ESTABLISHING DISCOURSE COHERENCE BILINGUALLY: A COMPARISON OF CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING MODES

Martha C. Pennington   **Lawrence Lau**   **Brian Chan**

University of Luton   *University of Luton*   *University College London*

Abstract: A framework for differentiating the functions and types of code-mixing from those of code-switching is presented and illustrated by data from a Hong Kong bilingual Cantonese-English radio channel. Code-mixing is characterized as a bilingual mode which functions in the establishment of thematic cohesion through marked lexical choices, while code-switching is characterized as a bilingual mode which functions in the establishment of rhetorical cohesion through frame-marking.

Keywords: code-mixing, code-switching, Hong Kong, Cantonese, bilingual radio

1. INTRODUCTION

Although it is common in the literature on bilingualism not to differentiate code-switching from code-mixing, a case can be made that in at least some communities these are distinct phenomena. Hong Kong, a predominantly Cantonese-speaking Special Administrative Region of China and former British colony, is one such community. There, code-mixing involving the insertion of English--and increasingly, Putonghua (Mandarin)--words and phrases into an otherwise Cantonese discourse is a popular phenomenon, occurring in both the speech (Gibbons, 1987) and writing (Bauer, 1988) of the large group of ethnic Chinese schooled in the community. This middle class majority of Hong Kong Chinese has studied English in school but do not often participate in encounters where English is the language of choice or necessity.

Code-switching is less common in Hong Kong as it is the province of speakers who have high competence in both Cantonese and English and who have definite reasons to use English for some non-negligible proportion of their communicative encounters. Examples are high-level professionals and managers in large firms with international contacts and English-speaking

employees or clients (e.g., as documented by Poon, 1992). Such professionals and managers report that they code-switch in meetings with other Hong Kong Chinese of similar or somewhat lower status, while with the "rank-and-file" they use Cantonese, possibly with some admixture of English words (i.e., code-mixing). Like these professionals and businesspeople, teachers of English who are native speakers of Cantonese have been observed in Hong Kong secondary schools to code-switch as a way to express different role relationships; they also code-switch in regular patterns geared to explicating textbook material by presenting small portions of it in English followed by explanation and illustration in Cantonese (Johnson and Lee, 1987; Lin, 1990). In the school environment, the official language or language of wider currency, English, is used to *transmit* the content of the curriculum, and the vernacular language of Cantonese is used to *integrate* and *interpret* that content in relation to the local context (Pennington and Balla, 1996; Pennington, *et al.*, 1996)

Code-mixing in the sense of insertion of lexis (or set expressions such as idioms) from a second language into a native language matrix frame (Myers-Scotton, 1993) seems to be a competence which most native Cantonese speakers in the present generation acquire to some degree. A 1993 sociolinguistic survey (Bacon-Shone and Bolton, 1997), for example, reported high levels of Cantonese-English code-mixing for communication in school (90.0%), in public (83.1%), at work (79.3%), and among friends (75.%), with a lesser degree (45.5%) in the home. A survey of the Chinese popular press (Li, 1996, 1997) documents code-mixing with English,[1] which requires script-mixing as well (i.e., of roman alphabetic symbols with Chinese characters), in the topical domains of technology, fashion, food, popular music, 'showbiz', and 'lifestyle'. Mixing in the written language is especially common in letters to the editor, headlines, and advertising.

As discussed in Pennington (1994), it is possible that code-mixing in Hong Kong (as well as in other Asian countries such as Korea and Malaysia and in African countries such as Tanzania and Kenya) originates in secondary schools, where teachers explicate subject matter lexis in English textbooks by inserting key English lexical items into native language grammatical frames that provide definitions, explanations, and illustrations of meaning. Johnson and Lee (1987) term this phenomenon *insertion-switching*. A similar practice exists in Hong Kong universities, where a more creative form of code-mixing involving phonological assimilation, morphological adaptation, and semantic specialization was also documented among students in the 1970's (Gibbon, 1987). This more assimilated mix of languages, which Gibbons termed "MIX", is associated with social identity and bonding of the peer group. It seems that this type of in-group function of code-mixing has spread and evolved rapidly since the time of Gibbon's study among the youth of the society as has the development of mixed-mode communication for talking about and selling products and ideas in the rapidly changing domains of technology, fashion, food, popular music, "showbiz", and lifestyle (Pennington, 1997b-d, in press). In both cases, the mix items may be assimilated, altered and creatively developed to a greater or lesser extent, displaying what Gibbons (1987) described as "code-swaying".[2]

---

[1] Li (1996) also provides examples of code-mixing among varieties of written Chinese. We note that a small amount of Li's data falls into the category of what we (and probably most others who work in bilingualism) would call code-switching rather than code-mixing.

[2] Where adaptation to the borrowing code is extensive, this may be an indication of potential loanword status.

While those Hong Kong Cantonese speakers who code-switch generally also code-mix, the converse does not hold: code-mixers are generally not also code-switchers. Indeed, the vast majority of code-mixers would appear to have negligible ability to code-switch, a competence that requires the speaker to construct grammatical frames in two languages. Rather than having this grammatical competence, their knowledge of English is essentially lexical. On the basis of the existing evidence, which is as yet minimal, especially for contexts other than secondary education, it can be concluded that in Hong Kong there is a small group of highly placed or specialist professionals who code-switch in specific work-related contexts while a much larger group code-mixes at work as well as in school, everyday conversation with friends, letters in the Chinese popular press, advertising, and in general in the public domain.

2. CODE-SWITCHING AND MIXING IN HONG KONG BILINGUAL RADIO

Given this community profile of bilingual usage, in a project examining talk on a Hong Kong bilingual Cantonese-English radio channel[3] with a "pop" music focus, we started from a methodological assumption of a distinction between mixing and switching as developed in Pennington (1994, 1997d). Preliminary listening to the selected channel had indicated that all disk jockeys (dj's)[4] displayed bilingual behavior and that both switching and mixing modes occurred. The data consist of a days' recordings of programs made two days before Christmas in 1995 and transcriptions of these in English and Chinese[5] with individual morpheme glosses and Yale system romanization for all Cantonese. The data are primarily from Cantonese-dominant Chinese bilingual dj's, with some data as well from native Cantonese-speaking and English-speaking news readers, one native English-speaking British disk jockey, several mainly Cantonese-dominant in-studio guests or telephone callers, and prerecorded advertisements and public service announcements.

We examined our data for the two forms of bilingual behavior separately, based on the distinction of:

> (i) *mixing* as an *intra-clausal* (or intra-sentential) phenomenon involving the insertion of lexis (occasionally set expressions) from one language (generally, a non-primary--second, third, etc.--language) into a phrasal frame in another (usually, the dominant) language;
> (ii) *switching* as an *inter-clausal* or *extra-clausal* phenomenon involving the alternation of two languages for the sequential development of different aspects of information.

---

[3] The project, "Hong Kong Bilingualism: A Changing Profile", was enabled by a Strategic Research Grant from the City University of Hong Kong to the first author as Principal Investigator and the third author as Associate Investigator. The second author served as Senior Research Assistant on the project.

[4] Details on individual dj's, differentiated here by initials, is given in Pennington, *et al.* (1997).

[5] As far as this is possible for Cantonese, which contains many original words--both lexical items and grammatical morphemes (e.g. [di], the plural morpheme)--that have no standard representation in Chinese characters. To save space, the examples in the present work do not include transcription in Chinese characters nor individual morpheme glosses.

Like Auer (1984, 1995), we make a basic distinction between a *unit*-level phenomenon of mixing or insertion[6] (what Auer calls *transfer*) and a *string*-level phenomenon of switching. This distinction, which Muysken (1995, pp. 180ff) refers to as *insertional vs. alternational* code-switching, cross-cuts the category of what is usually called *intra-sentential code-switching* (e.g., Myers-Scotton, 1993).

An analysis of the patterns of code-switching and code-mixing in our one-day sample of bilingual Cantonese-English discourse from Hong Kong radio makes it possible to differentiate the roles of these two forms of bilingual communicative behavior in establishing and maintaining discourse coherence. Code-switching functions in the bilingual radio data to develop external relations of cohesion involving shifts and contrasts at clause and discourse boundaries. In contrast to the rhetorical or syntagmatic cohesion of code-switching, code-mixing establishes a clause-internal form of lexical or paradigmatic cohesion involving the ongoing development of topics and semantic fields within a discourse. Code-mixing helps to maintain thematic focus and topic continuity, and code-switching functions in a boundary-marking capacity to highlight discontinuities and segmentations of talk into parallel, subordinate, or new discourse units. Code-switching can therefore be seen as having a function of indicating or realizing breaks in continuity that Goffman (1974) has termed "frame breaks", while mixed code items commonly function to indicate or realize within-frame semantic relations.

Both code-mixing and code-switching involve special marking by use of a second language (Pennington, 1994). As forms of code-alternation, they each signal "*a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such*" (Auer, 1995: 116; italics in original). In addition to the signaling function of juxtaposing different linguistic codes, making use of a second language in communication allows the bilingual speaker to draw on the knowledge store and the meaning-making resources of an additional culture to (i) enrich discourse in the primary language, (ii) express a discourse apart from it, and (iii) create new hybrid forms of discourse different from both languages (Pennington, 1996, 1997c-d). Code-mixing falls essentially into the first type of second-language provision, in which the bilingual speaker can draw on a set of lexical resources additional to those of the mother tongue. When these are selected, the speaker makes *marked lexical choices* (unless and until the second language items become established loanwords). Code-switching falls essentially into the second type of dual-language resourcing, in which bilingual speakers have access to an additional discourse system with separate grammatical, pragmatic and rhetorical conventions that can be drawn on in communication. When a speaker alternates discourse systems during talk, the breaks between languages represent a marking of discourse frames, i.e., *frame-marking*. Over time in a bilingual community, code-mixing and code-switching may lose their distinctiveness, and their marking functions, as they evolve to the third type of patterning which draws on the resources of two languages, that of creating a hybrid linguistic system, as in koineization and

---

[6] As in Gibbons' (1987) MIX data from Hong Kong University, our English mix items show varying degrees of adaptation to Cantonese, though none is so highly adapted that it would not be recognized as English. A few instances of highly assimilated items (e.g. /saisi/ "size") were considered to be loanwords and were not included in our corpus.

creolization.[7] Each of these scenarios of bilingual behavior can be found in our corpus, as discussed in sections 2.1-2.3.

2.1 Code-Mixing

Apart from the referential meaning of the items, the use of English lexis and expressions mixed into an otherwise Cantonese stretch of talk signals an extra layer of meaning that derives from the specific history of English as an international and a local status language. This extra layer of meaning conveys social information related to the connotations of using English words such as being young,[8] educated, middle class, competent, knowledgeable, stylish, up-to-date, innovative, and Westernized or international Gibbons, 1987; Pennington, 1994). Such connotations attach, for example, to the use of English *mommie* rather than Cantonese <amā> ("mother") among middle class parents and their children. At a more abstract level, choosing English lexis signals that one is a member of the Hong Kong Cantonese-speaking bilingual community in which much common knowledge and experience, including growing up in a Chinese society that was also a British colony, can be presupposed. For this reason, using English names of streets and buildings indicates an orientation to the British heritage of Hong Kong. At the time of our recordings (end of 1995), the dj's, who were all in their 20's and 30's, reflected the growing awareness of Hong Kong Chinese in their generation that they should be using Chinese names and that in some cases these names are not well known by local people. Similarly, selecting and using a person's self-selected Western name[9] instead of their Chinese birth-name demonstrates an orientation to and an awareness of these connotations. In addition, English lexis other than proper names, highly specialized technical terms or cited items may have special connotations and meanings when they occur as code-mixed items, indicating creative semantic adaptation and meaning shifts. An example in our corpus is *short short* <dei>, ("become short-circuited"), meaning "gone off his head". In most cases, English items functioning as code-mixes have a narrowed semantic range, as code-mixers have selected only certain of their senses to be applied in a Cantonese discourse. For example, [we need 1-2 examples of this.] In all of these respects, when a speaker elects to mix English lexis and expressions into Cantonese frames, these are *marked lexical choices*.

Although code-mix items are to some extent integrated into the clause under the influence of Cantonese, as compared to monolingual discourse, the lexical choices of code-mixing are specially marked phonologically, morphologically and semantically as English in origin. Their special marked status makes them stand out from, and apart from, the rest of the discourse. Since they stand out from the rest of the sentence, as recognizably English in sound and shape,

---

[7] Note that this suggests an alternate route, other than via pidginization, to creolization.

[8] Code-mixing is associated with the lower age cohort of the Hong Kong Chinese population and appears to be rare among speakers above age 50. If its roots are in secondary schools, with its expansion promoted by university students, one can guess that children born in the 1950's might have been the first wave of peer code-mixers.

[9] It has been a common practice for Hong Kong Chinese to select or make up a Western name and to use it instead of their birth-name in the secondary school and university context, and for some speakers in other contexts such as work or peer group communication as well. By the mid 1990's, with the impending return of Hong Kong to China, this practice had fallen out of favor with some teachers and students.

they can function deictically to indicate key ideas and discourse themes. There is also a sort of "psychological detachment" or "playfulness" associated with code-mixing that loosens grammatical and pragmatic rules. In many cases, the grammatical category of the item is shifted or lost altogether, as in /fɛn/ ("friendly"), from English *friend*, or /ɹɨlas/ ("relaxing") from English *relax*.

The vast majority of code-mixes in our corpus (over 90%) involve single-item or two-item[10] mixes, particularly of common nouns and proper names, but also adjectives, verbs, and to a lesser extent, other grammatical categories (for details, see Pennington, *et al.*, 1997b). One-third of the cases of what would be termed intra-sentential code-switching in the Matrix Language Frame Model of Myers-Scotton (1993, 1995) would be classified in that model as involving a (local) English language matrix frame. More than 95% of these English-dominant cases involve single-item or two-item Cantonese units. Of these, there are very few instances of what we would classify as mixes of Cantonese lexis into English phrasal frames. Three cases are the following:[11]

(1)   A Cantonese verb in construction with an English modal
        SJ [a British dj with limited productive competence in Cantonese speaking to the listening audience]
        You can <héi san> *whenever you like.* (*"You can* get up *whenever you like."*)

(2)   A Cantonese modifier within an English noun phrase
        AL [a Cantonese-dominant Hong Kong Chinese bilingual dj speaking to another Cantonese-dominant bilingual on air in the studio]
        a very <wáih daaih> *wife* (*"a very* great *wife"*)

(3)   Two English proper names conjoined by a Cantonese "co-verb" (Matthews and Yip, 1994) functioning as preposition or conjunction
        HW [a Cantonese-dominant Hong Kong bilingual dj speaking to the listening audience]
        Checking the time with you is SJ <tùhng màaih> *HW.*
        (*"Checking the time with you is SJ [together]* with/and *HW."*)

These cases are entirely parallel to the code-mixes from English into Cantonese that predominate in our corpus, in being intra-clausal and in being somewhat assimilated to the matrix language. The assimilation involves loss of tone-marking and integration into the intonation contour of the English utterance.

---

[10] The term "item", which refers to an indivisible unit making up (i) one grammatical category or (ii) a proper name or title, avoids the difficulty of trying to equate Cantonese morphemes to English words. Note that any proper name or title, whether a single morpheme or multi-morpheme unit, is considered to be one item unless inflected by a system morpheme from the other language.

[11] English words are given in italics, Cantonese in bold, and Putonghua in bold italics. Translation of Cantonese and Putonghua is given within quotation marks and parentheses in plain type, with English or Putonghua indicated by italics within the translations.

Other than these cases, the instances in which Cantonese single-unit or two-unit items occur in the context of an English phrase or clause involve:

      - citation forms (i.e. words or expressions "mentioned" rather than "used");
      - proper names (e.g. of dj's, singers, sponsors, callers, streets and buildings) and titles (of songs and films);
      - discourse markers (usually clause-initial, sometimes clause-internal) and tags (usually clause-final, sometimes following a topicalized initial element);

Example (4) illustrates the occurrence of proper names and discourse markers in our corpus:

(4)   [AR, a Hong Kong Eurasian female dj, reading out fax requests, just after a tangent]
        Anyway, <a> *Alice* <wah gàm yaht hóu hòi sàm wò>
        ("*Anyway,* ah-*Alice* says she's happy today.")

The discourse marker *anyway* is a different case from the code-mix of the proper name *Alice* constructed with the Cantonese naming prefix <a> denoting familiarity. Since switched discourse markers, which occur in our corpus primarily as English sentence-initial adverbs, and tag switches, which occur in our corpus primarily as Cantonese clause-final particles (e.g. <la>, <là>, <ga la>, <wo>) are loosely constructed with the clause and are not adapted to Cantonese, we consider them to be adjuncts which are themselves switches, as in this case (since the immediately preceding context is Cantonese) or which indicate the boundary of a switch-point, as in the next example:

(5)   [DA, a Hong Kong Chinese male dj, has just played the song, "Please Don't Cry" by Seal.]
        "Please Don't Cry" by Seal. Don't cry that if you don't have any Christmas present because <là, néih sàn tai gihn hòng yih ging haih yāt go fèi sèuhng jì gán yiu ge laih maht lèih ga la>. ("*Don't cry that if you don't have any Christmas present because,* see, your health is already a very important gift, for sure.")
        And we've got Elton John 'Daniel', on [station name]. [The song, 'Daniel' is played.]

Besides one- and two-item mixes, our corpus contains a small number of more complex constructions similar to (2) above involving English nouns with Cantonese nominal morphology. Examples (6) and (7) are two cases:

(6)   LC [a Macanese male dj, talking about a prize callers can win]
        a very very nice <nì yāt go> *Harbour Plaza* <ge> *T-shirt*
        ("*a very very nice* this/one of these *Harbour Plaza* [logo] *T-shirt*")

(7)   AR [a Hong Kong Eurasian female dj, identifying a song just played]

> *Chage and Aske <ge> "Say Yes" on [station name]*
> *Chage and Aske's "Say Yes" on [station name]*

Example (6) is an unusual one. It begins with an English specifier (*a*) and modifiers (*very very nice*) making up an English adjectival phrase, followed by a string of Cantonese specifiers consisting of demonstrative (<nī> "this"), followed by the numeral "one" (<yāt>), which in this context has non-specific reference that could be translated by a partitive ("one of"), an indefinite article ("a"), or zero realization; and the noun classifier (<go>).[12] This string of Cantonese morphemes, like the string of English morphemes that precedes it, is internally consistent and forms a nominal construction with the following mix items, *Harbour Plaza* (the name of a hotel) and *T-shirt*, joined by the Cantonese possessive <ge>. However, the Cantonese specifiers do not form a grammatical unit with the preceding English morphemes, either in Cantonese or in English, in both of which the modifying phrase should follow the specifiers. This example could be classified as an instance of a code-switch restart, i.e. where the speaker begins to form an utterance in English which he restarted in Cantonese.

In the framework developed by Myers-Scotton (1993, 1995), the status of example (7) is not clear; it might be classified as a case of a Cantonese system morpheme within an English frame. However, we classify this as a Cantonese frame bounded by two mixes, *Chage and Aske* and *"Say Yes"*, the second of which evolves as a long "embedded language island" (in Myers-Scotton's terms) to incorporate the added phrase *on [station name]*. In our terms, this type of example, like other long islands consisting of more than one phrase, is a *mix-switch*, a segment of discourse that begins as a code-mix and evolves to a code-switch (see section 2.3 below).

Other than the examples of (6) and (7), most of the cases of complex islands occur as complements, as in (8) and (9):

(8)   AR [a Hong Kong Eurasian female dj]
        <jīk haih hóu chíh lē> *my Christmas dreams come true*
        ("It really seems like/that, y'know, *my Christmas dreams* [have] *come true.*")

(9)   HW [a Hong Kong Chinese male dj]
        It looks like <haih yāt go> *private* <ge> *promenade* <tìm wo>.
        ("Moreover, *it looks like* [it] is a *private promenade.*")

---

[12] A Cantonese common noun is preceded by a classifier indicating some salient semantic feature such as humanness and shape. The classifier <go>, which classifies nouns for people as well as objects, is the most common and neutral classifier, being "used for individual items which do not call for a more specific classifier" (Matthews and Yip, 1994: 102), such as abstract nouns. In our bilingual radio corpus, it is especially common, occurring with many English code-mix items as well as with Cantonese nouns which would normally take a different classifier, suggesting a relaxation of Cantonese grammar in bilingual Cantonese-English discourse (see section 2.3).

The treatment of complement constructions is problematic, as Myers-Scotton (1995: 241) has also noted. Since there is no clear matrix language in such cases and since the alternation from one language to the other occurs at a major syntactic boundary, we classify these as code-switches, though (9) also involves a code-mix after the switch-point, so that this utterance can be analyzed as a switch from English to Cantonese with English lexical insertions, *private* and *promenade* (see Pennington, *et al.*, 1997b, for further discussion).

Most of the code-mixes in our corpus are one- or two-item insertions of English lexis into a Cantonese matrix frame. They can be classified into one of five types, as summarized in Table 1:

Table 1 Types of Code-Mixing in Hong Kong Bilingual Radio

Thematic Cohesion (topic continuity) - 'Lexical [Paradigmatic] Bilingualism'
Intra-clausal - Internal relations of cohesion (topic development, semantics)

(1) Meaning / Language Focus [citation forms]
(a) Definition or lexical equivalent (*The name [of the festival] is just* <dùng>, '*winter*'.)
(b) Explication of meaning (*What is* <gwo dùng> ['passing winter']?)
(c) Explanation of concept (<Gwo dùng> ['passing winter'] *is the whole family getting together.)*

(2) Puns / Word Plays (<jóu> *good morning* <sàhn> ["Good *good morning* morning."]; *I didn't mean to bite your* <jung>.)

(3) Topical (Narrow Context) Focus [dependent on (local) discourse topic/context]
(a) Specialized terms within a discourse topic [expedient/referential function] (*contest, fax request, editing*)
(b) Highlighted words within a discourse topic [function to establish and maintain focus/cohesion]
(exs. 12-13)

(4) Cultural (Broad Context) Focus [independent of (local) discourse topic/context]
(a) Proper name
   (i)   person (*Santa Claus, Leon the Professional, Billy Joel*)
   (ii)   place (*Toronto, Aberdeen*)
   (iii)   sponsors (*Kent, Harbour Plaza Hotel, Pit Stop Bar*)
   (iv)   song titles (*"Down the River of Dreams"; "Jingle Bell Rock"*)
(b) Lifestyle lexis
   (i)   New products/technology (*CD, escalator*)
   (ii)   New practices (*ladies first, buffet*)
   (iii)   Connotative (*shopping, relax*)

(5) Lexical Combinations / Blends (e.g., <hòi> *party* 'to party'; <hóu yáuh> *sense* "to have good sense/taste')

Citation forms with meaning/language focus are relatively common in the data for the early morning show, which is interactively presented by two dj's--HW, a Cantonese-dominant Hong Kong Chinese male dj, and SJ, a British male dj with limited knowledge of Cantonese. These dj's spend a considerable amount of time focusing on the form and meaning of Chinese words, as HW explains lexis and cultural concepts to SJ, and as HW questions SJ's use of Cantonese (e.g. in his question of "*What is my* <jung>?" in response to SJ's punning on English *tongue* and Cantonese <jūng> ("middle part") in example (10):

(10) SJ   ngoi joih biht lèih jūng
              ("Love in Parting" [title of preceding Cantopop song])

      HW   (singing) *There is a Christ[mas.*

      SJ   [*I didn't mean to bite your* "jung", *but I did. I bit it.*

      HW   *My* "jung"?

      SJ   <haih>.
              ("Yes.")

      HW   *What is my* "jung"?

      SJ   <m̀h jī a.>.*Majong is a game you play, I guess. It's a -*
              ("I don't know. *Majong is a game you play, I guess. It's a -*")

      HW   *I don't want to bite your - majong* [laugh].

      SJ   *Oooh. Got a laugh....*

Another example of type (2) involves the splitting of the normal Cantonese greeting <jóu sàhn> ("good morning") by inserting the English phrase *good morning* between the two Cantonese elements, giving the phrase shown in (11), which has become a set expression which is repeated frequently by the dj's on the early morning show:

(11)   <jóu> *good morning* <sàhn>
        ("Good *good morning* morning.")

Two types of mixes help to establish and highlight discourse topics. One of these (type 3 in Table 1) has a narrow-context focus in the sense of being dependent on the local discourse topic or context. One category of this type of lexis is specialized terms within a discourse topic, such as the word *contest* in the context of giving directions for an on-air phone-in contest, the item

fax request in the context of reading out faxed song requests, or the term *editing* in the context of talking about the behind-the-scenes process of making a film in an on-air interview with the producer. Such uses of English lexis have a referential function and are expediently selected in the sense of being the most common or the only available term (Luke, 1997).

Other than specialized terms, English lexis may be employed to highlight key information, as in (12), and discourse themes, as in (13):

(12)   [Remark re call-in contest which a caller (CLR) has played six times before]
         CLR   <júng jó léuhng chi ja. daih yāt go jéung bán haih ló go> *key chain*.
                 ("[I]'ve only won twice. The first prize [I] got was a *key chain*.")

                 <daih yih go jéung bán haih ló jó yāt go> *set* <gó dì> *coasters* <a>--<bùi jín a>.
                 ("The second prize I got was a *set* of those *coasters*--you know, coasters.")

(13)   [HW is making fun of shopping mall Santas.] [13]
         HW   <gám chèuih chí jì ngoih le néih wúih làuh yi dóu> *there are things that <u>Santas</u>*
                 <u>do</u> and <u>Santas</u> <u>don't</u>. <yáuh dì yéh haih> *<u>Santa</u> Claus* [<yāt dihng jouh ge>.
                 ("Apart from this, you will notice *there are things that <u>Santas</u> <u>do</u> and <u>Santas</u>*
                 don't. There are things that *<u>Santa</u> Claus* is certain to do.")

         SJ   [*There're <u>Santa Dos and Don'ts</u>.*

         HW   <haih la. laih yùh māt yéh lè gám yéung? sing daan lóuh yàhn lè> *<u>do</u>* <jauh
                 haih> *<u>extra quiet</u>* <gám hóu jihng ge gám yéung lè jauh daht beih yāt dì ge>
                 surprise <le>.
                 ("That's right. What sorts of things, for example? What Santa Claus *does* is to be
                 extra quiet, very quiet, like this, so as to specially prepare some kind of a
                 surprise.")
                 <yih ché le kéuih yáuh go> *magical <u>appearance</u> of their gift* <yùhn lòh kéuih gó
                 dì gám ge láih maht le hahm baan laahn yuhng mò seuht bin chēut lèih go bo>.
                 ("Besides, there is his *magical <u>appearance</u> of their gift* since those sorts of gifts
                 of his, all of them are made from magic.").
                 <la yáuh dì mè haih sing daan lóuh yahn m̄h jouh ge le?>
                 ("And what are the things that Santa Claus doesn't do?")
                 <jauh haih kéuih dcih> *<u>extra quiet</u>* <gám> uh <yìhn hauh lè, jauh haak chàn dì>
                 parent <haak chàn gó di sai màn jái ge> *daddy mommy*
                 ("It is they are *extra quiet* uh and afterwards, scares the *parents*, those kids'
                 daddy, mommy,")

---

[13] Underlined items are repeated elements establishing thematic units.

<yìhn hauh lè jauh m̄h haih wah lihng dou dì láih maht> *appear* <haih lihng dou ngūk kèih dì> *jewelry* dis*appear.*

("Afterwards [they] do not make the gifts *appear*; it's [rather that they] make the household *jewelry* dis*appear.*")

<lì dì lè jauh haih sing daan lóuh yàhn m̄h jouh ge.>

("These [things] then are what Santa Claus doesn't do.")

SJ   *Don't forget the reindeer.*

English Christmas song (comical version of "Rudolf the Red Nose Reindeer")

In example (12), English is used for key items of information, the prizes the caller has previously won. These items, all nouns, are preceded by Cantonese noun specifiers <go> (<go> *key chain*), <yāt go> (<yāt go> *set*), and <gó dī> (<gó dī> *coasters*). Note that the word *coasters* is followed by a code-switch appositive which gives a Cantonese translation equivalent, <bùi jín> (see section 2.2 below). In example (13), certain thematic elements such as *Santa Claus, do, don't, appear*, and family terms occur in the embedded code. Here, English functions to establish and maintain focus and cohesion of HW's text. As this extended example illustrates, even in conversation, code-mixing tends to occur in the longest and least interactive parts of the discourse--i.e. the parts which are most monologic.

A fourth type of code-mix is independent of the local discourse topic but related to context in the broader sense of being cultural lexis from the English-speaking world. Such cultural lexis includes proper names of person (*Santa Claus, Leon the Professional, Billy Joel*), place (*Toronto, Aberdeen*), sponsors (*Kent, Harbour Plaza Hotel, Pit Stop Bar*), and song titles ("*Down the River of Dreams*"; "*Jingle Bell Rock*"). This category also covers what may be termed "lifestyle lexis", including new products or technology (*CD, escalator*), new practices (*ladies first, buffet*), and a third group of items which have ready equivalents in Cantonese but where the English lexis has a favorable (e.g. modern, middle class) "lifestyle" connotation (*shopping, relax, mommie*).

The remainder of the code-mix items in our corpus are lexical combinations or blends of English and Cantonese, as in <hòi> *party* ("to party") and <hóu yáuh> *sense* ("have good sense/taste"). Here English functions as a resource for creating new lexis (Pennington, 1997b,c).

2.2 Code-Switching

Goffman (1981: 226) notes that a speaker may produce talk in which he may be acting as *animator*, "the sounding box from which utterances come"; *author*, "the agent who...composes...[the utterance]"; and/or *principal*, "the party to whose position...the words attest". These three different types of speaker role together form what Goffman (1981: 226) terms the *production format* of an utterance. Radio discourse includes institutional messages such as news reports and advertisements which may be read aloud or prerecorded and where the announcer serves as animator, mouthing someone else's words and ideas. Yet most announcers are free to interject some degree of spontaneity into their talk, becoming at times not only

animator, but also author and principal of "fresh talk". Radio announcers may also change their participation status during a program, shifting for example from news reader, to disk jockey, to audience for someone else's remarks. Goffman (19981) defines the *participation framework* of an utterance as:

> the circle, ratified and unratified, in which the utterance is variously received, and in which individuals have various participation statuses, one of which is that of animator. Just as the character of the production format of a discourse can shift markedly from moment to moment, so, too, can its participation framework, and in fact, the two elements shift simultaneously. The alignment of an individual to a particular utterance, whether involving a production format, as in the case of the speaker, or solely a participation status, as in the case of a hearer, can be referred to as his *footing*. (Goffman, 1981: 226-227)

In Goffman's (1981) analysis, speakers produce talk in different *frames:*

> The various production formats provide a speaker with different relationships to the words he utters, providing, thus, a set of interpretive frameworks in terms of which his words can be understood. (Recitation, aloud reading, and fresh talk are but broad divisions of this potential.) These different possibilities in conjunction with the participation statuses he could enjoy comprise what might be called his *frame space....* [W]hen the individual speaks, he avails himself of certain options and foregoes others, operating within a frame space, but with any moment's footing uses only some of this space. (p. 230)

Code-switching is one of the *framing cues* that mark changes of footing and of interpretive frame. It is in this sense a *contextualization cue* (Gumperz, 1982), as Auer (1984, 1995) has noted. Contextualization cues, unlike lexical items which have inherent referential meaning, are related to the interpretation of talk by a process of inferencing dependent on the context and sequence of talk (Auer, 1995: 123). Contextualization cues in general, and bilingual switching in particular, make what Goffman terms the "layers" or "laminations" of talk more explicit. The code-switches in our corpus are for the most part the same types as have been reported in studies of other language pairs (Auer, 1995: 120), exemplifying changes in production format (e.g. from fresh talk to read news or reported speech), participation framework (dj speaking to listening audience vs. dj speaking to dj peer in sound booth), and discourse frame (from institutional talk for news reports and identifications of various kinds to vernacular talk for relating anecdotes and interacting with callers in phone-in contests) and breaks between topics.

Whereas in code-mixing, the English language is exploited for the development of meaning within the clause, in code-switching it is exploited for the development of meaning outside and between clauses. Code-switches in this sense represent utterances that are separated from the grammatical clause of the preceding text. English code-switches therefore do not show the characteristic assimilation and adaptation to Cantonese of code-mixes. An apparent exception to the claim that code-switches occur outside the clause is the occurrence of some topic-comment breaks which would seem to establish cohesion within the clause. We would argue that such cases build cohesion outside of a clausal structure, by natural pragmatic principles. Another apparent exception is the frequent occurrence in our corpus of code-switched NP appositives. Again, we would argue that these are cases not of mixing (insertion of lexis from one language

into a frame prepared by another language) but of adjunction outside the structure of the clause. A third apparent exception is the occurrence Cantonese particles, which are very frequent in our corpus, in otherwise English utterances. A Cantonese utterance particle can be analyzed as a pragmatic device which functions on the discourse rather than the clausal level to add an extra comment onto the clause or constituent which they follow. On this analysis a Cantonese utterance particle can be considered to represent a code-switch rather than a code-mix when it follows an English clause or topicalized constituent.

Rather than building discourse by insertion of English lexis into Cantonese frames, discourse is built in code-switching by adjunction and parataxis using rhetorical devices such as contrast and parallelism in which the *binarity of codes* (Pennington, 1994, 1997d) can be exploited in an obvious way. Within a single topic, code-switching can be exploited to switch audiences, voices, or perspectives. Or, code-switching may indicate a different subtopic or aspect of a topic. Another possibility is the marking by code-switching of a topic change, either as a side-sequence (i.e. a temporary topic change) with eventual return to the original topic, or as a "permanent" topic change. Because code-switching occurs at major boundaries, it is associated with dialog, interaction, and turn exchange. In non-interactive discourse, code-switching functions as a sort of analog to interaction in being used to represent different speaker stances or "rhetorical postures", In contrast to code-switched discourse, code-mixing is more associated with monolog, non-negotiated discourse, and intra-speaker development of information.

Table 2 summarizes the types of code-switches found in the bilingual radio data:

<u>Table 2 Types of Code-Switching</u>

Frame Break (discontinuity or segmentation) - 'Rhetorical [Syntagmatic] Bilingualism'
Inter-clausal - External relations of cohesion (contrast, parallelism, audience)

(1) Parallel Frame [Focus on message content; same message in the two languages]
(a) Information dissemination (public service announcements, news, weather)
(b) Message transmission/reception (numbers)
(c) Message enhancement - "double messaging" (advertisements)
(d) Identification - "double naming" (two-name apposition for dj and station identification)
(e) Propositional emphasis - "double voicing" or "double framing" (discourse markers and other words expressing speaker's stance)

(2) Subordinate Frame [Focus on message structure; main message in one language, subordinate information in the other]
(a) Preview [preliminary increment]
  (i)   Attention-getter (pronouncements)
  (ii)   Preparation (instructions for contest)
(b) Follow-up [retrospective increment]
  (i)   [Partial] recap (weather)
  (ii)   Explication
  (iii) Elaboration

(3) New Frame [Focus on message boundary; different messages in the two languages]
(a) Indicated by discourse marker or tag
(b) Different audiences
(c) Side-sequence
(d) Topic-comment
(e) Extended discourse
  (i)   Subtopic or new topic
  (ii)   Return topic

Parallel-frame code-switching can be said to have the purpose of information dissemination in public service announcements and the reporting of news and weather. Four different public service announcements are presented throughout the day, and each of these is read in a two-language mode, with alternating male and female voices to highlight the language alternation, as can be seen in example (14):

(14)   [FV is a female voice; MV is a male voice.]
FV   <faat laih kwài dihng gùng chóng ge dùng jyú bīt sèui tàih gùng sīk dong ge fòhng fó chou sí kok bóu gùng yàhn ge òn chyùhn.>
        ("The law stipulates [that] factory owners must provide suitable safety precautions
        to make sure workers' safety [is] protected.")

<hái yàhm hòh chìhng fong hah chóng fòng ge jáu fó tùng douh gìng sèuhhng dòu yiu bóu chih cheung tùng.>
("Under all situations the fire exits of the factory must be kept unobstructed.")

<mh hó yìh báai fong waahk jé chyùh chyùhn jaahp maht.>
("[One] cannot store or put down miscellaneous articles [along the passage-ways].")

<Gei jyuh a sàn mihng daih yāt, òn chyùhn yiu gán.>
("Remember, life [comes] first, safety [is most] important.")

MV   *If you are the proprietor of a factory, you must by law take all necessary fire precaution measures to ensure the safety of your workers. Never allow the exit routes to be obstructed in any way. Make sure your exit doors are not locked or fastened and can be easily opened from the inside. Safety saves lives.*

The news, which is given at the beginning of each hour and recapped on the half hour, is sometimes presented in English, sometimes in Cantonese, and sometimes sequentially in Cantonese and then in English, as in example (15):

(15)   [AL is a Hong Kong Chinese female dj.]
AL   Thank you Hutchison and this is the Hutchison Hour and now we have the bilingual news headlines for you, just for you.

<sìh gaan haih luhk sàam luhk gà. sèung yúh sàn màhn gáan bóu. ngóh haih [name].>
("The time is six three six. Bilingual news brief. I am [AL's Cantonese name]")

<sáu sín nè jauh haih wuih fùng ngàn hong gìng jai yin gau bouh yuh chak ne, gáu luhk nìhn hèung góng gìng jai ge saht jāk jàng jéung haih baak fahn jí sei dím baat.>
("The first [item] is [that] Hong Kong Bank's Economics Research Department predicted that the economic growth of Hong Kong in real terms in 96 will be 4.8 %.")

<béi deui gáu ńg nìhn hah gong nè, jauh haih léuhng go baak fahn dím ge.>
("[When] compared [with] 95, [it] has fallen by two percent.")

<gám yìh yuh gai nè hái gáu luhk nìhn chò nè, sìu fai yìhng yìhn dòu wúih haih chìh juhk pèih yeuhk.>
("And [it was] predicted [that] at the beginning of 96, consumption will still continue to be weak.")

<gám daahn haih dou nìhn jung nè, yàuh yù gìng jai fong wùhn nè, yi gìng gin dái a
("Well, but as [it] comes to the middle of the year, because the economy is slowing down, [it] has already reached the bottom.")

<gám sìu fai ji chēut nè, haih wúih maahn máan wúih sìng.>
("And as for the expenditure on consumption, [it] will slowly rise [again].")

<yu liuh làuh sĭh tùhng gú sìh nè, yihk dòu wúih nè, jauh haih wah uh uh wuht yeuk a gám.>
("[It was] predicted that the property market and the stock market, [they] also will, that is to say, uh uh, [become] active, like that.")

<gám gìng jai nè, jauh wúih wàn wòh fūk sòu ge.>
("And the economy, [it] will recover mildly.")

A fairly positive prediction about Hong Kong's economy today from Hong Kong Bank. The bank's economic research unit forecast the territory's economy will expand by 4.8% in 1996. Now this is slightly lower than the this year's forecast at five percent growth. And the bank expects the economic slowdown'll bottom out by the end of the year, and a mild pickup is predicted for the second half of 1996.

<gám hèi mohng daaih gà lè, mòuh leuhn dím yéung deui ngóh deih hèung góng yáuh seun sàm ge wá nè.
("So [I] hope everyone whatever [happens] has confidence in our Hong Kong.")

<mh, gìng jai yāt dihng wúih hóu jyún ge.>
("Yes, the economy [will] certainly turn for the better.")

<chyùhn kaau ngóh deih seun sam tuhng lóuh lihk la ma
("[It] all depends on our confidence and hard work, that's all.")

The fact that all programs are bilingual but the news is not always presented in a two-language mode suggests that this is not a simple case of dual presentation for an assumed split audience, some of whom understand only English and some of whom understand only Cantonese. In fact, the main audience of this station--and the overwhelming majority in the community--is Hong Kong Chinese, most of whom are native speakers of Cantonese with some knowledge of English. Thus the presentation of news in an all-English, all-Cantonese, or two-language mode is a programming decision that is less a reflection of differences in audience than of differences in the intended communicative profile of the station at different times of the day.

A second type of parallel frame is in repetition of numbers to ensure transmission and/or reception of information--e.g. the telephone number listeners can call to participate in a phone-in contest, or the temperature or humidity reading in a weather report. Two examples are the repetition of the humidity reading at the end of example (16) and the repetition of the temperature reading at the end of example (17):

(16)   [HW, SJ as above; BC is a Canadian Chinese male reporter.]

BC   *...The Nikkei surging one hundred six points in the first hour of trading. The Nikkei now at 19,759. And to wrap our news at 4 minutes after nine o'clock, I'm BC and this is [name of news].*

Ad (English)

SJ   *That's a wrap? On news? How very quaint. Lovely. (laughs) [station id] Thank-you, "B's", BC. Be seeing, enjoy your um*

BC   *Merry Christmas to you,*

SJ   *Merry Christmas to you,*   *[and enjoy your Christmas thing.*

HW   *[Yes, Merry Christmas to you, you see.*

BC   *and to you, and you, and you [inaudible]*

SJ   *[No, and to you.*

HW   *[And to you.*

SJ   *He's going to be, he's going to be squeezing in some golf between now and Christmas Day, I reckon that.*

HW   <hái douh yiu chìhng chìng síu síu yéh lè. yáuh hóu dò yàhn wah bìn go giu jouh> *BC Reporting.*
("There is something that needs to be cleared up here. There are many people who ask who *BC Reporting* is.")

        <kéuih go méng m̀h haih> [*Reporting* <ge haih giu jouh> *BC* <ge>. ("His name isn't *Reporting*. He is called *BC*.")

SJ   *[Cool. Cool [laugh] in the morning. The temperature, yes, he's got a full length name. He could - the temperature's between 14 and 19 degrees throughout this very day. It's gonna continue fine and dry over the weekend, particularly for Christmas Day.*

HW   *I can promise you a nice and fine day today.*

SJ   *[Oohh, I wouldn't promise.*

HW   [<yaht gàan tìn chìhng tùhng màaih gòn chou ge. jóu seuhng tìn hei nè, haih sèung dòng ji chìng lèuhng ge.> ("Daytime, [it's gonna be] clear and dry. This morning's weather, [it] is very cool.")

        The 15 degrees has not been moving at all.

<yìhng yihn haih sahp ǹgh douh. yìh sáp douh haih baak fahn jì> *seventy four* <chāt sahp sei>.
("[It]'s still 15 degrees. And the humidity is *74%*, 74.")

SJ   *Five minutes past nine.*

(17)   [AR is a HK Eurasian female dj.]
AR   *Well, well, well, the weather forecast a lovely lovely day. Full of sunshine but rather dry. And mainly fine this evening as well.*

<gàm máahn hó yíh heui tái yuht gwòng tái sìng sìng la. dàaih ji haih tìn chìhng tùhng màaih béi gaau gòn chou ge.> ("Tonight, you can go and look at the moonbeams and all the stars. [The weather] is more or less sunny and comparatively dry.")

But pay attention on Christmas Day. It's gonna be a lot lot cooler.

<yàn waih lè hái sing daan jit gó yaht lè, jeung wúih yáuh yāt go kèuhng liht gwai hauh sing hei làuh ying heung jyuh heung gong ge.>
("Because, see, on Christmas Day, here will be a strong monsoon kind of air current affecting Hong Kong.")

<só yíh wah> *Christmas Day* <gó yaht lè, jauh yiu jeuk do géi gihn sàam chēut gàai la>.
("So *Christmas Day*, that day, [you] ought to put on some extra clothes before you go out.")

<yihn sìh ge wàn douh> *nice and warm at nineteen degrees,* <sahp gáu douh a>.
("The current temperature, *nice and warm at nineteen degrees,* nineteen degrees.")

A third type of parallel-frame code-switching can be found in bilingual advertisements presented in a two-language mode, exemplified in (18). A typical format is for the message to be divided into three parts, often with a male speaker for one language and a female speaker for the other. This kind of dual language presentation is considered to be a kind of "double-messaging" to strengthen the force of the message and/or to give it a certain aesthetic of stylishness associated with use of English and Cantonese together in one context.

(18)   [recorded advertisement; FV and MV as before]
FV   <gáu lùhng yuht lòih jáu dim waih néih sing daan tìm ban fàn.>
("The Kowloon Yuht Loih (Panda) Hotel will give you extra entertainment this Christmas.")

<hái gàm go sing daan ga kèih lèih gáu lùhng yuht lòih jáu dim baat gàan jùng sài chàan dèng sihk daaih chàan jauh hó yíh chàm gà daaih chàu jéung.>

("[If you] come, during this Christmas holiday, to the eight Chinese or western restaurants of the Kowloon Yuht Loih Hotel to have a big meal, then you can take part in a big draw.")

<tàuh jéung haih fūk dahk mìhng gwai fóng chè a.>
("The first prize is an expensive Ford sedan.")

<yíh chèuih jihk máahn seuhng Jiuh Hohk Yíh juhng wúih lèih dou Yuht Lòih Jáu Dim daaih tòhng jáu lòhng tùhng néih yāt chàih dou sóu yìhng jip sàn nìhn tìm.>
("And [on] New Year's Eve Jiu Hok Yih will come to the Lobby Saloon of the Yuht Lòih Hotel to countdown [and] welcome the New Year with you.")

MV   *A brand new Ford, festive elegant jewellery, a trip to Bangkok, these are just some of the fabulous prices you can win when you bring your family to dine at the Kowloon Panda Hotel. Call the reservation hotline now on 24093101.*

FV   <dehng joh yiht sin yih sei lìhng gáu sàam yāt lìhng yāt.>
       ("Reservation Hotline [is] 24093101.")

The fourth type of parallel frame-switching is that of identification (of station, dj, Cantopop singers, places) by "double-naming" (two-name apposition of English and Cantonese name, not necessarily in that order), as in examples (19) and (20):

(19)   [DA is a HK Chinese male dj.]
DA   <hái> *Boundary Street Flyover*, <gaai haahn gàai1 tìn kiuh>
       ("at *Boundary Street Flyover*, Boundary Street Flyover")

(20)   [AL is a HK Chinese female dj.]
AL   *with you at* <maih sihng>, *Lost City*
       ("*with you at* Lost City, *Lost City*)

It is possible that the function of the "double-naming" here is the same as that of (1b) or (1c), but we suspect that it combines both the transmission/reception function (i.e. for those who may not be familiar with one or the other name) and a force-of-message or aesthetic function of creative naming practice that identifies the speaker as a Hong Kong bilingual.

A final type of parallel frame code-switching involves repeating a discourse marker, as in (21), or another word expressing the speaker's attitude, as in (22), to emphasize or underscore the truth of a proposition or the speaker's stance towards it. In the latter case, the speaker reinforces the attitude of being honored by the contiguous use of both the Putonghua and Cantonese words for "honored", with further emphasis provided by an expression of intensification ("very honored".

(21) [AL is a Hong Kong Chinese female dj.]
AL   <yān waih> *because we are bilingual...*
      ("because *because we are bilingual...*")

(22) [AR is a Hong Kong Chinese female dj.]
AL   *OK, we gonna - [laugh] do something different today.*

<a gàm yaht lè, hóu hó nàhng lè, tùhng néih pìhng sìh tèng hòi ge [dj's name] sei ji chāt ge wòhng gàm sìh dyuhn haih hóu mh tùhng yàn waih gàm yaht lè jauh jouh dùng la.>
("Well today, see, maybe, you will hear something very different from the usual on [dj's name]'s 'Four to Seven Golden Hours' because today, see, we're celebrating the Winter Solstice.")

<tùhng màaih [continuing in Putonghua] *jīn tian wǒ men shì hěn róng xìng fèi* sèuhng jì wìhng hahng> -
("And *today we are honoured*, very much honoured")

we have a very, very, very - big star in the studio and a very good friend of ours, [name of star].

In such cases, which are not common in our corpus, the speaker creates a focus on the truth of the proposition by "doubling" a lexical item expressing the speaker's attitude or stance to the truth of a proposition, in a form of "double voicing" (Bakhtin (1935/1981)[14] or "double framing"--i.e. voicing or framing the fact or expression of attitude or stance twice.

Code-switching may also open a *subordinate frame* when the main message is given in one language and information subordinate to that of the main frame in the other. Subordinate framing may be provided when the code-switch functions as a preview of something to come, what Brazil (1995) has termed in a monolingual context a "preliminary increment". One type of these preliminary increments or previews is the attention-getter (e.g. pronouncements), as in example (17), where AR introduces the part of a Cantonese weather report for Christmas Day by saying in English, "But pay attention on Christmas Day. It's gonna be a lot lot cooler." This remark splits the weather report in separate frames for that day and Christmas Day. A similar example is the use of English at the beginning of example (22).

Another type of subordinate frame preview is the preparatory statement. For example, the news in English is often preceded by a Cantonese prerecorded message as a lead-in, and on-air contests may be introduced by a preview statement or brief instruction given in English, followed by more detailed information given in Cantonese.

The other category of subordinate framing is that of the follow-up or "retrospective increment", in Brazil's (1995) terms. In this case, information given in one language is given a (partial)

---

[14] The double-voicing would seem to be, in Bakhtin's sense, a form of "uni-directional double-voicing", meaning that the messages in the two codes are mutually reinforcing.

recap, explication, or elaboration in the other , as when HW recaps SJ's brief English language weather forecast in example (16) with <yaht gàan tìn chǐhng tùhng màaih gòn chou ge. jóu seuhng tìn hei nè haih sèung dòng ji chìng lèuhng ge.> ("Daytime, [it's gonna be] clear and dry. This morning's weather, [it] is very cool.")

The final major type of code-switch is that which opens a ***new frame*** in which a different message is conveyed in each language. A new frame may be signaled by a discourse marker or tag, as in (5), where the particle <là> following *because* signifies DA's shift from an "official" persona giving advice in English to a "caring friend" persona reflecting on the life's gifts in Cantonese. Code-switching may signal a shift in frame for different audiences, as in the following example, where HW is speaking Cantonese to the listening audience and switches to English to speak to SJ:

(24)   [HW and SJ as before]
HW   <sǐh gaan haih gáu dǐm ge yih sahp ńgh fàn.> ("The time is 9:25.")

SJ   [*Oh, you're over there.*

HW   *I am, sorry. I'm using a different microphone* [laugh].

        <hóu laak. ngóh séung tùhng daaih ga góng góng tìn hei fòng mihn na> ....
        ("OK. I want to talk a bit with all of you about the weather.")

A third type of new frame signaled by a code-switch is a side-sequence such as the comment about "BC Reporting" in (16). There are also cases of topic and comment presented in two different frames, one English and one Cantonese, such as at the end (17) above, where <yihn sìh ge wàn douh> ("the current temperature") functions as topic and *nice and warm at nineteen degrees* functions as comment .Finally, code-switches in an extended discourse can open new frames in the sense of signaling a topic or subtopic break, or a return to a topic after a side-sequence, as in the return in example (5) to the topic of songs and singers after a brief aside triggered by the song title "Please Don't Cry".

2.3 Transitional Cases

Examples like (7)-(9) representing under 10% of our corpus are placed in a separate (third) category of *mix-switch* (Pennington, 1997a) which are intermediate between code-mixes and code-switches. In the view of Pennington (1997a), a mix-switch is produced when a speaker's utterance evolves in real-time from a mix to a switch, as the primary language (Cantonese) grammar is momentarily turned off or overridden by the secondary language (English). A possible mechanism for a mix-switch is that accessing the names in the English lexicon triggers a switch of grammars as well, possibly as a result of continual enlargement and automatization of the mixing repertoire, coupled with increasing proficiency in the second language. Mix-switches, like overreliance on the classifier <go> and loss of the grammatical category of some

English lexis in code-mixing, are indicative of (i) some blurring of the distinction between mixing and switching, (ii) a relaxation of the grammar of Cantonese in mixing, and (ii) a "buildup of creole potential" in Hong Kong Cantonese (Pennington, 1997a).

3. CONCLUSION

In this paper, it has been shown how intra-clausal switching or code-mixing, as essentially a lexical phenomenon, can be differentiated from inter-clausal code-switching, as essentially a rhetorical phenomenon. Code-mixing brings to communication the resources of a second lexicon and semantic system. Code-switching offers two modes for expressing the sequence of thought and the segmentation of the discourse into different topics, subtopics, and perspectives:

> At the lexical level, a language switch is a switch of word meanings, particularly, connotative or indexical meaning.... At the clausal level, the meta-significance of dual-code use is of two voices or perspectives..... Discourse construction thus proceeds by opposition and contrast of perspectives. (Pennington, 1997)

It can be maintained that "duality of language use enhances the clarity of communication values" in being "a manifestation of the natural principles of opposition and *binarism*...in communication" (Pennington, 1997). This duality or 'binarity' of codes "reduces...ambiguity, and makes the illocutionary force of an utterance more obvious, rendering signs more iconic and less symbolic." (Pennington, 1997). These principles of binarism and iconicity are at work in bilingual radio, where:

> a bilingual format helps to realize important goals in radio talk such as: making distinctions between types of information, enhancing product salience, maintaining audience attention and positive regard, presenting the announcer in a favorable light, and simply keeping talk going to avoid 'dead air'--for which a two-language repertoire is better than one. Most importantly, the use of two languages, in various ways, helps the presenters to express their orientation as Hong Kong speakers in the know. (Pennington, *et al.*, 1997a)

REFERENCES

Auer, P. (1984). *Bilingual conversation*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
Auer, P. (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: A sequential approach. In: *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives* (L. Milroy and P. Muysken (Eds.)), 115-135, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Bauer, R.S. (1988). Written Cantonese of Hong Kong. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale* **17**, 245-293.
Bacon-Shone, J., and K. Bolton (1997).Charting multilingualism: Language censuses and language surveys in Hong Kong. In: *Language in Hong Kong at century's end* (M.C. Pennington (Ed.)). Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong.
Brazil, D. (1995). *A grammar of speech*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Gibbons, J. (1987). *Code mixing and language choice: A Hong Kong case study*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, UK.

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay in the organization of experience*. Harper & Row, New York.

Goffman, E. (1981). Radio talk. In: *Forms of talk*, Ch. 5, 197-327. Blackwell, Oxford.

Gumperz, J.J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Johnson, R.K., and P.L.M. Lee (1987). Modes of instruction: Teaching strategies and student responses. In: *Language education in Hong Kong* (R. Lord and H.N.L. Cheng (Eds.)), 99-121. The Chinese University Press, Hong Kong.

Li, D.C.S. (1996). *Issues in bilingualism and biculturalism: A Hong Kong case study*. Peter Lang, New York.

Li, D.C.S. (1997). The plight of the purist. In: *Language in Hong Kong at century's end* (M.C. Pennington (Ed.)). Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong.

Lin, A.M.Y. (1990). *Teaching in two tongue*s: Language alternation in foreign *language classrooms*. Research Report No. 3. Department of English, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

Luke, K.K. (1997). Why two languages might be better than one: Motivations of language mixing in Hong Kong. In: *Language in Hong Kong at century's end* (M.C. Pennington (Ed.)). Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong.

Matthews, S. and Yip, V. (1994). *Cantonese: A comprehensive grammar*. Routledge, London.

Muysken, P. (1995) Code-switching and grammatical theory. In: *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives* (L. Milroy and P. Muysken (Eds.)), 177-198, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1993) *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Myers-Scotton, C. (1995) A lexically-based production model in code-switching. In: *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives* (L. Milroy and P. Muysken (Eds.)), 233-256, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Pennington, M.C. (1994). *Forces shaping a dual code society: An interpretive review of the literature on language attitudes and language use in Hong Kong*. Research Report No. 35. Department of English, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

Pennington, M.C. (1995a). Pattern and variation in the use of two languages in the Hong Kong secondary English class. *RELC Journal* **26**(2), 80-105.

Pennington, M.C. (1996). Cross-language effects in biliteracy. *Language and Education* **10**, 254-272.

Pennington, M.C. (1997a). Canto-English? The buildup of creole potential in a bilingual community. International Symposium on Bilingualism. University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK. April 1997.

Pennington, M.C. (1997b). Linguistic colonisation: Technology, information, and the spread of English. Inaugural lecture of the Powdrill Professorship in English Language Acquisition, University of Luton. Putteridge Bury, UK. June 1997.

Pennington, M. C. (1997c). Linguistic borrowing: The metaphorical incorporation of experience from one culture into another. XVIth International Congress of Linguists, Paris. July 1997.

Pennington, M.C. (1997d). Perspectives on language in Hong Kong at century's end. In: *Language in Hong Kong at century's end* (M.C. Pennington (Ed.)). Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong.

Pennington, M. C. (in press). The folly of language planning: A brief history of the English language in Hong Kong. *English Today*.

Pennington, M.C., and J. Balla (1997). Bilingualism in microcosm: The emergence of discipline-related discourse communities in Hong Kong tertiary education. *Education Journal*, **24**(2), 147-171.

Pennington, M.C., B.H.-s. Chan and L. Lau (1997a). Forms and functions of code-switching in bilingual radio. International Symposium on Bilingualism. University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK. April 1997.

Pennington, M.C., B.H.-s. Chan and L. Lau (1997b). Intra-sentential code-switching in Hong Kong bilingual radio: Applying the matrix frame model. Unpublished ms., University of Luton. December 1997.

Pennington, M.C., Y.P. Lee and L. Lau. (1996). *Communicating in the Hong Kong secondary English classroom: The evolution of second language discourses.* Research Monograph No. 7. Department of English, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.

Poon, W. (1992). *An analysis of the language needs of accountants and company administrators in Hong Kong.* Research Report No. 21. Department of English, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong.