

Multilingual Education

Lixun Wang
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Trilingual Education in Hong Kong Primary Schools

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Multilingual Education

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Chapter 1

Introduction



1.1 Hong Kong Demographics

Hong Kong, a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China (PRC), is a multilingual society which is located on the south coast of China, bordering the mainland city of Shenzhen in Guangdong province to its north, and surrounded by the Pearl River Delta and the South China Sea on its east, south and west. Its geography and political history make it linguistically diverse with three principal languages: Cantonese, English and Putonghua, each of which “carries different political, economic, social and cultural values locally” (Chen 2005, p. 528).

Hong Kong is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. In 2018 the population was estimated at 7.42 million (<http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/china-hong-kong-sar-population/>). According to the 2016 by-census, 92% of the Hong Kong population is ethnic Chinese, and 8% comprise other ethnic groups, including a large number of Filipino and Indonesian foreign domestic helpers, who, together, make up approximately 4% of the population (Census and Statistics Department 2017, p. 29). Cantonese is the socially preferred and most commonly used language at home. As shown in Table 1.1, in 2016, 94.6% of the population aged 5 and over reported being able to speak Cantonese (Census and Statistics Department 2017, p. 31). 88.9% of this group also reported that they spoke Cantonese at home with “a Hong Kong accent and a Hong Kong lexicon, (this) signifies one’s status as a local person in contrast to city newcomers, who either do not speak Cantonese or do not speak with a local accent and lexicon” (Chen 2005, p. 528). 5.7% claimed that they could speak Cantonese as a second or further language, whose first language was one of the following Chinese languages: Putonghua, Hakka, Fukienese, Chiu Chow and Shanghainese (Census and Statistics Department 2017, p. 31).

Although the mother tongue of the great majority of the Hong Kong population is Cantonese (Sze 1997, 2000), the written Chinese taught in school is Modern Standard Chinese (MSC), the written equivalent of Putonghua (Tse 2009), the

Table 1.1 Proportion of population aged 5 and over able to speak selected languages by year

Year	Proportion of population aged 5 and over								
	Percentage								
	As the usual language			As another language/dialect			Total		
	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016	2006	2011	2016
Language ^a									
Cantonese	90.8	89.5	88.9	5.7	6.3	5.7	96.5	95.8	94.6
English	2.8	3.5	4.3	41.9	42.6	48.9	44.7	46.1	53.2
Putonghua	0.9	1.4	1.9	39.2	46.5	46.7	40.2	47.8	48.6
Hakka	1.1	0.9	0.6	3.6	3.8	3.5	4.7	4.7	4.2
Fukien	1.2	1.1	1	2.1	2.3	2.6	3.4	3.5	3.6
Chiu Chau	0.8	0.7	0.5	3.2	3.1	2.9	3.9	3.8	3.4
Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)	0.1	0.3	0.3	1.5	2.2	2.4	1.7	2.4	2.7
Filipino (Tagalog)	0.1	0.2	0.4	1.3	1.4	2.3	1.4	1.7	2.7
Japanese	0.2	0.2	0.1	1.1	1.4	1.7	1.2	1.5	1.8
Shanghainese	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.1

Note: ^aFigures exclude mute persons

Source: Census and Statistics Department. (2017). *2016 Population by-census: Main results*. HKSAR Government: Government Logistics Department

national language of Mainland China. The difference between MSC and Cantonese is in the relative lexicons (Bauer 1988) and in elements of grammar (Sze 2005; Zhan 2002). Cantonese also uses a number of different characters (Snow 2004). Almost all the schools use the romanised alphabetic system: *hanyu pinyin* (a writing system, also based on Putonghua, which was developed for helping Chinese children learn to read Chinese) (Davison and Lai 2007, p. 122). A large number of Chinese characters were also given simplified forms during the language reforms introduced by the Chinese Communist Party. The traditional complex forms are still commonly used, however, outside the Mainland, for example in Hong Kong and Taiwan. When the Hong Kong government and official documents talk about Chinese, Chinese is understood to mean Modern Standard Chinese (MSC), written in the traditional, unsimplified script, and spoken Cantonese. The gap between written Chinese (MSC) and spoken Chinese (Cantonese) can pose a serious problem for students (Llewellyn et al. 1982; Poon 1999; So 1989), in developing literacy in Chinese as what they say in Cantonese is very different from the sounds of Putonghua upon which standard written Chinese is based.

English is prominent in Hong Kong despite the fact that only 4.3% of the Hong Kong population reported using English as a usual language/dialect (Census and Statistics Department 2017, p. 31). As a result of being a British colony for 155 years, English is Hong Kong's dominant language in the domains of legislature, administration, the judiciary, and education (Luke and Richards 1982; Poon 2000, 2010; So 1989, 1996). Chinese only became a co-official language alongside English in 1974 when the government enacted the Official Languages Ordinance

(Hong Kong Government 1974) in response to massive public pressure from the Chinese Language Movement during 1968 and 1971 (Poon 2000; So 1996). Since then, Chinese has been used in official transactions. To a great extent, however, English remains the major medium for intra-governmental written communication and records. Moreover, English is still the language of the high courts and also the preferred language for written contracts and records in the commercial sector (So 1996). As we shall show, English is also the preferred medium of instruction, assessment and examination for most educational institutions at secondary and tertiary levels.

English is maintained as a co-official language alongside Chinese despite the change of sovereignty in June 1997 when Britain ‘handed over’ Hong Kong to China. Article 9 of The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China states that “In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region” (The Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau 2017, p. 3). The reasons for keeping English are associated with the “changing status of English as well as the changing economy in Hong Kong” (Poon 2010, p. 6).

After the handover of sovereignty in 1997, The Hong Kong SAR government has put vigorous efforts into fostering the national identity of Hong Kong people through the school curriculum, the media, community activities, and territory-wide events and exhibitions, etc. (Poon 2010) In addition, Putonghua is promoted through a new language policy, namely the ‘biliterate and trilingual’ policy (兩文三語政策). Putonghua is now taught as a subject in all Hong Kong secondary and primary schools and being trialled as a medium of instruction for the Chinese Language subject in selected schools. Cantonese is used as the medium of instruction in the great majority of primary schools and in those secondary schools which use Chinese as a medium of instruction (Pan 2000). English is the medium of instruction in selected secondary schools and in all but two of the eight government-funded universities and in all private universities. We discuss this in greater detail below. The promotion of Putonghua aims to facilitate communication and exchange with Mainland China. The move to Putonghua soon gained momentum and spread within the society (Poon 2004). The increased use and significance of Putonghua that has accompanied the handover has deepened the complexity of the linguistic situation in Hong Kong (Adamson and Lai 1997).

1.2 Language Policies of Hong Kong

The language policies of Hong Kong have always been an “unresolved thorny issue” (Poon 2004, p. 53) as debates on the language policies governing the three principal languages have continued for more than two decades. ‘Diglossia’ (Ferguson 1972; Fishman 1971) and ‘superposed bilingualism’ (So 1989) can best depict the language situation since early colonial days until the late 1980s. As a colonial

language, English enjoyed supreme status despite the relatively small population of English speakers before the 1997 handover. According to the 1991 population census only 2.2% of the population used English as the language of normal communication (Census and Statistics Department 1991, p. 43). English was considered a 'high' language in the domains of government administration, the legislature and the judiciary, while Chinese was the 'low' language and used at home and in daily social contact by the majority of the population (Fu 1987; Lord 1987; Luke and Richards 1982; Poon 2000; So 1989). As noted above, the use of Chinese in government administration was legalised only when Chinese became a co-official language in 1974. Despite this, the English version of government documents was considered the final correct version when disputes arose (Poon 2004). More recently, however, bilingual versions of ordinances, government reports and announcements are recognised (Poon 2010).

All Hong Kong children studying at local government-aided schools learn both Chinese language (to be further elucidated below) and English language from Primary 1 for 12 years through the end of senior secondary education. In other words, both Chinese Language subject and English Language subject are part of the core curriculum and are the compulsory subjects in primary and secondary education (ages 6–17). Schools in Hong Kong are not required by law to follow a particular language curriculum (So 1996). In theory, schools may develop their own language curricula according to the school missions and their own needs, as long as the developed curricula have the ratification of the Education Bureau. However, in practice, instead of developing their own Chinese and English curricula, most of them follow past, established practices within the professions, which have been heavily influenced by public examinations, and also the curricula guidelines and syllabuses developed by the Curriculum Development Council (CDC).

Before the 1990s, in primary education, Cantonese was used as the major medium of instruction in all schools with English taught as a foreign language. There were two main streams of secondary schools defined by the languages used for medium of instruction. They were the Anglo-Chinese Schools, which used English as the medium of instruction (MoI) and the Chinese Middle Schools, using Cantonese as the MoI. In the Chinese-medium schools (CMI schools), English Language is taught as a subject and in the EMI schools, Chinese Language is taught as a subject. Nearly all kindergartens in Hong Kong used Cantonese as the language of instruction while a basic form of English was taught, largely in response to parents' demands, but against the advice of the Education Department (Government Secretariat 1981, p. 16). Meanwhile a few missionary schools used English as the medium of instruction. Despite their names medium of instruction in secondary schools was actually not strictly determined by the type of school (e.g., Anglo-Chinese Schools and Chinese Middle Schools), as individual schools were free to use whichever medium of instruction they considered their pupils could cope with; moreover, they might use Cantonese and English for different subjects and at different class levels. Parental demand meant that many so-called Chinese medium schools used English as a medium of instruction but with varying degrees of success (Luke and Richards 1982).

The teaching of Putonghua (or Mandarin) and its use as a medium of instruction were very limited before the 1990s (Adamson and Lai 1997; Zhang and Yang 2004). Putonghua played a minor role in the school system, either being learned as an extracurricular or optional subject (Zhang and Yang 2004). In preparation for and since the handover in 1997, Putonghua has been promoted in Hong Kong (Adamson and Lai 1997; Kan et al. 2011; Zhang and Yang 2004). In September 1995, the Report of the working group on the use of Chinese in the civil service was published, which stated: ‘It is already the Government’s ultimate objective to develop a civil service which is biliterate (in English and Chinese) and trilingual (in English, Cantonese and Putonghua)’ (Civil Service Branch 1995, p. 5). This represented the Government’s initial declaration of the ‘biliterate and trilingual’ policy (BTP) (兩文三語). This has also become the de facto language policy for schools and Civil Service (Education Department 1997; Tung 1999). The plan to promote biliteracy and trilingualism, was officially announced in 1997 in the first policy address of Hong Kong SAR’s inaugural Chief Executive, C. H. Tung. Since then, Putonghua has become a central element of the primary and secondary curricula (Davison and Lai 2007) and more recently increasingly as the MoI for the Chinese Language subjects (Evans 2013). In addition, more people have come to recognise the need to learn Putonghua.

1.3 Trilingual Education in Hong Kong Primary Schools

The language policy after the handover in 1997 is now guiding the curriculum design in Hong Kong language education. Government policy, at least for primary schools, encourages the use of the mother tongue (Cantonese) as the medium of instruction, believing that it is the best way to learn. Many experts (Benson 2008; Garcia 2009) also concur with this view. Others hold the view that the use of Cantonese is not conducive to the learning of written Chinese as the two “languages” are quite different (Bray and Koo 2004), despite evidence that suggests the opposite (Tse et al. 2007). Kirkpatrick and Chau (2008) and Clem (2008) have argued for the establishment of schools as trilingual sites and urge that it is ‘time to give trilingual a try’. Currently, however, Hong Kong primary schools do not have an agreed approach or method for the implementation of trilingual education. No guidelines have been suggested by the government despite its desire to create a biliterate and trilingual citizenry. There is thus an urgent need to explore current models, so that primary schools can be better informed on how trilingual education can be implemented effectively.

This was the impetus that led us to conduct a detailed case study of the trilingual education model adopted in a selected primary school in 2009–2010 school year. Views of key stakeholders (the principal, teachers, students and parents) on how successful the model was thought to be were collected, and a number of lessons taught using English, Cantonese or Putonghua as the medium of instruction were recorded and analysed. On the basis of the research findings, a possible model for

implementing trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools was suggested. Following the successful preliminary pilot study into the implementation of trilingual education in this single Hong Kong primary school (Wang and Kirkpatrick 2013), a larger scale research on trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools was carried out. The aims of this larger study were to explore two major questions, namely:

- (1) What sort of models and methods in implementing trilingual education are being adopted in Hong Kong primary schools? and
- (2) Which of these models and methods are the more effective in fostering trilingualism?

In this large scale study, we also focused on the ‘proficiency’ issue and measured selected students’ proficiency in all the three languages on graduation in an attempt to define what it might mean to be ‘trilingual and biliterate’. We designed and sent a survey questionnaire to 474 primary schools in Hong Kong in late February 2014. One hundred and fifty-five Hong Kong primary schools participated in this questionnaire survey. The findings suggest that the implementation of trilingual education varied significantly from school to school, and the effectiveness of the trilingual education models varied as well. For example, we found that individual primary schools had adopted their own medium of instruction (MoI) policies in teaching different subjects. In order to answer unanswered questions and to have a clearer picture of how the trilingual education model was being implemented in different schools, follow-up case studies were carried out in three of the surveyed schools in the school year 2014–2015. This book represents the report of this major study.

1.4 The Outline of the Book

This book consists of 10 chapters including a literature review, the methodology, the findings, a discussion of such findings and finally a conclusion stating the significance of the whole study. Chapter 2, the Literature Review, examines the previous research and literature on multilingual/trilingual education, code-switching/code-mixing, and the historical development of the language policy in Hong Kong. Chapter 3, Research Design and Methods, describes the research design for the pilot study, the major survey on trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools and the three case studies. Chapter 4 reports the data collected and analysis on the pilot study. The data collection and findings of the larger scale survey on trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools are reported in Chap. 5. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 report the findings of the three case studies. Discussions and reflections comprise Chap. 9. Finally, Chap. 10 concludes with a discussion of the implications of our findings for the implementation of trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools and their possible relevance beyond Hong Kong.

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Chapter 2

Literature Review



This chapter examines a selection of previous research on multilingual/trilingual education, and includes a review of code-switching and code-mixing and the historical development of the language policies in Hong Kong from the past to present.

2.1 Multilingual/Trilingual Education

2.1.1 Definitions

Multilingualism and trilingualism is common in Europe and in many other parts of the world (Aronin 2005; Cenoz and Gorter 2005), resulting from historical, social and political factors (Cenoz and Jessner 2000). According to Fasold (1984, p. 9), four different kinds of historical patterns lead to societal multilingualism and they are: migration, imperialism, federation and border area multilingualism. Cenoz (2013, p. 4) points out that globalisation, transnational mobility of the population, and the spread of new technologies are factors that contribute to multilingualism. Cenoz and Genesee (1998) mention that the growing need for individual multilingualism “results from increasing communications among different parts of the world and the need to be competent in languages of wider communication” (p. vii). Aronin and Singleton (2008, pp. 1–2) suggest that recent multilingualism should be considered as a new linguistic phenomenon for the following reasons:

1. Multilingualism is ubiquitous, on the rise worldwide, and increasingly deep and broad in its effects.
2. Multilingualism is developing within the context of the new reality of globalisation.

3. Multilingualism is now such an inherent element of human society that it is necessary to the functioning of major components of the social structure (in the broad sense, encompassing, *inter alia*, technology, finance, politics and culture).

Multilingualism is a complex phenomenon that can be interpreted in different ways (Cenoz 2013). The Cambridge Dictionary defines a multilingual individual as a person who is able to use more than two languages for communication (<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/multilingual>), while Li Wei (2008b, p. 4) identifies a multilingual individual as “anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)”. Mitchell (2012, p. 1) calls ‘a student whose daily life reality necessitates the negotiation of two or more languages “a multilingual learner”’. Multilingualism is defined by the European Commission as “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” (European Commission 2007, p. 6). As Cenoz (2013, p. 5) points out, multilingualism is simultaneously “an individual and a social phenomenon”. Individual multilingualism refers to a speaker’s knowledge and his ability to use more than two languages while societal multilingualism is the linguistic diversity that can be found in a country, in which more than one language in a speech community is officially recognised (Cenoz 2013; Clyne 1997). In general, an individual can assimilate the different languages at the same time by being exposed to two or more languages from birth, or consecutively, by being exposed to second or additional languages later in life (Cenoz 2013). There is an important difference between additive and subtractive multilingualism. A language is added to the linguistic repertoire of the speaker while the first language continues to be developed when speakers of a majority language acquire other languages for additive multilingualism. Subtractive multilingualism refers to situations in which a new language is learned and replaces the first language as, for example, when immigrant schoolchildren are required to shift to the language of the host country without being given the opportunity to develop or maintain their own language (Cenoz 2013, pp. 5–6).

Our study focuses on the trilingual education in Hong Kong context. Trilingual education is defined by Riemersma (2011, p. 7) as “three target languages are to be taught as a school subject as well as used as a medium of instruction during a relevant number of teaching hours”. To Beetsma (2002), there is no clear definition of trilingual education, which “has often been assumed to be an extension of bilingualism” (Hoffmann 2001, p. 1). Hoffmann (2001) further notes that multilingualism incorporates “the idea that not only is more than one language involved, but also that any number of linguistic varieties may be present in the particular sociolinguistic situation under consideration” (p. 2). To Cenoz et al. (2001, p. 3), the distinction between third language acquisition and trilingual education is that “third language acquisition in the school context would refer to learning an L3 as a subject and trilingual education could refer to the use of three languages as languages of instruction”. Aronin (2005, p. 8) points out that “in most academic discussions trilingualism and multilingualism are interchangeable notions”.

As education in many countries occurs in multilingual contexts, educational policy makers are currently facing difficulties in deciding the choice of language of instruction while balancing and respecting the use of different languages. Generally speaking, multilingual education is considered good (Hornberger 2009; UNESCO 2003). Multilingual education not only can prepare coming generations to take part in creating more democratic and just societies in a globalised and intercultural world, but also meet the specific needs of culturally and linguistically distinct communities (Hornberger 2009; UNESCO 2003). Multilingual education programmes offer “a way of allowing children to experience their rich multilingual backgrounds as an advantage and as a means of thriving in a multilingual world” (Analytical 2015, p. 2). According to Hornberger (2009), multilingual education is:

1. multilingual in that it uses and values more than one language in teaching and learning;
2. intercultural in that it recognises and values understanding and dialogue across different lived experiences and cultural worldviews; and
3. education that draws out, taking as its starting point the knowledge students bring to the classroom and moving toward their participation as full and indispensable actors in society—locally, nationally, and globally (p. 198).

Hélot and Young (2006, p. 69) define a multilingual school as:

a place where linguistic and cultural diversity is acknowledged and valued, where children can feel safe to use their home language alongside the school language (French in this case) to learn and to communicate, where teachers are not afraid and do not feel threatened to hear languages they do not know, and where multilingualism and multilingual literacies are supported.

A significant issue in multilingual education is the medium of instruction (MoI): Which language(s) should be adopted as the medium of education and which language should be adopted to teach which subject – including the language itself? As Cenoz and Genesee (1998) point out, multilingual education means “educational programmes that use languages other than the first languages as media of instruction (although some teach additional languages as school subjects) which aim for communicative proficiency in more than two languages” (p. viii). Hélot (2013) argues that true multilingual education must fully incorporate the second or foreign languages in the regular syllabus and that they are used as languages of instruction. Recent researchers have distinguished between bilingual education and multilingual education, for example, Lasagabaster (2015, p. 17) suggests that the label multilingual education will only be used “if the educational model concerned uses three languages as media of instruction and/or the objective is to reach at least trilingualism”. Lasagabaster (2015, p. 17) also points out that the Basque experimental programme called Framework for Trilingual Education is multilingual education, as Basque, Spanish and English are used as means of instruction in each of the 118 schools involved.

2.1.2 Multilingual Education in Southeast Asia

Currently, many children worldwide are learning a third language in the school context (Cenoz et al. 2001; Hoffmann 2001) and it is a “growing phenomenon all over Europe” (Beetsma 2002, p. 6). This forms part of a trend “to introduce a foreign language from an earlier age and a second foreign language at the end of primary school or in secondary school and the increasing use of minority languages in education in many parts of the world” (Cenoz et al. 2001, p. 2).

Southeast Asia is composed of 11 independent nations: Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR (Laos), Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam. With the exception of Timor Leste, these nations form the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Traditionally, the main languages of instruction (LOI) and languages of literacy in Southeast Asia are the relevant official and national languages. Some movement towards multilingual education (MLE) has arisen in the region with the support for the non-dominant languages (NDLs). Non-dominant languages (NDLs) refer to “languages or language varieties that are not considered the most prominent in terms of number, prestige, or official use by the government and/or the education system” (Kosonen and Young 2009, p. 12). One country that has moved to promote indigenous languages as languages of education is the Philippines. The government has recently introduced a system of mother-tongue based multilingual education (MTBMLE) whereby 19 indigenous languages have been gazetted as languages of instruction for the first 3 years of primary school. MTBMLE replaces a bilingual language education policy in force since 1974, which saw English and Tagalog/Filipino as the two media of instruction, English for maths and science subjects and Filipino for arts subjects (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2017). This was despite the fact that some 180 languages are spoken in the Philippines and some of them are spoken by millions of people such as Bicol, Cebuano, Illongo, Ilocano and Tagalog (Lewis et al. 2016). As a result, under the bilingual education policy, most Filipinos could not study through languages they spoke at home (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003; Kirkpatrick 2012; Kosonen 2017b; Tupas and Lorente 2014). The implementation of MLE in the Philippines represents a radical shift in policy (Kirkpatrick 2010), which is part of “a growing trend around the world to support mother tongue instruction in the early years of a child’s education” (Burton 2013, p. 2). The Philippines is, nevertheless, the only country to establish a national policy requiring the inclusion of mother tongue in the early grades (Cruz 2015).

On the whole, mother-tongue-based multilingual education programmes aim to create confidence in learners and help them build bridges not just between languages of instruction, but also between the culture of home, family, and community and the broader society in which their language community exists. Such programmes also target incorporating content that is familiar to the learners into the curriculum and deliver that content in a language that is familiar to the learners in the ethnolinguistic communities where the learners are speakers of non-dominant languages (Young 2009).

Generally speaking, however, NDLs are seen by most decision-makers as a problem rather than a resource (Kosonen and Young 2009). Kosonen (2017a, p. 4) states that “countries with more pluralistic language policies, such as Cambodia, the Philippines, Thailand Timor-Leste and Vietnam use some NDLs as languages of instruction in multilingual education”. However, the use of NDLs as languages of instruction in Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam remains at the initial stage comprising pilot projects, often financed by NGOs (Kosonen 2009). Meanwhile, Brunei, Indonesia, Lao PDR, and Malaysia, put emphasis on the national/official languages in their education systems (Kosonen 2017a). In Singapore, English is the medium of instruction throughout the education system. Students also learn their mother tongues, defined uniquely in the Singaporean context as being inextricably linked to ethnicity, so that an ethnically Chinese child will by definition learn Mandarin as their mother-tongue, no matter whether this is really the child’s mother tongue or not. We discuss the linguistic context and language education policies of a selection of countries in more detail below.

An estimated 72 languages are spoken in the Kingdom of Thailand (Lewis et al. 2016). Standard Thai, which is based on Central Thai as spoken in the capital, Bangkok, is the de facto official and national language of Thailand, and the Thai Constitution makes no mention of an official language (Kosonen 2017a). An estimated 50% of Thai citizens speak Standard or Central Thai as their first language (Kosonen 2009). Standard Thai, possessing indisputable status and prestige, is widely spoken as a second language throughout the country and is the medium of instruction at all levels of education for a century. However, many children have comprehension problems in the early years of education (Benson and Kosonen 2012; Kosonen 2013; Kosonen and Person 2014; Watson 2011) because many learners do not have proficiency in Standard Thai. Therefore, ethnolinguistic minority children have lower learning outcomes in all main subjects than students whose home language is Thai (Kosonen and Young 2009). The Thai school curriculum first allowed the teaching of non-dominant languages in 2002 in areas where ethnolinguistic communities live (Siltragoon et al. 2009). Later, two different Thai governments approved Thailand’s first National Language Policy (NLP) in 2010 and 2012 respectively (Kosonen 2017a). The NLP deals with non-dominant languages and their use in education recognising the use of learners’ first languages as the basis for cognitive development (Kosonen 2017a). Several non-dominant languages are presently used in L1-based education pilot projects run by academic institutions and non-governmental actors in partnership with the Ministry of Education (Kosonen 2013; Kosonen and Person 2014). In 2015, two teacher training institutions started to train MLE teachers, and in 2017 there has been serious discussion about an operational plan as well as a budget to implement the NLP (Kosonen 2017a). However, Siltragoon et al. (2009) reported in their case study in two villages, Pa Kha and Nong Ung Tai, that some parents wanted their children to study Thai from the first day of school so that they could communicate with Thai speakers and be able to participate and get on in Thai society.

Around 134 languages are spoken in Malaysia (Lewis et al. 2016) and the Malays, the dominant ethnolinguistic group, represent about half of the population. The other

two major ethnic groups are the Chinese (23.3%) and the Indians (6.9%) and the rest of the population comprises indigenous non-Malays. Standard Malay (Bahasa Malaysia or Bahasa Melayu) is set as the official and national language by the Constitution of 1957, while English, Chinese and Tamil are widely spoken as well. These two languages are offered in schools. The Constitution also assures people's freedom to use, teach, and learn any language, as well as the preservation and maintenance of non-dominant languages (David and Govindasamy 2007; Ethnologue, 2005; Leclerc 2009; Nagarathinam 2008). Children of ethnolinguistic groups are encouraged to learn their mother tongue in order to preserve their language and culture (Logijin 2009). Malay is the main language of instruction in national schools, although English was used for a period as the medium of instruction for the teaching of maths and science in primary schools. However, Malaysia has recently decided to abandon this project (Gill 2012), as many children were failing in these subjects. As a result Malay has been re-introduced as the MoI for these subjects in primary schools and English is now taught as a subject. Complaints about the return to Malay-medium instruction have been made by urban middle class, many of whom have a good foundation in English (Kirkpatrick 2012; Watson 2011).

Singapore has a multi-ethnic population and a diverse language environment, with 24 languages (Lewis et al. 2016) in which Malay, Chinese (Mandarin), Tamil, and English are the official languages and the national language is Malay (Pang 2009). Ethnic Chinese (75.6%), who comprise the majority, have traditionally spoken different varieties of Chinese such as Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka, Hainanese, and Foochow. The remaining population is composed of Malays, Tamils and other ethnolinguistic groups. As noted above, all students in Singapore are required to study both English and one of the official 'mother tongue languages' i.e. Malay, Mandarin, or Tamil, from the early years of primary education through to the secondary level (Primary 1 to Secondary 4/5, ages 7 to 16) under the bilingual policy (Kosonen 2017a; Pang 2009). English is the main medium of instruction in schools, except for the teaching of civics, moral education, and the mother tongue languages (Pang 2009).

At the 2008 South East Asian Ministers of Education (SEAMEO) Centre Directors' Meeting, which was held in Bangkok, the SEAMEO-World Bank project on the Use of the Mother Tongue as Bridge Language of Instruction in Southeast Asian Countries was a key item for discussion (Haddad 2007). In summary, many governments and educational institutions are grappling with issues connected with language education and the respective role of local languages, the national language and English within national curricula. Despite this and the efforts being made by some of the ASEAN governments, the place of indigenous languages in education is precarious. In their overview of language education policy and practice across Asia, Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat (2017) concluded that the trends are for the promotion of the respective national language as the main language of education with English being introduced as the 'second' language. Indigenous languages are, in the main, neglected as languages of education and the future of many of these appears endangered.

Interest and developments in multilingual education extends beyond Asia. The creation of citizens who are ‘plurilingual’ is, for example, a key component of the language education policy in the European Union (Beacco and Byram 2003).

2.1.3 *Multilingual Education in Europe*

Many member states of the European Union (EU) are bilingual or multilingual in which several languages are used as languages of instruction (Cenoz et al. 2001). Many new multilingual initiatives at primary level in the EU are related to “the trends of growing recognition of regional and minority languages and increasing internationalisation” (Beetsma 2002, p. 6). The language policy in EU is to maintain distinct national, cultural and L1 linguistic identity (Beetsma 2002; Riemersma 2011). All the mother tongues (L1) of 28 countries, including Maltese and Gaelic are taught and the respective L1 is the basic language of instruction in primary school. English is normally the first foreign language (European Commission 2007) and German and French are likely to be the most popular second foreign languages in European countries, while third and fourth language acquisition is also common (Cenoz et al. 2001). All students need to build their language competency in an L2 and L3 and an optional L4. Typically, the learning of the L2 starts at the first year in primary school, the learning of the L3 starts at the first year of secondary school and the L4 at the fourth year of secondary school.

Darquennes (2013, p. 1) points out that multilingual education in Europe can be divided into four population categories: (a) multilingual education aiming primarily at the majority population, (b) multilingual education aiming primarily at an indigenous minority, (c) multilingual education aiming primarily at the immigrant population, and (d) multilingual education aiming primarily at an affluent international audience including those schools mainly attended by children of diplomats, officials working for an international organisation (e.g., the EU, UNESCO, NATO), or expatriates working for multinational companies.

Multilingual education aiming primarily at the majority population takes the form of a type of content-based instruction, also known as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), (Gorter and Cenoz 2011). The most common CLIL language in the EU is English, followed by French and German. Other languages such as Spanish, Italian, and Russian currently only play a marginal role as CLIL languages (Darquennes 2013). With the increasing popularity of multilingual education at secondary level, multilingual education at the primary school is also increasing.

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe (2010) describes ‘minority languages’ as “languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state’s population and [are] different from the official language(s) of that state”. The number of indigenous minority languages is estimated at approximately 60 in the 27 member states of the EU and at

approximately 150 in the whole of Europe (Darquennes 2013). Multilingual education primarily aiming at an indigenous language minority is mostly offered at the level of kindergarten and primary school and less at the level of secondary education. For example, a total number of 284 primary schools and only 4 secondary schools offered multilingual education in German and Hungarian for the German minority population in Hungary in 1999/2000 (European Commission 2004, pp. 119–120). Other languages are taught as a subject such as the case in Lithuanian-Russian schools in Lithuania (European Commission 2004, p. 205). Recently, more and more Spanish-speaking immigrants have been attracted by the industrialisation of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) (Cenoz and Etxague, 2011). Basque and Spanish were made the official languages and compulsory subjects in all schools in the BAC in 1979 and 1982 respectively. Three models of language schooling were established: models A, B and D (there is no letter ‘C’ in Basque). These models differ in terms of the language or languages of instruction, their linguistic aims, and their intended student population (ibid.). Model A schools are intended for native speakers of Spanish who choose to be instructed in Spanish. Basque is taught as a second language for 3–5 h a week. These schools provide minimal instruction and, thus, minimal proficiency in Basque as a second language. Model B schools are intended for native speakers of Spanish who want to be bilingual in Basque and Spanish. Both Basque and Spanish are used as languages of instruction for approximately 50% of school time, varying from school to school. Basque is the language of instruction and Spanish is taught as a subject for 3–5 h a week in Model D schools. This model was originally created as a language maintenance programme for native speakers of Basque, but presently also includes a large number of students with Spanish as their first language. Consequently, Model D schools can be regarded as both total immersion programmes for native Spanish-speaking students and first language maintenance programmes for native Basque speakers (Cenoz 2009; Cenoz and Etxague 2011; Darquennes 2013; Gorter 2015).

Since the second half of the twentieth century, there have always been speakers of immigrant minority languages in Europe (Extra 2009) which have regained increased recognition and support (Gorter and Cenoz 2011). European countries have to adapt or re-adapt their education policies especially their language-in-education policies to the increasingly multilingual and multicultural character of the school population (Darquennes 2013). Therefore, a balance between an emphasis on learning (in) the language that is the majority language of the country or region in which the immigrants reside and the integration of immigrant minority languages in the curriculum needs to be sought. The integration of immigrant minority languages in the curriculum is meant to help the immigrant students overcome language-related learning difficulties rather than to prepare the immigrant children for a return to their (parents’) home countries (Darquennes 2013). In Brussels, ten primary Dutch-language schools are part of the Foyer project and they offer multilingual education programmes for immigrants residing in Brussels. Three schools offer programmes oriented to Turkish immigrant children, three to Italian

immigrant children, two to Moroccan immigrant children, one to Spanish immigrant children, and one to Aramean-Turkish immigrant children. The aim of the programmes is to “gradually integrate the immigrant children in the host-school environment while simultaneously preserving and reinforcing the children’s mother tongue and cultural identity in kindergarten and during the two years of primary school” (Darquennes 2013, p. 5). It is hoped that, through these programmes, pupils’ confidence in their own cultural identity as the backbone for their development as world citizens will be enhanced. Multilingual education primarily aiming at an affluent international audience is currently operated in 14 European Schools (ES) spread over 7 countries (Belgium, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United Kingdom) (Darquennes 2013). The ES provide high-quality multicultural and multilingual education to the children of the staff of the EU institutions (Vez 2009; Darquennes 2013). However, most ES pupils are language minority children in the sense that their home language is not the majority language of the host community where the school is located. In ES, most pupils have their first language as a language of instruction at the level of primary education. A first foreign language (English, German, or French) is introduced in the first year of primary education and used as a language of instruction toward the end of primary and increasingly so in secondary education. In some cases, a third or fourth language of instruction comes into play in secondary education, depending on the optional subjects that are chosen (Darquennes 2013). A significant mission of the ES is to “develop a pluralistic identity and to prepare pupils for life in linguistically and culturally heterogeneous societies. This implies additive multilingualism, with high levels of functional proficiency and literacy in at least two languages: the child’s home language and one of the school working languages” (Vez 2009, p. 9).

Multilingual education in Europe is facing several challenges, of which policy makers and language-education professionals are aware (Cenoz and Gorter 2005; Darquennes 2013). These challenges include:

- (1) It is difficult to find teachers who are qualified to teach specific subject matter in the target language of multilingual education as all teachers need to be native-speakers of their teaching language.
- (2) Teacher training offering a combination of language and content in most of the European languages is still in its infancy.
- (3) There is a lack of adequate teaching materials and uncertainty on how to assess the language side of non-linguistic content.
- (4) How to maintain and develop minority languages?
- (5) How students can achieve multilingual competence? (Cenoz and Gorter 2005, p. 3; Darquennes 2013, p. 6).

Problems concerning language learning can be described as the ‘forward shift’ from proficiency to actual use because learners of the minority language as a second language use it much less than those who acquire it as a first language (Gorter 2015, p. 95). However, the supranational institutions such as European Commission and

the Council of Europe have put considerable effort in promoting the exchange of good practices in multilingual education through the funding of projects, while giving shape to language-in-education policy objectives (Darquennes 2013, p. 6). The Council of Europe has also developed a *Guide for the Development of Language Policies in Europe* that was updated in 2007 to enable member states and regions to analyse both the strengths and the weaknesses of their language-in-education policy (Darquennes 2013, p. 6). All in all, the language policies in Europe, on one hand, aim to maintain the child's distinct home culture and national identity and, on the other hand, to develop a supra-national European identity (Vez 2009, pp. 9–10).

Generally speaking, however, researchers have paid relatively little attention to trilingual education and third language acquisition as compared to the massive literature on bilingual education and second language acquisition in the school context (Cenoz et al. 2001; Hoffmann 2001). Martinez (1989) examined the consistency between the perception of teachers and parents toward the value of bilingual education for facilitating the academic growth of school-age children, suggesting a great deal of similarity in the perceptions of parents and teachers toward various issues surrounding bilingual education practices. Iyamu and Ogiegbaen (2007) surveyed 1000 primary school teachers and 1500 parents of primary school children in Nigeria. Their findings showed that both parents and teachers valued the benefits brought by mother-tongue education, but that parents would not approve of their children being taught in the mother tongue for two main reasons: the push for a language of wider communication; and a lack of suitable teaching materials. As a result, a reorientation of parents and the public on the place of mother-tongue education was recommended (p. 97). Lefebvre (2012) studied the student attitudes towards multilingual education, pointing out that students' fear of failure and peer-to-peer shaming when learning a new language can leave them feeling hesitant. She concluded that creating a safe learning environment is very important to avoid students' fear of failure. Meanwhile, Chukurova and Abdildina (2014) conducted research on students' perceptions of trilingual education at Nazarbayev Intellectual Schools, an experimental platform, created in 2008 by Kazakhstan government, for introducing the newest innovations in education with an aim to transfer the best experience and practice to the national educational system. They found that students had positive perceptions of trilingual education.

To date, there has been scant research on trilingual education in Hong Kong, especially from the perspectives of parents and students. This book aims to contrast and compare current provisions of trilingual education in Hong Kong's primary schools. A recurring issue in the debate about trilingual education is whether code-switching or code-mixing should be allowed in the classroom. We therefore review recent research into this topic below.

2.2 Code-Switching and Code-Mixing

2.2.1 Definitions and Functions

Code-switching, a linguistic phenomenon which occurs in multilingual speech communities, refers to the process in which a communicatively competent multilingual speaker switches or alternates usually between two languages or language varieties or codes during the same conversation. Many scholars have provided definitions of the phenomenon. For example, code-switching is the “alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (Poplack 1980, p. 583). John Lyons (1977) considers code-switching as the ability of members of a language community to pass from one dialect or variety of the language to another according to the situation. Chan (2003) defines code-switching as “the juxtaposition of lexical elements from two or more languages in a discourse” (p. 3). To Lin (2008, p. 273), classroom code-switching refers “to the alternating use of more than one linguistic code in the classroom by any of the classroom participants (e.g., teacher, students, teacher’s aide)”. Code-mixing is “the change of one language to another within the same utterance or in the same oral/written text” (Ho 2007), and this may occur when the speakers are unable to find suitable words or expressions with which to express their ideas (Ibhawaegebele and Edokpayi 2012). According to Li D. C. S. (2008a, p. 76), ‘code-switching’ (CS) refers to “the alternate use of two or more languages in an extended stretch of discourse, where the switch takes place at sentence or clause boundaries. When the switch takes place within a sentence or clause, the term ‘code-mixing’ (CM) is preferred”. To sum up, code-switching shows the movement from one code to another in a single interaction, while code-mixing explicitly indicates a mixture between two codes. In certain contexts, the speakers’ use of more than one language to achieve communicative ends looks like translanguaging (Garcia and Wei 2014), but we have chosen to stick to the terms ‘code-switching’ and ‘code-mixing’ as these are the accepted terms in Hong Kong circles.

Researchers generally agree that code-mixing/code-switching benefits student learning. Li D.C.S. (2008a, p. 75) believes “code-switching has great potential for helping the bilingual teacher to achieve context-specific teaching and learning goals like clarifying difficult concepts and reinforcing students’ bilingual lexicon...”. Hirvela and Law (1991, p. 37) state that “in certain forms and in the teaching of certain subjects, mixed code teaching might be the most effective means of instruction, hence making it ‘good’”. Ferguson (2003, p. 49) considers classroom code-switching as “one potential resource for mitigating the difficulties experienced by pupils studying content subjects through a foreign language medium”. Ferguson (2003, p. 39, 2009, pp. 231–232) summarises three broad functional categories of CS as follows:

1. CS for constructing and transmitting knowledge, which help pupils understand the subject matters of their lessons (this would cover pedagogic scaffolding,

annotation of key L2 technical terms, and the mediation of L2 textbook meanings);

2. CS for classroom management, e.g., to motivate, discipline and praise pupils, and to signal a change of footing (this would cover CS to signal a shift of footing, to use a Goffmanian term, from say, lesson content to management of pupil behaviour); and
3. CS for interpersonal relations (this would cover CS to index and negotiate different teacher identities, e.g. teacher as didact, teacher as authority figure, teacher as community member), and the use of CS to humanise the affective climate of the classroom and to negotiate different identities.

Camilleri (1996) looked at language practices in secondary classrooms in Malta which showed how teachers and learners employ code-switching between Maltese and English. Camilleri (1996, p. 101) concluded that the teachers used code-switching as a communicative resource for discourse management purposes: in providing explanations, in introducing new topics, or in making asides. Distinguishing between talk about lesson content and talk related to the negotiation of the social relations of the classroom, building rapport with students or asserting the teacher's authority could also be achieved by using code-switching. Code-switching provided a crucial means of accomplishing lessons across the curriculum and managing the problem of working with texts that are mostly written in English. Gauci and Camilleri Grima (2013) studied the issue of teacher code-switching in the teaching of Italian in Malta. The research study took place in a secondary school in Malta during the year 2009, with learners aged between 12 and 15. When analysing teacher code-switching, they showed that the learners' first language (L1), Maltese, is used as a pedagogical tool to enhance language learning. Teachers regularly turn to Maltese to provide more learner-friendly explanations of grammatical and other language points and to elicit an oral response from the learners and get them more directly involved in the activities (Gauci and Camilleri Grima 2013). Furthermore, Maltese "plays a role in discourse and classroom management, and also functions as a symbol of identity" (*ibid.*, p. 615). Based on lesson transcriptions, in-depth interviews with teachers and Italian language professionals and a student questionnaire, they found code-switching could help in the following situations: asking for clarification; acknowledging a question; providing further explanation; revising and establishing rapport (Gauci and Camilleri Grima 2013, p. 618). Apart from this, code-switching and the use of the L1 were perceived by teachers and teacher educators as a useful tool with younger and weaker learners. Macaro (2005, p. 68), having carried out research on code-switching entirely in formal classroom settings among adolescent learners, states that the L1 was used for students with lower proficiency on the basis of mere comprehension because they "find it more difficult to infer meaning". Code-switching is thus seen by professionals and also by the learners concerned, as a tool which "renders the lesson content more accessible to students who have difficulties grasping the foreign language" (Gauci and Camilleri Grima 2013, p. 629). Mezzadri (2003, p. 66; translated by Gauci and Camilleri Grima 2013, p. 629) points out that "an exclusive use of the L2 inside the classroom could

have negative effects: from a motivational point of view it could discourage the students who have difficulties in understanding and in expressing themselves”.

From the above discussion, we can argue that code-switching or code-mixing is beneficial to student language learning. In Hong Kong, however, the use of code-mixing in the classroom has been controversial. Mixed-code teaching has been practised in Hong Kong schools for many years, even though it is officially frowned upon and even though the schools classified themselves as EMI schools. The code-mixing involves a “mixed-code”, with text books in English and oral instruction in Cantonese or a Cantonese/English mix. Educational experts on bilingualism have criticised this mixed-code method of teaching as “leading to poor standards in both English and Chinese” (Boyle 1997, p. 83). Below, we review the research on code-mixing in Hong Kong in more detail.

2.2.2 Research on Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in Hong Kong Context

As noted earlier, Hong Kong is a multilingual society. The great majority of the population (95%) are ethnic Chinese who speak Cantonese as an LI. English and Putonghua are the other languages of education. Prior to 1997, around 90% of primary schools in Hong Kong were Chinese-medium (i.e. Cantonese-medium) (Bacon-Shone and Bolton 2008, p. 28) and the use of Cantonese as the MoI at the primary level has generally been accepted (Evans 2011) as it is believed that students can learn the best in their mother-tongue (Education Commission 1990). However, most secondary schools claimed to be EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction) schools under the colonial government’s *laissez-faire* medium of instruction (MoI) policy, which allowed school principals to choose the medium of instruction. In reality many of these so-called EMI schools used a mixed code of English and Chinese (Pan 2000; Poon et al. 2013). Chen (2005, p. 529) even claims that “the practice of Cantonese-English code-mixing has developed into a societal norm, despite the fact that mixed code is overtly and negatively criticised in society”. Although teachers regarded code-switching as a valuable communicative and pedagogic resource (e.g., Hirvela and Law 1991), the Education Department of Hong Kong viewed code-mixing as “the culprit for the perceived decline in English and Chinese standards of Hong Kong students in the past decade” (Li, D.C.S. 1998, p. 161). Moreover, Hong Kong’s policy-making body, the Education Commission, identified mixed-mode instruction as the principal cause of students’ apparently unsatisfactory levels of English and Chinese (Education Commission 1990, p. 23).

Worried about the increasing use of mixed code in secondary schools, the Government adopted some measures to deal with this issue. The Education Commission (EC) Report No. 4 in November 1990 stipulated that “the use of mixed-code in schools should be reduced in favour of the clear and consistent use in each class of Chinese or English in respect of teaching, textbooks and examinations”

(Education Commission 1990, p. 99, 6.4.1 (iii)). Moreover, the EC, believing students can learn better in their mother-tongue stated that it was important to ‘encourage Chinese-medium instruction, to minimise mixed-code teaching and to give schools the choice as to which medium of instruction they use’ (Education Commission 1990, p. 103).

The first major study on Cantonese-English code-switching in tertiary institutions was initiated by John Gibbons (1979, 1983). He studied ‘*U-gay-wa*’ (‘university talk’), which was a genre of mixed code commonly used and heard among students at the University of Hong Kong (D.C.S. Li 2000). Gibbons (1987) referred to this ‘*U-gay-wa*’ as ‘MIX’, recognising that code-switching was not limited to university students, but was a Hong Kong-wide language phenomenon, especially among educated Hong Kong Chinese. More code-mixing related studies were conducted in the City University of Hong Kong by Pennington et al. (1992), Walters and Balla (1998), and Li and Tse (2002). Judy Ho (2008) investigated tertiary students’ use of mixed code between Cantonese, English and Putonghua at Lingnan University.

Apart from the above studies on mixed code in tertiary institutions, there are also studies of code-switching in secondary school classrooms. Johnson (1983, 1985) studied and analysed actual instances of classroom code-switching, which focused on teaching and learning in different areas of the curriculum. Belinda Ho and Van Naerssen (1986) conducted a diary study in secondary school Form1 remedial English classrooms to explore the effectiveness of code-switching as a teaching strategy. Lin (1990) investigated what really happened in English language classrooms, and how and why teachers alternated between English (the TL) and Cantonese (the L1), so as to get a clearer picture of the English language classroom in four Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. Sung (2010) reported his first-hand experiences of being a ‘purist’ in Hong Kong, during which time he was not allowed to use mixed code, a common discursive practice among Hongkongers in Hong Kong while discussing the difficulties in using ‘pure’ English and ‘pure’ Chinese in his daily life, as well as exploring the problems he encountered when he used ‘pure’ English in teaching English to a small group of ESL students at a primary school in Hong Kong. He argued that mixed code is very much a characteristic of everyday language use by most Hongkongers and represents an important marker of their ethno-linguistic identity. In relation to language teaching, he suggested that “mixed code may be usefully adopted in teaching English in Hong Kong, rather than being shunned at all costs” (Sung 2010, p. 411).

However, research on code-switching and code-mixing in Hong Kong primary schools is missing. It is hoped that the current case studies of code-mixing/code-switching in three primary schools which we report on below can fill the gap, and the findings can contribute to the literature on the study of code-mixing/code-switching in multilingual education contexts. We also hope that our study can give insights to and inform educational policy-makers when drawing up language education policy for primary schools.

2.3 Language Policies in Hong Kong from the Past to Present

2.3.1 *Bilingualism in Colonial Days*

In the early decades of the British colonial rule, Hong Kong adopted a laissez-faire approach to language education policy (Bolton 2011; Lai and Byram 2003; Luk 2000; Ng-Lun 1984; Pan 2000; Poon et al. 2013; Sweeting 1991). Two linguistically and culturally distinguished streams emerged in Hong Kong's educational system in the first 100 years under the British rule (1842–1941): an Anglo-Chinese stream which offered Western-style primary and secondary education through the medium of English, and a Chinese-medium stream which offered primary/elementary education which, in terms of content and method, was similar to that offered in Mainland China (So 1992). Before the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), Chinese language (i.e. oral Cantonese and written MSC) received much more attention in the privately-run Chinese schools and missionary schools that catered for the majority of the population than it did in the government-run elite schools (Adamson and Lai 1997, p. 89). In other words, English was the dominant language in an elite education system, although these schools did provide some training in classical Chinese (Kan and Adamson 2016). In the 1950s, Chinese language in schools was promoted (Kan and Adamson 2016).

During the 1970s and 1980s, primary education was dominated by Chinese, where everything was taught in Chinese except English itself (Kan et al. 2011; Lai and Byram 2003; Poon 2000; Sweeting 1991), while secondary education was dominated by English where all subjects except Chinese Language and Chinese History and Chinese Literature were supposed to be taught in English (Bray and Koo 2004; Johnson 1998; Lee 1997). In the 1980s, 90% of primary schools were CMI (Kan and Adamson 2010; Pan 2000), while the English-medium schools had become increasingly dominant at the secondary level (Bolton 2011). For example, the English-medium schools comprised 57.9% of secondary schools in 1960, but 87.7% by 1980 (Lee 1997, p. 166). More students – or their parents – sought Anglo-Chinese Schools rather than the Chinese Middle Schools because the medium of instruction was English (Sweeting 1991, pp. 74–75). A major reason for this was that six of the eight government-funded tertiary institutions are English medium and even the Chinese University of Hong Kong has recently significantly expanded its English medium classes (Kirkpatrick 2014). This gradual shift to English-medium schools chiefly reflected “the aspirations of parents who perceived English-medium education to confer stronger benefits in the labour market” (Bray and Koo 2004, p. 144).

The Green Paper in 1973 (the *Report of the Board of Education on the Proposed Expansion of Secondary Education*) recommended “Chinese should become the usual medium of instruction in lower forms of secondary schools; every effort should be made to develop good textbooks for all subjects written in Chinese, to

train teachers capable of instructing through the medium of Chinese” (Government Secretariat 1981, p. 146). The publication of the 1973 Green Paper is the first instance of the Hong Kong government formally proposing the use of Chinese as the medium of instruction in junior secondary schools (Poon 2010). However, the government soon changed its position because of public pressure (Sweeting 1991; Poon 2010). In the 1974 White Paper (*Secondary Education in Hong Kong over the Next Decade*) the government stated that “individual school authorities should decide themselves whether the medium of instruction should be English or Chinese for any subject in junior secondary forms.....” (Government Secretariat 1981, p. 150). This reflected the government’s laissez-faire approach to language education policy at the secondary level.

With the proclamation of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, there emerged major changes in language policy (Bray and Koo 2004, p. 144). For instance, the Report of the Working Group established to review language policy was published in 1989 and recommended that two of the aims of the educational system should be to ensure that: (1). “English or Chinese can be equally effectively used as a medium of instruction up to A level for students studying in the one language or the other” and (2). “English and Chinese are taught as subjects as effectively as possible, bearing in mind their roles as actual or future mediums of instruction for different groups of students” (Education Department 1989, pp. 73–74). However, according to Lai and Byram (2003, p. 316), “Bilingual schools, formally known as Anglo-Chinese schools were five times more numerous than the Chinese Middle schools” and before the Handover of 1997 about 90% of secondary school students were receiving their schooling officially through the medium of English (Sweeting 1991; So 1992).

2.3.2 Trilingualism and Mother-Tongue Policy in the Postcolonial Period

As noted above, the Hong Kong government adopted the “biliterate and trilingual” (兩文三語) policy after the Handover of 1997. Under this policy, both Chinese and English are acknowledged as official languages; with Cantonese being acknowledged as the de facto official spoken variety of Chinese in Hong Kong. The policy also promoted Putonghua. The ultimate language goal of the new policy is to achieve trilingualism (Cantonese, English, and Putonghua) to facilitate exchange and communication with the Mainland and the outside world (Pan 2000; Zhang and Yang 2004). In the 1997 Policy Address, Tung Chee Hwa, the First Chief Executive of the HKSAR, reaffirmed “the goal for secondary school graduates to be proficient in writing English and Chinese and able to communicate confidently in Cantonese, English and Putonghua” (Tung 1997, para. 84). In the *1999 Policy Address* he said, “It is the SAR Government’s goal to train our people to be truly biliterate and trilingual” (Tung 1999, para. 69).

In the same year, the Education Department (ED) issued the policy guidance ‘The Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary Schools’ (Education Department 1997) requiring all local public sector secondary schools, starting with the Secondary 1 intake of the 1998/99 school year, to use Chinese as the basic MoI. Any school intending to adopt English as the MoI had to provide sufficient information and justification for their decision to the Education Department. The above measures resulted in the ‘mother-tongue teaching’ policy and schools had to use Chinese as the basic medium of instruction in the belief that the use of Cantonese, the mother tongue of most students in the mainstream education system, would enhance student learning. The new policy represented a major change from previous practice, which was to leave the choice of MoI to schools; instead, the government took the lead in order to reverse the trend that favoured EMI (Kan and Adamson 2016). Accordingly, so-called ‘firm guidance’ from the government (So 1996, p. 45) was given to all schools in 1998 regarding the appropriate medium for them, based on information about the language proficiency of their Secondary One intakes obtained through the Medium of Instruction Assessment exercise. To Bolton (2011, p. 57), this “new ‘firm’ policy in promoting Chinese was the most significant change of language policy at the end of the colonial period”.

The school curriculum was thus revised in 1998 to make Putonghua a compulsory subject in all primary and secondary schools, while Cantonese was to be used as the medium of instruction for teaching content subjects in Chinese-as-Medium-of-Instruction (CMI) primary and secondary schools. In 2000 Putonghua was made an elective subject in the public examination of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE). It also needs to be noted here that parents were unhappy at the policy which reduced the number of EMI secondary schools, as they felt that their children would be much better placed to get into the local universities which, as noted above, six of which are EMI institution. As a result of consistent and increasing parent pressure, the government announced the ‘fine-tuning’ of the MoI policy which allowed CMI schools to teach more classes at the junior secondary level in English if they met certain conditions. As a consequence, many so-called CMI schools increased the numbers of classes taught in English with a corresponding reduction in the number of classes taught in Chinese (see Kan et al. 2011 for a full account). Needless to say, this increased use of EMI in junior secondary schools has had a washback effect on primary schools. This explains the parental demand for more EMI classes at primary level which we report on in later chapters.

Despite the government’s ‘firm guidance’ about which medium of instruction the schools should adopt, no actual policy or practical guidelines on how to implement a language policy in schools which would enable students to develop as trilingual and bilingual citizens was provided. Hong Kong primary schools therefore do not have an agreed approach or method for implementing trilingual education (Wang and Kirkpatrick 2013). Each school has been left to its own devices to trial how to implement a trilingual and biliterate policy. It therefore remains unclear how the “biliterate and trilingual” policy and “mother-tongue” policy are implemented in Hong Kong primary schools. To understand, compare and contrast how primary

schools were implementing the policy and to identify best practice was the motivation for our study. The following chapter outlines the methodology we adopted.

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Chapter 3

Methodology



In this chapter we explain the research design, illustrating how we collected the views from all stakeholders at different stages: school principals, panel chairs (heads of department), subject teachers, students, and parents.

3.1 Pilot Study

As a preliminary step, we carried out a detailed pilot case study of the trilingual education model adopted in one government-funded primary school in 2009–2010 school year (Wang and Kirkpatrick 2013). Views of key stakeholders (the Principal, teachers, students and parents) on the trilingual education model adopted by the school were collected, and a number of lessons taught using English, Cantonese or Putonghua as the medium of instruction were recorded and analysed. Students are allocated to the school according to standard government criteria. The school has little say on the types of students they accept.

The school has adopted its own model of trilingual education. In Hong Kong, there are 6 years of primary education. In ‘our’ school, English is the MoI for English, Physical Education (PE) and Visual Arts lessons all the way through the full 6 years, from Primary 1 (P1) to Primary 6 (P6). Putonghua is the MoI for the study of the Putonghua subject (focusing only on pronunciation and word form) (P1–P6) and the Chinese Language subject (P4–P6). Cantonese is the MoI for Maths, General Studies, Music, IT, and for other non-mainstream subjects and school activities. It is also the MoI for the Chinese Language subject from P1 to P3. At the time of our study, the school was trialling the use of Putonghua as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject in one of the three P1 classes.

3.1.1 Classroom Discourse Data Analysis

In order to analyse what actually happens in different lessons taught in different MoIs, eight 35-minute long lessons were recorded and transcribed. 3 English MoI, 3 Putonghua MoI and 2 Cantonese MoI lessons were recorded. Details are shown in Table 3.1.

In terms of classroom discourse data analysis, Ellis and Barkhuizen's (2005) model was followed. This involves recording authentic data which are carefully transcribed, 'unmotivated looking', rather than pre-stated research questions, selecting a sequence of utterances characterising the actions/acts in the sequence, and describing and analyzing turn-taking, sequence organisation (including adjacency pairs) and repairs, and discussing any issues that arise. We paid particular attention to evidence of code-switching and co/trans-languaging, and the reasons for this. We also studied the ratio of student/teacher talk in each lesson, and how questions are used by teachers and students to facilitate teaching and learning.

3.1.2 Interviews

All together 13 staff in the school were interviewed: the school principal (Interview Protocol see Appendix 1), two English subject teachers (MoI: English), one PE subject teacher (MoI: English), one Visual Arts subject teacher (MoI: English), two General Studies subject teachers (MoI: Cantonese), two Chinese Language subject teachers teaching the Chinese Language subject (MoI Cantonese), two Chinese Language subject teachers teaching the Chinese Language subject (MoI Putonghua), and two Putonghua subject teachers (MoI: Putonghua). Ten students' parents were also interviewed, and their views on the school's trilingual education model were elicited.

Table 3.1 Information of recorded lessons in the pilot case study

Subject	MoI	Class grade
English Language	English	P6
Visual Arts	English	P4
Physical Education (PE)	English	P4
Putonghua (pronunciation)	Putonghua	P1
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P1
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P5
Chinese Language	Cantonese	P1
General Studies	Cantonese	P6

3.1.3 Questionnaire Survey

The questionnaire survey (Appendix 2) is mainly concerned with the students' perceptions of the trilingual education model in the school. Altogether 121 Primary 4 to Primary 6 students were surveyed (P4: 45, P5: 48, P6: 28). A five-point Likert scale was used (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree). The questionnaire items can be found in the data analysis section.

By employing this mix of classroom discourse analysis, questionnaire survey and interviews, the research seeks to answer the following questions:

- (1) How is the trilingual education model structured in the school?
- (2) What is the role of Cantonese in classes in which English or Putonghua is used as the MoI, and vice versa?
- (3) Is there any evidence of code-switching and co/trans-langaging and how is this used?
- (4) What languages are used to teach which subjects, when and why?
- (5) How successful is the school in creating trilingual and biliterate children?

The data analysis and discussions are presented in Chap. 4.

3.2 Survey of Hong Kong Primary School Principals

3.2.1 School Types in Hong Kong

There are three main types of schools in Hong Kong – government schools, aided schools and private schools (Information Services Department 2016). Government schools are operated and funded by the Government. They enrol local students, use the standard design school buildings, follow the local curriculum recommended by the Education Bureau (EDB) and prepare students for the local examinations. Aided schools receive full funding from the Government but are operated by non-profit-making voluntary bodies such as local charitable and religious organisations. They are administered in accordance with the Code of Aid and have to observe the conditions laid down in the service agreement signed with the EDB (Yung 2006, p. 99). These schools develop a school-based curriculum on the basis of the local curriculum prescribed by the EDB and prepare students for the local examinations as well. Like government schools, aided secondary schools need to follow “The Medium of Instruction Guidance for Secondary School” to select a suitable MoI (Yung 2006). Only children who are Hong Kong residents are accepted in government schools and aided schools. Primary and secondary education is free. The major difference between government schools and aided schools is financial autonomy, which in many ways also affects decision making and policy outcomes in individual schools (Information Services Department 2016; Yung 2006). Teachers of government schools are public service employees and therefore possess a relatively smaller

degree of freedom in deciding how money is spent. Though aided schools also receive funding from the government, they enjoy more freedom and flexibility. For example, they are allowed to appoint their own staff, including the principals and teachers and administrators according to the sponsoring body's own preferences (and this includes both religious affiliation and academic orientation) as long as they follow government regulations (Yung 2006).

All schools receiving government subsidies are required to participate in the Territory-wide System Assessment (TSA) at Primary 3, Primary 6 (implemented in alternate years starting from 2011) and Secondary 3 since 2004. The TSA provides schools with objective data on students' performances in the three subjects of Chinese Language, English Language and Mathematics at the end of the three key stages. The TSA is a low-stakes assessment and is not a tool for ranking and selection (http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201404/11/P201404110467_print.htm). The TSA reports and school reports provide information about students' strengths and weaknesses against specific Basic Competencies at various key learning stages which help schools and teachers to identify students' learning difficulties.

Private schools are operated and funded in two ways. First, the Private Independent (primary and secondary) Schools (PIS) do not receive any subsidy from the government but are solely funded by individual providers/investors or education trust foundations. Second, the Direct Subsidy Scheme schools (DSS schools), introduced in 1988, are financed by their individual providers/investors or education trust foundations but at the same time are subsidised or assisted by the government under the Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS), in the form of capital grants based on enrolment. They need to observe the conditions laid down for admission to the DSS scheme and in the service agreement signed with the EMB (Yung 2006, p. 99). However, they are allowed complete freedom with regard to curricula, fees and entrance requirements that is consistent with basic educational standard (Education Commission 1988; Yung 2006; British Council 2007). They need not adhere to government's centralised policies on school finance and curriculum design (Chan and Tan 2008; Education Commission 1988; Yung 2006). They can choose their own students without district or regional constraints and set up their own admission examinations (Yung 2006, p. 107). They mainly follow the local curriculum but are free to design their own curriculum targeting in preparing students to sit for both local examinations and non-local examinations. Moreover, they are free to choose the MoI (Education Commission 1988; Yung 2006). Most significantly, they can charge fees, with the additional income being invested in staff and facilities (British Council 2007, p. 4).

Apart from the three main types of schools mentioned above, there are also 51 international schools (including 15 schools operated by the English Schools Foundation (ESF)), offering non-local curricula mainly to children of overseas families residing in Hong Kong (Information Services Department 2016). ESF schools initially aimed to provide an affordable English medium education to those not proficient in Chinese. Today, many local students are enrolled in ESF schools, as their parents have decided that they want their children to be taught through the medium of English.

In this study, we only surveyed government schools, aided schools and DSS schools.

3.2.2 Survey Questionnaire to Hong Kong Primary School Principals

As explained earlier, there are no clear guidelines on how trilingual education should be implemented effectively in primary schools (Wang and Kirkpatrick 2013). To better understand how trilingual education is implemented in Hong Kong primary schools, we designed and sent a survey questionnaire (Appendix 3) to all the 474 primary schools in Hong Kong in late February 2014. These included all the 34 government schools (7.2%), all the 420 aided schools (88.6%) and all the 20 DSS schools (4.2%) as shown in Table 3.2.

The Principal of each surveyed school was invited to complete the questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to find out how the ‘biliterate’ and ‘trilingual’ language policy was implemented in Hong Kong primary schools and demographic information was also gathered. Various types of questions were included in the questionnaire, for instance, contingency questions, matrix questions, closed questions such as yes/no questions and multiple choice questions, and open-ended questions. An example of a matrix question is that five aspects of students’ proficiency level in Cantonese, Putonghua, Spoken English, Written Chinese and Written English are compared across five levels: Well above average, Slightly above average, Average, Slightly below average and Much below average. Altogether 155 schools responded to the survey, representing a response rate of 32.7%.

The findings of this study provide an overall picture of the current situation of trilingual education implementation in Hong Kong primary schools. Some patterns have been identified. The data analysis and discussions will be presented in Chap. 5.

As some questions remained unanswered following the data analysis of this part of the study, follow-up case studies in selected primary schools were undertaken. Questions we sought to answer included:

Table 3.2 Distribution (out) and collection (in) of the questionnaires in each category (return rates)

School type	HK Island		Kowloon		New territories		Total	
	Out	In (%)	Out	In (%)	Out	In (%)	Out	In (%)
Aided School	58	18 (31.03%)	119	40 (33.61%)	243	87 (35.8%)	420	145 (34.52%)
DSS School	4	3 (75%)	7	2 (28.57%)	9	1 (11.11%)	20	6 (30%)
Government School	11	1 (9.09%)	13	1 (7.69%)	10	2 (20%)	34	4 (11.76%)
Total	73	22 (30.14%)	139	43 (30.94%)	262	90 (34.35%)	474	155 (32.7%)

- (1) What was the rationale behind adopting different MoIs in teaching different subjects?
- (2) Do the origins of students affect the MoI policies in schools?
- (3) Are there conflicts between the school's language policies and teachers' real practices in the classroom?
- (4) What is the real picture of code-switching between different languages in real classrooms?
- (5) What are teachers', students' and parents' views towards trilingual education?
- (6) How confident are students themselves in achieving good proficiency in the three languages when they graduate?

We hoped that the findings from the case studies would allow us to propose a trilingual education model that would suit most schools.

3.3 Case Studies

3.3.1 *Information of the Three Researched Schools*

3.3.1.1 School A

A co-educational school established in 1967, School A is located on Hong Kong Island. It was initially a CMI school in which all subjects, apart from English Language subject, were taught in Cantonese. In September 2008, the language policy regarding the use of MoI in the Chinese Language subject changed: Putonghua became the MoI for the Chinese Language subject. The school is unusual in that it attracts a large number of international students. In the 2014–2015 school year, 271 students were enrolled comprising 23 nationalities, including Chinese (including Hongkongers, Mainlanders and Taiwanese), Filipino, British, Canadian, Indian, Nepalese, American, Australian, French, Japanese, Thai, Egyptian, Indonesian, Pakistani, Cameroonian, Singaporean, Sri Lankan, Venezuelan, Spanish, Swiss, German, Dutch, and Nigerian. In order to help the students to strengthen their bi-literacy and tri-lingualism, the school implemented its own school-based Internationalised Curriculum (I.C.) in the academic year 2011–2012. The I.C. is based on the structure of the Hong Kong Primary Curriculum, set by the EDB Curriculum Development Institute. Table 3.3 shows the MoI policies of School A.

3.3.1.2 School B

School B is another co-educational school, which is the first “through-train” mode whole day primary school in Tung Chung, the New Territories. Aided or government primary and secondary schools implementing the “through-train” have the same philosophy and aspiration for education and strive to enhance continuity in primary and secondary education. Moreover, a P6 pupil of a “through-train” school

Table 3.3 Official MoI policies of School A

Subject	Medium of Instruction (MoI)
Chinese Language	Putonghua
English Language	English
Putonghua (not offered as a subject)	N.A.
Mathematics	English (P2-P4) (P1) English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese (P5)Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English (P6) One group in English and another group in Cantonese
General Studies	English (P1) English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese (P2-P4) Cantonese (P5) Half English and half Cantonese (P6)
Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education & Computing	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese (P1-P4) Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English (P5-P6)

Table 3.4 Official MoI policies of School B

Subject	Medium of Instruction (MoI)
Chinese Language	Cantonese
English Language	English
Putonghua	Putonghua
Mathematics	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English (P1-P3) Cantonese (P4-P6)
General Studies	Cantonese
Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education & Computing	Cantonese

may proceed directly to its linked secondary school without going through the central allocation process. (<http://www.edb.gov.hk/en/edu-system/primary-secondary/applicable-to-primary-secondary/through-train/introduction.html>).

This school was established in September 2000. Putonghua was used as the MoI in the teaching of the Chinese Language subject until September 2008. After seeing the ineffectiveness of using PMI in the teaching of the Chinese Language subject, the school decided to replace Putonghua by Cantonese as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject. Table 3.4 shows the MoI policies of School B.

Table 3.5 Official MoI policies of School C

Subject	Medium of Instruction (MoI)
Chinese Language	Putonghua (P1-P4)
	Cantonese (P5-P6)
English Language	English
Putonghua	Putonghua
Mathematics	Cantonese
General Studies	Cantonese
Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education & Computing	Cantonese

Table 3.6 Demographic information of the researched schools

Area	School code	Origins of students			
		Local Hongkongers	Mainlanders	Come from a South Asian area	Come from other areas
Hong Kong Island	A	51%	2%	10%	37%
New Territories	B	67.4%	6.8%	21.8%	4%
Kowloon	C	100%			

3.3.1.3 School C

Located in Kowloon, School C is a single-sex boys' school. It has a long history as it was established in 1930. The language policy in the school has changed several times throughout the years. In 1972, Cantonese was the medium of instruction. Today Putonghua is the MoI for the Chinese Language subject for P1-P4, and Cantonese is used for P5-P6. Table 3.5 shows the MoI policies of School C.

Demographic information of each school is shown in Table 3.6.

3.3.2 Data Collection

A multi-modal approach for the case study was adopted so as to obtain as complete a picture of each setting as possible. Our data came from interviews with teaching staff and parents, focus group interviews with students, classroom discourse data analysis, a student questionnaire survey, teachers' reflections, and ethnographic field research data analysis (only applicable to School A).

3.3.2.1 Interviews with Teaching Staff and Parents

Interviews were conducted with teaching staff including the school principals, the subject panel chairs and subject teachers (Interview Protocol see Appendix 4). The interviews with school principals, which focused on the rationale behind the present trilingual education model implemented in the school and the extent of the success of the model, were conducted in Cantonese and each one lasted for one hour. The interviews were translated/transcribed into English. We also interviewed thirty-three teachers in the three schools. These interviews were conducted in Cantonese and were translated/transcribed into English. Each interview lasted for about half an hour. Table 3.7 summarises this information.

In addition, 31 parents (ten from both School A and School B and eleven from School C) were interviewed (Interview Protocol see Appendix 5) and each interview lasted for about 20–25 min. Cantonese was used when interviewing local parents, Putonghua was used for parents from the Mainland and English was used for overseas parents. All the interviews conducted in Chinese were translated/transcribed into English.

3.3.2.2 Classroom Discourse Data Analysis

We recorded and transcribed a total of 30 lessons in the case study schools so as to analyse what actually happens in different lessons taught in different MoIs. Each lesson lasted for 35 min. Tables 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10 summarise the recorded lessons in each school.

Table 3.7 Information of the teacher interviewees in the researched schools

Subject	School A		School B		School C	
	Panel chair	Subject teacher	Panel chair	Subject teacher	Panel chair	Subject teacher
Chinese Language	✓	✓✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
English Language	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Putonghua	N.A.	N.A.	✓		✓	✓
Mathematics	✓*		✓		✓	
General Studies	✓		✓		✓	
Visual Arts	✓		✓		✓	
Music	✓*		✓		✓	
Physical Education	✓		✓		✓	
Computing	✓		✓		✓	
Total	10		11		12	

*The panel chair of the Mathematics subject and the Music subject is the same teacher

Table 3.8 Information of the recorded lessons in School A

Subject	MoI	Class grade
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P1
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P6
English Language	English	P2
English Language	English	P5
Mathematics	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P4
Mathematics	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P5
General Studies	English	P1
General Studies	Half in English and half in Cantonese	P6
Visual Arts	English	P4
Music	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P2
Physical Education	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P1
Computer	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P4

Table 3.9 Information of the recorded lessons in School B

Subject	MoI	Class grade
Chinese Language	Cantonese	P3
English Language	English	P1
English Language	English	P5
Putonghua	Putonghua	P2
Mathematics	Cantonese and English	P3
Mathematics	Cantonese	P6
General Studies	Cantonese	P5
Visual Arts	Cantonese	P4
Music	Cantonese and English	P2
Physical Education	Cantonese	P6
Computer	Cantonese	P6

Table 3.10 Information of recorded lessons in School C

Subject	MoI	Class grade
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P2
Chinese Language	Cantonese	P5
English Language	English	P1
English Language	English	P5
Putonghua	Putonghua	P3
Putonghua	Putonghua	P6
General Studies	Cantonese	P1

In terms of classroom discourse data analysis, Ellis and Barkhuizen's (2005) model was followed in the same way as described above.

3.3.2.3 Teachers' Reflections

Boud et al. (1985) view reflection as employing “intellectual and affective abilities in which individuals engage to explore their experiences in order to achieve new understandings and appreciations” (p. 19). Therefore, reflective teachers think of the problems in their own teaching practices and consciously consider how those problems are related to their educational and social contexts. In this study, we asked teachers to reflect on their performance on the lessons we recorded. We asked them to fill in the “Reflection Form” (Appendix 6) focussing on the following issues:

- (1) The MoI the teacher used in the lesson;
- (2) The language students used when they interacted with the teacher;
- (3) The language students used when they interacted with peers;
- (4) Teacher’s self-evaluation of the use of the MoI in conducting the lesson;
- (5) The existence of code-switching by the teacher and students during the lesson and the reasons for this; and
- (6) The consideration of making use of other MoI(s) in the lesson as a supplement to facilitate students’ trilingual development.

3.3.2.4 Questionnaire Survey

A 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree) questionnaire survey in Chinese and English (Appendix 7) was designed to collect students’ perceptions of the trilingual education model in the school. 405 P4 to P6 students in the three schools completed the survey questionnaire (71 students from School A, 141 from School B and 193 from School C).

3.3.2.5 Focus Group Interviews

The focus group interview is a research technique that “collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher. In essence, it is the researcher's interest that provides the focus, whereas the data themselves come from the group interaction” (Morgan 1997, p. 6). We employed Students’ Focus Group Interviews to collect the students’ views on the trilingual education model implemented in the schools. One student Focus Group Interview was conducted in each of the three schools. In each Focus Group, there were 8–10 P4-P6 student interviewees. The Focus Group Interviews were conducted in Cantonese in School B and School C, while mixed code was used in School A. In total, 27 students were interviewed (eleven from School A, eight from School B and eight from School C) and each Focus Group Interview lasted for about an hour. The Focus Group Interviews were translated/transcribed into English.

3.3.2.6 Ethnographic Field Research Data Analysis

Ethnographic studies support a qualitative approach, comprising extended participant observation periods and ethnographic interviews (Christensen 2011; Creswell 2013), in which researchers investigate and interpret the meaning of values, behaviours, thought processes, customs, the interactions of members, and the communal language in a shared culture (Harris 1968). In ethnography, data collection is primarily through fieldwork (Whitehead 2005). Wolcott (2005) defines fieldwork as a form of inquiry that requires a researcher to be immersed personally in the ongoing social activities of some individual or group carrying out the research. Ethnographic research always involves face-to-face contact between the ethnographer and the community of study (Schensul et al. 1999). Therefore, ethnographic field research involves first hand participation in some initially unfamiliar social worlds and the production of written accounts of that world by drawing upon such participation (Emerson et al. 1995). We only conducted ethnographic research in School A, in which the ethnographer observed how the three languages were used in two events on campus: the school Morning Assembly on 3 February, 2015 from 8:00 to 8:30a.m., and the Prize-giving Ceremony and the 2nd Annual General Meeting of the 8th Parents-teacher Association held on 14 February, 2015 from 10:00a.m. to 12 noon. In addition, the project research assistant who acted as an ethnographer attended the school's 14th Parent-child Sports Day held in the Aberdeen Sports Ground on 19 March, 2015 from 2:00 to 4:30p.m. The ethnographer also took photos of signs and bulletin board displays written in a variety of languages.

The case-study data therefore came from a variety of sources, namely classroom discourse data, interviews with teaching staff and parents, student focus group interviews, student questionnaire survey, and teachers' reflection, and an ethnographic study conducted in School A. The findings from the three case studies will be presented in Chaps. 6, 7 and 8.

Appendices

Appendix 1

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School HKIED IRG Project (2010–2011)

Interview with the School Principal

- 1) Is trilingual education one of the School Missions? Why? (Mission from where? Government policy? Personal aim?)
- 2) How is the trilingual education model structured? (When to start using English as MOI in what subjects? When to start using Putonghua as MOI for Chinese

class? What is the role of Cantonese in classes in which English or Putonghua is used as the MOI, and vice versa? What are the rationales behind?)

- 3) How many class hours are devoted to each of the three languages? What variations exist across different grades? What are the reasons for the variations?
- 4) Why has P4 been chosen as the starting point for teaching Chinese in Putonghua? Are there any noticed advantages of using Putonghua as MOI? Is any specific preparation needed for the students?
- 5) What kinds of qualifications do teachers need to have to teach subjects using English or Putonghua? (e.g. Types of degrees, English proficiency test results, Putonghua proficiency test results, etc.)
- 6) What kinds of changes have been made to implement trilingual education?
e.g. change of administrative procedures?

change of school curriculum

change of class schedule

change of teaching materials (textbook etc.)

change of assessment (methods, exam content, standardised exit language tests, etc.)

- 7) Any difficulties met in the process?
- 8) What are the implications of trilingual education in the school? What is your overall evaluation of the effectiveness of this model? What do you think about students' language proficiency level when they graduate? Any language proficiency benchmark tests before graduation?

Appendix 2

Survey on the Trilingual Education Model in the XXX Primary School 關於香港XXX小學三語教學模式的問卷調查

Please put a √ in the appropriate box. 請在適當的空格內打√。

No.	Question 問題	Strongly Agree 完全同意	Agree 同意	Neutral 中立	Disagree 不同意	Strongly Disagree 完全不同意
1	I find it appropriate to start using Putonghua to study the Chinese subject in P4. 我覺得從小四開始用普通話學習中文科目很合適。					
2	I feel comfortable studying the Visual Arts subject using English. 用英文作為教學語言學習視覺藝術課程對我來說很容易。					
3	I feel comfortable studying the Physical Education subject using English. 用英文作為教學語言學習體育課程對我來說很容易。					
4	I find it appropriate using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school. 我覺得用廣東話作為學校內的主要交流語言很合適。					
5	I enjoy the trilingual education model implemented in the school. 我喜歡學校的三語教學模式。					
6	I feel comfortable switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school. 在學校學習不同科目時在三種語言間轉換對我來說很容易。					
7	I find myself code-switch between English and Cantonese regularly during the study of the English subject. 我在學習英文科目時經常混用英文和廣東話。					
8	I find myself code-switch between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly during the study of the Chinese subject. 我在學習中文科目時經常混用普通話和廣東話。					
9	I find code-switching in different subjects useful for my language development in general. 總的來說,我覺得在學習不同科目時混用不同語言有助於我的語言能力發展。					
10	I am happy with my progress in the study of written English. 我對自己對書面英文的學習的進展感到滿意。					
11	I am happy with my progress in the study of written Chinese 我對自己對書面中文的學習的進展感到滿意。					

12	I am happy with my progress in the study of spoken English. 我對自己對英文口語的學習的進展感到滿意。					
13	I am happy with my progress in the study of spoken Cantonese. 我對自己對廣東話口語的學習進展感到滿意。					
14	I am happy with my progress in the study of spoken Putonghua. 我對自己對普通話口語的學習進展感到滿意。					
15	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written English. 我很有信心在小學畢業時書面英文達到較高的水準。					
16	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written Chinese. 我很有信心在小學畢業時書面中文達到較高的水準。					
17	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in spoken English. 我很有信心在小學畢業時英文口語達到較高的水準。					
18	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in spoken Cantonese. 我很有信心在小學畢業時廣東話口語達到較高的水準。					
19	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in spoken Putonghua. 我很有信心在小學畢業時普通話口語達到較高的水準。					

Thanks for your participation. 謝謝您的參與。

Appendix 3

Survey on Trilingual Education in Hong Kong Primary Schools

有關香港小學三語教育的問卷調查

(Please tick ✓ any of the appropriate boxes 請在任何適合的空格內加✓號)

1. Your school is in 貴校位於: HK Island 港島 Kowloon 九龍 N.T. 新界

2. Please specify the rough percentage of students in your school who

請填寫貴校學生來源的大概百分比

are local Hongkongers 香港本地人	come from Mainland China 來自內地	come from a South Asian area 來自南亞地區	come from other areas 來自其它地區
%	%	%	%

3. What are the school policies regarding the use of the Medium of Instruction (MOI) in different subjects?

學校針對不同科目採用何種教學語言有哪些政策？

Subject 科目	Language(s) used as MOI(s) 所使用的教學語言
Chinese 中文	<input type="checkbox"/> Cantonese 廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/> Putonghua 普通話 <input type="checkbox"/> In junior grades, Cantonese is used as MOI; in senior grades, Putonghua is used 低年級使用廣東話為教學語言，高年級使用普通話為教學語言 <input type="checkbox"/> In the same grade, some classes use Cantonese as MOI, others use Putonghua 在同一年級，一些班別使用廣東話為教學語言，另一些班別使用普通話 <input type="checkbox"/> Teachers may switch between the two languages in class 老師上課時兩種語言可以轉換使用
English 英文	<input type="checkbox"/> English (almost 100%) 英文（幾乎100%） <input type="checkbox"/> Other than English, teachers may use Cantonese subject to teaching and learning needs 除了英文，老師可因應教學需要加插廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/> In junior grades, both English and Cantonese can be used as MOIs; in senior grades, only English can be used as MOI 低年級可同時使用英文和廣東話教學，高年級只使用英文教學
Putonghua 普通話	<input type="checkbox"/> Putonghua (almost 100%) 普通話（幾乎100%） <input type="checkbox"/> Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 普通話為主，輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/> In junior grades, both Putonghua and Cantonese can be used as MOIs; in senior grades, only Putonghua can be used as MOI 低年級可同時使用普通話和廣東話教學，高年級只使用普通話教學
Mathematics 數學	<input type="checkbox"/> Cantonese (almost 100%) 廣東話（幾乎100%） <input type="checkbox"/> Putonghua (almost 100%) 普通話（幾乎100%） <input type="checkbox"/> English (almost 100%) 英文（幾乎100%） <input type="checkbox"/> Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 廣東話為主，輔以普通話 <input type="checkbox"/> Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English 廣東話為主，輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/> Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 普通話為主，輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/> Putonghua mainly, supplemented by English 普通話為主，輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/> English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 英文為主，輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/> English mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 英文為主，輔以普通話

<p>General Studies 常識</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese (almost 100%) 廣東話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua (almost 100%) 普通話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>English (almost 100%) 英文 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 廣東話為主, 輔以普通話 <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English 廣東話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 普通話為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by English 普通話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 英文為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 英文為主, 輔以普通話</p>
<p>Visual Arts 視覺藝術</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese (almost 100%) 廣東話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua (almost 100%) 普通話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>English (almost 100%) 英文 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 廣東話為主, 輔以普通話 <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English 廣東話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 普通話為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by English 普通話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 英文為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 英文為主, 輔以普通話</p>
<p>Music 音樂</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese (almost 100%) 廣東話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua (almost 100%) 普通話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>English (almost 100%) 英文 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 廣東話為主, 輔以普通話 <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English 廣東話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 普通話為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by English 普通話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 英文為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 英文為主, 輔以普通話</p>
<p>Physical Education 體育</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese (almost 100%) 廣東話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua (almost 100%) 普通話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>English (almost 100%) 英文 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 廣東話為主, 輔以普通話 <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English 廣東話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 普通話為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by English 普通話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 英文為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 英文為主, 輔以普通話</p>
<p>IT/Computer 資訊科技 / 電腦</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese (almost 100%) 廣東話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua (almost 100%) 普通話 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>English (almost 100%) 英文 (幾乎100%) <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 廣東話為主, 輔以普通話 <input type="checkbox"/>Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English 廣東話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 普通話為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>Putonghua mainly, supplemented by English 普通話為主, 輔以英文 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese 英文為主, 輔以廣東話 <input type="checkbox"/>English mainly, supplemented by Putonghua 英文為主, 輔以普通話</p>

4. The total number of periods per week/cycle for each subject 每門科目每星期/循環周的上課節數:

Subject 科目	No. of periods per week/cycle 每星期/循環周的上課節數
Chinese Language 中文	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
English Language 英文	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
Putonghua 普通話	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
Mathematics 數學	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
General Studies 常識	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
Visual Arts 視覺藝術	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
Music 音樂	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
Physical Education 體育	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10
IT/Computer 資訊科技/電腦	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 10

Please specify the length of each period 請寫明每節課長度為：_____ minutes 分鐘

5. Compared with other primary schools in Hong Kong, how would you rate your school's graduates' proficiency level in the three languages based on their language benchmark test results before graduation? (Please tick the boxes) 與其它香港小學比較，根據貴校學生畢業前語言基準試的成績，您如何評價貴校畢業生三種語言的能力？（請在相應空格內加✓號）

Language 語言	Well Above Average 大大高於平均水準	Slightly Above Average 稍高於平均水準	About Average 達平均水準	Slightly Below Average 稍低於平均水準	Much Below Average 大大低於平均水準
Cantonese 廣東話					
Putonghua 普通話					
Spoken English 英文口語					
Written Chinese 書面中文					
Written English 書面英文					

6. Do different subject teachers using the same MOI collaborate across subjects? 任教不同科目但採用同一教學語言的老師有進行跨科目的教學合作嗎？

6.1 Collaboration between different subject teachers using English as the MOI 用英文作為教學語言的不同科目的老師間的合作： Yes 有 No 沒有

If yes, please give examples of collaboration 如有，請舉例說明：

6.2 Collaboration between different subject teachers using Putonghua as the MOI 用普通話作為教學語言的不同科目的老師間的合作：
 Yes 有 No 沒有
 If yes, please give examples of collaboration 如有，請舉例說明:

6.3 Collaboration between different subject teachers using Cantonese as the MOI 用廣東話作為教學語言的不同科目的老師間的合作：
 Yes 有 No 沒有
 If yes, please give examples of collaboration 如有，請舉例說明:

7. What are the difficulties encountered during the implementation of trilingual education? (Please tick✓). 實施三語教育過程中，學校遇到了哪些方面的困難？（請加✓號）

- curriculum design 課程設計 class scheduling 課時編排
- choosing textbooks/teaching materials 課本/教材選擇
- making assessment arrangements 測試安排
- finding qualified and suitable teaching staff 找到既符合資格又合適的師資
- students' low level of Putonghua standards 學生的普通話水準較低
- students' low level of English standards 學生的英文水準較低
- students' low motivation in trilingual learning 學生對三語學習的積極性較低
- teachers' low motivation in trilingual teaching 教師對三語教學的積極性較低
- other (please specify) 其它（請列明）：

8. If your school wishes to receive the final report of this survey, and/or participate in a detailed case study about trilingual education in the 2014-15 academic year, please fill in the information below: 如貴校希望將來收到是次調查的最終報告，和/或有意於2014-15學年參加有關三語教育的更詳盡的個案研究，請填寫以下聯絡資料：

School Name 學校名稱: _____

Name of contact person 聯絡人姓名: _____

Contact number 聯絡人電話: _____

Email address 聯絡人電郵地址: _____

- We wish to receive the final report of this survey. 我們希望將來收到是次調查的最終報告。
- We wish to participate in the case study of the project. 我們有意參加這項計劃的個案研究。

End of questionnaire. Many thanks! 問卷結束，多謝！

Appendix 4

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with English Panel and one English Language subject teacher teaching english using english

- 1) Is English the only language used in class (by both teacher and students) in English Language lessons? Do students code-switch between English and Cantonese or co-langaging in class? What is your view on code-switching/co-langaging? Do you find it harmful or helpful to students' English language learning?
- 2) What teaching materials do you use in class? Are they different from those used in other schools? If yes, what are the differences?
- 3) What kind of assessment strategies do you use? Are there benchmark English tests?
- 4) What is your opinion on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
- 5) What do you think of your students' English language proficiency?
- 6) How confident are students in your school in achieving good language proficiency level in English after completing primary education?
- 7) Is it appropriate for your school to use English to teach other subjects? What is your view?
- 8) Do you collaborate with other subject teachers in order to improve students' English proficiency? If yes, how?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School 三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究 UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Chinese Language subject Panel and/or one Chinese Language subject teacher teaching the Chinese Language subject using Putonghua

- 1) What is your view on using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject? What are the advantages of using Putonghua to teach the subject? Is there any specific preparation need for the students and teachers? 您是怎麼理解用普通話教中文這種教學模式的?用普通話教中文有哪些優勢?學生和老師需要對普教中做特別準備嗎?
- 2) Are there any difficulties/problems using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject? What are they? 您在用普通話教中文的時候會否遇到困難或問題?具體有哪些困難和問題?
- 3) What teaching materials do you use in class? Are they different from those used in Chinese language lessons taught in Cantonese? 您在授課的時候採用什麼教材?那些教材是否與用粵語教授中文的教材不同?

- 4) Is Cantonese allowed in the class? What is your view on the role of Cantonese in your class, and in the school as a whole? 在您的中文課上可以使用粵語嗎?粵語在您的課堂上扮演什麼樣的角色?在整個學校粵語又扮演著什麼樣的角色?
- 5) What kinds of assessment strategies do you use? Are they different because of using Putonghua rather than Cantonese as the Medium of Instruction (MOI)? 您用哪些評估策略來評價中文教學效果? 評估策略是否會因為用普通話而不是粵語作為教學語言(MOI)而有所不同呢?
- 6) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school? 您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 7) What do you think of your students' Chinese language proficiency? Has the use of Putonghua as the MOI made a positive impact on the enhancement of students' language proficiency? In what ways? 您覺得您的學生中文水準如何? 用普通話作為教學語言(MOI)是否對學生產生了積極的影響並提高了學生們的中文水準?具體體現在那些方面?
- 8) How confident are students in your school in achieving good language proficiency level in written Chinese and Putonghua after completing primary education? 您的學生是否很有信心在小學畢業時書面中文及普通話將達到較高的水準?
- 9) Do you collaborate with different subject teachers using Putonghua as MOI in order to improve students' proficiency in Putonghua? If yes, how? 您有沒有和其他採用普通話為教學語言的科目老師合作以提高學生普通話的水準?如有, 是採取甚麼措施?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Chinese Language subject Panel and / or one Chinese Language subject teacher teaching the Chinese Language subject using Cantonese

- 1) What is your view on using Cantonese to teach the Chinese Language subject? What are the advantages of using Cantonese to teach the subject?
您是怎麼理解用粵語教中文這種教學模式的?用粵語教中文有哪些優勢?
- 2) Are there any difficulties/problems using Cantonese to teach the Chinese Language subject? What are they?
您在用粵語教中文的時候會不會遇到困難或問題?具體有哪些困難和問題?
- 3) What teaching materials do you use in class? Are they different from those used in Chinese Language lessons taught in Putonghua?
您在授課的時候採用什麼教材?那些教材是否與用普通話教授中文的教材不同?
- 4) Is Putonghua allowed in the class? What is your view on the role of Putonghua in your class. What role do you think Cantonese should play in the school as a whole?
在您的中文課上可以使用普通話嗎?普通話在您的課堂上扮演什麼樣的角色?您認為在整個學校粵語應該扮演什麼樣的角色?

- 5) What kinds of assessment strategies do you use? Are they different because of using Cantonese other than Putonghua as the Medium of Instruction (MOI)?
您用哪些評估策略來評價中文教學效果? 評估策略是否會因為用粵語而不是普通話作為教學語言(MOI)而有所不同呢?
- 6) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 7) What do you think of your students' Chinese language proficiency? Has the use of Cantonese as the MOI made a positive impact on the enhancement of students' language proficiency? In what ways?
您覺得您的學生中文水準如何?用粵語作為教學語言(MOI)是否對學生產生了積極的影響並提高了學生們的中文水準?具體體現在那些方面?
- 8) How confident are students in your school in achieving good language proficiency level in written Chinese and Cantonese after completing primary education?
您的學生是否很有信心在小學畢業時書面中文及廣東話將達到較高的水準?
- 9) Do you collaborate with different subject teachers using Cantonese as MOI in order to improve students' proficiency in Chinese? If yes, how?
您有沒有和其他採用廣東話為教學語言的科目老師合作以提高學生中文的水準?如有, 是採取甚麼措施?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Putonghua subject Panel and one Putonghua subject teacher teaching Putonghua subject using Putonghua

- 1) What is your view on the role of Putonghua and Cantonese in the school? Should Putonghua be used more in subject teaching over Cantonese? Why or why not?
您是如何看待普通話和粵語在學校教學中的作用? 在各科教學中是否應該更多採用普通話而不是粵語教學?為什麼?
- 2) What is your view on using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject? What are the advantages of using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject?
您對用普通話教中文科目持怎樣的態度?您覺得用普通話教中文有優勢嗎?有哪些優勢?
- 3) Is Cantonese allowed in your class? What is your view on the role of Cantonese in your class?
在您的普通話課上可以使用粵語嗎?您覺得粵語在您的課堂上能發揮什麼作用?
- 4) What do you think of your students' Putonghua proficiency? Has the use of Putonghua as the MOI of Chinese Language lessons made a positive impact on the enhancement of students' Putonghua proficiency? Has students' Cantonese proficiency suffered because of this?

您覺得您的學生普通話水準如何?在中文科用普通話作為教學語言(MOI)是否對學生產生了積極的影響並提高了學生的普通話水準?學生的粵語水準是否因為普通話教學而受到負面影響?

- 5) How confident are students in your school in achieving good language proficiency level in Putonghua after completing primary education?
您的學生是否很有信心在小學畢業時普通話將達到較高的水準?
- 6) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 7) Do you collaborate with different subject teachers using Putonghua as MOI in order to improve students' proficiency in Putonghua? If yes, how?
您有沒有和其他採用普通話為教學語言的科目老師合作以提高學生普通話的水準?如有,是採取甚麼措施?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Mathematics Panel

- 1) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 2) Is Cantonese the only language used in your class (by both teacher and students)? Do students use English or Putonghua sometimes? If yes, what is your view on code-switching/co-languaging?
粵語是否是您課堂上使用的唯一語言(學生和老師雙方都使用粵語)?學生有時候會不會用英文或者普通話?如果是, 您對這種交替使用不同語言的態度有甚麼看法?
- 3) Does English appear in your teaching materials? If yes, what are the reasons? Is it necessary?
您的教學資料中會否出現英文?如果是, 您覺得為什麼會有英文?有這個必要嗎?
- 4) What do you think of your students' Cantonese proficiency? Are the students Having difficulty following this subject because of low Cantonese proficiency? If yes, how do you help them?
您覺得您學生的粵語水準怎樣?有沒有同學因為粵語水準有限而影響到學習的進度?如果有這種情況, 您是怎麼幫助他們解決困難的?
- 5) What is your view on using Cantonese as the main MOI in the school in most subjects? Do you think this is good, or do you think Mathematics and more subjects should be taught in English/Putonghua, or use Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English/Putonghua? Why?
您是怎麼看待貴校以粵語為主要教學語言教授大部分科目這個現象?您覺得這很好, 還是希望數學科或更多的科目將來都用英語或者普通話教授、或以廣東話為主, 輔以英文/普通話?為什麼?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with General Studies Panel

- 1) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 2) Is Cantonese the only language used in your class (by both teacher and students)? Do students use English or Putonghua sometimes? If yes, what is your view on code-switching/co-linguaging?
粵語是否是您課堂上使用的唯一語言(學生和老師雙方都使用粵語)?學生有時候會不會用英文或者普通話?如果是, 您對這種交替使用不同語言的態度有甚麼看法?
- 3) Does English appear in your teaching materials? If yes, what are the reasons? Is it necessary?
您的教學資料中會否出現英文?如果是, 您覺得為什麼會有英文?有這個必要嗎?
- 4) What do you think of your students' Cantonese proficiency? Are the students having difficulty following this subject because of low Cantonese proficiency? If yes, how do you help them?
您覺得您學生的粵語水準怎樣?有沒有同學因為粵語水準有限而影響到學習的進度?如果有這種情況, 您是怎麼幫助他們解決困難的?
- 5) What is your view on using Cantonese as the main MOI in the school in most subjects? Do you think this is good, or do you think General Studies and more subjects should be taught in English/Putonghua, or use Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English/Putonghua? Why?
您是怎麼看待貴校以粵語為主要教學語言教授大部分科目這個現象?您覺得這很好, 還是希望常識科或更多的科目將來都用英語或者普通話教授, 或以廣東話為主, 輔以英文/普通話?為什麼?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Visual Arts Panel

- 1) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 2) Is Cantonese the only language used in your class (by both teacher and students)? Do students use English or Putonghua sometimes? If yes, what is your view on code-switching/co-linguaging?
粵語是否是您課堂上使用的唯一語言(學生和老師雙方都使用粵語)?學生有時候會不會用英文或者普通話?如果是, 您對這種交替使用不同語言的態度有甚麼看法?

- 3) Does English appear in your teaching materials? If yes, what are the reasons? Is it necessary?
您的教學資料中會否出現英文?如果是, 您覺得為什麼會有英文?有這個必要嗎?
- 4) What do you think of your students' Cantonese proficiency? Are the students having difficulty following this subject because of low Cantonese proficiency? If yes, how do you help them?
您覺得您學生的粵語水準怎樣?有沒有同學因為粵語水準有限而影響到學習的進度?如果有這種情況, 您是怎麼幫助他們解決困難的?
- 5) What is your view on using Cantonese as the main MOI in the school in most subjects? Do you think this is good, or do you think Visual Arts and more subjects should be taught in English/Putonghua, or use Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English/Putonghua? Why? 您是怎麼看待貴校以粵語為主要教學語言教授大部分科目這個現象?您覺得這很好,還是希望視藝科或更多的科目將來都用英語或者普通話教授, 或以廣東話為主,輔以英文/普通話?為什麼?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Music Panel

- 1) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 2) Is Cantonese the only language used in your class (by both teacher and students)? Do students use English or Putonghua sometimes? If yes, what is your view on code-switching/co-linguaging?
粵語是否是您課堂上使用的唯一語言(學生和老師雙方都使用粵語)?學生有時候會不會用英文或者普通話?如果是, 您對這種交替使用不同語言的態度有甚麼看法?
- 3) Does English appear in your teaching materials? If yes, what are the reasons? Is it necessary?
您的教學資料中會否出現英文?如果是, 您覺得為什麼會有英文?有這個必要嗎?
- 4) What do you think of your students' Cantonese proficiency? Are the students having difficulty following this subject because of low Cantonese proficiency? If yes, how do you help them?
您覺得您學生的粵語水準怎樣?有沒有同學因為粵語水準有限而影響到學習的進度?如果有這種情況, 您是怎麼幫助他們解決困難的?
- 5) What is your view on using Cantonese as the main MOI in the school in most subjects? Do you think this is good, or do you think Music and more subjects should be taught in English/Putonghua, or use Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English/Putonghua? Why?

您是怎麼看待貴校以粵語為主要教學語言教授大部分科目這個現象?您覺得這很好,還是希望音樂科或更多的科目將來都用英語或者普通話教授、或以廣東話為主,輔以英文/普通話?為什麼?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with PE Panel

- 1) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?
- 2) Is Cantonese the only language used in your class (by both teacher and students)? Do students use English or Putonghua sometimes? If yes, what is your view on code-switching/co-linguaging?
粵語是否是您課堂上使用的唯一語言(學生和老師雙方都使用粵語)?學生有時候會不會用英文或者普通話?如果是, 您對這種交替使用不同語言的態度有甚麼看法?
- 3) Does English appear in your teaching materials? If yes, what are the reasons? Is it necessary?
您的教學資料中會否出現英文?如果是, 您覺得為什麼會有英文?有這個必要嗎?
- 4) What do you think of your students' Cantonese proficiency? Are the students having difficulty following this subject because of low Cantonese proficiency? If yes, how do you help them?
您覺得您學生的粵語水準怎樣?有沒有同學因為粵語水準有限而影響到學習的進度?如果有這種情況, 您是怎麼幫助他們解決困難的?
- 5) What is your view on using Cantonese as the main MOI in the school in most subjects? Do you think this is good, or do you think PE and more subjects should be taught in English/Putonghua, or use Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English/Putonghua? Why?
您是怎麼看待貴校以粵語為主要教學語言教授大部分科目這個現象?您覺得這很好, 還是希望體育科或更多的科目將來都用英語或者普通話教授、或以廣東話為主, 輔以英文/普通話?為什麼?

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Computer/IT Panel

- 1) What is your view on using Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school?
您對學校採用廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?

- 2) Is Cantonese the only language used in your class (by both teacher and students)? Do students use English or Putonghua sometimes? If yes, what is your view on code-switching/co-languaging?
粵語是否是您課堂上使用的唯一語言(學生和老師雙方都使用粵語)?學生有時候會不會用英文或者普通話?如果是, 您對這種交替使用不同語言的態度有甚麼看法?
- 3) Does English appear in your teaching materials? If yes, what are the reasons? Is it necessary?
您的教學資料中會否出現英文?如果是, 您覺得為什麼會有英文?有這個必要嗎?
- 4) What do you think of your students' Cantonese proficiency? Are the students having difficulty following this subject because of low Cantonese proficiency? If yes, how do you help them?
您覺得您學生的粵語水準怎樣?有沒有同學因為粵語水準有限而影響到學習的進度?如果有這種情況, 您是怎麼幫助他們解決困難的?
- 5) What is your view on using Cantonese as the main MOI in the school in most subjects? Do you think this is good, or do you think Computer/IT and more subjects should be taught in English/Putonghua, or use Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English/Putonghua? Why?
您是怎麼看待貴校以粵語為主要教學語言教授大部分科目這個現象?您覺得這很好,還是希望電腦科或更多的科目將來都用英語或者普通話教授、或以廣東話為主, 輔以英文/普通話?為什麼?

Appendix 5

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School

三語教育在香港小學實施情況的個案研究

UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Interviews with Students' Parents

- 1) What is your understanding of the trilingual education policy? What do you think the goal of the trilingual education policy is?
您是怎麼理解三語教學政策?三語教學的目的是什麼?
- 2) What is your opinion on trilingual education? Was the trilingual education model an attractive feature when you chose the XXXX School for your child?
您對三語教學的態度如何?三語教學這一模式是不是吸引您當初為您的孩子選擇XXXX學校的原因之一?
- 3) What is your view on using both English and Cantonese as the major language for communication in the school? How about using Putonghua?
您對學校採用英語及廣東話作為校內的主要交流語言有甚麼看法?採用普通話又如何?

- 4) What is your view on using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese language subject? What are the advantages and disadvantages of using PMI in teaching the Chinese language subject?
您對學校採用普通話作為教授中文科的教學語言有什麼看法?採用普通話教授中文科有什麼好處和弊端?
- 5) What kind of progress has your child made after entering XXXX School regarding language development? Do you think they have benefitted from the trilingual model? To what extent? (Fluency of English, Cantonese and Putonghua, and reading and writing ability in English and Chinese.)
您的孩子在入讀XXXX學校後在語言方面有哪些進步?您覺得您孩子是否可以從XXXX學校三語教學模式中受益呢?受益程度如何?(英語,普通話和粵語流利程度?英語和中文的閱讀和寫作能力如何?)
- 6) Is Cantonese the mother tongue of your child? What role do you think Cantonese should play in the school and in the classroom? Are you happy with the current arrangement of the school regarding the three languages used in the classroom (teaching the Chinese Language subject in Putonghua, teaching the English subject in English, teaching other subjects in both English and Cantonese)? Do you want to see any changes? What kind of changes?
粵語是您孩子的母語麼?您覺得粵語在學校和課堂上應該扮演怎樣的角色?您對XXXX學校當前對三語教學的安排滿意麼? [採用普通話教授中文科,用英語教授英文科、用英語及廣東話教授其他科目] 您是否希望看到一些改變?希望是什麼樣的改變?
- 7) How confident is your child in achieving good language proficiency level in the three languages after completing primary education?
您的孩子是否很有信心在小學畢業時兩文三語將達到較高的水準?
- 8) Do you think English/Putonghua can be used in teaching other subjects in your school? If yes, what subjects, and why?
您認為貴校可以採用英文/普通話教授其他科目嗎?如果可以, 會是哪些科目,為什麼?
- 9) Do you think the three languages should be used as media of instruction, but the ratio of each should alter as students make progress through primary education, with the emphasis on Cantonese in the early years? 您是否認為三種語言都可作為教學語言,但每種語言的比例可按照年級的遞增作出改變,而在初小時應以廣東話為主?

Appendix 6

A Case Study of Trilingual Education in a Hong Kong Primary School UGC GRF Project (2014–2015)

Reflection Form (To be filled in by teachers after class observation)

Teacher's Name: _____ Class observed: P _____

Subject: _____ Date: _____

1. The MOI(s) I used in the lesson, and the rough percentages (e.g., 100% English; 80% English and 20% Cantonese) 我在本課節所採用的教學語言及大概百分比

2. When interacting with me in the lesson, the language(s) students used, and the rough percentages 學生在本課節與我互動時使用的語言及大概百分比

3. When students interacting with each other in the lesson, the language(s) they used, and the rough percentages 在本課節，學生之間互動時使用的語言及大概百分比

4. My self-evaluation of the use of the MOI(s) in conducting this lesson (advantages of using the said MOI(s), issues of concern, etc.) 我對本課節所採用的教學語言使用情況的自我評估（採用該教學語言的優勢，值得關注的事項，等）

5. Whether students and/or I code-switched between two languages during this lesson, and the reasons and impacts on teaching and learning 在本課節，我和/或學生有否交替使用不同語言，原因是什麼，對教與學有何影響

6. If possible, whether I would consider making use of other MOI(s) in this lesson as a supplement so as to facilitate students' trilingual development. The reasons are 如果可能的話，我是否會考慮在本課節上採用其它教學語言輔助教學，以促進學生三語的發展。原因是：

Appendix 7

Survey on Trilingual Education in Hong Kong Primary Schools (with P4-P6 students) 關於香港小學三語教育的問卷調查（針對小四至小六學生）

Please put a \surd in the appropriate box. 請在適當的空格內加 \surd 號。

No.	Question 問題	Strongly Agree 完全同意	Agree 同意	Neutral 中立	Disagree 不同意	Strongly Disagree 完全不同意
1	I find it appropriate to use Putonghua to study the Chinese subject. 我覺得用普通話學習中文科很合適。					
2	I find it appropriate using both English and Cantonese as the major languages for communication in the school. 我覺得用英語及廣東話作為學校內的主要交流語言是合適的。					
3	I enjoy the trilingual education model implemented in the school. 我喜歡學校的三語教育模式。					
4	I find it acceptable switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school. 我可以接受在學校學習不同科目時轉換使用不同語言。					
5	I find myself code-switching/code-mixing between English and Cantonese regularly during the study of the English subject. 我在學習英文科時經常夾雜使用英文和廣東話。					
6	I find myself code-switching/code-mixing between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly during the study of the Putonghua subject. 我在學習普通話科時經常夾雜使用普通話和廣東話。					
7	I find code-switching/code-mixing in different subjects useful for my language development in general. 總的來說，我覺得在學習不同科目時，將不同語言夾雜使用有助於我的語言能力發展。					
8	I am satisfied with my progress in the study of written English. 我對自己書面英文的學習進展感到滿意。					
9	I am satisfied with my progress in the study of written Chinese. 我對自己書面中文的學習進展感到滿意。					
10	I am satisfied with my progress in the study of spoken English. 我對自己英文口語的學習進展感到滿意。					
11	I am happy with my progress in the study of Cantonese. 我對自己廣東話的學習進展感到滿意。					

No.	Question 問題	Strongly Agree 完全同意	Agree 同意	Neutral 中立	Disagree 不同意	Strongly Disagree 完全不同意
12	I am happy with my progress in the study of Putonghua. 我對自己普通話的學習進展感到滿意。					
13	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written English. 我很有信心在小學畢業時書面英文將達到較高的水準。					
14	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written Chinese. 我很有信心在小學畢業時書面中文將達到較高的水準。					
15	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in spoken English. 我很有信心在小學畢業時英文口語將達到較高的水準。					
16	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in Cantonese. 我很有信心在小學畢業時廣東話將達到較高的水準。					
17	I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in Putonghua. 我很有信心在小學畢業時普通話達到較高的水準。					

Thank you for your participation. 謝謝你的參與。

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Chapter 4

Pilot Study in One Hong Kong Primary School



4.1 Introduction

As a preliminary step in the investigation of methods of the implementation of trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools, we carried out a detailed case study of the trilingual education model adopted in one primary school. Views of key stakeholders (the principal, teachers, students and parents) on how successful they felt the model adopted by the school was were collected, and a number of lessons taught using English, Cantonese or Putonghua as the medium of instruction were recorded and analysed.

4.2 Discourse Data Analysis

In order to analyse what actually happens in different lessons taught in different MoIs, eight 35-min long lessons were recorded and transcribed and a small corpus comprising transcripts of the eight recorded lessons was compiled. In order to identify the interaction patterns between the teacher and the students, the number of turns taken and words/characters spoken by the teacher and students in each lesson were counted (excluding the words spoken by students in group work). The results are shown in Table 4.1, as is the time spent on group work.

Previous research has indicated that teacher talk makes up around 70% of classroom language in most lessons (Chaudron 1988; Cook 2001). The average amount of teacher talk across the eight recorded lessons is 88%, with the P4 Visual Arts lesson (MoI: English) having the highest percentage of teacher talk (98.4%) (although 43% of class time was devoted to group work), and the P5 Chinese Language lesson (MoI: Putonghua) having the lowest percentage (82%). The higher than average percentage of teacher talk indicates that the lessons are teacher-centred, and the teachers enjoy ‘a high level of authority’ (Cortazzi and Jin 1996). As far as

Table 4.1 Analysis of recorded lessons' turn-taking patterns

Subject (grade)	MoI	No. of turns by teacher	No. of turns by students	No. of words/ characters spoken by teacher (%)	No. of words/ characters spoken by students (%)
General Studies (P6)	Cantonese	32	24	2360 (90.5%)	247 (9.5%) (no group work)
Chinese Language (P1)	Cantonese	85	81	5065 (88%)	689 (12%) (no group work)
Chinese Language (P1)	Putonghua	70	64	2547 (87%)	377 (13%) (no group work)
Chinese Language (P5)	Putonghua	61	56	2859 (82%)	622 (18%) (no group work)
Putonghua (P1)	Putonghua	86	86	2563 (83.5%)	510 (16.5%) (no group work)
Visual Arts (P4)	English	18	12	1188 (98.4%)	19 (1.6%) (group work took 43% of class time)
PE (P4)	English	28	19	1197 (88%)	158 (12%) (no group work)
English Language (P6)	English	65	48	1321 (86%)	210 (14%) (group work took 30% of class time)

the MoI is concerned, using English as the MoI for Visual Arts made a significant impact on the interaction pattern of the lesson, as the teacher talk amounts to a striking 98.4%. This suggests that students' oral interaction with the teacher was minimal, indicating that they might have not reached the proficiency level to discuss Visual Arts-related topics with the teacher in English. It is slightly surprising that the second highest percentage of teacher talk (90.5%) is in the General Studies lesson, where Cantonese is the MoI. This suggests that, even where students are able to interact with their teachers in their mother tongue, the amount of teacher-student interaction can still be very limited. This supports Glenwright's finding into Chinese learning characteristics, namely that classroom teaching is mainly transmissive, and students learn by listening and thinking, instead of through active interaction with the teacher (2010).

The teacher-centredness of the lessons is further illustrated in that, in six out of the eight lessons, students did not ask a single question (see Table 4.2). The two lessons in which students did ask some questions were the P1 Chinese Language lesson taught in Cantonese, and the P5 Chinese Language lesson taught in Putonghua. The reason why 14 questions were asked in the P5 Chinese Language lesson was that the teacher played an 'Ask me a question' game with the students during the lesson. The only genuine case of students asking the teacher real questions (seven in total) was the P1 Chinese Language lesson taught in Cantonese, in which the teacher told the students stories and students asked questions related to the story.

Table 4.2 Analysis of recorded lessons: questioning behaviour

Subject (grade)	MoI	No. of questions asked by teacher	No. of questions asked by students
General Studies (P6)	Cantonese	34	0
Chinese (P1)	Cantonese	41	7
Chinese (P1)	Putonghua	53	0
Chinese (P5)	Putonghua	35	14 (prompted questions)
Putonghua (P1)	Putonghua	45	0
Visual Arts (P4)	English	24	0
PE (P4)	English	28	0
English (P6)	English	88	0

The phenomenon of students not asking questions in the class supports Cortazzi and Jin's (1999) study that, as part of Confucian tradition, the desire to ask questions is inhibited by a variety of factors. Other than shyness and passivity, there are the powerful cultural imperatives of obedience and respect, which means the students try to avoid forward or 'pushy' behaviour. Also, in educational terms, the learner needs to 'know before asking', not to 'learn by asking' (Cortazzi and Jin 1996).

When investigating classroom interaction, we found that code-switching existed in most of the lessons. However, the extent of this varied greatly across the different subjects. In the English Language lesson, the teacher used English only and never switched to Cantonese. The students did switch to Cantonese, but only when they were doing group activities among themselves, and there was only one instance when a student responded to the teacher's instruction in Cantonese ('*Aiyahh! Gam Sam Foo*' meaning 'Ow, so much work!'), showing his surprise and displeasure about the amount of work given to them.

In the Visual Arts lesson, although the official MoI is English, the teacher used both English and Cantonese as MoIs. She first explained the concepts in English, and then followed that up by explaining the concepts in Cantonese. For example:

"This is an old type telephone. Maybe it is the first one!

可能,呢個係一個電話。一個古老的電話!"

[hok nan, ni gor hai ya gor dim wah. Ya gor gu lou di dim wah.] (Cantonese romanisation)

[Maybe this is a telephone. One old telephone!] (back translation)

When the students interacted with the teacher in the classroom, they took 10 turns in total, and said only 19 words, most of them being monosyllabic answers such as 'Wow' (three times), 'No', 'Yes', 'ahhh', 'A cake', 'A car', 'A clock'. Two turns were greetings: 'Good Morning, Miss xxx' and 'Good Morning, Teachers'. Although the students did not interact with the teacher much in the class, they did talk to each other, mainly in Cantonese, during the group activities, which occupied 43% of class time.

For the PE lesson, the teacher tried to use English most of the time, but occasionally code-switched to Cantonese. Student talk in the class was mainly composed of repeating the teacher's words when doing physical exercises. For example:

T: One two three four five and six. Then backward.

S: Backward, One, two, three, four, five and six.

Although students used English to repeat the teacher's instructions, when they talked to each other during the lesson, they would code-switch to Cantonese.

As noted above, two Chinese Language lessons taught in Putonghua were recorded. In the P5 lesson the teacher hardly used any Cantonese while teaching. Students also avoided switching to Cantonese when responding to the teacher's questions, but they would switch to Cantonese when talking to each other. In the P1 lesson, in contrast, the teacher switched to Cantonese from time to time (around 25% of teacher talk) in order to explain some complicated concepts, and students responded to the teacher in Cantonese rather than in Putonghua most of the time (around 80% of the time when they were not reciting passages in Putonghua). Although students did not use much Putonghua to answer the teacher's questions, there were many Putonghua reciting exercises (over 70% of student talk comprising reciting the passages in the textbook in Putonghua).

The P1 Chinese Language lesson taught in Cantonese is the most 'lively' lesson recorded, as students interacted with the teacher in their mother tongue, Cantonese, throughout the lesson, and a number of referential questions were asked by students (e.g.: 什麼關係啊? meaning 'what's the relationship?'). This was very rare in other lessons. Code-switching to Putonghua is seldom heard.

For the General Studies lesson taught in Cantonese, the teacher and the students used Cantonese only and almost never switched to English or Putonghua (the only case of code-switching being the students' use of English words 'Daddy', 'Mummy' once in the lesson).

We now look at different stakeholders' views on the trilingual education model implemented in the school.

4.3 Stakeholders' Views: The Principal

A one-hour interview was conducted with the Principal of the school. She is responsible for building the reputation of the school and for making it a popular choice. It is worth noting that Hong Kong is extremely competitive in this regard.

As a primary school newly established in 2002, the 'trilingual and biliterate' language policy set by the government in 2000 guided the curriculum design and the choice of MoI for different subjects in the school. At the time of the case study, English was the MoI for the English Language, PE and Visual Arts subjects. Before 2005, English was also chosen to be the MoI for Music, but feedback from students suggested that English was too great an obstacle and students could not learn effectively. In the end the school switched back to using Cantonese as the MoI for Music. For the Chinese Language subject, Cantonese was used as the MoI from P1 to P3, but Putonghua was used as the MoI from P4 to P6. There was no clear rationale

Table 4.3 Percentage of time allocated to Cantonese, Putonghua and English as MoI subjects

Grade	Percentage of time allocated to Cantonese as MoI subjects	Percentage of time allocated to Putonghua as MoI subjects	Percentage of time allocated to English as MoI subjects
P1 (Chinese Language subject taught in Cantonese)	62% (Chinese Language, Maths, General Studies, Music, etc.)	6% (Putonghua)	32% (English Language, PE, Visual Arts)
P2 and P 3			
P1 (Chinese Language subject taught in Putonghua)	40% (Maths, General Studies, Music, etc.)	28% (Chinese Language, Putonghua)	32% (English Language, PE, Visual Arts)
P4, P5 and P6	45% (Maths, General Studies, Music, etc.)	25% (Chinese Language, Putonghua)	30% (English Language, PE, Visual Arts)

behind this. Basically the school hoped to provide students with more exposure to Putonghua, but was worried that if the Chinese Language subject was taught in Putonghua from P1, students might confuse English letters with *pinyin* (the romanisation system for Putonghua). After several years of using Putonghua as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject from P4 to P6, started in the academic year 2010–11, the school trailed the use of Putonghua as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject in one of the three P1 classes. The principal indicated that if the pilot was successful, the school would gradually switch the MoI of Chinese Language lessons from Cantonese to Putonghua in all grades. Other than the Chinese Language subject, there was also a Putonghua subject specifically dedicated to the study of Putonghua pronunciation. The amount of time allocated to different MoIs across different grades is shown in Table 4.3.

As we can see in Table 4.3, Cantonese was the dominant MoI from P1 to P3, but gradually changed. The proportion of Putonghua use had been increasing, as one of the three P1 classes started using it as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject, and this trend would continue. The ultimate goal of the school seemed to be having a balanced percentage of the amount of time allocated to the three MoIs across all grades, with the rough distribution being 45% Cantonese, 30% English, and 25% Putonghua. The principal strongly believed that the model adopted at the time of the case study was effective, and the promotion of Putonghua as a MoI was desirable.

The principal also noted that, based on the Hong Kong public examination results, the students' English level was well above average compared with other primary schools in Hong Kong, but their Putonghua level was about average.

With regard to code-mixing, the principal made it clear that in the English subject, English should be the sole language used, and Cantonese should not be encouraged. She believed that this would help to create a better language learning environment, and students would practise English more and have more exposure to English. In Chinese Language lessons taught in Putonghua, the principal felt that Cantonese could be allowed in a limited way, so that when students had difficulty discussing complicated issues in Putonghua, they might switch to their mother tongue Cantonese.

4.4 Stakeholders' Views: The Teachers

4.4.1 *Teachers Using English as MoI*

In total, two English subject teachers, one PE subject teacher and one Visual Arts subject teacher were interviewed.

The two English subject teachers claimed that, in the English Language lessons, they would always use English as the medium of instruction, and that using Cantonese in English classes would be regarded as bad practice. This is the view of the school principal. Although the teachers would not speak Cantonese themselves in class, they did admit that during students' group discussions, if students experienced difficulty discussing higher level issues using English, they should be allowed to use Cantonese, but during the presentation stage, they should use English.

The teacher who taught PE in English claimed that, after 9 years of teaching PE in English, she was quite comfortable using English as the MoI. While students initially responded more slowly to her English instructions, when they reached grades 4, 5 and 6, they became more accustomed to the teacher's English language instructions. If the teacher noticed that the students had difficulty understanding English, she would use body gestures to help students to understand. She found that in most cases students would be able to understand. She pointed out that the nature of the PE subject (involving many body movements) made it easier to use English as the MoI compared to other subjects.

The Visual Arts teacher, however, was not as positive as the PE teacher regarding the use of English as the MoI. She found that it could be very challenging for students to understand abstract concepts about Visual Arts in English, and she would need to spend a lot of time on making the English words understood. As a result, she did not have enough time to cover the subject matter specified in the curriculum. Her strategy in coping with this issue is that she would say everything in English once, then, without checking if students actually understood what she said, she would switch to Cantonese so as to make sure that she could cover the curriculum within the class time. Therefore, students could ignore all her English explanations and simply wait for the Cantonese version. The teacher also allowed students to answer questions in Cantonese, as most students simply did not have enough English to answer the questions. She emphasised that students could follow short English instructions for routine activities, but as soon as she started talking about Art History in English, students would simply 'shut their ears', and she felt very discouraged about using English in class, so she would switch to Cantonese. When asked which language she would choose if she was given the option of choosing English or Cantonese as the MoI, she answered firmly: 'Cantonese'. When asked how much she thought her subject helped students to enhance their English proficiency, her answer was 'not much'. The only benefit she could think of was that students might get more familiar with vocabulary items related to Visual Arts.

All the interviewed teachers who used English as the MoI in their subjects (English Language, PE and Visual Arts) were asked whether they collaborated in

order to enhance students' English proficiency. The answer was a straightforward 'no'. Apparently there was virtually no collaboration among these teachers. In such a trilingual education context, it would seem natural to assume that teachers who all used English as the MoI would collaborate with each other, but the fact was that the different subject teachers all focused on their own subject teaching. This system is very different from a 'western' primary education system as in countries such as the UK, Australia and Canada, one teacher would teach all the subjects, which means relating learning activities under a particular theme can be planned and organised across different subjects quite easily. In Hong Kong primary schools, however, different subjects are mostly taught by different subject teachers, and most teachers are extremely busy, and they have little time to interact with other subject teachers.

4.4.2 Teachers Using Putonghua as MoI

Two teachers teaching the Chinese Language subject in Putonghua and two teachers teaching the Putonghua subject in Putonghua were interviewed.

The two teachers teaching the Chinese Language subject in Putonghua shared the view that the advantage of using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject was that standard written Chinese and spoken Putonghua match each other directly, and there was a movement encouraged in many schools called 'my hand writes my mouth'. That is, spoken Putonghua can be written down word for word to form standard written Chinese. As for Cantonese, the spoken form varies greatly from standard written Chinese, and many spoken words do not even have a written form.

The teachers argued that, if students used Putonghua to study the Chinese Language subject, they would not have to face the mismatch of spoken Cantonese and formal written Chinese. However, the teachers also pointed out that, Cantonese speakers who were not proficient enough in Putonghua would not be able to understand instructions and explanations in Putonghua easily, nor be able to discuss and present ideas effectively in Putonghua, and as a result their Chinese Language development might suffer.

As mentioned earlier, the Chinese Language subject was taught in Putonghua from P4 to P6, but taught in Cantonese from P1 to P3. This means P4 students would face a sudden change of MoI, and their Chinese Language might be affected because of this change. Those who had developed good Putonghua proficiency would find it beneficial, but those who had low Putonghua proficiency would suffer greatly, and some might even lose interest in the subject, and their academic performance would drop significantly. One teacher reported an extreme case: there was a hearing impaired student in her class whose mother tongue was Cantonese, and who was able to study effectively in this language. However, because of his hearing problems, he had great difficulty learning Putonghua. As a result, he was simply incapable of studying the Chinese Language subject in Putonghua. The teacher therefore always repeated her instructions and explanations in Cantonese for the benefit of this student.

The teacher further pointed out that, as the school was claiming to provide inclusive education, it was important that they addressed MoI issues fairly to avoid some students being disadvantaged. She felt that a teacher should not sacrifice students' Chinese Language development just for the sake of improving their Putonghua proficiency.

The two teachers teaching Putonghua in Putonghua claimed that, since the aim of the subject was to enhance students' Putonghua proficiency, they tried their best to follow the 'One Language Only' policy, and they were quite strict about it. They only allowed occasional use of Cantonese when there was a need. For example, if a particular term in Putonghua was very hard for students to understand, the teacher would simply provide the Cantonese translation, and students would understand immediately. This saved a lot of explanation time. Grade wise, the teachers were more tolerant of Cantonese use in P1, but after P2 Cantonese was strongly discouraged in Putonghua lessons. As for students' Putonghua proficiency, the teachers claimed that overall they were satisfied, but that there were huge differences among the students. They argued that high Putonghua proficiency was not really decided by the students and teachers' efforts in the class, but more by family support. Some families employed Putonghua tutors for their children, and provided as much Putonghua exposure outside class as possible. Students without this type of family support struggled with their Putonghua proficiency.

The four teachers all believed that the MoI for the Chinese Language subject should be the language that students were most familiar with. In the Hong Kong context, this would be Cantonese in most cases. However, they were all aware that, as Mainland China was becoming more and more powerful politically and economically, many parents felt that 'Putonghua is the future', and at the same time, they regarded Cantonese as just a 'home language'. The teachers felt that, in the Hong Kong context, to use Putonghua as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject would still cause problems, as Cantonese is still dominant in all social settings, and most students have very little exposure to Putonghua in the home environment. But they believed that things would change gradually, especially that more and more mainland immigrants were coming to live in Hong Kong, bringing their Putonghua speaking children with them (In the 2001 population census in Hong Kong, 941,374 people claimed that they could speak Putonghua (<http://www.statistics.gov.hk/>), and in the 2006 By-census (<http://www.byensus2006.gov.hk/>), this figure rose to 2,605,653, an increase of 176.8%). The teachers foresaw that, in the not too distant future, Putonghua would become the official MoI for the Chinese Language subject in most schools in Hong Kong.

4.4.3 Teachers Using Cantonese as MoI

Two teachers using Cantonese as the MoI to teach the Chinese Language subject and two teachers using Cantonese as the MoI to teach General Studies were also interviewed.

The two Chinese Language subject teachers listed a number of advantages of using Cantonese to teach the Chinese Language subject. For example, Cantonese being their mother tongue, students will be able to understand instructions and explanations. They also have the sense of language awareness when studying in Cantonese, which means they can appreciate a story told in Cantonese better than one told in Putonghua. A disadvantage of using Putonghua as the MoI is that the teachers' own level of Putonghua is not necessarily very high. The two teachers also pointed out some disadvantages of using Cantonese as the MoI. As mentioned earlier, spoken Cantonese does not match standard written Chinese, so students will make mistakes in their writing because they transfer the grammar structure and vocabulary of spoken Cantonese into written Chinese. When asked whether they used any Putonghua in their classes, they answered no, as they found there was no need to use Putonghua when teaching the Chinese Language subject. Still, they felt that the Chinese Language subject teacher should point out to students the mismatch between Cantonese oral expressions and formal written Chinese expressions, and such written expressions can all be directly spoken out word for word using Putonghua. In this way, when students take their Putonghua lessons, they may have already learned the correct Putonghua expressions in the Chinese Language lesson. The teachers believed that the Chinese Language subject teachers and the Putonghua subject teachers should collaborate more, as there was only one Putonghua lesson (focusing on pronunciation only) but eight Chinese Language lessons (focusing on literacy) per week.

The two teachers who taught General Studies using Cantonese agreed that General Studies was best taught using the students' mother tongue (Cantonese), as there were many complicated concepts in the subject, and using the mother tongue would make students' learning of the subject knowledge much more effective and efficient. They felt that Cantonese should not be neglected, as the local language and local culture should be protected against linguistic encroachment from Putonghua. At the same time, there were migrant children from mainland China or elsewhere joining the school, who could experience great difficulties with Cantonese as the MoI. The teachers did try to accommodate their needs in the classroom, and would use English or Putonghua to interact with them if they could speak a little of the language, but there was no special course for these children to help them learn Cantonese. The teachers also claimed that, in most cases, these students would be able to pick up Cantonese within 1 year.

One teacher pointed out that in the secondary schools, Science is taught in English in many schools, so for those elite students in the primary schools, it is worth trying teaching them General Studies in English in higher grades (P4–P6). When asked how he would define 'elite students', he implied that those were the students with high English proficiency, and he emphasised that if a student wanted to get into university, it is very important for him/her to study and get enough exposure to English from an early age. It is worth pointing out again that six of the eight government-funded universities in Hong Kong are English medium and it is not surprising, therefore, that the teachers (and *parents*) put so much emphasis on the study of English.

When asked if more courses should be taught in Putonghua or English in the school, one teacher suggested that, it would only be possible if the students' families could provide enough support for their English and Putonghua after school. This shows that successful English and Putonghua learning in primary schools is partly decided by family background. Some students are disadvantaged not because of their own abilities, but because of their family background. Comments from some parents below further underline this point.

4.5 Stakeholders' Views: The Parents

Ten parents of students currently in the school were selected and interviewed. All of them thought that the trilingual education model in the school was good and beneficial. In their view, English is the most important world language, and Putonghua is becoming another important world language, so it is absolutely crucial for their children to learn these two languages properly, if they want to become successful in their studies and future careers. As for Cantonese, they regard it as a local language, which is important for their literacy development, but it could make way for English and Putonghua as a MoI if students can manage. They are all in favour of using English as the MoI for PE and Visual Arts, and three parents hoped that General Studies could be taught in English as well, because they think it would further strengthen students' English proficiency.

Nine parents were in favour of using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject from P4 onwards. But one parent was strongly against it because her child is not proficient enough in Putonghua. Two parents also wanted the strict implementation of the 'One Language at a Time' policy. One parent proposed that there could be 'English only' weeks, or 'Putonghua only' weeks, so that students could only speak Putonghua or English. Six parents indicated that they would provide family support to their children, for example, by reading English and Chinese stories to their children at home, or if they cannot speak Putonghua or English themselves, by employing home tutors for their children. They believe that school work alone cannot help their children to achieve high proficiency in the three languages, and they are willing to invest (in personal tutors, cram schools, etc.) in order to help their children get higher grades and 'become more competitive in society'. With regard to code-switching during the study process, seven parents agreed Cantonese can be used in English or Putonghua lessons where necessary, and vice versa.

Generally speaking, most parents were happy with the school's arrangements of MoIs.

4.6 Survey on Students' Perception of the Trilingual Education Model

A questionnaire was designed to find out students' perception of the trilingual education model in the school. Figure 4.1 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results.

From Fig. 4.1 we can see that Items 4 (*I find using Cantonese appropriate as the major language for communication in the school*), 13 (*I am happy with my progress in the study of spoken Cantonese*) and 18 (*I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in spoken Cantonese*) had the highest mean (around 4.5) and lowest standard deviation, which means students are very confident with their Cantonese proficiency, and feel comfortable using it as the main language in the school.

Items 7 (*I code-switch between English and Cantonese regularly during the study of English*) and 8 (*I code-switch between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly during the study of Chinese*) had the lowest means and highest standard deviation, which means students' opinions varied on whether they code-switch between English and Cantonese regularly during the study of English, or between Putonghua and Cantonese during the study of Chinese. In both cases, while around 20% of the students strongly agreed, around 20% strongly disagreed.

Items 3 (*I feel comfortable studying Physical Education using English*), 5 (*I enjoy the trilingual education model implemented in the school*), 9 (*I find*

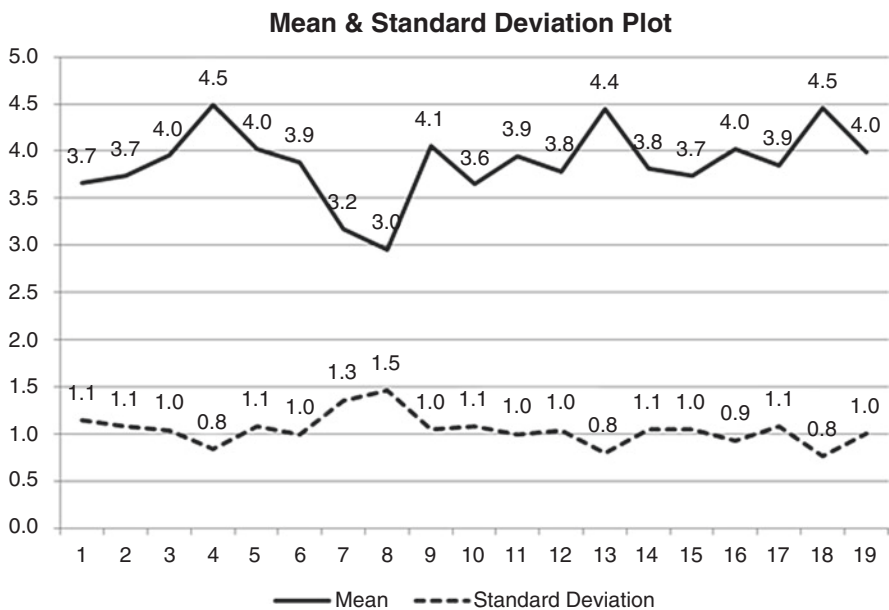


Fig. 4.1 Mean and standard deviation plot of the student survey

code-switching in different subjects useful for my language development in general), 16 (*I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written Chinese*) and 19 (*I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in spoken Putonghua*) all have a mean score over 4.0, and a standard deviation below 1.1. This implies that students are quite positive about the trilingual education model in the school, and think that using English as the MoI for PE is beneficial. They see code-switching as a positive way of developing their language proficiency, and they are confident that they will reach high proficiency in written Chinese and Putonghua when they graduate.

Items 1 (*I find it appropriate to start using Putonghua to study Chinese in P4*), 2 (*I feel comfortable studying Visual Arts using English*), 10 (*I am happy with my progress in the study of written English*), 15 (*I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written English*) have a mean score below 3.7, and a standard deviation below 1.1, which indicates that they are less positive about using English as the MoI in the Visual Arts subject, and not so sure if it is appropriate to start teaching the Chinese Language subject using Putonghua from P4. They are also not as confident in their English and are not so sure if they could reach a high level of English proficiency at graduation.

4.7 Discussion

Although in general all stakeholders are in favour of the trilingual education model, there are some conflicting views. The school seems to have set up a well-structured model, allocating a balanced amount of time to the three different MoIs across the whole curriculum. Ideally, the three MoIs would be employed effectively for different subjects, and students' language proficiency in all the three languages would reach a satisfactory level when they graduate from the school. However, whether the One-Language-at-a-Time (OLAT) language policy established by the school promotes effective language learning is questionable. In a trilingual environment, it seems unnatural and unnecessary to forbid the use of other languages in classes taught using a particular MoI. As Anderson and Rusanganwa (2011, p. 761) point out, 'the ability to switch language to cope with linguistic challenges is an important asset in the learning process.' Similarly, Swain, Kirkpatrick and Cummins (2011) recently suggested ways of using Cantonese in the English Classroom in Hong Kong which could help students learn English. The mother tongue can play a positive role in English language learning if handled appropriately.

The teachers' views and classroom practices regarding to the OLAT policy varied (cf. Li 2008; Willans 2011). The English Language subject teachers claimed to adhere strictly to it themselves, but sometimes allowed limited use of mother tongue by students during group discussions. This is supported by evidence from the recorded lesson. The Visual Arts teacher, however, found it almost impossible to stick to this policy, and had to rely quite heavily on using Cantonese as an alternative MoI during the lessons. Again, this is reflected in the actual recorded lesson. For

the PE teacher, using English as an MoI was not a problem, as meaning could be conveyed to students through the aid of paralinguistic features such as body gestures. For the Chinese Language lessons taught in Putonghua, the teacher teaching the P1 class adopted a different practice from the teacher teaching P5. The P1 Chinese Language subject teacher would switch to Cantonese whenever she found it necessary, and would allow students to respond in Cantonese. The P5 Chinese Language subject teacher, however, hardly used any Cantonese in her lessons, and strongly discouraged students from speaking Cantonese in class. These different practices reflect that when students are not competent enough in a MoI, the teachers are less strict about the OLAT policy, but as soon as students reach a higher level of proficiency the teachers follow the policy more strictly.

For those subjects taught in Cantonese (Chinese, Maths, and General Studies), all teachers use Cantonese as the only language in their lessons.

One major issue regarding the use of English as a MoI in different subjects is that there is no collaboration among English, Visual Arts and PE teachers. This seems a wasted opportunity as cross curriculum planning would allow students to use English to study different subjects based on certain themes.

By way of summary we would like to suggest a possible model of trilingual education, based on the situation in the school we have studied.

4.8 Recommended Justifications of the Trilingual Education Model in the Sample School

1. The three languages should be used as media of instruction, but the ratio of each should alter as students progress through primary, with the emphasis on Cantonese in the early years.
2. Cantonese could be used as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject from P1 to P3, but the option should be given to those who would prefer to study Chinese Language in Putonghua from P1 to P3. After P3, Putonghua should be used as the MoI in Chinese Language lessons. Cantonese lessons should be provided for P1 students whose mother tongue is not Cantonese.
3. English could be used as the MoI for English and for the PE from P1. Maths, General Studies, Music, IT and Visual Arts should be taught in Cantonese, but the other languages can be introduced whenever appropriate. The MoI in General Studies could switch from Cantonese to English in later primary.
4. All teachers teaching English and subjects in English should work together more closely and develop cross-curriculum activities which require the use of English.
5. A multilingual pedagogy can be adopted, whose aim would be to enhance students' trilingual development.
6. Tests should be given at the end of P3 and P6 to assess students' proficiency in the three languages.

4.9 Conclusion

This pilot study has revealed how trilingual education was implemented in a particular school. Analysis of data collected from classroom teaching, the survey of students, and interviews with the principal, the teachers, and the parents suggests that all stakeholders held a generally positive view towards the trilingual education model in the school. Based on the findings, we have recommended some justifications of the trilingual education model in the sample school. In the next chapter we report on our findings from the large-scale survey.

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Chapter 5

Survey on Trilingual Education in Hong Kong Primary Schools



5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the findings of the survey on how trilingual education was implemented in Hong Kong primary schools. A total of 155 Hong Kong primary schools participated in a questionnaire survey and the demographics of these schools and the students is described. The medium of instruction policies of the schools is also described. The findings suggest that the implementation of trilingual education varied significantly from school to school, and the effectiveness of the trilingual education models varied as well.

5.2 Demographics of Schools Surveyed

The survey questionnaires were sent to all the 474 primary schools in Hong Kong as shown in Table 5.1 (including all 420 aided schools, all 20 Direct Subsidy Schools and all 34 government schools), and 155 of them returned the questionnaire. Among them, 145 are aided schools (34.52% return rate), 6 are DSS schools (30% return rate), and 4 are government schools (11.76% return rate). Of the 145 aided schools, 18 are on Hong Kong Island, 40 in Kowloon, and 87 in the New Territories. Of the six DSS schools, three are on Hong Kong Island, two in Kowloon, and one in the New Territories. Of the four government schools, one is on Hong Kong Island, one in Kowloon, and two in the New Territories. Figure 5.1 shows a map of Hong Kong

Table 5.1 Distribution (out) and collection (in) of the questionnaires in each category (return rates)

School type	HK Island		Kowloon		New territories		Total	
	Out	In (%)	Out	In (%)	Out	In (%)	Out	In (%)
Aided school	58	18 (31.03%)	119	40 (33.61%)	243	87 (35.8%)	420	145 (34.52%)
DSS school	4	3 (75%)	7	2 (28.57%)	9	1 (11.11%)	20	6 (30%)
Government school	11	1 (9.09%)	13	1 (7.69%)	10	2 (20%)	34	4 (11.76%)
Total	73	22 (30.14%)	139	43 (30.94%)	262	90 (34.35%)	474	155 (32.7%)

**Fig. 5.1** Map of Hong Kong

5.3 Origins of the Students in the Responding Schools

Figure 5.2 shows that, in the 155 surveyed schools, the majority of students are local Hongkongers (average 83.57%), while an average of 12.58% of the students come from Mainland China, 3.18% come from South Asian area and only 0.67% of the students come from other areas such as Britain (Table 5.2).

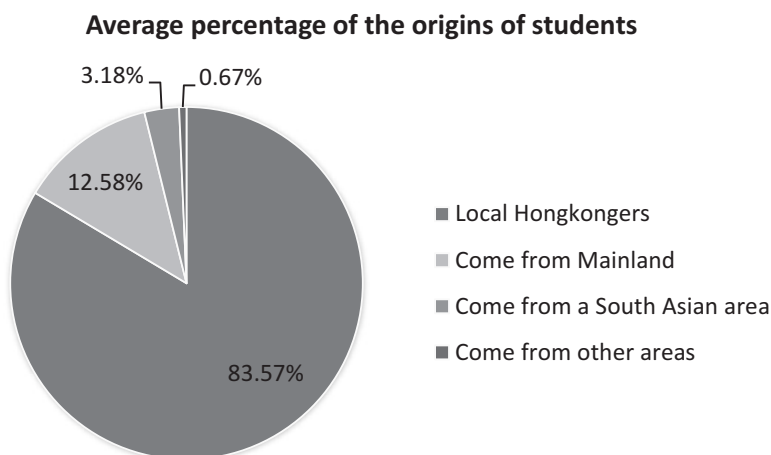


Fig. 5.2 Average percentage of the origins of students

Table 5.2 Origin of students percentage and distribution across schools

Origin of students percentage	Local Hongkongers		Students from Mainland China		Students from a South Asian area		Students from other areas	
	No of schools	%	No of schools	%	No of schools	%	No of schools	%
50–59%	5	3.23	2	1.29	0	0	0	0
60–69%	13	8.39	1	0.65	1	0.65	0	0
70–79%	9	5.81	1	0.65	0	0	0	0
80–89%	22	14.19	2	1.29	1	0.65	0	0
90–99%	80	51.61	1	0.65	1	0.65	0	0
100%	15	9.68	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	144	92.90	7	4.52	3	1.94	0	0

1. Although the majority of schools have local Hongkong students, very few (15 schools, 9.68%) have 100% local Hongkong students, and their distribution across areas is shown in Table 5.3;
2. Other than local Hongkong students, seven schools (4.52%) are dominated by students from Mainland China, while three schools (1.94%) by students from South Asia.
3. In one school, 50% of the students are local Hongkong students and the other 50% are from Mainland China; and
4. There are two schools in the New Territories that have fewer than 50% of local or Mainland students (Table 5.4).

Table 5.3 The distribution of schools with 100% local Hongkong students across areas

School type	HK Island	Kowloon	New territories	Total
Aided school	2 (13.33%)	5 (33.33%)	6 (40%)	13 (86.67%)
DSS school	1 (6.67%)	1 (6.67%)	0	2 (13.33%)
Government school	0	0	0	0
Total	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	15 (100%)

Table 5.4 Schools with less than 50% of students of each origin

Origin of students	Local Hongkong (%)	Come from Mainland China (%)	Come from a South Asian area (%)	Come from other areas (%)	Total (%)
School 1	40	10	45	5	100
School 2	20	45	35	0	100

5.4 The Medium of Instruction (MoI) Policies

Table 5.5 shows the school policies regarding the use of different Medium of Instruction (MoI) in different subjects in all surveyed schools and each type of school:

Of the 155 schools surveyed, we find that:

1. Putonghua is commonly used as the MoI in the Chinese Language subject (a subject which develops learners' Chinese language proficiency in reading, writing, listening and speaking). Sixty-five schools (41.94%) use almost 100% Putonghua in teaching this subject, 6.45% of schools use Putonghua only in senior grades, 34.84% use Putonghua in some classes in the same grade (year level) and 14.84% of schools allow the use of mixed code of Cantonese and Putonghua in the subject.
2. Six schools (3.87%) do not offer the Putonghua subject (a subject focusing purely on the pronunciation of Putonghua) as they use Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject.
3. 63.87% of schools use almost 100% of English as MoI in the English subject but about 40% allow the use of mixed code of English and Cantonese in the subject.
4. The majority of schools (87.74%) use almost 100% of Putonghua as the MoI in the Putonghua subject, while 12 schools (4.52%) use mainly Putonghua, supplemented by Cantonese in this subject; the use of mixed code of Putonghua and Cantonese is not commonly adopted, as only 7.74% of schools allow this.
5. Cantonese is the predominant language used as the MoI in other subjects, such as Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education and Information Technology/Computer Science in most surveyed schools. However, 20 schools (13%) adopt English and Putonghua as the MoI in these subjects, as shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.5 The use of different MoI(s) in different subjects across schools

Subject	Language(s) used as MoI(s)	All (155)	Aided (145)	Gov't (4)	DSS (6)
Chinese Language	Cantonese (almost 100%)	89 (57.42%)	83 (57.24%)	3 (75%)	3 (50%)
	Putonghua (almost 100%)	65 (41.94%)	63 (43.45%)	0	2 (33.33%)
	In junior grades, Cantonese is used as MoI; in senior grades, Putonghua is used	10 (6.45%)	8 (5.52%)	0	2 (33.33%)
	In the same grade, some classes use Cantonese as MoI, others use Putonghua	54 (34.84%)	53 (36.55%)	1 (25%)	0
	Teachers may switch between the two languages in class	23 (14.84%)	22 (15.17%)	0	1 (16.67%)
English Language	English (almost 100%)	99 (63.87%)	93 (64.14%)	0	6 (100%)
	Other than English, teachers may use Cantonese subject to teaching and learning needs	53 (34.19%)	50 (34.48%)	3 (75%)	0
	In junior grades, both English and Cantonese can be used as MoIs; in senior grades, only English can be used as MoI	12 (7.74%)	11 (7.59%)	1 (25%)	0
Putonghua	Putonghua (almost 100%)	136 (87.74%)	128 (8.28%)	3 (75%)	5 (83.33%)
	Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	12 (7.74%)	11 (7.59%)	1 (25%)	0
	In junior grades, both Putonghua and Cantonese can be used as MoIs; in senior grades, only Putonghua can be used as MoI	7 (4.52%)	7 (4.83%)	0	0
Mathematics	Cantonese (almost 100%)	145 (93.55%)	137 (94.48%)	4 (100%)	4 (66.67%)
	Putonghua (almost 100%)	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.69%)	0	0
	English (almost 100%)	7 (4.52%)	4 (2.76%)	0	3 (50%)
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	6 (3.87%)	6 (4.14%)	0	0
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	2 (1.29%)	2 (1.38%)	0	0
General Studies	Cantonese (almost 100%)	145 (93.55%)	136 (93.79%)	4 (100%)	5 (83.33%)
	Putonghua (almost 100%)	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.69%)	0	0
	English (almost 100%)	8 (5.16%)	4 (2.76%)	0	4 (66.67%)
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	6 (3.87%)	6 (4.14%)	0	0
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	2 (1.29%)	2 (1.38%)	0	0

(continued)

Table 5.5 (continued)

Subject	Language(s) used as MoI(s)	All (155)	Aided (145)	Gov't (4)	DSS (6)
Visual Arts	Cantonese (almost 100%)	147 (94.84%)	139 (95.86%)	4 (100%)	4 (94.84%)
	English (almost 100%)	4 (2.58%)	3 (2.07%)	0	1 (16.67%)
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	2 (1.29%)	2 (1.38%)	0	0
	Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.69%)	0	0
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	3 (1.94%)	2 (1.38%)	0	1 (16.67%)
Music	Cantonese (almost 100%)	143 (92.26%)	135 (93.1%)	4 (100%)	4 (66.67%)
	English (almost 100%)	6 (3.87%)	3 (2.07%)	0	3 (50%)
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.69%)	0	0
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	5 (3.23%)	5 (3.45%)	0	0
	Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	2 (1.29%)	2 (1.38%)	0	0
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	2 (1.29%)	2 (1.38%)	0	0
Physical Education	Cantonese (almost 100%)	149 (96.13%)	140 (96.55%)	4 (100%)	5 (83.33%)
	English (almost 100%)	4 (2.58%)	3 (2.07%)	0	1 (16.67%)
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.69%)	0	0
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	2 (1.29%)	2 (1.38%)	0	0
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.69%)	0	0
IT/Computer	Cantonese (almost 100%)	141 (90.97%)	134 (92.41%)	3 (75%)	4 (66.67%)
	English (almost 100%)	5 (3.23%)	3 (2.07%)	0	2 (33.33%)
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	8 (5.16%)	7 (4.83%)	1 (25%)	0
	Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	1 (0.65%)	1 (0.69%)	0	0
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	3 (1.94%)	3 (2.07%)	0	0

Table 5.6 shows that:

1. Four schools use mainly Cantonese supplemented by English in IT, and use Cantonese in the remaining subjects.
2. E school uses English in all other subjects.
3. F school uses Cantonese or English in GS, depending on the topics, and uses English in the remaining subjects.
4. G school uses English in all other subjects, but PE is also taught in Cantonese, subject to which language subject the teacher is teaching.
5. H school uses English in Math and GS, while the remaining subjects are mainly taught in English, supplemented by Cantonese.
6. I school uses English in Math, GS, Music and IT, Cantonese in PE, while VA is mainly taught in English, supplemented by Cantonese.
7. In J school, GS is taught either in Cantonese or English, Music is taught in Cantonese for P1–P5, while in English for P6. The remaining subjects are taught in Cantonese.
8. In K school, Music and IT are taught mainly in Cantonese, supplemented by English; while the remaining subjects are taught in Cantonese.
9. In L school, Math and Music are mainly taught in Cantonese, supplemented by English; while the remaining subjects are taught in Cantonese.
10. In M school, GS is mainly taught in Cantonese, supplemented by English and the remaining subjects in this school are taught in Cantonese.
11. N school uses Cantonese in Math and GS for P1–P5, but in English for P6 in both subjects; while the remaining subjects are taught in Cantonese.
12. O school uses Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English in Math and GS only for P6 while the remaining subjects are taught in Cantonese.
13. In P school, all other subjects are taught in Cantonese, except that Music is supplemented either by Putonghua or English.
14. Mathematics, GS, Music, VA and Computer are mainly taught in Cantonese, supplemented by English for senior grades, whereas these subjects are mainly taught in English, supplemented by Cantonese for junior grades. However, only PE is taught in Cantonese in both junior and senior grades in Q school.
15. In R school, Math and GS are taught either in Putonghua or English, Music, VA and IT are taught either in English, or mainly in Putonghua, supplemented by Cantonese, while PE is taught either in English, or mainly in Cantonese, supplemented by Putonghua.
16. In S school, Math, GS, Music, VA, PE and Computer are taught mainly in Cantonese, supplemented by English.
17. In T school, Math, GS and IT are mainly taught in Cantonese, supplemented by English or vice versa, Music is mainly taught in Putonghua, supplemented by Cantonese and only PE and VA are taught in Cantonese.

Table 5.6 The Medium of Instruction in other subjects in 20 schools

School	Medium of Instruction (MoI) in other subjects								
	CAN	Putonghua	ENG	C-P	C-E	P-C	P-E	E-C	E-P
A-D	Math, GS, VA, music, PE,				IT				
E			Math, GS, VA, music, PE, IT						
F	GS		Math, GS, VA, music, PE, IT						
G	PE		Math, GS, VA, music, PE, IT						
H			Math, GS					VA, music, PE, IT	
I	PE		Math, GS, music, IT					VA	
J	GS music (P1-P5) math, VA, PE, IT		GS music (P6)						
K	Math, GS, VA, PE,				Music, IT				
L	GS, VA, PE, IT				Math, music				
M	Math, VA, music, PE, IT				GS				
N	Math (P1-P5), GS (P1-P5), VA, music, PE, IT		Math (P6), GS (P6)						
O	Math (P1-P5), GS (P1-P5), VA, music, PE, IT				Math (P6), GS (P6)				
P	Math, GS, VA, PE, IT			Music	Music				

(continued)

Table 5.6 (continued)

School	Medium of Instruction (MoI) in other subjects								
	CAN	Putonghua	ENG	C-P	C-E	P-C	P-E	E-C	E-P
Q					Math, GS, VA, music, IT (P4–P6) PE			Math, GS, VA, music, IT (P1–P3)	
R		Math, GS	Math, GS, PE, music, VA, IT	PE		Music, VA, IT			
S					Math, GS, VA, music, PE, IT				
T	VA, PE				Math, GS, IT	Music		Math, GS, IT	

CAN Cantonese (almost 100%), *Putonghua* Putonghua (almost 100%), *ENG* English (almost 100%), *C-P* Cantonese mainly, supplemented by Putonghua, *C-E* Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English, *P-C* Putonghua mainly, supplemented by Cantonese, *P-E* Putonghua mainly, supplemented by English, *E-C* English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese, *E-P* English mainly, supplemented by Putonghua

The four government schools use Cantonese as the Medium of Instruction in all subjects other than the English Language subject. Their MoI policies show differences. Some classes in the same grade in one school use Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject, and one school uses mainly Cantonese, supplemented by English in teaching IT. As for the English Language subject, three schools allow teachers to use Cantonese subject to teaching and learning needs, while one school allows teachers to use both English and Cantonese in junior grades, but only English in senior grades. Three schools use almost 100% Putonghua in teaching the Putonghua subject, whereas one school uses mainly Putonghua, supplemented by Cantonese in this subject.

The following features can be found in the six DSS schools.

1. English is the main medium of instruction in all subjects except the Chinese Language and Putonghua subjects.
2. All these schools use Putonghua as MoI in the Chinese Language subject, but to different degrees.
3. One school does not offer the Putonghua subject, as this school uses Putonghua as MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject.
4. They use both English and Cantonese as the medium of instruction for other subjects at different grades, except that one school uses mainly English, supplemented by Cantonese in Visual Arts.

Only 3 of the 145 aided schools are EMI schools with these schools using almost 100% English in teaching the English subject and other subjects. The great majority of the aided schools are CMI schools which use almost 100% Cantonese in teaching all subjects other than the English Language subject. A small percentage of them (about 7%) reported the use of mixed code in Cantonese and English or Cantonese and Putonghua in teaching other subjects. Only one school uses almost 100% Putonghua in teaching Mathematics and General Studies. Using Putonghua as MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject is quite common in the aided schools, as 63 schools (43.45%) use almost 100% Putonghua, 8 schools (5.52%) use Putonghua in senior grades, 53 schools (36.55%) use Putonghua in some classes in the same grade whereas 22 schools (15.17%) allow code-switching in teaching this subject. Meanwhile, 50 schools (34.48%) allow code-switching between English and Cantonese in teaching the English Language subject, but 11 schools (7.59%) only allow code-switching in junior grades. In addition, seven schools (4.83%) allow code-switching between Putonghua and Cantonese in junior grades in teaching the Putonghua subject. However, the majority of 93 schools (64.14%) and 128 schools (88.28%) report they use almost 100% English and almost 100% Putonghua in teaching the English Language and Putonghua subjects respectively.

5.5 Teaching Allocation

Language subjects, Chinese and English, are the most important subjects in Hong Kong primary schools and all the surveyed schools allocate the most teaching time to these two subjects, with an average of nine periods for each subject. Sixty one schools (39.35%) allocated nine periods for the Chinese Language subject, while fifty seven schools (36.77%) allocated nine periods for the English Language subject. At the extremes, one school allocated 13 periods to the Chinese Language subject while another allocated 12 periods to the English Language subject. In some schools, the number of teaching periods allocated for some subjects differs across different grades. For example, one school allocated ten periods for the Chinese Language subject for P1–P2, while nine periods have been allocated for P3–P6. Another school has allocated five periods for Mathematics for P1–P2 and P4–P6; but six periods for P3. Table 5.7 shows the average percentage of time allocated for each Key Learning Area (KLA) of the 155 surveyed schools. When comparing the average percentage of time allocated across the three types of schools, the DSS schools allocated slightly less time to Chinese Language Education and English Language Education, and slightly more time to Science and Technology Education, Arts Education and Physical Education. The aided schools and government schools allocated similar percentage of teaching time to each KLA.

Table 5.7 The average percentage of time allocation for each KLA

Key Learning Areas (KLAs)	Average percentage of time allocation for each KLA			
	All schools (155)	Aided schools (145)	Gov't schools (4)	DSS schools (6)
Chinese Language Education	27.64%	27.69%	27.99%	26.61%
English Language Education	23.21%	23.22%	23.31%	22.81%
Mathematics Education	17.80%	17.82%	17.34%	17.57%
Science and Technology Education	15.14%	15.08%	15.29%	16.46%
Arts Education	10.79%	10.79%	10.72%	11.04%
Physical Education	5.41%	5.40%	5.36%	5.91%

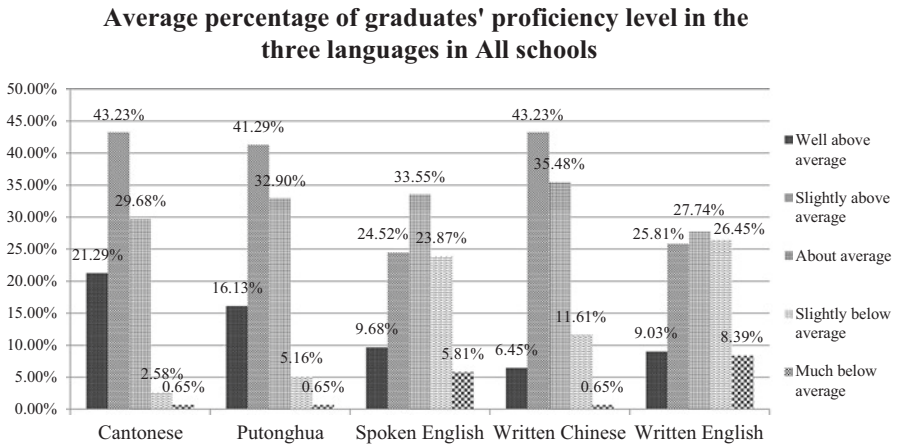


Fig. 5.3 Average percentage of graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in all schools

5.6 Graduates' Proficiency Level in the Three Languages

In the survey, when asked about the graduates' proficiency level in the three languages based on their language benchmark test results, four schools did not provide information and two further schools did not report their views on their graduates' proficiency level in Putonghua. Figure 5.3 shows the average percentage of the graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in all surveyed schools: (1) about 60% of the responding schools were confident of their graduates' proficiency level in Cantonese and Putonghua, as the schools considered that their students were well above or slightly above average when compared with other Hong Kong primary schools; (2) about 50% of the schools were quite confident of their graduates' proficiency level in written Chinese; (3) about one-third of them thought their

Average percentage of graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in Government Schools

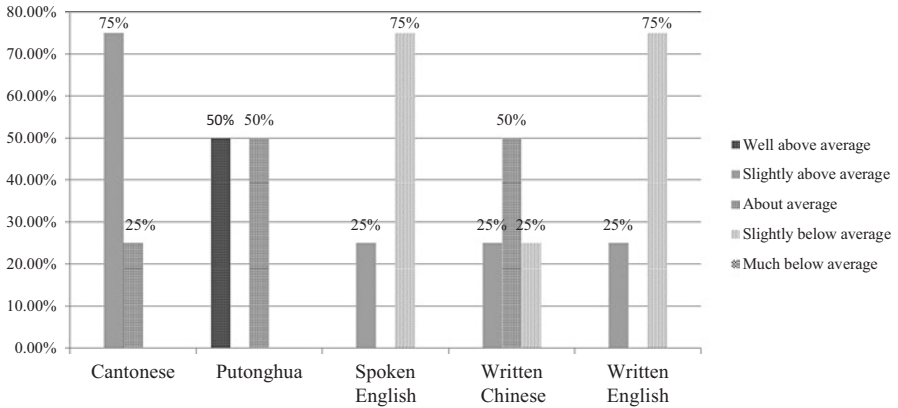


Fig. 5.4 Average percentage of graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in government schools

Average percentage of graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in Direct Subsidy Schools

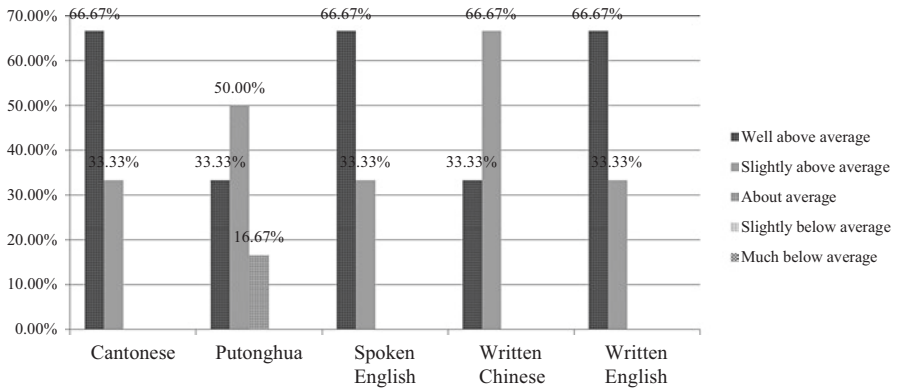


Fig. 5.5 Average percentage of graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in DSS schools

graduates' proficiency level of Spoken English and written English were about average; and (4) a further one-third thought their graduates were quite weak in both spoken and written English as their proficiency level was below average. Figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 show the average percentage of reported graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in aided schools, DSS schools and government schools respectively.

We can tell from Figs. 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 that the DSS schools are the most confident of their graduates' proficiency in the three languages with 100% listing their students' proficiency as above average for both Cantonese and English and 83.3%

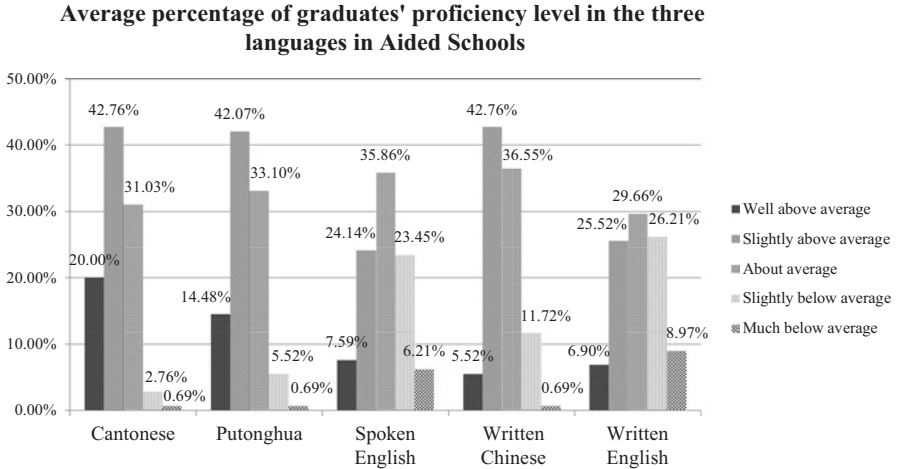


Fig. 5.6 Average percentage of graduates' proficiency level in the three languages in aided schools

for Putonghua. The perception of the graduates' proficiency level in both spoken and written English from aided schools and government schools is far less positive. First, an average of about 7% of aided schools think their graduates' proficiency level in both spoken and written English is well below average. Second, about 25% of aided schools think their graduates' proficiency level in both written and spoken English is slightly below average, while 75% of the government schools think their graduates' proficiency level in these two aspects is slightly below average.

5.7 Collaboration Between Different Subject Teachers

5.7.1 Collaboration Between Different Subject Teachers Using English as MoI

Sixty schools (38.71%) reported that there was collaboration between different teachers using English as the MoI. For example, English was used in the introduction of English terms for different subjects, e.g. Mathematics, General Studies (G.S.) and Computer Science. The Native-speaking English Language subject teacher (NET) will record the pronunciation of these terms so that students can practise these at home (the NET Scheme has been implemented in Hong Kong primary schools to enhance the teaching of English Language and increase exposure of students to English since the school year 2002/03) (Hong Kong Education Bureau n.d.). Other examples of collaboration over the use of English as an MoI include scientific topics in General Studies being explained in English, and the English Language subject teachers collaborating with the G.S. teachers while working on a "History of Hong Kong" project, Mathematics teachers providing students with

worksheets in English and explanations in English, the English Language subject teachers working with Visual Arts teachers and Computer teachers and helping students to produce English animation.

5.7.2 Collaboration Between Different Subject Teachers Using Putonghua as MoI

One-fourth of the schools reported collaboration between different subject teachers using Putonghua as the MoI. For example, the Chinese Language subject teachers and the Putonghua subject teachers collaborate to teach students the pronunciation of and reading in Putonghua, the Putonghua subject teachers assist the Chinese Language subject teachers to train the students' speaking and listening skills, students recite the Multiplier Table in Putonghua, students write scripts under the supervision of the Chinese Language subject teachers and then put on a Putonghua play. Schools also reported Putonghua song competitions, story-telling competitions in Cantonese and Putonghua, and verse speaking competitions in Cantonese and Putonghua.

5.7.3 Collaboration Between Different Subject Teachers Using Cantonese as MoI

Eighty percent of the surveyed schools agreed there was collaboration between different subject teachers using Cantonese as the MoI. For example, the Chinese Language subject teachers and the General Studies teachers work together on discussions of current affairs and write reports after visiting exhibitions, Mathematics teachers and Visual Arts teachers organise competitions on the production of three-dimensional graphics, the Chinese Language subject teachers and Visual Arts teachers collaborate to teach students Chinese calligraphy and appreciation along with a wide range of cross subject quizzes.

5.8 Reported Difficulties Encountered by the Surveyed Schools

Figure 5.7 shows the overall results of all the responding schools. More than half (53.55%) of the surveyed schools considered finding qualified and suitable teaching staff as the greatest difficulty they encountered, and they ranked students' low level of English standards the second greatest difficulty (47.1%). Curriculum design was the third greatest difficulty (38.71%). Teachers' low motivation in trilingual teaching was thought to present the smallest difficulty with a percentage of only 7.74 of schools reporting this.

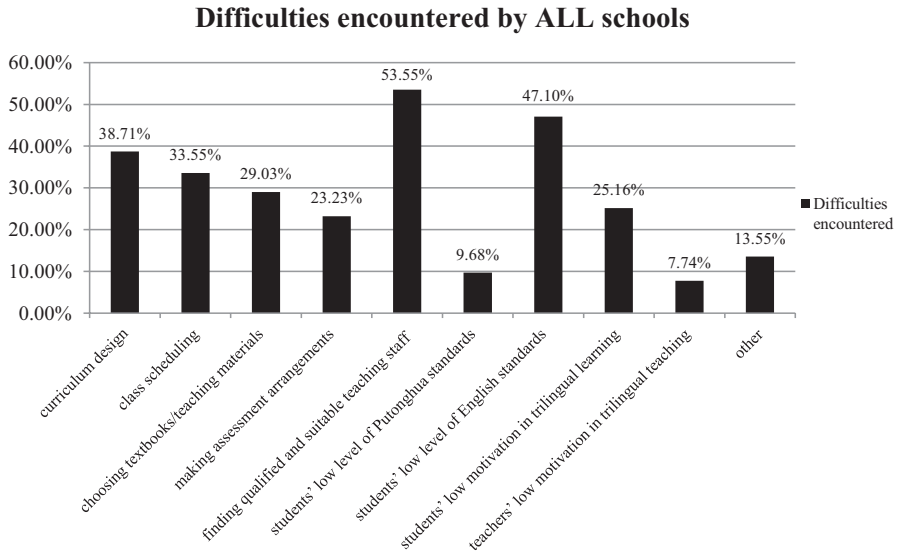


Fig. 5.7 Difficulties encountered by all schools

The two greatest difficulties (100%) encountered by government schools were finding qualified and suitable teaching staff and students' low level of English, while they found no difficulty in choosing textbook/teaching materials. DSS schools found no difficulty in four areas, namely: students' low level of Putonghua, students' low level of English, students' low motivation in trilingual learning and teachers' low motivation in trilingual teaching, whereas their greatest difficulty was class scheduling (50%). Finding qualified and suitable teaching staff was also the greatest difficulty (53.1%) faced by the aided schools, whereas teachers' low motivation in trilingual teaching (7.59%) and students' low level of Putonghua standards were the two least difficulties faced by them (Fig. 5.8).

Other difficulties suggested by the surveyed schools are as follows:

- Need extra resources for buying teaching aids, small gifts for students, reference books.
- Not all the students have the capacity for and/or are motivated in trilingual learning.
- Students may be burdened with trilingual learning as they have to make a lot of effort which is time consuming.
- Need to provide students with authentic language environments and students may not need to communicate in English or Putonghua in workplace after graduation.
- Social and family support is insufficient for trilingual learning.
- Learning diversity, especially in students' proficiency in the three languages.
- There are many students with Special Education Needs (SEN) in school who need special care.

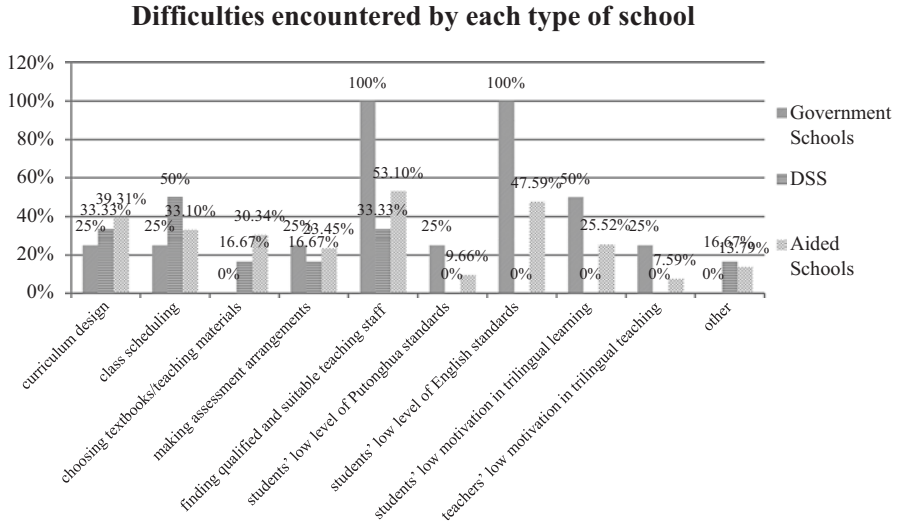


Fig. 5.8 Difficulties encountered by each type of school

5.9 Discussion

5.9.1 The Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) Schools Are Predominately EMI Schools

As mentioned above, Hong Kong primary schools traditionally use Cantonese as the medium of instruction and the survey confirms this situation as the majority of the surveyed schools (about 90%) are CMI schools. The majority used almost 100% Cantonese in teaching Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, physical Education and Computer/Information Technology. A minority, however, including the six DSS schools and three of the aided schools, used almost 100% English in teaching all the subjects, except the Chinese Language and the Putonghua subjects. The DSS schools have the freedom to admit only students of a high standard and they are allowed to charge fees. Not surprisingly critics have accused the schools of only catering for the needs of the affluent families (Yung 2006, p. 105). They attract “some of Hong Kong’s top students as well as families who have the financial means and often the desire to send their children overseas for school or university” (British Council 2007, p. 3). This can help explain why they were more confident of their graduates’ language proficiency in the survey, since most students enrolled are likely to be from high status family backgrounds and with high academic standards, as entry is competitive. The DSS schools can also adopt English as the MoI in some subjects because they enjoy more flexibility in the choice of the medium of instruction so that “they can adopt English-medium instruction on a class-by-class basis” (Chan and Tan 2008, p. 476).

5.9.2 Mixed Code in Hong Kong Primary Schools

As mentioned earlier in Chap. 2, the Education Commission Report Number Four (ECR 4) proposed by the Education Commission criticised the increasing use of mixed code in secondary schools. However, no special attention has been paid to the use of mixed code in primary schools. In our survey, the Chinese Language subject teachers in 23 schools (14.84%) switched between Cantonese and Putonghua in teaching the subject. For the English Language subject, teachers in 53 schools (34.19%) reported that they might use Cantonese in teaching English, depending on teaching and learning needs. Teachers teaching Putonghua in seven schools (4.52%) used both Putonghua and Cantonese, but only in junior grades. Among the three language subjects, a majority of the schools (87.74%) used almost 100% Putonghua in teaching the Putonghua subject, while about 50–60% used almost 100% Cantonese in teaching the Chinese Language subject, and almost 100% English in teaching the English Language subject. We are aware that the survey data may not fully reflect the reality about the use of mixed code in teaching the three languages in primary schools, given that the official policy is to avoid the use of mixed codes. We therefore carried out case studies in three schools, the results of which are reported in Chaps. 6, 7, 8 and 9.

5.9.3 Language Subjects Dominate School Curricula

The Guide to the Primary Curriculum (Curriculum Development Council 1993, p. 11) specifies that the following experiences of learning should be made available to pupils in all schools: physical, human, social, moral, linguistic, mathematical, scientific and technological and aesthetic and creative. This curriculum, in theory, orients towards the all-round development of individual students. However, in practice, both the primary and secondary school curricula are “dominated by attention to the linguistic area” (Adamson and Lai 1997, p. 234). Chinese language and English language are two of the three key subjects (the other is mathematics) in the primary and secondary curricula. They are key elements in assessment for placement in secondary education and entry to tertiary education. Table 5.8 shows the comparison between the recommended time allocation for each Key Learning Area (KLA) by the Curriculum Development Council (CDC) and the average percentage of time allocated in the 155 surveyed schools.

The 155 surveyed schools allocated the most teaching time to the Chinese language and English language, with an average of 27.64% and 23.21% respectively. There are no major differences in the time allocation for each KLA between the CDC’s recommendations and the surveyed schools, except that an average of 17.8% of teaching time was allocated to Mathematics which is 2.8% more than that recommended by the CDC (Table 5.8). However, there are schools which allocated more teaching time than recommended to Chinese Language Education and English

Table 5.8 A comparison of the time allocation for each KLA between the CDC's recommendations and the 155 surveyed schools

Key learning area	Lesson time (over 3 years)		The average percentage of time allocation for each KLA
	P1–P3 (KS 1)	P4–P6 (KS 2)	
Chinese Language Education (Chinese Language & Putonghua)	594–713 h (25–30%)	594–713 h (25–30%)	27.64
English Language Education	404–499 h (17–21%)	404–499 h (17–21%)	23.21
Mathematics Education	285–356 h (12–15%)	285–356 h (12–15%)	17.80
Science and Technology Education (G.S. & I.T.)	285–356 h (12–15%)	285–356 h (12–15%)	15.14
Arts Education (Visual Arts and Music)	238–356 h (10–15%)	238–356 h (10–15%)	10.79
Physical Education	119–190 h (5–8%)	119–190 h (5–8%)	5.41

Source: Curriculum Development Council (2002, pp. 66–67)

Language Education. Nine schools (5.81%) allocated more than 30% of teaching time to the Chinese Language Education, with the highest time allocation of 32.35%, and only ten schools (6.45%) allocated less than the recommended 25% teaching time in this KLA, with the least allocating 22.86%. As for the English Language Education, 146 schools (94.19%) allocated the most percentage of teaching time for this with the highest allocation being 27.27%, 6.27% above the CDC recommendation. The least teaching time allocated to English is 17.24% which is the basic requirement recommended. This reflects Adamson and Lai (1997, p. 240) who noted that, "...there was a strong bias in the curriculum towards languages, an allocation of nearly half of the primary timetable..."

5.9.4 *The Surveyed School Graduates' Proficiency Level in the Three Languages*

In the survey, the schools were asked to compare their graduates' proficiency level in the three languages based on the graduates' language benchmark test results before graduation with other primary schools in Hong Kong. The schools made reference to the Territory-wide System Assessment (TSA) reports and school reports when filling in this part of the survey.

Only 4 of all the 155 survey schools did not provide information for this part and this may be due to the reason that they did not want to broadcast their graduates' perceived proficiency level in the three languages to others. Apart from these four schools, two more schools did not show their graduates' proficiency level in Putonghua. In fact, it is difficult for schools to tell their graduates' proficiency level in Putonghua before graduation since the TSA provides assessment only for

speaking skills in English and Cantonese but not in Putonghua. Putonghua materials are only provided when assessing students' listening skill in Chinese. Therefore, the schools might have to guess their graduates' proficiency level in Putonghua and the Putonghua proficiency data we collected may not be reliable.

In general, the perception of the graduates' proficiency level in both spoken and written English from aided schools and government schools is not very positive, while the DSS schools are very confident of their graduates' proficiency in all the three languages.

5.9.5 Collaboration Between Different Subject Teachers Using Different Media of Instruction

Collaboration implies working together with people of varying opinions and backgrounds for the purpose of achieving a common or a shared goal. Collaboration in teaching “involves educators planning and working together in schools, working with students at all stages of schooling and across all learning areas” (ESL Team 2004) with an aim to maximise learning by reducing learner/teacher ratio to more effectively meet learner needs. Hughes and Murawski (2001, p. 196) state that collaboration is “a style for interaction, which includes dialogue, planning, shared and creative decision-making and follow-up between at least two coequal professionals with diverse expertise, in which the goal of interaction is to provide appropriate services to students”. Therefore, the interaction may include a variety of behaviours, for example, communication, information sharing, cooperation, problem solving and negotiation.

In the survey, the subject teachers using the same medium of instruction reported that they collaborated in many ways. For example, the collaboration among teachers using English as MoI included figuring out ways to help struggling students. English terms were included in Mathematics and General Studies in senior grades and the Native-speaking teacher (NET) recorded the pronunciation of the terms so that students could practise these at home.

The Chinese Language subject teachers and Putonghua subject teachers collaborated in different ways. They co-planned meetings to develop the common aims of the two subjects and to ensure that lessons were aligned across grade levels. They used their respective insights to select targets for instructional improvement, shared among themselves effective teaching strategies, reviewed students' work against standards and received regular support from one another.

Collaboration among different subject teachers using Cantonese as MoI mainly focused on cross-curricula units, lessons and projects. The Chinese Language subject teachers and the General Studies teachers arranged discussions of current affairs, Mathematics teachers and Visual Arts teachers organised competitions on the production of three-dimensional graphics, and the Chinese Language subject teachers and Visual Arts teachers collaborated to teach Chinese calligraphy and appreciation etc.

However, no evidence of formal team teaching was reported in the survey.

5.9.6 Difficulties in the Implementation of Trilingual Education Encountered by the Surveyed Schools

Darquennes (2013, p. 6) points out that it is “difficult to find teachers who are qualified to teach specific subject matter in the target language of multilingual education”. This is also the situation in Hong Kong as the greatest difficulty reported by the 155 surveyed schools when implementing trilingual education in schools was ‘finding qualified and suitable teaching staff’ (53.55%). All four government schools agreed to this. Some 50% of the surveyed aided schools and 33.33% of the DSS schools also agreed. One reason for the lack of qualified teachers may be due to the government’s language proficiency requirement requiring all the serving and new English Language subject teachers and Putonghua subject teachers to meet the language benchmark requirements such as the Language Proficiency Assessment for Teachers (LPAT).

According to the survey, the least difficulty is presented by ‘teachers’ low motivation in trilingual teaching’ (7.74%), while 47.1% of the schools considered ‘students’ low level of English standards’ as the second greatest difficulty. This seems to suggest that students’ low motivation and low language levels were to be blamed for any failure in implementing trilingual education rather than the teachers’ motivation. Again, the survey data may not fully reflect the reality, as the survey form was completed either by the principal or a representative from the school’s senior management.

The surveyed government schools and aided schools found the students’ low level of English standard to be the second greatest difficulty. However, the six DSS schools found no difficulty at all in this aspect because they have control over which students they admit and these students are believed to have higher motivation in trilingual learning.

5.10 Conclusion

It is clear from the survey that, without government guidelines, individual primary schools have adopted their own policies regarding the use of medium of instruction in teaching different subjects, even across the same type of schools, i.e., government schools, aided schools and Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) schools. The findings of this study have provided a rough picture of the current situation of trilingual education implementation in Hong Kong primary schools. Some patterns have been identified: the majority of the schools use Cantonese as the major MoI in most subjects except the English Language subject and Putonghua subject, but the DSS schools are predominately EMI schools. Many schools do not encourage code-switching in the classroom, but some allow a certain amount of code-switching, but mainly in junior grades. The language subjects dominate school curricula. The DSS schools seem to be more confident than the aided schools and government schools

regarding their graduates' proficiency level in the three languages, and the aided schools and government schools have rather low confidence in their graduates' English language proficiency (both spoken and written). Regarding Putonghua, currently the TSA only has oral assessments on English and Cantonese but not on Putonghua, and therefore it is difficult for primary schools to know their graduates' proficiency level in Putonghua. The EDB and the HKEAA should consider modifying the existing TSA or develop new mechanism so that students' proficiency of the three languages can be assessed properly. Regarding the collaboration between different subject teachers using different medium of instruction, although it is not a common practice in Hong Kong primary schools, a range of examples of collaboration have been reported by the surveyed schools, showing that efforts have been made in this area in recent years. When asked about difficulties encountered in the implementation of trilingual education, the surveyed schools found that finding qualified and suitable teaching staff was the biggest challenge. Around half of the schools also found that students' low level of English standards has hindered the implementation of trilingual education. Although the current survey covered 155 primary schools, it has its limitations, and follow-up case studies in selected primary schools are needed to answer some of the unanswered questions. For example: what is the rationale behind adopting different MoIs in teaching different subjects? Do the origins of students affect the MoI policies in schools? Are there conflicts between the school's language policies and teachers' real practices in the classroom? What is the real picture of code-switching between different languages in real classrooms? What are teachers', students' and parents' views towards trilingual education? How confident are students themselves in achieving good proficiency in the three languages when they graduate? These questions will be explored in the following four chapters through detailed analysis of three case studies.

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Chapter 6

Case Study 1: School A



As mentioned in Chap. 5, the survey of the 155 schools reported in the previous chapter has its limitations. In order to answer some of the unanswered questions, three case studies were carried out in three Hong Kong primary schools. Reports of these case studies comprise the next three chapters.

6.1 School Information

A co-educational school established in 1967, School A is located on Hong Kong Island. It was initially a CMI school in which all subjects, apart from English, were taught in Cantonese. In September 2008, the language policy regarding the use of MoI in the Chinese Language subject changed: Putonghua became the MoI for the subject. The school is unusual in that it attracts a large number of international students. In order to help the students to strengthen their biliteracy and trilingualism, the school implemented its own school-based Internationalised Curriculum (I.C.) in the academic year 2011–2012. The I.C. is based on the Hong Kong Primary Curriculum, set by the EDB Curriculum Development Institute, although the I. C. employs the use of English as the MoI in teaching all the subjects, except the Chinese Language subject.

We collected data for case study in School A during the period from January to March 2015. In the 2014–2015 school year the school operated 12 classes: four classes of P1, three classes of P2, one class of P3, two classes of P4, one class of P5 and one class of P6. Two hundred and seventy-one students were enrolled comprising 23 nationalities, including Chinese, Filipino, British, Canadian, Indian, Nepalese, American, Australian, French, Japanese, Thai, Egyptian, Indonesian, Pakistani, Cameroonian, Singaporean, Sri Lankan, Venezuelan, Spanish, Swiss, German, Dutch, and Nigerian. The largest group comprised 133 Chinese: 130 were HongKongers, 2 were Mainlanders and 1 was Taiwanese. The use of MoI in different subjects is shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Official MoI policies of the school

Subject	Language(s) used as MoI(s)	Class grade
Chinese Language	Putonghua (almost 100%)	P1-P6
English Language	English (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Mathematics	English (almost 100%)	P2-P4
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P5
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P1
	One group in English and another group in Cantonese	P6
General Studies	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P5
	English (almost 100%)	P1
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P2-P4
	Half English and half Cantonese	P6
Visual Arts	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P5-P6
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P1-P4
Music	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P5-P6
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P1-P4
Physical Education	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P5-P6
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P1-P4
Computer	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P5-P6
	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P1-P4

6.2 Results and Discussions

6.2.1 *Data Analysis of Classroom Discourse and Teachers' Reflection Forms*

We video-taped and transcribed twelve 35-minute-long lessons (see Table 6.2) so as to analyse what actually happens in different lessons taught in different MoIs. The teachers, whose lessons had been observed and video-taped, filled in the Teacher's Reflection Form.

We can see from Table 6.3 below that five teachers in School A did not code-mix in their lessons. These five teachers comprised two English Language subject teachers, one Chinese Language subject teacher (P5), one General Studies teacher (P1) and one Visual Arts teacher. The highest frequency of code-mixing took place in P6 General Studies lesson where 60.7% of Cantonese and 39.3% English were used in class. The next most frequent use of code-mixing was in the P4 Mathematics lesson where the teachers code-switched among the three languages: English (58.1%), Cantonese (38.9%) and Putonghua (3%).

Table 6.4 below shows the percentage of language(s) used by the teachers in the recorded lessons. It shows that 4 out of 12 teachers stuck to the stipulated language instruction of English in two English Language lessons (P5 & P2), one Visual Arts lesson (P4, and the teacher is an American native speaker of English) and one

Table 6.2 The information of recorded lessons

Subject	MoI	Class grade
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P1
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P6
English Language	English	P2
English Language	English	P5
Mathematics	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P4
Mathematics	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P5
General Studies	English	P1
General Studies	Half in English and half in Cantonese	P6
Visual Arts	English	P4
Music	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P2
Physical Education	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P1
Computer	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	P4

General Studies lesson (P1). The two Chinese Language subject teachers mainly used Putonghua as the MoI, while switching to limited Cantonese and English as well in P1, where there were students who are not ethnic Chinese.

The teacher teaching P1 Chinese Language subject stated in her reflection form that she had used 5% English in class. However, no such evidence was found in the video recording. The fact is that there are some students who are not ethnic Chinese in this class and she might have used English to give explanations to these students on some occasions. This same teacher (P1 Chinese Language subject using PMI) was found to have code-switched between Putonghua and Cantonese when she wanted to check the students' understanding. In another case, the student answered the teacher's question (asked in Putonghua) in Cantonese and the teacher repeated the student's answer in Cantonese as well. (Cantonese is in **bold**, explanations and translations in English are in *[bold and italics]*, students' real names have all been replaced by pseudonyms, and the Chinese names are underlined.)

Chinese Language teacher using PMI in P1: 大掃除。啊我們廣東話就說什麼啊?

S: 洗邋邋 (in Cantonese) [*clean the house*].

T: 係, 年廿八就洗邋邋, 係唔係? (in Cantonese) [*yes, on the 28th of the lunar year calendar we clean the house, right?*] OK, 我們繼續。大掃除等等。還有呢? 這個是做什麼事情呢? 小明。

T: 啊, 對, 她說收拾玩具。收拾玩具, 很好。是你們能做的事情。還有呢? 嗯, 我看一看。阿敏, 你呢?

S: 幫屋企打掃。 (in Cantonese) [*help to clean the house*]

T: 我問你自己。你能做些什麼啊? 幫屋企打掃啊? 你識做啲乜嘢啊? (in Cantonese) [*What are the things that you can do when you help cleaning the house?*] 我是問幫忙打掃房子。不是啊。再想一想好不好? 嗯... 志傑。

Code-mixing was not found in the other teacher's class who also taught P6 Chinese Language subject in Putonghua; however, she encouraged her students to report their discussion in Cantonese when they found difficulty in expressing themselves in Putonghua.

Table 6.3 Analysis of recorded lessons: turn-taking patterns

Subject (grade)	MoI	No. of turns by teacher	No. of turns by students	No. of words/ characters spoken in the lesson	No. of words/ characters spoken in other language(s)
Chinese Language (P1)	Putonghua	118	108	3914	Cantonese: 45 (1.15%)
					T: 29
					S: 16
Chinese Language (P6)	Putonghua	103	92	3032	Cantonese: 8 (0.26%)
					T: 0
					S: 8
English Language (P2)	English	142	141	1777	0
English Language (P5)	English	62	56	2406	0
Mathematics (P4)	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	72	44	3129	Cantonese: 1218 (38.9%)
					T: 1137
					S: 81
					Putonghua: 93 (3%)
					T: 89
Mathematics (P5)	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	58	24	2947	English: 296 (10%)
					T: 289
					S: 7
General Studies (P6)	Half in Cantonese and half in English	69	68	4135	Cantonese: 2511 (60.7%)
					T: 2421
					S: 90
General Studies (P1)	English	108	73	3130	0
Visual Arts (P4)	English	31	32	2008	0
Music (P2)	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	63	57	1573	Cantonese: 369 (23.46%)
					T: 354
					S: 15
PE (P1)	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	40	40	1470	Cantonese: 332 (22.59%)
					T: 332
					S: 0
Computer (P4)	English mainly, supplemented by Cantonese	39	24	802	Cantonese: 32 (3.7%)
					T: 32
					S: 0

Table 6.4 Percentage of language(s) used by teachers in the recorded lessons

Subject	Class	Teacher's MoI (%)	Teacher's MoI (%)	Teacher's MoI (%)
Chinese Language	6A	Putonghua (99%)	Cantonese (1%)	
Chinese Language	1B	Putonghua (90%)	Cantonese (5%)	English (5%)
English Language	5A	English (100%)		
English Language	2B	English (100%)		
Mathematics	5A	Cantonese (80%)	English (20%)	
Mathematics	4B	English (80%)	Cantonese (10%)	Putonghua (10%)
General Studies	6A	Cantonese (60%)	English (40%)	
General Studies	1A	English (100%)		
Computer	4B	English (80%)	Cantonese (20%)	
Visual Arts	4A	English (100%)		
PE	1D	English (80%)	Cantonese (20%)	
Music	2A	English (70%)	Cantonese (30%)	

Chinese Language teacher using PMI in P6: 好,這一組。不要緊,說吧。不懂得說我幫你。如果表達不到,可以用廣東話。好,站起來,誰?好,志傑。好,你說。大聲一點。

S: 用拳頭。

T: 用拳頭把它打死。好,你呢?給他補充一下,有沒有?有沒有補充?

S: (聽不清)

T: 啊?大聲一點。站起來。

S: 避開老虎嘅攻擊。(in Cantonese) [*to avoid being attacked by the tiger*]

Seven teachers code-switched between English (the major MoI) and Cantonese in their teaching, and one teacher code-switched among English, Cantonese, and Putonghua when teaching P4 Mathematics. The teacher switched from English to Cantonese at various points during the lesson in order to elicit a response from the learners. Below is the transcription of his lesson: (Cantonese is in **bold** and Putonghua is in *italics*, explanations and translations are in [**bold and italics**], students' real names have all been replaced by pseudonyms and the Chinese names are underlined.)

T: Good morning, class.

S: Good morning, Mr. Chung.

T: Sit down, please. I would like to give back your final exam paper. By the time you get your exam paper, come here and sit down in front of me. **陣間派到俾你嘅同學拎住你嘅試卷喺前面坐低。** [*would you sit in the front of the classroom after receiving your exam paper*] I will check the answer with you together. **我地一齊對答案。** [*We check the answers together.*] When you get your paper, sit down in the front.

[*the teacher gave his instructions first in English and then in Cantonese*]

T: OK. 好,擺到試卷嘅,開始先。 [*good, we can start as you all get the paper*] Sit down. **快啲快啲快啲。** [*be quick*] Ok. Very good. **快啲快啲,快啲坐低。好了,叮咚咚。** [*be quick, sit down, ding-dong, ding-dong*]

T: OK, please give the answer together. First one, twenty-three times eight times five, I have already told you, you can write down the answer like this way. As you know, you put the brackets... You put the brackets inside eight and five and then the answer is 920. Please check the answer carefully. Why I don't allow you to bring out your pen, because later on I will give you several minutes to write all the answers. OK? So by the time you write on, you know how to do the answer. **依家我地坐前面啦,因為我地對答案,依家有筆啦,一陣間俾時間番去改,一陣間做完呢一part之後喇,俾時間你番去改,再出來對番答案,OK?** [*Now you sit in the front as we have to check the answers. Have you got a pen? Once we have finished the first part, you have to go back to your seat and correct your mistakes.*]

- T: First part, we check the answer first. Second one, six times five. Candice. Candice. Six times five is...Six times five is thirty. So thirty times twenty is six thousand. Ah sorry, six hundred ok?
- T: And then, number three. We calculate, we get the answer, four hundred and twenty.
- T: The fourth one, six thousand six hundred and 0 four. If some of you miss the four, maybe there is some wrong with the point form. 有啲同學咧係六千六百嘅, 咁就計錯咗了。[*some of your answers are 6600, that's wrong*] Eric坐前啲。好。[*Eric, sit properly*]
- T: And then number five, twelve is the answer. Number six, so one hundred and six thousand.
- T: Number seven, the answer is twenty. Well, find a seat and sit down. We check the answer together. OK. 好, 跟住。[*ok, next*]
- T: Number eight, the answer is nine. 第八題, 九啊, 答案。[*the answer of question 8 is nine.*]
- T: Number nine, two thousand and five hundred.
- T: Number ten, thirty-five. Yes? Yes, thirty-five.
- T: Number eleven, the answer is eleven. Yes? If you find out some of the scores have problem, after class OK? 好, 跟住。[*ok, next*] Very good.
- T: Number twelve, the answer is one hundred and forty. Any problem of that?
- S: No.
- T: Please finish the part and correct it once you get back to your seat in a few minutes. Now. Three minutes after now. Go back to your seats. Please do the correction with your groupmates. Let's get all the correct answers. 啲, 同你嘅組員一起做, 我地全部都要正確答案嘅。一齊幫幫手, 自己錯嘅其他人啱嘅。[*now you work in groups to find out the correct answers of each question; try to help others to work out the answer if you got it right*]
- T: You have one more minute left. 先擺原子筆, 啱嘅先擺原子筆改好唔好? 除非你確定你嘅答案係啱嘅。好了, 快啲啊。[*use a ball pen to correct your answers unless you are sure that your answers are right. Ok, be quick.*]
- T: OK. Ten seconds.
- (Students correct the answers: 3 min)
- T: OK. Raise your hands. OK. Put down your pencil and come out. Ding-dong. Ding-dong. Come out. Come here. Shh shh. Hands on. Where am I? Candice, 望住我 [look at me]。OK good.
- T: Part 2. The multiple of six can also be divisible by two and ...?
- S: Three.
- T: Three. Ok? Because two times three, three times two, they are both equal to six. That's why the answer is three. Second one, circle the numbers that are divided by three. How can I do this question? Candice.
- S: 三乘十係等於三十。[*3 times 10 is 30*] 三乘一百就係等於三百。[*3 times 100 is 300*] 咁如果我地將兩個加埋就係三百三十。咁呢啲一定係divided by 三, 所以我地就揀三百三十。[*if we add 30 and 300, the total is 330 and it can be divided by 3 so that's why we choose 330*]
- T: Very good. Everyone, give Candice a big hand. One two. Thank you.
- T: As I say, we have learnt that how can we know the number to be divided by three? We use all the places add them together. 啲我地點知一個數被三整除嘞, 所有嘅數位都加埋, 呢一個數係三個倍數, 就可以被三整除了。[*how can we know which number can be divided by 3? You need to add all the numbers and the total needs to be the multiple of 3 then this number can be divided by 3*] All the numbers on each place add them together such as two hundred and thirty-five, two add three add five equals to ten, but ten is not the multiple of three, so it is not divisible by three. 明白嗎? 就相加, 把數位相加, 它如果是三的倍數, 就能被三整除。好了。[*understand? You add all the numbers and if the total is the multiple of 3, then it can be divided by 3*]

- T: Let's continue. Number fifteen, write down the name of the shape according to the characteristics. Exactly one pair of parallel sides. Martin, please.
- S: Trapezium.
- T: Trapezium. Ok. And then number sixteen. This one I want you to be focus on one word. Which one? Parallelogram with congruent sides. What that means? Congruent sides. May, you know that? What that means?
- S: I think congruent sides mean that it's turned in the other way.
- T: Er. Not really. Ok. Congruent sides, what that means... c-o-n-g-r-u-e-n-t sides, which means four sides are the same. This is what 四邊相等。四條邊係一模一樣嘅。 [*Congruent sides with four same sides*]
- S: Rhombus.
- T: Rhombus. Very good. What else? 除咗菱形仲有乜啊? [*any other shape other than Rhombus?*] Henry.
- S: Square.
- T: Square. 係了, 仲有係正方形。都係嘅。 [*teacher repeated the student's answer first in English and then in Cantonese*]
- T: Last one, chocolate cakes cost 12 dollars each, how much does it cost to buy 23 cakes? I ask you. What manner does it use? Division, addition, subtraction, or multiplication?
- S: Multiplication.
- T: Multiplication. So 12 times 23 you can get the answer is ...
- S: 276.
- T: 276. OK. Now let's see how many questions we left on part B. OK. Number nineteen...
- S: Eighteen.
- T: 係嘢, 十八題。十八題。 [*yes, question number eighteen*] Number eighteen, find the highest common factor of 36 and 60. OK. Anyone? Get this answer correct? Mary, try to answer.
- S: 12.
- T: 12 is the highest common factor, right?
- S: Yes.
- T: OK.
- S: Six.
- T: Six? Anyone say is six? OK. I ask you only one question. 36 divided by 12 is 3, right?
- S: Yes.
- T: 60 divided by 12 is 5. So 12 is the highest common factor. If you say six, because you are not listing all the factors of 36 and all the factors of 60. 吶, 我地做呢一題嘞, 家浩, 志傑, 你要將所有三十六嘅因數列晒出來, 六十嘅因素列晒出來。睇下邊啲係相同嘅因數, 就搵最大嘅因數。得唔得? [*when doing this question, we need to list out all the prime factors of 36 and 60, then look for the biggest one among the same prime numbers*] OK, and then let's see number 19, OK? What is the highest common factor of 13 and 9? Anyone knows? 啊, 欣琪試一試啊。 [*please try*]
- S: One.
- T: One. Highest common factor of 13 and 9. 十三同九。 [*13 and 9.*] Percy. Percy. Don't look at your paper. Look at me.
- S: One.
- T: One. Very good. Because 13 and 9 they only have one as the common factor. Because they are prime number. Do you remember? 因為佢地係質數來嘅。質數只得一同佢本身係數來嘅嘢。 [*teacher first explain in English and then in Cantonese*] 還記得嗎? 那個prime number, 之前學過質數的單元。 [*remember you have learnt the chapter on prime numbers before*]
- T: OK, now I will let you check the rest of the answers. Ok. Twenty, the answer is eight.
- T: Twenty-one you can make different of the number here. All you make sure is the zero in the end. 吶呢條題佢啱你搵幾個數字組合可以被幾整除啊, [*this question asks you to find the numbers with a zero in the unit place that can be divided by what numbers*] Eric?

- S: 可以被5同埋10整除。 [*can be divided by five or ten*]
- T: 可以被5同埋10整除。(Ding-dong. Ding-dong.) Because it is divided by five and ten, so this number must have a zero in the unit place. OK? So, if you can highlight the end of this, you will correct. 好, 跟住, 到邊一條題啦我地? [*ok, now we go to which question?*]
- S: Twenty-two.
- T: Twenty-two. This one. Not that part. What is the perimeter of the shape below?
- S: 28.
- T: 28. Very good. You just need to add them together or you add the length and the width together and times two. 吶, 我地做過好多次呢個練習。 [*We have done a lot of such practices before.*] We have already done a lot of exercises of the perimeter. You must have got the point. Length adds width and then times two, you can get the perimeter is 28. What's the unit? Did it say the unit to you?
- S: Yes.
- S: No.
- S: Yes.
- T: Ok. One more time. I ask you one more time. So we need to write up the unit?
- S: No.
- T: Why not?
- S: There is no unit in this question.
- T: Because there isn't any unit in this question. You just only write the 28. 因為佢冇寫單位嘅。你只需要寫低個數字就得嘅啦。知唔知啊? [*Because there isn't any unit in this question. You just need to write the number, understand?*]
- T: OK. 好了, 我地對埋最後兩條問題啊。 [*OK, let's check the last two questions.*] Let's check the last two questions. OK. This one. Twenty-three should be very easy. The answer is A. Because you can see, by the time you add them together, you will know they have the same units. 佢地有相同嘅單位。 [*they have the same units*] So we only compare the numbers. Ok? So A has a greater perimeter. A係有最大嘅周界。 [*A has a greater perimeter*] So the answer is A.
- T: Number twenty-four. Last one. This one is a little bit complicated. But, 睇住 [*pay attention*]. A square garden has sides that are 20 meters long. OK? So what's the perimeter of the square? 知唔知? [*do you know?*]
- S: 80.
- T: 80. Because 20 times 4, right? The perimeter is 80. Meters or centimeters?
- S: Meters.
- T: Meters. Because they say meters. And then because the fencing cause 10 dollars per meter, so we still need to times ten of the eighty and the answer is eight hundred dollars. Don't forget the dollars.
- S: Don't need.
- T: Ok. This one you don't need because it already gave to you. Be careful. 吶, 呢個佢寫咗個單位俾你嘞, 你就唔洗寫果個單位了。 [*the unit is already there so you need not write out the unit for this answer*] Understand?
- S: Yes.
- T: Three minutes. Correct the part 2.
(Students correct the answers: 3 min)
- T: Ok. David, good. Jane, good. Mark, good. Very good. Who else? Put down your pens and come here again. Sit down please. Peter, sit here. Emily, please. Angela.
- T: By the time we do the exam, we have some strategies. 吶我地做題目嘅時候咧我地有策略嘅。 [*we need some strategies when we are doing the exam questions*] We are not saying that we always focus on one question. We have to skip some of the questions. 吶我地做題目嘅時候咧有啲題目好難嘅, 你就唔好用成十分鐘、二十分鐘做緊一條題目, 跳過去啦。 [*If you see some of the questions you find very hard, don't use ten or twenty minutes answering just one question, skip them.*] If you see some of the

questions you find out very hard, difficult to calculate the answer, skip them. Don't use ten or fifteen or even twenty minutes only in one question. You should go over it. Some of the students if you don't know the answer, don't leave blanks. 有同學呢, 不會寫, 就不要把那些答案留空。怎麼也得寫一些答案上去 [in Putonghua]. [Some of the students, if you don't know the answer, don't leave blanks, try to write down whatever you know] Especially for MC. 啲果啲選擇題咧, 你唔識嘅全部寫A, 都有少少分嘅。 [For Multiple Choice questions, if you don't know the answers, just write down A, at least you can get some points] If you don't know the MC, each answer write down A, at least you can get some points. OK? So don't leave blanks. Blanks, you don't have the points

T: 好了, 25 a, [question 25a] anyone can tell me the answer? Which perimeter is the new shape of 25 a?

S: 42 cm.

T: Ah?

S: 42 cm.

T: 42 cm? 是多少啊 [in Putinghua]? [what is the answer?]

S: 四十二 [in Putonghua]. [42]

T: 四十二 [in Putonghua]. Yes, 42 cm. Very good. OK, 25b. The perimeter of this new shape is... Fiona.

S: 64.

T: 64? Or...? Ok. Is it correct? 64? Or? 64 or 64 cm?

S: 64 cm.

T: That is right. 睇住。 [pay attention] We already say, you see the unit here. By the time you write down... Tom, you know everything? Please focus. Because they say cm is the unit, by the time you write down, you must write cm. 啲記住啦, 如果題目有cm或者m嘅單位嘅, 答案就要寫埋單位, 除非佢俾咗單位你。 [you need to write down the unit cm or m as given in the question in your answer] You must write down the unit unless they don't have the units or they already have the unit written down. 這個很關鍵啊, 六十四不是正確答案, 六十四後面你要寫cm才是正確答案, 不然這丟分就不值了。知道嗎 [in Putonghua]? OK. [this is very important. You have to write 64 cm or else you will lose marks if only 64 is written down for your answer.]

T: one. OK. This one. Very funny. A lot of ducks here. Actually, if you are smart enough, they are asking you the number to be divisible by two, five or ten. It's the units. We have duck in the 4B textbook. 啲如果你咧係清楚嘅話咧, 就記得4B果本書咧, 我地講過, 可以被2、被5、被10整除嘅數, 佢考緊你呢方面嘅知識。所以呢, 做題一定要小心。 [If you are smart enough, remember the 4B textbook, they are testing your knowledge about the numbers that can be divided by two, five or ten. So you must be very careful when answering the questions.] For example, the first one, divided by two, you only need to know some of the even numbers in the...

S: Unit place.

T: Unit place right? Very good. If you see six is unit place, zero unit place, five, seven, no, they are not even number, three, not even number, five, not even number. So 66, 450, 78, 2290, they are the answer for the question one. OK? 只要你睇番個位數, 係偶數嘅, 就可以被2整除。 [you need to notice that if the single digit is an even number, it can be divided by two]

S: 乜係偶數啊? [What are even numbers?]

T: 偶數就係2、4、6、8、0。 [even numbers are 2, 4, 6, 8, 0]

S: 咁係雙數? [What about double numbers?]

T: 雙數同偶數一樣。係一樣意思。明唔明白? [they are the same as even numbers, understand?] 啲, 跟住, [ok, next] divided by five. Remember, which number can be divided by five? Tony, please.

S: 0, 5.

T: Everyone gives him a big hand. One, two, three. Yes.

- T: So if you find out the unit place is 0, 5, 0, 5, these four numbers could be divided by five. Now you know the answer of the second one. OK.
- T: The third one is a little bit difficult. 吶, 第三題有少少難。[*Question 3 is a bit difficult.*] Why?
- S: Easy.
- T: 你easy嘅同學, 你擺唔到一百分, 你唔好同我講easy. [*some students think it is easy, but you can't say so if you don't get 100 marks*]
- T: OK. Can be divided by two and five. If the number can be divided by two and five, what number should be in the unit place?
- S: They should be 925, 2290, 450 and er...
- T: OK. Sit down please. Be careful. We know that the number can be divided by two. The number. Any questions? Because here they say divided by two, second divided by five, we see the third question within the first question, you can find 450 and 2290. OK? Any question of three? 吶你搵咗第一題被二整除答案, 第二題被五整除答案, 咁你睇一睇邊啲數係重複出現嘅。第一第二題重複出現嘅答案就係第三題嘅答案。你知嘅係唔係, 淑芬? [*You found out what can be divided by two in Question 1, what can be divided by five in Question 2, then you check which numbers would appear repeatedly. The same answers that appeared in Questions 1 and 2 are the answers to Question 3. You understand, right, Shu Fen?*]
- T: 聽日嘅correction一定要改正俾我。[*You need to hand in your corrections to me tomorrow.*] Homework: sign the exam paper and the correction to me. If anyone does not know how to do the correction, come to me during lunch time.
- S: exam paper 要改正啊? [*Need we do corrections in our exam paper?*]
- T: 啊? exam paper唔洗改正啊? 咁你自己係唔係要翻去做多次啊? 你想唔想進步啊? [*why do you not need to make corrections to your exam paper? Why can't you do the questions once again? Don't you want to make improvement?*] Do you want to improve? 吶, 中文唔洗改, 數學我俾你一個要求, [*the Chinese Language subject teacher did not ask you to do the corrections but this is a requirement of Mathematics*] if you want to improve, try to do at home ok? This is not a compulsory homework. 吶, 呢個唔係必須嘅。呢個係我俾你嘅, 如果你想提高, 你就番去改正, 如果你覺得無所謂嘅, 唔緊要, 你就聽我講。[*this is what I require you to do so that you can make improvement; anyway, listen to me*]
- T: Last one, 好了, 聽住, [*ok, listen.*] last one, the number can be divisible by both 2, 5 and also can divided by...
- S: 10.
- T: 10. You see. Zero in the unit place, both could be divisible by ten. So please check your homework, check your workbook, and see whether you can find out some of the answers. OK? Please tomorrow bring it back. We are going to continue checking the rest of the part. Go back to your seat.

From the above, we can see that the Mathematics teacher used to code-mixing between English and Cantonese, and used Putonghua when he asked questions or explained the content to a student whose mother tongue was Putonghua. He stated in his reflection forms that some students could not understand English well and so he would let these students raise questions in their mother tongue, i.e., Cantonese or Putonghua. He usually would respond to these questions, using the same language of the students. This explains why he code-switched between languages, showing no resistance to code-mixing in teaching. This teacher also taught P1 PE and he code-switched as well in this lesson. For example: (Cantonese is in bold, explanations and translations are in [*bold and italics*])

PE teacher: Later, I want you to do some game. You should run inside these four corners. 係呢四個角入邊跑, 你聽到哨子聲. [When you hear the whistling sound, you have to run within the four corners.] what do you do? One leg standing, and then don't move. 而家, 聽到第一個哨聲先跑步; 第二個哨聲, 企係呢度, 單腳企係度吾好郁. [Now, you have to run when you hear the first whistling sound, then you stand on one leg and don't move when you hear the second whistling sound.] Understand?

T: Joseph, come. Today, we have learnt how to throw the green bag. Remember, where are your eyes?

S: In the front!

T: In the front, ok. For the green bag, you should throw it from the back, after the body, to the front. Ok, from the back, to the front. 今日我地學投袋, 眼睛睇住邊度啊? 望前面嘅, 望著目標, 根據丟嘅時候, 個手從後面向前面丟. [Today, we learn how to throw a bean bag. Where do you look? Your eyes need to look at the goal and when you throw the bag, your hand moves from back to front.] OK, listen. Next lesson, I will let you do more about throwing bags, you can do more about that. 下一堂課呢, 我地會做多d關於呢個嘅活動, 睇下邊一個同學做的最好. [We will do the same activity in the next lesson and see who can do the best.]

S: Yeah!

English is the main MoI of Music, supplemented by Cantonese. Code-mixing was found in the music lesson. For example:

(Teacher plays the second piece of music for 10 seconds, and students sing at the same time)

S: Sou fa mi rai dou sou do, sou fa mi rai dou sou do.

T: Very good. Now I want to test the voice whether you can sing the song properly with the proper voice. Okay, and I want you to sing and check your friend's voice, and then blend them together. Okay? 唱首歌既時候我想聽下你地既聲音, 睇吓你地既聲音係咪同我既琴聲一樣, 另外嘞你的耳朵要聽住你同學既聲音, 睇吓你既聲音同同學既係咪一樣. [When you sing I want to listen to your voice and see if your voice has the same key as the key of what I played on my piano. You should also listen to your classmates' voices, and check if your singing is the same as your classmates'] Matthew. Let's see. 識唔識唱呢首呢? [Do you know how to sing this song?]

(Teacher plays another piece of music)

T: Let me find the script voice.

The Music teacher highly recommended the use of code-mixing in teaching in her reflection form as Music is not a language subject and she thought using different languages in teaching could facilitate teaching and learning, as shown below.

Yes. Since music is not a language subject, using different languages to facilitate teaching and learning is highly recommended (written by the Music teacher in her reflection form).

The MoI of teaching P4 Computer was English but the subject teacher did use Cantonese in two situations: the teacher only translated what he said from Cantonese to English or vice versa.

Computer T: Ok. 依家就用電子書來做. [Now you can do it by ebooks]

Now you can use the e-book to do it again. Do it now. OK. Use Google Chrome. Google Chrome.

T: Go to the last page. OK. How about log off your computer? Log off. OK. Push your keyboard to the original place. OK? And fix the chair. Fix the chair. 執好啲啲嘢, 整翻我地用過啲嘢, 整翻好. [Tidy up all the things on the desk.]

In the case of the P6 General Studies lesson, the MoI used was about half Cantonese and half English. This was probably because there were 10 students who were not Chinese in class. Cantonese was used 60% while English was 40%. Moreover, this teacher liked using English as a supplement to Cantonese (as stated in her reflection form). An example of her use of code-mixing is given below:

General Studies Teacher: 自己閱讀呢篇文章,睇下你既同學仔可以收集到既資料。你地點解琴日冇做到呢個功課比我。究竟呢個功課有幾難呢?唔需要五分鐘,我諗最多係三分鐘。 [*Read this article yourselves, and check the information that your classmates have collected. Why didn't you complete this assignment yesterday? How hard is it? You don't need more than 5 minutes to complete it, I think you only need 3 minutes*] OK I will only give you three to five minutes read about the passage.

T: When you are reading, take out your pen, highlight some key words. 當你睇這篇文章既時候,係咪只係睇喇?你地既原子筆係邊度?有冇D重點可以圈起呢?

[*When you are reading this article, are you just reading it? Where is your ballpoint pen? Are there important places you can highlight?*]

中文個篇可能印的比較小,不過你應該可以睇到的。 [*the printing of the Chinese version is small but I hope you still can read it.*]

The teacher teaching P1 General Studies followed the MoI policy of this subject, using 100% English in class. However, she said she would code-mix between English and Cantonese if local students could not understand her explanations. She thought students could learn well in their mother tongue, as stated in her reflection form below:

If I find a few students who cannot follow or look puzzled when studying some topics, I will also try to use Cantonese to explain or elaborate the key points to them. I even need to use Putonghua too as there is one student speaking Putonghua.... I need to ensure the messages or knowledge can be conveyed or acquired....

In general, however, the language teachers in School A were not in favour of code-mixing in language teaching in order to provide students with a more favourable language environment for language learning. For example, the English Language subject teacher teaching P5 English language wrote in her reflection form:

As I use English all the time in my English Language lessons, I can provide a good English environment for my students to learn and practise using English. For some less able students, it is necessary to explain some challenging English terms using a certain kind of visual aids.

The P1 Chinese Language subject teacher who used Putonghua as the MoI also shared the same view with the English Language subject teacher above in her reflection form.

I mainly used Putonghua because I would like to provide students with a rich Putonghua language environment so that they can have more opportunities to listen to Putonghua.

According to the teachers' reflection, as shown in Table 6.5 below, students mostly used the major language, i.e., the major MoI used by the teachers, to interact with the teachers in the lessons. We can tell from Table 6.5 that, according to the teacher's reflection from, P2 students only used English in the English lesson while students in the P5 English lesson used 10% Cantonese when interacting with teachers, but interestingly, no such evidence was found in the recorded lesson. Perhaps the

Table 6.5 Percentage of language(s) used by students when interacting with teachers in the recorded lessons (based on teachers' reflections)

Subject	Class	Major language students used when interacting with teachers (%)	Supplementary language students used when interacting with teachers (%)
Chinese Language	6A	Putonghua (95%)	Cantonese (5%)
Chinese Language	1B	Putonghua (70%)	Cantonese (30%)
English Language	5A	English (90%)	Cantonese (10%)
English Language	2B	English (100%)	
Mathematics	5A	Cantonese (80%)	English (20%)
Mathematics	4B	English (90%)	Cantonese (10%)
General Studies	6A	Cantonese (70%)	English (30%)
General Studies	1A	English (100%)	
Computer	4B	English (60%)	Cantonese (40%)
Visual Arts	4A	English (100%)	
PE	1D	English (70%)	Cantonese (30%)
Music	2A	English (70%)	Cantonese (30%)

teacher gave the figure based on her overall impression, rather than what happened in that particular lesson. Table 6.5 shows that students in P4 Visual Arts lesson and in P1 General Studies lesson used 100% English. As for P6 General Studies lesson, students used 70% Cantonese and 30% English when interacting with the teacher as the teacher used more Cantonese than English in class. For the remaining lessons, students interacted with the teachers mainly in English, supplemented by Cantonese.

In general, the language teachers did not code-mix in their teaching in the school. This was especially so for the English Language subject teachers. They would prefer to use 100% English in English Language lessons so that they could provide a good English language environment for their students to learn and practise using English. For some less able students, the teachers would explain some challenging English terms by using a certain kind of visual aids. The Chinese Language subject teachers used mainly Putonghua with a very limited percentage of Cantonese. They shared the same view with the English Language subject teachers, hoping to provide students with a rich Putonghua language environment.

On the whole, the five teachers teaching other subjects preferred to switch from one language to another for the benefits of students. Though the P1 General Studies teacher did not code-mix in her teaching, she reported she would consider switching to Cantonese for explanation or elaboration if she found a few students who could not understand or looked puzzled on some topics. She even sometimes needed to switch to Putonghua as there were students in P1 whose mother tongue was Putonghua.

One General Studies teacher (P6) code-switched between Cantonese (60%) and English (40%). As there were students who were not ethnic Chinese in the class and could not understand Cantonese, she needed to switch to English to help them understand the content. As she noted below in her reflection form.

I code-switched between Cantonese and English as the students who are not ethnic Chinese cannot understand Cantonese well. I will only use English as a supplement to Cantonese.

The teacher who taught P4 Mathematics code-switched among English (80%), Cantonese (10%) and Putonghua (10%) because he answered students' questions with the language the students used, as not all of them could understand the abstract mathematical concepts in English. By doing so, he aimed to help those students. As he noted

Because some of the students are not familiar with English, they could use their own languages. By understanding what they want to ask and their knowledge in Mathematics, I need to answer their questions in different languages. However, I might have to spend more time in this aspect.

6.2.2 Students' Questionnaire Survey and Focus Group Interview

6.2.2.1 Questionnaire Survey

A five-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree) questionnaire survey was designed to collect students' perceptions of the trilingual education model implemented in the school. All together 71 primary 4 to primary 6 students were surveyed (P4: 34, P5: 18, P6: 19). In the questionnaire, items 4–7 are about students' perceptions of code-mixing. Figure 6.1 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results of items 4–7.

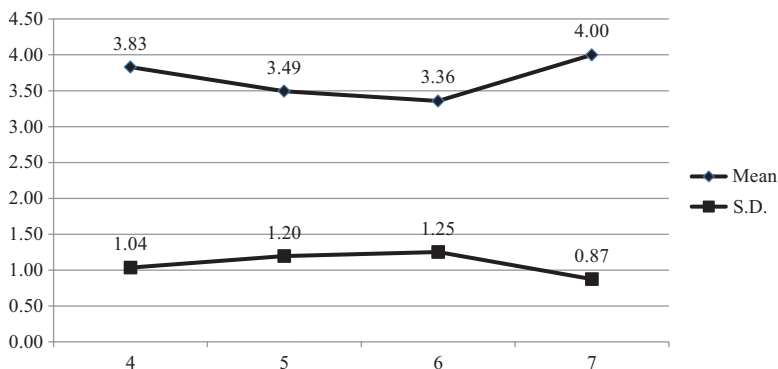


Fig. 6.1 Mean and standard deviation plot of items 4–7 of the student survey

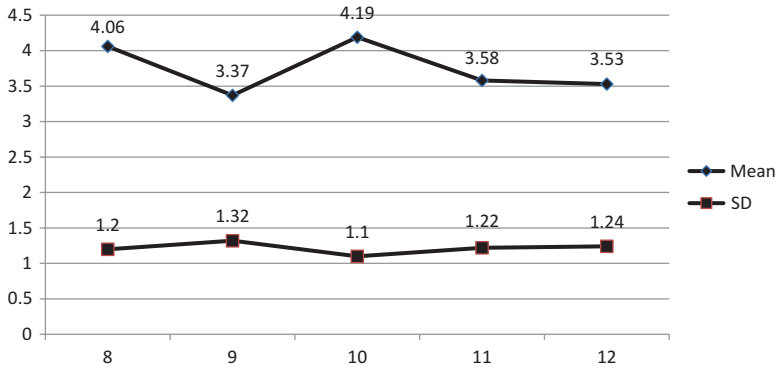


Fig. 6.2 Mean and standard deviation plot of items 8–12 of the student survey

Item 6 (I find myself code-switching/code-mixing between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly during the study of the Chinese Language subject) and item 5 (I find myself code-switching/code-mixing between English and Cantonese regularly in the study of the English subject) had the lowest means and the highest standard deviation, which means students’ opinions varied on whether they code-switch between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly in the study of the Chinese Language subject, or between English and Cantonese in the study of the English Language subject. In both cases, while around 23% of the students strongly agreed, around 7% strongly disagreed.

Students gave item 7 (I find code-switching/code-mixing in different subjects useful for my language development in general) the highest mean and the lowest standard deviation, while item 4 (I find it acceptable switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school) had the second highest mean and second lowest standard deviation. In both cases, while around 30% of the students strongly agreed, only around 2% strongly disagreed. The data imply that students are quite positive about code-mixing in language learning and they find code-mixing beneficial to their language development and studying different subjects.

In the questionnaire, items 8–12 are about students’ learning progress in the three languages. Figure 6.2 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results of items 8–12.

Students were most satisfied with their learning progress in both spoken and written English as they gave item 10 (I am satisfied with my spoken English) and item 8 (I am satisfied with my written English) the highest means and their opinions were not varied because these two items had the lowest standard deviation. Meanwhile, they were not satisfied with their learning progress in written Chinese as item 9 received the lowest mean score of 3.37. However, students’ opinions on this item were also varied as its standard deviation was 1.32, the highest among the five items. In this case, while 19.72% of the students strongly agreed, 12.68% strongly disagreed.

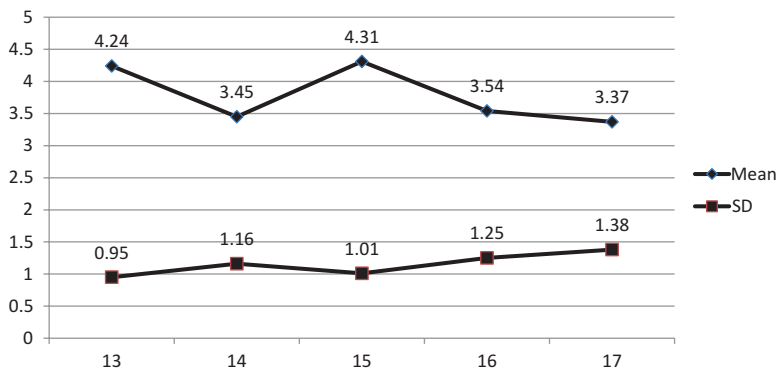


Fig. 6.3 Mean and standard deviation plot of items 13–17 of the student survey

Items 13–17 in the questionnaire are about students’ confidence in achieving good proficiency in the three languages. Figure 6.3 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results of item 13–item 17.

Students were most confident in achieving good proficiency in spoken English (item 15) and written English (item 13) when they graduated as these two items received the highest means. Meanwhile, students’ opinions were more unanimous as items 13 and 15 had the lowest standard deviation, about 50% strongly agreed while no one disagreed. However, students were least confident in achieving good proficiency in Putonghua as item 17 had the lowest mean, but their opinions were quite varied as this item had the highest standard deviation. 25.35% were strongly confident while 11.27% were least confident.

6.2.2.2 Focus Group Interview

A focus group interview with eleven P4-P6 students was conducted in the school. In this study, the researcher’s interest was to collect the students’ views on the trilingual education model implemented in the school, their perceptions of code-mixing in learning and their views on using Putonghua in the teaching of the Chinese Language subject. The interviewees are of different nationalities, comprising: three Chinese (two Hongkongers and one Taiwanese), one Canadian, one African, one Nepalese, one Indian, one Thai and three Filipinos. During the interview, they sometimes used mixed code (their mother tongue and Cantonese) when answering the questions. One P6 African and one P4 Filipino interviewees claimed they liked to use mixed code only when talking to local students as this is easier for them to express themselves, for example:

“你有冇(in Cantonese) finish your homework?” (“Have you finished your homework?”)
 “我爸爸(in Putonghua) is good.” (“My father is good.”)

However, these two interviewees did not find it acceptable to switch from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school. In fact, they

preferred the teachers to use Putonghua only in teaching the Chinese Language subject. One of them said, “I don’t prefer our teachers to code-switch between Putonghua and English in the study of the Chinese Language subject because I want to learn more Chinese so that I can understand people when they speak in Putonghua”.

The two P5 interviewees are Filipinos and half of their classmates are local students. Most of the subjects are taught in Cantonese. They said that they did not always understand the teachers as they always taught in Cantonese and pointed out that they could understand better if the teachers explained the content in English. In this case, both of them preferred the teachers to code-mix between Cantonese and English in studying different subjects, especially in Mathematics.

One of them said, “Mathematics is taught in Cantonese and I do not always understand the teacher. I wish he could explain the difficult parts in English!”

The other one added, “I can learn and understand more Chinese words if the teacher code-switches between Putonghua and English in the studying of the Chinese Language subject and I can remember the words better.”

Non-Chinese students would prefer to ask questions in English when they encountered difficulties in different subjects. One of them said, “The teachers allow us to ask questions in English in class whenever we encounter difficulties in learning”. Another claimed, “When we ask questions in English, the teachers will show us how to say it in Cantonese/Putonghua and we are encouraged to repeat it in Cantonese/Putonghua”.

The evidence shows that, to a certain extent, students find it acceptable switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school. Moreover, they find code-mixing in different subjects useful for their language development in general.

Students from School A enjoyed the trilingual education model implemented in the school. One Hongkonger said, “I like trilingual education because I want to learn more languages”. The non-Chinese students showed their willingness to learn more languages, especially Cantonese, so that they can communicate with local people. A P6 student from Africa said, “I like learning the three languages because it will be more convenient for me to order food in a restaurant either in Cantonese or in Putonghua”. A P4 Filipino said, “If I learn Cantonese, I can help my mom to translate when buying things in the market”. Another Filipino student remarked, “In the past, I could not understand even one word in Cantonese, but now I am happy that I can understand more and more words in Cantonese”.

Students from School A were most satisfied with their progress in the study of written English and spoken English, while they were not very satisfied with their progress in the study of Putonghua. A P4 Filipino said, “I am most satisfied with my progress in the study of English and I am trying to learn more Cantonese and Putonghua”. Nine out of eleven interviewees in School A showed that they were not satisfied with their progress in the study of Putonghua. A P4 Canadian pointed out, “I can’t speak in Putonghua, but only know how to count the numbers in Putonghua”.

The one student who was satisfied with her progress in the study of Putonghua comes from Taiwan, and Putonghua is her mother tongue.

Students from School A were most confident in achieving good proficiency in both spoken and written English on graduation. A P4 interviewee said, “Both my spoken and written English can be enhanced when I complete P6 because we have a good English-language environment in school”. Students in this school were not very confident in achieving good proficiency in Putonghua. A student said, “My Putonghua is bad. I lose my confidence in it and I don’t think I can make progress in Putonghua when I graduate next year”.

Regarding the issue on using Putonghua as the MoI in the Chinese Language subject, three local students disagreed with the policy and they would prefer to use their mother tongue in learning the Chinese Language subject. As for the non-local students, they were neutral and stated that the Pinyin of the words made it easier for them to learn Putonghua, especially in speaking.

A non-local student said, “It’s easier to speak in Putonghua than writing in Chinese. The teacher teaches me a lot of words in Putonghua but I find it difficult to write the Chinese characters”.

6.2.3 Interviews

Below we discuss the individual interviews with the principal, the teaching staff and parents, regarding their views on the trilingual education model implemented in the school, the use of code-mixing in teaching and using Putonghua in teaching the Chinese Language subject. Apart from the school principal, we had interviewed ten teaching staff, including eight subject panels (Chinese, English, Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, PE and Computer) and two subject teachers, teachers of the Chinese Language subject and the English Language subject respectively. In addition, ten parents were interviewed and we report their views first.

6.2.3.1 Parents

Ten female parents were individually interviewed: five were locals, three came from the Mainland, and one each from the Philippines and Australia. Each interview lasted about 20–30 min. The focus of the interview was to understand the parents’ perceptions of the trilingual education model implemented in the school and their views on using Putonghua as the MoI of the Chinese Language subject.

The local parents had an understanding of trilingual education policy in school and its goals and three agreed that the trilingual education model in the school was an attractive feature when choosing the present primary school for their children, while the other two had different reasons for choosing the school. The latter two chose the present school because of the small-class teaching and because of family connections. As one of them said, “I chose this school for two reasons. First, this is the alumni school of my husband and second, it is close to our home”. “Not really

because at that time there was no trilingual education. It's because of its small class teaching that I chose this school" reported another parent. The three parents from the Mainland chose the present school because Putonghua is used as the MoI in the study of the Chinese Language subject while the two parents from other countries chose the school because English is the major language used in teaching and because the school was introduced to them by their friends. In general, the local parents and those from the Mainland were happy to see that English was the major language used in school as they all wanted their children to have good proficiency in English. The local parents and those from the Mainland thought the school provided the students with a rich language environment, especially with the many students who were not ethnic Chinese in the school. They noted that their children were eager to communicate with these students in English and as a result their language proficiency in English had been enhanced. One parent said, "My son is now brave enough to speak in English with the students who are not ethnic Chinese. He now understands what the teachers teach in class. His speaking and listening skills in English are improving. His English proficiency will be enhanced because the school provides students with a rich English-language environment".

Eight parents (the locals and those from the Mainland) were also supportive of using PMI in the study of the Chinese Language subject as they all agreed that Putonghua is becoming more and more important in the world, and they felt that, with the use of Putonghua as the MoI in the Chinese Language subject, the students' writing skill in Chinese can be enhanced. "The advantage of using PMI in the study of the Chinese Language subject is that students can write down what they say", said one parent. Another said, "I support PMI because it is not good to have colloquial in writing". The two parents from overseas were neutral about this policy. The parents from the Mainland found that their children could catch up with Cantonese and English very easily. In contrast, the parents from overseas found that it was difficult for their children to learn Cantonese and Putonghua, especially written Chinese. They all agreed that small children could learn other languages in the early years of school, especially the more able students.

P1: I think students can learn other languages as soon as possible. You see there are many students who are not ethnic Chinese in this school and many parents want their children to learn English, which is a very important language.

P2: Students can learn other languages as early as possible and, of course, this depends very much on the students' abilities and able children can learn languages easily.

6.2.3.2 Teachers

From the interviews, we find that the language teachers, especially the English Language subject teachers were not in favour of using code-mixing in language teaching. They all wanted to develop a rich language environment in the classrooms as most students did not always have exposure to the language in daily life. To be exemplars themselves, both the English Language subject teachers and Putonghua subject teachers insisted on using the respective languages not only inside but also outside the classrooms when communicating with their students. Students were not

encouraged to code-mix in language learning. For example, the English panel chair said, “Students sometimes code-switch. I would encourage them not to code-switch. If they find it difficult to express their ideas, I will help them, encouraging them to express in English.... I strongly believe that they should treasure the chance to speak English in the lesson.” The Chinese Language subject teachers in School A did not have as firm a stand as the English Language subject teachers on the issue of code-mixing, especially the one who used Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the subject. She stated, “Students are diverse in learning abilities, I will allow the low achievers to ask and answer questions in Cantonese”.

The teachers teaching other subjects did not strictly follow the MoI policy. They would code-mix in their teaching and even allowed their students to code-mix in class. The Computer teacher expressed his view in the interview as below:

Interviewer: Your school uses mainly English, supplemented by Cantonese to teach Computer for P1-P4, would you allow P1-P4 students to ask questions in Cantonese during the lessons?

Computer teacher: I would allow because this shows that they know what is taught in Computer lessons, showing that they are participating in my lesson as well. I encourage students to answer my question in Cantonese if I ask in Cantonese, whereas they will answer my question in English if I ask in English. However, I know some students could not express the ideas in their second language, so I will help them translate.

When asking the views of Chinese Language subject teachers on using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject, the teachers, including the subject panel, did not agree that using PMI could enhance student writing skills in Chinese and they pointed out that students could enhance their writing skills by reading more books. They believed students could learn better in their mother tongue.

Interviewer: What are the advantages of using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject?

The Chinese Language subject panel: Not many advantages. I think that Putonghua should be a separate subject. Students could absorb the concepts better if they are immersed in the Cantonese environment. Students could read more books to write better, so Putonghua isn't helping a lot.

Another Chinese Language subject teacher: Not much. Using Cantonese is better because students are living in a Cantonese environment and they can understand better the content and can write more easily in mother tongue. It would be rather difficult for low achievers to use Putonghua in writing as they have to first think in Cantonese and then express in Putonghua. Maybe, Putonghua can help them to apply for jobs in the future.

Regarding the trilingual education model implemented in the school, the teacher interviewees supported it: Both English and Chinese are used as the major languages for communications in the school and apart from using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject, English is used as the MoI for teaching other subjects. However, two interviewees pointed out that students could learn better in mother tongue and one even said that students' interests in learning could be aroused by mother tongue (Cantonese for local students).

Interviewee: VA is a subject which includes a lot of pictures and shapes, so our mission is to arouse the interests of students rather than focusing on the language used. Using mother tongue as MOI is better to arouse interests.

6.2.3.3 Principal

The principal of School A was eager to promote trilingual education in the school. Under his leadership and together with the efforts of the teachers, they launched the school-based Internationalised Curriculum (IC) in 2011, with an aim to nurture the students to be World Citizens who can develop themselves fully.

Principal: The base of this is language proficiency. Students will be successful in life if they have excellent language proficiencies in Cantonese, English and Putonghua. This is the basic requirement for becoming a talent in the world.

He supported the language policy laid down by the Sponsoring Body, believing that using PMI not only can enhance students' writing skill but also help students further their studies or develop future careers in Mainland. He pointed out that students should start learning Putonghua, which is a global language, as early as possible.

Interviewer: Do you know why the Catholic Diocese of HK adopts Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject?

Principal: It is because of the trend in HK after 1997 and it is worthy for using PMI. Using PMI can help students in furthering studies or developing future careers in Mainland. It also can enhance students' writing skills.

Regarding the issue of code-mixing, the principal showed his disapproval as he believed that students could learn a language effectively without switching or mixing with other languages.

Interviewer: Is Cantonese allowed when teaching the Chinese Language subject in Putonghua?

Principal: Teachers should avoid doing so. But one or few sentences are allowed if the young students cannot understand at all. In senior grades, 100% Putonghua should be used. For example, if the English Language subject teachers are trying to explain the content in Cantonese, and this may bring an effect that the students would not listen to the teachers when they are using English because they know the teachers would explain in Cantonese right away. Students will become dependent on the Chinese explanation. This applies the same when they learn Chinese in Putonghua. Then they will dare not to memorise the meanings of the words. Students cannot learn if they are too dependent. We do not encourage code-switching but teachers may make their own judgment.

Some have a view that students should use the mother tongue in the early years of education and may start learning the second language in later years. The principal in School A did not totally agree to this. Apart from thinking students should learn Putonghua as early as possible, he believed that students with language capacity could start learning two to three languages at the same time in the early years of schooling.

Principal: Whether students can master the two languages depends on how often they use the languages. They may master both languages well if they are given equal chance of using

these two languages. If they tend to use one language more than the other, they can master well only that language. I think small children can learn more than one language which is not bad.... This depends very much on their learning capacity. If they have the learning capacity and when they are talented with language, they can learn them and switch from one language to another.

6.2.4 Ethnographic Field Research Data Analysis

Ethnographic studies support a qualitative approach, embracing extended participant observation periods and ethnographic interviews (Christensen 2011; Creswell 2013), while researchers explore and elucidate the meaning of values, behaviours, thought processes, customs, the interactions of members, and the communal language in a shared culture (Harris 1968).

In this case study, the project research assistant who acted as an ethnographer observed how the three languages were used in two events on campus and one event outside campus. They were: the school Morning Assembly on 3 February, 2015 from 8:00 to 8:30 a.m., the Prize-giving Ceremony and the 2nd Annual General Meeting of the 8th Parents-teacher Association held on 14 February, 2015 from 9:45 am to 12 noon and the school's 14th Parent-Child Sports Day held in the Aberdeen Sports Ground on 19 March, 2015 from 9:30 am to 4:30 pm.

6.2.4.1 Signs Around Campus

On entering the school, you can see posters, banners, display boards and signs everywhere with words both in English and Chinese. For example, there are slogans written both in English and Chinese "Let's behave ourselves 守紀自律 由我做起", "Keep left when we walk up and down 上落樓梯應靠左" on the bulletin board on the wall along the staircase. There were Bible verses, written both in English and Chinese as well, on the corridor walls, like 'Jesus said, "I'm the light of the world." (John 8:12) 耶穌說:「我是世界的光。」(若8:12)'; 'Jesus said, "I am the way and the truth and the life." (John14:6) 耶穌說:「我是道路、真理、生命。」(若14:6)'. The slogan on the display board in the playground to publicise a charity activity for the Community Chest (香港公益金) was also written in both English and Chinese "Green for charity – charity Flower Sale 環保為公益 慈善花卉義賣". Another example found on the bulletin board is "Math is fun 趣味數學題". Apart from English and Chinese, Putonghua pinyin was sometimes included on the signs outside certain rooms, for example "Student Guidance Personnel Office 學生輔導員辦公室 Xué shēng fǔ dǎo yuán bàn gōng shì", Supervisor Office 校監室 Xiào jiān shì. In some display boards, only Cantonese and Putonghua pinyin were found: 我是中國娃,愛說普通話。 Wǒ shì Zhōng guó wá ài shuō pǔ tōng huà 說普通話由我做起。 Shuō pǔ tōng huà yóu wǒ zuò qǐ



6.2.4.2 Morning Assembly

The school has Morning Assembly in which English is used for two mornings, Cantonese is used for two mornings and Putonghua is used for one morning. The ethnographer attended one Morning Assembly when Putonghua was used in early February 2015. As Chinese New Year was approaching, the morning assembly commenced with singing a Chinese New Year song first in Putonghua and then in English. While singing, the projector projected the words of the song in Chinese and English respectively on the screen so that the whole school could follow singing the song. The morning greetings to the principal, the teachers and the students were then made in English and Putonghua by the MC (a female teacher). This was followed by saying the Lord Prayer (天主經) in Putonghua. Next was the sharing session in which two ‘Twenty-four Filial Piety Stories’ were shared by two P4 students in Putonghua with screen projection. Before the story was told, a teacher used Putonghua to teach the students how to read the title of the story. After the sharing session, it came to the announcements made by the MC, first in Cantonese and then in English. After the announcement, the MC directed the students to go to their classrooms in English.

6.2.4.3 The Prize-Giving Ceremony and the Second Annual General Meeting of the Eighth Parents-Teacher Association

One of the authors participated in the event on 14 February 2015 from 9:45 am to 12 noon. The three languages: English, Cantonese and Putonghua were used throughout the PTA annual general meeting and the prize-giving ceremony. The programme book of the meeting was published in Chinese. Before the commencement of the Meeting, a teacher mainly used English, supplemented by Cantonese to give instructions to the participants (teachers, parents, students and guests) where to be seated and to the prize winners when to be ready to go on stage for receiving the prizes. Soon the Mistress of Ceremony (one of the PTA Committee members) declared the ceremony open and asked the participants to switch off the mobile

phones, first in Cantonese and then in English. During the process, there were two MCs: one of them used Cantonese, followed by the other one who used English. The ceremony commenced with saying a prayer in English. After the prayer, the principal made the welcoming speech in English, followed by a speech by the Guest of Honour from the EDB, which was given first in English and then in Cantonese. Next, it was the Annual Report made by the PTA Chairman (a male parent), mostly in English; he only used Cantonese to introduce a Chinese proverb in his speech. On the screen, the powerpoint slides of the Annual Report were bilingual. This was followed by the Financial Report made by the PTA Treasurer (a male parent). He first gave an introduction in Cantonese and then in English. When reporting, he first used English and then switched to Cantonese sentence by sentence. The next session was prize-giving, which was divided into two parts: Academic and Activities. In the first part, two parent MCs used Cantonese or English to call out the names of the academic prize winners, depending on their nationalities. The MCs used Putonghua or English to call out the names of the activity prize winners in the second part, depending on their nationalities. If the student was Chinese, Putonghua was used while English was used for foreign students. The ceremony ended with student performance. The first MC used Putonghua and then the second used English to introduce the performance. At the end of the ceremony, a teacher came up on stage and gave instructions to the participants before they left the school hall. In this event, the signs showing where the AGM of PTA was held were in both English and Chinese: The second Annual General Meeting of the Eighth Parents-teacher Association 第八屆家長教師會第二次會員大會 Please go to the hall (1/F) 請到禮堂(一樓).

6.2.4.4 Fourteenth Parent-Child Sports Day

The event was held at the Aberdeen Sports Ground on 19 March, 2015 from 9:30 am to 4:30 pm. The ethnographer observed the event from 2:00 pm to 4:30 pm. The programme book of the event was published in both English and Chinese. All the announcements were made in both Cantonese and English. During the Prize Presentation Ceremony at the end of the event, the MC (a female teacher) first used Cantonese and then switched to English in her speech, including the prize presentation and acknowledgements. However, the speech delivered by the guest of honour was solely in English. Putonghua was not used.

6.2.4.5 Concluding Remark

The ethnographic study in School A shows that trilingualism has been adopted in the school as Cantonese, English and Putonghua are used in communications. In addition, the three languages are used in a wide range of school functions.

We now turn to the second case study school.

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Chapter 7

Case Study 2: School B



7.1 School Information

School B, another co-educational school, is the first through-train mode whole day primary school in Tung Chung, the New Territories. It was set up in September 2000. Since its establishment, Putonghua was used as the MoI in the teaching of the Chinese Language subject until September 2008. Seeing the ineffectiveness of using PMI in the teaching of the Chinese Language subject, the school decided to replace Putonghua by Cantonese as its MoI. English is only used as the MoI in teaching the English Language subject whereas Cantonese is the MoI for teaching other subjects: Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education and Computer Science.

67.4% of students in School B are local Hongkongers, 6.8% of them come from Mainland China, 21.8% of them come from South Asia and 4% of them come from other areas like Japan, the Philippines, the U.S.A., and Britain.

During the period from 14 April to 23 April 2015, we collected data for the case study at the school. The official MoI policies of the school are shown in Table 7.1. In the study, we find that English is the MoI, supplemented by Cantonese, for P1-P3 Mathematics and English textbooks are used, whereas P4-P6 Mathematics uses Chinese textbooks, taught mainly in Cantonese, supplemented by English. The subject General Studies is offered only for P3-P6 students and is taught mainly in Cantonese, supplemented by English. But for P3 General Studies, students have one lesson in Science in a week which is taught mainly in English, supplemented by Cantonese, and its textbook is in English.

Table 7.1 Official MoI policies of the school

Subject	Language(s) used as MoI(s)	Class Grade
Chinese Language	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
English Language	English (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Putonghua	Putonghua (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Mathematics	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P2 P4-P6
	Cantonese mainly, supplemented by English	P3
General Studies	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Visual Arts	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Music	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Physical Education	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Computer	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6

Table 7.2 The information of recorded lessons in School B

Subject	MoI	Class grade
Chinese Language	Cantonese	P3
English Language	English	P1
English Language	English	P5
Putonghua	Putonghua	P2
Mathematics	Mainly in Cantonese and supplemented by English	P3
Mathematics	Cantonese	P6
General Studies	Cantonese	P5
Visual Arts	Cantonese	P4
Music	Mainly in Cantonese and supplemented by English	P2
Physical Education	Cantonese	P6
Computer	Cantonese	P6

7.2 Results and Discussions

7.2.1 *Data Analysis of Classroom Discourse and Teachers' Reflection Forms*

Eleven 35-minute-long lessons (see Table 7.2) were video-taped and transcribed in order to analyse what actually happens in different lessons taught in different MoIs. The teachers, whose lessons had been observed and video-taped, filled in the Teacher's Reflection Form.

Table 7.3 shows the amount of code-mixing of the recorded lessons in the school. No code-mixing took place in the P3 Chinese Language lesson, the P5 English Language lesson, the P1 English Language lesson, the P5 General Studies lesson and the P6 PE lesson. However, four teachers (P2 Putonghua, P6 Mathematics, P6

Table 7.3 Analysis of code-mixing of the recorded lessons in School B

Subject (grade)	MoI	No. of turns by teacher	No. of turns by students	No. of words/ characters spoken in the lesson	No. of words/ characters spoken in other language(s)
Chinese Language (P3)	Cantonese	111	109	4924	0
English Language (P1)	English	142	143	2611	Cantonese
					T: 0
					S: 4 (0.15%)
English Language (P5)	English	43	37	1320	0
Putonghua (P2)	Putonghua	93	88	5263	English
					T: 7 (0.01%)
					S: 0
Mathematics (P3)	Mainly in Cantonese and supplemented by English	89	87	3225	English: 122 (3.7%)
					T: 107 (87.7%)
					S: 15 (12.3%)
Mathematics (P6)	Cantonese	90	88	4433	English
					T: 5 (0.11%)
					S: 0
General Studies (P5)	Cantonese	72	75	3814	0
Visual Arts (P4)	Cantonese	84	83	4174	English: 154 (3.6%)
					T: 103 (66.88%)
					S: 51 (33.12%)
Music (P2)	Mainly in Cantonese and supplemented by English	42	41	3234	English
					T: 14 (0.43%)
					S: 0
PE (P6)	Cantonese	13	13	2273	0
Computer (P6)	Cantonese	35	22	2159	English
					T: 19 (0.88%)
					S: 0

Computer and P4 Visual Arts) code-switched between Cantonese/Putonghua and English, with a very low percentage of English being used. In the P4 Visual Arts lessons (MoI: Cantonese), students also code-switched between Cantonese and English.

As shown in Table 7.4, four teachers in the school reported that they code-switched between Cantonese and English or between Putonghua and English in their teaching, including P4 Visual Arts, P2 Putonghua, P3 Mathematics and P6 Computer. However, there is a discrepancy in the video recording of P6 Mathematics lesson (MoI: Cantonese). According to the video recording of this lesson, the teacher

Table 7.4 Percentage of language(s) used by teachers in the recorded lessons (based on teachers' reflection)

Subject	Class	Teacher's MoI (%)	Teacher's MoI (%)
Chinese Language	3	Cantonese (95%)	English (5%) ^a
English Language	1	English (100%)	
English Language	5	English (100%)	
Putonghua	2	Putonghua (99%)	English (1%)
Mathematics	6	Cantonese (100%)	
Mathematics	3	Cantonese (95%)	English (5%)
General Studies	5	Cantonese (100%)	
Visual Arts	4	Cantonese (80%)	English (20%)
Music	2	Cantonese (100%)	
PE	6	Cantonese (100%)	
Computer	6	Cantonese (100%)	

^aRemark: In the video, the teacher used 100% Cantonese in class

code-switched in her teaching, using 0.11% of English (Table 7.3), for example, instead of saying 距離 in Cantonese, she said 'distance' in English as illustrated below. However no English use was reported in her reflection form.

Mathematics Teacher in P6: 嘩, 好, 你幫我睇下, 如果我真係要問你個速率係幾多, 你會點答呢? 我唔問你較快較慢啦, 我問你小英嘅速率是多少, 泳婷嘅平均速率是多少? 你應該計得到比我睇哦。大家距離都係四十, 時間唔同。咁所以.....distance, distance 都係四十, 時間唔同, 距離小英、泳婷都係四十, 距離除以時間, 知道.....

Table 7.4 also shows that four teachers in the school code-switched between Cantonese/Putonghua and English in the P3 Chinese Language lesson, the P2 Putonghua lesson, the P3 Mathematics lesson and the P4 Visual Arts lesson respectively. The teacher teaching the P3 Chinese Language subject stated that she had used 5% English in class as there are some students who are not ethnic Chinese; however, according to the video recording, she used 100% Cantonese in teaching. The P6 Computer teacher stated that she used 100% Cantonese in class. However, she was found using a little English in the video recording as she sometimes used code-mixing. For example, she said 'mouse' in English instead of saying 滑鼠 in Cantonese, and 'file' instead of 文件. In some cases, she could not avoid using code-mixing because when she introduced some software to students, she used to use the English terms, like 'Scratch' and 'Square' etc.

Computer Teacher: 認識Scratch的抽象概念。Scratch嘅抽象概念是由四個區域組成, 分別.....

T: 佢嘅位置, 係(0,0)。位置係,(0,0)。咁如果呢邊嘅位置, 有點呢? 我唔講啦。

咁你試下呢, 用下個電腦。你試下mouse不同嘅位置呢, 呢D數字會有點樣嘅變化呢? 哪, 比你睇埋哦, 呢個係X, 零, Y係一百萬。呢度係難哦, 呢度, X, 係零, Y係負一百八十。咁呢滴又係咩嚟噃, 老師? 咩意思呢? 今堂就唔講啦。咁做一個重點啊, 第一, 簡單知道了哈, Square係一個免費嘅軟件, 佢可以再咩啊?

The MoI of P4 Visual Arts is Cantonese, however, the teacher code-switched between Cantonese and English (3.6%) as there are students who are not ethnic Chinese in class. She sometimes repeated her questions in both languages and let

her students answer her questions in their mother tongue. She also used English terms for the country names like China and Egypt etc. for convenience. Below is the transcription of her lesson:

(English is in bold, students' real names have all been replaced by pseudonyms, and the Chinese names are underlined.)

- T: 咁呢,先同我地嘅新同學講早晨,好起身。後面呢有一個黃老師,先同黃老師講早晨。
- S: 黃老師早晨。
- T: 咁呢,我地今日呢,會介紹一款新的作品比你睇啊。呢個題目係咩呀?
- S: 動物古銅碟裝飾。
- T: 岩啦,同學都識的。呢個係一塊古銅係咪?估唔估到係咩嚟嚟?**Can you guess?**
- S:
- T: **What is it?** 中文你估唔估到係咩嚟嚟?加埋係一起,你估唔估到呢個係咩嚟嚟?大概係咩嚟嚟?係.....志傑。
- S: 係一個圓箱類似的,有動物圖案。
- T: 恩,有動物圖案,見到裝飾嘅動物圖案,好像有地,咩哇.....好小明。
- S: 有動物植物.....
- T: 有動物植物。咁,呢個片裡面,我們可以睇到動物嘅圖案,仲有呢?
- S:
- T: 碟上面印著一個動物或植物的圖案,岩塞。好,又多五十percent 啦,但係,仲有一個,你地可能係唔知,因為影像入邊睇唔到。我唔知同學估唔估到。呢個呢,係其中一個藝術嘅形式嚟嚟。睇前面。我唔知你有冇去旅行呢,去Egypt,或者中國一地嘅古墓裡面呢,唔知你地有冇見過。Egypt啦,China啦,係咩嚟嚟?大偉,試下。
- S: 哎.....哎.....一個徽章。
- T: 係一個徽章入邊,點解係徽章呢?地圖案。比你望下,可能後面呢,俾多滴文字,可以容易理解小小。古銅碟呢,其實上邊呢,教大家第一樣嘢,浮雕嘅藝術。浮雕,可唔可以想到一地嘢出現?我覺得你見過浮雕藝術嘅,地你地生活入邊有冇,我地去travel的時候,可能,係咩地方可以見到,有地浮雕嘅藝術。依渣。
- S: 博物館。
- T: 好啦,博物館。博物館呢,可以見到地藝術。仲有咩地方?**Where can you see this art?** 幾時你可以見到?
- S: **The museums.**
- T: **Museums**,講咗了,仲有呢?
- S: **Artist galleries.**
- T: **Art room, yes. No more?**
- S: 藝術指南。
- T: 藝術指南,有冇地地方其實係藝術館嚟嚟?有冇郊外或者戶外嘅地方?大家都會見過,可以望下。咁呢,其實呢,浮雕係一個浮雕呢,其實係雕塑嘅一種。雕塑,係平面定係立體?2D or 3D?
- S: 2D,3D。
- T: 睇下呢個字呢,係雕刻,**sculpture**,點解?係**two D**定係**three D**嚟?
- S: **Three D.**
- T: OK,係一個。浮雕呢,其實係雕刻嘅一種啦,不過呢,但係立體,真係**three D**嘅雕塑呢,有小小分別。佢介乎2D又介乎3D嘅中間。點解我咁講呢,因為浮雕呢,其實係咩呢,最原始的浮雕藝術呢,係一個平面裡面,雕刻嘅工人或者係藝術家,可以係.....
- S: 石頭。
- T: **Stone.**
- S: 木頭。
- T: **Wood.**
- S: **And metal.**
- T: Yes,金屬。可以係個平面上雕刻。有的可以係雕啊,有的可以係雕刻再雕刻。咁其實呢,最主要的浮雕係,咁其實呢,小朋友呢,你地學生,做唔到咁高深嘅雕刻,咁其

實呢,你地可以嘗試下,咩係浮雕。最早出現係遠古嘅**Egypt**啦,悉尼啦,或者呢個神廟啦係咪,中國古代建築。所以我想問呢你去旅行有冇見過呢.....

S: 望下。

T: 可能你係,係,原來,唔止**travel**嘅時候見到嘅,唔止旅行嘅時候見到嘅,可能你係公園都會見到嘅。有冇見到類似嘅嘢?

S: 哇!

T: 邊個有見過類似嘅?唔一定一樣嘅,不過好類似嘅,有冇同學見過?OK,康成,係邊度見過?

S: 一地嘅.....係.....

T: 咩地方你曾經見過啊?咩地方啊?好像望著,想唔到,望著好像係邊度見過呢?可能見過?繼續。

S: Icon.

T: **Icon**叫做**Icon**。佢係**Icon**見過了已經。**Icon**,係**Icon**嘅邊度見過啊,唔記得咗。有冇人記得咗呢?我地見過嘅,係邊度見過。**Where**?

S: In the museum.

T: 啊,博物館,係你地參觀一地文物嘅時候見過。啊,你講。

S:

T: 係.....廟裡面。不過呢我發現,咦,佢應該來自唔同嘅地方,重新睇兩幅圖,你會覺得係來自唔同嘅地方。你估下,其實,大概,係有機會係咩地方見到?大概。估係咩地方呢?好像**Icon**,有冇地特徵可以講出來嗎?簡介試下。有嘅同學呢,呢幅圖呢,好像邊個**Icon**,係**Egypt**啦,或者地西方古物嚟嘅,點解?點解?有咩特徵?你講得出?哈。

S:

T: 哈?字,哇**very**聰明,佢知睇個地字就知道係邊一個地方嘅。**Icon**個地字呢,唔係好像中文字咁更加容易睇,好像地公仔。好個邊呢,係西方**Icon**嘅特徵啦。呢一幅呢,呢個應該容易地見到,你覺得,呢個,像係咩呀?咩黎嚟?企近地望下。呢個睇住好熟悉。如果你要睇一滴同之相類似嘅畫,或者地事出來,估唔估到係咩地方呢?係.....好啦,可以望下呢,呢個地方,同你像唔像啊?你估到係咩地方?咩圖畫啊?你估到係咩地方啊?

S: 英國。

T: 英國。

S: 韓國。

T: 仲有咩地方?

S:

T: 另外一個英國。好,呢邊嘅同學,你嘗試估下係咩地方?有機會啦,唔會唔比你嘅。啊Evan。

S: 我覺得係中國,因為有隻矛在爬。

T: 武器。同學呢,可以通過頭先個地樣呢,或者,就係一地特徵呢,可以估下係咩地方嘅。Peter,一陣哈,一陣哈。OK,裡面有一滴故事會發生嘅,我想問下呢一地,你覺得係2D點係3D呢?覺得係2D嘅,係平面嘅,請舉手。恩?覺得係3D嘅請舉手。像3D嘅你都可以放低手。有個時候呢,咁呢,3D我地講啦,係立體,高小小,都係立體,而唔一定係一夠嘢係上邊,譬如呢個鉛筆盒。呢個鉛筆盒係3D啦,立體,佢同一夠雕塑係有少少分別,諗,大聲地。

S: **Half of them is three D, half of them is two D.**

T: Steven講得差唔多係3D,**half of them is three D**,點解我地同學會咁講呢?

S: 因為佢嘅雕塑係成個咁樣,裡面小小係.....

T: 係啦,頭先呢,依形呢,講出一條哦,哈,listen。依形呢話,好像做到其中一面,另外一面呢,佢有做到。其實呢,好像雕塑,雕刻家呢或藝術家呢,佢會係一個平面上面去雕刻地嘢,整番地嘢放係上面,俾多滴例子你望下先。

S: 哇!

T: 哇,有地咩圖案呢?你又知呢個係咩?

S: 我有見過!係**Egypt**嘅,係個個嘅竿個度,係佢.....

T: 好像係講,一地**Egypt**嘅,Steven知道Steven講。我地聽下Steven講咩。**Egypt**嘅咩啊?知唔知佢想講咩啊?類似福呢,好像係講**Egypt**嘅個人嘅神秘,一地嘅故事。以前呢,

以前嘅呢,係有只或筆嘢,係個地icon嘅時候,佢地想記番地嘢嘅時候呢,佢地想到咩方法?小姐呢,你中文幾好。

S: 用手!

T: 用手啊係呀,都要用到呢滴材料。咁呢,就要用到佢地嘅只會啦,以前呢,地人好聰明,佢地想到一方法。個木頭呢,個石頭呢,其實幫到佢地做咩呀?

S: 刻低地嘢。

T: 刻低地嘢。其實,可能係一個故事嚟嘢,唔知講緊咩,可能一家我地睇下,唔知啊。當時地人呢,可能佢地,呢個係邊個做滴嘢,其中嘅故事背景,咁可以睇呢個,你估下呢個係咩地方會見到?未必係地.....

S: 公園哪。

T: 公園,點解呢。

S: 因為有地樣呢,就係個度。

T: **Listen first.** 點解同學會話呢個係公園?你估下呢?中式分,點解你會咁講呢?其實想唔想到?係**decoration**。睇唔睇到?睇唔睇到?其實呢,可能係公園呢,如果你有印象呢,你可以想起邊度可以睇到.....

S: 濕地公園。

T: 三日旅行,兩三日旅行嘅時候。記唔記得?荔枝角。荔枝角公園呢,係有好多中國特色嘅藝術,你係入邊呢,有機會可以發現一地嘅裝飾。咁我呢,我頭先有講到,我地做唔到大雕塑家、藝術家個地藝術,有地呢,你去到高原呢,中原,或者地穴,已經有咗啦,咁應該好新鮮。但係呢,同學呢,會點樣嘗試做出呢,浮雕嘅藝術呢?咁,一陣,我話比你聽個地方法。但係呢,俾地你望下先。我地話要做咩哇,記唔記得?我地嘅動物嘅古銅雕。頭先睇下,你估嘅時候呢,可以睇到,其實你有冇聽過.....咁頭先有講過,應該係個碟上面,有地動物嘅嘢,咁呢,就係浮雕啦。咁我地要做嘅時候呢,不如我地睇下先,有地咩材料我地要用到呢,我地望下, **visual**哈,究竟有地咩材料,或者**materials, you need with this hard work?**

S: **Ah, just the art work, and make it to the thick one.**

T: **Two things?** 仲有呢?你估下, **imagine**有咩材料要用。

S: 用咗地紙。

T: 用咗地紙,但係咩材料?**Materials**。

S: 我知!沙子。

T: 沙子,兩樣嘢哦,沙子,碟,仲有呢?

S: **Toothpick**。

T: Yeah, 仲有呢?

S: 有地貼紙或者紙。

T: 有地貼紙或者紙啦,唔知咩嚟嘢,紙性嘅,大概啦, Raymond?

S: **Paper clay**。

T: **Paper clay**。仲有冇?

S: **Nothing**。

T: **Nothing**,哈。仲有呢,大家估中咗大部分嘅**toothpick**可能會有機會用到。不過呢,你睇後面,頭先有地同學估到,好大部分哪,仲有呢,應該收埋咗一地紙呀或者其他嘢呢係上面,所以另到佢.....另到佢,有型。

S: 老師,如果有嘢係上邊,可能會.....

T: **Picture**。

S: 係。

T: 會爛係咪呀,會爛。下面如果有嘢嘅話呢,好像係平時,擺張紙落去,好像係微波,擺張紙落去,佢都會爛。咁會教一地嘅方法,點可以做到呢,另到個碟嘅面頭變成平面咁,點解唔會爛,可以俾你望多幾份。頭先有同學見到有個條魚啊嘛,仲有呢個呢?

S: **Bird!**

T: 有同學係估到呢,係鳥,鴨鴨,紅腳丫,天鵝啦,好,睇一地嘅.....**listen**。係一地雕刻,係一地雕刻嚟嘢。好,望下呢個,睇下個地碟。(in the past 2 min, there are some interactions between teacher and students, and students gave feedback and highly got evolved in the conversation, however the words are difficult to be jot down, because the class is a little bit in chaos.)呢邊係咩呀?

S: **Flower.**

T: **Flower, very good.** 呢邊呢?想一想,見唔見到呢個啊?Shhh....睇下個邊嘅,呢個係咩呀?因為個碟呢,烤出來,像寫字,拉佢,佢就會掉落去啦。咁個度有勾差,唔會打直線嘅,係寫一地文嚟嘅。好,再讓你望下了哦,哇,冇冇見過呢?你自己想下,係同一類型嘅,呢個係咩嚟嘅?都係烏仔。不過呢,大家有唔同嘅表達方法。呢度呢,見唔見到啊,冇地發現呢,冇地發現呢,好像係上面,好像有小小.....

S:

T: 企出來望下,望下呢個,講俾同學聽,冇地麼嘢。

S: 冇地黑色嘢。

T: 冇地黑色嘢,但係咪烏黝咗呢?

S: 唔係!

T: 咁係咩嚟嘅?墨水。之前同學話,如果唔係墨水呢,可以係咩呢?陰影。點解係陰影嚟嘅?佢自己走出來?

S: 係啦!因為呢,面對太陽個時候,我地就有地影啦。

T: 可能係影啦,冇地係影,但係唔係全部都係影嚟嘅,真係冇地嘢係上邊。估唔估到呢?

S: 因為水,可能係因為呢,.....

T: 好,我地再估下。一陣呢.....唔係墨水啊,可能係墨水嚟嘅,可能呢滴用到嘅,都唔係平時用嘅嚟嘅。不過呢個係用咩方法呢?

S: 哇!呢個係雕.....

T: 我覺得呢個呢,呢個好像.....

S:呢個係.....

T: 比你望多次。 **What is the difference?** 有咩唔同啊?

S: **This one use string, the other one use....**

T: 呢個係用string嘅,一條條線,好像好明顯。前面個係點樣啊?刻,

S: **I use the string....picture, picture.**

T: 呢個picture係平面嘅,見唔見到啊?OK我地係畫上面有地個碟,之前,一個面哪,呢個呢,像呼係一個平面上面,冇地嘢係上面。呢個,像呼係,不過型個嘖,不過佢真係用咩組成個呢?點線面組成。點、線、定係面嚟嘅其實?

S: 線。

T: 線嚟嘅哦。OK?頭先有講呢,可以估到呢,係咩材料啊?估下佢定係.....線哪,線頭粗嘅,線類嘅嘢,OK?呢個係一個效果,其實還有其他地效果。咁你估下呢,佢地都做係一地之前同學嘅作品嚟嘅。咁呢個呢,你能夠使用就代表呢,呢個仲有好多唔同嘅效果,OK,可以係呢快平面圖入邊做啦。OK,記唔記得我地今日嘅主題係咩呀?

S:動物。

T: 係動物主題嚟嘅。咁俾地嘢比同學畫了哦,係咁,不過想同學畫出來,呢個係,我地嘅主題,嘅 **main theme** 係動物,任何嘅動物。 **OK, any animals.** 但係,冇地咩估下小小嘢, **Let's guess, have a game first. Can you guess what is it?** 咩嚟嘅?咩嚟嘅?

S: 狗。

T: 狗啦,好熟啦,見到最多就係狗啦。我想問下你見到,雖然成幅圖都係黑色,正係見到地影嘅,但係,可唔可以講比我聽,佢有咩特徵啊?有咩特徵?

S: OK,兩隻腳。

T: 見到兩隻腳,其實狗有幾隻腳?

S: 四隻腳。

T: 四隻腳。不過,係我地做嘅時候,為咗美觀,我地選擇咗兩隻腳。 **嘉樂**,仲有咩特徵?

S: 我知!

T: 有咩特徵?隻狗有咩特徵?除咗兩隻腳之外冇啦?例如,你幫下佢。

S:

T: 聽唔到。

S: 尾巴。

T: 尾巴,OK,尾巴。仲有地麼嘢啊?仲有咩呀?睇下, **come on.** 哈?咦?冇眼嘅,佢冇眼。冇眼,仲有地咩呢?成身都有嘢。如果你想幫佢加多小小嘢,你會加地咩呀?

S: **I would like to add some fur.**

- T: **No fur.** 冇毛毛嘅。咁呢個比你,如果仲冇呢,你就可以加。仲冇,呢個係咩嚟嘢?
- S: 鳥。
- T: 鳥啦,好簡單啦。但係,冇地咩特徵呢?咩特徵啊?
- S: **No nets.**
- T: 好耶,佢飛翔嘅時候,佢嘅爪會伸出來抓嘢。仲冇地咩特徵?咩特徵?俚偷。
- S: 有個個.....
- T: 有個個嘴,係咪呀?係尖尖個位,好明顯,仲冇呢?好明顯嘅。
- S: **No eyes.**
- T: **No eyes again.** 仲冇呢?
- S: **No ears.**
- T: 聽唔聽到嘢,平時個只耳仔?仲冇地咩啊?聽唔到,欣琪。
- S: 兩隻翼。
- T: 好明顯有兩隻翼,所以你估到就係一定係只鳥,而且,呢只鳥係做緊咩啊?
- S: 飛啊。
- T: 飛緊,佢唔係停留嘢,佢係飛嘢。好,俾多跳線。呢個,睇個張圖,你估係咩呢?呢個係咩嚟嘢?
- S:
- T: 叮咚。點解你會估係鸚鵡呢,仲有今次係同前面個次有小小唔同,shh...,聽下。佢個嘴,有個好明顯嘅特徵,係咪呀?而且佢係咪飛緊個呀?
- S: 唔係呀。
- T: 停留係.....
- S: 樹枝上。
- T: 樹枝上面嘅。點解你知係停留係個樹枝度?係啦,頭先有個同學佢見過鸚鵡係企係個手度。咁呢度嘞,佢企係樹枝,可能係樹枝,可能係咩呀?
- S: 手臂。
- T: 手臂?凱威,你覺得可以係樹枝,也可以係.....
- S: 木管。
- T: 也可以係.....
- S: 手指。
- T: 手指.....咁長嘅手指?仲有冇其他地方可以企?
- S: 手臂。
- T: 手臂咁直係咪?可以係咩啊?吸管個度。路邊嘅咩,咩嘞?
- S: 馬路。
- T: 嘅.....洞?欄杆,係咪啊?可以係欄杆。點解,你知道咁多嘢呢?
- S: 做的好像嘍。
- T: 因為佢做的嘅外形,好像,不過呢,頭先好像你所講,其實好多個畫嘅圖嘅,你都係估到,個原因就因為係佢.....
- S: 好明顯。
- T: 個外形好明顯哪,佢畫比你知個特徵佢做滴咩啊,係咪呀。你知唔知個鸚鵡最中意嘅嘢就係企係個欄杆,或者係你講嘅手臂呀,或者個鸚鵡架個度呢,表演也好,講嘢也好,OK,咁呢,頭先我比你睇個幾個動物呢,咁我想俾你望多小小。咦,呢個係?嘉樂,係咩嚟嘢?
- S: 兔子。
- T: 兔子。不過,今次我唔講特徵啦,因為特徵係好明顯。但,我想你,比較一下,compare,比較一下,呢個同呢個嘅分別。請你,話比我聽,你覺得,兔仔一.....

The P4 Visual Arts teacher stated in her reflection form:

I code-switched between Cantonese and English and used English as supplement in my powerpoint slides so that the students who are not ethnic Chinese could easily understand the main theme of the lesson.

The P2 Putonghua subject teacher pointed out in her reflection form:

As there are a few students who are not ethnic Chinese in class, I have to use English to explain certain sentences or vocabularies if no appropriate pictures are available, so that they can understand the content well.

She used English in the examples below:

Putonghua subject teacher in P2: 好, 小狗有什麼特點呢? 他可能是不同顏色的, 每隻小狗都有毛的, 我們可以呢, 形容它, 用一個詞語.....

S: 毛絨絨的。

T: 對, 啊, 它的意思就是, **hairy**。好, 我們讀三遍。毛絨絨的。

T: 這是小動物的特點啦, 然後, 最後再說, 很可愛。

S: 很可愛。

T: 可愛, 啊, **lovely, It's lovely**. 其實每一種小動物都很可愛的。

In general, however, the language teachers in the school were not in favour of using code-mixing in language teaching.

According to the teachers' reflection, as shown in Table 7.5, students mostly used the major language, i.e., the major MoI used by the teachers, to interact with the teachers in the lessons. We can tell from Table 7.5 that students used 100% Putonghua in the P2 Putonghua lesson, 100% English in the P5 English lesson, the P4 Visual Arts lesson and the P1 General Studies lesson when interacting with their teachers. As for the P1 English lesson, students used 80% English and 20% Cantonese when they interacted with their teacher and they were allowed to do so. Students interacted with the teachers mainly in Cantonese, supplemented by English, in the P3 Mathematics and the P3 Chinese Language lessons. As for the remaining lessons, 100% Cantonese was used by students.

The English Language teachers did not code-mix. They used 100% English in English Language lessons so that they could provide a rich language environment for their students to learn and practise using English. As noted in their reflection forms.

English Language subject teacher 1: We need to provide an English speaking environment to students to listen, speak and use English to acquire the language knowledge. Code-switch might affect the acquirement of the language.

English Language subject teacher 2: I will not code-mix. I think being immersed in an English environment is the most effective way in English learning.

Teachers teaching other subjects might code-mix when there are students who are not ethnic Chinese in class, like the case in the P4 Visual Arts lesson, where the teacher had to use English to help the students understand the content. The teacher teaching P3 Mathematics, although using Cantonese as the major MoI, code-switched in her class between English and Cantonese and the reason given in her reflection form is as follows:

Mathematics Teacher: Students will have a language burden when learning Mathematics in English because the textbook is in English. The mathematical concepts are mostly abstract and students sometimes cannot understand the questions in English so I have to explain the questions and terminologies in Cantonese.

Table 7.5 Percentage of language(s) used by students when interacting with teachers in the recorded lessons (based on teachers’ reflection)

Subject	Class	Major language students used when interacting with teachers (%)	Supplementary language students used when interacting with teachers (%)
Chinese Language	3	Cantonese (95%)	English (5%)
English Language	1	English (80%)	Cantonese (20%)
English Language	5	English (100%)	
Putonghua	2	Putonghua (100%)	
Mathematics	3	Cantonese (95%)	English (5%)
Mathematics	6	Cantonese (100%)	
General Studies	5	Cantonese (100%)	
Visual Arts	4	English (100%)	
Music	2	Cantonese (100%)	
PE	6	Cantonese (100%)	
Computer	6	Cantonese (100%)	

7.2.2 Students’ Questionnaire Survey and Focus Group Interview

7.2.2.1 Questionnaire Survey

A 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree) questionnaire survey was designed to collect students’ perceptions of the trilingual education model implemented in the school. All together 141 primary 4 to primary 6 students were surveyed (P4: 48, P5: 44, P6: 49). In the questionnaire, item 4 to item 7 are about students’ perceptions of code-switching/code-mixing. Figure 7.1 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results of item 4 – item 7.

Item 6 (I find myself code-switching/code-mixing between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly during the study of the Chinese Language subject) had the lowest mean score and the highest standard deviation, which means students’ opinions varied on whether they code-mix between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly in the study of the Chinese Language subject. In this item, while around 26% of the students strongly agreed, around 16% strongly disagreed.

Students gave item 4 (I find it acceptable switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school) the highest mean and the lowest standard deviation, In item 4, while around 34% of the students strongly agreed, around 7% strongly disagreed. The data imply that students are quite positive about code-mixing in language learning.

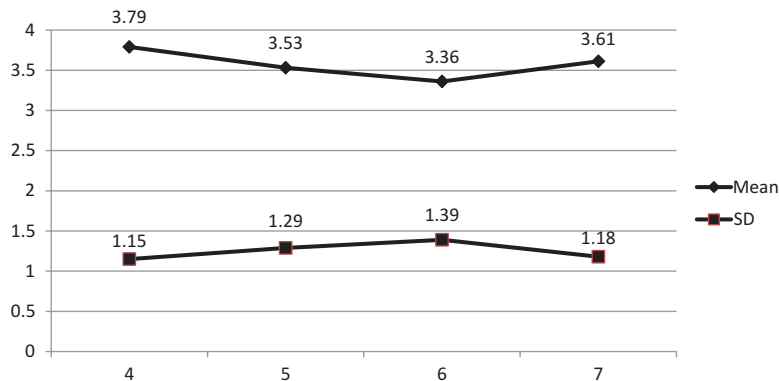


Fig. 7.1 Mean and standard deviation plot of item 4-item 7 of the student survey

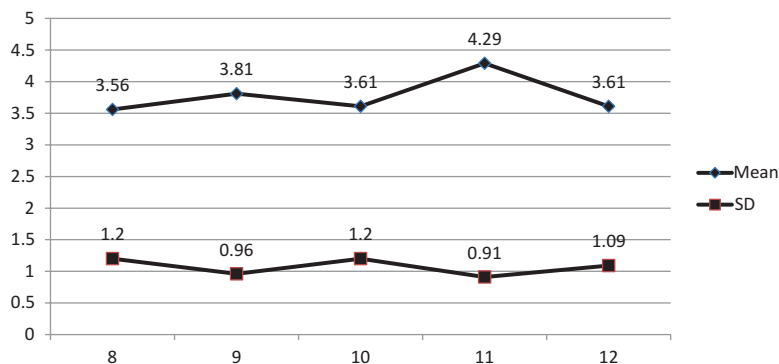


Fig. 7.2 Mean and standard deviation plot of item 8-item 12 of the student survey

In the questionnaire, item 8 to item 12 are about students’ learning progress of the three languages. Figure 7.2 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results of item 8 – item 12.

Students were most satisfied with their learning progress in Cantonese as they gave item 10 (I am happy with progress in Cantonese) the highest mean score and their opinions were not varied because this item had the lowest standard deviation. Meanwhile, they were not satisfied with their learning progress in written English as item 8 received the lowest mean score of 3.56. However, students’ opinions on this item were also varied as its standard deviation was 1.2, one of the highest among the five items. In this case, while 26.24% of the students strongly agreed, 5.67% strongly disagreed.

Item 13 to item 17 in the questionnaire are about students’ confidence in achieving good proficiency in the three languages. Figure 7.3 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results of item 13 – item 17.

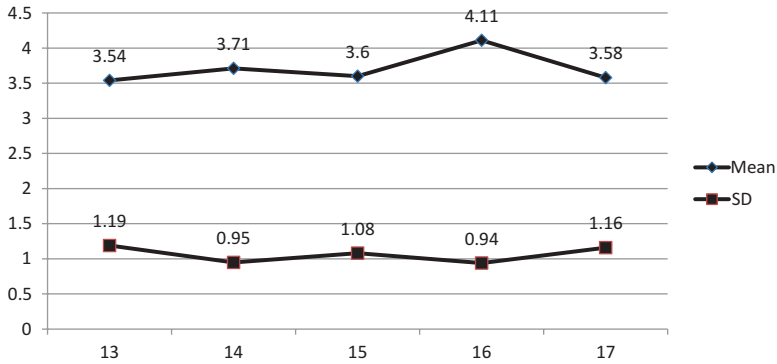


Fig. 7.3 Mean and standard deviation plot of item 13-item 17 of the student survey

Students were most confident in achieving good proficiency in Cantonese (item 16) when they graduated as this item received the highest mean. Meanwhile, students’ opinions were more in agreement as this item had the lowest standard deviation, with about 40% strongly agreeing while only 2% strongly disagreed. However, students were least confident in achieving good proficiency in written English as item 13 had the lowest mean, but their opinions were quite varied as this had the highest standard deviation. 25.79% were strongly confident while 4.26% were least confident.

7.2.2.2 Focus Group Interview

A focus group interview with eight P4-P6 students was conducted in the school. The aim was to collect the students’ views on the trilingual education model implemented in the school, their perceptions of code-mixing in class, and their views on using Putonghua as the MoI of the Chinese Language subject.

Five out of eight interviewees did not find code-mixing in different subjects useful for their language development in general. One student said, “We can’t learn a language if we are too dependent on teachers’ translation”. But students found themselves code-switching between English and Cantonese during the study of the English Language subject. One student said, “We can easily understand what the teachers say if Cantonese is used to explain the English vocabularies”. However, seven student interviewees pointed out that English Language subject teachers used 100% English in English Language lessons. Code-mixing was not allowed in English lesson and they would be punished by teachers if they spoke in Cantonese.

- S1: If we speak Cantonese in English Language lessons, we will be punished. If a student uses even a word in Cantonese, he/she needs to do one page of copybook.
- S2: If we don’t understand, the teacher will try to use simple English and explain slowly again.
- S3: If Cantonese is heard in English Language lessons, we will be punished by our teacher, like having more homework.

S4: Marks will be deducted if we speak Cantonese in English Language lessons; however some students still use Cantonese in class because marks can be earned easily. Our classmates always say that they do not understand and finally the teacher will give up using English and explain in Cantonese.

They also pointed out that teachers teaching the Chinese language subject would code-mix when Putonghua was used as the MoI.

S5: Teachers might code-switch between Cantonese and Putonghua in teaching the Chinese language subject....

Only two out of eight interviewees were satisfied with their progress in the study of written English, while all were satisfied with their progress in the study of spoken English, and five were satisfied with their progress in the study of Putonghua. Students also shared their experiences in enhancing their language proficiency in Putonghua.

S6: I enjoyed watching Putonghua cartoon videos when I was very small. And now I usually watch Putonghua cartoons on Youtube on my mobile phone and I always sing Putonghua songs as well.

S7: We have classmates coming from Mainland and we can practise more when we communicate with them in Putonghua.

S8: My Putonghua has been improved because I like to communicate with people who speak Putonghua.

S1: I am satisfied because my mother always encourages me to read loud in Putonghua when I am reading novels and I find my Putonghua has been improved.

Students were confident in achieving good proficiency in spoken English than in written English when they graduate. All the interviewees agreed the school has provided them with a rich English language environment. One of them said, "I have foreign students in my class and I get used to communicating with them in English". However, only one out of eight interviewees showed confidence in achieving better language proficiency in written English.

Among the eight interviewees, two P6 students had experienced using PMI in learning the Chinese Language subject and they were not in favour of this policy as they wanted to learn in their mother tongue. They also pointed out that they could not easily understand the content when PMI was used and there was always laughter in class because of the mispronunciation of the words. The others were happy about using mother tongue in learning the subject as it made understanding easier.

S2: I prefer using Cantonese because most of us were born in Hong Kong and Cantonese is our mother tongue.

S3: I also prefer using Cantonese because some of the words in Putonghua are retroflex and when we do not pronounce them properly, they will become other words with different meanings, making classmates laugh.

When asked if Putonghua should be used as a major language for communication in schools, only one of them accepted while the other seven objected to this proposal.

S4: I agree to using Putonghua as a major language for communications in school because both English and Putonghua are world-wide languages. People will be impressed if you can speak fluent and standard Putonghua.

S5: The language proficiency of Putonghua of some students is not satisfactory and they cannot pronounce some words properly. If these students all speak in Putonghua in the Morning Assembly, other students will laugh at them.

7.2.3 Interviews

In School B, we interviewed the school principal, eleven teaching staff and ten parents. The teaching staff included subject panels of the Chinese Language, English Language, Putonghua, Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, PE and Computer subjects, and two subject teachers teaching the English Language subject and the Mathematics subject respectively.

7.2.3.1 Parents

Ten female parents were interviewed in school B. Two did not consider the trilingual education policy in school. One came from Shanghai about a year ago and she chose the present school because of its Christian religion and the closeness of the school. She said, “I searched for Christian schools nearby on the Internet. I found this Christian school using English, Cantonese and Putonghua as MoIs”. Another parent pointed out that the trilingual education model in school was not typical because Cantonese is used as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject and Putonghua is only used as the MoI in the Putonghua subject. Also, most of the other subjects are taught in Cantonese. She stated, “Trilingual education is not very obvious in this school. It is because only the Putonghua subject is taught in Putonghua, Mathematics is taught in English and the other subjects are taught in Cantonese and I find this is not a typical trilingual education model”. Two other parents, however, agreed the trilingual education model in the school was an attractive feature when choosing the primary school for their children, although one claimed she was a bit indecisive when she knew that English was used as the MoI for Mathematics as she said, “I did take this into consideration. But I was a bit indecisive when I knew that Mathematics is taught in English”. The other parents chose the present school for their children for different reasons, including the school motto, the closeness of the school, the school religion and family connections. Parent 1 claimed, “Trilingual education is not the reason I chose this school for my child. The reasons are that I am a graduate of this school and this school has a good reputation among the parents in this community”.

Parent 2: Not really. My husband and I focus on the school ethos. But I am in favour that English is used as the MoI in teaching Maths because I was trained in the same way in the past.

P3: Not really. My husband found the principal very nice and it is near our home. I also like using English as the MoI as it is easier to pave the way for secondary school.

P4: No. the religion and the short distance are the reasons for choosing this school.

Three parents were against the use of Putonghua in teaching the Chinese Language subject for a range of reasons, such as the insufficient provision of qualified Putonghua subject teachers. They also believed students learnt the subject better in their mother tongue and they could not provide a rich language environment in Putonghua at home.

One parent said, “I do not agree to the use of PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject because I am afraid of the insufficiently qualified Putonghua subject teachers”.

Another claimed, “I personally oppose to the use of Putonghua as the MoI in the study of the Chinese Language subject. Our mother tongue is Cantonese and we speak in Cantonese at home and thus we cannot provide her with a rich Putonghua-language environment”.

Three parents agreed to using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject as they thought Putonghua was a world-wide language which can help students write better Chinese without using colloquial language. One of them said, “I prefer using PMI in the study of the Chinese Language subject. It is because both English and Putonghua are now world-wide languages. And many of my foreign friends know how to speak in Putonghua”. “I prefer the use of Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject because this can help my son write better Chinese without using colloquial language”. “Also, Putonghua is becoming very important, and it is good for students to learn more Putonghua,” said another parent. The third parent pointed out that using PMI is more advantageous to the able students and that the less able students can benefit more when using Cantonese in studying the Chinese Language subject.

Parent: This depends very much on the students’ language competency. As Putonghua is not our mother tongue, this may pose difficulties to some students. Using mother tongue to teach the Chinese Language subject may benefit the less able students. To be frank, I think using PMI is more advantageous. I find my daughter who is in P1 usually writes in colloquial which is not desirable and she always makes mistakes in writing accurate words. And I think using PMI can help improve students’ written Chinese, enhancing their writing skills. I agree to use PMI but this depends on the students’ ability.

One parent had reservation on using PMI and he suggested that Putonghua could be used in studying the Chinese Language subject for senior grades, like P5 and P6, “I think Cantonese and Putonghua are both important and the Chinese Language subject in senior grades can be taught in Putonghua”. The remaining three parents were neutral on this issue.

The parents were happy about using English in teaching Mathematics and science topics in General Studies (GS). One noted,

To small children, it will be difficult for them to learn GS in English because GS is a subject with a variety of learning content and they may not easily handle the terminologies and cannot express themselves well in English during lessons. It’s ok if the science topics are taught in English as they may pave the way for their learning Liberal Studies in secondary schools.

However, one parent pointed that to learn Mathematics in English was not easy for less able students as he said, “Students may have difficulties in learning Maths in a language that they are not very familiar, especially those who do not have a sound

foundation in this subject”. Another expressed that he had to hire a tutor to help his son to resolve mathematics problems in homework and to catch up with the other students.

The parents also suggested that the school could consider using English as the MoI in teaching Computing. “Computer is appropriate to use English as the MoI because they are interested in computer” proposed one parent. Another parent suggested that PE could use English as the MoI:

I think PE can use English as the MoI because students can get used to listening to teacher’s instructions in English and do the actions accordingly. I believe students can learn more by listening more to a language.

The parents felt that their children’s spoken English could be enhanced if there were students who were not ethnic Chinese in class as this might provide opportunities for them to communicate with these students in English. “He was shy to speak in English when he was in kindergarten, but now he will take the initiatives to communicate with others in English. He is now more confident and this may be due to the reason that there are students who are not ethnic Chinese in school”, said one parent. Another added, “My elder daughter is willing to talk with the non-local students in English. She always urges me to talk with her in different languages at home and she will notify me if I mispronounce some words either in English or Putonghua”.

Generally speaking, the parents were confident that their children could achieve good language proficiency in English, especially spoken English, when they graduated. Half of the parents agreed that small children should learn knowledge in their mother tongue in the early years in school. “I think students should learn in the mother tongue. Once they can master their mother tongue, they can learn another language. I always find students are only good at one language”, claimed one parent. Meanwhile, others felt that small children could learn any languages easily once they were given the chance. One of them said,

As I know some Japanese, I sometimes talk with them in Japanese. I find my children can adapt well when I speak different languages with them without any confusion. Other than mother tongue, they can learn other languages well if they have motivation and take the initiatives to learn. Children can absorb knowledge well when they are young and so learning several different languages will not have a negative effect on their learning.

7.2.3.2 Teachers

The language teachers, especially the English Language subject panel, insisted on using 100% the respective languages in teaching, which is also the language policy set by the school.

The English Language subject panel: If some students could not understand my instructions, I would let their neighbours remind them in Cantonese instead of me. I won’t allow code-switching in my classrooms because I believe that they need to accustom to listening and learning in English in order to enhance their language proficiency. I also require my students to use complete sentences when answering my questions.

However, the P1 English Language subject teacher expressed in the reflection form that she would allow her students to code-switch in class to a certain extent to encourage student language learning:

When students could not express his/her ideas, he/she code-switched. I paraphrased in English and it could help students learn more and they would not feel frustrated due to the limited language.

The reason for teacher using code-mixing mainly depends on whether there are non-Chinese students in class.

P2 Putonghua subject teacher: Yes we would use some Cantonese, even English terms to help the students who are not ethnic Chinese. However, we would encourage them to speak in Putonghua.

P3 Mathematics teacher: Whilst the medium of instruction is not restricted in the lesson, we could use either Cantonese or English to instruct. In my class, there are 5 students who are not ethnic Chinese but can understand Cantonese with the aid of English supplementary worksheets. We would like to cater for the majority of local students as our first priority.

P3 Mathematics Teacher: Our local students are not good at application questions in English. Teachers need to explain clearly to them, sometimes in Cantonese. One-third of my students have problems in studying mathematics because we use English textbooks. Students could not understand the questions by themselves easily, we help them by including Chinese version of application questions in the exams. They could finish other questions with fewer English words by themselves only.

The Music subject panel: Cantonese is mainly used in Music lessons. The students who are not ethnic Chinese would ask me questions in English, and I will answer them in Cantonese. They are getting used to this.

The Chinese Language subject panel was interviewed in the school and pointed out that using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject was not very effective as she said, “the students are more interested when using Cantonese as a medium of instruction. The locals like using their mother tongue to learn, while the non-locals have already been immersed in an environment of Cantonese, so it is easier for them to have their lessons in Cantonese”. She continued, “It doesn’t work effectively. Using Putonghua as the MOI to teach Chinese for local students could be good for them to listen more, but that doesn’t mean that they could speak better as they are shy to practise at school or outside the school environment. Also, most students are shy to answer questions when using PMI”. In addition, she believed most parents would like the school to use Cantonese as the MoI in teaching the subject.

The Chinese Language subject panel: I don’t see that the parents are thrilled about using Putonghua as an MOI to teach Chinese. In contrast, the parents like using Cantonese to teach Chinese due to the fact that their Putonghua proficiency isn’t high.

Both she and the Putonghua subject panel agreed that the school should not adopt using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject for the whole school. They suggested that the students should be screened by their language capacity and those in elite classes could learn the Chinese Language subject using PMI.

The Chinese Language subject panel: We should not implement it for the whole school at one time, we should try by different forms and elite classes instead.

The Putonghua subject panel: The school could arouse students' learning interest by selecting elite classes to learn the Chinese language subject using Putonghua as a medium, while other classes will learn the subject using Cantonese as a medium.

7.2.3.3 Principal

The school sponsoring body adopted Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject when it started to operate in Sept 2000 because they believed using PMI could enhance student language proficiency in Chinese. When the present Principal came to the school in 2008, he found that students were unmotivated in learning the subject. Poor results were reflected from the TAS results with a low percentage of the students achieving basic competency in Chinese. He believed using PMI was a gimmick and a political issue which could not enhance student language proficiency in Chinese. It took time for him to persuade the teachers to use Cantonese instead.

Principal: I personally do not believe that PMI can enhance students' language proficiency in Chinese. I think using PMI is a gimmick and a political issue.

Some people may think that students who are not ethnic Chinese could learn better in Putonghua than in Cantonese; however the principal did not agree to this view.

Principal: I find many students who are not ethnic Chinese in our school can speak fluent Cantonese as some of them have studied in this school from P1 to P6. Some also pass in this subject with a total of 60 or 70 marks in exams. Learning in Cantonese is not a hindrance to them. Using PMI may be more beneficial to them as it provides students with pinyin that they can pronounce the word without knowing its meaning. Only to know how to read is meaningless. As we insist to use one language as the MoI, teachers consider using Cantonese is better and they need to learn Cantonese when living in Hong Kong. Cantonese is the language they use in daily life communication

Moreover, the principal was satisfied with the students' performance in the Chinese Language subject after changing its MoI from PMI to CMI.

Principal: I find my students are happier after the change. They are more involved in class and are motivated to learn the Chinese Language subject.

The principal was not in favour of using code-mixing. He followed the language policy of the Education Bureau and he encouraged teachers to use 100% English when teaching the English subject.

Principal: The students do not have many chances immersed in the English language environment, so I think they should involve in English in English Language lessons. This is the school policy. Meanwhile, there are many students who are not ethnic Chinese in our school, which also help to build up a rich English language environment. We encourage teachers to use 100% English in English Language lessons.

In person, the principal was not at all resistant to using mixed-code in teaching as reflected in the interview:

Principal: I think mixed code has advantages as well as disadvantages. If we want to learn English, we could understand the vocabularies easier when explained in Cantonese.

In addition, he allowed the Mathematics teachers to use both Cantonese and English in teaching when the school started to change the MoI of the subject from Cantonese to English, as it was rather difficult for children to understand the abstract Mathematical concepts. Moreover, the powerpoint slides prepared by teachers were bilingual but supplementary worksheets were designed in English.

7.3 Conclusion

Cantonese and English were the major languages used in school communications in School B. The school also provided the parents with circulars in both languages on the website and the parents could choose either version to read. Though trilingual education was implemented in the school, Putonghua played a minor role in school teaching and communications. It is because the Chinese Language subject was taught only in Cantonese and Putonghua was taught as a subject which was allocated with one lesson per week for each class. School B is unusual in that English is the MoI, supplemented by Cantonese for P1-P3 Mathematics and English textbooks are used, whereas P4-P6 Mathematics uses Chinese textbooks, taught mainly in Cantonese, supplemented by English. This policy has been adopted because the school now is recruiting more and more students who are not ethnic Chinese and the school would like to use more English in teaching other subjects. However, the Mathematics teacher pointed out in the interview that students in senior grades, especially the lower achievers, could not easily follow in class as the mathematical concepts are abstract and the teachers had to use bilingual pedagogy which was time-consuming; and they also had to use Chinese worksheets to help students solve the mathematical problems. The junior grade students might not find it difficult to learn maths in English as they mostly did easy calculations at this stage. In the long run, the school uses English textbooks and uses English as the MoI in teaching Maths.

Chapter 8

Case Study 3: School C



8.1 School Information

Located in Kowloon, School C is a boys' school. It has a long history, being established in 1930. The language policy in the school has changed several times throughout the years. Prior to the 1970s, School C was an Anglo-Chinese School. In 1970, as with many schools in Hong Kong, it offered both morning and afternoon sessions to different sets of pupils. English was used as the MoI in the A.M. Session while Chinese was used in the P.M. Session. The curriculum for both sessions was unified in 1972, with Chinese as the medium of instruction. In September 2008, Putonghua became the MoI for the Chinese Language subject for P2, gradually becoming the MoI for P2. Cantonese remained the MoI of P1. In 2014, there was a further change with Putonghua becoming the MoI for the Chinese Language subject for P1–P4, and Cantonese returning as the MoI for P5–P6.

The results of our survey showed that the students in School C were 100% local Hongkongers. Cantonese was the MoI for the teaching of the Chinese Language subject for P1, while Putonghua was used for P2–P6 (the survey was conducted before the change noted above was implemented). Teachers have the freedom to switch between the two languages in class. For the English subject, almost 100% English was used as the MoI and almost 100% Putonghua was used as the MoI in the Putonghua subject. As for other subjects (Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education and Information Technology), Cantonese was used as the MoI. The survey also indicated that finding suitably qualified teaching staff was the worst problem encountered during the implementation of trilingual education in School C.

We collected data in the school for the case study from September to November 2014, which is when the language policy regarding the use of the MoI in the Chinese Language subject changed: Putonghua was now used for P1–P4, while Cantonese was used for P5–P6. The MoI for English, and other subjects remained unchanged as shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Official MoI policies of the school

Subject	Language(s) used as MoI(s)	Class grade
Chinese Language	Putonghua (almost 100%)	P1-P4
	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P5-P6
English Language	English (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Putonghua	Putonghua (almost 100%)	P1-P6
General Studies	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Visual Arts	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Music	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Physical Education	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6
Computer	Cantonese (almost 100%)	P1-P6

Table 8.2 The information of recorded lessons in School C

Subject	MoI	Class grade
Chinese Language	Putonghua	P2
Chinese Language	Cantonese	P5
English Language	English	P1
English Language	English	P5
Putonghua	Putonghua	P6
Putonghua	Putonghua	P3
General Studies	Cantonese	P1

8.2 Results and Discussions

8.2.1 *Data Analysis of Classroom Discourse and Teachers' Reflection Forms*

We video-taped and transcribed seven 35-minute-long lessons (see Table 8.2) to analyse what actually happens in different lessons taught in different MoIs. The teachers, whose lessons had been observed and video-taped, filled in the Teacher's Reflection Form.

A Chinese Language subject teacher stated in his Reflection Form that code-switching is not allowed in language learning and Cantonese was the best language for communication among students in the Chinese Language lessons. Most language teachers did not code-mix in teaching, except in the Chinese Language lesson in P2 (Table 8.2). Although the MoI of the Chinese Language subject was Putonghua in P2, the teacher used Cantonese (14.8%) in the video recording (Table 8.3); in the reflection form the teacher recalled Cantonese usage at 20% (Table 8.4). This teacher reported using Cantonese as a supplement to Putonghua in teaching the Chinese Language subject because he wanted to ensure that students with low proficiency in Putonghua could understand.

Table 8.3 Analysis of code-switching/code-mixing of the recorded lessons in School C

Subject (grade)	MoI	No. of turns by teacher	No. of turns by students	No. of words/ characters spoken in the lesson	No. of words/ characters spoken in other language(s)
Chinese Language (P5)	Cantonese	74	72	5229	0
Chinese Language (P2)	Putonghua	62	59	6434	Cantonese: 952 (14.8%)
					T: 884 (92.86%)
					S: 68 (7.14%)
English Language (P1)	English	216	145	3413	Cantonese
					T: 0
					S: 12 (0.35%)
English Language (P5)	English	113	101	2397	Cantonese
					T: 0
					S: 2 (0.08%)
Putonghua (P3)	Putonghua	129	103	5178	0
Putonghua (P6)	Putonghua	67	62	4416	0
General Studies (P1)	Cantonese	86	82	5429	0

Table 8.4 Percentage of language(s) used by teachers in the recorded lessons in School C

Subject	Class	Teacher's MoI (%)	Teacher's MoI (%)
Chinese Language	5B	Cantonese (100%)	
Chinese Language	2D	Putonghua (80%)	Cantonese (20%)
English Language	5C	English (100%)	
English Language	1A	English (100%)	
Putonghua	6C	Putonghua (100%)	
Putonghua	3B	Putonghua (100%)	
General Studies	1D	Cantonese (100%)	

I mainly used Putonghua which is supplemented by Cantonese in my teaching. The aim is to ensure students with low proficiency in Putonghua can understand my teaching.

The teacher usually called out the students' names and students' numbers in Cantonese and allowed his students to answer his questions in Cantonese and then he would repeat the students' answers in Putonghua. In addition, he would use mixed code between Putonghua and Cantonese when he wanted to show the students the different expressions to describe the same situation in the two languages. Below is the transcription of his lesson:

(Cantonese is in **bold** and explanations and translations in English are given in *[bold and italics]* and pseudonyms are used for the teacher and students' names, and the Chinese names are underlined.)

- T: 各位同學,午安!
- S: 張老師午安。
- T: 坐下。**同學其實我哋有張工作紙派比你地。** [*I have a worksheet for you*]今天我們要教新的語文知識。在教語文知識之前,我們先對一對細菌單元後面的綜合語文重點知識讀解。現在請打開第39頁,39頁。(S翻書)好有沒有同學沒有打開39頁啊?
- S: 沒有。
- T: 39頁,我們先看一看細菌打敗小豆丁的方法。小豆丁就是什麼東西?就是小朋友對不對?
- S: 對。
- T: 好,一句就可以了。現在我們先看看細菌打敗小豆丁的方法。先...先怎麼樣?他們的嘴巴?有沒有人可以試一試?先...好這一個我給你。先走進他們的嘴巴對不對,我們的課本裡面都有的。現在大家一起寫:先走進他們的嘴巴,再溜進他們的哪裡啊?**阿傑**,哪裡?再溜進他們的什麼地方?**阿傑**?再溜進他們的什麼地方?
- S: (silent)
- T: 有沒有人可以幫他?
- S: 肚子。
- T: 肚子。沒錯,再溜進他們的肚子裡。我們的課本裡面都有寫哦。同學們,我們上一課已經讀完課文了,我們應該要知道,細菌是怎麼令小朋友生病的。溜進他們的肚子裡面,然後細菌會複製,是不是?一個變兩個,兩個變四個,四個變八個,這叫做什麼?努力生養。**偉豪**,生養什麼?
- S: 生養細菌。
- T: 生養細菌。在我們的課文裡面,它叫做什麼?
- S: 小菌子。
- T: 小菌子,沒錯,小菌子。努力生養小菌子。(S 填空)這就是細菌打敗小豆丁的方法。好,有沒有人沒有寫完?沒有寫完的舉手。全部都寫完了。好,我們看看下面,就是小豆丁,為什麼他會被對付呢?第一點,我們課文裡面已經說了,小豆丁他有什麼地方,什麼地方是特別容易被細菌對付的呢?首先是什麼?小孩比誰都容易對付。然後呢?然後什麼?小孩比誰都容易對付。下一個是什麼?是什麼?有沒有人可以回答?不用害怕,雖然有老師在後面看。**來,嘉樂。**
- S: 髒的像豬。
- T: 髒的像豬。像豬,沒錯。髒的像豬。首先他是髒對不對?除了髒呢?還有什麼?下面那一句是什麼?小孩的抵抗力很差。所以是什麼?**欣琪。**
- S:
- T: 大聲一點。大聲一點,我聽不到。**要吾要?** [*you need or not?*] 不要?這個嗎?不要亂舉手啊。是軟弱。軟弱。軟弱的像豆腐,對不對?像豆腐。軟弱怎麼寫?髒怎麼寫?我們的課文裡面,有髒這個字,髒,在我們的運用詞語,就有髒這個字。髒,還有軟弱。小孩都很髒,沒有洗手就吃飯,所以那些細菌呢,就全都,全都在他們手上。然後呢吃東西的時候呢,細菌就會進入他的肚子。而且呢,小孩又特別軟弱,他們的抵抗力很差勁,我說過我們的身體裡面有什麼?可以打敗細菌的那是什麼?高美美,你可以用廣東話回答。
- S: **白血球** [*white blood cell*]。(student answered in Cantonese)
- T: 沒錯,**白血球** (teacher repeated student's answer in Cantonese)。是白血球,它在我們的身體裡面幫我們打敗細菌對不對?但是小孩的**白血球**呢就很弱,所以呢,就很軟弱了。然後不愛看病,討厭什麼?討厭什麼?
- S: 打針。
- T: 另外一個同學回答,**欣彤**,討厭什麼?討厭什麼?你平常討厭什麼?
- S: 吃藥。
- T: 沒錯,討厭吃藥。討厭吃藥和打針。好。
- (S 填空)
- T: 好我們已經...有沒有人沒有寫完?
- S: 我...
- T: 快點。

(S填空)

T: 好,應該大家都寫完了。我們呢,現在下去下一頁。翻開下一頁。下一頁是什麼?是語文運用。語文運用呢,語文運用今天我們首先要教的是動詞的重疊。我們之前已經教過什麼是動詞對不對?就是有動作的詞語。好像拿、握、打,那些都是動詞。不過呢,動詞除了可以一個一個地說,我們也可以兩個,或者用動一動、拿一拿這些方法來說。但是,有什麼分別呢?現在就跟大家看一看。那這個碰一碰、摸一摸到底它的時間跟平常的摸有什麼分別呢?好,我想請一位同學出來示範一下什麼叫摸一摸,什麼叫做摸。我們抽一抽。現在我抽。17號,17號 [student's number]。誰?出來。好,然後我再抽一個。這個是...13號 [student's number]。快,出來。現在呢,我想請馬可,你摸一下**慧詩**的手。(S摸手)好,摸了,摸完了摸完了。現在,我想請**慧詩**,你摸一摸馬可的手。摸一摸。(S摸手)好像不是這樣喔。有誰可以幫**慧詩**嗎?啊,**西蒙**。快點快點。[quick]快點。你摸一摸馬可的手。(S摸一摸手)好,大家可以看見,剛才呢馬可摸**慧詩**之後,我叫他摸,他就是這樣對不對?然後呢,**西蒙**摸一摸馬可就是這樣,就完了。所以...好,可以回去,可以回去。好所以我們可以看見,哪個比較長呢?是摸比較長,還是摸一摸呢?覺得是摸比較長的,請舉手。摸比較長,時間比較長的,請舉手。剛才,摸是什麼樣的?是拿著不動,是不是?是不是?摸是拿著不動。摸一摸,是不是?好,那我現在再問一次。你覺得,摸比較長的,請舉手。舉手。(S舉手)好,有很多人啊,好放下手。覺得是摸一摸比較長的,請舉手。嗯,沒有了啊。沒錯,所以我們可以看見,摸一摸,就是就是我們廣東話**掂一掂** [touch],對不對?摸呢,就是我們廣東話,掂住啊嘛 [touch in Cantonese]。掂,我掂,但是呢,可能可以掂好耐嘅,摸一摸,就是掂一掂,掂一掂呢就是咁樣。[this is how we touch]你看見一壺水很熱的時候,你會碰一碰對不對?你不會碰...如果你碰的話,就怎麼樣?熟了對不對?可以吃了。你只可以碰一碰。碰一碰時間就比較短了。好,現在我們知道了,如果時間很短的話呢,而且還有一個試一下的目的,你看見水很熱,試一下就是摸一摸,對不對?我們可以加一個一字。好像看這個例子,媽媽煮的菜味道很好,你來嘗一嘗。嘗一嘗是不是指叫你全部都吃下去?是不是?是不是叫你全部都吃下去?**振宇**,嘗一嘗是全部都吃下去還是吃一點?

S:

T: 有沒有人可以幫他?**振宇**。

S: 吃一點。

T: 吃一點,沒錯。嘗一嘗就是吃一點。這個時間比較短的,而且呢,還有一個想試一試的那個意思。好我們現在呢,就翻到書的第40頁。這些都是很容易的,對我們班的同學來說。好第一題,我們看一看第一題。那兒傳來一陣熱熱的叫喊聲,我們過去看一看吧。看一看是叫你在哪裡一直看著,還是這樣看一看就走了?有沒有人可以回答?我現在想請同學扮一個,扮演一個看一看的內容做給我看看。19號,是誰?好。**振興**,過來 [come over]。扮演一個看一看的動作,然後就坐回去。

(S扮演)

T: 大家覺得他扮演的對不對?覺得對的舉手。對的舉手。(S舉手)那麼少。有誰覺得他不對的?不對的舉手。(S舉手)好好**偉強**過來。你覺得他不對,那看一看應該是怎麼樣的呢?看一看應該是怎麼樣的?看一看,現在扮演一下。怎麼樣?看一看應該是怎麼樣的?(S扮演)這樣是看一看啊?這樣。好。覺得**偉強**是啱的請舉手。[put up your hand if you think Wai Keung is correct](S舉手)好像比較少哦。對,其實**振興**是對的。大家看他走出來的時候是這樣的,看一看就走了對不對?沒錯,看一看就是說你看一下,看的時間很短,不是叫你站在那裡慢慢看。這個叫做慢慢看是不是?好,現在我們知道它的分別了,看看第一題:公園裡有人表演唱歌,讓我.....下面我們找一個詞語。有沒有可以回答第一題?**婷婷**。

S: 聽一聽。

T: 聽一聽。是不是呢?沒錯。聽一聽是什麼曲子。就是讓你聽一下,不是讓你坐在那裡慢慢聽。聽一聽就是聽一下而已。好,第二題。有了電燈真方便,我們只要什麼開關扭,房間就立即亮起來。我抽一個同學。29號。是誰?又是**振宇** [Tsang Yu again]。好。不用你回答了,你回答的太多。這個是五號。五號是誰?**偉勤**。好,這一題,是什麼?有了電燈真方便。站起來回答。

S: 按一下。

- T: 按一下。不過是同學告訴你的的是不是?按一下,按一下就是按一下對不對?不是按著不走。好,按一下開關扭,房間便立即亮起來。同學們要積極回答問題,唔使驚嘍。*[don't be afraid]*按一下開關扭,房間呢便立即亮起來了。好,如果我說,如果我說,正浩你過來按這個開關。坐下坐下,我只是舉例。按著,按著就是按著不動對不對?不能走,一直按著。那麼按一下就是按一下,按一下,是不是?
- S: 對。
- T: 再按一下。好,我們看第三題。比賽前,你要先跟他什麼需要遵守什麼規則。我們看一看啊。這裡用什麼字?第三題應該用什麼字呢?比賽前我們有句話叫什麼呢?比賽前我們要...先小人後君子是不是?先講清楚我地有啲咩規矩,跟住先去比賽嘍嘛,你同啲小朋友玩,玩僕哩哩,咁係唔係要講下僕嘅時間有幾耐,捉嘅時間有幾耐,係唔係要講清楚的。咁所以...*[if you play hide-and-seek with friends, we need to make the rules clear before the game, e.g., how long you will hide before you seek your friends]* 所以這一題是什麼呢?這一題?
- S: 看一看。
- T: 看一看。你要先跟他看一看什麼規則?規則可以看的嗎?規則平常我們都是怎麼樣?志強。
- S: 說一說。
- T: 沒錯,說一說。對不對?假如子吉搵你僕哩哩,你要先同他講埋點樣僕嘍嘛,係唔係啊?點樣玩,講清楚先玩嘍嘛,雖然我哋幫所有人睇住哩哩,係唔係?*[you have to tell others how to play hide-and-seek before you start the game, right?]* 好,這一題就是說一說。說一說要遵守什麼規則。好,第四題,橡皮不見了,你快點怎麼樣。我們看一看前面的看、摸、想、按、聽、說。橡皮不見了,你快點把它放到哪去。應該選哪一個呢?你的東西不見了,東西不見的時候,你首先是怎麼樣?首先你們怎麼樣?如果你的東西不見了,你會怎麼樣?如果你嘅嘢唔見左,首先你會點做啊?*[what would you do if you lose something?]*
- S: 諗下系邊。*[think over where I lost it]*
- T: 諗下系邊。諗下,冇錯了。*[right, you have to think where you lost it]* 他已經說了答案。廣東話嘅諗下嘍,就是普通話的想一想。想一想。普通話裡面是沒有想下,冇諗下 呢個詞嘅。想一想,或者想一下,但是沒有想下,我地廣東話就可以講諗下,普通話就有諗下呢個詞嘅。*(Teacher used Cantonese and Puonghua to show the students the different expressions to describe the same situation as 'let me think' in English.)* 想一想。好,第五題。你的小狗真乖巧,我可以怎麼樣?我可以看一看它,對不對?我可以想一想它,對不對?可以按一下它,對不對?如果你按它,它會怎麼樣?它會咬你,對不對?我可以聽一聽它,不是。我可以說一說它,也不是。所以一定是摸一摸它。我可以摸一摸它嗎?好,很容易是不是?這個呢,就是動詞的重疊,是比較容易的。有沒有人沒有寫完的?
- S: 我。
- T: 快點。
- (S填空)
- T: 好現在應該全部同學都寫完了,我們現在就去一個比較難一點的語文應用,到底是什麼呢?有沒有人沒有寫完?
- S: 有。
- T: 沒有了,全部都寫完了,好我們現在看看下一頁。這是誰,大家都知道,他是.....
- S: (雜音)
- T: 不要你自己說,我要你舉手告訴我。家浩,他是誰?
- S: 多啦A夢。*[Doraemon]* (student answered in Cantonese)
- T: 多啦A夢, (teacher repeated student's answer in Cantonese) 我們也可以叫他做什麼?他又另外一個名字叫什麼?叮噹,對不對?老師經常都叫他叮噹,因為老師小的時候他的名字就叫叮噹,沒有叫他哆啦A夢的,現在才叫他哆啦A夢。好,我想問,老師拿這個哆啦A夢,拿這個叮噹的樣子給大家看呢,是想問,你覺得他的臉像一個什麼?可不可以說,他的臉像一個.....像什麼,有沒有人回答?Peter,他的臉像什麼?
- S: (小聲)
- T: 聽不到,大聲一點

- S: (Mr. Happy?)
 T: 我聽不清楚,你可以說廣東話嗎?
 S: Mr. Happy?
 T: Mr. Happy? 老師不認識Mr. Happy... 我們可以有另外的答案嗎?好,大家覺得叮噹的臉像一個什麼?保羅,像什麼?
 S: 足球 [football]
 T: 像一個足球,好還有其他答案嗎?淑芬,像什麼,他的臉?
 S: 狸貓 [civet cat]
 T: 狸貓,我知道,我知道叮噹佢係一隻狸貓,但係我宜家係問佢塊面似咩嘢?Jack?
 S: 似一頂帽 [look like a hat]
 T: 似一頂帽?(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)
 S: 因為佢系圓形的嘛。 [because it is circular in shape]
 T: 圓形。(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)
 好還有其他答案嗎?蕙嫻,像什麼?
 S: 小丑。
 T: 嗯?你可以說廣東話嗎?[Can you speak in Cantonese?]
 S: 小丑。 [clown]
 T: 小丑,(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)
 因為小丑有個紅色的鼻系唔系?系,啱咧我宜家想講的其實系佢塊面咧圓碌碌,到底系似咩嘢咧?我覺得佢似一個籃球。系唔系呀?[Is it because a clown has a red nose? But I want to say it has a round face. What is it? Is it a basketball?]
 S: (雜音)
 T: 噓!
 S: (雜音)
 T: 唔笑咧我地上唔到堂咯。我知系開心,開心笑一下得了,唔好系咁系度笑。好,[ok, I know you laugh because you are happy but don't laugh too much as we need to continue our lesson]像一個籃球對不對?好,如果我說他像一個香蕉呢?大家覺得像不像香蕉?
 S: 不像
 T: 為什麼呢?大家對香蕉還有籃球的反應不同呢?因為籃球它是圓的對不對?而叮噹的臉也是圓的,所以他們有一個共同的地方。我們叫它做共同點,對不對?共同點,就是他們一樣的地方,共同點 [one similarity] 就是他們有一個相同的東西,相同的東西,是圓的,他們都是圓的,所以,叮噹的頭像籃球,對不對?但是,叮噹的臉是圓的.....叮噹的臉是圓的,但是香蕉不是圓的,對不對?它是長的,所以他們兩個之間,他們兩個中間有沒有共同點?
 S: 沒有
 T: 沒有,沒錯。所以,他們,我們就不可以說,叮噹的臉像香蕉了,這就是,這就是一個什麼.....我們叫他做.....如果我說叮噹的頭像籃球,這是一個什麼句子?有沒有人可以告訴我,這是什麼句子?呢個系咩嘢句子?[What is the sentence pattern?] 叮噹個頭似籃球,呢個系咩嘢句子啊?[what is the sentence pattern of this: 'the head of Doraemon looks like a basketball?'] 忠誠? 嗯?我地宜家教緊的系咩啊?修辭,咩呀?43頁。修辭.....唔系,系41頁,修辭比喻啊系唔系?[we are now learning rhetoric, is it a simile?] 就是比喻句,我們要教的就是比喻,把叮噹的頭比喻成籃球,這就是比喻句。好,我想問,現在再考大家一下,再考大家一下,有沒有人知道他是誰?舉手,你們不認識他嗎?舉手!
 S: 認識
 T: 認識,他叫什麼名字?
 S: (小聲)
 T: 再說一次,廣東話點講啊?[How do you say it in Cantonese?]
 S: 星星。 [stars]
 T: 星星,(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)
 佢系邊一部卡通片嘅啊?系啦,佢就系海綿寶寶嘅,佢系海綿寶寶裡面的,咩野名啊?有人知道啊?你地看卡通片嘅。 [does anyone know his name in a cartoon called 'SpongeBob'?

S: 派大星。[Patrick Star]

T: 派大星。(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)

派大星其實佢系邊種動物啊,大家知不知道?[what kind of animal is Patrick Star?]

S: 海星。[starfish]

T: 佢系海星。(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)

系啦。佢就系海星。大家見到佢。[yes, so you see it is a starfish] 一個角,兩個角,三個角,四個角,五個角對不對?海星就是五個角的。好,噓...好,那麼,他的頭呢?大家覺得像什麼東西?我是說他的頭...他的頭像什麼東西?呃,曉倫。

S: (小聲)

T: 聽不到。你可以說廣東話。是什麼?

S: 火箭。[rocket]

T: 火箭。(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)

嗯,他說像火箭。呃小宇,他像什麼?他的頭像什麼?有沒有人可以幫一下小宇?志明,你說。

S: 香蕉。

T: 像香蕉。嗯,火箭還有香蕉。火箭還有香蕉。還有什麼?還有什麼?

S: (小聲)

T: 聽不到。

S: 箭。[arrow]

T: 箭。弓箭。(teacher repeated student's answer in Canontese)

對不對?好,剛才呢,我們聽了幾個同學...好,剛才我們聽了幾個答案,火箭,弓箭,還有香蕉。大家覺得他的頭是不是尖的?他的頭是尖的對不對?所以呢很多同學都用一些尖的東西來比喻他。看老師想到什麼呢。我覺得他的頭呢很像一把刀。對不對?也是尖的。也是尖的。好,這就是一個比喻句。派大星是不是。派大星 [Patrick Star]。派大星 [Patrick Star]。他的頭像一把刀。他們的共同點是什麼?

S: 尖的。

T: 尖的。他的共同點是尖的。剛才呢,就是圓的。叮噹的頭是圓的。現在派大星...海星和刀的共同點,就是尖。好,如果我說,海星的頭像一個海綿。覺得正確的請舉手。覺得正確的請舉手。覺得錯的請舉手。沒錯。他就是根本就不像對不對?他的中間有沒有共同點?

S: 沒有。

T: 沒有。根本就沒有共同點。這個海綿它是一個方的對不對?系方嘅。[it is square] 但是它是尖的。所以他們中間呢就沒有共同點。所以我們就不可以說它尖。不可以說它的頭像海綿了。好,這就是我們要說的比喻句。大家可以看到呢,比喻一定要中間有共同點。共同點。例如我們班有一些同學的頭比較圓對不對?有沒人的頭比較圓?偉倫的頭挺圓的對不對。我們可以說偉倫的頭像叮噹的頭對不對?但是,可不可以說他的頭像海星的頭?不可以。因為他們的頭根本就沒有共同點。根本就不尖對不對?好,現在我們知道什麼是比喻句了。比喻句需要有共同點,大家也知道了。現在讓我們看一看下一個。這就是我們要教的比喻。比喻呢就是說用相同的東西來描述...來比喻另一個東西。南瓜和太陽。南瓜和太陽呢,都是圓的對不對?而且呢,也是紅紅的。所以呢我們也可以說,太陽像一個大南瓜,對不對?這呢,就是叫做比喻了。好,除了樣子之外,我們還可以用什麼來做比喻呢?我地平時做嘅比喻嘞,就系樣,叮噹嘅頭圓嘅,海星嘅頭尖嘅,所以佢一個似波,一個似刀,但是呢,其實我地仲可以用其他嘢來做比喻,唔一定係個樣嘅,仲有其他嘢。[in similes, the head of Doraemon is round like a ball, the head of the starfish is pointed like a knife, any other similes?]好,明明,有什麼東西可以用來作比喻?

S: (小聲)

T: 聽不到。

S: 桌子。

T: 我是說,除了樣子之外,桌子也是有樣子的對不對?但是,除了樣子,我們其實也可以用其他東西來作比喻的,有沒有?

S: 豆腐像海綿一樣軟弱。

- T: 豆腐像海綿一樣軟弱。豆腐跟海綿的樣子不同,是不是?但是他們有一個相同點,就是軟弱。這個呢,是靠眼睛看不出來的,要我們瞭解這樣東西,才會知道的。這種比喻呢...這種比喻呢就更好了。好現在呢,老師也想給你看一看比喻,看一看另外一個比喻。這是什麼?有沒有人是認識這種動物的?請舉手。認識動物...認識它嗎?好,有沒有人可以說一說它的特點?有沒有人可以說一說它的特點?啊,成成。你起來。
- S: 它跑得很快。
- T: 它跑得很快。你知道它可以跑多少公里嗎?知道嗎?有沒有人可以幫助他?
- S: 二百幾公里。[around 200 km]
- T: 二百幾。好。(teacher repeated student's answer in Cantonese)
- S: 二百八十。
- T: 沒有。沒有二百八十。有人知道嗎?有人知道嗎?
- S: 一百一十公里。[110 km]
- T: 啊,他知道。你在哪裡知道的?怎麼知道的?
- S: 屋企有本書。[I have the related book at home]
- T: 就是說動物的書是不是?沒錯,獵豹呢是...獵豹它是世界上跑得最快的動物,它每個小時可以跑一百一十公里。一百一十公里呢,聽起來好像不是很多對不對?一百一十公里聽起來好像不是很多,但是你知道我們小朋友最多可以跑多少嗎?知道嗎?一個小時。知道嗎?
- S: 十公里。
- T: 沒錯,我們小朋友呢,一個小時只能跑十幾公里,但是獵豹一個小時它可以跑一百一十公里。就算是大人,就算是一個參加比賽的大人,他最多只可以跑二十幾公里,二十幾三十。但是,就算奧運擺金牌的選手,奧運擺金牌呢,佢都系跑三十幾公里。但是呢,佢就可以跑一百一十,所以大家可以見到有幾快嘅嘢。系唔系? [Even the Olympic gold medal winners can run only around 30 km (in one hour), but it (Cheetah) can run 110 km. it's fast, isn't it?] 好,那些鹿呢,鹿最多可以跑九十幾公里,所以呢鹿就不夠它快,所以經常呢都被它捉到。如果你們有看電視的話,就會看見獵豹通常都可以很輕易地捉到那些獵物,因為沒有一種獵物呢比它跑得快。好,老師為什麼要給獵豹大家看呢?

P2 students were the only students who code-switched between Putonghua and Cantonese in the Chinese Language lesson. As reflected by the teacher (see Table 8.5), students used more Cantonese (70%) than Putonghua when interacting with him. For example:

- T: 認識,他叫什麼名字?
- S: (小聲)
- T: 再說一次,廣東話點講啊?
- S: 星星。
- T: 星星,佢系邊一部卡通片嘅啊?系啦,佢就系海綿寶寶嘅,佢系海綿寶寶裡面的,咩野名啊?有冇人知道啊?你地看卡通片嘅。
- S: 派大星。
- T: 派大星,其實佢系邊種動物啊,大家知不知道?
- S: 海星。
- T: 佢系海星。系啦。佢就系海星。大家見到佢。一個角,兩個角,三個角,四個角,五個角對不對?海星就是五個角的。好,噓...好,那麼,他的頭呢?大家覺得像什麼東西?我是說他的頭...他的頭像什麼東西?

(the dialogues above are all in Cantonese even though it is a Putonghua subject lesson)

In general, the teachers, especially the language teachers, did not code-mix while teaching. For example, the Chinese Language teacher reflected that “Code-switching is not allowed in language teaching and Cantonese is the best language for communication among students in the Chinese language lessons”. The English Language

Table 8.5 Percentage of language(s) used by students when interacting with teachers in the recorded lessons

Subject	Class	Major language students used when interacting with teachers (%)	Supplementary language students used when interacting with teachers (%)
General Studies	1D	Cantonese (100%)	
Chinese Language	2D	Putonghua (30%)	Cantonese (70%)
English Language	1A	English (100%)	
Putonghua	6C	Putonghua (100%)	
Putonghua	3B	Putonghua (100%)	
Chinese Language	5B	Cantonese (100%)	
English Language	5C	English (100%)	

subject teachers and the Putonghua subject teachers agreed that a rich language environment could facilitate students' language learning. For example, the following comparable views were expressed by both English Language subject teachers in their reflection forms:

English Language subject teacher 1: I aim at providing my students with an accurate model of the English language by letting them immerse in an English speaking classroom environment.

English Language subject teacher 2: English Language lessons are the only chance that my students can speak in English since all of their mother tongue is Cantonese. Though mother-tongue teaching is more effective, it does not apply in language teaching. I believe that a language-rich environment is very important for learning English.

Putonghua subject teacher: I only used Putonghua because the students have the language proficiency to communicate in Putonghua so that the lessons can go smoothly. My students are used to and are confident of using Putonghua to communicate. There is no such necessity to code-switch. I persist in using Putonghua in the teaching of the Putonghua language to promote trilingual education.

However, the English Language subject teacher teaching P1 English pointed out in the reflection form that she would use Cantonese as a supplement if her students encountered difficulties in understanding her instructions.

I will make use of Cantonese as a supplement if students encounter any difficulties in understanding my instructions.

As all the students in School C were 100% local HongKongers, the teachers teaching other subjects all agreed students would learn best in their mother tongue and so they would not code-mix in their teaching. For instance, as the teacher teaching P1 General Studies stated in her reflection form:

I will not because Cantonese is the mother tongue of my students and they can easily understand the content in Cantonese.

As a whole, code-mixing was not significant in School C as the MoI of most of the subjects was Cantonese and all the students were L1 speakers of Cantonese.

8.2.2 Students' Questionnaire Survey and Focus Group Interview

8.2.2.1 Questionnaire Survey

A 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree) questionnaire survey was designed to collect students' perceptions of the trilingual education model implemented in the school. All together 193 primary 4 to primary 6 students were surveyed (P4: 58, P5: 67, P6: 68). In the questionnaire, item 4 to item 7 are about students' perceptions of code-mixing. Figure 8.1 shows the mean and standard deviation plot of the survey results of item 4 – item 7.

The students gave the highest mean to item 7 (I find it acceptable switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school), with the second largest standard deviation in which students' opinions were a little varied, with around 30% of students strongly agreeing, and around 10% strongly disagreeing. Item 6 (I find myself code-switching between Cantonese and Putonghua regularly during the study of the Chinese Language subject) received the lowest mean with the largest standard deviation. Students' opinions on this item varied. Twenty percent strongly agreed and 20% strongly disagreed (Fig. 8.2).

Item 11 (I am happy with my progress in the study of Cantonese) was ranked the first with the highest mean score and the smallest standard deviation, while around 50% of the students strongly agreed, only around 3% strongly disagreed. The students' opinions varied for item 12 (I am happy with my progress in the study of Putonghua) as its mean was the second lowest with the largest standard deviation. Around 25% strongly agreed, and around 12% strongly disagreed. Students in the school also showed their different opinions on item 10 (I am satisfied with my progress in the study of spoken English). Its mean score was the lowest and its standard deviation was the second largest, with around 26% strongly agreeing, and around 9% strongly disagreeing (Fig. 8.3).

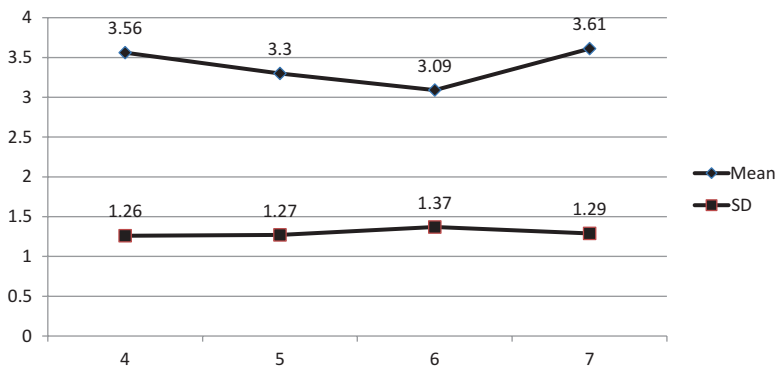


Fig. 8.1 Mean and standard deviation plot of item 4-item 7 of the student survey

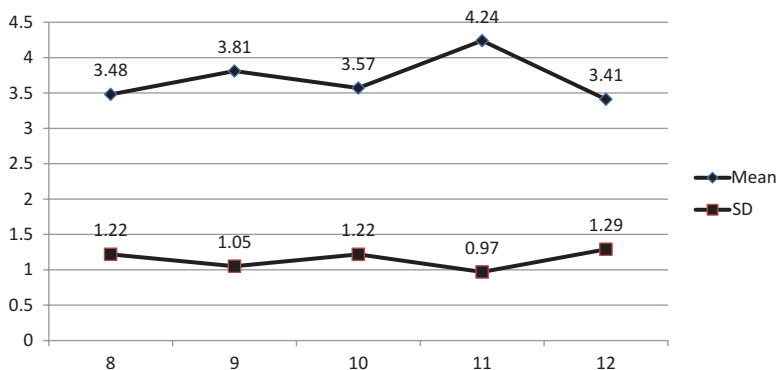


Fig. 8.2 Mean and standard deviation plot of item 8-item 12 of the student survey

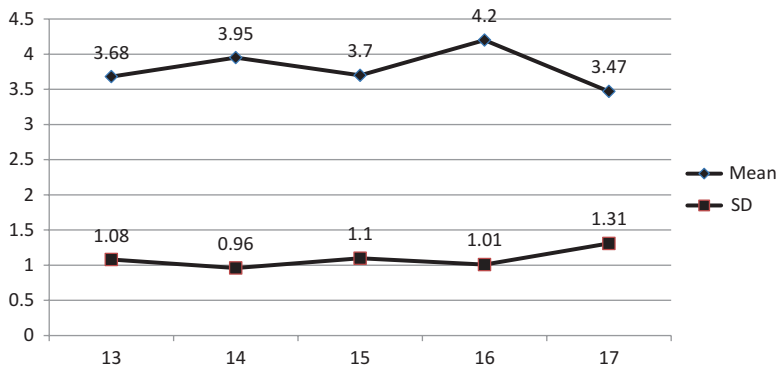


Fig. 8.3 Mean and standard deviation plot of item 13-item 17 of the student survey

The students ranked item 16 (I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in Cantonese) the highest and their opinions were shared, while around 49% strongly agreeing and only some 3% strongly disagreeing. Item 17 (I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in Putonghua) received the lowest mean score and the largest standard deviation. This shows the students’ opinions were varied about this. Some 29% of them strongly agreed and around 11% strongly disagreed.

8.2.2.2 Focus Group Interview

Eight students from P4 to P6 participated in the Focus Group Interview. The P5-P6 interviewees (six out of the eight) said that they preferred using Cantonese in the study of the Chinese Language subject and this may explain the reason why students of this school enjoyed the trilingual education the least of all the schools surveyed. An interviewee said, “I preferred using Cantonese in the study of the Chinese Language subject. If Putonghua was used, some classmates would find the lesson

boring and became inattentive or fell asleep. Some even failed to answer the teacher's questions, affecting their academic results and thus their learning attitude became worse. This year the situation is improved as Cantonese is used". Another added, "Using Cantonese to learn the Chinese Language subject is better. Because some students could not understand the teacher when using Putonghua". "Some students could not understand well when using Putonghua in learning the subject, especially in dictation, they could not write down the correct words due to their misunderstanding of the words, affecting their results" said by the other student.

Not many students from the school found code-mixing acceptable. There are possible reasons for this. First, all the students in School C are local Hongkongers. Second, Cantonese is the major MoI in most subjects in the school. Third, teachers insist on using almost 100% English in English Language lessons and almost 100% Putonghua in Chinese Language subject lessons (P1-P4) and in Putonghua subject lessons (P1-P6). Fourth, P6 students were anxious about their promotion to secondary education. For example, a P6 interviewee said, "I appreciate my teacher using 100% English in English Language lessons. It is because we need to well prepare ourselves now and adapt to such a learning environment; otherwise, it will be more difficult for us to adapt to an EMI secondary school". Another student added, "Using 100% English in English teaching can benefit us when we are going for an interview in the future". However, some students pointed out the teachers would use Cantonese in the following situations:

- S1: When we don't understand the meaning of words, teachers will use Cantonese.
- S2: When doing revision before tests, teachers will use Cantonese to explain the main points to us.
- S3: Teachers will use more Cantonese in the first few weeks at the beginning of the school year.
- S4: Teachers will use Cantonese when explaining the grammatical structure.
- S5: Teachers will use Cantonese to explain those difficult words in reading comprehension.

Not surprisingly, given that they were all L1 speakers of Cantonese, students from the school were happy with their progress in the study of Cantonese and were very confident in achieving good proficiency in Cantonese, both in writing and speaking. However, only four out of the eight interviewees reported that they were happy with their progress in the study of Putonghua. One P6 interviewee said,

I have more confidence in English than in Putonghua. In English, we just need to spell the words but we need to put more time on practising pinyin (聲母及韻母) in Putonghua which is rather difficult. Otherwise, we cannot learn Putonghua well.

Based on the survey data, we find that only a few students in School C were happy about code-mixing in learning language, especially mixing between Cantonese and Putonghua. However, the interviewees did feel that that the teacher teaching Putonghua would occasionally use Cantonese in Putonghua lessons:

- S6: Teachers will use Cantonese when explaining some of the difficult terms or when students fail to follow the pronunciation of the words.

S7: Putonghua is used in the majority of teaching time, but Cantonese is used when students fail to understand the meaning of the words.

On the other hand, some students appreciated the English Language subject teachers' use of mixed code in teaching English language. For example:

S1: I accept mixed code. It is because if teachers use 100% English in teaching the English subject, I may not understand some of the difficult words and in this case I prefer teachers explain in Cantonese.

S2: Teachers might have to waste quite a lot of time explaining the difficult words if 100% English is used.

S3: If 100% English is used, some students may not be motivated to learn and will fall asleep or talk with their classmates.

S4: I think mixed code is acceptable because when teachers use 100% English, some students may not understand the content well and will find the lessons boring.

The students also showed dissatisfaction with their likely language proficiency in Putonghua on graduation, yet the students were not in favour of using Putonghua in learning the Chinese Language subject. The changing MoI policies in the Chinese Language subject throughout the years in the school might be one of the reasons to explain this phenomenon.

P5 and P6 students who had experienced the use of PMI in learning the Chinese Language subject welcomed the change of the policy – using Cantonese as the MoI of the subject – as they could understand better and be more involved in class activities. As for the two P4 Interviewees, they were neutral to the policy. The P5-P6 interviewees also pointed out some of the disadvantages of using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject:

S8 (from P5): If Putonghua was used, some classmates would find the lesson boring and become inattentive or fall asleep. Some even failed to answer the teacher's questions, affecting their academic results and worsening their learning attitude. This year the situation is improved as Cantonese is used.

S9 (from P6): When using Putonghua in teaching the subject, students sitting around me would play in class as they did not understand the teacher. They now become attentive when the teacher uses Cantonese.

8.2.3 Interviews

The school principal, 12 teaching staff and 11 parents were interviewed. The teaching staff included subject panels of the Chinese Language, English Language, Putonghua, Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, PE and Computer Technology subjects, and three subject teachers teaching the Chinese Language subject (using Putonghua as the MoI), the English Language subject and the Putonghua subject respectively.

8.2.3.1 Parents

Eleven parents (3 males and 8 females) were interviewed. Most had an understanding of trilingual education policy: that three languages, i.e., Cantonese, English and Putonghua are used as the MoI in teaching and students need to learn how to write in Chinese and English. However, one said that she did not really understand the policy of trilingual education. They all could point out the goal of trilingual education policy as being to develop students' language proficiency in the three languages. When asked if the trilingual education model in the school was an attractive feature when they chose the present primary school for their children, only two agreed. One claimed that the use of Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject was a decisive factor in her choice of school, saying, "I considered several schools that used PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject and this is one of the deciding factors". Meanwhile, the reasons the other parents gave for choosing the school were: the school ethos, family connections, the school's religious affiliation, the school motto and the closeness of the school. For example:

Parent 1: My elder son graduated in this school and it is reasonable for me to choose this school for my younger son. When I chose this school for my elder son, there was no trilingual education in this school, and therefore there were other factors, like the good school ethos, that made me choose this school for him.

P2: Not a particular factor as I thought every school implements trilingual education. I was attracted by the school motto instead.

While, generally speaking, the parents were satisfied with the trilingual education model as implemented in the school, there was controversy among the parents on the use of PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject. Five parents supported using PMI, but two of them did not understand why the school had changed the MoI of the Chinese Language subject for P5-P6 from Putonghua to Cantonese. Six parents objected to the use of PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject:

P3: Better use Cantonese to study the Chinese Language subject as Cantonese is our mother tongue. It's easier for parents to have revisions with their children when using Cantonese as the MoI of the subject. I have reservation on using PMI. Switching to the use of Cantonese in the study of the Chinese Language subject is appropriate for students to prepare themselves for admission to secondary schools.

P4: I oppose to using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject. It's good to use Cantonese in teaching the Chinese Language subject and the other subjects. Switching back to Cantonese in teaching the Chinese Language subject is desirable.

P5: The rationale behind using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject is good but it is rather difficult to put into practice as our mother tongue is Cantonese and it is not easy to write out what we say in Putonghua. Also, PMI needs a lot of support. For me, I don't know Putonghua and I can't do revision on this with my son. Therefore, I need to make use of the online CDs of the textbooks and listen to the content in Putonghua. I really do not know the accurate pronunciation of the words. Finally I need to put him in Putonghua tutorial class outside school.

Four parents pointed out that they had not seen any significant impact from using PMI on the improvement of their children's language proficiency in written Chinese. One said,

I think he has made improvement in written Chinese, but this may not be a result of PMI. It is because he is becoming more mature and has learnt a lot of vocabularies by reading more books, resulting in his better writing in Chinese and this is not because of speaking more Putonghua.

Another parent added,

The improvement on written Chinese depends very much on reading. My son is not good at Putonghua, but he reads a lot and I find his written Chinese has been improved.

Eight parents agreed that the school might consider using English as the MoI, or as a supplementary MoI at higher grades in Mathematics, the science topics in General Studies and Computing. One parent said, "I think English can be used as the MoI in the Computing subject, as we usually say 'mouse' instead of 滑鼠 (in Cantonese) and much software has English version only and after some time students are getting used to bilingualism". Another added, "Computer. As we always use its English terms in our daily life and most information in the internet are in English". Their desire for an increasing use of English as a MoI stemmed from their wish for their children to enter EMI secondary schools in the future and they felt that using EMI in these subjects in higher grades could help bridge the gap between primary and secondary education. "The school can use mainly Cantonese, supplemented by English in Mathematics in senior grades so as to bridge the gap between the primary and secondary schools", pointed out one parent. Another said,

I don't see the need (of introducing more EMI subjects) for junior grade students. However, English can be used as a supplement in Maths and GS for P5-P6 students. Most parents would like to have their children admitted to an EMI secondary school, in which most subjects, including Liberal Studies, are all taught in English. It is a burden for those who are coming from CMI primary schools to adapt to such a change.

"English is very important as universities are all using EMI. I think Cantonese can be used as MOI in all subjects, but the textbooks can be in English. I know some schools are using Chinese and English textbooks but Cantonese is used when teaching the concepts. All quizzes and exams are in English. This way can help students learn the English terminologies so that they can adapt well when they are in secondary schools. The school may consider using this method in P5 and P6 regardless of the submission of exam results. That is to teach mainly in English and supplemented by Cantonese in Science. Maths is better to be taught in Cantonese but English terminologies can be given to familiarise themselves with the English terminologies. This is more favourable for them to choose EMI secondary schools" expressed by one parent.

All the parents at School C thought their children were confident of achieving good proficiency in the three languages when they graduated. Three parents thought students should start learning in the mother tongue and only start learning the other languages at a later stage. This parent explained,

I agree with some experts that point out children should learn their mother tongue well before six, and after that they can learn English and Putonghua gradually. Mother tongue

should come first so that the children can learn the knowledge and the reasons. Then they can absorb more knowledge supplemented by other languages. If children are brought up in an English environment at an early age, they may not know how to communicate with the elderly in Cantonese, leaving a gap between the two generations.

Seven parents, however, felt that children should learn the three languages as early as possible. “I think the three languages should be developed in parallel, starting from an early age. We’d better use 100% English in English Language lessons”, said one parent.

8.2.3.2 Teachers

A total of 12 teaching staff were individually interviewed, including nine subject panels and three language teachers who taught Chinese Language (using PMI), English Language and Putonghua respectively. They all agreed to the appropriateness of using Chinese as the major language for communication and the appropriateness of the trilingual education model implemented in the school.

Although the classroom discourse analysis showed that the language teachers, except the Chinese Language subject teacher using PMI teaching the P2 Chinese Language lesson, did not code-mix in their lessons, the English panel and the English Language subject teacher interviewee were not resistant to code-switching. While they would not code-mix in teaching, they allowed their students, especially those low achievers, to code-mix when asking questions.

English Language subject teacher: The school policy is to force them to speak in English, as a result they try to keep quiet in the English Language lessons. Therefore, I see the point that the policy to force students to use English in English Language lessons would make students run away from English. In this connection, I allow code-switching but I am not encouraging this. I allow code-switching as I don’t want my students to feel too much pressure and refuse to speak to me.

English Language subject Panel: We allow code-switching in our classrooms. We would teach them to speak in English step by step. Though code-switching is helpful for the low achievers, it is harmful to the learning of the high achievers except in the case that they don’t know the meaning of specific terms like the “umbrella revolution”.

Teachers teaching other subjects did not share the same views as the language teachers. The subject panel of Computer Tehnology said that the MoI of the subject is Cantonese; however some English materials would be used for discussions in class as most advanced news about information technology came from overseas and was in English. To better the students’ understanding of up-to-date news, she would sometimes code-mix in class.

The Computer Technology Panel (Head): Some professional terms should be taught in English for easy understanding. For example, using the English term microphones is better than 麥克風. Sometimes, my students will use English terms in class, like the word ‘WhatsApp’. Sometimes using the English terms is much easier for students to know what you are saying.

Using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject has been a controversial issue in School C. This can be reflected by the changing policies concerning the use

of Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject. It seems that the Chinese Language subject teachers using PMI and the Putonghua subject panel were not in favour of using PMI. The teacher who used PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject thought the policy was desirable, but for more capable students. The Panel of the Chinese Language subject did not agree that using PMI could enhance student language proficiency in Chinese and she pointed out that students were more motivated when learning the subject in Cantonese. The Chinese Language teacher who taught P2 in Putonghua agreed.

P2 Chinese Language teacher using PMI: The advantage of using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject is to let students learn the written language, and to save time on the direct translation of the content into Cantonese. The disadvantage is that there are fewer interactions among students and students are not motivated in answering questions.

However, the teachers would follow the school policy.

The subject panel of Putonghua: I insist on separating Putonghua and Chinese Language into two subjects. This is because using Putonghua as MOI to teach Chinese could only increase the language proficiency of Putonghua, but it is not so visible on the improvement in Chinese, or in Chinese writing. For example, there are also some wordings in Putonghua which cannot be used in Chinese writing, like we cannot write the beggar as 叫化子, instead we should write 乞丐.

8.2.3.3 Principal

The sponsoring body thought using PMI could be one of the strategies to attract more parents to choose the school as the use of PMI is becoming a trend after the handover in 1997. The present Principal was not the policy-maker. He faced a dilemma, with complaints from parents who wanted Cantonese to be the MoI of the Chinese Language subject on the one hand, and teachers who were not competent enough in teaching the subject in Putonghua on the other.

Principal: Some of our Chinese Language subject teachers were skilful in teaching the Chinese Language subject in Cantonese but they did not have the language proficiency in Putonghua... The worse situation was that some good Chinese Language subject teachers were complained by parents after they had used PMI in teaching. They even urged for reusing Cantonese in teaching the Chinese Language subject as their children could understand what had been taught in class. In one case, a teacher had reached level 3 or above in Putonghua but could not make the students understand and so sometimes Cantonese was used in explanation and this was complained by other teachers, wondering why such teacher could use Cantonese in Chinese Language lessons. Two years ago, I became the principal and found the situation more confusing as more complaints came from different stakeholders. The most resistance came from the parents of P5 and P6.

To balance things and to attract more parents to choose School C, the principal decided to use CMI in teaching P5-P6 Chinese Language subject while using PMI in P1-P4 so that students could achieve better results in the TSA oral test and parents' confidence in the school could be regained. However, the principal himself was supportive to learning in mother tongue.

Principal: Using PMI is due to the trend after Hong Kong's return to China. I personally agree to student learning in mother tongue. If academically weak students learn the Chinese Language subject in Putonghua they may gain nothing as they cannot understand the teachers. I agree that using mother tongue can help them build up their basic knowledge in the subject.

Officially, code-mixing is not allowed in School C as the school language policies strictly followed the guidelines set by the Education Bureau (EDB) that language teachers should use one language at a time when teaching languages.

Principal: 100% English should be used when teaching English; or if not 100% English, teachers are encouraged to use pictures or body language to express themselves but Cantonese is definitely not allowed. This is also applied to the teaching of the Putonghua subject and the Chinese Language subject using PMI.

The principal also stated that the present School Sponsoring Body had intended to change the MoI policy and use English as the MoI in teaching and learning. He felt that this would pose a challenge to him and the school.

Principal: The School Sponsoring Body has suggested using English as MOI in teaching other subjects in school and our feeder school is an EMI secondary school. The importance is how to bridge the gap and balance the development of both English and Putonghua languages.

We have not thought of changing the MoI for the time being because we are worried of the intake of P1 students through Primary One Admission System. Are they all able to learn in English? This is different from the intake of students in DSS schools because the top students are usually recruited by them. Moreover, we have to consider the ability of teachers, can a Math teacher teach in English? They need to adapt to such big change.

8.3 Conclusion

Most subjects are taught in Cantonese, except the English Language subject and the Chinese Language subject which uses Putonghua as the MoI from P1 to P4. However, if the school accepts the suggestion from the School Sponsoring Body to use English to teach other subjects, the school may change from a CMI school to an EMI school and many factors will have to be taken into considerations, including the English capacity of the teachers teaching other subjects, the student intake and readiness of the whole school to switch to EMI.

Chapter 9

Comparisons Across the Three Case Study Schools Regarding Trilingual Education



9.1 Introduction

This chapter compares the three case study schools and their implementation of trilingual education based on the stakeholders' views, namely the school principal, the teachers, the students and the parents, focusing on three issues. The first issue is their perceptions of the trilingual education model implemented in the schools, the second issue is their views on code-mixing in teaching and learning, and the third issue is their views on the use of Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject.

9.2 Stakeholders' Perceptions of the Trilingual Education Models Implemented in the Schools

9.2.1 *Students*

9.2.1.1 **Students' Acceptance of the Trilingual Education Model Implemented in the Schools**

In general, the students from the case study schools had positive perceptions of the trilingual education models implemented in the schools as shown in Fig. 9.1. However, students from School A enjoyed the trilingual education the most as they gave item 3 (I enjoy the trilingual education model implemented in the school.) the highest mean score of 3.99 (average mean score across the three schools being 3.73). What is noteworthy is that the non-Chinese students of School A showed a desire to learn more languages, especially Cantonese, so that they can communicate with local people. For example, a P6 student from Africa in School A said, "I like learning the three languages because it will be more convenient for me to order food

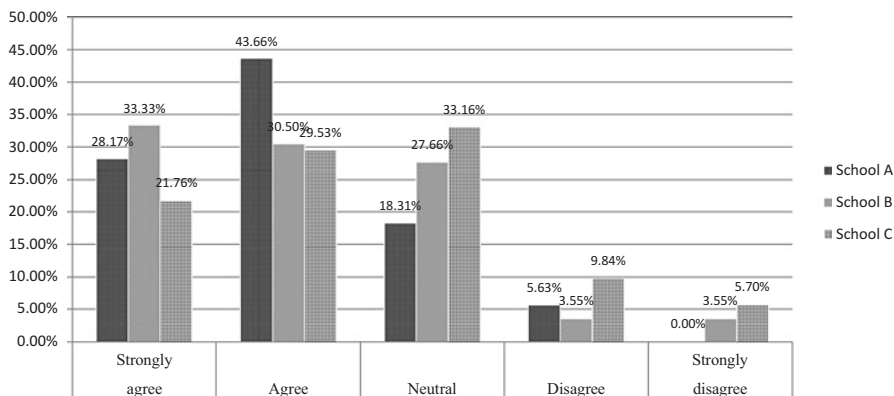


Fig. 9.1 Students' acceptance of the trilingual education model in the researched schools

in a restaurant either in Cantonese or in Putonghua". A P4 Filipino said, "If I learn Cantonese, I can help my mom to translate when buying things in the market". Another Filipino student remarked, "In the past, I could not understand even one word in Cantonese, but now I am happy that I can understand more and more words in Cantonese".

Students from School B were also positive to the trilingual education model implemented in the school though Putonghua played a minor role in teaching and communications, as the Chinese Language subject was taught only in Cantonese and only one lesson per week was assigned to the Putonghua subject. However, the students still enjoyed the current model as they gave item 3 a mean score of 3.89, which is above the average mean score of 3.73. One of the student interviewees said, "We enjoy as we have foreigners and Mainlanders in school, when communicating we will teach them how to speak in Cantonese and Putonghua or vice versa. So we have used to learning the three languages in this way".

In contrast, the students of School C gave item 3 a mean score of only 3.52, which is below the average mean score of 3.73. Not surprisingly, given that they were all locals whose first language was Cantonese, they indicated that they preferred using Cantonese in the study of the Chinese Language subject. The fact that they were all local and L1 speakers of Cantonese may also explain why they reported enjoyed trilingual education the least. An interviewee from School C said, "I preferred using Cantonese in the study of the Chinese Language subject. If Putonghua was used, some classmates would find the lesson boring and became inattentive or fell asleep. Some even failed to answer the teacher's questions, affecting their academic results and thus their learning attitude became worse. This year the situation is improved as Cantonese is used".

Interestingly then, international students appear more supportive of trilingual education than the local students.

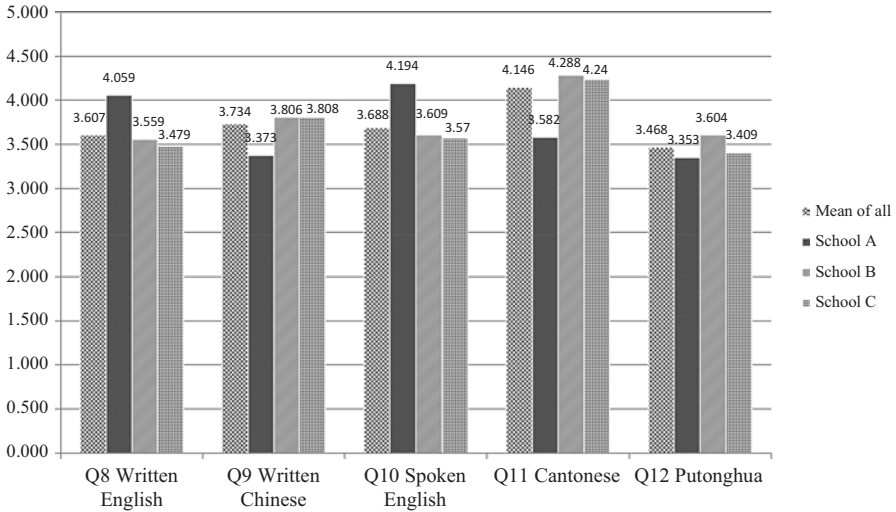


Fig. 9.2 Students' learning progress of the three languages

9.2.1.2 Students' Learning Progress of the Three Languages

Figure 9.2 shows a comparison of students' feedback on their learning progress of the three languages. Students from School A were most satisfied with their progress in the study of written English (item 8: I am satisfied with my progress in the study of written English.) and spoken English (item 10: I am satisfied with my progress in the study of spoken English.), while they were least satisfied with their progress in the study of Putonghua (item 12: I am happy with my progress in the study of Putonghua.). A P4 Filipino said, "I am most satisfied with my progress in the study of English and I am trying to learn more Cantonese and Putonghua". Nine out of eleven interviewees in School A showed that they were not satisfied with their progress in the study of Putonghua. A P4 Canadian pointed out, "I can't speak in Putonghua, but only know how to count the numbers in Putonghua". The one student who was satisfied with her progress in the study of Putonghua comes from Taiwan, and Putonghua is her mother tongue.

Students from both School B and School C were most happy with their progress in the study of Cantonese (item 11: I am happy with my progress in the study of Cantonese.). They gave the highest mean scores to this item (4.29 and 4.24 respectively) which are above the average mean score of 4.15. They were also happy with their progress in the study of written Chinese (item 9: I am satisfied with my progress in the study of written Chinese.). The mean scores of this item from both schools are 3.81 which are above the average mean score of 3.7. Students from School B were least satisfied with their progress in the study of written English. For example, they gave a mean score of 3.56 to item 8 (I am satisfied with my progress

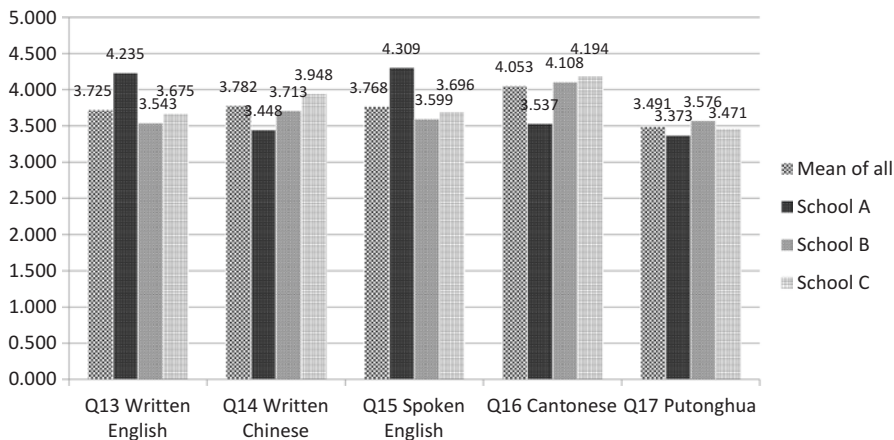


Fig. 9.3 Students' confidence in achieving good proficiency in the three languages

in the study of written English.) which is below the average mean score of 3.61. Indeed, only two out of eight interviewees were satisfied with their progress in the study of written English, while all were satisfied with their progress in the study of spoken English, and five were satisfied with their progress in the study of Putonghua. Students from School C were least happy with their progress in the study of Putonghua. They gave a mean score of 3.41 to item 12 (I am happy with my progress in the study of Putonghua.) which is below the average mean score of 3.47. But half of the eight interviewees reported that they were happy with their progress in the study of Putonghua. The reasons they gave included the improvement in their written Chinese which meant that they could now avoid using Cantonese expressions in writing; they also said that they had passionate Chinese Language subject teachers who taught them well in Putonghua pronunciation.

9.2.1.3 Students' Confidence in Achieving Good Proficiency in the Three Languages

A comparison of students' views on their confidence in achieving good proficiency in the three languages is shown in Fig. 9.3. Students from School A were most confident in achieving good proficiency in both spoken and written English on graduation as they gave item 15 (I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in spoken English.) and item 13 (I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written English.) the highest mean scores of 4.31 and 4.24, above the average mean scores of 3.77 and 3.73 respectively. A P4 interviewee said, 'Both my spoken and written English can be enhanced when I complete P6 because we have a good English-language environment in school.' Students in this school were least confident in achieving good proficiency in Putonghua as they gave the lowest mean score of 3.36 to item 17 (I am confident that when I

graduate I will achieve good proficiency in Putonghua.) which is below the average mean score of 3.47. A P5 local student said, “My Putonghua is bad. I lose my confidence in it and I don’t think I can make progress in Putonghua when I graduate next year”.

Students from both School B and School C were most confident in achieving good proficiency in Cantonese as they gave the highest mean scores to item 16: I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in Cantonese (4.11 and 4.19 respectively) which are above the average mean score of 4.05. The reason accounting for their confidence in achieving good proficiency in Cantonese is almost certainly because Cantonese is their mother tongue. Students who speak Cantonese at home will not worry about their proficiency in Cantonese, regardless of the languages used in school. Students from both School B and School C were also confident in achieving good proficiency in written Chinese as they gave item 14 (I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written Chinese.) the second highest mean scores, but only the mean score of School C (3.95) is above the average mean score of 3.78. Students from School B were least confident in achieving good proficiency in written English when they graduate as they gave the lowest mean score of 3.54 to item 13 (I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in written English.), which is below the average mean score of 3.73. In the Focus Group Interview, all the interviewees in School B showed that they were confident in achieving good proficiency in spoken English when they graduate as they agreed the school has provided them with a rich English language environment.

Students from School C were the least confident in achieving good proficiency in Putonghua when they graduate as they gave the lowest mean score of 3.47 to item 17 (I am confident that when I graduate I will achieve good proficiency in Putonghua.) which is below the average mean score of 3.49. Only four out of eight interviewees expressed confidence in their language proficiency in Putonghua. One P6 interviewee said, “I have more confidence in English than in Putonghua. In English, we just need to spell the words but we need to put more time on practicing pinyin (聲母及韻母) in Putonghua which is rather difficult. Otherwise, we cannot learn Putonghua well”.

However, when we compare the mean scores provided by the 155 school principals (see questionnaire survey discussed in Chap. 5) with those of students from the three case study schools, the students were more optimistic towards their proficiency level in the three languages on the occasion of their graduation than the principals. In general, the students gave higher mean scores to the proficiency level of Cantonese, spoken English, written Chinese and written English. The exception was Putonghua. Putonghua received a mean score of 3.49 from the students, which is lower than the mean score of 3.7 given by the principals. These results are shown in Fig. 9.4.

In summary, students in School A (a mixture of many nationalities) were most positive about the trilingual education model adopted in their school. Students in School C (100% local Hongkongers) were least positive about the trilingual education model adopted in their school. Students in School B (67% local Hongkongers,

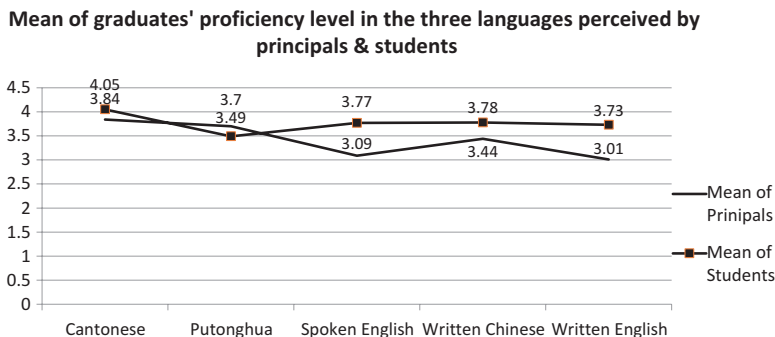


Fig. 9.4 Mean of graduates' proficiency level in the three languages perceived by principals & students

the rest from other ethnic backgrounds) hold a view in-between. Using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language subject in Hong Kong is still controversial. Local Cantonese students prefer using Cantonese as the MoI, but students from other ethnic backgrounds seem to be more positive towards using Putonghua. It is important to note, therefore, how the linguistic backgrounds of the students influence their views towards trilingual education. It is also important to note how the schools shape the ways they implement trilingual education, based on the needs and linguistic backgrounds of the students. We return to this point later.

9.2.2 Parents

The trilingual education model implemented in the three schools might not have been the most compelling feature for parents when choosing the primary schools for their children as only seven (22.6%) took the trilingual education model in school into their consideration. Parents also considered other factors such as the closeness of the school, the school motto, and the school ethos etc. Parents from the Mainland were supportive of their children language learning in Cantonese as they realised Cantonese is the mother tongue of local people in Hong Kong. This echoes Bacon-Shone and Bolton's (2008, p. 27) view that immigrants and their children from the different dialect areas of China can (and most do) quickly learn Cantonese. The parents, including both the local and those came from the Mainland, were not in opposition to the teaching of Putonghua as a subject, but nine (29.03%) disapproved of using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject.

When considering if English could be used in teaching other subjects in school, 27 parents (87.1%) suggested that Computing, Mathematics and the science topics in General Studies could be taught in English so that their children could adapt well to the EMI secondary schools that they all wanted to send their children to. These parents are thus no different from the majority of parents in Hong Kong who favour EMI secondary schools (Kan et al. 2011). As noted earlier, parents prefer EMI sec-

ondary schools and are reluctant to send their children to CMI schools (Pan 2000, p. 61) because six of the eight government-funded universities are all English medium, as are all of the private universities (Kirkpatrick 2014). Parents from School A and School B were confident that their children's English language proficiency would be adequate when they graduate as they feel that the schools have provided students with an English language environment enhanced by the presence of students who are not ethnic Chinese.

Parents' views vary on whether children should learn other languages together with their mother tongue in the early years in schooling. 79.97% of parents agreed that children should learn the three languages at the same time in the early years in schooling. They believed that small children can learn languages easily, especially the able students. Those who did not agree did so because they were afraid that learning three languages at the same time would cause confusion to their children and they believed that children learn better in their mother tongue and this should therefore be taught first and be the MoI. Parents' views were also influenced by the languages they themselves spoke and some were worried that they would not be able to help their children in all three of the languages.

9.3 Stakeholders' Views on Code-Switching/Code-Mixing in Teaching and Learning

9.3.1 Students

In response to questions about the use of code-switching, students from School A were more accepting of switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school as they gave the highest mean score of 3.83 to item 4 (I find it acceptable switching from one language to another when studying different subjects in the school.) which is above the average mean score of 3.69. Students from this school also found code-mixing in different subjects most useful for their language development in general as they gave a mean score of 4 to item 7 (I find code-switching in different subjects useful for my language development in general.) which is above the average mean score of 3.68, while the mean scores of the other two schools are below the average mean score. The P5 interviewees who are not ethnic Chinese in School A would like their teachers to code-mix between Cantonese/Putonghua and English in Chinese Language subject lessons, and between Cantonese and English in Mathematics lessons. A P5 Filipino said, "I prefer the teachers code-switching between English and Cantonese/Putonghua in Chinese Language lesson so that I can remember the content better and learn more Chinese words". Another P5 Filipino said, "Most of the subjects are taught in Cantonese and we really do not understand if the teachers do not explain in English. I would like the teachers to use English to help me understand the content". Two P4 Filipinos pointed out that they sometimes used code-mixing when communicating with local students because they thought this would be easier and could be understood, e.g.,

“你有冇(in Cantonese) finish your homework?” meaning ‘Have you finished your homework?’

“我爸爸 (in Putonghua) is good” meaning “My father is good”.

Students’ opinions on code-mixing varied in School B. On one hand, the mean scores of items 4–6 from School B are above the average mean scores while the mean score of item 7 is a bit below the average. In School B, about half of P4-P6 students found code-mixing in different subjects useful for their language development in general; but 15% of them did not agree to this and 27% of them had no opinion (item 7: I find code-switching in different subjects useful for my language development in general). On the other hand, five out of the eight interviewees said that they did not find code-mixing in different subjects useful for their language development in general. One student said, “We can’t learn a language if we are too dependent on teachers’ translation”. Students from School B found themselves code-mixing between English and Cantonese while studying English, as they gave the highest mean score of 3.53 to item 5 (I find myself code-switching between English and Cantonese regularly during the study of the English subject.) which is above the average mean score of 3.41. One student said, “We can easily understand what the teachers say if Cantonese is used to explain the English vocabularies”.

Fewer students from School C found code-mixing acceptable as the mean scores of items 4–7 of this school are below the average mean scores. There are reasons to explain this phenomenon. First, all the students in School C are local Hongkongers and are L1 speakers of Cantonese. Second, Cantonese is the major MoI in most subjects in the school. Third, teachers insist on using almost 100% English in English Language lessons and almost 100% Putonghua in Chinese Language subject lessons (P1–P4) and in Putonghua subject lessons (P1–P6).

To conclude, students from School A were found more accepting of switching from one language to another when studying different subjects based on the survey. The opinions on this issue from the non-Chinese students in School A varied in the Focus Group Interview. Four of them did not accept mixed code in Chinese Language and Putonghua learning even though they liked to use mixed code between English and Cantonese/Putonghua when communicating with the Hongkongers. In the Focus Group Interview, one said, “I don’t like my teacher to teach me in mixed code. My teacher encourages me to listen to her and she will speak every word in Cantonese/Putonghua so that I will understand and then I will just understand people when they speak in Cantonese/Putonghua. But sometimes I have difficulty in speaking both languages”. Another four non-Chinese students accepted mixed code with one of them noting, “I can learn and understand more Chinese words if the teachers express the words in English and I can remember them better”. Only one of the interviewees, a Taiwanese, did not object to her English Language subject teacher using mixed code in teaching, saying “I have lost confidence in my English proficiency as my English Language subject teacher uses 100% English in teaching and I cannot understand her well”.

In the survey, students’ opinions on this issue from School B varied. In the interview, three out of eight students in this school accepted mixed code in learning. As one said, “We can easily understand what the teacher says if Cantonese is used to

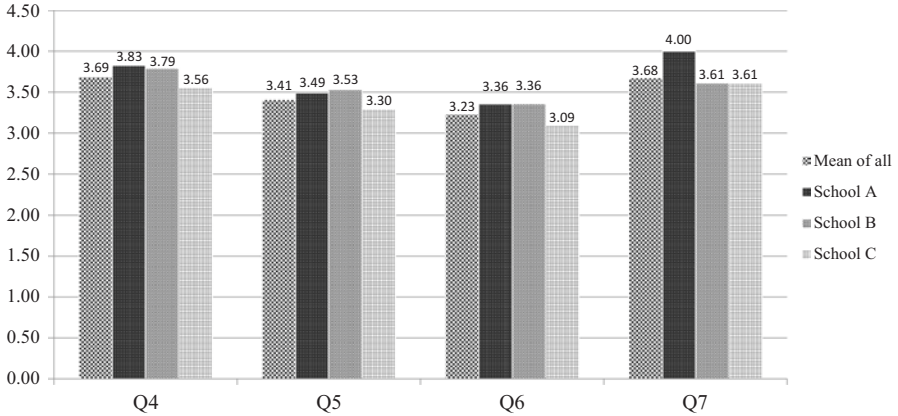


Fig. 9.5 Students' feedback on code-mixing in learning

explain the English vocabularies". Mixed code is not acceptable because students did not want to be too dependent on teacher's translation and they wanted to take the initiative to learn. In School C, the majority (six out of eight interviewees) accepted mixed code which contradicts the results from the survey that fewer students from this school were accepting of the use of mixed code in teaching and learning. One of them pointed out, "Using 100% English can benefit us when we are going for an interview in the future" (Fig. 9.5).

9.3.2 Teachers

From class observations, teachers' reflections and teacher interviews in the three case study schools, two significant points can be identified concerning their perceptions of the role of code-mixing.

First, regarding language teaching, the English Language subject teachers in the three schools (two from each school) were consistent regarding their beliefs and classroom practices in that they all felt it was important to provide students with a rich English language environment. In practice, they all used 100% English in their teaching, and insisted their students to raise and answer questions in English so that they could practise the language as much as possible. Only one of the teachers, who was teaching P1 English in School C, stated in her reflection form that she would only use Cantonese if her students could not understand her instructions. The Chinese Language subject teachers who used Putonghua as the MoI (Schools A and C) varied in their perceptions. Those who taught the Chinese Language subject in senior grades insisted on using 100% Putonghua, while those teaching the junior grades were more flexible and tolerant, explaining the content with some Cantonese and allowing their students to raise and answer questions in Cantonese. In regard to teaching the Putonghua subject (Schools B and C), the teachers shared the same

views with the English Language subject teachers, saying that they used 100% Putonghua in class and believed this would help their students enhance their Putonghua proficiency. The students also agreed that the language teachers strictly followed the MoI policies in language teaching. In general, the practice of code-mixing is relatively rare in language teaching classrooms in the case-study schools.

To turn now to the subject teachers, they were more flexible and tolerant towards code-mixing, especially when the MoI of the subjects was English for a number of reasons: first, teaching Mathematics, General Studies, Music, Visual Arts, Physical Education and Computer Science is unlike teaching languages as the focus is teaching students the subject knowledge but not the language itself; second, teachers believe students could learn and understand better in their mother tongue if the MoI of the subjects is an L2.

Code-mixing to any extent is found only in Schools A and B because, as noted earlier, Cantonese is the only MoI (other than for English and Putonghua) in School C. When teachers in Schools A and B used code-mixing they did so for a variety of reasons, including emphasis, clarification, mode shift and translation. In School A, the MoI in teaching P6 General Studies is half in English and half in Cantonese as there were nine students who are not ethnic Chinese in the class. The teacher prepared PowerPoint presentations and learning materials in both languages. Mixed code was used for instructions. For instance, she said, “仲未有書的,自己起身”。Those who have no books, stand up”. In this case, the teacher just translated her instruction from Cantonese to English. This use of code-mixing for classroom management is common (Ferguson 2003). The theme of the lesson was to introduce the signing of Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (CEPA) between Mainland China and Hong Kong. Instead of using the standard Chinese translation of 更緊密經貿關係安排, the English term ‘CEPA’ was used throughout the lesson even when the teacher was explaining in Cantonese. This is probably because the Chinese translation requires an additional five characters or syllables and there is no workable Chinese abbreviation (Li 2008, p. 83). Moreover, the ‘principle of economy’ is at work in bilingual conversation (Li 2000, 2008) and by so doing, the teacher can help introduce or consolidate students’ bilingual lexicon (Li 2008, p. 84). The teacher also switched between English and Cantonese for elaboration, clarification and checking for understanding. Students answered questions in the same language as used by the teacher. This is code-mixing to help pupils understand the subject matter of their lessons and also to help to establish interpersonal relations and rapport. The other teacher from School A who taught P1 General Studies used 100% English in her class as the MoI is English. However, she wrote down in her reflection form that she would switch to Cantonese if her students failed to follow her instructions given in English.

In School B, an English textbook is used for P3 Mathematics and the teacher used mainly Cantonese, supplemented by English as the MoI. For example, when the teacher wanted to express “three times two equals six”, she would say, “三 times 二就係六” in mixed code. In another case, the teacher said, “There are eight hats. 個度有八隻帽!” She switched for translation and focus. In her interview, the teacher noted that using the mother tongue to explain the abstract mathematical concepts would be easier for student understanding, and the student interviewees agreed as well.

Our findings show that the functions of code-mixing are similar to those identified by McClure (1977), Guthrie (1983), Camilleri (1996), Ferguson (2003) and Li (2008). These functions are for clarification, easy understanding, elaboration and building rapport with students. Hirvela and Law (1991) suggest that teachers can use their judgement about when to use, and when to avoid, mixed code instruction. In the case studies, the language teachers preferred not to use mixed code in language teaching in general so as to provide students with a good language learning environment. Teachers teaching other subjects like Music and General Studies, however, used mixed code for a variety of well-established reasons.

9.3.3 Principals

The principals all indicated their disapproval of code-mixing, as the schools had to follow the language policies laid down by the Education Bureau. Moreover, they appeared to believe that students could best learn a language effectively without switching or mixing with other languages. However, the principal in School B had to condone code-mixing when the situation changed in his school. Recently, the school had changed the MoI of Mathematics from Cantonese to English, starting with P1 and gradually moving up the grades year by year. However, the mathematical concepts are usually abstract and it is not easy for less able children to understand. In this situation, the teachers sometimes had to use both Cantonese and English when teaching Mathematics. Therefore, the principal had to condone code-switching. Moreover, as mentioned in Chap. 2 (Sect. 2.2.1), Gauci and Camilleri Grima (2013) pointed out that code-switching and the use of Maltese (L1) were employed as pedagogical tools in teaching Italian in Malta and the younger and weaker learners could benefit more. We think some principals were prepared to allow code-switching if it helped children learn.

9.4 Stakeholders' Views on Using Putonghua as MoI in Teaching the Chinese Language Subject

Currently, primary and secondary schools may choose to use either Cantonese and/or Putonghua as the MoI for teaching the Chinese Language Subject having consideration of their own circumstances, such as proficiency and expertise of their teachers, the levels of their students, and the availability of learning and teaching resources/support (Legislative Council 2016). 16.4% of Hong Kong primary schools fully adopted PMIC (Putonghua as the MoI for teaching Chinese) in the 2015/2016 school year (The Standing Committee on Language Education and Research (SCOLAR) 2016), largely as a result of parental preference and government policy to subsidise school's financial outlay in employing more Putonghua subject teachers under the Support Scheme which operated from 2008–2009 to 2013–2014.

There has been much public debate about the effectiveness of using Putonghua versus Cantonese as the medium of instruction in Chinese language lessons (Tse 2009, p. 245). Is PMIC indeed beneficial for students' learning of the Chinese language? Some believe that PMIC can boost students' Chinese Language enhancement; while others object to the implementation of PMIC as they are worried that too much emphasis would be placed on Putonghua proficiency, at the expense of the learning of Chinese language and literature, the two most important aspects in learning Chinese. Some are also concerned that students' Cantonese proficiency would be undermined (Legislative Council 2016). This is why it is enlightening to study the students' attitudes towards using Putonghua as the MoI in the study of the Chinese Language subject.

9.4.1 Students

In School A, Putonghua has been the MoI for the Chinese Language subject since September 2008. School B first used Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject when it opened in 2000. In September 2009, however, Cantonese replaced Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject when the present Principal in School B found that using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject was ineffective, as many students were unmotivated in class, being unable to follow PMI. Therefore, the discussion on the use of Putonghua as an MoI excludes School B. School C used Putonghua as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject in September 2008, starting at P2 and gradually including the later levels until all Chinese Language subject classes from P2 to P6 were PMI. Cantonese remained the MoI for P1. From September 2014 onward, School C changed this system adopting Putonghua as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject from P1 to P4 but using Cantonese as the MoI for P5–P6.

In the survey, students from School C were more negative towards using Putonghua in studying the Chinese Language subject. They gave a mean score of 2.63 to item 1 (I find it appropriate to use Putonghua to study the Chinese Language subject.) while students of School A gave this a mean score of 3.44. Moreover, Fig. 9.6 shows that 30% of students from School C chose 'strongly disagree' regarding this item compared to only 4% of the students in School A.

In the interview, the non-Chinese students in School A noted that it was easier for them to learn how to speak Chinese (Putonghua) than to learn how to write in Chinese. The reason might be that it is comparatively easy to learn *pinyin* (the alphabetic writing system developed for Putonghua), but it is difficult to learn to write Chinese characters. Although there are Romanisation methods for Cantonese, they are not taught in school. Some teachers allowed the students in School A to use English to raise questions in the Chinese Language lessons. The teachers would then show the students how to ask the questions in Cantonese or Putonghua and then require them to repeat the questions in Cantonese or Putonghua. A Canadian student in P4 stated, "When we ask questions in English, the teachers will show us how to say it in Cantonese/Putonghua and we are encouraged to repeat it in Cantonese/Putonghua".

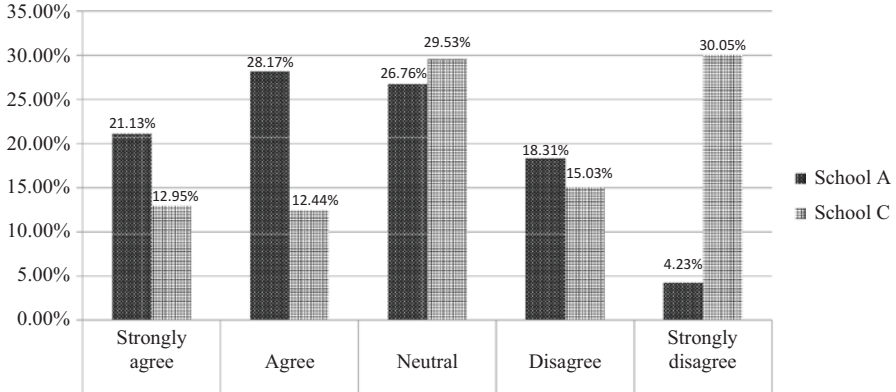


Fig. 9.6 Students' feedback on the appropriateness of using Putonghua in studying the Chinese Language subject

The P5–P6 student interviewees from School C said that they preferred Cantonese as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject and this might explain why students of this school reported enjoying trilingual education the least, remembering that these students are all local L1 speakers of Cantonese. A P6 student (who had been using Putonghua to study the Chinese Language subject in the past 5 years) said, “I think it’s better to use Cantonese to study the subject. It is because some students could not understand the teacher well when Putonghua is used”. A P5 student (who had been using Putonghua to study the subject in the past 4 years) said, “I prefer using Cantonese. My Dictation performance would be affected if the words are pronounced in Putonghua as there are always misunderstandings when hearing the pronunciations”.

In addition, Putonghua grammar matches the standard written Chinese grammar and there is a slogan for using Putonghua: 我手寫我口 (My hand writes down what I say). However, students who do not favour the use of Putonghua are, not surprisingly, those who do not understand Putonghua. As a result, they are inattentive and noisy in class as they find the Chinese Language lessons boring. There are fewer interactions between teachers and students and fewer students are willing to answer the teachers’ questions when using Putonghua. For example, a student from School C said, “I also prefer using Cantonese because some of the words in Putonghua are retroflex and when we do not pronounce them properly, they will become other words with different meanings, making classmates laugh. Since we learnt Cantonese when we were very young, it is easier to understand the teachers”.

The above findings show that students’ attitudes towards PMIC varied and depends on their linguistic backgrounds and attitudes. This means that schools need to take these matters into consideration when designing ways of implementing trilingual education. Local contexts and the needs and abilities of the students, coupled with the expertise and proficiency of the teachers are all factors which need to be taken into consideration. As we shall suggest later, the actual model for the implementation of trilingual education needs to be decided at the school level when the local context and situation can be factored in to the decision making.

9.4.2 Parents

Thirteen of the thirty-one parent interviewees in the three schools, explicitly supported the schools' policies of using Putonghua as the MoI in the teaching of the Chinese Language subject. They believed that Putonghua is a global language that students need to learn as soon as possible for the future and they thought using PMI could enhance students' writing skill in Chinese. Those who were not in favour of this policy believed that students could learn the Chinese Language subject better in their mother tongue. Since some of the parents did not themselves speak Putonghua, they pointed out that they could not help their children and would need to pay extra tuition fees for extra Putonghua classes and tutors.

9.4.3 Teachers

The majority of the Chinese Language subject teachers of the three schools had reservations about using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject. They did not believe that using PMI could enhance the student writing skills. In reality, they doubted the effectiveness of using PMI. They found students were not motivated in class activities when using PMI, resulting in less interaction between teachers and students and between students and students.

9.4.4 Principals

Only the principal of School A, who shared the same views as his School's Sponsoring Body, was supportive of using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject. The principal of School B was not in favour of using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject. He firmly believed that using mother tongue was the most effective way of enhancing students' language proficiency in Chinese. Therefore, he changed the school policy from using PMI to using CMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject. The principal of School C faced parents who were opposed to the use of PMI for teaching Chinese and poor TSA results. He decided on a compromise, using PMI to teach the Chinese Language subject from P1 to P4 and then Cantonese to teach it for the final 2 years of primary school.

9.4.5 Concluding Remarks

The different attitudes of the stakeholders towards using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject in the three researched schools are summarised in Tables 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 respectively. The different views show that using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject remains a controversial issue in Hong Kong primary schools.

Table 9.1 Different attitudes towards using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject in School A

School sponsoring body	Principal	Chinese Language subject teachers (3)	Student interviewees (11)	Parents (10)
The Catholic Diocesan schools began to use Putonghua as MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject in 2008, believing that using PMI not only can enhance students' writing skill but also help students further their studies or develop future careers in Mainland	He supported the language policy laid down by the sponsoring body. He pointed out that students should start learning Putonghua, which is a global language, as early as possible	They did not agree that using PMI could enhance student writing skills in Chinese and they pointed out that students could enhance their writing skills by reading more books. They believed students could learn better in their mother tongue. Also the language environment for learning Putonghua was not so rich in HK, hindering the student learning in Putonghua	Two local students disagreed with the policy and they would prefer to use their mother tongue in learning the Chinese Language subject. As for the non-local students, they were neutral but stated that the Romanisation system of <i>pinyin</i> made it easier for them to learn Putonghua	Five local parents and three that came from Mainland agreed with using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject as they thought Putonghua was becoming more important in the world and it could help enhance students' writing skill in Chinese. Two non-local parents were neutral

9.5 Issues of Language Policies in the Researched Schools

The implementation of the Internationalised Curriculum in School A and the increasing number of non-Chinese students has paved the way for changing the MoI of subjects including Mathematics, General Studies, Visual Arts, Music, Physical Education and Computer Science. While these subjects are not taught 100% in English across the whole school, the school has gradually changed the MoI of these subjects into 100% English from junior grades to senior grades. In addition, Putonghua is used as the MoI in the teaching of the Chinese Language subject from P1 to P6. It is possible, therefore, that Cantonese will play an increasingly minor role as a language of education in the school in future. The non-local students at School A are more likely to develop better proficiency in Putonghua and English than in Cantonese.

School B is also experiencing an increase of students who are not ethnic Chinese and the school has adopted English as the MoI in teaching Mathematics and Science topics, initially in junior grades while gradually moving up to senior grades. In the future, English is likely to play a more important role in the school as English could be adopted as the MoI for subjects like Visual Arts, Music, PE and Computer Science. Cantonese will still be used as one of the major MoIs in subjects such as the Chinese Language subject. Only the Putonghua subject itself is taught in Putonghua. One would therefore expect students from School B to be more proficient in Cantonese and English than in Putonghua upon graduation.

Table 9.2 Different attitudes towards using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject in School B

School sponsoring body	Principal	Chinese Language subject teacher (1)	Student interviewees (8)	Parents (10)
The school adopted Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject when it started to operate in Sept 2000 because they believed using PMI could enhance student language proficiency in Chinese	When the present principal came to the school in 2008, he found that students were unmotivated in learning the subject and obtaining poor results. He believed using PMI was a gimmick and a political issue which cannot enhance student language proficiency in Chinese. It took time for him to persuade the teachers to use Cantonese instead	She considered using Putonghua as the MoI in teaching the Chinese Language subject in the school was not very effective and students were as interested in learning as when using Cantonese as the MoI in teaching the subject	Two P6 students had experienced using PMI in learning the Chinese subject and they were not in favour of this policy as they wanted to learn in their mother tongue. They also pointed out that they could not easily understand the content when using PMI and there was always laughter in class because of the mispronunciation of the words. Others were happy about using their mother tongue in learning the subject	Three parents agreed with using PMI in teaching the Chinese subject as they thought Putonghua was a world-wide language which could help students write better Chinese without using colloquial language. Another three strongly opposed the use of PMI as they believed students learnt the subject better in their mother tongue and because they could not provide a rich language environment in Putonghua at home. The others were neutral

Trilingual education is implemented across fewer subjects in School C when compared with the other two schools. English is used as the MoI only for the teaching of the English Language subject itself and Putonghua is used only as the MoI for teaching the Putonghua subject and the Chinese Language subject from P1 to P4. Cantonese remains the MoI for all other subjects. One would expect graduates from this school to be highly proficient in Cantonese, but less so in both Putonghua and English.

What these three case studies have shown is how individual schools have adopted trilingual education in ways that are tailored to the needs of the school and the linguistic backgrounds and needs of the students. All three schools will be able to produce graduates who are functionally trilingual and biliterate, but with different levels of proficiency in each of the three languages. We would argue that ways of implementing trilingual education in Hong Kong is indeed best left to the schools to decide for themselves, rather than having a model of trilingual education imposed upon them. Each school is different and no one knows the school and its students as well as the Principal and the teachers. We suggest therefore, that the Principal and teachers should be allowed to decide the model of trilingual education they would like their school to adopt. A school-based bottom-up approach to developing a

Table 9.3 Different attitudes towards using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject in School C

School sponsoring body	Principal	Chinese Language subject teachers (2)	Student interviewees (8)	Parents (11)
The sponsoring body thought using PMI could be one of the strategies to attract more parents to choose the school as the use of PMI was becoming increasingly popular.	The present principal was not the initiator of the policy. He faced a dilemma of complaints from parents who urged the use of Cantonese in teaching the Chinese Language subject while some teachers were not competent enough to teach Chinese in PMI. To make a balance, he decided to use Cantonese in P5–P6 in the hope that students could achieve better results in the TSA oral test	The teacher who used PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject thought the policy was more desirable for more capable students. The Panel (Head) of Chinese Language subject agree that using PMI could enhance student language proficiency in Chinese but she also pointed out that students were not motivated when learning the subject in Putonghua. However, the teachers would follow the school policy	Among the eight interviewees, six were from P5 to P6. Having experienced the use of PMI in learning the Chinese Language subject, they welcomed the change of the policy, using Cantonese in the subject as they could understand better and be more involved in class activities. As for the two P4 interviewees, they were neutral to the policy	Six parents were opposed to using PMI in teaching the Chinese Language subject as they had not seen any significant impact from using PMI on the improvement of their children’s language proficiency in written Chinese. They also thought the use of the mother tongue could be used for understanding. They added they could not help their children do revisions as they did not know Putonghua. Five supported the policy as they believed PMI could enhance their children’s language proficiency in Chinese

policy for trilingual education in Hong Kong is far more likely to be successful than a top-down policy devised by ‘experts’ in the Education Department.

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Chapter 10

Conclusion, Limitations and Implications



10.1 Conclusion

Based on the research findings, it is clear that, without government guidelines, individual primary schools in Hong Kong have adopted their own policies regarding the use of medium of instruction in teaching different subjects, even across the same type of schools, i.e., government schools, aided schools and Direct Subsidy Scheme (DSS) schools. The findings of our study have provided a rough picture of the current situation with regard to the implementation of trilingual education across Hong Kong primary schools. Some patterns have been identified. For example, the majority of the schools retain Cantonese as the major MoI in most subjects with the exception of the DSS schools which are predominately EMI schools. Many schools do not encourage code-mixing in the classroom, but some allow a certain amount of code-mixing, mainly in junior grades, despite this being frowned upon by the Education Bureau. Teachers of subject areas other than languages are much more relaxed about the use of code-mixing in their classes than are language teachers. Even language teachers allow it in the junior grades and with students whose proficiency in the target language is low. As language teachers ourselves, we would encourage the use of code-mixing in all classes, as long as it is done systematically with the defined aim of helping the students learn the target language or curriculum content (see Swain, Kirkpatrick and Cummins 2011 on 'How to Have a Guilt-free Life Using Cantonese in the English Classroom').

The DSS schools seem to be more confident than the aided schools and government schools regarding their graduates' proficiency level in the three languages, and the aided schools and government schools have rather low confidence in their graduates' English language proficiency (both spoken and written). Regarding Putonghua, currently the TSA only has oral assessments on English and Cantonese but not on Putonghua, and therefore it is difficult for primary schools to know their graduates' proficiency level in Putonghua. The EDB and the HKEAA should consider modifying the existing TSA or develop new mechanisms so that students'

proficiency of the three languages can be assessed properly. When asked about difficulties encountered in the implementation of trilingual education, the surveyed schools found that finding qualified and suitable teaching staff was the biggest challenge. Around half of the schools also found that students' low level of English proficiency has hindered the implementation of trilingual education.

While the current survey has its limitations as it only covered 155 primary schools, we recommend the following points for policy makers and school administrators to consider when formulating language policies in education:

1. The three languages should be used as media of instruction, but the ratio of each should alter as students progress through primary education, with the emphasis on Cantonese in the early years.
2. Either Putonghua or Cantonese could be used as the MoI for the Chinese Language subject from P1. Students should be allowed to choose the MoI they prefer. In later years, Putonghua could be further promoted in the Chinese Language subject.
3. Special classes in Cantonese should be provided for P1 students whose mother tongue is not Cantonese.
4. English could be used as the MoI for the English Language subject and for PE from P1, as body gestures in PE lessons can help students to understand the English words more easily. Maths, General Studies, Music, IT and Visual Arts should be taught in Cantonese, but the other languages can be introduced whenever appropriate.
5. All teachers sharing the same MoI should work together more closely and develop cross-curriculum activities which require the use of that particular language.
6. A multilingual pedagogy can be adopted, with the aim of enhancing students' trilingual development.
7. Tests should be given at the end of P3 and P6 to assess students' proficiency in the three languages.

The three case studies reflected that the stakeholders, in general, were happy with the different trilingual education models implemented in the schools. Having said this, their views vary towards the use of different MoIs, especially regarding the use of Putonghua as the MoI in the study of the Chinese Language subject. Students' and parents' ethnic backgrounds and the student' mother tongues are likely to be the major reason for these differences. Despite their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, most of the parents argued for an increased use of English as the MoI in teaching different subjects, especially Computing, Mathematics and the science topics in General Studies. It would seem wise for policy makers and schools to take the following factors into account: students' ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, parents' desire for their children to be educated through English, and the TSA system. In addition, the views of relevant stakeholders, including those of teachers, parents and students should be sought.

As noted in the conclusion of Chap. 9, there remains no single model of trilingual education, and each school is developing its own contextually sensitive model. To

repeat the final sentence of Chap. 9, ‘A school-based bottom-up approach to developing a policy for trilingual education in Hong Kong is far more likely to be successful than a top-down policy devised by ‘experts’ in the Education Bureau.

10.2 Limitations

Our project has tried to provide a better understanding of the stakeholders’ perceptions of the trilingual education in Hong Kong primary schools through a pilot study, a survey of 155 primary schools and three in-depth case studies. Despite the size of the study and survey, we must, of course, be cautious about generalising the findings. Nevertheless, we feel that this study could have important implications for research into multilingual education and the implementation of trilingual education and we list these below in Sect. 10.3.

10.3 Implications for Literacy Instruction in Multilingual Settings

This study has a number of implications for literacy instruction in multilingual settings:

1. The central role of local languages needs to be acknowledged.
2. The national language (in this case, Putonghua) and the ‘first’ foreign language (in this case, English) should be preceded by literacy in mother tongue.
3. Mother tongue literacy should be seen in its own right rather than simply as a channel to second language literacy.
4. New didactics and methods have to be developed that give equal consideration to the use of each language in a multilingual learning environment.
5. Future research should be conducted to address the difference between oral and written communication in each language for developing trilingual literacy.
6. Learners’ interests and expectations need to be taken into consideration right from the planning stage in order to develop trilingual literacy programs.
7. Trilingual literacy is considered to be ideal.

Hong Kong is considered as China’s gateway to the outside world, the ‘Biliterate and Trilingual’ language policy plays a significant role in shaping Hong Kong into a multilingual and multicultural world city. We hope our study will help schools in Hong Kong find their own ways to implementing successful trilingual and biliterate education for their students and the future citizens of Hong Kong. In addition, we hope our study will lead to complementary studies of trilingual education in the region.