*We regret that we are unable to place the names of individuals or libraries on the regular mailing list for our WORKING PAPERS. Budgetary considerations force us to restrict the list to selected sister departments. However, authors of individual papers are provided with copies of their articles and can supply these to individuals upon request.*

# RABAUL CREOLE GERMAN SYNTAX

## Craig Volker

## 1. Introduction[1]

As speakers of German have come in contact with speakers of other languages, new forms of German have evolved both in Europe itself and overseas (cf. Muehlhaeusler 1984). While there have been many varieties of settler dialects of German immigrants overseas, the only clear-cut example of a German-based creole is Rabaul Creole German (RCG), called Unserdeutsch (literally 'Our German') by its speakers. An overview of the grammar and sociolinguistic environment of Rabaul Creole German can be found in Volker (1982), and the implications of the grammatical features of this language for a theory of creole universals have been discussed by Muehlhaeusler (1986:222-25).

In this paper certain aspects of Rabaul Creole German syntax and, where relevant, phonology and morphology, are examined to show its divergence from Standard German (SG) grammar and its similarity with Tok Pisin (TP) and, to a lesser extent, English. The data used in this analysis were collected during fieldwork in Papua New Guinea and Queensland from 1979 to 1981.

**1.1. History of Rabaul Creole German.** Rabaul Creole German began in 1897 when the Catholic Church began a home for mixed-race children at their mission in Vunapope (then Wunapope) on the outskirts of Kokopo (then Herbertshoehe), near Rabaul on New Britain Island (then Newpommern) in what is today Papua New Guinea. Many of the children were too young to speak much of anything when they arrived at the mission (Janssen 1932:150), but older speakers of Rabaul Creole German report that some were old enough to have some knowledge of the early version of Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin English) current in the colony, or the language of their parents, i.e. either an immigrant language such as Chinese, Malay, or German, or an indigenous Austronesian language such as Kuanua (Tolai). While Standard (High) German (SG) was the target language of discourse in the classroom and with the missionaries, in the dormitories a pidginized form of German was used, undoubtedly based at least in its beginnings on a relexification of Tok Pisin.

---

This pidgin language became creolized in one generation when the first generation of children from the home married each other, settled in or near Vunapope, and had children of their own. This small community was trilingual, using the now creolized Rabaul Creole German among themselves, a variety of Standard German in writing and with the missionaries, and Tok Pisin with indigenes. With the Australian occupation and mandate after World War I, English was introduced as a medium of instruction for most subjects at the school and began slowly to take the place of Standard German as the prestige language. This became increasingly so after World War II, when German was no longer used as either a school subject or a medium of instruction at the school and many of the new missionaries, although often of German descent, came from the United States or Australia.

With the opening of more opportunities for mixed-race persons after World War II, many Rabaul Creole German speakers moved to Rabaul or other towns, and nearly all became Australian citizens when this became possible in the 1960s. At independence few opted for Papua New Guinean citizenship and most have eventually emigrated to southeastern Queensland. Today close family ties and a strong sense of 'German-ness' ensure that the descendants of the Rabaul Creole Germans retain a common identity, but increasing assimilation into English- and Tok Pisin-speaking societies has had the result that, according to several older informants, there are only about eighty fluent Rabaul Creole German speakers, mainly middle-aged or older, out of a total population of about a thousand.

**1.2. Phonology.** There is often considerable variation in the lexicon, morphology, and syntax of Rabaul Creole German, due mainly to the presence of Standard German as a target for older, but not younger, Rabaul Creole German speakers. In contrast, the phonology is striking in its relative uniformity. This is true not only between generations, but between *Unserdeutsch* and *Normaldeutsch*, i.e. the local variety of Standard High German still spoken by those educated before World War II. For convenience, in this paper all Rabaul Creole German examples are not presented in a phonetic or phonemic transcription. Instead, Standard German capitalization and orthographic conventions are followed except where Rabaul Creole German pronunciation is markedly different from that of Standard German (e.g. in the deletion of certain final consonants). English loan words are generally spelled in German orthography only if they are pronounced in accordance with German phonology (e.g. *Schtor* for [štor] 'store', but [waǰə n] 'watch (TV)' is written *watchen*), but in all cases Standard German capitalization conventions are followed, i.e. all nouns are capitalized, but the first person singular pronoun is not. The reader should note that, as in a number of German dialects, *w* represents [w] in Rabaul Creole German, not [v] as in Standard German and *r* represents the rolled apicoalveolar [r̃], not uvular [ʁ].

## 2. Sentence

Modern X-bar syntax assumes that all languages have an S', which consists of COMP and S. Rabaul Creole German has an unmarked word order of subject-verb-object. Thus the basic sentence structure in Rabaul Creole German can be formally described in the following phrase structure rules (PSR):

PSR 1 and 2. Sentence Formation

   1. S'—> COMP S

   2. S—> NP (INFL) VP

**2.1. Noun Phrase (NP).** An NP normally contains a noun (N) as a head, which may be either a noun or a pronoun. The head noun may be followed by a prepositional phrase (PP), as illustrated in (1), or an embedded S', as in (2):

(1)

```
            NP
          /    \
        NP      PP
        |      /‾‾\
     Bruedern  fi  Maria
     brother   of  Maria
```

Maria's brother

(2)

```
           NP
         /    \
        N      S'
        |    /‾‾‾‾‾‾‾\
     Schtor,  wo  alle  Boi       komm
     store   where PL  indigene   come
```

(the) store where the indigenes come
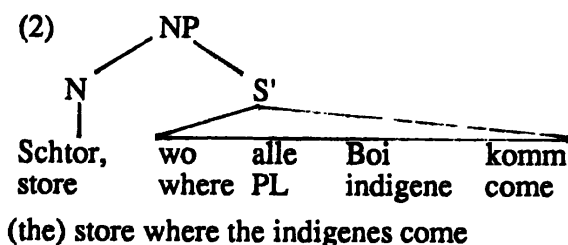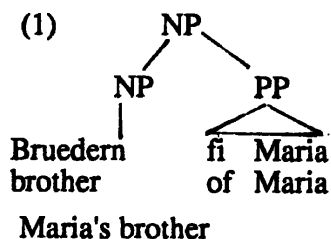
A noun may be preceded by an adjective phrase (AP) and a determiner (DET):

(3)

```
             NP
          /   |   \
       DET   AP    N
        |     |    |
        de  naechste Morgen
        the  next   morning
```

the next morning
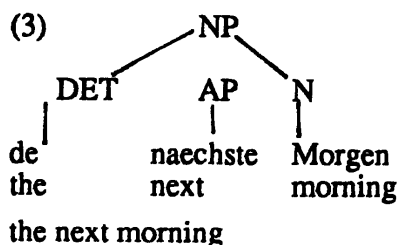
In genitive constructions one NP may be preceded by another NP. This usage, which is not recursive, is discussed in 2.1.3. below.

The NP in Rabaul Creole German can therefore be formally described with the following phrase structure rule:

PSR 3. NP Formation

    NP —> (NP) (DET) (AP) N (PP) (S')

**2.1.1. Genitive.** Rabaul Creole German shows its multiple parentage by having three constructions to mark possession, each obviously influenced by the form found in one of the three dominant languages of the larger community. In Tok Pisin there is no overt genitive form, and instead the preposition *bilong* 'of' is used, e.g.

(4) TP: haus bilong Tom
         house of Tom

         Tom's house

This can be translated word for word into Rabaul Creole German using the word *fi* (from Standard German *fuer* 'for') for *bilong* 'of':

(5) RCG: Haus fi Tom
          house for Tom

          Tom's house

This is the most common way to express possession.

A second construction is the same as that found in many German dialects, juxtaposing the possessor immediately before the item being possessed with no overt case marking, i.e.:

(6)
```
              NP
           /      \
         NP          NP
        /  \        /   \
      DET  NP     DET    NP
       |    |      |      |
     Diese Car,   de     Tyre   is   heruntergegangen.
     this  car    the    tire   is   flat
```

This car's tire is flat.

The least common form is the same as in English, i.e. with an overt *-s* genitive suffix on the possessor which immediately precedes the NP being possessed, e.g.:

(7)
```
       NP
      /  \
    NP    N
     |    |
   Papa-s Waesche
   Papa-GEN washing
```

Papa's washing

(8)

```
            NP
          /    \
       NP        N
      /  \       |
   DET    N      |
    |     |      |
   mein  Vater- s   Haus
   my    father-GEN house
```

my father's house
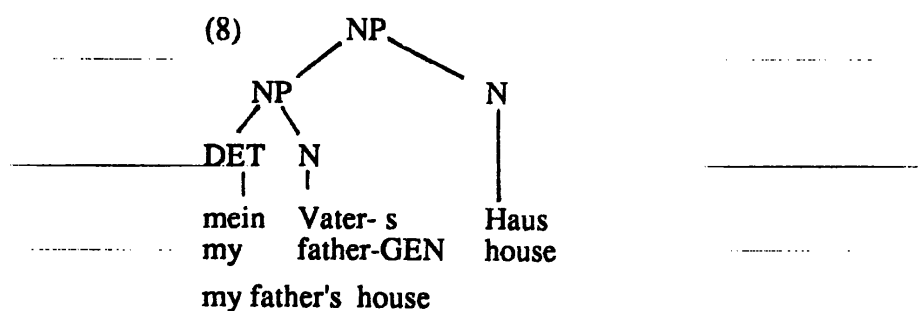
Both English and Standard German allow constructions such as in (7), an N consisting of a proper noun with a genitive -*s* suffix to precede the NP being possessed. However, only English uses the same construction for common nouns, as in (8). The fact that this form of expressing possession is the least common of the three, and that it undoubtedly comes from English, which was not widely spoken around Vunapope until long after the Australian takeover, suggests that it may have been introduced into the language relatively recently.

In Standard German the head noun preceded by a determiner is immediately followed by the possessing NP, marked by a -(*e*)*s* genitive suffix if it has masculine or neuter gender, and an appropriate determiner also marked by an -(*e*)s genitive suffix:

(9)

```
              NP
            /    \
        DET        N
         |       /   \
         |      N      NP
         |      |     /   \
         |      |   DET     N
         |      |    |      |
 SG:    das   Haus  mein-es  Vater-s
        the   house my-GEN   father-GEN
```

my father's house
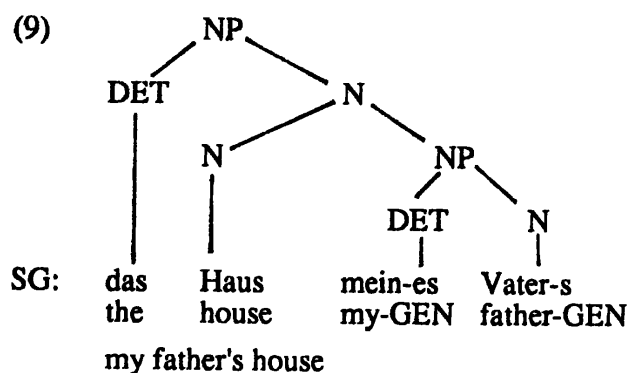
Constructions such as these were rejected as not being Rabaul Creole German by native speakers, as were any constructions using determiners or adjectives with the genitive suffix -(*e*)*s*.

**2.1.2. Determiners.** Although the phonetic forms of the determiners in Rabaul Creole German have their origins in Standard German, their use and to some extent meaning are rather different.

Like Standard German and English, Rabaul Creole German has both definite and indefinite articles. In this regard it differs from Tok Pisin, which has neither. As in English, but not Standard German, these are not inflected for case. The indefinite singular article in *ein* (pronounced *eine* by some speakers):

(10)    Du bauen  ein Tisch!
         2S build    a    table

         Build a table.

The singular definite article is *de* (pronounced *der* by some speakers):

(11)    Holen  heraus  von    de Eisbox!
         fetch   out-of  from   <u>the icebox</u>

         Get it from out of the refrigerator.

      These singular forms are used as in English and, as in English, the indefinite article is not used with plural nouns. Unlike English (and Standard German), the definite article is also limited to singular nouns. With plural nouns the plural marker article *alle* (SG 'all') is used:

(12)    Alle   Knaben   sind   weg-gegangen.
         PL     boys     are    away-gone

         The boys have gone away.

      Since virtually all Rabaul Creole German nouns do not distinguish between singular and plural, number is marked only by the appropriate determiner. This usage undoubtedly has its origin in Tok Pisin, which uses *ol*, which is phonologically and etymologically similar to *alle*, for the same purpose, e.g. *ol hama* 'the hammers'.

      The Standard German negative indefinite article *kein* was recorded in the speech of only a few speakers, and thus may not have been part of the original basilect. Other determiners recorded were *das* 'that' and *diese* 'this/these', both of which were used as in English or, except for the lack of case and number inflections, Standard German.

      Rabaul Creole German is much more flexible in the use of determiners than English or Standard German. Perhaps under the influence of Tok Pisin, which has no articles, Rabaul Creole German permits the omission of articles where this would not be possible in either of these two languages. In the sentences below, an underlined blank space indicates an environment where an article would be required in Standard German and English, but where this was not necessary in Rabaul Creole German:

(13)    I   lesen   __ Buch.
         I   read    book

         I'm reading a/the book.

(14)    Alle   Schwarzen hauen  sie    mit __ Messer.
         PL     Blacks     cut    3SF    with  knife

         The Blacks cut her with a knife.

    **2.2. Adjective Phrase (AP).** An AP in Rabaul Creole German has the same structure as in Standard German, i.e. a head adjective (A), which may be preceded by a quantifier (Q):

PSR 4.    AP Formation

AP —> (Q) A

Where the two languages differ is in the words which belong to the set of quantifiers. Both include numerals, but *gans* (Standard German *ganz* 'entirely') is the most common intensity marker, to the exclusion of Standard German *sehr* 'very', e.g.:

(15)      gans   kalt
          INT-Q cold

          very cold

Another quantifier with a German etymology that is used in a different way in Rabaul Creole German is *mehr* SG 'more'. In Rabaul Creole German this is used for comparatives in the same way that 'more' is used in English:

(16)      Maria is     mehr  klein  denn  Des.
          Maria COP    more  small  than  Des

          Maria is smaller/shorter than Des.

The Standard German pattern of making comparatives with an *-er* suffix and umlauting in one syllable stems does not exist in Rabaul Creole German, even though the same suffix is used for most common adjectives in English. Superlatives, however, are not formed using an equivalent of English 'most'. Instead Rabaul Creole German has the same construction as Standard German, i.e. with an *-ste* suffix, internal umlauting where applicable, and the definite article:

(17)      Diese is    de    groesste.
          this  COP   the   biggest

          This is the biggest.

In Standard German there are two AP constructions which do not exist in Rabaul Creole German. The first is an adjectival past participle relative phrase immediately preceding the head noun, as in:

(18)  SG:  der   von   ihr   gesehene  Film
           DET   from  her   seen      film

      the film seen by her

Sentences of this sort were rejected by all Rabaul Creole German speakers. This is not surprising, since not only do both Tok Pisin and English avoid placing a participle before a noun (indeed, Tok Pisin does not even have participles as such), but even in Standard German this is uncommon in colloquial speech.

The second Standard German construction involving adjectives that does not exist in Rabaul Creole German is the deletion of a head noun following an adjective, which retains its case and gender inflection, e.g.:

(19)  SG:   Du nimmst   den   Kleinen!
            2S take      the   small

You take the small one.

Sentences such as these were rejected by Rabaul Creole German speakers. What are allowed are constructions similar to those in English with certain determiners able to appear with no noun head, e.g. *einige* 'some':

(20)  RCG:  Die   hat    einige  fi  Damenin  dein      Age.
            3PL   have   some    for womenin  2SGEN     age

They have some for women in your age.

**2.3. Verb Phrases (VP).** Although nearly all Rabaul Creole German verbs come from Standard German, the creole differs from Standard German, but not English and Tok Pisin, in not having verb endings to indicate subject-verb agreement.[2] Similarly, there is no class of verbs requiring an umlaut vowel change for second and third persons, as in Standard German. This can be seen by comparing the following pair of sentences in Rabaul Creole German, in which the verb is the same for both first and second person singular, with the second pair of equivalent sentences in Standard German, in which the verb has different suffixes for the two persons as well as an umlauted internal vowel for third person singular:

(21)  RCG:  i      anfang
            1SN    begin

            I begin

(22)  RCG:  de Koenigin   anfang
            the queen     begin

            the queen begins

(23)  SG:   wenn      ich    anfange
            if/when   1SN    begin

            if I begin

(24)  SG:   wenn      die Koenigin   anfaengt
            if/when   the queen      begin

            if the queen begins

---

[2] In spite of this, there was often considerable variation between informants and even between utterances of one informant at different times. 'Come', for example, was recorded as *komm, komms, kommt*, and *kommen* at different times. At times a change would coincide with the 'correct' usage of a Standard German form, i.e., several speakers consistently used *ich habe* rather than *ich hat*, but there was so little overall agreement that at this stage it is necessary to ascribe this variation to the individuals' knowledge of Standard German, rather than to a systematic feature of the grammar. An exception to this is the copula, which was conjugated for person and number in a generally uniform manner by all informants.

The order of elements in the Rabaul Creole German VP is more like Tok Pisin or English than Standard German. For example, while in Standard German an unpreposed adverbial phrase of time must immediately follow the verb, in Rabaul Creole German, as in English and Tok Pisin, the verb is immediately followed by an direct object, which in turn immediately precedes an unpreposed adverbial phrase of time. This can be seen in the following sentence:

(25)　Du muss　drinken　de Bier　jetz.
　　　　2S must　drink　　the beer　now

You must drink the beer now.

An indirect object immediately precedes a direct object, as in Standard German:

(26)　Du geben　mi　dein　　erstes　Kind!
　　　　2S give　　1SO　2SGEN　first　　child

Give me your first child.

In the Tok Pisin of the New Guinea Islands (as opposed to the mainland), this word order is also usually used, but the direct object is preceded by the preposition *long*:

(27)　Yu givim　mi long　namba　wan　pikinini　bilong yu.
　　　　2S give　　1S PREP　number　one　child　　of　　2S

Give me your first child.

A similar prepositional construction was not recorded among Rabaul Creole German speakers.

Rabaul Creole German is also like Tok Pisin in requiring that the negative imperative adverb, *nicht* (TP *no ken*), must precede the verb in an imperative sentence, e.g.:

(28)　RCG:　Du nicht　schaemen!
　　　　　　　2S not　　shame

　　　　TP:　Yu no ken　sem.
　　　　　　　2S no can　shame

　　　　Don't be ashamed/shy.

(29)　RCG:　Du nicht　lesen!
　　　　　　　2S not　　read

　　　　TP:　Yu no ken　ritim!
　　　　　　　2S no can　read

　　　　Don't read (it).

In addition to direct and indirect object NPs, a V may be followed by prepositional phrases, adverbs, or an embedded S'. An example of the latter is the following:

(30)

```
              S
      ┌───────┼────────────┐
     NP      INFL          VP
      │      ╱  ╲         ╱ │ ╲
      │     ╱    ╲       V  NP   S'
      │    ╱      ╲      │  ╱ ╲  ╱────────────────
      I   war    am   lesen ein Buch, wo   mein  Freund komm.
     1SN COP:PAST DUR  read  a   book  when  my    friend come
```

I was reading a book when my friend came.
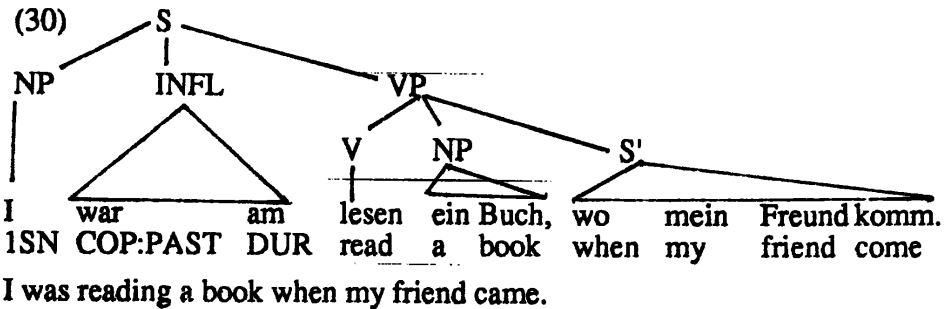
Since adverbial expressions of time immediately follow the verb in Standard German, it follows that they precede all other constituents of the VP. As has been seen above, this is not the case with direct and indirect objects in Rabaul Creole German. But like Standard German, and unlike English and Tok Pisin, Rabaul Creole German does place postverb constituents other than those expressing time after, rather than before, an adverbial phrase expressing time. This can be seen in the following two sentences, in which prepositional phrases denoting location and goal follow the adverbial phrase expressing time:

(31)  | I | wird | bleib | zwei | Woche | in | Lae. |
      |---|------|-------|------|-------|-----|------|
      | 1SN | FUT | stay | two | week | in | Lae |

I will stay two weeks in Lae.

(32)  | Einige | Menschen | kommt | heute | abend | zu | Essen. |
      |--------|----------|-------|-------|-------|-----|--------|
      | some | people | come | today | evening | to | meal |

Some people are coming to dinner this evening.

In Rabaul Creole German *nicht* was recorded only in negative imperatives. Elsewhere negation was expressed by *ni*, presumably also from Standard German *nicht* 'not' and corresponding to Tok Pisin *no*. *Ni* was recorded only in the same positions as other adverbs, so whereas *nicht* must precede the verb in the deep structure, *ni* need not be set apart from other adverbs.

In conclusion, from the evidence in sentences (25) to (32) above it can be seen that a VP consists of a verb which may be preceded by the negative imperative marker *nicht* and followed by any of the following: an indirect object, a direct object, an adverbial phrase expressing time, a prepositional phrase, an adverbial phrase, or an S' expressing something other than time, all in that order. Formally this can be expressed as:

PSR 5.  VP Formation

$$\text{VP} \longrightarrow (\textit{nicht})\ \text{V}\ (\text{NPi})\ (\text{NPd})\ \left(\begin{bmatrix} \text{ADVP} \\ \text{+time} \end{bmatrix}\right)\ \left(\begin{Bmatrix} \text{S'} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{ADVP} \end{Bmatrix}\right)$$

(33)  Du denken wieder!
      2S think  again.

      You think again (about it).

Occasionally, however, an adverb was preceded by a quantifier, as in:

(34)  Du war        zu     schnell   gegangen.
      2S COP:PAST   too    fast      go:EN

      You went too fast.

Thus an adverbial phrase consists of an adverb which may be preceded by a quantifier:

PSR 6.    ADVP Formation

          ADVP —>    (Q)ADV

**2.5. Inflection (INFL).** In Rabaul Creole German a sentence may be marked for modality (MDL). If it is not marked for modality it may be marked for tense (TNS), durative aspect (DUR), and/or passive (PASS):

PSR 7.    INFL  Formation

INFL  —>       $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{(TNS) (DUR) (PASS)} \\ \text{(MDL)} \end{array}\right\}$

**2.5.1. Tense.** As stated above, overt marking of tense is not obligatory in Rabaul Creole German. The tenseless form of a verb is identical in form to the present tense in Standard German, but, as in Tok Pisin, when tense is not marked, the sentence may refer to action happening in the present or future, as the following show:

(35)  Mein Bein  is   wie    ein Hols.
      my   leg   is   like   a   wood

      My leg is has fallen asleep.

(36)  I-un-du         geht   Kokopo.
      1SN-and-2S      go     Kokopo

      You and I'll go to Kokopo.

As in English, Tok Pisin and Standard German, sentences not marked for tense can also have no specific time reference, as in:

(37)  Wenn der    Baby   weinen,   der Mama    muss   auf-picken
      when the baby   cry       the mother   must   up-pick

      When the baby cries, its mother must pick it up.

If previous sentences have already set the action in the past, tense does not need to be specified. For example, sentence (36), with the tenseless verb *geht* 'go', was used in the middle of a narrative which had begun with sentences using past tense forms. The same phenomenon can be seen more clearly in the following complex sentence, where INFLs in the matrix sentence and first embedded clause are morphologically marked for past tense, but the INFLs of the next three clauses are not:

(38)    Nachher   de  Koenigin  war         der ganze  Abend
            afterwards the queen    COP:PAST   the whole evening

am    denken  von    alleNamen,   was   sie hat    frueher     gehoert  und
DUR  think   of     PL name     that  she have  earlier     hear:EN  and

schicken  ein Boi           geht   durch     de ganze Land   zu finden
send     a   male-servant  away  through  the whole land   to find

alle   Name  das    er     kann   finden.
PL    name  that   3SM   can    find

Afterwards the queen thought all evening long of all the names she had previously heard and sent a male servant throughout the land to find all the names he could find.

It is possible that this usage reflects a rule that prescribes past tense for more remote past action and forms without tense for less remote action in the past, but more data are needed to confirm this. It should be noted that in isolated sentences or short narratives, forms without tense were not used in this way.

As in Standard German, Tok Pisin, and colloquial English, 'present tense' forms (i.e. tenseless forms in Rabaul Creole German) may be used to express action that will happen in the future, as seen in (32) above, which has the adverbial phrase *heute abend* 'this evening' expressing future time without being marked for future tense.

If INFL is marked for tense, it may be past (PST) or future (FUT):

PSR 8. Tense Formation

$$\text{TNS} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{PST} \\ \text{FUT} \end{Bmatrix}$$

Past tense is used to mark action occurring in past time. Like most southern German dialects, presumably including those spoken by the Catholic missionaries, Rabaul Creole German does not differentiate between what has traditionally been called the imperfect and the perfect past tenses. As in these southern dialects, and as with the Standard German perfect form, past tense in Rabaul Creole German is formed the past participle (EN) and either a form of *hat* 'have' (SG *haben*) or, for a relatively small set of words which generaly have to do with travel or motion, the copula (COP). As will be seen in M1 below, the past participle affix moves from INFL to the V by affix hopping.

It should be noted that just as the copula is the only nonmodal verb which all speakers conjugated for person and number,[3] it is the only verb to have a preterite form. This is represented as PAST in the formal descriptions below to show that it is a past form formed by morphological rather than syntactic means.

Standard German uses the 'present tense' (in Rabaul Creole German, tenseless) form of the copula as an auxilary to construct the past tense, reserving the past form for the remote past (anterior), but in Rabaul Creole German the past form is normally used. This form is marked PAST in the formal descriptions below. Thus in the following Rabaul Creole German sentence, hiding the ball preceded searching for it:

(39) Wenn de Knabe hat de Ball versteckt, wir war
     when the boy have the ball hide:EN 1PE COP:PAST
gegangen fi such.
go:EN for search-for

When the boy had hidden the ball, we went looking for it.

This contrasts with the following Standard German sentence, where the use of the past form of the copula makes the sentence mean that searching for something preceded the hiding of the ball:

(40) SG: Als der Knabe den Ball versteckt hat, waren
         when the boy the ball hide:EN have COP:PAST
wir gegangen, um X zu suchen.
we go:EN in-order X to search-for

When the boy hid the ball, we had gone to look for X.

Thus the past tense can be formally described as:

---

[3] The nonpast forms of the copula:

| Person | Number | |
|---|---|---|
| | singular | plural |
| first | *bin* | *bis* |
| second | *bis* | *seid* (*sind* for one informant) |
| third | *is* | *sind* |

The reader will note that these forms are the same as in Standard German, except for *bis*, which is used for first person plural rather than *sind* and has deleted a final /t/ (a common phonological change in many Rabaul Creole German words). That the copula should differ in the first person plural is interesting since in the pronoun system it is also the first person plural pronouns that show the greatest difference, with Rabaul Creole German assigning the Austronesian differentiation between inclusive and exclusive pronouns to Standard German accusative *uns* (TP *yumi*) and nominative *wir* (TP *mipela*), respectively.

PSR 8.  Past Tense Formation

$$\text{PST} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} hat \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{COP} \\ \text{(PAST)} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \text{EN}$$

With this analysis, the deep structure of the matrix S of (39) is:

(41)

```
               S
        _____/|_____
      NP      INFL       VP
      |      /    \       |
      |    COP     EN     |
      |     |       |     |
      |   +PAST     |     |
      |     |       |     |
     wir   war     EN   geht
     1PE   COP:PAST      go
```

As stated above, action in the future, especially the near future, can be expressed with the tenseless form of the verb.  In Standard German this can also be overtly marked by the future tense, formed by using a conjugated form of the verb *werden* with a nonconjugated (infinitive) form of the main verb.  Rabaul Creole German does the same, except that *werden* is not conjugated; most informants used *wird*, identical to the Standard German third person singular form of *werden*, while several used *werd*, identical to the colloquial first person singular form in Standard German:

PSR 10.  Future Formation

FUT  —>  *wird*

As in Standard German, a movement rule moves the V to the end of the VP:

(42)

```
              S
        ____/ |  \_____
      NP    INFL       VP
      |      |        /  _____
      |     FUT      V   NP      PP
      |      |       |  /\      /\
     Wir    wird    tj de  Car von   John  [kaufen]j.
     1PE    FUT      : the car from  John  buy
                     :                      ^
                     '>----------->--------'
```

We will buy the car from John.

In Standard German this movement rule is obligatory.  That this is not the case in Rabaul Creole German is shown in 3.4 below.
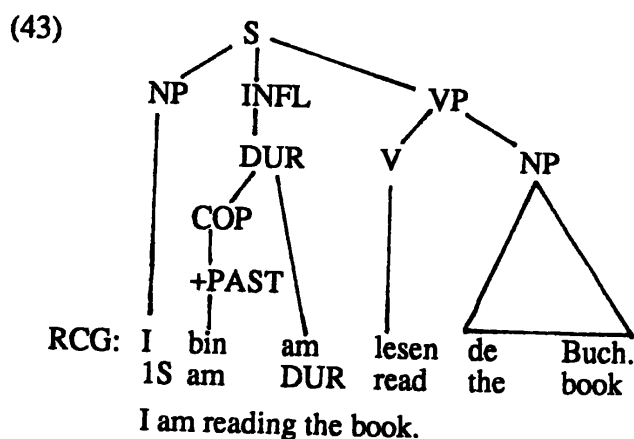
**2.5.2. Durative Aspect.** Like English, Rabaul Creole German distinguishes durative from nondurative aspect by a construction using either the nonpast or past form of the copula immediately followed by *am* (SG 'at the') and the verb:
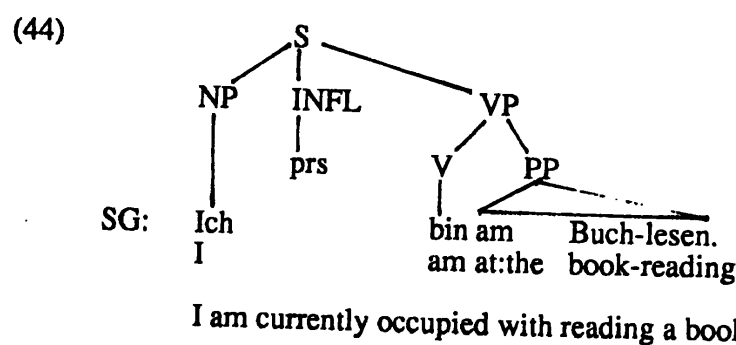
PSR 11.   Durative Formation

$$\text{DUR} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{COP} \\ \text{+/-PAST} \end{bmatrix} \text{am}$$

This construction (with the infinitive following *am*) does exist in Standard German, but even in literary works, its use is quite rare, whereas in Rabaul Creole German this construction is used as frequently as its English *be* + V-*ing* equivalent is.

Rabaul Creole German also differs from Standard German in interpreting this construction as a verbal form which, as in English, can have an NP as a complement, as in:

(43)



```
                    S
          /         |         \
        NP        INFL         VP
         |          |         /  \
         |         DUR       V    NP
         |        /   \      |    /\
         |      COP    \     |   /  \
         |       |      \    |  /    \
         |     +PAST     \   | /      \
         |       |        \  |/_____\
RCG:  I        bin       am   lesen  de    Buch.
      1S       am        DUR  read   the   book
```

I am reading the book.

In Standard German this construction is interpreted as the preposition *am* (a contraction of *an* 'at' and the dative masculine/neuter form of the definite article *dem*) followed by an NP which is a nominalized infinitive. If there is a direct object, it must form a compound with the infinitive, as in:

(44)



```
                  S
         /        |        \
       NP       INFL        VP
        |         |        /  \
        |        prs      V    PP
        |         |       |   /_____\
SG:    Ich              bin am   Buch-lesen.
       I               am at:the  book-reading
```

I am currently occupied with reading a book.

(45):   The copula in a durative sentence may be nonpast, as shown above, or past, as in

(45)  I      war              am   lesen  ein Buch,  wo    mein   Freund komm.
      1SNCOP:PAST      DUR  read   a   book,   when   my     friend   come

I was reading a book when my friend came.

No sentences were recorded with a durative form showing overt future tense.

It should be noted that durative aspect is overtly marked in Tok Pisin as well, by adding *stap* (from English 'stop'). When translating from Tok Pisin, informants regularly translated *stap* with the copula and *am* construction, whereas sentences without *stap* were translated with nondurative constructions in Rabaul Creole German. Examples of this can be seen in the following Tok Pisin cues and the Rabaul Creole German translations which were given:

(46)    TP cue:    Mi rit-    im    buk.
                    1S read-   TRS   book

        RCG translation:   I       lesen  Buch.
                            1SN     read   book

        I read books.

(47)    TP cue:    Mi rit    i     stap.
                    1S read   PM    DUR

        RCG  translation:   I       bin am   lesen.
                            1SN     am DUR   read

        I am reading.

**2.5.3. Passive.** Rabaul Creole German has a passive construction, which, as Muehlaeusler (1986:224) remarks, sets it apart from virtually all other pidgin and creole languages, including Tok Pisin. This passive has a surface structure of: NP [:theme] + copula + past participle + *bei* + NP [+agent]. (The preposition *bei* is cognate with English *by* and Standard German *bei* 'near, at the home of'.) This is exactly the same construction as in English, as can be seen in the parallel constructions of the following two Rabaul Creole German sentences and their English equivalents:

(48)    Der   Chicken   war          gestohlen   bei alle   Raskol.
        the   chicken   COP:PAST     steal:EN    by PL      thug

        The chicken was stolen by the thugs (= 'rascals' in Papua New Guinean English).

(49)    Sein   Schtoa war          gefaerbt    bei ein Chinesen.
        his    store  COP:PAST     paint:EN    by a    Chinese

        His store was painted by a Chinese.

This formation of the passive differs from that of Standard German, which uses a conjugated form of *werden* 'become' rather than the copula and the preposition *von* 'from/of' rather than *bei*). The verb also appears at the end of the sentence in Standard

German, but, as will be explained in 3.4 below, this difference is not directly related to passive formation alone. For example, the equivalent of (48) in Standard German would be:

(50) SG: Der   Hahn   wurde   <u>von   den</u>   Rohlingen
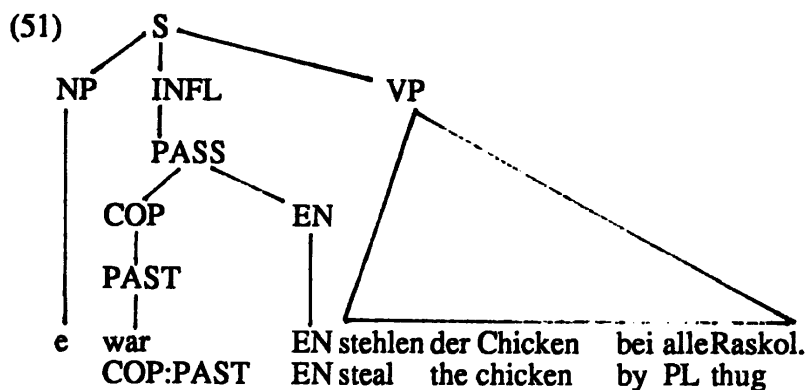the   chicken   become:PAST from   the   thugs

gestohlen.
steal:EN

The chicken was stolen by the thugs.

It is possible to analyse the Rabaul Creole German passive in the way Radford (1981:180ff) has for English. Thus, formally the passive construction can be described as:

PSR 12.   Passive Formation

$$\text{PASS} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{COP} \\ \text{(+/-PAST)} \end{bmatrix} \text{EN}$$

In this analysis a sentence such as (48) has the following deep structure:

(51)

```
              S
       ┌──────┼──────────┐
      NP    INFL          VP
       │      │          ╱│
       │    PASS        ╱ │
       │    ╱  ╲       ╱  │
       │  COP   EN    ╱   │
       │   │    │    ╱    │
       │  PAST  │   ╱     │
       │   │    │  ╱      │
       e  war   EN stehlen der Chicken   bei alleRaskol.
          COP:PAST  EN steal  the chicken  by  PL  thug
```
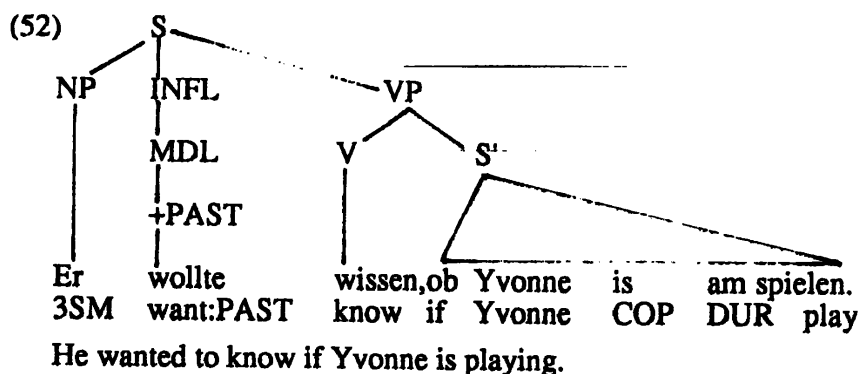
The NP *der Chicken* is moved to the subject position by an NP-movement rule which is explained in 3.4.

**2.5.4. Modality.** If INFL is not marked for tense, durative aspect, or passive, it may be marked for modality. Modality in Rabaul Creole German is expressed by three modal verbs, which have the same general meaning as their Standard German equivalents, *will* (Standard German first person singular of *wollen*) 'want to', *kann* (Standard German first person singular of *koennen* 'can'), and *muss* (Standard German first person singular *muessen*). As in Tok Pisin, there are no exact equivalents of English and Standard German *sollen* 'should' or *duerfen* 'may'.

Unlike the copula, and unlike their Standard German equivalents, the Rabaul Creole German modals are not conjugated to show person or number agreement with the subject. Like the copula, each of the modals has a past form identical with the Standard

German preterite, *wollte*, *konnte*, and *musste*, respectively. As with the copula, this morphological past form is labelled PAST in the formal descriptions below, to avoid confusion with the syntactically generated PST tense of nonmodal and noncopular verbs:

(52)

```
              S
           /  |  \
         NP  INFL    VP
          |   |     /  \
          |  MDL   V    S'
          |   |    |   / \
          |  +PAST |  /   \
          |   |    | /     \
         Er  wollte wissen,ob Yvonne  is    am spielen.
         3SM want:PAST know  if Yvonne COP  DUR play
```

He wanted to know if Yvonne is playing.

(53)  Nur   ein Name  i     konnte    ni  finden.
      only  onename   1SN   can:PAST  not find

There was only one name I could not find.

A fourth verbal form was recorded which could also be regarded as a modal, *wuerden* 'would'. *Wuerden* could not be elicited in a PAST form, but in all other ways, its use as what is called the conditional in traditional Standard German grammar caused it to behave as a modal:

(54)  Wie   wuerden  du sagen?
      how   would    2S say

How would you say it?

With this analysis, modality in Rabaul Creole German can therefore be formally expressed as:

PSR 12.  Modality Formation.

$$MDL \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} +PAST \\ -PAST \end{Bmatrix}$$
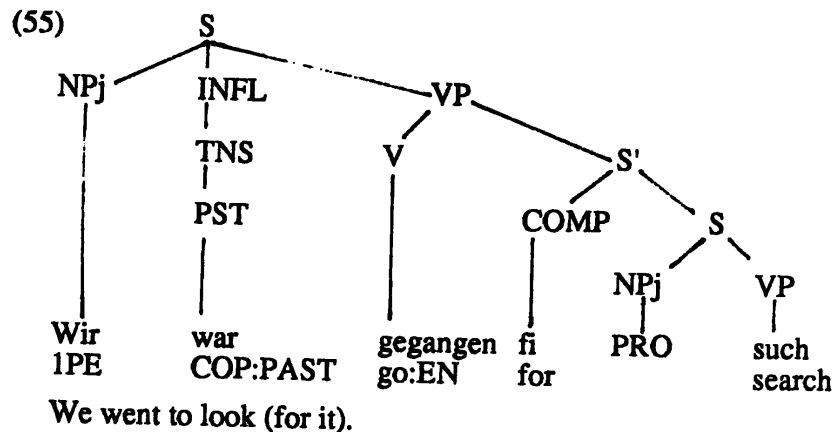
MDL [-PAST]:        MDL [+PAST]

*will*              *wollte*
*kann*              *konnte*
*muss*              *musste*
*wuerden*

**2.5.4. INFL and PRO.** In Standard German and English, PRO and Case Theory explain the presence or lack of an overt subject; tense is a governor which assigns nominative Case. Tensed sentences therefore have overt NPs which can receive this nominative Case, while untensed sentences have the empty pronominal NP PRO, which exists in the deep structure to receive a theta role, but which does not receive Case. In
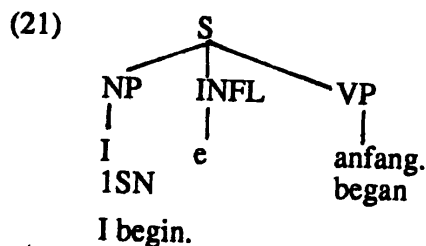
Rabaul Creole German, tense cannot be a governor, since many untensed sentences, such as (36) and (37), have overt subjects without being tensed. One would have to create an artificial present tense which would have exactly the same form as the untensed infinitive in order to make the same analysis in Rabaul Creole German.

Instead, it would appear that INFL itself is the governor which assigns nominative Case, since it is the only constituent in every S with an overt subject that is able to govern the subject NP. This, however, creates a problem for an embedded S such as (56) with PRO as a subject, since by definition, PRO cannot be governed. If INFL is a governor and PRO cannot be governed, it is reasonable to assume that INFL is not present:

(55)

```
                    S
         _____|_____
       NPj       INFL           VP
        |         |           /    \
        |        TNS         V       S'
        |         |          |      /  \
        |        PST         |   COMP    S
        |         |          |     |    /  \
                             |     |  NPj   VP
       Wir       war     gegangen  fi   |    |
       1PE     COP:PAST   go:EN   for  PRO  such
                                            search
```

We went to look (for it).

It is for this reason that INFL in Rabaul Creole German is described as optional in the expansion of S in PSR 2 above. It should be noted that while such an unorthodox analysis does account for the data in the language, it creates a problem if S is to be regarded as a projection of INFL; S is certainly still present in the embedded sentence of (55) even if its head is not.

It should be noted that this lack of INFL is quite different from the situation in a tenseless, nondurative, nonmodal, and nonpassive sentence such as (21). Here INFL is present and is a governor, assigning nominative Case to the subject, but it is not overt:

(21)

```
              S
         _____|_____
       NP   INFL    VP
        |    |      |
        I    e    anfang.
       1SN       began
```

I begin.

It should also be noted that with this analysis, *fi* is subcategorized to be possible only in an S which does not dominate INFL.

**2.5.4.1. Directionals.** An apparent counterexample to this constraint would seem to be the directional verbs *komm* and *geht*, which never appear with an overt subject even though they do not follow *fi*. These verbs have the same form as conjugated forms of the Standard German verbs meaning 'come' and 'go', respectively. By being placed at the end

of the VP in addition to the main verb and having the same meaning as Tok Pisin *i kam* and *i go*, respectively, these seem to be calques of these two Tok Pisin directional verbs. This can be seen in the similarity of the structures of the following two pairs of sentences:

(56)  RCG:  Du holen diese Eimer komm!
            2S fetch this bucket come

      TP:   Yu kisim dispela baket i kam.
            2S fetch this bucket PM come

      Bring this bucket.

(57)  RCG:  Du laufen geht wo?
            2S run go where

      TP:   Yu ran i go we?
            2S run PM go where

      Where are you running to?

In Tok Pisin the existence of the predicate marker *i* requires the two directional verbs to be analyzed as verbs. In Rabaul Creole German, however, as in Solomons Islands Pijin, there is no such verbal marker. Simon (1978:160) has analyzed the Pijin directionals as 'particles' rather than verbs. Such an adverbial analysis makes sense because of the fact that, if regarded as verbs, these two words would be the only two exceptions to the constraint discussed above and thus form an extremely small closed subset. For this reason, in spite of the fact that in Tok Pisin the directionals must be regarded as verbs, it can be assumed that they have been reinterpreted as adverbs of motion in Rabaul Creole German, roughly equivalent to archaic English *hither* and *yon*.

### 3. Movement and Insertion Rules.

In this section I will discuss some of the more common Rabaul Creole German movement rules which are used or constructed in a quite different way than in Standard German. Generally these differences are because the absence of overt case in Rabaul Creole German (except *i(ch)/ mi(ch)* by some speakers) means that the relationship between constituents in the deep structure must be shown in S-structure by word order. This contrasts with Standard German, where overt case in the S-structure permits a more flexible word order.

**3.1. Affix hopping.** PSR 7 above describes the past tense as being formed by either *hat* or the copula plus the past participle affix EN. Similarly, PSR 12 describes the passive as being formed by the copula plus the past participle affix EN. As is evident from many of the examples above, in the surface structure, rather than being attached to an element of INFL, this EN affix is attached to the verb to form the past participle. The following movement rule accounts for this:

M1.  Obligatory EN Affix Movement.

$$\text{EN V} \implies \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{EN} \end{bmatrix}$$

### 3.2. WH-Movement.

As in Tok Pisin, a WH-expression may appear in the same position in the S-structure as in the deep structure, as the following sentences:

(58)  Du geht   wo?
      2S go     where

      Where do you go (now)?

(59)  Du moechten  was?
      2S would-like what

      What would you like?

(60)  Ihr    sind     am    sehen  was?
      2PL    COP:PL   DUR   see    what

      What are you looking at?

In all these sentences, having the WH-expression at the end of the sentence rather than in COMP makes them appear similar to Standard German echo questions. That they are not just echo questions is shown by the fact that the WH-expresssion was not given primary stress as it is in a Standard German (or English) echo question, as well as the fact that this type of question is more common than moving the WH-expression to COMP. Interestingly, almost every time informants were asked to 'say something in Rabaul Creole German', they would produce a sentence with a WH-expression which had not been moved to COMP, as if this were the most characteristic feature of the basilect.

It is possible to move the WH-expression to COMP, i.e. to the beginning of the sentence, as in the following sentences:

(61)  [COMP   [NP   [Was   fi    Zeit]]j]du  war         gekommen$t_j$?
                     what  for time   2S  COP+PST  come:EN

      At what time did you come?

(62)  Orait,     du gebe   mi⁴   jetz,  [COMP   [NP   [was]]j]
      all-right  2S give   1SO   now                 what

      du   has    mi    versprochen   $t$.
      2S   have   1SO   promise:EN

      All right, now give me what you promised me.

This optional rule can be stated formally as:

OPT M1.  WH-Movement

$$\text{Move}\begin{bmatrix} X'' \\ +WH \end{bmatrix}\text{to  COMP}$$

---

[4] Some informants differentiated between a nominative *i* used in the subject position, and an objective *mi* (or *mich*) used elsewhere. See Appendix 2 for examples and further discussion.

In Standard German interrogative sentences, as in English, there is subject-AUX inversion, but this is not the case in Tok Pisin. With one exception discussed below, Rabaul Creole German is like Tok Pisin in this respect. Sentence (61) shows that there is no inversion when there is a WH-expression in COMP, as there would be in Standard German or English. As in Tok Pisin, this is also the case in a question without a WH-expression. Only inflection determines whether the following sentence, for instance, is declarative or interrogative:

> (63)  Du will    drinken   Kaffee (./?)
>       2S want    drink     coffee
>
> You want to drink coffee.
> (or Do you want to drink coffee?)

The one exception to this general rule involves the copula, which does not exist in Tok Pisin. When a copula is present in the VP (i.e. not in INFL as part of a past or durative construction) and a WH-expression is in COMP, inversion seems to be obligatory, so that one can speak of subject-copula inversion in Rabaul Creole German, rather than subject-AUX inversion as in Standard German or English. This can be seen in the following sentences with a WH-expression in COMP, where the copula immediately precedes, rather than immediately follows, the subject:

> (64)  [COMP  [PP[Fi    was]]j] is      dein     Boi           so
>               for     what  COP     2SGEN    male-servant  so
> langsam  tj  ?
> slow
>
> Why is your male servant so slow?

> (65)  [COMP  [ADVP   [Wo]]j]   is      de       Brat-fanne tj  ?
>                      where   COP     the      fry-pan
> Where is the frying pan?

Inversion does not apply when the copula is part of the past tense, e.g.:

> (66)  [Was  fi   Zeit]j    du war          gekommen   tj  ?
>        what for  time      2S COP:PAST     come:EN
> What time did you come?

It also does not apply when the copula is part of a durative construction, as in the following sentence:

> (67)  Du weiss,   [warum]j  er      is      am     komm tj  ?
>       2S know     why       3SM     COP     DUR    come
> Do you know why he's coming?

Thus inversion can be formally described with the following obligatory movement rule (M):

**M2.** Subject-copula Inversion

$$\begin{bmatrix} COMP \\ +WH \end{bmatrix} \quad NP \begin{bmatrix} INFL \\ e \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +COP \end{bmatrix} \Longrightarrow COMP\ V\ INFL\ NP$$

**3.2 Preposing.** PSR 4 states that a VP consists of a verb, immediately followed by the indirect and direct objects, which in turn may be followed by an adverbial phrase. In Standard German it is possible to prepose an NP, PP, ADVP, or AP out of the VP to the position before the subject NP for emphasis. In Rabaul Creole German PPs, NPs and ADVPs were recorded in preposed positions, as shown in (68), where the one-word ADVP *drei* 'three' has been preposed, as have the locative PP *rund der Feuer* 'around the fire' in (69) and the NP direct object *nur ein Name* 'only one name' in (70):

(68)　Also　[ADVP　[drei]]j i　　werd　auf-picken tj.
　　　　so　　　　　　　three　1SN　FUT　up-pick

So at three I'll pick (you) up.

(69)　[PP Rund　der Feuer]j ein gans　komische　kleine　Mensch
　　　　　　round　the fire　a　very　funny　little　person

war　　　　am　　tanzen tj.
COP:PAST　DUR　dance

Around the fire a quite funny little person was dancing.

(70)　[NP　[Nur　ein　Name]]j i　　konnte　　ni　finden tj.
　　　　　only　one　name　1SN　can:PAST　not find

(There was) only one name I couldn't find.

This preposing can be described formally as:

**OPT M2.** Preposing

$$NP_i \quad INFL \quad V \begin{Bmatrix} ADVP \\ NP_j \\ PP \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} ADVP \\ NP_j \\ PP \end{Bmatrix} NP_i \quad INFL \quad V$$
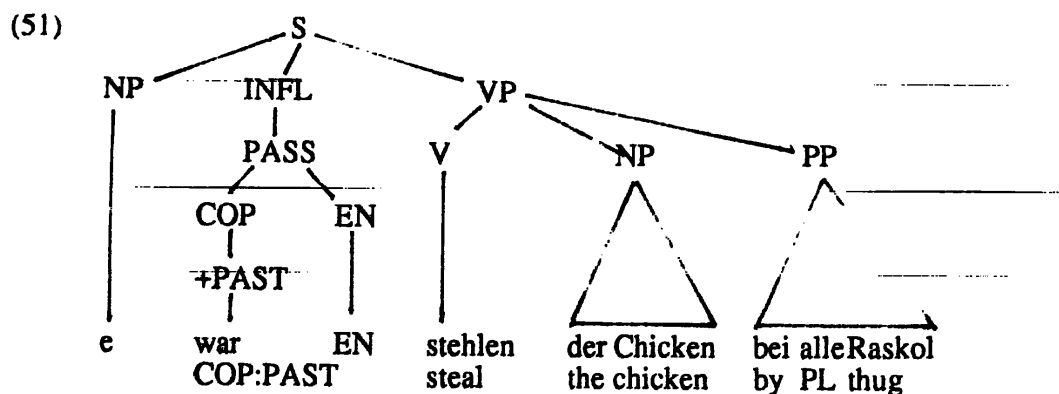
**3.3. Passive and NP movement.** In 2.5.4. a deep structure for a passive sentence was postulated which is similar to that which has been proposed for English. Thus for (48), deep structure (51) was proposed.

As in English, to arrive at the surface structure, the NP *der Chicken* is moved to the subject position by a NP-movement rule 'move an NP into an empty NP-position' (i.e. to the left) (Radford 1981: 188), formally:

**M3.** NP Raising (Passive Subject Formation)

[NP　e] ... NP_j　=> NP_j　... [NP　tj]

(51)

```
                          S
              _____/|_____
          ___/            |            \___
       NP          INFL              VP
        |            |             /    |    \___
        |          PASS           V    NP        PP
        |        /    \           |    /\       /\
      COP     EN      /  \     /  \___
        |       |          |    /      \   /         \
     +PAST      |          |  /          \/           \___
        |       |          | /            /            /    \
        e      war        EN  stehlen  der Chicken  bei alleRaskol
              COP:PAST         steal    the chicken  by  PL thug
```

Mention should be made of sentences with an empty NP subject in the deep structure and no other NP to move into that position. Both German and English require an overt subject for a tensed verb; where this cannot be created through NP-raising, an existential or dummy subject such as 'there' or 'it' must be inserted. This is optional in Tok Pisin, so that sentences such as the following may appear:

(71)    TP:[NP    e]   i       kol     tru.
                        PM      cold    very

        It's very cold.

(72)    TP:[NP    e]   i       orait.
                        PM      all-right

        It's all right.

These sentences can also appear with a third person singular dummy subject *em*: *Em i kol tru* and *Em i orait*. In Rabaul Creole German, which has a masculine third person pronoun *er* and a feminine third person pronoun *sie* but no neuter equivalent to English 'it' or Standard German *es*, such an empty subject position can be filled by an overt subject only through NP-raising. Where this is not possible, the subject remains empty:

(73)    [NP    e]   is      gans    kalt.
                     COP     very    cold

        It's very cold.

(74)    [NP    e]   is      orait.
                     COP     all-right

        It's all right.

**3.5. Verb movement.** The word order of verbal elements in the Standard German VP differs considerably from that of English and Tok Pisin, which generally have all the main and auxiliary verbs together after the subject. In Standard German, when there are two verbal elements, the main verb is at the very end of the clause in the surface structure, while the conjugated verb is in the second position of the clause, except in a subordinate clause, when it comes at the end—after the main verb. Some have considered the verb to be at the end of the VP in the deep structure of German; Lerot

(1971), for example, finds this SOV model of the deep structure convenient for his description of predicate extenders and prepositions. Others, such as Leys (1971), have described German deep structure as being more like English, i.e. SVO. With either model, movement rules are needed, with an SOV deep structure to move a conjugated verbal element to the second position of the clause, and with an SVO deep structure to move the main verb to the end of the clause when two verbal elements are present. In either case, a conjugated second verbal element must be moved to the end of the clause, normally after the main verb, in a subordinate clause.

This separation of the verbal elements is not obligatory in Rabaul Creole German; where two verbal elements may be contiguous the verb normally appears in the surface structure after the subject:

| (75) | Der | Mensch | hat | gehauen | sein | Finger. |
|------|-----|--------|-----|---------|------|---------|
|      | the | person | have | cut:EN | his | finger |

That fellow cut his finger.

This contrasts with Standard German, which would only permit *gehauen* at the end of the clause:

| (76) | SG: | Der | Mensch | hat | denFinger | gehauen. |
|------|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----------|----------|
|      |     | the | person | have | the finger | cut:EN |

| (77) | SG: | *Der | Mensch | hat | gehauen | denFinger. |
|------|-----|------|--------|-----|---------|------------|
|      |     | the | person | have | cut:EN | the finger |

The person (has) cut his finger.

Although the vast majority of sentences with two verbal elements were recorded with them being contiguous, there were occasionally sentences in which the main verb was moved to the right. Two characteristics differentiate the resulting surface structures from their Standard German counterparts. The first is that this movement is optional in Rabaul Creole German, whereas it is obligatory in Standard German. The same speaker was sometimes recorded alternating from using a movement rule to not using it, even within the same sentence. This can be seen in the following sentence, in which the main verb *kaufen* 'buy' has been moved to the end of the S in the first clause, while in the second clause the main verb *geht* has not been moved:

| (78) | Er | wird | t$j$ | ein Haus | [kaufen]j | und | er | wird |
|------|-----|------|------|----------|-----------|-----|-----|------|
|      | 3SM | FUT | | a house | buy | and | 3SM | FUT |

geht  zurueck zu Rabaul.
go   back        to  Rabaul

He will buy a house and go back to Rabaul.

The other difference is that movement did not need to be all the way to the end of the sentence. Generally, movement was recorded only to the right of one phrase (X"). In most sentences where movement was recorded, this coincided with the end of the sentence, so that with the main verb at the end, the word order was superficially the same

as that of Standard German. This is the case in (34) above, where the verb *gegangen* moves to the right of the ADVP *zu schnell* and in (79), where the verb *gehauen* moves to the right of the NP *sein Hand*:

(79)    De    Schlanger hat *tj* sein   Hand  [gehauen]j.
        the    carpenter have  his    hand  hit:EN

The carpenter hit his hand.

But in the following sentence, the main verb has been moved to the right of the of the first phrase, the NP *diese Buch* 'this book', but not the next phrase, the ADVP *gestern* 'yesterday':

(80)    Alle   kleine Mensch   war     *tj* diese  Buch  [geholt]j
        Pl    small  person   COP:PAST  this  book  fetch:EN

gestern.
yesterday

The boys got this book/these books yesterday.

In Standard German *geholt* would have to be at the end of the sentence (Standard German uses *haben* rather than the copula for the past tense of this verb):

(81)    SG:   DieJungen haben gestern   diese  Buecher  geholt.
             the boys   have   yesterday these   books    fetch:EN

The boys got these books yesterday.

That this 'one phrase' limit is a general tendency rather than an obligatory constraint is shown by (41) above, in which the verb *kaufen* is moved to the right of both the NP *de Car* and the PP *von John* and (82), in which the verb *kaufen* is moved to the right of both the ADVP *lieber* and the NP *etwas lebendiges*:

(82)    I      will   *tj* lieber  etwas      lebendiges [haben]j.
        1SN   want      rather something alive     have

I would rather have something living.

Movement was recorded universally in two circumstances. One was with the reflexive pronouns (REFL) formed with the English reflexive suffix *self* and the Standard German intensifier pronoun *selbst*. Both were only recorded between two verbal elements:

(83)    I    hat   *tj* selbst   [gemach]j.
        1SN  have     REFL   make:EN

I made it myself.

(84)    Judas hat   *tj* er-self   erhaengt.
        Judas have      he-REFL  hang:EN

Judas hanged himself.

Another was with three monosyllabic adverbs (ni 'not', auch 'also', and schon 'already'), which, as with their English counterparts, invariably came between rather than after two verbal elements:

(85)  Alle   Kinder muss tj ni [geht  schwimmen]j.
      PL     child  must       not go  swim

      The children must not go swimming.

(86)  ... und  hat tj  auch  [gesagt],  da    de Schiff  is   gut.
          and  have    also  say:EN     that  the ship   COP  good

      ... and (he) also said that the ship is good.

(87)  I     habtj   schon    gelesen.
      1SN   have    already  read:EN

      I have already read it.

In two circumstances movement is blocked. One is with passive sentences. As in (48) and (49) above, the passive copula was always recorded immediately preceding the main verb. The other was across an S'-boundary. Thus (88), in which the verb *weggangen* is moved across the embedded sentence *fi holden etwas* was judged ungrammatical, while (89), in which there is no movement, was judged grammatical:

(88)  *Alle  Knabe  sind   tj  fi        holden  etwas     [weg-gegangen]j.
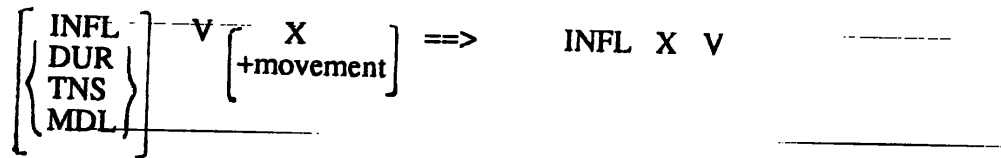       PL    boy    COP        for fetch  something  away-go:EN

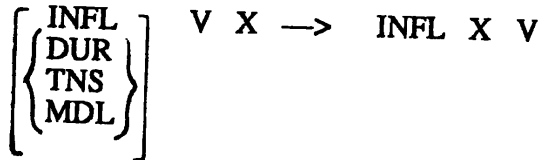      The boys went to fetch something.

(89)
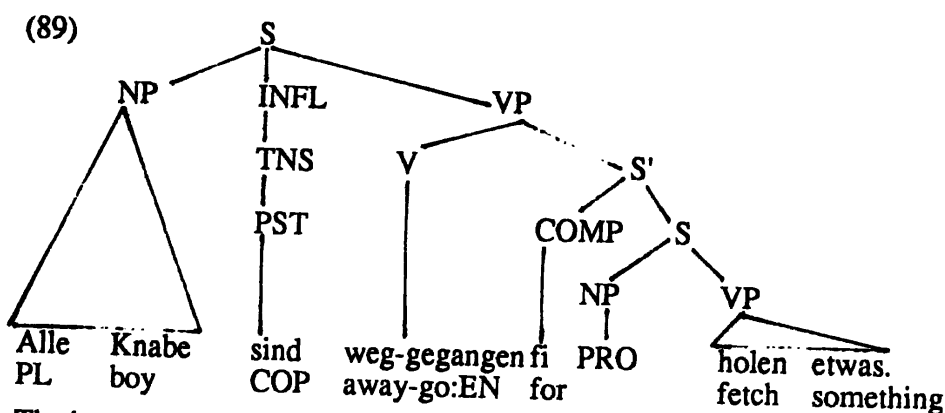

      The boys went away to fetch something.

To summarise: when there is an overt INFL, movement of the V to the right of one or more phrases is permitted in nonpassive Rabaul Creole German sentences. This seems to be required when the element to the right of the verb is a member of a small subset of the lexicon subcategorized [+movement], i.e. the reflexive pronouns and the adverbs ni, auch, and schon. This can be formally described with obligatory movement rule M3 and optional movement rule OPT M3:

M4. Obligatory Verb Movement.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} INFL \\ DUR \\ TNS \\ MDL \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \quad V \quad \begin{bmatrix} X \\ +movement \end{bmatrix} \implies \quad INFL \quad X \quad V$$

OPT M3. Optional Verb Movement

$$\begin{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} INFL \\ DUR \\ TNS \\ MDL \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \quad V \quad X \longrightarrow \quad INFL \quad X \quad V$$

## 4. Deletion Rules

The Rabaul Creole German deletion rules (D) differ somewhat from those of Standard German (and English). In some sentences this results in a surface structure that is quite different from that of Standard German; in others the surface strings of elements in both languages are similar, but for different reasons.

**4.1. Optional imperative subject deletion.** As in all three 'parent' languages (with some minor exceptions in Standard German), the subject of an imperative sentence may be omitted:

(90)  e  Hol  de  Farbe  weg!
      fetch  the  paint  away

Take the paint away.

A number of imperative sentences were recorded in which the subject had not been deleted, indicating that subject deletion is not obligatory in imperatives:

(91)  Du denken wieder, was  du hat  gemacht!
      2S think  again  what  2S have  make:EN

Think again about what you did.

To account for this, PSR 1 can be revised to allow an optional IMP (imperative) sharing a node with S':

PSR  1. S' → (IMP) S'

This definition of S' permits the following formal description of subject deletion in imperative sentences:

OPT  D1. Optional Imperative Subject Deletion.

IMP  COMP  NP ==> IMP  COMP

## 4.2. Conjunction reduction.

As in the three 'parent languages', Rabaul Creole German allows the deletion of an NP which is coindexed to a preceding NP in a conjunctive construction using *und* 'and':

(92)    Er     hat      geschrieben,   dass __...__
        3SM    have     write:EN       that

He wrote that ...

        und    *e*   hat    auch    geschrieben,   dass   ...
        and          have   also    write:EN       that

and (he) also wrote that ...

This can be formally described as:

OPT    D2.    Conjunction Reduction.

$$NP_j \quad INFL \quad VP \; und \quad NP_j \quad INFL \quad => NP_j \quad INFL \quad VP$$
$$und \quad e \quad INFL$$

## 4.3. Discourse-determined NP deletion.

Sentences were also recorded in which the direct object had been deleted. This was where the deleted NP could be easily understood from context, e.g.:

(93)    Du has     mi     fi das     gefragen;   i       werd    geben
        2S have     1SO    for that   ask:EN      1SN     FUT     give

du    *e*    nachher.
2S           afterwards

You asked me for that; I will give it you later.

Deletion of this sort was only recorded with direct objects. One sentence was recorded in which a subject seemed to have been deleted:

(94)    Mensch,    er     komm wieder,   *e*   hat     gesag ...
        person     3SM    come again           have    say:EN

This would seem to permit this the deletion of sentence subjects as well as objects. It is more likely, however, that Rabaul Creole German allows relative clauses to be formed without the relevant WH-expression. If *er komm wieder* is an embedded sentence, the whole sentence means 'The person who came again said ...' rather than 'The person, he came again, said ...' This analysis allows us to limit this optional deletion rule to NPs in the VP so that it can be described formally as:

OPT D3.    Optional Direct Object Deletion.

$$V \; (X) \quad NP ==> \quad V \; (X) \quad 0$$

## 4.4. *Zu* deletion.

Although a NP may not be deleted or moved out of a prepositional phrase, and WH-movement may not result in 'stranded' prepositions as in English, sentences were recorded in which the preposition *zu* 'to' was deleted after a verb

of motion. This is not possible in Standard German, but it is possible in Tok Pisin. Examples of this can be seen in the following pairs of sentences, in which the sequence of *geht* 'go' and *Rabaul* was recorded both with and without *zu*:

(95)    RCG:   Wer    das    <u>geht</u>   <u>zu</u> Rabaul?
                  who    that    go      to Rabaul

        TP:    Em    husat   i      <u>go</u> long   Rabaul?
                  3S     who    PM   <u>go</u> PREP   Rabaul

Who's that going to Rabaul?

(96)    RCG:   Wir    alle    geht   *e*   Rabaul.
                  1PE    PL    go       Rabaul

        TP:    Mipela    olgeta   i     go *e*   Rabaul.
                  1PE      all     PM    go     Rabaul

All of us go to Rabaul.

This can formalized as the following optional deletion rule:

OPT D2.   Optional *zu* Deletion

    *zu* —>   0

**4.5. *Hat* Deletion.** Another deletion that is not possible in Standard German is the deletion of the past tense marker *hat* 'have'. For example, both of the following were given as variants of the same sentence:

(97)    I      hat     gelesen   Buch.
        1SN   have    read:EN    book

(98)    I   *e*   gelesen   Buch.
        1SN     read:EN   book

I read (past tense) the book.

Formally this can be described as:

OPT D3.   Optional *hat* Deletion.

    *hat* VP ==>   0   VP

This is an interesting development because it is not possible in any of the three 'parent' languages. In Tok Pisin it is not possible because while the past tense forms are made with a word comparable to *haben*, i.e. *bin* or *pinis* (the latter actually a marker of completed action), the verb has no past participle form; to delete the past tense marker would make the sentence identical to its nontensed ('present tense') counterpart. In Standard German such deletion is not possible because the participle is in the sentence-final position, while, except in subordinate clauses, the conjugated verb must be in the second position of the surface sentence; to delete it would leave an ungrammatical gap.

The situation with English is a bit more complex. Regular verbs, and some irregular verbs, form both the past tense and past participle forms in the same way (e.g. *cleaned, have cleaned*), and they are normally contiguous, so that deleting *have* results in a construction which is still grammatical. Of course, there is a difference in meaning between the two, but this difference is often difficult for second language learners to control, so that in Papua New Guinean English one often hears one form where a native speaker would use the other. It may be that at some stage early Rabaul Creole German speakers interpreted the two English forms as variants of one form and then adopted this apparently free variation into Rabaul Creole German. Some evidence for this can be seen in the fact that only *hat*, which is cognate with English *have*, is deleted, not the copula, which is used to form the past tense of some verbs in German, but not in modern English.

## 5. Summary

In this short paper it has not been possible to present a complete account of Rabaul Creole German (Unserdeutsch) syntax. Nevertheless, by looking at some of its more salient characteristics, it can be seen that the language has diverged from Standard German to such a great extent that it cannot be considered just a variety of settler German which has borrowed lexical items and a few minor grammatical rules from its surrounding languages. This is not to say that it has no similarity with Standard German other than the lexicon, but it is important to realise that some superficial similarities, such as the lack of an 'overt subject in embedded sentences with an overt non-WH complementiser, may be the coincidental outcome of quite different processes and deep structures.

The strong resemblance of many constructions to those in Tok Pisin is striking. This is not surprising, since Tok Pisin is the only other language which all generations of speakers of Rabaul Creole German have had in common. Perhaps more surprising is the lack of some features, such as the distinction between inception and completion, which are important in Tok Pisin. Also surprising are some of the similarities which Rabaul Creole German shares with English, most noticeably the existence of a passive construction, which Tok Pisin has not adopted. Of particular interest are those features which Rabaul Creole German has developed which are not found in any of the 'parent' languages, such as optional *hat* deletion, its own system of verb movement rules, and the apparent lack of INFL in certain embedded sentences.

## Appendix 1

### Partial grammar of Rabaul Creole German

I. Phrase Structure Rules (PSR):

PSR 1. S' Formation:

      (a) S' —> COMP     S

      (b) S' —> (IMP)      S'

PSR 2. S Formation:

      S —> NP (INFL)   VP

PSR 3. NP Formation:

      NP —> (NP) (DET)  (AP)  N  (PP)  (S')

PSR 4. AP Formation:

      AP —> (Q)  A

PSR 5. VP Formation:

$$VP \longrightarrow (\textit{nicht}) \quad V \quad (NPi) \quad (NPd) \quad \left(\begin{bmatrix} AdvP \\ +time \end{bmatrix}\right)\left(\begin{Bmatrix} S' \\ PP \\ ADVP \end{Bmatrix}\right)$$

PSR 6. ADVP Formation:

      ADVP —> (Q)  ADV

PSR 7. INFL Formation:

$$INFL \longrightarrow \left\{ (TNS) \quad \begin{matrix} (DUR) \\ (MDL) \end{matrix} \quad (PASS) \right\}$$

PSR 8. Tense Formation:

$$TNS \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} PST \\ FUT \end{Bmatrix}$$

PSR 9. Past tense Formation:

$$PST \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \textit{hat} \quad \cdot EN \\ \begin{bmatrix} COP \\ +PAST \end{bmatrix} \end{Bmatrix}$$

PSR 10. Future Formation:

$$\text{FUT} \longrightarrow \textit{wird}$$

PSR 11. Durative Formation:

$$\text{DUR} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{COP} \\ \text{+/-PAST} \end{bmatrix} \quad \textit{am}$$

PSR 12. Passive Formation:

$$\text{PASS} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{COP} \\ \text{+/-PAST} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{EN}$$

PSR 13. Modality Formation:

$$\text{MDL} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{+PAST} \\ \text{-PAST} \end{Bmatrix}$$

II.  Obligatory Movement Rules (M)

M1.  Obligatory EN Affix Movement:

$$\text{EN V} \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+EN} \end{bmatrix}$$

M2.  Subject-copula inversion:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{COMP} \\ \text{+WH} \end{bmatrix} \text{NP} \begin{bmatrix} \text{INFL} \\ \text{e} \end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \text{+COP} \end{bmatrix} \Longrightarrow \text{COMP} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{INFL} \quad \text{NP}$$

M3.  NP-raising (Passive Subject Formation):

$$[\text{NP} \quad e] \ ... \ \text{NP}j \Longrightarrow \text{NP}j \quad ... \ [\text{NP} \quad t]$$

M4.  Obligatory Verb Movement:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{INFL} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{DUR} \\ \text{TNS} \\ \text{MDL} \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \text{V} \begin{bmatrix} \text{X} \\ \text{[+movement]} \end{bmatrix} \Longrightarrow \text{INFL} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{V}$$

III.  Optional Movement Rules:

OPT M1.  WH-movement:

$$\text{Move} \begin{bmatrix} \text{X''} \\ \text{+WH} \end{bmatrix} \text{to} \quad \text{COMP}$$

**OPT M2.** Preposing:

$$\text{NPi} \quad \text{INFL} \quad \text{V} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ADVP} \\ \text{NPj} \\ \text{PP} \end{Bmatrix} ==> \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ADVP} \\ \text{NPj} \\ \text{PP} \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{NPi} \quad \text{INFL} \quad \text{V}$$

**OPT M3.** Verb Movement:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{INFL} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{DUR} \\ \text{TNS} \\ \text{MDL} \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{X} \quad ==> \quad \text{INFL} \quad \text{X} \quad \text{V}$$

**IV.   Optional Deletion Rules**

**OPT D1.** Optional Imperative Subject Deletion:

$$\text{IMP} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{NP} ==> \quad \text{IMP} \quad \text{COMP} \, 0$$

**OPT D2.** Optional Conjunction Reduction:

$$\text{NPj} \quad \text{INFL} \quad \text{VP} \, und \quad \text{NPj} \quad \text{INFL} \quad ==> \quad \text{NPj} \quad \text{INFL} \quad \text{VP} \, und \ \text{e} \ \text{INFL}$$

**OPT D3.** Optional Direct Object Deletion:

$$\text{V} \quad (\text{X}) \quad \text{NP} ==> \quad \text{V} \quad (\text{X}) \quad 0$$

**OPT D4.** Optional *zu* Deletion:

$$zu \quad ==> \quad 0$$

**OPT D5.** Optional *hat* Deletion:

$$hat \quad \text{VP} ==> \quad 0 \quad \text{VP}.$$

## APPENDIX 2

### Examples of *i* (nominative) vs. *mi* (objective)

(99)　　Du kann　ni　arbeiten　fi　mi.
　　　　2S can　　not work　　for 1SO

You cannot work for me.

(100)　　Du komm　eben　　　zu　mich.
　　　　2S come　　just-now　to　1SO

Come over to me.

*Mi* is similar phonologically to English 'me' as well as the Standard German first person singular accusative pronoun *mich*. In Standard German, however, *mich* would not occur after the preposition *zu* 'to', which requires the dative form *mir*. Not all speakers use this objective form, which has no counterpart in Tok Pisin and it is difficult to determine whether *mi* is part of the original basilect or an innovation formed in imitation of English and Standard German. One informant was very interesting in that in the same narrative he used *mi* in some sentences, such as (101) below, but *i* in nonsubject positions in other sentences, such as (102) below:

(101)　　Du gesagen,　du geben　mi　　dein　　　erstes　　Kind.
　　　　2S say+PST　　2S give　　1SO　2SGEN　first　　　child

You said you would give me your first child.

(102)　... so　lange　wenn　　du ni holen　mein　kind　weg
　　　　　　so　long　　if/when　2S not fetch　my　　child　away

von　i.
from　1SN

... as long as you don't take my child away from me.

Standard German words ending in /ç/ (*ch* in German orthography) were pronounced without this consonant by most, but not all, speakers, so that while most informants pronounced the first person singular pronouns /i/ and /mi/, /iç/ and /miç/ were also recorded. (This seems to be part of a general tendency of aspirant and affricate lenition; the Standard German affricates /ts/ and /pf/ have become /s/ and /f/, voiced /z/ has become voiceless /s/, and velar /x/ has become palatal /ç/ and then usually deleted.)

# ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS USED IN THE TEXT

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | adjective | PRS | present tense |
| ADV | adverb | PSR | phrase structure rule |
| ADVP | adverbial phrase | PST | past tense |
| AP | adjective phrase | Q | quantifier |
| COMP | complementizer | RCG | Rabaul Creole German (Unserdeutsch) |
| COP | copula | | |
| D | deletion rule | REF | reflexive |
| DET | determiner | SG | Standard High German |
| DUR | duration | SOV | subject-object-verb |
| e, *e* | empty | SVO | subject-verb-object |
| EN | participle affix | *t* | trace |
| IMP | imperative | *tj* | trace coindexed to NPj |
| INFL | inflection | TNS | tense |
| INT | intensifier | TP | Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin English) |
| FUT | future tense | | |
| GEN | genitive marker | VP | verb phrase |
| M | movement rule | 1PE | first person plural exclusive pronoun |
| MDL | modality | 1SN | first person singular nominative pronoun |
| N | noun | | |
| NP | noun phrase | 1SO | first person singular objective case pronoun |
| OPT | optional | | |
| PASS | passive | 2PL | second person plural pronoun |
| PAST | past tense morpheme | 2S | second person singular pronoun |
| | | 2SGEN | second person singular possessive pronoun |
| PL | plural | | |
| PM | predicate marker | 3PL | third person plural pronoun |
| PP | prepositional phrase | 3S(M)(F) | third person singular pronoun (masculine) (feminine) |
| PREP | preposition of unspecified direction or location | | |

# REFERENCES

Curme, George O. 1960. A grammar of the German language. New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co.

Hancock, Ian F. 1969. Appendix: Repertory of pidgin and creole languages. Pidgin and creole linguistics, ed. by A. Valdman, 302-91. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Janssen, Arnold. 1932. Die Erziehungsanstalt fuer Halbweisse Kinder. Pioniere der Suedsee, ed. by H. Hueskes, 150. Duesseldorf: L. Schwann.

Klein, Wolfgang (ed.). 1975. Sprache auslaendischer Arbeiter: Zeitschrift fuer Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik. 5 Heft 18.

Lerot, Jacques. 1971. Transformationelle Behandlung der Verbzusammensetzungen im Deutschen. Fragen der strukturellen Syntax und der kontrastiven Grammatik, ed. by Ursula Hoberg, 66-111. Duesseldorf: Paedagogischer Verlag.

Leys, Otto. 1971. Die Praepositionalinfinitive im Deutschen. Fragen der strukturellen Syntax und der kontrastiven Grammatik, ed. by Ursula Hober, 9-65. Duesseldorf: Paedagogischer Verlag.

'Michael' (pseud.) 1957. 75 glorious years. Kokopo (PNG): Vunapope Catholic Mission.

Mihalic, Frank. 1979. The Jacaranda dictionary and grammar of Melanesian Pidgin. Milton (Queensland): Jacaranda Press.

Muehlhaeusler, Peter. 1984. Tracing the roots of Pidgin German. Language and Communication 4(1).27-58.

———. 1986. Pidgin and creole linguistics. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Radford, Andrew. 1981. Transformational syntax. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, J. R. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. Doctoral dissertation, M.I.T.

Schirmunski, V. M. 1962. Deutsche Mundartkunde. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.