THE TALE OF TWO CHINESE CITIES:

SOCIOLINGUISTIC THEORIZATION OF CHINESE PIDGIN ENGLISH IN

SHANGHAI AND CHINESE PIDGIN RUSSIAN IN HARBIN

1850-1940

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CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Chinese characters and Chinese phonetic transliteration in *pinyin* are provided for all Chinese names, terms, and titles in the main text when they first appear.

2. Simplified Chinese characters are utilized for all Chinese characters unless the original sources are composed in traditional Chinese characters.

3. All Russian names are provided with roman transliteration and English translation when they first appear in the text.

4. The following abbreviations are used in the thesis:

CPE   Chinese Pidgin English

CPR   Chinese Pidgin Russian

SLA   second language acquisition

2LL   second language learners

L1   first language

L2   second language

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

> I have often wondered who the man was who first reduced the 'out-landish tongue' to a current language. Red candles should be burnt on altars erected to his memory, and oblations of tea poured out before his image, placed among the wooden gods which in temples surround the shrine of a deified man of letters.
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> William C, Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825-1844,* 1882:80.

Language is the vehicle of culture. This study attempts to display an in-depth depiction of English and Russian pidginization in the cultural contact scenarios in China between the 1850s and 1940s through the analysis of Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) and Chinese Pidgin Russian (CPR) in their social contexts. These two pidgin languages were used, respectively, in Shanghai and Harbin extending from the 1850s to the 1940s. The overall aim of this study is to explore the relationship between CPE and CPR and their social contexts, investigating how people use CPE in Shanghai and CPR in Harbin in their everyday interactions, whereas the primary focus is to understand the various factors that influence and shape the interlocutors' speech across different cultural settings.

The overall endeavor of this study is to present the relationship between pidgins and their social context inspired by Hymes model of ethnography of speaking. Dell Hymes, in his work "The Ethnography of Speaking",

emphasizes the importance of understanding human speech within its social context. It focuses on describing and analyzing the use of language in a culture, the interrelations of speakers, addressees, topic and setting; and how the speakers make the best use of their language to complete a communication task.[1] This study focuses on describing and analyzing the use of CPE in Shanghai and CPR in Harbin, including the relationships between the interlocuters, topics, and setting, and how the pidgin users make the best use of their language to complete a communication task. Therefore, it attempts to conduct the ethnography of CPE and CPR to illustrate the course of pidginization in settings where languages come into contact. The rest of the introduction will define the basic working concepts, pinpoint the gaps in existing literature, present the core questions and outline new research perspectives and hypotheses.

THE WORKING CONCEPTS

This section defines the three basic concepts of this study: pidgin language, Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) and Chinese Pidgin Russian (CPR). The term "pidgin" has long been considered an variation of the English word "business," pronounced distortedly by Chinese speakers during the first half of the nineteenth century.[2] The Random House Dictionary defines this word

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[1] Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking," in *Anthropology and Human Behavior,* ed. Gladwin, T. & Sturtevant, W.C. (Washington: The Anthropology Society of Washington, 1962), 13-53.

[2] Robert Chaudenson, *Creolization of Language and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2001), 16.

"perhaps (as) representing Chinese pronunciation of business."[3] According to the *New York Times* on July 25, 1875, "'Pigeon English' is the nearest approach which the Chinaman can make to the phrase 'business English'…Therefore, to 'talk business', as we say, we are to 'talk pigeon'."[4] The *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1873 pointed out that "This language, if such it may be called, derives its name from a series of changes in the word 'Business'…all mercantile transactions between the Chinese and the Europeans are carried on in this new form of speech."[5] A pidgin arises in a multilingual setting where none of the primary languages of the people sharing this setting is used as the common medium of communication. Thus, this new form of communication becomes an established social solution to a language barrier. According to the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS) program, there are 76 pidgins and creoles in the world.[6] Many researchers view pidgin language as a reduced version of its source languages, native to no one, used by people who do not share a common language. For example, in the definition of Holm,[7] a pidgin is

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[3] Laurence Urdang, *The Random House Dictionary* (New York: The Random House, 1968), p.1004, s.v. "pidgin."

[4] "Pigeon English: A Curious Oriental Patois," *New York Times*, July 25, 1875, 10, accessed June 13, 2010, ProQuest.

[5] "Pigeon English," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 14, 1873, 6, Accessed July 15, 2010, ProQuest.

[6] "Welcome to APiCS online," The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures, accessed March 01, 2012, 2017, https://apics-online.info/.

[7] John A Holm, *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4.

a "reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common."

Furthermore, for the purpose of this study, it is important to differentiate pidgin from *jargon* and *creole*. When people adapt their use of language at an *ad hoc* basis, for example, English speaking tourists bargaining for a scarf in a bazaar in Istanbul or trinkets in front of Eiffel Tower in Paris, the words and phrases produced in these situations lack stable and replicable norm in comparison to what one might hear near the adjoining scarf stand or trinket monger. Mühlhäusler defined *jargon* as "individualized solutions to croo-linguistic communication and hence subject to individual strategies."[8] On the other hand, the concept of *creole,* according to Lefebvre, is a pidgin language "that has become the first language of a new generation of speakers."[9] Holm specifies that they are spoken by "entire speech community, often one whose ancestors we displaced geographically so that their ties with their original language and sociocultural identity we partly broken.…often the result of slavery."[10] To conclude, a creole language is not only a language used in specific situations for certain communication needs, but a language native to a group of people used in every aspect of one's life.

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[8] Peter Mühlhäusler, *Pidgin & Creole linguistics* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 135.

[9] Claire Lefebvre, *Issues in the Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004), 5.

[10] Holm, *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*, 6.

As demonstrated by the definition of pidgin above, pidgins typically emerged around trade, normally in trade colonies or along trade routes during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.[11] The existence of CPE and CPR also appeared in a similar way. Shanghai and Harbin are two of the biggest cosmopolitan cities in China from mid to late nineteenth century, both of which had witnessed the prevailing usage of contact languages from mid-nineteenth century to early twentieth century. CPE was used in Shanghai mainly from the 1850s to the 1940s whereas CPR existed in Harbin from the 1890s to the 1940s. They were used as a lingua franca between speakers who are mutually unintelligible not only in ordinary interaction, but also in formal business settings.

In the next paragraphs, the historical backgrounds of the formation of CPE and CPR are introduced. CPE could be heard in various places in China from 1720s to 1950s. Canton and Shanghai were the two hubs of CPE usage. It bears many names: *fanhua* (番话), *Canton fanhua* (广东番话), *yangjingbang* (洋泾浜), *bieqin* (别琴), etc. Zhang summarized in his study that previous studies in English language have referred to it as "Chinese broken English," "Canton English," and "China Coast English," or "Pidgin English."[12] It is one of the

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[11] Salikoko Mufwene, "Pidgin and Creole Languages," *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, Second Edition* 18, (2015): 133-45.

[12] Zhang Zhengjiang 张振江, "Zhongguo yangjingbang yingyu yanjiushuping yu tansuo 中国洋泾浜英语研究述评与探索 [Chinese Pidgin English comments and explorations]," *Guangxi minzuxueyuan xuebao (Zhexue shehuikexue ban)* 广西民族学院学报 (哲学社会科学版) 28, no.2 (2006): 28-38.

oldest forms of pidgin English in the world.[13] In China, CPE first appeared around the port of Canton in the early eighteenth century, as Canton was the first Chinese official open port to the European traders. One of the earliest written records of CPE in China and Canton was published in 1823 in Malacca by an anonymous author believed to be the pioneering sinologist and Protestant missionary Robert Morrison. The book provided a general introduction to the city of Canton. The Index contained a glossary to words that were considered most helpful for trade and business in Canton such as numbers and names of popular goods.[14] The book did not use the term "pidgin" to refer to such words instead it called them the "slang of Canton." A more extensive glossary of words and phrases on necessary vocabularies and terms spoken at Canton ports was published in 1835 in the book titled *A Chinese Commercial Guide* by John Robert Morrison.[15] The book was reprinted a few times and the fourth edition published in 1856 was co-authored with Samuel Wells Williams.[16] The book describes foreign trade protocols, the region's taxation system and the monetary system, including exchange rates in

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[13] Robert A. Hall, "Chinese Pidgin English Grammar and Texts," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 64, no. 2 (1944): 95-133.

[14] Zhou Zhenhe 周振鹤, "Zhongguo yangjinbang zuizaode ciyuji 中国洋泾浜英语最早的语词集 [The earliest vocabulary collections of Chinese Pidgin English]," *Guangdong shehui xue* 广东社会科学, no. 1 (2003): 77-84.

[15] Samuel Wells Williams and John Robert Morrison, *A Chinese Commercial Guide: Consisting of a Collection of Details and Regulations Respecting Foreign Trade with China, Sailing Directions, Tables, &c., Fourth Edition.* (Canton: Printed at the Office of the Chinese Repository, 1856), 188-96.

[16] Ibid., iii.

China in detail. The Glossary not only listed single words and its translations, but also phrases and quotations of short pidgin sentences practical for trade exchange. Another contemporary record of CPE is by William C. Hunter, in his book *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton Before Treaty Days, 1825-1844*.[17] In this book he gives a vivid description of a boisterous trade port of Canton and how CPE played an active part. He also mentioned the existence of a booklet that facilitated Chinese to converse with foreigners. "In the Canton book-shops near the Factories was sold a small pamphlet, called 'Devils' Talk.' … This pamphlet, costing a penny or two, was continually in the hands of servants, coolies, and shopkeepers."[18] CPE was used exclusively in Canton until the 1850s before the *Treaty of Nanking* opened more ports in China. The *Treaty of Nanking* was signed between the Qing government (1644-1910) and the British government, marking the end of the First Opium War (1840-1842) and opened five other Chinese cities including Shanghai as international trading ports. Therefore, over the ensuing decades, the focal point of Chinese foreign trade transitioned from Canton to Shanghai, which opened port in 1853, consequently leading to a migration of the usage of CPE. Over the subsequent century, CPE embedded itself as an indispensable component of Shanghai's linguistic landscape until its eventual cessation in the 1950s. There is no official record to mark its disappearance. The attribution of the timeframe to the 1950s is based on informed speculation, derived from observations suggesting

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[17] William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825-1844* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1882), 61-64.

[18] Ibid., 64.

a noticeable absence of literary references to CPE in Shanghai during that time. One will not hear this peculiar tongue be spoken in Shanghai anymore today, but a variation of it is still alive today in Nauru.[19]

Contemporary with CPE, CPR was the other pidgin language used in China between 1890s and 1950s in the northeast Chinese city of Harbin. CPR, as its name suggests, is a pidgin language between Chinese and Russian speaking communities. CPR originated as early as the eighteenth century in the contact zones around Kyakhta, also known as 买卖城 (maimai cheng) in Chinese. It is a town located to the south of Lake Baikal on the then Qing China - Tsarist Russia border. According to Wurm, the Kyakhta CPR emerged in the 1730s between Russian and Chinese traders.[20] It contained a significant proportion of Chinese in its lexicon. The formation of the Kyakhta CPR was the result of the *Treaty of Kyakhta*, which was concluded on 1 September 1727 between the Qing and Tsarist Russia government. According to the treaty, the border of the two countries was set along the River of Kyakhta, the south of which belonged to China, and the north to Russia. Trade between Chinese and Russian businessmen was carried out in the city of Kyakhta where CPR was born. The first attempt at linguistic analysis of CPR was made by Cherepanov in 1853. According to him, CPR is a stable form of communication between the Chinese and Russian traders and the Russians also use this broken

[19] Stephen A Wurm, Peter Mühlhäusler and Darrell T. Tryon, *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas* (Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter., 1996), 1580.

[20] Ibid., 984.

language. This book also mentioned that the Chinese also speak this version of corrupted Russian with fellow Chinese.[21] Similar to CPE, CPR phrasebooks also circulated in Kyakta in the nineteenth century. These phrasebooks' target audience are Chinese traders. To facilitate their Russian language learning, they created lists of words using Chinese characters to represent the phonetic features of Russian terms. These lists included not only single vocabularies but also phrases and sentences. The content of these lists was tailored to meet the practical needs of trade, encompassing primarily terms related to commodity exchange and daily interactions. The organization of these lists followed specific themes or categories.[22] In their study, Popov and Takata analyzed three phrasebooks that are *Eluosi fanyu* [俄罗斯番语/Russian Babarian Language], a 85 page booklet that came into collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences with the books of Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin, who mentioned the existence of this booklet in 1831; a 23 page handwritten pamphlet bearing the title in Russian: *A Chinese Vocabulary of the Russian Language*, while the main content of the book is in Chinese; an unfinished 24 page handwritten booklet bearing the title *A Russo-Chinese Dictionary, manuscript* in Russian and Manchurian, the content of was written in semi-cursive script.[23]

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[21] Roman Shapiro, "Chinese Pidgin Russian," in *Pidgins and Creoles in Asia*, ed. Umberto Ansaldo (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), 7.

[22] Irina Popov and Tokio Takata, "Vocabularies of Chinese Pidgin Russian for Kiakhta Trade," *Studia Orientalia Slovaca* 19, no.2 (2020), 18.

[23] Ibid., 20-21.

In the late nineteenth century, the usage of CPR spread eastward to Harbin. In the *Sino-Russian Secret Treaty* signed in 1896, Russia secured concessions to build a railroad, which linked Chita and Vladivostok on the Trans-Siberian Railway through Chinese territory. Construction of the railway was completed in 1903, and the track came to be known as the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER). Harbin was one of the most important stations on the route. Initially established as a fishing village, Harbin underwent significant demographic and economic expansion propelled by the advent of the railroad, consequently evolving into a cosmopolitan Far Eastern metropolis. As the CER was a collaborative initiative between China and Russia, CPR functioned as the lingua franca facilitating communication among the railroad workers across linguistic boundaries.[24] Subsequently, with the relocation and immigration of Russian speaking population into Harbin in the next three decades, CPR started to take root and prevail in the city life. Like CPE, CPR was also used till 1950s in Harbin. Stern summarized that reason to CPR's decline as due to "the dissolution of the Russian émigré community in Harbin, the foundation of Manchukuo in 1932, and the expulsion of the Chinese from the Soviet Union in the late 1930s."[25] The usage terminated with disappearance of Russian speaking community in the city eventually the 1950s.[26]

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[24] David Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1.

[25] Dieter Stern, "Russian Pidgin Languages," in *Encyclopedia of Slavic Languages and Linguistics Online,* ed. Marc L. Greenberg and Lenore Grenoble (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020) https://doi.org/10.1163/2589-6229_ESLO_COM_031973.

Nevertheless, CPR continued to be spoken in the streets of Manzhouli until as late as 2008. Manzhouli, situated approximately 1,000 kilometers northwest of Harbin, is a Sino-Russian border city, a heavily trafficked land port of entry connecting China and Russia. During my short stay in Manzhouli in 2008, the street mongers, shop owners and taxi drivers would approach any non-Chinese-looking person with a simplified Russian as a default protocol of seeking business transactions. Fedorova's research shows that CPR is very likely to be used in these regions into the foreseeable future considering the intensity of Sino-Russian communication in the city, based on the field data gathered in the Zabaikalskii area in Russia and Manzhouli area in China from 2008 to 2010.[27]

The reason CPE and CPR are brought together in this dissertation is not only due to the proximity of their time periods, but also that they offer a fresh perspective to the research of pidgin languages in general. The studies on pidgin languages so far have mostly categorized pidgin languages around the world based on their lexifier languages into English-based pidgin, French-based pidgin, Spanish-base pidgin and so on. A lexifier is the language that serves as the major vocabulary provider for a mixed language in a language contact situation. Comparative studies are typically conducted within these

[26] Li Rennian 李仁年, "20-40 niandai eguo qiaomin zaihua de jiaoyu huodong 20－40 年代俄国侨民在华的教育活动 [The education of Russian Émigrés in China (1920-1940)]," *Xiboliya yanjiu* 西伯利亚研究, 23 (1996): 9-53.

[27] Kapitolina Fedorova, "Speaking With and About Chinese Language Attitudes, Ethnic Stereotypes and Discourse Strategies in Interethnic Communication on the Russian-Chinese Border," *Civilisations Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines* 62, 2013, 71-89.

categories.[28] CPE and CPR would be categorized respectively as English-based pidgin and Russian-based pidgin. This dissertation examines and compares two pidgin languages that share the same source language: Chinese. It investigates the language and social contacts in Harbin and Shanghai which are within the same country, with focus on their shared developmental phases linguistically and socially.

Wherever the business takes them, pidgin languages flow to and stop at different destinations. Resembling a traveler with minimal packing, when lodging in a new city, he would be replenishing his supplies while discarding what was unneeded anymore. This thesis will sidestep from grammarian fields including the lexicology, phonology and syntax of CPE and CPR. In essence, this thesis departs from an analysis of the pidgin language itself and turns to concentrating on the people who used these languages and concentrating on the central yet rarely studied aspects such as who the users were, what they were talking about in this language, when they used the language, and why. Throughout the thesis the term pidgin *users* instead of *speakers* will be used to clarify that pidgin is not a native language for any groups of people, but merely used between communities that do not share a common language.

LANGUAGE STRATUM MYTHS

The previous section has specified the three working concepts of this study: pidgin language, CPE, and CPR. This section will examine how past

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[28] Holm, *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*, viii.

studies have interpreted the relationships between a pidgin language and its users, as well as the interactions among users of the pidgin who have diverse native languages. As discussed in the last section, pidgin is formed through language contact, which is realized by the interactions of different speech communities. When two groups of people (group A and group B) with no common language background are brought together, there can be, generally, three possibilities:

a. *Group A is more powerful than Group B.*

b. *Group B is more powerful than Group A.*

c. *Group A and Group B are on equal footing.*

Thus, language shift tendencies can hypothetically be:

a. *Group A converts to speaking the language of Group B.*

b. *Group B converts to speaking the language of group B.*

c. *Group A and Group B come up with a mixed language based on language A+B.*

The Relexification Hypothesis is a model that posits that a pidgin language forms when pidgin users substitute the lexicons from their native language, the substrate language, with the counterparts from the superstrate language. The Relexification Theory states, "superstrate contributes lexicon while the substrate languages contribute most of the grammar to creole formation" although complexity exists.[29] In her book *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar*, Lefebvre does not differentiate the terms of "pidgin"

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[29] Donald Winford, *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2003), 334.

and "creole." Here she explains how substrate and superstrate languages interact in the formation of a pidgin: "a given creole word should have the syntactic and semantic properties of its substrate equivalent but should be phonologically related to some superstrate lexical item."[30] In a language contact and replacement situation, according to Weinreich, substrate language is used to refer to the local language (also as the source language), while superstrate language means the target language (TL) that the native speakers of a substrate language try to acquire and incorporate.[31] At first glance, this theory has provided validation for the mechanisms of the above-mentioned contact patterns. However, this substrate-superstrate theory only narrowly explains the genesis of creole and pidgin languages.[32] Why only emphasize substrate language speakers' effort to acquire and incorporate the superstrate language? Were the superstrate language speakers not making acquisition efforts in a language contact setting? The asymmetry of language flow indicated by this theory overlooks the dynamics of influence of different language sources. However, all pidgin languages are formed by contribution of all languages at play. The complication of contact between two or multiple languages brings Relexification Theory into question.[33]

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[30] Claire Lefebvre, *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar, the Case of Haitian Creole* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 8.

[31] Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953).

[32] Salikoko Mufwene and Nancy Condon, *Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1993).

[33] John V. Singler, "Theories of Creole Genesis, Sociohistorical

To explain this asymmetry in language contact, Relexification Theory proposes that "…creole languages emerge in multilingual contexts where there is a need for a lingua franca and where the speakers of the substratum languages have little access to the superstratum language." [34] This model is based on the fact that in various pidginization and language contact scenarios, superstrate language are typically European languages and substrate languages are non-European languages.[35] According to Sebba, pidgins are made from mixtures of contact languages.[36] Their lexicons tends to derive from the superstrate language (the European languages), because speakers of the substrate language (the non-European languages) have a greater motivation to learn the words of the language of economically more prestigious group. In addition, in these situations, substrate language speakers are often restricted from formally learning the superstrate language, such as limited time and means. As a result, learners frequently prioritize acquiring lexical knowledge that can be instantly used, over grammar. Nevertheless, this explanation also lacks a robust rationale. While not disregarding the potential influence of prestige on language acquisition, it is important to recognize that the formation

Considerations, and the Evaluation of Evidence: The Case of Haitian Creole and the Relexification Hypothesis," *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 11. no.2 (1996): 185-230.

[34] Lefebvre, *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar, the Case of Haitian Creole,* 4.

[35] Mikael Parkvall, *Out of Africa: African Influences in Atlantic Creoles* (London: Battlebridge, 2000).

[36] Mark Sebba, *Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

of a new language cannot be solely attributed to power dynamics or hierarchical structures. The emergence of a new language involves various factors, including cognitive processes, biological and emotional constraints, effective communication input and output, and motivation, among others. While differences in social status can influence some of these factors, attributing the formation of a language solely to the social prestige and economic power of its speakers is undoubtedly a generalization. In the following sections, I will present historical evidence to display a balanced examination of the language stratum involved in CPE and CPR formation, presenting points for further discussion and potential refinement of the current understand of pidginization.

Perspectives on the Relexification Theory

The Relexification Theory rationalizes the language stratum phenomenon from two aspects. Firstly, researchers have long noted that pidgins and creoles "derive some of their properties from those of the substratum languages and some from those of the superstratum language," and the contribution is not random.[37] Secondly, pidgins tend to be isolating languages.[38] Isolating language is "a language such as Chinese, Vietnamese, and Samoan in which words are invariable. There are no inflections or changeable

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[37] Claire Lefebvre, "The genesis of pidgin and creole languages: A State of the Art," Université du Québec à Montréal, accessed October 14, 2012, http://www.archipel.uqam.ca/259/1/Genesis_of_PC.pdf.

[38] Sarah J. Roberts and Joan Bresnan, "Retained inflectional morphology in pidgins: A typological study," *Linguistic Typology* 12, no. 2 (2008): 269-302, http:/doi/org/10.1515/LITY.2008.039.

endings, and grammatical relations are indicated by word order."[39] Moreover, According to Lefebvre's review, pidgins languages typically arise in contact situations where agglutinative languages serve as the substrate language,[40] while inflected languages act as the superstrate language.[41] Hence, although the lexical forms of a pidgin are typically drawn from the superstrate language, which is often an inflected language, the syntactic and semantic characteristics of these lexical items tend to adhere to the patterns observed in the substrate languages, typically agglutinative languages.[42] For example, Adam observed that the Guineans who were transported to Guyana and Trinidad adopted words from French but kept the phonetic and grammatical features of Negro-Aryan dialects.[43] This observation accords with the Relexification Theory that

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[39] "Isolating Language," Oxford Reference, accessed March 14, 2024, https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.2011080310 0012910

[40] In agglutinative languages, most words are formed by joining morphemes together. Typical agglutinative languages are for example Japanese and Korean. Worldwide, agglutinative languages extend from Near and Far East to the Andes. – Note author.

[41] Inflected languages display modification of a word to express different grammar categories such as time, tense, person, number, gender, case and grammatical voice. Typical inflected languages are Indo-European languages. – Note author.

[42] Lefebvre, *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar, the Case of Haitian Creole,* 16.

[43] Lucien Adam, *Les Idioms Negro-Aryen et Maléo-Aryen: Essai D'Hybridologie Linguistique* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1883), 47.

the prestige part of the contact contributes to vocabulary, as the region's economy is largely dependent on subsidies from metropolitan France.[44]

However, if one places these two general agreements side by side, putting away the social prestige variable, a new possibility appears. The previous section pointed out that mixed languages are not random combinations of two linguistic systems. Through rational processes, one language (substrate) provides the grammar system, and the other (superstrate) provides the vocabulary. As a result, the emergence of pidgin languages may be attributed to specific language acquisition patterns. This occurs when speakers of agglutinative or isolating mother tongues learn inflected languages as foreign languages (and vice versa) in natural settings. Therefore, European languages are for the most part taken as the superstrate languages.

Comparing with their colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean islands, European settlers generally held a significant economic advantage throughout much of the nineteenth century. The Relexification Theory implies a process where European vocabulary replaces local vocabulary while leaving the local grammar system intact. The following question thus arises: How do economic prominence and influence lead to the dominance of the European lexicon in the creation of a new pidgin? If relexification process is the demonstration of power, could the preservation of local grammar system in

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[44] "Economical, social and territorial situation of French Guiana, Directorate General for Internal Policies," European Parliament, accessed December 14, 2012,
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/regi/2011/460068/IPOL-REGI_NT(2011)460068_EN.pdf.

pidgin language considered evidence of power, too? What factors hinder a comprehensive language learning, preventing the complete replacement of local languages by those of European settlers?

These questions, which have not been fully addressed in previous studies, are explored in this thesis. The emergence of CPE and CPR have displayed the following two distinctions. Firstly, economically advantageous cultures may not have supplied the superstrate language in the formation of CPE and CPR in China. This hypothesis can be tested by comparing the formation and developmental period of CPE and CPR with the historical situations of foreign trade and the economic status of Chinese speakers and the foreign settlers. Secondly, English and Russian were not the only lexifiers of CPE and CPR. Apart from words from other European sources and Hindi, there are a great number of Chinese words too.

Perspectives on Social Hierarchies

Regarding the initial point of distinction, it is notable that the social status of foreign traders and settlers was not prestigious in Canton during the period when CPE was developed and in use, spanning from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. The prejudice against foreigners was not solely confined to public sentiment but was also systematically entrenched within governmental policies. Among the common people, the bias was displayed through the terms used refer to foreigners: *Hungmaou* (红毛) meaning "the red haired," *hungmaoufan* (红毛番) meaning "the red haired devils" or *fankwae* (番鬼) meaning "the foreign devils." There is

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a vivid account of such derogative names in Hunter's book *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days*:

> Although by the Chinese all foreigners were called "Fan Kwaes," or "Foreign Devils," still a distinction of the drollest and most characteristic kind was made between them. The English became "Red-haired devils;" the Parsees, from the custom of shaving their heads, were "White-head devils;" Moormen were simply "molo devils." The Dutch became "Ho-lan," the French "Fat-lan-sy," and the Americans "Flowery-flag devils." The Swedes were "Suy" and the Danes "Yellow-flag devils." The Portuguese have never ceased to be "Se-yang kwae," thus retaining the name first applied to them on their arrival from the "Western Ocean" (which the words signify), while their descendants, natives of Macao, are "Omun kwae," or "Macao devils" from the Chinese name of the town.[45]

In the *Chinese Repository* from January 1837, Samuel Wells Williams mentioned the book *Hungmaou Maemae Tung Yung Kwei Kwa*.[46] From 1830s to 1870s, several versions of this book were published.[47] German scholar Wilhelm Schott reviewed one version in his catalogue of *Verzeichniss der Chinesischen und Mandschu-Tungusischen Bücher und Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin: Eine Fortsetzung des im Jahre 1822 erschienenen Klaproth'schen Verzeichnisses*, where he comments: "Sprache der rothaarigen Ausländer. Ein Büchlein, welches die zum Verkehr notwendigsten Englischen Wörter enthält. Diese sind aber nicht mit Buchstaben, sondern mit Chinesischen Charakteren geschrieben [Language

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[45] William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days 1825-1844*, 63.

[46] Samuel Wells Williams, "Hungmaou Maemae Tung Yung Kwei Kwa, or Those Words of the Devilish Language of the Red-Bristled People Commonly Used in Buying and Selling," *The Chinese Repository* 6, no.6 (October, 1837): 276-87.

[47] Keiichi Uchida 内田慶市, "Pidgin English as a phenomenon of language and cultural interactions [Pidgin -- 異語言文化接觸中的一種現象]," *Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies* [東アジア文化交渉研究] 2 (March 2009): 197-207.

of the Red Haired Foreigners. A booklet which contains the most basic

English words needed for conversation. They are, however, not written in

letters but in Chinese characters]."[48] In this format, these booklets were aimed

for Chinese readers. Among all the booklets, the most notable aspect is the

distinctive naming conventions used for foreigners. They openly refer to the

Europeans using bluntly derogative terms. The discriminatory remarks were

not simply insider pranks among merchants but rather constituted top-down

political acts of subversion. As such abasing names were used in official

correspondence too. Couling was the first foreign author to write an

encyclopedia of China.[49] In this work he incorporated a concise list of CPE

along with illustrative examples of its usage. For example, *Lin Zexu*, in his letter

to UK representative Lord William John Napier during the first Opium War,

addressed Napier as a "barbarian eye."[50] Couling pointed out that "barbarian

eye" is the CPE translation of the Chinese word *Yimu* (夷目).

> BARBARIAN EYE 夷目 *i mu*, an insulting term used by the Governor
> of Canton in documents, applied to Lord Napier on his arrival as
> Superintendent of Trade in 1834. "Eye" is simply equivalent to 'head'
> or 'chief'; the insult lay in the use of the other character meaning
> barbarian.

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[48] Wilhelm Schott, *Verzeichniss der Chinesischen und Mandschu-Tungusischen Bücher und Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin: Eine Fortsetzung des im Jahre 1822 erschienenen Klaproth'schen Verzeichnisses* (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1840), 58.

[49] Samuel Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917).

[50] Lin Zexu 林则徐(1785 – 1850) was a Chinese scholar and official of the Qing Dynasty. He is most recognized for his leadership against the opium trade in Guangzhou. – Note author.

BARBARIANS, formerly the common Chinese estimate of all foreigners. The particular character 夷 *i* once used for it was forbidden in the *Tientsin treaty of 1858*, Art. LI; but of course other terms meaning the same were used instead.[51]

In this context "eye" simply equates to "head" or "chief."

The insult stemmed from the inclusion of the character "夷(Yi)," which connotes "barbarian." Additionally, upon Lord Napier's arrival in Canton, he received a letter from the leader of the Canton Cohong, *Howqua*, announcing his visit for the same afternoon. In Canton, the term "Cohong" refers to a group of Chinese merchants who held a monopoly on foreign trade during the Qing dynasty. The Cohong acted as intermediaries between foreign traders and the Chinese government, managing trade affairs and regulating the activities of foreign merchants in Canton (now Guangzhou). They played a significant role in facilitating and controlling foreign trade in Canton during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When Dr. John Morrison was translating the letter, he discovered that Lord Napier's name was written in two Chinese characters that meant "laboriously vile," instead of the transliteration provided to the Chinese officials before.[52] Emperor Daoguang, who reigned from 1820 to 1850, commented on British merchants' trading in Canton: [53]

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[51] Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica,* 43.

[52] Maurice Colins, *Foreign Mud: Being an Account of the Opium Imbroglio at Canton in the 1830s and the Anglo-Chinese War That Followed (New Directions Classics)* (London: Farber and Farber Ltd., 1946), 135.

[53] "Qing shilu daoguangchao shilu 清实录道光朝实录 [Records of the Emperor Daoguang]," Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua 中國哲學書電子化計劃 [Chinese Philosophy Book Digitization Project], accessed March 3, 2023.

各国夷船来粤贸易。惟英咭唎夷商最为桀骜。…该国货船在粤海关约纳税银六七十万两。在该夷以为奇货可居。殊不知自天朝视之。实属无关毫末。[Of all the barbarian merchant ships in Canton, the conduct of the Brits is the most untamed. The Brits pay 600, 000 – 700, 000 liang[54] worth of customs duty and consider it pricey. They fail to comprehend that the Celestial Empire considers trading with them negligible.]

In the Qing court's perception, Europe's commercial transactions in Canton prior to the First Opium War were constituted tribute from the barbarian land to the Celestial Realm. The court therefore mandated that merchants display "utmost obedience and piety,"[55] resulting in an exchange that was characterized by unequal footing, with the Chinese side holding projected prestige over the foreign traders.

In the case of CPR, Kyakhta was opened for Sino-Russian trade since 1727. According to Wanner, the obstacles of Sino-Russian trade in the city are "partly due to the strict regulations imposed by the Chinese court against Chinese merchants, and the policy of isolation in international relationship."[56] Wanner quoted Khokhlov's source, pointing out that the Chinese considered the trade in Kyakhta "purposeless for China," and "the simple reason the

https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=713098&searchu=%E5%90%84%E5%9B%BD%E5%A4%B7%E8%88%B9&remap=gb.

[54] Liang: Chinese currency. – Note author.

[55] Tang Lixing 唐力行, *Shangren yu zhongguo jinshi shehui* 商人與中國近世社會 [Merchants and modern China] (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yingshu guan 臺灣商務印書館, 1997), 250.

[56] Michal Wanner, "The Russian-Chinese Trade in Kyakhta, its Organisation and Commodity Structure, 1727-1861," in *Prague Papers of the History of International Relations 2/2014*, ed. Aleš Skřivan, Sr., Arnold Suppan (Prague: Charles University in Prague), 38.

Great Emperor tolerates the trade is he just loves the poor in both countries, and has been formally requested by the Russian Senate."[57] The *Collective files of Sino-Russian diplomatic relationship in Qing Dynasty* recorded that the trade in Kyakhta was suspended many times by decree of the Chinese emperor, often in response to unfavorable business conditions for Chinese merchants:[58]

> 乾隆二十七年初次停止买卖时, 由俄罗斯增税而闭。乾隆三十三年, 俄罗斯廓米萨尔呈请十三款, 奏准开市。乾隆四十三年, 因俄罗斯玛玉尔妄自尊大, 有伤和气, 复行停止通商。乾隆四十四年, 更换新任玛玉尔甚属恭顺, 呈请通商, 复准开市。乾隆四十九年, 因乌勒斋持械进卡抢夺, 俄罗斯延不交犯, 于五十年停止通商。乾隆五十六年十月，俄罗斯呈请通商, 文词恭顺，准其通商。乾隆五十七年四月，蕴端多尔济等奏，俄罗斯议定, 于四月十五日前后开市。

According to the record above, the six-year hiatus starting from 1763 was precipitated by excessive taxation imposed by the Russian authorities. The one-year suspension in 1768 occurred due to the arrogant demeanor and disrespectful conduct of Russian officials, while another six-year pause from 1784 ensued following the refusal of Russian officials to extradite an armed robber. Trade resumed only after a petition submitted by Russian officials, which was deemed sufficiently humble by the Chinese authorities. Wanner

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[57] A.N. Khokhlov, "Kyachtinskaya torgovlya i yeyo mesto v politike Rosii i Kitaya (20-e gody XVIII v.-50-e gody XIX v.)," in *Dokumenty oprovergayut protiv fal'sifikacii istorii russko--kitayskikh otnosheniy* (Moscow, 1982), 104, quoted in Michal Wanner, "The Russian-Chinese Trade in Kyakhta, Its Organisation and Commodity Structure,1727-1861," in *Prague Papers of the History of International Relations 2/2014*, ed. Aleš Skřivan, Sr., Arnold Suppan (Prague: Charles University in Prague), 38.

[58] *Qingdai zhong'e guanxi dang'an shiliao xuanbian* 清代中俄关系档案史料选编 [Collective files of Sino-Russian diplomatic relationship in Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhongguo diyi lishi danganguan 中国第一历史档案馆 [First Historic Archives of China], 1997), 1.

noted that while the Russian-Chinese trade in Kyakhta brought profit both parties, it encountered significant hurdles. These obstacles stemmed not only from logistical and transportation challenges but also from bureaucratic restrictions imposed by both Russian and Chinese authorities. Moreover, the Chinese government did not prioritize foreign trade, resulting in difficulties that were "broadly similar to the problems other Europeans had dogged by in South-Chinese Canton."[59]

In many previous pidgin studies, the pidgin languages reviewed typically developed through the European colonization of overseas territories, where the languages of the dominant colonizers became the superstrates and those of the slaves and indigenous populations serves as the substrates. Hence, a pidgin arose to facilitate the communication of fundamental information, such as issuing orders to the slaves. Therefore, pidgin languages studied exhibit a noticeable preference for certain types of vocabulary. In his research of Russian based pidgin, he discovered that two Russian based pidgins are exceptions: "Russenorsk, the lexicon of which includes a roughly equal proportion of Russian and Norwegian entries, and the Harbin variant of Russian Chinese Pidgin, with a mixed Russian Chinese lexicon."[60] It is commonly believed that pidgin languages emerge in contexts of social inequality. Russenorsk and Chinese Pidgin Russian appear to challenge this notion. Furthermore, Stern's research points out that Russenorsk does not

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[59] Michal Wanner, "The Russian-Chinese Trade in Kyakhta, Its Organisation and Commodity Structure,1727-1861," 48.

[60] Dieter Stern, "Russian Pidgin Languages," 1.

suffer from the low social status typically associated with pidgin languages.[61] In Gamsa's *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, a comprehensive portrait of early twentieth-century Harbin, he described that when Russians and Chinese interacted in Harbin, as they frequently did in daily life, they "often resorted to a pidgin referred to as moia-tvoia (literally, "mine-yours")."[62] Similar description can be found in Simon Karlinsky's *Russian Culture in Manchuria and the Memoirs of Valery Pereleshin*, where he designates "moya-tvoya" the "lingua franca for Russo-Chinese transactions in Harbin." [63]

In many previous studies and memoirs regarding CPE and CPR, Russian and English are regarded to be the superstrate languages, with the Chinese as the substrate language. Nevertheless, a comparable social disparity between the language communities in contact is not evident. In the instances of CPE and CPR, concurrent with the emergence of these pidgin languages, the Chinese held the predominant economic influence within the commercial sphere. Moreover, as stable lingua franca between language communities, their use is not inherently limited to a particular social class. Consequently, it becomes imperative to scrutinize the validity of the assertion equating prestige with superstratum.

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[61] Ibid..

[62] Mark Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020), 79.

[63] Simon Karlinsky, "26. Russian Culture in Manchuria and the Memoirs of Valery Pereleshin," in *Freedom from Violence and Lies: Essays on Russian Poetry and Music*, ed. Robert P. Hughes, Thomas A. Koster, and Richard Taruskin (Boston, USA: Academic Studies Press, 2013), 313. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781618116765-027.

Through this dissertation, it is demonstrated that in the context of China, the dynamics of mutual interaction or the positioning of superstrate and substrate languages were not dictated by a hierarchical order. This study sees pidginization mechanism as adult second language acquisition (SLA) following the Natural Approach. The Natural Approach in SLA is an approach to language teaching and learning developed by Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell in the 1970s. The Natural Approach underscores language acquisition through communication in a natural setting instead of formal instruction and study of rules. It tolerates learners' error. The acquisition process is thus seen as a subconscious practice. This subconscious practice is decided by two aspects: comprehensible input provided by the communication setting and the amount of the information the learners choose to let in. The approach is influenced by Krashen's theories of SLA, particularly the input hypothesis, which advocates that that both L1 and L2 acquisition occurs via comprehensible input. The goal of language learning is effective communication.[64] Thus, this dissertation will examine the determining factors of pidginization in the cases of CPE and CPR from the uses' cognitive mechanisms, motivation variables and communication strategy.

In addition, pidgin languages have long been viewed as flawed versions of a standard language form, an imperfect or incomplete attempt due to inability to learn or insufficient access to the target language. [65] Not only is it

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[64] Stephen Krashen and Tracy Terrell, *The Natural Approach: Language Acquisition in the Classroom* (London: Prentice Hall Europe, 1998), 179.

negatively commented on in the memoirs of foreign settlers and the local residents, but also by many scholars that studied this subject. According to the handbooks by Samuel Wells Williams, CPE was referred to as *fan yu* (番语) and *kwei hwa* (鬼话), respectively "the barbarian's language" and "the devils' language," by the Chinese. [66] The Chinese who used this language were called *sheren* (舌人) or *tongshi* (通事), respectively meaning "man of tongues" and "go-betweeners." Hunter referred to them as "linguists." They provide around-the-clock accompany for foreigners from short excursions and sightseeing to preparing taxation documents. [67] However, the linguists were marginalized by Chinese society for their interactions with the "barbarian devils." In his collection of political essays and social critique, named *Jiaobinlu kanyi*, Feng Guifen posed negative comments on these individuals: [68]

> 今之习于夷者曰通事，其人率皆市井佻达，游闲不齿乡里，无所得衣食者始为之；其质鲁，其识浅，其心术又鄙，声色货利之外不知其他，且其能不过略通夷语，间识夷字，仅知货目数名与俚浅文理而已；安望其留心学问乎？ [Those who are now accustomed to dealing with foreigners are called "go-betweens." Most of these individuals are merely street-smart and idle, lacking respect in their hometowns and struggling to make a living. They are coarse in nature, shallow in knowledge, and have base intentions. Besides

[65] Silvia Kouwenberg and John V. Singler, *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* (Chichester: Willey-Blackwell, 2008), 190.

[66] Samuel Wells Williams, "Hungmaou Maemae Tung Yung Kwei Kwa, or Those Words of the Devilish Language of the Red-Bristled People Commonly Used in Buying and Selling," 276.

[67] Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton before Treaty Days 1825-1844*, 31.

[68] Feng Guifen 冯桂芬, *Jiaobinlu kangyi* 校邠庐抗议 [The Protest of the Jiaobin Mansion] (1861), 168, Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua 中國哲學書電子化計劃 [Chinese Philosophy Book Digitization Project].

pursuing profit and pleasure, they are ignorant of anything else. Their ability is limited to a rudimentary understanding of the foreign language, with minimal knowledge of foreign characters. They only know a few trade terms and simple phrases and have little understanding of cultural and intellectual matters. Can one expect them to devote themselves to real knowledge?]

Among the Chinese scholars of pidgin language, Chen's sociolinguistic study on CPE referred to it as "extremely contaminated."[69] This choice of word reflects a generally negative view on CPE in Chinese academia during the post-Cultural Revolutionary period, a view that regards CPE as a creation of China's semi-feudal, semi-colonial history. Relexification Theory attributes the emergence of a pidgin language to the restricted linguistic access by speakers of the substrate language to the target language, where the substrate language speakers are usually positioned at a lower stratum within the social contact. However, fascinatingly, these linguistically imperfect languages have been utilized among communities of diverse linguistic backgrounds for centuries. Could the historical passage of such a long period of time have uplifted these limitations to the target language, or changed the social hierarchy of the communities in contact? It appears likely that the users of these pidgin languages may have recognized the limitations of these pidgins and accepted their imperfections. A deeper understanding of the reasons behind the acceptance may shed light on their genesis.

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[69] Chen Yuan 陈原, *Yuyan shehui yu shenghuo, shehuiyuyanxue zaji* 语言与社会生活: 社会语言学札记[Language and social life, a sociolinguistic note] (Hong Kong: sanlian shudian 三联书店, 1979), 53.

Perspectives on Source Languages: The Case of CPE

Eames, in his book *The English in China*, offered observation of CPE and noted that English contributed the lexicon while Chinese provided the grammar structure.[70] In 1876, Leland suggested that the grammar of CPE was "in exact accordance" with Chinese grammar.[71] However, Robert Hall, in his study of the origins of CPE in 1944 through a grammar comparison sees the issue differently. Based on the fifty-seven examples of CPE grammar structure that he obtained, which he compared with those of standardized Chinese and English sources, Hall concluded the following: 5% of the CPE grammar structures were exclusively Chinese, 7% were closer to Chinese than English, 51% were accepted by both Chinese and English, 18% were exclusively English, and 4% developed independently from CPE, unassociated with either English or Chinese grammars. His results showed that CPE grammar was closer to English than Chinese.[72]

Hall's result suggests that in the formation of CPE, Chinese might not be the only substrate language contributor. This conclusion was supported by scholars such as Holm, who noted that CPE "grew out of the pidginized Portuguese brought to the ports of China in the sixteenth century."[73] As

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[70] James B. Eames, *The English in China: Being an Account of the Intercourse and Relations Between English and China from the Year 1600 to the Year 1843, and a Summary of Later Development* (Pitman & Sons, 1909), 82.

[71] Charles G. Leland, *Pidgin-English Sing-Song, or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect: With a Vocabulary* (London: Truebner and Co., 1876), 1-6.

[72] Robert A. Hall, "Chinese Pidgin English Grammar and Texts," 95-133.

during that time, Portuguese traders were also active in interactions between the Chinese and Europeans in this region. Therefore, phrasebooks from Macau, which transliterate Portuguese phrases into Chinese characters, provide evidence of Portuguese being used for intercultural communication,[74] while Cantonese serves as the primary substrate language.[75] Additionally, lexical elements from Malay, Hindi, Scandinavian languages, and Portuguese are also present in CPE.[76]

      Shi's study in 1991 provided further insights into the subject.[77] He analyzed the morphology and syntax of CPE and compared the grammatical structure of CPE with Chinese and English. His result showed that CPE grammar is closer to Chinese than English, in the sense that the syntax patterns adopted in CPE align with the Chinese Canton dialect. He also discovered that a smaller proportion of CPE's linguistic features resembles the simplified structures shared between Chinese and English. Contrary to Hall's research, Shi found that CPE was grammatically based on Chinese grammar although

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[73] John A. Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles: Volume 2, Reference Survey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 516.

[74] Charles R. Bawden, "An Eighteenth Century Chinese Source for the Portuguese Dialect of Macao," *Review of Culture* 29 (1996): 111–35.

[75] Anton Bauer, *Das Kanton-Englisch: ein Pidginidiom als Beispiel für ein soziolinguistisches Kulturkontaktphänomen* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Gmbh, Internationaler Verlag Der Wissenschaften), 1975.

[76] Kingsley Bolton, *Chinese Englishes: A Sociolinguistic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 85-180.

[77] Shi Dingxu, "Chinese Pidgin English, its Origin and Linguistic Feautres," *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 19, no. 1 (January 1991): 1-41.

English grammatical features exist. Thus, according to Shi, CPE grammar was closer to Chinese than English. The perspective of CPE as a language predominantly influenced by Chinese sharply contrasts with Hall's studies on the language, a view has been commonly noted by many witnesses of CPE in their memoirs and travel logs.

These studies resulted in divergent conclusions as their research had included different sets of data. Firstly, there were several versions of CPE in use, and each linguist drew from different CPE samples, likely recorded by different sources, thereby leading to predisposed interpretations. Due to the fact that CPE was spoken by a variety of people from diverse educational backgrounds, local dialects, so that the duration and intensity of language exposure were likely to prevent the homogeneity of their research subject, a variety that was not included in their methodologies. Secondly, CPE (and many other pidgin languages for that matter) existed in spoken form and was transcribed by both Chinese and English speakers into their respective native languages. Thus, any written record of CPE had been filtered, variably, by the rationale of the recording person's mother tongue. Neither Hall nor Shi had taken this subjective recorded of pidgin into consideration. CPE existed as an elastic spectrum, where different combinations of interlocutors could render different versions of a recognizable and mutually intelligible language.

HYPOTHESES OF THIS STUDY

Two hypotheses are deducted from the discussion of the social hierarchy issue:

Hypothesis 1. The use of pidgin languages transcends social boundaries. Pidginization is the result of mutual effort from both locals and foreign settlers instead of any one-sided attempts.

Hypothesis 2. Pidginization is not an indication of linguistics competence, but stabilized group solution for communication. This solution is decided by the pidgin users' second language acquisition (SLA) pattern: adult learners in a natural language contact setting.

From the discussion of source language issues comes the third hypothesis

Hypothesis 3. Pidginization is a language choice. It is a product of cooperation and purposeful motivation, influenced by internal and external variables from both sides of the interlocutors.

The following three subsections will elaborate on the aforementioned hypotheses in more detail.

Hypothesis 1: Mutual vs. Asymmetrical

While many prior studies on pidgin languages imply that pidginization results from the local population's limited access to the language of European settlers, this study asserts that pidginization is the outcome of mutual collaboration between locals and settlers. Therefore, an examination of the motivation of both sides of the interlocutors is essential. As presented, a pidgin language has no native speakers and is typically used solely as a second language (L2). Montrul describes the genesis of pidgin as follows:

> When speakers of mutually unintelligible languages have to live and work in close proximity with one another for several years, they resort to a kind of simplified language called pidgin. Pidgin languages have simple syntax, and lexical items have impoverished inflectional morphology.[78]

Acknowledging that linguistic unintelligibility is mutual in the process of pidginization, many prior studies assess that the cause of pidginization as limited access to the superstrate language. Yet the equivalent inadequate access to the substrate language is downplayed. In a language contact situation that nurtures pidginization, access to either target language, whether substrate or superstrate, may be constrained by various factors. These can be external influences such as insufficient educational resources, physical segregation, and limited opportunities for interaction, as well as internal factors like individual preferences, physical constraints, and motivation to learn. Since that this study views pidginization as a language choice made by both parties of interlocutors, it examines both ends of the social spectrum to demonstrate that pidgin languages are utilized not only by one side of the communication, but by both. Moreover, it proves that pidgin languages are not exclusive to a particular class of the population but are used by people of diverse social statuses.

Hypothesis 2: Individual vs. Social

This study conjectures that pidginization does not necessarily reflect linguistic competence but represents a stabilized group solution for communication. Pidgin users, as second language learners (2LL) in a natural

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[78] Silvina Montrul, *Incomplete Acquisition in Bilingualism: Re-examining the Age Factor* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2008), 15.

language contact setting, should be examined as a group rather than as individuals. This arrangement is based on two reasons. Firstly, pidgin languages emerge from group interactions. Secondly, pidgin languages decline or cease to exist when the groups involved in the language contact move away from the contact zone. As introduced in previous sections, pidgin is a language resulted from social contact and is commonly referred to in its social function as a trade language.[79] The use of pidgin facilitates the communication between two groups of mutually unintelligent people. Thus, there are two possible scenarios of acquiring a pidgin language.

     a.   interlocutors learn a pidgin through natural exposure.

     b.   interlocutors learn a pidgin from a textbook.

In the first scenario, individuals typically acquire pidgin language skills through little pedagogical guidance. Instead, they would likely rely on repeated attempts of communication with other pidgin users to achieve efficient communication. In the second scenario, individuals may learn enough pidgin from textbooks to conduct business and instantly employ their acquired skills in inter-lingual communication for practical benefit such as in business transactions. Despite variations in learning methods, both scenarios of pidgin learning orbit around the necessity for social interaction.

Vygotsky's theory of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) investigates the difference between what a student can achieve without any aid and what one can achieve with support.[80] The concept behind this theory is

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[79] Kingsley Bolton, *Chinese Englishes: A Sociolinguistic History.*

called scaffolding. It means helping students' performance by providing a series of supporting points including contextual easement. Social interaction has been viewed as one of the contextual supports for learning. Wong-Fillmore's 1979 study provided supporting empirical statistics, where she discovered that the youngest child of her subjects produced better-formed and more varied sentences than two of the other subjects after only three months of exposure to the target language, because she was the most sociable of the subjects. The child who decided to have nothing to do with other native-speaking children progressed the least. She concluded: "the difference presumably had nothing to do with intellectual or cognitive capacity. It is solely a matter of social preference and perhaps of social confidence as well."[81] Apart from presenting the group interaction theory, Wong-Fillmore's study also implies that language acquisition could be decided by learners' choice instead of competence, that some learners are inclined to have a controlled, reduced, and selective social interaction process. In a contact zone, similar inclination could lead to the development of a set of effective business jargon aimed at achieving mutual intelligibility on certain topics and nothing more. Subsequently, this jargon may further evolve into a pidgin language.

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[80] Lev S. Vygotsky, "The Collective as a Factor in the Development of the Abnormal Child," in *The Collected Works of L.S. Vygotsky The Fundamentals of Defectology (Abnormal Psychology and Learning Disabilities),* ed. Robert W. Rieber and Aaron S. Carton (New York: Plenum Press, 1993), 191-208.

[81] Lily Wong Fillmore, "Individual differences in second language acquisition." In *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*, ed. Charles J Fillmore, Daniel Kempler, William S-Y. Wang (New York, San Francisco, London: Academic Press, 1979), 203-28.
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However, contemporary SLA research places less focus on language acquisition in natural contact setting than on controlled classroom settings. Furthermore, linking communication competence to the standard of native speakers is a usual and accepted practice of institutionalized language instruction in classrooms. However, using the native speaker model would set an impossible target for the users, as the model may be socio-psychologically undesirable. Byram advocates for a more inclusive approach to language learning that values learners' diverse linguistic backgrounds and emphasizes the development of intercultural communicative competence.[82]

As we know from the discussions so far, pidgins are functionally restricted to essential communication. Consequently, pidginization yields an inter-language form of communication characterized by simplification and reduction, which becomes stabilized within a specific community. The stabilization of pidgin, however, is transient, contingent upon the presence of its associated communities. Should these communities disperse or relocate, the pidgin language also dissipates once the contact interface ceases to exist. This phenomenon indicates that the study of pidginization as language acquisition must be put in its context and that its users of different mother tongues must be regarded as an integrated group. Studies targeting group learners in the field of SLA, however, are scarce. Thus, pidginization studies call for a synthesis of cognitive studies and language acquisition studies, which involves a "reconsideration of mind, language, and epistemology, and a recognition that

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[82] Michael Byram, *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence: Revisited* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1997).

cognition originates in social interaction and is shaped by cultural and

sociopolitical processes."[83]

Hypothesis 3: Competence vs. Choice

This study explains the functionality of pidgin in the contact zone from

a variationist point of view. According to Tagliamonte's description,

> Variationist sociolinguistics deals with systematic and inherent variation
> in language. […] The goal of variationist studies is to understand the
> mechanisms which link extra linguistics phenomena (the social and
> cultural) with patterned linguistic heterogeneity (the internal, variable,
> system of language).[84]

From a variationist perspective, pidgin is a purposeful language. It is

not regarded as an imperfect language resulting from language learning

incompetence or constrained by various acquisition factors like SLA and social

limitations. Instead, pidgin language serves as a functional tool for diverse

communication needs. It is a motivated language choice, the product of mutual

cooperation and purposeful motivation, and conceptualized by internal and

external variables of both sides of interlocutors. This study sets its overarching

aim to the investigation of the presence and functionality of CPE and CPR in

response to the communication requirements within the language

communities. This study maintains that CPE and CPR do not signify the users'

failure in acquiring a L2. Rather, it may be a deliberate choice. As Rampton

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[83] Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo, "Mind, Language, and Epistemology: Toward a Language Socialization Paradigm for SLA," *Modern Language Journal* 88, no. 3 (2004): 331–350, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0026-7902.2004.00233.x.

[84] Sali A. Tagliamonte, *Variationist Sociolinguistics: Change, Observation, Interpretation* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 15.

observed: "People are not always concerned with improving their L2 interlanguage,"[85] which could be an assertion of learner identity, a form of cultural resistance or even avoidance strategy. It is a kind of communication strategy independent of learners' L2 acquisition achievement.[86] Therefore, it can be inferred that in numerous circumstances, achieving proficiency akin to that of a native speaker is not the primary objective of language acquisition.[87] As Sebba noted: "A more pragmatic view would be that pidgins represent successful L2 learning from the point of view of their learners—who learn just enough to communicate what they want to communicate and no more."[88] In contrary to the native-speaker model, whose overall purpose of language learning is to eliminate all foreign traces, a competent language user represents a person with "the adaptability to select those forms of accuracy and those forms of appropriateness that are called for in a given social context of use". [89]

In this sense, if users of CPE and CPR demonstrate the ability to navigate challenges in mutual interaction through comprehension and skill,

[85] Ben Rampton, "Second Language Research in Late Modernity: A Response to Firth and Wagner." *The Modern Language Journal* 81, no. 3 (1997): 329–33. https://doi.org/10.2307/329308.

[86] Ben Rampton, "Second Language Learners in a Stratified Multilingual Setting," *Applied Linguistics* 12 (1991), 239. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/12.3.229

[87] Jeff Siegel, *The Emergence of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 42.

[88] Mark Sebba, *Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles*, 79.

[89] Claire J. Kramsch, *Language and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 2.

establishing a connection between them and their counterparts, and acting as mediators between individuals of diverse origins, their language proficiency should be deemed competent.[90] Spitzberg states, "competent communication is interaction that is perceived as effective in fulfilling certain rewarding objectives in a way that is also appropriate to the context in which the interaction occurs."[91] Competent language proficiency describes a level of language acquisition that enables effective and appropriate intergroup communication for particular purposes. When considering this concept within the framework of language contacts and pidginization, individuals attaining competence in pidgin languages achieve a delicate equilibrium between their social requirements and linguistic knowledge. As inter-lingual speakers, pidgin users negotiate their own strategies of interaction to accommodate the specific needs of intercultural communication. Thus, the aim of this study is to investigate the modes of interaction among users of CPE and CPR, as well as the intercultural communication practices they engage in.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

This dissertation further develops the abovementioned three hypotheses through four chapters. Each chapter addresses specific aspects related to CPE and CPR, covering the following topics: the agents involved in

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[90] Byram, *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence: Revisited.*

[91] Brian H. Spitzberg, "Communication Competence: Measures of Perceived Effectiveness," in *A Handbook for the Study of Human Communication: : Methods and Instruments for Observing, Measuring, and Assessing Communication Processes*, ed. Charles H. Tardy (New York: Ablex Publishing, 1988), 68.

the development of CPE and CPR, the communication scope of these pidgin languages, the cognitive processes underlying pidginization, the acculturation and communication strategies that influenced pidgin language use in Shanghai and Harbin.

Research Questions from Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1. The use of pidgin languages transcends social boundaries. Pidginization is the result of mutual effort from both locals and foreign settlers instead of any one-sided attempts.

To substantiate this hypothesis, Chapter Two endeavors to comprehensively examine the identities of individuals utilizing CPE in Shanghai and CPR in Harbin. This examination will be carried out through the review of demographic statistics encompassing an analysis of their respective social statuses and cultural affiliations. This chapter aims to outline the locations and contexts in Shanghai and Harbin where pidgin was predominantly spoken, as well as to illuminate the diverse range of occupations and social statuses held by users of CPE and CPR.

Subsequently, Chapter Three delves into an extensive examination of the utilization of both CPE and CPR, elucidating the breadth and depth of their application within the context of intercultural communication. Understanding the scope of pidgin usage in Shanghai and Harbin is essential for discerning the prevalent topics of discourse in CPE and CPR, thereby facilitating the identification of the social status attributed to these languages. Furthermore, the second research question will be explored through the systematic categorization of CPE and CPR language sources. In the

subsequent subsection, an examination of the existing language sources will be conducted.

CPE and CPR Sources

As previously outlined in the introduction section, CPE saw usage in Shanghai from the 1850s, coinciding with the opening of the port, until the 1940s, when foreign settlers began to depart the city. Similarly, CPR was utilized in Harbin from approximately 1898 to the 1950s. Its introduction to Harbin was facilitated by the construction of the China Eastern Railway, and its usage gradually waned following the departure of Russian émigrés from the city. Presently, neither language survives in a natural setting but rather exists only in the memories of a small number of senior individuals, as well as in limited literary works and research articles. Compared to CPE, CPR is significantly less documented and has been less systematically studied. Furthermore, because both CPE and CPR are primarily oral languages lacking a standardized writing system, records of these languages tend to be anecdotal and fragmented. Moreover, with neither language currently in use in their respective cities, opportunities for field research are no longer available. Consequently, historical documentation and secondary language sources, including novels, memoirs, newspaper articles, and research papers, serve as the primary sources of information for the present study.

The Chinese record of CPE in Shanghai are often preserved through limericks. During the late nineteenth century, the following limerick gained popularity with several versions circulating. The most comprehensive version is presented below:

来是康姆(come)去是谷(go)，廿四洋钿吞的福(twenty-four)。
是叫也司(yes)勿叫诺(no)，如此如此沙咸沙(so and so)。
真崭实货佛立谷(very good)，靴叫蒲脱(boot)鞋叫靴(shoe)。
洋行买办江摆渡(comprador)，小火轮叫司汀巴(steamer)。
翘梯(tea)翘梯请吃茶，雪堂(sit down)雪堂请侬坐。
烘山芋叫扑铁秃(potato)，东洋车子力克靴(rickshaw)。
打屁股叫班蒲曲(bamboo chop)，混账王八蛋风炉(damn fool)。
那摩温(number one)先生是阿大，跑街先生杀老夫(shroff)。
麦克(mark)麦克钞票多，毕的生司(empty cents)当票多。
红头阿三开泼度(keep door)，自家兄弟勃拉茶(brother)。
爷要发茶(father)娘卖茶(mother)，丈人阿伯发音落(father-in-law)
[Come is *kangmu*, go is *gu*, 24 dollar *tundefu*.

Yes is *yesi*, no is *nuo*, so and so is *saxiansa*.

Authentic goods are *foligu* (very good), boot is *butuo* shoe is *xue*.

Comprador is *kangbaidu*, Steamer boat is called *sitingba*.

Qiao ti means please drink tea, *xue tang* means please sit down.

Baked potato is called *putietuo*, Rickshaw is *likexue*.

Spank the butt with *banbu qu* (bamboo chop), rascal guy is called *danfenglu* (daffy low).

Mr Number One is *namowen*, shroff is called *shalaofu*.

Mark (currency bill) is *maike*, empty cent (pawn ticket) is *bidishengsi*.

Indians *kaibo du* (keep door), brother is *bolacha*.

Father is *fazha* and mother is *mazha*, father-in-law is *fayinluo*.][92]

Apart from direct records, CPE also appeared in publications. *Huyou zaji* was first published in 1876.[93] The author Ge Yuanxi had resided in Shanghai for fifteen years and witnessed the opening of the Shanghai port, along with the transformative changes brought about by immigrants from Canton and other regions of China, as well as the establishment of international settlements. The book aimed to provide information to arriving officers, merchants, and travelers about various aspects of Shanghai society. It

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[92] Zhongxian Wangn 汪仲贤, *Shanghai suyu tushuo* 上海俗语图说 [Shanghai jargons illustrated] (Shanghai: Shoujia Press 嘉寿出版社, 1948), 1.

[93] Yuanxi Ge 葛元煦, *Huyou zaji* 沪游杂记 [Miscellaneous notes on visiting Shanghai] (Shanghai shudian chubanshe 上海书店出版社, 2009).

was essentially an encyclopedia of Shanghai, with a wide range of content, including the contact information of merchants and firms authorized to trade with foreigners, brothels, and religious services such as churches and temples. Noticeable in the section about foreign language education, the author did not mention the existence of CPE, but pointed out the lack of English skills among traders and described the necessity of compradors in trading.[94] *Guide to Shanghai: A Chinese Directory of the Port*, a nine-volume work that, like *Huyou zaji*, was an encyclopedia of Shanghai. The last volume was devoted to the dialect of Suzhou and Shanghai, where CPE words were also included.[95]

In contrast to the scarcity of accessible Chinese records, the collections, and studies of CPE in English literature are notably more extensive. CPE appeared in multiple sources such as diaries, travel logs and memoirs. Most of the early accounts included selections of CPE examples out of curiosity rather than a systematic collection. The most detailed records in the nineteenth century include books and articles written by Samuel Wells

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[94] Ibid., 14.

[95] Shangwu yinshuguan bianjisuo 商務印書館編輯所, *Guide to Shanghai: A Chinese Directory of the* Port/上海指南 (Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 1930), Volume 9: 1-10.

Williams,[96] William C. Hunter,[97] Augustus Hayes,[98] W. J. Shaw,[99] and Charles G. Leland.[100] Important primary sources in the twentieth century include studies made by Frederick Airey,[101] A. P. Hill,[102] J. E. Reinecke[103] and Robert A. Hall.[104] These sources are composed of memoirs, personal collections, and creative essays of CPE.

CPR was introduced to Harbin concurrent with the establishment of Harbin station and the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1898. It found widespread use across various interactions between Russian and Chinese speakers, and to a lesser extent between Chinese and non-Russians.[105] Some

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[96] Williams, "Hungmaou Maemae Tung Yung Kwei Kwa, or Those Words of the Devilish Language of the Red-Bristled People Commonly Used in Buying and Selling," 276-87.

[97] Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825-1844*, 61-64.

[98] Augustus A. Hayes Jr., "Pidgin English," *The Century Magazine,* January, 1878: 372-76.

[99] W. J. Shaw, "Canton English," *The New Review* 16 (1897) 548-55.

[100] Leland, *Pidgin-English Sing-Song, or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect: With a Vocabulary,* 1-6.

[101] Frederick. W. Airey, *Pidgin Inglis Tails and Others* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1906).

[102] A. P. Hill and B. C. Weiss, *Broken China: a Vocabulary of Pidgin English* (Shanghai: A.P. Hill & C.B. Weiss, 1920).

[103] J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages: A Sociological Survey of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons, Volume 1* (Yale University Press, 1937).

[104] Robert A. Hall, "Chinese Pidgin English Grammar and Texts," 95-133.

[105] Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Tryon. *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas,* 815-26.

studies confirmed the existence of CPR in Harbin without any language

examples given, such as in Carter:

> one estimate that, in 1910, fewer than twenty Russians in Harbin could speak Chinese well. If Chinese wished to do business with the Russians (in the opinion of the one émigré), it was they who had to learn to speak Russian, or rather, amusing Russo-Chinese pidgin.[106]

In his book *To the Harbin Station: the Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria*,[107] Wolff described: "Chinese laborers learned pidgin Russian under the watchful eye of erstwhile Cossacks." In her autobiography, "My Family and its City: Fifty Years in Harbin," Moustafine described the use of CPR in her life:

> For during their years in Harbin, most Russians and Russian Jews lived in a predominantly Russian world, with little thought for the China around them. Few studied the language seriously or delved into the culture. Most of their interactions with Chinese were confined to their domestic assistants, tradesmen, and merchants, who spoke pidgin Russian.[108]

Moreover, several studies have concentrated on the grammatical

aspects of CPR in general, with a particular emphasis on Kyakhta Chinese-

Russian Pidgin, Ussuri Manchu-Tungusic Chinese-Russian Pidgin, as

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[106] James H. Carter, *Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism in an International City, 1916-1932* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

[107] Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914*.

[108] Mara Moustafine, "My Family and its City: Fifty Years in Harbin," (paper presented at International Seminar on the History and Culture of Harbin Jews, Harbin, China, 30 August – 2 September 2004), 1-9, https://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/harbin/Mara_Moustafine_Harbin_Conference_2004_Text.pdf.

demonstrated by the works of Shapiro,[109] and Perekhvalskaya.[110] Maslov's 2003 study on Chinese-Russian pidgin proposed a hypothesis regarding the compression of descriptors for a computer-oriented language. This hypothesis is grounded in the analysis of the Russian-Chinese pidgin, recognized as a stable simplified language that maximizes specified information under certain conditions.[111] The study of CPR in Harbin life, however, has scarcely been conducted, primarily due to its comparatively short-term existence and usage.

Thirdly, studies on CPR in Chinese literature have been relatively brief and primarily introductory. Zhao analyzed the historical circumstances that contributed to the disappearance of CPR in Harbin.[112] Xu analyzed the official and natural contact between Chinese and Russians across different historical stages, spanning from the mid-seventeenth century to the twenty-first century.

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[109] Shapiro, "Chinese Pidgin Russian," 1-59.

[110] Elena Perekhvalskaya, "Quantification in the Russian-Chinese Pidgin Квантификация В Русско-Китайском Пиджине," (paper presented at the International Symposium on Deictic Systems and Quantification in Languages Spoken in Europe and North and Central Asia, Udmurt State University, Iževsk, Russia, May 22-25, 2001), https://www.academia.edu/6925946/QUANTIFICATION_IN_THE_RUSSIAN_CHINESE_PIDGIN; And "Clause Structure in the Russian-Chinese Pidgin," (paper presented at the International Symposia on "Languages spoken in Europe and North and Central Asia" LENCA-2, Kazan, 2004), 94-97, accessed March 27, 2024, https://www.academia.edu/42293246/CLAUSE_STRUCTURE_IN_THE_RUSSIAN_CHINESE_PIDGIN.

[111] V. P. Maslov, "Note on a Computer-Oriented Language," *Problems of Information Transmission* 39, no. 3 (2003): 294-98.

[112] Zhao Luchen 赵鲁臣, "Haerbin zhong'e bianyuanyu xiaowang tanyin 哈尔滨中俄边缘语消亡探因 [The reason that the Sino-Russian marginal language disappear]," *Haerbin shangye daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 哈尔滨商业大学学报(社会科学版)4, no. 77 (2004): 123-4.

Additionally, he assessed the influence of social contact on foreign language education, translation, literature, and language.[113] Wang Enyu studied the Russian loanwords used in modern Harbin dialect.[114] Wang Peiying compiled a list of vocabulary used in CPR.[115] Among the studies mentioned above, the materials on CPR language are limited to only a few listed examples. Furthermore, these examples appear to be repeatedly quoted without indicating their sources. The most comprehensive study in Chinese literature is by Rong, who systematically analyzed and assessed the syntax features of CPR in detail.[116] However, the linguistic analysis provided did not adequately connect with the social context of Harbin, as it primarily focused on listing language materials without analyzing the historical backgrounds of the city.

Like CPE, CPR limericks are also circulated in Harbin. Here is one of the most well-known examples:

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[113] Xu Laidi 徐来娣, "Han'e yuyan jiechu chutan 汉俄语言接触初探 [Chinese-Russian language contact analysis]," Jiangsu waiyu jiaoxue yanjiu 江苏外语教学研究 1(2007): 76-87.

[114] Wang Enyu 王恩宇, "Yuanyu e'yu de hanyu wailaici 源于俄语的汉语外来词 [loanwords from Russian in Chinese]," *Dongbei shida xuebao* 东北师大学报 5(1987): 88-93.

[115] Wang Peiying 王培英, "Lun eluosi wenhua dui Haerbin de yingxiang 论俄罗斯文化对哈尔滨的影响 [Russian cultural influence in Harbin]," *Heilongjiang jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 黑龙江教育学院学报 21, no. 3 (2002): 90-96.

[116] Rong Jie 荣洁, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaoji zhong de bianyuanyu 中俄跨文化交际中的边缘语 [The marginal language in Sino-Russian cross cultural communication]," *Jiefangjun waiyuxueyuan xuebao* 解放军外语学院学报 21, no. 1 (1998): 39-44.

一到哈尔滨，满街毛子(maozi)调。来了个戈比旦(капитан)，开着马神车(машина)，搂着个玛达姆(Мадам)，喝着俄得克(водка)。奶油斯米旦(сметана)，列巴(хлеб)大面包，水桶喂的罗(ведро)，拦波电灯泡(лампа)。没钱喊捏肚(нет)，有钱哈拉少(хорошо)。谢谢斯巴细(Спасибо)，把脚抹(пойдём)走掉。木什斗克(мундштук)叨，旅馆开孬门儿(номер)，玛达姆(Мадам)卖俏。工人老脖带(работай)，咕食(кушай)不老好。[117] [Once you are in Harbin, the talk of the maozi (hairy people) can be heard everywhere. Here comes a *gebidan* (captain), driving a *mashen* (machine) car, his arm around a *madamu* (madam), drinking *edeke* (vodka). Cream is *simidan* (smetana), bread is *lieba* (hleb), bucket is *weideluo* (vedro), light bulb is *lanbo* (lampa). No money is *niedu* (net), having money is *halashao* (khorosho). Thank you is *sibaxi* (Spasibo), gone is *bajiaomo* (poydyom). Smoking a *mushiduke* (mundshtuk), getting a *naomer* (nomer) in a hotel, where a *madamu* (madam) sell her beauty. The worker *laobodai* (rabotay), the *gushi* (kushay) he eats isn't so good.] [118]

Jablónska focused on CPR spoken along the border of the Eastern-Chinese Railroad and in Harbin.[119] She collected language data through interviews of Polish railroad workers who left China in the late 1940s. She discussed the phonetic and lexical peculiarities of European and Chinese ethnolects. Bakich has compiled a dictionary of Harbin's CPR of well over 200 entries.[120] Her sources encompass periodicals, travel accounts, memoirs, literary works, and interviews with former Harbin Russians spanning from the

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[117] Since CPR is a spoken language, it lacks a standardized writing system. Consequently, some words are documented in literature using Latin letters, while others are in Cyrillic.

[118] Rong, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaoji zhong de bianyuanyu," 41.

[119] Alina Jablonska, "Jezyk mieszany chinsko–rosyjski w Mandzurii [Mixed Chinese–Russian language in Manchuria]," *Przeglad Orientalistyczny* 21, 1957, 157–68.

[120] Olga M. Bakich, "*Did You Speak Sino-Russian Pidgin?,*" Itinerario 35, no.3 (2011): 23-36.

late 1890s to the present. Once lived in Harbin as an émigré, Bakich observed

that CPR exists in two distinct forms, one spoken by Europeans and another

by Chinese speakers. These variations are particularly evident in phonetic and

phonological aspects, as well as in the selection of lexical items. Both Russian

and Chinese speakers tended to convey their ideas using words derived from

the respective opposite language, with the aim of facilitating better mutual

understanding. However, Bakich does not analyze the reason behind this

behavior or the cognitive mechanism if it is a general pattern in the daily use of

CPR. This observation, however, provides a very indicative clue about the

contact patterns of groups with different mother tongues. This study will

revisit this observation in further detail in Chapter Five, where the

Cooperation Theory of CPE and CPR will be elaborated.

Research Questions from Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2. Pidginization is not an indication of linguistics competence, but

stabilized group solution for communication. This solution is decided by the pidgin users'

second language acquisition (SLA) pattern: adult learners in a natural language contact

setting.

To illustrate Hypothesis 2, Chapter Four delves into the debate

surrounding social versus individual factors in pidginization. It contends that

pidginization should not be viewed as evidence of linguistic incompetence, but

rather as a collective adaptation for effective communication within a specific

social group. This solution is decided by the pidgin users' SLA pattern: adult

learners in a natural language contact setting. Given the salient characteristic

that pidgin lacks native speakers, any analysis of the formation and usage of CPE and CPR inevitably intersects with theories of SLA, particularly concerning cognitive and communicative competence. Chapter Four delves into the cognitive aspects of SLA to expound on the existence of CPE and CPR. This chapter examines and revises existing theories of SLA, including those concerning language learning environments, cognitive factors, age limitations, language fossilization, and interlanguage. This chapter extends these SLA theories within the context of pidginization. Firstly, it broadens the scope of the agent of L2 learning by focusing on the language acquisition process of entire speech communities, thereby shifting the traditional emphasis on individual learners to a collective approach centered on community learners. Secondly, it acknowledges that the progress of learner communities toward language acquisition can be socially impeded,[121] indicating that language acquisition is not necessarily a continuous process with no definitive endpoint. Finally, this chapter proposes a new model of language nature that acknowledges and accepts variations within a single language.

Research Questions from Hypothesis 3

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[121] John H. Schumann, "The implications of interlanguage, pidginization and creolization for the study of adult second language acquisition," *TESOL Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1974): 145-52.

Hypothesis 3. Pidginization is a language choice. It is a product of cooperation and purposeful motivation, influenced by internal and external variables from both sides of the interlocutors.

Chapter Five delves into the socio-cultural contexts that influenced the acquisition of pidgin in Shanghai and Harbin, aiming to address Hypothesis 3, which posits that pidginization is a motivated language choice stemming from cooperation and purposeful motivation. It is conceptualized by both internal and external variables of the interlocutors involved. Building upon the groundwork laid in Chapter Four, which reconsiders the prototype of pidgin genesis and usage, Chapter Five endeavors to reconstruct new pidginization theories from three perspectives: language accessibility, pidginization as cooperation, and pidginization as communication strategy.

Specifically, Chapter Five examines the socio-cultural dynamics that sustained the presence of CPE and CPR. Adopting a learner-focused perspective, this chapter considers both external and internal factors influencing the learners, contending that pidginization was driven by necessity-oriented learning and motivated acculturation and therefore proposes a Cooperation Theory, which suggests that rather than being constrained by social status disparities, the pidginization process was primarily motivated by the specific and functional need for communication.

As the final chapter of this study, Chapter Six posits that pidginization can serve as a viable SLA objective in for specific cohorts of users, owing to its demonstrated efficacy in facilitating communication. This chapter undertakes a nuanced exploration of effective language acquisition, thereby reframing the

definition between language development and language acquisition. Despite existing discourse surrounding CPE and CPR within the context of English and Russian education in China, there remains a lack of studies on these languages from a SLA perspective. Given that CPE and CPR represent practical instances of second languages in active use, an investigation into their SLA mechanisms stands to inform the diverse requirements of contemporary L2 learning in China.

CHAPTER TWO

THE AGENTS OF CPE AND CPR

> Le langage n'est vraiment social, selon
> nous, que s'il est une création de la
> société, une insliluiion inhérente à la
> société. Le langage, qui est le fait social
> par excellence, résulte des contacts
> sociaux. Là est le problème capital: quel
> est le rôle de la société, en tant que
> société, dans la constitution et les
> progrès du langage? [Language is truly
> social, in our view, only if it is a
> creation of society, an institution
> inherent to society. Language, which is
> the quintessential social fact, results
> from social interactions. Here lies the
> fundamental question: what is the role
> of society, as a society, in the formation
> and advancement of language?]
>
> Joseph Vendryes, *Le Langage: Introduction
> Linguistique a L'Histoire.* Paris: La
> Renaissance du Livre. 1921:16.

Chapter One proposed three hypotheses as a framework for this study.
The first hypothesis posits that the use of pidgin languages transcends social
boundaries. Pidginization emerges because of collaborative endeavors between
local inhabitants and foreign settlers, rather than being driven solely by
unilateral efforts. The same chapter also established that pidgin languages lack
native speakers and are typically employed as second languages. Furthermore,
it highlighted that mutual linguistic unintelligibility is characteristic of the
pidginization process. Since this study regards pidginization as a language
choice made by both parties involved in communication, it is prudent to

examine both ends of the social spectrum. This approach aims to demonstrate that pidgin languages are not solely initiated and utilized by one side of the communication, but by both parties. Furthermore, it highlights that pidgin languages are not exclusive to a specific class of the population but are used by individuals of varying social statuses. The study will demonstrate this through an analysis of the demographic data from Shanghai and Harbin. It will discuss the population size and distribution of residents in both cities to illustrate that both Chinese locals and foreign settlers played significant roles in the utilization of CPE and CPR.

Pidgin languages are products of language contact. This aspect of mutuality of pidgin inspires us to explore who the interlocutors are. As Saussure puts in his *Course in General Linguistics*:

> It is the social side of speech, outside the individual who can never create nor modify it by himself; it exists only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community. Moreover, the individual must always serve an apprenticeship in order to learn the functioning of language.[122]

Analyzing demographic information is significant for three reasons. Firstly, demography analysis frames the agencies of inter-community communication. Based on the demographic statistics of the foreign émigrés, settlers, merchants, and refugees in Shanghai and Harbin discussed in this chapter, Chapter Four and Five will be able to further address the users' education, occupation, employment, payment level, and social status in detail. Secondly, a quantitative and micro-geographical analysis of the agencies

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[122] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), 14.

indicates the usage of the pidgins in terms of location and density. This gives the most direct view on the scale of pidgin usage in both cities. Thirdly, the aim of this chapter is to pinpoint the pidgin users. Therefore, a comparative analysis of demographic data from both cities will illuminate the factors related to contact with foreign populations that influenced the usage of pidgins.

POPULATION SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION

Shanghai
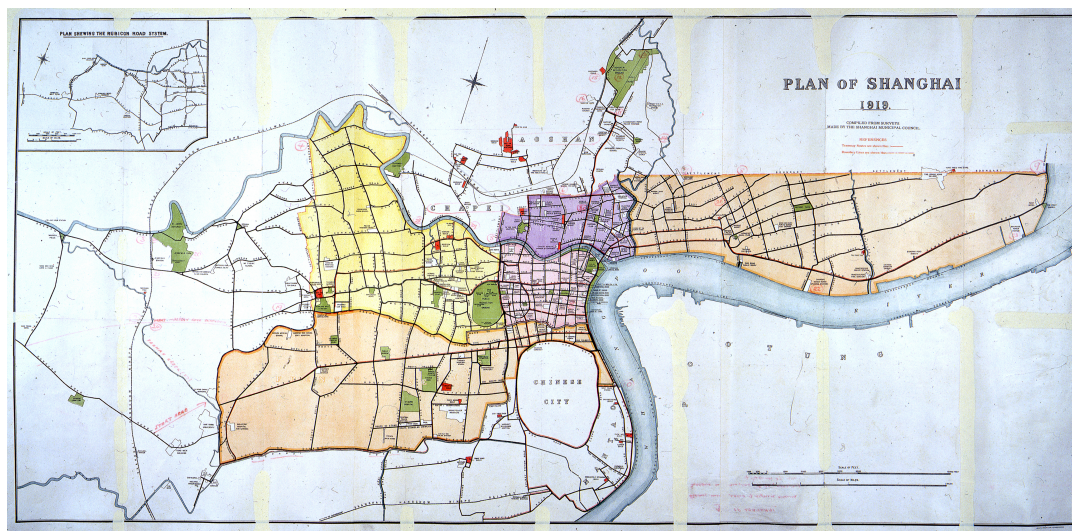
Figure 1: Plan of Shanghai, 1919. Compiled from surveys made by the Shanghai Municipal Council. This map demonstrates the location of the Chinese city which is encircled by its city wall at the center. The French Concession, depicted in orange, is situated immediately to the north and west of the Chinese city. Additionally, the International Settlements, represented in various colors, are located to the north of the French Concession. Courtesy of the "Plan of Shanghai 1919", Map Database, Virtual Shanghai, accessed 23.05.2024, https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Maps/Collection?ID=28.

Foreigners began settling in Shanghai as early as 1845. The early settlers were extremely unbalanced in gender and highly specified to commercial oriented professions. In 1845, fifty British traders launched several trading companies. In 1848, the number of settlers grew to more than a

hundred, and twenty-four trading companies were recorded.[123] This statistic

was echoed by MacLellan, who stated that the foreign population at the time

of settlement was over a hundred, of whom only seven were ladies, and

twenty-five mercantile firms were in business in the Settlement.[124] After

Shanghai opened port, the foreign settlers grew rapidly. In 1865, there were

3180 foreign emigrants in the English and the American settlement, in addition

to 460 emigrants in the French Concession.[125] These numbers were challenged

by Dyce, who mentioned that according to a census taken 30 June 1870, there

were 1,666 foreigners in Shanghai, of which 894 were British. Excluding the

Indians, Malays, and other non-European settlers, as well as the 104

Portuguese, who were primarily Eurasians from Macao, the European

population totaled approximately 1400.[126] Dyce also mentioned that the

European population was composed of "nearly all men, the proportion of

women and children at this time being comparatively small."[127] Darwent's

research also stated similar numbers: "The foreign population at each

quinquennial period since 1870 shows the following expansion: 1,666, 1,673,

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[123] *Shanghai zujie zhi* 上海租界志 [Chronicle of Shanghai settlement] (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai difangzhi bangongshi 上海市地方志办公室, 2005), 110.

[124] John W. Maclellan, *The story of Shanghai, from the Opening of the Port to Foreign Trade* (Shanghai: North-China Herald Office, 1889), 18.

[125] *Shanghai zujie zhi,* 111.

[126] Charles M. Dyce, *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in the Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1906), 31.

[127] Ibid., 32.

2,197, 3,673, 3,821, 4,684, 6,774." [128] This shows that in thirty-five years till

1915, the foreign population in Shanghai quadrupled.

Since Shanghai was a trading port, it was normal for the foreign

population to fluctuate in different records. Dyce added that the total number

of "all foreign nationalities, not including residents in the French Concession,

nor shipping in harbor, nor the navy" reached 11,497 in 1905.[129] Darwent

stated that according to the census in 1900, the "foreign population was 6,777,

and consisted of 3,181 men, 1,776 women, and 1,817 children,"[130] excluding

the foreign shipping population of 1,253.[131] According to the *Shanghai zujie zhi*

the total number of foreign emigrants accumulated to 15,000 at the turn of the

twentieth Century. This number is presumably including the shipping

population and navy.[132] The foreign houses numbered 1,600 while the local

houses numbered 49,000. By 1920, the foreign population had exceeded 7,000,

with local population reaching 350,000. Similarly, the native Chinese

population in Shanghai quadrupled since 75,000 in 1870 to 350,000 in 1920.[133]

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[128] Charles E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City, Second Edition* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1920), 204.

[129] Dyce, *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in the Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, 209.

[130] Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City, Second Edition,* 199.

[131] Ibid., 232.

[132] *Shanghai zujie zhi*, 111.

[133] Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City, Second Edition,* 206.

According to *the Zhongying hezai Shanghai yangjingbang beishou zujie zhangcheng [Land regulations and bye-laws for the foreign settlement of Shanghai, north of the Yang-king-pang],* the concessions were restricted to foreign emigrants, while the Chinese population was confined to the old county area of Shanghai.[134] Yet, when the Taiping Rebellion troops occupied Shanghai in 1862, many Chinese sought shelter within the settlements. Consequently, the Shanghai Municipal Council legalized Chinese residence in the settlements that year, leading to the breakdown of segregation between Chinese and foreign settlers and fostering a mixed coexistence of nationalities within the concessions.

The following chart compiles Shanghai census statistics from various sources published in Shanghai during the 1910s and 1940s. It illustrates the distribution of Chinese and foreign populations from 1913 to 1942.

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[134] *Zhongying hezai Shanghai yangjingbang beishou zujie zhangcheng* 中英合载上海洋泾浜北首租界章程 [Land regulations and bye-laws for the foreign settlement of Shanghai, north of the Yang-king-pang] (Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 1920), 7.

		1913[135]	1930[136]	1930[137]	1932[138]	1933[139]	1933[140]	1942[141]
SC[142]	Chinese			1,571,098				
	Foreign			9,374		9,388		
	Total	579,478	1,669,575	1,580,436	1,069,959	1,609,535	1,669,575	
IS	Chinese			1,030,554	971,397			
	Foreign			44,240	36,471			
	Total			1,074,794			1,007,868	1,586,021
FC	Chinese			462,342	423,885			
	Foreign			16,210	12,922			
	Total			478,552			434,807	854,380
Foreigners total in settlements			42,869					87,549
Chinese total in settlements			1,232,164					2,352,852
Settlements total		595,651						
MS	Chinese			3,063,985				
	Foreign			69,797				
	Total	1,175,129	2,944,608	3,133,782	2,507,215		3,112,250	2,694,600

Table 1: Shanghai population 1913-1942

[135] "Zuijin jinshi shanghai renkou zhi baogao 最近京師上海人口之報告 [Latest census report of Beijing and Shanghai]," *Xiehe bao* 協和報, November 1913, 4.

[136] Lu Sheng 陸生, "Shanghai renkou sanbaiwan 上海人口三百萬 [Population of Shanghai: 3 million]," *Shishi zhoubao* 時時週報, no. 1 (1930): 7.

[137] Peter Hibbard, *All About Shanghai and Environs: The 1934-35 Standard Guide Book.* (Shnaghai: The Univeristy Press, 1935; Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 2008), 34.

[138] Wei Jun 維俊, "Zhongguo zhanhou zhi shanghai renkou 中國戰後之上海人口 [Shanghai population after the battle of January 28 Incident (28.01.1932-03.03.1932)]," *Sheying huabao* 攝影畫報, no. 347 (1932): 281.

[139] "Shanghai huajie zhi renkou tongji 上海華界之人口統計 [Census of Shanghai County]," *Guangxi weisheng xunkan* 廣西衛生旬刊, no.5 (1933): 15.

[140] "Shanghai renkou yu mianji zhi diaocha 上海人口與面積之調查 [Shanghai census and land area statistics]," *Yinhang zhoubao* 銀行週報, no.8 (1933): 13.

[141] "Shanghai renkou zongshu 上海人口总数 [Census of Shanghai]," *Yinhang zhoubao* 銀行週報, no.7 (1942): 1.

[142] SC: Shanghai County; IS: International Settlement; FC: French Concession; MS: Metropolitan Shanghai.

The table above illustrates two points. Firstly, foreign settlers are distributed in all three areas of Shanghai including Shanghai County, the International Settlement, and the French Concession. Most of the foreign settlers were in the International Settlements, and there were several thousands of them in Shanghai County which is the area that accommodates the most Chinese population among the three districts. This indicates that the living areas of foreign settlers and Chinese locals are not strictly separated in the time frame indicated in the chart. Secondly, the foreign population in Shanghai takes only a small friction of total Shanghai population. According to Hibbard's numbers in the chart, the population in the International Settlement and French Concession combined, regardless of nationalities, constitutes half of Shanghai's total population. In 1930, the International Settlement and French Concession contained 46.1% of the population, while the rest of Shanghai contained 53.9%. This calculation matches the record in *Shanghai zujie zhi*.[143] However, the total foreign population in Shanghai constituted only 2.2% of the entire population. The percentage of foreign residences in the Settlement was 4.1%, and 3.4% in the Concession. And according to the numbers in 1942, the foreign settler consists of 3.2% of the entire Shanghai population. The low percentage of foreign settler population in contrast to the total population of Shanghai indicates that the foreign immigrants in Shanghai were far from being the majority.

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[143] *Shanghai zujie zhi*, 121.

These two observations lead to two propositions. First, the absence of strict segregation between Chinese and foreign residents facilitated the usage of CPE in Shanghai. In contrast, during the Hong monopolized trading days in Canton, foreign merchants and local Chinese residents were segregated. Exclusive foreign quarters and hostels were established as a deliberate policy to separate foreigners by nationality and prevent contact with local population. By the end of the trading season, the foreign ships and crew were required to retreat to the foreign enclaves in Macao. Any foreign personnel, regardless of rank and title, who wished to set foot on Chinese soil had to present a petition and only after his petition is granted was he allowed to go ashore. [144] However in Shanghai, according to the *Zhongying hezai Shanghai yangjingbang beishou zujie zhangcheng [Land regulations and bye-laws for the foreign settlement of Shanghai, north of the Yang-king-pang],* foreigners were permitted to rent and purchase Chinese properties at rates prevailing among local residents, without imposition from either party. In addition, they "shall enjoy proper accommodation in obtaining houses and places of business."[145] The dynamics of language contact have progressed from a limited exchange in Canton to a daily occurrence in Shanghai, resulting in the expanded usage of CPE.

Secondly, foreign population takes less than 5% of the total population. The number seems insignificant, yet CPE was a prevalent

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[144] Weng E. Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade* (Richmond: Curzon, 1997), 2.

[145] *Zhongying hezai Shanghai yangjingbang beishou zujie zhangcheng* 中英合载上海洋泾浜北首租界章程 [Land regulations and bye-laws for the foreign settlement of Shanghai, north of the Yang-king-pang], 4.

phenomenon in Shanghai. In his work, Darwent dedicated the first chapter to

CPE with introductions and examples to facilitate the visitors.[146] In *Xiexiao*

shenghuo (學校生活)a youth magazine in Shanghai targeting students as its main

readership, the phenomenon of CPE was also discussed.[147] Therefore, it is

debatable whether the presence of pidgin language correlates directly with the

proportion of the foreign population. The subsequent section, which delves

into the population dynamics of Harbin, will shed further light on this matter.

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[146] Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City, Second Edition*, 1-3.

[147] Wen Gang 文剛, "Yangjingbang yulv 洋涇浜語錄 [A record of CPE]," *Xuexiao shenghuo* 學校生活 no.30 (1933): 7-9.

Harbin

Figure 2: Map of Harbin published by South Manchuria Railway in 1926. This map demonstrates the location of Harbin laying at the junction of the Chinese Eastern Railway and its southern spur to Changchun, where it met with the South Manchuria Railway. The districts of Pristan, Fuchiatien (also spelt as Fujiadian), New Town and Old Town are distinctly marked. Courtesy of the "Manchoukuo: Come for the Prosperity, Stay for the Harmony," Library of Congress Blogs, accessed May 23, 2024, https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2021/06/manchoukuo-come-for-the-prosperity-stay-for-the-harmony/.

From 1896 to 1898, Russia secured concessions to build a railroad, which linked Chita and Vladivostok as an alternative route to the Trans-Siberian Railway through Chinese territory. A branch line was then built from Harbin to Dairen and Port Arthur in Manchuria. The construction was finished in 1903, and the track came to be known as the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER). Harbin, originally a fishing village, experienced great population growth because of the railroad, becoming part of the international

arena as a multicultural Far East metropolis within two decades. The population of Russian-speaking communities in Harbin drastically raised and dropped from 1898 to the 1930s.

Before the construction of CER, there was no Russian population in Harbin, except for occasional visits of Russian military and merchant ships along the Sungari River.[148] The first Russian émigrés who arrived in Harbin with the CER were mainly engineers, railway constructors, technicians, some with their family dependents, CER guards, businessmen and missionaries. According to the *Yuandongbao* in 1911, several thousand immigrants were brought to the city by the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER). In 1912, the train subsequently transported twelve thousand more immigrants to Harbin.[149] The number of Harbin Russian émigrés in 1912 was 43,091, consisting 63.7 per cent of the entire population.[150] The term "Russian émigré" used here refer to those who use Russian as their L1, as not all the emigrants are ethnic Russian. Among them the majority were Russians, furthermore Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Georgians, and other ethnic groups. Carter pointed out that a 1913 census

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[148] Zhengxie leilongjiangsheng weiyuanhui wenshi yanjiu weiyuanhui 政协黑龙江省委员会文史研究委员会 [Heilongjiang Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference], *Haerbin wenshi ziliao* 哈尔滨文史资料 [Cultural and historical data of Harbin] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龙江人民出版社, 1997), 23-30.

[149] Shi Fang 石方, Liu Shuang 刘爽, and Gao Ling 高凌, *Haerbin eqiaoshi* 哈尔滨俄侨史 [The history of Harbin Russian émigrés] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龙江人民出版社, 2003), 78.

[150] Li Debin 李德滨, *Heilongjiang yimin gaiyao* 黑龙江移民概要 [A brief history of immigration in Harbin] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龙江人民出版社, 1987), 1.

estimated that only 17.3 percent of New Town's population was Chinese.[151] Considering the existence of immigrants from other nationalities, these two sources correspond. A 1915 census put the number of Russians living in Harbin (not including *Daowai* district) at 55,326 and the number of Chinese populations at 12,000. However, the precision of the figures regarding Russian speakers contrasts with the rounded numbers associated with the Chinese population, indicating that the latter may have been estimates rather than exact counts.[152] According to Bakich's description, the Russian railway administration managed to complete a census of the total population of Harbin without *Fujiadian* overnight in February 1913:

> Harbin had 68,549 residents, […] Nearly two thirds (43,691) were subjects of the Russian Empire and over one third (23,639), subjects of the Chinese Empire, with Japan following far behind with 757. Subjects of other states were 119 Austro-Hungarians, 93 Germans, 42 British, 40 Turks, 39 Greeks, 30 French, 11 Americans, 9 Italians, 8 Persians, 7 Dutch, 7 Danes, 6 Bulgarians, 5 Rumanians, 5 Mongols, 4 Serbs, 2 Belgians, 2 Swiss, 1 Norwegian, 1 Montenegrin, 1 Portuguese, and 28 "unknowns." […] As for language spoken at home, these 53 "peoples" spoke 45 languages. Although 34,313 residents identified themselves as Russian, over 2,000 more (36,603) spoke the language; […] The second dominant language was Chinese: 23,422 out of the 23,537 Chinese residents used Chinese as their native tongue.[153]

Controversies about whether Russian-speaking people constituted the majority of Harbin's population exist due to different methods and scope of

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[151] Carter, *Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism in an International City, 1916-1932,* 17.

[152] Ibid., 17.

[153] Olga M. Bakich, "Russian Émigré's in Harbin's Multinational Past: Censuses and Identity," in *Entangled Histories: The Transcultural Past of Northeast China*, ed. Dan Ben-Canaan, Frank Grüner and Ines Prodöhl (Cham, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London: Springer, 2014), 87.

calculation. During World War I the population of Russian émigrés dropped to 34,118 due to the tactical relocation of the CER guards and compulsory drafting among Russian civilian émigrés in Harbin into European battlegrounds.[154] This population decrease was corroborated by Wolff,[155] who noticed that the population of Old Harbin in 1912 was reduced from its 1903 estimation by 48%.

According to Gamsa, after the 1918, Harbin experienced an influx of refugees escaping Russia due to revolution and civil war. This influx resulted in the Russian population in Harbin reaching a record high of over 185,000 in the early 1920s, positioning Harbin as a major hub of Russian emigration alongside cities such as Berlin, Paris, Prague, Belgrade, and Sofia.[156] According to Shi, Liu and Gao, with the military's relocation of refugees and soldiers into Harbin, the number of Russian émigrés in Harbin surged to a height of 155,402 in 1922 and increased to more than 200,000 in 1923.[157] This statistic is in accordance with Bakich, who indicated that after the Russian Civil War (1917 – 1921), the influx of émigrés from Russia quadrupled from 40,000 to over 165,000.[158]

The primary cause of Harbin's population declines during World War I was unemployment. Waves of relocation went to other cities in China, other

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[154] Shi, Liu and Gao, *Haerbin eqiaoshi*, 109.

[155] Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914,* 92.

[156] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 7.

[157] Shi, Liu and Gao, *Haerbin eqiaoshi*, 254.

[158] Bakich, "*Did You Speak Sino-Russian Pidgin?,*" 23-36.

countries, or back to Soviet Russia. By 1929, the Russian population in Harbin

dropped to 57,000.[159] The 1924 nationality policy of Harbin's USSR Consulate

General cost many Russian émigrés their jobs, thus forcing them to leave to

other countries. According to the 1929 census of the Chinese Police

Department, Harbin had in all 160,670 residents, of whom the largest group of

97,776 were Chinese, followed by 30,362 (mainly Russian) émigrés and 26,759

Soviet citizens.[160] *The Manchuria Year Book 1931* contains Harbin demographic

data from 1907 to 1931. In 1931, there were 309,253 Chinese, twice as much as

the previous census, 3,910 Japanese, 1,422 Korean, and 69,987 other

Nationalities; there were a total of 384,572 people living in Harbin.[161]

The variation in statistics arises from the lack of clarity in these studies

regarding the geographic scope and calculation standards applied. For example,

The Manchuria Year Book 1931 counting based on the information provided on

passports, without regard to ethnic origin. So that the Russian speaking

population who held Chinese passports were also counted as Chinese. Bakich's

studies have not extensively covered the Chinese population in the *Fujiadian*

district. The residents of Harbin would be considered predominantly Chinese,

if *Fujiadian* district was included, as *Fujiadian* was officially incorporated into

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[159] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 7.

[160] V. A. Kormazov, "Rost naseleniia v Kharbine i Futsziadiane [Growth of population in Harbin and Fujiadian]," *Vestnik Man'chzhurii* 7 (1930): 25.

[161] *The Manchuria Year Book 1931* (Tokyo: Toa-Keizai Chosakyoku [East-Asiatic Economic Investigation Bureau], 1931), 17.

Harbin only in 1932 and came under the administration of the city.[162] From 1932 to 1933, *Fujiadian* had appropriately 180,000 inhabitants, almost exclusively Chinese.[163] Carter's study indicated that a more detailed census conducted in 1929 showed that the percentage of Chinese had grown to 47.3 per cent of New Town, which was the only district at that time where the Chinese were a minority. The population of Pristan district was evenly distributed between Chinese and foreigners, shifting gradually from a slight foreign majority (53% in 1913) to a slight Chinese majority (52% in 1929).[164] Based on these estimates and the evident economic interdependence between *Fujiadian* and the other districts before it was politically included into Harbin, it can be concluded that the overall population of Harbin was predominantly Chinese.

Similar to Shanghai, Harbin also had a heterogeneous residential pattern where Chinese and foreigners coexisted. Until 1925, numerous streets and churches in Harbin bore Russian names, offering insight into the locations where Russian-speaking communities resided. Prior to WWII, there were 300 streets with Russian names in Harbin, located in Pristan, New Town and Old Town districts, for example: [165]

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[162] Carter, *Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism in an International City, 1916-1932,* 20.

[163] Ibid., 21.

[164] Ibid., 17.

[165] A Cheng 阿成, *Yuandong beiying, Haerbin laogongguan* 远东背影, 哈尔滨老公馆 [The shadows of the Far East: the historical buildings in Harbin] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: baihuawenyi chubanshe 百花文艺出版社, 2006).

Ул. Гоголя [Ul. Gogolia/ Street of Gogol]

Ул. Чехова [Ul. Chekhova/Street of Chekhov]

Ул. Красноярскаяул [Krasnoyarskaya ul./Krasnoyarsk Street]

Японскаяул[Yaponskaya ul./Japanese Street]

Русскаяул [Russkaya ul./Russian Street]

Ломономовскаяул [Lomonosovskaya ul./Lomonosov Street]

Владивосточная [Vladivostochnaya/Vladivostok Street]

The location of these names suggests that these were the areas where
CPR was most likely used in Harbin. Furthermore, there existed over fifty
churches representing various denominations of Christianity, predominantly
situated in the New Town district. The names of these churches were
documented in both Russian and Chinese, signifying a linguistically diverse
residential environment.

DEMOGRAPHY STATISTICS IMPLICATION

The demographic data of Shanghai and Harbin have exhibited certain
similarities. Firstly, both cities were inhabited by more than fifty nationalities,[166]
with one or two predominant groups of settlers whose languages served as the
principal lexifiers of the local pidgins. Secondly, from the outset of their
establishment, both cities had a notably low number of female and juvenile
foreign settlers. This suggests a gender imbalance in the settlement process,
which likely promotes various forms of cross-gender interactions. These

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[166] Olga M. Bakich, "Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 99, no. 1 (2000): 53, Project MUSE.

interactions, whether professional or personal, act as catalysts for the use of CPE or CPR. Thirdly, despite the initial segregation of foreigners from the Chinese population, this barrier broke down swiftly, and both cities maintained mixed living spaces for both groups of settlers. This facilitated the pervasive and routine use of CPE and CPR.

However, a distinction in the demographic scenarios of Shanghai and Harbin becomes apparent from the description in the last section, reflecting the essence of pidgin language. It is visible from the previous sections that Shanghai has a significantly lower percentage of non-Chinese-speaking population compared to Harbin. As shown in the Shanghai case, a 5 per cent foreign population could generate and maintain a cross lingual contact that sustains the use of CPE. Therefore, one might assume that the emergence and dissemination of pidgin language, serving as a means of communication among diverse linguistic communities, are not necessarily correlated with a specific proportion of foreign settlers. As is discussed in Chapter One, this study does not see the existence of pidgin either as single sided language learning effort or lack of language learning ability. Instead, pidgin language emerges as a linguistic equilibrium that all parties involved in the contact have mutually accepted. It is an indicator of stabilized social and psychological distance between the parties in contact. The persistence of CPE and CPR, unaffected by the numerical disparity in foreign presence between Shanghai and Harbin, suggests that the contact equilibriums in both cities are comparable. In the case of Harbin, regardless of the different calculation approaches, the foreign language-speaking settlers made up a much higher percentage of Harbin's population

than Shanghai's. Still, the city of Harbin did not become a Russian-speaking or Chinese-speaking city. This indicates that the level of contact in Harbin was not more intense than that in Shanghai. The social and psychological distance between Chinese and foreign settlers in both cities was significant and stable enough to support the practical use of CPE and CPR.

Furthermore, this chapter suggested that the users of CPE and CPR encompassed the majority of Harbin's and Shanghai's foreign immigrant communities, who predominantly utilized CPE and CPR for communication among themselves and with the local populations, irrespective of social hierarchy. Unlike many other instances of language contact, where one might presume that the use of pidgin among the less privileged groups in Shanghai and Harbin was driven by economic necessity, demographic analysis indicates that income level did not serve as a determining factor in the utility of pidgin. The influx of World War I refugees into Harbin, which significantly increased the city's Russian speaking population, did not elevate their social status above that of the local Chinese populace. When they had to use CPR to communicate with the local Chinese for various purposes, it was not a dialogue characterized by hierarchical differences, but rather a discourse driven by needs. In addition, in the case of CPE, the underprivileged were not its only users.

From the writings of Morrison in the mid-nineteenth century to various Shanghai travel guides published after the city opened port, CPE was transcribed in Latin alphabet for the convenience of European visitors, just as it was transliterated into Chinese characters for the benefit of the local Chinese population. According to Wolff, in the New Town of Harbin, 35 per cent of

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the Chinese population were employed as either *boiki*, such as house servants

or cooks, and 38 per cent were employed as *chernorabochie* (CPR for unskilled or

semiskilled workers). In Pristan, 40% of the residents, regardless of

nationalities, were tradesman, storekeepers, and skilled workers. Some of them

were quite well off.[167] Similar description appeared in Chiasson's work, which

indicated that both "submissive co-workers and servants or tyrannical

overlords have to speak pidgin Russian so that Russians can communicate with

them."[168] This serves as clear evidence that both CPE and CPR were

communication tools used across the social spectrum, indispensable for

anyone intending to live and work comfortably in Shanghai and Harbin.

In affirming the first hypothesis of this study, the demographic

evidence presented in this chapter supports the absence of social hierarchical

boundaries in the use of CPE and CPR. They should not be regarded as

languages attributed to a specific group of people. Instead, the highly mobile

nature of the populations in the settlements of Shanghai and Harbin suggests

that CPE and CPR were languages that anyone could adopt and utilize

efficiently as required.

This chapter also substantiated that pidginization is the outcome of

collaborative efforts from both local residents and foreign settlers, rather than

stemming solely from unilateral initiatives. This collaboration may entail a

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[167] Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914,* 93.

[168] Blaine Chiasson*, Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria's Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918-29* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2010), 7.

mutual willingness to communicate, as well as simultaneous reluctance to deepen connections. It represents an acknowledged distance between the interlocutor groups, which remains unchanged regardless of the quantity of foreign settlers present in the contact zone.

In the following chapter, a classification of CPE and CPR sources will illustrate that the usage of these languages was not confined to specific social hierarchies or professions. Moreover, the gender disparity among the settlers implies that CPE and CPR served purposes beyond mere trade communication. They likely functioned as languages of intimacy and recreation as well. The evidence and arguments pertaining to these hypotheses will be examined in the subsequent chapter, which comprehensively addresses the diverse topics discussed in CPE and CPR.

CHAPTER THREE

RANGE OF APPLICATION: CPE AND CPR

> "You have heard the term 'pigeon English'," said a gentle man the other evening who has spent many years in China." well, the means business English, or in other word, a language that enabled the benighted Celestials to conduct commercial operations with outside folks. It is a mixture of almost everything.
>
> Odds and Ends. (1887, January 17). *New York Times*, p. 4.

The statistics presented in the previous chapter indicate that CPE and

CPR were utilized by both foreign settlers and Chinese locals in various

contexts, encompassing both private and public spheres. Public usage extended

to work-related environments as well as social gatherings and entertainment

venues. Considering the demographic analysis from the preceding chapter,

where working men constituted the majority of Shanghai's and Harbin's settler

populations, it becomes apparent that their social lives and recreational

activities, in addition to their occupational endeavors, significantly influenced

the use of these languages. Djordjevic identified 1,350 international clubs and

associations in Shanghai from 1840 to 1950. They included alumni

associations, amateur photographic clubs, theaters, band, charity organizations,

country clubs, sports, secret societies, aviation clubs, agricultural associations,

art societies, the Chamber of Commerce, and youth associations.[169] These clubs and associations operated for decades and had thousands of members. It is unclear whether all settlers could speak CPE fluently, but it is reasonable to assume that they had to use CPE to varying extents and in various situations during their lives in Shanghai. This would include interactions with Chinese staff in clubs, interactions with drivers and servants, as well as in entertainment venues and offices. According to the demographic statistics, CPE and CPR were also used in family settings. In their privacy, house servants, cooks, nannies, personal assistants, and marital partners (official or not) used pidgin to communicate. This chapter gives a clear categorization of the topics that CPE and CPR were used to discuss to verify the above speculation from the last chapter.

Based on the aforementioned records of Shanghai and Harbin, it is evident that pidgin was utilized in a diverse array of settings, predominantly in trade and service, for entertainment, and various other purposes. However, the studies and memoirs cited merely highlight scenarios where CPE and CPR were required, without further categorization of these scenarios. In what follows, I provide examples of how CPE and CPR were used in each circumstance, thus bringing into focus how and by whom pidgin languages were used in an everyday setting.

It is worth noticing that both CPE and CPR, like all pidgins, were primarily oral languages lacking a standardized writing system. Consequently, in

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[169] Nenad Djordjevic, *Old Shanghai Clubs and Associations* (Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 2009).

the language materials cited in the subsequent sections of this chapter, the same pidgin word may exhibit spelling and grammatical variations. The majority of CPE records are based on the recollections of the writers, making the language materials subjective and potentially embellished. Therefore, researchers should approach these materials with caution and may need to trim them for accuracy.

<center>LANGUAGE OF BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS</center>

<center>***CPE in Business Transactions***</center>

As mentioned in Chapter One, several versions of *Hungmaou Maemae Tung Yung Kwei Kwa* were published between the 1830s and 1870s. As they were all transliterated into Canton dialect, they shared similar content with minor differences of phonetic notation. The books' contents were centered on issues related to business. For example, Bijingtang Press' version contained 372 entries of words and phrases, categorized into four sections of ninety-three entries, including Business and Numbers, Person and Proverbs, Daily Communication, and Food and Misc.[170] The authors are unknown. The anonymity of authorship may be attributed to these textbooks being the collective effort of multiple contributors and the low social status of traders who interacted with foreign businessmen.[171] Another notable compilation

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[170] Keiichi Uchida, "紅毛通用番話，について [Regarding the pidgin spoken by the red-haired people]," *Wakumon* [或問] 7, (2003): 127-8.

[171] During the Qing Dynasty in China, merchants generally held a low social status compared to other classes such as scholars, officials, and landowners.

published before Shanghai opened port was made by Robert Thom, a translator and diplomat from England in the nineteenth century, stationed in Canton, employed by the trading firm Jardine, Matheson & Co. from 1834, and temporarily assigned to the British military during the First Opium War (1839 – 1842). In 1843, he published *Chinese and English Vocabulary: Part First*.[172] In his work, he categorized CPE vocabulary into "Business and Numbers" and "Daily Communication." In comparison to the *Hungmaou Maemae Tung Yung Kwei Kwa,* this book was "compiled chiefly with a view to facilitate intercourse at the Northern Ports," therefore the pronunciation of English words were illustrated in "Peking or Court dialect."[173] Moreover, this book has compiled conversations samples accompanied by its English translation, as well as translations of official titles, governmental appellations of the Qing government. This book is therefore considered to be more socially functional for its readers.

After the center of Chinese foreign trade moved to Shanghai from Canton. The earliest textbook of CPE in Shanghai was *Yinghua zhujie,*[174]

This was primarily due to Confucian values that prioritized agriculture and frowned upon commercial activities. Merchants were often viewed as profiting from the labor of others without contributing to society in a meaningful way. As a result, they were often subject to various restrictions and discrimination, including limitations on their attire, hairstyle, and residence. Despite their economic importance and prestige, merchants faced social stigma and were not accorded the same level of respect as other occupations. – Note author.

[172] Robert Thom, *Chinese and English Vocabulary: Part First* [华英通用杂话]*,* (Canton, 1843), https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-49757619/view?partId=nla.obj-49757624#

[173] Ibid., 58.

published in 1860.[175] The textbook was co-authored by six compradors who spoke Ningbo dialect. Ningbo is a city to the northwest of Shanghai. Many Ningbo businessmen migrated to Shanghai taking advantage of the open port in the 1850s. A comprador is a domestic aide employed in European households in Canton, responsible for procuring goods from local markets on behalf of their employers. Over time, the term broadened to encompass local suppliers engaged by foreign enterprises in East Asia, as well as native managers overseeing corporate operations in the region. This book was one of the first major handbooks on English learning for Shanghai locals and visitors. The vocabulary was categorized into 39 sections, including "foreign cities," "astronomy," "geography," "plants," "imported goods," "furniture," etc. The book was compiled in the Ningbo dialect to break the monopoly of CPE textbooks transliterated in the Cantonese dialect. Before this book was published, knowledge of the Canton dialect was necessary for understanding CPE handbooks. According to the author Feng Xueqin:

> 中外通商始于乾隆年间，广东之香港斯时皆用粤人为通事，以通其言。即我帮业广号者，均兴十三行交易，不知外国之商情也。至道光壬寅年，奉旨五口通商，贸易日盛，而以上海为大宗。初通之际，通事者仍系粤人居多，弥年以来，两江所属之府县，亦不乏人。而吾邑惟尹紫芳、郑久也、姜敦五诸君而已兹奉。[Foreign trade between China and other countries began during the reign of Emperor Qianlong (reigned from 1735-1796). Hong Kong city of Guangdong Province and at that time employed Cantonese

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174 Feng Xueqin 冯雪卿, *Yinghua zhujie* 英话注解 [Notes on English dialogues] (Shouzhutang cangban 守拙堂藏版, 1860).

175 Gu Weixing 顾卫星, "Zhongguo zhaoqi chuban guimo zuida de zhongguo geti yingyu duben 中国早期出版规模最大的中国各体英语读本 [The major English books published in early modern China]," *Jiangxi shifan daxue xuebao* 江西师范大学学报(哲学社会科学版) 40, no. 4, (2007): 126-31.

intermediaries to facilitate communication. Therefore, including our own enterprise, were only trading with the Thirteen Factories in Canton and were largely unaware of foreign commercial practices. It was during the reign of Emperor Daoguang (reigned from 1820-1850), in the year of Renyin (1832), that the imperial decree permitted trade at five designated ports, leading to a flourishing trade industry, with Shanghai emerging as a major hub. Initially, the intermediaries involved in this trade were predominantly Cantonese, but over the years, individuals from various prefectures and counties in the two provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang also participated. However, in our prefecture, only Mr. Yin Zifang, Mr. Zheng Jiuye, and Mr. Jiang Dunwu are capable of to managing this task.][176]

Given that merchants from Ningbo constituted a great portion of the Chinese merchants in Shanghai, a CPE textbook transliterated in the Ningbo dialect significantly benefited local traders and the local economy.

Nonetheless, from Yang Xun's serialized publication of *Bieqin Zhuzhici* (別琴竹枝词/Pidgin chanson) in *Shen Bao* newspaper from 3 March 1873, [177] [178] it seems that the use of CPE was not restricted to business settings but expanded to the service and entertainment sectors and even personal conversations. Yang compiled CPE into 100 "*zhuzhici*," which is a form of

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[176] Feng, *Yinghua zhujie*, 1.

[177] "The Shanghai News," commonly known as "Shen Bao 申报" was a prominent newspaper in Chinese history. Established in Shanghai in 1872, it was one of the earliest large-scale private newspapers in modern China. It played a significant role in news dissemination and public opinion guidance in China, serving as an important news platform for an extended period. -Note author.

[178] Chen Xuan, "Zaoqi *Shenbao* suozai zhuzhici dui chuantong mingge de jicheng yu gexin 早期《申报》所载竹枝词对传统民歌的继承与革新 [The transformation of traditional folk songs brought by the inclusion of zhuzhici in early publications of of *Shen Bao*], " Journal of School of Chinese Language and Culture Nanjing Normal University 南京师范大学文学院学报 no. 2 (June 2014): 44-50.

classical poetic Chinese folklore. The language was transliterated into Chinese characters of old Wu accent, an accent used in several provinces around Shanghai: Jiangsu, Zhejiang and part of Anhui. Yang acquired decent English skills as one of the earliest graduates of Shanghai Guangfang Translation Institute which was established in 1864. He also published the earliest Chinese-English Dictionary in China named *Ying Zi Zhinan*.[179] The folklore series published on *Shen Bao* was to be integrated as part of his planned book of *Pingfa Juyu* (拼法举隅/*Correct Spelling and Grammar of English Words*) presenting pidgin English alongside its standard form as examples of contradistinction. However, there was no follow-up record indicating whether this book was printed.

The CPE folklores published in the *Shen Bao* newspaper represent a milestone in CPE publications. They not only stand as the earliest documentation of the phonetics and vocabulary of CPE in Shanghai but also vividly depict the cultural exchanges of the nineteenth century in the city. These folklores portray scenarios that were culturally surprising to Shanghai locals during the mid to late nineteenth century. For instance, scenes include a boy responding to a bell at a hotel reception, encounters with individuals with unbound feet, consumption of tea with added sugar and milk, auctions, the close-knit community of compradors, interactions between individuals at a teahouse, gardeners sculpting cypress bushes into animal shapes, and

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[179] Yang Xun 杨勋, *Yingzi zhinan* 英字指南 [A guide to English words] *(*Qiuzhicaotang 求志草堂, 1879), Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua 中國哲學書電子化計劃 [Chinese Philosophy Book Digitization Project].

participation in Catholic church rituals.[180] These scenarios provide insight into the contexts where CPE may have been utilized and the potential participants in CPE conversations.

Newspapers of English language, in their reports of CPE, also recorded professions and situations where CPE was used. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* on 14 December 1873 nominated shopkeepers and servants as users of CPE: "'Pigeon-English' is a curious jargon commonly used as a means of communication between the foreigner who has no knowledge of the Chinese language and the Chinese shopkeeper and servant with a limited knowledge of English."[181] In his *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travelers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City*, Darwent noted that "Pidgin... is extensively utilized for various matters." He documented several instances where CPE was commonly employed, such as hiring rickshaws, hotel check-ins and services, shopping, and conversing with photographers.[182]

In the 1930s, according to the *Washington Post* article of "China Learns English," CPE was used in Shanghai almost "universally." However, this article only gave examples of CPE using of coolies and rickshaw pullers.[183]

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[180] Zhou Zhenhe 周振鹤, "Bieqin zhuzhici bai shou jianzhi -- Yangjingbang yingyu yanjiu zhiyi 别琴竹枝词百首笺释 -- 洋泾浜英语研究之一 [Explanation on 100 pieces of pidgin zhuzhici]," *Shanghai Wenhua* 上海文化 (1995): 3.

[181] "Pigeon English," 6.

[182] Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travelers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City, Second Edition*, 1-4.

[183] Su-lee Chang, "China Learns English," *Washington Post,* December 20, 1931, M6, ProQuest.

> [...] English is universally spoken. In dancing halls, tearoom, stores, hotels, restaurants, theaters and playgrounds English-speaking attendant are invariably a part of the service. Porters and coolie know enough for their trade. Rickshaw pullers, the pitiful but picturesque human vehicles of transportation, are often a pleasant surprise to American tourists. With panting breath and dripping sweat these "human carriage" demand of the patrons "tent-fi cen," "taty cen" or "talla (dollar), as the case may be, and after receiving the amount, express gratefulness with an innocent 'tank you.' 'no can do' is on the tip of the tongue of those who see the red-haired and blue-eyed foreigners. 'OK' is becoming popular.

Due to CPE's business nature, the primary group of users was the compradors. The *New York Times* introduced the occupation of compradors in 1887.

> In all European firms in Hong Kong, it was a necessity to have such a Chinaman to act as go-betweeners for the English seller and the Chinese buyer. This man usually enters the firm as a paid clerk. He was generally fairly educated and must be able to converse in Chinese Pigeon English. Through his means all bargains were completed, as the Englishman cannot speak Chinese, nor can the Chinese dealer converse in English. These compradores, as they were called, were wealthy and responsible men. In some cases they belong to families ranking among the highest classes. The job of a compradore, is no sinecure, because once the business fails, they have to pay. Thus it is of extreme importance for any business to secure the service of a compradore who is wealthy, honest and reliable.[184]

In the commercial and diplomatic chronicles spanning the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) and the Republic of China era (1912-1949), the role of compradors transcended mere vocational engagement. They served as pivotal agents in facilitating economic transactions and fostering cultural exchange between China and foreign entities. Acting as intermediaries between foreign and Chinese merchants, compradors fulfilled primarily economic duties, which

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[184] *New York Times*, "The Compradore," April 3, 1887, accessed June 14, 2010, 5, ProQuest.

concurrently facilitated their engagement in social, political, and cultural endeavors. The occupation of a comprador was notably lucrative, often constituting a profitable part-time pursuit. The *Chicago Tribune* on 10 December 1871 described a comprador as one "ma[d]e much money outside of their regular business."[185] Several qualifications were usually taken into consideration when a foreign merchant was selecting a comprador for hire. His first concern was linguistic training. A comprador was invariably expected to be able to speak CPE, talking about various trade concerned topics. Fairbank recorded such a conversation between a Taipan and his comprador:[186]

> Taipan: "How fashion that chow-chow cargo he just now stop godown inside?"
> Comprador: "Lat cargo he no can walkee just now. Lat man Kong Tai he no got ploper sclew."
> Taipan: "How come you talkee sclew noploper? My have got sclew paper safe inside."
> Comprador: "Aiyah! Lat sclew paper he no can do. Lat sclew man he have no Ningpo more far."
> [Taipan: "What's the status of that miscellaneous cargo he just stopped at the warehouse?"
> Comprador: "That cargo cannot be moved just now. The purchaser doesn't have proper security."
> Taipan: "Why are you saying there's inadequate security? I have the proper security papers inside."
> Comprador: "Oh no! Those security papers won't suffice. The person responsible for security has disappeared into the hinterland."][187]

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[185] "The Celestial Empire," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 5, 1871, 5, accessed June 13, 2010, ProQuest.

[186] "Taipan" is a historical term used to refer to the chief executive or senior official of a British trading establishment in East Asia, particularly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The term originated from the Cantonese word "taai-paan," which means "great leader" or "supreme leader." – Note author.

[187] John K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast: The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842–1854* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 13.

The inability to converse proficiently in CPE was regarded as uncommon for compradors, despite variations in language proficiency among individuals within this occupation.[188] In Fairbank's book, he mentioned a comprador whose name is Sunkee used Pidgin English to give testimony at the U.S. Consular Court at Shanghai in 1875.[189] Another comprador named Tong King-sing "spoke English like a Briton."[190] Howqua, the leader of the Co-hongs, who wrote to Lord Napier, also used CPE. His estimated value of estate in 1834 was $26,000,000. Houqua was undoubtly pleased with his finance situation. He described himself in CPE "My all same Ba-Blo! [I am just like the Baring Brothers!]" The Baring Brothers were the great British bankers of the time.[191] it is apparent that there were compradors who spoke CPE regardless of their rank, even when they ascended to leadership positions within the profession. These evidence strongly contradicts the assertion that CPE exclusively belongs to the lower socio-economic strata.

In addition, Schiff's book *Maskee: A Shanghai Sketchbook* described other professions that used CPE, apart from beggars and rickshaw pullers on the street. For example, in a tailor shop, while measuring a plunging V-neck

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[188] Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China Bridge between East and West* (Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1970), 155.

[189] Ibid., 277.

[190] Ibid., 84.

[191] George Lanning, and Samuel Couling, *The History of Shanghai* (Shanghai: For the Shanghai Municipal Council by Kelly & Walsh, 1921), 132.

evening dress for a blond lady, the Chinese tailor asks her: "How much meat you wanchee pay look-see missie? [How much do you want to be seen, Miss?]"[192]

Medical doctors also learned CPE to conduct business transactions and impart medical advice with foreigners. Holcombe had occasion to employ a Chinese chiropodist residing in Shanghai. When it came to the payment, the chiropodist, knowing that the Chinese minister visited Holcombe, insisted that in the face of assertion that his regular charge to all foreigners, excepting Japanese, was fifty cents; and he enforced his claim by this argument in CPE: "… Sposey that China minister come see you, you b'long all same he. You b'long same he, you makey pay one dollar all same. That b'long ploper.[If the Minister of China comes to visit you, you are like him. If you are the same (rank) as him, you should pay one dollar. That's the right thing to do.]" [193]

The Chinese policemen were also among those who have close contact with the foreign settlers. The Chinese constables in Shanghai can be traced back to the 1860s when the Taiping Army occupied the southern Jiangsu region. This led to a large influx of immigrants into Shanghai, causing a population boom in the city. To adapt to this situation, as well as to address the shortage of Western constables and save costs, the Municipal Council decided to employ Chinese people as constables. "巡捕房创自咸丰初年，初惟雇佣西人，后以工食太巨，兼用华人。[The police station was

[192] Friedrich Schiff, *Maskee: A Shanghai Sketchbook* (Shanghai, 1940), 15.

[193] Chester Holcombe, *The Real Chinaman* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1895), 295.

established in the early years of the Xianfeng (1850-1861) era. Initially, only Westerners were employed, but later, due to the high cost of labor, Chinese people were also employed.]"[194] The Chinese policemen working in foreign settlements were called *lukong* in CPE. According to the principle of the Municipal Council, the policemen received English training by the Department of Translation.[195] These *lukongs* are spoken to in CPE by their supervisors as well as the policeman-interpreters. However, it appears that their proficiency in CPE was not particularly strong, as "when asked where they have to go, scarcely anyone of them can tell, so that they have often to be told two or three times."[196]

CPR in Business Transactions

Similar findings regarding the social contexts in which CPR was utilized have been observed in Harbin. Concerning the circumstances of CPR using, Bakich, a *Harbintsy*, a term refers to people of Russian decent who were born in Harbin, made a nomination of different professions in business and service:

> (The Russian émigrés') contacts with the Chinese were limited to shopkeepers, peddlers, laundry men, owners of small repair shops, and servants. As one Harbin Russian recalled, "the 'old' China was turned to us with the smiling faces of our cooks, shopkeepers, suppliers, laundry men, tailors, and shoemakers… Most of their interactions with Chinese

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[194] Huang Shiquan 黄式权, *Songnan mengyinglu* 淞南梦影录 [Dreams and shadows of the south of Shanghai] (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shenbaoguan 上海申报馆, 1883; reis., Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 1989), 119.

[195] *Shanghai zujie zhi,* 78.

[196] Holcombe, *The Real Chinaman*, 84.

were confined to their domestic assistants, tradesmen and merchants, who spoke pidgin Russian, or with educated Russian-speaking Chinese.[197]

Karlinsky also mentioned shopkeepers as CPR users in his study, including illiterate vendors, artisans, and servants.[198] In Kozlova's study conducted from 2007 to 2008, Russians who had returned to Russia between 1935 and 1955 after residing in Harbin were interviewed. CPR emerged in the interviews in various scenarios, including interactions with Chinese farmers delivering vegetables and with Chinese neighbors.[199] Moustafine's family resided in Harbin from 1909 to 1959. During her speech at the International Seminar on the History and Culture of Harbin Jews, she recounted her interactions with Chinese locals in Harbin, primarily limited to domestic assistants, tradesmen, and merchants who communicated in CPR, or with educated Chinese individuals fluent in Russian.[200] Anna Slavutskaja, daughter of Mikhail Slavutsky, who served as the general consul of the Soviet Union in Harbin from 1931 to 1937, also recounted her use of CPR while bargaining for a paper fan from a Chinese shop owner on Harbin streets.[201] The vegetable

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[197] Bakich, "Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin," 53.

[198] Simon Karlinsky, "Review of *Memoirs of Harbin*, by Valerij Perelesin and Jan Paul Hinrichs," *Slavic Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 284–90. https://doi.org/10.2307/2499121.

[199] Alena Kozlova, "Russian View on Harbin Past on Materials of Oral Testimony of Former Harbin's Residents in 1932-1955," paper presented at Global Challenge & Regional Response Early twentieth Century Northeast China and Harbin: Their Social, Cultural, Economic and Political Encounters with the World, Harbin, Heilongjiang University, June 17-20, 2009.

[200] Moustafine, "My Family and its City: Fifty Years in Harbin."

mongers addressed her father as "*Капитан! Капитан!* [Kapitan! Kapitan!]."

And the CPR words such as *базар -- bazar* [市场/bazar],[202] *рубль – rubl* [卢布

/ruble], *копейка – kopeika* [a CPR word invented by Russian émigrés to refer to

Chinese currency of all units], *купец – kupets* [商人/merchant] indicated the

existence of trade between Russian émigrés and Chinese.[203]

The surviving materials pertaining to Harbin CPR primarily comprise

individual words, short phrases, and sentence fragments, with complete

sentences, recorded dialogues, or cohesive paragraphs being exceedingly rare.

Consequently, conducting a discourse analysis of these language materials to

discern communication settings is unfeasible. Determining the contexts in

which these phrases were utilized can only be inferred through a semantic

mapping of vocabulary. The author has compiled 184 entries of CPR words,

among which 43 denote locations such as church and street names. The

remaining 141 entries are categorized into six groups: Food and Supplies,

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[201] Anna M. Slavutskaja, *Haerbin dongjing mosike: yige sulian waijiaoguan nver de huiyi*
哈尔滨东京莫斯科: 一个苏联外交官女儿的回忆 [Harbin Tokyo Moscow:
memories of a Soviet diplomat's daughter] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Heilongjiang
renmin chubanshe 黑龙江人民出版社, 2008), 34.

[202] Since CPR is a spoken language, it lacks a standardized writing system.
Consequently, some words are documented in literature using Latin letters,
while others are in Cyrillic. Therefore, the presentation of all CPR vocabularies
in this study will follow the format: *Cyrillic spelling(or how the Russian speakers
recorded or pronounced it) – Latin, pinyin spelling (or how the Chinese speakers pronounced
it)* [Chinese translation/English translation]. However, when a certain CPR
word has no counterparts in Chinese or Russian, Cyrillic spelling might not be
able to be provided, instead an explanation of word meaning will be provided
directly. – Note author.

[203] Rong, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaojizhong de bianyuanyu," 42.

Entertainment, Trade and Daily Communication, Factory Jargon, Expletives, and Appellation. These entries have been gathered from previous studies. For the numerical distribution of these words, please refer to the table below.

Category	Number of words
Food and Supplies	38
Entertainment	9
Trade and Daily Communication	45
Factory Jargon	26
Expletives	8
Appellation	15
Total	141

Table 2. The distribution of CPR words

The predominant categories, namely Trade and Daily Communication, Food and Supplies, and Factory Jargon, suggest the primary domains where CPR was extensively employed. It is visible from this chart that CPR is a language of trade and mainly used for basic communications of daily life and factory works.

Furthermore, in terms of the contributors to the vocabulary, both Russian and Chinese played a role. According to Stern, "the Manchurian variant appears to have a mixed lexicon with a roughly equal share of Russian and Chinese items."[204] There were terms specifically referencing items found exclusively in China. The vocabulary encompasses various categories, such as food, Chinese measurements, housing, personal titles, and entertainment.[205] Please refer to the table below for the figures regarding the presence of Chinese and Russian terms in each category. It should be noted that the

[204] Dieter Stern, "Russian Pidgin Languages," 3.

[205] Rong, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaojizhong de bianyuanyu," 43.

numbers presented in this table may not be entirely precise. This discrepancy arises from the existence of certain items with both Russian and Chinese equivalents, allowing interlocutors to select the appropriate language based on the context of communication. As observed by Bakich in her study, Chinese individuals tend to incorporate more Russian words when conversing with each other, and vice versa, in order to enhance mutual understanding during discourse. For example, the word *водка – vodka* [伏特加/vodka] is also known by another name, *huojiu* [火酒/ fire liquor].

Category	Russian	Chinese
Food and Supplies	30	8
Entertainment	8	1
Trade and Daily Communication	22	23
Factory Jargon	26	0
Expletives	8	0
Appellation	4	11
Total	98	43

Table 3: The numbers of words in Russian and Chinese respectively

Where it comes to Food and Supplies, the usual commodities on the markets were Russian staples such as *хлеб – hleb* [列巴/bread],[206] *брюква – brjukva* [萝卜/turnip], *сяски – suski* [咸鱼/salted fish], *буза – buza* [酒精/alcohol], *булочка – bulochka* [面包/bread roll], *печенье -- pechen' e* [饼干/biscuit], *вафли -- vafli* [华夫饼/waffle], *водка – vodka* [伏特加/vodka], *квас – kvas* [格瓦斯/ kvass], *махорка – mahorka* [麻雀/makhorka],[207] and Chinese goods such as *фентези – fentezy* [粉条子/glass noodle],[208] *бадьян – bajiao* [八角

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[206] Wang, "Yuanyu e'yu de hanyu wailaici," 92

[207] Ibid..

/star anise], *гаолян – gaoliang* [高粱/sorghum], *чумиза – chumiza* [小米/millet], *гаолян – gaolian* [糕点/pastry], *манхулу –tankhulu* [糖葫芦/sugar coated fruits], *доуфу – doufu* [豆腐/toufu] and *чучай – tschutsai* [韭菜/Chinese chive], *чифань/ чифанить – chifan/chifanit* [吃饭/eat].[209]

Trade and Daily Communication category contains measurements such as *динь – din* [斤/Engl. a unit of weight = 1/2 kg],[210] common goods and locations such as *фанза – fanza* [房子/house], *кан– kan* [炕/a heatable brick bed],[211] *магазина – magazina* [商店/shop],[212] simple adjectives, simple verbs (*давать – davat* [给/give][213], *пили – pili* [看/see][214]) and short phrases (*piliuli davai!* [give pills!],[215] *poguli* [have a walk][216]). The introduction of Western medicine into Chinese communities in Harbin coincided with the outbreak of the plague in 1910. Obtaining precise statistics regarding the death toll of the

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[208] Bakich, *"Did You Speak Sino-Russian Pidgin?,"* 30.

[209] Rong, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaoji zhong de bianyuanyu," 43.

[210] Ibid., 42.

[211] Perekhvalskaya, "Quantification in the Russian-Chinese Pidgin," 95.

[212] Kapitolina Fedorova, "Language Contacts on the Russian-Chinese Border: the Second Birth of Russian-Chinese Trade Pidgin," *University College London Discovery* 1 (2011): 72-84.

[213] Bakich, *"Did You Speak Sino-Russian Pidgin?,"* 31.

[214] Perekhvalskaya, "Quantification in the Russian-Chinese Pidgin," 96.

[215] Bakich, *"Did You Speak Sino-Russian Pidgin?,"* 31.

[216] Shapiro, "Chinese Pidgin Russian," 6.

plague is challenging; however, reports indicate that more than 60,000

individuals succumbed to the disease over six months in Manchuria.[217] The

outbreak reached Harbin in October 1910 and by November 8th, the city had

recorded 5,272 deaths.[218] Initially, the adoption of western medical practices

among the Chinese residents in Harbin was limited. However, this changed

significantly following a devastating loss of lives. Given the influential presence

of Russia and Japan in Manchuria's railway infrastructure, addressing the

plague effectively necessitated collaboration between their authorities and

China.[219] In November 1910, medical professionals from China and Russia

conducted a joint visit to *Fujiadian* to evaluate the circumstances. western

medical terms also entered CPR, for instance: *доктор – doctor* [医生/doctor],

ампула – ampula [安瓿/ampoule], *витамины – vitaminy* [维生素/vitamin],

пенициллин – penitsillin [盘尼西林/Penicillin], *холера – kholera* [疟疾/Cholera],

etc..[220]

The Factory Jargon was a prominent category as CPR was originally

brought into Harbin through the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway. In

the author's collection, there are 26 factory jargon entries among 141 CPR

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[217] Spyros N. Michaleas et al., "The Manchurian pandemic of pneumonic plague (1910-1911)," *Le Infezioni in Medicina* 30, *no.3* (Sep 2022): 464-468.

[218] William C. Summers, *The Great Manchurian Plague 1910-11: The Geopolitics of an Epidemic Disease* (London: Yale University Press, 2012), 10-11.

[219] Mark Gamsa, "The Epidemic of Pneumonic Plague in Manchuria 1910-1911," *Past and Present* 140, no.1 (2006), 151.

[220] Wang, "Yuanyu e'yu de hanyu wailaici," 91.

words. To find a job on the Chinese Eastern Railway, CPR was a must for Chinese workers. In Wolff's description, the Chinese laborers were forced to learn CPR under the watchful eyes of the Trans Armur Boarder Guards.[221] The workers needed to address people using terms such as *начальник - nachal'nik* [老板/boss; chief; principal] or *компания – kompaniya* [公司/company; colleague] and needed to know essential equipment names such as *газ – gaz* [气体/gas] is.[222] Curses and threats also exist among CPR users. One might warn to *kan'trami* [杀/kill][223] his conversation partner, or most of the time, not so seriously, consider his boss in the factory as a *чушка – chushka* [猪/piglet].[224]

The Appellation is a direct indicator of who were the users of CPR. As is shown in Table 3, Russian contributors are less than that for Chinese. Overall, the addresses for Russians are very general, apart from the ones used in factories; *капитана – kapitana* [长官/captain] and *мадама – madama* [夫人/madam] were used normally to address Russian men and women.[225] The Chinese addresses, displays more diversity, as *фудутун – fudutun* [副都统/vice commander], *цзянь-цзюнь – jiang-jun* [将军/general],[226] *гоминдан – gomin'dan* [国

[221] Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914,* 1.

[222] Rong, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaojizhong de bianyuanyu," 43.

[223] Shapiro, "Chinese Pidgin Russian," 5.

[224] Xu, "Han'e yuyan jiechu chutan," 78.

[225] Ibid..

[226] Bakich, "*Did You Speak Sino-Russian Pidgin?,"* 29.

民党/Nationalist Party of China], *хунхузы – khunkhuzi* [红胡子/bandit], *кули* *– kuli* [苦力/coolie, physical laborer], *ходя – khodya* [伙计/waiter].[227]

LANGUAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS

CPE in Households

Many travelers and settlers in Shanghai have observed that the domestic servants, male and female, spoke CPE. The female servants and nannies were called "Amah,"[228] and the male were called "Boy." An ordinary boy servant received generally about eight US dollar per month.[229] He diligently fulfills his duties, catering to his master's requirements at the dining table, serving beverages such as coffee or tea bedside, and meticulously handling all laundry matters. In the presence of his master, he remains readily accessible, promptly responding to the call signaled by the bell.[230]

Different Boys' CPE levels are varied. A reporter of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* described a minor annoyance when he had first arrived in China. He wanted his Boy to bring him breakfast to the bed. The boy smiled, nodded,

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[227] Wang Ting 王婷, E'yu zhong de hanyu jiezi 俄语中的汉语借词 [Chinese loanwords in Russian]," *Heilongjiang Jiaoyuxueyuan Xuebao* 黑龙江教育学院学报 29, no. 3(2010): 177-9.

[228] Leland, *Pidgin-English Sing-Song, or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect: With a Vocabulary,* 7.

[229] Given the situation that Shanghai did not have unified currency at that time, the boy could be paid in dollar or in *Yuan.* — Note author.

[230] Holcombe, *The Real Chinaman*, 86.

and left. However, he never came back with anything.[231] Some could speak

elementary CPE. The Boy who served in Dyce's household, a frequent figure

in his memoir, exhibited a rather rudimentary command of language and

proved quite challenging to comprehend:[232]

> "Tea have finish," and later, "Bacon have finish." Unaware of the
> calamities in store for you, you would go out for your day's shooting,
> and at dinner the boy, who had apparently been taking stock of the
> provisions during the day, would say, "Bread have finish"; and after a
> pause would add, "My thinkee tomorrow everything must finish." His
> knowledge of Pidgin was of a rudimentary character, so much so that it
> was difficult to understand what he meant when he said anything, and it
> was difficult to get him to understand what was said to him.

 Other Boys appeared to be more creative with their languages. They

tended to use very simple words and productive combinations to describe a

specific situation. For example, a young man who called upon two young ladies

was sternly informed by the Boy who opened the door: "That two piecey girlie

no can see. Number one piecey top side makee washee-washee. Number two

piecey go outside, makee walkee-walkee. [You can't visit the two ladies now.

One lady is upstairs having a bath, the other is out for a walk.]" [233]

 The *Boston Daily Globe* on March 14, 1872, also recorded a story of a

Boy: the reporter's friend had left his office one day for an hour and on

returning was informed by one of his Boys that a gentleman has called to see

him, where upon a conversation took place between the two, as follows:

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[231] "Pigeon English," 6.

[232] Dyce, *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in the Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, 124.

[233] Ellsworth Huntington, *Asia: A Geography Reader* (Chicago, New York: Rand, McNally & Co., 1912), 240.

>Friend: What name that gentleman?
>Boy: My no savey.
>Friend: Where belong that gentleman?
>Boy: My no savey. But my can tell what fashion he make looksee. One tallo man, no too muche stout, hab got one nose all same that Mellican chicky.
>[Friend: What's the name of that gentleman?
> Boy: I don't know.
> Friend: Where is he from?
> Boy: I don't know. But I can tell you what he looks like: he is a tall man, not too stout. He's got the same nose like that American girl."] [234]

In addition to male servants, the mention of *Amah* is frequently notable in various memoirs. However, records of their language are seldom found. In the latter part of the 1930s, Europe teetered on the brink of a widespread conflict. Against the backdrop of the impending Holocaust, numerous Jewish families from Germany sought asylum in one of the limited available safe harbors: Shanghai. Formerly characterized as "the armpit of the world," Shanghai became the ultimate sanctuary for tens of thousands of Jews, providing refuge from the catastrophic effects of Hitler's "Final Solution." Although the then 11-year-old Ursula Bacon made the 8000 mile voyage to Shanghai, she identifies herself as a *Shanghailander*, a term adopted by foreign settlers who were born and raised in Shanghai to describe themselves.[235] In her memoir *Shanghai Diary: A Young Girl's Journey from Hitler's Hate to War-Torn China*, her Amah plays a significant role as a caregiver and a figure of stability in the life of the young girl. For the author, her Amah also represents the

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[234] "Pigeon English," *The Boston Daily Globe*, March 14, 1872, 3, accessed June 16, 2010, ProQuest.

[235] Graham Earnshaw, *Tales of Old Shanghai: The Glorious Past of China's Greatest City* (Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 2008), 38.

cultural exchange and adaptation that Ursula and her family undergo in Shanghai.[236] According to her, she had a close relationship with her *Amah*, as it was common in a foreign settler's household that the children spent more time with their *Amah* than with their parents. There are multiple records of Amah's CPE in the book. The following is an example:

> In the meantime, to Amah's delight, I had completed my course in jujitsu. "Young Missy now plenny strong, plenny quick; make chop-chop with bad men. [Young Missy is now very strong, very quick; she can deal swiftly with bad men.]"

> Amah still popped in several times a week, even if there was little to do, and less money to pay her. But she had an answer for everything. "You no wolly pay Amah. Bamby yong Missy mally lich man, Aman come live with young Missy all-time. Young Missy have plenny dollah; Amah no wolly. [You don't need to worry about paying Amah. Eventually, young Missy will marry a rich man, and Amah will come live with her all the time. Young Missy will have plenty of money; Amah doesn't worry.]"[237]

Besides domestic workers, cooks were also common household workers. One amusing anecdote involves Stephen Rodyenko, author of the book *Small Me: A Story of Shanghai Life*. It is a memoir that depicts his childhood experiences growing up in Shanghai during the early twentieth century. The book provides a vivid description of the author's life in the city, including his family, friends, and daily routines. Once he was duped by his friend into consuming cat meat. Receiving an invitation to his friend's home without being informed of the contents of the meal, only after consuming the

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[236] Ursula Bacon, *Shanghai Diary: A Young Girl's Journey from Hitler's Hate to War-Torn China* (Seattle: Hara Publishing, 2002).

[237] Ibid., 179.

stew did he learn that it was made from cat meat. To Mr. Rodyenko's shock

and disbelief, the host then called upon the cook as a witness:

> The cook, in the manner typical of his station, scratched his head and, after meticulously cleaning his fingernails, spoke in the rudimentary and unrefined pidgin-English used exclusively by low-ranking servants: "Yes, this blong cat. You sabee, cat, C-A-T, mao-mao. This moling my master he come kitchen-side and he talkee to me this fashion: 'Cook,' he talkee to me, 'this evening come fliends of mine, vellee goodee fliends, but little clazy in head,' my master talkee. 'You go out, cook, go, catchee one piecee, big, fat cat, mao-mao, you sabee, and you makee good stew, must be vellee fine stew, suppose no good stew, fliends be vellee angly and make you eat bamboo stick . . . so you go catchee nice fat cat, not too old.' Ai-yah, you no believe me, you think I talkee lie? [Yes, this is a cat. You know, cat, C-A-T, meow-meow. My master, he came to the kitchen and spoke to me like this: "Cook," he said, "this evening, some friends of mine are coming, very good friends, but a little crazy in the head," my master said: "You go out, cook, go, catch a big, fat cat, meow-meow, you understand, and make a good stew. It must be a very fine stew. If it's not good, the friends will be very angry and make you eat a bamboo stick. So, go catch a nice fat cat, not too old." Oh my, you don't believe me, you think I'm lying?][238]

CPR in Households

While it is reasonable to speculate about the use of CPR in Russian

households in Harbin, such an assertion cannot be fully supported solely by

the language data of CPR. Instead, it can only be inferred through personal

accounts and descriptions found in people's memoirs. For instance, Bakich

noted that CPR was used with "cooks" and "domestic assistants,"[239] a

statement that was corroborated by Moustafine's autobiographical speech,

suggesting that CPR had a functional role in domestic settings.[240] In addition,

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[238] Stephen Rodyenko, *Small Me: A Story of Shanghai Life* (New York: James A. McCann Co., 1922), 104.

[239] Bakich, "Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin," 53.

[240] Moustafine, "My Family and its City: Fifty Years in Harbin."

Slavutskaja's memoir also quoted no CPR directly spoken by the Chinese servants in their household.[241] Although she recounted learning some simple Chinese from the domestic help. This learning experience enabled her to engage in basic commercial exchanges, such as when she went shopping on China Street in Harbin for bamboo fans and could bargain by yelling price numbers in Chinese to the shopkeeper. Although Slavutskaja's experience suggests a direct learning of Chinese rather than the use of a pidgin, it is reasonable to conjecture that some form of CPR might have been involved in her learning process.

<p style="text-align:center">LANGUAGE OF ENCRYPTION</p>

CPE as Language of Encryption

In addition to business transactions and household services, CPE was employed in various resourceful ways. *Shanghai Xianhua* mentioned that the Chinese who learnt English, having difficulty remembering the form of the 26 English alphabet, replaced the alphabet with 26 rudiments of Chinese characters such as: 丨 丿 凵 to facilitate writing and spelling.

> 洋泾浜话为不中不西之一种特别话，沪上尽人所知者。… 英文字母计二十六字，当华人初与外人接触之时，此字母之音，华人颇能学舌，惟其字形则屈曲旁行，难于摹拟。黠者因以中文部首之丨丿凵〇等指定二十六式，以代英文字母二十六字。此项字体，道光季年颇盛行。[The pidgin is a particularly unique language, well-known throughout Shanghai. ... There are twenty-six English letters, which were learned by the Chinese when they first came into contact with foreigners. However, the shapes of these letters are somewhat twisted and difficult to replicate. Therefore, some clever

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[241] Slavutskaja, *Haerbin dongjing mosike: yige sulian waijiaoguan nver de huiyi,* 28.

individuals designated twenty-six Chinese radicals, such as 丨, 丿, 凵, ◯, to represent the twenty-six English letters. This type of writing was quite popular during the Daoguang Emperror's reign(1820-1850).][242]

According to Yao, this replacement was quite commonly applied among the open-air compradors (露天通事) in the 1860s. The open-air compradors were those who could not afford an office so that could only wait around in the open-air for customers. "大抵均歇业之西崽、马夫等集合而成。遇外国水手及初至上海之洋商购买食物,则若辈自愿为之向导,而从中渔利者。[The group was mostly composed of laid-off Chinese servants, coachmen, and others. When foreign sailors or newly arrived foreign merchants in Shanghai wanted to purchase food, these individuals voluntarily acted as their guides and profited from the transactions.]"[243]

CPE also served as secret code of communication during *Small Sword Society Uprising* (小刀会起义). The Small Sword Society was a secret Triad organization, which in 1853 fomented an armed insurrection, directed against corrupt officials and excessive taxation, by unemployed seamen and other disaffected elements in the Shanghai area. After capturing the walled city of Shanghai and surrounding districts, the movement was attacked by a joint force of Qing loyalists and foreigners based in Shanghai, and was quickly defeated, its leader *Liu Lichuan*, the author of these two proclamations, being

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[242] Yao Gonghe 姚公鹤, *Shanghai xianhua* 上海闲话 [Shanghai idle talk] (Shanghai 上海: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆, 1917), 18.

[243] Ibid..

among those killed.[244] the head of the rebellion *Liu Lichuan* used these Chinese character rudiments to spell CPE words for encrypted texts to communicate with foreigners for the purchase of ammunition to avoid espionage by the Qing government.[245]

CPR as Language of Encryption

CPR also served as a mechanism to deter espionage attempts. Though in this instance, its implementation was mandated by the Qing government to counter Russian espionage efforts in commercial transactions. In the literature produced by Russian scholars specializing in China, there are references to a decree reportedly issued in China during the 1820s, requiring all young males employed in trade activities in Kyakhta to acquire proficiency in the Russian language although no direct confirmation in Chinese source can be found.[246] Shapiro's study quoted Maksimov's account in 1871 that the Qing government established a regulation stipulating that any Chinese merchants must attain proficiency in reading and writing Russian before being granted permission to participate in trade activities in Kyakhta, as this measure is essential to prevent

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[244] *Shanghai xiaodaohui qiyi ziliao huibian* 上海小刀会起义史料汇編 [Files of Xiaodaohui uprising] (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo 上海社会科学院历史研究所, 1958).

[245] Yao, *Shanghai xianhua,* 18.

[246] Popov and Takata, "Vocabularies of Chinese Pidgin Russian for Kiakhta Trade," 32.

Russians from acquiring knowledge of Chinese, as such knowledge could lead to the discovery of trade and political secrets.[247]

While direct confirmation from Chinese sources is unavailable, there exists circumstantial evidence corroborating this practice within the national decree restricting interactions with foreigners issued by the Qing government. James Flint (1720 - ?) was a British merchant and diplomat who worked for the East India Company. Flint was among the earliest English individuals to learn the Chinese language. Violating Qing dynasty court protocol, he managed to send a direct complaint regarding trade disparities to the Qianlong Emperor that caused political turmoil and massive investigations in several Chinese provincial administrations. The aftermath of this incident was that in 1759, Emperor Qianlong (reigned 1735 – 1796) issued an imperial decree and promulgated the *Fangfan waiyi guitiao* [《防范外夷规条》/ Vigilance Towards Foreign Barbarian Regulations]. In which it states:

> 查夷人遠處海外，本與中國語音不通，向之來廣貿販，惟籍諳曉夷語之行商、通事爲之交易，近如夷商洪任輝於內地土音、官話無不通曉，甚而漢字文義亦能明晰。此外，夷商中如洪任輝之通曉語言文義者，亦尚有數人，設非漢奸潛滋教誘，焉能熟悉。[Regarding foreigners who come from distant overseas regions and do not speak the Chinese language, when they engage in trade in Guangdong, they rely on merchants and intermediaries who are proficient in foreign languages to conduct transactions. For example, the foreign merchant James Flint is fluent in local dialects and Mandarin Chinese, and even has a clear understanding of Chinese characters and their meanings. In addition to individuals like James Flint who are proficient in our language and meaning among foreign merchants, there are several others. If they are not secretly incited, guided and taught by

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[247] Shapiro, "Chinese Pidgin Russian," 6.

traitors, how could they become so familiar (with the celestial language)?][248]

The regulation consisted of five provisions, including forbidding foreign trade in the winter, forcing western merchants to live in the Thirteen Factories in Canton. Two of the provisions are formulated with the intention of entirely severing communication between Chinese individuals and foreigners: "借領外夷貲本，及僱倩漢人役使，並應查禁也 [Borrowing and using foreign capital, as well as hiring and employing Chinese labor, should be strictly prohibited.]"; 外夷僱人傳遞信息之積弊，宜請永除也 [The accumulation of problems caused by the foreigners hiring locals to transmit information should be permanently eliminated.]."[249] Further elaboration on this imperial decree will be provided in Chapter Four of this study, specifically focusing on the pidginization process of CPE and CPR.

LANGUAGE OF RELIGION

CPE as Language of Religion

There exists scant direct evidence supporting the utilization of CPE or CPR directly in religious rituals or practices. Furthermore, available evidence indicates that Protestant missionaries dedicated additional effort to learning

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[248] "Liangguangzongdu Li Siyao zouchen yudongdifang fangfan yangren tiaoguizhe 兩廣總督李侍堯奏陳粵東地方防範洋人條規摺 [The Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, Li Shiyao, presented the regulations on guarding against foreigners in the Guangdong region]," Biblioteca Virtual de Macau [澳門虛擬圖書館], accessed April 10, 2019, https://www.macaudata.mo/macaubook/book252/html/033601.htm.

[249] Ibid..

Chinese, as evidenced by the detailed discussions on Chinese language and grammar found in many missionaries' journals.[250] In these journals, missionaries commonly viewed CPE as a barrier imposed by Mandarin officials against the evangelization and enlightenment of China.[251] They were resolute in their efforts to overcome this barrier by learning the Chinese language. Additionally, they endeavored to establish English schools for Chinese individuals during this period.[252] In 1833, in the "Introductory Remarks" in *The Chinese Repository, Vol. II*, Elijah Bridgman discussed the significance of mutual language learning from the missionaries' cause point of view. First: for the Chinese, "by acquiring a knowledge of the English tongue, the native youth would be introduced into a new world."[253] Second, learning Chinese would benefit the missionaries' cause as "such knowledge would give the foreigner power and influence with the Chinese, and over them too." [254] Bridgman held the belief that proficiency in Chinese language was an asset that could positively impact everyone involved. He emphasized the importance of effective communication between missionaries and the Chinese people,

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[250] *Syllabary of the Shanghai Vernacular: Prepared and Published by the Shanghai Christian Vernacular Society* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1891).

[251] Kingsley Bolton, "Language and Hybridization: Pidgin Tales from the China Coast," *Interventions* 2, no.1(2000), 35-52.

[252] Kingsley Bolton, "Chinese Englishes: from Canton jargon to global English," *World Englishes* 21, no.2 (2002), 181-199.

[253] Elijah C. Bridgman, "Introductory Remarks," *The Chinese Repository* 2, no.1 (May, 1834), 2.

[254] Ibid., 4-5.

allowing for open dialogue and exchange of ideas. Bridgman saw this as essential for missionaries to assert their intellectual and moral superiority through debates. He argued that language forms and conventions were inherently truthful and valid, highlighting the necessity of linguistic accuracy in fostering understanding and promoting the missionary cause. Therefore, the initiative to eliminate pidgin English, known as "de-pidginization," commenced during the treaty-port era in 1842 and gained momentum after 1860. This campaign was primarily facilitated by the establishment of missionary schools, which proliferated throughout China during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[255]

Although there is little direct evidence to suggest that CPE and CPR were utilized directly in religious practices, there are indications that these languages were employed by Chinese adherents of the Christian faith, or by individuals who are pragmatic about the additional luck brought by the veneration of yet one more deity. The CPE speakers use "joss" to refers to "deity." In Leland's *Pidgin-English Sing-Song*, he composed 22 ballads, 11 of which contained the usage of "joss," and compound words formed from joss such as "joss-papa'," meaning "Joss-paper, counterfeit bank-bills, or clothing, &c., burned for the dead."[256] In the vocabulary appended to the book, further examples of joss in compound words are given:

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[255] Bolton, "Chinese Englishes: from Canton jargon to global English," 187.

[256] Leland, *Pidgin-English Sing-Song, or Songs and Stories in the China-English Dialect: With a Vocabulary*, 45.

Joss, god ; idol, &c. (From the Portuguese Dios.)
Joss-house, temple ; church.
Joss-house-man, clergyman.
Joss-pidgin, religion.
Joss-pidgin-man, a bonze; priest; clergyman.[257]

In the *Pidgin Inglis Tails and Others*, Sir Airey's CPE limericks collection, the first piece was about a Chinese man who worship in both churches and Buddhist temples. When asked why, he answered because it provided "more chance to go top-side [increase likelihood of ascending to a superior realm (irrespective of the deity overseeing it)]."[258] While *Pidgin Inglis Tails and Others* and *Pidgin-English Sing-Song* exemplify the authors' creative prowess, they also serve as poignant reflections of societal norms and realities. These narratives intricately delve into the intricacies of cultural dynamics. Moreover, their depiction of religious contexts underscores the pragmatic use of CPE, potentially facilitating the propagation of Christianity among the community.

CPR as Language of Religion

When it comes to CPR in religious use in Harbin, it is widely observed as a language of worship and various religious rituals. Chinese fortune tellers use CPR to do business with the Russian speaking clients in the 1920s,[259] and the homeless poet Leonid Eshchin (1897-1930), in his poem "The Refugees,"

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[257] Ibid., 126.

[258] Airey, *Pidgin Inglis Tails and Others*, 3.

[259] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 139.

prayed to the Mother of God of Russian Orthodox for "fanza, kurma and chifan [home, clothes, and food] … in that land, guarded by dragons."[260]

At around 1920 Harbin was home to over fifty churches representing various branches of Christianity. These churches are mainly located in *Nangang* district, which is described as "the area with the greatest percentage of non-Chinese... it seems that this district remained predominantly Russo-European in population until after World War I."[261] In 1899, the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway decided to build a Russian Orthodox Church in Harbin. The decision to construct the church was supported by Tsar Nicholas II and an announcement for a design competition was issued in St. Petersburg. The church was finished in 1900 and "was consecrated in the name of St Nicholas of Myra" and "St Nicholas Church was elevated to the status of a cathedral by decree of the Holy Synod of February 29, 1908."[262] The Chinese speakers nicknamed it *lama dais* [喇嘛台/Lama altar] reflecting Buddhism influence.[263] According to a photograph in the online Harbin City Archive, the St. Nicolas Cathedral was used by both Russian emigres and Chinese residents

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[260] Ibid., 241.

[261] Carter, *Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism in an International City, 1916-1932,* 17.

[262] "St Nicholas Cathedral in Noviy Gorod, Harbin," Orthodoxy in China, accessed May 1, 2017,
https://www.orthodox.cn/localchurch/harbin/nikolai_en.htm

[263] Gotelind Müller-Saini, *Ambivalent remains China and the Russian cemeteries in Harbin, Dalian and Lüshun* (CrossAsia-Repository, Heidelberg University Library, 2019), 16. https://fid4sa-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/4181/1/Ambivalent%20remains_neu_2.pdf

living in Harbin as a place for worship. [264] In Gamsa's *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, it is also mentioned that the Chinese believed in the miracle working powers of St. Nicolas and nicknamed the St. Nicolas status in the Harbin Station in CPR as vokzala stalika (old man of the railway station) or kholoshaia stalika (the good old man). [265] Journalist, photographer, and author Katya Knyazeva rendered a passage from Davydov's text, detailing a cult in Harbin owing to the presence of the St. Nicolas Cathedral at the Harbin railway station, housing an icon of St. Nicholas reputed for its miraculous attributes. The cult is called "Laozi Vokzal (Old Man Railway Station) and the following is how this Russian Laozi was workshiped:

> Not only did they kowtow to the icon, but also clapped their hands in order to make the Russian Laozi hear them better. They implored the saint using the words from the Russian horse buggy drivers' vocabulary: "Pomogay!" (help) and "Ponuzhay!" (go faster). Eventually, a character called Po Nu Zhay emerged in the Chinese folklore – an old tramp helping out not only the Russians but also the Chinese poor folks on the road. [266]

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[264] "Jiaotang simiao 教堂寺庙 [Churches and temples]," Haerbinshi danganguan 哈尔滨市档案馆 [Harbin City Archive], accessed Sept 4, 2022, https://www.hrbdag.org.cn/rdzt/tsdaclz/jtsm/
[265] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 138.

[266] Ostap Mikhaylovich Davydov, "Чураевка на стыке геопоэтических фронтов: Русская литература Шанхая и Харбина [Churaevka at the intersection of geopoetic frontiers: Russian literature in Shanghai and Harbin]," in Церковь. Богословие. История: Материалы VI Всероссийской научно-богословской конференции (Екатеринбург, 10–12 февраля 2018 г.) [Church. Theology. History: Materials of the VI All-Russian Scientific and Religious Conference (Ekaterinburg, February 10–12, 2018)], ed. P. I. Mangilev, I. A. Nikulin and S. Yu. Akishin (Екатеринбург Ekaterinburg: Екатеринбургская духовная семинария Ekaterinburg Theological Seminary, 2018), 234-9, quoted in Katya Knyazeva, "A moment of cross-cultural anthropology from old Harbin," in *Katya Knyazeva's Scrapbook //* 张霞, March 9, 2023, https://avezink.livejournal.com/406376.html.

Throughout its history, China has maintained a polytheistic tradition, encompassing beliefs from animism to a diverse array of folk traditions. Despite Christianity's monotheistic tenets, upon its introduction to China, numerous Chinese Christian adherents have embraced a syncretic approach, incorporating elements of Daoism, Buddhism, and local deity worship alongside their devotion to God. A frequently retold anecdote of the power of St. Nicholas in Harbin involves a man who was drowning in the Sungari, called upon his various deities, but none responded. However, when he cried out in pidgin, "Russian God Nikola of the railway station, come and help me!" St. Nicolas miraculously appeared and delivered him ashore and disappeared.[267]

Furthermore, there exists a pragmatic attitude towards deities, with their creation often dictated by practical needs. It can be seen that in the minds of the people, anything that benefits or can bring blessings to the people, regardless of its nature, can become a deity. The *Longyan xianzhi* describes: 石或称公，树或能灵。泥塑皂隶，更呼爷爷。疾病掉臂医门，乞灵木偶。道醮僧经，乩方神药。子以此为孝，弟以此为弟。[268] [Stones are sometimes referred to as lords, and trees are believed to answer to prayers. Mud sculptures are called ancestors or grandfathers. In times of illness, people turn away from medical professionals but seek help from wooden puppets, regardless of whether they are Taoist rituals, Buddhist scriptures, and shamanic

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[267] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 138.

[268] Du Hansheng, *Longyan xianzhi* 龍巖縣志 [Longyan County chronicles], (1920; reis., Shanghai: Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社, 1967), 202.

spells and medicines. Children demonstrate filial piety this way, while siblings show respect to each other like this.] Zinenko's article "As a Russian Harbin Celebrated Baptism: Eyewitness Notes" described a Chinese father vigorously pushing through the crowd with his elbows, trying to access the holy water from the ice hole in Sungari River with a tin teapot. When asked what he was doing, he answered in CPR: "Моя святой вода нада: моя сынка шибко больной есть! [I need holy water: my son is very sick!]" According to his account, he used holy water from the Sungari River to wash his son's eyes, which were suffering from trachoma, and the boy was healed.[269]

LANGUAGE OF DIPLOMACY

CPE as Language of Diplomacy

During the initial half of the nineteenth century, it was customary for officials to designate *tongshi* (通事/translator) to convey messages between China and foreign nations. The common maneuver was to dispatch individuals endorsed by foreigners to directly engage with foreign nations and subsequently made decisions based on the conveyed messages or reports.

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[269] Ya.V. Zinenko, "Как Русский Харбин Крещение Праздновал: Заметки Очевидцев [As a Russian Harbin Celebrated Baptism: Eyewitness Notes]," in the *Любимый Харбин – город дружбы России и Китая: материалы Международной научно-практической конференции, посвященной 120-летию русской истории г. Харбина, прошлому и настоящему русской диаспоры в Китае, Харбин* [Beloved Harbin - the city of friendship between Russia and China: materials of the International scientific-practical conference dedicated to the 120th anniversary of Russian history in Harbin, the past and present of the Russian diaspora in China, Harbin], ed. A.M. Boyakov et.al., (Harbin, Vladivostok: ВГУЭС [VGUĖS], 2019) , 299.

During the First Opium War (1839 – 1842) the significant cultural and linguistic disparities between the Chinese and British necessitated heavy reliance on a handful of translators. According to Wong, Chinese authorities utilized *tonshi*, compradors, and merchants, who had limited proficiency in both English and Chinese languages, as different Chinese dialects can be unintelligible to each other.[270]

Lin Zexu (1785-1850), a prominent official and scholar, renowned for his role in the anti-opium movement (1839-1860), was appointed to Canton as the imperial commissioner in 1839 for the restriction of opium trade. The anti-opium movement was a series of efforts by the Chinese government to combat the widespread use and trade of opium within China.[271] After the British East India Company monopolized the trade in 1773, the smuggling of opium into China soared, leading to widespread addiction, social problems, and trade deficit to the disadvantage of Qing Dynasty. Lin's efforts culminated in the confiscation and destruction of vast quantities of opium. During his time in Canton, he actively adopted translation in order to understand the foreign settlers and the world they came from. According to *Fanghai Jilue*, composed in order to provide reference for the Qing government's foreign policies: "林則徐自去歲至粵，日日使人伺探夷事，翻譯夷書，又購其新聞紙 [Lin

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[270] Lawrence Wang-chi Wong, "Translators and Interpreters During the Opium War between Britain and China (1839-1842)," in *Translating and Interpreting Conflict*, ed. Myriam Salama-Carr (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 41-57.

[271] Lane J. Harris, *The Peking Gazette: A Reader in Nineteenth-Century Chinese History* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), 74-94.

Zexu went to Guangdong last year. He sent people every day to inquire about foreign affairs, translated foreign books, and also bought their newspapers]."[272] He was also the patron of the translation of Hugh Murray's *The Cyclopaedia of Geography*, which provides the primary source of information in understanding the world in Qing Dynasty. Lin also kept a personal interpreter team of four, as introduced in the *Chinese Repository*: "The commissioner has in his service four natives, all of whom have made some progress in the English tongue."[273] Their subsequent performance, however, has demonstrated that their command of English was rather questionable. The "Great imperial commisionary's governor's of two Kwang province lieutenant governor's of Canton earnst proclaimation to foreigners again issued" that Lin had published on the *Chinese Repository* in July 1839 was opaque to say the least, to an extent that the editor commented in the publication: "Its idioms are perfectly Chinese; and, like all the documents in their own language, it is without punctuation."[274]

Bao Peng, a prominent interpreter of his era in China, served under Lin's successor Qi Shan and actively participated as an interpreter during the

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[272] Wang Zhichun 王之春, *Fanghai Jilue* 防海紀略 [Maritime defense chronicle](Shanghai: Shanghai wenyizhai 上海文藝齋, 1880), 12, Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua 中國哲學書電子化計劃 [Chinese Philosophy Book Digitization Project].

[273] "Crisis in the opium traffic: continuation of the narrative, with official papers, &c. (Continued from page 37)," *The Chinese Repository* 8, no. 2 (June, 1839): 77.

[274] "Art. VII Great imperial commisionary's governor's of two Kwang province lieutenant governor's of Canton earnst proclaimation to foreigners again issued," *The Chinese Repository* 8, no. 3 (July, 1839): 168.

the First Opium War.[275] In Bingham's book *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, he gave a vivid description of Bao Peng as "a shrewd clever fellow, about forty-five years of age, and spoke the lingua franca fluently."[276] Bao Peng assumed various roles throughout his career. Initially, he served as a comprador for an American firm starting in 1829. Subsequently, he was employed by British opium dealer Lancelot Dent in 1836. Due to his position as an opium supplier, Bao Peng encountered a conflict with another comprador who threatened to expose him. In response, he fled to Shandong Province in 1839, where he leveraged his language skills to establish connections with local officials and established a reputation. As a result, he was engaged by Qi Shan in Canton as his interpreter throughout the secret Sino-British diplomatic exchanges in Canton.[277] He was bestowed with greater authority to undertake tasks of greater significance beyond merely conveying messages between various negotiating parties. The delegation of responsibilities by Qi Shan amounted to granting Bao Peng complete authority to determine conceding of Hong Kong to the British. The decision to accept the terms proposed by the British contingent rested solely on Bao Peng's

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[275] David Faure, "Chapter twenty-one: The Foreign Element in Pearl River Delta Society," in *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China*, (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2007), 308-24.

[276] John Elliot Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China: From the Commencement of the War to Its Termination in 1842; with Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Singular and Hitherto Almost Unknown Country, Volume. 2* (London: Henry Colburn, 1843), 40.

[277] Wong, "Translators and Interpreters During the Opium War between Britain and China (1839-1842)," 52.

assessment of the prevailing peace conditions.[278] Bingham vividly described a

conversation between Bao and his fellow servants, during which they mocked

him for his newfound significance. This is Bao's response:

> When jumping up with his right arm extended, and hand clenched, he thus broke forth: "You thinkee my one smallo man? you thinkee my go buy one catty tice, one catty fowl? No! my largo man, my have catchee peace, my have catchee war my hand, suppose I opee he, makee peace, suppose i shutee he, must make fight. [You think I'm a small man? You think I go buy a little rice, a little fowl? No! I'm a big man, I can make peace, I can make war with my hands. If I open it, we make peace. If I close it, we must fight.]" [279]

CPR as Language of Diplomacy

From the inauguration of the Chinese Eastern Railway until the 1940s,

Harbin emerged as a pivotal Russian military hub. Commencing in December

1898, a 250-member infantry contingent designated as the CER guard troops

commenced operations in Harbin, the presence of the Russian Empire's

military in the city experienced continual expansion. The CER guard troops

maintained an approximate strength of ten thousand soldiers in Harbin,

supplemented by the establishment of an extensive military logistics

infrastructure within the city. Upon the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in

1904, Harbin assumed the role of a strategic military base for the Russian

Empire. Accompanying the ingress of 1.5 million Russian troops into

Northeast China, significant troop concentrations, transfers, and rehabilitation

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[278] Yuan Zhen, "On the Interpreter's Multiple Roles and Subjectivity: A Case Study of Bao Peng," *Studies in Literature and Language* 28, no. 1 (2024): 14-21.

[279] Bingham, *Narrative of the Expedition to China: From the Commencement of the War to Its Termination in 1842; with Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Singular and Hitherto Almost Unknown Country, Volume. 2*, 41.

efforts were centralized in Harbin. During the First World War in 1914, Harbin once again served as a pivotal hub for the logistical movements of the Russian Empire's military forces, with a multitude of military units traversing the city. Subsequent to the October Revolution, Harbin evolved into a focal point and sanctuary for White Guard forces.[280]

During the Russo-Japanese war, the headquarter of a large contingent of General Kuropatkin's arm was station in Harbin. It was also the center of Russian army supplies.[281] The facilities were intended to provide for the Tsar's army of 950,000 soldiers, providing provisions and functioning as hospitals, as well as a center for rest and recreation. Additionally, the city housed a garrison for approximately 100,000 troops.[282] These Tsarist officers from Saint Petersburg quickly acquired some "Russo-Chinese jargon." In a letter by Baron Wrangel, he described that he interrogated a *khunkhuz* [283] arrested by his Cossacks in this language: "Shima minza? [What (is your) name?] I questioned him sternly."[284] The pronunciation of *khunkhuz* comes from the Chinese

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[280] Du Xingwu, "Haerbin shizhi: renkouzhi 哈尔滨市志:人口志 [Harbin City Chronicle: Population Chronicle]," Haerbin shizhiwang 哈尔滨史志网 [Harbin Historical Chronicle], accessed March 4, 2023, https://www.hrbswszyjs.org.cn/news/543.html

[281] John Wesley Coulter, "Harbin: Strategic City on the 'Pioneer Fringe'," *Pacific Affairs* 5, no. 11 (1932): 967, https://doi.org/10.2307/2750198.

[282] Wolff, *To the Harbin Station: The Liberal Alternative in Russian Manchuria, 1898-1914*, 121- 25.

[283] *хунхузы – khunkhuzi* [红胡子/bandit], see p.93 of this study.

[284] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 79.

honghuzi, which literally means "red beard." Mazo and Ivchenko attribute it to how Chinese addressed the red-bearded foreigner and foreign bandit.[285] Gamsa suggests that the concept of "red beards" emerged as a Chinese portrayal of the Russian Cossacks.[286] For gangs of Russian bandits roamed Chinese Russian border in the late nineteenth century. At the same time, in the Russian Far East, concerns and anxiety about the actions of Chinese bandits, also referred to as *khunkhuz* by the Russians had been escalating, given that encounters with such individuals were becoming increasingly common. Suspecting that the Chinese bandits had support from the Qing government to reclaim the Russian Primorye terriory, any individual of Chinese or Asian descent, who appeared to act hostilely or incomprehensibly towards Russians, could be branded as a *khunkhuz*. The perceived threat primarily stemmed from their Chinese identity and the perceived differences associated with it.[287]

As mentioned in demography statistics in Chapter Two, after the end of the Russian Civil War, in the 1920s and 1930s, there were mass resettlement of Russians into Northeast China. The Russian immigrants who arrived in China faced the challenges of finding employment. With the scarcity of job opportunities, while their chances are further hindered by language barriers,

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[285] Olga Mazo and Taras Ivchenko, "Chinese Loanwords in Russian," in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Language and Linguistics: Volume 1*, ed., Rint Sybesma, Wolfgang Behr, Yueguo Gu et al. (Leiden, Bosten: Brill, 2017), 570.

[286] Mark Gamsa, *Machuria: A Concise History* (London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: I. B. Tauris, 2020), 77.

[287] Ed Pulford, "On Frontiers and Fronts: Bandits, Partisans, and Manchuria's Borders, 1900–1949," *Modern China* 47, no.5 (2020), 662-97, https://doi.org/10.1177/0097700420913523.

some Russian immigrants resorted to mercenary work for Chinese militarists and joining the White Guard troops.[288] The most renowned employer was the warlord Zhang Zongchang of the Fengtian clique.

Zhang came from a family with illiterate parents while he himself received only one year of formal education as a child. As he was growing up, he sequentially engaged in various illicit livelihoods on the streets.[289] He also worked in Siberia, picking up a command of Russian language,[290] and subsequently became a bandit in rural China. Upon the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, he resumed criminal activities and ascended to leadership of his own bandit group. Following the Xinhai Revolution, he ultimately achieved prominence under the auspices of the warlord Zhang Zongchang of the Fengtian clique. Between 1925 and 1928, he assumed the role of Governor of Shandong, concurrently serving as the Commander-in-Chief of the Zhi-Lu Allied Forces and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Anguo Army.[291]

During the 1920s, under the authority of Zhang Zuolin, who held effective control over Manchuria, Zhang Zongchang assumed the role of direct

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[288] Olga Zalesskaia, "The Struggle for Power and Leadership in the Far Eastern Frontier 1917-1922: Northeast China as a Recipient Region of the Russian White Movement," *Eurasia Border Review* 10, no1, (2019): 97.

[289] Liu Peiqing 刘培卿, "Shandong junfa Zhang Zongchang 山东军阀张宗昌 [The warlord of Shangdong: Zhang Zongchang]," *Wenshizhe* 文史哲, no.4 (1983): 30.

[290] Matthew R. Portwood and John P. Dunn, "A Tale of Two Warlords: Republican China During the 1920s," *Asia: Biographies and Personal Stories, Part 1* 19, no.3 (Winter 2014): 17-21.

[291] Liu, "Shandong junfa Zhang Zongchang, 31-35.

overseer of Konstantin Petrovich Nechaev and the Fengtian foreign legion. This legion, consisting of approximately 700 Russians, 300 Japanese, and two companies of Chinese,[292] operated within a multilingual environment. Communication within the legion, both with higher command and among troops, was facilitated by interpreters. In the book *Life of a Russian Émigré Soldier: an Interview Conducted by Boris Raymond*, Lenkoff, the interviewed soldier, narrated:

> Marshal Chan Sun Chan[293] would give general instructions to our general, Nechiev, and would leave all the operational and military details to be worked out by his own staff, which consisted of old Russian officers that he had selected for himself. He, of course, had some Chinese officers who were interpreters.[294]

While there are no direct records of Zhang's Russian communication, his educational background, or rather the lack thereof,[295] coupled with his acquisition of the language during his mining experience in Siberia, suggests a plausible scenario wherein he employed a form of pidgin Russian for communication. In addition, at a more fundamental level, communication often relied on pidgin due to the linguistic diversity of the troops. Here are several scenarios of its usage:

> The day-to-day fighting in the Chinese wars constantly brought the Russian soldiers into contact with the Chinese population, both in the

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[292] Anthony B. Chan, *Arming the Chinese: The Western Armaments Trade in Warlord China, 1920-28, Second Edition* (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2011), 124.

[293] Here it refers to Zhang Zongchang. – Note author.

[294] Aleksandr N. Lenkoff and Boris Raymond, *Life of a Russian Émigré Soldier: an Interview Conducted by Boris Raymond* (Berkley: University of California Regional Oral History Office, 1967): 24.

[295] Liu, "Shandong junfa Zhang Zongchang, 31.

countryside and in the cities their armies reached. Entering a village presented an opportunity to rob the peasants (the usual practice of Chinese armies), which Russian soldiers called *fatsai*, "to get lucky," a pidgin calque of the Chinese *facai*. Besides regular fighting, the Russians were sent out on missions against local bandits, the *hong huzi* (redbeards); they also became involved in conflicts and negotiations with members of the sectarian movement called *hong qiang hui*, the Red Spears Society, through which villagers defended themselves from marauding bandits and soldiers alike.[296]

LANGUAGE OF ENTERTAINMENT AND HUMOR

CPE as Language of Entertainment and Humor

In Canton, the pamphlet *Hungmaou Maemae Tung Yung Kwei Kwa* circulated among literate and semi-literate Chinese individuals who frequently interacted with foreigners in their everyday activities. This group encompassed male merchants, linguists, compradors, shopkeepers, and servants, as well as female laundresses and prostitutes.[297] Bolton identified prostitution as one of the primary uses of CPE.[298] In 1929, there ratio of sex workers, both licensed and unlicensed, to the Shanghai population was 1:137, a proportion higher than that of London, Paris, Chicago, Tokyo and Peking.[299] Around 1926, Shanghai had approximately four to five thousand licensed and registered sex

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[296] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 182.

[297] Liu Yuqing, "Sinicizing European Languages: Lexicographical and Literary Practices of Pidgin English in Nineteenth-Century China," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 22, no. 2 (2022): 142-143.

[298] Kingsley Bolton, *Chinese Englishes: A Sociolinguistic History*, 157.

[299] Chen Husheng 陈虎生, "Shanghai chanji wenti 上海娼妓问题 [The issue of Shanghai prostitution]," *Shenghuo zhaokan* 生活周刊, no. 7 (1929): 70.

workers, along with tens of thousands of unlicensed ones.[300] During the 1930s, it is estimated that there were around 100,000 prostitutes, making them perhaps the largest single group of women residing and working in the city.[301] The majority of licensed sex workers operated within the International Settlement and French Concession, although many unregistered individuals attempted to conduct business there as well.[302] Shanghai's prostitution system was complex and hierarchically structured, influenced by factors such as the social status of clients, as prostitutes catered to clients from various social classes, ranging from educated members of the elite to transient foreign sailors; the hometowns of both clients and prostitutes, as sex workers migrated and were trafficked from other parts of China as well as other countries to Shanghai as it opened port. The venues included escort agencies, massage parlors, and dance venues.

When we look at the social status factor of the clients, one group of women who practically exclusively entertained foreigners stand out. They are referred to as *hansui mui* (咸水妹/saltwater sisters). These women first migrated to Shanghai from Canton in the early nineteenth century. Thus the name was a reference to their maritime patrons, their own origins as boat

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[300] Zuilituishangsheng 醉里頹唐生, "Shanghai zhiji 上海之妓 [The prostitutes of Shanghai]," *Xin Shanghai* 新上海, no. 12 (1926): 35-41.

[301] Gail Hershatter, "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution, 1870-1949," *Modern China* 15, no. 4 (1989): 463-98.

[302] Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and sexuality in Shanghai: a social history 1849-1949*, trans. Noel Castelino (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 116.

dwellers, or a transliteration of "handsome maid" into Cantonese.[303] Due to

their virtually exclusive foreign clientele, their application of CPE is visible in

various sources. Hershatter provides a depiction of the scene where sex

workers sought to engage in commerce, "at dusk and night time in these

districts, sailors with white clothes and white hats pace and loiter about, while

women used licentious voices, lewd talk, and sidelong glances to seduce

them."[304] In *Qingbai leichao*, an anthology of historiographical essays from the

whole Qing period (1644-1911), documented the story about a *hansui mui*:[305]

> 滬有女子曰王小娥者，頗知書，且習洋涇浜話。洋涇浜話者，
> 不規則之英語也。及笄而不字，遂營醜業以自給。小娥本粵
> 產，以鹹水妹之可接西人能得多金也，乃居鴨綠路。一日，有
> 舊識之施桂山過之，謂之曰：”卿已上外交之舞臺矣." [In
> Shanghai, there was a woman named Wang Xiao'e who was quite
> literate and also familiar with pidgin, which was a form of irregular
> English. Upon reaching adulthood without getting married, she engaged
> in unsavory activities to support herself. Originally from Guangdong,
> Xiao'e believed that as a *hansui mui*, she could earn a lot of money by
> interacting with Westerners, so she lived on Yalü Road. One day, an old
> acquaintance named Shi Guishan passed by and said to her, "You have
> already stepped onto the stage of diplomacy."]

The *Qingbai leichao* also documented another courtesan who acquired

proficiency in CPE from *hansui mui* with the aim of expanding her clientele and

broadening her intellectual horizons.[306]

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[303] Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shangai* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1999), 55.

[304] Ibid..

[305] Xu Ke 徐珂, *Qingbai leichao* 清稗类钞[Categorized anthology of petty matters from the Qing period] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆,1916), 450, Zhongguo zhexueshu dianzihua jihua 中國哲學書電子化計劃 [Chinese Philosophy Book Digitization Project].

胡寶玉為滬妓之久著豔名者 … 是時，達官富商、王孫公子皆趨之若鶩。而寶玉猶以為未足，乃時挾鹹水妹驅車出游，從習英語，更效鹹水妹之額髮下覆。語成，遂別闢一西式器具之室，以研究外交，碧眼黃髯兒時或盈座矣。[Hu Baoyu was a well-known figure among the Shanghai prostitutes, renowned for her beauty and charm. At that time, high-ranking officials, wealthy merchants, and aristocrats flocked to her. However, Baoyu felt that this was not enough. She often went out with hansui mui, learning English from them and imitating their manners. Eventually, she even set up a room furnished in Western style to study diplomacy, attracting many admirers with her intelligence and charm.]

Another contemporary novel documented patrons acquiring CPE from *hansui mui*, either as a deliberate lifestyle choice or due to their reluctance to pay tuition fees for night schools.

慶雲十分得意，又和那鹹水妹說了好些外國話，忽然問道："我前回叫你問東家那'饑荒'兩個字是怎樣講的，你問了麼？"鹹水妹道："問了。… 我並且叫他寫了出來呢。"說罷起身，在梳妝台抽屜裡翻了一陣，都出一張外國紙來，遞給慶雲。慶雲接來一看，上面寫了一路外國字：KiLong－Famine 。[Qingyun was very pleased, and he spoke a lot of foreign words with the *hansui mui*. Suddenly, he asked, "Remember when I asked you to find out how to say 'famine' in English? Did you ask the master?" The *hansui mui* replied, "Yes, I did. …I even asked him to write it down." With that, she got up and rummaged through the drawer of the dressing table, pulling out a piece of foreign paper and handing it to Qingyun. Qingyun took it and saw several foreign words written on it: KiLong－Famine.][307]

In both Shanghai and Harbin, foreign prostitutes operated establishments, catering to both the foreign community and Chinese clientele. In the 1930s, there existed Russian beggars, prostitutes, and drug addicts in Harbin.[308] Referenced in Chapter One of the CPR limerick, one of the verses

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[306] Ibid., 167.

[307] Wu Jianren 吳趼人, *Facai Mijue* 发财秘诀 [Secrets to getting rich] (n.p.: n.p, 1908), http://www.guoxue123.com/xiaosuo/0001/fcms/004.htm

highlighted this phenomenon: "木什斗克(мундштук)叨，旅馆开孬门儿 (номер)，玛达姆(Мадам)卖俏。[Smoking a *mushiduke* (mundshtuk), getting a *naomer* (nomer) in a hotel, where a *madamu* (madam) sell her beauty.]"[309] In her book *Shanghai Love*, Yeh noted that "Western prostitutes operated from boats on the Huangpu River near Hongkew and the American settlement…if a Chinese is able to speak a bit of foreign language (probably English), he can change his clothes and go there."[310] There is no explicit clarification regarding the extent of proficiency denoted by "a bit of foreign language," thus leaving room for speculation that it may encompass CPE.

Showmen, as another form of public entertainment providers, typically frequented the most crowded locations. In his memoir, Macfarlane told a story of how a showman was entertaining the audience on the Bund in Shanghai.[311] In his depiction, the showman was going about with his tricks and kept talking to himself all the time. His CPE was not of a very refined or polite nature, yet curiously had a good deal of forecastle slang about it,[312] which interested the crowd of sailors who had soon gathered round him. It is noticeable that this

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308 Simon Karlinsky, "26. Russian Culture in Manchuria and the Memoirs of Valery Pereleshin," 312.

309 Rong, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaoji zhong de bianyuanyu," 41.

310 Catherine Vance Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 118.
311 Walter MacFarlane, *Sketches in the Foreign Settlements and Native City of Shanghai* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, 1881), 76.

312 The forecastle, often spelled as fo'c'sle or fo'c's'le, is the forward part of a ship's upper deck, typically used by the crew for various activities and as living quarters. – Note author.

showman, despite of his novice CPE, was able to pull off forecastle jargons. The showman on the Bund employed a specialized jargon tailored to appeal to the predominant demographic in that area: sailors. This illustrates the remarkable adaptability of CPE, which, far from being constrained by a fixed vocabulary, demonstrated an open and versatile structure suitable for various communicative contexts.

CPR *as Language of Entertainment and Humor*

Meanwhile in Harbin, the CPR lexicon in my collection pertaining to entertainment noticeably revolves around music scenes, reflecting the vibrant cultural scene in Harbin during that era. The city boasted numerous orchestras, choirs, and jazz bands, which frequently performed in clubs and venues across the city. These performances attracted a diverse audience, comprising not only Russian émigrés but also Chinese and individuals of other nationalities.[313] Terms such as баян – bayan [巴扬/bayan], балалайка – balalaika [巴拉莱卡/balalaika], флейта – fleita [长笛/flute], контрабас – kontrabas [低音提琴/contrabass), саксафон – saksafon [萨克斯管/saxophone), гитара – gitara [吉他/guitar], вальс – vals [华尔兹/waltz], танго – tango [探戈/tango], etc. That these words were kept in CPR indicates that music and theatrical arts were popular enough in Harbin that they became the share interest of people of different language backgrounds.

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[313] Shi, Liu, and Gao, *Haerbin eqiaoshi*, 291.

Another form of entertainment embraced by both Chinese and Russian speakers alike was the unique mode of transportation on the Sungari River in Harbin during winter, known in CPR as "tolkai-tolkai", which means "push-push". Throughout the winter season in Harbin, residents and tourists alike delighted in rides on wooden sleighs across the frozen river. These sleighs, operated by Russians alongside Chinese "sleightaxi men," were adorned with Russian names such as "Tamara" and "Bystryi" (Speedy).[314]

<center>LANGUAGE OF EXPLETIVES</center>

CPE Expletives

Despite the language barrier, communication obstacles did not deter people with different mother tongues from exchanging swear words, as referenced in Chapter One in the CPE limerick: "打屁股叫班蒲曲 (bamboo chop)，混账王八蛋风炉(damn fool)。Spank the butt with *banbu qu* (bamboo chop), rascal guy is called *danfenglu* (damn fool)." In Yao's *Shanghai Idle Talk*, "阿木林、阿土生等称谓，一系外国名词，一系乡孩乳名，不过取认侮辱生客耳。[*Amulin, Atusheng*: the first one is a foreign term and the latter used to refer to rural children, just meant to insult newcomers (to Shanghai).]"[315] *Amulin* is a derogative name used to describe a foreign individual who is naïve, gullible, or easily fooled, the pronunciation presumably

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[314] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-cultural Biography*, 196.

[315] Yao, *Shanghai xianhua*, 19.

comes from "a moron". Many CPE expletives are still used in contemporary Shanghai. Notably, the utilization of CPE expletives reflects a distinct process of word formation during translation. These expletive expressions typically transcend mere transliteration of English phonetics, incorporating semantic paraphrasing through the application of Chinese characters. In the abovementioned two examples:

English original	damn	fool	a	moron
CPE (pinyin)	dan	fenglu	a	mulin
CPE (in Chinese characters)	蛋	风炉	阿[316]	木林
word sense in Chinese	egg	(in)oven	ah	log (in) woods

Table 4: Semantic paraphrasing in CPE.

Other similar examples are: *beg sir – bie san* [瘪三(shriveled guy)/beggar, loser, worthless person], *gossip – gasanhu*[嘎三壶(chuck three pots of wine)/casual chat], *gander – ganda* [戆大(stupid dude) /simpleton, fool, gullible person], *lassie – lasan* [拉三(pull guy) /young woman, lovers, prostitute and promiscuous female], *shit – xuetou* [噱头(joke stuff)/ nonsense, lies, deceptive merchandise or performance, or various flashy but insubstantial, crowd-pleasing, and amusing means] and *cheat – chilao* [赤佬(nothing guy)/a liar, cheater]. By employing semantic paraphrasing using Chinese characters, CPE expletives have gained greater memorability among native Chinese speakers, facilitating their dissemination. The inventive nature of their word formation has imbued these expletives with liveliness, resulting in their integration as

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[316] In Shanghai dialect, '阿(ah)' is often used as a form of address or particle. It is commonly used to convey informality in speech. – Note author.

fundamental components of the local language. Consequently, they remain actively used in the daily vernacular of Shanghai residents to the present day.

CPR Expletives

In the context of CPR, people would straightforwardly employ names such as *чушка – chushka* [猪/piglet],[317] *дурак – dulake* [傻瓜/stupid] and *макака – magaga* [猴子/monkey] to mock one another.[318] Intruiginly, the semantic paraphrasing observed in CPE is visible in CPR as well. Instance include not only singles words such as *мошенник – mashenke* [马神客(horse around guy)/swindler] and *Хулиган – huligan* [胡里干(nonsense do)/ hooligan],[319] but also entire phrases. For instance, the phrase "Пилюлидам!" denoted a threat of physical violence in CPR, while its Chinese rendition, pronounced as "Bí liū'r dǎ wāi", conveys the meaning "I'll punch your nose crooked!"

> Пилюлидам!
> Пилюли дам!
> Pi lu li   dam
> Bí liū 'r   dǎ   wāi
> 鼻溜儿 打   歪
> nose   punch crooked

Another distinctive feature of CPR expletives is the use of appellations specific to certain group of referents. Both the Russians and Chinese speaking

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[317] Xu, "Han'e yuyan jiechu chutan," 78.

[318] Rong, "Zhong'e kuawenhua jiaoji zhong de bianyuanyu," 42.

[319] Ibid..

population have specific derogative words to refer to each other that left their footprints in the CPR vocabulary and the lexicons utilized reflect their individual stereotypes. One example of such derogatory slang was *manza*, employed discreetly when no Chinese were within earshot. The term entered Russian speech, denoting "a Chinese settled in Russia". [320] The term originated from the pre-Qin period (770 BC to 221 BC) and was a derogatory appellation used by northern ethnic groups for the various ethnicities south of the Yangtze River, meaning "southern barbarians".[321]

Another example is *ходя (khodia)*, used by the Russian speaking group to refer Chinese diminutively, though its origin remains uncertain. Some attribute it to the Russian verb *ходить* (khodit'*)*, meaning "come and go",[322] while some associate it to the Chinese term *huoji* (伙计) which denotes a shop assistant or male server.[323] A Russian general's diary entry from the summer of 1918, during his journey through Harbin while Chinese troops were solidifying their authority over the Chinese Eastern Railway, reveals the Chinese' interpretation of this word as condescending, where a Chinese soldier yelled at Aleksei

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[320] Mazo and Ivchenko, "Chinese Loanwords in Russian," 570.

[321] Wang Yuzhe 王玉哲, *Zhonghua yuangushi* 中华远古史 [Prehistoric China] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社, 2003), 84.

[322] Edward Tyerman, "The Search for an Internationalist Aesthetics: Soviet Images of China, 1920–1935." (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014), 77.

[323] Yue Chen, "Between Sovereignty and Coloniality – Manchukuo Literature and Film" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2018), 57.

Budberg, the journal writer: "Well now it's you [literally: your] the *khodia*, and I [mine] the captain (Nu teper' eto tvoia khodia, a moia kapitana)."[324]

Conversely, derogatory terms were also employed by the Chinese to refer to the Russians. The Chinese would often refer to the Russians as *lao maozi* [老毛子/old hairies) and *qiong maozi* [穷毛子/poor hairies].[325] Russian soldiers were mocked as *sao dazi* [骚鞑子/ smelly Tatars], indicating that some Chinese find the Russian soldiers distinctively malodorous.[326]

USE OF PIDGINS BETWEEN CHINESE NATIVE SPEAKERS

CPE and CPR were used not only between Chinese speakers and foreign settlers but also among the Chinese. Captain A. A. Benning resided in China for nineteen years for business purpose and was interviewed by the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1888 and commented: "They are one people. It is a rather curious fact, though, that their dialects are so strongly marked that a Chinaman from one province cannot understand one from another province. They make a medium of pigeon English."[327] Among the records of CPE and CPR being

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[324] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 80.

[325] Ren Xigui 任希贵, "Makesizhuyi zai heilongjiang de zaoqi chuangbo 马克思主义在黑龙江的早期传播 [The early spread of Marxism in Heilongjiang Province]," Communist Party of China News 中国共产党新闻网, accessed May 1, 2017, http://dangshi.people.com.cn/n/2012/1211/c85037-19858901-7.html.

[326] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 81

[327] "In China," *The Atlanta Constitution*, August 26, 1888, ProQuest.

used between Chinese individuals, instances of intra-Chinese usage are exceedingly rare and mostly testimonial. Three instances were identified wherein Chinese individuals employed pidgin during intercommunication. One scenario arises, as mentioned above, when the interlocutors' respective dialects are mutually unintelligible, necessitating the use of pidgin for effective communication.[328] This is endorsed by the travelogue of William Simpson: *Meeting the Sun: A Journey All Round the World Through Egypt, China, Japan and California, Including an Account of the Marriage Ceremonies of the Emperor of China* pushed in 1874.

> All mercantile transactions between the Chinese and the Europeans are carried out in this new form of speech. Domestic servants, male and female, have to learn it to qualify themselves for situations with the "Outer Barbarians;" but the newest and most important feature of all is, that the Chinese themselves are, to a certain extent, adopting this language. This is owning to the fact that men of different provinces cannot understand each other's dialect. [...] but now, if they should both happen to know "Pigeon English," they use it as the means of communication.[329]

In Holcombe's *The Real Chinaman*, an amusing anecdote illustrates how deliberately adjusting language register can facilitate communication with a diverse audience. King Kalakua of the Hawaiian Islands, when visiting Shanghai in April 1881, stay in the Astor House. One morning, two American men visited the hotel with the intention of paying their respects to His Majesty.

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[328] "Pigeon English," 6.

[329] William Simpson, *Meeting the Sun: A Journey All Round the World Through Egypt, China, Japan and California, Including an Account of the Marriage Ceremonies of the Emperor of China* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1874), 274.

Upon encountering the proprietor at the base of the stairs, they conveyed their purpose and asked whether the king was present.

> "I will see," replied the landlord, and turning on his heel, he shouted to a Chinese servant at the head of the stairs: "Boy! That piecey king top side hab got? [Boy! The King upstairs, is he here?]" "Hab got [He is here]," laconically responded the servant. "Gentlemen," said the landlord, "His Majesty is in. Pray walk up."[330]

While the hotel proprietor was adept in employing a variant of English closer to that of the American visitors, he used CPE when communicating with his Chinese room service staff. This story highlights the utilization of CPE within business contexts among Chinese individuals. It suggests a potential lack of comprehension of Standard English among the Chinese staff, or alternatively, a linguistic barrier between the proprietor and his staff stemming from differences in Chinese dialects. Furthermore, the utilization of CPE for business transactions among Chinese speakers with diverse accents provides additional evidence supporting the tenuous relationship between the social hierarchy of various linguistic groups and language strata. In this instance, the hotel proprietor's proficiency in both English variants facilitated communication in his daily operational activities, irrespective of the linguistic backgrounds of his interlocutors.

Another scenario arises when employing pidgin is considered a polite or courteous mode of interaction. Charles Dyce, in his work *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in the Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, described a circumstance where he attended a formal "eight piecee man dinner" upon his

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[330] Holcombe, *The Real Chinaman*, 290.

new arrival in Shanghai, during which "they used a certain number of pidgin words even in their conversation one with another."[331]

In a third scenario, cultural exchange introduces novel vocabulary previously absent in Chinese. In this context, Chinese speakers in Shanghai and Harbin naturally incorporate terms from CPE and CPR into their discourse. For instance, Chinese individuals may adopt Russian measurements, such as "pud and arshin," for business transactions, even in the absence of Russian speakers.[332]

SUMMARY

This chapter has defined the main contexts in which CPE and CPR were employed, substantiating the Hypothesis 1 posited in this study:

The use of pidgin languages transcends social boundaries. Pidginization is the result of mutual effort from both locals and foreign settlers instead of any one-sided attempts.

Through an examination of diverse cross-lingual contact scenarios, this chapter has demonstrated that individuals from different linguistic backgrounds, irrespective of their economic or social standing, engaged in pidgin communication. Furthermore, by synthesizing language data sourced from various sources, it has been illustrated that CPE and CPR serve not only as mediums of business communication but are also prevalent in numerous other intercultural exchanges. Hence, it is plausible to assert that CPE and

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[331] Dyce, *Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in the Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, 27.

[332] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 81.

CPR usage extends beyond occupational contexts to encompass various spheres of life and social strata. Interlocutors from all societal levels employ pidgin languages as deemed necessary and appropriate, indicating that their usage is mutually induced within the contact zone by both parties.

Consequently, the examination of CPE and CPR users and their conversational content in Chapter Two and Three has prompted the exploration of several new inquiries. Specifically, questions arise regarding the factors that impeded Chinese speakers and English/Russian speakers from further acquiring proficiency in each other's languages. If social prestige barriers hindered the Chinese from accessing resources to learn English or Russian, why did English or Russian-speaking settlers not pursue proficiency in Chinese, considering the abundance of available resources? Were there societal, psychological, or physical constraints that deterred individuals from language acquisition, or did the pidgin users of Shanghai and Harbin, both Chinese and foreign, actively opt not to learn? Moreover, what motivations underpinned this decision? The clarification of these inquiries stands to corroborate Hypothesis 2:

Pidginization is not an indication of linguistics competence, but stabilized group solution for communication. This solution is decided by the pidgin users' second language acquisition (SLA) pattern: adult learners in a natural language contact setting.

Therefore, Chapter Four will examine CPE and CPR through the lens of SLA. This approach considers pidginization as a linguistic process akin to adult language acquisition. It will investigate how the language learning environment influences language acquisition outcomes, the influence of age

and the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) on pidginization, and how socially

mediated fossilization of interlanguage leads to pidginization in the context of

this study. Additionally, it will explore learners' cognitive limitations to

elucidate the mechanisms of pidginization in language contact scenarios.

CHAPTER FOUR

CPE AND CPR AS ACQUIRED SECOND LANGUAGES

Chapters Two and Three have provided a detailed account of the users and discourse topics associated with CPE and CPR, demonstrating that these linguistic forms were not solely the product of local Chinese inhabitants, but also of foreign settlers. These languages were employed across diverse social strata and economic statuses, underscoring their widespread usage in various societal contexts. Moreover, the analysis conducted in the preceding chapters has revealed two critical insights. Firstly, CPE and CPR's user groups exhibit considerable diversity, engaging in language use spanning a broad spectrum of subjects. Secondly, both CPE and CPR exhibit dynamic variations in terms of vocabulary and structure, challenging the notion of their homogeneity. Consequently, it is improbable to attribute the adoption of CPE and CPR in Shanghai and Harbin solely to limited access to the target language. Thus, this study endeavors to examine the hypothesis that pidginization does not necessarily denote linguistic competence but rather represents a stabilized group solution for communication. This hypothesis posits three key variables: adult learners, natural language contact settings, and stabilized group communication solutions.

To address these three key variables, I will approach them from two distinct perspective in this chapter. Firstly, since that pidginization developed independently of native speakers, theories of SLA become pivotal in assessing speakers' cognitive and communicative proficiency. This chapter delves into

learner behavior from a cognitive standpoint, focusing on three specific aspects: the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), Monitor Theory, and fossilization. The Critical Period Hypothesis explores the correlation between learners' age and their language acquisition outcomes, while Monitor Theory addresses issues related to the language learning environment. Additionally, the theory of fossilization offers insights into how CPE and CPR became stabilized as group communication solutions. Secondly, I will examine foreign language education and learning policies from the 1850s to the 1940s and their influence on the emergence and dissemination of CPE and CPR in Shanghai and Harbin. This historical analysis will provide evidence to support the discussion of the aforementioned theoretical aspects.

This chapter makes contributions to SLA studies from at least two aspects. Firstly, it introduces a novel methodological approach for investigating the social acquisition of languages, as opposed to the traditional focus on institutional acquisition. SLA research has historically been rooted in psycholinguistics and has predominantly centered on controlled experimental settings, such as classrooms and formal educational environments. Consequently, there has been limited exploration of how L2s, including pidgin languages, are acquired in social contexts, despite the fact that most language acquisition occurs outside formal educational settings. Individuals acquiring a L2 in natural language contact settings have thus been overlooked in the theoretical and methodological development of SLA. This chapter addresses this oversight by presenting the first study to directly analyze the acquisition of pidgin languages within contact zones. By shifting the focus from

institutionalized to socialized learners,[333] it opens up new avenues for understanding key themes in SLA theory.

Furthermore, this chapter emphasizes that rather than learning a language to native fluency, most learners of a L2 aim to attain a level of proficiency that meets their personal or collective goals, which may not necessarily entail native-like fluency. By examining foreign language education policies and practices during the emergence of CPE and CPR pidginization, this chapter provides evidence of socialized fossilization, which received relatively little attention in applied linguistics studies. The phenomenon of pidginization broadens the scope of current research from individual learner-focused approaches to community-based perspectives, shedding light on the existence of pidgin languages from a cognitive standpoint. This perspective views foreign language acquisition not as an ongoing and incomplete process, but rather as one that may reach a stable and mutually acceptable level of proficiency.

Age Factor and Pidginization

Lenneberg developed the concept of Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) in his 1967 study to explain children's difficulty of acquiring L1 after 9-12 years

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[333] "Institutionalized learners" refers to those whose language training is systematic, e.g. received from an institution. "Socialized learner" refer to those who learned foreign language without systematic training, rather through a natural acquisition by communication needs with the target language speakers. – Note author.

of age.[334] Subsequently, CPH has also been apply to L2 acquisition research. In Scovel's 1988 study, he identified the critical period of language learning to be the "the early years of childhood, and that after about the first dozen years of life, everyone faces certain constraints in the ability to pick up a new language."[335] In 1990, Long presented the maturational state hypothesis, which proposed that children acquire L2 easier than adult learners. In addition, the maturational state hypothesis suggests that the critical period of acquisition does not abruptly stop after reaching a certain age, nor does it mean that acquiring a L2 afterward is impossible.[336] Such a period is decidedly neurobiological, as it involves the "lateralization of cognitive, linguistic, and perceptual functions, myelination, the proliferation of neurons in the cerebral cortex."[337] It means that adult learners are less likely able to reach a native speaker level in their language acquisition efforts.[338] Towell and Hawkins suggested that if the learners are older than ten when the beginning to learn a

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[334] Eric H. Lenneberg, *Biological Foundations of Language* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), 59.

[335] Thomas Scovel, *A Time to Speak: A Psycholinguistic Inquiry into the Critical Period for Human Speech* (Cambridge: Newbury House, 1988), 2.

[336] Michael H. Long "Maturational Constraints on Language Development," *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 12, no. 3 (1990): 251–85, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263100009165.
[337] Han Zhaohong, *Fossilization in Adult Second Language Acquisition* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2004), 44.

[338] Georgette Ioup, Elizabeth Boustagui, Manal El Tigi, and Martha Moselle, "Reexamining the critical period hypothesis: A case study of successful adult SLA in a naturalistic environment," *Studies in second language acquisition* 16, no. 1 (1994): 73-98.

L2, the learning process can be rather ineffective and tends to stop short of native-like proficiency regardless of a learners' effort.[339] In their studies, they consider that L2 frequency and use are not linked to the elimination of a foreign accent or non-native grammatical constructions and accents and grammar transfer from L1 are nearly impossible to erase. Nevertheless, communicativeness can be acquired even into the age of forty.[340]

Although later studies around CPH have argued about the specific age of such a critical period, or if there is only one critical period for all linguistic abilities, or if it ends abruptly or fades gradually, the general indication is that people exposed to a L2 after puberty are unable to acquire the L2 in a natural language environment. They must instead resort to an inter-language grammar that exhibits the influence of an L1 transfer. Given the grammatical variations observed in CPE and CPR, which exhibit features from both Chinese and English/Russian, the origin of these pidgins could be attributed to the SLA patterns of adults, both Chinese and foreign. In this process, individuals acquired elements of the target language while retaining traces of their native tongues, resulting in linguistic transfer from their L1. Therefore, determining the initial age of exposure to the target languages among CPE and CPR users is relevant for understanding the pidginization process.

However, comprehensive records detailing the ages at which CPE and CPR users were first exposed to English, Russian, or Chinese are scarce. Yet,

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[339] Richard Towell and Roger Hawkins, *Approaches to Second Language Acquisition* (Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters, 1994), 2.

[340] Lenneberg, *Biological Foundations of Language*, 176.

two scenarios characterize language contact situations. In the first scenario, learners are exposed to the target language during childhood through institutionalized training and language education. In the second scenario, learners encounter the target language as adults without formal training. Therefore, to evaluate pidginization in Shanghai and Harbin, the following sections investigate the foreign language education landscape in both cities to ascertain if age played a role in the adoption of CPE and CPR.

Scenario 1: Institutional Foreign Language Education

Foreign language education in Shanghai was facilitated primarily by official government institutions, churches, and private schools. The records on school systems inside the International Settlement and French Concession indicate that very few among the Shanghai residents were systematically trained in either Chinese or English. Both the Municipal Committee in the International Settlement and le Conseil d'Administration Municipale in the French Concession sponsored and supervised the educational curricula of public and private language schools. While most of the public schools in the Settlement and Concession were for the children of foreign emigrants and settlers, primary schools and secondary schools were also organized for the Chinese children in these districts. However, there was no verification that Chinese language was included in the curricula for the foreign children and English language curricula for the Chinese schools were unknown.

Furthermore, there was educational segregation between Chinese children and foreign children. Thomas Hanbury School, also known as the

Shanghai Euroasian School, a private school opened in the International Settlement in 1871, accepted specifically the children of Chinese-Western mixed racial descent.[341] The school operated for eleven years before facing financial crisis, exacerbated by insufficient support from authorities for mixed families. The limited educational support for mixed-blood children underscores the prevalent educational segregation in Shanghai. This circumstance implies that educational institutions offering education to both Chinese and foreign students were rare. According to a 1923 census of all immigrant school attendees, out of 5,172 students surveyed, only 168 were Chinese. Among the nineteen schools analyzed, only five enrolled Chinese students.[342] There were even fewer Chinese students attending the public schools sponsored by the Municipal Committee and le Conseil d'Administration Municipale. Of the schools' 1598 students, only eleven were Chinese.[343] The absence of statistics regarding the presence of foreign students in Chinese primary and secondary education suggests that their enrollment was presumably low. Consequently, while Chinese students attending schools established by settlers may have received formal English education and consequently acquired more institutionalized training of English, their overall number remained negligible in comparison to the total Chinese population of Shanghai.

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[341] Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and Around the Foreign Settlements and Native City, Second Edition*, 83.
[342] *Shanghai zujie zhi* , 128.

[343] Ibid., 129.

Much like the situation in Shanghai, formal foreign language education in Harbin was also limited. Russian language instruction for Chinese residents was provided by public schools administered by the Chinese Eastern Railway company (CER) and the Harbin Municipal Council, alongside private schools, and training programs. Furthermore, churches also functioned as language institutes. However, their influence was relatively limited in Harbin compared to Shanghai, as education in Harbin was monopolized by the CER administration system. Consequently, the attendance rate of church schools was low. Despite offering free education, these schools often did not attract local Chinese attendees due to religious differences and the non-missionary nature of the Orthodox Church.[344]

Russian courses for Chinese were officially encouraged by the Harbin Municipal Council and Chinese authorities. In August 1911, Zhao Erxun, the governor of Manchuria, and General Khorvat, the Director and Governor of the Chinese Eastern Railway, came to an agreement to send twenty boys and ten girls from Fengtian to the Harbin Business School to learn Russian, business, and economy. They were arranged to stay with Russian families for their study period of eight years. The students were warmly welcomed by both the governmental officers and their host families at Harbin Station.[345]

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[344] Shi Fang 石方, *Heilingjiang juyu shehuishi yanjiu, 1644-1911* 黑龙江区域社会史研究, 1644-1911 [A research on the regional social history of Heilongjiang Province (1644-1911)] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龙江人民出版社, 2002), 64.

[345] Ji Fenghui 纪凤辉, *Haerbin xungen* 哈尔滨寻根 [Seeking roots in Harbin] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Haerbin chubanshe 哈尔滨出版社, 1996), 36.

Chinese students were also enrolled in schools intended for Russian émigrés. Slavutskaja noted in her records that alumni exchanged greetings with classmates who were local residents of Harbin.[346] Yet how many Harbin locals were in her class was unmentioned. Gamsa described how few Chinese children are educated in the CER system:

> Until 1916, all of the nineteen elementary schools that the CER ran in Manchuria catered only to the children of Russian employees, while excluding the Chinese. Schools for Chinese employees began to be opened thereafter, reaching a total of ten along the entire railway line by 1924, and of sixteen by 1926. A Russian school in Harbin might accept individual Chinese pupils, usually from the upper classes. [347]

The higher educational institute of Harbin Polytechnic College also offered a one-year Russian language prep-course for Chinese students who were to study in the college. One hundred and twenty-three Chinese students graduated from this prep-course during the ten years of its existence. [348]

The extent to which Chinese residents of Harbin benefited from the CER education system remains inexact. However, it is presumed to be minimal. There is no evidence to suggest that public education opportunities were readily available to the general Chinese population of Harbin. Moreover, considering the low literacy rates among Chinese residents in Harbin, one must be cautious in characterizing institutionalized learning of Russian, or even Chinese, as a common experience in the city. According to a study carried out

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[346] Slavutskaja, *Haerbin dongjing mosike: yige sulian waijiaoguan nver de huiyi,* 28.

[347] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 65.

[348] Li, "20-40 Niandai eguo qiaomin zaihua de jiaoyu huodong," 42-49.

by the Committee on Literature and History Research of Heilongjiang

Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative

Conference, in 1934 regarding the illiteracy rates of Chinese and foreigners in

Harbin, Russian illiteracy stood at 11.83 percent, while Chinese illiteracy was

notably higher at 54.26 percent, with female illiteracy (68.91 percent)

significantly surpassing that of males (47.48 percent).[349] In Carter's work

Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism in an International City, Deng Jiemin, an

educator committed to establishing foreign language schools in Harbin,

observed that until the autumn of 1917, upon his return from Japan, foreign

language instruction in Harbin was notably inactive.[350] He assessed that Harbin

lacked sufficient educational resources to adequately serve the Chinese

residents' need for learning Russian. Those who did receive formal Russian

language education were typically members of the elite in Chinese society.

They often assumed roles as official translators for governors, founders of

schools, educators, and were frequently employed by Russian companies in

Harbin.[351]

Chinese courses for Russian émigrés were notably scarce in

comparison. In 1926, a Sino-Russian Language School was established in

Nangang District, featuring twenty-three students and three teachers. This

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[349] Zhengxie leilongjiangsheng weiyuanhui wenshi yanjiu weiyuanhui, *Haerbin wenshi ziliao*, 23-30.

[350] Carter, *Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism in an International City, 1916-1932,* 41.

[351] Shi, *Heilingjiang juyu shehuishi yanjiu, 1644-1911*, 430.

private vocational school was founded by Russian émigrés. However, there is limited evidence available to specify whether this institution offered courses in Chinese, Russian, or perhaps neither language.[352] Official efforts to promote the learning of Chinese were also not very substantial. According to Bakich, inadequate attempts to teach a little Chinese were made at the Harbin commercial schools and there were also occasional evening courses for the CER employees. Governmental institutions such as the Law Faculty of the Institute of Oriental Studies offered Chinese for translators and interpreters for the CER and companies, but enrolment was low and the dropout rate high. Membership of the Society of Russian Orientalists and the Society for the Study of the Manchurian Region required little or no knowledge of Chinese.[353] Following the establishment of Manchukuo in 1931, the Japanese authority established Japanese and Manchurian as the official language of the new state. In the "New School System (*Shin gakusei*)" proclaimed in 1937, Japanese became compulsary of all children in Manchukuo, regardless of their ethnic group. This situation continued until the dissolution of Manchukuo in 1945.[354]

In summary, the educational landscape in both Shanghai and Harbin reflects the first scenario outlined, wherein individuals in a language contact

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[352] *Haerbin jiaoyuzhi* 哈尔滨教育志 [Harbin education chronicle] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龙江省人民出版社, 1995): 199.

[353] Olga M. Bakich, "Russian Education in Harbin, 1898–1962," *Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in the USA 26* (1994): 269–94.

[354] Hiromi Mitani 三谷裕美, "The Cultural Politics of Language : Japanese as a Common Language in Manchukuo," 東京女子大学紀要論集 [Bulletin of Tokyo Woman's Christian University] 49, no.2 (March, 1999): 121-135, https://twcu.repo.nii.ac.jp/record/25594/files/KJ00004475735.pdf

setting are exposed to a target language during childhood through institutionalized training and language education. However, it is important to note that the proportion of individuals able to access standard or institutional English or Russian education was relatively trivial compared to the overall population exposed to English and Russian communication in these cities.

Scenario 2: Other Learning Opportunities

Beyond the officially sponsored and supervised educational institutions, private foreign language training schools emerged in both Shanghai and Harbin. Estimating the exact number of private Russian language schools in Harbin proves challenging, as they ranged from registered language schools to private home workshops. Among these, the Jijiang Translation School stood out as a noticeable institution, offering courses in English, Russian, French, and Japanese. Additionally, public schools catering to Russian émigrés also organized Russian language night classes for Chinese residents,[355] yet the number of registered students in these courses was never more than a dozen.[356] In Shanghai, English training courses emerged shortly after the port opened. However, the quality of instruction and language exposure varied widely and was not assured. At the outset of Shanghai's opening,

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[355] Jiang Shuqin 姜树卿, Shan Xueli 单雪丽, *Heilongjiang jiaoyushi* 黑龙江教育史 [An educational history of Heilongjiang] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe 黑龙江人民出版社, 2002), 121.

[356] Shi, Liu and Gao, *Haerbin eqiaoshi*, 292.

communication with foreign settlers was limited, with few individuals able to interact effectively aside from the compradors who relocated from Canton in pursuit of business prospects stemming from the new harbor.[357] Robert Thom wrote in the preface to his *Chinese and English Vocabulary*: "汉人畅晓英语者,不过洋务中百十人而已, 此外南北各省竟无人能略知者。[Those among the Han Chinese who were proficient in English were merely a few dozen individuals involved in the Westernization movement. Furthermore, there were scarcely any individuals from various provinces across the country who had even a basic understanding.]"[358]

Soon after the opening of port, the number of people acquiring a language education in Shanghai increased. The first school to offer an English course in Shanghai, *Daying Xuetang* (大英学堂), opened in April, 1864. It accepted children from tsen to fourteen years of age and charged five pounds per month, as pound sterling was one of the multiple currencies circulating in Shanghai in mid to late nineteenth century. Records from *Shenbao* issued between 1872 and 1882 shows that from 1873 to 1882, more than sixty foreign language training schools advertised themselves in the newspaper. Among them, one offered Japanese and another French; the rest of which only offered English. Between 1862 and 1919, a total of 259 newly established training institutions emerged, averaging an increase of 4.5 institutions per year. The

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[357] Ge, *Huyou zaji*, 14.

[358] Thom, *Chinese and English Vocabulary: Part First*, 1

organizational structure of these schools was rather flexible in terms of lecture time, term duration, minimum attendance, assessment, and tuition fees. The lecture time periods were available from 9am to 10pm. Except for one school indicating there would be a test in half a year, most of the schools did not require a periodical or final assessment of the students' English performance.[359]

In summary, in the second scenario, where learners are exposed to a target language as adults without institutionalized training, as observed in both Shanghai and Harbin, the absence of assessment suggests the likelihood of uneven language proficiency among attendees of these night schools and training courses. Furthermore, there is no guarantee of achieving English proficiency through participation in these training programs. Private language schools lacked standardized curricula, exhibiting significant variability in both structure and content. Without assurances of their credentials, it is conceivable that some schools may have directly imparted CPE or CPR knowledge to students.

In conclusion, the analysis of the two scenarios addressing the age factor in foreign language learning in Shanghai and Harbin reveals three key points. Firstly, between 1850 and 1940 in both cities, only a small fraction of residents, Chinese and foreign alike, received formal education in foreign languages. Consequently, for most individuals in Shanghai and Harbin,

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[359] Lu Wenxue 陆文雪,"Qingmo Shanghai waiyu peixunban yu yexiao 清末上海外语培训班与夜校 [Foreign language training schools in Shanghai in late Qing dynasty]," *Dang'an yu shixue* 档案与史学 5 (1997): 64-72.

exposure to and immersion in foreign languages did not occur during childhood. Secondly, during this period, English or Russian training for adults was neither standardized nor subject to examination. Therefore, it is improbable that adult learners acquired a standardized form of English or Russian. Consequently, the age factor in SLA contributed to the pidginization of Shanghai and Harbin. Most children in these cities, both Chinese and foreign, who were still within the critical period for language acquisition, had limited or no access to foreign language input. Moreover, most adults in both cities, both Chinese and foreign, who had passed the critical period and required instructional guidance to acquire a foreign language, had minimal access to reliable language instruction. Thus, the age factor played a significant role in the pidginization of Shanghai and Harbin. However, the discussion of the age factor in this section does not address how dynamic foreign language input in language contact zones may influence pidginization. Therefore, in the next section, I explore the language learning environment for both Chinese and foreign settlers to provide further insight into the process of pidginization.

THE LANGUAGE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT FACTOR

Krashen distinguishes between informal and formal linguistic environments, with formal environments being artificial constructs such as classroom settings.[360] In his Acquisition/Learning Hypothesis, Krashen

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[360] Stephen D. Krashen, *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981).

suggests that adults have two distinct approaches to acquiring a L2: through communication or through explicit learning about the language. The question arises: which of these methods is more effective in adult language acquisition? Does a formal environment necessarily lead to better linguistic outcomes compared to an informal one? According to Krashen, input in the informal environments could be too complex for beginners, while the classroom a "concentrated dose" of input can be provided to aid effective learning.[361] This suggests that acquiring a language and learning about a language are separate endeavors. However, the classroom can serve both purposes concurrently, particularly when class activities are designed to enhance conscious linguistic knowledge of the target language. Thus, the classroom may function as both an informal and formal linguistic environment for language acquisition.[362] This theory implies that language acquisition can occur within both formal and informal linguistic environments. Therefore, the spread of pidginization may be viewed as a process of SLA. Consequently, the incomplete formal foreign language education observed in Shanghai and Harbin, as discussed in the previous chapter, could have contributed to the development of CPE and CPR.

Krashen's distinction between informal and formal environments highlights their respective roles in shaping different aspects of L2 competence.

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[361] Krashen and Terrell, *The Natural Approach: Language Acquisition in the Classroom*, 56.

[362] Krashen, *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*, 47.

Informal environments primarily influence acquired competence, while formal environments impact learned competence.[363] In the context of pidginization in Shanghai and Harbin, users of CPE and CPR encompassed both individuals with limited or no exposure to institutionalized language education and those who received formal language instruction but interacted with those lacking such education. Consequently, those informally educated acquired pidginized language through informal language use. Although institutionalized language education existed in both cities, it was accessible to only a small segment of the population. This limited access to formal education contributed to the widespread use of informally acquired variations, namely pidginized languages, outside of formal language environments.

The linguistic context during the emergence of CPE and CPR aligns with the aforementioned theory. As detailed in the analysis presented in Chapter One, CPE and CPR began to surface around the mid-eighteenth century within the Chinese trading regions that interacted with English-speaking and Russian-speaking communities. Their usage gradually declined and ceased by the 1930s to the 1940s. During this period, China's foreign language policy changed drastically. In light of the James Flint case in 1759,[364] till the 1850s, the Chinese officials had completely banned the learning of foreign languages for Chinese citizens as well as the teaching of Chinese

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[363] ---, "Formal and Informal Linguistic Environments in Language Acquisition and Language Learning," *TESOL Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1976): 157-68.

[364] See page 98 to 99 of this study.

language to foreign citizens. Learning a foreign language was a life-risking business. Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary in China, had to dim the light at night when studying Chinese after one of his previous Chinese teachers was beheaded.[365] William Alexander Parsons Martin verified this condition:

> A teacher engaged by Dr. Morrison… always carried poison, so as to be able by suicide to escape the clutches of the mandarins should he fall into their hands on the charge of being guilty of so heinous a crime. The reign of terror was somewhat mitigated when a teacher in the employ of Dr. Williams, one of our earliest American missionaries, was known in his comings and goings to bear in his hand an old shoe, that he might, in an emergency, pass himself off for a cobbler.[366]

In such a constrained environment, the initial interpreters facilitating communication between Chinese and foreign merchants were referred to as *Sheren* (舌人) meaning "man of tongues". They were officially appointed to each merchant ship by local authorities to serve as translators. However, their primary role was to document and report the behaviors of the foreign merchants.[367]

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[365] Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825-1844*, 60-61.

[366] William Alexander Parsons Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay, Or, China, South and North: With Personal Reminiscences* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1897), 125.

[367] Si Jia 司佳, "Cong tongshi dao fanyiguan – lun jindai zhongwai yuyan jiechushi shangde zhu, beidong juese zhuanyi 从"通事"到"翻译官"--论近代中外语言接触史上的主、被动角色的转移 [From "Linguists" to "Official Translators": On the Transformation between Active and Passive Roles in the History of Language Contact between China and Western Countries]," *Fudan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 复旦学报(社会科学版) 3, (2002): 44-50.

The Linguists were seen by their fellow Chinese as a group of people who were "dealing with the barbarians and having to speak like the barbarians."[368] They blended the Celestial language with those of the barbarians, causing embarrassment to the Chinese intellectual class and the public. Consequently, their social status was considered among the lowest within the subjects of the Celestial Empire. The Linguists served not only as interpreters between languages and reporters of foreigners' behaviors but also bore responsibility and faced punishment for any miscommunication and misconduct of the foreign merchants who were shielded by extraterritoriality.

Similar policies were also observed in the formation of CPR. Chinese individuals aspiring to engage in trade in Kyakhta were required to pass an examination in Russian before being permitted to do so. Meanwhile, CPR instruction was provided in Kalgan, located in present-day Mongolia. The reason behind this policy is because the Chinese government:

> made a fundamental state law that a merchant should get the right to engage in trade only after he has learnt to read and write Russian. A secret instruction from Beijing says: "This measure is necessary to prevent the Russians from learning Chinese, as if they know it they can find out the secrets of our trade and politics." [369]

However, this policy was put to an end by the *Treaty of Wanghia*, a diplomatic agreement between the Qing Government and the United States,

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[368] Hao, *The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China Bridge between East and West*, 56.

[369] Shapiro, "Chinese Pidgin Russian," 5-6.

signed on 3 July 1844. The eighteenth article of the Treaty granted the right to

learn Chinese:

> 准合众国官民延请中国各方士民人等教习各方语音，并帮办文墨事件，不论所延请者系何等样人，中国地方官民等均不得稍有阻挠、陷害等情；并准其采买中国各项书籍。It shall be lawful for officers or citizens of the United States to employ scholars and people of any part of China, without distinction of persons, to teach any of the languages of the Empire, and to assist in literary labours, and the persons so employed shall not for that cause be subject to any injury on the part either of the government or of individuals; and it shall in like manner be lawful for citizens of the United States to purchase all manner of books in China.[370]

This suggests that when foreigners began to establish settlements in

Shanghai in 1853 and in Harbin in 1896, the official restrictions on learning

Chinese were no longer in place. Despite the abolition of the strict language

policy upon the relocation of the center of CPE to Shanghai and CPR to

Harbin, both languages continued to be utilized in these two cities for decades.

This persistence can be attributed to two primary reasons. Firstly, the language

policy previously enforced in China had significantly shaped the emergence

and evolution of CPE and CPR. As users of these pidgin languages migrated to

Shanghai and Harbin for business and other purposes, they carried with them a

well-established and effective means of communication tailored to commercial

interactions. This pre-existing linguistic framework facilitated the continued

use and adaptation of CPE and CPR in these new urban contexts, contributing

to their longevity and resilience despite changes in official language policies.

Secondly, while strict language policies initially prompted the emergence of

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[370] Ping Chia Kuo, "Caleb Cushing and the Treaty of Wanghia, 1844," *The Journal of Modern History* 5, no. 1 (1933): 34-54.

CPE and CPR, their sustained use can be attributed to insufficient contact. According to Chaudenson, pidgins primarily serve as trade languages and are utilized in contexts of limited and specific communication. He identifies "slightness of contact" as one of the essential conditions for pidgin formation, indicating rare and superficial interactions among speakers who rely on a pidgin for communication.[371] The persistent condition of limited contact played a pivotal role in sustaining the practicality and importance of CPE and CPR within the social and commercial milieu of Shanghai and Harbin. As discussed in the preceding section, the segregated nature of education in these cities exemplified the phenomenon of slightness of contact. This resulted in a considerable communication gap between Chinese and foreign residents. In *The History of Shanghai*, Lanning and Couling noted the rarity of social interactions between native Shanghai residents and foreigners. While occasional instances of mingling occurred, such as native guests attending semi-public dinners or privileged foreigners visiting the homes of Co-hong merchants, the language barrier remained a significant impediment to genuine intimacy. In *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography* by Gamsa, the Russians demonstrated a general reluctance to learn Chinese, instead relying heavily on CPR for communication with the limited number of local Chinese individuals they encountered. This underscores the prevailing linguistic dynamics and intercultural interactions within Harbin's social landscape. Furthermore, while these language dynamics proved convenient for Russians, on the other hand,

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[371] Chaudenson, *Creolization of Language and Culture*, 21.

the Chinese held "the advantageous position of understanding without necessarily being understood themselves."[372] Chiasson highlights that the Russian diaspora in Northeast China remained largely unassimilated by Chinese civilization until the late 1940s. Moreover, he underscores how the Russian émigrés' nostalgic portrayal of Harbin's pre-war Russian culture obscures the presence of the local Chinese community. Russian émigrés' narratives dominate, minimizing the agency and experiences of the Chinese residents, perpetuating a skewed historical narrative that reflects cultural chauvinism and ethnocentrism within the Russian diaspora.[373] As a result, only a few individuals managed to overcome linguistic barrier and achieve fluency in Chinese, English, or Russian. This persistent condition of limited contact contributed to the sustained utility and relevance of CPE in Shanghai and CPR in Harbin.[374]

To summarize the language environment in Shanghai and Harbin, three key points can be highlighted. First, the language policy that prohibited Chinese and foreigners from learning each other's languages contributed to the formation of CPE and CPR. Second, this language policy was not the sole barrier to interaction between Chinese and foreign settlers. Even after the policy was lifted, limited contact persisted, sustaining the use of CPE and CPR into the 1940s. Third, the inadequate contact has given space for language

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[372] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 79.

[373] Chiasson, *Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria's Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918-29*, 7.

[374] Lanning and Couling, *The History of Shanghai*, 215.

learners to acquire their target languages in natural contact environment. In this process, there was minimal involvement of conscious grammar instruction, which is typically encountered in classroom settings.

One of the most frequently cited theories regarding the emergence of pidgin languages posits that inadequate language acquisition led to the formation of pidgins through the distortion of the target language. In essence, pidgin speakers communicated in a fragmented version of the target language. These speakers are often referred to as "Monitor under-users," individuals who rely more on their acquired linguistic competence rather than consciously learned rules and grammar when using a L2. They either have not fully acquired the language or choose not to use their conscious knowledge to monitor their linguistic behavior. This phenomenon is typically viewed as an idiosyncratic aspect of language learning, attributed to individual learner differences.[375] However, when examined within the contact zone, monitor under-users, identified here as pidgin speakers, represent a universal method of social interaction rather than a peculiar deviation in language learning. Thus, when individuals from diverse linguistic and educational backgrounds adopt a pidgin language for communication, two factors are at play: competence and choice.

In the subsequent section, I will examine the fossilization process as part of SLA, where the learning process stagnates for various reasons. This

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[375] Stephen D. Krashen, *Principles and Practice Second Language Acquisition* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall International, 1987), 19.

analysis will demonstrate that pidginization is not an indication of linguistic incompetence but rather a stabilized, collective solution for communication.

<div align="center">Pidginization as Fossilization</div>

Current interlanguage theories view language learners as individuals. This study, however, introduces the concept of "community acquisition," where learners of target languages (Chinese, English, or Russian) are seen as groups within specific societal contexts. This approach also challenges traditional understandings of pidgin development. While previous studies have considered pidgin as a simplified form of interlanguage, this study proposes that pidgin usage emerged as a fossilized interlanguage of adult second language learners. Whereas prior theories have attributed pidginization to external social factors, this study suggests that internal language acquisition factors also contributed to the development of pidgin languages.

According to Schumann and Stenson, learner speech represents a systematic attempt to produce the target language. When learner language is restricted to purely communicative purposes, it becomes simplified and reduced.[376] Nemser introduced the concept of "approximative system" in the contact situation. It is a "deviant linguistic system actually employed by the

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[376] John. H. Schumann, and Nancy Stenson, *New Frontiers in Second Language Learning* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1974).

learner attempting to utilize the target language."[377] Corder takes the view that "the language of such a learner, or perhaps certain groupings of learners, is a special sort of dialect. […] The spontaneous speech of the second-language learner is language and has a grammar."[378] To account for these unique utterances, Selinker hypothesized the existence of a separate linguistic system called "interlanguage."[379] He proposed that this process might be examined through the study of fossilization. Certain language items are "fossilizable," meaning they become permanent features of a second language learner's interlanguage system, regardless of the learner's age or the amount of instruction received. He suggested that when adults predominantly learn languages without focusing on form, the usual outcome is a basic variety of interlanguage that is grammatically simple but communicatively effective.

Schumann's 1976 case study focuses on a 33-year-old Costa Rican named Alberto, who learned English without formal instruction over ten months, showing minimal linguistic growth. Three factors were considered for his lack of development: ability, age, and social and psychological distance. Tests showed that ability and age were not sufficient explanations. However, Alberto's speech indicated pidginization, attributed to his social and

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[377] William Nemser, "Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners," *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching* 9, no. 2 (1971): 115-15, https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.1971.9.2.115.

[378] Stephen P. Corder, "Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis," *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching* 9, no. 2 (1971): 147.

[379] Larry Selinker, "Interlanguage," *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching* 10, no. 3 (1972): 209-32.

psychological distance from native speakers. Therefore, it is concluded that this distance was the main reason for his limited progress in English acquisition.[380] Mather also carried out a case study in 2006 to test the hypothesis of the comparability of adult SLA and creolization process by comparing language features in French-lexifier creoles and interlanguage materials produced by adult L2 French learners. The study finds that that many of the features found in French-lexifier creoles do occur in adult L2 French interlanguages, as a result of L1 transfer. Mather thus proposed that creolization follows a "gradualist / second language acquisition model". He also identifies that the psychological factors involved in creolization are not unique but are the same as those found in ordinary SLA processes.[381]

Due to the change induced by using a language in a natural setting, contact languages can thus simplify, and grammatical intricacies can fade. Communication strategies that pidginization involves could be decisive factors not only in the existence of CPE and CPR but also in their semantic development. Language learning and usage succeed through the interaction of situational linguistic materials, communication strategies, and social negotiations. These elements enable pidgin users to effectively navigate fluid communication contexts.

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[380] John. H. Schumann, "Second Language Acquisition: the Pidginization Hypothesis," *Language Learning* 26, no.2 (December 1976): 391-408. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-1770.1976.tb00283.x.

[381] Patrick-André Mather, "Second language acquisition and creolization: Same (i-) processes, different (e-) results," *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 21, no.2 (Jan 2006): 231 – 274.

Cognitive Factors in Fossilization

The notion of fossilization was first presented by Weinreich in 1953. Weinreich introduced "permanent grammatical influence" in L2 learners' language production.[382] Similarly, Nemser also noticed a permanent intermediate systems and subsystems of L2 production in his study in 1971.[383] According to Selinker, fossilization is a latent psychological framework governing the acquisition of a second language by learners.[384] Therefore, some researchers regard fossilization as an "incapability to achieve native-like proficiency in the target language."[385]

Hyltenstam, who studied the structural analysis of fossilization by comparing the acquisition of L1 with L2, noted that interlanguage derives from native language transfer.[386] Newmark and Melaragno also observed that L2 users sometimes rely on his or her L1 when attempting to produce an utterance, even without a firm understanding of the L2.[387] This is to say, the L2

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[382] Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, 174.

[383] Nemser, *An Experimental Study of Phonological Interference in the English of Hungarians*, 17.

[384] Selinker, "Interlanguage," 221.

[385] Marquette Lowther, "Fossilisation, Pidginisation and the Monitor," in *Language Across Cultures: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin, 8-9 July 1983*, ed. Liam Mac Mathúna and David Micheal Singleton. (Dublin: Irish Association for Applied Linguistics, 1984), 127.

[386] Kenneth Hyltenstam, "Lexical Characteristics of Near-Native Second-Language Learners of Swedish," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 9, no. 1 (1988): 67-84.

[387] Gerald Newmark, Ralph Melaragno and Harry Silberman, *The Development of*

users adopt the L1 grammar as a substitute grammar initiator for his L2 production. Using an L1 grammar to substitute part of L2 utterance is therefore one way of performing a language without competence in that language. This kind of performance is absolutely necessary for learners who are in a situation where early production of a L2 is required. [388]

For the substitution of L1 grammar in such instances, Bates and MacWhinney's study offers a functionalist explanation through endorsement of the Competition Model of language acquisition.[389] This model delineates the process of human language into four modules: vocabulary, word order, morphology, and tones. Owing to the finite capacity of the human brain for language processing, these four modules engage in competitive interactions. Furthermore, individuals speaking diverse L1s exhibit differing allocations of processing space for each module.

For instance, in the context of Chinese-Russian and Chinese-English language contact, the neurological processing space for Chinese places greater emphasis on word order. Since this neurological theory of language is employed to explain L1 transfer in L2 acquisition, as well as fossilization. It

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Criterion-Referenced Tests in Four Skills for Field Testing Three Approaches to Teaching Spanish in Elementary Schools (Santa Monica, Calif.: System Development Corporation, 1966).

[388] Barry P. Taylor, "The Use of Overgeneralization and Transfer Learning Strategies by Elementary and Intermediate Students of ESL," *Language Learning* 25, no. 1 (1975): 73-107.

[389] Elizabeth Bates and Brian J. MacWhinney, "Second-language Acquisition from a Functionalist Perspective: Pragmatic, Semantic and Perceptual strategies," In *Native Language and Foreign Language Acquisition*, ed. Harris Winitz (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1981), 190-214.

may also account for why, in interactions between Chinese and English or Russian, Chinese influenced the word order of the pidgins. If this theory stands, one way to interpret the development of CPE and CPR is to view their formations as cognitively determined by the intrinsic characteristics of the participating languages. This perspective provides a potential explanation for the relexification phenomenon discussed in Chapter One, which suggests that European languages typically function as lexifiers, relexifying the local language. The evolution of word order in CPE and CPR towards a structure more reminiscent of standard Chinese occurred concurrently with the incorporation of lexicons from European languages. This linguistic phenomenon was not primarily influenced by the economic status or prestige of European settlers during the process of pidginization. Rather, it can be attributed to their participation in contact situations wherein fusional languages which are Russian and English, were involved. These languages exhibit distinct competitive linguistic modules in contrast to Chinese, which is an isolating language. According to the study of Roberts and Bresnan, pidgin languages generally exhibit isolating characteristics, and the process of pidginization often entails a transition from synthetic to analytic morphosyntax, alongside various other grammatical alterations.[390]

The evolution of CPE and CPR suggests a reciprocal cognitive adjustment. While English and Russian enriched lexicons, Chinese infused its grammatical structure into the shared communicative medium. Yet, this

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[390] Roberts and Bresnan, "Retained inflectional morphology in pidgins: A typological study," 271.

exchange was not unilateral, as language contact operates beyond mathematical formulas. Chinese vocabulary also influenced the lexicon of CPE and CPR in the process. Thus, the development of these pidgin languages reflects a complex interplay of linguistic elements, illustrating the dynamic nature of language evolution within multicultural contexts.

Acquisition Strategy in Fossilization

According to Hyltenstam, fossilization refers to two types of features in interlanguage: "those that stem from their L1 norm and remain static, and deviant features that resurface in the learner's speech under specific circumstances."[391] One might question whether fossilization occurs due to an inability to learn a language or if it is influenced by individual factors, such as socio-psychological forces. Thus far, most conceptualizations of fossilization agree that it is a process largely beyond the learner's control. However, these conceptualizations may overlook the impact of external and internal variables, often assuming an ideal learning environment devoid of interference. In reality, language learning occurs within complex contexts, particularly in language contact situations where multiple L1s interact. During the process of pidginization, which can be seen as a form of fossilization, learners' decisions can play a significant role in influencing their language acquisition outcomes.

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[391] Hyltenstam, "Lexical Characteristics of Near-Native Second-Language Learners of Swedish," 68.

According to Han's research, fossilization can stem from various factors, both external and internal. External causes encompass a lack of corrective feedback, absence of instruction, reinforcement from the linguistic environment, inadequate instruction, irrelevance of communication, limited exposure to written material, linguistic complexity, and the quality of input and instruction.[392] Internal causes may include psychological factors such as ineffective learning strategies, fluctuations in emotional states, aversion to risk-taking in language reconstruction, simplification tendencies, a preference for content over form, avoidance behaviors, and transfer of training. Additionally, neurobiological and cognitive factors like maturational constraints, such as the critical period, can contribute.[393] On top, socio-affective reasons like the fulfillment of communicative needs, challenges in acculturation, preservation of identity, and socio-psychological barriers also play a role.[394] For instance, a lack of motivation results in diminished efforts to learn more about the target language. Therefore, fossilization occurs when learners view language learning as an investment with little potential gain. Language learning behavior is connected to learners' communication requirements. If learners are satisfied with their current language abilities for their communication needs, their learning process comes to a halt.[395]

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[392] Han, *Fossilization in Adult Second Language Acquisition*, 26-28.

[393] Ibid., 29.

[394] Ibid..

SUMMARY

This chapter substantiates the second hypothesis of the study through three perspectives. Hypothesis 2 states:

Pidginization is not an indication of linguistics competence, but stabilized group solution for communication. This solution is decided by the pidgin users' second language acquisition (SLA) pattern: adult learners in a natural language contact setting.

The chapter delves into age-related, language learning environment, and fossilization factors. Through these discussions, several key points concerning the genesis and evolution of CPE in Shanghai and CPR in Harbin are illuminated. Firstly, age emerges as a significant factor due to the absence of childhood language education, impacting cognitive foundations and resulting in limited native-like outcomes among residents of Shanghai and Harbin. Secondly, language policies contribute to the emergence of CPE and CPR, with insufficient contact sustaining their usage. Additionally, the chapter proposes that pidgin functions as a socially fossilized interlanguage. The cognitive dimension of fossilization introduces the Competition Model of language processing, suggesting an innate language practice protocol beyond Relexification Theory's confines. Lastly, socio-affective factors influence fossilization, where language learning behavior correlates closely with communication needs. If individuals perceive their language proficiency as

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[395] Zoran Vujisic, "The Role of Achievement Motivation on the Interlanguage Fossilization of Middle-aged English-as-a-second-language Learners" (PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2007), 40-41.

sufficient for their communication purposes, it hinders further acquisition efforts. This aspect will be further explored in Chapter Five's analysis of acculturation.

CHAPTER V

LIMITED ACCULTURATION

IN THE PIDGINIZATION OF CPE AND CPR

The previous chapter demonstrated that the pidginization process of CPE and CPR is influenced by the SLA patterns of their users, who are adult learners in a natural language contact setting. These learners acquire a L2 through an informal and unguided approach, seeking comprehensible and purposeful L2 input. Therefore, pidginization reflects not only the users' linguistic competence but also their language learning purpose and motivation, making the fundamental characteristic of pidginization a stabilized group solution for communication. At the end of the last chapter, the discussion on the mechanism of fossilization showed that adult SLA is affected by both cognitive and affective factors. This implies that the point at which the acquisition process halts can be influenced by the learners' socio-psychological and affective choices.

In this chapter, I will develop the argument supporting the third and final hypothesis of this study:

Hypothesis 3. Pidginization is a language choice. It is a product of cooperation and purposeful motivation, influenced by internal and external variables from both sides of the interlocutors.

To address this hypothesis, the chapter will begin with a discussion on cooperation theory—a theory proposed by the author to explain pidginization on cognitive and discursive levels. Following this, it will examine the

acculturation model of pidginization, discussing the acculturation factors that determine learners' pace of SLA progress.

<div align="center">COOPERATION THEORY</div>

Chomsky advocates linguistic theory is based on an ideal speaker-listener who masters his or her language perfectly and is "unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitation, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance."[396] Chomsky's concept of an ideal speaker refers to a theoretical construct in linguistics used to study the fundamental aspects of language. In Chomsky's framework, the ideal speaker-hearer is a hypothetical individual who possesses perfect knowledge of their native language's grammar and can use it flawlessly. This concept abstracts away from real-world complications such as errors, performance limitations, social influences, and variations in language use. It allows linguists to focus on the inherent structures and rules of a language (competence) rather than the variable and often imperfect ways in which language is used in practice (performance).

"Communicative competence" is a concept introduced by sociolinguist Dell Hymes as a critique and expansion of Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence. While Chomsky's linguistic competence focuses on an individual's knowledge of grammatical rules, Hymes' communicative

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[396] Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1965), 3.

competence encompasses "the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations."[397] Competent speakers of a language, mother tongue or not, understands the appropriate methods and time to communicate, because the internalization of linguistic rules such as grammar alone is not sufficient to guarantee the learner's appropriate application of the learned language.[398]

As written at the very beginning of this study, language serves as the conduit through which cultural expressions and values are transmitted. The cultural factors influencing SLA arise from multiple perspectives. The learners' native language and their cultural background can both interfere with the SLA process. The significance of exploring these cultural factors is twofold: Firstly, SLA involves an amalgamation of the source language and the target language, resulting in the formation of interlanguage. Secondly, the development of interlanguage is shaped by the learners' acculturation performance.

The previous chapter explored the factors that would affect learners' linguistic detachment from a foreign language with the paradigm of pidginization. This detachment is outlined by a series of social and affective factors. In this section I endeavor to progress beyond mere comprehension of

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[397] Darla K. Deardorff, "Identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization," *Journal of Studies in International Education* 10, no.3 (2006): 247-48.

[398] Dell H. Hymes, "On Communicative Competence," (paper presented at the Research Planning Conference on Language Development Among Disadvantaged Children, Yeshiva University, New York, June 7-8, 1966), 53-73. https://nimshav.github.io/EthnoComm-Repository/EOC_Library/Hymes%20-%201972%20-%20On%20Communicative%20Competence.pdf

such distance to scrutinize the intricate mechanisms underpinning learners'
decision-making processes concerning the selection between the standardized
manifestation of target languages and their pidginized solution within the
overarching framework of socio-psychological disparity.

The Symmetry of Cooperation

In a contact situation, how do two or more groups of people with
different language backgrounds decide which language to use as the lingua
franca? If neither language is chosen, a new medium is co-created by the
participants of the contact. This creative process is called cooperation, and
pidginization process exhibits how cooperative behavior can occur across
language barriers. Cooperation in essence could happen between any two
interlocutors when choosing conversation style, register, or trans-lingual
information exchanges. Coulmas pointed out that:

> Cooperation is the unmarked case in speech behavior and vital for
> preserving the functionality of the language. It can be explained in
> terms of the perceived probability that the speakers concerned may
> interact again […] as the theory of public choice emphasized,
> reciprocity is essential for maintaining cooperation.[399]

As suggested in the previous chapter, speakers of English, Russian,
and Chinese may have been unable or unwilling to fully acquire the target
languages due to various constraints and affective factors. Consequently, they
opted for CPE and CPR as a compromise for communication. However, since
language choices are typically influenced by certain limitations, it can be

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[399] Florian Coulmas, *Sociolinguistics: the Study of Speakers' Choices* (New York:
Cambridge University Press, 2013), 13.

observed that linguistic cooperation often occurs within these constraints.

Coulmas earlier study in 2006 indicated that speakers make contextual

depended choices as they converse. This choice is in essence, a cooperative

creation. He categorized the choices into micro choices and macro choices,

where micro choices mean speakers adapt the structural features of their

language when speaking and macro choices mean the speakers switch entire

codes during communication.[400] Under the Macro choice category,

pidginization is considered most dramatic evidence of the cooperative nature

of languages:

> pidgins are a new creative intertwining of hitherto unconnected
> linguistic materials and as such, more obviously than other languages,
> bear the stamp of artefacts. Another important lesson to be learnt from
> pidginization is that language is the result rather than the prerequisite of
> cooperative action.[401]

How the cooperation work out in the formation and implementation

of pidgins can be explained by the Accommodation Theory developed by

Bourhis: "in face to face interaction […] speakers accommodate to each other

linguistically by reducing the dissimilarities between their speech patterns and

adopting feature from each other's speech."[402] When this disposition is

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[400] ---, "The power to choose and its sociolinguistics implications," in *'Along the Routes to Power': Explorations of Empowerment through Language*, ed. Martin Pütz, Joshua A. Fishman and JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 55-72.

[401] Ibid., 67.

[402] Richard Bourhis, "Social Consequences of Accommodating One's Style of Speech: A Cross-National Investigation," *Linguistics* 166 (1975): 55-71, quoted in Peter Trudgill, *Dialects in Contact* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1986), 39.

considered alongside the Relexification Theory – wherein a pidgin language incorporates a substrate language providing the grammatical structure and a superstrate language serving as the lexifier – it becomes necessary to inquire how the determination is made as to which language functions as the superstrate and which as the substrate.

Coulmas argues that language selection is purposeful rather than random. He maintains that languages within a society are seldom equal due to their associations with demographic strength, power, and prestige. As a result, the choice of a particular language or its elements inherently carries social implications.[403] Similarly, Pratt views language contact as a form of conflict determined by the relative power of the languages involved. In such interactions, the literacy of the people in contact acts as the gatekeeper for the exchange of linguistic elements. The dominant language invariably exerts influence over the less powerful one, particularly through its vocabulary.[404]

This study, however, questions the notion that the political influence of a language community directly correlates with the distribution of language strata in the pidginization process. Firstly, it is evidenced in Chapter One and Chapter Four that the foreign language population that settled or traded in China was often marginalized within society. Even those proficient in foreign language, such as the compradors, faced disdain from their Chinese

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[403] Coulmas, *Sociolinguistics: the Study of Speakers' Choices*, 123.

[404] Mary L., Pratt, "Globalization as Linguistic Force Field," (keynote speech, *64th Annual Kentucky Foreign Language Conference from University of Kentucky*, Lexington, April 14, 2011).

counterparts. Despite this societal context, English and Russian served as the major lexicon providers for CPE and CPR respectively during their formation in the mid-nineteenth century. Secondly, the use of a language is influenced by various factors beyond mere political and financial dominance. Factors such as language loyalty, ethnolinguistic vitality, and practical utility also play significant roles. These aspects are not exclusively determined by the political and economic prowess of a speech community.

This study views language as a collaborative creation, emerging from people striving to mutual understanding in intercultural encounters. In such contact situations, a pidgin language arises as a means of facilitating communication, allowing its users to achieve social bilingualism without necessarily attaining linguistic bilingualism. The subsequent sections will delve into the Cooperation Theory across two dimensions: firstly, as a mechanism for language acquisition; and secondly, as a strategic approach adopted by conversational partners.

Cooperation as Language Acquisition Mechanism

Returning to the Competition Model discussed in Chapter Four, the Competition Model was proposed by Elizabeth Bates and Brian MacWhinney as a psycholinguistic approach to language acquisition and utterance processing. SLA is essentially a cooperation process combining different language sub-systems in the human cognition matrix. Four models in the matrix, respectively vocabulary, sentence structure, morphology and tones

compete for cognitive processes, as they cannot be developed at the same level of prominence by the human cognitive system.[405]

Research on the Competition Model has primarily concentrated on developing a unified theory encompassing both first and second language acquisition. Hopper maintains that grammar is not rigidly formulated and represented in abstract terms; rather, it is intricately linked to the specific structure of an utterance. These linguistic forms are not static templates but are rather subject to negotiation during face-to-face interactions. They reflect individual speaker's experiences with these utterance forms and their assessment of the current context.[406] Language is deeply intertwined with discourse, usage, cognition, society, and the cognitive processes of speakers. In the formation of pidgin languages, just as it does in the L2 learners' production of interlanguages, it involves the negotiation of a grammar and vocabulary through personal interactions and social exchanges.

This study presents a fresh viewpoint on the emergence of pidgin languages, exemplified in the cases of CPE and CPR. It offers a cognitive perspective, suggesting that the adaptation of Chinese word order to English/Russian grammar and the incorporation of Chinese vocabulary into the dynamic nature of English/Russian vocabulary were pivotal in the genesis of these pidgins. This transformative process was facilitated through limited yet

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[405] Brian MacWhinney, "The Competition Model: the Input, the Context, and the Brain," In *Cognition and Second Language Instruction*, ed. Peter Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 69–90.

[406] Paul Hopper, "Emergent Grammar," *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 13 (1987): 139-157.

meaningful translingual interactions, highlighting the collaborative efforts between speakers with different mother tongues. By emphasizing the role of cognitive processes and linguistic adaptation in pidgin formation, this perspective sheds light on the complex dynamics of intercultural communication and language evolution.

Cooperation of Interlocutors

Languages come into contact through their agents. Contact across linguistic border can be categorized into three types. Type one, contact between two or more parties of interlocutors that share a part of each other's language. Type two, contact between those who does not share a common language. Type three, contact through pidgin languages.

The contact between two parties of interlocutors that share a part of each other's language can take the forms of "foreigner's talk" and code-switching. Charles Ferguson presented the term "foreigner talk" as analogous to baby talk, a speech form addressing infants. According to Ferguson, speech communities tend simplify speech as an appropriate solution for hearers who do not fully understand the language.[407] Scotton's research conducted across three African cities examines conversations within inter-ethnic environments, such as workplace interactions among peers. Her findings reveal that in situations where speakers face uncertainty in choosing a language, strategies of neutrality tend to prevail, even if the majority of workers belong to a locally

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[407] Charles A. Ferguson, "Toward a Characterization of English Foreigner Talk," *Anthropological Linguistics* 17, no. 1 (1975): 1-14.

dominant ethnic group, they tend to resort to a "common ground" language

that is native to no one in the communication setting. Furthermore, regardless

of their educational backgrounds, Scotton observes that Pidgin English is

frequently incorporated alongside standard English in their communication.

She suggests that there is a correlation between the choice of language and the

context in which communication occurs. In uncertain circumstances, speakers

tend to opt for neutrality as their primary language strategy, selecting a

linguistic form that is neutral in its attributes and perceived as significant within

the given situation.[408]

In situations where communication with someone who does not share

one's language is necessary, various solutions exist. These range from silent

barter to utilizing interpreters or employing a common language known to

both parties. The choice of solution depends on several factors, including the

duration and formality of interactions, the number and size of the groups

involved, their level of intimacy, power dynamics, and the specific

communication goals. For instance, silent barter suffices for occasional

exchanges of limited goods, while bilingualism or interpreter-mediated

communication may be more suitable for ongoing interactions or marriages

across language communities. The emergence of pidgin languages is often

facilitated by the presence of diverse groups, a desire to maintain some

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[408] Carol Myers Scotton, "Strategies of Neutrality: Language Choice in Uncertain Situations," *Language* 52, no. 4 (1976): 919–41.,https://doi.org/10.2307/413302.

distance between them, and occasionally by the dominance of one group in the interaction.

The third type of cooperation showcases the remarkable flexibility of pidgin languages, allowing for the simultaneous use of multiple versions within one communicative setting. Bakich's observations in Harbin revealed the existence of two versions of CPR. Interestingly, when conversing in CPR, Chinese speakers tended to incorporate more Russian words, whereas Russians would use more Chinese words and structures. This phenomenon is also observed in many Chinese-Russian border towns today, where native Russian speakers adjust their linguistic strategies based on the social context of their interactions. When communicating with Chinese speakers, native Russians are observed to have used "ungrammatical utterances" in spontaneous communication with non-native speakers.[409] These interactions may occur within various social relationships, such as spouses, business partners, employers, or employees. Instead of adhering to artificial grammatical correctness, they opt for linguistic strategies that facilitates communication.

The three types of interlocutor cooperation discussed above highlight the adaptability of language in various communication contexts. In summary, the Competitive Model illuminates the structural aspects of language acquisition, while the Cooperation Theory delves into the semantic dimensions of language learning. This study goes further by examining how the cooperation among interlocutors using pidgin is influenced by various socio-

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[409] Fedorova, "Language Contacts on the Russian-Chinese Border: the Second Birth of Russian-Chinese Trade Pidgin," 80.

psychological factors in the contact zone. The subsequent section will identify

these factors in the contexts of Shanghai and Harbin, focusing on acculturation

dynamics.

<center>ACCULTURATION MODEL</center>

Acculturation was first defined in 1936 by the Social Science Research

Council in 1936: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result

when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous

first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of

either or both groups."[410]

Another more specified concept was provided by the Council in 1954:

> Acculturation has been considered as the culture change initiated by
> the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems: the
> selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and
> differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences and the
> operation of role determinants and personality factors.[411]

Acculturation signifies changes in the social, economic, and political

structures of the communities participating in the acculturation process. Later,

the discourse on acculturation shifted away from the mutuality of such a

practice to a uni-dimensional model, that it is a "strategic reaction of the

minority to continuous contact with the dominant group."[412] The

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[410] Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "Memorandum for
the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 1 (1936): 149, JSTor.

[411] Social Science Research Council, "Acculturation: An exploratory
formulation,"*American Anthropologist* 56, no.6 (1954): 973-1002.

[412] Amado M. Padilla, *Acculturation: Theory, Models, And Some New Findings* (New

International Organization for Migration defined acculturation as "the

progressive adoption of elements of a foreign culture (ideas, words, values,

norms, behavior, institutions) by persons, groups or classes of a given

culture."[413]

Acculturation is also studies as an SLA concept. As discussed in

Chapter IV, the Critical Period Hypothesis provides a biological and cognitive

explanation of language learning inefficiency related to learners' age. Brown's

study hypothesizes that "such explanations are limited, and sociocultural

factors provide a more accurate definition of a critical period." [414] This

socioculturally determined critical period for successful language acquisition is

influenced by factors such as acculturation, anomie, social distance, and

perceived social.[415] Schuman asserted that SLA is fundamentally an aspect of

acculturation. Learners' language learning result is in direct proportion to the

depth of their integration into the target language society. Schumann's

acculturation model is composed of a group of variables that can be

categorized into social factors and affective factors, dealing respectively with

learner-external and learner-internal factors. Schumann's acculturation model

consists of variables categorized into social factors, which pertain to learner-

York: Avalon Publishing, 1980), 141.

[413] David Lam and Berry John, *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11.

[414] Douglas H. Brown, "The Optimal Distance Model of Second Language Acquisition," *TESOL Quarterly* 14, no.2 (June, 1980): 157.

[415] Ibid..

external influences, and affective factors, which effect learner-internal influences. He further proposed that learners can be situated on a spectrum of social and psychological distance from the target language, which causes the learners to adjust their progress of acquisition.[416] Following this reasoning, the incomplete acquisition of the target language could be a result from a stoppage to fully synchronize acculturation in language learning. O'Neal Cooper's research contends that insufficient acculturation could be a crucial factor contributing to the subjects' failure to achieve communicative competence.[417] This is to say that insufficient acculturation results in less progress in one's SLA efforts, as it hinders the ability to effectively communicate within the target language community.

In Chapter Four of this study, it is discussed that, according to Chaudenson, pidgins primarily function as trade languages and are used in contexts involving limited and specific communication. He identifies "slightness of contact", characterized by infrequent and superficial interactions, as a fundamental condition for the formation of pidgins, describing the social relations among speakers who communicate using a pidgin.[418] Following this line of reasoning, the socio-affective filter could also be applicable in the

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[416] John H. Schumann, "Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 7, no.5 (1986) 379–92.

[417] Johnny O'Neal Cooper, "Acculturation and the EFL/ESL Hybrid: The Optimal Distance Model Revisited - A Study from South Korea," *The Korea TESOL Journal* 6, no.1 (2003): 87-118.

[418] Chaudenson, *Creolization of Language and Culture*, 21.

context of language contact. Individuals with heightened or robust affective

filters may experience a reduced proficiency in acquiring the target language.

This constraint emerges as their filter limits the flow of input allowed to

engage their language acquisition mechanism. This theory suggests that

pidginization stems from a psychological distance from the target language,

which can be further delineated by various sub-factors. Schumann delineated a

series of sub-factors encompassing social, affective, cognitive, biological,

aptitude, personal, input, and instructional aspects.[419] However, input, and

instructional factors are not extensively discussed herein as they primarily

concern language pedagogy within classroom settings. The cognitive,

biological, aptitude, and personal factors necessitate direct observation of

language users, rendering their measurement unfeasible for this study.

Consequently, this dissertation focuses on examining social factors such as

dominance patterns, integration strategies, attitudes, and the duration of stay,

as well as affective factors including motivation. These will be expounded

upon in the subsequent section of this chapter.

Social Factors

When examining social factors relevant to acculturation in SLA, it is

essential to address the relationship between two distinct social groups engaged

in a language contact situation. This study posits that both groups involved in

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[419] Schumann, "Research on the acculturation model for second language
acquisition," 380.

the contact should be regarded as each other's L2 group and TL group. In the context of language contact in Harbin and Shanghai, for instance, the Chinese locals and foreign settlers may be considered mutual TL groups. Certain social factors can either facilitate or impede interaction between these groups, consequently influencing the extent to which the L2 groups acculturate with the TL group, and thereby affecting their acquisition of the target language.

Social Dominance Patterns and Integration Strategies

The first social factor consists of social dominance patterns. It states that "contact between the two groups is likely to be more extensive, and the acquisition of the target language by the 2LL group will happen more quickly if the 2LL group and the TL group are roughly equal in terms of political, technical and economic status." [420] The second social factor affecting second language learning consists of integration strategies such as assimilation, preservation, and adaptation. It proposes that the more the language learners integrate with and adopt the value of the target group, the more the acquisition of the target language will be facilitated. In reverse, if the language learners reject the values and lifestyles of the target group. Social distance is then created between the two groups so that it is less likely that the learner group will successfully acquire the target group's language.

Although there existed a mixed living space among Chinese and foreign settlers in both cities, Russian communities in Harbin focused on

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[420] Ibid..

ensuring that the younger generation's loyalty to their language and maintain

their ethnic and religious identity. Following this logic, learning Chinese was

viewed as counterintuitive to preserving the Russian identity. In addition, the

Chinese spoken on the streets of Harbin was considered not worth learning

for its own sake as for daily life in Harbin knowledge of Chinese was hardly

needed.[421] The accounts of former residents corroborate this assessment.

According to Bakich:

> No one considered the option of staying in Harbin. It was a Chinese city, and its Russian enclave was destroyed. One had to learn Chinese and assimilate, but fear of assimilation has always been a powerful component of Harbin Russian identity. Each nationality (Russians, Poles, Jews, Georgians, etc.) in Harbin strove to retain its language and culture. [...] while alienation from Chinese culture and language was so strong that no one feared Sinicization.[422]

According to Moustafine, who was a resident of old Harbin, the

situation was similar:

> To a large extent, this is identification with the world of Russian or Jewish Harbin, which the Harbintsy created, then lost, rather than with China itself. For during their years in Harbin, most Russians and Russian Jews lived in a predominantly Russian world, with little thought for the China around them. Few studied the language seriously or delved into the culture. Most of their interactions with Chinese were confined to their domestic assistants, tradesmen and merchants, who spoke pidgin Russian, or with educated Russian-speaking Chinese.[423]

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[421] Gamsa, *Harbin: A Cross-Cultural Biography*, 65.

[422] Bakich, "Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin," 66.

[423] Moustafine, "My Family and its City: Fifty Years in Harbin," 8.

In Shanghai, the missionaries adapted Chinese into their religious activities and integrated themselves into the Chinese community. Conversely, the integration processes for other settlers were less pronounced. The Chinese and foreign communities received education separately, as discussed in the previous chapter, and they also attended different hospitals. Lang mentioned that there were three hospitals for Chinese and one for foreigners.[424] The refusal to integrate is partially explained by the testimony of an unnamed merchant in Pans book: "In two or three years at farthest I hope to realize a fortune and get away,' said one of them to his consul, and what can it matter to me if all Shanghai disappear afterwards in fire or flood?"[425]

The same question could be asked about the Chinese residents' intention to integrate themselves in the foreign communities. To what degree did the Chinese intend to integrate themselves with the foreign settlers? Were there any other intentions to learn a foreign language? What were the intentions influencing their choice to learn English or Russian? These questions will be addressed in my later analysis of the affective factors.

Attitude

The English merchant's testimony, cited above, exemplifies a typical attitude towards his stay in Shanghai. It was evident to his conversation partners that he was not inclined to learn the Chinese language. In generalizing

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[424] Hugh Lang, *Shanghai Considered Socially: a Lecture.* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1875), 43-44.

[425] Lynn Pan, *In Search of Old Shanghai* (Hongkong: Joint Publishing Company, 1982), 14.

the impact of attitude on language learning, one could assert that if the 2LL and the TL groups are mutually welcoming, they will more likely learn each other's language. Conversely, the likelihood of successful language acquisition diminishes significantly.

As discussed in the language learning environment section in the previous chapter, unlike Russian emigrants in European countries who gradually integrated both demographically and culturally with the local populations, the Russian diaspora in Northeast China remained neither acculturated nor assimilated into Chinese civilization until the late 1940s.[426] Zhu Ziqing, a renowned Chinese poet and essayist, studied English Literature and Linguistics in London from 1931 to 1932 and subsequently traveled extensively throughout Europe. In his book *Ouyou Zaji*, dedicated to this experience and published in 1934, he described the interactions between Russians and Chinese in Harbin:

> 这里的外国人不像上海的英美人在中国人之上，可是也并不如有些人所想，在中国人之下。中国人算是不让他们欺负了，他们又怎么会让中国人欺负呢?中国人不特别尊重他们，却是真的。他们的流品很杂，开大洋行小买卖的固然多，架着汽车沿街兜揽乘客的也不少，赤着脚爱淘气的顽童随处可见。这样倒能和中国人混在一起，没有什么隔阂了。也许白俄穷无所归，才得如此；但这现象比上海沈阳的中外杂居的地方使人舒服多了。在上海沈阳冷眼看看，是常要生气，常要担心的。[The foreigners here are not positioned above the Chinese like the British and Americans in Shanghai, but neither are they beneath the Chinese, contrary to what some might think. While the Chinese are not bullied by them, they also do not bully the Chinese. It is true that the Chinese do not particularly respect them. The foreigners here come from diverse backgrounds: many run large businesses or small shops, some drive cars along the streets picking up passengers, and barefoot

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[426] Chiasson, *Administering the Colonizer: Manchuria's Russians under Chinese Rule, 1918-29*, 7.

mischievous children can be seen everywhere. This mixed nature allows them to blend in with the Chinese without much barrier. Perhaps the destitution of the White Russians forces them to integrate in this way; nonetheless, this phenomenon is much more comfortable compared to the mixed living situations in Shanghai and Shenyang. In Shanghai and Shenyang, the indifferent observations often lead to anger and worry.]

The paragraph provides nuanced insights into the relationships between Chinese local residents and Russian settlers in Harbin, indicating a complex dynamic. On one hand, it suggests that Russians and Chinese in Harbin were relatively better integrated into each other's lives, experiencing fewer social and cultural barriers compared to cities like Shanghai and Shenyang, where foreign settlers were often perceived as superior to the Chinese in the early twentieth century. On the other hand, despite the demographic complexity and the absence of a clear hierarchical relationship between the two groups, the presence of genuine mutual respect remains questionable.

The perspectives of the Chinese and foreign communities in Harbin and Shanghai toward each other are not easily generalized. Attitude, being an inherently personal and subjective choice, varies widely among individuals, making it difficult to pinpoint a collective sentiment without falling into the trap of overgeneralization. This section has demonstrated a diverse range of attitudes that differ dramatically, highlighting the complexity of social interactions in these cities. Consequently, while language attitude can significantly influence individuals at various levels of their foreign language learning journey, it is insufficient to assert that attitude alone is the driving force behind pidginization.

Furthermore, the spectrum of attitudes showcased here underscores the intricate and multifaceted nature of intercultural relations. In Harbin, the relatively better integration of Russian and Chinese communities is distinguishable with the more pronounced social barriers observed in Shanghai. However, even within these communities, attitudes fluctuate, reflecting personal experiences and social contexts. Thus, while positive attitudes can facilitate language acquisition and foster mutual understanding, attributing pidginization solely to attitude oversimplifies the intricate interplay of social, cultural, and linguistic factors. This nuanced understanding invites a more comprehensive exploration of the socio-psychological dynamics that underpin pidginization.

Length of Stay

The last social factor affecting the choice of learning a foreign language is the 2LL group's anticipated length of residence in the TL zone. This means, if the 2LL group are expected to stay long term in the TL zone, it is likely for them to generate deeper contacts with the TL group.[427] Therefore, an anticipated lengthy habitation in the TL area would likely promote second-language learning. Similarly, acculturation also takes time. According to Brown's 1980 study, acculturation takes place in four stages: honeymoon period, when everything is new and interesting; culture shock period, followed by a long period of slow recovery, and eventually getting use to the new

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[427] Schumann, "Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition," 382.

culture. The optimal period is when learners are in the third stage of acculturation and can also see themselves as outside both their native and target culture.[428] According to Bakich's memoir and Pan's account, it was normal for foreign settlers in both Harbin and Shanghai to not plan a permanent life in these two cities. Although there were cases of mixed marriage in both cities, this was not the case for majority of the immigrants.

However, many questions remain unanswered regarding the impact of length of stays on language acquisition stages. For instance, how long does it take for foreign language learners to transition from the initial stages of acculturation to more advanced stages? Are there significant individual differences, or can an average period be established for this progression? Additionally, does the process take longer for emigrants and settlers compared to other groups? Is it feasible for learners to attain communicative proficiency in a foreign language without starting from the initial stage of acculturation? These questions necessitate further exploration of learner-internal factors in SLA. Understanding these factors is key as they directly influence the motivation and efficacy of language learning. The next section aims to address these complexities by examining the motivational aspects that drive the process of pidginization in Shanghai and Harbin. By investigating the nuances of motivation, we gain a deeper insight into how various learners navigate through different stages of language acquisition and the role of their length of stay in this journey. This exploration will provide a more comprehensive

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[428] Brown, "The Optimal Distance Model of Second Language Acquisition," 157-64.

understanding of the socio-psychological dynamics involved, thereby enriching the discourse on second language learning and acculturation.

Motivation

Motivation in SLA refers to the drive that compels an individual to learn a L2. Crookes and Schmidt identified it as the learner's orientation of learning a L2.[429] Gardner and Lambert have identified two orientations that motivate people to learn a L2. These are: integrative orientation and instrumental orientation.[430] An integrative-oriented learner aims to acquire the L2 to communicate with, understand more about, and possibly assimilate into the TL speaking community. When an individual becomes a resident in the TL environment, the need to use the TL in daily social interactions, operate within the community, and integrate as a member becomes essential. Consequently, integrative motivation becomes critical for the learner to achieve a certain level of proficiency in the TL. This form of motivation drives learners to acquire various TL registers and develop native-like pronunciation successfully and extensively. Integrative motivation, therefore, plays a pivotal role in enabling learners to achieve higher proficiency and deeper linguistic integration into the target language community.[431]

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[429] Graham Crookes and Richard Schmidt, "Motivation: Reopening the Research Agenda," *Language Learning* 41, no. 4 (1991): 469-512.

[430] Robert C. Gardner and Lambert Wallace, *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1972), 131.
[431] Edward Finegan, *Language: Its Structure and Use, Fifth Edition* (Boston: Thomas Wadsworth, 2008), 520.

In addition to integrative motivation is instrumental motivation, where learners are driven "by the desire to obtain something practical or concrete from the study of a second language."[432] In many cases, individual language choice in multilingual societies can be affected by the learners' need for network expansion.[433] According to Samad, Etemadzadeh and Far, practical purposes counts as instrumental motivation for learning a language, such as passing an exam, securing a job, obtaining a raise due to improved language skills and etc. Learners driven by instrumental motivation often have minimal or no social integration with the TL group. In some cases, the learner may not even wish to integrate with the TL group.[434]

Utility, as an economic concept, suggests that language has a variable utility value. Learning a foreign language, in this context, operates similarly to a market where foreign languages are considered for its utilitarian value. For instance, as discussed before, a lack of motivation to learn a foreign language can lead to diminished efforts in language acquisition. This lack of motivation often stems from learners perceiving language learning as an investment with minimal potential gain, especially when their current language abilities suffice for their communication needs. Consequently, if learners feel that their

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[432] Grover Hudson, *Essential Introductory Linguistics* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 35.

[433] Coulmas, *Sociolinguistics: the Study of Speakers' Choices*, 165.

[434] Adlina Abdul Samad, Atika Etemadzadeh, Hamid Roohbakhsh Far, "Motivation and Language Proficiency: Instrumental and Integrative Aspects," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 66, no.7 (2012): 432-40.

existing language skills adequately meet their communication requirements, their motivation to further enhance their language proficiency diminishes, causing the learning process to stagnate.

Motivation, in turn, is shaped by various cultural, social, and psychological factors. Different levels of language proficiency reflect a range of motivations, yet these motivations do not necessarily predict the outcomes of second language learning. It is a misconception that integrative motivation always leads to better acquisition results. Integrative motivation involves a desire to integrate with TL speakers, while instrumental motivation is driven by practical goals. A learner with instrumental motivation acquires the L2 only to the extent needed to achieve their specific aims, which can range from basic tasks like grocery shopping and using public transportation to more complex professional requirements.[435] For example, pursuing a profession in a different language is also a form of instrumental motivation. Thus, it is inaccurate to claim that elites in the two cities, who received institutional language education and worked as high-ranking officers, merchants, or diplomats, primarily exemplify integrative motivation. Integrative motivation is based on shared values and cultural acknowledgment between the 2LL and TL cultures. Therefore, it is essential to recognize that motivations for language learning are diverse and multifaceted, and the type of motivation does not singularly determine language acquisition success.

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[435] Julia S. Falk, *Linguistics and Language: A Survey of Basic Concepts and Implications, Second Edition* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978), 240.

Recent studies have stressed the importance of instrumental motivation. Cook has stated that both integrative and instrumental motivations may lead to success in language learning, but lack of either would hinder language acquisition.[436] The discussion of social and affective factors indicates that pidgin users in Shanghai and Harbin lacked the motivation to integrate into each other's cultures. Therefore, pidgin languages emerged and were sustainably utilized as a result of limited acculturation driven by instrumental language acquiring motivation. Both Chinese and foreign users of pidgin chose not to delve deeply into each other's languages.

As noted in Chapter Four, educational resources were unevenly distributed between the Chinese and foreigners. Most foreign settlers had access to resources and were well-positioned to learn Chinese. For instance, the Shanghai Municipal Council required outdoor staff of the Police Department and Sanitary Committee to learn Chinese and pass an annual test. Those who passed received a stipend and a tuition refund. Courses were provided by the Council's Chinese Studies and Translation Office.[437] Similarly, Russian middle schools in Harbin included compulsory Chinese courses.[438]

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[436] Vivian Cook, *Second Language Learning and Language Teaching, Third Edition* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2001), 96.

[437] *Shanghai zujie zhi* , 220-29.

[438] Dongsheng tebiequ jiaoyuting jiaoyunianjian bianji weiyuanhui 东省特别区教育厅教育年鉴编辑委员会 [The education yearbook editorial committee of the Special Administrative Region of the Eastern Province], *Dongsheng tebiequ shijiuniandu jiaoyu nianjian* 东省特别区十九年度教育年鉴 [The nineteenth annual education yearbook of the Special Administrative Region of the Eastern Province] (Haerbin 哈尔滨: Daiwai taohuaxiang liaodong yinshuaju 道外桃花巷辽东印刷局, 1931).

However, the effectiveness of these courses remains unknown as learners' proficiency was not documented.

In the Chinese community, foreign language proficiency varied widely. Some had no knowledge of foreign languages, while others, such as returned overseas Chinese and students from foreign or Chinese schools, were fluent in English or Russian. Businessmen often used foreign languages for commercial purposes but were unable to use them for general conversation or literature. As discussed in Chapter Four, pidgin language served as a social fossilization of interlanguage, shaped by the need for essential communication. If this fossilized interlanguage facilitated business interactions, focusing on semantics rather than other language components was sufficient. The popularity of private language training schools illustrates the use of CPE and CPR.

Take Shanghai for example. The income of a factory worker ranged from three to six *liang*,[439] while the starting salary of the foreign ventures could reach twenty *liang*. Thus, investing one to two liang per month in English lessons at training schools was worthwhile. However, the quality of such education varied, likely influenced by differences in teachers' qualifications, lecture length, and textbooks, as discribed in *Songnan mengyinglu* published in 1883:

> 昔时少年子弟欲通西国语言，必就欧人请业。近廿年来，中西辑睦，几于四海一家。中土商人，半谙蛮语。其有就英文馆学习者，每月只需修洋而三枚。习之年余，即能应对。喂教师亦仅通商贾语。西邦文字，未能窥见藩篱。[In the past, young people who wanted to learn Western languages had to seek instruction from Europeans. In the last twenty years, with Sino-Western relations becoming more amicable, the world has almost become a single

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[439] One of Shanghai currencies between the 1850s and 1940s.

community. Half of the Chinese merchants are proficient in foreign languages. Those who study at English schools only need to pay three foreign coins per month. After studying for a little over a year, they are able to communicate effectively. However, these teachers only know the language of commerce and are not familiar with Western literature.][440]

Learner factors also played a crucial role in language acquisition. These night schools produced both kinds of individuals who only understood trade jargon and those like Mu Ouchu, who began learning English in night schools and later graduated with a Master's degree in agricultural science from the University of Wisconsin and the University of Illinois.[441] For many pidgin language users, limited acculturation sufficed them to achieve a certain level of communication proficiency, leading to the socialized fossilization of interlanguage among a group of learners. This fossilization process was reinforced by relatively fixed communication needs.

SUMMARY

This chapter addresses the third hypothesis of this study:

Hypothesis 3. Pidginization is a language choice. It is a product of cooperation and purposeful motivation, influenced by internal and external variables from both sides of the interlocutors.

It does so by analyzing the socio-cultural forces that sustained the existence of CPE and CPR from 1850 to 1940. It begins by proposing a new

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[440] Huang, *Songnan mengyinglu*, 138.

[441] Gao Jun 高俊, *Mu Ouchu pingzhuan* 穆藕初评传 [The story of Mu Ouchu] (Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shiji chubanjituan 上海世纪出版集团, 2007).

theoretical framework: the Cooperation Theory, which suggests that pidginization results from cooperation on two levels – language learning mechanisms and interlocutor communication. The Cooperation Theory proposes that the fundamental nature of communication is cooperation, which can occur at different levels of language use. The communication needs between interlocutors' influence what and how much they learn in the target language. These needs, shaped by social and affective factors, determine learners' levels of acculturation, and directly affect the linguistic competence required in highly referential communication settings.

This chapter challenges the tendency in SLA research to overlook the acquisition of a foreign language in a social contact environment and to understate the inter-lingual communication competence necessitated by social contexts. It argues that linguistic competence should not be conflated with intercultural communication competence, where foreign language learning and use are confined to social communication. Lexically restricted CPE and CPR are fully capable of facilitating communication between local Chinese and foreign settlers, ensuring the existence and functionality of pidgin.

Regarding acculturation, this chapter asserts that learners' foreign language proficiency is closely linked to their willingness to acculturate into the other speech community. This process is influenced by various social and affective factors. The section focuses on the acceptance of foreign language from a learner-internal perspective and elaborates on the factors of motivation. The existence and utility of CPE and CPR are tied to the highly instrumental

motivation on both the Chinese and foreign settlers' sides towards each other's language.

These factors are discussed under the concept of language choice in contact situations, introducing the Cooperation Theory to explain the genesis of pidgins from cognitive and sociolinguistic perspectives. The Cooperation Theory excludes the unverified power factor from language contact and pidginization, proposing instead a viewpoint based on the dynamics of languages' base structures and the psychological dynamics of interlocutors. This chapter supports the third hypothesis that pidginization is motivated by language choice, resulting from mutual cooperation and purposeful motivation, conceptualized by internal and external variables of both interlocutors. The next chapter will expand on Cooperation Theory discussions in the context of modern foreign language acquisition and the neo-pidginization campaign.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This study has undertaken a sociolinguistic analysis of Chinese Pidgin English and Chinese Pidgin Russian from the 1850s to the 1940s, thereby reexamining a series of theories related to pidgin studies and SLA. The focus has been directed toward the core concepts of pidgin studies and SLA, distilling them into three key hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. The use of pidgin languages transcends social boundaries. Pidginization is the result of mutual effort from both locals and foreign settlers instead of any one-sided attempts.

Hypothesis 2. Pidginization is not an indication of linguistics competence, but stabilized group solution for communication. This solution is decided by the pidgin users' second language acquisition (SLA) pattern: adult learners in a natural language contact setting.

Hypothesis 3. Pidginization is a language choice. It is a product of cooperation and purposeful motivation, influenced by internal and external variables from both sides of the interlocutors.

Through the evaluation of these hypotheses, this study has yielded new insights into the processes of pidginization in both Chinese Pidgin English and Chinese Pidgin Russian, as well as into the theoretical frameworks of SLA. These findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the linguistic, social, and cultural dynamics that influenced the development and usage of these

pidgins. In the next section of this chapter, I will comprehensively summarize these findings, organizing the discussion around the three central hypotheses.

FINDINGS

The hypotheses address three central discussions in pidgin studies.

Hypothesis 1 focuses on the mutual nature of pidgin languages, suggesting that pidginization results from collaborative efforts between locals and settlers. It posits that pidgin languages are not confined to a specific class or nationality but are used by anyone needing to communicate across language barriers.

Hypothesis 2 examines issues of linguistic competence and sociality, asserting that the limited usage of pidgin languages is not solely due to linguistic competence. Instead, it is influenced by natural constraints in adult second language acquisition (SLA) and by communicative choices made by speakers.

Hypothesis 3 extends the discussion on communicative choice, proposing that the limited nature of pidgin languages is further shaped by the pidgin users' motivation. This hypothesis suggests that pidgin users adopt a highly instrumental and functional approach to language use, leading to the pidginization process.

Findings around Hypothesis 1

To prove *Hypothesis 1*, Chapters Two and Three provided demographic and linguistic evidence showing that CPE and CPR were used by both sides of the communication spectrum and across different social strata. The findings are as follows:

Firstly, both foreigners and Chinese used CPE and CPR for communication. Chapter Two reveals that foreign settlers in Shanghai and Harbin exhibited a significant gender imbalance, with very few foreign women and children present from the beginning of settlement. This imbalance likely encouraged cross-gender interactions at both professional and personal levels, fostering environments conducive to using CPE or CPR. Despite differences in these interactions, mutual communication of intentions was necessary, compelling foreign settlers to use some level of CPE and CPR to achieve their goals. Additionally, the mixed living spaces of Chinese and foreign residents in both cities made the use of CPE and CPR a common daily occurrence. Notably, Harbin had a higher percentage of foreign language speakers than Shanghai, yet it did not transition into a predominantly Russian-speaking or Chinese-speaking city. This suggests a mutual maintenance of social and psychological distance, supporting the hypothesis that this distance was sufficient to ensure the practical use of CPE and CPR. This mutuality involved both a willingness to communicate and a rejection of deeper connections, indicating an acknowledged and stable distance between interlocutor groups, regardless of the number of foreign settlers in the contact zone.

Secondly, hierarchy did not determine the use of CPE and CPR. Demographic analysis in Chapter Two indicates that nationality did not equate to social status. There were wealthy Chinese pidgin users and underprivileged foreign pidgin users in both cities. Furthermore, linguistic evidence in Chapter Three demonstrates that CPE and CPR were also used within the same language community, functioning as lingua franca both between and within nationalities. Ethnic identity was not a precursor to speaking pidgin languages. Additionally, Chapter Three shows that CPE and CPR were not confined to business or lower social hierarchies but were used by individuals from all walks of life and social levels. This comprehensive usage indicates that CPE and CPR were employed in a wide range of communicative situations and by a great variety of social hierarchies.

Finding around Hypothesis 2

Chapter Four addresses *Hypothesis 2* by examining age factors, the language learning environment, and fossilization as both a cognitive process and a communication strategy. The findings in this chapter offer a new method of studying the development of pidgin languages from a SLA perspective. The discussions in this chapter lead to the following conclusions regarding the origin and development of CPE and CPR in Shanghai and Harbin.

Firstly, the age factor played a significant role, especially in the context of the unstructured language-learning environments in Shanghai and Harbin. In both cities, formal language education was segregated, hierarchical, and not accessible to learners during childhood. This lack of early formal education laid

a cognitive foundation that resulted in few native-like outcomes among learners. Additionally, the small number of foreign language learners (both Chinese and settlers) mostly attended private training courses, fast-track courses, or night schools, where the quality of education was often modest. Consequently, the unstructured, segregated, and dynamic language-learning environments produced a user-based, unassessed, and highly context-dependent acquisition milieu. This environment diversified learners' acquisition levels, purposes, and methods, making the acquisition more socio-psychological and first-language-grammar-based.

Secondly, fossilization, a prominent feature of incomplete target language acquisition, also contributed to pidginization on two levels: cognition and communication strategy. On the cognition level, fossilization involves the loss of plasticity, which induces L1 transfer in SLA. Adult learners, relying on their fully developed L1 grammar and adding foreign vocabulary, can quickly produce speech. This theory provides a new perspective on the genesis of CPE and CPR. This study suggests that pidgin genesis involves cognitive processes in both languages. This helps explain why pidginization occurs when inflective European languages meet agglutinative and isolating languages. The study proposes that inflective languages, with less fluid grammar and syntax but more dynamic vocabulary, combine with agglutinative and isolating languages, which process word order flexibility, to produce pidgin languages with European vocabulary and elastic word order.

On the communication strategy level, language users' intentions, emotions, and instrumental considerations can all lead to fossilization. Previous

pidgin studies have largely overlooked this aspect. According to the analysis in Chapters Three and Four, there is no standard to measure CPE and CPR proficiency; the only criterion was intelligibility between interlocutors. For instance, a house boy would be considered to speak "good" pidgin if his employer found him easily understandable. This subjective judgment implies that the existence of CPE and CPR can be considered *quod est necessarium est licitum* (what is necessary is lawful). Therefore, a pidgin user only needed to be understandable in the required communication settings, making further L2 articulation unnecessary. Fossilization, then, can become a proactive choice when further language development is deemed unnecessary.

In summary, Chapter Four justifies the cognitive cause of CPE and CPR by aligning the pidginization process with adult SLA patterns. It highlights the fluidity of language competence in CPE and CPR contexts and shifts the focus of pidgin studies to the users' perspectives. *Hypothesis 3* will further explore the causal factors behind the communication strategies that led to fossilization.

Finding around Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3. Pidginization is a language choice. It is a product of cooperation and purposeful motivation, influenced by internal and external variables from both sides of the interlocutors.

To address the hypothesis, this chapter proposes a dual-layered Cooperation Theory as the genesis of CPE and CPR: first layer focuses on the

language learning mechanism, and the other on interlocutor communication. It posits that the fundamental nature of communication is cooperation, which can occur on different levels of language use. Pidginization results not only from the cooperation of two cognitive mechanisms but also from the cooperation between interlocutors using pidgin languages for functional purposes. The communication needs between interlocutors influence what they learn and how much they learn in the target language. It has been shown that linguistic competence does not equate to intercultural communication competence, as lexically restricted CPE and CPR can effectively facilitate communication between Chinese and foreign settlers.

Furthermore, the cooperation between interlocutors from different language communities is influenced by multiple acculturation factors, such as social dominance patterns, contact duration and form, affective factors, and motivation. The highly instrumental motivation toward a foreign culture and language led both Chinese and foreign settlers in Shanghai and Harbin to adopt a language learning strategy that quickly fossilized once basic communication was achieved. This instrumental motivation was not an individual choice but a community behavior, resulting in group fossilization of language learning. Thus, this study advocates that pidgin languages should not be viewed as corrupted, ridiculous forms of failed language learning or single-sided attempts to adopt a mainstream language in a contact zone. Instead, they should be seen as fully competent inter-lingua channels determined by the needs and communication goals of both users. Simultaneously, in the formation process and utilization of CPE and CPR, the users' needs were the

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primary drive shaping the pidgin landscape in Shanghai and Harbin. Pidgin users should be regarded not as uneducated, incapable language learners but as competent transcultural speakers adept at meeting communication demands.

Through verifying the three hypotheses, this study has progressively redefined CPE and CPR from tools for underprivileged to universal communication means. It has developed an analytic methodology focused on CPE and CPR users and language learning mechanisms, ultimately deducing and rationalizing a supplementary genesis theory for pidgin languages through the case study of CPE and CPR in China. However, this study does not end here. The next section will discuss how the findings can be applied to contemporary language learning contexts in China.

<center>DISCUSSIONS</center>

The Neo-pidgin Campaign

As China hosts the largest number of English users today, the methodology and objectives of English education in China are the subject of heated scholarly debate. Many scholars agree that a Chinese variation of English should be excluded and eliminated from pedagogical improvements.[442] Under such light, CPE and CPR are viewed negatively, being associated with a humiliating period in China's linguistic history and colonial narratives.[443]

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[442] Qiang Niu and Martin Wolff, "The Chinglish syndrome: Do recent developments endanger the language policy of China?" *English Today* 19, no. 4 (2003): 30-35.

[443] Jin Huikang 金惠康, "Zhongguo yingyu yu zhongshi yingyu taolun 中国英语与中式英语讨论 [A Discussion on China English and Chinglish]," *Guangdong jishu shifan xueyuan xuebao* 广东技术师范学院学报 5 (2003): 66-70.

Recently, however, some researchers have started to reconsider this perspective. They observe that a highly specific, work-related code-switching, initially used by employees of foreign investment companies, is rapidly spreading among young Chinese individuals with an English education background. These young people are beginning to use Chinese-English code-switching in daily conversations. Although many language teachers, researchers, and parents disapprove of this practice, it has been termed the "neo-pidgin phenomenon."[444] This campaign advocates for a more tolerant and inclusive approach to English teaching in China.[445]

Gu argues that the transliteration method used between the 1850s and the 1940s for learning CPE should be reconsidered and advocated in contemporary China. This method could be particularly beneficial for adult English learners, enabling them to acquire basic English conversational skills more rapidly. Similarly, applying English phonetic notes to transliterate Chinese vocabulary could facilitate the teaching of Chinese as a foreign language globally. This approach would help learners of Chinese develop a foundational understanding of the language more efficiently, promoting

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[444] Wang He 王贺, "Xin yangjinbang xianxiang qianyi "新洋泾浜"现象浅议 [Discussion on neo-pidgin phenomenon]," *Yuwen zhishi* 语文知识 4 (2014): 9-11.

[445] Zhu Ning 朱宁, Zhao Baoguo 赵宝国, "Dangdai yanjingbang chansheng de kenengxing 当代"洋泾浜"产生的可能性 [On the Possibility of Pidgin Languages Coming into Existence in Contemporary Times]," *Huzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 湖州师范学院学报 28, no.4 (2006): 49-53.

Chinese language education worldwide.[446] Wang and Zhao speculate about the future development of the concept of "neo-CPE," which began to emerge in the 1990s. They argue that a defining characteristic of this modern linguistic phenomenon is its incorporation of a blend of Chinese and English, where Standard English vocabulary is structured according to Chinese grammatical rules. This form of neo-CPE is predominantly found in online communication, leading to its designation as "cyber-CPE." This evolution reflects the dynamic nature of language and its adaptation to new modes of interaction, highlighting the increasing prevalence of hybrid linguistic forms in the digital age.[447] Mixing English vocabulary into Chinese has become one of the most typical hallmarks of contemporary Chinese white-collar workers. For example: "我们已经对你的 case 进行了 discuss，但还没有 final 的 decision。[We have discussed your case, but there is no final decision yet.]"[448] This contemporary linguistic

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[446] Gu Weixing 顾卫星, "Chuantong yu chuangxin: shilun wanqing yingyu jiaoxue tedian jiqi qishi 传统与创新:试论晚清英语教学特点及其启示 [Tradition and innovation: the features and implications of English education in late Qing dynasty]," *Waiyu yu waiyujiaoxue* 外语与外语教学 242, no. 5 (2009): 28-30.

[447] Wang Yiwei 王怡薇, Zhao Sumei 赵速梅, "Xin yangjingbang hanyu xiaoyu 新洋泾浜汉语小议 [Comments on Neo-CPE]," *Keji jingji shichang* 科技经济市场 3 (2007): 369.

[448] Fang Qing 方青，"Yangjingbang yinyu he IT shidai de xin hunheyu 洋泾浜英语和 IT 时代的新混合语 [Yangjingbang English and new hybrid language in the IT Era]," School of Foreign Languages, Shanghai Jiao Tong University 上海交通大学外国语学院, accessed May 1, 2021, https://smc.sjtu.edu.cn/Public/sub/1/download/%E6%B4%8B%E6%B3%BE%E6%B5%9C%E8%8B%B1%E8%AF%AD%E5%92%8CIT%E6%97%B6%E4%BB%A3%E7%9A%84%E6%96%B0%E6%B7%B7%E5%90%88%E8%AF%AD.docx.

phenomenon, despite its designation as "neo-pidgin," does not adhere to the conventional characteristics of a pidgin language, despite arising from language contact. Here are several characteristics that distinguish it from CPE and CPR:

Firstly, the new hybrid language phenomenon directly and mechanically mixes Chinese and English. While it lacks tense, case, and number changes, it still follows Chinese grammar and word order. This contrasts with CPE and CPR, which created its own fixed linguistic rules. The new hybrid language phenomenon is used with excessive flexibility and does not follow fixed rules, nor does it require special learning. Secondly, the usage is limited to Chinese speakers. The new hybrid language phenomenon is generally used among native Chinese speakers. White-collar workers often use this language to communicate with fellow Chinese, but they can fluently switch to English when addressing foreign co-workers. It is not a tool for communication across language barriers. Lastly, the usage is also restricted to certain professions: CPE and CPR was widely used and had a broad user base. In contrast, the new hybrid language is limited to certain work environment and not gain usage outside.

Learners' Intercultural Communication Competence

Nevertheless, advocating for learners to explore various variations of their target language does not entail relinquishing measurement and control. Ultimately, the effectiveness of language learning is assessed through intercultural communication competence. Heyward defines intercultural competence in the view of "intercultural literacy" as "understandings, competencies, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities

necessary for successful cross-cultural engagement."[449] Deardorff further

detailed intercultural competence as "the ability to communicate effectively

and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one's intercultural

knowledge, skills and attitudes."[450] This definition does not explicitly

incorporate language competence, while language competence could

conceivably fall under the categories of "skills" or "knowledge." Crichton and

Scarino's definition has set up a series of criteria for effective intercultural

competencies.

> can be seen in terms of enhancing their capacities to work with their
> own and others' languages and cultures, to recognize knowledge in its
> cultural context, to examine the intercultural dimension of knowledge
> applications, and to communicate and interact effectively across
> languages and cultures.[451]

This definition states that intercultural competence is a process of

self-reflection. One should thus engage into a series of comparative actions to

see what needs to be done in the "other" environment. intercultural

competence as an awareness of the relativity of all cultures, including one's

own cognitive and affective learning. It is an amalgam of all knowledge,

beliefs, attitudes, skills, and behaviors. Intercultural skills refer to ethnographic

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[449] Mark Heyward, "From International to Intercultural: Redefining the International School for a Globalized World," *Journal of Research in International Education* 1, no.1 (2002): 9-32.

[450] Deardorff, "Identification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internationalization," 247-48.

[451] Jonathan Crichton and Angela Scarino, "How Are We to Understand the 'Intercultural Dimension'? An Examination of the Intercultural Dimension of Internationalisation in the Context of Higher Education in Australia," *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 30, no. 1 (2007): 19-20.

skills in observing, without misinterpreting, one's own cultural practices, and understanding without judgment or ethnocentrism. Intercultural competence also includes inter-personal skills in adapting to multiple cultural milieus and respecting local values without abandoning one's own ability to function effectively in new linguistic and cultural environments.

Intercultural competence is also studied from psychometrics perspective. Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) mapped the scope of intercultural competence from ethnocentric (denial, defense, and minimization) to ethnorelative (acceptance, adapation and integration). Denial: inability to construe cultural difference; Defense: other cultures are viewed as threats; Defense/Reversal: Other cultures are exalted as own culture's expense or vice versa; Minimization: Recognition of common humanity regardless of culture: a transitional orientation; Acceptance: Recognition and appreciation of cultural differences in behavior and values; Adaptation: able to consciously shift perspective/behavior in difference cultural contexts.[452] Furthermore, from the perspective of language acquisition and contact, it is evident that none of the definitions above specify the particular language competence that fosters intercultural competence.

Concerning the relationship between language competence and intercultural competence, Shi studied international students in Chinese universities and concluded the following results: First, an advanced level of

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[452] Milton J. Bennett, "Becoming Interculturally Competent," in *Toward Multiculturalism: a Reader in Multicultural Education*, ed. Jamie S. Wurzel (Newton, MA: Intercultural Resource Corporation, 2004), 62-77.

proficiency in the host language did not ensure a high level of intercultural sensitivity. Secondly, students who made the least progress in intercultural sensitivity did not have a strategic plan for optimizing their stay in the host country. Thirdly, individuals with a higher level of intercultural sensitivity were more aware of strategies to increase their intercultural/L2 contact. Finally, a complex array of internal (e.g. degree of openness) and external factors (e.g. host receptivity) impacted on the participants' international/L2 learning and the development of their intercultural competence.[453] This study formed a relationship between intercultural competence and language proficiency. This study also presented another important factor in intercultural competence: social networks.

According to Houghton, the social networks of a language learner are crucial to their learning outcomes.[454] The social networks start to form early in one's intercultural experience. The networks may fossilize or develop further, posing a major influence on the variability of SLA experiences. In general, greater contact with local community leads to greater intercultural competence gains. Houghton presents the social networks as circles to illustrate the

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[453] Shi Xingsong, "The intercultural language socialization of international students in a Chinese university," speech at *International Association Of Applied Linguistics 2012 from International Association Of Applied Linguistics*, Beijing, August 28, 2011.

[454] Stephanie Houghton, "Conceptualising interculturality: Definitions and models," speech at *International Association of Applied Linguistics World Congress 2012*, Beijing, August 28, 2011.

socialization patterns in social networks and language contact that moves from co-nationals to other outsiders and locals.
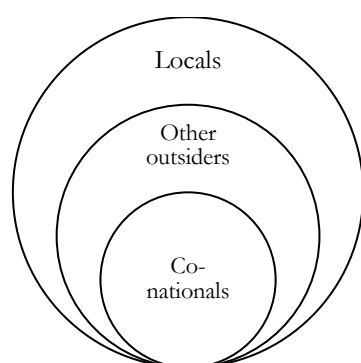

Figure 3: Houghton's social network pattern of L2 learners.

Spitzberg's general definition of communication competence states "competent communication is interaction that is perceived as effective in fulfilling certain rewarding objectives in a way that is also appropriate to the context in which the interaction occurs."[455] Thus, a language proficiency level that enables effective and appropriate intergroup communication for certain purposes can be viewed as competent language proficiency. In the field of foreign language education and applied linguistics research describing communication competence tends to link the standard judgment of appropriateness to the standard of native speakers. This notion has been challenged in many recent studies.

Taking CPE and CPR in this study for example, in Chapter Five, CPE and CPR were approached as a limited form of acculturation through various social and affective factors. At the same time, in the multilingual setting of

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[455] Spitzberg, "Communication Competence: Measures of Perceived Effectiveness," in *A Handbook for the Study of Human Communication: : Methods and Instruments for Observing, Measuring, and Assessing Communication Processes*, 68.

Shanghai and Harbin, pidgin can also be perceived as a realization for intercultural communication competence. In the discussion of limited acculturation as pidginization, the first social factor involved is social dominance patterns, which states that in a language contact setting, when 2LL group and the TL group are politically economically equal, they are more likely to acquire each other's language. In reverse, if one group is inferior to the other, the social distance between them two groups will form resistance to learn the TL.[456] According to Schumann, economic dominance, which increases an intergroup social distance, further impedes the acceptance of target languages and thus leads to fossilization. Furthermore, economic dominance is one of the inducements of uneven distribution of education resources, which also hinders the spread of institutional language schooling. However, the reason why pidgin languages did not cease to function was not due to the increase of foreign language education. As is discussed in the previous section, the choice of a lingua franca between two groups is restricted by the degree to which the language learners acculturate themselves. When both sides acculturate themselves to a level that fulfills the needs of a certain referential intercultural communication, a lingua franca is thus fossilized socially as a communicative contract as a common choice.

Both in a language contact setting and in a developmental and variationist view of SLA, as proposed in the last section, using the native speaker as a model not only sets an impossible target for learners but may also

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[456] Schumann, "Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition," 381.

be socio-psychologically undesirable.[457] In the communication between participants from different lingual backgrounds, it is possible that no native speakers of the language used are involved in the conversation at all, and even when they are, "both interlocutors have different social identities and therefore a different kind of interaction they would have with someone from their own country speaking the same language."[458]

Thus, in place of the native speaker model, a "competent language user" is not the one who speaks and writes according to the rules of the academy and the social etiquette of one social group, but one who has "the adaptability to select those forms of accuracy and those forms of appropriateness that are called for in a given social context of use."[459] Thus, in the language education practice, a crucial differentiation must be made between linguistic competence and intercultural competence. The users of a certain language variation needed to be able to "manage dysfunctions which arise in the course of interaction, drawing upon knowledge and skills, to establish a relationship between their own social identities and those of their interlocutor; some of them also act as mediator of between people of different origins."[460] Establishing relationships and mediating difficulties are what define the CPE and CPR users in this study as "transcultural speakers" and

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[457] Byram, *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence: Revisited*, 11.

[458] Ibid., 32.

[459] Kramsch, *Language and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 27.
[460] Byram, *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence: Revisited*, 38.

which does not require people to be bilingual in the sense of becoming fluent as a native speaker. Transcultural speakers need to negotiate their own modes of interaction and their own kinds of text to accommodate the specific nature of intercultural communication.

As demonstrated in the language materials in Chapter Three, it becomes evident that the Chinese residents' acquisition of foreign languages in Shanghai and Harbin, in this case English or Russian, displays a wide spectrum of linguistic competence and achievement. It ranges from those who did not have the least idea of a foreign language to those who were well-versed and acquired advanced or near-native language proficiency. CPE and CPR users were situated between these two ends.

Poelzl identified three main possibilities on the interrelationship between language and community identity. The three main possibilities are language functions as *lingua culturae*, *lingua converta* and *lingua franca*. The *Lingua culturae* reflects the language culture of a language community in a direct way. In addition, a foreign language functions as a *lingua converta* when it is used as an official language instead of or alongside an indigenous language (for example English in India, Pakistan, Nigeria, South Africa, or French in many Francophonie countries). *Lingua franca* refers to internationally used, cross-linguistic secondary and common languages between speakers of different language communities.[461] In this spectrum of foreign language acquisition, those who have acquired advanced foreign language skills use the target

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[461] Ulrike Pölzl, "Exploring the Third Space: Negotiating Culture in English as a Lingua Franca," (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 2006).

languages as *lingua converta*, while the extensive use of CPE and CPR is considered *lingua franca.*

We can hence imagine a transcultural speaker to be a person who has managed to take on both sides of his linguistics experiences and merged them into something new. He or she can function in his or her own culture or abroad. In practice, a transcultural speaker might be, consciously or not, more careful, more tentative, and more unlikely to experience culture shock, identity crisis or other possibilities of maladjustment through culture clashes and conflict mismanagement. A "transcultural speaker" is a person (or a whole group of people) who has succeeded in developing a way between the other cultures he or she reaches out to. When a language learner can do so, he or she should be considered a successful language user.

Implications for Future SLA Practices

The dynamic and evolving characteristics of language pose challenges to conventional concepts of acquisition. Therefore, many scholars suggest placing greater emphasis on practical utilization and real-time progression rather than static knowledge. Dewey counters a "longstanding tendency towards the "objectification of language," meaning that language is not something to be obtained and permanently retained. It is a far more dynamic system and much more elusive.[462] The word "acquisition" derives from *acquisitionem*, which is means obtaining something. It was first used in the 15th

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[462] John Dewey, *Experience and Nature* (New York: Dover Publications, 1958), 258-59.

century as a language-learning concept. Although second language acquisition (SLA) is an established term, many scholars have questioned its role in describing language learning. Larsen-Freeman proposes the concept of "second language development" instead of "second language acquisition". According to her, language is a complex system, evolving in an organic manner as its being used. Language embodies dynamism, perpetually in a state of flux, characterized by its ongoing developmental process rather than a static state of existence.[463] In her later study with Ellis, it is stated that "language development is no longer seen as a process of acquiring abstract rules, which then get applied, but as the emergence of language abilities in real time."[464] The learner's goal is not merely to know about the target language theoretically, but to be able to use it effectively and appropriately in real-life situations and contexts. Siegel's study examines the reasons behind current educational practices and evaluates their validity by researching alternative programs that incorporate vernacular languages. These reasons are categorized into four groups: beliefs about the nature of vernacular varieties, misconceptions about educational programs using vernaculars, concerns that vernaculars hinder students' acquisition of standard English and their overall success, and skepticism about alternative practices' value and practicality. It concludes that

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[463] Diane Larsen-Freeman, "Chaos/Complexity Science and Second Language Acquisition," *Applied Linguistics* 18, no. 2 (1997): 141-65.

[464] Nick C. Ellis and Diane Larsen-Freeman, "Language Emergence: Implications for Applied Linguistics," *Applied Linguistics* 27, no. 4 (Dec 2006): 558-89.

while current practices, which exclude students' creole or dialect vernaculars from the classroom, are often well-intentioned and supported by parents and the community, they are not justified. As a result, students are deprived of several potential benefits that could be gained by integrating their vernaculars into the educational process.[465]

In today's world, the interaction and contact of multiple languages profoundly influences linguistic development, leading to dynamic variations of the source languages and the creation of new linguistic resources, vocabulary, and grammatical structures. Herdina and Jessner put it, "The presence of one or more language systems influences the development not only of the second language, but also the development of the overall multilingual system."[466] In language learning in natural settings, languages undergo changes that range from code-switching to pidginization. According to Larsen-Freeman's 2011 study, the fuzziness of inexact replication causes languages to evolve. This variation operates within a complex dynamic system, becoming a linguistic resource that provides communication choices and enhances our adaptability to new situations.[467]

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[465] Jeff Siegel, "Keeping Creoles and Dialects Out of the Classroom: Is It Justified?," in *Dialects, Englishes, Creoles, and Education*, ed. Nero J. Shondel (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2006), 39-67.

[466] Philip Herdina and Ulrike Jessner, *A Dynamic Model of Multilingualism: Perspectives of Change in Psycholinguistics* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2002), 28.

[467] Diane Larsen-Freeman, "Saying what we mean: Making a case for language acquisition to become language development," (keynote speech, *The 16th World Congress of Applied Linguistics from AILA*, Beijing, August 28, 2011).

Pidginization is also a developmental process in the sense that it is a co-effort and a constant part of language interlocutors' efforts across different mother tongues. Eventually in return, pidginization also contributes to its source languages, in this case English, Russian and Chinese, providing them with not only new vocabularies, but also new grammatical traces. The loanwords from Russian and English are found in various dialects of Chinese such as 白脱[*bái tuō*/butter], 士多[*shì duō*/store], 布拉吉[*bù lā jí*/платье/dress]. These loanwords actively factor into the Chinese language and created new words with other Chinese words. Compound words, such as 老达姆 [*lao damu*; *lao* – old, senior; *damu* – (ма)дам; senior madam] are colloquial parts of daily conversation in today's Harbin. Apart from vocabulary, there are also traces of CPE grammar in English. In London, for example, one advertisement of a telecom company prominently stated, "CAN DO!" on its posters.

Pidgin languages illustrate the dynamic life cycle of linguistic systems, suggesting that language learning might benefit from focusing on adaptability and practical usage rather than solely on the acquisition of a standardized form. Neither CPE nor CPR is spoken in present-day China. Language ecology views language as an organism with a lifecycle encompassing birth, growth, and eventual death. Typically, languages undergo these stages gradually over a long period. However, pidgin languages epitomize this process, as they were born, flourished, and declined within the relatively brief span of several hundred years, and contribute to the vocabulary and grammatical structures of the languages in contact. Therefore, the goal of language learning is not to acquire

a standardized version but to regard language as a dynamic system and to effectively activate its utility or applicability in specific communication situations.

Language learning involves the dynamic creation and adaptation of linguistic patterns by each learner. The learners negotiate the inherent variability of their target language in everyday language use. In this sense, each learner has "the capacity to create his or her own patterns with meanings and uses (morphogenesis) and to expand the meaning potential of a given language, not just to internalize a ready-made system."[468] Language does not exist independently of its users; it is not a fixed code;[469] nor is it ready-made for users before they start using it. It is rather created, or at the very least assembled, from conventions and united each time it is used.[470] Thus, it is not beneficial to regard learner language as if there exists a final, native-speaker target. Such a perspective implies that the language being learned is perpetually deficient in comparison. It is a fallacy to measure a learner's development by the distance from this ideal. Furthermore, even in native speaker language use, there is a great deal of variables. As Labov puts it, "Heterogeneity is […] necessary to satisfy the linguistics demands of everyday life."[471] In essence,

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[468] Diane Larsen-Freeman and Lynne Cameron, *Complex Systems and Applied Linguistics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 116.

[469] Constant Leung, Roxy Harris and Ben Rampton, "The Idealised Native Speaker, Reified Ethnicities, and Classroom Realities," *TESOL Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (1997): 543-60.

[470] Larsen-Freeman, "Saying what we mean: Making a case for language acquisition to become language development."

[471] William Labov, "Building on empirical foundations," in *Perspectives on*

everyone has his own jargon. There is no homogenized competence in our daily use of language. According to Varela et al., conversation with other people is like "knowing how to negotiate our way through a world that is not fixed and pre-given, but that is continually shaped by the types of actions in which we engage."[472]

Therefore, following the developmental approach to language learning proposed by this study, researchers and educators should consider learners' perspectives and actions. In this framework, learning a L2 involves more than memorizing fixed forms or sentences. It entails adapting one's behavior to an increasingly complex environment. Learning is not a linear, additive process but an iterative one. It is understood as the development of increasingly effective ways of engaging with the world and its meanings. Researchers and language educators should recognize that there is no common endpoint for all learners, instead, they should respect learners' individuality and diversity. The ultimate goal is not a uniform destination but a capacity for change. Learners should not be confined to a rigid linguistic framework. Their language learning activity can transform both the source and target languages, thereby altering their individual linguistic worlds.

Historical Linguistics: Papers from a conference held at the meeting of the Language Theory Division, Modern Language Assn., San Francisco, 27–30 December 1979, ed. Winfred P. Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1982), 17.

[472] Francisco J. Varela, Eleanor Rosch and Evan Thompson, *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 144.

The discussion section addressed the process of pidginization through the lens of communication competence, integrating the primary arguments from the preceding chapter to present a variationist perspective on the nature of language learning. Initially, it critically examined the long-standing native speakers' model of SLA. Subsequently, it reflected on L2 development goals within the Chinese context, concluding in the conceptualization of learners' intercultural communication competence. This analysis redefined the distinction between language development and language acquisition, showing how studying the social aspects of CPE and CPR provides new insights into foreign language development in China. This chapter synthesized the issues and theories discussed in previous chapters and explored future trajectories for language development in the context of globalized communication.

What constitutes successful language learning? This question has been debated by linguists for decades, yet the prevailing discourse continues to favor the native speaker model. 2LLs are often expected to achieve proficiency levels measured against the standards of the target language. However, why should L2 competence be assessed based on how closely a learner approximates the so-called standard? The essence of L2 acquisition lies in usability and intelligibility to achieve communication goals. The variation in learner languages should be embraced and validated. This perspective stems from a critical examination of the concept of "acquisition," focusing on the experiences of learners when exposed to a new language.

The paradox of language development and change versus language proficiency has perplexed linguists for generations. A key insight emerged from studying language variation. Historically, linguistic studies often dismissed language variation as peripheral and insignificant. However, sociolinguists and applied linguists now recognize that variation is integral to the very structure of any language. The practical use of languages shapes their structure, grammar, and syntax, and this variation drives both change and the inner vitality of all languages.

Future studies should not treat language as a static system of rules to be memorized and possessed, but rather as a dynamic, living entity that interacts with learners and speakers. It is proposed that researchers and language teachers recognize that language proficiency is not a fixed state but a continuously evolving process. Learners are introduced to a new language system, yet simultaneously, they adapt and develop this system, creating a personalized and revised version of it.

As Saussure proposed, language should not be conflated with human speech. While language can be considered an abstract model of perfect structure, human speech is a social product of linguistic aptitude and a compilation of communicative conventions agreed upon by members of society, which individuals can imaginatively apply. This study suggests that the era of studying language as a formal system should be replaced by a focus on the agents of language and the contextual use of language. Future research on language variation should transcend grammatical and structural comparisons, shifting towards an emphasis on learners' psychometrics.

Moreover, the standards for successful language learning should be broadly revised to help learners identify their positions and needs within the target languages. This study has examined the genesis of pidgin and the principle of cooperation primarily through the lens of the Chinese context. Whether these theories are generalizable or falsifiable can be determined by further sociolinguistic case studies of other pidgin languages in the world.

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