

**BILINGUALS IN STYLE: LINGUISTIC PRACTICES AND IDEOLOGIES OF
CANTONESE-ENGLISH CODEMIXERS IN HONG KONG**

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Linguistics)
in The University of Michigan
2008

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雙語風格：香港粵英語碼混合者的言語行爲及意識形態

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An exhibition poster outside the Hong Kong Museum of Art in 2007: “Chinglish” or “Chinese English”. The four large Chinese characters (with partial English cursive designs) read “Not Chinese, not English”.

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To My Parents

陳保才 和 李月釵

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The journey to earn this degree has been long and difficult, but it has also been the most fruitful of my life to this point. It would not have been possible, however, without countless wonderful people guiding and encouraging me along the way. I have found life-long mentors, friends, and family members. When I reflect on this experience as a whole, they are truly what I value most.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to the Department of Linguistics at the University of Michigan, Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, the Barbour Fellowship, and the Center for the Education of Women for providing funding and continued support for my research.

Colleagues and friends in the Socio-discourse Group and the Linguistic Anthropology Lab must be thanked for their constant stimulation and constructive feedback. In particular, tireless brainstormers named Rizwan Ahmad, Anna Babel, Laura Brown, Lisa Del Torto, Sai Samant, Mark Sicoli, and Vanessa Will.

In truth, I would not have survived the frigid Michigan winters without the dear friendship and intellectual support of my close-knit cohort, namely Jennifer Nguyen, Nancy Perez, Nick Pharris, Vera Irwin, and Carson Maynard. Additionally, Amanda Banerjee, Pam Beddor, Holly Cashman, Debby Keller-Cohen, Dushyanthi Mendis, Chutamanee Onsuwan, Sylvia Suttor, John Swales, and Ashley Williams, who are all part of the Michigan Linguistics network, have contributed in immeasurable ways to my

success. Outside of that network, I have also benefited greatly from interactions with Kingsley Bolton, Mary Bucholtz, Daniel Davies, Margaret Deuchar, and Monica Heller.

On paper, this dissertation has two chairs, but three is actually closer to reality. Lesley Milroy, who brought me to Michigan, worked very closely with me in designing and executing my research and data analysis. Even after her retirement, she gladly provided me with research, career, and personal guidance. Judy Irvine has been a constant inspiration, introducing me to whole new worlds of intellectual excitement. She not only elevated my understanding, but my ability to understand. Sally Thomason nurtured me through many a storm and was an infinite source of motivation. She maintains a perfect balance between honest criticism and heart-felt compassion. The other members of my committee may not have been chairs, but that doesn't make their contributions any less valuable. In Robin Queen I discovered a friend and mentor who treated me more like a colleague than a student. She was always looking to prepare me for the future, not just the task at hand. And then there's Barb Meek, who has a bottomless pit of imagination and showed me many unexplored dimensions of my work. I'll no doubt be mining her suggestions for years to come. These academic giants never made me feel small, always coached me kindly, and helped to shape much more than a dissertation - they helped shape a person.

Through these past few years, I have come to realize that the dissertation process is far from mine alone. Many people have helped me see it to fruition and many people have been affected along the way. More than anyone else, though, it has affected both of my families, the Chens and Carpers. Special thanks to Carol for showing me that dissertations are like elephants - you must eat them one small bite at a time. I have no

words to adequately describe the gratitude I have for my parents. They made me who I am, equipped me with the skills I need for success, and supported all of my decisions while I was so far away from home. Speaking of being far from home, my brother also deserves a nod for taking good care of my parents and giving me peace of mind so I could concentrate on my research. And finally Gray, who has spent the last few years walking alongside me and supporting me, and without whom none of this would matter.

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ABSTRACT

The trilingual (Cantonese, Putonghua and English) and multicultural setting of Hong Kong makes it a language contact zone in which different patterns of code-mixing occur. Previous studies of Hong Kong code-mixing mostly focus on the major pattern commonly found among locally educated ethnic Chinese; little has been done on the coexistence of different code-mixing patterns and their social significance. This research employs Irvine's (2001) conception of 'style', and the associated Irvine and Gal (1995) semiotic processes of language ideologies, to investigate two code-mixing patterns found in Hong Kong and to explore how they are used indexically to construct distinct social and linguistic identities. The code-mixing style commonly used by the local younger generation, using Muysken's (2000) typology, is insertional, in that individual English lexical items are inserted into a base language of Cantonese at an intra-sentential level. In contrast, another code-mixing style, which correlates with speakers who have overseas and/or international school experience, is structurally much more complex. It has a combination of insertion (Cantonese insertion into English sentences and vice versa), alternation between the two languages, and the use of discourse markers at switch points. For the local younger generation, most of whom went through Hong Kong's bilingual education system, use of the local code-mixing style is a way to identify and interact with people of shared commonalities. It also provides a means to distinguish "outsiders" who use or prefer a different style of language mixing (or non-mixing). This research reveals

how overlapping and fuzzy the linguistic and social boundaries between Hong Kong locals and returnees are, yet social participants essentialize the relationship between speech and speakers, using such knowledge to construct, negotiate, and (re)position their identities, make decisions about whether or not to cross perceived social group boundaries; and maneuver in their local social contexts and beyond. This research demonstrates that, to understand language and its speakers as social beings, linguistic structures must be studied in conjunction with their contextualized use as well as the mediating ideologies, i.e. the three components Silverstein (1985) defines as constituting a “total linguistic fact”.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:

BILINGUALISM¹ AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN HONG KONG

1.1. Motivations, goals, and theoretical considerations

My study of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology stems from a desire to understand human social relationships through language. I am particularly intrigued by what linguistic practices, and beliefs about a language and its speakers, can tell us about who we are and who we are perceived to be. It is my firm belief that studying language provides us unique insights and perspectives into human relations that are different from, but complementary to, other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. As Tannen observes, “psychology isn’t the only discipline that can shed light on human relationships... language plays a huge role, and linguistics is essential to understand how it works” (2007). This research is imbued with my experience in my native Hong Kong. As a daughter of migrants who moved from Indonesia to China and then to Hong Kong, I grew up being keenly aware of the pressure and marginalization of people who are perceived to be outside of the local norm, be it linguistic, cultural or ideological. My academic training gives me a means to address socially sensitive language issues that

¹ Following Li Wei (2000: 7), the term ‘bilingual’ in this research refers to someone with the possession of at least two languages, and can be used interchangeably with ‘multilingual.’ By the same token, the term ‘bilingualism’ is also used interchangeably with ‘multilingualism.’

concern the people of Hong Kong (myself included); the present research focuses on one of those issues.

Language is a common topic of discussion in Hong Kong newspapers, whether it is the decades old “complaint tradition” (*cf.* Milroy and Milroy 1985) about Hong Kong people’s continuously falling English language standards; or how young Hong Kong people are too lazy with their Cantonese pronunciation; or language purists’ warnings about how language mixing causes poor language standards and loss of one’s Chinese ethnicity; or parents, teachers and students having mixed but mostly anxious feelings about the consequences of “mother-tongue education”;² or the relatively recent fear of losing Hong Kong’s competitiveness as the once-British colony now becomes just another city among many in China (as opposed to Hong Kong’s past with its almost exclusive role in trade between closed-door China and the rest of the world). The list can go on and on, but in a crucial way, these sociolinguistic issues demonstrate how people in Hong Kong search for their identities, and in doing so, attempt to set boundaries around who they are and who they are not. It is an act of positioning and repositioning oneself in adjusting to the drastically changing social and political dynamics in the last few decades. In this research, I focus on an often debated (if not the most often debated) linguistic

² In 1998 after the handover, the Education Department of Hong Kong banned three quarters of secondary schools (about 300 of them) from using English as a medium of instruction and prescribed them to use the “mother-tongue”, an ambiguous term in Hong Kong that can refer to Cantonese (as it is the majority language in Hong Kong) and/or Putonghua (as it is the official Chinese language). Most of the three hundred schools at the time used Cantonese as an instructional medium, though some started experimenting with Putonghua. In 2008, the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research, which received 200 million HKD (25.6 million USD) in funding from the Education Department for this specific project, will subsidize schools to implement a program which teaches the Chinese language subject in Putonghua. Indications are that a new era of Putonghua education is dawning in Hong Kong.

phenomenon in Hong Kong: Cantonese-English code-mixing.³ My goals are to explore what this linguistic practice means to specific members of the community (through solicitation of data and opinions from individual research participants) and to the people of Hong Kong in general (through media discourse and my own ethnographic research) by situating it in both a local and a wider historical context. It is my hope that the findings of this research will have a positive influence in Hong Kong, both on pedagogy and on linguistic and social practice (in terms of bringing awareness of sociolinguistic discrimination). Below I further discuss some other implications this research has for different (sub)disciplines including multilingualism research, sociolinguistic work on language and identity, and linguistic anthropological research on language ideology.

There are two aspects in which this research will contribute to the study of multilingualism and language contact. Hong Kong is certainly not unique in terms of the way its residents routinely mix and switch between languages: language mixing is a common practice in multilingual societies. By providing a case study of Hong Kong for possible comparison with other communities, this research can further our knowledge on multilingualism across communities and deepen our knowledge on intra- and inter-speaker practice by studying and following a few multilinguals up-close as they maneuver in their social world. Furthermore, Li Wei (1995: 298) comments that relatively little work on bilingualism attempted to analyze and compare the complex relationships between aspects of language choice and structural patterns of mixed-

³ In this dissertation, I follow Muysken's (2000) convention by using "code-mixing" as a general term to refer to any use of at least two languages in a conversation, and "code-switching" when speakers alternate between languages across turns. See Chapter 3.2. for a review of bilingualism terminology relevant to this research.

language discourse among subgroups of the same community. The current research project, which illustrates the co-existence of two structurally different Cantonese-English code-mixing patterns used by two distinctive sub-groups in a single community, adds to the discussion of this understudied aspect of bilingualism.

One of the major foci of sociolinguistics is the study of language practices and their social meanings. This can be seen throughout the history of sociolinguistic research, from the classic study of language and identities in Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963, 1972) to recent work on communities of practice in suburban Detroit (Eckert 2000). Eckert's (2001) adolescent ethnography demonstrates how salient phonological variations, along with other social practices such as dress and non-verbal actions, constitute group "styles" which are associated with participant-negotiated polar extremes of *jocks* and *burnouts*. Individuals act in response to these essentializations: they categorize people in the community into jocks, burnouts or in-betweens; they orient themselves towards one or more of the categories; they form ideas about how people of a particular category act; and these ideas become resources for them to act like or unlike a category and to build up their own personal styles.

Group style is the basis upon which people identify others as members of categories such as "Valley Girl" or "New York Jew" or, at a more local level, "burnout" or "hard rock." Such public naming of styles is a process of stereotyping—a reification of the named group as sufficiently constituting community to develop a joint style, and as sufficiently salient to public life to name and learn to recognize. These reifications then turn around and serve as resources for other styles—for those who may want to incorporate in their own style a bit of what they see as attractive, interesting, or striking about New York Jews or Valley Girls (Eckert 2001: 123).

The process of categorizing and stereotyping is equally observable in bilingual situations when different ways of using code-mixing and borrowing constitute contrasting styles. Gumperz (1982: 69) notes that most bilinguals “have at least a comprehensive knowledge of usage norms other than their own, and that they can use this knowledge to judge speakers’ social background and attitudes in much the same way that monolinguals use pronunciation and lexical knowledge in assessments of social status.” A bilingual is able to tell much about another person’s social background from the way the other person code-mixes and uses borrowings. When a generalization is formed with reference to those who employ a particular way of speaking, the knowledge becomes a resource to which people respond. This is exactly what has happened to the consultants in this research: certain ways to code-mix, or certain speech styles, have become indexical to certain perceived social groups. By investigating what each particular way of code-mixing means, and to whom, I hope to disentangle some of these complexities.

This research adopts Irvine’s (2001) conception of “style”, and the associated Irvine and Gal (1995) model of language ideologies, to investigate the ways in which two Hong Kong code-mixing patterns are used indexically to construct distinct social and linguistic identities. Irvine (2001: 22) explains that a group style is meaningful to the social participants only when it is considered in “a system of distinction, in which a style contrasts with other possible styles”, and these relationships are ideologically mediated by the participants (or agents in social space) whose understandings of their social world and the semiotic resources available in it are socially positioned and culturally variable. In Eckert’s (2000) study, for example, the burnout style of speaking is a meaningful category only when it is in contrast with other styles in the system, namely jocks and in-

between. Similarly, a particular way to code-mix can only be considered as a style of speaking when it is in contrast with other ways of speaking in a system which is meaningful to the participants in a community. The contrast is meaningful because it helps social participants orient and position themselves in the world and affects (and explains) social interaction/behavior and organization associated with particular kinds of speech and speakers. This conception of style, which focuses on language ideology, differs from many sociolinguistic works that take language ideology as an obvious factor, a background or emotional dispositions that can be read off the distribution of sociolinguistic facts.

So far I have explained how a quest to understand human social relationships has motivated me in doing research on language. My starting point is to consider humans as social beings who use language among other semiotic means. The main framework of this research, one that can encompass the importance of linguistic details as well as what language means to its speakers, lies within the linguistic anthropological approach to language ideologies.

Language ideologies can be defined as “the conceptualizations people have about the languages, speakers, and discursive practices in their purview [...]. To study language ideologies is to explore the nexus of language, culture, and politics—to examine the representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe language’s role in a social and cultural world, and that are themselves acts within it” (Irvine: 2002). Researchers of language ideologies such as Silverstein, Woolard, Irvine and Gal, among others, have re-evaluated what language as an object of study means. Diverging from the traditional dichotomous view of language—from Saussurean *langue* and *parole*, to Chomskyan

competence and performance, and a separation of internal and external changes in Labov's work—language ideology scholars postulate that a linguistic totality is composed of language structure, contextualized usage, and ideologies of language; with the latter mediating the others: “[t]he total linguistic fact...is an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms contextualized to situations of interested human use, mediated by the fact of cultural ideology” (Silverstein 1985: 220). This is significant for my own work, not only because this framework is in line with the kinds of research questions I ask, but because, as Woolard reiterates, to prioritize one aspect of the three components over the others is having “not just a partial explanation but in fact only a partial object” (Woolard 2006) in the study of language. J. Milroy (2001: 553) similarly criticizes the current tendency in sociolinguistics:

“as long as the Saussurean dichotomy remains axiomatic, and as long as internal analyses are quite strongly biased in favor of linguistic, rather than social phenomena, the quantitative paradigm will be to that extent impeded in its attempts to explain the social ‘life’ of language and the social origins of language change”

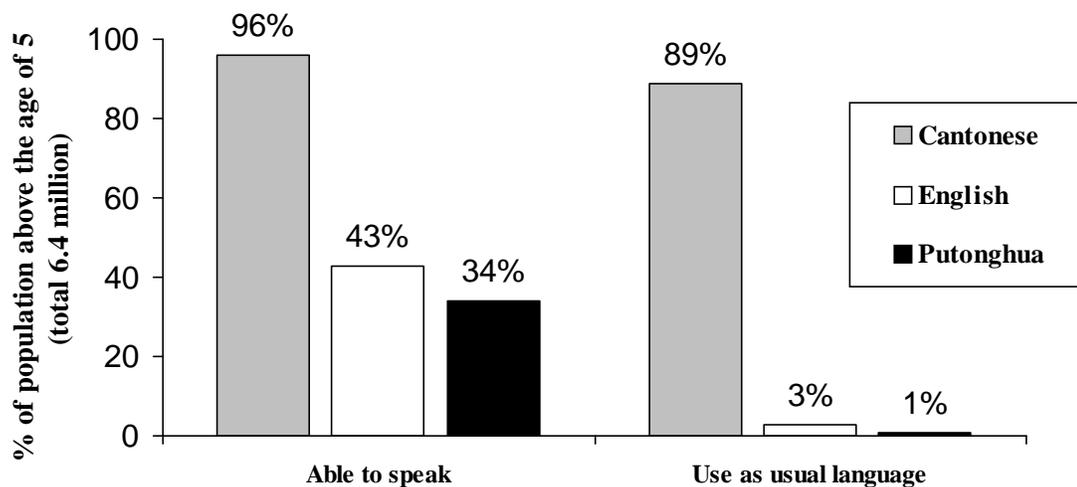
As a sociolinguist and a linguistic anthropologist, it is thus particularly important for me to participate in this discourse so that I might help support and stimulate directions in future research.

In this research, all three components constituting the total linguistic fact are addressed. In terms of linguistic structure, Chapter 3 contains an analysis of the structural distinctions of code-mixing and code-switching used among the consultants. Contextualized usage is examined in Chapters 4 and 5 through an in-depth look at how four of the consultants exercise structurally distinctive patterns of code-mixing and code-

switching in different contexts. Chapter 6 explores ideologies of language that are associated with codes and code-mixing/switching, both at the individual consultant level and broadly across Hong Kong society, as well as how linguistic ideologies mediate between the linguistic structures of codes and code-mixing and their contextualized use. To locate the historical and spatial context in which the participants in this research are situated, however, it is useful to start from the sociolinguistic background of Hong Kong.

1.2. Sociolinguistic background of Hong Kong

Figure 1.1. Current societal language pattern (2001 Hong Kong Census⁴)



Hong Kong is a multilingual society and each of the three major languages, Cantonese, English and Putonghua, carries different political, economic, social, and cultural values within the local environment. These values are important to our analysis because they are what social actors respond to and act according to. Cantonese is spoken by 96% of the 6.4 million people aged 5 and older (see Figure 1.1). It is the usual

⁴ This census, as conducted by the Hong Kong Government Statistics and Census Department, relied on interviewee self-reporting.

language for 89% of the population, and a carrier for cultural and social identification of “Hong Kongness” (Chen 1999). Cantonese is the socially preferred language in Hong Kong. Speaking the Hong Kong variety of Cantonese, i.e. Cantonese with a Hong Kong accent and a Hong Kong lexicon, signifies one’s status as a local person in contrast to city newcomers, who either do not speak Cantonese or do not speak with a local accent and lexicon. As seen in the attitudinal study (see chapter 6), the style of code-mixing which is considered as more authentically Hong Kong is the one in which Cantonese is the base language.

The historical context of Hong Kong’s political and education development can explain why mixed-code speakers are mostly of the younger generation, and why they code-mix Cantonese and English but rarely Putonghua until very recently. For hundreds of years, *Yueyu* or Cantonese, the language of Canton city, has been the *lingua franca* and a sign of cultural unity among Guangdong people of South China, who speak different dialects and languages with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility. The situation in China changed after 1949, when the Chinese government implemented the national language policy of Putonghua. Cantonese, however, continued to flourish in colonial Hong Kong and played a crucial role in the development of a local culture and identity. In Hong Kong, spoken Cantonese is used as the medium of instruction at the majority of schools and as common language for communication among friends and colleagues in daily life. It is used in the media, in law courts, in the legislative and executive councils, and in many government departments. This is very different from its use in China, where Cantonese is a dialect for non-official use. Such a difference in the function and status of Cantonese is also partly due to the colonial government’s non-interference in, and even

encouragement of, the continued use of Cantonese in education and in the wider context of Hong Kong society.

According to the 2001 government census, English is spoken by 43% of the population, but only 3% use it as their common language. English is economically and socially valued in Hong Kong, and it is a key to education and career advancement, but for the majority of Hong Kong people, English-only conversation is seldom used outside economically pragmatic contexts or inter-ethnic communication. Putonghua is spoken by 34% of the population, but less than 1% use it as their usual language. Because of Putonghua's association with China, it has an economical function for people who have Chinese business connections and also serves as a sign of cultural affiliation with 'the mother-land'. In a 2003 sociolinguistic survey conducted by John Bacon-Shone and Kingsley Bolton, however, the portion of the population who claim basic competence in speaking English and Putonghua are 69.1% and 72.7% respectively (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 2005).⁵

Hong Kong became a British colony in 1842, but English, a key element in code-mixing, was not generally accessible to the public until the early 1970s. This is because only a small number of people in Hong Kong were given the chance to receive education before the 1970s and, among those who did receive education, even fewer attended schools where English was taught. In 1978, the Hong Kong government implemented a nine-year-compulsory free education policy for children between age 6 and 14. Since

⁵ Note the stark discrepancy between the 2001 census and the 2003 survey. Language data was actually only a small part of the whole population census, while the survey focused directly on multilingualism and was intended to address inadequacies in the census language data collection methods.

then, all school children in Hong Kong have had access to English as a subject, or even as a medium of instruction, and the practice of Cantonese-English code-mixing has developed into a societal norm, despite the fact that mixed code is overtly criticized in the society.

The census data does not contain information about individual multilingualism, but there are sociolinguistic surveys which fill the gaps. Bacon-Shone and Bolton (1998, 2005) reported three such household surveys done in 1983 by Bolton and Luke, in 1993 by Bacon-Shone and Bolton, and in 2003 by Bacon-Shone and Bolton, on language use in Hong Kong. The survey in 1983 successfully interviewed 1240 households which were selected by using the same sampling system adopted by the Census and Statistics Department for conducting the Hong Kong population census. In 1993, the survey successfully interviewed 870 households through telephone sampling supported by the Social Sciences Research Centre of the University of Hong Kong, the same sampling method was used in the 2003 survey which interviewed 1060 households. One of the striking trends found in the three surveys is Hong Kong's increasing tendency toward multilingualism. Bacon-Shone and Bolton classify speakers of Cantonese, Putonghua, English and home dialects into five groups and describe the changes of the trend. They found a significant increase in the percentage of Cantonese, English and Putonghua trilingual speakers, as well as Cantonese and Putonghua bilingual speakers. In turn, there is a decrease in the percentage of English and Cantonese bilinguals and Cantonese monolinguals. Details of the percentage are shown Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. Language groupings 1983, 1993, and 2003 (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 2005)

Survey year	Cantonese, English & Putonghua Trilinguals	English & Cantonese Bilinguals	Cantonese Monolinguals	Home Dialect & Cantonese Bilinguals	Cantonese & Putonghua Bilinguals	Number of households interviewed
1983	17%	25%	30%	19%	8%	1240
1993	38%	21%	16 %	8%	7%	870
2003	63%	9%	9 %	1%	17%	1060

The speakers of Cantonese and English studied in this dissertation research belong to either the first group (Cantonese, English & Putonghua trilinguals) or the second group (English & Cantonese bilinguals), who constitute 72% of the interviewed households in 2003. Compare this figure to the education levels reported in the 2001 government census, where over 58% (4 million) of the population had an education level of Form 3 (grade 9) or above. In other words, 4 million people in Hong Kong had attained at least 9 years of schooling in which English was a compulsory subject and therefore presumably had at least some competence in English in addition to their Cantonese. In this study, however, I only focus on speakers of the Cantonese and English language pair (some might know more languages) who have had tertiary education. They constitute 13% (0.9 million) of the population.

1.3. Population mobility and family/education connections with English speaking countries

Hong Kong society is characterized by a unique pattern of immigration, emigration and re-immigration. The majority of the Hong Kong population is comprised of either Chinese immigrants or descendants of earlier Chinese immigrants who trace their ancestral origins to Guangdong province, a Cantonese speaking area. Immigration

from China has been the main source of population growth in Hong Kong. In 1842, the population in Hong Kong was seven thousand, but in 2007, it was close to seven million. Before the 1970s, there were a few waves of massive immigration to Hong Kong caused by political and social unrest in China. After the 1970s, the colonial government imposed a strict control on immigration and implemented policies to set up a better infrastructure for the colony. The 1970s mark the beginning of modern Hong Kong and the emergence of “Hong Kong people” and “Hong Kong identity” concepts. Hong Kong was no longer considered to be merely a brief layover for Chinese refugees in transition (fleeing from turmoil in mainland China and going wherever they could find a viable support structure), but a possible permanent home. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, many middle-class, educated and professional Hong Kong people migrated to western countries because of fears of political instability in Hong Kong associated with the 1997 handover of power from the British to the Chinese. Many of these emigrants, however, returned to Hong Kong for better jobs and business opportunities after they had obtained a foreign passport. It is estimated that 3.5% of the current population are ethnic Chinese who hold a foreign passport in Hong Kong. Many of these returning emigrants bring with them their second-generation children who were born and/or raised overseas. Although this younger generation of returned emigrants is in the privileged class (as provided by their parents’ socio-economic status), they find themselves trapped in the social margins. My consultants repeatedly report that it has been difficult to integrate into mainstream culture and that, in public discourse, they are often not considered to be “authentic” Hong Kong Chinese.

In this study, I investigate the language practices and ideologies of two self-forming friendship groups, a group consisting of locals and a group consisting of returnees who spent substantial amount of time outside Hong Kong in English-speaking countries. Members of the local group were raised and educated in Hong Kong, while members of the returnee group have had years of experience overseas, either because their families once migrated overseas or because they were sent to study abroad. It is hard to find figures citing how many people in Hong Kong are returned migrants, other than the figure of foreign passport holders (3.5% of the population, or 238,000 people), and it is also hard to find figures citing the number of people who have studied overseas. The most relevant information I found is that, in a 2002 “Hong Kong students studying outside Hong Kong” survey conducted by the government, it was reported that 74,100 students below the age of 25 were studying abroad: 26.5% were studying in Canada, followed by Australia (22.2%), the U.K. (21.7%) and the U.S.A. (17.7%). Another 73,000 intended to study abroad in the next five years. However, be it the number of foreign passports holders or the number of students studying abroad, one thing is certain: these people constitute a small minority in Hong Kong compared to those who are raised and educated locally, but their numbers are growing significantly (whether in terms of returned migrants or students) and they are becoming a more noticeable social category in the public media.⁶

⁶ Only in the last decade or so have there been entertainers in the Hong Kong film and recording industries who voluntarily revealed themselves to be overseas returnees (e.g. Nicholas Tse, Edison Chan). Their returnee status has even been used as a marketing angle, emphasizing native (or near-native) English accents, Western fashion sense, and entertainment genre choices atypical of the local norm (rap and hip-hop, for example). By comparison, earlier overseas-returning actors/actresses in the 1980s (e.g. Maggie Cheung, Barbara Yung) rarely revealed their overseas backgrounds and did not openly speak English during the formative years of their careers.

1.4. Attitudes toward code-mixing in Hong Kong

Code-mixing, in general, is overtly stigmatized in Hong Kong, yet in practice the local insertional type of code-mixing identified in previous literature and in this research constitutes a common norm for the young. People who oppose code-mixing often believe that it negatively affects language purity and culture. In their most extreme form, these beliefs treat English words mixed into Cantonese as a “contamination” and “betrayal” of the heritage of Chinese culture that the Cantonese language embodies. This ideology is vividly expressed in the following comment from a university professor of Chinese language and literature:

This kind of Chinese-English mixing freak-speech is total rubbish. It is totally useless outside of Hong Kong. Even within Hong Kong, it cannot be used to communicate with the grass-roots offspring of the Emperor Huang [i.e. ethnic Chinese people] or with the ethnic white leaders at the tip of the pyramid. This kind of speech is like a dermatological disease, [with a symptom of having] a piece of yellow [skin] and a piece of white [skin] (Chan 1993: 5.7). (*My translation, original in standard written Chinese.*)

This comment, while perhaps extreme, represents a common attitude shared in Hong Kong about code-mixing. This can be seen through the comments of the evaluators in the attitudinal study (Chapter 6) regarding the returnee code-mixing speakers. Despite the prevailing negative attitude, however, code-mixing is an important speech norm among the younger generation. The following quote was from a university student who felt that she was ‘an alien’ for not using a particular English term in her speech, and she refers to the way English is inserted in Cantonese as “Hong Kong speech”:

[I] think that “Hong Kong speech” is a big trend; there is no way to fix it. [If I] don't use “Hong Kong speech”, [I] will be considered an alien. ... [Once][I] used the [Cantonese] word *jou2 jeui6* (‘group gathering’) and I

was laughed at because the students of the University of Science and Technology use [the English term] “reunion”. (From a personal website <http://www.geocities.com/gallacehk/chin1.html>)

University students, in particular, are subject to strong peer pressure to use code-mixing, but it is clear that only the local style is accepted, not the returnee one (see the attitudinal study in Chapter 6). This norm is strong enough for the local group to develop an ideology which involves negative evaluation of returnee speakers. Irvine’s (2001: 22) model emphasizes the relationships among styles, “their contrast, boundaries and commonalities”. In the Hong Kong case, a university student who does not use the local style is working against the peer imposed commonalities. This commonality, or shared style, involves a finely tuned use of both English and Cantonese in a conversation. The style carries a Western and educated aura but care needs to be taken that it does not merge into a different style which is associated with a different social kind, in this case the overseas returnees. This delicate distinction is articulated from the perspective of an in-group, be it university students or Hong Kongers, and is evident in the metalinguistic comments about distinctive speech styles and their association with particular groups of speakers.

1.5. Content layout

In this introductory chapter, I discussed the motivations and goals of this research, where the research agenda came from and what I want to find out. I presented some theoretical considerations about how this research can contribute to the fields of bilingualism and language contact, sociolinguistic study of language and identity and research on bilingualism and language ideologies. I provided information on the historic

and sociolinguistic background of Hong Kong where this research took place. In Chapter 2, I will discuss methodological considerations and the ways in which my role as a researcher as well as an insider/outsider of the groups I am researching impacts my research design and fieldwork execution. In Chapter 3, I will first briefly review relevant literature on code-mixing and explain which model I use for my structural analysis and why. The main content in Chapter 3 lays out the linguistic patterns used during in-group interactions by the two groups of bilinguals. The linguistic pattern of the local group is characterized by having only English lexical insertions in a Cantonese structure; the returnee group's linguistic pattern, by contrast, has insertions of both English and Cantonese, alternations of the two languages from both directions, and the use of discourse markers at switch points. After the examination of the in-group language use of these bilinguals in Chapter 3, a number of empirical questions remain: What are these bilinguals' code and code-mixing choices outside of their friendship groups? Do individuals in each friendship group have similar out-group linguistic patterns? Are there significant differences between the locals and the returnees in their out-group language use? Chapters 4 and 5 address these questions by expanding beyond in-group linguistic usage to describe individual bilinguals' code and code-mixing choices in their out-group day-to-day interactions. Chapter 4 focuses on two bilinguals in the local friendship group, Fish⁷ and Kristy, while Chapter 5 deals with Tim and Kelly of the returnee friendship group. The way in which these individuals use the linguistic resources available to them—in what ways they speak to whom in what context—are described as fully as my fieldwork data permits. In Chapter 6, I report the results and implications of an attitudinal

⁷ All of the consultants' names used are either pseudonyms or the consultant's preferred name to be used in this study.

study conducted on local code-mixing users, which then are connected to a discussion of how the linguistic structures as well as the social context of their use tie to ideologies about language use and Hong Kong people. Chapter 7 concludes with a summary of results for the research as a whole and discusses their significance, evaluates the research process, and outlines directions for further work. Each of these chapters plays a crucial role in my journey to document the practices and ideologies of Hong Kong codemixers.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

2.1. Methodological considerations

Sociolinguists have spent many years investigating the questions of who speaks what language to whom and when (*cf.* Fishman 1965). But we have yet to achieve a comprehensive knowledge of natural speech that penetrates deeply into the daily conversational practices of the consultants we study (given the prerequisite of consultant consent as well as a compliance with human subject research protocol). Some of the methodological questions which sociolinguists need to consider include: as researchers, how do we gain access to consultants' interactions with others in daily life in our absence so that we can compare it with the interaction we have observed directly? Do our data collection devices/methods have the mobility and flexibility to follow our consultants as they maneuver in their social world? Do we have enough recordings, in terms of length and variation in contexts, to make sure the interactions we analyze are not isolated or idiosyncratic cases? In our attempt to build knowledge from multiple perspectives, how can we ensure that we preserve not only researcher-mediated data (transcript and analysis), but also the original recordings, so that the same data can be analyzed by

different researchers and/or at different times?⁸ Due to technological restrictions, many of these questions could not be adequately addressed in the past. Previous research on multilingual contexts, for example, often relies on consultant self-reports as to which codes are used across different contexts/domains/speakers (e.g. Fishman's 1965 research on Yiddish-English bilinguals in the USA, Milroy and Li Wei's 1995 study on Chinese-English bilinguals in England). Additionally, for those conducting detailed conversation analysis, the focus is often on one specific domain (e.g. Coupland's 1980 research on a multi-speech-style Cardiff workplace, Cashman's 2001 study in a Spanish-English Detroit bakery). These are tried and true methods, and valuable assets in our research toolbox, but the ability for a consultant to continuously record data, with complete mobility (regardless of the presence of the researcher), would undoubtedly enhance our capacity to understand language in context. It is only relatively recently that longer periods of natural conversation (such as an uninterrupted eight hours or more) could be captured and stored in easily portable devices. (The Datum MH2 recorder used in this research has dimensions of 6.8×3.1×1.5cm, weighs only 42g including the battery, and has enough fidelity for conversation analysis. There are also other models which achieve a portable size while remaining capable of producing high-quality recordings even suitable for phonetic analysis.) These new technological options significantly improve the length and range of natural data that can be obtained for analysis and archiving, thereby radically changing the data collection methods used in newer research, including the present project (see for example: Greer 2006, Irwin 2007 for similar methods in which

⁸ This, of course, brings complicated and sensitive issues about data-ownership and sharing, but some linguists have already started the process of building shared data banks. See The University of Helsinki Language Corpus Server, for example.

consultants wear a tiny recorder for extended hours). Details of how the portable mp3 recorder is used in my research are described in section 2.4.

Apart from using new recording devices and methods, I am also cautious in my research design since I interact with the consultants during interviews, discussions, the attitudinal study, and the street survey. It is vital for me as a researcher to understand the role of the interviewer and that the interview itself is an interaction and a resource, not just a simple one-way information-seeking tool. Briggs (1986, 1997: 25) describes the interviewer as “co-participant in the construction of a discourse” and calls for a realization of “the concept of context and the nature of interpretation”. The human factor is the most variable and can be unpredictable in an interview situation. After all, the interviewer and the interviewee are not machines that can repeatedly produce consistent data. As the initiator of the interview, it is important for me to be aware of the intersubjectivity and multi-faceted perception of an interview and also of the researcher-guided discussion context. I also need to pay attention to the complexities in choosing and designing each question and keep in mind that the way a question is asked is very closely linked with the interviewer’s own perception of what he/she wants to gain from the question. Furthermore, the interviewee has his or her own interpretations and perceptions of what is being asked, how the interviewee wants to present the answer, and/or what the interviewee wants to project about him/herself. The situation gets even more complicated in a group interview context, in which the presence of all the participants (including the interviewer) shapes the constantly changing dynamics of the interview. Designing and executing fieldwork in this area of research, therefore, is a balancing act of reflexivity. As Davies explains, “reflexivity at its most immediately

obvious level refers to the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research” (1999: 4). Indeed, as a researcher, not only my personal history but also the disciplinary/academic and broader sociocultural circumstances I work in have an influence in all phases of the research.

Because I am examining my own community and taking on multiple roles which I step in and out of depending on the circumstances, there are further intricacies that I need to account for. An important theme of this research is understanding social categorization through language. It is important, then, to realize that my own speech and identity/social category, as perceived by the consultants, can affect the research outcome. The way they choose to answer my questions or interact with me may be different depending on which social category they perceive me to be part of. Whereas ethnographers who research “the others” would spend the first few months or longer to familiarize themselves with the community, learning the language as well as observing cultural and linguistic norms, for me an important initial task is to re-examine cultural and linguistic practices I might have taken for granted as a member of the community. Because code-mixing (and the degree of mixing) is a sensitive and salient issue in the society, I have to constantly re-evaluate my pattern of speech as well as my interaction with the consultants.

From the extensive literature on Hong Kong code-mixing, I know that my own pattern of code-mixing is similar to the majority of speakers in my generation. When I interact with members of the local friendship group, I find myself using mainly the local pattern of code-mixing, as it was the natural way that I, as a member of the group, would communicate with them. And even though, at the time I carried out my fieldwork, I had been absent from Hong Kong for a few years and thus technically a returnee, my alumna

status and my local Cantonese accent seemed to help me earn instant trust, and I was more likely to be considered as “one of us Hong Kong people” when approaching potential research participants on campus.

With the local evaluators whom I approached on campus, as well as members of the local group to whom I was introduced for the first time, I tried not to use any mixing, only Cantonese, until after the evaluators/consultants initiated mixing. This often took no longer than a few minutes into the first conversation. As an interviewer, I behave as much as I can in a sensitive and sincere manner to make the consultants and evaluators feel comfortable in expressing their opinions. Sometimes it is more successful than others. For example, I knew the evaluators were comfortable enough when they debated (amongst themselves) a hypothetical scenario in which they were boutique salesladies. One was willing to serve customers equally, no matter how they speak. The other two insisted that they would prefer not to serve mainland Chinese customers, but would give returnee customers preferential treatment.

When I spoke to the returnee friendship group, I was still using mainly the local code-mixing pattern, but I was also comfortable with switching to only English in some conversations. I was fascinated by the way my returnee consultants mixed the two languages, but I quickly noticed that the returnee pattern was not something I could pick up easily. It feels like a whole different grammar to me as an interaction co-participant. Even with my linguistic training I could at most imitate with a transcript, but could not use it spontaneously in natural speech. To the returnee friendship group, I am an alumna from the same university, and someone who has a common experience with them (in terms of overseas exposure). I did notice that members of the returnee group were more

interested in the specific geographical location of my overseas university. Therefore we tended to discuss how the Michigan/Ann Arbor area compared to Sydney, Australia, or Palm Springs, California (places where my returnee consultants had returned from). The local research participants asked less about the specifics of where I studied and more about things such as how I ended up studying overseas and my plans after finishing. Tim, one of the returnees, commented that the locals see the returnees as all the same people, those who had overseas exposure, whereas when returnees meet each other they often exchange information about the specific locations where they returned from. In a way it does make sense for the returnees and locals to ask different questions: it is a way for returnees to distinguish one another, to find commonality and differences that help them orient themselves in their social network. Meanwhile, for the locals, the distinction that tends to matter more is the one between those who have been overseas and those who have not.

In the preceding section, I sketched a few methodological considerations in designing and executing fieldwork and examined my roles in the interaction with the consultants. The following paragraphs describe more specific steps I took in the fieldwork, which was designed to collect natural linguistic data across domains and settings, and to compare linguistic practices of two bilingual sub-groups using the same pair of languages (Cantonese and English) in the same community at the University of Hong Kong. This research investigates bilingualism in action both through in-group (group level) and out-group (individual level) interactions. It adopts a relatively new method for collecting natural conversation (e.g. portable mp3 recorder previously mentioned), and it includes other methods such as attitudinal studies, sociolinguistic

interviews, public discourse, historical research, and so on, to gather metapragmatic data for a more comprehensive ethnographic account of the ideologies and practices of these bilinguals.

The two major goals of this fieldwork are: (1) to establish and examine the structural differences between two code-mixing patterns used by members of a community (one is a well-known pattern in the literature, the other is relatively unexplored); and (2) to investigate the ways in which styles of code-mixing are used indexically to construct distinctive social and linguistic identities in Hong Kong. I conducted fieldwork in two stages, one in the summer of 2002, the other from the summer of 2004 to the winter of 2005. After the first stage, I was able to make some generalizations from my data which helped modify the second stage data collection. Specifically, I found that:

- Bilinguals who have the same linguistic resources, in this case Cantonese and English, can have very diverse but systematic patterns of code-mixing.
- Different code-mixing patterns have indexical functions in society, as shown in the attitudinal study.
- Some bilinguals have the ability to shift between different code-mixing styles, just as monolinguals switch between styles. The switchers tend to be returnee speakers who are at the margin of the local norm. The act of style-shifting can be seen as an attempt from those in the margin to bridge the gap between the two socially perceived distinct categories. This is parallel to the way dialect speakers can switch to standard speech in monolingual situations.

Among people who use code-mixing in Hong Kong, there is a wide range of linguistic proficiency in English and Cantonese. It is possible that, for bilinguals who are less-fluent in one of the languages, their choice of code-mixing patterns is determined or limited by their language competence. In my experience, bilinguals who speak fluent Cantonese but are less fluent in English may use code-mixing, but their usage is likely confined to the local style, i.e. Cantonese with some English insertions. The same is probably true for fluent English speakers who are less fluent in Cantonese; they are more likely to be using a returnee code-mixing style, which involves more English and less Cantonese.

However, for bilinguals who are fluent in both languages, their choice of code-mixing pattern seems to depend on other factors. For example, I have encountered speakers who use only the local style but are of a similar social background to the three returnee consultants. I myself am a fluent Cantonese and English speaker and a returnee (as I have spent an extensive period of time in the US), and yet I find myself only able to use the local code-mixing style in natural conversation. When I first met the group of returnees, I quickly noticed that one of the consultants, Donna, was able to style-shift between the two when she spoke to different people. In the second stage of my data collection, therefore, I wanted to be able to find out the mechanism of code-mixing variation among these bilinguals who are fluent in both English and Cantonese, are from the same institutional community, and yet make different code and code-mixing choices. My further research questions are: (1) How do Cantonese-English bilinguals of the two different code-mixing styles use linguistic resources in different settings with different interlocutors? How do their conversational strategies differ from each other and from

monolinguals? (2) What is the relationship between a bilingual's choice of code-mixing pattern and his/her peer language norms and language attitudes? (3) Who has the ability to switch between code-mixing styles? How do they do it (in terms of conversational strategies)? (4) What are the defining characteristics of these social groups who use different code-mixing styles? What can we learn about social organization, group and individual identity construction by studying how bilingualism operates on group and individual levels? To address these questions, my data collection focused on gathering natural conversation from individuals when they were among their in-group friends, and also when they were outside the group.

In this two-stage fieldwork, I collected six types of data: (1) natural conversation recordings of the two patterns of Cantonese-English code-mixing among two self-forming friendship groups, (2) interviews with the speakers, (3) an in-depth study of four speakers in their day-to-day interaction outside of their friendship groups, (4) a language attitude study with speakers of the local pattern, (5) participant observation, and (6) collection of media and internet metalinguistic comments on code-mixing in Hong Kong. During the summer of 2004, I conducted my second-stage fieldwork and produced a documentary video on Hong Kong code-mixing (as a separate project, but related to my dissertation research; see Chen and Carper 2005). For the documentary, I sought code-mixing opinions by conducting interviews on the streets of Hong Kong and by visiting a secondary school to talk to some teachers and students. In truth, during the filming, I talked about language in Hong Kong with over 150 people from all walks of life. This is a wonderful source of data in itself and, although the documentary video is not a part of

this dissertation, where it is relevant I will refer to comments and observations recorded there.

In this dissertation research, there are a total of 52 participants from the University of Hong Kong: 30 participated in speech recording and interviews, 22 participated as evaluators in the attitudinal study. All of them are current students at, or recent graduates from, an English-medium university who were either approached by me on campus or introduced to me via my friendship networks. The local code-mixing speakers in this study all received their entire education in local government schools, except for two who studied abroad for a year as exchange students. The consultants who speak using the returnee code-mixing pattern have all spent a substantial period of time (5 to 12 years) overseas in English-speaking countries. Two of them also studied in private international schools in Hong Kong when they were younger. These international schools are taught by native English speakers and follow either a British or an American school curriculum. Below I describe how each type of data was collected and my methodological considerations pertaining to different kinds of data.

2.2. Recording of Natural conversation

2.2.1. Local in-group code-mixing conversation

I collected conversations of the local code-mixing speech from a group of 17 current students at, and recent graduates from, the University of Hong Kong. There are two reasons for my choice of this friendship group. First, the university is a prime location for code-mixing speech, and university students are known in society and in the Hong Kong code-mixing literature for their ubiquitous use of Cantonese-English code-

mixing. Second, as a former member of the student organization of which this friendship group is a part, I was granted permission to record their meetings and social gatherings. These students, or recent graduates, are all speakers of the local code-mixing pattern. They were all raised and educated in Hong Kong and speak Cantonese fluently. I recorded a total of 10 hours 13 minutes of natural conversation (see Appendix 2) during their informal meetings and social gatherings. Social gatherings in this group are held on a regular basis in different places throughout the year. Once, in 2002, it was held at my house, and I told my guests a tape-recorder had been turned on and placed under the dining table. I was able to collect natural conversation in different settings (meetings and party), and I found that the in-group speech collected uniformly proceeded in the local code-mixing pattern.

2.2.2. Returnee in-group code-mixing style

Natural conversation in the returnee pattern is not commonly heard in Hong Kong (except on the short-lived radio channel FM Select) as the speakers are in the minority. Returnee code-mixing is generally associated with international school students and overseas-raised or -educated people. However, not everyone with such a background speaks in a returnee style. For example, I interviewed a young male who had studied in a private English-speaking international school in Hong Kong until age 15, then continued his study in the US for three years. I tape-recorded an interview with him and had him take my recorder to tape-record a karaoke gathering he attended with his former schoolmates. They are of the same age and were studying overseas (one in the US and one in the UK) and had returned to Hong Kong for summer vacation at the time of the recording. This young man and his friends all spoke the local code-mixing pattern, i.e.

they insert English items into Cantonese, and never alternated between the two languages in the recordings.

Jo was the first returnee code-mixing speaker I contacted. She was born in the UK and moved to Singapore when she was five. She then came to Hong Kong at age 12. She studied in an elite English-medium public school from Form 1 to Form 5 (equivalent to American Grades 7-11), went to England for matriculation (Forms 6 and 7), then returned to Hong Kong and studied at the University of Hong Kong. In 2002, when I first started the data collection, Jo introduced her two friends to me. All of them use code-mixing but in a pattern different from the local norm, at least when they talk to each other. Both of her friends, Kelly and Donna, shared a similar background with Jo in that they all studied overseas for a substantial period of time before entering the University. Kelly studied in the US between the ages of 14 and 19, and Donna studied in Australia from age 6 to 12, then in an international school in Hong Kong after age 12. Jo speaks English as her first language. Her parents occasionally speak Cantonese to her but it was after she came to Hong Kong at age 12 that she started to speak Cantonese fluently. Kelly speaks Cantonese as her first language, while Donna speaks Cantonese and Mandarin as her first languages. All three of them speak English with a fluency and accent noticeably different from the average locally raised young person in Hong Kong, but their Cantonese pronunciation is indistinguishable from the local youth.

I participated in an afternoon high tea (in a hotel coffee shop) with them, and tape-recorded a total of four hours of returnee code-mixing conversations: two hours of conversations when all three friends were present, and another two hours while Jo was chatting with me after her friends left. During the last fifteen minutes before Kelly and

Donna left, I briefly interviewed them to ask them for their language history and their experience in using language (see Appendix 5 for speaker profile details). Kelly's boyfriend was present for the last half hour before Kelly and Donna left, but he sat at the edge of the table facing outside and stayed silent the whole time except when he was prompted by Kelly to give one- to two-word answers. Because he spoke so little, I do not have enough data to analyze his speech.

In the summer of 2004, I returned to Hong Kong for the second stage of data collection. Jo introduced me to Tim, who was a close friend of Kelly and who knew Donna through Kelly. Tim further introduced me to his sister, his girlfriend, another close friend Doris, and his rock band members Jecko and Adam. With the active participation of Tim, Kelly, Jo and Doris, I was able to collect another 5 hours 49 minutes of in-group conversation.

2.3. Interviews with speakers of both groups

The interviews were aimed at collecting information to be used in constructing sociolinguistic profiles for each group and each individual - their language background, their history of language learning, their practice (linguistic and non-linguistic) and their metalinguistic comments. A total of 8 in-depth sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with 4 members from each group: Fish, Kristy, Ronald and Joyce from the local group, and Jo, Tim, Kelly and Doris from the returnee group. For the four participants in the in-depth individual study, Fish, Kristy, Tim, and Kelly, I also went over some of their recordings with them and had them comment on usage or attitudinal issues. The

interviews last from 2 hours to over 5 hours; they were relaxed and informal. Findings of the in-depth interviews are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.4. Individual language use in out-group day-to-day interaction

In 2002, when I first met Donna, I observed that she was able to switch between the two code-mixing patterns. When she talked to Kelly and Jo, she used the returnee pattern, but when she spoke to her non-returnee classmates, she switched to the local pattern. In my second stage of research, then, I wanted to find out how these bilinguals used language in their everyday life when I was not observing them. As I mentioned earlier, new technology has dramatically expanded the contexts in which natural conversation can be recorded. The availability of a less conspicuous, easily portable recording device with many hours of recording capacity and extended battery life is particularly crucial for accessing natural conversation and behavioral patterns of the bilinguals being studied. Five selected consultants from the two friendship groups were each given a tiny mp3 recorder to wear around their neck or put inside their pocket so that they could record whenever they and their interlocutors were willing. Two members of the local group, Kristy and Fish, agreed to this task, and they recorded 8 hours and 17.5 hours respectively. Three members of the returnee group also agreed to the task; Kelly recorded 8.5 hours, Tim 10.5 hours and Jo 52 hours.⁹ Upon completion of the recordings (with the exception of Jo's), I went through portions of them with their

⁹ Jo recorded 52 hours of her interaction in daily life, but she turned in her recordings to me a few months after I had finished my data analysis. Because I already had adequate data from the returnee group (via Tim and Kelly), I decided to keep Jo's data for a future project. However, I did use two hours of Jo's recording in which she and Tim were among in-group friends.

respective participants to seek information about the interlocutors, environments, and locations of each conversation.

Because mp3 players are a very popular accessory among young people in Hong Kong, the consultants were able to carry out the recording task without drawing unnecessary attention in public. The consultants were instructed to only turn on the recorder when they, as well as their interlocutors, consented to participate in the research. I prepared two sets of bilingual information sheets and consent forms for the consultants to keep and to give out to their interlocutors. The Institutional Review Board at the University of Michigan approved having the interlocutors in this research give verbal consent recorded on tape if they preferred not to sign a consent form. I advised the consultants to seek prior consent from the people they expected to converse with regularly so that they did not have to ask for permission every time (making the recording task less conspicuous). They were also told that they had full control over the recorder and that they could turn it off anytime they or their interlocutors did not feel like being recorded. I advised them to keep the recorder running for as long as they felt comfortable, even at times when they were not speaking. In general the recorded conversations seem very natural, and it is hard to tell how much the participants were aware of the recording task. There are indications that they often forgot that they were being recorded. For example, both of the male interlocutors kept recording even when they went to the washroom, and Tim didn't realize it until after he had come out. He made a comment to his sister about that and both of them burst into laughter. Yet, on the other hand, I also found occasional instances which mark the participants' acute awareness of being recorded. For example, Kelly sometimes made comments directly to the recorder (i.e. to

me, the researcher) to express her emotions or to explain a situation. In one instance, she spoke to the recorder about how much she hated the person with whom she was about to have a meeting, and then she recorded the entire meeting. In Chapters 4 and 5, I report details of the language patterns and observation in these four consultants' recordings.

2.5. Attitudinal study of speakers of the local code-mixing pattern

The attitudinal study is systematically designed to find out the language awareness and attitudes of the local code-mixing speakers. There are a number of questions I want answered in the attitudinal study. First, to what extent are speakers of the local code-mixing style aware of the differences in the speech that the “others” use? Second, what do speakers do and think about these differences? For example, do they make metalinguistic comments about the difference? Do they associate a particular speech pattern with its speakers? Third, how do their attitudes about the speech pattern and its speakers affect the way they deal with others?

To answer these questions, I set up interviews with 22 university students and recent graduates who are speakers of the local code-mixing pattern, i.e. they insert English into a structure of Cantonese. I asked these students to be “evaluators”, first listening to some audio speech samples and then commenting on the language use and the social background of the speakers they heard. I first looked for evaluators within the student organization I contacted because I knew that they were all local code-mixing speakers. I also approached random students on campus, who I did not know, to try and ensure that the results of this study were of wider relevance than just to students in the organization.

Of the 22 evaluators, 9 were from the student organization and 13 were approached on campus (see Appendix 7 for the personal data of the 22 evaluators). The nine evaluators were working at the time in the same student organization in which I found my natural conversation speakers Karen and Frank. However, the evaluators did not know Karen and Frank personally because they worked in a different subgroup. The interview with these nine evaluators, which lasted for over two hours, was conducted following a two-hour tape-recording of their natural conversation during a social gathering in my house. I approached the other 13 evaluators on campus by walking around cafés, canteens, and the open area outside the library to talk to people who appeared to be university students. I told these students that I was doing a study on Hong Kong people's speech and needed volunteers to listen to some speech samples and answer some questions for me. While I talked to them, I also observed the way they spoke in order to identify the local code-mixing pattern.

I prepared five short audio speech samples to be played to the evaluators (see Appendix 6 for transcripts of the five audio speech samples, and Appendix 5 for the five speakers' profiles). Two of the prepared audio speech samples are in the local code-mixing pattern, which involves English insertion into Cantonese (speakers Karen and Frank), and two are in the other code-mixing pattern in which there are both insertion and alternation switches in one conversation (speakers Jo and Kelly). I extracted these four speech samples from the recordings I collected in natural conversation. I selected samples in which one clearly identifiable speaker dominated the conversation, so that the evaluators could focus on one instead of multiple speakers in each speech sample. This was rather difficult, given that all of my recordings are natural conversation involving

two or more interlocutors, but I did manage to excerpt about 45 seconds to a minute of speech sample from two local and two returnee speakers.

I also included a fifth speech sample by a mainland Chinese speaker, Iris, a graduate student who speaks Cantonese with a non-Hong Kong accent. The speech sample is in a mixed code in which the speaker has inserted some English items in her Cantonese speech. I included Iris in the study because her speech is similar to the local code-mixing pattern except that her Cantonese pronunciation is non-local. In Hong Kong, speaking Cantonese with a non-local accent is associated with mainland Chinese or new immigrants from China, while speaking with too much English is associated with overseas Chinese or “over-Westernized” Hong Kong Chinese, both of which are perceived as non-local. It was my hope that including Iris’s speech in the audio speech samples might provide some insights into the construction of Hong Kong identity and its relationship to social background.

I took minimal notes but tape-recorded all interviews in order to focus on my interaction with the evaluators on the spot. The English Department at the University of Hong Kong, where I used to work, kindly provided me with a room in which to conduct these interviews. A total of six interviews were conducted on campus with these 13 evaluators. Two of the interviews were done individually and the rest in groups of two, three, or four people. Each interview lasted from 30 to 50 minutes. I started all interviews in Cantonese with minimal English insertion. All of the evaluators spoke in the local code-mixing style, but some inserted more English than others. Evaluators were asked to listen to all five audio speech samples once all the way through, then one speech sample at a time while answering a total of seven questions per sample. I have only included

discussion of three of the questions because they shed the most light on the issue of two contrasting code-mixing styles:

1. Is your own way of speaking similar or different from the speaker?
(Interviewees were asked to compare all five speech samples before they answered this question.)
2. Do you have friends you usually hang out with who speak like the speaker?
3. Where do you think the speaker comes from?/Who do you think the speaker is?

These questions are designed to fit with the objectives of the attitudinal study. As I mentioned in the introduction, Gumperz notes that bilinguals can use their language knowledge to evaluate another speaker's social background. I therefore set up Question 3 to find out how these evaluators would assess the social backgrounds of the audio-speech sample speakers. Question 1 aims to find out if these evaluators, who are themselves speakers of the local code-mixing pattern, are aware of the linguistic differences between varying code-mixing patterns: can they tell the difference between those who speak like them and those who don't? Question 2 was designed to explore the social networks of the evaluators and see whether these local code-mixing speakers have any contacts with speakers of another code-mixing pattern.

At the end of the interview I asked the evaluators for personal background information, which is detailed in Appendix 8. In the interview with the nine evaluators at my house, the evaluators soon engaged themselves in an intense discussion about their opinions of the audio-speech sample speakers. As their discussion was directly related to my research objectives, I did not attempt to break it by asking all of my intended

questions, but instead acted as a facilitator. The campus evaluators were asked all of my set questions and were encouraged to explain and elaborate their answers. I discuss the results of this attitudinal study in Chapter 6.

2.6. Participant observation

Because I am an in-group member of the local group and have known the members who participated in my research since 1999, I have had ample opportunities to observe the group. As for the returnee group, when I did my pilot study I was a stranger introduced into the group as someone originally from Hong Kong, but studying in America at the time. I have known Jo, my primary contact in the group, since 1999, but I seldom saw her outside of a classroom context. In 2002 when I contacted her for help with my pilot study, she introduced me to Kelly and Donna. In 2004, Jo further introduced me to Tim, Tim's sister and Tim's girlfriend. Through Tim, I also got to know Doris and members of Tim's punk rock band. On a number of occasions I was able to observe different members of the returnee group in situations other than when I interviewed them. For instance, in 2002, I attended an afternoon get-together with Jo, Kelly and Donna. In 2004, Tim brought me to his band practice, and I was able to observe and participate in his interaction with the band members, who are also mutual friends of Jo through Tim. Jo brought me to visit the bar and the bookstore where she worked and introduced me to her colleagues while chatting with them. I was also at Jo's house once when Tim, Tim's sister, and Tim's girlfriend visited. That night we hung out at Jo's house until midnight, then went for a snack at a 24-hour hot dog vendor, and then to a club for drinks (where we stayed until 3:30AM).

In this section I have discussed various methodological considerations that I took into account when designing and executing my fieldwork. In particular, I have touched on improvements in recording technology that enable us to get more extensive access to interactions in the daily lives of consenting consultants and what this means for building further knowledge about language. I have also taken into account various contextual and interpretive issues related to the multiple roles of the researcher/interviewer and to the concept of the interviewer-interviewee interaction as a co-participating discourse. Finally, I described in detail the steps I took in collecting different kinds of data through the recording of natural conversation, interviews, and an attitudinal study. In the next chapter, I will provide a structural analysis of the natural conversation data collected in in-group contexts.

CHAPTER 3
IN-GROUP LINGUISTIC CHOICES: STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCE
OF THE TWO CODE-MIXING PATTERNS

This chapter provides a structural analysis of the distinction between the local and returnee in-group code-mixing patterns. Before analyzing the data, I briefly review the code-mixing literature in Hong Kong and discuss the current structural models available in the literature. I also explain my choice of Muysken's model over others for my analysis.

3.1. Previous literature on Hong Kong code-mixing

Code-mixing has been observed as a speech norm among Hong Kong youth as early as 1979, when Gibbons reported that students at the University of Hong Kong, an English-medium university, frequently mixed English lexical items in an otherwise Cantonese conversation. Previous code-mixing studies in Hong Kong have focused on the structural constraints of code-mixing (Reynolds Lo 1986, Y. Leung 1987, Chan 1993, Li 2001, T. Leung 2001), code-mixing from a language acquisition perspective (Yip & Matthews 2000, 2005, and their students Yiu 2005, Lai 2006), the semantic and pragmatic functions of using two codes instead of one (Gibbons 1979, 1983; Yau 1993, 1997; Li 1994, 1996, 1999, 2000, Lui 2000, Li and Tse 2002, W. Lin 2003, Fung 2003), and the use of code-mixing in classrooms (So 1988; A. Lin 1988, 1996, Pennington 1995, 1999). The code-mixing pattern studied in the literature, with the exception of language

acquisition studies of bilinguals, is the mainstream and local norm found amongst the vast majority of the younger generation in Hong Kong. It is characterized by having a base language in Cantonese with some English lexical items inserted on an intrasentential level. Some linguists (such as Bolton 1994, Li 2000) note that there are other ways of mixing Cantonese and English in Hong Kong, e.g. the speech pattern typical of ‘FM Select’¹⁰ disc jockeys in which there are alternations between English and Cantonese on an intersentential level. As far as I am aware, however, no sociolinguistic research has been done on code-mixing patterns other than the local one studied in previous literature, nor has any work been done on how distinctive bilingual speech patterns index contrasting social categories and identities in Hong Kong.

3.2. Structural framework for data analysis

Current sociolinguistic work on bilingualism can roughly be classified into the structural approach (Gumperz 1982, Poplack 1993, Myers-Scotton 1993, Muysken 2000) and the pragmatic approach (Gal 1978, 1987, Auer 1998, Woolard 1998, Rampton 1998). Regardless of the approach, bilingualism scholars use the terms “code-switching” and “code-mixing” in very different ways and a consensus has not yet been reached. Some linguists, particularly Hong Kong ones (Li 2000, Lin 1996, etc.), distinguish between code-mixing and code-switching, referring to the former as intra-sentential and the latter as inter-sentential. Others (e.g. Deuchar and Davies 2006) consider code-switching to be a more general phenomenon of using two languages in a discourse, and that code-mixing is a sub-type of code-switching. Still others, such as Muysken (2000), treat code-mixing

¹⁰ FM Select was a relatively short-lived radio channel (1992-2000) which was geared towards the more westernized younger generation in Hong Kong and had a reputation for recruiting overseas-educated bilingual disc jockeys.

as a more general phenomenon and that code-switching is a subtype of mixing.¹¹ There are also linguists who use the two terms interchangeably (e.g. Poplack 2001).

The distinction between code-switching (as a general cover term) and borrowing is another major aspect that has not found consensus among bilingual researchers. Linguists generally agree that code-switching refers to the use of two languages in a conversation. Poplack (2001) points out that such language mixing may take place at any level of linguistic structure, but it is the intra-sentential type that has drawn the most attention. However, when it comes to identifying the status of lone lexical items, different linguists take different approaches. What Poplack refers to as nonce borrowing (in Poplack's categorization, nonce borrowing is a type of borrowing and not code-switching) is considered by some other linguists as code-switching/mixing (e.g. Muysken, Myers-Scotton).

My goal in this section is to analyze the structural similarities and differences between the code-mixing patterns used by the two in-groups. Technically, any of the currently available structural models could be used to distinguish the two code-mixing patterns in my data. I have chosen Muysken's (2000) typology because of its relatively economical categorization, which is sufficient for my purpose. Moreover, I found that his continuum of insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization fit my natural data better than models which attempt to find clear boundaries in fuzzy natural language.

Muysken attempts to generalize a currently vast and confusing discussion of code-mixing into an economical typology. He describes three structures of code-mixing:

¹¹ Muysken considers the term switching as appropriate only for the alternational type of mixing (2000: 4).

(1) Insertion, in which a single constituent B is inserted into a structure identifiable as belonging to language A. (2) Alternation, in which a constituent from language A is followed by a constituent from language B and the language of the constituent dominating A and B cannot be specified. (3) Congruent lexicalization, in which languages A and B share the same grammatical structure, and words from both languages are inserted more or less randomly (ibid.: 7-8). The last type, according to Muysken, is only found between two related languages that share a lot of structural similarities; it is, therefore, not relevant to my data.

Table 3.1. Muysken’s typology compared with Poplack, Myers-Scotton, and Auer (Comparison with Myers-Scotton and Poplack taken from Muysken 2000: 32 Figure 1.3, comparison with Auer is described in Muysken 2000: 4)

Muysken	Poplack	Myers-Scotton	Auer
Insertion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ (Nonce) borrowing ▪ Constituent insertion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Transfer ▪ (CS from Lang X to Y then X)
Alternation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Flagged switching ▪ Code-switching under equivalence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Embedded Language – islands ▪ Matrix Language – shift 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Code-switching (from Lang X to Y)
Congruent Lexicalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Code-switching under equivalence ▪ (Style Shifting) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Matrix Language – shift ▪ Matrix Language - turnover ▪ (Style shifting) 	

Table 3.1 summarizes Muysken’s typology as compared with other models. Muysken’s model is a generalization of a number of current theories on code-mixing and code-switching. In his account, insertion is similar to Myers-Scotton’s Matrix model and is equivalent to Auer’s concept of transfer, while alternation explains the same phenomenon as Poplack’s switch point and Auer’s code-switching. In Muysken’s description, insertion occurs within a sentence, while alternation can occur at both the

intra- and the intersentential level. Muysken's typology considers nonce-borrowing as insertion because it fits the description of having a constituent of language B inserted into a structure of language A. Using his typology to describe the difference in the two patterns, I found that the local pattern is characterized by having English items inserted into an otherwise Cantonese structure, while the returnee pattern has a combination of insertion and alternation. Details of the structural differences are described below.

3.3. The linguistic findings: structural difference of the two code-mixing patterns

I selected two 30-minute excerpts from the local in-group conversation recording and one 30-minute excerpt from the returnee recording for analysis. The local in-group excerpts are from a recording of a house party in which I selected the last 30 minutes of each side of the two-hour tape. The returnee in-group excerpt is recorded in an afternoon-tea gathering in which I selected the last 30 minutes of side A of the first tape. The two settings are equivalent in that they are casual gatherings among friends. Using Muysken's framework, I counted the number of insertions, both English and Cantonese, and the number of alternational switches that occurred in each excerpt. I aim was to identify salient patterns across the excerpts, but did not carry out any statistical analysis because of the small sample size. The result of the comparison is presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Contrasting characteristics of two styles of code-mixing in Hong Kong

	Local in-group recording		Returnee in-group recording
	30-minute excerpt 1	30-minute excerpt 2	30-minute excerpt 3
Speakers:	9 current students and recent graduates who work for the same student organization and the researcher		Jo, Kelly, Donna, and the researcher
<i>Insertion</i>			
Cantonese Insertion into English	0	0	27
English Insertion into Cantonese	34	39	37
<i>Alternation</i>			
Alternation occurs within a single turn	0	0	110
Alternation occurs across turns	0	0	99
Total alternation	0	0	209

Table 3.2 shows that the two code-mixing patterns are clearly distinctive in their structures. The local code-mixing pattern is uniformly insertional while the returnee pattern includes both insertion and alternation. The number of English insertions in each of the 30-minute excerpts does not vary a great deal (34 and 39 for the local code-mixing pattern and 37 for the returnee one), while the returnee pattern has 27 Cantonese insertions and 209 instances of alternation, which the local pattern does not have. The insertion used in each pattern is different as well. The insertion found in the local code-mixing pattern was confined only to English insertion into Cantonese (34 and 39 items respectively) but no Cantonese is inserted into English. This is because the local code-mixing excerpts have a clear dominant language, Cantonese, but it is difficult to tell which language is dominant in the returnee code-mixing excerpt. The returnee code-mixing excerpt includes both English insertions into Cantonese (27 items) and Cantonese insertions into English (37 items). In the remainder of this section, I will describe the

characteristics of each pattern of code-mixing with specific examples and discuss some of the problems of classifying some cases into insertion and alternation.

There are other differences in the ways that insertion is used in the two patterns apart from which language is being inserted. In the local code-mixing excerpts, all inserted items serve lexical functions as nouns, verbs and adjectives. In excerpt 1, of a total of 34 English insertions, 29 are nouns, 2 are verbs and 3 are adjectives. In excerpt 2, of a total of 39 English insertions, 22 are nouns, 11 are verbs and 6 are adjectives. All of these insertions serve the same lexical functions as they do in monolingual English discourse. All of them are either one- or two-word lexical items except the phrase *agency for quality service*, which is a quote of the slogan of a government office. In the returnee excerpt, some of the insertions are longer and more complex in structure, for example, *in pretty big trouble* and *not my type*. None of the insertions in the local excerpts are discourse markers while in the returnee code-mixing excerpt, the three speakers Jo, Donna and Kelly use some insertions such as *and then, so, he's like* (in the sense of 'he says') which serve discourse functions (see Schiffrin 1987: 31 for definitions of discourse markers.) Also see example (5) under Section 3.5.1 for an analysis of two discourse markers. The Cantonese insertions used in the returnee code-mixing excerpt include some items that are more complex than a single lexical item. I notice that in two instances, Cantonese particles are included as part of the insertion. The two insertions in question are (1) *a ba ba* which consists of a particle *a* and *ba ba* which means 'father', and (2) *tung lo wan la* which consists of a place name *tung lo wan* and a particle *la*. Putonghua insertion occurs only twice in the two local code-mixing excerpts (those are also the only

two instances Putonghua insertion that occurred in the 10 hours of recordings). Because of its rare occurrence, I did not include it in the analysis of this study.

3.4. The local in-group pattern

Using Muysken's typology, the local code-mixing pattern can be described as insertional only. English items are inserted into Cantonese but not vice versa, as in Example 3.1 below:

Example 3.1.

Frank: ze m hai ngo m hang gong, ji hai ze hou lou sat gong ze e mou di
<<not that I don't want to speak that is honestly speaking that is without >>
moderate zung sing di get yan ze dou wui gok dak ngo hai deoi si
<< some **moderate** neutral sort of people would all feel that I am speaking >>
m deoi jan ze o: zi gei **personally** ze o jau hou siu tai pin le ze o m wui jan
<< of the matter and it is not personal. I myself **personally** I seldom get too
biased. I will not>>

The two English words *moderate* and *personally* are inserted into Cantonese. Note that this can be treated as a case of code-mixing but not borrowing because I found no evidence that these words have become a regular part of Cantonese. Furthermore, the speakers themselves made metalinguistic comments on this kind of speech as 'Chinglish' (a blend of Chinese and English) or 'Chinese-English mix', indicating their awareness of two codes being used. In the two 30-minute excerpts I found, respectively, 34 and 39 English items inserted into the Cantonese conversation. All 10 hours of natural conversations I recorded among the locally raised young people proceeded in the same pattern.

There are five items that are commonly used (in comparison to their Cantonese equivalences) among Hong Kong Cantonese speakers, and yet unlike regularized

borrowing such as *ba si* ('bus'), there are no Cantonese syllables that are used to represent the sounds of these words. They are considered to be English words, but are very commonly used by Cantonese speakers. These are *call* (verb, meaning to call a person on the phone or on a pager), *DVD*, *VCD*, *K* (short for *Karaoke*), and *OK*. I included them in the insertion list with an asterisk to indicate that they are far more commonly used than the other English insertions (see Appendix 4, excerpt 2). In Muysken's framework, these words still constitute a case of insertion because it involves a constituent of English being inserted into a structure of Cantonese. But they can also be considered to be items in transition from code-mixing to borrowing.

3.5. The returnee in-group pattern

The returnee code-mixing pattern has a more complex structure than the local type. It has both insertion and alternation. Moreover, patterns of insertion are not confined to English insertions into Cantonese as in the local pattern.

3.5.1. Insertion in the returnee pattern

Insertions in this returnee pattern can go both directions, i.e. English insertion into Cantonese similar to those found in the local type, and Cantonese insertion into English. In the 30-minute excerpt, 27 Cantonese items were inserted into English-dominant structures, while 37 English items were inserted into Cantonese-dominant structures. Examples 3.2 and 3.3 are from excerpt 3, showing respectively Cantonese and English insertions:

Example 3.2

Donna: **No, but seriously it's really leng, you are the one who said "hou ce" right?**
 <<true>> <<very eerie>>
 But you chucked it right?

In this example, the Cantonese items *leng* and *hou ce* are inserted into English. This is a kind of insertion that I did not find in the 10 hours of recordings of the local code-mixing pattern. An obvious reason is that the local code-mixing pattern uses only Cantonese as the base language, so the insertion of Cantonese into an English base language is not possible.

Example 3.3.

Jo: ngo hai ying gok go si le ngo hai ying gok go si le ngo **Form Six** go si le
 <<When I was in England when I was in England When I was in **Form Six** that
 time>>

Example 3 is an instance of English insertion of the term *Form Six* into Cantonese. This is the same kind of insertion as can be found in the local code-mixing pattern.

Li (1998: 161) discussed how code-switching can be used as a conversational strategy to achieve specific interactional goals such as marking pre-sequence, repair and building up contrast. Bilinguals have an extra linguistic resource available for them if they choose to use it, while monolinguals use other resources to achieve the same interactional goals. In excerpt 3 (Table 3.2 - the returnee code-mixing conversation), I found some insertions which seem to perform a discourse function and can be defined as discourse markers. I am using Schiffrin's (1987: 31) definition of discourse markers, as 'sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk'. These brackets are 'devices which are both cataphoric and anaphoric whether they are in initial or terminal

In the returnee code-mixing excerpt, I found 15 Cantonese insertions in English clauses, and 8 English insertions in Cantonese clauses that serve a discourse function. For example, quotatives such as *he's like, I was like, keoi wa* ('he said'); markers of discourse time, i.e. markers not directly related to the event time being narrated, such as *okay and then, gan zyu* ('and then'); markers of cause and result such as *because, jan wai* ('because'), *gam a* ('so', 'and then'). In the local code-mixing pattern, only English insertions are found, and all of those insertions are limited to lexical items that do not serve discourse functions. (See Appendix 4 for a complete list of all insertions used in the three excerpts.)

3.5.2. Alternation in the returnee pattern

Alternation occurs in returnee in-group conversation, and never in local in-group conversation. Some alternations occur within a turn, while others occur between turns. Because there are four participants involved in the conversation, a speaker may in one occasion alternate language from the last turn she took, while in another instance she may not. It is therefore necessary to examine turn-taking in conjunction with language mixing here.

Auer (1995) was one of the first linguists to examine turn-taking patterns in code-switching. He developed a sequential approach to the pragmatics of code-switching distinguishing seven patterns of language alternation. He classified code-switching patterns in terms of whether two speakers speak the same language or different languages when they start a conversation, whether a language switch indicates which speaker adopts the language choice of the other, and whether the language switch is triggered by

what he calls ‘discourse-related’ factors. He attempts to explain the triggers for each language switch in individual conversations. These triggers can include, for example, shift in topic, participant constellation, activity type, etc. (Auer 1995: 125).

My study focuses more on the choice of which code-mixing pattern to use and less on the choice of which language to use at a particular switch point. The switch points in the Hong Kong data occur very rapidly and frequently in a single-topic conversation, or even within a single turn. My focus, therefore, is not to attempt an explanation for each individual switch point or trigger, but to describe the general structural pattern of alternation used in the returnee in-group conversation. Within 30 minutes of conversation (refer to Table 3.2 above), I found a total of 209 alternations or switch points. Among them 110 occur within turns and 99 occur at the point when a second speaker takes a turn. When a switch occurs within a single turn it is initiated by the speaker herself rather than being triggered by other participants in a conversation. Example 3.6 shows how alternation within a turn works:

Example 3.6.

- Jo: 1. ...**very very nice body and her face and she look quite good as well and**
2. **when she told me when she told me that** → keoi heoi wa jan gin gung → I
 <<she went for a job interview at wa jan>>
3. **nearly slapped her** → nei gam ge yeong lei heoi wa jan gin gung? nei cyun
 <<you that face you have you went to wa jan for a job interview?
4. haau ge laam sang wa gan zyu lei fan uk kei {laughs}
 You the male students of the entire school would just follow you home>>

In this example, the alternation between English and Cantonese occurs within a single turn.. The speaker, Jo, alternates from English to Cantonese in line 2, and alternates again at the end of line 2 to English, then to Cantonese in line 3. Using Muysken’s typology, this is a case of alternation and not insertion because neither the

Cantonese constituents nor the English ones can easily be treated as inserted into the other language. Rather, it is a constituent of Cantonese followed by a constituent of English, and there is no clearly dominant language. Alternation within a single turn is the most common type of alternation found in that 30-minute excerpt as 110 alternations, more than half of the total, belong to this type. Switches from one language to another can occur frequently within a single turn. Kelly took the floor most of the time in the second half of the 30-minute excerpt because she was narrating an event to Jo and Donna. Since Kelly was in a hurry to finish her story, her rate of speaking was fast and she took longer turns with more words in each turn than I observed in the rest of the recording. For example, in one of her turns she uttered 396 words, and made 26 alternational switches. In other words, she switched language on an average of every 15 words in this single turn. This is not a rare case; she showed the same pattern in all her longer turns. One of her turns has 248 words and with 10 alternations, another turn has 205 words also with 10 alternations.

Alternations across turns take different forms, and in this section, we shall look at four different types of sequential pattern. First, consider 3.7 below:

Example 3.7.

- Jo: **that I can do it too then everyone was coming every night I was that holding mystical session in my boarding school room they just got [so**
- Donna: **[why did you chuck it I wouldn't ve chuck it if I were you so badly your life**
- Jo: maai hai lo mou si gan zou kei ta ye lo
 <<yeah (I have) no time for my own work>>

The example above shows that the conversation was carried out in English for two consecutive turns, but when Jo took her second turn she initiated a switch to

Cantonese. Jo's action is both a switch from her own previous turn in which she uses English, and a switch from the last adjacent turn taken by Donna in English. Thus, Jo is initiating a switch into a language different from the language of the conversation right before this turn. Among 99 alternations which occur across turns, there are 24 occurrences of this type of alternation within the 30-minute conversation (see again Table 3.2.).

Another kind of alternation found in this 30-minute excerpt does not switch language from the end of the same speaker's earlier turn. Rather the sequential context presents the current turn as a switch from language used by the other speaker in the preceding turn, as in 3.8 below:

Example 3.8.

- Donna (to Jo): **oh it's called crumpet (.) waaoo it looks like muffin like English muffin you know the one you can get for five dollars something in Park'n Shop**
- Katherine: {laughs}le go hou jeong di
 <<*this one looks better*>>
- Donna (to Katherine): **so how long will you be in Hong Kong?**
- Katherine: e: o ha go laai baai jat zau la {laughs}
 <<*next Monday (I'll) leave*>>

Note: Katherine is the researcher

In this example, both Donna and Katherine maintain the language of their respective earlier turn. Donna speaks English in both turns and Katherine speaks Cantonese in both of her turns; neither one conforms to the language choice of the other. In such a short excerpt, it is difficult to suggest the reason for this pattern of language use among the speakers, but once a longer conversation or sequence of conversations is observed, the types of alternations used by individual speakers can be more clearly

interpreted by both the participants and the conversation analyst. In this particular case, Katherine and Donna continue with their conversation without either one conforming to the language choice of the other for another 10 turns. After that, Katherine conforms to Donna's language choice by speaking in English. This alternation pattern, in which a speaker maintains the language choice of his/her previous turn, can be seen as a process between two speakers to negotiate a common language choice. Within 30 minutes there are 47 occurrences of this type of alternation. This alternation pattern, where one speaker consistently uses one language but the second speaker consistently uses another language, is commonly reported in bilingualism studies (e.g. Auer 1995 mentioned studies by Gal 1979 and Alvarez 1990). Auer (1995: 125) categorizes this as Pattern IIa in his framework and comments that after a time of divergent language choice, one participant usually comes to accept the language choice of the other speaker (as in Example 3.9 below). He considers it as 'language negotiation'. The difference between this study and other studies of language negotiation is that the pattern in 3.8 is embedded in a larger conversation in which other code-mixing and code-switching patterns occur, and my focus is therefore not on reasons or triggers for one particular case but rather on the indexical functions, or distinctiveness, of code-mixing in the conversation as a whole.

Another kind of switch point is found in a sequential structure in which two speakers speak different languages but one conforms to the language choice of the other in the next turn, as in 3.9 below:

Example 3.9.

- Donna: **why did you chuck it I wouldn't ve chuck it if I were you so badly your life**
- Jo: maai hai lo mou si gan zou kei ta ye lo
<<yeah (I have) no time for my own work>>
- Donna: mui maan dou hai gam zim buk zim buk
<<every night continue to tell fortune tell fortune>>

In this example, Donna speaks English and Jo speaks Cantonese in their respective first turns, but Donna conforms to Jo's choice of language by speaking Cantonese in her second turn. Sequentially Donna's second turn (in Cantonese) uses the same language as the adjacent previous turn (by Jo). But Donna switches from English to Cantonese from her own earlier turn. This is an example of a switch by a single speaker across turns. Within 30 minutes there are 26 occurrences of this type of alternation.

The last type of alternation that occurs in the excerpt is a switch triggered by a change of conversational participants, as in 3.10:

Example 3.10.

- Donna: {to the person on the phone} ying go bin dou du yau ga la ngo gu=
<<it should be available everywhere>>
- {to Jo, Kelly & Katherine}=**who knows where Three Xs is showing?**

In this example, Donna is engaging in two different conversations; one with a person at the end of a phone line and the other with Jo, Kelly and Katherine, who are sitting next to Donna. Donna speaks Cantonese when addressing the person on the phone, while she switches to English when she addresses Jo, Kelly and Katherine. In the 30-minute conversation this alternation type occurs only twice, first in Example 3.10, and

second, when a waiter interrupted the conversation and one of the participants addressed the waiter in a different language from the previous conversation.

Not counting the researcher, who has 32 turns and two alternations, the other three participants produced a total of 334 turns in 30 minutes, among which 99 turns (30%) involve alternational code-switching at turn handover points, the other 110 switch points occur within turns. In terms of individual speakers' use of alternation, Kelly has the highest number of switches, 118 of the total of 209 alternations being made by her. Among those, 87 (74%) alternations are within turns. This pattern can be explained by the fact that Kelly was narrating an event in the conversation and therefore she was given the floor most of the time. Apart from Kelly's large number of within turn alternations, there is no other specific pattern of alternation characteristic of any one of the three speakers.

To summarize, in this chapter I have laid out the structural distinction between the two in-group code-mixing patterns, one dominated by Cantonese with English insertion, the other by various strategies of mixing the two languages. In the attitudinal study, evaluators can clearly distinguish between these two code-mixing patterns and they associate each with a different social category (more detail in Chapter 6), so these two structurally different code-mixing patterns are also socially distinctive. Because this chapter only reveals the linguistic structure of the two code-mixing patterns, it is important to study how these patterns are used in context before we can begin to analyze and understand the practices and ideologies of these consultants. The next two chapters provide that context by following the daily interactions of members from these two

groups and examining their language patterns when they are observed outside of their friendship group and peers.

CHAPTER 4
LINGUISTIC CHOICES OF LOCAL INDIVIDUALS
IN OUT-GROUP DAY-TO-DAY INTERACTIONS

4.1. Goals and structure of Chapters 4 and 5

In Chapter 3, I presented the linguistic patterns observable during in-group interactions by the two groups of bilinguals. The linguistic pattern of the local group is characterized by having only English lexical insertions in a Cantonese structure while the returnee group's linguistic pattern has insertions of English and Cantonese, and alternations of the two languages from both directions. The linguistic patterns of code-mixing provide the basis for us to understand the structural aspects of these mixing phenomena, but this alone does not tell us how the structures are used or how their users perceive their own linguistic practices, not to mention the linguistic practices of others. A number of empirical questions remain: What are their code and code-mixing choices outside of their friendship groups? Do individuals in each friendship group have similar out-group linguistic patterns? Are there significant differences between the locals and the returnees in their out-group language use? Chapters 4 and 5 address these questions by extending the analysis beyond in-group linguistic usage to describe individual bilinguals' code and code-mixing choices in their out-group day-to-day interactions. By doing so, we gain insight into another aspect of language – namely, the contextualized use of the code-mixing structures.

As I describe this contextualized use throughout Chapters 4 and 5, the consultants' attitudes towards codes and speakers in Hong Kong are also explored. A prime area to uncover language ideologies is in a speaker's metapragmatic comments about and perceptions of codes and other speakers. My consultants' reports and explanations of their linguistic practices, and their perception of who should speak what to whom and where, are therefore an integral foundation for further exploration of the connections between linguistic structures, contextualized use, and language ideologies—what Silverstein (1985) calls the “total linguistic fact” as mentioned in Chapter 1.

The consultants themselves, through the use of a small mp3 recorder, collected all the data used in Chapters 4 and 5. This relatively new collection method, as discussed in Chapter 2, allows for up to 8 hours of continuous recording and, as such, permits the researcher to “observe” language use in context with minimal observer interference. It also provides a means to penetrate the consultants' daily interactions so they can be more directly compared with each other.

Four individuals selected from the two friendship groups agreed to audio-record at least 8 hours of their daily interactions with different people. Chapter 4 focuses on two bilinguals from the local friendship group (Fish and Kristy), and Chapter 5 discusses two bilinguals from the returnee friendship group (Kelly and Tim). The two chapters have a similar structure. I first describe each bilingual's sociolinguistic background and language attitudes, including attitudes toward code-mixing, that might influence their linguistic practices (4.2). I describe the linguistic patterns of individual bilinguals in their out-group day-to-day interactions with different people they encounter, i.e. I am interested in intra-speaker variation of each consultant. In 4.3, I describe the language

choices of each consultant when they interact with family members, people at work, friends, and strangers. In 4.4 I observe whether or not the individuals use the same code/code-mixing choices with the same interlocutor. In 4.5, where there are instances in which an individual shifts from one code/code-mixing pattern to another in the same speech event, I describe how the shift occurs and possible reasons for it. In 4.6, within an individual, I compare the structures of his/her code-mixing patterns in different speech events and with different interlocutors. In 4.7, where there are different code-mixing language pairs, I also compare their structures as used by the same individuals.

For inter-speaker variation, I compare the linguistic patterns of individuals within each friendship group to find out if their linguistic choices are similar, given their similar backgrounds. I also compare out-group linguistic patterns of these individuals with their respective in-group patterns as analyzed in Chapter 3. Finally, to close Chapter 5, I also compare the out-group linguistic patterns of the locals with those of the returnees to see if there are substantial differences such as those observed in their distinctive in-group interactions.

4.2. Sociolinguistic backgrounds and language attitudes

In this section, I describe the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the two local individuals, Fish and Kristy. I focus on their personal histories and backgrounds, which to an extent, shape the way they use language today. A detailed comparative table of their backgrounds, as well as that of their families, is in Appendix 8.

Both Fish and Kristy are 24 years old and have recently graduated from the University of Hong Kong. Fish was born and raised in Hong Kong. Kristy was born in

China and moved to Hong Kong at age 12. Both of them went through local government-subsidized secondary schools. These schools use both spoken Cantonese and English as mediums of instruction. Additionally, all textbooks and teaching materials are in English except the subjects of Chinese language, Chinese history, and Chinese literature. Fish and Kristy both report that language use outside the secondary school classroom is predominantly in Cantonese, with an occasional mixing of English lexical items. At the time they were attending secondary school, the Education Department conducted a “Native English teacher program” and allocated one native English teacher to each secondary school. Therefore, they have had some limited experience using English with native English speakers, but most of their teachers were ethnic Chinese and bilinguals of Cantonese and English. Both of them recall that they were able to hold a general conversation in English when they were around Form 4 (equivalent to Grade 10), but it was not until they were at the university that they became fluent in English. At the university level, all instruction and study materials are in English, and many university instructors are native or near native English speakers. Fish and Kristy both report that their frequency of code-mixing increased with their fluency in English. Both of them remember starting to code-mix when they were teenagers. However, this phenomenon was not as pronounced as when they were at the university where the local style of code-mixing became the norm for speaking outside the classroom.

Fish grew up using Cantonese in the family, and in recent years, he has mixed some English when speaking to his siblings (his sister and Hong Kong cousins), but maintains use of only Cantonese when he speaks to his parents. Kristy grew up using Putonghua at home, but in recent years, she uses mostly Cantonese except when her

parents cannot understand. Both Fish and Kristy had some knowledge of their parents' native languages (Shanghainese, Hakka, Fukienese, Javanese) when they were young, but infrequent use has caused attrition and reduced these languages to passive knowledge in the repertoires of Fish and Kristy.

Fish considers Cantonese-dominated mixing (local style mixing) as the most comfortable way of speaking, compared to speaking only Cantonese, only Putonghua, only English or other ways of speaking. However, he says his mixing of English is 'less severe' than his friends, and he only mixes English words that are very commonly used for code-mixing in society. For example, he mixes 'call', 'copy', 'account' (all lexical items) in Cantonese, but he would not use the English words 'I mean', 'and then', 'for' (conjunctions and discourse markers), he says it is because the sounds are irritating to his ears when mixed into Cantonese. Fish does not favor code-mixing and tries to use only Cantonese as much as he can, though he agrees that sometimes it is not possible. On the other hand, Fish also reported that, in some cases, it sounds strange for him to speak only in Cantonese. Compared to Kristy, Fish notably mixed less English into his speech on many occasions. When presented with a recording of his own conversation, Fish was shocked to discover that he sometimes made more English insertions than he realized.

Similar to Fish, Kristy also considers Cantonese-dominated mixing as the most comfortable way of speaking. She said it is possible to speak Cantonese without mixing but it takes conscious effort. She claims that she never mixes a whole English sentence when speaking Cantonese. She gets irritated by people who mix whole sentences of English in their speech; even though she does occasionally do it without being aware. Kristy thinks that ethnic Chinese should speak Chinese (Cantonese or Putonghua) with

each other unless they do not know Chinese. Her attitudes match her practice such that she insists upon using Cantonese-dominated speech with overseas returnee colleagues regardless of the other party's preference.

The attitudes that both Fish and Kristy have towards code-mixing correspond closely with the local evaluators in the attitudinal study (see Chapter 6). Regardless of their actual linguistic practices, they both believe mixing to be unavoidable and yet condemn "excessive" use of English or the insertion of socially unacceptable items (Fish, for example, specifically mentioned "I mean", "and then"). Their metalinguistic comments regarding the appropriate and inappropriate use of code-mixing with specific interlocutors reveals a connection between their practice and their socially-accepted ideologies of code-mixing. This connection between practice and ideology is realized differently for returnees Tim and Kelly, something which will be explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.3. Intraspeaker code and code-mixing choices

In this section, I discuss the local individuals' language choice with family members, people at work, friends and other interlocutors. The background of the interlocutors plays a crucial role in shaping the local individuals' code and code-mixing choices. In some cases, the individuals adapt to the language norms of the interlocutors, while in other cases they do not. The decision for adaptation seem to be closely related to what they conceive to be the legitimate and appropriate linguistic choice for a particular interlocutor, as will be discussed below.

4.3.1. Linguistic choices within the family

Fish grew up speaking only Cantonese (no code-mixing) with his parents, but in recent years, after he acquired the local code-mixing style, he began to use it whenever speaking to his elder sister and Hong Kong cousins (Fish also has cousins in China to whom he speaks differently). Fish recorded a number of conversations with his elder sister, and two local cousins; all of the conversations are in the local code-mixing style. However, when their parents are around, Fish and his sister speak only Cantonese. Fish has a few cousins in Guangzhou but he has no recordings of conversations. Fish reported that he speaks Cantonese only with his cousins in China because it is a sensitive issue to speak English, even in mixing, to mainland Chinese.

Both Fish and his father speak fluent Putonghua; Fish's father speaks a little English, but when they converse with each other, it is always in Cantonese only. This is consistent throughout the audio-recordings. In one conversation, for example, Fish's father was on the phone giving instructions in Putonghua to factory worker in China while Fish was looking for some garment codes in a file. Once he found the codes, Fish recited them in Putonghua to his father, and his father repeated them in Putonghua over the phone. But when the phone conversation ended, the father and son immediately switched to Cantonese. Another conversation between them lasted 1 hour 14 minutes with only Cantonese; his father was explaining details of textile production to Fish. In seven hours of recordings in which Fish's father is involved, he inserted English single words only twice. Because of this low rate of English insertions, his speech is different from that of the local code-mixers described in Chapter 3. Fish recorded one short conversation he had with his mother, and it was also in Cantonese only. Table 4.1 below

shows Fish's language choice with different family members as interlocutors. The information is drawn from self-report and verified by recorded natural conversation data, except when stated otherwise.

Table 4.1. Fish's language choice with different family interlocutors

Fish's interlocutors	Fish's linguistic choices
Father alone	Cantonese only
Mother alone	Cantonese only
Siblings alone (elder sister, a younger and an older cousins in Hong Kong)	Cantonese with English insertions (local code-mixing style)
Parents and siblings together	Cantonese only
Father and the staff in the factory in China	When Fish and his father are addressing each other it is in Cantonese only, when they are addressing the Chinese staff it is in Putonghua.
Cousins in Guangzhou, China	Cantonese only (according to Fish's report, no audio-recording.)

Unless otherwise stated, all interlocutors use the same language pattern as Fish.

There are family and other societal reasons that can account for Fish's code and code-mixing choices in the family. Fish's mother speaks native Hakka and his father speaks native Shanghainese (see Appendix 8), but Cantonese is the only mutual language both of them know well. Cantonese is the dominant language of Hong Kong. Ethnic Chinese who do not speak Cantonese well, particularly those with accents influenced by other Chinese languages, were socially discriminated against in the 1970s and 1980s, and to some extent such an attitude still prevails nowadays. It is understandable that under these circumstances, Fish's parents chose Cantonese as the home language. Fish, his sister and his Hong Kong cousins all went through the local bilingual education system and use the local style of code-mixing among their peers. It is therefore unsurprising that they speak to each other using the norm of their generation, but still continue to speak

Cantonese only to their parents. It appears that there is a generation shift in language use in Fish's family, from Cantonese only to local style mixed-code.

The language choice in Kristy's family is influenced by the societal norms of where they reside. Kristy's parents are native speakers of both Fukienese and Putonghua. Even though they sometimes speak to each other in Fukienese, they chose to speak to Kristy in mainly Putonghua, the national and standardized language in China. For 12 years in Fukien surrounded by bilingual Fukienese-Putonghua speakers who often speak Fukienese to each other, Kristy never picked up the local language and did not see the need to. Although she had passive knowledge of Fukienese, she spoke only Putonghua. When her family moved to Hong Kong, however, the local languages (in this case Cantonese and English) became a must for her to survive in the school system. Kristy recalls that by age 14, two short years after she moved to Hong Kong, she spoke Cantonese very fluently, and by Form 6 (Grade 12) she was able to carry out a general conversation in English. Kristy's Cantonese is very near-native, and by her own account more fluent than her Putonghua and English. She does have some subtle phonological features which might identify her as someone who did not grow up entirely in Hong Kong, but her peer group completely treats her as one of their own.

The home language of Kristy's family changed after their move to Hong Kong. Putonghua was (and to certain extent still is) unpopular and in limited use in Hong Kong in the early 1990's when Kristy arrived, even though Hong Kong was approaching the handover in 1997 and many schools started to teach Putonghua. Cantonese was and still is the dominant language of Hong Kong society. Kristy's parents started to learn Cantonese after they moved to Hong Kong, but as adult learners they have never been

able to speak it as well as Kristy. They continued to speak Putonghua to Kristy but Kristy began to speak more Cantonese to them as her Cantonese fluency improved. Today, Kristy mostly speaks Cantonese to her parents. This home language phenomenon is well illustrated in a 20-minute conversation she recorded at home (Example 4.1 under Section 4.6). The conversation starts between Kristy and her mother in Cantonese. Three minutes into the conversation, Kristy's mother initiates a turn in Putonghua but Kristy answers in Cantonese. After another few minutes Kristy's mother initiates another Putonghua turn, this time Kristy follows in Putonghua for one turn but switches to Cantonese in the next turn. Another 10 minutes passed by with only Cantonese exchanges; Kristy's mother initiates speaking in Putonghua the third time. Kristy answers in Putonghua for the next turn, but again switches to Cantonese after the next. The conversation continues with Kristy's father joining in Putonghua for a few turns. In this three-person conversation, Kristy speaks in Putonghua for two turns, and switches to Cantonese on her third. The pattern continues and finally the conversation ends with both Kristy and her mother speaking in Cantonese.

4.3.2. Language choice at work

At work, Fish and Kristy use all three languages, Cantonese, Putonghua, and English, but with different interlocutors.

Fish spends most of his work time in the Hong Kong office in which he manages the local staff; deals with garment shipping from China to Hong Kong to Europe (mostly France); corresponds with staff in China (via phone, email, fax and personal contact) and clients in Europe (via phone and email, but mostly email). Once a week Fish takes a day

trip to the factory in China. Fish characterizes his language choices at work as: Cantonese to the boss (his father); Cantonese with some English to Hong Kong staff; English to European clients; and Putonghua to staff in mainland China. Except for the use with European clients, the rest of his reported language patterns are verified in the audio-recordings.

Table 4.2. Fish’s language choice with interlocutors at work

Fish’s interlocutors at work	Fish’ language choice
Clients in Europe (France)	English (mostly by emails, sometimes by phone) – no audio-recording
Staff in Hong Kong office (all ethnic Chinese Hong Kong locals)	Cantonese with English insertions (local style mixing)
Staff in factory in China (all ethnic Chinese in China)	Putonghua only
Father (the boss)	Cantonese
Father and staff in the factory in China	When Fish and his father are addressing each other it is in Cantonese only, when they are addressing the Chinese staff it is in Putonghua.

Unless otherwise stated, all interlocutors use the same language pattern as Fish.

Fish’s father is the owner of the factory, and yet when he and Fish speak to the staff in mainland China, they adapt to the staff’s language. It is unknown how well the mainland staff understands Cantonese, since they are not required to use it for the job. Fish mentioned he would consciously not mix any English in his speech when speaking to the staff in China to avoid triggering a negative response from them. When we compare these patterns of accommodation with Hong Kong local consultants’ treatment of returnees (that returnees are the ones expected to adapt to the language norms of Hong Kong locals), it is clear that Hong Kong locals use different standards for mainland Chinese and overseas returnees. It is possible that locality is a factor, that those who are on person A’s territory should adapt the language norm of A. However, actual language

practices seem to tell a more complicated story. I will return to this issue when I discuss language ideologies and practices in Chapter 6.

Kristy is a journalist trainee for an English newspaper in Hong Kong. According to Kristy's own report, ethnicity, or a colleague's place-of-origin, seems to be the most crucial factor affecting Kristy's language choice in the workplace. When Kristy speaks to colleagues from the northern¹² part of mainland China,¹³ she uses Putonghua even if she knows that the interlocutor can speak English. Kristy explains that it is because she assumes her mainland colleagues prefer Putonghua. But when Kristy speaks to her overseas returnee colleagues, preferences of the interlocutors become less of an issue. Kristy insists upon using mostly Cantonese with Cantonese-English bilingual returnees regardless of what language choice the returnees feel more comfortable with. When asked to explain why the returnees are given different treatment, Kristy asserts that Chinese people should use Chinese when speaking to each other, and therefore the returnees, being ethnic Chinese who know Cantonese, should speak Cantonese to her. Only in cases when the other party cannot understand Cantonese would Kristy then accommodate by speaking in English. Kristy always code-mixes when she speaks to local colleagues, and she always speaks English to non-Chinese in the workplace except in one conversation in which she mixes English and Cantonese when she speaks to a native English speaking colleague who is learning Cantonese.

¹² Many southern Chinese people who come to Hong Kong speak some variety of Cantonese natively.

¹³ Kristy has not had any chance to work directly with these mainland colleagues, so it is unknown if the code or code-mixing choices would be different once they work together, such as composing an English news article together.

When Kristy conducts journalistic interviews, her interviewees can decide the code or code-mixing choice. Kristy said that her general principles are to use Cantonese with English insertions with local Hong Kong people except when she knows the other party does not speak any English; Putonghua with northern mainland Chinese; and English to non-Chinese or someone who does not speak Chinese. Table 4.3 summarizes Kristy’s language choices at work.

Table 4.3. Kristy’s language choices with interlocutors at work

Kristy’s interlocutors at work	Kristy’s language choice
Colleagues	
Ethnic Chinese from Hong Kong	Code-mixing, local style
Ethnic Chinese from overseas	Code-mixing, local style
Ethnic Chinese from mainland China	Putonghua
Non-Chinese who speak no Cantonese (Krisy’s Boss)	English
Non-Chinese who speak some Cantonese	English except in one conversation in which Kristy taught some Cantonese to the colleague.
News article interviewees	Depends on interviewee’s language choice, but if Kristy knows the interviewee is a Cantonese-English bilingual, she uses the local code-mixing style. (From Kristy’s report, no audio-recording).

4.3.3. Language choice with friends

Fish reports that all his friends are university-educated locals, and therefore they speak mostly in Cantonese with some English insertions. His two major groups of friends are those from the local friendship group in this study, and another group of university friends he took classes with. In the recordings, both groups speak in the local code-mixing style.

Kristy has local friends to whom she uses the local code-mixing style, including the friendship group in this study, and two other groups of friends she met in classes and in an exchange program. She has a few friends she met in Beijing when she attended a summer exchange program. These friends are all Putonghua speakers, so she speaks Putonghua with them. She has one close friend, a Canadian who is a native speaker of English and does not know Cantonese, so she speaks English only when talking to him. In the recordings, there are instances when Kristy speaks to her local friends, but no recordings of her conversation with her Canadian friend and Beijing friends were made. Neither Fish nor Kristy have any returnee friends; Kristy has a few colleagues who are returnees but she is not close to them.

4.3.4. Other interlocutors

When Fish and Kristy speak to strangers in the recording, they appear to use Cantonese only. Fish recorded two telephone calls he made to two government departments to enquire about study funds; and Kristy made a phone call to order food delivery from a local restaurant. In these three conversations, Fish and Kristy speak only Cantonese. Cantonese is the lingua franca of Hong Kong, so it is normal for these conversations with ethnic Chinese strangers to be conducted in Cantonese only.

Fish recorded an afternoon conversation he had with four of his former secondary school teachers. His former school teachers are all local ethnic Chinese educated in Hong Kong. Their conversation is in local style code-mixing.

4.4. Individual's consistency in code/code-mixing choices with the same interlocutor

Some of the interlocutors in Fish's and Kristy's recordings participate more than once; therefore it is possible to assess if they speak to the same person the same way in every conversation recorded. Fish and Kristy generally use the same code or code-mixing choice with the same person except when the total interlocutor configuration changes. In all of Fish's recordings, he speaks Cantonese to his father when they are one-on-one, but when they are with mainland Chinese staff, they speak Putonghua when they address the staff, and Cantonese to each other. Similarly, Fish consistently uses the local style code-mixing with his elder sister in three conversations, but in the next conversation when their parents are also participants, both Fish and his sister use Cantonese only, both when speaking to their parents as well as between the two of them.

In one continued recording, i.e. when the recorder was turned on for a consecutive period of time, Fish is in the factory in China working with the mainland assistant manager, a Putonghua speaker. The recording lasts for four hours with 18 conversational units.¹⁴ All of the conversations between Fish and the assistant manager are in Putonghua. Towards the middle of the recording, Fish makes two phone calls to his Hong Kong staff, and while he is on the phone, he switches back and forth between Putonghua and local style Cantonese-English mixing in a consistent way. Whenever Fish's addressee is the assistant manager, he speaks in Putonghua, and whenever he addresses the staff in Hong Kong, he uses the local code-mixing style. These examples show that Fish consistently

¹⁴ In a continued recording, I consider long pauses (longer than one minute) as marking the boundaries of a conversation unit.

maintains his code and code-mixing choices with particular interlocutors or interlocutor combinations.

Kristy also consistently maintains her code and code-mixing choices. In one six-minute recording, Kristy is composing a news article with a local colleague, and their conversation is in the local code-mixing style. Kristy's boss, a native speaker of English who knows no Cantonese, interrupts Kristy and her colleague to give Kristy instructions for a second task. As soon as the boss joins the conversation, both Kristy and her colleague switch to speaking English with the boss. The instant the boss walks away, the conversation between Kristy and her colleague switches back to the local mixing style. Similar changes of code occur when the boss appears in two other conversations.

The choice of code and code-mixing with particular interlocutors, or interlocutor combinations, is also observed with the returnee bilinguals. They do not, however, maintain those choices as consistently as the locals (see Chapter 5).

4.5. Structural comparison of code-mixing patterns with different interlocutors

Structurally, whenever Fish code-mixes, the pattern is the same whether he is speaking to his siblings, friends, Hong Kong staff at work, or former school teachers. The structure is always dominantly in Cantonese with insertions of English lexical items, mostly nouns and verbs. What English words are inserted depends obviously on the context and content of the conversation. When he speaks to office staff, the inserted items are office/shipping related words such as 'copy', 'print', 'account', 'file', 'prepaid' and 'collect'. When he speaks to his former school teachers, the inserted items are mostly school related words such as 'chem' (as in 'chemistry'), 'Form 3', 'Form 4', 'matric' (as

in ‘matriculation’), ‘Hong Kong U’, ‘Hall’, ‘Master’). When he teaches his younger cousin English grammar, the inserted items are words related to English grammar. In these conversations in which Fish uses the local code-mixing style, his interlocutors do the same too. The phonological structure of Fish’s English insertion is usually English (British English-influenced Hong Kong English). In some cases, however, the inserted item is pronounced more like English loanword than the English-only speech of Fish’s own repertoire. For example, both Fish and his account clerk pronounce the word ‘forwarder’ with an intonational pattern similar to the Cantonese tones 1-4-2 (high-low-rising). Items like this one may be en route to becoming loanwords.

Compared with Fish, Kristy mixes more English items in conversation. On some occasions such as when she composes news articles (and often recites the just written English text to herself), or when she speaks to a native English speaker who is learning Cantonese, the structure of her mixing diverge more from the local style. Cantonese is the dominant language Kristy uses when she interacts with her local colleagues while composing news articles, but her English insertions are not limited to single lexical items like the local mixing style; she sometimes mixes longer English phrases or whole sentences, particularly when she recites a passage while composing it.

On another occasion, Kristy has a six-minute conversation with a native English speaker who is learning Cantonese; Kristy alternates 16 times between Cantonese and English, and only two of those switches are within a turn. Alternation as a strategy is not at all common in local code-mixing style, and the high frequency (of alternating 16 times in 6 minutes) is certainly unusual for Kristy or any other local bilinguals in this research. Kristy also uses insertions in four turns, but only one of them is clearly an insertion of

English into Cantonese, the other three insertional patterns can be interpreted in either direction (English insertion into Cantonese, or Cantonese insertion into English).¹⁵ In the common local code-mixing style, however, Cantonese is unambiguously the dominant language. It is possible that Kristy is adapting the speech pattern of her interlocutor in that conversation as the interlocutor alternates and inserts frequently through the conversation as well. Kristy has some uncommon strategies employed in her Cantonese-English code-mixing on these occasions, but in most of her recordings, her Cantonese-English code-mixing retains the local style characteristics.

4.6. Structural comparison of different code-mixing language pairs

Fish code-mixes only between Cantonese and English, but not in other language combinations. His code-mixing structure is consistently of the local style in which Cantonese is the dominant language with lexical English insertions. When Fish speaks Putonghua, there are a few times when the phonological patterns of Cantonese are evident, but it is hard to distinguish whether he is speaking Cantonese-accented Putonghua or mixing Cantonese with Putonghua. However, the problematic items are of a small number in his recordings. Fish comments that sometimes there are words in which

¹⁵ The three utterances are:

- (1) **what about** lei siu ze? <<*what about Miss Lee?*>>
- (2) **with** lei siu ze <<*with Miss Lee*>>
- (3) jau mou **girlfriend?** <<*(do you) have a girlfriend?*>>

There are a number of reasons why it is difficult to classify the type of insertions in these utterances: (i) the individual language portion in each utterance does not constitute a constituent on its own, and therefore these utterances cannot be considered to be alternations; (ii) the utterances are too short for assessing which one language is dominant in each utterance; (iii) in terms of sequential order, the previous and next turns of each utterance varies. In (1), the previous turn and the next turn are mixing with a similar structure as (1), so they are not supporting evidence to pinpoint a dominant language. In (2) and (3), the previous turns and the next turns are in different languages, and do not provide supporting evidence for a particular dominant language.

he is uncertain of Putonghua pronunciation so he uses one similar to Cantonese instead, and his Putonghua interlocutors seem to have no trouble understanding.

When Kristy code-mixes between Cantonese and English, most of the time (e.g. when speaking to Hong Kong colleagues and friends) she uses the local code-mixing style, i.e. she inserts lexical English items into a structure of Cantonese. Some of the time her Cantonese-English code-mixing contains alternations and longer English insertions (e.g. when she composes news articles, and when she talks to a Cantonese-learning English speaker—see Section 4.4). When she code-mixes between another language pair, Putonghua and Cantonese, however, she alternates most of the time. In the dialogue Example 4.1 below, Kristy alternates six times in turns 8, 10, 17, 22, 24 and 26. In turn 13, it is unclear if Kristy’s utterance, “zi chin ni bu jaau a” <<you don’t want it before>>, is an alternation from Cantonese to Putonghua, or an insertion of the Cantonese compound word “zi chin” <<before>> into a structure of Putonghua. What is clear is that Kristy typically alternates instead of inserting when she mixes between Cantonese and Putonghua.

Example 4.1. (Kristy’s switch points are marked by ➔)

1. Kristy: mou la gam faai
<<that’s it? so fast!>>
2. Mother: {...?}
Kristy: m hai a
<<no>>
3. (60.)
4. Mother: (name of Kristy)
5. Kristy: {m?}
6. Mother: na ga ge wo kan na ga
<<that let me see that one>>
- ➔ 7. Kristy: kan sa mo?
<<see what?>>
8. Mother: Ba ba luk na ga (...)

- 9. Kristy: <<the one father recorded (...)>>
dou m zi keoi luk hai bin
<<don't know where he recorded it>>
10. Mother: wo Ba a?
<<name of father>>
11. Father: ha?
<<yes?>>
12. Mother: si bu si ze ii zyuen?
<<is it on this tape?>>
- ? 13. Kristy: zi chin ni bu jaau a
<<you didn't want it before >>
14. Mother: ni luk na ge sam mo, di o zi, leang zi wo dou mei yao kan a
<<you recorded that what, the second episode, I haven't seen both episodes>>
15. Father: daau daau chin min cyu lo
<<rewind it to the front>>
- 16. Kristy: jeui chin min
<<in the very front>>
17. (.)
18. Mother: liang zi a
<<two episodes>>
19. Father: jeui chin min (.) wo jau kaan
<<in the very front (.) let me see>>
20. (.)
- 21. Kristy: din si gwong gou a
<<it's tv commercial>>
22. (5.)
- 23. jeui chian mien!
<<at the very front!>>
24. Father: hai a
<<yes>>
- 25. Kristy: gam do?
<<That much?>>
26. (5.)
27. Mother: {., ...}
28. Kristy: hai ya, jeui chin a ma!
<<yes, the very front!>>
29. Mother: jap jo la
<<already in?>>

4.7. Comparing the two individuals' code and code-mixing choices

Both Fish and Kristy are from the local friendship group, and neither have spent a long period of time overseas. Both of them are fluently trilingual in Cantonese,

Putonghua and English. There are certain similarities in their code and code-mixing choices, and these choices seem to closely relate to the ethnicity and language background of the interlocutors.

For Fish and Kristy, the only situation in which they would conduct an English only conversation is when they speak to people who are not ethnically Chinese. Kristy speaks English to her expatriate native English-speaking colleagues at work, while Fish uses English to communicate with his business clients in France. There is only one occasion in the recordings in which Kristy speaks both Cantonese and English to a native English-speaking colleague, but that was because the colleague was learning Cantonese and wants to practice Cantonese with Kristy. Even so, there is still a substantial portion of the conversation conducted in English only.

Both Fish and Kristy use the local style code-mixing with ethnic Chinese Cantonese-English bilinguals. Fish uses it with his friends, his siblings, his Hong Kong office staff, and his former teachers. Kristy uses it with her Hong Kong friends and colleagues. These interlocutors have some common characteristics. They are locally educated ethnic Chinese bilinguals, and are among the younger generation. They all speak Cantonese natively and know enough English to use it in mixing. None of them seem to be adapting to the speech of another party during conversation. As with ethnic Chinese Cantonese-English bilinguals who are not locally educated, such as Kristy's returnee colleagues, Kristy chooses to use the local style mixing assuming that, since they are ethnic Chinese, they should speak mainly in Chinese languages when communicating with other ethnically Chinese people. Fish does not have contacts with returnees but he

also has the same belief that ethnically Chinese people should speak Chinese languages amongst each other.

In the recordings, Fish speaks Cantonese to his parents and strangers. He reports that he also uses Cantonese to ethnic Chinese Hong Kong people who are of the older generation (i.e. those who likely did not go through the mass bilingual education system established after 1978). Kristy prefers to use Cantonese with her parents who are more fluent in Putonghua and Fukienese; even Kristy herself grew up speaking Putonghua. But Kristy's change of home language preference coincides with her family's move from Fukien to Hong Kong. It is unclear why Kristy speaks Putonghua to mainland colleagues who she assumes prefer Putonghua, but she speaks Cantonese with her own parents who prefer Putonghua and struggle with Cantonese (in Example 4.1, Kristy's parents speak mostly in Putonghua).

When communicating with Putonghua-speaking ethnic Chinese, both Fish and Kristy speak to them in Putonghua with no mixing of English or Cantonese. Fish reports that he speaks to his Guangzhou cousins (Cantonese-Putonghua bilinguals) in Cantonese only. He comments that mixing any English when speaking to a mainlander can be perceived as an attempt to belittle the other party, even if the other party also knows English. Because of that, Fish controls his speech carefully to avoid any English mixing whenever he speaks to a mainlander. In this sense, Fish is policing the language boundary when he speaks to mainland Chinese, whether in Putonghua or Cantonese. However, when he speaks to local Hong Kong bilinguals, the language boundary is less maintained, at least to an extent that the local style code-mixing can be used without social sanction. Kristy's mainland Chinese colleagues, being journalists in English newspapers, are all

Putonghua-English bilinguals, and likely have some knowledge of Cantonese. But when Kristy speaks to them, it is always in Putonghua only.

In short, Fish and Kristy are similar in their choices of using local style code-mixing with the younger generation of Hong Kong locals, their choice of using Putonghua with northern mainland Chinese, and English with non-Chinese. But they diverge in their choices of home language because Fish continues to use Cantonese, while Kristy switched from Putonghua to Cantonese after she moved to Hong Kong. Kristy also diverges from the local code-mixing style when she composes news articles, and when she talks to a Cantonese-learning native English speaker.

By reporting their language choices, attitudes, and judgements related to which code/mixed-code to use with whom, Fish and Kristy give us insight into the way they see and maneuver in their world, and illustrate that language practices and ideologies are inseparable.

4.8. Comparing in-group and out-group linguistic choices

The information presented in this chapter suggest that when Fish and Kristy are with their in-group friends, they use the local code-mixing style, a language norm both of them considered as most comfortable. However, when they interact with other people in daily life, the language choice then depends on who the interlocutor is: his/her ethnicity, language competence, and who the individuals perceive have the authority to use whose dominant language(s). Structurally speaking, Fish's Cantonese-English code-mixing in-group and out-group interactions are the same, in which Cantonese is the dominant language with English lexical insertions. Kristy's Cantonese-English code-mixing pattern

is the same when she interacts with her in-group friends and with her other local friends and colleagues. However, on some occasions when she composes English news articles (with local colleagues), and when she speaks to a native English speaker who is learning Cantonese, her code-mixing structure diverges from the local code-mixing style. She uses alternations and insertions of longer phrases in English, which are uncommon features in local code-mixing style. If local code-mixing style is the major key to identify a local Hong Kong person, then on these occasions Kristy may not be easily identified as a local.

4.9. Summary

This chapter set out to introduce both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, in which I describe four selected individuals' code and code-mixing choices in their out-group daily interactions, as well as some metalinguistic comments the consultants provided regarding their own linguistic practices. In this Chapter I have discussed the linguistic choices of two local individuals, Fish and Kristy. I first introduced their sociolinguistic backgrounds and language attitudes. I then described their code and code-mixing choices when interacting with different people: their family, friends, people at work, and strangers. I assessed the consistency of these language choices with particular interlocutors, and described cases in which changes of code or code-mixing pattern occur. I addressed a number of levels of comparison. Within an individual, I compared the structures of Cantonese-English code-mixing used by the same individual with different interlocutors. I also compared the code-mixing structure of different language pairs used by the same individual. Between the two individuals, I compared their similarities and differences in code and code-mixing choices, and to what extent they maintain the in-group local style code-mixing when they are in out-group day to day interactions. In the next chapter, we

will consider the code and code-mixing choices of two individuals from the returnee friendship group, and at the end of that chapter we will come full-circle and compare the returnees with the locals discussed in both Chapters 4 and 5, paying particular attention to the contextualized language use of the consultants and their attitudes toward and perceptions of codes and speakers.

CHAPTER 5

LINGUISTIC CHOICES OF RETURNEE INDIVIDUALS IN

OUT-GROUP DAY-TO-DAY INTERACTIONS

5.1. Introduction

The structure of this chapter is similar to Chapter 4. In this chapter I discuss the out-group day-to-day interaction of two returnees, Kelly and Tim. In 5.2, I introduce the two consultants' sociolinguistic background and language attitudes in turn. I document some of the attitudes the two returnees encounter and social problems they experience. In 5.2 onwards, I compare their language use when they interact with their family, colleagues and friends. Similar to Chapter 4, I assess the consistency of their language choices with the same interlocutors whenever data is available, and address a number of comparisons. At the end of this chapter, I compare the language use patterns between those of the returnees and those of the locals (as described in Chapter 4) to assess if there are similar differences as observed when they are with their respective in-groups.

5.2. Sociolinguistic background and language attitudes

Both Kelly and Tim are 23 years old and Hong Kong born. They have spent different amounts of time overseas but identify themselves, and are identified (mostly by locals) as, people who are different from locally-raised Hong Kong people.

Kelly

Kelly studied in an elite English-medium school in Hong Kong until age 15. She recalls that she could carry a very simple conversation in English since elementary 2 (equivalent to US grade 2), but that she only did so in front of strangers and not her grandfather or mother. She recalls that her father ran a small shoe shop in a tourist area and little Kelly tried to help her father to sell shoes by speaking some simple English to tourist customers. Before studying in the US, Kelly spoke mainly Cantonese at home, but since studying in the US she speaks more English to her family because her language behavior has changed and she knows they understand English.

Cantonese is Kelly's first language, but she reports that it is now difficult for her to avoid mixing English. She speaks English fluently and she can express herself much better in English than in Cantonese. For example, she cannot argue with someone in Cantonese, but she can do so effectively in English. She can read and write Chinese, but she complained that when she first returned from America, she got dizzy spells and headaches when reading Chinese text. She can understand Putonghua but cannot speak it well. She speaks some Japanese, which she studied for three years.

Kelly feels most comfortable when she can use both Cantonese and English freely, like when she speaks to her in-group friends: Jo, Donna and Tim. She reports that she rarely speaks Cantonese without mixing English in it, and she does not sound like herself when she does speak Cantonese only. Kelly thinks that speaking in mixed-code or English with her friends is not a choice she consciously makes, but a spontaneous and natural habit she has developed with her friends. Kelly said that she has made a conscious choice of speaking more Cantonese and less English with her boyfriend and her local

friends and colleagues. It was difficult at first, she reports, but now she has adapted to it after practicing for a few years.

Kelly spent four years in the USA between the ages of 15 and 19. Three of those years, she studied in a private high school in a suburb of Chicago, and one year in a college in California. Kelly then returned to Hong Kong for financial reasons. Her parents could only afford to send one child to study abroad at the same time and it was time for Kelly's younger brother to study abroad. Kelly did not continue her education immediately upon returning to Hong Kong, but worked as an administrative assistant in an English-speaking American company. After a year, knowing there was little hope for her to return to the US, Kelly applied to study at the University of Hong Kong.

Kelly recalled having a difficult time when she first came to the University of Hong Kong. She spoke mostly in English and few students wanted to talk to her. Kelly was excluded from preexisting friendship networks: "I think I belong nowhere, I'm not local, and I'm not (a foreigner). I'm not here, I'm not there, I'm in the middle. It's very strange!" In classes, when Kelly was assigned to work with local students in a group, the other group members maintained a work-only relationship with her and she said she would not find a close friend among the locals. After the first month, Kelly met Jo, a returnee from England. They immediately bonded with each other and Jo introduced Kelly to her group of international friends, consisting of returnee Chinese and students of different ethnicities who were mainly English-speaking. Kelly had found a group she felt comfortable with, and they became the only people she socialized with at the University. Many of the friends in this network of international students left Hong Kong after

graduation, but Kelly has maintained contact with them. Kelly continues to spend time with those who stayed in Hong Kong, in particular Donna, Jo and (sometimes) Tim.

After graduation, Kelly taught English at an elite secondary school for a year and a half. Her colleagues there criticized her code-mixing behavior, commenting that she respected neither English nor Cantonese languages. Kelly disregarded their comments, observing that they themselves mixed languages, apparently unconsciously.

However, when a complaint of a similar nature was made by Kelly's own boyfriend, she responded differently. Kelly's boyfriend, who is a Hong Kong raised local, believes that ethnic Chinese only speak English in public because they are pretentious and want to show off their English knowledge, and he despises such people. He believes that in any country it is a wrong not to speak the native language of that country: Cantonese in Hong Kong. This exhibits a local's claim of authority and authenticity on his/her own territory by drawing boundaries, defined by language use, between an insider (another local) and an outsider. Kelly's boyfriend contested her use of an "inappropriate" language pattern precisely because it marks her as an outsider and yet, because of her ethnicity, she is "expected" to behave like other locals. In Kelly's experience, many locals she has encountered think the same way. She said they do not understand and are incapable of accepting the fact that some Chinese bilinguals do speak English naturally, and that many speakers have serious difficulties in controlling how much mixing they use. After Kelly repeatedly explained this to her boyfriend, he seemed to agree that at least for Kelly, it isn't a matter of showing off when she speaks English with her best friends. He still, however, holds the belief that many other Chinese who speak English are pretentious, and he still dislikes hearing Kelly speak English in his presence. Because

of that, Kelly has changed her way of speaking with Donna, her best friend, when her boyfriend is present. She also consciously speaks mostly in Cantonese when she is with her boyfriend's friends, who are all locals. "I don't want to make them feel humiliated" she explained. She believes that speaking English or mixing more English than an acceptable norm in her speech, is perceived as an attempt to humiliate the interlocutor(s). In part, this reflection exposes how the locals who Kelly has encountered do not consider the English language to be their own, but something foreign and/or colonial. It also implies that they do not believe (or do not want to admit) that other ethnic Chinese (such as Kelly) can legitimately "own" English as part of their linguistic repertoire - not only use English as a commodity for establishing social status. These ideas, and their intersection with the concepts of authenticity and authority, are further explored in Chapter 7 when I summarize and connect data from all the chapters.

Kelly now works with an international Charity organization as an Education Officer. She believes many of her current colleagues think the same way as her boyfriend. She is frustrated that some of her colleagues negatively judge her - even before they ever met. She recalls that on the few occasions she unconsciously switched to speak English during meetings, her colleagues immediately rolled their eyes and showed looks of disapproval. Whenever there are in-coming English phone calls to the organization, her colleagues presume it is for Kelly. They announce the 'identity' of the caller and pass the phone to Kelly by saying "Gwai a! Kelly din wa." (<<It's a ghost¹⁶! Kelly, your call.>>). Kelly said she does not blame them because they do not understand.

¹⁶ Ghost is a term referring to a Caucasian. Depending on the context, it can be neutral or derogatory.

Rather, she is inclined to blame herself for not making enough effort to act like a local and speak the local way from the beginning. Her resolution is to consciously control her own speech, to speak mainly in Cantonese and not to switch into an English only conversation. “Can I say that I gave up my identity?” she asks, “I don’t know if that (speaking English) is my identity or not, but I know that if I keep going like that eventually I’ll end up with no friends”. She added, “If I want to stay in Hong Kong I HAVE to be a local”.

Tim

Tim spent a much longer time overseas than Kelly. He studied in Hong Kong until age 10 when his whole family moved to Florida, USA. Tim studied there for four years between grades 6 and 9, then the family moved again, this time to Singapore, where Tim finished up high school in a private international school. After graduation from high school, he went to Hawaii for his undergraduate studies in music, and returned to Hong Kong when he was 20. In Hong Kong, a few changes occurred in Tim’s life. He entered the University of Hong Kong to continue his music studies, but dropped out after two months because he signed a full-time contract with a local TV corporation to be an ‘artist’ (a person who is receiving hands-on training to be an actor, program host, or to fill a similar position the corporation thinks is suitable for him). At the time of the interview (June 2004), he had been working there for two years. He was hosting a weekly Music TV program, and was playing a role in a drama series.

When Tim first came to the US at age 10, he had some difficulty adjusting to an English-speaking environment, but he was able to speak the language fluently after two years. His parents speak both English and Cantonese to the children at home, but Tim

recalls he seldom spoke Cantonese when he was in the US and Singapore. In his last year of high school in Singapore, he suddenly realized that he could be losing his native language, Cantonese, and his ethnic Chinese identity. Because of that, when he started college in Hawaii, he made a conscious effort to re-learn Cantonese and reacquaint himself with Hong Kong popular culture by hanging out with ethnic Chinese students from Hong Kong. At the beginning, Tim struggled with speaking Cantonese. His Hong Kong friends, seeing his struggle, would speak English to him instead. Tim questioned if his Cantonese was really as bad as he thought and forced himself to speak more Cantonese than English throughout the remainder of his time in Hawaii. He also took a class in Mandarin (Putonghua) while there. Although he cannot speak Mandarin fluently, he learned much about the phonological relationship between Mandarin and Cantonese. That knowledge, in turn, had an effect on his Cantonese pronunciation. Tim is very proud that his Cantonese pronunciation is free of “lazy accent”¹⁷, which marks him as different from his age-group in Hong Kong, who, in public discourse, are often criticized for having a ‘lazy accent’. By the time Tim returned to Hong Kong in 2001, his Cantonese was fluent, even though he still spoke it very slowly and often mixed English into it. Cantonese is Tim’s first language and the household language of his childhood. Like Kelly, Tim has no problem with English-only conversations but has a hard time if he

¹⁷ “Lazy accent” is a term referring to the colloquial variants (vs. citation variants) of a set of commonly found phonological variations in initial and final consonants in Cantonese syllables (see Chen 1999). For example, the second person pronoun “you” can be pronounced as /nei/ or /lei/; the former is the prescriptively correct pronunciation cited in dictionaries, while the latter is the “lazy” pronunciation commonly used by the younger generation in Hong Kong and Guangzhou. “Lazy accent” is socially stigmatized and the speakers negatively evaluated as child-like and lazy. Tim mentioned learning Mandarin positively affected his Cantonese pronunciation because Mandarin uses only the citation variables. For example, the second person pronoun “you” only has one pronunciation, /ni/, in Mandarin. Knowing the consonants used in Mandarin, then, helps Tim distinguish which pronunciation is the prescribed ‘correct’ form and which is the ‘lazy’ form.

must speak only Cantonese. He prefers to be able to use both English and Cantonese freely instead of having to speak only one or the other. Tim reads both Chinese and English, and reports that he prefers to read news and car magazines in Chinese and entertainment magazines in English.

Tim reports that he suffered an identity crisis when he first returned to Hong Kong: “When I was in the States, I was a minority in a foreign country, I was a Chinese Chinese. But when I am in Hong Kong, people see me as different. I am a gwai zai (“ghost boy”¹⁸) who speaks English.” Tim was initially surprised that strangers, such as taxi drivers, would speak English to him even before he had uttered a word. “At first I tried to blend in, but soon I gave up because I learned to accept that I am, after all, different from them. People will treat me differently no matter what cause they can tell that I am not local”. People Tim encountered in Hong Kong have regularly commented on his ‘ghost-ness’, from his speech to his appearance: his speaking too much English, his use of American slang (“hey, man!” “It’s cool”), his speech tempo, his body movements (such as the way he moves his arms and shoulders), the way he wears a cap backward, his skateboarder-style clothes (loose fit T-shirts and jeans), and even his facial expressions, such as the way he raises his eye-brows. When I asked Tim what his identity was now, his answer was complex and finished with an account of what he was not. “I consider myself as a Hong Kong-born Chinese who grew up overseas with influence from the States and Singapore. I’m not 100% Chinese Chinese, or Hong Kong Chinese, no.” When I asked him why he included both the United States and Singapore in his description, he said because those are the two places, other than Hong Kong, in which his

¹⁸ A Caucasian, a foreigner.

experiences constituted who he is now. “Local Hong Kong people think I’m from overseas. British returnees said I speak like an American boy. American returnees can’t figure out where I am from ‘cause on top of an American accent, I still have strong Hong Kong and maybe Singaporean accents”.

Tim spent only a short time at the University of Hong Kong and was not happy there. He lived in a dorm for two months before he dropped out of the university to take up his media job. The dorm culture¹⁹ was something of which Tim disapproved. His language difference was a relatively minor issue compare to his unwillingness to both follow senior students’ instructions and succumb to pressure to fit in to a rigidly prescribed norm. Tim has only a few friends at the university (mostly returnees). Like Kelly, he was socially discriminated against for his cultural difference, and he feels strongly about it: “If you do not follow the norm, you’re ostracized!”

Entering the world of television does not seem to have eased Tim’s sense of being a misfit. He is surrounded by people who constantly doubt his ability to speak Cantonese and question his ethnic identity. “The majority (locals) always think themselves as superior than the minority (returnees). I don’t like it when they discriminate against me because I am not something, but not because I am something.” On one occasion when Tim hosted a TV program, the script included a small interaction in which his line was an awkward Cantonese sentence, and his local partner had a follow-up line which teased him, “Ghost boy! You don’t know how to speak Chinese, do you?!” Tim recalls that he was offended at this point, but as a junior artist he was not in a position to object. He

¹⁹ Dormitories at the University of Hong Kong have a reputation for social rigidity. For example, in Tim’s dorm, new residents went through a compulsory orientation camp organized by senior students aiming to conform new students in the values of unity in dorm-specific customs.

commented that the line, the awkward Cantonese sentence he had to read, did not resemble the style of a returnee such as himself.

Frustrated with the social position which he seems to have been assigned, and therefore unhappy about his future prospects in the TV corporation, Tim reports that he became very passive and distant from his colleagues. He spoke very little at work and when he did, he carefully monitored his speech and kept only to Cantonese. At the time of the interview (June 2004), Tim was uncertain about his future in the TV corporation and in Hong Kong, but he reports finding his passion for music again in a newly formed punk band where he makes music and speaks English with ease.

Both Kelly and Tim are painfully aware of other people's perception of their non-local status and language use. Both reported adapting to local speech norms. The recordings of their speech show that they employ several strategies to adapt to local norms when interacting with the locals. They tend to use single English words as lexical insertions into Cantonese, i.e. they avoid alternation between English and Cantonese utterances. In the next section I examine the details of how Tim and Kelly implement these linguistic adaptations and restrictions.

5.3. Intraspeaker code and code-mixing choices

From this section onwards, I am shifting from a consideration of attitudes toward the language of Kelly and Tim to an account of observed patterns of use, i.e. how they use language in different contexts. The following sections deal in turn with the way they use language in three different domains: with family, workmates, and friends.

5.3.1. Language use with the family

Kelly

Kelly declined to record family conversation, but she reported her language use with different family members. Kelly's parents are both Hong Kong born and educated. Both of them speak mainly Cantonese with some English insertion when they speak with Kelly and her younger brother. Kelly's maternal grandfather was a government official who enjoyed speaking English. Kelly estimated that about 60% of his speech was in English and 40% in Cantonese when he spoke to his children and grandchildren. But when he spoke to his wife it was in Cantonese only because she did not speak English. This grandfather was Kelly's occasional baby-sitter before she started school and he provided an early English-language environment for Kelly as a young child. Kelly mostly listened but rarely spoke English to her grandfather and mother. She said she was very conscious at a young age of bilingual language practices because her mother would laugh at her English when she tried to speak. Kelly had a native-Hakka-speaking²⁰ nanny who took care of her until she was 14. Her nanny always spoke Hakka accented Cantonese to Kelly, and Kelly picked up some Hakka lexical items from her. Kelly's younger brother finished high school in Hong Kong, then went to Australia to continue his studies. He recently graduated and has returned to Hong Kong.

In Kelly's account, she always code-mixes when she speaks to her parents and brother. The code-mixing pattern she uses with her parents is characterized by both insertion and alternation. She uses more English with her brother than with her parents

²⁰ The Hakka Chinese language family has many varieties and it is unknown which one Kelly's nanny was speaking. It is linguistically distinct from Cantonese, however, which is part of a separate Chinese language family (Yue).

because she knows that he can understand more. When she was 14, Kelly's family moved to live with her grandmother, but Kelly has little interaction with her. When she did speak to her, she spoke only in Cantonese. Kelly's nanny moved to a retirement home when Kelly was 14. Since then, Kelly has regularly visited her and speaks to her in Hakka-influenced Cantonese.

Although there is no family conversation recorded, Kelly confirms that she feels comfortable using English (in both alternational and insertional patterns) with her parents and her brother, because her language mixing behavior is accepted at home.

Tim

Tim recorded about three hours of conversation with his family. Tim's father was China-born and Hong Kong-raised until he went to the US for his undergraduate study. Tim's mother was Hong-Kong-born but migrated to the US when she was eight years old. The recordings suggest that Tim's father speaks mostly Cantonese to his children, while Tim's mother sometimes speaks only English, sometimes Cantonese with English insertions. Tim's 21-year-old sister has been studying in the US since age 8. At the time of recording she was a college student spending her winter break in Hong Kong.

Tim does not seem to police his language mixing behavior when he is with his family. It is an environment in which he can freely switch between the two languages without being negatively criticized. Example 5.1. below is a conversation between Tim and his sister where he alternates to a different language in turns 2, 4, 6, 20 and 22 (marked by →). In turn 22, the alternation is within a conversational turn, and the part of the turn after the alternation includes an insertion of the English word 'function' in an otherwise Cantonese construction.

Example 5.1. Tim and Sister at home

Turn #	Speaker	
1.	Sister:	lei lei zou me? lei zou me? {laugh} <<you what are you doing? What are you doing?>> {laugh}
2.	→ Tim:	I don't know (.) she give me this/ s give me give her that/ then she give me this back/ s give her that
3.	Sister:	you are the same person
4.	→ Tim:	ha? <<what?>>
5.	Sister:	you are the same person
6.	→ Tim:	what do you mean?
7.	Sister:	that's mui mui zai, right? <<that's little sister, right?>>
8.		(...)
9.	Sister:	Ya
10.	Tim:	So?
11.	Sister:	you and her/ [equal/ same person
12.	Tim:	[m/ oh hehee {laugh}
13.	Sister:	o lei tau saam zeok la <<I'm coming to steal clothes to wear>>
14.	Tim:	hou a <<okay>>
15.	Sister:	jau me ho ji zeok? jau di hou yeah ge saam ho ji zeok a? <<what can be worn? any very yeah (cool) clothes to wear?>>
16.	Tim:	mou mat <<not much>>
17.	Sister:	(...) lei zeok ga? <<you wear (this)?>>
18.	Tim:	hai a <<yes>>
19.	Sister:	gei si a? <<when?>>
20.	→ Tim:	when I feel like/ being gay
21.	Sister:	have you felt like being gay recently?
22.	→ Tim:	not yet/ I wore it to a/ a road show/ to like a function before/ go di/ seong ceong go di function le <<those shopping mall those function>>
23.	Sister:	{in Putonghua, high pitch}: <u>haau kaan ma?</u> <<[Do I] look good?>>
24.	Tim:	it's okay
25.	Sister:	zung jau di me ho ji waan a? <<what else is [fun] to play?>>
26.	Tim:	zung jau? <<more?>>

We can also look into an excerpt to see how Tim’s language patterns compared to his other family members. Table 5.1. is a summary of language turns used by Tim, his father, and his sister in a 30-minute conversation at home.

Table 5.1. Language use of Tim’s family in one 30-minute recording (unit in number of conversational turns) (J2001)

Language pattern	Tim	Tim’s sister	Tim’s father
Cantonese Only	62	74	33
English Only	14	11	2
Cantonese with English insertion	4	2	6
English with Cantonese insertion	0	1	0
Alternation from English to Cantonese	2	3	1
Alternation from Cantonese to English	0	2	0
Putonghua	0	1	0
Total conversational turns	82	94	42

Table 5.1 shows that Cantonese is the predominant language used in the excerpt, while English-only speech, and alternations between Cantonese and English also commonly occur. As observed in Tim’s other family recordings, this pattern appears to be typical of family conversation. Tim’s language use is most similar to that of his sister’s in that both of them alternate relatively freely between Cantonese and English within and across turns. Tim’s father uses fewer English-only utterances than his children (only 2 turns out of 42). Tim spoke only Cantonese in the phone conversation with his mother in this recording (J2001). His mother’s speech cannot be heard in the recording, but it is likely that she was speaking mainly in Cantonese on the other end of the phone, because Tim maintained a Cantonese-only conversation with her during the entire phone call. In another recording (J1005), when Tim had another phone conversation with his mother, his mother’s voice can be heard quite clearly in the recording, they both use Cantonese with only a few English words inserted. In yet another instance (J1006), Tim

recorded a face-to-face conversation he had with his mother in which both of them use English only. It seems that language choice during these mother/son interactions is not fixed at all. Sometimes their conversations are in Cantonese with some English insertions, and sometimes they are in English only. These diverse patterns of mixing are nowhere to be found in the local speakers' family conversation. Because Kelly did not record any family conversation, no comparison can be made between the two returnees.

5.3.2. Language use at work

Kelly

Kelly's first job was as an administrative assistant in an English-speaking American company in Hong Kong when she first returned from America. She enjoyed the work and the language environment there. After Kelly graduated from the University of Hong Kong, she taught English at an elite secondary school for a year and a half. The school was run by Chinese nuns who spoke English most of the time. Kelly spoke English when she taught in classes and when she spoke to her English-teaching colleagues. The vice principal and the Chinese subject teacher, however, criticized Kelly for disrespecting both languages because she code-mixed them, even though both critics themselves code-mixed from time to time. Outside of the school context, Kelly spoke to her students in mixed code resembling local mixing style, i.e. Cantonese with English insertion.

In her current job, in which she has worked for half a year, Kelly is an education officer in an international charity organization. Her main duties include giving presentations at schools in Hong Kong to advocate the mission and work of the organization, and organizing fund-raising activities. She also runs a youth program which

recruits teenage volunteers to visit developing areas in China and Southeast Asia so that they can learn more about regions that are in need of help. Kelly reports being surprised that this international organization supported a conservative local ideology. She loves the nature of her work, but is very frustrated with her relationship with the local colleagues. She says that her colleagues consider her as not entirely local in the way that she speaks and acts. This attitude has become an obstacle which makes it difficult for her to build a friendly working relationship with them. Because of that, she has attempted to maintain a low profile by speaking more Cantonese than is her natural inclination.

However, when Kelly's emotions become more intense, she is less aware of her code choice, such as in Example 5.2 below. In this excerpt, Kelly is speaking to a colleague at work on the phone,²¹ mostly using local style insertions. In lines 5 and 12 she switches to longer phrases of English and in line 13, she alternates to a whole English sentence (all marked by →). The alternation happens right before Kelly tries to make herself understood by increasing her pitch and loudness. Her heightened emotional state is also marked by her repeating "*Do you understand what I mean?*" a couple of times in this conversation. It is possible that when her emotions escalate, Kelly reverts to using a returnee speech style that is more comfortable to her.

²¹ Kelly's interlocutor on the other end of the phone, Bill, was not heard in the recording, so only Kelly's speech is transcribed.

Example 5.2. Kelly on the phone with Bill (colleague) at work
 (Only Kelly's voice is heard in the recording)

1. ze daai jeok pei jyu la/ o dong keoi **SS** jau ja go day jau ja go **column** la
 <<that is about/ for example/ I assume that SS has 20 columns >>
2. / gam o ji ga/er/ lei wa o ji ga/ **always updated** go go jau saam sap go ge/
 <</ so now I er/ you told me now/ there are 30 that are **always updated**>>
3. gam jyu go ngo zeong **SS** zang daai dou saam sap go **column**
 << if I expand SS to 30 column >>
4. daai jau di **column** hai gat ge le/
 <<but some **columns** are empty>>
5. → ze **for for convenience sake** o dei zi hai zeong keoi deng zo gwo heoi/
 <<that is/ **for for convenience sake** we only put them there>>
6. gan zyu kei taa go di mou jung go di mai delete gwai zo keoi lo
 <<and then those that are not used (we can) delete them/ >>
7. / lei ming m ming ngo ji si a?
 <<do you understand what I mean?>>
8. {starting to get louder} ze le ngo dei mou kau ling dou **SS** tung mai
 {louder} <<that is/ we'll make sure the **column numbers** of SS and>>
9. **Excel** go **column numbers** hai jat jeong/ go go/
 <<**Excel** are the same/ that/ >>
10. gan zyu le zau deng zo gwo heoi sin/ gan zyu le
 <<and then (we) put them all there/ and then >>
11. o dei zoi zap/ pei jyu go di **column** (...) ge ngo dei zyun dang lik ceot lei
 << we'll edit it/ for example those **column** (...) we'll pick them out>>
12. → le/ hai ngaa wai ge ze/ **so that** ngo go go **format at least**/ ze
 <<they only take up space/ **so that** my **format at least**/ that is>>
13. → /it'll go into the same **column** a/ lei ming m ming ngo ji si a?
 <<it'll go into the same **column**/ Do you understand what I mean?>>
14. jan wai lei zi cin mai waa le/ jan wai go **column number** dai jat
 <<because you told me/ because those **column number**/ first>>
15. m jat jeong so ji **import** m dou/ zyun saai di wai ge/
 <<are not the same so it cannot be **imported**/ the positions all changed>>
16. gam jyu go ngo dei ling dou keoi go **column's number** jat jeong mai dak
 lo
 <<the **column's number** the same then it's okay>>

Kelly recorded her interactions with her former teaching colleagues at a student graduation dinner as well as her interactions with her current colleagues so I am able to compare her language use in the two jobs. When she talked to her former school teacher colleagues and students (K1003, K1004), most of the dialogue was in Cantonese with frequent English insertion, and a few utterances were in English only. In her recordings at

the current job, Kelly mostly speaks in Cantonese but she inserts different amounts of English depending on which colleague she is speaking to. When she speaks to an officer of a similar rank who has a local university degree, both Kelly and the interlocutor speaks Cantonese with a high frequency of English insertions. For example, in a 12-minute conversation (K1002), Kelly inserted 42 English items and her local colleague inserted 62 items, most of which were one to two words lexical items such as *appropriate*, *symbolize*, *speech*; there were a few short phrases such as *for social opportunity*, *share with [Cantonese classifier inserted] youth*, but neither Kelly nor her colleague uses a whole sentence of English in the conversation.

Kelly has a local university-educated assistant who is the only person Kelly considers a friend in the organization. When Kelly speaks to this assistant, both of them use Cantonese with a high frequency of English insertions; sometimes Kelly uses English-only utterances, a pattern which is not found in her conversations with other colleagues (except when she has more intensified emotions). Some of the colleagues in the organization, such as janitors and office assistants, are of the older generation who work in lower-ranking jobs than Kelly and presumably have lower levels of education. With these colleagues, Kelly tends to use Cantonese only.

Tim

Tim works in a TV corporation in which the vast majority of his colleagues are local Hong Kong people. He has been criticized for using too much English and, because of that, he speaks mostly in Cantonese to his colleagues. His television performances are all scripted and he speaks only Cantonese on screen, but he reports having once been criticized for using some English Discourse markers (such as *I mean*) on screen when he

was supposed to speak in only Cantonese. Tim had mentioned that when the situation requires him to speak in Cantonese only, he would rather speak less so that he doesn't have to struggle with it. Tim maintains a distant relationship with his colleagues and does not hang out with them after work. Tim recorded a 27-minute interaction (J1002) with his colleagues while they were waiting to be called to be on screen. They were filming for a youth drama series, and were playing a Cantonese name-guessing game to kill time. Tim's language choice in this recording is distinctly different from when he speaks to his own friends and family members. In the 27-minute interaction, Tim has a total of 52 conversational turns. Of these, 48 are in Cantonese and 4 in Cantonese with one- to two-word English insertions. There is no English-only conversation or alternation between the two languages, which is significantly different from Tim's conversational style with family members and friends. Below is an excerpt from the beginning of the recording. Tim and his colleagues are chatting while waiting for their scenes in a TV drama. Tim has asked his colleagues' permission to record their interactions, but another of his colleagues, Kwan, has just walked over and is unaware of what is happening, so he asks Tim why he put his i-pod away and wore a different mp3 recorder. Other than line 2, in which Tim inserts two English words, *friend* and *research*, into a Cantonese turn, the rest of the conversation is in Cantonese only.

Example 5.3. Tim and Kwan (colleague) at work

- Tim has just put away his own iPod and wore the recorder the researcher gave him earlier.
1. Kwan: (zou me wun zo a?)
<<why did you change that?>> {gazing at the non-iPod MP3 recorder Tim's wearing}
 2. Tim: o mou a/ mai le jau go **friend** zou gan go **research**
<<it's nothing/ A friend of mine is doing a research>>
 3. Kwan: M: ze me a? jau me?
<<so what it is? What?>>
 4. Tim: ze keoi jiu / keoi seong teng ha ngo gong je (.) hai dim jeong gong faat
<<she wants/ she wants to listen to my speech (.) how I speak>>
 5. Kwan: oh gam zik hai luk gan luk gan jam ga?
<<so it's recording?>>
 6. Tim: ha luk gan hai a, lei mou gong di lei m seong gong bei jan zi
<<yes, it's recording, don't say anything you don't want others to know about>>
 7. Kwan: haa1 lou2 lei hou o giu can kwan / luk ho ji luk gei loi a?
<<hello, how are you? My name is Chan kwan/ record, how long can it record?>>
 8. Tim: luk saai keoi lo
<<until [the memory is] full>>
 9. Kwan: ho ji gei loi a luk saai?
<<how long can it record?>>
 10. Tim: baat go zung a
<<8 hours>>
 11. Kwan: Wao {exclamation}
 12. Tim: jau paai luk
<<take a long time>>
 13. Kwan: jau paai luk a zan hai
<<really take a long time>>
 14. Kwan: saau dou (ga) baai lok heoi?
<<can it record/ (when you) put it in there?>>
 15. Tim: saau dou, gang hai saau dou
<<yes, certainly it can>>
 16. Kwan: gam hoi gung go si mai mok zo keoi?
<<so you have to take it off when you work?>>
 17. Tim: hai a/ so ji dou mou si gaan zou lo
<<yes, so I have little time to do it>>

5.3.3. Language use with friends

Kelly

Kelly has two major groups of friends. One group of 16 persons she calls ‘international friends’, whom she hung out with at the University of Hong Kong. All except three of them (a Korean, a Persian, and an Indian) are ethnic Chinese who had spent sometime overseas before entering the university. Only four or five of this group can speak any Cantonese at all (Jo, Donna, Kelly, a Korean friend, and Tim, who joined the group later). For this reason, they always communicate in English in the group as a whole, and in a returnee style mixed-code with the sub-group who speak some Cantonese. Kelly reports that most of her friends in this group, except Jo and Donna, left Hong Kong after graduation although she still keeps phone contact with them. Recall the discussion in Chapter 3 of the relatively unrestricted way Kelly, Jo and Donna cross language boundaries. The style they used was identified as characteristic of the returnee code-mixing style.

Kelly’s other group of friends, who constitute somewhat more than half of her friends in Hong Kong, are all local friends she knows through her boyfriend. Kelly’s boyfriend is a Chinese-born, Hong-Kong-raised local who has not studied overseas. Some of the members of this group are university educated, but most of them were educated only to high school level. They generally have a working-class background while her international friends are all from more prosperous middle-class families. As discussed above, Kelly’s boyfriend has severely criticized Kelly’s way of speaking and does not like her speaking English even with her best friend Donna. So when Kelly speaks to Donna in the presence of her boyfriend, she tries to minimize her use of

English. And when Kelly speaks to her boyfriend and his friends, she tries to use Cantonese as much as she can. She describes this behavior as ‘adaptation’, a compromise. Indeed, in the recording, Kelly speaks mainly Cantonese with this group of friends; she still code-mixes sometimes but her English insertions are significantly less frequent than in work contexts. When Kelly speaks to her boyfriend’s 65-year-old mother, who does not know English (K1014), she speaks Cantonese only.

Tim

Like Kelly, Tim also hangs out regularly with two major groups of friends. The first one is a band formed with two other returnees and a local. Tim speaks English to them most of the time, though they all speak Cantonese with varying degrees of fluency. Tim sees his band mates very often as they practice twice a week, and he invited me to one of their practices, in which I was able to record and observe their language behavior. The second group of friends Tim hangs out with are all overseas returnees, a group which includes Jo, Kelly and Donna. According to his own description, Tim speaks 65% English and 35% Cantonese to these returnee friends. In December, 2004, I was able to participate in and record part of a gathering with Tim, Tim’s sister, Tim’s girlfriend,²² and Jo. I observed that Tim and his sister spoke more English than when they were with their father (J2001), whether in English-only utterances, alternations or insertions. It is evident that Tim, his sister and Jo use something close to a returnee code-mixing style in which there are few, if any, restrictions on language mixing and alternations (see Chapter 3 for a structural description of returnee code-mixing style).

²² Tim’s girlfriend participated in the gathering for a very short time and spoke very little. When she spoke, however, it was mostly in Cantonese with some English insertions.

There are few conversations Tim and Kelly had recorded when talking to strangers. Tim recorded his and his sister's conversation with a Chinese medical doctor during an acupuncture session. Tim speaks mostly Cantonese with the doctor. There is also one recording of a phone call by Kelly to her bank, where she uses the local mixing style.

5.4. Consistency in code-mixing style in accordance with interlocutors

In one respect, Kelly and Tim may seem inconsistent in the way they use language with the same interlocutors. For example, Tim sometimes speaks to his mother in Cantonese with a low frequency of English insertions, but sometimes he speaks to her in only English. However, if we consider Tim's language use with his mother as non-restricted²³ and compare that with the way Tim speaks to his TV station colleagues, with whom he maintains a low frequency of English insertion in Cantonese, then Tim is consistent in his language use with the same interlocutors in terms of degree of control/policing he exerts. The same case applies to Kelly, she is least restricted in her language choice when she speaks to her returnee friends such as Donna and Jo. However, when she speaks to other people, she has varying degrees of restriction in controlling the amount and pattern of English she uses. In this sense, both Kelly and Tim are consistent in their language use with the same interlocutors.

Because both Kelly and Tim code-mix only between Cantonese and English, Putonghua only occurs in a handful of occasions in the recordings. There is not enough data to compare how they use code-mixing in other language pairs.

²³ By "non-restricted", I mean Tim and his mother are not restricted to the use of one particular language or one particular code-mixing pattern all the time.

Both Kelly and Tim adapt to the language style of the locals when they interact with local people; however, their specific linguistic patterns vary. When they are in domains where returnee style mixing is perceived to be negative - at work, for example - Tim comes close to local style of code-mixing, while Kelly still has a higher than local degree of English insertions, and sometimes she accidentally slips out some alternations and English only utterances. Kelly reported cases where she did not even realize she switched to speak in only English until her colleagues showed signs of disapproval. By comparison, Tim seems to have more control over his language use than Kelly, but at the same time he also reports that he tends to avoid speaking (as much as he can) in contexts that are dominated by local people.

It is clear that Kelly and Tim speak differently when they are in-group and out-group. When in-group, they do not police their language use and they insert and alternate freely between English and Cantonese. However, when they are out-group, their language behavior changes, exhibiting varying degree of restriction when it comes to language-mixing and using alternations. In highly restricted contexts, both of them can switch to speak in only Cantonese, as when Kelly speaks to her boyfriend's mother, for example, and when Tim is at work.

5.5. Comparison and conclusion

In this section I compare the language patterns of the locals and the returnees as discussed in this and the previous chapters. Both locals and returnees are observed to police their language use in different contexts with different interlocutors. Although the locals' and the returnees' language practice and patterns are distinctively different, they

seem to share a similar tendency in ways to control/police different languages and code-mixing styles. I comment below on the variable language patterns of two locals (Fish and Kristy) in relation to those of the two returnees, Kelly and Tim.

Each individual has a different range of linguistic repertoire across different domains. The two locals differ between themselves. Both Fish and Kristy speak English, Cantonese and Putonghua, and they both use the local style of code-mixing. However, Fish seldom speaks English and Putonghua outside of work, while Kristy speaks Putonghua to her parents at home, and English with her English-speaking friends and English-speaking colleagues. The degree of English insertions in their code-mixing changes according to the topic and setting of conversation. Both Fish and Kristy insert less English in general conversation with friends, and more at work. And within an in-group conversation, Fish uses less English than Kristy. Kristy also alternates a few times at work while Fish never does.

Both the returnees know some Putonghua but do not speak it fluently. In general they use more English than the local consultants. Both Kelly and Tim can switch between different styles of code-mixing, from the Cantonese-dominated insertional local style, to the returnee style where none of the languages dominate, to speaking only English or only Cantonese.

The in-group interaction of local group is consistently in the local mixing style, but when a local-group individual is observed outside of the group, the language use is less consistent. For the returnees, regardless of whether they are in-group or out-group, their interactional structures cover a wide range.

In in-group interaction, the two local consultants, Fish and Kristy, use a local style of mixing which is Cantonese dominated, but with English lexical insertions. When they are observed outside of the group, their language choices and code-mixing patterns vary: only Cantonese, only Putonghua, only English, code-mixing between Cantonese and Putonghua, and code-mixing between Cantonese and English.

In in-group interaction, the two returnee consultants, Kelly and Tim, have a wide and un-focused/inconsistent range of language use: English only, code-mixing of the local style (Cantonese dominated mixing English lexical insertions), code-mixing of the returnee style (with insertions and alternations from both directions, and insertions of discourse markers), and even sometimes insertion of Putonghua phrases. When they are observed outside the group, some of the time they speak only Cantonese and the rest of the time their language and code-mixing choices cover a wide range.

When the two in-group conversations are compared side by side, it is clear that they are distinctive structurally. But in out-group interaction, the distinction between local and returnee code-mixing becomes unclear, particularly in the speech of the returnee consultants. In one interaction, for example, Kelly alternates 4 times but the rest of the conversation is in an otherwise local code-mixing pattern. In many cases, it is not clear whether her utterance is closer to local or returnee code-mixing styles.

5.6. Summary

In Chapters 4 and 5, I have detailed the language use of four individuals in their daily interactions. Interlocutors and context play the most crucial roles in framing the speakers' language use. Both the locals and the returnees follow a similar tendency to

control specific language or code-mixing pattern in specific contexts, although the locals tend to police their own language use more as they attempt to maintain language, social, and ethnic boundaries. The returnees, being the marginalized group in the society, are the ones who can switch between a returnee speech style to a near local speech style, while the locals do not style shift but severely criticize those who use a non-local Cantonese-English mixing style. In context, these linguistic patterns, and the consultants' own explanations of their practices, are closely tied to societal ideologies about Cantonese, English, and Putonghua and their associations with what it means to be Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese. Thus far we have analyzed the structural patterns of the two styles of code-mixing (Chapter 3), the use of code and code-mixing patterns in different contexts, as well as the consultants' metapragmatic comments on linguistic codes and their speakers (Chapters 4 and 5). The next chapter, Chapter 6, provides a discussion of speakers' attitudes in interviews and an attitudinal study. Both venues provide further exploration of code and code-mixing ideologies, as well as a glimpse into the way those ideologies inform speakers' linguistic practices and perception of their social world. The last chapter, Chapter 7, then examines how language ideologies, together with code-mixing structures and their use, allow us to get a more comprehensive view of codes, code-mixing, and their speakers in Hong Kong.

CHAPTER 6

LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION

This chapter discusses speakers' attitudes toward language and code-mixing in Hong Kong from two perspectives: that of the evaluators of an attitudinal study who are all local code-mixing speakers, and that of the returnee participants in this research. These important metalinguistic comments help us understand and analyze the ideologies at work between the linguistic structures and contexts of use as described in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Connecting this chapter with previous ones is the conclusion in Chapter 7, in which I summarize and further examine the linguistic practices and ideologies we have seen in the research so far.

6.1. Local speakers' awareness: Report of an attitudinal study

In this section I report an attitudinal study conducted to explore language attitudes and the local code-mixing speakers' awareness of different styles of code-mixing. I prepared five short audio speech samples to be played for the evaluators (see Appendix 5 for the five speakers' profiles). Two of the prepared audio speech samples are in the local code-mixing style, which involves English insertion into Cantonese (speakers Karen and Frank), and two in the returnee style in which there are both insertion and alternation switches in one conversation (speakers Jo and Kelly). I extracted these four speech samples from the recordings I collected in natural conversation. I also included a fifth speech sample by a mainland Chinese speaker, Iris, who speaks Cantonese with a non-

Hong Kong accent. Iris is a graduate student at the University of Hong Kong introduced to me by my former colleagues. I included Iris as a distracter so that there were more than two patterns of code-mixing among the samples. Iris' speech is in Cantonese with some English lexical insertion. After the evaluators listened to the speech samples, I asked them a series of questions and engaged them in focused discussion. The results of three major questions are reported below.

One of the first questions I asked the evaluators is whether his/her own way of speaking is similar to the speaker in the audio speech sample. The result shows that the evaluators were clearly aware of the difference in code-mixing styles.

1. Is your own way of speaking similar or different from the speaker? (Interviewees were asked to compare all five speech samples before they answered this question.)

- ✓ Yes, it is similar
- ✗ No, it is different

	Mainland code-mixing speaker	Local code-mixing speakers		Returnee code-mixing speakers	
	Iris	Karen	Frank	Jo	Kelly
Total	4 ✓ 18 ✗	22 ✓ 0 ✗	17 ✓ 5 ✗	2 ✓ 20 ✗	0 ✓ 22 ✗
% of ✓	18%	100%	77%	9%	0%

Four of the evaluators consider Iris' speech to be similar to their own; the same four also commented they do not speak like Jo and Kelly at all. Among the four, one considered her own Cantonese as having an accent like Iris, while two commented that apart from her Cantonese accent, Iris' speech has just some English insertion, which is more like their own speech when compared to Jo and Kelly. All evaluators quickly pointed out that Iris' Cantonese 'has an accent' and commented that she is someone who is not originally from Hong Kong.

All evaluators consider Karen's speech to be similar to their own, and Frank is second as the majority of the evaluators (17 out of 22) consider his speech to be similar to their own, even though over half of the evaluators commented that Frank 'uses too much English'. Five evaluators stated that they do not speak like Frank nor Jo and Kelly. But they make a distinction in that Frank's English is "ugly" and "hurt one's ear", while they wish they had Jo's and Kelly's English pronunciation. One evaluator made the comment that it is pretentious to mix too much English in your speech (referring to Jo and Kelly), but it is even worse when you use "Hong Kong English", which has an ugly-sounding pronunciation (referring to Frank). Although the evaluators themselves are code-mixing speakers, many perceive the use of English in Cantonese as generally inappropriate. They offered, however, that many times mixing English into Cantonese is 'unavoidable', and speech with no English at all is 'strange' or 'unnatural', yet using too much English is considered to be 'pretentious'.

Jo and Kelly were consistently at the lower end of the similarity ratings. The evaluators were able to identify the key features that distinguish the speech patterns of Jo and Kelly from their own. Many commented that Jo and Kelly speak much more English than the evaluators themselves do. Many also mentioned that Jo and Kelly have 'native-like' English accents, something which is rather unusual among ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong. A few evaluators noted that both Jo and Kelly switch to speak a whole sentence of English instead of only inserting individual items of English into Cantonese.

There are two evaluators who said Jo's speech is rather similar to their own, except that Jo's use of English is much more exaggerated, and Kelly's even more so to an extent that they would not consider Kelly as similar to them, even though later they

categorize Jo and Kelly in the same group (see Question 3 below). The same two evaluators also had a strong dislike of Iris’ speech and specifically added that Iris is the furthest away in their speech similarity scale. They are among three evaluators who are friends of each other who discussed further and commented that if they were sales girls they wouldn’t want to serve Iris (Iris’ speech happened to be about shopping) because she is a mainlander, but they would be happy to serve all the other speakers whom they identified as either Hong Kong people or overseas returnees. An interesting comparison of these two evaluators is the four who voted Iris’ speech as similar to their own but not Jo’s and Kelly’s.

2. Do you have friends you usually hang out with who speak like the speaker?

- ✓ Yes, some of my friends speak like the speaker.
- ✗ No, none of my friends speak like the speaker.

	Mainland Code-mixing speaker	Local code-mixing speakers		Returnee code-mixing speakers	
	Iris	Karen	Frank	Jo	Kelly
Total	0 ✓ 22 ✗	22 ✓ 0 ✗	22 ✓ 0 ✗	1 ✓ 21 ✗	0 ✓ 22 ✗
% of ✓	0%	100%	100%	4.5%	0%

The answers given by the evaluators on this question are quite uniform; only one evaluator has a different pattern from the rest. This evaluator has a group of friends who studied in some Hong Kong international schools whom he had met in various tennis tournaments and practices during high school. They all belong to the same tennis club now. He said these friends speak like Jo but not like Kelly. He commented that Kelly speaks with an African American English accent. He also commented that Jo speaks ‘exactly’ like his sister who has studied in the US since age 15. When asked whether they know any acquaintances who speak like the speakers, some evaluators reported that they do know some people who speak like Iris, or Kelly and Jo (the evaluators consistently

group Kelly and Jo as one category). Three evaluators commented that Iris' speech is similar to the speech of some people they know: a classmate who came from mainland China, a friend's mother who was an Indonesian Chinese now residing in Hong Kong, a brother's colleagues who are international fashion models originally from mainland China. Six evaluators said they know relatives or classmates who speak like Kelly and Jo. Among the six, two mentioned how much they did not like having classmates with similar speech, and that they would respond to it with name-calling and/or avoidance at school. The results of these two related questions, along with interviews with the two groups of bilinguals in this research, and participant observation at the university of Hong Kong, indicate social circle formation within the university community (and possibly in the society) in that those who are local code-mixing speakers tend to hang out with those who speak the same way or are perceived to be the same kind of people, i.e. local Hong Kongers.

3. Where do you think the speaker comes from?/Who do you think the speaker is?

In general the answers given by the evaluators are fairly consistent in terms of how they described the speakers. Karen and Frank are generally grouped as one type and are described as *heung gong jan* ('Hong Kong persons'), Iris as mainland Chinese, while Jo and Kelly are grouped as another type and are described by various names referring to overseas Chinese. A summary of the answers given by the evaluators is listed in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1. Local bilingual evaluators' response to 'Who do you think the speaker is/where do you think he/she comes from?'

Mainland code-mixing speaker Iris	Local style code-mixing speakers Karen and Frank	Returnee style code-mixing speakers Jo and Kelly
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainlander • New immigrant • Guoyu (Mandarin) person • Northerner (from mainland China) • Chiuchinese (speaker of a Chinese language in Guangdong, South China) • Taiwanese • Indonesian Chinese • Overseas Chinese but originally from mainland China (i.e. first generation migrants to western countries) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local • Hong Kong person • Pure Hong Kong person • Common Hong Kong person • Typical Hong Kong person • Normal Hong Kong person • Hong Kong person from head to toes • Local born and raised Hong Kong person • (Specific to Frank) someone who tries to tell others he is a university student so he adds a lot of English in his speech • (Specific to Frank) Hong Kong person, but pretentious 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overseas Chinese • ABC/BBC (American/British Born Chinese) • Mixed (i.e. Eurasian) • International school students/graduates • #Zuk sing ('bamboo stem' – hollow inside) • #Gwai po ('ghost women' - female Westerners) • *Banana ('yellow outside, white inside') • *Ga yeong gwai zi ('fake Western devil's son') • Wui lau 'back flow' (HK people who once migrated to the West and then return to HK, returnees) • Hong Kong person who studied in British schools where British nobility studied • Hong Kong person who had studied overseas or in an international school • Hong Kong person who loves to speak English • Hong Kong person who learned a lot of English and is pretentious

Can be derogatory; * Derogatory²⁴

²⁴ Different places have its localized perception about what terms are derogatory or not. This table only pertains to general perception in Hong Kong (as according to the evaluators' comments, and the fieldworker's ethnographic observation of the public media in Hong Kong). Williams (2006), for example, comments 'ABC' and 'zuk sing' may be considered derogatory in USA, but 'banana' may not.

Even though some evaluators started off by commenting on the voice quality of the speakers or the content of speech, once I asked them from where they thought the speaker originated, their answers became more focused. Their comments on the speakers draw contrasts between the two patterns: they emphasize the normality of the local speakers by adding adjectives such as ‘pure,’ ‘common,’ ‘normal,’ and ‘local’; however, they often refer to returnee speakers in negative or derogatory ways, such as ‘banana’ (referring to ‘yellow outside, white inside’), ‘worshiper of the West,’ ‘fake Western devil’s son,’ and so on. By comparison, the labels they gave to Iris, the mainland code-mixing speaker, are mostly neutral, although neutral terms can also become derogatory when used in certain contexts. What is worth noticing here is the evaluators’ tendency to normalize Karen and Frank, with whom the evaluators identify themselves. None of the evaluators consider Iris to be a Hong Kong person; the closest label to a Hong Kong member they would apply to her is “new immigrant”. Despite the overwhelming negative labels given to Jo and Kelly, some evaluators do consider them as Hong Kong persons, but with qualifiers: Hong Kong person “who studied overseas”, “who learned a lot of English and is pretentious”, “who went to British noble schools”, etc. Two evaluators lumped Frank with Jo and Kelly and commented that they are Hong Kong people who are pretentious because they use too much English, though there is still a distinction between Frank’s perceived “ugly English pronunciation” vs. Jo’s and Kelly’s “native-like English pronunciation.”

Cantonese accent of the speakers seem to play a crucial role. Some evaluators said that the returnee speakers are ‘pretentious’ because ‘they can speak fluent Cantonese’ and that ‘their Cantonese accent is local’. These evaluators expect ethnic Chinese in Hong

Kong, who can speak fluent Cantonese, to speak like a Hong Kong person, i.e. using only the local/mainstream code-mixing style. If a fluent Cantonese speaker uses more English than socially accepted, the reason must therefore be because they want to show off their English. These evaluators' comments indicate that speakers with a local Cantonese accent, thought to be fluent Cantonese speakers, are judged more severely than someone who speaks Cantonese with a non-local accent and/or with less fluency. These mainstream speaker evaluators seem to make a distinction between those who can speak Cantonese fluently but want to show-off their English (code-mixing with fluent Cantonese and English), and those who cannot speak Cantonese fluently and therefore have to use more English in their speech (code-mixing with fluent English and less fluent Cantonese). It could be because speakers of the latter category are simply considered to be outsiders, but speakers of the former category are considered to be locals who do not act like locals, so they are severely criticized for not conforming to expected social and ethnic speech norms.

Both Jo and Kelly were consistently considered by the local evaluators as belonging to the same category of people, even though Jo's overseas experience, which was in England and Singapore, is very different from Kelly's, which was in the USA. Many local evaluators commented that Jo and Kelly have 'native-like' English accents from English-speaking countries in the West, which is rather unusual for ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong. When the evaluators were asked what they think about Jo's and Kelly's speech, many of them spoke very negatively about it. For example, many thought that the speakers are 'pretentious,' 'arrogant,' 'showing off (their English and/or superiority),' and 'worshippers of the West.' Repetition is a common phenomenon in natural

conversation and it is also commonly found in bilingual conversation in which the same idea/sentence is repeated using two different languages (see Li 1998). However, the local evaluators consider it to be evidence of Jo and Kelly showing off. One evaluator commented, 'See, she has already said it in Cantonese but she then repeated it again in English, that was because she really wanted to show off speaking English!' These local evaluators self-reported that they often code-switched between Cantonese and English, but they do it the way Frank and Karen did (the speakers of the local in-group speech samples), not like the returnees. Many also said that they would not want to make friends with Kelly and Jo on a personal level. However, they do not mind seeing and even liking returnees who are in the public entertainment industry. In fact, a few of the local female evaluators, who commented they would not make friends with Kelly and Jo, said that they do like a number of handsome-looking returnee actors and singers in Hong Kong. This private vs. public distinction, that returnees can be an attractive character on screen but not as a close friend, seemed to prevail in the attitudinal study.

From the discussion I had with these evaluators, they are less concerned with which particular Western countries the two returnees are from but more about their perception that Jo, Kelly, and Iris are different kinds of people from themselves, the 'normal Hong Kong people'. Some evaluators attempted to guess where Jo and Kelly "returned" from (the theories varied). The attitudinal comments and rather inaccurate location guesses these evaluators made demonstrate that the evaluators consider Jo and Kelly as outsiders, as the 'others' who are often essentialized and imagined as homogeneous (Irvine and Gal 2000: 39).

The attitudinal study reveals that these 22 local evaluators are well aware of the linguistic differences between their own and other ways of code-mixing/code-switching. Their comment show that they form an association between a particular code-mixing pattern and the social background of its speakers, regardless of whether or not they have personally met any speakers who speak in that way. In other words, the speech pattern carries an indexical function referring to a particular social category. Those who use the local code-mixing pattern are considered as locals, as “one of us” for the local evaluators; while those who use, by the local evaluators’ standards, “excessive” amounts of English or unusual items of English (i.e. those not commonly used by locals in their own mixing), are considered to be outsiders and perceived as intrinsically pretentious in nature. This association has decisive effect on the way social participants interact with each other, as demonstrated by Kelly’s and Tim’s experience (described in Chapter 5).

6.2. Returnee speakers’ perception of different code-mixing styles

The returnees in this research are also well aware of their associated social stereotypes. After all, they interact with the locals in their everyday lives and as a privileged (or perceived to be privileged) minority, they often encounter reactions from others who perceive them according to the returnee social stereotypes. Of course, language is not the only thing that distinguishes them from others, but as demonstrated in the attitudinal study, language is one of the most salient characteristics and an obvious usable resource.

I conducted a number of interviews with the returnee speakers: Tim, Kelly, Jo and Donna. I talked to the three close friends, Kelly, Jo and Donna, together in 2002 while

having afternoon tea with them in a hotel coffee shop. I then conducted one-on-one interviews with Tim and Kelly in 2004, followed by an interview on the phone with Jo in 2005. Below I mainly discuss comments from the group interview/discussion involving Jo, Kelly and Donna, since attitudinal issues of Tim and Kelly have been covered in Chapter 5 as part of their respective one-on-one interviews.

Jo speaks English as her first language and spent her early years in Britain and Singapore, then came to Hong Kong when she was 12 and started learning Cantonese. Donna speaks Cantonese and Putonghua at home and started learning English when she went to school in Hong Kong.

I mentioned earlier that I had noticed Donna switching to local style code-mixing when she talked on the phone with a local classmate, while when she spoke to the other three of us (Jo, Kelly and I) she used the returnee pattern. I asked her later if she noticed that she spoke differently from her other classmates at school and if so, why? She answered:

“Gong m dou zau wui gong jing man lo, daai do sou dou wui gong zung man ga faai si la jan wai <<*If I can't I'll then speak English, but mostly I speak Chinese (with them) because*>>, **you know you don't want them to feel awkward either, right. But slowly I blend in, and it's like my my English went poor and my Chinese went good**”. [...] {After we went on to discuss something else, Donna return to this topic and added more} “**When I'm with them, only with them** {referring to local friends}, **ya, I feel I'm still myself, but with here, like with them** {pointing at Jo and Kelly}, **right, I feel (a sense of, err,) myself. But of course the sense of belonging would be stronger here if I can be more of myself,** jan wai ngo dei ge bui ging ca m do <<*because our background are similar*>>”.

Donna also mentioned that during her first semester at the University of Hong Kong she was very much isolated from the other classmates. At first, she recounted, her classmates did not approach her or initiate conversations with her. Only when she began speaking more Cantonese did her classmates finally feel comfortable enough to befriend her. Jo explained that she and Kelly both had similar feelings at the University of Hong Kong. Here Jo recalls the instance when they first met at the university:

“The first thing sh she said to me was ‘Oh my God! I can’t believe I found someone who who speaks English. Oh my God! You know how how hard life has been here’, blah blah blah and I felt exactly I felt exactly the same way.”

Jo told me that, at the university, students who speak more English, as they do, tend to hang out together because they do not feel that they ‘fit in’ anywhere else, though all three of them reported that they have friends ‘from both kinds of backgrounds’, i.e. friends who speak more English and have a similar background (having studied overseas) and friends who are ‘Hong Kong people’. The attitudinal study subsequently confirmed the isolated situation these three speakers experienced at the university, as only one out of 22 local code-mixing speakers I asked said he is willing to be a close friend to someone who speaks like Jo and Kelly. Jo said that many of her friends with a similar background ran into the same problems with ‘fitting in’:

I have many friends who have gone to western countries, even for those who are pure Hong Kong people, when they returned they felt that many things had changed. They no longer think the same as the ordinary Hong Kong people, and it’s difficult to fit into the culture. These friends would talk to me because they feel that I would understand, which I do, but there is nothing you can do about it except live. You carry on; you know somehow you’ll blend in again. And an example is Donna, she did very very well. [...] She really put effort in it, she really tried hard. Her Cantonese wasn’t very good but she is willing to speak it, and so now she

has a lot of friends. And that's why she said when she's with her Hong Kong friends she speaks more Chinese. (*My translation, original in returnee style mixed-code.*)

When I asked them what kind of person they consider themselves to be, Kelly said she considers herself to be Chinese (though in her interview later in 2004, she said she considered herself to be a “world citizen”). Donna said she is a Hong Kong person, and Jo provided no specific answer but made a comment about the ‘identity crisis’ of people like her:

We this generation of people, those who have been in western countries and come back, many have an identity crisis. I am very clear that I have an identity crisis, very clear. Because especially for me, I don't feel like I fit in anywhere. ... okay, I'm a British citizen, I hold a British passport, though I look Chinese, I speak perfect English—I'm British. But when I went back for Form six and seven, because I've been out of England for so long, their manners, their culture, their etiquette, the things they talked about, it was all different. And I didn't fit in. And so, because I didn't fit in in Hong Kong I always thought when I go back to England it would be better, I will fit in. But it's so not true. So I totally did not fit in. So I didn't fit in in Hong Kong, I didn't fit in in England, I definitely don't fit in in Singapore. I don't fit in anywhere. And you ask me who I am; I answered a Hong Kong person. I am a Hong Kong person who holds a British passport. Okay I am a BBC, I am a banana, I am a zuk sing girl, whatever. But actually where am I from? Where is my home? I don't really have that at all at all. (*My translation, original in returnee style mixed-code.*)

I asked them if they have received comments from others about the way they speak. Kelly told me that once she was talking with her friend in the MTR (Mass Transit Railway) and when they were on their way out of the rail train they heard a few people behind them swearing at them for ‘speaking too loud’ and ‘being too vain’ (in Cantonese the word they used is *cyun* which is a slang word usually used to provoke the other party). Kelly was very angry about that because she did not intend to be *cyun* (‘vain’), ‘it's just the way how I speak’, she said. Jo later commented that she had seen people

who returned to Hong Kong from overseas who spoke English and looked down upon ‘the locals’ who spoke Cantonese. She said she had seen that a lot in the bar where she worked, and that she hated those people. In the attitudinal study, many evaluators commented that Jo and Kelly were pretentious because they used too much English in their speech. For Kelly and Jo, however, using English in conversation is simply the way they speak. Two years later in 2004 when I talked to Kelly again, she seemed even more frustrated:

“It doesn’t matter how you deal with them {referring to local people}, **it doesn’t matter who you are/** kei sat <<*actually*>> **the way that you present yourself by** lei go <<*your*>>**language** ji ging bei zo jat zung **arrogant** ge gam gok bei keoi dei le <<*already gives people an impression that you are arrogant* >>”

These metalinguistic comments show that the returnees are clearly aware of the linguistic differences between their speech and the speech of the most people at the University of Hong Kong (and in Hong Kong society at large). This can be seen from the comments that Jo and Kelly made about knowing very few ethnic Chinese university students who primarily spoke English outside of the classroom, and Donna reported her own need to adapt to the speech norm of her local classmates. The returnees are also keenly aware of the perceived distinctive social categories associated with different ways of speaking: people with a background similar to theirs use more English, Hong Kong people in general use mostly Cantonese or a Cantonese-dominated mixing style. Donna’s conscious effort to ‘blend in’ by modifying her speech indicates her perception of the two categories and her willingness to cross over, and by so doing, reject the “outsider” category assigned to her. The returnees are also aware of the negative stereotypes associated with their social background and the way they speak. Jo mentioned that the

locals she encountered often called her a ‘banana’ (meaning “yellow outside, white inside”), a ‘BBC’ (British Born Chinese), and a *zūk sing* (‘bamboo stem’, meaning “hollow/empty inside”). While Jo has chosen to ignore these labels, her friends Kelly and Donna would prefer to “blend in”, altering their speech to fit the local style and working toward local acceptance.

This chapter's primary purpose is to present attitudes regarding codes and code-mixing from the perspectives of the locals through an attitudinal study, and from the perspectives of the returnees via interviews with members of the returnee-friendship group. Language attitudes, and their associations with speaker categorization, inform and are themselves an integral part of social practice. They are also an avenue to further explore ideologies toward languages and their speakers, and also to understand and explain certain linguistic and social practices. From the discussion thus far we have seen how Hong Kong bilinguals apply social stereotypes to others (particularly the returnee bilinguals) by distinguishing the way one uses code-mixing, and what those associated stereotypes entail. The next (and final) chapter escalates our discussion by integrating the linguistic, contextual, and attitudinal findings from previous chapters, and explains the ideologies at work as these bilinguals position and reposition themselves in relation to the concepts of a Hong Kong person and a (physical and constructed) territory - Hong Kong.

CHAPTER 7

SEMIOTICS OF BILINGUALISM:

CODES, CODE-MIXING, AND THE AUTHENTIC HONG KONGERS

7.1. Codes, code-mixing, and the authentic Hong Kongers

Gal (1988: 247) comments that code-switching “is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross, or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their accompanying rights and obligations”. This research has demonstrated how bilinguals make use of structurally distinctive and socially salient code-mixing styles to create, maintain, and cross social group boundaries. A recurrent theme in this research, most prominently shown in the attitudinal study as well as the interviews in the last chapter, is the idea of a “Hong Kong person”. What salient attributes, particularly linguistic ones, qualify someone to be a Hong Kong person (or not)? What is the significance of such a boundary-defining process for those who participate in it and those who negotiate their way from one boundary to another? These are some of the questions that follow when thinking back to the primary interest which motivates this research: understanding social relationships through the study of language. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) define identity as “the social positioning of self and other”. Since “there is no ‘view from nowhere’, no gaze that is not positioned” (Irvine and Gal 2000: 36), in thinking about identity negotiation of these bilinguals, it is necessary to

discern from whose perspective (and about whom and what) these positioning acts can be situated.

The language attitudes prevailing in the findings in this research reveal the way an association is formed between a particular linguistic pattern and a group of speakers. The categories, all of which have an ethnic Chinese foundation, are local Hong Kong people, overseas returnees/international school educated, or mainlanders (refer to comments towards Iris, the mainland Chinese speaker in the attitudinal study presented in Chapter 6). Many of the evaluators in the attitudinal study (who echo related public discourse), believe that the use of returnee style code-mixing is intrinsically related to ethnic Chinese who have had Western experiences, and that it is in their nature to be pretentious and arrogant, even though using language or any other semiotic means as objects of reflection, for essentializing a social kind, is a very leaky notion (Agha 1998: 151). However, as Agha explains, these metapragmatic stereotypes are of some pragmatic use to us:

They are ways of “fixing” the variability of their pragmatic objects into static, typifiable categories of conscious awareness. Such essentializations or reifications are not only based on what others do; they also help us deal with others, to do whatever we do with them or to them.

The three social categories, and their stereotypical associations, that the evaluators discussed in the attitudinal study are not uncommon in public discourse in Hong Kong. Chan, Yeung and Chong (2005) make the criticism that Hong Kong people’s self-identification is largely built on their perceived differences with the “others”—foreigners (a term usually reserved for Caucasians/Europeans/Westerners), Indians, Filipinos, and mainland Chinese—who combined to form an ethnic “hierarchy” which Hong Kong

people act upon. Ma (1999) illustrates how Hong Kong people in the 1970's perceived mainland Chinese as backward, uneducated and old-fashioned in comparison to Hong Kong people's self-perception of being Western and modern. Yet overseas returnees are commonly considered over-Westernized, arrogant and wealthy in the public forum and news discussions that I found. For example, a self-identified Hong Kong person commented in a chat room discussion titled "What is the mentality of those people who mix Chinese and English? I really don't understand:"

You think that because you grew up overseas and speak good English, you can look down upon Hong Kong people!! You are Hong Kong people too, if it wasn't because of your wealthy family, I don't think you would have lived overseas and may not even know a sentence in English. (user "ABC" in 2004, original text in Chinese, my translation, source: <http://www.cantonese.sheik.co.uk>).

Metalinguistic comments like this one are in no way unusual, as has been found in the attitudinal study and interviews in this research. We have also seen how attitudes and perceptions of categorization are associated with the degree of Cantonese-English code-mixing. Using two languages in a conversation, as referred to by the common definition of code-mixing/code-switching, can be considered as a continuum: from only language A on one end, to only language B on the other, with varying proportions of elements of A and B in between. The continuum is multi-dimensional, with various linguistic features such as lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic choices that affect the degree and nature of mixing. These features are ranked on a hierarchy of importance that is specific to each community. And we have seen in this research that social participants are able to categorize such linguistic continua into discrete units which index distinctive social kinds, and become resources for use. So how does a linguistic continuum get

differentiated and interpreted as having individual units, each with distinctive meaning, even though the degree of mixing is in relative terms? The concepts of differentiation and distinction (Irvine and Gal 1995, Irvine 2001) are crucial here in understanding the process by which groups or individuals and their speech are positioned as alike or distinct. Specifically, it explains how “linguistic ideologies organize and rationalize sociolinguistic distinctiveness” (Irvine 2001: 32). Irvine and Gal argue that ideologies of linguistic differentiation interpret the sociolinguistic phenomena within their view via three semiotic processes: *iconization*, *recursivity* and *erasure*. *Iconization* refers to “the process that transforms the sign relationship between linguistic features and the social images to which they are linked”, while *erasure* is “the process in which an ideology simplifies the sociolinguistic field”. By attending to one dimension of distinctiveness and ignoring another, certain sociolinguistic phenomena become invisible. *Recursivity* involves “the projection of an opposition, salient at one level of relationship, onto some other level” (Irvine 2001: 33). The following paragraphs discuss how these processes together help explain the linguistic practices, ideologies and positions of the participants in this study.

Certain styles of mixing Cantonese and English become iconic representations of the speakers in this research: local style code-mixing speakers are intrinsically more Hong Kong people-like, more “normal and typical” from the perspective of the local evaluators themselves. Meanwhile, returnee style code-mixing speakers, from the perspective of the locals, are inherently “pretentious” and “over-westernized”. As a sign requires an interpretant, an interpretant has a perspective depending on where he/she positions. On the one hand, the participants in my research essentialize local Hong Kong

people, overseas returnees, and mainland Chinese (remember Iris, the fifth speaker in the attitudinal study) into distinct social categories as they align and position themselves with one group or another. In such a distinction, the common characteristics among the two groups, that they are Hong Kong raised ethnic Chinese, and have similar linguistic practices of Cantonese-English code-mixing, are undermined or ignored. On the other hand, in such oppositions, differences between people of one essentialized category are *erased*. The category ‘normal Hong Kong people’ is itself a problematic and *iconized* concept, yet the evaluators in my attitudinal study align themselves as such in opposition to the returnees they identified as outsiders. The returnees, whose speech samples were used in the attitudinal study, had their overseas experience in different western countries, yet they are homogenized as a single category by the local evaluators. In short, the differences within the category of ‘returnees’ or ‘local’ are glossed over and homogenized in order to emphasize the distinction/opposition between them.

The contrast/opposition is rooted in ideologies about English and Chinese languages from Hong Kong’s colonial period, where the dichotomy between Western and Chinese began to take place. There is a complex love-hate relationship that Hong Kong people have toward English, the language of the former colonizer and leaders in Hong Kong for over 150 years. Faure (2003: 1) comments that, in reference to colonialism in Hong Kong, “colonials *feel* inferior, not that they are” (original emphasis). It is no surprise that such psychological import extends to ideologies about language. Tam (2007), the director of the Hong Kong museum of Art, wrote in an introduction to a “Chinglish” art exhibition:

“Hong Kong people’s speech is both Chinese and English, it is sometimes Chinese and sometimes English, at the end, it is neither Chinese nor English. [...] From the beginning, Hong Kong has been bewildered in two totally distinct languages, [Hong Kong] people have always been searching for themselves between the Chinese and English languages”.
(My translation, original in standard written Chinese.)

What is relevant here is the opposition and struggle of Hong Kong people between the two languages and their associated ideologies. In the early colonial period, it was the colonizing Westerners (and the English language associated with them) versus the colonized Chinese (and the Cantonese language associated with them). Later, since the 1960’s, the contrast is repeated recursively in the opposition between Hong Kong people (Western, educated, modern, hybrid) and mainland Chinese (Chinese, backward, poor, authentic). And yet again in the last 20 years or so when the new category of overseas returning Chinese has become socially more salient, the same opposition repeats again, this time with overseas Chinese characterized as Westernized people who have forgotten their Chinese ethnic identity against local Hong Kong people who perceive themselves to be more authentically Chinese (but who have just the right amount of western-ness and international vision compared to their mainland Chinese counterparts). With an understanding of this fractal recursivity process, it is easier to see why speakers of returnee style code-mixing are considered over-westernized and arrogant while the locals are searching for a balance between Western-ness and Chinese-ness as demonstrated by the local code-mixing style.

The locals, as repeatedly found in the attitudinal study, label themselves ‘Hong Kong people’, a term which connects territory and people together. It is an essentialized concept from the perspective of the local evaluators who assume their position to be the

mainstream majority; i.e. ethnic Chinese who have lived in Hong Kong for a longer period of time and speak Cantonese with a local Hong Kong accent and lexicon (including the use of local style code-mixing). They are claiming their authenticity as ‘Hong Kong people’ and render others as less authentic. (Recall the local evaluators’ description of themselves as “normal” Hong Kong people, while the returnees and mainlanders, even when referred to as Hong Kong people, have qualifiers such as “who once migrated overseas”, “who are new immigrants to Hong Kong”, etc.) As I mentioned in the introduction, the concept of a Hong Kong person is a relatively recent construction. It dates from the late 1960’s, when the public education system, housing, and other pieces of social infrastructure came into being. This allowed people in Hong Kong to treat Hong Kong as a home instead of a refugee camp during their transition from China to somewhere else. Ma’s (1999) study of media and Hong Kong identity demonstrates how Hong Kong identity became distinct in a 1970s popular TV drama which depicts a mainland Chinese new immigrant as backward, poor (financially dependent), less-educated, and uncivil (even though the majority of Hong Kong people were once mainland Chinese), in contrast to Hong Kong people who were portrayed as westernized, modern, developed (more wealthy), and civil. Nowadays, many mainland Chinese entering Hong Kong today are well-educated middle-class (refer to the comments in Chapter 6 that local evaluators gave to Iris who is identified as mainland Chinese), and more and more post-1997 (the return of Hong Kong to China) public opinions indicate that Hong Kong people are aligning themselves closer to China, yet the negative mentality towards mainland Chinese persists. An obvious sociolinguistic phenomenon is the increasing number of people who can speak Putonghua (from 18% of the population

in 1991 to 35% in 2001 - 2001 census data) and the increasing proportion of people who identify themselves as Chinese or Hong Kong Chinese from 50% in 1983 to 67% in 2003 (compared to “Hong Kong person” which fell from 41% to 28% in the same period). These figures reveal the ever-changing sociolinguistic landscape of Hong Kong and how the historical, social, and cultural contexts affect how people in the community position and reposition themselves.

Understanding the different positions of the locals and returnees provides a way to unveil the local language ideologies at work. The locals are evaluating the returnees according to local linguistic ideologies and values, in which English use is considered a conscious (perhaps unnatural, inauthentic) performance, a pragmatic tool for academic and career advancement, a sign for higher social status achievement, but not as one’s own language. The local evaluators, despite critically sanctioning the returnees’ style of speaking, all expressed that they would want to speak English as fluently (and natively) as the returnees do, yet insist that the way the returnees use English is socially inappropriate, because Chinese people should speak Chinese on Chinese territory, not a foreign language, English. From the perspective of the returnees, English is part of their repertoire alongside Cantonese, a language they claim as their own in a speech style they feel most comfortable with (in contrast to locals who may not consciously regard English to be their own, even though in practice they use it regularly).

Comparable sociolinguistic research in this area can be found in Zhang’s (2005) study of Beijing yuppies, a relatively new class of professionals who work for international business (as opposed to employees of state-owned enterprise). In Zhang’s analysis, individuals become commodities in the (job) market, for anyone “who wants to

enter the international business sector, a steppingstone to a new cosmopolitan lifestyle”, acquiring the kinds of symbolic capital that are valued in that market become of prime importance. Among the desired attributes are the ability to speak Standard Mandarin without a local accent, and proficiency in one or more foreign languages in which “English is unquestionably the most valued” (ibid: 453-4). While English plays a role in the linguistic contrast between the international yet foreign business-oriented new cosmopolitan yuppies and the local oriented government enterprise staff, the status of English as a foreign language and a pragmatic tool is never disputed. In Hong Kong, English is a *de facto* second language (as it is taught as early as in kindergarten, and it is a compulsory subject from elementary one through university) and *de jure* official language (as stated in the Basic Law, Hong Kong’s constitution). However, English continues to be perceived in contradiction as both foreign (as “a helpful means to understand foreigners and their culture”) and “a marker of Hong Kong identity” (see Lai 2005). Harris (1989) notices the ambivalent attitude that Hong Kong people have toward English, and points out that “if Hong Kong wants English, then it must make English its own”. Perhaps an indicator of this would be the extent to which Hong Kong people, as ethnic Chinese, accept using English as part of their legitimate repertoire, and by extension accepting returnee style mixing as a natural (unpretentious) act.

It is worth noting that no system of distinction is static. The participants in this research consider themselves and/or are perceived by others as a local, returnee, or some other socially meaningful identity/category which can only be understood when located in specific context, time, and perspective. Scholars who write on identity (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2004, Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003) have noted the multifaceted nature and

fluidity of identity. This is important to keep in mind because, while my discussion of code-mixing styles has been focused on them being indexical of specific speaker categories, that does not represent the sum of who these social beings are. Nevertheless, understanding one specific system of distinction in a slice of the participants' (and Hong Kong people's) lives is one step towards a comprehensive knowledge about what language means to multilingual speakers and multilingual communities.

This research has revealed how overlapping and fuzzy the linguistic and social boundaries between Hong Kong locals and returnees are, yet social participants essentialize the relationship between speech and speakers, using such knowledge to seek and negotiate their identities (e.g. Kelly and Donna who attempt to become accepted as locals), construct their social networks (as shown in the attitudinal study, some evaluators only form networks with people who have the same background and speech pattern, while others connect with people regardless of their perceived social categories), and make decisions about whether or not to cross perceived social group boundaries (as Tim “retreats” to his returnee/international friend and work circles, Kelly is still working her way to be a local). This analysis of speaker (re)positioning illustrates how micro-interactions in multilingual settings reveal the ways speakers maneuver between social groups and construct their identities in local contexts and beyond. This research demonstrates that, to understand language and its speakers as social beings, linguistic structures must be studied in conjunction with their contextualized use as well as the mediating ideologies, i.e. the three components Silverstein (1985) defines as constituting a “total linguistic fact”.

7.2. Summary and directions for future research

This dissertation embarks in Chapter 1 by explaining my motivation for studying language and speakers as social beings, and my interests in investigating bilinguals in my native Hong Kong. I explain my theoretical framework in terms of language ideologies and the concept of a total linguistic fact (Silverstein 1985), paving the way for later chapters which focus on different components (linguistic structure, social use, and ideologies) of language. Chapter 1 ends with a sociolinguistic background of Hong Kong which provides a macro context for understanding the use of language in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 2, I explained my research questions and the rationale for my methodological range, the research considerations required as a community-insider, and the use of new technology for near continual recordings of the consultants' daily life outside of a researcher's physical observation. The structural distinction of the two patterns of code-mixing is analyzed in Chapter 3, while emphasizing not everyone with the same social background as the returnees or locals necessarily speak the same way (just as Agha 1998 explains stereotypes as leaky notions). In Chapters 4 and 5, I provide a detailed description of four consultant's code and code-mixing choices, i.e. language use in social context, as recorded in their daily life. This data is supplemented by the consultants' report of their practices and perceptions of language and speakers (Chapters 4 and 5), and attitudes towards language and speakers from both local and returnee perspectives (Chapter 6). This attitudinal and experience-reporting data together provides a crucial starting point to plumb the societal ideologies of language and speaker categorization, and the Irvine and Gal (1995) model of semiotic processes is employed to

explain how ideologies mediate the relationships among language, speakers, and their social world (Chapter 7).

My post-dissertation plan involves a re-examination of the 110 hours of collected natural multilingual conversation data for further topics that this dissertation did not cover, including investigating new trends in the English use among bilinguals in Hong Kong, and how speakers accomplish identities in conversation (oriented toward Conversation Analysis). In the near future, I plan to conduct two related lines of research, one focused on immigrants and returned emigrants in Hong Kong and China, another on Chinese Americans who frequently travel or live between China and North America. The first line of research extends my current work on overseas returnees in Hong Kong to returnees in China. Overseas returnees are understudied in Chinese sociolinguistic research, yet their growing number and social/economic significance in Hong Kong and larger cities in China provide the best venue for sociolinguistic research on population movement and globalization. I will continue to use an ethnographic and qualitative methodology in my research, but if opportunities arise, I would also like to seek collaborative work with quantitative demographic researchers in the area. I will also continue with using documentary work to provide a public channel for raising people's awareness and affecting linguistic and language education pedagogy on issues of bilingualism and language-related social discrimination, both for Hong Kong and for other communities.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Key to transcription

text	Cantonese
text in bold	English
<< <i>text in italic</i> >>	English gloss/translation of Cantonese utterance
<u>Underlined text:</u>	Putonghua
<< <u><i>text in underlined italic</i></u> >>	English gloss/translation of Putonghua utterance
➔	alternational switch point between two languages
(text)	an item literally not in the actual conversation but is added by the researcher to make the English translation more coherent
{text}	non-verbal information about the interaction, also used to indicate text in which the language choice is unknown or undeterminable.
/	researcher's interpreted natural utterance break
(.)	a short pause
(...)	unclear utterance
[speech in overlap
=	latching, i.e. no gap between lines
?	rising intonation, used in question
P	Cantonese particle

Line numbers are given in the transcript so that a specific point in the conversation can be referred to in the discussion, they bear no indication of the researcher's interpretation of the units of conversation.

Romanization Cantonese utterance is transcribed using the Jyutping system developed by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong. Tone marks are omitted.

All of the consultants' names used are either pseudonyms or the consultant's preferred name to be used in this study.

APPENDIX 2

Fieldwork Activities

Type of activity	The role of the researcher	Quantity of recordings	# of participants
<i>Part 1 - Bilingualism in group level</i>			
1.1 Recording of natural conversation in in-group social gatherings	The researcher or a member of the friendship group recorded the conversation. In the case when the researcher was present, the researcher was a participant in the gathering.	Total 20 hours of recording, 10hr13m for the local group and 9hr49m for the returnee group	17 speakers from the local group and 13 speakers from the returnee group.
1.2 Individuals Interviews	The research conducted sociolinguistic interviews with selected individuals to construct their linguistic profile.	Each interview lasted from one to three hours.	8 speakers (4 from each friendship group).
<i>Part 2 – Bilingualism in individual level (in-depth study of 4 individuals)</i>			
2.2 Individual self-record their activities in multiple days	The researcher was not present.	Total: 44 hours of recordings (excluding Jo ²⁵) Kristy (local): 8 hours Fish (local): 17.5 hours Tim (returnee): 10 hours Kelly (returnee): 8.5 hours	4 speakers (2 from each group)
2.3 Going over the recordings with the individuals	The researcher played the sound clips to the individuals and asked for information about the conversations and the individuals' comments on their own and their interlocutors' language use.		

²⁵ Jo recorded 52 hours of her interaction in daily life, but she turned in her recordings a few months after I have finished my data analysis. Because I have adequate data from Tim and Kelly, I decided that most of Jo's data will be kept for future projects. However, I do use two hours of Jo's recording in which she and Tim were in gatherings among in-group friends.

2.4 Interview the individuals	The research conducted sociolinguistic interviews with selected individuals for constructing their linguistic profile.	Each interview lasted for 2-3 hours.	
<p><i>Part 3 – Attitudinal study</i> 22 local speakers from the university of Hong Kong were recruited as “evaluators” and listen to five audio-clips extracted from Part I in-group recording. The evaluators were asked to comment on who the speakers are, where they came from, and how they speak. The result confirms that the local bilinguals are aware of the linguistic difference and social distinction between locals and returnees. This knowledge informs the way they treat other bilinguals in daily interactions.</p>			
<p><i>Part 4 – Participant Observation</i> Participant observation includes the researcher’s physical presence during some of the recorded conversations as well as the researcher’s role as an insider in the researched community (both at the University of Hong Kong and in general Hong Kong society).</p>			
<p><i>Part 5 – Public discourse search</i> A search of newspapers and personal/public websites in Hong Kong to look for meta-linguistic comments on code-mixing/switching and ideologies about Hong Kong speech and identity.</p>			

APPENDIX 3

Social settings and participants in in-group recordings

Setting and topics of conversation	Length of recording	Participants	Location and recorded year
<i>Local code-mixing pattern</i>			
Informal student meeting – 2 ex-members sharing committee work experience with current committee members	2 hours	3 current students, 2 recent graduates	University campus – a student meeting room 2002
Informal student meeting – an ex-member discussing details of a joint project between the student travel agency she worked in and the association	1 hour	2 current students, 1 recent graduate (speaker Karen) and the researcher	University campus – a café 2002
Informal student meeting – an ex-member sharing committee work experience with a current member	30 minutes	1 current student (speaker Frank), 1 recent graduate and the researcher	University campus – a meeting room 2002
Social gathering – the researcher as an ex-member provided a place for regular ‘reunion’ party for past and current members of the student association	2 hours	4 current students, 5 recent graduates (including Kristy and Fish) and the researcher	The researcher’s house 2002
Ronald and the researcher were helping Joyce to plan for her wedding flowers	2h58m	Ronald, Joyce and the researcher	Wholesale flower market 2004
The group went out for a hotpot dinner after gathering at HKU	1hr45m	Ronald, Joyce, Kristy, Fish, Bo and the researcher	A hotpot restaurant 2004
Total	10hr13m	17 participants (excluding the researcher)	
<i>Returnee code-mixing pattern</i>			
Social gathering – the three participants are close friends to each other and regularly meet for afternoon tea. The recording took place in one of their regular gathering	4 hours	1 current student (Donna), 2 recent graduates (Jo and Kelly) and the researcher	A hotel coffee shop 2002
After two hour’s chatting at	2h49m	Jo, Tim, Tim’s	A hotdog stand and

Jo's place, Tim suggested to go for hot dogs and drinks nearby		sister, and the researcher	a club 2004
Jo and Tim hung out after Tim's band signed an agent	1h5m	Jo and Tim	A café 2005
Celebration for the band's contract signing and a friend's birthday	1h55m	Jo, Tim, and seven friends who include one of Tim's bandmates	A restaurant, then inside a taxi, then in a Karaoke room, starbuk, a cake shop, and back to the Karaoke room 2005
Total:	9hr49m	12 participants (excluding the researcher)	

APPENDIX 4

Insertional code-mixing items in three 30-minute in-group recordings

Local code-mixing pattern

Excerpt 1 English insertion Total: 34	Word class	Excerpt 2 English insertion Total: 35	Word class
1. agency for quality service	noun	1. attend	verb
2. agent	noun	2. *call (x3)	verb
3. center (x2)	noun	3. chop ('to cut')	verb
4. contract (x2)	noun	4. course	noun
5. funding (x2)	noun	5. dirty (x2)	adjective
6. good taste	noun	6. *DVD	noun
7. grad (graduate as a verb)	verb	7. e-mail	noun
8. immigration department	noun	8. friend (x3)	noun
9. immigration officer (x2)	noun	9. hold	verb
10. lecture	noun	10. *k (short for 'karaoke')	noun
11. marketing	noun	11. Kong U (short of Hong Kong University)	noun
12. non-government	adjective	12. *O.K. (x2)	-----
13. part-time	noun	13. olive oil (x3)	noun
14. play station	noun	14. program	noun
15. project	noun	15. Ram (computer terminology)	noun
16. promotion (x2)	noun	16. sharp	adjective
17. ranking	noun	17. So. (short for student society)	noun
18. regular	adjective	18. story	noun
19. report	noun	19. superstore	noun
20. roundtable	noun	20. *VCD (x2, short for Video Compact Disc)	noun
21. serve	verb	21. zoom (x5)	verb
22. service (x2)	noun	* These are items commonly used in Cantonese and are at the fuzzy boundary between mixed-code items and lexical borrowing.	
23. stat (short for statistics)	noun		
24. summer	noun		
25. T.A. (short for teaching assistant)	noun		
26. thesis (x2)	noun		
27. U grad (short for University graduated)	noun		

Returnee code-mixing pattern

Excerpt 3 Cantonese insertion Total: 27	Word class	Excerpt 3 English insertion Total: 37	Word class
1. a ba ba ('particle father')	particle + noun	1. Form Six	noun
2. cing ji (name of a district)	noun	2. midterm	noun
3. hou ce (x2, 'very evil')	adv + adjective	3. high tea	noun
4. lou ('old')	adjective	4. tea set for two	noun
5. sing sam (name of a school)	noun	5. test (x2)	verb
6. tai tip ('being considerate')	adjective	6. excuse	noun
7. tung lo wan la ('Causeway Bay P')	noun + particle	7. in pretty big trouble	PP
8. wa jan (name of a school)	noun	8. fought for	verb
9. leng ('true' in a superstitious sense)	adjective	9. obviously	adverb
10. aa jo ('muted')	verb	10. not my type	complement
11. tai hau ('watch [your] back')	verb + noun (this insertion functions as an individual clause)	11. cute	adjective
		12. minor	adjective
		13. trivial	adjective
		14. break up	verb
		15. problem	noun
		16. sort out	verb
		17. pianist	noun
Cantonese insertion as discourse markers:		English insertion as discourse markers:	
1. jan wai ('because')		1. I know	
2. ze (x5, 'that is')		2. because	
3. ze hai (x2, 'that is', a variant of ze)		3. but	
4. gong zan le ('honestly speaking')		4. right	
5. gan zyu ('and then')		5. by the way	
6. gan zyu keoi wa ('and then he said')		6. he's like	
7. gam gan zyu ('P and then')		7. and I's like	
8. keoi wa ('he said')		8. okay and then I was like	
9. gan zyu o wa ('and then I said')			
10. gam a (P P meaning 'so')			

Proper names referring to people are not included, but proper names for places are included because these place names have equally common equivalences in the alternative language. For example, 'Causeway Bay' and *tung lo waan* are equally common in their respective language used in Hong Kong.

APPENDIX 5

Profiles of speakers of the five 1-minute speech samples in attitudinal research

Local speakers:

1. Karen

Female, age 23. Hong Kong-born and -raised. Educated in local public schools. Home language: Cantonese. A recent HKU graduate. Now working as a travel agent.

2. Frank

Male, age 21. Hong Kong-born and -raised. Educated in local public schools. Home language: Cantonese. A second-year student at HKU.

Returnee speakers:

3. Jo

Female, age 24. A recent graduate. Now works in a bookstore and as a bartender. Born in England and stayed there until 5 years old. Lived in Singapore for 6 years (age 6-12), went to an International school in Singapore, understands Mandarin and some Cantonese but cannot write Chinese. She stayed in Hong Kong for 5 years at age 12 to 17 and studied in an elite local school. She is able to read some Chinese characters and has learned to speak Cantonese, but still can't quite write Chinese. She then studied in England at a boarding school for 2 years (age 17-19). Stayed in Hong Kong since age 19. Home language: she speaks English but understands Cantonese; her parents speak Cantonese and English to her.

4. Kelly

Female, age 23. A recent HKU graduate now works as a secondary school teacher. Hong Kong-born and raised except between age 14 and 19 when she studied in USA for 5 years. Her home language is Cantonese.

Mainland speaker:

5. Iris

Female, age 26. China (Anhui) born and raised. Now spending a second year at the University of Hong Kong studying for a graduate degree. Native Mandarin speaker but learned to speak Cantonese since she came to Hong Kong two years ago.

APPENDIX 6

Transcriptions of the five speech samples used in the attitudinal study

Karen (local code-mixing pattern)

(G: a current student working in the student organization)

- 1 Karen: o dei hou **high** ga hai zau hai luk sei ba laan gwai fong ge jat gaan zau ba le
we are very high (class) (we) set up at 64bar, a bar at Laan Kwai Fong
- 2 zou gwo seong zin a=
a photo exhibition
- 3 G: =jau teng a jau teng gwo
(I) have heard have heard of it
- 4 Karen: m zi lei jau mou gin gwo siu zou jau di hak bak seong le hou leng ga
(I) don't know if you've seen some beautiful black and white photos of the group
- 5 hai hai mong saai jau go hak sik ge baan go si m zi gaai dou sei go di le
that are all mount up on a black board those we cut to death those (board)
- 6 gam err hai luk sei ba go dou ge soeng zin go si jau jan gan o dei jat cai
then err at 64 bar that place that time there was someone went to the trip with
- 7 seong tyun/ gam zau jing zo li di soeng/ gam zau hai luk sei ba zou zo jat go
us/ and then took these photos/ and then set up a fund-raising activity at 64bar
- 8 cau fun/ gam go o ba le zau go go si tau po le zau em m zi sik go dei siu zou
and that bar the female bar owner don't know she knows who in our
- 9 di me jan ga/ zau jaa jat jat zau bei o dei haai go dou zou go seong zin zou go
group and so one day let us set up a photo exhibition and a fund-raising
- 10 cau fun gam jeong lo/
activity there that way/
- 11 Karen: lo zyu li zeong zing le/ er/ cyun sai gaai ciu gwo gau sap go gok ga le/ hou
(you) hold this document/ er/ at around the world in 90 countries P/ many
- 12 do jan le dou wui zi dou o li ceong hai gwok zai sing ge zing ming man gin
people would know that oh this is an international identity document
- 13 lei/ gam heoi go fai jung le zau jat baak man (.5) keoi ge jung tou cui zo
/ and it's fee is 100 dollars (.5) it's use apart from
- 14 hai jat go **identity** la/ er/ heoi le jau jat bun syu le/ zau hai lit jan saai m tung
being an identity / er/ it has a booklet P/ that list all different
- 15 ge dei fong ge jau wai/ pei yu ho lang hai cing lin lei se zyu suk ge jau wai la
discounts/ e.g. perhaps youth hostel boarding discounts
- 16 err/ gaau tung ge jau wai la/ er jat di **retail shopping** kei sat li jat gaan lei ci
err/ transportation discounts/ er some retail shopping actually this one similar
- 17 li jat di wan dung jung ban zyun mun dim lo/ gam tung maai...
to this special sport shop P/ and also...

Frank (local code-mixing pattern)

1. Frank: ze m hai ngo m hang gong, ji hai ze hou lou sat gong ze e mou di
P not that I don't want to speak, that is, P very honestly speaking P without
2. **moderate** zung sing di get yan ze dou wui gok dak ngo hai deoi si
moderate neutral sort of people P would all feel that I am speaking of the matter
3. m deoi jan/ze o: zi gei **personally** ze o jau hou siu tai pin/ le ze o m wui jan *but*
*not the person/ P I myself **personally** P I seldom get too biased/P P I will not*
4. wai (.) e lei hai bin go bin go ji jau (.2) m wan lei zou je a am zik (.) m wui/
say (.) P you are so and so and therefore (.2) not call you for work (.) (I) won't
5. ze o **personally** zau m wui (.) ha/ zau syun o: zi cin jau me: **critics** le o dou
*P I **personally** won't (.) yes/ even I have any **critics** before it was about*
6. hai deoi zi (.) jan si ji gon ne ha/ ze hou siu wa/ wai lei jeong seoi gam
the matter (.) according to the matter/ P very rarely/ (say) hey you are ugly
7. ze mou lei tau
P (that's) unreasonable
8. Karen: m seoi jiu jan san gung [gik ga/ m sai bei jan haak
(You) don't need to have personal attacks/ no need to be threatened
9. Frank: [ha
[yeah
10. Frank: ze o gok dak li di mou lei tau la ha (.5) gam daai hou ming hin ze jau si jau
P I feel that these are unreasonable P P (.5) but obviously P sometimes
11. daai ga wui beiau gu zap lo/ ze / hou laan o zi gei dou hai ge gam (.5) hou gin
everyone are very stubborn P/P/ It's difficult as I myself am like that (.5) very
12. sau zi gei go tou lo=
persistent about my own way=
13. Karen: =m m
14. Frank: ha/ gam bin zo ze/ (.) m/ daai ga m hang jeong ge wa mai/ (.) ze (.)
hm/then it changes to/(.) hm/ everyone does not want to adapt to the others/(.) P(.)
15. Karen: nei gok dak jing goi jau jan tung keoi fan gung (.) wak ze keoi jing goi
Do you think there should be someone getting some part of her work or she should
16. Frank: fan gung tung maai **balance** faan go **role** lo o gok dak jau si hau **so far** o
*distribution of work and **balance** of **role** I think/ sometimes **so far** I*
17. gok dak heoi / dim gong a / jau si hai mat dou **move** saai daai dak keoi
*feel that she / how to say/ sometimes everything are **moved** and she's the*
18. jat go jan zi ze/ ze/ ceoi fei o dei hak ji man keoi
only one who knows it/ unless we specifically ask her
19. Karen: m

Jo (returnee code-mixing pattern)
(K: the researcher)

1. Jo: [o::: / koei/le lei tai/lei tai go di **music video** a bla bla bla a go di le/ lei gok dak
*I see/ she/ you saw/ you saw those **music video** bla bla bla and think/ you think*
2. mok man wai hou gou a zek goek hou ceong a
Mok man wai is very tall and (her) legs very long
3. K: hai la hai la hou ci hou [leng gam jeong
yes yes like (she's) very [pretty like that
4. Jo: [keoi ngai ngo jat cyun dou ga/I was really
 [she is one inch shorter than me/
shocked when I met her/I was so shock I was like(.) why? [{{laughing}}
6. K: [wai mou ho nang wo
 [hey it's impossible
7. Jo: **exactly (.) I was very very shocked**
8. K: ze lei haang mai heoi/haang gwo gam jeong?
so you walked towards/ walk pass like that?
9. Jo: **no no [no no no I don't even know it was her because I saw her back right?/ I saw**
10. K: [{{laughing}}
11. Jo: **her back and I** gok dak/wa le go leoi zai hou sok **but that was it ya? and then/** keoi
her back and I think/ this girl is so attractive but that was it ya? and then/ she
12. haang gwo ge si hau le/ when she walk pass me(.) for some reason keoi ling zyun
when (she) walked towards (me)/ when she walk pass me(.) for some reason she
13. tau mong jat mong o a /**and then I (swear)** /{intake of air} **ha oh my God=**
turned her head and gave me a look/and then I (swear) /{...} ha oh my God=
14. K: =lei bei jan din can la lei zau
 = you were electrified then
15. Jo: **yeah yeah yeah basically I fainted/** (zung)/ha ha ha gan zyu le o zau/
yeah yeah yeah basically I fainted/ {imitates fainting}/ ha ha ha and then I /
16. Waiter: **... a cup of tea for you?**
17. Jo: **oh of course (.) black lychee**²⁶
18. Waiter: **Lychee** {sound of cups}
19. Jo: um /gam so ji/ **now I have really good memories of Shangrila**
um / and so/ now I have really good memories of Shangrila
20. K: [{{laughing}}
21. Jo: [{{laughing}} **everytime I visit the Shangrila I was like/** mong ha sin[(hai mai)
 [{{laughing}} **everytime I visit the Shangrila I was like/** take a look first [(right?)
22. K: [{{laughing}}
23. Jo: ci zo sin {laughing}
(I was) being crazy

²⁶ Lychee is a fruit common to southeast Asia.

Kelly (returnee code-mixing pattern)

1. Kelly: [la o gong dou bin dou le (.5) oh gam hou la keoi le k ze soeng da
[P where was I P (.5) oh okay he he want to call
2. bei o lo wo/ heoi wa aiya heoi dei heoi zau saai la dak faan o jat go/ gan
me P P/ he said yes they he all left and I'm the only one left/ and then I
3. zyu o gam lei lei m lei ze? [and he's like/ okay give me two minutes to
(ask) are you coming or not? [and he's like/ okay give me two minutes to
4. Rita: [hm
5. Kelly: **think about it and then/ he rung back two minutes and says okay I'm**
6. **coming (.2) gam gan zyu he knows (2 syll) he's been to green spot (so in)**
coming (.2) and then he knows (2 syll) he's been to green spot (so in)
7. **North Corner white Corner/ gam aa lei zo Corner le wo/ gan zyu o dei gaai**
North Corner white Corner/ then P (he) arrived Corner PP/ and then we
continue
8. zuk hai dou jam je la mou mat dak bit/ m lei keoi/ gan zyu o o o
drinking P nothing special/(we) didn't bother with him/ and then I I I
9. tung Jenny gong/ o wa/ la Jenny/ ji ga o zaai **in pretty big trouble/**
said to Jenny/ I said/ P Jenny/ now I am really in pretty big trouble/
10. gam o wa le bat ju le lei le zau tung o soeng baan fat heoi din a Dan/
then I said P why don't you you help me to think of a way to flirt with Dan
11. gam le zau a Dan le **fought for** lei gam keoi m gei dak zo o ze/ **he will**
then P so Dan then fought for you and then he'll forget about me that is/ he will
12. **do that anyway s'right/ ze/ if if that girl is right (.) for him/ ze/ if he like**
do that anyway s'right/ that is/ if if that girl is right (.) for him/ that is/ if he like
13. **that girl he would have done that/ ya?** gam obviously le
that girl he would have done that/ ya? so obviously P
14. gam zyu o a hai dou waan la/ mou gam zyu o teoi/ ze wa Jenny zau co hai
and then I was playing /no and then I push/ that is Jenny sits next to
15. Dan gak lei (o zau) sing jat teoi keoi dei loeng go zau maai jat cai **because**
Dan I then always push them two to stay together because
16. **I was trying to (.5) to do the whole thing out** {sound of cup} gam daan hai le/
I was trying to (.5) to do the whole thing out {sound of cup} but then /
17. **obviously it doesn't work (.) am no it worked in the beginning because both**
18. **of them are music major/ and both of them are (.) ze hai/ pretty/ ze hai pretty**
of them are music major/ and both of them are that is/ pretty/ that is pretty
19. **interested in piano a bla bla bla gam jeo-jeong gong hoi [(...)**
interested in piano a bla bla bla that way speak of [(...)

Iris (code-mixing pattern with a non-Hong Kong Cantonese accent)

1. Iris: m hai maai di fei seong ming gwai ge je a/ ho laang dou dou hai caa m do/
not for buying very expensive things/ probably then it's more or less the
2. jan wai er/ o taai gwo tung lo waan go bin/ er/ go di zyun maai dim a/
same/ that is I have seen those special stores in Causeway Bay
3. gwong zau dou jau (.) ho lang ban zung le zau ho laang ca di a wak ze hai
Guangzhou has them, too. Perhaps the variety is not as good or may be
4. err m gaam go go go go m tung err/ ho lang jau si wui maai lo/ daai jat bun
err not suitable that that different err/ perhaps sometimes (I) would buy/ but
5. hai tung lo waan dou hai maai di (.2) err/ saam lo/ ho lang hai/ pei jyu waa
usually at Causeway Bay (I) buy those (.2) err/ clothes/ perhaps / such as
6. maai **RC recorder** a wak ze hai maai me din lou aa/ ceot laai le zau syun bin
*buying **RC recorder** or those computer/ (if I) come out usually on my way*
7. taai haa di saam lo/ daai jau si zai daa zit bei gaau do
(I'll) take a look at those clothes/ but sometimes when there's bigger discount
8. tung maai m hai hou do dou taai haa ga m maai/
or that it's not much then (I) will take a look if not buying/

APPENDIX 7

Demographic information of the 22 evaluators in the attitudinal study

	Sex	Age	Major field of study	Year of birth	Place of birth	Parents' place of birth	Home language(s)	Primary/ Secondary school type according to medium of instruction	Who do you consider yourself as?	Have you spent more than a few months away from Hong Kong?
1J	M	20	Information Engineering	2	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S- English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
2R	F	19	Economics and Finance	1	Hong Kong	Father - Hong Kong Mother - China	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S- English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
3G	F	18	Economics and Finance	1	Hong Kong	China	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S- English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
4G	F	18	Economics and Finance	1	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S- English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
5J	F	23	Medicine	3	Hong Kong	Father - Hong Kong Mother - Taiwan	Cantonese & Guoyu (i.e. Putonghua)	P- Cantonese S - English	Chinese	
6S	M	23	Medicine	3	Hong Kong	China	Cantonese & Chiuchanese	P- Cantonese S - English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
7C	F	22	Social Science	Grad 6/02	Hong Kong	Father - China Mother - Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S - English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	1 year in USA at age 16.
8F	M	22	Social Science	Grad 6/02	Hong Kong	Father - China Mother - Macau	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S - English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
9L	M	22	Industrial Engineering	Grad 6/02	Hong Kong	China	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S - English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
10K	M	22	Industrial Engineering	Grad 6/02	Hong Kong	Father - Hong Kong Mother - China	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S - English-Cantonese	Chinese	
11R	M	21	Information Engineering	3	Hong Kong	Father - China Mother - Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S - Cantonese	Hong Konger	
12H	M	26	Sociology	MA Grad	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S - English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	

13H	M	21	Humanities (French)	6/02	2	Hong Kong	Father – unknown (an orphan grew up in Hong Kong) Mother – Hong Kong	Cantonese & some English	P- Cantonese S – English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	1 year in Hungary at age 10.
14A	M	23	Electrical & Electronic Engineering	Grad 6/01	4	Hong Kong	Father – Cambodia Mother – China	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English	Hong Konger	
15B	M	23	Dental School	4	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	China – Chiuchao	Cantonese & Chiuchaoese Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English-Cantonese P- Cantonese S – English-Cantonese	Chinese	
16E	M	26	Law - LLBA	Grad 6/01	China Guangdong – came to HK at age one	Hong Kong	China – Guangdong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
17J	F	24	Humanities (Geography)	Grad 6/01	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English-Cantonese	Chinese	
18T	F	21	Humanities	2	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English	Hong Konger	
19C	F	22	Humanities (English)	3	China Fukien - came to HK at age 12	China Fukien - came to HK at age 12	Father – Malaysia Mother – Indonesia	Cantonese & Putonghua	P- In China – Putonghua S – English-Cantonese	Chinese	
20S	F	22	Humanities (English)	3	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Father – Vietnam Mother – Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English	Hong Konger	1 year in Sweden at age 20.
21A	F	23	Social Science (Psychology)	Grad 6/01	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	China	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	
22Y	M	23	Social Science	Grad 6/01	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Father – Shanghai China Mother – Hong Kong	Cantonese	P- Cantonese S – English-Cantonese	Hong Konger	

APPENDIX 8

Background of the five individuals who recorded their daily interactions

	Fish	Kristy	Kelly	Tim	Jo
Friendship group	Local	Local	Returnee	Returnee	Returnee
Recorded hours (in-group)	4 (with Kristy's presence)	4 (with Fish's presence)	4 (with Jo's presence)	7.5 (with Jo's presence)	11.5 (4 with Kelly, 7.5 with Tim)
Recorded hours (out-group)	17.5	8	8.5	10	43.5
Total hours	21.5	12	12.5	17.5	55
Age	24	24	23	23	24
Years in HK	24	12	19	12	12
Years in China	0	12 (Fukien)	0	0	0
Years overseas	0	0	4 (US)	11 (Singapore and US)	12 (Singapore and UK)
Place of birth	Hong Kong	Fukien, China	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	UK
Education	University	University	University	University	University
Languages: Native/near native	Cantonese	Putonghua, Cantonese, English?	Cantonese, English	Cantonese, English	English, Cantonese
Fluent	Putonghua, English	English?		English	Cantonese Putonghua
Limited			Japanese	Putonghua	
Passive knowledge	Hakka, Shanghainese	Fukienese, Javanese	Putonghua		French
Language with parents	Cantonese	Putonghua and Cantonese	Cantonese and English	Cantonese and English	Cantonese and English
Language with Siblings	Cantonese and English (local mixing)	NA	Cantonese and English (returnee mixing)	Cantonese and English (returnee mixing)	Cantonese and English (returnee mixing, and local mixing)

Parents' information					
	Fish	Kristy	Kelly	Tim	Jo
Father's birth place	Shanghai, China (moved to HK at age 9)	Malaysia (moved to China at age 8, move to HK around 40)	Hong Kong	Toishan, China (moved to Hong Kong when he was a child)	Hong Kong
Mother's birth place	Hong Kong	Indonesia (moved to China when she was a child, moved to HK around 40)	Hong Kong	Hong Kong (moved to US at age 8)	Hong Kong
Parents' education	Secondary (HK)	Secondary (China)	Secondary and teacher-training (HK)	University (US)	University (UK) Father earned a Ph.D.
Father's job	Garment factory owner	Once worked in a restaurant kitchen, now retired	Once a shoe-shop owner, now a private chauffeur	Film director, script writer and producer.	Secondary school teacher
Mother's job	Housewife	Waitress and cashier in a restaurant	Elementary school teacher	Senior financial consultant in a bank	Housewife
Father's languages	Native Shanghainese and Cantonese; fluent Putonghua; some English	Native Fukienese and Putonghua; good Cantonese	Native Cantonese; fluent English	Native Cantonese; fluent English	Native Cantonese; fluent English
Mother's languages	Native Cantonese and Hakka; some Putonghua; little English	Native Fukienese, Javanese and Putonghua; limited Cantonese	Native Cantonese; some English	Native Cantonese and English	Native Cantonese; fluent English

Grandparents'/relatives' information (if known)					
	Fish	Kristy	Kelly	Tim	Jo
Grandparent s/relatives of father's side	Fish spent sometime with Father's relatives when he was young and learn some Shanghainese, now only have passive knowledge	When Kristy first came to Hong Kong she spent sometime with Father's relatives to learn English and Cantonese.		Most of Tim's father's relatives reside in Hong Kong and speak Cantonese.	
Grandparent s/relatives of mother's side	Fish lived with grandmother in Hong Kong when young and learned to speak Hakka but only have passive knowledge now.		Cantonese-English bilingual grandfather loved to speak English to Kelly. Kelly speaks Cantonese to her grandmother.	Grandparents are native Cantonese speakers. They have lived in a US Chinatown for over 30 years but speak little English	
Others			Hakka-Cantonese speaking Nanny lived with Kelly until age 15 and taught her Hakka vocabulary. Kelly regularly visits her and speaks Cantonese with some Hakka vocabulary with her.		

APPENDIX 9

Sociolinguistic interview questions

Personal language background:

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
4. Where is your ancestral home? Do you or your parents still have connections there?
5. Which district in Hong Kong do you live? What is your neighborhood like?
6. Have you always lived there? If not, where and what was your previous neighborhood(s) like?
7. What languages do you speak?
8. What languages do you code-mix? Can you describe how you mix them?
9. What language(s)/code-mixing speech do you use with your parents/siblings/grandparents? with your friends? with your colleagues? with your neighbours?
10. How long have you lived in Hong Kong? Where else have you been and when (at what age)?
11. When did you start to learn/speak English? Cantonese?
12. What was it like to learn English in Hong Kong (or elsewhere that you've experienced)?
13. What was it like to learn Cantonese in Hong Kong (or elsewhere that you've experienced)?
14. If you can remember, when you were in kindergarten, what languages did you use with your teachers/classmates/close friends? Do you remember using code-mixing speech? If so, with whom?
15. When you were in primary school, what languages did you use with your teachers/classmates/close friends? Did you use code-mixing speech? With whom?
16. When you were in secondary school, what languages did you use with your teachers/classmates/close friends? Did you use code-mixing speech? With whom?
17. When you were in college/university, what languages did you use with your teachers/classmates/close friends? Did you use code-mixing speech? With whom?
18. What is your job?
19. What languages/code-mixing patterns do you use at work? With whom?
20. Do you travel a lot? Where do you travel and why?

Parents' sociolinguistic background

21. What is the mother tongue of your mother/father? What other languages do they speak? What language/code-mixing patterns do they use at home with you? And among themselves?

22. What is the education level of your mother/father? Did they attend English-medium schools or Chinese-medium schools?
23. Have your parents always been living in Hong Kong? If not, do you mind telling me where they've been? What languages were used there? Did your parents pick up the local language(s)?

Affiliation and experience in Hong Kong and overseas

24. Do you like Hong Kong? Do you want to stay in Hong Kong or is there somewhere else you want to be? Why?
25. Who do you consider yourself as? Hong Kong person? Chinese? Hong Kong Chinese? Others (please specify)?
26. Have you always perceived yourself as _____ (the answer given in the previous question)? Or you have changed your perception over the years? Why?

(For those who have spent a substantial period overseas)

27. What was the reason to leave Hong Kong? Do you like it overseas? What do you like about it?
28. How different is your life there compared to Hong Kong?
29. When you were overseas, who were your close friends in terms of their language background and ethnicity?
30. How about in Hong Kong? What is the composition of your friends?
31. What made you come to Hong Kong? At that time how do you feel about the idea of coming to Hong Kong?
32. How was life when you first arrived in Hong Kong? How about now?
33. Have you had any experience of other people commenting on the way you speak/dress/behave? What are the comments?
34. Were you ever called names that distinguish you from other Hong Kong people? What are they? How do you feel about that?

Social space and group practice (Hong Kong)

35. Where are your favorite places to hangout? Who are the people you hangout with the most?
36. Where do you buy your clothing/shoes/bags, etc.?
37. What kind of music do you listen to the most? (groups, singers, type)
38. Do you read newspapers/magazines often? Which newspapers/magazine?
39. Do you listen to radio? Which stations and programs?
40. Do you watch TV often? What channels and programs?
41. Do you go online often, where do you go when you go online? (chat room, discussion forums, websites)
42. Do you know people you interact with online in person?
43. What languages do you use online?

44. Do you email/icq often?
45. Who are the people you email the most?
46. What languages do you use in email/icq?
47. You are in a group of friends, what do you think is the defining characteristic of your group?
48. Do you speak differently when you're within the group than when you're with other people? If so, what is the difference?
49. How do you know these friends in the group?
50. Who are closest to you in the group?
51. Who is the person you're impressed the most in your group? Why?
52. Who is the coolest in the group (if different from the previous answer)? Why?

Language attitudes and self-report of code-mixing usage:

53. What do you think of the way Hong Kong people speak? Do they speak better these days, or did they used to speak better? Why do you think so?
54. Did you always speak the way you speak now? What differences do you notice in the way your speech has changed?
55. In general, do you speak in Cantonese more? Or English more?
56. When you speak Cantonese, can you speak it in a way without mixing any English words? If so, do you often do that (non-mixing)? Why? And who do you speak it with?
57. When you speak English, can you speak it without mixing Cantonese? If so, do you always do that when you speak English? Why? And who do you speak it with?
58. When you speak to a person who knows both English and Cantonese, which language/code-mixing pattern would you use? How do you decide?
59. Which way of speaking is more comfortable to you? Cantonese only, English only, or mixing English and Cantonese? If mixing is your answer, what is the degree of mixing (in your own description)?
60. Do you like using code-mixed speech? Why?
61. Do you think many people use code-mixing in Hong Kong?
62. When you hear someone code-mix, who do you think this person is? A Hong Kong person, a mainland Chinese, someone from overseas, or others?
63. Can you use code-mixing with everyone in Hong Kong? Who do you think you cannot use it with?
64. Do you want your children to learn code-mixing? Why?
65. Has anyone told you that you should not code-mix? Who? How did you respond? And what do you think of his/her opinion now?

Perception of language and social categorization

(The interviewee listens to the audio clips – the same ones used in the attitudinal study in the pilot)

66. Do any of them speak like you? Please describe how they speak like or unlike you.
67. Can you tell me your first impression about who these people are?
68. Do you like the way these people speak? Why and why not?

(In an indoor road-side setting – e.g. a coffee shop - where the interviewee can see people walking by the street)

69. When you see a stranger, what sort of things do you use to judge the social background of that person? Can you give me some examples from the people who walk by now?
70. If you have to make assumptions about how these people speak, what would the assumption be? More specifically, who do you think would speak only Cantonese, only English, and who would use code-mixing? And to what degree?

APPENDIX 10

Consent forms (with detailed description of data collection tasks)

CONSENT FORM 1: PARTICIPANTS IN SOCIAL GATHERING RECORDING Linguistic practices of Cantonese-English bilinguals in Hong Kong

Researcher: Katherine Hoi Ying Chen, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: hoiyingc@umich.edu, telephone: Hong Kong: 91929681; USA 1-734-3023063. Katherine's academic advisor: Professor Lesley Milroy, Hans Kurath Professor and Chair, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: amilroy@umich.edu, phone: 1-734-7640353; Address: 4080 Frieze Building, 105 S. State Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285. Department website: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/ling/>

This research will explore how Cantonese-English bilinguals use language in different settings with different people. To study speech of bilingual speakers I need to study naturally occurring conversations such as casual social gatherings among friends, like the one you are having today. The result of this study will contribute to linguistic knowledge of bilingual language use, social organization, and individual and group identity construction in a multilingual setting. It will also have potential implications for education and language planning in Hong Kong.

Your participating in this research is highly valuable. To participate in this study you will allow the researcher, or a designated representative who is one of your friends, to audio and/or video record your speech while you are with your friends in this gathering. In the study of linguistic, non-verbal interaction during a conversation (such as body-movement, gaze, facial expression, spatial relationships among participants, etc.) is an important source of conversation analysis. If you are willing, the researcher would like to ask for your permission to video record your participation, but if you prefer only audio-recording, you can still fully participate in this research. Please indicate at the end of this form which recording device you prefer. Because this is a group activity, video-recording can only be used when all of the participants agree to be video-recorded. Please note that result of this academic research will be published and presented in public settings upon finish, and video and audio materials recorded in this study may be used in these publications and presentations. For audio-material, only extracts which do not contain personally identifying information will be used in publication and presentation. But for video-material, your face could be shown if you choose to be video-recorded. If you are concerned about the use of recorded materials in this study please consult with the researcher before consenting to participate.

The recording will be about two hours long. This research poses no risk or minimal risk²⁷ to you or any co-participants.

To thank you for your voluntary help, your transportation cost for coming to this research session (this gathering) will be reimbursed in full at the beginning of the session. Although you may not receive other direct benefit from your participation, others may ultimately benefit from the knowledge obtained in this study.

²⁷ A risk is minimal where the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the proposed research are not greater, in and of themselves, than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you sign the informed consent document, you may decide to leave the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. During the research, you may also request the researcher to stop recording at any time if there are any parts of the conversation you do not want to be recorded.

Your name and any personal information that could identify you will not be released in this research and any subsequent research. All information collected will remain confidential except as may be required by federal, state or local law. When this research is done, all the research materials (tapes, transcript, interview materials, etc.) will be archived by the researcher.

I have read the information given above. Katherine Chen, or a designated representative, has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study. By signing below, I agree to have my participation in this gathering (please choose one from below by initial next to the number) :

- 1. Video-recorded (Instrument: Canon GL1 or Sony DCRPC101)**
- 2. Audio-recorded (Instrument: JNC SSF-70 digital audio recorder or a Sony audio-tape recorder)**
- 3. Both video and audio-recorded (Instruments: same as above)**

Signature

Date

One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep.

Should you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

CONSENT FORM 2: INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP INTERVIEWS

Linguistic practices of Cantonese-English bilinguals in Hong Kong

Researcher/Interviewer: Katherine Hoi Ying Chen, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: hoiyingc@umich.edu, telephone: Hong Kong: 91929681; USA 1-734-3023063. Katherine's academic advisor: Professor Lesley Milroy, Hans Kurath Professor and Chair, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: amilroy@umich.edu, phone: 1-734-7640353; Address: 4080 Frieze Building, 105 S. State Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285. Department website: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/ling/>

This research will explore how Cantonese-English bilinguals use language in different settings with different people. Part of the research involves the audio-recording of natural conversations of bilinguals, and another part involves interviewing bilinguals (like yourself) about their experience of growing up being bilingual and of using two languages in Hong Kong in daily life. The result of this study will contribute to linguistic knowledge of bilingual language use, social organization, individual and group identity construction in a multilingual setting. It will also have potential implications for education and language planning in Hong Kong.

Your participating in this research is highly valuable. Because your speech in this interview is a great source of bilingual speech data, it is very important to the researcher to have the interview recorded. In the study of linguistic, non-verbal interaction during a conversation (such as body-movement, gaze, facial expression, spatial relationship among participants, etc.) is an important source of conversation analysis. If you are willing, the researcher would like to ask for your permission to video record your

participation, but if you prefer only audio-recording, you can still fully participate in this research. Please indicate at the end of this form which recording device do you prefer. If this is a group interview, video-recording can only be used when all of the participants agree to be video-recorded. Please note that result of this academic research will be published and presented in public settings upon finish, and video and audio materials recorded in this study may be used in these publications and presentations. For audio-material, only extract which do not contain personal identifier information will be used in publication and presentation. But for video-material, your face could be shown if you choose to be video-recorded. If you have a problem with the use of recorded materials in this study please consult with the researcher before consenting to participate.

During the interview, you may skip any questions you do not want to answer, or request the researcher to stop recording at any time if there are any part of the conversation you do not want to be recorded. The interview will take about one hour. This research poses no or minimal risk²⁸ to you or any co-participants.

To thank you for your voluntary help, your transportation cost for coming to this interview session will be reimbursed in full at the beginning of the session. Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you sign the informed consent document, you may decide to leave the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. Although you may not receive other direct benefit from your participation, others may ultimately benefit from the knowledge obtained in this study.

Your name and any personal information that could identify you will not be released in this research and any subsequent research. All information collected will remain confidential except as may be required by federal, state or local law. When this research is done, all the research materials (tapes, transcript, interview materials, etc.) will be archived confidentially by the researcher.

I have read the information given above. Katherine Chen, the researcher, has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study. By signing below, I agree to have my participation in this interview (please choose one from below by initial next to the number) :

- 1. Video-recorded (Instrument: Canon GL1 or Sony DCRPC101)**
- 2. Audio-recorded (Instrument: JNC SSF-70 digital audio recorder or a Sony audio-tape recorder)**
- 3. Both video and audio-recorded (Instruments: same as above)**

Signature _____ **Date** _____

One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep.

Should you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

CONSENT FORM 3: INDIVIDUAL STUDIES

²⁸ A risk is minimal where the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the proposed research are not greater, in and of themselves, than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.

Linguistic practices of Cantonese-English bilinguals in Hong Kong

Researcher/Interviewer: Katherine Hoi Ying Chen, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: hoiyingc@umich.edu, telephone: Hong Kong: 91929681; USA 1-734-3023063. Katherine's academic advisor: Professor Lesley Milroy, Hans Kurath Professor and Chair, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: amilroy@umich.edu, phone: 1-734-7640353; Address: 4080 Frieze Building, 105 S. State Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285. Department website: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/ling/>

This research will explore how Cantonese-English bilinguals use language in different settings with different people. Part of the research involves the audio-recording of natural conversations of bilinguals, and another part involves interviewing bilinguals (like yourself) about their experience of growing up being bilingual and of using two languages in Hong Kong in daily life. The result of this study will contribute to linguistic knowledge of bilingual language use, social organization, individual and group identity construction in a multilingual setting. It will also have potential implications for education and language planning in Hong Kong.

This research poses no risk or minimal risk²⁹ to you or any co-participants.

Your participation in this research is highly valuable and will involve the following tasks:

- (1) Recording of your speech for one day (or 9 hours, whichever is shorter).

The aim of this task is to record your natural speech in different settings with different people in a normal single day. This is an important way for the researcher to find out how a bilingual uses language in daily life. You will be carrying a JNC SSF-70 digital audio recorder, a tiny (2.5 x 8.5 x 1.6 cm) and light (37g) MP3 player/recorder device, for one day. The recorder has enough memory and battery to audio-record for at most 9 hours. You can wear the recorder on your neck like an MP3 player, put it in your front pocket or anywhere you feel comfortable with and yet your speech is still recordable. Because during the day anyone who has a conversation with you will have their speech recorded, it is important that you ask for permission (either a written consent or a verbal consent) before recording. You can ask for consent a few days in advance to people you are likely to come across during the recording day (such as family members, colleagues, classmates, etc.), or on the spot when you are starting a conversation. Please note that all verbal consent must be recorded on the device. The researcher will give you a written consent form/verbal consent information sheets to pass to your potential and actual interlocutors. During the day, you may switch off the recorder at any time when recording is not wanted, and when consent is not given by your interlocutors. If you and your interlocutors are willing, and arrangements can be made, the researcher would also like to video-record an hour of your conversation and activity that day (see p.2 for detailed explanation of this optional part of the research).

- (2) Going through your one-day recording with the researcher (5-10 hours).

The aim of this task is to gather information about your conversational activities during the recorded day. The researcher will have listened to your one-day recording and logged all conversations during the day. You will help the researcher to fill in more information about each conversation: the participants, their relationship with you, the topic and purpose of the conversation, the setting, location and estimated time of the day. The researcher will also ask you questions about your language choice

²⁹ A risk is minimal where the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the proposed research are not greater, in and of themselves, than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.

and code-mixing patterns of the conversation and your comments about them. By the end of this task, the researcher will be able to outline your linguistic repertoire as used in that day, such as how many languages you have used, how you used them, whether you code-mix them, and in what ways.

(3) An interview to describe your sociolinguistic profile (2-3 hours)

The aim of this task is to gather more in-depth information about you as a bilingual. The researcher will interview you on topics such as your experience of language learning, of growing up bilingual, and of different ways of using your available linguistic repertoire, your language use with people around you, your comments on speech of other people in Hong Kong, etc.

During the tasks (2) and (3), you may skip any questions you do not want to answer, or request the researcher to stop recording at any time if there are any parts of the conversation you do not want to be recorded.

In the study of linguistic, verbal as well as non-verbal interaction during a conversation (such as body-movement, gaze, facial expressions, spatial relationships among participants, etc.) are all important sources for analysis. If you are willing, the researcher would like to ask for your permission to video record your participation in tasks (2) and (3), and when arrangements can be made, one hour of your activity and conversation in task (1). If you prefer to be audio-recorded only, you can still fully participate in this research. Please indicate your recording preference at the end of this consent form for each of the task.

Please note that the results of this academic research will be published and presented in public settings, and video and audio materials recorded in this study may be used in these publications and presentations. For audio-material, only extracts which do not contain personally identifying information will be used in publication and presentation. But for video-material, your face could be shown if you choose to be video-recorded. If you have concerns about the use of recorded materials in this study please consult with the researcher before consenting to participate.

To thank you for your help and contribution, the hours you spent working with the researcher in task (2) and (3) will be reimbursed on a rate of HK\$78/hour (US\$10/hour), but no more than a total of HK\$1200 (US\$154) for the entire study. Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you sign the informed consent document, you may decide to leave the study at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may otherwise be entitled. You will be paid for the hours you have worked even you decide to withdraw before the study is finished.

Your name and any personal information that could identify you will not be released in this research and any subsequent research. All information collected will remain confidential except as may be required by federal, state or local law. When this research is done, all the research materials (tapes, transcript, interview materials, etc.) will be archived by the researcher.

I have read the information given above. Katherine Chen, the researcher, has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study. By signing below, I agree to have my participation in each task recorded (please choose the recording means from each list below by initial next to the number) :

Task (1) Recording of your speech for one day

1. Video-recorded (Instrument: Canon GL1 or Sony DCRPC101) for one hour and audio-recorded (Instrument: JNC SSF-70 digital audio recorder or a Sony audio-tape recorder) for 9 hours
2. Only audio-recorded (Instruments: same as above)

Task (2) Going through your one-day recording with the researcher

1. Video-recorded (Instrument: Canon GL1 or Sony DCRPC101)
2. Audio-recorded (Instrument: JNC SSF-70 digital audio recorder or a Sony audio-tape recorder)
3. Both video and audio-recorded (Instruments: same as above)

Task (3) An interview to describe your sociolinguistic profile

4. Video-recorded (Instrument: Canon GL1 or Sony DCRPC101)
5. Audio-recorded (Instrument: JNC SSF-70 digital audio recorder or a Sony audio-tape recorder)
6. Both video and audio-recorded (Instruments: same as above)

Signature

Date

One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep.

Should you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

CONSENT FORM 4: INTERLOCUTORS OF INDIVIDUAL CONSULTANTS

Linguistic practices of Cantonese-English bilinguals in Hong Kong

Researcher: Katherine Hoi Ying Chen, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: hoiyingc@umich.edu, telephone: Hong Kong: 91929681; USA 1-734-3023063. Katherine's academic advisor: Professor Lesley Milroy, Hans Kurath Professor and Chair, Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan. Email: amilroy@umich.edu, phone: 1-734-7640353; Address: 4080 Frieze Building, 105 S. State Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285. Department website: <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/ling/>

_____ (name of the language consultant), who handed you this consent form/information sheet, is participating in a research on language use of bilinguals in Hong Kong. This research explores how Cantonese-English bilinguals use language in different settings with different people. The results of this study will contribute to linguistic knowledge of bilingual language use, social organization, and individual and group identity construction in a multilingual setting. It will also have potential implications for education and language planning in Hong Kong.

Part of this research involves recording of natural conversations of bilinguals in daily life, and this language consultant whom you know has very kindly agreed to participate by recording conversations he/she conducted during the day. Your participation in this research is highly valuable. Because you are (or likely will be) interacting with the language consultant during the recording day (or today), the researcher would like to ask for your permission to either audio or video-record your interaction with the consultant. You can give you permission by simply say 'I agree to have my speech recorded' on the audio or video recorder that the language consultant carries, or by signing this form.

Please note that result of this academic research will be published and presented in public settings upon finish, and video and audio materials recorded in this study may be used in these publications and presentations. For audio-material, only extract which do not contain personal identifier information will be used in publication and presentation. But for video-material, your face could be

shown if you choose to be video-recorded. If you have a problem with the use of recorded materials in this study please consult with the researcher before consenting to participate.

If you do not agree to have your speech recorded, the language consultant will switch off the recorder while talking to you.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you sign the informed consent document or have given verbal consent, you may decide to leave the study at any time. During the recording, you may also request the language consultant to stop recording at any time if there are any part of the conversation you do not want to be recorded. Although you may not receive direct benefit from your participation, others may ultimately benefit from the knowledge obtained in this study.

This research poses no or minimal risk³⁰ to you or any co-participants.

Your name and any personal information that could identify you will not be released in this research and any subsequent research. All information collected will remain confidential except as may be required by federal, state or local law. When this research is done, all the research materials (tapes, transcript, interview materials, etc.) will be archived by the researcher.

I have read the information given above. The language consultant has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study. By signing below, I agree to have my participation (please choose one from below by initial next to the number) :

- 4. Video-recorded (Instrument: Canon GL1 or Sony DCRPC101)**
- 5. Audio-recorded (Instrument: JNC SSF-70 digital audio recorder or a Sony audio-tape recorder)**
- 6. Both video and audio-recorded (Instruments: same as above)**

Signature

Date

One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep.

Should you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu

³⁰ A risk is minimal where the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the proposed research are not greater, in and of themselves, than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.

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