TRACING THE ROOTS OF PIDGIN GERMAN

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I. Introduction

Any study of the available literature on pidgin German (and related reduced varieties of German) must give the impression of a relatively recent and strictly localized phenomenon. This impression is reinforced by the fact that neither Reinecke's (1917) survey of 'marginal languages' nor Reinecke et al.'s (1975) bibliography of pidgins and creoles contains reference to pidgin German. The situation is partially rectified by Hancock's (1977) compilation which lists reduced or pidginized varieties of German in various parts of Europe and in a recent article of mine (Mühlhäusler, 1979a) where I refer to some overseas varieties of pidgin German. Since then I have obtained a substantial body of additional evidence on both literary and real-life forms of pidgin German.1

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

It is also useful to distinguish between foreigner talk (used by native speakers to address foreigners) and the language (e.g. German) as spoken by foreigners. Stereotyped pidgin German in literary texts sometimes blurs the boundary between the two. The German spoken by foreigners can be either targeted3 (interlanguage type) or untargeted (pidgin).

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

1. stable pidgins (tertiary hybrids in the sense of Whinnom, 1971) including interlanguage,
2. unstable jargon varieties (secondary hybrids),
3. creolized varieties (second languages having become first ones among a new generation of speakers),
4. foreigner talk and baby talk,
5. artificial pidgins and reduced varieties,
6. reduced literary varieties,
7. settlers' dialects (generally simplified and mixed but seldom reduced).
The effects with mycetoma disease of the foot may be disabling.

2. Overview of mycetoma disease

Mycetoma is a long-term disease (10-15yrs) that is caused by a slow-growing mold that enters the foot through a wound (e.g., a puncture). The disease can affect the bone, muscle, and skin, leading to pain, swelling, and ulceration.

3. Identification

Identification of mycetoma disease is important for appropriate treatment. It is often a challenge because the symptoms may mimic other foot conditions. However, a proper history and physical examination, along with specific diagnostic tests, can help make the diagnosis.

4. Treatment

The treatment of mycetoma disease involves a combination of medical and surgical interventions. Medical treatment includes antifungal medications, while surgery may be necessary for localized lesions or in cases of severe infection.

5. Prevention

Preventing mycetoma disease involves improving foot hygiene, ensuring proper foot care, and avoiding injuries that can lead to infection. Wearing appropriate footwear and maintaining general health can also reduce the risk.

6. Conclusion

Mycetoma disease is a severe and chronic condition that requires prompt and appropriate treatment for optimal outcomes. Early recognition and intervention are crucial to minimize the impact on the patient's quality of life.
German would have been an excellent lingua franca... if one had opted for language similar to pidgin English, a simplified German without difficult forms of the article, the noun, the verb and other parts of speech. This would have sounded somehow strange for the ears of a German, but it would have been easy and useful means of communication with the blacks and for mission work... (my translation).

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

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

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


Pigmin features include:

(a) phonological simplification (German ch becomes k),
(b) absence of copula and dummy 'es',
(c) lack of grammatical agreement between nouns and verb forms,
(d) pronoun forms are not inflected for case (in contrast to the German),
(e) same word order in main and subordinate clauses.

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

Am Morgen als ich aufwachte, geh' ich nach Posthaus, Dort bekam ich Diönen Brief (pp. 87).


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

2.4. South West Africa (Namibia)

When Germany established control over South West Africa, Afrikaners had already been established as a major lingua franca in the southern parts of the territory. Because of the large number of German settlers and because of their concentration in certain areas German soon acquired the status of a lingua franca there and continues to be used as such. A great deal has been written about the settlers' dialect form of German used by the White population (a summary is Noecker, 1963) but no study has been made, to my knowledge, either of the use of German by the indigenous black population or of the simplified German used by farmers to give orders to their black workers. Such a study would seem to be an urgent priority.

2.5. German Micronesia (Carolines, Marianas and Marshall Islands)

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

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

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

In the short period from 1899 to 1914 a small staff of Germans as impressed those inhabitants of the Northern Marianas who were educated within that period that they still show a marked preference for German speech, literature, music and dances. Use of German by both islanders and some of the recent American administators carries the prestige of a somewhat authoritarian efficiency which the islanders are fond of ascribing to the Germans. In 1952 most Chamorro and Carolinian leaders were producers of the Northern Volksschule, and the handwritten German alphabet remained in use for personal correspondence in Carolinians—which is rarely written otherwise (pp. 79-80).
German, 1910, p. 283.]

In the case of these so-called New Guinea language, it should be noted that the New Guinea Company, being a private enterprise, was not bound by the same legal restraints as a colonial administration. Nevertheless, the New Guinea Company, under the guidance of its directors, notably Charles Aderhold, took steps to establish schools and promote language education. In 1884, the company started a school at Port Moresby, and in 1886, another school was established at Good Friday Bay. These schools were, however, purely commercial ventures, and their primary aim was to establish a market for New Guinea products. It was not until 1910, when the German government took control of New Guinea, that serious attempts were made to introduce formal education and language instruction.

The German colonial administration in New Guinea was characterized by a policy of assimilation and cultural integration. The administration aimed to create a German-speaking population in New Guinea through the establishment of German schools and the promotion of the German language. The administration also sought to introduce German customs and practices into the lives of the New Guineans. This policy was based on the belief that the only way to achieve full Germanization was through the assimilation of the indigenous population into German culture.

In conclusion, the early years of German colonization in New Guinea were marked by the establishment of schools and the promotion of German language education. The administration's policy of assimilation and cultural integration was characterized by a strong emphasis on the German language and culture. The German administration's efforts to assimilate the indigenous population into German culture were reflected in the establishment of schools and the promotion of the German language. These efforts were aimed at creating a German-speaking population in New Guinea.


and its contact languages; as well as a comparison with Hawaiian creole as described by Bickerton:

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

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

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

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

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

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

3) The data discussed in this paper suggest that *Unserdeutsch* borrowed constructions from a number of contact languages, even those which were not imperfectly mastered by its speakers. *Tok Pisin*, German and English were the principal sources of grammaticalization, though the influence of Tolar has not been studied in any detail as yet and could also prove to have been important. *Unserdeutsch* shares a number of constructions with

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4. Artificial pidgin varieties of German

4.1. Introduction

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

In my discussion of artificial pidgin varieties of German, I would like to exclude the many attempts at standardizing, regularizing and simplifying parts of the German language for the benefit of native speakers. A study of such attempts would no doubt provide interesting additional evidence on native speakers’ intuitions about simplification, but time and space prevent me from following up this topic. Instead I will restrict the discussion to two attempts at developing simplified forms of German for the benefit of non-native speakers. Both Baumann’s *Weltdeutsch* (1916) and Schwerer’s *Kolonialdeutsch* (1916) were written during the First World War in expectation of Germany’s victory and resulting large-scale colonial expansion. Weltdeutsch was designed primarily for the use of allies and friends, particularly those in Eastern Europe. Since it was meant for the use of ‘civilized’ people, the primary concern of the author was to keep the language as close as possible to High German. In introducing his proposal Baumann writes:


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*Tok Pisin* strongly suggesting a fair amount of relexicalization during the preceding pidgin stage, including the use of *alle* ‘all’ as plural marker (*Tok Pisin* has *oh*), a distinction between inclusive (*un*) and exclusive (*ir*) first person plural pronouns, and, for some speakers, an additional dual pronoun *inuka* (*I and you*). On the other hand, some very prominent areas of *Tok Pisin* grammar such as multiple word class membership of lexical items, its aspect system and the grammar of embedding are not shared. This is in part due to the fact that *Tok Pisin* had not developed all these constructions at the time when *Unserdeutsch* became a creole.¹

¹ *Unserdeutsch* may be in part an artificial language invented in the dormitories of the Vanapope orphanage, i.e. it exhibits much of cultural grammar. However, such invention and conscious borrowing cannot be excluded in the case of other creole languages.

5) I must point out again that *Unserdeutsch* needs to be studied in more detail before any firm conclusions can be drawn. However, the evidence at hand suggests that we may be dealing with an interesting counterexample to Bickerton’s theories of creole development.
Baumann identifies two principal areas for simplification:

1. A simplification of German spelling (the above quotation being an example) by introducing a quasi-phonemic orthographic system.
2. The elimination of non-functional variation in grammar and lexicon or, put differently, approaching the ideal of one form—one meaning.

The particular proposals relating to point (2) include:

(a) Replacement of the different form of the German article with a single article de (used with prepositions for genitive and dative case) in the singular and of in the plural, as in:

*di angreiften, welche de krieg sui stolen en di frapen*

the demands the war makes on the troops.

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

*de fater—di fassern*

the father—the fathers.

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

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

(e) Drastic reduction in the number of prepositions.

(f) Elimination of synonyms from the lexicon, e.g. kaput broken to replace zerrissen, zerbrochen, geplatzt, zerfetzt, zerkracht, durchgebrochen etc.

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

1. To provide a unified lingua franca to be used both between Germans and ‘natives’ and among ‘natives’ from different language groups.
2. To increase the geographical mobility of native workers and thus reinforce a divide et impera policy: ‘natives can be transferred from one colony to another... thus increasing their reliability’ (p. 15).

3. The language will be a symbol of German authority.

4. It will be a ‘working language for the German masters and colonizers’ (p. 15).
5. It is not meant as a means of communication between speakers of German living in the German colonies.

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

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

As regards the linguistic make-up of Kolonialdeutsch, many of the simplifications observed in other forms of reduced German are also found here, though there are also significant differences from natural pidgins. Most prominent are:

(a) the use of a single article de for both singular and plural nominals,
(b) periphrastic prepositional phrases replace case endings,
(c) all verbs appear in the infinitive,
(d) simple sentences are preferred, recursiveness at sentence level is rare,
(e) the total lexicon embraces around 600 entries, i.e. we are dealing with a drastic reduction in referential power.

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

*Der Sprechueberricht*

*Aufsager (Eingeborener, der gut K.D. spricht):* Ich will nun wieder haben Schule für euch, weil ich habe Zeit an den Abend für euch haben werde. Aber die müßt ihr aufpassen, dass die müssen von deutscher Sprache so schnell wie möglich. Also aufpassen! A, sagen mir, was ist das? (zeigt seine Hand).

A (Anfänger): Das ist eine Hand.

Aufsager: Gut, aber du müßt sagen: "Das ist eine Hand". B, sagen mir, was ist das? (zeigt seine Hand).

B (Anfänger): Das ist eine Hand.

Aufsager: Also aufpassen! A, sagen mir, was ist das? (zeigt seine Hand).

A (Anfänger): Das ist eine Hand, das ist eine Hand.

Aufsager: So, du hast eine gute Sache. Also aufpassen! B, sagen mir, was ist die Sache? (zeigt seine Hand).

B (Anfänger): Die Sache ist eine gute Sache.

Aufsager: Also aufpassen! A, sagen mir, was ist die Sache? (zeigt seine Hand).

A (Anfänger): Die Sache ist eine gute Sache.

C (Anfänger, sehr ungeschickt): No, die gute Sache, aber du sagst mir, was ist das?

Aufsager: C, Du bist immer die gleiche Schwachsinn!

A language lesson

*Supervisor (native who speaks good Kolonialdeutsch):* Ich will jetzt noch eine Klass, für euch, dass ich haben kann für euch eine halbe Stunde. Aber du musst gut acht geben, dass du noch die Kolonialdeutsch sprechen kannst. O.K., immer, A, tell me, what is this? (points to his hand).

A (beginner): "This is a hand".

Supervisor: Good, but you must say "This is a hand", A, tell me, what is this? (shows him a grammer).

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

Supervisor: Yes, that’s right, but your language is not good yet'. (corrects B). O.K. I now want to ask C again. I did ask the same question yesterday, (shows a picture of the Kaiser). What is this, C. Do you know it now?"
The importance of soil plays a vital role in crop yields, as it determines the availability of nutrients and water necessary for plant growth. Different crops have different soil requirements, which can affect their productivity and thus the overall yield. Soil quality can also be influenced by factors such as climate, topography, and land use history. Understanding these factors is crucial for sustainable agricultural practices.

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Some properties of soil

5.3 Some properties of soil

5.4 The properties of soil

5.5 The properties of soil

5.6 The properties of soil

5.7 Some properties of soil

5.8 Some properties of soil

5.9 Some properties of soil

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

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

from Der Peitschenmueller

Ein Koenig? Welch Entzweelen!
Wie fuer ein Koenig wird er sein! .... Lassendlich! Koenig!
Laut kommen nie in Bad, sondern sie im strom, sehr...
Nein, es sein Wahrheit: Majestets, kommen mit herauf.
Hören ob en viel bessar das Musiken, als da unten abzog.
Ich mochte sie sein diejegen in der Luft. Oh, das sein eine Saengerin.

A King. What delight.
What King will it be? .... Impossible! King Ludwig never visits the spa, but he is very lovely, very ....
No! I believe it is very very much. I know for sure that it is true. She is buried up there and plays violin in her grave at night. No, the truth.
Come up with me, Majesty.
You hear the music much better than down here.
I want to see it (nightingale) fly in the air. Oh, what a singer.

Pidgin features in these texts include:
(a) variable omission of verb inflections,
(b) omission of surface dummy es,
(c) variable absence of subject pronouns.

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

Compare this text with the following passages from Das Kafferngrab:

Quimbo leit Epen Sau? Oh, oh, Mynheer Quimbo eet viel schoen Sau.
Quimbo kenn Tschembra; Quimbo hab red armen gras viel mit Tschembra.

Quimbo leit Epen pig? Oh, oh, Mynheer Quimbo eet much beautiful pig.
Quimbo know Tschembra; Quimbo have talk already big much with Tschembra.

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

(a) Consistent use of verb stem (rather than infinitive) instead of inflected verb forms, the only exceptions being inflected copula. This usage may have been modelled on the Cape Dutch spoken when this story was written. However, the Italian in the previous story uses either inflected forms or infinitives,
(b) Absence of articles and other determiners. This is unlike Cape Dutch (Afrikaans) and in contrast with the variable presence of articles in the previous text.
(c) Uninflected attributive adjectives, similar to Cape Dutch. The Italian speaker uses mainly inflected adjectives, though often with an inappropriate ending.
(d) The use of viel ‘much’ instead of sehr ‘very’, unlike Cape Dutch. The Italian speaker uses sehr.
(e) The use of proper nouns instead of pronouns gives this passage a particularly childlike quality. Again, the Italian in the previous text uses the appropriate pronouns.
(f) There are few examples of passives and they differ from that used by the Italian through the use of a verb stem instead of a past participle, as in Quimbo darf nicht word fress von Loewe Quimbo must not be eaten by a lion.
(g) Logical order is frequently replaced by sequential order, as in Fifer lauf viel schnell Quimbo verlier Arm if the horse runs very fast, Quimbo will lose his arm.

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

5.4. Foreigner talk in German journalism

An interesting fact appears to have emerged from the discussion so far, namely that literary varieties of pidgin German not only illustrate the intuitions native speakers may have about simplification of their language, but also illustrate the indexical function of such simplifications. Thus, certain types of deviations from the standard are seen as indicating childishness and primitiveness on the speaker’s part whereas others merely signal an intelligent learner’s problems when faced with the intricacies of the German language. Literary versions of pidgin German and foreigner German are thus powerful instruments for polemical political writing. One publication which made great use of reduced and mixed varieties of German is Die Jugend (there are many journals with this title, the one I refer to is that published in Munich around the turn of the century).

As I have literally hundreds of text samples and as these texts illustrate various principles of language mixing in addition to reduction, I cannot yet give an exhaustive assessment. However, a more thorough study of these materials would seem highly desirable. The
Pidgin features here include:
(a) use of uninflected verb forms,
(b) the negator nit (spelled niko),
(c) a number of phonological simplifications, particularly [s] and [c].

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

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

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

You plagues emsen man! You plult down in my Kellertock and break kaput of my Finstierscheben. Betchel you me, or ick zuu you blau Kittling!

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

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

How do you like Berlin? Very nice indeed. Acher i was wit six years ago to see the Empror, he war not here.

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

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

5.5. Pidgin German in the exotic novel

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

Text 1. Word-for-word translation of tidain English in Neermann (1942):

Ich komme to-day, nach nachten
ich seh er ist noch immer

wenn er

I come today, after six years

to see him—he is still away.

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

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

5.5. Pidgin German in the exotic novel

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

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were already in existence and the communicative pressure for pidgin German consequentially low.

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

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

NOTES
1 This paper could not have been written without the help of my mother, Gabrielle Mühlhäuser, who for years has traced materials relating to pidgin German for me. I am also indebted to Bruce Rigby of the University of Queensland for letting me have a copy of Volker’s thesis on Unserdeutsch, to Ulrike Moxl for letting me have her notes on this language and to Jackie for comments and editorial help.
2 The ability to regress linguistically cannot be accounted for in the most widely accepted model of language acquisition, the replacement model, where later stages replace, and thereby obliterate, earlier stages of acquisition. It is perfectly compatible with a retentionist model however, where later stages are added to and partially mixed with earlier stages. (For a more detailed discussion of these issues see Ochs, 1979, pp. 51-80). There are certain consequences of such a view which I can only allude to in this data-oriented paper. The principal one is that the whole notion of interference would seem to stand in need of very drastic revision as, in a retentionist model of language, interference could come not from the endpoint of language development (the grammar of adult speakers), but, in a natural second language learning context, also from intermediate developmental stages. To what extent there is a conspiracy between interlanguage and pidgin development on the one hand and repression in the learner’s first language on the other, remains to be established. One thing is already certain: unless powerful devices for the analysis of language mixing are developed, such issues will remain unresolved.
3 Instead of targeted and untargeted one could also use the criteria of presence or absence of (relative access to) the target language German. Note that this presence is determined by both physical presence and socio-psychological factors.
4 As the time when Unserdeutsch became creolized, the Tuk Poin of the Gazelle Peninsula was the most developed and advanced variety of this language—unlike today where Tuk Poin has seriously declined in this part of Papua New Guinea. A good idea about its linguistic development around 1914 can be gained from a comparison with the New Britain pidgin English, the fossilized variety of Tuk Poin spoken by Tolei and other black indentured workers on the Samois plantation. It appears that only a rudimentary aspects aspects, no firm conventions for embedding and no entirely stable prosodic system has developed at the time. On the other hand, multifunctionality of lexical base was rife.
5 The nearest English translation of Kurzielacher ‘Italian’ (pejorative) is Wop (mainly U.S. usage, of unknown origin).

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