distinction is closely connected with the presence of a copula in Unserdeutsch.

(10) Question-forms. Like Tok Pisin and like all other creoles Unserdeutsch shows no difference in syntactic order between questions and statements, e.g.:

Du willst Kaffee
Do you want to drink coffee?

or You want to drink coffee?

In spoken discourse differential intonation patterns are often used to distinguish questions from statements.

(11) Question-words. Whereas question-words are typically polymorphemic in the creoles considered by Bickerton as well as in Tok Pisin, Unserdeutsch has a mixed system. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard German</th>
<th>Unserdeutsch</th>
<th>Tok Pisin</th>
<th>eyronym gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warum</td>
<td>was, warum</td>
<td>wat(her)</td>
<td>why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>welche</td>
<td>was fuer</td>
<td>wat(her)</td>
<td>what (e.g. time?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wieviel</td>
<td>wieviel</td>
<td>hamas</td>
<td>how many?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wer</td>
<td>wer</td>
<td>huasi</td>
<td>who?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12) Passive equivalents. Unlike virtually all other known creoles, including Tok Pisin, Unserdeutsch has a fully developed passive construction. It is basically the same as that found in English, using the formula copula + past participle + bei, as in:

Der Chicken war gestohlen bei die Rascal.
The chicken was stolen by the rascals.

3.3. Conclusions

We have now surveyed the twelve diagnostic areas of grammar identified by Bickerton. It would seem useful to give a brief summary of their presence or absence in Unserdeutsch.
and its contact languages, as well as a comparison with Hawaiian creole as described by Bickerton:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Hawaiian creole</th>
<th>Tok Pisin</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Unserdeutsch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Definite article</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Tense etc.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Complements</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Relativization</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Negation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Existential</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Copula</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Adjectives</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Questions</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Question words</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) Passive equivalent</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table clearly demonstrates that Unserdeutsch drastically differs from Bickerton's ideal creole whereas Tok Pisin, as used by second language speakers, exhibits considerable overlap with Bickerton's creole grammar.

I am not in a position to propose a full explanation of these differences, but I would like to offer some suggestions:

(1) It seems fair to conclude that Bickerton's conditions for the development of a true creole are seriously deficient. Of the many social factors that may promote or block the emergence of bioprogram grammar they may not even count among the more important ones.

(2) The influence of formal schooling in standard German appears to be reflected in many areas of Unserdeutsch grammar, such that it must be regarded as a creole which became a post-creole continuum before stable creole norms could establish themselves. The problem facing the investigator of Unserdeutsch is not different from Bickerton's problem of obtaining pure creole data in Hawaii. As pointed out by Bickerton and Odo (1976, p. 20 ff) 'Persons without schooling appear to be non-existent in Hawaii, and every native-born speaker can shift leets to a greater or lesser degree', and 'There will thus, in any such community, be a varying number of speakers who, at least with respect to their outputs, never even approach the basic level. . . . In Hawaii, the number of such speakers is extremely high, and their distribution is by no means limited to the middle classes'.

It appears that Volker's data were elicited, in most instances, in a relatively formal context and I hope to be able to obtain more informal data on Unserdeutsch in the near future. However, even then I do not expect anything like a 'typical' creole to emerge.

(3) The data discussed in this paper suggest that Unserdeutsch borrowed constructions from a number of contact languages, even those which were only imperfectly mastered by its speakers. Tok Pisin, German and English were the principal sources of grammaticalization, though the influence of Tokai has not been studied in any detail as yet and could also prove to have been important. Unserdeutsch shares a number of constructions with Tok Pisin strongly suggesting a fair amount of relexification during the preceding pidgin stage, including the use of alle 'all' as plural marker (Tok Pisin has dh), a distinction between inclusive (uns) and exclusive (wir) first person plural pronouns, and, for some speakers, an additional dual pronoun iandu (I and you). On the other hand, some very prominent areas of Tok Pisin grammar such as multiple word class membership of lexical items, its aspect system and the grammar of embedding are not shared. This is in part due to the fact that Tok Pisin had not developed all these contractions at the time when Unserdeutsch became a creole.

(4) Unserdeutsch may be in part an artificial language invented in the dormitories of the Vunapope orphanage, i.e. it exhibits much of cultural grammar. However, such invention and conscious borrowing cannot be excluded in the case of other creole languages.

(5) I must point out again that Unserdeutsch needs to be studied in more detail before any firm conclusions can be drawn. However, the evidence at hand suggests that we may be dealing with an interesting counterexample to Bickerton's theories of creole development.

4. Artificial pidgin varieties of German

4.1. Introduction

There are two aspects to the study of artificial varieties of pidgin German. On the one hand a linguistic analysis of the various proposals, combined with a study of literary varieties of pidgin German, affords some interesting glimpses of the intentions of German speakers about the simplification of their language. On the other hand, one can study proposals for artificial pidgin German in the context of the muddled linguistic picture of the German colonies.

In my discussion of artificial pidgin varieties of German, I would like to exclude the many attempts at standardizing, regularizing and simplifying parts of the German language for the benefit of native speakers. A study of such attempts would not only provide interesting additional evidence on native speakers' intuitions about simplification, but time and space prevent me from following up this topic. Instead I will restrict the discussion to two attempts at developing simplified forms of German for the benefit of non-native speakers. Both Baumann's Weltdeutsch (1916) and Schwoertez's Kolonialdeutsch (1916) were written during the First World War in expectation of Germany’s victory and resulting large-scale colonial expansion. Weltdeutsch was designed primarily for the use of allies and friends, particularly those in Eastern Europe. Since it was meant for the use of 'civilized' people, the primary concern of the author was to avoid the language as close as possible to High German. In introducing his proposal Baumann writes: angesehen dieser gefar muten wo wir si wider-kerenzi gantzi gelegenber des sig-zu-zu-gei-ez-krieges dazu benagen, das gewonne gewalige vom-zen genuntgen der ferbratung unserer sprache in die wach-sche zu werfen, wir mänen mit den polichen und gesellschaftlichen milen, wo es gäl, vor allem in dem uns zugänglichsten gebiet, der ommi, die diythe spruche durch-suchen. Im übrigen, wol jenersdienen interesse, aber noch mehr in dem unserer bundes genosen und freunde, di wir in menschenfreundlichen beitreben aus wir bringen wollen, denen wir eine direkte for-ständigung mit uns, einem güter- und gedankenlosen tauch ermöglichem wollen. Desed edel wo wen wir aber si un nimmer er-reichen, wenn wir si nimmer zu machen, das si unsere, für aus-länder kaum wichtk erierbare spruche si aigen sollen, in diesem punkte klässicher, eng-hertzog oder bruth zu sein oder gar einen überlegen herren-ständpunkt an-nenm to zu wollen, wäre der große frager, zudem uns darin geeignet sein mus, das unser deutsche nicht nur in intelligenten kriagen, di höhere schulen besuchen, boden fas, sondern in den brausten folks-lächern, wo es di einländer abler er-reichen (1916, p. 88).
Baumann identifies two principal areas for simplification:
(1) a simplification of German spelling (the above quotation being an example) by introducing a quasi-phonemic orthographic system
(2) the elimination of non-functional variation in grammar and lexicon or, put differently, approaching the ideal of one form-one meaning.

The particular proposals relating to point (2) include:
(a) Replacement of the different form of the German article with a single article de (used with prepositions for genitive and dative case) in the singular and di in the plural, as in:

\[ \text{di angruwen, welche de krieg eit stilen an di trupen} \]  
the demands the war makes on the troops.

(b) The introduction of a single plural inflection -a, as in

\[ \text{de fater-di faieram} \]  
the father—the fathers.

(c) All attributive adjectives are to end in -e.

(d) The reduction of verb inflections from 32 to 3: present, past and conditional; no passive or subjective forms are permitted in Weltdeutsch.

(e) Drastic reduction in the number of prepositions.

(3) Elimination of synonyms from the lexicon, e.g. kaput broken to replace zerrissen, zerbrochen, geplatzt, zerfetzt, zerschüttet, durchlochehr etc.

Whereas Baumann aims at maintaining the referential power of the language by eliminating stylistic potential, Schwöer's planned colonial language is consider-
ably more restricted in structure and function. In the introduction to his booklet he acknowledges Baumann's proposal but is quick to point out that a much more drastically reduced language is needed if established colonial lingue francne such as pidgin English, Swahili and Afrikaans are to be replaced. Schwöer sees these languages as an insult to Germany and a source of communication difficulties in a future monolingic German Africa. Schwöer identifies the following functions for Kolonialdeutsch:

1. To provide a unified lingua franca to be used both between Germans and 'natives' and among 'natives' from different language groups.
2. To increase the geographical mobility of native workers and thus reinforce a divitie et impera policy: 'natives can be transferred from one colony to another ... thus increasing their reliability' (p. 13).
3. The language will be a symbol of German authority.

(4) It will be a 'working language for the German masters and colonizers' (p. 15).

(5) It is not meant as a means of communication between speakers of German living in the German colonies.

It is evident that Schwöer is guided by the desire to secure German colonial domination both within her colonies and against attacks from outside. At the same time, the social distance between indigens and white colonizers is to be institutionalized and perpetuated. According to Schwöer, the development of a linguistic instrument of German control is seen as 'the solution, to be prepared with German thoroughness, to an as yet theoretical problem'.

Schwöer's proposals make interesting reading in the context of the current debate in West Germany as to whether a reduced form of German should be taught to foreign workers. This question cannot be discussed here, however.

As regards the linguistic make-up of Kolonialdeutsch, many of the simplifications observed in other forms of reduced German are also found here, though there are also significant differences from natural pidgins. Most prominent are:
(a) the use of a single article de for both singular and plural nominals,
(b) periphrastic prepositional phrases replace case endings,
(c) all verbs appear in the infinitive,
(d) simple sentences are preferred, recursiveness at sentence level is rare,
(e) the total lexicon embraces around 600 entries, i.e. we are dealing with a drastic reduction in referential power.

In examining an example of Kolonialdeutsch as conceived by Schwöer one will discover a number of inconsistencies. In comparison with natural pidgins, mechanical rule simplification rather than the use of linguistic naturalness is a prominent feature. This is likely to be of benefit in a formal learning context but it also means that natural second language acquisition capacities remain underutilized. The following text sample illustrates the conceived learning context for Kolonialdeutsch:

Der Sprachunterricht

Aufforder (Einsteiger, der gut K.D. spricht): 'Ich zil man wieder haben Schule für ehr, weil ich habe Zeit an diese Aender für eine halbe Stunde. Aber ihr müsst gut aufpassen, denn ihr müsst lernen de deutsche Sprache so schnell wie möglich. Also aufpassen! A, sagen mir, was ist das?' (zeigt seine Hand).

A (Anfänger): 'Diese sein Ander'.

Aufforder: 'Gut, aber du mösst sagen: "Das is eine Hand". B, sagen mir, was ist diese Sach?" (zeigt eine Grammatik).

B (Anfänger): 'Diese Sage is eine Buge für lemen de daisie Spage'.

Aufforder: 'Ja, is recht, aber deine Sprache is noch nicht gut." (korrigiert B) 'So nun wil ich wieder C fragen. Ich tat gestern fragen de gleich Sach?" (zeigt ein Kaiser-Bild) 'Wer is das? C? Hast du nun wiss?'

C (Anfänger, sehr ungewandt): 'Ne, is geisse Mann, aber is wissen nit, was se.'

Aufforder: 'C, Du bist immer de gleich Schuf/tcp?'

A language lesson

Supervisor (native who speaks good Kolonialdeutsch): 'I want now again bold school for you, because I have time on this evening for a half hour. But you must goed pay attention, for you must learn the German language as fast as possible. O.K., listen. A, tell me, what is this? (points to his hand).

A (beginner): 'This be hand'.

Supervisor: 'Good, but you must say 'This is a hand'. B, tell me, what is this thing?' (shows him a grammar).

B (beginner): 'This thing is a book for learn German language'.

Supervisor: 'Yes, that's right, but your language is not good yet.' (corrects B). O.K. now I want to ask C again. I did ask the same question yesterday.' (shows a picture of the Kaiser). 'What is this, C. Do you know it now?'
It would seem that the association of colonial lingua franca with non-egalitarian power relations is already well and firmly established in the classroom. As regards the linguistic peculiarities of this extract, we can observe:

(a) the presence of a copula, which is highly atypical for a pidgin or creole (cf. Ferguson, 1971),
(b) auxiliaries are inflected,
(c) instead of using the same lexical item in several grammatical functions, highly idiomatic circumlocations (e.g. *halten schule* ’to hold school’) are used,
(d) inconsistencies in the word order of subordinate clauses (wieder C fragen as against *lernen de deutsche sprache*),
(e) Schwoerter does not use the spelling conventions developed by Baumann but sticks to the conventions of standard German.

The ‘incorrect’ pronunciations by beginning learners are commented upon by Schwoerter as follows (p. 57), ‘A lot of time would need to be wasted to teach the natives to pronounce correctly the many difficult words of German’. However, he does not make any concrete proposals as to how this problem is to be overcome.

One can only speculate about what would have become of *Kolonialdeutsch* had it indeed been institutionalized in the German colonial empire that never was. My own suspicion is that it would have been drastically changed and, because of the simultaneous presence of standard varieties of German, have remained a fairly unstable continuum rather than a totally separate pidgin.

5. Literary varieties of pidgin German

5.1. Introduction

The study of literary varieties of pidgin German and foreigner talk German is still in its infancy, and we are still far from having completed the collection and sorting of the primary data in this area. My initial findings, which should be followed by an examination of a larger body of literature, are very similar to that of the Dutch *Werkgroep Taal Buitenlandse Werknemers* (1978). Their comparison of the use of pidginized Dutch in earlier and later editions of Robinson Crusoe closely parallels my own observations for German, in that there is a general absence of such simplified forms of language in early translations (those dating from the mid 18th to mid 19th century) and a sizable increase in pidgin features in more recent 20th century translations. The fact that pidginized German as a literary genre has emerged only very recently obviously does not mean that speakers of German did not simplify their language when addressing foreigners in earlier days, though it may point to a lack of conventionalization and stereotyping at the time.

5.2. Some early examples

Foreigner talk, language mixing of a macaronic type and linguistic simplification games have probably been around in the German language for a very long time but it is difficult to locate and date them. One source which I have not looked at in great detail are children’s rhymes. Consider the following one in use among Swiss schoolchildren who ridicule the imperfect German of their French speaking fellow pupils:

5.3. Karl May’s use of simplified German

The importance of Karl May, writer of romantic and adventure stories, in shaping a
German tradition of foreigner talk was first mentioned by Clyne (1975, p. 3) who quotes a number of pidgin German passages from *Winnetou*, the most widely read of Karl May’s works. Clyne observes that, whilst the syntax exhibits a number of pidgin characteristics such as use of infinitive instead of inflected verb forms, there is no loss of copula and the lexicon has not undergone a similar simplification.

It is interesting to note that Karl May portrayed different degrees of simplification with different characters in his stories. Thus, whereas an Italian artist in *Der Peitschenmueller* (originally published in 1886) approximates the syntax and lexicon of standard German in many of his utterances, the Basuto in *Das Kaffergrab* (originally published in 1879) uses a considerably more pidginized form of German. One is tempted to note that here the foundation for the distinction between *Weltdeutsch* and *Kolonialdeutsch* is laid. Let me illustrate this with a few passages:

from *Der Peitschenmueller*

Ein Koenig? Welch Entzucken! Was fuer ein Koenig wird er sein? ... Ummoeglich! Koenig
Lugni kommen nie in Bad, sondern sein sehr einsam, sehr...
Hoeren oben viel besser das Mucken, als die unten abajo.
Ich mochte sie sehr fliegen in der Luft. Oh, das sein eine Saengerin.

A King. What delight. What King will it be? Impossible! King Ludwig never visits the spa, but he is very lonely, very, very? No! I believe it is very much. I know for sure that it is true. She is buried up there and plays violin in her grave at night. No, it is the truth. Come up with me, Majesty. You hear the music much better than down here.

Ich mochte sie sehr fliegen in der Luft. Oh, das sein eine Saengerin.

I have only selected a very small portion of the many pidgin German passages in this story. However, it should be clear that we are dealing with a much more drastically reduced form of German than in the previous sample. This is obvious from the following features:

(a) Consistent use of verb stem (rather than infinitive) instead of inflected verb forms, the only exceptions being inflected copula. This usage may have been modeled on the Cape Dutch spoken when this story was written. However, the Italian in the previous story uses either inflected forms or infinitives.

(b) Absence of articles and other determiners. This is unlike Cape Dutch (Afrikaans) and in contrast with the variable presence of articles in the previous text.

(c) Uninflected attributive adjectives, similar to Cape Dutch. The Italian speaker uses mainly inflected adjectives, though often with an inappropriate ending.

(d) The use of viel ‘much’ instead of sehr ‘very’, unlike Cape Dutch. The Italian speaker uses sehr.

(e) The use of proper nouns instead of pronouns gives this passage a particularly childish quality. Again, the Italian in the previous text uses the appropriate pronouns.

(f) There are a few examples of passive and they differ from that used by the Italian through the use of a verb stem instead of a past participle, as in *Quimbo darf nicht werd fress von Loewe Quimbo must not be eaten by a lion*.

(g) Logical order is frequently replaced by sequential order, as in *Pferd lauf viel schnell Quimbo verlier Arm* if the horse runs very fast, Quimbo will lose his arm.

The language used by black African speakers in Karl May could be profitably compared with the German translation of Hergé’s *Tintin Books*, particularly since a detailed analysis of the latter is given by Hinnenkamp (1982, pp. 41–51). Another important source of pidgin German is the German edition of Mickey Mouse (cf. Dorfman and Mattelart, 1975).

5.4. Foreigner talk in German journalism

An interesting fact appears to have emerged from the discussion so far, namely that literary varieties of pidgin German not only illustrate the intuitions native speakers may have about simplification of their language, but also illustrate the functional character of such simplifications. Thus, certain types of deviations from the standard are seen as indicating childishness and primitiveness on the speaker’s part whereas others merely signal an intelligent learner’s problems when faced with the intricacies of the German language. Literary versions of pidgin German and foreigner German are thus powerful instruments for polemical political writing. One publication which made great use of reduced and mixed varieties of German is *Die Jugend* (there are many journals with this title, and I refer to is that published in Munich around the turn of the century). As I have literally hundreds of text samples and as these texts illustrate various principles of language mixing in addition to reduction, I cannot yet give an exhaustive assessment. However, a more thorough study of these materials would seem highly desirable. The

**PETER MÜHLHÄUSLER**

**TRACING THE ROOTS OF PIDGIN GERMAN**

*Quimbo lasz liegen Sau? Oh, oh, Myheer Quimbo es viel schon Sau*

*Quimbo kimm Tschamba; Quimbo hab red schon gross viel mit Tschamba.*

*Quimbo leit lieg? Oh, oh Myheer Quimbo raff much beautiful pig.*

*Quimbo know Tschamba, Quimbo have talk already big much with Tschamba.*

 pidgin features in these texts include:

(a) variable omission of verb inflections,

(b) omission of surface dummy es,

(c) variable absence of subject pronouns.

On the other hand, one encounters fairly complex features, such as the passive construction and (variably) inverted word order in the appropriate grammatical context. Note also the presence of coordination and subordination. Some German lexemes are replaced, and/or followed, by Italian ones. However, one misses the stereotyped pidgin German lexemes such as *capito ‘savvy?’* and *avanti ‘quick, come on’. Compare this text with the following passages from *Das Kaffergrab*:

O, Myheer, Pferd lauf viel schnell! Quimbo verlier Armm. Quimbo verlier Bein, Quimbo verlier Quimbo und Pferd. Wo werd sein Quimbo, wenn Myheer sucht Quimbo?

*Myheer rett Quimbo, Myheer helfen Quimbo, Quimbo will nicht aus schmek Straus, oh, oh, Myheer, aber Myheer nicht treff Quimbo, denn Quimbo hat sonst tot.*

O, Myheer, horse run much fast; Quimbo lose arm. Quimbo lose leg; Quimbo lose Quimbo and horse. Where will be Quimbo, when Myheer look for Quimbo?

*Myheer save Quimbo. Myheer help Quimbo, Quimbo no want good taste straus, oh, oh, Myheer, but Myheer not hit Quimbo, for Quimbo otherwise be dead.*
main area I shall look at are the different types of reduced German used to caricature different groups of foreigners. Unfortunately, no example of German as used by coloured speakers was found. The following foreigners are featured most frequently: Italian, Czech, Hungarian, French and English; the former three are regarded as particularly worthy of contempt, an attitude stemming from German and Austrian fears about the collapse of the Habsburg Empire and the gradual decline of the German language within its territories.

Example 1. Foreigner German by Italian (Die Jugend, Vol. 43, p. 868, 1904):

Empfang
bei Signore Domenico Katzmacher

Signora Katzmacher: Du, Domenico, sei so droppen die Excellenza, die ministro von das Hunterick!
Wollen sie bissel sprechen mit Dir?

Domenico: Sollen sie nur spesere un poco, warten ein wenig! Aber ich jeß niente tempo, keiner Sei!

Signora Katzmacher (kommt) nach einer geruhsamen Weile wieder: Lassen sie son terr bitte der Excellenza, daß sie werden empfang.

Domenico: Per me! Meinestab! (Der österreichische Unterrichtsminister Ritter v. Hartel tritt mit tiefen Büchelgen ein.)

Hartel: Buon giorno! Mille complimenti! Riverisco! Ummillissimo servolo! Unhöehnigster Diener, verehrungswürdiger Signor! Nun werde ich mir der Erreichung der italienischen Rechtswissenschaft in Innsbruck wohl endlich Ihre hochgeschätzte Zuverlässigkeit und Wohlergebenheit erragen haben?

Domenico: Sein sie ick gar nix contento, gar nix zufried! Per bacco! Aaben sie doch versproper der gouverno, da Regierung, zu verlegen die corso juridico von das maledetto Hinnbruck!

Reception
by Signore Domenico Wop!

Signorina Wop: Hey, Domenico, be sh outside the Excellency, the ministro of Hducation! Want speak a bit with you?

Domenico: Must she just spetere un poco, wait a little bit. Have I now niente tempo, no time.

Signorina Wop: (returns after a good while): Let you already a lot ask the excellency, that she be receive.

(The Austrian Minister of Education, von Hartel, enters bowing and scraping)

Hartel: Bon giorno. Mille complimenti. Riverisco. Ummillissimo serve, humble servant, honourable signor. I hope to have finally, by setting up the Italian Faculty of Law at Innsbruck, deserved your esteemed satisfaction and favourable inclination.

Domenico: Be sh I not at all contento, not at all satisfied. Per bacco! Have you however promised to the governo, the government to shift the corso juridico from the maledetto Hinnbruck.

Apart from a number of features meant to illustrate interference from Italian, a number of pidgin German features are also present, including:

(a) use of infinitive instead of inflected verb forms,
(b) phonological simplification (e.g. shibblants),
(c) the use of the negator nix.

Example 2. Czech-German foreigner talk (Die Jugend, Vol. 44, p. 891, 1904):

The following poem accuses the Czech government of wasting millions of German money on representative buildings whilst neglecting essential services such as water and sewerage:

San me greffe Nation,
San me Pane Behme—
Wo sich was zu holen gib,
Gehn me hin und nehme!
Are we big nation
Are we Pane Behme
Wherever there is something to take
We go there and get it!

Bau'n me Jetzt ein gründel Haus,
Daßeter Hund soll bleiben;
Muß repräsentativ;
Edler Volk der Czechen!
Opfer Millionen Czech
Nationalem Zwecke;
Wonn auch jüdischen Fass erstrickt!
Mieten in dem Drecke!
Nyn Hof, Krokodil sich nix,
Komm der Behm verirren—
Jee knap na, wenn ihm leigt
Daßeter Hund im Mogen!
Build we now a big house,
German dog must stay!
Must representativ!
Noble Czech people.
Waste millions the Czech
For national purposes
Whilst golden Prague suffocates
In middle of dirt!
Tyrant, disease does itself no matter,
The Czech can stand it—
It only ill when lie
German dog in his stomach.

The main changes here are phonological and the use of inappropriate reflexive verb forms. Only the following pidgin features are in evidence:

(a) variable absence of articles and other determiners,
(b) negator nix.

Example 3. Hungarian-German foreigner talk (Die Jugend, Vol. 28, p. 574, 1904).

The insistence of the authorities of Kolozsvár university that letters should not be addressed to Klausenburg Universitaet evokes the following satirical letter:

Nix daich!
Mit ollerhand Hochachtung.
Creg Hunyady Janos.

No German.

Just wait, Swabian damned, if you cannot remember the name of Hungarian town next time, hat, will send I Hidak! He will write name on your back in red pepper. Teremteit! Will you already learn whether there is Klausenburg in whole of Hungary when you taste red pepper stick. Has Swabian insolence most vicious to maintain, that he founded Kolozsvár. Batomic, excuse me asking speculative question: Although Swabian founded town, has he for that reason right the town to give German name. Swabian has no right at all. Black German dog must be happy and grateful that Magyar gave him permission, town to found.

With all sorts of respect,
Count Hunyady Janos.

Again, only the pidgin features observed in the previous text are present in this letter, and again there are a number of other changes, such as deviant word order and phonology signalling Hungarian substratum influence.

Example 4. French foreigner talk (Die Jugend, Vol. 50, p. 928, 1903). The following poem deals with the topic of French indignation over the loss ofAlsace-Lorraine in the War of 1870:

Parbles! Nous sommes la grand nation!
Und sein so frodik comme les anges;
Deabt, we 'aben attention
Toujors ouv, nixs que la revanche.

With all sorts of respect,
Count Hunyady Janos.
Nous n'oublions rien du tout, 
Nous 'ôlen sik, c'est indéniable! 
Shunik L'Alsace-Lorraine pour nous—
Maintenant, vorlauff, mit der Snubel. 
Car, parceque nous veressen niks, 
Nous 'sben ek en memoire, 
Que nous avons reçu de Wix 
Par les Prussiens, les grands barbares! 
Desaul, wir stehe sik, sur l'épe 
Les mains, toujours à la frontière! 
C'est un plaisir, und eut nikt weh— 
Gardez l'honneur—et la dernière! ... 
Parbleu! Nous sommes la grande nation! 
And be a peaceful comme les anges; 
Therefore, we pay attention 
Tojours nothing to nothing the revanche. 
Nous n'oublions rien du tout, 
Nous gete for ourselves, c'est indéniable! 
Back, L'Alsace-Lorraine pour nous— 
Mainten, for the time being in words only. 
Car parceque nous forget nothing, 
Nous have also en memoire 
Que nous avons reçu a spanking 
Par les Prussiens, les grands barbares! 
Therefore, we stand ourselves, sur l'épe 
Les mains, toujours à la frontière! 
C'est un plaisir and does not hurt— 
Gardez l'honneur—et la dernière! ... 
Pigöin features here include: 
(a) use of uninflected verb forms, 
(b) the negator nix (spelled niks), 
(c) a number of phonological simplifications, particularly [s] and [c]. 

As observed in a number of other texts, the inappropriate use of the reflexive is also used as a stereotype marker of foreigner language. I do not have the time to discuss aspects of language mixing and switching in this example of macaronic speech, though sequences of the type French pronoun followed by German verb deserve attention. 

Example 5. English foreigner language. We can distinguish two types: (1) macaronic mixtures of German and English apparently reflecting language habits in North German ports and (2) German as spoken by native speakers of English. Here follows an example of the first type: 

A British sailor has fallen down the cellar of a Hamburg inn, destroying a pane of glass in the process. The innkeeper attacks him with the following words (Die Jugend, Vol. 30, p. 538, 1903): 

You plague nau man! You pull down in my Kellerlock and breek kaput al m Jennterschieben. Betzoh you me, or ick hau you blau Koroong! 

You are a nuisance of a man. You fell down my cellar hole and broke all my window panes. You pay me or else I will hit you your shortsighted eyes. 

An example of the second type is found in Die Jugend, Vol. 27, p. 482, 1903: 

Wie jefaeli Ihnen Berlin? 
Very nice indeed, aber ich wu 
vor sechs Jahr hier, zu sehen 
Eimpeor, er war nicht da. 

How do you like Berlin? 
Very nice indeed, but I was 
here six years ago to see the 
Emperor, he was not here. 

Ich kommen to-day, nach sechsen 
ich zu seh- er ist noch immer 
verreis. 

I come today, after six years 
to see him—he is still 
away. 

Whilst there are some pidgin features in this text, including use of infinitive for inflected verb forms and the same word order for main and subordinate clauses, these features appear variably only. This leaves the reader with the impression that the speaker of English is capable of (and indeed has done so in some instances) mastering the intricacies of these forms. This is in contrast to negroes, eastern Europeans and other foreigners lower down the hierarchy of German value judgements. 

The study of texts such as those illustrated here would seem to be of considerable interest to a number of branches of linguistics, including sociolinguistics, attitude studies, language mixing and foreigner talk/simplification studies. There is a vast bulk of material readily available and I hope someone will undertake a more detailed analysis soon. 

5.5. Pigöin German in the exotic novel 

A last source of literary pidgin German to be considered here are novels set in exotic parts of the world, particularly in the South Seas. A large number of such novels, both originals and translations from other languages, has been published. They are enjoyed by a large and diverse readership and consequently may have been instrumental in shaping and reinforcing the way German speakers addressforeigners and/or expect foreigners to talk. The pidgin German in such novels is either of the word-by-word translation type or else made up by using the writer's knowledge of German foreigner talk and his/her intuitions about simplification. 

Text 1: Word-for-word translation of pidgin English in Nevermann (1942): 

"Mich guck aus für Küt, Master!" erklärte der Mann verständnivoll. 
"Mi lek eu long bokis, master!" 
"I look out for box, master!" the man said understandingly. 
"Da sceuhen Haus für Schlief, Haus für Kaikui, 
"Yu pausim hau bilong slip, hau bilong kauki, 
"You look for house for sleep, house for eat. 
dann du kommen zurück. Mich nicht steilt ihm groß Kerl 
bek. Mi ni stil -im tak jela 
alterwards, you come back. I no steal him big fellow 
Küt. Mich nicht mag gehen für Kalabas. 
"bokis, Mi no laik go long kalabas." 
"box, I no like go prison." (pp. 184-185.) 
Ich nicht weß niu Mann, er nicht weß ichm Boot. Er 
Mi no sahe, Huaman, i no sahe-im bot. I 
I not know. Huiam, he not know him boat. He 
nehm ihm drei Kerk Bambus-mich nehn ihm naur, das 
kis -im tri -fela mambo-mi -ki kul-im naur, da 
catch him three fellow bamboo I call him naur, this 
Kerk Bambus-er nehm ihm Ta, er bind 
ichm Bambus. 
fela mambo—i kis -im rug, i kar SOME-im mambo. 
fellow bamboo—he catch him rope, he cover him up him bamboo. 
Das Boot von niu Mei, Woi, Mann, er steh auf Boot 
Em bot bilong niu, Malowi, man i naag long bot 
him boat belonng Hiu. My word, Man, he stand on boat 
wie das, er geh in Wasser, ganz unten. Wasser er 
olem, i go long wara, dauhilo. Wara i 
all the same, he go in water, down below. Water he
A comparison between the texts reveals a number of differences, including different word order as well as the appearance of indefinite articles and less dependence on textual and contextual information in the pidgin German version (e.g. the name 'Case' is added, where no explicit referent appears in the English version.) The following pidgin German devices are employed:
(a) the use of infinitive instead of inflected verb forms,
(b) variable absence of copula, an unusual feature in pidgin German and probably a reflection of the translational process,
(c) a tendency, not maintained throughout the text, to stick to SVO word order.

Text 3. Raabe (1924), Kannibalendörfer. This novel is set in the Solomon Islands. The many examples of pidgin German in this book shows very few signs of translation from Neo-Solomonic, but exhibit a number of the usual stereotype features of literary pidgin German. As in other texts, the exotic character of the language used is enhanced by words borrowed from the local pidgin English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary pidgin German</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Viele Krieger von Malaita gekommen.</td>
<td>Many men have come from Malaita.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viele Männer von Guadalcanal da.</td>
<td>Many men from Guadalcanal there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mit ihnen kämpfen Malaitas hoolisch Schlange bekommen.</td>
<td>With them fight. Malaitas terribly beasing get.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krieger von Guadalcanal viel zu essen bekommen.</td>
<td>Warriors from Guadalcanal plenty to eat get.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Keris tabu! Keris in den Busch!' Frage ich Ugu, indem er quer auf die erschockenen Weißen und dann auf den Busch zeigte. 'Keris tabu', bestätigte ich, mit dem Kopf nickend. 'Keris viel tabu'. 'Nicht tabu kikai!', sagte Ugu lachend.</td>
<td>'Fellows taboo! Fellows in the Bush!' Ugu asked me, by pointing first to the frightened whites and then to the bush.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We note the following pidgin German features:
(a) use of infinitive instead of inflected verb forms,
(b) absence of articles,
(c) absence of copula, also of the auxiliary sein 'to be',
(d) change of word order, this time the favoured order is SOV.

6. Conclusions
We have now surveyed a wide range of reduced varieties of literary German and it would seem interesting to see (1) how many of the stereotyped features are shared by all these varieties, and (2) to what extent they also appear in Unserdeutsch. This comparison is represented in Table 1.

It must be stressed that this table is tentative and that the data base for at least some of the varieties listed is quite unsatisfactory. One may also object that no clearcut boundary between universal and salient properties has been made. In this connection it must be pointed out, however, that we are still very much at an observational and classificatory stage of scientific inquiry and that it would seem too early to make strong claims about universal/ bioprogram properties of creoles as done by Bickerton. Keeping these limitations in mind, we may nevertheless get some interesting clues as to the origins and spread of the features listed here. The table contains a number of surprises, in addition to the apparent non-agreement between Bickerton's universal creole features and Unserdeutsch. A comparison of Unserdeutsch with other varieties shows:
(1) That it is most similar to Weltdeutsch, the mildly simplified artificial version developed by Baumann. (14 out of 19 features shared.)
(2) What is even more surprising, Unserdeutsch has the lowest number of agreements with the varieties of pidgin German I recorded in other parts of New Guinea (only 7 out of 19).
(3) *Unterdeutsch* also shares a low number of features with those literary varieties of South Seas pidgin German that are closely modelled on pidgin English, in spite of the fact that *Tok Pisin* (a variety of pidgin English) has been one of the principal contact languages of *Unterdeutsch* throughout its existence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bickerton</th>
<th>Early literary pidgin German</th>
<th>Karl May Europeans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bickerton Creole</td>
<td>Unterdackel, Weltdeutsch, Kolonialdeutsch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus movement</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of definite article</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TMA</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative and Subject Copula</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula absent</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives as verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question form</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question words</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of article</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOV order</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalization of infinitive</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalization of verb stem</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deletion of prepositions</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject pronoun deletion</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortening of words</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change of gender</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nix negator</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Other diagnostic features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bickerton</th>
<th>Karl May non-European, Jugend, Neumann</th>
<th>Stevenson</th>
<th>Raabe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus movement</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use of definite article</td>
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<td>Absence of article</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOV order</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(4) *Unterdeutsch* does not incorporate such widely found stereotypes of European pidgin German as, for instance, the negator *nix*.

Other points emerging from this table are:

(5) Intuitions about what constitutes a literary form of pidgin German (and implicitly German foreigner talk) vary a great deal, even in fundamental areas such as basic word order or the appropriate verb form.

(6) The greatest overlap between pidgin German varieties and Bickerton's bioprogram features are found in those cases where pidgin English served as a model.

(7) There is surprisingly little agreement between the artificial *Kolonialdeutsch* and natural forms of reduced colonial German.

7. Summary

(1) The study of pidginized varieties of German tends to be too narrowly restricted to guest worker varieties in present day West Germany. Instead, both overseas varieties and varieties spoken and/or constructed at earlier times should be taken into consideration.

(2) In approaching the phenomenon one should distinguish between (a) a natural capacity on the part of speakers of a language to (partially at least) regress to developmentally earlier stages of its linguistic development for certain communicative purposes, and (b) cultural conventions and stereotypes of foreigner German and the German of foreigners.

(3) The great differences between varieties of pidginized German can reflect both different degrees of linguistic regression and different conventions of cultural stereotypes.

(4) There are interesting differences between consciously constructed pidgins on the one hand and artistic and spontaneous forms on the other, emphasizing the fact that mechanical rule simplification and regularization is not the only, and possibly not the most important, dimension in pidgins.

(5) The data presented in this paper, particularly when supplemented by further similar material, should make a very interesting comparison with present day varieties of pidgin German.

(6) It is interesting to note that there are different conventions for different categories of foreigners; these differences appear to be only partly related to differential communicative requirements. They also signal the user’s status and attitudes, i.e. they serve important indexical functions. The study of the indexical functions of pidgin German is a task still to be undertaken.

(7) The only clear variety of creolized colonial German, *Unterdeutsch* of former German New Guinea, is of particular interest to the current debate on universals of creolization and bioprogram grammar. Whilst conforming to Bickerton’s requirements as to the social conditions and speed of development, it drastically differs from Bickerton’s postulated bioprogram features.

(8) The differences between *Unterdeutsch* and Bickerton’s bioprogram grammar are only partially ascribable to the fact that *Unterdeutsch* is meso- rather than basilectal. They can also not be ascribed to the influence of *Tok Pisin* on *Unterdeutsch* since (a very puzzling fact) *Tok Pisin* conforms much more closely to Bickerton’s ideal creole than *Unterdeutsch*. Thus, *Unterdeutsch* disconfirms any notion that creoles selectively borrow what is in agreement with universal bioprogram grammar (pidgins, on the other hand, are much more likely to do this, as I have pointed out elsewhere [Mühlhäuser, 1980]).

(9) As regards the social context for the development of colonial varieties of pidgin German, Germany’s late arrival in the colonial arena meant that other lingue franchise
were already in existence and the communicative pressure for pidgin German consequently low.

(10) German colonial language policies were ill-defined and ad hoc until fairly late and, on the whole, disfavored the development of pidginized forms of German. Plans to introduce artificial simplified forms of the language could not be implemented because of Germany's loss of all colonies after World War I.

(11) The data collection of literary and overseas varieties of pidginized and creolized forms of German is still in its infancy. Some fieldwork could still be carried out but time for linguistic rescue work is running out rapidly. I hope that this paper will stimulate urgently needed research in this area.

NOTES

1 This paper could not have been written without the help of my mother Dr. Gabrele Mühlhäuser who for years has traced materials relating to pidgin German for me. I am also indebted to Bruce Rasbury of the University of Queensland for letting me have a copy of Volker's thesis on Unterdeutsch, to Ulrike Mosel for letting me have her notes on this language and to Jackie for comments and editorial help.

2 The ability to regress linguistically cannot be accounted for in the most widely accepted model of language acquisition, the replacement model, where later stages replace, and thereby obliterate, earlier stages of acquisition. It is perfectly compatible with a retention model however, where later stages are added to and partially mixed with earlier stages. (For a more detailed discussion of these issues see Ochs, 1979, pp. 51-80). There are certain consequences of such a view which I can only allude to in this data-oriented paper. The principal one is that the whole notion of interference would seem to stand in need of very drastic revision as, in a retentionist model of language, interference could come not from the endpoint of language development (the grammar of adult speakers), but, in a natural second language learning context, also from intermediate developmental stages. To what extent there is a necessity between interlanguage and pidgin development on the one hand and regression in the learner's first language on the other, remains to be established. One thing is already certain: unless powerful devices for the analysis of language mixing are developed, such issues will remain unresolved.

3 Instead of targeted and untargeted one could also use the criterion of presence or absence of (relative access to) the target language German. Note that this presence is determined by both physical presence and socio-psychological factors.

4 At the time when Unterdeutsch became creolized, the Tok Pisin of the Gazelle Peninsula was the most developed and advanced variety of this language—unlike today where Tok Pisin has seriously declined in this part of Papua New Guinea. A good idea about its linguistic development around 1914 can be gained from a comparison with Samoan Plantation pidgin English, the fossilized variety of Tok Pisin spoken by Tole and other black indentured workers on the Samoan plantations. It appears that only a rudimentary aspects system, no firm conventions for embedding and no entirely stable pronoun system has developed at the time. On the other hand, multifunctionality of lexical bases was rife.

5 The nearest English translation of Kazelemecher 'Italian' (pejorative) is Wop (mainly U.S. usage, of unknown origin).

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