

The Cantonese substrate in China Coast Pidgin

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Abstract

The “Chinese” character of Chinese Pidgin English, or China Coast Pidgin (CCP) has been debated in previous work. While some Chinese-based features such as the use of *piece(e)* as a classifier are widely acknowledged, the extent of substrate influence has remained unclear. This paper surveys the role of the Cantonese substrate based on a recently transcribed Chinese text, the *Chinese English Instructor*. Substrate influence is demonstrated in a wide range of grammatical domains including serial verbs, topic-comment structure, and placement of prepositional phrases. In certain domains such as placement of adverbs and in-situ wh-phrases, the Chinese sources show substrate influence which is rare or absent from the English language sources, a pattern which suggests systematic variation between Sinophone and Anglophone lects within CCP.

Keywords: substrate influence, Cantonese, Chinese Pidgin English

0. Introduction

China Coast Pidgin, also known as Chinese Pidgin English, has been called the “mother of all pidgins” for a number of reasons (Li, Matthews & Smith 2005: 79).¹ In particular, it seems to have given the name “pidgin” to functionally restricted codes that arise in prevalently bilingual communities (Reinecke 1937). China Coast Pidgin (CCP) has also been associated with the expansion of English-lexifier pidgins in the Pacific (Tryon,

Mühlhäusler & Baker 1996: 485). While typically stereotyped and ridiculed in the popular British imagination and literature, it functioned as a lingua franca in the communities of Western traders found in the ports of the China Coast (and some inland markets). Moreover, it was available in written sources for the purpose of transmission among the Chinese.

1. Contexts of formation

The seeds of CCP were most likely sown in the early days of the Canton Trade in the mid-seventeenth century along the Pearl River Delta, particularly in two settings: the harbour of Whampoa (Huangpu), which functioned as a sort of customs for the foreign merchandise, and the “factories” of Canton (Guangzhou), i.e. the places of residence of the commercial representative of Western trading companies (Bolton 2003: 156; Martino 2003: 24; Van Dyke 2005). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there would have been three main contexts of intercultural communication (Bolton 2003: 147-8): communication between Chinese and (1) East-India company traders; (2) country-traders; (3) Americans. At the beginning of the Canton Trade, Western merchants were completely controlled by Chinese authorities and had to comply with strict regulations or be expelled. Among other things, learning Chinese was forbidden and whoever was found teaching it could receive a death sentence. Since the late eighteenth century, however the role and function of the East-India Company in the region grew steadily, due to an expansion of trade and further recognition of its key role by the international community. The First Opium War (1839-42), fought in order to force Chinese authorities to release the grip on their monopoly and open up the Opium Trade, saw Western forces emerging as victors who forced China to open a total of five treaty ports (Canton, Amoy, Fuchow, Shanghai and Ningpo), where the British were free to trade with any Chinese party. It also resulted in Hong Kong becoming part of the

British Empire. With further concessions resulting from the second Opium war (1856-1860), CCP spread to other parts of China. This was helped by a series of booklets, written by Chinese in Chinese characters for the purpose of teaching and learning CCP. Among the many sources, two manuals are known to us today: (1) 紅毛通用番話 *The Common language of the Red-haired Foreigners* (henceforth *Red-haired Glossary*) published in Canton around 1835 and (2) 英語集全 *The Chinese and English Instructor* (henceforth *Instructor*) written by Tong King-sing around 1862 (see also Leland 1876; Selby & Selby 1995; Williams 1836). CCP was thus reportedly used not only in East-West encounters and within Western circles but also among Chinese of different linguistic backgrounds. We must therefore recognize a fourth group to the three mentioned above for the nineteenth century: Chinese traders, merchants and servants. In the twentieth century, CCP started declining, a fact that can be attributed to (a) the impact of English-medium instruction becoming available in missionary schools, (b) the dissolution of the Canton Trade from around 1830 as a result of the East India Company closing their activities there; (c) the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong and the new migrants that flowed into Hong Kong after WWII (see Baker & Mühlhäusler 1990: 158).

2. Previous scholarship

While grammatical features of CCP are discussed in detail in sections 3 and 4, we briefly sketch here the general views expressed on CCP in the relevant literature so far. Typically, two somewhat divergent positions can be identified in relation to the origin of CCP grammar: (i) A substantial number of CCP features can be traced back to Chinese, especially Cantonese grammar (Bisang 1985; Selby & Selby 1995; Shi 1986, 1991) and (ii) CCP shows little Chinese influence, but some clear influences from English can be found

and otherwise “universals of pidginisation” can be detected (Baker & Mühlhäusler 1990; Tryon, Mühlhäusler & Baker 1996). As argued below, as well as in Li, Matthews and Smith (2005), both Chinese and English influence can be found, mostly due to the fact that two different genres of CCP can be identified: the Chinese genre, as in the Chinese-authors booklets, and Anglophone CCP, as represented in the literature and possibly the speech used within Western circles. In addition, it has been noted that if pidginization involves loss of morphology, then it becomes indistinguishable from the effect of feature transfer of isolating typology in the contact situation, in our case influence of Chinese grammar (Ansaldò 2007). Related to this is the issue of the genesis of CCP.

3. Grammar

The “Chinese” character of CCP has been noted in previous work. Speaking of the *Instructor*, for example, Selby and Selby observe that “Much of the syntactic structure of Pidgin follows that of Cantonese” (Selby & Selby 1995:128). However, some of the more specific claims which have been put forward have proved to be controversial. Shi (1986, 1991) attributed several features of CCP to structural influence from Cantonese, which is assumed to be the mother tongue of most non-European users of the pidgin. The features discussed by Shi include topic-comment structure, the use of *piece(e)* as a classifier, the interrogative pronoun *what fashion* meaning ‘how?’ (Cantonese *dím yéuhng*), compounds with ‘man’ as in *tailorman* and the distribution of *belong* as copula, which (as in Chinese) is not used before predicative adjectives. Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990) call a number of these features into question. In some cases their argument is based on the occurrence of parallel features in other pidgins. For example, Tok Pisin has compounds with *-man* which are comparable to CCP *tailorman*, etc. They nevertheless acknowledge that some expressions appear to be calqued on Cantonese. In particular, the use of *piece(e)* as a classifier between the demonstrative and the noun is distinctively Chinese.

3.1 Words and sounds

CCP words are derived mostly from English, with some Portuguese, Malay, Hindi and, as would be expected, Cantonese influences. Some examples are given below (from Martino 2003): *pidgin* < business (E.); *catchee* < catch ‘fetch’ (E.); *two muchy* < too much ‘extremely’ (E.); *Joss* < *Deus* (P. ‘God’); *sabee* < *saber* (P. ‘to know’); *chop* < *chapa* (M. ‘chop’); well-known Cantonese words are: *taipan* (C. ‘supercargo’, lit. ‘big class’); *fankuei* (C. ‘Westerner’, lit. ‘foreign devil’). Words of clear Portuguese origin are less common than one would expect considering the potential influence that Macao could have had in the early days of the Canton Trade: Bolton (2003: 286) identifies 20 to 22 Portuguese words out of 372 in the *Red-haired Glossary*. This suggests a rather limited influence of Macanese on CCP (Ansaldo 2009).

It is difficult to present a definitive account of the phonology of CCP for a number of reasons. In the English sources, sounds are likely to have been heavily anglicised, while in the Chinese sources, there are a number of other problems: (i) Different dialectal readings of the characters yield different sounds; in some cases, it is clear that a character was not used in the Cantonese but rather in the Mandarin reading (Shi 1991) and (ii) The transcription system makes it difficult to know what the actual pronunciation of words was, as the Chinese characters in the texts may have served to provide an approximation of the sound. The actual local pronunciation of the characters may well have become the target by users of the booklets, but that is difficult to establish. One of the most robust features was replacement of [r] by [l]; the former does not exist in Cantonese and is thus replaced by the only non-nasal sonorant of Cantonese (Shi 1991: 14): ‘rice’ > ‘lice’. Another wide-spread feature is deletion of final consonants, again a clear influence of Cantonese phonology where syllable final consonants are restricted to nasals and unreleased stops. Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990) find no significant influence of Cantonese in the vowel system, but

heavy restructuring of syllable structure due to influence of Cantonese so that CCV > CVCV—e.g., ‘stop’ > ‘sitap’ (Bolton 2003: 162).²

3.2 Nouns and NPs

The structure of the NP reveals variation between Sinitic and non-Sinitic constituent order, as well as typical Sinitic features such as the use of the classifier *pisi* (or *piecee*).

- (1) Sixty pisi head CCP
 60 CL head
 ‘Sixty heads’ (Shi 1991: 20)

The patterns [NUM-CL-N] and [DEM-CL-N] are typically Sinitic:

- (2) *Yāt go yàhn.* *Nī go yàhn* CANTONESE
 1 CL man DEM CL man
 ‘One man’ ‘This man’

This pattern is very frequent in CCP. One other item, *chop*, appears to be used as a classifier in the [DEM-CL-N] position in the *Instructor*:³

- (3) Thisee chop tea what name⁴ CCP
 DEM CL tea what name
 ‘What is the name of this tea?’

The fact that a single classifier accounts for the vast majority of cases implies “reduction” of the classifier system of Cantonese. However, it is also true that while many more classifiers are technically available in the language, in discourse, there is an overwhelmingly frequent one of generic use (*go* in Cantonese, *ge* in Mandarin), which can substitute for the more specialised classifiers. This applies to other Sinitic languages as well (Erbaugh & Yang 2006), but it is clear that CCP takes the tendency a step further by reducing the system to virtually one classifier which is not necessarily obligatory (see (19)).

The pronouns of CCP have attracted some attention in the literature. In particular, besides what appear to be regular English forms, Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990: 104) and Tryon, Mühlhäusler and Baker (1996: 488) note that, in a first phase, three first person

singular forms were found, *I*, *my* and *me*. All three of them could be found in subject position, while *my* and *me* were used in object position. Eventually, only *my* emerged in both functions. This could be taken as evidence of stabilisation in the grammatical system of CCP. Smith (2008) shows that while second and third person forms were almost invariant in the *Instructor*, there was considerable variation in first person forms, with some differentiation of subject and object forms. The emergence of *my* as the canonical first person form is somewhat surprising considering the almost universal adoption of *mi* in pidgins and creoles worldwide. Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990) note that this took place rather rapidly only after the 1830s, before which *I* and *me* were normally encountered. They hypothesise that the change was brought about by the introduction of written instructional materials and, while the timing strongly suggests this, hard evidence is difficult to pin down. It is possible that the character 米, which is pronounced *máih* in Cantonese, was entered in the booklets by someone with the Mandarin pronunciation (*mi*) in mind. Another confusing factor is the superficial similarity in appearance between the character 米 and 未 (*mi* in nineteenth century Cantonese), which could have been confused during the printing process.

Compounding is frequently found in CCP, particularly in reference to people and functions. A compound with the form *man* ('man', calqued on Cantonese *yàhn*) is found: *ba ba man* 'barber'; *se lei man* 'sailor'; *guk man* 'cook' (Martino 2003: 86). Other compounds of the type Modifier-N can also occur—e.g., *Joss pidgin* 'religion' (lit. God business); *Joss house* 'temple'. Another calque of a Cantonese word is found in the term 'fashion', rendered as *fasi* (Cantonese *yéuhng* 'manner', as in *dím yéuhng* 'what manner' or 'how', Shi 1986)—e.g., *wat fa si* 'what fashion or what way'; *niu fa si* 'new fashion or new way' (Martino 2003: 87). In the *Instructor*, *how fashion* (4) is used in a way parallel to *dím yéuhng* (5) in Cantonese:

(4) My savvy how fashion do CCP
 1S know how fashion do
 'I will know how to act' (Instructor IV.33)

(5) Ngóh jī díng yéuhng jōuh CANTONESE
 1S know how fashion do
 'I know how to do (it)'

3.3 Copulas, zeros and existence

Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990) report at least two different types of copula: (a) *have*, as in (6), usually realised as *hap*, as in (7)—this can also be used as a possessive verb as well as an aspectual marker—; and (b) *belong*, as in (8). According to Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990: 103), *belong* took over as a copula while the aspectual usage of *have* increased. Eventually, *hap* and *habgot* were used in possessive constructions.

(6) Chinese man very great rogue truly but have fashion no can help CCP
 Chinese man very great rogue truly but have fashion NEG can help
 'Chinese men are real rogues but that's how it is, can't help it' (Anson 1748 in Baker & Mühlhäusler 1990: 103).

(7) My hap go court one time CCP
 1S have go court 1 time
 'I have been to court once.' (Instructor IV.4)

(8) You belong honest man CCP
 2S COP honest man
 'You are a honest man.' (Selby & Selby 1997: 136)

Note that copula constructions are rare as more often than not CCP is zero-copula, like Sinitic languages in general, as in (9) (this was already noted in Hall 1944):

(9) Englishman very good talkee all heart bad no talkee true too mucha CCP
 proudy
 Englishman very good talk all heart bad NEG talk true too much
 proud
 'Englishmen speak well but are insincere, lie and are proud' (Selby & Selby 1997: 138)

It should be borne in mind that existential verbs in Sinitic can also be used to mark aspect and as emphatic markers. Here, the parallel with CCP is clear as *hab* is first and foremost an existential verb. The verb *got* is likewise used in existential phrases (10), just like the

Cantonese verb *yáuh* (11), which indicates location, possession and existence (Matthews & Yip 1994):

- (10) You got how muchee piece children CCP
 2S have how much CL children
 ‘How many children have you?’ (Instructor IV.55)
- (11) Léih yáuh géi dō go saimānjái? CANTONESE
 you have how many CL children
 ‘How many children do you have?’

It may also be the case that *hab* (or *hap*) as an emphatic marker could be mistaken for a copula. In example (6) above the second phrase *but have fashion, no can help* is difficult to interpret, because *fashion* can mean many things in CCP and is difficult to translate. For example, in the following: *so fashion you buy some befoo* ‘well, you better buy some beef’ (Instructor VI.26), the item *fashion* clearly has no literal meaning, as is often the case in CCP, but is calqued on *gám yéuhng* ‘so, in that case’. Therefore, the phrase *but have fashion* in the example above could just mean ‘well’, and not indicate a copula at all. In the *Instructor*, all occurrences of *hap*, many of which occur together with *got*, follow the Sinitic existential pattern ‘there is’ and are thus not clear-cut copulas. The same was found already in Hall’s data (1944) and strongly suggests that CCP is predominantly zero copula. As far as *belong* is concerned, it is worth noting that in most occurrences in the *Instructor*, it is either used in its lexical function, ‘to belong to’, or as a possessive marker. The example above can either be read as ‘you are an honest man’ or ‘you belong to the honest ones’. This is similar to pidgin Malay varieties where *punja*—or related forms such as *pun*, *pe*—‘to possess’ is used as a possessive marker as well as for attributive predication and as a relative marker (Adelaar & Prentice 1996). In examples (12) to (14), we see that all three usages are possible in CCP, albeit the third with a bit of a stretch. This could either be an independent development or an influence of Bazaar Malay into CCP (it is not attested in Macanese).⁵

- (12) These belong you? CCP
 these POSS you
 ‘Is this yours?’ (Instructor IV.53)
- (13) The tea belong first crop CCP
 ART tea POSS first crop
 This is first crop tea’ (Instructor VI.14)
- (14) This belong my bring cashee CCP
 DEM COP 1S bring money
 That is what I paid for it’ (Instructor VI.3)

Be that as it may, it is unclear to what extent *belong* really represents a copula or whether a sentence with *belong* can be read as attributing a relation between two phrases (Shi 1991: 24).

In terms of negation, *no* (sometimes realised as *lo*) or *no got* are used in CCP; the negative existential which is typical of Sinitic is also found in CCP (16):

- (15) Missy(ter) ___ no got houso CCP
 Mr _ NEG be house
 ‘Mister X is not at home’ (Instructor VI.38)
- (16) No got suchee thing CCP
 NEG be such thing
 ‘There is no such thing.’ (Instructor IV.51)

3.4 Verbs and VP

Another reason to be cautious about the status of the copula in CCP is the fact that adjectival and adverbial phrases behave predicatively, like property verbs, a feature that usually correlates typologically with zero-copula, and which is typical of Sinitic—e.g., *léih hóu faai*, [you very fast] ‘you are (very) fast’—and attested frequently in the *Instructor*:

- (17) Court expense too muchee CCP
 court expense too much
 ‘The court fees are very heavy.’ (Instructor IV.32)
- (18) My too muchee trouble. CCP
 1S too much trouble
 I was very much bothered.’ (Instructor IV.32)
- (19) Thisee wine glassee no clean. CCP
 this wine glass NEG clean
 ‘This wine glass is not clean.’ (Instructor IV.32)

An area of variation in which we find a difference between the English sources and the *Instructor* is adverbial modification. Selby and Selby (1995) note that time and place adverbs follow English syntax, but the *Instructor* offers many examples of preverbal adverbs, as in (20) and (21), in line with Cantonese syntax, as in *Ngóh deih tīng yaht būn*, [we tomorrow move] ‘we move tomorrow’ (see Matthews & Yip 1994: 187):

- (20) We tomorrow make move CCP
 1PL tomorrow make move
 ‘We move tomorrow.’ (*Instructor* IV.49)
- (21) He every day tipsy CCP
 3S every day tipsy
 ‘He gets drunk every day.’ (*Instructor* IV.55)

From a typological point of view, one of the clearest Sinitic features is the preverbal prepositional phrase, as can be seen in the patterns found in (22) to (25) with *long*:

- (22) My no long you buy any more CCP
 1S NEG PREP 2S buy any more
 ‘I won’t have anymore to do with you.’ (*Instructor* VI.26)
- (23) You can (a)long my catchee one piece good boy. CCP
 2S can PREP 1S get 1 CL good boy
 ‘You can get me a good boy.’ (*Instructor* VI.51)
- (24) My long he borrow. CCP
 1S PREP 3S borrow
 ‘I borrowed from him.’ (*Instructor* IV.57)
- (25) My long you take alla. CCP
 1S PREP 3S take all
 ‘I will buy the whole from you.’ (*Instructor* VI.8)

It can be seen that the preposition *long*, derived from English ‘along (with)’, behaves like Cantonese *tùhng* ‘with’, since it covers the same three functions of comitative (26), benefactive (27) and ablative (28), as in:⁶

- (26) *Kéuih tùhng yāt go pàhngyáuh góng* CANTONESE
 S/he with one CL friend talk
 ‘He’s talking with a friend.’

(27) *Ngóh tùhng léih ló yāt go* CANTONESE
 I with you take one CL
 ‘I’ll get one for you.’

(28) *Ngóh tùhng léih máaih yéh* CANTONESE
 I with you buy things
 ‘I buy things from you.’

With regard to the structure [PP-V-NP], it should be borne in mind that this constituent order is typologically rare (as described in Dryer 2003), which leaves little doubt as to the Sinitic origins of this feature in CCP. It can be seen that Cantonese does indeed allow for variation between preverbal and postverbal prepositional phrases, though the latter is a minority pattern, as noted in Kwan (2005):

(29) *Ngóh hái Gáulùhng góbihn jyuh* CANTONESE
 I at Kowloon that-side live

Ngóh jyuh hái Gáulùhng góbihn
 I live at Kowloon that-side
 ‘I live in Kowloon.’

Note the item *góbihn* ‘there’ following a location in (29). This is calqued in CCP with *side*—e.g., *come Sydney side* ‘(she) comes from Sydney’; *bring that egg come thisee side* ‘bring the eggs here’—, a very common feature of CCP and indeed the use of *side* in this way is still commonly heard in Hong Kong English.

Serial verb constructions are frequent in CCP and follow a number of patterns (Escure, to appear). A well-known example is *look see* (from Cantonese *tái gin*, look-see = ‘look’):

(30) My wantchee look see counta. CCP
 1S want look see account
 ‘I want to check the accounts.’ (Instructor VI.61)

(31) You look see dog no bitee you. CCP
 2S look see dog NEG bite 2S
 ‘Don’t let the dog bite you.’ (Instructor VI.58)

Escure (2008) also notes the frequency of directional serial verbs, as in (32) and (33), based in particular on *go* and *come*. SVCs can denote single as well as multiple events in CCP:

- (32) Bring come here CCP
bring come here
‘Bring it here.’ (Instructor IV.43)
- (33) Catchee one piece man go. CCP
get a CL man go
‘Engage a man to go.’ (Instructor IV.66)

Directional serial verbs are also a feature of Sinitic languages; compare (34) with the Cantonese counterpart (35):

- (34) What time you sendee tea come CCP
what time 2S send tea come
‘When are you going to send the tea?’ (Instructor VI.16)
- (35) *Léih géisih sung cháh làih* CANTONESE
You when send tea come
‘When will you send the tea?’

There seems to be only one tense/aspect marker in CCP, the perfective marker *hap* (or *hab*), as in:

- (36) My hab sick CCP
1S have sick
‘I am/got sick.’ (Shi 1991: 23)
- (37) Coolie hap shutee alla window CCP
coolie have shut all window
‘Has the coolie shut all windows?’ (Instructor VI.53)

In interrogatives such as (38), Cantonese uses the existential verb *yáuh* ‘have’ for this function:

- (38) *Yáuh móuh sāan saai chēung a?* CANTONESE
have not.have close all window SFP
‘Have you closed all the windows?’

In CCP, *alla* can be used as a resumptive marker following a list of items, as in (39) to (41), just like the equivalent Cantonese *dōu* (42) which replicates (41):

- (39) Green tea black tea alla hap got CCP
green tea black tea all have got
‘I have both green and black tea.’ (Instructor VI.13)

- (40) You houso alla man velly well CCP
 2S house all man very well
 ‘Is your family all well?’ (Instructor VI.76)
- (41) Two man alla same CCP
 2 man all same
 ‘We are both alike.’ (Instructor VI.77)
- (42) Léuhng go yàhn dōu yāt yeuhng CANTONESE
 2 CL person all 1 same
 ‘They are both the same.’

Note also the use of *houso* ‘house’ in (40) to indicate family, which is identical to the Cantonese word *gā* ‘house/family’.

3.5 Wh-interrogatives

In terms of interrogative phrases, there is some variation between WH in situ (43) and WH movement (44). In alternative pidgin renderings in different dialogues, the same wh-phrase appears variably in situ or fronted:

- (43) You wantchee how muchee? CCP
 2S want how much
 ‘How much do you want?’ (Instructor IV.54)
- (44) How muchee more you wantchee? CCP
 how much more 2S want
 ‘What more do you want?’ (Instructor IV.54)

In the *Instructor*, 21% of tokens of *how muchee* are fronted and 79% in situ. While English-language sources typically show wh-phrases fronted as in English, the *Instructor* data show frequent use of wh-in situ (45) following Chinese syntax (46):

- (45) Thisee justee now sellum what pricee CCP
 this just now sell what price
 ‘What is the current price?’ (Instructor VI.7)
- (46) Nī go yìhgā géi chín? CANTONESE
 This CL now how.much money
 ‘How much is this now?’

3.6 Topic-comment and discourse structure

Finally, a note on CCP discourse structure, which is clearly topic-comment in many of the *Instructor* entries. In the examples below, the topic (in brackets) is the part that is being spoken of in the comment:

(47) [Good cargo] how can sellum cheap CCP
[good cargo] how can sell cheap
'How can good things sell cheap?' (Instructor VI.11)

(48) [that pricee] he no sellum CCP
[that price] 2S NEG sell
'He won't sell at that price.' (Instructor IV.77)

As in Chinese, two kinds of topic can be distinguished: Some are understood as the object of the verb, like *good cargo* in (47); others are more loosely related to the predicate, like *that pricee* in (48).

4. Conclusions

From the historical discussion and the data presented above, we can address some of the interpretations that have been offered about the formation of CCP. Considering the structural parallels shown between Cantonese and CCP, it is safe to say that the CCP of *The Instructor* exhibits substantial Cantonese influence. The grammar of CCP can thus be accounted for first and foremost in terms of syntactic and semantic feature transfer from Cantonese. Since Cantonese is the dominant language, we can also explain why CCP is mostly isolating in morphology, without necessarily involving simplification as a cognitive strategy. For example, zero-copula patterns are not a result of faulty reproduction of English patterns, but rather an expression of Sinitic feature transfer.

The existence of CCP data that show less Cantonese influence, as in English-language sources, leads us to suggest that there were two, related registers of CCP: a European and a Chinese register, probably reflecting the influence of the dominant

languages of its users. This is consistent with the idea of an “expanded phase” in Hall (1944: 95) and Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990: 112), that is a development from an initial pidgin used mostly within the context of the Canton trade to an expanded variety widely used among Chinese. Independently of the features of the early pidgin, the existence of the chapbooks and the spread of CCP among Chinese around the mid-nineteenth century obviously resulted in significant influence of Sinitic grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation as shown in the *Instructor*.

¹ We have chosen to use China Coast Pidgin (CCP) rather than Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) because we prefer not to imply that CCP be seen as a variety of English, for reasons which will become clear in the paper.

² Considering the methodological difficulties in analysing Romanisation, as well as the inherent variability to be expected in phonology, we do not intend to discuss phonology of CCP in detail here, in particular because it is too early at this stage to have comparable data from *The Instructor* in terms of phonology.

³ The examples from the *Instructor* are transcribed as in Li, Matthews and Smith (2005). The English translations follow those given in the original phrasebook (Tong 1862).

⁴ Reconstructed pronunciation following nineteenth century English sources (see Li, Matthews & Smith 2005). The data are here presented according to the original transcriptions with, at times, minor modifications for ease of reading. Translations also follow the original text.

⁵ This would suggest that a Portuguese Pidgin was not a necessary precursor of CCP, considering the availability of Bazaar Malay in the ecology of the region.

⁶ There are intriguing similarities between CCP and Tok Pisin *long* (Smith 2002) which could result from either historical relationship or common grammaticalisation paths.

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List of Abbreviations

1PL	first person plural pronoun
1S	first person singular pronoun
2S	second person singular pronoun
3S	third person singular pronoun
CL	classifier
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
NEG	negative
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition