

Pegby

An Introduction to
Rabaul Creole German
(Unserdeutsch)

by

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Abstract

Unserdeutsch or Rabaul Creole German arose at the turn of the century as a lingua franca of the Catholic mixed-race community in Vunapope near Rabaul, New Guinea. It became creolized in one generation and is today spoken by 80-100 persons in Papua New Guinea and Australia. The phonology and morphology of the language are close to those of Standard German, while its syntax has been heavily influenced by English and either Tok Pisin or indigenous Austronesian languages.

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INTRODUCTION

Languages in Contact

Ever since first appearing on Earth, humanity has been plagued by a Babel of thousands of differing tongues. This divisive tendency has been countered by an instinct that has driven many individuals to become multilingual and some in modern times even to invent entire languages such as Volapük and Esperanto in the hope of establishing a universal language. Not all such attempts at communicating have been entirely successful. In many cross-lingual situations no one language is learned well. Instead, a new language emerges which has elements of each of the original languages of the different groups. These languages are called pidgin and creole languages.

Although pidginization has been used to explain linguistic phenomena arising as long ago as 3000 BC (such as the non-Indo-European features of structure and lexicon in Germanic languages)¹, the earliest generally accepted pidginized language was Sabir or Mediterranean Lingua Franca, which appeared as a result of the Crusades and lasted into the early years of this century. Since then pidgin and creole languages have appeared on every continent so that today between at least eight and nine million persons use a pidgin or creole language for daily communication.²

Nearly half of these persons speak one of a number of French-based pidgin or creole languages in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean. Most of the others speak one of the English-based pidgin or creole languages spoken in the Caribbean and areas of North and South America adjacent to it, West Africa, the Pacific, East Asia and Australia. Dutch has been creolized in South Africa to form Afrikaans and in the Virgin Islands to form Negerhollands. Spanish and Portuguese-based creole languages are spoken by many thousands of persons in the Caribbean, the United States, West Africa and Asia. Other smaller groups have been reported who used pidginized languages based on Italian or Russian in areas colonized by those two powers.

Although the majority of the world's pidgin and creole languages are based on European languages, it should not be assumed that pidginization and creolization are merely the result of European colonialism. Pidginized versions of a number of Native American languages have been reported, including the once widespread Chinook Jargon of the North American Pacific coast. Similarly, in Africa Swahili, a pidginized

Bantu language, is the official language of several nations and pidginized languages based on languages as widespread as Arabic and Zulu are used by many speakers. In the islands to the north of Australia two indigenous pidgin languages are now the official languages of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea; Bahasa Indonesia and Hiri Motu, respectively, the latter being co-official with English and Tok Pisin, an English-based pidgin language.³

Although linguists have been studying pidgin and creole languages since the 1880s, when Hugo Schuchardt wrote his pioneering Kreolische Studien, there is as yet no general agreement on the origin of these many pidginized languages. Many scholars have been struck by the similarities in pidgin and creole languages that are geographically and historically quite far from one another. Creole French in Haiti, Black English in the United States and Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, for example, all lack a copula, as can be seen from their respective renditions of "Two pounds is not enough": dé liv la pa kont, two pound not 'nuff, and tu paun i no nap.⁴ Similarly, pidgin and creole languages around the world share a number of the same basic words, such as sabe (know) and pikinini (child). Because the first European-based pidgins outside the Mediterranean were based on Portuguese and because most of the common words in pidgin languages, such as sabe and pikinini can be attributed to Portuguese, many scholars trace the majority of the world's pidgin languages to a Proto-Pidgin Portuguese language, which they claim was spread around the world by the early Portuguese traders. According to this theory, as other European languages spread into areas where this pidginized Portuguese was used, most of the Portuguese lexical items were replaced by words from the "intruding" language, while the basic grammatical structure remained largely unchanged. At least one scholar, Keith Whinnom, has carried this hypothesis one step further by suggesting that the Proto-Pidgin Portuguese was in turn a relexification of Sabir.⁵

Not all pidgin and creole languages can, however, be traced back to Proto-Pidgin Portuguese, particularly those of non-European origin, such as Sango and Bahasa Indonesia. In addition, even in languages which share some common elements with early Portuguese pidgin languages, as does Tok Pisin, there are grammatical features which cannot be explained by relexification; in the case of Tok Pisin one such feature is the predicate marker i, which has no parallel in pidgins which are clearly derived from Portuguese.

These "unexplainable" grammatical items can come from the parent languages or they can be unique to the pidgin and have no equivalent in the parent languages. A good example of this latter development is in Chicano English spoken in the southwestern United States, which uses stress to form the negative, even though both Spanish and English, its parent languages, use lexical items instead: /xi kaŋ gó/ "he can go" and /xi kaŋ go/ "he cannot go". Because of such similar problems scholars such as Ian Hancock and Mervyn Alleyne have rejected the monogenetic view that all pidgin languages are derived from Pidgin Portuguese.⁶ Perhaps the truth to the question of the origin of pidgin and creole languages lies somewhere in the middle, with some having their origins in a relexified Pidgin Portuguese, others being instigated by the presence of speakers of other pidgin languages, such as Proto-Pidgin Portuguese, but owing little other than a few lexical items to them, while others are spontaneous creations, having no connection with other pidgin languages.

Hymes has listed three conditions which must be present before a pidgin language, whatever its origin, can develop. These are (1) contact between at least two languages, one of which must be obviously dominant, (2) distinct boundaries between the languages and (3) a slave/master type of relationship with little social intercourse. Where there is no dominant language there is no pressure for one party to change its linguistic habits. Where the languages in question are so similar that the boundaries are unclear between the languages, the languages will merge with little change other than some lexical borrowing. Where the groups are socially equal, there is a tendency for at least one of the groups to become bilingual with the possibility that one language can even disappear. This has been the case with most immigrant speech communities in North America, for example.⁷

Where these three conditions do occur a pidgin language will often emerge. A pidgin language is defined by the pioneer pidgin linguist Leonard Bloomfield as "a compromise between a foreign speaker's version of a language and a native speaker's version of the foreign speaker's version in which each party imperfectly reproduces the other's reproductions".⁸ A pidgin language is by definition a contact language, usually used only in a specialized sphere of activity, such as trade or plantation work. Because it is not anyone's native language and therefore does not need to fulfill all the roles of a native language, it is usually limited in vocabulary. It should be noted that a pidgin

language does have a set grammatical structure and lexicon. Where a mixture of languages is used outside a given grammatical framework, as would be the case between Australian and New Caledonian school-children with only a poor understanding of the other group's language, the result is called a jargon. Obviously, a pidgin must start as a jargon before it emerges as a pidgin language with a definite set grammar and lexicon.

Often a pidgin language will become so established that children grow up speaking it as their mother language. This can happen where it has so much prestige that a community uses it in preference to the vernacular language, as has happened with Tok Pisin in parts of Papua New Guinea. More commonly, it comes about when members of different language groups marry or live close together and use the pidgin language for most everyday activities. When a pidgin language becomes the mother language of a new speech community, it is called a creole language.

Because a creole language must be versatile enough to be used for all everyday activities, it usually has a larger vocabulary and a more intricate grammatical system than its pidgin predecessor.

Not all pidgin languages become creolized. Sabir, for example, lasted several centuries as a pidgin language without becoming creolized.

Other pidgin languages may become creolized in a very short time, as presumably happened in the multilingual slave societies of colonial America. Still others, such as Tok Pisin, may remain basically pidgin languages, even though a relatively small number of its speakers speak it as their first language. Pidgin and creole languages tend to have two names, one popular and the other given by linguists. Linguists generally follow the system proposed by G.F. Hockett, using the formula "X pidgin/creole Y", where X is either a geographic designation or the name of the broad secondary source language(s) and Y the specific dominant source language. Thus the widespread lingua franca of Papua New Guinea is known as Tok Pisin or New Guinea Pidgin English (as it is still creolized only in isolated areas) and the language discussed in this study can be called either Unserdeutsch, the designation given by its speakers (literally "Our German"), or Rabaul Creole German.

German in Contact with Other Languages

Not all instances of contact between German and other languages have resulted in new pidgin languages. One esoteric possibility has been an artificially modified version of the language, created in the hope of establishing German as a universal auxiliary language. In pre-World War I Germany a simplified Weltddeutsch was proposed by Adelbert Baumann, in which the orthography and lexicon of German was simplified to extend the use of German among Germany's "Bundesgenossen und Freunde, die wir in menschen-freundlichem bestreben uns näher bringen wollen".¹⁰ At around the same time E. Schwoerer proposed a simplified Kolonialdeutsch for communication between Germans and their overseas subjects and among the various colonized groups. Unlike Baumann, Schwoerer simplified not only vocabulary, but also changed a number of grammatical items that foreign learners often find difficult, such as word order rules and verb endings: "Ja wohl, bana. Ich bin bei Ihre Pflanzung. Ich kann sagen Alles in Deutsch und ich kann verstehen nun alle Menschen seit 4 Wochen."¹¹ Neither of these proposals was implemented beyond the parlor game stage.

A more widespread phenomenon is the altered German found in the Sprachinseln of those countries where German-speaking emigrants have settled. K. Schirmunski has called the study of these German dialects the most important work of modern Germanists. Although he states that the discovery of "Sprache, nicht als Zustand, sondern Sprache als Bewegung" came in the last century with the work of the Sprachatlas des deutschen Reiches, it is only in the overseas German communities that the Germanist can see "Mischung und Ausgleich im Werden", so that universal rules of language development can be found.¹²

These varieties of German in the Americas, southern Africa and Australia are usually characterized by the loss of inflection and, sometimes, gender and by the heavy use of foreign expressions. Herbert Nöckler attributes this to both a lack of Sprachkraft in emigrant communities when confronted with new ideas or objects and to the extreme fluidity of German dialects as opposed to the relative rigidity of written Standard German.¹³ It is important to note that these emigrant varieties of German are not new pidgin or creole languages. They remain mutually comprehensible with Standard German and are generally spoken only by Germans, who use another language for contact with others. As they are not the means of inter-group communication and cannot be placed

in the "life cycle" of pidgins and creoles mentioned above, they must be regarded as new dialects of German rather than as new languages.

A third variety of altered German is Ausländerdeutsch, the "foreign talk" register. This exists in many languages and is the register used by a native speaker when speaking to foreigners with a poor understanding of the native's language. It is the result of changes made by the native speaker because of intuitive feelings he has about which items in his grammar are easy and which are difficult. Because of the often widespread use of this register in jokes and literature, there is usually some consensus within a community regarding foreign talk. Thus it can verge on being a jargon and can be the basis for a pidginized version of the language.

There is evidence that besides these non-pidgin varieties of altered German, several types of pidginized German have also developed. Peter Mühlhäusler gives evidence for a Pidgin German having existed in the former German colony of Kiautschou, today the city of Tsingtao in Shantung Province, China. Under the influence of the many German settlers in the colony many of the English words in Chinese Pidgin English were replaced by German words, producing a relexified Chinese Pidgin German. Among the examples Mühlhäusler quotes from books by Kiautschou residents at the turn of the century are: Ik sabe Deutsch (I know German) and Gobenol at gegebene pamischu open Otel (The governor has given permission to open the hotel).¹⁴

In another article Mühlhäusler claims that Yiddish and the Halbdeutsch language of Estonia may be examples of creolized German.¹⁵ The existence of one more pidgin German is hinted at by Nöckler in his discussion of the dialect spoken by the German community in Namibia.¹⁶ He writes that a "telegram-like" form of German is used in conversation with Black Africans that is characterized by the use of only one article, the lack of verb conjugation, only du in second person and the adoption of many more Afrikaans and Bantu words than is common in the Namibian German dialect. Unfortunately, Nöckler does not provide us with enough information to ascertain whether this reduced form of German is a systematic pidgin language or just a collection of individual jargons.

Besides the Rabaul Creole German described in this work and the pidgins described above, no other pidgin languages based on German

appear to have developed in the ex-German colonies. In all of them the main lingua franca was not German—English-based pidgins were used in Kamerun and German New Guinea, Swahili in German East Africa and a variety of languages, among them Afrikaans, in South West Africa. German was limited to a relatively small number of activities and persons. Using New Guinea as an example for all the ex-colonies, Mühlhäusler explains that no Pidgin German developed among the indigenous population because German was used only for communication between Germans and a select few indigenes, not among the different indigenous language groups under German control.¹⁷ In addition, Standard German remained the goal for anyone who had enough contact with the colonial masters to have reason to learn the language. This was in contrast to Pidgin English, where the vast majority of language learners had at least some contact with speakers of Standard English. Although there were, and to some extent still are, a number of New Guineans who can speak a German jargon, these speakers have no consensus of what constitutes the grammar or lexicon of this jargon (or better jargons), so that it has remained at the level of the German of a second language learner, rather than developing into a pidgin language.

Gastarbeiterdeutsch

One variety of German that is often called "Pidgin German" is the German of the foreign workers in West Germany, Gastarbeiterdeutsch. Since the early 1960s over a million workers from the Middle East, southern Europe and North Africa, many with dependents, have settled in the Federal Republic. Few learn German well and because of the conspicuous presence of these poor speakers of German and, perhaps more importantly, of their children in German schools, much attention has been given to their speech patterns.

Although observers do speak of a Pidgin German, the lack of homogeneity in the workers' command of Standard German would suggest that Gastarbeiterdeutsch is simply a phenomenon of imperfect language learning or a collection of individual jargons. Both the Essner Forschungsteam and the members of the Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt: Pidgindeutsch claim that Gastarbeiterdeutsch is not a true pidgin, but a bridge to a reasonable command of Standard German for at least some of the foreign workers.¹⁸

Although there is great diversity in individuals' varieties of Gastarbeiterdeutsch, some generalizations can be made. Most speakers

use no adjective endings, few prepositions or verb forms, a uniform word order and only the feminine forms of the articles. As in Spanish and Italian, the use of personal pronouns is optional in many speakers' speech and many sentences consist of one word (e.g. "Nett." for "Der Wagen ist nett."). As in many pidgin languages there is usually no copula: "Ich Italiener" for "Ich bin Italiener". Nearly all lexical items are German, although often a dialect rather than a Standard German word will be chosen, so that a Turk in Swabia, for example, will be more likely to learn Swabian Gosohe than the Standard German Maul (mouth).¹⁹

It is possible that today's Gastarbeiterdeutsch is a pre-pidgin continuum which, given stable conditions, will evolve into a true pidgin. These stable conditions would include isolation, discrimination and the growth of the idea of Gastarbeiterdeutsch as the language of a particular group in German society. There are indications that already many Germans view Gastarbeiterdeutsch as not only the speech of foreigners, but of foreigners belonging to a "subproletariat".²⁰ If isolation results in the building of permanent ghettos, as has begun in some large West German cities, the conditions necessary for linguistic stabilization and the establishment of a true pidgin will be present. If, on the other hand, education, community attitudes or wide-scale repatriation prevent the standardization of a true Pidgin German, this variety of German will continue to remain a half-way mark along the path to bilingualism for foreign workers in the Federal Republic.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

German contact with the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain Island (formerly Neupommern) in what is today Papua New Guinea dates from the late 1870s. At that time German traders and explorers such as von Schleinitz and Finsch charted the coastline and began small trading operations. They were followed by missionaries of various nationalities, including in 1882 Brother (later Father) Fromm, a German Missionary of the Sacred Heart. German activity in New Guinea grew so much that in 1885 a German protectorate under the Neu-Guinea Compagnie was established.

The Gazelle Peninsula quickly became the most prosperous part of the new colony, so much so, in fact, that the capital was soon moved there, from the mainland; first to Herbertshöhe (today called Kokopo), then to Simpsonshaven (today called Rabaul). These towns soon became quite cosmopolitan as the Germans brought in Guamanians as overseers, Caroline Islanders as policemen, Filipinos as farmers and sailors, Malaysians as clerks and Chinese as laborers and artisans, as well as businessmen from several northern European nations. Because most of the migrant workers, German colonists and other European visitors were men without their families, mixed-race children soon appeared. In 1898 the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, together with the Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, established a boarding school and orphanage for these children near Herbertshöhe at Wunapope (today spelt Vunapope), which even today is one of the largest missionary centers in New Guinea. This marks the beginning of what this writer calls the "Vunapope Germans", who in Rabaul are called the "Mission Mixed-Race Community".

Among the students at this school the three conditions mentioned earlier for the emergence of a pidgin language were present. Firstly, there was contact between German and a host of other languages—Tok Boi (the English-based New Guinea pidgin which was the predecessor of modern Tok Pisin), several immigrant languages (Cantonese, Tagalog, Trukese, Bahasa Malay and others) and a number of indigenous, mainly Austronesian, languages. Secondly, the missionary teachers emphasized the separateness of German from the indigenous languages and the various indigenous languages were not usually mutually intelligible. Thirdly, the student-pupil relationship between the native German speakers and the mixed-race children provided enough social distance to enable a lingua franca among the students to develop.

Few, if any, of the students spoke German in school exactly à la Duden. Instead they used a colloquial German which deviated only in minor aspects from Standard German. Among themselves in the dormitories the students used the pidginized German which they were developing. This had a predominantly German vocabulary and a grammar similar to Tok Boi. One older informant claimed that when students came to the school speaking Tok Boi, they would gradually use German words in place of English ones as they learned German in class. Because of the students' relative isolation in the dormitories, this relexified Tok Boi stabilized quickly and remained a favourite vehicle of communication amongst peers even though the students' knowledge of Standard German continued to improve in the classroom. This is not unlike the situation in many Papua New Guinean schools today, where students learn Tok Pisin from their peers at the same time they learn English in the classroom, with the result that English remains a classroom language only.

By the time of the Australian invasion in 1914 the linguistic situation was analogous to that in a typical German country town: at home in the dormitories the students spoke a "dialect" (Mundart), which they called "Unserdeutsch"; with their teachers and outsiders they spoke a local colloquial form of Standard German (Umgangssprache), which they called "Normaldeutsch"; and in writing they used standard written German (Schriftsprache). The only difference was that their "dialect" was not a true dialect of German, but a pidginized German.

The Australian invasion and subsequent administration of German New Guinea by Australia caused a number of changes at Vunapope. The new Australian administrators followed the same policy regarding mixed-race children as their colleagues in the Northern Territory had done; namely, that mixed-race children were to be removed from their indigenous mothers and placed in boarding institutions where they could learn European ways. In addition, nearly all the German plantation owners and businessmen, as well as many businessmen of other European, non-British nationality, were repatriated to Europe. Many of them had indigenous wives or mistresses who, with only a few exceptions, were left behind. Their children were nearly always placed with a mission orphanage, the Vunapope mission being the largest. These two policies meant that the Vunapope school for mixed-race children grew rapidly, so that at any one time in the inter-war years, the school would have had 100-180 students.

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, as most visiting outsiders were either other German missionaries or indigenous people with whom Tok Pisin was used. The isolation was so complete that the carpenter apprentices did not even learn to measure the English non-metric way.

This isolation was broken by the Second World War and the post-war preparations for independence. In 1948 the teaching of German as a first language was prohibited, and the mixed-race school was reorganized along more academic lines. New teaching sisters were brought to Vunapope from America and, to a lesser extent, Australia. As the German missionaries grew older and retired from their classroom and active pastoral duties, contact with Standard German became less and less. "Unserdeutsch" remained longer, as it had become the language of the mixed-race community, and several of the new American teachers who were of German descent learned it and used it socially. Gradually, however, Unserdeutsch declined as well, as the Vunapope Germans began to intermarry more with other mixed-race groups, Australians and others.

In the 1950s, a number of Vunapope Germans moved away from the Vunapope-Kokopo area, first to Rabaul and then to other towns in Papua New Guinea. During this time and in the 1960s most of them took advantage of a relaxing of the White Australia Policy that allowed them to become

naturalized Australian citizens. When independence came to Papua New Guinea in 1975, most Vunapope Germans moved to Australia, even though they were eligible to become "automatic" (as opposed to naturalized) citizens of the new country. Today most live in the Brisbane, Queensland area, where at least 1000 reside. Other groups are in Sydney and in the Rabaul-Kokopo area, and a few families are to be found in Lae and Port Moresby.

The Vunapope Germans remain a cohesive social group in spite of their geographic dispersal. Strong kinship ties hold families together and ensure that the older relatives, who provide a link to the past, are in contact with the younger generation. Even though many, perhaps even a majority of, Vunapope Germans are of Melanesian and Chinese, Scandinavian, Malayan or Guamanian and not actual German descent, "German-ness" (Deutschtum) plays an important part of the culture of the group. This was explained by one Vunapope German as "something to hold on to". She said the group felt that it was separate from both Australians and the indigenous people. The German culture was a common rallying point around which a group identity could be established. Moreover, it was the culture in which the children at the orphanage had grown up and which they had passed on to their families. Many older Vunapope Germans still think and speak of Germany as the Vaterland, even though they have never been there. Most Vunapope Germans of all ages describe the accomplishments of the German administration and colonists with pride and respect. Traditional German virtues of hard work, cleanliness and order are espoused by the group and many housewives still cook Sauerbraten and Schnitzel. The German language, especially in its pidgin form, has a special place in the group, even though most people cannot speak it fluently any more. One family estimated that there are now only 80-100 fluent speakers of Unserdeutsch and only a few more than a dozen of them in New Britain. For younger persons especially, who do not usually have active use of Unserdeutsch, it remains, as one woman said, "a fun language, although not a language of communication". These people, who can usually understand an Unserdeutsch speaker, will use an occasional German phrase to emphasize a sarcastic or comical remark or to hide something from someone who does not speak German.

TRIGLOSSIA AMONG VUNAPOPE GERMANS

The Vunapope Germans have traditionally been at least tri-lingual. Tok Pisin is used to speak to indigenous people, but until recently was not used among mixed-race persons. (One woman remembered being scolded by her missionary teacher with "Ihr seid doch keine Kanaken!" when she used Tok Pisin.) Among themselves, Rabaul Creole German (Unserdeutsch) developed as an initial linguistic bridge for the first Vunapope Germans. Standard German (replaced later by Standard English) was used for written work and a colloquial form for spoken communication with non-indigenous outsiders. From the beginning, Rabaul Creole German was held in poor esteem by the missionaries, who were the surrogate parents of the first Vunapope Germans. Because of this, even today Vunapope Germans try to avoid speaking their pidginized German around missionaries and other Germans. The writer was told by one man that it was a language for use with a "lower type of bloke" ("einem billigeren Kerl"). In spite of this feeling of inferiority regarding their language, Rabaul Creole German is the language in which its speakers feel most at home. It is regarded as a "natural" language that does not need to be studied in order to be spoken. When asking about verb forms, the writer began a question with "If I were learning Unserdeutsch..." and was interrupted by a man who said that one did not learn Unserdeutsch. It would "come naturally" to anyone mixing in Vunapope German circles.

The dialect of colloquial German spoken in Rabaul (called Normaldeutsch by Vunapope Germans), on the other hand, has always been a learned speech variety for Vunapope Germans. In a society that lacked formal tertiary or even upper secondary educational facilities, the ability to speak "good" German through the study of German grammar was an intellectual pursuit that gave the individual recognition in the community as a learned person. Even today, a young Vunapope German will point with pride to the fact that his father possessed a certain number of German grammar books and that the missionaries judged his German as the best in the community.

The present linguistic situation among the speakers of German in the Vunapope German community is quite different to that of several decades ago. Whereas previously both Rabaul Creole German and Normaldeutsch were known by all speakers, today the younger generations, whose schooling was all in English, speak only Rabaul Creole German. Many

older speakers no longer use Unserdeutsch because they say it has changed since they were young and, more importantly, their ability to use "good" German marks them as educated persons. Nevertheless, both groups understand the other's form of German. Thus true Unserdeutsch and the Rabaul variety of colloquial German have combined into a single speech system, Rabaul Creole German.

The situation with Rabaul Creole German today is similar to that in Guyanese Creole English described by Bickerton²¹. Bickerton uses the terms basilect, acrolect and mesolect, which were coined by W.A. Stewart²², to describe the Guyanese continuum that ranges from standard English to highly pidginized English. This continuum in its entirety forms Guyanese Creole English. The basilect is that form of Guyanese Creole most distinct from standard English, the acrolect is educated Guyanese English, and the mesolect covers all intermediate varieties. No one individual can use all these forms, although most have the ability to go "up" and "down" the continuum to some degree, as the following chart shows:

TABLE 1	
<u>Range of Creole Continuum</u>	
Speaker	
30	_____
9/188	_____
41	_____
2/186	_____
99/125	_____
	basilect mid-mesolect acrolect

from D.B. Bickerton, Dynamics of a Creole System, (Cambridge University press, Cambridge, 1975), p. 189.

A similar chart could be used for Rabaul Creole German. Although there is only one speech community, the pidginized form of German and the local colloquial form of standard German remain as separate styles or registers. Each person's upper and lower styles will be different, just as in the chart above, speaker 2/186's upper style is about the same as speaker 99/125's lower style. This compounds the problem of description for a researcher, as a complete description of Rabaul Creole German would have to include descriptions of the basilect and acrolect, as

well as the various mesolects in between . Although this would make a fascinating study, for reasons of space alone, it is not possible in the present work. Going on the premise that any item that is different from Standard German and is found in a mesolect will probably also be found in the basilect, this work will confine itself to attempting to describe the basilect. An exception to this rule will be made in the discussion of the phonology of Rabaul Creole German, as no noticeable difference exists in the phonological systems of the basilect and acrolect.

METHODOLOGY

Unless otherwise acknowledged, the data used in this analysis were taken from notes and recordings of conversations and interviews with Vunapope Germans or with persons closely associated with the Vunapope German community. The biggest problem in collecting data was obtaining authentic samples of the basilect so that the most pidginized features of Rabaul Creole German could be studied. Although Vunapope Germans have the Melanesian custom of doing one's utmost to please a guest, many had difficulty at first in understanding that it was the basilect that was required rather than the acrolect. Many, too, had inhibitions in speaking Unserdeutsch with a White, educated speaker of Standard German, especially if their usual speech approached the acrolect. The recordings are therefore interspersed with the laughter of embarrassment when a particularly pidginized form was spoken.

Luckily, the writer met a very helpful Vunapope German teacher in Rabaul who introduced him to persons who were not shy with foreigners. After an initial conversation in German (the author speaking in Standard German and the informant(s) in Rabaul Creole German), a recording would be made or notes taken of a conversation. A total of nine Vunapope Germans, aged approximately 30 to 70, were recorded. One person's recording was unusable due to technical difficulties and another was difficult to use because of background noise. The recordings varied in length from 20 minutes to an hour and included unstructured conversation, translations from Tok Pisin or English and, in one case, recitation of the Grimm's fairy tale "Rumpelstiltskin". The translations were chosen in advance to elicit grammatical items that Tok Pisin has that do not exist in European languages. This was done on the assumption that Rabaul Creole German would have common elements with Tok Pisin and could be a German relexification of Tok Pisin. In most recording sessions the school teacher, who had immediately understood what was desired, was able to guide the informants towards the basilect, and, as time went on, several reliable persons were available who could verify whether a particular utterance was "authentic" Unserdeutsch. Copies of the tapes, along with a taped conversation in German with To Urapol, reportedly the last Tolai alive in the Gazelle Peninsula able to speak German, have been placed in the MGATA dialect tape collection at the University of Queensland Department of German.

In this work normal German orthography has been used wherever possible.

phonology and to places where non-German words or extremely non-standard forms have been used. To allow for easier reading, even some of these have been spelt with Standard German orthography. Thus the adopted Tok Pisin term maski has been spelt as a German word (maski) and the pronoun /i/ "I" (Standard German ich) has been spelt i.

Loan words from English that retain their original pronunciation have usually been left in normal English orthography. At times this has also been done where Standard German affixes have been attached, e.g. watchen and aufpicken. The reader with a basic knowledge of English and Standard German should have little problem approximating the pronunciation of the Rabaul Creole German examples in this study.

For the convenience of the non-Germanist most examples of Rabaul Creole German and Standard German have been translated into English. An English or Tok Pisin translation marked by the word "cue" indicates the original phrase given to the informant to translate into Rabaul Creole German. In some instances a more exact translation of the Rabaul Creole German phrase actually uttered has also been given.

Where convenient the abbreviations SG, E and RCG have been used for "Standard German", "English" and "Rabaul Creole German", respectively.

PHONOLOGY

This study will not attempt a complete phonological study of Rabaul Creole German. Instead, the broad phonological structure of the language will be compared with that of Standard German with the aim of showing the areas where Rabaul Creole German differs most from Standard German. The reader should note that this does not imply that Rabaul Creole German was derived from Standard German. More probably its parents were the various German dialects spoken in the Gazelle Peninsula during the German colonial period.

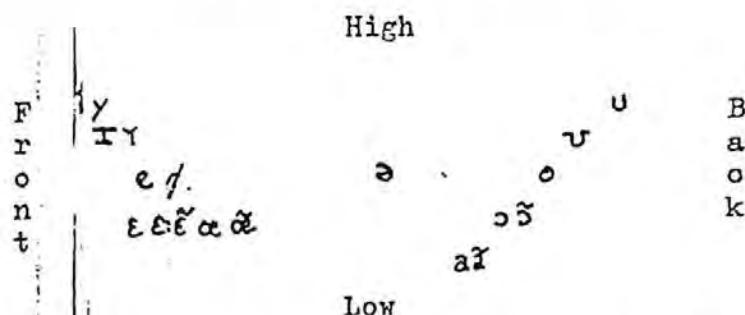
It should also be noted that several features discussed below were found only in the speech of one or two informants and that "correction" to Standard German phonological forms was common to several informants. The results presented in this chapter are therefore still rather tentative.

Generally one can say that Rabaul Creole German has been only slightly influenced by Tok Pisin and English in its phonological system. Most of the deviations from Standard German are identical with those of northern Germany, whereas only a few are the same as in the south. This probably reflects the preponderance of North Germans in the sailing community and Prussian bureaucracy of the German colonial period. The South German forms may have come from the Catholic missionaries, who would have mainly come from South Germany and Austria, the Catholic areas of German-speaking Europe. The influence of these South German forms would have been offset not only by the speech of the North Germans, but by the significant number of Dutch missionaries at Vunapope, whose accent in German was presumably closer to North than South German pronunciation.

Vowels

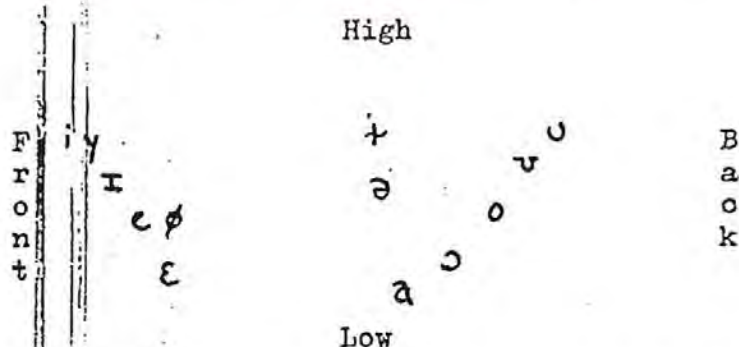
As in Standard German, the vowels in Rabaul Creole German are either short or long. Rabaul Creole vowels are generally shorter than those of Standard German, so that a long vowel is between a Standard German short vowel and a Standard German long vowel and a short vowel is considerably shorter than a Standard German short vowel. In nearly all cases the length of a vowel in a Rabaul Creole German word is phonemically the same as in the corresponding Standard German word.

Curme lists the following vowels in Standard German:



"The point of articulation is highest in *i, y, u* of which *i* and *y* are front and *u* is back. The lowest point of articulation is in *a*, which is back but is near the forward articulations."²³

Of these, the following were also recorded in Rabaul Creole German:



The vowels /*ε*, *y*, *œ*/ were not recorded. /*Y*/ has assimilated with /*y*/, /*ɛ:*/ with /*ε*/ (as in the colloquial speech of nearly all German speakers), /*œ*/ with /*ø*/ and the nasal vowels, which like /*Y*/ appear primarily in French loan words in Standard German, with their non-nasal equivalents.

Although nearly all the Standard German vowels appear in Rabaul Creole German, in some words the vowel has changed. This is particularly common in words with front vowels in Standard German. The following vowel transformations were recorded:

(a) /*y*/ to /*i*/. As both English and Tok Pisin do not have a high rounded vowel, one can assume there has been strong linguistic "pressure" for the trilingual Vunapope Germans to drop this phoneme, as they have /*Y*/. These non-German influences would have been accentuated by the fact that in the colloquial speech of "the lower classes", /*y*/ appears as /*i*/.²⁴ In several common words most speakers used the unrounded counterpart /*i*/ where Standard German has /*y*/:

/tsuɪk/	/	"back"	(SG <u>zurück</u>)
/misen/	/	"must"	(SG <u>müssen</u>)
/fingl/	/	"finger"	(SG <u>finger</u>)

That this phoneme, has not completely disappeared is shown by its retention in these words:

/brydər	/	"brother"	(SG <u>Brüder</u>)
/gəfɔk	/	"decorated"	(SG <u>geschmückt</u>)
/frɪ	/	"early"	(SG <u>früh</u>).

(b) /y/ to /ai/. One speaker pronounced /y/ as the diphthong /ai/ in the word /aibərhaʊpt/ "quite" (SG überhaupt). It is unclear whether this was a feature of his idiolect only or common to other speakers of the language.

(c) /ɪ/ to /i/. In Tok Pisin and some other New Guinean languages no phonemic distinction is made between /ɪ/ and /i/. This may explain why in two common words Standard German /ɪ/ has become /i/:

/ʃɪf	/	"ship"	(SG <u>Schiff</u>)
/ɪs	/	"is"	(SG <u>ist</u>)

(d) /ʊ/ to /y/. In one family at least, the speakers pronounced the Standard German back vowel /ʊ/ as a front vowel /y/ in the word /nʏl/ "zero" (SG null). This may be a result of overcorrection, since, as has been shown above, Standard German /y/ often becomes another phoneme in Rabaul Creole German.

(e) /e/ to /ɛ/. In two words, mid-front narrow Standard German /e/ has become lowered to mid-front wide /ɛ/:

/mɛtər	/	"metre"	(SG <u>Meter</u>)
/sɛpər	/	"spear"	(SG <u>Speer</u>).

(f) /a/ to /ɛ/. In one word all speakers interviewed used the front vowel /ɛ/ instead of the Standard German back vowel /a/: /grɛdɔ/ "just" (SG gerade). As in colloquial German, the first vowel was deleted. This deleted first vowel is the front vowel /ɛ/ in Standard German, so perhaps the pronunciation of the vowel between /r/ and /d/ in Rabaul Creole German is a result of the intrusion of this deleted vowel.

(g) /o/ to /ɔ/. Most speakers lowered and shortened the vowel in Standard German groß "large" from /o/ to /ɔ/: /grɔs/. This transformation was not noted in any other word.

(h) /ə/. The "neutral" mid vowel /ə/ was, as in English and Standard German, found only in unaccented syllables. As in Standard German, it was pronounced /e/ or /ɛ/ when the syllable was stressed. This was rather common in the corpus. More research will be needed to determine whether this is an actual feature of Rabaul Creole German or merely

a result of speaking in the presence of someone who did not always understand what was being said.

(i) Epenthetic /ɪ/. A feature of Tok Pisin is that when words from English have been taken into the language, an extra vowel is placed by some speakers between the consonants in English consonant clusters, e.g. E stone, dance, brother and TP siton, danis barata. This phenomenon was only recorded in Rabaul Creole German in the word for "small" (SG klein), which was occasionally pronounced /kɪˌlɛɪn/.

Diphthongs

Curme lists four falling diphthongs in Standard German: /aɪ, aʊ, ɔɪ, ɔɯ/.²⁵ Although all but the last were recorded in the corpus, often they were transformed into other vowel sounds. Generally this was to a single vowel, so that we can speak of a tendency in the language to have pure vowels rather than diphthongs. This is surprising, as all three diphthongs are quite common in English, Standard German and Tok Pisin. The following such transformations were recorded:

(a) /aɪ/ to /a/. This was recorded in the speech of all informants using the word /ʃʁaɪə/ "carpenter" (from SG Schreiner "joiner"). No other word with this transformation was recorded.

(b) /aɪ/ to /ɪ/. This was recorded in the speech of one person in the word /bɪsaɪ/ "bite" (SG beißen). It may be a result of influence of the past participle gebissen or English bit.

(c) /aɪ/ to /ɔɪ/. This was recorded only in the speech of one elderly woman when she was speaking Standard German (Normaldeutsch). This was in the word nein "no", which she pronounced /nɔɪn/. Nein is not used in Rabaul Creole German, which has borrowed the English word no and changed its pronunciation from a diphthong to /ɔ/. This informant's pronunciation of poorly learned nein may be influenced by a similar Australian pronunciation of nine.

(d) /aʊ/ to /ɔ/. This was common in all speakers' pronunciation of the word Australien "Australia" (in SG au is pronounced /aʊ/). This is undoubtedly a result of interference from the English pronunciation of Australia. This change was not noted in any other word containing /aʊ/ in Standard German.

(e) /ɔɪ/ to /əɪ/. One speaker added an extra vowel to the diphthong in the word Deutsche "German", which she pronounced /dəʊtʃə/. This

a feature of the informant's idiolect.

Consonants

Curme lists the following consonants in Standard German:²⁶

III. Standard German Consonants

		Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal	
F r o n t	Stops	p b	t d		k g		ʔ	
	Nasals	m	n		ŋ			B a c k
	Spirants	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	x ɣ	ʀ	h	
	Liquids		l, r					

Most of these consonants appear in Rabaul Creole German, although not always in the same words or positions as in Standard German. Generally there is less difference in the pronunciation of consonants between speakers of the basilect and acrolect than in the pronunciation of vowels.

(a) Stops. Rabaul Creole German has all the unvoiced and voiced stops that Standard German has: /p, t, k/ and /b, d, g/, respectively. They do not, however, appear in the same positions.

In Standard German when a voiced stop appears at the end of a word because of a grammatical change, it becomes voiceless. Rabaul Creole German only follows this rule with /b/, e.g. /gɛlp / "yellow" (SG gelb) .

Usually a final /t/ in Standard German becomes /ɸ/ in Rabaul Creole German, irregardless of whether it is a "real" /t/ or a devoiced /d/. A few examples of this are:

/aɪs/	/	"afraid"	(from SG <u>Angst</u> "fear")
/fɪlɪʃ/	/	"perhaps"	(SG <u>vielleicht</u>)
/jɛmən/	/	"someone"	(SG <u>jemand</u>)
/abən/	/	"evening"	(SG <u>Abend</u>).

The only exceptions to this was in the following words, which were recorded occasionally with a final /t/:

/ʊnt/	/	"and"	(SG <u>und</u>)
/gɛt/	/	"go"	(SG <u>geht</u>)
/yɛɪnʃrɪft/	/	"headline"	(SG <u>Überschrift</u>).

Except for Überschrift, which could only be elicited once, these words were more common with the final /t/ deleted.

Final /g/ was never recorded as voiceless /k/. Occasionally it was recorded as /ɣ/:

/veɣ/	/	"way"	(SG <u>Weg</u>)
/gəsəɣ/	/	"said"	(SG <u>gesagt</u>).

This is a feature common in North German speech. Final /ɣ/ was often deleted (see below), however, and so a final /g/ often ended up being deleted as well:

/ve/	/	"way"	(SG <u>Weg</u>)
/gəsə/	/	"said"	(SG <u>gesagt</u>)
/bɛr/	/	"mountain"	(SG <u>Berg</u>)
/tswantsi/	/	"twenty"	(SG <u>zwanzig</u>).

In Standard German consonant clusters involving stops, Rabaul Creole German tended to have single consonants. This was invariably the case with the clusters /ts/ and /pf/, which each lost the first of the two consonants to become /s/ and /f/, respectively:

/dasu/	/	"to that"	(SG <u>dazu</u>)
/hols/	/	"wood"	(SG <u>Holtz</u>)
/gəns/	/	"very"	(from SG <u>ganz</u> "entirely")
/flantsuŋ/	/	"plantation"	(SG <u>Pflanzung</u>)
/fɛrt/	/	"horse"	(SG <u>Pferd</u>).

These combinations do not occur in Tok Pisin. /pf/ also does not appear in either English or some dialects of North German, which probably has reinforced the influence from Tok Pisin.

In contrast to the voiceless stops, the voiced consonants were generally the same as in the Standard German "parent" words. Besides final voiced consonants, which, as mentioned above, become voiceless anyway in Standard German, there were only two situations where a voiced stop was transformed or deleted in Rabaul Creole German. The first was in the word haben, "have", which was pronounced by some speakers with a /v/ rather than a /b/: /havn/. This is not uncommon in Tok Pisin, where some words with a medial /b/ can be pronounced with a /v/, e.g. kivung, "meeting", which can be pronounced /kibug/ or /kivug/.

A more common phenomenon was the deletion of /d/ preceding /ə/. This was recorded in a number of words, including:

/wɛrən/	/	"become"	(SG <u>werden</u>)
/sonərəs/	/	"exceptional"	(SG <u>sonderbar</u>)
/sʊŋ/	/	"hour"	(SG <u>Stunde</u>)

It is interesting that in the last example the /n/ preceding the deleted

/d/ has become /ɔ/.

(b) Nasals. All three nasal consonants listed by Curme in Standard German were recorded in Rabaul Creole German. The few differences between the two languages can be traced to the influence of various German dialects.

As in some Midlands and South German dialects the final /n/ in a Standard German verb was usually omitted:

/gaweso/	/	"been"	(SG <u>gewesen</u>)
/gokima/	/	"came"	(SG <u>gekommen</u>)

The velar nasal /ŋ/ was occasionally followed by an extra consonant, either /k/ or /j/. The addition of /k/ after a final /ŋ/, as in /laŋk/ "long" (SG lang), is a feature of some North German dialects. It was not common to many speakers. The addition of /j/ was recorded only in the speech of one informant and then only in the word /geleŋje/ "joint" (SG Gelenke). It is uncertain whether this is to be regarded as a feature of the language as a whole or of just the one person's idiolect, as the word could not be elicited from other speakers.

In one word all informants placed /g/ after /ŋ/: /ɛŋgɪʃə/ "English" (SG Englisch). This is undoubtedly the result of the influence of the /gg/ in the English cognate.

(c) Spirants. Of the spirants listed by Curme only /g/, a North German dialect form, and /ʀ/ were not recorded. The position with /ʀ/ will be discussed below in the description of "r's". /ʒ/ was only recorded once, in the English loan word /no:vidʒən/ "Norwegian". Although all the rest of the spirants were recorded, in some positions some were not identical to their Standard German counterparts:

(i) /x/. The velar spirant /x/ was only recorded in the speech of some informants and then only in the words

/hox/	/	"high"	(SG <u>hoch</u>)
/traxt/	/	"dress"	(SG <u>Tracht</u>)
/bux/	/	"book"	(SG <u>Buch</u>)
/nax/	/	"to"	(SG <u>nach</u>).

In all other words, and sometimes in these four as well, Standard German /x/ was realized as /ç/:

/buç/	/	"book"	(SG <u>Buch</u>)
/loç/	/	"hole"	(SG <u>Loch</u>)
/doç/	/	"but yes"	(SG <u>doch</u>).

This preference to substitute /ç/ for /x/ is the opposite of many South German dialects, which substitute /x/ for /ç/. The tendency may come from the fact that Tok Pisin and English do not have /x/ and while /ç/ also does not exist in those languages, it is closer to sounds such as /k/ and /h/, which English does have.

(ii) /ç/. Although /ç/ was recorded more frequently than /x/, it too was often deleted or changed, again perhaps because it does not exist in English or Tok Pisin. Most speakers omitted it at the end of a word:

/ > /	/	"you, plural"	(from the accusative SG <u>ech</u>)
/ do /	/	"but yes"	(SG <u>doch</u>).

Because final /t/ and /ç/ often become /p/, this rule explains the deletion of these two consonants in final positions. Not all speakers omitted /ç/, though, so that two forms such as the following could be heard in the same conversation:

/ gosaç /	or / gosa /	"said"	(SG <u>gesagt</u>)
/ niç /	or / ni /	"not"	(SG <u>nicht</u>)
/ doç /	or / do /	"but yes"	(SG <u>doch</u>).

Most informants changed a Standard German medial /ç/ (or /x/) to /h/. Again this can probably be traced to the influence of English or Tok Pisin:

/manhwal /	/	"often"	(SG <u>manchmal</u>)
/nahE: /	/	"afterwards"	(SG <u>nachher</u>)
/velhə /	/	"which"	(SG <u>welche</u>).

Some informants changed the /ç/ in Standard German nichts "nothing" to /k/, at the same time that they deleted the /t/, perhaps in accordance with the final /t/ deletion rule, which they had applied to the root nicht "not". This is the same as in many Standard German words, where the spelling chs is pronounced /ks/.

(iii) //. The palatal spirant /ʃ/ was often transformed, especially in consonant clusters. Rabaul Creole German typically adds /s/ before /ʃ/ in clusters with /r/ and in word final positions:

/ʃʃprəʃə /	/	"language"	(SG <u>Sprache</u>)
/ʃʃprɛʃən /	/	"speak"	(SG <u>sprechen</u>)
/mɛnʃ /	/	"person"	(SG <u>Mensch</u>).

In the combination /tʃ/, /ʃ/ became /s/ in the speech of some informants, as in /doɪts / "German language" (SG Deutsch). This is interesting because, as noted on page 23, the combination /tʃ/ usually became /s/. It is also interesting because this same feature also

occurs in the English of many Papua New Guineans.

/ʃ/ was recorded deleted only once, in the word /patsiran / "stroll" (SG spazieren). This word may not actually be part of the basilect, as a Kuanua/Tok Pisin loan word limlimbur was also recorded.

(iv) /Z/. The voiced spirant /Z/ was almost non-existent in Rabaul Creole German. Where Standard German has a /Z/ (spelled with s in initial positions), Rabaul Creole German usually has /S/:

/sekraft /	"ability to see"	(SG <u>Sehkraft</u>)
/sonə /	"sun"	(SG <u>Sonne</u>)
/disə /	"this"	(SG <u>diese</u>).

/Z/ was recorded only in the occasional English loan word, such as /tredzmen / "tradesman". Even in at least one English loan word, it has become voiceless: /magəsin / "Magazine". /Z/ was historically a North German development and in many dialects of South Germany and Austria it does not exist.²⁷ This South German tendency would have been reinforced by the absence of /Z/ in Tok Pisin.

(v) /v/. A phenomenon in the speech of all informants was the use of bilabial /w/, which does not exist in Standard German, for the Standard German labio-dental /v/. This occurred in all positions and both in single consonants and consonant clusters:

/ʃwarts /	"black"	(SG <u>Schwarz</u>)
/was /	"what"	(SG <u>was</u>)
/kwelə /	"source"	(SG <u>Quelle</u>)

This may be caused by interference from Tok Pisin and English. Both languages pronounce the letter w as /w/, while Standard German pronounces it as /v/. As SG /v/ is pronounced /w/ even in words with no English or Tok Pisin cognate, however, it is more likely that this comes from a German dialect.

In many South German dialects, and even in the colloquial Standard German of a number of South Germans and Austrians, Standard German /v/ is regularly pronounced /w/. There are also some North German dialects where Standard German /v/ is pronounced /w/ when it follows another consonant, as in the word Quelle.²⁸

Some informants occasionally followed Standard German pronunciation, especially in the words will "want to" and Weg "way" (/vɪl / and /vɛʃ /). This was probably a conscious correction towards the acrolect, as sometimes words could be pronounced with both /v/ and /w/ by the same speaker. Interestingly, one informant, who prided herself on

her knowledge of Standard German, overcorrected by pronouncing the /w/ of English loan words as /v/: /velfer/ "welfare" and /nɔːvɪdʒən/ "Norwegian". Even this speaker, however, pronounced Standard German Auf Wiedersehen "good-bye" with a /w/: /avfˈwidərse:n/.

(d) Liquids. Rabaul Creole German has both the liquids mentioned by Curme, /l/ and /r/. Although /l/ is identical with its Standard German counterpart, there are several differences between /r/ in the two languages.

In Standard German there are two pronunciations for the phoneme /r/. On stage and in some dialects, particularly in the South, a rolled dental-alveolar [ʀ] is used. Most speakers, especially in the Midlands and North, use a uvular roll [R]. For such speakers this becomes a weak uvular frictionless continuant [ʁ] before another consonant or in a final position.²⁹

All Vunapope German informants used the rolled [ʀ], whether they were speaking the basilect or acrolect. This choice may have been influenced by the use of the same "r" in Tok Pisin and Papua New Guinean English. Indeed most used [ʀ] when speaking English as well as German.

Although the Standard German speakers who use [ʀ] usually keep it before another consonant or in word final positions, in Rabaul Creole German it is often dropped in these positions. This follows the usage of those Standard German speakers whose [R] is weakened in these positions. The only difference is that in Rabaul Creole German it is dropped altogether. The deletion of /r/ in these positions seemed quite arbitrary, as the speaker would often pronounce the same word differently at different times, for example,

either [dɐ]	or [dər]	"the"	(SG <u>der</u>) and
either [brɪdɐ]	or [brɪdər]	"brother"	(SG <u>Bruder</u>) .

The more common form was without a final /r/ and this form has been used in the very broad orthography used in the chapters on syntax in this study (eg. de and Brüde).

Occasionally in some speakers an English dental-alveolar frictionless continuant [ɹ] was recorded instead of [ʀ]. This was the only major interference from English in the sound system of the language. Surprisingly, this was not often recorded in English loan words, where it would have been expected, but more commonly in words of German origin. This sound may originate in the pronunciation of both English and German of the

American missionaries at Vunapope, as it appeared in post-vocalic positions as well as in other positions, a feature of American but not Australian English:

[ʃabav]	"Rabaul"	
[wɔʃdɔn]	"become" (past participle)	(SG <u>worden</u>)
[kʃɔgk]	"sick"	(SG <u>krank</u>).

It should be emphasized that all words with this sound were also recorded with the "normal" rolled [r] .

Stress

As in Standard German, stress is not phonemic in Rabaul Creole German. In general the language keeps to the Germanic stress pattern of always stressing the first syllable. In some cases Rabaul Creole German does this where Standard German does not:

/ káfe /	"coffee"	(SG <u>Kaffee</u>)
/ íntesant /	"interesting"	(SG <u>interessant</u>).

Both of these words are French loan words, in which Standard German keeps the original French stress on the final syllable. Not all French loan words have their stress changed. This is shown by the word / hɔspítal / "hospital" (from French hôpital or possibly hospitalier, SG Krankenhaus), which has retained the original French stress. This is unexpected, as the English cognate has a Germanic first syllable stress.

It is interesting that in at least one English loan word, the exact opposite occurred, i.e. a Germanic stress in English has become a word final stress in Rabaul Creole German: / optómétríst / "optometrist" (SG Optiker). This is in accordance with a Standard German stress rule that puts the stress on the last syllable in a word with the foreign suffix -ist.

English Loan Words

In most of the many English loan words in Rabaul Creole German the original English pronunciation was retained by the trilingual Vunapope Germans. This is the case even in words such as yeah, which are phonologically similar to their Standard German equivalents (RCG /e/ / jɛ /, SG /ja/).

A noticeable exception to this was with words with English diphthongs that do not exist in Standard German. In these words the second part of the diphthong was usually deleted:

/res/	"no"	(Here the English /n/ was slightly modified.)
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As already mentioned above, the /r/ in most English loan words was pronounced as a German/Tok Pisin rolled dental-alveolar [r̥], as in common in the English spoken by most Papua New Guineans. The one exception recorded was in the pronunciation of tradesman (tɹɛdsmən) by one informant. As this informant had had American teachers in school, it may be only a feature of her idiolect.

Only a few other deviations from the English original pronunciations were recorded. The overcorrection of /w/ to /v/ by one speaker has already been noted above. Another confusion appeared in interchanging /f/ and /p/ in the speech of one informant, e.g. /ɛɾsɛlp/ "himself" (from SG er "he" and E self). This is a common feature of many Papua New Guinean speakers of English.

The consonant /d/ was consistently changed as its Standard German equivalent was. At the end of a word it became voiceless, e.g. /ɡraɪt/ "grade" (the vowel was given an Australian pronunciation). In a medial position it was often deleted, e.g. /maɪnən/ "to mind" (from E mind plus SG -en).

Tok Pisin Loan Words

Most Tok Pisin loan words were adopted without changing their phonological form. The only exceptions recorded were that a /k/ was deleted in the words /kakarv/ "chicken" (from TP kakaruk) and /laɪɾən/ "to like" (from TP laikim, with the TP verbal ending -im becoming SG -en) and the pronunciation of the following two words was changed:

/brɪt/	/	"passion fruit"	(TP <u>prut</u>) and
/habɹs/	/	"meat, game"	(TP <u>abus</u>).

MORPHOLOGY

Lexicon

Rabaul Creole German draws most of its lexemes from Standard German, with smaller amounts coming from English and Tok Pisin. Generally its lexemes of German origin are formed of the same morphemes and in the same manner as in Standard German (except for the minor phonological changes mentioned in the previous section). Thus one finds prefixes such as un- and ver- and suffixes such as -tum, -in and -keit. As in Standard German words are compounded to form new lexical items, e.g. Bratpfanne "fry-pan", Hochzeit "high-time" ("honeymoon") and Spielkleider "play-clothes".

Occasionally a word will have a different grammatical category in Rabaul Creole German than in Standard German. An example of this is angs "afraid" (from SG Angst "fear"). Another common phenomenon was the use of one rather uncommon Standard German synonym rather than one that is more common, e.g. parat "ready" rather than bereit or fertig.

Lexemes from English and Tok Pisin also tend to have the same form as in the parent language. They were, however, often recorded with German morphemes added. This was particularly so with verbs, which usually had the German verb infinitive ending -en and occasionally a Standard German prefix as well:

<u>watchen</u>	"to watch"	and
<u>überrepen</u>	"to rape"	(from E <u>rape</u> and SG <u>Über-</u> , which has meaning of both "over" and [+motion]).

The English and Tok Pisin lexemes that were recorded were used for items or activities that have only been in existence since the arrival of the Australians, for example:

<u>Boi</u>	"servant"	(TP <u>boi</u> "servant")
<u>Football</u>	"Australian football"	
<u>Car</u>	"car"	
<u>watchen Television</u>		

In addition, a few were used for a number of common expressions, such as:

<u>yeah</u>	"yes"	
<u>no</u>	"no"	
<u>maski</u>	"no matter"	(According to Mihalic, this Tok Pisin expression is itself derived from SG <u>Es macht nichts</u> "no matter".) ³¹
<u>laka</u>	"Is it not so?"	(TP <u>laka</u> , SG <u>nicht wahr</u>)
<u>orait</u>	"all right, then"	(TP <u>orait</u>).

Many younger speakers used English-derived lexemes where an older speaker

Sauce-pan rather than Fanne (SG Pfanne).

Noun Morphemes

Nouns in Rabaul Creole German tend to be identical in form with their counterparts in one of the three parent languages (with the exception of the rather regular phonological changes mentioned above). These forms are used rather different ways than in the parent languages, however.

Like English and Tok Pisin, but unlike Standard German, there is no separate plural form for nouns. Instead the plural marker alle (from SG alle, cognate with the TP plural marker ol) is used:

Haus "house" alle Haus "houses"

Knabe "boy" alle Knabe "boys"

De Chicken war gestohlen bei alle Rascal. "The chicken was stolen by the criminals."

Alle kleine Mensch, die holen diese Buch. "The small people (i.e. boys) are getting those books."

As the last example shows, alle is deleted when a demonstrative pronoun such as diese "this/these" or einige "a few" is present.

Usually Rabaul Creole German nouns have the same form as the singular form in the parent language. Some nouns of German origin, however, use the Standard German plural form:

Beine "leg" Schwestern "sister" Brüdern "brother"

I fühlen mein Beine is wie ein Hols. "I feel my leg is like a piece of wood." (see: "My leg feels like wood")

Schwestern fi Maria is Susan. "Maria's sister is Susan."

Brüdern fi Maria is John. "Maria's rother is John."

Of these three words Brüdern is particularly interesting because not only is the plural form used, but an -n ending is added, which in Standard German is added only for the plural form of Bruder in the dative case.

Pronoun Morphemes

(a) Personal Pronouns. The personal pronouns in Rabaul Creole German are quite different from those of Standard German. In fact only one is identical in form and use to Standard German, i or ioh "I".

Instead of the single pronoun that Standard German has for first person plural, wir, Rabaul Creole German has an inclusive first person plural pronoun uns and an exclusive first person plural pronoun wir. Uns, which corresponds to yumi in Tok Pisin and is derived from the Standard German accusative/dative form of wir, is used when the listener is included

in the action. Thus in the sentence Uns bis neben Salzwasser we know that the speaker, the listener and possibly others as well are near the ocean (E "You and I/We are near the ocean", TP Yumi klostu long solwara). One older speaker used the form iundu (SG ich und du "I and you") instead of uns. As this form was not elicited from other speakers, it may be an idiosyncrasy, an alternative to uns or a special dual form.

Nir, which corresponds to Tok Pisin mipela and is derived from the nominative form of the Standard German first person plural pronoun, is used when the listener is excluded from the action. Thus in the sentence Nir alle geht Rabaul we know that the listener will not be going with the speaker (E "We all, but not you, are going to Rabaul", TP Mipela go (long) Rabaul).

Standard German has three second person pronouns, a singular familiar form du, a plural familiar form ihr and a formal form Sie. Rabaul Creole German does not differentiate between familiar and formal situations and, indeed, even speakers who otherwise spoke nearly flawless Standard German would make mistakes in the use of Sie and the familiar forms. This is perhaps a reflection of the way of life in the South Pacific where the line between "friend" and "acquaintance" is much less clearly defined than in the more formal Central European nations.

Rabaul Creole German does differentiate between singular and plural in the second person by the use of du and eu, respectively:

Du war zu schnell gegangen.

"You (singular) were going too fast."

Eu zwei geht jetzt.

"You two go now."

Eu comes from Standard German euch, the accusative-dative form of the second person plural pronoun ihr. Ihr was used instead of eu by two informants, both of whom tended to use forms closer to the acrolect than the basilect. Their use of ihr was undoubtedly not reflective of the basilect.

Speakers of Rabaul Creole German used two third person singular pronouns, both identical in form to their Standard German equivalents: er "he" and sie "she". Both were used as he and she are in English, that is, according to natural rather than grammatical gender. This is unlike Standard German. Sie was used only by younger speakers or by older speakers with a good command of the acrolect and is therefore probably not part of the basilect. One elderly informant said that sie was a relatively late addition to Rabaul Creole German and that originally the language was like Tok Pisin in having only one third person singular pronoun, er (corresponding to TP em). To illustrate this he compared

Rabaul Creole German does not have the indefinite Standard German pronoun man "one". Instead, it follows English and Tok Pisin usage by using du (you). The language also lacks a separate word for it. Instead, where English or Standard German would have it, Rabaul Creole German does not have a pronoun at all:

<u>Is ganz kalt.</u>	"(It) is really cold."
<u>Is orait.</u>	"(It) is okay."
<u>Is von Günther.</u>	"(It) is from Günther."

These sentences would not seem unusual to a Vunapope German because other pronoun subjects can also be omitted when in a sentence the subject is understood:

<u>Und hat nur geschrieben, daß...</u>	"(He) just wrote that..."
<u>Paß auf, wird hauen dein Hand!</u>	"Look out, (you) will hit your hand!"

The third person plural pronoun in Rabaul Creole German is identical in form to the Standard German third person plural demonstrative pronoun die. Unlike es, the "normal" third person plural pronoun in Standard German, and also unlike English they, but like Tok Pisin ol, die is usually used even when the subject has already been stated:

<u>Alle kleine Mensch, die holen diese Buch</u>	"The boys are getting these books."
<u>Einige Mensch, die will diese Essen.</u>	"Some people want/like this food."

That this repetition of the third person plural subject is not obligatory is shown by sentences such as:

<u>Alle Kinder muß ni geht schwimmen.</u>	"The children must not go swimming."
<u>Alle Knabe sind weggegangen fi holen etwas.</u>	"The boys have gone to get something."

Standard German, which uses case to show the grammatical functions of nouns and pronouns, has three case forms for pronouns. Rabaul Creole German uses word position in a sentence to show grammatical function and has only vestigial case form. This exception is the first person singular pronoun which has a nominative form i (acrolect ich) and an objective form mi (acrolect mich), which is similar phonologically to Standard German accusative mich and English objective me:

<u>Du kann ni arbeiten fi mi, wenn du weiß ni wie kochen.</u>	"You can't work for me if you don't know how to cook."
<u>Du komm eben zu mich.</u>	"Come over to me."

Some speakers used i instead of mi and presumably did not have a grammatical concept of case at all. One informant was very interesting in that he used mi in some sentences and i in others in the same story:

<u>...solange wenn du nit holen mein Kind</u>	"... as long as you don't
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weg von i.

"take my child from me."

Du gesagen, du gellen mi dein erste Kind

"You said you'd give me
your first child."

(b) Possessive pronouns. Often possession in Rabaul Creole German is shown by using the preposition marking possession fi with an appropriate personal pronoun.

Essen fi du is su3.

"Your food is sweet/good-tasting."

De Stov fi wi is gel.

"Our stove is yellow."

In addition, the language has the following possessive pronouns, which are similar to their Standard German counterparts:

<u>mein</u>	"my"
<u>dein</u>	"your"(singular)
<u>sein</u>	"his,her"
<u>ihre</u>	"her" (used only by informants who used <u>sie</u> for "she")
<u>euer</u>	"your" (plural).

No third person plural possessive pronoun was recorded except in the Vunapope Germans' name for their language Unserdeutsch "our German". When asked to translate phrases with our or mine from English or Tok Pisin, several informants responded with a phrase using fi as in the example above. Similarly, no informant offered a third person plural possessive pronoun.

In Standard German possessive pronouns have case and gender endings which are identical to those of the indefinite article. Rabaul Creole German, which does not have grammatical gender and only one vestigial case form, does not have these endings. It is interesting that, except for ihre, which is not present in the basilect, the possessive pronouns have the same form as the masculine nominative forms of their Standard German equivalents. Ihre, the sole exception, has the nominative-accusative feminine ending.

(c) Interrogative pronouns.

Rabaul Creole German uses the following interrogative pronouns which, as in Tok Pisin, can be placed at or near the end of a sentence or, commonly, as in Standard German and English, near the beginning:

(i) warum, fi was. The two synonyms warum and fi was "why" were used interchangeably, although fi was was more common:

Warum du schlafen?

"Why are you sleeping?"

Fi was is dein Boi so langsam?

"Why is your servant so slow?"

Warum is identical with its Standard German equivalent. Fi was is a

literal translation of the Tok Pisin expression bilong wanem "why".

(ii) was. The most common word for "what" is was, which is identical to its Standard German equivalent:

Ihr sind am sehen was?

"What are you looking at?"

The phrase "what time", which uses the word welche "which" in Standard German, is rendered by was fi, which comes from Standard German was für "what sort of":

Was fi Zeit du war gekommen?

"At what time did you come?"

(iii) welche. Welche "which" comes from Standard German welche "which":

Sie will welche Puppe?

"Which doll does she want?"

(iv) wer. Wer "who" is identical in form to its Standard German equivalent. Like welche it is not inflected for case or gender as its Standard German equivalent is:

Wer wird geht zu Kokopo?

"Who will go to Kokopo?"

(v) wie. Wie "how" is identical in form to its Standard German equivalent:

Wie würden du sagen?

"How would you say (this)?"

The phrase "how often" is not expressed with wie oft as in Standard German, but with wieviel Mal, literally "how many times" in Standard German.

(vi) wo. Standard German has three words for "where": wo "where at", wohin "where to" and woher "where from". In Rabaul Creole German these have all been reduced to wo:

Mama, wo is de Bratfanne?

"Mama, where is the frying pan?"

Du geht wo?

"Where are you going to?"

Er is am komme von wo?

"Where is he coming from?"

(d) Relative Pronouns.

Rabaul Creole German has two relative pronouns, wo (SG "where") for persons and was (SG "what") for non-persons. Was is used as a relative pronoun in colloquial Standard German, but wo never is. In Tok Pisin, however, we "where" is sometimes used as a relative pronoun. Examples of sentences with these relative pronouns are:

Orait, du gebe mi jetzt, was du has mi versprochen.

"Okay, give me now what you promised me." and

De Mensch, wo is am bauen de Haus, hat gehauen sein Finger.

"The man who was building the house hit his finger."

(e) Demonstrative Pronouns.

In Rabaul Creole German there are two demonstrative pronouns, das "that" and diese "this/these". Both are used as in Standard German, except that diese is not declined for case, gender or number as in Standard German:

Das is nich mein Name.

"That's not my name."

Diese is de größte.

"This is the biggest."

Die holen diese Buch.

"They're getting these books."

(f) Reflexive Pronouns.

Rabaul Creole German does not have an involved system of reflexive pronouns as does Standard German, and as will be seen below in the section on verb phrases, tries to avoid reflexive wording as much as possible. Two reflexive forms were recorded, selbst from Standard German and the suffix -self from English:

I hat selbst gemach.

"I did it myself."

Judas hat erself erhängt.

"Judas hanged himself."

Verb Morphemes

The verb morpheme system in Rabaul Creole German is much less complex than that of Standard German. As in Tok Pisin there is no subject-verb agreement (except for the copula, which does not exist in Tok Pisin), so that the present tense verb is identical to the infinitive. This is usually the same as the Standard German infinitive, although a few verbs, such as gent have the same form as one of the Standard German conjugated forms. A few verbs were recorded with different forms, such as komms and komm "come". Each speaker was consistent in his use of one or the other but the reason for the two forms is not yet clear. As mentioned above, verbs derived from English or Tok Pisin take on the Standard German -en infinitive ending: watchen, drinken.

Unlike many other pidgin and creole languages, most notably Tok Pisin, Rabaul Creole German does have a copula. It is the only verb that is conjugated in present tense:

i bin

wir, uns bis

du bis

eu, ihr seid

er, sie is

die sind.

The reader will note that these forms are the same as in Standard German except for a final t being left off bis and is for phonological reasons and wir, uns having bis rather than Standard German sind.

In past tense the copula becomes war as in Standard German, but again with no subject-verb agreement suffixes. Other verbs do not have a simple past form. The past participle for all verbs is identical to the Standard German form except for minor phonological changes. Most form the past participle with the prefix ge-, e.g. gesa "said", gesehen "seen".

Rabaul Creole German verbs do not have separable prefixes as do many Standard German verbs. Verbs with suffixes which are separable in Standard German, such as ab-, über-, and an- always appear with these verbs in Rabaul Creole German, rather than having the prefix go to the end of the clause as in Standard German:

RCG: Er abkucken von mich. SG: Er kukt von mir ab.

"He's copying from me."

RCG: Dann de Königin anfang zu weinen. SG: Dann fängt die Königin an zu weinen.

"Then the queen begins to cry."

Adjective Morphemes

Adjective morphemes in Rabaul Creole German are nearly always identical in form to their Standard German or English ancestors. An interesting exception to this is angs "afraid", mentioned above, which is identical to the Standard German noun Angst "fear" rather than to an adjective.

Rabaul Creole German does not have the complicated endings for case and gender that Standard German has. It does have the adjectival suffix -e, which, like the Tok Pisin suffix -pela, must be present when the adjective precedes a noun. Unlike Tok Pisin -pela, this suffix must be deleted when the adjective does not precede a noun. In Tok Pisin it may be deleted, but may also remain:

RCG: Der kleine Mädchen sagen... TP: Smolpela meri i tok...

"The small girl says..."

RCG: Gale is mehr klein. TP: Gale, em i smol moa/smolpela moa.

"Gale is smaller (more small)."

Articles

Rabaul Creole German has an indefinite article ein (pronounced eine by some speakers) and a definite article de (pronounced der by some speakers). Both of these were only recorded with singular nouns, as the plural marker alle acts as an article:

Die haben alle Buch geholt gestern. "They fetched the books yesterday."

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 be possible in English or Standard German:

I lesen Buch. "I read (a) book."

Alle Schwarzen hauen sie mit Messer. "The Blacks cut her with (a) knife."

Du hören Geschichte fi alle alte Leuten. "Listen to (the) stories of the old people."

It is this optional use of the article that makes it different from the

plural marker alle and which, indeed, prevents us from classifying alle as a plural article.

Adverb Morphemes

Most Rabaul Creole German adverbs are identical in form to their Standard German counterparts and no adverbs of time, place, manner or degree were elicited that were derived from English. As in Standard German most adverbs are identical to adjectives, e.g. gut "good" or "well", others are formed by adding the suffix -lich to an adjective, e.g. bitter "bitter", bitterlich "bitterly", while others are used only as adverbs, e.g. wieder "again". One very common Standard German adverb, sehr "very", was not recorded. Instead, ganz (from SG ganz "entirely") was used.

The only adverbs derived from English were the adverbs of affirmation and negation, yeah and no, respectively. There is no word in the language corresponding to Standard German doch to give an affirmative answer to a negative question. Instead yeah and no are used as their counterparts yes and nogat in Tok Pisin. Wherever the answer is, or would be if it were not elliptical, parallel in construction to the question, the answer is yeah. Otherwise it is no. Thus yeah means "Yes, your statement is correct" and no means "No, your statement is incorrect". This can be seen in the following examples:

<u>-Du wei3 ni wir?</u>	"Don't you know us?"
<u>Yeah, i wei3 ni eu.</u>	"Yes, I don't know you."
<u>No, i wei3 eu.</u>	"No, I know you."
<u>-Du wei3 wir?</u>	"Do you know us?"
<u>Yeah, i wei3 eu.</u>	"Yes, I know you."
<u>No, i wei3 eu ni.</u>	"No, I don't know you."

The other words of negation, ni and kein are derived from Standard German. Ni "not" (from SG nicht) was usually pronounced /ni /, but some speakers pronounced it /niç / or /nit /. All three forms appear in various German dialects. Kein "no" is used as in Standard German, but its use seems to be very infrequent in Rabaul Creole German. Where Standard German speakers have the choice of using kein to negate a noun or nicht to negate a whole sentence, they tend to prefer kein. Vunapope Germans, on the other hand, prefer to use nicht to negate the whole sentence rather than kein to negate only one noun. Like ein, kein is not inflected for case, gender or number as in Standard German.

Numbers

The cardinal numbers are formed in the same way as in Standard German.

although with the following pronunciation differences:

/ nyl	"zero"	(SG <u>null</u>)
/ tswar	"two"	(SG <u>zwei</u>)
/ ølf	"eleven"	(SG <u>elf</u>)
/ twølf	"twelve"	(SG <u>zwölf</u>)
/ sibentsn	"seventeen"	(SG <u>siebzehn</u>)
/ wansi	"twenty"	(SG <u>zwanzig</u>)
/ tsn	"-teen"	(SG <u>-zehn</u>)
/ i	"-ty"	(SG <u>-zig</u>).

The ordinal numbers are also the same as in Standard German, except that, of course, the ordinal suffix -te is added to the Rabaul Creole German cardinal number rather than the Standard German equivalent, e.g. RCG / tswar^{te} / and SG / tswar^{te} /.

Conjunctions

Those independent conjunctions which were recorded were identical to those in Standard German: und "and" and aber "but". The use of the subordinate conjunctions differed considerably, though. The following subordinate conjunctions were recorded:

(a) Daß. Daß "that" was usually pronounced /dæs/, but occasionally /da /. It is used in the same way as in Standard German, although much less frequently:

... un¹ hat auch gesagt, da de Schiff is gut. "and (he) also said the ship was good."

(b) Fi. Fi comes from Standard German für and has the meaning "in order to" (SG um...zu). It is used in the same way as Tok Pisin long:

Alle Knaben sind weggegangen fi holen etwas. "The boys have gone (in order) to fetch something."

(c) Ob. Ob "if" is used as in Standard German:

Er wollte wissen, ob Yvonne is am spielen. "He wanted to know if Yvonne was playing."

(d) Weil. Like ob, weil "because" is identical to its Standard German equivalent:

Er wollte wissen weil Peter hat geschrieben, daß... "He wanted to know because Peter wrote that"

(e) Wenn. As in Standard German, wenn "if, when" is used for "if" when there is a rather great amount of uncertainty:

Wenn er kommt, i wird fragen er. "If and when he comes, I'll ask him."

(f) Wie. Wie "how" is used as in Standard German:

de Königin wollte wissen, wie die
rufen de Mann.

"The queen wanted to know
what they called the man (i.e.
what his name was)."

(g) Wo. Wo, which means "where" in Standard German, has taken the
meaning of Standard German als "when, in reference to past tense":

I war am Lesen ein Buch, wo mein
Freund kommt.

"I was reading a book when
my friend came."

The reader will note that even where the Rabaul Creole German and
Standard German subordinate conjunctions are identical, Rabaul Creole
German does not require a verb to go to the end of a subordinate
clause as does Standard German. This will be discussed below.

Prepositions

The following prepositions were recorded, all of German origin. A
discussion of the use of these prepositions will be found below in the
section on prepositional phrases:

<u>am</u>	"on (a day)"
<u>anstatt</u>	"instead of"
<u>bei</u>	"by"
<u>dur</u>	"through" (SG <u>durch</u>)
<u>fi</u>	"possession" (SG <u>für</u>)
<u>in</u>	"in"
<u>mit</u>	"with"
<u>nach</u>	"to"
<u>neben</u>	"near" (SG "next to")
<u>rund</u>	"around" (SG "round")
<u>über</u>	"over"
<u>von</u>	"from, out of"
<u>wie</u>	"like"
<u>zu</u>	"to"

PHRASES

Noun Phrases

A noun phrase in Rabaul Creole German, as in Standard German, has a noun at its head. The phrase is marked either [+plural] or [-plural] by the presence or absence, respectively, of the plural marker alle (SG "all"). A phrase may begin with a possessive or demonstrative pronoun. If such a phrase is [+plural], alle, which would otherwise begin the phrase, is omitted.

A phrase marked [-plural] that does not contain a possessive or demonstrative pronoun may begin with an article. As the use of an article is optional in Rabaul Creole German, its use appears to be for stylistic and emphatic reasons only. The following are sentences which would have had an article in Standard German:

<u>Du finden andere Tag.</u>	"You find (an)other day."
<u>Ich lesen Buch.</u>	"I read (a/the) book."
<u>Essen fi Tom is süß.</u>	"Tom's food is nice (or sweet)."

The next item in a noun phrase, also optional, is the adjective. As mentioned above, the suffix -e must always be added to the adjective in this pre-noun position, just as -pela is added to a Tok Pisin adjective in a pre-noun position. After the adjective is the noun. This noun may be followed by a relative clause or a prepositional phrase. As in the three parent languages, the noun may be replaced by an appropriate pronoun. In this case, again as in English, Tok Pisin and Standard German, no modifiers are then permitted except a relative clause or a prepositional phrase.

Like colloquial Standard German, but unlike formal, written Standard German, Rabaul Creole German does not combine relative clauses and prepositional phrases with a present participle before the noun as in these Standard German phrases:

<u>der von ihr gesehene Film</u>	"the film seen by her"
<u>das mit den anderen Schülerinnen laufende Mädchen</u>	"the girl running with the other schoolgirls".

Rabaul Creole German also differs from Standard German in that it has no elliptical noun phrases. In Standard German these allow a noun to be omitted from the head of a noun phrase so that the adjective appears at the head: Du nimmst den Kleinen! "You take the small (one)." In Rabaul Creole German only a demonstrative can stand by itself without a noun:

Die hat einige fi Damen in dein Age. "They have some for ladies of your age."

The basic structure of the noun phrase in Rabaul Creole German can be seen most easily in the following simplified partial grammar using transformational notation:

1. Noun Phrase $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pronoun} + (\text{Attribute}-2) \\ \text{Number} + (\text{Determiner}) + (\text{Attribute}-1) + \text{Noun} + (\text{Attribute}-2) \end{array} \right\}$
2. Number $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Singular} \\ \text{Plural} \end{array} \right\}$
3. Singular $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ \text{Article} \end{array} \right\}$
4. Plural $\rightarrow \{ \text{alle} \}$
5. Number + Determiner $\rightarrow \emptyset \text{ Determiner}$
6. Determiner $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Possessive Pronoun} \\ \text{Demonstrative Pronoun} \end{array} \right\}$
7. Attribute-1 $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Numeral} \\ \text{Adjective} + \text{-e} \end{array} \right\}$
8. Attribute-2 $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sentence} \\ \text{Prepositional Phrase} \end{array} \right\}$
9. Prepositional Phrase $\rightarrow \{ \text{Preposition} + \text{Noun Phrase} \}$

One interesting phenomenon not described in the partial grammar above is the possessive phrase. Normally possession is shown by using the possessive prepositional phrase "fi + possessor" after the head noun, as in Haus fi Tom "Tom's house". Another form that appeared in the corpus was similar to that found in many German dialects "possessor \rightarrow determiner or article + head noun" as in:

Diese Car, die Tyre is heruntergegangen.

"This car's tyre is flat."

A third and less common form of possession was "possessor + -s + head noun" as in Papas Wäsche "Papa's washing" and mein Vaters Haus. Although both Standard German and English use a genitive -s suffix to mark possession, in Standard German the possessor comes after the head noun (unless it is a proper noun) and the determiner or article must also have an -s suffix. This -s suffix is not used for nouns of feminine gender. The fact that in Rabaul Creole German the possessor never appears after the head noun and its determiner or article does not have an -s suffix would point to an English rather than Standard German origin of this form.

Verb Phrases

The Rabaul Creole German verb system is quite interesting, as it combines features from all the three parent languages, while omitting features in each. As in Tok Pisin there are no verb endings to indicate subject-verb agreement. The verb always has the same form, which in present tense is usually, but not always, identical to the Standard German infinitive. Because the verb does not change, there is no group of verbs requiring an umlaut vowel change for second and third persons singular in present tense as in Standard German. Thus one says i anfang "I begin" and de Königin anfang "the queen begins", whereas in Standard German one would say ich anfange and die Königin anfängt, respectively (for simplicity's sake the Standard German verbs here have been shown as they would appear after a subordinate conjunction).

(a) Tense. Tense is optional in Rabaul Creole German. Where tense is not expressed, the verb is in present tense form. This is identical to the infinitive. Indeed, it could be argued that there is no present tense in Rabaul Creole German and that, unless one wants to specifically place action in the past or future, the infinitive form of the verb is used. The reader should therefore be aware that "present tense" refers to a form identical to the Standard German present tense form and that it does not necessarily indicate action being performed at the present time.

Rabaul Creole German past tense is similar to that of many South German dialects in that the perfect and imperfect forms found in Standard German (and English) have become reduced to a single past tense. Like these dialects Rabaul Creole German uses forms based on the Standard German perfect tense for all verbs in the past except modal verbs and the copula, where the Standard German imperfect is the model. This usage undoubtedly reflects the fact the vast majority of the teachers of the first Vunapope Germans would have come from the Catholic areas of southern Germany and Austria.

In Standard German and English the difference between remote and recent past action is shown by using the preterite with either the perfect, or imperfect tenses. In Rabaul Creole German this is not done. Instead, where this is necessary, such as in a narrative, the past tense is used for remote past action and the present tense for the less remote past:

Nachher de Königin war der ganze Abend am denken von
denken von alle Namen, was sie hat früher gehört und

schicken ein Boy geht durch de ganze Land zu finden
alle Namen, das er kann finden.

"Afterwards the queen spent the whole night thinking of all the names she had heard and (then she) sent a servant to go through the whole land to find all the names which he could find."

As in the Standard German perfect tense, the Rabaul Creole German past tense of verbs other than the modals and the copula is formed by an auxiliary verb and the past participle. Unlike Standard German this auxiliary verb may be deleted, so that one can have either of the following forms for "I read the book":

I hat gelesen Buch. or I gelesen Buch.

As in Standard German the auxiliary, when expressed, is a form of haben "have" for all verbs except those indicating travel from one place to another, which use a form of the copula. Since Rabaul Creole German verbs do not indicate subject-verb agreement, the single form hat, from the third person singular present tense form of Standard German haben, is used for most verbs. Verbs of motion (go, drive, walk, fly, etc.) use the past tense form of the copula, war, so that the past tense of these verbs resembles the Standard German preterite:

Wenn de Knabe hat de Ball versteckt, wir war gegangen
fi such.

This sentence appears to be like the Standard German sentence

Als der Knabe den Ball versteckt hat, waren wir
(weg)gegangen, um (etwas) zu suchen. "When the

boy hid the ball, we had gone to look (for something)."

Actually it was given as a translation of the English sentence "When the boy had hidden the ball, we looked for it."

The past participle in Rabaul Creole German is generally formed the same as in Standard German, that is, by adding a ge- prefix and except for a group of irregular verbs, the suffix -t in place of the infinitive ending -en. Where this -t suffix follows a voiced consonant, it is not present and, indeed, in one word the voiced consonant itself also disappeared following sound shift rules described above in the chapter on phonology: gesa "said" (SG gesagt). This is interesting because it shows that the Rabaul Creole German participles come from the Standard German forms rather than being developed internally from Rabaul Creole German infinitive forms. An even better example to prove

this point is the past participle gehab "had". "To have" in Rabaul Creole German is hat, so one would expect a past participle of gehat if the past participle were formed from the Rabaul Creole German infinitive. Instead we have a form with -b- reflecting its origin in the Standard German infinitive.

Where Standard German verbs end in -on for the past participle, so do their Rabaul Creole German counterparts, for example, gesehen "saw", gegangen "went" and gehören "heard". Where the Standard German participle does not have a ge- prefix because of an unstressed prefix such as ver-, the Rabaul Creole German equivalent follows suit, e.g. vergessen "forgotten", versprochen "promised". Normally, too, a past participle with a vowel change from the infinitive in Standard German has kept the same form in Rabaul Creole German. An exception to this is gedenken "thought" from the infinitive denken. The Standard German past participle is gedacht.

As stated above, the past tense forms of the copula and modal verbs are similar to the Standard German imperfect forms. The past tense of the copula is war. The only difference between this and its Standard German form is that Rabaul Creole German has no subject-verb agreement suffixes. Thus one has the following sentences; the latter two of which would have required such suffixes in Standard German:

<u>Er war in Schule mit du.</u>	"He was in school with you."
<u>Du war da.</u>	"You were there." (SG <u>Du warst</u>)
<u>Wir war Deutsche.</u>	"We were German." (SG <u>Wir waren</u>)

The past tense forms of the modal verbs were also the same as the Standard German imperfect forms except for the lack of subject-verb agreement suffixes. As with haben/gehab these forms follow regular rules in Standard German but cannot be derived by regular rules from Rabaul Creole German infinitive forms. Examples of these modal verbs in sentences are:

<u>Nur ein Name i konnte ni finden.</u>	"Only one name could I not find."
<u>Er wollte auch wissen.</u>	"He also wanted to know."

The use and formation of the future tense in Rabaul Creole German is similar to that of Standard German. As in Standard German the future form is used only for remote future action or for emphasizing the "future-ness" of close future action. As in Standard German the present tense form is used for near future action.

In Standard German the future is formed by the proper conjugated form of werden plus the infinitive. In Rabaul Creole German wird, the Standard

German third person singular form of werden, is used with the infinitive. Some speakers pronounced wird as werd. This future indicator is used in a verbal position as its English and Standard German equivalents are and not in a sentence initial position as is the Tok Pisin future indicator bai:

Er wird ein Haus kaufen. "He will buy a house.

(TP: Bai em i baim haus.)

I wird geht.

"I shall go."

Wir wird de Car von John kaufen. "We shall buy the car from John."

(b) Aspect. Like English and Tok Pisin, Rabaul Creole German distinguishes between non-durative and durative aspect. To show [+ duration] the formula "copula + am + infinitive" is used. Although this form does exist in Standard German, its use is much more rare than in Rabaul Creole German. The Rabaul Creole German form is more like the English durative (or progressive) form in that a noun object may follow the verb as in I bin am lesen de Buch "I am reading the book". In Standard German the object must form a compound with the infinitive, which acts as a noun, so that one would have Ich bin am Buchlesen.

In Rabaul Creole German this durative form can be expressed in either present ("neutral") tense or past tense. The tense is expressed in the copula. It was not recorded with the future tense. Following are examples of sentences in the corpus that demonstrate the use of aspect in Rabaul Creole German along with the translation cue used to elicit a response. The reader should note that the word stap in Tok Pisin is an indicator of [+ duration].

Cue: Mi ritim buk.

I lesen Buch.

"I read books."

Mi stap rit.

I bin am lesen.

"I am reading."

"The carpenter hit himself."

Der Mensch, wo is am bauen de Haus, hat gehauen sein Finger. (Literally, "The

man who is building the house hit his finger.")

"Make me a table."

Du bauen ein Tisch fi ich!

(c) Voice. The construction of the passive voice is the same as in English, using the formula "copula + past participle + bei", bei being derived probably from English "by" rather than Standard German bei "at the home of". This is quite a different form from that of Standard German, which uses a form of werden, the past participle and the preposition von "of", "from". It is interesting that Tok Pisin does not have a passive construction. Examples of sentences with the passive

voice are:

Der Chicken war gestohlen bei alle Rascal.

"The chicken was stolen by the crooks."

Sein Sohtoa war gefärbt bei ein Chinesen.

"His store was painted by a Chinese."

(d) Mood. The imperative mood in Rabaul Creole German is very similar to that in English. As in English the normal form is to have a verb with no surface subject:

Holen heraus von de Eisbox! "Fetch (it) from the refrigerator."

Hol de Farbe weg! "Take away the paint."

(It is unclear why one informant consistently used hol and another holen.)

As in English, "you" may be added for emphasis:

Du geht da! "You go there"

Du denken wieder, was du hat gemacht! "You think again
(about) what you have done."

"You" is especially added in a negative command, with the negative marker nicht coming before the verb:

Du nicht lesen! "Don't (you) read."

In Standard German there is a difference between singular and plural imperative forms. In Rabaul Creole German, again mirroring the English imperative, there is no difference, even though Rabaul Creole German has separate singular and plural second person pronouns. Thus we have:

George, komm mal rein de Zimmer!

"George, come clean the room."

George und Maria, komm mal rein de Zimmer!

"George and Maria, come clean the room."

It is only in the first person plural form that the Rabaul Creole German imperative does not follow English usage. Rather than using an auxiliary verb like the English "let's", Rabaul Creole German uses the Tok Pisin form of "inclusive pronoun + verb" as in Uns geht zu Rabaul, which is a word for word translation of the Tok Pisin equivalent Yumi go long Rabaul "Let's go to Rabaul".

Besides indicative and imperative, Rabaul Creole German also has a conditional mood. The conditional is formed in a manner similar to that in Standard German and English, but it does not seem to be as common as in those two languages. The German equivalent of "would",

würden, is used with the present/infinite form:

Wie würden du sagen? "How would you say (it)?"

This form was used very rarely by informants and wherever possible the indicative form of a verb was used along with an appropriate adverb:

I will lieber etwas lebendiges haben.

"I would rather have something living." (Literally, "I want to have rather something living.")

Rabaul Creole German does not have a subjunctive form at all. Like most forms of colloquial German, it uses the indicative where literary Standard German would use the subjunctive:

Alle Menschen hat gesa, er is dick.

"People said he was fat." (SG Man sagte, er sei dick.)

Similarly, a sentence construction indicating doubt or choice without using the conjunction "if", which in Standard German would require the subjunctive, was not recorded, such as SG Hätte ich genug Geld,... "Had I enough money....". This was not unexpected as this form is not particularly common in everyday speech in even educated circles in Germany.

(e) Modality. The modal system in Rabaul Creole German seems to be influenced by Tok Pisin. It uses three of the five Standard German modal verbs: will (from SG wollen "want to"), kann (from SG können "can") and muß (from SG müssen "must"). It has not incorporated the Standard German modals sollen "should" and dürfen "may", "to be allowed to", using like Tok Pisin, the other three modals to carry these meanings.

Each of these three verbs has two stems in present tense in Standard German, one for the infinitive and the conjugated plural forms and the other for the conjugated singular forms. In Rabaul Creole German the singular form has been chosen for the infinitive/present tense form. The fact that kann and muß are similar to their English and Tok Pisin equivalents ken/can and mas/must and that will is cognate with English will was undoubtedly a factor in this choice.

Will retains the same meaning as in Standard German, "want" in most situations:

Du will drinken Kaffee? "Do you want to drink some coffee?"

Interestingly, it is similar to laik in Tok Pisin in that it is used for both "want" and "like":

Sie will welhe Puppe? Cue: "Which doll does she like?"

Kann not only has the meaning "can", but also, as in Tok Pisin and colloquial Australian and American English, "may":

Sie kann surfen. "She is able to surf."

Du kann geht, wenn du arbeiten gut.

"You may go if you work well."

Kann does not have the meaning "should", as its Tok Pisin cognate ken does. Instead, "should" is rendered by the modal muß or is left out entirely:

Du nicht schämen! "Don't be shy." (TP cue: Yu no ken sem.)

Muß retains the meaning "must" from Standard German and also contains the meaning "should", as mentioned above:

Wenn der Baby weinen, der Mama muß aufpicken.

"When the baby cries, the mother must pick (it) up."

Alle Kinder muß ni geht schwimmen.

"The children should not go swimming."

In spite of the fact that the Standard German singular form of the modal verbs has been chosen for the present tense, the past tense of the verbs is identical to the Standard German imperfect tense, which in turn is derived from the present tense plural stem. Thus, in Rabaul Creole German the past tense forms bear little resemblance to the present tense forms: will/wollte, kann/konnte and muß/mußte.

The use of the modals with "normal" past tense forms (the Standard German perfect tense) or durative aspect was not recorded. As these forms are very rare in Standard German and English, they probably do not exist in Rabaul Creole German.

In addition to the modal verbs mentioned above, Rabaul Creole German has a set of two more verbs which could be classed as modal verbs as well. These are the directional verbs komm "come" and geht "go". These two verbs, like their Tok Pisin equivalents i kam and i go indicate "in this direction" and "away from this direction", respectively. Unlike the other modal verbs, they appear after the main verb:

Du holen diese Eimer komm! "You fetch this pail over here."

Du laufen geht wo? "Where are you running away to?"

(f) Dependent Verbal Constructions. In both English and German there are verbal constructions introduced by a dependent conjunction such as in order to. There are also constructions called infinitives beginning with to in English and zu in Standard German. In Rabaul Creole German such verbs, which are neither main or auxiliary verbs showing tense, aspect or modality, are preceded by the catch-all preposition fi. Fi has a number of meanings in Standard German and English, including "to", "for" and "in order to". As in English, the object of this verbal element, when present, is placed after the verb, rather than before it as in Standard German:

... wenn du weißt ni, wie fi kochen.

"if you don't know how to cook"

I bin am denken fi kaufen ein Pferd.

"I'm thinking of buying a horse." (SG Ich denke daran, ein Pferd zu kaufen.)

Alle Knaben sind weggegangen, fi holen etwas.

"The boys went away in order to fetch something" (SG Die Knaben sind weggegangen, um etwas zu holen.)

One informant whose normal speech was very close to the acrolect, often used zu rather than fi:

De Königin schicken ein Boy... zu finden alle Namen.

"The queen sent a servant to find all the names."

(g) Word Order. A speaker of German will already have noticed that Rabaul Creole German has not retained Standard German rules of word order in the verb phrase. The rules for the ordering of elements in a Standard German verb phrase are quite complex, but generally one can say that when there is more than one element in the verb phrase, the main verb will go to the end of the clause and the auxiliary verb, such as haben, werden or a modal, will occupy the "central" verb slot in the clause.

Rabaul Creole German word order rules are basically the same as in English, with the auxiliary verb coming first, followed immediately by the main verb:

Er hat gehauen sein Hand. "He hit his hand."

(SG Er hat seine Hand gehauen.)

Du willst trinken Kaffee? "Do you want to drink coffee?"

(SG Du willst Kaffee trinken?)

As in English, these verbs may be split by adverbs or negatives:

I ha schon gelesen.

"I have already read (it)."

Du kann ni arbeiten fi mi. "You cannot work for me."

It should be noted that several informants separated the verb in a way that at first would seem to be in accordance with Standard German word order rules:

De Schlanger hat sein Hand gehauen.

"The carpenter hit his hand."

I war niemals zu Australien gegangen.

"I have never gone to Australia." (SG gehen "to go by foot" has acquired the meaning of English "go by any means")

The fact that these speakers are not following Standard German word order is shown by the following sentences uttered by the same speakers:

Alle kleine Mensch war diese Buch geholt gestern.

"The boys got this book yesterday."

Wenn der Knabe hat der Ball versteckt, wir war gegangen fi such.

"When the boy hid the ball, we went to look (for it)."

These sentences can all be explained by a rule that allows the main verb to be moved from its normal position to after the direct object or adverbial prepositional phrase. In the first two examples this has coincidentally been at the end of the sentence, so that the speaker appears to be following Standard German word order rules. However, in the third sentence the slot directly after the direct object is followed by an adverb. In the fourth sentence the speaker has applied the optional word order rule in the first clause of the sentence and, as there is nothing after the direct object, the clause has the same surface structure as a Standard German clause would have (disregarding, for simplicity, Standard German word order rules in subordinate clause). In the second clause there is no direct object or adverbial prepositional phrase but a third verbal element fi such so the verb cannot be moved from its normal position.

There is one set of verbs that do not adhere to the word order rules just mentioned. These are the two directional modal verbs geht and komm. As with their Tok Pisin equivalents i go and i kam, these verbal elements normally appear at the end of a clause unless that clause ends with an interrogative pronoun:

Du laufen geht wo?

"Where are you running to?"

Du holen Eimer komm!

"You fetch the bucket (over here)!"

Prepositional Phrases

As in Standard German, Tok Pisin and English prepositional phrases in Rabaul Creole German consist of a preposition followed by a noun phrase which is the object of the preposition. As in the parent languages these prepositional phrases may act either adverbially by limiting or describing the action of the verb or adjectivally by describing a noun or noun phrase. They cannot be made more or less strong as adverbs or adjectives can.

There were no examples in the corpus of postpositional phrases such as appear in Standard German den Fluß entlang "along the river" or den ganzen Sommer hindurch "for the entire summer". Similarly there were no examples of prepositions used with an adverb as an object, as is occasionally the case in Standard German, e.g. hier zunächst "next door". Because there is no case (except i/mi) in Rabaul Creole German, meaning must, as in English, be carried solely by the preposition itself, rather than being partially carried by the case of the noun phrase object, as often happens in Standard German.

The following 14 prepositions were recorded:

(a) Am. In Standard German this is a contraction of the preposition an and the dative masculine definite article dem. Whereas an has a number of meanings in Standard German, am in Rabaul Creole German was recorded only in conjunction with a day of the week, e.g. am Freitag "on Friday" or in the phrase am Abend "in the evening".

Am was the only preposition linked with time. No equivalent of Standard German um was used with hours, which appeared without any preposition at all: Also dreißig werd aufpicken "Then at three I will pick (you) up". The expression "one day", which in Standard German is expressed by using the genitive construction eines Tages, appears simply as ein Tag, as does de nächste Abend "(on) the next evening".

(b) Anstatt. As in Standard German this means "instead of": Er is am sitzen anstatt stehen "He is sitting instead of standing". The Standard German shortened form 'statt was not recorded.

(c) Bei. Bei is used in passive sentences in a way similar to that of its English cognate by. Examples of its use in sentences can be found above in the section on passive voice (page 46).

(d) Dur. This is the equivalent of Standard German durch and has the same meaning, "through": I geht dur alle Busch "I am/was going through the whole countryside". In Standard German durch can also mean "the

cause of". This meaning was not recorded in the corpus.

(e) Fi. This preposition has two meanings. The first is the same as that of its Standard German ancestor für "for": Du bauen ein Tisch fi ich "You build a table for me". Its other meaning is the same as Tok Pisin bilong [+ possession]:

Brüder fi Maria is John. "Maria's brother is John."

Geschichte fi alle alte Leute "Stories of the ancestors/elders".

As described on page 50 fi can also be used as a conjunction to introduce dependent verbal constructions.

(f) In. In has the same meaning as English in:

In dein Age "in your age(group)"

In de Posofis "in the post office".

In Standard German in can have the same meaning when followed by the dative case. When followed by the accusative case, however, it means "into" or "to". It was not recorded with this meaning in Rabaul Creole German.

(g) Mit. Mit "with" is identical in form and meaning with its Standard German ancestor. It has both a locative and an instrumental meaning:

Er war in Schule mit du. "He was in school with you."

Die hauen die mit Messer. "They attack them with knives."

(h) Nach. Pronounced /nak /, nach means "after" as in Standard German: nach de Heirat "after the wedding". In Standard German it is also used to mean "to" when the object of the preposition is the proper name of a city or country. In this sense it was only recorded once: Wann du geht nach Australien? "When are you going to Australia?". Usually other means were used to express "to" (see the discussion below of zu), so this is probably an acrolect usage.

(i) Neben. Neben means "next to" in Standard German. In Rabaul Creole German its use seems to have taken on the meaning of Tok Pisin klostu "near", for when asked to translate sentences with klostu, speakers invariably used neben:

Cue: Yumi klostu long solwara. RCG: Uns bis neben Salzwasser.

"We're near the salt water/ocean."

Cue: Sanap klostu, yu no ken sem. RCG: Steh neben, du nicht schämen!

"Stand near me (i.e. come closer). Don't be shy."

(j) Rund. This preposition is used in a very interesting way in Rabaul Creole German. The English translation of Standard German rund is "round", but Standard German rund can only be used as an adjective

("the round table"). The English preposition (a)round is translated in Standard German by um or herum, to which rund may be added for emphasis. In Rabaul Creole German rund was not recorded being used as an adjective, but it was recorded as a preposition with the same meaning as its English cognate round:

Rund der Feuer ein ganz komische kleine Mensch war am tanzen.

"Round the fire a very funny little man was dancing."

(k) Über. Über has the same meaning in Rabaul Creole German as in Standard German, "over" and, with the exception that no differentiation is made as to whether the object is in motion or not, as in Standard German, it is used in a similar fashion:

I geht... Über alle ganz große Hügel.

"I go/went over very big hills."

(l) Von. One of the meanings of this preposition in Rabaul Creole German is the same as in Standard German, "from" or "out of":

Holen heraus von de Eisbox! "Get (it) out of the refrigerator."

Er abkucken von mich.

"He copies from me."

It was not recorded being used with expressions of time, as is common in Standard German (von Tag zu Tag "from day to day", von Ostern bis Pfingsten "from Easter to Whitsuntide"). It was, however, recorded as having the same meaning as an English preposition which is phonetically close to it, on:

Der Schlange von der Hols is schon weg.

Cue: "The snake who was on the log has vanished."

(m) Wie. As in Standard German wie means "like" or "similar to":

Mein Bein is wie ein Hols.

"My leg is like a piece of wood."

(n) Zu. This preposition has the same basic meaning as in Standard German, "to". It is used more like the English word to, though, than Standard German zu. In Standard German zu can be combined with the dative definite articles dem and der to form zum and zur. These forms were not recorded in Rabaul Creole German. In places where they would have been used in Standard German, Rabaul Creole German simply uses zu:

Einige Menschen kommt heute Abend zu Essen.

"Some people are coming this evening for dinner." (SG zum Essen.)

Zu can also be used with the names of cities and countries, whereas in Standard German nach is used instead:

Ich war niemals zu Australien gegangen. "I never went to Australia."

Wer das geht zu Rabaul? "Who's that going to Rabaul?"

Zu also takes the place of nach in the expression nach Hause "(going) home":

Ich werd komm zu Hause. "I will come home."

In Rabaul Creole German zu may be and often is omitted from a sentence:

I un du geht Kokopo. "I and you are going to Kokopo."

Wir alle geht Rabaul. "All of us are going to Rabaul."

This is similar to Tok Pisin where the preposition long "to" may also be omitted, so that the two examples above could be rendered as:

Mitupela i go long Kokopo or Kitupela i go Kokopo and

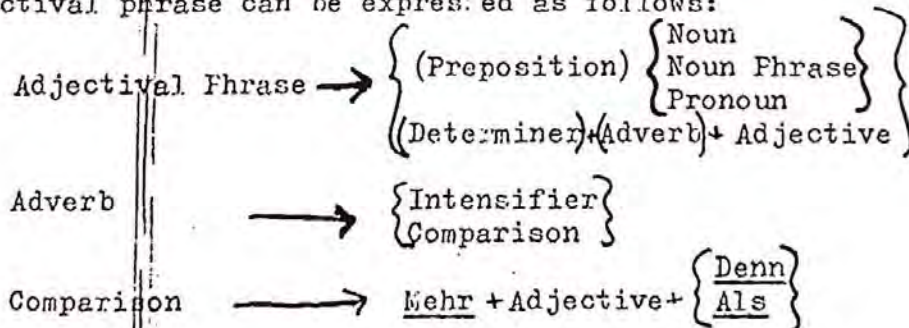
Kipela i go long Rabaul or Kipela i go Rabaul.

Adjectival Phrases

As mentioned above, prepositional phrases can often act adjectivally:

Essen fi du is süß. "Your food is nice."

Rabaul Creole German also has another type of adjectival phrase, consisting of one obligatory and two optional items. The obligatory item is, of course, the adjective, which is at the head of the phrase. This adjective may be made more strong by the use of an article and/or an intensifier, which may indicate comparison as well as intensity. In transformational notation the Rabaul Creole German adjectival phrase can be expressed as follows:



As explained above in the discussion of morphology, the use of articles (determiners) is optional in Rabaul Creole German. The intensifiers so and gans (from SG ganz "entirely") are used to strengthen the adjective in an "absolute" way, that is, not in comparison with another word. They are similar to English so and very or Standard German so and sehr:

Und de Königin war so anges.

"And the queen was so afraid."

Is ganz kalt!

"It's really cold!"

(a) Comparison of Adjectives. Curme lists both an "absolute comparative" form, where there is no reference to a comparison with another object, and a "relative comparative" form, where there is reference to such a comparison, in Standard German.³² English has only the relative comparative form, whereas in Tok Pisin the two forms are merged, with the comparative adverb moa acting much more like "very" than "more".

Rabaul Creole German follows English patterns in forming its comparative forms. It does not have an absolute form such as Standard German Wir machten einen längeren Spaziergang "We took a rather long (literally longer) walk". Instead one would use the intensifier gans, ein ganz lange Limlimbur/Wokabaut.

The relative comparison is formed in a manner similar to that in English. The adjective is preceded by the adverb mehr "more" and followed by dann or als:

Gale is mehr klein denn Des.

"Gale is smaller than Des."

Er is mehr groß als ich.

"He is taller than I."

Dann is undoubtedly the result of influence by the phonologically similar English word than. Als is the Standard German form. Both forms were used by the same speaker at times.

Mehr is used for all adjectives. The suffix -er, used for most adjectives of Germanic origin in English and all adjectives in Standard German when making comparisons, was not recorded.

(b) Superlative of Adjectives. Curme lists three forms of the superlative in Standard German, each termed in a separate way.³³ The first is the relative (SG Hans ist der fleißigste Schüler hier "Hans is the most industrious pupil here"), the second the adverbial superlative, which in English has no the (SG Hier ist der See am tiefsten "Here the sea is deepest") and the absolute superlative, marked in English by stress on most (SG Das war ein tiefster Zug "That was a most vital trait"). Only the first of these forms was recorded in Rabaul Creole German.

This form of the superlative is identical to that in Standard German with the adjective being preceded by the definite article and having a -ste suffix with the internal vowel of a monosyllabic adjective being unlauded, if possible:

Das ist der beste.

"That is the best."

Diese is der größte.

"That is the biggest."

(c) Equality of Adjectives. Relative equality between two adjectives is shown by the adverb "selbe", which comes from a Standard German suffix meaning "self":

Die sind selbe stark. "They are equally strong."

A double coordinate conjunction such as English as...as or Standard German so...wie was not recorded. This use of the adverb selbe is similar to that of Tok Pisin wantaim, except that wantaim usually comes after the head adjective, while selbe precedes it: Ol i strong wantaim "They are equally strong".

(d) Descending Comparison. No descending comparison was recorded. Like Tok Pisin, Rabaul Creole German may not have a descending comparative form. When a cue was given in English with a descending comparison, the sentence was paraphrased to make the comparison a positive one:

Cue: Gale is less large than Veronica.

RCG: Gale is mehr klein dann diese Frau. "Gale is smaller than this woman."

CLAUSES AND SENTENCES

As in the three parent languages, most sentences in Rabaul Creole German consist of one clause. However, Rabaul Creole German does have rules which allow clauses to be combined to form compound and complex sentences as well. Before looking at these sentences, let us examine how one clause sentences are constructed.

The rules governing the construction of clauses in Rabaul Creole German are quite different from those in Standard German, as the absence of case classes does not allow the relatively free word order that is possible in Standard German. As in Standard German the Rabaul Creole German simple one clause surface sentence is characterized by a sentence nucleus of a subject (a noun phrase) and a verb (a verb phrase). This nucleus may be expanded by placing "peripherals" such as adjectival phrases, adverbs, prepositional phrases or, with transitive verbs, indirect and direct objects. All of these may be one word phrases or more complex phrases.

In a declarative sentence the normal word order is:

Sentence → Subject + Verb + (Peripheral)

Examples of this are:

I geht. "I go/went."

Mein Bein is wie ein Hols. "My leg is like a piece of wood."

Der Mensch hat gehauen sein Finger. "The man hit his finger."

In Standard German peripherals will often be placed at the beginning of a sentence for emphasis. In Rabaul Creole German this may not be done with noun phrases because what is expressed in Standard German by case classes, is expressed in Rabaul Creole German, as in English and Tok Pisin, by word order. As in these two languages, adverbs, prepositional phrases and adjectival phrases, which do not depend on word order for their grammatical definition, may be placed before the sentence nucleus. Unlike Standard German, but again as in English and Tok Pisin, the order of the subject and verb is not inverted when an element other than the subject begins the sentence:

De nächste Morgen de König war ganz erstaunt.

"The next morning the king was quite astounded."

Also drei i werd aufpicken. "So at three I will pick (you) up."

"So then at three I will pick (you) up."

SG: Also um drei werde ich dich abholen.

The rules in Rabaul Creole German regarding the ordering of expressions of time are somewhat different to those in Standard German. In Standard

German an expression of time must always appear immediately before or after the verb. In Rabaul Creole German this cannot be the case before the verb, as the element immediately before the verb and therefore after any peripheral is the subject. Similarly a direct or indirect object cannot come before the verb as in Standard German. Moreover, not only must these elements come after the verb, but the direct and indirect objects must precede time expressions in Rabaul Creole German. This results in word order that is similar to that of English and quite different from that of Standard German:

I bringen du zurück morgen. "I (will) bring you back tomorrow."

Du mußt trinken de Bier jets. "You must drink the beer now."

SG: Du mußt jetzt das Bier trinken or Jetzt mußt du das Bier trinken.

In other situations, such as with prepositional phrases, expressions of time will precede other peripherals. This is as in Standard German:

I wird bleib zwei Woche in Lae. "I'll stay two weeks in Lae."

Einige Menschen kommt heute abend zu Essen.

"Some people are coming this evening to dinner."

Where an indirect object is present, it will precede the direct object, as is usually the case in Standard German and English:

Du geben mi dein erstes Kind.

"You give me your first child."

As in Tok Pisin, a direct object that has been previously mentioned will often be omitted, leaving an indirect object with no direct object. This is not possible in Standard German and English. This can be seen by comparing two Rabaul Creole German sentences with their Tok Pisin equivalents:

Du has mi bi das gefragen. I werd geben di nachher, wenn das kommt richtig heraus.

Yu askim mi long dispela. Bai mi givim yu bihain, taim em i kamap stret olgeta.

"You asked me for that. I'll give (it) to you when everything is straightened out."

The subject may also be omitted in a declarative sentence. This is not only done where the subject would be it in English (for which Rabaul Creole German does not have a word), but also where the subject has been mentioned before and is thought to be understood by the listener:

Mensch, er komm wieder. Hat gesag...

"The man came again. (He) said..."

Und de Königin war so ang's. Und dann sagen zu de Mensch, "Orait".

"And the queen was so angry. And then (she) said okay to the man."

Interrogative Sentences

As do its three parent languages, Rabaul Creole German has two types of questions, those with interrogative words (the so-called "WH-questions") and those without them. The following interrogative words were recorded:

<u>warum</u>	"why"	<u>wat, was</u>	"what"
<u>was für</u>	"what (time)"	<u>fi was</u>	"why"
<u>wer</u>	"who"	<u>welhe</u>	"which"
<u>wie</u>	"how"	<u>wieviel</u>	"how much", "how many"
<u>wieviel Mal</u>	"how often"		

Some of these interrogative words are used as in Standard German, such as warum, wer, was, and (except that it is not inflected for case classes) welhe (SG welche). Wieviel covers the meaning of two Standard German and English expressions, wieviel "how much" and wie viele "how many". This is similar to Tok Pisin, which also has only one expression, hamas, for the two European concepts.

Was für exists in Standard German, but is not used for questions regarding time. Instead it means "what kind of" and the expression wieviel Uhr is used to ask what time it is. Fi was may be based on the English expression what for or the Tok Pisin expression bilong wanem "why". The latter explanation is more likely, as bilong and fi are both genitive markers and wanem and was mean "what". Similarly, wieviel Mal, which in Standard German would be wie oft, is a literal translation of hamas taim (literally "how much time") in Tok Pisin.

The use of wat (/wat/) for was was recorded in the speech of only one elderly informant. This is probably a Germanized pronunciation of English what, but it could also be a remnant of influence from Plattdeutsch. As many of the sea-faring Germans coming to Rabaul would have come from North Germany, this latter source cannot be ruled out.

When these interrogatives are used, they may be placed either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence. In the case of welhe, welhe is followed by the noun it modifies if it comes at the end of the sentence:

<u>Du geht wo?</u>	"Where do you go?"
<u>Wo is de Bratpfanne?</u>	"Where is the frying pan?"
<u>Warum du schlafen?</u>	"Why do you sleep?"
<u>Du möchter was?</u>	"What do you want?"
<u>Sie will welhe Puppe?</u>	"Which puppet does she want?"

There is no way to predict whether a speaker will place an interrogative pronoun at the beginning or end of a sentence. All interrogative pronouns were recorded in either position (except was für, which was only recorded in sentence initial position) and several speakers placed interrogative pronouns at the beginning of a sentence one time and at the end another.

Placing the interrogative at the end of the clause is much more common than placing it at the beginning. This may mean that it is a basilect form, especially as interrogatives are placed at the end of a sentence in Tok Pisin as well (e.g. Yu laikim wanem? "What do you want?"), while they are usually placed at the beginning of a sentence in Standard German and English. This is supported by the fact that several times when Vunapope Germans were asked to "say something in Pidgin German", they responded with a question having the interrogative in a sentence final position.

In Rabaul Creole German questions without an interrogative pronoun do not change word order, as similar questions often do in Standard German and English. Instead, as in Tok Pisin, inflection is used to differentiate a question of this sort from a declarative sentence:

Du will drinken Kaffee. "You want to drink coffee."

Du will drinken Kaffee? "Do you want to drink coffee?"

Of course, a similar use of inflection is an alternative in Standard German and English to subject-verb inverted word order or, in English, the use of the question marker do.

Combining Clauses

Rabaul Creole German is able to combine clauses by the juxtaposition of clauses or by embedding one clause in another. Juxtaposition creates compound sentences while embedding creates complex sentences.

(a) Compound Sentences. The juxtaposition of independent clauses to form compound sentences rather than using a subordinate conjunction to make one of the clauses subordinate is much more common in Rabaul Creole German than in Standard German. One reason for this is that Rabaul Creole German does not require an equivalent of Standard German zu ("to") after verbs such as gelassen "allow", which in Standard German changes the second independent clause to a subordinate phrase:

Pater hat gelassen, alle Kinder gehen schwimmen.

SG: Der Pater hat den Kindern erlaut, schwimmen zu gehen.

"The priest allowed the children to go swimming."

Because Rabaul Creole German does not have a subjunctive mood, when indirect speech is reported without a conjunction, two sentences can be juxtaposed without changing the verb in the second sentence:

Alle Menschen hat gesa "People said" and

Er is dick "he is fat" can be combined to form

Alle Menschen hat gesa, er is dick. "People said he's fat."

This is in contrast to Standard German which would require a change in the second clause consisting of the quote. In this clause the verb would have to be changed to the subjunctive mood form:

Man sagte "people said" and Er ist dick "he is fat"

Man sagte, er sei dick. "People said he's fat."

Besides being simply juxtaposed, clauses may be linked with the coordinate conjunctions und "and" and aber "but" to form compound sentences:

Einige Kleider sind etwas jung aber die hat andere Kleider.

"Some clothes are rather young (-looking), but they have other clothes."

Er wird ein Haus kaufen und er wird geht zurück zu Rabaul.

"He will buy a house and he will go back to Rabaul."

(b) Complex Sentences. Complex sentences, which consist of an independent clause with one or more subordinate clauses, are always connected by subordinate conjunctions in Rabaul Creole German. The subordinate clause introduced by this subordinate conjunction is embedded in the main clause. This embedded clause may fill the position of a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase or an adverbial phrase and may occur before, after or in the middle of the main clause:

(i) Er wollte wissen, ob Yvonne is am spielen.

"He wanted to know if Yvonne was playing."

Here ob Yvonne is am spielen takes the place of a noun phrase and comes after the main clause.

(ii) Wenn er komm, i wird fragen er.

"When he comes, I will ask him."

Here wenn er komm takes the place of an adverbial phrase and precedes the main clause.

(iii) Der Mensch, wo is am bauen de Haus, hat gehauen sein Finger.

Here wo is am bauen de Haus is an adjectival phrase in the middle of the main clause.

As in Standard German and English, a subordinate clause acting as an adjectival phrase occurs after rather than before the noun being modified. The adjectival present participle construction preceding the noun, which is common in educated Standard German, was not recorded (e.g. SG der am Haus bauende Mann "the man building the house").

There are two types of complex sentences in Rabaul Creole German, those with a subject in the subordinate clause and those without a subject. Those without a subject are invariably connected with the conjunction fi. Sentences with a subject in the subordinate clause are **connected** by one of the following subordinate conjunctions:

- i. wenn "if", "whenever". This has the same meaning as in Standard German:

Wenn er komm, i wird fragen er.

"If/When he comes, I will ask him."

- ii. ob "if", "whether". This also has the same meaning as in Standard German:

Er wollte wissen, ob Yvonne is am spielen.

"He wanted to know, if (whether) Yvonne was playing."

- iii. wo. This is the only subordinate conjunction with a different meaning in Rabaul Creole German than in Standard German. The first meaning it has is "when", "marking one point in past time". In Standard German als carries this meaning:

I war am lesen ein Buch, wo mein Freund komm.

"I was reading a book when my friend came."

A second use of wo, already mentioned previously, is as the relative pronoun for persons:

Der Mensch, wo is am bauen de Haus, hat gehauen sein Finger.

"The man who is building the house hit his finger."

Lastly, wo can mean "where" as in Standard German. It combines with von to have the meaning "from where", which in Standard German is carried by woher:

Du weiß, er is am komm von wo?

"Do you know where he is coming from?"

- iv. daß "that". This conjunction is used as in Standard German:

Er hat geschrieben, daß Frau Ferdinande is krank.

"He wrote that Mrs. Ferdinande was sick."

This conjunction is not used very often, as the more common way of expression reported speech is to have two clauses in juxtaposition:

Du gesagen, du geben mi dein erste Kind.

"You said you would give me your first child."

- v. warum "why". This is used as in Standard German:

Du weiß, warum er is an komm?

"Do you know why he's coming?"

- vi. was "what". This is also used as in Standard German:

Du weiß, was is an komm?

"Do you know what's coming?"

- vii. weil "because". This seldom used conjunction has the same meaning as in Standard German:

Alle Frauen kann nich fahren, weil Schwarze, die schmeißen Stein oder Flasche.

"Women can't drive because Blacks throw stones or bottles."

Rabaul Creole German differs from Tok Pisin not only in having more subordinate conjunctions, but also in having a subordinate clause object deletion rule. As in Standard German and English, when subordinate conjunctions occur, the "peripheral" which is referred to by the subordinate conjunction is deleted in the subordinate clause. Thus the following two sentences are joined by wo in this way:

Du sehen Sctor. "You see the store."

Alle Boi komm zu er. "The indigenes come to it."

Du sehen Sctor, wo alle Boi komm.

"You see the store where the indigenes come."

This is different from Tok Pisin, where the equivalent of "to it" would remain in the subordinate clause:

Yu lukim stoa. "You see the store."

Ol boi save kam long en. "The indigenes come to it."

Yu lukim stoa we ol boi save kam long en.

"You see the store where the indigenes come (to it)."

Where the subordinate clause has no surface subject fi is used as a conjunction. As with the use of Tok Pisin long, this is where the subject of both the main and subordinate clauses are identical. This causes a subject deletion rule to come into effect in the subordinate clause. Usually this is where Standard German would use an infinitive

phrase and English an infinitive phrase or gerund:

Alle Knaben sind weggegangen, fi holen etwas.

"The boys have gone away to pick up something."

(SG: Die Knaben sind weggegangen, um etwas zu holen.)

I bin am denken, fi kaufen ein Ferd.

"I'm thinking of buying a horse."

(SG: Ich denke daran, ein Pferd zu kaufen.)

(TP: Mi tingting long baim hos.)

(c) Tense in Complex Sentences. In both Standard German and English there are rules which make agreement between verb tense in the main and subordinate clauses obligatory. In Rabaul Creole German this is not so. Instead, past or future tense may be carried on only one of the two verbs. If past tense is to be shown, it will usually be expressed in the main clause verb:

Er wollte wissen, ob Yvonne is am spielen.

"He wanted to know if Yvonne was playing."

I war an lesen ein Buch, wo mein Freund komm.

"I was reading a book when my friend came."

Occasionally it may also be expressed in the subordinate clause instead of in the main clause:

Der Mensch, wo ging durch de ganze Land, sagen nachher...

"The man who went through the whole country said afterwards..."

If future time is to be indicated, the future tense will be expressed in the subordinate clause verb. This form is common to both Standard German and English:

Wenn er komm, i wird fragen er.

"When he comes, I will ask him."

(d) Word Order in Complex Sentences.

As mentioned previously, Rabaul Creole German word order is more rigid than that of Standard German. Not only does it differ from Standard German in not changing subject-verb word order when the subject is preceded by another word, it also does not change word order in subordinate clauses. This is in contrast to Standard German, which places the predicate verb at the end of a subordinate phrase. This can be seen by comparing the following sentences in Rabaul Creole German and Standard German:

RCG: I werd geben du nachher, wenn das kommt richtig
heraus.

SG: Ich werde das dir nachher geben, wenn das richtig
herauskommt.

"I will give it to you later if/when it works out well."

RCG: Alle Frauen kann nich fahren allein, weil Schwarze, die
schmeißen Stein oder Flasche.

SG: Frauen können nicht allein fahren, weil Schwarze
Steine oder Flaschen schmeißen.

"Women can't drive alone because Blacks throw stones
or bottles."

(e) Cleft Clauses. In a cleft clause the subject is repeated and a subordinate clause construction is used. Although they are often used in Germanic languages to give emphasis to the subject (e.g. It was John who went), no cleft clauses were noted in the corpus. This may be because there is no equivalent of "it" in Rabaul Creole German. This is needed in Germanic languages to form a cleft clause. It may also be because Tok Pisin has no cleft clause construction.

POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It has been beyond the scope of this work to attempt a complete description of Rabaul Creole German. All that has been possible has been to introduce some of the more interesting aspects of the language. Because the number of speakers of Rabaul Creole German is decreasing through death, intermarriage with other groups and geographic dispersion, it would be desirable for research to be undertaken in several areas before the language becomes completely extinct.

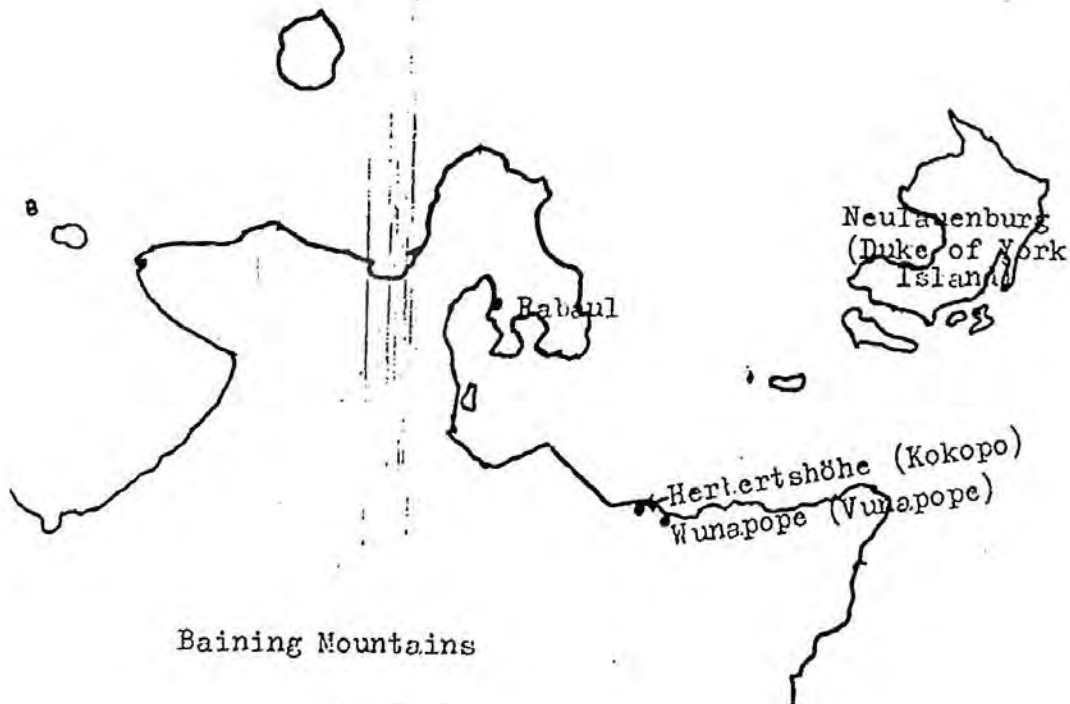
The phonology of the language has been only partially explored in this work. Besides further study into those features which have been mentioned as uncertain in this work, often because they were recorded in the speech of only one informant, the intonation patterns still need to be described. Further research may also uncover phonetic differences between the basilect and acrolect that have not been touched upon here. An interesting study can also be made on the dialectal origins in central Europe of the phonetic features of Rabaul Creole German. This would involve research into the origin of the persons who would have been the speech models for the first Vunapope Germans.

There are also a number of questions of morphology and syntax that further research may resolve. Although Rabaul Creole German has often been compared to Tok Pisin by this writer, it might be more à propos to compare it with Kuanua and other Austronesian languages spoken in the Rabaul area. A thorough study of the surface and deep structures of Rabaul Creole German and these languages could not only help resolve the question of the ultimate origins of Rabaul Creole German, but assist in the examination of pidginization in general and in the pidginization and transformation of German in particular. This in turn could be of value to the study of present-day Gastarbeiterdeutsch.

Besides these areas of purely linguistic research, it is to be hoped that through research into the Vunapope German culture as a whole, of which language is only one part, these very kind and friendly people will be able to share their way of life with society as a whole. This will lead to a more complete understanding of the people of the two countries which the Vunapope Germans of today call home, Papua New Guinea and Australia.



Eastern New Guinea 34
1900



Gazelle Peninsula 34
1914

NOTES

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