LOOKING FOR THE BIRD IN CHINESE PIDGIN ENGLISH: CROSS-LINGUISTIC INFLUENCE IN THE USE OF SOME KEY FUNCTION WORDS[1]

SYLVIA HENEL SUN
University of Hawai'i

INTRODUCTION

Pidgin and creole languages can be understood as cross–cultural museums of linguistic objects and mechanisms bequeathed by the speakers who contributed to their creation. They can also be understood collectively as the manifestation of a principle, Language, much as the multifarious paintings and sculptures at the National Gallery represent a principle of Art. Certainly, modern studies in the languages of the world have manifested how diverse human linguistic expression can be. They have also demonstrated the many patterns and features languages share among themselves. Language gives its users an unmistakable identity.

Research in pidgins and creoles, from its very beginning in the late 19th century, has been shaped by a classic chicken–and–egg question: Do linguistic substrata *or* language universals lead to creole genesis? Today, more than one hundred years after the debate began, we can still find proponents at both ends of the spectrum (see Muysken & Smith, 1986). But more and more creolists are striking a middle path. Extensive research on the world's pidgins and creoles has shown that there is not one formula to explain them all. Each emerges under a set of unique circumstances. In many cases, the formal features of a pidgin or creole system can only be explained by recourse to both the substrate and language bioprogram hypotheses as well as to superstrate influence. Thus, a new hypothesis has emerged, appropriately called the "complementary hypothesis," which simply states that the universalist and substrate hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and, in fact, are both responsible for creole genesis (Mufwene, 1990, p. 3).

This paper is a study of the cross–linguistic influence (CLI) evident in 19th century Chinese Pidgin English (CPE). Here, 'cross–linguistic' is meant as the crossbreeding of substrate and superstrate languages. This hybridization is essential to the particular character of pidgins and creoles and, in my opinion, responsible for the production of features that are not the sole property of any single parent. We will be examining four different types of productive CPE features that can reasonably be traced to origins in one of three source languages but are not entirely explainable by recourse to any one alone. The interaction between linguistic partners is visible in shaping the common ground on which they can productively engage. The CPE function words that are the focus of this study are the preposition *long*, the classifier *piece*, the noun compounds and suffixes, and the verbal marker *make*. The source languages traced are Cantonese, English, and Hindustani.

SOURCE OF DATA

The source of my study is a relic of the Old China Trade centered on the port cities of Canton and Macao during the 18th and 19th centuries. Its chief author was born in a village just across the Cumsingmoon anchorage for opium ships. He and his two brothers were among the first to attend a missionary school established for the country folk of the Macao–Canton region (Smith 1971, p. 81). At about the time he published this six volume compendium to the English language of trade and business, he launched a career as compradore (i.e., chief of staff) for Jardine, Matheson & Co., a trading agency founded by hard driving Scots in business to this day. Later, he struck out on his own, becoming owner of a major commercial shipping company and founder of the Kaiping coal mines (Liu 1961). These are the main brush strokes of the life of Tong King–sing (1832–1892). His only publication, the *Yingü tsap–ts'un* [English compiler] is a gem of its kind.

The pidgin data in the *Yingü tsap–ts'un* (1862) surpass all previously studied sources of CPE.[2] They are unusually rich, both in quantity and quality. Moreover, they are recorded by speakers of the substrate language, Cantonese, in their own orthography. My analysis of aspects of the CPE

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[2] I 'discovered' this rare book during a forage through the fifth floor stacks of Hamilton Library. Hamilton possesses three original volumes (III, IV, VI) and the rest in duplicated form, thanks to the efforts of Librarian Chau–Mun Lau.

grammar to be discussed below is based on pidgin translation notes found in the fourth and sixth volumes of Tong's work (for an example, see Appendix A). The sixth volume is particularly interesting as it consists of twenty dialogues on various subjects, including "At the butcher's stall," "Conversation in the morning," and "On getting a boy." Of the 970 lines of dialogue in this volume, 780 have pidgin translations. The pidgin data in the fourth volume is found mostly in a section called "The vulgar language," but it does not form a connected text. Nevertheless, there are 281 valuable lines of pidgin data in this volume (for further numerical details, see Appendix B). I have estimated that the 1061 lines of data represent roughly 5800 words. I have transcribed all the characters used in the pidgin translations into IPA according to the phonology of the Cantonese Zhongshan dialect, Tong's native language as well as the native language of most of the Chinese speakers of CPE during the time concerned (Sun 1993).

A SHORT REVIEW OF RECENT STUDIES ON CPE

Research on CPE has been sporadic but considerable contributions to scholarly understanding have been made in the past decade. Dingxu Shi's article on CPE (1991), based on his 1986 Master's thesis, argues that CPE is structurally closer to Cantonese than to English. This he does in part as a reaction to the earlier work of the famous creolist, Robert Hall, Jr., who argued the reverse (1952, p. 142). Shi's argument, however, is not convincing as his study focuses on 19th century, primarily Canton–Macao area, CPE (Shi 1991, p. 8) while Hall's is of 20th century, Yangtse Valley CPE (Hall 1944, p. 95). Hall may be right in his analysis given that it is based on the speech of essentially one British informant (p. 102). Where he goes wrong is in extrapolating the results of his analysis to represent all of CPE. Ironically, Shi makes the same mistake. Nevertheless, my interest is primarily in Shi's work since my data source is directly relevant to the period and speakers Shi has studied.

Baker (1987) and Baker & Mühlhäusler (1990) base their analyses of CPE on pre–20th century texts of the same type as Shi's. Moreover, they have traced the development of CPE from the earliest attestations—i.e., from 1743—and have amassed data culled from more than one hundred titles

(1990, p. 110). From such a database, it is more likely that their research will result in significant findings on the evolution and nature of CPE.

Philip Baker (1987) came to study CPE as a consequence of his investigation into its genetic relations to the various Pacific pidgins. In particular he wanted to challenge the long–standing assumption that CPE is the progenitor of the many varieties of Pacific Pidgin English (p. 164–5). In analyzing his CPE data, Baker noticed an evolution in the usage of key grammatical features (p. 164). His paper reports these findings as they concern pronouns and copulas and discusses the possible socio–linguistic factors that prompted and shaped the changes (pp. 184–188). Some of these findings have been updated in Baker & Mühlhäusler (1990). In this latter article, "From Business to Pidgin," the authors continue to identify certain social factors they believe gave impetus to changes they have noticed in CPE's morphology and syntax over its 140 year recorded history. Their approach to the subject and research methodology are innovative and set a precedent quite apart from the usual static treatment of language. They emphasize the dynamism of pidgins. Time and place are variables that cannot be ignored.

A STUDY OF CLI IN CPE

Rationale for selection of function words to be studied

The purpose of my study is to make a reasonable case for approaching the analysis of CPE with the assumptions of the complementary hypothesis. Through the analysis of four types of function words in 19th century CPE as represented in Tong (1862), I argue that Cantonese, English, and Hindustani all took part in shaping the grammar. Yet the form and use of the function words in CPE are ultimately unique. Here universalist principles may be invoked. I have turned only to Anderson's *one to one principle* (1984) as an explanation to some of the patterns observed. The influence of Portuguese was also present in the formation of CPE, but as that influence was primarily in the phonology, I will have to present that evidence in a separate paper.

Since CPE is now extinct, there is no way to make a definitive longitudinal study of the processes of linguistic influence as many in the field of creolistics would prefer. Nevertheless, the evidence of CLI is quite clear in the product, particularly in Tong. Since the pidgin data in Tong are all translations of Cantonese and English sentences, the reader can check by back

translation whether the English or Cantonese influence was dominant in the construction of the CPE expression. Some translations are word–for–word from either the Cantonese or English. Most are not. The pidgin does manifest its independence. This independence, however, generally cannot be encapsulated by hard and fast rules. But strong tendencies are apparent. Such independent tendencies are evidence, in my mind, of 'the bird.'

Baker & Mühlhäusler (1990) make some very strong claims regarding Cantonese influence in the development of CPE. Of relevance here, they conclude that "there are no CPE syntactic structures of undoubted Cantonese provenance at any stage," and "there are a few calques of Cantonese forms in CPE…including *piece, so fashion* and *what side*" (p. 112). Of interest is their labeling the classifier *piece* as a calque and not a grammatical device. Given that this feature is not found in pidgins where Chinese speakers are absent, its presence in 19th century CPE is evidence of Cantonese substratum influence at the syntactic—and not just lexical—level. Singler (1988) has made a similar argument that highly marked features of a substrate language which appear in a pidgin or creole should be regarded as clear evidence of substratal influence (p. 29). I share Singler's position, although I do not think that the burden of proof should be placed on the substratist claims without also placing similar stringent requirements on the substantiation of universalist ones. In reference to Baker & Mühlhäusler's first claim quoted above, I will show how Cantonese syntactic rules are operative in the use of the CPE preposition *long* in the Tong corpus. I will also show how English exerts its influence in the position of this preposition in some of its uses. This discussion will be followed by one on the use of the classifier *piece*. While Cantonese influence is predominant in its grammatical role, English does exert influence in determining what degree of a Cantonese contribution is acceptable.

Baker & Mühlhäusler (1990) further conclude that the productivity of "a number of grammatical patterns and vocabulary expanding devices" such as compounds formed with *man* and *pidgin*, and the suffixes *–time* and *–side* are due to analogical expansion and not substrate influence (p. 112). In regards to the productivity itself, they are right. But this does not exclude substratal influence in showing the way, as it were. In the Tong data corpus, the use of *pidgin* and *–side* reflect primarily Cantonese substratal influence, the use of *–time* primarily English superstratal influence, and *man*

Hindustani substratal influence. This will be demonstrate below. As further evidence of the role of Hindustani in the formation of CPE, I end the study with a close look at the use of the preverbal marker make in the data corpus.

The preposition 'long'

One of the greatest finds in Tong (1862) is evidence of a full–fledged preposition in CPE. Shi (1991) found no evidence of a preposition in the data he searched (p. 22) and Baker (1987) found only limited evidence in his more extensive search of the historical record, thereby concluding that "*long* never became fully integrated in CPE" (p. 181). In Tong, I have counted thirty–three instances of preposition 郎 [lɔ̀ŋ]: eight with the meaning 'from,' eleven with the meaning 'for,' and fourteen meaning 'with.' Examples of *long* in each of these three capacities are:

'**from'**
āị wāntsi lɔ̀ŋ jū paị sēmtēŋ
I-want-<u>long-you</u>-buy-something   1a.5[3]   (1)

'**for'**
jū kēn lɔ̀ŋ mi méịki sēlèm ?
you-can-<u>long-me</u>-make-sell?   10a.1   (2)

'**with'**
mēntē jū lɔ̀ŋ hī kɔ̄m
Monday-you-<u>long-he</u>-come   52a.1   (3)

The usage of *long* in CPE closely follows the usage of 同 *tùhng* in Cantonese. Perhaps this explains its absence in expatriate sources; i.e., non–Chinese had difficulty in acquiring its usage. To Europeans it may have seemed contradictory, as well as potentially confusing, for one function word to serve the purposes of three in their own languages. But to Cantonese speakers of CPE, a multi–functional single preposition made perfect sense as in Cantonese they have *tùhng*,[4] which can mean (a) 'from' in the sense of

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[3]The first number indicates the page number, the letter indicates the front (a) or back (b) side of the page, and the last number indicates the column counting from the right side of the page in T'ong (1862, VI).

[4]Romanization of standard Cantonese follows Huang (1973).

"get from a person" (but not "come from a person"); (b) 'for' in the sense of "for the benefit of someone"; and (c) 'together with' (Huang, 1973, pp. 159–161; Oakley, 1953, p. 141). In the examples quoted above, we can clearly see how long translates to each of these meanings. Cantonese tùhng can also serve as the conjunction, 'and,' as well as mean 'the same as' or 'identical to,' but such usages are not found in Tong. For the latter meaning we find the CPE word *alla same*. As we will see in the use of other CPE features, substrate influence was normally partial and not lock, stock, and barrel.

In an analysis of the usage of preposition *long* in all thirty–three sentences in which it appears, I found some deviation from Cantonese norms. Interestingly, the deviations were greatest where the usage was closest to the surface meaning of *long* in English. The CPE form *long* is undoubtedly borrowed from the English *along*. It is not hard to imagine that Cantonese *tùhng* in the third sense—often spoken as *tùhng màai*—was equated with English *along with*. Both have the meaning 'together with.' Given the tendency in pidgins to simplify complex forms—as the syllable reduction of *business* to *pidgin* is a classic example in itself[5]—as well as the phonological difficulty speakers of Cantonese would have in pronouncing the syllable [wɪθ], it is easy to see how the comitative preposition in CPE would become *long*. It is also conceivable that the experienced English traders who frequented Chinese shores used *(a)long* as a comitative preposition right off the back since the same preposition exists in other varieties of pidgin English (Clark, 1979, p. 13). However, the subsequent usage of the form long as meaning 'for' and 'from' in the senses described above is, undoubtedly, a unilateral Cantonese contribution. In other words, after Cantonese CPE speakers learned *long* in its comitative sense, they borrowed the form in expressing dative meanings as well.

An early 19th century expatriate source offers evidence of the use of comitative *long* in CPE as spoken by a dealer in Canton, "My like very much do litty pidgeon long you" (Abbott 1835, p. 85). Of interest here is the position of the prepositional phrase. In Cantonese, the prepositional phrase always precedes the verb; in English it follows. The quotation clearly follows the rules of English sentence structure, thereby contradicting Shi's claim that "no exclusively English structural feature is found in CPE" (p. 3). This structure

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[5]The etymology of the word *pidgin* has been convincingly demonstrated by Baker & Mühlhäusler (1990) and Shi (1992).

continues its presence in Tong, as the following two examples demonstrate:

$$t^h\bar{e}k\ s\bar{e}m\ m\bar{u}nn\grave{i}\ l\grave{o}\eta\ j\bar{u}$$
take–some–money–<u>long–you</u>   70a.2   (4)

$$m\acute{e}i\ w\bar{a}ntsi\ j\bar{u}\ \eta^g\grave{o}u\ l\grave{o}\eta\ mi$$
my–want–you–go–<u>long–me</u>   IV42a.5   (5)[6]

Example 4 is of further interest because it also 'breaks' the norms of Cantonese usage. Even if the prepositional phrase were placed in its preverbal position, a Cantonese would not say *tùhng néi nìng di chín heui [with–you–take–some–money–go] but, nìng di chín heui [take–some–money–go]. The comitative 'with' is implied in the verb.

Nevertheless, the Cantonese rule does surface in the position of *long* in most sentences. When meaning 'with,' it occurs in competition with the English rule, as we have just seen. However, when meaning 'from' or 'for,' the Cantonese rule is always followed (for evidence, see Appendix C). There is only one exception, *you–can–barter–tea–long–this–cargo* (Tong 1862, VI 9b.4). Here *long* would be translated as 'for' in English. But 'for' in this phrase is not in the Cantonese sense of "for the benefit of someone." Therefore this sentence, like the example (4) above, reflects the influence of English usage, not Cantonese. This should not obscure the fact that in the majority of the thirty–three sentences which contain the preposition *long*, Cantonese position and usage is followed in twenty–five cases.

In sum, the analysis of the preposition *long* in Tong suggests that when a functional word is borrowed from a superstrate language its phrase structure rules will also be borrowed with it. But if those phrase structure rules are different from those of substrate language speakers, variation will result with both superstrate and substrate rules being applied. When the pidgin form is equated with other meanings in the substrate language, it will follow substrate structural rules as long as superstrate or other L1 speakers of the pidgin do not reanalayze the form and start to impose their phrase structure rules on it.

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[6]A roman numeral IV indicates that the example is found in the fourth volume of T'ong (1862). All unmarked examples are found in the sixth volume.

The classifier 'piece'

CPE is the only pidgin in the Pacific region known to make use of a classifier (Baker 1987, p. 180). That use of a classifier in counting nouns became productive in CPE is evidence of Chinese speakers pivotal role in the creation of this pidgin. But, as Baker (1990) has pointed out, labeling *piece* a classifier is something of a misnomer (p. 118 n. 6). It classifies nothing because it classifies everything. Still we may assume that the speakers *intended* it to classify something, if only nominally. Furthermore, it is in the reduction of all Cantonese classifiers to this single one where we see Anderson's *one to one principle* at work (1984). This principle states that relational meanings that are encoded through the syntax of a language get expressed with "one clear invariant surface form" in interlanguage construction (p. 79). CPE *piece* can be taken as the result of the application such a principle.

The classifier in Tong (1862) is *piece*, where 卑士 [pīsi] varies with 卑時 [pīsì]. There are no other classifiers per se, but there are other measures. Some examples of the latter are the weight measures—*tael, catty, picul,* and *ton*—and the money measures—*cash, candareen, mace,* and *dollar*. These sorts of measures are a feature of languages generally and, therefore, their presence is of no surprise. The presence of the classifier *piece*, however, is noteworthy, as its frequent mention in the popular literature of CPE will testify.

Shi (1991) in his analysis of primarily 19th century pidgin data culled from Anglo sources found that *piece* "always occurs between a numeral and the noun being modified" (p. 20). This led him to the conclusion that "the use of [a] classifier is obligatory in CPE" (Ibid.). However, in his discussion of demonstratives in CPE, Shi suggests that the use of the classifier is optional following demonstratives.[7] Therefore, his conclusion just quoted is taken to refer to only noun phrases with numerals. This is in fact what Thomason & Kaufman (1988, p. 187) have done in their summary of Shi's major findings of the specifically Cantonese contributions to CPE.

The CPE data in Tong (1862) afford us an opportunity to test Shi's conclusion for its accuracy. First, I will review the evidence that supports Shi's

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[7]Shi (1991) identifies two types of noun phrases in CPE where the classifier *piece* occurs. The first he formulates as 'NUMERAL + CLASSIFIER + NOUN' (p. 20) and the second as 'DEMONSTRATIVE + (CLASSIFIER) + NOUN' (p. 21). Shi's placing the latter CLASSIFIER in parentheses indicates that it is optional in the conventions of generative syntactic orthography. However, he does not explicitly state this in his following analysis.

own findings and then look closely at the evidence which demands us to reformulate his characterization of the function of the classifier in CPE.

There are many tokens of **numeral + classifier + noun** in Tong. The classifier *piece* may occur with animate or inanimate nouns, as the examples below demonstrate:

pulèŋ wēn pīsì tsʰɛ̄ kɔ̄m
bring–<u>one–piece–chair</u>–come   39b.2   (6)

jū kēn lɔ̀ŋ mé̤i̤ kittsi wēn pīsi kʰut pṳi̤?
you–can–long–my–catch–<u>one–piece–good–boy</u>? 51a.2   (7)

Such evidence confirms Shi's formula in the main, except for one detail. The noun may be modified as example 7 shows. Furthermore, there is evidence that the classifier may occur without a following noun, as the next dialogue between a buyer and a seller haggling over the price of chicken shows:

A: hé̤ṳ mēttsi wēn pīsi ?
how–much–<u>one–piece</u>?   27b.2   (8)

B: tili lupī wēn pīsì
three–rupee–<u>one–piece</u>   27b.3   (9)

A: jū wāntsi sɔ̄ mēttsi jū fḛi̤sì nɔ sím ?
you–want–so–much–you–face–no–shame?   27b.4   (10)

...tū mūn ko̤ṳ mé̤i̤ pai̤ tū lupī wēn pīsì
...two–moon–ago–my–buy–two–rupee–<u>one–piece</u>   27b.5   (11)

B: sēppo̤ṳsu jū ûŋkʰì tū mēttsi
suppose–you–think–too–much   27b.6   (12)

...jū kip fḛi̤ lupī tū pīsì
...you–give–five–rupee–<u>two–piece</u>   28a.1   (13)

The excerpt gives further proof that use of the classifier in CPE follows the rules of Chinese syntax. Therefore, in light of the evidence the above examples afford, the CPE structure as described by Shi (1991, p. 20), can be reformulated as **numeral + classifier + (NP)**.

Given the undeniable Cantonese influence on the structural possibilities of such noun phrases, one might also expect to find tokens of **classifier + noun** without the numeral *one*—a unique feature of Cantonese (Norman 1988, p. 221). But any such evidence is lacking in Tong. In noun phrases where CPE 溫 [wēn] occurs, the classifier drops rather than the numeral. This is a very 'un–Cantonese' feature; e.g.,

hɔp kēt wēn pīttsi tʰat have–got–<u>one–peach–tart</u>	48a.6	(14)
kittsi wēn simāla pūt catch–<u>one–small–boat</u>	70b.1	(15)
wēn mèn wāntsi héu mēttsi kēsì ? <u>one–man</u>–want–how–much–cash?	IV49b.1	(16)

There is further evidence that the presence of the classifier is not "obligatory." These may be found by searching for noun phrases with numerals other than *one*. The variability with which classifier *piece* occurs is well demonstrated in the following excerpt from a dialogue on charting a ship:

A: kēn tʰēkki hɐu mēttsī pāsèntsi ? can–take–how–much–passenger?	33a.4	(17)
B: kēn tʰēkki tilī hèntœn can–take–<u>three–hundred</u>	33a.5	(18)
A: hɔt sēi̯ jū kēt sɔ mēttsi lēm ? what–side–you–got–so–much–room?	33a.6	(19)
B: tū hèntœn fitfuti pūtti týn tēk <u>two–hundred–fifty</u>–put–tween–deck	33b.1	(20)

...tʰatti pīsi pūtti īnsēi wēn pīsi heusu ōn tēk
...<u>thirty–piece</u>–put–inside–<u>one–piece–house</u>–on–deck   33b.2 (21)

...tȳnti pīsi pūtti īnsēi kēppén
...<u>twenty–piece</u>–put–inside–cabin   33b.3 (22)

In lines 18 and 20, a classifier would be obligatory if the same expression were rephrased in Cantonese. But it is curiously 'missing' in these CPE noun phrases. This suggests that use of the classifier can be optional. Therefore, the construction **numeral + classifier + (NP)** should best be understood as a generalization rather than as a rule.

There is one very important exception to this generalization and that is noun phrases with time words at their head. In Cantonese, weeks (*láaibaaih*) and months (*yuht*) take the classifier, 個 (*go*), whereas days and years do not. If we were to assume that CPE follows the Chinese pattern, then we would expect to find the likes of "two piece week" and "five piece month." But we do not (for evidence, see Appendix D). This consistent finding in Tong allows us to formulate a rule, rather than a generalization: noun phrases which function as time adverbials do not take a classifier. Here we may note a possible English contribution.

My review and analysis of the presence and—equally important—absence of the CPE classifier *piece* in Tong has led me to reconsider the exact nature of the Cantonese contribution to the formation of the pidgin grammar. Although I agree with Shi (1991) that where *piece* does occur it functions the way it would in Cantonese, I cannot agree with his subsequent conclusion that this "can be considered as evidence that CPE is *closer* to Cantonese than to English" [italics mine] (pp. 20–21). Such a conclusion does not account for the failure of Cantonese classifier rules to apply similarly in CPE. We have seen in the examples drawn from Tong above that (a) *piece* can be absent from a noun phrase with a numeral determiner; (b) there are no tokens of a noun phrase with *piece* but without *one*; and (c) the nouns for *week* and *month* do not take a classifier. Are these then English contributions? If so, how are we going to weigh the value of each contribution?

More importantly, Shi's conclusion does not account for his own suggestive evidence that the classifier *piece* is optional when preceded by a demonstrative (p. 21). Pidgin data in Tong confirm that its presence is indeed

variable as the following examples show:

presence of piece

tisi pīsi sip kēt insɔ ?
<u>this–piece–ship</u>–got–insurance?   32b.1   (23)

tʰēkkʰɪ miɪ̃kʰɪ kip lēt pīsɪ tsīntimèn
take–milk–give–<u>that–piece–gentleman</u>   41b.1   (24)

absence of piece

méi ɪ̃ŋkʰɪ jū kēttsi mɔ fɔ̄ ɪ̃si sip
my–think–you–catch–more–for–<u>this–ship</u>   35a.1   (25)

tʰɔkki lit tsīntimèn kɔ̄m īnsēi̯
talk–<u>that–gentleman</u>–come–inside   39b.1   (26)

If we broaden our search for evidence of the use of classifiers to singular noun phrases with a possessive determiner, we will find none, not even in variation. The CPE possessive adjectives *my*, *you*, and *he* can only precede a noun as follows:

méi wāntsi tsàtá jū sip
my–want–charter–<u>you–ship</u>   32a.2   (27)

hɔt pʰuleisi mái̯ hāt hɔp kēt ?
what–place–<u>my–hat</u>–have–got?   37b.3   (28)

tʰɔkkʰɪ wàsā mèn sīnti hī pīɪ̃
talk–washer–man–send–<u>he–bill</u>   54b.6   (29)

In all the above examples, a classifier would be mandatory in Cantonese; i.e., we would find 你隻船 , 我頂帽 and佢張单, respectively, in corresponding Cantonese statements. But in CPE, noun phrases with a possessive determiner do not take a classifier. Therefore, we may conclude that the Cantonese contribution to the grammar of the classifier in CPE was partial. Some aspects of the Cantonese system were absorbed, others rejected. In the final analysis, CPE's use of the classifier is unique.

From this perspective of CPE's unique grammar, a more interesting question emerges: Why is it that the occurrence of the classifier *piece* is more pervasive and regular in noun phrases with a numeral than with a determiner? Was it easier for foreign—i.e., non–Chinese—speakers of CPE to make sense of the former usage than the latter? Were CPE 'rules' bent to allow variation in sub–components of the grammar that were particularly hard to master? What the evidence reflects is the result of a considerable amount of negotiation among speakers of what was to be judged an acceptable organization of thought as well as an acceptable use of a function word. The findings here also suggest parallels with discoveries in second language acquisition research: learners selectively draw on first language knowledge in interpreting target language structures and uses and in forming their own interlanguages (Selinker 1992).

Noun compounds and suffixes

The grammar of CPE contains several productive compounds and bound morphemes. Among those that have been described in the research literature are the compound elements *man* and *pidgin* and the suffixes *–time* and *–side*. Shi (1986) has linked the use of the suffixes *–time* and *–side* to Cantonese substratum influence, equating the former with 時 (*sih*) and the later with 度 (*douh*) (cited in Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990, p. 101, 103). Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990) are not convinced that any of these features can be ascribed to Cantonese provenance alone (p. 112). For example, when they translated the CPE words with the compound element *man* back into Cantonese, they found that not all contained the equivalent morpheme 人 (*yàhn*).[8] Similarly, they found that the CPE suffixes *–side* and *–time* do not have a one–to–one relationship with any single morpheme in Cantonese. Only in the case of the compound element *fashion*, did Baker and Mühlhäusler think there was a possibility of tracing direct influence to Cantonese (pp. 100–3).

On fashion

My analysis of the pidgin data in Tong (1862) confirms that the use of *fashion* is a Cantonese contribution to the CPE lexicon. However, this

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[8]I question their translation of CPE *China–man* to 中国人 (*Jùng-gwok-yàhn*) as Cantonese usually refer to themselves as 唐人 (*Tòhng-yàhn*) or 'men of the T'ang (dynasty).'

morpheme is not productive. Only three expressions are formed with it—i.e., *so fashion, how fashion,* and *what fashion.* With the exception of *what fashion, so fashion* and *how fashion* are calques from the Cantonese 咁样 (*gám yéung*) and 点样 (*dím yéung*), respectively. The expression *what fashion* seems to be a compromise form between *what thing* (i.e., 'what') and *how fashion* (i.e., 'how') in the one instance it appears in Tong (1862, VI 10b.5).

On the suffixes –time and –side

The data in Tong also confirm Baker and Mühlhäusler's point that CPE suffixes *–side* and *–time* do not individually map onto any particular Cantonese morpheme. CPE *–side* encapsulates the Cantonese morphemes of 'place' 處 (*syu*), 'surface' 面 (*min*), and 'side' 邊 (*bihn*). CPE *–time* embraces a more variegated group with the meanings of 'hour' 点 (*dím*), 'duration' 耐 (*noi*), 'instance' 次 (*chi*), 'occasion' 曾 (*cheng*) and 'period' 時 (*sìh*). From the latter demonstration in particular, it is hard to posit a predominant Cantonese role in forming CPE words with a *time* morpheme. More plausible is a predominant English contribution. The usage of the word *time* in Tong follows English norms as in *next time, last time, sometime, have time, short time, long time,* and *one time.* Cantonese does interface with English usage in the word *sometime* and makes its own contribution to the CPE lexicon with the calque *before time* 初時 (*chò sìh*). (For the location and distribution of *time* words in the Tong corpus, see Appendix E.)

Perhaps owing to the great frequency with which *what time,* 几時 (*géi sí*) meaning 'when', appears in sources with CPE data, Shi (1986) formed the impression that Cantonese influence was dominant in the use of *time* words. Certainly, the lexification and use of this expression may be attributed to Cantonese influence. But in looking at *time* words on the whole, the evidence of superstrate influence is clear. Moreover, *time* cannot be considered a suffix in the proper sense as it demonstrates little independent productivity in the Tong data corpus. Perhaps it best be understood as a free morpheme much as it is in English.

In the case of CPE *–side* words, the evidence does point to Cantonese rather than English origins. Although the suffix *–side* does embrace three distinct morphemes in Cantonese, they all have a similar function and that is to mark a locative phrase. Again, Anderson's *one to one principle* may be

invoked as an explanation for the reduction. Cantonese phrases such as 台面 (*tói min*), 一邊 (*yat bihn*), and 佢處 (*kéuih syu*)—appearing in Tong as *top–side–table*, *one–side*, and *that–side*, respectively—all serve the function of identifying the 'where' the 'what' is.

While CPE *–side* has a function attributable to Cantonese influence, it does not always occur in a post–nominal position as it would in Cantonese. For example, if the above *top–side–table* were said according to Cantonese rules it would be *table–top–side*. Curiously in CPE, suffix *–side* also appears after proper place names where they do not in Cantonese; e.g. *Sydney–side*. Furthermore, *–side* also appears in variation with *–place* when the meaning is clearly 'place' and not 'side' or 'surface.' In Tong, CPE *what–place* is more frequently used than *what–side* for the expression of 'where' place–wise. This reflects an effort on part of CPE speakers to make a distinction between place and side/surface. Unlike *time* words, *side* words do manifest considerable productivity in the CPE lexicon. But their productivity has not moved far beyond what occurs in Cantonese. (For the location and distribution of *–side* and *place* words in the Tong corpus, see Appendix F.)

On the compound elements *pidgin* and *man*

Baker & Mühlhäusler (1990) have stated that the expansion of compounds with *pidgin* and *man* elements in CPE cannot be attributed to Cantonese substrate influence (p. 112). But if *pidgin* is to be equated with Cantonese 事 (*sih*), as the evidence in Tong suggests, then I think it is premature to abandon substrate influence as the cause of expansion of such expressions in CPE. In the twenty–three instances the word *pidgin* occurs in the Tong data corpus, twenty–one follow corresponding Cantonese usage of *sih*—i.e., two meaning 'job' or 'work'; six meaning 'busy' or 'occupied'; and thirteen meaning 'affair', 'matter', or 'thing'. The two remaining instances follow English usage of *business* in the sense of 'enterprise' or 'trade' (see Appendix G). Of course, English also permits the usage of *business* as meaning 'affair' or 'matter'. The main point, however, is that the use of *pidgin* in Tong does not go beyond Cantonese and English usages of *sih* and *business*, respectively.

Finally, the considerable productivity of the compound element *man* in CPE is in need of an explanation. As referred to earlier in this section, Baker and Mühlhäusler (1990) found that CPE words like *josh man*, *doctor man*,

tailor man, sailor man, and *cook man* could not be derived from literal Cantonese translations (pp. 100–1). The source of this compound element is not likely to be traced to the English language either. Words like *barber man, teacher man* and the like are redundant to English speakers as they already contain the agentive suffix /–er/. My hunch is that the CPE *man* is a calque of the Hindustani –*wallah*, as spelled in the Anglo–Indian literature. Ivor Lewis, in his useful dictionary of the words of Anglo–India, *Sahibs, Nabobs and Boxwallahs*, explains under the entry 'wallah' that it is a suffix denoting

> a person who does any act, performs any function, or
> is charged with any duty or belongs to any trade or
> profession, place, etc. Europeans commonly used it as
> a noun equivalent to 'man', 'agent', 'chap', 'fellow',
> etc. (1991, p. 247).

Hybrids were formed out of this suffix by the dozen. It is likely that those who were familiar with such a convenient word formation process would apply the same in creating words in a new lexicon if they had the chance.

So the question emerges, how did the vocabulary of Anglo–Indian ever get the chance to influence the evolution of CPE? First of all, Anglo–Indian is an outgrowth of a creole Portuguese that was established as a lingua franca of the commercial ports on the Indian subcontinent where the Portuguese had dominion during the 16th and 17th centuries (Lewis 1991, p. 7). Before the British East India Company made the full power of its force felt during the 18th century, the British spoke this language fluently (Ibid.). It is possible that as more and more native English speakers used this creole, more parts of its vocabulary and idiom were Anglicized to the point where there might have been a Hindustani–based pidgin English. As trade links between India and China became stronger during the late 18th century—due to the rising prominence of the British East India Company in both markets—linguistic contact became greater. It would have been in the interest of the British who managed the trade from both ends that the lingua franca of the ports where their agencies were stationed share a vocabulary and grammar. Therefore, it is possible that the British traders who were posted to China after experience working in India used Anglo–Indian expressions, if not an already pidginized

version of English, in speaking to Chinese.

The popular literature on CPE has frequently cited Hindustani as a source of influence because of the presence of such words as *lac* ('one million'), *rupee* ('silver unit of money'), *schroff* ('accountant'), *boy* ('attendant'), *coolie* ('laborer'), *chit* ('letter'), and *congee* ('rice porridge'). But little is known about the specific role people from the Indian subcontinent played in the China trade. They are sometimes referred to in passing in the historical literature. For example, the *Chinese Repository*, the first journal on Chinese affairs to be published in Canton, compiled a list of foreign residents in China (excluding Portuguese residents of Macao) in 1837. Following the British, the Parsees and Hindus occupied a majority of 66 members (Chinese Repository, 1837, pp. 427–32). To this number of Indian residents, we must add the hundreds who serviced the Indian and British trading agencies, but who were not counted in the census because of their menial positions. We must further consider the linguistic impact of the hundreds, if not thousands, of sailors called 'lascars,' who manned the ships that trafficked opium to the Pearl River Delta and carried tea back to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Undoubtedly, those involved in the 'country trade', as it was called, played an important role in the evolution of CPE. If Whinnom is right in claiming, according to his *tertiary hybridization hypothesis*, that pidgins can only emerge in multi–lingual, not bilingual, situations (1971, p. 104), then Hindustani, if not also Portuguese, may be the pivotal third language that led to the formation of CPE. To date, scholars are under the impression that CPE is the product of a bilingual contact situation (Shi, 1991, pp. 30–31; Baker & Mühlhäusler, 1990, p. 112). I do not share this view. The Old China Trade brought people who spoke many disparate languages together. Also overlooked is the linguistic diversity of the Chinese who participated in trade with foreigners. But the demonstration of this diversity is yet another issue that deserves its own study.

The verbal marker 'make'

In addition to the noun compounds formed with *man*, there is another productive feature of CPE that betrays Hindustani influence: the use of the verb *make*. In the pidgin data in Tong (1862), there are 168 sentences in which *make* occurs. Of these, 122 occur as an auxiliary to another verb and 46 occur as full verbs. As a full verb, *make* can stand alone or it take an NP object or a

modifier. Examples of each of the four possible types are as follows:

jū sāpí méi̯kʰi̯ kɔ̄ntá ?
you–sabe–<u>make–count</u>?   IV62a.6 (30)

méi̯ nɔ kēt wēn tim méi̯ki nɔ pālēppā pītsín
my–no–got–one–time–<u>make–no–proper–pidgin</u>   24b.5   (31)

tʰɔkkʰi̯ kōk mèn nēksi tim méi̯kʰi̯ mɔ pīttá
talk–cook–man–next–time–<u>make–more–better</u>   47a.1   (32)

āla mèn kin méi̯ki
all–man–can–<u>make</u>   IV52a.   (33)

In CPE, the verb *make* means both 'to make' and 'to do'. Excluding its presence in the expression, *can do*, the verb *do* occurs only eight times in Tong. The relative lack of a verb *do* in CPE can be explained in a twofold manner. The CPE form *do*—i.e., [tū]—already occurs frequently with the meanings 'two' and 'too'. Adding a further meaning may violate a condition of semantic saliency in pidgins (see Seuren & Wekker, 1986). Secondly, if the full verb *make* were equated with Cantonese 做 (*jouh*), as is evident in Tong, then there is no need to make a distinction because *jouh* can mean either 'make' or 'do'.

However, what this analysis does not explain is how *make* in CPE can serve as an auxiliary to another verb. In Cantonese, *jouh* can take an object or a stative verb like 'good,' 'wet', or 'rotten'. But it cannot take on another active or psychological verb like 'change,' 'try', or 'think'. This is not possible in English either. Another line of influence needs to be drawn.

In Hindustani, one can say things like 'make change' for 'change', 'make try' for 'try' and 'make thought' for 'think'. This verb formation rule is achieved by adding the word *kamā*, which means 'to do or make', to an adjective or noun, often derived from the uncompounded verb itself. An early English student of the Hindustani language, Captain George Hadley, observed in his *Grammatical Remarks* (1772) that

> Dana, *to give*, and Kurna, *to make*, ...are so frequently used here, that the verb is very often tortured to admit them; and wherever they will admit of being added to their respective substantives or adjectives, they will be better understood than an uncompounded verb; thus... Baundna is *to bind*, Baund kurna *to make bound*, and more frequent; Lurna is *to fight*, Lurhauey kurna is *to make a fight*, and as frequently used: these words, with many more, sufficiently shew the preference given to the compound mode of speech; but there are an infinite number of verbs which have no other formation but by the assistance of the auxiliaries Kurna or Dana (Hadley 1772, pp. 33–4).

Of interest here, is Hadley's observation that Hindustani speakers prefer to use a compound expression even when a single word equivalent is known. Could this speech preference explain the occurrence of the seemingly redundant verb compounds *make count, make cook, make pack*, and the likes of sixty other such CPE compounds in Tong? Unless this feature is also found in pidgins that have no potential relationship to Hindustani or another substratum language that shares this feature by coincidence, then I find Hindustani influence in the formation of the *make* + **V** construction in CPE the most likely explanation.

Nevertheless, the function of *make* in CPE is somewhat different than that of *karnā* in Hindustani. In CPE, *make* most often appears before verbs that are used infrequently. Of the sixty–three different verbs with which *make* occurs in Tong, forty–seven occur five times or less, with well over half occurring only once or twice—e.g., *bind, bolt, file, hook, paste, rub, shake, spill,* and *test*. Of the sixteen verbs that appear frequently in the data corpus but also occur with *make*, nine do so only once or twice—i.e., *catch, fear, give, go, look–see, put, stop, talk,* and *think*. Of the remaining seven frequent verbs, three occur much more frequently without *make* than with—i.e., *pay, sell, buy*. Of those frequently used verbs that persist in taking *make* more often than not—i.e., *count, weigh, finish, try*—three have standard *make* counterparts in Hindustani—i.e., *gaur karnā* (weigh), *pūrā karnā* (finish), and

koshish karnā (try). (For location and distribution of *make* constructions in Tong, see Appendix H.)

Since the auxiliary *make* appears most often with infrequently used verbs, it functions primarily as a verbal marker, in many cases much like its Hindustani counterpart. It does not mark tense or voice. At best, it forms the equivalent of a participle. Its sporadic co–occurrence with frequently used verbs in Tong may be a remnant of past usage when most verbs were marked by *make*. As certain verbs came into frequent usage among CPE speakers, it was no longer necessary to mark them because their function was clear to most.

Mühlhäusler (1986) notes that the 'make' + N construction is found among a number of unrelated pidgins as a device for generating verbs. Of particular interest is his remark that it was "widely found in Tok Pisin of the 1920s, but appears to have virtually disappeared by 1930" (p. 173). The relationship between this construction in CPE and in Tok Pisin needs to be further investigated.

CONCLUSION

This study on cross–linguistic influence in Chinese Pidgin English has shown that when grammatical features from an established language are employed in a pidgin such as CPE, the features take on a character of their own and are no longer understandable by sole reference to the particular contributing language. Productive features of a pidgin are those that speakers from different first languages can understand by reference to some counterpart in their own language(s) or at least can imagine being possible without too many mental adjustments. The negotiation that is essential in communicating across linguistic gaps explains why any particular feature that is transferred to a pidgin will not normally be used in toto as its is in its source language, especially where there is not a homogeneous group of substrate speakers.
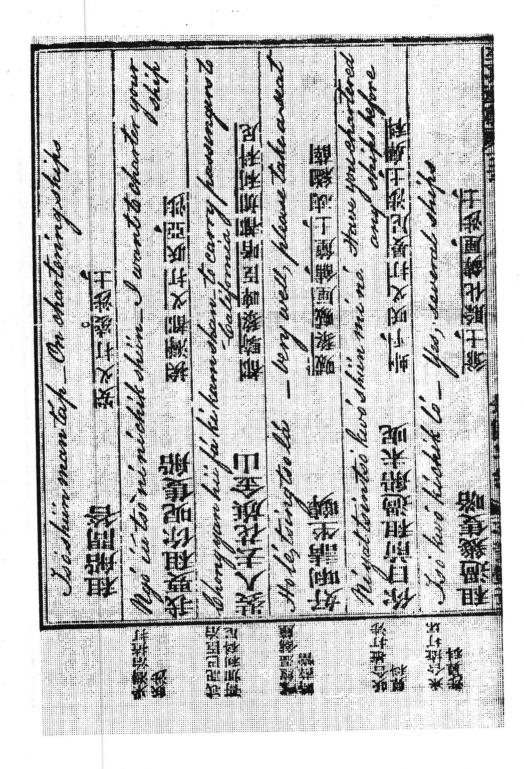
This study has also shown that the traditionally viewed superstrate language of CPE, English, contributed more than lexical forms. Where Cantonese and English conflict in their usage and placement of a function word, variation resulted.

In sum, this study has argued that there is no need to assign exclusive parentage to the Chinese or English side of the CPE equation, as Hall (1952) and Shi (1991) have done. On the other hand, neither is it necessary to deny the role of super– and sub–strate languages in contributing to the formation of productive grammatical devices in CPE. Nineteenth century CPE is truly the joint product of a unique convergence of English, Cantonese, Hindustani, and, I also believe, Portuguese (Macanese) speakers. What child, after all, can be cut up nicely according to the features of its parents? Children inherit some of their parents' features but what they do with them is quite a different story.

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Appendix A

Sample of Tong text: Vol. VI, p. 32a, "On chartering ships"
(Character transcriptions on top of page are translations in CPE of dialogue below.)

Tsö hün ncun táp — On chartering ships

Ngo' is too' ni nichük chün — I want to charter your ship

Chong' up un hó' jo' kü kampohon. To carry passengers to California

Ho le toing tin lái — very well, please take aboard

Mi gáo tsün tso' hwó shün mien o' Have you chartered any ships before

Tsi hwó hitshük tö — yes, several ships

Appendix B

Quantity and distribution of pidgin data found in Tong

A. *Volume IV*

Title of Section	Number of sentences		Percent
	In Pidgin	*Total*	*%*
1. Law Suit, pp. 32–33	24	24	100
2. The vulgar language, pp. 39–78	257	479	54
Total	281	503	56

B. *Volume VI*

Title of Dialogue	Lines of Dialogue		Percent
	In Pidgin	*Total*	*%*
1. On buying woolens, pp. 1–5	53	58	91
2. Broker's conversation, pp. 6–12	74	82	90
3. On tea, pp. 13–24	129	143	90
4. At the butcher's stall, pp. 25–26	22	23	96
5. On buying fowls, pp. 27–28	22	23	96
6. On buying sundries, pp. 29–31	27	35	77
7. On chartering ships, pp. 32–36	52	55	95
8. Conversation in morning, pp. 37–39	26	35	74
9. Of the breakfast table, pp. 40–41	19	23	83
10. Enquiring about dinner, pp. 42–44	27	35	77
11. On tiffin, p. 45	8	11	73
12. Of the dinner table, pp. 46–48	28	35	80
13. Of the tea table, pp. 49–50	17	23	74
14. On getting a boy, pp. 51–2	20	23	87
15. Evening orders, pp. 53–54	17	24	71
16. Comprador, pp. 55–58	41	47	87
17. Shroff, pp. 59–63	32	60	53
18. Godown man, pp. 64–68	47	60	78
19. Coolie, pp. 69–70	18	23	78
20. On a visit, pp. 71–83	101	152	66
Total	780	970	80

Appendix C

Preposition 'long' [lɔ̀ŋ] in Tong (comprehensive list)

A. *Meaning 'with'*

hī lɔ̀ŋ wēn tsīntimèn tʰɔkkʰı̥ he–long–one–gentleman–talk	39a.4
hī pifɔ̄ tim sitap lɔ̀ŋ misi X he–before–time–stop–long–mister–X	51b.2
hī sitap lɔ̀ŋ hī ītfīn mūn he–stop–long–he–eighteen–moon	51b.4
mēntē jū lɔ̀ŋ hī kɔ̄m Monday–you–long–he–come	52a.1
hī mɔ pīttá tʰēkkʰı̥ tū pīsı̀ kūlı̀ lɔ̀ŋ hī he–more–better–take–two–piece–coolie–long–he	55b.3
jū kɔ̄ lɔ̀ŋ misi X mɛ́ikʰı̥ lōk si kɔ̄ntá you–go–long–mister–X–make–look–see–account	57a.6
sēppōu̥su hī kēt tim jū lɔ̀ŋ hī mɛ́ikʰı̥ suppose–he–got–time–you–long–he–make	57b.2
tʰēk sēm mūnnı̀ lɔ̀ŋ jū take–some–money–long–you	70a.2
jū lɔ̀ŋ mɛ́i tʰēkki wēn kilasi wīn you–long–my–take–one–glass–wine	75b.6
mɛ́i lɔ̀ŋ jū kɔ̄ si hī my–long–you–go–see–he	79b.6
mɛ́i wāntsi jū ŋɡòu lɔ̀ŋ mi my–want–you–go–long–me	IV42a.5
mɛ́i nɔ kin kɔ̄ lɔ̀ŋ jū my–no–can–go–long–you	IV59b.1
hī lɔ̀ŋ hī mɛ́ikʰı̥ pʰaknà he–long–he–make–partner	IV69b.5
sētti kāu̥ŋtá lɔ̀ŋ hī settle–counter–long–he	IV77a.5

B. *Meaning 'from'*

āi̥ wāntsi lɔ̀ŋ jū pai̥ sēmfīŋ I–want–long–you–buy–something	1a.5
nēksi tim jū kɔ̄m lɔ̀ŋ mɛ́i pai̥ next–time–you–come–long–my–buy	5b.5
mɛ́i lɔ̀ŋ jū tʰēkki āla my–long–you–take–all	8a.6
mɛ́i lɔ̀ŋ jū tʰēkki sēm my–long–you–take–some	12b.1
hɔt pʰulāi̥si hī lɔ̀ŋ mɛ́i pai̥ what–price–he–long–my–buy	23a.3
mɛ́i nɔ lɔ̀ŋ jū pai̥ annímɔ my–no–long–you–buy–anymore	26b.1

mé̲ị kɔ̄m pēk ... my–come–back...	31a.6
...lɔ̀ŋ jū paị sēmtēŋ mɔ ...long–you–buy–something–more	31b.1
mé̲ị lɔ̀ŋ hī pɔ̄lòṳ my–long–he–borrow	IV57a.6

C. Meaning 'for'

jū kēn pātá ti lɔ̀ŋ lisi kākú ? you–can–barter–tea–long–this–cargo?	9b.4
jū kēn lɔ̀ŋ mi mé̲ịki sēlèm ? you–can–long–me–make–sell?	10a.1
tilā̲ị lɔ̀ŋ mi mé̲ịki sēlèm try–long–me–make–sell	10b.1
kōṳ lɔ̀ŋ mé̲ị mé̲ịki sikị̄ū lit tsʰap ti go–long–my–make–secure–that–chop–tea	18a.1
jū hɔp lɔ̀ŋ nàtá hé̲ṳsu mé̲ịki kɔ̄ntilekti ? you–have–long–another–house–make–contract?	19b.4
mé̲ị lɔ̀ŋ jū kittsi wēn pīsi my–long–you–catch–one–piece	26b.5
jū kēn lɔ̀ŋ mé̲ị kittsi wēn pīsi kʰut pū̲ị ? you–can–long–my–catch–one–piece–good–boy?	51a.2
hɔp kēt mèn lɔ̀ŋ hī sikị̄ū ? have–got–man–long–he–secure?	52a.4
mé̲ị tsīn tsīn jū tū mi fē̲ịfa ... my–chin–chin–you–do–me–favor...	78a.2
...lɔ̀ŋ mi kēttsi wēn pʰulé̲ịsi ...long–me–catch–one–place	78a.3
mé̲ị lɔ̀ŋ jū mé̲ịkʰị̀ āla pālapā my–long–you–make–all–proper	IV33b.6
lɔ̀ŋ mi kittsi fīn pīsì kūṅ̀ long–me–catch–ten–piece–coolie	IV49a.6

Appendix D

Classifier 'piece' [pīsì] in Tong

Counter–evidence to Shi (1991)

A. Nu + (classifier) + N
Phrasal structures predicted to have a classifier but do not are italicized

A: kēn tʰēkki heu mēttsī pāsèntsi ? can–take–how–much–passenger?	33a.4
B: kēn tʰēkki tilī hèntœn *can–take–three–hundred*	33a.5
A: hɔt sēi̯ jū kēt sɔ mēttsi lēm ? what–side–you–got–so–much–room?	33a.6
B: tū hèntœn fitfuti pūtti týn tēk *two–hundred–fifty–put–tween–deck*	33b.1
...tʰatti pīsi pūtti īnsēi̯ wēn pīsi heu̯su ɔ̄n tēk ...thirty–piece–put–inside–one–piece–house–on–deck	33b.2
...týnti pīsi pūtti īnsēi̯ kēppén ...twenty–piece–put–inside–cabin	33b.3
méi̯kʰì wēn pītsín pʰài̯ make–*one–pigeon–pie*	42a.4
wēn lóu̯si fēu̯ǹ *one–roast–fowl*	45a.5
hɔp kēt wēn pīttsi tʰat have–got–*one–peach–tart*	48a.6
tūmāla kēttsi tū kākōu̯ pūt tomorrow–catch–*two–cargo–boat*	64a.3
A: kɔ̄lèm héu̯ mēttsi pīsì? call–how–much–piece?	67a.2
B: kīttsi týnti kʰut mēn catch–*twenty–good–men*	67a.3
kittsi wēn simāla pūt catch–*one–small–boat*	70b.1
tū mèn āla sím *two–man–all–same*	72b.6
méi̯ kēt wēn sēn īn lɔ̀ ... my–got–*one–son–in–law*...	79a.3
wēn mèn wāntsi héu mēttsi kēsì ? one–man–want–how–much–cash?	IV49b.1

B. Det + N

'this'

kip tisi tsʰjak kɔ̄mpĕttɔ̄ give–this–check–compradore	17b.2
jū pūt tū mēttsi pitti īnsēj lisi kējpén you–put–too–much–putty–inside–this–capon	28b.6
méj tēŋkʰɪ jū kēttsi mɔ fɔ̄ līsi sip my–think–you–catch–more–for–this–ship	35a.1
sēn lisi tsʰit kɔ̄ send–this–chit–go	38a.1
méjkʰɪ tsʰīntsi lisi nēpkīn make–change–this–napkin	40b.5
lisi pīfu nɔ nēp fajjá this–beef–no–enough–fire	46b.4
kip kēptœn tisi ɔ̄tá give–captain–this–order	64a.5
jū māsi lōk sáp lisi kūlɪ you–must–look–sharp–this–coolie	67b.1
lisi kʰēisi paj an paj méjki tilāj ākīn this–case–by–and–by–make–try–again	IV33b.3
nɔ méjki pulīk tisi fīŋ no–make–break–this–thing	IV49b.2

'that'

lēt pʰulājisi ti mèn nɔ sēlèm that–price–tea–man–no–sell	18a.2
tʰɔkki lit tsīntimèn kɔ̄m īnsēj talk–that–gentleman–come–inside	39b.1
nɔ méjkʰɪ sipajlèm lēt sēp no–make–spoil–that–soup	43a.6
méjki kiʎin lēt wīn kilasi make–clean–that–wine–glass	47b.1
lēt kɔk wējlɪ kjūʎisɪ that–cook–very–crazy	47b.4
hɔt pʰulèjisi lēt sip ankā ? what–place–that–ship–anchor?	64b.1
méjkʰɪ hōk lēt kilasi wīntjū make–hook–that–glass–window	69a.6
jū lōk si hī méjki sājŋ lēt pōk you–look–see–he–make–sign–that–book	70a.4
hi hɔp méjki ansā lit pīttisèn ? he–have–make–answer–that–petition?	IV33a.5
tʰat kʰɪlɔk hɔp sitap that–clock–have–stop	IV51b.3

C. Absence of classifier in time adverbials where obligatory in Cantonese
(comprehensive list)

'week'

méi kɔ̄m nīksi wik my–come–next–week	7b.6
sēppɔ̄su jū kɔ̄m nīksi wik ... suppose–you–come–next–week...	8b.5
āla sím pʰulāisi lasi wik all–same–price–last–week	11a.4
lasi wik hɔp sēlèm ɔ̄nlèi fɔ̄ tēu̯sèn pīsi last–week–have–sell–only–four–thousand–piece	11a.6
méi sīksi wik kēn kēttsi littéi my–six–week–can–catch–ready	23b.4
jū ēfulèi wik méik^hi sētti kɔ̄ntá you–every–week–make–settle–account	58a.5

'month'

wēn mūn méi pēi jū one–moon–my–pay–you	4b.1
A: hɔt tim jū kēn kip mi ti ? what–time–you–can–give–me–tea?	23a.6
B: tū mūn sɔ̄ two–moon–so	23b.1
A: tū mūn tū mēttsi lɔ̄ŋ tim two–moon–too–much–long–time	23b.2
tū mūn kou̯ méi pai̯ tū lupī wēn pīsì two–moon–ago–my–buy–two–rupee–one–piece	27b.5
hī wāntsi īt tála wēn mūn he–want–eight–dollar–one–moon	51a.5
hī sitap lɔ̄ŋ hī ītʃīn mūn he–stop–long–he–eighteen–moon	51b.4
méi kɔ̄m pēk hɔp mūn my–come–back–half–moon	77a.4
wēn mūn sōu̯ āi kɔ̄m pɛk one–moon–so–I–come–back	IV54a.2

Appendix E

Types and number of expressions coined with *time* in Tong

before time   <u>Vol VI</u> 51b.1–2, 77b.4

got time   <u>Vol IV</u> 32b.1; <u>Vol VI</u> 57b.2

last time   <u>Vol VI</u> 49a.1

long time   <u>Vol IV</u> 53b.5; <u>Vol VI</u> 23b.2, 38b.4, 51b.3, 71a.4, 72a.6, 72b.1

next time   <u>Vol VI</u> 5b.5, 19b.2, 47a.1

one time   <u>Vol IV</u> 32b.3; <u>Vol VI</u> 21b.3, 24b.5

short time   <u>Vol IV</u> 40a.6; <u>Vol VI</u> 15b.1

some time   <u>Vol VI</u> 19b.5, 47b.5–6, 77a.2

what time   <u>Vol. IV</u> 33a.4, 33a.6, 41a.1, 44b.1, 44b.2, 48b.3, 49b.3, 57a.3, 70b.2, 71a.6; <u>Vol VI</u> 4b.4, 7b.5, 8a.4,
                 8b.3, 16b.3, 16b.6, 20a.1, 23a.6, 31b.5, 52b.6, 55a.4, 64b.6, 66b.2, 66b.6, 67a.5, 78a.5

Appendix F

Types and location of expressions coined with *side* and *place* in Tong

A. *Meaning* 'side'

along side   <u>Vol VI</u> 36a.1,

nada side   <u>Vol VI</u> 58b.3, 76b.2

one side   <u>Vol VI</u> 58b.2

oppo side   <u>Vol VI</u> 41b.3

B. *Meaning* 'surface'

down side   <u>Vol VI</u> 36a.2

top side   <u>Vol VI</u> 41a.1, 45a.2, 46a.3, 48b.1, 63a.5

up side   <u>Vol VI</u> 68a.6

C. *Meaning* 'place'

all place   <u>Vol VI</u> 78b.3

proper place   <u>Vol VI</u> 68b.2

that side   <u>Vol VI</u> 51b.3

this place   <u>Vol IV</u> 63a.3

this side   <u>Vol IV</u> 54b.4; <u>Vol VI</u> 40b.3

what place   <u>Vol IV</u> 39b.2, 40b.5, 43a.3, 45a.4; 46b.2, 51b.6, 55a.6, ; <u>Vol VI</u>   26b.4, 32b.2, 37b.3, 64b.1, 83a.1

what side   <u>Vol VI</u> 31b.4, 32b.3, 33a.3, 51b.1, 57b.6

D. *Meaning* 'job situation'

good place   <u>Vol VI</u> 78a.5

one place   <u>Vol VI</u> 78a.3

Appendix G

Compound element *pidgin* [pītsín] in Tong

A. *Meaning* 'enterprise, trade'

pifɔ̄ tim lēt pītsín kēn pāsi before–time–that–pidgin–can–pass	77b.4
hɔt héu̯si jū mɛ́ɪki pītsín? what–house–you–make–pidgin?	IV48a.5

B. *Meaning* 'job, work'

mɛ́ɪ nɔ kēt wēn tim mɛ́ɪki nɔ pālēppā pītsín my–no–got–one–time–make–no–proper–pidgin	24b.5
hī sāpí mɛ́ɪki sālēp pītsín ? he–sabe–make–shroff–pidgin?	IV45a.6

C. *Meaning* 'busy, occupied'

hī tʰɔkkʰ hī kēt tū mēttsi pītsín he–talk–he–got–too–much–pidgin	57b.1
hɔp kēt litti pītsín ... have–got–little–pidgin...	77a.1
āɪ hɔp kēt pītsín I–have–got–pidgin	IV39b.3
hī kēt pītsín he–got–pidgin	IV59a.3
sēppōu̯su nɔ kēt pītsín, jū kɔ̄m lōk si mi suppose–no–got–pidgin, you–come–look–see–me	IV62a.1
hɔt tim jū nɔ kēt pītsín ? what–time–you–no–got–pidgin?	IV70b.2

D. *Meaning* 'affair, matter, thing'

āla pītsín jū mɛ́ɪki hip mi all–pidgin–you–make–help–me	78a.1
āla ɲàmūn pītsín ... all–Yamen–pidgin...	79a.1
kɔ̄ lɔ̀ pīttsín wēɪlèɪ pīt go–law–pidgin–very–bad	IV32a.1
sɔ simāla pītsín māsikī lit pāsi so–small–pidgin–maskee–let–pass	IV32a.2
jū nɔ kēt tim tū nàtá pītsín you–no–got–time–do–another–pidgin	IV32b.1
mɛ́ɪ kēn sētti lit pītsín fɔ̄ jū my–can–settle–this–pidgin–for–you	IV32b.6
hū mèn tū hī pītsín who–man–do–he–pidgin	IV33a.1
āla lit pītsín jū tʰɔkki mi all–that–pidgin–you–talk–me	IV33a.2

Appendix H

The four types and distributions of *make* constructions in Tong

A. *make* + verb (126)

answer	IV 33a.5
approve	IV 56b.2
begin	VI 52b.6, 58a.4
bind up	IV 58a.2
boil	VI 43b.4
bolt	VI 53b.2
break	IV 49b.2, 57b.1; VI 23b.5, 47a.3
burn	IV 53a.3; VI 49a.4, 60b.3
buy	IV 44b.5, 51b.6; VI 20b.3, 54a.1, 54b.2
catch	IV 77a.3
change	VI 37a.4, 40b.5, 63a.1
cook	VI 44b. 4
count	IV 62a.6, 69a.4; VI 10b.4, 57a.4, 62b.4, 66b.3
cover up	IV 62b.1
cut down	VI 24b.1
deliver	VI 66b.2
divide	IV 65a.1
drink	VI 73b.6
fear	VI 24b.3
file	VI 57a.5
fill up	IV 52b.4
find	IV 45a.3
finish	IV54b.1; VI 66b.6; 68a.2
force	IV 67b.4
give	VI 74a.5
go up	VI 19a.4
help	IV 42a.6; VI 68a.1, 78a.1, 79a.6
hook	VI 69a.6
inquire	VI 23a.1, 50a.4, 69a.6
lock up	VI 68b.5
look–see	VI 57a.6
marry	IV 71a.6; VI 82a.2
mix	IV 72a.1; VI 58b.1
move	IV 49a.5
open	VI 39b.3
pack	VI 13b.3, 67a.1
paste	IV73b.5
pay	IV 57b.2, 74a.2; VI 4b.4, 7a.4, 7a.6, 35b.1, 36a.5, 55b.1, 70a.3
put	VI 35b.3
refuse	VI 74a.3
repair	VI 53b.5–6
roast	VI 42a.5, 44a.2–3
rub	VI 69a.4
sail	IV 48b.3; VI 32b.6, 36a.4
secure	VI 18a.1
sell	VI 10a.1, 10b.1, 27a.2
settle	IV 33b.4; VI 22b.3, 58a.5
shake	VI 47a.4
ship off	VI 20a.1, 36a.6
sign	VI 70a.4
spill	IV 46b.4

spoil	IV 55b.5; VI 43a.6, 53b.3
stand	IV 32b.5; VI 19a.5
stop	IV 32a.3; VI 69b.6
swear	IV 77b.6
talk	VI 74a.1, 82b.6
test	VI 63a.6
think	IV 55b.2
touch	IV 51b.2
try	IV 33a.6, 33b.1, 33b.3, 46b.1; VI 50a.3
wait	IV 32b.5
weigh	VI 16b,6, 17a.1–2, 26a.5, 28b.4, 55b.4, 62a.4, 65b.6
write	VI 36a.3

B. *make* + Ø (8)

> Vol IV 39a.3, 44a.6, 44b.2, 49b.4, 51a.1, 52a.5, 59a.2; Vol VI 57b.2

C. *make* + NP (21)

> Vol IV 40a.4, 45a.6; 45b.1, 48a.5, 69b. 5, 71b.6; Vol VI 19b.4, 21b.5, 22b.2, 24b.5, 35b.4, 41a.1, 42a.3–4, 42b.2, 44b.3, 49a.2, 55a.2, 71b.1, 76b.1, 79a.5

D. *make* + AP (17)

> Vol IV 33b.6, 48a.1, 48a.3, 49b.5, 51a.5, 53b.2, 54a.3, 54b.6; Vol VI 40a.2, 42b.1, 43a.4, 47a.1, 49a.5, 53a.5, 69a.3, 62a.1, 81a.6