

Chinese-English Code-switching in Blogs by Macao Young People

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Declaration

I have read and understood The University of Edinburgh guidelines on Plagiarism and declare that this written dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

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Abstract

This paper attempts to investigate Chinese-English code-switching behaviour present in blogs (a kind of computer-mediated communication) belonging to young people in Macao. The first goal of this study is to describe the patterns of Chinese-English code-switched language in 200 blog entries written by 20 Macao young people and the second goal is to use language, computer and social contexts in order to analyze the possible motivations behind the code-switching behaviour of these bloggers. As a result of this study, it is discovered that although the Chinese-English code-switched language in blogs is largely an extension of language used in spoken interactions or written press, there are still some distinctive features which set it apart from the code-switched language used in other genres. In addition the study also reveals that linguistic motivations play a significant role in bringing about Chinese-English code-switching in personal blogs, while computer-related motivations for code-switching are also considered important by some bloggers.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Macao is a small city located on the southeast coast of China. It is a former Portuguese colony and was ruled by Portugal for almost 450 years. Macao's colonial past made it a melting pot of Chinese and Portuguese cultures. It is 'a very complex microcosmos, an old Portuguese colony of a very specific kind, a multicultural, multilingual society in which several types of pluralisms are combined or juxtaposed: cultural pluralism, socio-political pluralism, linguistic pluralism and legal pluralism' (Santos, 1991), as quoted in (Jeong, 1992: 28).

The official language of Macao was exclusively Portuguese until Chinese was also granted status in 1991. It is no wonder that Chinese and Portuguese are the two main languages used in Macao, but English also has an important status in the city. Unlike Chinese and Portuguese, which are now the two co-official languages in the city (even after the handover in 1999), English has not been given any official status. However, English is used much more widely than Portuguese. In fact, generally speaking, in terms of status and popularity, Portuguese has 'never rivalled English' (Jeong, 1992: 29). The growing significance of English in Macao is supported by the increasing demand for English fluency in sectors such as media, education and commerce, a demand which began to appear less than a decade after the handover (Lam, 2007). Indeed, as Moody (2008: 4) points out, although English does not have a *de jure* official status, it is treated as a *de facto* official language by the Macao Special Administrative Region (SAR) Government.

Given the importance of English in Macao, it is not surprising to discover that Chinese-English code-switching is a common linguistic phenomenon in the city.

Although a number of studies have been conducted to investigate the multilingual situation in Macao (e.g. Jeong, 1992, 2005; Ching, 1992, 2005; Wong, 2007; Wong et al., 1998; Cheong, 2001; Sheng, 2004), detailed studies on Chinese-English code-switching in Macao are lacking. Nevertheless, we can still get quite a clear idea of the situation in Macao by referring to the literature on code-switching in Hong Kong. Macao is a very small community. As it does not possess enough resources, it has to look to larger economies for means of growth and sustenance, and its language policies and linguistic forms are easily borrowed or adapted from larger economies and political bodies (Moody, 2008: 13-4). One of these larger economies or political bodies is Hong Kong, a former British colony and Macao's neighbour. It is difficult to distinguish many of the linguistic phenomena present in Hong Kong from those which appear in Macao (Sheng, 2004: 21), and it is thus reasonable to say that the forms of code-switching present in Macao and Hong Kong may not differ from each other that substantially. However, the way in which English appears within a Chinese matrix frame in the two contexts may be different (Ng, 2006).

As cited by Luke (1998: 146), Pennington (1994) points out that Cantonese-English code-mixing has become a common means of communication among young people. The group of Hong Kong bilinguals, referred to as 'linguistic middlemen' by Luke and Richards (1982), cited by Luke (1998: 150), are typically young people who have received education through mixed media presented in both Chinese and English; they are either college or university students, or senior white-collar workers and executives whose jobs require a good command of English (see Poon, 1992), cited by Luke (1998: 150). The same situation can also be observed in Macao: it is very common for young people to insert English words in their otherwise Cantonese conversations (Wong, 1998: 16).

The boom of the Internet saw the rise of a new means of communication. Computer-mediated discourse was once regarded as a 'lean' (Daft and Lengel, 1984) and 'impoverished' medium and was thus considered unsuitable for social interaction (Baron, 1984). However, subsequent studies revealed a situation quite different from this assessment. People adapt the medium of the computer to their expressive needs (Herring, 2001: 617), and this results in a new type of language which contains features of speech and writing as well as some electronically mediated properties (Crystal, 2006: 51). Furthermore, compared with other traditional media, the Internet is where more instances of code-switching and language mixing can be found (Androutsopoulos, 2001: 10).

This study seeks to investigate (i) the general patterns and (ii) the linguistic and extra-linguistic motivations of Chinese-English code-switching in the personal blogs written by Macao young people. These blogs have been noted as offering an 'unprecedented opportunity for self-expression' (Blood, 2000). There are two main reasons why this particular linguistic phenomenon in the context of blogging is chosen as the subject of study. First, as mentioned above, there are few detailed studies conducted about Chinese-English code-switching as it specifically pertains to Macao, and there are even less studies conducted about code-switching in blogs. It is hoped that this study will serve to fill this research gap. Second, as the language on the Internet is sensitive to a range of technical and situational factors (Herring, 2001: 613), and given that blogging provides an informal context for users to produce a hybrid genre of speech and writing, it is interesting to see distinctive patterns and motivations of code-switching in such a unique setting. Thus, the two main research questions addressed in this paper are:

1. What are the general patterns of Chinese-English code-switching in personal blogs written by Macao young people?
2. Why do these young people code-switch in personal blogs, which are hybrids of spoken and written languages?

To answer these research questions, this study has been divided into three main parts. In Chapter 2 the language situation of Macao is first discussed in more detail, and this discussion is followed by a literature review on code-switching in general and also in the context of Hong Kong/Macao, and finally a section on computer-mediated communication and blogging is presented. The methodology of this study is explained in Chapter 3. Lastly, Chapter 4 sets out to analyze and discuss the collected data, and this is followed by the conclusion, Chapter 5.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Languages in Macao

The majority (93.9%) of the population in Macao is Chinese (DSEC, Macao, 2007) and Chinese is the dominant language in the city. However, to be more precise, the language which is spoken most frequently in Macao is Cantonese, which is a dialect of Chinese. According to the by-census conducted by the Macao SAR Government in 2006, among the resident population in Macao aged 3 and above, 91.9% are able to speak Cantonese, 38.5% are able to speak Mandarin, 2.4% are able to speak Portuguese and 16.6% are able to speak English (ibid.). Generally speaking, three major written languages (Standard Written Chinese, Portuguese and English) and four main spoken languages (Cantonese, Mandarin, Portuguese and English) are used in Macao.

Cantonese and Standard Written Chinese, which is essentially the written form of Mandarin, are quite different. The relationship between Cantonese and Mandarin is likened to the relationship between French and Spanish, or Swedish and German (Matthews and Yip, 1994: 5). While the grammatical structures of Cantonese and Mandarin share quite a lot of similarities, their phonology and vocabulary are so different that they are not mutually intelligible. For the sake of convenience, in the current study, 'Chinese' refers to both Cantonese and Standard Written Chinese and when it is necessary to be specific, the terms 'Cantonese' and 'Standard Written Chinese' will be used.

Although Portuguese is only spoken by a small portion of people in Macao, it has

continued to be an important language even after China resumed its sovereignty over the city in 1999. The main reason for this phenomenon is that Portuguese still maintains its official language status in Macao. According to the Public Administration and Civil Service Bureau (SAFP, Macao, 2009), 40.4% of civil servants speak Portuguese. Moreover, the Portuguese language still maintains a prominent status in the Macao legislature (even after 1999) as most legal documents are still drafted in Portuguese (Wong, 2007: 107). In brief, although Portuguese is not widely spoken in public, it remains significant within the Macao SAR Government.

English is not given any official status in Macao, but it is unexpectedly prevalent. For instance, the English version of the Macao SAR Basic Law¹ is provided along with the Chinese and Portuguese versions of the law, and there are more English speakers (57.7%) than Portuguese speakers (40.4%) among civil servants in Macao (SAFP, Macao, 2009). In addition, English is taught in almost all secondary schools in the city which use Chinese as their main teaching language, and the demand for English in the commercial sector has also been increasing. Especially after the liberalization of the gaming industry, which is Macao's major industry, more international investment from English-speaking countries, like Australia and the United States, was attracted to Macao (Lam, 2007). Furthermore, Macao also has its own English television news broadcasts as well as two new English newspapers, which were established in 2004 and 2007 (Moody, 2008: 9).

Apart from the major languages mentioned above, other Chinese dialects and languages² can also be heard in Macao. Bilingualism or even multilingualism is not a

¹ The constitution of Macao.

² Other Chinese dialects spoken in Macao include Min dialect, Wu dialect, Hokkien, etc. and other languages spoken are Thai, Tagalog, Burmese, Indonesian, Vietnamese, Khmer, etc. (Wong, 2007: 14)

rare linguistic phenomenon in the city: slightly more than half (54.0%) of the resident population is able to speak another language or dialect (or other languages or dialects), and among these speakers of second or third languages and dialects, 65.3% are able to speak Mandarin and 27.9% are able to speak English (DSEC, Macao, 2007).

2.2 Review on Code-switching Research

2.2.1 Terminology

Despite the substantial amount of research on the subject, there remain terminological problems regarding the language contact phenomenon in which speakers use more than one language during a conversation. Generally it is agreed that the terms ‘code-switching’ and ‘code-mixing’ refer to inter-sentential and intra-sentential switching respectively (Thomason, 2001: 132), but there is no consensus regarding whether a distinction between the two terms is necessary. Some scholars prefer to use code-switching as the cover term to include switching at both inter-sentential and intra-sentential levels (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Clyne, 1991; Romaine, 1989; Appel and Muysken, 1987), and there are also scholars who think that ‘code-mixing’ is an undesirable term because it ‘implies unprincipled chaos’ (Myers-Scotton, 1988: 158). Nevertheless, there are still a few scholars who are inclined to use code-mixing as the generic term for the use of more than one language during a conversation (e.g. Bhatia, 1992; Grosjean, 1982). On the other hand, there are other researchers still who maintain that it is necessary to distinguish code-switching from code-mixing (e.g. Holmes, 1992; Wardhaugh, 2002).

In Hong Kong and Macao, Chinese (or rather Cantonese) is always interspersed with

English words/phrases but not sentences (Li, 1996; Li, 2005). Thus ‘code-mixing’ is the more popular term used in Hong Kong bilingual studies (Li and Tse, 2002). However, in this study I will instead use code-switching to refer to the language alternations in blogs written by Macao young people. There are two reasons for this: (i) although in the blogs collected code-switching occurs intra-sententially most of the time, there are also quite a few instances of inter-sentential code-switching (see Chapter 4); (ii) the use of the term ‘code-switching’ avoids the negative connotations associated with the phrase ‘code-mixing’. Therefore, in Chapter 4 ‘intra-sentential code-switching’ and ‘inter-sentential code-switching’ will be used to refer to the language alternation in blogs. When discussing previous research on this topic, however, I will adhere to the original terminology used by the scholars.

2.2.2 Previous Studies on Code-switching

2.2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Approach

Many ideas have been proposed to explain the motivations behind code-switching. Some scholars maintain that code-switching is triggered by sociolinguistic factors. An early and influential work written from this perspective is the work of Blom and Gumperz (1972). In their study, the two researchers discuss the social factors of code-switching in a small community in Norway. Blom and Gumperz categorize code-switching into ‘situational switching’ and ‘metaphorical switching’. Situational switching occurs when there is a change in the social setting, which is defined by the speakers’ mutual rights and obligations; metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is triggered by a change in the topic, which in turn alters the identities or roles of the speakers. Later Gumperz (1982) coined the term ‘conversational code-switching’ and

suggested six possible factors which caused it to occur: quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification and personalization vs. objectivization. He also suggested that in code-switching one language is the 'we-code' and the other the 'they-code'. The 'we-code' is used to express a sense of solidarity and personal involvement and the 'they-code' takes a more impersonal tone and symbolizes detachment from a certain group (ibid.).

Clyne (1991), after his analysis of 'community languages' in Australia, listed eight factors significant in the creation of code-switching: interlocutor, role relationship, domain, topic, venue, channel of communication, type of interaction and phatic function. He also stated that researchers should not forget the motivations and activities of the individual speaker in causing code-switching: 'the nature and degree of English influence and general adaption of the base language to the Australian context will depend largely on the individual speakers' activities and life-style as well as on their experience of both languages and cultures' (162). Kamwangamalu (1992) noted that in Singapore code-mixing is a means of distinguishing the elite, the modern, or the 'in-group' in formal and informal settings.

On the other hand, Myers-Scotton (1993b) introduced the markedness model, which shows that code-switching can be a device used to demonstrate the speaker's identities in different settings. After studying the code-switching data she collected in Kenya and other African countries, Myers-Scotton suggested that a language choice can be either marked or unmarked. When a code choice is marked, it means the speaker intends to negotiate or convey a set of unexpected rights and obligations between him/her and the addressee; on the contrary, when the code choice is unmarked, it means the speaker takes on an expected role in the setting.

2.2.2.2 Linguistic Approach

Some scholars contend that the dueling grammatical systems of languages in contact produce linguistic constraints during code-switching. For example, Sankoff and Poplack (1981) argue that there are two linguistic constraints in code-switching: the free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint. The first constraint stipulates that a switch between a bound morpheme and a lexical item is not possible unless the lexical item has been integrated into the morphosyntax of the language of the bound morpheme. Under the second constraint, code-switching is not allowed if a syntactic rule of either language is violated. In other words, a switch can occur if the surface structures of the two languages are identical.

Different types of code-switching can also be further classified under the linguistic approach. According to Poplack (1980), there are three types of code-switching: inter-sentential switching, tag-switching (the insertion of an exclamation or a tag phrase into the host language) and intra-sentential switching. Poplack suggests that this typology of code-switching indicates the bilingual competence of the speaker.

The matrix language frame model is an influential model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993a). Under this model, the two languages involved in code-switching are labeled as the matrix language or the embedded language. The morphosyntactic frame of the code-switched passage is determined by the matrix language, which also supplies system morphemes³. The embedded language, on the other hand, tends to provide the content morphemes⁴.

³ System morphemes generally have two features: (i) they are unable to receive or assign thematic roles; (ii) they restrict certain referent(s) of a word class (Myers-Scotton and Jake, 1995).

⁴ Morphemes which receive or assign a thematic role are called content morphemes. They include

Some scholars have also conducted studies on the description and analysis of a code-switched language. For instance, Clyne (1991) reported that the noun is the most commonly transferred word class found in his Australian code-switching data. Similarly, Gibbons (1987), Chan (1993) and Li (1996) observed that in Hong Kong's Cantonese-English context, the most frequently code-mixed syntactic category was English nouns, followed by verbs and adjectives. However, this finding is not completely congruent with some other studies: for example in Sridhar and Sridhar's (1980) study on Kannada-English data, it was ascertained that adjectives and adverbs are code-mixed more often than verbs; alternatively, in his study on Moroccan Arabic, Heath (1989) pointed out that the most frequently code-switched elements are often nouns and discourse markers.

2.2.2.3 Code-switching in Different Genres

Apart from the sociolinguistic and linguistic motivations for code-switching, there are also other factors which are genre-specific. Pennington (1998a), when discussing the possible perspectives for studying the bilingual situation in Hong Kong, suggested that Swales' (1990) genre analysis could be a useful approach. Genre analysis attempts 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' (Pennington, 1998a: 6). By citing two brief examples from the bilingual radio genre and the bilingual instructional genre, Pennington attempted to prove that the genre analysis approach is particularly suitable for description of the language usage in communicative domains and professions in which Cantonese-English bilingualism is a crucial feature (*ibid.*). Chan (2009), when

nouns, adjectives, time adverbials and most verbs and prepositions (*ibid.*).

analyzing the functions of code-switching in Hong Kong Cantopop, used concepts associated with genre and concluded that some motivations that have been proposed to account for Cantonese-English code-switching – lack of satisfactory translation, in particular – were not sufficient to explain why English elements had been inserted into the lyrics of certain songs.

On the other hand, it has also been argued that code-switching may be less frequent in written text than in spoken text because the writer has more time to produce a message and hence may translate terms, while the speaker in spontaneous conversation is under real-time pressure to express ideas quickly (Chan, 2009: 108). Moreover, it has also been proposed that spoken code-switching and written code-switching carry different functions. For instance, McClure (2000) and Montes-Alcalá (2000) indicate that written code-switching seems to be more of an identity marker and stylistic device, while in spoken conversation code-switching appears to serve a wider range of functions. However, sometimes the differences between spoken code-switching and written code-switching are not so clear-cut. According to Tannen (1982), orality (properties of spoken discourse) and literacy (properties of written discourse) are two ends of the same continuum, and therefore there are some written genres which contain typical characteristics of spoken discourse (e.g. blogging, instant messaging, etc.) and some spoken genres which carry typical characteristics of written discourse (e.g. scripted news reports, public speech, etc.) (Chan, 2009: 108).

2.2.2.4 Code-switching in Hong Kong and Macao

In Hong Kong code-switching typically occurs within clause boundaries (Li, 2000b:

8), and intra-sentential code-switching is also fairly common among educated Chinese in Macao, which for the most part is the result of extensive exposure to Hong Kong media and frequent contact with Hong Kong people (Li, 2005: 112). As pointed out by Li (1998: 164), most studies on code-mixing in Hong Kong are based on or tend to adopt a sociolinguistic or discourse-related approach (Cheung, 1992; Luke, 1998; Yau, 1993), but there are also scholars who contend that code-mixing in Hong Kong is largely motivated by linguistic factors (Li, 1996, 1998, 2000b) and some linguistic constraints on code-mixing in Hong Kong have been discussed as well (Leung, 1988; Chan, 1993).

The first important study on code-switching in Hong Kong was conducted by Gibbons (1979, 1983). He examined 'U-gay-wa' ('university talk'), a specific kind of mixed code which is commonly used and heard among the students at the Hong Kong University. In a latter volume (1987) Gibbons created the more general term 'MIX' to replace 'U-gay-wa', and concluded that (1) Cantonese is considered as a marker of group and ethnic solidarity, (2) there is strong sanction against using English for intraethnic communication, (3) 'MIX' is preferred in informal settings, and (4) 'MIX' displays a number of structural features which differentiate it from its parent languages Cantonese and English. In addition, he reported that the English elements inserted into a Cantonese sentence are often one or two words in length. These English words are mostly nouns, verbs and adjectives (adverbs are also seen occasionally), which are content words rather than function words.

Some scholars maintain that by mixing English words or expressions into Cantonese, people who speak in this manner begin to appear to be not entirely Western or Chinese (e.g. Gibbons, 1983, 1987; Yau, 1993). Furthermore, it has been suggested

that sometimes people code-mix deliberately to show off their proficiency in English, and thus attain membership in the group of English speakers (or speakers of the ‘prestige’ language) (Li, 1996: 26). At other times, English is used as an emotional buffer for taboo, euphemism, or embarrassment or as a friendly, or face-saving device, etc. (ibid.) Luke (1998: 148) distinguishes two kinds of code-mixing: ‘expedient language mixing’ and ‘orientational language mixing’. In the case of expedient language mixing, English words are sprinkled into informal conversation because the Cantonese counterpart words are too formal or literary; in other words, expedience and pragmatism are the major motivations behind this type of code-mixing. For instance, the word *program* is often mixed into Cantonese instead of the more formal counterpart 程式 (*cing4 sik1*⁵) (154). On the other hand, orientational language mixing occurs when the code-mixed English words do have counterparts in vernacular Cantonese. In this case code-mixing is more an intentional move, which is motivated by the speaker’s intention to project a more educated and/or westernized image. Li and Tse (2002), however, have argued that identity construction or negotiation does not occupy a significant role in motivating the Cantonese-English code-switching of Hong Kong bilinguals. Nevertheless, building a common cultural identity seems to be an essential function of code-switching in electronic communication (Fung and Carter, 2007; Ho, 2006).

Li (1996, 2000), on the other hand, after looking into the code-mixed Hong Kong Chinese press, provided substantial evidence to show that linguistic motivation is an important factor which triggers code-mixing. After analyzing the code-mixed

⁵ The phonetic transcription used in this paper is Jyutping, in which the numbers represent the tone values. 1 – high level, 2 – mid rising, 3 – mid level, 4 – low falling, 5 – low rising, 6 – low level, 7 – short high level, 8 – short mid level, 9 – short low level.

language of university students, Gibbons (1987) observed that sometimes there is code-mixing when Cantonese academic terms are unknown or less familiar for students, or when the English expressions do not have exact Cantonese counterparts. Similarly, Li (1996: 46) has suggested two factors for code-mixing: availability and specificity. Chan (2009: 111) notes that one significant factor causing people to code-switch to English is that there are expressions with a meaning that cannot be completely conveyed in Cantonese, and he has also proposed the ‘lack of equivalence’ argument. Indeed, there are findings in many studies showing that a word from a language is often code-mixed into the host language to fill a lexical gap (Li, 1996: 49). For example, many computer-related English words are mixed into Cantonese because the computer industry is dominated by American companies and thus a great deal of computer jargon is coined by Americans and does not have a Cantonese counterpart. Even though there seems to be Cantonese translations for a lot of common English words and expressions, upon closer inspection we can discover that these so-called ‘English and Cantonese counterparts’ are not actually equivalent in meaning. To illustrate this, Li (2000a: 310) has cited this example: the expression *keep fit* can be translated as 保持健康 (*bou2 ci4 gin6 hong1*, literally ‘stay healthy’). However, the meanings of *fit* and 健康 are not identical: while 健康 means ‘healthy’, *fit* implies ‘healthy’ and also ‘strong in bodily condition’. The above case is one where the English term is preferred due to its more specific meaning, but there are also opposite cases where the English term is chosen because it has a more general meaning: for instance, the Chinese character 迷 (*mai4*, meaning ‘a fan’) cannot be used alone; it needs to come after a noun to specify what kind of fan the person is. Thus the English word *fans* is used to replace 歌迷 (*go1 mai4*; ‘song fan’), 影迷 (*jing2 mai4*; ‘film fan’) and 球迷 (*kau4 mai4*; ‘ball fan’ especially ‘soccer fan’) (Li, 2000a: 313).

Another factor which affects levels of code-switching is formality. According to Tse (1992), in informal conversation 'code-mixing between Cantonese and English is almost ubiquitous in Hong Kong, with Cantonese being the dominant code' (101). Li (1998), after studying the local Chinese press, also reported that English is more likely to be code-mixed in writings of a more informal style (168).

In studies concerning the attitudes of the younger generation towards code-switching, it has been found that code-switching has become an integral part of the language of this generation. In an interesting experimental study conducted by Li and Tse (2002), 12 Hong Kong university students were asked not to speak any English for one day. Later, during a focus group interview conducted after the experiment, all of the participants reported that they encountered communication problems when they were asked to talk to others using only Cantonese, and some of them even said that they could not survive without inserting English elements into their conversations.

A number of researchers have also discussed the Cantonese-English code-switching phenomenon when studying multilingualism in Macao. Cheong (2001) indicates that English has always been the dominant language in large business and commercial institutions in Macao, and for those who work in these institutions inserting English words in their conversations has become an increasing trend. As for teenage students, these students mix English elements into their spoken and written languages as a fashionable and funny way to communicate, and sometimes these students prefer using English words because they are easier to pronounce than Chinese words or because they are easier to write than Chinese characters, which have many strokes (*ibid.*). However, on some occasions, the use of English is the only choice even for intraethnic communication. Sheng, a scholar from China, speaks of his own

experience when he first settled in Macao (2004: 16). As he didn't know Cantonese, he had to switch to English when he talked to a local friend. Here the use of English is a communication strategy as the language is treated as a lingua franca between Cantonese and Mandarin speakers.

2.3 Computer-mediated Communication and Blogging

2.3.1 Computer-mediated Communication and Its Languages

As mentioned in 2.2.2.3, one useful approach in the study of code-switching is the consideration of the text genre. It is necessary, therefore, to spend some time in the discussion of computer-mediated communication, especially blogs.

Computer-mediated communication is a comparatively new means of communication. It is faster than written exchanges but much slower than spoken exchanges (Herring, 2001: 614); it is a kind of communication which sometimes involves an unknown audience, while simultaneously creating direct and even private exchanges (King, 1996). In discussing language usage in computer-mediated communication, Crystal (2006: 11-15) differentiated seven broad situations in which the Internet is used: electronic mail (e-mail), synchronous chatgroups, asynchronous chatgroups, virtual worlds, world wide web (www), instant messaging and blogging. The languages used in these situations are different, but they are not mutually exclusive. As has Crystal described, the use of language on the Internet (what he calls 'Netspeak') is a new species of communication and a hybrid: 'something genuinely different in kind – 'speech + writing + electronically mediated properties' (51). This 'Netspeak' is generally less correct, complex and coherent than standard written language (Herring,

2001: 616). Placing the different types of language used in these seven situations on the spoken-written continuum, Crystal has pointed out that the web has the least amount of spoken features; chatgroup and virtual world interactions have more written features; instant messaging has even more; and e-mails and blogging occupy the middle of the continuum (2006: 44). English is the global language of the Internet (Herring, 2001; Graddol, 2006), but, according to some researchers, its dominance is being threatened by the native languages of different users (Graddol, 2006).

The linguistic structures used in various domains of computer-mediated communication are different. For instance, synchronicity exerts a significant influence on the structural complexity of computer-mediated language (Herring, 2001: 617). Variation in structural complexity in e-mail, on the other hand, reflects the change in the level of formality which is determined by different social situational factors (618). Another important factor which shapes language use on the Internet is communication purpose – recreational, professional, pedagogical, creative, etc. (622) Consequently, grammar structures like contractions are used more when humorous topics are discussed than when serious topics are discussed (Herring, 1999).

The issue of identity in the domain of computer-mediated communication has been studied by a number of scholars. According to Calvert (2002), the anonymity within virtual worlds offers adolescents more flexibility and freedom in establishing and exploring their identity. Communication through Netspeak is bound to the computer. When people chat on the Internet, they can only exchange linguistic characteristics with each other and a lot of extra-linguistic characteristics, such as personal features (voice, tone, accent, emotions, facial expressions, body gestures, etc.) cannot be conveyed. This makes everyone on the Internet appear indistinguishable, and thus

creates difficulty when one wishes to establish a unique identity (Poon, 2005: 14). However, this phenomenon also provides users with the opportunity to experiment with their online identity, and this identity can be very flexible (Huffaker and Calvert, 2005).

Internet-users apply different strategies in the construction of their identity. For example, code-switching is a strategy applied by bilingual internet-users. In their study on the language uses of Egyptian young professionals on the Internet, Warschauer et al. (2002) discovered that in informal emails and online chats the subjects tended to use a mixed language composed of English and Egyptian Arabic, which, according to the authors, is a product of the internet-users' 'localness' and 'globalness'. Another example of code-switching on the Internet is Su's (2003) observation of the mixture of stylized English, stylized Taiwanese-accented Mandarin and stylized Taiwanese in the Chinese writing system on college-affiliated BBSs. As Hongladarom (2000) suggests, although the Internet is responsible for the homogenization of cultures, it still provides a platform for the promotion and maintenance of local culture and also the negotiation of identities as they move between local and global cultures. It is this dynamic between 'localness' and 'globalness' which creates the linguistic hybrid of computer-mediated communication.

2.3.2 Blogging and Its Languages

A blog (a contraction of the term 'weblog') is a web application which allows the user to compose and edit posts at any time. Blogging is always likened to diary-writing or bulletin-posting, but in the case of blogs the posts are listed in a reverse chronological

sequence. As Crystal (2006: 240) has suggested, blogs have a considerable number of uses: at one end of the blog use spectrum there is the personal blog, a vehicle for self-expression and self-empowerment (Blood, 2002) as well as a record of an individual's daily life, thoughts and feelings; at the other there is the corporate blog which is maintained by an institution. According to Blood (ibid.), there are basically three types of blogs: filters⁶, personal journals and notebooks⁷. After analyzing the content of over 200 randomly-selected blogs, Herring et al. (2005) reported that personal journal is the overwhelmingly prototypical type of blog in the blogging community and that there are more female and teenage bloggers than male and adult bloggers.

For Herring et al. (2005), blogs are a hybrid of genres; many blogs are a combination of public and private, personal and professional. A personal blog covers various kinds of linguistic activity (Crystal, 2006: 242). It can be a diary/journal or it can be used to catalogue creative writing. In order to explain the writing style used in personal blogs, Crystal (243-4) has given two excerpts from blogs and indicated that their style lies between standard and non-standard English. He comments that the language used in personal blogs (what he calls 'free prose') is a kind of written language in its most naked form as there is completely no copy-editing undertaken in the writing process. Thus, blogs are a new variety of writing which showcases linguistic idiosyncrasy.

On the other hand, blogging can also be seen as a new medium through which adolescents present themselves, and it can particularly be seen as a method for

⁶ Filters contain content external to the blogger such as world events and online happenings (Herring et al., 2005).

⁷ Notebooks are also called knowledge-logs (k-logs). They may have either personal or external content (ibid.).

self-expression or a method of building peer group relationships (all related to the construction of identity) (Huffaker and Calvert, 2005). The links and commentary contained in blogs connect bloggers, and thus a new way of developing relationships online emerges (Miller and Shepherd, 2004).

Keeping an online personal journal is very popular among Macao teenagers. Some people even own more than one blog (although sometimes the content of one blog is more or less the replicate of the other). A variety of languages are used in the blogs created by Macao teenagers. Only a small portion of blogs are monolingual; very often the blogs are written in Cantonese, which is interspersed with Standard Written Chinese or English. The use of Cantonese and Standard Written Chinese in blogs again indicates that blogs are a hybrid of spoken and written languages, a genre which can be placed somewhere within the spoken-written continuum proposed by Tannen (1982).

2.3.3 Word Processing in Macao

Chinese Characters are hieroglyphs. They are very different from the Roman alphabet and are significantly greater in number. Typing Chinese characters is not the same as writing them as typing Chinese characters is largely bound by the limitations of the keys on the keyboard.

Many Chinese input methods have been proposed⁸. The methods are developed basically according to the shape or pronunciation of the characters, and they map each

⁸ There are more than 3000 types of Chinese input methods, less than 10 of these methods are in common use today (Wang, 2006).

character onto one to five keys. In Macao most people adopt the Cangjie or Simplified Cangjie method, which belongs to the method of shape-based word processing. The main reason for this is that there is not a standard phonetic transcription system for Cantonese, and not many people are familiar with Pinyin, the most widely used Romanization system for Mandarin.

The Cangjie input method assigns 24 radicals or character roots to the keys. Table 1 shows the distribution of the radicals on the keys. The typist has to decompose the character into one to five radicals, depending on how complex the structure of the character is. The desired character is produced by entering the correct order of the radicals. To cite an example, the character 雨 ('rain') can be divided into four parts: 一 ('one'), 中 ('centre'), 月 ('moon') and 卜 ('fortune telling'). To input the character, the typist has to strike the keys in the sequence M, L, B and Y.

Key	Radical	Key	Radical
A	日	N	弓
B	月	O	人
C	金	P	心
D	木	Q	手
E	水	R	口
F	火	S	尸
G	土	T	甘
H	竹	U	山
I	戈	V	女
J	十	W	田
K	大	X	重/難 ⁹
L	中	Y	卜
M	一		

Table 1. The distribution of Cangjie radicals on computer keys

⁹ These two radicals are used for characters which are difficult to decompose. On some keyboards 重 appears on the Z key.

Since it is not easy to acquire and master the Cangjie input method as the typist has to be familiar with character decomposition rules, a lot of people prefer the simpler version of this method, otherwise known as the Simplified Cangjie input method. Under this system the user only needs to enter the first and last Cangjie codes, and then selects the intended character from a list of characters having the same combination of radicals. For example, to input 雨, the first step is to strike the keys M and Y, and the second step is to choose the character from a list of candidate characters (see Figure 1). Although Simplified Cangjie involves a smaller number of radicals, there is a disadvantage as more keystrokes are required when the intended character is being chosen from the character list.

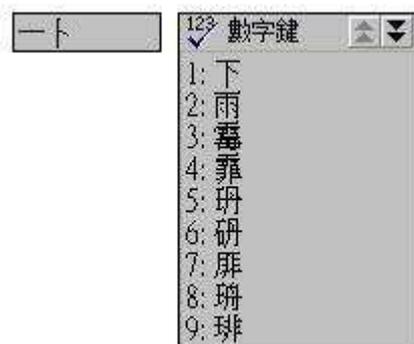


Figure 1. Inputting the character 雨 using Simplified Cangjie

The difficulty in attaining in Cangjie proficiency and the extra keystrokes needed in Simplified Cangjie decrease the speed of Chinese characters input. As a result many people may resort to typing in English, which increases the amount of code-switching in computer-mediated communication.

Chapter 3 Methodology

The present research is divided into two main parts. The first part is a description of the patterns of Chinese-English code-switching in selected blogs written by Macao young people. The second part is the investigation of the linguistic and extra-linguistic motivations of code-switching in blogs.

3.1 Data Collection

The data used for the current study is made up of 200 blog entries written by 20 young adults in Macao. 150 blog entries were collected from Windows Live Spaces (MSN Spaces), Microsoft's blogging and social network platform, and 50 blog entries were collected from Xanga, a blog-hosting website based in the USA. The blog-hosting service provided by Xanga has existed for almost 9 years, and it has gained quite a high level of popularity among Hong Kong young people as well as Macao young people. Windows Live Spaces, on the other hand, launched its service in 2004. Nevertheless, more Macao young people have started to write blogs on Windows Live Spaces as more people have stopped using ICQ and have turned to Windows Live Messenger (MSN Messenger), an instant messaging service created by Microsoft, for their instant messaging needs.

Cantonese is the matrix language used in most blog entries, but English or Standard Written Chinese is interspersed in the blogs as well. However, there are also a small number of entries which are written in pure Cantonese, Standard Written Chinese or English. Various structural features appear in every entry: headers, texts, images, footers, links, etc. Figures 2 and 3 show the screens of a Windows Live Spaces and a

Xanga blog from the research set.

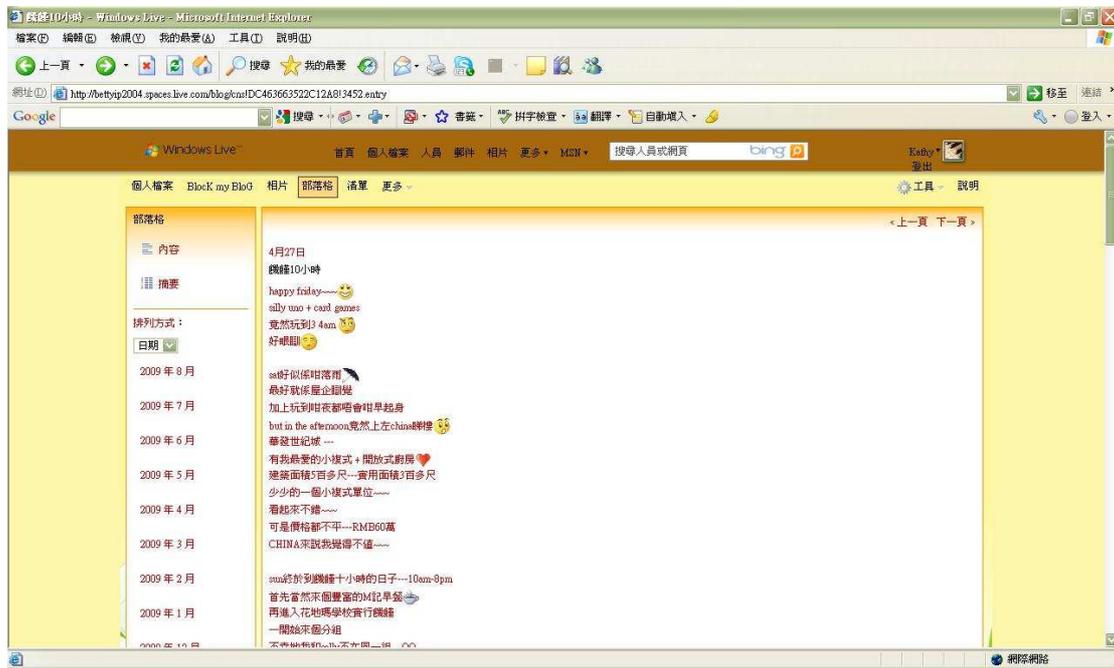


Figure 2. A Windows Live Spaces blog



Figure 3. A Xanga blog

The latest ten entries from every blog (dating backwards from 1 May, 2009) were

collected for this study. All of the entries collected were originally created to be personal journals. This establishes an informal and carefree setting for the production of blog entries, and therefore it is assumed that code-switching is more likely to occur in these entries. Since the main goal of this study is to research the patterns and motivations but not the frequency of Chinese-English code-switching in blogs, entries which were written entirely in Chinese or English were excluded from the study. Only the code-switched items in the titles and the texts are analyzed.

Some English items, however, are not considered to be code-switched elements:

- (i) emoticons (e.g. T.T, orz): emoticons are just a kind of image;
- (ii) website addresses, addresses: there is no way to translate a website address into pure Chinese and it is meaningless to convert, for example, a Canadian address into Chinese also. Their appearance has little to do with code-switching;
- (iii) Romanized Cantonese characters (e.g. kick 住 (*kik1 zyü6*; ‘being stuck’); je (*ze1*; a final particle meaning ‘only’ or ‘that’s all’); haha): a lot of Cantonese characters are not codified, and some Cantonese characters are so rarely used in written text that few people know how to write them; but there are also a few cases in which the Romanized Cantonese does have a commonly used written counterpart. All these Romanized Cantonese characters are treated as a kind of phonetic transcription, but are not considered code-switched elements.

The participants in this study were requested to provide their blog entries for this study in July 2009. This ensures that the entries were written in a totally natural setting as the participants were not paying extra attention to their code-switched language when the entries were originally written.

3.2 The Participants

The participants of this research are 20 Macao young people between the ages of 21 and 26. This group of young people was chosen because they are among Macao residents who use the Internet most frequently. According to DSEC (2007), the age group 15-24 occupies the highest percentage (33.5%) of Internet users in Macao, followed by the age group 25-34 (20.5%). All of the participants were approached as members of the writer's social network: they are either in the writer's MSN messenger friend list or on the subscription list of the writer's own Xanga blog.

Participant	Age	Gender	Education Level	Occupation
A	23	Female	University graduate	Client service associate
B	22	Female	University graduate	Designer
C	26	Female	University graduate	Chief reporter
D	24	Female	Postgraduate student	Postgraduate Student + Office administrator
E	23	Female	Postgraduate student	Postgraduate Student
F	24	Male	University graduate	Assistant engineer
G	21	Male	Undergraduate student	Undergraduate Student
H	23	Male	University graduate	Assistant engineer
I	22	Male	University graduate	University graduate
J	21	Male	Undergraduate student	Undergraduate student
K	24	Female	University graduate	Clerk
L	22	Female	Postgraduate student	Postgraduate student + Sales consultant
M	25	Female	University graduate	Clerk
N	22	Female	Undergraduate student	Undergraduate student
O	22	Female	University graduate	University graduate
P	23	Female	University graduate	Secretary

Q	22	Female	University graduate	University graduate
R	23	Female	University graduate	Counselor
S	23	Female	University graduate	Administrative assistant
T	23	Female	University graduate	Secretary

Table 2. Details about the participants

Table 2 displays the ages, genders, education levels and occupations of the participants. There are 15 females (75%) and 5 males (15%). Although the gender ratio of the participants is not balanced, this does not exert a negative effect on this study as gender difference in code-switched language is not a concern. All participants are represented by the letters A to T, and the examples cited from the blog entries are coded according to the participants' letter names and the dates of their entries. For instance, the text written by Participant C on 1 May 2009 is coded PC010509.

All participants were brought up in Macao and have received/are receiving tertiary education in Taiwan (12), Macao (5), Canada (2) and China (1). They have kept a blog for at least 2 years (the oldest blog being 5 years old), and a few of them even have a Windows Live Spaces blog as well as a Xanga blog. Thus, these participants are not novice bloggers and are familiar with the different functions they can use when they are blogging. Some of these participants are active bloggers with at least one post per week, but there are a few who produce entries only once a month or even less. Nevertheless, all of the participants can still be seen as members of a single group – members of a virtual community of practice.

The concept of a virtual community of practice originates from that of a community

of practice, which was established as a framework for studying the process of social learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991) but was later adopted to describe and analyze linguistic variation from a sociolinguistic perspective (Corder and Meyerhoff, 2007: 443). According to Wenger (1998: 76), three significant criteria define a typical community of practice: (i) mutual engagement, (ii) jointly negotiated enterprise and (iii) shared repertoire. Two of these three features can be applied to the participants in the present study: they are part of a jointly negotiated enterprise as all of them write their online personal journals as a channel for expressing their thoughts and feelings, and at the same time they possess a shared repertoire because they all use code-switched language in blogs. However, the participants do not have face-to-face contact and thus there is no mutual engagement.

With the continued growth of the Internet and the strong effects of globalization some scholars claim that communities of practice can be established in the virtual world. According to Murillo (2008), communities of practice can be completely Internet-based and are not limited to direct interaction. Nowadays people have become used to and are quite dependent on computer-mediated communication, which is becoming more important in people's everyday lives. Although face-to-face interaction is often preferred to communication through the Internet, computer-mediated communication still has its advantages: for example, people who are far apart can contact each other much more frequently through their use of computer-mediated methods.

The participants of the present study interact with others by means of sharing their own blogs and reading other people's blogs. They all belong to a virtual community of practice, with the active bloggers being the core members and the inactive bloggers

being the peripheral members of this community.

3.3 Data Analysis

The first part of this research seeks to describe the patterns of code-switching in the online personal journals written by the participants. The language of the blog entries is thus analyzed quantitatively: the code-switched elements are categorized into six linguistic units. The number of tokens of each group is then calculated and tabulated. This is followed by a discussion of the grammatical features of the code-switched language as a whole.

The second part of the research seeks to analyze the motivations of code-switching in the researched blog entries. During the course of analysis focus is put on how language, computer and social contexts influence code-switching in blogs. This approach is based on Swales' (1990) concept that context is one important factor in shaping a genre. In the case of the current study, the genre refers to the personal blogs written by Macao young people, of which Chinese-English code-switched language is a defining characteristic. Both linguistic and extra-linguistic motivations are discussed. In addition, in order to avoid the problem of the results and discussions being dominantly influenced by the writer's limited observation set, the participants were also asked why they code-switch when they write blogs so as to find out the important motivations behind code-switching which the bloggers themselves are more conscious of.

3.4 Question Asked of the Participants

Most of the participants answered the questionnaire provided by the writer of this study online through MSN messenger, except in cases when the questionnaire was sent via e-mail because the participants were not in the habit of using MSN messenger. Different choices were given in the question on the questionnaire and the question was written in Standard Written Chinese, and the participants could pick more than one choice when answering the question. The choices were derived by the writer and based on a pilot study conducted on some Macao young people who were not bloggers. The question asked in the pilot study did not have forced choices. The following is the English translation of the question asked by the writer (the original version is given in appendix 2):

1. Why do you code-switch to English when you write blog entries in Cantonese/Standard Written Chinese?
 - a. It is faster and more convenient to type in English
 - b. I don't know how to type the Chinese characters
 - c. That's the way I talk
 - d. The English items come to my mind first / I cannot remember the Cantonese/Standard Written Chinese counterpart
 - e. The English items can better express my tone or my thoughts
 - f. It's trendy and cool / Because other people write their blogs like this
 - g. Others (please specify)

Among the reasons which you have chosen, which one is the most important?

Chapter 4 Results and Discussions

4.1 Patterns of Code-switching in Blogs

In order to give a description of the patterns of code-switched language in the blog entries written by the participants, the English elements are categorized into six groups: nouns/noun phrases, verbs/phrasal verbs, adjectives/adjective phrases, adverbs/adverbial phrases, idiomatic expressions/interjections/discourse markers, and incomplete sentences/sentences. The first four groups indicate the syntactic categories to which the code-switched elements belong, and the remaining two groups are used to describe the elements which cannot be clearly assigned a word class. Table 3 shows the distribution of the code-switched items in terms of their linguistic forms.

Participant	Token of Linguistic Units						Total Token
	Nouns/ Noun Phrases	Verbs/ Phrasal Verbs	Adjectives/ Adjective Phrases	Adverbs/ Adverbial Phrases	Idiomatic Expressions ¹⁰ / Interjections/ Discourse Markers	Incomplete Sentences/ Sentences	
A	79	22	18	1	28	19	167
B	70	2	7	2	1	0	82
C	29	3	2	2	5	1	42
D	35	3	3	2	7	6	56
E	48	3	8	0	19	4	82
F	62	3	7	0	0	0	72
G	61	6	2	1	12	8	90
H	66	3	1	0	3	0	73
I	24	4	5	0	7	11	51
J	12	2	2	0	7	0	23

¹⁰ Here the term 'idiomatic expression' is used in its broad sense; it refers to a more or less fixed order of words having a set meaning (Li, 1996: 96).

K	16	4	4	0	4	0	28
L	35	5	1	0	6	13	60
M	12	6	3	1	5	0	27
N	37	2	2	0	2	0	43
O	13	2	0	0	3	0	18
P	30	2	2	0	1	0	35
Q	35	8	6	2	9	7	67
R	59	14	2	0	3	1	79
S	27	4	2	0	10	1	44
T	27	5	8	1	7	1	49
	777	103	85	12	139	72	1188

Table 3. The distribution of different linguistic forms of English phrases or words used in blogs

Gibbons (1987), Chan (1993) and Li (1996) have observed that in Hong Kong's Cantonese-English context, the most frequently code-mixed word class is English nouns, followed by verbs and adjectives and the same result is reported by Clyne (1991) for his code-mixing data in Australia. The figures in the first four groups of linguistic items listed in Table 3 show that the results of this study match the observations made by the scholars mentioned above. A large portion of the English nouns/noun phrases are personal names and brand names because in Macao it is very popular for people (especially young people) to have an English name and people also tend not to transliterate foreign brand names. This is the main reason why the number of English nouns/noun phrases is much higher than the number of words or phrases from any other group. On the contrary, adverbs/adverbial phrases are seldom code-switched.

On the other hand, English idiomatic expressions/interjections/discourse markers are also inserted into the entries quite frequently. The appearance of idiomatic expressions/interjections/discourse markers is even more common than the

appearance of English verbs/verb phrases, which are the second highest code-switched word class. In addition, there are quite a few instances in which incomplete sentences/sentences in English appear in the entries, and inter-sentential code-switching is not at all rare in this data. The following are some examples:

- (1) 我都唔會¹¹give any comments and just concentrate on what i should do. (PA280309)
- (2) 聽日仲要 8 點半去上堂¹². i am exhausted. (PE280908)
- (3) 好的¹³...i'm not a child anymore!! i can make it!!! (PQ150109)
- (4) 四年只有一次¹⁴ what a special day (PS290209)

This phenomenon is not typical elsewhere as, according to Li and Tse (2002), clause-level code-alternation among educated Chinese Hong Kong people is seldom seen.

- (5) 興 奮 ing
hing1 fan5 -ing
 'exciting' (PK070209)
- (6) 願 望 s
jyun6 mong6 -s
 'wishes' (used as a noun) (PA160209)

Examples (5) and (6) illustrate another non-typical type of code-switching. According to the matrix language frame model introduced by Myers-Scotton (1993a), system morphemes (in this case the suffixes *-s* and *-ing*) are provided by the matrix language

¹¹ English translation: 'I still won't...'

¹² English translation: '(I) still have to go to class at 8:30 tomorrow'

¹³ English translation: 'Alright'

¹⁴ English translation: 'only once every 4 years'

but not the embedded language. Therefore examples (5) and (6) represent two counter-examples to Myers-Scotton's proposal, and this in turn suggests that the rules of code-switching may be changing in the new domain of computer-mediated communication.

In brief, the above examples reveal that there are some distinctive code-switching features in blogging.

The vast majority of the entries use Cantonese or Standard Written Chinese as the matrix language, but, interestingly enough, there are a few sentences in which the matrix language is English, for example:

(7) try to be more 理智(*lei5 zi3*; 'rational') now (PA110309)

4.2 Motivations of Code-switching in Blogs

4.2.1 Linguistic Motivations

In the following section the linguistic motivations of code-switching in the blog entries presented in this study are discussed. This discussion is largely based upon the taxonomy proposed by Li (1996, 2000a).

4.2.1.1 Availability

As discussed in 2.2.2.4, some English words are code-switched into Cantonese due to the lexical gap in the host language.

- (8) 之前學左 ge¹⁵ excel skill
 zi1 cin4 hok6 zo2 ge3 excel skill
 before learn PFV POSS excel skill
 'The excel skill I have learned before'
 (PA240209)
- (9) 睇 thumbnail 真係唔認得果位仁兄是誰
 tai2 thumbnail zan1 hai6 m4 jing6 dak1 go2 wai2 jan4 hing1 si6 seoi4
 look thumbnail really not recognize that guy COP who
 '(I) really couldn't recognize that guy by looking at the thumbnail'
 (PC010509)
- (10) 我估今日如果你同你上司玩 wii
 ngo5 gu2 gam1 jat6 jyu4 gwo2 nei5 tung4 nei5 soeng6 si1 wun6 wii
 I guess today if you with you boss play wii
 'I guess if you play wii with your boss'
 (PE270109)
- (11) neway 終於都開啦
 neway zung1 jyu1 dou1 hoi1 laa1
 neway finally also open FP
 'Neway finally opened its business'
 (PB230209)
- (12) 去了 physical
 heoi3 liu5 physical
 go PEV physical
 '(I)'ve been to Physical'
 (PB130409)
- (13) 旅行第2日就買左一個 Burberry 袋
 lei5 hang4 dai6 2 jat6 zau6 maa5 zo2 jat1 go3 Burberry doi2
 trip the second day already buy PFV one CL Burberry bag
 'On the second day of the trip (I) bought a Burberry bag'
 (PC280409)
- (14) 好似 mini cooper, volks beetle, smart car, vespa 咁

¹⁵ Romanized Cantonese character.

hou2 ci5 mini cooper, volks beetle, smart car, vespa *gam2*
like mini cooper, volks beetle, smart car, vespa that
'like mini cooper, volks beetle, smart car, vespa'

(PF060109)

A lot of English words which do not have suitable Chinese translations are also examples of computer jargon. In (8) and (9), the words *excel* and *thumbnail*, like many English computer technical terms, do not have a precise Chinese translation. Similarly, it is very difficult to translate the word *wii* in (10) into Chinese. In (11) and (12), *neway* and *physical* are the names of a karaoke company and a Hong Kong fitness centre, and to translate the names into Chinese would be meaningless. *Burberry* in (13) is one example of the many brand names in English or other Western languages which are code-switched into Cantonese. According to Lee (2000), the code-switching of brand names is caused by the idea that the names of fashionable products that come from the West should be said in English. The same ideology can be applied to the list of car types in (14).

4.2.1.2 Specificity

Li (2000) contends that one major force which motivates code-switching behaviour among Hong Kong bilinguals is a lack of semantic congruence between English words and their Cantonese/Standard Written Chinese counterparts. On some occasions, the English expressions are preferred because of their more specific or general meanings.

(15) 雖然 menu 有 中 文 字
seoi1 jin4 menu *jau5 zung1 man4 zi6*
although menu have Chinese character

'Although the menu is in Chinese'

(PH020209)

(16) 一 杯 野 飲 (有 得 揀 的, 唔 cheap ge)

jat1 bui1 je5 jam2 jau5 dak1 gaan2 dik1 m4 cheap ge3

one glass thing drink have ADV choose FP not cheap FP

'a drink (which could be chosen from a number of choices and was not cheap)'

(PM040409)

(17) 見 到 有 同 學 仔 post 左 d¹⁶ 傷 感 事

gin3 dou3 jau5 tung4 hok6 zai2 post PFV di1 soeng1 gam2 si6

see have classmates post some sad thing

'(I) saw that some classmates had posted something sad'

(PP130409)

(18) 仲 要 多 謝 pauline 幫 我 交 野 比 胡 sir

zung6 jiu3 do1 ze6 pauline bong1 ngo5 gaau1 je5 bei2 wu2 sir

moreover thank Pauline help me give thing to Wu sir

'Moreover (I) have to thank Pauline who handed something to Mr. Wu for me'

(PG030208)

In (15), *menu* is used because of its more general meaning. The Cantonese counterpart of the term is 餐牌 (*caan1 paai4*), which literally means the list of the names and prices of food. *Menu*, on the other hand, refers to a list of the names and prices of food as well as drinks. Therefore if a customer wants to know what food and drinks are served in a restaurant, it sounds more suitable for him/her to ask for a *menu*. *Cheap* in (16) can refer to the price and the quality of the drink: it can mean that the drink does not cost much or the drink is of low quality. If the concepts are expressed in Cantonese two different characters have to be used respectively: 平 (*ping4*) and 差 (*caal*). It is possible that the blogger switches to English because *cheap* covers the

¹⁶ Romanized Cantonese character.

two meanings. On the other hand, in (17), *post* is inserted due to its more specific meaning. When the word is used in the computer context, it means ‘to send something to a newsgroup or website’. The Cantonese equivalent 貼 (*tip3*), however, does not contain this computer-related meaning; literally, it means ‘to paste something on (a bulletin board)’. It would sound a bit strange if the example sentence in (17) was said entirely in Cantonese. The word *sir* in (18) is adopted because it is more specific in denoting the teacher’s gender. In Cantonese the term 先生 (*sin1 sang1*) is used as a courtesy title for both male and female teachers. Thus, when it is necessary to specify the teacher’s gender, 先生 is replaced by *sir* or *miss*.

4.2.1.3 Expedient Code-switching

As discussed in section 2.2.2.4, expedient language mixing occurs in informal conversations when the Cantonese translation is too formal in style (Luke, 1998). Since people produce online personal journals in a rather informal setting, a certain amount of code-switching occurring due to the need for expedience can be identified in the data.

- (19) P.s. 我 個 blog 好 似 變 左 美 食 專 欄 咁
 P.S. *ngo5 go3 blog hou2 ci5 bin3 zo2 mei5 sik6 zyun1 laan4 gam4*
 P.S. I CL blog seem become PFV pretty food column that
 ‘P.S. It seems that my blog has become a food column’
 (PB130409)

- (20) EQ 點 樣 先 算 係 高
 EQ *dim2 joeng6 sin1 syun3 hai6 gou1*
 EQ how just consider COP high
 ‘Under what circumstances is an EQ considered to be high’
 (PD260209)

(21) 所以呢幾日心情都好 down
so2 ji5 ni1 gei2 jat6 sam1 cing4 dou1 hou2 down
so these few day mood also very down
'So I have been very down these past few days'

(PH280209)

(22) 結果哥晚食左一個沙律, 2份 pizza
git3 gwo2 go1 maan5 sik6 zo2 jat1 go3 saa1 leot6 2 fan6 pizza
in the end that night eat PFV one CL salad 2 CL pizza
'In the end (we) ate one salad and two pizzas that night'

(PH020209)

(23) 番到去記得開 party!!
faan1 dou3 heoi3 gei3 dak1 hoi1 party
back to go remember open party
'Remember to have a party after going back!!'

(PJ170109)

In examples (19) and (20) *P.S.* and *EQ* are adopted because their Cantonese counterparts 附錄 (*fu6 luk6*) and 情緒智商 (*cing4 seoi5 zi3 soeng1*) are too formal. The term 附錄 is used in very formal documents, and 情緒智商 seldom appears in spoken language and can only be seen in formal writings. In (21) and (22) *down* and *pizza* have Cantonese equivalents, 低落 (*dai1 lok6*) and 薄餅 (*bok6 beng2*), which are both a bit too formal to be used in the informal setting of a blog. Finally, *party* in (23) has 派對 (*paai3 deoi3*) as a Cantonese equivalent, which is the transliteration of the original English word. Almost all young people prefer *party* because the Cantonese term sounds too 'Chinese'.

4.2.1.4 Euphemisms

In every society there are always situations or words or phrases which are considered

unpleasant, embarrassing or frightening and which are not discussed bluntly or openly in the public. However there are occasions when these subjects will be talked about, and using euphemisms is one strategy by which to create a circumlocutory or mitigating effect. Euphemisms sometimes may come from non-native languages because ‘we have conditioned reactions to taboo words in our native language, but we do not have strong emotional reactions to taboo words in a foreign language’ (Jay, 2003: 417).

(24) good luck to you guys! i love you all! (PE300808)

(25) i miss you!!! (PL190109)

Chinese people are not used to expressing their love to others directly. But if emotional and affectionate expressions are termed in other languages, such as English, the speaker will not feel as embarrassed as if he/she were using the Chinese expressions.

(26) 但 sorry 我 對 電腦 真 係 零 興 趣
dann6 sorry ngo5 deoi3 din6 nou5 zan1 hai6 ling4 hing1 ceoi3
but sorry I to computer really zero interest
‘But, sorry, I am really not interested in computers’
(PS290409)

In Hong Kong and Macao, *sorry* is always adopted to replace the Cantonese counterpart 對唔住 (*deoi3 m4 zyu6*). The English word is used to express apology or regret when the situation is not very serious, while 對唔住 is for more serious occasions as it sounds more sincere (Li and Tse, 2002). Thus, when it is appropriate, *sorry* produces a mitigating effect for an apology.

(27) d 人 著 到 好 sexy
di1 jan4 zyu3 dou3 hou2 sexy
some people dress to very sexy
'Those people were wearing very sexy outfits'

(PA280309)

(28) 台 上 有 3 個 疑 似 gay 佬
toi4 soeng6 jau5 3 go3 ji4 ci5 gay lou2
stage on have 3 CL seemingly gay man
'There were three seemingly gay men on the stage'

(PA280309)

Sex and sex-related topics are treated as taboo subjects by the Chinese. Therefore, when people talk about such topics, they often switch to English, as in examples (27) and (28). In (28), *gay* has a Cantonese counterpart, 同性戀 (*tung4 sing3 lyun2*) but this term is more likely to be used in formal written language. Actually, the English word is so commonly used that the character 基 (*gei1*, 'base'), which is a homophone of *gay*, has adopted a new meaning and can also be used to refer to gay people.

(29) 在 toilet 的 對 峙
zoi6 toilet dik1 deoi3 zi6
in toilet POSS confrontation
'the confrontation in the toilet'

(PQ200409)

Subjects relating to excretion are also not pleasant topics. In (29) *toilet* is used instead of the Cantonese counterpart 廁所 (*ci3 so2*) because the English word sounds more decent.

(30) Shit !!! 原 來 都 唔 係 好 偏 僻.....

shit *jyun4 loi4 dou1 m4 hai6 hou2 pin1 pik1*
shit actually still not COP very far away
'Shit!!! actually (it) was not very far away'

(PI070409)

(31) 居 然 要 去 參 乜 鬼 野 觀 == damn
geoi1 jin4 jiu3 heoi3 caam1 mat1 gwai2 je5 gun1 damn
to my surprise have to go visit what ghost thing visit damn
'To my surprise (I) had to pay a meaningless visit... damn'

(PJ081208)

(32) 邊 個 係 到 作 野 咁 pk 呀
bin1 CL hai6 dou3 zok3 je5 gam2 pk aa1
which one COP here make up thing so pk FP
'Who is making things up... so pk'

(PM260309)

In addition, English interjections, such as *shit* and *damn* in (30) and (31), are frequently used because, compared with other Cantonese interjections, they sound milder when they are used to express the speaker's displeasure. On the other hand, *pk* in example (32) is not an English word. It is used to replace the Cantonese counterpart 仆街 (*puk1 gaai1*, literally 'fall down on the street'), a common curse phrase which can be used on a variety of occasions to express disgrace, annoyance or other negative emotions. Since this Cantonese phrase is too vulgar to be spoken out loud, *pk*, which is made up of the first consonants of the two Cantonese characters¹⁷, has been adopted. The two English letters used to form *pk* do not inherently contain any rude meanings, and thus the term is quite widely used as a way to swear in a more appropriate fashion.

4.2.1.5 Discourse markers, Exclamations and Idiomatic Expressions

¹⁷ *K* is used probably instead of *g* because in Hong Kong and Macao *PG* stands for 'parental guidance'.

Discourse markers, according to Schiffrin (1987: 31), are ‘sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk’. Their main function is to facilitate the listener’s comprehension process by showing the direction which is hinted at by the inferential connections they express (Blakemore 1987: 141). Weinreich (1953) and Appel and Muysken (1987) use the term ‘tag-switching’ to account for the fact that discourse markers are subject to the least syntactic rules and are therefore sometimes easily used in code-switching. Although, in the past, it was suggested that function words, such as discourse markers, were less likely to be borrowed for code-switching (Torres and Potowski, 2008), it has been reported that many English discourse markers are transferred into other languages such as the community languages of Australia (Clyne, 1991: 190). Clyne regards the transference of discourse markers like *well* and *anyway* as a pragmatic transference ‘reflecting a change in rules of social interaction, and often even an integration of cultural value systems’ (190). In the Hong Kong context, Luke (1984) proposes that discourse markers are a salient feature of orientational mixing. Examples (33) to (38) illustrate the code-switching of discourse markers in the analyzed blog entries:

(33) but 同 舊 ge 朋 友 好 似 少 左 d contact
 but *tung4 gau6 ge3 pang4 jau5 hou2 ci5 siu2 zo2 di1* contact
 but with old POSS friend seem less PFV some contact
 ‘But it seems that (I have) less contact with old friends’

(PA110309)

(34) well, that means 我 都 無 咩 可 以 做
 well, that means *ngo5 dou1 mou4 me1 ho2 ji5 zou6*
 well, that means I still nothing what can do
 ‘Well, that means there’s nothing I can do’

(PA050309)

(35) anyway, 最 近 仍 然 係 忙 到 爆

anyway *zeoi3 gan6 jing4 jin4 hai6 mong4 dou3 baau3*
anyway lately still COP busy to explode
'Anyway, (I) have still been extremely busy as of late'

(PE281108)

(36) then, 我 又 去 左 睇 實 驗
then *ngo5 jau6 heoi3 zo2 tai2 sat6 jim6*
then I again go PFV watch experiment
'Then, I went to watch the experiment again'

(PE290908)

(37) 聞 一 聞, ok 都 叫 有 d 味
man4 jat1 man4 OK dou1 giu3 jau5 di1 mei6
smell once smell OK still call have some taste
'OK (the food) smelled alright'

(PO281008)

(38) hello! 2009

(PO020109)

The main function of discourse markers to provide the audience with hints about the direction of a statement is intensified by the use of English discourse markers. This is mainly because in a Chinese text English words can grab the audience's attention more easily.

English exclamations can also be picked out in the researched blog entries, as shown in the examples below:

(39) 點 知 一 click 入 去 睇 埋 個 名.. oh my GOD!!!!!!
dim2 zi1 jat1 click jap6 heoi3 tai2 maai4 go3 meng4 oh my god
who knows once click inside see also CL name oh my god
'Who knew that as soon as (I) clicked on it and saw the name... oh my god'

(PC010509)

(40) wow ~ 結婚(*git3 fan1*, 'getting married'), still a long long way to me~

(PA240409)

(41) 我 自由 啦~~~yeah!!!

ngo5 zi6 jau4 laa1 yeah

I free FP yeah

'I am free~~~Yeah!!!'

(PT271008)

Sometimes it is not easy to find Cantonese parallels for exclamations in English. In (39) the exclamation *oh my god* is used to further emphasize the blogger's astonishment. It can be translated into Cantonese as 天呀 (*tin1 aa1*, literally 'sky + FP'). In (40) and (41) the onomatopoeia do not have exact Cantonese counterparts. After all, onomatopoeic words are not exactly the same in every country around the world because the sound systems of different languages are so varied (Fromkin et al., 2003: 7). It is also possible that in the above examples the bloggers adopted English exclamations in order to express a particular emotion which could not be expressed in Cantonese.

Similarly, idiomatic expressions are not easily translated as some expressions are only meaningful within a certain culture or lingual group. Even when there seems to be an equivalent which expresses the literal meaning of the idiomatic phrase, it would be impossible to transfer the rhetorical meaning of the original phrases into another language.

(42) 對 屋企 人 可以 咁 take for granted

deoi3 uk1 kei5 jan4 ho2 ji5 gam2 take for granted

to family can so take for granted

'(you) very much take (your) family's (tolerance) for granted'

(PE270109)

- (43) 日 日 無 聊 kill time
jat6 jat6 mou4 liu4 kill time
day day boring kill time
'Everyday (I) killed time in a very boring way'

(PG240207)

- (44) 總之(zung2 zi1, 'in short') so far so good

(PQ140309)

- (45) 我 ge 格 言 係 : just do it!
ngo5 ge3 gaak3 jin4 hai6 just do it
I POSS motto COP just do it
'My motto is: just do it!'

(PA280309)

In example (42), *take for granted* means 理所當然 (*lei5 so2 dong1 jin4*). However, the Cantonese phrase does not exert the same effect as the word *granted* in the phrase *take for granted*. It cannot express that the things or people which are taken for granted are seen as things which cannot be lost and which do not need to be appreciated. The phrase *kill time* in (43) can be translated as 消磨時間 (*siu1 mo4 si4 gaan1*, literally 'to eliminate and grind time'). However the metaphors used in the two expressions are different. Moreover, while *kill time* can mean 'to do something which is not very useful or interesting as one waits for time to pass', 消磨時間 does not fully express this meaning. *So far so good* in example (44) can be translated into the more cumbersome Cantonese counterpart 到目前為止一切順利 (*dou3 muk6 cin4 wai4 zi2 jat1 cai3 seon6 lei6*). Not only does it take more time to say the Cantonese phrase, it is clear that the alliteration in the English expression cannot be transferred into the Cantonese counterpart. Finally, it would be very hard to translate both the connotation and the spirit behind Nike's slogan *just do it* in example (45).

4.2.1.6 Principle of Economy

The principle of economy is defined as the cognitive ‘principle of using the least effort in the production of language’. As Clyne (1991) puts it, as the bilingual can select data from two language systems, he/she ‘is able (usually quite unconsciously) to select less complex forms from the two languages in preference to more cumbersome ones’ (167). Code-switching can be seen as a proof of this principle.

4.2.1.6.1 Versatile English Letters

English letters are often sprinkled into Chinese for a variety of purposes:

(46) K、L、M、L 同 H 小姐
K L M L *tung4* H *siu2 ze2*
K L M L and H miss
‘Miss K, L, M, L and H’

(PQ200409)

First of all, all letters in the English alphabet can serve as means for indefinite personal reference. As displayed in example (46), the letters *K*, *L*, *M* and *H* are used to represent the names of five females which the blogger prefers not to disclose. The selection of the alphabets can be random or intentional. Thus in ‘A, B, C, D小姐’ the letters give no hint of the identities of the referents, while in (46), the letters may refer to the first consonants of the referents’ last names or first names.

(47) Y10 出口 (*ceot1 hau2*, ‘exit’)

(PI070409)

In addition, English letters can constitute or supplement a counting system. For

instance, as shown in (47), the exits of an underground arcade are labeled according to a sequence of English letters and numbers. There is also a character numeral system in Chinese, namely the Celestial Stems, but there are only 10 characters¹⁸ which make up this system, and generally most people do not know what the last few stems are.

- (48) 下 星 期 N 樣 野 做
haa6 sing1 kei4 N joeng6 je5 zou6
 next week indefinite CL thing do
 ‘There is an indefinite number of things to be done in the next week’
 (PN250209)

Furthermore, in Hong Kong and Macao the letter *N* is always used in its mathematical sense to mean ‘an indefinite number’. In (48), the adoption of *N* can imply that the blogger does not know exactly how many things she has to finish in the next week, or, alternatively, the letter can also be used to emphasize that the blogger has an inordinate amount of things to do.

- (49) 已 經 困 左 2x mins
ji5 ging1 kwan3 zo2 2x mins
 already trap PFV 2x mins
 ‘had already been trapped for 2x minutes’
 (PF260309)
- (50) xx煲 (*bou1*, ‘pot’) (PH200109)
- (51) 仆x (PM160309)

¹⁸ The Celestial Stems (天干, *tin1 gon1*), combined with the Earthly Branches (地支, *dei6 zi1*), keep track of years, months, days and hours in Chinese astrology (Aslaksen, 2009: 35). The ten Celestial Stems are 甲(*gaap3*), 乙(*jyut3*), 丙(*bing2*), 丁(*ding1*), 戊(*mou6*), 己(*gei2*), 庚(*gang1*), 辛(*san1*), 壬(*jam4*), 癸(*gwai3*).

On the other hand, the alphabet *X* can be used to replace anything the speaker is unsure of. For example, *X* is used in (49) since the blogger does not know exactly how many minutes the person had been trapped in the lift. In (50), the letters are used to represent the name of a dish which the blogger has forgotten. Alternatively, in (51) *X* is used to block the character 街, which, when combined with 𠵼, forms a taboo phrase.

4.2.1.6.2 Monosyllabic English Words

One of the typological features of the Chinese language is that it is generally monosyllabic (DeFrancis, 1984). Therefore it should not be a surprising that many frequently used English monosyllables are mixed into Cantonese, especially those English monosyllables with a more general meaning. These monosyllables are used with semantic restriction in a Cantonese context (Li, 1996: 105).

- (18) P.s. 我 個 blog 好 似 變 左 美 食 專 欄 咁
 P.S. ngo5 go3 blog hou2 ci5 bin3 zo2 mei5 sik6 zyun1 laan4 gam4
 P.S. I CL blog seem become PFV pretty food column that
 'P.S. It seems that my blog has become a food column'
 (PB130409)

- (52) keep 住 d 垃 圾 對 你 地 有 咩 用?
 keep zyu6 di1 laap6 saap3 deoi3 nei5 dei6 jau5 me1 jung6
 keep CONT some rubbish for you PL have what use
 'What use is there in keeping all of that rubbish?'
 (PA290409)

- (53) 除 左 最 close 的 朋 友
 ceoi4 zo2 zeoi3 close dik1 pang4 jau5
 except most close POSS friend
 'except (my) closest friends'

(PR110209)

- (54) join 左 physical 個 \$500 half yr plan
join zo2 physical go3 \$500 half year plan
join PFV physical CL \$500 half year plan
'(I) got a \$500 half year plan at Physical'

(PB270209)

- (55) 收 到 norton ge call
sau1 dou3 Norton ge3 call
receive Norton POSS call
'(I) received Norton's call'

(PH190409)

- (56) 講 野 又 冇 point
gong2 je5 jau6 mou5 point
speak things also no main point
'There was no point to what (they) said'

(PG030208)

The above examples show only some of the typical code-switched English monosyllabic words in the study. These words include the following (the Cantonese counterparts are given in brackets): *blog* (網誌, *mong5 zi3*), *keep* (保留, *bou2 lau4*), *close* (親密, *can1 mat6*), *join* (參加, *caam1 gaa1*), *plan* (計劃, *gai3 waak6*), *call* (電話, *din6 waa6*), *point* (重點, *cung5 dim2*).

- (57) 你 地 一 定 要 send 返 d 相 比 我 呀
nei5 dei6 jat1 ding6 jiu3 send faan2 di1 soeng1 bei2 ngo5 aa1
you PL definitely have to send back some photos to me FP
'You definitely have to send the photos to me'

(PM301108)

- (58) 大 家 都 好 nice
daai6 gaa1 dou1 hou2 nice
everyone also very nice

'Everyone was all so very nice'

(PR241208)

(59) 唔 要 再 同 佢 一 group

m4 jiu3 zoi3 tung4 keoi5 jat1 group

never again with him/her a group

'(I) do not want to be in a group with him/her ever again'

(PQ140309)

(60) 食 完 lunch 後

sik6 jyun4 lunch hau6

eat finish lunch after

'After having lunch'

(PA050309)

On the other hand, as displayed in (57) to (60), some English monosyllables are still transferred even though the Cantonese equivalents are monosyllabic: *send* (寄, *gei3*), *nice* (好, *hou2*), *group* (組, *zou2*), *lunch* (晏, *ngaan3*).

(61) 今 個 sem

gam1 go3 sem

this CL semester

'this semester'

(PD110109)

(62) 而 家 firm 咗 12 學 分

ji4 gaa1 firm zo2 12 hok6 fan1

now confirm PFV 12 credit

'Now it's been confirmed that (I'll take) 12 credits'

(PQ140309)

(63) 去 左 澳 門 蛋 look¹⁹ ling

heoi3 zo2 ou3 mun4 daan6 luk1 ling

go PFV Macau East Asian Games Dome roll bowling

¹⁹ Romanized Cantonese character.

'Went to go bowling at the Macau East Asian Games Dome'

(PL150908)

(64) kath 個 b

Kath go3 b

Kath CL baby

'Kath's baby'

(PM220309)

In addition, it is interesting to discover that some disyllabic or even trisyllabic English words are further reduced to monosyllables after they are inserted into Cantonese. In example (61), the word *semester* is truncated as the monosyllable *sem*. In (62) and (63), *confirm* and *bowling* are truncated and, in both cases, the final syllable is kept. In example (64), *b* comes from *baby*. The English word *baby* is first truncated as *bb* when it is code-switched into Cantonese, and some young people even continue to truncate the term further, and in the end only the letter *b* remains.

4.2.1.6.3 Simpler English Syntactic Structures

Some English syntactic structures, when compared with those of their Chinese counterparts, are less complicated and are therefore transferred into the Cantonese matrix. According to Li (1996), a large part of his corpus of code-mixed Hong Kong Chinese press displays the replacement of a syntactically more marked intransitive Chinese O-V pattern by a relatively simple code-mixed structure containing the English transitive V-O pattern (107). Like English, Chinese is basically a V-O language. However there are some occasions when an O-V pattern is allowed, but this type of sentence structure usually makes the grammar of the Chinese sentence more complex. For example, sometimes a marker must be added in front of the O in a Chinese O-V sentence.

(65) work with d 講 普 通 話 ge 人
work with *di1 gong2 pou2 tung1 waa6 ge3 jan4*
work with some speak Mandarin POSS people
'to work with the people speaking Mandarin'

(PA240409)

(66) 同 講 普 通 話 ge 人 一 齊 做 野
tung4 gong2 pou2 tung1 waa6 ge3 jan4 jat1 cai4 zou6 je5
with speak Mandarin POSS people together work thing
'to work with the people speaking Mandarin'

In the above, (65) is the original text from a blog entry and (66) is its pure Cantonese version in which a Chinese O-V pattern is used: the marker 同 + O (講普通話 ge 人) + V(一齊做野). When compared with the code-switched phrase in (65), which is of a transitive V-O pattern (V (work with) + O (d 講普通話 ge 人)), the pure Cantonese structure is more complex and thus the blogger switches to English to construct this sentence.

(67) 佢 地 check 晒 in
keoi5 dei6 check saai3 in
they check finish in
'they finished checking in'

(PL190109)

(68) 佢 地 辦 理 晒 登 機 手 續
keoi5 dei6 baan6 lei5 saai3 dang1 gei1 sau2 zuk6
they go through finish board plane procedure
'they finished checking in'

It can be immediately seen from the above two examples that a lot of linguistic effort is spared when the code-switched phrase is used as compared with the great deal of effort expended in the use of the pure Cantonese translation. This is because the

phrasal verb *check in* does not take an object, but when the concept is expressed in Cantonese an object must be specified.

4.2.2 Computer-related Motivations

According to Crystal (2006), Netspeak is a new form of language. It is assumed that, therefore, the code-switched language used in blogs produced by Macao young people is also shaped distinctively by the computer context in which it is employed.

4.2.2.1 Saving Time when Typing or Decreasing Word-decomposing Effort

When the principle of economy is applied to the context of blogging, it is referred to the principle of ‘saving as many keystrokes as possible’. It has been mentioned that due to differences between the two language systems and the constraints imposed by the computer, typing Chinese requires more effort than typing English. Nevertheless, even though a number of keystrokes are spared when a blogger types in English, very often the English terms used are even further contracted so that the principle of economy can be achieved to an even greater extent. Crystal (2006) notes that the various types of abbreviation used on the Internet are one of the most outstanding features of Netspeak (89). Moreover, according to Herring (1999), there are often more contractions used when less serious topics are being discussed. As the context in which online personal journals are written is often an informal or leisurely one, it is not surprising that a large quantity of abbreviations is found in online journal data.

(69) HK 半 日 遊
HK *bun3 jat6 jau4*

HK half day trip
'Hong Kong half-day trip'

(PC250409)

(70) 上 幾 個 wk 打 風 都 要 去 實 驗 室,
seong6 gei2 go3 wk daa2 fung1 dou1 jiu3 heoi3 sat6 jim6 sat1
last few CL week hit wind still have to go laboratory
sat/sun 都 要 去
sat sun *dou1 jiu3 heoi3*
sat sun still have to go

'(I) still had to go to the lab a few weeks ago when there was a typhoon, and (I) even had to go on Saturday and Sunday'

(PE081008)

(71) 多 謝 有 打 電 話 跟 sd msg 給 我 的
do1 ze6 jau5 daa2 din6 waa6 gan1 sd msg kap1 ngo5 dik1
thank you have hit telephone and send message to me POSS
'Thanks to those who have called or sent messages to me'

(PI020409)

(72) 幾 個 唔 太 熟 既 frds
gei2 go3 m4 taai3 suk6 gei3 frds
several CL not too familiar POSS frds
'several friends whom (I) am not too familiar with'

(PC010509)

(73) 原 來 我 總²⁰(仲) 有 好 多 野 未 做 omg~~~~~
jyun4 loi4 ngo5 zung3 jau5 hou2 do1 je5 mei6 zou6 omg
actually I still have many thing not do omg
'actually I still have many things to do oh my god'

(PS300508)

(74) btw~尋 日 同 細 un 返 大 陸
btw cam4 jat6 tung4 sai3 un faan2 daai6 luk6
btw yesterday with litter un go Mainland China
'By the way, yesterday (I) went to the Mainland with Little Un'

(PC2904009)

²⁰ Typo. The correct Cantonese character is given in brackets.

(69) to (74) display some examples of abbreviations found in the researched blog entries. Actually the usage of many of these abbreviations comes from the West. For example, *omg* (oh my god), *btw* (by the way), *msg* (message), *frds* (friends). However, there are some abbreviations which are not in common use in English-speaking countries, such as *proba* ‘probation’ (試用期, (*si3 jung6 kei4*)) and *M* 記 for ‘McDonald’s’ (麥當勞, (*mak6 dong1 lou4*)). Note that in the case of *M* 記 the contraction is more complicated as it combines *M* which refers to the name of the fast food shop and 記 which marks that *M* is a kind of shop/restaurant. These abbreviations are always heard in Hong Kong and Macao.

(75) 其實未過 *proba* 係唔應該請假
kei4 sat6 mei6 gwo3 proba hai6 m4 jing3 goi1 cing2 gaa2
 actually not through probation COP not should ask leave
 ‘Actually (I) should not ask for leave as I haven’t gone through the probation’

(PA210309)

(76) 首先當然來個豐富的 *M* 記早餐
sau2 sin1 dong1 jin4 loi4 go4 fung1 fu3 dik1 M gei3 zou2 caan1
 first of all of course come CL abundant POSS McDonald’s breakfast
 ‘Of course, I had a hearty McDonald’s breakfast first’

(PB270409)

On the other hand, on some occasions, the blogger may switch to English because some Cantonese characters are too complicated in structure and it takes time for the blogger to decompose these characters in order to input using Cangjie or Simplified Cangjie.

(77) 我條褲就比支香燒穿左個 *hole*
ngo5 tiu4 fu3 zau6 bei2 zi1 hoeng1 siu1 cyun1 zo2 go3 hole

I CL pants then PAS CL incense burn through PFV CL hole
'The stick of incense burnt a hole in my pants'

(PB060409)

(78) 我 50分 已經 win 左
ngo5 50 fan1 ji5 ging1 win zo2
I 50 point already win PFV
'I had already won by 50 points'

(PK011008)

(79) 咖 哩 雜 菜 好 salty
gaa3 lei1 zaap6 coi3 hou2 salty
curry mix vegetable very salty
'The mixed vegetable curry was very salty'

(PB130309)

The words *hole* and *win* in examples (77) and (78) do have exact Cantonese equivalents, 窿 (*lung1*) and 贏 (*jeng4*) respectively, but since the characters are comprised of many strokes and have complicated shapes, it is not easy for the blogger to type them if he/she happens to forget how to write them. *Salty* in (79) means 鹹 (*haam4*), and in spoken interaction the English disyllable is not usually used to replace the Cantonese monosyllable as this violates the principle of economy. In brief, it is supposed that this adoption of English words is a distinct phenomenon occurring only when people have to write or type or when the principle of 'saving as many strokes or keystrokes as possible' is applied.

4.2.2.2 Creativity

Crystal (2006) comments that Internet users are very creative as they shape their own languages according to the unique context of computer-mediated communication. The following examples prove that a special kind of code-switched language is produced

by online creativity as English grammar is transferred to Chinese syntax in the researched blogs.

(80) 希望 呢 d 願 望 s 都 可以 一 一 成 真
hei1 mong6 ni1 di1 jyun6 mong6 -s dou1 ho2 ji5 jat1jat1seng4zan1
hope these some wishes all can one one become true
'(I) hope that these wishes will all come true'
(PA160209)

(81) 我 喉 嚨 痛 了.. 沙 聲 ing
ngo5 hau4 lung4 tung3 liu5 saa1 seng1 -ing
I throat sore PFV hoarse
'I have a sore throat... (I have) a hoarse voice'
(PC260409)

(82) 繼 續 自 閉 ing
gai3 zuk6 zi6 bai3 -ing
keep on autistic
'keep on isolating (myself)'
(PQ140309)

The code-switched language shown in the above examples appears almost exclusively on the Internet. In (80) the English plural suffix *-s* is attached to 願望. Actually this is a redundant act because there is already a plural marker *di1* in front of 願望. Nevertheless, it still creates a special effect by attaching an 'unnecessary' English plural morpheme to a Chinese noun, and, in addition, it stresses that the blogger has many wishes. In (81) and (82) the suffix *-ing* which is a marker of continuous tense is connected to 沙聲 and 自閉. Since Chinese does not have tenses, this attachment further emphasizes that the first blogger is in the process of having a hoarse voice and that the second blogger is in the state of isolating herself from others. Moreover, the syntactic categories of the two terms change after this English suffix is added. 沙聲

is originally a noun and 自閉 is originally an adjective, but after *-ing* is attached to these two words they both become verbs. The insertion of *-ing* into Chinese, as suggested by Bai (2007), is considered trendy and funny. In addition, it can also be used as a strategy to grab a reader's attention.

4.2.3 Other Motivations

Although linguistic and computer-related motivations are important in causing code-switching behaviour in the participants in this study, there are still other possible reasons for this behaviour which are worth further discussion.

4.2.3.1 Indicator of Emotions

According to Pennington (1996), bilinguals and multilinguals can benefit from having knowledge of two or more language systems because this provides more possibilities for encoding meaning. The language users can make use of enriched sources of lexicon or the varied symbolic meanings carried by different languages to better express their thoughts and feelings. After analyzing data pertaining to code-mixing in Hong Kong Cantopop, Chan (2009: 125) concluded that English may be used for a range of purposes. For instance, the English lines in Cantopop may convey the 'serious expression of the singers' self, feelings and desires' or on the contrary may also convey 'a sense of playfulness and humour'; on the other hand, these lyrics may also be 'symbolic, showing the singer differentiating himself from others'. In the data from online personal journals collected in the present study, a blogger's switch to English can be seen as an indicator of the blogger's emotions.

(83) Oh~~~Yes Yes Yes.....That's the reason I go on !

I know I am nothing if I lose all my passions (somedays I really did)

I am sureAs long as my body is moving, my brain is spinning ~ then
I am improving, becoming better and better

My best form is yet to come !

(PI010509)

The above excerpt is the second half of an entry, with the first half of which was written completely in Cantonese²¹. The entry begins with a portion of text describing how the blogger woke up as usual and then went to brush his teeth. Suddenly, he asked himself what he was doing, and he realized the great number of things he wants to achieve in his life. The blogger then switches to English in the rest of the entry (shown in example (83)). We can see that the English excerpt is extremely encouraging and spirited, and this contrasts greatly with the first half of the entry – an account of the blogger's daily routine.

(84) 唔 要 再 同 佢 一 group....真 係 have had ENOUGH!!!
m4 jiu3 zoi3 tung4 keoi5 jat1 group zan1 hai6 have had enough
never again with him/her a group really have had enough
'(I) do not want to be in a group with him/her ever again... (I) really
have had enough!'

(PQ140309)

In example (84) the blogger expresses her dissatisfaction about working with a certain team leader of a project. She switches to English for the phrase *have had enough* (*enough* is even capitalized) so as to further emphasize her frustration.

²¹ The whole entry is given in appendix 3.

- (85) 唔 緊 要 啦~ none of my business anymore~
m4 gan2 jiu3 laa1 none of my business anymore
not matter FP none of my business anymore
'(it) does not matter~ it's none of my business anymore~'
(PS180608)

In the entry from which example (85) is copied, the blogger says that she does not feel sad after graduation because she does not feel attached to her university. Her indifference to the university is further demonstrated by the use of the phrase *none of my business anymore*, which is written in English – her second language.

In addition, typing English can be a more convenient way for bloggers to emphasize their emotions. As shown in examples (39) and (84), capitalizing English words is one way of stressing emotions because the English language itself stands out from Chinese text, and the use of capitals also produces an eye-catching effect, visualizing the increased volume of the blogger's voice. On the contrary, if bloggers want to make Chinese characters 'more visible', they have to make the characters bold or change their size or font by using the mouse. All of these actions take much more effort than the simple act of capitalization, which just involves the striking of the 'shift' key.

4.2.3.2 Social Motivations

Li and Tse (2002) argue that identity construction or negotiation is not salient in triggering Cantonese-English code-switching among Hong Kong bilinguals. This argument is also valid in the present study because for the participants, the purpose of producing online personal journals is mainly to share their lives, thoughts and feelings

with their peers (some of the blogs even have a ‘friend lock’, which avoids the problems of blogs being read by strangers). Although the participants in this study project their identity through blogging, it is believed that code-switching is not the main device they utilize to construct or negotiate this identity. Nevertheless, we can still see the effects of social factors in the appearance of code-switching examples in the data.

When studying the phenomenon of language socialization, Ochs (1992) investigated how ‘gender ideologies are socialized, sustained, and transformed through talk, particularly through verbal practices that recur innumerable times in the lives of members of social groups’ (336). The current study does not touch upon gender issues but the theory of indexicality developed by Ochs is helpful in understanding how certain languages or dialects come to convey various social meanings. Ochs identifies two kinds of indexicality: direct and indirect. She provides an example from Japanese to illustrate her theory. The use of the sentence-final particle *wa* is often associated with feminine speech, whereas the use of the sentence-final particle *ze* is linked with masculine speech. This connection is made through two layers of indexicality, that is *wa* directly indexes delicateness, and since delicateness is a preferred social image for women, the particle comes to index female voice indirectly. Similarly, *ze* is directly associated with coarseness and indirectly indexes male voice. Thus, through indexicality, ideological connections between linguistic forms and gender are made. Similarly, Besnier (2003) has looked into the social function of code-switching English into Tongan seen among the *fakaleiti*²² or *fakaleiti*-like people in Tonga. He comments that the use of English in Tonga, apart from demonstrating extra-locality,

²² There is not a clear definition for *fakaleiti*. However there is a stereotype in Tonga that a *fakaleiti* is a person who acts and talks in a feminine way (Besnier, 2003: 284).

also indexes ‘deficient Tonganness, deficient masculinity, femininity and transgendered identity’ (292). In addition, referring back to the idea of ‘orientational language mixing’ proposed by Luke (1998), we can say that Chinese-English code-switching indexes westernization, modernization, high level of education, etc.

In an entry²³ talking about her work as a counselor, Participant Q used a number of English words, for example *psyche hospital*, *supervisor*, *detect*, *expect*, *pick up*, *potential patient*, *counsel*, etc. Some of these words are special terms relating to counseling (*psyche hospital*, *potential patient*, *counsel*) but some of them are just common verbs (*detect*, *expect*, *pick up*; notice that they are not monosyllables). It is suggested that the blogger’s adoption of English words may be due to her desire to sound more professional because English indexes professionalism.

On the other hand, the backgrounds of the participants may also be responsible for the code-switched language they employ in their blogs. A number of the participants in the study received their secondary (and even primary) educations in schools using English as the major language of instruction. Therefore they have acquired many concepts in English, and, to a certain extent, they are also used to expressing themselves in this language. It is not surprising that sometimes they just happen to forget some Chinese terms when they are writing their blogs.

4.2.4 Motivations Deemed Important by the Participants

Although the possible motivations of Chinese-English code-switching in blogs have been discussed in sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.3, it is not clear which motivation(s) is/are

²³ Included in appendix 3.

important in the blogger's own mind. Therefore the participants in this study were asked a closed question about the reasons for the code-switching behaviours they exhibited in their blogs. The choices were set up by the writer but were also based on the answers to an open-ended question given by some Macao young people who are not bloggers. There are seven choices presented as possible answers for the question and the participants could pick more than one choice if they wished. After selecting their motivation(s) for code-switching the participants were also asked which motivation was the most significant. Listed below are the seven choices presented as possible answers to the question:

- a. It is faster and more convenient to type in English
- b. I don't know how to type the Chinese characters
- c. That's the way I talk
- d. The English items come into my mind first / I cannot remember the Cantonese/Standard Written Chinese counterpart
- e. The English items can better express my tone or my thoughts
- f. It's trendy and cool / Because other people write their blogs like this
- g. Others (please specify)

The choices are related to the motivations discussed in the previous sections. (a) and (b) are connected to computer-related motivations; (c) refers to linguistic motivations since the choice implies that code-switching behaviour in blogs is an extension of the same behaviour found in spoken interaction, which is largely triggered by linguistic motivations (Li and Tse, 2002); (d) may be related to the fact that many participants have received English-based education, or it may merely point to the fact that sometimes we do forget some words from our native language; (e) indicates that English can be an indicator of emotions; (f) reflects that the blogger wants to establish an identity as a young person and prove that he/she is a member of a younger

generation group by adopting the code-switched language. Tables 4a and 4b display a breakdown of the answers given by the participants.

Choice	Number
a	12
b	7
c	16
d	7
e	10
f	2
g	2

Table 4a. Participants' motivations for code-switching in blogs

Choice	Number
a	3
b	1
c	9
d	2
e	4
f	0
g	1

Table 4b. Participants' most important motivation for code-switching in blogs

As the tables show, as many as 16 participants selected (c) as one of their motivations for code-switching, and (c) was also considered by 9 participants to be the most important motivation behind this behaviour. This indicates that even though the bloggers may use more English in their blogs in order to save effort when typing, for the most part, the code-switched language of bloggers reflects a spoken language in which Cantonese-English code-switching is a defining characteristic. On the other hand, (a) and (b) were chosen by 12 and 7 participants respectively, and only 3 people selected (a) as their most important motivation for code-switching ((b) was chosen by

only 1 person). This implies that although computer-mediated motivations are sometimes quite crucial in bringing about code-switching in blogs, overall they are not considered very important by the bloggers themselves. As for (e), 10 participants selected it as one possible motivation for code-switching and 4 people treated it as their most important motivation for this behaviour. This proves that for quite a number of people, English itself can be a more effective tool with which to express their thoughts and feelings; it also reflects that there is a lack of semantic congruence between some English words and their Chinese counterparts (Li, 2000: 311) that there are occasions when some semantic nuances can only be expressed using English words. In addition, the figures also indicate that identity construction or negotiation is not significant in triggering code-switching in blogs. Only 2 people considered (f) as a motivation for their blog-related code-switching and no one selected it as the most important motivation behind this behaviour. Furthermore, 2 participants responded that they code-switched due to other factors. One said that her regular habit is to use more English words when she is writing blogs or emails. This reason can be seen as a computer-related motivation because it is only in the context of computer use that the participant tends to employ more English. The other participant who answered (g), on the other hand, provided a linguistic motivation: he said that some English expressions, such as idioms, have no Chinese equivalents, and therefore sometimes he has no choice but to code-switch.

To summarize, the participants in the study demonstrated that their blogging language is mainly an extension of their daily spoken language, a language characterized by Cantonese-English code-switching. Although the convenience of typing in English may motivate these bloggers to code-switch more often when they are writing blogs, this factor is not considered to be extremely significant. In addition, similar to the

findings of Li (2000b) and Li and Tse (2002), social motivations are not considered to be crucial in code-switching.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Chinese-English code-switching is ubiquitous in Macao, especially among educated young people. This habit, for the most part, is a result of the city's frequent contact with its neighbour, Hong Kong, which is a former British colony. Although the multilingual phenomena in Macao have been studied by a number of scholars, there has never been a detailed study conducted on Chinese-English code-switching behaviour.

This essay serves to study the code-switched language used by Macao young people in the context of blogging. Netspeak is a comparatively new kind of language. It is a hybrid of spoken and written languages and is also bound by the computer. At present, English is still the dominant language used on the Internet and compared with other traditional media, the Internet contains more frequent occurrences of code-switching.

There were two main goals established in this study. First the study gives a description of the patterns of code-switched language in online personal journals written by 20 Macao young people. It is revealed that in some aspects the code-switched language in blogs is similar to that in spoken interaction or written press, but, when the blogs are examined more closely, it is discovered that code-switched blogging language contains some distinctive features. One of these distinctive features is that there are more instances of inter-sentential code-switching in blogs.

This research also aims to provide a systemic analysis of the possible motivations behind the participants' code-switching behaviour in blogs. Language, computer and

social contexts are taken into account in the analysis. This research adheres largely to Li's (e.g. 1996, 1998, 2000a) proposal that linguistic motivations occupy an important role in triggering Cantonese-English code-switching in Hong Kong and that social motivations are less salient in the creation of code-switching behaviour. The findings of this study match with those of the studies conducted by Li, indicating that in the context of blogging, Macao young people do not use code-switched language as an important means by which to project their identities. On the other hand, some computer-related motivations are also responsible for bringing about code-switching in blogs.

This study is only a preliminary attempt to investigate Chinese-English code-switching in Macao. More studies involving larger research sets will be needed to present a more accurate picture of this phenomenon. In addition, Macao people's attitudes towards Chinese-English code-switching are also worth studying, and comparative studies of the code-switched languages used across a variety of different genres should also be looked into.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Abbreviations used in the glosses and explanations of the study

examples

ADV	Adverbial marker
CL	Noun classifier
CONT	Continuous aspect
COP	Copula
FP	Final Particle
PAS	Passive marker
PFV	Perfect aspect
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive marker

Appendix 2: Original version of the question asked of the participants

1. 當你用中文/廣東話寫網誌時為什麼會夾雜一些英文? (可複選)
 - a. 打英文比較快和方便
 - b. 不知道中文怎樣打
 - c. 平常就這樣說話
 - d. 首先想到的就是英文/ 忘記中文/廣東話是什麼
 - e. 英文更能表達語氣或者心中所想
 - f. 跟上潮流, 型/ 其他人都這樣寫blog
 - g. 其他 (請註明)

- 最重要的原因是?

Appendix 3: Samples taken from the complete body of blog entry data

Sample 1

My best form is yet to come !

一早起身係到刷牙，刷下刷下唔知做咩問咗自己一個問題:

" 喂，你係到做咩啊?? "

1 秒.....

2 秒.....

3 秒.....

4 秒.....

5 秒.....

" 刷牙 lo ~ 今日我有好多野想做 "

Oh~~~Yes Yes Yes.....That's the reason I go on !

I know I am nothing if I lose all my passions (somedays I really did)

I am sureAs long as my body is moving, my brain is spinning ~ then I am improving, becoming better and better

My best form is yet to come !

(PI010509)

Sample 2

今日我地同 psyche hospital 的 supervisor 傾過未來的方向問題...

原本佢地 expect 我地係做社區和醫院之間的雙向轉介人...

即係我地要 detect 社區入面 d potential patient,

盡量 counsel 佢地, 如果真係嚴重的, 就要轉介去醫院

另一方面, 一 d 係醫院完成治療, 而又要 follow up 的 case,

出院後就會交比我地 follow....

感覺上, 責任真係幾大... 要識 ge 野真係好多...

突然覺得我係過去 4 年學 ge 野... 真係唔多 lo~ compare to my colleagues...

佢地讀書的時候真係好比心機... 好認真的~

相反, 我讀書的時候, 好多時都係讀完就算...

而家真係要重新 pick up 番啲 d 野 la...

但係... 我覺得我好似仲未進入狀態咁... 仲係 hea 中...

睇住身邊的同事, 個個都好比心機睇書... 實戰...

心入面真係有 d 慚愧呀...

雖然有 d 怕自己勝任唔到呢份工... 但係聽完個 supervisor 的方向之後

其實內心係有 d 興奮的, 因為真係可以學以致用,

而且, 呢份工似乎同我 expect 的差唔多....

同時, 我覺得可以+強我自己個人的處事方法以及留意身邊事情的深度,

改善我過去的內向的性格,

...

而家最緊要都係搵到自己的定位先...

希望可以快 d 進入狀態~ 努力!!!!

(PQ110708)

Sample 3

新階段

唔經唔覺,原來我已經番左一個月工喇.

一開始 ge 時候,係有一點要 struggle through ge 感覺

環顧一眾番工 ge 朋友,好似都唔會好似我咁要 struggle

我心諗,可能我真係唔適合番工

有好多野要去改變. 要做一 d 我個人覺得唔係咁 appropriate ge 野

business world 係好 cruel, 但我都係禁不住 feel pity for 敵對 ge 公司

我做左 several 本黎覺得係 mission impossible ge 野

我心入面有好多個問號, 不過我通通都唔會去過問,唔會去理係 arm 定錯

我 ge 格言係 : just do it!

同事間不免有 d 蜚短流長 ge 野, 真係有好多 gossips, 猜度, 利益衝突

but anyway, 無論關唔關於我都好啦, 我都唔會 give any comments

and just concentrate on what i should do.

直到尋日公司開例會, 老細會 give individual evaluation

佢話我做野好似個 robot, 佢叫我做咩我就照做. 不過就 lack 一 d creativity 同 thinking.

估唔到佢都睇得幾通透,this is exactly wt i have been doing.

佢話我應該要問多 d,理多 d, 8 卦多 d

唔. 超過左一個月, 我都唔可以話係好"新", 係時候去 involve 多 d 再投入 d

其實一直以黎, 我都唔鐘意做 d 人地叫你做 mud 你就做 mud ge 工

叫你 print 野就 print 野, 打字就打字,好似唔駛用腦咁.

而家,我終於可以進入用腦 ge 時代. hopefully next month, 我 boss 會發現到我的改變/改善!

上 week 跟左老細去應酬,開頭以為淨係去唱 k, 仲要係唱 9 點咁早

所以我就照去啦~ 去到見到, 我好似係所有人之中最細哥個

等我之前哥晚仲諗定 d 新歌, 因為驚唱 d 太舊會比人笑

點知去到原來好多都係阿叔阿嬸..佢地唱 d 咩" 血染的風彩" 哥類歌 orz

所以結果我都無咩點唱, 只係同番 d 同事玩下色中咁

唱到一點老細都話買單走人, 我以為可以番屋企, 點知老細話仲要去埋下場去 pub.

我在台灣 4 年都無去過呢 d 地方, 總覺得唔 arm 自己,

又唔識跳舞,又唔鐘意著得好辣,又唔鐘意卡仔 or 比人卡

but 老細個男朋友講左句"咁你人工係咪收一半丫?"

咁我仲可以點..... 照去囉, 豁出去~
結果去左 MGM. 大開眼戒..有隊 life band 攪氣紛,
d 人跳到超 high 咁.. 仲有 d 人著到好 sexy 猛咁跳辣身舞..
迷之聲: 其實係咪雞黎架....
喝了兩口酒壯下膽.. 比老細拉左出去一齊跳舞..
其實都係 un un 下姐, 都可能應付到. 未至於太樣衰 gua..
結果又去到 3 點. 再次以為走得. 點知仲有再下一場
去公司樓下間 d2. 不過個場比 mgm 差好遠. 台上有 3 個疑似 gay 佬
d moves 真係好 gay, i am sorry >_< 真係唔 arm 我
所以都係同 d 同事玩下 game. 將一個 coin 放在 tissue 上
tissue 放在杯上, 然後一人用煙"lat"一個 hole. 整跌個 coin 就 lose ge 遊戲
都幾好玩. 人性 ge 遊戲, 可以睇得出邊個係大膽,邊個係保守
玩到 4 點半,真正可以番家了. 鬆一口氣.
我諗我之後都唔會再陪老細去玩了... 始終.....
不過如果係同 frd 去就 ok keke~

ps 我老細是女的, 我的同事 except one 都係女的.

(PA280309)

Sample 4

今年 o 既生日

今年 o 既生日真係一點也不寂寞.

首先,在踏入 19 日的凌晨,就收到各界好友的 msg 或者是 sms 或者是電話來道賀.仲有 selena 黎 o 既陽光柑香茶.之後最搞笑係我在 19 日 1:30am 時收到一個 miss call, 之後仲有一通留言,基本上我對於半夜打黎的電話都有咩好感,而且會有 d 驚,不過由於係好日子打黎,所以都聽下.

結果一打開,係李倩停大大把聲,開心死,仲叫我打開話匣子,真係笑死人.所以我就 send 左個 sms 回佢,點知佢同呀 tine 就立刻登入左 msn,所以我地只好視訊下.視訊內容太搞笑,所以為左唔好笑死左睇 blog o 既人,所以我決定唔打出黎啦.等我以後可以留黎出搞笑書.

我地一路講到 3 點先行死心.之後我就去訓覺覺豬.

早上 8 點約了一個同我同月同日生 o 既朋友一齊去食早餐為大家慶生,仲要係佢請聽 dante coffee, soooo good!仲有禮物收添!第一次咁早坐係 dante coffee 入面睇住一大早 o 既台北.感覺好正.

之後就回到實驗室,又收到好多禮物.不過實驗室提早一日幫全部 virgo 慶生.食左 hello kitty 大蛋糕!

晚上志雄夫婦約我去吃 mo mo paradise, 好開心因為自從倩停走左之後有咩人肯陪我去食,因為有 d 貴. mo mo 真係唔錯呢,不過我係賠錢貨,食得太少.順帶一提係我自己去公館食飯前坐捉運遇到"ba 咕 s", 佢竟然知道我生日(一定係呀盈),都好 surprised!

之後夜晚就繼續去我 o 既 movie night,嘩,今晚好多人呀.而且開始 o 既時候,突然之間,karel 拿住個 cake 入黎,開始唱日歌,我以前今日除左我仲有邊個生日><我開頭唔敢認,直到佢走過黎我到!天呀,開心死,冇估到最後仲有人幫我慶生,而且係一班我從來冇講過佢地知我生日 o 既人,多謝呀盈多一次!真係好開心!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

之後回到宿舍,仍然陸陸續續收到祝福 o 既 msg 同電話,真係好開心!!!!!!
仲有收到遠從 belgium 黎 o 既 jolie 女人之 sms,真係好 surprised>< 😊

今個生日真係好開心,多謝大家有心!向你地一鞠躬.
因為道賀 o 既人太多,如果有提到你地,真係 sorry><

(PE210908)

Sample 5

嚇左一跳呢

前晚一位舊同學問我有無睇今日 ge 報紙
我話無啦,佢就同我講原來有個以前中學竟然被懸紅通緝!!
於是乎我就去翻開報紙,原來真係其事
然後佢再 sd 左段新聞俾我睇
事件中 ge 男主角係賭場 PR,就串通一個係帳房 ge 女同事
問佢擺左 500 萬 ge 籌碼走去賭,點知輸左 80 萬之後就夾帶私逃
女主角就被捕啦,男主角就下落不明
而事件中 ge 男主角背景同我個同學仔都十分吻合
而家連通緝都出埋,咁佢同呢件事應該唔會話無關係

知道左呢件事後,我都唔知同個同學仔講咩好
只係心情都會有些少起伏,同埋感到可惜
講真寧願佢坐花廳都好過係外面過住 d 擔驚受怕 ge 生活
不過如果我係澳門再見返佢,我諗我會扮見佢唔到
因為都知道佢心情唔會好過,亦唔會想見到熟悉 ge 人

其實同佢本身都唔係好熟,中學讀書時除左一齊打過班際籃球,
同埋去過佢 home 擺過一條魚返去養之外,都無咩交集
希望唔會再聽到關於佢 ge bad news 啦

後記: 就係尋日中午飲梗茶之際收到 norton ge call
佢又係問我知唔知佢 ge 事,又問我有無佢 ge 消息
原來佢想同 d 志同道合 ge 人一齊將佢繩之於法
理由&動機全部都係來自懸紅哥三十萬
真係俾佢吹脹...

(PH190409)