THE ROLE LINGUISTIC, STYLISTIC
AND SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS
PLAY IN THE POPULARITY OF
CONTEMPORARY CHINESE-ENGLISH
CODESwitchING POP SONGS
AMONG URBAN YOUTH IN
SHANGHAI.

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Requirements for the Degree
Of Doctor of Philosophy in Chinese
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Abstract

This thesis examines what roles linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors play in the popularity of contemporary Chinese-English bilingual codeswitching songs released between the years of 2004 and 2010, making a case study of the urban youth audience of Shanghai. It is significant as it is the first large scale study into Chinese-English songs that has looked at all of these three factors: linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural, but also because it compares the findings in these three areas from corpus analysis with an audience study.

A corpus of 150 songs from popular codeswitching performers was collected, and was analysed individually in relation to the linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors with regard to features that may enhance the popularity of these songs. To this was added an audience study based on fieldwork in Shanghai which included participant observation and data collection from online surveys and individual interviews.

First a linguistic analysis was done on syntactic grounds based on the Myers-Scotton 1993 Classic MLF (Matrix Language Frame) model, and this was followed by an analysis of the metaphorical functions of these songs following general pragmatic theories of Gumperz (1982). A stylistic analysis was then done on the corpus, using theories of literary stylistics from Leech (1969) and the stylistic findings of recent codeswitching
researchers. This stylistic section also examined modes of language use after Hymes. The sociocultural aspects within the songs were examined using a social anthropological framework, and used research in the East Asian setting by Gao Liwei (2007) and Yang Mei-hui (1997) on identity formation, as well as the Accommodation Theory of Giles and Smith (1979), and other research relevant to codeswitching in the East Asian pop culture context, such as J. Lee (2004, 2006). Data collection was also carried out based on Hymes’ (1971) ethnographical techniques, and Blom and Gumperz’s (1972) participant observation.

The findings from each of the factors were discussed in relation to the audience study and the results show that:

1) These codeswitching songs are both a reflection of the singers’ and audiences’ need to present a particular identity, negotiated within the particular expectations of music, genre and location.

2) Chinese-English codeswitching songs are a reflection of the high levels of English codeswitching in Shanghai, Chinese, and also wider East Asian popular culture, and reflect a growing bilingual or multilingual identity in wider East Asia.

3) The English within the Chinese-English codeswitching songs is localised to a Southern Chinese, almost a Shanghai context.
4) The uses to which codeswitching is put, or how codeswitching appears in songs, depends on many factors, and so it is difficult to clearly define the functions, stylistic techniques, or sociocultural purposes of codeswitching in songs consistently across different genres, chronological periods (due to changes in language use over time), or between cultures. Despite this, it is hoped that the number of unique findings from the corpus analysis and the discussion in this study could enlighten or stimulate future studies examining codeswitching in songs.
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Notes on Presentation

There are a few abbreviations which will be often used throughout this thesis. First of all, ‘CS’ will be used to represent the term ‘codeswitching’ most of the time, and ‘CE’ will be used as an abbreviation for ‘Chinese-English’, and mainly used to describe Chinese songs that contain English language data. Though these abbreviations are useful, they are seldom used together, since ‘CE CS songs’ would seem to be an unnecessarily clumsy way to present the two ideas.

In most cases, the works stated within the body of this thesis will be identified by the author’s surname, first initial, and the year of publication. However, as there are several cases in this thesis where the surnames and initials of different individuals are the same, these individuals will be differentiated by the inclusion of their whole given names. In order to avoid confusion due to the fact that some of the Chinese scholars whose work is drawn attention to in this thesis share the same surname and the same first initial for their given names, in this thesis these scholars’ full names are presented in accepted Chinese word order.

In cases where Chinese scholars share a surname but not their first initial, their full names are also presented in accepted Chinese word order. A full name is also provided for other individuals too in this thesis, since it is not only Chinese scholars that share the same last surname.
The accepted English names for the song titles will be presented when they are available, and these names will be presented in italics. However, where there is no English title available, an English translation will be given for the Chinese title, and this title will be given in the normal font within single quotation marks. Further details on each of the songs in the corpus are available immediately after the Bibliography.

Ordinarily within the body of the text, Chinese words are presented in their original characters followed by Pinyin transliteration, and then an English translation. Pinyin is not normally presented in the case of song titles however, since Pinyin transliteration does not appear in any of the written song titles.

Within song lyrics, Pinyin is presented below the original Chinese characters, and a translation in English is on the right. It is necessary to print the pinyin as sometimes the sounds and rhymes would be difficult to identify otherwise. As some of these Chinese lines contain some English vocabulary, the vocabulary is often then repeated below, and on the right hand side. However, when the line is entirely in English, in order to avoid excessive duplication and for clarity, the material is only presented again on the right hand side. The English vocabulary within the songs is presented in bold.

There are cases when the linguistic material within the songs is not in Standard Chinese or in English. In these cases, the linguistic material will be drawn attention to by having a line underneath it and an accepted
transliteration of this language or dialect will be presented under it. An English translation of the words will still appear on the right.

When presenting the language of the research participants, as the focus is on the content of the message, the Chinese characters will be presented, followed directly by an English translation. Pinyin will only be used when necessary. When quoting research participants, the Chinese will be presented, again without Pinyin, followed by an English translation.
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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

In modern China, as in many other countries around the world, codeswitching is a common linguistic phenomenon. Codeswitching can be generally defined as ‘the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences’ (Clyne, 1987, p. 740), although in some cases codeswitching can involve more than two languages.

Codeswitching in music is widespread and has existed worldwide for a very long time, perhaps as long as codeswitching in speech, though its presence in music is at present a relatively under researched field. In this world of increasing cultural contact and multilingualism, one can be certain that codeswitching, and codeswitching in music, will increase.

While there has been some research done on the phenomenon of codeswitching in songs in China and in other places, some of which make

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1 In this thesis I use the unhyphenated compound form ‘codeswitching’, following from Jake and Myers-Scotton (2009), Yu (2001), and others. The word is also written as ‘code switching’ and the hyphenated ‘code-switching’.

2 Davies and Bentahila (2008, p. 2) identify textual evidence of codeswitching worldwide going back more than a thousand years.

3 Romaine (1995, pp. 8-9) shows how prevalent bilingualism is worldwide, and how in many countries, like India, multilingualism is the norm.

predictions about the audience appeal of codeswitching in songs due to this linguistic phenomenon, no study of this size has yet looked to the audience of these songs for evidence of the popularity of this ‘genre’. This research, an interdisciplinary one situated in the fields of sociolinguistics, literary stylistics and cultural anthropology, will take as its focus the mainland Chinese situation in the city of Shanghai as a particular case study. It will explore what roles linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors play in making contemporary (from 2004 to 2010) Chinese-English codeswitching songs attractive to the urban youth audience in Shanghai. This will be done specifically by examining audience behaviour towards the CE songs through participant observation in a KTV environment, as well through the use of interviews and surveys. Such a study will also require my own analysis of the presentation of the song lyrics to see what linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors there are that may play a role in creating the appeal of these songs.

5 Though there was an obvious reason for choosing 2010 as it was the year when I completed my fieldwork, I choose 2004 for two main reasons: Firstly, because it is the year Beijing was accepted for the 2008 Olympics, and began a recent push on English education; and secondly because I want this research to examine contemporary codeswitching that is considered as such by the younger generation.

6 Hereafter called CE songs.

7 I have chosen to examine a sample of the youth audience, specifically university students based in Shanghai. The reason I have chosen this group is that their English background is likely to be strong and as students they are very sensitive to new things, such as changes in the pop music scene.

8 KTV is Karaoke Television, which is incredibly popular in China. There are many different kinds of KTV, some of which cater for wealthy businesspeople and have hostesses. The kind of KTV I will examine is called 量贩版 KTV, which are relatively inexpensive places for students to sing in groups with their friends.
The youth of Shanghai were chosen to do a case study on for several reasons. First of all, I was familiar with the city and its inhabitants from previous study and employment there. Secondly, as Shanghai is a modern, quite westernised metropolis, I thought the youth of that city would be in touch with new developments in music. I was also aware of Shanghai’s historical contact with Western countries and music, particularly jazz, as well as being the original home of some of the music companies now centred in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Aside from these reasons, I had friends and knew people there who might be able to help me in my research, and which later proved useful in my data collection.

I believe that by doing this case study I will be able to discover what factors create and perpetuate the linguistic and social phenomenon of CE codeswitching within popular music in China, but also, by extension, discover what may be the important factors for the popularity of codeswitching songs in general.

1.2. Significance of the Research

This thesis is significant as it is the largest piece of single research on the topic of CE codeswitching within contemporary Chinese pop music. There have
been articles and MA theses, but to my knowledge, no single work on this topic on the scale of a PhD, or of a book length size.

This thesis is also unique because it is the largest piece of work done on the phenomenon on codeswitching that takes into account linguistic, stylistic, and sociocultural aspects. It contains one of the most in-depth analyses yet into the stylistic aspects of codeswitching in popular songs. It is also one of very few large studies of codeswitching, and CE codeswitching in particular, that uses not only an analysis of a corpus of song lyrics, but also an audience study to make conclusions about aspects of codeswitching.

Finally, this thesis is one of few studies on codeswitching in the Chinese situation, and in Chinese popular music, which is not by a Chinese native speaker. This gives me a different perspective from which to view the data and findings, and another viewpoint from which to examine the English content embedded within the songs.

1.3. Objectives

The main objective of this research is to discover what role linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors play in making contemporary CE songs attractive to their target audience.
As I will first need to do research of my own analysing the songs in relation to these factors, there will be a number of sub objectives focusing on my own analysis of these codeswitching songs, and on the attitudes and written and verbal judgements the test group make about them.

1.3.1. Objectives for my own analysis of the songs

**Linguistic**

- What forms of CE codeswitching are present in the songs and how could they affect interest in the songs?
- What varieties of English are used in the songs and how could these contribute to the songs’ popularity?
- What are the most essential metaphorical functions of the codeswitching in the songs of this period?
- How do my findings compare with those of other researchers examining codeswitching?

**Stylistic**

- Is the vocal presentation of the codeswitched section different from the vocal presentation of the rest of the song?
- Are the codeswitching songs in one particular genre or topic?

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9 See the Theoretical Framework for the reasons for this.

10 Specifically, is the second language used for single words, short phrases, or whole sections?
Does the syntax, discourse functions, or stylistic functions of the codeswitching vary between different genres?

Are there any consistent patterns or stylistic techniques employing codeswitching that add to the aesthetic appeal of these songs?

**Sociocultural**

- How important is the status of the codeswitching performer in comparison to the other factors which create appeal in the audience?

- Are there other sociocultural factors which add to the popularity of the songs, such as the multicultural identities of the singers of these songs?

- Does the codeswitching localise the English used within the songs for the Chinese context?

1.3.2. Objectives in studying the audience

- Does the data obtained from the audience agree or disagree with my predictions from the song analyses?

- What ranges of attitudes were there to the codeswitching within the songs?

- Does the data on the audience confirm the findings from previous studies on attitudes to codeswitching?
• What does the use of codeswitching in Chinese pop songs say about the status of English among the youth in China?

1.4. Thesis Outline

This thesis is made up of ten chapters, which may be split into four parts. The first four chapters altogether give the theoretical basis for this research. The second part consists of three chapters analysing the CE codeswitching song corpus. Chapter Eight is also the third part of the thesis, and examines the data collected from a sample of the youth audience for the songs. This will be followed by a discussion and a conclusion, which will state the overall findings of this thesis and their significance.

Chapter One consists of a brief introduction to the concept of codeswitching and codeswitching in song lyrics. It indicates the limitations and main objectives for the research, and outlines the general content of each thesis chapter.

Chapter Two provides relevant historical and cultural context from which to examine the findings of this thesis. It describes the current linguistic situation in China, the English language policy there, and the history of English language contact in Shanghai. This chapter also describes the rise of
codeswitching in Chinese song lyrics, and looks at the background of the singers identified within the body of this thesis.

Chapter Three presents a review of researches on codeswitching in song lyrics in general, and in CE song lyrics in particular. This chapter also examines the theories relevant to the grammatical, stylistic and sociocultural factors of codeswitching examined in this thesis, as well as those relevant to the audience study.

Chapter Four identifies the framework that will be used in this thesis to examine the grammatical, stylistic and sociocultural aspects relating to the popularity of contemporary CE songs among Shanghai youth. It will also describe the methods and approaches to be used.

Chapter Five presents an analysis of the linguistic features of the CE codeswitching within the song corpus on syntactic grounds, using Myers-Scotton’s Classic Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model. It will also describe a number of metaphorical functions for the use of English in the songs.

Chapter Six examines the stylistic aspects of the songs within the corpus. It will focus on how the codeswitched lyrics are connected to the nature of the song as a performative text within genre and stylistic modes, as well as
describe how the switching is linked to literary aspects, such as rhyme and aesthetic patterning.

Chapter Seven analyses the song lyrics in relation to their sociocultural aspects, specifically looking at the relationship between the singers’ background and the popularity of these songs, the identity of the singer, and the way in which the codeswitching creates appeal in particular audiences in Shanghai.

Chapter Eight presents the ethnographic study of the songs’ audience. It describes the methods used to collect the data for the audience study, and outlines and analyses the findings. Comparison will be made in relation to a previous study on audience attitudes towards codeswitching in Chinese pop songs.

Chapter Nine discusses the significance of the findings from the audience study in relation to the data collected in the second part of this thesis. In addition, it identifies some implications of this research, connecting the research findings to broader perspectives linguistically, anthropologically and within the context of Asian pop music and popular culture.
The final chapter, Chapter Ten, draws the central conclusions from the main findings in this thesis.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} While this Introduction has outlined the content of the thesis, aside from the thesis proper there are a number of Appendices which may prove beneficial or interesting to the reader, immediately following the References section.
Chapter Two: Background

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will examine the historical, political and cultural background to the interest of Shanghai youth in the phenomenon of CE songs, justify the reasons for concentrating on the youth of this thriving metropolis of the Chinese mainland, and introduce the singers in the corpus. More specifically, it will present the historical and cultural background of English-Chinese contact in Shanghai up until the present day, the present motivations for teaching and using English in the city, the background to the influence of Western music in Shanghai, and the background of the singers studied in the body of this thesis who employ codeswitching in their songs.

The first part of this chapter (2.2.) will indicate that current English language policy and historical precedents are a reaction to and driving current motivations for the development of English ability in Shanghai. This section will first examine the history of English contact in China with special focus on Shanghai, and then show the present linguistic situation in Shanghai and how Shanghai is at the forefront of English language policy.

The next part of the chapter (2.3.) will outline many of the current motivations for teaching and learning English in Shanghai. This will show that the growth
of interest in the English language and CE media is connected with the wide range of motivations there are in Shanghai for learning and using English.

The final section of this chapter (2.4.), will briefly give an account of the city of Shanghai’s historical contact with Western music, and show that due to the popularity of CE songs from Taiwan, Hong Kong and other Chinese cultural communities outside the mainland, the recent rise of CS in pop music is an ‘outside’ cultural influence. This section will also give a brief introduction to the artists singing the songs analysed in the body of this thesis.

By the end of this chapter, it will have been shown that the interest of Shanghai youth in English and CE songs is connected to such things as: knowledge of historical exposure to English, the massive importance of the English language in the city – both to individuals and on a larger scale, and the interest in both English and overseas Chinese media for personal entertainment.
2.2. English Language Contact and English Language Policy in Shanghai

This section will outline the historical contact between the Chinese and English language and why Shanghai is an important part of linguistic contact between the two languages today. To do this it will first examine the history of English contact in Shanghai and then describe the current linguistic situation and current English language policy in Shanghai.

2.2.1. History of English Language Contact in Shanghai

Within this subsection will be investigated the historical significance of Shanghai as a location of high English use within China. This overview of the historical background to the present situation of English contact in Shanghai today is itself separated into five topics: 1) Early contact and Chinese Pidgin English, 2) The Treaty Ports and Shanghai, 3) The port of Shanghai as the cultural centre of Asia, 4) Shanghai as a valued English training centre, and 5) English ‘lost and found’ and Shanghai’s desire to be a centre of English education in China.

1) Early contact and Chinese Pidgin English

The first well-recorded contact with the English language in China occurred in 1637 in Macau and Guangzhou, between British traders and Chinese (Bolton,
It was not until 1664, when a trading port was established by the British in Guangzhou (Pride and Liu, 1988, p. 41; Gil, 2005, pp. 80-81), that contact between English and the Chinese became regular, if temporarily confined to a region of that trading port (Adamson, 2004, pp. 22-23).

As the Chinese of this early period in English language contact history in China generally ‘felt a sense of superiority’ towards other cultures and languages (Gil, ibid., p. 81), and the British traders’ access to the Chinese language was very restricted, a Chinese Pidgin English developed which facilitated communication between the British and Chinese. However, though this pidgin spread to many other coastal cities, including Shanghai later on, its use declined towards the end of the 19th Century (Wei and Fei, 2003, p. 42), as Zhang Hang (2003, p. 155) says (citing Cheng 1992) : ‘as a consequence of social and political disfavour and of the preference for Standard English.’

Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) was by and large ‘a means of communication between foreign masters and Chinese servants and a medium used in retail shops catering for foreigners’ (Cheng, 1992, p. 164, cited in Wei and Fei, ibid., p. 42). Surviving remnants of CPE in English today are the phrases ‘long time no see’, ‘no can do’ (Wei and Fei, ibid., p. 43), and ‘chop chop’ (which means ‘quick’) (Bolton, 2003, p. 154).
2) The Treaty Ports and Shanghai

Though at first there was only official trading in the city of Guangzhou, due to the First and Second Opium Wars, the former from 1839 to 1842 (Adamson, 2004, p. 23) and the latter 1856-60 (Bolton and Tong, 2002, p. 177), China was forced to grant trading concessions with a number of foreign powers and there were a number of treaty ports established.\(^{12}\) The first treaty ports which were ceded to foreign powers in 1843 were Shanghai, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, and Ningbo, with many others in the years to come after that. Bolton (2003) says that ‘by the turn of the century, over forty Chinese cities had been opened to western powers’ (p. 159).

From the middle of the 1800s until the end of the 1930s, Shanghai was one of the most intensive areas for the use of English in China. This is because of two main reasons. The first reason was that the port of Shanghai, with its bilingual elite, was the cultural centre of Asia. Secondly, Shanghai was one of the most important areas for English education in China.

3) The port of Shanghai as the cultural centre of Asia

As Shanghai is first and foremost a large trading port, it is a place of intensive cultural exchange, business and foreign trade. English (or Chinese Pidgin English) would have been in active use among anyone who was in contact

\(^{12}\)Hong Kong was claimed by the British as a colony in 1842.
with the travelling or semi-permanent English-speaking inhabitants of the city. These included drivers, servants and house staff of the wealthy, rickshaw pullers, bar staff, officials, trading partners, and a number of others. Moreover, as is the case today, there would also have been many people who learn English for social purposes and networking.

Bolton (2003, p. 216), discussing the cosmopolitan nature of the city, says that Shanghai ‘from 1860 until around 1949’ was the ‘most international city in China.’ ‘By the 1930s’, he says, ‘Shanghai was the centre of capitalism, commerce, crime, European and American colonialism, literary creativity, publishing, revolutionary political activity, translation and all the other constituents of developing Chinese modernity’ (Bolton, ibid.). The Shanghai of this period had a rich cultural capital and was also a heart of music production and the birthplace of Chinese cinema (Jones, 1992, p. 10; Yang Mei-hui, 1997, p. 327).

There is some evidence that the intellectual elite in Shanghai were quite literate in English, and that the thriving literary scene there attracted English-speaking bilingual Chinese from other places. The two famous Chinese intellectuals, Lin Yutang and John C. H. Wu, were involved in two important English language publications of this time: \textit{China Critic} and \textit{T’ien Hsia Monthly} (Bolton, 2002, pp. 190-193). These were, Bolton (2002) says:
‘written in English by Chinese bilingual intellectuals for, as far as one can tell, a bilingual Chinese as well as an international audience’ (p. 191).

4) Shanghai as a valued English training centre

Shanghai was also an excellent place for English learning from the late 1800s until the late 1930s. This was mainly due to the missionary schools, the Imperial Chinese English language training centre (and later, centres) there, and the private language training centres of the 20s and 30s.

The missionary schools and universities set up by English-speaking missionaries were the start of the formal teaching of English in China (Gil, 2005, p. 81). These schools and universities, which sought to change China peacefully through conversion and through the education of Western culture, technology and medicine (Lutz, 1971), at first only existed in the treaty ports, though after 1860 spread to other parts of China (Adamson, 2004, p. 26). The English language environment in these schools was immersive. Most of the missionaries until 1900 taught almost all of the courses in English, since English was their native tongue, because there were few textbooks in Chinese to teach the subjects, and because many believed English was a more suitable scientific language at the time (Lutz, 1971, pp. 70-71)

At the end of the 1800s and in the early 20th Century there was a massive growth in the spread of these missionary schools and universities, increasingly
permitted due to unequal treaties forced upon China by strong foreign powers (Bolton, 2003, pp. 230-231). In Shanghai, English training was available in a number of high quality missionary schools and universities. Most prestigious among these were St. John’s University in Shanghai (from 1879, which later became the ‘East China College of Politics and Law’ – which was known for the excellent English ability of its graduates, and the University of Shanghai (from 1906), which later became the ‘Shanghai University of Science and Technology’ (Bolton, ibid., pp. 231-232). The famous English-speaking Chinese scholar Lin Yutang (mentioned above), who was educated at St. John’s, believed it to be the best place to study English in China in his time (Bolton, 2002, pp. 190-191). These were not the only high quality missionary schools though. Adamson (2002) says that the two Song sisters, Meiling and Chingling, who married Jiang Jieshi and Sun Zhongshan respectively, were both ‘educated in a girls’ academy run by Western missionaries. He says that ‘such schools were favoured by rich Chinese families wishing to enhance their commercial dealings with industrialised nations and to prepare their children for overseas study’ (p. 236).

As China in the second half of the 19th Century understood the insufficiency of its existing technologies to deal with foreign interference in their affairs, the government also began to acknowledge the need for more English education to
strengthen the country against invaders. The essential principle of this ‘Self-Strengthening Movement’ was 中学为体，西学为用 ‘study China for essence, study the West for utility’ (Adamson, 2002, p. 234). The suggestions of scholars who believed that China’s government needed to establish training centres for foreign language education and subjects such as mathematics\(^\text{13}\), persuaded the Chinese Imperial Government to set up the *Tongwenguan* ‘School for Combined Learning’\(^\text{14}\) in Beijing in 1861 and the *Guangfangyan* ‘School for Dispersing Languages’\(^\text{15}\) in Shanghai in 1863 (Adamson, 2002, p. 234; Adamson, 2004, p. 25). Although at the outset there was a certain social stigma attached to the *Tongwenguan* and those who graduated from there, from the late 1870s graduates began to gain high appointments within the civil service or even in overseas diplomatic postings, and by the turn of the century the status of these institutions, and the study of the English language itself, had risen a great deal (Adamson, 2002, p. 234).

English received a measure of support in the regular school system too from the beginning of the 1900s. In 1902, China abolished the traditional school system, and a new system was created based on the Japanese system, where English was taught in mainstream classes to senior secondary school students

\(^{13}\) Such as Feng Guaifen (1809-1874)

\(^{14}\) Translation by Adamson (2004, p. 25)

\(^{15}\) Translated by Bolton (2002, p. 190)
as an alternative foreign language to Japanese (Adamson, ibid.). By the mid 1920s English was accepted into the secondary school curriculum (Bolton, 2002, p. 190), and at the government sponsored schools of this period, English language courses took up 15-20% of the total instruction hours, sometimes even more than the instruction hours allocated for Chinese (Li et al., 1988, p. 229, cited by Zhang Hang 2003, p. 160).

In the late 1920s and 1930s Shanghai was also an important centre for private English training, since for the Chinese elites, proficiency in the language was perceived to be a ‘gateway to social, economic and geographical mobility’ (Zhang Hang, 2003, p. 59). For the sons and daughters of wealthy businesspeople there, English language ability was a genuine advantage. This was particularly the case in Shanghai. Aside from the missionary schools, there were a number of private, short-term English courses run in important trading centres such as Shanghai and Tianjin (Zhang Hang, ibid.).

All of this meant that Shanghai was the most intensive place for English use in China from the mid 1800s until the late 1930s. But after then, English education in Shanghai started to suffer. Since the Japanese invasion in 1937, China was almost in constant conflict, first with the Japanese and then in the civil war between the Guomindang (Kuomintang) ‘The Nationalist Party’ and the Gongchandang ‘The Communist Party’. This conflict lasted until the

After 1949 until the late 1970s, the position of English in Shanghai and elsewhere in China was constantly in flux, as will be shown in the following section.

5) English ‘lost and found’ and Shanghai’s desire to be a centre of English education in China

For the years from 1949 to the late 1950s, Russian was the dominant language in foreign language study, and as English was unpopular politically it was not often found in the school curriculum or studied elsewhere. At this time, while English was regarded as a useful vehicle for accessing Western technology, and for use in diplomacy, it was secondary to Russian in importance (Adamson, 2002, p. 237; Adamson, 2004, p. 75).

Despite the fact that in 1964 the Education Ministry established English as the first foreign language in the education system, English only held this high status for a couple of years. From 1966 with the Cultural Revolution which continued until 1976 with the death of Chairman Mao and the arrest of the Gang of Four, English language learning on any large scale was effectively banned, for most people anyway (Lam and Chow, 2004, pp. 235-242).
While with Nixon’s visit to China in 1972 there may have been increased efforts in English education, 16 English language learning in Shanghai never really became very popular in the education system again until after Deng Xiaoping’s Four Modernization Policy in 1978 and the Reform and Opening policy which followed closely on the heels of it (Lam and Chow, 2004, pp. 234-235). From that time there has been rapid growth in English language learning and education in China, for these policies made foreign language learning (and especially English) essential for China’s development. Shanghai has, from the time of this new beginning in English education, desired to use its economic power to be a centre of English expertise in China.

2.2.2. Current Linguistic Situation and English Language Policy in Shanghai

This subsection looks at the present linguistic situation and current English language policy in the city. It first looks at the English language’s influence in China and in Shanghai, and then makes the case for Shanghai as a present centre for English education in China.

1) Linguistic situation in China and the city of Shanghai

The present linguistic situation in China is rather a complex one. 91.51% of the Chinese population are regarded as of the Han majority nationality, while

8.49% are made up of a large number of minority groups, many of which have their own languages.\textsuperscript{17} In general terms, Putonghua,\textsuperscript{18} a language based on the northern speech, or Beifanghua, has been taken as the common tongue throughout mainland China, although there are six other main dialect groups, including the Wu dialect of Shanghai and surrounding areas, the Yue dialect of Guangdong and Hong Kong, and others (Zhou, 2001, pp. 9-10).

Due to the diversity of languages in China, much of the population of China can be termed as ‘pluralingual’. One common definition, given by Lüdi and Py (2009), is an individual ‘currently practising two (or more) languages, and able, where necessary, to switch from one language to the other without major difficulty’ (p. 158). This is the situation in Shanghai, where many Chinese speak the standard, Putonghua, and their regional dialect (or, even and, the dialect or dialects spoken by members of their family). In addition to these languages, a small minority who are highly educated are now becoming increasingly fluent in English. This multilingual linguistic situation is particularly evident in Shanghai and southern China, although university students typically speak Putonghua while in a public environment at university and in interaction with others from different backgrounds.

\textsuperscript{17}http://www.stats.gov.cn/english/newsandcomingevents/t20110428_402722244.htm; Zhou (2004, p. 81) says that there are 56 officially recognized ethnic groups, which includes the Han Chinese. This would mean 55 ethnic groups in addition to the Han majority.

\textsuperscript{18}Putonghua literally means ‘the common speech.’
Chinese has been considerably influenced by English over years of contact with the language. In the 1920s and 30s, and probably starting earlier, Chinese became influenced by English at a syntactic level. The use of 被 be* increased as a passive marker in Chinese, Chinese made more use of English-style punctuation, and the language adopted such transliterated terms as 摩登 m9d4ng ‘modern’ and 模特 m9t7r ‘model’ (from Wang, 1955, cited by Cheng, 1982, p. 137). 19

Though there were a few direct borrowings from English in the early 20th Century, due to the increasing desire to learn English technical terms, many Chinese words were created which were based on phonetic transliterations or semantic translations: examples of the former include 德律风 d5l4f4ng ‘telephone’, or 咖啡 k`f4i ‘coffee’ (Yang Mei-hui, 2007, p. 45); and of the latter 黑板 he%b2n ‘black board’ for ‘blackboard’ (ibid., p. 3). 20

During the 1980s, after English started to regain a higher status in China again, there were a number of terms and words introduced into Chinese from English (many of which would have been introduced in the southern cities, like Shanghai first, as they were introduced from Hong Kong and Taiwan) which

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19 Be* is like a passive in Chinese, but it originally was only used in negative situations. With the influence of English it became similar to the word ‘by’.

20 Note that later on, the Chinese word for telephone changed from a phonetic transliteration to more of a semantic translation with 电话 di3nhu3, literally, ‘electric speech’.
relate to new Western concepts or cultural influence. To cite some examples, there are 拜拜 b1i b1i ‘byebye’, 派对 p3idu ‘party’, 吧 ba used for ‘bar’, 巴 ba used for ‘bus’ (from Cantonese 巴士), 秀 xi] for ‘show’, and various combinations of these, e.g. 酒吧 jijb ‘bar’ and 做秀 zu-xi] ‘perform a show’ (Huang, 2004, p. 43).

The Wu dialect of Shanghai was also greatly influenced by English in the 1920s and 30s (Huang, 2004, pp. 2-7) and is likely still highly influenced by it today. Huang (2004) says that Shanghai dialect absorbed many words based on English pronunciation at that time, many of which acquired their own localised meanings. Examples of these are the Shanghai words 赖三 /lɛse/, from the word ‘lassie’, which grew to have its own unpleasant meaning in Shanghainese, roughly equivalent to the word ‘slut’ in English, and the word 木壳 /moko/ which came from the English word ‘mug’ as in ‘stupid mug’ describing a person (Huang, ibid.).

2) Shanghai as the present centre of English education in China

Aside from the historical connections the Shanghai language has with English (and the intense historical connection of the city with English), Shanghai has used its economic strengths to make it the present leader of English education in China. Shanghai is at the forefront of English education in three main areas:
early English training in schools, bilingual training centres, and private

English training centres. The English standards for employment in Shanghai
also seem to be of a higher level than many other places, and there is a large
population of foreigners, who whether of an English speaking background or
not actively use English as a lingua franca in the city and to communicate with
Chinese employees.  

Learning English from the first year of school started in the coastal metropolis
of Shanghai and spread to other cities in China. Jiang (2003, p. 3) says that
‘Shanghai was the first city to do first year English in the country.’ In addition,
Hu and McKay (2012, p. 347) have found evidence that ‘the nine-year
compulsory education curriculum standards issued for schools in Shanghai
raised contact time for English from 668 hours in 1998 to 1224 in 2004
(Curriculum and Teaching Materials Reform Commission 1998, 2004).’ There
are also strong indications in 2013 that many schools in Shanghai have had an

21 Although there are many international firms in China that look for students with proficiency in Japanese,
German, or other languages, it is likely that English would be used more overall, since with English’s status
as a second language in the school system, almost all of the general employees would likely have some
ability in English. In fact, at one point during my field research, I was approached to teach senior
employees in a German company more English so that they could communicate more freely with their
employer.
expectation for children to know Basic English even before attending their first year of school.²²

Another policy trend first implemented in Shanghai was bilingual instruction. This is ‘English-medium instruction for majority language students in non-language school subjects at the primary and secondary levels’ (Hu Guangwei, 2009, p. 47). Hu Guangwei (2009) states that this type of bilingual instruction first started in Shanghai around the year 2000 ‘as part of Shanghai’s drive to become an international metropolis’, and then spread to other parts of China. He says that many schools are turning to bilingual education in Shanghai in order to compete with more and more schools offering this type of teaching, which include kindergartens (ibid, p. 50). Zhang Hang (2003, p. 202), writing on the situation in 2003, has said that ‘Shanghai requires all elementary schools to teach physical education, music and mathematics in English.’

Present indications are that English will become more and more of a medium of instruction in China’s education system, and Shanghai is at the forefront of educational trials.

²² The Shanghai Daily reported that on the 18th of February 2013 ‘[t]he Shanghai Education Commission ordered… that primary schools have to teach English and Chinese "from scratch" to new pupils, as opposed to the current practice of skipping the alphabet and pinyin teaching for first graders.’ This means that schools in Shanghai up until recently have had an expectation for students to have been introduced to English in kindergarren or through home or private schooling, but this must have disadvantaged some students. http://www.shanghaidaily.com/nsp/Metro/2013/02/19/Teaching%20of%20Basics%20Made%20mandatory/
However, this policy is not without its critics. Hu and Alsagoff (2010) for example, stress that the policy for EMI is ‘lacking in practical feasibility due to severe shortage of resources needed to implement it uncompromisingly’, ‘constitutes a misallocation of precious resources that can be spent on more encompassing and worthwhile policy options’, and serves ‘only the elite segment of the Chinese society’ (p. 378).

English education in Shanghai is a lucrative industry. Chu (2001, p. 22) states that ‘[s]ince the opening up of China, English teaching has become ...undoubtedly the single biggest educational business in Shanghai.’ Niu and Wolff (2003, p. 10) said that in 2002 ‘private ESL schools (kindergartens, primary, high and college) have proliferated to such an extent that there are now an estimated 3,000 private English schools in the city of Shanghai alone (source: Shanghai Star:10-17-02).’ It is difficult to find the exact numbers of private English schools in Shanghai today, but English education is flourishing in Shanghai, and is actively promoted, due to the massive benefits it brings to the city’s economy. An estimate published in China Daily by He Na has shown that the 2010 English-training market to be worth 30 billion yuan to China, and it must be worth a lot to the city of Shanghai.23

23http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010-08/05/content_11098499_2.htm
Due to the high levels expected in English language education in the city, it is likely that many employers expect a higher level of certification in English ability over many other cities in China. In order to test the general population for English ability, an English test was introduced in the public sector in 1999, called the China Public English Test System (PETS), largely communicative, which assesses all the four English skills of employees in agencies like banks, and business organizations (Pang, Zhou & Fu, 2002, p. 203). This is not the only test valued in employment. Jiang (2003, p. 4) says that ‘Schools in Shanghai and other big cities require the CET-4 certificate among others...in contracting new teachers, whatever the course they are going to teach.’ 24

While this thesis concerns the reasons for the popularity of contemporary CE songs from 2004 to 2010 among Shanghai youth, and my fieldwork finished in early 2010, it must be mentioned that in December 2010 there was a change of policy forbidding the unnecessary use of English, hybrid words and English acronyms, which may have bearing on this thesis. 25 This will be investigated further in the discussion on English use in media in Shanghai later on in this chapter.

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24 CET stands for College English Test. It is now a graduation requirement for Chinese universities.
2.2.3. Section Summary

This section has shown that Shanghai has been historically, and remains, one of, if not the most, important hotbed of activity in English language education in China. However, looking at the current language policy of Shanghai, it is important to understand that this policy is both driving current motivations for the development of English ability, as well as being a reaction to them. Several of the main motivations for teaching and learning English will be examined in the next section.

2.3. Current Motivations for Teaching and Learning English in Shanghai

The growth of interest in the English language and CE codeswitching media is connected with the wide range of motivations there are in Shanghai for learning and using English. These fit into three broad areas: local governmental motivations, business/corporate motivations, and individual motivations. Although this section will deal with these three broad areas, it will focus mainly on the latter: individual motivations for learning and using English, which is split into two sections for the purposes of discussion, namely extrinsic and intrinsic motivations.
2.3.1. Local Governmental Motivations

Shanghai wants to be an international metropolis: a place welcoming to people from other cultures and also a place which encourages global trade and development. According to Hu Guangwei (2009, pp. 49-50), English proficiency is intimately connected to this desire. For example, in preparation for the Shanghai Expo in 2010, thousands of student volunteers, who were proficient in English, were recruited from universities to be ambassadors of China and Shanghai to the international visitors, as English is currently regarded as a lingua franca internationally (Hu Xiaoqiong, 2005, p. 28). By using English the desire was to be warm and open-hearted to foreign visitors. For travellers to see Shanghai as a place where English is used brings China into the international community of English-using nations, but also makes Shanghai seem a more accessible place to tourists and foreign businesspeople, and this is good for the city’s economy. Johnson (2001, p.7) has claimed that ‘Shanghai’s accent on English skills...reflects a longer-term desire to overtake rival Hong Kong as a Chinese, and Asian financial hub.’ 26

English education, and English testing, whether it be for Chinese national examinations, or American or British exam systems, is likely to be extremely

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26 Also cited by Bolton (2003, p. 227)
financially rewarding for the city.\textsuperscript{27} The Shanghai local government also encourages English as it builds its status as a place of English expertise. This in turn builds its economy through the number of people who enter into English training due to the high reputation of the city as a place to learn English. It is also in the best interests of the Shanghai local government (and it is financially worthwhile too), to have a large pool of people employed with excellent English abilities, due to the large number of foreigners who choose to live and work in Shanghai, either temporarily, or semi-permanently (through a continual renewal of visas to stay there).

\textbf{2.3.2. Business/Corporate Motivations}

Using English in a business setting is a way of dealing with foreign customers directly (although as just mentioned, the ‘foreign’ customers may also be local). This is often done by using emails, sending documents through on the computer, communicating on the phone, or by face-to-face meetings. Evidence from present research indicates that reading is actually the most important skill used in business settings, though skills required more often now, and skills which are seen as needing attention, are listening and speaking (Tian and Moreira, 2009, pp. 42-43; Pang et al., 2002, pp. 206-208). For although many

\textsuperscript{27} A 2010 article from the Guardian newspaper says that in that year the private English market alone was worth around $3.1 billion to China. Much of this profit would have been made in larger centres, such as Shanghai and Beijing. \url{http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2010/jul/13/china-english-schools}
of the users of English in business settings in Shanghai and other major cities in China only use English for limited purposes, sometimes English is used within the workplace in international companies between employers and employees (whether or not they come from native backgrounds) and with co-workers from more English-speaking environments such as Singapore and Hong Kong.

Where there is not always motivation within the workplace to actually use English in its full form, it is quite likely that some level of codeswitching is used, motivated by a common bilingual background as English learners, but also due to using English for more social purposes, such as sharing American TV series. Such individual motivations for codeswitching are discussed further in the following two sections, separated into those more extrinsic motivations, and those more intrinsic, for the purposes of discussion.

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28 This is supported by what I found out from Chinese friends, and some of my research participants who worked in international companies, which were often staffed by a combination of foreigners, local Chinese with good language skills who studied at Chinese universities, and Chinese back from overseas study.

29 ‘Extrinsic’ and ‘Intrinsic’ are commonly used terms in Psychology, indicating two different kinds of motivation. ‘Extrinsic motivation’ is when individuals engage in an activity for rewards ‘external to the activity itself’ (Vallerand 2004, p. 428), while ‘Intrinsic Motivation’ is when individuals engage in an activity ‘for the inherent satisfaction of the activity itself’ (Ryan and Deci, 2000, p. 71).
2.3.3. Individual Motivations – Extrinsic

There are a number of individual motivations which can for the purposes of discussion be grouped under extrinsic motivations. These are: for education, for employment, for tourism or migration, due to patriotism, or even because of the need to use English in particular physical (or virtual) locations. Each of these motivations will be addressed in the following discussion.

1) Education

Ability in English allows a scholar or student access to foreign journal articles, books, websites, magazines, or newspapers published in English. On the other hand, it permits someone to disseminate their own knowledge on an international scale since English is a lingua franca, and to spread and discuss information at international conferences held in the English language. Many academic journals in China (in Shanghai and elsewhere), now have English indexes and require English abstracts for article content (Zhang Hang, 2003, p. 23), and many academic conferences are held in Shanghai in English. Gil (2005, p. 97), citing the China Statistical Yearbook (2004, p. 830) writes that in 2003 there were ‘23,862 academic meetings held in China’ and ‘2,418 visits from foreign countries’ in the areas of science and technology.

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30 It is important to note that these motivations are grouped here rather loosely in terms of overall tendencies rather than to any concrete sense, since motivations are sometimes both intrinsic and extrinsic in nature. These terms do serve a general purpose to focus this discussion on individual motivations, however.
alone. According to the *China Statistical Yearbook* (2010), in 2009 these figures increased to 29,825 for the former category and 3,932 for the latter (pp. 822-825).

There is enormous pressure in Shanghai for even young children to develop their English level. A taxi-driver told me that now in Shanghai some parents are crazy about their children learning English, and that there is massive competition for some parents to have their children’s abilities in English higher than those of the children around them and therefore many children have a lot of pressure. While teaching part-time in the city I also encountered 15 and 16 year olds who were studying for the IELTS and TOEFL examinations: some of them were planning to go abroad to study, while others were persuaded by their parents to go to improve their vocabulary, probably in order to do well in the National University Entrance Examinations later on. In Shanghai a higher English level, or another English certificate or diploma, grants higher status and greater opportunities. This is also the case for people already in the workforce.

2) Employment

Good English ability is incredibly advantageous in the employment market in Shanghai. According to Zhang Hang (2003), in China ‘English is used as a

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31 Within ‘visits from foreign countries’ were also listed those from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macao however.
measurement of intelligence and hard work; therefore, many positions that do not use English on a daily basis still require English test scores as a preliminary requirement’ (p. 202). Adding support to this, Gil (2005) mentions ‘a growing concern that knowledge of English is used to judge a person’s talent and value’ (p. 116). Shanghai, as a region famous for English-use on the Chinese mainland, may require more than many other Chinese cities in terms of English abilities or qualifications, or may require a higher level in a standardized testing system. With the high population and the competitive hunt for jobs and positions in good universities which lead into them, it is always better to have one certificate or qualification over the next person, or higher English marks. Many students today do exams such as TOEFL and IELTS in addition to the standard university exams while they are at university, or even high school.

Apart from entering the workforce for the first time, many individuals in Shanghai, such as experienced accountants and people in managerial positions, dissatisfied with the kind of career they can get with their current English abilities or lack of them, deliberately withdraw from employment for a time in order to ‘up-skill’ themselves in English. This is a perfectly valid plan, considering the salaries for competent speakers in foreign languages are much
higher than those with lower levels of proficiency (Zhang Hang, 2003, p.15). As employers in Shanghai value English so highly, English ability is used as a prerequisite for professional certification alongside other work-related qualifications (ibid, p. 27). For example, an accountant in a company that even does very few deals with foreign clients may be able to reach a better pay scale if their level of English is assessed to be of a higher level.

Employers also pay for, or subsidize, English training for valued employees, and allow them to do English night-classes, or individuals may do them themselves while they are working. In a survey on the use of English in corporations throughout China in 2007, Tian and Moreira (2009) found that 56% of their Chinese respondents said that they were learning English, and that for about 30% of these people, the fees for English language tuition were covered by their companies.

3) Travel or Migration
With China’s more open borders, and Shanghai residents’ growing prosperity, there is a rise in travel to other locations, many of which have English as a native, or one of their native, languages. Tian and Moreira (ibid, p. 46) show that though only since June 2008 has there been an opportunity for Chinese

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32 Of which, English is usually the most highly valued, and is the first second language taught in schools.
tourist groups to travel to America, now it is ‘the most desired tourist
destination for Chinese people.’

Connected with education, it is important for a growing number of
Shanghainese to study or have studied their degree or part of it overseas. This
is by no means unique to Shanghai, but given the economic growth of the city
and its focus on English, many Shanghainese and residents of Shanghai are in
a good position to be able to travel overseas for education. Of course to get an
overseas education may not always be the only aim of such travel, since there
may be a desire for overseas employment and immigration or for overseas
work experience following studies in order to enhance the chance of finding a
good job on returning to China. To travel overseas to study in an English-
speaking university requires good marks in IELTS (for many Commonwealth
nations), or TOEFL (for Canada and the US) for official purposes, which
themselves require considerable training and practice. Gaining a high English
level in these exams grants students the potential to live and experience the
outside world through study (temporarily or permanently, by gaining
employment and residence after they complete their degree or education), or
gives them better options when they return to Shanghai, since an overseas
degree from a well-known university grants a certain amount of prestige.
It is not only students, but many teachers who travel overseas. Hu Guangwei (2009, p. 52, citing Su 2003) reports that between the years of 2000 and 2003 Shanghai sent nearly 2,000 primary and secondary school teachers to English-speaking countries for training to return and run bilingual programmes. Due to the wealth of this coastal metropolis, and the area’s focus on English, it is likely that the opportunities for exchange and training have increased since then.

4) Patriotism

National pride and patriotism are another reason Chinese youth may learn English. As China’s ability with English is often connected with the government with its economic success and its important place on the world stage, from some individuals there are certain indications that lack of attention paid towards English on an individual level is a failure to do a Chinese national’s task of working together to improve the nation.

Zhang Hang (2003) gives an example of this, quoting a letter to the editor of the ‘China Daily’ newspaper, of which a section is printed here:

‘...China lags behind India in the development of IT industry. This is partly because Indians have a better command of English. As some experts have warned that English has bottlenecked China’s development, this situation merits our attention.'
So, more efforts must be made and harder work must be done to ensure that we have the access through English to this information age.

Learn English, please, if you do care about China’s and your own future...’ (pp. 16-17)

Though this was written by a university student in Qingdao, this patriotic line of reasoning for improving English abilities is also likely to be a motivation, if a partial one, for many students in Shanghai.

5) Need for English use in particular locations
Another likely motivation for the use of English in Shanghai is due to the need to engage with English information and media present at particular places. For English in its written and spoken form increasingly appears in public places such as subway stations, restaurant and takeaway franchises, as well as in virtual environments online.

Subway and public places
Viewing certain forms of written codeswitching with English is a part of everyday life for almost anyone. English is fast becoming an accepted part of daily life in Shanghai, being used more and more in public notices, such as signs, posters and public safety notices. The evidence suggests this is mainly due to a growing English ability in the general population. In some public places the Chinese language has been disappearing from signs such as ‘No
smoking’ and ‘No parking’. On the subway, which many people travelled
every day, there were company names, brands, logos and phrases in both
English and Chinese.

On one particular day I was travelling on the subway and there was a public
safety announcement being shown on the subway TV system. It showed
passengers waiting to enter a train that they must stand on the side of an
opening train door and wait for passengers to get off before they can get on.
The impolite manner of charging in as soon as the doors open was shown
afterwards and then there was an X cross and the word ‘No’. This indicates
that most Chinese are aware of the significance of ‘yes’ and ‘no’ and that,
more significantly, ‘yes’ and ‘no’ are being used in some situations in
preference to Chinese. ‘No’ is now used as more convenient and quicker
alternative to the forms of negation available in the Chinese language.

Restaurant and Takeaway Franchises
Coffee houses, together with KFC, McDonalds, and other takeaway franchises
or restaurants, often play English language music, or contemporary popular
music which often contains codeswitching. Of course many cafes and
restaurants put on DVDs or CDs, but their selection of music, as one
interviewee said, depended on the brand associations, the local environment
and the number of student and foreigner clients.
These places are very important to the city’s youth. Since Shanghai is a city with an extremely dense urban population, many young people, if they want a place to chat with friends or participate in such activities as playing strategy card games, would often meet at popular takeaway places like KFC and McDonalds, or cheap cafés, since a space to sit down in the city usually cost money, and in these places you could sit at a table, sometimes for hours, without any staff bothering you. In a restaurant there would be more pressure to spend money to remain and the costs would be much higher. Many young people use them as places to study too, or even as places to be in the early hours of the morning, since many franchises were open 24 hours. These are not only places where English or popular codeswitching music is often played, but were also likely to have more foreign clientele, particularly in some suburbs of Shanghai, such as Xuhui.

Internet or Online Communication
Virtual (online) presences increasingly also require English ability. Online posts by friends, online advertisements, and information on websites, even for mainly Chinese-speaking audiences, increasingly require some knowledge of English to understand. Posts by friends may employ English or Chinese English codeswitching in describing popular English language media or even

33 Playing the 三国 S’n G’o card game appeared to be a popular activity among young men. This game seemed a little similar to the game ‘Magic: the Gathering’, which is popular in many Western countries.
Taiwanese media, or may be displayed in status messages for example, while advertisements on Weibo often include well known English words such as ‘OUT’. Codeswitching with English online is not purely an extrinsic factor, however, and the importance of English intrinsically for online identity ‘fashioning’ will be addressed in the next section.

2.3.4. Individual Motivations – Intrinsic

Aside from the motivations listed in the previous section, there are a number of motivations which are more likely to be intrinsic in nature. Foremost among these are personal social reasons, and in order to enjoy foreign popular media.

1) Social Motivations and Identity as a Bilingual Chinese

There are a number of social reasons in Shanghai for the growth of interest in English: to indicate a personal bilingual identity, and to socialize with English-speaking residents. These two factors will be explored in the following discussion.

First of all, the English language can be used either passively or actively to create a bilingual Chinese identity. It is used by young people to express their own membership of a group that enjoys particular things related to English

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34 Such English words in Chinese adverts were often used in capital letters like this. In online communication among my Chinese friends in August 2011 on the social networking site Sina Weibo for example, a popular CE codeswitched sentence was ‘hold 不住了’ which means roughly, ‘I can’t hold on’. This appears to have been popularized by Taiwanese comedians, and clips were shared on Weibo of people using this phrase.
use: be they listening to (or singing) English music or CE songs, or watching English language movies or TV programmes. Zhang Hang (2003, p. 35) says that Chinese returnees from overseas ‘are forming a social elite group in big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai where they show a tendency of code-mixing [sic] with English.’

The creation of a bilingual Chinese identity also occurs over the internet. Gao Liwei (2007), who conducted research on the construction of identity through Chinese Internet Language (or CIL), has noticed a ‘close relationship between language and identity construction.’ His research discovered six types of identity constructed with CIL. These include two types: ‘Being fashionable or cool’ (pp. 72-75) or ‘Being international or transnational’ (pp. 79-81), where the internet users were likely to frequently use English. He says of the latter identity that ‘young Chinese netizens frequently take advantage of the special status of English to forge an attractive international or transnational identity (p. 80).

As indicated by Gao Liwei (2007), it is also very common for young people in Shanghai to use English or Japanese in their names to create an interesting

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35 Code-mixing is basically another word for codeswitching, or a particular aspect of codeswitching under the definition used in this thesis. This term will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter.
online identity on QQ or MSN. Often the name was a mixture between languages. I have noticed that on QQ and on communication in Weibo, young people increasingly drop English words into their posted messages or to indicate their status. Many individuals would also leave a codeswitched status message to indicate what they are doing at present, particularly on QQ, such as ‘减肥ing’ (trying to lose weight) in the case of one woman.

And so in Shanghai there are those who use their use of English to assert their individual (or group) identity as bilingual speakers, and thus distinguish themselves from others in this respect. Aside from this however, due to the large numbers of foreigners residing in Shanghai, there are also those who wish to use English more as they have foreign friends. Though Shanghai has a large population of foreigners, these are rather small compared to the Chinese population, and so not everyone has foreign friends, but for those who do, they will often use their English abilities in a social setting. And in Shanghai, some individuals may also be motivated by the desire to marry a foreigner and so travel overseas, or simply wish to make a friend to learn more English from, or to learn about English culture.

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36 QQ is a very big online company in China, which is well-known as an online IM service, as well as a place to hear the latest music. Aside from this, people often use MSN Messenger chat facilities at their work, or use Sina Weibo, China’s alternative to Facebook or Twitter. Although Facebook is not permitted in China, many people use this too through proxy servers.
2) **English in media and entertainment**

The desire to learn English to be able to access Western movies, music, and other media is connected to young peoples’ desire to improve their English level overall (through the attempt to create a better language learning environment and increase exposure) and due to social reasons, such as to connect with their peer group who also are interested in these things. But this motivation is also for its own ends, as these forms of media are enjoyable in their own right. This interest in Western media also influences, and is influenced by, the popularity of Chinese singers ‘covering’ popular Western songs (such as the cover of Coldplay’s ‘Yellow’ in 2001 by Zheng Jun 郑钧)\(^3\), as well as CE songs. English also aids the ability of Chinese audiences to engage with the media of other East Asian countries, particularly the music of Korea. These all contribute to the desire to use English either passively – to be able to engage with the media, or actively – to be able to use the vocabulary within media, or to be able to perform music which contains English.

**Written media**

The number of English publications, and the number of English books stocked in bookstores is also increasing. English language bestsellers, books on business, magazines and language learning materials are easy to get in the

\(^3\)http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zheng_Jun
larger bookstores in Shanghai. These include audiovisual materials, such as DVDs of the American series *Friends* with subtitles modified for language learning and with vocabulary explanations, but also bilingual, and English DVDs, books, and resources for preschoolers: such as a Chinese version of the TV programme *In the Night Garden* with selectable English or Chinese audio and subtitles.

There are also numerous magazine stores on the street. While in Shanghai I was able to purchase two magazines regarded as influential to some youth and their interest in pop songs, *Cool 轻音乐 Cool qing yinyue* ‘Cool Easy Listening’ and *当代歌坛 Dangdai getan* ‘Contemporary Pop Music’, both of which contained CE codeswitching.

The first of these magazines, ‘Cool Easy Listening’, focused on Japanese and Korean bands popular in the Chinese market. The most frequent English words were found in the names for bands and their influences, including English band names, and in the names of songs and certain lyrics sung in concerts. However, there were also other frequent English words, often nouns, in the magazine, such a ‘No. 1’, ‘Single Best 10’ (on the singles charts), ‘MC’, ‘Rap’, ‘Dance’, and ‘Fans’, as well as codeswitched phrases such as

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38 A series often stocked in larger bookstores was that of the Harry Potter series. In 2010 the movie franchise was still running and the series was incredibly popular worldwide.
SOLO 曲‘Solo Track’, SOLO 作品‘Solo Work’ and 女声 Intro‘Female Voice Intro’. 39

In ‘Contemporary Pop Music’, which was focused on contemporary singers, there were also many English words pertaining to music, 40 such as the words ‘vocal’, ‘bass,’ ‘saxophone,’ ‘Instrumental,’ and ‘key,’ and words for musical styles, such as ‘DJ’, ‘Hip-hop’, ‘R&B’, ‘Electro’, as well as the words ‘rap’, ‘Rock’ and ‘Rocker’ and ‘live’. There were also hybrid concepts created with codeswitching, such as Hello ‘Hit Song’, 大 Show ‘Big Show’ and 整个 image ‘The whole image’. Not all the English words in either magazine were related to music.

Although these magazines were read by the youth while I was in Shanghai, due to the Chinese government’s change in policy in December 2010 regarding the use of English codeswitched terms and hybrid linguistic terms, I considered it unlikely that these magazines use codeswitching in the same way today. However, from examining the website of ‘Contemporary Pop Music’ it seems likely that many of the headings in the magazine and some of the

39 Examples from ‘Cool Easy Listening’ 25/7/2009
40 The words here are from ‘Contemporary Pop Music’ 15/1/2010, and 15/6/2009
content probably still contain English, although perhaps not to the same
degree. 41

Movies and Music
English language movies and music, including movies and music not released
publically by the authorities is everywhere in Shanghai, on young peoples’
laptops, cell phones, or personal media players. Even those without the money
for personal access to the internet at home can still watch movies, download
and listen to other media in internet cafes. Increasingly more young people are
being exposed to movies, shows and music entirely in English.

Aside from English language music, a lot of K-Pop, Korean Pop music,
listened to by the audience also contains English lyrics, often codeswitched
with Korean. Performing in Shanghai in late 2009 were two popular Korean
boy bands: SS501 and 동방신기 Dong Bang Shin Ki ‘The Rising Gods of the
East’ (said in Chinese 东方神起 D8ngf`ng Sh5ngq)}, with an audience
predominantly consisting of teenage girls, although there were many women
in their 20s who liked them. 42 Both of these bands have a strong R&B style,
and both use English codeswitching in their songs.

41 http://pop.dazui.com/ Accessed 20/10/12
42 Many women living in Shanghai indicated that listening to Korean boy bands was just a stage young women
go through and that once women are around university age they are less interested in the bands’
performances. Despite this, I observed several women in the 20s who were keen fans of these groups.
2.3.5. Section Summary

In this section a number of reasons, extrinsic and intrinsic, official and personal, have been shown for the growing interest in English in Shanghai today. The following section will indicate some of the cultural influences that give rise to the modern CE codeswitching songs that are popular in Shanghai and will identify the singers whose songs are in the corpus of this thesis.

2.4. Western Music, the rise of contemporary CE songs in Shanghai, and CE codeswitching singers

CE songs are now growing in popularity in Shanghai, along with interest in Western music. In this section, it will be demonstrated that codeswitching arises due to an outside cultural influence, and that this is not just because of the input of the English language within the songs. First, to examine the origins of CE codeswitching music, this section will draw attention to the early contact of Western music with Chinese music in China, and in Shanghai in particular. This will be followed by a short discussion of the singers of CE songs, using information on the singers of the present corpus used in this thesis.
2.4.1. Western music in Shanghai and early CE codeswitching in China.

Western music was first introduced into China during the 7th Century AD, but its influence was limited and lasted for only a short-period, in isolated groups (Gong, 2008, p. 39). However, in the middle of the 19th Century, Western music was again introduced into China by missionaries, and spread to many sectors of the general population (ibid, p. 40). Jazz was very popular in the late 1920s and early 30s, particularly in Shanghai, as were the 时代曲 ‘music of the times’ created by Li Jinhui 黎锦晖 and others, which were ‘hybrids of jazz, Hollywood film songs and Broadway musicals, modern Chinese school songs, and popular urban ballads of the entertainment quarters (ibid, p. 64, citing Wong, ‘The Music of China’, p. 70). It is highly likely that some songs, if sung for a mixed audience which included English speakers, would have been sung entirely or partly in English.

After 1949, although Western music, particularly classical music and tunes, were highly influential, and some were used for propaganda purposes, English language music was often attacked in anti-capitalist or anti-bourgeois campaigns (Gong, 2008, p. 65). As such, English language music, and

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43 The information in this paragraph is from Gong, 2008, who discusses the influence of Western music in the period 1911 to 1949.
codeswitched music, which had English within it, was not prevalent until the opening up of China in the late 1970s.

In music, it was from the late 1970s that those in the mainland were exposed to the modern music of Hong Kong and Taiwan, called Gang-Tai\footnote{Ogawa (2004, p. 175) draws attention to the problematic term of 港台 g\textsuperscript{2}ngt\textsubscript{1}i, a Chinese term which stands for Hong Kong and Taiwan together, and implies that these two places have an almost identical culture. I use the term here for convenience, but do not wish to assert that Hong Kong and Taiwan are the same cultural entity, only that they share a certain Chinese cultural background.} music, albeit illegally at first (Baranovitch, 2003, p. 10). This was connected to the fact that with the opening up policy came new audio technology, such as the introduction of personal cassette tape recorders in the late 1970s (Gold, 1993, p. 916),\footnote{While there were tape recorders in existence earlier and which were permitted for public or business use, personal tape-recorders were only available from the late 1970s.} which meant that a lot of secretly ‘dubbed’ music from Hong Kong and Taiwan spread illegally, ‘under the radar’, as it were (Gold, ibid.; Brace, 1991, p. 45).

This music, arriving from Hong Kong and Taiwan, was very popular among the population, due to the novelty of the music, due to the singing styles, but also due to the relaxed personal nature of the music and the fact that such music stemmed from a Chinese cultural background (Gold, ibid.). In fact, many of the pioneers of the Hong Kong music industry were actually
originally from Shanghai (Ogawa, 2004, p. 145).\textsuperscript{46} It is likely that there was an influence from English at this time in the music, since Hong Kong speakers regularly codeswitched between Cantonese and English. There was also in addition undoubtedly Western music, such as the Carpenters and the Beatles, coming into China at this time, but often illegally and underground. Pop music from Hong Kong and Taiwan has been popular in China since the late 1970s (Brace, 1991, p. 47).

Since the late 1980s there were a number of Chinese songs that began to use English.\textsuperscript{47} It is possible that the first codeswitching songs containing English on the mainland in that period were rock songs, for English was symbolic to many people of modernisation and it was possible to express some things in English that, politically or due to the taboos in Chinese society, one could not do in Chinese. Huot (2000, p. 178) mentions that English was often used in the rock music of the 90s. The singer Wei Hua 蔚华, a Beijinger and former announcer on CCTV, released two songs sung entirely in English, called \textit{Honey}, and \textit{Visa} in her album \textit{Modernity}. This use of English for her at the time was a form of codeswitching which allowed her to ignore the

\textsuperscript{46} According to Ogawa (2004, p. 145), what is now Hong Kong EMI was originally a company started by a British merchant in Shanghai during the 1930s, which moved to Hong Kong from Shanghai in 1952.

\textsuperscript{47} Xu (2007) in the appendix to his study lists six codeswitching songs from the years 1987–89 in his corpus. After this, the number of codeswitching songs began to increase.
accepted taboos for women and assert her own identity (Huot, ibid.), a usage seen in the use of English by young Chinese people on the internet today.

One of the most famous early instances of codeswitching in song was however the song that was the title theme for a television series *Beijingers in New York* (Zheng and Feng, 1993). A CE song called 千万次的问 *Time and time again*,\(^{48}\) which was sung by the popstar Liu Huan 刘欢 (Huot, ibid., p.61). This soundtrack, though perhaps not the first instance of CE codeswitching in music on the mainland, was nevertheless one of the most popular instances.

In the South, in Shanghai, rock music has never really gained a foothold (Baranovich, 2003, p. 43). The music of the closer Hong Kong and Taiwan has always been more influential in this city, particularly music from Taiwan, as evidence suggests that Taiwan has now become the centre of Mandarin-Chinese music production (Chua, 2004, p. 204, 208). Though the earliest popular CE codeswitching songs present on the mainland do not seem to have been from Hong Kong or Taiwan, the recent influx of popular codeswitching music is largely an overseas Chinese influence.

An interest in CS songs today is also connected with the popularity of English language songs and media in Shanghai. As Shanghai is constantly celebrating

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\(^{48}\)The Chinese version and the English version of the song are not the same here, but the English lyrics in the song do express the Chinese title. The English version is a shortened version of the song title.
its historical ties with Jazz and other Western music as one important aspect of its character as a city (as can be seen in the Jazz bands that play near the Bund today), an interest in Western music, or music with some degree of Western influence (or English language content) is hardly unnatural. Moreover, since English music is likely to have been performed in the 1920s and 30s in the city, to some extent the youth of the city’s present interest in English, English music and CE songs is an attempt to revitalize the past musical traditions of the city as well as an attempt to keep in touch with the music of the rest of the world. Gold (1993, p. 909) has remarked that the spread of Hong Kong and Taiwanese culture on the mainland could represent some kind of a return to old Shanghai with its thriving cultural industry due to the influence of Chinese Diaspora communities.

2.4.2. CE songs and their performers

CE codeswitching songs today are performed and listened to in Shanghai in both large public events, such as concerts, 49 and in semi-public activities, such as KTV activities with friends and business associates. On an individual level people also listen to these CE songs on personal media players or MP3 players.

49The famous Taiwanese group Wǔ Yīn Tiān 五月天, singing in a mixture of Chinese and English, performed their famous song 爱恋ING at the Hunan New Year’s celebration for 2009. [http://video.aol.com/video-detail/ing2009/660530752](http://video.aol.com/video-detail/ing2009/660530752)
Indications from other research on codeswitching show that most CS songs come from Taiwan (Xu, 2007, p. 43; Zhang Hua, 2005, p. 47), and that many of the performers of the CS songs come from Hong Kong or Taiwan (Wang, 2007). All of the singers in this thesis release their music under Taiwan-based recording companies, and this means this music arrives into the mainland through the Taiwanese pop music industry.50

Table 1, presented on the following page, shows basic biographical information of the singers in this corpus. This includes their names, ages, birthdates, places of education, and their education level.

50Fang Datong however, also releases his music from both Hong Kong and Taiwan based record labels.
Table 1: Background CE singers in corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Pinyin/Characters)</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Place of Education</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Born (Age)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lin Youjia 林宥嘉</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>1987 (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Liangying 张靓颖</td>
<td>Mainland China</td>
<td>Mainland China</td>
<td>University (English Major)</td>
<td>1984 (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.H.E. (female trio)</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Two attended university</td>
<td>1981-83 (27-30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiao Yaxuan 蕭亞軒</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>1979 (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Weibo 潘玮柏</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Taiwan/US</td>
<td>University in US</td>
<td>1980 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudalu 苏打绿 (group)</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Most members postgraduates</td>
<td>1979-82 (29-31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liang Jingru 梁静茹</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>1978 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu Yue Tian 五月天 (group)</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>1973-77 (34-38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Shaohan 张韶涵</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>1982 (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fang Datong 方大同</td>
<td>US (Hawaii)</td>
<td>China/Hong Kong</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>1983 (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Yanzi 孙燕姿</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>1978 (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tao Zhe 陶喆</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Taiwan/US</td>
<td>University (UCLA)</td>
<td>1969 (42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cai Yilin 蔡依林</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>University (English Major)</td>
<td>1980 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wang Ruolin 王若琳</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>High school (dropped out)</td>
<td>1988 (23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51 The names listed here are the common Chinese names used for the performers in mainland China, that will be used throughout this thesis.

52 Age as of 31 December 2011.

53 Note that Hong Kong was officially handed back to China from British control on 1 July 1997. It had been claimed as a colony by the British in 1842.
As is evident, most of the singers or groups examined in this thesis are highly educated or have received an education in an English-speaking country, something also noted with regard to the singers of CE songs. Ten of the singers in this corpus were either born or received education in an English-speaking country, such as the US, Canada, or Singapore; or majored in English language studies in their own country. Three of the singers within the present corpus are from English-speaking nations (the US), one who was born in Singapore, where English is an official language, and one who was born in Malaysia, where English is an important administrative language. The most well-known and well-educated\(^{54}\) among these singers is Wang Lihong 王力宏, who did advanced music studies at Williams College and the Berklee College of Music in the US.

That many of the singers of these CE songs are highly educated, not from the mainland, and have high levels of English – possibly due to exposure to English through education outside China, has been observed by Wang (2007). However, one point which seems to disagree with Wang’s (2007) research is that many of the singers in this corpus are over thirty years of age, and would have been five years ago, before the beginning of the scope of this thesis.

\(^{54}\)Educated, in terms of an education for a musical career that is, although some members of Sudalü 苏打绿 were postgraduate students in Taiwan, and Tao Zhe 陶喆 completed a Bachelors degree in Psychology at UCLA.
Recent research has shown that the number of popular codeswitching songs has increased markedly since the year 2000 (Xu, 2007, p. 43; Zhang Li, 2006, p. 78; and Zhang Hua, 2005, p. 53). Every indication is that they will continue to be popular, alongside Western music and English language songs covered by native Chinese singers.

2.4.3. Section Summary

This section has discussed the early history of Western music in China, the connection between Shanghai and English language songs, and the rise of CE songs in China, songs which arose in the late 80s but are now very popular in the Shanghai of today. It has also been demonstrated that the majority of these songs are produced in Taiwan, and that many of the singers are not from the mainland, usually well educated, and not always under the age of 30, as suggested by previous research.

2.5. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has presented the necessary information with which to examine the content of the rest of this thesis. First of all, this chapter has argued that Shanghai was (from the mid 1800s until the late 1930s) and continues to be, the main centre for English language education and English language contact in China. Secondly, it has been observed that the growth of interest in the
English language and CE codeswitching media is connected with the wide range of motivations there are in Shanghai for learning and using English, which include an interest in English-language entertainment. Finally, it was noted that the CS music popular in Shanghai, and indeed most of what is regarded as Chinese popular music, primarily comes from other Diaspora Chinese communities (such as Taiwan), and is often performed by bilingual singers who have lived or were born in a foreign country.

This chapter has indicated that the interest of Shanghai youth in English and CE songs is connected to a knowledge of historical exposure (musically as well as culturally) to the English language, the massive importance of the English language on an individual and on a larger scale in the city, and to the interest in both English and overseas Chinese media for personal entertainment.

Finally, this chapter drew attention to the background of the popular singers within this corpus, that many of them come from the mainland, are highly educated, and also, that not all of them are under 30. The importance of Taiwan as a production centre for this codeswitching music, and that according to research the popularity of CE songs continues to grow was also noted.
Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will examine key literature relevant to the topic of this thesis on the popularity of CE codeswitching in contemporary Chinese pop songs. Due to the multidisciplinary nature of this thesis, the discussion will be organized on topical grounds, not on chronological ones. In this introduction the focus will first be on the term of codeswitching itself, then on codeswitching as a research topic and how the study of pop music lyrics fits into it. Three broad aspects of codeswitching in pop music lyrics indicated by earlier studies into this phenomenon will then be examined in the body of this chapter.

3.1.1. Studies of Codeswitching

The term ‘code-switching,’ first introduced to linguistics by Roman Jacobson (Zhao, 2007, p. 5), now refers to a language contact phenomenon which may be defined simply as ‘the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences’ (Clyne, 1987, p. 740). Weinrich (1963, p. 1), who first proposed the term ‘languages in contact’ to describe the situation of a person who used two language codes at different times, said that ‘two or more languages will be said to be IN CONTACT [his emphasis] if they are used alternately by the same persons.’
There has been much contention over the definition of the concept of codeswitching itself. The Chinese scholar Yu Guodong (2001, pp. 15-16) has indicated that scholars writing on codeswitching basically fall into three camps: those who distinguish between codeswitching and a concept called codemixing (which normally refers to switching within sentences)\textsuperscript{55}, those that do not distinguish between codeswitching and codemixing,\textsuperscript{56} and those who refuse to take a stance on the issue.\textsuperscript{57} As this thesis concerns codeswitching in song lyrics and will discuss both switching within a sentence and between sentences, there is no special need to distinguish between the two terms in this thesis. Within this thesis the term of codeswitching will be defined, following from Clyne (1987, p. 740), as ‘the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences’, and codeswitching will function as an umbrella term for all instances in which the language code changes within the course of the song lyrics.

The examination of the phenomenon of CS has developed along with advances in sociolinguistics, grammatical and pragmatic theories of linguistics, the development of methods for conversation analysis, and the

\textsuperscript{55} This group includes scholars such as Auer (1998), B. Kachru (1983), Haust and Dittrman (1998), and Müller and Cantone (2009).

\textsuperscript{56} This includes Gardner-Chloros (2009), Jake and Myers-Scotton (2009)

\textsuperscript{57} Yu (2000) cites Tay (1989) as someone who is ‘undecided’ on whether to make a distinction between the terms or use them to mean the same thing.
development of theories of social psychology, the brain and speech and language production, as well as knowledge of the social and historical contexts of the vast range of bi- and multilingual communities around the world where codeswitching across different languages is prevalent.\textsuperscript{58} Though there has been an abundance of academic research done on codeswitching, by far the vast majority has been on CS as it occurs within conversation, and scholars have paid little attention to CS in songs. In recent large books and edited collections on codeswitching research, such as Gardner-Chloro’s (2009) book \textit{Code-switching}, the collection \textit{Multidisciplinary Approaches to Code Switching} (2009) edited by Isurin, Winford and de Bot,\textsuperscript{59} and \textit{The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching} (2009), there has been little or no examination of CS as it occurs in song and song lyrics. The lack of attention to this kind of discourse is a little surprising, for as Bentahila and Davies (2008, p. 2) point out, mixed language song lyrics have been attested in written data worldwide for more than a thousand years.\textsuperscript{60}

There are a now a number of scholars internationally who are beginning to focus their attention on CS in song lyrics. Some recent books, such as Alim,\textsuperscript{58} As opposed to codeswitching stylistically and between different variants of the same language.\textsuperscript{59} Actually Gardner-Chloros (2009, pp. 28-29) does refer very briefly to two studies of codeswitching in songs.\textsuperscript{60} Davies and Bentahila (2008a, p. 2) cite a number of historically attested mixed language song lyrics worldwide in the work of Stern (1948), Armistead and Monroe (1983), Argenter (2001), Muysken (2001), and Schendl (1996, 1997).
Ibrahim, & Pennycook’s (2009) Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language do include studies on CS in global hip-hop. There is now also a growing collection of articles and theses on the topic of CS in pop songs, particularly in China.

3.1.2. Codeswitching in Pop Music Lyrics: Three Aspects

It has been put forward that some studies on the topic of codeswitching as a language contact phenomenon may offer insights into the way CS occurs within song lyrics. For example, grammatical analyses may clarify which parts of speech are more frequently switched or whether the switched segments follow Chinese or English grammar. Bentahila and Davies (2002, p. 199) also note that there are a number of roles and topics (such as love) assigned to particular languages, which often necessitate CS within the songs. They call this latter situation ‘lexically motivated switching’, where there are particular ‘domains’ associated with French usage within their song data (p. 199). There are also some pragmatic reasons believed to influence the presence of CS, such as the need to employ English language phrases that are frequently used in the conversation of Chinese youth for the language in the songs to appear casual and relaxed to their audience.

However, Bentahila and Davies (2002), in their study of the CS between French and Arabic in the rai songs of Algeria and Morocco, state that even
though some songs may present a conversational style, they also require analysis in stylistic and aesthetic terms, because song lyrics are a form of ‘premeditated, prepared and edited’ discourse designed for a large audience (p. 192). Codeswitching within song lyrics lacks two essential ingredients which are normally present in conversation: ‘spontaneity and intimacy’ (Bentahila and Davies 2002, p. 198). Codeswitching, they find, often has a structural importance to the song, and to ‘relate clearly to its organisation’ (Bentahila and Davies 2002, p. 202).

In later research, Davies and Bentahila (2008, p. 11) discover several patterns that exist within the CS of the rai. They say that semantic codeswitching can be used to ‘separate out different components of a text’ or ‘to link elements together’, which ‘may in turn serve to add emphasis, highlight a similarity or relationship, or focus on an opposition’. The authors also show evidence that CS may ‘enhance the patterning’ of the songs through rhyme, line divisions and stanzas. In this sense, codeswitching displays aesthetic and poetic effects only obtainable through the use of an additional language.

In addition, aside from the linguistic and stylistic importance of CS, it can also be of sociocultural significance. Bentahila and Davies (2002, p. 206) believe that codeswitching can allow a group to ‘assert their own unique, local identity’ while also permitting them to reconcile the ‘apparently conflicting
trends of globalisation and localisation’, through the addition of further
languages, to ‘offer a universal message to the rest of the planet.’ And as has
also seen in the case of the speech of Chinese returnees to Beijing and
Shanghai in Zhang Hang (2003, p. 35), Bentahila and Davies stress CS
functions as an ‘ingroup marker’ (p. 198).

As the preceding discussion has indicated, it seems there are three perspectives
from which to examine CS in contemporary Chinese pop song lyrics. First of
all, there are the linguistic aspects of codeswitching. Next, there are the ways
CS relates to the structure of the song lyrics to produce aesthetic or stylistic
effects. Finally, there are the sociocultural aspects of the codeswitching –
which involve discourses on individual or group identity in connection with
language use, as well as indications of a possible globalised or localised
Chinese bilingual identity. In the following section research on these
linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural aspects relevant to the present study will
be examined.

3.2. Linguistic Aspects of Codeswitching

3.2.1. Grammatical Aspects

1) Intrasentential and Intersentential Codeswitching
Although Bentahila and Davies (2002) have indicated that some grammatical
analyses applicable to the analysis of CS in conversation may not be that
relevant to an analysis of song lyrics, some models may be useful for
analysing the grammatical aspects of the song lyrics. In the following
discussion, the work of Poplack and Myers-Scotton will be examined, and
how their theories may be useful for this aspect of the thesis.

Poplack (1980, pp. 227-230) suggested two syntactic constraints for CS: the
‘free morpheme constraint,’ where ‘codes may be switched after any
constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme’,
‘unless one of the morphemes has been integrated phonologically into the
language of the other,’ and the ‘equivalence constraint’, which argues that CS
is created by the overlapping of grammatically equivalent constituents of the
different speech codes involved in sentences (p. 227). However, Pieter
Muysken (1997, p. 362) believes that the view of Poplack and her associates is
true for one aspect of codeswitching, ‘where the two languages share a
grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either
language,’ such as in the speech of Spanish-English bilinguals who Poplack
studies whose CS blends together and it is difficult to tell what the main
language is.

61 In Li (2000)
62 This refers to linguistic items borrowed from another language and integrated into it.
63 This is a situation which he calls ‘congruent lexicalisation.’
Poplack admits two kinds of codeswitching, intra-sentential switching and extra-sentential codeswitching,\(^{64}\) themselves useful categories for analysing CS in song lyrics. Most of her research however, focuses on multi-word switches, since her perspective and that of her co-researcher Meechan, do not permit single morpheme, or one word switching, regarding them as ‘nonce borrowing’. Poplack says she does not believe that CS in most circumstances is a result of the interplay between a dominant language which frames the discourse and other language material. However, the majority of other researchers agree that in many situations there is, and Clyne (1987) shows that Poplack and her associates accept the existence of a base language implicitly in their own labelling system (Winford, 2003, p. 128).

2) **Myers-Scotton and the Matrix Frame Model of Codeswitching**

In Myers-Scotton’s standard Matrix Frame model of codeswitching there is one main or ‘matrix’ language and another language which is ‘embedded’ into it (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 3). Myers-Scotton, like Poplack and associates, distinguishes between intrasentential and intersentential CS. Myers-Scotton (1993) believes however, that when there is *no* congruence\(^{65}\) between the structures of the two languages, an ‘embedded language island’ (or EL island) is created, within which all the embedded structures can exist without

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\(^{64}\) Which as mentioned earlier in this thesis is also termed ‘inter-sentential’ codeswitching.

\(^{65}\) This is directly opposed to the view of Poplack.
conflicting with the matrix structure (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 139). In this way, larger sections can be code switched, but still exist within the frame of the Matrix language.

While Poplack regards single morpheme switches within the morphosyntactic frame of the matrix language as borrowings, not codeswitched items, for Myers-Scotton what distinguishes borrowings and codeswitched phrases are frequency of use and the level of integration into the matrix language. Therefore apart from consistent and regular borrowings, single-morpheme borrowings are classed as intrasentential codeswitching.66 Regarding borrowed items and the relationship to the Matrix language, Myers-Scotton (1990, p.103) believes ‘borrowed items belong to a specifiable set from the embedded language which speakers know in some abstract sense as part of matrix language competence.’ Therefore, in order to distinguish between borrowed items and codeswitched items it is necessary to have some understanding of the frequency of particular lexical items within the population concerned, perhaps from field work or through close acquaintance with a culture.

As Myers-Scotton’s (1993) view identifies borrowing as just a more lexically and grammatically integrated and consistent case of CS, information on the

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66 Myers Scotton (1990) cites Gardner-Chloros (1984, p. 102) on this, who says that ‘a loan is a codeswitch with a full-time job’.
frequency of borrowing lexical items is important for this examination of the song lyrics. Poplack and Meechan’s (1998) research on this shows that most likely to be borrowed are ‘major-class content words’. Myers-Scotton’s own research (1993) complements this, showing that system morphemes such as quantifiers are the least likely to be inserted into the ML, or Matrix Language, frame. Therefore, it is likely that in the song corpus of this thesis, content words (which would include nouns, verbs and adjectives) will be more frequently codeswitched than system morphemes.

A strong point in favour of Myers-Scotton’s classic model of codeswitching, although primarily designed for the analysis of CS in conversation, is that it has also been applied successfully in international studies on CS in songs, and in the analysis of CE songs. Sarkar, Winer and Sarkar (2005, p. 2059) for example, state that they use Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Frame model precisely because the hip-hop song lyrics analysed in their study were embedded in a Quebec French ‘matrix language’. It has also been found appropriate for many Chinese studies, as will be shown in the following section.

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67 In 2003 Myers-Scotton updated her views on the MLF hypothesis. She presents the view that there may be ‘composite CS’ or codeswitching, where there is a ‘composite Matrix language’, (p. 190) which consists of material from more than one language. However, this ‘composite language frame’ only exists where ‘a single source frame no longer entirely controls the morphosyntactic frame’ (p. 200). Therefore, it appears more appropriate to use Myers-Scotton’s original or, as she put it, ‘classic’ MLF (Matrix Language Frame) hypothesis in this thesis, since in the CE codeswitching songs in this thesis, Chinese almost always is the Matrix Language.
3) Grammatical Aspects of Codeswitching in CE song lyrics

In their grammatical analysis of the characteristics of CS songs, Zhang Hua (2005) and Cai (2008) identify three categories of CS: intrasentential codeswitching (codeswitching within sentence boundaries), intersentential codeswitching (codeswitching at a sentence or discourse level), and tag-switching (which is switching between an utterance and a tag attached to it), the first two categories are identical to the categorization of CS by Poplack (1980). This is also the general classification of CS used by Schendl (1997) in his study of CS in medieval English poetry and songs, and therefore has some precedence in codeswitching research.

The findings of the majority of Chinese scholars who examine the relative frequency of intrasentential and intersentential codeswitching in CE pop song lyrics, namely Zhao (2007), Xu (2007), Qiao (2006), Feng and Wei (2007), and Cai (2008), are that there tends to be a predominance of intersentential over intrasentential codeswitching. However, Zhang Hua (2005) noted a predominance of intrasentential CS in her song corpus. This thesis will provide further insight into the frequency of these categories of CS.

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68 Although Zhao 2007, Xu 2007, Qiao 2006 and Feng and Wei 2007, have not explicitly categorized the grammatical categories of codeswitching into the three categories discussed above, and examine in terms of the categories of discourses, sentences, phrases and words, their results for phrases, words, and at the sentence and discourse level can be combined to indicate the relative frequency of either intrasentential or intersentential codeswitching.
Zhao (2007) and Cai (2008) provide particular grammatical findings on CS in song lyrics within Myers-Scotton’s (1993) MLF Model. Zhao’s (2007, p. 31) research supports Myers-Scotton’s theories by indicating that within the MLF, it is primarily content morphemes, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives that are switched (60.97% of his corpus), primarily nouns. Zhao (2007) and Cai (2008) have also indicated that while in intrasentential units English nearly always accords with Chinese grammar, Embedded Language (EL) islands in their data follow English grammatical rules, although sometimes the head words of nouns and verbs lose their inflections.

The grammatical studies of CS discussed above indicate that it would be appropriate for the purposes of examining the linguistic aspects of song lyrics in the present study to employ Myers-Scotton’s Classic Matrix Frame model with English as the embedded language. In addition, as in Zhang Hua (2005), Schendl (1997) and Cai (2008), the study of CS material will be separated into three categories: intersentential, intrasentential, and tag switching. By employing the MLF and these categories, it is believed that the investigation of the songs in this thesis could also hope to find out whether this corpus supports the predominance of intersentential codeswitching seen in previous Chinese studies on the phenomenon, as well as which parts of speech are most

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69 Both of these scholars also identify a number of pragmatic functions, which will be outlined in later discussion.
frequently switched, and whether there are any grammatical anomalies with regard to understood grammatical governance within the MLF, particularly inside embedded English verb or noun phrases (Embedded Language Islands) within the Chinese Matrix Language.

Another linguistic perspective for examining CS song lyrics is codeswitching functions. Many of the Chinese studies cited above that looked at the grammatical aspects of the CS also looked at the discourse functions of codeswitched sections within the song lyrics, which the present discussion will now turn to.

3.2.2. Discourse functions

In this section will be examined major international studies on CS and CS songs and previous studies on CE songs that may be relevant to an examination of the discourse functions of codeswitching in this thesis.

1) Findings from International Studies

Domains

The concept of linguistic ‘domains’ is important in sociolinguistic studies on language contact. Fishman (1965, 1967) developed the concept of ‘domains’ on the basis of the work of Ferguson (1959) on diglossia. Ferguson introduced the term ‘diglossia’ (Ferguson, 1959, p.65) ‘where two languages exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play’; a
concept which governed situations where languages were allocated into high and low functions of use. Fishman developed Ferguson’s ideas and in many ways extended them. He discussed the notion of linguistic domains in situations where one language is dominant according to group, situation and topic. Although Ferguson did not refer to codeswitching between two languages within a sentence or in the context of mixed language songs, the general sense of contextually-defined CS presented in Ferguson’s work is useful in this thesis.

*Situational and Metaphorical Codeswitching*

The ground-breaking sociolinguistic research of Blom and Gumperz (1972) on language varieties used within a Norwegian fishing village distinguishes between ‘situational’ codeswitching, the situation where there is a defined social and contextual role for CS, and ‘metaphorical’ codeswitching, where the CS is not triggered by situational factors but used for a specific purpose (ibid, p. 126). ‘Metaphorical’ codeswitching where the speaker modifies their language by inserting elements from a different linguistic variety in their speech for stylistic purpose is particularly relevant to the study of song lyrics, and the literature review has already indicated numerous aspects of what could be regarded as metaphorical codeswitching in the discussion of the linguistic and structural aspects of the songs. However, there may be certain topics or situations where CS is ‘situational’ – associated with particular topics or
domains, or ‘lexically-motivated’. As has been observed, Bentahila and Davies (2002, p. 199) have found instances of language associated with particular topics in their corpus of songs called *rai*.

*Gumperz’s ‘conversational functions’ of codeswitching and the ‘we code’*

Although it has been noted that conversational CS is not the same as codeswitching in songs, Gumperz (1982, pp. 75-84) listed a number of common functions of CS which may be useful in a study of discourse functions of CS in CE songs. These functions include ‘quotations’ (p. 75), ‘addressee specification’, where one language is directed at a particular person or persons (p. 77), ‘interjections’ (p. 77), ‘reiteration’ (p. 78), ‘message qualification’ (p. 79), and ‘personalization vs objectification’ (pp. 80-81), whereby one language could be more authoritative or factual than another. Gumperz (1982, p. 66) also wrote of a ‘we code...associated with in-group and informal activities’, and a ‘they code...associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations’, linking the ‘we code’ with a minority language, and a ‘they code’ with a majority language. This may also be relevant in the CE song context if Chinese and English fulfill different linguistic functions among youth.
Translation as reiteration

One function of CS identified in Gumperz’s (1982) study was ‘reiteration’.

This is defined by Gumperz as when

...a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message. (p. 78)

This ‘reiteration’ has been further examined in the codeswitching context by Bentahila and Davies (2008a) as ‘translation as reiteration’, where one language may be repeated in a close translation, or the content of the lines may merely be echoed.

Other discourse functions

International studies have listed three other main discourse functions for codeswitching: to create humour, to avoid taboo subjects, and to emulate a conversational style. For the first, Y. Kachru (2006, p. 223), in her examination of the CS within Hindi-English song lyrics in Bollywood movies, has noted codeswitching was used ‘to create humour and parody Westernized youth.’ Bentahila and Davies (2002) identify the second strategy of using one language to deal with taboo subjects and concepts, giving examples to show how this has been ‘attested in many societies’ (2002, p.

70 Although Y. Kachru (2006) regards her study as an examination of ‘code-mixing’, since she focuses on intrasentential linguistic switching and would only regard intersentential switching to be ‘code-switching’.
but have also indicated the presence of CS similar to that found in bilingual conversation within song lyrics (Bentahila and Davies, 2002, p. 193). Codeswitching similar to conversation has also been discovered in the Cantopop corpus of Chan (2009), who says that English ‘may mimic vernacular Cantonese with code-switching’. And in addition to these three functions, Ominiyi (2009) and Sarkar et al. (2005) have drawn attention to the importance of CS when performing rap, and to certain metaphorical functions it can fulfil in it, which will be relevant in the stylistic section of this chapter.

2) Findings from Chinese Studies
Looking at the Chinese studies, it can be observed that Chinese scholars have primarily been focused on discovering the discourse functions of codeswitching in CE codeswitching songs, and have discovered a large number of pragmatic purposes. Most of the Chinese codeswitching studies (including Liu (2009), Cai (2008), Zhao (2007), Zhang Hua (2005), Xu (2007), Gao Angzhi (2008), and Qiao (2006)) state that they follow a Linguistic Adaptation Approach developed by Yu Guodong in 2001 to analyse

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72 Bentahila and Davies (2002), Davies and Bentahila (2008a) and Chan (2009) all use the term ‘code-switching’ to describe what is defined in this thesis under the umbrella term of ‘codeswitching’.

73 Cai (2008) may be added to the list of Chinese scholars who uses this model, for although he does not state his theoretical framework on the matter, he says that he is following on from the work of other Chinese scholars, and for all intents and purposes his model is identical to theirs.
the pragmatic functions of CE codeswitching within a combination of spoken and written data in Guangzhou, which was in itself a development of Verschueren’s (1999) ‘adaptation model’ within the discipline of pragmatics. A general definition of pragmatics is given by Vershueren (1999) to be: ‘a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour’ (p. 7).

Yu (2001) selected what Verschueren regards as the ‘key notions’ for his pragmatic theory on how people make choices in language use, namely ‘variability’, ‘negotiability’ and ‘adaptability,’ and created a new theory to apply specifically to the study of CS data. Yu’s linguistic adaptation model (2001), and nearly all studies that follow it, examine CE codeswitching with a primary focus on adaptability, in relation to linguistic reality, social conventions and psychological motivations.

The separation of perceived motivations for CS, and the separation into adaptations to linguistic reality, social conventions and psychological motivations, has allowed Yu, and those applying the pragmatic model to

74 In Verschueren’s words variability is ‘the property of language which defines the range of possibilities from which choices can be made’ (Verschueren, 1999, p. 58), negotiability is ‘the property of language responsible for the fact that choices are …made…on the basis of highly flexible principles and strategies’, and ‘adaptability’ is ‘the property of language which enables human beings to make negotiable linguistic choices from a variable range of options in such a way as to approach points of satisfaction for communicative needs.’ (p. 69)

75 Yu’s 2001 study is not a study of Chinese-English songs however, unlike the studies it has influenced.
uncover a wide range of possible functions for codeswitching. Many of the Chinese pragmatic studies mentioned list a large number of reasons for CS in lists of pragmatic functions under these three adaptation groupings. However, as some of these functions could be understood as stylistic or sociocultural aspects, such as the use of rhyme for example, or the use of CS to express the identity of the singer, the work of the scholars discussed here will also be discussed later in this literature review but with different focuses. In addition, where some Chinese scholars have listed a number of functions, these have often been grouped under a single heading in this thesis, since some functions are subsets of others. Altogether there are six main linguistic discourse functions identified by these pragmatic studies: keeping within social norms, creating humour, creating a conversational style, for convenience of expression, to give an exotic flavour, or to seek fashionable topics for the audience.

**Keeping within social norms**

Employing CS to avoid taboo topics or words in Chinese was identified by nearly every scholar who has examined motivations for codeswitching within CE song lyrics, and as has been seen from the work of Bentahila and Davies (2002) and other scholars, is well-attested in studies of CS in song lyrics.

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within other languages too. Xu’s (2007, pp. 65-66) strategies of ‘saving face’ by the use of CS, and of ‘softening the tone’, also fall under this heading, as do Zhang Hua’s (2005, pp. 42-45) ‘affection expressing strategy’ and ‘politeness strategy.’

Creating Humour
A stylistic strategy, which as indicated previously was also observed by Y. Kachru (2006, p. 223), is the use of CS to create humour. This has also been widely noted in the Chinese context (Cai, 2008, pp. 53-55; Zhao, 2007, p. 62; Zhang Hua, 2005, pp. 40-41; Wang, 2007, p. 156; and Xu, 2007, p. 74).

Creating a conversational style
Xu (2007), whose opinion is supported by other Chinese scholars (Feng and Wei, 2007, p. 100; Cai, 2008, pp. 56-58), mentions that Chinese pop songs often use a ‘casual and brisk style’ to make the lyrics seem more ‘colloquial’ in nature and that employing CS with English produces such an effect (ibid, p. 73). This creation of a conversation style in CS has also been identified in the work of Bentahila and Davies (2002, p. 192), who describe how artists commonly mimic colloquial language.

For Convenience of Expression
Nearly every single Chinese scholar who has investigated the motivations and functions of CS has identified the use of English within Chinese for the sake of
convenience for the bilingual songwriter when the use of Chinese in the same instance may require more words to explain, or seem unnatural. For example, Zhang Hua (2005, p. 37) says that the word ‘party’ is sometimes used by Chinese youth as it expresses connotations of a relaxed social gathering involving alcohol not so emphasized in the closest Chinese equivalent, 聚会 juhui. Zhang Li (2006, p. 70) also mentions that words like ‘Yes’ and ‘Baby’ are also used for this reason.77

These pragmatic studies have observed that where the youth commonly use certain foreign concepts or product names, or where the English words are deemed more appropriate due to their connotations or a linguistic vacancy in Chinese, the bilingual songwriter switches to English. In the introduction to this chapter, attention was drawn to what Bentahila and Davies (2002, p. 199) call ‘lexically-motivated code switching’. Bentahila and Davies discovered that in the corpus of French-Arabic songs that they studied, the French and Arabic languages had their own particular connotations and associated topics within the songs. Certain topics or ‘domains’ may also be associated with particular languages in CE bilingual song lyric discourse. Zhao (2007, p. 51) believes that the use of English to describe foreign products is itself similar to ‘lexically motivated codeswitching’, noticing ‘a wider use of the Chinese-

English code-switching [sic] concerning the foreign-made products, involving not only musical forms, but also dolls and cars.’ Zhao believes this ‘may be attributed to the fact that the potential audiences of pop music are mainly youngsters who are ready to accept these foreign products.’

_Giving an Exotic or Foreign Flavour_

Wang (2007), Cai (2008), Liu (2009), Zhang Hua (2005), Zhao (2007), and Xu (2007) believe English within the Chinese song corpus is also a way of ‘creating exoticism’ (Cai, 2008, pp. 55-56) or gaining ‘a foreign flavour’ (Xu, 2007, p. 69). This is seen as occurring through the introduction of the names of foreign festivals, such as Christmas, into the Chinese songs (Xu, ibid.), but another previously-cited example of this is the use of English in the theme song of the TV series _Beijingers in New York_, sung by Liu Huan, where the use of English with Chinese connects with the main character having a Chinese cultural identity in the English-speaking New York (Cai, ibid.; Xu, ibid.; Liu, 2009, p. 46; Gao Angzhi, 2008, p. 133, and others).

_Fashion-seeking strategy_

Zhang Hua (2005), Xu (2007) and Cai (2008) also identify one other function of codeswitching into English within Chinese song lyrics: the use of what English concepts are currently fashionable and popular among the target group.

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78 This is also noted by Liu (2009, p. 46), Zhao (2007, p. 66), and Zhang Hua (2005, p. 41).
of youth. However, it is unclear whether this is a discourse function in itself, or whether it is related to the function of ‘creating a conversational style’.

As indicated from the discussion above, the Chinese scholars’ pragmatic studies have identified six discourse functions for the use of CS in CE song lyrics. But as has been seen examining discourse functions alone is not without its weaknesses. Perhaps the main weakness of investigating functions alone is that, as Zhang Hua (2005, p. 20) indicates, a pragmatic analysis of functions is really an attempt to ascertain the purposes in the mind of the singer or the songwriter, and so most of these studies have made judgements on the audience without looking from their perspective.

Zhang Hua’s (2005) research differs from all of these other pragmatic studies in that she includes an audience study on attitudes towards CS through the use of questionnaires and short interviews. Zhang Hua discovered that often the findings from her linguistic analysis and her audience’s perceptions differed. For example, her research participants believed that of these songs the switching of sentences would be most common, but her research found that it was actually words that were most frequently switched in the songs. Also of great interest is Zhang’s data on her respondents’ attitudes towards CS generally. She found that the general attitude towards codeswitching in songs was neutral (68.48%), followed by positive attitude (21.74 %), and then
negative attitude (9.78%). When the participants were asked whether they liked listening to songs containing CS, 31.52% said they liked, 56.52% were neutral, and 11.96% disliked these songs (p. 51).

The present investigation from three perspectives (linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural) into the nature of CE codeswitching in Chinese pop songs could well benefit from a study of the audience of the songs, in order to give a broader perspective from which to examine aspects believed to influence popularity understood from the study of the song lyrics alone. This thesis could also benefit from a comparison with Zhang Hua’s (2005) audience study identified in this chapter.

3.2.3. Section Summary

This section has indicated two perspectives from which to analyse the linguistic aspects of CE codeswitching lyrics. These are: from the perspective of grammatical analysis, and in relation to discourse functions.

With regard to the first perspective, the applicability of Myer-Scotton’s (1993) MLF hypothesis to the present study was identified. This includes her separation of CS phenomena into the three categories of intersentential, intrasentential and tag-switching. A number of findings were indicated from previous grammatical analyses of CS in songs, such as the primacy of
intersentential codeswitching, the high frequency of nouns codeswitched in the song lyrics, and certain other grammatical characteristics of the CS in previous studies that support Myers-Scotton’s (1993) theory. These findings will be compared with the findings from the present study in Chapter Five.

In this section a number of international findings on discourse functions within CS and CS in songs were also identified which may be relevant to the present study. The six linguistic strategies or discourse functions found in previous studies of CE songs were: keeping within social norms, for creating humour, in order to create a conversational style, for linguistic convenience, to give a foreign flavour to the songs, and in order to pursue what is currently fashionable. Many of the previous pragmatic studies of CE songs provided a large number of often overlapping CS functions, but the main weakness of a top-down study of pragmatic functions was that it failed to investigate why the audience found the songs popular. The audience study in Zhang Hua (2005) and its findings were regarded as also important to reflect upon in this thesis.

3.3. Stylistic Aspects of Codeswitching

Theories looking at the stylistic aspects of the songs are also important for this study because songs, as indicated earlier in this thesis, are not conversation, but a form of aesthetic performance, and many of the code switches in them
may exist for artistic or literary effects. Because of this, in this section there will be an investigation of research on the relationship between the literary characteristics of the song lyrics and the codeswitching in it. However, there are also aspects related to the performance of these lyrics within the songs, and aspects related to the genre of the songs themselves. These two aspects will be addressed first.

3.3.1. Performance Aspects

1) Vocal presentation of song lyrics
The vocal presentation of song, which Hymes (1974, p. 441) terms a ‘stylistic mode’ is no doubt influential on the popularity of a song, but it is also possible that the singer’s vocal presentation may differ in the English lyrics from those in the Chinese matrix language. For example the singer may speak, shout or rap the English in the song, which may be different from the way the Chinese is used in the rest of the song. Zhang Hua’s study (2005, pp. 33-34) notes the predominance of English in rap, and even the indication that a section of rap begins by the lyrics switching to English.

2) Connection of codeswitching and genre
Codeswitching may also be connected to the genre of a song, which Hymes (1974, p. 441) regards as one important aspect of ‘stylistic structure’. Since

79 Along with rhyme.
Zhang Hua’s (2005) research has identified English as frequently found in rap, it may be that there are certain genres of song, such as hip-hop, where CS is more popular.

At present no other studies, except Zhang Hua’s, have looked at the two performance aspects identified above in relation to the kind of songs examined in this thesis. As the singing style of the lyrics and genre are important aspects of the medium of songs, it would be advantageous to look at these in the present study.

3.3.2. Aspects of Literary Style

Scholars examining CS in song lyrics, both in the Chinese context and internationally, have drawn attention to a number of stylistic reasons for the existence of codeswitching. These include: reiteration through translation, repetition of English phrases or lines, rhyme, and citation.

1) Repetition/Reiteration

Schendl’s (1997) examination of macaronic songs and poems has identified ‘reiteration’, or translating to emphasize a message, as an important aspect of aspect of codeswitching (pp. 62-63). This is also regarded by Davies and Bentahila (2008a, p. 15) as such. They state that
…by combining reiteration of meaning with a switch of language, it is possible to repeat a theme or hammer home a message without risking the monotony which might ensue from repeating exactly the same words. (p. 17)

Reiteration of the same ideas in a different language is also a well attested technique within the Chinese studies. Zhao (2007), Xu (2007), He Muying (1998), Cai (2008), Liu (2009), Wang (2007), Qiao (2006) and Feng and Wei (2007) all identify the desire to express the same meaning in another way as a good reason for switching to another language.

2) Repetition of English phrases and half-lines

Another kind of repetition is when there is a repetition of the English language lyrics within the song lyrics. Chan’s (2009) study of CS in Hong Kong Cantopop has observed that repetition of the English may also be an indication of anaphora, where particular parts of a line consistently recur in the lines following (p. 121). Such repetition of particular phrases or half-lines gives a contrast between two kinds of information in lyrics, and separates given versus new information.

This use of CS to contrast and compare information in different languages is not only present in repetition. Chan (2009) says that

…code-switching marks parts of song lyrics in ways which reflect the text structure of these lyrics, such as line divisions..., the entry of chorus [sic]...and the division between the main voice and the back-up voices. (p. 125).
This is similar to Bentahila and Davies’ (2002, p. 202) ‘structurally-based switching’, where switches are related to the organisation of the songs. Although Chan’s study is on Cantopop in Hong Kong it may be argued that such a study bears discussion along with Standard CE codeswitching since many of the same singers that sing CS songs in Cantonese and English (Cantopop) also sing CS songs in Mandarin and English, and that codeswitching patterns in Hong Kong are likely to be highly influential on songs for the Chinese market.  

Codeswitching is also related to information structure in another way, to emphasize the codeswitched element. Chan (2009, p. 123) has observed that CS in his corpus commonly occurs at the refrains. Chan’s finding is supported by Xu (2007, p. 42), who found that CS is most frequent in the song title, then the climax, and, a little less frequently, the middle. Two basic techniques relating to the connection between codeswitching and information structure in songs have also been identified by Davies and Bentahila (2008a, p. 11): ‘the use of codeswitching to separate out different components of the text, and its use to link elements together.’

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80 After songs from Taiwan, it appears. It may also be the case that many of those who write Chinese/English song lyrics are from Hong Kong.
3) Rhyme

Perhaps one of the most mentioned stylistic aspects of codeswitching within studies of CS in song lyrics is to codeswitch for the sake of rhyme. Schendl’s (1998) article on English macaronic carols, hymns and poems from the 13th to 15th Century identified that switching has ‘frequent correlation between switch points and metrical patterns’.  

81 Y. Kachru (2006) has discovered that such switching displays a desire ‘to play with language’ (p. 228), (which includes through the use of rhyme). Sarkar, Winer and Sarkar (2005), in their research on Quebec hiphop songs (p. 2070) have also drawn attention to rhyme’s importance structurally, while Davies and Bentahila (2008a, pp. 4-5) have indicated a high frequency of end-rhyming in their corpus.

The Chinese pragmatic studies by Zhang Hua (2005) and others have also identified rhyme as a common structural element in CS songs. Zhang Hua (2005, p. 32) says that ‘the phonic structure, especially the rhyme, plays an important part in the structure of the music’.  

82 Gao Angzhi (2008, pp. 132-133), Feng and Wei (2007, p. 98), Zhang Hua (2005, p. 32), and Zhao (2007, pp. 60-62) note a predominance of rhyming at the end of lines, predominantly

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81 Although Schendl claims to be writing on macaronic poems and not songs, he states clearly in a footnote on the first page (p. 52) that he intends the term ‘poem’ to include also carols and hymns from this period.

82 Translating Tao Xing, 1998, p. 251
on the sounds /ai/ and /i/\(^{83}\), but also on /a/ and /aiˈt/ (Wang, 2007, p. 156 citing the former, Zhao, 2007, pp. 60-62 the latter). /æp/ is also found as an internal rhyme (Zhao, ibid.). Structurally, Cai (2008, pp. 46-7) has also noted two rhyme patterns found in her data: AAAA and ABBA, the first of which is listed as example 3.1 below. As Cai says, all of the above lines end in the vowel sound /əu/\(^{84}\).

Example 3.1\(^{85}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>一边在说 No 一边在 say hello</th>
<th>On the one hand, saying No, on the other, say Hello</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yibian zai shuo No yibian zai say hello</td>
<td>A woman with child, two jobs, is a hopeless situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一个妇孺两份工资无药可救 Yi ge furu liang fen gongzi wuyaokejiu</td>
<td>What do you mean by chanting? Don’t say I don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>什么在吟咏不要 say I don’t know Shenme zai yinyong bu yao say I don’t know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>甜蜜的阴谋只想将爱彻底地占有 Tianmi de yinmou zhi xiang jiang ai chedi de zhanyou</td>
<td>This sweet tactic only wants to completely possess love.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{83}\) It must be noted however, that Gao Angzhi (2008) and Zhang Hua (2005) cite the same song for the purposes of discussion, one which has frequent /ai/ end rhymes, and so this perception might be slightly misleading.

\(^{84}\) Actually the second example, not included here, would probably be ABCA unless ‘world’ rhymes with ‘bird’ in the Chinese song she cites as an example.

\(^{85}\) Example 3.1 refers to the first example of Chapter 3. It must be noted that in this thesis the Pinyin is given without tones, since in song lyrics tones are not as important as in speech.
4) Citation

Citation is another significant structural element in the songs, which has also been seen in the list of CS functions identified by Schendl (1997). Cai (2008), Zhao (2007), Xu (2007), and Zhang Li (2006) show that often when a Western song is covered by a Chinese performer, though the song’s meaning may differ, the original chorus is kept in English.86

Such citation may invite comparison with other songs or media. Chan’s (2009) examination of Cantonese English CS in Cantopop also identifies that the song lyrics may ‘convey inferences’ intertextually by referring to other songs or movies. He says that

[inferences] are communicated, albeit indirectly, by intertextual references to prior texts. These prior texts are mostly other media texts such as television programmes, movies and pieces of music. (p. 118)

The above four techniques may not be the only kind of aesthetic pattern within the songs discussed in this thesis, if they are indeed all present at all.87 Leech

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86 Zhao (2007, p. 68); Xu (2007, p. 74); Zhang Li (2006, p. 78); and Cai (2008, pp. 40–41)

87 This discussion excludes Stanlaw (2004, pp. 104-126) who discovered eight poetic motivations for the use of English words in J-Pop lyrics. However, as his poetic motivations are difficult to distinguish from each other, and as no distinction is made by the author between nativized Japanese English loanwords which
(1969) identifies a number of other stylistic aspects present in literary texts, such as poems, and the use of metaphors, tropes and other literary patterning, which are relevant to the study of song lyrics. By looking for such things, it is believed that this thesis can hopefully expand on the findings of other scholars regarding the patterning and aesthetic functions of CS within song.

3.3.3. Section Summary

Two main categories of the stylistic aspects of the codeswitching have been identified from an examination of the previous literature on the phenomenon studied in this thesis: performance aspects, and aspects of literary style. Under performance aspects were discussed two aspects which have not yet been the subject of serious attention and which may be advantageous to investigate in the body of this thesis: the connection between CS and the vocal presentation of the song, and the connection between CS and song genre. Four common uses of CS in relation to the literary aspects of song lyrics were also identified: Reiteration, Repetition of English phrases, Rhyme and Citation. It was also mentioned that the work of Leech (1969) could be useful in discovering other stylistic aspects and techniques for the use of CS within the present corpus.

entirely fit within Japanese grammar, Japanese English words that are written in English lettering, and one-of-a-kind borrowings, this classification of functions is only marginally useful with regards to the study of CS in songs.
3.4. Sociocultural Aspects of Codeswitching

From previous studies on codeswitching and on the sociocultural significance of pop music, there appear to be two main sociocultural reasons for CS in songs that could affect the popularity of the songs. These are: to display and construct identity, and to globalise or localise the songs.

3.4.1. Codeswitching as an expression of identity

The examined literature suggests that CS in songs is an expression of self identity in a very public, or a very private sense. Codeswitching may on the one hand be an expression of the social status or educational background of the singer (or even songwriter). On the other hand, an interest in CS may be an expression of the social status or educational background of the audience, and may relate to a desire to assert a transnational or bilingual Chinese identity.

1) Codeswitching to express the singer or songwriter’s background

Wang (2007, p. 156), Xu (2007, pp. 50-51), Cai (2008, pp. 49-50), and several others indicate that CS with English is often used in a song to assert the social status and background of the singer or songwriter. First of all, the singers who have received a higher education are more likely to be able to employ

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88 As has been identified earlier in this thesis, singer-songwriters are relatively rare in the Chinese context.
89 Zhang Hua (2005, p. 29), Feng and Wei (2007), and He Muying (1998)
codeswitching (Zhang Hua, 2005). In addition, by employing CS in their songs, particularly frequent codeswitching with English, singers who have studied overseas, such as Pan Weibo 潘玮柏 and Wang Lihong are able to display their advanced linguistic abilities to an English-learning population of Chinese youth.

2) Codeswitching for the audience to assert or create their own personal identity

It has been observed in the previous chapter that CS has been connected with the personal identity of bilingual Chinese, and as has been noted, Zhang Hang (2003, p. 35) has said that Chinese returning from overseas often employ CS within their social groups to assert an elite status. One might then imagine that the youth audience who are particularly competent in English may choose to listen to CS songs which require a higher level of English to understand, such as those by artists with an English-speaking background, or listen to English language pop music directly. The kinds of singers one listens to may directly express the audience’s English ability to others due to the advanced codeswitching within the songs.

However, before moving on to look in more detail at Chinese personal identity construction through the listening, and perhaps performing, of CS songs, it seems necessary to first address the conception that popular music is a form of
social control by the music companies, and that pop songs are depthless and substanceless commodities. This view was put forward by Theodor Adorno, writing essays on popular music between the 1930s and the 1960s (Jones, 1992, pp. 43-44). The opposing viewpoint is that of Walter Benjamin, who said of the power of reproduced media such as songs and motion pictures, that ‘in permitting the reproduction to meet the beholder or listener in his own particular situation, it reactivates the object reproduced’ (Benjamin, 1935-6, p. 223). This latter view is supported by evidence from Jones (1992), who, in his assessment of pop culture in China, suggests that youth ‘are able to use mass cultural products for their own affective (and sometimes, political) empowerment’ (p. 44). Additional support for this is given by Moskowitz (2008, pp. 356-369), whose article on the appeal of Mandarin pop music shows that many people project their own feelings into the songs and feel that they share emotions with the singer, or that someone shares their situation.

Gao Liwei’s (2007) study Chinese Internet Language: A Study of Identity Constructions, which was mentioned earlier in this thesis, makes the case that the use of English in Internet communication serves to construct an ‘international or transnational identity’. Gao Liwei believes that in China, ‘young Chinese netizens frequently take advantage of the special status of English to forge an attractive international or transnational identity’ (p. 79). It
has also been observed that the popular music in China primarily comes from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Yang Mei-hui (1997), writing with particular reference to the Shanghai situation, believes that Hong Kong and Taiwanese pop ‘represents what young people aspire to, a faster-paced, prosperous life outside the borders of the mainland. This life is thought to possess the cachet of sophistication’ (ibid, p. 335). She also believes that in the consumption of pop songs from these two places, the audience not only identify ‘with Hong Kong and Taiwanese people’, but also they internalize ‘another kind of Chinese culture not so tied in with the statist imaginary’ (p. 336). Gao Liwei’s (2007) findings along with Yang Mei-hui’s (1997) views on the consumption of pop music will be useful to adopt in a discussion of the topic of the creation of personal identity through CS in this thesis.

Other studies have drawn attention to the importance of codeswitching to express personal identity too. Sarker, Winer and Sarkar (2005) observe that the lexical and phrasal codeswitches in their song corpus are ‘markers of social/cultural identity’ (p. 2065). The authors believe that the CS in the hip-hop songs that they studied is an ‘identity formation’ process among ‘young

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90 Yang Mei-hui (1997) also mentions two other processes of identification: ‘differentiation of gender and identification and performance’, and ‘insertion into a discourse of love and sexuality’ which however would change the direction of this discussion. (p. 336)
multiethnic Montrealers’ (p. 2060). In this they follow on from Bentahila and Davies (2002), who believe the *rai* to be connected with the self-identity of the groups who listen to them. Although the sociocultural context in China is different from these two studies, CS also seems to be an expression of self-identity, and possibly self-empowerment, in the Chinese context. This is supported by Li and Zhu (2010), who interviewed young overseas bilingual Chinese about their desire to assert their identity. After interviewing those of Chinese descent in Britain, Australia and Singapore, they noted that overseas Chinese children

…want to be regarded as bilinguals and multilinguals, not monolinguals, and they want to do so in a dynamic and creative way utilizing all the linguistic and cultural resources they have and going beyond the confines of the one-language-one-context convention. (p. 167)

3.4.2. Codeswitching to globalise/localise

Sarkar, Winer and Sarkar (2005), following the work of Bentahila and Davies (2002), Stølen (1992) and others, believe that

…an examination of *code-switching* as it is premeditatedly and *artfully* employed by poets and song-writers can...yield insights into the way in which two or more languages or “codes” may interact to index and enact a particular speech community’s collective linguistic and cultural identity. (p. 2059)

One instance of CS to express cultural identity is seen in the work of Omoniyi. Omoniyi’s (2006, 2009) studies of Nigerian hip-hop song lyrics show CS as an
important means by which Nigerian hip-artists assert their ‘national brand’ of
hip-hop ‘within the global hip-hop community’ of which ‘trilingual
codeswitching is a major feature’ (2009, p. 128).

Aside from being an expression of culture, CS in song lyrics is seen in some
studies as a resistance to cultural norms. J. Lee (2004) indicates that according
to his study of CS in Korean pop music, or K-pop, English (mainly American
English and American English slang) is used as a language to resist
mainstream Korean values and represent freedom and pleasure-seeking, in
contrast to the Korean language within the songs, which represents a
‘conformist’ mainstream view (p. 446). He mentions that in this sense English
is used in the Korean context for the young artists to show their conflicted
identity (Lee, ibid.).

Research in the Chinese context indicates that though CS does not appear to be
a marker of cultural identity in the same way as it is for Nigerian hip-hop
artists, and does not seem to be a strategy of resistance as in Korean pop
music, it appears to be a means by which the Chinese culture and language and
the song itself can be put on a global stage. Xu (2007) has noticed with regard
to the Chinese situation that CS is often used as a means of ‘widening the
scope of acceptance’ of the songs (p. 70). Therefore, in a broad sense, the use
of English in Chinese songs can allow many others outside China, including overseas ‘Chinese’ who do not speak Putonghua, to appreciate the songs.

Codeswitching may globalise a song, as has been observed. It may also localise it. Zhang Hua (2005, p. 49) has identified that there are some hybridised linguistic forms in her corpus of codeswitching, such as 摆 cool ‘play it cool’, 很 high ‘very excited’, 很 top ‘excellent’, and Y 时代 ‘Y Generation’, which would appear to be localised uses of English used in combination with Chinese common among bilingual Chinese youth.\(^91\) Chan (2009) has also discussed the possible ‘appropriation’ or ‘indigenization’ of English within the switching in the song lyrics in the situation of Cantopop (p. 125). The possibility that some use of CS in the pop songs could indicate the localization of English within the context of CE codeswitching lyrics also bears some consideration, and would be important to discuss within the sociocultural aspects of codeswitching.

Localised instances of CS are connected to the use of codeswitching to ‘draw close’ to the audience through the use of the English language, another aspect identified by Chinese scholars.\(^92\) As the youth learn English in their schooling,

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they are familiar with certain Basic English vocabulary, but there are also likely to be certain phrases or words which are more popular in the local context along with popular mixed language phrases, words or acronyms. The idea of ‘drawing close’ to a particular audience is related to the ‘Accommodation Theory’ presented in Giles and Smith (1979). Giles and Smith (1979) say that speech styles may be used to ‘converge’ or ‘diverge’ from a particular audience. Discussing the modification of speech styles within the same language, Giles and Smith (1979) define ‘convergence’ to be when speakers

...attempt to make themselves more similar and intelligible to others by attenuating their distinctive accents, slowing down their speech, and by presenting the substance of their message in a manner which would take account of their listener’s familiarity with the topic under discussion. (p. 54)

The authors also say that

[since] speech style is, for many people, an important subjective and objective clue to social group membership (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1977; Giles, Taylor, Lambert and Albert, 1976), it can be argued that in situations when group membership is a salient issue, speech divergence may be an important strategy for making oneself psychologically and favourably distinct from outgroup members. (p. 52)

Giles and Smith (1979, p. 63) say that the “‘right’ amount of divergence’, or ‘optimal levels of divergence’, may be necessary in order to be accepted by a particular group. What this means in terms of codeswitching is that some
forms of CS may enable an artist to ‘draw close to’ or ‘converge’ with a particular audience, while CS which is too complicated (or perhaps too divorced from actual CS use among youth) may cause too much ‘divergence’ and may serve to drive away potential audiences. This is also related to Gumperz’s (1982) concept of ‘addressee specification’, where particular uses of languages are appropriate for particular audiences.

However, the work of a number of scholars dismisses the notion of a simple dichotomy between globalisation and localisation. Pennycook (2003), in his study of global rap and hip-hop (with special reference to Japanese rap), expresses the following view on CS within Japanese rap:

...this use of Japanese and English – Japanese which may locate these rappers as decidedly local....or which may signal their sense of cultural mixing, and English that at times explicitly echoes African American English while at other times seems more Japanese in its usage – seems to constantly pull back and forth, to flow itself across the boundaries of identity. (p. 527)

This is an indication of what Pennycook (2003, pp. 523-524) terms ‘linguascapes’. Pennycook added to Appuradai’s (1996, p. 5) conceptions of global cultural flows as ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes the concept of linguascapes, where ‘some languages are no longer tied to locality or community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with other scapes’ (Pennycook, 2003, pp. 523-524).
This notion of linguascapes is important for considering the globalisation and localisation aspects of the codeswitching in the songs.

Related to this is Rampton’s (1995) concept of ‘crossing’, which he defines as

…code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ. It is concerned with switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you. (p. 280)

J. Lee (2006) analysed the case of ‘crossing’ in relation to the East Asian pop situation in Korea and Japan. He says this happens culturally and linguistically in the transfer of TV shows and music between the two countries. Many Japanese singers perform in Japan sing in a combination of Japanese and English, while many Korean singers performing in Japan also sing in a combination of Japanese and English. J. Lee (2006) defines the latter as ‘double crossing’, which is the

…simultaneous utilization of two languages that are not traditionally associated with a speaker along with the distinct absence of a speaker’s native language within the same text or discourse. (p. 237)

J. Lee (2006, p. 244) identifies another theory potentially relevant to codeswitching in the present study. He describes English as a ‘cultural attaché’ between Asian countries, ‘serving as a common vehicle of artistic
communication in cultural diplomacy that includes exchange of pop culture commodities such as music, TV shows, and movies.’

Giddens (1999) sees the modern globalised world as a number of complex processes, pulling in different directions, which also results in ‘the revival of local cultural identities in different parts of the world’ (1999, pp. 12-13). One result of globalisation, is ‘glocalisation’, a term introduced by Robertson (1992, pp. 173-174) to indicate a counterforce of the local within global processes, and also a process by which aspects of global culture are localised and then moved back to a global level. Omoniyi (2006) draws attention to the case of Nigerian hip-hop as an example of glocalisation. Though many see hip-hop’s origins as an African American musical form, Omoniyi (2006) shows that it should more properly be regarded as ‘a reappropriation of a musical form that was originally domiciled in the region and became globalized only after transplantation through the Middle Passage’, and so, the Nigerian hip-hop artists ‘are performing ... their glocal selves rather than the other.’ The Chinese localised use of English, and the way Chinese use English within Chinese, may also be spread to a global context.

In the present state of the world, as Appuradai (1996) says, ‘we have entered into an altogether new condition of neighborliness, even with those most distant from ourselves ’(p. 29). Community and culture have in many respects
ceased to become as localised as they were in earlier times due to the internet and other presently available media. Notions of ‘Chineseness’ may now no longer be tied to any one centre, like to the Chinese mainland, but exist in a changing form transnationally, where a ‘transnation’ is a state which is ‘delocalised’ and which ‘retains a special ideological link to a putative place of origin but is otherwise a thoroughly diasporic collectivity’ (Appadurai, 1996, p. 172).

3.4.3. Section Summary

In this section were shown two main sociocultural aspects worthy of consideration in this thesis on the popularity of contemporary CE codeswitching. From examining the literature on the sociocultural aspects of codeswitching in song lyrics, it was noted that CS may be used to express the individual identity of the songwriter or singer, which was supported by the findings from a large number of studies. The possibility that listening and performing these CS songs may be used to express a personal bilingual or transnational Chinese identity was also identified through looking at the work of Gao Liwei (2007) and Yang Mei-hui (1997).

In this section, it was also indicated that the presence of CS within the songs is linked to the processes of globalisation and localisation. As an example of the former process, Xu (2007) and other Chinese scholars have noted the use of
CS to ‘widen the appeal’ of the song. For the latter, the work of Zhang Li (2006) and others have shown that codeswitching may localise instances of CS in order for the singer to ‘draw close’ to the audience and so become more popular among them. The presence of possible ‘hybridised’ forms may be an instance of the localisation of language.

However, it was observed that there is no simple dichotomy between globalisation and localisation with regard to language. Pennycook’s (2003) concept of ‘linguascapes’, developing from the work of Appadurai, has indicated that localisation and globalisation occur simultaneously in the performance of CS song lyrics. Such localised hybrid uses of language may also move to the global arena. This concept of ‘linguascapes’ will be important for the examination of the global and local aspects of CS as present in the songs studied in this thesis.

3.5. Chapter Conclusion

By looking at the current literature on CS three perspectives from which to analyse contemporary CE codeswitching lyrics have been indicated: linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural. At the end of the discussion from each perspective key findings were presented along with some indications as to how these findings would be relevant to the present study. The next chapter will show
specifically how the theories indicated will be employed in the body of this thesis, and how this thesis proposes to move on from current research.
Chapter Four: Research Design

4.1. Introduction

This chapter identifies the theoretical frameworks and methodology used in the body of this thesis. However, before examining these in more detail it may be important to return to the aim and central hypotheses identified in the introduction, and to justify why this thesis topic needs to be examined in the way it is. After this has been done, the layout of the chapter will be presented.

4.1.1. Justifications

As identified in the introduction, the aim of this research is to uncover what factors create and perpetuate the linguistic and social phenomenon of CE codeswitching within popular songs in China. My hypothesis is that it is a combination of certain linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors which make CE songs attractive to their target audience.

Although the majority of Chinese scholars researching CE songs have attempted to ascertain the reasons that CS was attractive to the audience without specifically studying this audience, making predictions about the audience based only on the song lyrics can really only hope to examine matters from the perspective of the singer or songwriter and does not identify

93 Except Zhang Hua (2005), whose research was identified in the previous chapter.
why the audience are interested in the songs themselves. It is for this reason that in this thesis the linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors which may influence the popularity of the songs identified in this study are compared with what are discovered from an audience study.

For this thesis, the case study method has been adopted as a means with which to draw conclusions about what makes CE songs attractive to the Chinese youth who are the main target audience for the songs. A case study may be defined as:

\[\text{Analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions or other systems which are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame – an object – within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates. (Thomas, 2011, p. 23)}\]

Thomas (2011) also says that ‘[a] case study is about seeing something in its completeness, looking at it from many angles’ (ibid.). Robert Yin (1989) says that ‘case studies are the preferred strategy when “how” or “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context’ (p. 13). The popularity of Chinese contemporary CE pop songs is a modern phenomenon, one which exists within a real-life context, and as the present
thesis intends to explore in depth from a number of angles, and so a case study is appropriate.

I believe a case study is appropriate for the study of the audience, for as China’s population, and the youth population, is so huge and diverse, a study of the audience required a focus on a particular audience so that the conclusions in this thesis are not to be too general. While it is understood that not all of the conclusions that are made with regard to this target group will be able to be generalized for the entire population of Chinese youth, I believe that a case study focusing on Shanghai will be able to make certain important conclusions about the popularity of these kind of codeswitching songs to the youth of other large and wealthy Chinese cities, or on future interest in these kinds of songs in other places.

This research, as will be seen, employs a number of theoretical models. First of all, as I believe and have attempted to show in the Background and Literature Reviews to this thesis, this is because there are more than purely linguistic reasons for the existence of CS in songs. Another reason for using a number of theoretical models in this thesis is that it seems appropriate to employ different tools and frameworks for the analysis of different kinds of data. For instance, the methodology of Literary Stylistics has been employed to examine the stylistic aspects of my song corpus, as songs, not being
conversation, share many stylistic characteristics with poetry, such as the use of refrains and the presence of rhyme.

4.1.2. Chapter Structure

The rest of this chapter is structured in the following way. The next section will present the framework for the analysis of the song corpus in terms of three aspects: linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural. Immediately following this will be the methodology for this thesis, which will begin with the procedures undertaken in writing this thesis, and then describe how I collected data for the song corpus and the participants. The methodology section will end with a description of the manner of data analysis. This will be followed by a brief conclusion.

4.2. Theoretical Frameworks

4.2.1. Frameworks for Song Analysis

1) Linguistic Analysis: Myers-Scotton’s Classic Matrix Language Frame
Myers-Scotton’s (1993) Classic Matrix Language Frame (or MLF) model designed to examine conversational CS, will be used to examine the syntactical characteristics of the codeswitching within the CE song lyrics, to which will be added a general categorisation of codeswitching into intersentential codeswitching, intrasentential codeswitching and tag switching after the work of Poplack, and others. The syntactical analysis will be
employed to investigate the linguistic patterns of CS and to show the relative frequency of intersentential codeswitching (switching between sentences and paragraphs) and that of intrasentential codeswitching (switching within the sentence unit: phrases and isolated words).

The MLF model is suitable for examining the syntactical frequency and linguistic patterning of codeswitching within the CE songs for several reasons. Firstly, as indicated in the Literature Review chapter, it is appropriate for the grammatical study of these CE songs, where there is a clear ‘Matrix Language’ (Chinese), and an obvious ‘Embedded Language’ (English). Secondly, there have been previous studies that have employed this approach to examine the grammatical aspects of CS, to which the findings in this thesis may be compared. For instance, other research into the syntactical aspects of CS songs indicates that intersentential codeswitching predominates, and that with intrasentential codeswitching, content morphemes, particularly nouns, are likely to be of higher frequency than system morphemes. It also seems that there may be a loss of inflection within some embedded language units, such as noun phrases. These all can be examined in relation to the data discovered on the syntactical characteristics of CS in this thesis.
2) *General Pragmatic Theories*

To investigate the metaphorical or pragmatic functions of CS within the songs, a general pragmatic framework is used, based on Gumperz’s general codeswitching functions in 1982, pragmatic in the sense that the intention is to discover ‘linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour’ (Verschueren, 1999, p. 7). However, the theory of pragmatic analysis developed by Yu (2001) that most of the Chinese scholars have used is not employed, as there is a belief that some of what is discussed under such a framework could be more suitably addressed in a separate section on stylistic or sociocultural aspects, and this section is intended to address linguistic functions. This framework is employed to compare the functions discovered in this study with the work of previous scholars on this issue, but also to discover what the most essential functions there are in the period of this study, and will pay attention to both Chinese and international findings on the discourse functions of CS, particularly those found in codeswitched song lyrics.

3) *Stylistic Structure and Stylistic Modes*

Employing the terminology of ‘stylistic mode’ created by Hymes (1972), an examination will be made of the vocal presentation of the English within the

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94 This is the case with the examination of ‘Characteristics of Music’ in Zhang Hua (2005), which could be better addressed in the chapter on stylistics.
song, and whether the mode of singing differs between the English and Chinese. Whether the use of English codeswitching within Chinese pop songs can be predicted based on the genre of the song, which Hymes calls an aspect of ‘stylistic structure’ will also be investigated. It is important to examine this as, although this study does not examine CS from the perspective of the discipline of music, in looking at the stylistic aspects of the songs the importance of the musical aspects of the songs and their relevance in a song’s popularity must not be overlooked. The research conducted by other scholars has also indicated that the vocal presentation of the English in many songs may differ from the Chinese, for example, that English has often been used to perform rap.

4) Literary Stylistics
For exploration into the literary characteristics and poetic patterning in the use of English lyrics within the Chinese and how they aid the song’s popularity, aspects of literary theory and terminology appropriate for the study of songs, such as chorus etc, but also of the study of poetry are used. The investigation also builds on the work of Chan (2009), and Bentahila and Davies (2002), Davies and Bentahila (2008a, 2008b), Sarkar, Winer and Sarkar (2005) and that of Chinese scholars, who have identified certain patterning within CS songs, and will employ the methodology of literary stylistics used in Leech (1969) and others. It is important to look at the CS as it is an addition to the
poetic patterning of the song as form, since as Bentahila and Davies have noted, a song is, like most poetry, a literary text designed to be performed orally.\(^{95}\) It may also be observed that Schendl (1997) analyses the CS in macaronic songs and poems together, since he recognizes the similarity of the two genres.

5) Identity Formation and Accommodation Theory
How codeswitching within the song is related to identity construction is examined through the ideas of Gao Liwei (2007) and Yang Mei-hui (1997), who, together with a number of Chinese scholars, believe the use of CS is related to a construction of personal identity in audience or singer/songwriter. The relationship between the expressed identity of the singer in the song and the audience will be explored using the Accommodation Theory of Giles and Smith (1979).

6) Global/Local Aspects of Codeswitching
In addition, it is important to consider the globalisation/localisation dichotomy of the English within the song lyrics in relation to the ideas of Pennycook (2003, pp. 523-524) and Appuradai (1996, 2000). Any instances of localised

\(^{95}\) Not all poetry is designed to be spoken or performed, and this kind of poetry shares many qualities with visual art. One fine example of this is Appollinaire’s poem *Il Pleut* ‘It’s Raining’. For a fine discussion of visual poetry, see [http://www.poetryfoundation.org/journal/article.html?id=177216](http://www.poetryfoundation.org/journal/article.html?id=177216)
language are at the same time ‘glocalised’, for many of these songs are listened to by a transnationalised grouping of ‘Chinese’ and Chinese diaspora on the world stage, which will be invaluable when generalising the findings of this case study into the use of English in Chinese songs. In addition, when examining the use of English within Asia, it is important to consider the work of J. Lee (2004, 2006) whose concepts of ‘crossing’ and ‘English as Cultural Attache’ are particularly relevant.

4.2.2. Methods for Audience Study

Three common ethnographic methods that are commonly employed in the field of cultural anthropology are used to collect data from the human participants in this thesis: survey-questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. I believe the audience-centred theories of the ethnography of speaking are crucial for this kind of research which takes the audience’s attitudes and opinions about these kinds of songs into consideration. In addition, there is an important reason for using multiple methods of data collection within this audience study and within this case study:

[...]ny finding or conclusion in a case study is likely to be much more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information, following a corroboratory mode. (Yin, 1989, p. 97)

96 Glocalisation as a term was popularised by the sociologist Roland Robertson, although was in use by Japanese economists in the 1980s.
The participants that the data is collected is on are individuals residing or studying in Shanghai, between the ages of 18 and early 30s. While this age group does not fit exactly the standard definition of youth, as stated by Bennett (2001) as ‘typically 15 to 25 year olds’ (p. 152), I believed that the English background of this older group would be stronger and as students they would be very sensitive to new things, such as changes in the pop music scene. For practical reasons, I also judged it would be easier for me to do field research on the age group in this thesis, as university students tend to have considerably more free time than those in senior high school leading up to their exam period.

1) The Ethnography of Speaking

Defined by Hymes (1971), the ethnography of speaking is

...a linguistics that had discovered ethnographic foundations, and an ethnography that had discovered linguistic content, in relation to the knowledge (competence) of the persons whose communities were studied. (p. 81)

97 However, Bennett (2001, p. 152) also states that ‘due to a decreasing number of teenagers in the west and high rates of unemployment among the young, the ‘youth market’ increasingly targets the more affluent 25 to 45 years age bracket.’ Although this thesis does not examine Western youth, the references to dance clubs and relationships in CE songs are in a Chinese market more geared to an older age group than they are to adolescents.
The ethnography of speaking is a methodology that arose out of the disciplines of linguistics, social and cultural anthropology, and sociology. Hymes, a social and cultural anthropologist, believed that each of these areas had an important contribution to make to linguistics and that linguistics needed the input of these other disciplines to move forward and deal with language use in the social context. A background to the ethnography of speaking underlies nearly all of my data collection in the field.

2) Participant Observation
Blom and Gumperz’s research in Norway (1972) is one of the most significant of early studies which made use of the methodology of ethnography to investigate language in social interaction, and specifically, codeswitching involving local dialects.⁹⁸ Their primary means of collecting information on speech use was not by directly questioning locals, since they needed to see in what contexts the dialects were switched (though direct questioning supplemented their data), and so they relied instead on an ethnographic method known as participant observation. Participant observation, which is the most essential means of research in the field of cultural anthropology, is a method which seeks to analyse the behaviour of the target group through evidence gained from observation and through participation in the group. The

⁹⁸See Milroy (1987, pp. 64-65) for the information on Blom and Gumperz’ research described in this paragraph.
great advantage of participant observation is that it allows a researcher access
to the target group and is an opportunity to observe behaviour in action, and
therefore can provide data and information that self report in questionnaire
surveys or interviews cannot provide, as people may think or say they do
something but in reality they do something different.

Participant observation is more than just a tool for data collection, since the
information gained from it can also aid in analysis of sociocultural aspects
pertaining to the target group, as well as help the researcher to understand the
significance of his or her data. It allows a researcher to get an understanding
of attitudes of the target audience towards the songs that are not necessarily
shown in a more formal setting such as answering direct questions or filling in
survey forms (Milroy, 1987).

Of course, participant observation is not without its problems. Three problems
are identified by Yin (1989):

First, the investigator has less ability to work as an external
observer and may, at times, have to assume positions or advocacy
roles contrary to the interests of good scientific practices. Second,
the participant-observer is likely to follow a commonly known
phenomenon and become a support of the group or organization
being studied, if such support did not already exist. Third, the
participant role may simply require too much attention relative to
the observer role. (p. 93)

The first of these is not that relevant in my thesis research, since I am not collecting data or investigating a situation where this is particularly important. It is possible that I will come to share ideas and opinions shared by those who I collect data from; however, since I am using multiple avenues to explore the thesis topic, I am able to test these by looking at corroborating evidence. I will have to be wary of the third problem and guard against it.

Another characteristic and problem of participant observation is that due to a researcher’s personal characteristics or to their background, ‘the researcher’s presence must, to some extent, change the situation that is being studied’ (Platt, 2004, p. 799). As I am not a native Chinese person, do not dwell in Shanghai permanently, and do not fit into the defined category of ‘youth’ used this thesis, I believe that of course there will be some differences in data from someone who does fit into these categories. However, since I believe that I can communicate relatively well in spoken Chinese enough to respond naturally in a communicative situation with the target group, have an interest in the music enjoyed by this group, and am not relying solely on participant observation for my data, but am also using other means of data collection to corroborate findings, I am confident that this technique will be useful within this thesis research.
One other concern has to do with recording the data from participant observation, and how they are organised around the time for observation. Platt (ibid., p. 79) says that ‘such arrangements…will depend on the social situation and the nature of the data sought.’

3) *Participant observation in KTV*

Participant observation is used in this thesis to examine the attitudes and song selection of the target group in a social setting in the KTV environment, which is popularly known elsewhere as karaoke. This setting was chosen as it was an easily observable social setting where interests in music were obvious, but also because KTV performance itself, in terms of song selection, is itself a form of social communication. Ma and Chuang (2002) discovered through research in Taiwan that

> …in karaoke, participants create their own singing and talking schedule, and select songs that can stimulate desired meanings. It not only constitutes a context of communication but also can become communication per se. (p. 154)

As Ma and Chuang’s study of the performance of the singers in a KTV situation relied on observation in a natural KTV communicative environment, and as this thesis concerns aspects which makes CE songs popular among

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100 KTV stands for Karaoke television.
Shanghai youth, I considered that it was suitable to examine such an environment in my study. Therefore, following Ma and Chuang (2002), this research uses participant observation in a KTV setting.

While participant observation allowed me to get data that I probably could not have obtained by other formal means, in order to get an accurate and well-rounded set of data it was deemed necessary to employ other methods to triangulate the data, and so strengthen the data obtained from each source. There are other more formal techniques which are also just as important for collecting information from human participants, and which Dewalt et al. (1998, p. 259) identify as essential to social science research, such as the use of interviews and questionnaires.

4) Individual Interviews
I had intended to use focused group interviews, where the interviewer, as only a facilitator of the discussion, is free to record information from a number of individuals in conversational interaction on the topics that he or she introduces (Trotter and Schensul, 1998, pp. 714-715), to further supplement the data collected by the participant observation and questionnaires. However, due to the difficulty of getting groups of young people, many of whom have extremely busy study schedules and social lives in the same place, I switched
to individual interviews, which were relatively easy to organise and easy to implement.

Interviews are often an important component of case studies involving human participants. Yin (1989) says that ‘[m]ost commonly, case study interviews are of an open-ended nature [italics author’s own], in which an investigator can ask key respondents for the facts of a matter as well as for the respondents’ opinion of events.’ (p. 89). The personal, often unstructured data that comes from such interviews can be very useful for exploring a topic, or a phenomenon, such as the phenomenon explored in this thesis.

There are several limitations with individual, open-ended interviews too. One weakness cited with interviews is ‘becoming overly dependent on a key informant’ (Yin, 1989, p. 89), although Yin states that a good way of resolving this issue is ‘to rely on other sources of evidence to corroborate any insight by such informants and to search for contrary evidence as carefully as possible’ (Yin, ibid.). This is also resolved in this thesis by collecting interviews from a number of research participants. Another weakness identified is that as interviews are ‘verbal reports’, ‘they are subject to the problems of bias, poor recall, and poor or inaccurate articulation’ (Yin, ibid, p.91). So Yin (ibid.) says that ‘a reasonable approach is to corroborate interview data with information from other sources’, an approach followed in this thesis.
5) Survey questionnaires
Because both participant observation and individual interviews are methods more suited to the collection of information from small groups (or solitary individuals), it was necessary to balance these methods with information from a questionnaire survey, which is considered to be a quick and inexpensive way to collect general information on the target audience (Milroy, 1987, p. 187). Weller (1998, pp. 374-375) has identified questionnaires as a good method of collecting general information over a larger population.

A survey however, like individual interviews, can be somewhat biased and subjective, and so it is also necessary to corroborate data collected from it with other methods. Yet for the survey in this thesis the data is more of a general demographic nature, and conducted in order to provide additional general data which would relate to the thesis topic.

6) ‘Snowball’ sampling
Hymes (1971) has identified the need to deal with social networks in order to select a relatively consistent group of language users. In order to collect the participants for the surveys, the KTV sessions for participant observation and the interviews, a technique was employed called ‘snowball’ sampling. ‘Snowball’ sampling refers to a common method of recruiting participants for
ethnographic observation, and consists of asking people to recommend friends who meet the criteria of participants in the research who are willing to participate in it (Milroy, 2003, p. 32). As I was in Shanghai from the second half of 2009 until early 2010, and taught English at several institutions to help me with living costs, it was possible to collect information from some students and those in their social networks using this technique.

4.3. Procedures

There are two sets of data which have been collected in this thesis. The first is a representative sample of codeswitching songs from 2004 to 2010. The second is data collected from sociolinguistic and ethnographic field research in Shanghai on a target group of youth.

4.3.1. Data Collection: Corpus of Song Lyrics

The song data collected for this thesis are codeswitching songs by popular codeswitching artists released from 2004 to 2010. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the reason for starting the corpus from the year 2004 is because it was the year when China won the bid to host the 2008 Olympic Games, and since then there has been a strong promotion of the English language. It is important also to focus on a particular time period as many previous studies

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101 See Appendix I for the complete list of songs used in this thesis.
did not make any distinction in their data analysis between the CS in songs fifteen years ago or five years ago. It may be that there are differences in the nature and variety of CS within this period and with the recent increase in CS songs overall in recent years, many of the characteristics, reasons and the syntactical frequency of codeswitching may have changed.

This study has collected popular CS songs based on popular singers among the target audience. It would have been possible to download popular songs from various websites in order to have a large corpus for analysis in this thesis. However, this, aside from violating copyright regulations, would only give the most popular songs on the website but not for the audience. For this reason, a combination of the results from a survey and rankings on the websites was used. The survey indicated the most popular singers who performed these kinds of songs in the target group. However, asking the youth audience to identify a list of particular songs in a survey might have been more difficult. As I decided to purchase nearly all of the songs studied in this thesis in music shops in Shanghai, focusing on the most popular performers also seemed practical.
While in Shanghai over a hundred CE songs sung by the most popular singers and groups were collected. These were found by comparing the survey data on popular artists among the target group to the popularity ranking of these artists on the Baidu.com and Sogou.com websites, which are two well-known and popular music websites in China often used by people in the same age group as that examined in this thesis. The popular CS artists from this period were ranked according to their appearance in the chart rankings for popular artists on the websites, compared with how many times they were identified among popular CS artists or popular singers in the survey.

I then looked at the lyrics of the songs within these artist’s albums listed on the websites from the period 2004 to 2010, and investigated whether the lyrics contained codeswitching by using the song lyrics available on the website. When I was not able to access the lyrics I was often able to stream the song online and listen to it, to discover whether the song contained any English lyrics. Each of these websites has a list of the Top 200 singers in China. I chose the top 50 of these from each website, and searched for the albums from the years 2004 – 2010 online. Popular artists among this group no longer releasing new music but only older tracks were omitted. These songs were

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102 I was in Shanghai on the field work for this thesis for a total of seven months, from mid 2009 to early 2010.
from legal albums of the performers in the corpus purchased from music shops in Shanghai.

Although I identified a number of CS songs sung by the popular singers from 2004 to 2010, actually purchasing all of the albums which I found online that contained these songs proved to be difficult. I judged this corpus relatively small compared to previous studies, and in order to increase the number of songs from 2010, this corpus was supplemented with other CS songs after my departure from Shanghai at the end of January 2010. These additional songs were able to be played online on the Baidu website. After eliminating some songs that did not contain English words at all, but sounds like ‘yeah’ which can also exist in Chinese, I had a total of 150 songs.

While this corpus of song lyrics is smaller than in many previous Chinese studies, there are more than enough songs in the corpus to draw conclusions on the linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural aspects of the songs. In addition, even though some other studies had a wider song selection, most of these studies as mentioned did not make a clear distinction between different periods of CS songs in their analysis. This has meant that some studies have discussed CE songs from much earlier periods as if they were the same kinds of CE songs as those released today. It is also important to note that the song corpus makes up
only part of the data for this thesis, as data was also collected on the audience of the songs.

4.3.2. Data Collection from Participants

The second set of data was the ethnographic data on the attitudes and views of the target audience towards the CE songs, which was collected using an online survey-questionnaire, face to face interviews, and participant observation within KTV and in the general Shanghai environment. The research participants were contacted and recruited for this study by the use of ‘snowballing’ within my existing social groups, and within the social groups of students that I came in contact with within my time in Shanghai. The actual data collected from the participants are on views towards the CS songs, towards the artists who sing the CS songs, as well as on aspects which the audience believe influence the popularity of the songs.

1) Participant Observation

I was able to make detailed notes on 4 KTV sessions, which had from 4 to 12 participants each. Within the KTV environment I did not propose at the outset to indicate to the target group that I was studying CE codeswitching in pop

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103 The online survey-questionnaire is presented in Appendix II, and the open-ended interview questions in Appendix III.

104 I have chosen not to specifically draw attention to how I contacted individual participants in order to keep the anonymity of the participants, in the same way that I do not provide the respondents’ names when I am providing interview data in Chapter Eight.
music (such topics can be introduced in group discussion later with the same participants), only that my research concerns attitudes to Chinese pop music and music genres. This is because it was believed that giving the participants in the KTV complete knowledge of the research topic would unnecessarily bias song selection and conversation in favour of the kinds of songs studied in the thesis. Notes were taken by pen and paper in the KTV environment and then expanded later that same evening in a larger notebook.

Personal notes were used to collect observations in the KTV environment for several reasons. Firstly, the environment was noisy, the participants were spread out and there would be many things a recorder would not pick up. Secondly, a recording device I believe would have interfered with the natural communication of the participants. And finally, this method allowed me to focus on only the relevant information, because not all of the data in the environment was connected to my research.

Participant observation was not only conducted in the KTV environment. I was also lucky to have the opportunity to attend one concert with a popular codeswitching performer, Pan Weibo, and afterwards wrote detailed notes which related to the CS songs, their mode of presentation in the performance, and the audience’s reaction to them. This helped me get more of an

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105 Ethical approval from the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee was obtained for this.
understanding of the audience of these kinds of songs and the importance of the status of the performer for the popularity of CE songs.

I also examined the use of CS songs, and of what made them popular among the target group by living and conducting fieldwork in the Shanghai metropolitan environment more generally. Some of my discoveries about the linguistic environment and on reasons for the popularity of the songs were influenced by things I overheard or perceived while in the city, riding on the subway, taking a taxi, or things I noticed while in an English school or a takeaway franchise.

This participant observation was also conducted online. I learnt many things about my topic by using QQ (a Chinese local ICQ chat software) and MSN in communication with my Chinese friends while I was in Shanghai and after my return to New Zealand.

2) **Face to face Interviews**
At the end of the field work I had also conducted a number of face to face individual interviews: 10 with male participants and 13 with female participants. The men sometimes came alone, but the women usually arrived with friends. The vast majority of the respondents were students. Many of the participants of my research were friends of the people who had originally been asked to participate, which proved the usefulness of ‘snowballing’ to recruit
participants. Each interview lasted from 40 minutes to almost two hours in duration and was open-ended in form, in that although there were questions on particular topics I wanted to ask in the interview, additional questions were asked on the topic of codeswitching and popular music based on the interviewee’s responses.

3) Questionnaire Survey
I created an online questionnaire survey, choosing the questions to collect general data on the target audience of the songs. Before the Shanghai youth were surveyed, these questions were tested and examined by three Chinese natives, postgraduate students in New Zealand who, despite their geographical location, were also pop music fans in the age group studied in this thesis, who also gave me some valuable advice about the questions. I created this survey on the website surveymonkey.com, as it was believed that the online format would be most appropriate for the target group, who I expected would have ready access to the internet to complete the survey form.

Altogether 91 survey returns were received, not every question was answered by all of the respondents. Such a survey was indeed useful for researching

106 Thanks to Chen Yunxiang (Kelly), a PhD candidate at the University of Canterbury, and her friends, for their assistance with this.

107 In this I was also strongly influenced by Gao Liwei (2007, pp. 19-21) who showed that the vast majority of internet users in China are high school and university students. Thanks to Dr. Alison Loveridge of the Sociology department at the University of Canterbury for informing me about surveymonkey.com.
basic trends, attitudes and frequency of activities, such as listening and singing the kinds of songs studied in my song corpus, although it was not able to give me the local knowledge in the same way that participant observation and the interviews were able to provide. In addition to such questions, I also asked how much English language music is listened to by the target audience, and what are the most popular singers or groups in this audience.

The questionnaire was a useful addition to the other audience data in this thesis, but also, as identified in the section on data collection for the song corpus, gave me valuable insight into the particular groups and singers that were popular among my target audience. Much of the audience data collected in the survey also allowed me to ask more suitable questions in the face to face interviews, since after the survey was completed I knew more of the general situation than I did before. The survey data also influenced my participant observation, since it was possible to obtain pop music magazines that were often read by the youth audience, and I was able to reflect on the local situation more adequately during my time in Shanghai.

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108 I had also not foreseen that many students accessed the internet mainly on their cell phones. This made completing a survey with many questions troublesome and the answers hard to read.
4.4. Data Analysis

4.4.1. Linguistic

In order to analyse the syntactical elements of the songs to determine what form of codeswitching is present, the sections of English CS will be categorised into intersentential, intrasentential and tag-switching following the framework of the Classic MLF (Matrix Language Frame) of Myers-Scotton (1993). After finding which of these categories is most common in the present corpus, these results will be compared with the findings of previous Chinese scholars.

The discourse (or metaphorical) functions of the codeswitched sections will then be examined with a general pragmatic framework based on Gumperz (1982). Other metaphorical purposes will be examined that may influence the popularity of the songs.

The conclusion to this linguistic analysis will tie together all that has been learned about the linguistic aspects of the lyrics, compare them to the grammatical analyses of previous scholars on CS, and theorise how the linguistic aspects of the codeswitching could make the songs appealing to their target audience.
4.4.2. Stylistic

The stylistic analysis will, first of all, examine the performance aspects of the song. This examination will focus first on whether the vocal presentation (Hymes’ ‘stylistic mode’) of the codeswitched sections differs from the Chinese. Then, the CS songs will be examined in relation to musical style (Hymes’ ‘stylistic structure’), to see whether songs that employ codeswitching fall into any particular song genre.

After the examination of the performance aspects of the songs, the songs will be analysed in relation to their literary characteristics, and use will be made of the terminology and methodology of literary stylistics (such as Leech, 1969) to examine aspects such as rhyme, repetition, and other patterning. As with the linguistic aspects of the songs, these aspects will be looked at in relation to the work of previous scholars who have made observations in this area, and reasons will be identified as to why these aesthetic and structural aspects may influence the popularity of these codeswitching songs among the target group.

4.4.3. Sociocultural

The sociocultural chapter will look at how the codeswitching may help to present the singer’s bilingual, or transnational identity, and how the singer’s/songwriters’ use of English, and the image they present through their language use, may be influential on the audience’s reaction to the song. This
will be examined primarily through the work of Gao Liwei (2007) and Yang Mei-hui (1997). The globalised and localised aspects of the songs will be looked at through the work of Pennycook (2003), Appuradai (1996, 2001) and J. Lee (2004, 2006). Intrasentential hybrid uses of language will also be examined, and also how such instances of localised language use among the youth create appeal in the audience.

In the investigation into the sociocultural aspects of the codeswitching songs reasons will be formulated for the appeal of these songs among Shanghai youth. The analysis to this section will conclude with a brief discussion tying together the ideas of identity construction and glocalisation and how the audience is affected by these things.

4.4.4. Audience data

First the data collected from each of the three methods of participant observation, interviews, and survey questionnaires will be examined. Some simple statistics will be used to analyse and present the data from the questionnaires, but the information gained from the participant observation and interviews will be examined qualitatively, through thematic analysis of relevant material that matches the topic of my thesis. The conclusions from the audience data gained from one set of data will be checked against the others,
and then the conclusions gained will be compared with the research of Zhang Hua (2005).

After reaching some conclusions about the young people with regard to their attitudes towards these kinds of songs and the reasons they give for being interested in them, there will be comparison with the results obtained from the song corpus analysis on the linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural aspects which are perceived to create appeal in the youth audience in these kinds of songs, in order to make certain conclusions about the reasons for the popularity of these songs to the target group. It is believed that this data would potentially be able to form certain conclusions about the popularity of these kinds of CE songs overall, which can then be further explored in a discussion arising from the results.

From this case study into how the linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural aspects influence the popularity of CE songs from 2004 to 2010 among Shanghai youth, it is expected that I will be able to theorise what factors make Chinese-English codeswitching popular among Chinese youth, particularly the Chinese youth in other big cities, and possibly, what function these kind of songs have in Chinese society and culture more generally.
4.5. Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter has been presented the central frameworks and methodology that will be used in the following body chapters of this thesis to examine and explore the research data to discover how the linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors of contemporary CE pop songs create appeal in the target group of young people between the ages of 18 and their early 30s living in Shanghai. This has been the last of the background chapters to the present research. In the following chapter the linguistic features that may influence the popularity of these CS songs will be examined through careful analysis of the song corpus.
Chapter Five: Linguistic Features of CE codeswitching in songs

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter the linguistic features of CE codeswitching within Chinese popular song lyrics will be examined to get a better understanding of how grammatical factors may influence the popularity of these kinds of songs among Chinese youth. As already mentioned, the linguistic data used in this thesis includes not only the lyrical performance (the sung lyric) but also other modes of English used within the song tracks of the corpus.

The first half of this chapter, on grammatical aspects, will first look at the corpus used in this thesis, the relative frequency of intersentential and intrasentential CS in it, and the key information about the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) which will be used for the analysis of intrasentential data. Following this, an analysis will be carried out on the intrasentential aspects of the corpus. Finally, there will be an examination of the characteristics of mixed language phrases within the corpus and to what degree they match with the expectations of CS seen in the model.

The second half of this chapter will examine the metaphorical functions of the English material in this corpus (i.e., the purpose or reason for the English
within the predominantly Chinese songs). Though some of the metaphorical functions of the English CS found in this section have been identified by other scholars researching codeswitching in CE songs, there are many functions newly discovered in this thesis.

5.2. Grammatical Features of Codeswitching

Codeswitching in the song lyrics are categorised into two main types, ‘intersentential’ and ‘intrasentential’ codeswitching, following Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 3). The term ‘intersentential codeswitching’ is used in a general sense to indicate ‘switches from one language to another between sentences’ (Myers-Scotton, 1993, pp. 3-4) or between CPs, ‘projection of complementizer phrases’, according to her updated theory of codeswitching (Myers-Scotton, 2002, pp. 54-5). It is important to mention that in this thesis when units are referred to as ‘sentences’, this is done largely for convenience of expression, and that what is meant is actually ‘sentence-equivalent units’, which may only consist of a single word or phrase. Myers-Scotton identifies the responses ‘What?’ or ‘Never!’ as two legitimate CPs, (Myers-Scotton, 2002, p. 55), or, as defined in this thesis, sentence-equivalent units.

Intrasentential codeswitching are code switches that ‘occur within the same sentence or sentence fragment’ (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 4). Myers-Scotton
says, these switches ‘produce three different types of constituent: those with material from two languages occurring within the same constituent, those entirely in the ML, or those entirely in the EL’ (ibid.). These three types of constituent: mixed language constituents, ML islands, and EL islands, form the basis of the analysis of the Chinese-English mixed language, or intrasentential sentence data in this thesis. It is important to mention though that constituents entirely in the Matrix Language are only ML islands when they are embedded within an EL island, and so these are quite rare.

In total there were 1418 instances of CS within the corpus, of which 692 (48.80%) were individual sentences or phrases of intrasentential codeswitching, and 726 (51.20%) cases of intersentential codeswitching, making intersentential switching slightly more frequent. The tendency towards intersentential codeswitching in the data compares favourably with several studies on CS in recent popular songs. In Cai’s (2008) study of 294 songs, from only Mainland performers between the years 1993 and 2007, the number of cases of intersentential CS was the same as this study, 51.2%. In Feng and Wei (2007) and Qiao Ping (2006), the majority of the codeswitching was also intersentential. However, in Xu (2007) and Zhang Hua (2005) the predominant kind of CS was intrasentential. Given that Xu’s 2007 study was of codeswitching in Chinese songs and any language from the years 1971 to
2007, and so included a lot of data from earlier CS songs, this may indicate a tendency towards more intrasentential codeswitching in songs of earlier periods.

5.2.1. Intersentential CS units

The present analysis has identified 725 individual instances of intersentential codeswitching in this corpus of 150 songs. These were classified into five groups (fig. 1):

Figure 1: Categories of Intersentential Codeswitching in the Corpus
1) *Independent Sentence/Phrase/Word*

As the pie chart (fig. 1) shows, the most frequently occurring type of intersentential CS was as a single sentence equivalent unit, including those with one sentence-equivalent phrase or word (369 cases, or 50.83%). Short sentence-equivalent units such as ‘come on’ were particularly common in terms of overall occurrences in the corpus. Example 5.1 below shows one independent sentence-equivalent unit from the corpus.

Example 5.1

离开只是因为 ((I) left you because)
Likai zhi shi yinwei

**I don’t wanna pray**

(2)¹⁰⁹

However, longer sentence-equivalent units (shorter than 2-3 sentences in length), unlike short phrases, were unlikely to be repeated over a number of songs within the corpus, due to the variability of the language involved.

Repetition of longer sentence units did occur within a few songs in which they occurred though. The sentence ‘Hey, let’s start running for no reason’ in the

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¹⁰⁹ The number in brackets after an example or in the text represents the number of the song in the corpus, listed in Appendix I.
song 迷宫 Maze by Wang Ruolin 王若琳\textsuperscript{110} (105) represents a case where a sentence was repeated in the same song twice. Two lines are repeated twice in the song 表白 ‘Vindication’ (118) by Xiao Yaxuan 萧亚轩, where the following lines are repeated twice:

Example 5.2

\textbf{Boy you make me so shy}

every time you walk by

Less frequently occurring is when a single word marks an individual case of intersentential CS. This occurs primarily with one word confirmations, rejections, or replies, such as with ‘yes’, ‘no’, and ‘OK’, with questions, such as ‘What?’, or with expressions or greetings, such as ‘Yo’, or ‘Hello’. To cite an example of a single word confirmation, there is the use of ‘no’ in Pan Weibo’s 完美故事 ‘Perfect Story’ (64), an example of which is below:

Example 5.3

但是我没办法解释 no But I have no way to explain, no.
Danshi wo mei banfa jieshi no

\textsuperscript{110} This song has two alternate titles.
Verbs in their imperative forms were also commonly one word sentence equivalent units. One example of this is the use of the word ‘Sing’ by Wang Lihong in the song ‘At that Faraway Place’ (92):

Example 5.4

跟我一起唱就拉近了距离
Gen wo yiqi chang jiu la jin le juli
Sing together with me and so bring us closer together

Sing! Sing!

2) *Group of 2-3 sentence equivalent units*

Compared with the 369 instances of single sentence intersentential switches which are not single non-repeating sentence equivalents or words spelt aloud, there were in total 313 instances (43.11%) of intersentential codeswitches longer than a single sentence equivalent. Of these, the majority (224 or 30.85%) consisted of a block of two or three sentences or phrases (i.e. a sentence cluster), while the remainder (89) (12.26%) consist of longer discourses of more than three consecutive lines in English. Here are a few examples of 2-3 sentence clusters:

Example 5.5

You know that I can see

You know that I can be

(47)
Example 5.6
what you say that’s what you get
L.O.V.E. with respect
now they’ve put your love L.V

3) Longer discourses
The longer passages of English used within the songs are also particularly interesting. The longest of these are stretches of rap within songs, mini-plays, or other uses of English to set the scene or ‘story’ of the song. Also seen in the corpus is the use of English to perform ‘shout-outs’, a feature typical in hip-hop songs, which serves to introduce or thank the participants in a song where there is more than one singer, performer or musician. These scene-setting elements (which may also exist in a single line of speech), and the use of English to perform introductions and ‘shout-outs’ will be discussed further under the discourse functions of English within these songs.

The other groups within the pie chart (fig. 1) represent intersentential instances of repetition of single words (34 instances or 4.68%) and the repetition of a word spelt out aloud (9 instances or 1.24%).
4) Single word repetition
For the first category, in a few cases these words are onomatopoeia, such as the word ‘boom’ in the S.H.E. song *Boom* (15). The repetition of the word ‘boom’ six or more times in one instance in this song serves as a chorus. In many other songs however, the English word repeated is not onomatopeia and the meaning of the word is related to the main content of the song. These include the word ‘Angela’ in *Protective Colour* (32) by Zhang Shaohan 张韶涵, repeated as if to get the singer’s attention by another person in the song, and ‘yeah’, ‘no’, ‘honey’, and ‘baby’ in many songs of the corpus.

5) Words spelt out
There are, as has been indicated, nine instances of words spelt aloud as a repeated separate linguistic item within the corpus. Eight of these are repetitions of the word ‘love’ spelt in a number of different songs, while the one instance of another word being spelt is the invented word ‘SHERO’ in the song by the same name, presented in Example 5.7 overleaf, which on the one hand invents a new word for hero instead of heroine, and on the other, is a play on the name of the group that sings the song, S.H.E. Note that this spelling out of words also exists in Western pop music, such as in the song ‘R.E.S.P.E.C.T.’ made popular in the 60s by Aretha Franklin.
Example 5.7

你可以我可以为自己赴汤蹈火的 shero
Ni keyi wo keyi wei ziji pu tang dao huo de shero
像女王挥舞著骄傲披风
Xiang nüwang huiwuzhe jiaao bo feng
You can, I can, become a Shero
willing to rush into boiling water or tread through flames for yourself
Like a queen brandishing a proud cloak

1) Word Classes of Intrasentential Corpus

It is important to consider the kinds of lexical categories of the English morphemes seen within intrasentential CS. Table 2, on the next page, shows the lexical categories of all the words within the intrasentential codeswitching of this corpus.
Table 2: Distribution of Lexical Categories in Intrasentential Codeswitching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Categories</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>502</td>
<td>27.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V</strong></td>
<td>430</td>
<td>23.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adj</strong></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>5.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adv</strong></td>
<td>225</td>
<td>12.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prep</strong></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conj</strong></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>3.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pron</strong></td>
<td>230</td>
<td>12.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possess. Prep</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Det</strong></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>4.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quant</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specif</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inflect</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The abbreviations in Table 5.2 listed together with their full forms are: N (Nouns), V (Verbs), Adj (Adjectives), Adv (Adverbs), Prep (Prepositions), Conj (Conjunctions), Pron (Pronouns), Possess. Prep (Possessive Prepositions), Det (Determiners), Quant (Quantifiers), Specif (Specifiers) and Inflect (Inflections).
Content Morphemes:

As the table indicates, the vast majority of English language morphemes were content morphemes, taking up 93.23% of the total. These were largely in the two categories of nouns and verbs, which together take up more than half (51.69%) of the total morphemes in the intrasentential corpus, and which share a roughly similar frequency, although nouns were more common. Of the class of nouns by far the most frequent words encountered were the two words ‘love’ and ‘baby’, while of the verbs ‘love’ was also the most frequent. Usually when ‘baby’ was used, it was alone in the Matrix language, as in these two examples:

Example 5.8

**Baby**,我爱你,快乐永远来得及 **Baby**, I love you, happiness will always come later

**Baby**, wo ai ni, kuaile yongyuan laideji

(81)

Example 5.9

**baby** 想给你爱的鼓励 **baby**, I want to give you the encouragement of love

**baby** xiang gei ni ai de guli

(97)
This use of ‘baby’ is likely due to love being a popular topic in these kinds of songs. It is not surprising due to this perhaps that the pronouns ‘me’ and ‘you’ also occur frequently within the examples noted.

Of the other content morphemes, adverbs and adjectives are the next most frequent. The adverbs ‘now’ along with the word ‘no’ are most frequent in the first of these lexical categories. ‘No’ is used typically within the corpus as a response to a question, or a denial of certain facts indicated within the story of the song. ‘Now’ on the other hand is often used with demands and pleas to urge immediate action from the imagined audience or love interest in the song. Within the group of adjectives, surprisingly, the word ‘cockney’ is often repeated. This is due to the frequent use of the word in a particular song, but also due to the range of adjectives used in this corpus being fairly broad.

This leaves three other lexical categories within the content morphemes: prepositions, conjunctions and other (which is a category which includes words which do not fall into the other categories, and these are primarily interjections). Of the first category, ‘with’ is seen fairly frequently, and is used quite often to encourage personal involvement within requests to either the audience or the imagined one within the song, to get them to ‘come with’ or ‘dance with’ the singer. Although conjunctions are not seem so often overall, there are a number of common ones that appear throughout the corpus, the
shortened colloquial form of ‘because, ‘coz,’ which typically indicates the reason for the singer’s behaviour, ‘so,’ which usually directs the listener to what the singer does next in the song, and the conjunction ‘and’. The final category, other, includes mainly the interjection ‘Oh!’, and the words ‘OK’ and ‘goodbye’.

System Morphemes:
Despite system morphemes being by far in the minority (see Table 2), one important reason to take account of the system morphemes is that their presence in some Chinese Matrix language phrases may conflict with an important principle governing intrasentential codeswitching according to Myers-Scotton’s System-Morpheme Principle stated at the beginning of this chapter, that: ‘All syntactically relevant system morphemes must come from the ML.’ After briefly accounting for the presence of system morphemes within the intrasentential corpus, the next section will examine whether the presence of such system morphemes within the mixed ML and EL constituents does cause problems for the MLF hypothesis.

As is seen in Table 2, most of the system morphemes within this corpus are determiners. Aside from the presence of the articles ‘a’ and ‘the’, frequently occurring determiners within this corpus are the possessive pronouns ‘my’ and ‘your’. In the other categories, of the quantifiers there are just the words ‘all’
and ‘every,’ of the possessive preposition there is only ‘of’, of the specifiers there is the word ‘never’, and of the final category, there is only the verbal suffix ‘-ing’, which is interesting as it is clearly part of mixed language material and relies on the Chinese to complete its meaning.

Comparing the present research to other studies of CE songs, there is more of a percentage of content morphemes in the present corpus than in Zhao (2007), who classed interjections as system morphemes with 39.03% of total codeswitched morphemes. This study has a similar finding to previous research that nouns are the most frequently switched items, although this study lists verbs as higher in frequency than Zhao (2007), Cai (2008), Zhang Hua (2005) and Xu (2007), who all (apart from Zhao (2007) due to the frequency of interjections in his corpus) find that adjectives are the second most frequent part of speech.

2) Mixed Language Phrases
As has been stated, there were a total of 690 examples of intrasentential CS. Within this number, 525 were combinations of EL and ML islands. The remaining 165 are unique in that they contain linguistic information which relies on the grammar of the two languages to complete their meaning. The first part of this section will explore the various kinds of phrases (examples of each of the five phrase types have been encountered in analysis) within these
ML+EL mixed constituents: Noun Phrases, Verb Phrases, Adjective Phrases, Preposition Phrases, and Adverb Phrases. Then it will look at some anomalies encountered within these mixed language phrases.

Noun Phrases
These account for more than half of the phrases in this corpus alone. Typically the head is in English after the particular 的 de, which can function like a relative clause in the Chinese language to add further information to a noun, or function as a possessive pronoun after the person, as in the following examples. Notice the use of the two word combination 一个 below which means ‘one’, followed by the measure word in Example 5.10. These two Chinese words function similar to determiners in English.

Example 5.10
这就是一首写给你听的一个 love song
Zhe jiu shi yi shou xie gei ni ting de yi ge love song
(34)

Example 5.11
看看我的新 guitar
Kankan wo de xin guitar
(79)
Example 5.12

忘不了你的 smile 
Wang bu liao ni de smile

I can’t forget your smile

(132)

This thesis confirms findings by Cai (2008) and Zhao (2007) that the English in noun phrases operates in accordance with ML determiners, and so in accordance with the ML frame. Another finding in the present corpus is that English can also be placed directly before the main noun to function as a modifier to the noun, though this is less frequently seen within the corpus and this rarely needs the addition of a determiner like 的. This differs from in Zhao (2007, p. 33) and Cai (2008, pp. 32-33), where such a construction normally requires one. This is similar to Chinese two-word compound noun formations in words such as 飞机 ‘plane’ and 餐桌 ‘dining table’. The following are examples of this kind of noun use:

Example 5.13

这是 chinked-out 交响乐送到全世界
Zhe shi chinked-out jiaoxiangyue song dao quan shijie

This is the chinked-out symphony, sent out to the whole world.

(104)
Example 5.14

Cockney Chinese (Chinese spoken with a Cockney pronunciation)

Example 5.15

Spiritual freedom is the real freestyle attitude.

In these examples, when English is used as a nominal modifier more often than not it loses the 的. However, if the English word follows the head noun, it either follows a Chinese measure word or has 的 in front of it. This is perfectly in accordance with Chinese grammatical rules.

Verb Phrases

Verb phrases are not as common as Noun Phrases in this corpus, but are nonetheless important. Interestingly, in these mixed constituents there are few cases of English verbs serving as the stand-alone head of the clause. Ordinarily English nouns function as the object of Chinese verbs, as indicated in the two examples on the following page:
Example 5.16

活出自己的 life
Huo chu ziji de life

Live your own life out (well)

(142)

Example 5.17

我也很无奈让人解 high
Wo ye hen wunai, rang ren jie high

I really cannot help myself, I bring people down

(43)

The English noun in serves as an object of the Chinese verb 活 ‘to live’ in Example 5.16, and in 5.17 the English adjective ‘high’, which has a Chinese localised meaning here and functions as a noun ‘being in a state of happiness’, is 解 ‘pulled apart’ by the character the singer is portraying in the song.

The Chinese matrix language sometimes uses English adjectives as verbs. In Example 5.18 presented overleaf, there is a use of ‘high’ within the Chinese Matrix frame as a verb:
If you want to stand around vacantly, stand around vacantly. If you want to be happy, be happy.

In this example, 想 is a verb that indicates intention, and in both cases ‘high’ is used as a verb. Many Chinese morphemes are capable of being used as multiple parts of speech, and adjectives often function as verbs, and so the Chinese Matrix Language allows English to behave in the same way here and in many other verb phrases.

*Adjective Phrases:*

The English adjectives are used in these phrases, functioning as predicate, which are commonly modified by Chinese constituents. This has also been observed by Zhao (2007, p.37). A typical instance of this kind of phrase is:

**Example 5.19**

最近比较烦 最近情绪很
down
Recently I feel bothered, recently I feel really down
Zuixin bijiao fan zuixin qingxu hen
down
(80)
Prepositional Phrases:

The only real example of a prepositional phrase that contains codeswitching within the corpus is this complex sentence below:

Example 5.20

星期六 yeah Xingqi liu yeah

in the club yeah in the club yeah,

所有人正 high Suoyou ren zheng high

每个人 is high (spirited)

In the above sentence, the prepositional phrase ‘in the club’, which would be a phrase starting with 在 ‘in/at’ fits expected Chinese word order, and so English again follows the rules of the Matrix Language here.

Adverb Phrases:

These are problematic within this corpus, and will be discussed among the potential anomalies to the MLF below.

5.2.3. Examples which challenge the MLF hypothesis

1) The MLF Hypothesis

Myers-Scotton’s MLF, Matrix Language Frame model (1993), was designed to deal specifically with intrasentential CS. She designated three main elements within the morphosyntactic frame of the Matrix Language in
intrasentential codeswitching: ML islands, or Matrix Language islands, where ‘constituents are composed entirely of ML morphemes’ (Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 6), and EL islands or Embedded Language Islands, where constituents of the embedded language exist independently from the Matrix language, and finally ML+EL constituent phrases, which show ‘morphemes from the two or more participating languages’ (ibid.). It is the ML+EL constituent phrases that are really where the two languages mix together. Although the term ‘codemixing’ is used by some to indicate what is defined in this thesis as codeswitching, only ML+EL constituents, in my opinion, seem to fit the label of codemixing.  

Myers-Scotton (1993) outlines the central hypotheses of the MLF Hypothesis governing intrasentential CS, in particular, the appearance of ML+EL constituents. The main hypotheses are duplicated here for the purposes of clarity, beginning with the Matrix Language hypothesis proper:

The Matrix Language Hypothesis: The ML sets the morphosyntactic frame for ML + EL constituents.

This hypothesis is realised as two testable principles: the Morpheme-Order Principle (‘Morpheme order must not violate ML morpheme order’) and the System-Morpheme Principle (‘All syntactically relevant system morphemes must come from the ML’). (p. 7)

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112 Which are defined as a subset of codeswitching in this thesis.
There are also three interrelated hypotheses, which Myers-Scotton developed in support of this central hypothesis:

The Blocking Hypothesis: The ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts.

The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis: Whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML hypothesis or the Blocking Hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island.

The EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis: Optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence. (Myers-Scotton, 1993, ibid)

2) Problematic Mixed Language Phrases
There were a few sentences and phrases within the mixed constituents which seem to challenge the MLF frame and perhaps, for a couple, the grammatical rules of both languages. These sentences are listed below and on the following page:

Example 5.21

恋爱ing改变ing
Lianai ing gaibian ing
being in love changes (you) constantly
(19)
Example 5.22

心情一飞冲天
Xinqing yi fei chong tian
As soon as your feelings shoot up into the sky
带你的烦恼 away
Dai ni de fannao away
they take your worries away

In example 5.21 there are two Chinese verbs 恋爱 lian ai ‘to be in love’, and
改变 gaibian ‘change,’ being given the English continuous suffix, ‘-ing’. The
‘-ing’ form of the English verb in English as has been noted is a ‘system
morpheme’ of English grammar, but is it in conflict with the Matrix Language
hypothesis? Myers-Scotton’s rule about system morphemes is that ‘all
syntactically relevant system morphemes must come from the ML.’ If these
endings are removed from the Chinese there are two meaningful verbs, the
second of which would need an object to be a complete sentence. But here the
‘-ing’ suffix completes the meaning, as this ‘-ing’ seems to indicate
continuous and unending change, and makes a statement about the power of
love. So this example seems to break the system morpheme rule of the MLF
hypothesis. It doesn’t break the morpheme order hypothesis though, for the
grammatical order of the added bound morpheme follows the Chinese
morpheme order rule that most inflection-like verb affixes are suffixes, such as
了, 着 and 过, despite the non-Chinese material intervening.
The adverb ‘away’ in example 5.22, although not a system morpheme, does appear to conflict with a number of MLF hypotheses. First of all, the Chinese morpheme order for a concept expressed here by the word ‘away’ would not be expressed at the end of the sentence after the object, as it is here. It would be 帶走你的烦恼 dai zou ni de fan nao expressed in this order in English as ‘take away your worries.’ The word order of 帶你的烦恼 away dai ni de fan nao away presented in Example 5.22, follows English grammar on the inclusion of the English word ‘away’ by itself. As resultative complement of the verb 帶 dai ‘take’, 走 zou which means movement away from an original place must occur in Chinese directly after the verb. The ML does not appear to be setting the syntactic frame for the ML+EL constituents here. It might be worthwhile at this stage to revisit the Matrix Language hypothesis to see if the other interrelated hypotheses can eliminate this apparent anomaly:

The Blocking Hypothesis: The ML blocks the appearance of any EL content morphemes which do not meet certain congruency conditions with ML counterparts.

The EL Island Trigger Hypothesis: Whenever an EL morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the ML hypothesis or the Blocking Hypothesis, the constituent containing it must be completed as an obligatory EL island.

The EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis: Optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence.
It would seem that the Blocking Hypothesis fails here unless the Chinese grammatical rules could somehow accept a similar meaning to ‘away’ that can be used together with 带, and which can be used at the end of the sentence. The Trigger Hypothesis seems invalid since there is only one word at the end of the sentence, and the next line begins with Chinese. The word ‘away’ here is probably not an ‘optional EL island’ either since the solitary preposition is neither ‘formulaic’, ‘idiomatic’, nor ‘peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence.’ All of the above reasons seem to show that this sentence does not agree with the dictates of the MLF hypotheses.

Example 5.23

不爱就转身离开
Bu ai jiu zhuan shen likai
If (you) don’t love (me), just turn around and walk away.

一个人把回忆推翻
Yi ge ren ba huiyi tuifan
One person turns upside down all those memories.

不爱 for 的 love 未来
Bu ai for de love weilai
Don’t love in the future.

Example 5.23 above is another problematic example for the MLF hypothesis. Although the first part of the phrase here using ‘for’ is almost parallel to the use of 为了 in Chinese meaning ‘in order to, for the purpose of’, and so
follows Chinese grammatical rules, in this example it is complicated somewhat with the addition of the 的 de. As de is nominal modifier marker, and a clear system morpheme, it is very strange that it exists alone here, and certainly conflicts with the MLF hypothesis.

5.2.4. Section Summary

In this section a number of important things have been demonstrated about the use of codeswitching in these modern CE songs. Firstly, the inclusion of previously excluded material, such as speech and rap not present in the printed lyrics, the relationship of intrasentential to intersentential CS, as well as the categories within these, has shown a more complete picture of the grammatical and lexical reality of CS in Chinese pop music than what had been revealed in other studies that did not take these into account. Secondly, a number of variations of intersentential and intrasentential presentation have been indicated that may increase interest in these kinds of songs. Furthermore, the grammatical means by which the English is modified to match the Chinese language in which it is embedded is more evident. Finally, this linguistic analysis has identified a couple of cases which conflict with the MLF hypotheses. While these are only a few isolated cases, they do lend support to Bentahila and Davies’s finding that conversational codeswitching and CS in
songs are quite different. In the next section other features of CS, within the

topic of the metaphorical functions of codeswitching, will be examined.

5.3. Metaphorical/Discourse Functions

Within this section the general pragmatic view of Verschueren (1999) will be
used to identify a number of discourse functions for the English used within
the Chinese songs in the corpus. After analysing the song lyrics of this corpus,
and reflecting on a number of discourse functions that have been identified by
other scholars of CS in songs, a number of main discourse functions and a
number of other less frequent discourse functions were discovered within the
songs of this corpus. This exploration of the identified discourse functions in
this thesis will discuss each in turn, focusing on the most important ones first.

5.3.1. For Linguistic Convenience

English can be seen as operating for linguistic convenience in two, often quite
related, senses. Firstly, English is used because it is the only permitted
equivalent to youth, i.e. there is no other viable alternative in Chinese for the
word. Secondly, English words are used to express particular cultural
connotations and denotations unavailable to equivalent Chinese concepts.
1) **English as only permitted equivalent**

Many other scholars have noticed that codeswitching is often used to identify foreign products, brands and personal names. These include Xu (2007, p. 58), who identifies ‘foreign products’, ‘foreign brands’ and English personal names as commonly codeswitched items. In discussing foreign products, Xu (2007) says that people ‘often regard them as a symbol of fashion and luxury’. Zhang Hua (2005, p. 37) also mentions that ‘it is common practice for songwriters to switch codes when products of foreign origin are mentioned in their songs.’ Zhao (2007) even explicitly draws attention to the field of ‘foreign-made products ‘as evidence of Bentahila and Davies’ ‘lexically-motivated codeswitching’ (Zhao, 2007, p. 51).

Although the identification of product names and famous people has been regarded by these scholars as a separate discourse function, it should also be regarded as cases of using English for linguistic convenience, as whether or not there are Chinese names for individuals or for products, in songs that employ codeswitching it might be regarded as very strange to consciously use a Chinese form of a concept. Although the appearance of English words and concepts has been regarded as ‘lexically-motivated codeswitching’ by Zhao (2007, p. 51), it does not really indicate lexically-motivated switching in the sense Bentahila and Davies (2002) use it – for a particular language to be associated with a particular topic. In nearly all of the cases identified in this
corpus English is being used, or other languages are being used, since there is no other acceptable label or concept which matches in Chinese, and English is really fulfilling the function of convenience in language use. In the few cases where foreign brands, products or people appear in the present corpus, they do appear in their English forms or in their original languages.

In the song 谁是 MVP? Who’s MVP? (47) by Pan Weibo the phrase ‘like Jordan’ is used:

Example 5.24

| 跌倒之后非得爬起来 | After I fall down I’ll get back to my feet again |
| shuaidao zhihou fei de pa qi lai | again |
| like Jordan | like Jordan |

This example clearly refers to Michael Jordan, whose popularity among Chinese youth according to Morris (2002), who examined the popularity of basketball in China, ‘is overwhelming’. It would probably seem particularly strange to young people were they not to see Michael Jordan’s English name, particularly in a song like this one which has a great deal of English in it.

Actually in many of the cases where foreign products/brands/personal names are used in this corpus, they can actually be regarded as cases of borrowing and not codeswitching, since in these cases there are accepted terms which are
used almost exclusively among youth. This is the case for the video game console ‘Wii’ in Cai Yilin’s 冷暴力 Tacit Violence (112), and the use of the word ‘I-pod’ in Wang Lihong’s Follow Me (103). Many of the youth in Chinese cities are quite familiar with these terms, even if they do not have these products themselves.

2) English used to express particular connotations

As song lyrics, unlike conversational speech, are well-planned and organized in advance, English words used within the songs are deliberately selected, often for particular properties which Chinese does not contain. As identified in the Literature Review, Gumperz (1982) noticed that in CS there was often a

…‘we code’...associated with in-group and informal activities’, and a ‘they code’...associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. (p. 66)

English fulfils the function of a minority language in many cases of switching for linguistic convenience, since for many words in use among youth, using the Chinese alternative such as 再见 zǐjì ‘goodbye’ may seem stiffer and more distant. A particularly obvious case of this is the use of ‘yes’ or ‘no’, along with various more colloquial forms of these, since words for affirmation or denial which do not rely on the context do not exist in Chinese. This function of language use is particularly well-represented within the songs of this corpus. The following examples indicate the use of language accepted by
youth in the corpus, where the English expresses what the Chinese cannot to the youth:

**Example 5.25**

其实我想对你说  
Qishi wo xiang dui ni shuo  
*I do, oh my love, I do, oh my love*

…*I do*  
(3)

**Example 5.26**

一起看书跳舞  
yiqi kan shu tiao wu  
*Reading books, dancing and shopping together*

**Example 5.27**

我就是我我就是我  
Wo jiu shi wo, wo jiu shi wo  
*I’m who I am, I’m who I am*

Everybody get down  
(71)
Example 5.28

If he comes too easily he’s not called Mr. Right
(Tai rongyi chuxian jiu bu jiao Mr. Right)
(120)

Example 5.29

Who said that girls don’t have rock ’n’ roll?
(Na shi shei shuo nühai mei you rock’n roll?)
(16)

Examples 5.27 and 5.29 above are similar here in that the uses of the English items accept multiple interpretations. ‘Everybody get down’ in 5.27 indicates that in the context of this particular song which also includes the line ‘I’m the king of the world,’ that the singer is giving a directive to the audience to get down on the floor, as if he was a bank robber, a situation which may be quite familiar to an audience familiar with popular Hollywood movies. But at the same time, ‘everybody get down’ is more simply a line commonly used within popular songs and means ‘get down’ on the dance floor. In Example 5.29, ‘Rock ‘n roll’ as a kind of music has a legitimate and commonly used Chinese alternative 搖滚音乐 yīgōnjī yǎnghè, but this line, within a song sung in a
rock and roll style, also expresses the kind of attitude, wild action and rebelliousness which is present in an English sentence ‘Let’s rock and roll.’

The other examples are of words that indicate specific linguistic qualities, or words that cannot be expressed so clearly and concisely in Chinese. ‘I do’, in example 5.25, is a short phrase which is used as a conclusion to a marriage ceremony signifying acceptance of the complete terms of marriage. Chinese does not have a term which so broadly covers acceptance of the whole ceremony and can be expressed so concisely. ‘Shopping’ in 5.26, which in Chinese is the verb and object phrase 买东西 买 m2i d8ngxi ‘to buy something’, does not express the same connotations of this word in English, and neither does the noun phrase ‘Mr. Right’ in example 5.28.

In each of the above examples, English was used quite deliberately to express specific linguistic and cultural information. It is not just a case of selecting an English translation or equivalent of a Chinese word in terms of linguistic equivalents; it is that no other words but the English words here will fit in the context, without resorting to complicated explanations which would not really be appropriate for popular music.

Regarding foreign concepts, Zhao (2007) says that ‘EL proper nouns will be adopted if certain concepts are unique in English-speaking communities’ (p.
48), and that ‘concepts involving traditions of English community are also unique and should be expressed in English’ (ibid.). Zhao (2007, p. 48) mentions that certain words, such as ‘Mr. Right’ and ‘cinderella’, also discussed in this corpus, are ‘culturally-loaded words’. ‘Mr. Right’ appears in the present corpus in the songs of Cai Yilin (111) and Xiao Yaxuan (120), and ‘Cinderella’ in a song by Zhang Shaohan (30). There are also many other concepts that are given in English since there is no similar concept in Chinese, such as the phrase ‘I do’ which have been encountered in example 5.25 to indicate consent with the terms of marriage and acceptance, and which is used in a number of other songs, and the words ‘bling’ and the acronym ‘EQ’ in 艳遇 Beautiful Encounter by Xiao Yaxuan (119).

5.3.2. Reiteration

Reiteration is defined by Gumperz (1982) as when ‘a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message’ (p. 78). This is also identified as ‘translation as reiteration’ in Davies and Bentahila (2008b). Though the use of CS for reiteration is also present within the work of other scholars investigating CS in popular song, it is also considerably frequent within the corpus, as can be seen in the following examples:
Example 5.30

I’m crazy over you, you, you you, I’m crazy over you, you, you you,

如此疯狂的中毒, 中毒中毒
Wildly suffering from poison

Example 5.31

I can’t forget, I can’t forget

I can’t get you outta my mind. I can’t get you outta my mind.

(132)

Example 5.32

It’s still your song

still your song

(143)

The above three examples all use reiteration in one way or another, although

the way they do it is quite different. In examples 5.30 and 5.31 the subject and

113 Note the actual printed lyrics are not ‘you’ in this line, but ‘U’. However, this is Pan Weibo’s meaning and

‘U’ is really just an abbreviation of the word in written form.
object are not stated in the Chinese, but they are quite different in the way of presenting the different linguistic information. In 5.30 the Chinese develops further depth of emotion from that expressed in the English, and while in 5.31 the reiteration is almost a translation, there is a little bit of difference between ‘I can’t forget’ and ‘I can’t get you out of my mind’, and so the codeswitching here adds further emphasis. The phrase reiterated here also serves as a reiteration of the title of the song, which is called 忘不了, and so the reiteration indirectly draws attention to the keywords of the song.

In example 5.32, the English represents what would be an identical translation of the Chinese phrase into English, although it might be best to add the subject ‘It’s’ if it were to flow as a perfect translation. In these three examples the reiteration serves as a free-standing linguistic island.

Example 5.33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>这是为你写的一首歌充满忐忑 Zhe shi wei ni xie de ge chongman tante,</td>
<td>This is a song that I have written for you, full of uneasiness,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>就像生命所有转折要你认可 Jiu xiang shengming suoyou zhuanzhe yao ni renke,</td>
<td>just like all of life’s events need you to approve of them,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>只等你来唱和我在你左右 Zhi deng ni lai changhe wo zai ni zuoyou,</td>
<td>I only wait for you to join in with me, standing by your side,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

114 This omission of the subject will be addressed later in the thesis when looking at the characteristics of China English in the songs.
coz baby I wrote this, I wrote this for you
coz baby I wrote this, I wrote this for you

(42)

The reiteration of the fact that the performer wrote the song for his beloved in example 5.33 above, not only repeats the information at the beginning of the example twice, but also further reinforces the title of the song 为你写的歌 *The song I wrote for you.*

Example 5.34

*I’m going my way* 往新的旅程飞
*I’m going my way* wang xin de lucheng fei

我会看见一直在努力往前的我
Ni hui kanjian yizhi zai nuli wangqian de wo

你会看见一直在努力往前的我
Ni hui kanjian yizhi zai nuli wangqian de wo

你’ll see me continuously working my way onwards

我会看见一直在努力往前的我
Ni hui kanjian yizhi zai nuli wangqian de wo

你’ll see me continuously working my way onwards

走我的路这一路有你
Zou wo de lu ze yi lu you ni

I’m going my way, this road has you on it.

我知道我不寂寞
Wo zhidao wo bu jimo

I know I’m not lonely,

我追寻梦想的脚步不寂寞
Wo zhuidao mengxiang de jiaobu bu jimo

I track wishful steps, I’m not lonely

(28)
In this final example presented on the preceding page, the phrase ‘I’m going my way’ is reiterated in the first part of the third line presented 走我的路, 这一路有你, so it is only part of the line that is repeated. But, as with example 5.31, the reiteration is also related to the title of the song, here: 我的路 ‘My Way’. The reiteration is very meaningful here, as the two languages allow the singer to repeatedly tell herself this sentence or variations of it to reassure herself.

Although sometimes reiteration represents a translation standing beside the other language without any real grammatical connection between the two linguistic islands, in other cases the reiteration is from elsewhere in the song lyrics and serves to emphasize important phrases in the song by drawing attention to these meanings in two languages. In several of the cases that reiteration occurs, it is clearly linked, and often repeats, the main themes and title of the song.

5.3.3. To accord with social norms

To accord with social norms is another commonly cited function for CS in Chinese songs. In this corpus, English is often used when expressing certain things perhaps thought to be too direct, too rude or too uncomfortable to say in
Chinese. English may also be used to present language that violates certain social taboos, or as terms of endearment.

1) Uncomfortable topics
There do not appear to be forms of emotional expression where English is exclusively used to govern a particular topic in the songs examined in this thesis, although there is one example where English is used to express a man’s emotional fragility. This is in the song 够不够 ‘Is it enough?’ by Fang Datong:\n
Example 5.35

Do you know how it feels every time that you make me cry?

Don’t break my heart (please don’t break my heart)

Fang Datong does not express his fragile emotional state in the Chinese sections of the song, and particularly does not express the fact that he has cried.

Within the present corpus, it is rare to see expressions of apology used directly in the Chinese language, whereas the English word ‘sorry’ is used several

115My own translation.
times in a direct way. To cite an instance of this, there is the repeated phrase ‘I’m so sorry’ in the Fang Datong song *Sorry* (41). In this same song he sings ‘没有说对不起’ ‘I didn’t say sorry’. 一个 Chinese equivalent for the word ‘sorry’, can be used in direct speech, but in this song it is used indirectly, while the English is used directly. One further example of the use of the English word ‘sorry’ is the phrase ‘Sorry bro’ in the Pan Weibo song *How* (76), which occurs in a mock-conversational section of that song.

The direct use of this apology term in English, and indirect use of similar expressions in Chinese, may be due to the Chinese need to ‘save face’, and so may be related to the social functions of English within Chinese and the need to work within the cultural norms of language. Whether or not this is the case, it is clear that Chinese is rarely used to express these feelings within the corpus, and the English word ‘sorry’ is used. This may indicate the appearance of lexically-motivated switching, albeit for a very small number of direct expressive words indicating apology within these codeswitching songs.

2) Taboo language

In a few songs in the corpus, English is deliberately used to present material which appears to be taboo in Chinese. In the song *Shut Up* by Pan Weibo (78), the singer repetitively shouts out ‘Shut up!’ as a chorus. Although the song does include a partially reiterative translation of the word in the line 现在请你
閉上嘴 ‘please shut your mouth up now’, this phrase is rather tame in comparison. This song also includes the word ‘shit’ in the following lines:

Example 5.36

有種站在我的面前
You zhong zhan zai wo mianqian

对我说你那 shit
Dui wo shuo ni na shit

If you’ve got nerve, stand right in front of me
And say that shit to me.

Another song 我完全没有任何理由理你 ‘I have no reason whatsoever to pay attention to you’ by Wang Lihong (90), contains even more offensive lyrics, which are likely tolerated due to their appearance in English. There is a repetition in this song of the line ‘that’s the truth bitch’. Were a literal Chinese translation of this phrase to appear, it would likely be very offensive to the audience.

It is interesting to note that the most offensive lyrics in a song of the corpus are in a CE codeswitching song that also has passages of French rap, the song 高手 The Expert (49), sung by Pan Weibo and a French rapper.\textsuperscript{116} This song contains offensive French slang terms for ‘prostitute’, and a great deal of

\textsuperscript{116} Whose name is not identified in the official album information and is very hard to find.
obscene and abusive language. As the French rap lyrics are not in the lyric sheets and are spoken quickly, many of the lyrics probably were not noticed by the censors.

3) Terms of endearment

There are other areas where English predominates within the present corpus, such as for the use of address forms for loved ones, such as ‘baby’, ‘babe’, ‘sweetie pie’ and others. Such words and phrases have been noted in the present corpus, as well as by other scholars, as frequently present within CS songs. However, similar terms do not exist in Chinese, and this is not a case of switching into English to deal with particular topics, but for convenience due to the cultural norms of Chinese and English.

For the expression of emotion, there are several English language terms of endearment, or ‘pet names’, used throughout the corpus. By far the most frequent of these is the word ‘baby’, though other like words and phrases are also used with a great deal of regularity, such as ‘honey’, ‘girl’, ‘my love’, and ‘my girl’. There are also a few less frequently used ones, such as ‘sweetie pie’, ‘baby girl’, ‘my sweetie,’ and ‘my lover’. Although it is likely that some words appear due to the influence of Western musical styles and the kinds of

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117 Aliandra Antoniacci, a PhD student at the University of Canterbury and qualified French interpreter, has told me that many of the phrases used in this song are rather shocking, colloquial and informal. Perhaps the informality of the French lyrics would partly explain why they got past the censors.
vocabulary expected in such styles, the fact that terms of endearment are seldom used in the Chinese language shows that they are likely to be less appropriate for use in Chinese songs than English terms are.

5.3.4. To set the scene

Another important discourse function seen in this corpus is when English is used to set the context described in the song. In the present corpus, this is done through sound samples of speech or sometimes through the use of ‘mini-plays’.

1) Speech to set scene

English is often used to set the scene or background to a song. This is often done by including short samples of speech. In the dance song *Dream Party* by Zhang Liangying 张靓颖 for example, the use of timed English counting at the middle of the song, linked with the presence of music like old Hollywood music (and accompanying static, as if being played on a record player), gives an old style flavour to part of the song, with the slowed down tempo indicating these are supposed to be dance steps and allowing the audience to imagine participants.

The sound sample at the beginning of the song 特务 J, *Agent J* by Cai Yilin (108) with spoken American English muffled to sound like speech on a police
radio (though the speech itself is rather indistinct), with the sound of a car door
slamming, and with crunching footsteps and dripping water, gives the feeling
that the agent in the story of the song is hidden nearby a police car, which is
perhaps under a bridge or in a sewer tunnel, and the police are in pursuit. This
is emphasised later by the James Bond like theme in the rest of the song. There
are many other cases where sampled English lines, and sampled conversation,
are used to set the scene of the song.

2) Mini-plays
Pan Weibo’s songs often include a mini-play in English at the beginning of the
lyrics, which set the scene elaborated on in the lyrics more effectively. There
are two significant cases of this kind of ‘mini-play,’ both in songs sung by Pan
Weibo. The first is in the sampled speech at the beginning of the
French/English/Chinese rap song The Expert (49) identified in the section on
taboo language. In the song there is the angry Pan Weibo, who says ‘You
know the girl is mine!’; and a French rapper, who uses French, who together
set up a scene of a love triangle and a confrontation between two men in love
with the same woman. At the beginning of the song it is like an individual
dialogue created of sampled phrases:
Example 5.37

You know better than that
You know the girl was mine
You know how much I love her
Why you doing this to me?

Another song by Pan Weibo, 我想更懂你 Want to Know You (52), includes an introduction which is like a mini play, describing the argument between a mother and son, where Pan Weibo is the son. This serves as an introduction to the context of the song and gives the emotions expressed within the song added colour. Example 5.38a shows the introduction to this song:

Example 5.38a

F: where you going?
M: I’m going out
F: with who?
M: (snickers) …it’s none of your business, ok.
F: what you gonna do till later?
M: stop acting like you care about me! Stop acting like you want to know something about me! You don’t know nothing st…you don’t care! Stop asking! (Closes door)
F: I care
Pan Weibo then goes on to sing verses of rap in Chinese, which are interspersed with the lines of his ‘mother’ in English. This song alternates between English and Chinese, with the woman Su Na saying her true thoughts in English, and Pan Weibo in both. Later, at the end of the song, there is a mini play in Chinese, and they are reconciled after Pan Weibo says the word ‘Yo!’:

Example 5.38b

| M: 都懂了吗？这就是我的故事 | F: *天都让你把话都说完。 |
| M: Do you all understand? This is my story. | F: [Today] you let me finally say what I wanted to say. |

| M: yo!(both laugh) | M: yo!(both laugh) |

The use of dialogue here serves to emphasize the bilingual status of the performer, showing the audience that the hip-hop performer makes use of all of the linguistic resources available to him, and draws upon his bilingual image to promote the song.

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118 I’m unable to decipher the first sound in this dialogue, and cannot find this dialogue in any lyrics, either with the album or online, but according to the context, it is likely that it means ‘today’.

119 ‘Yo’ is a word used in hip-hop which is often used as a greeting or interjection.
5.3.5. To ‘step-out’

There are situations where such conversational uses of English operate outside the story of the song, and attempt to give a feeling like it is a ‘live’ performance. This is the case with Wang Lihong’s humorous disagreement with himself in the song 星座 Astrology (96), in which he appears to ‘step out’ of the song to speak directly to the audience.

Example 5.39

**OK, 大家会了吗?**
**OK, daijia hui le ma?**

**OK, has everyone got it?**

**Qishi hen jiandan**

**Actually, it’s pretty easy**

**Suoyou de xingzuo cong yi dao shier yue zheyangzi**

**all of the constellation signs from January to December**

**Yubei… shanyang shuiping…**

**Ready...Capricorn, Aquarius...**

**Meiyou le**

**There’s no more.**

**What?**

**It’s finished.**

**Danshi…no no no, women hai you yi ci**

**But...No, no, no, we still have one more.**

**Come on 大家一起来唱**

**Come on, everyone sing together,**

**Come on dajia yiqi lai chang**

**come on**
This type of ‘stepping-out’ of a song while actually still in it (in that track, that is) allows the audience to feel that the singer is giving a live performance and presents an image of the singer outside the story of the song. Cases like this one, where the conversational style dialogue includes English, presents an image of a bilingual singer, since the audience may feel, despite the careful editing and mixing of a song, that this is what the artist’s genuine language would sound like. As English language ability is praised in China, and every young person learns the language to varying degrees at school and at university, including easily grasped English phrases within ‘conversational’ speech may enhance the popularity of an artist. This is supported by Bentahila and Davies (2002) conviction that codeswitching in songs may be present to create the impression of ‘spontaneity and intimacy’ (p. 198).

Connected with this ‘stepping out,’ is the use of spoken English in a song, often simple responses such as ‘yes’ or ‘no’ or certain variations of them, to indicate a short natural conversational response to a question or statement in

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120 The material in brackets here and elsewhere in the thesis usually represents another level of lyrics, and which occurs in the background. Song lyrics seldom exist alone in many songs and are often overlaid with others.
English. These short phrases help to show off the bilingual ability of the performer, or the expected bilingual ability of the audience. Their use may also show an expectation in the songwriter that some young people use the words ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to indicate affirmation or negation in place of Chinese words for this function. This may influence the popularity of a song by showing some forms of English language use frequent in the target audience of the songs, or influence the popularity of the artist due to their perceived advanced bilingual identity.

5.3.6. To introduce and control the music and the participants.

Another important function seen within this corpus is the use of English to introduce and control the music and participants. This can be split into several sub-topics for the purpose of discussion: to introduce or thank those participating in the song, to give directives to the musicians to control the music, to direct singers involved in the song, or to encourage the audience. Each of these topics will be addressed in turn.

1) To introduce or thank participants

In many hip-hop songs, or songs which have a rap section, there are sections of English introducing or thanking the performers in a song. These sometimes appear as ‘shout outs’.121 Usually these are self-referential, almost boastful,

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121 A ‘shout out’ is a common hip-hop term for words of thanks to the people involved in a song.
statements of ‘I am the singer, I am singing this song’, which is the case for many songs of the artists Pan Weibo and Wang Lihong within this corpus, although it is also present in artists not known for hip-hop and R&B who wish to include a rap section in their songs, such as for Zhang Liangying. Thirteen songs in this corpus include a spoken introduction, which could state that the song is by the performer singing the song, that it is a new mix of an old one by the artist, or that it is a product of a certain year by the artist.

The Zhang Liangying song 办不到 Can’t do it (4) includes a spoken English hip-hop style introduction to the performers of the song, although the song itself is not even remotely hip-hop or R&B in nature:

Example 5.40

Yo, since D to the A to the now
Harry’s in the house
and DJ 宗华 (zonghua) in the house
four ~0~
you know I’m in the house
what’s up my girl? Jane? (Yeah) 122

Hit it.

122 ‘Yeah’ here is Jane Zhang’s, Zhang Liangying’s reply to the introduction by the man singing.
In Zhang Liangying’s song *Your Song* (27), she introduces herself in English with:

Example 5.41

This is Jane Z.

I’m gonna sing this song for you.

Just listen to me.

To cite a few more examples, Pan Weibo states in a spoken introduction to his song *Battle Room*:

Example 5.42

This is the two double O five remix

And in another 2005 remix by the same artist, *Around the World*, he remarks at the beginning of the song:

Example 5.43

oh yeah, haha this is the baddest song in production

cause we got to make the world go round ha
好了 (hao le) **bad girls**

(63)

Sometimes introductions and shout-outs are given in the same song. In Wang Lihong’s 完美的互动 *The Perfect Interaction* (89), Wang Lihong introduces the Korean singers who sing the song with him in an English introduction, Lim Jeonghee and Rain, who are both popular Korean singers:

**Example 5.44**

*Come on! And now for the moment you’ve all been waiting for*

*in the red corner, Miss Lim Jeonghee*

*and in the blue corner (come on!) Mr. Rain.*

*Now we’ll see for tonight*

**黄绿红 (Huang Lü Hong)**

**Let’s go!**

(64)

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123 好了 means ‘OK then.’

124 黄绿红 Huang Lü Hong are the colours ‘Yellow’, ‘Green’ and ‘Red’, but also sound like Wang Lihong’s name.
And at the end of the song Wang Lihong thanks the performers again, but also the production companies and the other people behind the making of the song:

Example 5.45

Thank you all so much

Take a moment for some shout outs

This joint was brought to you by

Homeboy productions, the Hitman, Bang, you the man
JVP, SONYBMG, RAIN, Lim Jeonghee, I want to thank you all,

You are so special,我爱你 (wo ai ni), saranje.125

2) To control the music

Another use of directives, an example of which is included in the discussion earlier on spoken introductions and shout-outs within hip-hop songs, is to give commands to the band or to song participants. The case of giving commands to bands is seen in the song Can’t do it (4) by Zhang Liangying, where a spoken introduction to the song is given concluding with the command ‘hit it!’ after which the music and the section of the song which is sung starts. In the song 自我意识 Self-Awareness (71), where Pan Weibo says the word

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125我爱你 is Chinese for ‘I love you’. Saranje사랑해 pronounced Sa-rang-he is Korean and the meaning is similar. Thanks to Kory Schaubhut of the Defense Language Institute for helping with the Korean characters and pronunciation.
‘Drums!’ and the drums play immediately afterwards, is another example of this.

Some of the English phrases in the song direct or indicate the end of the song too. In 无法抗拒 Unable to Resist (72) by the same artist, the command ‘alright stop’ is given at the end of the song, and the song finishes with an exclamation of ‘oh!’ just afterwards. In Xiao Yaxuan’s song 潇洒小姐 Miss Chic (7), the song finishes with ‘it’s stopped!’ (a whisper), which refers to the situation in the song, but also the song.

Directives such as ‘bring it back one time’, ‘take it back’, for the drums to play or for some other musical imperative may be present because it is understood that these are conventions with the kind of music being sung. Sarkar et al. (2005, p. 2066) note that ‘drop the beat’ a common command in the English, is actually a common hip-hop phrase that indicates a ‘style of rapping.’ It has also been mentioned that some musical terms are often used with English and not Chinese, and even because some of the performer’s backing band may not be fluent Chinese speakers.

3) To direct participants
To cite an instance of giving commands to song participants, there is the phrase ‘All yours baby’, which Wang Lihong says to his ‘homeboy Jin’ in the
song 盖世英雄 Heroes of Earth (84) to direct Jin to start singing his section of rap. English is also used to direct participants in Wang Lihong’s The Perfect Interaction (89), which was discussed in the previous section. In this case, this is due to the international use of English, for the other song participants are Korean. For in the middle of the song, Wang Lihong says to Rain, asking him to take over the singing: ‘Now you Rain what you got ta say?’ This directive given to these singers (to indicate ‘it’s your turn’ for example) may be also in English for the reason that they may not know Chinese, and it also may be due to a stylistic reason of hip-hop, for the same reason that often musical terms are given in English.

4) To encourage the audience
Spoken English may also be used to encourage the intended audience of the song, either internally (within the ‘story’ of the song), or ‘externally’, for the wider audience. These overlap at times with the first point, for sometimes the encouragement appears to be ‘self-encouragement’, or encouragement of the band.

Short phrases, such as the imperative ‘come on’, which are often used within this corpus, could be regarded as ‘fillers’ – were these recordings of live songs. However, as these English codeswitched phrases are recorded and edited and sometimes placed at regular intervals within the songs, these phrases could be
instances of stylised language use present in the song to provide a conversational tone, to mimic the spontaneous nature of live song performance for a Chinese-English bilingual speaker, or may even exist for rhythmic or musical reasons.

These phrases, include the aforesaid phrase ‘come on’, but also ‘let’s go!’, ‘here we go’, and other variations of ‘come on’, such as ‘come on girl’ and ‘come on yall’¹²⁶, are often phrases of encouragement. Exactly who or what group is being given encouragement is usually unclear, although sometimes, such as in the case of ‘come on girl!’ the encouragement is being given to the identified (fictional) object of the song. In other cases, such as ‘come on yall’, the encouragement is being given to the audience of the song, perhaps to get more involved in the music and dance to it. But in the vast majority of cases, the intended recipient of the phrase of encouragement is not clear, and may relate to the audience, or the imagined listener of the song – usually a love interest of the singer.

The popularity for these spoken bursts of encouragement may come from a desire in the audience to get close to the performer, who has a popular image, so a conversational feeling derived from any outer-musical encouragement or

¹²⁶’yall’ is African American English. It is a contraction meaning ‘you all’ or ‘all of you’
conversation may be using the image of the performer to ‘sell’ the song in addition to the performance itself. As Bentahila and Davies (2002) say:

…while…song lyrics lack two crucial properties of the kind of speech where code-switching normally occurs, spontaneity and intimacy, the exploitation of switching in many songs may…be deliberately geared towards creating the impression of just these qualities. (p. 198)

5.3.7. To play with language, for humour or other means

Y. Kachru (2006, p. 228) has mentioned that humour or the playful use of language is one important reason for codeswitching. This is also strongly evident within this corpus, and in fact, some of the performers seem to revel in the rhythmic, sonic and semantic capabilities of combining different languages together, particularly intrasententially.

The first way CS is seen as play in the present corpus is in the creation of new words and concepts, or in the celebration of existing ones. The rock group Wu Yue Tian 五月天 became very famous for the song 恋爱ing (19), which includes the concept ‘改变 ing’. Both of these uses of the –ing ending describe a verb in process. The first describes ‘being in love’, and the second describes a concept of ‘changing’.

Many of the artists in this corpus also make use of the popular slang use of the word ‘high’ where the word is used in the Chinese context to mean ‘in a state
of happiness’, and a number of expressions using ‘high’ are seen within the corpus, such as ‘很 high’, ‘更 high’, and ‘解 high’. Cai (2008, p. 57) has translated this term to mean ‘happy and excited’, and says it is often used by Chinese speakers and in Chinese songs.

As mentioned, artists also like to play with the limits of language and revel in their use of linguistic resources. The following example shows Wang Lihong both displaying his bilingual prowess and playing with the boundaries of language:

Example 5.46

| Hey check this out, wow wow wow, watch this (what?) | Hey check this out, wow wow wow, watch this (what?) |
| Conglai mei ren shuoguo zhongwen like this (nope) | There’s never been anyone whose spoken Chinese like this (nope) |
| Biaozhun keshi jia le Wang Lihong de twists | Standard, but with Wang Lihong’s twists |
| Huaren yizhi dou zai chuangxia history | Chinese people are always making history. |
5.3.8. To confirm

Yet another use of Spoken English is that of confirming the truth of the words sung in Chinese in the song, or maybe, that the music is the way the artist wants it. Usually when this kind of CS function is in the song, it is presented before the information is presented, though not always. Codeswitching to confirm the truth of an utterance seems to be similar to Gumperz’s (1982, p. 80) function of conversational codeswitching ‘Personalization versus objectivization’, for he says that two of the things the code contrast can express are ‘whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge’, or ‘whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of known fact.’

In 壁虎慢步 Gecko Stroll by Pan Weibo (54), the use of ‘that’s right’ and ‘it’s like that’ is quite frequent, as can be seen in the following example:

Example 5.47

yeah 壁虎漫步 yeah bihu man bu
yeah, the gecko strolls
It’s like that 还真的有点热 It’s like that it’s really pretty hot
Hai zhen de you dian re
the gecko strolls, that’s right that’s right
壁虎漫步 that’s right that’s right Bihu man bu that’s right that’s right
right
right
give it up, the gecko strolls

that’s right, that’s right

This kind of statement is relatively common. This kind of confirmation in the satisfactory nature of the music or the true nature of the emotive statements in the music is exemplified in a few songs by Wang Lihong. In the song No Reason to Pay Attention to You (90), the song’s title statement is echoed by the phrase ‘that’s the truth bitch!’ At the end of the song, the Chinese statement is identified as what he really wants to say, and then the truth is again stated.

Each instance of ‘what I really wanna say is’ is spoken in this song, a section of which is below:

Example 5.48

but what I really wanna say is

I don’t have any reason whatsoever, don’t have any reason whatsoever, to pay attention to you

but what I really wanna say is

I don’t have any reason whatsoever, don’t have any reason whatsoever, to pay attention to you

what I really wanna say is (that’s the truth bitch)

what I really wanna say is (that’s the truth bitch)

但我想的是

我想的是
what I really wanna say is

我完全没有任何理由完全没有任何
理由理你
Wo wanquan mei you renhe liyou
wanquan mei you renhe liyou li ni

I don’t have any reason whatsoever,
 don’t have any reason whatsoever,
to pay attention to you

我完全没有!
Wo wanquan mei you!

I don’t have any reason at all!

What’s next?

What’s next?

In yet another song, *Follow Me* (103), Wang Lihong emphasises the accuracy of the truth of the storyline in the song by stating towards the end of the song: ‘that, is my story, ladies and gentlemen!’ before fading out with the English of the chorus:

Example 5.49

你闻到了吗?
Ni wen dao le ma?

Can you smell it?

新的味道
Xin de weidao

It’s a new flavour.

感觉不错吧
Ganjue bu cuo ba

It feels good, doesn’t it?

you wanna say

you wanna say

You wanna say

闻到了吧
wen dao le ba

You smell it, don’t you?

that’s right 跟我来
that’s right gen wo lai

That’s right. Come with me.
The truth value of the statement in the Chinese is confirmed by the English. Similarly, the breathy English at the beginning of the song *愛的歌* Love Song (67) by Pan Weibo seems to confirm the truth of this statement. The song starts with the spoken phrase ‘this is all for you, just for you.’ It is interesting that the rest of the song, apart from a repetition of these statements later on in the song, and the closing words ‘I love you. I love you. I love you. Forever love’ are in Chinese. This function of the use of spoken English highlights the emotions or feelings expressed by the song lyrics.

5.3.9. *Musical terms and responses to music*

It appears that there is a significant use of English within the present corpus to express this kind of vocabulary compared to the use of Chinese vocabulary on the topic of music. These vocabulary items can be grouped into four subtopics: i) musical genres, ii) musical instruments, iii) other music related vocabulary, and iv), words relating to responses to music.

1) *Musical Genres*

In most of the cases throughout this corpus, musical genres in CS songs are indicated by their English terms, even when there are accepted Chinese words to express them. However, the genre of ‘rock and roll’ is also identified by the Chinese term in the corpus, for Wang Lihong in *我们的歌* Our Song (82) sings the line: ‘不论是 hip-hop 还是摇滚/ 我的爱一直不变’ ‘No matter
whether it’s hip-hop or rock/ my love won’t change one bit.’ The words ‘hip-hop’ and ‘rock’ (and its variation ‘rock n’ roll’) are the most common two musical genre words within the present corpus.

‘Hip-hop’ is always used to identify a music style, although ‘rock n’ roll’ is also used in relation to its various connotations. In the song Shero (16) by the band S.H.E. there is the line’那是谁说女孩没有 rock'n roll?’ ‘Who is it that said girls don’t have rock n’ roll?’ , which on the one hand refers to the band, who are all girls and who sing a rock and roll song, on the other hand it refers to the ‘rock n’ roll’ rebellious and wild attitude. ‘Hip-hop’ is not seen in use as the Chinese term 街舞 ji4w; and although ‘rock’ is seen occasionally in its Chinese form of 摇滚 ya9gn, it is by far more common in its English form and is used as both a noun, and as a verb within the recordings in this corpus, where it has the English meaning of behaving in a wild passionate way. Also, in the song 十九八七 Ten, nine, eight, seven (38) by Fang Datong, the outrolude to the song makes the request ‘baby won’t you stay and rock?’

There are many other cases within the corpus where ‘rock’ is used as a verb in this way.

Aside from the use of the genre vocabulary ‘hip-hop’ and ‘rock’, a number of other cases exist within the corpus of genre-related vocabulary. Wang Lihong
mentions his own ‘Chinked-out’ musical style several times within his songs. Zhang Shaohan in the song *Protective Colour* (32) uses the abbreviation ‘R&B’ for ‘rhythm and blues.’ And Tao Zhe 陶喆, in the song 忘不了 *Can’t get you outta my mind* (132) says at the beginning of the song that he will take the listener back ‘old school style’, referring to more a more traditional rock n’ roll style.

2) **Musical instruments**

There are also three separate cases within the present corpus where English is used to identify musical instruments having acceptable Chinese names. The first of these is the use of the word ‘saxophone’ in Zhang Liangying’s *日落大道 Sunset Boulevard* (23). The second is the imperative ‘Drums!’ in Pan Weibo’s *Self-Awareness* (71), identified earlier in this thesis, and the third is the use of the word ‘guitar’ in Wang Lihong’s song 摇滚怎么了 *What’s wrong with Rock!!* (102). There is only one song within this corpus 听袁惟仁弹吉他 *Listening to Yuan Weiren play guitar* by S.H.E. (14), where a musical instrument, 吉他 *guitar* is referred to in Chinese.

3) **Other music related vocabulary**

Aside from words which identify musical genres and instruments, a large number of words and phrases that deal with other aspects of music are in
English. Not counting the words ‘CD’ and ‘DJ’, which are accepted within Chinese vocabulary, there are a number of other words and phrases relating to music. These include the word ‘melody’ which appears in both Fang Datong’s *Love Song* (34) and 梁静茹 Liang Jingru’s 满满的都是爱 ‘Love is Everywhere’ (45), and the word ‘groove’, which appears in both Zhang Shaohan’s *Protective Colour* (32) as the phrase ‘new groove,’ and in Wang Lihong’s *Follow Me* (103) as the phrase ‘this groove’. Also observed has been the use of ‘test test’ to test out the microphone, and the word ‘key’, denoting musical key or register, in the song by S.H.E, *Listening to Yuan Weiren play guitar* (14).

In addition to the examples above, there are a number of words which relate to professional music production, such as ‘remix’ in Pan Weibo’s *Battle Room* (46) – and the word ‘production’ itself, which is seen twice in the corpus, in a song by the same artist, 翻转地球 *Around the world* (59),and in one by Wang Lihong, entitled 盖世英雄 *Heroes of Earth* (84). There are also words and phrases which relate to music in a specifically hip-hop context, such as ‘popping’, ‘bring it back one time’, and ‘drop the beat’, which are seen in several songs and which will be discussed later in this chapter under the use of codeswitching to appeal to particular audiences.
As has been demonstrated from the discussion of the above three topics, English does appear to be connected with words that relate to music within CS songs. For the genre-related terms it may be that as many of these musical styles developed and are well known to be culturally attached to the United States, the youth audience may expect them to be identified in the English language. In terms of specific genres such as hip-hop, it may be regarded as appropriate within the hip-hop subculture for the singers to use English terms. Regarding the use of musical terminology, some singer-songwriters may use English musical terminology due to their own cultural background and overseas education, which will be addressed more in Chapter Seven.

5.3.10. Reinterpretation

Reinterpretation is normally the use of well-known English song sections for re-appropriation in a hip-hop context (Ominiyi, 2009).127 This is the case with the repetition of these lines from the famous Beegees song How deep is your love? in Pan Weibo’s famous song Tell Me (56) below, since the rest of the song is completely different in style from the Beegees original:

127Note that Ominiyi’s meaning requires translation of the well-known phrases, or the use of well-known tunes with new words, but could also be used to indicate, as in the song in Example 5.50 overleaf, appropriation of old words in a new context.
Example 5.50

How deep is your love baby? Let me know.

How deep is your love baby? Tell me so.

For another important example of reinterpretation in the present corpus, there is the song *Hot Winter* by Cai Yilin (115), which is a reinterpretation of German pop group Monrose’s dance song ‘Hot Summer’.128 This song was later also covered by a Korean group and includes important English lyrics from the chorus.129

Xu (2007, pp. 44-45) has identified this kind of reinterpretation in the Chinese context as a discourse function called ‘to keep the original style,’ although as has been observed above, a reinterpretation may only take a few words from the original song. Of course reinterpretation in China does not only occur with foreign music. As has been mentioned, Wang Lihong’s song *In that faraway place* (92) is a reworking of a famous folk song by Wang Luobin and uses much of the original chorus.

128 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hot_Summer_(song)

129 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pinocchio_(album)
5. 3.11. Other discourse functions seen within the corpus

There are also a few more discourse functions which did exist within the corpus, but which were less frequent, or could better be discussed elsewhere in this thesis. The first, target audience specification, the use of English within the songs to target youth specifically, together with the use of CS to widen the acceptance of a song, will be discussed in the sociocultural chapter since these functions relate to a more sociolinguistic context than many of the other linguistic functions discussed in this chapter. Several functions particular to stylistic aspects will be discussed in the next chapter, which include the use of CS for emphasis, as well as other functions specific to musical genres, and the way in which CS is used to achieve certain literary purposes in the songs.

5.4. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has covered a great deal of information on the linguistic aspects of codeswitching in contemporary Chinese pop music. In the first part of this chapter were shown a number of grammatical and lexical features, intersentential and intrasentential, of the CS present in these songs. Certain examples of mixed constituent CS that clashed with the MLF hypothesis were also discovered. The second part of this chapter covered a number of discourse functions for the presence of CS, including: for linguistic convenience, for reiteration of a message, to accord with accepted social norms, for scene-
setting, to mimic the conversational speech of bilinguals, to introduce and control the music and participants, and to play with language.

Perhaps the fact that a few examples of CE codeswitching out of a large number within the song corpus challenge expectations of the way grammatical items should behave in mixed language constituents is not so significant after all. For even looking at the linguistic factors, we have seen a broad range of other reasons for the CS being presented the way it does, and most importantly, song lyrics are carefully edited and recorded performances which do not have to fit our expectations for the way languages should behave based on speech. The performance aspects of CE codeswitching in the corpus will be examined in detail in the next chapter.
Chapter Six: Stylistic Aspects of CE codeswitching in songs

6.1. Introduction

As has been outlined in the Research Design chapter, this chapter will concentrate on the stylistic aspects of the CE codeswitching present in these recent Chinese popular songs. These stylistic aspects will be examined under two broad headings: performance aspects, and literary characteristics.

The idea of performance aspects is rather strange when, following on from Bentahila and Davies (2002), the fact that the lyrics of the song are pre-planned, recorded and edited is considered. Only two of the songs within this corpus are ‘Live’ versions, although they are also recorded and selected probably out of a number of other live performances to be the most representative of each of the artists’ vocal talents and that of their supporting musicians.\footnote{These live songs are songs number 20 and 28 in the song corpus.}

The discussion of performance aspects is divided into two sub-headings. The first is the performance mode of vocal presentation, other than singing, in the songs. Though most of the content of the lyrics are sung, many other manners
of vocal presentation are examined within this corpus – namely the reasons for the use of the stylistic modes of spoken, rapped, shouted or whispered English and why they may contribute to the popularity of these songs. The second performance aspect investigated is stylistic structure, particularly focusing on the relationship of genre to the use of English.

In the second main section of this chapter, the way elements from two or more distinctive languages are employed to achieve literary effects in the songs will be explored. To begin with, this section will look at the position in the song where codeswitching to English occurs. For this it will first examine the connection between genre and linguistic usage within song structure, and then investigate the position of the English within choruses, a place where English has often been observed in previous studies on CS in Chinese songs. Following from this, several literary functions of English within CE songs in the corpus will be shown. The discussion will conclude with an examination of one of the most recognized literary aspects of the use of English within Chinese song: the use of English for rhyming purposes.
6.2. Performance Aspects

6.2.1. Stylistic Mode

Hymes (1974) identifies vocal presentation as one aspect of stylistic mode. There are four main stylistic modes, besides singing, within the corpus: when the English is spoken, rapped, shouted or whispered. The following discussion will address each of these modes in turn.

This thesis takes into account all of the English present in the song tracks examined. This includes English often not present in the printed song lyrics, which other studies on CS may not take notice of, such as: fillers, \(^{131}\) sections of recorded speech tailored to mimic conversation, and other linguistic data.

1) Spoken English and its Functions

Approximately 40% of the songs in the corpus include English in its spoken form (60 out of 150 in the corpus). This is interesting as these are songs. However, it must not be forgotten that songs are recorded tracks within which the language may not only be sung, but also performed or arranged in other ways. Perhaps if the English is primarily spoken, provided that the spoken language is not complex and not too fast and outside the assumed range of English language exposure (such as Western English-language pop music and

\(^{131}\) Widespread throughout the corpus, as has been mentioned, are the use of short conversational English phrases, the vast majority of which do not make their way into the printed song lyrics, such as the imperative phrase 'come on'.
movies, together with classroom learning), this may aid the audience’s aural understanding and so aid popularity.

As has been observed in the previous chapter, spoken English enables the use of a number of metaphorical functions. Foremost among these are the use of mini-plays and sampling to create the context to the song, ‘mock conversational’ asides stepping out from the song to create a feeling of intimacy, directions to the band and audience, and ‘shout-outs’ and self-introductions. What is significant about this is not only that spoken English is such an important component of these CE songs, but that without English in its spoken form, many of these metaphorical functions would not be part of the stylistic characteristics of CE songs.

2) Functions of Rap
That English often appears in a song in the stylistic mode of rap has been discovered by other scholars examining this phenomenon, and this discovery is also borne out by the present study. However, much of the English rap present in this corpus is actually rather fast, in many cases does not appear in the printed lyrics (or even those easily obtainable through an online search), and employs complex language or African American slang. In some cases, the vast majority of the audience may not understand such rap sections. This is the case for the English rap in the song *Yalta* by Zhang Liangying (26) presented
in Example 6.1 on the following page, which I have not even been able to decipher completely in repeated close-listening to the song:

Example 6.1

M: yo in your shadow
tryin to find the answers alone in the rain
see you got to understand Ma
*******we gotta put that work on the block
hop first for the drop be the first for the ****
You know ****you make me crazy
Can't find a way out grand hard and stashed the money in the safe house
Raised by the guetto

The rap in this song, which is long, fast and complicated, constantly rhyming at the end or in the middle of sentences, would likely be almost indecipherable for nearly all of the audience. Only one person on QQ could offer the rap lyrics (which were absent from the printed lyrics), and these were largely incomplete.\textsuperscript{132} So, it is likely the wordplay here is mainly present for stylistic

\textsuperscript{132} QQ is the brand name of a company offering a large number of online services in China. It has a popular website and service that provides news, has a database on music performers and their music, and has videos and streaming audio of popular songs. It also has a popular Chinese chat program in some ways similar to Windows Messenger.
reasons. It is probable that English within a lot of rap in Chinese songs is valued more for rhyme and other vocal patterning rather than for its meaning.

Feng and Wei (2007, p. 100) say that they believe that including complex English in a song would cause those with a relatively low English level to be unable to appreciate the song. However, it is hard to tell from songs like the song above whether the songwriter or performer actually intends difficult rap sections to be understood by even a small minority of the audience and that stylistic purposes, such as rhythm and rhyme, may predominate over the use of language to communicate meaning.

3) Whispered English and its Functions
There are three occasions when English is whispered within the corpus. In the first, sung by Xiao Yaxuan in the song Miss Chic (7), the sentences ‘Yeah gotta get that’ ‘you watch me’, ‘that’s how I like it’, are whispered low and breathy under a loud electronic dance beat, perhaps to express the true desires of the speaker.

The second and third occasions where English is whispered are both from songs by Tao Zhe. In the song 请继续，任性 Miss Sweetie (139) by Tao Zhe, the whispered ‘that’s right’, very faint at the end of the song, confirms that the singer will love his girlfriend forever, even though she is wilful and capricious
in nature. This is itself a repetition of ‘that’s right’ elsewhere. At the beginning
do the song both ‘you little devil’ and 再任性 ‘keep being wilful’ are
whispered together, one after the other. In the third instance, in the song *Olia* (144) by Tao Zhe, Tao Zhe whispers in English that there is not enough time,
and this is perhaps also an indication of the truth of a situation in the song. It is
possible that whispering within songs expresses ‘true’ emotion or the truth of
the situations stated in the story of a song.

4) *Shouted*
Shouting appears also in only a few songs in the corpus, ‘Shut Up!’ (78), by
Pan Weibo, and 搖滾怎麼了? *What’s Wrong with Rock!?* (102) and 玩偶
*Puppet* (94) by Wang Lihong, and from how it is used it can be surmised that
the presence of shouting in English represents wild and unrestrained emotion.

This lack of control may match the feelings in English language rock and
punk songs that some of the youth audience listen to.\footnote{133}{In ‘Shut Up!’ for example, the chorus consists of repetitions of the title of the song, and in *Puppet* there is
the shouted refrain of ‘Oh, oh, that’s the truth bitch!’}.

\footnote{134}{There were a broad range of English and American singers listed as the favourite singers of the respondents in the questionnaire survey used in this thesis. Although those who liked punk, hard rock and alternative music were in the minority, a few respondents indicated liking such singers as Marilyn Manson and Green Day under their top 5 English groups or singers.}
6.2.2. Genre and use of English

Hymes (1974) has said that genre is an important aspect of stylistic structure. Shuker (2001) identifies ‘several general characteristics of popular music genres’. These are: ‘the stylistic traits present in the music: their musical characteristics’, ‘non-musical, stylistic attributes, most notably image and its associated visual style’ (p. 150) and ‘the primary audience for particular styles’ (p.151). However, it is important to note that genres are not completely discrete entities. Shuker (2001) says that

[W]hile musical genres continue to function as marketing categories and reference points for musicians, critics, and fans, particular examples clearly demonstrate that genre divisions must be regarded as highly fluid. No style is totally independent of those that have preceded it, and musicians borrow elements from existing styles and incorporate them into new forms. (ibid, p. 150)

From examining the genres within the corpus, English seems to be prevalent in the musical styles of R&B, rock and roll, electronic dance music, hip-hop, pop, and soul, as indicated in Table 3 overleaf. Table 3 ranks the genres in order of frequency, indicating how many songs out of the corpus of 150 songs were in each genre, and gives a few examples of songs from within the corpus. This table will be immediately followed by a discussion of why each of these genres may be associated with the use of English.

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135 Hymes (1974) also regards rhyme as an important aspect of stylistic structure, but for convenience, rhyme will be discussed under the literary aspects of codeswitching.
Table 3: Frequency of Song Genres within the Present Corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>No. of songs</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Rhythm and Blues (R&B) | 45           | *I don’t wanna pray* (2), Zhang Liangying  
                            *The Perfect Interaction* (89), Wang Lihong  |
| Rock                | 27           | *What’s wrong with Rock!!* (102), Wang Lihong  
                            *Oh Oh Oh* (128), Sudalü  |
| Dance               | 22           | *Hot Winter* (115) Cai Yilin  
                            *Free* (124), Xiao Yaxuan  |
| Slow Pop            | 19           | 飞鱼 *Flying High* (11), Liang Jingru  
                            *Love Song* (34), Pan Weibo  |
| Hip-hop             | 14           | *Heroes of Earth* (84), Wang Lihong; 光荣 *Glory* (61), Pan Weibo  |
| Soul                | 13           | *Love Song* (34), Fang Datong  
                            中国姑娘 *Chinese Lady* (140), Tao Zhe  |
| Other genres – this includes Jazz, Country, Reggae, Alternative, and Traditional | 10           | 你的歌 *Your Song* (143), Tao Zhe (Country);  
                            在我们之间 *Between Us* (130) by Sudalü (Alternative)  |

Many of the songs would be classified only as Mandopop online, but they would actually be closer to R&B or Soul when listened to carefully. In addition, many of the non hip-hop songs also contained sections of rap, particularly rock, pop, and R&B. However, I believe that what is shown here is a good approximation of genre categories, according to the general characteristics presented in the discussion of each of these genres.
1) Rhythm and Blues

Rhythm and Blues is a difficult category to define. Shuker (1998) says that ‘In its earliest forms, R & B was one of the most important precursors of rock’n’roll, and a crucial bridge between blues and soul. (p. 257)’ Shuker says that one of the early representative styles of R & B was ‘jump blues’, ‘which blended a horn-dominated line-up with swing rhythms from jazz, and general chord structures and riffs from blues’ (ibid.). Shuker (1998: ibid.) says that this evolved to a few different styles: ‘vocal ‘shouters’ (e.g. Big Joe Turner); instrumentalists, especially saxophonists, with strong jazz connections; and smoother, urbane vocal styles.’ However, as Shuker (ibid, p. 258) says, ‘the term is sometimes used as a general name for the corpus of black music,’ the concept of ‘Afro-American music’ (ibid, p. 26), of which it is difficult to identify essential characteristics (ibid, p. 27).

As noted above, the type of music that can be classed as R&B is very broad. Many of the Western groups that were popular when I first went to China in 2000, such as the Backstreet Boys, were put in the category of R&B. Now many Chinese pop songs, from song ballads to faster songs, which include hip-hop elements and rap, can also be classified as R&B. Perhaps due to the popularity of Western R&B songs, including those of Michael Jackson,

137 In Shuker (ibid.) he highlights the words ‘rock’n’roll’, ‘blues’ and ‘soul’ in bold.
Mariah Carey and other singers, there is often English used in this kind of style of music.

2) Rock
Rock music’s beginnings in China were with Embassy clubs in Beijing where English was used, and early rock and roll had codeswitching in it while many other styles did not. Rock and roll, punk and hard rock have never really died in China completely, but have become underground and relatively unpopular, at least for rock in the Chinese language. Despite this, Chinese rock music, particularly in Beijing, has been the object of much scholarly attention outside of China.¹³⁸

There is no doubt that rock and roll is very popular in Shanghai, at least when sung in English. I witnessed this first hand, since in late 2009 the rock band Linkin Park played in Shanghai, which was a big event for the people there. However it is not only foreign groups that sing rock songs today. Many Chinese artists in this corpus of CE songs: Tao Zhe, Wang Lihong, and other popular artists, have released songs in China with rock and roll elements. As many of these artists singing these rock styled songs are themselves bilingual artists of Chinese-English backgrounds, they are therefore more likely to use English in their songs. And as a few rock songs in the corpus include the use

¹³⁸ Baranovitch (2003) and Jones (1992) are two scholars who have looked closely at this genre in the Chinese context.
of Japanese as well as English, and both English and Japanese are important Second (and Third) languages in China, it is clear from this that not all of the rock influences necessarily come from Western rock.

3) Electronic Dance Music

Contemporary dance music as a genre often includes such features as ‘state of the art technology, extensive use of samples, musical eclecticism, and links to dance/club scenes’ (Shuker, 2001, p. 154). Shuker (ibid.) also notes that such kind of music can often be characterized by a ‘pounding rhythm’.¹³⁹

This study also identifies electronic dance music as a style likely to have English in it, which in this corpus is represented in the recordings of Cai Yilin and Xiao Yaxuan. One legitimate reason for this may be that in many big international cities, such as Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou, dance clubs are important cultural mixing places where foreigners and local people dance and socialise together. In Shanghai there are a number of well-known clubs like this, which include ‘Muse’, ‘Muse 2’, ‘Windows’ and ‘Mint’. Having some English in the songs may increase playability in such places. The electronic dance music within this corpus often has ‘sexualised’ breathy whispered phrases in English, such as the phrases ‘you watch me,’ and ‘that’s how I like it’ present in Xiao Yaxuan’s song Miss Chic (7).

¹³⁹ Note that Shuker (2001) was speaking specifically of techno, but this is also a feature of many modern dance tracks.
4) Slow Pop

English also seems very popular in the traditional slow pop ballads of China, although there are rarely more than one or two words in each song. 飞鱼

*Flying High* by the artist Liang Jingru (11) only contains the phrase ‘forever flying high’ at the end of the chorus. Perhaps the high frequency of English codeswitching in traditional pop is an indication of the spread of English in China, but is also due to the background of a particular pop singer. As the traditional pop ballads are so popular in China, it is unlikely that a singer who often sings songs containing English will sacrifice his or her audience base by not singing such songs either.

5) Hip-hop

Often a distinguishing feature of hip-hop is rap. Bennett (2001, p. 89) has said that ‘[r]ap is a narrative form of vocal delivery which is spoken in a rhythmic patois over a continuous ‘breakbeat’.’ Breakbeat is traditionally produced by ‘“mixing” vinyl records together by utilising both turntables on a dual record-player deck’ (ibid, p.90), hence sampling is a big part of hip-hop. In this thesis, although hip-hop was not as popular as a genre overall, this may be because hip-hop songs often have rap alone. Songs from other genres, particularly R&B, may contain hip-hop elements while the style of the song

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140 In Bennett, the word ‘breakbeat’ was written in bold font, but is not here.

141 Bennett (2001, p. 91) discusses the importance of sampling in rap and hip-hop.
overall is not hip-hop. Zhang Hua (2005) has said about the relationship between hip-hop and rap in Chinese that

[codeswitching] in rap music is very common and it has almost become one of its distinctive features. Nine out of ten raps in Chinese songs are in English with disparate sonic elements. Inserted in Chinese songs, sometimes even the whole part of rap is written in English. (p. 33)

Hip-hop songs are extremely varied in character and content. The hip-hop songs in this corpus include English in several different linguistic modes addressed in the previous section (namely, they are sung, spoken, rapped, and whispered), and several different languages, which include English, Korean, and in one case, French. This finding echoes international studies on hip-hop, namely Sarkar et al. (2005, p. 2060) who say that ‘[hip-hop] culture...favours an openness to other languages and cultures in both the structure and content of rap.’

The capacity of hip-hop to include a broad range of influences inclines itself to the English language in China. It may also be felt by some that hip-hop and rap need a certain amount of English in them to be authentic. However, this need not be the case. Zhou Jielun 周杰论, whose unique style of hip-hop and rap, in some cases similar to that of the rap artist Eminem, was one, if not the most popular, artist in China and other Chinese speaking countries in the period that my corpus covers. What is interesting is that there are no Zhou
Jielun songs in this corpus, since he does not sing hip-hop which contains English.\footnote{Though in one of his songs from 2001, 龙卷风 ‘Cyclone Wind,’ he sings the word ‘baby’, it is from 2001, and therefore outside the scope of this thesis.} This appears to be a deliberate act on his part, and also appears to be due to his reasonably limited English skills – although due to the singer’s recent participation in the movie industry, including his role as Kato in the recent Hollywood movie ‘The Green Hornet,’ his English may have improved somewhat and maybe in future he will add some English to his songs.

Whether hip-hop in Chinese is more ‘authentic’ by containing English or not, Sarkar et al. (2005, p. 2070), have said that rappers need to make use of every available linguistic resource they have in the performance of hip-hop. It may seem unnatural to the audience if a bilingual singer of rap does not occasionally codeswitch between the languages he or she feels comfortable with.

6) Soul
Soul, according to Shuker (1998), is a ‘merger of gospel-style singing and funk rhythms…often ballad in form, with love as a major theme.’ Though Shuker says that ‘[s]oul…ceased to be an identifiable genre by the late 1970s’, (ibid, p. 278) and has been ‘absorbed into various hybrid forms of black music and dance music’ (ibid.), it is clear that many people still try to mimic the style
of well-known popular soul singers of the 1950s and 1960s, such as James Brown, Sam Cooke, and Ray Charles.

Soul has only recently become really popular in Chinese pop music, largely due to the influence of the bilingual Hawaiian-born artist Fang Datong, and also due to the influence of Tao Zhe, who spent a long time in the US, and it still retains a strong English language influence. Though most soul songs within this corpus contain repetitions of simple English words, a few are more complex, such as Fang Datong’s 为你写的歌, The song I wrote for you (42), where he sings a long passage in English at the end of the song:

Example 6.2

Oh it's a sing a long song, that's not too long
it's when I think about you then I hear songs
and you can sing along baby if you want to
cos baby I wrote this, I wrote this for you
cos baby I wrote this, I wrote this for you.

6.2.3. Section Summary

In the discussion of performance aspects several important findings have been identified. These findings relate to both the vocal presentation of the songs and to the genres English appears in in CE songs.
First of all, there is a strong presence of English that is spoken, not sung, within this corpus. This has become apparent through an examination of the audio sound track in addition to the written lyrics. It has also been observed that different modes of spoken English may match the expectations of particular genres, such as hip-hop, but also that the range of vocabulary, as well as the quantity of English in the songs, is also connected to genre.

Secondly, rap is also a common stylistic mode within the CE songs of the present corpus. However, rap’s verbal patterning of rhyme and rhythm and the expectations of genre seem more important than its intelligibility.

Six main stylistic genres which contain English in this corpus have been indicated: R&B, rock and roll, dance, slow Chinese pop, hip-hop and soul. Of these, R&B and rock seem most likely to include English. R&B, in particular, is more likely to contain multiple languages, a wider variety of stylistic modes (speech, rap, singing and shouting) or sampled spoken English. Soul is a relatively new genre and contains English arising from its English-language influences, while electronic dance music is probably likely to contain English due to the places it is usually played in and also to its target audience.
6.3. Literary Aspects

6.3.1. Position of English in Song

1) The Relationship of Genre to Song Organisation
As has been observed under the discussion on Stylistic Modes, spoken English is used to perform introductions, typically in hip-hop songs or in songs with hip-hop elements. These introductions usually appear at the beginning of the song. ‘Shout-outs’ may also appear at the end of the song.

Another function of English in the song is the use of English to set a scene or context for the storyline present within it, which will be discussed as an individual subset of literary characteristics. This use of English for scene-setting is often seen at the beginning of a song, though not always.

The presence of rap in songs is also connected to the organisation of the song. There are many songs in the corpus which contain hip-hop or R&B elements, such as sampling and a particular singing style. Twenty-five out of 150 songs in the present corpus contain rap, although not all of these songs could be described as ‘rap’ songs. Ten of the 24 have a rap section or sections which are entirely in English, with no Chinese whatsoever. The rap sections which include English, or are English, within the corpus, are typically organised within the second half of a song, either towards the middle or before the song closes with another song verse, or rap exists throughout the entire song. It is
likely that when a song is not clearly a hip-hop song from the beginning, for rap sections to be positioned later on in the song, so as not to affect the song’s intelligibility. This may not be the case however when the genre is obvious from the introduction and music of the song.

2) *Choruses and the presence of English*

It is particularly common for English codeswitches or English sections to occur within the chorus of the song. Ninety-eight songs out of the corpus of 150 contain some level of English within the song’s chorus, while for 16 of this 98, English is only present within the choruses of the songs. This means that English is seldom only present in the chorus and absent from the rest of a song. Perhaps, for most songs anyway, it is necessary to at least indicate to the listener that there will be English in the song, so that when the audience of the song reaches the English in the chorus they are not confused. This may even be more prevalent if there are only a few English words in the chorus.

Though English can appear anywhere in a chorus verse, it is more likely to appear at the beginning or the end of it. However, for a number of songs within the corpus, it is difficult to say where the English appears in the chorus verses, since the English comprises half or more of the chorus’ linguistic content. In these cases, what is more frequent is for the English to compose roughly half of the linguistic content of a chorus verse, which may be the first
half or second half of the chorus verses or lines, or exist on alternate lines in parallel to one another. In the chorus for 爱无赦 Bravo Lover by Cai Yilin (109), the English and Chinese content are balanced on alternate lines:

Example 6.3a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go go sister go go brother</td>
<td>爱情打动天下围攻 ai qing dadong tianxia wei gong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go go lover go go lover</td>
<td>酸甜苦辣这爱无赦 suan tian ku la zhe ai wulai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you’re my lover</td>
<td>you’re my lover</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Love touches the whole world as one community

sour, sweet, bitter, spicy – this love’s a rascal

When one reaches the end of this song, the main points of the song are expressed through the English:

Example 6.3b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you’re my lover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go go sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go go brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go my lover</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bravo Lover (109), the song from which Examples 6.3a and 6.3b are from, begins with Chinese, the chorus is in English and Chinese, and the English sections of the chorus finish the song. Many songs are similar to it in the corpus. The proportions of English and Chinese within the chorus in some situations are roughly even too in Wang Lihong’s What’s wrong with Rock!! (102):

Example 6.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>一声傲笑声音在飘</td>
<td>A sound of defiant laughter floats in the air</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi sheng weixiao shengyin zai piao</td>
<td>woah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>what’s wrong with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wro-o-ong with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我还相信爱</td>
<td>I still believe in love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo hai xiangxin ai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>怎么那么奇怪？</td>
<td>What’s so strange about that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenme name qiguai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What’s wrong with me</td>
<td>What’s wrong with me, wro-o-ong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wro-o-ong with me?</td>
<td>with me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我还相信人</td>
<td>I still believe in people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo hai xiangxin ren</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I must have a problem</td>
<td>I must have a problem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sometimes, though rarely, English is positioned at either the end or the
beginning of a chorus. Chan (2009) says of Cantopop that a common pattern
of codeswitching is that ‘Cantonese switches to English at the opening of the
chorus (or refrain)’ (p. 123). Switching to English early on in the chorus is
quite common in the present corpus too, or the Chinese lyrics may be framed
with repeated English, as in the chorus to Wang Ruolin’s song *Maze* (105)
below:\footnote{This song was originally an English song, entitled ‘Let’s start from here’, and Chinese lyrics were added to it.}

Example 6.5

\begin{tabular}{ll}
  let's start from here & let's start from here \\
 无所谓就算爱 & It doesn’t matter, let’s call it love \\
  Wusuowei jiu suan ai & waiting like an empty sofa \\
  像空沙发在等待 & hugging onto something is not \\
  Xiang kong shafa zai dengdai & something definite \\
  拥抱着是不确定 & I like love to have a few more surprises \\
  Yongbao zhe shi bu quedin & Wo xihuan aiqing duo dian jingxi \\
  我喜欢爱情多点惊喜 & I don't care where we go \\
  I don't care where we go & let's start from here \\
  let's start from here & let's start from here \\
  let's start from here & let's start from here \\
\end{tabular}
It is significant that not only is English used so often within the choruses of these songs, but that there are so many different ways of using it, from having the chorus entirely in English, the English or the Chinese sharing the start or the end of the chorus, or to one language or the other serving as an envelope for the other, or in order to show variation within the Chinese or English. Each of these variations can provide different effects unique to the chorus and the way it is used in that particular song.

6.3.2. Verbal Parallelism

Leech (1969, pp. 79-86) describes a situation called ‘verbal parallelism’, a repetition of a ‘relevant unit of text’ where the rest varies, which is also seen in the songs of this corpus. Verbal parallelism is a major stylistic technique of Chinese poetry, according to Watson (1971, p. 17).\(^{144}\) Using two or three languages within one song allows for the creation of literary parallelism that would be stronger than if there was repetition of a part line, and then variance of the content of the rest of the sentence, purely in one language alone. This is permissible usually through the use of a reasonably simple repeated phrase in the first half of the sentence. The two languages may at times be directly

\(^{144}\) Another major component is end-line rhyming, which will be discussed under the section on rhyming in this chapter.
parallel with roughly similar lines, at other times may be patterned for other purposes.

1) Anaphora

Chan (2009) cites an example where ‘English marks the first halves of the lines, followed by Cantonese which carries the second halves, forming parallelism.’ Chan identifies this parallelism as ‘anaphora’, a well-known practice in poetry, citing Leech (1969, p. 80). Anaphora, described by Leech as when repeated lines come at the beginning of a text, is particularly evident in the present corpus.

In Your Song (27) by Zhang Liangying, ‘That’s what I’m looking for’, a six syllable line, is repeated for four successive lines, and paired with Chinese content in the second part of the line, of which the first two lines are 6 syllables, the third 8 syllables, and the fourth 7:

Example 6.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That’s what I’m looking for.</td>
<td>把灵魂唱出火。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That’s what I’m looking for.</td>
<td>Ba linghun chang chu huo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yi zhong lan tiao zhe gui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That’s what I’m looking for.</td>
<td>A Blues-relieving fiend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That’s what I’m looking for.</td>
<td>那是什么我尋找。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
有没有人在听我说?
You mei you ren zai ting wo shuo?

That's what I'm looking for.

倾听我所有的梦。
Qingting wo suoyou de meng.

Is anyone listening to what I’m saying?

That’s what I’m looking for.

Listen carefully to all of my dreams.

Another instance of anaphora is in the repetition of ‘follow me’, in the song of the same name by Wang Lihong. These words are repeated, also in four successive lines, followed by a line in Chinese before the next ‘follow me’.

There is also the repetition of ‘why’ in the song，佩德与狼 Peter and the Wolf (9) by Sudalü 苏打绿. In that song the word ‘why’ is repeated five times, with a parallel line in Chinese also with five syllables. This time however the meaningful repetition is used twice as a refrain or chorus before the next section.

The chorus of Pan Weibo’s Everytime’s a good time (74) presented below shows good use of anaphora in the English, while the Chinese phrases parallel it, and sharing almost the same number of syllables, the second of the three in each group only differing with the addition of a 的 de:

Example 6.7

**Everytime’s a Goodtime**
我把烦恼忘记
Wo ba fannao wangji

**Everytime’s a Goodtime** I forget my worries
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>每次都是惊喜</td>
<td>There are surprises every second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>来来来来来来</td>
<td>Come on come on come on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>创造无限的开心</td>
<td>I can’t help being crazy about you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>无法不爱上你</td>
<td>I want you to never ever think of going back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>来来来来来来</td>
<td>I want you to agree to my invitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>来来来来来来</td>
<td>I want you to never ever think of going back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>分享整夜的繁星</td>
<td>star-gaze together all night long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>交换心动秘密</td>
<td>exchange secret desires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>想请你答应我的邀请</td>
<td>I want you to agree to my invitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>每次都是惊喜</td>
<td>There are surprises every second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>没法不爱上你</td>
<td>I can’t help being crazy about you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>来来来来来来</td>
<td>I want you to never ever think of going back.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To close with one final example, in the chorus of the song 狂想曲 Rhapsody – The Song of Missing You (12) by Xiao Yaxuan there is a repetition of the pattern: (base verb - as imperative) + ‘with me’. The verbs ‘come’, ‘dance’ and ‘love’, are put in parallel to the Chinese lyrics occurring after them. However, in this case, ‘love’ is not a verb that is often used in this way in English; the grammar is ‘bent’ here for a stylistic purpose:
Example 6.8

Follow me
我坚定的眼神来指引你让你双眼变成心型
Wo jianding de yanshen lai zhiyin ni, 
rang ni shuang yan biancheng xinxing

Follow me,
My steadfast gaze will guide you, 
let your eyes change into a 
[burning] core

come with me
一起哼着爱情狂想曲
Yiqi hengzhe aiqing kuangxiangqu

come with me
hum love’s rhapsody together

dance with me
舞步搭配着真心 baby
Wubu dapei zhe zhenxin baby

dance with me,
let your dance steps match with 
your true feelings, baby

love with me
让画面就停格在这里
Rang huamian jiu tinge zai zheli

love with me
let the film [frame] stop here.

Love me, baby

Love me, baby

2) Epistrophe
There is also another kind of verbal parallelism identified by Leech (1969, p.
81), ‘epistrophe’, where the repetition exists at the end of lines. This also exists 
in the present corpus, and this is the first time it has been noted by scholars 
studying codeswitching in songs.
Fang Datong’s repetition of the song’s title *Love Song* (34) in the chorus, some of the only few English words in the song, helps to aid the audience’s memory of the song, while also continuously demonstrating to the listener that it is what it professes to be, a simple love song:

Example 6.9

This is a *Love Song* that I wrote for you to listen to.

I always wanted to write a *Love Song*.

You gave me a *Love Song*.

That DJ will play it.

This song will probably imitate it.

If I only wanted to write a *Love Song*.

I always wanted to write a *Love Song*.

You gave me a *Love Song*.

---

145 Well, apart from ‘DJ’ in this song.
你就像那夏天的凉风
Ni jiu xiang na xiatian de liangfeng

吹过我的面孔
Chui guo wo de miankong

真想飞在我心底
Zhen xiang fei zai wo xin di

你就是我的，想说爱你
Ni jiu shi wode, xiang shuo ai ni

You are just like a cool Summer 
breeze blowing on my face

that truly wants to fly to the depths 
of my heart.

You are mine, I want to say I love 
you.

Another final example of this use of epistrophe, is the use of the word ‘everything’ in the Wang Lihong song entitled Everything (85). The frequency of this word in the song, 11 times in fact, is so prevalent that it is difficult to consider the song at all without thinking of this single word. Here is the chorus:

Example 6.10

cause you're my everything
cause you're my everything

就一个原因让我勇敢面对这个世界
jiu yi ge yuanyin rang wo yonggan
miandui zhe ge shijie

想给你 everything
Xiang gei ni everything

这个原因让我勇敢面对这个世界

this reason alone allows me to
bravely face this world

I want to give you everything

不管用多少个明天永远从此刻开始
算起
buguan duoshao ge mingtian
yongyuan cong ci ke kaishi suan qi

It doesn’t matter how many
tomorrows I have, I’ll count forever
as starting from this moment.
6.3.3. Highlighting and foregrounding in the Chorus

One fascinating and relatively common use of English, seen in 10 songs altogether out of the songs that have roughly 50% English content, is when the English is fixed or repeated, while the Chinese lines vary in the chorus. In many songs the English actually IS the chorus, in the sense that it is the consistent linguistic data of the chorus, while the Chinese choruses sometimes change within the choruses in the same song. In this case it is English that gels the chorus, and the song, together. This could help to make the English lyrics memorable, and make them stand out in contrast to the Chinese in the song. This is also seen in Chan’s (2009) study of the use of English in Cantonese Pop Music. Chan (2009) says that

[the] chorus itself is supposed to be highlighted information which expresses the key ideas of the whole song, the elated emotion or feeling of the singer, often repeating again. Code-switching adds emphasis or salience to the chorus where the English lines carry the main thrust of the lyrics. (p. 123)

Highlighting part of the lyrics is also a way by which the lyric writers can give some variety to the choruses, since they are able to vary and enliven the chorus with the addition of new linguistic data in Chinese while the English remains the same. Often roughly half of the chorus is in English and many of the
English words in the chorus are repeated simple ones, while the rest of the content of the chorus is made up by varying the Chinese vocabulary. In the song by Zhang Liangying *I don’t wanna pray* (2), the chorus is repeated three times in the song. Each time the English lyrics in the chorus below are consistent, although some of the Chinese lyrics change:

**Example 6.11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I don't wanna pray I just wanna play</th>
<th>I don't wanna pray I just wanna play</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>我不是你心里所为的那个谁</td>
<td>I’m not the person you think I am in your mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo bu shi ni xinli suowei de na ge shei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna stay there's another way</td>
<td>I don't wanna stay there's another way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>玩到越疲累快乐越沉醉</td>
<td>The more fun I have the more tired I feel, the more my happiness sinks into intoxication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wan dao yue pilei kuaile yue chenzui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna pray</td>
<td>I don't wanna pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>就这样吧把什么都放下</td>
<td>Be just like that, drop everything.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiu zheyang ba ba shenme dou fang xia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>不要以为我情愿被当作刺猬</td>
<td>don’t think I’m willing to be taken for a hedgehog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bu yao yiwei wo qingyuan bei dangzuo ciwei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>就不用安慰</td>
<td>I don’t need to be comforted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiu bu yong anwei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna pray I just wanna</td>
<td>I don't wanna pray I just wanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>爱不就是挣脱寂寞然后不肯给</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna stay there's another way</td>
<td>I don't wanna pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>I just wanna play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna pray I just wanna play</td>
<td>I don't wanna stay there's another way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna pray I just wanna play</td>
<td>I don't wanna pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna pray</td>
<td>I don't wanna stay there's another way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna pray</td>
<td>I just wanna play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't wanna pray</td>
<td>The only reason I leave is because</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation:**

- **Play**
  - 爱不就是挣脱寂寞然后不肯给
  - I don't wanna stay there's another way
  - I just wanna play
- **I Don’t Wanna**
  - 不就是挣脱寂寞然后不肯给
  - I don't wanna stay there's another way
  - I just wanna play
  - The only reason I leave is because
As can be seen from Example 6.11, the second line in each chorus is different from the one previous to it. Each of the second lines still rhymes with the sound /eɪ/ in the English words ‘play’, ‘way’ and ‘pray’ however.

In several cases, repetition of a few simple English words is used to identify the topic of a song. Perhaps these songs are unlikely to have other English in them. Due to the difference from the Chinese lyrics, these words stand out and probably help the audience remember the song.

Zhao (2007) noticed from her corpus that ‘a large amount of pop songs contain a frequently repeated line or lines in English, but the bodies of these songs are almost entirely in Chinese....Typically the repeated English part sums up the general mood of a certain song...’ (p. 59). Addressing the fact that one song had a repetition of the word ‘love’, she said:

In music, repetition is very important to the development of a song. Repetition can strengthen the impression of a song, add unity and make the song easier to remember (Wang Feng-qi, 2006, p. 76). Repetition of love emphasizes that the general mood of the song is about the meaning of love. Switching to English not only organizes the song but also catches the audiences’ attention. (Ibid.)

Another example of this use of repetition to draw attention to certain material in a song is in Everyone can do it (39) by Fang Datong. Here

146 Rhyming also occurs through many of the Chinese lines.
‘love’ is used to fill out the syllable count of the chorus, but also to identify
‘love’ as the central message to the song, and the answer to what everyone is
able to do in the title of the song:

Example 6.12

| 什么比 love love love love 更美  | Nothing is more beautiful than love love love love |
| Shenme bi love love love love geng mei  |  |
| 爱让人安心在梦中熟睡  | love allows people to sleep in peaceful daydreams |
| Ai rang ren anxin zai mengzhong shu shui  |  |
| 啊 love love love love 最美  | love love love love is the most beautiful thing |
| A love love love love zui mei  |  |
| 美在每一个人都会  | The beauty is in the fact that everyone can do it |
| Mei zai mei ge ren dou hui  |  |

The repetition of a few simple English words or phrases coupled with the way
the English language stands out from the Chinese would increase
memorability, and probably the popularity of the song. In addition, by
including a few simple English words, or even one word as in the example
above, the level of English in the songs would be easily comprehensible by
the youth, who would have little trouble with them. Davies and Bentahila
(2008a) emphasise the importance of repetition in the lyrics as a means by
which the songs can become ‘more accessible’ to the audience (p. 8). They also state that

[by] combining repetition of meaning with a switch of language, it is possible to repeat a theme or hammer home a message without risking the monotony which might ensue from repeating exactly the same words.(ibid, p. 17)

6.3.4. Turn-taking

Two speakers each using a particular language can show a kind of parallelism of information through turn-taking also. As has been seen in Want to Know You by Pan Weibo (52), two different codes can be used to indicate turns in conversation. Turn-taking is also evident in The Perfect Interaction (89) by Wang Lihong, where he switches to English to tell the Korean performers he is singing with that it is their turn to sing.

There is a strong case of literary parallelism and turn-taking in the song Pan Weibo sings with the popular R&B artist Akon, Be With You (66). Within the song Akon sings a section in English, Pan Weibo sings a section in Chinese, and then they both sing the chorus in English. This is a kind of parallelism for most of the song, since the sections they sing are roughly the same, although later in the song Pan Weibo, a Chinese-English bilingual, freely moves between English and Chinese, though returning to an English chorus. Though they are both singing about similar situations, they are singing from their own
perspectives in their own languages, singing in harmony together in the English sections that they both agree on in the story of the song. The first two passages are roughly about the same length, while the section which begins ‘and no one knows’ is 22 syllables and the Chinese section sung by Pan Weibo is 23. The singers work in parallel: Pan Weibo singing both in Chinese and English in this song, while Akon expresses himself in English, although he lived for a large part of his life in Senegal:

Example 6.13

Akon: **hey hey hey**

Akon: *I know they wanna come and separate us but they can't do us nothin' your the one I want and I'm a continue lovin' cause your considered wify and I'm considered husband and I'm always be there for you*

Pan Weibo: 我不管你用任何眼光看我我都不会选择放弃
Wo bu guan ni yong renhe yanguang kan wo, wo bu hui xuanze fangqi
我要坚持到底忽略那些冷言冷语
Wo yao jianchi daodi hulü lengyanlengyu
而爱是如此珍贵值得我们彼此相信
Er ai shi ruci zhengui zhide women

Pan Weibo: No matter how you look at me, I won’t choose to give up.
I’ll persist to the end, ignoring bitter remarks.
And love is so precious that it deserves us both to trust in one

---

147 This is not the case in the Pan Weibo song *The Expert* (49) which is more of a vocal conflict between two competitors for the same woman, and is not an expression of harmony.
bici xiangxin
两颗心才越靠越近
Liang ke xin cai yue kao yue jin

Akon: and no one knows
why I’m into you
cause you’ll never know
what it’s like to walk in our shoes

Pan Weibo: 没人会懂是我们的梦
women de meng
dang zai duo kunnan zhiyao qianshou
jiu biande bu tong

Akon and Pan Weibo: that’s why
we’ll break through

Akon: and I don’t care what they
say
I’m gonna be with you
I’m gonna be with you
I’m wanna be with you

Pan Weibo: 我不在乎怎么做
Pan Weibo: wo bu zaihu zenme zuo
I’m gonna be with you
I’m gonna be with you
I’m gonna be with you

6.3.5. Rhyme

1) Rhyming sounds

English is often used within Chinese language songs to enhance rhyming
resources. Out of the corpus of 150 songs, 90 songs have rhyming either
between Chinese and English, or within an English section (or English
language island) in the lyrics. Analysis of the corpus shows that rhyming most frequently occurs on the vowel sounds of /iː/, /oʊ/ and /aɪ/, though rhyming is also common on /eɪ/ and /au/, and found sometimes, but less frequently on other sounds like /ɪŋ/, /wɑː/, /ɒŋ/ /æŋ/. Zhang Hua (2005, pp. 32-3) draws attention to rhyming on two sounds in particular, /aɪ/ and /iː/, while Zhao (2007, p. 61) also sees these sounds occurring frequently in her corpus). Only English language islands, such as sections of English rap, permit rhymes on typically English sounds of /aɪt/, /ɜːrl/, /ækl/, and /eɪtl/.

The most commonly rhymed English words are simple one (or two) syllable English words. For the most frequently rhymed four sounds of /iː/, /oʊ/, /aɪ/, and /au/, the most often rhymed words, are, respectively, for /iː/ ‘baby, see, me’, for /oʊ/ ‘no, go’ and ‘so’, for /aɪ/ ‘high, fly’ and ‘why’, and for /au/ ‘now, how’. Common rhymes on other vowel sounds are on the sound of /eɪ/ ‘baby, stay, away’, /uː/ ‘you, too’, and /ɪŋ/ ‘ring, king, sing’.

The most frequently occurring rhymes are rhymes between ‘me’, ‘baby,’ together with combinations of 你 ‘you’, and 里 ‘there’, but occurring alone means
‘inside’. This is to be expected in pop music which often deals with songs of love and strong emotion. An example of this kind of rhyming is from the song 着迷 Mesmerised (62), by Pan Weibo:

Example 6.14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>baby baby 就是你</th>
<th>Baby, baby, it’s you.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baby baby jiu shi ni</td>
<td>You are the secret placed in my heart,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>放在心中的秘密</td>
<td>I want to be with you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fang zai xinzhong de mimi</td>
<td>This is such sweet honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>要和你在一起</td>
<td>Oh you’re the one for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yao he ni zai yiqi</td>
<td>Oh you’re the one for me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>这是多么的甜蜜喔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhe shi duome de tianmi wo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh you’re the one for me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this section of the song, the rhymes are made on the last sounds of each line (except for the case in the fourth line with a particle present at the end of the line outside the rhyme) on ni, mi, yiqi and mi in Chinese, finally rhyming on the English word ‘me’. The two words 密 m* (secret) and 蜜 m* (honey), are both homophones with the English word ‘me’ and also rhyme with the second syllable of ‘baby.’ Other examples of rhyming on homophones between the two languages will be seen later in this chapter. Typically, the rhyming is on one syllable English words, but it is very common for sounds to rhyme on /iː/
at the end of English words, such as ‘baby’ and ‘sweetie’. This may be because many Chinese words end in vowels but also because syllable final consonants and consonant clusters are more common in English.

Zhang Hua (2005), Zhao (2007), and Cai (2008) all believe that rhyme has a large part to play in the popularity of a song. Zhao (2007, p. 62) says: ‘Compared with Chinese, English enjoys richer rhyme schemes. Switching to English for rhymes can make a song easier to remember and lead to its popularity’. Zhang Hua (2005, p. 32) agrees with this, saying that the sound structure of the lyrics plays an important role in the structure of the music. Cai (2008) adds to this by saying that whether

…a song can become popular or not, the rhyme of the song plays a very important role. If a song has good sound structure, it will be much easier for the audience to imitate. (p. 46)

Sometimes rhyme appears in a stylistic exchange between two participants in a song, as in this patterned rhythmic dialogue in song which mimics a conversation between a man and a woman in the song *Vindication* by Xiao Yaxuan (118). It should be mentioned though that although this mock conversation is clearly patterned for the purposes of rhythm and rhyme, it does also try to present an almost conversational situation where two bilinguals are freely able to switch their speech between two languages:
Example 6.15

F: Hey boy how ya doing?
M: Wassup girl? I’m doing good

F: 想要告诉你一件事情
Xiang gaosu ni yi jian shiqing
I don’t know if I should

M: 没有关系说吧
Mei guanxi shuo ba
不要想太多啦
Bu yao xiang tai duo la

F: 我要让你知道
Wo xiang rang ni zhidao
that I wanna be your girl,
一直想要问你
Yi zhi xiang wen ni
想不想 rock my world?
Xiang bu xiang rock my world?

M: wa! 怎么这样
你打动我的心
我整个 feel like I’m out control
M: wa! Zenme zheyang
Ni dadong wode xin
Wo zheng ge feel like I’m out control

Hey boy how ya doing?
Wassup girl? I’m doing good
I want to tell you something’
I don’t know if I should
no problem, just tell me
don’t think too much about it
I want to let you know
that I wanna be your girl,
I’ve always wanted to ask you
do you want to rock my world?
Whoh! How could it be?
Your words have moved me
I feel (completely) like I’m out of control

The present corpus tends to confirm that the memorability of the song lyrics plays a large part in the popularity of a song. However, rap, which includes or is completely English, need not be memorable or be easily imitated for a
Chinese speaking audience to enjoy. The presence of rap entirely in English within hip-hop songs, encountered earlier in this chapter, shows that rhyming with English can be genre-specific too, and so it is not always important whether the audience can bring the lyrics to mind, or be able to sing them.

Zhang Hua (2005), who also identifies the importance of English within rap songs, says that rap is ‘extremely demanding on rhyme’ (p. 32). There are also cases where English is used where the songwriter may have run out of options, or to create variation, in their use of vocabulary.

Xiao 2003, translated by Zhao (2007, p. 60), believes that adding rhymes with codeswitching have the result of ‘enhancing beauty and adding force’. Xiao says that in the Chinese language,

…rhyme is usually constructed by words with same vowels [sic]. In contrast, English rhymes are more colorful, including end-rhyme, alliteration, consonance, assonance, bracket rhyme and internal rhyme.

The use of end-rhymes, internal rhymes, and other kinds of rhyme will be examined in the next section.

2) End rhymes and internal rhymes
Davies and Bentahila (2008a, p. 4) say that many types of popular songs ‘typically exploit rhyme at the ends of the lines.’ Watson (1971, pp. 16-17) commenting on the shi, the earliest Chinese poetic forms, has said that the
Chinese tradition often much make use of end-rhyming.\textsuperscript{148} Of the end rhymes within this corpus, in many cases the rhyming is on short words in English ending on vowels, and some English words of one syllable with mixed consonant sounds, like babe, may be modified to ‘baby’ to permit rhyming on /iː/. Due to the frequent presence of syllables which end in consonants in English, Chinese often end-rhymes on the vowel sounds before the final consonant, a kind of rhyming called assonance.

A rhyming pair which occurs twice within the corpus is that of Mr Right and明白 mingbai ‘understand’. These are in songs both by female artists, that of Cai Yilin (111) (Example 6.16) and Xiao Yaxuan (120) (Example 6.17) respectively, and are both connected by end (and, in the second) half-line rhymes. It is interesting to note the assonance that occurs at the end of each line on the vowels, although the English consonants of ‘r’ and ‘t’ surround the diphthong /aɪ/ when it is used in the word ‘Right’:

\textbf{Example 6.16}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
关于爱情过去没有异想的结局 & In the past, where love is concerned, there was no extraordinary ending, \\
Guanyu aiqing guoqu mei you & \\
yixiang de jieju & \\
那天起却颠覆了自己逻辑 & from that day, I subverted my logic, \\
Na tian qi que dianfu le ziji de luoji & \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{148} Along with verbal parallelism, as has been noted earlier in this chapter.
我的怀疑所有答案因你而明白
Wo de huaiyi suoyou da’an yin ni er mingbai

转啊转就真的遇见 Mr. Right
Zhuan a zhuan jiu zhen de yujian Mr. Right

Example 6.17

不意外
Bu yiwai

This is not by accident

太容易出现就不叫做 Mr. Right
Tai rongyi chuxian jiu bu jiaozuo Mr. Right

If he’s too easy to come by he shouldn’t be called Mr. Right

想表白
Xiang biaobai

I want to express my feelings

拿着麦克风声嘶力竭唱出来
Nazhe maikefeng shengsilixie chang chu lai

Holding the microphone, shouting myself hoarse, I sing them out.

As the singer often pauses half way through a line, sometimes it is hard to tell if the lyrics rhyme at the end of lines or at the end of every second line.

However, many cases of internal rhyme, due to frequent rhyming on similar sounds very close together, are easy to identify. This is the case in the song Tell Me (56) by Pan Weibo, and in many hip-hop songs – though in the case of hip-hop, sometimes English sounds are altered to match the rhyme. In the example here, ‘foo’ is African American English pronunciation:
Example 6.18

**girlfriend you better know that you fly**

I’m not always so nasty like other guys.

**我不像其他男孩永远都是那么坏**

Wo bu xiang qita nanhái yongyuan
dou shi name huai

My face is flushed, my heartbeat and breathing have all sped up.

**真的应该怎么办我看我只能摆 cool**

Zhen de yinggai zenme ban, wo kan
wo zhi neng bǎi cool

Really what should I do? I think I’d better play it cool.

**晚上戴著墨镜却又怕超俗**

Wanshang daizhe mojing que you pa
chaosu

At night-time I’m wearing sunglasses, but fear I’m exceeding good taste.

**求你现在回头我保证立刻回家吃素**

Qiu ni xianzài huitou wo baozheng
like huijia chisu

I pray for you to turn around, I promise to go straight back home and eat vegetarian food.

**信不信不由你有够神奇**

Xin bu xin you ni you gou shenqi

Believe it or not you’ve got enough magic.

**眼神的交会产生一种电流**

Yanshen de jiaohui chansheng yi
zhong dianliu

Exchanging our glances can create an electric current.

**说实在我也不太懂**

Shuo shizai wo ye bu tai dong

To be honest, I don’t really understand either.

**要我怎么说要我怎么做你才会明白我的心**

Yao wo zenme shuo yao wo zenme
zuo ni cai hui mingbai wo de xin

What do I need to say, what do I need to do, for you to understand my feelings?

**you'll be looking at me I'll be looking at you like a crazy foo(l)**

**How do I**

打个招呼？
How do I da ge zhaohu？

how do I say hello to you?
Internal rhyme and end rhyme are present here on the sound /aɪ/ in the first two lines, and in the last two lines, one can see the internal rhyming of ‘you’ and ‘foo’, along with zhao and ‘you’ in the last line. Davies and Bentahila (2008a) indicate (pp. 5-6) that in some situations the rhymes are forced to be able to rhyme between the two languages where there is ‘less than total equivalence’. Another example of the pronunciation of an English word being altered in this corpus is with the sound of the word ‘row’, like row and aisle, in the song *Yalta* sung by Zhang Liangying (26), although this rhyme only occurs within the English of the song:

Example 6.19

(F: it's like a shadow)

M: oh Right beside me
always hold me down show no love
inside me

(F: it's like a shadow)\(^\text{149}\)
got my back in time any place any
situation any faces

In the front, show me the right row, right here right now

\(^{149}\) The brackets here denote words echoed in background.
(F: it’s like a shadow, shadow)

任何方向，前后左右
Renhe fangxiang, qianhou zuyou
shows up let's go

The word ‘row’ here is rather problematic, since it is sung to rhyme with the usual pronunciation of ‘now’, which normally has the meaning of an argument. However, it is unlikely that many people would pay such close attention to these words, and that the presence of these words in the song is more for image (attitude) and rhythm and rhyme than for any meaningful purpose.

Sarkar, Winer and Sarkar (2005) say the following about the use of internal and end rhyme in rap lyrics:

Rap music relies on rhyme and rhythm for its effect, rather than on melody. A strong ‘beat’ underlies the spoken or chanted text...The text must follow the beat in order to qualify as good rap – to ‘flow’. The use of rhyme in rap lyrics – both final and internal – is crucial to the success of any rap number. A powerful use of rhyme can be very effective in ensuring that the lyric adheres to and enhances the beat; internal and final rhyme structures are often extremely sophisticated. (p. 2070)

The authors also say that:

In Montreal hip-hop, the possibilities for creating internal and final rhyme are multiplied by the availability of so many
languages and language varieties. Rappers draw on all possible linguistic sources in their rhyming. The end product is rich, dense, and complex in its use of rhyme. It makes extensive use of code-switching to achieve this effect. (ibid.)

Though they are writing about Montreal hip-hop, their opinion is also relevant concerning the CE songs performed by the bilingual singers discussed in this thesis. If rappers make use of all their available linguistic resources to rap, then for bilingual rappers it must be almost necessary to use their different languages in order to fully express themselves in rap performance within the song.

3) Rhyme Patterns
There are a few main patterns of rhyming between English and Chinese in this corpus. The first pattern is when the lines rhyme AAAA or when there are four consecutive end rhymes, the second seen is ABAB, when there is alternate line rhyming. Also evident in the corpus is the use of double rhyming and the rhyming of homophones – which is when the sounds of both of the words are almost identical.

AAAA

This is the most common pattern, which exists in Chinese used alone, as well as when Chinese and English are used together. End-line rhyming is common in Chinese, and is a long established pattern in traditional Chinese poetry,
which was, in the case of Tang poetic forms, often composed of five or seven individual monosyllabic morphemes (Crespi, 2003, pp. 364-365).

Typically a sung segment lasts for four lines in Chinese. The first stanza of Zhang Liangying’s song 我相信 I believe (5), presented below, rhymes on the /iː/ sounds in ‘believe’ and on the /iː/ sounds in Chinese internally and at the end of lines on the Chinese words *huxi, yiyi, tanxi, miwang* and *jixu*. This also displays what has been observed in the section on internal and end rhymes, that often syllables that end with vowels in Chinese are rhymed with syllables in English that contain the same vowels but end in consonants, as in the /iː/ of the word ‘believe’.

**Example 6.20**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>coz I believe coz I believe</strong></th>
<th><strong>coz I believe coz I believe</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>每个呼吸都有意义</td>
<td>every breath has meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mei ge huxi dou you yiyi</td>
<td>逝去的太多啊没有时间叹息</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shiqu de tai duo a mei you shijian</td>
<td>too much has died away, there’s no time to sigh with regret,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanxi</td>
<td>再迷惘也继续</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zai miwang ye jixu</td>
<td>continue to be confused and [the situation] will also continue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One other thing to notice here is that sometimes the end rhymes can appear on the second to last syllable of the last word in a line, as with /x/. Despite this, there is still a pattern of four end-rhymes, since the rhyme is on the last word of the line.

Another interesting example of this pattern is the chorus of the Cai Yilin song 我的依赖 Accompany With Me (113), where each of the four lines rhymes on the sound ‘lai’, in the second line, that are present in the word /laɪf/. It can be observed that while the rhyme occurs on the /aɪ/ here, the English syllable permits rhyming on the sound together with a final consonant (hence /aɪf/), which is not allowed in Chinese.

Example 6.21

我们从牵手放手又牵手走过来
Women cong qian shou fang shou you qian shou zou guo lai

愿意为更懂你的心 spending all my life
Yuanyi wei geng dong ni de xin spending all my life

每当情绪像海你只抱我从不催我讲出来
Mei dang qingxu xiang hai ni zhi bao wo cong bu cui wo jin chu lai

We go from hand in hand to letting go then walk hand in hand together again

I’m willing to spend all of my life to better understand your heart ¹⁵¹

Every time my mood is like the sea, and you only hold onto me, and don’t urge me to enter

¹⁵⁰ Again this is the English title of the song, not a direct translation of the Chinese title.

¹⁵¹ Actually this is probably more like 'I am willing to spending all of my life to better understand your heart', but that wouldn't be such a good translation.
我就明白你是我的依赖
Wo jiu mingbai ni shi wode yilai

I realize you are what I rely upon.

The next four lines of this song, although in Chinese, also take this same pattern of AAAA.

The pattern of four end-rhymes can also exist only in codeswitched English words. In Wang Lihong’s song 华人万岁 Long Live Chinese People (98) rhyming occurs consecutively four times on English words with /ɪs/, a sound combination not present in Chinese:

Example 6.22

Hey check this out wow wow wow watch this
Hey check this out wow wow wow watch this

What?
What?

从来没说过中文 like this (nope)
Conglai mei ren shuoguo zhongwen like this (nope)

There’s never been anyone who’s spoken Chinese like this (nope)

标准可是加了王力宏的 twists
Biaozhun keshi jia le Wang Lihong de twists

standard, but added to by Wang Lihong’s twists

华人一直都在创下 history
Huaren yizhi dou zai chuangxia

Chinese are always making history

lai 輯 in the final line is a homophone with the two lai 来 in line one and three of this example, so this is an example of homophones being used to rhyme in Chinese.
This is clearly intended to show off his linguistic flexibility here, since the first part of each line is in Chinese and he finishes the lines with English. However, once this pattern is started, particularly if it uses sounds only present in English, it usually requires continuation in successive lines. Davies and Bentahila (2008a) also identify this pattern. They say that quite often ‘the combination of rhyme with recurrent switches at the ends of lines reinforces the demarcation of the lines and…builds up an expectation in the listener that the pattern will continue.’ (p. 5)\footnote{Such reinforcement may also apply to other forms of parallelism discussed in this chapter.}

For four or more lines to rhyme in the same way seems to be a regular pattern in Chinese pop songs and not only those that employ English. Often when a pattern is established in a number of lines, typically in a chorus, it is broken by finishing on an unrhymed line.

ABAB

ABAB is when there is rhyming on alternate lines. That sometimes a pattern is broken on a line that doesn’t rhyme, as has been observed in some of the
examples discussed in the previous section, is also the case for the ABAB pattern. The following example is one which has been encountered in a previous example discussed under the topic of parallelism (Example 6.7).

However, the rhymes only occur on the Chinese in this example:

Example 6.23

**Everytime's a Goodtime**
我把烦恼忘记
Wo ba fannao wang

**Everytime's a Goodtime**
分享整夜的繁星
Fenxiang zheng ye de fan xing

**Everytime's a Goodtime**
交换心动秘密
Jiaohuan xindong mimi

**Everytime's a Goodtime**
想请你答应我的邀请
Xiang qing ni daying wo de yaoqing

**Everytime's a Goodtime**
每秒都是惊喜
Mei miao dou shi jingxi

**Everytime's a Goodtime**
无法不迷上你
Wufa bu mishang ni

**Everytime's a Goodtime**
我要你永远不会想回去
Wo yao ni yongyuan bu hui xiang hui qu

**Everytime's a Goodtime I**
forget my worries

daying wo de yaoqing

to exchange secret desires

to agree to my invitation

to create limitless happiness

can’t help being crazy about you

I want you to never ever think of going back.
The first two lines of the example above set up an ABAB pattern in the rhyme scheme, although this pattern is abandoned in the final line. In this sense it gives a kind of conclusion, as it breaks the expected scheme, yet concluding a section of rhyme with an unrhymed line seems to be common also in the purely Chinese rhymed sections of many songs too. Hip-hop typically uses half-rhyme as is the case in this English rap from the song 光荣 Gloria (61) also by Pan Weibo, in Example 6.24 below:

Example 6.24

Step back 'cause it's victory time
You’ve been searching for the boy but the boys are mine
Wipe the sweat off your face
Trying to make us all hate
You’re going crazy in this place
You know its all about fate
Why you've you been talking smack when you're losing the sack
If you wanna know my name you better study your facts
You better get this right in your freaking life
You're gonna spoil the after-party 'cause we’re popping tonight
Come on
4) Rhyming on English acronyms

There are also cases in the corpus where Chinese rhymes with English acronyms. This is the case in the song *Who’s MVP?* (47) by Pan Weibo. In example 6.25, the /iː/ sound of the letters P and V are rhymed on with internal and end rhymes:

**Example 6.25**

谁是 MVP? Shei shi MVP?  
一定就是你 Yiding jiu shi ni  
谁是 MVP? Shei shi MVP?  
oh 别怀疑一定就是你 Oh bie huaiyi yiding jiu shi ni  
Who’s the MVP?  
It’s you, for sure.  
Who’s the MVP?  
Oh, don’t have any doubts, it’s you for sure.

*Cockney Girl* (91) by Wang Lihong is another example of rhyming on acronyms. In this case the rhyme is on BBC (British Born Chinese), which is also rhyming on the /iː/ sound:

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154 MVP is an acronym which means Most Valued Player, and is an award likely to be most remembered by the young audience in relation to American basketball competitions. However, in the hip-hop context it means Most Valued Poet (on the mic), according to [http://www.faqs.org/faqs/music/hip-hop/dictionary/part2/](http://www.faqs.org/faqs/music/hip-hop/dictionary/part2/).
Example 6.26

突然一名可爱 BBC
Turan yi ming keai BBC

毫不犹豫拉我进舞群里
Hao bu youyu la wo jin wu qun li

Suddenly a cute BBC,
Without hesitation, pulled me onto the dance floor.

An advantage of these rhymes on acronyms is that they require little knowledge of English, aside from simple ABC. Though these are actually abbreviations for concepts in English, it is possible that some people understand certain acronyms that are used within Chinese without understanding what they are abbreviations for in English.\(^{155}\) Such rhyming is often on /iː/ sounds. This is due to the fact that many letter sounds in English are similar to /iː/, a common word vowel final in Chinese. As has been demonstrated in preceding discussion, /iː/ is a common end-rhyme between Chinese and English.

5) Double rhymes

In a few of the songs in this corpus, the rhymes on English and Chinese happen on identical, or almost identical, sounds. This is the case for four songs in particular. A special case of this is the two syllables of 打烊 dayang’to shut

\(^{155}\)This may be the case with MVP.
up for the day’ in the following section of Zhang Liangying’s song 日落大道

Sunset Boulevard (23):

Example 6.27

我这里落的夕阳
Wo zheli luo de xiyang

是你那升起朝阳
Shi ni na shengqi zhaoyang

日落大道永不打烊
Riluodadao yong bu da yang

The sun that is setting where I am

is for you the morning rising sun

Sunset Boulevard never closes for the night

with dying young
with dying young

In this example there are not only four end rhymes on the sound /ŋ/, namely in yang, yang, yang, and young, but the ng ending is also echoed in internal rhyme in the second, third and fourth lines. Two more cases of double rhymes with distinct sounds in each syllable in the phrases exist within the corpus. The first is in a section of the Pan Weibo song White Dream Wishful Thinking (69), Example 6.28 below. In this example from the song, the double rhyming is on /aɪ/, and then on /ʊə/ in the words 派头 paitou, which means ‘style, air or
manner’, and ‘title’. Although the English and Chinese are not identical in the second rhyme, they are close enough for the purposes of double rhyming.\footnote{There are also certain similarities between the sounds of \textit{ge} and \textit{de}, which could make this close even to triple rhyming.}

Example 6.28

司机保镖八个作个派头  
\textit{Siji baobiao ba ge zuo ge paitou}

I have eight people, my drivers and bodyguards, to show off with,

黄金单身汉是我的 title  
\textit{Huangjin danshen han shi wo de title}

‘Bachelor in the prime of life’ is my title.

Yet another instance of double rhyming is in the song \textit{Our song} (82) by Wang Lihong. In the chorus there are two paired three-syllable phrases in Chinese and English: 跨时代 \textit{kuaishidai} ‘stride across the times’, and ‘kiss goodbye.’

Example 6.29

这张 \textit{forever love} 那么深  
\textit{zhe zhang forever love name shen}

This [album] \textit{forever love} is so deep

我们的歌那么真  
\textit{women de ge name zhen}

Our song is so true

不过界跨时代  
\textit{Bu guo jie kuaishidai}

it doesn’t go past boundaries, stride across the times,

再不会叫我 \textit{kiss goodbye}  
\textit{zai bu hui jiao wo kiss goodbye}

it will no longer make me \textit{kiss goodbye}.

有没有一句能够动人心弦?  
\textit{you mei you yi ju nenggou dong ren xinxian?}

Isn’t there a line [within it] which can deeply move people?

ye ye
The beginning of the phrase in the third line of this passage *kua shidai* alliterates with that of ‘kiss’ in the fourth line. Although the middle of each of these phrases is unrhymed *shi* and ‘good’, each phrase ends on the sound /aɪ/, with *dai* and ‘bye’. Another interesting fact is that *bye* and *dai* here do not exist as words on their own, but are the second half of the words ‘goodbye’ and *shidai*, and as a result, the rhythm of these two phrases matches almost perfectly.

**6) Homophones and Near Homophones**
Aside from double rhymes, there are also homophones between English and Chinese, when there is a play on words which sound identical (or almost identical) between the two languages. A particularly impressive case of the use of homophones between English and Chinese is the song by Wang Lihong, *爱得得体 Dirty Love* (79). In this case, there are homophones 得体 *derti*, which is an adjective meaning to do something in the appropriate way, and the English word ‘dirty’. They serve as a counterpoint and the central ‘argument’ of the song.\(^\text{157}\) In this song, it is often unclear whether the love is straight up and appropriate, or dirty, as confusion is created and reveled in through the

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\(^{157}\) This is obvious in the Chinese and English names for the song. The difference between the two words only exists in the written lyrics for the song. From listening to the song, most instances could be either meaning.
two dueling concepts expressed by the same sounds. Here is the second part of the central chorus of the song:

Example 6.30

放开心
Fangkai ni de xin

我会爱你爱得得体
wo hui ai ni ai de [deti] \(^{158}\)

你的晚礼服
nide wan li fu

我会帮你洗
wo hui bang ni xi

得体还是 [dirty]? 
Deti hai shi [dirty]?

Open up your heart

I’ll love you in an appropriate way

Your evening dress

I’ll wash for you

I’ll love you in an appropriate way

Let me ask you a question:

(Do you want) appropriate or dirty?

\(^{158}\) Note again that each of the instances of 得体 deti in the song could either mean ‘appropriate’ or ‘dirty’ to a bilingual listener.
Such puns on homophones are often used within Chinese, where, due to the monosyllabic nature of many Chinese words, they are perhaps more common than English. Bilingual ‘punning’, has been regarded by Chan (2009, p. 114) in relation to CS in Hong Kong Cantopop, to be ‘typical of written genres or planned discourse’, and ‘which is often associated with planned discourse, such as poetic texts, rather than spontaneous conversation. Punning is a well-thought-out manipulation of words; that is, a speaker does not always come up with all these skillful puns in real-time conversation.’ Punning on homophones has been attested in other languages too. Y. Kachru (2006, p. 230) observes punning on the double meaning of the sounds of words in Hindi-English song lyrics, and cites Stenfanowitsch 2000 who says that puns when codeswitching with English are also attested in German. It is likely to be enjoyed a great deal by the audience due to its creative use of language.

Homophones are used in one special situation within this corpus, where, although the actual homophones are in Chinese, the pun is created through the English which relates to it. In the phrase ‘恋爱 99 久久’ lian ai ninety-nine jiujiu in the song 喜欢你没道理 Like you for no reason (33) by Zhang Shaohao, the English word ‘nine’ is used to rhyme with the word 爱 ai in Chinese. The numbers are meaningful in other parts of the song, referring to 99 roses and 99 tears. Jiujiu ‘for a long time,’ used after the English word
‘ninety-nine’ is homophonic to the Chinese pronunciation for 99 ‘nine nine’.

However, *jiujiu* doesn’t echo the Chinese number for 99, which would be *jiushunjiu* in Chinese, but refers to the length of time of the love affair, though a pun on the sound is created from the understanding of the meaning of the number said in English.

Example 6.31

| 恋爱 ninety-nine 久久延续的浪漫 | Relationship ninety-nine, a long-time continuous romance, |
| Lianai ninety-nine jiujiu yanxu de langman | |
| 喜欢你没有道理好心情用不完 | I like you for no reason, a good mood that will never be used up. |
| xihuan ni mei you daoli hao xinqing yong bu wan | |
| 恋爱 ninety-nine 久久甜蜜在心坎 | Relationship ninety-nine, sweet honey in the bottom of your heart for a very long time, |
| lianai ninety-nine jiujiu tianmi zai xinruan | |
| 品尝你温柔宠爱超完美的口感 | I taste your tenderness and doting on me, it’s a flavor beyond perfection. |
| pinchang ni wenrou chongai chao wanmei de kougan | |

Punning on shared sounds between languages is a very advanced stylistic technique aesthetically. Such punning would certainly make a song seem fresh.

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159 Also notice the end-line rhymes on ‘au’ in this example.
and original, and so would be likely to influence its popularity, especially among bilingual Chinese youth.

6.3.6. Section Summary

The examination of literary aspects of CE codeswitching songs has identified a number of aspects, which, while it is not always immediately apparent how they influence the popularity of a song, no doubt broaden the aesthetic appeal of a song due to the addition of another language.

Firstly, certain benefits of structuring CE songs in particular ways have been drawn attention to. These include placing rap sections in the second half of songs, indicating that English will be in a song’s chorus due to the presence of English in other parts of a song, or repeating a few simple English phrases as opposed to varying the English language material when the two languages frequently switch with one another. The position of English in the song and how it makes the choruses stand out also seem important to the audience, as will be seen in Chapter Eight.

Also seen has been the use of English to set the scene or background of a song, either through samples or miniplays. The presence of these is usually connected with the intertextuality of many popular songs: miniplays in English may mimic the introduction to some English language MTV videos or English
language movie previews, while some samples or sung phrases connect the minds of the audience to well recognised phrases from English language movies. It is clear from data collected in participant observation, interviews and in the KTV environment that young people are very familiar with Western movies and media.  

Repetition, parallelism, and other factors also emphasise and develop the aesthetic appeal of a song, and are all likely to be influential on the popularity of a song among the audience. In addition, the parallelism of lines and phrases between two languages allows an artist to display their bilingual background and linguistic facility, matters which are very important to the fans of these codeswitching artists. 

Finally, the amazing extent to which codeswitching occurs for the sake of exploiting the rhyming resources of English has been shown, together with the double rhyming and bilingual punning on homophones between the two languages which has been observed to create a greater richness of meaning than is available in one language. Although other scholars, including Chinese scholars who have examined CE codeswitching in Chinese pop songs, have identified rhyme as an important reason for codeswitching, the present study

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160 This will also be seen in the audience chapter.

161 As is seen from the interview responses of a fan of Wang Lihong in Chapter Eight.
identifies it as a rich resource which would certainly enhance a song’s aesthetic appeal in the audience, as will be seen in the audience study.\textsuperscript{162}

\textbf{6.4. Chapter Conclusion}

In this chapter both the performance and literary aspects of the English elements of CE codeswitching in contemporary Chinese pop songs have been examined. A number of findings have been made within each of these topics.

In examining the performance aspects, there were several functions of the English that is spoken, and not sung, observed within the corpus: to introduce participants, to control the music, to encourage, to ‘step out’ into conversation, to show virtuosity, and to confirm information. The importance of rap within the present corpus was emphasized, and it was indicated that rap’s stylistic function may be more important than its intelligibility to the audience.

There were also a number of literary aspects identified where CS seems to increase the aesthetic appeal of a song. These include: placing codeswitched sections in a place which may maximise intelligibility, or by the repetition of only a few short simple phrases. The use of English for scene-setting, the use of repetition to increase memorability, and several instances of poetic parallelism, or anaphora were also drawn attention to. Finally, there was an

\textsuperscript{162} And when the relative importance of these factors is addressed in Chapter Nine.
examination of the extent to which CE songs use English as a rhyming resource for end-line rhymes, double rhymes, and bilingual punning on homophones, and near homophones.
Chapter Seven: Sociocultural Aspects of CE codeswitching in songs

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will examine social and cultural aspects relevant to the popularity of CE songs within the metropolitan youth audience of Shanghai. However, as these songs are not solely written for the Shanghai youth audience, it is important to consider the role played by globalisation and a transnational Chinese identity.

The first section of this chapter will look into how codeswitching serves to express the identity of the singers within this corpus. It will look at the way in which the language within the recordings indicates the linguistic and educational background of the singers, and then focus on how CS may serve to display linguistic ability and flexibility of the singers and increase their status.

The second section of this chapter will explore how the codeswitching within the corpus may draw close to particular audiences. First, it will examine how the use of China English and particular forms of hybrid language use may help draw close to young urban youth in a place such as Shanghai, and will then go on to uncover how language use and CS may make the songs more popular with specific audiences in Shanghai, such as Chinese returnees, hip-hop fans,
students from other parts of Asia living in Shanghai, and Chinese fans of other East Asian pop music.

Although both of the above areas are examined as a separate section within the chapter, it is important to recognise that each of these is not completely separate. This is not only due to the constant movement between the local and the global, planned marketing in the music industry and adjusting to local conditions, but also to the particular interests and background of the singer and the particular creative process of song writing. It must also be mentioned that this chapter examines the popularity of these CS songs without focusing on the audience’s perspective, since this is the purpose of Chapter Eight.

7.2. Codeswitching as expression of singer identity

7.2.1. As an expression of singer background

Given that most of the singers are bilingual or multilingual speakers, the codeswitching in these songs may be, or seem to be – especially when many of the singers do not write their own songs – an expression of the linguistic and cultural background of the singers. This is particularly the case for the singers within the corpus born in the United States, such as Wang Lihong and Pan Weibo, and those who closely identify with the United States through a long period living and studying there, such as Tao Zhe. Wang Lihong and Pan
Weibo in particular utilise African American English within the codeswitching in many of their songs to identify their American cultural roots, and both of these performers explicitly draw attention to their own background in the songs they write or in those they perform: Wang Lihong identifies himself by the label 华人 Hu1r5n ‘Chinese Person’ in the song 华人万岁 Long live Chinese People! (98), and elsewhere throughout the corpus, although he is an American Born Chinese person, and Pan Weibo identifies his own background by including biographical information in his songs, most notably in the song 怎么着 How? (76).

Many singers in the present corpus could be regarded as having ‘transnational’ identities. Appadurai (1996, p. 172) identifies a ‘transnation’ as a state which is ‘delocalised’ and which ‘retains a special ideological link to a putative place of origin but is otherwise a thoroughly diasporic collectivity.’ This would also be the case for the ethnic Chinese singer from Malaysia in the present corpus, but the singers from elsewhere, such as those from Taiwan and Zhang Liangying, who was born and educated in China, would also have a sense that they are connected to the ethnically Chinese people in other places.

Transnational bilingual individuals such as Wang Lihong and others know that they have a mixed linguistic and cultural identity and express it through codeswitching. The bilingual image of the pop performer may also serve as a
role model for a kind of transnational Chinese bilingual identity, something which will be explored in the chapter on the audience.

7.2.2. As an expression of linguistic flexibility and adeptness

Many scholars have identified that an artist emphasizing his or her English abilities also serves to increase his or her status within the audience, most of whom are learning English in schools or university. Zhang Hua (2005, p. 29), whose opinion is echoed by Xu (2007, pp. 50-51),\(^{163}\) says that

\[\ldots\]songwriters and singers like to use the strategy of codeswitching to show their linguistic superiority and assert their social status...singers who have received high education are more likely to use C/E codeswitching in their songs...It almost goes without saying that singers who have educational experiences overseas use more C/E codeswitching in their songs to stress their educational background.\(^{164}\)

Zhang Hua (2005) cites Wang Lihong and Pan Weibo as examples of people who do this. Cai (2008, p. 49) also mentions that ‘songwriters and singers may be motivated to use the codeswitching strategy to show their linguistic superiority and elevate their social status, so as to make them more famous.’

Wang (2007, p. 156) has also commented that English is used as an identity marker for the singers and their social status.

\(^{163}\)Almost in identical words.

\(^{164}\)Zhang Hua (2005) uses the term ‘C/E codeswitching’ for Chinese-English codeswitching, while in this thesis the term ‘CE codeswitching’ is used, and the noun phrase ‘Chinese-English codeswitching songs’ is often shortened to ‘CE songs’.
In Wang Lihong’s case, which is also somewhat representative of the situation of other singer-songwriters like Pan Weibo, it is not just that he is trying to demonstrate his linguistic superiority in English. He is trying to show off the fact that he has a rare talent and that there are few other people who can manipulate language in the same way as him. That Wang Lihong wants his audience to acknowledge that he is an accomplished bilingual performer, not just a Chinese singer who can use a few words of English in his songs is shown by these lines from the song *Long Live Chinese People!*:

**Example 7.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hey check this out, wow wow wow, watch this (what?)</th>
<th>Hey check this out, wow wow wow, watch this (what?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>从来没人说过中文 like this (nope) Conglai mei ren shuoguo zhongwen like this (nope)</td>
<td>There’s never been anyone whose spoken Chinese like this (nope)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>标准可是加了王力宏的 twists Biaozhun keshi jia le Wang Lihong de twists</td>
<td>Standard, but with Wang Lihong’s twists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>华人一直都在创下 history Huaren yizhi dou zai chuangxia history</td>
<td>Chinese people are always making history.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that Wang Lihong is using codeswitching to show off his ability at codeswitching to his audience is often indicated by his use of the directives

\[\text{\textsuperscript{165}} \text{This was also identified as Example 5.46 earlier in this thesis.}\]
‘watch this’ or ‘check this out’ before a section of the song with complex CS. This is also the case in the following mixed language rap in his song

*Follow Me* (103):

Example 7.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>la la la la la follow me (check this out!)</th>
<th>la la la la la follow me (check this out!)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>把我的新歌都装进你的 <em>I Pod</em> 里</td>
<td>Put all my new songs in your <em>I Pod</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo haoxiang ban ni zhuangjin ni de <em>I Pod</em> li</td>
<td>It’s like I’ve put you inside my luggage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>当我在唱歌的时候心里在想你</td>
<td>when I sing songs, I’m always thinking of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang wo zai chang ge de shihou xin li zai xiang ni</td>
<td>but if you need someone to help you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>但如果要人帮你就赶快 <strong>call me</strong></td>
<td><strong>call me</strong> straightaway</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many other singers seem to be using their ability at bilingual codeswitching to give themselves greater status and to express their unique linguistic abilities.

These include the following example cited earlier in this thesis from a song by Tao Zhe:
Example 7.3

只要 you love love love from the north from the south from the 西 from the 北 from the 东 yeah

If you love love love from the north from the south from the West from the North from the East yeah

(142)

It would seem unusual to codeswitch back from English into the Matrix language of Chinese for a single word and then switch back again, as is the case in the example above. In this song, this use of language probably exists in these lyrics to display the artist’s manipulation of language, and so also increase his status due to this.

At this stage, it is worth drawing attention again to the research of Li and Zhu (2010). After interviewing those of Chinese descent in Britain, Australia and Singapore, they observed that overseas Chinese children

…want to be regarded as bilinguals and multilinguals, not monolinguals, and they want to do so in a dynamic and creative way utilizing all the linguistic and cultural resources they have and going beyond the confines of the one-language-one-context convention. (p. 167)

Pan Weibo, Wang Lihong, and others, who are overseas born Chinese, may feel the same way about codeswitching. As will be seen in Chapter Eight, this kind of bilingual transnational identity is influential on the language attitudes of the audience, and appeals greatly to their fans.
7.3. Codeswitching to draw close to audience

The idea of ‘drawing close’ to a particular audience is related to the ‘Accommodation Theory’ presented in Giles and Smith (1979). Giles and Smith (1979) say that speech styles may be used to ‘converge’ or ‘diverge’ from a particular audience. Discussing the modification of speech styles within the same language, Giles and Smith (1979) define ‘convergence’ to be when speakers

...attempt to make themselves more similar and intelligible to others by attenuating their distinctive accents, slowing down their speech, and by presenting the substance of their message in a manner which would take account of their listener’s familiarity with the topic under discussion. (p. 54)

The authors also say:

Given that speech style is, for many people, an important subjective and objective clue to social group membership (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1977; Giles, Taylor, Lambert and Albert, 1976), it can be argued that in situations when group membership is a salient issue, speech divergence may be an important strategy for making oneself psychologically and favourably distinct from outgroup members. (p. 52)

Giles and Smith (1979, p. 63) say that the “right” amount of divergence’, or ‘optimal levels of divergence’, may be necessary in order to be accepted by a particular group. What this means in terms of codeswitching is that some forms of CS may enable an artist to ‘draw close to’ or ‘converge’ with a
particular audience, while CS which is too complicated (or perhaps too
divorced from actual codeswitching use among youth) may cause too much
‘divergence’ and may serve to drive away potential audiences.

This ‘drawing close’ is also related to Gumperz’s (1982) concept of ‘addressee specification’, where particular uses of languages are appropriate for particular audiences. A basic sense of this has been identified in the work of Feng and Wei (2007, p. 99) with regard to CS in Chinese-English popular music. Feng and Wei (Ibid.) say that in order to draw close to the audience, it is important that there is not too much English, or that the English is not too complicated, since many young people do not have an advanced English level and cannot deal with long discourses of English. This is changing of course, with the improvement in the English level of the population, particularly with regard to those in the metropolitan centres along the coast, like Shanghai. And as has been observed earlier in this thesis, some complex English passages or raps may serve more of an ‘ornamental’ and artistic function and therefore may not affect the popularity of these kinds of songs.

The sense of ‘drawing close to’ specific audiences will be examined with reference to two main audience groups. First of all, this section will look into how CS may allow the singer to be favoured by a metropolitan youth audience such as that in Shanghai by making as much reference as possible to the
distinct local conditions. Then the discussion will turn to how codeswitching may influence the popularity of a song in wider East Asia and globally.

7.3.1. Local Audience in Shanghai

1) Metropolitan bilingual or multilingual youth

Overseas Chinese Pop Culture Influence

The codeswitched material and the way codeswitching is used in the songs are likely to be favoured by the metropolitan bilingual or multilingual youth of Shanghai due to their association with other Chinese communities, particularly Hong Kong and Taiwan. This point has been identified by many scholars. As early as 1991, Tim Brace stated that since 1978 the popular music of Hong Kong and Taiwan has remained the main style of popular music for youth on the mainland (Brace, 1991, p. 49). And, as has been identified earlier in this thesis, in the view of Yang Mei-hui (1997) which specifically relates to the Shanghai situation, Hong Kong and Taiwanese pop

…represents what young people aspire to, a faster-paced, prosperous life outside the borders of the mainland. This life is thought to possess the cachet of sophistication. (p. 335)

She has observed that the audience not only identify ‘with Hong Kong and Taiwanese people’, but also they internalize ‘another kind of Chinese culture not so tied in with the statist imaginary’ (ibid, p. 336).
Gold (1993) says that one main reason for the appeal of Taiwanese and Hong Kong cultural artefacts is ‘its accessibility; it is in Chinese. It is a hybrid of modern Western culture and East Asian traditions, but being in Chinese makes it easier to comprehend than unmediated Western or Japanese works’ (1993, p. 915). Speaking on a related point, Gold (1993) says that such culture… is at the same time decidedly foreign and modern – it comes from outside the PRC. The music itself, apart from the Chinese lyrics, bears little in the way of Chinese characteristics. Consuming it gives one sense of participating in a sophisticated global activity. Because mainland Chinese now know that Hong Kong and Taiwan have achieved miraculous economic development and their people have a high standard of living, they provide a model of a modern Chinese life-style for mainland Chinese to emulate. There is a prestige attached to demonstrating familiarity with Hong Kong and Taiwan fashion, colloquialisms, behaviour and taste. (p. 915)

In the literature review chapter of this thesis it was noted that Hong Kong and Taiwan are two places with different cultural and linguistic situations, and that although Taiwan and Hong Kong are often grouped together they are distinct in many ways. One problem though, is many scholars like Gold (1993) and others, have regarded Gang-Tai, i.e. Hong Kong and Taiwan, to be the same cultural identity, discussing them together. ‘The Gangtai [sic] idea has clear links to the ‘Greater China’ concept, for it implies an inherent sameness about

\textsuperscript{166} However, the most common and preferred language in Hong Kong is still Cantonese. On the wikipedia website, it is made clear that Fang Datong’s music is more preferred in Taiwan and on the mainland than in Hong Kong, since he sings in Putonghua and English, which are his most proficient languages.
popular culture emanating from the peripheries of the ‘Chinese’ world’ (Ogawa 2004, p. 175).

The following chapter of this thesis will examine whether the above statements are true in terms of audience behavior, but it is quite clear from this research that the cultural products of Taiwan in particular are highly influential in Shanghai and other urban centres on the Chinese mainland, though nowadays the influence of Hong Kong’s popular music does not seem to be as influential as that of Taiwan’s. Xu’s (2007) study of CS in Chinese popular music shows that over 50% of the popular songs come from Taiwan (p. 43). In an examination of the background of the singers in the present corpus, eight out of fifteen performers or groups were born in Taiwan, but all except for Fang Datong produce their music almost exclusively from there. ¹⁶⁷ Chua (2001) says that

...the relative positions of the predominately ethnic Chinese populations – the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore – are not equal, both in terms of the economy of the pop culture industries and of the effects of the contestations to represent the multiple “Chinese” cultural identities. The production centres are indubitable Hong Kong and Taiwan, with the PRC and Singapore as largely locations of consumption. (p. 118)

¹⁶⁷ For as has been mentioned, Fang Datong releases his music under both Hong Kong and Taiwanese record labels.
Looking at the case of Chinese-English codeswitching in popular song according to the present corpus and Xu’s evidence above, Taiwan is the heart of the music industry in the case of the production of CE pop songs and in the production of music by the performers of such songs.

Due to the fact that the singers from Taiwan and who live in Taiwan use a common Chinese language, and many of whom share a common ethnic background with those on the mainland, it may be the belief of those in the mainland that they share the same ‘imaginary world’, a term created by Appadurai (1996, p. 33) and explained by him as ‘worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe’. This identity may be based on the same Chinese linguistic identity. However, there are some uses of CS within certain songs within this corpus by singers who are Taiwanese or who identify with a Taiwanese identity which may affect the songs popularity for an audience in Shanghai. By this is meant codeswitching with Japanese and the Minnan dialect common to Taiwan.

Japan and the Japanese language have an important connection with Taiwan. From 1895 to 1945, Japan colonized Taiwan. Young (1989) explains the situation in the following way:

As the Japanese were the colonial rulers, they spread their language, Japanese, primarily through education, and made it an
official language. Virtually the totality of educational and administrative sectors were required to use Japanese. (p. 29)168

Because of this, one might expect many people living in Taiwan to at least have some older relatives who can speak the Japanese language. Chen (2010)’s research on the linguistic situation of Taiwan shows that most Taiwanese are more proficient in Mandarin than in the Taiwanese Minnan Dialect, and English is the third most used language, though English seems to be given a higher status and support than the Minnan dialect there, and people regard English as indicative of ‘social status’, ‘global views’ and ‘upward mobility’ (p. 97). It is strange though that there is no examination of Japanese proficiency in the same study, since it is likely that some older Taiwanese at least would understand a little Japanese due to the history of Taiwan.

Aside from the linguistic influence, Taiwan seems to have a strong cultural influence from Japan. Chuang (2010) says that many young Taiwanese have a cultural preference to Japan over the mainland, and have a strange sense of ‘returning home’ when they go to Japan for the first time.169

In the present corpus, there are a couple of songs that include codeswitching into Japanese, which occur in songs which also have English CS. The first example is a line from Wang Lihong’s song 改变自己 Change Me (80):

168 Also cited by Chen (2010, p. 83)

169 Chuang, Yin C. Personal Communication, PopCAANZ 2010 Conference, Sydney, 30/6/10
Example 7.4

今早起床了看镜子里的我
Jintian qi chuang le kan jingzi li de wo

忽然发现我发型睡的有点KUSO
Turan faxian wo faxing shui de you dian KUSO

and suddenly realised that because of the way I slept my hairstyle looked a bit KUSO

KUSO in Example 7.4 is the phonetic transliteration of the Japanese word くそ, which means ‘shit.’ However, within Taiwan and, later, in Chinese internet usage, the term has altered to mean ‘anything hilarious.’ Nevertheless, the word does show codeswitching into Japanese.

A second example of codeswitching with Japanese in CE songs is the codeswitching of a large number of Japanese words and phrases within the song 火鸟功 Zero to Hero (135) by Tao Zhe, of which a short excerpt is presented here:

Example 7.5

終於快下班了我头痛快爆炸
Zhongyu kuai xia ban le wo tou tong kuai baozha

Finally I’m almost finished work, my head’s aching like it will explode,

可爱的OL一起吃饭ですか?
Ke ai de OL yiqi chi fan desu ka

Cute OL, let’s have a meal together?

The **BOSS** gives me an order, I have to get drunk with him again.

I’ll have to **cancel** the date; I won’t have to sleep on the footpath again, will I?

You and I are both alike, like **idiots**.

The example presented here uses the Japanese English phrase OL, which means ‘Office Lady’, the Japanese question particle ですか *desu ka?*, the word けん *ken*, which means ‘cancel’, and the word ばか *baka*, which means ‘idiot’. These words are integral to the meaning of this section of the song.

In the first example above, the use of Japanese is not complex, and the word has already been accepted into Chinese popular culture through Taiwan. However, given the hostility that might be felt among some young people to Japan and the Japanese language in Shanghai, particularly due to its proximity to Nanjing, where there was a massacre committed by Japanese troops in 1937, and due to the continuing troubled political relationship between the two

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171喝挂 *hegua* here is Taiwanese slang for ‘getting very drunk.’

172 Thanks to Dr. Ken Henshall at the University of Canterbury for his assistance with the transliteration of the Japanese words and phrases in this example.
countries today, one might imagine some resistance to Japanese cultural products among youth. However, as will be seen in the audience chapter, Korean and Japanese popular culture is highly influential on Shanghai youth today, and Japanese is still an important foreign language among Chinese students.

In four other songs in the corpus, the Minnan dialect, which is often connected to Taiwanese identity, is used, which are Pan Weibo’s *Gecko Stroll* (54), Cai Yilin’s 大丈夫 *Real Man* (117), Cai Yilin’s *Hot Winter* (115), and *Dirty Love* (79) by Wang Lihong. The Minnan dialect words used in these songs, ㄍㄧㄥ (ging) in the first two examples, and ㄍㄧㄣ (gien) in the third, are verbs which have a similar meaning, to ‘push yourself to do something.’ In each of these cases only one word is used within the song lyrics, which would be unlikely to affect the song’s intelligibility. However, in *Dirty Love* (79) by Wang Lihong a whole line of Taiwanese dialect is used. The singer codeswitches from a line of Standard Chinese into the Taiwanese dialect, as can be seen from the example on the following page:

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Thanks to the staff of the Confucius Institute of the University of Canterbury for their assistance with interpreting these words, the sounds of which are approximations using the traditional Chinese transliteration often used in Taiwan.
Example 7.6

Something that is very likely to increase convergence in the audience is the codeswitching of common English phrases in the speech of the urban youth of Shanghai. As Shanghai is a cosmopolitan urban centre where young people are likely to be in contact with foreigners, it would be expected for words such as ‘Hi’, ‘Hello’, ‘OK’ and ‘Goodbye’, which are all frequently found in the corpus, to be often used by youth. The word ‘sorry’ is also likely in common use among Shanghai residents, since they are living in a busy and

\( ^{174} \) Thanks to my supervisor Dr Adam Lam, and Gloria Hsiang of the University of Canterbury Students Association, for assisting me with this transliteration of this line of Taiwanese dialect. This is the closest approximation I can make to the dialectal sounds of this line.

\( ^{175} \) Zhang Li (2006, p. 76) notes that these words are in common use among Chinese young people, and often found in CE songs, and in addition, in participant observation I noted the use of these words among young people in public places such as bars or takeaway franchises, sometimes even when predominantly communicating in Chinese.
often overcrowded city cosmopolitan centre where anyone might come into contact with foreigners and tourists who do not speak Chinese.¹⁷⁶

One other word that is likely to be very familiar to young people in an urban centre such as Shanghai is the use of the word ‘club’ in the song *Cockney Girl* by Wang Lihong (91), which refers to a dance club. In the song, the singer describes meeting a 可爱 BBC, ‘a cute British-born Chinese’ girl, in a dance club. In Shanghai, as with other large urban centres in China, there are dance clubs where one can meet people from foreign countries, such as Muse, Mint, and others identified in the previous chapter of this thesis.

**Hybrid Slang and ‘localised’ phrases**

Earlier on in this thesis, Pennycook’s (2003, p. 523-524) concept of ‘linguascapes’ was identified, where ‘some languages are no longer tied to locality or community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with other scapes.’ There are examples of phrases within this corpus which seem to be common and accepted in both Taiwan and the mainland. They are ‘glocalised’ (after Robertson 1997) instances of language, for many of these songs are listened to by a transnationalised ‘Chinese’ ‘imagined world.’ Zhang Hua (2005, p. 49) refers to mixed language concepts as being ‘hybridized,’ since they are words and phrases of mixed Chinese and English linguistic elements.

¹⁷⁶ In 2009 and early 2010 I noted several instances of young, or middle aged Chinese people travelling on the subway, using the word ‘sorry’ if they bump into people they perceive to be foreigners.
but nevertheless exist as what may be regarded as ‘glocalised’ linguistic phrases, tied to the language use of bilingual Chinese worldwide, but may be accepted locally. Three examples of hybrid language use are the phrases 恋爱 ing, 改变 ing, and 整个 ORZ, which all come from the Taiwanese band Wu Yue Tian’s song entitled 恋爱 ing (19), a section of which is shown in Example 7.7 below:

Example 7.7

超感谢你让我重生整个 o-r-z
Chao ganxie ni rang wo chongsheng zheng ge o-r-z

让我重新认识 l o v e
Rang wo chongxin renshi l o v e

l-o-v-e! l-o-v-e!

恋爱 ing happy ing
Lianai ing happy ing

心情就像是坐上一台喷射机
Xinqing jiu xiang shi zuo shang yi tai pensheji

恋爱 ing 改变 ing
Xiai ing gaibianing

改变了黄昏黎明
Gaibian le huanghun yiming

有你都心跳到不行
You ni dou xintiao dao bu xing

Thank you super for revitalising the whole of my O R Z

letting me meet L O V E again

Being in love, being happy

My feelings are like I’m riding on a jet of air

Being in love is being engaged in change

It changed the dusk and dawn

Having you my heart beats out of control
The first two phrases are formed by putting an –ing suffix from English onto the Chinese verbs ‘to be in love’ and ‘to change’, where normally Chinese would indicate this kind of continuous state by using words such as 正 zhēng, 在 zài, or 呢 ne, or various combinations of these, with the verbs, to express the same thing. This use of mixed language would be understood and the interesting mixed language phrase would be appreciated by anyone who has learnt even rudimentary English in school. 整个 Zhēng ge means the whole of. The term ORZ on the other hand, entered Taiwan and China from the Japanese pictogram 、○[_|], used in internet language which indicates the ‘things we forget’ and ‘lows’ of life. So, Zheng ge ORZ, means ‘all the things one forgets in life’.

Aside from these hybridized phrases, the way certain English words appear within Chinese in set ways may serve as ‘glocalised’ Chinese vocabulary, which may take on special meanings within the Chinese context. This is the case with the word ‘high’, which is seen in several songs in the corpus. ‘High’, which translates as 高 in Chinese, is often used to mean ‘excited’ or ‘very happy’ in Chinese. It seems that many loan words and hybrid vocabulary that are popularly used by youth come into use on the Chinese mainland from

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177 http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/11065509.html?fr=qrl&cid=75&index=4
178 As was noted by Cai (2008, p. 57).
Taiwan, which can be seen from the popularity of the expression which includes a Chinese word adding the suffix ‘ing’ which seems to have been popularised by the group Wu Yue Tian, but also by the hybrid expressions shared among friends on Weibo noted in the Background to this thesis.

**China English**

The English present in the codeswitching phrases may also connect with the youth audience of Shanghai, and other urban centres in China, through being close to ‘China English’, which Wang Rongpei has described as ‘the English used by the Chinese people in China, being based on a standard English, and having Chinese characteristics’ (Du and Jiang, 2001, p. 38).¹⁷⁹ Hu Xiaoqiong (2004, p. 28) has identified use of the expressions ‘give face’, ‘save face’, ‘lose face’ and ‘no face’ as examples of China English.¹⁸⁰ The appearance of China English, i.e. English with particular Chinese characteristics, may aid the popularity of these CE songs and cause convergence with the audience, since those of a Chinese background may have a certain linguistic preference towards linguistic items close to the

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¹⁷⁹ Hu Xiaoqiong (2004, p. 28) has mentioned that the term ‘China English’ was first introduced by Ge Chuanghui in 1980, but He and Li (2009, pp. 71-72) state that the term ‘China English’ has been given several definitions by different scholars. ‘China English’ is generally a term which recognises the English used in China as having unique qualities, in the same way, though not to the same extent as Singaporean English or other more established varieties of English. It must be distinguished from the term ‘Chinglish’, which is more often than not a derogatory term meaning language use ‘in Mandarin sprinkled with English words and phrases or in English with a Mandarin-induced syntax’ (Qiang and Wolff, 2003, p. 30).

¹⁸⁰ These terms are also used as technical terms in politeness studies in English.
characteristics of their own language. Whether or not a singer is a native born Chinese, it is quite possible that their English may be selected to accord with English believed to be more accepted in Chinese-speaking areas. Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002, p. 272) and other scholars identify several Chinese characteristics present in China English, two aspects of which are seen in the English of the present corpus. The first of these is the use of subject-less sentences; the second is the appearance of four-syllable idioms.

SUBJECT-LESS SENTENCES
‘Subject-less sentences’ are indeed frequent within the English present within these songs. Yip (1995) (cited by He and Li, 2009, p. 73) has also said that Chinese has a ‘Null-subject parameter’: it is a ‘pro-drop’ language in the case of subjects in sentences. On the next page are a few examples of this aspect of China English from the corpus:

Example 7.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>just getting started</th>
<th>just getting started</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>只因为音乐让我说说我最快乐 (24)</td>
<td>just because music allows me to say, to say I’m the happiest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 7.9

不管决定对不对
Buguan jueding dui bu dui

No matter whether the decision is right or wrong,

可是 make me wanna say, I do
Keshi make me wanna say, I do

(you)make me wanna say, I do

(3)

Example 7.10

Don’t know what you do to me,

I just know it feels right,

never felt this way

like I’m outta control

(118)

Example 7.11

還是你的歌 still your song
Haishi ni de ge still your song

(It’s) still your song still your song

(143)

From the examples cited, it is evident that where typically in English sentences one might expect a personal pronoun, ‘I’ in Examples 7.8 and 7.10 for instance, ‘you’ in 7.9, or ‘it’ in 7.11, the English appears without a subject, or, in the case of 7.10, a subject that it is not expressed in the order expected. In
addition, in examples 7.8 and 7.11, one might also expect appropriate forms of the verb ‘to be’.\textsuperscript{181}

FOUR SYLLABLE IDIOMS
This characteristic of China English was identified by He and Li (2009, p. 73) according to them, ‘large quantities of idioms are made up of four Chinese morpho-syllables (characters) and are steeped in culture-specific meanings,’ and therefore, China English may favour this kind of expression.\textsuperscript{182} In the present corpus there is a clear instance of this, ‘no pain no gain,’ in the song Free by Xiao Yaxuan (124), presented in Example 7.12 below:

Example 7.12

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
\textbf{no pain no gain} & \textbf{no pain no gain} \\
\textbf{driving me insane} & \textbf{driving me insane} \\
\hline
一不做, 二不休 & acting with determination  \\
Yi bu zuo, er bu xiu & \\
完美主义的执着 & holding idealised views  \\
Wanmei zhuyi de zhizhuo & \\
赤裸裸很遗憾那就是我 & naked, sadly that’s just what I’m  \\
Chiluoluo hen yihan na jiu shi wo & like \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{181} And ‘I’ve’ should probably occur before ‘never’ in example 7.10.

\textsuperscript{182} The point here is that large quantities of idioms in Chinese are made up of four Chinese characters, and so China English may favour these expressions too.
Such four syllable expressions in English are simple to use within Chinese as they do not require lexical manipulation to fit into the grammar of a sentence or the use of a subject, and may be favoured by Chinese speakers in English due to the frequency of the use of such terms in Chinese. Actually, such phrases needn’t be four syllables in Chinese, and can be six or more, as in the Chinese phrase used just after the English in example 7.12 above, 一不做, 二不休, which means ‘to do something thoroughly and with determination.’

In the example used above, and related to it, language in Chinese is often balanced in a ‘parallel structure’, which is, according to He and Li (2009, p. 73), ‘frequently used in Chinese to express words of wisdom’. These scholars identify this ‘parallel structure’ as another characteristic of China English. Another example in English which seems to express the parallel structure of many Chinese expressions is in the song by Zhang Liangying, *Can’t Do It* (4), where the line ‘You win I win’ is used:

Example 7.13

爱情不是赌注                      Love isn’t a bet
Aiqing bu shi duzhu

You win I win 有什么好处        ‘You win I win’ what’s the point?
You win I win you shenme haochu
2) To appeal to specific audiences in Shanghai

Aside from the need to converge with a youth audience in Shanghai more generally, there are also elements of the CS within these songs which make them appealing to more specific audiences, though in some cases this may cause marked divergence from other audiences. Of course, such songs may be appealing to the group of elite Chinese ‘returnees’ that Zhang Hang (2003) has identified in Shanghai and Beijing, who are likely to make more use of English and CS than the general population of the city. This section will now go on to examine three cases of where the codeswitching in these songs can converge with three particular audiences: Chinese speakers of other dialects in Shanghai; the Hip-Hop Audience and fans of transnational African and African American Culture; and those from, or strongly influenced by, Japan and Korea.

Chinese speakers of other dialects in Shanghai

Speakers of Minnan Dialect

The presence of a few words or even a sentence of the Minnan dialect, which is often connected with Taiwan, has been observed within the song corpus. However, this dialect is also used among speakers in South Fujian on the mainland, as well as in Taiwan, along with many other Chinese diaspora communities, all of which certainly have people living and working in
Shanghai, which could make these CE songs popular to those who know this dialect in addition to Chinese and English.

Speakers of the Guangdong dialect, ‘Cantonese’ Chinese speakers who can understand Cantonese are likely to be a large group within the Shanghai population, since this encompasses people from the Guangdong area, those from Hong Kong, as well as a huge population from within the Chinese diaspora, all of which would form a large population in the city. Many of those from Hong Kong and Chinese diaspora communities would be able to speak English, and so by including some Cantonese along with English and standard Chinese in pop songs the singers would be able to draw closer to such an audience. In one song in this corpus, Heroes of Earth (84), there is codeswitching with Cantonese:

Example 7.14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>switch it up!</th>
<th>switch it up! You need to agree no matter what, being a hero isn’t easy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>唔使问，你实同意，做英雄，系唔容易。</td>
<td>唔使问，你实同意，做英雄，系唔容易。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>switch it up! Ng sai men, nei suk tong yi, tsuo ying hong, hei ng yung yi.</td>
<td>switch it up! Ng sai men, nei suk tong yi, tsuo ying hong, hei ng yung yi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but yo, you aint gotta take it from me,</td>
<td>but yo, you aint gotta take it from me,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

183 The Cantonese in this example is underlined.
While it is true that Wang Lihong, as a US citizen and using Cantonese, would also simultaneously be drawing close to a global Chinese overseas audience (and this is the same for the use of other languages by other singers), codeswitching into Cantonese would probably also make this song appeal to Cantonese speakers in Shanghai. Cantonese culture is popular in Shanghai, and many may seek to learn a few phrases or be able to sing a few songs in the dialect in KTV. It has also been mentioned, as with the Minnan dialect, that certain phrases and expressions in both dialects may become popular among a youth audience highly influenced by Taiwan and Hong Kong culture.

*The Hip-Hop Audience and Fans of Transnational ‘African’ Culture*

The use of certain words identifies the artist within African American hiphop culture, and foster appreciation among fans of hip-hop culture and African American culture, such as the use of African American English and hip-hop specific vocabulary. These are important to situate the Chinese hip-hop songs in relation to their American stylistic origins, but also of course, stem from the

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184 Thanks to Dr. Adam Lam for assisting with the transliteration of the Cantonese sections in this song, and for indicating that the original printed lyrics for the Cantonese differed from the language actually present in the song.
songwriter being influenced by the genre they are performing in. Such hip-hop specific vocabulary is transmitted to the Chinese context without translation.

Many of these American hip-hop stylistic elements actually stem from their origins in African music, and hip-hop is being reappropriated there. Sarkar et al. (2005, p. 2065) identify certain words of African American English in Montreal hip-hop, including ‘chill’, ‘talk shit’ and others, while J. Lee (2004, p. 439) cites features of African American English such as ‘yo’ in a Korean song in his corpus. Hip-hop and African American English words and phrases are very common throughout the present corpus, though they are used particularly frequently by the artists Pan Weibo and Wang Lihong, both with American backgrounds.

There are many examples of hip-hop slang and African American English frequently occurring within the corpus. Among these is the word ‘yo’, seen in song 52 of the corpus, which means ‘you, your’ and which often occurs as an interjection.185 Some other examples found in Pan Weibo’s songs are: the word ‘freestyle’, which means spontaneous free-form hip-hop singing, ‘drop the beat’, which means ‘sing or play music (or add bass behind the vocals of a performer)’186, and ‘yall rock!’ which means ‘everyone party!’187. Wang [185]http://www.rapdict.org/Yo  Thanks to Sarkar et al. (2005) for identifying this online rap dictionary.  [186]http://www.rapdict.org/Drop
Lihong, although using less of this vocabulary than Pan Weibo, also uses hiphop vocabulary within some of his songs, notably the word ‘boo’ in *Follow Me* (103), which means ‘girlfriend’. Many of the female singers of the songs in this corpus also use hip-hop vocabulary within a rap section of their songs, whether or not the song is actually R&B or hip-hop, which in most cases it is not. For example, Zhang Liangying starts her song *Can’t Do It* (4) by identifying that the band members are ‘in the house’, while in another of her songs, *Yalta* (26), there is a large section of rap with a lot of hip-hop vocabulary.

Though hip-hop and African American slang is often used by the singers with an American background, they are also adopted by other artists who wish to be seen as affecting a hip-hop style, and to appear more authentic to the audience within the fans of this kind of music, who may listen to the songs of American hip-hop and rap performers in English. Using hip-hop language may allow the singers to draw close to the audience who appreciate hip-hop music and make them sound more like other hip-hop that they might listen to in English.

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187 [http://www.rapdict.org/Rock](http://www.rapdict.org/Rock) It means ‘party’ in the context, since it is used at the beginning of the song to start everything off.

188 [http://www.rapdict.org/Boo](http://www.rapdict.org/Boo) Although ‘boo’ can mean ‘girlfriend’ or ‘boyfriend’, it means ‘girlfriend’ in the context of the song.
From the corpus it seems that some of these singers consciously draw attention to what the audience may perceive as important aspects of African American culture – namely basketball, boxing and hip-hop/rap, even though such culture is now transnational. The rap song 背水一戦 Last Stand (51) by Pan Weibo, starts by announcing him in the same way as a boxer might be introduced, and describing his height. Later on in the song there is the line ‘Round three, are you ready to fight?’ which emphasizes this. In another song Who’s MVP? (47) (Example 5.24), not only is there the abbreviation ‘MVP’ itself, which is typically used in basketball and American football to indicate ‘Most Valuable Player’ – or, as noted, in the hip-hop context means ‘Most Valuable Poet’, but there is also a comparison he makes between himself and Michael Jordan, who Morris (2002) says is extremely famous in China.

An association with boxing and hip-hop is given in the song The Perfect Interaction (89) by Wang Lihong (also discussed in Chapter Five, Example 5.44), where he describes the two Korean performers that he sings the song with as being ‘in the red corner’, ‘in the blue corner.’ When there is a change in singers in the song, he says ‘oh yeah, here comes round two!’

One final example that might make it seem that the artists believe that hip-hop and R&B are associated with African American culture in the eyes of the

189 http://www.anthonyvitti.com/hiphopdictionarym.html
audience and so this necessitates using African American English is a little rap section which is repeated in the song *Protective color* (32) by Zhang Shaohan, cited below.\(^{190}\)

Example 7.15

Angela's back with a new groove  
if ya don't know what it is  
call yourself a NOOB.  
Angela’s makin’ it sound  
a little Blackenish,  
the princess of change  
giving you my little R&B\(^{191}\)

*Fans of wider East Asian pop culture.*

In the previous section, attention was drawn to Wang Lihong’s song *The Perfect Interaction*. In this song he sings in collaboration with two Korean artists, and even sings a few words in the Korean language. These two Korean singers, Lim Jeonghee and Rain, are extremely popular among Korean

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\(^{190}\) In the Audience Chapter will be seen hip-hop identified as ‘black music’ in fact.

\(^{191}\) ‘noob’ is English internet slang, the same as ‘newbie’, which means someone that doesn’t know about something since they are a newcomer to it.
‘South Koreans are currently the largest group of foreign students studying in
China, and recently Chinese language learning has expanded in South Korea.’
This is also confirmed by my own perception on the large numbers of Korean
students studying business majors in Shanghai universities such as the
Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, in trips I made to Shanghai in

In addition, due to some Chinese people being interested in Korean pop
culture, songs which include some Korean influences or language are also
likely to be favoured by those who like Korean pop music in Shanghai, and
even may allow a Chinese person who normally prefers Korean music to
become interested in the songs of the Chinese singer who collaborates with
their favourite Korean pop singer. This will be examined further when looking
at the actual Shanghai youth audience and their attitudes to pop music and
these CS songs in the next chapter.

Xu (2007, p. 70-72) describes the use of codeswitching to widen the scope of
acceptance of a song. He says that ‘songs with two or more kinds of codes
may appeal to more groups of audience [sic]’ He cites the theme song of the
movie The Myth to indicate an instance of Korean and Chinese CS to appeal to
the fans of the singers in the other language, as well as those of the audience outside China – which the discussion will turn to now.

7.3.2. Wider East Asian/Global Audience

1) Korea and other Asian countries
Relating directly to Wang Lihong’s collaboration with Korean popular singers in the present corpus, and to the switching into Korean in the Korean-Chinese CS song from the soundtrack of the movie *The Myth*, and to the case where switching many words and phrases of a Chinese song are switched into Japanese as in Tao Zhe’s *Zero to Hero*, codeswitching into other languages can increase the popularity of a song outside the general Chinese audience. However, as has been shown, the songs in this corpus are primarily songs in Chinese *and English*, despite containing a small amount of another East Asian language. This is due to the important position English has within wider East Asia.

J. Lee (2006, p. 244) describes English as a ‘cultural attaché’ between Asian countries, ‘serving as a common vehicle of artistic communication in cultural diplomacy that includes exchange of pop culture commodities such as music, TV shows, and movies.’ Describing the use of English in Korean pop music,

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192 As cited in Xu (2007, pp. 70-72)
or K-Pop, J. Lee (2004) says that English in some Korean songs can enable a ‘pan-Asian bond’ to be created. This is because of the fact that no country in Asia can claim English as exclusively its own...Pop music is clearly a discursive space for Asian youth to connect with one another without physically being together and English mixing is a major linguistic mechanism to create a pan-Asian bond and yet concurrently to maintain each country’s local distinctiveness. (p. 447)

In addition, collaborations, such as the one of Wang Lihong with an incredibly popular singer in Asia such as Rain, are an effective strategy for an artist to introduce himself or herself to pop fans in another country through the fans of the other. Such a connection with the fans is also made through English, due to it being a second language in common among the fans. By collaborating with famous Korean singers, by being able to directly connect with the Korean audience through codeswitching into English, and by using a few Korean words himself, Wang Lihong is attempting to spread his popularity to the South Korean peninsula as well as to draw close to Korean and non-Korean Rain fans in Shanghai.

2) Diaspora Chinese, whether or not they can understand Putonghua
Due to the cultural and linguistic background of many of the singers who were born or who grew up in Canada, the United States, or in other Chinese diaspora communities, they would almost certainly appeal to ethnic Chinese living outside the mainland too, whether or not this ethnic Chinese audience
group are able to understand much Chinese. This is because of the singer’s
codeswitching with English. By creating the possibility for an ethnic Chinese
person born overseas who cannot understand very much Putonghua to engage
with the Chinese song on some level due to English codeswitching in a song,
the singer could also become a role model to them for learning Chinese and
Chinese culture.

It has also been mentioned that in a few occasions in the CS songs in this
corpus, singers may use some words or phrases from Minnan dialect and
Guangdong dialect. This may also allow the artist to draw closer to certain
overseas Chinese audiences where the dialect is commonly used, particularly
if English is also frequently used in that particular overseas Chinese
community.

3) English speakers and those from other ‘Western’ countries
Given the popularity and frequency of use of English worldwide, it goes
without saying that the presence of English may allow certain songs to become
accepted globally. One of the songs in the corpus, *Be with You* (66) is mainly
in English, and would appear to have been created primarily to reach an
overseas audience, or to introduce each of the singers to the fans of the other.
Furthermore, it can be expected that the use of CS on predominantly an
intersentential level within Chinese songs – with English passages, choruses,
or raps sections – could create interest in the artist and in a particular song by a user of English from anywhere in the world.\(^{193}\)

English is now a ‘transnational’ language of communication. It is not tied to any particular place, and there are more and more varieties of English appearing all the time. There is also a realisation that no country now can entirely have a claim to English any more, due to the increasing worldwide spread of other varieties of English. Pennycook (2003), who added to Appuradai’s (1996, p. 5) conceptions of global cultural flows as ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes the concept of linguascapes, has stated that ‘some languages are no longer tied to locality or community, but rather operate globally in conjunction with other scapes’ (pp. 523-524). This applies to English in the global context. While the English of other places, such as African American English and hip-hop English enters China from the outside, China English within the pop songs and elsewhere is at the same time expanding its global influence.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the multi-faceted social and cultural factors which are likely to influence the audience of these codeswitching songs in Shanghai.

\(^{193}\) The massive popularity of the Korean-English codeswitching song ‘Gangnam Style’ by the South Korean rapper PSY worldwide in October 2012 is a particularly strong instance of this with regard to the Korean situation.
In doing so, it has examined how these CS songs may be influential outside our target audience. This is important because Shanghai is a particularly cosmopolitan urban centre in China, but also because due to globalisation and localisation, it is sometimes limiting to view things from only one perspective.

First of all, this chapter has identified how CE codeswitching is in many cases connected with the personal identity of the singer or performer. It was observed that many of the singers and performers are transnational Chinese, that many of them either have an education in a country where English is of higher status than in China, or were born in an English-speaking country such as the US, Canada or Singapore, and that CS in the songs for these artists often shows off their linguistic flexibility or enhances their status due to emphasizing their mixed background or overseas education.

In the third and final section of this chapter, there was a focus on how the CS observed in the corpus could make the performer or the song recording converge in a positive way with, first of all, the general audience of Shanghai urban youth. Then this section looked at three specific audiences that the codeswitching within some songs in the corpus might attract. It showed how certain characteristics of the songs, namely the presence of overseas popular culture, youth slang, hybrid phrases, localised English and how the presence of China English might affect a song’s popularity among the general group of
bilingual metropolitan youth. Following on from this, there was an examination into how particular linguistic aspects of the songs could potentially attract specific youth audiences of: Chinese speakers of other dialects in Shanghai; the Hip-Hop audience and fans of transnational ‘African’ culture; and those from, and influenced by, Korea and Japan. Finally, this chapter looked at the presence of the English within the songs in a global context, and mentioned how in certain respects many of the inter-relationships seen which bear on CS for general and particular audiences may operate both globally and within the cosmopolitan nature of the Shanghai urban centre.

In the last three chapters a number of linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural aspects which could have potentially contributed to the popularity of CE codeswitching songs in contemporary Chinese popular music have been discovered. It is now time to look from the audience’s perspective, instead of making predictions on the Shanghai audience and on expected views of audience behaviour and their potential attitudes towards the codeswitching in these songs.
Chapter Eight: Audience Study

8.1. Introduction

This chapter will examine the most important factors influencing popularity of codeswitching songs from the audience’s perspective. This will allow Chapter Nine to compare the audience’s perceptions of the main factors that influence CE codeswitching in Chinese contemporary songs with the areas examined under linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors in preceding chapters.

First, this chapter will examine the relevant findings of the online survey, and identify points of significance for this thesis. Following on from this, the interview data will be looked at carefully, in the beginning in the response to particular and general questions, and then in relation to general categories of linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors. The third main group of data that will be examined is the data collected from participant observation in the specific contexts of KTV or the pop concert context. The final task of this chapter will be to look at other factors likely to influence ideas and attitudes to CE codeswitching in Chinese songs based on participant observation in the general Shanghai environment.

At the end of this chapter, all of what has been discovered from the various parts of this audience study and how they they relate to the linguistic, stylistic
and sociocultural aspects discussed in this thesis will be condensed into a few overall findings.

8.2. Online Survey

There were 91 respondents for the online survey, not all of whom answered every one of the survey questions. The survey responses were anonymously collected on the surveymonkey website. The questions were divided into three topics: general demographic questions; general questions on interest in Chinese pop music and musicians, and finally, questions on English language songs and CE codeswitching songs. Some of the questions were used to assist in my collection of the corpus of the songs of popular singers of CE codeswitching songs researched in this thesis, and to assist with collecting data in participant observation and interviews.

8.2.1. Findings from Demographic Questions

Of the 91 respondents, 52 (57.8%) were female, and 38 (42.2%) were male, and their ages ranged from 20 to 32. Fifty-five of 88 research participants said that they had lived most of their lives in Shanghai.

Regarding educational background, 60 of the 68 who answered this question said that they were currently full-time students. Of this 68, 27 (39.7%) were currently English majors, while 41 (60.3%) were not. Of the 69 respondents to
a question on current educational level (Question A.7 in the survey), 68.5% were in their 2nd or 3rd year of study at a university or college, while 17.4% had completed their degrees and were studying part time.

![Figure 2: Education level of respondents]

There was also a question on the style of English learnt at school (Question A.8), which 73 answered. Of this number 28 (38.4%) said that they learnt British English, 38 (52.1%) said that they learnt American English, and 7 (9.6%) said that they learnt both American and British English.

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194 As has been indicated, the survey questions are presented in Appendix II of this thesis.

195 There were also two other possible responses for this question: 'Doctoral' and 'Have completed my degree and am currently in the workforce' although none of the research participants selected these.
8.2.2. Findings from General Questions on Chinese Pop Music

From the initial questions on this topic, it was possible to see what the most popular Chinese singers were within the target group of this thesis. Many of the singers identified overlapped with the most popular CE codeswitching singers in the next section of the survey. As indicated in Chapter Four, the most frequently referred to singers within this survey were examined in relation to the rankings of the most popular singers online on the two websites of Sogou and Baidu in order to select the most popular CS singers for the present corpus. In answering an open question on what appeals to them about their favourite singers (Question B.2), several respondents commented on the artists studied within this thesis, and these responses are shown below:

方大同：他的音乐风格是之前华人音乐所没有的他把自己的理念加入了 soul music, 使它成为新的风格 neo-soul, 旋律融入 R&B, Jazz, 他精通多种乐器，音乐气质很吸引我。

Fang Datong: His musical style is one which previously Chinese music didn’t have. He added his own concepts to soul music, making it a new style called ‘neo-soul’, a melody blended into R&B and Jazz. He has mastered a lot of musical instruments, and the musical qualities of his music really attract me.

The numbers here indicate the number of each respondent in the online survey.
王力宏：他一直是优质偶像，长的帅，会创作，舞台表现力强，他的音乐更与世界接轨，开创了中国的 hip-hop 派系——chinked-out 曲风，他对音乐的执着与认真吸引着我。

Wang Lihong: He’s always been a high-quality Idol, he’s handsome, can compose his own music, he has a powerful stage presence, his music is integrated more with the world, he started the Chinese hip-hop group – the musical style of ‘chinked-out’. His devotion and seriousness about music attracts me.

张靓颖：在亚洲，尤其是在中国内地像张靓颖这样走国际化歌手很少，像她这种唱欧美腔的也少之又少，那样宽的音域，那样稳定的现场很吸引我，舞台感很强。

Zhang Liangying: In Asia, especially in mainland China, there is very few singers like Zhang Liangying who seek to go on the international stage. Of the very few who do, there are even fewer like her who are able to sing in Western style, with such a broad vocal range, such a stable demonstration on stage, who attract me; her stage presence is very strong.

JOLIN：唱腔百变，不断有舞技上的突破

张靓颖：实力型唱将

JOLIN\(^{197}\): Her vocal range is incredible, and she continuously makes breakthroughs with her dancing skill.

Zhang Liangying: She is a leader in singing talent.

王若琳：喜欢她的爵士和低沉的嗓音

\(^{197}\)Jolin Tsai is Cai Yilin’s alternative name, which is often used outside of China.
Wang Ruolin: I like her Jazz and her deep singing voice.

53

比如梁静茹吧在他的歌中有很多地方能找到我们生活过的影子

To take Liang Jingru as an example, in his [sic] songs, there is a lot that reflects things in our own lives.

One respondent (respondent 40), the only one who wrote a response in English (although the survey was in Chinese), wrote, on the topic of Chinese singers:

i prefer western music...as a matter of fact...umm, i think they r pretty cool singers and i can learn a lot of english, which could make me more native-sounding when i speak or use english...in a word, i love pop singers~~~plus, they r super stars...!!! [sic]

Although the responses were varied, the most frequent were those which emphasized musical or stylistic reasons for interest in particular performers. Some also identified personal reasons which may be related to the social and cultural background of their favourite artists, or to their international nature.

There were also questions asked in order to get information on how the youth get information on pop music and singers, which were also important for participant observation in the Shanghai environment. One important finding was that most young people get their information about pop music primarily from audiovisual media online. For in the question about whether the respondents watched TV programmes for information about pop artists
(Question B.8), 13 of 42 respondents mentioned online media in particular, though 6 mentioned that they either did not watch TV or that there were not any TV programs with information about pop artists, so it is possible they also get information from online media. For 56 (87.5%) of the 64 who answered the question ‘if they watch music videos of their favourite artists’ (Question B.10) said that they did do so. Among the 64 respondents, the most popular way to watch music videos, or in China ‘MV’, was online. The responses to Question B.11 are indicated in fig. 3 below:\footnote{According to the percentage of responses.}

\footnote{Note that for this question the respondents could indicate more than one form of media.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Most popular media to view music videos on\footnote{Note that for this question the respondents could indicate more than one form of media.}}
\end{figure}
8.2.3. Findings on English Language and CE Songs

1) English Songs

Listening to English songs was definitely a common activity among the respondents. To the question ‘How often do you listen to English language songs?’ (Question C.1) 58.7% of 63 respondents replied they listened to English songs every day, 15.9% listened to songs several times a day, and 20.6% listened to the songs every week. Only 4.8% said they didn’t listen to English songs. So, listening to English songs is clearly a popular activity.

Other questions were about what English singers were being listened to, and what musical genres these singers and groups sang. The answers showed a wide range of individual bands and singers. Fifty-nine participants noted that the most common song styles listened to were, in order of popularity: Rock, Jazz, R&B, and Country.200 The popularity of these genres (the number of responses to Question C.3) is indicated in the bar chart (Figure 4) overleaf. Of 62 respondents, 51 (82.3%) said that they could sing songs in English.

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200 Note that the respondents to C3 were permitted to select more than one genre that their top 5 English language groups or singers fell into.
There were a number of reasons given for listening to English songs. The three most outstanding reasons were (ranked by most popular first): (1) the music sounded good; (2) they liked the lyrics; or (3), the melody was different from Chinese. 54 of 62 respondents (87.1%) said that the English songs that they listened to were in American English.\textsuperscript{201}

To the question about the reasons for the popularity of English songs among Chinese youth (Question C.9), a topic which may prove influential on the popularity of CE songs for the target group, there were varied responses. The 52 responses to this question fell into a number of topics, which are ranked in Table 4 on the following page.

\textsuperscript{201} These were responses to C.8
Table 4: Reasons given for the popularity of English songs in China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of responses</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 (40.38%)</td>
<td>Because they are a trend and popular in their social groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (19.23%)</td>
<td>To improve English and study Western culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (11.54%)</td>
<td>Due to globalisation and the dominance of Western culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (9.62%)</td>
<td>They are only popular in restricted groups of those with enough English to appreciate them; however, people can still appreciate them for their melody.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (9.62%)</td>
<td>Due to musical/stylistic reasons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>For cultural reasons (due to foreign cultures being more open)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>To increase the status of Chinese singers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Depends on individual interest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It must be noted that one of the respondents gave a response that showed he or she thought the entire question was pointless: 废话! ‘Nonsense!’ and one other respondent thought Chinese people should be listening to Chinese songs.

Nearly all of these responses, even those with fewer respondents, are likely to be important reasons for the popularity of English songs, and are relevant to
the reasons for the popularity of CE songs indicated in the following section and the information collected from the audience. One thing that is immediately noticeable is the importance of stylistic and sociocultural factors for the popularity of English songs.

Two other questions asked about the likelihood of respondents singing English language songs within KTV (C.5) or outside of it (C.6) within the next six months, and ranking themselves on whether they were likely to sing English songs within this period from 1 (Not Very Likely) to 9 (Very Likely). The results are shown in Figures 5 and 6 below.

![Figure 5: Likelihood of Singing English Songs in KTV within 6 months](image-url)
Figure 6: Likelihood of singing English songs outside KTV within 6 months

For C5, the highest number of responses were ‘Very Likely’, closely followed by 2, which would be ‘Quite Unlikely’ if it had its own category. Splitting the nine levels of responses into three general categories of ‘Unlikely’ (for 1 to 3), ‘Maybe’ (for 4 to 6), and ‘Likely’ (for 6 to 9), we have number of responses in each category: 33, 8, and 21. Actually, from the responses in the survey, the number of negative responses to singing English language songs at KTV is higher than the positive responses, since taking the ‘Maybe’ and ‘Likely’ responses together it is still less than the ‘Unlikely’ response to singing English songs at KTV within the next six months.²⁰²

²⁰² Note that it is possible that the question gave such responses since the group or individuals in it were unlikely to participate in KTV at all within the next six months, which may indicate that the question is at fault, and could therefore give a misleading response.
For the question ‘What is the likelihood of singing English language songs outside of a KTV environment in the next six months?’, shown in figure 6, for which there were 59 respondents, the majority of respondents (40) said that they were unlikely to do so. However, it is interesting that the third highest number of respondents said that they were ‘Very Likely’ to do so.

2) CE Songs
55 (79.4%) of 63 respondents said that they listen to CE songs, although 46 (90.2%) of 51 respondents said that they were able to sing songs that contained codeswitching with English. The reasons respondents listened to or sang Chinese songs containing English, a question with 48 respondents, are indicated in the pie chart (fig. 5) on the following page:

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203 These were responses to Questions C.10 and C.11 in the survey.
204 This was question C.15.
Figure 7: Reasons given why listen to CE songs

As can be seen from Figure 5, the respondents noted that they listen to CE songs primarily due to the musical qualities of the songs or the popularity of the singer or band. 12.6% of respondents identify other reasons for the songs’ popularity. The responses to this question show how important the sociocultural factors are, such as the popularity of the singer or group who sing the songs, for the popularity of codeswitching songs.

In the next questions, the respondents were asked to compare the situation five years before with the time of the survey, and to compare how often they listened to the songs against five years before then. The findings are shown in
the two pie graphs below. As is indicated, the presence of English in Chinese songs is increasing and the respondents say that they are likely to listen to them more, or at least just as much, as five years before:

Figure 8: Perception of number of CE songs compared with five years ago

![Figure 8: Perception of number of CE songs compared with five years ago](image)

Figure 9: Frequency of listening to CE songs compared to 5 years ago

![Figure 9: Frequency of listening to CE songs compared to 5 years ago](image)

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205 This was out of the 50 respondents to Question C.16.

206 There were 47 respondents to this question, Question C.17.
A further question asked why a Chinese singer would sing a song that included English lyrics, presented in Figure 8 above. Half of the respondents indicated that this was due to the creativity of the language use and the need to avoid certain restrictions by the use of only one language within the song. 25% of respondents said that the codeswitching was due to an artist’s background, which was also an important reason noted by the audience listening to these kinds of songs. Almost the same number of people said it was because English is 一个趋势 ‘trendy.’

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207 Question C.18.
The final question particularly relevant to this audience study was what style of Chinese language songs the respondents would most expect to hear English in. The answers are shown in Figure 8 below.  

**Figure 11: Most popular genres for CE songs**

As Figure 11 demonstrates, the two genres most likely to have English in them are R&B and Rock, although there were a number of other styles frequently cited. Within the ‘Other’ category, respondents indicated a blend between Jazz and Rock, or a tendency to a slow pop style. Since it has been observed that the most frequently cited genres in English music were R&B, Rock, Jazz and

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208 Question C.19. Note that although Reggae was an option, it was not identified by the respondents and so it does not show up on the bar graph. It was possible for the respondents to give more than one answer to this question.
Country, it appears that there are genre-related reasons for expecting English in Chinese pop songs, something that has been noted in the comments on reasons for liking particular performers in the second part of the survey.

There were also two other questions, C. 12 and C. 13. The first of these, Figure 12 below, asked if the respondents could sing songs that have both Chinese and English lyrics. Of 51 respondents, 46, or 90.2% said that they were able to.

![Figure 12: Whether the respondents sing CE songs](image)

This is also interesting when we look at C13 which looks at the likelihood of the respondents singing CE songs in KTV within the next six months, in Figure 13 on the following page. The majority said that they were ‘Very Likely’ to do so, however the second highest answered 2, that they were unlikely to do so. If we break the respondents into three categories, as we did
earlier in this section, of 50 respondents, the overall ‘Likely’ and ‘Unlikely’ have roughly even numbers, 19 ‘Unlikely’ to 20 ‘Likely’, while 11 are in the ‘Maybe’ category. Despite this, if we compare the data for this with the number of people who are likely to sing English songs in KTV, people are clearly more likely to sing CE songs than English songs, and in fact, taken with the large number of respondents who can sing these songs, shows just how popular CE songs are at the moment.

Figure 13: Likelihood of singing CE songs at KTV within 6 months

The evidence on the popularity, or widespread nature of CE songs, is compounded when we look at C. 14, which examines the likelihood of singing CE songs at home within the same period.
Although from the responses there are more people unlikely to sing the songs, again the highest number says that they are ‘Very Likely’ to sing a CE song within this period, which points to the popularity and perhaps the commonality of CE songs among Chinese youth today, a fact which will be seen later in the participant observation.

8.2.4. Summary of findings from the survey

From the online survey a few things are apparent. American English appears to be a popular English variety, both in popular songs and the education system in Shanghai. In addition, CE songs are increasing in popularity and are identified as a trend. The most important reasons for the popularity of
particular performers appear to be musical, stylistic and sociocultural ones, and there are genre-related reasons for the expectation for the presence of English in CE codeswitching songs.

In addition to this, this section has shown how popular and widespread interest is in these songs among youth. This will be seen further in the following sections in this chapter.

8.3. Findings from Interviews with the Target Audience

There were 24 individual interviews with young people within the target age group of this thesis. The names given in this thesis are not the participant’s real English names, for the sake of anonymity. Although many of the participants were students currently majoring in English at university, in many cases they brought friends along to be interviewed who were studying different majors. There were also two individuals who were no longer students, ‘Sarah’ (10F), currently employed as an English teacher in a private English college, and ‘Cathy’ (1F), who worked as an accountant. The findings from the interviews are grouped under headings as they relate to linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors relevant to the examination of CE codeswitching in contemporary Chinese popular songs. Before the findings from the interviews
under linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural headings are discussed though, it is important to note a number of overall findings.

8.3.1. General findings

All those interviewed indicated that most people their age think that CE songs are popular. Of the twenty-four interviewees, sixteen (or 66.66%) indicated that they thought Chinese songs that contained English lyrics were 正常 ‘normal’, or had similar opinions, including that they thought CE songs were OK but were more interested in listening to English songs. Six (25%) individuals’ views on bilingual songs were particularly positive. One of them expressed that it sounded 新鲜 ‘fresh’ if a song has English in it. However, two people (8.33%) said that they personally disliked the presence of English in Chinese songs and found them strange. Both thought that it was better to listen to each language by itself. Jessica (6F) indicates their shared attitudes:

我觉得洋不洋强不强……你说全部是 Chinese 吧，也不是全部 Chinese……Western 嘛，就 Western. Don’t mix together! (6F)

‘I think they seem Western but are nothing like Western...they are Chinese, but not completely Chinese...Western. just be Western. Don’t mix together!’

209 Single quotation marks are used for the English in the cited speech in this chapter, since what is said here is a translation of the interviewees’ original speech in Chinese.
Zhang Hua (2005), who also did an audience study on attitudes among Chinese youth towards codeswitching songs, said that from her survey ‘an overwhelming majority of respondents (68.48%) take a neutral attitude, followed by a positive attitude (21.74%), and only a few respondents (9.78%) take a negative attitude towards CE codeswitching in Chinese popular songs’ (ibid, p. 51). Although this question was not asked in the online survey for this thesis, the responses of interviewees indicated that while about the same amount of people have a neutral opinion of CS, there are more who have a positive perception on the phenomenon than it was suggested in the 2005 study by Zhang Hua and fewer with an overall negative response towards CE codeswitching in songs. Zhang Hua (ibid.) says that people with a negative impression towards CS in songs mostly ‘ascribe their reason to the impurity of languages in the codeswitching’, which accords with the responses in this audience study.

Nearly all those interviewed believed that people listened to more CE songs than five years ago. The reasons given were there were more CE songs available and English was seen as an important and trendy song-writing 趋势 ‘trend’. The general consensus is that young people are listening to more English language music than five years ago. Typical responses to the question on whether the amount of English music people listen to has increased since
five years earlier’ are 多很多 ‘Much more’ (4F), and 肯定是增加了 ‘it has certainly increased’ (3F). According to the interviewees, this is because, compared with five years ago, there are more English songs sung by performers from Chinese backgrounds, young people have more access to the internet, the song rankings online include more Western, usually American songs, and also due to CE songs being a 趋势 ‘a trend’, in popularity.

None of those interviewed feel that someone would use CE songs to improve their understanding of English, since they would be more likely to listen to entirely English songs for this purpose. Several participants do state, however, that while CE songs may not help with English, since the English in the songs is usually relatively simple and since most people would rather listen to music than study the lyrics, CE songs may be quite influential on improving attitudes to English among people who know very little English:

‘Improve? It probably won’t improve [your English] at all, but if you use English...if it appears...like if you read English a lot and it appears a lot, it will make you more familiar...this is very important, I feel. Yes, if you are more familiar with English you won’t hate it.’ ‘Alice’ (3F)
The singers identified by young people were mainly the ones in the corpus collected in this thesis. The two most popular singers of codeswitching songs among those interviewed were the male singer Wang Lihong and the female singer Cai Yilin.

8.3.2. Findings Related to Linguistic Factors

1) The Importance of Grammatical Features
All of the participants thought that even though grammar was not so significant in the popularity of these kinds of songs, the language of most of the material in a discourse should normally be grammatically correct. This fits with the MLF hypothesis. The consensus of those interviewed also seems to be that small grammatical mistakes will not affect popularity. However, the accent and pronunciation were clearly important to those interviewed, who said the codeswitching must sound 顺口 ‘smooth’, and the English used in the song must sound 自然 ‘natural’. Although in most cases of intrasentential CS in songs the young people interviewed say that they do not hear enough English to be able to comment on the accent and pronunciation, this is not the case for intersentential CS, particularly if it is a long passage.

A few interviewees, ‘John’ (2M) and ‘Tom’ (9M) for example, brought up the case of the oft-derided Chinese singer Huang Xiaoming 黄晓明, who sang the
song *One World One Dream*, which includes a chorus in English, for the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Here are Tom’s words on the singer:

黄晓明啊，他那个……他唱过一首歌是那个时候，北京奥运
会选主题曲的时候，他有一首歌，然后里面……有很长……
有很长一段是英文的。他那个发音太恐怖了！我就不知道他
在唱什么，就看的歌词就完全……唉呀！只能说恐怖了！

‘Huang Xiaoming, man, that guy!...he sang a song at the time
when...when the Beijing Olympic committee were selecting a
theme song, he had a song...inside it had a long...a long...a long
passage of English. That guy’s pronunciation was so terrible! I
just didn’t know what on earth he was singing about, I just read
the lyrics and he was completely...Ugh! Terrible is the only way
to describe it.’

Although grammatical factors did not seem to be as important as
pronunciation, several informants stated that there needs to be some decent
grammatical connection between the two languages for CS to be acceptable.

‘Mark’ (7M) identified what he would consider a good connection between the
two languages:

就是因为可以顺着就上一句中文的意思来，而不是中文结束
这种就突然来了一句英文，但是跟上面似乎没有什么联系的
那种

‘It’s the type which would come about because it can flow on
from the meaning of the Chinese sentence, but not when the
Chinese stops and then suddenly there’s a line of English that it
doesn’t have any connection with.’

210 The phrase ‘那个’ ‘that one,’ has a derogative meaning here that is difficult to translate.
‘Tom’ (9M) also believes that there needs to be some real connection between the languages in the song, and that the English needs to have some purpose for being there. He says that some songs

就莫名其妙的加了个单词进去。所以说……感觉蛮怪的。最好还是……不要加。我是这么觉得

‘just for no reason whatsoever add a word in. So I say... I feel very strange about this. The best thing would be not to add [English words].’

This is how I feel.’

2) English Content in the Codeswitching Songs

The general belief among the majority of people interviewed is that there is a minimal English proficiency requirement for most Chinese songs that contain English, and that the English is usually quite easy to understand, even for those without much ability in English. ‘Cathy’ (1F) feels that minimal English, about the level required at intermediate school in China, is needed to understand most CE songs. ‘Gloria’ (2F) agrees that the language in most codeswitching songs is not difficult, saying:

大多数中英文的歌曲它都是一些比较简单的单词，英文单词，所以基本上人家都可以听得懂

‘The majority of Chinese/English songs have some pretty easy words, English words, so pretty much everybody can understand them.’

211 Although the object here is not stated, it is clear from the context that ‘Tom’ refers to units of English vocabulary.
Other people also believe that the English requirement in the songs was one that most young people would have no problem with.

Regarding the material suitable for switching intrasententially, one interview participant, ‘Grace’ (5F), says:

‘It’s pretty rare for English verbs to appear in [songs]...most often it’s adjectives, because, in popular songs, there’s a lot of expressing your own feelings.’

‘...Or it’s a phrase. There are also likely to be phrases, like ‘let go’...or ‘sorry’, ‘baby’...what else? ...oh! ‘Come on!’ is also used a lot.’

Another interviewee, ‘Gloria’ (2F), also feels that English verbs are rare, but that nouns are more likely than adjectives. She says that:

‘...in Chinese/English songs verbs are pretty scarce...mostly it’s a few nouns, or it’s...yes...it’s a sentence, or a few nouns.’

For many people interviewed there seems a preference towards intersentential over intrasentential CS. ‘Tom’ (4M), though he likes Wang Lihong’s style of
codeswitching, when asked about his thoughts on CS within sentence boundaries, said:

中文里面掺杂英文的，大多数效果不大好。我是这么觉得。我很倾向于就是 eh……比较单……中文就是中文的，英文就是英文的，这样比较好一点。

‘The majority of the time mixing up English into Chinese won’t have a good result. That’s how I feel about this. I’m more favourably disposed to...rather [pure]?Chinese is Chinese, English is English. I feel it’s a bit better like this.’

Though ‘Lou’ (3M) disliked CE codeswitching in modern popular songs, he felt CS would be more acceptable in sentences intersententially than intrasententially.

Many describe the presence of codeswitching in songs in terms of sentences. It may be that intersentential CS is becoming more frequent than before.

Interviewees have responded that they feel there is usually no more than one-fourth or a fifth of a song that is in English. ‘Alice’ (3F) says that a Chinese song only 有几句 ‘has a few sentences’ in English, while ‘Gloria’ (2F) says that ‘基本上不超过两，三句’, ‘there are seldom more than two or three sentences.’ ‘Sarah’ (10F) feels that the amount of English in songs has

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212 This word was incomplete. As I believed the interviewee was about to say the word 单纯 'pure' above, I have translated this as 'pure'.
increased in the last few years, and she links this to the growing number of CE songs being sung by Chinese performers.

3) Reasons Given for Switching to English
The interviewees stated that most people realise that translation alone is not a primary reason for CS. English is used for its special qualities, such as the possibility of expressing things that you cannot in Chinese meaning-wise, to use the English sound system to rhyme on, or to express things which would be uncomfortable in some way for Chinese. Some vocabulary is more appropriate or suitable in English and some in Chinese. ‘Cathy’ (1F) feels that English can add more content to what can be expressed in Chinese. ‘Karl’ (1M) feels that using two languages together is good as it can sometimes improve the communicative ability of one language, which can only express so much alone:

有时候英文可能表达得更加比……比中文表达更加好一些，有时候中文可能比英文表达得更加流畅些……两种结合起来的话我觉得会更加好一点

‘Sometimes English may be a little better at expressing things than Chinese, sometimes Chinese may express things more smoothly...It’s even better if two languages are connected together.’

213 ‘Kate’ (9F) expresses her thoughts on the issue in almost exactly the same way as expressed here.
One way of expressing meaning is by using the words young people often use in their daily life. Those interviewed say that even people who don’t really know English can understand ‘Excuse me’, ‘sorry’, ‘OK’, ‘yes’, ‘no’, and ‘goodbye’. Young people use English now in many situations, so sometimes codeswitching feels perfectly normal. ‘Mark’ (7M) said that ‘sorry’ was used naturally in many people’s speech, while ‘Michael’ (8M) said that young people often use expressions such as ‘sorry’ or ‘excuse me’ in their Chinese in Shanghai.

English, by most of those interviewed, is seen in some way as more 直白 ‘direct’, or 直接 in songs214. ‘Grace’ (5F) feels that English often allows a singer to 表白, ‘directly express,’ their feelings – especially feelings of love. Another person interviewed feels that people sometimes use English to express some things they wouldn’t say in Chinese. Some people feel that the English word ‘love’ is more appropriate than the Chinese word 爱. ‘John’ (2M) feels that if a person regularly needs to say that they love someone in a song it might be more suitable to change to the English word ‘love,’ as this English word feels very broad in meaning. One male interviewee, ‘Phillip’ (6M) stated his feeling on this topic:

214 ‘William’ (11M) was the only interviewee to use the word 直接 though.
一般我觉得英文...中文歌 em......‘我爱你’都是用英文讲的，因为用英文讲上去比较舒服......不是很直白的那种. 因为中国人比较含蓄一点，所以 ah......用英文讲‘我爱你’a......我是这么认为。

‘I feel that generally English...Chinese songs all use ‘I love you’ in English, because it sounds pretty comfortable saying it in English...not so direct.\textsuperscript{215} As Chinese people are rather reserved, [the song lyrics] use English to say ‘I love you’...that’s what I think anyway.’

However, ‘Jack’ (10 M) felt that both of these declarations of emotion have about the same meaning and it wouldn’t really have any significance whether one language was used over the other.

Related to the possible use of the English word ‘love’ is the use of the word ‘sorry’ in songs, which as respondents have indicated, is also used in speech. ‘Grace’ (5F) feels that Chinese people 不善于道歉 ‘aren’t good at apologising,’ and because of this some songs use ‘sorry’, not 对不起, one common Chinese alternative.

8.3.3. Findings Related to Stylistic Factors

1) Some Genres and Styles of Singing Require English

A few people, including ‘Helen’ (4F), said that the style of CE songs is no different from that of songs entirely in Chinese. However, the responses of many other people do seem to indicate certain differences between the styles

\textsuperscript{215} The word used here is 直白, which he feels it would be, if said in Chinese.
of CE songs and Chinese songs without English. Despite many Chinese songs having only a few sentences in English, ‘Gloria’ (2F) says:

……中文听多了，就想听听中英文的

‘If you’ve listened to a lot of Chinese [songs], you’ll want to try listening to Chinese/English [songs]’

‘Alice’ (3F) makes this point even clearer, when she says:

……中文和英文的歌是不一样的，所以啊，不仅仅是歌词啊，连作曲都会不一样，所以不同的。如果***混合在一起，都会更好听

‘...Chinese language and English language songs are different. So...It’s not only the lyrics, even the composition of the music is different. So it’s different. If...are mixed together, they will sound even better.’

There are many indications from the responses of those interviewed that some genres need English. Many that often listen to songs from outside China that are sung in the English language, that as some styles originate from other countries and are quite new to China, they need some English to be acceptable and perhaps to cross over. ‘Grace’ (5F) says that often ‘black language’ is used, since people realise that many musical styles, such as hip-hop and R&B, have African American cultural roots. She also feels it would be strange

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216 The context of the conversation made it clear that she was talking about songs here.

217 Though a background noise has made it difficult to hear her exact words, from the context it was apparent that she was stating her opinion on CE songs.

218 ‘Grace’ often employed codeswitching in her speech and used the English phrase here.
for a rock song to be entirely in Chinese today, as rock is not a song genre completely accepted into Chinese mainstream pop music. Rap was often felt by those interviewed to require English.

2) Genres Affect the Use of English and Difficulty of English Vocabulary
Related to the point above, some styles seem to be more appropriate for intersentential and some for intrasentential CS. Faster songs are more likely to have English in them, like rock, hip-hop and fast R&B. Slow romantic songs sometimes have English in them, and the English in these songs is usually very easy, but if for someone to use English in a rap song, they will have to have an excellent level in English, which is hard to fake, and the vocabulary will be more difficult, as it is there mainly for rhyme and doesn’t always require understanding.

Rap might have difficult vocabulary, although one of the interviewees says that he does not think difficult English will affect the popularity of songs if they like the music and the singers. This is because most of the interviewees can appreciate a lot of foreign music that they do not understand, or can listen to English songs and enjoy the songs without being worried about understanding all the lyrics. This attitude clearly carries over into English rap lyrics in Chinese songs. With rap, particularly fast rap, many interviewees have said that there doesn’t seem to be any real need to understand the lyrics in
order to appreciate the song, as the English passage, or the presence of English words, is there mainly for rhyme.

3) Position of English in the Song

‘Cathy’ (1F) and many other interview participants have stated that they feel that having English in a song can make the song 'easy to remember'. According to the responses of many of those interviewed, this is due partly to the fact that the use of another language makes these words stand out.

‘Michael’ (8M) states this opinion clearly when he says:

actually...if Chinese songs have...have English words, it is mainly, I feel, for the function of grabbing or attracting people’s attention, because people can easily remember a word if all the words around it are different.

The interviewees say that these codeswitched English words stand out particularly if such words are the same, usually easy words, as those in the title of the song. Most have said that in most cases English appears in the ‘climax’ of the song, which is usually the chorus, often in the second part of a song. ‘Grace’ (5F) says in most 抒情的歌 ‘romantic love songs’ or traditional Chinese slow pop ballads, when there is English it will rarely
appear at the beginning of the song, but at the 比较后半的部分 ‘the place a
little bit past halfway into the song’, 或者是中间的 ‘or in the middle’.

‘Michael’ believes that according to his perceptions, English appears at the
climax of the song, where it is often followed by Chinese:

它可能就是在一些高超的地方第一句用一个英文，然后后面又唱中文了，让大家觉得挺新鲜的……他肯定选的那种词都是大家已经听得懂的

It’s often the case that at the climax part, the first line will use English, then after that sing Chinese, to let people feel it’s a novelty... [They] have certainly chosen the kind of words that everybody can already understand when they hear them.

8.3.4. Findings Related to Sociocultural Factors

1) The popularity of English Language Songs and Media (particularly American)

From the responses in the interviews, it does not seem the case that people
listen to English songs for the purpose of improving their listening, but this is
seen as a by-product of listening to music that you like. The participants stated
that English songs are popular among social groups and in the general
community. While people may not regard the songs to be part of their
language learning, exposing themselves to the lyrics of music they like creates
one kind of language learning environment. In many cases the interviewees
said that English songs were learnt in conjunction with English study at high
school and university, and often used as teaching tools in English language
schools in Shanghai, and that they are often played on the radio stations broadcast throughout the campus in high school and university. Many people started listening to English songs from intermediate school on for enjoyment. It is also important to draw attention to the fact that many of the earliest songs listened to in English by the research participants at intermediate and high school were the Backstreet Boys, Westlife, and other similar groups who often sing slow R&B style songs, which are also the kind of song-style judged as more acceptable for CE songs. ‘John’ (2M) said that from early on he was acquainted with ‘Black people’s music’, and by this he refers to R&B. 219

Some people interviewed felt that if they didn’t listen to both foreign and Chinese singers, other people would think that they were out of touch and behind the times. A few of those interviewed made it clear that this might limit common topics of conversation and limit interaction with their social groups, due to the growing popularity of English language songs and media. ‘Louise’ (11F) said that:

如果是朋友之间,如果大家……就是大家就是共同话题会越来越小如果兴趣不一样,共同话题会越来越少

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219 ‘Grace (5F) also made a similar point about the style of CE codeswitching music.
‘If it’s within your group of friends, if everyone...everyone’s common topics would decrease if your interests are different, your common topics would decrease.’

She believes that as people are learning English at a younger and younger age, the number of people listening to English language songs will also increase.

While most other participants said that they felt no pressure to conform to other peoples’ expectations on musical and other media tastes, given the widespread popularity of American music among the participants and the fact that it was often cited as an important discussion topic in high school and university, it does seem that interest in both foreign and Chinese music in high school and university is in the mainstream. ‘William’ (11M) also mentioned that another reason for the popularity of a lot of Western music is that Chinese media doesn’t normally play them. He said there were a number of songs that were banned and not allowed on the conventional media of radio or television, such as a song by the band Maroon 5 *This Love*, which has swearing in it, that one can hear and sing in KTV. This suggests that many things that are popular among youth are online and are not widely available in conventional media.

English language singers who were very popular among those interviewed were Lady Gaga, Michael Jackson, Britney Spears, Taylor Swift, Avril

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220 He had just died before I went to Shanghai in mid 2009, so he was much more popular than before.
Lavigne, among others. Many of the singers that were popular were Pop, Country, Rock or R&B singers, and most were American performers.

Aside from an interest in American and foreign songs, most young people interviewed said that they also regularly watched American movies and TV programmes, largely by streaming them online or downloading them, often just a day or two after they are shown in the US. In many cases it is also the material that is banned or has no public showing on Chinese TV or cinema that is the most popular, but also because, as ‘William’ says, that as there is no rating system in Chinese cinemas, many films are cut and people want to watch the original unmodified movies.

Regarding American TV, ‘Lucy’ (8F) says that she believes that American TV is popular because Chinese television is 太保守 ‘too conservative’. TV shows and programmes mentioned as popular among interviewees are Gossip Girl, Lie to Me, Prison Break, Heroes, Friends, and The Vampire Diaries, which are all American TV programmes. These were usually watched with Chinese subtitles, and sometimes dual Chinese/English subtitles, and in the original language. Interviewees stated that at university, though it was mainly English majors who knew about the most popular series, they actively sought out programmes that they were interested in to provide themselves a better English learning environment, and many students studying other subjects at
universities would have English majors in their classes or as roommates, who would introduce them to popular media. Although one of the purposes of watching these programmes and movies was to improve English, they were also popular in the same way as listening to foreign music is, in that they were topics of conversation among groups of friends.

According to the interviewees who were currently university students, there were two main ways to watch these forms of media. The first was episode by episode, which was quite popular when each episode of a series had more or less an independent story from the next. But if the story was a continuous one, it was quite common for students to wait until there were university breaks or until after they had finished their examinations and watch a whole series, or a large part of it, back to back, with a group of friends, making it an important social activity. Although most interviewees mentioned that they got their knowledge of popular English songs from online rankings, many got into singers and songs from their presence in TV series or in movies.

2) The popularity of Korean and Japanese media
Aside from American media, the next most popular non-Chinese media indicated by those interviewed are those movies, TV programmes and bands that come from Korea and Japan. One of the reasons for the popularity of Korean and Japanese media is that the cultural products of these two countries
are usually officially permitted by the government for the public’s viewing and consumption.\textsuperscript{221}

Korean TV series and boy-bands were very popular among some of the younger women interviewed but also by ‘Cathy’ (1F), in her mid 20s. Many of those interviewed identified an extremely famous Korean pop-group called ‘Wonder girls’, who sang a song called ‘Nobody but me’. As indicated by the title, the song contains some English. It was also the case that many other Korean pop bands popular among the youth had songs with English in them. The interviewees were asked whether they thought the band member’s use of English had had an effect on these singers’ popularity in China. From what they said, it was unlikely that the use of English was much more than a minor influence on the popularity of these songs, since nearly all of those who were asked, including the young female fans among the interviewed group, said that the boy-bands were popular due to being young and handsome, since their songs were well produced, and that they sang and danced together at the same time in a big group. Spectacle was a large part of the performances.

The group interviewed also had a very low estimation of Japanese and Korean English speakers, nearly all complaining that they could not understand

\textsuperscript{221} Personal communication, Hu Hong, Confucius Institute, University of Canterbury, 7/11/11
whether they were singing in English or not, due to their terrible pronunciation. Yet even female interviewees who didn’t ordinarily like the Korean boybands quite enjoyed a group called ‘Superjunior’, drawing attention to the fact that they sang songs in Korean, often codeswitched with English like other Korean groups, but were also able to sing in Chinese.

Although most of those interviewed did not seem to be strong fans of Korean or Japanese popular culture, participants did say that there were groups of people who were. Such people were referred to by the appellations of 哈韩 ha han or 哈日 ha ri, which described them as being crazy fans of, respectively, Korean, or Japanese pop culture. From the existence of Korean and Japanese pop culture fan groups, as well as the way that many of the interview participants seemed to know the famous song ‘Nobody but me’, it would appear that Korean pop culture, at least, had some influence on the young people and perhaps was influential on CE codeswitching in Chinese popular songs.

3) Education and the Shanghai local environment
Nearly all of the participants feel that the general English level is much higher than it was five years before. There were many reasons given for this: the local government’s emphasis on English, Shanghai’s internationalism, multi-cultural business environment, the number of foreigners there, older relatives
and Shanghai’s history of cultural contact promoting attitudes towards
learning the language, the growing number of bilingual kindergartens and
bilingual education in the city, but also, the pressure to take part in English
examinations for overseas travel, improved employment success and in order
to get better marks in the English university examinations.

Most of the interviewees have also said that they feel US pronunciation and
US English is becoming popular in education. Many students in the age range
of 20-23 interviewed believe that they learned British English to intermediate,
and then American English from high school and into university.

There were particular reasons mentioned by individual participants as to why
they thought youth in Shanghai quite readily accept CE songs. ‘Ryan’ (5M)
feels that as Shanghai is more and more internationalised now, young people
feel it is easier to accept CE songs. ‘Alice’ (3F) and ‘Kate’ (9F) also mention
that they feel due to Shanghai’s history and its background of cultural contact,
people find it easier to accept new things there, which include CE songs and
also English only songs. Several people interviewed noted that Chinese people
in international firms often codeswitch between Chinese and English in their
speech.
In addition, people mentioned that English music was often played in takeaway places like KFC and McDonalds, or restaurants or cafes depending on the number of foreigners in that part of the city. This was connected to the background of the stores and each franchise’s desire to please their customers, who were often young people who liked coming there to eat and socialise with their friends, or foreigners. A few interviewees mentioned that often people would search out a song that they heard while in these takeaway franchises and then download it.

4) The background of singers
Many mentioned that it was only really the singers with some kind of advanced bilingual background, or who studied overseas, that would be able to be natural when codeswitching, and more likely to express themselves in more than one language. Other singers were less likely to be able to do this well and be accepted. ‘William’ (11M) felt that it was more often the singers with a bilingual background, who were brought up or who studied overseas, who produce good songs, and that the use of language is secondary. This links the exposure of style to the background of an artist.

Although those interviewed think that most of the kinds of CS songs examined in this thesis are sung by Taiwanese and Hong Kong performers, many mention that mainland Chinese singers are singing more and more English
songs, while Hong Kong and Taiwanese singers are singing about the same as before. However, ‘John’ (2M) and ‘Helen’ (4F) indicate that at first the audience may not know where a singer is from and may think they are all from Taiwan. ‘John’ (2M) said that he felt that the popularity of Taiwanese or Hong Kong singers may be due to there being more Western cultural influence in their areas of origin. ‘Sarah’ (10F) also noted that Taiwanese learn US English in schools, which, as demonstrated, is the most popular English in English language music and other Western media.

For a Hong Kong singer or a Taiwanese singer to use a little of their local language does not seem to be a problem where popularity is concerned. For as ‘Denise’ (13F) says:

如果大多数歌词都是 eh……都是普通话的话，就一句歌词是闽南话或者香港话，那么大家还是很……很想了解这句话是什么意思的。

‘If most of the lyrics are...Putonghua, if it only has a line of the Min Nan dialect or Cantonese, then people will still very much want to...will very much want to understand what the meaning of that line is.’

Nearly all of those interviewed mentioned that often Chinese songs were selected for listening and downloading on the basis of interest in the singers or groups, since their background and general musical style was already known to the audience. For English singers, whose names were often difficult to
remember by the respondents, songs would be selected on their own merits first, and later, when the listeners know enough about the singers, they could select songs by their popular English language artists.

That songs are often selected on the basis of the popularity of Chinese artists would seem to indicate that sociocultural and stylistic factors, such as the background of the artist and the popularity of their predominant music styles are particularly influential on the popularity of the CE songs that they sing. An interest in CS songs is often related to a strong preference for a singer whose personal style of music usually includes codeswitching. One of the interviewees ‘Louise’ (11F), a ‘mad fan’ of Wang Lihong, felt excited when she saw that I had a bottle of mineral water that used Wang Lihong as a sponsor. This particular individual was not only interested in all of Wang Lihong’s songs; she was also interested in the music of others who produce CS songs, such as many of the other singers discussed in this thesis.

Many of those interviewed said that it did seem the case that in university singing competitions in Shanghai more people were choosing to sing English songs, and that more Chinese people like Chinese performers, or singers from a Chinese background singing English songs, although according to ‘Louise’ (11F), such singers, including Fang Datong and Wang Ruolin, have a smaller
audience market than singers such as Wang Lihong, who doesn’t normally sing songs entirely in English.

5) **KTV**

Some respondents noted, in response to one of my personal observations in the KTV environment, that sometimes people will sing a CE song after one of their friends sings a song entirely in English. However, some other interviewees noted that this was not the case, and that people would sing songs based on the songs and singers that they liked.

Many of the interviewed group also mentioned that for the majority of CE songs, the language was usually very easy and comprehensible to anyone, and even if someone did not know the English in the song, they could normally mimic the pronunciation and read the English words off the screen. These points will be examined further in the examination of the KTV situation in participant observation.

8.3.5. **Summary of Important Findings from Interviews**

Those interviewed agree that CE songs are popular among youth in Shanghai at the time of the interviews, and almost all agree that people are listening to more CE songs, and English language songs, than five years before. All but a couple of interviewees have no real negative feelings towards codeswitching
songs, while 25% of interviewees have a very positive opinion of the practice. Many of the singers of the songs in the present corpus were among the favourite singers of those interviewed.

Although slight grammatical errors appear to be less important than the smooth and natural flow of lyrics and reasonable English pronunciation, it is important that there is adequate connection between the English and Chinese in the lyrics. English should be used for a reason, whether that is for rhyme, to express feelings directly in a way that might be uncomfortable in Chinese, or to match the language young people use in their daily life. ‘Sorry’ is seen as more appropriate in songs than the Chinese form. 对不起. Translation alone is not normally seen as a legitimate reason for the presence of English any more.

Regarding the linguistic aspects of the songs, it appears most are more favourable of intersentential than intrasentential CS. Several interviewees feel that the amount of CS is increasing, though at present there are usually no more than a few sentences in each song. The participants indicate that most CS in Chinese songs does not require a very high level of English and contains words that almost everyone is likely to know. Those interviewed generally feel that verbs are rare, though they admit the presence of verbal phrases such as ‘come on.’ All of those asked generally agree that the language used with the most material in a given piece of discourse should be grammatically correct.
Respondents also indicate that there are some stylistic differences between CE songs and monolingual Chinese songs. Some genres and styles of music, such as soul, rock, hip-hop and R&B, are felt to require English. The amount of English is also likely to differ depending on the style of song. Faster styles like fast R&B, rock and hip-hop are not only more likely to have English according to the views of those interviewed, but are also more likely to contain difficult vocabulary, particularly when used in rap for the purposes of rhyme. When slow romantic songs have English in them, it is more likely that the English is simple and that there are fewer English words in total in the song, maybe only present as a few English words in the chorus. Interviewees also indicate that English is more likely to appear in the chorus.

Under sociocultural factors, many feel that the interest in English language media – songs, movies and TV programmes – has increased significantly, as has the performance of English songs by Chinese performers. Despite some claims to the contrary, it does seem that interest in such media is motivated by strong peer pressure and a desire to stay within social groups. There also seems to be a certain influence of Korean and Japanese pop culture, and of Korean codeswitching songs that contain English, even though opinions on Korean and Japanese English seems to be very negative for almost all
participants. Many indicated particular reasons for the popularity of CE codeswitching and English language songs in Shanghai.

With regard to the background of the singers, it seems that the artist’s background and stylistic factors are very influential on interest in CE songs. Merchandising also plays a strong part in increasing the popularity of a singer, whose CE codeswitching may be an important part of his or her musical identity. It does not seem that a few lines of another dialect may negatively influence the popularity of a song, and this may possibly be the case for difficult English too, particularly if the performer is already popular.

Finally, with regard to KTV, it is probably not the case that people sing CS songs to display their English abilities, because if they were able to do so, they would sing in English. In addition, most CE songs include easy English, and even if they did not, a few words here or there could often be mimicked if they were not a large part of the song.

8.4. Findings from Participant Observations

Participant observation was carried out in two specific environments: that of the KTV, and that of a live concert environment of a performer often known

222Which is also a case of codeswitching, although this thesis has focused on codeswitching between Chinese and English.
for his codeswitching, Pan Weibo. The data collected from these environments is discussed in this section.

8.4.1. KTV

1) KTV sessions
I participated in a total of four KTV, or karaoke, sessions. The individual sessions are described below in order, before findings are presented.

Session 1
The first KTV session was with a group of Shanghainese women in their mid to late twenties, who were ex-classmates and were all employed as English teachers or in international firms. In this session many older songs of Sun Yanzi 孙燕姿 were sung, as well as the song 恋爱 by Wu Yue Tian (19). There were also a few other songs that included codeswitching by artists such as the Chinese singer Xianzi 弦子 and the Taiwanese performer Luo Zhixiang 罗志祥.

Unfortunately, something that immediately presented itself, and which I had not planned for in my participant observation, was that the particular individuals who invited me to their gathering of friends were all Shanghainese, and as a result, apart from instances where they wanted to communicate with me, when they would use Mandarin, I could not understand what they were
talking about, as my Shanghainese was very limited. However, I was able to learn what songs were popular among the group by their song selection, as well as understand the environment at a smaller KTV, where everyone stayed in a small room with couches in a U-shape around the room. I also noticed that many people did not really seem to be paying attention to the person who was singing, and that song selection was not fixed and from what I saw did not seem to be planned for any rhetorical purpose. There was also group singing of a song that several people in the group enjoyed, a song by Sun Yanzi 天黑黑 ‘Black Sky’, which was not a codeswitching song with English, but did contain some Minnan dialect.

Session Two

The second session was with one of the first group and her four friends: a woman and four men, all in their early 20s. In this session a man in his early 20s, ‘Darren’, upon seeing me, immediately shook my hand and started using phrases in American English and mimicking a strong American accent, sometimes out of context, like ‘It’s OK, man, let’s go!’ After the session, when we were playing pool and I was paired with him, he often said ‘let’s go!’ and ‘we are Spartans!’ when it was our turn, although I communicated with everyone in Chinese. He must watch a lot of American movies.
In this session, a woman called ‘Gina’ sang a song called 假装 Pretence by the artist Cai Yilin, containing a single instance of intrasentential codeswitching with the words ‘tone 调’, which the artist (and Gina) sang with the Chinese pronunciation of tfndi3o. Although this is different from the pronunciation of the English word, no one really bothered about this. This confirms the previous observation that if one or two words of a song are in English, accuracy of pronunciation doesn’t really matter.

‘Darren’ sang Wang Lihong’s Heroes of Earth (84), a song from the corpus in this thesis. A friend of his, ‘John’ sang a song called I believe, which also like Heroes of Earth is an R&B song, but has a slower more balladic feel. The English lyrics in it are simple and slow, although they are intrasentential and repeat several times throughout the song. Later on the two friends sang several other songs by Wang Lihong, including Our Song (82), Julia and Everything (85). Of these, the only one not in the present corpus is Julia, which is from 1999 and apart from the personal pronoun of the title does not really contain any English. Darren sang many songs in English, most of which were R&B or pop ballads.

Four people sung the lyrics from the song Everybody (Backstreet’s Back), by the Backstreet Boys together. As the Backstreet Boys’ song was also sung together on the same evening with some songs from Westlife, which the other
participants also knew, does seem to support the opinion of some of the interview participants that when they were at high school the songs of Westlife and Backstreet Boys were very popular.

It was interesting to hear that Justin Timberlake’s *Where is the Love?* and the Black Eyed Peas *My Humps*, both of which probably would not receive radio play in China, were sung during this session. It seems that there may be some social and political significance for the use of English in China to express certain feelings or ideas which may not be accepted in Chinese music.

*Session Three*

The third group observed included an 18 year old student who was about to finish high school, his male friend and classmate, a 17 year old woman, and a woman in her late 20s. In the session, aside from a number of Cai Yilin and Sudalü songs that do not have codeswitching in them and were therefore not included in the present corpus, ‘Karl’ sang two Wang Lihong songs: *Heroes of Earth* (84) and *Beside the Plum Blossoms*, both with rap in them.

There were a number of songs by other groups that I had never heard of until that time and a song by the singer Chen Qižhen 陈绮贞 called *After 17*. No one seemed to mind that the simple repeated English lyrics in this song’s chorus were ‘When I am/after 17’, which meant that perhaps grammatical accuracy is not so important in the CE songs at all.
Later on in the session, the group all sang what I learned was a very popular song to sing in KTV and a very famous song overall, the hip-hop song which included codeswitching called 快乐崇拜 Adoration to Happiness\(^{223}\) by Pan Weibo. This song is from an earlier period than this thesis.

There was also a strong influence of American culture. ‘Karl’ and his friend sang the song Apologize, a version sung by Kris Allen, who ‘Karl’ told me, was a participant on the American TV series American Idol. The KTV video showed his performance on the show. The two male friends also sung several songs by the group Linkin Park, including New Divide, the theme song for the American movie Transformers, which had been shown in cinemas in China. The video of that song showed clips from the movie.

Session Four

The fourth and final group observed included three young women in their fourth year at university. This session was rather problematic in some ways. ‘Jessica’, the woman who had organised a KTV session with her friends, knew that I was coming and therefore learned some popular contemporary songs that she normally didn’t sing to sing for the occasion. However, they did sing a number of songs by Cai Yilin and the song Adoration to Happiness together, also sung in the previous KTV session with different participants, which

\(^{223}\) This is the official translation of the song from the album ‘Wuba’.
seems to suggest that this codeswitching song is well known by everyone, and this is also what they said at the time. They also sang the songs *Astrology* (96) by Wang Lihong and *Honey honey* (150) by Sun Yanzi, both included in the present corpus. It may be the case that the popularity of CS songs is due to the popularity of a few famous songs with codeswitching, and *Adoration to Happiness* may be one, along with quite possibly those of Wang Lihong, since his music seems popular with everyone in China.

2) General Findings from KTV
Many artists who sang CS songs, and many of the artists within this corpus, were represented in the songs sung by the youth in KTV. Singers of this corpus whose songs were sung frequently within the KTV sessions were Wang Lihong, Pan Weibo, Cai Yilin, and Sun Yanzi.

One important thing that was observed in the KTV situation was that it was difficult for song selection to be a competitive process in the use of language, as was identified in the participant observation by Ma and Chuang (2002) in the KTV context. A number of songs were selected at one time on a computer, and then they could be moved about, or deleted, sometimes in the midst of singing, depending on particular interest at the time. Those at the KTV were not obliged to sing songs that they had selected, pay attention to the singers, or even be in the room all the time, for people could move out at any time to get
food and many wouldn’t know exactly when their song would come up, unless it was a very small group going out to sing KTV together.

Some individuals that were not comfortable with singing entirely in English sang in CE songs. However, it was difficult to tell whether this was because these songs were popular or because of the presence of a foreigner. It may have been the case that the participants just liked singing English songs however, since one participant in the second session of KTV had quite a repertoire of English songs that he was able to sing and told me that he liked singing English songs more than Chinese songs. In all the KTV sessions I attended there were people singing English, CE songs, and Chinese songs that contained no English.

Another thing that was very obvious was the popularity of American popular culture, and its relationship to the use of the internet among youth. In the third KTV session there were a number of American songs which would only have been known about by people with internet access rather than through regular Chinese media channels.

The songs sung within the KTV environment seemed to be a combination of older Chinese songs and well-known English language and CE songs for friends and other Chinese of their generation to remember a shared past, and
well-known contemporary Chinese, CE and English songs. Many of the contemporary songs were from the present corpus.

The singers sometime also picked songs from more than five years ago, or from their favourite Western groups which may or may not be known by other people in the KTV. In the first KTV session for example, the group were fans of Sun Yanzi and would often sing older songs by her. These songs from six or seven years ago sometimes had codeswitching in them too. In the third KTV session ‘Karl’ and his friend sang a few Guns and Roses songs and one by Eminem, because they were interested in these styles, although the other people listening, apart from me, didn’t know the lyrics of the first song and probably didn’t understand the lyrics of the second at all since the lyrics contained obscure American slang and fast rap.

It did seem the case, regarding the linguistic aspects of codeswitching songs in KTV, that the grammar did not seem to be very important in relation to the musical qualities of the song, as most of the lyrics were sung in Chinese anyway. In terms of pronunciation too, were a song to include only a word or two of unfamiliar English, people would also just guess at the pronunciation, and most people wouldn’t worry too much about whether they were correct or not. This could apply to the original performer of the song too.
From listening to a number of CE songs outside the corpus that were popular among these groups, it appeared also that slower songs which contained codeswitching were likely to have easier vocabulary, which was often repeated, while faster songs, often hip-hop or R&B, would often include more complex vocabulary.

8.4.2. Concert

My accommodation in Shanghai was near a large stadium, the Hongkou stadium, where performances were held. As a result, it was possible during my time in Shanghai to not only see a performance of the popular codeswitching performer Pan Weibo, but also to see what reaction was caused by other performers.

One thing that was immediately noticeable around the concert venue was the massive merchandising going on. There were people selling photographs of the artist in posed photographs in expensive clothing, with replicated printed signatures. There were also bags, t-shirts and other items being sold with the picture of the artist on them. Although this kind of merchandising would be present at many pop concerts in other countries, within the concert there were also short video clips and photos of the artist’s background, as well as something that the artist said himself jokingly midway through the performance, that is, he was 帅 ‘handsome’. It was very clear from the concert
that the popularity of a CE singer or group owes a lot to the artist’s image and background.

Although there were some Chinese and English subtitles at the beginning of the concert for less well-known songs by the artist, many of the popular R&B and rap sections of songs that were in English later on in the performance did not have subtitles. The English was either easy and slow, which many of the audience were able to sing along with, or too fast, in the case of rap, which many of the audience wouldn’t sing along with. This observation confirms the opinions of some young people interviewed that it is not important to understand the content of rap and that rap is popular mainly for stylistic reasons.

8.5. Chapter Conclusion

There have been a number of discoveries from the examination of the audience of CE songs.

First of all, CE songs are increasing in popularity, along with English language songs. Most of the youth have a neutral or positive attitude to CE songs.

Concerning the grammatical features of the songs, in general, they do not seem as important as the stylistic and sociocultural reasons for CE codeswitching in
the Shanghai situation. However, metaphorical functions are still important. Nouns are seen to be more common than verbs. Most songs only contain a small amount of codeswitching, and there is a slight preference towards intersentential CS.

Regarding the vocabulary of the songs, nearly all of the words used in CE songs, apart from those in fast rap, would be familiar to the audience. For this reason CE songs appear neither to have been used to either display one’s level of English in KTV nor could be a good way of learning English. If there were only a few unknown words a person might check these with a dictionary to find their meaning if they really liked the performer, or if there were several difficult sentences and the person was a big fan of an artist, it is likely that the person would still want to understand them however. English is often used to indicate musical terminology in the songs, and youth are familiar with music terms being used in the language, evident from communication with them and by examining printed media on pop songs and singers.

The status and background of the performer and stylistic and musical aspects are regarded as more important than linguistic factors for the popularity of these kinds of songs. In addition, often the singers with a foreign background are exposed to more musical styles and genres. They bring Western musical
styles into Shanghai, which may include codeswitching due to their personal background.

Finally, the range and nature of CE codeswitching varies between genres and the style of singing even within a song. Rap and hip-hop are seen as containing more difficult English in comparison to slow love songs, which often contain easier language that usually appears in the chorus. African American English varieties are seen to be appropriate in R&B songs, and American English is favoured. The popularity of certain genres which often include codeswitching, particularly R&B and rock, is tied to the popularity of these genres in the English language songs often listened to among youth.
Chapter Nine: Discussion

9.1. Introduction

The main objectives of this thesis have been to examine the role linguistic, stylistic, and sociocultural factors play in making contemporary CE songs attractive to Shanghai youth. Whereas in the last few individual chapters most of the focus was on presenting the results and there was not an opportunity either to discuss the findings in depth or in connection with other findings, in this chapter there is the opportunity to not only explain the research findings in detail, but also explain the implications of these findings. While some of these findings in this chapter confirm those of other scholars investigating codeswitching, and codeswitching in CE songs, this thesis has also made a number of new contributions that not only draw attention to the importance of some things previously overlooked by other scholars, but also indicate that the study of CE songs needs to be approached from new directions in order for research findings to be significant.

In the next section, 9.2, the important findings within each of the examined factors in the body chapters of this thesis will be discussed. This will be followed by a section that discusses the implications and consequences for these findings on China and Chinese culture worldwide, the study of
codeswitching, and on the broader East Asian cultural dynamic. Finally, in 9.4 attention will be drawn to a few areas of potential future research identified by the research in this thesis. This will be followed by a chapter summary.

9.2. The Importance of the Factors Examined

9.2.1. Linguistic

Within the analysis of the linguistic factors, which included a grammatical analysis within the MLF framework, identification of discourse functions for CS, and the categorisation of the language of the corpus into particular speech acts, a number of significant findings emerge. These are: that grammatical errors are permitted within the context of pop songs, the increased understanding of accepted discourse functions, the discovery of new discourse functions from non-lyric material, and that linguistic functions are strongly related to genre.

1) Grammatical errors permitted within the context of pop songs

Codeswitching with English in Chinese popular songs shares some characteristics of CS with English in other forms of communication, such as in online communication and conversation. However, in this thesis two examples from the song corpus have been identified where the MLF principles (Myers-Scotton, 1993) appear to be violated. In addition, one instance has also been noted from the participant observation where incorrect English grammar is
used in these songs. Bentahila and Davies have said that ‘one should be extremely cautious in using code-switching data drawn from songs to support claims made about conversational code-switching’ (2002, p. 192). It would also be foolish on the evidence in this thesis to reject claims made about conversational codeswitching, but this discovery of song lyrics which do not fit with the MLF hypothesis emphasises more strongly Bentahila and Davies’ belief that CS in songs is quite different from that of conversational CS.

There are two main reasons why errors and violations are permitted in the MLF, and grammatical inaccuracies are sometimes permitted in the lyrics. Firstly, as Bentahila and Davies (2002) stress, that the songs are recorded and edited entities which are in many ways different from spoken and spontaneous written communication. The second reason is that from the indications of the audience in this thesis, many other linguistic aspects, such as pronunciation, rhythmic flow and the presence of discourse functions, are valued more than grammatical match. The lyrics in a song may also be of negligible importance for some members of the audience compared with the quality of the music, for example.

2) Codeswitching for discourse functions
As Xu (2007, p. 84) and other scholars have mentioned, the presence of English permits the use of certain discourse functions not as effective, or in
some cases very difficult, without recourse to codeswitching.\textsuperscript{224} This study has confirmed several important discourse functions noted by other scholars: the use of translation or similarity in meaning between the two languages to reiterate and emphasise meaning (Gao Angzhi, 2008; Zhang Hua, 2005); and linguistic CS as a means by which the performer or lyric writer can ‘play’ with language for humour or to express linguistic ability (Zhang Hang, 2005, p. 40; Wang, 2007; Y. Kachru, 2006, and others). However, the particular contribution of this thesis has been further understanding of those discourse functions noted by other scholars of CE songs and those who have studied CS media in other languages.

Nearly all previous studies (e.g. Zhao, 2007; Xu, 2007; and Zhang Hua, 2007) have identified, under such terms as ‘adaptation to linguistic reality’ and ‘linguistic economy’, the function of CS in order to use English language vocabulary that is in common use among the audience or accepted within youth. The addition that this thesis has made to these findings is that the song lyrics adapt to the current preference of young people for English terminology when dealing with music in other media, such as magazines. This is significant because it indicates a possible lexical domain, music, within which to examine

\textsuperscript{224} Xu (2007, p.84) actually says: ‘As an effective linguistic strategy, code-switching can execute various pragmatic and communicative functions that other linguistic strategies fail to perform.’
borrowing from English in the current linguistic climate of increased language contact.

Many other Chinese studies have also noted the use of CS with English to adapt to particular social conventions of Chinese and in order to avoid being too direct. This is evident in the use of English ‘pet names’ and words such as ‘love’ in songs in this thesis instead of the Chinese equivalents. This study has also confirmed discoveries made by Xu (2007) and Zhang Hua (2005) that English is also often used to express apologies, allowing people to present themselves in a weaker state than that socially acceptable in the same contexts in Chinese. In addition, the absence of strong taboo language in the lyrics in English in this thesis, in conjunction with one song with really offensive lyrics in French, The Expert (49) by Pan Weibo, may indicate that while English is too well known today to hide offensive content, some other languages, such as French, are able to. This is a new finding on the use of taboo language in CS songs in which Chinese is the matrix language.

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225 Xu (2007) presented this under the use of codeswitching for ‘relieving psychological pressure’, and Zhang Hua (2005, p. 42) under the topic ‘affection expressing’.

226 It is unlikely that the censors knew the vulgar and offensive nature of the French lyrics in this song, otherwise the song may not have been released. However, of the number of people learning French, very few would be able to comprehend the fast lyrics, or would care to seek these out. Of course, the French sections are not in the official printed lyrics.
3) Discourse functions of non-lyric material
My position in this thesis of seeking to examine the whole of the song recordings, and not only the sung (or printed) song lyrics, has also helped me to discover a number of new discourse functions for codeswitching which many other scholars, focused on the lyrics, have not been able to identify. These include: the use of CS for scene setting, mimicking the bilingual artist’s ‘natural’ speech to give the appearance of spontaneity, and introducing and controlling the music or participants in a song. When English is used to control the music or participants, it serves the role as cultural attaché, as Lee (2006, p. 244) also noted with regard to English usage in K-Pop.

4) Genre-related codeswitching
One discovery in this thesis, a finding rarely noted in existing Chinese studies, is that the form in which CS appears, the discourse functions or the vocabulary used in CS, are all strongly connected to the requirements of genre.227 The use to which codeswitching is made, and the discourse functions of CS are unlikely to be homogenous across genres, or even within the category of 流行音乐 li[x%ng y%ny]e, or popular music, since li[x%ng y%ny]e is not one genre, but includes all genres popular to a mass audience.

227 Although many scholars noted that codeswitching is likely to be present in rap songs, none of the Chinese scholars have come to the conclusion that codeswitching is intimately tied to genre, as I have here.
9.2.2. Stylistic

Within the stylistic factors, there were also a number of significant findings. The first of these, that codeswitching material did not only consist of sung material, also led to the discovery of a number of new discourse functions that were identified in the linguistic analysis.

1) *Lyrics only a part of the codeswitching material in songs*
As has been demonstrated in Chapters Four and Five, a number of discourse functions are fulfilled through the use of the spoken form of English within the song, appearing as mini-plays, mock conversations, commands, and introductions. One important contribution that this thesis has made to the study of CS in Chinese songs has been to draw attention to many largely unmentioned aspects of CS in songs: the presence of material outside the sung lyric. Although English in its spoken, rapped, whispered, shouted or sung forms are all forms of codeswitching, there is a high proportion of English in the speech (and rap) form within the present corpus, much of which is not present in the lyric sheets of the songs. This is significant because many scholars investigating CS in popular songs base their corpus on the lyrics as they appear on the lyric sheets, which may leave out a significant proportion of the codeswitching actually present in the songs, particularly that part containing spoken English.
The appearance of CS in the songs created by an examination of written lyrics has also had an effect on the selection of the present corpus. My selection of the CS songs of the corpus was based on an online evaluation of which songs contained codeswitching based on reading the printed lyrics, sometimes without listening to each song in its entirety beforehand. As a result, other songs by the performers selected in this corpus which contain CS have almost certainly been overlooked.

This thesis also indicates that it is important for a scholar of codeswitching in song lyrics to be very cautious about what phrases or vocabulary are rejected as ‘fillers’, particularly as many phrases, even repeated ones such as ‘come on’ are quite meaningful within the context of the song. This point has also been noted by J. Lee (2004, p. 435) within the Korean/English pop music corpus.

2) Codeswitching style connected to genre
Just as the presence of linguistic discourse functions are often connected to genre, this thesis has also shown the way in which CS presents itself in songs is also intimately connected to genre or style. This is a significant finding since it indicates the difficulty of trying to present rules for CE songs overall, or even within pop music, since liuxing yinyue ‘Chinese pop music’ contains a wide variety of genres.
This finding that codeswitching style is in many ways indivisible from genre is perhaps most obvious in comparing songs that include rap with slow Mandopop love songs. In songs where English rap was present, the rap often appears in the second half of a song, though some codeswitching might appear before the introduction of the rap to forewarn the presence of English in later sections of the song. Additionally, as rap is primarily present in the song for rhythmic and stylistic reasons, intelligibility and comprehensibility is not really all that important, and so high levels of colloquial African American slang, more complex vocabulary items etc, may be present.

In slow love or soul songs however, complex and difficult vocabulary (at least for anyone with a primary school English level) is rarely present, and the simple English phrases or lines used are often present in a major part of the chorus or high point of a song, and are often repeated along with the chorus. Often there may only be one or two words of English together in a phrase, such as in the case of *Love Song* by Fang Datong (34).

3) *Rhyme in rap and additional stylistic features of rhyme*

Although some scholars have noted the presence of rap in English codeswitching songs and have noted the general presence of rhyme and rhyme with English in CE songs, this study has explicitly studied the nature of rhyme as it is used both within the entirely English rap existing intersententially, and
between the two languages intrasententially. While other scholars have drawn attention to the importance of rhyme for memorability and imitation, in the genre-specific case of English rap in Chinese songs rhyme might only be present in order to introduce word sounds for their musical aspects and to enhance the beat. Many fast, complex raps may not be written to allow general members of the audience to understand them.

Furthermore, in addition to the points made by other scholars on the existence of rhyme in CE songs – including common sounds rhymed upon in the songs, in the present corpus rhyming on English acronyms, double rhyming, and bilingual punning on the use of homophones has been observed.

4) **Parallelism and repetition used to stress and allow variation**
This thesis has also drawn attention to the way that English is often repeated in parallel to Chinese phrases in some songs. These phrases not only make the whole line (or section) memorable by making part of the line (or section) stand out, but also they are often parallel or closely parallel in terms of syllable count with the Chinese line, half-line, or section. This is an important finding, which shows another stylistic aspect of CE songs.

One consequence of the high level of repetition within the song that shows clearly from this study is the way that the use of English can enhance memorability of a song, while, as Davies and Bentahila (2008a, p. 17) say,
without ‘risking the monotony that might ensue without repeating exactly the same words’. English often appears in a fixed repeated pattern of several phrases around which the Chinese lyrics can vary. This allows variation without changing all of the lyrics in a new verse and the inclusion of a non-native language would probably not be too tiresome if repeated. It also allows a limited range of English vocabulary being presented within the songs, which allows the songs to reach a wider audience, including those who have limited English abilities. This finding is significant as it shows a few ways in which English can be introduced into Chinese songs without sacrificing the popularity of the song through including too much English, while still allowing clever linguistic play between the languages.

9.2.3. Sociocultural

1) Bilingual singers and audience increase number of CE songs
Another important finding was that the growing number of Chinese bilinguals and multilinguals in both the performers and the audience is increasing the number of CE songs. That is, the changing linguistic abilities of the performers and the audience are making CE songs more widespread and acceptable.

One of the reasons for the popularity of codeswitching songs is due to the song writing and singing abilities of many Chinese-English bilingual singers, whether they are overseas Chinese or foreign natives with Chinese
backgrounds. These include Wang Lihong, Fang Datong, Xiao Yaxuan and Pan Weibo of the present corpus. Many of these singers consciously seek to stress their lineage leading back to China, while at the same time emphasizing their overseas Chinese identity to gain support. It is quite likely, whether or not the singers are songwriters in their own right, that such songs contain CS due to the background of the singers. These performers, often singing in a particular style, often represent particular genres where CS is prevalent, such as soul in the case of Fang Datong, and R&B in the case of Wang Lihong.

The popularity of the bilingual or multilingual singers is connected to the growing bilingual identity of Chinese youth in the city through improving English education, but also due to the increasing number of Chinese young returnees in the city from other places, that more than likely have used English as an international language while overseas.

2) Lyrics and context localised to ‘Southern’ cosmopolitan urban centres
One other interesting finding, which appears to be one of the main reasons why these songs containing CS are popular with the audience, is that the language is localised to a linguistic and sociocultural environment which is similar to Shanghai. It has been indicated that ‘optimal levels of divergence’, or convergence, may be required for CS to be accepted by a particular audience, and also observed that this is relevant to the acceptance of the nature
of certain forms of CS within particular genres by particular artists for particular audience groups. This linguistic localisation to cosmopolitan urban centres with southern characteristics in their language may be deliberate, or may be due to the nature of the performers or songwriters’ language.

The southern linguistic characteristics or those likely to be appealing to a Shanghai audience are: phrases in regular use by Shanghai urban youth, hybrid slang, South Chinese localised phrases, the presence of aspects of China English, as well as the use of other dialects and languages used in specific groups in Shanghai. The southern linguistic influence is significant as, since indications are that the artists examined in this thesis are also popular in urban cities in the north of China, it shows the southern Chinese forms of the standard are becoming more accepted in popular culture.

3) **Presence of English beyond Western pop culture influence**

Another major finding of this thesis is that although the popular genres in which CS appears have spread from Western music, the presence of English codeswitching lyrics in Chinese may in recent times be largely influenced by the popularity of CE codeswitching in Chinese diaspora communities as well as by the influence of K-pop. Taking Chinese diaspora communities into consideration, although Taiwan is the centre of the music production industry, one-third of the performers come from overseas Chinese communities, who
are among the most famous singers singing CE songs today, such as Wang Lihong. Looking at the influence of K-pop, this study has found that many Shanghai youth before the age of 19 or 20, particularly young women, are fans of Korean bands. These Korean bands reach wider East Asian markets, including the youth of China, by including English within their songs.

The above finding is significant as it indicates that while at present there seems to be a trend towards American English, codeswitching does not exist only as a response to Western cultural influence, but that Chinese diaspora culture and Korean popular culture, with their media that includes English codeswitching may in fact be more influential on the spread of CS in songs in Shanghai than the popularity of English alone.

9.2.4. Audience

1) Audience study necessary to connect perceptions with reality
Another important contribution of this thesis has made is in further strengthening the case made by Zhang Hua (2005) for audience studies when attempting to make predictions based on a corpus analysis of CE songs. For Zhang Hua (2005) and in my own research, the inclusion of an audience study has allowed predictions made based on a corpus analysis to be checked against the audience. Without an audience study, a study on codeswitching can only catalog instances, without being able to make real conclusions on whether
these findings are relatively isolated and trivial, or really significant. The need for an audience study is particularly important when one is examining a particular location or audience group, as in this thesis.

2) Codeswitching alone not the reason for popularity of CE songs
The audience has indicated that codeswitching itself only plays a small factor in the popularity of CE songs, and that being favourably disposed to the music, the genre, or the artist were more important factors in liking a particular song. However, it is significant that CS is, to the audience, often connected to the presence of particular musical genres in Chinese, some of which are felt to require English more than others. The popularity of songs which include CS may also be due to the popularity of a singer whose background or preferred musical genre leads him or her to an inclination to codeswitch, or because due to the singer’s background the audience expects bilingual language use from the singer.

3) CE codeswitching linked to popularity of certain genres
Aside from the audience citing certain genres, such as rock, R&B and hip-hop as having an increased likelihood of CE codeswitching, the likely form of codeswitching, the patterns of CS in a song, the difficulty of the vocabulary for the audience, and the kind of discourse functions, all differ with the genre. In a particular genre and musical style, such as a slow Chinese style pop ballad for
example, difficult English vocabulary used frequently may not be accepted by the usual fans, although English is likely to be accepted if it appears in a simple chorus which mirrors the title of the song or even repeats it. Conversely, an R&B song which appeals to the particular target audience of hip-hop fans may have fast rap sections in both English and Chinese, complex intrasentential CS, ‘stepping-out’ in English within the song, a spoken introduction, or the use of African American English.

The genres where most of the CE songs seem to be present, based on the songs of the artists in the corpus, were in order: R&B, Rock, Dance, Slow Pop, Hip-hop and Soul. While the research of many other Chinese scholars had observed hip-hop (rap) songs were likely to contain codeswitching, this thesis has indicated that although a number of styles contained rap elements, including R&B, straight hip-hop was not the most favoured genre and that many styles and musical genres contained rap sections.

R&B, one of the most preferred genres for English language music according to the audience interviews, appears to be the genre where a good proportion of the audience first came into contact with songs in this language. This thesis also indicates the presence of English in certain genres is related to the popularity of English songs in that genre within the audience – that the fame of
groups such as the Backstreet Boys, Westlife are connected to the presence of English in Chinese R&B songs.

4) Interest in CE songs growing along with interest in English language songs
This study has shown that, although CE codeswitching songs are not a genre in themselves, they are intimately connected to particular genres and the identity of particular artists. Codeswitching continues to grow more popular within song lyrics and seems to be accepted more favourably by the audience.

However, there is not only more acceptance of songs that contain CS with English, but also more acceptance of English songs overall. This is shown by an increase in the use of English in singing competitions at university, along with the interest in popular songs from all over the world due to globalisation and the increasing availability of media over the internet. The information from the audience indicates that CE songs will continue to be popular in the near future even among those who can sing and understand songs entirely in English.

9.3. Overall Implications

9.3.1. Codeswitching Inseparable from Function and Context
This thesis indicates that the particular constraints and freedoms of particular musical genres, the tempo of the music which contains the codeswitching, and
the particular sociolinguistic context and the expression of identity are strongly related to the type of CS (intersentential/intrasentential), the range of English vocabulary used in a song, and the ways such codeswitching presents itself in the discourse and the functions it performs. Codeswitching is a phenomenon that occurs across genres, often connected to the work of particular artists who make CS a part of their musical identity.

That genre and tempo have been shown to be highly influential on the kind of codeswitching permissible in a song has important consequences for the study of CS in songs, since it shows that one cannot look at CS songs in a vacuum. The codeswitching, its difficulty, the use of vocabulary, or whether inter- or intra-sentential CS is present, is related to the genre or speed of the songs analysed. The presence of codeswitching songs within genres is dictated by the shape of the vessel. If one analyses the presence of English in Chinese hip-hop for example, there may often be a number of long intersentential passages of codeswitching, and passages of end-line or midline rhyming either purely within the embedded English passage or intrasententially in mixed language material. But by picking songs from another genre, some findings on the phenomenon of codeswitching in CE songs may differ. Certain genres may also permit the existence of particular discourse functions while others may not. If too many songs are picked from one genre, the kinds of discourse
functions and other functions and purposes of CS will be skewed towards a particular perspective.

The information in this thesis has indicated that the pragmatic models used by Chinese scholars are worthwhile, particularly in the identification of particular discourse functions also found within this thesis. However, it is important that those studying CS also study the audience and the sociocultural context. What the addition of the audience study to a study of codeswitching provides is an insight into the present context for the contemporary CE songs, which is connected in many ways to the appearance of CS in particular genres. Such understanding of a contemporary audience for the songs is important for many reasons.

First of all, the ability of the audience to accept English words within the Chinese song lyrics has changed over time, with regard to the difficulty of vocabulary, and its frequency within the lyrics, as well as the patterns in which it is likely to occur. Secondly, the contemporary context has a number of popular genres, such as neo-soul and hip-hop, which in the early appearance of codeswitching in Chinese songs in rock music in the 1990s either did not exist in Chinese music or were not popular. Another reason, closely related to the second point above, is that as some genres did not exist within popular music before, certain discourse functions or genre-related stylistic patterns of CS did
not exist either. In codeswitching in early rock music for example, the use of English to avoid taboos was more prevalent and important than today, when every young person learns some English, often to a higher level than was possible at a previous time in history. Twenty years ago hip-hop, with its fast-paced long passages of English or intrasentential codeswitched rhyme, simply was not present in Chinese music. A fourth point is that the relative importance of some discourse functions changes over time. The final reason is that particular individual artists who are household names now in China, such as Wang Lihong, whose singing style often contains or relies on CS, were not around in the early days of CE songs.

The points above have important consequences for the study of codeswitching in Chinese music. Studying the pragmatic functions of the CS is useful, but only as long as the audience perspective and the sociocultural situations are taken into account, preferably also with some separation with regard to musical genre, artist, lyricist, or chronological period. In examining the particular ‘linguistic reality’ that brings rise to particular discourse functions of CS in songs for example, or the presence of rap, researchers must take care that the linguistic reality takes into account the stylistic nature of genre, and the changing cultural needs and emphases of CS over time. Certain aspects of

\[228\text{Although, as has been mentioned, fast French rap has been used to present taboo material in the present corpus.}\]
CS which exist in the contemporary world just did not exist in CS ten years ago.

As a consequence of the way the phenomenon of codeswitching is markedly different across genre and in the work of different artists, and due to the sociocultural situation and the present status of English at the time of writing, it might be much more advantageous to confine studies on CS in music to a particular and relatively narrow chronological period, since artists or songwriters change over time, new genres become introduced and older genres fall out of favour. Scholars who make studies on CS in Chinese popular songs should be wary of making conclusions about CE codeswitching in songs in general due to the variable nature of the phenomenon.

In addition, the concerns listed above mean that in order to be anything other than broadly listing the numerous possible appearances of codeswitching with English in Chinese songs, scholars of CS in Chinese music might more productively examine the phenomenon of codeswitching by confining studies of codeswitching into studies of CS within genres, such as hip-hop, on the artists performing these songs (who are often bilingual role models for the English learners who listen to their music), or on particular songwriters across a range of genres. Little scholarly work seems to have been done at present outside of this study on the relationship of CE codeswitching to genre and
artist, and though this thesis has made some observations on this topic on the shoulders of Zhang Hua (2005), who was the only Chinese mainland scholar to discuss linguistic adaptation to the characteristics of music, there is still much to be done.

There are several scholars outside mainland China who have done work on CS as it exists in particular musical genres however, such as Bentahila and Davies (2002, 2008a, 2008b), who examined the *rai*, Chan (2009) and J. Lee (2006), who examined codeswitching within particular genres of Cantopop and K-Pop respectively; and Sarkar et al. (2005), who examined Montreal hip-hop. Though the findings of these studies have much to teach researchers about certain aspects of codeswitching in CE songs in other contexts, more studies need to be done on codeswitching within the present CE song context in relation to genre and artist, since many findings with regard to the CS present in different genres across cultures are valid only within a specific sociolinguistic and sociocultural context. Take Bentahila and Davies’ (2002, 2008a, 2008b) studies on the *rai* for instance. Although there are many general observations from within these studies that have been most enlightening on the codeswitching in the popular music within this study, the use to which CS is put in the *rai* exists primarily within the sociocultural sphere of Algeria and Morocco of that time, and the linguistic domains are particular to the
languages used. Bentahila and Davies have observed certain topics and lexical
domains which were associated with the use of either French or Arabic, but in
the present study Chinese or English are not consistently and frequently used
for these domains. Though there is a tendency to use English for particular
topics, these are different from those in the rai, due to the stylistic
considerations of the rai and the different linguistic and sociocultural
conditions involved.

9.3.2. CE songs a reflection of the current linguistic situation

The popularity of CE songs appears to have been increasing in comparison to
previous studies on the audience. This is not only due to the popularity of
codeswitching in CS songs, but is a reflection of the popularity of CS overall
in Shanghai society. Factors of the current linguistic situation influential on
the popularity of CE codeswitching songs include the songs themselves and
their singers, codeswitching in CIL (Chinese Internet Language) and in speech
due to increased bilingualism and multilingualism, and the current popularity
of, and frequent CS in other popular media – such as Taiwanese, Japanese and
Korean TV, movies and popular music, as well as codeswitching as it appears
in pop music magazines and other written media.

While interest in CS in songs is a reflection of the current linguistic situation,
listening to such songs may also influence certain forms of language use in
Shanghai, though as has been mentioned CE songs are only one stream of influence in linguistic codeswitching in Shanghai. Some possibilities that may occur, based on the findings of the kinds of codeswitching found within CE songs are: increased use of hybrid forms in online writing (such as more use of English acronyms for example) and increased use of transliterations, hybrid words, or even localised English words or phrases in speech.²²⁹

English may change Chinese in more substantial ways through codeswitching. Some of the interview participants have noted that English may fulfil some functions due to the sense that English may be more direct at expressing certain things, such as emotional expressions of love, or apologies. Aside from this there are musical terms, certain address forms and products that are often used in English within these songs, and likely also in conversation, due to the ability of youth to accept them so readily in music. Although English does not appear to consistently govern a particular domain of use at present, it has made its way into areas of certain domains. At present in Shanghai particular business courses are taught in the medium of English. If this trend continues in future then it is possible that individuals may feel that they naturally codeswitch when talking about international business, since many of the

²²⁹ At the end of December 2010, hybrid CE language forms, untranslated English acronyms and the arbitrary use of English word were banned from written publications, [http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/7238161.html](http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/7238161.html). However, they still continue to be used in online communication.
concepts are more familiar to them in English. Or if the trend to use musical vocabulary in songs actually continues more into real life, people may feel more comfortable expressing themselves on musical topics using more and more English vocabulary, or to express apologies for example, and some established standard domains may be created, even without English becoming an officially recognised language in China.

This thesis on codeswitching with English in Chinese popular music also has important consequences for research on globalisation and the popular culture of the ‘Chinese’ world in broader East Asian culture, and supports Chua’s views that the mainland is one of the main markets for ‘Chinese’ pop culture products produced in Taiwan. Though Taiwan is mainly a production centre for the ‘Chinese’ pop culture music industry, Shanghai is a major consumption centre for the products. Shanghai may be one of the places more likely to accept Taiwanese cultural influences on the mainland due to the southern Chinese linguistic localisation, the sociocultural and linguistic situation including the presence of English and the likelihood of using English in Shanghai. However it is important to clarify that as Taiwan is not always the origin of the performers of such songs or the songwriters, and that due to the need to engage with a multiplicity of Chinese audiences (most of which are bilingual or multilingual), CS helps the singers to ‘converge’ with a wider
ethnically ‘Chinese’ group, in the sense of those Chinese who share an identity increasingly built on CE bilingualism.

9.3.3. CE songs linked to growing Chinese bilingualism

The increase of codeswitching in a Chinese global context seems indicative of an increase of CS and individual bilingual and multilingual ability in a global context. A larger number of people today feel they have a mixed identity based not only on blood, but on bilingualism or multilingualism. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Li and Zhu’s (2010) research on diaspora Chinese communities has discovered that

…younger generations of Chinese want to be regarded as bilinguals and multilinguals, and they want to be so in a dynamic and creative way utilizing all the linguistic and cultural resources they have and going beyond the confines of the one-language-one-context convention. (p. 167)

This is likely to be the case for a growing number of Shanghai youth too. The findings in this thesis support Gao Liwei’s (2007) views on CIL (Chinese Internet Language), who wrote:

…the fact that English use is frequently linked to an internationally orientated identity further encourages English use, which in turn prompts Chinese-English contact and the influence of English upon Chinese. (p. 103)

More and more in the case of Shanghai and its citizens, people are travelling overseas to receive a foreign education or have advanced English study, and so
the ability to codeswitch and be an advanced bilingual able to select words and phrases based on their connotations and contexts is being homegrown. There is a growing understanding among Shanghai youth that a monolingual Chinese identity is not enough, and codeswitching’s presence celebrates this.

That many in the audience identify with ‘overseas Chinese others’ (Yang Mei-hui, 2002, p. 335) also promotes more English-Chinese contact, and a higher frequency of codeswitching. In this thesis, bilinguals such as Cai Yilin, Wang Lihong, Tao Zhe and others have been shown as important role models to the youth in Shanghai. For those youth who have not had the opportunity to live overseas, listening to these bilinguals with their mixed language songs may allow them to share in community with another Chinese in a mixed language discourse, in the same way that people communicate with those Chinese worldwide through QQ chat, Sina Weibo and on other forms of social networking. Shanghai youth understand that they are not the sole recipients of such music, and that the audience may be a global Chinese one that they are a part of through the process of the consumption of such media.

The popularity of CS songs is building worldwide too among a growing number of Chinese or diaspora Chinese who consider that English usage is now a legitimate part of their Chinese identity. The use of English together with Chinese wins support for the artist who performs the CS songs in other
large overseas Chinese communities, such as in Singapore, Malaysia, Canada, or Australia, where a bilingual (or multilingual) audience identity would also be the norm, and in China, since these artists like Wang Lihong present a positive bilingual image to Chinese youth, and would likely be supported by the government to further promote bilingualism, since these artists emphasize ability in English, while also emphasizing facility in Chinese. The presence of the Chinese-American Wang Lihong on the recent 2012 春节晚会 ‘Spring Festival Evening Performance’ is evidence of this. The support the audiences have for the artist is likely also due to the artist’s cultural ‘Chineseness’ which the audience feels that they share.

Being ‘Chinese’ in the mainland also seems increasingly connected to English ability, since also many of the talented popular singers accepted as Chinese are from overseas Chinese communities where people have a multilingual background. Since Chinese identity worldwide is increasingly being dominated by those who are able increasingly to codeswitch with English in conversation, CS in Chinese songs will continue to increase, in order for the artists to win support within the full ‘Chinese’ audience base.

Codeswitching in Chinese songs has been also shown to be used to connect with, and to create more markets within wider East Asia in addition to the global Chinese community. English is used to create a ‘Pan-Asian bond’ (J.
Lee, 2004, p. 447) within codeswitching songs with artists who speak other languages, allowing the songs to expand to other markets, including potentially the ‘Western’ music market, although all of the songs in this thesis could be seen as targeted at the Chinese market. Spreading one’s fan base to the fans of others, also allows fans to become fans of others. And given that Korean/English codeswitching pop songs are quite likely very influential on CE songs, this is important area for further research, and will be identified as such in the following section.

9.4. Possible Further Studies

There are several potential areas of investigation prompted by this study. One possible area is cross-cultural studies in the wider East Asian context. Given that Korean pop music, which often includes CS with English, appears to be influential within the Chinese market, some cross-cultural study can be carried out analysing areas of similarity and difference between CS habits in the Korean pop music popular in China and contemporary Chinese CE songs. An audience study could also be done of individuals who like or liked Korean bands who often codeswitch in their songs, relating them to the kinds of CE songs that they currently listen to, to see if the codeswitching is similar.
Research could also be done into the codeswitching of particular Chinese language codeswitching artists, tracing the development of their use of CS, or analysing their personal style of CS through the lyrics they write or choose to sing. This could be done for many famous codeswitching singers, such as those in the present corpus.

More detailed analysis could be done on the existence of CS within particular genres of music, such as hiphop, rock, soul or R&B. Such studies could cover a larger time period or a larger corpus than the present study.

9.5. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter first discussed the importance of the findings from each of the factors examined, drawing attention to their contributions to the field of research of CE songs.

Within the findings in the linguistic factors it was noted that although codeswitching errors and grammatical errors (in relation to the MLF hypothesis) were permitted within the context of CE songs, these did not seem to affect the songs’ popularity due to the nature of the medium. Looking at the discourse functions, this chapter drew attention to findings that were in common with other scholars, and then it demonstrated how this research had expanded upon other scholars’ findings. It then indicated a number of new
discourse functions which had been discovered within the corpus because of the admission of spoken and material not in the written lyrics into the corpus. It was also observed that the discourse functions were closely connected to the genre that they were found in.

Looking at the stylistic factors it was shown that basing the study on CS in songs on written song lyrics alone was ignoring a large amount of codeswitching data, particularly as spoken English was so frequent in the corpus. The second important finding was that CS varied between different genres and that sometimes particular genres had predictable patterns of codeswitching. Another important discovery was in the multiplicity of ways English rhyme was used within the corpus. Although other scholars had identified the use of CS to increase the range of possible rhyming resources, the present study has looked more deeply into the use of rhyme in CS than in any studies before. The last significant point that was looked at was how often repetition was used to create variation within the lyrics despite using only a few lines of English, and how English and Chinese sometimes paralleled syllables with one another.

There were three important findings discussed within the sociocultural factors. First of all, there was understanding that the CE songs are increasing due to both the demand of a bilingual audience and due to the fact that music was
increasingly being performed by increasingly more fluent bilingual or multilingual singers. Secondly, a significant point for the popularity of the songs in Shanghai was discussed – that the songs appeared to be situated contextually and linguistically in a southern urban Chinese centre. The third important finding discussed was that the presence of English in the songs was not purely a result of American influence, but that Taiwanese and Korean pop culture products were also extremely influential.

The findings from the audience study were then looked at. The first thing which was identified was how the audience study was necessary in order to connect predictions which related to the audience in the corpus study, and from researching the background to what the real situation in Shanghai really was. The second significant finding was that codeswitching in the songs was not that influential on the popularity of songs at all to the audience compared to other things such as the popularity of the singer or the music or musical style of the song. Then it was mentioned that the genres that included CS more frequently within this corpus were also the genres that were the most popular in English, and were often the genres where the audience first encountered English songs. Finally, it was stated that according to the audience study, CE songs and entirely English songs are both becoming popular despite the growing ability of the audience to comprehend entirely English songs.
From the findings arose three important implications of this thesis. The first of these was that codeswitching in these songs was inseparable from the function of the pop song medium and the historical and sociocultural context in which the song is found, so it would be better for scholars of CE songs to concentrate on the CS present in particular genres and from particular time periods. The second of these is that CS in songs is a reflection of the current linguistic situation in Shanghai, and in Chinese contexts more generally, for CS does not only arise in the songs, but in online communication, informal written communication, conversation, and, until quite recently, printed music magazines. The third implication is CE songs will continue to grow in popularity, along with songs sung entirely in English, as free bilingual and multilingual expression is valued in the increasingly growing Chinese bilingual and multilingual world context.

Finally, several potential research topics have been indicated, arising from the research in this thesis. These included: comparisons of Chinese and Korean codeswitching songs, research focusing on particular CS artists, and a more detailed investigation into CS in particular musical genres.
Chapter 10: Conclusion

This thesis has explored to what extent linguistic, stylistic and sociocultural factors play in the popularity of contemporary (2004-2010) CE codeswitching songs among the urban youth audience of Shanghai. Within each chapter several discoveries were made in relation to the stated objectives at the beginning of this research. These discoveries were brought together in the discussion in the previous chapter, and have led to a few main conclusions.

First of all, the information in this thesis indicates that the phenomenon of codeswitching in popular songs is a reflection of the artists or songwriters’ need to connect with the linguistic and sociocultural background and current interests of the audience negotiated within the particular requirements and expectations of the music and genre, along with the need for an artist to present a particular identity.

Secondly, the increasing popularity of the phenomenon of codeswitching in Chinese songs is a reflection of the current popularity and frequency of codeswitching overall within Shanghai youth culture and within Chinese global youth culture, as well as within East Asian culture and in the growing bilingual and multilingual community worldwide. Codeswitching connects Shanghai youth to a growing bilingual or multilingual identity.
Thirdly, though the audience may not be aware of this, the English within the songs could in many ways be seen to be localised to a Shanghai social, cultural and linguistic context, shown by the presence of China English, American English and the norms of language use appropriate in the context of the urban metropolis with a high population of foreigners and the extremely high position of English within the education system and social life.
References


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London; New York: Longman.


### Appendices

**Appendix I: Songs Examined in this Thesis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Name</th>
<th>English Translation/ Alternate English Title</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Album</th>
<th>Lyricist</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fly my way</td>
<td></td>
<td>林宥嘉 Lin Youjia</td>
<td>(Single)</td>
<td>陈信延 Chen Xinyan</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t wanna pray</td>
<td></td>
<td>张靓颖 Zhang Liangying</td>
<td>我相信</td>
<td>马嵩惟黄梦婷 Ma Xuewei/ Huang Mengting</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do</td>
<td></td>
<td>张靓颖 Zhang Liangying</td>
<td>我相信</td>
<td>张靓颖 Zhang Liangying</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>办不到</td>
<td>Can’t do it</td>
<td>张靓颖 Zhang Liangying</td>
<td>我相信</td>
<td>阿弟仔 mc40</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我相信</td>
<td>I believe</td>
<td>张靓颖 Zhang Liangying</td>
<td>我相信</td>
<td>张靓颖 Zhang Liangying</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>收留我</td>
<td>Take Me</td>
<td>S.H.E.</td>
<td>SHERO</td>
<td>陈乐融</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>潇洒小姐</td>
<td>Miss Chic.</td>
<td>萧亚轩 Xiao Yaxuan</td>
<td>潇洒小姐</td>
<td>葛大为、小安</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UUU</td>
<td></td>
<td>潘玮柏 Pan Weibo</td>
<td>(Single)</td>
<td>李念和</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>彼得与狼</td>
<td>“Peter and the Wolf”</td>
<td>苏打绿 Su Dalù</td>
<td>(Single)</td>
<td>青峰</td>
<td>2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>幸福洋果子店</td>
<td>Bakery of Happiness</td>
<td>梁静茹 Liang Jingru</td>
<td>亲亲</td>
<td>陈珊妮</td>
<td>2006</td>
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<tr>
<td>飞鱼</td>
<td>Flying High</td>
<td>梁静茹 Liang Jingru</td>
<td>亲亲</td>
<td>李焯雄</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>狂想曲</td>
<td>Rhapsody-</td>
<td>萧亚轩 Xiao</td>
<td>潇洒小姐</td>
<td>李宗恩/Jang</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where there were official English titles or translations of the Chinese song titles available online, I have presented them here. However, when no English titles for the songs in this corpus were available, I translated them, and these translations are shown within single quotation marks.
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>中国话</td>
<td>The Song of Missing you</td>
<td>郑楠、施人诚</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>听袁惟仁弹吉他</td>
<td>2007</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>BOOM</td>
<td>2007</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>SHERO</td>
<td>2010</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>两个人的荒岛</td>
<td>2010</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>如果你是女孩</td>
<td>2010</td>
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<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>恋爱ing</td>
<td>2005</td>
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<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>我(live)</td>
<td>2007</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>旗开得胜</td>
<td>2010</td>
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<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Dream party</td>
<td>2007</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>日落大道</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>我的音乐让我说</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>靠近你</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Yalta</td>
<td>2007</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Your song</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>我的路 (live)</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td>潘朵拉</td>
<td><em>Pandora</em></td>
<td>张韶涵 Zhang Shaohan</td>
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<td>香水百合</td>
<td><em>Water Lily</em></td>
<td>张韶涵 Zhang Shaohan</td>
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<td>惊天动地</td>
<td><em>Shaken World</em></td>
<td>张韶涵 Zhang Shaohan</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>保护色</td>
<td><em>Protective Color</em></td>
<td>张韶涵/林俊杰 Zhang Shaohan/Lin Junjie</td>
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<td>喜欢你没道理</td>
<td><em>Like you Without Reason</em></td>
<td>张韶涵 Zhang Shaohan</td>
</tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Love Song</td>
<td></td>
<td>方大同 Fang Datong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>够不够</td>
<td>‘Is it enough?’</td>
<td>方大同 Fang Datong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1234567</td>
<td></td>
<td>方大同 Fang Datong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>简单最浪漫</td>
<td>‘Simple is the most romantic’</td>
<td>方大同 Fang Datong</td>
</tr>
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<td>‘Ten nine eight seven…’</td>
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<td>‘Everyone can’</td>
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<td>‘100 expressions’</td>
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<td>Sorry</td>
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<td>为你写的歌</td>
<td>‘A song I wrote for you’</td>
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<td>梁静茹 Liang Jingru</td>
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<td>满满的都是爱</td>
<td>‘Full of Love’</td>
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<td>Battle Room</td>
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<td>高手</td>
<td>The Expert</td>
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<td>一指神功</td>
<td>Android</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>背水一战</td>
<td>‘Last Stand’</td>
<td>潘玮柏</td>
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<td>我想更懂你</td>
<td>Want to Know You</td>
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<td>Incoming Call</td>
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<td>怎么着</td>
<td>How</td>
<td>Pan Weibo</td>
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<td>Don't Wanna Say Goodbye</td>
<td>Pan Weibo</td>
<td>零零七</td>
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<td>Shut Up</td>
<td>Dirty Love</td>
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<td>Dirty Love</td>
<td>Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>改变自己</td>
<td>Change Me</td>
<td>Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>放开你的心</td>
<td>释放你的心</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>我们的歌</td>
<td>Our Song</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>春雨里洗过的太阳</td>
<td>The Sun After Washed by Spring Rain</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>盖世英雄</td>
<td>Heroes of Earth</td>
<td>王力宏 /Jin 欧阳靖/李岩 Wang Lihong/ Jin/ Li Yan</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>Everything</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
<td>心跳</td>
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<td>盖世英雄</td>
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<td>竹林深处</td>
<td>In the Depths of the Bamboo Forest</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>88</td>
<td>Forever Love</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
<td>心中的日月</td>
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<td>89</td>
<td>胡吼/完美的互动</td>
<td>The Perfect Interaction</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong/Rain/ J. Lim</td>
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<td>我完全没有任何理由理你</td>
<td>No Reason to Pay Attention to You</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>Cockney girl</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>在那遥远的地方</td>
<td>At That Faraway Place</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>大城小爱</td>
<td>Big City, Small Love</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>Puppet</td>
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<td>Homies</td>
<td>王力宏 Wang Lihong</td>
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<td>爱的鼓励 (Love's Praise)</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
<td>改变自己 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>华人万岁 (Long Live Chinese People)</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
<td>改变自己 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>让开 (Move Over)</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
<td>盖世英雄 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>过来 (Come Here)</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
<td>心中的日月 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>爱因为在心中 (Because Love is in the Heart)</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
<td>盖世英雄 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>摇滚怎么了 (What's Wrong With Rock!!)</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
<td>心跳 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>Follow me</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
<td>心中的日月 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>十八般武艺 (The 18 Martial Arts)</td>
<td>王力宏 (Wang Lihong)</td>
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<td>迷宫 (let's start from here (中文版)) (Maze)</td>
<td>王若琳 (Wang Ruolin)</td>
<td>Start from here (Wang Ruolin)</td>
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<td>Now</td>
<td>王若琳 (Wang Ruolin)</td>
<td>Start from here (Wang Ruolin)</td>
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<td>For no reason</td>
<td>王若琳 (Wang Ruolin)</td>
<td>Start from here (Wang Ruolin)</td>
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<td>特务 J (Agent J)</td>
<td>蔡依林 (Cai Yilin)</td>
<td>特务 J (Cai Yilin)</td>
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<td>爱无赦 (Bravo Lover)</td>
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<td>蔡依林 (Cai Yilin)</td>
<td>Jolin LiveConcert 音乐精选 (Cai Yilin)</td>
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<td>说爱你 (’Say I love you’)</td>
<td>蔡依林 (Cai Yilin)</td>
<td>Jolin LiveConcert 音乐精选 (Cai Yilin)</td>
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<td>依赖</td>
<td>Cai Yilin</td>
<td>蔡依林 / 李宗恩</td>
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<td>金三角</td>
<td>Cai Yilin</td>
<td>特务 J / 陈镇川</td>
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<td>Cai Yilin</td>
<td>花蝴蝶 / 周启民 / 李宗恩</td>
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<td>Let's move it</td>
<td>Cai Yilin</td>
<td>特务 J / 林白</td>
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<td>蔡依林 / 李宗恩</td>
<td>花蝴蝶 / 陈镇川</td>
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<td>钻石糖 / 李宗恩</td>
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<td>小薰 / 1087</td>
<td>钻石糖 / 陈镇川</td>
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<td>Honey honey</td>
<td>小薰 / 1087</td>
<td>萧亚轩</td>
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<td>LOVE</td>
<td>小薰 / 1087</td>
<td>萧亚轩 / 陈宏宇</td>
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<td>小薰 / 1087</td>
<td>钻石糖 / 萧亚轩</td>
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<td>萧亚轩 / 卓仲颖 / 萧亚轩</td>
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<td>不爱,请闪开</td>
<td>小薰 / 1087</td>
<td>钻石糖 / 李宗恩</td>
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<td>我的男朋友</td>
<td>小薰 / 1087</td>
<td>萧亚轩</td>
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<td>You and me</td>
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<td>萧亚轩 / 王雅君 / 陈思宇</td>
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<td>Oh oh oh</td>
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<td>苏打绿 / 吴青峰</td>
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<td>That moment is over</td>
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<td>苏打绿 / 吴青峰</td>
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<td>在我们之间</td>
<td>苏打绿</td>
<td>春 - 日光 / 吴青峰</td>
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<td>一千座喷泉</td>
<td>A thousand fountains</td>
<td>苏打绿</td>
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<td>忘不了</td>
<td>Can’t Get You Outta My Mind</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>暗恋</td>
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<td>Walk on</td>
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<td>太美丽</td>
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<td>我太傻</td>
<td>I’m so Stupid</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>祝你幸福</td>
<td>I Don’t Wanna Know</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>139</td>
<td>请继续,任性</td>
<td>Please Continue to be Stubborn</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>中国姑娘</td>
<td>Chinese Lady</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>谁的奥斯卡</td>
<td>Whose Oscar?</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>应征爱</td>
<td>Love Needed</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>143</td>
<td>你的歌</td>
<td>Your Song</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>Olia</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
<td>太美丽</td>
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<td>不爱</td>
<td>Forever</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>146</td>
<td>每一面都美</td>
<td>So Beautiful</td>
<td>陶喆</td>
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<td>147</td>
<td>绿光(变奏版)</td>
<td>‘Green Light’</td>
<td>孙燕姿</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>咕叽咕叽</td>
<td>Guji Guji</td>
<td>孙燕姿</td>
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<td>149</td>
<td>心愿</td>
<td>Wish</td>
<td>孙燕姿</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>Honey honey</td>
<td>孙燕姿</td>
<td>完美的一天</td>
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</table>
Appendix II: Online Survey

Online Survey Questions: English Version

A) Demographic questions:

1. What is your sex?
   - Male
   - Female

2. In what year were you born?

3. In which city or province have you lived most of your life?

4. Are you attending college or university?
   - Yes
   - No (Please go to question 8)

5. Are you a full-time or part-time student?
   - Full-time
   - Part-time
6. Is English your major of study?
   - Yes
   - No

7. What grade or level are you attending?
   - 1st year
   - 2nd year
   - 3rd year
   - 4th year
   - postgraduate
   - doctoral
   - have completed my degree and am currently in the workforce
   - have completed my degree and am continuing my study part-time

8. What would you say is the style of English you learn in school?
   - British
   - American
   - Other. Please specify:
B) General questions on Chinese pop music:

1. What are your top five groups or singers who sing in Chinese?
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 

2. What appeals to you about your favourite singers? Be as honest and specific as possible.

3. Can you write down the names of a few online music forums?

4. Are you a member of any online fan sites or music forums?
   - Yes
   - No

5. How influential would you say these are on your interests in particular artists or songs? Please put how influenced you are by this form of media on the line below:
0 not influential, 1 (very slightly influential) to 5 (Extremely influential)

0________1________2________3________4________5

Or  NA

6. Could you please write down some magazines or newspapers that you read, or people you know read, to get information about pop music and pop music artists?

7. How influential would you say these are on your interests in particular artists or songs? Please put how influenced you are by this form of media on the line below:

0 not influential, 1 (very slightly influential) to 5 (Extremely influential)

0________1________2________3________4________5

Or  NA

8. Could you please write down some TV programs that you watch, or people that you know watch, about pop artists?
9. How influential would you say these are on your interests in particular artists or songs? Please put how influenced you are by this form of media on the line below:

0 not influential, 1 (very slightly influential) to 5 (Extremely influential)

0_________1_________2_________3_________4__________5

Or  NA

10. Do you watch music videos of your favourite artists?

- Yes
- No

11. Where do you watch music videos?

- Online (on the internet)
- on DVD
- on TV
- on some other form of media. Please state here:

C) Questions on English language songs and Chinese-English codeswitching songs:
1. How often do you listen to English language songs? (Please mark the response that is closest to your own habits)
   - I never listen to English language songs.
   - a few times a year
   - about once every few months
   - about once every month
   - about once every fortnight
   - every week
   - every day
   - several times a day

2. What are your top 5 English groups or singers? (if you cannot write five, then as many as you can)
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.

3. What genres of music below are the closest to the music of the groups or singers above? Tick the options that are most applicable.
- blues
- country
- electronic
- folk
- heavy metal
- hip-hop/rap
- rhythm and blues
- jazz
- reggae
- rock
- punk
- other(s). Please state here:

4. Can you sing any songs in English?
   - Yes
   - No

5. What is the likelihood of you singing English language songs at KTV in the next six months?
   Not Very Likely 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 - 9 Very Likely
6. What is the likelihood of singing English language songs outside of a KTV environment in the next six months?

Not Very Likely 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 - 9 Very Likely

7. Why do you listen to English language songs? Please try to be as honest as possible.

8. What would you say is the main style of English you hear in the songs?

- American
- British
- Other. Please state:

9. Do you think English songs are popular among Chinese young people?

- Why?

10. Do you listen to Chinese songs that have English words in them?

- Yes
- No

11. Can you sing any songs that have both Chinese and English lyrics?
Yes

No

12. What is the likelihood of you singing Chinese songs which contain English at KTV in the next six months?
   Not Very Likely 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 Very Likely

13. What is the likelihood of singing Chinese music which contains English at home in the next six months?
   Not Very Likely 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 Very Likely

14. List some singers or bands you like who sing in Chinese and sometimes use some English in their songs. (3-5 if possible)
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.

15. For what reasons do you listen to, or sing, Chinese songs with English in them?
Because I like the singer, it has nothing to do having Chinese-English codeswitching lyrics.

Because I like the music, it has nothing to do with the fact it has two languages in the song.

Because I feel the kind of songs that have English lyrics in them are stylish.

Because I want to study English vocabulary, and it’s easier to learn from Chinese songs containing English lyrics than from songs entirely in English.

Some other reason. Please explain:

16. Do you think that the number of Chinese songs with English lyrics in them are increasing, decreasing, or have stayed about the same compared to five years ago?

   - Increasing
   - Decreasing
   - Have stayed the same

17. Are you more or less likely to listen to Chinese music which contains English in it compared to about 5-6 years ago?

   - Less likely
18. Why do you think bands or singers sing Chinese songs with English lyrics?

19. Which style of music do you think you would be most likely to hear English in?

20. If you can, please write down the name of any artist or band that won a music award with a song that includes English in it, and the music award that they won.

21. Can you please list any Chinese TV programs you know of that have Chinese songs with English lyrics in them, or as the title song.
A) 有关您本人的问题:

1. 您的性别？
   - 男
   - 女

2. 您哪年出生？

3. 您在哪个省/市居住的时间最长？

4. 您在大专院校学习吗？
   - 在
   - 不在（请转到第八题继续答）

5. 您是否全日制学生？
   - 全日制学生
   - 只部分时间学习

6. 您的专业是英语吗？
7. 您现在上大学几年级？

- 一年级
- 二年级
- 三年级
- 四年级
- 研究生/硕士生
- 博士生
- 已经毕业，但业余还在大学学习

8. 您在大专院校学的是哪种英语？

- 英国英语
- 美国英语
- 其他的，请说明：

B) 关于中国流行音乐的一般问题
1. 请写出您最喜欢的五个歌手或乐队的名字。（如果没有五个，可少写）
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 

2. 请说说您最喜欢的华语歌手或乐队有哪些吸引您的地方

3. 请列举几个网上的流行音乐论坛？

4. 您是不是网上流行音乐论坛的成员？
   - 是
   - 不是

5. 网上流行音乐论坛对您了解流行音乐的歌手和乐队有多大影响？
   请在下面标明那些论坛对您的影响程度。
   0（没有影响）, 1（有点影响）, 5（影响极大）
6. 有哪些报刊、杂志为您或您所认识的人提供流行音乐和流行音乐歌手的信息？请写出这些报刊、杂志的名字：

7. 这些报刊杂志对您了解流行音乐歌手和乐队有多大影响？请在下面标明这些报刊杂志对您的影响程度：
   0（没有影响），1（有点影响），5（影响极大）

8. 请写出有哪些电视节目为您或您所认识的人提供流行音乐或流行音乐歌手的信息。

9. 那些电视节目对您了解流行音乐歌手或乐队有多大影响？请在下面标明那些电视节目对您的影响程度。

Or 此题对我不适用，免答。
0（没有影响），1（有点影响），5（影响极大）

0_________1_________2_________3_________4__________5

Or 此题对我不适用，免答。

10. 您看不看您最喜欢的歌手的 MTV 录像？
   - 看
   - 不看

11. 您通过什么媒体看 MTV 录像？请选择所有合适的答案。
   - 网络
   - 光盘
   - 电视
   - 其他媒体。请说明是什么媒体：

C) 关于英语歌曲和中、英语码转换歌曲的问题

1. 您听英语歌曲吗？（请选择最接近您实际情况的答案）
   - 我不听英语歌曲
2. 请写出您最喜欢的五个唱英文歌的歌手或乐队的名字？（如果没有五个，可少写。）

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

3. 下面几种音乐，哪种最适于形容您刚才填写的英语歌手或乐队？

请选择所有合适的答案。

- 勃鲁斯歌曲
- 乡村音乐
- 电子乐
- 民间音乐
- 重金属音乐
- 希普霍普/快板音乐
- 节奏和布鲁斯
- 爵士乐
- 瑞格舞
- 摇滚乐
- 崩克
- 其他。请写说明种类:

4. 您会唱英语歌曲吗？
   - 会
   - 不会

5. 在未来六个月，您在 KTV 唱英语歌曲的可能性有多大？
   - 没有可能极有可能
   1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9
6. 在未来六个月，您在 KTV 以外的地方唱英语歌曲的可能性有多大？

没有可能极有可能

1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9

7. 请说说您听英语歌曲的主要原因。

- 想提高英语水平
- 曲子好听
- 喜欢歌词
- 旋律跟中文不一样
- 朋友喜欢
- 歌手很帅/好看
- 其他原因，请说明：

8. 据您所知，英语歌曲中使用最普遍的英语是：

- 美国英语
- 英国英语
- 其他。请说明：
9. 您认为英语歌曲在中国年轻人中受欢迎吗？您为什么会如此认为？

10. 您听含英语歌词的中文歌曲吗？
   - 听
   - 不听（请转到第 20 题继续答）

11. 您会唱既含中文歌词也含英语歌词的歌曲吗？
   - 会
   - 不会

12. 在未来六个月，您在 KTV 唱含英语的中文歌曲的可能性有多大？
   - 没有可能
   - 极有可能
   - 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9

13. 在未来六个月，您在 KTV 之外的地方唱含英文的中文歌曲的可能性有多大？
   - 没有可能
   - 极有可能
14. 请写出几个你喜欢的时而唱含英语歌词的中文歌曲的歌手或乐队的名字。

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

15. 你为什么听或者唱含英文歌词的中文歌？

- 喜欢歌手，跟含英文歌词的中文歌没关系
- 喜欢曲子，跟双语言的歌没关系
- 觉得这样的含英文歌词的中文歌很时髦
- 想学习英语单词，听含英文歌词的中文歌比听全英语歌曲容易学得多。
- 其他原因。请说明：“你为什么听或者唱含英文歌词的中文歌？”
16. 跟五年前相比，您觉得含英语歌词的中文歌曲的数量是增加了，减少了，还是基本上没变？

- 增加了
- 减少了
- 基本上没变

17. 跟五六年前相比，您听含英语的中文流行歌曲的可能性有什么变化？

- 可能性少了
- 可能性增加了
- 跟五六年前没区别

18. 您认为那些乐队、歌手唱含英语歌词的中文歌曲的主要原因是什么？

- 因为歌手/乐队，或作词的语言背景
- 因为人们认为英语是时尚的
- 因为从某种意义上，使用两种语言更具有创造力而且可以避免在语法上和词义的理解上的局限性。此外，英语是被广泛使用的外国语。
19. 您觉得在哪种音乐中更有可能让您听到含英语歌词的中文歌？

- 勃鲁斯歌曲
- 乡村音乐
- 电子乐
- 民间音乐
- 重金属音乐
- 希普霍普/快板音乐
- 节奏和布鲁斯
- 爵士乐
- 瑞格舞
- 摇滚乐
- 崩克
- 其他。请写说明种类：

20. 如果您知道哪位歌手或者哪个乐队唱含英语歌词的中文歌得了奖，请写出这些乐队或歌手的名字。如可能，并写出是哪种奖。
21. 请写出哪些电视节目或电视广告有含英文歌词的中文歌或主题歌。
Appendix III: Interview Questions

Open-ended interview questions: English version

1. What are your feelings about Chinese songs that have English lyrics in them?

2. Do people listen to Chinese songs that have English in them?
   - Why?

3. Do people listen to English language songs?
   - Is it just for improving English, or are there other reasons?

4. Would it feel strange to you if one of your friends sang a song that was entirely in English at KTV?
   - Why or why not?

5. Would it feel strange to you if one of your friends sang a song that was in Chinese, but that had English lyrics in it, at KTV?

6. Do you think there are more Chinese songs with English lyrics than five years or so years ago?
   - Why do you think this is?

7. Where are most of the singers that sing these kinds of songs from?
8. Do you think where the group or singers comes from has any effect on the popularity of their songs?

9. Do you prefer listening to English or American pronunciation in songs, and why?

10. Do most of the Chinese songs you know with English in them have a little English, or a large amount of English in the song?

11. Would you like these mixed language songs if most of the song was in English and there was only a little Chinese?

12. Is there such a thing as too much English in a bilingual mixed language song?
Open-ended interview questions: Chinese version

1. 你对含英语歌词的中文歌曲有什么看法？

2. 人们听含英语歌词的中文歌曲吗？
   - 为什么？

3. 人们听不听英语歌曲？听这些歌曲是不是为了提高英语水平？
   - 有没有其他原因？

4. 如果你的一个朋友在 KTV 唱了一首完全是英语的歌曲，你会感到奇怪吗？
   - 为什么？

5. 如果你的一个朋友在 KTV 唱了一首含英语歌词的中文歌曲，你会感到奇怪吗？

6. 跟五年前比，你觉得含英语的中文歌曲的数量增加了没有？
   - 你说这是为什么？

7. 唱含英语的中文流行歌曲的歌手大部分从什么地方来的？

8. 你说歌手或乐队的诞生地对这些歌曲受人喜欢有影响吗？

9. 你喜欢听到英国口音还是美国口音的歌曲？
   - 为什么？
10. 据你所知，含英语歌词的中文歌曲里，只是有一点英语，还是很
多英语？

11. 你会喜欢大部分歌词是英语，只有一点中文的歌曲吗？

12. 在两种语言/双语的歌曲里，有没有英语太多的情况？