

versity Press, 1987), p.249.

- (5) Johnson R.K. op. cit., Introduction
- (6) Cheung, Stephen Y.L., op. cit., p.464.
- (7) Lord, Robert, op. cit., pp.14-15.
- (8) Johnson R.K. op. cit., pp.7-10.
- (9) Johnson gives the disastrous case of Mary Lee. Mary Lee went to an English medium school, but was unable to cope with English medium instruction. As a result her English did not develop and she failed to master her content area subjects. She was discouraged by her lack of success and her Chinese language skills also suffered.
- (10) *Newsweek*, July 19, 1993, p.20.
- (11) *Window*, December 25, 1992, p.6.
- (12) Johnson R.K., op. cit., p.28.
- (13) *ibid.*, p.1
- (14) Cheung, Stephen Y.L., op. cit., p.464.

capable of teaching either in English or in Chinese. Teachers are not capable of teaching in Chinese, either. What happens in the typical Hong Kong secondary school classroom is classes are taught using English textbooks but with teachers teaching in Cantonese, yet switching to English when they come to technical terms and blackboard writing.⁽¹⁴⁾

Prospect of the Hong Kong Bilingual

The patterns of language use in a society are a reflection of that society, and language education planning for Hong Kong reflects the kind of society Hong Kong is and will become. Education in Hong Kong has been discussed on the assumption that Hong Kong will remain essentially what it is today. The Sino-British accord, and the Basic Law seem to ensure this. If the prosperity and stability which Hong Kong enjoys today are maintained, and Hong Kong remains the international business, banking and communications center as it is today, young people will need just as much English as they use now. However, at the same time, they will need much more Chinese as Hong Kong is integrated into China. There has also been a growing question of the need for English as a medium of instruction, on which the issues of Hong Kong bilingualism rests. The question might simply be understood as repulsion against the colonial ruler's educational philosophy. From the earliest times the British concentrated more on teaching young Chinese just enough English to be able to do their jobs rather than to truly communicate. On the other hand, looking at the growing importance of English as a world lingua franca, and at the fact that China itself is investing massively in English training, Hong Kong has a head start in a trend.

Notes

- (1) Matsubara, Masako Education in Hong Kong (1)—Historical Process of Linguistic Dualism—, Bulletin of Chiba Keiai Junior College, No.18, 1996, p.5.
- (2) Johnson R.K., and others, Teaching in Hong Kong — Using English as the Medium of Instruction, (Hong Kong : Longman, 1993), Introduction.
- (3) Cheung, Stephen Y. L. edit., The Other Hong Kong Report, 1995, (Hong Kong : The Chinese University Press, 1995), p.464.
- (4) Gerald A., edit., Education and Society in Hong Kong — Toward One Country and Two Systems, (Hong Kong : Hong Kong University Press, 1992), p.281.

Lord, Robert, edit., Language Education in Hong Kong, (Hong Kong : The Chinese Uni-

Indigenous Environment

Hong Kong has not yet developed an indigenous English speaking environment in comparison to Singapore, where children can choose either to go to English medium primary school or to Chinese medium primary school. In Hong Kong the choice comes after having been taught in native Cantonese for six years in primary school. Transfers from Cantonese to English, from the more highly developed language to the less developed one, should be very difficult. Even so, parents send their children to English school since it involves considerations of high demand in that society for English-educated students.

In reality, however, the community's English retrenchment is apparent since thousands of Hong Kong's most fluent English speakers have emigrated rather than live under Chinese rule. For those left behind, there is much less exposure to English in daily life. English standards within Hong Kong's school system have also declined.⁽¹⁰⁾ As a matter of course complaints have risen from business about the poor standard of English among employees and the difficulty of hiring young people with acceptable spoken and written English.⁽¹¹⁾

Teacher's Role

With the new language policy, the roles of teachers of English and that of other subjects, which used to be seen as separate, need to be seen as overlapping. All teachers are responsible, therefore, for maintaining English as the medium of instruction and for providing opportunities for students to develop their English language ability.

The teacher's fluency in English is important, but it does not necessarily suggest that native speakers would be the ideal teachers. The English medium education in Hong Kong needs bilingual teachers as a role model, Johnson asserts.⁽¹²⁾ First, they offer the students the sense of identity in relation to English and bilingualism. Secondly, a successful bilingual from the students' own culture provides a far more effective role model than a monolingual from another culture who is largely irrelevant to the students' interests and aims.

While the teacher is expected to maintain English, Johnson does not reject the students' use of Cantonese in English medium classrooms. It is the teacher who has a high level of proficiency in English, not the students. The use of Cantonese should be taken as a sign of lack of and need for English. The use of Cantonese should, therefore, be a step towards the use of English, not a substitute.⁽¹³⁾

The real problem lies unfortunately in the fact that in most schools teachers are no longer

Additive Bilingualism

Additive bilingualism is the target and the ideal outcome of bilingual education. A person who achieved additive bilingualism has the following characteristics:

- (1) A high level of proficiency is obtained in the L2, though not native speaker proficiency.
- (2) Achievement in the L1 is as high as it would be if the L1 had been the medium of instruction.
- (3) Intellectual or cognitive development benefits from working at a high level in two languages.

Subtractive Bilingualism

In subtractive bilingualism the student fails to come to terms with the L2 medium of instruction, does not acquire the L2, does not therefore gain the concepts and skills that are being taught and learned through that language, and is at the same time deprived of the opportunity to develop linguistically or educationally through the L1.

Preparatory Bilingualism

This describes a student who studies through the medium of his first language, Chinese, and studied English as a subject. His level of proficiency in English is nowhere near that of an additive or replacive bilingual student, but once his English proficiency level is raised, he should be successful in English medium tertiary studies.

In Hong Kong, the controversy has always been between the relative benefits of using a second language as the medium of instruction and teaching the second language as a subject. Advocates of English-medium instruction maintain the potential for very high levels of bilingual and academic achievement. However, the risk it carries should not be overlooked. As shown in subtractive bilingualism the student does not acquire the L2, does not therefore gain the concepts and skills that are being taught and learned through that language. The most serious problem is that the student may be deprived of the opportunity to develop linguistically or educationally through the L1.⁽⁹⁾

Cantonese-speaking Hong Kong. In reality, however, more and more English medium schools have experienced difficulties in using English as a medium of instruction especially since 1978 when secondary education became compulsory.⁽⁴⁾ So far the Education Department is not enforcing a move to Chinese provided that schools are able to show that their teachers possess the ability to meet the criteria for English medium education, and the students are able to benefit from what the school provides.⁽⁵⁾

As early as 1990, the Education Commission of Hong Kong made several proposals in its Report No.4, which later on became known as MIGA (Medium of Instruction Grouping Assessment). The system allows schools to choose Chinese or English as the medium of instruction, or use Chinese in certain subjects and English in others. Once the choice is made schools should abide by the choice, so that the use of "mixed code" in classroom teaching is to be eliminated.⁽⁶⁾ As Lord describes, in Anglo-Chinese schools a very peculiar and disturbing situation is witnessed. All of the lesson material is in English. The teacher is doing his or her best to explain this material in Chinese (Cantonese), and may be trying to use English from time to time and also writing English on the blackboard. The language of the classroom becomes an awkward mixture of English and Cantonese.⁽⁷⁾ If bilingual education is simply defined as learning through a language that is not the mother tongue, the education in Anglo-Chinese schools in Hong Kong does not fall into this category. Two questions arise here: (1) Is it better to teach English as a subject or to use it as the medium of instruction? (2) Does the development of Chinese suffer if English is used as the medium of instruction?

In Japanese high schools English is taught as a subject. Bilingualism has never been in the scope of educational issues. However, to look at both pluses and minuses in the bilingual education of Hong Kong offers a key to improve our teaching methods as well as students' communicative skills in English, which are mostly neglected.

Types of the Hong Kong Bilingualism

Johnson identifies four Types of bilingualism in the Hong Kong context as illustrated below.⁽⁸⁾

		L 1	L 1
		+	-
L 2	+	Additive	Replacive
L 2	-	Preparatory	Subtractive

+ shows relative gains in the first language (L1) and the second language (L2).

- shows relative losses in the L1 and L2.

Education in Hong Kong (2)

—The Hong Kong Bilingual—

Masako Matsubara

Introduction

Ninety-eight percent of the population in Hong Kong speaks Cantonese, a southern dialect of Chinese, at home. The number of people whose domestic language is Putunghua (Mandarin) is quite limited. Even so, in Hong Kong Putunghua is designated as the national language with English as the international language. In Hong Kong unlike other places in East Asia, such as Japan, Korea or Taiwan, the language issue is usually complicated. Over the past few decades English has changed from being a purely colonial language used by the ruling sectors to an indispensable language of wider communication for a large range of people. This trend is closely related to the growth of Hong Kong as one of the major international trading, business, banking, and communication centers, especially during the 1970s. The population of Hong Kong has increased radically since World War II, and its social composition is different by far from the pre-war colonial days. Undoubtedly, education in Hong Kong is no longer the privilege of an elite; it is for everyone, and education-minded parents have hopes for their children's schooling with English as the medium of instruction.⁽¹⁾

In 1994, with Hong Kong's return to China in sight, a new language policy was introduced. According to this policy, most secondary students should be educated in Chinese as the medium of instruction. The remainder, estimated initially at approximately 30%, are to be educated in English. The mixing and switching between Cantonese and English used in so-called English medium schools over the past twenty years is to be reduced or eliminated.⁽²⁾ While the number of the students wishing to be educated in English exceeds the estimated 30%, some groups still push for the compulsory adoption of mother-tongue (Chinese) teaching in all schools.⁽³⁾ The restriction of the number to 30% has stimulated critical public debate since it is only the top 30% which is permitted to enter the English medium schools. The system has begun now to function as a means to classify children. Hong Kong students who achieve bilingualism have a wide range of personal and professional choices and so the popular demand for English proficiency and English medium education will continue to be strong in