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THE HONG KONG POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY
THE DEPARTMENT OF CHINESE AND BILINGUAL STUDIES

LANGUAGE CONTACT AND MORPHOSYNTACTIC
BORROWING: THE CASE STUDY OF HONG KONG
WRITTEN CHINESE

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A thesis submitted

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

As a result of language contact between Chinese and English, as well as between Standard Chinese and Cantonese, Hong Kong Written Chinese (henceforth HKWC) has accumulated many unique features and has attracted a substantial amount of research effort. Major differences between HKWC and Standard Written Chinese have been described, classified and discussed in previous studies. However, at the present time, understanding of the nature of the Hong Kong speech community, the features of HKWC, the patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing, the constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing, the factors affecting the morphosyntactic borrowing, and so forth, is still limited and there is clearly a need for further investigation.

The present study takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC that is the result of language contact. It has established two models for describing and explaining morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC. The first model posits a continuum of Written Chinese in the Hong Kong speech community on a four point scale with HKWC in the middle. The second model explains the process of linguistic borrowing. The Hong Kong speech community is described as a changing multi-level-diglossic system. The relationship between HKWC and the bilingual legal system in the Hong Kong speech community is then explored.

HKWC differs from Standard Chinese in many aspects and many HKWC features have been borrowed from English, especially lexical items and certain morphosyntactic structures. The description of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC is based on data collected from Hong Kong newspapers and serious literature. In the process of lexical borrowing, two categories of morphemes have undergone changes. One category consists of free morphemes such as 波 *bol* ‘_bal’ which become productive in compounding and can be combined with other morphemes to form new words. The other category consists of pruned morphemes, which were originally part of a morpheme such as 啡 *fel* from 咖啡 *gaalfel* ‘_offee’.

Some English words with inflectional morphemes have been borrowed into HKWC as wholes with the inflectional morphemes losing their meanings and functions in the process of nativization. 番屎/番士 *faan1si6* ‘_ans’ and 貼士 *tip3si6* ‘_tips’, which can be used as singular nouns, belong to this category. Some English affixes and bound morphemes are borrowed into HKWC as free morphemes or even phrases. For example, ‘_mini’ in ‘_miniskirt’ is transliterated into Chinese as 迷你 *mini*. 迷你 *mini* can be seen as a V+O phrase and can be interpreted as ‘_enchanting you’ in Chinese apart from having the English meaning of a smaller version of something.

HKWC has also borrowed some syntactic structures from English in the forms of calque, extension and convergence. Calque forms are word-for-word loan translations.

Extension forms are derived from the calque forms but have deviated from the structure associated with the English expressions. In convergence forms a borrowed structure is embedded in a Chinese structure. 是時候本港重新輸入活雞 it is time for Hong Kong to import live chickens again is a calque form. The head initial structure of English complex nominal phrases is borrowed into HKWC with an invisible expletive subject. 本港銀行是時候提高利率了 it is time for banks in Hong Kong to raise the interest rate is an extension of the calque form, because 本港銀行 banks in Hong Kong shows up in the matrix subject position when the head initial structure of English complex nominal phrases is borrowed. 春節是時候去看看這位我最敬重的老師 Chinese New Year is a time to visit the teacher I am most respectful for is a convergence form. The sentence has the surface structure of a descriptive copular clause, but the predicate is actually a copy of the English structure (it) is the time to do something. 春節 Chinese New Year occupies the matrix subject position in the copular sentence.

Constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC have also been discussed in this dissertation. There are two types of constraints. One type is linguistic constraints, which include universal constraints and typological constraints. The other type is sociocultural constraints, comprising status factors, demographic factors, as well as institutional support and control factors. It is hypothesized that a multi-cultural

society results in a multi-level diglossic system, which leads to the emergence of more than one embedded language in the process of linguistic borrowing. Also emerging is the situation in which syntactic and semantic equivalents from different sources coexist, compete with each other, and face selection under linguistic and social-cultural constraints. The result of morphosyntactic borrowing is determined by a system of equilibrium between internal factors and external factors; when external factors trigger a process of borrowing, the equilibrium is broken, but this temporary imbalance returns to equilibrium due to internal factors. Although these two sets of factors seem to interact with each other during the morphosyntactic borrowing, the external factors tend to be the determining ones.

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List of Abbreviations

ASPT	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
CANT	Cantonese
CLAS	classifier
COMP	complement
DE	possessive marker, modifier marker, emphatic marker
DISP	disposal marker
HKWC	Hong Kong Written Chinese
N	noun
O	object
PART	particle
PASS	passive marker
PL	plural
POSS	possessive marker
PP	prepositional phrase
PTH	Putonghua
RL	recipient language
PM	phonetic matching
PSM	phono-semantic matching
S	subject
SC	Standard Chinese
SG	singular
SL	source language
SM	semantic matching
SPM	semanticized phonetic matching
SWC	Standard Written Chinese
V	verb

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Research background

1.1.1. Two different approaches to the study of language contact and language change

Language changes take place every day and everywhere because language users and linguistic environments are changing at any time and any place; therefore, the study of language change has become one of the increasingly important areas of linguistics, especially for historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. This line of research has inevitably created/caused considerable theoretical controversy because language change is difficult to observe and to describe accurately. Labov (1972) divides linguists studying language change into two groups: the social group and the asocial group. The social group pays close attention to external factors to explain changes and emphasizes the importance of linguistic diversity, language in contact and other aspects; however, the asocial group focuses on purely internal-structural or psychological-factors to explain changes and refuses the explanations from external

factors by the social group. These two research approaches have evolved continuously up to the present. Therefore, the study of language contact remains a matter of controversy.

The term language contact refers to a situation in which two or more languages or dialects, whether spoken or written, related or unrelated, coexist within one state and where the users speak or write these different linguistic varieties alternately in specific situations (cf. definitions by Weinreich 1953, Bussmam 2000, Thomason 2001a). Language contact is one of the important external factors that lead to language change. The study of language contact seems to be as long as the study of language change. As Winford (2003) states, the study of the effect of language contact has been a main point of interest to linguists ever since the earliest period of scientific study of language. During the heydays of historical linguistic scholarship in the 19th century, the study of language contact became an integrated part of the field and played a key role in the debate over the nature of language change. Clyne (1987:455) states that ‘a matter occupying the minds of the 19th century scholars was whether grammatical transference was really possible’. The linguists involved split into two groups although many of them occupied a middle ground between the two. Müller (1875) claims that language is never mixed in grammar, but Whitney (1881) affirms that grammatical transference occurs just as lexical transference does. Paul (1886) and

Schuchart (1884), among others, make statements similar to Whitney's. The debate is still under way in the 20th century. Meillet (1914, 1921), Appel and Muysken (1987/1997) maintain that grammatical structures cannot or at least can hardly be borrowed while Haugen (1950b), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Harris and Campbell (1995), Clyne (2003) and Holm (2004) think that syntactic structures can be borrowed. In recent years, constraints on syntactic borrowing, especially on morphosyntactic borrowability, have become another controversial issue.

1.1.2. Linguistic borrowing as a specific social behavior

As a particular linguistic phenomenon induced by language contact, linguistic borrowing has been studied for over one hundred years. Many prominent linguists (Whitney 1881, Sapir 1921, Bloomfield 1933, Haugen 1950b, Weinreich 1953, Hockett 1958, Moravcsik 1978, Thomason and Kaufman 1988) try to explain the phenomenon in terms of either internal factors (mainly from linguistic structural effects) or external factors (social or cultural influences) or both internal and external factors. Bloomfield (1933) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have stressed the important effects of cultural factors on linguistic borrowing. However, their studies have not considered the effects of linguistic borrowing as a specific social behavior.

It seems that the researchers in the non-linguistic field have not paid enough

attention to the study of linguistic borrowing as specific social behavior either. For instance, sociologists may study the behavior of borrowing in social life, and legal experts may study the constraints on the behavior of borrowing in social life, but the sociologists have little interest in explaining linguistic borrowing as a specific social behavior, and the legal experts seldom set restrictions on linguistic borrowing, even if substantial social problems have arisen.

As common social behaviors, linguistic borrowing and general borrowing in social life both have at least three similarities : (1) both are social behavior, by which an individual or a group of people acquire something s/he or they do not have from another individual or another group of people who do; (2) certain social criteria or norms must be observed in doing this type of borrowing, in other words, not everything can be borrowed, and some borrowings come with social consequences; and (3) social problems will arise if the social criteria or norms of borrowing are violated.

As a specific social behavior, linguistic borrowing has at least three significant differences from general borrowing. First, unlike general borrowing in social life, linguistic borrowing cannot be an individual behavior, but must be a group or community behavior in that it happens during a communicative event which involves speech communities. Furthermore, the processes are strikingly different between these

two types of borrowings. In contrast to general borrowing, linguistic borrowing is much more complicated in the sense that it takes place over a long period during which it will be selected, disseminated, and evaluated according to the criteria or norms of the speech community in question. Once this specific social behavior is accepted by the speech community in question, the borrowing will last for such a long time that the borrowed elements become a permanent part of the recipient language (RL). Nevertheless, general borrowing in social life is usually not so complicated or lasts for such a long time. The most significant difference is probably the final one: the social constraints. In the event of general borrowing, the borrower is under an obligation to repay the lender. By contrast, linguistic borrowing takes place without the lender's consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the lender. More ironically, if many language expressions or structures are borrowed unrestrictedly, this will result in an increasing weakening of the social functions of the RL, and thus, some linguistic identities of the borrower's community may gradually be changed.

In brief, linguistic borrowing as a specific social behavior should be studied from linguistic, sociological and other social scientific perspectives so that language users can learn a considerable amount of social criteria or norms of linguistic borrowing when they borrow language. Only if more findings about the social effects, whether

positive or negative, of linguistic borrowing are obtained, will the study of contact linguistics advance.

1.1.3. Constraints on Morphosyntactic borrowing

The term language/linguistic borrowing is understood as referring to a process whereby a language (RL) adopts a linguistic expression or some structural features from another language (SL, source language) according to linguistic norms of speech communities (cf. definitions by Haugen 1950b, Moravcsik 1978, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Curnow 2001). The study of grammatical structural borrowing, or morphosyntactic structural borrowing, cannot be separated from other language borrowings, such as lexical borrowing and phonological borrowing. Taken as an important phenomenon of language contact, previous studies on language borrowing concern themselves with the following four issues: what language borrowing is; what language units can be borrowed and under what conditions they are borrowable; what factors affect language borrowing; and what effect or value language borrowing has. Of these four, the second one seems to be of most importance to some scholars. In the foreword of *Linguistic Borrowing in Bilingual Context*, written by Field (2002), Comrie (2002: 9) points out:

The question of whether there are constraints on what can be borrowed from one language into another, and if so what these constraints are, is one that is at the forefront of current research on language contact. The issue is important not only for our understanding of borrowing as a phenomenon in its own right, but also because of its broader implications for studies in the general area of language contact.

As far as morphosyntactic structural borrowing is concerned, constraints on borrowability and hierarchies of borrowability have received much scholarly attention and are still open to question. Already in 1881 Whitney first sets up a scale on which he arranges the various patterns according to the freedom with which they are borrowed. Since then, various types of hierarchies of borrowability have been proposed. Attempts to explain constraints on borrowability have been phrased in terms of scale of adoptability (Haugen 1950b) or hierarchy of borrowability (Lass 1997). The goal is to describe how different units of language are considered to be easier or more difficult to borrow from one language to another. Addressing the same types of issues as contact hierarchies, Moravcsik (1978) discusses constraints on borrowing by proposing seven constraints. Theoretically, to a certain extent, such scale or hierarchy or constraints can explain some known linguistic fact unarguably, but, arguably, their explanations are limited because their theoretical

frameworks are mainly based on internal linguistic factors and only a few or no external factors. Methodologically, these studies are incomplete in that it is difficult to cover a substantial number of languages in this world. For instance, few data are from languages in China, especially from the language having the largest amount of speakers in the world, Chinese. Unfortunately, Chinese scholars (Wang 1947, 1954; Chao 1968, 1970; Xie 1990; Shi 1999, Shi et al 2001; Shi 2006b; Wu 2001; Su 2003) who are interested in studying morphosyntactic borrowing in contact situations, have scarcely covered, if any, constraints on structural borrowability. It seems that convincing models are needed to explain the outcome of language contact between Chinese and English and between the Chinese languages or dialects.

1.1.4. Morphosyntactic borrowing in Hong Kong Written Chinese

Hsu (1994) describes the ten morphological and syntactic Englishized features of modern Chinese based primarily on previous observations of other scholars (e.g. Wang 1947) and his own observations of new developments. It is found that most of the Englishized constructions are in wide use in journalistic registers, professional jargon and creative literary texts. These constructions include: pluralization suffix *-men*(們); adverbial suffix *-de* (的); other prefixes and suffixes such as *fei-* (非); *-xing* (性), *-hua* (化); increasing use of subjects; increased use of the copula verb

shi (是); long modifying clauses; variety of third person and impersonal singular and plural pronouns; and *dang* (當) as a conjunctive.

As a significant outcome of language contact between Chinese and English, as well as between Standard Chinese and Cantonese, Hong Kong Written Chinese (henceforth HKWC), which is defined as a register used in government documents, serious literature and the formal sections of printed media (Shi 2006b), has attracted scholars to study it in contact situations. In addition to the morphological and syntactic Englishized features of modern Chinese mentioned above, significant differences, mainly due to morphosyntactic change induced by language contact, between HKWC and Standard Written Chinese (SWC) have been found, described, classified and discussed in a series of seminal research papers (Shi et al 1999; Shi et al 2001; Su 2003; Shi 2006b; Shi et al 2006)) in recent years. However, our understanding of theories on the nature of the Hong Kong speech community, the features of HKWC, the patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC, the issues of constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing, what factors affect the morphosyntactic borrowing and so forth, is still limited and there is a need for further investigation.

1.2. Objectives of this study

There are three objectives in this study. The first one is to establish two models

to explain morphosyntactic borrowing observed in HKWC: a supporting model and an analytic model. The supporting model is a continuum of Written Chinese in the Hong Kong speech community, and the analytic model is about the process of linguistic borrowing. These two models will be established on the basis of the Hong Kong speech community and the data from HKWC.

The second objective is to describe the morphosyntactic borrowing patterns in HKWC. These patterns form the basis for studying the process of morphosyntactic borrowing and demonstrate that morphosyntactic structure is borrowable.

The third one is to propose some explanations for morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC. Constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC will be discussed. There are two types of constraints. One is linguistic constraints and the other is social-cultural constraints. It is hypothesized that a multi-cultural society leads to a multi-level diglossic system, which leads to the emergence of more than one embedded language in the process of linguistic borrowing. The result of morphosyntactic borrowing is determined by a system of equilibrium between internal factors and external factors. Although these two sets of factors seem to interact with each other during the morphosyntactic borrowing, the external factors tend to be the determining ones.

Should these three objectives be attained, the theory of language change and

language contact will be enriched, and the theories of morphosyntactic unborrowability and of purely linguistic constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing will be demonstrated to have much room for improvement.

1.3. The data

There are two types of data in this dissertation. One is qualitative and the other is quantitative. The quantitative data is mainly from the Demographic Statistics Section, Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong Government. The main sources of the qualitative data are based on written Chinese data and are collected mainly from the written Chinese being used in Hong Kong newspapers and other serious literature like governmental documents. The newspapers covered are Ming Pao Daily News (明報 *Ming Bao*), Sing Tao Daily (星島日報 *Xingdao Ribao*), Oriental Daily News (東方日報 *Dongfang Ribao*), Hong Kong Economic Times (香港經濟日報 *Xianggang Jingji Ribao*), Hong Kong Economic Journal (信報 *Xin Bao*), Headline Daily (頭條日報 *Toutiao Ribao*), am730 and South China Morning Post. The governmental documents covered are the Basic Law, Chief Executive's Policy Addresses of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), and The Policy Address of the Government of HKSAR (1997-2005). Some data come from Hong Kong Google. The database of English Loanwords in Cantonese, which is being established by the

Department of Chinese and Bilingual Studies, Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 2007, is also used in this study.

1.4. The organization of this dissertation

Chapter 1 presents a brief introduction of the research background, the objectives and the data of this study. Having indicated the research gaps of previous study on language contact and language change, especially on morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC, three objectives are proposed as means to filling these gaps.

Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature which includes four important aspects: the theory of language change, language change induced by language contact, morphosyntactic borrowability, and morphosyntactic borrowability and its constraints. This chapter offers an outline of previous studies on language change, language contact and linguistic borrowing.

Chapter 3 provides a methodological framework for this study. It presents a brief review of the approaches of studying linguistic borrowing and suggests an interdisciplinary approach. Based on this framework, two models for explaining morphosyntactic borrowing are established.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to an analysis of relationship between HKWC and the Hong Kong speech community. The chapter analyzes some factors related to HKWC

in the Hong Kong speech community and the nature of the Hong Kong speech community. Features of HKWC are described and the function of HKWC in the Hong Kong speech community is explained.

Chapter 5 describes the patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC. The chapter presents a brief examination of the study of lexical borrowing first, and then describes the patterns of morphological borrowing and structural borrowing. Morphological borrowing includes the importation of bound morphemes, affixes and plural marker. Three ways of structural borrowing, calque, extension and convergence, are discussed.

Chapter 6 attempts to explain the causes of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC. Constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC are discussed and a hypothesis explaining the cause of borrowing is formulated.

Chapter 7 provides conclusions for the whole dissertation.

There are five appendices including 9 sample texts of written Chinese in Hong Kong: Appendix 1 provides a text of Standard Written Chinese; Appendix 2 gives two texts of HKWC; Appendix 3 presents two texts containing a Mixture of Standard Written Chinese and Written Cantonese; Appendix 4 offers three texts of Contemporary Hong Kong Written Cantonese; and Appendix 5 provides a text of Traditional Written Cantonese. All texts have Chinese version and English version.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

The study of language contact and language change is one of the most important aspects in sociolinguistics and historical linguistics respectively. Linguistic borrowing, especially morphosyntactic borrowability, has received a considerable amount of scholarly attention in these two fields. This chapter of literature review consists of four sections: the theory of language change, language change induced by language contact, morphosyntactic borrowability and constraints on morphosyntactic borrowability.

2.1. The theory of language change

The theory of language change is highly controversial, and different interpretive approaches have been applied by different schools of linguists. This part will review six theoretical issues of language change, that is, the history of the study of language change, the principles of language change, the duration of language change, the rate of language change, syntactic change and language change and speech community.

2.1.1. The history of language change study

The study of language change has been around for over two hundred years. Wang (1991:72) suggests that the study of language change began with the famous observation of William Jones in a lecture delivered on February 2, 1786. Labov (1972:206) concludes that the emergence and development of historical linguistics has become the mainstream of the study of language change, but historical linguistics adopts and vigorously defends a thoroughly asocial approach to language change in the past half-century. The emergence and development of sociolinguistics has changed the direction of language change study to a social orientation. Other linguistic schools such as structuralist and generative linguistics have also proposed some theories for explaining language changes. However, they seem to stay in the asocial direction. The present study will divide the over-two-hundred-year history into two phases: the first one is dominated by historical linguistics before the 1960's; the second is dominated by sociolinguistics after the 1960's.

Labov (1972) divides linguists into two groups: group A and group B. Group A, the social group, pays close attention to social factors in explaining change; linguists in this group study change in progress and see on-going change reflected in dialect maps; and they also emphasize the importance of linguistic diversity, languages in contact and the wave model of linguistic evolution. By contrast, group B, the asocial

group, focuses upon purely internal-structural or psychological factors in explaining change; people in this group believe that sound changes in progress cannot be studied directly, and community studies or dialect maps show nothing but the results of dialect borrowing; and they take the homogeneous monolingual community as typical, working within the family tree model of linguistic evolution. In the present writer's view, Whitney, Meillet, Sturtevant and many sociolinguists belong to group A, while Paul, Bloomfield, linguists of the Prague school and of generative linguistics belong to group B.

The period dominated by historical linguistics is a period dominated by the asocial group and a period when the trend is to explain language change mainly from internal factors. The emergence of sociolinguistics makes the situation change gradually. One of the important sociolinguistic schools, Labovian sociolinguistics, which is well known for studying language variation, evolved from dialectology. The study of variation mainly focuses on regional and specifically rural dialectology before the 1960's. These studies emphasizing 'pure' varieties led to the exclusion of the social dimension; accordingly significant potentially interesting data were ignored. The urban dialectology formed in the 1960's changes the situation. Sociolinguists in this field inherit the tradition of the social group and their work arises from the assumption that variation in the speech community is not random but structured, and

that it may in some cases represent change in progress. Since the social context of ongoing change is clearly observable, its mechanisms and causes may be easier to perceive than those of completed changes, for which the context is often not recoverable. Sociolinguists make a great effort to develop a considerable number of new techniques of linguistic survey and methods of analysis in the study of language contact and language change.

2.1.2. The principles of language change

The principle of language change is one of the most important problems in the history of language change study. Historical linguists tend to seek rules of language change only from internal perspectives. For instance, the regularity of sound change proposed by Neogrammarians is to explain how languages change. However, sociolinguists hope to seek principles of language change from both internal and external perspectives to find the causes of language change. Weinreich et al. (1968) have proposed five empirical principles, which include the constraints problem, the transition problem, the embedding problem, the evaluation problem and the actuation problem, for the theory of language change.

The constraints problem refers to one possible goal of a theory of change which determines the set of possible changes and possible conditions for change. The

transition problem deals with how (or by what route or routes) languages change and what intermediate stages or processes a language goes through to get from a state before the change began to the state after the change has taken place. The embedding problem explains how a given language change is embedded in the surrounding system of linguistic and social relations, namely, embedding in the linguistic structure and embedding in the social structure. The evaluation problem is a theory of language change which will establish empirically the subjective correlates of the several layers and variables in a heterogeneous structure. The actuation problem explains why a given linguistic change occurs at the particular time and place that it does, how linguistic changes begin and proceed, what starts a change and what carries it along. The actuation question is the most central, since the other questions relate to it.

The above five points have become the important principles for studying language contact and language change. Appel and Muysken (1987: 162) apply these five points to explain grammatical borrowing and linguistic change. They claim that the constraints problem concerns the way in which linguistic structure restricts the type of change that is possible within a given language, and that most changes are motivated internally, but that they may be in the direction of another language. They hold that the transition problem concerns the intermediate steps in the process of change. The most immediate problem related to transition has to do with the degree of integration

of a foreign item or structure into a language. They suggest that linguistic aspects of the embedding problem can best be considered together with the constraints problem. They believe that the social aspects of the embedding problem relate to the way a particular grammatical influence winds its way through the speech of the different social groups that constitute a speech community. They maintain that the actuation problem relates to the issue of how a particular linguistic change from individual speakers is generalized within the speech community. In the view of this dissertation, grammatical borrowing is not a simple process of language change, and it seems to be much more complicated than Appel and Muysken's explanations suggest.

Weinreich et al. (1968) also propose seven general principles for the study of language change, of which three are worth mentioning: the language structure is orderly heterogeneous, rather than homogeneous; linguistic change takes place in a subgroup of the speech community, rather than in the individual; and linguistic change is closely interrelated with social factors and language itself, rather than only language itself.

All of these ideas, either five empirical principles or seven general principles, have influenced scholars who study language contact and language change and are well developed to a systematic theory of language variation by Labov in his books *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (1972) and *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 1* (1994)

and *Volume 2* (2001). One of Labov's most important contributions is that he makes language change observable and studies it with a scientific method. His theory of language variation has become one of the most influential theories of modern sociolinguistics but it seems that his strong linguistics-oriented and sound-change-centered model might reduce the explanatory adequacy of the theory of language change.

2.1.3. The duration of language change

The duration of language change is one of the important factors in language change. Unfortunately, this key factor was neglected in the study of language change for some time. Weinreich (1953: 103) criticizes this negligence that the synchronic slant has been so dominant in descriptive linguistics that students of interference have generally overlooked the possibility of studying contact-induced progressive changes in a language against the time dimension. Chen and Wang (1975: 256) argue that one of the most neglected aspects of historical linguistics, which professes to be a study of language evolving across time, is the time element itself'. Weinreich (1953: 103-104) analyzes the time factor in two significant ways: first, through the relative chronology of the habitualization or elimination of interference features; and secondly, through the absolute time that elapsed before this or that phenomenon of interference is

habitualized or eliminated.

Timing linguistic changes has developed two insightful concepts: real time and apparent time. Apparent time means studying a linguistic change across age levels. The study of linguistic change in apparent time needs to compare the speech of older people with that of younger people systematically. Based on the assumption that the younger speakers are further advanced in their use of new linguistic forms than the older speakers, inferences are made about the direction of language change. In contrast, real time means studying a linguistic change over a long timespan. The study of linguistic change in real time needs to compare linguistic data gathered at a certain point in time (T1) with data gathered at a later point in time (T2). Labov (1994:73ff.) has proposed two basic approaches to the problem of accumulating real-time data. The simplest and most efficient one is to search the literature dealing with the community in question and to compare earlier findings with current ones. The much more difficult and elaborate one is to return to the community after a lapse of time and repeat the same study.

These two approaches have been widely used in sociolinguistic studies. Unfortunately, they have not been widely used in the study of linguistic borrowing.

2.1.4 .The rate of language change

Having discussed the duration of language change, attention will now be turned to the rate of language change, another aspect involving the time factor. This section will first examine some general theories of the rate of language change and then review a specific model of the rate of language change, the S-curve model (or the S-shaped curve), which studies language change in real time.

Historical linguists have often characterized language change as a rather stately autonomous process little affected by the social factors in which it is happening. Swadesh (1951) assumes that the replacement of the core lexical item is like the decay of a radioactive isotope in proposing his method of glottochronology (lexicostatistics). Radioactive decay, though random, is in the time dimension so constant that it can be used to date prehistoric artifacts with great precision. Swadesh hopes that glottochronology would provide an equally useful linguistic clock. In contrast, many scholars argue that the rate of language change tends to be rather variable, not constant (Rea 1958, Arndt 1959, Fodor 1961, Bergslund and Volgt 1962, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Nettle 1999). However, the assumption that the rate of language change is approximately constant across all languages and all times is still frequently employed.

An important sociolinguistic contribution to the time course of language change

is the S-shaped curve (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). Unlike the constant theory of language change, the S-curve model describes the language change at a variable rate. This model is borrowed from studies of the diffusion of innovations among populations. It refers to a pattern with a slow initial spread, a rapid middle stage and a slower final phase.

Various linguists have described the S-curve model in detail (Kroch 1989, Aitchison 1991, Milroy 1992, Labov 1994, Croft 2000). Aitchison (1991:98) has proposed a hypothesis of syntactic snowballs. She assumes that:

Syntactic changes therefore have a number of similarities with sound change. They involve variation. They get a foothold in a particular environment, often associated with particular lexical. They also seem to follow the typical S-curve slow-quick-quick-slow pattern associated with sound change. They start out slowly, then, like a snowball bounding down a hill under its own impetus, they suddenly gather up numerous other environments. Then they slow down.

It seems that the rate of most morphosyntactic borrowings tends not to develop in accordance with the S-curve model or the pattern of syntactic snowballs completely in that some borrowing elements are eliminated quickly while others must take a

considerably long time to become permanent borrowing.

2.1.5. Syntactic change

Syntax covers a broad range of linguistic aspects. It is used here to refer to the syntactic use of morphological forms, the collocations of syntactic elements, the order of syntactic elements in a clause, the combination of clauses into larger structures, the relationship between corresponding active and passive expressions and others. In the following section, the study of syntactic change and the mechanisms of syntactic change will briefly be examined first and then some theories of syntactic change in Chinese will be introduced.

2.1.5.1. The study of syntactic change

The history of syntactic change is almost as long as the history of language, but the history of the study of syntactic change seems to be much shorter. Although linguists (Saussure 1916: 227, Sapir 1921: 196, Jespersen 1941: 23, 58) observe that there is a relationship between syntactic change and sound change, the term historical (or diachronic) syntax was not applied to linguistic analyses until the 1960's. Visser's *Historical Syntax of English* is perhaps the most important work in a historical

perspective (Visser 1963-69), but Hall (1983: 120) argues that the lack of unifying motivations produces apparently ad hoc and organismic explanation. At the same time, a few linguists study historical syntax in the transformational-generative framework. Klima (1964), Lakoff (1968), and Traugott (1969, 1972) develop their distinctive models in the T-G tradition. Klima uses the transformational approach and believes that syntax tends to change in the transformational component. However, Lakoff uses the lexicalist approach. She finds that what Klima has adopted is inadequate to account for the syntactic differences between Latin and modern Spanish complementation. Therefore she proposes redundancy rules for certain lexical features to govern the application or nonapplication of transformational rules. Traugott (1969) argues that there is a simplification process in the development of the phrase structure rule for the grammatical category AUX from Old English to Middle English.

In contrast, Greenberg (1966) applies typological concepts to study word order so that historical syntax develops along another direction. Scholars have used the order theory to establish word order for languages in the world. Both Lehmann (1974) and Vennemann (1972, 1974) claim that Proto-Indo-European has an OV structure. Some linguists claim that Chinese basic word order has been changing from SVO to SOV (Tai 1973, 1976; Li and Thompson 1974). Hyman (1975) claims that the word order in Niger-Congo languages has changed from SOV to SVO. There are some

controversies with regard to word order change in English because there is still the problem of whether to treat SVO or SOV as the basic word order in Old English (Chu 1987: 27), and because scholars (Cheung 1976, Light 1979, Mei 1980) contend that Chinese remains a fundamentally SVO language despite the rise of some constructions close to the configuration SOV.

Lightfoot (1979) applies Chomsky's transformational theory to offer a theoretical account for why syntactic changes occur as they do. He makes a great contribution to the study of syntactic change due to his Transparency Principle. Aitchison (1980: 137) highly appraises his work as providing a fully-fledged theory of syntactic change and clarifying the relationship between a theory of change and a theory of grammar. Nevertheless, Lightfoot pays little attention to external factors for explaining syntactic change.

Although the study of syntactic change has produced some encouraging work, it is still an area to be developed as observed by Campbell (1998: 283):

The study of syntactic change is currently an extremely active area of historical linguistics. Nevertheless, there has been no generally recognized approach to the treatment of syntactic change, such as there is for sound change. While there were some excellent studies in historical syntax in the nineteenth century and many in the last twenty

years or so, syntactic change was very often not represented (or presented only superficially) in the textbooks on historical syntax.

2.1.5.2. Mechanisms of syntactic change

Crowley (1992: 145ff.) states that there are three general factors in grammatical change. These factors are reanalysis, analogy and diffusion. By Contrast, Campbell (1998: 283ff.) states that three kinds of mechanisms in syntactic change are reanalysis, extension and borrowing. It seems that Campbell's extension has some similarities with Crowley's analogy and diffusion, so, in the following examination, the mechanisms of syntactic change in terms of four factors—reanalysis, analogy, diffusion, and borrowing—will be discussed.

Reanalysis in syntactic change refers to the process by which a form comes to be treated in a different way syntactically from the way in which it was treated by speakers of the proto-language. Campbell (1998: 284) states that reanalysis changes the underlying structure of a syntactic construction, but does not modify surface manifestation. The underlying structure includes (1) constituency, (2) hierarchical structure, (3) grammatical categories, (4) grammatical relations and (5) cohesion. Surface manifestation includes (1) morphological marking, and (2) word order. An important axiom of reanalysis is that it depends on the possibility of more than one

analysis of a given construction.

Analogy refers to a process by which conceptually related linguistic units are made similar or identical in form, especially where previous change has created a reanalysis. Crowley (1992) observes that there are some forms that started out as mistakes but have become fully standardized as part of the language. For instance, the word *_shoé* originally had an irregular plural *_shoen'* but this form has now become completely regularized to *_shoës'* under the influence of analogy. He also finds that analogy can operate in the opposite direction. It can cause regular forms to become irregular on the basis of partial patterns that already exist in the language.

Diffusion is a factor that can influence the direction of syntactic change in the same way as sound change. It refers to a process by which a new form is used increasingly and widely. Crowley (1992) explains that languages copy not only words, but also grammatical constructions, and sometimes even the morphemes that are used to construct sentences in a language. A new syntactic form, whether it is from reanalysis or analogy, will diffuse through copying. Cheng (1994) applies the principle of lexical diffusion to syntactic changes and observes that the process of syntactic change has five characteristics:

- (1) When a new syntactic change happens to a set of lexical items which share the same

syntactic behavior, the influence exercises on each item gradually, rather than on the whole set of lexical items simultaneously.

(2) For a particular lexical item, only the old syntactic rule is used in the beginning. However, once the new rule is used, for a certain period of time, these two rules coexist, and then the old rule is taken over by the new one.

(3) It takes time for a syntactic change to diffuse from an individual to the whole speech community.

(4) When every lexical item of a particular set discards old syntactic rules and uses the new rules only, the new syntactic rules completely replace the old ones.

(5) The new syntactic rule and the old one might readjust and divide the domain of rule application for the same set of lexical items. Consequently, the two rules can coexist temporarily or permanently.

Syntactic borrowing is one of the most important mechanisms of syntactic change, though some scholars have assumed that syntactic structures cannot be easy to borrow. Campbell (1998:288) provides us with two kinds of syntactic borrowing: a straightforward syntactic borrowing and an extensive syntactic borrowing. The latter includes the direct borrowing of case affixes (for example, for ergative markers, instrumental, ablative, genitive-dative-purposive and comitative), number affix,

noun-class affixes (with discourse functions of reference and anaphora), diminutive affix, derivational verbal affixes, negative affix, postpositions and the inchoative verbaliser, among others.

2.1.6. Language change and speech community

Speech community is a fundamental concept in the relation between language, speech and social structure, and becomes an important concept to explain language contact and language change. However, its definition is a thorny problem and is waiting for further analysis and explanation in that there are many definitions and none of those can work satisfactorily. Defining what is meant by speech community is problematic in two senses: (1) historically there has been a lack of scholarly consensus as to how to define a speech community because there is not a clear notion of what community is and it is difficult to give adequate grounds for deciding whether someone belongs or does not belong to a particular community as well as deciding what the boundaries of community are; and (2) properties of speech community cannot be established ahead of time, therefore, what a particular speech community is is a matter of sociolinguistic investigation and should not be presumed.

2.1.6.1. The definitions of speech community

2.1.6.1.1. Bloomfield's definition

Bloomfield (1933/2002) defines speech community as a group of people who use the same system of speech-signals (p25); and a speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech (p42). In his chapter on speech-community, he discusses problems such as the size of the speech community, the difficulty or impossibility of determining in each case exactly what people belong to the same speech community, the relationship between speech community and its density of communication, the difference in varieties of standard and non-standard speech, the main types of speech in a complex speech community, and other factors in speech community.

Bloomfield makes three contributions to the theory of speech community: (1) the realization of the complication of speech community; (2) the explanation of the relationship between speech community and its density of communication; and (3) the first careful analysis of speech standards in a nonliterate tribe. Bloomfield takes speech community as a heterogeneous community and not a homogeneous one. This clarifies understanding of the nature of speech community. And his reasonable explanation about the differences within a community, which he refers to differences

in density of communication, seems the most important contribution to the theory of speech community.

However, he pays much more attention to the intrinsic difference of language itself than that of social factors, which, of course, leads sociolinguists (Hymes, Labov, Gumperz) to develop the concept. Thus his notion that a speech community is defined as a group of people who use the same system of speech-signals is rejected. His idea about the density of communication is developed by Gumperz from social perspectives.

2.1.6.1.2. Hymes' definition

A speech community is defined as a community sharing both rules for the conduct and interpretation of acts of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic code' (Hymes 1967:18). The contribution of Hymes' idea of the speech community is that he defines the concept in the social matrix and takes social factors as important ones. He disagrees with Bloomfield's (1933) definition of speech community as a group of people who share the same language, and puts the concept of speech community into the social matrix which patterns language use. The notion of social matrix' makes the concept of speech community useful as a normative concept because the speech community enforces norms of behavior, though he does

not define what social matrix‘ means. According to Figueroa (1994:59), Hymes‘ concept of the speech community as the social matrix seems to capture the normative nature of language learning and language use in general, but this notion of community is too undeveloped to adequately describe or explain the relationship between an individual and a community and the role that language plays in this relationship. Therefore, although the speech community has a central place in the ethnography of communication, it remains more as an abstraction.

2.1.6.1.3. Labov’s definition

Labov takes language as a social fact to be the property of the community rather than the individual, and considers the object of linguistic description to be the language of the community rather than the individual. He proposes the following definition: a speech community cannot be conceived as a group of speakers who all use the same form; it is best defined as a group who share the same norms in regard to language‘ (1972:146). Labov is placing language in the public domain and the speech community is defined in terms of normativity. It is not that members of a speech community use the same forms or share the same norms of usage, but that they share the same normative system of values. These norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation‘

(1972:121). Despite the normative nature of the general definition of the speech community, definitions of individual speech communities have typically been made by Labov primarily (or solely) on the basis of formal properties. A trend in Labov's work seems to be a move away from normativity, such as the subjective reports in his New York study (Labov 1966), to more formalist definitions of speech communities, for example the use or non-use of the short a' pattern in Philadelphia (Labov 1989). Therefore, the linguistic orderly heterogeneity' that Labov claims exists in a speech community normally rests on uniform structural bases: the underlying phrase structure, the grammatical categories, the inventory of phonemes, and the distribution of that inventory in that lexicon' (1989:2). Figueroa (1994:86) argues that in actuality Labov defines speech communities in terms of formal properties, and this may be related to Labov's apparent desire to keep sociolinguistics within received linguistics and away from the ethnography of communication and the sociology of language. Labov (1989:2) claims that the English language is the property of the English speech community, which is in turn composed of many nested subcommunities. There is no doubt that Philadelphian speakers of English are members of the large community of American English speakers, and the even larger community of all speakers of English'. Labov cannot simply rely on formal definitions of speech communities and at the same time conform to his own theoretical tenet of normativity.

Labov defines non-Black Philadelphia speakers as a speech community in terms of the pattern of use of the short a' (1989:53). It seems that such formal definitions of speech community have led Labov to share Bloomfield's views. Bloomfield considers a speech community as a group of speakers who use the same language, and Labov actually takes speech community as a group of speakers who use the same varieties of a language. Labov's definitions of speech community seem to have some contradictions but he makes a great contribution to the study of speech communities in surveying language varieties, finding their changed patterns and by using a quantitative research approach.

2.1.6.1.4. Gumperz's definition

Gumperz studies sociolinguistics from an interactional perspective, so his theory is based on face-to-face communication and is concerned with the interpretation of social meaning in interaction. He relates speech community more strictly to interactional conditions: a group of speakers who, through frequent, rule-governed interaction and the use of a common linguistic repertoire of signs (thus not necessarily a single language) constitute a group. This group is distinguished from others by significant differences in language use. Gumperz (1972:219) states:

In analyzing linguistic phenomena within a socially defined universe, however, the study is of language usage as it reflects more general behavior norms. This universe is the speech community: any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage.

The norms Gumperz mentioned above are general behavior norms, and he takes the norms as the appropriateness of linguistically acceptable alternates for particular types of speakers. These norms vary among subgroups and among social settings. The relationships between language choice and rule of social appropriateness allow us to group relevant linguistic forms into distinct dialects, styles, and occupational or other special parlance. He states that the sociolinguistic study of speech communities deals with the linguistic similarities and differences among these speech varieties (1972:220). He classifies language variants in terms of usage rather than of their purely linguistic characteristics into two dimensions: the dialectal and the superposed. Dialect variation relates to distinctions in geographical origin and social background, and superposed variation refers to distinctions between different types of activities carried on within the same group. The totality of dialectal and superposed variants regularly employed within a community make up the verbal repertoire of that

community, which can establish direct relationships between its constituents and the socioeconomic complexity of the community. Gumperz measures this relationship in terms of two concepts: linguistic range and degree of compartmentalization. Linguistic range refers to the internal language distance between constituent varieties, namely, the total amount of purely linguistic differentiation that exists in a community, thus distinguishing among multilingual, multidialectal and homogeneous communities. Compartmentalization refers to the sharpness with which varieties are set off from each other, either along the superposed or the dialectal dimension.

Gumperz makes three contributions to the definition of speech community: (1) putting his theory in the interactional frame and taking speech community as a dynamic one; (2) establishing a set of analytical concepts such as the dialectal and superposed dimension, linguistic range and compartmentalization; and (3) developing the concept of the density of communication proposed by Bloomfield. However, his theory of speech community reflects the paradox others have. He defines speech community with social factors, but identifies it with languages or language varieties or styles.

2.1.6.2. Types of speech community

Although there is no consensus on the definition of speech community, both

language and social factors cannot be ignored in the study of the language change in a speech community. There are different types of speech communities and subgroups of speech communities according to different categorizing methods: English community, Chinese community, French community and Russian community are categorized by different languages; Cantonese community, Hakka community, Wu dialect community and Min dialect community are by different dialects; bilingual community, multilingual community and diglossic community are by language use from social perspectives; China speech community, Singapore speech community, Hong Kong speech community, Taiwan speech community and Macao speech community seem to be a sociological or geographical or political concept. Ana and Parodi (1998) have proposed a speech community typology which models a speech community into four small speech communities: speech locale, speech vicinity, speech district, and national speech community. This modeling is conducted by three linguistic variables, e.g., stigmatized variable, specific regional variable, and standard variable. All these categories have their own utilities for different study purposes, but, of course, they have their limitations in practice due to the complexity of speech community.

Discourse community has been proposed by the ‘social perspectivist’ for their variously applied purposes in the writing process though the original provenance of

the term itself has been unknown. Swales (1990) gives six of the proposed defining criteria which are common goals, participatory mechanisms, information exchange, community specific genres, a highly specialized terminology and a high general level of expertise. They can be elaborated as follows: 1) a discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals; 2) a discourse community has mechanisms of intercommunication among its members; 3) a discourse community uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback; 4) a discourse community utilizes and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims; 5) in order to own genres, a discourse community has acquired some specific lexis; and 6) a discourse community has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discorsal expertise.

Saville-Troike (2003:14-7) claims that an informal typology of speech communities as soft-shell versus hard-shell may be distinguished on the basis of the strength of the boundary that is maintained by language. The hard-shell community has a clear boundary, allowing minimal interaction between members and those outside, and providing maximum maintenance of language and culture, while the soft-shell community refers to one which interacts across a boundary relatively easy in both directions. It is not necessary for a speech community to be

geographically contiguous. Individuals and groups who are dispersed may maintain intensive networks of interaction because of the Internet. ‘Virtual’ communities of interest have been established world wide. Individuals may thus participate in a number of discrete or overlapping speech communities.

The theory of discourse community will help us to understand more clearly a genre-centered approach which offers a workable way of making sense of a myriad of communicative events that occur in contemporary academic writing, and help us to recognize that written languages may shape their own communities according to different language styles. There are various language styles in academic writing, so it is also difficult to say how large a community is and to which group people belong.

2.2. Language change induced by language contact

Language contact is one of the important external factors in language change. Four important issues will be reviewed in this section. First, the definition of language contact will be introduced. Then the history of language contact and the study of language contact will be examined. Thirdly, some frameworks of language contact will be introduced briefly. And finally, the contributions of sociolinguists to the study of language contact will be reviewed.

2.2.1. The concept of language contact

Bussmann (2000:260) defines language contact as a situation in which two or more languages coexist within one state and where the speakers use these different languages alternately in specific situations. This definition seems to be from Weinreich's statement that two or more languages will be said to be IN CONTACT if they are used alternately by the same persons' (1953:1). Thomason (2001a) argues that the simplest definition of language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time. She enriches this simple definition from the following perspectives: 1) language contact does not require fluent bilingualism or multilingualism, but some communication between speakers of different languages are necessary; 2) with the boundary fuzzy between two dialects of a single language and two languages, although most of the analyses apply equally to dialect contact and language contact, there are also some important differences; 3) speakers of two (or more) languages need not be in the same place for language contact to occur. For instance, the language of sacred texts and other writings connect with major world religions and millions of non-English speakers have come into contact with English through radio, television, Hollywood films, popular music, the Internet and writings of all kinds (2001a:1-3). Thomason's refined definition is a better one and can be used in the analysis of language contact in the Hong Kong speech community.

2.2.2. The history of language contact study

The history of language contact study seems to be as long as the history of language change study. It can be divided into three perspectives: (1) historical linguistic studies, (2) sociolinguistic studies and (3) interdisciplinary studies.

Winford (2003:6-9) states that the study of the effect of language contact has been a main point of interest to linguists ever since the earliest period of scientific study of language in the 19th century, and can actually be dated back much earlier than this. The major impetus among nineteenth-century historical linguists arose from disagreement about the part played by contact-induced change in the history of languages. There was intense debate among linguists as to whether the 'family-tree' model of genetic relationships among languages was compromised in any way by the evidence that many languages contained a mixture of elements from different source languages. These linguists can be divided into two groups. Some linguists (Müller 1875, Oksaar 1972) maintain that language mixture, especially mixture in grammar, is rare, whereas others (Whitney 1881, Schuchardt 1884) argue that language mixture is not only possible, but clearly evidenced by actual cases of contact.

The evidence of mixture provided by these and other scholars poses a serious challenge to orthodox family-tree theory and to the belief that languages change internally. Schmidt (1872) provides evidence that changes could enter languages as

the result of diffusion from external sources, a process in which his wave model of change attempts to explain. On the one hand, traditional historical linguists argue that a distinction should be made between normal and abnormal transmission (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:11). Normal transmission applies to languages whose components can for the most part be traced back to a single source language, and which can be reconstructed by the traditional comparative model of single-parent genetic affiliation and gradual internal change. Abnormal transmission applies to mixed languages which have no genetic links to other languages. However, many scholars have challenged this approach. They point to the fact that all languages are mixed to some extent, and that the processes of change found in highly mixed languages such as creoles can be found in varying degrees in the cases of so-called normal transmission (Mufwene 1998, Thurston 1994). Unfortunately, contact-induced change is still viewed as secondary to the central pursuit of historical-comparative linguistics.

Great changes have been taken place since Kopitar (1829) and Schuchardt (1884) turned attention to the language situation in the Balkan area, and there is a considerable body of research on this linguistic area. Troubetzkoy (1928) provides the first definition of a Sprachbund (union of languages or linguistic area), and since then there have been a considerable amount of studies of linguistic areas around the

world. Other topics such as lexical borrowing and the role of substratum influence are studied, and, of course, much attention is paid to pidgins and creoles.

This line of more linguistically oriented research is complemented by other approaches which are concerned more with the social context of language contact. Systematic study of language maintenance begins with Kloss (1927). Other linguists become interested in the studies of immigrant languages in North America and elsewhere (Herzog 1941, Reed 1948). These studies established the foundation of the sociology of language, focusing on language maintenance and shift (Fishman 1964, Fishman et al 1966). Although working within the structural paradigm, Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1950a, 1950b, 1953) emphasize the importance of studying language contact from both a linguistic and a sociocultural perspective. Clyne (1987:453) suggests that their work can be considered the beginning of American sociolinguistics. More sociolinguistic studies on language contact will be introduced in the following section (2.2.3).

All of these various types of approaches, some primarily pure linguistic, others primarily sociolinguistic, contribute to the emergence of the new field of contact linguistics. According to Nelde (1997:287), the term was introduced at *the First World Congress on Language Contact and Conflict*, held in Brussels in June 1979. As noted earlier, the major turning point in the discipline is the work of Haugen and Weinreich,

particularly the latter. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) attempt to lay the foundations for both a typology of contact outcomes and an empirical/theoretical framework for analyzing outcomes of language contact. Winford comments (2003:6-9) that:

Their work constitutes a major contribution to historical linguistic scholarship, in attempting to resolve the old controversy over the role of external linguistic influence as distinct from internal motivations and mechanisms in language development. Like earlier researchers, they emphasized the need for an interdisciplinary approach and refined several aspects of the terminology and descriptive framework employed in previous studies. The emerging field of contact linguistics owes its existence primarily to the work of all these pioneers.

Languages have been in contact with each other in Hong Kong for a long time. Linguists (Li 1996; Su 1997; Shi and Chu 1999, 2000; Shi 2006b; Shi, Shao, and Chu 2006; Tang 2001; T'sou 2003, 2004, Bauer 2006) have conducted research on language contact in Hong Kong. Li's work focuses on code-mixing, Shi et al pay much attention to the theory of language contact and syntactic borrowing, and Tang and T'sou et al study language contact with regard to lexical borrowing. Hu (2001) has also found some examples of lexical borrowing and morphological borrowing in the Hong Kong speech

community in addition to a considerable amount of lexical borrowings in English and Standard Chinese. These previous studies, whether theory or practice, have laid a solid foundation for our further studies on language change induced by contact in the Hong Kong speech community.

2.2.3. Contributions of sociolinguists to the study of language contact

Language contact is one of the important external factors of language change. We should attribute the studies of language contact from a sociolinguistic perspective first to two scholars who made great contributions in this field, Einar Haugen and Uriel Weinreich. The two pilots are intimately familiar with dialectology and with European structuralism and try to analyze the effects of contact on language. Two other scholars, Joshua Fishman and Wallace Lambert, trying to explain social patterns in terms of attitudes and conflicts arising in language contact situations, also make great contributions to sociolinguistic theory.

In Haugen's own periodization of his work, the years from 1938 to 1953 are years of active fieldwork among Norwegian-Americans. The book, *The Norwegian Language in America: A study in bilingual behavior* (1953), has two important viewpoints that linguistic borrowing is an adjustment to the host culture facilitating the retention of the immigrant language, and therefore, a natural and healthy response

to cultural dislocation, and that linguistic divergences result from isolation, convergence results from contact, and the study of bilingual system is the key to convergence. In Haugen's second period dated from 1959, his main work is language planning. His definition of language planning has become predominant since. He affirms the legitimacy of interlanguages and opposes imposition of an arbitrarily standardized language, since the standard itself is only an intermediate system which has been temporarily frozen by social or academic fiat. These thoughts underwrite the development of sociolinguistics of the USA, and also, of course, of the whole world (cf. Murray 1998: 62ff).

Weinreich is seen as the founder of the theory of language contact. He publishes his book *Languages in Contact* (1953) in the same year of Haugen's influential book. Following the publishing of Weinreich's book, Haugen writes a review of it (1954). The purpose of his book is to set up a framework of theory which will enable the linguists to speak more precisely and clearly concerning contact problems, and its basic theme is to show the effects of bilingualism on the languages involved. The chief interest of this book is its emphasis on the meaning of language contact to the individual who experiences it, rather than on the historical results of such contact. It emphasizes the parallelism between linguistic and cultural contact and pleads for a fruitful collaboration between linguists and other social scientists in the exploration of

this field. In a chapter entitled 'the sociocultural setting of language contact', he discusses topics such as the size of the bilingual group and its relation to neighboring monolingual groups, the prestige of the language groups involved, attitudes toward bilingualism as such, tolerance with regard to mixed and incorrect speech in each language, and the symbolic values of the language to their users. These topics become important ones for later sociolinguistics but Weinreich does not discuss them in detail in his book. Another of his contributions to sociolinguistics is the study of the theory of language change, which includes some theories of language contact and has been introduced in 2.1.2. and will be covered below.

Fishman, as one of founders of the sociology of language, not only makes a contribution in bilingualism and language maintenance, but also in organizing many sociolinguistic activities such as being an editor of *the International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, organizing conferences and editing some proceedings of the conferences. His first major sociolinguistic publication, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (1966), becomes the major reference work in the preparation of the Bilingual Education Act (Senate Bill 428), and then helps bring about the theoretical systematization of language maintenance and language shift as a field of study. His book, *Bilingualism in the Barrio* (1971), has had little effect on later sociolinguistics because the data are not organized sufficiently to serve as a model of how to make

sense of bilingual behavior.

Lambert's studies in language contact focus on the acquisition of a second language, rather than on the maintenance of stable bilingual situations (the concern of Fishman) or on the language involved (the major concern of Haugen and Weinreich); on how learning occurs rather than on the distribution of languages by domain, setting, group, or ecological unit. His work is built on existing social psychological theory and methods. The matched guise technique is a new tool, but the kinds of ratings called for in it are quite similar to other social psychology scales. His work is a heavily data-oriented one, and has a weak theoretical establishment.

Many others, such as William Bright, Charles A. Ferguson, Dell Hymes, Peter Trudgill, Lesley Milroy, Sarah Grey Thomason, Carol Myers-Scotton, have made contributions to sociolinguistic studies in language contact. Bright (1976) studies sociolinguistics from the points of view of language variability, area contact and cognition. His covariation theory of language and society has influenced sociolinguistic studies in China. Ferguson's theory of diglossia (1959) has an important significance to the study of speech communities which are in contact situations. Hymes (1971) edits a book *'Pidginization and creolization of languages'* which is a proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica in 1968. Trudgill (1986) establishes a dialect contact framework and

proposes some interesting concepts like ‘_dialect levelling’ and ‘_koinization’ on the background of language contact. Milroy (2002) develops Trudgill’s dialect contact framework in her recent work. Thomason’s theory of language contact (1988, 2001a), especially the theory of pidgin and creole, has built a theoretical framework for the study of language change and language contact, developing this field into a relatively independent discipline, contact linguistics. Myers-Scotton (2002, 2004) studies codeswitching in contact situations, and has established her own models for predicting and explaining codeswitching and grammatical convergence across linguistic varieties. All of these have promoted the theoretical study of language contact, although theoretical agreement has not reached and it is unlikely to be reached in the near future.

2.3. Morphosyntactic borrowability

Having examined some theories of language contact and language change, I will move on to review linguistic borrowing. Linguistic borrowing is a common phenomenon when languages are in contact with each other. It has been studied by different approaches which have produced various important theories for explaining language contact and language change, in particular for language structural change internally. This section will introduce some basic concepts before going into the main

topic, morphosyntactic borrowability induced language contact, which will be examined in detail.

2.3.1 The concept of linguistic borrowing

It is obvious that only by knowing what linguistic borrowing is can we further discuss other complicated concepts such as morphosyntactic borrowing and its constraints. Linguistic borrowing is a commonly used term, but the study of borrowing is not so common. As a result, some linguists (Bloomfield 1933/2002; Haugen 1950b, 1992; Moravcsik 1978; Thomason and Kaufman 1988) provide it with different definitions and Weinreich (1953) uses the term interference much more often than borrowing.

Bloomfield (1933/2002:480) claims that the adoption of features which differ from those of the main tradition is linguistic borrowing. However, Haugen (1950b) defines linguistic borrowing as a process involving reproduction: if every speaker reproduces the new linguistic patterns, not in the context of the language in which he (speaker) learned them, but in the context of another, he (speaker) may be said to have borrowed them from one language into another. Later, Haugen (1992) modifies his definition of borrowing as the general and traditional word used to describe the adoption into a language of a linguistic feature previously used in another. Thomason

and Kaufman (1988:37-45) make distinctions between borrowing and interference, and a definition given in a specific situation is that *_borrowing* is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features'. Moravcsik (1978:99) claims that the term *_borrowing*' will be understood to refer to a process whereby a language acquires some structural property from another language that is contemporary to it. In *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, Bussmann (1996/2000), according to the previous research, describes linguistic borrowing as an adoption of a linguistic expression from one language into another language, usually when no term exists for the new object, concept, or state of affairs. Curnow (2001) suggests that borrowing might sometimes include the addition, loss or retention of features under contact. Most of the above definitions of linguistic borrowing have mentioned the result of borrowing: adoption of a linguistic feature or property or expression from one language into another language (Bloomfield 1933, Moravcsik 1978, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Haugen 1989, Bussmann 1996, Curnow 2001), and only Haugen (1950b) and Moravcsik (1978) have noted the process of borrowing. In the view of this dissertation, both the result and process are of equal importance and worthy of elaboration. As a result of paying less attention to the process of borrowing, most previous definitions seem to have two problems: (1)

these definitions are largely based on the assumption that human beings communicate by means of orally and nasally articulated sounds the way they can be observed to communicate and not some other ways (Moravcsik 1978:95), and accordingly pay little or no attention to written language which obviously differs from spoken language, although both of them have some great similarities; and (2) the scholars have failed to consider the effect of speech communities in which the linguistic borrowings are evaluated, selected and disseminated according to their linguistic norms and language attitudes of the majority of members of speech communities.

2.3.2. Linguistic borrowing and other related concepts

Linguistic borrowing is not an isolated contact phenomenon, and it is concerned with other contact phenomena such as second language acquisition, language translation, cultural exchange and so forth. The related concepts involving linguistic borrowing which will be focused on here are those that can be substituted or alternated in some contexts. In the following section, differences between borrowing and interference or transference and code switching or code mixing will be examined.

Bloomfield's definition of borrowing (1933) is the most influential in the early study, but Haugen and Weinreich develop it and take a significant position later.

Weinreich (1953) uses the term interference much more often than borrowing. For

him, interference is the general term for contact phenomena, thus he tends to use interference rather than borrowing. In his influential book, *Language Contact: findings and problems*, Weinreich makes it clear that the term ‘interference’, drawn from the writings of the Prague school, which, he claims, implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language. He also makes it clear that it would be an oversimplification to use borrowing there (1953:1).

Mackey (1968: 569-70) distinguishes interference from borrowing and states that the former is a feature of ‘parole’ and the latter of ‘language’, and that the former is individual and contingent and the latter is collective and systematic.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988:39-41) emphasize features about borrowing, and state that the major differences between borrowing and interference seem to have two aspects:

Unlike borrowing, interference through imperfect learning does not begin with vocabulary: it begins instead with sounds and syntax, and sometimes includes morphology as well before words from the shifting group’s original language appear in the TL (target language).

Another important difference between borrowing and interference through shift has to

do with the time required for far-reaching structural modification. All the cases borrowing that we have found that involve extensive structural changes in the borrowing language have a history of several hundred years of intimate contact.

By contrast, a process of language shift may take as little as generation.

By contrast, Myers-Scotton (2002:236) argues that these proposed distinctions do not hold up very well, either practically or theoretically, although she acknowledges that the distinctions certainly aid researchers in describing contact induced change. Myers-Scotton proposes two reasons for her argument: first, borrowing can accompany interference, and the structural boundaries between borrowing and interference are blurred; second, although interference is distinguished from borrowing by happening in a shifting situation, both borrowing and shifting have the same general motivations: cultural contacts, thus, distinguishing the cultural contacts that promote borrowing from those that promote shift is no easier. It seems that Myers-Scotton's critique has missed the point. The major difference between interference and borrowing should be in the situations in which they occur. Interference phenomena occur in the speech behavior of persons acquiring a second language, however, borrowing occurs in a much more complicated situation, focusing on language use sometimes also including language acquisition. The term

interference appears to be better than borrowing for explaining some contact phenomena in a situation of second language acquisition. In contrast, interference seems to have a negative connotation so that scholars who are studying language acquisition would rather apply negative transference than language interference (Cf. Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching & Applied Linguistics 1998). Furthermore, it is evident that linguistic borrowing occurs in a much broader background than second language acquisition, and that it should be accepted by a speech community, thus neither interference nor transference seem to be better terms to substitute for the term linguistic borrowing.

Having made the distinctions between borrowing and interference or transference, I will move on to review codeswitching or code mixing. Codeswitching has been defined as the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation (Grosjean 1982:145). This definition may be broad enough to encompass just about any kind of language alternation or mixture (Winford 2003:102). In general, codeswitching is taken as referring only to those cases where bilingual speakers alternate between codes within the same speech event or switch codes within a single turn. Auer (1995:124) identifies four patterns of codeswitching, of which pattern III involves inter-sentential switching or inter-clause switching and pattern IV involves intra-sentential or intra-clause codeswitching. Poplack (1990) while

accepting the distinction between inter-sentential and intra-sentential codeswitching, reserves the latter only for cases where entire constituents from the two languages alternate in the same utterance. Hence Poplack and Meechan (1995:200) define codeswitching as the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of its lexifier language'. This definition explicitly excludes single morpheme switches, which are treated as nonce borrowing' (temporary borrowing). Researchers have attempted to distinguish single morpheme switches from borrowing, but there is no consensus on the boundary between the two.

Whether borrowing and codeswitching are necessarily differentiated is controversial. Poplack and Meechan argue that codeswitching and borrowing differ as processes' (1998:129). They take codeswitching as involving the alternation of the procedures of one language with those of another. Borrowing does not involve this alternation although it is not clear how borrowing would be accomplished under this view. Codeswitching should show little or no integration into another language. Poplack and Meechan maintain that singly occurring embedded language forms show similar levels of morphosyntactic integration to that of native forms when they appear in the same native frame, so these alien forms are nonce borrowings. Myers-Scotton (2002:155) argues that singly occurring embedded language forms are codeswitching

form in mixed constituents, but she also claims that the code switching/nonce borrowing and attested loanwords are not distinct linguistically. Besides integrating similarities from source language into recipient language as mentioned by Poplack, codeswitching, in my view, usually occurs in speech, in contrast, borrowing not only in the spoken language, but also in the written language, i.e. it can be produced by an individual in a translation context. Hence, the former appears to belong to the individual language behavior, but the latter seems more the language behavior of a speech community than the language behavior of an individual.

Whether codeswitching and code mixing should be differentiated is still controversial. Bokamba (1989) makes the distinction between codeswitching (clause level switches) and code mixing (switches within a clause). Gumperz (1982) and Clyne (1987, 1991) do not find this distinction of much help and thus use the term code-switching to cover both inter-clause switching and intra-clause switching. By contrast, Bhatia (1992) uses the term mixing to cover both of them. Appel et al (1987) use code-switching and code-mixing indiscriminately. Making distinctions among codeswitching, code-mixing, nonce borrowing and borrowing seem to be necessary for our investigation, and I will discuss them in a real contact situation later.

2.3.3 The controversy of morphosyntactic borrowability

As mentioned in the introduction, a matter occupying the minds of 19th century scholars is whether grammatical borrowing is really possible. Müller claims that languages are never mixed in grammar (1875), and Whitney (1881) affirms that grammatical transference occurs just as lexical transference does. However, Whitney stresses that two languages never mingle their grammar on equal terms (a similar statement is made by Paul 1886). Meillet (1921) defends the impenetrability of grammatical systems as an axiom. Sapir distinguishes between superficial elements of grammar that might be diffused from language to language and a deeper kernel of grammar that must be inherited. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:5-6) comment that:

Sapir's deeper kernel was morphological, and this practice in turn reflected the widespread belief that the morphology, in particular the inflectional morphology, is especially stable, because it is so highly structured that it resists both internally-and externally-motivated changes. Other scholars besides Sapir have also held this view, among them Meillet, Hoijer, Swadesh, and Hymes, though only Hymes has explored carefully the possibility of using morphology alone as a sole criterion for establishing genetic relationship.

Labov (1971: 447) emphasizes the function of system, and believes that verbal tense and aspect are unborrowable:

If one concept were to be named as central to linguistic theory and practice, it would probably be that of system'. In linguistics, this notion has developed with much greater clarity than in other studies of human behavior. By a system we commonly mean a set of elements which are so tightly organized that one cannot change the position of one without changing the position of the others. Or we may look at systems from the standpoint of resistance to change: that pressure exerted upon one member of a system produces less movement because it is anchored in a set of relations with other items; this is the concept of a system in equilibrium' as presented by Homans (1951:291). It seems to be well established that in general the central structures of linguistic systems—for example, verbal tense and aspect—resist influence from other languages, while peripheral elements of the vocabulary are freely borrowed.

Labov (1972:272-273) also believes that grammatical particles are less subject to borrowing and argues that internal factors are more important than external factors when language changes in high-level rules:

At the same time, it was recognized that grammatical particles are less subject to

borrowing, more stable in the face of outside impact upon language. This would seem even more true for the rules that relate surface structure to underlying forms, even if social factors should alter profoundly the phonetics and vocabulary of a language, and possibly the surface formatives as well, we might still argue that linguistic change in higher-level rules is purely an internal readjustment, not even remotely related to the immediate social context.

Lehiste maintains that bound morphemes, such as derivative suffixes, are borrowed only rarely, since bound morphemes usually indicate grammatical categories, and interference hardly ever results in the addition of new categories to a language' (1988:22).

In contrast, Thomason and Kaufman argue that as far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic features can be transferred from any language to other language' (1988:14). It is obvious that Campbell (1998:77) agrees with Thomason and Kaufman's view in the following statement:

Not only can words be borrowed, but sounds, phonological features, morphology, syntactic constructions and in fact virtually any aspect of language can be borrowed, given enough time and the appropriate sorts of contact situations.

The present study will strongly support Thomason and Kaufman's and Campbell's views. Morphosyntactic borrowability is definitely attested in HKWC (Shi et al 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005; Su 1997, 2003). Morphological features, syntactic features, syntactic structures and other language properties can be borrowed. There is a need to learn much more about what constraints are placed on the languages in question. Linguists have proposed some models of constraints, which will be reviewed in the following sections, for explaining linguistic borrowing.

2.4. Morphosyntactic borrowability and its constraints

It seems clear that morphosyntactic structure is borrowable. However, another important issue, morphosyntactic borrowability and its constraints, must be examined in order to understand morphosyntactic borrowing in more detail. The constraint problem has been bewildering linguists for over a hundred years. Many people (Whitney 1867, 1881; Haugen 1950b; Weinreich 1953; Moravcsik 1978; Givón 1979; Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Ross 1988; Anttila 1989; Hock 1986; Lass 1997; Curnow 2001; Field 2002) have discussed whether there are any constraints on what can be borrowed. Hierarchies or scales of borrowability or constraints on borrowing have been established. Nevertheless, nobody has succeeded, as far as I know, in establishing any absolute constraints on what is

borrowable' (Lass 1997:186). This section will first introduce the theories of constraints, particularly on the definitions and classifications of constraints, and then will examine the proposed universal and typological constraints in detail.

2.4.1. The concepts and classifications of constraints

The theory of constraints on borrowing is a central issue of linguistic borrowing, especially of morphosyntactic borrowability. Weinreich (1953) addresses the problem of constraints on language change induced by language contact, but does not handle this issue theoretically. He discusses the grammatical function of morphemes and likelihood of transfer (§2.32:31ff) and reasons of lexical borrowing (§2.43:56ff). Fifteen years later, Weinreich et al (1968) elaborate a series of theories of language changes among which the constraint problem becomes one of five empirical principles. They state that one possible goal of a theory of change is to determine the set of possible changes and possible conditions for change. The focus is on explaining phoneme system rather than morphosyntactic structure, and no clear definition about constraints on borrowing is provided.

Moravcsik (1978) first provides a clear definition for constraint on borrowing:

The term borrowing will be understood to refer to a process whereby a language

acquires some structural property from another language that is contemporary to it. The acquiring language will be called ‘borrowing language’, the language from which the property is acquired will be called ‘source language’, and the structural feature that is initially the property of the source language but not of the borrowing language and that comes to be shared by both will be called ‘borrowed property’. Given these basic definitions, the term ‘constraint on borrowing’ will apply to a statement that excludes some subset of language—structural properties.

Moravcsik’s definition of constraint has a strongly theoretical orientation. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:21) comment that this kind of constraint underlies the most commonly expressed implicational universal about contact induced change. Muysken (1984) defines that the constraints problem concerns the way in which linguistic structure restricts the type of change that is possible within a given language. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) classify constraints into three types: (1) typological constraints, (2) implicational universal constraints, and (3) constraints based on naturalness. It seems that this classification overlaps as many of the proposed constraints in that (1) and (2) can be subsumed under the general category of naturalness constraints (1988:22). Winford (2003:92) divides constraints into three general categories according to the constraints proposed by Weinreich (1953) and

Heath (1978): (1) constraints based on congruence of morphological structures, (2) constraints based on transparency/markedness, and (3) constraints based on functional considerations. There are some similarities between Thomason and Kaufman's (1) and Winford's (1), and between (3) and (2). It seems that most of the scholars define constraints only from formal considerations but Winford and Campbell define constraint in terms of both formal and functional considerations. In contrast to Winford's classification, Campbell (1989) puts functional considerations under universal constraints.

In contrast to the above definitions and classifications, my definition of constraint refers to the way in which linguistic structural and functional restrictions influence language change induced by language contact. The constraints on linguistic borrowing will be divided into two categories: (1) constraints based on language universals, and (2) constraints based on typology of language. The constraints in Thomason and Kaufman's (3) and Winford's (2) and (3) will be subsumed under my (1), constraints based on language universals. The following review will follow this classification.

2.4.2. The problem of universal constraints

It seems that language universals are parts of the factors which constrain

linguistic borrowing. A considerable amount of universals of morphosyntactic borrowing has been proposed. Moravcsik's universals of constraints will be examined first before the review moves to other topics.

Moravcsik (1978) addresses the issues of universal constraints and identifies seven constraints on borrowing: (1) non-lexical properties of a language cannot be borrowed unless lexical items have been borrowed first; (2) no member of an unaccentable class (e.g. bound morphemes) can be borrowed unless a member of an unaccentable class which contains the unaccentable members (e.g. an inflected word) is borrowed first; (3) a noun must be borrowed before any non-nominal lexemes can be borrowed; (4) a lexical item whose meaning is verbal can never be borrowed; (5) inflectional affixes cannot be borrowed before some derivational affix is borrowed; (6) grammatical morphemes must be borrowed with their linear order with respect to their head; and (7) if a class contains (some) uninflected words, at least some of the words borrowed into that class must be uninflected. The most commonly expressed implicational universal constraint, which is one of the constraints Moravcsik provided, is no structural borrowing without lexical borrowing. Other linguists, e.g. Frachtenberg (1918:177), Hoijer (1948) and Comrie (1981: 202-203) propose similar constraints. Campbell (1989) criticizes Moravcsik's universal constraints of borrowing and accepts only the second constraint.

After examining Moravcsik's universal constraints of borrowing, I will discuss the widely recognized universal constraints, which include constraints based on structural compatibility, grammatical hierarchies or scales, frequency, equivalence and grammatical gap.

2.4.2.1. Structural compatibility

Many linguists, such as Meillet (1921), Weinreich (1953), Allen (1980), Bickerton (1981), Aitchison (1981) suggest that structural compatibility is a requirement for morphosyntactic borrowing. Meillet (1921[1914]:84, 87) claims that structural borrowing is rare and that grammatical borrowing is possible only between very similar systems, e.g. dialects of the same language. Having quoted Jakobson's statement that a language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its tendencies of development', Weinreich (1953:25) goes further to suggest that language contact and the resulting interference could be considered to have a trigger effect, releasing or accelerating developments which mature independently. Allen (1980: 380) also stresses the important effect of syntactic similarity between two languages for borrowing. Bickerton (1981:50) claims that:

Languages, even creoles, are systems, systems have structure, and things incompatible

with that structure cannot be borrowed; SVO languages cannot borrow a set of postpositions, to take an extreme and obvious case.

Aitchison (1981:121) claims that a language tends to select for borrowing those aspects of the donor language which superficially correspond fairly closely to aspects already in its own.

Structural compatibility shows that it ought to be easier to borrow structures from source languages which are similar to the structures of the borrowing languages (at least do not conflict with the borrowing language basic structures) than to borrow structures which go against the structural grain of the borrowing language (Campbell 1989). This universal constraint seems not to be any absolute. Campbell (1989) provides some counter-examples. It seems unclear as to what determines structural compatibility or incompatibility and how one determines it. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:15ff.) state that external factors can overcome structural resistance to borrowing.

2.4.2.2. Grammatical hierarchies or scales

Linguists, who confirm that the morphosyntactic structures can be borrowed, usually acknowledge that some linguistic units are much easier than others to be

borrowed, and the linguistic borrowability should be based on rankings of grammatical categories. The study of codeswitching and code-mixing also involves these hierarchies. Five types of hierarchies or scales will be introduced below: Whitney's grammatical hierarchy, Haugen's scale of adoptability, Ross's hierarchy of linguistic units, Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale and Field's borrowing hierarchy.

Whitney's grammatical hierarchy (1881):

nouns > other parts of speech > suffixes > inflections > sounds

Haugen's scale of adoptability (1950b):

nouns > verbs > adjectives > adverbs, prepositions, interjections

Ross's hierarchy of linguistic units (1988):

lexical items belonging to open sets > lexical items belonging to closed sets > syntax of non-bound units and syntactic typology > non-bound functors > bound morphemes > phonemes

Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale (1988):

- (1) Casual contact: lexical borrowing only
- (2) Slightly more intense contact: slight structural borrowing
- (3) More intense contact: slightly more structural borrowing

In syntax, a complete change from, say, SOV to SVO syntax will not occur here, but a

few aspects of such a switch may be found, as, for example, borrowed postpositions in an otherwise prepositional language (or vice versa).

(4) Strong cultural pressure: moderate structural borrowing

Major structural features that cause relatively little typological change. Fairly extensive word order changes will occur at this stage, as will other syntactic changes that cause little categorial alteration. In morphology, borrowed inflectional affixes and categories (e.g., new cases) will be added to native words especially if there is a good typological fit in both category and ordering.

(5) Very strong cultural pressure: heavy structural borrowing

Major structural features that cause significant typological disruption: added morphophonemic rules; loss of phonemic contrasts and of morphophonemic rules; changes in word structure rules (e.g. adding prefixes in a language that was exclusively suffixing or a change from flexional toward agglutinative morphology); categorial as well as more extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax (e.g., development of ergative morphosyntax); and added concord rules, including bound pronominal elements.

Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale is proposed according to typological distance. They assume that, in the absence of a close typological fit between a particular source language and the borrowing language structure, features lower on the scale will not be borrowed before features higher on the scale are borrowed.

Field's borrowing hierarchy (2002):

content item > function word > agglutinating affix > fusional affix

The hierarchies of borrowability always combine compatibility and frequency.

Borrowable forms tend to be compatible, and members of certain borrowable form classes are borrowed more frequently than those of other form classes, for instance, nouns more than either verbs or adjectives.

However, Curnow (2001:435) suggests that the attempt to develop any universal hierarchy of borrowing should perhaps be abandoned.

2.4.2.3. Frequency

Researchers have also paid much attention to frequency in the study of constraints in morphosyntactic borrowing. Anttila (1989:187) observes that words with high local frequency tend to be the last ones to be changed by resisting pronunciation borrowing. Weinreich (1953:16), and Van Hout and Muysken (1994:42) stress the roles of frequency and equivalence in borrowing. Frequency refers to how often specific items occur in a source language. Field (2002: 5-6) observes that there are three points of caution when considering frequency as a cause. The first point is that its effects appear primarily with respect to certain morpheme types, i.e. those constituting content items such as nouns, verbs, adjectives. By contrast, grammatical

morphemes such as function words, roots, or affixes, are clearly not borrowed on this basis. The second point is that it remains to be demonstrated why core vocabulary items are almost never borrowed or replaced since they are as frequent as one might think. The final point is its overall effect may depend on other linguistic factors and social factors.

2.4.2.4. Equivalence

Field (2002: 5) suggests that equivalence pertains to word classes, e.g. whether or not a particular form finds a structural or formal equivalent, which will either facilitate or inhibit its inherent borrowability. He points out that the morphological character of each language will vary, but a scale for each language needs to be proposed to identify more precisely where the two languages may indeed have potential correspondences and mismatches among their diverse form-meaning sets (2002:7). He observes that identifying corresponding nominals seems to be easier than others in that nominal classes appear to be more homogeneous across languages. He also observes that it may be difficult to establish correspondence between a relatively opaque grammatical concept with an affix, and another with an individual function word on both formal and semantic grounds.

2.4.2.5. Grammatical gap

Grammatical gap seems to be one of the most important factors in morphosyntactic borrowing. Hockett (1958:403-404) proposes two motives to describe conditions for borrowing: the prestige motive and the need-filling motive. The need-filling motive refers to filling a gap in the borrowing idiolect. Vachek (1972: 221-2) combines both the structural compatibility constraints and the filling of grammatical gaps in his claim that the influence of external factors upon the development of the structure of language could only assert itself because its assertion was in harmony with the needs and wants of the structure exposed to that influence. Heath (1978:115-116) proposes functional constraints on borrowing which include a version of gap-filling:

Only those morphemes have actually been diffused which contribute something to the borrowing language which was previously lacking...morphemic borrowing is viewed in its therapeutic aspect. Borrowings are interpreted as devices to fill functional gaps.

Campbell (1989) provides an example of such gap-filling in Pipil complex sentences. The example shows that Pipil acquired a variety of coordinate conjunctions through the borrowing of Spanish conjunctions and the reshaping of certain relational

nouns to function as conjunctions for filling the ‘grammatical gaps’ in contact with Spanish.

2.4.3 Typological constraints

Having introduced universal constraints, I will turn to typological constraints. Typological distance and typological cycle are two kinds of typological constraints, which will be introduced in the following sections.

2.4.3.1. Typological distance

Weinreich (1953:61) claims that typological differences in word structure may inhibit direct borrowing and promote the use of strategies like loanshifts or loan translations instead, when contact is sufficiently intense. He cites as an example the different types of borrowing from Sanskrit and Chinese into Tibetan. Tibetan has borrowed directly from Chinese because of the similarity in word structure between the two languages, but has resorted to loan translations in borrowing from Sanskrit because of the mismatch between their word structures.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988:72-73) suggest that the notion of typological distance refers to a measure of structural similarity that applies to linguistic categories

and their combinations, including ordering relations. They assume that:

The more internal structure a grammatical subsystem has, the more intricately interconnected its categories will be (see Weinreich 1953: 35); therefore, the less likely its elements will be to match closely, in the typological sense, the categories and combinations of a functionally analogous subsystem in another language. Conversely, less highly structured subsystems will have relatively independent elements, and the likelihood of a close typological fit with corresponding elements in another language will be greater.

2.4.3.2. Typological cycle

Typology cycle is a term which explains a tendency for languages to change typologically according to a cycle. Isolating languages tend to move towards agglutinating structure, agglutinating languages tend to move towards the inflectional type, and finally, inflecting languages tend to become less inflectional over time and more isolating (cf. Crowley 1992). This cycle is shown in the diagram below:

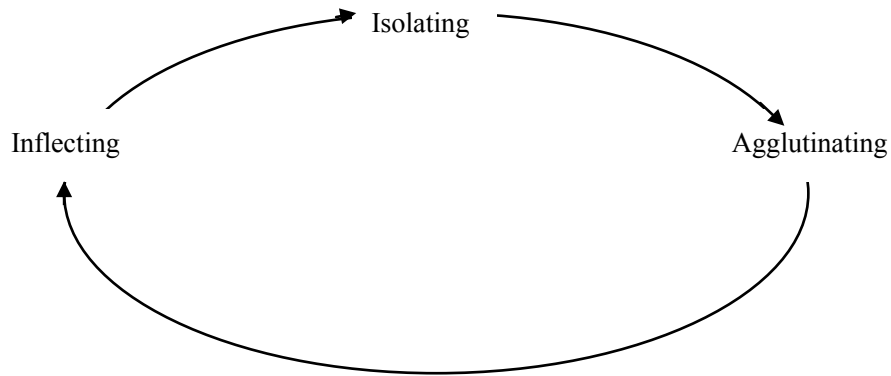


Figure 1. The typological cycle

According to this theory of typological cycle, Field (2002) argues that the borrowing language's morphological typology...whether it is isolating, agglutinating, or fusional...will constrain the borrowing. An isolating language can borrow neither agglutinating nor fusional morphology. An agglutinating language can borrow agglutinating, but not fusional morphology. A fusional language can borrow both agglutinating and fusional morphology. And of course, all languages can borrow isolating morphology (cf. Comrie's statement, 2002).

2.4.4. Summary

After examining previous studies on constraints of borrowing, Thomason and Kaufman (1988:13-14) strongly criticize linguists who overestimate the effect of linguistic constraints on linguistic borrowing as follows:

Most linguists have been approaching the problem from the wrong direction. From Meillet, Sapir, and the Prague linguists to Weinreich to the most modern generativists, the heirs of Saussure have proposed linguistic constraints are all based ultimately on the premise that the structure of a language determines what can happen to it as a result of outside influence. And they all fail. As far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language; and implicational universals that depend solely on linguistic properties are similarly invalid. This assertion flatly contradicts most older views on the subject and some newer ones as well, but solid evidence has been available and in print for many years.

The author agrees with this statement. The linguistic constraints would be effective only in the linguistic situation in which there is no or little social influence on linguistic borrowing. The greater the social influence is, the less effect the linguistic constraints have. How social factors influence linguistic borrowing, especially morphosyntactic borrowing, will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Methodological considerations

The research methodologies of social sciences are similar to those of natural sciences but social work researchers may have their own philosophical assumptions, principles and research methodologies. The three approaches, positivism, interpretive social science and critical social science¹, based on a major reevaluation of social sciences, are the core ideas distilled from many specific arguments. Most social work researchers operate primarily within one approach but many combine elements from the others. The decision to use multi-methodologies in this study is due to the significant social characteristics of language contact. Approaches to be used in this study will be introduced in the following two sections (3.1 and 3.2) and two theoretic models will be proposed (3.2.1 to 3.2.2).

3.1. Approaches

It is obvious that different research objectives have their own methodologies. It has been widely acknowledged that the study of language contact cannot use approaches as exact as the study of language structure itself can. Language contact,

closely related to sociocultural settings, has been studied from many approaches, and there are three main approaches in the studies of language contact: structural approach or asocial approach, sociocultural approach, and a combination of sociocultural and structural approaches (Weinreich 1953:111ff). It seems that neither the structural approach nor the sociocultural approach can be effective in resolving problems, and it seems that a combination of sociocultural and structural approaches can provide a better explanation for language contact and language change. Haugen (1950b, 1953), Weinreich (1953) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988) all studied language contact from both a linguistic and a sociocultural perspective. Nevertheless, when they come to structural borrowing, they resort more to a structural approach than to sociocultural approaches. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 36) state that:

Our perspective is that of the historical linguist, not of the sociolinguist. To anthropologists and sociolinguists, the sociolinguistic/ sociocultural aspect of our analysis will seem very shallow.

As we have said, our main goal is to describe and analyze linguistic results of language contact situations, and to correlate these results with certain fairly general kinds of social factors. So, although we argue that social factors are the primary determinants of the linguistic outcome of contact situations, our focus is on systematizing the linguistic facts rather than on the various kinds of social influences.

Their statement is a modest one in that they have gone beyond a mere description and have made significant contributions to the study of sociocultural influences on language contact and language change. In contrast to theirs, the perspective of the present study is that of sociolinguistics and contact linguistics, but not of historical linguistics. This study will therefore use an interdisciplinary approach to explain the relationships between social influences and linguistic results of borrowing in language contact situations as described by Clyne (2003:1):

Language contact is a multidimensional, multidisciplinary field in which interrelationships hold the key to the understanding of how and why people use language/s the way they do.

This includes interrelations between the structural linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic; between typology and language use; between macro- and microdimensions; between variation and change; between synchrony and diachrony; between the linguistic, sociological, demographic and political.

Linguistic borrowing is a diachronic or historical process happening in a speech community, and the result of this process should be studied in a combination of descriptive, diachronic and sociolinguistic approaches. In this study, a structuralist

descriptive method will be used to analyze the data collected; and the sociolinguistic theory of co-variation will be used to explain the causes of language change.

3.2. Models for explaining morphosyntactic borrowing

Two models for explaining morphosyntactic borrowing are to be established here: (1) the continuum of written Chinese in the Hong Kong speech community, and (2) a model for explaining the process of linguistic borrowing. (1) is a supporting model and (2) is an analytic framework. These models are built in the context of the language situation in Hong Kong.

3.2.1. The continuum of written Chinese in the Hong Kong speech community

Shi (2006b) observes that written Chinese in Hong Kong forms a continuum. At one end is written Cantonese, and at the other end is Standard Chinese. In the middle of the continuum are many varieties of written Chinese but only two forms have gained enough social and linguistic significance. One of them is a mixture of Standard Chinese and written Cantonese, and the other form is HKWC.

Myers-Scotton (2002) sets up a Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model to explain

codeswitching where one language sets the morphosyntactic frame of a bilingual clause and another language supplies some words or phrases to that frame. The current study uses a four-point scale to describe the continuum of written Chinese in Hong Kong, based on Shi's three-point continuum and Myers-Scotton's MFL model. The four-point continuum turns a variant, Hong Kong Written Chinese, in Shi's three-point scale into a point of the continuum. A significant difference between my model and the MFL model is that there is more than one embedding language—here I take a dialect as a language—in my model.

The four-point scale in the continuum of this study is shown in Figure 2. Point 1 represents Standard Written Chinese (SWC, see sample text 1 in Appendix 1); point 2 is HKWC (see sample text 2-3 in Appendix 2); point 3 is a Mixture of Standard Chinese and Written Cantonese (see sample text 4-5 in Appendix 3); point 4 is Written Cantonese (see sample text 6-8 in Appendix 4 and sample text 9 in Appendix 5). SWC used in the Hong Kong speech community may be slightly different from that used in Mainland China. A few Cantonese lexical elements may be borrowed into SWC although there is no embedded language there. HKWC has two embedding languages: English and Cantonese. The Mixture of Standard Chinese and Written Cantonese has no matrix language or embedding languages because none of them can be identified as the matrix language or the embedding language. Written Cantonese

can be roughly divided into two categories: Traditional Written Cantonese and Contemporary Hong Kong Written Cantonese. Traditional Written Cantonese is found in the scripts of Cantonese opera, local almanac, and Cantonese literature before the sixties, which often has Classical Chinese as embedded language, while Contemporary Hong Kong Written Cantonese is the form used in many comic books or magazines catering to housewives and blue-collar workers, which has two embedding languages: Standard Modern Written Chinese and English.

Similar distinction is also found in other literature (e.g. Snow 2004). Snow (2004:153) has found that by the 1980s there were at least four different styles of Cantonese writing in Hong Kong's newspapers: (1) Saam kap dai; (2) mixed Standard Chinese and Cantonese; (3) Cantonese only in dialogue, a style in which dialogue is written in Cantonese, adhering closely to spoken Cantonese norms, but narrative text is written in SWC; and (4) colloquial Cantonese, a style in which everything is written in Cantonese. According to classification of this study, the first style Saam kap dai of Snow (2004) is Traditional Written Cantonese; the second one is a Mixture of Standard Chinese and Written Cantonese; the third one is HKWC and the fourth one is Contemporary Hong Kong Written Cantonese.

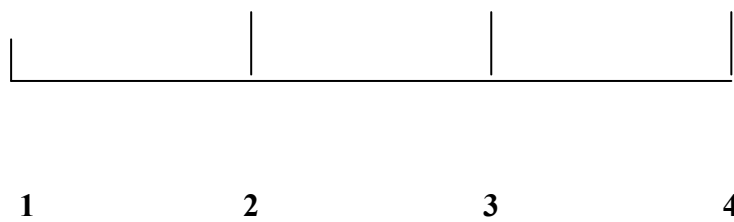


Figure 2. The continuum of written Chinese in the Hong Kong speech community

1: Standard Written Chinese (SWC)

2: Hong Kong Written Chinese (HKWC)

3: A Mixture of Standard Chinese and Written Cantonese

4: Written Cantonese

3.2.2. The process of linguistic borrowing

Linguistic borrowing is constrained internally and externally, and the process of linguistic borrowing is closely related to speech communities. The study of linguistic borrowing therefore must consider the effect of speech communities in which the borrowed forms, spoken or written, will be selected, evaluated and disseminated according to their linguistic norms and language attitudes of the majority of their members.

Figure 3 adapts Weinreich's (1953:11) concepts of speech borrowing and language

borrowing, and the definition of linguistic borrowing discussed above (see 1.1.3 and 2.3.1) to describe the process of linguistic borrowing. Speech borrowing is an individual act, while language borrowing is a collective act or speech community's act. Written form borrowing is considered linguistic borrowing for the purpose of this study. It includes collective borrowings and a few individual borrowings², that is to say, most of the written form borrowings are language borrowings and a few of them are speech borrowings. The figure shows that speech borrowing may become written form borrowing or evolve to language borrowing of spoken form, but borrowing of written form does not necessarily come from speech borrowing. This provides an explanation for the sources of linguistic borrowing in HKWC. Speech borrowings, written form borrowings or language borrowings may not all evolve into permanent borrowings because some of them will disappear over time or be eliminated by external or internal factors. A permanent borrowing generally goes through a process of selection, evaluation, nativization and diffusion in a speech community.

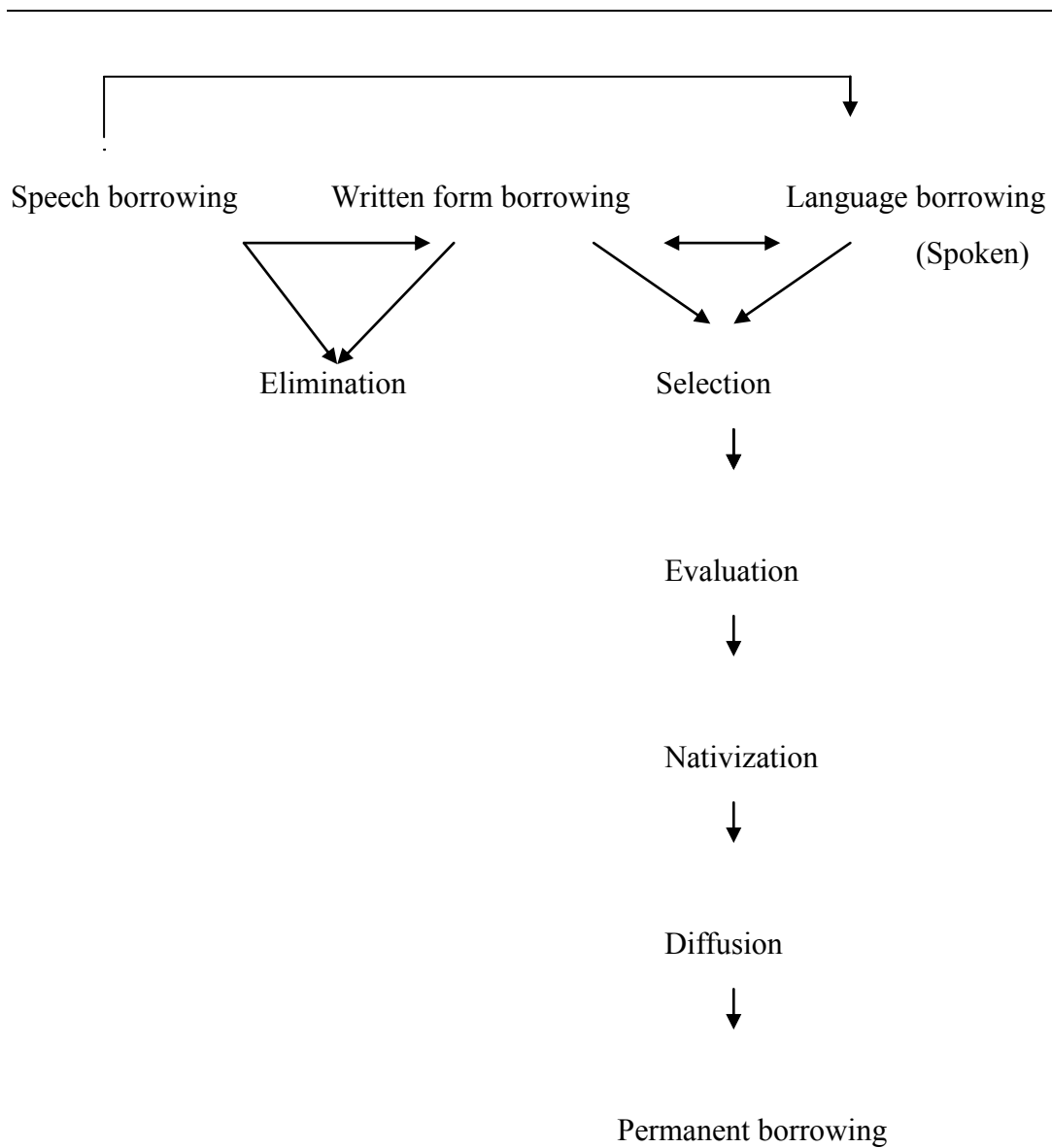


Figure 3. The process of linguistic borrowing

The disappearance of L 牌 *el loul paai4* 'L plate' in the Hong Kong speech community is an example of elimination (Chan and Kwok 1982: 28-29). This expression is a sinicized form of the letter 'L' plus the Chinese word 牌 *paai4* 'plate', meaning a plate bearing the letter 'L'. The letter 'L' stands for 'learner' and learner

drivers in Hong Kong are required by law to display such a plate on their vehicles. The idea of this metaphorically borrowed word is that the person is still a new hand, bumbling and incompetent as learner drivers tend to be when they are driving. A person like that would be described as an L 牌. It was widely used in the fifties, but cannot be understood by the majority of the population today.

Selection is a process to choose which form or which Chinese character to use in the borrowing. In lexical borrowing, there are usually many forms to choose from (see 5.2.1). For example, the English word *fans* has three forms in HKWC: (1) *fans*, pure borrowing of an English word; (2) 番士 *fann1si6*, a phonetic matching (PM); and (3) 番屎 *fann1si6*, also a phonetic matching (PM). From (2) and (3) we can see that there are many choices for phonetic matching since there are many homographs that can be used. The English word *case* also has three forms in HKWC: (1) K 士 *kei1si6*, (2) 其 士 *kei1si6* and (3) 畸 士 *kei1si6*. These three forms are all coined according to phonetic matching. All three select 士 to match English *se* [s], but the first form picks an English letter K, the second form selects a Chinese character 其 and the third form takes 畸 to match English *ca* [kei]. It seems that 士 *si6* is a favorite for Hong Kong people when they use the phonetic matching model, as in 巴士 *baa1si6* ‘bus’, 的士 *dik1si6* ‘taxi’, 貼士 *tip3si6* ‘tips’, 甫士 *pou2 si6* ‘post’, 波士 *bo1si6* ‘boss’, 芝士 *zi1si6*, 碌士 *luk1si6* ‘notes’, 多士 *do1si6* ‘toast’, 飛士 *fei1si6* ‘face’, 灰士 *fiu1si6*

fuse‘, 起士 *gat1si6* guts‘, 卡士 *kaal1si6* cast‘, 沙士 *saal1si6* SARS, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome‘, 曬士 *saail1si6* size‘ and 錫士 *sek1si6* sexy‘.

Evaluation means that language users make a judgment about language borrowing and the borrowed forms. For example, Lu Xun, Qu Qiubai and other well-known modern Chinese writers all favored Europeanization of Chinese grammar and introduced foreign grammatical elements into their writings (Kubler 1985: 30-31). Lu thought that if one wishes to be subtle in speech, traditional Chinese grammar is not enough. Qu took Europeanized grammar to be a new grammar. The positive evaluation of linguistic borrowing by celebrities has affected society and leads to an increase of Europeanized elements in modern Chinese grammar. The effect of such positive evaluation can also be found in the morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC.

Nativization is a process in which the borrowed linguistic forms gradually become part of the recipient language. Both assimilated borrowing which includes phonetic matching, semanticized phonetic matching and phono-semantic matching, and totally assimilated borrowing which includes calque forms and semantic translation are the outcome of nativization (see 5.2.1). In the process of lexical borrowing in HKWC, two categories of morphemes have undergone changes. One category consists of free morphemes such as 波 *bol* ball‘, which become productive in compounding and can be combined with other morphemes to form new words. The

other category consists of pruned morphemes, which were originally part of a morpheme, such as 啡 *feɪ* from 咖啡 *gaalfeɪ* ‘coffee’ (see 5.2.2). In the process of morphological borrowing, some English words with inflectional morphemes are borrowed into HKWC as wholes with the inflectional morphemes losing their meanings and functions due to nativization (see 5.3.1). In the process of structural borrowing, extension and convergence forms both are the products of nativization (see 5.3.3).

Diffusion is an important step for the borrowed forms to become permanent forms in the RL. The borrowed forms usually appear on an informal occasion first and are then used on a formal occasion, especially in more formal writing, e.g., in editorials, government documents and official publications. Many HKWC borrowed forms are only used in the Hong Kong speech community, and are unknown or unfamiliar to the majority of Mainland Chinese speakers. If a borrowed form becomes known to the majority of Mainland people, that would indicate that this form has diffused outside the Hong Kong speech community. HKWC loan words such as T 恤 *tiɪ seotɪ*, ‘T shirt’, 的士 *dikɪsi6* ‘taxi’ and 巴士 *baaɪsi6* ‘bus’ are included in *The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* compiled by the Institute of Linguistics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2006, the fifth edition) although they are considered as English loan word in Cantonese. It is obvious that these loan words

have been widely accepted in Mainland China.

When a borrowed linguistic form becomes part of the RL and users no longer consider it a borrowed form, it reaches the status of permanent borrowing. For example, very few Chinese people now know that 葡萄 *putao* ‘grape’ is an ancient loanword borrowed from the West. Even the well-known language dictionary, *The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary*, does not tell readers that it is an ancient loanword. Loan words from English such as 坦克 *tanke* ‘tank’, 鴉片 *yapian* ‘opium’, 雷達 *leida* ‘radar’ and 啤酒 *pījiu* ‘beer’ also belong to this category.

3.3. Summary

There are three perspectives in the study of linguistic borrowing: historical linguistics, sociolinguistics and contact linguistics. Historical linguistics focuses on establishing linguistic family tree, sociolinguistics on the relationship between linguistic borrowing and society, and contact linguistics on constraints on linguistic borrowing. Our perspective combines sociolinguistic and contact linguistic perspectives and tries to explain the causes of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC on the basis of a clear description of the process of linguistic borrowing and patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing.

The discussion of methodology here focuses mainly on qualitative methods, since

the purpose of this study is to establish models for analyzing and explaining the morphosyntactic borrowing induced by language contact in the Hong Kong diglossic society. Two models are proposed: a supporting model, the continuum of written Chinese and an analytic model, the model of linguistic borrowing process. These models will be further refined with an interdisciplinary approach based on the analysis of a large amount of actual HKWC data.

Notes

1. The three approaches, positivism, interpretive social science and critical social science, are widely used in social science research nowadays. The first two are more popular. Positivist researchers prefer precise quantitative data and often use experiments and statistics. The interpretive approach is often called a qualitative method. In contrast to positivism's instrumental orientation, the interpretive approach adopts a practical orientation. It is the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social work. The approach of critical social science is also called dialectical materialism, class analysis and structuralism. This approach is traced back to Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). It defines social science as a

critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves (cf. Neuman and Krevyer 2003).

2. Individual borrowing is temporary borrowing, which is usually not diffused to the speech community. The following example is an individual borrowing. 我家樓下的管“你”員 Salute 叔叔，同人打招呼時會 Salute，唔知佢一日會 Sa 幾多個 lute? Guanniyuan‘ (it literally means mornitoring you‘, and its pronunciation is similar to Cantonese pronunciation of Guanliyuan‘, which refers to security guard‘), Uncle Salute, who is a security guard on duty on the ground floor in our building, always salutes everyone he meets. I do not know how many times he may salute in a day‘. (Ming Pao Daily News/ 26-02-2006/D14). In this text, *salute* is not only borrowed as the name for a security guard but is also divided into two parts *Sa* and *lute*. *Sa* is used as a verb and *lute* as a noun. It is hard to find the same example in other texts in HKWC.

Chapter 4

The Hong Kong speech community and Hong Kong Written

Chinese

4.1. Introduction

When exactly HKWC came into being is unknown, but it is certain that HKWC and its development have been closely linked to the Hong Kong speech community, which is a geographical or political concept (see 2.1.6.2). Therefore, it is important to understand the Hong Kong speech community in order to analyze HKWC, especially to study the language changes induced by language contact in Hong Kong.

In this chapter, a survey of the Hong Kong speech community factors relevant to HKWC will be provided first and the nature of the Hong Kong speech community will then be discussed. Based on the definition of HKWC, the relationship between HKWC and SWC, as well as that between English and Cantonese will be investigated and features of HKWC will be described. The function of HKWC in the Hong Kong speech community is explored with regard to the bilingual legal system of Hong Kong. Finally, the future of HKWC in the Hong Kong speech community will be briefly discussed.

4.2. The Hong Kong speech community

4.2.1. Hong Kong and Hong Kong people

Hong Kong stretches over 399 square miles, including Hong Kong Island, Lantau Island, the Kowloon Peninsula, the New Territories adjacent to Guangdong Province, and several hundred lesser islands. It has evolved from a fishing village, salt production site, trading port and military fortress into an international financial center. The territory was incorporated into China during the Qin Dynasty (221BC-206BC), and the area was firmly consolidated under Nam Yuet (203 BC-111BC).

The contact between Hong Kong and the West began in the early sixteenth century when Portuguese merchants invaded Hong Kong and established a military fortification in Tuen Mun. Military clashes between China and Portugal ensued and the Portuguese were expelled when the clashes ended. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Chinese Government established the policy of Maritime Prohibition (Haijin), and forbade any contact with foreigners. Villagers in Hong Kong coastal areas were ordered to move inland. The British East India Company came to China in 1699, and Hong Kongers had contacts with British merchants frequently thereafter. After the First Opium War, Hong Kong Island was occupied by the British. The British

compelled the Qing authorities to formally cede Hong Kong Island to them in 1842 under the Treaty of Nanking. After the Second Opium War, Great Britain was granted a perpetual lease on Kowloon Peninsula under the 1860 Convention of Beijing. In 1898, The British got a 99-year lease of the New Territories (including New Kowloon) under the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory. Invaded by the Japanese in December 1941 and harshly occupied in a period of 3 years and 8 months, Hong Kong was regained by the British in 1945.

On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong was handed over to the People's Republic of China by the United Kingdom. At the same time, the Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC was established under the 'one country, two systems' policy of the Chinese Government, and everything in Hong Kong is going as well as before. Some of the changes were purely symbolic. For instance, Queen Elizabeth II's portrait disappeared from banknotes, but many pre-1997 coins and banknotes are still in circulation, and Hong Kong dollars are still called foreign currency in Mainland China. Many schools now use Cantonese as the medium of instruction with textbooks written in standard Chinese. However, English remains an official language and is still the medium of instruction in many schools. Although the PLA soldiers of the Chinese Garrison in Hong Kong have their own drill movements and use PTH when taking and giving orders, the British way of drilling, marching and using English as the

command language remains intact in all disciplinary services.

From a fishing village to an international metropolitan city, Hong Kong has witnessed great changes in political, economic and cultural aspects. It is now one of the most densely populated cities in the world. Hong Kong's population has changed considerably in two important aspects, one is the increasing number of the total population and the other is the increase of ethnic groups. The statistics of Hong Kong's population from 1862 to the present is given below:

1862	120,000
1911	456,739
1916	530,000
1921	625,666
1925	725,000
1931	849,751
1941	1,600,000
1951	2,015,692
1961	3,129,648
1966	3,716,400
1971	3,936,630
1981	5,180,000

1991 5,522,281

2001 6,759,000

2006 6,864,346

- Sources: Demographic Statistics Section, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong

(censtatd.gov.hk) and Bacon-Shone and Bolton (1998)

From the above we can see that the population of Hong Kong in 2006 has increased nearly 58 times as compared with the number in 1862. There are four population booms, in 1941, 1961, 1981 and 2001. Pierson (1994) observes that Hong Kong presents a challenge and opportunities to sociolinguistic and social psychological researchers due to the rich interethnic possibilities inherent in the territory derived from its nineteenth-century colonial origins and the vicissitudes of recent Chinese history. Table 1 shows Hong Kong's population by ethnicity in 2001 and 2006. About 95% of the population is of Chinese ethnicity. The largest non-Chinese ethnic groups in Hong Kong are Filipinos (2.1% in 2001 and 1.6% in 2006) and Indonesians (0.8% in 2001 and 1.3% in 2006). White ethnic groups account for less than 1% of the population. It is unquestionable that Hong Kong has variations in ethnicity, as is the dominance of its Chinese population.

Table 1. Population by ethnicity, 2001 and 2006

	2001		2006	
Ethnicity	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
Chinese	6,364,439	94.9	6,522,148	95.0
Filipino	142,556	2.1	112,453	1.6
Indonesian	50,494	0.8	87,840	1.3
White	46,584	0.7	36,384	0.5
Indian	18,543	0.3	20,444	0.3
Thai	14,342	0.2	11,900	0.2
Japanese	14,180	0.2	13,189	0.2
Nepalese	12,564	0.2	15,950	0.2
Pakistani	11,017	0.2	11,111	0.2
Other Asian	12,835	0.2	12,663	0.2
Others	20,264	0.3	20,835	0.3
Total	6,708,389	100.0	6,864,346	100.0

Source: Demographic Statistics Section, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong
(Censtatd. Gov.hk)

4.2.2. The language situation in Hong Kong

Bacon-Shone and Bolton (1998) review census and language survey data and present us a comprehensive, longitudinal survey of the complex pattern of multilingualism and language diversity in Hong Kong over the twentieth century. They criticize the belief that Hong Kong is essentially a monoethnic and monolingual community. Bolton and Luke (1999) reported that other Chinese dialects used at home are Sze Yap, Chiu Chau, Hokkien (Fujianese), Hakka, Shanghainese, Shantong and Tientsin. Many foreign languages are also used in the Hong Kong speech community: European languages such as French, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Russian; East Asian Languages such as Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese; Southeast Asian languages such as Tagalog, Indonesian and Thai; South Asian languages such as Hindi and Urdu; and Middle Eastern languages such as Arabic and Persian.

The speech community of Hong Kong is now clearly not a monolingual one. In terms of written languages, English is a dominant one while in terms of spoken languages, Cantonese is dominant. PTH plays an important role in some language situations in which English and Cantonese are not appropriate (e.g. occasions where high rank officials from the Mainland participate) although these occasions are relatively rare. This complicated language situation can also be investigated from the following three aspects: 1) the language use in the press; 2) the usual language used

by the population of Hong Kong; and 3) medium of instruction in classrooms.

The language use in the press can be described as multilingual. At the end of 2005, the officially registered Hong Kong press included 23 Chinese-language dailies, 13 English-language dailies (one of them in Braille and another one in the Internet), 8 bilingual dailies and 5 Japanese ones.

The usual language used by the population of Hong Kong is dominantly Cantonese but other languages and dialects have a share of about 10% of the population. Cantonese is used at home in 2006 by 90.8% of the population aged 5 and over. Another 5.7% of the population used Cantonese as another language/dialect. The proportion of population who use English either as the usual language or as another language has increased from 38.1% in 1996 to 43.0% in 2001 and further to 44.7% in 2006. The proportion of population who use Putonghua also has increased from 25.3% in 1996 to 34.1% in 2001 and further to 40.2% in 2006. Table 2 and Table 3 show the situation of usual language use and it seems that PTH and English have been more widely used after 1997 while the use of Cantonese has not been changed much in pre- and post-1997 periods.

Table 2. Population aged 5 and over by usual language, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006

Usual language	1991		1996		2001		2006	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Cantonese	4 583 322	88.7	5 196 240	88.7	5 726 972	89.2	6 030 960	90.8
Putonghua	57 577	1.1	65 892	1.1	55 410	0.9	60 859	0.9
Other Chinese Dialects	364 694	7.0	340 222	5.8	352 562	5.5	289 027	4.4
English	114 084	2.2	184 308	3.1	203 598	3.2	187 281	2.8
Others	49 232	1.0	73 879	1.3	79 197	1.2	72 217	1.1
Total	5 168 909	100.0	5 860 541	100.0	6 417 739	100.0	6 640 344	100.0

- The figures exclude mute persons.

- Source: Demographic Statistics Section, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong

**Table 3. Proportion of population aged 5 and over able to speak selected languages/dialects,
1996, 2001 and 2006**

Language/Dialects	Proportion of population aged 5 and over (%)								
	As the usual language			As another language/dialect			Total		
	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006
Cantonese	88.7	89.2	90.8	6.6	6.8	5.7	95.2	96.1	96.5
English	3.1	3.2	2.8	34.9	39.8	41.9	38.1	43.0	44.7
Putonghua	1.1	0.9	0.9	24.2	33.3	39.2	25.3	34.1	40.2
Hakka	1.2	1.3	1.1	3.6	3.8	3.6	4.9	5.1	4.7
Chiu Chau	1.1	1.0	0.8	3.9	3.8	3.2	5.0	4.8	3.9
Min Dialect (including Taiwanese)	1.9	1.7	1.2	2.0	2.3	2.1	3.9	3.9	3.4
Indonesia(Bahasa Indonesia)	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.7	1.2	1.5	0.9	1.3	1.7
Filipino (Tagalog)	0.2	0.2	0.1	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.8	1.9	1.4
Japanese	0.3	0.2	0.2	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.2
Shanghainese	0.5	0.4	0.3	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.6	1.5	1.2

- The figures exclude mute persons.
- Source: Demographic Statistics Section, Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong

The medium of instruction in schools has been dominantly English for a long time but Chinese language plays an important role in classes of Chinese Literature and Chinese History. The Hong Kong Government has also provided suitably designed courses for children of ethnic minorities in schools to help them integrate into the Hong Kong community as early as possible.

According to the statistics of test languages in the 2006 Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE), English is the dominant test language for most of the schools taking part in the exam (see Table 4). In over 80% of the schools, English is the test language for seven of the 13 subjects: Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Literature in English and Principles of Accounts. In all schools, Chinese is the only test language in two subjects: Chinese literature and Chinese History. For the other 4 subjects, Geography, History, Economics and Business Studies, English is used more than Chinese as a test language in most schools. The schools which give the students a choice of either English or Chinese as test language count only 5% to 17%.

Table 4. Languages used by Form 5 students in HKCEE in 2006

Schools Subjects	Total schools	English		Chinese		English or Chinese	
		Schools	%	Schools	%	Schools	%
Biology	425	352	82.8	36	8.5	37	8.7
Chemistry	444	373	84	32	7.2	39	8.8
Physics	460	385	83.7	39	8.5	36	7.8
Pure Mathematics	454	388	85.5	27	5.9	39	8.6
Applied Mathematics	188	160	85.1	8	4.3	20	10.6
Chinese Literature	304	0	0	304	100	0	0
Chinese History	410	0	0	410	100	0	0
Literature in English	20	19	95	0	0	1	5
Geography	416	273	65.6	85	20.4	58	13.9
History	351	186	53	105	29.9	60	17.1
Economics	449	317	70.6	74	16.5	58	12.9
Principles of Accounts	308	283	91.9	8	2.6	17	5.5
Business Studies	141	66	46.8	51	36.2	24	17

Source: calculated from *the Guide for Form 5 Students*, the Special Advertisement in Metropolis Daily,

Metro Publishing HK Ltd. (2006 中五放榜指南, 都市日報廣告特刊)

4.2.3 A changing multi-level-diglossic system in the Hong Kong speech

community

The Hong Kong speech community can be best described in terms of ‘diglossia’ proposed in 1959 by Ferguson. Diglossia refers to ‘a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation’ (Ferguson 1959: 336).

In a diglossic situation, there are two varieties of a language, High (H) and Low (L). The H variety is generally used in formal contexts, while the L variety is generally used in informal contexts. Ferguson proposes a set of nine features to distinguish it from other sociolinguistic situations, such as a standard form co-existing with dialects or societal bilingualism.

Fifty years after the conceptualization of diglossia by Ferguson (1959), a coherent and generally accepted theory of diglossia is still waiting to be formulated

(Hudson 2002). Even though Ferguson's theory of diglossia is now the classic, Fishman (1967, 1970, 1980, 1989) has revised it many times over a period of more than 20 years. Fishman (1980:3) defines diglossia as "an enduring societal arrangement, extending at least beyond a three generation period, such that two languages" each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate and widely implemented functions". Hudson (2001) comments that Fishman's account of diglossia differs from Ferguson's in two respects. The first is that Fishman extends the term 'diglossia' to include cases where the H and L varieties are not genetically related in any immediate sense, that is to say, H and L varieties can be two genetically unrelated languages. Thus, Timm (1981:363-364) and Pauwels (1986:15) distinguish between 'intra-language diglossia', referring to diglossia between genetically related codes, and 'inter-language diglossia', referring to diglossia between genetically unrelated codes. Fasold (1984:52-54) uses 'classic diglossia' to refer to diglossia between genetically related varieties, 'broad diglossia' to subsume the categories of 'superposed bilingualism' in the case of distinct languages, and 'style shifting' in the case of minimally differentiated stylistic variants. The second aspect is that Fishman recognizes two types of compartmentalization of varieties in diglossia: a functional compartmentalization, where different varieties are assigned by social consensus to nonoverlapping speech contexts within a single speech community; and a territorial or

political compartmentalization Ferguson did not recognize, where varieties are distributed along population lines within social or political entities comprised of multiple speech communities. For purposes of the demonstration of the relationships between bilingualism and diglossia, Fishman (1980) describes four major categories of diglossia based upon the linguistic relationships between the H and L varieties: both diglossia and bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia, diglossia without bilingualism, and neither diglossia nor bilingualism.

The theory of diglossia has been applied to the Hong Kong speech community (Luke and Richard 1982, So 1989, Li 1999, Snow 2004, Lu 2005) to explain the local language situation. It has been commonly accepted that the language situation in Hong Kong can be seen as diglossia or triglossia although a few linguists (T'sou 1997) argue that such a theory could not offer a reasonable explanation for the language development in Hong Kong.

Luke (2005) claims that the diglossia situation has quickly given way to bilingualism. It is obvious that the situation has changed somewhat since Hong Kong returned to China in 1997. The diglossia situation has not yet disappeared, and perhaps will not disappear in the near future. Su (2006a) exams linguistic changes in the pre-1997 and post-1997 Hong Kong, and observes that there are three external factors influencing linguistic changes in the Hong Kong speech community: language

policy, language use and language attitudes, of which the second is the most important one. After analysing these three factors, especially that of language use, he comes to the conclusion that the language situation in Hong Kong has undergone some quantitative changes, but not qualitative changes yet. Therefore, Hong Kong is still a diglossic society, but not a bilingual society. It is concluded that the sociolinguistic situation in Hong Kong may be better described as a multi-level diglossic system, which could provide explanations to linguistic changes in the pre-1997 and post 1997 Hong Kong in a more systematic and convincing way.

The present study of HKWC will use the multi-level-diglossic system in Figure 4 to analyze and interpret linguistic borrowing in the Hong Kong speech community based on Ferguson's theory and Fishman's revisions. The term diglossia is used here to describe situations in which a speech community uses two distinctive language varieties (the High variety and the Low variety) genetically related or unrelated for different social purposes. The H variety usually tends to be used for formal and widely-used purposes, and the L variety for informal or specific purposes. The H variety and the L variety have their own functional allocation, respectively. The concepts of H and L variety used here overlap slightly and the functional compartmentalization of codes seems not to be as strict as what Ferguson described because of the changing language situation in the Hong Kong speech community in

recent years (e.g. Spoken Cantonese becomes the High variety and Written Cantonese becomes the Low variety). It will be argued that this figure provides a better description of the Hong Kong language situation.

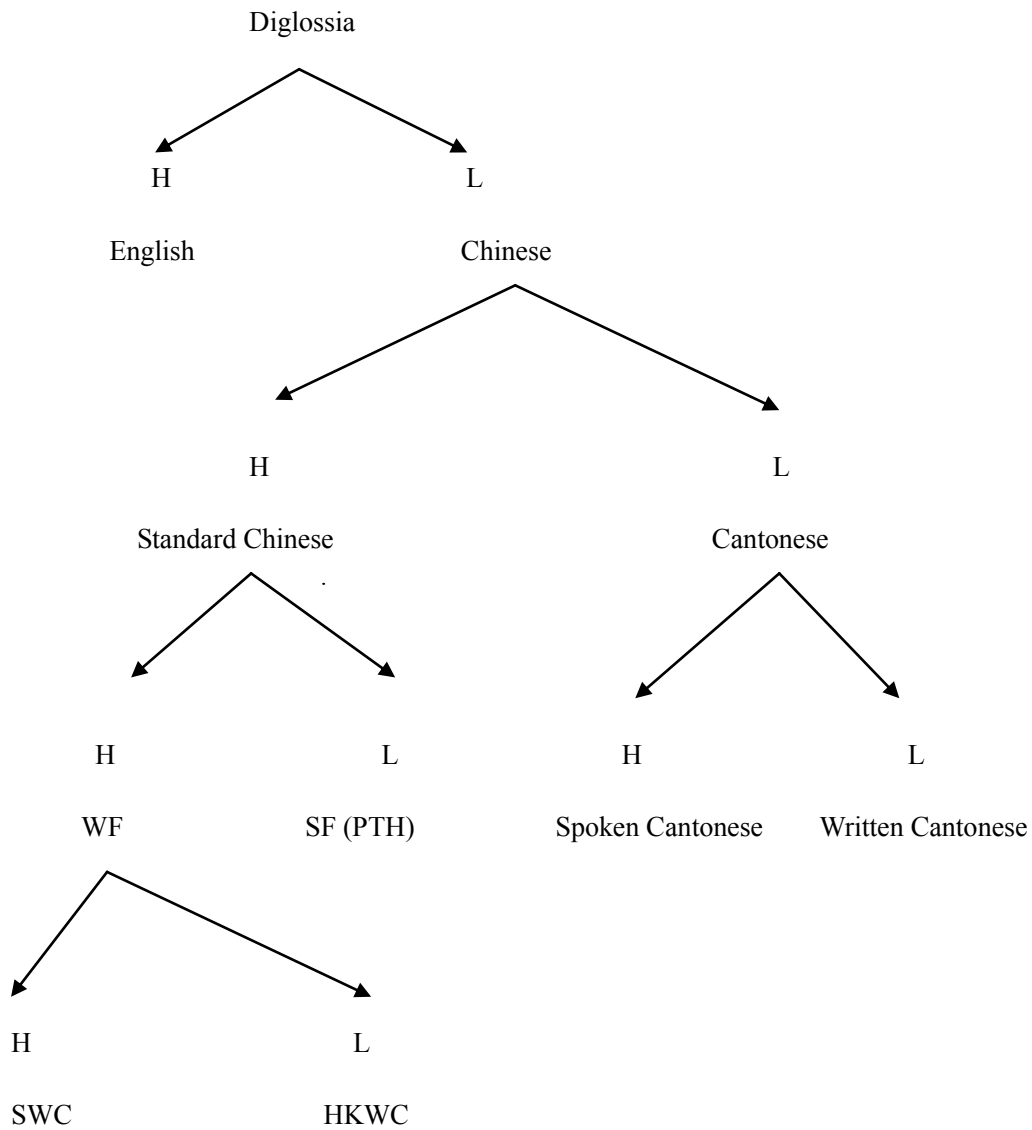


Figure 4. A changing multi-level-diglossic system in the Hong Kong speech community

WF: Written form

SF: Spoken form

SWC: Standard Written Chinese

PTH: Putonghua

From the above figure we can see that within the Standard Chinese PTH as a spoken language is the L variety while SWC is the H variety but within Cantonese, Spoken Cantonese is the H variety while Written Cantonese is the L variety. The importance of PTH has obviously soared in the post-1997 Hong Kong speech community, but its function is still limited as compared with SWC. It seems that assigning Spoken Cantonese the role of H variety has broken the rule which usually takes written languages as the H varieties and takes spoken languages as the L varieties. This is one of the ways in which the linguistic situation has been changing in postcolonial Hong Kong. Written Cantonese is growing but its function is still limited. Written Cantonese cannot be used in government documents and other formal occasions. The reason Spoken Cantonese has such a high status is because it has become the community's predominant spoken form and it is used in formal situations such as government press announcements and classroom communications.

4.3. Hong Kong Written Chinese

It has been pointed out in Chapter 3 that written Chinese in the Hong Kong speech community can be described as a continuum and that HKWC is one of the

four-points in this continuum. In the previous section of this chapter, HKWC is described as the L variety while Standard Written Chinese as the H variety. This stratification shows that HKWC is an instance of variation.

HKWC is the product of a multi-cultural society and is used in a multi-lingual speech community. It came into being as a result of language contact between Chinese and English, as well as between Standard Chinese and Cantonese. Its unique features in lexicon, syntax and discourse mainly come from four distinctive sources: English, Cantonese, Classical Chinese and innovation (Shi, Su and Chu 2001; Shi 2006b; Shi, Shao and Chu 2006). If a reader does not know these sources well, he or she may have difficulties in understanding HKWC. It is for this reason that Yang (2002) argues that the Chinese texts in the laws of Hong Kong are difficult to understand even for lawyers and other professionals, not to mention members of the general public.

The main concern of this section is the relationship between HKWC and SWC, HKWC and English, as well as HKWC and Cantonese. Some specific features found in government documents will be discussed, and the relationship between HKWC and the bilingual legal system in the Hong Kong speech community will then be explored.

4.3.1. The differences in the use of Chinese characters between HKWC and

SWC

There are three differences in the use of Chinese characters between HKWC and SWC. First, SWC uses the simplified Chinese characters while HKWC uses the traditional complicated Chinese characters. Secondly, HKWC uses the Hong Kong Supplementary Character Set when needed. Finally, a few Chinese characters created for different purposes are used in HKWC but not in SWC.

SWC is closely related to PTH, and uses the simplified Chinese characters as its norm of writing. By contrast, HKWC is strongly influenced by English and Cantonese, and uses the traditional complicated Chinese characters as its norm of writing.

The Law on the Nationwide use of Language and Script of the People's Republic of China (LNLS), adopted on 31 October, 2000 by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, came into force on January 1, 2001. The LNLS defines the legal status of PTH and the simplified Chinese characters as the nationwide spoken form and the only written form with legitimate status, respectively. According to the Law, the Normalized Chinese Characters are the nationwide standard, and the simplified Chinese characters are part of them. The Law stipulates that all governmental organizations, all educational institutions, all radio and TV stations,

publishing houses and departments or institutes for public services, must use Normalized Chinese Characters as the standard for writing in their work except where it is otherwise stipulated by the Law (Articles 9, 10, 11, 13). Public signs, names of organizations and companies, and directions or expository writings for domestic customers' goods should be written in Normalized Chinese Characters (Article 14). According to the Law, the traditional complicated Chinese characters should not be the common writing system and should be limited to such areas as graphical arts, ancient historical literatures and handwritings of signboards (Article 14). This is the first special law on Chinese language and script, and it marks the beginning of an era when the standardization of Chinese language and script has become part of the Chinese legal system. However, the promulgation and enforcement of this law is limited to Mainland China, while Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan still use the traditional complicated Chinese characters as their standard of writing.

There are quite a few unique Chinese characters in Hong Kong, for writing names of people or places as well as for transcribing Cantonese words. These characters are components of the Hong Kong Supplementary Character Set (henceforth HKSCS). The Hong Kong Government has submitted the HKSCS to the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) to be included in the ISO 10646 International Coding Standard. The HKSCS-2004 is an updated version which

contains 4941 characters. These characters are used by the public and the Government in electronic communication and they are also used in HKWC when needed. It is obvious that SWC and HKWC have their own standards of writing system.

Chao (1968/1970:643) claims that the feminine second-person pronoun is occasionally written as 妳, presumably pronounced *nü*, and that he sees it only in letters. In Mainland China, 妳 has never been found in formal written forms such as newspapers. However, we can see it in Hong Kong newspapers every now and then. 爾 *ni* 'you', 祂 *ta* 'he' are used in the Bible for reference to God, and they are frequently seen in Hong Kong newspapers. However, these two characters are not part of the Normalized Chinese Characters and they cannot be used in the SWC public print media other than in the religious domain.

In Hong Kong, the traditional complicated Chinese characters are officially and customarily used, but the increasing influence of Mainland China on Hong Kong has boosted the use of the simplified Chinese characters. With the growing influence of Mainland China, the simplified Chinese characters often appear in tourist attractions in Hong Kong. However, textbooks, official statements and newspapers, including the PRC-funded media, show no signs of switching to the simplified Chinese characters. A survey in 2006 showed that nearly 80% of Hong Kongers disagreed with the replacement of the traditional complicated Chinese characters by the simplified

Chinese characters (Ming Pao Daily News /02-05-2006/A10). It can be safely concluded that the status of traditional complicated Chinese characters in the Hong Kong speech community will not be changed in the near future.

4.3.2. HKWC and Cantonese

During the British colonial rule of Hong Kong the main language of government and education was English, while Cantonese was widely spoken as a usual language in social life. Since the end of the Second World War, written Cantonese has come to be used in virtually every one of Hong Kong's major Chinese-language newspapers and has become an even more important part of Hong Kong culture through its increasing use in magazines and books (Snow 2004:6).

Two types of Written Cantonese, Contemporary Hong Kong Written Cantonese and Traditional Written Cantonese, are classified in the continuum of written Chinese described in the previous chapter. Our data indicates that Contemporary Hong Kong Written Cantonese is more popular than Traditional Written Cantonese in the Hong Kong speech community.

Cantonese has influenced HKWC immensely at the lexical and morphosyntactic levels (Shi, Su and Chu 2001; Shi, Wang and Chu 2002; Shi 2006a; Shi 2006b; Shi, Shao and Chu 2006; Su 2003). Some Cantonese suffixes such as 仔 *zai* have been

borrowed into HKWC. The HKWC use of classifiers has also shown clear signs of influence from Cantonese. The SWC measure word for nouns representing schools is 個 *ge* or 所 *suo*, and that for banks or TV stations is 個 *ge* or 家 *jia* ; while the Cantonese classifier for nouns representing all these entities is 間 *jian* . The Cantonese 間 *jian* has been transferred to HKWC over a long time (Shi et al 2002).

Certain syntactic structures of HKWC, such as comparative structures, are also borrowed from Cantonese (Shi et al 2001). Reduplicated forms of adverbs, such as 齊齊 *qiqi*, 少少 *shaoshao*, 正正 *zhengzheng*, 險險 *xianxian* and so on, have also been borrowed into HKWC (Su 2003), even though they are not found in SWC.

The role of written Cantonese may continue to expand due to the increasing use of spoken Cantonese in postcolonial Hong Kong and its influence on HKWC will also continue. However, the growth of written Cantonese is not likely to force Standard Chinese out. ‘_Rather, it appears to be a new diglossic balance which better reflects the identity of Hong Kong’s Cantonese-speaking community’ (Snow 2004:217). ‘_In this new balance, Standard Chinese would continue to be the language of choice for most texts, especially those with serious or formal purposes’ (Snow 2004: 217). The coexistence of SWC and written Cantonese will offer HKWC an opportunity to refine itself and play a more important role for Hong Kong people.

4.3.3. HKWC and English

Language contact between English and Chinese has a history of more than three-hundred years. The origin of English in southern China dates back to 1637, when the first British trading ships under the command of Captain Weddell reached Macau and Canton. The first available attestations for Chinese speakers of English date from the 1740s and are cited by pidgin scholars and creolists as early examples of ‘Chinese pidgin English’ (Bolton 2002:4). Since the British government occupied Hong Kong, English gradually became the principal language of government and the law. This led to a more frequent and intimate contact between English and Chinese because the majority of the population in the Hong Kong speech community are native Chinese speakers. The change of sovereignty in Hong Kong does not lead to a reduced role for English in the HKSAR due to the bilingual legal system and the ‘bilingual and trilingual’ policy (to master written Chinese and English, to speak fluent Cantonese, PTH, and English).

The use of English in the executive, legislative and administrative domains of government, in the legal system, in the professions, and in the European-controlled commercial sectors created a demand for bilingual clerks, translators and interpreters and this in turn, created a bilingual situation in the Hong Kong speech community. This language situation not only affected the use of spoken Chinese, especially

spoken Cantonese, but also written Chinese, especially HKWC.

It is obvious that English has greatly influenced language use in the Hong Kong speech community. Documents issued by government or organizations always have two versions, the English one and the Chinese one. Most Hong Kongers have English names. The names of some famous British people, especially ex-governors of Hong Kong, have become part of place names of Hong Kong. It is not difficult to find in HKWC the English name of a Chinese person or the name of a place which is actually that of a famous British person.

HKWC has borrowed a great number of lexical items from English. These English loan words have some unique features in their pronunciation, transcription and meanings. The English loan words of HKWC generally come via Cantonese but not PTH; and the transliterated loan words are therefore matched to Cantonese pronunciation, but not PTH pronunciation. It is for this reason that this study uses Jyutping (Cantonese Romanization Scheme) for English loan words in HKWC.

There are many unique Chinese characters in written Cantonese specifically for transcribing English loan words, such as 噏 *gep1* ‘cap’ or ‘case’ and 罽(巴) *lam3baa1* ‘number’. They are part of the HKSCS and many of them also appear in HKWC.

呎 *chi* ‘foot’ was formerly used to translate the English word ‘foot’, a unit for measuring length, height or depth in SWC. HKWC not only keeps this meaning but

also uses 呎 *cek3* as a unit for measuring area, especially for floor area. The 呎 *cek3* in 五千呎豪宅 *wuqian chi haozhai* = a five thousand feet luxury house‘ means square foot.

How English influences morphosyntactic structures of HKWC will be investigated in the following section and in chapter 5.

4.3.4. Some special features in Chinese versions of Mr. Tsang’s Chief

Executive’s Policy Addresses

Mr. Donald Tsang Yam-kuen presented two Chief Executive’s Policy Addresses, his maiden Policy Address on October 12, 2005 and the 2006-07 Policy Address on October 11, 2006. He spoke in Cantonese and his speeches were translated into English and PTH simultaneously. There are two written versions of Mr. Tsang’s Policy Addresses: the English one and the Chinese one. The Chinese versions were written in HKWC. Some lexical and syntactic characteristics in the Chinese versions apparently come from English and are different from SWC. There are two types of lexical items from English, of which the first type has its counterparts in SWC and the second one has not.

The examples of the first type are: 管治 *guan zhi* (Governance, would be 管理

guanli in SWC), 路向 *luxiang* (direction, the way forward, would be 方向 *fangxiang* in SWC), 認受性 *renshouxing* (acceptance, would be 接受性 *jieshouxing* in SWC) , 質素 *zhisu* (quality, would be 素質 *suzhi* , 質量 *zhiliang* in SWC) , 透過 *touguo* (through, would be 通過 *tongguo* in SWC) , 檢討 *jiantao* (review, would be 回顧 *huiyu* or 總結 *zongjie* in SWC) , 架構 *jiagou* (department, structure, would be 機構 *jigou* or 結構 *jiegou* in SWC) and 資訊 *zixun* (information, would be 信息 *xinxi* in SWC).

The expressions of the second type are created by the Hong Kong speech community and most of them involve political, economic, social and cultural activities in Hong Kong. The examples of this type are:

少數性傾向人士 *shaoshu xingqingxiang renshi* _sexual minorities‘

專職社工 *zhuanzhi shegong* _professional social workers‘

勞顧會 *laoguhui* _an abbreviation of 勞工顧問委員會 *laogong guwen*

weiyuanhui , _LAB, the Labor Advisory Board‘

綜援制度 *zongyuan zhidu* _the Comprehensive Social Security Assistance

Scheme‘

行政會議 *xingzheng huiyi* _Executive Council‘

廉政公署 *lianzhengigongshu* _the Independent Commission Against Corruption‘

政制發展專職小組 *zhengzhi fazhan zhuanzhi xiaozu* ‘the Constitutional Development Task Force’

新聞統籌員 *xinwen tongchouyuan* ‘information co-ordinator’

展翅計畫 *zhanchi jihua* ‘the Youth Pre-employment Training Programme’

課餘託管計畫 *keyu tuoguan jihua* ‘the After School Care Programme’

These lexical items can be seen as innovations. Syntactic features influenced by English can also be found in Mr. Donald Tsang Yam-kuen’s Policy Addresses. 和 *he* and 及 *ji* function as conjunctives connecting clauses in HKWC but they have no such function in SWC. This is a calque usage of ‘and’ in English. Details for this form will be explored in chapter 5. The following three examples belong to this category.

(1) 為了配合我對政治領導工作的專注，提高制度運作的效率，我授權政務司司長和財政司司長在政策統籌和協調上擔當重要角色，確保政府各項政策能夠密切配合，公共資源能夠更有效運用，避免政出多門或政策決而不行、行而不果，更好地兌現政府服務市民的承諾，**和**提升市民對政府的信任。(October 12, 2005)

‘To allow me to focus on political issues and to enhance institutional and operational efficiency, I will authorize the Chief Secretary for Administration (CS)

and the Financial Secretary (FS) to play the important role in policy co-operation. They will be tasked to ensure government policies and properly staged, public resources are efficiently used, and duplication, inaction and ineffective action are avoided. Our aim is to better deliver on our performance pledges **and** to raise the community's trust in the Government.'

(2)此外，會要求使用再生能源、及進行用電需求管理。(October 12, 2005)

In addition, we will ask for the use of renewable energy to generate electricity **and** the implementation of demand side management.'

(3)要徹底解決廢物問題，方法包括以政策提供誘因，改變人們拋棄廢物的習慣，和鼓勵回收再用，為發展迴圈經濟提供條件。(October 12, 2005)

Methods to resolve the waste problem completely include policy incentives to change people's habits of waste disposal, the encouragement of recovery and reuse **and** the promotion of recycling industries.'

In the Chinese version from above three examples, 和 *he* and 及 *ji* function as conjunctives connecting clauses but they are not translated from the English version word by word. In the English version, and' and as well as' connect phrases not

clauses. This shows that the usage of 和 *he* and 及 *ji*, which function as conjunctives connecting clauses, has diffused widely and has become one of the special features of HKWC.

4.3.5. HKWC in the bilingual legal system of Hong Kong

During the British colonial rule, English was the dominant language in all the important domains such as the executive, legislative, judicial and educational sectors but less than 2 percent of the population were native English speakers. On the other hand, Chinese language was a low variety for daily life only but was spoken by the majority of the population. Obviously, the linguistic human rights of the Chinese population were being ignored.

Before the 1970s, the Hong Kong British Government paid little attention to the linguistic human rights of the Hong Kong Chinese people. Although Chinese became an official language in 1974, there was little improvement for the linguistic human rights of Chinese people. The Hong Kong legal system is rooted in the English common law and statute law was, up to 1989, enacted in the English language only. The amendment of the Hong Kong Royal Instructions and the enactment of the Official Languages (Amendment) Ordinance 1987 and the Interpretation and General Clauses (Amendment) Ordinance 1987 paved the way for the establishment of a

bilingual legal system in Hong Kong.

After 1997, the government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region has been endeavoring to develop a bilingual legal system to ensure smooth operation of the court system and to protect the linguistic human rights of all citizens. The system is supposed to use Chinese and English in all legislative and judicial processes. However, there are considerable difficulties in the implementation of legal bilingualism, mainly due to the lack of legal personnel proficient in both English and Chinese. The issues to be discussed in this section are the background of the bilingual legal system in Hong Kong, the difficulties in the implementation of legal bilingualism and the contribution of the study of HKWC to the implementation of legal bilingualism in Hong Kong.

4.3.5.1. Background to the establishment of the bilingual legal system

Several factors are responsible for raising the Chinese language to the status of an official language in Hong Kong: the development of education, the transfer of sovereignty to China, the rise of national sentiments and the improvement of linguistic human rights. A brief review of the events between 1966 and 1997 will better illuminate the background to these factors.

After the political upheaval of 1966 and 1967, the Government set up a

commission of inquiry. In the ‘_Kowloon Disturbances 1966-Report of Commission of Inquiry’, clear indications were highlighted that the language of the law and much of the administration was not understood by the bulk of the population, resulting in a democratic deficit between the Government and the people (Chen 1989). The Government was forced to address the language issue when a university student movement campaigned for the use of Chinese language as an official language in 1969 and in 1970. The call for language rights gained widespread support from various sectors of society, and the Government responded by appointing a Chinese Language Committee in October 1970 to examine the use of Chinese in official business and in the administration of the Government (Chen 1985). Finally, Chinese became an official language in 1974.

The Official Languages Ordinance (Chapter 5, Laws of Hong Kong) was enacted on 15 February 1974, which stipulates that:

- (1) The English and Chinese languages are declared to be official languages of Hong Kong for the purposes of communication between the Government or any public officer and members of the public and for court proceedings. (Amended 51 of 1995 s. 2)
- (2) The official languages possess equal status and, subject to the provisions of this

Ordinance, enjoy equality of use for the purposes set out in subsection (1).

This Ordinance established the Bilingual Laws Advisory Committee (BLAC) and enabled the Chinese text for any legislation to be declared authentic by the former Governor in Council by order in the Gazette, after consultation with BLAC.

Statute law of Hong Kong was enacted in the English language only for more than one hundred years until August 1986, when the Hong Kong Royal Instructions were amended to include the rule that laws may be enacted in English or Chinese. This amendment was supplemented seven months later by the enactment of the Official Languages Ordinance (Amendment) 1987.

The Sino-British Joint Declaration signed on 19 December 1984 contains a provision relating to the language use in legal system:

In addition to Chinese, English may also be used in organs of government and in the courts in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. (Annex 1)

The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China also contains an article relating to language status of Chinese and English:

In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of HKSAR. (Article 9)

The First Bilingual Ordinance, the Securities and Futures Commission Ordinance (Chapter 24, Laws of Hong Kong), was enacted in April 1989. Since then, all new Ordinances have been enacted bilingually except Ordinances amending other Ordinances which are in English only. The Law Drafting Division of Justice was responsible for preparing the Chinese texts of all existing Ordinances and the Prepared Chinese text was forwarded to BLAC for examination. Those texts were declared authentic on 16 May 1997.

The Hong Kong speech community has been a diglossic one in which English is the High variety while Chinese is the Low variety. This linguistic environment has improved significantly for Chinese speakers since the Chinese language was declared an official language in 1974, but the nature of diglossic society remains almost intact, given the fact that the bilingual legal system has not yet been successfully implemented.

The framework for a bilingual legal system has been established but there are considerable difficulties in the implementation of legal bilingualism. Zhang (2002) and Yang (2002) argue that the goal of legal bilingualism in Hong Kong has not been

achieved yet. Cheung (1997) states that ‘the development into a fully bilingual legal system, especially in the judicial process, is a winding road to treat’. These difficulties in the implementation of a bilingual legal system in Hong Kong will be outlined in the following section.

4.3.5.2. Difficulties in the implementation of legal bilingualism in Hong Kong

There are three difficulties in the implementation of legal bilingualism in Hong Kong. First, there is a lack of standardized Chinese legal terms since Hong Kong’s legal system is largely based on the English common law system, which is not used in China. Although the Hong Kong Government has published the *English-Chinese Glossary of Legal Terms* (Hong Kong Government Printer, 1996) as a reference for translation of English version of statutes, there has not been a coordinated effort to compile a standardized Chinese reference for English common law terms in the area of case law. Secondly, there is a lack of legal personnel proficient in both English and Chinese (Cheung 1997). Before 1997, most members of the judiciary and professional officers in high level positions were expatriates and few of them were proficient in Chinese. This situation has not improved much after 1997. Thirdly, the written Chinese used in Hong Kong’s legal texts is often more difficult to understand than written English.

Because of this last reason, Chinese versions of legal texts do not have the same validity as English versions. There are often terms and conditions to this effect at the end of contracts, such as the following example:

This Chinese translation is for reference only. In case there is any inconsistency between the English and Chinese versions, the English version shall prevail.

Terms and conditions such as this shows that Chinese versions do not possess equal status or enjoy equality of use with English versions.

4.3.5.3. Summary

There was no law guaranteeing linguistic human rights in Hong Kong before Chinese was declared an official language. The Official Language Ordinance and the Basic Law declare that Chinese and English have equal status and protect the linguistic human rights of the Hong Kong people. However, the Chinese language has not achieved its equal status with English in practice due both to external factors, such as the lack of qualified legal personnel, and to internal factors, such as the indefinite meanings in Chinese legal terminology, in the process of implementation of legal bilingualism in Hong Kong. In order to improve linguistic human rights in Hong

Kong, it is obvious that the standardization of HKWC, especially in legal texts, is an urgent task for the Hong Kong speech community.

4.4. The future of HKWC in the Hong Kong speech community

Hong Kong is a place where the cultures of East and West have met over one hundred years and therefore its speech community is rooted in multiple cultures. These cultural characteristics will be kept and developed in the future since the Hong Kong SAR Government has promised to keep the open-to-the-world policy. Linguists believe that knowledge of two or more dialects or languages is better than knowing just one speech variety (Luke 1998, Bauer 2000). Younger Hong Kong people no longer see English as a threat to their Chinese identity (Boyle 2000).

Both English and PTH are considered primarily as useful tools for successful commerce. Mr. Tung Chee Hwa emphasizes the importance of PTH and English in his 2000 Chief Executive's Policy Address:

These people should have a thorough understanding of the business environment of the Mainland, knowledge in international finance and commerce and proficiency in Putonghua and foreign languages, especially English. A good command of English is not only a tool for conducting business and trade with the world, but also a must

in maintaining Hong Kong's status as an international financial center.

The language policy of Hong Kong is to promote bi-literacy and tri-lingualism. English continues to play its role in the executive, legislative and administrative domains of government, in the legal system, in the professions and in the commercial sectors. The Hong Kong Government has made great efforts in recent years to promote the study of PTH, both among government employees and among the populace. Whether PTH will become the medium of instruction in Hong Kong schools is still a controversial topic. Since the central government has a 'one country, two systems' policy toward Hong Kong and since the Hong Kong Government is implementing a multilingual policy, it seems that PTH will not replace Cantonese as the language of identity in Hong Kong in the near future. For the same reason, SWC will not replace HKWC. Under the policy of bi-literacy and tri-lingualism, HKWC will continue to play its role in the Hong Kong speech community.

Language problems in the implementation of legal bilingualism in Hong Kong should be addressed. Standardization is one of the approaches to solve language problems due to language misunderstandings and ambiguities. Language standardization will not eliminate HKWC but will make it easier to understand and more precise.

Chapter 5

A case study: morphosyntactic borrowing patterns in

HKWC

5.1. Introduction

In previous chapters, the definition of linguistic borrowing has been discussed and the process of linguistic borrowing has been analyzed. Linguistic borrowing is interactive sociologically and linguistically, and should be viewed as a phenomenon in speech communities no matter whether it is speech borrowing or language borrowing.

‘No language community is or remains so isolated as to avoid some contact with the speakers of other languages or dialects; we may see the bilinguals as the vehicles of borrowing’ (Haugen 1992:198). The following chapter will show that bilinguals are the most important vehicles of borrowing but not the only one due to the complexities of borrowing in the Hong Kong speech community.

Some linguists have studied lexical borrowing in Hong Kong Chinese (SC and CANT), especially in Cantonese (Chan and Kwok 1982, Chan 2000, Tang 2001, T’sou 2004, Bauer 2006); and other linguists have studied not only lexical borrowing but also morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC (Shi and Chu 1999; Shi, Wang and Chu

2003; Shi, Shao and Chu 2006, Su 2003). These studies provide me with theoretical insight and a considerable amount of data for studying the patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC. This study also benefits from the studies on linguistic borrowing from English and other languages to Chinese (Chao 1970, Xie 1990, Masini 1993, Zuckermann 2000).

Linguistic borrowing in the Hong Kong speech community can be classified as two types: borrowing between languages and borrowing between dialects. This study will focus on the borrowing from English to HKWC, and a few borrowings from Japanese and Cantonese will also be included. Lexical borrowing in HKWC will be examined first and then morphosyntactic borrowing patterns will be described and analyzed in detail.

5.2. Lexical borrowing in HKWC

Lexical borrowing from English to Hong Kong Chinese has been studied by many linguists (Chan and Kwok 1982; Tang 2001; Shi and Chu 1999, 2000; Shi 2006b; Shi, Shao and Chu 2006; Bauer 2006). These studies have explored the results of language contact between English and Chinese, internally and externally. In the following sections, previous studies on lexical borrowing in HKWC will be briefly reviewed first and then types of lexical borrowing will be classified. Finally, how

lexical borrowing has influenced morphological changes in HKWC will be demonstrated.

Studies on the lexical borrowing from English to Cantonese and HKWC include four aspects: (1) phonetic, phonological, graphemic, grammatical and semantic changes during the course of importation; (2) the types of borrowing; (3) the stages of borrowing; and (4) probable reasons for borrowing and some constraints on borrowing. Some findings and results in these aspects will be discussed briefly here and the types of borrowing will be discussed in the next section.

To borrow a foreign term as a phonetic loan is one of the ways of lexical borrowing. It is observed that phonemes which are alien to the Cantonese system are replaced by native ones when phonetic loan words are directly imported into Cantonese (Chan and Kwok 1982:16). On the other hand, Bauer (2006) finds that the number of new loanword syllables that entered Cantonese has increased from 26 in 1985 to 40 in 1997, and further to 50 in 2004. This demonstrates a gradual expansion of the Cantonese syllabary as a direct result of the contact between Cantonese and English in Hong Kong.

Shi (2006b) finds that a very prominent characteristic of HKWC is that a large number of its lexical items have undergone semantic shift under the influence of English by changing their collocation patterns as compared with their SWC

counterparts.

Stages of borrowing English words into Hong Kong Chinese are usually divided into two periods: one is from 1840s to before 1980; and the other is from 1980s till 2000 (Tang 2001).

Factors influencing lexical borrowing could come either internally or externally. It is observed that there are five positive forces encouraging the importation of phonetic loans: (1) convenience in need-filling; (2) precision in expression and avoidance of ambiguity; (3) the extent of bilingualism in Hong Kong; (4) the desire for novelty; and (5) stylistic possibilities of loan words (Chan and Kwok 1982:23-30). The former three forces are internal factors and the latter two are external factors. Another important external factor which has always been emphasized is the status of English (e.g. Su 1997, Tang 2001, Shi 2006b). It is also suggested that the main constraint on lexical borrowing is cultural compatibility, which includes accessibility, agreeability and familiarity (T'sou 2004).

5.2.1. Types of lexical borrowing

After examining the traditional classification of borrowing, Zuckermann (2000, 2003) proposed a new hierarchical classification of lexical borrowing as follows:

A. Using the SL (source language) lexical item as the basic material for the

neologization (in decreasing order of phonetic resemblance to the SL lexical item):

(1) Guest word (Unassimilated borrowing/pure borrowing, e.g. the German word *Gastwort* borrowed into English);

(2) Foreignism (assimilated borrowing/phonetic adaptation, e.g. English [ˈrɛstərənt/ˈrɛstərɒnt] is a phonetic adaptation of French *restaurant*);

(3) Loanword (totally assimilated borrowing/morphemic adaptation, e.g. American Italian *boss* is a morphemic adaption of English *boss*).

B. Using pre-existent RL (recipient language) roots/lexemes as the basic material for the neologization:

(1) Phonetic matching (PM), where the RL material is originally similar to the SL lexical item phonetically but not semantically, e.g. English *mayday* is from French *m'aider* '(to) help me'.

(2) Semanticized phonetic matching (SPM), where the RL material is originally similar to the SL lexical item phonetically, as well as semantically in a loose way, e.g. SWC 奔騰 *benteng* 'Pentium'.

(3) Phono-semantic matching (PSM), where the RL material is originally similar to the SL lexical item both phonetically and semantically, e.g. SWC 可口可樂 *kekou kele* 'Coca-Cola'.

It is obvious that Zuckermann distinguishes Class A and Class B from the basic

material which is SL or RL and that he pays much attention to pronunciation in his classification of borrowing. In HKWC it seems that written forms of the borrowing words are of importance. Therefore, I will adopt Zuckermann's classification with some modification. Class A and Class B will be distinguished from the forms of scripts, that is, Class A uses English letters while Class B uses Chinese characters.

According to this classification, Class A can be analyzed as the following types:

(1) Pure borrowing. The borrowed item keeps its orthography, grammar and meaning, and its pronunciation may undergo little change due only to native speakers' phonetic accent. For example, English words such as *Sir*, *hit*, *in*, and *out* are often used in HKWC.

(2) Assimilated borrowing. The borrowed item has been adapted to the native system, but SL is still dominant. Its grammar and meaning are kept, but phonetic form and pronunciation may be changed due to phonetic reduction and abbreviation:

a) Phonetically reduced form. The first syllable is retained but succeeding syllables are clipped, or the first syllable is clipped and the second syllable is retained. For examples, prɒʃ is from *professional*, cap from *capture*, lib from *library*, æʃ from *certificate*, æʃn from *economic* or *economics*, the back part of which is cut off. Port is from *report*, which has had the first syllable clipped off.

b) Abbreviation form. For instance, D is from *disco*, ET from *extra*

terrestrial, *_OL*‘ from *office lady*, *_BB*‘ from *baby*, *_BBQ*‘ from *barbecue*, *_NG*‘ from *No Good*, *_U*‘ from *university*, and *_OI*‘ from *overtime*. As a result of abbreviation, a letter of the English alphabet can express many meanings in HKWC. For example, the letter K is abbreviated from *karat* as in 14K or 18K, *_a measure of gold content*‘ ; from *karaoke* as in K 場 *kei1 coeng4*, *_Karaoke Parlor*‘; from *ketamine* as in K 仔 *kei1 zai2*, *_special K (a kind of drug)*‘; and from *the Ku Klux Klan* as in 三 K 黨 *saam1 kei1 dong2*, *_three K party*‘.

(3) Totally assimilated borrowing (morphemic adaptation). Such a word has been changed not only in pronunciation but also in grammatical meaning, although it keeps its orthography. For example, *fans* and *tips* can both be used in singular form and their original grammatical meanings have been changed. In other words, these English words are pronounced as if they are Chinese words and used as bare forms in the Chinese context.

Class B can be classified into the following two types:

(1) Assimilated borrowing. An RL item is similar to an SL item phonetically, or both phonetically and semantically, but not orthographically.

a) Phonetic matching. The RL item is matched to a Cantonese word similar to the English word phonetically but not semantically. For examples, 士多啤梨 *si6 do1 be1 lei4/2* is transliterated from *strawberry* (in SWC, it is called 草莓 *caomei*), 歐羅

au1lo4 is transliterated from *Euro* (a unit of currency that is used by the member countries of the European Union, it is translated into 歐元 *ouyuan* in SWC), 科文 *fo1 man4/2* is transliterated from *foreman* (it should be 工頭 *gongtou* in SWC), 肥佬 *fei4 lou2* is transliterated from *fail* (it should be 不及格 *bujige* in SWC), 煲呔 *boul taai1* is transliterated from *bow tie* (it should be 蝴蝶結 *hudiejie* in SWC), 的士高 *dik1 si6 goul* is transliterated from *disco* (it is transliterated into 迪斯科 *disike* in SWC), and 梨巴 *lei4 baal* is transliterated from *neighbor* (it should be 鄰居 *linju* in SWC). There is no semantic relationship between the Chinese characters and the English words in these cases except their phonetic resemblance.

b) Semanticized phonetic matching, where the RL item (Chinese lexical item) is similar to the SL item (English lexical item) phonetically, as well as semantically in a loose sense. Zuckermann (2000:259) claims that the SPM tradition in Chinese used to be very common in the borrowing of country names such as 美國 *Meiguo* ‘_America’, 英國 *Yingguo* ‘_UK/Great Britain’, 法國 *Faguo* ‘_France’, 泰國 *Taiguo* ‘_Thailand’, 德國 *Deguo* ‘_Deutschland/Germany’, but now many country names are usually only phonetic matching (PM) in SWC. It is true that 加拿大 *Jianada* is from *Canada*, 尼日利亞 *Niriliya* from *Nigeria*, 墨西哥 *Moxige* from *Mexico*, 老撾 *Laowo* from *Laos*, and 巴勒斯坦 *Balesitan* from *Palestine* in SWC, but it seems that HKWC still uses SPM tradition in some country names. For instance, in

HKWC, 加拿大 *gaa1 naa4 daai6* can be called 加國 *gaa1 gwok3*, 尼日利亞 *nei4 jat6 lei4 aa3* can be called 尼國 *nei4 gwok3*, 墨西哥 *mak6 sai1 go1* can be called 墨國 *mak6 gwok3*, 巴勒斯坦 *baa1 lak6 sil taan2* can be called 巴國 *baa1 kwok3*, and 馬來西亞 *maa5 lai4 sai1 aa3* ‘Malaysia’ can be called 大馬 *daai6 maa5*.

c) Phono-semantic matching, where the RL lexical item is similar to the SL lexical item both phonetically and semantically. Phone-in is transliterated into 烽煙 *fung1 jin1* ‘beacon, flames of war’. A 烽煙節目 *fung1 jin1 zit3 muk6* ‘a phone-in program’ is where viewers or listeners make comments on air via telephone, often regarding a specific and controversial topic of discussion for that day. It is obvious that 烽煙 and phone-in are matched both phonetically and semantically. Master (a credit card) is transliterated into 萬事達 *maan6 si6 daat6*, which means ‘a card with which everything can be done successfully’ or ‘a card which can be used to obtain everything’. *Pizza hut* (Pizza restaurant which serves pizza to customers) is transliterated into 必勝客 *bit1 sing3 haak3* (a customer who will absolutely win), which implies that if you come to eat pizza you will do everything successfully.

(2) Totally Assimilated borrowing or Semantic matching, where the RL lexical item is similar to the SL lexical item semantically but not phonetically. There are two types of semantic matching: a) calque form; and b) semantic translation.

a) Calque forms. Calque is a French term for a new word created from a word

in another language. It is a morpheme-for-morpheme translation. 熱狗 *jat6 gau2* ‘hot dog’ and 新鮮人 *san1 sin1 jan4* ‘freshman’ are typical cases of this category in HKWC, while 工作坊 *gung1zok3 fong1* ‘workshop’ is a slightly different case widely used in daily life.

Workshop has two meanings. The first one refers to a room, apartment or building in which manual or industrial work is carried on. The second one refers to a meeting for discussion, study or experiment, originally in education or arts but now in any field; it can also refer to an organization or group established for such a purpose. In HKWC, 國際作家工作坊 *Guoji zuojia gongzuofang* ‘International Writers Workshop’ is an organization, but most of the workshops 工作坊 *gung1zok3 fong1* are used as a meeting for discussion or study as the following:

游泳工作坊 *Youyong gongzuofang*, ‘Swimming Workshop’

成功技巧工作坊 *Chenggong jiqiao gongzuofang*, ‘Success Skills One-day Workshop’

互動教育工作坊 *Hudong jiaoyu gongzuofang*, ‘Interactive Education Workshop’

“促進學習評估”工作坊 *Cujin xuexi pinggu gongzuofang* ‘Workshop on Assessment for Learning’

綠色有機生活工作坊 *Lüse youji shenghuo gongzuofang*, ‘Organic Living

Workshop’

漢字書法工作坊 *Hanzi shufa gongzuofang*, ‘Workshop on Chinese

Calligraphy’

桌球工作坊 *Zhuoqiu gongzuofang*, ‘Snooker Workshop’

賀年剪紙工作坊 *Henian jianzhi gongzuofang*, ‘Chinese Paper Sculpture

Workshop’

湯圓工作坊 *Tangyuan gongzuofang*, ‘Chinese Glutinous Dumpling (Tangyuan)

Workshop’

情人節朱古力工作坊 *Qingrenjie zhuguli gongzuofang*, ‘Valentine’s

Chocholate Workshop’

b) Semantic translation. It is called free translation or sense for sense translation. There is no phonetic matching or copying in these cases. Examples are 電腦 *din6 nou5* for translating ‘computer’, 手腦 *sau2 nou5* for ‘notebook computer’, 資訊 *zi1seon3* for ‘information’, 拜拜肉 *baai3 baai3 yuk6* for ‘bingo wing’, and 肚皮贅肉 *tou5 pei4 zeoi3 yuk6* for ‘muffin top’. These lexical items are difficult to identify as compared with other borrowing items because there are no visual features to be seen between SL and RL.

5.2.2. Two categories of morphemes having undergone changes

It is obvious that HKWC has borrowed a large amount of lexical items from English, and some of them have been nativized for effective communication. In the process of nativization, some morphemes in these items have undergone changes both in forms and meanings. There are two categories of morphemes which have undergone these changes. One category consists of free morphemes which have become productive in compounding and can be combined with other morphemes to form many new words such as 波 *bol* ‘_ball’ and 吧 *baal* ‘_ba’. The other category consists of pruned morphemes, such as in 啡 *fel*, 的 *dikl* and 巴 *baal*, which were originally part of morphemes but have gradually become bound morphemes or even free morphemes.

波 *bol* is transliterated from English ‘_ball’, which refers to (1) a round object used to play various games, and (2) a social gathering for dancing. ‘_Ball’(1) has a parallel Chinese word 球 *qiu* and ‘_ball’(2) has a parallel Chinese word 舞會 *wuhui*. In HKWC, these two indigenous Chinese words are always replaced by 波 *bol*. Examples of ball (1) are 打波 *da2 bol* ‘to play ball’, 波鞋 *bolhaai4* ‘sports shoes’, 扣波 *kau3 bol* ‘smash’, 波恤 *bol seotl* ‘ball shirt’, etc. An example of ball (2) is 波場 *bol coeng4* ‘ballroom’.

Ball (1) has some extended usages in HKWC. The word 八號波 *baat3hou6 bol*,

for example, means a typhoon signal which used to be in the shape of a ball, referring to the Hong Kong Tropical Cyclone Signal which is a system used by the Hong Kong Observatory to indicate the severity of a typhoon. 波 *bol* also has a metaphorical meaning which refers to female breasts. For instance, the word 波霸 *bolbaa3* refers to a woman with large breasts and 波後 *bolhau6* refers to a woman whose breasts are the biggest.

Another example in the first category is 吧 *baa1* bã. 吧 *baa1* is transliterated from English bar. It can be combined with other morphemes to form many new words such as 酒吧 *zau2 baa1* bã, 吧女 *baa1neoi5* a girls who works in a bar and 蒲吧 *pou4 baa1* staying in a bar for a long time.

The second category is very special in the sense that a PM morpheme has undergone morphological changes not found in English. For instance, The PM word 咖啡 *gaal fel* is transliterated from English coffee, which is a disyllable word, with each syllable transliterated into one Chinese character. 啡 *fel* is a part of the morpheme 咖啡 *gaalfel* and should not be separated from 咖 *gaal*. However, 啡 *fel* in HKWC has become an independent morpheme and can be combined with other morphemes to form new words, such as 啡色 *fel sik1* color of coffee, 網啡 *mong5 fel* cybercafé, 齋啡 *zailfel* black coffee, 茶啡 *caa4 fel* tea and coffee, 啡人 *fel jan4* drinkers of coffee, 啡妝 *fel zong1* make up one's face in the coffee-color,

啡鑽 *felzyun3* ‘coffee-color diamonds’ and 啡話 *fel waa6* ‘conversation over a cup of coffee’. 啡話 *fel waa6* is the title of a column in 信報 (Hong Kong Economic Journal) and seems to have a metaphorical meaning of 廢話 *feihua* ‘nonsense or verbiage’. In these cases, 啡 *fel* is a bound morpheme but it is also used independently like a free morpheme, as in the following sentences:

啡，是土地的顏色，代表自然、融和及溫暖；啡與紅，代表活力；啡與藍或啡與黃，代表精神飽滿。今個秋冬，適合亞洲人的啡妝在潮流界來勢洶洶。(Ming Pao Daily News/D5, August 24, 2006)

Fei, shi tudi de yanse, daibiao ziran, ronghe ji wenuan; fei yu hong, daibiao huoli; fei yu lan huo yu huang, daibiao jingshen baoman. Jinge qiudong, shihe yazhou ren de feizhuang zai chaoliu jie laishi xiongxiang.

‘*Fei* is the color of soil, standing for nature, harmony and warmth. *Fei* and the color red stand for vitality; *fei* and the color blue or *fei* and the color yellow stand for full energy. The trend of making up one’s face in the coffee-color which suits Asians is coming in fashion with a vengeance this autumn and this will continue through the winter.’

Here 啡 *fel* is the abbreviation of 啡色 *fel sik1*. It seems that 啡 *fel* has gone

through several abbreviation steps: 咖啡 *gaal fe1* is abbreviated to 啡 *fe1* first, then 啡 *fe1* as a bound morpheme is combined with 色 ‘color’ to form 啡色 *fe1 sik1*, and finally 啡色 *fe1 sik1* is reabbreviated to 啡 *fe1* as a free morpheme. 啡 *fe1* as a free morpheme has not been widely used and whether this usage is accepted or not will be decided by the Hong Kong speech community and other Chinese speech communities.

Examples similar to 咖啡 *gaal fe1* are 的 *dik1* and 巴 *baal*. These two Chinese characters are originally part of two morphemes respectively, but have now become bound morphemes. 的 *dik1* comes from 的士 *dik1 si6* ‘taxi’, which is transliterated from taxi. The two characters 的士 cannot be separated from each other, since they form one morpheme. But in HKWC, 的 *dik1* functions as an independent morpheme and can be combined with other morphemes to create new words. Examples are 紅的 *hung4 dik1* ‘a taxi whose color is red’, 綠的 *luk6 dik1* ‘a taxi whose color is green’, 藍的 *laam4 dik1* ‘a taxi whose color is blue’ and 泥艙的 *nei6 maang5 dik1* ‘a taxi whose driver waits for many passengers going to a designated place, which is against the law because it does not observe the rule of charging by the meter’.

巴 *baal* is a pruned form of 巴士 *baal si6* ‘bus’, which is a monosyllable in English but has been transliterated into a disyllabic Chinese word 巴士 *baal si6* as a PM word. In HKWC, 巴 *baal* can be combined with other morphemes to create new

words such as 城巴 *sing4 baal* ‘Citybus’, 九巴 *gau2 baal* ‘Kowloon Motor Bus’, 新巴 *san1 baal* ‘New World First Bus’, 小巴 *siu2 baal* ‘light bus/minibus’, 邨巴 *cyun1 baal* ‘shuttle bus’, 隧巴 *seoi6 baal* ‘tunnel bus’, 校巴 *haau6 baal* ‘school bus’, 旅巴 *lei5 baal* ‘tourist bus’, 凍巴 *dung3 baal* ‘abus in which it is very cold because air conditioner’s temperature is set very low’, 冷氣巴 *laang5hei3baal* ‘abus with the air conditioner’ and 空巴 *hung1baal* ‘airbus’.

的 *dik1* and 巴 *baal* as productive morphemes have also been widely used in SWC. This means that the borrowing items from English to HKWC have diffused to Mainland China, even Taiwan and other overseas Chinese communities.

芝 *zil* is abbreviated from 芝士 *zil si6* ‘cheese’ and can be combined with other words as in 三重芝心批 *saam1 cung6 zil sam1 pei1* ‘pizza with three layers of cheese in the center’ and 芝味 *zil mei6* ‘cheese flavor’ in HKWC.

The morphological changes induced by lexical borrowing tend to be a process of grammaticalization in which lexical items gradually become affixes. Wu (2001) points out that affixation is the natural process of grammaticalization in Chinese and is not necessarily driven by borrowing from English. It seems that affixation induced by lexical borrowing in HKWC mainly resulted from nativization in the process of borrowing.

5.3. Patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC

5.3.1. Patterns of morphological borrowing

HKWC has borrowed bound morphemes from English through PM, PSM, SPM, and semantic translation. For example, 士 *si6* in 番士 *faan1 si6* ‘fans’, 貼士 *tip3 si6* ‘tips’, and 碌士 *luk1 si6* ‘notes’ is a plural marker, belonging to PM; 迷你 *mai4 nei5* ‘mini’ belongs to PSM; and 氏 *si6* in 屈臣氏 *wat1 san4 si6* ‘Watsons’ is a possessive marker belonging to SPM.

Some English affixes are borrowed into both HKWC and SWC as bound or free morphemes through semantic translation, but the choice of Chinese morphemes is sometimes different between the two varieties. For instance, cyber- (mainly prefixed to nouns, originally forming words relating to computers, information technology and virtual reality, later also forming terms relating to the Internet) in ‘cybersquatter’ is translated into 功能變數名稱 in both SWC and HKWC, such as 功能變數名稱搶注者 *yuming qiangzhu zhe* or 網域霸佔者 *wangyu bazhanzhe* in SWC and 功能變數名稱搶劫者 *yuming qiangjiezhe* in HKWC (Sun 2007). Some words derived from English affixes are only found in HKWC but not in SWC. For example, HKWC 數碼港¹ *sok3 maa5 gong2* is translated from English ‘cyberport’ but 數碼 *shuma* as a translated counterpart of cyber- has not been found in SWC.

5.3.1. 1. Plural marker *_s'*.

Generally speaking, English inflectional suffixes indicating tense, numbers, possession and degree are ignored during the process of borrowing into Chinese. A few counterexamples have been found in HKWC, in which English suffixes indicating number or possession are borrowed. Some English words with inflectional morphemes are borrowed into HKWC as a whole but the inflectional morpheme has lost its meaning and function in the process of nativization. 番屎/番士 *faan1si6* *_fans'* and 貼士 *tip3si6* *_tips'* belong to this category. 士 *si6* *_s'* is a plural maker in English but it has lost its grammatical meaning in HKWC, since 番屎/番士 *faan1si6* and 貼士 *tip3si6* can be used as a singular form, with 一個 *yige* *_one'* in front of them or 們 *men* *_plural marker'* after them.

The following are examples for 番屎/番士 *faan1si6* or *_fans'*. They are all used as singular forms.

(1) 我由曼聯番士變成利物浦番士。(Hong Kong Google)

Wo you Manlian fanshi biancheng

I from Manchester United Football Team fan become

Liwupu fanshi

Liverpool Football Team fan

I have turned from a fan of Manchester United Football Team to a fan of Liverpool Football Team.

(2) 江小姐是祿哥的超級 fans。(Hong Kong Economic Times/23-08-2006/A23)

Jiang Xiaojie shi Luge de chaoji fans

Jiang Miss is brother Lu DE super fans

Miss Jiang is brother Lu's super fan.

(3) 小 fans 獨自離家，一嘗搭火車滋味。(am730/ 09-08-2006/P22)

Xiao fans duzi lijia, yi chang da huoche ziwei

The small fan alone leave home have a try take a train taste

The small fan leaves home alone to try taking a train by himself.

(4) 那時，我是巴金筆下覺慧的 fans。(Sing Tao Daily/ 03-04-2006/A19)

Nashi, wo shi Bajin bixia Juehui de fans

At that time I am Bajin writing Juehui DE fan

At that time I was a fan of Juehui in Bajin's novel.

(5) 請各位 fans 多多指點。(Hong Kong Google)

Qing gewei fans duoduo zhidian

Ask every fan much more help with ideas

All you fans, please help with your ideas!

In examples (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5), the subject of the Chinese version is in a singular form, which is indicated by a singular pronoun or a proper noun. The grammatical meaning of s'as a plural marker has disappeared.

(6) 有 Fans 要求和他簽名時²，明道不答應之餘更向 Fans 爆粗口，問候人家的母親，因此惹來 Fans 們不滿。(Sing Tao Daily/04-06-2006/名人焦點 02)

You fans yaoqiu he ta qianming shi, Mingdao bu daying zhiyu

Having fans ask with him sign when Mindao not agree besides

geng xiang fans bao cukou, wenhou renjia de muqin, yinci

still to fans swear greeting somebody DE mother hence

relai fans men buman

make fans PL dissatisfied

When some fans asked him to sign their names with his signature, Mingdao not only disagreed with them but also swore at them, thus making them

dissatisfied.’

(7) 大家送我的咖哩食品數目，應該可以收藏至明年，多謝大家，但希望 Fans
們暫時不要再送。(Sing Tao Daily/25-08-2006/D10)

Dajia song wo de kali shi pin shumu, yinggai keyi shoucang zhi

All of you send me DE curry food number should can store till

mingnian, duoxie dajia, dan xiwang Fans men

next year thank all of you but hope fans PLUR

zanshi buyao zai song

temporary do not once more send

‘The curry you sent can last till next year. Many thanks to all of you.

Hopefully, fans will not send me any more curry in the near future.’

In examples (6) and (7), ‘fans’ has a plural suffix 們 *men* after it. This indicates that the grammatical function of the plural marker ‘s’ has been lost.

貼士 *tip3si6* ‘tips’ can either refer to a small sum of money given to someone for performing a service or a piece of advice about something practical. The following examples use the second meaning. ‘Tips’ is a plural form but it is used as a singular form in the following examples.

(8) 夏裏巴很想給大家一個貼士。(Hong Kong Google)

Xialiba hen xiang gei dajia yi ge tieshi

Xialiba really hope give everybody a CLAS tips

‘Xialiba really hope to give everybody a tip.’

(9) 我不妨給大家一個貼士。(Hong Kong Google)

Wo bufang gei dajia yi ge tieshi

I might as well give everybody a CLAS tip

‘I might as well give everybody a tip.’

(10) 第一個貼士…，第二個貼士…，第三個貼士…(Hong Kong Google)

Diyi ge tieshi, di'er ge tieshi, disan ge tieshi

The first CLAS tips the second CLAS tips the third CLAS tips

‘The first tip, the second tip, and the third tip...’

In examples (8) and (9), 貼士 *tip3si6* takes numeral +classifier 一個 *yige* ‘one’ in front and in example (10) 貼士 *tip3si6* appears with 第一個 *diyige* ‘the first’, 第二個 *di'erge* ‘the second’ and 第三個 *disange* ‘the third’ in front. Variation between 第一個貼士 *diyige tip3si6* ‘the first tip’ and 貼士 1 *tip3si6 yi* ‘the first tip’, which is a

calque form of English, is sometimes found in the newspaper (Ming Pao Daily News /20-06-2007/B7). This indicates that 貼士 *tip3si6* is used in singular form. In the following example (11), 碌士 *luk1 si6* ‘notes’ also has numeral +classifier 一份 *yifen* ‘one copy’ in front of it.

(11) 他將那一份碌士看完了。(Hong Kong Google)

Ta jiang na yi fen lushi kanwan le

He DISP that one CLAS notes has read PART

‘He has finished reading that set of notes.’

5.3.1.2. Possessive marker —‘s ’’

Possessive marker —‘s ’’ in English is almost ignored in the process of translation. This can be seen from the name of churches, hospitals and secondary schools in Hong Kong, which have a possessive marker —‘s ’’ after the English name but do not have it in the Chinese version. Examples include *Saint Joseph’s Church* versus 聖約瑟聖堂, *St. Anne’s Cath Church* vs. 聖亞納天主堂, *St. Paul’s Hospital* vs. 聖保祿醫院, *St. Teresa’s Hospital* vs. 聖德肋撒醫院, *St. Paul’s Sec Sch* vs. 聖保祿中學, *St. Paul’s Co-ed Coll* vs. 聖保羅男女中學 and *St. Mark’s Sch* vs. 聖馬可中學.

However, in 屈臣氏 *wat1 san4 si6* ‘Watsons’ the possessive marker is borrowed.

Watsons is the retail and manufacturing division of Hutchison Whampoa, a Hong Kong Based Conglomerate with interests in businesses as diverse as shipping and telecommunications. The name of Watsons is from the name of a dispensary. In 1828, an English businessman, A.S. Watson started to run a dispensary and named it Hong Kong Dispensary in Guangzhou. He moved it to Hong Kong by the end of the first Opium war. He registered his dispensary with Hong Kong Government in the name of Watson & Co .A. S. and translated this name into Cantonese 屈臣氏大藥房 *wat1san4 si6 daai6 joek3 fong4*. About sixty years later, the company established branches in many cities of China such as Shanghai, Hankou, Tianjin, Fuzhou and Xiamen. From the advertisement (Figure 5) of the dispensary in Shanghai, it is obvious that Watson's was the original form of Watsons, and the possessive apostrophe was omitted later. This 's', which is matched to 氏 *si6* 'surname', is a possessive case maker but not a plural form. 屈臣氏 *wat1 san4 si6* 'Watson's' means 姓屈臣的 *xing quchen de* 'a person whose surname is Watson'. Watsons and 屈臣氏 *wat1 san4 si6* are matched well phonetically and semantically, as semanticized phonetic matching (SPM).

Other examples of borrowed possessive marker from English to Chinese are hard to find. The borrowed morpheme has been nativized and it is difficult to be identified as an alien element.



From: Sh1.eastday.com, October 31, 2002

Figure 5. The advertisement of the dispensary of Watson's in Shanghai

5.3.1.3. Affix 迷你 *mini* ‘enchanting you or attracting you’

Some English affixes are borrowed into HKWC as free morphemes or even phrases. For example, *mini-* in *miniskirt* is transliterated into Chinese as 迷你 *mini*, which can be seen as a V+O phrase and can be interpreted as ‘enchanting you or attracting you’ in Chinese apart from having the English meaning of a smaller version of something. 迷你 *mini* is PSM form but it is not clear whether 迷你 is from SC *mí nǐ* or Cantonese *mai4 nei5*³.

In HKWC, *mini-* can be used as an adjective and can even be used as a verb. The following examples, including (12), (13), (14) and (15), are from websites through the Hong Kong Google search engine.

迷你噪音音樂會 *mini zaoyin yinyuehui*, Mininoise Concert‘

迷你我 *mini wo*, mini-me‘

超短迷你裙 *chaoduan mini qun*, super miniskirt‘

迷你小巴士 *mini xiao bashi*, small minibus‘

迷你小型巴士 *mini xiaoxing bashi*, small size minibus‘

超迷你電腦 *chao mini diannaobao*, super mini-computer‘

超迷你外形 *chao mini waixing*, super mini-contour‘

超迷你設計 *chao mini sheji*, super mini-design‘

最新 mini 超迷你列印伺服器 *zui xin mini chao mini lieyin sifuqi*, the newest

mini super mini-print server‘

(12)買車不夠錢，那來台迷你的

Mai che bu gou qian, na lai tai mini de

To buy car not enough money then want CLSS mini DE

Sincethere is not enough money to buy a car then you need to buy a mini model.‘

(13) 迷你的東西總是讓人愛不釋手。

Mini de dongxi zongshi rang ren aibushishou

Mini DE products always let someone fascinated

Mini-products always make you so attached to them that it is hard to let go.’

(14) 那車的造型迷你。

Na che de zaoxing mini

That car DE form mini

That car is in a mini style.’

(15) 幾乎很多最經典的車都被迷你化了。

Jihu henduo zui jingdian de che dou bei minihua le

Almost quite a few the most classical DE car all PASS minify PART

Quite a few of the most classical cars have been minified (have mini versions).’

迷你 *mini* has almost all the functions of an adjective to modify nouns or noun phrases. In examples (12) and (13), it has 的 *de* after it and in example (14), it functions as a predicate. In example (15), it takes the suffix 化 *hua* -fy’ and becomes a verb.

5.3.2. Word class and class shifts in the borrowing process

Chan and Kwok (1990: 39) claim that the greatest number of English nouns, a

number of English adjectives and a few verbs have been borrowed, and that there is an almost total absence of other categories of words like prepositions, pronouns and conjunctives. However, Tang (2001) argues that prepositions, conjunctives and other functional words can be borrowed. He makes a quantitative analysis on the categories of words which are borrowed from English into Hong Kong Chinese and come up with the following statistic figures (see Table 5), which includes the first stage (1840s–1979) and second stage (1980–) of borrowing. In Tang’s study, the term ‘others’ refers to prepositions, conjunctives and other functional words which make up 3.3% of the total borrowed words.

Table 5. The percentage of the categories of the words borrowed from English

	N	V	A	Others	Phrase	Total
Number	542	72	72	26	73	785
% of total	69	9.2	9.2	3.3	9.3	100

In Tang’s study, prepositions like ‘for’ and conjunctives like ‘and then’ are borrowed items, but in my view, they belong to code-mixing because they are not widely used in written form, especially in HKWC. The English preposition ‘versus’ or

its abbreviation *_VS* (sometime written as *Vs* or *vs.*) should be taken as a real borrowed item of preposition since it has been widely used in HKWC. Li (1998:171) claims that the nearest Chinese /Cantonese counterpart of *_vs.* is the preposition 對 *deoi3*, which, however, carries only the meaning of confrontation but does not contain the other meaning of *_vs.*, which may be glossed as *_juxtaposition of two entities for comparison and contrast*. Hence, Li points out that it would be inappropriate to substitute *_vs.* in his examples by 對 *deoi3*. It seems that the nearest Chinese counterpart of *_vs.* can be 對 *deoi3* and 和 *he*, 跟 *gen* or 與 *yu*. 和 *he*, 跟 *gen* or 與 *yu* can be both preposition and conjunctive. The meaning of *_vs.* as *_juxtaposition of two entities for comparison and contrast* should be expressed as Chinese 和 *he*, 跟 *gen* or 與 *yu*, as in the following examples. These examples strongly show that preposition is borrowable.

張慧慈 VS 張文慈(Headline Daily/ 09-03-2006/p14)

Zhang Huici VS Zhang Wenci

_Zhang Huici versus Zhang Wenci

企業 VS 傳媒互利共生(Hong Kong Economic Times/22-08-2006/A41)

Qiye VS Chuanmei Huligongsheng

Business versus media benefits mutually and develops together

小販版本 Vs 食環署版本 (Ming Pao Daily News / 30-03-2006/A4)

Xiaofan banben Vs Shihuanshu banben

The vendor's version versus the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department's version

戶外廣告 Vs 公共藝術 (Ming Pao Daily News / 21-04-2006/D9)

Huwai Guangao Vs gonggong yishu

Outdoor advertisements versus public arts

問題 Vs 議題 (Ming Pao Daily News / 03-05-2006/D5)

Wenti Vs yiti

Problems versus topics

工作 Vs 快樂 (Ming Pao Daily News / 04-04-2007/D5)

Gongzuo Vs kuaile

Work versus happiness

大英百科 Vs 網上維基百科的對談(Ming Pao Daily News/ 25-09-2006/A25)

Daying baike Vs wangshang weijibaike de duitan

Dialogue between Encyclopedia Britannica versus Wikipedia online

Previous studies (Shi and Chu 1999; Shi, Su and Chu 2001; Shi, Shao and Chu 2006) also show that some HKWC words have undergone functional shifts. The shifts include nouns or verbs function as adjectives, nouns or adjectives function as verbs, intransitive verbs function as transitive verbs, and so on. The following examples show syntactic changes of the English word out ‘after it was borrowed into HKWC.

(16) 高且呈拱形的眉毛已經 out 。 (am730/05-02-2007/P27)

Gao qie cheng gongxing de meimao yijing out

High and arched shape DE eyebrow already out

High and arched eyebrows are already out of fashion.

(17) 瘦身幾時 out ? (Sing Tao Daily/26-09-2006/E9)

Shoushen jishi out?

Losing weight when out

When will losing weight be out of fashion?

I would say sorry to him/her.’

(20) 兒童關心冥王星被 out 。 (Headline Daily/03-01-2007/P10)

Ertong guanxin minwangxing bei out

Children worry about Pluto PASS out

‘Children worry that Pluto will not be included in the nine planets.’

In a game or sport, if someone is out, he/she can no longer take part either because he/she is unable to or because he/she has been defeated(cf. Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner’s English Dictionary 2006:1017). Example (18) tells us that a football star will be out because he has lost his game according to the previous context. Example (19) says that someone has defeated somebody else in a game so he would say sorry to the loser if the way of defeating was inappropriate. If someone says that a proposal or suggestion is out, it means that it is not acceptable (cf. Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner’s English Dictionary 2006:1017). Example (20) says that children worry about that the hypothesis that Pluto is one of the nine planets will be unacceptable. In examples (18) and (20), ‘out’ has 被 *bei* ‘passive marker’ in front of it and this is a clear indication that ‘out’ functions as a verb in these cases. In example (19), ‘out’ takes an object and it is obviously a transitive verb.

5.3.3. Patterns of structural borrowing in HKWC

Whether syntactic structures can be borrowed has long been a controversial issue, but Shi and his research group have found that HKWC has adopted quite a number of structures after analyzing HKWC data (1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2006). Syntactic changes in HKWC include excessively long relative clauses, non-emphatic *be* to lead adjectival predicates, the preposition *dang* being used in the same way as the English *when* and modifier coming after the modified.

According to Shi (2006b), English structures borrowed into HKWC can be roughly classified as two categories. The first category is a calque form of the English expression, as in 是時候本港重新輸入活雞 *shi shihou bengang chongxin shuru huoji* ‘it is time for Hong Kong to import live chickens again’. The head initial structure of English complex nominal phrases is borrowed into HKWC with an invisible expletive subject. The second one is derived from the calque form but it has deviated from the English structure, as in 本港銀行是時候提高利率了 *Bengang yinhang shi shihou tigao lilü le* ‘It is time for banks in Hong Kong to raise the interest rate’. This is an extension of the calqued form, because 本港銀行 *bengang yinhang* ‘banks in Hong Kong’ shows up in the matrix subject position when the head initial structure of English complex nominal phrases is borrowed. Shi does not give a name to this category although he has described it clearly. The second category is actually

an extension of the first category, and will be called extension form in this study. In addition to these two forms described in Shi (2006b), convergence is also an important way of structure borrowing.

In convergence forms a borrowed structure is embedded in a matrix language structure. 現在是時候使用它們製造網頁了 *xianzai shi shihou shiyong tamen zhizao wangye le* ‘it is time to use them for making websites now’ is an example of the convergence form. The sentence has the surface structure of a descriptive copular clause, but the predicate is actually a copy of the English structure ‘(it) is the time to do something’. 現在 *xianzai* ‘now’ occupies the matrix subject position in the copular sentence.

A careful examination of the following examples will help us see the nature of convergence clearer.

(21) 暑假行將結束，是時候收拾心情準備上學。(Ming Pao Daily News/

19-08-2006/D4)

Shujia xingjiang jieshu, shi shihou shoushi xinqing

Summer vacation will finish it is time to change our hearts

zhunbei shangxue.

get ready to school

Since the summer vacation will finish soon, it is time to change our hearts and get ready to school.

(22) 現在歐文的不幸，或者亦是時候讓大家反思這種過分介入野生動物生活的做法。(Headline Daily/05-09-2006/P2)

Xianzai Ouwen de buxing, huozhe yi shi shihou rang dajia fansi

Now Steve Irwin DE death, possibly also it is time let all of us rethink

Zhe zhong guofen jieru yesheng dongwu shenghuo de zuofa

This CLAS excessively interfere wild animals life DE practice

The death of Steve Irwin possibly makes all of us rethink the practice of excessively interfering with wild animals' lives.

(23)春節是時候去看看這位我最敬重的老師。(Hong Kong Google)

Chunjie shi shihou qu kankan zhe wei wo

Chinese New Year it is time go for a visit this CLAS I

zui jingzhong de laoshi.

most respectful DE teacher

Chinese New Year is a time to visit the teacher I am most respectful for.

(24) 你還說過當我變成天使是時候你也會變成天使的，我們一起飛著，

飛向天堂。(Hong Kong Google)

Ni hai shuo guo dang wo biancheng tianshi shi shihou

You also say ASPT when I become angel it is time

Ni ye hui biancheng tianshi de women yiqi fei zhe fei xiang

You also can become angel DE we together fly ASPT fly PREP

tiantang

heaven

—You also said that it was time for you to become an angel when I became an angel, flying together up to heaven.

In example (21), the 暑假行將結束 *shujia xingjiang jieshu* —the summer vocation will finish soon‘ is an adverbial clause and the main clause is a calque form of —it is time to do something‘ from English. In Examples (22), 現在歐文的不幸 *xianzai Ouwen de buxing* —the death of Steve Irwin‘, is actually the subject of the clause after 是時候 *shi shihou* —it is time‘, but it shows up in the matrix subject position. Sentence (22) is therefore an extension form. Examples (23) and (24), on the other hand, are convergence forms. 春節 *chunjie* —Chinese New Year‘ and 當我變成天使 *dang wo biancheng tianshi* —when I became an angel‘ all occupy the matrix

subject position in a copular sentence. The main difference between example (21), (22), and (23) or (24) is clear. Example (21) has an expletive subject; example (22) has a subject occupying the matrix subject position but the subject is related to the clause after the calque form 是時候 *shi shihou* ‘it is time’; and examples (23) and (24) have a real subject occupying the sentence initial position and the subject is not related to the clause after the calque form 是時候 *shi shihou* ‘it is time’.

Calque forms, extension forms and convergence forms may sometimes be reproduced or diffused by monolinguals or bilinguals. The following example has reproduced a calque form many times.

- (25) 家裏的黃金的概念就像擁有一家沒有圍牆的沃爾瑪⁵。現在是時候改變一下了！是時候開始把你自己放在這幅獲取利潤的畫面中了！是時候增加你的收入減少你的壓力了！是時候認真考慮一下擁有一個低成本，高利潤的生意，從而擁有自己的人生了！是時候學習把家庭開支轉化為家庭收入了！現在是時候了！是時候把屬於你的利潤放進你的口袋了！是時候獲取更多關於家裏的黃金的資訊，並且提出問題，以開放的思維聆聽答案了，現在是時候了！是你行動的時候了！（Hong Kong Google)

Jia li de huangjin de gainian jiu xiang yongyou yi jia meiyou weiqiang de Woerma. Xianzai shi shihou gaibian yixia le! Shi shihou kaishi ba ni ziji fang zai

*zhe fu huoqu lirun de huamian zhong le! Shi shihou zengjia ni de shouru
jianshao ni de yali le! Shi shihou renzhen kaolü yixia yongyou yi ge di chengben,
gao lirun de shengyi, cong'er yongyou ziji de rensheng le! Shi shihou xuexi ba
jiating kaizhi zhuanhua wei jiating shouru le! Xianzai shi shihou le! Shi shihou
ba shuyu ni de lirun fangjin ni de koudai le! Shi shihou huoqu gengduo guanyu
jiali de huangjin de zixun, bingqie tichu wenti, yi kaifang de siwei lingting da'an
le! Xianzai shi shihou le! Shi ni xingdong de shihou le!*

The concept of 'gold in the family' (You buy goods directly from producers and save money by bypassing retailers) is like a Wal-Mart store with no walls. Now is time to have a change. It is time to put yourself in a position which can get profit. It is time to increase your income and to reduce your pressure. It is time to consider having a low cost, high profit business, thus having enough money to enjoy your life. It is time to learn to change your family expense into family income. Now is the right time. It is time to put the profit you earn into your pocket. It is time to get more information about the gold in the family and to raise questions then to listen to the answer with an open mind. Now is the right time. It is time for you to act.'

Example (25) uses the calque form of the English pattern it is time to do

something' seven times, and thus creates seven parallel sentences, which is called parallelism' in rhetoric. This not only is a rhetorical device but also an important way to reproduce the calque form.

Reproduction is a way for the borrowed structures to diffuse by reproducing the same structures from calque forms, extension forms or convergence forms. It is the process in which the same structure of the three forms is used extensively in other contexts.

The distinction between calque forms, extension forms and convergence forms is clear because each of them has its own characteristics in structure. Reproduction, on the other hand, is not to be judged by structural features alone. Calque form is usually created by bilinguals while a reproduction form is not necessarily created by a bilingual, that is to say, a monolingual may reproduce such a form. Calque is direct borrowing while extension and convergence are not necessarily direct borrowing⁶. Reproduction is definitely indirect borrowing. Direct borrowing is an abrupt change induced by language contact while indirect borrowing is a gradual changing process of nativization or diffusion.

Having discussed three ways of structure borrowing and their diffusion in HKWC, I will provide more examples of these patterns found in HKWC superlative structures, co-ordinate structures, and prepositional phrases.

a) Superlative structures:

Some calque forms and extension forms from English superlative structures are found in the following examples.

(26) 去年是全球天氣有記錄以來**第六最溫暖**的年份，而香港則是自 1884 年有記錄以來**第八個最溫暖**的年份。(Headline Daily/04-01-2007/P10)

Qunian shi quanqiu tianqi you jilu yilai diliu

Last year be the globe weather have record since the sixth

zui wennuan de nianfen, er Xiangang zeshi zi 1884 nian

warmest DE year While Hong Kong was from 1884 year

you jilu yilai diba ge zui wennuan de nianfen.

have record since the eighth CLAS warmest DE year

‘Last year (2006) was the sixth warmest year on record globally while it was the eighth warmest for Hong Kong since records began in 1884.’

In example (26), 第六最溫暖的年份 *diliu zui wennuan de nianfen* is a calque form of ‘the sixth warmest year’ while 第八個最溫暖的年份 *diba ge zui wennuan de nianfen* is an extension of the calque form 第八最溫暖的年份 *diba zui wennuan de nianfen* ‘the eighth warmest year’, because the latter has a 個 *ge* ‘classifier’ between ‘the eighth’ and ‘warmest’. 第 X 最溫暖的年份 *di X zui wennuan de nianfen* ‘the X

warmest year‘ cannot be used in SWC because a classifier after X is needed. 第 X 個最溫暖的年份 *di X ge zui wennuan de nianfen* ‘the X warmest year‘ has become an acceptable expression in SWC, since people or things modified by 最+A can be more than one, as pointed by Xing (2000) who argues that the expression 第二座最大的王府 *di'er zuo zuida de wangfu* ‘thesecond biggest mansion‘ is acceptable.

(27) 超級碗在美國……創下該項賽事歷史上**第二高收視率**，同時亦成為美國電視史上**第三高收視節目**。(am730/07-02-2007/P32)

Chaojiwan zai Meiguo chuangxia gaixiang saishi lishishang

Super Bowl⁷ in the USA create the game historically

di'er gao shoushilü tongshi yi chengwei meiguo

the second highest rating, Meanwhile also become the USA

dianshishi shang disan gao shoushi jiemu.

in the history of television the third highest rating program

‘The ‘Super Bowl‘ football game has achieved the second highest American TV rating in the history of that game, while it has also become the third highest rating program in the history of American television.’

In example (27), 第二高收視率 *di'er gao shoushilü* seems to be acceptable in

SWC but 第三高收視節目 *disan gao shoushi jiemu* ‘the third highest rating program’ is not. The latter is an extension form of the calque form 第三最高收視率節目 *disan gao shoushilü jiemu* ‘the third highest rating program’ and it has omitted 最 and 收視率. The meaning of 第三高收視節目 *disan gao shoushi jiemu* is not clear. The expression is usually expressed in SWC as 收視率排名第三 *shoushilü paiming disan* or 收視率排名第三的節目 *shoushilü paiming disan de jiemu* ‘the third highest rating program’.

b) Co-ordinate structures

及 *ji* ‘and, as well as’ is a conjunctive, which connects co-ordinated nouns or noun phrases in SWC. When 及 *ji* is used in a conjunction, the second noun or noun phrase is usually less important than the first one in SWC. English conjunctive ‘and’ and ‘as well as’ can be used to connect two or more clauses while in SWC 和 *he* and 及 *ji* have no such function. In HKWC, 和 *he*, 及 *ji* and 以及 *yiji* can all connect two or more clauses apparently due to influences from English. What is more, 及 *ji* in HKWC has a function similar to 和 *he* in SWC, in the sense that it does not denote any difference important due to influence from English ‘and’. Examples of these usages in HKWC are easy to find in our data. The following part will provide some examples of HKWC calqued co-ordinate structures from English.

Former Secretary for Security Regina Ip Lau Suk-yea writes the following sentences in an edited extract of her Master's thesis, which was published in Sing Tao Daily and South China Morning Post on the same day. Examples (28) and (29) show that the function of English 'and' connecting two or more clauses is borrowed into HKWC. She uses 以及 *yiji* 'and' and 以及同樣重要的 *tongyang zhongyao de* 'and last but not least' to connect the last clause and the previous ones. The borrowing is actually related to the co-ordinate structures but not to conjunctive itself. According to the theory of Thomason (2001b), these calqued structures are examples of rule transfer. There is little or no lexical transfer in cases like these since the transfer is completely independent of morpheme transfer.

(28) 香港在邁向直選之前，有必要先設計一個符合《基本法》內的所有基本原則的選舉制度，即是：一)按照實際情況而發展；二)按部就班和循序漸進；三)均衡的代表性；以及四)有利資本主義經濟的發展。(Sing Tao Daily/04-07-2006/A15)

Xianggang zai mai xiang zhixuan zhiqian, you biyao xian sheji yige fuhe Jibenfa nei de suoyou jiben yuanze de xuanju zhidu, jishi: 1) anzhao shiji qingkuang er fazhan; 2) anbujiuban he xunxujianjin; 3) junheng de daibiaoxing; yiji 4) youli zibenzhuyi jingji de fazhan.

Before Hong Kong can move towards direct elections, the region needs to design an electoral system that complies with all the underlying principles of the Basic Law: 1) development in the light of actual situation; 2) gradual and orderly progress; 3) balanced representation; **and** 4) facilitation of the capitalist economy.⁶

(South China Morning Post/04-07-2006/A16)

(29) 民主基建的關鍵元素包括：一)較為成熟的政黨；二)培養政治人才；三)推動政治民主文化；四)公民社會的進一步發展；以及同樣重要的；⁸五)重整制度以解決目前行政及立法機關的割裂，以及為立法機關全面直選而設計一套選舉制度，而該制度必須符合《基本法》的所有關於民主發展的基本原則。(Sing Tao Daily/04-07-2006/A15)

*Minzhu jijian de guanjian yuansu baokuo: yi) jiao wei chengshu de zhengtang; er) peiyang zhengzhi rencai; san) tuidong zhengzhi minzhu wenhua; si) gongmin shehui de jinyibu fazhan; **yiji tongyang zhongyao de;** wu) chongzheng zhidu yi jiejie muqian xingzheng ji lifa jigou de gelie, yiji wei lifa jiguan quanmian zhixuan er sheji yi tao xuanju zhidu, er gai zhidu bixu fuhe Jibenfa de suoyou guanyu minzhu fazhan de jiben yuanze.*

The Key components of the democratic infrastructure include: 1) greater maturation of political parties; 2) development of political talent; 3) fostering of

a democratic political culture; 4) greater development of civil society; **and last but not least**, 5) institutional re-engineering to resolve the current disconnect between the executive and legislative branches and to introduce an electoral system for direct elections to the legislature that satisfies all the underlying principles governing democratic development in the Basic Law.’ (South China Morning Post/04-07-2006/A16)

In example (28), the structure of co-ordinate clauses in the English version is 1) ; 2) ; 3) ; and 4), and the structure in the Chinese version is 一) ; 二) ; 三) ; 以及四). In example (29), the structure of conjunction in the English version is 1) ; 2) ; 3) ; 4); and last but not least, 5), and the structure in the Chinese version is 一) ; 二) ; 三) ; 四); 以及同樣重要的 ; 五). It is obvious that the structure of the Chinese versions is a calque form of the English version. In example (28), the Chinese version uses 以及 *yiji* to connect the last clause and the previous ones. In example (29), the Chinese version uses 以及 *yiji* ‘and’ and a phrase 同樣重要的 *tongyang zhongyao de* ‘last but not least’ to connect the last clause and the previous ones. In SWC, no conjunctive or other linguistic element is needed to connect the last clause and its previous clauses in a co-ordinate construction.

In the 1998 Policy Address of the HKSAR, which is written in HKWC,194

co-ordinate structures are found, of which 192 use 以及 *yiji* and 2 use 及 *ji*. No such calque structure is found in the SWC version of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region after a careful comparison between the English version and the Chinese version. In the English version, Article 24, Article 48, Article 62, Article 72, Article 73 and Article 79 use ‘and’ in the co-ordinate construction, but the Chinese version does not use any conjunctive.

In English, ‘and’ and ‘or’ can be used together to link juxtaposed nouns or noun phrases. In HKWC, 及或 *jihuo*, ‘and or’ 及/或 *ji/huo*, ‘and/or’ and 和/或 *he/huo*, ‘and/or’ are used to convey the same idea. They are obvious examples of calque forms and have been reproduced in some contexts. Example (30) seems to be a case of reproduction form because the author did not need to think in English when he wrote about local news .

(30) 新校舍地盤……為“休憩用地”，而理大希望將其改為“政府，機構
及或社區”土地用途。(Take me home/05-01-2007/p3)

Xin xiaoshe dipan wei xiuqi yongdi, er lida xiwang

New campus construction site be rest place but PolyU hope

jiang qi gaiwei zhengfu, jigou jihuo shequ

DISP it Change into government organization and/or community

tudi yongtu.

land use

‘The construction site of the new campus is currently designated as a place for rest but the Hong Kong Polytechnic University hopes to change its designation into an area used by Government, organizations and/or communities.’

c) Prepositional phrases:

Prepositional phrases usually compose of a preposition and an object. It is often very difficult to provide a word-for-word translation to some English prepositional phrases or nominal expressions modified by a PP. In SWC, a PP can modify a nominal expression only when a *de* is inserted as in 對朋友的態度 *dui pengyou de taidu* ‘attitude toward friends’. A verb is needed in Chinese when some English noun phrases modified by a PP are translated. ‘People from America’ is not “從美國的人” *cong meiguo de ren*, but “從美國來的人” *cong meiguo lai de ren*, and ‘the story according to him’ is not “據他的故事” *ju ta de gushi* but “據他講的故事” *ju ta jiang de gushi* (Chao 1968:752). The collocation of some Chinese prepositions and their objects is slightly different from that of their English counterparts, and these English prepositional phrases cannot be translated into Chinese word for word. The following examples of prepositional phrases in HKWC show that they have been

influenced by English since many calque forms from English prepositional phrases are unacceptable in SWC.

(31) 在美國，從諾貝爾得主、精英分子和多數主要媒體，都分批聯名反對。

(Ming Pao Daily News/08-11-2004/A4)

Zai meiguo, cong Nuopbei'er dezhu, jingying fenzi he duoshu

In the USA from Nobel Laureates the elite and most of

zhuyao meiti, dou fenpi lianming fandui

important media all group by group jointly signing object

‘In the USA, from the Nobel Laureates, the social elite and most of the important media, all object it by jointly signing group by group.’

In Example (31) the calqued prepositional structure 從諾貝爾得主、精英分子和多數主要媒體 *cong Nuopbei'er dezhu, jingying fenzi he duoshu zhuyao meiti* ‘from the Nobel Laureates, the social elite and most of the important media’ should be expressed as SWC 從諾貝爾得主、精英分子到多數主要媒體 *cong Nuopbei'er dezhu, jingying fenzi dao duoshu zhuyao meiti* ‘from the Nobel Laureates, the social elite to most of the important media’. The English structure ‘from X, Y and Z’ should be expressed as 從 X, Y 到 Z *cong X, Y dao Z* ‘from X, Y to Z’ in SWC. This is a SWC

co-ordinate nominal structure but not a prepositional structure, and it can function as a subject (Xing 1980).

(32) 政府在經濟的基本角色，是為市場提供一個有效運作架構，並在市場運作明顯失調時採取行動。(Sing Tao Daily/19-09-2006/A22)

Zhengfu zai jingji de jiben juese, shi wei shichang tigong yi

The government in economy DE basic role be for market supply one

ge youxiao yunzuo jiagou, bing zai shichang yunzuo

CLAS effective operative framework and in market operation

mingxian shitiao shi caiqu xingdong.

Clearly imbalance when take action

‘Government’s role in the economy is to supply an effective framework for the operation of markets and to take action when the operation is clearly imbalanced.’

(33) 面對中國崛起，中美關係在貿易、能源、軍事、外交乃至發展模式都存在合作和衝突的可能。(Hong Kong Economic Journal/11-05-2007/P13)

Miandui Zhongguo jueqi, zhongmei guanxi zai maoyi

Facing China rise China and the USA relation in trade
nengyuan junshi waijiao naizhi fazhan moshi
 energy military affairs foreign affairs even developmental model
dou cunzai hezuo he chongtu de keneng
 all exist cooperation and conflict DE possibility

‘Because of the rise of China, there are possibilities of both cooperation and conflict in the relations between China and the USA regarding trade, energy, military affairs, foreign affairs, and even developmental models.’

The cojoined noun phrases in examples (32) and (33) are calque forms of English prepositional phrases. The 在經濟 *zai jingji* ‘in economy’ in example (32) and 在貿易、能源、軍事、外交乃至發展模式 *zai maoyi, nengyuan, junshi, waijiao naizhi fazhan moshi* ‘among trade, energy, military and foreign affairs, even developmental models’ in example (33) are not acceptable in SWC. When the preposition 在 *zai* indicating scope is used before the predicate or in the sentence-initial position, it usually takes 方面 *fangmian* as the head of its object noun phrase in SWC. 在經濟 *zai jingji* should be 在經濟方面 *zai jingji fangmian*, and 在貿易、能源、軍事、外交乃至發展模式 *zai maoyi, nengyuan, junshi, waijiao naizhi fazhan moshi* should be 在貿易、能源、軍事、外交乃至發展模式方面 *zai maoyi,*

nengyuan , junshi , waijiao naizhi fazhan moshi fangmian.

(34)我在一九六七年一月三日加入政府工作，轉眼間在不足三個月，便足足工作了四十年，在這段時間，我目睹香港由難民社會步入工業發展時期，從香港遍地都是山寨式工廠，慢慢蛻變成貿易樞紐、國際金融中心、物流中心。(The 2006-07 Chief Executive's Policy Address)

Wo zai yijiuliuqi nian yi yue sanri jiaru zhengfu gongzuo, zhuanyanjian zai bu zu san ge yue , bian zuzu gongzuo le sishi nian, zai zhedian shijian, wo mudu Xianggang you nanmin shehui buru gongye fazhan shiqi, cong Xianggong biandi doushi shanzhai shi gongchang,manman tuibian cheng maoyi shuniu, guoji jinrong zhongxin, wuliu zhongxin.

I joined the Government on January 3, 1967. In three months' time, I will have been in public service for 40 years. During this time, I have seen Hong Kong transform itself from a city of refugees into an industrialized centre powered by the proliferation of small, domestic factories. We gradually developed into a trading hub, an international financial centre and a logistic base.'

Three of the HKWC prepositional phrases in example (34) show clear signs of English influence. The first one and the second one seem to be calque forms while the

third one is a modified calque form. These three PPs all represent time but their objects have different syntactic status. 在一九六七年一月三日 *zai yijiuliuqi nian yi yue sanri* ‘on January 3, 1967’ is a temporal phrase which can function as the object of 在...*zai*... ‘to be at’ (Chao 1968: 533, Zhu 1998:43). However, 不足三個月 *bu zu san ge yue* ‘not over three months’ is an numeral-classifier compound modified by an adjective phrase, and 這段時間 *zai zheduan shijian* ‘during this time’ is an ordinary determiner phrase headed by a determiner 這 *zhe* ‘this’. They cannot be used in the SWC 在+O structure because they are not temporal phrases. They should be used in the structure 在+X +裡 of SWC, as 在不足三個月裡 *zai bu zu san ge yue li* ‘in three months’ time’ and 在這段時間裡 *zai zheduan shijian li* ‘during this time’.

(35) 在我們的藍圖，香港是世界一流的金融和貿易中心，提供各種高增值服務。(The 2005 Policy Address/Policy Agenda/P2)

zai women de lantu, xianggang shi shijie yiliu de

in our DE vision Hong Kong be world first class DE

jinrong he maoyi zhongxin tigong gezhong gaozengzhi

financial and trade center provide various high-value-added

fuwu

service

In this vision, Hong Kong will continue to develop and strengthen its role as a world-class financial and trade centre providing high-value-added services.’

Similarly, the HKWC prepositional phrase 在我們的藍圖 *zai women de lantu* ‘in our blueprint’ is a calque form of the English prepositional phrase structure in this vision’. 藍圖 *lantu* ‘blueprint’ is not a temporal word and cannot be the object of 在 *zai*. This prepositional phrase should be 在我們的藍圖裡 *zai women de lantu li* in SWC.

5.4. Conclusion

The patterns of HKWC morphosyntactic borrowing described here are based on data collected in recent years or from previous studies. They form the basis for studying the process of morphosyntactic borrowing.

Morphosyntactic borrowing is closely related to lexical borrowing and the shift of word function is related to both syntactic and lexical borrowing. There are some similarities between lexical borrowing and morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC, in that both of them undergo changes in the process and calquing is one of the important ways to achieve that.

It is suggested in this study that morphological borrowing be a tendency of

nativization while structural borrowing be a tendency of Englishization. Plural marker *‘s* and possessive marker *’s* in some loan words are borrowed into HKWC but they have not been incorporated into the Chinese grammatical system and have not affected the characteristics of HKWC morphology. In contrast, several borrowed structures have affected the syntactic structure of HKWC and some of them have gradually been incorporated into the grammatical system of HKWC.

Bilinguals play an important role in the process of linguistic borrowing, especially in the process of creating calque forms from English. Monolinguals make some contributions in the process of nativization of the borrowed items, especially in the diffusion of borrowed forms. The factors influencing morphosyntactic borrowing will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Notes

1. The Cyberport has been developed on a 24-hectare site at Telegraph Bay in the southern district of Hong Kong Island. The project aims to build a community interconnected by state-of-the-art broadband network consisting of four office buildings, a five-star hotel, a retail entertainment complex and about 2,800 deluxe residential houses, leading to an interactive environment that will be home to a cluster of about 100 companies and 10,000 professionals in the IT and creative

-
- industries.
2. The meaning of this text is ambiguous. The exact meaning should be that some fans asked to sign their names with his name according to the original context.

 3. The pronunciation of *mínǐ* (SC) is closer to English pronunciation [mini] than that of Cantonese *mai4 nei5*. In SWC, 迷你 is also used sometimes. There is not enough evidence to say that 迷你 was created by Cantonese native speakers. Some linguists (Chan and Kwok 1990, Hu 2001) described it as a Cantonese loanword while Zuckermann (2000) took it as a Standard Chinese loanword. The difference between SWC and HKWC is that 迷你 is more widely used in HKWC than in SWC. Accordingly, I analyze it as a linguistic form in HKWC.

 4. 唔好意思 *ng4 hou2 ji3 si3* is Cantonese. Cantonese sentences or phrases embedded into HKWC in some texts are easy to find in Hong Kong newspapers.

 5. 沃爾瑪 Woerma ‘Wal-Mart’ is a public corporation in the United States, the world's largest retailer and second-largest corporation. It was founded by Sam Walton in 1962, incorporated on October 31, 1969, and listed on the New York Stock Exchange in 1972. It is the largest private employer in the United States and

Mexico. Wal-Mart is the largest grocery retailer in the United States, with an estimated 20% of the retail grocery and consumables business, and the largest toy seller in the United States, with an estimated 45% of the retail toy business. As of March 8, 2007, revenue was \$2.0 billion higher than the previous year's results. Internationally, Wal-Mart operates internationally, and has joint ventures in China and several majority owned subsidiaries.

6. In my view, the borrowed structure 本港銀行是時候 *bengang yinhang shi shihou* 'it is time for banks' is an indirect borrowing while the structures V+O+AdverbialP and V+O+Locative-PP (Shi 2006b) have two possibilities. If the structures are borrowed from English directly by bilinguals, they are direct borrowing. By contrast, if the structures are not borrowed from English directly, but reproduced from the extension forms especially by monolinguals, they are indirect borrowing.
7. In professional American football, the Super Bowl is the championship game of the National Football League (NFL) in the United States.
8. The semicolon used here seems to be a mistake. Comma should be used according to the English version.

Chapter 6

Explanations for morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC

6.1. Introduction

Fischer (1992) claims that it is difficult not to agree with Sørensen (1957:132) in that ‘it is usually impossible actually to prove that a syntactical loan has taken place, apart, of course, from cases where a word by word translation creates syntactical innovations in the translated version’. Fischer and Sørensen both think that word by word translation is the only way to create syntactic innovations in the translated version. It seems that they overestimate the role of calquing, a word by word translation in the translated versions. Syntactical loans as syntactical innovations occur not only in the translated version, but also in other contexts. In chapter 5 two more ways, extension and convergence, in addition to calque, have been found to be important processes of syntactic innovations which trigger syntactic change.

Morphosyntactic borrowing can be clearly observed in HKWC, and such a phenomenon brings on a series of questions. Can morphosyntactic structures be borrowed without restrictions? What effect does this borrowing have on HKWC, positive or negative? What factors constrain the borrowing, internal, external or both?

How do these factors constrain the borrowing? What significance does morphosyntactic borrowing have on the study of language contact and language change?

All these complicated questions cannot be answered in just one chapter. Instead, an analytic approach will be taken to discuss constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC first, then a hypothesis will be established to explain the development of morphosyntactic borrowing, and finally, a summary will be offered.

6.2. An analytic approach

Based on a summary of previous studies, Field (2002: 4-5) gives as reasons of borrowing five social factors: the cultural dominance of the source language; association with speakers of the dominant language; filling of lexical gaps in a recessive language well along in the process of shift; facilitating understanding with younger speakers who are no longer familiar with original forms of the recessive language; and affect or convenience. He also gives two linguistic factors for borrowing, frequency and equivalence, which can account for the amount and types of borrowing. However, the list seems far from complete.

Mithun (1992:89) assumes that much syntactic development is driven by interplay between internal and external factors. Syntactic borrowing seems to

represent a purely externally caused development: it is dependent on external contact with another language, under appropriate conditions of relative prestige and bilingualism. Yet aspects of internal structure of the borrowing language can affect the facility with which a prospective loan is integrated.

Based on Mithun's assumption with some modification of mine, an analytic model has been established to explain morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC, as shown in Figure 6. In this analytic model, there are two types of constraints. One is linguistic constraints or internal factors, which include universal constraints and typological constraints. The other is sociocultural constraints or external factors, which consist of status factors, demographic factors, as well as institutional support and control factors.

The factors of these two types of constraints listed in this model are not exhaustive. The linguistic constraints listed here are only a part of those proposed by researchers, and the highly controversial ones are not included. For instance, most of Moravcsik's (1978) universal constraints (see 2.4.2), which are believed to be false (e.g. Campbell 1989), are not incorporated in this analytic model. There are many sociocultural constraints and it is not practical to include all of them. This model therefore only includes the three most important types of factors to explain morphosyntactic borrowing.

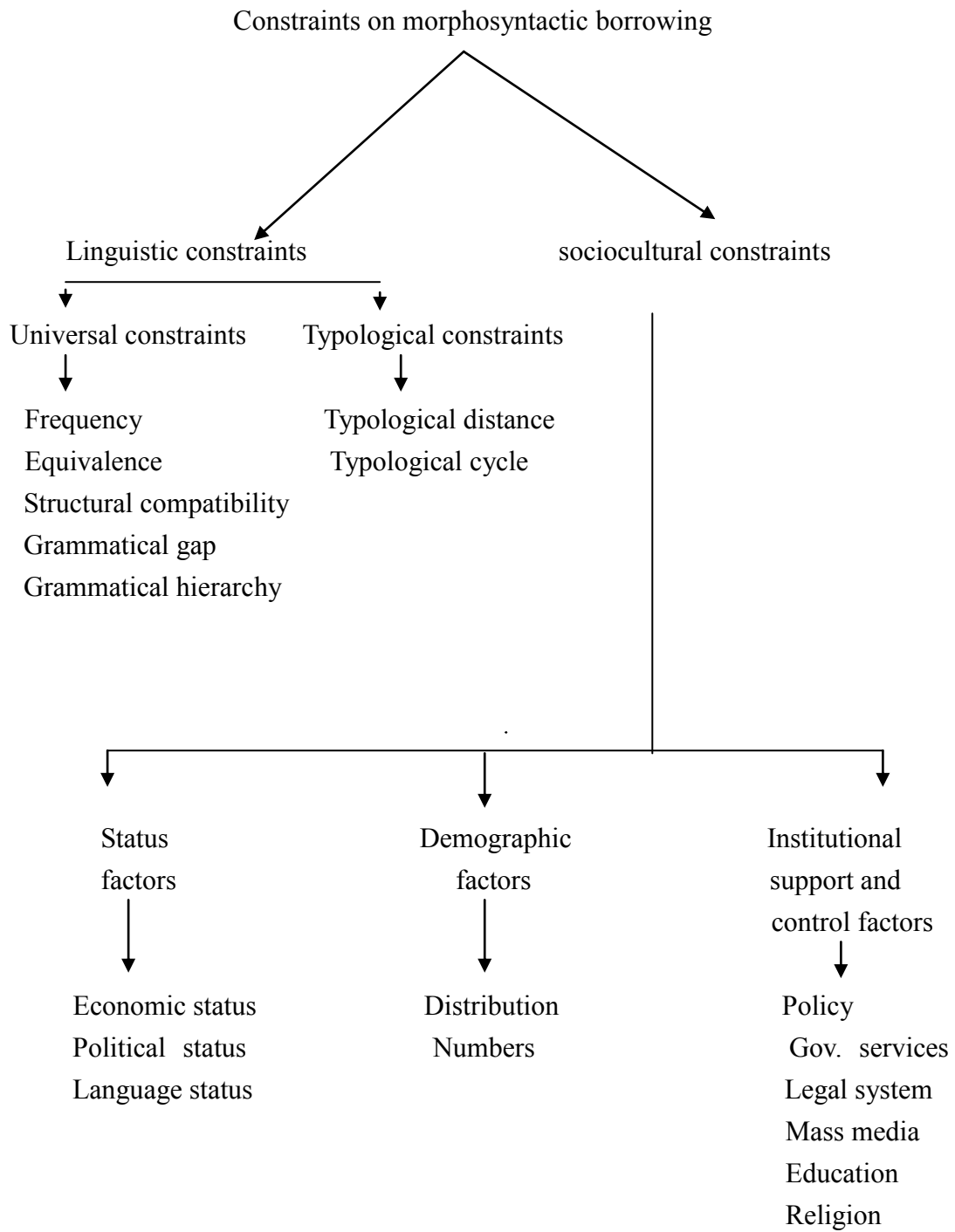


Figure 6. Constraints on morphosyntactic borrowing

6.2.1. Sociocultural constraints

Effectiveness of sociocultural constraints usually varies depending on the duration and intensity of language contact. Longer contact and greater intensity of contact in general means more borrowings, though negative attitudes may hinder the borrowing, at least to some extent. It is obvious that HKWC has much more morphosyntactic borrowings from English than SWC does. The duration and intensity of language contact is one of the reasons for the differences. Other sociocultural factors, such as status factors, demographic factors and institutional support and control factors can all provide us with some explanations why HKWC have more morphosyntactic borrowings than SWC.

6.2.1.1. Status factors

Status factors are those related to a speech community's social prestige, its historical status, and the prestige of its language and culture—not only within the immediate confines of its territory, but internationally as well (Harwood et al 1994). It is proposed that there are three types of status which influence morphosyntactic borrowing: economic status, political status and language status.

It is reported that Hong Kong ranks number one among the world's top business

centers' and fifth among the world's cities in global commerce according to the latest results of 2007 MasterCard World Wide Centers Index (HK wins top marks as business center, but warned on pollution'/South Morning Post/June13, 2007/A3). The following table shows the details.

Table 6. The overall top 10 world wide Centers of Commerce and their scores as business centers out of 100

Ranking	Cities	Scores
1	London	71.75
2	New York	62.13
3	Tokyo	59.54
4	Chicago	53.88
5	Hong Kong	71.89
6	Singapore	66.16
7	Frankfurt	50.91
8	Paris	55.21
9	Seoul	51.37
10	Los Angeles	56.19

Source: Mastercard

Among the 100 top Centers of Commerce, Shanghai is ranked 32nd while Beijing is in the 46th.

The high economic status of Hong Kong is closely related to its political stability. Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of PRC with a high degree of autonomy in all matters except foreign and defense affairs. According to the Sino-British Joint Declaration (1984) and the Basic Law, Hong Kong retains its political, economic and judicial systems and its unique way of life, and continues to participate in international agreements and organizations as a dependent territory. Hong Kong has its own legislature, a Chief Executive as the head of government, and a multi-party system. The ‘one country, two systems’ policy gives Hong Kong a special political status.

The language policy of Hong Kong which can be summarized as bi-literacy and tri-lingualism is subject to the influence of politics of Hong Kong but not to the language policy of PRC. The language policy of Hong Kong is that English, Putonghua and Cantonese have the same status. However their actual status is not equal. Despite the small number of native speakers, English enjoys a supreme status in the Hong Kong speech community, during the colonial period being the sole official language for more than 130 years and having the highest prestige in international speech communities. Spoken Cantonese in Hong Kong holds the status

of predominant language, with about 90.8% of the population using it as their usual language and 5.7% of the population using it as another language or dialect in 2006 (see Table 3 in chapter 4). PTH is the third most popular spoken language in Hong Kong, but only 0.9% of the population use PTH as their usual language (see Table 3 in chapter 4). The status of PTH is still lower than that of English or spoken Cantonese although it has become more popular than before. In Mainland China, English and Cantonese do not have such high status, because PTH is the only language used nation-wide, English is just one of the foreign languages which is used to communicate with foreigners and Cantonese is one of the dialects which can only be used in a few areas on limited occasions. The high status of English and Cantonese is the main cause of the emergence and development of HKWC, as well as an impetus of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC.

6.2.1.2. Demographic factors

Demographic factors are those related to the sheer number of composing members of the ethnolinguistic group and their distribution throughout a particular urban, regional, or national territory (Harwood et al 1994). Distribution factors here refer to the numeric concentration of group members in various parts of the 'territory', their proportion relative to outgroup members, and whether or not the group still

occupies its 'traditional' or 'national' territory. Number factors refer to the community's absolute group numbers, their birth rate, exogamy and endogamy, as well as their patterns of immigration and emigration.

The distribution factors of Hong Kong shows that the Chinese ethnolinguistic group is the predominant one, since 95% of the population are Chinese (see Table 1 in chapter 4). Cantonese speakers form the largest ethnolinguistic group in Hong Kong. 90.8% of the population select Cantonese as their usual language and 5.7% of the population select Cantonese as another language or dialect in 2006 (see Table 3 in chapter 4). The percentage of the population selecting English and PTH as another language is higher but has not made up a half of the population. Hong Kongers try to find a language as their identity in postcolonial Hong Kong and Cantonese seems to be a better choice. This distribution factor is one of the causes leading to the high status of Cantonese.

A large mobile population, on the other hand, keeps the supreme status of English and elevates the status of PTH in the Hong Kong speech community. Many students go abroad to study and many international students come to Hong Kong to pursue high degrees. The number of marriages between Hong Kongers and Mainlanders has also increased. Table 7 shows that there are 219,126 mobile residents in Hong Kong in 2006. The number indicates that Hong Kong is a mobile society, and

a mobile society cannot be monolingual. Cantonese cannot become a formal language in every domain of the whole society.

Table 7. Mobile residents by quinquennial age group and sex, 2006

Age Group	Sex		
	Male	Female	Both sexes
0 - 4	659	593	1 252
5 - 9	955	826	1 781
10 - 14	3 197	2 491	5 688
15 - 19	11 334	10 126	21 460
20 - 24	12 874	10 373	23 247
25 - 29	7 398	3 869	11 267
30 - 34	8 718	3 947	12 665
35 - 39	11 107	4 459	15 566
40 - 44	15 838	5 397	21 235
45 - 49	17 691	6 475	24 166
50 - 54	14 827	7 985	22 812
55 - 59	12 072	7 976	20 048
60 - 64	6 904	4 647	11 551
65 - 69	5 813	4 013	9 826
70 - 74	4 305	3 376	7 681
75 - 79	2 720	2 454	5 174
80 - 84	1 159	1 339	2 498
85+	484	725	1 209
All age groups	138 055	81 071	219 126

Note: The Mobile residents are Hong Kong permanent residents who had stayed in Hong Kong for at least one month but less than three months during the six months before or for at least one month but less than three months during the six months after the reference moment, regardless of whether they were in Hong Kong or not at the reference moment.

Source: 2006 Population by Census Office, Census and Statistics Department

It was estimated there was 74,100 Hong Kong students aged 25 and below studying outside Hong Kong at the time of enumeration. Of the 74,100 persons, 62.2% were attending tertiary schools or above. Another 30.9 were attending secondary /matriculation schools and 6.3% primary schools and below. Among those 74,100 students, 26.5% were studying in Canada, followed by Australia (22.2%), the U.K. (21.7%) and the U.S.A. (17.7%). About 38.8% of them studied outside Hong Kong for improving English proficiency, 47.1% for receiving a different mode of education, 25.3% for better learning atmosphere and 17.7% for gaining overseas experience (Sources: Thematic Household Survey Report No.9, Hong Kong Students Studying Outside Hong Kong, November, 2002. See Website of the Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong).

Most universities in Hong Kong have been taking an active role in establishing strategic connections with overseas universities. They support staff and student mobility projects and internationalization programs. For example, the Hong Kong University has over ten percent of undergraduate students exchange to institutions overseas or in Mainland China (source: from Website of the University of Hong Kong). The Hong Kong Polytechnic University currently has about 1000 students from 17 countries. Nearly 200 distinguished universities in Europe, North America and Asia have already partnered with PolyU. The Research Student Attachment

Program of PolyU covers both incoming PhD students from overseas institution to PolyU and outgoing PolyU students to overseas institution. (source: International Scholarships and Student Exchange Opportunities/Hong Kong Google)

Hong Kong is an open society. The number of exogamous marriages is increasing. It is reported that the number of marriages between Hong Kongers and Mainlanders has increased by seven times in the decade from 1996 to 2006 (Ming Pao News Daily/ 20-06-2007/F2). The six colleagues in my office are also good examples of exogamy and endogamy. Three of them come from Mainland China and the other three are Hong Kong permanent residents. Among these three Hong Kongers, a female found a European boyfriend and an American male married a Hong Konger ten years ago.

6.2.1.3. Institutional support and control factors

Institutional support and control factors refer to the extent to which an ethnolinguistic group has gained formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a community, region, state or nation. Informal support refers to the degree to which an ethnolinguistic group has organized itself as a ‘pressure group’ to represent and safeguard its own ethnolinguistic interests in various state and private activities including education, mass media, government services, business, finance,

etc. Formal support refers to the degree to which members of an ethnolinguistic group have gained positions of control at decision-making levels of the government apparatus, in business, industry, mass media, and religious and cultural domains (Harwood et al 1994). In Hong Kong, formal support comes in the form of government policies, government services, legal services and education while informal support comes from mass media, business and religion. The following section will discuss them in detail.

Two language planning organizations in Hong Kong have tremendous influence on the government's language policy: the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research (SCOLAR) and the Official Languages Division under the Civil Service Bureau.

SCOLAR is a non-statutory body, set up on October 1, 1996, to advise the government on language education issues in general, and in particular, to set goals for language learning at different levels of education, to propose specific language-attainment targets at each stage of education, and to identify research and development projects which are necessary for the enhancement of language proficiency and language in education. SCOLAR has a non-official chairman plus 20 members from the education, business and industry, and professional sectors. Through the Language Fund (with an uncommitted balance of more than \$200

million), SCOLAR continues to support innovative and worthwhile projects to enhance language proficiency. SCOLAR also initiated research projects to examine the language competence of students on completion of primary schooling and the process whereby such competence is developed; the relationship between Putonghua and Chinese language teaching; the use of multi-media technology in enhancing language education and the ability of students to study in English at the tertiary level.

The Official Languages Division was one of the departments in the Hong Kong Government before it was incorporated into the Civil Service Bureau on 1 July 2003. The Official Languages Division monitors the implementation of the Government's language policy in the Civil Service. It is mainly responsible for: 1) providing translation, interpretation and editing services to Government bureaux and departments; 2) developing the institutional arrangements for the use of the official languages, including setting guidelines for the Civil Service, reviewing Civil Service language practices, and providing language advisory services to bureaux and departments; 3) promoting the effective use of the official languages, in particular Chinese and PTH, in the Civil Service by compiling reference materials and producing writing aids, providing support services, and giving input to language training programs; and 4) monitoring the use of the official languages and the

implementation of the language policy in bureaux and departments.

Formal support also comes from government services, the legal system and education. Government services often use English as the formal language. Here is a story of my own. My wallet was stolen when I took a ferry from North Point to Hung Hom one day in October 2006. I reported it to the police station at the Hung Hom Railway Station with the hope of getting back my student identity card, door key card, credit card and bank card. When I reported to the duty officer, I spoke in PTH and he answered me in Cantonese with some PTH sentences and some English words. At the end, he offered me a memo for claiming the lost items in case someone sent the wallet to the police station. This memo was written in English. Likewise all formal documents I receive from the university or the department are in English.

English is still more important than Chinese in the Hong Kong legal system although the Government implements legal bilingualism. Three reasons have been provided in chapter 4 (see 4.3.5.3) to explain why Chinese versions do not have the same validity as English versions.

The Hong Kong Government proposed a compulsory Chinese medium instruction policy in April 1997, but it met strong opposition from schools, students and parents. In a survey conducted by the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups

during July and August 1997, 55% of respondents, who were students and parents, admitted Chinese medium instruction was more effective, but 73% believed English standards would be lowered and 50% thought that it would hurt their chances of finding a job and getting a place in a university (South China Morning Post/19-09-1997). The students' and parents' worries are justified because all eight universities in Hong Kong use English as the main medium of instruction. If a student does not know Cantonese or PTH, it will not hurt his chance of getting into university. But if his English does not reach the standard, he will definitely not be admitted. The Hong Kong Government has done a lot to promote Chinese medium instruction but the policy remains controversial.

It looks like that the language education policies in postcolonial Hong Kong keep a balance between Chinese and English, and at times favor Chinese due to the implementation of the compulsory Chinese medium instruction policy. However if we analyze the following table, the language education policy of SCOLAR seems to favor English. Table 8 is the distribution of funded projects by different language groups. Among these language groups, 137 English projects get 1269.6 million Hong Kong dollars, making up 61.6 of the total amount of grant, 104 Cantonese projects only get 66.4 million dollars, making up 3.2% of the total, and 50 PTH projects get 72.4 million dollars, making up 3.5% of the total. The English projects

get nearly twenty times more money than the Cantonese and PTH projects.

Table 8. Distribution of funded projects by language group (as at 31.5.2007)

Language group	No. of projects	Amount of grant(\$in million)	% of total
English	137	1296.6	61.6
Chinese group	159	145.5	7.0
Chinese	104	66.4	3.2
Putonghua	50	72.4	3.5
Chinese & Putonghua	5	6.7	0.3
Cross language	27	646.7	31.4
total	323	2061.8	100.0

Source: Statistics Information, Standing Committee on Language Education and Research

Formal support is of crucial importance but informal support also influences language use in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong mass media have a multilingual policy (see 4.2.2), as does the religious domain. Buddhists and Taoists in Hong Kong usually use Chinese, especially Cantonese in temples when they are engaging in religious activities. English, Cantonese and PTH all can be the preaching language in churches in Hong Kong. The Bible has both an English version and a Chinese version. The Chinese version uses SWC but not HKWC. The Chinese version uses either the simplified Chinese characters or the traditional complicated Chinese characters.

From the above analysis, it is obvious that English has a supreme status and gets more institutional support than Chinese even though there are fewer English native speakers than Chinese speakers. The supreme status of English is one of the reasons why HKWC has many morphosyntactic borrowings from English. Meanwhile, the fact that the Chinese ethnolinguistic group is predominant in the Hong Kong speech community is an important factor to explain that HKWC cannot borrow English morphosyntactic elements without restrictions because monolinguals are still the majority of the population and because Hong Kong people must communicate with Mainlanders and people in other Chinese speech communities outside Hong Kong.

6.2.2. Linguistic constraints

Having discussed sociocultural constraints, let us now turn to linguistic constraints. Linguistic constraints refer to the way in which linguistic structural and functional restrictions influence morphosyntactic borrowing induced by language contact. In the process of linguistic borrowing, it seems that evaluation and diffusion are constrained by sociocultural factors and selection and nativization are constrained mainly by internal factors although sociocultural constraints may have some effects on the borrowed item. Morphosyntactic borrowability and morphosyntactic patterns

are closely related to linguistic constraints.

Universal constraints include frequency, equivalence, structural compatibility, grammatical gap and grammatical hierarchy. Typological constraints include typological distance and typological circle. In chapter 2, the concepts of these terms have been introduced and discussed (2.4.). They will be discussed further in the following section.

6.2.2.1 Universal constraints

Frequency is an important universal constraint. Which form should be borrowed is usually determined by how often it occurs in the source language. *Fans* is borrowed from English into HKWC probably because it is used more frequently than *fan* in describing the people who like a sport star or a singer star very much. The borrowed English structures such as it is time for someone to do something and co-ordinate structure clause A, B, C and D are also used very frequently in English.

Some items are borrowed because of the lack of equivalence. For example, there is no Chinese equivalent for the English word G cup, which shows the size of big female breasts. It is therefore borrowed into HKWC as G 級 *G kap*. A woman with G cup breasts is called G 後 *G hou* G queen. It is difficult to replace this G with any Chinese word (see Appendix 2, text3). The English sentence pattern it is time for

someone to do something' has no total Chinese equivalent due to the fact there is no visible expletive subject in Chinese. Thus the dummy subject *it* in English usually does not appear in HKWC sentences (Shi 2006b).

Structural compatibility has always attracted much attention in the discussion of linguistic constraints. Calque forms in structural borrowing are usually not compatible with the structures of RL. For example, the English complex nominal phrase *'it is time for someone to do something'* is a head initial structure and its calqued form is thus not compatible with head final nominal constructions of SWC or Cantonese, since both of them are strictly head final in nominal constructions in the sense that the modifier in a complex nominal phrase always precedes the nominal head (Shi 2006b).

Grammatical hierarchy also constrains morphosyntactic borrowing. It is commonly believed that nouns are easier to borrow than other word classes because they can be easily adopted into RL. According to the statistics based on the Database of English Loanwords in Cantonese in our department, 582 nouns, 45 verbs, 33 adjectives, 14 measure words, 1 adverb, 2 affixes and 14 phrases have been borrowed into Cantonese from English. Since most of the English loanwords in HKWC come through Cantonese, the statistics are applicable to HKWC.

The hierarchy of word class borrowing in HKWC seems to be: nouns > verbs > adjectives > other parts of speech > affixes; or: content items > functional words >

affixes. The pattern of word class borrowing is in line with other linguists' grammatical hierarch such as Whitney (1881), Haugen (1950b) and Field (2002).

A grammatical gap seems to be the most important internal factor for morphosyntactic borrowing, since borrowing is a device to fill functional gaps (Heath 1978: 115-6). The grammatical gap constraint is closely related to the equivalence constraint, in other words, a grammatical gap means that it is hard for RL to find a structure equivalent to a structure in SL.

English conjunctive and' can be used to connect two or more clauses but SWC 和 *he* or 及 *ji* has no such function. This is a grammatical gap of SWC. Since the function of connecting two or more clauses by the English and' is borrowed, the gap in HKWC has been filled. In SWC, there is no structure corresponding to English A and or B', and this also constitutes a grammatical gap. When SWC expresses the meaning equivalent to the English structure A and or B', it usually uses the structure A and B, or, A or B'. HKWC borrows the English grammatical features in 及或 *jihuo*, 及/或 *ji/huo*, and 和/或 *he/huo* to fill Chinese functional gaps. These calqued forms have a simpler syntactic structure than those in SWC. It can be predicted that these calqued forms might diffuse to SWC.

6.2.2.2. Typological constraints

According to the theory of typological cycle, Field (2002) argues that the borrowing language's morphological typology will constrain the borrowing. An isolating language can borrow neither agglutinating nor fusional morphology. Since English and Chinese are typologically distinct languages, it is difficult for Chinese to borrow morphology from English. English inflectional suffixes indicating tense, number, possession and degree are usually omitted when they are borrowed into Chinese due to typological constraints. No tense marker has been found among the English loan verbs in our HKWC data. The plural marker and possessive marker on borrowed English nouns are usually omitted as well. Counterexamples in this regard are HKWC nouns such as 番屎/番士 *faan1si6* 'fans', 貼士 *tip3si6* 'tips' and 碌士 *luk1 si6* 'nots'. The plural marker on these English words is borrowed into HKWC as part of a loan word. In the process of nativization, it has lost its grammatical meaning since the grammatical meaning of English plural marker is not readily available in the Chinese grammatical system. Typological constraints take their toll in the process of nativization .

Dialect borrowing, where the typological fit is close for all grammatical subsystems, including the lexicon (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), is different from language borrowing. The lexicon and syntactic structure of SWC and Cantonese

match typologically to a great extent. For example, Cantonese suffixes such as 仔 *zai*, certain syntactic structures such as X 高過 Y *X gao guo Y* 'X is taller than Y' have been borrowed into HKWC and they function well. If HKWC borrows an unlimited number of Cantonese features, it will become the Mixture of Standard Chinese and Cantonese in the continuum of written Chinese described in chapter 3 (see 3.2.1). However, the Mixture of Standard Chinese and Cantonese could not be accepted as a dominant form in the Hong Kong speech community due to social and cultural constraints. The highest status of SWC among written Chinese variants in the Hong Kong speech community seems to be an insurmountable obstacle for the Mixture of Standard Chinese and Cantonese to replace SWC.

Su (2006b) discusses morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC and its constraints, arguing that sociocultural constraints are more important than linguistic constraints. The above discussion shows that linguistic constraints affect mainly certain steps of the borrowing process such as selection and nativization but sociocultural constraints seem to control the whole process of morphosyntactic borrowing.

6.3. A hypothesis on morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC

When a SL item is borrowed into RL, people would like to ask the following questions: do the newly borrowed forms fit the morphosyntactic system of the

adopting language at all or is it quite alien to it? What is the usage frequency of the borrowed forms as compared to the indigenous forms? Can the borrowed form supplant another indigenous form? These questions involve the destiny of the borrowed items. This section will propose a hypothesis on the explanations for the developmental direction of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC and use our data to predict the destiny of the borrowed items.

It is hypothesized that a multi-cultural society results in a multi-level diglossic system, which leads to the emergence of more than one embedded language in the process of linguistic borrowing. Also emerging is the situation in which syntactic and semantic equivalents from different sources coexist, compete with each other, and face selection under linguistic and sociocultural constraints. The result of morphosyntactic borrowing is determined by a system of equilibrium between internal factors and external factors; when external factors trigger a process of borrowing, the equilibrium is broken, but this temporary imbalance returns to equilibrium due to internal factors. Although these two sets of factors seem to interact with each other during the process of morphosyntactic borrowing, the external factors tend to be the determining ones.

Now let us see how syntactic and semantic equivalents from different sources coexist, compete with each other, and face selection under linguistic and sociocultural

constraints.

Three types of syntactic and semantic equivalents are found in the HKWC data. In the first type the borrowed forms and the indigenous forms coexist in one phrase; in the second type these two forms coexist in different structures in the same context or the same article; and in the third type the borrowed forms and the indigenous forms coexist in different contexts in the same article or in different articles.

“香港” 這個 Q 嘜品牌 *xianggang zhege kiul makl pinpai* = this ‘Hong Kong’ quality mark’ (Ming Pao Daily News/16-01-2007/A1) is an example of the first type. In this expression, Q 嘜 *kiul makl* and 品牌 *pinpai* refer to the same thing, quality mark. Q is an abbreviation of quality, and 嘜 *makl* is transliterated from English word *mark*. Another example for this type is 超短迷你裙 *chaoduan mini qun*, =super miniskirt’ (see 5.3.1.3). 超短 and 迷你 have the same meaning, i.e., very short. For translating English word *miniskirt*, SWC usually uses 超短裙 while HKWC usually uses 迷你裙. The expression combines 超短 with 迷你 to emphasize the shortness of a skirt.

In the title 台童食籃球波餅猝死 *Tai tong shi lanqiu bobing cusi* = ‘A Taiwan child suddenly died when a basketball hit his head’ (Ming Pao Daily News/19-06-2007/B11), 食籃球波餅 *shi lanqiu bobing* also belongs to the first type. This phrase uses metaphorical device to describe the event in which a basketball hit a

child's head. Here 籃球 *lanqiu* and 波 *bo* refer to the same thing, i.e., basketball, and one of them is redundant. 食籃球餅 *shi lanqiubing* or 食波餅 *shi bobing* would be more appropriate. The writer deliberately uses English loan word 波 *bo* and the counterpart Chinese word 籃球 *lanqiu* together to attract readers.

Thomason (2001) states that sometimes a group of people will deliberately change their language in order to differentiate themselves more sharply from those of neighboring communities. The coexistence of English loan words and the Chinese counterparts in one construction is perhaps a good example of that statement.

The following are examples of the second type. For English '*baby simian*', HKWC has the following four expressions in the same article: (1) 猿 BB *Yuan BB*, (2) 人猿幼兒 *renyuan you'er*, (3) 小人猿 *xiao renyuan* and (4) 幼猿 *youyuan* (Ming Pao Daily News/22-08-2006/D3). BB is an abbreviation form of *baby*, which is a noun and is often used as the modifier of another noun, as in '*_baby fish*' and '*_baby vegetables*'. There are many HKWC expressions using this word order such as BB 魚 *BB yu* '*_baby fish*', BB 雞 *BB ji* '*_baby chicken*', BB 鴨 *BB ya* '*_baby duck*' and BB 豬 *BB zhu* '*_baby pig*' (Hong Kong Economic Times/23-08-2006/C3). On the other hand, BB may also have a noun modifier before it, as in 猿 BB. 猿 BB and 人猿幼兒 are head initial structure while 小人猿 and 幼猿 are head final structure. These two different structures coexist and face selection under linguistic and sociocultural

constraints, as the borrowed forms and the indigenous forms.

The following are examples of the third type. It is found that *fans*, *fan* 屎, 番屎/番士 *faan1si6* ‘fans’, 粉絲 *fensi* ‘fans’ and Chinese compound words such as 歌迷 *gemi* ‘singer fans’, 球迷 *qiumi* ‘football fans or basketball fans’, 影迷 *yingmi* ‘movie fans’ and 戲迷 *ximi* ‘theatre fans’ coexist in different contexts in the same article or in different articles. 粉絲 *fensi* is a transliterated loan word from *fans* and is widely used in Mainland and Taiwan. It is also used in Hong Kong in recent years. 歌迷 *gemi*, 球迷 *qiumi*, 影迷 *yingmi*, and 戲迷 *ximi* are indigenous forms and widely used in the Chinese speech communities.

The coexistence of these terms seems to be related to style. Borrowed words such as *fans*, *fan* 屎, 番屎/番士 and 粉絲 are usually used in the entertainment news, which are written in an informal style, while 歌迷 *gemi*, 球迷 *qiumi*, 影迷 *yingmi*, and 戲迷 *ximi* are usually used in formal contexts¹. The stylistic factor is considered an external factor (Ebert 2001:201), and it constrains morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC (Su 2006c). Due to stylistic considerations, borrowed forms and indigenous forms have different functions in different contexts, and they will coexist for a long time. Accordingly, it is hard for the borrowed forms to supplant indigenous forms, and vice versa. The findings listed in Table 9 support this assumption.

Table 9. The frequency of *fans* and its loan words and other related words

Years Freq words	1996	2001	2006	Total of ten years (1996-2006)
Fans	0	3.92	29.41	100.00
Fan 屎	0	0	0	0
番屎	0	0	0	0
番士	0	0	0	0
粉絲	0	1.33	28.00	100.00
球迷	0.98	11.54	16.87	100.00
歌迷	0	11.09	10.88	100.00
影迷	0	9.49	10.84	100.00
戲迷	0	0	9.38	100.00

Source: calculated from LIVAC (Linguistic Variations in Chinese Speech Communities) Synchronous Corpus established by Language Information Sciences Research Centre at the City University of Hong Kong.

Table 9 is the frequency of *fans* and its loan words and other related words every five years from 1996 to 2006. The frequency of words in 1996, 2001 and 2006 is the percentage of the total of ten years. The frequency of *fans*, 粉絲 *fensi*, 歌迷 *gemi*, 球迷 *qiumi*, 影迷 *yingmi*, and 戲迷 *ximi* has been increasing in HKWC after 1997. The frequency of borrowed forms *fans* and 粉絲 *fensi* is increasing but it is quite unlikely that they will supplant the indigenous forms 歌迷 *gemi*, 球迷 *qiumi*, 影迷 *yingmi* and 戲迷 *ximi* in the near future, since the latter has been widely used in the Chinese speech communities for a long time. *Fan* 屎, 番屎/番士 *faan1si6* are not found in the corpus, but this does not mean that they will be eliminated from HKWC in the near

future. They are still widely used in informal contexts, and sometimes they are also used in HKWC as shown in the examples of chapter 5. It is apparent that these Cantonese loan words tend to be used less and less in HKWC and there is such a possibility that they will be eliminated eventually due to the effect of external factors.

HKWC contains many borrowed forms from English due in part to the external conditions of bilingualism. The external factor of English prestige continues to influence how the newly borrowed construction is solidified and diffused. This results in quite a few morphosyntactic differences between HKWC and SWC. However, these differences tend to be gradually reduced with the promotion of PTH in Hong Kong and with some HKWC features accepted by people outside the Hong Kong speech community. For example, HKWC loan words such as T 恤 *ti1 seot1*, 'Tshirt', 的士 *dik1si6* 'taxi' and 巴士 *baa1si6* 'bus' are accepted by other Chinese speech communities.

Generally speaking, the process of borrowing tends to retain what is considered positive by the speech community and to discard what is considered negative, and some of the borrowed forms in HKWC may be eliminated eventually. Whether the borrowed forms can supplant the indigenous forms in HKWC or not depends not only on HKWC users, but also on the majority of SWC users.

6.4. Summary

Labov (1994) claims that the two sets of factors, internal and external, are effectively independent of each other, and the external factors are heavily interactive. However, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) state that language changes possibly have multiple causations and that external factors can influence internal factors. This study mainly relies on the theory of multiple causations to explain the morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC.

The essence of this dissertation is that linguistic borrowing is a sociolinguistic process of the speech community but not that of any individual speaker. It is not only constrained by linguistic structures but also influenced by the collective behavior of most members of the speech community. It is found that both internal factors and external factors influence morphosyntactic borrowing, that external factors also influence internal factors, and that the external factors tends to be the determining ones.

Note

1. Here informal style refers to a style which is close to spoken Cantonese while formal style refers to a style which is close to SWC.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

7.1. Conclusion in general

The description, analysis, explanation and discussion of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC in this dissertation allows me to come to the following conclusions:

(1) HKWC is the result of language contact between Chinese and English, as well as between Standard Chinese and Cantonese. It has borrowed a considerable amount of morphosyntactic items from English.

(2) There is strong evidence that morphosyntactic structure is borrowable. Borrowing is the route by which some morphological and syntactic forms are imported into HKWC, and that leads to morphological and syntactic changes in HKWC.

(3) Morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC is a process taking place and completing in a changing multi-level-diglossic Hong Kong speech community. Linguistic constraints only affect certain steps of the borrowing process while sociocultural constraints control the whole process of borrowing.

(4)The morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC have multiple causations, in the sense that borrowing is motivated and constrained by both internal and external factors, but external factors are the determining ones.

7.2. Theoretical and practical significance of this dissertation

7.2.1. Contributions of this study to Chinese Linguistics

In the pages above, the continuum of written Chinese, HKWC and the Hong Kong speech community, patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing in HKWC and causes of the borrowing have been studied. This study has made the following contributions to the study of modern Chinese:

(1) It will help Chinese sociolinguists understand language contact and language change somewhat better, in particular tendencies of morphosyntactic change in modern Chinese.

(2) The results of this study will supply useful information to the studies of language planning, language policy, language teaching, language testing and other fields of Chinese applied linguistics.

(3) This study will have a direct bearing on language policy, education policy and other related policies in Hong Kong; therefore, the result would have some impact

on the studies of Hong Kong language policy and the Hong Kong speech community.

7.2.2. Contributions of this study to general linguistics

This dissertation is a case study about how language contact has affected the development of the morphosyntactic structure of HKWC. In chapter 5 patterns of morphosyntactic borrowing are described. It will help us attain a better understanding of language contact and language change in general, and increase our understanding of the process in other aspects such as lexical borrowing and phonological borrowing in a language or in all languages. This dissertation studies language change mainly from a synchronic approach but it will help us attain a better understanding of language change from a diachronic aspect.

This study provides explanations for the causes of morphosyntactic borrowing. In chapter 3 a model for explaining morphosyntactic borrowing is established, and an analytic approach is used to explain morphosyntactic borrowing in chapter 6. Linguistic constraints have been discussed in many previous studies but sociocultural constraints have rarely been covered. The analytic approach uses sociocultural constraints and linguistic constraints together to explain morphosyntactic borrowing in this study.

This study strongly supports the social group approach to language contact and language change. My conclusions show that linguistic constraints affect mainly some

steps such as selection and nativization but sociocultural constraints control the whole process of morphosyntactic borrowing. My hypothesis proves that although external factors and internal factors seem to interact with each other during the morphosyntactic borrowing, the external factors tend to be the determining ones.

7.3. Prospects for future research

Hong Kong is a sociolinguistic laboratory and a linguistic treasure house for research on language contact. In this dissertation, morphosyntactic borrowing from English to HKWC has been studied systematically but the morphosyntactic changes influenced by Cantonese have not been described and explained comprehensively. An in-depth investigation is needed in the future. The results of language contact between Cantonese and Standard Chinese will help us attain a better understanding of the outcome from the contact between English and Chinese. Typological significance may be found in such comparative study. A further comparative study of the effects of Cantonese on HKWC, of English on SWC or Taiwan Chinese would contribute much more to language contact studies.

Appendices: sample texts of Written Chinese in Hong Kong

Appendix 1: A text of Standard Written Chinese

Text 1: 美好旅程

每次從外地回香港，只要坐上“港龍航空”的飛機，我就很開心。那不是“賓至如歸”的感受，而是“回家”的親切。

這當然是由於“港龍”服務很好，但服務很好的航空公司很多，對於香港乘客來說，“港龍”的優勝之處，是那一份不言而喻的親切感。

當你踏入機艙，就有笑容親切的空中服務員，用你熟悉的語言——香港式的粵語和用詞，同樣是廣東話，要是一位廣州朋友說起來，其實還是有點隔閡的，還有飛機上的香港報紙雜誌，也是迎你回家的一個重要因素。香港生活節奏快，天天都有新鮮事發生，離開此地兩天，就有世上已千年之感，所以即時看到的一份當天報紙，馬上把你在精神上，拉回了家。

有時在位子上坐得久了，站起來舒展一下筋骨，走到空中服務員那裏要杯水喝，她們天南地北飛，常常要在地留宿，見了我，就會問問當地的飲食資料，如果我熟悉那個地方，就儘量告訴她們，同時也向她們收集外地的飲食情報，收穫也不少。

那是非常愉快的事情，許多小因素加起來，便使沉悶的航程有趣溫馨。“港

龍”的口號是“美好旅程”，他們的工作人員實際上也讓旅客感受到了這四個字的意義。我曾經說過，坐這家航空公司的飛機，是旅途中的花紅，至今依然覺得是這樣。

《頭條日報》2006年3月3日 P15

Text 1: A happy trip

I am always very happy as long as I take the Hong Kong Dragonair flight when coming back to Hong Kong. My feeling is not one of guests coming here but a feeling of a family member going home.

This is, of course, because of the excellent service of Dragonair, but many airlines can supply the same excellent services so this cannot show that Dragonair is outstanding. For a Hong Konger, the reason that Dragonair is outstanding is its affection.

When you embark on the board on airplane, the smiling and kind stewardesses speak Hong Kong Cantonese, your favorite dialect, to you. Spoken by a friend from Guangzhou, these words will not sound so affectionate.

Hong Kong's newspapers and magazines are also one of the most important factors for welcoming you home. With fast life pace, Hong Kong has new events every day. Once you leave Hong Kong for two days you will have a feeling of leaving

this world for a thousand years. Therefore, reading an article in the current newspaper will make you feel at home very soon.

Having been sitting for a long time, I can stand up to relax, and walk to stewardesses to ask for a drink. They go all around the world in the airplane and always stay overnight outside Hong Kong. When they meet me, they will ask me for some drink and food information which I will try my best to tell them if I know. At the same time I will collect some food and drink information from them and get much more than what I expected.

It is very pleasant that all of the small things will change the dull trip to a soft one. The slogan of Dragonair is ‘_ahappy trip’. The passengers can feel the meaning of these three words through the excellent services from the stewardesses. I once said that taking Dragonair’s flight was as if you got a bonus in a happy trip, and I now still maintain it.

Headline Daily, March 3, 2006, P16

Appendix 2: Texts of Hong Kong Written Chinese

Text 2: 英教師憑名字標籤學生

“唔怕生壞名，最怕改壞名”，子女的名字竟會影響師長的觀感。英國有教師承認“以名取人”，當他們見到新生名單上的 Jordan、K‘tee、Kloe 和 Bobbi-Jo 等名字，就會心情沉重，直覺認為這些學生是難教的。

教師：命中率 75%

在英國《泰晤士報教育專刊》網站的教師聊天室，老師們羅列了一連串會令他們聯想到“搗蛋鬼”或“令人高興”等感覺的學生名字——叫 Poppys 的學生予人過度活躍的感覺；Kayleighs 是討厭鬼；至於 Kyle、Liam、Wayne、Charmaine 和 Charlie 都像是會給老師找麻煩的名字。

有老師寫道：“我看一遍新生名單，會自然地勾出我認為會難應付的那些學生名字。我的命中率高達 75%……。”

網站指出：讓老師產生負面印象的名字，包括那些帶有連接號的名字，像 Bobbi-Jo；另有串法異常的名字，如 Kloe 或 K‘tee。使老師聯想到愉快開朗孩子的名字，有 Kate、Gregory、Alice 和 Joseph 等。

家長：感到寒心

老師“以名取人”的做法在網上流傳後引起爭議，有家長表示對此“感到心

寒”，投訴子女在踏入教室前，就因他們的名字被標籤。一名母親向教育部投訴：

“我與很多其他的家長都憎厭老師們在論壇上的這種態度。這雖然只是一小撮老師，但他們肯定花時間在網上張貼這些評論，我認為……他們真的有這樣的想法。”

英國廣播公司

明報 2005 年 9 月 25 日/A15

Text 2: British Teachers label students with their names

–Not being afraid of having a bad destiny but afraid of having a bad name”.

Children’s names, unexpectedly, can have an effect on the impressions of teachers.

Some British teachers acknowledge that they judge a student with his or her name.

When they saw names like Jordan, K’tee, Kloe and Bobbi-Jo on the freshmen lists

they would post them in a bad mood and they might think that the students with these

names were hard to teach.

Teachers: 75% of hits

In The Times Educational Supplement website Staffroom in UK, teachers listed a lot of names which would make them think of unruly students: Poppy might give someone an impression of hyper-activity while Kayleigh could refer to an unpopular

child; Kyle, Liam, Wayne, Charmaine[‘] and Charlie[‘] seemed to bring trouble to teachers.

A teacher wrote, When I read a freshmen list I will tick the students whose names are thought to be trouble automatically. The percentage of my hits is 75%.[‘]

The website claims that students[‘] names giving teachers negative impressions are names with a hyphen as in Bobbi-Jo[‘] and those with an unusual spelling like Kloe[‘] or Ktee[‘]. In contrast, students[‘] names giving teachers happy feelings are those like Kate, Gregory, Alice and Joseph[‘].

Parents: feeling disappointed

After news that teachers judge students with their names was publicized, it became controversial. Some parents felt disappointed. They complained that their children had been labeled before going to the classroom. One of the students[‘] mothers complained to the Ministry of Education: many other parents and I all hate these teachers[‘] attitudes from the forum on the website. Only a few teachers have these opinions but they take time to express them and this makes me think that they do have them.

British Broadcast Company

Ming Pao Daily News, September 25, 2005, A15

Text 3: “港 G” 硬撼 “台 G”

臺灣 G 級性感天后蔡依林(Jolin)在香港開兩場演唱會，她那聞名中港臺，響遍東南亞的驕人的 G 級身段當然是萬眾矚目焦點，一些願花 4 嚙水買貴價門票的觀眾，無不抱住近距離觀摩臺上震撼飛揚的心態進場，正所謂人一世物一世總要見識一下。

但估勢不到，除了臺上的 G 級波濤洶湧，台下一樣精彩絕倫，不遜于“蔡 G 後”。昨晚個唱首場，不少往捧性感天后 Jolin 場的美女觀眾也都刻意悉心打扮，更仿效 Jolin 身穿低 V 衫，一於來個“你 G 我都 G”，慷慨拋出近乎 G 級的身材，是刻意模仿偶像的招牌裝扮？抑或有意挑戰臺灣 G 後，為港女爭光？總之令紅館於一夜間滿場波光艷影，男觀眾就多了意外收穫。

《星島日報》2006 年 9 月 16 日 D 版

Text 3: Hong Kong Gs are going to defeat Taiwan G

Jolin, a Taiwanese sex-queen, who has G cup breasts, has two singing concerts in Hong Kong. It is her famous figure with her G cup breasts that is well known in the Mainland, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia and attracts an audience of millions. Some of them paid four hundred Hong Kong dollars for the show with the hope of seeing her close on stage because it would be a good opportunity to enrich their experiences.

What was unexpected was that some of the females in the audience had no less wonderful performance than that of G Queen Jolin. The beautiful female members of the audience dressed up with the best of care to be fans in the first singing concert last night. They wore deep V-shape dresses, and seemed to compete to see who was the most beautiful. They almost had the same figures with G cup breasts as G Queen Jolin had. Is this just an intention to imitate an idol's typical dressing up or an intention to challenge the Taiwan G Queen for the glories of Hong Kong females? This made the limelight and the beautiful figures mingle and add radiance and beauty to each other in the Hong Kong Coliseum. The male audience, therefore, got more than they expected.

Sing Tao Daily News September 16, 2006 · D

Appendix 3: Texts of a Mixture of Standard Written Chinese and

Written Cantonese

Text 4: 白頭到老秘訣：有冇錯都要認

談情說愛並非年輕人專利，甜言蜜語出自一位已年屆 90 歲的伯伯口中，反而顯得更溫馨、更窩心。今年已 90 歲的簡顯鉅昨日牽著太太的手，出席海港城情人節活動，今年已是他們婚後共渡的第 62 個情人節。

簡伯伯和今年 83 歲的太太遠在六十七年前已相識，“係啲長輩撮合嘅，佢係我姐夫的契姪仔，都算係親戚啦，成日會見面。”簡老太甜絲絲地說。原來簡伯伯的爸爸都十分喜歡她，於是經常著兒子去接簡老太放工，又陪他們上戲院，“落手落腳”幫兒子向簡老太展開熱烈追求。結果兩位老人家于 5 年後結為夫妻，現兒孫滿堂。

相伴多年，少不免會爭執，他們的相處之道就是互相體諒，“要忍讓、理解，多數都係我錯㗎喇，係咪都認咗先，面皮厚啲，笑笑口咁氹番佢囉。”簡伯伯說。雖然已經結婚多年，今年的元宵佳節，簡老太仍打算跟老公公一塊前往欣賞花燈慶祝，大曬溫馨，告訴大家這就是白頭到老。

Am730, 2006 年 2 月 8 日, P4

Text 4: Secret of living in marital bliss to a ripe old age: apologizing no matter if you
are right or wrong

Being in love is not just an invention of young people, on the contrary, sweet words and honeyed phrases spoken by an old uncle, aged 90, seem to be much more cozy and intimate. Hand in hand with his wife, Mr. Jian Xianju attended the activities on Valentine's Day held in Hong Kong Harbor City last night. This was their sixty-second Valentine's Day.

Uncle Jian met his wife, aged 83, sixty-seven years ago. 'Some elder members of our family made a match for our marriage. He was the sworn nephew of my elder sister-in-law, one of my relatives. We met each other almost every day.' Madam Jian said sweetly. It was said that Uncle Jian's father liked her and asked his son to meet her when she knocked off from work, even went to the theater with them, thus helping his son win her love. As a result, they married five years later. Now they have many children and grandchildren.

Sometimes, they have different views, leading to disputes after being together for so long. They have their own policy for living together harmoniously. Their policy is mutual understanding and accommodating each other. 'Understanding and accommodating are very important. I was wrong in many cases. I would apologize first anyway because I felt less shy, smiling to pacify her anger.' Uncle Jian said.

Although they have such a long marital life, Madam Jian is going to enjoy the festival lantern show at Lantern Festival this year with her husband. This will show off their coziness and sweetness, and they will tell everybody that only this is so called living in marital bliss to a ripe old age.

Am730, Feb.8, 2006, P4

Text 5: 我 port 你

話口未完四字永遠好用。上星期才寫過有關企業之間的競爭已經無所謂點到即止，在廣告中就算不能開名攻擊對手，很多做法都有“借啲嘅”語帶相關含沙射影踩低死對頭，可以招招搏拳腿腿到肉。這些玩法已是司空見慣，大家只要不惡意中傷過火犯法，界從來是用來踩的，不必大驚小怪。但側聞有企業對於被對手“揶揄”十分之不滿，還“發老牌”去信電視臺投訴，指其 censor 不力云云，很認真呀。涉案的正是上星期談及過的有線電視“Not Now”廣告事件，原告與被告不問而知。喂，出得嚟行，預咗俾人彈，少少事，有兩滴幽默感啦！定係為姿態而姿態先！

Am730, 2006 年 9 月 29 日, P16

Text 5: I will report you

話口未完 waa6 hau2 mei6 jyun4, which means one has not finished what he wants to say, is forever useful. It was said last week that the competition among businesses has reached to a point of real fight. Even though it is not allowed to call the name of your competitors in advertisement it is not unusual to use innuendoes or hints to attack your opponents. This is a common practice. As long as no one got killed and no house got burned down, law is there to be broken. Just accept it. However, the story is that some business was not happy about being ridiculed in an ad and sent a letter of complaint to the TV station involved, saying that it did not censor the ad properly. Quite serious. The incident is what I discussed last week about the Not Now ad in Cable TV, and the two parties are well known. Well, you should be ready for this since you are in it. Come on, have some sense of humor. Maybe it is just a publicity stunt.

Am730, September 29, 2006, P16

Appendix 4: Texts of Contemporary Hong Kong Written Cantonese

Text 6: 你 blog 乜嘢呀?

blog 大行其道，亦開始氾濫，有啲媒體本身都有網站，又要整個 blog，違反左 blog 嘅原意。blog 係 weblog 嘅縮寫，早於 1997 年已有人提出，當時係指充滿技術性記載，而又無關乎敘事嘅網上紀錄。到 1999 年，weblog 被分解成 We blog，blog 成為動詞，如果係名詞的話，blog 旨在實踐個人理念，blogger 則將資訊整理後出版，成為個人發放資訊平臺。據以上定義，媒體如要單向發放資訊，每日 update 個 site 咪得囉！要互動想知線民意見，加個 forum 即可，仲 blog 乜嘢呢？

Am730, 2006 年 8 月 22 日, P26

Text 6: Why bother blog?

Blogs have been widely spread everywhere. Some media have their own websites but they still use blogs. This violates the purpose of the use of blogs. ‘Blog’ is an abbreviation from ‘weblog’. Proposed in 1997, it referred to records full of technical terms and was not related to any narrative records on websites. ‘Weblog’ was separated into ‘We blog’ in 1999, then ‘blog’ became a verb. If ‘blog’ is a noun, it means practicing an individual idea. Bloggers arrange the information to publish and make this become an information platform for individuals. According to the above

definition if the media are going to release information by only themselves, it will be sufficient for them to update a site every day. If they want to exchange information with netizens directly, it will be sufficient to establish a forum on the website and they do not need a blog anyway.

Am730, August 22, 2006, P26

Text 7: 送閃燈人氣摺車(升級版)

人氣摺車 upgrade 咗啦! 今次個尾轆型爆燈勁掂, 可以隨意輸入 message, 俾您想講咩都得, 踩住佢認真 charm! 16 吋軫嘅佢, 外形同以前一樣咁型仔, 方便落街之餘, 一樣可以放喺車尾箱去郊外兜兜風, 咁正, 您仲等咩呀?

星展銀行廣告之一, 2006 年 2 月

Text 7: Sending you a popular folding bicycle with lighting (upgraded)

Our popular folding bicycles have been upgraded. These products now have a very good lighting design in which a message can be displayed. They are really fun to ride. They have 16 inch wheels and a shape as beautiful as before. Apart from being convenient to go outside, you can also put them into the trunk of your car for an outing. Since it is so good, what are you waiting for?

An advertisement from the Development Bank of Singapore, Feb., 2006

Text 8：送 miffy 50 周年套裝噏

銀白色手拉噏一大一細，大嘅長方形夠實用，細嘅梯形矮矮咁夠得意，去旅行一 set 過真係襯到痺，有大大個可愛 miffy 樣，摸上去仲有立體感添，您都咪話唔吸引！各位 fans, miffy 嚟啦！

星展銀行廣告之一，2006 年 2 月

Text 8: Sending you the fiftieth anniversary miffy set of suitcases

Two silvery white suitcases, one large and one small, are included in the set. The large one is rectangular and has practical uses while the small one is trapezoidal and compact. This set of suitcases is suitable for a trip. They have a lovable miffy style, with a three-dimensional feeling. Don't say they are not attractive. All fans should come to get these miffy suitcases!

An advertisement from the Development Bank of Singapore, Feb., 2006

Appendix 5: A text of Traditional Written Cantonese

Text 9: 十蚊雞可以買到乜嘢

香港地嘅勞工法例出咗名係冇乜保障嘅，政府成日話工人已經有充足嘅保護，但係事實勝於雄辯，今日刊出嘅個案就好有啟發性。

有讀者初出茅廬搵工做，點知上工三日就發現間公司唔啱佢做，於是辭職，不過，嗰位雇主竟然話工作未滿十日，薪水只能按每日十蚊計，呢位讀者做咗三日，所以人工只有三十蚊。

堂主真係好佩服呢間公司，咁嘅規矩都定得出來，定得出都唔緊要，至緊要嘅係勞工法例有保障，不過，我哋神聖勞工處竟然話，如果當初份約有寫落去，間公司都唔算犯例！堂堂勞工處都咁樣講，你叫啲打工仔點會唔搵心口嗌救命吖！

老實講，家陣十蚊雞買到啲乜吖，就算堂主扮盲俠瞓街邊，路人都唔止施捨十蚊雞啫！十蚊雞究竟夠唔夠搭車、食早餐，加埋買一個麵包呢！

呢個問題真係要問吓嗰位老闆！呢啲咁苛刻嘅規矩，分明係剝削勞工搵人笨嘅條約，政府到而家仲扮盲俠，乜都睇唔到，咁嘅勞工法例！唉！堂主只好扮埋盲俠，冇眼睇！

《東方日報》1997年10月29日，D5

Text 9: What can ten Hong Kong dollars buy?

Hong Kong's labor legislation has a bad reputation because employees have no guarantees. The Government always says that employees have been well protected regarding their benefits but facts speak louder than words. The case published here is instructive.

A new hand had been working in a new job for three days but he felt that the company he worked for did not suit him, so he was going to quit his job. His boss, to his surprise, told him that he could get just ten Hong Kong Dollars each day, since he had not worked for ten days. He got ten Hong Kong dollars each day since he had worked for three days.

The author did not really appreciate that this company could have a regulation like this. It does not matter the company has this regulation but it is important that labor legislation should be guaranteed. However, unexpectedly, our Labor Department said that the company would not violate the law if there was a contract written that mentioned the condition between employers and employees. It is surprising that the dignified Labor Department said so. Why would employees like us not beat their chest to ask for help in this situation?

As a matter of fact, what can ten Hong Kong dollars buy? If the author plays the role of a blind beggar sleeping on the street he would not receive only ten dollars, I

am sure. Actually, is ten dollars enough for a ride, a breakfast, or a piece of bread?

The boss should be asked this question. It is obvious that a strict regulation like this supplies an opportunity to grab employees' labor, and it is a regulation for cheating employees. The government plays a role of blind person and no eye see till now. What kind of labor legislation is it? Well, the author will play the role of a blind person once more, and no eye see.

Oriental Daily News, October 29, 1997, D5

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