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The paper examines the historical change in linguistic practice of Hong Kong advertising through the decolonization period and attempts to make sense of it from a local-and-global point of view beyond the conventional national-functionalist perspective. It is found that the prominent patterns of language mixing in the advertising of Hong Kong are not only 'Standard Written Chinese mixed with English', but also 'Standard Written Chinese mixed with both English and Cantonese'. The embedded elements of both English and Cantonese in the Chinese advertisements can take the form of a word, a phrase and/or a full clause and can serve both informational and involving functions. Finally, it is argued that multilingual mix in Hong Kong advertising is a phenomenon constantly emerging in the multicultural process of globalization and that being able to mix different languages or varieties of languages for effective communication should be an aspect of linguistic competence highly valued in the age of globalization and localization.

Keywords: Multilingual Mix; Glocalization; Hong Kong; Cultural China

Introduction

'Think global and act local' is the axiom for today's global marketing and management (Quelch & Deshpande, 2004). The concern of resolving the paradox of globalization and localization in international or transnational advertising has manifested itself in the form of the 'globalization' vs. 'customization' debate and in numerous attempts to examine 'standardization' vs. 'adaptation' strategies used in global advertising and marketing (see e.g. Grant & Short, 2002; Heileman, 1997; Hite & Fraser, 1988; Kanso, 1991; Mueller, 1992; Wang, 1997).

Bhatia and Ritchie (2004), p. 514) pointed out that one of the central concerns of globalization for advertisers is how to resolve the paradox of globalization and

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localization in terms of the formal and functional linguistic manifestations. However, most research in investigating the formal and/or functional linguistic manifestations of global advertising in Cultural China[1] is confined to the examination of advertising content or cultural themes (e.g. Chan & Cheng , 2002; Cheng & Schweitzer, 1996;
Zhang & Har wood, 2004), with few (e.g. Ha, 1998) looking into the question of language choice. Ha (1998) set out to study the impact of the impending political transition (i.e. the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China in 1997) on the choice of languages and value appeals in Hong Kong advertising. She found that the advertising industry in Hong Kong seemed to begin to use different strategies in dealing with the political transition. There was an increase in the use of Chinese-only ads and a reduction in the use of Western appeals for advertising the local products. Ha (1998) interpreted this as that the advertisers for the local products were more likely to choose a convergent style that appeals to China by showing a stronger sense of Chinese identity. Nonetheless, foreign products were more likely to select a divergent style, i.e. the advertisers for the foreign products tried to strengthen their foreign identity by increasing their usage of English-only ads and reducing the usage of mixed language ads. Therefore, while recognizing the fact that mixed English and Chinese is still the dominant form of language use in Hong Kong advertising, reflecting Hong Kong consumers' language habit of mixing English in Chinese, Ha (1998, p. 69) conjectured that this mixed language use may gradually diminish with the rise of 'pure' language ads: Chinese-only or English-only.

    The present paper attempts an update of Ha's study (1998) by further investigating the changes and patterns of language choice in the advertising of Hong Kong before and after 1997. Furthermore, in examining the historical change in linguistic practice of Hong Kong advertising through the decolonization period, the paper attempts to adopt a more culturally pluralist approach (e.g. Shi-xu, 2005) and make sense of the change and diversity in linguistic practice of Hong Kong from a local-and-global point of view, i.e. beyond the conventional national-functionalist perspective. We shall argue in particular that multilingual mix in Hong Kong advertising is a phenomenon constantly emerging in the multicultural process of globalization in Cultural China.

The Sociolinguistic Context of Hong Kong

Hong Kong is a unique place where East meets West. It has been known as a melting pot of East and West and a plurilingual hub of Asia (Lee, 1993; T'sou, 2002). Having the largest number of multinational firms and the regional headquarters of advertising agencies in Asia, Hong Kong provides an ideal place for experimenting with standardization vs. specification, or with globalization vs. localization strategies in transnational advertising and marketing. Lu (1996) characterized Hong Kong's advertising as a banana which has yellow skin outside and a white body inside. While yellow represents Chinese culture, white represents the West.

Language(s), as medium and marker of culture and communication, manifest high complexity and hybridity in Hong Kong. Being a former British colony, Hong Kong uses English as the official language. Although 98% of the population of Hong Kong is Chinese, it was not until 1974 that the Chinese language[2] also became accepted as the official language (Pierson, 1992) and started to be used in the formal and written domains such as government, education, and legal documents. The English language in Hong Kong enjoys a very prestigious status and is the 'standard standard' (So, 1998). Even though Chinese is the official language, most of the government and formal documents are written in English and circulated first before the Chinese version is produced. This special status of English in Hong Kong has been reinforced by the dominance of English as the global language, the rise of global media and the development of global economy (see Bruthiaux, 2003; Chan, 200; Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006) as well as by Hong Kong's colonial past. Today, even though all Chinese in Hong Kong have their own Chinese names, they usually also have their English names (Li, 1999). The usage of English is also a common practice in the Chinese advertising in Hong Kong, though such a usage does not always or necessarily imply that consumers identify with Western culture but may simply offer an additional value in creating a fashionable, trendy, and exclusive image of the products being advertised (Lee, 2000).

With the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China, the uses of Standard Written Chinese as well as Putonghua are promoted, but the use of Cantonese*the vernacular variety of Chinese*continues to thrive in the territory, not only in daily communication but also in dialect literature (Snow, 2004; Wu, 2000; Wu, Qin, & Ng, 2004). It is widely acknowledged that Chinese is a language family including a number of mutually intelligible and unintelligible dialects, e.g. Cantonese, Shanghainese, Tientsin, Hakka, and Hokkien Dialects, etc. (cf. DeFrancis, 1984). Nonetheless, while some scholars (e.g. DeFrancis, 1984) regard Standard Written Chinese and written Cantonese as two different languages, others take them as two different varieties, i.e. dialects of the same language*Chinese (Zhan, 1991; Zhuo, 1986). Historically, the speakers of Chinese dialects have shared a common written language*written Chinese. In fact, it has been the Chinese written rather than the spoken language(s) which has traditionally served both as a symbol of Cultural China's unity and an important agent of that unity (DeFrancis, 1950, 1984; Ramsey, 1987).

With Beijing's pledge of 'one country, two systems', the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government has, since its establishment, adopted a high profile in promoting biliteracy (i.e. master written Chinese and English) and trilingualism (i.e. speak fluent Cantonese, Putonghua and English) (see So, 2000). In daily communication, people tend to communicate with one another in Cantonese with a mixture of English words or phrases, while there is an expected increase in the use of Putonghua as the standard language of instruction in Hong Kong schools. While the issue of code mixing has invited controversies even to this day, more and more educators and sociolinguists in Hong Kong (e.g. Li, Lin, & Tsang, 2000; Luke,

1992; Pennington, 1998) believe that the knowledge and use of more languages and more varieties of Chinese are better than knowing only one language or just one speech variety.

Globalization/Hybridization in Chinese Advertising

In recent years, there has been an increased interest and attention to the issues of competition between and/or hybridization of tradition vs. modernization and Eastern vs. Western values in Chinese advertising. Most of the research has utilized content analysis and Pollay's (1983) framework of measuring culture values in advertising. Wong (2000) studied the television commercials by banking services in Hong Kong in the 1970s and indicated the emergence of a consumer society where traditional values of saving and hard work were altered, replaced, or recombined with materialistic desires of immediate spending and gratification. Cheng and Schweitzer (1996) analysed 1,105 commercials from the PRC and US and found that whereas some traditional Chinese values (e.g. family and tradition) still dominated the TV advertising in China, the values of modernity and youth were shared by both the Chinese and the American commercials. Furthermore, rather than simply calculating the number of tradition/Eastern vs. modern/Western value appeals in Chinese advertising, Zhang and Harwood (2004) also tried to examine their data in more details, locating ways in which the different value systems are beginning to overlap and be used in mutually complementary ways. They (2004, pp. 168-169) found that while the traditional value of family was being used in promoting new and modern products, the Western values of beauty and youth were utilized in promoting the local products.

   Just as the communication scholars are examining the hybridization of values in Chinese advertising, some linguistic scholars are examining the hybridization of languages. Apart from Ha's study (1998) which was mentioned in the earlier section, Lee (2000) examined the mixing of English in the Chinese fashion discourses in Hong Kong. She proposed that the hybridized texts cohere with the grand narrative of Hong Kong as a place where East meets West and argued that Hong Kong people do have a Hong Kong identity and the quality of being Westernized Chinese is part of this identity. Furthermore, Feng and Wu (2007) examined the linguistic practice in 2004 Chinese web advertising and indicated that despite the policy by the central government in Beijing and the efforts of the language purists in ensuring the norms of standard linguistic practice, the advertisers just tried to promote consumerism among the young Chinese via the appeal of English mixing as well as the use of other types of unconventional language behaviour.

   In short, many studies have attempted to examine the mixing/hybridization of different cultural values in contemporary Chinese advertising, whereas few attempts have been made to study the mixing/hybridization of languages. Of the studies concerning the mixing of languages in Chinese advertising, many are

confined to English mixing in Chinese (e.g. Lee, 2000) or to a national-functionalist perspective (e.g. Ha, 1998). Therefore, the present study attempts to further investigate the patterns of language mixing in Hong Kong advertising, involving not only the mixing of English but also of Cantonese (the vernacular variety of Chinese in Hong Kong), in Standard Written Chinese. We hope to take a local-and-global perspective by examining and understanding the ways in which the different language systems (i.e. the local and the global languages) are overlapping, restructured, and being used in mutually complementary ways in contemporary Chinese advertising of Hong Kong.

Methodology

Framework of Analysis

Standard Written Chinese (henceforth, SWC) is the expected norm and prescribed practice for printed documents in Hong Kong as well as in mainland China. Nonetheless, as discussed in the second section, mixing English in Chinese usage is a fashionable way of language use in contemporary Hong Kong, connoting Westernization and modernization (Lee, 2000). Furthermore, written Cantonese is also fashionable, unpretentious and appealing to the local audience (see Snow, 1994, 2004; Wu, 2000; Wu et al., 2004 for details). With Beijing's pledge of 'one country, two systems' and the HKSAR's government's language policy of 'biliteracy and trilingualism', at least three different languages or varieties of language are expected to occur in the print advertisements of Hong Kong: SWC, Cantonese, and English. And the possible patterns of language mix can be: (a) SWC mixed with English, (b) SWC mixed with Cantonese, (c) English mixed with Cantonese, and (d) SWC mixed with both English and Cantonese.

In addition to the occurrence of these three languages and their different possible forms of mixture, we also wish to examine the functions of each of these languages or varieties of language when they are used in the magazine advertising.

There have been a number of ways of categorizing the functions of language. Holmes' list (2001, p. 259) has been widely used in sociolinguistic research, which includes 'expressive', 'directive', 'referential', 'metalinguistic', 'poetic', and 'phatic' functions. Illustrations from Holmes (2001, p. 259) are as follows:

1. Expressive utterances express the speaker's feelings, e.g. 'I'm feeling great today'.
2. Directive utterances attempt to get someone to do something, e.g. 'Clear the table'.
3. Referential utterances provide information, e.g. 'At the third stroke it will be 3 o'clock precisely'.
4. Metalinguistic utterances comment on language itself, e.g. ''Hegemony'' is not a common word'.
5. Poetic utterances focus on the aesthetic features of language, e.g. a poem, an ear-catching motto, a rhyme, 'Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers'.

6. Phatic utterances express solidarity and empathy with others, e.g. 'Hi, how are you, lovely day isn't it!'

For the purposes of this research, we would like to classify the functions into two broad categories: 'informational' and 'involvement' functions. 'Informational' function refers to the function of language in providing or presenting information; it can include the functions of 'referential' and 'metalinguistic' by Holmes (2001, p. 29). 'Involvement' function refers to the affective function of language which is beyond providing or presenting information, such as the functions of 'expressive', 'directive', 'poetic', and 'phatic' by Holmes (2001), p. 259). According to Wu (2001), the use of language for 'involving' function in addition to for 'informing' function provides an indicator of a higher degree of cultural acceptability related to the language used by the reader/audience as well as the writer.

The Sample and the Coding

The present study utilizes the same magazine, the *Next* magazine, which was used by Ha (1998) as the basis for sampling. *Next* magazine, a non-partisan news weekly, is the Chinese magazine with the highest circulation in Hong Kong and the first successful news magazine in Hong Kong's history. In 1991 when it was first established, its circulation was 75,000 with pass-along readership of 315,000. By 2005, its audited circulation remained the highest in Hong Kong and reached a readership of 1,101,000.

An equal interval of five years before and after 1997 was selected, with the year 1992 as representative of the pre-1997 period and the year 2002 as representative of post-1997. Because of the great disparity in the number of advertising pages in the issues of *Next* between 1992 and 2002, the number of the advertisements drawn in the different year was expected to be different. A systematic sampling was conducted in collecting all the advertisements in the first issue of *Next* magazine in March, June, September and December of 1992 and 2002, respectively. Any identical advertisement was excluded in order to avoid redundancy. As a result, a total of 201 ads were collected in 1992, representing the pre-1997 period, and a total of 373 ads were collected in 2002, representing the post-1997 period.

A female graduate student was employed to do the coding. One-tenth of the sample (i.e. 57 advertisements) was coded independently by one of the authors. Inter-coder reliability index using Perreault and Leigh's (1989) method was 1.0 for product origin, product type, pattern of language use, English as informing, and Cantonese as involving. Inter-coder reliability index for English as involving was 0.93. Inter-coder reliability index for Cantonese as informing was 0.87.

Results

Characteristics of Samples by Product Origin and Product Type

Table 1 shows the characteristics of the sample by product origin and product type. A majority of the ads are for durables such as TVs, computer systems and stereos, but there is a significant decrease in the ads for durables from 1992 (74.1%) to 2002 (56.6%) and a significant increase in the ads for services from 1992 (12.9%) to 2002 (27.6%). Ha (1998) indicated that there was gradual increase in ads for local products and a decrease in ads for foreign products with the impending political change. In her study, ads for local products changed from 29.6% in 1991 to 37.8% in 1995, and ads for foreign products changed from 70.4% in 1991 to 62.2% in 1995.

Similar to the finding by Ha (1998), the present study has found that ads for local products change from 25.9% in 1992 to 39.4% in 2002, whereas ads for foreign products change from 74.1% in 1992 to 60.6% in 2002.[3]

'Pure' Language Ads?

Ha (1998, pp. 65 -66) found that a polarized trend in language use emerged as Hong Kong moved closer to 1997, i.e. foreign products were more likely to use only English (15% in 1991 increased to 26% in 1995), while local products were more likely to use Chinese only (35% in 1991 increased to 44% in 1995). She predicted that the mixed language use in Hong Kong advertising may gradually diminish with the rise of 'pure' language ads.

However, different from the finding and prediction by Ha (1998), the present study has found that there is an extremely limited number of ads using only English or only Chinese and that from pre-1997 to post-1997, there is a gradual and steady decrease of pure language ads for the local as well as the foreign product ads.

Table 2 shows the distribution of language use by product origin in 1992 and 2002. Each of the uses of languages is a dichonomized nominal data. By arbitrarily assigning the value 1 to presence of the language and 0 to absence of the

Table 1 Sample Characteristics

Characteristic	1992 (*n*=201) %	2002 (*n*=373) %	Chi-square value
Product origin			10.6***
Local products	25.9	39.4	
Foreign products	74.1	60.6	
Product type			20.0***
Durables	74.1	56.6	
Consumables	12.9	15.8	
Services	12.9	27.6	
Total	100.0	100.0	

***p B0.001.

Table 2 Use of Languages by Year and Product Origin

Use of languages	1992			2002				
	Local products (n=52) %	Foreign products (n=149) %	Total (n=201) %	Local products (n=147) %	Foreign products (n=226) %	Total (n=373) %	F-value for effect of year (df=1)	F-value for effect of product origin (df=1)
English only	1.9	22.1	16.9	0.0	8.0	4.8	9.2**	28.2***
SWC only	3.8	1.3	2.0	1.4	0.0	0.5	3.8	3.9*
Cantonese only	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	n.a.	n.a.
SWC‐English	48.1	59.1	56.2	48.3	72.5	63.0	2.2	14.6***
SWC‐Cantonese	3.8	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.8***	11.8***
English‐Cantonese	1.9	0.7	1.0	2.0	0.0	0.8	0.1	3.4
SWC‐English‐Cantonese	40.5	16.8	22.9	48.3	19.5	30.8	1.6	40.0***
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0			

*p B0.05; **p B0.01; ***p B0.001; n.a.=not applicable.

language, the variable becomes an interval data. The mean is the proportion of advertisements using the language. We can therefore use ANOVA to test the differences in proportions by year and by product origin (Blalock, 1981). F-tests are employed to examine if there are main effects for year and for product origin. From 1992 to 2002, the most apparent decrease can be seen in (1) the English-only ads for the foreign products (drop from 22.1% in 1992 to 8.0% in 2002), (2) Chinese-only ads for the local products (drop from 3.8% in 1992 to 1.4% in 2002 for 'SWC only', and from 3.8% in 1992 to 0% in 2002 for 'SWC with Cantonese' [4]). And the differences between 1992 and 2002 for both English-only ads and SWC-Cantonese ads are statistically significant (p B0.01 and p B0.001, respectively).

In addition to the differences between the years, statistical significant differences are also found between the ads for the local products and the ads for the foreign products in the use of 'English only', 'SWC only', 'SWC mixed with English', 'SWC mixed with Cantonese', and 'SWC mixed with both English and Cantonese'. This suggests that the choice of these five patterns of language may vary according to the demand of the ads representing the local versus the foreign products.

What merits our special attention in Table 2 is that most of the ads involve a mixture of languages, in both pre-1997 and post-1997 times. Of the four patterns of language mix, the higher percentage occurs not only with the pattern 'SWC mixed with English' but also with the pattern 'SWC mixed with both English and Cantonese'. From 1992 to 2002, the pattern of multilingual mix, i.e. the pattern of 'SWC mixed with both English and Cantonese', shows a steady and gradual increase in the ads for both the local and the foreign products, whereas the pattern of 'SWC mixed with English' shows apparent enhancement only in the ads for the foreign products.[5]

Forms and Functions of Languages Mixed in Ads

In the following sections, we will further discuss the formal and functional linguistic manifestations of English and Cantonese as they are embedded and mixed with SWC in the Chinese advertising of Hong Kong.

Forms of the embedded English and Cantonese
We can observe that, in terms of their morpho-syntactic linguistic characteristics, the elements of English embedded in the Chinese ads can take the form of a word, a phrase, and/or a full clause.

A prevalent occurrence of the English element embedded in the Chinese can be a word (as in 1a and 1b) or a phrase (as in 1c and 1d).

(1a) 盡情投入全新冰點感覺，至*fresh*至*cool*！
Devote completely whole new ice-point feel, very fresh very cool
Devote yourself completely to this new icy feeling. So fresh, so cool!
(ad for Triumph, 2002)

(1b) 去*party* 玩足成晚，個妝唔止無化到，仲*keep*到好潤…
go party play completely whole night that make-up not-only not melt ASP, also keep ASP very moist
Went to the party and played for the whole night, but the make-up did not get dissolved; and what's more, the skin has been kept very moist.
(ad for Max Factor, 2002)

(1c) *T Girl* -活潑、性感、自我肯定
T Girl lively sexy self-confident
T Girl is lively, sexy and self-confident.
(ad for Tommy Hilfiger, 2002)

(1d) 原來Olay 已為你演繹了一個全效而方便的解決方案*Olay Total Effects*！
Original Olay already for you prepare ASP one total effective and convenient DE solution plan*Olay Total Effects
In fact, Olay has already prepared for you a totally effective and convenient package*Olay Total Effects!
(ad for Olay Total Effects, 2002)

Furthermore, it is also possible that the English element embedded in the Chinese ad can be a full clause, e.g.:

(2) *Discover the STARBUCKS experience.*
(ad for Starbucks, 2002)

As in the case of English mixing, the elements of Cantonese embedded in the SWC ads can take the form of a word, a phrase, and/or a full clause. A prevalent occurrence of the Cantonese elements embedded in the SWC can be a word (as in 3a and 3b) or a phrase (as in 3c and 3d).

(3a) 健康生活由V8*起*
health life from V8 start
Healthy living starts from V8.
(ad for V8, 2002)

(3b) 許多人都面對玩到*殘*的情況 …
Many people also face play ASP break-down DE situation
Many people are facing the situation of being extremely tired after playing.
(ad for Avene, 2002)

(3c) 全身 *靚冧把*
Whole body beautiful number
Beautiful numbers on the body
(ad for H2O, 2002)

(3d) *此情此景都咪話唔驚*
such feel such scene also not say not afraid Don
' t say you' re not afraid of this.
(ad for DHT Hair, 2002)

Furthermore, it is also possible that the Cantonese element embedded in the SWC ad can be a full clause, e.g.:

(4) *話消失就消失, 肥膏拜拜!*
Say disappear just disappear fat bye-bye
If you want it to disappear, it will disappear. Say good-bye to the fat!
(ad for Beauty Concept Skin Care & Slimfit Centre, 2002)

Functions of the embedded English and Cantonese
Table 3 shows the use of the embedded languages as informing versus involving functions in 1992 and 2002. Chi-square tests are conducted to examine whether the use of the language for a particular function varies with year.

    From Table 3, we can observe that a majority (97% in 1992 and 98.9% in 2002) of the English mixing serves the informing function, i.e. for referential or informational

Table 3 Use of Different Languages for Informing and Involving Functions by Year

	1992 (n=201) %	2002 (n=373) %	Chi-square value
English: informing	97.0	98.9	2.8
English: involving	24.4	33.2	4.9*
Cantonese: informing	21.9	30.0	4.4*
Cantonese: involving	15.4	20.6	2.3

*p B0.05; ***p B0.001.

purposes. Nonetheless, from 1992 to 2002, there is a significant increase (from 24.4% to 33.2%, p B0.05) of English mixing for involvement function, i.e. for social and affective expressions. An illustration of English mixing for informing function can be seen in 5a, where English mixing appears in the body copy of an ad, and in 5b, where English mixing appears in the transactional details of an ad.

(5a) 配合嶄新專利成份 *Bioprotectyl*.
Include new franchised ingredient Bioprotecty1
Including the new franchised ingredient, Bioprotectyl.
(ad for B21 SOLEIL VITAMINES, 2002)

(5b) *Motorola* 專門店: 荃灣地鐵站
Motorola Pro-Shop Tsuen Wan MTR station
Motorola Pro-Shop: Tsuen Wan MTR station
(ad for Motorola, 2002)

And an illustration of English mixing for involving function can be seen in 6a and 6b, where English mixing appears in the headline of an ad and in the slogan as well.

(6a) *Fantastic Tropical Night*
(ad for Tin Tin Seafood Harbour, 2002)

(6b) *Let's make things better!*
(ad for Phillip, 2002)

Examining the functional linguistic manifestations of the embedded Cantonese elements, we observe that different from the English mixing, Cantonese mixing shows a significant increase from 1992 to 2002 for the informing function, not for the involving function (see Table 3 for details). An illustration of Cantonese mixing serving the informational function can be seen in the following where Cantonese mixing appears in the body copy of an ad (as in 7a) and in the transactional details of an ad (as in 7b).

(7a) 兩款 *制式*, *送俾人*, 個個搶住歡迎。
Two kind design send to people everybody catch welcome
Two kinds of design as gift to people or friends. All will be welcomed.
(ad for Apple Computer, 2002)

(7b) *想知多啲* 有關詳情, 可電 ...
want more DE about detail information, may call
Wanting to know more detailed information, please call ...
(ad for Front-line Technology, 2002)

And an illustration of Cantonese mixing serving primarily the involvement function in the ad can be seen in 8a and 8b, where Cantonese mixing appears in the headline of an ad and in the slogan as well.

(8a) *唔想啲錢眨吓眼無咗*，就要參加「積利寶」計劃!
Not want DE money blink one eye disappear ASP, must join accumulate-interest-treasure plan
If you don't want money to disappear quickly, join the 'Accumulate-Interest-Treasure' plan!
(ad for Prudential & Standard Chartered, 2002)

(8b) 益力多，*你今日飲咗未*?
Yogurt you today drink ASP PART
Have you drunk Yogurt today?
(ad for Yogurt, 2002)

It should be noted that such mixed use of English and Cantonese is a spoken language habit typical of Hong Kongers and the ads are reflecting as well as further constructing this style/trend of the Hong Kong consumers.

Discussion and Conclusion

Towards a Local-and-Global Perspective on Language Mixing

The paper has examined the historical change in linguistic practice of Hong Kong advertising through the decolonization period and has found that, contrary to what Ha (1998) has predicted as a polarized trend in pure language use emerging as Hong Kong moving towards 1997, there have been a steady increase in language mixing and constant emergence of multilingual mix (i.e. Standard Written Chinese mixed with both English and Cantonese) in the advertising of Hong Kong from pre-1997 to post-1997. In terms of their morpho-syntactic linguistic characteristics, both the English and the Cantonese elements that are embedded in the Chinese ads can take the form of a word, a phrase, and/or a full clause, i.e. they can be realized in many different possible linguistic forms.

Furthermore, what merits our special attention is that in terms of the functional linguistic manifestations, both English and Cantonese mixing can be informing (i.e. being used in the formal or referential dimensions of language use) and involving (i.e. being used in the social or affective dimensions of language expressions). From pre-1997 to post-1997, there is a significant increase of English mixing for involvement function in the ads whereas there is a significant increase of Cantonese mixing for informational function. This suggests that there is an increased degree of accepting English for social and cultural expressions in Hong Kong Chinese and at the same time an increased degree of accepting Cantonese in the formal and written domains of Chinese usages.

Apparently, in contemporary Chinese advertising of Hong Kong, the ideal by the language purists (e.g. Hong Kong Education Commission, 1990; Li, 2001) can hardly be achieved. The negative view towards language mixing is no longer compatible with the development of the global/transnational/multinational advertising, and with the

demands of linguistic creativity by the Hong Kong consumers as well as by the copy writers. To us, the roles of English and Cantonese as they are embedded in the Chinese advertising can best be characterized as 'glocal'. 'Glocal' or 'glocalization' here refers to the attempt by the advertisers in using the standard/global means of advertising while catering to the regional interests, appeals, and affiliations in terms of the language, content and design in the advertisements (see Zhou & Belk, 2004). Since English is the global lingua-franca while Cantonese is the local, vernacular variety in Hong Kong, the mixing or addition of these two languages or varieties of the language has served as an important means to resolve the paradox of globalization and localization, of standardization and adaptation in international or transnational advertising.

In conclusion, we wish to account for the emergence of multilingual mix in Hong Kong from a local-and-global point of view beyond the conventional national-functionalist perspective. The foundational insight for globalization theory is that private sector companies are outgrowing their national territories and, as new 'multinational' or 'transnational 'or 'global' forces, reshaping community life. Coupland (2003, p. 467) proposes 'community interdependence' as one of the key concepts in global processes. Furthermore, Lie (2003) and Chen (2005) have suggested 'cultural hybridity' or 'hybridization' as one of the importance forces and outcome of globalization. Under globalization, there are many ways in which communities or cultures interface with and impact upon one another, and where language is both a medium and a marker of these new forms of interdependence or hybridity. We wish to conclude that the use of code mixing, particularly, the pattern of multilingual mix, will be phenomena constantly emerging in this multicultural process of globalization and that being able to mix different languages or varieties of languages for effective communication should be an aspect of linguistic competence highly valued in the age of globalization and localization.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Study

As only one news magazine was sampled, the findings of this study may not be generalized to all types of magazine advertisements in Hong Kong. The selection of the years (1992 and 2002) and the selection of the months had limitations as ads taken from these periods may not be representative of the entire year or the entire pre-1997 or post-1997 period. Therefore, it is worthy of our efforts that future research be conducted, drawing a larger sample size of magazine/print advertisements not only in Hong Kong but also in the other parts of Cultural China, further exploring the emergence of multilingual mix in the multicultural process of globalization.

Future research related to this topic can also improve and enhance the present measure of language use by including a measure of the amount and type (i.e. ratio and token) of each language use in each of the advertisements. This should help us to examine what and to what degree (not just the presence of any language) the

languages are dominant in the ad and to compare further the impact of product origin, product categories and advertising approaches on the distribution of multilingual mix in advertising. The intricate process and product of language use and hybridization in this age of globalization and localization merits our further and constant attention.

Abbreviations Used in Interlinear Glosses

ASP: aspect marker
DE: particle DE in Chinese
PART: discourse particle

Acknowledgement

Notes

[1] 'Cultural China' can be defined as a community or a set of communities which share a common written language* Chinese, Chinese ethnicity and lifestyle, lingering and underlying Confucian social norms and a Chinese self-identity (see also Frith & Tsao, 1998 for details).
[2] Standard Written Chinese in mainland China uses the simplified Chinese character version, while Hong Kong as well as Taiwan are using the classical/complicated version.
[3] The categorization of 'local products' or 'foreign products' is based on the country of origin or brand of origin for the product, disregarding the country or place where the product is made or manufactured.
[4] It should be noted that while SWC and Cantonese can be taken as two languages or two different varieties of the Chinese language family, we are lumping them together in this section as representing Chinese-only ads because we are comparing our results against Ha (1998) who did not differentiate the varieties of Chinese in her discussion of Chinese-only ads.
[5] Readers may also wish to note that rather than totally contradicting with Ha's (1998), the findings of this study also show support for Ha's conjecture on the importance of the use of English for foreign products. As shown in Table 2, a higher percentage of ads for the foreign products (than the local products) in 2002 will use English plus SWC.

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