

Multilingualism in Hong Kong: A Social Identity Theory Perspective

Ph.D. Thesis

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Summary

This thesis sets out to examine the link between language and the sense of national identity in Hong Kong from a social identity perspective. It aims to find out whether language use, proficiency and attitudes are linked to one's perceived identity in contemporary Hong Kong, in the context of the city's context of trilingualism (Cantonese, English, Mandarin) and biliteracy (Chinese and English).

The thesis contains eight chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter. It outlines the thesis, and briefly introduces the theoretical framework adopted for the research, namely Social Identity Theory. It presents the three main research questions, and the mixed methods research designed adopted for the project. Chapter 2 provides a contextual chapter which provides both linguistic and historical detail. It examines the colonial past of Hong Kong, and explores relevant aspects of the three main languages used in Hong Kong: Cantonese, English, and Mandarin.

Chapter 3 then goes on to provide the main literature review chapter in the thesis. It examines the concept of multilingualism from both individual and societal perspectives. The chapter reviews relevant empirical work on language and identity in Hong Kong. Chapter 4 contains an account of the project's theoretical framework. It considers the study of attitudes in relation to language and then proceeds to define and describe Social Identity Theory as well as the theory's extension into the area of self-categorisation. It concludes with examples of research which have conducted using Social Identity Theory as an explanatory framework.

The study's research methods are presented in Chapter 5. This chapter contains an account of how the research was designed, administered and analysed. It presents three data collection instruments designed for the mixed methods study: questionnaire, verbal-guise test, and semi-structured interview. It also presents how the project's sample population was selected and contacted, and ethical considerations relevant to the project. Chapter 6 is the data presentation chapter. It presents both the quantitative and qualitative data organised by data collection instrument. The data are analysed in Chapter 7, which attempts to respond to the study's three research questions. Finally, Chapter 8 rounds off the thesis with a discussion and conclusion chapter, considering the study's original contribution to the field as well as its limitation of the research. It concludes with possible directions for future research on the topic.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is the introductory chapter to the thesis. It firstly examines the aim and rationale of the study, and the theoretical framework. Then, it lays out the research questions and presents the methodological approach. Lastly, it discusses the outline of the thesis.

This thesis aims to investigate the national identity issue in Hong Kong from the linguistic perspective by identifying and examining any links between language use, language attitudes, and language proficiency. The study aims to explore the relationship between languages and one's sense of national identity.

The linguistic situation in Hong Kong is often described as “biliterate and trilingual” (Bolton, 2011: 51) as most people in Hong Kong are perceived to be able to read and write in Chinese and English; and are capable of speaking and listening in Cantonese, Mandarin and English. The “biliterate and trilingual” linguistic environment can be explained by the education system in Hong Kong, as Cantonese and English are mainly used as a medium of instruction in schools; while Mandarin is often taught separately in most schools. Chinese and English are also the dominant written languages in Hong Kong.

The concept of multilingualism, both individual and societal, is central to the research. The project adopts Cenoz's interpretation of multilingualism where the construct of individual multilingualism focuses on the aspect of language skills such as language acquisition; and the construct of societal multilingualism approaches the phenomenon of multilingualism as a social construct (Cenoz, 2013: 5-6). The thesis draws on Social Identity Theory to explore how sense of identity affects one's linguistic behaviours.

Whilst Hong Kong is a multilingual city, the present study focuses on the three main language varieties of its residents: Cantonese, Mandarin and English. While much research on language and identity in Hong Kong has been conducted, this research is one of the very first studies on the topic after the two main social events in Hong Kong, the Umbrella Revolution in 2014, and the protest against extradition bill in 2019, which resulted in the introduction of the national security law. The two events have been seen as

a significant social changes in the city and the region. The Covid-19 pandemic interrupted the planned data for this thesis, resulting in an online study rather than in-person data collection by the researcher.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

The research makes use of Social Identity Theory which was conceptualised by Tajfel (1972) and its extension of self-categorisation theory as proposed by Turner (1987). This theory explains the relationship between one's intergroup behaviours and social identity, which is defined by the prototypes, or norms, of the social group. It theorises that an individual changes their behaviour in order to fit in with the norms of the social group. In this thesis, Social Identity Theory, with the extension of self-categorisation theory, is used to explore how languages are related to any perceived sense of national identity.

1.3 Research Questions

Three research questions were articulated for this research project as follows:

- 1) Is Hong Kong Cantonese perceived by Hong Kongers as central to their identity?
- 2) Do (and if so, how do) factors of language use, language proficiency and language attitude relate to perceived identity in Hong Kong?
- 3) Is Mandarin perceived by Hong Kongers as a threat to Hong Kong culture?

Research Question 1 aims to examine if Hong Kong Cantonese, being the dominant spoken language in Hong Kong, exists merely as a tool of communication, or if it has a role to play in the construction of identity in Hong Kong despite not being a language which is explicitly taught in the education system. It hypothesises that:

- a. Those who self-identify as Hong Kongers would perceive Hong Kong Cantonese to be of more importance to their identity
- b. Those who self-identify as Chinese would perceive Hong Kong Cantonese to be of less importance to their identity

Research Question 2, an extension of Research Question 1, investigates any links between language proficiency, language attitude and language use, and the perceived national identity in Hong Kong. It hypothesises that:

- a. Positive predictors of a Hong Kong identity include regular use of, high proficiency in and positive attitudes to Hong Kong Cantonese;
- b. Positive predictors of a Chinese identity include regular use of, high proficiency in and positive attitudes to Mandarin;
- c. Negative predictors of a Chinese identity include regular use of, high proficiency in and positive attitudes to English

Research Question 3 looks at whether Mandarin is perceived to be a threat to Cantonese, and, by extension, to Hong Kong culture and sense of identity. It hypothesises that

- a. Those who self-identify as Hong Kongers would perceive Mandarin as a negative threat to Cantonese and Hong Kong culture
- b. Those who self-identify in relation to China would be less negative towards the increasing use of Mandarin in Hong Kong

1.4 Methodological Approach

To answer the research questions listed above, a cross-sectional, mixed-method approach was adopted. Research instruments included an online questionnaire, a verbal-guise test and a semi-structured interview. The sample population were adult residents in Hong Kong. In total, 113 participants completed the online questionnaire in the first phase of the project, with six participants involved in the second phase of verbal-guise tests and interviews. Quantitative data from the online questionnaire were used to respond to RQ1 and informed my response to RQ2. Qualitative data from interview transcripts were used to inform further my responses to RQ2 as well as RQ3. Data collected from the questionnaire informed the questions employed during the interviews.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is organised according to eight chapters. After the current introductory chapter, the second chapter describes Hong Kong's colonial past and refers to the notions of imperialism and colonisation relevant to language. The features and the status of the three main language varieties in Hong Kong, Hong Kong Cantonese, Hong Kong English, and Mandarin in Hong Kong are addressed.

Chapter Three begins with an examination of the various definitions of individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism, and provides examples of empirical work on research related to languages and identity in Hong Kong. Chapter Four provides an overview of the theoretical framework adopted for this thesis. It commences with an examination of three models of attitudes: the three-component model of attitudes; the expectancy-value model, and the attitudes as object-evaluation association model. It then looks at some definitions of identity before defining and describing Social Identity Theory and its mechanisms in relation to the processes of social categorisation and self-categorisation. This chapter also addresses links between self-categorisation and attitudes.

Chapter Five presents the project's research design, beginning with its research objectives and the research questions. The research design adopted for the project is described and the key points of the data collection process are outlined. The chapter also describes the study's sample population, participants and research instrument design for the project's three data collection instruments (questionnaire, verbal-guise test, interview). Finally, this chapter presents the data analysis approaches used to process the quantitative and qualitative data collected.

Chapter Six presents the study's findings: questionnaire data, followed by the results from the verbal-guise tests, and finally an overview of the data collected by interview. Chapter Seven is the data analysis chapter, providing responses to the three research questions with respect to the three data collection instruments. Chapter Eight then contains the discussion and conclusion to the study, and examines also the contribution and limitations of the research described here, as well as some possible directions for future research.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has briefly outlined the project's aims and design, its theoretical framework, research questions, and the methodological approach. In the next chapter, Hong Kong's historical and linguistic context is examined in order provide a context for the reader.

Chapter 2: Hong Kong's Linguistic Context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides historical and linguistic context for Hong Kong especially in relation to its colonial past. The first section provides some background information regarding Hong Kong. It then examines colonialism and imperialism in relation to account. It goes on to describe the three main language varieties spoken in Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cantonese, Hong Kong English, and Mandarin in Hong Kong.

2.2 Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, People's Republic of China

Hong Kong's official and political identity means that its full name is the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. It is both a city and one of special administrative region of China located on the eastern Pearl River Delta in South China. Hong Kong, along with neighbouring Macau, is one of only two Special Administrative Regions in China (see map below). It contains 18 districts located across three main areas, Hong Kong island, Kowloon and the New Territories. According to the 2021 census, the current population of Hong Kong is just shy of 7.5 million residents (Census and Statistics Department, 2022). Hong Kong is one of the world's most densely populated cities. As well as being an international finance centre, it is a vibrant destination for tourism.

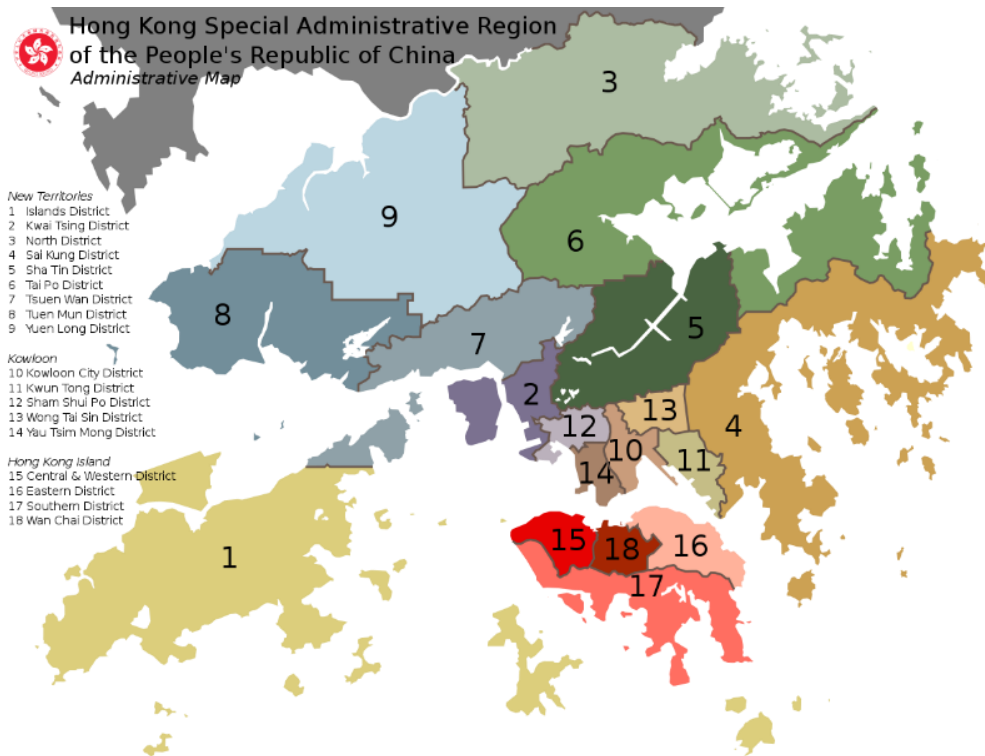


Figure 1: Map of Hong Kong

In terms of spoken languages, census data in 2021 suggest that 88.2% of the population aged 5 or above speak Cantonese at home, with 58.7% and 54.2% speaking English and Mandarin at home respectively (ibid.) For written languages, one in ten of the population aged 5 or above can read and write Chinese, whilst one in seven can read and write in English.

While Cantonese, English and Mandarin are the three most common spoken languages in Hong Kong, Hong Kong is a multilingual city and the following languages, with the 2021 census returning the following languages as most commonly spoken after Cantonese, Mandarin and English:

- Fukien
- Hakka
- Chiu Chau
- Other Chinese languages
- Filipino

- Indonesian
- Japanese

2.3 Colonialism and Imperialism

Before turning to the linguistic context of Hong Kong, this chapter will firstly address its historical context, including its status as a former British colony. It will be useful to define colonialism and imperialism as a basis for understanding the vitality and visibility of Hong Kong's three main languages.

According to Kohn and Reddy (2017), colonialism is practice of domination, which necessarily involves the subjugation of peoples. Butt (2013) points out, defining colonialism is not a straightforward task – it may be defined too narrowly, or too broadly. If colonialism is defined too narrowly, “communities who have experienced injustice which they characterised as colonial are excluded”; if defined too broadly, “almost any form of relation featuring inequality of power between different international parties appears to be an instance of colonialism” (2013: 892). While “imperialism” and “colonialism” appear to be closely related, scholars such as Young argue that there are distinctions between the two terms. In Young’s work, “colonialism” is defined as “the system, practice, and principles of administration of colonies under colonial rule” (2015: 54), while “imperialism” manifests itself as a practice aiming at turning heterogeneous colonies into one single political and economic unit (*ibid*). From this perspective, “colonialism” is more about governing a colony for colonial settlement or other reasons, while ‘imperialism’ pursues the goal of assimilating the political and economic systems of the colonised and the coloniser. Edward Said wrote that “imperialism” holds a strong attitude towards ruling a distant territory; while “colonialism” focuses on the “implanting of settlement” (1993: 8).

Galtung defines imperialism as “a type of relationship whereby one society can dominate another” (in Phillipson, 1992: 52), with the dominant being at the centre and the dominated being at the periphery. Phillipson then defines the term linguisticism as “the representation of the dominant language, to which desirable characteristics are attributed for purposes of inclusion, and the opposite for dominated language, for purposes of exclusion” (*ibid*).

With regards to these definitions, linguistic imperialism take places when there happens to be an occupation at the dominated country by the dominant, often fulfilled

through colonisation. Hence, there is a clear link between colonisation and linguistic imperialism, with colonisation generally preceding linguistic imperialism.

Phillipson also provides a working definition for English linguistic imperialism, which is “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (ibid: 47), and it is a sub-type of linguistic imperialism.

Kachru’s (1985) well-known Three Circles Model of World Englishes assigns use of English in the world into three concentric circles, inner, outer, and expanding circles, is well known by students of linguistics and is closely related to the colonial and imperial contexts. The inner circle refers to countries where English is spoken as a first (native) language, such as the United Kingdom and Australia, whilst the outer circle refers to countries where English is used as a second language, such as India and Singapore, often with a British colonial history (Al-Mutairi, 2019: 85). Inner circle countries, rather than outer circle norms, continue to be perceived as the standard-setters and at the centre of power with regard to linguistic norms. In expanding circle countries, English is learned for communicative purposes as a foreign language. Whilst the model has been critiqued (Modiano, 1999: 22-24), for instance as conflating English as a language determined by geographical location, it is a useful means of understanding countries where English is spoken due to their historical context. Colonisation and conquest in the past have contributed to shaping patterns of multilingualism and continue to a multilingual environment in the colonised society that outlast the period of colonisation. Hong Kong, as a British colony from 1842 to 1997 where English remains an official language, fulfils the conditions of being in the “outer circle”.

2.4 Hong Kong’s Historical Context

In 1839, Great Britain invaded China in response to its intrusion in Britain’s economic and political affairs, leading to the first Opium War. In 1841, the Qing dynasty of China lost the war. As a result, China ceded Hong Kong Island to Britain under the Chuenpi Convention under the Treaty of Nanking, which was signed as a conclusion to the war. Hong Kong had the population of 3500 inhabitants scattered across 20 villages, with another 2000 inhabitants living on boats in the harbour. In 1856, a second war broke out between Britain and China due to Britain’s dissatisfaction of the treaty. China was again defeated and signed the Peking Convention, ceding Kowloon Peninsula to Britain. In

1897, Britain sought to extend Hong Kong for defensive purposes, forcing the Chinese government at the time to sign the Second Peking Convention, leading to its occupation over New Territories for the following 99 years as a lease (Palivos, Wang & Chong, 2011). The colonial period distanced Hong Kong and its inhabitants from mainland China. Hong Kong, according to historian John Carroll (2006), can be viewed as a site for cultural interaction between the East and the West. During its period as a British colony, Hong Kong grew as a key centre for Sino-British and international trade and has transformed into one of the world's most dynamic urban centres, "the Pearl of the Orient". Between the period of 1844 and 1859, three types of schools were permitted in Hong Kong (Evans, 2008):

- Anglo-Chinese schools, where pupils were taught in both Chinese and English;
- Chinese schools, where only Chinese was used in education, generally attended by the children of mainland Chinese migrants;
- English schools, where pupils were taught entirely in English, with British and European pupils.

Within the first decade of the colonial period, the population in Hong Kong increased from around 5,000 in 1842 to 40,000 in 1853 due to immigration from the nearby Guangdong province (Edwards, 2019). The trend of immigration continued in the 19th century. Cantonese arrived in Hong Kong with the arrival of these migrants from Guangdong who spoke Yue Cantonese.

During the early colonial period, English language education in Hong Kong lacked governmental initiatives and was mostly missionary-led. Nonetheless, during the colonial period, the number of schools using English as the medium of instruction (EMI) grew and finally overtook the number of Chinese schools, especially in the late 20th century. Hong Kong became a global city and the centre of finance where international business and trades were achieved. Therefore, demand for English increased as Hong Kong developed. However, the typical Hong Konger is far from fluent in English. The EF English Proficiency Index (2018) defined the English proficiency level in Hong Kong to be moderate, and ranked it 30th in the world, lower for example than many "expanding circle" countries (Kachru, 1985). The vernacular version of English is Hong Kong English, which shares features with the major varieties of English but is also influenced by Cantonese phonology, syntax and vocabulary.

2.5 Languages in Hong Kong

As mentioned earlier, the linguistic situation in Hong Kong is described as “trilingual and biliterate” (Bolton, 2011: 51). The Hong Kong Civil Service Bureau notes:

Chinese and English are the official languages of Hong Kong. Committed to openness and accountability, the Government produces important documents in both English and Chinese. Correspondence with individual members of the public is always in the language appropriate to the recipients. Simultaneous interpretation in English / Cantonese / Putonghua is made available to meetings of the Legislative Council and Government boards and committees as needed. (Civil Service Bureau, 2022)

The remaining sections in this chapter will examine the status of these languages in Hong Kong.

2.5.1 Hong Kong Cantonese

Cantonese (*Yueyu*) is a Sino-Tibetan variety of Chinese spoken predominantly in Guangdong and in Hong Kong. It also has a large overseas diaspora of speakers, in some Southeast Asia countries and in diasporic Chinatowns in the United States due to emigration from China, specifically from the Guangdong area. For instance, in Malaysia, Cantonese is widely spoken in the capital city, Kuala Lumpur, due to its population of Cantonese descent. With the popularity of the language in the capital city, Cantonese culture from Hong Kong, such as dramas produced by the television broadcast company in Hong Kong, Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB), are popular in Malaysia. Cantonese is also spoken in diasporic Chinatowns in the United States, especially where there was an immigration influx of people of Cantonese descent, for instance Manhattan’s Chinatown, where the western portion is known as a Little Hong Kong.

Government statistics record that 88.2% of population in Hong Kong speaks Cantonese as a native language (Census and Statistics Department, 2022). While Cantonese has been the dominant spoken language in both Hong Kong and Guangdong area, the same variety developed differently in the two regions. Hong Kong Cantonese mainly differentiates itself from Guangdong Cantonese in terms of phonology and

loanwords. The phonemes and the number of tones in Hong Kong Cantonese and Guangdong Cantonese are similar, both with 19 initial consonants and nine tones (or six pitch contours with the additional three “entering tones”) (Shih, 2018). Nonetheless, in Hong Kong Cantonese, certain initial consonants are merged into one, causing the phenomenon of what Hong Kong people normally refer to as a “lazy sound” (To, 2015). The most common example of this “lazy sound” is the merging of /l/ and /n/ (ibid). For instance, the minimal pair “梨” normally pronounced as /leɪ̃⁴/ and “尼” normally pronounced /neɪ̃⁴/ is very likely in Hong Kong to be pronounced in the same way, both as /leɪ̃⁴/. The other common merging of phonemes is between /k^w/ and /k/ (ibid.). The reason why this “lazy sound” is a unique feature of Hong Kong Cantonese can be due to its education system which lacked formal Mandarin language instruction during the colonial period. Mandarin distinguishes the above phonemes very clearly, and speakers in Guangdong are accustomed to distinguishing between these sounds. Hong Kong has long been an international city blended with Chinese and Western cultures. With the contact between cultures, Hong Kong Cantonese and English also came into contact with each other. As a result, Hong Kong Cantonese received many loanwords from English, and vice versa. The loanwords in Hong Kong Cantonese from English mark a distinctive feature of Hong Kong Cantonese, as compared to Guangdong Cantonese. With the significantly long colonial period, loanwords from English to Hong Kong Cantonese come in different categories. Most loanwords from English to Hong Kong Cantonese are related to ordinary life. The most commonly known category of loanwords includes loanwords for transportations and vehicles, for instance:

- “巴士” /pa:˧¹si:˨²/, bus
- “的士” /te˧¹si:˨²/, taxi
- “吉普” /ke˧¹p^hou˨²/, jeep

A further common group of loanwords describe food, for example:

- “三文” /sa:m¹ mən⁴/, salmon
- “布甸” /bou³ ti:n⁶/, pudding
- “西冷” /sɛ̃¹la:ŋ⁵/, sirloin

Hong Kong Cantonese, as a spoken dialect of Chinese under the hegemony of English language as a colonial language and global lingua franca, is relatively low in educational value in Hong Kong. Hong Kong Cantonese is mainly a spoken language and medium of instruction, not an educational subject per se nor a key component in the examination system. Whilst Cantonese is mostly a spoken variety, this does not mean that Cantonese writing does not exist at all. Over the years, a written version of Cantonese has gained in popularity in online conversation and platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and online blogs as a style of informal writing, or a manner of assimilate Cantonese spoken discourse into a written form. Writing in Hong Kong employs the same Chinese characters as in mainland China, although with traditional rather than simplified characters. In recent years, simplified Chinese characters have been accepted in written examinations in Hong Kong and are popular among students in order to save time in writing (Pang, 2016).

While Cantonese originates from Guangdong, Cantonese is not as commonly spoken there as in Hong Kong, with Mandarin being taught and used as the medium of instruction in schools. Cantonese is gradually being replaced by Mandarin, especially for younger generations who may only be able to acquire proficiency in Cantonese through their family instead of learning it through the education system. At present, this is not the case in Hong Kong. Although Cantonese is not taught as a separate subject in schools in Hong Kong, it remains still the medium of instruction in most local schools. Whether Hong Kong will follow the case of Guangdong has been a concern to some people living in Hong Kong, especially since the government began to promote the use of Mandarin as a medium of instruction in schools. Some Hong Kongers are concerned that the uptake of Mandarin in schools as a medium of instruction, along with the high economic value of Mandarin, would lead to the decreased use of Cantonese in Hong Kong and marginalise further the position of Cantonese in Hong Kong as in Guangdong. It is uncertain at present whether Cantonese in Hong Kong will follow or diverge from the situation in Guangdong.

2.5.2 Hong Kong English

Since the colonial period, there has been an influx of loanwords from English to Cantonese. The language contact between Hong Kong Cantonese and English has contributed to not only the uniqueness and distinctive features of Hong Kong Cantonese, but also the rise of Hong Kong English. This section examines the features of Hong Kong English, focusing on the phonology, morphological structure, and lexical framework of the variety.

The phonology of Hong Kong English is distinctive and recognisable despite the fact that British English has been used as the model in education. Cantonese phonology plays an important role in the typical Hong Kong English accent (Setter, Wong, Chan, 2010: 12).

As described above, Cantonese is a tonal language. Each Chinese lexeme has not only a particular phoneme, but also a particular toneme. Most Hong Kongers bring this feature to English, with a tone pattern that does not vary according to the stress of the utterance in English. Apart from this lack of alteration of stress, a typical Hong Kong English accent features a word-stressed rhythm in utterances, rather than being time-stressed. Cantonese itself, alongside many other Asian languages, are word-stressed languages, meaning that every word or syllable shares an equal amount of time and stress under any circumstances. This is different than English, and many other European languages, where an utterance is time-stressed, with the stressed words having more time and stress. In this sense, a typical Hong Kong English accent sounds rather mechanical, with every word pronounced clearly without variations in any sentences (ibid.: 33).

While standard or Received Pronunciation (RP) English is often regarded as the target variety for acquisition in Hong Kong, Hong Kong English speakers do not tend to utilise the characteristics of RP in their speech. This section discusses the realisation of phonemes of Hong Kong English speakers in terms of vowels and consonants.

Hong Kong English phonology demonstrates features of both American English and British English, including rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciation (Bolton and Kwok 1990). Taking the word “letter” as an example, older Hong Kong English speakers tend to pronounce it as /letə/ (typical of standard British English) whilst younger speakers, from the 90s, favour /letər/ (typical of standard American English) (Luke and Richards, 1982: 55; Bolton and Kwok, 1990: 167).

Turning to vowel length, in Hong Kong English, the difference between [I] and [i] is often neglected. The long vowel [i] is most commonly used instead of [I]. The minimal

pair of “fit” and “feet” in Hong Kong English demonstrates this: “fit” is pronounced /fɪt/ with a short vowel [ɪ] whilst “feet” is pronounced /fi:t/ with a long vowel [i:] in both British and American English. In Hong Kong English, both words are pronounced in the same way, featuring the long vowel. Other examples of pairs include “bit” and “beat”, “mid” and “meat” and “rid” and “read”.

Diphthongs are a further feature of Hong Kong English. In most English varieties, diphthongs are treated as connected syllables whereas Hong Kong English, diphthongs are commonly divided into two different syllables with a distinct pause in the middle of a diphthong, e.g. rather than pronouncing “hear” as a single connected sound [hiə], a pause is inserted between /hi/ and /ə/ (Setter, Wong, Chan, 2010: 30-31).

Turning to consonants, there are several interesting features in Hong Kong English influenced by Cantonese. One distinctive pair of consonants is the alveolar nasal /n/ and alveolar lateral approximant /l/ (Setter, Wong, Chan, 2010: 21-23). These two phonemes are used interchangeably. For example, both /ləʊ/ and /nəʊ/ could be used by speakers to refer to the word “low”, whilst /naʊ/ and /laʊ/ can both be heard when referring to the word “now”. While this /l/ and /n/ merger does not seem to affect communication to a large extent, the linguistic phenomenon is due to the fact that there is no /n/ and /l/ distinction in Hong Kong Cantonese, especially among the younger generation, who tend to substitute /n/ with /l/ when speaking in Hong Kong Cantonese. This phenomenon leads to the lack of consciousness detecting the difference between /n/ and /l/ in English as well, thus contributing the /l/ and /n/ merger (ibid.: 22)

The “initial consonant cluster simplification” is also a linguistic phenomenon of Hong Kong English which is widely recognised (Setter, Wong, Chan, 2010: 23-24). Initial consonant clusters are the complex sounds found at the beginning of English words, with examples including words beginning with “pr-“, “pl-“, and “br-“. Initial clusters tend to be simplified in Hong Kong English (Setter, Wong, Chan, 2010: 23) as clusters do not exist in Hong Kong Cantonese. For instance, the /l/ in the word “play” is sometimes unpronounced, the /r/ in the word “write” is often neglected, and the /r/ in “break” is not pronounced.

Finally, in terms of grammatical features, Cantonese influences the structure of Hong Kong English. Like Mandarin, Cantonese does not feature tense markers, and so speakers tend to drop these in English. Similarly, both Cantonese and Mandarin are uninflected languages. Speakers therefore tend to drop pronoun markers, such as the third person singular pronoun (“he eat” rather than “he eats”). Moreover, as Setter, Wong, and

Chan (2010: 59-61) point out, Hong Kong English does not distinguish between count and mass nouns, due to the fact that most mass nouns in English, such as bread and chalk, can be counted in Cantonese. This contributes to two distinctive features of Hong Kong English, depending on the speaker. Some speakers tend to omit the suffix “-s” or “-es” when referring to plural nouns; some speakers occasionally add the suffix “-s” and “-es” to mass nouns such as “bread” and “furniture”. Further distinctive features of Hong Kong English, such as use of comparatives and superlatives, as well as code-mixing, have been described at length in the literature (Setter, Wong, Chan, 2010). However, given constraints of space in this thesis, the discussion here will now turn to Mandarin in Hong Kong.

2.5.3 Mandarin in Hong Kong

Putonghua education, described as *guoyu* in Hong Kong, ceased in the Hong Kong’s primary education system in the 1950s due to a lack of teachers. It was subsequently removed from the secondary examination syllabus in 1965 as a consequence of the decreasing number of students taking Mandarin exams (Leung, Wong, 1996: 141). Late in the colonial period, Mandarin language education made its way back to Hong Kong education through the decision made in 1981 in order to tackle students’ problems in written Chinese (Leung, Wong, 1996). Since the re-introduction of Mandarin education into the Hong Kong education system, Mandarin education has been receiving positive feedback from the education field (Leung, Wong, 1996). Approaching the period of the handover in 1997, Mandarin became more useful to Hong Kongers in light of increasing trade and interactions with mainland Chinese people. In the present day, Mandarin is widely used across Hong Kong in variety of settings including in education, business, and social settings. Hong Kong Mandarin is a regional variation of the language and shares the majority of its lexical and grammatical features with other varieties of Chinese, differing only in loanwords from English and Japanese available in Hong Kong Mandarin. It is mostly in its pronunciation that makes Hong Kong Mandarin distinctive.

Turning firstly to tones, in both Mandarin and Cantonese, homophones can have different meanings when pronounced in different tones. However, as Mandarin and Cantonese have different number of tones, inaccurate pronunciations can occur when Hong Kong people speak in Mandarin. Combining the difference in tones (four in Mandarin, nine in Cantonese) with the lexical similarities between Cantonese and

Mandarin, Hong Kongers, when speaking Mandarin, are confident in their word choice (thus speaking quickly), but use a tone that is familiar to them, with just a change in phonemes. This makes certain words difficult to understand to Mandarin speakers. There are also phonemic differences between the two varieties.

While English is regarded as an economic commodity in Hong Kong, Mandarin has also gained instrumental value in Hong Kong in the recent decades due to the increasing economic activities between Hong Kong and mainland China mentioned above. While Cantonese and Mandarin are often seen as two languages which share different phonological features, they are somewhat mutually intelligible in the written form due to the similarity of the two languages because of the fact that the Chinese writing system is traditionally associated with the word choices and orders in spoken Mandarin, Mandarin is often understood in Hong Kong. In general, Chinese language in Hong Kong can be understood as, as Leung defined, the spoken language of Cantonese and a written form based on Modern Standard Chinese (Leung, 2005). Hong Kong people can usually understand spoken Mandarin when they hear it because they are familiar with the lexical choice and sentence structure. Nonetheless, it only shows the passive capability of Mandarin of Hong Kong people. The active capability of the language, in terms of speaking skills, is often limited compared to the listening skills and depends on the individual, because Mandarin is not generally used as a spoken language in Hong Kong, and Hong Kong people use Mandarin only in the education system, or at workplace.

Mandarin became a formal subject in the school curriculum in 1998, and was a part of the language-in-education policy of “biliteracy and trilingualism” (Leung, 2005). In most schools, Chinese language, spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese, is used as the language of instruction in all subjects as part of the mother-tongue education policy which apply to all schools with exceptions, where English is used as the medium of instruction in all subjects but Chinese and Chinese history (Leung, 2005). However, Mandarin is mostly recognised as another economic commodity apart from English in Hong Kong, and the introduction of Mandarin to the core part of the education system does not seem to encourage the use of Mandarin in daily life, and can thus be determined as lacking cultural and social value.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the historical and linguistic context of Hong Kong, examining the colonialism, imperialism, and linguistic imperialism. This chapter also examines the status and features of the three main languages of Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cantonese, Hong Kong English, and Hong Kong Mandarin. The next chapter will discuss the notion of multilingualism both in the individual and societal perspectives and will examine relevant empirical research conducted on language and identity in Hong Kong.

Chapter 3: Individual and Societal Multilingualism

3.1. Introduction

The chapter considers the subject of multilingualism as a human and linguistic occurrence. Firstly, it discusses the definition of multilingualism in terms of the dichotomy made between individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism, followed by a review of empirical literature on individual and societal multilingualism in Hong Kong, organised thematically.

3.2 Defining Multilingualism

Whilst there are competing and overlapping definitions of multilingualism, generally researchers distinguish between individual and societal perspectives. Individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism are connected through the linguistic environment. Individual multilingualism focuses on language at the level of the individual speaker, including matters of acquisition and identity, whilst societal multilingualism focuses on the wider social or institutional context. Later subsections will address each of these perspectives in turn.

Multilingualism is a common linguistic occurrence which has been studied intensively over the last several decades from a range of different academic perspectives and themes (Cenoz, 2013). Coulmas (2018: 31) suggests that responses to the definition of multilingualism can be grouped into four clusters:

- a capacity
- a practice
- an attitude or ideology
- an object of theorizing.

Coulmas (ibid.) provides seven key definitions from across the field which attempts to cover these clusters. Researchers such as Haberland (2013), Bassiouney (2009), and Yagmur (2016) define multilingualism as a *capacity* or *ability* to communicate in more than one, or multiple, languages. Other researchers including Li Wei (2014: 475) define multilingualism from the perspective of *practice* or *language use*.

Scholars such as Kimura (2014), Heller (2011), and Daswani (2001) have approached multilingualism from an attitudinal or ideological perspective of an attitude or ideology, defining it as a condition of human society or as a positive attitude towards languages other than one's mother tongue (Coulmas, 2018: 36-37). Theoretical work in the area attempts to model multilingualism in relation to societal issues or phenomena. For instance, Djite (2008) related the definition of multilingualism to language contact, as he defines multilingualism as "on-going language contact in the same territorial space".

Multilingualism is typically accepted as the norm for both individuals and societies located in the global south, whilst often regarded as extraordinary in the global north where monolingualism (especially in English, but not exclusively) is regarded in some quarters as standard (Garcia, 1992: 3). On a national level, as Millar (2005: 18) mentions, language is a means of "uniting people within a nation", while having the potential to cause problems when the population within one single polity speak different language as they may differ in their cultural view. For instance, post-colonial nations often must decide with careful consideration how to manage indigenous language use along with the language of the former coloniser. The following sections will look at the concepts of individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism.

3.3 Individual Multilingualism

The term individual multilingualism is used to describe people who habitually use (or who can) use two or more languages (Li Wei, 2008; Bassiouney, 2009; Aronin and Singleton, 2008; European Commission, 2007). For several authors in the field (e.g. De Groot, 201; Kemp 2009), the term is used exclusively to speakers who use or can use *three* or more languages, and therefore excludes bilinguals. One useful overarching definition of individual bilingualism and multilingualism is the "common human condition that makes it possible for an individual to function, at some level, in more than one language" (Valdes, 2012) in addition to the individual's mother tongue or first language (L1). In this thesis, the maximal definition will be employed, i.e. the term multilingual will be used to describe individuals who speak or who can speak at least two or more languages. This working definition also includes the notions of competence ("can speak") as well as habitual practice ("does speak").

In light of the above and before examining the various definitional components of individualism multilingualism, we will turn first to the adjacent terms of monolingualism

and bilingualism. The term monolingual is employed variously to refer to an individual who has acquired only one language, their native or first language (L1) or to describe an individual whose second (L2) language learning has not resulted in proficiency sufficient for any meaningful social communication. Ellis describes monolingualism as a multidimensional concept and defines a monolingual individual as one who “does not have access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication” (2008: 313). Many factors may contribute to the limited repertoire of a monolingual individual, such as their linguistic background or environment (ibid.).

The term bilingualism is used by scholars and lay people to describe a person’s capacity to use two languages. Cenoz describes bilingualism as “the habitual use of two languages” (2013: 7). Baker (2011: 3) unpacks bilingualism according to different dimensions, including: ability, use, balance of two languages, age, development culture, contexts, and elective bilingualism. Language ability or proficiency is typically the starting point in much of the literature, both academic and popular, when it comes to examining bilingualism and multilingualism. For instance, in the early literature on the topic, Bloomfield refers to a “native-like control of two languages” (ibid., 1933: 55-56) and proposes that, in order to claim bilingualism, an individual has to speak two languages with a relatively similar and well-developed fluency. According to his assertions, one has to be immersed in a bilingual environment since birth in order to be bilingual in a way that the abilities of the two languages he has acquired are similar. Haugen (1953: 6) asserts that an individual can only be described as bilingual if they can produce a complete and meaningful utterance in his second language.

The question of what level of language proficiency is required to claim bilingualism continues to attract debate (Berthele 2021: 84), including the benchmark of the idealised native-speaker model. Berthele cites the results of an online survey which asked French people to define bilingualism and whether they would classify themselves as bilinguals (ibid: 87). The definitions the participants provided were all related to proficiency in the language, referring for example to “perfect mastery of two languages” and “the ability to master two languages, oral and written” (ibid). However, the European Union’s definition of multilingualism, which is “the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives” (Katsarova, 2022: 2) steers away from comparisons with native-speaker fluency and instead focuses on both capacity and usage.

Indeed, the Council of Europe propose the term *plurilingualism* to describe the repertoire of language varieties spoken by an individual. It is often used as a means of differentiating both between the societal connotations of the term multilingualism and an individual's capacities/practices, and also as a means of moving away from a proficiency-based definition which focuses on native-speaker-like mastery. The term forms a core part of the Council of Europe's influential reference document (Council of Europe, 2001), the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching and Assessment* (CEFR). In the CEFR, plurilingualism is defined as "the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency in varying degrees, in several languages, and experience of several cultures" (Council of Europe, 2001: 168). Coste, Moore and Zarate (2009: 19) define a plurilingual individual who "possesses a linguistic capital, which he operates according to the situation and the interlocutor". From this point of view, plurilingualism concerns the ability to be able to express themselves in different languages, without consideration of the social context, or how "languages interact in a given society" (Galante, 2020: 478).

Individual multilingualism or plurilingualism is necessarily a more ephemeral occurrence than the phenomenon of societal multilingualism (Edwards, 2012: 6). Individual multilingualism focuses on linguistic capacities and/or usage at a personal, micro level, which can easily be affected by different circumstances. The languages in an individual's repertoire are not static, and with languages acquired or lost through the lifespan, especially in a context of migration. A child who migrates from a non-English speaking country to an English-speaking country at a very young age may find that their L1 and likely home language is replaced gradually by English, the language of schooling and of the host community. The child's likelihood of maintaining proficiency in the L1 will often depend on factors beyond their control, whilst an adult in a similar situation may acquire English while maintaining use and proficiency in their L1. In a context of subtractive bilingualism, the native or first language is replaced by another language, whilst in a context of additive bilingualism, further languages are acquired in addition without any loss of the L1. Li Wei defines an additive bilingual as "someone whose two languages combine in a complementary and enriching fashion" (2000: 6) and a subtractive bilingual as "someone whose second language is acquired at the expense of the aptitudes already acquired in the first language" (ibid., 2000: 7). Linguistic choice is another aspect of individual multilingualism. Language loyalty is a concept which refers

the choice made by speakers regarding language preferences, often made in light of questions of cultural identity (Price, 2010: 13). Multilingual individuals choose the language they use in different settings to assimilate inwardly or outwardly to a group, with language part of a portrayed identity. Elective bilingualism, according to Baker (2011: 4), is “a characteristic of individuals who choose to learn a language”. An elective bilingual, therefore, acquires a second language by choice, while maintaining their first language. The use of language cannot be separated from social context, which affects one’s language choice when necessary (Baker, 2011: 5-6).

3.4 Societal Multilingualism

The term societal multilingualism describes at the linguistic phenomenon of multilingualism as a societal attribute, focusing on the use, or proficiency, of languages within a community: “the use of more than one language in a community of a territory (politically or otherwise defined)” (Xu, 2015: 95). The study of societal multilingualism focuses on the societal and institutional dimensions, such as the roles of a language in and across speech communities, language attitudes, and relationships between language use and society.

Horner and Weber (2017) remind us that the linguistic conditions of a society can often determine whether an individual within a society is likely to be multilingual. Singapore, for instance, has four official languages, which are English, Chinese, Malay, and Tamil (Singapore Const. art. 153 A). In such a country with multiple official languages and a wide ethnic diversity, bilingual education has been encouraged to smoothen the communication process between citizens from different ethnic background. As a result, according to the statistics shown by *The Straits Times* (Lee, 2016), 73.2% of the Singaporean population were literate in two or more languages, compared to 56% in 2000.

Language policy and planning shape and influence individual multilingualism, for instance, in terms of language acquisition. The societal setting, to a certain extent, can influence the linguistic behaviours of the individuals. The Singaporean example above demonstrates that a multilingual society can further enhance the linguistic abilities of the individuals within the society to a certain degree. However, this is not always the case. An officially bilingual, or multilingual country does not always mean that the majority of its citizens are not monolingual (Sridhar, 2002: 2). In Ireland, Irish and English are official

languages of Ireland, along with Irish Sign Language. Although the Irish language (*Gaeilge*) is recognised, by the Constitution of Ireland, only 1.7% of the population use Irish language as a means of communication on a daily basis outside education, while less than half of the population claimed any to use Irish language, according to the 2016 Census (Central Statistics Office, 2017). This is despite Irish being a compulsory subject in the Irish education system from reception classes through to the end of post-primary education. This example shows that social environment can only affect individual multilingualism to a certain extent and does not guarantee, for instance, that a population becomes bilingual or indeed multilingual. Nor can matters of attitude, acquisition and identity be easily predicted – in Ireland, the Irish language remains a badge of belonging despite the low levels of daily use and declared competence.

Some multilingual contexts involve a diglossic situation involving two languages spoken by a single language community. The term diglossia refers specifically to the use of “two or more varieties of the same languages” by “some speakers under different conditions” within the same speech community (Ferguson, 2000: 33). One of the two language varieties may be a literary variety, for instance the literary version of Greek (*Katharevousa*) versus the spoken vernacular of Demotic Greek. Each variety is used different functions and in different domains, often with a high variety (H) reserved for formal contexts and written communications and a low variety (L) reserved for informal communication. Diglossia is common across the Arabic-speaking world, where modern standard Arabic (H) is used alongside local varieties of Arabic (e.g. Tunisian, Egyptian) and in the German-speaking world where Hochdeutsch (H) remains used in conjunction with many different regional varieties of German (L).

Diglossia is evident in Hong Kong, where speakers normally use Cantonese (L) in oral communications but tend to write formally in Chinese, in terms of lexical choice and word order, as they would speak in Mandarin (H). Cantonese structures and lexicon usually used only in informal communications (L). Therefore, three varieties (spoken Cantonese, formal written Chinese, and written Cantonese) co-exist in Hong Kong, used under different conditions. Over the years, the meaning of diglossia was extended (Tollefson, 1983) with Fishman (1967) pointing out the importance of bilingualism. In particular, Fishman argued that there are four possible relationships between diglossia and bilingualism in a society, namely both diglossia and bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia, diglossia without bilingualism, and neither bilingualism nor diglossia. Hong Kong before the 1970s seems to fit into the category of diglossia without bilingualism as

English was a high language and English language education was only accessible by the city's elites (Snow, 2010). Although English language education has become available to the general public since the 1970s, the new language policy has not fundamentally changed the High (English)-Low (Cantonese) diglossic pattern, which is diglossia without bilingualism, at least before 1997. However, Hong Kong's diglossic situation is more complicated than the simple High-Low division categorisation as the Hong Kong government exerts to promote Mandarin Chinese in the post-colonial era (ibid.). The policies that promote the use and status of Mandarin Chinese have always been a controversial issue and have important implications for Hong Kong people's identity. The following sections examine empirical studies of multilingualism in Hong Kong.

3.5 Multilingualism in Hong Kong

This section explores empirical studies of multilingualism in Hong Kong from a variety of perspectives. This review of literature focuses on studies conducted since the handover in 1997. In terms of chronology, there was a flurry of research activity in the decade following the transfer of power, looking at aspects including language policy implementation, discrimination against speakers, language and identity issues and so forth. Research has also tracked changes in the use of Mandarin in Hong Kong and attitudes towards Mandarin speakers, which transitioned from a language of migrant workers in Hong Kong to a language heard throughout the Central Business District (Lai, 2001; Lai, 2007; Groves, 2021). Contemporary literature continues to examine linguistic tensions and identity issues (Edwards, 2021; Tsao et al., 2021, Fung and Chan, 2017). The following sections examine this literature thematically, turning to language attitudes and identity, language use in Hong Kong.

3.5.1 Language Attitudes and Identity

Studies of language attitudes, beliefs and preferences regarding Hong Kong's three languages have been conducted by researchers since the handover. Lai (2001) conducted a survey study on attitudes towards Cantonese, Mandarin and English among Hong Kong students immediately after the handover. The study involved 134 secondary school students aged 15-17 years who were invited to complete a questionnaire about their language attitudes. Data were analysed in relation to their social background. The study found that the trilingual notion proposed by the Hong Kong government was supported

by more than half of what was described in the study as the group of “middle-class elite students”, and one third of “working class students” (Lai, 2001: 119-120). Lai found a significant difference between self-reported language use by the middle-class group and the working-class group, with more than half of the former group claiming to use a combination of Cantonese and English, while only one tenth of the working-class group reported the same. Students also differed in their views on which languages best represented Hong Kong. Almost half of the so-called middle-class group thought code-mixing of Cantonese and English best represented Hong Kong, whilst this was only endorsed by a minority of the so-called working-class group. The study did not point to any increase in feelings of “Chinese-ness” among student participants after the handover. Both groups expressed a strong association between Cantonese and Hong Kong identity. Lai suggests that the study’s findings point to code-mixing of Cantonese and English as characteristic of the Hong Kong discourse and associated in turn with a Hong Kong identity (ibid: 128) and noted that, at the time of publication, whilst Mandarin was gaining in popularity due to its instrumental value, it was unlikely to take over Cantonese and English as languages representative of Hong Kong without government imposition (ibid.:129).

Six years later, Lai (2007) published a further study in order to explore language attitudes of two gender groups in postcolonial Hong Kong. Data were collected in 2001. The study employed questionnaires and group interviews and collected responses from a sample of Secondary 4 students who were about 14 years old. A total of 1048 participants, 555 boys and 493 girls participated in the questionnaire which aimed to find out whether male and female students differed in their integrative and instrumental orientation towards Cantonese, English, and Mandarin (ibid.: 92). Findings of the questionnaire study showed that the female participants had a more open attitude towards the English- and Mandarin-speaking communities, which was measured by the construct of integrative orientation (Gardner and Lambert, 1972). Follow-up group interviews were designed to explore why girls appeared to be more integratively inclined towards English and conducted among 19 male students and 21 female students. The finding of the interview study suggested that the female group perceived English from a more integrative perspective than males, with participants viewing English as positively associated with Western countries and assigning attributes of friendliness and competence to English speakers. The male group focused on the instrumental value of English and saw it as a language that they unwillingly had to learn (ibid.: 97-98). The study also asked

participants about their self-identification. The majority of participants self-identified as Hong Kongers and perceived Mandarin to be more akin to a foreign language than a national language. However, Lai notes that the study targeted students from Cantonese- and English-medium schools, thus perhaps failing to capture the full impact of the variable of medium of instruction.

Gao et al (2010) investigated how Chinese teachers in Hong Kong perceived the increasing use of Mandarin as the medium of instruction in Chinese teaching by collecting career narratives through interviews of eight Chinese teachers, four from mainland China and four born and raised in Hong Kong. The study found that all participants interviews expressed pride in Mandarin as an international language. However, participants were more hesitant regarding whether Mandarin should be as a medium of instruction in Chinese classes. Some participants saw the increasing use of Mandarin as a medium of instruction as related to the political context, about politics, and all teachers agreed that the choice of Mandarin as a medium of instruction should depend on its educational value rather than political concerns.

Lai (2011) conducted a further questionnaire and interview study on cultural identity and language attitudes in postcolonial Hong Kong, again among secondary school pupils (N=1265). The first part of the questionnaire asked participants about self-identification, whilst the second part of the questionnaire, comprising 36 statements on a four-point Likert scale, enquired about integrative orientations towards Cantonese, English and Mandarin. The definition of integrative orientation used in the study was “a favourable inclination towards a language in order to become a valued member of a given community” (Lai, 2011: 253). In terms of self-identification, half of the sample of school pupils self-identified as “Hong Kongers”, one in five self-identified as “Hong Kong-Chinese”, and one in eight self-identified as “Chinese”. In the interviews, respondents explained the reasons for this self-identification. Those who self-identified as Hong Kongers included reasons related to their sense of belonging to the place and the achievements of Hong Kong. Those who self-identified as Hong Kong-Chinese related this to Hong Kong’s change of sovereignty from Britain to China. Those who self-identified as Chinese focused on Chinese achievements, mentioning the Beijing Olympics and China’s long history and culture. The “Hong Konger” group showed the strongest integrative orientation towards Cantonese and English, with the weakest integrative orientation held by the “Chinese group”. These findings suggest that a sense of belonging to Hong Kong remained strong a decade after the transfer of sovereignty and that both Cantonese and English were still

perceived to be markers of Hong Kong identity.

Wang and Kirkpatrick (2020) examined how students and parents in Hong Kong perceived trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools, following a similar project conducted in 2014. Like the three studies by Lai mentioned above, they deployed questionnaires and focus group interviews. A total of 405 Primary Four to Primary Six, around 9 to 11 years old, students in three schools were invited to complete the questionnaire, whilst 27 students and 31 parents in the same three schools were interviewed. School A was a school where Mandarin was used to teach Chinese and English was used to teach content subjects. It attracted a large number of international students at the time of the study. School B was a school which used Cantonese to teach Chinese and content subjects. School C used Mandarin to teach Chinese for students from Primary One to Primary Four, and Cantonese for students in Primary Five and Six. All other subjects apart from English and Mandarin were taught through the medium of Cantonese. The study found that students' attitudes towards using Mandarin for Chinese teaching varied according to their first language, which affected the perceived difficulty level of these classes (*ibid.*: 437). From the parents' perspective, a majority of parents agreed that children should learn all three languages from a young age. The minority who disagreed with this stance believed that encouraging early trilingualism was a source of confusion to their children (*ibid.*: 445).

Turning specifically to Cantonese, Groves (2010) conducted a questionnaire study amongst adults involving 53 Hong Kong Cantonese speakers, 18 mainland Chinese Cantonese speakers, and 72 Mandarin Chinese Mandarin speakers. All the participants were university students who also spoke English. The first part of the questionnaire drew on Bell's (1976) sociolinguistic criteria related to Cantonese, namely standardization, vitality, historicity, autonomy, reduction, mixture, and de facto norms. The second part of the questionnaire consisted of two direct questions: whether respondents considered Cantonese to be a language or a dialect and where Cantonese stood on a language/dialect "magnitude continuum" scale (Grove, 2010: 537). Participants in all three groups disagreed with the idea that written Cantonese should be standardised and taught, and agreed that Mandarin will be used alongside Cantonese as a daily language. However, the majority disagreed that Mandarin should replace Cantonese as the main language of Hong Kongers and agreed that a person could not be a Hong Konger without speaking Cantonese. Most supported the idea that Cantonese was a language variety or a dialect rather than independent language and saw Cantonese as somewhat mixed in terms of its

linguistic purity. While majority in all the three groups saw Cantonese as a dialect, a significant statistical difference was found between the groups in terms of how participants categorised Cantonese: more than 90% of the group of Mandarin Chinese Mandarin speakers classified Cantonese to be a dialect, whilst less than 80% of the group of Hong Kong Cantonese speakers agreed with this classification.

Hanson Edwards (2021) examined perceptions of language threat and linguistic “mainlandisation” in Hong Kong, asking specifically whether Cantonese was perceived to be under threat in Hong Kong and which language(s) (Putonghua and/or English) contributed to any perceived threat. Participants were also asked whether current political tensions impacted on their attitudes to Cantonese, English and Putonghua. A sample of 568 students across 15 tertiary institutions were surveyed. The study found that more than half (64%) of participants perceived Cantonese as being under threat, with 55% of participants seeing Mandarin as a threat to Cantonese. The author found overall that 61% of the participants who self-identified as Hong Kongers, 26% of participants who self-identified as Chinese, and 41% of those who self-identified as Hong Kong Chinese believed Cantonese to be under threat due to Putonghua. English, on the contrary, did not appear to be perceived as a much of a threat to Cantonese as only 2% of all participants saw Cantonese as under threat because of English. The study also showed that attitudes towards Mandarin in Hong Kong was correlated to the political situation in Hong Kong at the time. Similar to the pattern of the relationship between self-identification and the perception of whether Cantonese was under threat, 53% of those who claimed to be Hong Kongers, 29% of the self-identified Hong Kong Chinese, and 26% of those who claimed to be Chinese claimed that the political situation in Hong Kong affected their attitude to Mandarin. Among those who mentioned that the political situation in Hong Kong affected their attitude towards Mandarin, 45% of them claimed they would resist using Mandarin, and 39% claimed they associated Mandarin with PRC and they disliked PRC. However, only a minority of the participants saw the political situation in Hong Kong as a factor affecting their attitude to English, and it was generally regarded as an international language. Opinions on whether their attitudes to Cantonese were affected by the political situation in Hong Kong were divided, with 43% of participants claiming “yes” and 51% for “no”. However, for those who answered “yes”, 48% of whom expressed that they would feel determined to protect Cantonese.

An increasing number of studies focus on questions of identity related to both Hong Kong and China. Fung and Chan (2017) conducted a meta-study of what is

described as contested cultural bonding between China and Hong Kong. The study involved an analysis of empirical studies “with reference to the ambiguous relationship between China and Hong Kong in the post-handover years” (Fung & Chan, 2017: 396), including data on self-perceptions of China-Hong Kong identity, relationships between identity expressions of “loving China” and “loving Hong Kong”, and data about pride in Chinese emoticons. The study contains data from 1996 to 2016, bridging the pre- and post-handover periods. The authors claimed that while media in Hong Kong often demonstrated “nostalgia and gratitude” (2017: 403) regarding the British-Hong Kong period, the sense of national identity of Hong Kongers depended to a high extent on the events happening in China, such as the Beijing Olympic Games and the earthquake in Sichuan in 2008. Interestingly, they found the increase in numbers of Chinese visitors to Hong Kong seemed to related to a decrease in the cultural pride of Hong Kongers towards Mandarin.

Tsao, Hardy, and Lingard (2021) investigated Hong Kong youth’s attitudes towards Chinese identity after the two significant social events in Hong Kong, the 2014 Occupy Central protests and the protest against the Extradition Bill in 2019. They conducted focus group interviews among 29 secondary school students aged 15-16 from three non-elite English-medium instruction government-funded schools. The students from these three schools were selected as a sample of middle-class educated youth perceived as contributing to the social-political protests in 2014 and 2019. Focus group data showed that the participants emphasised differences in lifestyle and culture between Hong Kong and China, and focussed on their Hong Kong identity. While they recognised the inevitability of the growth of China and the likelihood that they may have to work in the mainland in the future due to its economic growth, they felt reluctant to do so due to differences in culture and perceived restrictions and suppression of freedom.

3.5.2 Language Use in Hong Kong

Several researchers have examined changes in language use in Hong Kong. One major research on language use, proficiency and attitude in Hong Kong was conducted by Bacon-Shone et al. (2015). The research team had conducted research on the same topic every ten years from 1983. The most recent one was conducted in 2014, and included the research instruments of a telephone survey, which contained about self-report language use and proficiency, language attitudes, and demographic information; an oral proficiency

test of oral English and Mandarin administered on the telephone; and a written proficiency test on written English and simplified Chinese characters (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 16). A total of 2,049 participants were involved in the research. In terms of spoken language, the finding showed that Cantonese was the dominating spoken language used with friends and at work. In secondary schools, less than 3% of English lesson was taught in “all Cantonese” or “mainly Cantonese”; while Cantonese was used in Maths lessons (ibid.: 23). However, English appeared to be the most used written language at work; while Chinese was the most frequently used in emails, web search and SMS. The link between self-report language proficiency and the assessed language proficiency was found from the telephone survey and the two proficiency tests. In terms of oral English and Mandarin, it was found that respondents tended to over-report their oral English proficiency; while they appeared to under-report their oral Mandarin proficiency (ibid.: 95). For written English proficiency, respondents appeared to be quite accurate in terms of their assessed proficiency, with some under-reporting it. However, no general conclusion can be drawn regarding written simplified Chinese proficiency.

In the field of business, Evans and Green (2003) collected data in 1999-2000 regarding the use of English by Chinese professionals in Hong Kong after the handover as well as the patterns of English use in public and private sectors. They employed a questionnaire, focus-group discussions and case studies as research instruments. The study involved a sample of 1475 Chinese professionals, selected through convenience sampling. All subjects were pursuing further qualifications as part-time university students. The researcher found that reading and writing in English was still commonplace in government, government-related organisations and private companies, while the need to be able to speak and listen in English was not so common. When it came to the use of English by rank, the study found a link between seniority and the use of English: the more senior an employee was, the more English he or she used in writing, reading, and speaking and listening, pointing to the continued prestigious status of English in the workplace in Hong Kong.

In the domain of language use in social media, Chau (2021) examined what is described as a pseudo-variety of language attributed to Hong Kongers trying to act as Westerners (American-born Chinese, or ABC), with the intention to finding out about the linguistic ideologies behind the so-called “fake ABC variety”. Chau analysed Facebook posts posted between 2015 and 2019 related to discussions of this ABC variety, which consists of Cantonese and English code-mixing, the rhotic /r/ as a feature of American

English, and translation of basic words into English. Chau concluded that these discussions pointed to ideologies of language standardisation (“standardness”), linguistic purity and authenticity and traced these beliefs to long-standing conflicts within Hong Kong society related to race, gender, politics, and national identity. The author also argued that “language mocking practices on social media have become an important means through which ideologies are circulated and maintained” (ibid.: 596).

Hafiner et al. (2015) investigated language use by Hong Kong undergraduates who were communicating online regarding the delivery of an out-of-class video project. Based on a sample of 48 students interacting through computer-mediated communication to complete the project. Examining their use of Chinese and English, the authors found that English was used in majority of messages among most students, and suggested that this may be related to a preference among students to input Roman characters (ibid.: 452), quoting for example a student who noted they felt more confident when typing in English. However, Chinese was the language of choice related to completing the project’s goals (ibid.: 455).

Similarly, Ho (2008) examined language use among university students in Hong Kong following the establishment of a trilingual language education policy. Research was conducted amongst a sample of 52 students in Hong Kong, mostly majoring in English. All participants were enrolled in a sociolinguistic course and were aware of the concept of code-mixing. Research instruments included a two-day language diary, 51 hours of audio recordings of verbal exchanges, and focus group semi-structured interviews. The study found that the majority of students engaged in code-mixing of Cantonese and English, with Mandarin less used in instances of code-mixing. The exclusive use of Mandarin or code-mixing involving Mandarin accounted for less than one tenth of the verbal exchanges. The findings suggest that the trilingual language policy is not reflected in students’ language practices which favoured the use of Cantonese and English.

Focusing on English, Chan (2017) conducted a research to examine major stakeholders’, such as teachers, professionals and students, attitudes towards English varieties and language learning in relation to their experience of English use. The research instrument of a large-scale questionnaire was adopted and the research involved 1,893 participants, who were secondary-students, teachers, full-time university students, and professionals (Chan, 2017: 5). In relation to language use, the finding shows that participants were exposed to more native accents of English in films, TV programmes, and the internet. Surprisingly, the same pattern of exposure to native accents and L2

accents of English was found in workplace, school, and university, given Hong Kong was not supposed to be a native English speaking region. When it comes to experience of communication, secondary school students reported that they communicated more with L2 English speakers; while teachers and professionals claimed that they had more English communication with native speakers (ibid.: 10).

Looking specifically at American English in Hong Kong, Hansen Edwards (2016) conducted a study concerning the presence of American English features in Hong Kong among university students. The study involved 68 participants who majored in English at a university of Hong Kong, who were asked to complete an online questionnaire with a number of open-ended questions. The study found that 93% of the participants had features of American English in their speech (Hansen Edwards, 2016: 15), which was high compared with the previous studies, including the one from Bolton and Kwok (1990). However, it found that the presence of American English features in their speeches was not purely related to whether the participants preferred American English accent or not, and it could be about their exposure to the accent through media. Moreover, it found that both the presence of American English features, and the preference to American English was increasing, and the author deduced the increasing trend to be related to the exposure to American media.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has defined and described the phenomenon of multilingualism, looking firstly at both the individual and societal perspectives. It then provided a review of relevant empirical research on language and identity, and language use in Hong Kong. The next chapter will examine the notion of attitudes, identity and the mechanisms of Social Identity Theory.

Chapter 4: Language Attitudes and Social Identity Theory

4.1 Introduction

This chapter lays out the project's theoretical framework, Social Identity Theory, and links this framework to the study of individual language attitudes in a multilingual context. The first part of the chapter examines the attitudes and language attitudes, before going on to examine the study of social and national identity. It then describes the components of Social Identity Theory as set out by Tajfel (1972). Finally, the chapter examines the value of Social Identity Theory in the study of individual language attitudes in terms of self-categorisation.

4.2 The Study of Attitudes

The notion of attitudes is central to studies in social sciences and especially social psychology, with the relevance of the topic located within the connection between attitudes and actions, or why we do what we do, focussing on the individual and the attitudes they hold and express towards the world around them. The earliest modern scientific attempts to define attitudes can be dated back to 1930s, starting with Thurstone's (1931: 261) definition which described an attitude as "the affect for or against a psychological object". This definition sees attitudes as a psychological construct and focuses on the internal state of an individual. The early definitions of attitude tend to view attitudes as an internal state. For instance, Allport (1935: 810) asserts that attitude is "a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects with which it is related", and explains that the function of attitudes is to "determine for each individual what he see and hear, what he will think and what he will do" (Allport, 1935: 806).

The general consensus over the definition of attitudes is that it involves psychological constructs including affect, cognition, and behaviour, even in the contemporary definitions, such as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993: 1), "behaviour based on conscious or unconscious mental views developed through cumulative experience" (Venes, 2001: 189), and "an enduring, learned predisposition to behave in a consistent way toward a given class of objects, or a persistent mental and/ or neural state of readiness to react to a certain class of objects, not as they are but as they

are conceived to be” (Dark, 2005). In the following subsections, three models of attitudes, the three-component model, the expectancy-value model and the association model, are reviewed.

4.2.1 Rosenberg and Hovland’s (1960) Three-Component Model of Attitudes

The three-component model of attitudes, also known as the tripartite model, was firstly proposed by Rosenberg and Hovland (1960) who argue that an attitude is formed with three components: affect, cognition, and behaviour. The *affective* component is understood to be the emotional part of an attitude, forming positive or negative feelings; the *cognitive* component refers to the beliefs associated with the object, and can often be related to the individual’s stereotyping; the *behavioural* component refers to the individual’s behavioural action or responses towards an object. A positive attitude is formed when an individual’s emotions, beliefs, and behaviours towards an object are positive; while a negative attitude is formed when the individual’s emotions, beliefs, and behaviours towards an object are negative.

However, problems exist with the assumptions of this model. For instance, it assumes that an attitude is formed only when all the components are present and all of which have to be consistent with each other. One’s behaviour, however, may not always accurately reflect one’s beliefs and emotions. Furthermore, as suggested by Fabrigar et al. (2005: 82), the general contemporary view on attitude is that the three elements above are not the components of attitudes, but instead the bases from which the information of evaluative summary of attitudes, which is described below in the association model, is drawn.

The drawbacks of the “three-component model” include the assumption of the unidirectional relation of attitudes and the three components, and the assumption that attitudes comprise uniquely of these three components. This model does not take into account that attitudes can also influence the affective, cognitive, and behavioural responses which can change the individual’s perception of the social world from which further attitudes are formed. While this model is not perfect, the idea of attitudes consisting of affective, behaviour and cognitive components has affected some proposed models of attitudes, such as the Object-Evaluation Association Model by Fazio, which will be discussed later in this section.

4.2.2 Expectancy-Value Model

The expectancy-value model was proposed by Fishbein and Ajzen in 1975 and focuses more on the link between attitude and actions. The term “expectancy” in here refers to beliefs that a certain behaviour would lead to a specific outcome, which can be of different perceived values. Therefore, positive attitudes are formed when the expected value of a certain object or outcome of behaviour is positive; and negative attitudes are formed when the expected value of the object or outcome is negative. In simple terms, the model suggests that the beliefs and evaluation of the outcomes from a certain behaviour would create an attitude towards the behaviour and object, which in turn affects one’s behaviour. Therefore, it can be said that this model represents how a reasoned action is formed from attitudes, which are derived from beliefs and evaluations.

While this model provides a straight-forward relationship between attitude and action, its presumption that people evaluate consequences of a certain action beforehand was criticized by scholars such as Fazio (1986) and McGuire (1985). Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous section, the idea of having affect, behaviour and cognition as the components of attitude has become popular since Hovland and Rosenberg’s model of attitude, this expectancy-value model has also been criticized by scholars such as Godin (1987) and Eagly and Chaiken (1993) for neglecting the role of affect in attitudes.

4.2.3 Fazio’s (2007) Attitudes as Object-Evaluation Association Model

An alternative approach to understanding attitudes is Fazio’s (2007: 608) object-evaluation association model where attitudes are understood as object-evaluation associations in memory. While still focusing on the idea of affect, cognition and behaviours, the model theorises that these can be, on the one hand, the basis from which attitudes are formed; and, on the other hand, also the responses influenced by attitudes, which are not hypothetical, but can exist as a form of evaluative knowledge, influencing the affective, cognitive, and behavioural responses of an individual (ibid: 629). The notion of evaluation in the model does not only include physical and materialistic analysis of favourability, but also assessment led by emotional cognition (ibid: 608). The model also proposes that the association between the summary evaluation and the object can vary in strength, which is then a factor of the accessibility of the evaluative knowledge from memory (ibid: 608). In other words, whether attitudes can be activated as a form of evaluative knowledge to guide one’s affect, cognition and behaviour depends on the

strength of the attitudes.

Not viewing attitudes as a hypothetical construct but evaluative knowledge instead is the main feature in this model. Fazio (2007: 606) bases this from Allport's (1935: 810) assumption that attitudes are capable of "exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon an individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related", which is, to a high extent, contrary to the view of attitudes as a hypothetical construct which, in Fazio's (2007: 607) words, neglects the questions on attitudes regarding the "acquisition and use of evaluative knowledge". He claims that an individual's judgement and decision require evaluative knowledge in memory, and if attitudes are purely hypothetical non-existence, it would be impossible to explain the role evaluative knowledge plays in decision-making (ibid.). Therefore, attitudes cannot be more hypothetical than knowledge. Furthermore, the model highlights the difference in strength of the evaluative association objects, claiming that attitudes can be characterised by strong and weak associations (ibid: 610). Attitudes are, according to the model, different in terms of their associative strength among people and objects. For instance, a horse racing fan would possess a strong evaluative associations to jockeys, horses and perhaps horse owners, and would therefore be able to have attitudes, drawn from the previous evaluative associations which have turned to evaluative knowledge, towards horse races; while an ordinary individual who did not have any previous evaluative knowledge about horse racing is less likely to develop attitudes towards horse races. The stronger the evaluative association is, the more likely an attitude is evoked when an object is seen by or presented to an individual. In this sense, according to the model, an attitude is formed from the evaluative knowledge created from the evaluative associations of a certain strength.

4.2.4. Language Attitudes

The various theories outlined above, related to an individual's attitude development, composition and evaluation, all provide potential avenues to explore the situation in Hong Kong as described at the start of this thesis. However, these theories do not capture sufficiently the *social* aspect of the individual's context and their membership of social groups, including the role of language. Language is, according to Cargile, Giles, Ryan and Bradac (1994: 211), a "powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information", suggesting the inseparable link between languages and social factors. Many definitions of language attitudes appear to stem from Sarnoff's definition

of an attitude, which is “a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects” (1970: 279), which does not concern only the language itself, but anything related to it. Examples include Moreno’s (1998: 179) definition of language attitude as “a manifestation of social attitude of the individuals, distinguished by focus and specific reference to both language and its use in society”, which includes the use of language; and Richard et al. (1992: 199)’s claim that “attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language”, which includes attitudes towards the speakers. Therefore, it is generally agreed that the study of language attitudes should not be limited to the attitudes towards certain languages, but also the language related objects such as speakers. Baker (1992: 29) describes language attitude as an umbrella term as it includes attitudes towards varieties and dialect, speakers of the language, language learning, and the other language-related behaviours and objects. Therefore, it is possible for an individual to feel neutral about the language itself, but either positive or negative towards the native speakers of the language, which can be related to the case of Hong Kong. With respect to the idea of attitude proposed by Fazio (2007), the notion of language attitude used in the present research includes both attitudes to language varieties and speakers.

Studies on language attitudes, according to Agheyisi and Fishman, often lie within three categories: studies on the oriented evaluation of a particular language; studies on the social significance of a particular language; and studies on the language-related behaviours (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970). There have already been studies on the language attitudes in Hong Kong, mainly focusing on Hong Kong peoples’ attitudes towards Cantonese, English, and Mandarin, most of which adopted questionnaires as the direct approach, with examples including Fu’s research in 1975 on Hong Kong secondary school students’ attitudes towards English; and Pierson’s study in 1980 measuring the attitudes of secondary school students’ attitudes towards English and Chinese (Pierson, 1980; Fu, 1975).

4.3 The Study of Language and Identity

The notion of identity has long been a debatable topic in scholarship and can be examined from different angles. The classical view of identity, according to Noonan and Curtis (2004), characterises identity as “the equivalence relation which everything has to itself and to nothing else”, or that which is *identical*. Leibniz’s Law is one formula that can be

used to understand the notion of identity: that “if x is identical with y, then everything true of x is true of y” (ibid.). Leibniz’s Law is a useful concept for us to understand the idea of identity as it is about the indiscernibility of identicals. The notion of identity, however, does not seem to be unitary, which causes controversy when it comes to defining identity. Lewis (1986: 192-193) defied the problematic nature of identity simply by stating that “Everything is identical to itself; nothing is ever identical to anything except itself”.

Delanty (2003: 135) noted that identity “becomes a problem when the self is constituted in the recognition of difference rather than sameness”, for instance when biological or social constructs are taken as a determinant of an identity, including skin colour, and body size. A social structuralist view of identity, however, focuses on the “universal laws or rules of human behaviour” (Block, 2007: 12), and groups individuals into social categories based on variables such as social class and education background. Both of these approaches can be categorised into the essentialist approach, which states that “attributes and behavior of social defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group” (Bucholtz, 2003: 400). In different contexts, a person can be defined in various ways in terms of identities, such as gender, occupation, and ethnicity.

Language is a representation of a culture and identity, and in this sense, language death can indicate the loss of a culture. The idea of the research is based on Social Identity Theory, which is a way to explain intergroup behaviours. According to Meyerhoff (2006), individuals can use language strategically to as a way to signify their identities in an intergroup. One can use language as a tool to portray their relationship to a group, be it convergent or divergent. Similarly, Stoicheva (2020: 55) describes the notion of “narrative identity, which builds upon philosophical accounts of identity in terms of continuity of self and collective consciousness, [...] which makes sense for the individual and for the cultural group.” The study of identity becomes particularly important in contexts of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Preece (2016), in her introduction to the *Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, describes identity in applied linguistics as a real-world problem linked to language. When it comes to learning languages, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 17) note, imagination is a crucial component in the process of creating a new identity, which points to the fluidity of our identity construction. The concept of identity in applied linguistics is often approached from a post-structuralist perspective (Block: 2007: 13).

Whilst identity, as Westin et al. point out (2010: 265), is clearly a “multidimensional and complex concept” which is difficult to define or model, scholars generally agree that the concept of identity can be divided into two categories: social and personal identity (ibid: 265). Fearon (1999: 11) suggests that a personal identity is the set of “attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person think distinguishes her in socially relevant ways”, whilst a social identity is, on the other hand, an identity which denotes the membership of a social group, such as nationality, social class and religion. The two categories are not separate, for instance Norton (2013: 45) suggests that one’s identity can be understand as “how a person understands their relationships to the world”, both in space and in time, and with a view to future possibilities.

4.3.1 National Identity

The notion of national identity traditionally involves the place where individuals originate from. While the concept of national identity has been a topic of debate since the late eighteenth century (Smith, 2004: 247), the contemporary view of it, as proposed by Wodak et al. (1999: 186-187), understands that national identity is not tied to place of birth: “national identities are generated and reproduced through discourse” and “identities are discursively constructed according to [...] the degree of public exposure of a given utterance, the setting, the topic addressed, the audience to which it is addressed”. These views are consistent authors such as Billig (1995), Puri (2004), and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 18), who describe how narratives play an important role in our account of negotiation of identity, which locates “not only within particular discourses and ideologies but also within narratives”, and identities are, therefore, “social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives” (ibid.: 19). Therefore, national identity, is not perceived to be a stable construct which never changes, from this perspective. This idea coincides with the constantly fluctuating sense of national identity in Hong Kong which, as Fung and Chan (2017: 403) suggested, are correlated to the social events. Therefore, the notion of national identity in this present study is similar to the one proposed by Wodak et al. (1999), with the assumption that the perceived national identity is not a fixed construct and can be affected by social events.

When we turn to an applied linguistic perspective, national identity again is described as a shifting and variable construct, not least because any conflation of place of origin and language is both simplistic and misleading. In a pithy summary, Blommaert (2006: 238) writes, “It is an unfortunate situation for social scientists, but the world is not neatly divided into monolingual states”. Blommaert (*ibid.*) unpicks “achieved” or “inhabited” identities, which are the identities which individuals express or claim, and “ascribed” or “attributed” identities, the identities which are given by someone else. As these two types of identities do not necessarily overlap or coincide, this is an important distinction to make and to understand. The study of social identity can help shed light on an individual’s identity.

4.3.2 The Study of Social Identity

The present research involves the notions of language and social identity, including national identity, and therefore the notion of social context needs to be taken account. There are different competing theories of identity that had explanatory potential for the current project, including place identity theory (Proshansky, 1978) and identity process theory (Breakwell, 1983). Social identity theory was deemed to be the most appropriate theory to help shed light how languages are related to the perceived identity in the Hong Kong context. The following section explores why adjacent theories were not selected before turning to an exploration of the relevance of Social Identity Theory.

Place-identity theory (Proshansky, 1978: 155) focuses on the link between identity and the settings, and it defines a place-identity as “those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioural tendencies relevant to a specific environment”. According to this theory, an identity is attached to a place, including the perception of the environment. Therefore, for people, a place identity would be his bond to a particular physical place or environment. The theory has been used in empirical work by scholars such as Bonaiuto et al. (1996), who examined the link between people’s individual identification with a physical place and his perception of beach pollution, and Uzzell et al. (2002), who investigated the relationship between place identity and environmentally friendly practices. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, specifically in Fung and Chan’s (2017) research, it appears that the perceived identity of Hong Kong people changes

according to social context and is not only related to a sense of place. Therefore, adopting place-identity theory as the lens would overlook the variable of *social* context.

Identity process theory was formulated by Breakwell (1986). According to the theory, identity is conceptualised as both a structure and a process. The structure of an identity consists of content and evaluation of the identity, with the content component being about the identities derived from social experience such as a group membership of being a student or personal traits such as intelligent. This can include both personal and social identity. Therefore, thoughts and actions can alter one's identity structure. The evaluation component then determines whether the content is of positive or negative values. The theory proposes that identity process can enhance the structure of an identity, and involves the assimilation-accommodation process, and an evaluation process. The assimilation-accommodation process refers to how an individual absorbs new information or identity about his identity structure and how he adjusts himself to fit in with the new identity structure. An example of the assimilation-accommodation process would be a footballer finds a new possible identity of a university student as he applies for college, then he would adjust to try to accommodate his new identity of being a footballer and a university student at the same time. Then, the evaluation process is to assess if the identity is positive or negative in relation to both personal factors and the social context. While identity process theory appears to be similar to Social Identity Theory in terms of its cognitive and evaluative components, it is more of a personal-based theory as it does not address the idea of how individuals categorise *others*. As the perception of Hong Kong residents towards mainland Chinese and Mandarin is relevant to the current research, this theory was not selected as the most appropriate theoretical framework for the study of matters related to language and identity in Hong Kong.

4.4 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory allows for the systematic examination of the relationship between language attitudes and sense of national identity, with a focus on group membership. The psychologist Henri Tajfel first conceptualised Social Identity Theory in the 1970s through a series of experiments which attempted to explain intergroup behaviours. Whilst the theory was not originally formulated to reference, for instance, ethnolinguistic identity, it offers a “powerful framework” (McNamara, 1997: 566) to those interested in the social dimensions of language acquisition, use and attitudes

The foundation of Social Identity Theory is that individuals establish their identities with respect to social groups, and these identifications serve to enhance their self-identity and self-esteem. These groups, in simple terms, can be understood as in-group (us) and out-groups (them). For example, in a study conducted by Tajfel and Turner, individuals were into two non-overlapping groups and were asked to decide on the amounts of money to be awarded to other individuals in the in-group and out-group (1979: 39). The results showed that the subjects' decisions tended to award less money to the out-group, even when giving more to the out-group would not affect the amount of money received by the in-group, showing in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination.

Tajfel describes social identity as the “part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the emotional significance attached to that group” (1972: 292). The theory proposes that one’s identity is derived from social groups. These groups can be seen as a “collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979: 40). Social identity theory therefore aims to explain *how* a social identity is formed from group membership. Following that, the identity that social groups provide to their members is referred as the notion of social identity. Tajfel’s former student John Turner and colleagues then further investigated the cognitive factors involved social identification process (the process by which individuals identify the group they belong to) and developed the ‘self-categorisation’ component of Social Identity Theory, thus expanding the model. This will be discussed below. The three main constructs which form Social Identity Theory are:

- Social categorization
- Social identification
- Social comparison

These three constructs or processes provide the main pillars of the model of Social Identity Theory, as illustrated in the figure below.

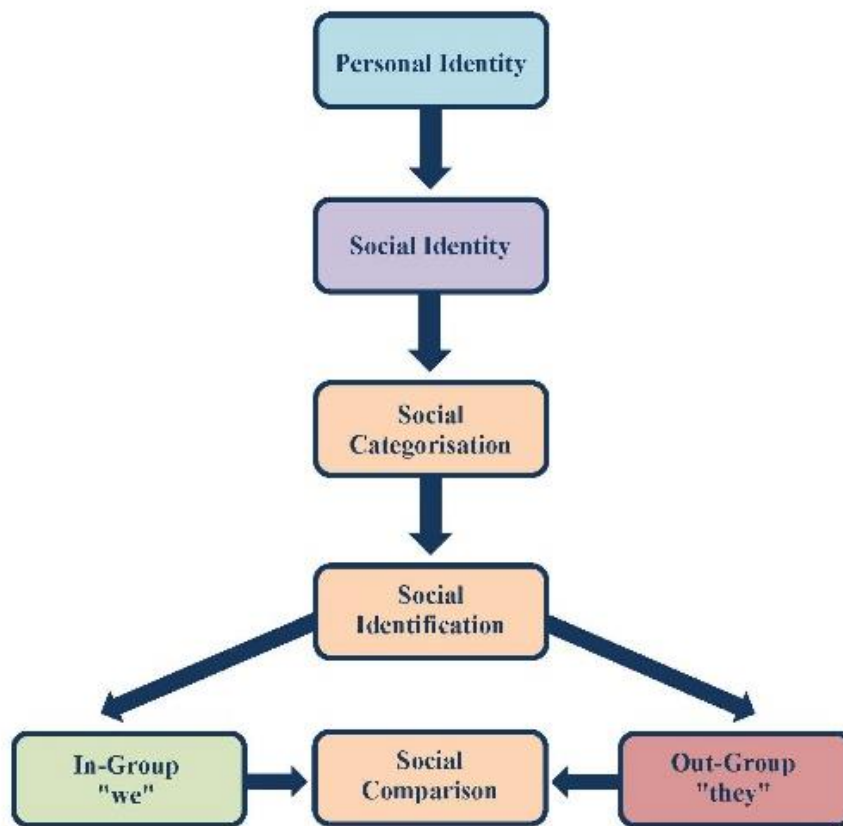


Figure 2: Mechanisms of Social Identity Theory (based on Tajfel, 1972)

4.4.1 Social Categorisation and Prototypes

The concept of categorisation is central to Social Identity Theory, which involves the categorisation of the others and the categorisation of self. Social categorisation is posited by Tajfel (1972) as the process by which people categorise others into different social groups, such as gender and ethnicity, in order to enhance their understanding of the social world. In simple terms, it is a process in which individuals categorise themselves and others into different social groups depending on their observation. As mentioned above, the series of experiments which led to the development of Social Identity Theory showed the phenomenon of in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination. While, as Tajfel and Turner (1979: 38) suggest, the in-group bias can be influenced by goal relations between groups, experimental evidence proved that goal relations such as group interests are not “necessary” to cause discrimination between groups. However, it is the presence of an out-group, or the two distinct groups, which leads to the process of social categorisation, that triggers intergroup discrimination. This is shown in experiments

where there is “neither a conflict of interests nor previously existing hostility” between the groups (ibid.). Since it is not about conflict or interests, the so-called “maximum in-group profit” (M.I.P.) is less important than the “maximum difference” (M.D.) in the process of social categorisation in terms of in-group favouritism. Therefore, being different from and competing with the out-group is more crucial than what they gain in the in-group. This was illustrated in experiments which showed members of the in-group would divide less money to the out-group compared with the in-group when giving more would not affect the amount of money that the in-group possess. Therefore, the idea of social categorisation is that people do not simply perceive themselves as similar to or different from others as individuals, they are aware that they are members of the same (in-group) or different (out-group) social groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979: 39).

During this process of social categorisation, people are not seen as individuals, but instead, group members who share the similar category prototypes, which are the sets of attributes shared within the social group. Prototypes are the norms and representation of the social groups. Prototypes in Social Identity Theory are not only descriptions of various social categories, but also provide guidance on how members in the social groups ought to behave, in other words, the ideal behaviours of the ingroup members (Hogg and Smith, 2007; 9). Prototypes, however, are not unchangeable as they are context-specific (ibid: 10). Prototypes can change when the context changes. For example, in an imagined situation, a teenager who self-categorised as a “normal teenager” would adopt the prototype of an obedient student at school but would abandon this prototype after school and instead take on the prototype of a sportsperson after school. In this case, while the teenager changes his prototype, he still has not abandoned his self-categorisation as a “normal teenager”. This example shows that prototypes of a social category can vary depending on context. In the process of social categorisation, people categorise themselves and the others into differentiated groups by stereotyping group features to individuals and generalising individual features to the group (Clement and Krueger, 2002), thus generating “stereotype or norm consistent expectations regarding people’s attitudes and conduct” (Hogg and Smith, 2007: 11).

4.4.2 Social Identification

As Tajfel and Turner explain, the essential criteria for a social group membership are not based on the “frequency of intermember interaction, systems of role relationship, or

interdependent goals”, but instead defined by how individuals “define themselves and are defined by others as members of a group” (Tajfel and Turner, 1979: 40). The process of social identification draws on our conceptualisation of group as a “collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership of it” (ibid.). Therefore, this process is more about identifying similarities between one-self and a certain group that he feels he belongs to. The process is preceded by social categorization which works as a basis for individual to identify themselves relationally and comparatively as it does not only “systematize the social world”, but also “provide a system of orientation for self-reference” which helps an individual define his place in society (ibid.). Following this idea, the process of social identification can be defined as a process in which an individual derives their self-image from “the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging” (ibid.). For instance, a person born in Hong Kong may identify himself as a Hong Konger because they see “being born in Hong Kong” as a common prototype that they share with the social group of Hong Kongers.

To sum up thus far, the underlying assumptions involved in social identification put forward by Tajfel and Turner (ibid.) are that:

- (1) individuals try to enhance their self-esteem;
- (2) social groups and membership of them are associated with either positive or negative values which affect how an individual identifies themselves;
- (3) a positive social identity is based on a favourable comparison between in-group and the relevant out-groups, resulting in a positive distinction from the relevant out-groups; and evaluation between groups, individual’s own group and other groups;
- (4) individuals may leave their existing group or make the group more positively distinct when their social identity becomes unsatisfactory.

Social identity in this model shares the assumption of national identity provided by Wodak et al. (1999) discussed earlier, that an identity is not fixed and can differ according

to different factors such as the social context. The following section will discuss the importance of social comparison.

4.4.3 Social Comparison

According to Social Identity Theory, social comparison is a process in which one evaluates social groups to differentiate themselves from the in-groups and out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979: 41). The idea is similar to the evaluation process proposed in identity process theory. The comparison takes place once individuals have “internalised their group membership” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979: 41) that they identified with the in-group, and the comparison between in-groups and out-groups does not involve every single comparable subject, but only those which are relevant. For instance, accents in English is more of a significant construct to compare in the UK than in Hong Kong. The goal of the comparison is to identify why the in-group is more favourable than the out-group, or in other words “to maintain and achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimensions” (ibid.), to maintain our self-esteem through comparing with other groups.

The “intergroup competition” can be distinguished between “social and instrumental”, or “realistic” competition (ibid.). “Social and instrumental” competition is driven by self-evaluation, while “realistic” competition, in which incompatible group goals are necessary, is motivated by self-interest. The two types of competitions also differ in terms of the consequences of a certain group winning or losing. Tajfel and Turner (ibid.) pointed out that the losing group of a realistic competition would become hostile to the out-group winner because they “have been deprived of a reward” and they have conflicting interaction; while the loser group in a social, instrumental competition may accept the superiority of the winning-out group reluctantly. Therefore, as suggested by findings of experiments by researchers such as Wilson and Miller (1961) and Bass and Duntzman (1963), the in-groups which have lost do not always devalue, and sometimes logically enhance the evaluations of the winning out-groups.

While realistic competition, driven by self-interest, seems to be more related to the actual reality, social competition does exist, as shown in an experiment by Turner and Brown (1976). Similar to the previous experiments, participants, who were children, were asked to decide on the distribution of payments for participating in the experiment between the in group and out-groups, which were relevant or irrelevant for comparisons with the in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979: 42). It was found that maintaining maximum

difference (M.D.) was the most popular strategy, and the participants appeared to be more discriminatory and less fair to the out-group which was relevant for comparison than the irrelevant one. This experiment, therefore, shows that a comparable out-group is necessary for the in-group to enhance the in-group favouritism (ibid.). Since monetary self-interest of the in-group was not made a variable in the distribution of the two out-groups, social competition happened in this experiment as the participants mostly opted for the M.D. strategy, as they still had to devote more money to the irrelevant out-group to maintain the maximal difference with the relevant out-groups, at the expense of their own group gain, as they divided the payment to the participants of the experiment.

4.4.4 Self-Categorisation

Social identity theory also includes a construct described as self-categorisation, an extension of Social Identity Theory, especially in relation to the social-categorization and social-identification processes as mentioned above. The self-categorization theory was founded by a cofounder of Social Identity Theory, John Turner. Similar to the case of Social Identity Theory, minimal group studies were conducted for the development of self-categorization theory. The reason why self-categorisation theory can be seen as a constituent component of Social Identity Theory is that it aims to elaborate the cognitive component of Social Identity Theory. Self-categorisation theory therefore shares a lot of assumptions of Social Identity Theory. While Social Identity Theory attempts to explain intergroup behaviours such as in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination in the minimal groups, self-categorisation theory concerns about why individuals would identify with the minimal groups and adopts the group norms in line with other members of the same group. In other words, self-categorisation theory investigates the ways in which individuals transform their behaviours and beliefs to conform to the norms of the social group they categorise themselves in. Therefore, it can be said that self-categorization theory carries more about personal identity than Social Identity Theory does.

During self-categorisation, a process of depersonalisation takes place. In Turner's (1987: 50) words, depersonalisation is the process where "people come to see themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category", meaning that individuals' self-stereotype and self-configure in order to be closer to the defining attributes of the category prototypes of the social group. It is important to note that depersonalization should not be seen as a loss of individual identity, but a "change from the personal to the

social level of identity” (ibid: 51), which is a redefinition of identity according to the categorisation process in a certain social context. Hence, self-categorisation and thus depersonalisation can be examined from an individual level as a way to redefine one’s own identity to conform to a certain social group without losing the individual identity. Identity salience, defined as “the probability, for a given person, of a given identity being invoked in a variety of situations” (Stryker, 1968: 560) is a crucial factor affecting the process of self-categorisation, as it determines which identity emerges in a particular situation, or more specifically, which self-category is adopted by the individual in a given context. As mentioned above, the self-categorisation is context-dependent. Some social groups are, under certain situations, more significant, valuable, and perhaps beneficial to some individuals. Based on the different qualities of social groups, self-categorisation happens depending the individual’s choice of the social group with reference to how accessible the prototypes of the social group are. With this in mind, as Hogg and Smith (2007: 12) suggest, individuals use “accessible categories” to form the understanding of the social context in order to obtain the optimal fit in the categorisation.

As a theory extended from Social Identity Theory, self-categorisation theory aims to explain how and why individuals adopt a certain category, thus providing more understanding of personal identity and cognitive processes related to individuality such as the depersonalisation process. The theory has been used in studies such as the one from Thomas et al. (2010) about whether a comparative context affects one’s self-categorizations, and the research from Reicher and Haslam (2006) about the link between clinical outcomes and social identity. To conclude, self-categorisation theory is an extension theory, and is closely related to the social-identification process posited in Social Identity Theory.

4.4.5 Research involving Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory has been adopted as the theoretical framework in numerous research projects in the social sciences including Applied Linguistics. In a corpus linguistics study, Abanoz (2022) adopted Social Identity Theory to examine how viewers responded to content created by a religious group portraying Muslim identity on YouTube. The research design involved a corpus of commentaries below 30 YouTube channels on the topic of religious interviews and analysed their content based on the use of “we” and “them” in terms of identity construction. The dataset analysed was analysed

according to seven thematic categories of “depersonalize”, “faith”, “knowledge”, “negative expression/action”, “personalize”, “positive expression/action”, and “practice”. The study found that negative expression/action words and depersonalising words were predominantly used to comment on the religious knowledge of the videos. The author uses Social Identity Theory to explore these findings and suggests that viewers turn the individuals in the videos into out-group members in order to separate from them. The use of negative expression/action words is a form of out-group discrimination (ibid.: 506).

Similarly, Parsha and Martens (2022) conducted research on how social identity affects the perceptions of women from different social backgrounds, specifically different income levels, regarding cycling as a means of transportation in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The project interviewed 25 women, 12 low-income participants with no academic degree and 13 higher income participants with an academic degree. Within the group, 12 were cyclists and 13 were non-cyclists. The authors found that that the majority of the interviewees, regardless of their cycling habits and income level, associated the act of regular cycling with the social category of “being a Tel-Avivian”. The study also explored participants’ perceptions of e-bikes and found that e-bikes were perceived to be associated with men, with some participants associated it with the social group of “tough men”.

Knight (2013) conducted research for her doctorate degree on how children of deaf adults (CODAs) perceive their linguistic and cultural identity, using Tajfel’s Social Identity Theory as the study’s theoretical framework. A qualitative research design was employed with a sample of 11 CODAs aged between 11 and 17 years old. The project investigated how CODAs categorise, identify, and evaluate themselves when compared with others during social interactions. In relation to social categorisation and identification, CODAs expressed positivity regarding their belonging to the social category of CODAs; they adopted social norms of deaf culture such as using loud voices and eye contact. Their proficiency in sign language promoted a positive self-identity. They expressed similarities in language and culture with other CODAs but did not appear to socialise more with CODAs than hearing children of hearing parents (Knight, 2013: 57-58). In terms of social comparisons, in the “in-group” (CODAs), participants felt accepted and comfortable in the group; in the ‘out-group’, they did not feel comfortable being identified as a CODAs in school and felt awkward in public. This small sample of CODAs expressed a preference for the deaf world where they felt “safer” with other CODAs (ibid.: 75).

Social identity theory has been used to investigate how Hong Kongers' social identity is related to perceptions of social changes after Hong Kong's reunification of China (Kim & Ng, 2008). A total of 315 Hong Kong residents participated in a telephone interview project. Participants were asked about their perceptions of the pace of social change, feelings of certainty and uncertainty, and self-reported social identity. The study found that majority of the participants preferred to express a dual identity (e.g. "Chinese Hong Konger") over a single identity, which the researcher suggests is aligned with the advantages that such dual social status offers when compared to Mainland Chinese (e.g. permission to travel back and forth to Hong Kong and mainland China). The study found that perceived pace of social change and uncertainty surrounding it were significantly correlated regarding whether respondents would self-report a single identity (e.g. Chinese *or* Hong Konger) or a dual identity.

4.5 Social Identity Theory, Self-Categorisation and Language Attitudes

McNamara (1997: 562) argues that Social Identity Theory has much to offer researchers as well as teachers wishing to understand the links between social identity, minority identity, and language attitudes in language teaching/learning settings. He used the theory in studies of the transformation of social identity among non-English-speaking immigrant groups in Australia, examining changes in language attitudes, particularly attitudes to English and to the home language (McNamara, 1987a, 1987b). In his studies of native Hebrew-speaking Israeli families (mostly non-observant Jews) who had emigrated to Melbourne, Australia (*ibidem*), sustained minor experiences of anti-Semitic social attitudes along with pervasive Christian symbolism in the surrounding Australian culture continually reminded them of their Jewish "otherness". McNamara argues that, although Social Identity Theory has been critiqued by some scholars (Henriques, 1984; Williams, 1992) as based on an "obsolete dualism of the individual and society" (McNamara, 1997: 562), it is still a very useful framework to explain the development, maintenance, and transformation of social identity.

Social Identity Theory argues that self-categorisation through depersonalisation is a crucial step for the creation of a social identity as it suggests that individuals depersonalise themselves so that they can fit into the group that they believe that they belong to, as mentioned above. Therefore, it can be described as a state where the sense of individual corporates with the collective sense of belonging. As mentioned in the

previous section, when it comes to social identification, it is about how individuals “perceive themselves to be members of the same social category” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979: 40), and the term social category here can be the shared prototypes including beliefs, and attitudes. Therefore, constructs such as beliefs and attitudes are also depersonalised in the process of self-categorisation, according to Social Identity Theory and self-categorisation theory. Scholars such as Hogg and Smith (2007) view attitudes as group norm. For instance, Hogg and Smith (2007: 13) conceptualise attitudes in terms of their group normative properties and dynamics. They propose that the cognitive process of self-categorisation and depersonalisation explain how “people internalize group attributes and behave in line with group norms” (ibid.) as the processes show the way in which people perceive and adopt the group prototypical attributes including attitudes as their own. They assert that attitudes are depersonalised in the self-categorisation process so that individuals conform to the ingroup prototypes and therefore one’s attitudes undergo changes with reference to their perceived social identity.

The relationship between Social Identity Theory, self-categorisation and attitudes was used and tested in Ianos’s research (2004) on language attitudes in Catalonia in relation to different variables including how respondents self-identify themselves, in which it was concluded that self-identification with Catalonia predicted attitudes towards Catalan; that self-identification with Spain is negatively related to the attitudes toward Catalan; and that the results regarding the link between language attitudes and self-identification mirror those regarding the link between self-identification and language uses. These findings are in line with the proposed link between that social identity and attitudes, with attitudes functioning as normative attributes of social group, which in turn shape the social identity of people. Similarly, Ahmed et al. (2014) conducted a research involving 120 students to examine Malaysian’s university students’ attitudes towards lecturers’ native and non-native accent to verify if the finding would be consistent with Social Identity Theory. The finding shows that the students were able to distinguish between native and non-native accents, and that there was an in-group preference towards non-native accents and they evaluated non-native accents more positively (Ahmed et al., 2014: 189). The results are, therefore, in line with the proposed link between Social Identity Theory and language attitudes, as the students showed a preference to the language variety and accent associated with their perceived social identity.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced social identity and how it is related to language attitudes. It has explored the study of identity, especially national identity, and the relevance of self-categorisation within Social Identity Theory including in-groups and out-groups. The current study investigates the link between languages and the self-perceived nationality. Language use, self-proclaimed language proficiencies and language attitudes are conceptualised as the groups norms of Hong Konger, Hong Konger in China, Chinese living in Hong Kong, and Chinese. The next chapter will present the research methodology employed for the current study.

Chapter 5: Research Design

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the details of the research design, commencing with the research objectives and research questions, followed by an overview of the research design and how framework of the research design corresponds to the objectives of the research and the research questions. The following section describes the selection of participants for the research. The chapter then presents the design and administration of the three data collection instruments (online questionnaire, verbal-guise test, and semi-structured interview). The final section presents the analytical procedures used.

5.2 Research Objectives and Research Questions

The general objective of the research is to explore any link between language and sense of national identity in Hong Kong. Specifically, it examines connections between language use, language proficiency, and language attitudes, and sense of national identity. Three research questions were formulated:

- 1) Is Hong Kong Cantonese perceived by Hong Kongers as central to their identity?
- 2) Do (and if so, how do) factors of language use, language proficiency and language attitude relate to perceived identity in Hong Kong?
- 3) Is Mandarin perceived by participants as a threat to Hong Kong culture?

The first research question asks about the role that Hong Kong Cantonese plays in the Hong Kong society. While Hong Kong Cantonese is the dominant vehicle of communication in Hong Kong, participants of different ages and backgrounds may view it differently in terms of its role and importance. After the handover, this situation changed in favour of Mandarin. It could be hypothesised that there are two groups of people: a group who views Hong Kong Cantonese as a part of their cultural identity and a group who sees Cantonese merely as a means of communication, with Mandarin representing their local and national identity

The second research question examines the association between (i) language proficiency, (ii) language attitudes, (iii) language use and sense of national identity. Language use is often a personal choice, and may connection to a society or speech community, shaped by social environment. Language proficiency plays an important part in individual multilingualism, as discussed earlier in Chapter 3. Language attitudes shape our perceptions of language, speakers and other language-related objects.

The third research question whether Mandarin is perceived by participants as a threat to Cantonese and Hong Kong culture. The changing social and linguistic context in Hong Kong suggests that there could be several groupings of people in regard to this situation, for instance those who do see Mandarin as an active threat, those who see the benefits of Mandarin especially on an international stage, and those who see it as a badge of identity.

Hypotheses were proposed in advance of the data collection process. The hypotheses were formulated based on the concept and mechanism of Social Identity Theory set out in chapter 4. It was hypothesised that those who self-identify as Hong Kongers would embrace Cantonese as an in-group language and see Mandarin as an out-group language, and therefore perceive Cantonese to be an important identity marker and see Mandarin as a threat; while those who self-identify in relation to China would see Mandarin as an in-group language and therefore accept the increasing use of Mandarin in Hong Kong and see Cantonese as less important. Language use and proficiency are also seen as the in-group prototypes of the groups and are therefore included in the hypotheses. The hypotheses of each research question can be seen in table 1. Table 2 shows the research questions as mapped to data collection instruments.

	Research Question 1	Research Question 2	Research Question 3
Hypotheses	<p>1) Those who self-identify as Hong Kongers would perceive Hong Kong Cantonese to be of more importance to their identity</p> <p>2) Those who self-identify as Chinese would perceive Hong Kong Cantonese to be of less importance to their identity</p>	<p>1) Positive predictors of a Hong Kong identity include regular use of, high proficiency in and positive attitudes to Hong Kong Cantonese;</p> <p>2) Positive predictors of a Chinese identity include regular use of, high proficiency in and positive attitudes to Mandarin;</p> <p>3) Negative predictors of a Chinese identity include regular use of, high proficiency in and positive attitudes to English</p>	<p>1) Those who self-identify as Hong Kongers would perceive Mandarin as a negative threat to Cantonese and Hong Kong culture</p> <p>2) Those who self-identify in relation to China would be less negative towards the increasing use of Mandarin in Hong Kong</p>

Table 1: Hypotheses of the research questions

	Survey (QUAN)	Matched Guise (QUAN/QUAL)	Interview (QUAL)
RQ1	X		X
RQ2	X	X	X
RQ3		X	X

Table 2: Research questions mapped to data collection instruments

5.3 Research Design and Framework

The research adopts a mixed method, cross-sectional design. Cross-sectional research can be defined as “a snapshot-like analysis of the target phenomenon at one particular point in time, focusing on a single time interval” (Dornyei, 2007: 78). It appears to be a more efficient approach when dealing with research focusing on a relatively large sample size as in this research. Since Hong Kongers’ attitudes towards Hong Kong Cantonese, and thus the use of languages in Hong Kong can change in time as the reunification process between China and Hong Kong progresses, the longitudinal research design was also considered. However, longitudinal research on the subject matter concerned in the research would require a significantly longer timeframe for noteworthy findings as compared with that of the cross-sectional design due to the fact that it could take a long period of time for major changes in people’s attitudes towards a language to take place in the society. Furthermore, a cross-sectional approach can be an effective way for the investigation between variables and participants’ response at a particular time, thus building a base for further research on the link between language and other aspects such as politics or, again, national identity in Hong Kong. Therefore, due to the limited timeframe for the study and the main objective of the research, the cross-sectional research design is used.

Nonetheless, there are also limitations of the cross-sectional design, and the main one is that since a cross-sectional research is a one-time measurement of data, the data can be prone to certain biases (Setia, 2016). In the case of this research, with the disordered political situation in Hong Kong from June 2019, some Hong Kongers’ ideas on their national identity are, to a certain extent, polarised. Therefore, the chaotic political situation in Hong Kong can act as a confounding variable to the research. For instance, the group who fully admit their Chinese identity would be likely to denounce the significance of Hong Kong Cantonese in terms of their identity; while the group who denies their Chinese identity would be likely to over-accentuate the importance of Hong Kong Cantonese. Therefore, it could be the polarised political situation in Hong Kong at the time of study that led to the results of the current research, instead of the link between language and identity.

5.3.1 Mixed Methods Research

The current research investigates the link between language and the sense of identity from a social identity perspective and adopts a mixed-method approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. Dörnyei (2007) describes a number of defining features of quantitative research, which include using variables rather than cases, using statistics and the language of statistics, and searching for generalisability and universal law. The strengths of quantitative research, according to Dörnyei (2007: 34), are that it is:

- systematic, rigorous, focused, and tightly controlled
- able to produce reliable and replicable data that is generalizable to other contexts
- refined and far-reaching in terms of statistical analysis
- offers in-built quality checks and indices.

Nonetheless, due to the fact that quantitative methods are based on the generalised results of the group of participants, the individual perspectives on an issue are often neglected. As Dörnyei (2007: 35) mentions that “similar scores can result from quite different underlying processes”, so quantitative methods are not suitable for determining the reasons behind a certain phenomenon or a particular response. With the limitation of quantitative methods in mind, qualitative research methods are also used. Compared with quantitative research, qualitative research is more flexible in nature, allowing the possibility of adapting research questions and direction during the research process. Qualitative research aims at finding the subjective reasons behind a certain phenomenon of a relatively small sample size (Dörnyei, 2007: 37-38). They provide an opportunity to obtain a more detailed understanding of an issue, instead of the generalised situation. Combining these approaches allows the researcher to forge a third way, drawing from the benefits of both approaches (ibid.).

Three data collection instruments were designed: an online questionnaire, a verbal-guise test, and an interview are adopted for the research: the questionnaire was designed for quantitative analysis, the verbal guise test subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis, and the interview analysed using qualitative techniques.

5.3.1 Sample Population

As a cross-sectional research design is adopted for the research, the study aimed to be as inclusive as possible in terms of different demographic backgrounds such as age, gender, education level, and occupation. The target population of the current study was Hong Kong citizens who were over the age of 18 and born and raised in Hong Kong. Due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, recruitment and data collection had to take place online rather than in-person. While there are many pros and cons for online research methods, the advantages seem to outweigh the disadvantages in the current situation and was the only option available to the researcher. The main advantage of online research is its high efficiency in terms of accessing participants. Also, because the Internet is convenient for most as a means of contact, and increasingly so during the pandemic, it democratised the project to some extent as older participants became accustomed to using online platforms such as Zoom. However, there are also important limitations to online research, including the lack of personal contact and challenges represented by online communication (lack of eye contact, poor connections). These limitations can mean a less successful human-to-human interaction.

Convenience sampling was adopted in an attempt to recruit participants to the research, using personal contacts in the first instance and then employing a snowball sampling technique in order to obtain further participants. The political context and topic of the study meant that, post-2019, inviting responses to an online questionnaire about language and identity was a riskier proposal considering the newly imposed national security law. Therefore, the researcher approached a network of personal contacts via WhatsApp and Facebook messages to recruit participants in the first instance, while making participants aware that they were welcome to invite other eligible individuals to participate in the research.

Contacts were sent the link to the online questionnaire. The questionnaire terminated with an invitation for further participation in the next phase of the study, i.e. a short verbal-guise test followed by a semi-structured interview, again both conducted online. Questionnaire participants were invited to submit their email addresses if they wished to participate in the next phase, and then contacted directly by the researcher.

5.3.2 Research Instruments

This section describes the design of three data collection instruments used in the current research: an online questionnaire, a verbal-guise test, and a semi-structured interview.

5.3.2.1 Online questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix A) consisted of 33 questions, divided into four sections. The questionnaire employed multiple choice questions (14 items) and 10-point Likert scale questions (12 items), with five open-ended questions for elaboration.

- Section A asked about the language use (5 items)
- Section B investigated the self-reported language proficiency and views on Cantonese (8 items)
- Section C examined the background of the participants, views on Hong Kong (14 items), and how they identified themselves in terms of their perceived national identity
- Section D (6 items) focused on the demographic background of the participants.

There were eight constructs in the online questionnaire, which were:

- the use of Cantonese and traditional characters (measured in 4 items)
- the use of Mandarin and simplified characters (measured in 4 items)
- the use of spoken and written English (measured in 4 items)
- the proficiency in spoken and written English (measured in 2 items)
- the proficiency in Cantonese and traditional characters (measured in 2 items)
- the proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters (measured in 2 items)
- perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture (measured in 3 items)
- the sense of national identity (measured in 1 item).

5.3.2.2 Verbal-Guise Test

The project used a verbal-guise test, also known as a matched-guise test (Lambert, 1960), to respond to Research Questions two and three. The verbal-guise technique examines attitudes towards different languages and varieties within a language. This instrument is an indirect method of investigating participant attitudes towards speakers and language varieties. This choice of methods attempts to conceal, to some measure, the researcher's main goal regarding attitude measurement. Language attitudes are, as mentioned earlier, "psychological tendencies expressed by evaluating favourable or unfavourable a particular language" (Ianos, 2014: 130). Therefore, if asked directly in a questionnaire or in an interview, there is a high chance that the participants would answer according to stereotypes rather than their actual attitudes towards the language or the language variety.

In order to tackle the problem, the verbal-guised technique was adopted where participants are asked to evaluate the personal qualities of the speakers in the recording simply by listening to the recording without knowing any information about the speakers in advance. Participants were asked to listen to ten recordings of five different language varieties and languages: British English, Hong Kong accented English, Mandarin accented English, Mandarin and Cantonese, and then invited to score 12 personal traits to each speaker.

Lambert (1960) pointed out that there are limitations of the method, with the main one being that it is almost impossible to determine if the responses from the participants are really what they believe or are actually what they think they should express. Zhang also pointed out numerous problems with the use of matched-guise test, with the main one being the difficulty in recruiting a speaker who is proficient enough in the languages and the language varieties involved to produce all the recordings for the test (Zhang, 2010). It is almost impossible to recruit one single speaker to record all the speeches required in the test with the same fluency, especially considering the matched-guise test in this project involves five varieties of English, Cantonese, and Mandarin. Therefore, the mimicking could contribute to another uncontrollable, and unwanted factor affecting the perception of the participants of a certain language or language variety. In order to tackle the problem, the verbal-guise technique is used as it employs the native speakers to enhance the authenticity of the accent.

With three varieties of English, native Cantonese, and native Mandarin being involved in the research, three male and three female speakers were selected by the researcher to produce the recordings in language varieties native to them.

The use of this technique can, to a high extent, “ascertain accent authenticity and convey the most naturalistic accent possible” (Zhang, 2010: 97), and thus improving the quality of the matched-guise test. However, one problem specific to the verbal-guise test is that the perception to the language variety or varieties can be affected by other variables such as the reading speed and tone of the speakers, but not purely about the language. To tackle the problems mentioned above, a semi-structured interview is conducted in conjunction with the verbal-guise test so that the validity of the responses can be enhanced by holding a more detailed and spontaneous context for the interviewees to express their answers. The short text selected for the verbal-guise test was a factually neutral passage:

We always think that it's okay for us to leave our plants unattended during our vacation as we believe they'll survive just fine. Plus, plants won't scream like pets, so they must be okay, right?

This passage was chosen in order to avoid the content affecting the judgements of the participants, in an effort to ensure that the focus was on the language varieties concerned and not any controversial point contained in the text.

Three English varieties were selected in addition to Mandarin and Cantonese:

- British English (Received Pronunciation)
- Mandarin-accented English
- Hong Kong Cantonese-accented English

These varieties were selected because they are the most common varieties of English encountered by Hong Kong. Received Pronunciation is usually regarded as the standard for English language in Hong Kong, especially in education and formal settings, and therefore likely familiar to the participants of the test. Australian English was, at one point, also considered, since Australia has been a popular destination for immigration and study for Hong Kong people. Nonetheless, Australian English is likely to be only familiar to Hong Kong people who have settled in Australia for a certain period of time and not the general public, who might not be able to differentiate the variety with Received Pronunciation. Therefore, Received Pronunciation was the English variety selected for the

verbal-guise test. American English was not considered as an option given that it is a less prevalent variety in the region.

Since 1997, there have been an increased interactions between Mandarin speakers and Hong Kong people due to the flow of immigration from Mainland China to Hong Kong. Therefore, there is a high chance that the participants will be able to differentiate Mandarin-accented English from the other varieties selected. This is also the reason why Mandarin is adopted as a language used in the verbal-guise test.

Last, but not least, Hong Kong Cantonese is by far the most common spoken language in Hong Kong. Therefore, in this research, where the link between language and sense of national identity is the main focus, Hong Kong Cantonese and Hong Kong Cantonese-accented English are selected as the language and language variety for the verbal-guise test.

Speakers of the verbal-guise test were recruited from the personal contacts of the researcher. The researcher approached the speakers who were capable of performing the guises through social network with the passage, and the speakers then sent back the audio files once they finished their recordings.

In the verbal-guise test, conducted through a video call, participants were asked to evaluate personal traits of the speakers based on their perception of the recording. The selection of personal traits in relation to the languages and language varieties are crucial to the outcome and finding of the research and should be considered with regards of the context of the society concerned, Hong Kong, and the objectives of the research project. With this in mind, the selection of personal traits in this study were based on Zhang's (2010) study on "Attitudes beyond the Inner Circle: Investigating Hong Kong Students' Attitudes towards English Accents", given the geographical location of Hong Kong.

The 21 personal traits in Zhang's research included friendliness, sociality, intelligence, humbleness, education level, warmth, wealth, pleasance, success, helpfulness, sincerity, elegance, kindness, competence, honesty, creativity, diligence, considerate-ness, reliability, modern-ness, and generosity. Based on the feedback from the pilot study (described below) which reported that the original version with 24 traits was over-lengthy, only 12 key personal traits, selected from Zhang's research, were employed. The 12 personal traits were as follows:

- 1) Friendliness
- 2) Intelligence

- 3) Education level
- 4) Wealth
- 5) Success
- 6) Helpfulness
- 7) Sincerity
- 8) Kindness
- 9) Competence
- 10) Diligence
- 11) Considerateness
- 12) Reliability

5.3.2.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

A semi-structured interview typically contains pre-prepared guiding questions with an open-ended format. The interviewee is encouraged to elaborate as much on the issues concerned (Dornyei, 2007: 136). The guiding questions for the interview protocol were articulated following on from the administration of the questionnaire and the verbal-guise test. In the context of the current research, the questions in the semi-structured interview aimed to delve into topics such as the linguistic environment of the participants, their views on Cantonese as a language in relation to their identity, and whether they perceive Mandarin as a threat to Cantonese, or even the Hong Kong identity.

5.4 Ethical Considerations

It is vital to consider and understand the implications of conducting research ethically when conducting a study involving human subjects. Considerations regarding research ethics include voluntary participation, informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality, and are important to protect the participants of the research and maintain academic integrity (Dornyei, 2007). Ethical considerations have been managed and administered throughout the current study. A research application form was submitted to and approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences in Trinity College Dublin on 4th June, 2020 prior to the data collection process.

A network of personal contacts of the researcher and two supervisors were contacted by the researcher via email and social media, and invited to participate in the

online questionnaire. The participant information leaflet was in the online questionnaire platform as the first screen viewed, and participants will have as long as they wish to read through the information about the research. At the end of the questionnaire, the participants were asked to fill in their contact information if they were willing to participate in the verbal-guise experiment and the semi-structured interview. They were be emailed by the researcher, who will then provide them with a copy of the Participant Information Leaflet. The Participant Information Leaflet contained the information about the study including the details of the research instrument, and how the data is collected and stored in order to maintain their anonymity and confidentiality. They were also reminded that their participation was entirely voluntary from the Participant Information Leaflet.

The researcher obtained consent from participants in all the three instruments. The completion and submission of the online survey denoted consent (clicking Submit in the online survey platform, Qualtrics), no signature was requested. For the verbal-guise experiment and the semi-structured interview, an electronic consent form was supplied by email and electronic signatures collected from interview participants in advance by the researcher. The researcher then sent back the counter-signed consent form to the participants for their records, by email. A PDF document was used by the applicant for electronic consent.

In terms of personal data, information (age, email addresses, gender identification, and occupation) from the online questionnaire was exported from the online platform to the statistical tool SPSS and then analysed. The raw data and the processed data were stored in password-protected files accessible only by the researcher. The questionnaire responses, the verbal-guise data and the interview data the participants produced were anonymous. It is possible to associate their responses with them. Responses were identified only by assigning a letter or a number to each participant. There were no key matching letters/ numbers to named individuals.

To protect the confidentiality of participants, the numerical data elicited from the online questionnaire and the verbal-guise test was stored in a password-protected university online file drive and only accessible by the researcher and the supervisor. For the semi-structured interview, the audio data produced by the participants was stored in a password-protected online file, again only accessible by the researcher and the supervisor. For the transcript of the interviews, the textual data derived from the audio was stored in a password-protected file, once again only accessible by the researcher and supervisor. The

transcripts are included in the thesis without any identifiable information.

A pseudonym was assigned to each interviewee prior to the verbal-guise test and the interview. Apart from the researcher, no other individual was able to associate the codes or the pseudonyms with the respondents and the interviewees. For participants who opted to provide their email address for contact regarding the verbal-guise test and the semi-structured interview, their email addresses were only used to provide information to contact participants about the semi-structured interview and were deleted immediately afterwards.

5.5 Administration of Research Instruments

This section is devoted to describe the data collection process of all the three research instruments in the order of the online questionnaire, the verbal-guise test, and the semi-structured interviews.

5.5.1 Administration of the Online Questionnaire

Before the questionnaire was formalised, a pilot study was carried out to test the questionnaire, in order to determine whether it served the purpose of the research project, whether participants would be able to follow the instructions, and whether the questions were clear and unambiguous. The pilot study was carried out in June 2020, with 20 respondents. In the first iteration of the questionnaire, the verbal-guise experiment was included as part of the questionnaire. The feedback regarding the questions of pilot questionnaire was positive. No issues with the quality of the items were raised. As a results, all the items were kept for the finalised version of the online questionnaire. However, the main problem reported was the format of the audio files used in the verbal-guise test. Certain audio files were uploaded as .opus and some as .mp3. Participants using the iOS operating system were unable to listen to the audio files. To tackle the problem, it was agreed that the verbal-guise test would be shortened (traits reduced from 24 to 12 as described above), removed from the questionnaire phase and administered separately and directly by the researcher.

A network of personal contacts of the researcher and the supervisor were contacted by the researcher via email and social media such as WhatsApp, and Facebook, and invited to participate in the online questionnaire from September 2020. In the invitation message, participants were also noticed that they were welcome to invite other

people eligible to participate in the questionnaire. By the end of the data collection period, 269 responses were received in total, of which 113 responses were valid and used in data analysis.

5.5.2 Administration of the Verbal-Guise Test

Two pilot studies of the verbal-guise test were carried out in February 2021, each taking roughly 20 minutes and no issues were discovered. Following that, invitation emails to the verbal-guise test, containing the consent form and the Participant Information Leaflet, were sent out to participants who left their email-addresses in the online questionnaire from May 2021. A total of 25 participants left their email-addresses in the questionnaire. Six of the 25 participants, three male and three female, all completed the online questionnaire, responded to the invitation e-mail with a signed consent form and successfully completed the verbal-guise test. All the six participants verbally agreed to participate in the semi-structured interviews afterwards.

The verbal-guise tests took place on Zoom. After the participant responded to the invitation email with a signed consent form, the researcher and the participant arranged a time for the verbal-guise test. The researcher played each audio file and the participants were asked questions about their perception of the speakers one by one in terms of their personal traits. The researcher then completed the responses on behalf of the participants in real time.

5.5.3 Administration of the Semi-Structured Interview

After the verbal-guise test, six participants consented to take part in the semi-structured interviews. Consent forms and Participant Information Leaflet were sent to participants via email. After receiving the signed consent form from the participants, the research then arranged a time with the participants via e-mail for the semi-structured interviews. Prior to each interview, the researcher examined the questionnaire responses and the verbal-guise data to adapt the six semi-structured guiding questions (see Appendix G) for the interview.

The interviews took place on Zoom and were recorded. The interviews ranged in length from 14 to 42 minutes. After the interviews were conducted, the transcripts were typed for data analysis (See Appendix C) and the recordings deleted.

5.6 Data Analysis

This section briefly describes the data analysis techniques which are applied after the process of data collection. Since the research adopts both quantitative and qualitative analyses, the two are carried out sequentially with the quantitative analysis first, followed by qualitative analysis. After that, a multiple level analysis is carried out by integrating the two levels of data for evaluation and interpretation.

5.6.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

The anonymous online questionnaire is the quantitative means of data collection. After the data were collected, the data were transferred to the quantitative data analysis software, SPSS (version 27). Cronbach's alphas were computed to assess the internal reliability of the questionnaire's eight constructs. Correlation tests were conducted to find out whether there were significant correlations between the constructs. The constructs were:

- 1) use of Cantonese and traditional characters
- 2) use of Mandarin and simplified characters
- 3) use of spoken and written English
- 4) proficiency in spoken and written English
- 5) proficiency in Cantonese and traditional characters
- 6) proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters
- 7) perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture
- 8) sense of national identity.

5.6.2 Verbal-Guise Test Data Analysis

The verbal-guise test was performed to determine language attitudes of participants who are committed to participate in the semi-structured interviews, using three varieties of English as a basis for investigation. The mean scores and standard deviations in terms of each personal traits according to different accents and languages were recorded. These score were used to formulate questions for the semi-structured interview which followed the test.

5.6.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

Content analysis was used to examine and interpret the interview transcripts. Analysis followed the four phases of Dornyei's analytical process model: transcribing the data, pre-coding and coding, growing ideas, and finally interpreting the data and drawing conclusions (Dornyei, 2007). The interviews were transcribed manually. Coding, according to Dornyei, "involves highlighting extracts of the transcribed data and labelling these in a way that they can be easily identified, retrieved, or grouped" (Dornyei, 2007: 250). This process was also conducted manually. First, the transcripts were read carefully and then the parts relevant to the research questions were highlighted with notes. The second-level coding follows once all the transcripts have been coded, by looking for the connections and patterns across all the coded data. The coding process adopted a "Value coding" method as well as an "I-statement coding" method.

Value coding, according to Saldana, is the coding system which "reflect a participant's values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing their perspectives or world-view" (Saldana, 2013: 110-111). In the coding method, value refers to the importance that one attributes to a certain object; attitude is how we think about a certain object; and belief includes value and attitude, plus our personal knowledge (Saldana, 2013: 111). In the current research, the codes in the transcripts were divided into *values*, *attitudes* and *beliefs*. These were then categorised into different themes, such as "Cantonese and Identity", and "Threat of Mandarin".

The "I-statement coding" approach was first adopted by Gee (2011) in his research on teenage discourse. The coding method focused on utterances with the first person pronoun, and divides codes into five categories: cognitive statements, affective statements, state and action statements, ability and constraints statements, and achievements statements. The current research adopts all the five categories in order to find out what the participants' views on language and identity in relation to their own beliefs, opinions, actions, ability, and achievements.

After the coding process, the process of "growing ideas", referring to the process in which memos are written for thoughts and ideas which come to mind during the coding process (Dornyei, 2007), followed in preparation for the final stage of the process, which is to interpret the data and to draw the conclusions. This process mostly involves writing analytic memos and creating "interview profiles" as suggested by Seidman (1998), which can function to summarise and categorise the coded data.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the study's research design. It presented the research questions and hypotheses, selection of participants for the research, design of data collection instruments and ethical considerations. It concluded with an overview of the data analysis processes employed. The next chapter will present the data by instrument.

Chapter 6: Data Presentation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected from the three research instruments. The first part of the chapter reviews the data collected from the questionnaire and the results of the relevant correlation tests conducted. The next sections present the data collected from the verbal-guise test. The final sections in the chapter report on the data collected from the semi-structured interviews with the portfolio of each interviewee, their i-statements and value codes.

6.2 Questionnaire

A total of 269 responses were received, of which 113 were complete responses included in the dataset. Responses were received from 53 male participants, 53 female participants and 7 participants who did not record their gender.

n=113	Male	Female	No gender disclosed
No of respondents	53	53	7

Table 3: Questionnaire respondents by gender

n=113	18-23 yrs	24-29 yrs	30-35 yrs	36-41 yrs	42-47 yrs	48-53 yrs	54 yrs or above
No of respondents	15	39	12	9	4	10	24

Table 4: Questionnaire respondents by age

n=113	Primary school	Secondary school	Professional Diploma	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Doctorate Degree
No of respondents	3	24	10	47	24	5

Table 5: Questionnaire respondents by highest level of educational achievement

The internal reliability of the questionnaire is shown in the table below. The questionnaire was designed to measure eight constructs, with each being determined by a multi-item scale. Internal reliability measures how closely the items are within a set. In the case of the questionnaire, internal reliability means whether the items within the same set receive similar responses as the items are designed to measure the same construct. Cronbach's alpha was used to determine the internal reliability of the questionnaire. The items, constructs and the relevant Cronbach's alpha are shown below in table 6.

Construct	Items	Cronbach's Alpha	Sample item
Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	1(c), 2(b), 3(c), 4(b)	0.730	To what extent do you use the spoken form of the following languages on a regular basis at your workplace/ school? (Cantonese)
Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	1(b), 2(c), 3(b), 4(c)	0.747	To what extent do you use the spoken form of the following languages on a regular basis at your workplace/ school? (Mandarin)
Use of Spoken and Written English	1(a), 2(a), 3(a), 4(a)	0.841	To what extent do you use the spoken form of the following languages on a regular basis at your workplace/ school? (English)
Proficiency of Spoken and Written English	6(a), 7(a)	0.894	How proficiency are you in the following written languages? (English)
Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	6(c), 7(b)	0.639	How proficiency are you in the following spoken languages? (Cantonese)
Proficiency of Mandarin and simplified characters	6(b), 7(c)	0.674	How proficiency are you in the following written languages? (Simplified characters)
Perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	9, 10, 11	0.764	How important is it in your opinion to maintain Hong Kong Cantonese?
Sense of national identity	22	N/A	How would you identify yourself?

Table 6: the composition of each construct and the relevant Cronbach's alpha

The bracket above refers to the sub-question in a question. As shown in the table, all of the scales have the Cronbach's alpha above 0.6. Pallant (2001) argued that a

Cronbach's Alpha above 0.6 was considered acceptable. Therefore, all of the scales above were valid constructs.

6.2.1 Language Use

Section A of the questionnaire asked respondents about their language use, on a 10-point Likert scale. In terms of language use, the questionnaire found that Cantonese and Chinese traditional characters are the most commonly used in Hong Kong (M= 8.10, SD= 1.88), followed by spoken and written English (M= 6.21, SD= 2.34), and Mandarin and simplified characters (M= 2.51, SD= 1.58).

6.2.1.1 Use of Cantonese and Traditional Characters

Overall, when asked about the use of Cantonese and traditional characters, respondents reported the highest use of Cantonese and traditional characters with the group mean of 8.10. The standard deviation was 1.88.

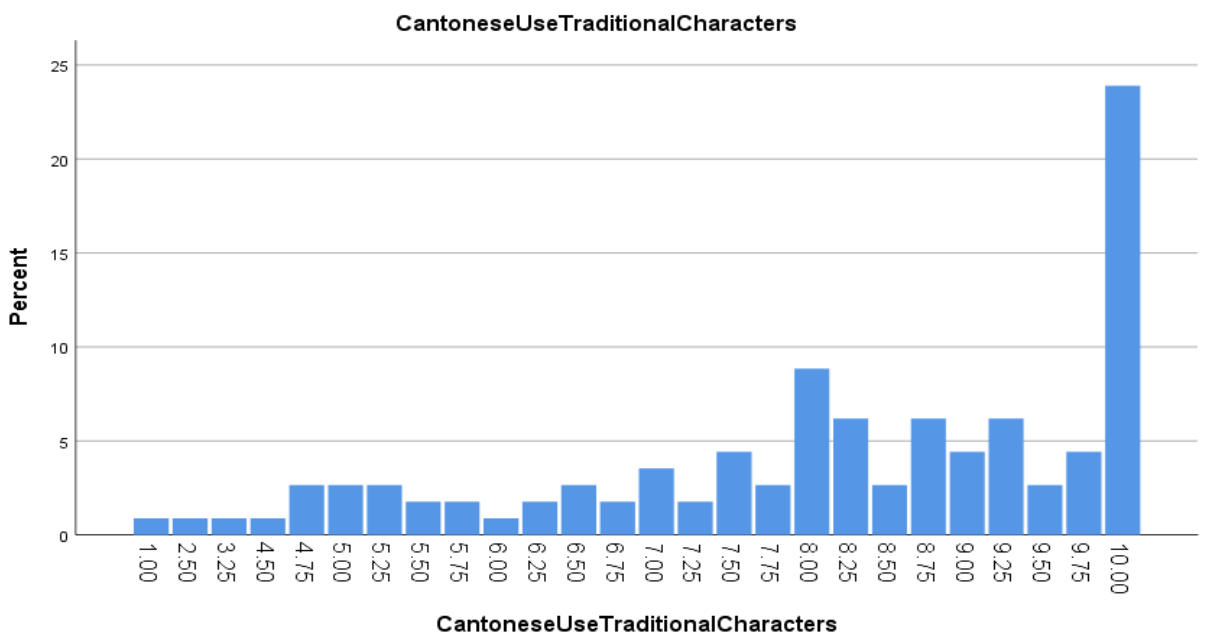


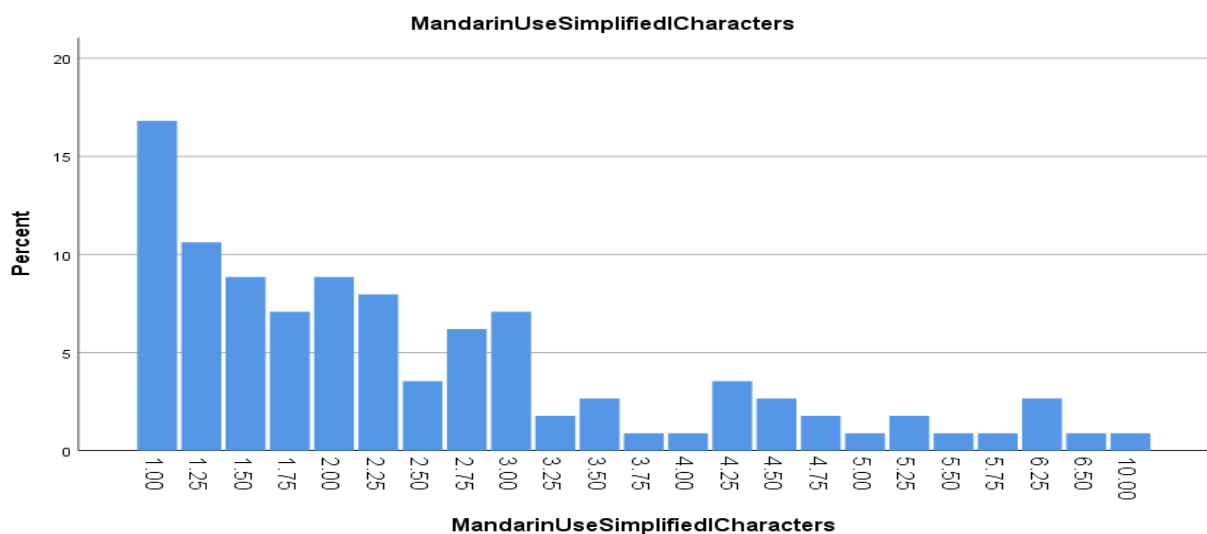
Figure 3: Use of Cantonese and traditional characters

If 5.0 is used as the cut-off score to determine whether Cantonese and traditional characters are commonly used, i.e. below five refers to Cantonese and traditional characters not being frequently used and above five refers to the frequent use of Cantonese and traditional characters, the vast majority of the respondents reported the frequent use of Cantonese and traditional characters (91.2%), with 23.9% of whom presenting the highest score of ten. It leaves 8.8% of the respondents reporting the less use of Cantonese and traditional characters.

6.2.1.2 Use of Mandarin and Simplified Chinese Characters

When asked the use of Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters, respondents reported a less frequent use of Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters in general, with the group mean of 2.51 and the standard deviation of 1.58.

Figure 4: Use of Mandarin and simplified characters



Using the cut-off score of 5.0 to determine the frequency of the use of Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters, the vast majority of respondents reported the less use of the language and characters (92.0%) with 16.8% of respondents scoring it the lowest one, leaving the remaining 8.0% of respondents reporting frequent use of Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters.

6.2.1.3 Use of Spoken and Written English

When asked about the use of spoken and written English, respondents report a moderate use with the mean score of 6.21 and the standard deviation of 2.34, which implies a considerable heterogeneity in the findings. The figure below shows the distribution of the responses.

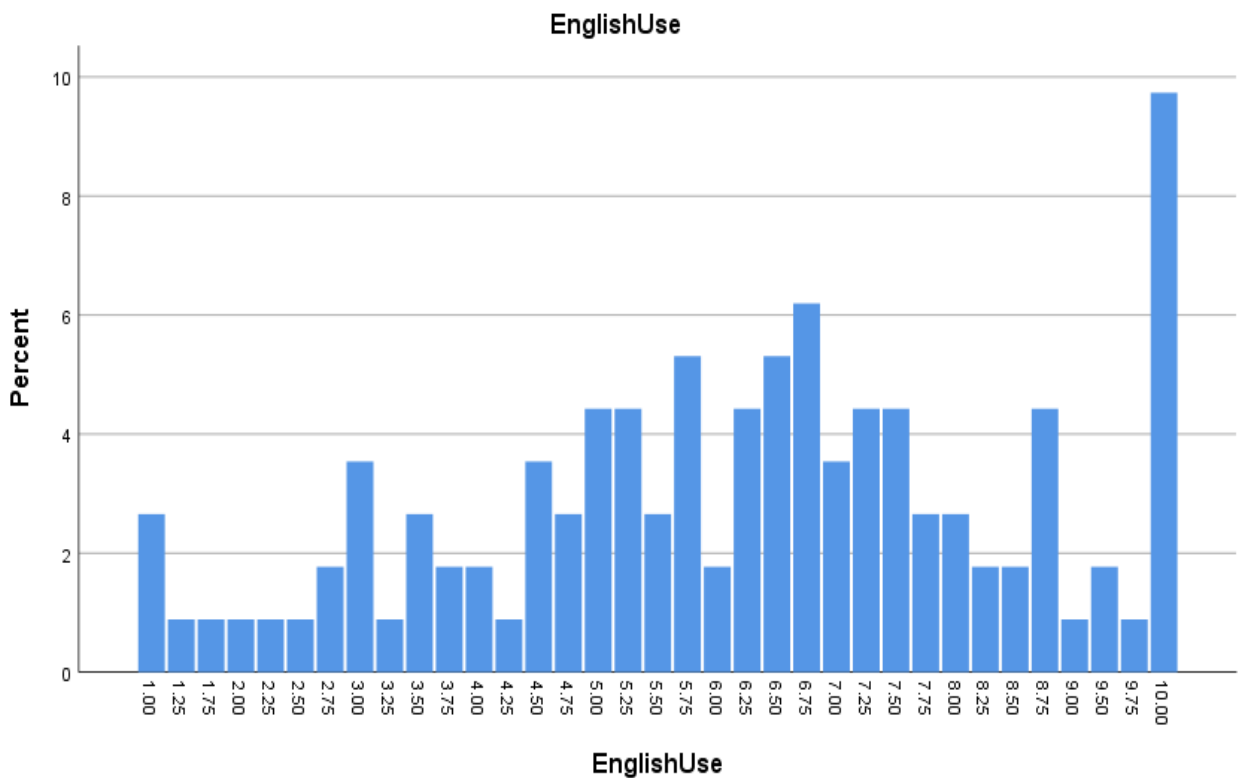


Figure 5: Use of spoken and written English

Using 5.0 as the cut-off score to divide into the rare use of spoken and written English and the frequent use of it, 31.0% of the respondents claimed that they do not use spoken and written English often; while a majority of 69.0% of them claimed the frequent use of spoken and written English. Nonetheless, the most participants scored 5.75, 6.50 and 6.75 with 5.30%, 5.30% and 6.20% respectively, meaning that while they claim to frequently use spoken and written English, it is not to a very high extent.

6.2.2 Language Proficiency

The questionnaire results suggested that people in Hong Kong are the most proficient in Cantonese and traditional characters with the mean of 9.34, and standard deviation of 1.20; followed by spoken and written English with the mean of 6.44 and standard deviation of 2.13; and then Mandarin with the mean of 4.41 and standard deviation of 2.47.

6.2.2.1 Self-Reported Proficiency in Spoken and Written English

The participants were asked about their self-reported proficiency in spoken and written English. The self-reported proficiency in spoken and written English is moderate, with a mean of 6.44 and standard deviation of 2.13, suggesting a moderately diverse finding. The distribution of the responses is shown in the figure below.

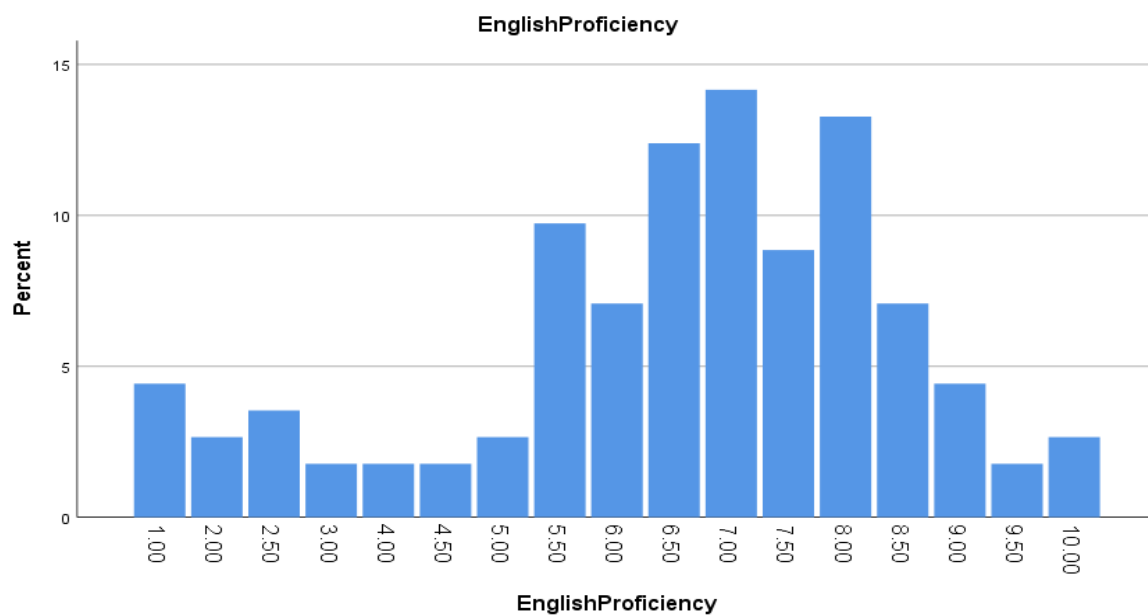


Figure 6: Proficiency in spoken and written English

If we use 5 as the cut-off score to divide participants between proficient and not proficient in spoken and written English, meaning that a score higher than 5 signifies proficiency in the language; while a score lower than 5 denotes lack of proficiency in the language, a majority of respondents claimed proficiency in the spoken and written forms of English (81.4%), leaving 18.6% of whom reporting themselves as a less than

proficient user of the language. A substantial proportion of respondents claim some working proficiency in English, albeit not at a native level.

6.2.2.2 Self-Reported Proficiency in Cantonese and Traditional Chinese Characters

When asked about the self-reported proficiency in Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters, respondents reported a high proficiency. The self-reported proficiency in Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters has a mean of 9.34 and standard deviation of 1.20. The distribution of the responses is shown in the figure below.

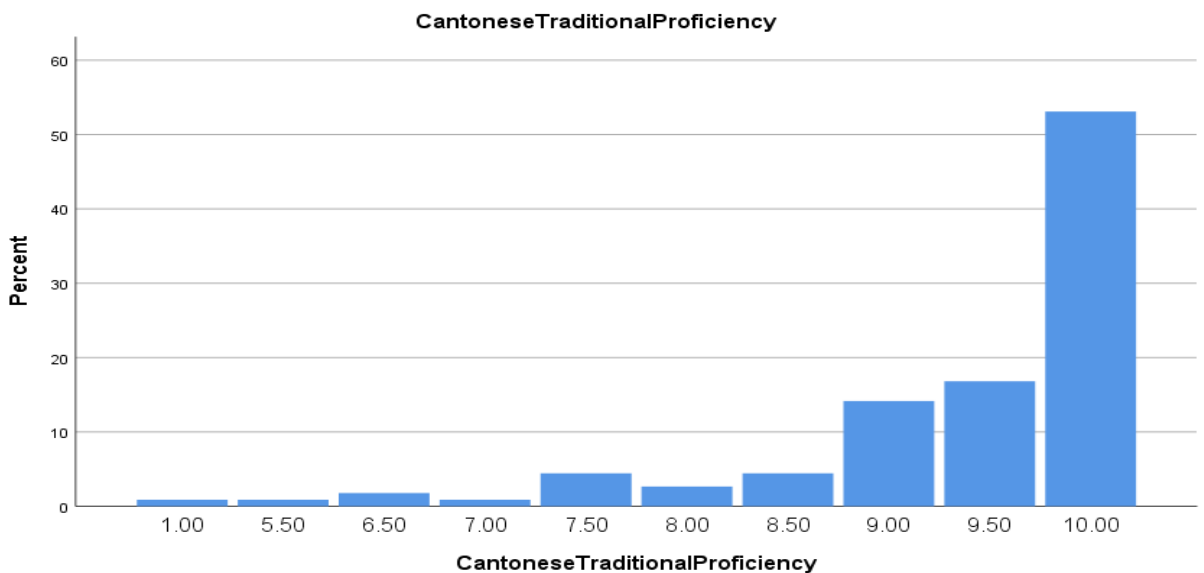


Figure 7: Proficiency in Cantonese and traditional characters

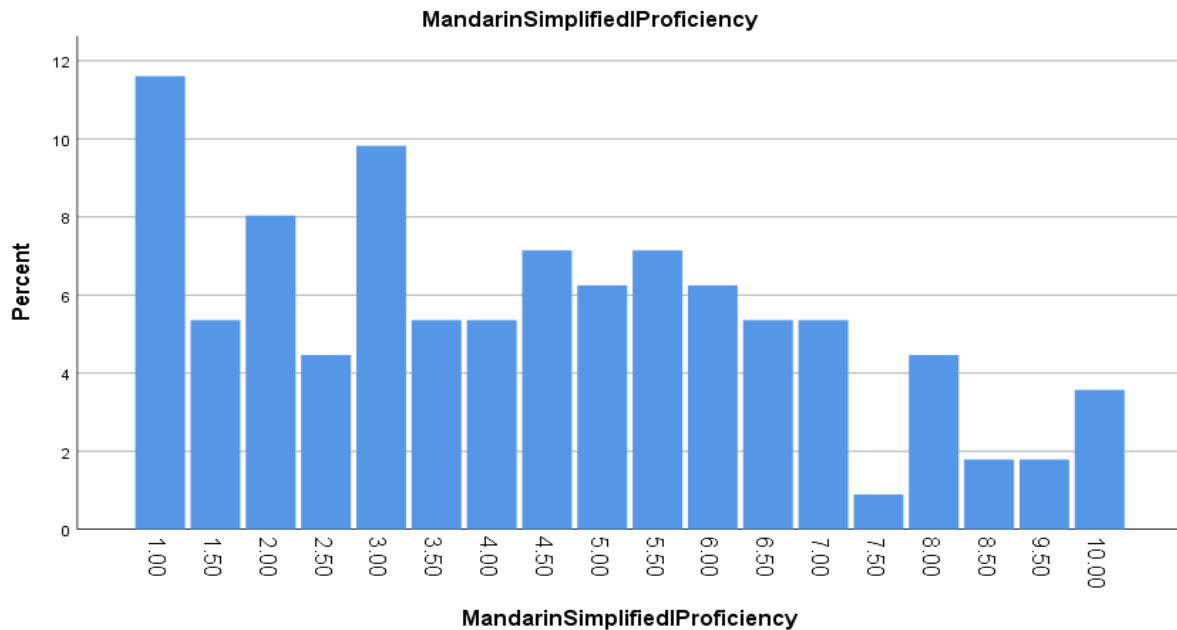
Using 5 as the cut-off score to divide respondents into proficient and incompetent in the language, a vast majority of 99.1% of respondents claim to be proficient in Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters, leaving 0.9% of whom claiming not to be proficient in the language. 53.1% of respondents score 10, showing that slightly less than half of the respondents claim to be native in Cantonese and traditional Chinese characters.

6.2.2.3 Self-Reported Proficiency in Mandarin and Simplified Chinese Characters

When asked about their self-reported proficiency in Mandarin, the questionnaire findings point to a low level of perceived proficient, albeit marginally divisive, with the

mean of 4.41 and the standard deviation of 2.47. The figure below shows the distribution of the responses.

Figure 8: Proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters



Using 5 as the cut-off score and taking scores above 5 as proficient in Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters, 62.8% of respondents report that they are not proficient in Mandarin. A substantial minority (37.2%) report proficiency in the language. At the other end of the scale, 11.5% of participants selected the first point on the Likert scale, denoting a lack of any proficiency in Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters.

6.2.3 Importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong Identity and Culture

The questionnaire results suggested that the respondents recognise Cantonese as of high importance to Hong Kong culture and identity with the mean of 9.60 and the standard deviation of 0.97. The distribution of the responses is shown in the figure below.

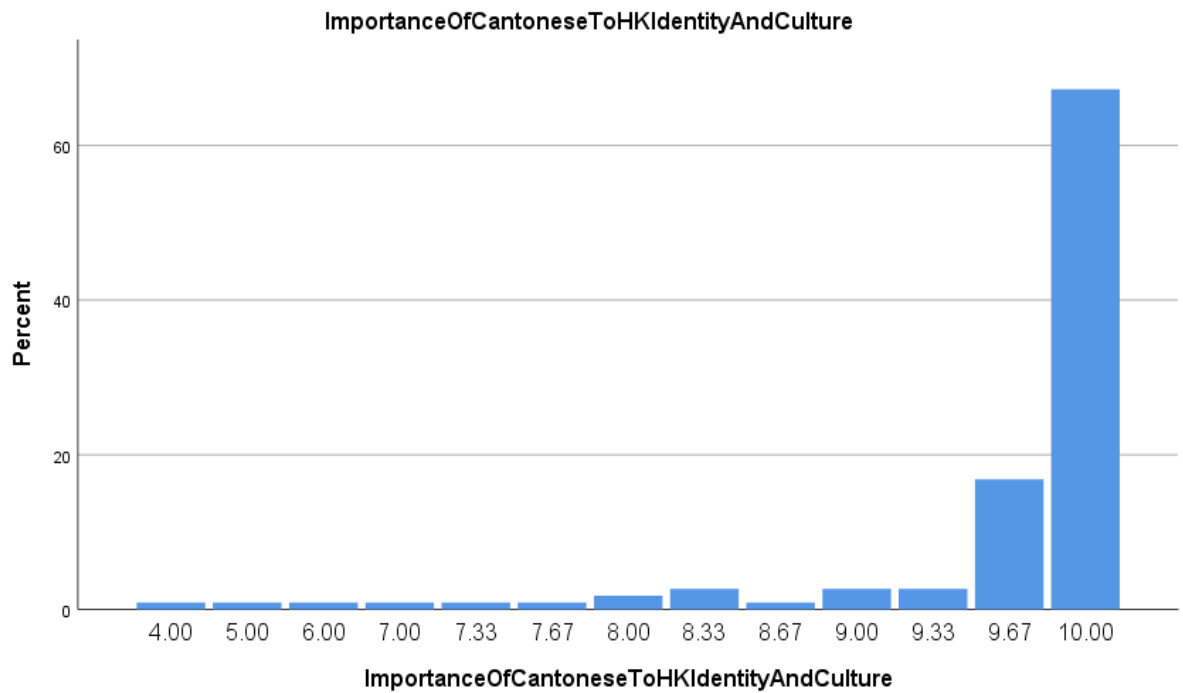


Figure 9: Perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture

Only 1.8% of the participants scored below 5, leaving the overall majority of 98.2% scoring above 5. 67.3% of the participants scored 10, showing that Cantonese is perceived to be real importance in terms of a Hong Kong identity and culture.

6.2.4 Self-Identification

The table below shows the self-identification in terms of nationality.

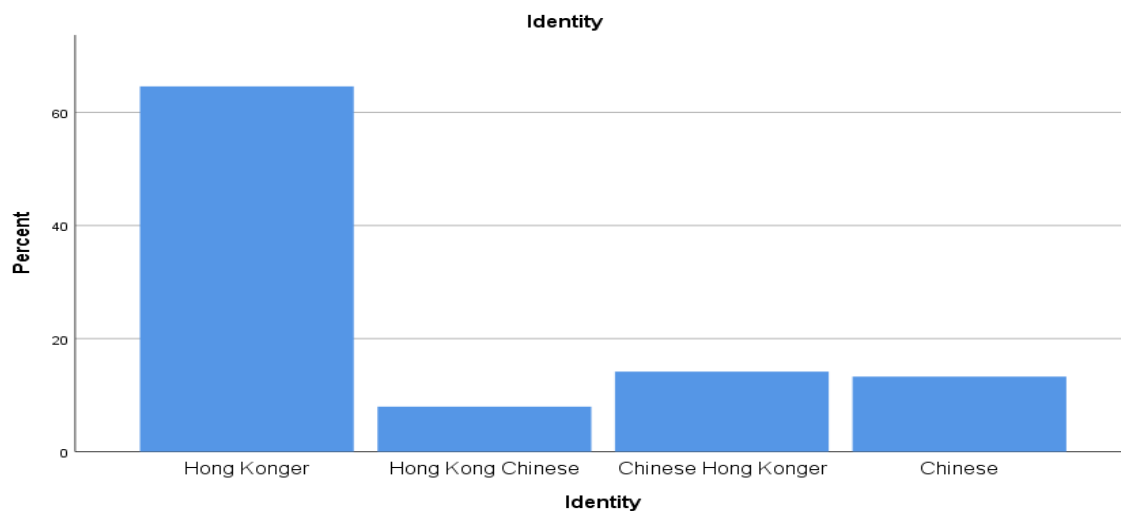


Figure 10: Self-identification in terms of nationality

The majority of the participants (64.6%) identified themselves as Hong Kongers; 8% identified themselves as Hong Kong Chinese; 14.2% identified themselves as Chinese Hong Kongers; and 13.3% self-identified as Chinese.

6.2.5 Correlation between Self-Identification and Language Use

Self-identification was measured by item 22 in which participants were asked to choose one of the four identities, namely Hong Konger, Hong Kong Chinese, Chinese Hong Konger, and Chinese. Research question 2 asked if increasing frequency of language use is associated with a stronger identification to the speech community of the language.

To answer this question, Spearman's rank correlation tests were performed to examine whether identity is related to the use of Cantonese, Mandarin, and English. To do so, the four identities were first recoded as a continuum on a scale from one to four:

- 1 refers to Hong Konger
- 2 refers to Hong Kong Chinese
- 3 refers to Chinese Hong Konger
- 4 refers to Chinese.

A larger number in this scale represents a stronger Chinese identity whereas a smaller number represents a stronger Hong Kong identity. As mentioned in previous chapters, political views regarding China and Hong Kong have become increasingly polarised. Therefore, this study recoded Chinese and Hong Kong identities as the ends of the scale to reflect the social situation.

The Spearman's rank correlation coefficients are displayed in Table 4. The test results show that there was a positive correlation between the two variables, $r(111) = .335, p = 0.000$. This result suggests that there is a moderately positive relationship between use of simplified Chinese characters is associated with the participants' identity. In particular, there is a moderate tendency that Hong Kong citizens who frequently use Mandarin would identify themselves as Chinese.

While it is not surprising that the use of written English is not associated with Chinese identity $r(111) = .072, p > .05$, what is surprising is that there is no statistically significant correlation between identification and use of Cantonese $r(111) = .006, p > .05$. As the identity scale 1 represents the strongest Hong Kong identity (4 represents the strongest Chinese identity), it was hypothesised that there would be a negative correlation between Chinese identity and the frequency of the use of Cantonese. Spearman's rank correlation was computed to assess the relationship between *identity* and *Mandarin and simplified characters use*. There was a positive correlation between the two variables, $r(111) = .335, p = 0.000$. The correlation between the two variables was moderate.

Variable	n=	M	SD	1 Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	2 Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	3 Use of spoken and written English	4 Self-identification
1. Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	113	8.10	1.88	-			
2. Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	113	2.51	1.58	-.075	-		
3. Use of spoken and written English	113	6.21	2.34	-.288**	.256**	-	
4. Self-identification	113	1.76	1.13	.006	.335**	-.072	-

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 7: Correlation between use of languages and self-identification

6.2.6 Correlation between self-identification and self-report language proficiency:

Using the same identity scale where 1 represents the strongest Hong Kong identity (also means the weakest Chinese identity) and 4 represents the strongest Chinese identity, the relations between language proficiency and identity was also examined using Spearman's rank correlation test, the correlation coefficients are illustrated in Table 5.

The Spearman's rank correlation shows that there is a small but positive relationship between *identity* and *Mandarin and simplified Chinese proficiency*, $r(111) = .245, p = 0.009$. However, neither English nor Cantonese has a statistically significant correlation with identity

Variable	n=	M	SD	1 Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	2 Proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters	3 Proficiency in spoken and written English	4 Self- identification
1. Proficiency in Cantonese and traditional characters	113	9.34	1.20	-			
2. Proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters	113	4.41	2.47	-.058	-		
3. Proficiency in spoken and written English	113	6.44	2.13	-.068	.409**	-	
4. Self-identification	113	1.76	1.13	-.142	.245**	-.008	-

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 8: Correlation between proficiency in languages and self-identification

6.2.7 Correlation between self-identification and the perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture

Using the same identity scale where 1 represents the strongest Hong Kong identity (also means the weakest Chinese identity) and 4 represents the strongest Chinese identity, the relations between language proficiency and identity was also examined using Spearman's rank correlation test, the correlation coefficients are illustrated in Table 6.

A correlation test was carried out to examine the effect of self-identification on the perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture. Spearman's rank correlation was computed to assess the relationship between *identity* and *the perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture*. There was a negative correlation between the two variables, $r(111) = -.324, p=0.000$. The correlation between the two variables was small.

Variable	n=	M	SD	1 Self- identification	2 Perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture
1. Self- identification	113	1.76	1.13	-	
2. Perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	113	9.60	0.97	-.324**	-

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 9: Correlation between self-identification and the perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture

6.2.8 Correlation between Self-Identification and Perceived Closeness with China

Using the same identity scale where 1 represents the strongest Hong Kong identity (also means the weakest Chinese identity) and 4 represents the strongest Chinese identity, the relations between language proficiency and identity was also examined using Spearman's rank correlation test, the correlation coefficients are illustrated in Table 7.

Spearman's rank correlation was computed to assess the relationship between *identity* and *Closeness with China*. There was a positive correlation between the two variables, $r(111) = .386, p=0.000$. The correlation between the two variables was small.

Variable	n=	M	SD	1	2
1. Self- identification	113	1.76	1.13	-	
2. Closeness to China	113	4.23	2.98	.386**	-

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 10: Correlation between self-identification and perceived closeness to China

6.3 Data from the Verbal-Guise Test

A total of 6 participants participated in the matched-guise test before proceeding to the semi-structured interview:

n=6	Male	Female
	4	2

Table 11: Gender of participants (verbal-guise)

n=6	18-23 yrs	24-29 yrs	30-35 yrs	36-41 yrs	42-47 yrs	48-53 yrs	54 yrs or above
	0	3	0	1	0	1	1

Table 12: Age of participants (verbal-guise)

n=6	Primary school	Secondary school	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Professional diploma	Doctorate degree
	0	2	2	2	0	0

Table 13: Education background of participants (verbal-guise)

Participants	Education Background	Self-identification	Gender	Age
Participant A	Master's Degree	Hong Konger	M	24-29
Participant B	Bachelor's Degree	Hong Konger	F	24-29
Participant C	Bachelor's Degree	Hong Konger	M	24-29
Participant D	Secondary School	Chinese	F	48-53
Participant E	Secondary School	Chinese Hong Konger	M	54 or above
Participant F	Master's Degree	Hong Konger	M	36-41

Table 14: Demographic information of each participant (verbal-guise)

Participants listened to ten recordings of five different language varieties: British English, Hong Kong accented English, Mandarin accented English, Mandarin and Cantonese, and were invited to give a score across 12 personal traits to each speaker. The tables below show the means and standard deviation of the results of each of each language variety by trait.

	British Accent English (Male)		British Accent English (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	5.67	1.63	5.67	1.86	5.67
Intelligent	5.17	1.60	6.83	1.17	6.00
Highly-educated	6.33	2.94	6.83	0.75	6.58
Wealthy	5.67	2.34	5.83	1.47	5.75
Successful	5.50	2.59	6.17	0.75	5.84
Helpful	5.17	1.72	5.83	2.64	5.50
Sincere	5.50	1.52	6.50	2.81	6.00
Kind	4.67	1.51	5.33	2.50	5.00
Competent	4.83	1.17	7.67	1.63	6.25
Hard-working	4.00	1.10	7.00	1.10	5.50
Considerate	4.83	1.94	6.50	1.05	5.67
Reliable	5.00	1.10	6.67	2.16	5.84

Table 15: Verbal-guise results: British English

	Hong Kong Accent English (Male)		Hong Kong Accent English (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	6.67	1.21	7.33	1.21	7.00
Intelligent	6.17	2.23	5.00	0.63	5.59
Highly-educated	5.67	1.21	5.67	0.82	5.67
Wealthy	5.50	1.52	6.00	1.55	5.75
Successful	5.83	1.33	5.67	1.21	5.75
Helpful	7.33	0.82	7.17	2.04	7.25
Sincere	6.67	1.03	6.83	2.14	6.75
Kind	7.17	1.17	7.17	1.83	7.17
Competent	6.00	1.41	6.17	1.17	6.09
Hard-working	6.83	1.33	6.83	1.72	6.83
Considerate	5.83	1.17	6.17	1.33	6.00
Reliable	6.33	1.03	6.50	1.76	6.42

Table 16: Verbal-guise results: Hong Kong English

	Chinese Accent English (Male)		Chinese Accent English (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	6.33	1.63	6.33	1.86	6.33
Intelligent	6.67	1.03	7.33	0.52	7.00
Highly-educated	6.67	1.03	7.67	0.52	7.17
Wealthy	6.33	1.97	7.00	1.67	6.67
Successful	5.83	1.47	6.83	1.17	6.33
Helpful	6.50	1.52	5.83	1.72	6.17
Sincere	6.50	1.64	6.17	1.33	6.34

Kind	6.67	1.37	6.00	1.79	6.34
Competent	6.50	1.52	7.33	0.82	6.92
Hard-working	7.00	1.26	7.33	1.51	7.17
Considerate	5.67	1.21	6.50	1.38	6.09
Reliable	5.33	1.51	6.67	1.21	6.00

Table 17: Verbal-guise results: Chinese English

	Mandarin (Male)		Mandarin (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	7.00	1.10	6.67	1.97	6.84
Intelligent	5.50	1.76	7.17	0.98	6.34
Highly-educated	6.00	1.79	7.17	1.17	6.59
Wealthy	5.67	0.52	6.67	1.21	6.17
Successful	5.33	0.82	6.17	1.47	5.75
Helpful	6.67	1.03	6.17	1.83	6.42
Sincere	6.67	1.63	5.17	1.47	5.92
Kind	6.50	1.76	5.00	2.68	5.75
Competent	5.33	0.82	6.00	1.26	5.67
Hard-working	5.83	1.17	6.00	1.55	5.92
Considerate	5.33	1.51	5.83	1.17	5.58
Reliable	5.33	1.37	5.50	1.87	5.42

Table 18: Verbal-guise results: Mandarin

	Cantonese (Male)		Cantonese (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	6.17	1.33	7.17	0.98	6.67
Intelligent	6.33	1.37	4.83	2.04	5.58
Highly-educated	5.67	0.82	3.67	1.21	4.67
Wealthy	6.17	0.98	5.83	1.83	6.00
Successful	5.67	1.03	5.83	1.60	5.75
Helpful	7.00	0.89	7.83	0.98	7.42
Sincere	6.83	1.47	7.67	0.52	7.25
Kind	6.33	1.86	7.50	1.22	6.92
Competent	6.17	1.47	6.33	2.07	6.25
Hard-working	6.50	1.38	7.50	2.07	7.00
Considerate	5.67	1.03	6.17	1.33	5.92
Reliable	5.83	2.40	7.17	1.17	6.50

Table 19: Verbal-guise results: Cantonese

For British English speakers, the female speaker received a higher mean score in 11 out of 12 items except for friendliness; while in any other guise, there was no overall significant difference in terms of gender. The female speakers, however, were perceived as more “successful”, “competent”, “considerate”, and “reliable” in all the guises, and “hard-working” in all the guises but the Hong Kong accented English.

On average, among the three English accents, Hong Kong accent was rated the most friendly (M= 7.00), helpful (M= 7.25) and kind (M= 7.17); while Chinese accents was rated the most intelligent (M= 7.00), highly educated (M= 7.17), and hard-working (M= 7.17). When comparing the ratings of Mandarin and Cantonese, the Mandarin speakers, on average, were perceived as more highly educated (M= 6.59). The Cantonese speakers, on the other hand, were rated more helpful (M=7.42), sincere (M= 7.25), and hard-working (M= 7.00).

6.4 Semi-Structured Interviews

Six semi-structured interviews were conducted online with six participants. Below are the sample composition overview:

Participants	M	F
n=6	4	2

Table 20: Gender of participants (interviews)

Participants	18-23	24-29	30-35	36-41	42-47	48-53	54 or above
n=6	0	3	0	1	0	1	1

Table 21: Age of participants (interviews)

Participants	Primary school	Secondary school	Bachelor’s degree	Master’s degree	Professional diploma	Doctorate degree
n= 6	0	2	2	2	0	0

Table 22: Education background of participants (interviews)

Participants	Education Background	Self-identification	Gender	Age
Participant A	Master's Degree	Hong Konger	M	24-29
Participant B	Bachelor's Degree	Hong Konger	F	24-29
Participant C	Bachelor's Degree	Hong Konger	M	24-29
Participant D	Secondary School	Chinese	F	48-53
Participant E	Secondary School	Chinese Hong Konger	M	54 or above
Participant F	Master's Degree	Hong Konger	M	36-41

Table 23: Demographic information of each participant (interview)

The interviews were conducted between 8th November 2021 and 31st March 2022. The table below shows the code of participant, duration and the date of each interview.

Interviewee	Date	Duration	Gender	Age
Participant A	08/11/2021	14 minutes	M	24-29
Participant B	11/11/2021	18 minutes	F	24-29
Participant C	14/01/2022	42 minutes	M	24-29
Participant D	19/02/2022	24 minutes	F	48-53
Participant E	15/03/2022	15 minutes	M	54 or above
Participant F	31/03/2022	20 minutes	M	36-41

Table 24: Details of each interview

The aim of the interview was to investigate further from the responses in the questionnaire and the verbal-guise test, in order to find out how languages, especially Cantonese, contribute to the identity and culture of Hong Kong, and to examine attitudes towards Mandarin. The topics discussed in the interviews included:

- how Cantonese is linked to identity
- how Cantonese is linked to the culture of Hong Kong
- the preservation of Cantonese; the future of Cantonese
- the potential threat of Mandarin to Cantonese
- their general language use; their perceived closeness to China
- their language attitudes with regards to their verbal-guise responses.

The table below shows the topics discussed in each interview

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
Cantonese and Identity	Cantonese and Identity	Cantonese and Identity	Cantonese and Identity	Cantonese and Identity	Cantonese and Identity
Views on Mandarin	Threat of Mandarin	Views on Cantonese	Views on Hong Kong and Cantonese	Views on Hong Kong and Cantonese	Threat of Mandarin
Closeness with China	Views on Cantonese	Preservation of Cantonese		Threat of Mandarin	Preservation of Cantonese
Threat of Mandarin	Views on China	Threat of Mandarin Closeness with China			

Table 25: Topics discussed in each interview

6.4. Data from semi-structured interviews

The I-statement codes and value codes of each interview are presented below and in the Appendix E.

I-statement codes	Examples from interview data
Cognitive	We got reunited with China, so we need to speak Mandarin I think the lifestyle, and habit, and the language, and culture in Hong Kong are different than those in any other Chinese cities
Affective	For Mandarin eh.. I would like to speak better I think Cantonese is very important to both my individual and social identity
State and Action	We think Hong Konger is a very unique identity We have a lot of communication with the organisations in mainland China
Ability and Constraints	We are Chinese, then we know Chinese My linguistic ability [in Mandarin] was weak
Achievement Statement	I am a leader of boy scouts

Table 26: Sample of I-statement codes

Themes	Value	Attitudes	Beliefs
Cantonese and Identity	Hong Konger	Speak Cantonese	
	Social Identity	In Hong Kong	
	Unique identity	We feel Cantonese	
	Pop culture	Something that can only be conveyed using Cantonese	
	Something related to life		
	Lifestyle		
	Ideologies		
	Our own culture		
	Unique economic-cultural activities		
Concept of Cantonese			
Views on Mandarin	Mandarin culture	Mandarin tied with communist regime	
	The political regimes	No special opinion on the language itself	
	Different regimes	One reason for difficult reunification of culture	
		Regime, lifestyle, and culture are different	
	Language is part of it		
Closeness with China		Communication was not smooth	
		Difficult to communicate and understand	
		Don't feel close with Guangdong	
Threat of Mandarin		Would disappear	Lack of resources to preserve (Cantonese)
		New Cantonese is different in context	Other's assumption that can speak their native language
		Young generation speak more Mandarin	
		Fewer speakers Weaker proficiency	Other's disbelieve that Cantonese will disappear
	Affect me	Invasion of new Cantonese terms	

		Would see Mandarin as a threat to Cantonese	<p>New generation from mainland value Mandarin more</p> <p>Government depreciates the position of Cantonese</p> <p>People are more motivated to learn Mandarin</p> <p>Cantonese becomes not popular</p>
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Table 27: Sample of value coding

The transcripts of the interviews are attached in Appendix C. The following sections present an overview of the data collected from each participant of the semi-structured interview.

6.4.1 Participant A

Participant A reports a high use of Cantonese and traditional characters, rates the importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture very high, and self-identifies himself as a Hong Konger in the questionnaire. In the interview, Participant A states that he believes that Cantonese is important to an identity as a Hong Konger, which, in his opinion, is partly constructed by the ability to speak Cantonese. He also thinks that language does not have a big impact on his perceived closeness with China. He sees Mandarin as tied with the mainland communist regime, and that there is a lack of resources to protect Cantonese and Hong Kong pop culture. Therefore, he believes that Cantonese is being depreciated in Hong Kong, and some lifestyle or ideologies of Hong Kong would disappear.

While not having a particular opinion on Mandarin as a language itself, participant A feels that Mandarin is more popular than Cantonese, and is a reason why the number of Cantonese speaker is going down. For him, he uses Cantonese as the main means of communication, and only uses Mandarin when speaking with people from mainland China. In the verbal-guise test, he rates the speaker of Hong Kong English as the most friendly, helpful, sincere, and considerate. The tables below show questionnaire responses, and the verbal-guise responses.

Construct	Value
Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	8.25
Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	1.75
Use of Spoken and Written English	7.00
Proficiency of Spoken and Written English	6.50
Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	7.50
Proficiency of Mandarin and simplified characters	1.00
Importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	9.67
Sense of national identity	Hong Konger

Table 28: Questionnaire responses of Participant A

	British English	Hong Kong English	Chinese English	Mandarin	Cantonese
Friendly	4.00	7.00	5.50	4.50	5.50
Intelligent	7.00	5.50	7.00	4.50	5.50
Highly educated	7.50	5.50	6.50	4.50	4.00
Wealthy	5.00	5.50	4.00	5.50	4.50
Successful	6.00	6.00	5.00	4.50	4.00
Helpful	3.00	7.50	3.50	4.50	6.00
Sincere	7.50	7.00	4.50	5.00	5.50
Kind	4.00	6.50	4.00	3.50	5.00
Competent	6.50	5.00	6.00	5.00	4.50
Hard-working	5.50	5.00	6.00	4.50	5.50
Considerate	6.00	7.00	5.00	4.50	5.00
Reliable	4.50	5.50	4.50	3.50	4.50

Table 29: Verbal-guise response of Participant A

6.4.2 Participant B

In the questionnaire, Participant B self-identifies herself as a Hong Konger, and rates the importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture the highest possible in the questionnaire. In interview 2, Participant B mentions that she believes that Mandarin is a threat to Cantonese, and provided an example of newspapers and magazines using words which are not traditionally used in Hong Kong. She believes that this would affect not only the Cantonese language, which she describes as “broad and profound”, but also the Hong Kong culture. She also mentions that although she believed languages could exist peacefully, Mandarin in Hong Kong is not the same as she sees it as a threat to Cantonese in Hong Kong. Language does contribute to her perceived closeness to a place, as she finds Guangdong province a bit closer as the people in Guangdong province speak Cantonese.

She used to use Mandarin often as she has relatives in mainland. However, now she only uses Mandarin in workplace, or when watching Taiwanese dramas. She finds that people from mainland China who can speak English more well-educated, hard-working, competitive, and wealthier due to her perception of the education system and the society in China. However, she appreciates foreigners who try to speak Cantonese in Hong Kong as she would feel that they are trying to get into the society. In the verbal-guise test, she rated the speakers of Chinese English as the most highly-educated, the wealthiest, the most successful, the most hard-working and the most considerate. The tables below show questionnaire responses, and the verbal-guise responses.

Construct	Value
Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	7.25
Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	2.00
Use of Spoken and Written English	6.25
Proficiency of Spoken and Written English	5.00
Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	6.50
Proficiency of Mandarin and simplified characters	4.00
Importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	10.00
Sense of national identity	Hong Konger

Table 30: Questionnaire responses of Participant B

	British English	Hong Kong English	Chinese English	Mandarin	Cantonese
Friendly	5.00	6.00	8.50	8.00	6.50
Intelligent	5.00	6.00	6.50	7.00	5.50
Highly educated	5.00	6.00	8.00	6.50	5.50
Wealthy	5.00	4.00	8.00	6.00	6.50
Successful	4.50	5.00	8.00	6.00	6.00
Helpful	5.00	8.00	7.00	8.00	8.00
Sincere	5.50	8.50	7.00	8.00	7.50
Kind	5.50	9.00	7.00	9.00	8.50
Competent	7.00	6.00	8.50	5.50	6.50
Hard-working	4.50	8.00	9.00	7.00	6.00
Considerate	5.00	7.50	8.00	7.00	7.00
Reliable	7.00	8.50	7.50	7.50	7.50

Table 31: Verbal-guise response of Participant B

6.4.3 Participant C

In the questionnaire, Participant C scores ten, out of ten, in his use and proficiency in Cantonese and traditional characters, and his perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture, and self-identifies himself as a Hong Konger. In interview 3, participant C mentions about his experience that although there should be a close association between simplified Chinese characters and Mandarin, the time that he spent with simplified Chinese characters was way more than Mandarin as he started reading books in simplified Chinese characters since he was in primary school but he rarely watches videos in Mandarin. He sees Cantonese as an integral part of his

individual and social identity, as he social network and background are filled with Cantonese. He also believes that Cantonese and Hong Kong culture are “inseparable” at least in the era he grew up.

In terms of preservation of Cantonese, he believes that the education policy in place actually makes sure that Cantonese is still used in Hong Kong as Cantonese is still the means of communication. However, he worries about the decrease in proficiency in Cantonese with the recent promotion of using Mandarin to teach in schools, especially in international schools, due to its popularity. While there are tools provided the government to preserve Cantonese such as a Cantonese thesaurus, he believes that there are not many people who know about it. In the verbal-guise test, he rates the speakers of British English the most highly-educated, the wealthiest, the most successful and the most sincere. The tables below show questionnaire responses, and the verbal-guise responses.

Construct	Value
Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	10.00
Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	1.00
Use of Spoken and Written English	8.75
Proficiency of Spoken and Written English	7.00
Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	10.00
Proficiency of Mandarin and simplified characters	6.50
Importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	10.00
Sense of national identity	Hong Konger

Table 32: Questionnaire response of Participant C

	British English	Hong Kong English	Chinese English	Mandarin	Cantonese
Friendly	7.50	6.50	6.00	8.00	6.00
Intelligent	7.50	6.50	6.50	7.00	7.00
Highly educated	8.00	6.50	7.50	8.00	4.50
Wealthy	8.00	6.50	7.50	7.00	5.00
Successful	8.00	5.50	6.00	7.00	5.00
Helpful	6.50	7.00	6.50	6.00	7.00
Sincere	8.50	7.00	7.00	6.00	8.00
Kind	5.50	7.00	7.00	7.00	5.00
Competent	6.50	5.50	6.50	7.00	5.50
Hard-working	5.50	6.50	7.50	7.50	6.50
Considerate	5.50	5.50	5.50	7.00	4.50
Reliable	7.50	5.00	6.50	5.50	8.00

Table 33: Verbal-guise response of Participant C

6.4.5 Participant D

Participant D self-identifies herself as Chinese in the questionnaire. While reporting a high use and proficiency in Cantonese and traditional characters, she does not score high in the perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture in the questionnaire. In interview, participant D mentions about her wish to practise her Mandarin. She talks about the “biliterate and trilingual” education in Hong Kong, stressing that Mandarin is the language that Hong Kong people are weakest at. She believes that Mandarin should be promoted in Hong Kong and does not see much of the importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong culture. However, she points out that the unique feature of Hong Kong Cantonese is that it blends with English, and that Hong Kong is a city where the east meets the west. In the verbal-guise test, she rates the speakers of Hong Kong English the friendliest, and the most successful; and the speakers of Hong Kong English and Cantonese share the same highest rating of being the most helpful and the kindest. The tables below show questionnaire responses and the verbal-guise responses.

Construct	Value
Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	9.00
Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	5.50
Use of Spoken and Written English	7.50
Proficiency of Spoken and Written English	6.00
Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	10.00
Proficiency of Mandarin and simplified characters	8.00
Importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	5.00
Sense of national identity	Chinese

Table 34: Questionnaire response of Participant D

	British English	Hong Kong English	Chinese English	Mandarin	Cantonese
Friendly	6.50	8.00	7.00	6.00	7.50
Intelligent	6.00	6.50	7.00	6.00	6.50
Highly educated	6.50	5.00	7.00	7.00	5.00
Wealthy	6.00	7.00	7.00	6.50	7.50
Successful	6.50	7.50	7.00	6.50	7.00
Helpful	6.00	8.00	6.00	6.00	8.00
Sincere	5.50	6.50	6.50	5.50	7.00
Kind	5.50	7.50	7.00	5.50	7.50
Competent	6.50	7.00	7.00	6.50	6.50
Hard-working	5.50	7.50	6.50	6.50	7.50
Considerate	6.00	5.50	6.50	5.50	6.00
Reliable	6.00	7.00	6.50	6.50	7.50

Table 35: Verbal-guise response of Participant D

6.4.6 Participant E

Participant E scores relatively high in the self-reported proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters compared with the majority of the participants, and self-identifies himself as a Chinese Hong Kong citizen. In the interview, participant E, while believing that Cantonese is part of life in Hong Kong, stresses the need to put more force to promote Mandarin because Mandarin is the national language of China. He thinks the threat of Mandarin to Cantonese is a must, and that Cantonese will become a vernacular in the future, and most people in Hong Kong will be speaking in Mandarin. In the verbal-guise test, he rates the Mandarin speakers and the Chinese English speakers the most intelligent; and the British English speakers and the Mandarin speakers the most

highly-educated. The tables below show the questionnaire responses, and the verbal-guise responses.

Construct	Value
Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	8.00
Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	3.00
Use of Spoken and Written English	3.00
Proficiency of Spoken and Written English	2.00
Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	8.50
Proficiency of Mandarin and simplified characters	7.00
Importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	7.00
Sense of national identity	Chinese Hong Kong citizen

Table 36: Questionnaire response of Participant E

	British English	Hong Kong English	Chinese English	Mandarin	Cantonese
Friendly	7.00	8.00	6.50	8.00	8.00
Intelligent	6.50	6.50	8.00	8.00	6.50
Highly educated	8.00	5.00	6.50	8.00	5.50
Wealthy	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Successful	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	7.00
Helpful	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00	8.00
Sincere	5.50	6.50	8.00	6.50	8.00
Kind	5.50	8.00	8.00	5.00	8.00
Competent	6.50	8.00	6.50	5.00	8.00
Hard-working	6.50	8.00	6.50	5.00	8.00
Considerate	6.50	5.00	5.00	5.00	7.00
Reliable	5.00	6.50	5.00	5.00	7.00

Table 37: Verbal-guise response of Participant E

6.4.7 Participant F

Participant F self-identifies as a Hong Konger, reports a high use and proficiency in Cantonese and traditional characters, and scores the highest in the perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kon identity and culture. In the interview, participant F stresses the importance of Cantonese to his sense of belonging and identity, and that Mandarin is a threat to Cantonese because Mandarin is a national policy. He is worried that Hong Kong may lose Cantonese one day, similar to Shanghai losing Shanghainese. He

believes that Cantonese, along with other lifestyles and culture, make Hong Kong unique and different from other cities in China. In the verbal-guise test, he rates the speakers of Cantonese the most friendly, helpful and hard-working. The tables below show questionnaire responses and the verbal-guise responses.

Construct	Value
Use of Cantonese and traditional characters	10.00
Use of Mandarin and simplified characters	2.25
Use of Spoken and Written English	7.50
Proficiency of Spoken and Written English	8.50
Proficiency of Cantonese and traditional characters	9.50
Proficiency of Mandarin and simplified characters	5.50
Importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture	10.00
Sense of national identity	Hong Konger

Table 38: Questionnaire response of Participant F

	British English	Hong Kong English	Chinese English	Mandarin	Cantonese
Friendly	4.00	5.00	5.00	6.50	7.00
Intelligent	4.00	3.50	7.00	5.50	3.00
Highly educated	4.50	6.00	7.50	5.50	3.50
Wealthy	5.50	6.50	8.50	7.00	7.50
Successful	5.00	5.50	7.00	5.50	5.50
Helpful	4.50	5.00	6.00	6.00	7.50
Sincere	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.50	7.50
Kind	4.50	5.00	5.00	4.50	7.50
Competent	4.50	5.00	7.00	5.00	6.50
Hard-working	5.50	6.00	7.50	5.00	9.00
Considerate	5.00	5.50	6.50	4.50	6.00
Reliable	5.00	5.50	6.00	4.50	4.50

Table 39: Verbal-guise response of Participant F

6.5 Chapter summary

This chapter reported on the data collected by instrument. It firstly presented the data collected from the online questionnaire and the results from the correlation tests performed. Then, it reported on the verbal-guise data. The chapter then concludes with an overview of the data collected from each of the participants in the semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 7: Data Analysis

7.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the project's findings based on the three data collection instruments and responds to the three research questions articulated by the researcher. First, it looks at whether Cantonese is perceived to be an important component of a Hong Kong identity. It then examines relationships between language use, language proficiency, and language attitude, and self-identification in relation to Social Identity Theory. After that, it investigates whether the participants perceive Mandarin as a threat to Hong Kong culture and identity.

Self-identification by participants in the questionnaire is as follows:

Identity	No. (%)
Hong Kongers	73 (64.6%)
Hong Kong Chinese	9 (8.0%)
Chinese Hong Kong	16 (14.2%)
Chinese	15 (13.3%)

Table 40: Self-identification

7.2 Research Question 1

Research question one asks: *Is Cantonese perceived to be important to Hong Kong identity?*

The perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture is very high according to the questionnaire findings ($M= 9.60$, $SD= 0.97$). A significant correlation between the perceived importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture, and identity was found, $r(111)= -.324$, $p=.000$. The lowest score of 4 out of 10. More than half, 67.3% of the participants even rated 10 out of 10.

The finding from the semi-structured interview suggests that those who self-identified in relation to Hong Kong (i.e. Hong Kongers and Chinese Hong Kong) tended to be aware of the role Cantonese plays in Hong Kong identity and culture.

The direct supporting reasons of Cantonese being important to Hong Kong identity can mainly be divided into two groups. The first reason is that Cantonese is perceived to be important to Hong Kong culture, including music, films, and Cantonese operas, and even, as Participant A mentioned, the “lifestyle” and “our own culture”. Participant F said Cantonese was closely associated with “his sense of belong to the place, especially I was born in Hong Kong, the cultural sense of belonging, because language is a root of a culture”. Participant A described that some concepts in Cantonese can only be expressed in Cantonese but not in other languages:

I think mainly... not just... pop culture, include but not limited to.. er.. movies, music, radio, something related to life would disappear. I would especially think that is... some lifestyle or ideologies would.. disappear. It is because sometimes, the concept of Cantonese... can only be conveyed using Cantonese. Right. For example, we... now people tend to say ‘內捲’ [involution], but in Cantonese you may use ‘困獸鬥’ [fighting in a pitch]. The meaning can be similar, but the context is slightly different. Right (Participant A, 39-44).

The second aspect of how Cantonese is important to Hong Kong identity and culture is that social network, as perceived by the participants, is filled with Cantonese, thus contributing to an integral part of their social identity. All participants agree that, as Participant C said, their background and social network is filled with Cantonese, and that Hong Kong is an environment where Cantonese is the main spoken language. Participant B also claims that she feels closer to Guangdong province because Cantonese is the main spoken language there. The following is what participant C answers when asked about his view on how Cantonese was important to his identity:

Eh.. I think eh.. it is important to both of my individual and social identity, because eh.. I think it is very hard for me to separate my individual identity from my social identity, because mainly is that, in my social network with friends, with my boss and colleagues, and my family, we mainly ehm.. use, is it Cantonese? Like not words, but spoken language. (Participant C, 110-114)

Those who self-identify in relation to Chinese include Participant D (Chinese) and Participant E (Hong Kong Chinese citizen) appear to see their identity less linked to Cantonese. Participant D sees that Cantonese can also represent people from Guangdong, and is not specifically to Hong Kong, while Cantonese is blended with English in Hong Kong, as she said “I think Hong Kong is a place where the west meets the east. So the Cantonese in Hong Kong is blended with English”. However, she does not directly mention what contributed more to her identity. Participant E, although realising that Cantonese is part of life in Hong Kong, views sovereignty as an integral component of his identity, as he mentions that his sense of identity “was not much influenced by the language”, because “the most important is that Hong Kong got handed over to China”. The reasons that shape the importance or unimportance of the Cantonese to Hong Kong identity and culture are summarised and illustrated in figure 7.2.

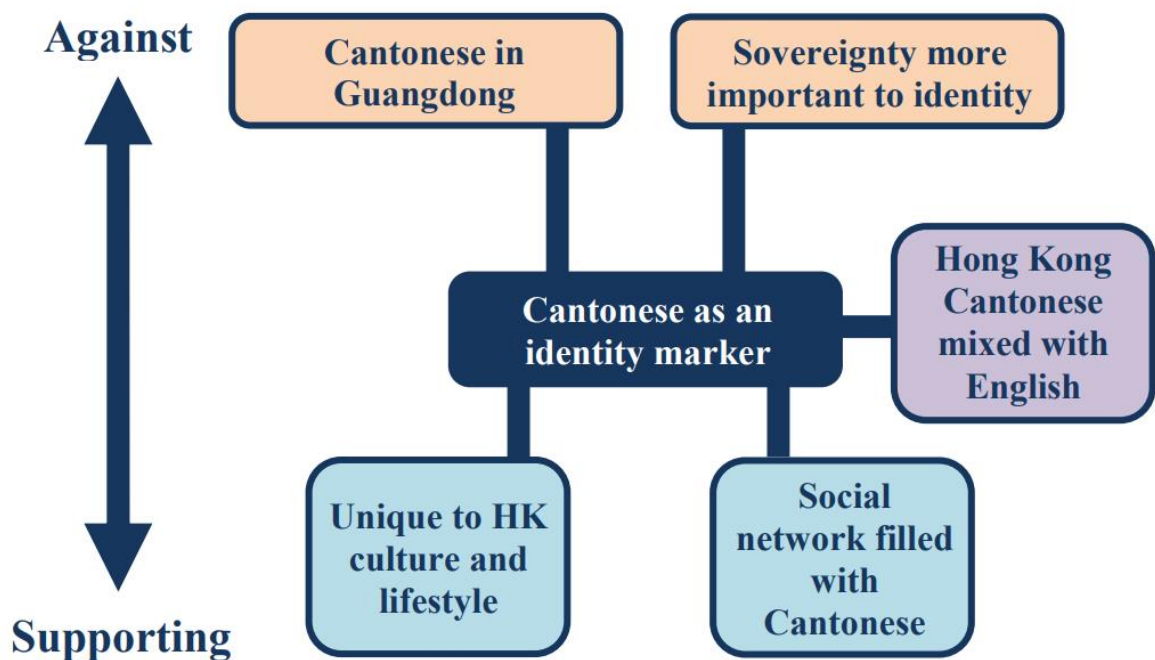


Figure 11: Perceptions of Cantonese as an identity marker

Participants A, B, C, and F all self-identify as Hong Kongers. Considering Cantonese is the main means of communication, or the dominating language in Hong Kong, it can be deduced that they view Cantonese as an identity marker of the “in-group” Hong

Konger, especially in terms of culture, and therefore rate Cantonese as being important to Hong Kong identity and culture. Cantonese can thus be seen as an identity marker for those who claim to be Hong Kongers. They directly mention that Cantonese is very important to their identity as Hong Kongers, mostly because Hong Kong is mainly a Cantonese environment. Among them, participants B and C say that they feel closer to Guangdong where Cantonese is spoken. During the interviews, they all, to different extents, emphasises that the culture in Hong Kong is unique and different to those in mainland, hence seeing Hong Konger as a unique identity. For instance, Participant F mention that he does not define his perceived identity as a Hong Konger from the passport, but through the unique culture, including language, and lifestyle of Hong Kong:

because eh, this...eh.. is my language, and then the language gives me the sense of belonging to the culture, and the uniqueness. So ehm.. this makes me feel like I am a Hong Konger. (Right, because of the culture..) Yes, yes, and not eh.. and not from the perspective of the law, because on the passport, we are Chinese eh.. eh.. I am eh.. not looking at this from this angle. (Participant F, 66-70)

Using Social Identity Theory, it can be interpreted that participant D's perceived social identity as a Chinese and see Cantonese not just related to Hong Kong but also Guangdong in mainland China. Therefore, she would not see Cantonese as important culturally and in terms of a Hong Kong identity. Participant E, on the other hand, puts sovereignty as his identity marker, and does not see language as an important identity marker.

Therefore, the research finds that Cantonese is perceived to be of importance to Hong Kong identity and culture to a high extent to those who self-identified as Hong Kongers. It is firstly because of the fact that Hong Kong is under a Cantonese environment, and that as Participant C mentioned, Hong Kong culture, such as music, and films, at least in the recent era, has been "inseparable" from Cantonese. It can be said that people who self-identify as Hong Kongers perceive Cantonese as part of their identity as Hong Kongers. They look at their identity from a more cultural perspective, rather than their identity on their passport, as Participant F pointed out.

Those whose self-identification is related to China, while recognising the role Cantonese plays in Hong Kong culture, see Cantonese less of importance to their identity, such as Participants D and E in the interview. Instead, they tend to focus more on the handover, which resulted in Hong Kong being under Chinese administration, hence embracing a self-identification in relation to China, and seeing Cantonese less of a marker of their identity. Therefore, as found in the study, Cantonese is perceived to be of high importance to Hong Kong identity to some, especially those who self-identified as Hong Kongers, and less importance to those who self-identified in relation to Chinese.

7.3 Research Question 2

Research question two asks: *Do (and if so, how) factors of language use, language proficiency and language attitude are related to identity construction in Hong Kong?*

This section is divided three subsections, which examine language use, language proficiency and language attitude in turn.

7.3.1 Language Use

The quantitative data suggests that Cantonese and traditional characters are the most used, followed by spoken and written English, and lastly Mandarin and simplified characters.

Languages	Mean (out of 10)
Cantonese and traditional characters	8.10
Spoken and written English	6.21
Mandarin and simplified characters	2.51

Table 41: Language use reported from the questionnaire

A significant, moderate correlation between *identity* and the *Mandarin and simplified character use* was found in the in the questionnaire, $r(111) = .335, p = .000$. The correlation coefficient suggests that the more frequently simplified Chinese characters were used, the stronger the Chinese identity. However, what is unclear is whether the use of Mandarin contributed to a stronger Chinese identity, or the other way around.

The interview data gave more insight to this question that was unanswered by the Spearman's correlation test.

The questionnaire results show that Mandarin and simplified characters are the least commonly used. Following up, the interview data shows that Mandarin is mostly only used when work requires such as the case of Participant E, or when there is a need to communicate with Mandarin speakers, such as Participant B when she was young. People who admire Mandarin on its own, such as Participant D, may also try to get more opportunities to use Mandarin.

Turning to the qualitative data, Cantonese is the main means of communication in social network for most people, as mentioned by participants. This does not differ between people who self-identified as Hong Kongers and those who identified in relation to China. For instance, Participant C, who self-identified as a Hong Kong says the following:

Right, like, like eh.. to put it simpler, like my friends, or eh.. relatives, in a social network like this, we all use Cantonese. Then so, in this situation, to me, my social identity is very important, and even for me as an individual, when I grew up, I had always been receiving local education in Hong Kong, and then if I received local education in Hong Kong, we mainly used Cantonese to communicate. Because of this, both my social network and my background is filled with Cantonese, and that is why I think Cantonese is very important to both my individual and social identity. (Participant C, 118-124)

Also, Participant E, who self-identified as a Chinese Hong Kong citizen said, also agrees that Hong Kong is a place where Cantonese is mostly used:

Because we live in Hong Kong, and majority of people here speak Cantonese. (2.3) Eh.. from I was born, until I went to secondary school and to the society, there is always a need to mainly use Cantonese to communicate. That is why, Cantonese is a part of life for us as a person in Hong Kong. (2.1) Right, that is why, Cantonese is very important to Hong Kong people. (Participant E, 38-42)

English, both written and spoken, is often taught as a second language in school for the purpose of work, and hence, English, under normal circumstances, is only used at work. However, because of the use of English at work, Participant C mentions that the English used at work contributes to his code-switch between English and Cantonese:

at work, we used English mainly, then maybe traditional Chinese characters, especially in my written language environment, er..., we use a bit less traditional Chinese characters. Or, we can say the use of traditional Chinese characters is more of an assist, and it is not the main written language. So I think under this circumstance, it is like my habit, like er.. when you are at work, you spend most of your time thinking in English, then ar.. it is hard not to have English vocabularies entering your life, then sometimes...er.. sometimes er... like when I lack time to response and I cannot think of a Chinese word, then I would use English words instead. (Participant C, 38-45)

This use of English at work was found in the situations of all participants, and the above claim made by Participant C can be seen as one contributing factor to the presence of code-switch between Cantonese and English in Hong Kong.

Mandarin, in the generation of the qualifying participants of the questionnaire and the interview, is taught in school, but to a limited extent compared with English. Mandarin is therefore, only used if it is related to work; if the person is in a social network involving Mandarin speaker; or if the person has an interest in Mandarin culture, such as the case of Participant B:

I... er... I have a lot of relatives in mainland China, so when I was still in secondary or primary school, when it came to for example Chinese New Year, or some special occasions, we would go to mainland China. So there were more opportunities for me to speak Mandarin. Also, sometimes my family members would speak in Mandarin when they called my other relatives. So I listen to it quite much. Sometimes I like watching Taiwanese dramas. (Participant B, 114-119)

Moreover, in the semi-structured interviews, five of the six participants agree that the existence of Mandarin will lead to the decreasing use of Cantonese, causing the

potential loss of the language to different extents. Participant F believes that Cantonese will be “marginalised in the next or two generations” because of Mandarin, and participant A mentions that Mandarin “depreciates the position of Cantonese as a tool in Hong Kong”, but they are hesitant about whether Mandarin will fully replace Cantonese. The question about whether and how Mandarin is perceived to be a threat to Cantonese will be discussed in the following subsection.

Among the six participants in the interview, all but Participant D and E self-identify themselves as Hong Kongers. Participant D self-identifies herself as Chinese, and scores the highest in the use of Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters, 5.50 out of ten. On the practical use, she has to use Mandarin and simplified characters at work because her institution has a lot of communication with the organisations in mainland China. On the affective side, she likes the language of Mandarin and would like to have more opportunities to practise Mandarin when possible. Participant E, who self-identifies himself as Chinese Hong Kong citizen, scores 3 out of ten in the use of Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters, which is the second highest among the six interview participants. He claims that he needed to use Mandarin and simplified characters at work a lot in the past, it is that he has retired at the time of the interview, so Mandarin and simplified characters are rarely used.

Using Social Identity Theory to explain, in the case of participant D, it is possible to deduce that she has identified herself as a member of the social group of being Chinese, and adopted Mandarin use as a prototype, which is why she would practise her Mandarin when possible, such as watching TV programmes in mainland China and listen to the original voice in Mandarin when watching TV shows made in mainland China. For Participant E, we can compare his case with Participant B, who self-identifies herself as a Hong Konger.

	Participant B	Participant E
Self-identification	Hong Konger	Chinese Hong Kong citizen
Use of Mandarin/ Simplified characters (out of 10)	2.00	3.00
Conditions of the use of Mandarin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At work when necessary • Taiwanese drama • Relatives who speak Mandarin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used Mandarin at work when younger • Not used after retiring

Table 42: Comparison of Participant B and Participant E

Participant B claims that she uses Mandarin at work only, and scores 2 out of ten in the use of Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters; while Participant E who claims that he does not need to use Mandarin and simplified characters after he retired, scored 3 in the language use, which is higher than that of Participant B, and 69.9% of all the participants who completed the questionnaire ($M= 2.51$). Self-categorisation theory claims the existence of the depersonalisation process during which one adopts the norms, beliefs and behaviours of the ingroup (Turner, 1987: 50). The theory can be used to explain the finding above can explain the existence of the correlation between self-identification and the use of Mandarin and simplified characters: those who self-identified as Hong Kongers would perceive the use of Mandarin and simplified characters as a behaviour which belongs to the out-group, and therefore deny the use of Mandarin and simplified characters and only use it when necessary such as for work reasons, to embrace their social identity as Hong Kongers and to maintain the maximum difference and self-esteem being in the in-group. Participant D and E, whose self-identifications are in relation to Chinese, view the use of Mandarin and simplified characters as an in-group behaviour, and therefore would sometimes actively use Mandarin, such as the case of Participant D who would like to use Mandarin more often.

Linguistic Behaviour Group Norms

HK Group	Common Norms	Chinese Group
Use Mandarin only when needed (passive)	Use of Cantonese Use of English	Actively use Mandarin

Figure 12: Linguistic Behaviour Group Norms by HK Group and Chinese Group

However, since Hong Kong is still a place where Cantonese and traditional characters are far more dominant than the other language, the use of Mandarin and simplified characters is limited, even to those who self-identified as Chinese such as Participant D who scores 5 out of ten. 99.1% of the participants score between 0 to 6.50. Therefore, the correlation between self-identification and the use of Mandarin and simplified characters is moderate, but not strong. Therefore, the relationship between language use and the perceived identity is weak. The use of language, as found in the study, depends more on practicality than self-identification even there is a correlation between self-identification and the use of Mandarin and simplified characters.

7.3.2 Language Proficiency

The following table shows the language proficiency from the highest to the lowest as found from the online questionnaire.

Language(s)	Proficiency (mean) out of 10
Cantonese and traditional characters	9.34
Spoken and written English	6.44
Mandarin and simplified characters	4.41

Table 43: Language proficiency from the questionnaire

The only significant correlation between self-identification and language proficiency was found in relation to identity and proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters, $r(111) = .245, p = 0.009$.

English language education, as described in Chapter 2, has a long history in Hong Kong, and along with Cantonese, has been a medium of education for most students. Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters, relatively, received the least amount of time and resources in the education syllabus. It was not until 11 years after the handover, in 2008, that the Hong Kong Standing Committee on Language Education and Research launched the scheme to use Mandarin to teach Chinese in Hong Kong. Simplified characters are not taught in schools, and can only be acquired outside the education syllabus. The survey data show the participants are the most proficient in Cantonese and traditional characters, followed by spoken and written English, and lastly Mandarin and simplified characters, as shown in the table 25.

The qualitative data can explain the pattern of language proficiency as found in the survey. Participant C describes the linguistic situation in Hong Kong at the time when he grew up, which explained why Cantonese was familiar to most Hong Kong people:

I believe that actually the Hong Kong government and the non-governmental organisations have actually devoted resources, actually enough resources, to make sure Cantonese is still popular. Like for example, the local education in Hong Kong, basically, if you receive education in Hong Kong, then you uh.. can expect that, unless you attend some international schools, but if they are like me who attended local schools, then they would have used Cantonese to teach Chinese. (Participant C, 167-172)

Participant D mentions, parents normally encourage their children to be proficient in English but not Mandarin. As a result, as participant E says, the proficiency in spoken and written English of Hong Kong people is not too low:

we eh.. grew up in Hong Kong, and from the time when we were born we have been speaking in eh.. Cantonese. So our proficiency in Cantonese is supposed to be high already. Also because Hong Kong was a British colony, from the time when we received education until secondary school or university, English is

commonly used. (1.8) So, whatever, our English proficiency is at least average. (Participant D, 49-54)

Therefore, the proficiency in Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters of Hong Kong people are relatively weak when compared with Cantonese and traditional characters, and spoken and written English.

A significant correlation between *identity* and *Mandarin and simplified Chinese proficiency* was found in the questionnaire, $r(111) = .245$, $p = 0.009$. Despite the aim to train students to be trilingual and biliterate, the self-reported proficiency in Mandarin and simplified Chinese is the lowest compared with Cantonese and traditional characters, and spoken and written English.

First of all, simplified Chinese is not the part of the “trilingual and biliterate” plan and therefore is not in the education syllabus. Therefore, proficiency in simplified Chinese is expected to be lower compared with any other components in the “trilingual and biliterate” plan, and hence lowering the score of the composite variable of *Mandarin and simplified Chinese proficiency*. Mandarin, apart from being a subject in the syllabus, as Participant B mentions, takes up a lot less portion of the education system compared with English. It was not until 2008 that the scheme to use Mandarin to teach Chinese was proposed in Hong Kong and the use of Mandarin to teach Chinese is currently on a voluntary basis. Therefore, the participants in the research, who had to be 18 years old or above at the time of the research, would not have had the opportunities to learn much Mandarin in schools. Furthermore, as shown in the research from Gao et al. (2015), while Chinese teachers may be proud of Mandarin as an international language, they appear to be hesitant to decide whether they would like to adopt Mandarin as the medium of instruction in Chinese classes. Proficiency in Mandarin, hence, would have to be acquired outside schools, such as Participant B who has relatives in mainland China and likes watching Taiwanese dramas:

I have a lot of relatives in mainland China, so when I was still in secondary or primary school, when it came to for example Chinese New Year, or some special occasions, we would go to mainland China. So there were more opportunities for me to speak Mandarin. Also, sometimes my family members would speak in Mandarin when they called my other relatives. So I listen to it quite much. Sometimes I like watching Taiwanese dramas. But then, previously, er., for

education, I rarely watched English dramas, or there is no one around me who would speak English, so for spoken language, my Mandarin is better than English.
(Participant B, 114-121)

Participants D and E, as mentioned above, are the only interview participants who relate their identity with Chinese. Participant D, who self-identifies as Chinese, scores the highest, 8 out of 10, in the self-reported proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters. Although she mentions that she regularly uses Mandarin and simplified characters at work and that she would like to improve her Mandarin, she does not talk about how she acquired why her proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters is high as she answers in the interview:

I am now in Hong Kong, perhaps we would see eh.. people from mainland China, or tourists. Then personally, I would eh.. like eh.. speak a bit of Mandarin, because like if we go to visit Shenzhen, or travel in mainland China, then eh.. we would speak. So I hope that eh.. I would like to practise my Mandarin a little bit.
(Participant D, 51-55)

However, she stresses that Mandarin should be promoted, now that the communication between Hong Kong and mainland is more frequent than before, so proficiency in Mandarin is of high importance. In terms of proficiency, she mentions that “we are Chinese, then we know Chinese”, and “our proficiency in Chinese must be higher”. In this case, it can be interpreted that her social identity as Chinese adopted high proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters as a norm to the group, both practically and affectively, in order to enhance a high self-esteem in the group, and therefore feels the need to report a high proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters, even without stressing how she acquired the proficiency.

Similar claims can be made to explain the high self-reported proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters of Participant E, who claims the identity of Chinese Hong Kong citizen and mentions that he had to learn Mandarin well to communicate at work. He stresses the need to promote Mandarin in Hong Kong because it is the post-handover period and Mandarin is the national language that will take over Cantonese in the future:

I would, I would choose to promote Mandarin. Because, we eh.. grew up in Hong Kong, and from the time when we were born we have been speaking in eh.. Cantonese. So our proficiency in Cantonese is supposed to be high already. Also because Hong Kong was a British colony, from the time when we received education until secondary school or university, English is commonly used. (1.8) So, whatever, our English proficiency is at least average. It is only that since the handover, we had to eh.. face the country, the problem of Mandarin. Because, after we got handed back to China, we should theoretically speak Mandarin, as it is the national language. It is similar to, eh.. British people, speak London, English. So, from what I say, I think we should put more force into promote Mandarin. (Participant E, 49-58)

It could be interpreted that by calling Mandarin the national language, he has adopted the use and proficiency in Mandarin as a prototype of his identity as a Chinese Hong Kong citizen, and therefore reports a high proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters, apart from the actual perceived proficiency, to make himself fit in to the social group.

As opposed to Participants D and E, Participant A identifies himself as a Hong Konger, and scored the lower 1 out of 10 in the proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters. In Hong Kong, although English education is much more popular, Mandarin education is also part of the syllabus. As Participant D mentions, the similarity of Cantonese and Mandarin makes Hong Kong people easier to understand Mandarin. Therefore, it is unlikely for a Hong Kong citizen to be completely incompetent in Mandarin. Furthermore, Participant A claims that he used Mandarin to communicate with his course-mates from mainland China: "I had some classmates when I was studying, basically the communication was not smooth, so it was already difficult, like it was really difficult to communicate and to understand." Therefore, it is unlikely that he is as incompetent in Mandarin as he showed in the questionnaire, but it shows the communicative barrier which may be one of the reasons that led him to differentiate himself from a Chinese identity. It could be the case that he sees proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters as a contrasting prototype to his identity as a Hong Konger and a group norm of his perceived out-group, Chinese, as he emphasises the difference in lifestyle and culture of Mandarin and Cantonese, and that Mandarin is tied with the communist regime, and hence filled 1 out of 10 in the proficiency. This is

similar to the finding of the study by Bacon-shone (2015) that participants tended to under-report their oral Mandarin proficiency. This could potentially be applied to some other participants of the questionnaire who filled a low proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters, thus contributing the correlation of identity and proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters. Attitudes towards Mandarin proficiency are shown in figure 13.

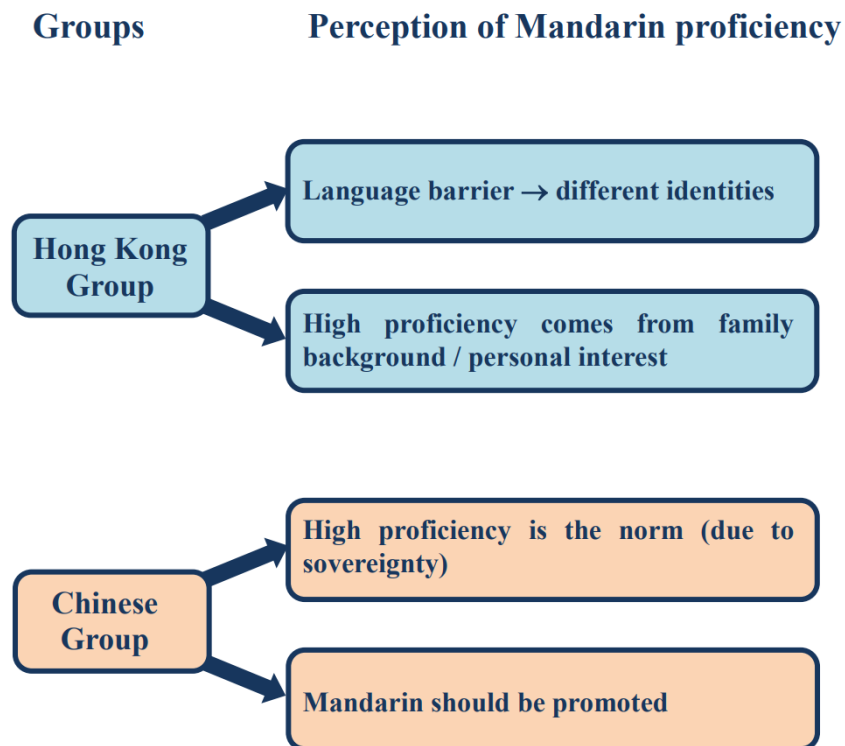


Figure 13: Perception of Mandarin Proficiency

However, as Participant C mentions in the interview, Cantonese had been the language of education in the era he grew up, and Mandarin was not the main means of education until the recent decade:

Just like what I said before, like using Chinese to teach eh.. biology, physics, or history, then it isn't a resource deliberately devoted, but it is just, like our understanding of the policy of the language of teaching, like using Cantonese, then the role of Cantonese in education would not fade. (Participant C, 177-180)

7.3.3 Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are measured in the verbal-guise test and the semi-structured interviews. Quantitative data was measured in the matched-guise test. In terms of English accents, Hong Kong accented English was seen as the most friendly, helpful and kind; while speakers of Mandarin accented English was perceived to be more successful, competent, considerate and reliable. The perception towards speakers of Mandarin accented English and Mandarin were found to be similar, as speakers of Mandarin were perceived to be the most intelligent, sincere and hard-working, compared with the perception of the speakers of Cantonese. The reason of which can be explained by what participant B says in the semi-structured interview:

I, I don't know if it comes from education, that, in mainland, it has always been so poor, ehm.. very tough, everyone. Then so, maybe they only have one to two thousands dollars a month for wages. Then so, those who can study abroad, must be very wealthy. It means that, a normal family cannot easily afford it. It may be better in Hong Kong, but it is very difficult in mainland. Then so for those who can go er.. overseas, or you er.. er.. study English, then I think they are well educated, and also wealthy, and they are very hard-working, and competitive. Also, for the students from mainland that I know, from university, and from my workplace, er... the colleagues and students from mainland, are very hard-working. That is why I think their competitiveness is high. (Participant B, 256-264)

Data from the semi-structured interview showed that language attitudes among participants were not limited to attitudes towards languages as shown in the above quote, but included other language-related objects, such as the speakers of the language, the nation, and political regimes. Examples include participant A's view that "Mandarin culture is tied with the mainland communist regime", while he does not appear to have a specific attitude towards the language itself as he says "I don't have special opinion on Mandarin". Participant B describes a positive attitude towards Cantonese as a language that has a written form as well as a spoken form which is lexically

syntactically distinct from Mandarin. She describes a situation where “the words we use and the words they would become similar and the unique feature of Hong Kong will be lost” and she thinks this situation would “contaminate” the Chinese used in Hong Kong:

Then, Chinese would become worse, it would become the Chinese they use in mainland China. So I think it would affect the Hong Kong culture, as the words we use and the words they use would become similar and the unique feature of Hong Kong will be lost (Participant B, 163-166)

From the above quote, the use of “we” and “they” implies the idea that the Chinese used in Hong Kong and the Chinese used in mainland China are perceived to be different. Participant B also evaluates people who try to speak Cantonese in Hong Kong, no matter how their proficiency is, as trying to get into the society, as she says:

Yes, right. For example... if... he..er...mainland, then he speak Cantonese. However his pronunciations aren't proper (right), then, I would feel that he... tries hard to get into the society. Like I, when working, I would rather him... to say some improper Cantonese, but speak more, than speaking Mandarin all the way, because you are in Hong Kong. Then I would say that he is willing to get used to us. (Participant B, 317-321)

Participant F, similarly, identifies Mandarin as a “national policy” also associates Mandarin with the current “trend of education in Hong Kong”. Participant D and E, whose self-identifications are related to Chinese, appear to associate Cantonese only with its practical use in Hong Kong, as they link Mandarin to the future of Hong Kong. Participant D even perceives Mandarin and Cantonese to be the same as she mentioned “Cantonese and Mandarin, basically, we can say they are the same language”. She, however, saw Mandarin in Hong Kong accent negatively as she identified it as “a serious problem”, and therefore “Mandarin should be promoted” and there is “no need to promote Cantonese” because “everyone speaks Cantonese” in Hong Kong. This view is also shared by participant E.

Both participants D and E agree that Mandarin should be the language being promoted

in Hong Kong, and none of the other participants who self-identify as Hong Kongers share the view. Participants' attitudes toward Mandarin are summarised and illustrated in figure 14.

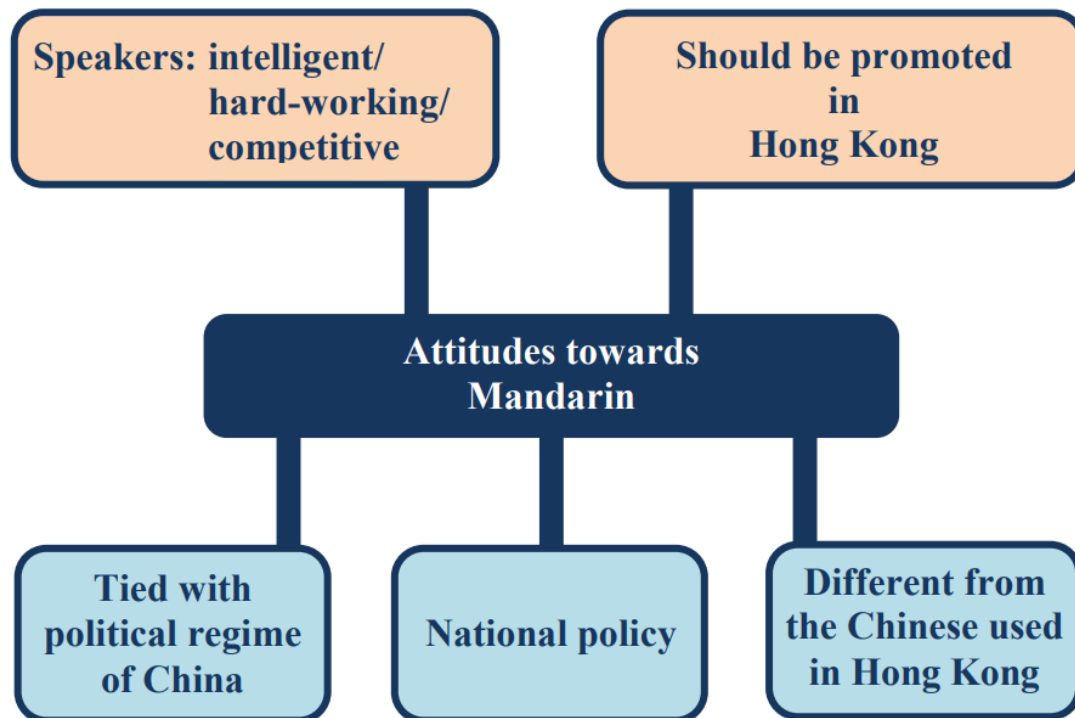


Figure 14: Attitudes towards Mandarin

Participant E is also concerned about the purity of language in terms of accent, as he says:

I agree. I agree eh.. British English is better. This is similar to the Mandarin, the Mandarin of Chang'an Avenue in Beijing is better. Also, it is the same, British English, the London accent is better. So I don't agree with Hong Kong English, I don't think it is good. (Participant E, 109-112)

The quote above also echoes with participant D's idea that Hong Kong Mandarin is a serious problem as it does not sound right.

We see that those who self-identified as Hong Kongers appear to view Mandarin as a language that belongs to the out-group, in relation to culture, lifestyle and even

politics, thus stressing the importance of Cantonese to Hong Kong in aspects such as culture. Participants who self-identify themselves in relation to China have already adopted Mandarin as an in-group feature, which is why they positively associate Mandarin with Hong Kong and support the idea that Mandarin should be promoted in Hong Kong.

Groups	In-group languages (perceived)
Hong Konger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cantonese • English
Chinese	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cantonese • English • Mandarin

Table 44: Perceived in-group languages

Therefore, there appears to be a link between language attitude and the perceived national identity in Hong Kong, specifically in terms of Cantonese and Mandarin. Using Social Identity Theory to explain it, it can then be seen as one's social identity, Hong Konger or Chinese, affects their attitudes towards to the two languages.

7.4 Research Question 3

Research question three asks: *Is Mandarin perceived as a threat to Hong Kong culture?*

The semi-structured interview is used as the main research instrument to answer this research question. Most the participants of the interview share the belief that Mandarin will slowly take over the position of Cantonese in Hong Kong. Some sample extracts are presented in the following table:

Participant	Quote
A	Right, so when you learn Chinese you have to learn Mandarin, and Cantonese becomes not popular. I feel a bit like this.
B	I think eh.. few languages can coexist, but then, when it comes to threat, there is a change that is like what I said before, it slowly erodes, then it makes what we have, or the words we used to use disappear, then this threat exists. But then if everything eh... peacefully, like people use the language they use, and it wouldn't be because of one language coming, then it causes you to lose..eh.. a language, then I think, it isn't a threat. But then it does not look like this now. So it is a threat.
C	the promotion of Cantonese, ah, the promotion of Mandarin, would it cause a threat to uh.. the use of Cantonese. This is the question to my understanding. (Right) then, I would think, this would.
D	n/a
E	the threat is a must, of course, because the most important is that eh.. we reunited with China, and the national language in China is Mandarin. Right? It is like British people, they speak English, the same. Back in the days, during the colonial period, Hong Kongers of course spoke English. But then now, we are under China, theoretically, we should speak Mandarin as it is the national language. Hong Kong is merely a place in China. Then, (2.1) people in Hong Kong would mainly use Mandarin in the future, and it is absolutely normal. Therefore, the threat to Cantonese, eh.. yes it exists, because Cantonese would become a vernacular.
F	Originally I wouldn't think a language, would be a threat, just like when you are abroad, you, you know English or you know French, there is no contradiction. But then in the situation in Hong Kong, just like what I said, because one language is a national policy. When one language is a national policy, then I would think it would make Cantonese eh..ehm.. it's role eh.. maybe not in our generation, but maybe eh.. it will be marginalised in the next one or two generations, or we may not even use it, right.

Table 45: Extracts regarding perceived threat of Mandarin

The group who self-identify as Hong Kongers, four out of six participants, appear to brand it as a threat; while the others see the phenomenon from a more neutral angle. This is similar to the proportion of respondents (55%) who perceived Cantonese as being under threat from Mandarin found in Hanson Edwards' (2021) research. Also, similar to the finding from Hanson Edwards' (2021) study, no participants in the current research see English as a threat to Cantonese.

For the Hong Konger group, Participants A and B provide examples from newspapers and magazines of the new terms that came into Hong Kong Cantonese, which, in their opinion, change the Cantonese Hong Kongers are used to (see Appendix C). Participant B describes her worry about the new terms would make a negative impact of Cantonese used in Hong Kong:

there are so many newspapers and magazines starting to have more words which aren't used in Hong Kong. Then, I, I don't know if you notice, but people are complaining about it. Sometimes two words can already portray the meaning very well, but they sometimes add some unrelated words at the end of it, so that is, for example, er.. 'one-time', er.. or what...er... I cannot think of it, there are just so many similar terms. Then it makes er.. Cantonese doesn't seem to be like this. (Participant B, 157-163)

Participant B sees the current situation in Hong Kong makes Mandarin “slowly erodes” Cantonese, which she describes as “broad and profound”. In this regard, Participant B and Participant F believe that languages should be able to co-exist peacefully, however, this is not the case for Cantonese and Mandarin. Participant B believes that people do not normally learn to write Cantonese, and there is a lack of preservation and promotion of Cantonese, thus leading to the decline of Cantonese in Hong Kong. Participant F shares a similar idea, as he says the following to brand Mandarin as a national policy:

Originally I wouldn't think a language, would be a threat, just like when you are abroad, you, you know English or you know French, there is no contradiction. But then in the situation in Hong Kong, just like what I said, because one language is a national policy. When one language is a national policy, then I would think it would make Cantonese eh..ehm.. it's role eh.. maybe not in our generation, but maybe eh.. it will be marginalised in the next one or two generations, or we may not even use it, right. (Participant F, 108-113)

In terms of the future of Cantonese, Participant A and Participant C both stress that the future generation will use more Mandarin. Participant A states that the new generation who moved from mainland China to Hong Kong value Mandarin more, and that there is

a lack of resources to promote Cantonese, which potentially causes Cantonese to disappear:

However, the new generation who may come from mainland, and young, perhaps they think Hong Kongers should speak more Mandarin than Cantonese, then maybe to them it does not affect too much. Like perhaps now we feel Cantonese, like starting to have fewer speaker or because of the lack of resources to protect, then it becomes more (0.7) like the set, like it becomes weaker, so it would affect me or the others (Participant A, 54-58)

Participant C, following a similar idea, also says that the economic value of Cantonese is low, and the Chinese education abroad, such as the programmes provided by the Confucius Institute, are mainly in Mandarin, and therefore Cantonese is less popular for people to learn. He also stresses that because of the above, Mandarin use will become the trend in Hong Kong:

I believe one thing, perhaps, if we look at eh.., the Confucius Institute funded by the government, and they...eh... organise some cultural programmes, or language programmes, then they use Mandarin mainly, like this is official. [...] Then, Hong Kong, up to now, still operates an open economy, that is basically eh.. if our business is fine, then we are fine. In this situation, I would say Hong Kong, it ah... it is affected more by the areas surrounding it than by the decisions that it makes. So, in the situation where Mandarin is the trend, the economic value of Cantonese is low. (Participant C, 373-386)

Participant D and E, who self-identify as Chinese and a Chinese Hong Kong citizen respectively, take a different angle when looking into the issue. They both agree that there is no need to preserve Cantonese, as most of the population in Hong Kong can already speak Cantonese, and that Mandarin should be promoted. While Participant D does not get into the topic of the threat of Mandarin, Participant E recognises the threat of Mandarin to Cantonese. He claims that it was reasonable for Mandarin to become the dominant language in Hong Kong, as Hong Kong got handed over back to China, and Hong Kong is merely a Chinese city:

I think eh.. the threat is a must, of course, because the most important is that eh.. we reunited with China, and the national language in China is Mandarin. Right? It is like British people, they speak English, the same. Back in the days, during the colonial period, Hong Kongers of course spoke English. But then now, we are under China, theoretically, we should speak Mandarin as it is the national language. Hong Kong is merely a place in China. Then, people in Hong Kong would mainly use Mandarin in the future, and it is absolutely normal. Therefore, the threat to Cantonese, eh.. yes it exists, because Cantonese would become a vernacular. (Participant E, 88-95)

From the above, we can deduce that the Hong Konger group perceive the growing trend of Mandarin in Hong Kong negatively as they brand it as a threat to Cantonese as a language, or even more, their social identity as a Hong Kongers. Participants A and B worry about Cantonese being used less, and re-engineered due to the impact from Mandarin in Hong Kong:

I think that there are so many newspapers and magazines starting to have more words which aren't used in Hong Kong. Then, I, I don't know if you notice, but people are complaining about it. Sometimes two words can already portray the meaning very well, but they sometimes add some unrelated words at the end of it, so that is, for example, er.. 'one-time', er.. or what...er... I cannot think of it, there are just so many similar terms. Then it makes er.. Cantonese doesn't seem to be like this. (Participant B, 157-163)

Participant C mentions about the decline in proficiency in Cantonese in the future generation:

I can also see it myself, that, the new generation.. the kids who attend international schools, where.. the language policy favour Mandarin, then the Cantonese proficiency in these kids are relatively weak. Even if you ask what language they are the most proficiency in for communication, then it would be English, followed by perhaps Mandarin or Cantonese. (Participant C, 229-233)

Participant F says that Cantonese may be “marginalised in the next one or two generations, or we may not even use it”. However, they perceive the “threats” in different ways. The following chart describes the “threats” perceived by the participants (blue refers to the perceived threats from the Hong Konger group; orange refers to the threat perceived by the Chinese group)

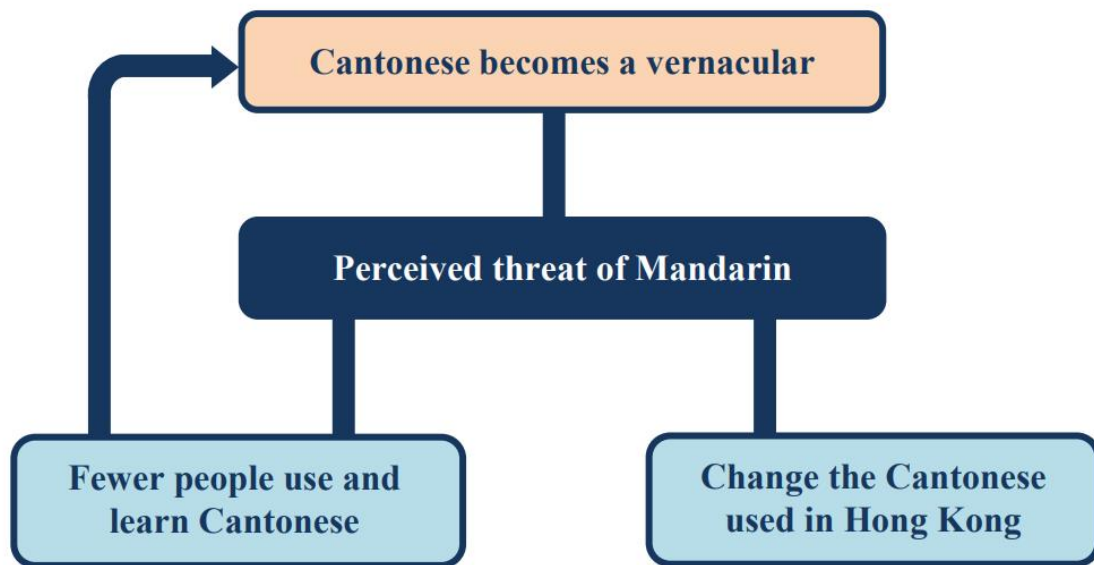


Figure 15: Perceived threat of Mandarin

While the “threats” of Mandarin are perceived by participants differently, they do not appear to see that Mandarin could lead to the death of Cantonese. Those who self-identify in relation to China, such as Participant D and E, also see the growth of use in Mandarin in Hong Kong as inevitable, but view it as a natural trend; while the Hong Konger groups appear to see perceive the “threat” negatively.

The phenomenon can be illuminated using Social Identity Theory. The Hong Konger group already adopted the language of Cantonese as a prototype of their social identity as Hong Kongers, and view Mandarin as a prototype of a relevant out-group which could be damaging to Cantonese which was an integral part of their social identity. Most participants such as participant B, C, and F believe that languages can co-exist, however, the case of Cantonese in Hong Kong is different because of the language-related objects such as the language and national policy. Hence, they see Mandarin as a rival and therefore embrace a negative attitudes towards the growing

trend of Mandarin in Hong Kong. Those who self-identify in relation to China, such as Participant D and E, already adopted Mandarin as a norm of the group, as a language they should use and proficient in. Therefore, they do not view Mandarin as a negative threat to any component of their social identity, and welcome the promotion of Mandarin to become the main language used in Hong Kong. The following chart shows the items that the Hong Konger group is afraid to lose and change due to the presence of Mandarin and its related objects.

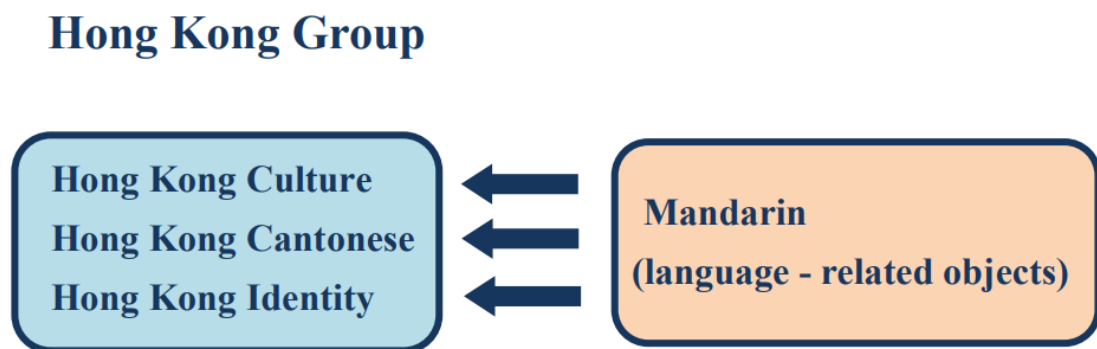


Figure 16: Perceived threat of Mandarin by the Hong Kong group

As mentioned above, those who self-identify as Hong Kongers have the tendency to view Mandarin as a threat to Hong Kong Cantonese and culture, which can wipe out the uniqueness of Hong Kong. Further with this assertion, a significant correlation was found between *identity* and *perceived closeness with China*, $r(111) = .386$, $p=0.000$. This appears to be an elaboration of how those who self-identify as Hong Kongers viewed Mandarin. In this case, it seemed that those who self-identify as Hong Kongers had the tendency to rate lower in terms of their closeness with China. According to the finding in the interviews, the perceived uniqueness of Hong Kong culture seemed to be the reason. For example, Participant F, who self-identify as a Hong Konger, rates 1 out of 10 in his perceived closeness with China. When asked about the reason, he says it is not related to any political consideration, but he simply wants to emphasise the sense of belonging to the culture, to the lifestyle, and to the place. Similarly, Participant C, who gives the rating of 3, says that the geographical location, culture, and the language between Hong Kong and China are different, which was why he personally feels less

close to China. However, he adds that if the question was about regions close to Hong Kong, then the rating would be higher.

To conclude, Mandarin, as a language on its own, was not directly perceived to be a threat to Cantonese in Hong Kong, and Hong Kong culture. However, it was the perceived associations with Mandarin, such as the communist-party, then national policy, and the education which caused the perceived threat of Mandarin to Cantonese. From this, it is possible to say that the crisis in languages, mainly Cantonese and Mandarin, in Hong Kong, is merely one of the components contributing the perceived identity crisis, especially to those who self-identify as Hong Kongers. The perceived uniqueness of culture and other language-related objects, including language, appeared to contribute to this identity crisis, causing those who self-identified as Hong Kongers to feel distant to China.

7.5 Conclusion

The chapter has responded to the three research questions in relation to the quantitative and qualitative data found from the three research instruments. The next and final chapter will provide a conclusion of the thesis, exploring the findings of the current research with reference to other empirical research, discussing the contributions and limitations of the research, and proposing possible directions for future research.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter firstly discusses the implications of the study's findings and presents the study's main contributions. It addresses the limitations of the study and explores some possible directions for future research.

8.2 Main Findings

This section discusses how the findings of the current study shed light on (i) our understanding of Cantonese and identity in Hong Kong, (ii) and Mandarin language use and attitudes towards Mandarin among Hong Kongers.

8.2.1 Cantonese and Identity

The current research finds that Cantonese is still perceived to be of high importance to a Hong Kong identity ($M= 9.60$). The results can be seen as being similar to the finding from Lai (2001, 2007), which suggest that Cantonese and English both contribute to Hong Kong identity, in confirming the role of Cantonese in a Hong Kong identity. This also aligns with one of the findings from Groves' (2010) study that it is perceived that a person cannot be a Hong Konger without speaking Cantonese, which corresponds to what participant A says, as he "would count foreigners who can speak Cantonese" as a Hong Kongers if they live in Hong Kong. The two main reasons for participants to support the idea of Cantonese being important to Hong Kong identity are that:

- Cantonese is unique to Hong Kong culture and lifestyle
- The social network in Hong Kong is filled with Cantonese

These claims are also in line with the findings of language use from the research conducted by Bacon-shone et al. (2015). Similarly, this echoes the finding of the research conducted by Tsao, Hardy, and Lingard (2021) on Hong Kong youth's attitudes towards Chinese identity after the two main protests recently in Hong Kong, the Umbrella Revolution in 2014 and the protest against extradition bill in 2019,

which showed that some participants embraced their Hong Kong identity due to the perceived difference in lifestyle and culture between Hong Kong and China. The current study is also able to find out that those who self-identify as Chinese, or in relation to Chinese, may not see Cantonese as a concrete identity marker, and they may put sovereignty above language when it comes to how they identify themselves.

From the finding of the current research, it can also be interpreted that language barrier contributes to one of the reasons why some Hong Kongers do not feel much of the sense of Chinese-ness. This can be seen from the case of Participant A who claims difficulties when communicating with his course-mates from mainland China; and also from Participant C's utterance "I just need to re-emphasise, there is a language barrier" when asked about whether Cantonese affected the sense of Chinese-ness perceived by Hong Kongers, implying the perceived incompatibility of the a Hong Kong identity and a Chinese identity. Therefore, the finding of this study can provide a supporting evidence to the research by Tsao, Hardy, and Lingard (2021), which found that there was a significant perceived difference in culture and lifestyle between Hong Kong and China.

In terms of identity, majority of the participants in the questionnaire self-identify themselves as Hong Kongers, with a single identity as opposed to a dual identity. This contradicts the finding of Kim and Ng's (2008) research on social identity in Hong Kong that majority of participants preferred a dual identity (e.g. Chinese Hong Konger). It can be due to the significant social changes in the last decade, which caused Hong Kong citizens to rethink their identity, given the nature of the perceived social identity, also the perceived national identity, is not fixed and can change according to social context.

8.2.2 Mandarin Language Use and Attitudes towards Mandarin

The finding of the pattern language use in the current study is consistent with the previous empirical work. First, most participants in the semi-structured interview mention that written English is commonly used at work, and this can be seen as supportive evidence for the conclusion of Evans and Greens' (2003) study that English is still frequently used at work. The finding of this research also echoes Evans and Green's (2003) finding that Cantonese is also used as the means of spoken

communication at workplace. While this current research does not specifically investigate the use of English across different fields of work, the qualitative data does show that the motivation to learn English is still strong in Hong Kong. For instance, as Participant D mentions, she saw “many parents asking their kids to learn English”. Therefore, it appears that English still maintains its prestigious status in Hong Kong.

Considering Mandarin and simplified characters are found to be the least spoken and written among participants, these findings, to a certain extent, echoes Ho’s (2008) study, which shows that the most common codes chosen by tertiary students in Hong Kong are Cantonese mixed with English, pure Cantonese, pure English and English mixed with Cantonese. Therefore, the claims made by Participant C and D that Hong Kong Cantonese is mixed with English are in line with the finding of Ho’s (2008) study. The case of Mandarin is, however, different with simplified characters, which are used mostly to shorten the time of writing. As for simplified characters, as claimed by Participant B and supported by the study by Hafiner et al. (2015), some people would choose to use written English as they find it easier to type English.

The current study also finds that Cantonese and English are the two most used languages, and the two languages that Hong Kongers are the most proficient in, and therefore can explain why Cantonese in Hong Kong was perceived to be mixed, with Cantonese and English, as shown in Groves’ (2021) research by some participants, and why Lai’s (2001) research concluded that a code-mix between Cantonese and English was a feature of Hong Kong discourse.

In terms of language attitudes, Hanson Edwards (2016) study found that majority (93%) of the participants of that research had American English features in their speech and that there was an increasing trend in terms of the preference to American English. While this current research does not directly measure the accents of the participants, none of the participants mentioned anything about American accent of English. It is more about British accent that participants mention about. For instance, Participant C expresses that he would associate British accent with the higher social class; while Participant E believe British accent was a better accent of English compared with a Hong Kong accent. Therefore, this study does not show the increasing trend of preference of American English, which is shown in the study by Hanson Edwards (2016).

For attitudes towards Mandarin, Fung and Chan’s (2017) study found that the increasing number of Chinese visitors in Hong Kong is related to the decrease in

cultural pride of Hong Kongers towards Mandarin. In the current research, while those who self-identify as Hong Kongers do not directly provide an answer to this, the Chinese group appeared to have a different view. Participant D can be used as an example, as she mentions she would like to practise Mandarin so that she would be able to communicate with people from mainland China, either when they come to visit Hong Kong or when she visits mainland China. Therefore, it is not always the case that Chinese visitors decreases the perceived pride of people living in Hong Kong towards Mandarin.

None of the participants in the interview claim that Cantonese is under threat because of English. This is similar to the findings from Hanson Edwards' (2021) research which suggested that Mandarin, and not English, was perceived by some as a threat to Cantonese. The claim is shared by Participant E, who also identifies Mandarin as a language to replace Cantonese in Hong Kong, causing Cantonese to become a "vernacular". He mentions that Mandarin is the national language, and therefore Mandarin should be used across the nation, including Hong Kong. Participant B, viewing Mandarin as a bigger threat to Cantonese in Hong Kong, also directly claims that Mandarin could "replace Cantonese" in Hong Kong, causing the "unique feature of Hong Kong" to be lost". Participant C, although not worrying about Cantonese being completely erased in Hong Kong, also believes that Cantonese will be used less in the future due to its low economic value. Therefore, the finding suggests that the use of Cantonese is perceived to be on a declining trend. Apart from that, it also shows that participants do not tend to think Mandarin will completely erase Cantonese in Hong Kong, but Mandarin exists as a threat, to some, to change or re-engineer the Cantonese used in Hong Kong, and to reduce the use of Cantonese in Hong Kong. However, Hanson Edward's (2021) research found that less than half of the participants agree that the political situation affected their attitudes towards Cantonese. However, most of the participants of the semi-structured in the current research, especially the Hong Konger group, associate Mandarin with the national policy and sovereignty, and therefore believe that Cantonese is under threat because of Mandarin, not because of Mandarin on its own as a language but because of the other language-related objects such as the national policy.

Attitudes towards Cantonese and Mandarin found in this study share similarities and differences from the finding of the research by Groves (2021). For similarities, two participants in the semi-structured interview in this current study mentioned that

Cantonese in Hong Kong is mixed with English, and this is in line with the finding in Groves' research that Cantonese in Hong Kong was not perceived to be completely pure and was "somewhat mixed" (ibid.: 543). Moreover, Groves' study found that most respondents believed that Mandarin would be used alongside Cantonese as a daily language, and this is similar to the qualitative data in the current research, as most participants appeared to feel the inevitable, increasing trend of Mandarin use in Hong Kong. Furthermore, Groves' study showed that majority of participants felt it was impossible to consider an individual a Hong Konger without being able to speak Cantonese. This is similar, to a certain extent, to the claim made by Participant A, who said that "I think an identity as a Hong Konger, if this is the case, like I would count foreigners who can speak Cantonese". The main difference between this current research and Groves' research is on the topic whether Cantonese should be taught. Groves' (2021) study found that most participants were against that written Cantonese should be standardised and taught. While this current study does not specifically focus on written Cantonese, most of the participants who self-identify as Hong Kongers express the need to preserve Cantonese, which is perceived to be unique to Hong Kong culture and lifestyle. This can also partly explain why it was found that Chinese teachers were hesitant about whether to adopt Mandarin as the medium of instruction in Chinese classes as found in the research by Gao et al. (2010).

8.3 Contributions of the Research

The main objective of this thesis has been to investigate the link between language and the sense of national identity in the context of Hong Kong. Therefore, the research contributes as an example of empirical work on three important language variables - proficiency, attitude, and use – and how they may impact on one's perceived national identity, such as the ones from Lai (2001, 2011). However, in June 2019, the anti-extradition bill protests broke out in Hong Kong, causing most people who lived in Hong Kong at the time to rethink to some extent their sense of identity. As can be seen from the news, a polarised situation was created, with the pro-Hong Kong group appearing to feel distant from the pro-China group in terms of their perceived identity. Since the current research project involved the sense of national identity, given the polarised political situation in Hong Kong at the time, it is difficult to assess whether the responses by the participants were based on their linguistic background, or simply

based on how they felt they *should* position themselves in light of their political stance. However, this complicated situation makes this present research different from previous empirical work as it is one of the very first studies that investigates the link between language and identity after the 2019 protest.

The finding of this current research, to a certain extent, point to “in-group favouritism” and “out-group discrimination”. The project is an example of how self-categorisation theory can be used to explain certain aspects of language attitudes, such as whether Mandarin was perceived to be a negative threat to Hong Kong. The findings show that the “threat” of Mandarin is interpreted differently by the participants. Although both groups agree that Mandarin can lead to an erosion of Cantonese, the group that identified themselves as Chinese and the group that identified themselves as Hong Kongers perceived the putative erosion differently. Participants who perceived Mainland China as an “in-group” did not see Mandarin as a threat. However, those who saw mainland China as an “out-group” saw Mandarin as a threat.

Since language is the means of communication in all aspects including education, education policy can be influenced by language attitudes (Christ, 1997). As mentioned above, language attitudes contain social markers and are relevant to not only the language itself but also other social settings such as the speakers and the other language-related behaviours. By examining the link between language, specifically language attitudes, and sense of national identity, institutions can refer to findings such as those in this study within their education and language education policies. Whilst recent decades have been a period of the integration between China and Hong Kong in the post-colonial setting, it has also been a period of tension. The sense of national identity is a part of this tension. This project may contribute as an example for future research on language and identity in other places where the context is similar to Hong Kong.

Future research on the links between language and identity in other language areas may adopt the mixed methods research design employed in this study. The methodological approach of the current research is not limited to the context of Hong Kong, and is applicable to multilingual cities or countries, especially the ones where the local language appears to be in decline in terms of its vitality. For instance, a similar approach could be adopted in research on the link between Scots and English, and the perception of identity in Scotland, where Scot is rarely used when compared with English, and to assess whether Scots is perceived to be an integral part of identity in

Scotland, or whether a combination of Scots and English, or even Scottish English, is perceived to be an identity marker in Scotland. This thesis also draws attention to the relevance of how an individual sense of identity fits a collective sense of belonging, and the role of language in both individual and group identity expression.

8.4 Limitations of the Research and Future Directions

One key limitation of the research is related to the period of time in which the project was conducted. The data collection period included the years of the Covid-19 pandemic, national lockdowns and severe restrictions on international travel. This meant that the original plan for data collection had to be reconceptualised and an online version launched. Then, following the break-out of the anti-extradition bill protest, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress passed down the Hong Kong national security law on 30th June, 2020, in an attempt to suppress the protest which had gone on for approximately a year. The law was perceived by some Hong Kong people as a breach to the freedom of speech as the definition of crime of secession was no longer limited to the acts by force or threat of force. It was perceived that "pure expression of politically dissenting opinion" can be punished (McLaughlin, 2021). The passing of the security law, to a certain extent, discouraged the participation of the research. In fact, a few people invited to participate in the research refused to do so because they worried about the consequences, whatever they may be, of participating in a research regarding the sense of national identity which has been perceived to be a sensitive topic since the law passed down. Participation of the questionnaire was relatively low, and it was even more difficult to recruit participants for the matched-guise test and the semi-structured interview, which involved an audio or video call. There are also limitations related to the project's research design itself. In attempting to ascertain language proficiency through self-report, it is clear that there will have been differences in what participants saw as proficient or not proficiency. This is a subjective matter and it remains to be seen whether the self-reported lack of competence in Mandarin, for example, would be as low as indicated if tested. Furthermore, the verbal-guise test, used as a means of triangulating data in this project, is an indirect method which nevertheless may still tap into stereotypes despite the best efforts of the researcher. Interviews on the topic of self and identity are notoriously difficult to

manage as all individuals will necessarily try to put their best foot forward, and so these data may not be a realistic account of their sense of identity. Finally, this is a cross-sectional study, conducted at one moment in time. Identity is a complex, multi-faceted and shifting phenomenon which may alter throughout the lifespan. This project could do no more than try to capture participants' attitudes and perceptions at the time of the study. A repeat project or longitudinal project would be valuable to address this research gap.

Another limitation of the research includes the languages choices made by the researcher. The online questionnaire was bilingual, provided in both traditional Chinese characters and in English; the verbal-guise test was conducted in Cantonese, with recordings in Cantonese, Mandarin and English; and the semi-structured interview was conducted in Cantonese. The omission of simplified Chinese characters in the questionnaire may have sent a message regarding a perceived lack of instrumental value for simplified characters for example.

While the current research is able to answer its three research questions, considering the limitation of the research as mentioned above, some new questions arose along the way of data collection and analysis. The first problem the research encountered was that the newly passed national security law demotivated some participants to take part in the research, and to a certain extent, affected some participants' responses. This event was unpredicted and therefore could not be administered effectively during the course of study. However, in terms of the future directions considering the national security law has already been passed, research on the link between language and sense of national identity can focus more on Mandarin as the participants of the future research will be the ones who may have received more Mandarin education than the ones who took part in this current research. It can then be found whether Mandarin will become one identity marker of people living in Hong Kong at the time and hence, to assess if Cantonese can retain its perceived importance to Hong Kong identity and culture in the post-national security law era. Furthermore, there had been a wave of immigration out of Hong Kong since the passing of the national security and the introduction of the new visa which allows Hong Kong citizens born before 1997 to stay in the UK for six years to study or to work before getting a British citizenship. The future research on the topic can assess if Cantonese still retains its perceived importance to the identity of Hong Kongers living abroad. Future research

could compare the identity construction, in relation to language or not, between Hong Kongers living in Hong Kong and Hong Kongers living abroad.

8.5 Conclusion

This study explored the link between languages and the sense of national identity in Hong Kong from a Social Identity Theory perspective. The findings showed that Cantonese remains the most frequently used language in Hong Kong and participants feel that they are the most proficient in Cantonese, rather than Mandarin or English. It also found that majority of the participants self-identified as “Hong Kongers”. Those who self-identified as Hong Kongers and those who self-identified in relation to China had different views on languages, especially Mandarin, in relation to their identity, although both groups recognised the rising use of and importance of Mandarin in Hong Kong. The “Hong Konger group” identified in the study saw Mandarin as a language belonging to an out-group. They did not actively use Mandarin and viewed it as a threat to Hong Kong culture and identity. The “Chinese group” identified in the study adopted Mandarin as an in-group language and believed that Mandarin should be promoted in Hong Kong. In sum, self-identification, according to Social Identity Theory, can help shed light on how one positions oneself in relation to important and sometimes difficult language choices.

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Appendix A: Online Questionnaire

Q1

Survey on Multilingualism in Hong Kong

You are invited to participate a survey which will take about 10 minutes to complete. It is part of a PhD research project being conducted by Mr. Pak Hei Chan, supervised by Prof. Lorna Carson. The survey is about the link between language and sense of national identity, and addresses both local and overseas Hong Kongers. It is divided into four sections. The answers you give will be treated confidentially. It will not be possible to associate your answers with you, as the survey does not record your name and IP address. You can stop answering the questions at any time without any consequences. By clicking the button below, you are indicating your consent to take part in this survey.

您現在被邀請參與一個大約需時十分鐘的問卷調查。這是 Mr. Pak Hei Chan 在 Prof. Lorna Carson 監督下的 PhD 研究項目。這份問卷關於語言和國民身份認同的關係，而對象包括在香港的香港人及身處海外的香港人。這份問卷分為四個部分。您的回答不會曝露您的身份，因為問卷不會收集您的名字和您的 IP 地址。您隨時可以停止回答問題，而不會有任何後果。如果您有意參與這項問卷調查，請點擊下列選項開始填寫問卷。

Q8


Section 1- Linguistic Environment

第一部分- 語言環境

Q1. To what extent do you use the written form of the following languages on a regular basis at your workplace/ school? (10= very frequently; 1= never)

您認為下列的書寫語言在你的工作地點／學校有多最常用？（10代表最常用；1代表最不常用）

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

English 英語	
Chinese (Simplified) 簡體中文	
Chinese (Traditional) 繁體中文	

Q9 Q2. To what extent do you use the **spoken form** of the following languages on a regular basis at your workplace/ school? (10= very frequently; 1= never)

您認為下列的口語在你的工作地點／學校有多最常用？（10代表最常用；1代表最不常用）

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q10 Q3. To what extent do you use the **written form** of the following languages on a regular basis as your main means of informal communication with friends? (10= very frequently; 1= never)

您認為下列的書寫語言在你的日常跟朋友溝通有多最常用？（10代表最常用；1代表最不常用）

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q11 Q4. To what extent do you use the **spoken form** of the following languages on a regular basis as your main means of informal communication with friends? (10= very frequently; 1= never)

您認為下列的口語在你的日常跟朋友溝通有多最常用？（10代表最常用；1代表最不常用）

)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

English 英語	
Cantonese 廣東話	
Mandarin 普通話	

Q32

Q5. Are there any other languages which you use frequently? If yes, please list them.

您平日還有用其他語言嗎? 如有, 請列出該語言

Q12 Section 2- Language proficiency and attitudes

第二部分- 語言能力及態度

Q6. How proficient are you in the following **written languages**? (10=Very; 1= Not at all)

您對下列書寫語言有多擅長? (10代表最精通; 1代表最不擅長)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

English 英語	
Chinese (Simplified) 簡體中文	
Chinese (Traditional) 繁體中文	

Q13 Q7. How proficient are you in the following **spoken languages**? (10=Very; 1= Not at all)
 您對下列口語有多擅長? (10代表最精通; 1代表最不擅長)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10





Q14 Q8. On a scale of 1 to 3, please rank the three different spoken languages according to how **important, useful, and familiar** they are to you. (1 being the least important, the least useful, and the least familiar ; while 3 being the most important, most useful, and the most familiar)
 請根據下列三種語言的**重要性, 實用性, 和熟悉程度**以上1至3作出排列。(1代表最不重

要, 最不實用, 和最不熟悉 ; 3代表最重要, 最實用, 和最熟悉)

	Important 重要	Useful 實用	Familiar 熟悉
English 英語			
Cantonese 廣東話			
Mandarin 普通話			

Q33

Q9. How important is it in your opinion to maintain Hong Kong Cantonese?

(10= Very important; 1= Not important at all)

您覺得保留港式廣東話有多重要？

(10代表最重要; 1代表最不重要)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q16

Q10. How important is Hong Kong Cantonese to Hong Kong culture? (10= Very important; 1= Not important at all)

您覺得港式廣東話對香港文化有多重要？(10代表最重要; 1代表最不重要)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q34

Q11. How important is Hong Kong Cantonese to your identity? (10= Very important; 1= Not important at all)

您覺得港式廣東話對您的身份認同有多重要？(10代表最重要; 1代表最不重要)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q17

Q12. In your opinion, is enough being done in the preservation of Hong Kong Cantonese?

您覺得港式廣東話的保育工作足夠嗎？

- Yes 足夠
- No 不足夠
- Unsure 不肯定

Q50

Q13. Do you think that more resources should be dedicated to the preservation of Hong Kong

Cantonese?

您認為應該投放更多資源在港式廣東話的保育工作上嗎？

- Yes 應該
- No 不應該
- Unsure 不肯定

Q18 Section 3- Background and Identity

第三部分- 背景和身份 Q14. What spoken language was used as the medium of instruction in your primary school?

您就讀的小學用的是什麼教學語言？

- English 英語
 - Cantonese 廣東話
 - Mandarin 普通話
 - Other 其他 (Please specify 請說明)
-

Q19 Q15. What spoken language was used as the main means of communication among students in your primary school? 您就讀小學的時候主要用什麼語言跟其他同學溝通？

- English 英語
 - Cantonese 廣東話
 - Mandarin 普通話
 - Other 其他 (Please specify 請說明)
-

Q20 Q16. How satisfied are you with your standard of living? (10= Very satisfied; 1= Not at all satisfied) 您對您的生活水平有多滿意？(10代表最滿意; 1代表最不滿意)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q21 Q17. How satisfied are you with the development of Hong Kong since the hand-over period? (10= Very satisfied; 1= Not at all satisfied) 您對香港回歸後的整體發展有多滿意？ (10代表最滿意; 1代表最不滿意)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q22 Q18. Do you think that Hong Kong has lost any of its cultural aspects since the handover? 香港回歸後有沒有失去任何一方面的文化？

- Yes 有
- No 沒有

Q51

Q19. If you ticked Yes in Question 18, please list any cultural aspects that you think have been lost since the handover.

如果您在第十八題答有，請列出您認為香港在回歸後失去的文化。

Q23 Q20. Overall, do you think life in Hong Kong has improved or worsened since the handover? 整體上，您認為香港在回歸後是好轉了，轉差了，還是沒有轉變？

- Improved 好轉了
- Worsened 轉差了
- No change 沒有轉變

Q24 Q21. Do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about Hong Kong's future development when 'one country, two systems' officially expires? 您對香港一國兩制正式到期後的未來發展是樂觀的還是悲觀的？

- Optimistic 樂觀的
- Pessimistic 悲觀的
- Neutral 中性的

Q25 Q22. How would you identify yourself? (You may tick more than one answer)
您會怎樣形容自己的國民身份？(可選多於一個選項)

- Hong Konger 香港人
- Chinese 中國人
- HK Chinese citizen 香港的中國人
- Chinese HK citizen 中國的香港人
- Other 其他 (Please specify 請說明)

Q26

Q23. How long have you lived in Hong Kong?

您在香港定居了多久？

- 0-5 years 0-5年
- 6-10 years 6-10年
- 11-15 years 11-15年
- 16-20 years 16-20年
- 21-25 years 21-25年
- 26 years or above 26年以上

Q27 Q24. How closely do you feel connected to mainland China? (10= Very well-connected; 1

= Not connected at all) 您覺得您跟中國內地的關係有多密切？(10代表最密切; 1代表最疏

遠)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



Q28

Q25. What aspects of Hong Kong make you feel proud (if any)?

您對香港哪方面感到自豪 (如有)？

Q29 Q26. What aspects of Hong Kong make you feel ashamed (if any)? 您對香港哪方面感到羞恥 (如有)?

Q30 Q27. If you could be a citizen of another country, which country would you choose? 如果您可以當其他國家的公民, 您會選擇哪個國家?

End of Block: Section C- Background

Start of Block: Section D- About you

Q1 Section 4- About you

第四部分- 關於您

Q28. What is your age?

您的年齡?

- 18-23
- 24-29
- 30-35
- 36-41
- 42-47
- 48-53
- 54 or above

Q2

Q29. What is your occupation?

您的職業?

- Employed in private sector 私人公司上班
 - Self-employed 自僱
 - Civil servant 公務員
 - Unemployed 失業
 - Retired 已退休
 - Student 學生
 - Other 其他 (Please specify if you wish 如想, 可說明)
-

Q3

Q30. Gender

性別

- Male 男性
- Female 女性
- Prefer not to say 不願透露
- Other 其他

Q4

Q31. What is your highest level of education?
您的最高學歷

- Primary School 小學
 - Secondary School 中學
 - Bachelor's Degree 學士
 - Master's Degree 碩士
 - Professional Diploma 專業文憑
 - Doctorate Degree 博士
-

Q52

Q32. Are you currently based in Hong Kong? If not, how long have you been overseas?

您現在在香港居住嗎? 如果不是, 您在海外居住了多久?

- I am currently living in Hong Kong 我現在在香港居住
 - I am currently living overseas, from 0 to 3 years 我在海外居住, 0至3年
 - I am currently living overseas, from 3 to 6 years 我在海外居住, 3至6年
 - I am currently living overseas, over 6 years 我在海外居住, 6年以上
-

Q35

Q33. If you would like to participate in a linguistic experiment and/ or a short online interview with the researcher about this topic, please leave your email address.

如您有意參與有關這個题目的語言實驗和/或網上訪問, 請填上您的電郵地址。

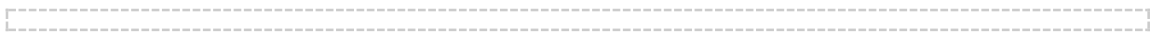
End of Block: Section D- About you

Appendix B: Matched-guise test

Q1 Matched-guise test Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										



Page Break



Q2 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q3 The two speakers (Speaker 1 and Speaker 2) above are from the same country/ region.
Where do you think they are from? (The options may be used repeatedly in this section)

以上兩位錄音的人來自同一個國家／地區。您認為他們來自哪裡？(選項在這部分可重覆使用)

- Mainland China 中國內地
- Hong Kong 香港
- UK 英國
- USA 美國

Page Break

Q4 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q5 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q6

The two speakers (Speaker 3 and Speaker 4) above are from the same country/ region. Where do you think they are from? (The options may be used repeatedly in this section)

以上兩位錄音的人來自同一個國家／地區。您認為他們來自哪裡？(選項在這部分可重覆使用)

- Mainland China 中國內地
- Hong Kong 香港
- UK 英國
- USA 美國

Page Break

Q7 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q8 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q9

The two speakers (Speaker 5 and Speaker 6) above are from the same country/ region. Where do you think they are from? (The options may be used repeatedly in this section)

以上兩位錄音的人來自同一個國家／地區。您認為他們來自哪裡？(選項在這部分可重覆使用)

- Mainland China 中國內地
- Hong Kong 香港
- UK 英國
- USA 美國

Page Break

Q10 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q11 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q12

The two speakers (Speaker 7 and Speaker 8) above are from the same country/ region. Where do you think they are from? (The options may be used repeatedly in this section)

以上兩位錄音的人來自同一個國家／地區。您認為他們來自哪裡？(選項在這部分可重覆使用)

- Mainland China 中國內地
- Hong Kong 香港
- UK 英國
- USA 美國

Page Break

Q13 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										

Page Break

Q14 Please listen to the following short recording, then determine your thoughts on the personal traits of the speaker described on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the least, and 10 being the most.

聆聽以下錄音，根據錄音想像錄音的人的個人特質，然後以1至10決定您認為該形容語對該錄音的人的貼切程度。（1代表最低程度；10代表最高程度）

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Friendly 友善										
Intelligent 聰明										
Highly educated 高學歷										
Wealthy 富有										
Successful 成功										
Helpful 樂於助人的										
Sincere 真摯										
Kind 仁慈										
Competent 能幹										
Hard-working 勤力										
Considerate 細心										
Reliable 可靠										



Q15

The two speakers (Speaker 9 and Speaker 10) above are from the same country/ region. Where do you think they are from? (The options may be used repeatedly in this section)

以上兩位錄音的人來自同一個國家／地區。您認為他們來自哪裡？(選項在這部分可重覆使用)

- Mainland China 中國內地
- Hong Kong 香港
- UK 英國
- USA 美國

Appendix C: Interview transcripts

Participant	Gender	Date	Duration	Age group
A	Male	08/11/2021	14 minutes	24-29
B	Female	11/11/2021	18 minutes	24-29
C	Male	14/01/2022	42 minutes	24-29
D	Female	19/02/2022	24 minutes	48-53
E	Male	15/03/2022	15 minutes	54 or above
F	Male	31/03/2022	20 minutes	36-41

Participant A 2021 Nov 8 Translated (14 minutes)

Researcher: Right, thank you very much for taking time to participate in my interview. Yes, then the questions are based on the questionnaire and the linguistic experiment, er., the responses, the questions. Right, the first question, from the response in the questionnaire, you mentioned that Cantonese is very important to your identity. Do you mean your personal identity, or is it a social identity? Or what identity is it?

PARTICIPANT A: Er... Should be more of a social identity.

(pause for 2 seconds)

Researcher: huh, then which, which social identity? As a Hong Konger, or, ehm..., that is, that includes people who speak Cantonese share the same identity? Foreigners (I meant) who can speak Cantonese, do they count?

PARTICIPANT A: I think an identity as a Hong Konger, if this is the case, like I would count foreigners who can speak Cantonese, of course he would have to be in Hong Kong, and i have to know him first.

Researcher: Right, that is, so it can be a person not born and grew up in Hong Kong, it counts as long as he can speak Cantonese. Yes, this is the identity. Okay. (1.0) Right, the second question, then, you mentioned, in the questionnaire, you mentioned not... er... there are not enough policies and resources devoted to preserve Cantonese, and there should be more resources being put in ehm.. the preservation of Cantonese. In your opinion, why er... there were not enough resources... being put to the preservation of Cantonese? If there were not enough resources to preserve Cantonese, how would it affect the culture of Hong Kong? Right.

PARTICIPANT A: In my opinion, the lack of resources is because, everyone thinks that, it is naturally logical to assume people can speak their native language, that is like, it makes sense that me and you can speak Cantonese, and we speak it until the day we die, then why do we need to preserve it? That is like most people have never thought that Cantonese could disappear soon. Then naturally, they wouldn't specifically dedicate resources to protect something you don't think would disappear or go extinct. Then, sorry, what is the second question?

Researcher: Right, not enough, then there isn't enough resource to preserve Cantonese, then how would this affect the Hong Kong culture? Right.

PARTICIPANT A: I think mainly... not just... pop culture, include but not limited to.. er.. movies, music, radio, something related to life would disappear. I would especially think that is.. some lifestyle or ideologies would.. disappear. It is because sometimes, the concept of Cantonese... can only be conveyed using Cantonese. Right. For example, we... now people tend

to say ‘內捲’, but in Cantonese you may use ‘困獸鬥’. The meaning can be similar, but the context is slightly different. Right.

Researcher: Then... right. Ehm... You just mentioned.. ehm... it affects the culture quite a bit, then would it affect how Hong Kongers perceive, like their sense of identity? If, this, ehm... the lack of resources for Cantonese, huh.

PARTICIPANT A: Er... I think.. again, it depends, like everyone thinks, like everyone thinks he is a Hong Konger, but their perception of Hong Kongers can be different, like for my generation we think Hong Konger is a very unique identity, like it can be for a language, and in this case it is Cantonese, like we have our own culture, and the unique economic-cultural activities, like this. However, the new generation who may come from mainland, and young, perhaps they think Hong Kongers should speak more Mandarin than Cantonese, then maybe to them it does not affect too much. Like perhaps now we feel Cantonese, like starting to have fewer speaker or because of the lack of resources to protect, then it becomes more (0.7) like the set, like it becomes weaker, so it would affect me or the others, the others... I don't really know how it affects the others' sense of identity.

Researcher: Right, okay. Then er... then, you just mentioned, your opinion is that Hong Konger is a very unique identity, then in the questionnaire there is a question about, how close are you with China in your opinion, then you rated three out of ten. Then do you think Cantonese is a crucial factor that makes you er... perhaps feel like less... er.. connected to the mainland? Right, that close? Huh.

PARTICIPANT A: Then this.. yes, a bit related. Especially I had some classmates when I was studying, basically the communication was not smooth, so it was already difficult, like it was really difficult to communicate and to understand.

Researcher: Right, then normal communication, isn't easy. That is, for example using Mandarin, right. Then what do you think about English, because we, in Hong Kong, English is, er... education more than Mandarin, then you think English, has it affected your answer? As in the relatively distant relationship with China. Right.

PARTICIPANT A: Then no, no special impact, (yes) like you directly as me then I don't think there is a big impact.

Researcher: Okay. Then it is only Cantonese, because Cantonese culture has been with you from a very young age, native language, right?

PARTICIPANT A: Or we can say because Mandarin culture is tied with the mainland communist regime.

Researcher: Um, yes.

PARTICIPANT A: I don't have special opinion on Mandarin on its own as a language.

Researcher: Right, it is because that... er... and, related to politics. Because this language, and you associate it with... er... that regime, right?

PARTICIPANT A: Um, yes you can say that.

Researcher: Right, then, then this opinion, did it affect your answer that you would not normally use simplified characters, and your Mandarin er.. not often used, and you also wrote that, that..er.. the level of Mandarin wasn't high, then you, wrote this ehm... was it related to your sense of identity? Or, was it purely because you really didn't use much and er.. not too proficient in Mandarin, was it? Huh.

PARTICIPANT A: It was purely because my linguistic ability was weak, I meant my Mandarin was not good.

Researcher: Right, then now Mandarin is a relatively, relative, popular language compared with Cantonese, then do you think... do you think you should learn a bit of Mandarin?

PARTICIPANT A: No.

Researcher: No, right, why?

PARTICIPANT A: It is because at the moment at my workplace we speak Cantonese. (Yes) The only chance I would speak Mandarin would be with one or two of my course-mates from mainland when I did my Masters, maybe speaking with them, I would use Mandarin. Almost no other occasions.

Researcher: No other occasions. Okay. Then you mentioned, generally, you speak Cantonese at work, but then, in your questionnaire you wrote, eh..., you rarely used traditional characters at work, right, then for writing, I guess you write in English, right? At (eh...) work?

PARTICIPANT A: Er... Both Chinese and English, Chinese and English.

Researcher: Both Chinese and English. Oh, yea, because er.. I saw your answer that the rating for traditional character was low, very low, so you rarely used it, at work.

PARTICIPANT A: Of course you, communication at work is all in English, but when you jot notes, it would combine Chinese and English.

Researcher: Okay. Right, Okay. Then er... in your opinion, Cantonese, the existence is it... a... mental barrier to slow down the reunification between Hong Kong and China? Like one of the reasons? Is it a thing that changes people's thought, making the reunification... ehm... not happening as quick?

PARTICIPANT A: Ehm... You mean the problem of language?

Researcher: Yes, like in terms of culture, because Hong Kong has been handed over for so many years, then in terms of culture, but like the culture of Hong Kong is quite different than the one in China at the moment, then do you think Cantonese causing the reunification of culture between Hong Kong and mainland to slow down?

(pause for 5 seconds)

PARTICIPANT A: I don't think it is only because of the language.

Researcher: Um, then what are the other...er.. factors?

PARTICIPANT A: To a high extent it is about, like the political regimes, the different regimes, then also that... right mainly it is that the regime and the lifestyle, and culture are different, language is a part of it. But, right. (Um) Because in Guangdong province, they still mainly speak Cantonese, but it does not feel like we are very close.

Researcher: Okay. Right. Then, in your opinion eh... now that there is a tendency of using Mandarin to teach Chinese in schools, like the government has put in more resources into Mandarin education, then you think the increase in Mandarin education, would it eh... threaten the Hong Kong culture? Including Cantonese. Or more different aspects of culture.

PARTICIPANT A: Yes it would.

Researcher: Yes, so you personally think it is a threat. (2.0) How does it poses a threat? Like... how long, like for example, would it... replace the position of Cantonese? Or would it directly change some sort of cultures?

PARTICIPANT A: Um... I don't know, I don't know how long it takes, I mainly think that the way they do things sort of depreciates the position of Cantonese as a tool in Hong Kong.

Researcher: Depreciating the position as a tool. Then it means Cantonese... Cantonese

PARTICIPANT A: Right, so when you learn Chinese you have to learn Mandarin, and Cantonese becomes not popular. I feel a bit like this.

Researcher: Right. That is eh.. The position of Mandarin in Hong Kong would slowly overtake Cantonese, like this.

PARTICIPANT A: Um... (5.0) Not sure how to answer, this, yes.

Researcher: Okay. Er.. then, ehm... If it is Cantonese, like Cantonese speakers, if you see with different accents, for example foreigner's accent, or mainland Chinese accent, do you have a different impression on the person depending on the different accents? Like for example people with a Chinese accent would eh.. be more knowledgeable, or not as knowledgeable, would you, would you have that impression?

PARTICIPANT A: Er... not really, right. Usually (no) I think it is okay.

Researcher: That is, okay, so it doesn't matter with accent, just content, right, okay. Then towards English, you have the same opinion on the accents of English and Mandarin, right?

PARTICIPANT A: Er.. It doesn't matter much.

Researcher: It doesn't matter. The accent doesn't matter, but the content does. Then you think ehm... would accent in a language affect one's sense of identity? Like, like, ehm right, would it, would an accent represent one's, to a certain extent one's identity? Like, for example, if you hear a London accent in English, then you assume the person is from London, does it happen the same in Hong Kong in your opinion?

PARTICIPANT A: I don't feel it too much in Hong Kong, and we don't even, like the person who listens probably cannot tell the accent, like it doesn't immediately provide the piece of information about where he or she is from. Because (Cantonese is the same?)... Not much for Cantonese, yes. Nor much for Cantonese.

Researcher: Okay. Right, I have asked all the questions I have so far. Thank you.

PARTICIPANT A: Haha, I feel that I haven't answered too well.

Researcher: Wait a moment, let me stop the recording, right.

Participant B 2021 Nov 11 (18 minutes)

Researcher: Ehm, today, thank you very much for spending your time to do this interview. The questions of the interview are derived from your response from the questionnaire and the linguistic experiment. Okay, so, the first question. Yes, the first part would be about language use. So in the questionnaire, that in informal communication, you use written English more often than traditional Chinese characters. I want to ask, why? It is because usually in Hong Kong, people tend to use traditional characters more unless they are at work. For instance, when typing to communicate with friends, or chatting, usually we use traditional characters. So why would you use written English more often?

PARTICIPANT B: Not really, it is because I think it is faster to type English, so sometimes when I speak with my brother, my friends, my colleagues when not discussing work-related issues, and when speaking with my boyfriend, I would type English, maybe I am used to it and it must be faster to type 'where are you' in English than in Chinese.

Researcher: Okay, so it is more convenient and faster, right.

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, yes.

Researcher: Do you have a bit of thought that you want to use more English to improve your English proficiency? Do you have this thought?

PARTICIPANT B: Wait a moment please, wait a moment.

Researcher: Oh, okay.

<Interruption from 01:38 to 01:51)

PARTICIPANT B: Eh, would I want to improve my English, yes a little bit. Yes, a bit because of this.

Researcher: Okay. Fine, then, in the questionnaire, eh, you mentioned you normally wouldn't simplified Chinese characters and Mandarin, so you <yes>, because there is no one around you who use it, or is it because of some other reasons? You only filled one out of ten for the use. <You meant> That is, you don't use it at all.

PARTICIPANT B: Typing or speaking?

Researcher: eh... Both. Simplified Chinese characters and eh... Mandarin, spoken. Both.

PARTICIPANT B: Eh... Really no simplified Chinese characters, because even if I type, typing Chinese, I type using Cangjie, and it gives me traditional Chinese characters. (1.0) Yes, and about spoken, or, eh, how? Eh... For Mandarin, I sometimes use it in my workplace. I don't use it otherwise.

Researcher: Okay, right. So you sometimes use Mandarin at work but not any other time. Right.

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, yes.

Researcher: Okay, yes. Then, ehm..., then why would you, then it is the part on language proficiency. Then why would you fill in that, er., your proficiency in traditional characters as low, as you rated three?

PARTICIPANT B: Really?

Researcher: Yes (0.7), right.

PARTICIPANT B: What is the highest?

Researcher: Ten, yes, right.

PARTICIPANT B: Would it be that I read it wrong? It doesn't make sense. My proficiency in traditional characters should be pretty well.

Researcher: Yes, you should be quite proficient, I just found it strange when I saw it, so I asked, right. So you might have filled it wrongly. If you can fill it again, what number would you put in?

PARTICIPANT B: I, can I ask apart from traditional characters, did you also ask English and simplified characters?

Researcher: Yes.

PARTICIPANT B: What did I fill for English and simplified characters?

Researcher: For simplified characters, you rated... quite high, seven.

PARTICIPANT B: That made no sense. Perhaps I mixed up the two. I may have mixed up traditional characters and simplified characters.

Researcher: Yes, then you probably have mixed up. Yes, okay. Right, I found it strange so I asked.

PARTICIPANT B: Can you help me change the answer?

Researcher: I can help you change, because I have (I was lost) your ID. So, what if I let you choose again? So your proficiency in traditional characters is seven, what would you rate for simplified characters?

PARTICIPANT B: Eh... you mean proficiency in simplified characters.

Researcher: Yes.

PARTICIPANT B: Eh... three, I think.

Researcher: Okay, three, what about English?

PARTICIPANT B: English, perhaps, maybe five.

Researcher: Yes, five for English, okay. Yes, so I write it down now and change it for you later.

PARTICIPANT B: What did I write for English?

Researcher: Previously, right, exactly five. Right, so that is accurate.

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, okay.

Researcher: Then, ehm..., for spoken languages, you rated your proficiency in Mandarin higher than, higher than spoken English, with the rating of five versus three. So, why? English education is more common in Hong Kong, right.

PARTICIPANT B: Ehm, because for spoken language, in fact, I don't usually have opportunities to speak English. But for Mandarin, because I... er... I have a lot of relatives in mainland China, so when I was still in secondary or primary school, when it came to for example Chinese New Year, or some special occasions, we would go to mainland China. So there were more opportunities for me to speak Mandarin. Also, sometimes my family members would speak in Mandarin when they called my other relatives. So I listen to it quite much. Sometimes I like watching Taiwanese dramas. But then, previously, er..., for education, I rarely watched English dramas, or there is no one around me who would speak English, so for spoken language, my Mandarin is better than English.

Researcher: Okay. But previously...

PARTICIPANT B: But I don't think it is good, I don't know if it is related to education, because I also know there are way more English lessons than Mandarin lessons, also for oral English lessons, but then, I think in daily life, I would speak Mandarin more than English.

Researcher: Right, okay, then, okay. So because you have relatives in mainland, so (yes) you use it more, and also you (family background) watch dramas. Yes, family background.

PARTICIPANT B: Right.

Researcher: Okay, well, so this part about language proficiency is over. Then, ehm... then it is your opinion on Cantonese. So you wrote that Cantonese is...er... is very important to your identity. So which identity do you mean? Your own, yes.

PARTICIPANT B: er... An identity of a Hong Konger

Researcher: An identity of a Hong Konger. So not a personal identity, but an identity that is part of a society?

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, right.

Researcher: Yes, okay, so you also mentioned, that is, ehm..., there isn't enough preservation for Cantonese, right, then why do you think it isn't enough, and, what is the impact of the lack of preservation of Cantonese to Hong Kong culture and identity?

PARTICIPANT B: I think that sometimes, nowadays there are newspapers, they start to use er... how do I put it? Yes I think Cantonese, er..., although, sometimes it is spoken language, some Cantonese words are actually broad and profound. So, there is a er.. I don't know if I should call him a celebrity or teacher, his name is 'Ben sir'. So, he teaches Cantonese. He...ehm... is sometimes on TV, and teaches some written words for Cantonese, which actually exist. So it isn't purely a spoken language. So I think these things, we don't normally learn

them, are what make Cantonese broad and profound. So I think that, we don't have things like this..er... preservation or education. This is the first point. (1.0) Yes, so there isn't much promotion of this that we can see. The second point is that I think that there are so many newspapers and magazines starting to have more words which aren't used in Hong Kong. Then, I, I don't know if you notice, but people are complaining about it. Sometimes two words can already portray the meaning very well, but they sometimes add some unrelated words at the end of it, so that is, for example, er.. "one-time", er.. or what...er... I cannot think of it, there are just so many similar terms. Then it makes er.. Cantonese doesn't seem to be like this. Then, Chinese would become worse, it would become the Chinese they use in mainland China. So I think it would affect the Hong Kong culture, as the words we use and the words they use would become similar and the unique feature of Hong Kong will be lost.

Researcher: Right, so that is, in other words, Hong Kong Cantonese, to you, represents Hong Konger's identity, then that (right) would affect, so the identity as a Hong Konger and that of mainland China will merge, right?

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, right

Researcher: Okay, so why would there be insufficient preservation work, for Cantonese, in your opinion?

(pause for 5 seconds)

PARTICIPANT B: err... I think it may be because that now they value more of the er.. Chinese language in mainland. It is because we are er.. a spoken language, then er.. the Chinese in mainland is a written language, so normally, when we do writing, we use the written form of Chinese. So then, as time goes by, there is more and more Chinese in the mainland style, and also there are many schools nowadays using Mandarin to teach Chinese. Then, yes, people don't value Cantonese anymore.

Researcher: Yes, okay, right. Then, yea, then you, do you think Mandarin is a threat to Hong Kong culture? For example, would Mandarin contribute as a threat to Hong Kong culture including Cantonese?

PARTICIPANT B: Threat, well... (4.0) I think eh.. few languages can coexist, but then, when it comes to threat, there is a change that is like what I said before, it slowly erodes, then it makes what we have, or the words we used to use disappear, then this threat exists. But then if everything eh... peacefully, like people use the language they use, and it wouldn't be because of one language coming, then it causes you to lose..eh.. a language, then I think, it isn't a threat. But then it does not look like this now. So it is a threat.

Researcher: It is a threat, that means, it is possible, er... it means you think er.. Mandarin has the chance to er...

PARTICIPANT B: Replace Cantonese.

Researcher: Yes, right, it will replace Cantonese, okay.

PARTICIPANT B: Right.

Researcher: Okay, yes, right, so do you think the existence of Cantonese, sort of affect, the sense of belonging of Hong Kong people? It is because Hong Kong has been handed back to Chinese for many years, and would it be because the Cantonese we use is for example different than the Cantonese they use in Guangzhou, because Hong Kong Cantonese is unique. Would it be because of these, that the language itself, makes Hong Kongers feel that they are a bit distant from their counterparts in the mainland, do you think that is the case?

PARTICIPANT B: That, you mean that whether language would make me feel that our identity is different than the other place?

Researcher: Yes, yes, right, so would it, would you feel a bit less connected to the mainland, yes, like not as...

PARTICIPANT B: Yes I do, I do.

Researcher: Yes.

PARTICIPANT B: I do.

Researcher: Yes. Okay.

PARTICIPANT B: So Can... So in Guangdong province, they use Cantonese and I feel closer to them.

Researcher: Yes. Yes. Because it is, right, because Mandarin and Cantonese are not similar. Then Hong Kong Cantonese and Guangzhou Cantonese are relatively closer, so you feel closer when you hear Cantonese.

PARTICIPANT B: Right.

Researcher: Okay. Right. Then this part is over. Here then comes a few questions based on your previous er... the previous linguistics experiment where you listened to different recordings.

PARTICIPANT B: Okay.

Researcher: Yes, right, you said ehm... When you heard the Mandarin, those recordings, you thought that the two speakers were the friendliest, was it because you heard Mandarin often? Or is it because you have relatives in mainland, so you felt that way?

PARTICIPANT B: Also, eh.. maybe the voices are softer.

Researcher: The voices are softer, right, okay. Then, yea you also em... you, you were able to find out em.. the English in Chinese accent, you picked it, and you picked it right, and you found them the most, the most educated, the wealthiest, (right), and the most eh competitive and the most hard-working. Right, (yes) why did you have that idea?

PARTICIPANT B: Because I... ehm... first, their accents are easy to recognise. Maybe I have heard a lot eh.. Cantonese accent, and mainland accent, and also the foreign accent, these three have a lot of differences. Then second, is er... why those are higher? Because I don't know why, have this feeling, er..., I, I don't know if it comes from education, that, in mainland, it has always been so poor, ehm.. very tough, everyone. Then so, maybe they only have one to two thousands dollars a month for wages. Then so, those who can study abroad, must be very wealthy. It means that, a normal family cannot easily afford it. It may be better in Hong Kong, but it is very difficult in mainland. Then so for those who can go er.. overseas, or you er.. er.. study English, then I think they are well educated, and also wealthy, and they are very hard-working, and competitive. Also, for the students from mainland that I know, from university, and from my workplace, er... the colleagues and students from mainland, are very hard-working. That is why I think their competitiveness is high.

Researcher: Okay. Because of, you know the social situation in mainland, so you made (right) this judgement. Okay.

PARTICIPANT B: And also my self-experience, like I have been in touch with them.

Researcher: Right, okay, good. Then, you eh.. also filled that speakers with Hong Kong accented-English and Cantonese speakers are the most... most..eh... kindest, right, why? Is it because you hear it the most?

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, so it feels closer.

Researcher: Ehm.. Canton, so Cantonese and Hong Kong accent make you feel closer.

PARTICIPANT B: Yes.

Researcher: Yes, okay. Then you, last question. Then you feel, eh..., listen to Cantonese, you listen to Cantonese everyday, then would different accents in Cantonese make you feel different towards a person?

PARTICIPANT B: Yes.

Researcher: Yes, okay. How different?

PARTICIPANT B: For example for those who speak better English I think he is eh... better at studying, or he knows more. Then... if not he wouldn't have had that many opportunities to practise English.

Researcher: No, I was talking about eh.. different accents in Cantonese. I was saying. That...

PARTICIPANT B: Oh, sorry. (right right, it is fine) I thought Cantonese speakers speaking English. Different accents in Cantonese? (right) Are there different accents in Cantonese?

Researcher: That is, for example eh... some foreigners, are studying Cantonese, or mainland, people from mainland eh, speak (Oh) not with the accurate pronunciation, would you think these, would (okay) you, base on these accent, and have different impressions towards the person?

PARTICIPANT B: Er... let me think for a moment.

Researcher: Okay.

PARTICIPANT B: So it is the other way round, about other people speaking Cantonese (yes), would I have different impression to the people based on their accents.

Researcher: That is, right, would you judge this person, would you base on the accent, and have different impression towards the speaker. Yes. Right.

PARTICIPANT B: Eh... Yes.

Research: Right:

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, right. For example... if... he..er...mainland, then he speak Cantonese. However his pronunciations aren't proper (right), then, I would feel that he... tries hard to get into the society. Like I, when working, I would rather him... to say some improper Cantonese, but speak more, than speaking Mandarin all the way, because you are in Hong Kong. Then I would say that he is willing to get used to us.

Researcher: Right.

PARTICIPANT B: If it is the case I would perhaps, admire him.

Researcher: Yes, you admire him that he tries to get into the society.

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, yes.

Researcher: Right, well. Then, yes, all the questions are asked. Thank you for your participation today.

PARTICIPANT B: Yes, thanks. Thanks for your work.

Researcher: No problem, let me...

PARTICIPANT B: Also, is there anything that I can er.. help you?

Researcher: Er... Let me stop (or answer again) the recording first, wait, it will be quick.

PARTICIPANT B: Good.

Participant C 2022 Jan 14 (42 minutes)

Researcher: Okay, thank you very much for today to spend time to participate in the interview. Then, ehm... the questions of the interview are based on your responses from the questionnaire and the matched-guise experiment. Okay, right. The first is... the first part is about language use and proficiency. So, the first question, is that, in the questionnaire, you mentioned that at work, you often use written English and er.. traditional Chinese characters. Can you describe when at work, you would use written English and traditional Chinese characters?

PARTICIPANT C: I think at work, er.., especially when er... communication for work, like the written communication for work, for example, writing emails, so on. Like especially, under this circumstance, I would normally use English, and I think more than 99% I would use English. Then er... like apart from communication at work, like, because, er.. at work there is a lot of this kind of written work or like written reports, then situations like this, then basically I would 100% use English. Er.. then you just mentioned er.. would there be this kind of situation where I would use traditional Chinese characters, yes, because the work I do, sometimes it involves marketing research, or perhaps some work with certain research teams, (0.7) then so a lot of times, especially when preparing for questionnaires, or some interviews, or some focus groups, then when we discuss about it, like when we prepare for it, mainly because of the background of the interviewees, er... so we mainly use Cantonese. So, we would use traditional Chinese characters to write the questions or the questionnaire, like as a preparation.

Researcher: So that is, ehm..., mostly in English, ehm.. it is mainly because of the research, when considering the interviewee's background, that you would use traditional Chinese characters.

PARTICIPANT C: Yes, right. You can say that.

Researcher: Right. Right, then the second question, you mentioned that under informal settings, like outside work, then you use a lot of ehm.. spoken and written English. Ehm... you rated 10 out of 10. So, then the impression of Hong Kong is that, if it is outside work, people tend to use traditional Chinese characters and Cantonese, then why would you use spoken and written English often?

PARTICIPANT C: Then when we talked about spoken English, I believe that when I answered, I used mentioned 99% and not the Chinese way of saying 99 out of 100. Then this is a pretty.. er.. (0.3) obvious example, then you may ask why there is such a phenomenon, then I believe it is because er... just like what I said, at work, we used English mainly, then maybe traditional Chinese characters, especially in my written language environment, er..., we use a bit less traditional Chinese characters. Or, we can say the use of traditional Chinese characters is more of an assist, and it is not the main written language. So I think under this circumstance, it is like my habit, like er.. when you are at work, you spend most of your time thinking in English, then ar.. it is hard not to have English vocabularies entering your life, then sometimes...er.. sometimes er... like when I lack time to response and I cannot think of a Chinese word, then I would use English words instead. (1.0) Just like this.

Researcher: Right, then so because you use a lot of English at work, and it has become your habit and so the habit of using English has got into your life outside work.

PARTICIPANT C: Yes, right.

Researcher: Okay, right. Okay, then, the question that follows, is that ehm.. in the questionnaire, you mentioned that ehm... you are proficient in simplified Chinese characters, ehm... but for your Mandarin, you reported that you were not proficient, right. Then, why? It is because ehm.. usually our impression is that simplified Chinese characters are associated with Mandarin to a certain extent, because ehm.. they are both used in mainland China. Right, then why? Can you explain a bit?

PARTICIPANT C: Eh.. Then I would think, of course, you said normally there would be a close association between simplified characters and Mandarin, maybe I would agree. But then, I think it is er.. my experience is that, as in why I would use more simplified characters and less Mandarin, ehm.. purely because, as I remember, when I was in primary school, I could somehow get some books in simplified Chinese characters, (0.6) then I got to read the books written in simplified characters. The situation like this about Mandarin is a bit less, for example..? For example when I watched TV programmes in Mandarin with subtitles in simplified characters, examples like this would happen less. Just like what I said, the situation when I got in touch with simplified characters was related to reading, like reading some articles. So I think that...er.. in this way, in my free time, the time I spent with simplified characters was far more than the time that I spent with er.. Mandarin. So, er.. I think of course these two are associated culturally, but then, at least for me, these two things don't come together, like the appearance of text, simplified characters, is much more frequent than that of Mandarin.

Researcher: Right, ok, so you mainly read simplified characters through reading, but then the time you used Mandarin was a lot less when compared.

PARTICIPANT C: Yes, and I think there is another reason, that is eh.., I think simplified characters is just a difference in style, and it doesn't feel like a different language, or at least to me it doesn't make a huge difference, so because of that, sometimes, I would actively read simplified characters, like for example I would use ... online search engines to look for articles and I would not mind clicking into the articles in simplified characters. However, if I see... videos in Mandarin, then I may not actively click into it.

Researcher: Right, then you, if this is the case, when you write, would you sometimes write simplified characters instead of traditional characters?

PARTICIPANT C: Eh.. This almost never happens, maybe it isn't almost never, but this situation doesn't happen.

Researcher: Right, yes. Why?

(Pause for 2 seconds)

PARTICIPANT C: Eh.. why.. eh.. I think it is a personal habit. Of course I know some people might ..eh... tend to use simplified characters because it is more convenient and quicker. But then ehh.. I think, maybe the other reason is that ehm... just like what I mentioned, the time when I got to simplified characters was when I was in primary school, but then eh.. from secondary school to maybe university, most of the time I would read simplified characters but there was not an urgent need for me to write Chinese in a quicker way, and maybe another reason is that I studied at a university in the UK, then so for the main means of communication, or even for written language, I would use English, then so maybe because of this, I am less motivated to eh.. write in simplified characters.

Researcher: Ok, right, no problem. Then the part about language use and proficiency is over, then the next part is about your opinions on Cantonese. Right, first, in the questionnaire, you mentioned that Cantonese is ..ehm... very important to your identity, is it your individual identity, or is it a social identity? Is it a ehm.. an identity as a part of Hong Kong? Is it an individual identity or a social identity?

PARTICIPANT C: Eh.. I think eh.. it is important to both of my individual and social identity, because eh.. I think it is very hard for me to separate my individual identity from my social identity, because mainly is that, in my social network with friends, with my boss and colleagues, and my family, we mainly ehm.. use, is it Cantonese? Like not words, but spoken language.

Researcher: Right, Cantonese.

PARTICIPANT C: Right, like, like eh.. to put it simpler, like my friends, or eh.. relatives, in a social network like this, we all use Cantonese. Then so, in this situation, to me, my social identity is very important, and even for me as an individual, when I grew up, I had always been receiving local education in Hong Kong, and then if I received local education in Hong Kong, we mainly used Cantonese to communicate. Because of this, both my social network and my background is filled with Cantonese, and that is why I think Cantonese is very important to both my individual and social identity.

Researcher: Right, ok. So to conclude is that, because you use Cantonese a lot, when you grew up, so you think it is important to your identity, and also the people around you mainly use Cantonese. Right, in the questionnaire, you mentioned that ehm.. it is important to preserve Cantonese, why? Is it, ... important to a certain aspect of Hong Kong, if we preserve Cantonese.

PARTICIPANT C: er.. I think it is related to the previous question... when you asked me whether Cantonese was important to my individual and social identity, they are related, like because.er.. as you mentioned, like in my daily life I have been constantly using Cantonese, so then it is why I think it is worth being preserved. It is because this is very important to my individual and social identity.

Researcher: Right, then do you think Cantonese is important to Hong Kong culture?

PARTICIPANT C: Cantonese to Hong Kong culture, is it important...eh.. right, it is hard for me to..eh. do a review on Hong Kong culture, but then if you ask me about the culture affects me, then of course, the answer is, it is important. Because, ehm..Because perhaps, right, if it is a more abstract thought, then it is, um.. Cantonese, has been widely used, since my parents' generation, because if it is my grandpa's generation they would be using the local vernacular at home, such as the Teochew dialect. But then if it is me, eh.. since I was born, I think no matter if it is pop culture, or music or films, or other things, then obviously it is a Cantonese environment. No matter what singer, the language they use is Cantonese, and also in movies they use Cantonese. Therefore, under this circumstance, then I think.. yea.. Cantonese is important to Chinese culture at least in the era when I grow up.

Researcher: Yes, so you said that ehm.. in the period when you grew up, Cantonese is very important to Hong Kong culture.

PARTICIPANT C: Yes. I believe it is called 'inseparable'. That is, I should say, like the reason why I think it is important or from which I think it is important, is that the pop culture in Hong Kong at the time is inseparable from Cantonese, then we can use it to conclude. Yes.

Researcher: No problem, understood. Then, the next question. In the questionnaire, you mentioned ehm... Hong Kong has devoted enough resources to preserve Cantonese, but you also mentioned there should be more resources being devoted to preserve Cantonese. Can you explain it please? Why do you think there is enough resources but you still think more resources should be devoted to preserve Cantonese?

PARTICIPANT C: eh.. first, we can say it is to preserve Cantonese, to me, the meaning of this is to maintain the popularity of Cantonese. So this is my understanding of this and if we adopt this meaning to think about this question, then I believe that actually the Hong Kong government and the non-governmental organisations have actually devoted resources, actually enough resources, to make sure Cantonese is still popular. Like for example, the local education in Hong Kong, basically, if you receive education in Hong Kong, then you uh.. can expect that, unless you attend some international schools, but if they are like me who attended local schools, then they would have used Cantonese to teach Chinese. Or not even just Chinese, but even for general studies, or maths, they would use Cantonese. When they get to secondary school, then when they teach, they would use Cantonese. So under this circumstance, perhaps they don't deliberately devote resources but under this kind of education policy, then Cantonese has received an unreasonably large amount of resources, due to the education policies, perhaps not deliberately. Just like what I said before, like using Chinese to teach eh.. biology, physics, or history, then it isn't a resource deliberately devoted, but it is just, like our understanding of the policy of the language of teaching, like using Cantonese, then the role of Cantonese in education would not fade. But then the other way round, we shouldn't really put more resources into eh.. the so called preservation of Cantonese? I do think there is a need though, because ..ehm.. like a very simple example, like if you are talking about using Cantonese as a written language, then, it is extremely rare. As far as I know, perhaps there was a book a few years ago called eh.. the French 'The Little Prince', it has a Cantonese version, like a book uh.. published, but that that is one, a very rare example, then so perhaps in this aspect, it would be nice if the

non-governmental organisations and the government could perhaps devote more resources to the preservation of Cantonese and to actively promote and preserve cultures like this. Then I think this can be considered.

Researcher: Then you think ehm.. we should devote more resources into the promotion of written Cantonese, from what you say.

PARTICIPANT C: Er.. yes, then, I think this is an example, like the written form of Cantonese is rare, but then if you talk about Cantonese as a means of communication, then I still think there is a need, or it is necessary. Eh.. for example, like the eh.. Cantonese thesaurus, then it is like uh.. an important tool to preserve spoken Cantonese, then there has been a fund used to support tools like this. But then do the people know about this kind of tool to promote Cantonese? Then I think not many people know about it. Therefore, for me, apart from the written form of Cantonese that I mentioned, or the means of communication, the spoken form of Cantonese should also be actively promoted.

Researcher: Ok, that is it. So related to the previous question, the next question is that,... now that the government has been promoting ehm.. education in Mandarin, like the policy to use Mandarin to teach Chinese, do you think it would exist as a threat to Hong Kong culture or Cantonese?

PARTICIPANT C: eh... then I think it would be a threat. What is my thought based on, or what observation, then that is ..

Researcher: Wait, ehm, it is very quiet on your side.

PARTICIPANT C: Oh, sorry, can you hear now?

Researcher: Yes I can, right.

PARTICIPANT C: Is it better now? (Yes) Oh, sorry, then I say it again, then before, you mentioned, the promotion of Cantonese, ah, the promotion of Mandarin, would it cause a threat to uh.. the use of Cantonese. This is the question to my understanding. (Right) then, I would think, this would. What observation do I have? Like especially the new generation of Hong Kong who were born within these ten years. I am a leader of a boy scout, so I get in contact with these kids. (1.5) Then er.. these kids, if their families are wealthier, then most of the time they would study in international schools. Then if they study in international schools, then ..um.. the language they use the most would be English. Then if they are in an environment where English is used the most, then eh.. their use of spoken Cantonese or in the written form, would be less. Moreover, with the policy to promote Mandarin, or it doesn't have to be promoted because many international schools in Hong Kong would use Mandarin to teach Chinese because then it would favor more people, then they would use Mandarin and use simplified characters to teach. So under this circumstance, then or I can also see it myself, that, the new generation.. the kids who attend international schools, where.. the language policy favour Mandarin, then the Cantonese proficiency in these kids are relatively weak. Even if you

ask what language they are the most proficiency in for communication, then it would be English, followed by perhaps Mandarin or Cantonese. Then, um..., plus the education policies which you mentioned to promote Mandarin, then I believe, it isn't just the students in the international schools, but also the students in local schools, then um.. the time they would use Cantonese is limited, and then, uh.. their proficiency eh... may not be that high.

Researcher: Right, so from what you said, like the time a child spends in school is long, and if the language they use in school is mostly English, then ...ehm.. or if they use Mandarin a lot, then the time they would use Cantonese is less, then, ehm.. as time goes by, ehm... there would be fewer people using Cantonese, is it what you mean?

PARTICIPANT C: That is, or I cannot, I cannot say there would be fewer people using Cantonese, but, er.. perhaps there would be fewer people who are able to fluently use Cantonese as a means of communication. That is, perhaps for normal people, they can still understand Mand, er.. Cantonese, but then the questions is whether they can fluently use Cantonese, for example, some idioms, then I think there would be fewer people who can do this.

Researcher: Right, so this is more about the proficiency in Cantonese, mainly..

PARTICIPANT C: Yes, right, yes.

Researcher: Right, ok, right. The next question is that, in the questionnaire, you wrote that, you identified as a Hong Konger, and you also ehm... there was a question asking you ehm.. how close you were with China, and you rated three over ten. Then, why? This, your rating, is it related to Cantonese? If not, then what would be the reason?

PARTICIPANT C: Perhaps you mean me er.. my closeness with China, is it related to Cantonese (right), that is what you mean? (Right) Oh, ...ehm.. then I would say... yes of course but er.. ah sorry is the question about China and I? (Yes, it is China_ Right, because, because, because I think, this is er.. related to er.. the geographical location, for example if the question is asking me about me and places around me such as Guangzhou, or Shenzhen, like the cities within Guangdong province, then I believe I would give a higher rating. (Ok) Right. But then because there are so many provinces in China, and from Hong Kong you can get to places like er.. Jilin or Heilongjian, then because, because the culture, or languages can be totally different, then with this, the rating has to be low. Then, I also believe it is related to the previous question, is it related to Cantonese? Then I can be pretty sure that it is somehow related. Because, for example, just like what I said, if you ask me about the cities within Guangdong province, and would the rating be higher? Yes, because in these cities or regions, like, although now.. maybe there are Cantonese speakers, still, ehm..., they mainly use Cantonese. Although the Cantonese they speak may not be exactly the same as the Cantonese we use in Hong Kong, in terms of vocabularies, or pronunciations. Then it doesn't matter. It is because, the fact they use Cantonese makes me feel closer to them.

Researcher: Right, so because of the language, ehm... first is the geographical location, like from your answers, the first is because of the geographical location, and then the culture is different, and then because the language is different, so you, so if I, er.. if I ask your closeness

to China then your rating is low, because China is too big, so then if the question is about the regions close to Hong Kong, such as the Guangdong province, of Shenzhen, then your rating would be higher.

PARTICIPANT C: Right, that is correct.

Researcher: Right, then following this question, do you think Cantonese affect many Hong Kongers ... eh... would it affect eh... the reunification between Hong Kong and China? Like would it affect eh... the concept of the reunification between Hong Kong and China after the handover?

PARTICIPANT C: Right.. if you, if, I would perhaps change the question a little bit, that is, if you ask me, eh.. would Cantonese affect the reunification between Hong Kong and China, right, then I would think, eh.. yes. Because eh.. I just need to re-emphasise, there is a language barrier. Right, you are talking about China, eh.. it is big, then, of course some people use Cantonese, but for most people, they perhaps ..eh.. mainly speak Mandarin, or some even ...ehm.. speak their vernacular, like, in their region as their main means of communication. Then, under this circumstance, if we ..er.. to us who use Cantonese as a means of daily communication, then of course there would be a so called barrier to the reunification between Hong Kong and China.

Researcher: Right, ok, understood. This, this, ok. Then eh... this part about ... opinions on Cantonese is over, and the next part is about accent. Then, in the matched-guise test, eh... you listened to the male speaker in British accent, and you rated that speaker as the wealthiest, the most highly educated, and the most successful, and you rated all these three aspects as ten out of ten. Then, do you think eh.. it is because British accent is.. what we, as Hong Kong people, usually call the standard English accent? Is it related?

PARTICIPANT C: Er.. then I don't think it is, of course of course I believe there is so called ah... British.. accent, that is, mainly in schools we listened to that in schools, but then I think, er.. this concept is not really related to our study, like the way they teach English in schools. However, eh.. (2.0) a concept like this is usually inspired by the pop culture, especially, for example there was a TV show called Downton Abbey a few years ago, and it was a very popular er.. a show that used England as a historical background, or music. Things like this would give me an impression that an accent like this is associated to the language that the British people in a higher social class would use. This kind of thing is not what we learn in schools.

Researcher: That is to say, that your impression on this is not what you learned in school, but it came when you got a taste of the British culture, or er.. TV shows, then (right) that is where the impression came. (Right) Ok. Then, eh... you grew up in Hong Kong, then would you find people who speak Cantonese, or people who speak English with a Hong Kong accent more kind and friendly?

PARTICIPANT C: Er.. then this is a must, because for example in secondary school, no matter if it was formal or informal, then it would definitely be English in Hong Kong accent, then ..er... of course with this background, I would find Hong Kong accent more familiar and friendly.

Researcher: Because you listen, you listened to it quite a lot, then (right) you would find it more friendly. Right, ok, then ..ehm.. about ehm.. Cantonese accent, then sometimes, ehm.. at that is, we grew up in Hong Kong and we would think that our Cantonese is more standard, then ehm.. to some foreigners learning Cantonese or some people from mainland China learning ehm.. Cantonese, then their pronunciations may not be that standard, then for you, would you have different impression to people who speak Cantonese in different accents? Would you have different impressions on people because of their accents?

PARTICIPANT C: Er... then it is a must, then (1.5) er... especially, I believe that er.. just like what you mentioned, that is ehm... because in Hong Kong it is mainly divided into international schools and local schools, then if a person, for example, he is from China, student, or er..., just a person, then if he has some non-standard pronunciation in Cantonese, or an accent similar to English, then you would have an impression that, well, this person, er..., probably studied in international schools. (1.0) Then, I would have this thought, and er... if you study in international schools in Hong Kong, the fee is higher, and then with this, you would find that this group of people, their er.. family may be a bit wealthy, like er..., mainly it is about eh.., social class, this would be the impression.

Researcher: So you, ehm.. based on the accent, you can, you can try to interpret the family background, this (right) impression. Ok (right, right, right). Right, then... toward ehm.. for example foreigners or ehm.. people from mainland China, if they come to Hong Kong, do you think they should speak their native language, or should they try to speak Cantonese? Which one do you think is better?

PARTICIPANT C: Um... I think either is fine, because... er.... for me, my thought is like this, eh.. Hong Kong, ...er.. we can say it is a Chinese city blended with western culture, then in this situation, most of the people have received Chinese and English education, like the time is split relatively evenly. Then if this is the case, basically, I think the difficult for you to use Chinese or English is almost... the same. (Right) Then so, in this situation, for me, I don't really have a fixed opinion, like if they can communicate, then it is fine.

Researcher: Right, ok, being able to communicate is the most important..

PARTICIPANT C: Being able to communicate is the most important, to assess whether a person should use that language. (Right) Then if Chinese and English both work, then either is fine.

Researcher: So either is fine, right, because being able to communicate is the most important (right). Right, okay, then the last question is that, in your opinion ehm.. would Mandarin be ehm.. more common, more common in Hong Kong and can replace Cantonese?

PARTICIPANT C: Right, so this is my opinion, eh... (1.0) I don't mean in the city in Hong Kong, but Mandarin is eh.. more popular on the international level, like.. there would be way more people who would want to learn Mandarin than the ones who would want to learn

Cantonese. I believe one thing, perhaps, if we look at eh.., the Confucius Institute funded by the government, and they...eh... organise some cultural programmes, or language programmes, then they use Mandarin mainly, like this is official. So if this is the case, this is one of the reasons why the Chinese government wants to promote Mandarin, then it could lead to many people, like people from overseas, using more Mandarin. Then, another thing is ehm.. pop culture, that is eh.. perhaps maybe not pop culture, but like ehm.. people who use (0.7) Mandarin in China are the majority. Then so eh.. they eh... the videos in Mandarin that they create, or the articles that they write in simplified Chinese characters, are popular. When these things flow overseas, then the Chinese that foreigners get in touch with would mainly be Mandarin, then we can say Mandarin is more popular. Then, Hong Kong, up to now, still operates an open economy, that is basically eh.. if our business is fine, then we are fine. In this situation, I would say Hong Kong, it ah... it is affected more by the areas surrounding it than by the decisions that it makes. So, in the situation where Mandarin is the trend, the economic value of Cantonese is low, because for example when you do a business with a foreign customer, and the customer knows Mandarin, then you would use Mandarin to communicate with him. So when examples like this exist, eh... then when eh.. the economic value of Cantonese is low, then perhaps, slowly, maybe not eliminated, but perhaps its position would eh.. be lower than that of Mandarin.

Researcher: Right, that is because Hong Kong is very much affected by the social, political and economic environment, then, if ehm.. Mandarin is the trend overseas, then it may bring Mandarin into the businesses of Hong Kong so they use Mandarin for communication.

PARTICIPANT C: Well, maybe not always the case, it may not only be related to ah.. businesses, like when you have the chance to communicate with the outside world, perhaps the other person would use Mandarin. Like apart from English, they may use Mandarin. In a situation like this eh.. I think no matter eh.. no matter which culture, then eh.. no matter whether it is Hong Kong, Singapore or whatever, whatever place in the world, if there is such a situation, I believe, eh..., no matter where the person is from, they might be interested to .. learn Mandarin, but then in Hong Kong, ehm..., if you use Chinese to communicate, you basically just choose one out of two, Mandarin, or Cantonese. So in this situation, eh..., perhaps it may not lead to, Mandarin, eh.. may not lead to the death of Cantonese in Hong Kong, I don't think it will. But at least, the (1.0) eh.. proficiency in the language, would be lowered because of this.

Researcher: Right, ok, yes, understood. Right, then ehm.. the questions for today are all asked, thank you for your participation.

PARTICIPANT C: Right, thank you.

Participant D 2022 Feb 19 (24 minutes)

Researcher: Right, so thank you very much for taking time to participate in the interview, and the questions in the interview are based on the responses from the questionnaire and the ehm... matched-guise test. Right, the first part is about ehm.. your language use and language proficiency. So the first question, you mentioned that you would use... simplified Chinese characters at work. So, when would you use simplified Chinese characters at work?

PARTICIPANT D: eh.. Usually we would er.. for example eh.. write memo, for the colleagues. Because, eh.. for example if I write the word 學, we normally wouldn't, or I personally would not write the traditional one, like I would write the simplified one. Mostly because it is quicker eh... with fewer strokes, like that. Then and eh.. using simplified characters, because now we eh.. have a lot of communication with the organisations in mainland China. For instance, some of our agreements have to be translated from traditional Chinese characters to simplified Chinese characters. Then so we would use more, because eh.. now we have more communication with the organisations in mainland China. Undeniably, this is happening in Hong Kong.

Researcher: Right, so mainly because it is quicker, and it is also because there is more.. communication with mainland China, so you get to use simplified Chinese characters.

PARTICIPANT D: Right, because now eh.. more communication. So many things, required us to eh.. write to mainland China, or some eh... agreements, then we would need to eh.. write in simplified characters.. in the documents for them. Then so we have to communicate and use simplified Chinese characters.

Researcher: Right, no problem. So, the second question, you wrote in the questionnaire that you would use Mandarin at work. So when would you use it at work?

PARTICIPANT D: It is the same, because for us now, eh., there are so many institutions, those applicants, or the lecturers, people like those, there are quite many people from mainland China, so that when we communicate with them on phone, we would need to speak Mandarin. Also, eh.. they, even if their.. English is good, if we know that their mother tongue is Mandarin, we would speak Mandarin with them. Then... this is a must, because in Hong Kong, there are many lecturers from ... mainland China, or even the students, there are many students from mainland China, so they would eh.. speak Mandarin. So we would get to use more.

Researcher: Ok, so mainly, just like simplified characters, mainly because of your work which involves people from mainland China, so you would use Mandarin.

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, and also, eh... sometimes I would like to speak more Mandarin.

Researcher: Right.

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, because eh.. sometimes... for example, like for example, if you speak thank you in Mandarin, it seems eh.. softer, I think. So, Mandarin would slowly get into my life. (Right, then that is..) But mostly related to work of course.

Researcher: Right, so not just work, and it also explains the reason why, in the questionnaire, you mentioned you would use Mandarin and simplified Chinese characters outside work, is it because of (Yes, yes) this reason?

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, yes. Because eh.. I am now in Hong Kong, perhaps we would see eh.. people from mainland China, or tourists. Then personally, I would eh.. like eh.. speak a bit of Mandarin, because like if we go to visit Shenzhen, or travel in mainland China, then eh.. we would speak. So I hope that eh.. I would like to practise my Mandarin a little bit.

Researcher: Right, so you personally, wish to practise your Mandarin, then would you like to also improve your proficiency in Mandarin, would you have this kind of thought?

PARTICIPANT D: For simplified, I don't really have this thought, mainly because eh... it is faster to write simplified characters and I would only use the common ones. There are some ...eh... traditional characters with many strokes, and then I would like to use the simplified characters. So for simplified characters, eh.. it is just that I am lazy. (Right) But then for Mandarin eh.. I would like to speak better. It is because Hong Kong... it is mainly that we have communication with eh.. mainland, so your Mandarin, and .. Mandarin sounds quite nice, if you speak well.

Researcher: Right, so.. Mandarin is more of a tool, but ..ehm... you quite like Mandarin, so you would like to improve it.

PARTICIPANT D: Er.. you can say that, and also there is such a need. Because ... er.. (1.0) for now in Hong Kong, because Mandarin, er.. Cantonese, sorry, it's Cantonese, we basically know it. So we don't really have any problems with it, and now in schools, in Hong Kong we do train students to be biliterate and trilingual, and so the weakest part of Hong Kong people would be the proficiency in Mandarin.

Researcher: Yes, right. Next question, so you mentioned in the questionnaire ...that your proficiency in simplified characters and Mandarin is higher than that of English. However, for English, there is more English education in Hong Kong than the education of Mandarin and simplified characters. Then why do you think that your proficiency in simplified and ... Mandarin are higher than that of English?

PARTICIPANT D: It is because we are Chinese, then we know Chinese. (1.3) Then Mandarin because, er.. English grammar and Chinese grammar, we have to learn English grammar, sometimes we cannot directly get the idea. But then for er.. Cantonese and Mandarin, basically, we can say they are the same language, they are both Chinese. So it is easy to get the meaning.

So at least I would not be unable to understand Chinese, but it is possible to not understand English, or to get the meaning.

Researcher: Yes, it is because, English and Chinese are different, but then Mandarin and Cantonese are relatively similar, so you would think that your proficiency in Mandarin and simplified characters is higher.

PARTICIPANT D: Right right right. But then, er.. but then English, right... if you say Chinese, our proficiency in Chinese must be higher, because we must be able to read at least.

Researcher: Right, right. Okay, understood. The next question now. So, ehm.. if you have an opportunity to promote a language, what would it be? Would it be Mandarin, Cantonese or English? Why?

PARTICIPANT D: Mandarin. It is because, in the society of Hong Kong, er... from I was born, most parents would want their kids to learn English. Then you can see that we have er.. many parents asking their kids to learn English, er.. for example attending the lessons by the British Council. It is because er.. Mandarin er.. just like what I mentioned before, many people would think they er... at least know a bit Mandarin, because the pronunciation is somehow similar to Cantonese. Then, er... I don't see many parents would deliberately let their children learn Mandarin, and from I was young, I have only seen people trying to be proficient in English, but not really er.. Mandarin. For English, as a Hong Konger, we always have the wish to improve it, so I don't think we need to further promote it. But then for Mandarin, now you need to use Mandarin more, so I think we should promote Mandarin.

Researcher: Right, it is because... English, many Hong Kong people have already been trying to learn English, so there is no need to promote it. Then (right, right) for Cantonese, it is because, we have been speaking it since we were born, so...

PARTICIPANT D: There is absolutely no need to promote Cantonese. If you are in Hong Kong, you will see everyone can speak Cantonese, and so there is no need to further encourage people to learn Cantonese. But then for Mandarin, because so many people would think that they know it, but you can see that there is a lot of 'Hong Kong Mandarin'. Then, the phenomenon of 'Hong Kong Mandarin' is very common, even for some of the er.. government officials, their Mandarin is 'Hong Kong Mandarin', so, Mandarin is the one that needs the most promotion.

Researcher: Right, er.. so we need to ehm.. improve our Mandarin, in order to fix the problem of 'Hong Kong Mandarin'. Because (Yes, because) because...

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, 'Hong Kong Mandarin' is a serious problem.

Researcher: Understood. Then, do you think Cantonese is important to the culture of Hong Kong and your identity? Why?

PARTICIPANT D: Cantonese to... (2.0) Hong Kong culture, well we all speak Cantonese, eh..., they, (1.3), very important? To me, it isn't very important. (2.5) They are, now that many people who speak Mand, eh.. Cantonese, but this language is only a language that represents this place. Then, (1.5) in China, (1.0) there are so many languages, then for example Teochew dialect, what can it represent? It can represent Teochew people. Cantonese, you can say you are from Guangdong. Then.. yes, this, (that is) identity, right.

Researcher: Right, so you think that ehm.. because, Cantonese is the most common language in Hong Kong, but it does not represent too much of the culture or identity, right?

PARTICIPANT D: It has its culture. eh.. identity, Cantonese, as a Hong Konger. Basically, we speak Cantonese in Hong Kong, but then for culture, perhaps I don't feel too much (2.0), and I think Hong Kong is a place where the west meets the east. So the Cantonese in Hong Kong is blended with English.

Researcher: Right, would you think that the Cantonese blended with English is a feature of the language in Hong Kong?

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, right, if you are in Guangzhou, they speak Cantonese but, eh..., there are many people in Guangdong province speaking Cantonese, but they would not blend it with English words. Cantonese blended with English, is a feature of Hong Kong. (2.0) That is, for Hong Kong people, when they eh.. say a sentence in Cantonese, they tend to add one or two English words. (Right) This is a feature of Hong Kong.

Researcher: OK, yes, so you would use the Cantonese from Guangdong province as an example, and compare ehm... it with the Cantonese in Hong Kong, so the Cantonese blended with English is a feature of the Cantonese in Hong Kong.

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, right. Hong Kong.. Cantonese is blended with English, and this is undeniably a feature of Hong Kong. You ... basically eh.. in mainland, like in Guangdong province, very few people would be like people growing up in Hong Kong, like saying one Cantonese sentence with three English words in it.

Researcher: Right, Ok. Understood. Then the next section is about your thoughts on accents. Then ..ehm... do you think English in Hong Kong accent means bad English?

PARTICIPANT D: Yes. But then, if you are in Hong Kong, people would understand Hong Kong English. (right) eh.. but then for eh.. stand English, then some Hong Kong people may not understand. That is, for example if we hear a foreigner speaking English, maybe we cannot 100

percent understand it. But for Hong Kong English, normally Hong Kong people would be able to understand it 100 percent.

Researcher: Yes. So you think that Hong Kong accented English is not really good English, but then if you use it in Hong Kong, more people would understand.

PARTICIPANT D: Hong Kongers would understand, but foreigners may not understand.

Researcher: Right, then you (because, huh), please continue.

PARTICIPANT D: For Hong Kong English, eh..., when we watch TV, and again there are government officials using Hong Kong English, and we can easily understand them. But then if, eh.. foreign reports, we may not understand all of them. It is because our Hong Kong English is unique, and it is the same as Hong Kong Mandarin.

Researcher: Right. So that is why.. you er.. in the matched-guise test, ehm... you rated the speakers speaking in Hong Kong English more friendly and helpful. Is it because, of the same reason, that in Hong Kong you always hear Hong Kong English?

PARTICIPANT D: Oh, normally for Hong Kongers... they speak Hong Kong English. Because we er.. from a very young age, for example in er.. the 60s, 70s, and 80s, there were very few er.. international schools. So we studied in the normal ..er..er.. governmental primary schools and secondary schools, even if there are English secondary schools, the teacher would speak in Hong Kong English. Then for us, we learned Hong Kong English. It is not until now that we started to realise, oh, this is Hong Kong English, and our pronunciations, like we would find out 'Oh, now I know it is not the correct pronunciation', just like this. I just know it now. Then, we have been teaching Hong Kong English generation by generation. Perhaps for this new generation, they would be able to er.. learn proper English, because there are more foreign teachers in Hong Kong whose mother tongue is English, so the children nowadays can er.. have more opportunities to learn English in a proper accent.

Researcher: Yes, then... would you find it more friendly to hear Hong Kong English?

PARTICIPANT D: Hong Kong English, for sure when we hear it, for sure, but then er.. when you hear more, you will be stuck at the level of Hong Kong English. You er.., if you have been abroad before, you would listen to the ..er.. foreigners speaking English, then you would need a bit of adjustment. (Right) Right, you would then know that what you had learned in schools was Hong Kong English, so, when we travel abroad to somewhere English is commonly spoken, we would have some adjustment to our accents. If you know how they pronounce it, then you would... realise that you speak Hong Kong English.

Researcher: Then.. you, you mentioned about 'Hong Kong Mandarin' before, do you think 'Hong Kong Mandarin' means bad Mandarin?

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, (2.0), (right) because Hong Kongers think they just need to twist their pronunciation slightly then they can say the word in Mandarin. But then Mandarin is not like that, I think. Now that I have watched more eh.. TV shows from mainland China, and eh.. we would choose to listen to the original that is not dubbed in Cantonese. When you listen more, you would realise most Hong Kongers have been speaking in 'Hong Kong Mandarin'.

Researcher: Right, ok, then, would you think that you would find it more friendly when you hear 'Hong Kong Mandarin'?

PARTICIPANT D: 'Hong Kong Mandarin' does not sound good. The standard Mandarin sounds way better. 'Hong Kong Mandarin' is a ... joke. Like you would laugh when you hear.

Researcher: Right. Understood. Okay, the last question for today, do you ..think ehm... the accent would change your impression on a person? For example, there are three people, one foreigner, one person from mainland, and a Hong Konger who grew up in Hong Kong, they say the same thing in Cantonese, but then would you have different impression on them because they have different... accent?

PARTICIPANT D: But then.. that... if they speak Cantonese together, then you won't, because you know that is a foreigner, then it is normal that he doesn't really speak in the proper accent. Then if that person's mother tongue is.. Mandarin, it is also normal that he has a less standard accent. So, if they don't speak Cantonese properly, I would not think it is a big deal.

Researcher: Yes, that is ehm.. because you know that their mother tongue isn't Cantonese, then you (right) think it is normal.

PARTICIPANT D: Yes, if their mother tongue is English, you cannot require them to speak proper Cantonese. That is, eh.. I won't, if eh.. foreigners speak Cantonese, or Mandarin speakers speak Cantonese, and a Cantonese.. speaker speak Cantonese, you would expect there is a difference.

Researcher: Yes, (2.0), right. Okay, understood. Okay, the questions for today eh... are asked. Thank you for your participation. Right.

PARTICIPANT D: You are welcome. You are welcome.

Participant E 2022 March 15 (15 minutes)

Researcher: Right, so today, thank you very much for participating in this interview. Then.. the questions in this interviews are based on your responses from the questionnaire and eh.. the matched-guise test. Right. Then first, the first two questions are eh.. about your language proficiency. Right, the first question, eh.. in the questionnaire, you mentioned you rarely use simplified Chinese characters, both at work and outside work. Then you also mentioned that your proficiency in simplified Chinese characters is high. Then why is your proficiency in simplified Chinese characters is high but then you rarely use it now?

PARTICIPANT E: Eh.. because my eh... first job, in my first job, I always needed to use simplified Chinese characters for communication. (2.0) Yes, and it includes Mandarin. Then, during... (1.0)eh... that period of time at work, I improved my proficiency in my simplified Chinese characters and Mandarin. Then I am not using as much now, because I am retired, and, in the society of Hong Kong, eh.. also eh.. we mainly use Cantonese, so I rarely use simplified characters and Mandarin now.

Researcher: Yes, that is, so that is the reason why you rarely use simplified characters and Mandarin, now, at this (right) moment. Then... similar question, ehm.. in the questionnaire, you mentioned your proficiency in Mandarin was higher than that of English. Then, but in Hong Kong, there is more English education than Mandarin education, then why, eh.. your proficiency in Mandarin is higher than that of English? Is it related to work?

PARTICIPANT E: Right, because from the first job, at that time, if I didn't know Mandarin, basically I could hardly eh.. eh.. communicate with my colleagues. Then, I had to learn my Mandarin well. Also, at work, eh.. I had a lot of occasions in which I had to use Mandarin to, eh.. make a conversation. So, those years gave me a chance to practise and improve my Mandarin level. At the same time, I didn't have a lot of opportunities to use English. Therefore, my proficiency in English is lower than Mandarin when compared. (2.0) That is it.

Researcher: Right, it is because at the time, you didn't have a lot of chance to use English, so your proficiency in English is lower than that of Mandarin.

PARTICIPANT E: Yes, that's right.

Researcher: Right, ok. Then, next question. In the questionnaire, you mentioned, eh.. that Cantonese is important to the culture of Hong Kong, then what aspect of culture or why? Why is it important?

PARTICIPANT E: Eh... Because we live in Hong Kong, and majority of people here speak Cantonese. (2.3) Eh.. from I was born, until I went to secondary school and to the society, there is always a need to mainly use Cantonese to communicate. That is why, Cantonese is a part of

life for us as a person in Hong Kong. (2.1) Right, that is why, Cantonese is very important to Hong Kong people.

Researcher: Ok. Yes, because Cantonese is the main language in Hong Kong, so, so Cantonese is a part of Hong Kong culture, that (right) is it. (Right) Ok. Okay, next question, if you have a chance to promote a language in Hong Kong, then what would you choose? Would it be English, Mandarin, or Cantonese? Why?

PARTICIPANT E: Eh.. eh... I would, I would choose to promote Mandarin. Because, we eh.. grew up in Hong Kong, and from the time when we were born we have been speaking in eh.. Cantonese. So our proficiency in Cantonese is supposed to be high already. Also because Hong Kong was a British colony, from the time when we received education until secondary school or university, English is commonly used. (1.8) So, whatever, our English proficiency is at least average. It is only that since the handover, we had to eh.. face the country, the problem of Mandarin. Because, after we got handed back to China, we should theoretically speak Mandarin, as it is the national language. It is similar to, eh.. British people, speak London, English. So, from what I say, I think we should put more force into promote Mandarin.

Researcher: Right, because Mandarin is the language of China, so we, after Hong Kong got handed back to China, then we should promote the national language, that is (right) Mandarin.

PARTICIPANT E: Right, right, after the handover, we should eh.. make Mandarin the main language. That is why I think we should promote it.

Researcher: Right, okay, fine. Understood. Next question, eh.. in the questionnaire, you wrote that you eh.. were a Hong Konger living in China. Then, is language one of the reasons that made you answer like this?

PARTICIPANT E: eh... (1.3) not really, but, but language, affected, eh.., because we got handed over, because we got handed back to China, huh, then, we (2.0) right, should use eh.. Mandarin, the language of the nation. Then Cantonese should become a vernacular. (1.0) Then it is like eh.. (3.1) so, we should, eh.. write Chinese Hong Kong people. (right) That is this, not too much related, not eh.. much influenced by language.

Researcher: That is language, did not influence your answer, and there are other factors.

PARTICIPANT E: Right right. Because the most important is that Hong Kong got handed over to China.

Researcher: Right, ok. Understood. Then, eh.. lately ehm... the Hong Kong government has started to promote education in Mandarin, then do you think Mandarin would become a threat to Cantonese in the future when Mandarin becomes more popular?

(pause for 7 seconds)

PARTICIPANT E: eh.. I think (1.8) eh.. the threat is a must, of course, because the most important is that eh.. we reunited with China, and the national language in China is Mandarin. (1.1) Right? It is like British people, they speak English, the same. Back in the days, during the colonial period, Hong Kongers of course spoke English. But then now, we are under China, theoretically, we should speak Mandarin as it is the national language. Hong Kong is merely a place in China. Then, (2.1) people in Hong Kong would mainly use Mandarin in the future, and it is absolutely normal. Therefore, the threat to Cantonese, eh.. yes it exists, because Cantonese would become a vernacular.

Researcher: Right, later, you think later, the most popular language used in Hong Kong would be Cantonese, oh, no, would be Mandarin.

PARTICIPANT E: Yes, this will definitely happen.

Researcher: Yes, and this is absolutely normal?

PARTICIPANT E: Yes.

Researcher: Ok, right. Then next question, do you think, eh... English, do you think English in British accent means good English? Also, does Hong Kong English mean bad English?

PARTICIPANT E: eh... I agree. I agree eh.. British English is better. This is similar to the Mandarin, the Mandarin of Chang'an Avenue in Beijing is better. Also, it is the same, British English, the London accent is better. So I don't agree with Hong Kong English, I don't think it is good.

Researcher: Right, because, eh is it because, like, Hong Kong English is not much of a standard dialect of English?

PARTICIPANT E: eh.. Absolutely, absolutely. Because of this, I don't agree with the idea of Hong Kong English.

Researcher: Right, ok. Okay, understood. Then next question, you eh.. grew up in Hong Kong, would you find it more friendly to hear Cantonese and Hong Kong English?

(pause for 3 seconds)

PARTICIPANT E: eh... (2.1) I think, we are in Hong Kong, if we hear Cantonese, of course we would find it friendly, because it is the main language we have used from a young age. (2.3) Huh. But then for Hong Kong English, it is not as friendly.

(pause for 3 seconds)

Researcher: Hong Kong, Hong Kong English doesn't sound as friendly, is it because, because just like before, because Hong Kong English.. is less much of a standard dialect of English?

PARTICIPANT E: eh.. mainly. If you speak English, the London accent is better. (1.9) Huh. Just like what I mentioned before, the Mandarin in Chang'an Avenue in Beijing is better. Huh. Then for Cantonese, because we are from Hong Kong, then it is true that we would find it more friendly when we hear Cantonese.

Researcher: Right, (2.1), right, understood. Right, the last question. For three people saying the same thing, but in different accents, would you have different impressions on them? For example, eh... there are three people, one foreigner, one from mainland China, and one Hong Konger. They say the same thing in Cantonese, but they have different accents, would you have different impressions on them because of their accents?

PARTICIPANT E: eh... certainly not, certainly not, because if you talk about Cantonese, the Cantonese we Hong Kongers speak is more standard. (right) Non-Hong Kongers, like foreigners, would be less likely to be able to speak that properly. Huh, and I would accept it. Huh, because I know that he is not from Hong Kong, then I would accept it. Because, it is the same as we speak English, we wouldn't speak like a person from London. (Right) (1.7) Right. (That is, that is) So I would not have a bad impression on them.

Researcher: Huh, that is, to put it simpler, eh.. you would not expect them to be able to speak that correctly.

PARTICIPANT E: Eh.. must be, (yes), huh.

Researcher: Right, understood, right. Then all the questions for today are asked. Thank you for your participation. Ok. Bye Bye.

PARTICIPANT E: Right, bye bye.

Participant F 2022 Mar 31 (20 minutes)

Researcher: Right, thank you very much for your participation in this.. interview. The content of the interview is based on your responses in the questionnaire and the matched-guise test. The first two questions are about your language use, (right) so first, in the questionnaire, you mentioned eh.. that your proficiency in simplified Chinese character is not low, and it is seven out of ten. Then why, why would you rarely use simplified Chinese characters at work and outside work?

PARTICIPANT F: Oh, because I work in Hong Kong, and in Hong Kong eh.., normally eh.. the the characters we use ehm... ehm... are traditional Chinese characters, so I rarely use eh.. eh.. simplified Chinese characters. But then why would I say that I eh.. I am proficient in eh.. eh.. simplified Chinese characters, it is because I would regularly read books and news in simplified Chinese characters, therefore, yea. But then eh.. for writing, daily communication, like the people I speak to, they tend to use traditional Chinese characters, or English. Therefore, I mainly use eh.. traditional Chinese characters, and less simplified Chinese characters, that is it.

Researcher: Yes, understood, because people you speak to usually (right) read traditional Chinese characters, so you rarely use simplified characters.

PARTICIPANT F: Right.

Researcher: Yes, the second question, you mentioned that you would use a lot of written English at work, but you rarely use.. spoken English. Why?

PARTICIPANT F: eh.. it is because eh.. my work mainly involves eh.. replying emails, then for emails eh.. we often write English in a more formal style. Then because I eh.. even when I am having a meeting, I eh.. for example I need to use spoken or oral English, because it is at work, then I have to be formal. Then, eh, eh, then in my social network, there are not a lot eh.. foreigners. Then I would, eh.. like even when we are having a chit-chat, we eh.. rarely use spoken English, or oral English. Right.

Researcher: Right, so because your work involves replying (right) email, so you would use eh..(right) written English.

PARTICIPANT F: Right (just like), right, right.

Researcher: Okay, (right) understood. Right, the next question, eh is about your thought to Cantonese, next, next three questions are about your opinions on... Cantonese. (Understood) You mentioned in the questionnaire that, eh.. Cantonese is very important to your eh.. identity, can you explain what identity it is?

ID8635: Oh, it is a so called- eh.. my sense of belong to the place, especially I was born in Hong Kong, the cultural sense of belonging, because language is a root of a culture. Then, this, and eh.. I, no matter what I get into, I get into eh.. eh.. music, films, and eh.. some other forms of eh.. eh.. local culture, they are mostly in Cantonese, like for example, I personally like eh.. Cantonese songs, I personally like Hong Kong movies, and I, the older generation, like when I have free time, I would discuss Cantonese opera. All these mainly use Cantonese as the means of ehm.. communication. So this is the ..eh.. sense of belonging and identity, that is what I think. Mainly cultural.

Researcher: Right, so mainly a cultural (right) identity, (right)so, so, you would say, Cantonese is very important to Hong Kong culture.

PARTICIPANT F: Yes, right.

Researcher: Because it is the main means of communication.

PARTICIPANT F: Communication and all, eh, it is a carrier of culture, because eh.., right eh.. all the bit, and bit of culture is presented through Cantonese, or eh.., more formally, we can say it is the Lingnan culture, that is the main thing, which is different than eh.. like the north, or what we call the culture from other province.

Researcher: Okay, understood. Then this, this opinion, has it affected your response in the questionnaire that you would self-identify as a Hong Konger?

PARTICIPANT F: Eh, right, this is right. Eh, because eh, this...eh.. is my language, and then the language gives me the sense of belonging to the culture, and the uniqueness. So ehm.. this makes me feel like I am a Hong Konger. (Right, because of the culture..) Yes, yes, and not eh.. and not from the perspective of the law, because on the passport, we are Chinese eh.. eh.. I am eh.. not looking at this from this angle. Right.

Researcher: Yes, so you are based on the origin of the culture (right) and the (but) place in which you were born.

PARTICIPANT F: Right, right.

Researcher: Right, okay, understood. Right, next question, so in the questionnaire you mentioned that eh.. you don't think there is enough resources being devoted to preserve Cantonese, and you think there should be more resources being devoted to eh.. preserve Cantonese. In your opinion, why are there not enough resources to preserve Cantonese? Also, why do you think Cantonese needs to be preserved? Or should be preserved (I)?

PARTICIPANT F: I ehm.. first is eh.. you can see the trend of education, the trend is that ehm.., originally there is no need to preserve Cantonese, because it gets passed down generation by generation. But then now because eh.. we got reunited with China, so we need to speak Mandarin, and Mandarin is called ehm... like the language of the nation. In this situation, I am worried that it would happen like Shanghai losing Shanghainese, or Manchuria losing the Manchu language. Then it would lose a feature of that place eh.., that eh.. something called native language. Or it may become a vernacular. That is it. This is what I worry about. But then why the government hasn't devoted resources is because the policy of the government eh.. follows the national policies. So, eh.. as time goes by, even if it does not intend to kill off Cantonese but just to devote resources into Mandarin, then eh.. so there will not be enough resources. Right, right, that is it.

Researcher: Yes, so.. that is you.. think that.. the government's policies follow what China wants, so (right) they do not devote resources to preserve Cantonese.

PARTICIPANT F: Eh.. right, yes, when it comes to the preservation of Cantonese, just like what I mentioned before, Cantonese, to a certain extent, is a sense of belonging to the culture, and you, and the government does not really actively, and generously devote resources to something like Hong Kong movies, Cantonese music, or some other preservations of cultures. It appears like they are trying to avoid doing such a thing.

Researcher: Understood, right, then... following the previous question, would you think that ehm... Mandarin, eh.. promoting to use Mandarin to teach, or policies like this, would make Mandarin a threat to Cantonese?

PARTICIPANT F: eh.. Originally I wouldn't think a language, would be a threat, just like when you are abroad, you, you know English or you know French, there is no contradiction. But then in the situation in Hong Kong, just like what I said, because one language is a national policy. When one language is a national policy, then I would think it would make Cantonese eh.. ehm.. it's role eh.. maybe not in our generation, but maybe eh.. it will be marginalised in the next one or two generations, or we may not even use it, right.

Researcher: Right, it is because of the trend, that is..

PARTICIPANT F: Yes, the trend, right, right.

Researcher: Yes, understood. Then if you have an opportunity to promote a language in Hong Kong, which one would you choose? And why?

PARTICIPANT F: I actually eh.. promote in Hong Kong, eh... which language, eh.. I.. I don't really have a very clear thought, like other than Cantonese. Like because eh.. eh.. but if you ask me, maybe some more, more local languages, perhaps some Tanka language, or some Hakka Chinese, things like this. eh.. they don't need to be taught in a class, but at least make people aware of the existence of these languages, because like there is a lot of Hakka Chinese in

Cantonese, and these two are very much related, both in language and geography. Right, so I would choose Hakka Chinese, if you ask me.

Researcher: Right, okay. Yes. So you would choose something less known.

PARTICIPANT F: Right, right, right, or, right, right, or that is eh.. a language that would be related that area but eh.. maybe people don't know. Right, also the less used one.

Researcher: Yes, understood. Right, so next, in the questionnaire, there was a question about how close you are with China, like your closeness with China, and you rated one out of ten. Do you think language affected your answer?

PARTICIPANT F: ehm.. actually, ehm..eh.. partly affected, but what I considered, was like the sense of belonging to the culture and lifestyle, and I think we eh..ehm... the impression is different to those of Chinese people, so I rated one. Because I think the lifestyle and habit, and the language and culture in Hong Kong are different than those in any other Chinese cities, so I rated one, right.

Researcher: Right. (Right) So you think, apart from language, there are many other factors which made you gave this answer..

PARTICIPANT F: Right, right, right. Because I think, this question doesn't mean that I don't like my country, or, or there is not need for such a political consideration. It is basically based on the lifestyle, I think eh.. yes, like eh. I think eh.. I want to emphasise my sense of belonging to this place, so, so, that is why I decided this answer.

Researcher: Yes, so.. habit, and the cultural difference, mainly.

PARTICIPANT F: Yes, right.

Researcher: Understood, okay, then the following questions will be..eh... about your responses (right).. from the matched-guise test. Right, so the first question, that is, in the matched-guise test, you could tell which two recordings were in Hong Kong English, but then you didn't, eh.. you didn't rate the two speakers particularly friendly, why? You grew up in Hong Kong, would you not find Hong Kong English more friendly to hear?

PARTICIPANT F: No, eh... eh.. I would like to define the friendliness, that is, eh.. maybe I heard it too much, so that I don't find it too special. Yes, perhaps, to me, it is too normal. Because, because because, friendly, is like, ehm.. why, because when I work.. right, that is, when I work and study, yea, there maybe some foreigner, right. For me, accent isn't too, like I would not say that I am close to a person purely based on accent. Right, I would not make a decision on how friendly a person is based on accent. Therefore, right, this is my answer.

Researcher: Yes, so because you heard it often, so you wouldn't find it too special. Also, you are not too (right) sensitive towards accent, that is..

PARTICIPANT F: Eh.. yes, yes.

Researcher: Then you...eh.. grew up in Hong Kong, would you find it friendly to hear Cantonese?

PARTICIPANT F: Eh...Eh... let me see, eh.. yes when I am abroad. I would when I am abroad, because Cantonese is the daily means of communication in Hong Kong, so you wouldn't find it strange. I think it is like a relative concept, like if I can hear Cantonese elsewhere I would find it friendly. For example in Britain, or eh.. in Europe, American or other countries, or even when I am eh.. eh.. in other provinces in China, like Shanghai or Beijing, if I hear Cantonese then I would find it friendly.

Researcher: Understood, so it is like the rare is precious, (right) that is (right), you would find it more friendly to hear Cantonese where Cantonese is rarely used.

PARTICIPANT F: Eh.. Yes, yes, because it is like meeting an old friend abroad, like that.

Researcher: Meeting an old friend abroad, okay. Right, the next question. In the matched-guise test, you correctly pointed out the two eh.. Chinese accent, like the two speakers using a Mandarin accent to speak English. You rated them as the most intelligent, the most highly educated, the most competent, and the wealthiest. Are there any reasons behind your rating?

PARTICIPANT F: I eh.. because eh.. in mainland China, it isn't a case that everyone knows English, this is the first. Eh.. people who know English have already received a certain level of education. Then for this, this is mainly my starting point. Second, that is ehm..eh... right that is eh.. if they can speak fluent English, it means that they use English regularly, no matter what sectors they are in, eh.. that is eh.. mainly my, .. norm, this is like a norm in mainland China, that is how I got my answer.

Researcher: Right, so it is based on your knowledge about mainland China then (right) you wrote this answer.

PARTICIPANT F: Yes, because, because, because you, if you know English, you must have received some education deliberately, because there isn't a course called English in the Chinese syllabus. Yes, then if they can speak Cantonese, it means that, ehm.. they have a certain level of eh.. eh.. eh.. capability. Cultural capability, and economic capability, because if they can speak English, right eh..., like the middle class or above can afford it. Yes.

Researcher: Okay, understood. Okay, then, in the matched-guise test, you heard.. one.. recording that is in Mandarin, then you guessed they were.. Americans. Why?

(pause for 3 seconds)

PARTICIPANT F: Oh, because the feeling it gives me, like my first response was that eh.. it was like in Chinatown, like that sort of area, like that feel. That Mandarin, right. Also they eh.. seemed to eh.. eh.. eh.. focus so much on each syllable, and when they do that it does not sound like a native speaker, so that eh.. eh.. is my response. Right, that is why eh.. it led to my answer.

Researcher: Yes, okay, understood. Then eh.. similar question, you heard the Cantonese recordings, and you thought they were British people. Is it because of the same reason?

PARTICIPANT F: Eh.. Yes, yes. The same.

Researcher: Because they focus much on each syllable and pronunciation, right?

PARTICIPANT F: Yes, also, yes. It is like they try to make every syllable so clear, just like we eh.. eh.. Hong Kongers speak English, it is like.. we would only pronounce every syllable very clearly, the same feeling.

Researcher: The last question, eh.. to people in different accents, but they speak the same thing, like the content of their speech or utterance is the same, do you have different impressions on them? Based on their accents.

PARTICIPANT F: Eh.. If it is, eh...eh.. firstly eh.. I would not judge a person's social class based on the accent. But then the impression is eh.. I can tell the geographical location. For example, I can tell, is that person is a native speaker? If he is not native, then where is he from? Yes, so this is what I think. But then for social class, I think eh.. we shouldn't judge based on the accent, eh.. like me, personally, I would not eh.. eh.. think from the social status, to.. judge their accents, or what their accents reflect in terms of social class. Right.

Researcher: Yes, so you would not.. (geographical location, right) just geographical location, like where they are from, but you wouldn't judge their social class.. based on accent.

PARTICIPANT F: Yes, yes.

Researcher: Yes, okay. Understood. Then all the questions for today have been asked, thank you for your participation.

PARTICIPANT F: Yes, you are welcome. Yes, thank you.

Appendix D: Verbal-guise results

	British Accent English (Male)		British Accent English (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	5.67	1.63	5.67	1.86	5.67
Intelligent	5.17	1.60	6.83	1.17	6.00
Highly-educated	6.33	2.94	6.83	0.75	6.58
Wealthy	5.67	2.34	5.83	1.47	5.75
Successful	5.50	2.59	6.17	0.75	5.84
Helpful	5.17	1.72	5.83	2.64	5.50
Sincere	5.50	1.52	6.50	2.81	6.00
Kind	4.67	1.51	5.33	2.50	5.00
Competent	4.83	1.17	7.67	1.63	6.25
Hard-working	4.00	1.10	7.00	1.10	5.50
Considerate	4.83	1.94	6.50	1.05	5.67
Reliable	5.00	1.10	6.67	2.16	5.84

	Hong Kong Accent English (Male)		Hong Kong Accent English (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	6.67	1.21	7.33	1.21	7.00
Intelligent	6.17	2.23	5.00	0.63	5.59
Highly-educated	5.67	1.21	5.67	0.82	5.67
Wealthy	5.50	1.52	6.00	1.55	5.75
Successful	5.83	1.33	5.67	1.21	5.75
Helpful	7.33	0.82	7.17	2.04	7.25
Sincere	6.67	1.03	6.83	2.14	6.75
Kind	7.17	1.17	7.17	1.83	7.17
Competent	6.00	1.41	6.17	1.17	6.09
Hard-working	6.83	1.33	6.83	1.72	6.83
Considerate	5.83	1.17	6.17	1.33	6.00
Reliable	6.33	1.03	6.50	1.76	6.42

	Chinese Accent English (Male)		Chinese Accent English (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	6.33	1.63	6.33	1.86	6.33
Intelligent	6.67	1.03	7.33	0.52	7.00
Highly-educated	6.67	1.03	7.67	0.52	7.17
Wealthy	6.33	1.97	7.00	1.67	6.67
Successful	5.83	1.47	6.83	1.17	6.33
Helpful	6.50	1.52	5.83	1.72	6.17
Sincere	6.50	1.64	6.17	1.33	6.34
Kind	6.67	1.37	6.00	1.79	6.34
Competent	6.50	1.52	7.33	0.82	6.92
Hard-working	7.00	1.26	7.33	1.51	7.17
Considerate	5.67	1.21	6.50	1.38	6.09
Reliable	5.33	1.51	6.67	1.21	6.00

	Mandarin (Male)		Mandarin (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	7.00	1.10	6.67	1.97	6.84
Intelligent	5.50	1.76	7.17	0.98	6.34
Highly-educated	6.00	1.79	7.17	1.17	6.59
Wealthy	5.67	0.52	6.67	1.21	6.17
Successful	5.33	0.82	6.17	1.47	5.75
Helpful	6.67	1.03	6.17	1.83	6.42
Sincere	6.67	1.63	5.17	1.47	5.92
Kind	6.50	1.76	5.00	2.68	5.75
Competent	5.33	0.82	6.00	1.26	5.67
Hard-working	5.83	1.17	6.00	1.55	5.92
Considerate	5.33	1.51	5.83	1.17	5.58
Reliable	5.33	1.37	5.50	1.87	5.42

	Cantonese (Male)		Cantonese (Female)		Overall
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean
Friendly	6.17	1.33	7.17	0.98	6.67
Intelligent	6.33	1.37	4.83	2.04	5.58
Highly-educated	5.67	0.82	3.67	1.21	4.67
Wealthy	6.17	0.98	5.83	1.83	6.00
Successful	5.67	1.03	5.83	1.60	5.75
Helpful	7.00	0.89	7.83	0.98	7.42
Sincere	6.83	1.47	7.67	0.52	7.25
Kind	6.33	1.86	7.50	1.22	6.92
Competent	6.17	1.47	6.33	2.07	6.25
Hard-working	6.50	1.38	7.50	2.07	7.00
Considerate	5.67	1.03	6.17	1.33	5.92
Reliable	5.83	2.40	7.17	1.17	6.50

Appendix E: I-statements and Value Codes

I-statements in interview 1

Cognitive	<p>I think an identity as a Hong Konger (Cantonese important)</p> <p>In my opinion, the lack of resources... assume people can speak their native language</p> <p>I think mainly... not just... pop culture (impact of the lack of resource to protect)</p> <p>I would especially think... lifestyle or ideologies would.. disappear</p> <p>I think.. again, it depends (perception of Hong Konger)</p> <p>I don't think there is a big impact (language on closeness with China)</p> <p>We can say because Mandarin is tied with the mainland communist regime</p> <p>I don't think it is only because of the language (reunification of culture slowing down)</p> <p>I mainly think... depreciates the position of Cantonese as a tool</p>
Affective	<p>I have to know him first (Hong Konger)</p> <p>We feel Cantonese... starting to have fewer speakers</p> <p>I don't have special opinion on Mandarin</p> <p>I feel a bit like this (People learn Mandarin and Cantonese becomes not popular)</p> <p>I think it is okay (people speaking with different Chinese accent)</p> <p>I don't feel it too much in Hong Kong (accent affecting sense of identity)</p>
State and Action	<p>I would count foreigners who can speak Cantonese (as Hong Konger)</p> <p>We think Hong Konger is a very unique identity</p> <p>I had some classmates when I was studying</p> <p>At my workplace we speak Cantonese</p> <p>I would speak Mandarin... coursemates from mainland when I did my Masters</p> <p>I don't know, I don't know how long it takes (threat to Cantonese)</p>
Ability and Constraints	<p>It was really difficult to communicate and to understand (Mandarin communication)</p> <p>My linguistic ability was weak</p>
Achievement Statement	

Value Codes in Interview 1:

Themes	Value	Attitudes	Beliefs
Cantonese and Identity	Hong Konger Social Identity Unique identity Pop culture Something related to life Lifestyle Ideologies Our own culture Unique economic-cultural activities Concept of Cantonese	Speak Cantonese In Hong Kong We feel Cantonese Something that can only be conveyed using Cantonese	
Views on Mandarin	Mandarin culture The political regimes Different regimes	Mandarin tied with communist regime No special opinion on the language itself One reason for difficult reunification of culture Regime, lifestyle, and culture are different Language is part of it	
Closeness with China		Communication was not smooth Difficult to communicate and understand Don't feel close with Guangdong	
Threat of Mandarin		Would disappear New Cantonese is different in context Young generation speak more Mandarin Fewer speakers Weaker proficiency Affect me	Lack of resources to preserve (Cantonese) Other's assumption that can speak their native language Other's disbelieve that Cantonese will disappear Invasion of new Cantonese terms

		Would see Mandarin as a threat to Cantonese	<p>New generation from mainland value Mandarin more</p> <p>Government depreciates the position of Cantonese</p> <p>People are more motivated to learn Mandarin</p> <p>Cantonese becomes not popular</p>
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I-statements in interview 2

Cognitive	<p>I think it is faster to type English</p> <p>I also know there are way more English lessons than Mandarin lessons</p> <p>I think these things (written Cantonese)... make Cantonese broad and profound</p> <p>I think that, we don't have... preservation or education</p> <p>I think ... newspapers and magazines... more words which aren't used in Hong Kong</p> <p>I think it would affect the Hong Kong culture</p> <p>I think ... they value more of the... Chinese language in mainland</p> <p>I think eh.. few languages can coexist</p> <p>I think, it isn't a threat (normal circumstance, if languages peacefully coexist)</p> <p>I think their competitiveness is high (Chinese people speaking English)</p> <p>Those who speak better English I think ... better at studying</p>
Affective	<p>I want to improve my English</p> <p>I like watching Taiwanese dramas</p> <p>I think Cantonese ... broad and profound</p> <p>Yes I do, I do (feeling less connected to mainland because of language)</p>

	<p>I feel closer to them (Guangdong province, as they speak Cantonese)</p> <p>I think they are well educated, and also wealthy... hard-working, and competitive (Chinese who can speak English)</p> <p>I would feel that he... tries hard to get into the society (mainlander speaking Cantonese in Hong Kong)</p> <p>I would rather have him... saying some improper Cantonese (mainlander)</p> <p>I would say that he is willing to get used to us (mainlander)</p> <p>I would perhaps, admire him (mainlander trying to speak Cantonese in Hong Kong)</p>
State and Action	<p>When I speak with my brother, my friends, my colleagues... I would type English</p> <p>Maybe I am used to it (typing English)</p> <p>I type using Cangjie</p> <p>For Mandarin, I sometimes use it in my workplace</p> <p>I don't use it otherwise (Mandarin)</p> <p>I don't usually have opportunities to speak English</p> <p>I have a lot of relatives in mainland China</p> <p>More opportunities for me to speak Mandarin</p> <p>I listen to it quite much (Mandarin)</p> <p>I rarely watched English dramas</p> <p>I would speak Mandarin more than English</p> <p>When we do writing, we use the written form of Chinese</p> <p>I have heard a lot eh.. Cantonese accent, and mainland accent, and also the foreign accent</p> <p>Students from mainland that I know ... the colleagues and students... are very hard-working</p>
Ability and Constraints	<p>My proficiency in traditional characters should be pretty well</p> <p>Three, I think (proficiency in simplified characters)</p> <p>My Mandarin is better than English</p>
Achievement Statement	

Value Codes in interview 2:

	Value	Attitude	Belief
Cantonese and Identity	Identity of a Hong Konger		

	Unique feature of Hong Kong		
Threat of Mandarin	Newspapers and magazines Written language Threat	Newspapers and magazines nowadays add unrelated words Changed the Cantonese we are used to Chinese would become worse Affect Hong Kong culture Assimilation of HK Cantonese and Mandarin More Chinese in the mainland style People don't value Cantonese anymore Slowly erodes Cannot coexist (Cantonese and Mandarin)	People don't normally learn written Cantonese words Lack preservation or education of Cantonese Lack of promotion of Cantonese Will be more new words invading Hong Kong People value more of the Chinese in mainland Use the written form of Chinese (mainland style) Many schools use Mandarin to teach Chinese Threat exists Replace Cantonese
Views on Cantonese	Written words for Cantonese 'Ben sir'	Often treated as a spoken language Cantonese is broad and profound Isn't purely a spoken language Broad and profound Feel closer when hearing HK accented English and Cantonese	The Chinese in HK will become the one they use in mainland Cantonese may disappear
Views on China		Less connected because of language Feel closer to Guangdong province due to language	Poor, tough, one to two thousands dollars a month Ones who can study abroad must be wealthy Situation is worse than Hong Kong

I-statement in interview 3:

Cognitive	<p>I would think... would be a close association between simplified characters and Mandarin</p> <p>I think of course these two are associated culturally (simplified characters and Mandarin)</p> <p>I think simplified character is just a difference in style</p> <p>I know some people might... use simplified characters because it is more convenient and quicker</p> <p>I think... pop culture, or music or films, or other things... Cantonese environment</p> <p>Cantonese is important to Chinese culture at least in the era when I grow up</p> <p>I believe it is called 'inseparable' (Cantonese and Hong Kong culture)</p> <p>I believe... Hong Kong government and the non-governmental organisations have actually devoted resources... to make sure Cantonese is still popular</p> <p>I do think there is a need though (to preserve Cantonese)</p> <p>I think this can be considered (promote and preserve cultures and Cantonese)</p> <p>I think ... the written form of Cantonese is rare</p> <p>I still think there is a need (to promote spoken Cantonese as well)</p> <p>I think not many people know (tools of preserving Cantonese)</p> <p>I think it would be a threat (Mandarin to Cantonese)</p> <p>I would think, this would (threat)</p> <p>I can also see it myself... the new generation... the Cantonese proficiency... is relative weak</p> <p>I believe, it isn't just the students in international schools, but also the students in local schools (relatively weak Cantonese proficiency)</p> <p>I cannot say there would be fewer people using Cantonese (but fluently use Cantonese)</p> <p>I just need to re-emphasise, there is a language barrier (Hong Kong and China)</p> <p>I think... this concept is not really related to our study (British accent associated with higher social class)</p> <p>I believe that... Hong Kong it is mainly divided into international schools and local schools</p>
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	<p>I don't mean in the city in Hong Kong, but Mandarin... more popular on the international level</p> <p>I believe... the Confucius Institute funded by the government... cultural programmes, or language programmes, then they use Mandarin mainly</p> <p>I would say Hong Kong... affected more by the areas surrounding it than by the decisions that it makes</p> <p>I think..., I believe... no matter where the person is from, they might be interested to.. learn Mandarin</p> <p>I don't think it will (death of Cantonese)</p>
Affective	<p>It doesn't feel like a different language (simplified characters)</p> <p>I am less motivated to... write in simplified characters</p> <p>I think it is very hard... separate my individual identity from my social identity</p> <p>My social identity is very important</p> <p>I think Cantonese is very important to both my individual and social identity</p> <p>I think it is worth being preserved (Cantonese)</p> <p>I think, this is er.. related to er.. the geographical location (closeness with China)</p> <p>I believe I would give a higher rating (cities within Guangdong)</p> <p>I can be pretty sure that it is somehow related (Cantonese and closeness with China)</p> <p>Give me an impression that an accent like this is associated with... British people in a higher social class</p>

	<p>I would find Hong Kong accent more familiar and friendly</p> <p>I would have this thought (fee in international schools is higher)</p> <p>I think either is fine (which language to use for communicate in Hong Kong)</p>
State and Action	<p>I would normally use English... more than 99% (at work)</p> <p>I would 100% use English (written language at work)</p> <p>The work I do... involves marketing research... with certain research teams</p> <p>I mentioned 99% and not the Chinese way of saying</p> <p>We use a bit less traditional Chinese characters (at work)</p> <p>When I lack time... and I cannot think of a Chinese word (use English words)</p> <p>I would use more simplified characters</p> <p>When I was in primary schools, I ... get some books in simplified Chinese characters</p> <p>I got to read the books written in simplified characters</p> <p>I watched TV programmes in Mandarin with subtitles (happen less)</p> <p>The time I spent with simplified characters was far more than... Mandarin</p> <p>I would actively read simplified characters</p> <p>I would use online search engines to look for articles... in simplified characters</p> <p>I may not actively click into it (videos in Mandarin)</p> <p>I think it is a personal habit (writing in traditional characters as opposed to simplified)</p> <p>The time when I got to simplified characters was when I was in primary school</p> <p>I would read simplified characters... not an urgent need to write Chinese in a quicker way</p> <p>I studied at a university in the UK</p>

	<p>I would use English</p> <p>In my social network... we mainly... use, is it Cantonese I had always been receiving local education in Hong Kong... mainly used Cantonese</p> <p>My social network and my background are filled with Cantonese</p> <p>I have been constantly using Cantonese (daily life)</p> <p>I get in contact with these kids</p>
Ability and Constraints	
Achievement Statement	I am a leader of a boy scout

Value Codes in interview 3:

	Value	Attitude	Belief
Cantonese and Identity	<p>Individual and social identity</p> <p>Social network</p> <p>Cantonese environment</p>	<p>Hong Kong is a Chinese city blended with western culture</p> <p>Cantonese important to individual and social identity</p> <p>Hard to separate individual and social identity</p> <p>Social network and background filled with Cantonese</p>	<p>Singer, movies use Cantonese</p>
Views on Cantonese	<p>Pop culture in Hong Kong</p> <p>Music</p> <p>Films</p> <p>Cantonese environment</p> <p>Means of communication</p>	<p>Cantonese important to culture in the era I grew up</p> <p>Cantonese and HK pop culture inseparable</p> <p>Role of Cantonese in education would not fade</p> <p>Using Cantonese as a written language is extremely rare</p> <p>Written from is rare</p>	<p>Related to Teochew dialect</p>

<p>Preservation of Cantonese</p>	<p>Enough resources (local education)</p> <p>International schools</p> <p>Local schools</p> <p>Secondary schools</p> <p>Education policies</p> <p>'Little Prince' (written Cantonese)</p> <p>Cantonese thesaurus</p>	<p>NGO and government should promote and preserve cultures of Cantonese</p> <p>Written and spoken forms should be promoted</p> <p>Worth being preserved</p> <p>Large amount of resources (education policy) to preserve Cantonese</p> <p>A need to devote more resources to preserve Cantonese</p> <p>More resources should be put to promote Cantonese and culture</p> <p>Not many people know about the tools to promote Cantonese</p> <p>Should be actively promoted (spoken form)</p>	<p>Preserving Cantonese means to maintain popularity of the language</p> <p>HK government and NGO have devoted resources to preservation</p> <p>Local schools use Cantonese to teach</p> <p>A fund to support tools like Cantonese thesaurus exists</p>
<p>Threat of Mandarin</p>	<p>Threat</p> <p>Promotion of Mandarin</p> <p>New generation of Hong Kong</p> <p>International schools</p> <p>Environment of international schools</p> <p>Policy to promote Mandarin</p> <p>New generation</p> <p>Confucius Institute (including cultural and language programmes)</p> <p>Articles in simplified Chinese</p>	<p>People can still understand Cantonese but few will be fluent</p> <p>Mandarin more popular on the international level</p> <p>Chinese government wants to promote Mandarin</p> <p>People overseas use more Mandarin</p> <p>Mandarin is more popular, to foreigners</p>	<p>Using Mandarin to teach Chinese favours more people</p> <p>International schools use Mandarin and simplified characters</p> <p>Language policy in international schools favours Mandarin</p> <p>Threat (proficiency) exists to both international and local schools</p> <p>More people want to learn Mandarin</p>

	<p>Videos in Mandarin</p> <p>Low economic value of Cantonese</p> <p>Businesses</p>	<p>Economic value of Cantonese is low</p> <p>Mandarin is used to communicate with the outside world</p> <p>Foreigners and locals are more interested to learn Mandarin</p> <p>Does not lead to the death of Cantonese in Hong Kong</p>	<p>Promotional events of Chinese use Mandarin mainly</p> <p>Mandarin in China are the majority</p>
Closeness with China	<p>Geographical location</p> <p>Place around me</p> <p>Guangdong province</p> <p>Jilin or Heilongjian</p> <p>Vocabularies (different in HK Cantonese)</p> <p>Pronunciations (different in HK Cantonese)</p> <p>Reunification between HK and China (affected by language)</p> <p>Language barrier and barrier to reunification</p>	<p>Feel closer around Guangdong (use Cantonese)</p> <p>Closeness related to Cantonese</p>	<p>So many provinces in China</p> <p>Guangdong province mainly uses Cantonese</p> <p>Cantonese in HK and Guangdong are not exactly the same</p> <p>China is big</p> <p>Most people speak Mandarin in China, some speak vernacular</p>

I-Statements in interview 4:

Cognitive	<p>Cantonese and Mandarin, basically, we can say they are the same language</p> <p>From I was born, most parents would want their kids to learn English</p> <p>I don't see many parents would deliberately let their children learn Mandarin</p> <p>I have only seen people trying to be proficient in English</p> <p>I don't think we need to further promote it (English)</p> <p>I think we should promote Mandarin</p> <p>I think Hong Kong is a place where the west meets the east</p> <p>We learned Hong Kong English</p> <p>We have been teaching Hong Kong English generation by generation</p> <p>Mandarin is not like that, I think (twisting pronunciation from Cantonese)</p>
Affective	<p>Sometimes I would like to speak more Mandarin</p> <p>Mandarin, it seems eh.. softer, I think</p> <p>Personally, I would eh... like eh.. speak a bit of Mandarin</p> <p>I would like to practise my Mandarin a little bit</p> <p>I don't really have this thought (improving simplified characters)</p> <p>I am lazy (writing the common simplified characters)</p> <p>For Mandarin eh.. I would like to speak better</p> <p>We always have the wish to improve it (English)</p> <p>To me, it isn't very important (Cantonese to Hong Kong culture)</p> <p>For culture, perhaps I don't feel too much (Cantonese to culture)</p> <p>I would not think it is a big deal (people not speaking Cantonese properly)</p>
State and Action	<p>If I write the word 學..., I personally would not write the traditional one, like I would write the simplified one</p> <p>We have a lot of communication with the organisations in mainland China</p> <p>Now we have more communication with organisations in mainland China</p> <p>We would need to... write in simplified characters</p> <p>We have to communicate and use simplified Chinese characters</p> <p>We communicate with them on phone, we would need to speak Mandarin (people from mainland)</p>

	<p>We would speak Mandarin with them</p> <p>Mandarin would slowly get into my life</p> <p>I am now in Hong Kong</p> <p>I would only use the common ones (simplified characters)</p> <p>We have communication with eh.. mainland</p> <p>We all speak Cantonese</p> <p>We speak Cantonese in Hong Kong</p> <p>I have watched more eh.. TV shows from mainland China</p> <p>We would choose to listen to the original that is not dubbed in Cantonese (Mandarin)</p>
Ability and Constraints	<p>It's Cantonese, we basically know it</p> <p>We are Chinese, then we know Chinese</p> <p>I would not be unable to understand Chinese, but it is possible to not understand English</p> <p>Our proficiency in Chinese must be higher</p> <p>If we hear a foreigner speaking English, maybe we cannot 100 percent understand it</p> <p>We can easily understand them (Hong Kong English)</p>
Achievement Statement	

Value Codes in Interview 4:

	Value	Attitude	Belief
Cantonese and Identity	<p>Hong Kong culture</p> <p>An identity from Guangdong</p> <p>Cantonese blended with English</p>	<p>Everyone speaks Cantonese</p> <p>Cantonese isn't very important to HK culture</p> <p>Cantonese is only a language that represents this place</p> <p>Cantonese has its culture</p> <p>Don't feel too much about Cantonese culture</p> <p>Blended with English</p>	

<p>Views on Hong Kong and Cantonese</p>		<p>The west meets the east</p> <p>People understand HK English, may not understand Standard English</p> <p>Foreigners may not understand HK English</p> <p>HK English have been passed down generation by generation</p> <p>New generation gets more chance to learn proper English</p> <p>No need to promote Cantonese</p> <p>Mandarin should be promoted</p> <p>HK Mandarin is common and a serious problem</p> <p>HK English and Mandarin are unique</p>	<p>People basically know Cantonese</p> <p>People trained to be bilerate and trilingual</p> <p>Proficiency in Mandarin is the weakest</p> <p>Chinese people know Chinese</p> <p>There is a need to use Mandarin more in HK</p> <p>Speak and learn HK English from a young age</p> <p>More communication with mainland</p> <p>Many lecturers and students from mainland</p> <p>Cantonese and Mandarin are the same language</p> <p>People assume they know Mandarin</p> <p>People wish to improve English</p>
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I-Statements in interview 5

Cognitive	<p>Cantonese is a part of life for us as a person in Hong Kong</p> <p>I think we should put more force to promote Mandarin</p> <p>We got handed over... back to China</p> <p>I think the threat is a must (Mandarin)</p>
Affective	<p>We should theoretically speak Mandarin</p> <p>We should make Mandarin the main language</p> <p>We should use Mandarin</p> <p>We should write Chinese Hong Kong people</p> <p>I agree British English is better</p> <p>I don't agree with Hong Kong English</p> <p>I don't think it is good (Hong Kong English)</p> <p>I don't agree with the idea of Hong Kong English</p> <p>I think, we are in Hong Kong, if we hear Cantonese, of course we would find it friendly</p> <p>We would find it more friendly when we hear Cantonese</p> <p>The Cantonese we Hong Kongers speak is more standard</p> <p>I would accept it (people speaking non-standard Cantonese)</p> <p>I would not have a bad impression on them (people speaking non-standard Cantonese)</p>
State and Action	<p>I always needed to use simplified Chinese characters for communication</p> <p>I am retired</p> <p>We mainly use Cantonese</p> <p>I rarely use simplified characters and Mandarin now</p> <p>I had to learn Mandarin well</p> <p>I had a lot of occasions in which I had to use Mandarin</p> <p>I didn't have a lot of opportunities to use English</p> <p>I would choose to promote Mandarin</p> <p>We have been speaking in Cantonese</p> <p>We are from Hong Kong</p>

Ability and Constraints	<p>My proficiency in English is lower than Mandarin</p> <p>We live in Hong Kong</p> <p>From I was born, until I went to secondary school and to the society, there is always a need to mainly use Cantonese to communicate</p> <p>Our proficiency in Cantonese is supposed to be high</p> <p>Our English proficiency is at least average</p>
Achievement Statement	

Value Codes in interview 5:

	Value	Attitude	Belief
Cantonese and Identity	<p>Chinese Hong Kong people</p> <p>National language (Mandarin)</p>	<p>Cantonese is part of life for us</p> <p>Cantonese is very important to Hong Kong people</p> <p>National identity not much influenced by language, but the handover</p>	
Views on Hong Kong and Cantonese	<p>Problem of Mandarin (to be faced)</p> <p>Language of the nation (Mandarin)</p> <p>Colonial period (spoke English)</p>	<p>People are supposedly proficient in Cantonese</p> <p>People should theoretically speak Mandarin</p> <p>Should make Mandarin the main language</p> <p>Cantonese should become a vernacular</p> <p>Should theoretically speak Mandarin</p> <p>Mainly use Mandarin in the future</p>	<p>Majority of people in HK speak Cantonese</p> <p>There is a need to use Cantonese to communicate</p> <p>Hong Kong was a British colony</p> <p>English proficiency in HK at least average</p> <p>Handed back to China now</p> <p>National language is Mandarin</p> <p>Merely a place in China</p>
Threat of Mandarin	<p>National language (Mandarin)</p>	<p>Should promote Mandarin</p> <p>Should put more force into promotion of Mandarin</p>	

		Threat of Mandarin to Cantonese exists	
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I-Statements in interview 6

Cognitive	<p>Sense of belonging and identity, that is what I think (Cantonese)</p> <p>We got reunited with China, so we need to speak Mandarin</p> <p>Originally I wouldn't think a language, would be a threat</p> <p>When one language is a national policy, then I would think it would make Cantonese...marginalised</p> <p>I think... the impression is different to those of Chinese people (culture and lifestyle)</p> <p>I think the lifestyle, and habit, and the language, and culture in Hong Kong are different than those in any other Chinese cities</p> <p>I think, this question doesn't mean that I don't like my country (closeness with China)</p> <p>How I got my answer (perception of Chinese people who can speak English)</p> <p>I can tell the geographical location (from accent)</p>
Affective	<p>My sense of belonging to the place</p> <p>I personally like Cantonese songs</p> <p>I personally like Hong Kong movies</p> <p>The language gives me the sense of belonging to the culture and the uniqueness</p> <p>Makes me feel like I am a Hong Konger (Cantonese)</p> <p>I am worried that it would happen like Shanghai losing Shanghainess, or Manchuria losing the Manchu language</p> <p>I worry about (losing native language)</p> <p>I don't really have a very clear thought (which language to promote?)</p> <p>I considered, was like the sense of belonging to the culture and lifestyle (closeness with China)</p> <p>I want to emphasise my sense of belonging to this place</p>

	<p>I would like to define the friendliness (when hearing Hong Kong English)</p> <p>I don't find it too special (Hong Kong English)</p> <p>I would not say that I am close to a person purely based on accent</p> <p>I would not make a decision on how friendly a person is based on accent</p> <p>I would when I am abroad (finding it friendly to hear Cantonese)</p> <p>If I can hear Cantonese elsewhere I would find it friendly (outside Hong Kong)</p> <p>If I hear Cantonese then I would find it friendly (elsewhere)</p> <p>I think we shouldn't judge based on the accent (social class)</p>
State and Action	<p>I work in Hong Kong</p> <p>I rarely use simplified Chinese characters</p> <p>I would regularly read books and news in simplified Chinese characters</p> <p>I mainly use Chinese characters and less simplified Chinese characters</p> <p>My work mainly involves replying email</p> <p>We often write English in a more formal style</p> <p>I need to use spoken or oral English (when having a meeting)</p> <p>We rarely use spoken English (when having a chit-chat)</p> <p>I was born in Hong Kong</p> <p>When I have free time, I would discuss Cantonese opera</p> <p>I am not looking at this from this angle (identity on passport)</p> <p>I would choose Hakka Chinese (to promote in Hong Kong)</p> <p>I rated one (out of ten, closeness with China)</p> <p>I decided this answer (one out of ten for closeness with China)</p> <p>I heard it too much (Hong Kong English)</p> <p>When I work and study, yea, there maybe some foreigners</p> <p>I would not judge a person's social class based on the accent</p> <p>I would not think... what their accents reflect in terms of social class</p>
Ability and Constraints	I am proficient in simplified Chinese characters
Achievement Statement	

Value Codes in interview 6:

	Value	Attitude	Belief
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Cantonese and Identity	<p>Sense of belonging</p> <p>Cultural sense of belonging</p> <p>Music, films, local culture</p> <p>Cantonese songs, HK movies, Cantonese opera</p> <p>Sense of belonging and identity</p> <p>Carrier of culture (Cantonese)</p> <p>Lingnan culture</p> <p>Hong Konger</p> <p>Local languages</p> <p>Culture, lifestyle, habit, language</p>	<p>Language is a root of culture</p> <p>Cantonese important to cultural sense of belonging and identity</p> <p>Lingnan culture different from that from other provinces</p> <p>My language (Cantonese)</p> <p>Sense of belonging to the culture and uniqueness</p> <p>View identity not from the perspective of law</p> <p>Impression of culture is different than those in mainland</p> <p>Lifestyle, habit and language are different</p> <p>Identity not a political consideration</p>	<p>Culture is presented through Cantonese</p> <p>On the passport, we are Chinese</p> <p>Cantonese gets passed down generation by generation</p>
Threat of Mandarin	<p>Trend of education (favours the national language)</p> <p>Native language (losing)</p> <p>National policy</p>	<p>Worried about losing a feature of the place (language)</p> <p>Worried about Cantonese becoming a vernacular</p> <p>Threat exists when one language is national policy</p> <p>Cantonese may be marginalised in next one or two generations</p> <p>Cantonese may not be used in the future</p>	<p>Reunited with China, need to speak Mandarin</p> <p>Shanghai losing Shanghainese, Manchuria losing Manchu language</p> <p>Policy of government follows national policies</p> <p>Government devotes resources into Mandarin</p> <p>Threat exists when a language is national policy</p>
Preservation of Cantonese	<p>Preservations of cultures (avoided by the policymakers)</p>	<p>Should promote languages that not many people are aware of</p>	<p>The government hasn't devoted resources to Cantonese</p> <p>Will not be enough resources as Mandarin is a national policy</p>

			<p>Government avoid preserving Cantonese and culture</p> <p>A lot of Hakka Chinese in Cantonese</p>
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Appendix F: Verbal-guise passage

Passage for the verbal-guise test

We always think that it's okay for us to leave our plants unattended during our vacation as we believe they'll survive just fine. Plus, plants won't scream like pets, so they must be okay, right?

Appendix G: Draft interview questions

Draft Interview Questions

1. What do you think about Cantonese, English, and Mandarin in terms of their practical value? What about their cultural value?
2. What do you think about current language education policies in Hong Kong?
3. Do you think Mandarin represents any threat to Cantonese and Hong Kong culture?
4. Do you think that aspects of life Hong Kong have improved or worsened since the handover period in 1997? Which aspects?
5. Would you describe yourself as optimistic, neutral, or pessimistic about the year of 2047 (the end of the 'one country two systems' administration). Why do you say that?
6. In terms of your national identity, how would you identify yourself? Why do you say that?

Appendix H: Participant Information Leaflet and Consent form for the verbal-guise test

Participant Information Leaflet

Multilingualism in Hong Kong Research Project

Ph.D. Researcher: Mr Pak Hei Chan

Research supervisors: Dr Lorna Carson & Dr Chung Kam Kwok

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin

We are doing this research project to find out the link between language and sense of national identity in the context of Hong Kong. We are targeting some native speakers of Cantonese who are Hong Kong citizens over the age of 18. We are inviting adults who received their primary and secondary education in Hong Kong and whose first language is Cantonese to participate in a linguistic experiment called the 'matched-guise test'. The project has been approved the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences at TCD, and it is part of Pak Hei Chan's doctoral research.

What will happen if I decide to take part?

You will be invited to a call via a secure weblink by the researcher, Mr Pak Hei Chan. The time and date will be arranged according to your convenience. The experiment will take around ten minutes. You will listen to some short audio clips in Mandarin, Cantonese, and English, and be asked to a few questions after clip. If you would like to take part in the linguistic experiment, you will be asked to confirm your consent before the experiment starts. You should keep a copy of this information leaflet for future reference.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this research project is entirely optional. You don't have to give a reason for not taking part or for opting out, even during the experiment. There will be no negative consequences if you choose not to participate. There are no direct benefits to taking part in the experiment, and your participation is voluntary. There aren't any risks involved in this project. The only inconvenience might be some potential minor emotional discomfort which could arise related to questions that you may feel are politically sensitive. If this is the case, you can simply ask the researcher to move on to the next question if you wish.

Your data

Your responses will be recorded by the researcher during the experiment. You will not be identifiable in any way. Your name will be replaced by a pseudonym, and only your gender, age and linguistic profile will be shared.

All the personal data that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and will only be accessible to members of the research team, the researcher Pak Hei Chan and his supervisors Dr Lorna Carson and Dr Chung Kam Kwok. All of your personal data will be stored in Ireland. If you wish, you can ask for your data to be destroyed/deleted. If you request this, we will destroy all data that are still in our possession. We will no longer use or share your data for research from this point onwards. However, it will not be possible to destroy data already used in any published research studies prior to this time.

The legal basis for using your data

According to data protection legislation, we are required to inform you of the legal basis for using your personal data. The tasks we are performing are considered to be in the public interest. You are entitled to access to your data and receive a copy of it. You have the right to object to any further processing of the information we hold about you (except where it is de-identified). By law you can exercise these rights in relation to your personal data, unless the request would make it impossible or very difficult to conduct the research. You can exercise these rights by contacting the researcher, Mr Pak Hei Chan at chanp@tcd.ie or the Trinity College Data Protection Officer, Secretary's Office, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin 2, Ireland. Email: dataprotection@tcd.ie Website: www.tcd.ie/privacy

Who should I contact for information?

If you have any concerns or questions, you can contact the researcher, Mr Pak Hei Chan, by email at chanp@tcd.ie. You can also contact the Research Supervisors, Dr Lorna Carson (carsonle@tcd.ie) and Dr Chung Kam Kwok (kwokck@tcd.ie). You can read about the university's privacy policy here: www.tcd.ie/privacy. Under GDPR, if you are not satisfied with how your data is being processed, you have the right to lodge a complaint with the Office of the Data Protection Commission, 21 Fitzwilliam Square South, Dublin 2, Ireland. Website: www.dataprotection.ie

Consent Form

Multilingualism in Hong Kong Research Project

Ph.D. Researcher: Mr Pak Hei Chan

Research supervisors: Dr Lorna Carson & Dr Chung Kam Kwok

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin

I confirm I have read and understood the Information Leaflet for this study. The information has been fully explained to me and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that this study is entirely voluntary, and if I decide that I do not want to take part, I can withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without any consequences. I understand that all information will be confidential and that my name and identity will not be disclosed. I understand that I will not be paid for taking part in the interview. I have been fully informed of any risks set out in full in the information leaflet. I agree to being contacted by researchers by email as part of this research study

I agree to allow the data collected during the linguistic experiment to be shared with third parties including academic researchers for the purpose of linguistics research, as described in the Information leaflet. I understand that personal information about me, including the transfer of this personal information about me outside of the EU, will be protected in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation. I understand that there are no direct benefits to me from participating in this study.

Signature of participant

Participant Name	Participant Signature	Date

To be completed by the researcher

I have taken the time to fully explain to the above participant the nature and purpose of this study. I have invited them to ask questions on any aspect of the study that concerned them. I have given them a copy of the information leaflet and consent form with my contact details.

Pak Hei Chan	Researcher Signature	Date

Appendix I: Participant Information Leaflet and Consent form for the interviews

Participant Information Leaflet

Multilingualism in Hong Kong Research Project

Ph.D. Researcher: Mr Pak Hei Chan

Research supervisors: Dr Lorna Carson & Dr Chung Kam Kwok

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin

We are doing this research project to find out the link between language and sense of national identity in the context of Hong Kong. We are interviewing some native speakers of Cantonese who are Hong Kong citizens over the age of 18. We are inviting adults who received their primary and secondary education in Hong Kong and whose first language is Cantonese to participate in a short audio recorded interview. The project has been approved the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences at TCD, and it is part of Pak Hei Chan's doctoral research.

What will happen if I decide to take part?

You will be interviewed online via a secure weblink by the researcher, Mr Pak Hei Chan. The interview time and date will be arranged according to your convenience. The interview will take between 20 and 30 minutes. You will be asked some questions about on topics related to languages and sense of national identity in Hong Kong, and attitudes towards speakers of Cantonese, English and Mandarin. The interview will be audio-recording and you can request a copy of the recording after the interview.

If you would like to take part in the interview, you will be asked to digitally sign a consent form before the interview starts. You should keep a copy of this information leaflet for future reference.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this research project is entirely optional. You don't have to give a reason for not taking part or for opting out, even during the interview. There will be no negative consequences if you choose not to participate. There are no direct benefits to taking part in the interview, and your participation is voluntary. There aren't any risks involved in this project. The only inconvenience might be some potential minor emotional discomfort which could arise related to questions that you may feel are politically sensitive. If this is the case, you can simply ask the researcher to move on to the next question if you wish.

Your data

The audio interview will be transcribed and a Word document will be created which will contain the transcription. You will not be identifiable in any way. Your name will be replaced by a pseudonym, and only your gender, age and linguistic profile will be shared. Data excerpts from the interview transcription may be published in the researcher's Ph.D. thesis, and excerpts may be published in future in other formats in linguistic journals and other academic publications. The original audio recording will be available only to the researcher Pak Hei Chan and his research supervisors. Portions of the recording to be played in linguistics classes or during conference presentations, and the written transcriptions used teaching purposes or for linguistic analysis. We will ask your consent for all of this.

All the personal data that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential and will only be accessible to members of the research team, the researcher Pak Hei Chan and his supervisors Dr Lorna Carson and Dr Chung Kam Kwok. All of your personal data will be stored in Ireland. If you wish, you can ask for your data (the audio recording and transcription) to be destroyed/deleted. If you request this, we will destroy all data that are still in our possession. We will no longer use or share your data for research from this point onwards. However, it will not be possible to destroy data already used in any published research studies prior to this time. The audio recordings and transcriptions will be kept for five years. The audio recording and transcription will be stored in a double password-protected secure file and only accessible by the research team. There will be no paper copies of your data.

The legal basis for using your data

According to data protection legislation, we are required to inform you of the legal basis for using your personal data. The tasks we are performing are considered to be in the public interest. You are entitled to access to your data and receive a copy of it (audio recording & transcription). You have the right to object to any further processing of the information we hold about you (except where it is de-identified). By law you can exercise these rights in relation to your personal data, unless the request would make it impossible or very difficult to conduct the research. You can exercise these rights by contacting the researcher, Mr Pak Hei Chan at chanp@tcd.ie or the Trinity College Data Protection Officer, Secretary's Office, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin 2, Ireland. Email: dataprotection@tcd.ie Website: www.tcd.ie/privacy

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Consent Form

Multilingualism in Hong Kong Research Project

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Research supervisors: Dr Lorna Carson & Dr Chung Kam Kwok

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin

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I agree to allow personal information about me collected during the interview to be shared with third parties including academic researchers for the purpose of linguistics research, as described in the Information leaflet. I understand that personal information about me, including the transfer of this personal information about me outside of the EU, will be protected in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation. I understand that there are no direct benefits to me from participating in this study.

Signature of participant

Participant Name	Participant Signature	Date

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Pak Hei Chan	Researcher Signature	Date