Code-Mixing and Code-Switching in Classical Hong Kong Cinemas

Victor Fan
Department of Film Studies
King's College London, UK

Abstract

Code-switching and -mixing have been prominent in Hong Kongers' speech patterns. Yet, cinematic representations of these two practices seem to be rare in studio-produced films and have only emerged in experimental and independent films since the 1990s. In this article, I argue that the discrepancy between the commonplaceness of code-switching and -mixing in Hong Kongers' everyday speech and its lack of representation in the cinema is deceptive. If we understand code-switching and -mixing not only as an interlinguistic practice, but also as intertopolectic (between different topolects) and intratopolectic (between registers of a topolect of language), code-switching and -mixing have always been part of Hong Kong cinema as narrational devices. Moreover, in some cinematic cases, code-switching and -mixing may be transposed to the level of film forms. In this article, I will first provide an overview of how code-switching and -mixing in Hong Kong have been discussed by linguists and point out some blind spots in their arguments. I will then conduct a comparative investigation into Cantonese literature and classical Cantonese cinema from the 1930s to the 1950s and demonstrate how interlinguistic, intertopolectic, and intratopolectic switching and mixing have always been part of it. I will then conduct a similar investigation into Cold War Mandarin literature in Hong Kong and its use of code-switching and -mixing, which will shed light on how Mandarin cinema in the 1950s transposes these practices to film forms. In both cases, code-switching and -mixing in the cinema negotiate the conflicting social relationships of the time.

Keywords

If one tries to locate code-mixing (intrasentential mixing, that is, mixing of words from different languages within a sentence) and code-switching (intersentential switching, that is, switching languages from sentence to sentence) in Hong Kong cinema, one may get disappointed. Code-mixing and, to a lesser extent, code-switching have been prominently featured in many Hong Kongers' speech patterns, regardless of their ethnicities, cultural backgrounds, and levels of education (D. Li, "Cantonese-English" 305-22; Pennington, "Perspectives" 3-40). Yet, cinematic representations of these two practices seem to be rare in studio films produced during the classical period (1934-67) or even into the present, as these works have been made out of the three main monolingual industries in Hong Kong: Cantonese, Mandarin, and Hokkien.[1] In other words, there appears to be a historical discrepancy between how Hong Kongers speak in their daily lives and the way they speak on screen.

In this article, I argue that the discrepancy between the commonplaceness of code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kongers' everyday speech and its lack of representation in the cinema is deceptive. If we understand code-mixing and -switching not only as an interlinguistic practice between English and Chinese, but also as intertopolectic (between different topolects or regional speeches) and intratopolectic (between registers of a topolect or regional speech), code-mixing and -switching have been part of Hong Kong cinemas as narrational devices since the 1930s.[2] Moreover, in some cases, code-mixing and -switching may be transposed to the level of cinematic form. In the following sections, I will first provide an overview of how code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kong have been discussed by linguists and point out some blind spots in their arguments. I will then conduct a comparative investigation into Cantonese literature and classical Cantonese cinema from the 1930s to the 1950s to demonstrate how interlinguistic, intertopolectic, and

---

[1] My definition of classical Hong Kong cinema roughly adheres to the criteria defined in Bordwell et al. The range I set here is based on the release of the first Cantonese sound film in Hong Kong, *Baak Gamlung* (*White Golden Dragon,* Sit Kok-sin, 1934); see Fan, *Cinema* 159-60. In 1967, Cantonese film production came to a halt in Hong Kong due to the Leftist Riots and the Cantonese films made after this break are characterized by remarkable stylistic changes (Fan, *Extraterritoriality,* 47; 70-110). In Mandarin cinema, the release of *Longmen kezhan* (*Dragon Inn,* King Hu, 1967) marks the popularization of the new Mandarin *wuxia* cinema in Hong Kong, whereas Hokkien film production began to decline around the same time (Chung; M. Ng).

[2] The term "topolect" means "regional speech," which corresponds to the Chinese term *fangyan* (方言). It acknowledges that such a speech is a linguistic system, even though it may not be recognized as such by governments. The term "dialect" refers to a mode of a language (often a "national" one) spoken in a particular region, with the implication that such a mode is not to be considered a language on its own.

intratopolectic mixing and switching have always been used. I will then conduct a similar investigation into Cold War Mandarin literature in Hong Kong and its use of code-mixing and -switching, which will shed light on how Mandarin cinema in the 1950s transposes these practices into cinematic form. In both cases, code-mixing and -switching in the cinema negotiate the conflicting social relationships of the time.

My choice of focusing on the classical period is based on two reasons. First, the three main industries in Hong Kong during the classical period have been considered monolingual. They were created by filmmakers who often worked exclusively in a single language or topolect. Mandarin cinema, with its higher production value and intellectual awareness, appealed not only to a Mandarin-speaking audience in Hong Kong, but also to other topolect-speakers there, as well as those in Southeast Asia, Taiwan, and other Sinophone communities in Europe and North America. Meanwhile, Cantonese and Hokkien cinemas targeted predominantly spectators who spoke these topolects. Not only did these three industries never cross over into one another, but the films themselves also restrain from employing code-mixing and -switching. Studying how code-mixing and -switching are practiced in a subtle or even unconscious register enables us (as scholars) to observe how deeply these practices have been ingrained in Hong Kong's vernacular and intellectual cultures, sometimes without even being noticed by the filmmakers and spectators themselves.

Second, while code-mixing and -switching are still uncommon in Hong Kong cinema after the classical period, mixing and switching between Cantonese and English were present in a handful of experimental and independent films and videos in the 1970s and 1980s to convey Hong Kongers' colonial sensibilities, especially among artists and intellectuals. Occasionally, mainstream Cantonese films in the 1980s would employ mixing and switching for comical or dramatic purposes. However, unabashed filmic representation of code-mixing and -switching did not emerge until *Cautin dik tungwaa* (秋天的童話 *An Autumn Tale,* Mable Cheung 張 婉婷, 1987), in which different modes and degrees of code-mixing and -switching are employed to indicate the class and gender differences of its various Hong Konger-American characters.[3] Since the 1990s, directors Wong Kar-wai and Johnnie To have used code-mixing and -switching for creative purposes or embedding political messages. These more overt practices of code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kong cinema and media after 1967 require a different set of sociopolitical contextualizations, industrial investigations, and textual analyses that are beyond the scope of this article (Fan, *Extraterritoriality* 111-95).

---

[3] In this article, Cantonese words and phrases are transliterated with the Jyutping system, whereas Cantonese names are written according to their commonly accepted spellings.

Code-Mixing and -Switching in Hong Kong

As David Li argues, linguistic practices in Hong Kong have been historically chaotic ("Cantonese-English" 206). For Martha Pennington, being chaotic does not mean being unruly. Rather, the term "chaos" refers to the "dynamic of systems which are deterministic but at the same time have a property of natural instability of inherent randomness" ("Perspectives" 20).[4] For John J. Gumperz, code-switching is always determined by a constantly shifting set of social relationships (63-65). Such relationships, meanwhile, have been in turn shaped by the British colonial government's "racialist treatment of the Chinese and their language," and today, I shall say, the official linguistic attitudes and policies implemented by the People's Republic of China (Gibbons, "Attitudes" 129).

Linguistic studies of code-switching and -mixing in Hong Kong can be traced back to John Gibbons's seminal 1979 paper, "Code-Mixing," where he examines the "*U-gay-wa*" (U 街話 "university street speech") used among students at the University of Hong Kong. In the 1980s, he expanded his study beyond the campus and proved that the intrasentential use of English by educated Cantonese speakers—a speech pattern he termed "MIX"—was far more common than most people were willing to admit. In fact, some of his interviewees who claimed that they used Cantonese exclusively often employed code-mixing without realizing it ("Attitudes" 130).

Gibbons's interest in educated Hong Kongers' speech may sound elitist, though he managed to debunk the racialist opinion among linguists that code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kong were a result of Cantonese speakers' poor command of the English language (D. Li, "The Plight" 162). Instead, as Gumperz argues, code-mixing and -switching often require a speaker's equal understanding of the connotations of those words that are comparable in both languages within their respective cultural and semantic domains (65). In fact, Gibbons suggests that code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kong should be considered not as a form of pidginization (establishment of a new speech with simplification of words, word forms, and grammar), but koineization (establishment of a new topolect that observes its own set of grammatical rules and lexicon) ("Attitudes" 129-47). As Jane Setter et al. point out, code-mixing—more so than code-switching—was practiced not only by Cantonese speakers, but also by native English speakers, including Eurasians and returnees from Anglophone regions (100-02). In both cases, linguists can easily

---

[4] See also Crutchfield et al.; and Gleick.

identify several "common morpho-syntactic properties" (inflections of word forms and sentences, which are considered koineizational), including the omission of plural markers and (pronoun-verb) agreement markers as well as "category conversions" (for instance, converting a noun into a verb or vice versa).

Working in the research institute that represented elite British colonial education in the 1970s and 1980s, Gibbons observed a tension between two conflicting beliefs among his students. On the one hand, most Cantonese speakers expressed an "*overt* attitude of hostility" toward the use of MIX on campus ("Attitudes" 131). Such an attitude was attributable to a belief in the use of *pure* Chinese when Cantonese speakers communicated with one another, a social etiquette inculcated by the public education system itself as well as by parents and other senior family members. The use of MIX was also seen as unfriendly, distanced, and elitist by these students. Yet, in his article, Gibbons also points out that the same students "held positive *covert* attitudes" toward the use of MIX, as they found code-mixing could help them exude a sense of confidence and sex appeal (131). However, instead of seeing such tension as a strictly negative symptom of British colonialism, Gibbons suggests that the act of appropriating and reinventing English words and phrases, together with their morphological and syntactic structures, had the effect of neutralizing the power dynamic between the colonizer's and the colonized's languages. For Setter et al., by 2000, such practices were still seen as being able to neutralize the "alien-ness" and "other-ness" of English, together with the racialist discourses that came with colonial modernity (102).

Pennington, however, disagrees with Gibbons's observation that code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kong could be attributed to a binary understanding of colonial power asymmetry ("Perspectives" 4-5). For her, diglossia, defined as a form of bilingualism that assigns different linguistic functions to the colonizer and colonized languages, respectively, was no longer a dominant factor in Hong Kong by the late 1980s.[5] However, she argues that these two practices, at that time, were what R. B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller call "acts of identification" (5-12), helping the speakers foster a sense of ingroup loyalty (Pennington, "Perspectives" 10). For her, there is no doubt that code-switching in general requires more knowledge of the embedded language (in the case of Hong Kong, English) than code-mixing, since in the latter case, the morphological and grammatical structures stay within the matrix language (i.e., Cantonese).

Yet, Pennington observes that code-mixing does require a speaker to understand comparable words analogically and their connotative differences

---

[5] See also Ferguson 325-40 and Fishman 3-15.

("Perspectives" 11-16). At times, it also demands a speaker to modify the morphological and grammatical structures of the matrix language itself. Pennington believes that for the younger generation of Hong Kongers in the 1980s, English was no longer symbolically associated with colonialism, yet it still signified "advancement," competitiveness, as well as "youth and modernity." Meanwhile, Cantonese and Chinese in general were mostly associated with "family values," "cooperation," and compromise. She believes that Hong Kong's complex and often confusing linguistic policies had created an aspiration among many young people to speak fluent English, though they were unsupported by the educational infrastructure itself. In this light, code-mixing enabled them to cognitively economize their speech by compartmentalizing different words, paradigms, and lexicons in different modes of informational exchange.

All these key research projects were conducted from the late 1970s to the early 2000s, with a strong emphasis on young Hong Kongers' linguistic patterns in the 1980s and 1990s. In other words, their findings and interpretations tell us mostly how code-mixing and -switching were practiced by a generation of young people who grew up after a decade of sociocultural and educational decolonization carried out under the governorship of Murray MacLehose (in office 1971-82). They were also brought up during a period when Hong Kong's economy transitioned from one that relied on industrial production to an international financial hub driven by its service industry and real estate market. Hence, for Pennington, Hong Kong's status as a semiautonomous port of information exchanges was best considered a sociopolitical metastasis ("Perspectives" 16). Thus, code-mixing and -switching were motivated primarily by a need to economize such exchanges, and they also signified the city's youthful, cosmopolitan, and hypermodern energy.

This line of research therefore tells us nothing about code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kong prior to the late 1970s. Both practices—with Chinese as the matrix language and English as the embedded one—were widely used by businesspeople, educators, and even some workers before 1949 in Shanghai and Hong Kong, as evidenced in the literary and cinematic works produced in these two cities.[6] Moreover, newspaper articles, short stories and novellas, as well as private letters written by the *nanlai wenren* (pro-Kuomintang or pro-KMT literati who immigrated into Hong Kong after 1949) show that writers not only used code-mixing

---

[6] For literary works, see, for example, N. Liu, *Dushi* and Shi et al. For a cinematic example, see *Shizi jietou.* For film criticism, see N. Liu, "Dianying" and "Écranesque." For scholarly discussions, see Bao 153-96; Braester; Fan, *Cinema* 75-108; Lee 153-231; Ong; Shih; L. Zhang; and Z. Zhang 244-98.

and -switching extensively, but also brought with them practices from *yangjingbang* (洋涇浜 or *hhianjinban* in Shanghainese) English, that is, pidgin English popularly used in Shanghai.[7] To complicate matters, all the linguists I have referenced thus far adhere to the principle that switching between topolects is not to be considered mixing or switching, since they all belong to the same language. Such a principle rules out any studies of very common practices of mixing and switching, including the use of Shanghainese and other forms of Wu among expatriates; the employment of Hakka (客家), Teochew (潮州), Hoklo (鶴佬, a version of Hokkien native to some indigenous Hong Kongers), and Tanka (蛋家) in household conversations; as well as the use of Shuntak (順德) and Shekki (石崎) by unmarried domestic workers employed by wealthy families.

As Kang-Kwong Luke argues, by seeing code-mixing strictly as a practice of embedding English words and phrases intrasententially within Cantonese as a matrix language, we often fail to see the complexity of Cantonese as a topolect (149-50). For Luke, most Hong Kongers switch between "high" Cantonese, which consists of words and phrases that are standardized in written Chinese (itself modeled on standardized Mandarin), and "low" Cantonese, which consists of colloquial words and phrases deemed unacceptable in formal writing. Embedding English words and phrases within the matrix of high Cantonese often signifies to both the addresser and addressee that they belong to the same economic class with a comparable educational level. Intersentential code-switching certainly signals their belonging to the fully bilingual community. Meanwhile, the mixing and switching between high and low Cantonese, as well as between Cantonese and English, are often determined by the connotations of the words being used. For instance, the low Cantonese term *maaiye* (買嘢 buying things) is associated with daily necessities, the high Cantonese term *kaumat* (購物 purchasing goods) is usually reserved for advertisements and formal discussions, while the English term *shopping* is more frequently employed in association with consumerist pleasure.

Ever since the implementation of the "biliteracy and trilingualism" policy in 1997, that is, the equal emphasis on written Chinese and English, as well as on oral Mandarin, Cantonese, and English, mixing and switching between Cantonese and Mandarin have also been practiced by the younger generation. However, as the Beijing government and academe began to challenge the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's definition of the *muyu* (母語 mother tongue) as Cantonese, together with the promotion of civic education (that is, the inculcation of national and

---

[7] For literary works, see, for example, Y. Liu, *Duidao* and *Jiutu*. For scholarly works, see, for instance, Su, "Bu'an" and *Liuzhuan*; see also M. Wong, "Conghui."

nationalist values at school), the rising young *buntoupaai* (本土派 localists) began to regard the mixing and switching between low Cantonese, high Cantonese, and English as a singularized linguistic matrix known as "Hong Kong Cantonese" (Fan, "Too Intimate").

Code-Switching and -Mixing in Classical Cantonese Cinema

As I mentioned earlier, there has been an unspoken expectation that Hong Kong Cantonese speakers shall use only Cantonese when they speak with one another (Gibbons, "Attitudes" 131). Such an expectation was largely observed with regard to cinema. From the 1920s to the 1960s, cinema was regarded by intellectuals and sociopolitically conscientious filmmakers in Hong Kong as an institution of education, socialization, and acculturation.[8] In fact, even in the 1980s, Hong Kong spectators still accepted that characters on screen would exclusively speak Cantonese in social situations and circles where code-mixing and -switching would have been common.

However, if we consider mixing and switching between topolects and dialects or even between different registers of Cantonese, we may have a different understanding of such practices in Hong Kong cinema (Luke 149-50). In the early years of Hong Kong Cantonese cinema, both Jyutkek (粵劇 Cantonese theater or opera) and cinema were considered *hei* (戲 drama) (Fan, *Cinema,* 153-94).[9] Institutionally, socioculturally, economically, and even legally, cinema and theater were considered a singular industry, economic system, and sociocultural practice. In today's critical language, we can regard them as two overlapped media ecologies.[10]

The Jyutkek emerged during the transition between the Ming and Qing dynasties (1618-83), when itinerant Kunqu (崑曲) troupes traveled from the Manchu-occupied north to the region south of the Nanling (南嶺) ridges. In *zingzi hei* (正字戲 Mandarin drama), performers would sing and speak in Tiuŋteiuʔʌim (中州音 Mid-continental pronunciation; pronounced Tsungtziu'am), a Mandarin constructed

---

[8] This idea was conceived and proposed in various debates in Shanghai and Hong Kong in the 1920s and 1930s (Chung 60-64; Fan, *Cinema* 42-47, 86-87; M. Johnson 112). It was also popularized by the film policy in Taiwan after 1949, which was observed by the Mandarin film industry in Hong Kong, as well as by left wing studios such as the Union Film Enterprise (Hong 65-86; G. Ng).

[9] Du Ying and Kenneth Ng have been conducting research into the legal and political aspects of this connection, respectively. Their findings, however, have not yet been published at the time of this article's writing.

[10] For a discussion of cinema as a media ecology and its historical overlaps with other ecologies, please see, for example, Lamarre 1-32.

during the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) and based on a systematic mixing between Han (漢 northern topolect, or Kan-on 漢音 in Japanese), Wu (吳 southern Mandarin, or Go-on 吳音), and Yue (越/粵 topolects from the former Jyut/Việt/Yue empire). Meanwhile, in *baakzi hei* (白字戲 vernacular drama), performers would use the local dialect or topolect and code-mix with other linguistic forms (Lai 14-21). Such code-mixing was practiced in Hong Kong till the 1930s.[11]

When Cantonese sound features emerged in the 1930s, code-mixing and -switching would have been very common. Unfortunately, most of the prints of Cantonese films from that period have been lost, with the exception of *Noeising zi gwong* (女性之光 *The Light of Women,* Ko Lei-hen 高梨痕, 1937) and *Naamgwok zimuifaa* (南國姊妹花 *Twin Sisters of the South,* Lai Ban 黎斌, 1939).[12] *Twin Sisters* is about the lives of the eponymous protagonists Tai-tip (大蝶) and Siu-tip (小蝶), both played by the film producer Wu Tip-ying (蝴蝶影). The two sisters were separated when they were babies. While the elder sister Tai-tip was raised by a wealthy business family in the city, the younger sister Siu-tip grew up in the country. They both fall in love with a city composer, Ching (李仲清), played by Ng Chor-fan (吳楚帆), who meets Siu-tip when he stays at her village for a retreat. However, when Siu-tip's stepmother, played by To Sam-ku (陶三姑), finds out that they are in love, she lambasts Siu-tip. As a result, Siu-tip runs away to the city. When Ching goes to the city to look for her, he runs into Tai-tip and mistakes her for her younger sister. Because of this coincidence, Tai-tip reunites with Siu-tip but also falls in love with Ching.

Siu-tip's village is on an outlying island, which indicates that at home, she would speak a combination of a fisher topolect (either Tanka, Hakka, or Hoklo) and standardized Cantonese. In the film, Wu Tip-ying does not speak any of these topolects, though she modifies her accent to imitate a young Tanka or Hakka woman. In her dialogues, she employs a limited vocabulary to communicate her joy and romantic feelings to Ching. In the scene in which she confesses her love to Ching, the camera films the confession as a reflection from a pond. Her out-of-focus *double* struggles to use words from high Cantonese in order to demonstrate her effort to elevate herself to Ching's intellectual level.

---

[11] A rare performance of a Tiuŋʨiuʔˠiim number, "Kɑubˠiæŋkˠuan t͡sʰɔuˣ kˠiip͡" (高平關取級 "Kaub'ingkwan ts'uikap/kip," "Koupinggwaan cuikap" in modern Cantonese and "Gaopingguan quji" in Mandarin) [Decapitation at Gaopingguan] by the Cantonese theater artist Leung Sing-poh 梁醒波, is now available online. See Leung.

[12] Some of the prints were burned during a series of fires at the largest studio of the time, Southsea (which became Shaw Brothers). See "Shao Zuiweng"; Ge'an; and Zhao Zhao.

Siu-tip's accented Cantonese and her struggle to code-switch to high Cantonese therefore demonstrate the class difference between her and Ching. In the beginning of the film, when Ching is asked by his friend Fatty (黃壽年), played by Chow Hong-nin (周康年), what he thinks of Siu-tip, Ching says, "*Gogtak heonghaa di noeizai tinzan di; gokdak koei hou holin*" (覺得鄉下啲女仔天真啲；覺得佢好可憐; "I find these country girls very naive; I feel sorry for her"). In other words, Ching's romantic feeling for her is motivated by pity. In fact, he is in love with an image of Siu-tip, which is deflected, inflected, and reflected as a projection of his condescension. Such a reflection is a *double* that struggles to code-switch to his intellectual linguistic register.

Narratively, Siu-tip's double is her elder sister Tai-tip. Raised in the city, Tai-tip wears modern Euro-American style clothing on a day-to-day basis. Yet, she is also an accomplished Cantonese theater performer. When Ching misrecognizes her as Siu-tip in the city, he is surprised by how "Siu-tip" suddenly appears so modern, and such modernity is *performed* not only by her Euro-American style clothing and her ability to afford staying and eating in a luxurious hotel, but also by her use of high Cantonese. Meanwhile, at a fundraising gala, Tai-tip performs in Tiuŋt͡ɕiuʔʝiim the operatic number "Ciugwan jyun" (昭君怨 "The Sorrow of Wang Zhaojun"), a story about a Western Han princess (c. 51-5 BCE) who was married by Emperor Yuan (漢元帝; reigned 48-33 BCE) to Chanyu Huhanye (reigned 59-31 BCE) of the Xiongnu empire (c. third century BCE-first century CE).

Here, Tai-tip's modernity and urban sophistication are associated not only with her high Cantonese, but also with her ability to code-switch from her native intellectual language (high Cantonese) to an acquired and performed language (Tiuŋt͡ɕiuʔʝiim). Yet, to complicate matters, the symbolic difference between Tai-tip and Siu-tip as well as their structural difference as doubles are achieved by Wu Tip-ying performing code-switching. In this light, the film makes audible, visible, and sensible that the way we perceive class differences can be performative. In other words, acts of code-switching (by Tai-tip and Siu-tip) *interpellate* (in itself a performance) Ching to submit himself to capitalist class relations from one moment to another.[13] Within such relations, Ching falls in love with Siu-tip out of a bourgeois sense of pity and connects with Tai-tip as a fellow intellectual. As Yiman Wang argues, the film eventually tries to redeem Siu-tip in the final sequence, when she determines to become an independent woman (69-71). The sequence does so with a montage in which Siu-tip is seen climbing up a rocky hill on her own, with her

---

[13] The term "interpellation" was originally repurposed by Louis Althusser. My definition is based on Judith Butler's discussion in *Bodies That Matter* (81-82).

voiceover declaring that she must learn how to say "no" to people (in this case, ironically, to Ching as a bourgeois intellectual companion) and walk with dignity and determination. She ignores Ching's attempt to catch up with her and eventually reaches the top of the hill by herself. In this sense, the film suggests that Siu-tip attains her modernity, independence, and agency not by speech acts, but through the physical action and determination to say "no" to the social relations that constantly define and encage her.

The use of code-mixing and -switching between literary and vernacular Chinese as well as between high and low Cantonese can be seen in serialized novels and novellas of the 1940s. One of the most cited works is *Janhoi loeihan* (人海淚痕 *Traces of Tears in the Human Sea*) by Mong Wan (望雲, pseudonym of Cheung Man-ping, 張文炳 or 張吻冰, 1910-59). Mong claims that he wrote the story into a screenplay around 1937-38. After the serialization of the novel in the *Daizung bou* (大眾報 *Mass Post*), it was then adapted under the same title in 1940 by the Hong Kong director Lee Tit (李鐵). Lee Tit then readapted it as *Ngailau coenhiu* (危樓春曉 *In the Face of Demolition*) in 1953. Another very popular novel from the same period is *Haakau zyun* (蝦球傳 *The Story of Ha Kau*) by Wong Kuk-lau (黃谷柳, 1908-77), serialized from October 1947 to December 1948 in the *Huashang bao* (華商報 *Hua Shang Daily*), a newspaper edited by Hsia Yen (夏衍, 1900-95) (Chow; K. Wong; Yu). In both novels, their writers switch between a form of vernacular Chinese that employs literary phrases, syntactic formations, and mannerisms and a form that is closer to the way Cantonese would have been spoken at that time. The dialogues are then written in both high and low Cantonese, depending on the gender and social class of the characters (Fan, "Too Intimate" 65-66).[14]

In *In the Face of Demolition,* Lee Tit develops code-mixing and -switching into a narrational strategy.[15] In the film, code-mixing and -switching between Cantonese and English are always associated with capitalist corruption. For instance, Taipan Wong (大班黃), played by Lo Duen (盧敦), is an unemployed moneylender who claims to be a taipan in a British trading company. In the beginning of the film, when the schoolteacher Law Ming (羅明), played by Cheung Ying (張瑛), moves in and accidentally steps on Taipan Wong's toe, Wong yells at him in English. Thus, code-switching for Taipan Wong is a way to claim his authority by associating himself with the colonial trade and by capitalizing on the fact that his listeners may be intimidated by their inability to understand what he says.

---

[14] See also Lam 2-5.

[15] For a detailed analysis of *In the Face of Demolition,* see Fan, *Extraterritoriality* 60-65; see also Lam 47-51.

Taipan Wong's use of code-switching as a form of intimidation is best demonstrated toward the beginning of the second act, when he scolds the leaseholder of the building Sam Ku (三姑), played by Lee Yuet-ching (李月清), for subletting the space underneath the staircase to the betrodden family of Tam Yi-suk (譚二叔), played by Wong Chor-san (黃楚山). In this conversation, Taipan Wong makes the false claim that since he has rented that space for his niece Yuk-fong (玉芳), played by Mui Yee (梅綺), for a long time, he is considered by law as the owner of that piece of "property." To frighten Sam Ku, in a medium single shot, he yells at her in English, "You know? You are a criminal!" Lee Tit then cuts 180 degrees to a medium single shot of Sam Ku begging him for mercy, for she does not understand what he means. Such an editing device not only emphasizes her sense of alienation but also the two characters' dialectical relationship in the colonial class structure. In fact, later in the film, the scam artist Chi Tin-yau (指天友), played by Fung Ying-sheung (馮應湘), also uses code-mixing when he lies to Law, telling him that he is chief editor of a newspaper and can serialize Law's novel.

After Law has submitted his first manuscript to Chi, he cannot sleep. Over a wooden panel that divides his living unit and the one occupied by his love interest Pak Ying (白瑩), played by Tsi Law-lin (紫蘿蓮), the two lovers confess their romantic feeling toward one another. Shortly after they have gone to bed, the overexcited Law stands up and asks Pak to imagine his bright future. In his speech, which he delivers in a low-angle medium shot with escalating affection, he promises to travel around the world with her. The evening setting allows Lee Tit to employ high-contrast lighting to lend his performance a dramatic quality. In his utter bliss, he names all the countries he wishes to visit with her, and at the height of his excitement, he switches entirely into English. Here, code-switching is associated with Law's indulgence with the colonial bourgeois fantasy that a combination of literary talent and hard work will bring international fame, when in truth he is an unemployed teacher in an uncaring and capitalist-driven education system, laboring in a literary world where Chinese-language literature is not even regarded as part of world literature.

Nonetheless, Lee Tit's negative representation of code-mixing and -switching is specific to the colonial conditions of the Cantonese-speaking population in the 1950s, which consisted predominantly of factory workers, dockers, drivers, domestic workers, bar hostesses, and sex workers—all of whom are represented in the film. Toward the end of the film's first sequence, however, the taxi driver Leung Wai (梁威), played by Ng Chor-fan (吳楚帆), introduces himself as a "taxi *lou*" (taxi 佬 taxi driver) and uses the English word "taxi," which is uncharacteristic of his class. Bus,

tram, and taxi drivers were strongly unionized in the 1950s. Thus, Leung's unusual code-mixing signifies the emergence of an alternative and socialist modernity. Yet, by the same token, such a speech-act relies on the same colonial logic that we have seen before: that the English language is associated with modernity, cosmopolitanism, and political power.

From the *Nanlai wenren* to Contemporary Hong Kong

If classical Cantonese cinema aligned itself with a local Cantonese-speaking working-class audience, Mandarin cinema, as Siu Leung Li (49-62) and Jean Ma argue (139-83) respectively, negotiated the contesting values between the local, national, and global by foregrounding or even celebrating colonial and capitalist modernity. Yet, as Ma argues, such celebration is best regarded as a performance and masquerade (19).[16] For me, it was built on the conflicting relationship between a deep structural need to reconstruct a sense of *Chineseness* or Shanghai sensibility in colonial Hong Kong and an awareness that such Chineseness is intricately dependent on the pressure of Cold War politics. In short, neither Chineseness nor modernity has any self-nature, and their transience and immateriality are symptomatic of their sociopolitical position of being perpetually *extra-territorial* (neither inside nor outside; at once inside and outside) to both *China* and the *West* as two imaginary modern constructions (Fan, *Extraterritoriality* 4).

At first glance, Mandarin cinema in Hong Kong was monolinguistic, as it had to conform to the KMT government's regulations in order to be exported to Taiwan. However, if Mandarin cinema was meant to be seen, first and foremost, by the Shanghai expatriates in Hong Kong, representing their lives and memories without any code-mixing and -switching would have been unrealistic. What this meant was that code-mixing and -switching were transposed from language to film forms.

The more recent scholarship on the *nanlai wenren* (again, literati who immigrated from Shanghai to Hong Kong after 1949) sheds light on the significance of code-mixing and -switching in Hong Kong Mandarin cinema in the 1950s and 1960s. As Su Wei-chen (*Liuzhuan*) and Mary Wong ("Conghui" 86-91) point out, most *nanlai wenren,* notably Evan Yang (易文, 1920-78) and Liu Yichang (劉以鬯, 1918-2018), were part of the Xinganjuepai (新感覺派 New Sensationist movement, or Shinkankakuha). In their literary works, the New Sensationists deliberately break

---

[16] In film studies, the concept of the "masquerade" is associated with Mary Ann Doane (74-87). In her article, Doane (81n25) explains the indebtedness of her interpretation to Joan Riviere (176) and Claire Johnston (36-44). She also distinguishes her idea from Luce Irigaray's (131-32).

down grammatical rules and syntactical conventions, defamiliarize paradigmatic associations, and employ code-mixing and -switching between standardized Chinese, Japanese, and European languages in order to impart to their readers the sensations of urban modernity and alienation (Fan, *Cinema* 49). [17] During the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), two leading figures of the movement, Liu Na'ou (劉吶鷗, 1905-40) and Mu Shiying (穆時英, 1912-40) worked for the collaborationist government headed by Wang Ching-wei (汪精衛, 1883-1944) and were subsequently assassinated. Evan Yang and Liu Yichang were not Japanese sympathizers. However, as Poshek Fu argues, their literary works appealed to those readers who were politically indifferent, and their representation of urban decadence and explicit sexuality carries the sensibility of an intellectual class whose members would have enjoyed the lifestyle and economic prosperity under Japanese occupation (3-9).

Both Yang and Liu immigrated to Hong Kong in 1948 and wrote serialized novels, short stories, leisure essays, literary and film reviews, and even erotica for newspapers. Yang also wrote screenplays and directed feature films (mostly musicals) for the Motion Picture and General Investment Company (MP&GI), under the supervision of the Singapore-based Cathay studio. Many of these films feature the film star and singer Grace Chang (葛蘭). Unlike some of the other New Sensationists, Yang uses simple and unadorned syntactic structures as well as concrete and materialistic descriptions. Yet, since he employs the same matter-of-fact language in both realistic scenes and fantasies, the boundaries between reality and dream as well as truth and lie are often undeterminable. For instance, in the short story "Fu yu zi" (父與子 "Father and Son"), a young man rides the Canton-Hankow railway. In this twenty-hour journey, he finds himself sitting in front of his long-lost father, who abandoned him and his mother twelve years before. He engages his father in a conversation, which gradually proceeds from being cordial to being painful and belligerent. At the height of their argument, the son tells his father that he has long forgotten how he looks and how his voice sounds, and that he wishes they had never managed to meet again on this train. Then, in one sentence, Yang tells his readers that in front of this young man sits a stranger, who has long fallen asleep, thus revealing at the last moment of the story that the entire conversation has perhaps taken place in the young man's head. This last sentence leaves readers in an uneasy silence; they must come face-to-face with an open wound between father and son that refuses to heal (M. Wong, "Yi Wen" 1-23).

---

[17] See note 6.

Likewise, in the novella *Haibin bomeng* (海濱薄夢 *Thin Dream Bay*), a young woman whose husband is constantly away from home in Singapore listens over the phone to her best friend's detailed description of her lesbian sexual encounter. This young woman then meets a physically fit young man on a beach, with whom she explores her body and sexual desire. Again, Yang's materialistic descriptions render it impossible for his readers to determine the difference between fantasy and reality (M. Wong, "Yi Wen" 1-23).

In 2015, the Hong Kong director Shu Kei (舒琪) made a documentary called *Imagining Evan Young,* which includes his filmic adaptations of "Father and Son" and other short stories. He also directs a standalone adaptation of *Thin Dream Bay.* In the documentary, Shu Kei reveals that Yang employs code-mixing and -switching in his private letters and diary. For him, Yang's writing always implies an unspoken process of code-mixing and -switching. Narratively, Shanghai expatriates are expected to speak to themselves and their friends in Mandarin and English, and he writes in these languages. Meanwhile, the expats would switch to Cantonese when speaking to local Hong Kongers. Yang still employs standardized Mandarin when he writes Cantonese lines, though the *tonality* of these lines usually carries a warmth and familiarity, as opposed to the detached, cold, and indifferent Mandarin lines, especially those spoken by the characters internally, to an unspecified addressee, or by a third-person narrator.[18]

These more recent studies and filmic adaptations of Yang's novellas and short stories offer us a different perspective on his directorial works. His films were made under the influence of the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) decision to encourage Hong Kong Mandarin (that is, "free" Chinese) filmmakers to present Hong Kong, Taipei, and Singapore as cosmopolitan havens in a region that was under Communist threat (Jones). But as Siu Lueng Li (74-94) argues, such global aspiration always required a renegotiation of the relationship between the Shanghai expatriates' position in the British colony and the local Hong Kongers' own sense of cultural identity and belonging. Yang's 1957 film *Manbo nülang* (曼波女郎 *Mambo Girl*) is often read as an allegory of Hong Kong. In the film, Li Kai-ling (李凱玲, played by Chang) is a modern girl who grew up in an upper-middle-class family with open-minded and accommodating parents. However, she finds out that these parents in fact adopted her when she was a baby. She then goes around the city to find her birth mother. She eventually learns that her birth mother works as an erotic dancer in a high-class nightclub. When she goes into the dressing room of a dancer whom she

---

[18] I want to thank Shu Kei for his conversation with me during his London visit to the Chinese Film Festival in 2019.

identifies as her birth mother, the dancer denies their relationship. By the end of the film, Kai-ling decides to return to the parents who raised her, and the spectator sees the erotic dancer wandering in front of Kai-ling's house while listening to her singing and dancing to the mambo.

Before Kai-ling confronts her birth mother, she walks into the nightclub and watches an erotic dance performed by Lolinda Raquel (Margo the Z-Bomb). The film switches between a medium close-up of Kai-ling looking toward the camera, seemingly fixated by the performance, and a long shot of the stage, where Margo thrusts her hips rapidly and aggressively as in sexual intercourse. Siu Leung Li argues that in this scene, Kai-ling is sensorially shocked by the sight of an *actual* modern capitalist pleasure and comes face-to-face with her own Chineseness and local values, which in turn put into question her own modernity (89). Meanwhile, Ma contextualizes this scene by pointing out that Margo's guest appearance has been well-prepared by the film's advertisements and the original opening credits (162-64). Therefore, Kai-ling serves as a stand-in for the spectator to fulfill their voyeuristic pleasure. But neither scholar comments on Kai-ling's detached, cold, and indifferent physical *look*. If we compare this look with the Mandarin lines in Yang's novel, we begin to see that this look bears the symbolic *gaze* of Yang himself (as an implicit third-person narrator), who observes quietly how the Shanghai expatriates and British-American patrons in the nightclub (and allegorically, Hong Kong as a whole) create and spectate such transient and illusionary capitalist pleasures. In this light, the literary code-mixing and -switching in Yang's writing are transposed through the camerawork to a subtle switching from a seemingly transparent and self-contained narrational system (the film's main narrative) to the critical gaze of Yang as an intellectual and detached observer.

Conclusion

If we simply adhere to the linguists' definition of code-mixing and -switching as interlinguistic practices between English and Cantonese, they are indeed underrepresented in Hong Kong cinemas. Even today, they may appear only occasionally in the films of Wong Kar-wai, Evans Chan, and some independent documentaries. However, if we accept a wider definition of code-mixing and -switching to include intertopolectic and intratopolectic practices, we can see that they have always been part of Hong Kong cinemas.

In the classical Cantonese cinema of the 1930s and 1950s, code-mixing and -switching were inherited from its theatrical predecessor, and a director like Lee

Tit takes cues from Cantonese literature of the 1940s to incorporate such practices as narrational devices for conveying class differences. In Mandarin cinema of the 1950s, Evan Yang takes his cues from his own literary practice. Even though his films can only speak Mandarin legally, code-mixing and -switching are transposed to the level of film forms. Through these practices, Yang subtly interrupts the transparent and self-contained narrative and inserts his own position as a Shanghai expatriate who critically observes the decadence of capitalist pleasure in Hong Kong as a transient and extraterritorial haven. In both cases, code-mixing and -switching are being mobilized to negotiate the conflicting sociopolitical affects of Hong Kongers, who are constantly caught in a position that is both inside and outside—and neither inside nor outside—the conflicting forces between the larger Chinese national imaginary on the one hand, and the British colonial gaze on the other.

Works Cited

Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)." *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, translated by Ben Brewster, Monthly Review P, 1971, pp. 127-88.

Bao, Weihong. *Fiery Cinema: The Emergence of an Affective Medium in China, 1915-1945.* U of Minnesota P, 2015.

Bordwell, David, et al. *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960.* Columbia UP, 1985.

Braester, Yomi. "Shanghai's Economy of the Spectacle: The Shanghai Race Club in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying's Stories." *Modern Chinese Literature*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1995, pp. 39-57.

Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* Routledge, 1993.

Chow Kong-ming 周鋼鳴. "Ping *Xiaoqiu zhuan* di yi er bu" 評蝦球傳第一二部 ("On Parts One and Two of *The Story of Ha Kau*"). Lam Man-suk, pp. 378-88.

Chung Po-yin 鍾寶賢. *Xianggang yingshiye bainian* 香港影視業百年 (*A Hundred Years of the Hong Kong Film and Television Industries*). Joint Publishing, 2004.

Crutchfield, James, et al. "Chaos." *Scientific American* 255, no. 6, 1986, pp. 46-57.

Doane, Mary Ann. "Film and the Masquerade: Theorising the Female Spectator." *Screen*, vol. 23, nos. 3-4, Sept. 1982, pp. 74-88.

Fan, Victor. *Cinema Approaching Reality: Locating Chinese Film Theory.* U of Minnesota P, 2015.

—. *Extraterritoriality: Locating Hong Kong Cinema and Media.* Edinburgh UP, 2019.

—. "Too Intimate to Speak: Regional Cinemas and Literatures." *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2018, pp. 47-71.

Ferguson, Charles. "Diglossia." *Word*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1959, pp. 325-40.

Fishman, Joshua. "Bilingualism and Biculturism as Individual and as Societal Phenomena." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1980, pp. 3-15.

Fu, Poshek. *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937-1945.* Stanford UP, 1993.

Ge'an (Kak'on) 隔岸. "Xianggang Tianyi zhipianchang chana cheng jiaotu" 香港天一製片廠剎那成焦土 ("In an Instant, Unique's Hong Kong Studio Became a Ruin"). *Youyou* 優游 (*Leisure*)*,* no. 24, 1936, p. 5.

Gibbons, John. "Attitudes Towards Languages and Code-Mixing in Hong Kong." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 4, nos. 2-3, 1983, pp. 129-47.

—. "Code-Mixing and Koineizing in the Speech of Students at the University of Hong Kong." *Anthropological Linguistics*, vol. 21, no. 3, 1979, pp. 113-23.

Gleick, James. *Chaos: The Making of a New Science.* Penguin, 1987.

Gumperz, John J. *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge UP, 1982.

Hong, Guo-Juin. *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Irigaray, Luce. *Ce sexe qui n'en est pas un.* Éditions de Minuit, 1977.

Johnson, Matthew. *International and Wartime Origins of the Propaganda State: The Motion Picture in China, 1897-1955.* 2008. U of San Diego, PhD dissertation.

Johnston, Claire. "Femininity and the Masquerade: Anne of the Indies." *Jacques Tourneur*, British Film Institutes, 1975, pp. 36-44.

Jones, Andrew. *Circuit Listening: Chinese Popular Music in the Global 1960s.* U of Minnesota P, 2020.

Lai Kin 黎鍵. *Xianggang Yueju xulun* 香港粵劇敘論 (*A Discursive History of the Hong Kong Cantonese Theater*). Edited by Cham-Lai Shuk-ching 湛黎淑貞, Joint Publishing, 2010.

Lam Man-suk 林曼叔, editor. *Xianggang wenxue daxi 1919-1949: pinglun juan er* 香港文學大系 1919-1949：評論卷二 (*Anthology of Hong Kong Literature 1919-1949: Criticism, Vol. 2*). Commercial P, 2016.

Lam Nin-tung 林年同. "Wushi niandai Yueyu dianying yanjiu zhong de jige wenti" 五十年代粵語電影研究中的幾個問題 ("Several Questions on the Study of

Cantonese Cinema in the 1950s"). *Da texie* (*Daai dakse*) 大特寫 (*Close-up*), no. 59, June 1978, pp. 2-5 and pp. 47-51.

Lamarre, Thomas. *The Anime Ecology: A Genealogy of Television, Animation, and Game Media.* U of Minnesota P, 2018.

Le Page, R. B., and Andrée Tabouret-Keller. *Acts of Identity: Creole-Based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity.* Cambridge UP, 1985.

Lee, Leo Ou-fan. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945.* Harvard UP, 1999.

Leung Sing Poh 梁醒波. "Gengxin zuben Liang Xingbo 1979 nian 'Gaopingguan quji' guqiang Zhongzhouhua dahou yanyi 更新足本梁醒波 1979 年「高平關取級」古腔中州話大喉演繹 ("A Renewed Full Edition of Leung Sing-poh's 1979 Bass Performance of 'Koupinggwaan cuikap' with the Late-Medieval Zhongzhou Mandarin")." *YouTube*, 4 Mar. 2022, https://youtu.be/usNPU5z1ZhE.

Li, David. "Cantonese-English Code-Switching Research in Hong Kong: A Y2K Review." *World Englishes*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2000, pp. 305-22.

—. "The Plight of the Purist." Pennington, *Language,* pp. 161-90.

Li, Siu Leung. "Embracing Glocalization and Hong Kong-Made Musical Film." *China Forever: The Shaw Brothers and Diasporic Cinema*, edited by Poshek Fu, U of Illinois P, 2008, pp. 74-94.

Liu Na'ou 劉吶鷗. "Dianying jiezou jian lun" 電影節奏簡論 ("On Film Rhythm"). *Xiandai dianying* 現代電影 (*Modern Screen*), vol. 1, no. 6, 1933, p. 1.

—. *Dushi fengjingxian* 都市風景線 (*An Urban Scenic Route*). Shuimo shudian, 1930.

—. "Écranesque." *Xiandai dianying* 現代電影 (*Modern Screen*), vol. 1, no. 2, 1933, p. 1.

Liu Yichang 劉以鬯. *Duidao* 對倒 (*Intersection*). Swindonbooks, 2005.

—. *Jiutu* 酒徒 (*Drunkard*). Seashore Publishing, 1963.

Luke, Kang-Kwong. "Why Two Languages Might Be Better than One: Motivations of Language Mixing in Hong Kong." Pennington, *Language,* pp. 145-60.

Ma, Jean. *Sounding the Modern Woman: The Songstress in Chinese Cinema.* Duke UP, 2015.

Mong Wan 望雲. *Renhai leihen* 人海淚痕 (*Traces of Tears in the Human Sea*). Nantian chubanshe, 1940.

Ng, Grace, editor. *One for All: The Union Film Spirit.* Translated by Tam King-fai, Hong Kong Film Archive, 2011.

Ng May 吳君玉, editor. *Xianggang Xiayu dianying fangzong* 香港廈語電影訪蹤 (*The Amoy-Dialect Films of Hong Kong*). Hong Kong Film Archive, 2012.

Ong, Donna. "Liu Na'ou: The Fate of 'Middling Modernity' and the Global Pure Film Movement in Republican-Era Shanghai." *Film Quarterly*, vol. 72, no. 2, 2018, pp. 26-37.

Pennington, Martha C, editor. *Language in Hong Kong at Century's End*. Hong Kong UP, 1988.

—. "Perspectives on Language in Hong Kong at Century's End." Introduction. Pennington, pp. 3-40.

Riviere, Joan. "Womanliness as a Masquerade." *Female Sexuality: The Early Psychoanalytic Controversies*, Routledge, 1999, pp. 173-82.

Setter, Jane, et al. *Hong Kong English*. Edinburgh UP, 2010.

"Shao Zuiweng liangnianlai de xinxie huawei wuyou" 邵醉翁兩年來的心血化為烏有 ("Runje Shaw's Two Years' Worth of Work Were All Gone"). *Diansheng* 電聲 (*Movietone*) vol. 5, no. 33, 1936, p. 826.

Shi, Zhecun 施蟄存, et al. *Shanghai de hubu wu: xinganjue pai xiaoshuo xuan* 上海的狐步舞：新感覺派小說選 (*Shanghai Foxtrot: New Sensationist Novellas*). Edited by Leo Ou-fan Lee 李歐梵, Yunchen wenhua, 2001.

Shih, Shu-mei. "Gender, Race, and Semicolonialism: Liu Na'ou's Urban Shanghai Landscape." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 55, no. 4, 1996, pp. 934-56.

Shizi jietou 十字街頭 (*Crossroads*). Directed by Shen Xiling 沈西苓, Star Motion Picture, 1937.

Su Wei-chen 蘇偉貞. "Bu'an, yanshi yu ziwo tuiyin: nanlai wenren de Xianggang shuxie—yi 1950 niandai wei kaocha xianchang" 不安、厭世與自我退隱：南來文人的香港書寫—以一九五〇年代為考察現場 ("Insecurity, Pessimism, and Reserve: How the 1950s Literati from the Mainland Write Hong Kong"). *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue* (*Modern Chinese Literature*), no. 19, 2011, pp. 25-54.

—. *Liuzhuan rensheng: Xianggang zaoqi nanlai wenren de wenxue yu dianying yanjiu* 流轉人生：香港早期南來文人的文學與電影研究 (*Destiny and Coincidence: Achievements of Those Southwardly Writers in Lit and Movie at Hong Kong's Early Age*). 2011. National Cheng Kung U, NSC project report.

Wang, Yiman. *Remaking Chinese Cinema: Through the Prism of Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Hollywood*. U of Hawai'i P, 2013.

Wong Kuk-lau 黃谷柳. *Xiaqiu zhuan* 蝦球傳 (*The Story of Ha Kau*). *Huashang bao* 華商報 (*Hua Shang Daily*), 1947-48.

Wong Shuk Han 黃淑嫻. "Conghui wushi niandai nanlai wenren de suxiang: Yi Wen de wenxue yu dianying chutan" 重繪五十年代南來文人的塑像：易文的文學與電影初探 ("Resketching the Image of Literati Who Migrated to the South in the 1950s: A Preliminary Study of the Literary and Cinematic Works by Yi

Wen”). *Xianggang wenxue* 香港文學 (*Hong Kong Literature*), no. 295, 2009, pp. 86-91.

—. “Yi Wen de 50 niandai dushi xiaoshuo: yanqing, xinli yu xingshi” 易文的 50 年代都市小說:言情、心理與形式 (“Yi Wen’s 1950s Urban Novellas: Expressivity, Psychology, and Form”). *Zhenshi de huanghua: Yi Wen de dushi xiao gushi* 真實的謊話:易文的都市小故事 (*True Lies: Yi Wen’s Petit Urban Stories*), edited by Wong, Chung Hwa Book, 2013, pp. 1-23.

Yu Fung 于逢. “Lun *Xiaqiu zhuan* de chuangzuo daolu” 論「蝦球傳」的創作道路 (“On the Creative Path of *The Story of Ha Kau*”).” Lam Man-suk, pp. 362-77.

Zhang, Ling. “Rhythmic Movement, the City Symphony and Transcultural Transmediality: Liu Na’ou and *The Man Who Has a Camera* (1933).” *Journal of Chinese Cinemas*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2015, pp. 42-61.

Zhang, Zhen. *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1937.* U of Chicago P, 2005.

Zhao Zhao (Chiu Chiu) 昭昭. “Yishi yingxiong erjin anzai: Shao Zuiweng zhi chenggong yu shibai jingguo” 一世英雄而今安在:邵醉翁之成功與失敗經過 (“The Life-Long Hero is Still Here: The Success and Failure of Runje Shaw”). *Youyou* 優游 (*Leisure*)*,* no. 24, 1936, pp. 6-7.

About the Author

Victor Fan is Reader in Film and Media Philosophy, King’s College London, UK, and a film festival consultant. He is the author of *Cinema Approaching Reality: Locating Chinese Film Theory* (U of Minnesota P, 2015), *Extraterritoriality: Locating Hong Kong Cinema and Media* (Edinburgh UP, 2019), and *Cinema Illuminating Reality: Media Philosophy through Buddhism* (U of Minnesota P, 2022). His articles appear in journals including *Camera Obscura, Journal of Chinese Cinemas, Screen,* and *Film History.*