Čínsky znak na obálke znamenajúci 'východ', pochádzajúci od Liu Xie 劉澥 (1781–1840), bol vyrytý do nefritu podľa vzoru zo začiatku nášho letopočtu. · The Chinese character with the meaning 'east' employed on the cover is cut as a seal by Liu Xie, on the basis of models from the beginning of our era.

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Vocabularies of Chinese Pidgin Russian for Kiakhta Trade

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Abstract   This paper focuses on the description of the handwritten vocabularies of the Kiakhta pidgin language kept in the Russian collections. Chinese Pidgin Russian was used by the Russian and Chinese traders to communicate on the border between Russian and Qing Empires in 18th–early 20th centuries and was a result of close economic, cultural, and interethnic relations. The Chinese traders of Maimaicheng took in Russian lexemes situationally and adapted them to the phonetic system of their native language. For the purpose of learning Russian, they compiled vocabularies in which Chinese characters were used to convey the sound of Russian words. The vocabularies reflected particularities of both Russian and Chinese languages of that time (including the dialects of Siberia and Shanxi province). They were compiled by the Chinese border merchants from Shanxi, who transcribed the Russian words with the Chinese characters. The intact Kikhta (Maimaicheng) pidgin vocabularies are a unique cultural phenomenon in themselves and the analysis of them can influence the study of all the contact languages, both living and dead. This material is important for the study of the history, and human and cultural relations between Russia and China as a new source.

Keywords   Chinese Pidgin Russian, Kiakhta, Maimaicheng 買賣城 · trade language, vocabularies

1   *Introduction*

Kiakhta pidgin was in use from the mid-18th century on the border between the Russian and Qing Empires in the trading towns of Kiakhta and Maimaicheng 買賣城. It came into being as a contact language to facilitate communication between Russian and Chinese merchants and reflected the characteristics of both the contemporary Russian and Chinese (including the dialects of Siberia and

Shanxi 山西 province), and of social, economic, and interethnic relations in the border regions of Russia and China.

The grammatical foundation for Kiakhta pidgin was Chinese, while the vocabulary was mainly Russian. Initially Russo-Chinese border trade was conducted in Mongolian with the aid of interpreters, but gradually the Chinese traders of Maimaicheng began to take in Russian lexemes situationally and to adapt them to the phonetic system of their native language. For the purpose of learning Russian, they compiled vocabularies in which Chinese characters were used to convey the sound of Russian words. The vocabularies contained both individual words and whole grammatical constructions. The vocabulary reflected the immediate requirements of trade and comprised primarily the words for goods offered for barter and also everyday expressions. The vocabularies were arranged along thematic lines.

Vocabularies of pidgin languages are very rarely found. Moreover, it emerges that they were all created on the basis of the Chinese language and are a unique integral part of Chinese culture in particular. At the same time, comprehensive research and publication of them is important for the further study of all contact languages, both the existing, and those no longer in use.

The study of contact languages is a highly topical field in present-day linguistics. The majority of those that have been researched are based on English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. Chinese pidgins based on English and Portuguese, for which textbooks and phrasebooks were made, have been studied since the mid-19th century. Russian pidgins have been researched particularly actively in the past two decades. [1] Meanwhile the study of the Kiakhta (Maimaicheng) pidgin, even in the relatively recent fundamental papers (Nichols 1980 and 1986; Mi Zhenbo 2003; Musorin 2004; Namsaraeva 2014; Stern 2002, 2005, and 2016; Shapiro 2010 and 2012, etc.), has been carried out almost exclusively on the basis of materials published in the 19th century and first half of the 20th.

Since it was the Shanxi 山西 dialect that served as the phonetic basis for the Kiakhta-Maimaicheng border language, when reconstructing the transcription of the Kiakhta pidgin, we drew upon the pronunciation standards of that particular

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1   See the bibliography in Yelena Perekhval'skaia's work (Perekhval'skaia 2008, 347-363).

dialect.² This is the idiom of Taiyuan 太原, the capital of Shanxi, and belongs to the same subgroup of the Jin 晉 dialect as that of the Yuci 榆次 district, the place of origin of the Kiakhta traders.

2 *Sources*

The present paper is based on the study of three vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin from Russian collections: (1) 鄂 羅 斯 番 語 [*Eluosi fan yu* "Russian Foreign Language"]³ from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (hereafter IOM RAS) (Ref. No. *C-59*, hereafter: A); (2) the similar, but less extensive "Chinese Vocabulary of the Russian Language"⁴ from the Oriental Section of the Gorky Research Library of Saint Petersburg State University (*Xyl.F-56*, hereafter: B); (3) the unfinished "Russo-Chinese Vocabulary, Manuscript"⁵ from the stocks of the Research Library of Irkutsk State Regional Museum (*Inv. No. 53856*, hereafter: C). Vocabulary A in the collection of the IOM RAS was mentioned in a note by Konstantin Flug (1893–1942) as "a Russo-Chinese thematic vocabulary *Eluosi fan yu*, probably intended for Chinese merchants" (Flug 1934, 92). Vocabularies B and C have never previously attracted the interest of researchers.

Vocabulary A is kept in the NOVA fund of the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. Precise information on its provenance has not survived. It is possible to assume that it came into the collection of the Asiatic Museum (forerunner of the IOM RAS) together with the books of Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin (Father Hyacinth, 1777–1853), who mentioned in print the existence of such vocabularies (Bichurin 1831, 143-144). On the cover of vocabulary A, the title in Chinese 鄂羅斯番語 is written vertically on the right at the top, while the name of the shop 凝瑞堂 (*Ning rui tang*,

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2   The phonetic reconstruction of the Kiakhta pidgin words suggested in this paper was based on the sources: *Hanyu fangyan zihui* (1989) and Shen, Ming & al. 1994.

3   The titles are given according to the entries in the inventory books, in Russian: "Русский иностранный язык".

4   In Russian: "Китайский словарь русского языка".

5   In Russian: "Русско-китайский словарь, рукописный".

"Hall of the Immovable Sceptre") appears in the centre. The manuscript has a butterfly binding. It measures 15×27 cm and has 85 sheets of Chinese firm and thin white paper of medium quality. Pasted onto the cover of the vocabulary at the bottom is a piece of white paper 5.7×11 cm, one edge of which (1.5×11cm) is turned inside; the old reference number from the Asiatic Museum is written on that edge. On the upper right corner of the cover, written in Flug's hand in violet ink on an almost square sticker measuring 6×7.3 cm (with a 4.5×5.5 cm frame on it) is the reference number 1937 *No.206* and also its location: *Cabinet IV, Shelf 5, No. 6*. Below the sticker is the stamp of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences with an indication of the year 1953. The number *200* has been inscribed within this stamp in 6×7.3 cm by the hand of Maiia Volkova (1927–2006), curator of the NOVA fund in 1950–1980s. On the title page (f. 1a) the title of the vocabulary and the name of the shop are repeated. Additionally, placed vertically below the title are the two characters 一本 (*yi ben,* "first book"). Each page of the manuscript carries four or five columns of text in Chinese characters. A column contains 1-6 words or a phrase of two to 7 or 8 characters. The text is competently written in regular script.

There is no information about the provenance of vocabulary B, now, in the Gorky Research Library of Saint Petersburg State University. The manuscript takes the form of a brochure measuring 22.5×35 cm on dense white paper of European manufacture, the pages sewn together with thick white thread. A cover of dense light brown paper has been pasted onto the vocabulary. The reference number *Xyl.F-56* is written in blue pencil on the upper part of the cover. Lower down, 11.8 cm from the upper edge, there is a white sticker measuring 7.8×11.3 cm with wavy cut edges bearing the title in Russian: "A Chinese Vocabulary of the Russian Language". Below, at a distance of 2.5 cm from the sticker and 1.5 cm from the left-hand edge of the manuscript, there is another, yellow-coloured, sticker with an internal double frame 3×3.8 cm. Printed typographically within the frame is the Russian word for "Cabinet" with *XXIX^a* added by hand with a pen and black ink below. The manuscript contains 23 folios, of which 20 carry text. On the second folio the Russian title is repeated, handwritten in black ink. The pages with text each carry 9 lines spaced 2.5 cm apart. A fine ruled line can be seen beneath them. The upper margin above the ruled frame measures 2 cm, the lower margin 1.5 cm. Each line contains between 3 and 7 words or expressions made up

of 1-5 characters written in the standard manner, with a transcription below written in smaller characters with a fine brush in one or two rows. The script is regular. The handwritten folios became mixed up during binding and some may have been lost. The beginning of the manuscript is missing; there is no heading for the first section that lists various goods and types of fabric. This is followed (from f. 3a) by the tenth section, then by sections 2-9 in the correct order.

A copy of vocabulary C was provided to the authors of the present paper by the Research Library of Irkutsk State Regional Museum. A brief description of it is included in the catalogue by Konstantin Yakhontov (1994, 87, No. 127). The cover carries the Russian title "A Russo-Chinese Dictionary, manuscript" (possibly written by a later Russian owner) and below the Machurian title *Baikasingge* (?). Of the 49 folios in the manuscript, ff. 1-24 carry text, while 25-49 are blank. The size is 13.2×25.5 cm. Each page has 5 columns of 4-6 words or expressions, each containing between 1 and 7 characters. The text is competently written in semi-cursive script.

Judging by the selection of words, our vocabularies reflect the state of the Chinese Pidgin Russian in the 18th and 19th centuries. The demotic forms of the characters and peculiarities in the use of phonetics and the lexical elements of the nested lexemes convey the flavour of the dialect of Shanxi province, the homeland of the majority of the Maimaicheng traders and indicate that the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin were compiled and used by inhabitants of that place. Many of the Russian words given in Chinese-character transcription have long since gone out of use, because of which these vocabularies are also of value for the study of local Siberian dialects of Russian.

3   Trade between Russia and China through Kiakhta and Maimaicheng

Kiakhta played an important role in Russia's foreign trade as a whole and over a period of a century and a half it was the focal point of economic relations between Russia and China. The "Tea Road" (*Chaye zhi lu* 茶葉之路) connecting China's southern provinces to European Russia and Western Europe ran through Maimaicheng and Kiakhta. There is an extensive literature on trade in Kiakhta in the form of sections of monographs, detailed research papers, expert surveys, and newspaper and periodical reports relating to one or other stage in its development

(Korsak 1857, Krit 1862, Noskov 1862; Krit 1864; *Kratkii ocherk* 1896; Silin 1947; Foust 1969; Sladkovskii 2008; Khokhlov 2015; Liu Zaiqi 2011; Monahan 2016, etc.).

We know that from the 13th century the Chinese conducted trade in Karakorum, where initially the main goods being exchanged were horses, cattle, hides, conveyances, and cereals. There are later reports of Chinese merchants making journeys into Siberia for trade purposes (Alekseev 1941, 284). By the 16th century, a significant place in regional trade was taken by brick tea imported from China, for which the Mongols and Siberians had acquired a liking. At that time control over Russian-Oirat trade in Siberia came into the hands of the Bukharans[6] and the exchange of goods between the Russian lands and China began to be implemented mainly by Bukharan trading caravans. The 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk not only officially defined the Russo-Chinese border but also gave a start to regular trade between the two countries. In 1699, a consignment of Chinese fabrics was delivered to Irbit, followed by other similar shipments (Khokhlov 2015, 645).

The foundation of Kiakhta[7] in 1727 took place in an important period for Russo-Chinese relations, when the two empires were faced with the task of a new demarcation of lands following China's annexation of Khalkha (Northern Mongolia). In August 1725, the Russian government dispatched Sava Lukich Vladislavich-Raguzinskii (1669–1738) as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Beijing to conduct talks on clarifying the line of the border. The long and complicated negotiations ended on 20 August 1727 with the conclusion on the frontier, on the River Bureia, of the Burinsk Treaty defining

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6   Bukharans was the name that Russians used for Muslims who originated from Central Asia. The main places where the Siberian Bukharans lived were Tobolsk, Tiumen, Tara, Tomsk, and Kuznetsk. By the 18th century there were over 3,000 such colonists, the majority of whom were Uzbeks (cf. Chimitdorzhiev 1987, 35, 198). The vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin give the names of a whole variety of goods that include the adjective "Muslim" (*Hui* 同); while the expressions "Muslim" as a noun (*Huizi* 同子) and "chief among the Muslims (merchants)" (*Huihuinao* 同同撓) are translated by the word 五路史坎 *u-ləu-sı-kʻæˉ*, derived from *russkii*, meaning "Russian". The character *nao* 撓 was used with the meaning of "chief, head" in the Shanxi dialect of Chinese.

7   Kiakhta (or Khiakhta) means "a place overgrown with couch-grass", from the Mongolian *khiag*— "couch-grass". In early 18th-century Russian documents, the version "Tiakhta" also occurs (Okhotina-Lind and Meller 2013, 52, 121).

the borders between Russia and China, which stated, among other things: "On the northern side on the little River Kiakhta a guard building of the Russian Empire. On the southern side, on the Orogaite hill the guard sign of the Middle Kingdom. Between that guard post and beacon, the land is to be divided in half. The first demarcation marker to be placed in the middle. And here both countries' border trade should take place." (Skachkov and Miasnikov 1958, 11).

As a result, on the Orthodox Feast of the Trinity in the summer of 1727, on the Kiakhta, four *versts* from the border, on the site of the Barsukovskoe winter quarters, where the last Russian guard post was, Raguzinskii founded a fortress that later became known as Troitskosavskaia. The first five Russian merchants arrived there with 25 carts in November 1727 (Artem'iev 1999, 89). The Burinsk Treaty paved the way for the more extensive Kiakhta Treaty of 1728 that established the procedure for diplomatic interaction between Russia and China through the Russian Senate and the China's Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions (*Lifan yuan* 理藩院). The fourth article of the Kiakhta Treaty called for cross-border trade to be conducted permanently through two places: Tsurukhaita (300 *versts* from Nerchinsk) and Kiakhta. To supervise the trade in Kiakhta, one official was to be sent from the *Lifan yuan*. The number of visiting traders in Kiakhta was not supposed to exceed 200 (Miasnikov 2006, 383).

Construction of the settlement was mostly over by the end of 1728. A *gostinyi dvor* trading complex with 24 stalls and 24 storerooms above them took the form of rectangular building with windowless outside walls and gates on the north and south sides. Later, the Chinese who traded on the border, took to calling it 四合樓 (*sihelou*)—"the chamber closed on all four sides".[8]

In 1730, opposite Kiakhta, some 100 *sazhens* from it, work began on the construction of a Chinese trading town, which was settled by merchants who mainly came from Shanxi. People from that province were famed for their particular talent for trade. The special terms "Shanxi trader" (*Shanxi shangren* 山西商人) and "Jin trader" (*Jin shang* 晉商; 晉—Jin being the name of an early kingdom that existed on the territory of Shanxi) were used as epithets for those who were particularly adept at commerce. It is considered that the inhabitants of Shanxi were forced to engage in intermediate trade and transit commerce by the difficult natural conditions of the region, which made it unfertile. The merchants who did

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8   In the Kiakhta pidgin vocabularies, the word is transcribed as 哦各信旺兒 *yo-kɔʔ-ɕiŋ vɐ̃ː-ər*.

business on the border were termed in China "traders temporarily living in Mongolia" (*lü Meng shang* 旅蒙商) or else "border traders" (*bian shang* 邊商; *bian ke* 邊客). Men from Shanxi had traded with the Mongols since olden times, obtaining livestock from them in exchange for rice, flour, salt, coal, alcohol, brick tea, simple fabric, and consumer goods (Temole 2009, 122).

The names of the first Chinese merchants of Maimaicheng have been preserved by a bell now displayed in the Kiakhta Local History Museum named after V. A. Obruchev. The bell was cast in the eighth year of the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1743) for the Maimaicheng temple Laoyemiao 老爺廟, commissioned by men from the Fengyang district 汾陽縣 of the city of Fenzhou 汾州府 in Shanxi province: Wan Longpu 萬隆鋪, Ma Wanlong 馬萬龍, Wang Guozai 王國宰, Zhang Yuan 張元, the smith (金火匠人 (?) Shen 申, Ren Shilong 任世龍, Guo Shilong 郭世龍, Wan Wenquan 王文全, Han Ying 韓瑛, Li Cunhong 李存洪, Li Mingxing 李明星, Zhao Keren 趙可仁, and Tian Deyuan 田得元.

At first the Russians called the Chinese trade town as *Kitaiskaia Sloboda* ("Chinese town") or Naimachin from the Mongolian *Naimaach or Naimaachin*— "trader", which in turn derived from the Chinese noun 買賣城 *maimaicheng* (a place for buying and selling, a trading place).

All authority in Maimaicheng was vested in the *dzarguchei* (Old Mongolian *jarɣuči*, a judicial official), "Chinese frontier judge". As Egor Timkovskii clarified, he held 6th-class rank, was appointed by the *Lifan yuan* and was replaced every three years (Timkovskii 1824, 14). Guard duty in Maimaicheng was performed by a garrison of 50–100 mounted frontier Mongols (Martynov 1819, 61).

The further expansion and construction of Kiakhta and Maimaicheng was a consequence of the rapid development of cross-border trade. In 1743, by order of the Senate, Kiakhta was given the official status of a trading settlement and it became the first official border point for trade between Russia and China. In March 1761, the priest Dorofei Shergin, who was attached to the Trinity Church, sent a report to Irkutsk according to which his congregation numbered 327 people (186 men and 141 women) (Khokhlov 1982, 105).

Supervision of the trade in Kiakhta on the Russian side was initially entrusted to the Troitskosavsk border chancellery. To prevent goods being brought across without duty being paid, a single customs authority and one customs post was established for the whole of the Chinese frontier.

Initially cross-border trade was only by barter. The goods for exchange were on the Chinese side *nankeen* (cotton fabric), raw silk, tea, and livestock; on the Russian side furs, woollen cloth, Russian leather, objects made of iron and copper, livestock, and foodstuffs. At the early stage of the development of trade in Kiakhta, a considerable portion of the Russian exports were actually foreign goods (mainly cloth). In 1801, the proportion of transit goods was 54.5% of the total cost of goods being exported to China (Khokhlov 1982, 136).

Only men engaged in commerce settled in Maimaicheng. The population consisted of merchants, hired hands facilitating trade, and also a small number of craftsmen. In the 18th century, members of trading companies would split into two groups, one of which dealt with the Russians in Kiakhta, while the other travelled to China to fetch fresh wares. After bringing goods, the incoming group set about selling them, while their partners set off for more (Silin 1947, 109). The goods obtained by barter from the Russians were immediately dispatched to China as there were no large storage facilities in Maimaicheng.

Trade in Kiakhta continued almost year-round, intensifying in the winter months, when large consignments of goods arrived from China. Deliveries from Kalgan (Zhangjiakou 張家口) to Maimaicheng took place across Mongolia from September to June. There is a simple explanation for the interruption of traffic in the summer: the main means of transport was the two-humped Mongolian (Bactrian) camel that begins to moult in late March and loses its coat by early June, leaving it weak and incapable of carrying loads (Krit 1862, 41).

Kiakhta's heyday came in the 1850s, when, alongside barter, permission was given for monetary transactions that had previously been forbidden. In the 1850s–60s, the trade turnover came to more than 30 million roubles a year. Kiakhta was called "The town of millionaires" and "Sandy Venice". Not only commerce, but cultural life flourished in the town. Active there in the 1830s–1840s were the Mongolists Aleksandr Igumnov (1761–1834) and Osip (Józef Szczepan) Kowalewski (1801–1878). In the 1840s and 1850s, the exiled Decembrist brothers Nikolai and Mikhail Bestuzhev often visited Kiakhta-Troitskosavsk.

The Treaty of Nanking concluded between China and Britain in 1842, brought about major changes in the whole structure of Sino-European trade and threatened Kiakhta's prosperity. Besides ceding Hong Kong to Britain, China opened up five ports to international trade: Canton, Amoy (Xiamen), Fuzhou

(Foochowfoo), Ningbo, and Shanghai. The expansion of China's trade with European states led the centres of importation to shift to the south.

The government of the Russian Empire sought to sustain cross-border trade with China: on 20 February 1862, representatives of Russia and the Qing authorities signed a document laying out "The Rules of Overland Trade between Russia and China" (Zhong E lulu tongshang zhangcheng 中俄陸路通商章程), according to which Russian and Chinese subjects gained the right to trade free of duty within a distance of 100 Chinese *li* (50 *versts*) of the borders of the two states (Skachkov and Miasnikov 1958, 42-45).

These measures did not, however, produce significant results. Kiakhta's turnover declined appreciably. The year 1903, when the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway was completed, saw a grave downturn in its commerce and prosperity.

Kiakhta found itself sorely tested by subsequent revolutions and wars. In 1920–21, the town was the centre of the activities of the Mongol statesman and politician Damdinii Sükhbaatar (1893–1923). On 1 March 1921, the first congress of the Mongolian People's Party was held in Kiakhta. In May and June that year, Baron Ungern's forces engaged in fighting for Kiakhta-Troitskosavsk. That same year, a tragic fate befell the Chinese Maimaicheng: it was completely destroyed by a fire.

At the present time Kiakhta is a small town in Russia's Chita region, while the site of Maimaicheng remains a level field on the outskirts of the Mongolian boder town of Altanbulaq.

4   *Vocabularies of Kiakhta Pidgin*

The first person to comment in print on the distinctive pronunciation of the Russian-speaking Chinese of Maimaicheng was Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811), a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences whose travel notes were published in German in 1771 and in Russian in 1788:

> Here on the border the Chinese traders all of course speak Mongolian, in the same way the Russians either speak that language themselves or through sworn interpreters attached to them; many also speak Russian, but so poorly and with such a soft and

imperfect pronunciation that anyone freshly arrived can barely understand it. They cannot pronounce the letter *R* at all and instead they all say *L*. Syllables made up of several consonants, of which there are no few in Russian, they divide up and spread out with inserted vowels, and both these things are faults that are not in any way noticeable among learners of Russian, neither in Tatary, nor in Mongolia, nor among the Kalmyks, nor other Asiatic peoples. (Pallas 1788, 182).

The strange pronunciation of Russian by Chinese traders on the border was also noted by the eminent linguist Julius Heinrich Klaproth (1783–1835), who visited Kiakhta and Maimaicheng in 1805. [9] Regarding the Chinese he observed in Kiakhta and Maimaicheng, Klaproth wrote, among others things, that "they almost all speak Mongolian very well. Many of them know sufficient Russian to be able to conduct their business dealings themselves, but their pronunciation is extremely indistinct. For example, instead of *dvadtsat' piat' monet* [twenty-five coins] they say *tua-ze-ti piati moniza* and so on." (Klaproth 1816, 125).

In 1824, Egor Fedorovich Timkovskii, a judicial official who accompanied the 10th Russian Orthodox Mission to China, already pointed not simply to the specific character of the Russian pronunciation of the Maimaicheng Chinese but also to the existence of a separate "Kiakhta Russo-Chinese dialect" (Timkovskii 1824, 184), and further to the existence of vocabularies of that dialect. In the first volume of his *Travels*, Timkovskii writes about:

> [...] the corrupted and comical dialect in which the traders from the Chinese province of Shanxi conduct important commercial matters with our own merchants, who never learn Chinese. For example, for "horse" [*loshad'* in Russian] they say *loshka*, for "together" [*vmeste*] *zamesiats*, for "Feodor" *fetel*, for "twenty-five coins" [*dvadtsat' piat' monet*] *tuatseti piati monisa*, and so on. The Chinese merchants have even compiled large vocabularies in this unintelligible language." (Timkovskii 1824, 66).

9   Klaproth's writings, containing his travel observations and also a historical outline of Russo-Chinese relations and the demarcation of territory between the Russian and Qing Empires, were published first in German in 1809 and 1810, then in Russian in 1816, in an abridged translation by Andrei Efimovich Martynov (1768–1826), and in 1824 as part of a collection of the author's works in French. In the French translation, a number of terms and names for things are accompanied by Chinese characters.

Vocabularies of Russian compiled by the merchants of Maimaicheng were also
mentioned by the Sinologist Father Hyacinth (Bichurin), who in 1831 wrote in his
brief article entitled "A Letter from Kiakhta" in the periodical *Moskovskii Telegraf*:

> The resourceful Chinese did not ponder long on the difficulties of our language. They
> resolved among themselves that every boy destined to carry on trade in Kiakhta must
> without fail learn Russian on coming here. To this end in each stall a small Chinese
> vocabulary is compiled with a Russian translation written in Chinese letters. But since
> the Chinese language does not have changes to the ending of words and, furthermore,
> lacks similar sounding words to transpose our syllables that contain two or three
> consonants, from the translation of our acquaintances a separate Russian dialect arose
> in which our words, mutilated in pronunciation, are used in the form in which they
> were entered in the dictionary without the slightest modification of endings. (Bichurin
> 1831, 142-143).

Father Hyacinth also included 15 phrases in Kiakhta dialect in the piece.

Bichurin's sojourn in Kiakhta in 1830–1832 was the consequence of his
participation in an inspection trip around Siberia by the Orientalist and Russian
state official Pavel L'vovich (Paul Ludwig) Schilling von Cannstatt (1786–1837).
Schilling, who served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was sent to investigate
the dissemination of Buddhism in Transbaikal and the ever-growing number of
lamas. Besides researching the position of the Mongol-Buryat clergy, Schilling was
given an assignment to study the state of trade on the Russo-Chinese border.

On the basis of what he found, Schilling drew up a whole series of reports and
dispatches, including a detailed "Memorandum on the previous and present state
of trade in Kiakhta". In describing the Chinese merchants of Maimaicheng in the
Memorandum, Schilling also noted that they had vocabularies of the Russian
language:

> All subjects of the Chinese state have the right to trade in Kiakhta, but it is used almost
> exclusively by inhabitants of the province of Shanxi. [...] The inhabitants of the
> province of Shanxi are respected in China itself as highly skilled in commerce. Subtlety
> and thoroughness in calculations, unanimity and firmness in actions are their
> distinguishing qualities. Desiring to do business with the Russians without the
> intermediacy of interpreters, they all learn the Russian language. To that end in each
> of their stalls they compile a special book, in which beneath the Chinese words the
> Russian ones are given, written phonetically also with Chinese letters. Out of this there

has arisen in Kiakhta the strangest and most distorted patois, by means of which the Chinese communicate with the Russians.[10]

In January 1830, responding to the long-held wishes of the local merchants, Father Hyacinth began teaching Chinese in Kiakhta. The main aim of this undertaking was to train practical interpreters to serve cross-border trade. The pupils mastered "conversations, the contents of which were the usual subjects between those doing business in Kiakhta". They first demonstrated this knowledge at an examination on 13 August 1831, in the presence of Schilling von Cannstatt and also of all the members of the 10th Orthodox Religious Mission on its way back from Beijing (Bichurin 1831, 141-142). Officially established by the Emperor himself and subordinated to the Ministry of Finance through the Department of Foreign Trade, the School of the Chinese Language in Kiakhta opened on 28 November 1832.

Specially for teaching purposes, Father Hyacinth composed a *Chinese Grammar* that summarized what Sinologists around the world had gleaned from studying the Chinese language and became for almost a century the main university-level textbook on the subject in Russia. While working on his *Grammar*, Father Hyacinth used one or more vocabularies of the Kiakhta dialect as a source. This is evidenced by an appendix to the *Grammar* containing the names of goods exported and imported through Kiakhta in Russian and Chinese (Bichurin 1835, 220-237). In the foreword to his textbook, Bichurin mentions the "broken Russian dialect" in use among the Chinese in Kiakhta and Maimaicheng (Bichurin 1835, xviii).

Bichurin's bilingual list of goods traded in Kiakhta was not the only glossary of its kind circulating among the Russian merchants. Semion Nemchinov, a member of a prominent Kiakhta family, "exerted considerable efforts to compile a Russian-Chinese dictionary" (Zhirov 2005, 158). Within the Archives of Orientalists of the IOM RAS, in the fund of the Mongolist Osip Kowalewski, a handwritten vocabulary has survived that contains the Chinese words for objects of cross-border trade and also their Russian transcriptions, following the standard

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10   Schilling, Pavel L. 1832. "Zapiska o prezhnem i nyneshnem polozhenii kiakhtinskoi torgovli" [Memorandum on the previous and present state of trade in Kiakhta]. In the Archives of Orientalists of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, fund 56, inventory 1, unit 1, ff. 11v–12r.

Beijing pronunciation, and translations.[11] Between 1827 and 1831 Kowalewski was in Irkutsk, from where he made journeys into Mongolia and China and at the same time concerned himself with matters relating to the organization of the Russo-Mongol Military School that was opened in Troitskosavsk in 1833. In August 1830, Kowalewski was in Kiakhta at the same time as Schilling's expedition (Polianskaia 2004, 155).

From the 1830s, short magazine and newspaper articles began to appear in the Russian central press describing life in Maimaicheng and mentioning the amazing Kiakhta (Maimaicheng) patois (Erman 1832). One issue of the *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (*Saint Petersburg Gazette*) newspaper in 1864 carried a brief story on "A Russo-Chinese Language" that gave this characterization of our pidgin:

> This language is not Chinese and not Russian, but is known as the Kiakhta trading language, in which negotiations are conducted between the Russians and Chinese. It was invented almost entirely by the Chinese themselves and has become so established that it turned into something canonical, permanent, not subject to random changes".[12]

The Kiakhta dialect became the first Russian-based pidgin to attract the attention of professional linguists. The earliest specialist publication containing a grammatical analysis of the Kiakhta dialect was an 1853 paper by Semion Ivanovich Cherepanov (1810–1884). [13] Then came papers by Aleksandr Ivanovich

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11   Archives of Orientalists, IOM RAS, fund 29, inventory 1, unit 2. Kowalewski's fairly concise
      handwritten dictionary contains 7 folios on dense white paper measuring 22.5×34.2 cm; the frame
      being 19.5×23.6 cm. The pages are marked out with black Indian ink into 18 rows, in each of which
      one word is written. Altogether there are 249 such words in the dictionary (the last page has just
      15 entries). Besides the names of goods, arranged by types, the dictionary gives the words for
      everyday objects, clothing, foods, and so on.

12   National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 109 (no pagination).

13   Extracts from Cherepanov's paper were published in *Luchi*, a "magazine for young ladies" (1854,
      vol. IX, 212). It is known that Cherepanov was gathering material for a vocabulary of the Kiakhta
      dialect. The records of the Imp. Academy of Sciences relating to the Department of Russian
      Language and Philology for April 1853 state: "Titular Counsellor Cherepanov presented to the
      Department a compendium of regional words that he had collected in Irkustk, Yenisei, Tomsk,
      Tobolsk and Perm provinces. At the same time Mr. Cherepanov informs the Department that he
      has a collection of words used in Kiakhta. It was resolved to ask Mr. Cherepanov to supply the

Aleksandrov (1861–1918) (1884, 160-163) and Hugo Schuchard (1842–1927) (1884, 318-320). Examples of expressions and short descriptions of the "trading language" of Kiakhta appear in memoirs, works of fiction, and travellers' notes (Piasetskii 1880, 14-23, 363-368; Maksimov 1909, 276-282).

The history of the compilation and possible sources of the vocabularies that existed in Maimaicheng remain obscure. In his paper on the Kiakhta dialect Semion Cherepanov indicated that the Chinese compiled the vocabularies of Russian with the aid of Mongols who knew Chinese and collected the names of objects and the explanations of words from Russians who knew Mongolian. As a consequence, many Russian words, especially verbs, acquired the ending of Mongolian verbs—*pit'* [to drink] became *pikhu* (Mongolian *ukhu*); *kushat'* [to eat] became *kushakhu* (*zoglokhu*) (Cherepanov 1853, 371-372). It is noteworthy that Semion Cherepanov states that the vocabularies were not handwritten but woodcut printed "following the Chinese method of book printing carved on hard wood and printed for those needing to learn the Russian language" (Cherepanov 1853, 371). Later, evidently influenced by Semion Cherepanov, the linguist Sergei Konstantinovich Bulich (1859–1921) when writing the entry on the *Maimaicheng dialect* for the Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary, mentioned the printing in China of "special guides (using Chinese characters)" for the study of Russian (Bulich 1896, 381). Georgii Mikhailovich Osokin (1906, 58-59) also wrote about the existence of such aids.

The evidences mentioned here intended to describe the period of decline of Kiakhta; and possibly the woodcut printed vocabularies and study books, which came in sight of the researchers, belong to other regions of circulation of the Chinese Pidgin Russian.[14]

Kiakhta words". (Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk po Otdeleniiu russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti [Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences for the Department of Russian Language and Philology], Vol. 2, 1853, 203).

14   At a later time, woodblock and typographically printed textbooks appeared in which Chinese characters were used to transcribe Russian words. Examples included (1) 中俄話本 subtitled in English "Russian and Chinese conversation", compiled by Russian Kaufmann 俄國高福滿 (Shanghai, 1902); (2) 中俄通俗話本 "A Book of Russian-Chinese Common Conversations", compiled jointly by a Russian 麥斯克 (Maiskii) and the Chinese 李明清 (Shanghai, 1913); (3) 華俄初語 "Elementary Chinese-Russian Conversations" (6th edition, Harbin, 1927). These editions

Evidently dictionaries of the Kiakhta dialect were never reproduced by printing because of the relatively small (by Chinese standards) number of people for whom they were intended, and they existed only as manuscript copies.

In the works of Russian Sinologists one can find indications of an ordinance being issued in China in the 1820s that obliged any boy working in commerce in Kiakhta to learn Russian (Skachkov 1977, 109). There are mentions of a dedicated Russian-language school in Kalgan with a special passing-out examination (Maksimov 1909, 277). Nevertheless, confirmation of such suggestions regarding government requirements for learning Russian cannot be found in Chinese sources and the present authors have had no success in seeking out printed dictionaries intended for use specifically in Kiakhta—all five vocabularies of Kiakhta trade pidgin known to us are handwritten.

The earliest textbook intended for the study of Russian in China, apart from the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin, is the grammar entitled *A Collection of Most Important Extracts Translated from Russian*[15] (Chin.: 俄羅斯繙譯捷要全書 (*Eluosi fanyi jie yao quanshu*; Manchu: *Oroslame ubaliambuha oiongo babe tuchibuhe ionii bithe*), a unique textbook that was one of the first attempts in the world to present a European language by means of Chinese and Manchu. This grammar, kept in the manuscript collection of the IOM RAS (*Ref.* No. *C-72*) was first mentioned by Paul Pelliot (1932, 109) in 1932 and then in 1963, Maiia Volkova (1963, 154-157) published a brief description of it. The grammar book was compiled to meet the needs of teaching in the School of the Russian Language (*Oluosi wenguan* 鄂羅斯文館) established in Beijing around 1705 attached to the State Chancellery (*Neige* 內閣) of the Qing Empire. The main part of the text is a translation of the grammar of Church Slavonic most commonly used in Russia up until the early 18th century—the *Grammatika slavenskiia pravilnoe sintagma,* published in 1619 by

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were mentioned in the notes by linguist Aleksandr Grigor'evich Shprintsin (1907-1974), who also provided a title of another aid: 清俄會論俱仝較正無訛 "A Full Collection of Chinese-Russian Conversations. Revised and Corrected, no Mistakes". Lithograph, no date of edition—by presence of the character 清 published before 1911 (National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 12, f. 5). The last mentioned edition the writers of this paper could not find, still the title of it should be 俱仝較正無訛清俄會話.

15   Russian: "Собрание важнейших извлечений, переведенных с русского языка".

Meletius Smotrytsky (ca. 1577–1633). The work of translating this book was begun
in the winter of 1738 by two teachers of the school, Illarion Rossokhin (1717–1751)
and the Manchu chancellor Fulohe. Together they produced ten manuscript
notebooks. In 1745, Aleksei Leont'ev (1716–1786) contined the translation and
added four notebooks more. Manuscript *C-72* contains translations of the
Etymology sections and parts of the Orthography and Syntax sections of
Smotrytsky's grammar.

The existence of such a textbook is an extremely interesting fact in the history
of the teaching of Russian in China, but we have found no direct evidence of this
grammar having any sort of influence on the learning of Russian by Maimaicheng
merchants. Evgenii Silin suggests that the first teachers of Russian in China may
have been Albazinians since until the appearance of Russian caravans and missions
in Beijing they performed the functions of interpreters (Silin 1947, 110). Sergei
Maksimov (1871, 581) indicated that the Chinese learnt the Russian trading
language in Kalgan from teachers drawn from the paupers "living on alms in
Kiakhta". There is evidence that for their part, Russian merchants, keen to give
the trade with China a broader and more organized character, made attempts to
learn the Chinese language and the Chinese merchant caste's system of trading
corporations, in order to create their own partnerships along similar lines
(Skachkov 1977, 86). The Maimaicheng Chinese sought to learn not only to speak
but also to write Russian, which some of them succeeded in doing quite well
(Osokin 1895, 44; Osokin 1906, 46).

Due to a large extent to the vocabularies compiled by the Chinese merchants
of Maimaicheng, the Kiakhta pidgin was destined to have a long existence. After
the conclusion of the Treaties of Tianjin (1858) and Beijing (1860), the geographical
area of Russo-Chinese bilateral trade expanded considerably and the Kiakhta
pidgin spread along the whole Kiakhta—Urga (Ulan Bator)—Beijing trade route
and along the Russian-Chinese frontier. From the late 19th century, the stabilized
Kiakhta pidgin was spoken over an area that embraced the whole of Manchuria
and since that time, there and subsequently across the entire Russian Far East, the
closely related Far Eastern Russo-Chinese pidgin came into use—a modified
version of the Kiakhta (Maimaicheng) pidgin adapted to modern circumstances.

In 1927, Aleksandr Georgievskii (1927), a professor of the State Far Eastern
University published a study of the Russian dialects of the Maritime Territory
that also devoted attention to the characteristics of the Russo-Chinese patois

(Gueorguievsky 1927). A valuable, but sadly unpublished source for research into this language is the field material gathered by Aleksandr Shprintsin, who in the summer and autumn of 1928 made a study of the dialect of the Chinese in Russia's Maritime Territory. His records were deposited in the Archives of Orientalists of the IOM RAS (*Razriad* (collection) one, inventory 1, units 267, 268), and in the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Russia (fund 1200). Among Shprintsin's materials in the National Library are extensive card indices, typewritten drafts of his diploma work "Main Grammatical Observations on the Chinese-Russian Dialect in the Far East" (1929)[16] and also a "Plan for a Monograph on the Chinese-Russian Dialect" (1931).[17]

In the most recent conditions of contact between the populations of Russia and China since the 1980s, more modern versions of a Russo-Chinese pidgin language are coming into being along the border (Oglezneva 2007, 35-52; Yang 2007, 67-74; Perekhval'skaia 2008).

5   *Contents of Kiakhta Pidgin Vocabularies*

The contents of the vocabularies of Kiakhta (Maimaicheng) pidgin at our disposal reflect the needs of trade and communication on an everyday level. The thematic divisions of the lexicons are based primarily on the classification of the objects of cross-border trade.

The most wide-ranging is vocabulary A, from the collection of the IOM RAS. It is divided into 20 sections:

1. Numbers 應數目等項第壹
2. Colours 應顏色等類第貳
3. Types of silk and satin fabrics 一應紬緞綾羅紗絹等類第三

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16   National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund   1200, unit   12. The Chinese-Russian

Dialect in the Far East (Preliminary Report) (58 ff.); unit   13 (80 ff.); unit 14 (104 ff.)

17   National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund   1200, unit   64 (21 ff.). According to

the plan of work for 1931, Shprintsin also intended preparing for print "texts in the Chinese-

Russian dialect" with transcription and a glossary. Shprintsin actually published only two papers

on the Russo-Chinese pidgin (Shprintsin 1932; Shprintsin 1968).

4. Types of coarse and fine cloth 各樣梭布平機類第肆

5. Names of teas, etc. 各樣茶名等類第伍

6. Types of fine and coarse furs 各樣粗細皮毛等類第陸

7. Birds, animals, insects, fish, etc. 各樣禽獸走獸蟲魚等類第七

8. Sky, earth, the calendar, etc. 天地年月日時等類第八

9. The town, outskirts, temples, roads, mountains, rivers, etc. 城郭廟宇道路山河等類第九

10. Rulers, civil and military officials, monks, demons and deities, people, etc. 帝王文武僧道鬼神人物類第拾

11. Relatives by blood and marriage, etc. 宗族親眷等類第拾壹

12. The body, appearance, aches and diseases, etc. 身體面目瘡疾第拾二

13. Types of clothing 衣服等類第拾三

14. State regulations and Russian national customs 回國土俗民情規矩類第（拾）四

15. Gold, silver, pearls, and other precious wares 金銀珠寶貨類第拾五

16. Weights and measures, types of goods, etc. 壹概尺寸件色箱等類第拾六

17. Minor goods, etc. 壹應零星貨物等類第拾柒

18. Cereals, vegetables, fruits, etc. 五穀菜蔬菓品類第拾捌

19. Learned words and expressions, etc. 學話提綱等類第拾九

[Section 20]. Russian geographical names and local wares 哦羅嘶國內地名並所出土產處.

In vocabularly B, in the collection of Saint Petersburg State University, which was evidently bound by a Russian (European?), the sections are mixed up, but the contents are in general the same as in vocabulary A. The first section is not marked out. It lacks a heading and is followed by the tenth: 各樣哈喇回布羽毛毯子回絨金線鏡子鐵頁第十號 ("Cloths, woollen carpets, velveteen, tinsel, mirrors, metal items").

Then come sections 2 to 9:

2. Town, temples, roads, mountains, rivers, etc. 城池廟宇道路山河類第二號

3. Rulers, civil and military officials, saints, persons, etc. 帝王文武僧道神鬼人物類第三號

4. Relatives by blood and marriage, fellow villagers, etc. 宗族親眷鄉黨類第四號

5. Parts of the body, appearance, illnesses, etc. 身體面目瘡疾患類第五號

6. Clothing, headwear, etc. 衣服冠帶類第六號

7. Colours, etc. 顏色類第七號

8. Names of different teas, etc. 各樣茶名類第八號

9. Different leather and fur goods, etc. 各樣皮毛貨類第九號.

The full content of the vocabularies was published with transcription and translation in 2017 (Popova and Takata 2017).

6   Basic Characteristics of Kiakhta Pidgin

6.1   On the history of Chinese pidgins

Chinese trade pidgins were formed on the basis of other languages as well as Russian. In Macao, where the Portuguese began to settle from the late 1500s, a creole language appeared that they used to communicate with the local Chinese population. The subsequent predominance of the British in the region led to the creole language that had developed on the basis of Portuguese transforming into Chinese Pidgin English through a process of relexification. This pidgin spread rapidly in many parts of China following the influx of British and American missionaries and traders. It particularly flourished in Shanghai, in the trading quarters along the Yangjingbang canal, as a result of which the local Chinese Pidgin English became known in Chinese as *Yangjingbang yingyu* 洋涇浜英語 ("Yangjingbang English").

The Chinese Pidgin Portuguese and the Chinese Pidgin English were written down in vocabularies and phrasebooks that were published in the form of small booklets for sale to the Chinese. These were printed from woodcut blocks and had a fairly wide circulation. In them, the way Portuguese and English words should be spoken was conveyed using Chinese characters following their Cantonese pronunciation. Isolated copies of such publications can now be found in the stocks of European libraries. Thanks to the surviving written sources, Chinese Pidgin English and the Portuguese creole language of Macao have by now been amply studied. Kiakhta pidgin meanwhile is not so well known due to the lack of printed evidence. This makes the three handwritten vocabularies in the collections of Russian libraries particularly valuable for the understanding of the phonetic, grammatical, and lexical peculiarities of this contact language.

Most influential and numerous among the Shanxi merchants of Maimaicheng was a clan of tea-traders surnamed Chang 常 from the Yuci county 榆次縣 (Liu 2001, 92-96).[18] The dialect that they spoke (sometimes called Bingzhou 幷州 from the old historical name of the area) belongs to the Shanxi (or Jin 晉) dialect of the Chinese language and evidently that was the predominant way of speaking among the Chinese of Maimaicheng during the heyday of Russo-Chinese cross-border trade.

The degree to which Shanxi dialect is a separate dialect from Northern Chinese remains a moot question (Hou 1995; Qiao 2008). Previously seven main dialects of the Chinese were identified: (1) Northern Chinese (Mandarin); (2) the Wu 吳 (including Shanghai) dialect; (3) the Gan 贛 (Jianxi) dialect; (4) the Xiang湘 (Hunan) dialect; (5) the Yue 粵 (Cantonese); (6) the Min 閩 (Fujian) dialect; and (7) the Hakka or Kejia 客家 dialect. In 2012, the second edition of the *Language Atlas of China*,[19] published by the Institute of Linguistics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, first included Shanxi (Jin 晉) dialect among the independent dialects of the Chinese language. The authors of the present publication believe this to be justified, considering the unarguably distinctive character of the said dialect.

6.2 On the phonetic features of the Taiyuan subdialect

The Chinese merchants transcribed words and phrases of our pidgin manuals according the sounds of a Shanxi (Jin) dialect. When reconstructing words, we drew upon a study of the phonetic system of the Taiyuan 太原 subdialect of the Shanxi dialect, as it is thoroughly studied rather than Yuci 榆次 subdialect. Therefore, it seems reasonable and expedient to take up subdialect of Taiyuan, the capital city of the Shanxi province, as a typical and representative source. As a branch of the Shanxi dialect, Taiyuan subdialect is quite different from the Chinese standard language in phonetics as well as in grammar and vocabulary, and

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18   Now part of the city of Jinzhong 晉中 to the north-west of Taiyuan, the capital of Shanxi province.

19   The first edition of *Zhongguo yuyan ditu ji* 中國語言地圖集 (Language Atlas of China) was published in 1987 by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in conjunction with the Australian Academy of the Humanities. The atlas reflects the linguistic situation in China as officially recognized by the authorities of the Chinese People's Republic.

it belongs to the same subgroup of the Shanxi dialect as the Yuci subdialect spoken in the home district of the Kiakhta traders.

There are 21 initial consonants in total, including Ø (zero), in the Taiyuan subdialect, which possesses two series of plosives and affricates: p, p' / t, t' / k, k' / ts, ts' / tɕ, tɕ', namely unaspirated and aspirated voiceless surds. In the same way as the standard Chinese, it lacks a series of voiced. Therefore, there are always difficulties in representing voiced consonants in foreign languages with the Chinese characters.

For the vowels in the Taiyuan subdialect, what attracts our attention at first sight, is the existence of two entering tones, upper and lower, which are the descendants of the *ru sheng* 入聲 of Middle Sinitic. These syllables were once closed by the final stops, –p, –t, –k and now weakened as a mere glottal stop [-ʔ] in Taiyuan. These syllables in abrupt tones are used generally for transcribing foreign short syllables. Taiyuan subdialect tones are five in number: the level tone, *ping sheng* 平聲; the rising tone, *shang sheng* 上聲; the departing tone, *qu sheng* 去聲; and besides the above mentioned, two entering tones. The reflection of the level, rising, and departing tones in the transcription is not clear.

Another peculiarity of the Taiyuan subdialect is that the final consonant –n is dropped in case the preceding vowels are front and high, regardless of being rounded or unrounded. We must pay careful attention to comprehend the phonetic feature in the interpretation of the transcriptions of the Russian words by the Chinese in Kiakhta. The syllables with the final –n and – ŋ are also dropped if the vowels are [æ] or [ɐ], but the preceding vowels are nasalized at the same time, and so the difference is not so big acoustically. On the other hand, the nasal final consonants –n and –ŋ are retained but merged into one –ŋ if the preceding vowels are [ə], [i], [u], [y]. The close-mid back unrounded vowel [ɣ] appears in place of [o] of the standard Chinese but works as the same practically in transcribing foreign words, in our case the Russian words of Kiakhta pidgin.

6.3 Dialect forms of the logographic characters

In the vocabularies of the Kiakhta we find obsolete demotic (vernacular) forms of characters that do not appear in lexicons of the modern Chinese language and are therefore very difficult to identify. At the same time, the precise way they should

be read is of fundamental significance for the phonetic reconstruction of the Kiakhta cross-border language.

Among the Chinese characters, the most frequently used to convey the sound of Russian words in the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin is 屄. The lexicon *Yu pian* 玉篇 ("The Jasper Book") gives its reading as 都穀切 (a cross between *dou* and *gou* = *tuk)—and meaning— "a demotic form of the character for *pig* 豚 (tun²)". Similarly, the lexicon *Guangyun* 廣韻 ("Extensive Rhymes") gives another meaning for the character 屄: "opening beneath the tail" (尾下竅也), which is identical to the meaning customary in the Jin dialect: "buttocks and anal orifice".[20] In the Taiyuan dialect, 屄 is read as *tuəʔ*. In B:16a-06, the Russian word for 祖父 ("grandfather")—*dedushka*—is transcribed as 借屄什坎 (*tɕie-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'æ˝*); while A:24b-02 conveys the same word in Chinese characters as 借獨什坎, with the same reading *tɕie-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'æ˝*. In the Taiyuan dialect, the character 獨 is read as *tuəʔ*, which confirms our hypothesis for the reading of 屄. The interchangeability of 屄 and 獨 is demonstrated by a number of other examples: in vocabulary B (B:16a-06), the word *matushka* ("mother") is transcribed as 麻屄什坎—*ma-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'æ˝*, while (B:16a-07) *tiotushka* ("aunt") becomes 叫屄什坎 (*tɕiau-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'æ˝*); whereas in dictionary A, we find 麻獨什坎 (*ma-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'æ˝* /A:24b-02) and 叫獨什坎 (*tɕiau-tuəʔ-səʔ-k'æ˝* /A:24b-04) respectively.

Another demotic character that occurs frequently is 煵. This may be a dialect variant of 瘪 [bie] "crumpled, to sag" as can be judged by the expression 杆子煵了 "the pipe has broken" (B:01a-06). In any case, its pronunciation must be *pie*, which is how it is used in the dictionaries of Kiakhta pidgin.

A dialect form of the character 蹄 [ti²] (meaning "hoof") — 兊—occurs twice in dictionary B: 釘(蹄)力 (*kəʔ-pei-tiəʔ*) "to shoe (a horse), a hoof" [Rus. *kopyto*] (B:11b-01), and 馬兊(蹄) (*pəʔ-tuəʔ-ko-vai*) "horseshoe(s)" [Rus. *podkova*] (B:11b-01). In the *Supplement to the Dictionary of Characters* (字彙補 *Zihui bu*), the similar character 兊 is accompanied by the explanation "an ancient way of writing the character 帝 [di4] ("emperor"). In the dictionary *The Mirror from the Dragon Niche* (龍龕手鏡 *Long kan shoujing*) the reading of another similar character 兊 is given as 帝 [di].

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20 Hou Jingyi and Wen Duanzheng (1993, 9) refer to the *Textbook of Dialect Characters* (*Fangyan za zi* 方言雜字) published in the early years of the Chinese Republic, in which the meaning of this character is given as "the opening from which excrement emerges" (*chu fen men ye* 出糞門也).

In the combinations 你吹(認) (*ti γo-tiəʔ-kəʔ-tai*) "you guess" (imperative) [Rus. *ty otgadai*] (B:09b-01) and 吹(認) 見 了 (*u-kəʔ-tai*) "guess" (imperative) [*ugadai*] (B:09b-01), the character 吹 is, in all probability, a variant way of writing 認 [ren] since it is very similar to the modern simplified version of the character—認.

The character 扥 that occurs frequently in vocabulary A is nothing but a demotic form of 把 [ba], which in B is used in its usual form, for example in 把什年 (*pa-səʔ-nie*), meaning "tower" [Rus. *bashnia*] (B:13b-05).

6.4 Peculiarities of conveying the sound of Russian words

In the majority of cases, the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin use one and the same set of Chinese characters to phonetically convey the syllables of the Russian language.[21] It is, however, sometimes difficult to determine how they should be pronounced since one and the same character can represent two or three different phonemes. Most revealing in this regard are the characters 吔 and 艮.

The character 吔 with the Shanxi dialect reading *γo* is mainly used to transcribe Russian words with an initial vibrant *r*, which, as is well known, does not exist in Chinese and for which a native speaker of that language requires a prefixed vowel:

哦羅棒子 *γo-luo-pɐ̃-tsɪ* "worker" [Rus. *rabotnik*; Chin. 長工] (B:15a-03; C:10a-03)

五路史坎 *u-ləu-sɪ-kʼæ̃* "Russian (masculine/feminine)" [Rus. *russkaia*] (A:9b-05, A:13a-04, A:22a-03; B:19b-07, B:20a-05; C:22a-03 and more)

哦路日 *γo-ləu-zəʔ*, 哦羅日 *γo-luo-zəʔ* "face" [Rus. *rozha*; Chin. 雲, 臉] (B:13a-02, B:16b-06).

The character 哈 [*xaˈ*] is also used as a prefix for an initial *r*:

哈而杜地 *xa-ər-tu-ti* "mercury" [Rus. *rtutʼ*; Chin. 水銀] (B:01b-08)

哈拉史 *xa-la-sɪ* "(one) time, occasion" [Rus. *raz*; Chin. 壹遍] (B:02a-02)

The character 吔 can also be read as *ie* and is used to convey the Russian *r* sound[22] when followed by the vowels *e, u* or *ɯ* [*e, i* or *y*].

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21 The compilers (or copiers) of the different vocabularies did have their own preferences. For example, to represent the sound *u* [Rus. *y*], vocabularies A and C favour 悞 *wu*, while B uses 勿 *wu*.

22 In some instances, 吔 is also used to convey the *e* sound. For example, 吔力世內 *ie-lieʔ-sɪ-nuei*

吔力各地兒 *ie-liəʔ-kəʔ-ti-ər* "rector" [Rus. *rektor*; Chin. 閣兒] (B:13b-04)

吔力昔, 吔力細 *ie-liəʔ-ɕi, ie-liəʔ-ɕiəʔ* "lynx" [Rus. *rysʼ*; Chin. 猞力猻] (B:20a-04; C:23a-01)

吔力的坎 *ie-liəʔ-tiəʔ-k'æ˞* "rarely" [Rus. *redko*; Chin. 稀少] (B:08b-09)

吔煉蔔 *ie-lie-pəʔ* "turnip" [Rus. *repa*; Chin. 蔓菁] (A:41a-03)

吔的古不世克 *ie-tiəʔ-ku-pəʔ-sɿ-k'əʔ* "trader, dealer" [Rus. *perekupshchik*; Chin. 商人] (B:14b-09).

At the same time the character 吔 was used in the vocabularies to transcribe the Russian combination *ne*, which may seem strange at first. We should, however, take into account that in the Taiyuan subdialect there is a syllabic reading of this same character: *nie*. Besides, the *nie* sound is also associated with another character, �, which is visually similar to 吔, being made up of the radical 口 and the phonetic component 乜 [niè]. The *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* (*Xiandai Hanyu cidian*, 現代漢語詞典) gives the following meanings for 乜: (1) slanting, sloping; (2) the name of an ethnic group. Besides, in the Shanxinese dialect the character 乜 is used to designate a nearby object in a three-term system of demonstrative pronouns (Wang 2007, 50-52). The pronunciation is given as *miē* for the first meaning and *niè* for the second. The dictionary *Guangyun* 廣韻 gives the reading 彌也切 only for the second meaning, which theoretically should correspond to miè, but in actual fact it transmutes to niè, possibly as the result of the palatalization of the indistinct initial sound. Thus, in our dictionaries the character 吔 should be read as *nie*, in the same way as 啮:

吔蜜史坎捧不力 *nie-miəʔ-sɿ-k'æ˞ p'əŋ-pəʔ-liəʔ* "European beaver" [Rus. *nemetskii* [literally "German"] *bobr*; Chin. 咼蓋水皮] (B:19b-08)

吔蜜鰾史坎裡細子 *nie-miəʔ-p'iau-sɿ-k'æ˞ li-ɕi-tsɿ* "German (i.e. foreign) fox" [Rus. *nemetskaia lisa*; Chin. 小白狐皮] (B:19b-08)

吔蜜史坎 *nie-miəʔ-sɿ-k'æ˞* "German (i.e. foreign) [cloth]" [Rus. *nemetskoe*; Chin. 金邊哈洛 (B:03a-05)

吔力（刀）[23]票史坎 *nie-tau-p'iau-sɿ-k'æ˞* "Arctic fox" [Rus. *nedopiosok*; Chin. 小毛白狐皮] (A:9b-03)

吔蜜史坎波不力 *nie-miəʔ-sɿ-k'æ˞ po-pəʔ-liəʔ* "European beaver" [Rus. *nemetskii* [literally "German"] *bobr*; Chin. 鍋蓋水皮] (A:9b-04)

"superfluous" [Rus. *lishnii*] (A:63a-03) and 吔煉伏 (*ie-lie-fəʔ*) "drying oil" [Rus. *olifa*] (B:03b-09).

23   The character 力 *li* here clearly should have been 刀 *dao*.

吧力史坎未的兒*nie-liəʔ-sɿ-k'æ˜ vei-tiəʔ-ər* "Nerchinsk otter" [Rus. *nerchinskaia vydra*; Chin. 正板水皮] (A:9b-05).

The character 艮 is evidently a variant of 銀 [yin] (Old Chin. *ŋǐěn*; *Guangyun*: 語巾切) and in that demotic form it was recorded fairly earlier, among other places, in a Yuan dynasty publication 古今雜劇 (*Gujin zaju*, "Ancient and Modern Drama") (Liu and Li 1930, 97). In one of our vocabularies the first character in the word 銀匠 ("silversmith") is written as 艮 (C:10a-04).

In the Taiyuan subdialect the literary reading (*wen du* 文讀) of 艮 should be *iŋ*, although it can also be read as *niŋ*. It is known that in early times some characters with an initial *ŋ* were pronounced in a vernacular reading (*bai du* 白讀) without the initial consonant and this was common particularly in the south of China (Shen 1994, 4). We can surmise that this was also a feature of the Shanxi (Jin) dialect. Moreover, it has been established that in ancient times the inhabitants of Bingzhou and other places speaking this dialect of Chinese, pronounced the sound *ŋ* as *ŋg* (Qiao 2008, 265). Later this pronunciation may have been supplanted by a plosive consonant and modified to *ŋᶻiŋ*. Therefore 艮 should be read as *niŋ* ~*iŋ* or even as *ŋᶻiŋ* in certain cases; and this character has a very wide range of readings in our dictionaries.

Most often in the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin the character 艮 stands for the vernacular *niŋ*:

西艮各 *ɕi-niŋ-kəʔ* "snow" [Rus. *sneg*; Chin. 雪] (B:13a-02, B:13a-04)

西艮 *ɕi-niŋ* "snow" [Rus. *sneg*; Chin. 雪] (A:17a-01)

地艮 *ti-niŋ* "melon" [Rus. *dynia*; Chin. 甜瓜] (B:04a-06)

不尺定艮 *pəʔ-ts'əʔ-tiŋ-niŋ* "respectful" [Rus. *pochtitel'nyi*; Chin. 請安力] (B:07a-01)

洞艮坎 *tuŋ-niŋ-k'æ˜* "thin, fine" [Rus. *tonen'kii [tonkii]*; Chin. 細的] (A:42b-03; B:10a-01)

居艮 *tɕy-niŋ* "bale [of cloth]" [Rus. *tiun'*; Chin. 壹甬] (A:31b-04; B:01b-08; C:19b-02)

定艮十坎 *tiŋ-niŋ-səʔ-k'æ˜* "[half-kopeck] coin, money" [Rus. *denezhka*; Chin. 半個] (A:2b-05)

定艮 *tiŋ-niŋ* "shadow" [Rus. *ten'*; Chin. 人影子] (A:75b-01)

義艮 *i-niŋ* "hoarfrost" [Rus. *inei*; Chin. 霜] (A:17a-01)

史當兒艮坎 *sı-kau-ər-niŋ-k'æ̃* "furrier" [Rus. *skorniak*; Chin. 毛兒匠] (A:24a-
05)

艮昧 *niŋ-me,* 艮罵 (*niŋ-ma*) "dumb, mute" [Rus. *nemoi*; Chin. 啞子] (A:23a-04;
C:11a-04)

西艮染染池 *ɕi niŋ-zæ̃-zæ̃-tsʹı* "with respect" [Rus. *s nizhaishim [poklonom]*];
Chin. 領情] (A:64a-04).

A curious example of the use of the character 艮 is its employment for the word
den' [gen. *dnia*] ("day").

笑文艮 *ɕiau-vəŋ-niŋ* "today" [Rus. *segodnia*; Chin. 今日] (A:18b-03, A:68a-03,
A:70b-03, A:71b-04; B:13a-08; C:4a-01)

的利吊文艮 *tiəʔ-li-tɕyuŋ-vəŋ niŋ, tiəʔ-li-tiau-vəŋ niŋ* "the day before yesterday"
[Rus. *tret'evogo dnia*; Chin. 前日] (A:18b-04; B:13a-09; C:4a-02).

Native speakers of Chinese have difficulty trying to reproduce the cluster of
consonants in such combinations as *–dnia* and will replace it with *–nia* which is
simpler for them. They are also more accustomed to using one and the same form
艮*niŋ* for day without indication of case or number. In the following examples the
cluster *–dni/dnii* is replaced by *–ni/nii*.

昔利艮吳裡子 *ɕiəʔ-li-niŋ u-li-tsı* "middle/central street" [Rus. *sredniaia ulitsa*;
Chin. 中街] (A:19a-04; B: 13b-05; C: 6a-02)

不昔利艮史勞旺 *pəʔ-ɕiəʔ-li-niŋ sı-lau-vɐ̃* "final words" [Rus. *poslednie slova*;
Chin. 話說盡了] (A: 76a-05).

There is also an instance of 艮 to be read as *iŋ* as is standard for the Taiyuan
locality:

艮邊而 *iŋ-pie-ər* "ginger" [Rus. *imbir'*; Chin. 閩薑] (A:40a-05).

The vocabularies contain a number of examples of a non-standard reading of 艮
to represent syllables beginning with *g, k,* or *ka,* that is to say, in a phonetic form
differing from its dialect version *niŋ*. Such instances evidently reference the
reading of 艮 with an initial plosive consonant [*ŋᵍ*], which brings the dialectal
reading close to the original literary *gèn* that derives from the name of the seventh
of eight trigrams of the *I Ching*.

勿浪艮 *vəʔ-lɐ̃-kəŋ* "funnel" [Rus. *voronka*; Chin. 憑針 (A:8a-02).

At the same time the pronunciation of each word was considerably modified in keeping with Chinese phonetic conventions. (This aspect had long been noted by everyone who at any time recorded or studied the lexemes of Kiakhta pidgin.)[24]

鬧各 *nau-kəʔ* "much, many" [Rus. *mnogo*: the *m* is omitted] (A:66a-05, A:67b-03; B: 05a-07)[25]

錄抱各 *luəʔ-pau-kəʔ* "deep" [Rus. *glubokii*: the *g* is omitted] (A:52a-01)

史哥而哥夜史 *sɪ-ko-ər-ko ie-sɪ* "however much there is" [Rus. *skoľko est'*: the soft *t* at the end is omitted] (B:05a-07)

惧麻念㞦 *u-ma nie-tuəʔ* "senseless, stupid" [from the Rus. phrase *uma net* with the addition of *u*] (B:07b-03)

Again for ease of pronunciation, the *-skii*, *-skaia*, *-skoe* endings of Russian adjectives are reduced everywhere to a single form: 史坎 *-sɪ-k'æ˜*, which Russians who spoke Kiakhta pidgin reproduced as *-ska* (*-ска*):

哦不史坎鰾克 *ɣo-pəʔ-sɪ-k'æ˜ p'iau-k'əʔ* "Ob squirrel" [Rus. *obskaia belka*; Chin. 二白灰鼠皮] (A:10b-03)

必利史坎 *piəʔ-li-sɪ-k'æ˜* "close" [Rus. *blizkii*; Chin. 近] (A:44b-01)

南京史坎少克 *næ˜-tɕiŋ-sɪ-k'æ˜ sau-k'əʔ* "Nanking silk" [Rus. *nankinskii shiolk*; Chin. 南衣線] (A:6b-01)

五路史坎波不力 *u-ləu-sɪ-k'æ˜-po-pəʔ-liəʔ* "Russian beaver" [Rus. *russkii bobr*; Chin. 長毛水皮] (A:9b-05).

The 史坎 *-sɪ-k'æ˜* ending is also used in words denoting people, states, and ethnicities, which might take the form of an adjective:

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24 Regarding the peculiarities of pronunciation by the Maimaicheng Chinese, Georgii Osokin, for example, wrote: "In the majority of cases the stress in words is shifted and one also comes across many words in which the endings have been altered or extra letters inserted. Finally, many words are completely changed and distorted to the point of becoming unrecognizable. The Chinese generally considered the study of conversational Russian difficult, especially as they are virtually unable to pronounce certain letters and sounds correctly. In their letter *r* one hears two sounds – *rl*; they can hardly pronounce a soft *l*; they often replace *k* with a *ch* sound and in general they replace very many sounds arbitrarily and in the way that is easiest for them." (Osokin 1906, 59).

25 The form 木鬧各 *məʔ-nau-kəʔ* also occurs (A:42a-05; B:10a-06).

哈幾牙史坎, 哈之牙史坎 *xa-tɕi-ia-sɪ-k'æ˘*, *xɐ-tsɪ-ia-sɪ-k'æ˘* "owner, proprietor", by extension "the Qing State, China" [Rus. *khoziain*; Chin. 大清國] (A:20b-02; B:14a-04, B:14a-05; C:8a-05).

高幹史坎 *kau-kæ˘-sɪ-k'æ˘* Kalgan (Zhangjiakou, 張家口) (A:20b-04; C:20b-04) 滿 洲 兒 史 坎 *mæ˘-tsəu-ər-sɪ-k'æ˘* "Manchu" (noun and adjective) [Rus. *man'chzhur(skii)*; Chin. 旗人, 縣人][26] (A:22a-03; B:15a-02; C:9b-02).

It is noteworthy that when dealing with homonyms in the Russian language, the Chinese tried to find different characters for the transcriptions:

The Russian adjective *tonkii*, which has the twin senses of "artful, well made" (Chin. 細的) and "thin, not dense", is transcribed in the vocabularies as 洞艮 坎 *tuŋ-niŋ-k'æ˘* (B:09b-09) and 洞坎 *tuŋ-k'æ˘* (B:10a-01) respectively;

gorkii in the meanings of "bitter, tart" (Chin. 苦的) and "spicy, pungent" (Chin. 辣的) by 個兒坎 *ko-ər-k'æ˘* and 個力坎 *ko-liəʔ-k'æ˘* (B:04a-04);

"wheat flour" (*pshenichnaia muka*, 口白麵) and "bean flour" (*gorokhovaia muka*, 口豆麵) by 木嚇 *məʔ-xa* and 木各 *məʔ-kəʔ* (B:04b-02) respectively;

tolstyi in the meaning of "thick, coarse" (Chin. 粗的) and "fat, thick" (Chin. 討 素太) by 討素太 *t'au-su-t'ai* (B:09b-09) and 道史達 *tau-sɪ-taʔ* (B:10a-01).

At the same time, one and the same transcription is sometimes used for words with completely different meanings:

面昔子 *mie-ɕiəʔ-tsɪ* for "month" [Rus. *mesiats*; Chin. 月] (A:16b-04) and "together" [Rus. *vmeste*; Chin. 相跟著] (A:45a-03)

迷力彥 *mi-liəʔ-ie* for "million" [Rus. *million*; Chin. 百萬] (A:2b-04) and "the grain/pattern on leather"[27] [Rus. *mereia*; Chin. 花紋] (C:23a-04)

鬧各 *nau-kəʔ* for "much, many" [Rus. *mnogo*; Chin. 多少] (A:66a-05 and elsewhere) and "leg, foot" [Rus. *noga*; Chin. 足] (B:17a-01; C:14b-01)

謝洛 *ɕie-luəʔ* for "hay" [Rus. *seno*; Chin. 黃草, 草] (A:20b-02, A:34b-05), "strength" [Rus. *sila*; Chin. 力氣] (A:26b-03) and "raw" [Rus. *syroi*; Chin. 生的] (A:43a-05).

Many words in the vocabularies are given in a form phonetically very close to the Russian: 蘑羅個 *mo-luo-ko* (*moloko*, "milk") (B:04b-03); 把拉古兒 *pa-la-ku-ər* (*balagur*, "joker, jester") (B:05b-04); 古西 *ku-ɕi* (*gusi*, "geese") (B:11b-04); 哦

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26   旗人 *qiren*—"banner man", i.e. a man assigned to the banner forces of the Qing state; 縣人 *xianren*—head of a district, minor official.

27   A:13a-02 gives as a synonym the word "grass" 淂拉伏坎 *tiəʔ-la-fəʔ-k'æ˘* [Rus. *travka*].

定 γo-tiŋ (*odin*, "one") (repeatedly); 六地 *liəu-ti* (*liudi*, "people") (repeatedly) and more.

6.5   Vocabulary

6.5.1   Lexical forms of Shanxi dialect

Among the lexemes included in the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin we find many forms exclusive to the Shanxi dialect. Many of them do not appear in dictionaries of modern Chinese. For example, for the Chinese words in vocabularies frequent use is made of the character 圪 (*kə*ʔ), a common prefix in the Shanxi dialect, forming a noun, verb, adjective, numeral, or onomatopoeia without any particular meaning (Hou and Wen 1993, 98; Shen 1994, 277):

圪肘 (B:17a-09; C:15a-03) "elbow"

圪摺 (B:17b-01), 老圪摺 (A:27a-05) "wrinkled"

圪塔 (A:37b-02; B:18a-01) "boil", "bundle"

圪洞 (A:21a-01)[28] "hole, pit"

圪洞子車 B:11a-08) "deck chair"

繩子圪達 (B:12a-04) "bundle (on a cord)"

圪膝 (C:15a-03) "knee"

圪葡 (C:15b-01) "to foretell".

The vocabularies contain some very rare words belonging to the Shanxi dialect. In modern standard Chinese 刮地 (B:16b-03) or 刮弟(地) (A:25a-05) literally means "a place open to the wind", but in the Shanxi dialect it means "an illegitimate child" (*Hanyu fangyan zihui*, vol.   3, 3417).

牛眼骨 in modern standard Chinese would literally mean something like "cow-eyed bone"; in the Shanxi dialect the combination refers to the ankle joint (*Hanyu fangyan cihui*, vol.   1, 802). In vocabulary B two equivalents are given for this word: 浪克 *lĕˉ-k'əʔ* from the Russian *rak (?)*—"crayfish" and 昧史各 *mei-sɪ-kəʔ* from *myshka* "mouse" (B:17a-09).

倒插 in modern standard Chinese means "to place upside down"; in the Shanxi dialect it has the meaning "trouser pocket" and its equivalent in one of the Kiakhta vocabularies is transcribed as 趕力罵坎 *kæˉ-liəʔ-ma-k'æˉ* from the Russian *karman* (A:28b-03).

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28   B:14a-07 replaces 圪 with 地 (=洞), which accords with standard Chinese.

The expression 後頭 "later" (C:4a-05) is a dialect form.[29]

6.6 Ethnographic elements

The lexical foundation of Kiakhta pidgin is made up of elements drawn from Russian and it was a specifically Chinese Pidgin Russian or the Kiakhta trading pidgin of the Russian language. The majority of Russian words also appear in the vocabularies in vernacular forms. One can find some quite curious instances of the inclusion of local dialect expressions, many of which came into use in the 18th century if not earlier (Maiorov 2011).

The choice of Chinese lexico-semantic variants to convey the meaning of the Russian words gives a number of interesting examples for the study of perception of different culture.

The expression 過年力 "to see in the New Year" is translated in the vocabularies as 臥昔利定內 *vo-ciəʔ-li-tiŋ-nuei*, 臥昔利內定 *vo-ciəʔ-li-nuei tiŋ*, 不旺昔力內定 *pəʔ-vɐˉ-ciəʔ-liəʔ-nuei tiŋ* (A:19a-01; B:13b-01; C:3b-03), all deriving from *Vasiľev den'* or similar expressions meaning Saint Basil's Day.[30] 神公報下水 "God orders to enter the water" is the explanation of the term 各力甚泥牙 *kəʔ-liəʔ-səŋ-ni-ia* from *kreshchenie*—"baptism".

開疋天地 "turning of heaven and earth" is the translation given for 惧則嚇兒內, 吳則嚇兒內 *u-tsəʔ-xa-ər-nuei*, referring to Saint Zacharias' Day (*Zakhanyi*)—5 September (Julian calendar)—a mid-autumn feast (A:19a-01; B:13b-01).

太極圖, the name of a Chinese cosmological diagram divided into *yin* and *yang*, is used to explain 入煉 *zuəʔ-lie*, "earth" [Rus. *zemlia*] (B:14a-09) and 善爾 *sæˉ-ər* "globe, sphere" [Rus. *shar*] (C:7b-01), which means "map".

換鷄蛋日子 "the day when hens' eggs are exchanged" is the gloss for 合力史道史內定 *xəʔ-liəʔ-sɪ-tau-sɪ-nuei tiŋ* "Easter" [Rus. *khristosny den'*, i.e. the day when people exchange the greeting "*Khristos voskres!*"—"Christ is risen!"] (B:12b-04).

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29 Compare 咱們後頭再商量—"We will discuss later" (Xinzhou (a city in Shanxi) dialect) (*Hanyu fangyan zihui*, vol. 2, 2084).

30 The feast day of Saint Basil (Basil the Great, Basil of Caesarea, 330–379) falls on 1 January in the Julian calendar and so it was New Year's Day in pre-revolutionary Russia.

出水的日子 "Saviour Day" 史罷史定 *sɿ-pa-sɿ tiŋ* [Rus. *Spas-denʹ*], 1 August (Julian calendar), the feast of the Procession of the Holy Cross, which includes the "Lesser Blessing of the Waters" (B:13b-02).

走了水 "run for water" is used to explain 不讓兒 *pəʔ-zɐˇ-ər* "fire" [Rus. *pozhar*] (B:11a-04).

蔴包 "cloth bag, cloth cover" is the gloss for 爐罷什坎 *ləu-pa-səʔ-kʹæˇ* "shirt" [Rus. *rubashka*] (B:12a-05).

坐子 "seat" is used to translate 納不利 *naʔpəʔ-li* "on the floor" [Rus. *na polu*] (A:33b-03).

6.7 Chinese Loanwords

The Kiakhta pidgin vocabularies also reflect Chinese words that found their way into local Russian vernacular speech:

ganza (ганза)—pidgin 幹子 *kæˇ-tsɿ* (B:01a-05), a Chinese type of tobacco pipe 煙袋 with a metal mouthpiece and bowl [from Chin. 桿子 *ganzi* meaning "stick"]

inzili (инцзили)—pidgin 陰吉利 *iŋ-tɕiəʔ-li* (A:03a-06), "English" [from Chin. 英國 *yingguo* "England"]

kanfa (канфа)—pidgin 幹府 *kæˇ-fu* (Chin. 大貢緞) (A:05b-04, B:01a-07) "inwrought silk of high quality"; cf. Turk. **qaŋpa,* etc. Evidently the word derives from 貢賦 *gongfu* "tribute", as in Antiquity and Middle Ages silk was a main product for Chinese to ransom from Turks, narrowing them on boarders

piagla (nёгла)—pidgin 票各浪 *pʹiau-kəʔ-lɐˇ* (Chin. 嫖子) (A:23a-02; B:15a-09) "prostitute" or else "thief" (B:17b-05) [from Chin. 嫖客 *piaoke*, "a visitor to brothels; a habitué of dens of iniquity"]. In one vocabulary (B:16a-01), the pidgin term 票各浪 is also used to translate 土條(逃)子, which means "runaway, escaped" and is apparently connected etymologically with a Russian word with the same meaning *beglyi (беглый).*

purzhui-khao-chai (*пуржуй-хао-чай*)—pidgin 波而屇號才 *po-ər-tuəʔ-hau tsʹai* (Chin. 帽盒茶) (B:19a-07) "puer tea" [from Chin. 普洱 *puʹer,* 號 hao "brand, number" and 茶 cha (or Rus. *chai*) "tea"]

saveko (савеко)—pidgin 上未坎 *sɐˇ-vei-kʹæˇ* (Chin. 眼泡) (B:17b-05) "upper eyelid" [from Chin. 上 shang "upper" and Rus. *veko* "eyelid"]

saogan' (*саоганъ*)—pidgin 哨幹 *sau-kæ˜* (Chin. 說荒(謊)) (B:08a-05) "to lie, tell untruths" [from Chin. 撒謊 sahuang "to lie"]

siiashka (*сияшка*)—pidgin 西洋史坎 *ɕi-iɐ˜-sɿ-k'æ˜* (Chin. 番板)(B:9b-05; B:19b-07; C:22a-04) "foreign" [from Chin. 西洋 *xiyang* "Western"]

sen molit'sia (*сэн молиться*)—pidgin 神磨利之 *sǝŋ-mo-li-tsɿ* (Chin. 叩頭) (A:52a-05) "to pray/swear to God" [from Chin. 神 *shen* "deity, spirit"]

us (*yc*) —pidgin 悞糸 *u-sɿ* a five-thread fabric[31] [from Chin. 五絲緞 *wu si duan* "five-thread satin"] (A:5b-04)

tsignyi (*цигныий*)—pidgin 奇艮內 *tɕ'i-kǝŋ-nuei* (Chin. 磁器) (B:03b-06) "porcelain"; (Chin. 假) (A:31a-01, A:42b-01) "artificial" [from Chin. 磁 *ci* "porcelain"]

shankhai (*шанхай*)—pidgin 上海 *sɐ˜-xai* (B:01b-04) or *da shankhai ta sɐ˜-xai* 大上海 (A:7a-03) [from Chin. 大上海 *da shanghai* "big Shanghai", a type of nankeen.

The Russian word *moshennik* (*мошенник*)[32] with the standard meaning of "fraud, swindler" is given a curious treatment in our vocabularies. It becomes connected with the supernatural forces of evil, evidently by association with the Chinese 毛神 *maoshen* "hairy devil": 忙什泥坎 *mɐ˜-sǝʔ-ni-k'æ˜* "devil, demon" 毛鬼神 (A:23a-01); 毛什泥各 *mau-sǝʔ-ni-kǝʔ* "evil spirit" 妖精 (B:15a-08, B:15b-07). Evidently it was in this meaning that the word was used in Maimaicheng.

Overall there are not many borrowings from Chinese in Kiakhta pidgin. Researchers into Kiakhta pidgin have previously repeatedly noted the presence of Mongolic loanwords in it and this is borne out by our vocabularies. There are also correspondences with Tungusic languages. The vocabularies also contain hybrid forms that have long since been noted, taking the form of a combination of a Russian verbal root and the Mongol suffix of the non-past participle *–khu* (*<qu*).

6.8 Grammatical characteristics

The vocabularies give an idea not only of the lexical features of Kiakhta pidgin but also of its grammatical peculiarities.

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31   *Us* was a thick fabric of inferior sort plain woven from raw or semi-raw silk.

32   This word itself derives from *moshna*, meaning "pouch" or "purse" (Dal' 1978, 355; Vasmer 1986-1987, vol. 2, 667).

Two particles are used as a verbal suffix indicating the completion of an action: 了 *liao* {ляо} and 力 *liəʔ* {лу}. In the Shanxi dialect, as in Standard Chinese, the character 了 is used both as a verbal suffix indicating the completion of an action and as a modal particle. In the first instance it is pronounced *le*; in the second *liao*. It is difficult to say why the vocabularies of pidgin use 了 as the verbal suffix in some cases and 力 in others.

> 吐力 "to spit, expectorate" *pəʔ-liəʔ-va-tiəʔ* 不力凹淂 [Rus. *plevat'*] (A:27a-03; B:17a-06)
>
> 到了 "to arrive" (infinitive and past tense) *pəʔ-liəʔ-sau* 不力少 [Rus. *prishol*] (B:05b-02)
>
> 完了 "to finish" (infinitive and past tense) *kuŋ-ts'a-la* 公叉拉 (A:62a-02); 公叉 *kuŋ-ts'a* (B:05b-07) [Rus. *konchala, kontsa*]
>
> 來了 "to arrive" (infinitive and past tense) *pəʔ-liəʔ-sau* / *pəʔ-liəʔ-iŋ-xəu* 不力少 / 不力應侯 [Rus. *prishol* / *hriekhal*] (A:42a-02; B:05b-09)
>
> 忘了 "to forget" (infinitive and past tense) *tsəʔ-pu-la* 則布拉 [Rus. *zabyla*] (A:44a-02; B:06a-04).

At the same time 力 is also used to convey the imperative:

> 治力 "treat [an illness]" *pəʔ-liəʔ-ts'ı* 不力池 [Rus. *polechi*] (A:27a-02; B:17a-05)
>
> 放炮力 "shoot [a weapon]" *paʔ-li* 八利 [Rus. *pali*] (A:64b-01)
>
> 拉貨力 "transport the good" *tuəʔ-va-ər pu-vei-tɕi* 启瓦而布未計 [Rus. *tovar povezi*] (A:65a-02; B:05b-04)
>
> 兌賬力 "settle affairs, pay up" *tiəʔ-lɐ̆ li-sı* 淂浪利史 [Rus. *dela reshi*] (B:05b-05)
>
> 過秤力 "weigh" *pəʔ-vei-ɕi* 不未西 [Rus. *poves'*] (B:05a-08)
>
> 走力 "go" *pəʔ-xo-ti* 不何地 [Rus. *pokhodi*] (B:06a-03).

Besides 力 and 了, the participle 拉 *la* appears in the vocabularies too. It evidently also corresponds to the verbal suffix 了 indicating the completion of an action in Standard Chinese:

> 晴拉 "[it] cleared up" *pəʔ-luo-ia-sı-ni-lɐ̆* 不羅牙史泥郎 [Rus. *proiasnilo*] (A:17a-05; B:13a-03)
>
> 凍拉 "to freeze [to death]" *tsəʔ-miau-ər-sı* 則廟兒史 [Rus. *zamiorz*] (A:20a-01; B:13b-09)
>
> 燒拉 "to burn thorough" *pəʔ-luo-zɐ̆-kəʔ* 不羅讓各 [Rus. *prozhog*] (A:50a-05; B:09b-06).

In contrast to its vocabulary, the grammatical foundation of Kiakhta pidgin is Chinese. The most striking manifestation of this characteristic is the use of typical Chinese word order in a sentence, in particular the *affirmative-negative question* (反復問句 *fanfu wenju*).

地未力念未力 *ti vei-liə? nie vei-liə?* "you believe, don't believe" [believe it or not] [Chin. 你信不信 *ni xin buxin*] (A:69b-04)

笑文艮布地念布地 *ɕiau-vəŋ-iŋ pu-ti nie pu-ti* "Will he come back today?" (literally "Today, will be, won't be?") [Rus. *segodnia budet ne budet*; Chin. 今日回來不回來 *jinri huilai bu huilai*] (A:68a-03)

未兒內念未兒內 *vei-ər-nuei nie vei-ər-nuei* "Is that correct [of a calculation]?" (literally "correct, incorrect?") [Rus. *vernyi-nevernyi*; Chin. 對不對, 兌不兌 *dui bu dui?*] (A:67a-05).

Contact languages spoken in China used possessive pronouns instead of personal pronouns in the nominative. This was a characteristic of both Chinese Pidgin Portuguese and English, and also the Macanese creole language. The possessive pronoun *minha*[33] is used in Macanese creole and *my* in Chinese Pidgin English. Something similar to this phenomenon can be observed in Kiakhta pidgin.

The pronoun *I* [Chin. 我] is expressed as 門牙 *məŋ-ia* in the meanings of the Russian *moia* (first person singular feminine possessive pronoun) and *menia* (first person singular pronoun genitive case).

The pronoun *you* (singular) [Chin. 你] is expressed as 地白 / 地伯 *ti-piə?*[34] in the meanings of the Russian *tebe* (second person singular pronoun dative case) и *tebia* (second person singular pronoun genitive case).

However, the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin also use the form 牙 *ia* for the first person singular pronoun [Rus. *ia*] and 地 *ti* for the second person singular pronoun [Rus. *ty*].

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33 *Minha*, the feminine form, was the only one used in Macanese creole, although in Portuguese itself there is also a masculine form—*meu*.

34 In this word the character 白, like the alternative 伯, is read as *piə?* in keeping with the vernacular form, but there are other instances in the dictionaries of its literary reading *pai* being used, such as 告白 *kao-pai* "abscess, boil"; 白煉子 *pai-lie-tsɿ* "finger (white radish)"; 古路白 *ku-ləu-pai* "light blue"; 白各 *pai-kə?* "baize"/ "anecdote".

The materials hitherto published on Siberian pidgins record the existence of the form *tvoia* (the feminine possessive) instead of *ty*, but 地白—*tebe* is not a match for that form.[35]

The form 門牙 (*menia*) in the meaning of *I* occurs twice in vocabulary B:

門牙下克启瓦而不而代 *məŋ-ia ɕia-k'əʔ tuəʔ-va-ər pəʔ-ər-tai* "I have/sell all sorts of goods" [Chin. 我賣的是褸貨] (B:05a-05)

門牙杜梅念朝旺 *məŋ-ia tu-mei nie-tsʼau-vɐ˞* "I don't know" [Chin. 我不是想甚] (B:06a-02).

In all other cases in B 牙 (*ia*) is used for the first person singular pronoun. In vocabulary A 牙 is used for the nominative case of the pronoun and 門牙 for the oblique cases:

地則不拉門牙 *ti tsəʔ-pəʔ-la məŋ-ia* "you forgot me/ you owe me" [Chin. 你賠我的] (A:49a-01)

地門牙史嚇之外 ti *məŋ-ia sɿ-xa-tsɿ-vai ti* "You tell me/ Let me know" [Chin. 你告與我] (A:69b-05)

地門牙念數什 *ti məŋ-ia nie su-səʔ* "You weren't listening to me" [Chin. 你不聽我] (A:70a-05)

久納笑哦定利六地不兒代不失道門牙念不兒代 *tɕiəu-naʔ ɕiau ɣo-tiŋ li liəu-ti pəʔ-ər-tai pəʔ-səʔ-tau məŋ-ia nie pəʔ-ər-tai* "You sell to everyone at the same price, why don't you sell to me" [Chin. 樣的價錢賣與人家謂甚不賣與我] (A:73a-01).

In the remaining cases in vocabulary A, 牙 is used for the nominative case, for example:

牙地白念無扛力納 *ia ti-piəʔ nie u-k'ɐ˞-liəʔ-naʔ / ia nie pi-iɐ˞-tiəʔ* "I can't tell you what to do / I'm not [your] mate [You're no concern of mine]" [Chin. 我不惹你] (A:48a-04);

不各日牙束木淂利 *pəʔ-kəʔ-zəʔ ia suəʔ-məʔ-tiəʔ-li* "Show I look" [Let me have a look] [Chin. 那來我看] (A:67a-02).

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35   The form *tvoia* does not appear in our vocabularies, but later it was widely used in Russian-based Siberian pidgins. The Japanese linguist Shanori Shiro recorded this dialogue between a Chinese passenger and a Russian on a train from Hailar to Harbin around 1935: (Chin.) tvaya kuda xodi? (Rus.) Xarbin xodi; (Chin.) čo delo? (Rus.) malo-malo pokupaĭ; (Chin.) no kak tovaya torguĭ? (Rus.) malo-malo (Hattori 1943, 188-191).

There is an instance of 牙 being used as a possessive pronoun:

牙獨凹兒地未吊 *ia tuəʔ-va-ər ti vei-tiau* "You have seen my goods" [Chin. 我的貨你見過] (A:70a-01).

In the vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin there are no obvious rules at all relating to conveying the gender of Russian words, which is explained by the absence of different gender forms in Chinese. Most often though, the masculine gender is used:

哦定把兒 *yo-tiŋ pa-ər* "one pair" [Rus. *odna para*; Chin. 壹對 (B:01b-09)[36]

暮的力內勿達 *mu-tiəʔ-liəʔ-nuei vəʔ-taʔ* "muddy water" [Rus. *mutnaia voda*; Chin. 混水] (A:20a-03)

各怪未利坎佃洛 *kəʔ-kuai vei-li-k'æ˜ t'ie-luəʔ* "What a great business/ matter" [Rus. *kakoe velikoe delo*; Chin. 甚的大事] (A:49a-01).

7 Conclusion

The handwritten vocabularies of Kiakhta pidgin were compiled by the Chinese merchants for their use for conversation with their Russian counterparts. They are full of local colours of their homeland in Shanxi province. It is noteworthy that the vocabularies give us an idea of Kiakhta Pidgin Russian "from the Chinese side". Using these materials, we can reconstruct the phonetic structure and grammatic elements of the Kiakhta pidgin contact language. On the other hand, the Kiakhta pidgin has so far been lacking in the Chinese material as comparable to the manuals of the Pidgin English. In this sense, our vocabularies deserve more attention and careful study.

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36 Shprintsin observed that the preference for the masculine form *odin* was due to consideration of a phonetic nature, since the feminine and neuter forms of the word have the double consonant *dn* that is difficult for the Chinese (A. G. Shprintsin, "Kitaisko-russkii dialekt na Dal'nem Vostoke" [The Chinese-Russian dialect in the Far East], National Library of Russia, Manuscript Department, fund 1200, unit 12, f. 3).

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