

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 (Mühlhäusler, 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 targeted³ (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 Mitrović (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, Kiautschou 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 thus 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:

Colony	Established lingua franca
East Africa (Tanganyika)	Swahili, English (among Indians and some coastal dwellers)
South West Africa	Afrikaans and reduced forms of Afrikaans
Kamerun (Cameroon)	Pidgin English
Togo	Pidgin English
Samoa	Samoan English (among elite) Pidgin English (on plantations)
New Guinea	Some pidgin English in coastal areas Some Bazaar Malay on mainland New Guinea
Kiautschou	Some pidgin English
Micronesia	Some pidgin English

This table suggests that one would expect two kinds of developments leading to pidgin German: (1) gradual reflexification of existing *lingue franche* 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 'dearabization and germanification' of Swahili (translation mine).

It appears that this practice did not make many inroads into the core of the Swahili lexicon 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 lexicon, Kamerun pidgin English exhibits hardly any traces of German adlexification or relexification.

A 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 in Germany. 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 Schlekt
Unsere Vate noch nicht gesund er krank jeder
Tag und Deine Brueder Friedrich gin Auch
noch nicht gesund. Aber Du muss jeder Frueh-
morgen beten fuer uns in Afrika das lieber Gott
muss wir helfen su gesund bleiben in Afrika.
Viele Leute ist tot in Kribi deine Mutter Ngagua-
divine hat ein Kind geboren Herrn Daniel seine
Haus fertig su baut . . .*

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 every morning for us in
Africa that the dear Lord must help us to
stay healthy in Africa. Many people have died
in Kribi your mother Ngagudivine 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 (*wir* instead of *uns*),
- (e) same word order in main and subordinate clauses.

(2) Letter from Togo (Lenz, 1905). The author provides a detailed grammatical analysis of some of these letters.

*Am Morgen als ich aufwachte, gehe ich nach
Posthaus, Dort bekam ich Deinen Brief (p. 87).*

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

*Das Wasser von hier ist jetzt voll. Da hat
Krokodil sechs Maenner gefangen. Gestern war
hier ein Haus verbrannt da hatte eine Katze au-
dem Dach sieben Junge, aber er konnte die
Jungen nicht mitnehmen und verbrannte mit in
der Asche (p. 118).*

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 with them 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 German 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 ueber die Entwicklung der Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Suedsee im Jahre 1906/7*. Reichstag Aktenstueck 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 those 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 Tsingtau [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 'Tsingtauer 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 relexification 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 sabe Deutsch', he addressed me while making deep bows. 'Gobenol at gebene pamischu open Otel, kommen Sie, luksi, no hebe pisi man, no habe dima, 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 nach und nach. The words pamischu, luksi, pisi 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. Pamischu is 'permission', luksi means 'look see', pisi 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 relexifying 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): 'Essellenzy nich wollen mehl Schampin, chinaboi gehen flotti' ('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 gestern abend schamte ich auf der Strasse gegenueber ihre Veranda nach Sie zu schauen da viele Leute mehr fuerchte ich sie mich verspoten. 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. Mühlhäusler, 1976). In fact, Samoa remained the 'least German colony of the German Reich' (*Samoanische 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:

buter	butter
kirke	church
raus	to throw out, remove
tabak	tobacco

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 Wilhelms 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 economically 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 text 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 bleiben. Und dann Siapan kommen.*

TP (*Tok Pisin*): *Yes bipo mipelo stap. Na bihain Siapan Kam.*

E (English): yes, at first we remained. Then the Japanese came.

PG: *Wir muss gehen unsere Boot. Wir bleiben und bikples, a,*

TP: *Mipela mas go bot bilong mipela. Mipela stap na go bikples.*

E: We must go to our boat. We stayed for while and then

PG: *Festland gehen.*

TP: *Mipela stap na go bikples.*

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.

PG: *Früher ich war Alexishafen. Ich gut arbeiten. Ich war noch*
E: Earlier I was Alexishafen. I well work. I was still

PG: *klein. Ich gehen. Ich dann bleiben. Dann ich grosse Mädchen.*
E: small. I go. I then stay. Then I big girl.

PG: *Dann ich arbeiten. Planti wok. Ich hauskuk bleiben. Dann*
E: Then I work. Plenty work. I cook stay. Then

PG: *ich arbeiten gut. Ich gut kochen. Dann zu Hause kommen.*
E: I work well. I well cook. Then at home come.

PG: *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 Tumleo Island (quoted from *Styler Missionsbote*, 1902). This letter reflects the kind of German learned in mission schools.

Liebe ehrwürdige Schwestern. Zwei Missionare sind gestorben Vater Spoelgen und Schleiermacher. Schwester keine gestorben. Schwester sind krank gewesen Schwestern Valeria und Schwestern Maktalena auch krank. Schwestern Kristoba auch krank. Mein Vater ist getauft heisst Gerhart. Meine Mutter sind gestorben Meine Gross Mutter lebt noch heisst Wilhelmine meine Gross Vater nich getauft 14 Maedchen von beidem Schwestern Schwestern Kristoba hieff uns schlafen Maria Bol hat gross Wunde viele Blut. diese nacht war ert beben. Die Maedchen haben viel geschrien Jesus Bield in der Kirche von Schwestern ist kabut gefallen. ich gruesst alle Schwester. — Wilhelmina Eikalea (Vol. 3, p. 78).

Dear honourable Sisters. Two missionaries have died Father Spoelgen and Schleiermacher. No sister has died. Sisters Valeria 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 grandfather is not baptized. 14 girls belonging to the two sisters Kristoba helped us sleep (? = lie down, go to sleep). Maria Bol 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 jargons or secondary hybrids rather than with stable pidgins. This should not prevent us from also noting a strong incidence of such typical pidgin features as absence of copula, absence of inflections, reduced number of prepositions and the prevalence of temporal sequence rather than logical ordering in discourse structure. However, and this appears to be equally pronounced in the early stages of pidgin development, no conventions for fixed word order appear to have emerged.

This, then, concludes this brief survey of pidgin 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 pidgin German

3.1. Introduction

In discussing pidgin 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 bioprogram theory of creolization. It is in this light that I 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:

- (1) they arose out of a prior pidgin which had not existed for more than a generation,
- (2) 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 pidgin 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, Guamese, 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 Guinea 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 Vunapope school and 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 Vunapope school would have to switch from using German as a teaching medium to using English. This change was as hard for the 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; 'Unserdeutsch' among the students and with the now 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 at 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) diglossia, comparable to a pidgin/creole-superordinate language diglossia in many similar settings (e.g. Afrikaans of Rehobot 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 *Tolai*, Samoan-English mixed-race people, Germans, black workers from many 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 *Tolai* 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 Mühlhäusler (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 biogrammar universals 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 i konnte ni finden
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.

I lesen Buch 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, Vunapope 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 is am bauen de 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 gat mani*—I have money vs *i gat mani*—there is money) was available and southern German dialects also have this feature (*es hat Geld* it (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 inflected 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 will drinken 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 polymorphic in the creoles considered by Bickerton as well as in *Tok Pisin*, *Unserdeutsch* has a mixed system. Compare:

Standard German	<i>Unserdeutsch</i>	<i>Tok Pisin</i>	etymon gloss
<i>warum</i>	<i>was, warum</i>	<i>wa(f)nem</i>	why?
<i>welche</i>	<i>was fuer</i>	<i>wa(f)nem</i>	what (e.g. time)?
<i>wieviel</i>	<i>wieviel</i>	<i>hamas</i>	how many?
<i>wer</i>	<i>wer</i>	<i>husat</i>	who?

(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 alle 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:

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

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 problems 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 lects 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 basiclectal 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 *Tolai* 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 *ol*), a distinction between inclusive (*uns*) and exclusive (*wir*) first person plural pronouns, and, for some speakers, an additional dual pronoun *iundu* (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 constructions at the time when *Unserdeutsch* became a creole.⁴

(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 intuitions 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 no doubt 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 Schwoerer'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 keep the language as close as possible to High German. In introducing his proposal Baumann writes:

angesichts diser gefar müssen wir di ni wider-kerente günstige gelegenheit des sig-raichen welt-kriges dazu benützen, das gewonene gewaltige welt-ansén zugunsten der ferbräitung unserer sprache in di wag-shale zu werfen. wir müsen mit alen politishen und geschäftlichen miteln, wo es gét, vor alem in dem uns zugänglichsten gebiete, dem Orient, die deütshe sprache durchsetzen. Im aigenen, wol ferstandenen interesse, aber noch mer in dem unserer bundes-genosen und freünde, di wir in menshen-freündlichen bestreben uns nâer bringen wolen, denen wir aine direkte fer-ständigung mit uns, ainen güter- und gedankenaus-tausch ermöglichen wolen. dises edle zil werden wir aber ni un nimer er-reichen, wen wir inen zu-muten, das si unsere, für aus-länder kaum richtig erlernbare sprache sich an-aignen solen. in disem punkte klainlich, eng-herzig oder brutal zu sein oder gar ainen über-legenen heren-standpunkt ain-nemen zu wolen, wäre der gröste feler, zumal uns ales daran gelegen sein mus, das unser deuth nicht nur in inteligenten kräisen, di höere shulen besuchen, boden fase, sondern in den braitesten folksschichten, wi es di Engländer überall er-raichten (1916, p. 8).

In view of this danger [i.e. the spread of English] we must make the use of the unique opportunity of having won the World War, to use the resulting prestige to further the spread of our language. We must enforce the use of the German language with all political and economic means, wherever possible, but particularly in those areas of the Near East which are most accessible to us. This is both in our own interest but also in the interest of our allies and friends, since we want to enable them, out of human kindness, to engage in direct communication with us and to exchange goods and ideas with us. We will never achieve this noble aim if we expect them to master our language which is virtually unlearnable for foreigners. It would be the biggest mistake to be narrow-minded, pig-headed or even inconsiderate in this matter or even to assume the role of a superior master since it should be in our own interest that the German language become established not only in intellectual circles but also among ordinary people, as has been the case with the English language everywhere.

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:

di anspruchen, welche de krieg tut stelen an di truppen the demands the war makes on the troops.

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

de fater—di faetern 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.
- (f) Elimination of synonyms from the lexicon, e.g. *kaput* broken to replace *zerrissen*, *zerbrochen*, *geplatzt*, *zerfezt*, *zerschlitzt*, *durchloechert* etc.

Whereas Baumann aims at maintaining the referential power of the language by eliminating most of its stylistic potential, Schwoerer's planned colonial language is considerably 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 franche* such as pidgin English, Swahili and Afrikaans are to be replaced. Schwoerer sees these languages as an insult to Germany and a source of communication difficulties in a future monolithic German Africa. Schwoerer 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 *divide 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 Schwoerer 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 indigenes and white colonizers is to be institutionalized and perpetuated. According to Schwoerer, 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'.

Schwoerer'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 Schwoerer 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

Aufseher (Eingeborener, der gut K.D. spricht): 'Ich will nun wieder halten Schule für euch, weil ich habe Zeit an diese Abend für eine halbe Stunde. Aber ihr müßt gut aufpassen; denn ihr müßt lernen die deutsche Sprache so schnell wie möglich. Also aufpassen! A, sagen mir, was ist das?' (zeigt seine Hand).

A (Anfänger): 'Diese sein Ande'.

Aufseher: 'Gut, aber du müßt sagen: "Das ist eine Hand". B, sagen mir, was ist diese Sache?' (zeigt eine Grammatik).

B (Anfänger): 'Diese Sage ise eine Buge fü leanen de daitse Spage'.

Aufseher: 'Ja, ist recht, aber deine Sprache ist noch nicht gut'. (korrigiert B) 'So nun will ich wieder C fragen. Ich tat gestern fragen de gleiche Sache.' (zeigt ein Kaiser-Bild) 'Wer ist das, C? Tust du nun wissen?'

C (Anfänger, sehr ungewandt): 'Ne, ise glose Mann, abe ig wissen nit, was ise.'

Aufseher: 'C, Du bist immer de gleiche Schafkopf!'

A language lesson

Supervisor (native who speaks good *Kolonialdeutsch*): 'I want now again hold school for you, because I have time on this evening for a half hour. But you must good 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?'

C (beginner, very clumsy): 'No, is big man, but I know not, what is'.
 Supervisor: 'You are always the same idiot!'

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 circumlocutions (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) Schwoerer 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 Schwoerer 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:

*So wie das böse Ziegenbock
 die grüne Blatt am Rosenstock
 mit seine Maul abbeißen tut,
 so macht die Tod das Mensch kaputt.*

Just like the vicious billy goat
 the green leaf of the rose bush
 with his mouth bites off
 so death makes man kaputt.

In this poem the main differences from Standard varieties of German are:

- (a) the misuse of grammatical gender,
- (b) errors in adjective inflections.

Other rhymes may illustrate German intuitions about the phonological changes of foreigner German. A particularly promising type of rhyme, but one which I have not analysed, is known to children as '*Chinesisch*', an example being:

*Quunk quai quenni monni denni monni nasi,
 quunk quai qua, quunk quai qua.
 O lazaroni, o nigodeni, scharma dunk wa de junk.
 Quunk quai quenni monni denni monni nasi,
 quunk quai quorum, quunk quai qua.*

To return to literary pidgin German proper, the earliest dated examples stem from the early 19th century. The following passage is found in the speech of a German servant who poses as a Russian traveller in Kotzebue's play *Pagenstreiche* (around 1810):

*Das sein der reichste Mann in ganz
 Russland. Er haben Gueter von Wolga
 bis Irlich.
 Braut kann warten. Der Fuerst schicken
 kostbare Diamanten. So is. Peterburch
 sein Hauptstadt in Ukraine.*

D. is the richest man in the whole of
 Russia. He owns land from the Wolga to
 the Irlich river,
 The Bride can wait. The duke send precious
 Diamonds. That's so. Petersburg be the
 capital of the Ukraine.

Note the following pidgin features in this passage:

- (a) use of the infinitive instead of inflected verb forms,
- (b) variable absence of the definite article,
- (c) omission of surface dummy *es* 'it'.

Again, as in other varieties of simplified German and in *Unserdeutsch*, the copula is not omitted.

A second early example is taken from Carl von Holtei's detective novel *Mord in Riga*, written around 1830. One of the characters in this book is the servant Isaak who 'in his self-invented mixture of Russian, Latvian and German, which was intelligible only to himself and the good Lord, and which was understood by the other members of the Singwald household only after considerable guesswork, announced that, the Lord be praised, the horses are all well'. An example of his speech is the sentence:

Armes Bruder, wo kommst Du geblieben?
 Poor Brother, where have you been?

Whereas none of the established pidgin German features are present in this text, the ubiquitous *nix* 'no, not' is documented for the first time, in the speech of another character in this novel, a Russian corporal who exclaims:

Nix gut, Sturm. It is no good; there is a storm.

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 Kafferngrab* (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 Entzuecken!
Was fuer ein Koenig wird er
sein? ... Unmoeglich! Koenig
Luigi kommen nie in Bad, sondern
sein sehr einsam, sehr. ...
Nicht? Oh, ich glauben daran,
sehr, sehr. Ich wissen genau,
das wahr sein. Sie sein da
oben begraben und spiel in
der Nacht Violin in Grab.
Nein, es sein Wahrheit.
Majestaet, kommen mit herauf.
Hoeren oben viel besser das
Musiken, als da unten abasso.
Ich moecht sie sehn 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. ...
No? I believe in it very
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.
I want to see it (nightingale)
fly in the air. Oh, what
a singer.

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 Kafferngrab*:

O, Mynheer, Pferd lauf viel
schnell: Quimbo verlier Arm,
Quimbo verlier Bein; Quimbo
verlier Quimbo und Pferd. Wo
werd sein Quimbo, wenn Myheer
such Quimbo?

Mynheer rett Quimbo. Mynheer
helf arm Quimbo. Quimbo will
nicht gut schmeck Strauss, oh,
oh, Mynheer, aber Mynheer nicht
treff Quimbo, denn Quimbo bin
sonst tot.

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

Mynheer save Quimbo. Mynheer
help poor Quimbo. Quimbo no
want good taste ostrich, oh,
oh, Myneer, but Mynheer not
hit Quimbo, for Quimbo
otherwise be dead.

Quimbo lass liegen Sau? Oh, oh,
Mynheer Quimbo ess viel
schoen Sau.

Quimbo kenn Tschemba; Quimbo
hab red schon gross viel
mit Tschemba.

Quimbo let lie pig? Oh, oh
Mynheer Quimbo eat much
beautiful pig.

Quimbo know Tschemba; Quimbo
have talk already big much
with Tschemba.

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 modelled 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 few examples of passives 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 indexical function 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, the one 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

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 Austro-Hungarian 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 Katzelmacher

Signora Katzelmacher: Du, Domenico, sein sie draußen der Eccellenza, die ministro von das Hunterickt! Wollen sie bissel sprechen mit Dir!

Domenico: Sollen sie nur spettare un poco, warten ein wenig! Aben ick jeß niente tempo, keiner Seit!

Signora Katzelmacher (kommt nach einer geraumen Weile wieder): Lassen sie son serr bitten der Eccellenza, daß sie werden emfang!

Domenico: Per me! Meinetalb! (Der österreichische Unterrichtsminister Ritter v. Hartell tritt mit tiefen Bücklingen ein.)

Hartel: Buon giorno! Mille complimenti! Riverisco! Umilissimo servo! Unterthänigster Diener, verehrungswürdiger Signore! Nun werde ich mir mit der Errichtung der italienischen Rechtsfakultät in Innsbruck wohl endlich Ihre hochgeschätzte Zufriedenheit und Wohlgeneigtheit errungen haben?

Domenico: Sein sie ick gar nix contento, gar nix sufried! Per bacco! Aben sie dock versprochen der governo, das Regierung, su verlegen die corso juridico von das maledetto Hinnsbruck!

Reception

by Signore Domenico Wop⁵

Signorina Wop: Hey, Domenico, be she outside the Excellency, the ministro of Heducation! Want speak a bit with you!

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

Signorina Wop: (returns after a good-while): Lets 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 compliment. Riverisco. Umilissimo servo, 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 she 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 Hinnsbruck.

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. shibbilants),
- (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 grüße Natiun,
San me Pane Behme—
Wo sich was zu holen gibt,
Geh'n 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 großes Haus,
Daitscher Hund sull blechen!
Muß repräsentirwat
Edles Vulk der Czechen!*

*Opfert Millionen Czech
Nationalem Zwecke,
Wonn auch guldnes Prag erstickt
Mitten in dem Drecke!*

*Typhus, Kronkheit mocht sich nix,
Konn der Behm vertrogen—
Ise krank nur, wonn ihm leigt
Daitscher Hund im Mogen!*

Build we now a big house,
German dog must pay!
Must representirwat
Noble Czech people.

Waste millions the Czech
For national purposes
Whilst golden Prague suffocates
In middle of dirt!

Typhoid, disease does itself not matter,
The Czech can stand it—
Is 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 daitsch!

Wort' nur, Schwob verdommter, wonn Du Dir nächstesmoi nit konnst Nomen merken von ungarischer Stodt—hat, so schick' ich Haiduk! Der soll donn mit papriziertem Stecken Nomen Dir auf Buckel schraiben! Teremtete! Wirst Du schon lernen, ob es gibt ein Klausenburg im gonzen Ungarn, wonn Du dickes Pfefferrehr! kriegst zu schmecken! Hot Schwob Frechheit gonz gemaine, zu behaupten, daß er Kolozsvar gegründet! Baratom, gestotten mir spekulative Frage: Wonn auch Schwob gegründet Stadt, hot er darum ain Recht, der Stodt zu geben daitschen Nomen? Schwob hot überhaupt kain Recht! Schworzer daitscher Hund soll froh und donkborsain, daß ihm hot Magyar erlaubt, Stodt zu gründen!

*Mit ollerhond Hochachtung
Groß Hunyady Janos.*

No German

Just wait, Swabian damned, if you cannot remember the name of Hungarian town next time, hat, will send I Haiduk. He will write name on your back in red pepper. Teremtete. 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 Kolozsvar. Baratom, excuse my 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 of Alsace-Lorraine in the War of 1870:

*Parbleu! Nous sommes la grand nation!
Und sein so fridlik comme les anges;
Desalb, wir 'aben attention
Toujours auf niks que la revanche.*

*Nous n'oublions rien du tout,
Nous 'olen sik, c'est indoutable!
Shurükk L'Alsace-Lorraine pour nous—
Maintenant, vorläufik, mit der Snabel.*

*Car, parceque nous vergessen niks,
Nous 'aben auk en memoire,
Que nous avons reçu de Wix
Par les Prussiens, les grands barbares!*

*Desalb, wir stehn sik, sur l'épée
Les mains, toujours à la frontière!
C'est un plaisir, und thut nikt weh—
Gardez l'honneur—et la derrière! . . .*

*Parbleu! Nous sommes la grande nation!
And be as peaceful comme les anges;
Therefore, we pay attention
Toujours to nothing que la revanche.*

*Nous n'oublions rien du tout,
Nous get for ourselves, c'est indoutable!
Back, L'Alsace-Lorraine pour nous—
Maintenant, 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'épée
Les mains, toujours à la frontière!
C'est un plaisir and does not hurt—
Gardez l'honneur—et la derrière! . . .*

Pidgin features here include:

- (a) use of uninflected verb forms,
- (b) the negator *nix* (spelled *niks*),
- (c) a number of phonological simplifications, particularly [x] 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 pult down in my Kellerlock and breek kaput al my Finsterschieben. Betohtl you me, or ick hau you blau Kittoog!

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 blue your shortsighted eyes.

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

*Wie jesaellt Ihnen Berlin?
Very nice indeed, Aber ich uar
vor sechs Jahr hier, zu sehen
the Emporer, er uar 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
ihn zu seh- er ist noch immer
verreist.*

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 German. 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. *Pidgin 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 address foreigners 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 Kist, Master!' erklärte der Mann verständnisvoll.

'Mi luk aut long bokis, masta!'

'I look out for box, master!' the man said understandingly.

'Du suchen Haus für Schlaf, Haus für Kaikai,

'Yu painim haus bilong slip, haus bitong kaikai,

'You look for house for sleep, house for eat,

dann du kommen zurück. Mich nicht stehl ihm groß Kerl

bihain yu kam bek. Mi no stil -im bik jela

afterwards, you come back. I no steal him big fellow

Kist. Mich nicht mag gehen für Kalabus.'

bokis. Mi no laik go long kalabus.'

box. I no like go prison.' (pp. 184–185.)

Ich nicht weiß. Hiu-Mann, er nicht weiß ihm Boot. Er

Mi no sabe. Huiman, i no sabe -im bot. I

I not know. Hiu-man, he not know him boat. He

nehm ihm drei Kerl Bambus -mich nenn ihm nae, das

kis -im tri -fela mambu -mi kol -im nae, dis

catch him three fellow bamboo I call him nae, this

Kerl Bambus—er nehm ihm Tau, er bind ihm Bambus.

-fela mambu—i kis -im rop, i karamap -im mambu.

fellow bamboo—he catch him rope, he cover him up him bamboo.

Das Boot von Hiu. Mei Wort, Mann, er steh auf Boot

Em bot bilong Hiu. Maiwot, man i sanap long bot

him boat belonging Hiu. My word, Man, he stand on boat

wie das, er geh in Wasser, ganz unten. Wasser er

olsem, i go long wara, daunbilo. Wara i

all the same, he go in water, down below. Water he

komm für Brus von das Kerl Mann...
kam long brus bilong dis-fela man...
 come for chest of this fellow man (p. 232).

Nevermann's translation leaves a very strange impression with the reader since he has chosen neither to translate the meaning of the pidgin or indeed its contemporary grammatical structures, but rather its etymological structures. Thus, *disfela* 'this' is identified with English *this fellow* and accordingly translated as *das Kerl*. In South Seas pidgin English *-fela/-felo* usually functions as an adjective ending with no separate lexical meaning.

Similarly, his translation of the transitive verb affix *-im* (possibly from English *him*, though other etymologies have also been suggested) as German *ihm* seems inappropriate. There is another interesting aspect to Nevermann's pidgin German. Instead of opting for either the infinitive or simple verb stems, as is done by other authors, he uses both forms. The infinitive is used after second person pronouns, inflected verb forms (third person forms) or verb stems are used after third person subjects. This reflects neither a rule of pidgin English nor of any form of German I am aware of.

Text 2. R. L. Stevenson, *The Beach of Falesa*. Stevenson's short story contains many passages of a partially stabilized pidgin English used in Samoa from the middle of the last century outside the plantations, where a more stable language was spoken by the indentured black workers. The German translation combines the word-for-word method and free translation into a pidginized form of German. Consider the following passages:

Original	German translation
No good. Man he drink, he no good.	<i>Nicht gut. Mann er trinken, er nicht gut.</i>
Why you bring him? Suppose you no want drink, you no bring him, I think.	<i>Warum Du mitbringen ihn? Wenn Du nicht wollen trinken ihn, Du nicht mitbringen ihn, ich glauben.</i>
'Now you talk silly, said she. 'White man, he come here, I marry him all-e-same Kanaka; very well! he marry me all-e-same white woman. Suppose he no marry, he go 'way. All-e-same thief, empty hand. Tonga-heart- no can love. Now you come marry me. You big heart- you no 'shamed island-girl. That thing I love you far too much. I proud.'	<i>'Du reden nun dummes Zeug', erwiderte sie. 'Wenn weisser Mann kommen zu mir, ich heiraten ihn wie einen Kanaken. Sehr gut— er heiraten mich wie eine weisse Frau. Wenn er nicht will heiraten, muss er gehen weg. Case so wie Dieb, leere Hand, Steinherz nicht koennen lieben. Nun Du kommen, mich heiraten. Du grosses Herz. Du nicht verachten Insel-maedchen. Darum ich Dich lieben sehr. Ich stolz.'</i>

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 translating process,

- (c) a tendency, not maintained throughout the text, to stick to SVO word order.

Text 3. Raabe (1924), *Kannibalenndichte*. 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:

Literary pidgin German	Translation
<i>Viele Krieger von Malaita gekommen. Viele Maenner von Guadalcanal da: Mit ihnen kaempfen. Malaitas hoellisch Schlaege bekommen. Krieger von Guadalcanal viel zu essen bekommen. Grosser Haeuptling kommen, kaikai (essen) (p. 104).</i>	Many men have come from Malaita. Many men from Guadalcanal there. With them fight. Malaitas terribly beating get. Warriors from Guadalcanal plenty to eat get. Big chief come kaikai (eat).
<i>'Kerls tabu! Kerls in den Busch?' fragte mich Ugu, indem er zuerst auf die erschrockenen Weissen und dann auf den Busch zeigte. 'Kerls tabu', bestaetigte ich, mit dem Kopf nickend, 'Kerl viel tabu'. 'Nicht tabu kaikai', sagte Ugu lachend (p. 159).</i>	'Fellows taboo! Fellows in the Bush?' Ugu asked me, by pointing first to the frightened whites and then to the bush. 'Fellows taboo', I confirmed, with a nod of my head. 'Fellows plenty taboo'. 'Not taboo kaikai', Ugu said laughingly.

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) *Unserdeutsch* 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 *Unserdeutsch* throughout its existence.

Table 1

Bickerton	Bickerton Creole	<i>Unserdeutsch</i>	<i>Weltdeutsch</i>	<i>Kolonialdeutsch</i>	Early literary pidgin German	Karl May Europeans
1. Selected features						
Focus movement	+	+	+	—	?	+
Use of definite article	+	—	—	—	—	—
TMA	+	—	—	—	—	—
Relative and Subject Copula	+	—	—	—	?	—
Copula absent	+	—	—	—	—	—
Adjectives as verbs	+	—	—	—	—	—
Question form	+	+	—	—	—	—
Question words	+	0	—	—	—	—
2. Other diagnostic features						
Absence of article	—	—	—	—	0	—
SOV order	—	+	+ ¹	0	?	0 ¹
SVO order	+	+	+	0	+	+
Generalization of infinitive	n.a.	—	—	—	0	0
Generalization of verb stem	n.a.	—	—	—	—	—
Deletion of prepositions	—	—	—	—	—	—
Subject pronoun deletion	—	0	—	—	+	0
Shortening of words	+	?	—	—	+	—
Change of gender	n.a.	+	+	n.a.	+	+
Nix negator	n.a.	—	—	—	+	—

Table 1—continued

Bickerton	Karl May non- Europeans	<i>Jugend</i> foreigner talk	Nevermann	Stevenson translation	Raabe	New Guinea pidgin German
1. Selected features						
Focus movement	—	—	—	n.a.	n.a.	—
Use of definite article	—	—	—	—	—	—
TMA	—	—	—	—	—	—
Relative and Subject Copula	—	—	+	+	—	—
Copula absent	—	—	+	+	+	0
Adjectives as verbs	—	—	—	—	—	—
Question form	—	0	n.a.	+	+	n.a.
Question words	—	—	n.a.	—	n.a.	—
2. Other diagnostic features						
Absence of article	+	0	—	+	0	+
SOV order	0	0	—	—	+	0
SVO order	+	+	+	+	—	0
Generalization of infinitive	0	+	0	+	+	+
Generalization of verb stem	+	—	0	—	—	—
Deletion of prepositions	—	—	—	0	—	+
Subject pronoun deletion	+	—	—	0	+	0
Shortening of words	+	+	+	—	—	—
Change of gender	+	+	+	n.a.	—	n.a.
Nix negator	—	+	—	—	—	—

+: presence; 0: variable presence; —: absence; ?: no decision possible; n.a.: not applicable for lack of relevant text samples.

(4) *Unserdeutsch* 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 guestworker 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, *Unserdeutsch* 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 *Unserdeutsch* and Bickerton's bioprogram grammar are only partially ascribable to the fact that *Unserdeutsch* is meso- rather than basilectal. They can also not be ascribed to the influence of *Tok Pisin* on *Unserdeutsch* since (a very puzzling fact) *Tok Pisin* conforms much more closely to Bickerton's ideal creole than *Unserdeutsch*. Thus, *Unserdeutsch* 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 [Mühlhäusler, 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 franche*

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, disfavoured 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. Gabriele Mühlhäusler who for years has traced materials relating to pidgin German for me. I am also indebted to Bruce Rigsby of the University of Queensland for letting me have a copy of Volker's thesis on *Unserdeutsch*, 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 conspiracy 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 *Unserdeutsch* 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 *Tolai* and other black indentured workers on the Samoan plantation. 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 *Katzelmacher* 'Italian' (pejorative) is *Wop* (mainly U.S. usage, of unknown origin).

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