

LANGUAGE

in HONG KONG
at CENTURY'S END

Edited by
Martha C. Pennington



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Perspectives on Language in Hong Kong at Century's End¹

Martha C. Pennington

ABSTRACT

This introductory chapter offers a range of different ways of characterizing and explaining bilingualism (broadly defined to include the existence of any number of languages in one community) in the Hong Kong case. From these multiple perspectives it is possible to gain rich and complex insights into the nature of bilingualism that offer new understandings of the phenomenon.

INTRODUCTION

Such a complex and changing aspect of life as language in Hong Kong, representing a mix of not only English and the majority dialect of Cantonese but other Chinese dialects, or *varieties*, as well, can best be understood and described by examining it from multiple perspectives. In this introductory chapter, a number of different frameworks that have previously been applied to the study of bilingualism, multilingualism, or language more generally are reviewed in terms of their applicability to the Hong Kong case, with reference to the chapters of this book. These are then supplemented by several new forms of description in an attempt to account in an enlightening or interesting way for the evolution and current profile of language in Hong Kong. The discussion is to a large extent cumulative, grafting and weaving the various conceptual strands together to create what it is hoped will be hardy new hybrid breeds of explanation that may stimulate future research and theorizing on Hong Kong language.

CURRENT PERSPECTIVES

Functional Complementarity of Languages

According to a well-known model of bilingualism/multilingualism, that of *diglossia* (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967, 1980), two or more languages will survive in a community only when their functions and domains of use are different and complementary. The basic, or classic, diglossic situation is one in which one of two community languages is used in 'outer' ('high') domains or functions such as education and government and the other in 'inner' ('low') domains or functions such as family and neighbourhood affairs.

In general, the 'high'/'low' language split is a manifestation of distinctions in power and socio-economic status between a governing, educated class and a governed, lesser educated class. In consequence, the diglossic style of explanation for language use patterns has over the years come to be associated with the politics of colonialism and conquest, with a history of the attempted or actual domination of one group, and its language and culture, over another, and with the themes of ethnicity and minority rights.

The relationship between English and Cantonese in Hong Kong has been described in diglossic terms, with English characterized as an 'auxiliary language' (Luke and Richards, 1982) having limited 'high' functions and status for speakers of Cantonese (and for native speakers of other non-English varieties in the community). The usage profile of English then appears as one which is complementary to the much more widespread alternative of Cantonese.

At one time in the history of Hong Kong, it might have seemed appropriate to speak of it in diglossic terms, when English was indisputably the main language of power and prestige. However, at least since the 1960s, English has been losing ground to Chinese, including Cantonese, in many domains that would traditionally be labelled 'high'. English is still dominant in written business communication (Poon, 1992) and perhaps in the legal domain as well, as enshrined in the Basic Law, though courts hear cases in Chinese. However, it no longer appears to be the dominant medium in the political domain, where Cantonese is a more convenient and 'politically correct' medium for the majority of local politicians, who are native speakers of Cantonese, nor in the educational domain, where Cantonese and a variety of mixed code in which English subject matter lexis is inserted into a Cantonese utterance frame take the lion's share of class time (as reviewed by Johnson, Chapter 10). The chapters by Pierson and by Pennington and

Balla in this volume contribute to explaining the changing profile and vitality of Cantonese *vis-à-vis* the other languages of the community.

The diglossic form of description of the relationship between Cantonese and English — and indeed, between any two languages — is in fact an idealization. For a complete separation of people and their languages is virtually impossible when two groups live in the same geographical area and mutually influence each others' lives, as has been the case in Hong Kong for Cantonese-speaking ethnic Chinese native to the community in relation to English-speaking foreign migrants. Moreover, as a consequence of the increasing prosperity of Hong Kong, the majority of Cantonese-speaking Chinese fall less into 'high' and 'low' groups and increasingly into a vast 'middle' class. Along with middle-class status come middle-of-the-road linguistic habits. In a bilingual or multilingual community, this is likely to mean making use of the available languages in some mixed forms or functions.

A challenge to the diglossic model as applied to Hong Kong bilingualism is the emergence of a range of mixed varieties — so-called *mixed code*. Mixed code can be said to be a 'middle' language representing a blend or compromise between 'high' and 'low' language forms and norms. Such a 'middle way', being a social and linguistic compromise that avoids the extremes of (pure) English on the one hand and (pure) Cantonese on the other, does not fit into a (pure) diglossic model. A diglossic model is also inaccurate as applied to the Hong Kong case to the extent that the two dominant community languages exhibit an incipient *triglossic* sociolinguistic hierarchy with Putonghua, the Mainland standard language (So, 1992), as discussed by Pierson (Chapter 3) and by Evans, Jones, Rusmin, and Cheung (Chapter 17). Nor is a diglossic model entirely applicable given the complex *multilingual* profile of the community documented in the chapters by Afendras, Bacon-Shone and Bolton, Pannu, and Patri and Pennington in the present volume. In addition, the diglossic model offers no explanation for transitional cases or changing situations of linguistic allegiance or social composition. Nor does it offer a good model for describing a community which is generally and *characteristically* flexible or unstable linguistically, socially, or culturally.

As a highly entrepreneurial culture, Hong Kong could be described as a prototypically flexible, ever-changing, and situationally responsive community. It is in this sense a 'metastable' community, that is, one whose continued existence and long-term stability reside in its ability to continually change and adapt to circumstances. To put it a different way, Hong Kong is a community which is perpetually transitional, emergent, and realigning — politically, socially, culturally, and linguistically. For such a community,

the diglossic model, which requires stable and non-interacting linguistic and social spheres, does not apply well.

A final point is that in terms of the attributes that have accrued to the diglossic model, Hong Kong does not seem to make a very good case. In this community, there is hardly any question of minority rights, since Cantonese speakers who are ethnic Chinese make up the clear and vast majority. The issue of minority rights has been an issue in relation to right of abode for Indians in Hong Kong but hardly for language or other kinds of social or minority rights within that group. Indeed, the research of Pannu (Chapter 8) shows that, like Latin Americans in the United States (Hakuta and D'Andrea, 1992; Lambert and Taylor, 1996), Indians who settle in Hong Kong are already highly acculturated to Hong Kong culture and language, that is, to Cantonese, by the second generation. Of course, the issue of minority rights could quickly become paramount among Hong Kong Chinese if and when Cantonese speakers become seen as, or are treated as, disfavoured minority speakers within the larger motherland of China, a point hinted at by Pierson (Chapter 3).

Language Use in Different Genres

An alternative to the diglossic model which avoids the patch-style of explanation required to sustain that model in the face of complex linguistic relationships and mixed varieties is *genre analysis* (Swales, 1990). Genre analysis, which seeks to describe language use in specific contexts by specific groups, allows for the identification of smaller domains of language use and for potentially any mix of languages in each of the smaller domains. The genre analysis approach seems especially apt for describing the proportion and type of usage of English and Cantonese associated with various communicative domains and professions in which bilingualism is a defining feature.

For example, a *bilingual radio genre* has evolved on one Hong Kong channel that consists of a complex pattern of alternation of languages for different segments of the programmes, such as news reports, traffic and weather reports, song introductions and commentary, and interaction with callers in phone-in dedications and contests (Pennington, Chan, and Lau, 1996). Within this genre, as outlined in Table 1.1, there is a continuum of language use from 'high' (English or 'high' Cantonese), to 'balanced' (code-switching of Cantonese and English), to 'low' ('low' Cantonese, with code-mixing), depending on whether and which type of 'institutional speech act' (various forms of identifications and reports) is involved, who is talking, and what the topic is. The 'high' profile is associated with the most formal

and pre-structured types of speech acts, while the 'low' profile is associated with the least formal and pre-structured speech acts. Within the 'balanced' profile, switching between English and Cantonese is employed for purposes of segmentation of discourse and informational highlighting. Code-switching also allows the bilingual disk jockeys to (metaphorically) switch voices, for example, for purposes of quotation or 'narrative colour'. Code-switching functions as well to provide a distancing and 'objectification' of the speaker, for example, for purposes of meta-commentary and reflection on the speaker's own on-air performance.

Most Institutional Forms of Talk (Pre-scripted, Privileged, Transmissional)				
Identifications	Reports	Participants	Topics	Language
Station	Public service News	Reporter	Official Information	High
Presenter	Financial news Advertisement Weather report Traffic report	DJ	Cultural	Balanced
Song		Guest Caller	Local Personal	Low
			Reflective	
Most Vernacular Forms of Talk (Unscripted, Egalitarian, Social)				

Figure 1.1 Continuum of Forms of Talk in Hong Kong Bilingual Radio (Pennington, Chan, and Lau, 1996)

In Hong Kong secondary schools, a pattern of language use by teachers that can be termed a *bilingual instructional genre* has been identified (Lin, 1990; Pennington, 1995a, 1995b). According to this pattern, which appears to be a common one in bilingual communities, the content of lessons is introduced in English and then explicated through examples, definitions, and further elaboration in the students' mother tongue, followed by a restatement, conclusion, or transition to a new topic given in English. The following is an example from a Form 4 (Grade 10) English class in a typical Hong Kong school:

[The teacher is explicating a reading passage about the founding of the McDonald's restaurant chain.]

We can see the first McDonald's restaurant was a hamburger drive-in stand.
Sin1 tau4 hai6 yat1 dong3 hau2 ne3, hai6 ho2 nang4 di1 ce1 teui1 go3 lei4 ting4 hai2 gaai1 ga3 za3.

('At first it was just a stand. Maybe it was pushed by a cart here and there on the street.')

A stand, the car is pushed and it stops in the street.

(adapted from Pennington, Lee, and Lau, 1995, p. 99)

Since English is the main language of written communication and textbooks, this form of classroom instruction, in which an idea related to written material is introduced in English, elaborated in Cantonese, then restated in whole or in part in English, is common. This bilingual instructional genre translates the content of the curriculum into the students' familiar idiom while maintaining a function for English as 'priming' or framing — introducing and concluding — topics. In addition, English is generally employed in secondary education as the language in which technical terms are expressed, in a form of bilingual discourse which Johnson and Lee (1987) have termed 'insertion-switching'.

Though the underlying rationale for use of two languages may be similar, dual language use in tertiary contexts follows a somewhat different pattern. A main reason for this difference is that instruction is divided into lectures, tutorials, and laboratory periods — a division which encourages different modes of communication in each type of class period, as discussed by Pennington and Balla (Chapter 9) and Walters and Balla (Chapter 16). Although, as at secondary level, code-switching and code-mixing occur within one lesson period, a particular characteristic of language use in Hong Kong tertiary contexts is the predominance of one language or the other in these different types of class periods. Thus, whereas at secondary level a certain pattern of language alternation is specific to the instructional domain, at tertiary level language use becomes specialized to different *types* of instructional domains (lecture, tutorial, laboratory). In both secondary and tertiary educational contexts, English is maintained to a far greater degree in written genres than in spoken ones.

In addition, at tertiary level, the proportion and type of use of each language in spoken genres varies greatly across fields, while at secondary level, much less variation across fields is in evidence (Johnson, 1991). The different profiles of English and Cantonese usage found in tertiary education have evolved based on the characteristics of the students and teachers in each field of study, such as their:

- relative proficiency in the two languages,

- knowledge of terms and experience teaching/learning the languages,
- sense of identification with or need for the languages.

These differential profiles have also evolved in response to institutional and community pressures related to language use, as well as to the prevailing community-specific norms of each field (Balla and Pennington, 1996; Pennington and Balla, 1996).

Focusing and Diffusion of Identity Through Language

Another alternative to the diglossic model solves the problem of a definite distinction between languages and their attributes by allowing for less distinct linguistic norms within a community. According to this orientation, norms for language use are *focused* (that is, clear and unitary norms) or *diffuse* (less strict and more varied guidelines for usage), depending on such factors as the number of languages available to speakers and their social, cultural, and political signification.

In the focusing and diffusion model (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985), two languages or varieties represent, from the point of view of individual speakers, two different loci or foci of attraction. In this mode of description, every person's language in a bilingual community — or indeed any community — is a compromise, rather than a pure version of a particular language (on this point, see also Bakhtin, 1935/1981). Different speakers have overlapping individual varieties — *idiolects*, or simply *lects* — rather than speaking either the same or mutually exclusive varieties.

Language is in this model tied up with identity, in that individual speakers express their choice of identity by their choice of language (as noted by Scollon in Chapter 11) and by the degree to which they focus their speech on one variety or another. Through such 'acts of identification' — or what Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) term 'acts of identity' — speakers signal their degree of affiliation with one sociocultural group or another, or they create new identities and affiliations which blend the attributes of existing groups, as in the case of the Hong Kong Indian adolescents whose trilingualism is explored by Pannu (Chapter 8).

Bolton and Kwok (1990) have noted that this model can readily be applied to the Hong Kong case:

At twin ends of the continuum in Hong Kong, we have two relatively focused varieties of language 'Standard English', on the one hand, and 'Standard Written Chinese' on the other. Between these two points of focus, we then have a range of varieties of language currently in use in Hong Kong: Cantonese (including both 'high' and 'low' varieties), other Chinese

dialects (such as Hakka, Chiu Chow, and rural dialects of Cantonese), Cantonese-English mix, and what we have called 'Hong Kong English'. In the mid-range of this spread of varieties, the pull towards diffusion, variation and variability in language becomes increasingly strong. (p. 162)

Bacon-Shone and Bolton's chapter buttresses this profile of Hong Kong language with concrete data on language demography up to the present time.

Bolton and Kwok (1990) further note:

Cantonese is not a fully codified variety and, as many commentators have indicated, subject to a great deal of variation at a number of different levels. The processes of lexical borrowing, code-mixing and code-switching represent a continuum of linguistic activity as speakers switch (and sway) from one variety to another. (p. 162)

As is implied in this passage, code-switching represents a more 'advanced' level of bilingualism, requiring a higher degree of proficiency in the second language, than code-mixing, in which the mother tongue is dominant. These processes involving bilingual behaviour (as explored in the chapters by Luke, Li, and Chan) can be contrasted with lexical borrowing, a 'minimal' adaptation to a second language in which words and phrases lose their association with the 'lending' language and become known to monolingual speakers.

Syntactic Integration of Languages

In contrast to each of the perspectives on Hong Kong bilingualism so far presented, which are socially oriented, a more strictly linguistic perspective on the patterns found in code-mixing and code-switching can be offered in terms of the syntax of bilingual utterances. A syntactically based form of explanation is applied mainly in the tradition of discussions of code-switching but sometimes is applied also to the phenomenon of code-mixing, as in the contribution by Chan (Chapter 7). In code-switching, both languages, or codes, are co-equal, with one being more activated at a given moment than the other. In code-mixing, one code — the *matrix language* — provides the grammatical frame of the utterance as well as many lexical items, while the other language — the *embedded language* — provides some of its lexical items (Myers-Scotton, 1993). In code-mixing, most 'function words' or grammatical morphemes come from the matrix language, and most 'content words', especially nouns and noun phrases, come from the embedded language. For this reason, the resulting variety or varieties can be described as integrating a subset of the lexicon of the second language in areas such as those reviewed by Li (Chapter 6) within the grammar, both

syntax and lexicon, of the mother tongue. The syntactic approach seeks to 'explain' dual language use by describing the structural constraints on the mixing or embedding of 'foreign' words and phrases into a matrix language utterance frame.

A problem with this form of explanation is its failure to distinguish switching and mixing of languages, as both tend to be conflated in the literature under a rubric of 'code-switching'. Yet in the Hong Kong case — and I would argue, in other cases as well — the mixing and switching of languages are distinct phenomena, in several different senses, though there are 'borderline' cases (Pennington, Chan, and Lau, 1996). In addition, the focus of this form of explanation, following the linguistic tradition of 'autonomous syntax' (for example, Chomsky, 1965) does not take sufficient account of social factors which constrain the switching and mixing of languages. It also fails to place the phenomenon of dual language use in a historical context that reveals the long-term effects of using two languages together.

These long-term effects include syntactic changes which bring the matrix and embedded languages closer together in terms of their grammatical form, particularly, as embedded language expressions impact the syntax of the matrix language, by:

- *incorporation*, that is, the coining of new expressions that combine the morphology of both languages;
- *analogy*, that is, imitation of the grammar of the 'foreign' expressions in the grammar of the matrix language;
- *simplification*, that is, simplification of matrix language syntactic frames to accommodate embedded language material; and
- *exclusion*, that is, avoidance of syntactic structures in the matrix language which are not conducive to mixing.

In a typical long-term bilingual contact scenario, through code-switching and mixing with English as well as with other varieties of Chinese, Hong Kong Cantonese appears to be undergoing syntactic change in the way of grammatical simplifications and convergence towards English syntax.

Semantic Extension Through Bilingualism

Another linguistic perspective attempts to characterize language use in Hong Kong from a semantic point of view. This perspective focuses on the non-equivalence of languages and cultures as pressuring towards a two-language (or multi-language) discourse within the speech of one group. At a lexical level, Li (Chapter 6) pinpoints the lack of equivalent expressions

in Chinese as a main reason for code-mixing in the Hong Kong press. Semantic differences between English and Cantonese are also one form of explanation explored by Gibbons (1987) in his extensive work on code-mixing by students at the University of Hong Kong.

What Luke (Chapter 5) terms the 'expedient' use of English words or expressions within an otherwise Cantonese discourse can in some cases be attributed to a 'semantic deficiency' — that is, a failure to develop certain semantic fields, and so large areas of lexis, in whole or in part — within the mother tongue. Such a limitation or restriction of the mother tongue — which ultimately derives from maintenance of cultural difference, distance, and/or isolation (for example, as an effect of geographical isolation, political or religious conservatism, or linguistic/cultural suppression) — results in a lack of translation equivalents in the mother tongue for concepts which are encapsulated in the words and idioms of other languages. In such cases, it may seem easier, or more expedient, to make use of lexical items from another language where the desired semantic fields are well-developed, rather than relying on native language lexis to convey certain concepts or impressions.

It may also happen that individual speakers develop areas of semantic or lexical deficiency in their mother tongue, for example, as a result of limited literacy. Such an outcome may occur as an effect of school knowledge being taught in a second language. At the same time, it is likely that in such circumstances, the lexicon of the second language is also incomplete, in that speakers may have little or no exposure to everyday vocabulary in the second language nor be aware of ways to express local knowledge in that language. In fact, the mental lexicons of such speakers' two languages may be partially overlapping and partially complementary in terms of the areas of semantic space which they cover.

A semantic explanation may also be applied to some cases of classroom code-switching in Hong Kong, viz., when a bilingual teacher employs Cantonese to explicate the meaning of an English text, as in the passage quoted above about the founding of the McDonald's restaurant chain. There the mother tongue is used to, in effect, translate the content of the English text into a local frame of reference, referring to push cart food stands on the street, which are common in Hong Kong — though this is not the intended (stationary) interpretation of the phrase, *hamburger stand*. In this representative example, the semantics of the text, and its foreign cultural basis, is shifted to a more familiar, vernacular cultural basis through the translation/explication process. In such a case, use of the mother tongue is one form of *compensatory* bilingual behaviour (Pennington, 1995a, 1995b) in that it compensates semantically for not only lexical, but also cultural, gaps with the second language.

The semantic type of explanation in terms of lack of translation equivalents provides reasons for the fact that English is used at all, in any form, in Hong Kong. Yet this is only a partial explanation since there is always an element of orientation and free choice in the employment of a foreign idiom (beyond those contexts where it is absolutely required). A semantic explanation for bilingual behaviour therefore must be complemented by additional explanatory factors such as the symbolic associations and social value of using a second language.

Language Symbolism

In a bilingual context, *language symbolism* has to do with the different connotations of the available languages and the resulting attitudes towards those languages by members of the community. Research on language attitudes in Hong Kong has shown that English is associated with 'outer' values having to do with success, stylishness, and academic achievement, while Cantonese is associated with 'inner' values having to do with tradition, home, and solidarity (see, for example, Gibbons, 1987; Pierson, 1987). The former set of values associated with English can be labelled 'achievement values' or 'competition values', while the latter set of values associated with Cantonese can be termed 'family values' or 'co-operation values'. In addition, the English language has associations of newness, youth, and modernity, as Kamwangamalu (1989, 1992) has pointed out. Accordingly, use of English, whether alone or as individual words and phrases embedded into Cantonese, symbolizes these values on the part of the individual speakers and groups of speakers who use it. The contribution of Axler, Yang, and Stevens (Chapter 14) explores the contrast in values associated with English and mother tongue by Chinese secondary students, while that of Pannu and Pennington (Chapter 15) explores the values contrast of English and mother tongue for Indian secondary students in Hong Kong.

This form of explanation is equivalent, I believe, to Luke's (Chapter 5) discussion of an 'orientational' motivation to code-mixing, that is, use of English as a way of aligning oneself with English-based social or cultural values. It also includes some 'strategic' motivations to code-switching, such as a secondary teacher's desire to project different levels of formality and closeness or distance from students by using Cantonese or English (Lin, 1990; Pennington, 1995a, 1995b). A symbolically based form of explanation for bilingual behaviour in fact incorporates social, cultural, and psychological motivations for using a second language. It can also be combined with forms of semantic explanation, to give a detailed analysis

of meaning differences — including differences in connotation and currency — between English and Cantonese terms. This mode of description implies that all linguistic explanations are at the same time social ones, thereby combining expedient and orientational motives for code-switching or code-mixing into one *grand rhetorical motive* which blends semantic and social factors.

Psychology of Duality

From a psychological perspective on individual speakers' bilingualism, language use is related to personal factors such as motivation, attitudes, and personality. In these aspects, bilingual speakers demonstrate a *psychology of duality*.

Both anecdotal evidence and the research literature support a view of most Hong Kong Chinese as having a strong but relatively abstract and externally motivated desire to learn English (Axler, Yang, and Stevens, this volume; Balla and Pennington, 1996; Lin and Detaramani, this volume; Pennington, 1994; Pennington and Yue, 1994; Pierson, Fu, and Lee, 1980; Richards, 1993, this volume; Walters and Balla, this volume). This profile suggests an intriguing combination of idealism, in which young people uniformly express their wish to speak fluent and correct English, and pragmatism, in which they pursue English only to the extent necessary to achieve essential educational or career ends. A similar gap between 'ideality' and actuality can be seen in the behaviour of Hong Kong teachers who wish to teach in English but who easily abandon this goal in the face of various contextual factors which they see as making it difficult or impossible to achieve their ideal image of the classroom (Pennington, 1995a, 1995b; in press; Pennington and Cheung, 1995; Pennington, Lee, and Lau, 1996).

This unrealistic, 'separated' or 'gapped' psychology of English language learning and teaching can be compared to the typical Hong Kong profile for language attitudes. This profile shows a similar lack of integration or consistency, as English and Cantonese attract both negative and positive values in attitudes surveys (see, for example, Fu, 1987; Gibbons, 1987; Pierson, 1987). Thus, alongside positive competition or achievement values such as stylishness and ambition, English has been associated in 'matched guise'² attitudes research with negative attributes of these values such as immodesty and showing off. In like manner, alongside positive cooperation or family values such as humility and kindness, Chinese has been associated in attitudes research with negative attributes of these values such as timidity and lack of ambition.

As in the case of language production, such attitudinal conflicts may

be mitigated for Hong Kong bilinguals in the compromise position of a mixed variety. Thus, Gibbons' (1987) research with students at the University of Hong Kong uncovered an attitudinal set for a mixed Cantonese-English guise that shared negative attributes in common with Cantonese and positive attributes in common with English, while also showing values intermediate between those for the Chinese and English guises on the scales for 'modern', 'fashionable', and 'Westernized'. Most importantly, the ratings on these scales were higher when mixed code rather than English or Cantonese was used as the language of instructions for the rating task. It thus appears that although it overtly attracted some negative values on the rating scales, when implicitly sanctioned by the research procedure, mixed code became a covert, 'value-added' factor in the students' judgements of the attributes of the languages used in the investigation. This finding suggests that much of the positive value of mixed forms of discourse is below the level of conscious awareness, as confirmed by the attempts of 'purists' to rid the mother tongue of 'foreign' influences, even while code-mixing in their own speech (Li, Chapter 6).

On a conscious level and in terms of their ideal for performance, then, most Hongkongers believe in the value of English over a mixed variety and in keeping English and Cantonese separate and 'pure', while realizing the value of maintaining both languages in their communicative repertoire. On an unconscious level and in terms of their actual performance, they demonstrate the value of code-mixing and combine the two languages in various ways for compensatory and strategic, expedient and orientational, reasons. It could therefore be said that the accepted (overt and conscious) linguistic norm for Hong Kong native speakers of Cantonese is essentially a split-language, 'di-lingual', profile representing the former diglossic alignment — or attempted alignment — of the two main community languages, and the unofficial or 'grassroots' (covert and unconscious) norm is a merged-language, 'bi-lingual', profile. In this way of looking things, not only bilingualism and biculturalism must be recognized, but also *dilingualism* and *diculturalism*.

Having a 'di' psyche means compartmentalizing the attributes of the language and cultures that make up one's repertoire, while having a 'bi' psyche signifies someone whose linguistic and cultural makeup is a combination or hybridization of the language and culture of the second language and of the mother tongue — a linguistic encounter 'of the third kind'. In the Hong Kong case, this distinction may help to differentiate the previous and the present generations of educated Chinese as dilingual/dicultural vs. bilingual/bicultural, respectively. These descriptions may be further applied not only to the case of Hong Kong Chinese, but also to the

case of Hong Kong Indians. Thus, the adolescent Indian group described by Pannu (Chapter 8), who attend a locally oriented school, would seem to have a more integrated or blended — bilingual/bicultural or trilingual/tricultural — profile as contrasted with the group described by Patri and Pennington (Chapter 15), who attend an international school and who could perhaps be more readily described as dicultural/dilingual.

Cognitive Advantage

Bilingualism is in a sense 'cognitively demanding', in that operating in two languages during communication takes more mental effort than operating in just one. At the same time, although it was once common to denigrate bilinguals as cognitively disadvantaged (see historical sketch in Romaine, 1995), it is now generally accepted that knowledge of more than one language represents a cognitive advantage. As one type of cognitive advantage,

the availability of two or more languages or codes offers new possibilities for encoding meaning, in the sense of providing two different representational systems, each with its own lexicon and unique cultural content, for conceptualizing ideas and for creating higher syntheses of ideas that build on the two representational systems or that create new merged systems of representation. In parallel fashion, a knowledge of two or more representational systems provides the language user with enriched lexical and conceptual background as well as multiple schematic models and processing routines for decoding and comprehending spoken and written language (Pennington, 1996a, pp. 254–255).

By merging two languages under one communicational system, the Hong Kong bilingual can claim 'the best of both worlds' represented in the English and Cantonese languages.

It is cognitively less demanding to co-ordinate languages, to make them work as a team effort, in a joint construction, rather than drawing on them separately during production of utterances. Thus, there are cognitive benefits in joining them either in sentence-level planning, as in the case of code-mixing with one language furnishing the matrix frame, a common pattern in Hong Kong, or in the overall discourse plan, as in the case of code-switching within a set discourse structure such as occurs in the bilingual genres described above. The integration of languages in either code-mixing under a dominant language or generic switching patterns can then be seen to represent not only a cognitive gain in terms of enriching the resources for developing ideas and expressing them in words, but also a saving of cognitive effort.

The behaviour of Hong Kong bilinguals may therefore be explained in terms of an interplay of the motives — entirely unconscious and non-deliberate — of *cognitive enrichment* and *cognitive economy* in language. It can be proposed that the interplay of cognitive economy, which Anttila (1972, p. 171), among others, has noted pressures to a unified linguistic system, and cognitive enrichment results ultimately in a movement towards 'enriched monolingualism', that is, a one-language grammar that has incorporated elements — particularly, lexical borrowings — from another language (or languages). The general principle at work here is that change of a simple, additive kind is less costly, in cognitive as well as in cultural and social terms, than more complex and radical kinds of change which disrupt or transform the *status quo*.³ In sum, cognitive advantage helps to explain the two linguistic equilibria of diglossia and large-scale lexical importation that arise in situations of bilingualism such as Hong Kong exemplifies, as well as the tension between these two poles that results in linguistic mediation between them, through code-switching and code-mixing.

NEW PERSPECTIVES

Linguistic Innovation

Another way of explaining the language situation in Hong Kong is according to an *innovation-diffusion* model such as that of Rogers (1983) — a framework for describing the process by which innovations are disseminated, or diffused. Diffusion is "the process by which (1) an innovation (2) is communicated through certain channels (3) over time (4) among the members of a social system" (Rogers, 1983, p. 10). The nature of each of these four elements — innovation, communications channels, time, and social system — determines the manner and the degree of adoption of the innovation.

In Rogers' (1983) definition: "An innovation is an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption" (p. 11). Innovations are differentially adopted in part because of the way that individuals perceive their characteristics. According to Rogers (1983): "In general, innovations that are perceived by receivers as having greater relative advantage, compatibility, trialability, observability, and less complexity will be adopted more rapidly than other innovations" (p. 16). In the process of adoption, users may modify or reinvent an innovation to a greater or lesser degree to meet their specific needs.

In the case of Hong Kong, we can see the languages of the community, English and Cantonese, as well as other varieties of Chinese, being 'reinvented' in their alternation and mixing with each other. Code-mixing is seen as high in relative advantage, compatibility, trialability, and observability, while being less complex than learning English to a high standard. Code-mixing is also a way to balance the norms pressuring towards the values of modernity — for example, consumerism, higher education, and technology — while still upholding the community-wide social restriction against use of English among Chinese people (see Fu, 1987; Gibbons, 1987; Pennington, 1994, for discussion). Mixed code is an innovative amalgam of the linguistic resources available to Hong Kong speakers, "a creative and inherently flexible resource — and not only an equivalent to either English or Cantonese . . . [but] a new communicational mode to match the emerging new generation, their middle class culture, and their pull towards modernization of their language" (Pennington, 1994, p. 102).

One can see in Hong Kong the development of special 'information-exchange relationships' that involve expressing ideas in a complex of codes used in complex ways, with each group establishing its own communicative conventions (Gumperz, 1982, p. 68) and passing those conventions on to new members by example and through interaction. The early perpetrators of this developing change have been authority figures, especially educators, whereas the more recent adopters are the adolescents and young adults who are developing mixed code towards a new variety or varieties of Cantonese (Pennington, 1994, 1995c).

It would appear that teachers, through their modelling of code use patterns combining Cantonese and English in relation to academic discourse and the dominant styles of speaking — or, in the term used by Gee (1989), Discourses — of the society, have had a very important role in leading the social and linguistic changes occurring in Hong Kong. In addition, the graduates of tertiary institutions express their education, middle-class status, and community-solidarity by code-mixing, as documented by Gibbons (1987) for the University of Hong Kong, by Pennington, Balla, Detaramani, Poon, and Tam (1992) for the City University of Hong Kong, and by Tse (1985) for the Chinese University of Hong Kong, in a pattern no doubt begun as high school students under the influence of those secondary teachers. As these better-educated and hence more socially and politically aware individuals move into the community after they graduate to become leaders in such fields as business and newspaper publishing, they disseminate the innovation of code-mixing, for example, in advertising the products of their businesses and in creating suitably modern and innovative

language for their public and private discourse. They also disseminate, though to a lesser extent, the innovation of code-switching for rhetorical posturing, to mark role relationships and other special discourse effects.

While relatively slow to develop at first, the mixing mode seems to be accelerating as an innovation in the present generation, in an *s-curve* pattern.⁴ Thus, Bacon-Shone and Bolton (Chapter 2) report that high percentages of Cantonese-speaking people surveyed in 1993 admit to using mixed code in academic, work, home, and friendship domains. In addition, there are many anecdotal accounts of young children in Hong Kong using mixed code, suggesting that it is being developed as the native variety of at least some in the new generation. This would not be surprising, if, as Afendras (Chapter 4) maintains, the social factors existing in Hong Kong at the present time, especially, as related to migration, are significantly expanding the local group — most notably, Chinese schoolchildren — who can claim fluency in English.

Also starting to be visible are a range of different direct and indirect consequences, some desirable (for example, use of mixed code for bridging between English and Chinese language and culture, for creative purposes in media, for building solidarity among young people, and for consolidating the middle class) and some — at least from the point of view of the authorities and purists — undesirable (for example, emergence of 'bastardized' forms of language such as 'pidgin English' or 'Chinglish', and 'dilution' of Chinese by English lexis and syntactic patterns). A backlash is being felt in parts of the social system against the innovation that is mixed code (So, 1992) which pressures towards return to 'pure' English and especially to 'pure' Chinese. On the other hand, some more innovative thinkers such as many of those approached by Evans, Jones, Rusmin, and Cheung (Chapter 17) for their survey realize the value — even the necessity — of making use of all the community languages to further the goals of education and business.

Chaotic Language Behaviour

A more radical orientation in the same direction as the innovation model is one in terms of *chaotic behaviour* — in language and perhaps in other aspects of behaviour as well. Key points about such behaviour can be derived from chaos theory, such as the notion of input conditions uniquely determining output; of 'fuzzy' and irregular patterns at the local level (as in so-called *fractals*), regular only on a very gross scale and only from the point of view of a very large number of factors; and of 'catastrophic' reversals and other sorts of unpredictable changes. The various forms of mixed code, and the

code-mixing process itself, would seem to be chaotic in this sense, with tremendous variation from one social context to the next. In addition, a chaos model can be applied more generally to the behaviour of language users — and perhaps policymakers as well — in Hong Kong, as implied in the discussions of Johnson (Chapter 10) and Biggs (Chapter 18).

The theory of chaos describes the dynamics of systems which are deterministic but at the same time have a property of natural instability or inherent randomness (Crutchfield, Farmer, Packard, and Shaw, 1986; Gleick, 1987). In such systems, while more or less accurate short-range forecasts are possible, long-range prediction is impossible in principle, due to the possibility of very substantial changes being initiated by very small 'perturbations' in the system which can lead to more substantial changes in its characteristics.

Chaotic systems are adaptive and highly responsive to context. Unlike simple systems, chaotic systems are subject to massive mutation as the accumulated influence of small changes. Only through statistical aggregation do individual effects begin to converge on a recognizable pattern. A convergence of patterns is said to be the result of the influence of forces called 'attractors', which, like gravity and the invisible forces creating black holes in the universe, are known only by their effects of pulling the system in one direction rather than another.

Anttila (1972) has observed that change, sometimes chaotic, is a natural part of the development of all languages and all communities:

It is essential to orderly persistence, and not only to revolutions (extremely abrupt discontinuous change). Changes may pile up and lead to elaboration and specialization, or innovations may simplify the structure . . . Culture may also be reinterpreted. Changes may be brought about through internal factors (innovations), or external (e.g., conquest); environment, borrowing, and spontaneous mutation are basic. It is very rare to have a single cause, and the identification of causes is difficult . . . The factors are often intricately interwoven. (p. 380)

Such qualities of change as extreme abruptness, discontinuity, spontaneous mutations, the piling-up of changes leading to elaboration and specialization, the reinterpretation of culture, the variety of factors, and the intricate interweaving of factors suggest the relevance of a chaotic model to the explanation of social and linguistic change.

The artificiality and near-contradiction of a society made up of migrants — both those entering and those exiting the area — can be seen as the basis of an 'inherent chaos' in Hong Kong. In addition, "Hong Kong's export-oriented industrialization ineluctably exposes it to international economic risks and fluctuations" (Lau and Kuan, 1988, p. 1). Nevertheless, Hong

Kong has survived and prospered by becoming a flexible and dynamic society, an adaptive and highly context-responsive community.

Hong Kong is an achievement-oriented, high-stress society (Mak and Lau, 1992), where work and the related value of material acquisition occupy a central position. According to Wong (1992), Hong Kong's prosperity and stability is:

due . . . to the bifurcation of personal strain or experience and social ideology, and to the latter's positive effect on the sense of well-being. The relentless efforts to make good, the drive to educate oneself and one's offspring, and the strong belief in the eventual pay-off of one's own efforts — all these are the positive, economically dynamic effects of Hong Kong's social ideology. This social ideology, however, is not just a scripture for some mindless, happy-go-lucky Horatio Alger; it also contains enough elements of 'radicalism' or 'ambivalence' (especially with regard to the economic domain of life) to make a Fabian critic happy. In spite of this, the general effect of the social ideology and of the chasm between it and personal strain is that the society could be driven to higher levels of economic dynamism and prosperity while still being spared the danger of personal strain and discontent spilling over and undermining the ideology itself, or more specifically, developing and reinforcing more divisive and conflictual imageries of the social order. So long as the openness and fairness dimensions of the social ideology remain intact, any mass mobilization based on 'class consciousness' and/or inequality (economic) appeals is unlikely to succeed. (pp. 232–233)

In this analysis, the dynamic of Hong Kong is one of the push and pull of individual strain or stress and culturally driven values. The dynamic is that of the Hong Kong reality vs. the Hong Kong dream or social ideal.

While 'the Hong Kong dream' is a positive force directing behaviour, the everyday experience of reality leads to pessimistic attitudes. However, given the psychological strength of the positive social ideology, the psychological strength of the negative social reality is diminished. This contrast of positive and negative psychological orientations, and the schism between them, can be seen as a 'chaotic' attitudinal set in which goals and ideals do not match actualities, and in which goals become divorced from rational actions directed at meeting those goals. Nevertheless, given the gap between actual and ideal performance, individuals in Hong Kong may be led to work ever harder to try to reach beyond the reality of the present moment to what they see as their potential.

One possible result of this increased effort is increased success, however measured; but another possible result is increasing levels of personal strain and pessimism in a vicious cycle related to little or no gain in achievement. When this happens, it can be speculated that individuals will either 'burn

out', as seems to be happening at present with Hong Kong secondary teachers (Pennington, 1995a; Pennington, Lee, and Lau, 1996), or will seek to express their identity in different ways, such as political action or the development of a new social order. This may in fact be occurring in the development of the new forms of Discourse and the 'bi' and 'di' identities of the Hong Kong Westernized Chinese represented in dual-code use.

The focusing and diffusion model of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) as applied to the Hong Kong case by Bolton and Kwok (1990) suggests a chaotic system in the contextual responsiveness and high code variability of Hong Kong bilingualism. The notion of language 'poles', or 'attractors', as norms around which speakers' behaviour may focus or diffuse is also consistent with a chaotic account. The chaotic nature of language in Hong Kong can be demonstrated as well in the partial reversal of attitudes shown in my replication (Pennington and Yue, 1994), and the subsequent confirmation of its findings by Axler, Yang, and Stevens (Chapter 14), of the direct attitudes survey of Pierson, Fu, and Lee (1980). The differences in response pattern may well be the result of differences in the 'input conditions' of the two studies. If so, these differences between the original research and its replications serve as an illustration of how 'chaotic' and multidimensional the measurement of human attitudes is, as implied by Giles' (Chapter 19) discussion at the end of this volume. If the differences in the findings are a reflection of a change in attitudes within the sampled population, they can be taken to illustrate the chaotic nature of language attitudes in Hong Kong in another sense, and that is the possibility of reversals or 'flip-flop' over time:

If the differences in the results . . . are not merely methodological artifacts, . . . then the response pattern suggests that attitudes to language cannot be viewed as stable characteristics of populations but are rather strongly responsive to contextual conditions. In particular, they indicate how much community attitudes might change in a comparatively short time during a period of societal upheaval and a major political transition . . . (Pennington and Yue, 1994, p. 18)

The flexibility of the code-switching, code-mixing, and 'code-swaying' (Gibbons, 1987) options available to Hong Kong bilinguals and the number of factors which can affect code choice are indicators of a chaotic language system. Here an observation by Gumperz (1982) about the association of code-switching with certain types of discourse, groups, and demographic variables is relevant (though the Hong Kong Chinese are numerically not a minority):

Code switching is perhaps most frequently found in the informal speech of those members of cohesive minority groups in modern urbanizing

regions who speak the native tongue at home, while using the majority language at work and when dealing with members of groups other than their own. The individuals concerned live in situations of rapid transition where traditional intergroup barriers are breaking down and norms of interaction are changing. Eventually such situations lead to the displacement of one language variety by the other. Yet . . . with increasing displacement of formerly stable populations and the growing ethnic diversification of metropolitan centers, the communicative uses of code switching are more likely to increase than to decrease. (Gumperz, 1982, p. 64)

In relation to Hong Kong, one could say that the changing composition of the community, as documented by Bacon-Shone and Bolton (Chapter 2) and Afendras (Chapter 4), ensures a continuing linguistically chaotic situation for some time to come.

Linguistic Entrepreneurship

Another perspective on Hong Kong language related to the idea of newness and innovation is that of *linguistic entrepreneurship*, which can be opposed in a possibly enlightening way to *linguistic bureaucracy*. In a bureaucratic model of a community and its languages, every aspect of life, including each language, has its proper place or 'compartment', and operation overshadows outcome or substance as the primary focus of attention and goals. A bureaucratic society seeks stability and operates on a principle of minimal change. An entrepreneurial culture, in contrast, is opportunistic, flexible, and seeks its best advantage through experimentation and innovation. The latter form of description can be applied on a general level to Hong Kong and also more specifically to the case of language, including the alternation and mixing of English with Cantonese, as well as the innovative behaviour of Hong Kong Chinese *vis-à-vis* spoken Cantonese and written Chinese (Li, Chapter 6).

In Hong Kong, the culture of youth and modernity, the heavy weighting of the population to those under 40 years of age, and the expanding middle class (Lau and Kuan, 1988) mean a strong new generation creating a new culture. Those in the vanguard of the developing Hong Kong language scene are the adolescent and young adult entrepreneurs, the 'linguistic promoters', while those lagging behind in the older generation are the 'linguistic trustees' of the society. On the analogy of business: "The promoter type is constantly attuned to environmental changes that may suggest a favorable chance, while the trustee type wants to preserve resources and reacts defensively to possible threats to deplete them" (Stevenson and Gumpert, 1985, p. 87).

Environmental pressures include changes in:

1. Technology, which opens new doors and closes others.
2. Consumer economics, which alters both the ability and willingness to pay for new products and services.
3. Social values, which define new styles and standards of living.
4. Political action and regulatory standards, which affect competition. (Stevenson and Gumpert, 1985, p. 87)

In Hong Kong, technology and consumerism have brought with them a need and an opportunity for new products in the social sphere and new lexis in the linguistic sphere. New social values attendant on the changing identity of Hong Kong people as a unique blend of East and West, of international and regional characteristics and aspirations, has likewise created a demand for new and flexible modes of expression, as has the shifting political climate. *De jure* regulations mandating language medium (for example, in education and the courts), as well as their *de facto* relaxation over the years, have greatly impacted language behaviour in the community (Biggs, Chapter 18; Johnson, Chapter 10).

Because of the need to develop a new mode of communication to express a wealth of new things and ideas rapidly, there is no time for 'normal' linguistic evolution to take place. Rather, a new code is cobbled together, or 'coined', from the existing resources, each serving purposes it is best suited for. Thus, Chinese is best suited for its underlying basis, its tradition, and English is best suited for its new imports, the stuff of its innovations.

Not only is mixed code coined as a new variety, it is in a creative, creolizing form built on 'diffuse' norms, rather than a standardized or well-focused form. As a communicative resource representing the various meaning potentials extant in the community, it is in a sense 'made to order' to express various social idealities and actualities, including individual, multiple, and composite identities. It is also an accommodating variety, 'swaying' one way or another depending on such features of the speech setting as participants and topic. Thus, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) characterization of a London Jamaican variety would equally well fit the case of mixed code in Hong Kong:

Clearly, the evolution and use of this argot is the outcome of many 'acts of identity' by young people growing up in a multidimensional linguistic and cultural environment to which their parents, their teachers, their peer group and 'the establishment' all contribute. The precise linguistic outcome . . . is not that of any single external model but the result of focusing around a repertoire of forms in relation to meaning-potentials . . . so that a polysystemic system of multifunctional units develops its own internal coherences and contrastive potential, both in phonology and grammar. (p. 178)

In short, in Hong Kong at the present time we can see the elaboration of a new 'way of speaking' (Hymes, 1974), coined out of linguistic and social necessity. This new mixed language, which is based on new embeddings describing new things and expressing new meanings in the society, helps to express a range of newly minted identities and Discourses required to meet the new and rapidly changing needs of the society and the culture.

Metaphorical Incorporation of Experience

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) have noted that language is a vehicle for encoding and transmitting our metaphorical understandings of ourselves, of others, and of the wider universe of ideas. As compared to other dimensions of social behaviour in which the processes of projection, focusing, and diffusion operate:

Language . . . has the extra dimension in that we can symbolize in a coded way all the other concepts which we use to define ourselves and our society . . . Language is not only itself the focal centre of our acts of identity; it also consists of metaphors, and our focussing of it is around such metaphors or symbols. (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 248)

It can be maintained that the use of English by Hong Kong Chinese is a *metaphorical incorporation* of 'Western', 'modern', 'academic', 'scientific', and 'technical' experience into Hong Kong language and thus into the Hong Kong speaker's expression of identity and reality. This perspective on bilingual behaviour combines semantic, syntactic, and symbolic elements of explanation, and can be expanded to incorporate discussion of genres, ways of speaking, or Discourses as well.

The insights of Halliday (1993), Halliday and Martin (1993), and Lemke (1995) about the 'technicalization' of modern discourse and the packaging of ideas into complex nouns embedded in simple syntactic frames inspire a new form of explanation for dual language use, particularly code-mixing, in Hong Kong. It can first of all be noted that when a diglossic relationship breaks down, the 'high' language generally endures through a specific pattern of 'hidden survival':

The end of a prestige language seems to terminate the stage of diglossia. Yet the prestige language disappears only as an autonomous linguistic system. The social class which has been its carrier perpetuates itself as a class under new conditions, and does so linguistically by adapting to a pseudo-monolingualism: it embraces the new standard, but incorporates into it features of the former prestige language. In short, in many Western societies, the languages of the educated . . . are vernaculars refined by the survival of former prestige languages. (Kahane and Kahane, 1979, p. 193)

In this 'hidden survival':

the lexicon always plays the dominant role, with a large-scale transfer of terminology characteristic of the culture behind H [the 'high' language]. The domains covered by the various H languages are, *grosso modo*, the same: upper-class civilization, abstractions, and professional technologies. (Kahane and Kahane, 1979, p. 194)

Kahane and Kahane (1979) speak of a process of "lexemic trickle-down", in which "[b]orrowings that enter on the level of the upper classes are adopted later by the lower strata: H turns into L [the 'low language']" (p. 195). Summarizing their discussion, Kahane and Kahane (1979) conclude:

A frequent pattern of sequences, then seems to unfold: a diglossic system, H vs. L, reflecting a class society, is strangled by L, which expands under popular pressures. Elitist H declines, but it does not disappear completely; rather, it compromises with L through a largely lexical fusion, thereby creating a more flexible instrument for a more open society. The standard which is born is the language of the educated middle strata (with its early medieval analog, the speech of clergy, bureaucracy, and professionalism). (p. 196)

In similar fashion, the increasingly open and middle-class society of Hong Kong has created a flexible instrument of communication by the fusion of English with Cantonese, particularly in code-mixing.

In Hong Kong, we can see the 'Europeanization', 'Anglicization', or 'Westernization' of the lexicon by massive importation from English of new concepts of modern life and by importation or creative development of productive new semanticization patterns, that is, patterns for creating meaning. These have been documented by Li (Chapter 6) in the domains of discourse of computers, business, fashion, food, 'showbiz', and 'lifestyle'. Most notably, the Anglicization or Westernization of Hong Kong language has occurred by the importation of tightly bundled concepts via the noun group, particularly nouns and to a lesser extent their modifiers, that is, adjectives (see examples in Chan, Chapter 7).

A new form of Discourse in Hong Kong expresses itself through a base of Cantonese with an increasing incorporation of English, especially in its nominal element, as a way of importing whole new topical areas and the orientations suggested by these. This process is entirely parallel to the 'metaphorical nominalization', the recoding of experience into nominalized form as a grammatical metaphor 'objectifying' reality, which Halliday (1993) and Halliday and Martin (1993) have documented as a process common in science. The two primary linguistic features of scientific discourse — technical vocabulary and nominalized grammar — are interdependent (Halliday and Martin, 1993, p. 8). Together they realize a feature of *thematic*

condensation (Lemke, 1995, p. 58) common in much of present-day discourse, by means of which information can be succinctly packaged in the form of 'lexical packets' inserted into relatively simple syntactic frames. As demonstrated by the worldwide phenomenon of 'lexical insertion' (code-mixing and borrowing) of English into other languages (Pennington, 1996b), this process readily accommodates lexical packets originating in a language other than the primary language of the community.

The process of metaphorical incorporation, through language, of the experience of one linguistic community — the English-speaking one — into another — the Cantonese-speaking one — is the grammaticalization of the merger between the languages, the societies, and the cultures of English and Cantonese, which are melded into a new synthesis, a new hybrid form. Given that "[g]rammars provide the most economical coding mechanisms (the highest 'codability', the least marked forms) for those speech functions which speakers most often need to perform" (DuBois, 1985, pp. 362–363), it follows that to the degree that the mixing norms are becoming regularized in grammatical patterns, the expression of new mixed social roles and identities, mixed East and West Discourse, and mixed modernity and tradition, must be functions which are necessary for Hong Kong bilinguals to perform. Indeed, as explored further in the next section, this point almost reduces to a truism or redundancy, given that being bilingual implies being a person formed of two languages and cultures — two worlds.

Iconicity of Dual Language Use

Code-mixing and code-switching are part of a complex of meaning that reflects the metaphorical associations of mixing and switching as alternating between, or being in the middle of, two positions or stances. Code-switching is in several senses an actual switch or two-level position or stance, and code-mixing is in several senses an actual mix or middle position. In this sense, the meaning of dual code use is a quite literal type that Bolinger (1985, p. 98) calls *presentative* or *iconic*. Dual language use can therefore be described as a manifestation of the natural principles of opposition and *binarism* at play in communication. Binarism reduces indeterminacy (Wales, 1989, pp. 49–50) and ambiguity, and makes the illocutionary force of an utterance more obvious, rendering signs more iconic and less symbolic. There is also in binarism more audience orientation and more redundant communication. Hence, duality of language use enhances the clarity of communication values.

Use of two languages most transparently represents a *simplest grammar of duality*, as:

- dual planes of meaning, or 'dual-channel discourse'
- community-internal and community-external meaning
- expression of tradition and modernity
- dual audiences: channelling the message to different audiences
- dual face: presenting two sides of one's 'face' — one's perspective, identity, or personality
- dual role (Pennington, 1994)

The use of two languages in one communicative act is a simplest grammar of a mixed message, a mixed identity, or a 'two-faced' stance.

The iconicity of code-switching makes possible the expression of differences in meaning which are marked only by code choice, based on the interactants' understanding of the connotations of the two codes. For example, when a speaker uses the strategy of 'doubling' (Appel and Muysken, 1987, p. 135), stating 'the same thing' first in one language and then in the other, the purpose may not only be, as Appel and Muysken (1987, p. 135) point out, to 'neutralize' the difference between the two codes, but also to present a difference in meaning (Gumperz, 1982).

At the lexical level, a language switch is a switch of word meanings, particularly, connotative or indexical meaning. The speaker uses a word from another language because it is more appropriate in a particular context. At the clausal level, the meta-significance of dual-code use is of two voices or perspectives. As in the extension of one's cognitive resources by writing (Pennington, 1996a), a second channel for communication makes it possible to extract a message, part of a message, or one aspect of a message and examine it, develop it, and represent it as separate from other lines of thought or message content. 'Dual-channelling' therefore allows for split thinking and split attention in communication, as well as for extra planes of development of meanings and messages. Thus, a topic may be presented in one language and a comment in the other, or one point of view in one language and a different point of view in the other — as if there were two interactants speaking, or as when one person alternates roles in a play, e.g., by putting on one or the other of two costumes or masks. Likewise, background information may be presented in one language and foreground in the other. Discourse construction thus proceeds by opposition and contrast of perspectives.

A simple iconicity of meaning is of course not the only possibility. Dual language use, like other expressive modalities such as intonation, can express many other kinds of meaning which might broadly come under the heading of *representative* (or 'symbolic'). For example, use of English in code-switched or code-mixed discourse may be symbolic of wealth, power,

social position, and education. It is also symbolic of such values as fashion, modernity, and consumerism. Use of English is thus metaphorical for the speaker's relationship to all these values, i.e., for claiming membership in groups which espouse these values. Dual language use may furthermore be emblematic for certain social meanings or social roles, as mixed code seems to be in its use on campus and in the larger community by students at the University of Hong Kong, or as the switching to Cantonese by Hong Kong secondary teachers seems to be when expressing solidarity with students.

Use of two codes, either in switching or mixing functions, by Hong Kong speakers provides a means for increasing what DuBois (1985, p. 358) has termed 'indexical clarity', that is, the clarity of their social roles and status. However, as code-mixing in Hong Kong is becoming less iconic, the mixed code becomes more regularized, or syntacticized. For as Givón (1979) notes: "Via syntacticization the language loses message transparency while it gains processing speed" (p. 220). Hence, what is gained in economy by mixing is lost in clarity, both referential and indexical. Here we see the opposition of the motive of ease of production and economy of expression, on the one hand, which pressures towards monolingualism, as against that of salience, or economy of marking, which pressures for polar oppositions and binarism, such as is manifested in bilingualism.

The whole notion of diglossia, conceived in terms of 'high' and 'low' codes, is an iconic characterization of the relationship or distribution between two varieties or languages. Such diglossic, iconic models are reasonable idealizations in the synchronic dimension of language and provide an outline of the motivations of language change. Based on a characterization of diglossic bilingualism as a 'forced marriage of opposites', I have elsewhere said:

Code-switching is iconic for the opposition, code-mixing is iconic for the marriage. Two languages show oppositions and contrasts. They will merge to one when there is no longer a clearcut opposition or contrast between them. Like all marriages, code-mixing is a compromise, gaining processing speed and some aspects of message transparency at the micro-level, through loss of some aspects of message transparency at the macro-level. (Pennington, 1994, p. 154)

On a synchronic as well as a diachronic scale, code-switching represents the battle for territory between the mother tongue and the imported 'status language', while code-mixing represents the metaphorical as well as the actual absorption of one language by another. Code-switching is in this sense the prototypical realization of bilingualism, with code-mixing transitional to monolingualism.

In the Hong Kong case, use of English in an otherwise Cantonese discourse may index certain specific meanings or grammatical functions at the same time that it is iconic for the nature of the whole discourse and the external and historical relationships between the two languages and the speakers of these languages. As English becomes less and less meaningful as an icon, and as Cantonese is used more and more to index English lexical items, the two blend more and more together in the mixed code.

A Natural Direction for Bilingualism

The profile of bilingualism in Hong Kong can be explained in terms of a natural direction for bilingual development in communities where a primary language spoken by the majority is maintained as the first language across several generations in the face of a prestige language coming into the community from outside. According to this scenario, from a pre-bilingual stage of non-intersecting monolingual communities — here, English-speaking and Cantonese-speaking — the first stage of bilingualism evolves as a minimal intersection in which the two languages are mainly known in different groups, with some interaction by bilingual mediators, who are at this stage essentially translators or speakers of a ‘pidgin’ jargon. From here, bilingualism evolves a profile of diglossia, with functional separation of the two languages and increasing numbers of bilinguals who develop code-switching, first as situational switching, and increasingly, as metaphorical or rhetorical switching within one context (for example, to change ‘face’, ‘voice’, or ‘mask’).

This directional model suggests a natural order of development of bilingualism that begins, in a motive of necessity, with translation or pidginization, and proceeds to become more of a symbolic act, as the two languages are increasingly juxtaposed, no longer in different speakers and contexts, but within the same speakers and contexts. According to this model, the direction of development in language use in Hong Kong is from more of an expedient type of motive for use of English to more of an orientational one, from more of a linguistic one to more of a social one, from more of a requirement to more of a choice, from an imposition or a superposed variety to an ‘act of identity’. At the same time, as the two languages are increasingly used together, they become increasingly blended in terms of their attributes, both linguistic and imagistic, leading inevitably (all other things being equal),⁵ towards monolingualism.

Hence, at the opposite end of this natural course of development lies again monolingualism. Heading towards this monolingual baseline, the

very last stage of bilingualism is grammatical enrichment of the mother tongue by means of massive borrowing from the second language and syntactic, morphological, and phonological interaction with it over several generations. This final stage is preceded by a code-mixing stage that produces grammatical change in the mother tongue and the lexemic trickle-down described by Kahane and Kahane (1979). It can be maintained that this trickle-down process proceeds from lexical switching in set institutional domains such as education, to increasing conversational code-mixing in vernacular contexts.

To summarize, the progression of bilingualism in Hong Kong, representing a natural order of bilingual development in a situation of linguistic hierarchy but where the 'low' language is primary in the community, can be described as one that moves:

- (a) from *translation*, the expression of equivalent meanings, or pidginization, the simplification of meanings, at the outset;
- (b) to *symbolization*, the expression of different meanings, at an intermediate stage;
- (c) to *enrichment*, the expansion of grammatical resources, at a final stage.

As outlined in Table 1.2, the proposed course of development of bilingualism in a case like that of Hong Kong proceeds at a societal level from diglossia, with participation by a limited number of bilingual mediators; to (partial) individual bilingualism, with a higher degree of participation and exposure to two languages on the part of the population, generally through education and media; to 'enriched monolingualism', where what was formerly a 'high' language becomes incorporated into the 'low' language.

Monolingualism	Translation	<i>Separation of Languages</i>
	Pidginization	<i>Restricted Participation</i>
Diglossia	Situational Switching	
	Metaphorical Switching	
Individual Bilingualism	Rhetorical Switching	
	Lexical Switching	
	Code-Mixing	<i>High Participation</i>
	Grammatical Enrichment	
Monolingualism		<i>Integration of Languages</i>

Figure 1.2 Stages of Societal Bilingualism

In this way, the Hong Kong community, which could perhaps once be described in diglossic terms, is evolving new enriched varieties of Cantonese that will no doubt be further enriched by increasing incorporation of lexis and other features of the Mainland Chinese standard language. In a very real sense, the long-term presence of English in the Hong Kong context has prepared the way for this next stage of development of Cantonese.

Language Dynamics in Bilingualism

Both the diglossic and iconic forms of description are relatively static and non-diachronic. The directional model just presented is causative and temporal but only one-directional. Thus, there is a need for a form of explanation which can account for the stability of diglossia which arises from time to time in different communities, as well as the initiation of change and the dynamics of change when diglossia shifts to the types of cases described by Kahane and Kahane (1979). There is then a need for a more dynamic form of explanation to account for the long-term condition of bilingualism.

As a final perspective on bilingualism, I would like to attempt a macro-level synthesis, on the analogy of physics, as a *language dynamics* model of the forces creating and maintaining dual code and multi-code societies of which Hong Kong is a representative. These forces are characterized as a set of opposing tendencies, or binary forces, pressuring towards and away from the 'perfect equilibria' of monolingualism and diglossia, in a dialectic between continuity and change, community-internal and community-external powers, and linguistic economy and diversity, or transparency. The dialectic between these opposing forces creates a dynamic tension which agitates the linguistic system of the community and opens it to new influences while at the same time continually pushing towards a convergence or compromise where the forces will be in balance and equilibrium can be established. In the case of Hong Kong, out of this dynamic tension of forces, a membrane or interface has been created linking the two worlds represented by English and Chinese — particularly, Cantonese — in the community. A powerful influence in the formation and development of this merger-zone has been the English-medium educational institutions of the community, which are in reality virtually all (with the possible exception of the ESF [English Schools Foundation] schools) dual-mode English and Chinese.

One force I call the 'Top-Down' Force. This is the pressure to English-medium for high-level conduct of business and government, which results in the mandate to teach English at tertiary level. Attempts to maintain this

standard at secondary level results in mixed-mode teaching. A second kind of force I call the 'Bottom-Up' Force: this is the influence not of government authorities but of community members such as secondary students who develop a mixed code. Teachers also code-mix as part of the Bottom-Up current, as themselves former students. While the Top-Down force pressures to use of a community-external language as the vehicle for the dominant Discourse of the community, the Bottom-Up force pressures to a more workable synthesis of the existing linguistic resources, to bring the linguistic situation more into line with social reality. In this way, the society's innovators, in negotiation with its trustees, forge new communicative vehicles which, in the metaphor of Anttila (1972, p. 380), bring the 'surface structure' of Hong Kong communication into line with its 'deep structure'.

The 'Outside-In' Force comprises all those community-external forces impinging on the community. It therefore includes the influence of the media, of Westernization, and of internationalization. This type of force is that of international business and academia pressuring towards conformity to an English standard. It also includes the influence of China pressuring to Standard Written Chinese and Putonghua. Finally, there is the 'Inside-Out' Force pressuring outward from inside the community. As the strength of the inner pressures and influences grow and gather momentum, a strong new force emerges from the community centre and spreads its influence far and wide. In this way, a Cantonese-plus-English Discourse originating in Hong Kong is disseminated to other locales, becoming a strong regional influence, as well as an influence within and also radiating out from many urban centres detached from the parent community — in Canada, the US, Britain, and Australia.

These forces blend in confluent streams that result in creation of new literacies and new language that have an impact on perception, cognition, and linguistic creativity (Pennington, 1996a). Thus, in the merger zone, community knowledge has been augmented and recreated in new dual and mixed forms of language and communication representing qualitative changes in how people talk and write, and what they talk and write about. These new forms of language and Discourse have been dispersed into the larger community, as the academic environment has functioned as a 'feeder' for other zones of development in Hong Kong life, starting with those closest in characteristics and functions to the academic domain — perhaps business on the 'high' side and friendship on the 'low' side. From these zones, the new forms of language can now enter even into the home domain, in a diffusion process aided by the 'intermediate' or 'intermediary' domain of the news media, which help to close the conceptual and symbolic distance between the 'higher' and the 'lower' domains.

The younger generations in Hong Kong are grammaticalizing the distinctions represented in the interplay of English and Chinese into a new type of language. Even such a 'perfect compromise' consolidation, however, may not be long-lived in this ever-changing community, or may not become the exclusive communicative vehicle in future generations. Rather, it is likely to continue its interplay and alternation with other communicative varieties, including the increasingly strong one of Putonghua as well as the reimported varieties of English now flooding the community.

The forces creating the dual-language communication patterns of the Hong Kong bilingual community strike a balance between economy and multiplicity of expression, between explicitness and subtlety, between incorporation and separation of linguistic devices, and between compartmentalization and interchangeability of those devices — that is, between bilingualism and monolingualism. The constant interplay between social and linguistic marking and unmarking, between diffusion and focusing of values, captures in symbolic form the competition as well as the points of overlap between indigenous and colonial forces, localism and internationalism, East and West, the older and younger generations, the lower and upper classes, insiders and outsiders to the community, and private and public discourse arenas.

The various communicative forms which arise in the process provide community resources for showing political allegiance, cultural orientation, social status and background, psychological distance/affiliation, cognitive ease/dissonance, and physical and geographical melding/separateness of individuals and groups. They offer resources for instruction and interaction, for persuasion and domination, for competition and cooperation, and for compromise. In particular, they make it possible for every Hong Kong bilingual individual and group to have a separate identity within a field of influences, as well as an identity which is interlocked or partially merged with the field in a 'communal social identity' (Giles and Johnson, 1987). In this way, Hong Kong bilinguals as individuals and group members express by their language behaviour "both valued differences and valued relationships" (Giles and Johnson, 1987, p. 95) among themselves and between Chinese and non-Chinese in the community and the world at large.

The metastable union of community resources and values embodied in institutionalized patterns of code-switching, in creative mixing of English into a Cantonese base, and in the creation of new literacies and Discourses has in the new generation of Hong Kong bilinguals resulted in a harmonic but also productive balance of oppositions between two languages, two cultures, two worlds. Indeed, the Hong Kong bilingual is in the vanguard of those around the world who are now blending different realities into new forms of shared life experience.

In the dynamic forces underlying linguistic development, language spread and language shift, we can see the operation of the systemic forces pressuring to equilibrium and destabilization that operate in languages and societies. These forces maintain populations by helping societies to carve out new niches and develop new resources to carry into the next generation, while ensuring enough common heritage for transmission of culture from one generation to the next. For only through diversity and maintenance of a common base is the preservation of the society and its language assured.

CONCLUSION

These multiple perspectives offer many new angles on the ways in which two or more languages which exist in one geographical location may, like two intertwined vines, help to support each other, may grow closer together, and/or may compete for the available resources. They also illustrate how the long-term cohabitation or marriage of two languages can produce offshoots and hybrids that may find or create vibrant new niches in the environment which eventually overwhelm the old habitats. They further suggest the need for environments and their inhabitants to adapt to changing circumstances and to the introduction, by chance or by design, of strong new elements seeking to take root within the same finite context.

NOTES

1. This chapter is a revised version of a paper entitled 'Explaining bilingualism in Hong Kong' which was given on 3 November 1994 as the inaugural lecture in the 1994–95 Department of English Lecture Series at the City University of Hong Kong. Thanks to Prof. John Joseph, University of Edinburgh, for editorial input.
2. The 'matched guise' technique asks listeners to rate bilingual speakers on a number of traits based on scales made up of pairs of contrasting descriptors such as 'educated-ignorant', 'attractive-unattractive', and so on. The rating is based on each listener's assessment of the speakers as they alternately use one or the other of the languages in their repertoire. As the listeners are not told that the same speakers are performing in both languages — i.e., that the guises in the two languages are 'matched' — the procedure is assumed to factor out any other differences among speakers that listeners could be reacting to in making their judgements. It is therefore thought that the matched guise procedure elicits listeners' attitudes to the languages being spoken.

3. Of course, 'lexical enrichment' on a large scale such as is occurring in Hong Kong and around the world in the incorporation of English into other languages (Pennington, 1996b) inevitably brings with it other sorts of changes — phonological, syntactic, semantic, and cultural.
4. This pattern of a spreading change, which is also typical of epidemics, involves a slow start followed by a rapid rise and then a levelling-off of effects.
5. Of course, they seldom are, and many more complex scenarios involving reversals and multiple outcomes can be imagined for the language of Hong Kong in future, including increases in use of English and code-switching (for example, by returnees), as well as increases in code-mixing and borrowing in the community as a whole that could increase the potential for creolization (see Pennington, 1994, for some discussion).

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