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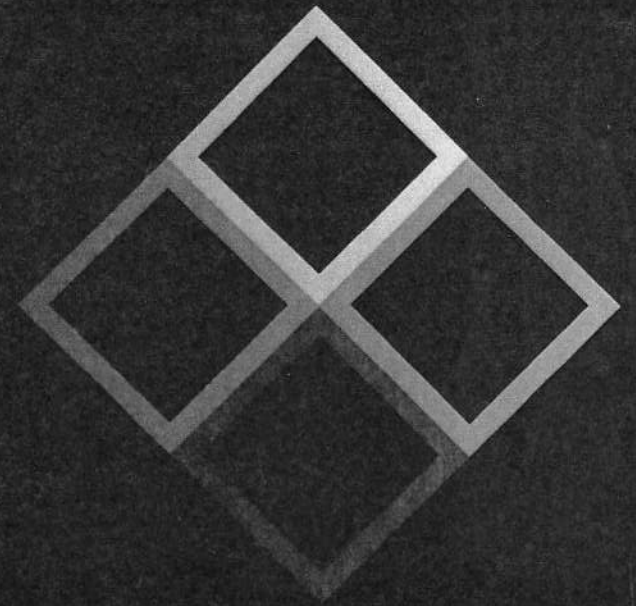


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Into the Twenty First Century

ISSUES OF
LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION
IN HONG KONG

香港語言教育
論文集



LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF HONG KONG

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**Into the Twenty First Century:
Issues of Language in
Education in Hong Kong**

香港語言教育論文集：
廿一世紀的展望

Edited by

Luke Kang Kwong

陸 鏡 光
編 輯



Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

香港語言學學會

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Introduction

Luke Kang Kwong

Most of the articles collected in the present volume have their origins in a series of workshops organized by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong (LSHK) following the publication of two reports by the Government in the field of language and education between 1989 and 1990 — namely, the "Report of the Working Group Set Up to Review Language Improvement Measures" (1989), and the Education Commission Report No.4 (1990). On both occasions, the reports were discussed at length. Formal responses were presented to the Government expressing members' collective views on the reports, and their criticism and recommendations. The full texts of both these documents, which have not until now been made publicly available, are included here as appendixes.

Meanwhile, individual members have written more detailed comments for the local press on different aspects of the reports, elaborating certain assumptions that were succinctly stated in the collective response, and explicating their own positions. Earlier drafts of the articles by K.K. Luke, Daniel So, Peter Tung, and P.K. Wong were first written in that context.

The workshops, discussion sessions, and publications culminated in a Symposium entitled "Bilingualism and Education in Hong Kong: Into the Nineties", convened by the present editor and held in December 1990 as part of the Annual Research Forum of the LSHK. Most of the authors were active participants at that symposium. Mao Jun-nian's paper "The Basic Law and Language Problems in Hong Kong" was first presented on that occasion.

The other articles have either been written specially for the volume, and as such have been tailor made to respond to a set of questions coming up in the previous workshops and discussions — this is the case with Yau Man Siu,

Thomas Lee, and K.K. Ho's contributions; or, in the case of Amy Tsui and Yau Shun Chiu's articles, an independent attempt was made to address similar questions.

It is therefore reasonable to take the two government documents referred to above — and in particular, the Education Commission Report No.4, as the point of departure for the ensuing papers. The proposals and recommendations contained in these two reports, and the controversies they have given rise to, provide an initial framework for locating the issues, and a natural gelling agent for the individual contributions.

It is not our intention, however, to put together a collection of individual responses to the two educational reports. Many of the articles may have referred to them, perhaps even commented on them. Nevertheless, the discussions have gone beyond the confines laid down by the specific contents of the reports. The authors have tracked further afield, raised more provocative questions, offered alternative perspectives on the issues. It is therefore more appropriate to see the volume as an attempt to locate the most salient issues of language in education in a historical, political, economic, and social context; to turn to the past, to assess the present situation, and to look ahead into the future -- to look, as the title of the book says, into the twenty-first century.

As far as the articles contained in the present volume are concerned, four main problem areas can be identified: (1) language planning and language use in the community at large; (2) educational language policy making; (3) the medium of instruction question; and (4) the teaching and learning of Chinese and English, and how this might relate to the other factors. While individual articles do not deal with any one or another of these issues exclusively, I have, for the sake of convenience, put them into four sections under these headings.

Section One contains two papers by Mao Jun-nian and Yau Shun Chiu. Both approach the question of the status and functions of the three main languages in the local community — English, Putonghua, and Cantonese, from a macro-sociolinguistic point of view. Mao takes the Basic Law as his starting point and addresses the fundamental issue of a shift in the positions of English and Chinese relative to one another in the future Special Administrative Region (SAR). He argues that according to the Basic Law, Chinese will from 1997

onwards be the "first official language", which would imply that English will become second official language. Such an about turn "at the top" could have tremendous ramifications throughout Government administration, legislation, the judicial system, and education. As Associate Secretary-General of the former Basic Law Drafting Committee and Vice President of the Chinese Language Association of Hong Kong, Mao is particularly well placed to offer, with some authority, a view on the implications of the Basic Law for a range of questions relating to language use. He has chosen in this paper to concentrate on three issues: the language of education in schools, the continued use of Cantonese in the community as a whole, and the choice between the traditional Chinese script and the simplified one. The article contains by far the most concrete and unequivocal statement on these questions. It deserves to be read by anyone with an interest in language and society in (twenty first century) Hong Kong.

Yau Shun Chiu's article also takes the Basic Law as its starting point. Yau questions the ambiguity in the term "Chinese language" and argues that such an ambiguity may cause problems of interpretation in future. The same term could mean, in different contexts, Putonghua, Cantonese, or written Chinese — or indeed any combination of these. Given this ambiguity, Yau argues, Cantonese *could* at some future date be "reduced to the status of a *patois*". To the extent that this is perceived as a real problem, the need may arise to stipulate a "legal spoken language". Two surveys were conducted to determine whether such a suggestion had any support in the community, and the results are presented and analysed in the paper.

Section Two of the collection focuses on questions relating to educational policy making: its historical context, philosophical underpinning, consitutional establishment, administrative mechanism, and the actual processes involved in decision making. Thomas Lee looks at two Government commissioned reports published in Britain on language and education and compares them with Hong Kong's official documents on education policy, of which Education Commission Report No. 4 is an example. Differences are found not only at the level of theoretical knowledge and familiarity with academic research, but also in terms of the extent to which relevant professional expertise is brought to bear on the problems identified. Through his perceptive analysis of educational policy in the making — the membership and composition of the

relevant commissions and committees, their procedure of work, method of consultation, treatment of disagreement and dissent, and presentation of results, Lee offers a rare glimpse into the machinery (in the two bureaucracies) responsible for the production of advice and recommendations and the formulation of policy.

The main concern of Yau Man Siu's contribution is also educational policy making, but it is placed firmly within a colonial – and post-colonial – context. She attempts to trace a number of threads running through educational policies in various British colonies at the time of independence. In so doing, Yau identifies certain constant, at least recurrent, features that should help define the nature of the thinking behind educational policy making during the process of decolonization. One significant feature in this regard is the urge to maintain a measure of British presence through promoting the learning of English, and consolidating an elitist sector within education that is English-based.

If one had to single out, amongst all the issues, one that is the most well-known and the most controversial, it would have to be that of the medium of instruction. In one way or other, each author in the collection has to tackle this question, and they all have something directly or indirectly to say about it. Nevertheless, the four papers that now appear under Section Four contain perhaps the most extensive discussions directly on the question of medium.

Daniel So provides a much needed historical account for the proper assessment of the conspiracy theory — the claim that the Government has, through conscious efforts or neglect, played a crucial role in strengthening the position of English at the expense of Chinese. He contests this assumption. Substantial evidence is given to suggest that historically the more crucial factor would have been the ebb and flow of Modern Chinese Nationalism, and the constantly changing and shifting relations between China and Hong Kong. The paper assesses the present situation against this historical context, and ends by looking into the future. According to So's analysis, there will be a growing demand for schools that are "able to make flexible and sensible use of Cantonese, Putonghua, and English"; in other words, a trilingual system.

K.K. Ho's paper is a welcome first-hand account of an educator's personal experience in experimenting with "mother-tongue education" in the local

context. It will be hard to find someone more well qualified than Ho, a scholar specializing in bilingual education and a secondary school headmaster, to offer an insider's perspective on the medium of instruction question. The paper takes us through a number of 'experiments' and in-house research, offering many insights along the way into the advantages and practical difficulties of "mother-tongue education". A bibliography of empirical research on "mother-tongue education" in Hong Kong is attached to the paper as an appendix. This is an invaluable guide to published work within the area.

My own article on code-mixing is a deliberate attempt to ask some (hopefully) provocative questions. Is code-mixing as evidently a culprit for falling language standards, even general educational failure, as all that? In getting fixated on code-mixing as 'impurity' and sloppiness, has one not perhaps overlooked the essentially bilingual nature of such a practice? What could one possibly mean, in the absence of code-mixing, by a bilingual or trilingual educational system within the present social and cultural context, if one is to ensure equal and free access to education? I believe that arguments based on the disadvantages of code-mixing tend to be more emotive than rational, and that one would do well to re-assess the situation in a more realistic and clear-headed manner.

In the final piece of Section Four, Peter Tung examines three theoretical concepts that have frequently come up in discussions on the medium of instruction issue. These are 'threshold level', 'interdependence', and 'maximum exposure'. The notion of 'threshold' was originally proposed as an abstract construct in second language research, but is often reified in local discussions of bilingual education. The misuse of this term only confuses rather than clarifies the nature of the inter-relationship (and, as Tung would argue, inter-dependence) between first language acquisition and second language learning. While there is a lot to learn from Western experiences, only some experience can be applied successfully to the local situation.

In the final section are two articles on the important question of the teaching and learning of English and Chinese. Amy Tsui explores further one of the themes of Tung's paper, namely the relationship between learning 'content subjects' through English and learning English itself. The Canadian experience in Immersion Programmes is analysed in some detail. In terms of

the four features of 'motivation', 'parental support', 'language input' and 'language output', it is shown that Immersion Programmes in Hong Kong differ in fundamental ways from the Canadian ones, so that there is little reason to believe that they can produce the same successful results in the local context as they seem to do in Canada.

In the final contribution, Wong Pui Kwong discusses the often neglected question of Chinese language teaching methodology. The topic is conspicuous through its sparseness of treatment in either the Working Group report or the Educational Commission Report. If this is indicative of official neglect, it might equally suggest a general lack of any sense of urgency in education of the need for new ideas and methods for Chinese language teaching. Wong's article is particularly helpful in the directness with which it addresses these questions, and it is full of positive suggestions about updating current Chinese language teaching methodology.

Languages are one of the most valuable assets of a society. Economic growth depends on them; political stability hinges on their right balance; they are vital to people's social and cultural lives. The community relies on education to give it batch after batch of competent language users in a host of languages to carry out a range of tasks, and to serve in a variety of positions. Hong Kong needs all the language talents it can get to keep its competitive edge — not merely automatic parsers and electronic lexicons dressed in three-piece suits, but literate and cultivated persons who other than briefcases have respectable traditions to carry, who can be inspired to ask innovative questions and think new thoughts.

PART ONE: LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE USE

從基本法看香港的語言問題

毛鈞年

中華人民共和國香港特別行政區基本法在一九九〇年四月經全國人民代表大會通過，將在九七年七月一日起實施。香港的未來發展，與基本法有密切的關係。現在讓我們探討一下基本法與香港的語言發展諸問題。

一、法定語文

基本法第一章《總則》第九條的條文如下：

“香港特別行政區的行政機關、立法機關和司法機關，除使用中文外，也可使用英文，英文也是正式語文。”英譯：“In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislative and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.”和中英聯合聲明對照來看，中文條文多了“英文也是正式語文”一句，而英譯則增加了“Official language”一詞。此詞港譯習慣作“法定”或“官方”語文。根據上述條文，中英二種語言均為香港的法定語文；但有主次之別，在一些場合，可以表現為先後次序，即未來的特別行政區政府是先使用中文，後使用英文。現時香港政府的重要文件，均先有英文本，然後據英文本翻譯成中文；未來的特別政區政府，按基本法規定應是：先有中文本，再把中文本翻譯成英本。

另一方面，基本法第一百零一條清楚地說明：“……下列各職級的官員必須由在外國無居留權的香港特別行政區永久性居民中的中國公民擔任：各司司長，副司長，各局局長，廉政專員，審計署署長，警務處處

長，入境事務處處長，海關關長。”由於最重要的職位由華人出任，加上前述基本法《總則》第九條的規定，政府內部運作、各類會議，相信會以中文為主。再加上特別行政區政府要用中文與中央政府溝通，中文在公事上和政治上的使用，肯定會更普遍。因此對於政務官和一定級別的官員，精通中、英文不會是過份的要求。

二、教學語言

教學語言是香港人經常爭論的問題，基本法在這方面沒有明確規定，只說明特別行政區政府可以“在原有教育制度的基礎上……自行制定有關教育的發展和改進的政策，包括教學語言……。”（見第一百三十六條）這裡顯示：九七之後，教學語言的政策，可以“發展和改進”，並非“五十年不變”，但一切“改進和發展”，均由特別行政區政府“自行制定”，中央政府不會干預。香港的教學語言一向是粵語（中文）和英語，即“原有制度”是用粵語（中文）和英語；那麼，教學語言何去何從也可以找到根據了。

但粵語（中文）和英語哪一種會作為教學語言主流？兩者的比重應該如何？兩者混用的現象應否繼續存在？教育界現在還是爭論不休。本來通過科學的研究，根據學生的語言能力，配合他們的認知發展，再考慮教學效果，母語教學是必然的選擇。現時因為教學語言與個人利益、集團利益，種族利益有著千絲萬縷的關係，教學媒介變成了一個十分複雜的問題，相信還有一段混亂期，直到基本法執行之日，特別行政區政府與市民的利益比較一致，那時才可以整體解決這問題。為什麼說要“整體”解決？因為教學語言與法定語文、法律語文、公務員敘用條件，升學機會，學術評審本地化有著密切的關係。中文與這些因素掛鉤，中文的語用價值才會提高，人們才會樂意讓子女接受母語教學。至於教學語言應由特別行政區政府還是學校決定的問題，世界各地的經驗，可以作為借鏡。世界各地的教學語言，通常都是由中央或地方政府決定，私立學校不接受公帑支持，或者可以自決，但公立學校和津貼學校，就應該配合政府的政策。當然說特別行政區政府有權決定教學語言政策，並不意味政府可以閉門造車。決策，還是要經科學研究，徵詢專家和各界人士意見等合法程序去制訂的。英語在九七後成為大部份中小學教學語言的機會很微，但英語作為一個學科或第二語文是必要的。一九三五年提交英國國會的賓尼報告書很有卓見，可供未來特別行政區政府參考：—

“香港教育應改變為先著重學生的母語訓練，使其母語能力在思想及表達方面都能應付裕如，然後才對學生在職業上對英文的需要提供訓練，但應止於職業上的需要”。

相反的措施，不僅會妨礙學生思想表達能力的發展，違反教育學原理，降低全面的教育質素，同時也不能滿足職業需要（包括英語能力），因而會影響香港作為國際金融中心的地位。

三、粵語和繁體字的使用

人口調查顯示：香港的家庭語言以粵語為主，社會方面粵語也是運用最多和最廣的語言，粵語的地位是非常重要的。雖然基本法沒有提到粵語的地位，但依據基本法第五條：“香港特別行政區不實行社會主義制度和政策，保持原有的資本主義制度和生活方式，五十年不變。”語言是生活方式最重要的部份，據上述條文理解，粵語的地位最少可以維持五十年不變。但這不表示粵語和普通話不會互相影響，普通話不會日益普及。在“一國”的前提下，普通話因職業和同內地聯繫的需要，會更受重視。雖然基本法沒有提到粵語，我們相信，這種社會現象，未來特區政府不會用行政方法去加以改變。國家對方言問題，不是採取“消滅”的政策。國家語委所屬的語言文字應用研究所所長陳章太在“普通話與方言問題”學術討論會（一九九〇年六月在北京舉行）上對普通話與方言的關係有如下的看法：“普通話是全國通用的語言，大力推廣普通話是我國現階段乃至將來較長時期的實際需要，而方言也將長期存在，至少一、二百年之內不可能消滅之，這是客觀存在的事實……，普通話和方言將長期共存分用。我國的未來生活不會越來越單調，只會越來越豐富；那種認為我國未來的語言生活將會由普通話與方言共存的雙語制過渡到普通話的單語制的想法，恐怕是不切實際的，至少在相當長的歷史時期內這種情況不可能產生。……推廣和普及普通話並不是為了消滅方言，方言是不能人為地消滅的……”。

與會者呂叔湘、于根元等都有相類似的發言。可見國內學者和語委工作人員對方言的存在價值和意義是有深入認識的。既然在內地，方言尚且“不可能人為地消滅”，“至少一、二百年內不可能消亡”；那麼，在“一國兩制”下的香港，粵語的特殊地位不是更難動搖嗎？我們深信粵語和普通話在香港會長期“共存分用”。

至於繁體字的現象，也可作如是觀。

四、英語的地位

英語以往是香港的主要官方語言，中文只是次要，但基本法第九條清楚指出：“香港特別行政區的行政機關、立法機關和司法機關，除使用中文外，還可使用英文……。”中、英文地位主次分明，九七後英文肯定不會完全淡出，但其重要性在行政、立法、司法範圍估計會有所改變。

不過，司法採用英文將出現一個較長的過渡期，因為要把普通法全部翻譯為中文，需要一段很長的時間，司法語言可能要中英兼用，才能解決困難。

香港作為國際城市，需要通曉英語的工商業人才，發展香港經濟，英語在這方面的價值是無可置疑的。英語作為國際學術語言也是眾所承認的。過去殖民地時期重英輕中措施是錯誤的。但我們既不可矯枉過正，貶低英語，也不可能要求全部港人精通英語，更不應為使英語成為教學媒介而犧牲其他學科的學習。基本法的精神是雙語並舉、中英並重，這是實事求是，符合社會需要的。

五、結語

基本法的條文涉及語文的並不多，但卻影響深遠。香港特別行政區的語言發展，基本模式已定下來。未來特別行政區的市民，口語應能運用粵語、普通話、英語，書面語要能寫中、英文，即二種語言，一種方言（幾種語言能力不必相等），才能適應特別行政區的發展。

基本法有利香港的語文發展。人們關心的是，香港有關方面在行政、立法、司法、教育等方面，有沒有為中文成為第一正式語文的未來格局，作出有效的準備？

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Language Policies In Post-1997 Hong Kong

Yau Shun Chiu

Background to the problem

A significant pointer of ethnic identification is language affiliation. However, within a broad national affiliation there is a place for a narrow or regional identification which is manifested by the choice of a local dialect. Any denial of this dual identification within a country may lead to internal conflicts. In view of the impending return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China, this issue of national and regional identification is of special significance. The present survey on language policies in post-1997 Hong Kong was designed with a view to determining how far this dual identification was reflected in language choice.

In designing the survey questionnaire, it was necessary to bear in mind Hong Kong's historical background, its way of life, and its language situation. Most of the data in the present article were collected two years prior to the publication of the Draft of the Basic Law in 1988. In that document, we may notice with regret that the language issue is only briefly dealt with under Article 9 "General Principles." Nor is the problem pursued in Chapter VI: "Education, Sciences, Culture, Sports, Religion, Labour and Social services". Article 9 of the Draft Basic Law reads:

In addition to the Chinese language, the English language may also be used by the executive authorities, legislative and judicial organs of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

The term *Chinese* can refer both to the graphic form of writing shared by all members of the Han group and to an array of distinctive dialects. Its use here

is so loose that a careful reader will realise that there is no mention, directly or indirectly, of Cantonese in the Draft. Thus a host of issues relating to language after 1997 remain to be clarified. For instance, will secondary and primary schools continue with Cantonese as a medium of instruction, or will Cantonese be replaced by Putonghua? Will Cantonese be recognised officially as one of the legal spoken languages in court? Can formal speeches by Hong Kong delegates at international functions be delivered in Cantonese? From what is evident in the Draft, drafters from either China or Hong Kong did not seem to have concerned themselves with such problems during the drafting of the Basic Law. It is understandable that Beijing has not only reasons but also has the right not to be specific on this point. After all, Ji Pengfei, the then head of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office under the Chinese State Council, when visiting Hong Kong in 1987, had said that when it came to constitutional matters, there was no necessity to have too detailed rules. We can imagine that Beijing would like to keep the ambiguous element in the term "Chinese", so that there would be more leeway for them in the interpretation and implementation of the language policy in post-1997 Hong Kong. What is more difficult to understand is the reticence and the lack of concern or sensitivity to these issues on the part of the Hong Kong representatives. Not pointing out the fuzziness surrounding the term "Chinese language" is, in my view, a grave oversight. Not alerting the population to its implications can have serious consequences. To avoid controversy after 1997, Hong Kong representatives have the responsibility to point out the ambiguous nature of the term "Chinese language" now in this context.

In recent years, admittedly, more attention has been paid to Putonghua, and more people have been learning it. At the same time, English, because of its international status, has also increased its influence in Hong Kong. But all these recent factors do not undermine the reality that Cantonese is unquestionably the Hong Kong vernacular. We only have to turn on the TV or to take a walk down the street to realise the predominance of Cantonese. The old antagonism of Chinese vs. English is now out of date: it no longer describes the language situation in present-day Hong Kong. The scenario of this old antagonism has already been modified by the introduction of Putonghua into the arena and the ever increasing predominance of Cantonese in oral communication. With the advent of 1997, if there is no stipulated recognition given to Cantonese, there will exist a potential threat to its present status. After that date, Putonghua may well be put into a competing position with Cantonese. If, for instance, Putonghua is required in courts of law, or for

making inquiries at government offices (proficiency necessary in listening, if not speaking as well), what will be the implications for Cantonese-speaking people in Hong Kong? A lot has been made of the Northerners' stock comment, used to make fun of the Cantonese: "One need not fear the sky or the earth. But watch out when a Cantonese tries to speak Mandarin." To be fair, the reverse is not necessarily more pleasant to the ear of a Southerner. For most Hong Kong people, psychological pressure in addition to the lack of fluency in (or simply ignorance of) Putonghua, will result in serious problems such as inability to express themselves fully, frustration at inappropriate expressions, even communication breakdown and speechlessness. This linguistic crisis will get worse if officials in the government can, or will, only communicate in Putonghua, which invariably will be influenced by the vocabulary and accent of their respective dialects. Such a situation may provoke personal resentment, or even a concerted boycott of Putonghua on the part of Cantonese speakers. This possible reaction was already experienced recently by some European tourists who addressed street vendors in Guangzhou in Putonghua. They received the following rebuff: "If you are so keen on the Northern dialect, go and use it in the North." This uncompromising rejoinder was delivered in perfect Cantonese. Such a scenario is not what anyone would like to see, neither those who advocate the promotion of Putonghua, nor those who would like to maintain Cantonese as the vernacular in Hong Kong.

Language identification in Hong Kong

It is interesting at this point to examine some related studies in the light of the new language situation Hong Kong now faces. The views advocated in Pierson (1988) "Language Attitudes and Use in Hong Kong: A case for Putonghua," appear to have some currency in Hong Kong at that time.

I choose Pierson's article as a case in point because his article, although it has not been published in an international journal to my knowledge, has already been translated into Chinese and published in the widely circulated *Zhongguo Yuwen*, the linguistic journal of the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. The influence of the article might have been considerable in China. Pierson is conscious, and hopeful, of the potential effect of the intended message on "the relevant decision making authorities" in his article when he writes: [*Editor's Note: All quotations from Pierson (1988), which was published in Chinese, were translated into English by the author of the present article.*]

The purpose of this study is to supply the relevant decision making authorities with some sociolinguistic information which will aid them in making enlightened decisions on how to plan the languages of Hong Kong.

However, both his methods of collecting data and the assumptions on which he builds his arguments are highly questionable. He collected his data by asking Form VI students (17 and 18 year-old's) during an examination to write a 350-word letter to the editor of an English language newspaper on the subject of "The introduction of compulsory Mandarin in the secondary school curriculum" (one topic among four choices). Without adopting the necessary statistical control, Pierson assumes that his candidates were spontaneously expressing their true attitude towards Putonghua in their answers. Based on this information he claims that he finds "Cantonese-speaking youth often referr[ed] to Putonghua as their mother tongue." And he adds:

... the spontaneous prose of the students would reveal insights into their present attitude toward Putonghua, and by implication, toward Chinese culture and identity.

I have discussed this article with over twenty colleagues working in secondary and vocational education in Hong Kong. They were of the unanimous opinion that Pierson's conclusions were neither well-founded nor carefully considered. These colleagues observed that once a candidate finds himself inside the examination hall, his priority is to pass the exam and his prevalent exam tactics consist of providing what he perceives to be what the examiner is looking for. In order to verify this opinion, I asked 91 students enrolled in a secondary school in Hong Kong in 1988 to fill a questionnaire. Half of them had the positive statements come before the negative ones; the other half had the statements in reversed order.

Students in a university entrance examination on English composition were asked to write 350 words in English to the editor of an English language newspaper to discuss "The introduction of compulsory Mandarin in the secondary school curriculum." Do you think that ideas expressed in the letter written under these circumstances can represent the student's own views? Please put a mark (a tick) in one of the four boxes, against the statement that best represents your views:

- It can fully represent the candidate's own views
- It can on the whole represent the candidate's own views
- It cannot on the whole represent the candidate's own views
- It cannot represent the candidate's own views at all.

The result revealed that 66% of the subjects felt that such a letter "cannot, on the whole, represent the views of the candidate" (among them 7 checked "cannot represent the views of the candidate at all."). Only 34% were of the opinion that it can on the whole represent the candidate's views (among them only 2 checked "It can fully represent the candidate's own views."). If these high figures are indicative of the feelings of my subjects, then they should cast doubt on Pierson's methods and findings.

It should also be noted that Pierson's examination question is phrased in the affirmative. Thus the question is phrased to elicit a specific type of answer, in view of the way Hong Kong students are trained to write essays, particularly during examinations. Students do not normally contradict assumptions in the question, unless the statement is obviously untenable, as for example in "Post-1997 Hong Kong must adopt English as the only official language." In that case, candidates would sense that they ought to argue against it. Thus, the following conclusion of Pierson's article remains unconvincing:

In the present research we have found Cantonese-speaking youth often referring to Putonghua as their mother tongue...

I feel Pierson's study can, at best, allow us to see the larger, national identification, but it has certainly not explored the question of a narrow, regional affiliation. With the present attitude of Hong Kong people towards China heavily marked by a feeling of regional attachment, much more attention should be paid to dialectal preference as a demonstration of respect for this sentiment.

To support his argument, Pierson (1988) cites the following view on the functions to be performed by Mandarin, Cantonese, and English:

[Putonghua] will, they maintain, surpass English and Cantonese as the main language of Hong Kong. We might end up with a polyglossic situation with two High [languages] and one Low language: Putonghua the language of politics and administration, English the language of technology and trade, and Cantonese the language of the family.

Apparently this view was cited favourably, as statements such as the following ones found in the article would suggest:

If this [triglossia] is the likely scenario for the future, then a less casual effort should be made to plan for the integration of Putonghua before the takeover date of mid-1997.

It seems that there is fertile ground out there to plan a rational curriculum [for Putonghua]...that capitalizes on the good will of the students. ...Action should be taken to see that the motivated youth of Hong Kong are equipped for their responsibilities as citizens of the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong.

It would seem proficiency in Putonghua, the language of the mother-country, would be a substantial investment in making Hong Kong 'stable and prosperous' after 1997.

One cannot help feeling uneasy about the kind of triglossic scenario depicted in the above quotations. If realised, it might lead to an antipathy of Hong Kong people towards Putonghua, or to an even more negative situation. If Cantonese is reduced in status to a "patois", the situation might become comparable to that of the Chiuchow-Swatow dialect in present-day Hong Kong: it has remained essentially a home language since the 1950s. Even the Chiuchow-Swatow dialect news broadcast has been abandoned. If the same fate suffered by the Chiuchow-Swatow dialect awaited Cantonese in post-1997 Hong Kong, the reaction of the people of Hong Kong might be entirely different. They could not easily accept this change because Cantonese has always been the vernacular of the majority in Hong Kong. In this regard, lessons might be learnt from the Singapore experience. Mandarin has been designated the official language for Singapore's Chinese population where most speak a Chinese dialect natively, and fewer than 1% have Mandarin as their native tongue (Christian 1988).

Survey: Method and Results

In the two rounds of my survey conducted in 1985 and 1986, it can be seen that the younger generation hopes for the maintenance of, and respect for, Cantonese, their everyday language. This is not driven purely by emotions but is rather a natural expression of identification through ones' vernacular.

I started my investigation in 1985. The aim was to look into the attitude of young people in Hong Kong towards the use of Cantonese as the "legal spoken language" or "official vernacular" (法定口語). The subjects of my study were students in secondary and tertiary institutions, and secondary school principals. In 1986, I repeated my investigation in the same secondary schools, adding students in the first and third year of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Hong Kong.

The questionnaire, which was administered in Chinese, included six questions: [Editor's Note: See the Appendix to the present paper for the original version of the questionnaire.]

Sex: Male/Female

How long have you lived in Hong Kong?

Born in Hong Kong/over 15 years/14-10 years/9-5 years

(1) Should a "legal vernacular" be designated in Hong Kong after 1997?

Yes / No / No Opinion

(2) Would it be reasonable to designate Putonghua as Hong Kong's "legal vernacular" after 1997?

Yes / No / No Opinion

(3) Do you think it is possible to implement a policy of making Putonghua the legal vernacular in Hong Kong after 1997?

Yes / No / No Opinion

(4) Do you think people in Hong Kong would oppose the designation of Putonghua as the "legal vernacular"?

Yes / No / No Opinion

(5) How would you rate your ability to speak Putonghua?

Fluent / Passable / Poor / Can't Speak it

(6) Do you consider the designation of Cantonese as the "legal vernacular" after 1997 crucial to the maintenance of Hong Kong's status-quo?

Yes / No / No Opinion

Working under administrative and time constraints, I chose eight Anglo-Chinese schools and two Chinese schools, a number proportional to the distribution of the types of schools (Chinese and Anglo-Chinese schools) in Hong Kong's education system (cf. Gibbons 1982). A total of 1,214 Form IV students (541 boys, 673 girls) were among my subjects for the first survey. Of these subjects, 90% were born in Hong Kong, and the rest had come to Hong Kong before the age of 9. Their average age was 16. The original intention was to use Form VI or Form V school leavers as subjects, but

because of their heavy work load, it was not possible to carry out the study on such a sample. Nevertheless, the sample was reasonably satisfactory. The views of a 16-year-old can be taken for what they are. After all, they are the very people who, by 1997, will have become the mainstays of the productive work force, and the questions raised have everything to do with their personal interest. I called the questionnaire "Survey on Legal Spoken Language" (法定口語問卷). The term "legal spoken language" was defined as the common spoken language used in the classroom, radio and television broadcasts, giving evidence in law courts and in oral communications with government institutions. This was how the term was explained to the subjects. Since I myself coined this term, it was necessary to provide this simple definition in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

The same questionnaire was administered to 223 First Year students of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Hong Kong and 71 students at the Hong Kong Polytechnic, of whom 37 were students of translation, along with 22 secondary school principals. One year later, in 1986, I repeated the same investigation with the next cohort of Form IV students from the same ten schools, and the next class of Arts Faculty students. This time, there were 1301 Form IV students, and 220 university students (including 163 First Year, and 57 Third Year Linguistics students).

The statistics from these two investigations are presented below. Since the difference between data obtained from boys and from girls was insignificant, I have merged them in the tables.

The answers to the six questions are tabulated as follows:

(1) "Should a 'legal vernacular' be designated in Hong Kong after 1997?"

1985 data			
	yes	no	no opinion
School	17.84%	49.32%	32.85%
University 1st yr.	38.83%	38.18%	23.00%
Polytechnic	37.06%	44.85%	18.25%
Principals	50.00%	22.73%	27.27%

1986 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	15.30%	59.94%	24.75%
University 1st yr.	27.61%	56.44%	15.95%
University 3rd yr.	32.86%	45.61%	14.04%

(2) "Would it be reasonable to designate Putonghua as Hong Kong's 'legal vernacular' after 1997?"

1985 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	15.31%	65.66%	19.04%
University 1st yr.	33.33%	48.85%	17.85%
Polytechnic	28.21%	48.87%	22.93%
Principals	50.00%	36.36%	13.64%

1986 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	10.84%	72.56%	16.60%
University 1st yr.	28.22%	53.99%	17.79%
University 3rd yr.	36.84%	40.35%	22.81%

(3) "Do you think it is possible to implement a policy of making Putonghua the 'legal vernacular' in Hong Kong after 1997?"

1985 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	21.91%	54.60%	23.49%
University 1st yr.	45.55%	41.40%	12.93%
Polytechnic	56.68%	22.16%	21.16%
Principals	40.91%	31.82%	27.27%

1986 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	18.75%	61.11%	20.06%
University 1st yr.	52.15%	34.97%	12.88%
University 3rd yr.	59.65%	26.32%	14.04%

- (4) "Do you think people in Hong Kong would oppose the designation of Putonghua as the 'legal vernacular'?"

1985 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	64.68%	18.03%	17.30%
University 1st yr.	47.33%	32.90%	18.10%
Polytechnic	58.08%	25.80%	16.13%
Principals	36.36%	36.36%	27.27%

1986 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	62.4%	19.29%	18.29%
University 1st yr.	55.21%	31.90%	12.88%
University 3rd yr.	52.63%	35.09%	12.28%

- (5) "How would you rate your ability to speak Putonghua?"

1985 data

	fluent	passable	poor	nil
School	3.30%	9.29%	31.93%	55.51%
University 1st yr.	0.70%	17.53%	48.85%	38.63%
Polytechnic	4.17%	67.19%	20.49%	8.10%
Principals	4.55%	63.64%	31.82%	0%

1986 data

	fluent	passable	poor	nil
School	3.84%	7.38%	32.36%	56.42%
University 1st yr.	0.61%	11.04%	50.92%	37.42%
University 3rd yr.	3.51%	24.56%	57.89%	14.04%

- (6) "Do you consider the designation of Cantonese as the 'legal vernacular' after 1997 crucial to the maintenance of Hong Kong' status-quo?"

1985 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	70.37%	12.35%	17.29%
University 1st yr.	48.4%	31.96%	19.63%
Polytechnic	51.93%	31.03%	17.06%
Principals	45.45%	40.91%	13.64%

1986 data

	yes	no	no opinion
School	74.71%	10.38%	14.91%
University 1st yr.	55.21%	24.54%	20.25%
University 3rd yr.	52.63%	28.07%	19.30%

Survey Results and Discussion

Apart from the responses to the first question, the interpretation of the other questions should be self-evident. I shall therefore say more about the first question and offer my own views. The first question whether a legal spoken language should be chosen received more negative responses than affirmative ones. In order to make these figures consistent with the responses to all the other items, which seem to point to a preference for Cantonese, I would like to venture the following interpretation. Although Cantonese has so far not enjoyed the status of a legal language, it has always been the vernacular for the majority of the population. For this reason, my subjects may have assumed that Cantonese was the *de facto* spoken language of everyday life in Hong Kong, in which case their negative responses would mean something like: "There is no need to stipulate a 'legal vernacular', as Cantonese is already the *de facto* spoken language." It is thus likely that their negative responses can be read as indicating a desire to preserve the *status quo* of Cantonese as the common spoken language. I regret that the possibility of such a misunderstanding was not anticipated. Fortunately, data from the other five items to some extent helped to clarify the meaning behind the responses to item 1.

On the second question, more than two-thirds of the Form IV students are opposed to the use of Putonghua as the legal spoken language (with 10% to 15% in the affirmative). But the percentage of affirmative answers increases

with level of education. This result may imply that the closer one gets to the grass-roots level, with presumably less educated people, the stronger the preference for Cantonese as the vernacular. In light of this, it seems that Pierson's decision to select candidates with higher examination marks as subjects for his test may not be a wise one. For instance, on this item, only half of the tertiary students, and as few as one-third of the school principals, were opposed to it. Such differences among the groups suggest that people with more education are more likely to hold more favourable attitudes towards Putonghua.

With regard to the third question, about three-fifths of the secondary students felt it will be impossible to implement Putonghua as the 'legal spoken language' (with one-fifth saying it would be possible), whereas tertiary students and school principals seemed to exhibit less doubt on this possibility. These figures confirmed the tendency suggested by data from the previous item: that better educated people are more likely to believe in education or learning as a solution to problems caused by language barrier.

On the question of whether Hong Kong people will oppose the use of Putonghua as the 'legal spoken language' in post-1997 Hong Kong, the attitudinal dividing line is, however, drawn between students and principals. Two-thirds of the students, secondary and tertiary, felt Putonghua would meet with opposition; whereas only one third of the school principals saw the likelihood of such opposition.

On the one hand, it is surprising that the great majority of the tertiary students professed to have little or no knowledge of Putonghua. On the other hand, they seemed to encounter some difficulty in assessing their own standard of Putonghua. Perhaps this is because in such an evaluation, the subjective element looms large. For instance, one subject may feel his standard of Putonghua should be graded as 'Can't speak it' when his mastery may be better than the subject who answered 'Poor'. Nevertheless, the set of figures may point to an overall trend. From these figures it would seem that the standard of Putonghua among students in secondary and tertiary institutions is rather low. Fewer than 10% of the students reported any competence at all, and only a pathetic number felt they were fluent speakers, all of them being either students specialising in translation or secondary school principals. From this, it is clear that the popularization of Putonghua in Hong Kong has a long way to go. The present situation explains, at least partly, why Hong Kong people are reluctant to accept Putonghua as the 'legal spoken language'.

Lastly, over half of the respondents (and over 70% of the secondary school students) affirmed the significance of maintaining Cantonese as the 'legal spoken language' in post-1997 Hong Kong as a crucial factor in maintaining the *status quo* of the present Hong Kong social system. The reason for this is evident. Language, especially a common spoken language, is a basic element in the social system, and its relationship with every aspect of life is closer and deeper than even religion. To stipulate that one spoken language is to replace another is easier said than done. Although Putonghua and Cantonese belong to the same family, their mutual intelligibility is not much better than that between Italian and Spanish. Under these circumstances, a much more reasonable demand is to expect Hong Kong people to learn Putonghua as a second spoken language, and to learn it well. And for a long time to come (longer than a mere 50 years), there should be no intention of promoting Putonghua as Hong Kong's only 'legal spoken language'.

People in Hong Kong have so far not exhibited any animosity towards Putonghua. However, if Putonghua was pushed with too much haste, it might result in prejudicial treatment against Cantonese (reminiscent of the unequal treatment between English and Chinese languages as a whole before the 70's). It will then be likely that the indigenous Cantonese speakers will have some resentment towards Putonghua and consider it an imposition. If this happens, it would be difficult for Putonghua to exercise its supra-dialectal functions, or to assume a positive pan-Chinese role in Hong Kong.

During contacts between Hong Kong people and the mainlanders, Putonghua will certainly have its role to play. Does this mean that such a necessity for Putonghua is in conflict with the impression obtained from the reading of my data? There is indeed such a possibility on the face of it. But from the perspective of long-term effects, there is no doubt that the use of Cantonese as the 'legal vernacular' will oblige mainlanders to learn the local vernacular who come to Hong Kong for play or work. In the process of learning and practising it, they will arrive at a much more solid understanding of the Hong Kong situation. The confirmation of Cantonese as the 'legal vernacular' can perhaps be compared to the installation of ramps on roads. The first impression is that the ramps force the traffic to slow down. But they would make things safer for all concerned. In the eyes of the Hong Kong people, any mainlanders who takes for granted that there is a privilege for Putonghua and declines to take the trouble to learn Cantonese will not be very different from the Englishman of the early colonial days who only expected others to adapt to his language. Isn't the consequence clear enough? We only need to look at

the short 100 years of Hong Kong's history to realise that to officially maintain Cantonese as Hong Kong's 'legal spoken language' will have a cushioning effect. We cannot expect bureaucrats who are here for a short term to spend most of their time in a language centre. But those who are sent here for a longer period are best advised to undergo such a "linguistic baptism." This is what has been revealed by the survey.

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Appendix

有關 97 年後香港 "法定口語" 問卷

("法定口語" 是指、比方、上課、電視廣播或打電話給政府機構時的常用口語)

請在下列每個問題後的空格上選擇其中一個，填上 "✓" 作為你的答案。

性別：

女	男
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

你在香港居住了多少年

在港 出世	十五年 以上	14-10 年	9-5 年
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

你認為 '1997' 應該重新
選定香港的 "法定口語" 嗎？

應該	不應該	無意見
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

你認為 97 年後以普通話為
香港的 "法定口語" 合理嗎？

合理	不合理	無意見
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

你認為 97 年後以普通話為
香港 "法定口語" 這個設想
可以實現嗎？

合理	不合理	無意見
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

你認為香港一般人會反對
以普通話為香港 97 年後
的 "法定口語" 嗎？

會	不會	無意見
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

你的普通話如何？

很流利	會說	不大會說	不會說
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

97 年後仍然以 '粵語' 作為
香港的 "法定口語" 是不是
維持香港現況的一個要點？

是	不是	無意見
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

PART TWO:
EDUCATION LANGUAGE POLICY MAKING IN
BRITAIN AND HONG KONG

從兩份英國語言教育報告書看香港的語言政策

李行德

一個政府的教育部門，如果想提高學生的語言能力，認真地發展語言教育，有幾件基本的工作是必須做的。

首先，教育部門對語言教育的重要性，得有一個全面透徹的認識。學生語言能力的發展，到底是一個怎樣的過程？學生的語言能力發展，對他們的認知發展、個性發展、和社會化過程，起著什麼作用？假如學生的語言能力，尤其是他的母語能力，發展不健全，會如何影響他們的思維模式和對世界的觀察和反省？會如何影響他們的社會認同和個人成長？獲得母語，是否只是掌握一種傳意技能或一種生存的必要工具，還是蘊含著更豐富的内容？針對以上問題，語言學和心理學學者提出過眾多的理論。¹這裡主要想指出，嚴肅的語言教育改革，是無法迴避以上的基本問題的。對這些問題的答案，直接影響到語言教育政策的深度、廣度和合理性。

教育部門對學生的語言能力和語言使用的現況，也應有確實的了解。就是說，我們的學生在不同的學習階段，他們的母語能力和第二語能力（包括語音、語法、語義、詞匯、修辭等能力）達到什麼程度？各學校在聽、說、讀、寫方面，用什麼方法進行教學？學生每星期花在各種訓練上的時間若干？不同學校裡教室的使用語言（粵語、普通話、英語）比例如何？任教語言科目的老師，在語言專業方面的資歷如何？其中多少人參加過在職進修課程？要就此等問題取得可靠的資料，需要詳細的調查研究。缺乏對現況的基本認識，很難看到問題的癥結，提出改進的方向。

第三點要求，就是教育當局有責任將語言教育和語言獲得（Language Acquisition）的最新有關研究訊息，準確地介紹給教育界的同工。語言教育和語言獲得是近三十年來發展很快的領域，其中積累了不少經驗和發現。向教育界介紹嚴謹的研究成果，用來推進語言教育事業，這也是起碼應當做到的。

政府對母語教學的態度

香港的教育部門，是否對中文教育的發展給與充份關注，有沒有一長遠通盤的計劃？² 從1990年的「教統會第四號報告書」（以下簡稱「報告書」）可見端倪。³ 儘管報告書在語言教育上提出政策性的改變（如語言分流計劃），但涉及中文教育的實質建議是不多的，只限於兩個方面：

(a) 重申1989年「工作小組報告書」的一些觀點，提出：

(i) “中文作為授課語言的價值卻被人低估了。社會人士對中文運用技巧的重要性都認識不足。” (6.3.5)

(ii) “至於中文水準方面，寫作的技巧可能有輕微退步，但社會人士反而不甚關注。” 6.3.4)

(iii) “鑑於本港的實際情況，小學應該加強使用中文作為授課語言。” (6.3.5)

(b) 報告書提出，在小六和中三對學生的英文成績進行評估的同時，也評估他們的中文能力。“...有必要進行兩項評估：一項是評估學生的英文成績；而另一項是評估學生使用中文來處理資訊和進行學習的能力。...兩項評估雙管齊下，可以顯示學生是否有運用母語處理資訊的能力，然後把該種能力轉移到應用英文方面。” (6.4.19 ; 6.6.1)。

必須指出，報告書把中文只當作授課語言，當作一種運用技巧，是極其狹隘膚淺的看法，把母語局限在工具、技能的層次，而無視母語對學生思維發展、社會認同和個人發展方面的重要影響。報告書對中文水準的觀察，是在缺乏深入調查的情況下作出的模糊的判斷。⁴ 其對未來發展的提議，即評估小六和中三學生的中文能力，主要是為了配合分流建議，而不是為了邁向中文教育本身的發展目標。引進中文能力的評估測試，只是為了保證英語教育新措施的實現。

政府對中文教育的重視是否足夠？這個問題似乎不容易回答。誠然，報告書有關語言問題的部份，並非只討論如何提高英語能力，而且也論及中文水準的問題。過去幾年，政府也採取了一些措施，鼓勵在教室裡使用中文。例如讓轉用中文作教學語言的中學，增加一位中文科學位教師，為中學教師開辦中文傳意能力課程；將普通話列為小學及初中的選修科目；鼓勵出版中文課本等 (6.2.2)。應該說，這些都是促進中文教育的積極措施。

要衡量政府這方面做的工作是否足夠，視乎母語教育的目標是什麼和涵蓋的範圍多廣。如果母語教育的目標訂得很低，範圍縮得很窄，那麼當然中文教育的現狀還可以接受。反之，如果我們承認，母語除了作為傳意工具外，還有許多其他方面的功能，母語能力的發展就顯得不那麼簡單。這樣看的話，本港檢討中文教育，則需要更理論化、專業化、科學化，需要更豐富的想象力。

我想在這裡介紹兩份英國語言教育報告書，從另外一個角度，看看人們是如何關注母語教育的。這兩份報告書，一份是轟動一時、影響深遠的《享用一生的語言——布洛克報告書》(A Language For Life - the Bullock Report) (以下簡稱 布)，發表於1975年 (Department of Education and Science 1975)。⁵ 另一份是提倡傳授語言知識、引起頗多爭議的《京門報告書》(The Kingman Report) (以下簡稱 京)，發表於1988年 (Department of Education and Science 1988)。選擇這兩份報告書，一是因為香港教育體系，許多方面沿襲英國制度，英國教育當局如何檢討本國的母語教育問題，對香港有一定的現實意義。二是因為英國的語言教育研究，不管在理論建設還是在實驗調查方面，都有相當高的水準。報告書的調查範圍、方法以及委員會的組成和運作，也有不少可以借鏡的地方。其三，這兩份報告書，尤其是 布，寫得實在精采。從中可看到一個負責任的教育諮詢委員會，在檢討母語教育時，是如何地仔細慎重、高瞻遠矚。

布洛克報告書

英國教育部門在1972年感到有全面檢討語言教育問題的必要，是因為1968-72年之間發表了幾份閱讀能力調查的報告，顯示全國的語文水準有下降的趨勢。⁶ 例如 Gardner (1968) 的研究指出，離校學生當中有四份之一在實際語言使用上跟文盲無異 (見 Hawkins 1984:13)。此外又發現，不同家庭背景兒童的閱讀能力，反映了嚴重的階層分化。

Davie et al (1972) 的數字顯示，來自行政人員家庭的七歲小孩，只有十二份之一閱讀能力偏低。但來自非技術性工人家庭的同齡學童中，則約有一半閱讀能力偏低（見 五：22），而這種社會階層之間的差異隨著學生年齡而擴大。上述的閱讀調查報告，加上大專院校的老師及社會上的僱主普遍抱怨，認為學生的語文水準今不如昔，促使教育部成立布洛克委員會（五：3-4）。

當時的教育大臣撒切爾夫人（即戴卓爾夫人）在 1972 年 6 月委任了有關委員，由牛津大學校長、著名歷史學者 Alan Bullock 當主席。⁷ 委員會共 22 人，包括語言學/教育學專家，中小學代表，政府和地方教育廳代表，傳播媒介/出版界代表，及秘書人員等（見 五：vi-vii）。⁸

委員會的主要任務，是針對學校的情況來檢討（i）教授英語使用的各個方面，包括閱讀、說、寫；（ii）現行的做法應如何改進；職前訓練和在職訓練能起什麼作用（五：xxxi）？為了了解學校的現況，委員會首先做了一個問卷調查，有 1415 所小學和 392 所中學填了問卷。問卷調查了四個年齡組（6 歲、9 歲、12 歲和 14 歲）在學校的活動。內容涉及學校的組織和資源各個方面，例如教師學生比例、師資在職訓練、學校的閱讀教學法、對閱讀有困難的學生所提供的幫助等等。此外，還要求填問卷的老師針對自己班上一個具代表性的特定學生，詳細報導這個學生在指定一周內的語言學習活動，例如花在詩歌、即興戲劇、聽故事、個人朗讀、拼寫、標點符號、語法、詞匯、閱讀理解等各種活動（見 五：359-377；445-502）。

除了通過問卷收集資料以外，委員會還取得了 64 個機構和 221 位各界人士提供的書面資料（written evidence）。並走訪了 100 個中小學、21 間師範學院，和 7 所閱讀/語言中心。其中三名委員會考察了美國三個城市，參觀了 13 個學校，訪問了 16 位有關專業人士。整個調查歷時兩年，在這段期間，全體委員舉行了 54 次全天的會議。報告書於 1974 年 9 月完成，翌年 2 月公佈（五：xxxiii-xxxiv）。

布洛克報告書長達 609 頁，分十個部份，26 章，提出 333 項結論和建議，其中包括 17 項主要建議。⁹ 從全書 26 章的題目可見調查的範圍：

第一部份：態度和標準。對英語教學的態度（第 1 章）：閱讀水準（第 2 章）；監察（第 3 章）。

第二部份：早期階段的語言發展。語言與學習（第 4 章）；早期階段的語言發展（第 5 章）。

第三部份：閱讀。閱讀過程（第 6 章）；早期階段的閱讀（第 7 章）；後期階段的閱讀（第 8 章）；文學（第 9 章）。

第四部份：中學階段的語言。口語（第 10 章）；書面語（第 11 章）；跨學科的語文教學（Language Across the Curriculum）。

第五部份：組織。小學和初中（第 13 章）；學校之間的連續性（第 14 章）；中學（第 15 章）；地方教育廳諮詢服務（第 16 章）。

第六部份：閱讀障礙和語言障礙。甄選、診斷、記錄（第 17 章）；有閱讀障礙的兒童（第 18 章）；成人文盲（第 19 章）；家庭源於海外的兒童。

第七部份：資源。書籍（第 21 章）；教學器材及教育廣播（第 22 章）。

第八部份：教師的教育和訓練。職前訓練（第 23 章）；在職訓練（第 24 章）。

第九部份：問卷調查（第 25 章）。

第十部份：結論和建議（第 26 章）。

五提出的建議，包括三個主要方面：

（a）跨學科的語文教學：

報告書強調語言在學生整個教育過程中的重要性，認為學生的語言教育，不僅是語言課老師的責任，也是非語言課老師的責任。因此後者在教授非語言科目時，也得重視語言的運用。因此委員會建議：每個學校必須訂立一個系統的政策，以發展不同年齡、不同程度學生的閱讀能力（五：514）。每個學校都應該經過組織協調，統一訂出一個跨課程的語言政策；並界定每位老師在培養學生語言閱讀能力方面的責任（五：514）。

（b）師資：

報告書的調查發現，教英語的老師有三分之一沒有英語教學的訓練，反映師範學院對語言不夠重視（五：331）。因此委員會認為，小學老師對師生之間對話的特點應該有明確的認識，而且能夠評估學

生口語、拓展學生的口語能力。中學老師應該了解學生如何通過語言獲得訊息，領悟事物，也應注意調整自己在教室使用的語言，以相適應（五：337）。因此五建議：所有職前受訓的老師，不管所教學生屬哪個年齡，必須選修一門關於語言和閱讀的課程，最少要有100個小時訓練（五：336-8；515）。

每個學校都應有一位合格的老師為語言顧問。這位老師必須熟悉語言教育的最新發展和最新的教材，能評估語言甄選的結果，並針對診斷程序和個別兒童所需要的特殊輔導，給老師提供意見（五：210-1；514）。

(c) 語文教學諮詢服務：

五指出，每個地方教育廳應設立一個閱讀中心或語言中心，提供語文教學和語言診斷服務（五：514）。並建議成立一個全國英語教學中心，針對從學前到中六各階段的英語教學，提供全面性的諮詢服務。中心主辦課程、研討會、會議等活動，並設有資料豐富的圖書館，（五：355；515）。

除上述三方面建議外，報告書還強調儘早發現語言障礙的重要性，指出學校對語言診斷工具的種類不大熟悉。建議語言甄選，應在小四第一學期中旬至第二學期開始前這段時間進行（五：247-9；514-538）。

五公佈之後，教育界普遍反應熱烈，認為報告書內容充實，分析語言教育問題深入透徹，是語言教育的綱領性文件，掀起了一股布洛克熱潮，中小學和師範學院舉辦了許多討論五的講演、討論會。¹⁰ 另外比較明顯的一個影響，就是師範學院引進了與語言有關的短期課程，如《閱讀發展》，《中學的口語》，《英語形式面面觀》，《小學的語言政策》等（見Thexton 1977）。

以上為五報告書的結論和建議。以下進一步討論五的幾個特點。

語言教育的中心地位

布洛克報告書有三個特點，值得進一步討論。首先，它充份重視語言發展在學生基礎教育中所起的作用。五確認一個語言學者、心理學者普遍接受的看法，認為掌握自己的母語，是人們一生中最複雜的學習任務

（五：188）。語言不僅是傳意溝通的工具，它作為一個抽象的符號系統，還讓我們從個別經驗歸納概括到一般原則；它讓我們向自己呈現世界。語言結構更在我們思維活動上賦予一個秩序（五：47-50）。因此報告書討論語言與學習時，反覆強調光會使用母語說出自己的個人意見、看法，是遠遠不夠的。學生應該懂得如何運用母語來探索概念，提出假設，給予邏輯的解釋說明等。語言老師應該有責任提高學生複雜思維的能力，鼓勵學生提問，提出並檢驗假設，培養富有想象力、多元化的思維習慣，不滿足於單一解釋（五：67；145）。

此外，學生也應拓展母語的使用領域，學會如何因不同社會情境、不同聽者而調整自己的語言（五：8）。

五多處指出，學童的語言閱讀發展，並不是入學後才開始的，而是貫徹整個早期發展階段。因此報告書非常強調兒童學前的語言發展，及父母在其中的關鍵作用，用了不少篇幅說明為什麼父母與子女積極對話，能幫助子女的語言發展（五：54-62）。今天在校的學生未來為人父母。如果他們從學校裡汲取到一些有關語言和語言獲得的基本知識，會影響他們日後對子女的語言教育方法。從提高國民語文水平長遠考慮，理應讓學生了解語言。假如學生當中，由於來自低收入家庭，父母忙於生計沒有在學前階段提供一個豐富的語言環境，學校就應採取有效措施，彌補這種學前準備的不足。這方面，教師助理（teacher aide）能發揮顯著作用（五：68-9；Hawkins 1984：29-31）。

語言的重要性，既超越各個學習階段，也超越學科。從這個觀點出發，五不僅討論語文課的語言使用問題，也提出應該重視其他科目的語言運用，突出跨學科語文教學（language across the curriculum）這個概念。¹¹

研究資料的準確性和技術性

第二，報告書給人一個很深刻的印象，就是不迴避研究資料中的技術細節，力求準確翔實。例如，有關閱讀教學法，它提出的觀點是：“並不存在任何一個方法、媒介、角度或哲學，可以解釋人們學習閱讀的過程”（五：xxxii；77）。¹² 報告書沒有刻意借研究之名，塑造一個權威的形像，急於下一些看似明瞭簡單而理論上站不住腳的結論。為甚麼要不厭其煩地討論技術性的細節？五有很清楚的解釋：“我們相信，改進的必要條件，是承認沒有簡單的秘方，更沒有什麼能全部取代在起作用的因素。

因此我們採取了這樣的方針，在若干地方加入相當多的技術性細節。我們認為，這種描述對此類性質的調查是必要的。報告書的讀者對象很廣泛，我們首先考慮到的，就是學校的老師……不管這份報告能達到什麼，我們認為它的首要功能是作為給老師的一種支持（五：xxii）。

指出專家目前沒有萬應靈藥，並不表示專家的理論研究對教學實踐沒有指導意義。五引用了實驗語音學 60 年代一個重大的發現，來說明為甚麼教小孩單獨唸輔音字母是錯誤的（五：85-88）。例如，教小孩唸 pat 這樣一個詞時，教他先分別讀 puh, a, tuh, 然後連在一起讀成 pat。這種教法有很大的問題，謬誤在於輔音 p, t 的物理聲學特點隨著前後元音產生很大的變化。p, t 在 pat 裡的聲學特點與 p, t 在 put 裡的就很不一樣。甚至可以說，在不同環境裡出現的 p, t 並沒有恆定的物理特徵。既然上述拼讀法違反了語音學的基本規律，自然不值得推薦。¹³ 五還詳細地論述，成功的閱讀教學法必須具備什麼因素（五：85-96）。

委員會的組成和諮詢方法

五的第三個特點，就是委員專業性強，諮詢方法是先做調查，後下結論。像五這樣全面的一個語言教育檢討，主要應該是專家和教育工作者的工作。五的成員方面，語言學和教育學專家約佔三份之一，中小學教育工作者也佔三分之一左右。其他為政府教育行政官員、傳媒、出版界的代表及秘書人員。報告書不同章節的起草工作，也是由不同專家按照自己專長而分配的。¹⁴ 成員裡面的學者都對有關問題發表過原創性的研究論述。

五的諮詢方法，是先作調查，後下結論。委員會想知道的，不單是一般政府教育行政機構可以提供的數據，而是不同社區、不同類型學校、各種年齡的學生，他們日常校內生活的語言環境到底是怎樣的，他們每個人每星期以什麼方式，花多少時間在各種語言活動上面？這些資料，單查看學校有多少語言老師，上多少節語言課，用什麼教科書，是看不出來的。因此做了一個近 2000 所中小學的調查。在這個充實的經驗基礎上，經過兩年的討論分析，才寫成報告書。

應當指出，即使是那麼徹底的一個調查，所建議的強制性執行措施，直接影響學生的極少。五較深遠的影響，在於在語言教育思維上給教育界提供了一個典範，而不在於推行急劇的行政改變。

五委員會具有相當的獨立性。委員會大部份成員從教育事業著眼考慮問題，而不是以某些政府領導的意願為依歸。這種態度，從五洛克本人的一番說話可以看到。他在一年後一個關於五的研討會上說：“現政府從來沒有對報告書有過興趣……我們擬報告書時就知道不會有經費。但我們仍然希望，即使沒有教育資助，也能產生影響”。¹⁵ 此外，委員會內部意見如有分歧，容許公開表達。因此報告書附列了個別委員對報告書結論的異議。五有一個委員，認為報告書對閱讀水準下降的嚴重性估計不足，主張恢復二次大戰以前的教學法。他的異議錄，就收在書內（五：556）。

總的來說，五洛克報告書是語言教育報告的經典之作，成員專業性強，敢於向公眾介紹理論研究的成果和局限。調查研究認真負責，諮詢過程中，委員內部討論民主，力求反映社會各階層的看法，對社會低下層的語言發展給予特殊的關注。這些都是值得參考的。

《京門報告書》(The Kingman Report 1988)

如果五是英國 70 年代最重要的語言教育報告書的話，1988 年發表的《京門報告書》（簡稱京），則是 80 年代最引人注目的語言教育文獻。京的性質跟五很不一樣。五是對語言教育的全面檢討，京的重點則強調，老師應該具備語言知識，懂得語言內部的規律，而且在必要時把這些知識傳授給學生。五強調語言在學員一生中的價值，而京則提出一個特定的語言教學方向，以扭轉當時教育界的潮流。

京門委員會的成立與任務

京委員會的產生成因有幾個。首先，是因為語文教育改革的步伐太慢。五發表了十年多了，但它的主要建議許多都還沒有實現（京：2）。¹⁶ 這當然跟缺乏教育經費有關。¹⁷ 但也有些教育人士認為，五的建議一方面要求太高，另一方面卻沒有提出一套相應的行政藍圖來保證建議的執行（Hawkins: 32-33）。例如，五對應否傳授語言知識，態度是模稜兩可的。一方面，五認為源於拉丁語的傳統文法教法不可取，但另一方面指出，儘管廣泛的閱讀與寫作，對提高語言能力極其重要，老師也應該系統、明確地傳授語言知識（explicit instruction）。然而，一切得看老師的判斷，視乎他能否確保所教內容切合學生寫作上的需要（五：171-

2)。這樣一來，傳授語言知識似乎又變得並不是必要的了，在這方面並沒有點明改進的方向。

京委員會成立的近因，可以追溯到英國教育部門 80 年代一個轉變，就是逐步把改革重點放在課程的質量和一致性 (coherence) 上，為此皇家視學局 (Her Majesty's Inspectorate, HMI) 發表了幾份報告 (HMI 1984a)。其中一份報告，建議讓學生了解語言結構及語義表達的各種方法，使他們能掌握一套詞匯來討論語言，而且在使用語言時能有較高的反省性 (awareness) (京：2) (HMI 1984b)。這個建議，在中小學引起極大的爭議。皇家視學局調查了這些反應後，在 1986 年又發表了一份報告 (HMI 1986)。調查試圖了解教育界的看法，看老師對學童的語言和語言發展到底應該了解多少，有何看法。在這個問題上教育界分歧很大。唯一較為一致的看法，是大家都拒絕傳授語法分析。但又說，老師並不反對討論如何教授語法知識，最終達成一個課程方案 (京：3)。在這種情況下，成立一個委員會探討有關問題，讓公眾的注意力集中到這方面來，將有利於提高共識。京委員會因而產生。

京委員會成立於 1987 年初，調查歷時一年，報告書於 1988 年 3 月公佈。主席京門爵士，是布列斯圖大學校長，皇家學會會員，數理統計學家。¹⁸ 共 18 名委員，包括語言學、文學、教育學專家、中小學和地方政府教育局代表，以及傳媒、出版界、工業界代表。其他為秘書及其他政府官員 (京：75-6)。

委員會從各界人士和機構收到了 239 份書面和口頭資料，並訪問了 16 所中學、14 所小學和 6 所師範學院 (京：1)。委員會的三大任務是：(a) 提出一個分析英語口語、書面語的模式，以此為基礎訓練老師，讓他們了解英語如何運作；(b) 提出一套指導原則，讓老師了解應該在什麼情形下而且如何將這個語言模式介紹給學生，提高學生的語言意識 (Language Awareness)；(c) 就學生需要知道的英語運用知識，提出一般性建議，並訂出學生在 7 歲、11 歲及 16 歲階段應該學過而能夠理解的教學內容 (京：73)。

以下介紹京門報告書的內容要點。

京門報告書的內容和建議

京的調查範圍遠比五小，篇幅不長，全書只 99 頁，分六章。第一章：背景介紹；第二章：語言知識 (knowledge about language) 的重要性；第三章：語言模式；第四章：老師和學生——語言模式的應用；第五章：學生應有的語言教育權利和應達到的語言水平、評估；第六章：師資培訓——結論和建議。

京提出的建議，可以分三方面介紹。

(a) 秉承五報告書精神，強調語文教育

首先，它重申 1975 年五的一些建議，並針對五的不足，加上新的要求。例如，京建議，中學裡所有與語言有關的科組（包括英語、古代外語、現代外語）應統一訂立一套語言教學政策。每間小學都應設有一個語言顧問，協調語言工作，並就語言工作和語言知識問題提供意見。要求所有中小學準老師選修一門語言課，超過一半的時間傳授語言知識 (京：69)。展望未來英語師資的水平，京報告書建議到本世紀末，專職英語教學的老師，在大學時都應曾主修英語，修讀過的課程應包括古代和當代英語的形式和使用。

(b) 提出語言模式

報告書建議之二，是提出一個語言模式，用作語言教學和師資培訓的基礎 (京：99)。模式分四個部份。第一部份：英語的形式，分語音、文字、詞的形式、詞組和句子結構、話語結構等五節討論。第二部份分上下兩節：上節說明傳意溝通 (communication) 的過程，強調情境因素 (時空、主題、話語類型、話語上文等因素)，以及說話者和聽者的意圖和態度；下節說明理解 (comprehension) 的過程，強調聽者如何辨別說話者所指 (referent)、說話者的預設 (pre-supposition)、及如何推斷話語在特定時空的語用意義。第三部份為語言獲得和發展 (acquisition)。第四部份關於語言的歷史演變和地域差異。

(c) 語言能力評估

京建議之三，與語言能力的評估有關。它明確訂下一系列指標，規定 7 歲、11 歲和 16 歲的學童，在語言運用和語言知識這兩個方面，應該達到什麼水準。並提議英語運用能力以全國性的公開測試方法評估，而語言知識水平的評估，則由個別學校、老師來負責。這些語言能力指標，後來發展成為更詳細的條文，列入全國英語課程 (English in the National Curriculum)。¹⁹

京門報告書是一份傾向性很強的文件，跟布洛克報告書很不一樣。布強調語言教育和它在師資培訓上的重要性，要求多撥資源給中小學，這無疑大大提高教育界的士氣。相反地，京是從上而下地以專家意見為準，推行一套跟現行做法背道而馳的教學方針，把語言知識以新的面貌重新引進英語課程。因此民間對京的反應分歧較大。²⁰ 不管民間反應如何，京不失為一份相當有特色語言教育文獻。

語言知識的重要性

京最突出的一點，是對語言知識的重視。在七、八十年代有一種流行的看法，認為要提高語言能力，只能通過多接觸各種英語語體；對英語結構和英語使用的規律則可以一無所知。更有甚者，還有人認為，傳授語言知識，效果沉悶，有損創造性，而且可能徒勞無功 (京：1)。京對這種態度的回應，在京門爵士呈交報告時寫給教育大臣的信上講得很清楚：“教育制度的一個主要目標，應該是促使和鼓勵每個學生最有效地在說、寫、聽、讀等方面運用英語。沒有語言知識，能否達到這個目標，值得商榷。但這種無知，肯定不是積極有利的因素。最糟糕的是，不傳授語言知識，是因為老師對自己的語言知識缺乏信心 (京：iii:4)。京認為，語言教學必然涉及關於語言的討論，少了這種討論，語言學習會變得緩慢、低效率和不公平。只對那些不經教導就能歸納概括的學生有利 (京：13)。京認為，完全有可能對英語結構和英語使用，給出一個容易理解而能站得住腳的描述，要求所有老師學習。因此提出報告書內的語言模式 (京：iii)。

為了論証語言知識的重要性，京再次闡述學童的語言發展為甚麼影響他們的智力發展、美感發展和社會認同。並配合所提出的語言模式，以具體實例說明語言知識為甚麼有助於提高語言能力。

比如說，在寫作方面，京選載了一個 7 歲小孩和一個 15 歲小孩的作文片段。指出如果老師想系統地改進這些學生的作文的話，無可避免地要引用下列語言知識：標點符號與意義之間的關係、詞法規則、詞組和句子的結構、時態的選擇、不同類型篇章的特點、兒童的書面語發展等 (京 34-5)。

又例如，在說講方面，京談到委員會觀察過一個小組活動，班上學生分組討論，然後每組派一個代表簡要報告組裡的討論結果。在這種教學情況要提高口語能力，老師得清楚地說明，為甚麼有些學生的口語報告比別的學生好。這需要專門的語言知識。籠統含糊的評語，難以見效 (京：46)。

在聆聽活動方面，京分析了一個 14 歲學童和一個 15 歲學童和老師的對話錄音。指出老師和學生必須認識到，好的聆聽者都積極詮釋接收到的訊息。說話者通常用不同的詞語指稱同一事物，聽者要有能力辨認。而且要能對說話者的意思提出假設，以及檢驗假設是否與上文一致。研究顯示，程度差的學生不懂得如何使用已知訊息來限制自己的詮釋。相反地，好的學生一般懂得在所知訊息的基礎上，作出最保守的推斷 (京：46)。

在閱讀方面，所需要的語言知識也是多方面的。京談到一班 10 歲學生在唸打油詩。要討論詩歌結構，就要懂得計算音節、重音數目和了解押韻格式。京又選了美國詩人 E.E. Cummings 的 “anyone lived in a pretty how town” 和莎士比亞的 Macbeth 選段為例，說明為什麼了解詞類和句法特點，會提高學生閱讀文學的欣賞能力 (京：38)。

語文能力指標

京還有一個貢獻，就是為 7 歲、11 歲和 16 歲三個年齡組的學童訂立了較詳細的語文能力指標。訂立語文水平指標 (attainment target)，跟八十年代全國教育評估的一個發展有直接關係。一般公開考試按人數百分比劃定成績等級的做法，有很大的局限。例如，一個學生取得 A 的成績，只表示他處於考試中最好的百分之五或百分之十的那組。但我們對他的能力達到什麼程度仍然一無所知。有了明確的指標，就能對學生在不同階段發展了什麼能力，以及學生在整個課程裡的進度，有清楚的認識，對教學有很大裨益。²¹ 京提出的指標分語文使用能力和語文知識兩個方面，以下列舉幾個例子說明指標內容 (京：52-56)。

在朗讀方面，7歲的兒童應能朗誦一段由簡單句組成的文字，並顯示對內容的理解。11歲的學童，應能通過語調變化顯示他們對內容的理解。16歲的學童，應能運用適當的重音、語調和停頓。至於與閱讀有關的語言知識，7歲小孩應學會英文字母和語音之間的主要對應關係。11歲的學童應了解英語中語調變化和句子界限之間的主要對應關係。16歲學童必須了解音質、重音和語調如何影響語義。

在寫作方面，7歲學生應能寫簡單句子，而且能調整句子的長度，能運用句號、逗號、大寫及詞與詞之間的空間，使用適當的詞形。11歲學生應能運用大寫和主要標點符號（句號、逗號、問號、引號）以及段落和對話的標誌；能夠適當地使用句子的整式，而且能發現自己或者別人的錯漏；能正確使用複雜句來表達複雜的語義關係；能寫出組織嚴密的篇章段落。16歲學生，要求能按照不同的目的和情境使用多樣化的詞匯和句法結構；能使用不同正式化/熟悉程度的語體。

與寫作有關的語言知識，要求7歲學生了解句號、大寫與句子界限的關係，了解句子成份有基本詞序。11歲學生應明白，簡單句子應有主要動詞，陳述句一般需要有主語；必須了解主語和主要動詞在句中的功能；認識到以形容詞和副詞做修飾，能使指稱變得更清楚；能以簡單句、並列句、複雜句表達不同的語義關係。16歲的學生對語言本身有更深入的了解，對下列方面應有基本了解：用何種手段表達已知訊息和未知訊息；怎麼用複雜句結構表現時空、因果、意願關係；不同類型篇章(genre)的形式特點；言語和文字的異同和相互關係；不同的情境因素（時空、主題、態度）如何影響語言的使用等。

在說聽方面，要求7歲學童能進行以下語言活動：說/聽故事、給/聽取指示、提問/回答問題、解釋事物並證明解釋的合理性、參予需要想象和合作的遊戲、分享經驗。11歲的小孩應能講故事、解釋事物、描述情境和情感、傳達訊息、扮演角色、提出論證。16歲學生，說話聆聽能力應包括以上範圍，而且能夠因情境變化而調整自己的語言。至於這方面的語言知識，7歲小孩應了解到，說話是教室生活中正常、自然而且必需的活動，每個學生都要在這種活動中貢獻一份力量。11歲小孩得了解，如果英語對別的同學是第二語的話，那麼那些同學已經掌握了另一個跟英語同樣發達的語言。

利用指標來評估學生，一方面按照指標性質把各指標分成幾個大類，然後每個指標(attainment target)再細分為若干程度(level)。這樣就對學生的能力有了一個較為詳細的層次劃分。這種評估讓老師了解學生的能力輪廓(profile)，有利於教學（見Nuttall 1988）。

布洛克報告書、京門報告書和「教統會第四號報告書」之比較

上面介紹的兩份英國語言教育報告書，儘管性質不一樣，教育界對它們的反應也不同，但還是有許多相似之處。兩個委員會都認為，語言是每一個公民珍貴的財富，語言教育是優先考慮的教育問題。委員會專業性強，站在理論的高度看語言教育，敢於把技術性的問題披露於眾，並詳細為之辯護。所提出的建議有堅實的調查基礎，或者有一定的理論根據。報告書的每一章都有詳細的參考書目，以便讀者引証。委員會內部如有分歧，也能以附錄形式發表，表示保留或異議。

從這幾個方面回過頭來看香港的「教統會第四號報告書」，就會感到同樣是調查語言教育，政府教育部門和教育諮詢團體所做出的努力實在太少了。表面上看，教統會的許多運作程序，基本上跟隨英國的作法：邀請各界人士參加調查委員會，訪問有關學校機構，引用語言教育的研究成果，提出工作報告，徵求公眾意見，最後訂出政策。有些方面，顯然受了英國語言教育潮流的影響，例如提出中英語文教學應取得一致性，反映了跨學科語文教學(language across the curriculum)的構想；擬訂語文科的學業目標（報告書第五、六章），正是引進attainment target這種評估概念，也有積極的意義。但仔細分析之下，會發現有很根本的差異。

首先得指出，**布**和**京**是關於母語教育的報告書，強調母語發展跟學童的思維發展、社會認同、美感發展等方面的密切關係。兩份報告書都明確指出，語言不只為了傳意，而且也是認識世界、呈現世界的認知工具。反之，四號報告書只重點討論香港學童的第二語（英文），而把他們的母語（中文）局限在技能（skills）的平面上，頂多在授課語言的範疇來討論母語。這顯然是本末倒置，反映政府一直無意提高母語教育的質量。

第二，教育統籌委員會的專業性很弱。**布**和**京**的主席，都是有學術地位的專家，一位是歷史學家，另一位是統計學家。教統會的主席（首先是利國偉，然後是范徐麗潔）都不是學者。**布**和**京**委員會，語言學、教育學

方面的專家佔三分之一到四分之一之間。而教統會卻沒有語言學、中文或英文方面的學者，只有一個教育學專家，佔全體的 16 分之一；沒有一個成員做過語言學習或語言教育方面的原創性研究（見表一）。

表一：布洛克委員會、京門委員會和香港教統會的成員組成

	主席 專業	語言學、 教育學	中小學	傳媒/出版 /創作	工商界	政府	秘書及 其他	總人數
布洛克 委員會 (1975)	歷史學者	6 人	7 人	2 人	0 人	3 人	3 人	22 人
京門 委員會 (1988)	統計學者	5 人	2 人	4 人	1 人	1 人	4 人	18 人
香港 教統會 (1990)	工商界/ 教育行政 人士	1 人	4 人	2 人	2 人	5 人	1 人	16 人

另一方面，教統會內，政府和工商界的代表卻佔了將近一半（7 名）。無可否認，這些委員的背景，必然影響他們對語言教育的看法。語言學和語言教育是高度發展的現代學科分支，一個缺乏專業代表的委員會，很難想象怎麼能在語言教育方面提出合理的建議。這種行政委任安排，是無視專業知識的一種表現，與現代化民主社會的要求相去甚遠。

第三，布洛克和京門報告書，都大量引用學術著作，清楚闡述所依據的語言教育理論，並敢於指出理論根據的局限。相反地，「教統會第四號報告書」基本上對語言教育理論，採取迴避的態度。缺乏深入反省的精神，而只能提出權宜措施。

第四，正如許多本地專業團體指出，報告書有關語言政策的建議，既沒有可以顯示於眾的理論基礎，也沒有經過充份的調查研究。報告書列舉了一些社會人士的意見，也舉辦了多個討論會（Annex 1B）。但事實上，政府要推行的分流計劃基調，早在 1989 年 3 月發表的「檢討提高語文能力措施工作小組」報告書定下來了。工作小組報告，並沒有任何可靠的

研究基礎。在公眾的催促下，報告書透露了一些有關的研究資料，載於 Annex 6A。但是，這些都是沒有公開發表的研究，沒有一個研究列出理論架構，有些連研究方法、測試內容都不交待清楚，甚至不列研究者名字和出版機構。這種畏縮的態度，反映政府一方面借研究之名來取得一種權威性，但另一方面卻迴避研究必然出現的技術性問題。我們要看到，即使如布、京等考慮周詳的報告，他們提出的建議沒有一個是限制兒童接受語言教育的機會的。但是，四號報告書這樣一個極度缺乏實証基礎的報告，卻以研究之名，不顧輿論的反對，強制推行影響千萬學童教育發展的分流計劃。這是何等強烈的對比。

第五，教統會有些成員並不完全贊同報告書的語言教育政策。然而在報告書內卻不列出分歧意見。這也是語言教育決策不夠公開的地方。

或者人們可以說，教統會不是專門討論語言教育的委員會，也兼顧教育的別的方面，以上的批評有欠公允。但這也說明，語文教育如此重要，但又如此複雜，是否應該設立更專業化的委員會，探討各種階段的教育問題？香港的社會、文化、歷史情況，跟英國很不一樣。英國的教育改革，有許多地方值得學習，但也應先詳細調查本地的情況，充份利用本地的專業知識來發展香港的教育。借鏡別的地方的經驗，要抓住人家改革的實質和精神，不要把母語教學的經驗誤為外語教學的經驗。目前的先訂政策、後作調查的做法，實與時代脫節，應當摒棄。

《附注》

*本文寫作期間，陸鏡光、姚沛滔兩位先生給了寶貴的意見，謹此致謝。

- 1 研究語言與思維發展之間關係的著作，較具代表性的有 L. Vygotsky (1962, 1978); J. Piaget and B. Inhelder (1969); 以及對 Piaget 學說的批判，見 M. Donaldson (1978); L. Siegel & C. Brainerd (1978) eds. 和 S. Modgil and C. Modgil (1982) eds.。研究語言習得與社會化過程之關係的著作，有 B. Bernstein (1974) (以及 W. Labov 1972 對他的批判)。J. Tough (1977), Ch. 13。論述語言、語言獲得與社會認同、意識形態之關係的著作，可參看 M. Halliday (1973, 1975); M. Saville-Troike (1982), Ch. 6; J. Gumperz (1982) ed.; P. Berger & T. Luckmann (1967) Ch.3, "Language and knowledge in Everyday Life"。

- 2 現代漢語書面語的規範，在語法、詞匯上與絕大部份香港學生的母語（即香港粵語）有相當差異。因此嚴格來說，學生的“母語發展”並不完全等同“中文能力”的發展。本文將撇開這種方言與標準語之間的差異不說。有關問題請參閱蘇詠昌（1987）。
- 3 香港教育署 1989 年 5 月發表了「檢討提高語文能力措施工作小組報告書」（下簡稱「工作小組報告書」）。接著在 1990 年 11 月發表「教統會第四號報告書」。
- 4 「工作小組報告書」1.5.2.3 說，“向教育研究局及一些與中文科教學有關的教育學者取得一切有關資料”，作為判斷中文水準的依據。但所用的資料，基本上是公開考試的百分比成績，對語言能力是否下降，或在哪一方面有所減弱，提供的資料極之貧乏。至於“一切有關資料”，除了公開考試成績外，別的詳情則未見披露。
- 5 中譯文為筆者所作，頁數與英文原書相同。
- 6 這幾份有關報告為：K. Gardner (1968); K. Start & B. Wells (1972); R. Davie, N. Butler, H. Goldstein (1972); J. Nisbet, J. Watt, J. Welsh (1972)。
- 7 由專家學者出掌這種性質的委員會，有特殊的意義，以下會談到。Alan Bullock 的著作 *Hitler: a study in tyranny* 是歐洲現代史的經典之作。
- 8 筆者按照報告書中所列各委員的職業或服務機構，以及筆者對其中一些委員的認識，而作分類。
- 9 有關英國教育界對五報告書的反應，可參看 Times Educational Supplement (TES) 1975.2.21 和 Times Higher Educational Supplement 1975.2.21 的報導。TES 以顯著篇幅刊載五的 17 點建議。
- 10 TES 1972.2.21 報導了全國教師工會、全國校長協會、英國閱讀協會等代表對五的看法，一般都給予好評。五對教育界的影響可參看 TES 在一年後發表的問卷調查“Bullock Plus One”，連載於 TES 1976.2.6: 1976.2.13: 1976.2.20。也可參看 Reading Education 1977 年第二期的幾篇文章報告，如 J. Thexton “The Bullock Report: effect and response, from an English adviser's point of view”; C. Armitage “A College Response to Bullock”; B. Gillham & E. Blackie, “Bullock and teacher education: impact or illusion?”。
- 11 布洛克委員會成員之一是中學校長 M. Marland。他後來編寫了一本書，進一步闡述“跨學科的語文教學”這個構想，見 M. Marland (1977)。

- 12 原文是“there is no one method, medium, approach, device or philosophy that holds the key to the process of learning to read”。TES 1975.2.21 以這句話作小標題。
- 13 這個語音聲學的基本原理，可參看 P. Lieberman (1977:115-124)。
- 14 例如，有關閱讀過程的章節，由專攻閱讀的 J. Merritt 撰寫；語言學習的章節，由兒童語言研究者 J. Britton 起稿；語言和閱讀障礙部份，由 V. Booth 負責；中學的部份由中學校長 M. Marland 起草。見 TES 1975.2.21 的報導。
- 15 TES 1976.2.20 “Bullock Plus One”, p. 20。
- 16 例如，五建議每個地方教育廳應設立一個專業的英語顧問，及成立一個支持學校語言教學的顧問小組。到 1981 年，只有一半的地方教育廳做到這一點。至於有關甄選、閱讀中心、圖書資源、全國英語中心等建議，都不了了之。見 Proctor (1987)。
- 17 有人估計，五的 17 項主要建議中，約有 8 項需要大量經費才能實現；3 項只需要少量資助；剩下來的 6 項基本上不需要什麼經費（見 Little 1976）。
- 18 見 The Association of Commonwealth Universities (1988)。
- 19 五有關語言水平指標的建議，為另外一個探討英語課程的工作小組奠下了基礎。這個工作小組，由曼徹斯特大學校長英國文學教授 Brian Cox 領導，1989 年發表了 English for Ages 5 to 16, Dept. of Education and Science, HMSO。在這個基礎上，教育部在 1990 年公佈了 English in the National Curriculum。
- 20 例如，有人批評說，五強調的語言知識並無新意，事實上老師已經在傳授這種知識給學生（見 Editorial article 1989）；也有人諷刺說，五報告書本身的英語修辭就有問題：還有些人指責，五委員會代表性不夠廣泛，沒有懂得多元文化教育的專家，也缺少小學代表（見 Surkes 1988）。作為委員之一的著名英語教學專家 H. Widdowson 更寫了一個附錄，表示對五的建議有所保留（note of reservation）（五：77-78）。他提出的一個質疑，認為報告書提出的語言模式沒有足夠的依據，而且對語言知識和英語作為一個科目之間存在著什麼關係，也未交待得清楚。還有一些意見，認為實行五的建議，需要大量的大專英語和語言學師資，而事實上，大專這方面的職位很不足夠，計劃實行起來會有很大的困難（見 Blackburn 1988）。
- 21 教育部在 1987 年成立了「評估測試工作小組」（Task Group on Assessment and Testing）。他們採用的原則，請參看 Nuttall (1988) 和 Buckle and Riding (1988)。

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從殖民政策看香港教學語言問題

尤敏韶

導言

香港在經過近一百五十年的殖民統治後，將於一九九七年回歸中國，成為中國政府轄下的一個特別行政區。在今天殖民統治快要結束時，我們似乎有必要總結一下過去的歷史，以展望未來。

在過去個半世紀中，香港於多方面都有長足的發展，其中當然包括教育。這有賴香港政府一向不遺餘力地推動教育發展的努力。當然，這並不表示香港的教育已是十全十美；相反，香港有不少教育問題急待解決，而中學教學語言正是其中極具爭議的問題之一；爭論的焦點主要是在中學應採用英語教育還是母語教育。由於香港目前有九成中學採用英語教育，而政府一向又不願意積極扶持母語教育，以至不少人認為香港政府重英輕中。

究竟重視英語而忽視當地母語的政策，是香港政府的獨特表現，還是所有英國殖民地的普遍現象？筆者認為在探討香港任何政策時，都不能將香港的情況獨立於其他英國殖民地之外，因為香港的政策，包括語言政策，與其他英國殖民地一樣，深受英國整體殖民政策影響。因此，本文在探討香港教學語言問題時，會從英國整體殖民政策的架構出發。

首先，筆者將粗略回顧香港語文政策的早期歷史及其發展，並指出其與英國整體殖民政策的相同之處；接著，本文會詳細分析教育統籌委員會

在其一號及四號報告書中推出的兩個語文計劃，並要證明這兩份計劃的內容並非如一些人認為是邁向全面母語教育，或是背離殖民政策一貫重視英語，忽略母語的精神。相反，它們提出的方案完全符合殖民政策的基本原則；最後，筆者更會嘗試預測殖民統治完結後新政府在設計語文政策時會面對的困境。

語文政策的早期歷史

在仔細探討香港語文政策前，讓我們先了解一下英國殖民政策對英語教育及母語教育的基本立場。

無可避免，任何一個外國統治者在征服某地時，總會把本國的文化及制度加諸於受其統治的人民身上，例如英國殖民者喜歡把英式教育帶到他們的屬土。這做法除了可以把宗主國的優良傳統發揚光大外，也是殖民者在統治初期的唯一辦法。試想殖民者在建立政權初期，百廢待興，衛生、建設、治安等都急待處理，那有閒暇建立一個符合當地社會實際情況的新教育制度？權宜之計祇能將殖民者熟識的一套——英式教育，完封不動的搬過來使用 (Cowan 1964:179)¹。況且，殖民者亦急於訓練一小撮懂英語的本地人士作為統治者及被統治者之間的橋樑，以確保殖民政府順利運作。

故此，在英國所有殖民地裡，英式教育都成為初期教育制度中一個極為重要的一環。唯一值得研究的，祇是母語教育在這個既定模式中佔有的份量。

在以英語教育為主導的系統中，容許母語教育的存在，其原因絕不是因為母語教育在教學上的優點，更不是為了加強殖民地人民對其本身文化的認同，而是純粹出於實用主義的考慮。

英國對其屬土的教育發展一向十分重視。發展教育不單包括培養一小撮精英份子，也包括提供一定程度（主要指小學程度）的全民教育。英國殖民地大臣 Oliver Stanley 在一九四三年曾說過，“一個民主制度要成功，不但領導人需要領導才能，被領導的人也要懂得適當地作出反應。……要達到這一點，發展小學教育是必須的。”（見 Porter et al 1989: 60 引述）。

但由於殖民地缺乏足夠的英語老師及英語課本，全民教育未能通過英語進行。印度總督 Macaulay 在其著名的“教育備忘錄”（1835）承認，“我們有限的資源去嘗試廣泛提供英語教育是不可行的。”（見 Spencer 1963: 3 引述）退而求其次，欲推行小學全民教育便唯有利用母語作媒介。Macaulay 的姪兒 Sir Trevelyan 解釋（1838），“必須訓練一班（當地）老師，並用母語編寫課本。利用這些資源，我們最終會將教育從城市發展到農村，直至每一個村落都有一所小學。”（見 Symonds 1966: 47 引述）。

換句話說，殖民政府祇是借助母語教育去填補英語教學的不足，以儘快達到小學普及教育的目標。殖民政府絕不容許母語教育取代英語教育在教育系統中的主導地位。這基本原則可以從英語教育在中學以至大學的地位清楚看到：雖然殖民者容許在小學階段實施母語教育，但在中學裡廣泛使用母語教學的例子，在殖民地中絕無僅有。香港早期的語文政策，實亦依此模式而發展²。

從上述英國殖民統治的經驗中，我們可以總結殖民政策的兩項基本原則：

- 一、殖民政策不是必然否定母語教育的。相反，為達到其他目的，殖民者會根據各地各時的實際情況及需要，容許母語教育在其整體教育中佔一環節。
- 二、英語教育雖然是殖民教育的主導，但最先引入英語教育的主要目的，是為培訓一小群通譯員為政府服務。但無證據顯示殖民者有計劃或有能力把英語教育強加於所有殖民地人民身上。

語文政策的發展及其後果

殖民政策在統治初期，雖然設立了不少英文學校以便培訓一群傳譯員為政府服務，但當時的殖民地人民普遍拒絕入讀這些學校。在非洲，傳教士經常要用食物、衣服、甚至金錢吸引學生入學，並要費盡唇舌說服一些族長容許其子弟入學 (Foster 1965:57)。在香港，當西方教育剛被引入時，情況也是一樣：有能力負擔的有錢人一般選擇把子弟送回廣東，而拒絕讓他們入讀香港的英文學校 (Fu 1975:41)。

但隨著各殖民地[△]在社會上及經濟上的逐步發展、開放，殖民地出現一新階層。在當時的社會裡，除了佔據上層階級的傳統地主、鄉紳富豪外，還湧現了一批新興的中層階級——在政府工作的職員或洋行的買辦；他們都是因為接受過英語教育而被錄取的。殖民地人民逐漸發現接受英語教育是晉身仕途或找尋白領工作的最佳途徑。自此，殖民地人民對英語教育開始趨之若鶩。這與他們在初期對英語教育的普遍抗拒心態大相逕庭。

殖民地人民對政府英語教育政策態度的轉向，正好說明實際社會環境比政府政策更有效地影響人們對語文的態度。這與 Foster 提出的論點不謀而合：他在研究非洲國家加納的教育發展後總結說，“要研究一處地方的教育發展，關鍵不在於官方發表的政策，而必須著眼於實際的社會環境”（Foster 1965:103）。

香港的語文教育發展，似乎也脫離不了這個情形³。所以下文討論香港政府的語文政策時，也當說明每一段時期的社會形勢。

△ 正如英國其他殖民地的情況一樣，當香港人民發現接受英語教育可以提高其社會地位後，他們都希望讀英文中學，而為配合學生普遍對英語教育的需求，有接近九成的中學都採用英語教學。由於早期中學教育尚未普及，小學學生必須參加“升中試”，質素高的才可以入讀中學。因為學生質素有保證，所以即使大部份中學採用英語教學，學生在學習上都沒有太大困難。

這種“精英政策”在七十年代前一直運作得十分順利。但自一九七八年實施全民九年免費教育後，問題就開始出現。由於所有學生，不管質素高低，都可入讀初中，而他們又大都選擇英文中學，結果不少學生在學習上出現困難，例如看不懂英文教科書，或聽不懂老師以英語講解等。

面對學生因沒有足夠的英語水準而偏要選擇以英語學習所引起的種種問題，香港政府當時的處理辦法是完全依照上節提出的幾項原則行事：從政府的立場，英語教育永遠是主導，但她從沒打算把英語教育加諸所有學生身上。事實上，她也明白母語教育對一部份學生更為合適，所以她也不會反對一些學校採用母語教學。這立場反映於政策上就成了政府一貫對中文教育既不反對，又不鼓勵的“消極不干預”政策。

期間雖然有不少教育團體要求政府在初中階段實施全面母語教育，以解決學生不管有能力與否都一窩蜂選讀英文中學的問題，但政府始終沒有積極行動。

政府的解決辦法及其不足

政府對教學語言的放任政策，一直維持到一九八四年及一九九零年分別發表的一號及四號報告書才有所改變。這兩份報告書通過不同政策，鼓勵中學採用母語教學，希望藉此可以減少部份學生因用外語學習所要面對的困難。這兩份報告書推出後，一度引起社會人士對教學語言問題的熱烈討論，不少人產生疑問，為甚麼香港政府要在短短六年內，一連推出兩個有關教學語言的計劃，而兩者內容又是否有關連？再者，它們提出的政策又是否可以解決問題？

若我們仔細比較兩者，將發現當中有不少相同之處：其中最明顯的是：兩者雖然都鼓勵部份中學採用母語教學，但兩者都沒有提倡全面母語教育，而祇是建議將一部份學校從英文學校轉為中文學校而已。至於如何界定哪些學校應轉為中文中學，四號報告書比一號報告書有更清晰的指示：四號報告書建議將學生分流——通過測試分辨哪些學生可以以英語學習，哪些學生祇能以母語學習；若學校收取的學生屬於後者，則該校理所當然必須轉為中文中學。

可以說，一號及四號報告書的目標均是於保留英語授課同時，增加中文授課的學校之比率；而四號報告書更改善了如何將學生分流的技術問題，好使其目標更容易達到。

雖然兩份報告書都保留兩種教學語言而非鼓勵全面母語教育，但四號報告書在介紹其建議的未來改革架構時，卻聲稱“鼓勵各中學採用中文作為教學語言”（教 1990：6.4.1）乃其改革的基本原則。因此，不少教育界團體，例如教協，把四號報告書的語文計劃視為邁向全面母語教育的第一步，“其目的，是為了創造條件，最終過渡到全面母語教學中去”（教協報 1991：3.1）；但其他團體，如資助學校教師會及成人教協等，認為四號報告書並沒有脫離殖民地教育政策一貫重英輕中的影子（明報 1990 年 11 月 20 日及 11 月 26 日）。

眾說紛紜，究竟誰是誰非？這新政策到底意味著甚麼？是政府終於承認母語教學在教育上的優點，還是像一些人說的，這政策始終擺脫不了殖民主義重英輕中的色彩？

根據本文論點，香港的語文政策與英國其他殖民地一樣，深受英國殖民政策影響。就是一號及四號報告書所推出的鼓勵母語教育的新路向——一個似乎與殖民地傳統不同的路向，其實也不過是政策中的一個環節，並沒有背離該政策的基本原則。

換句話說，一號及四號報告書政策的改變，並不一定基於政府對母語教育有創新的看法，但政府的確可以藉著鼓勵部份學校採用母語教育解決一些其他的教育問題，例如一號報告書承認，“實施初中全民教育後，傳統上英文中學使用英文，而中文中學使用中文的界限漸趨模糊。兩種學校實際在不同程度同時使用兩種教學語言”（教 1984：3.5）⁴。為改變這混亂情況，一號報告書希望通過政策鼓勵大部份中學採用母語教學。據其估計，約八成中學會在初中全面以中文授課。可惜，一號報告書推出後，成績並不符理想⁵。

有鑒於此，政府再於一九九零年推出四號報告書，希望可以完成一號報告書沒完成的任務。根據四號報告書估計，全港約有七成中學必須轉用母語教學，以配合學生的真正需要。換句話說，兩份報告書都希望通過政策，使大部份中學從英文中學轉為中文中學。究竟這新政策能否成功？

根據前文分析，做成目前學生一窩蜂選擇英文中學的畸型現象，並不是直接由政府政策引起，而是因為社會經濟整體發展，做成對英語人材的需求，又轉過來做成對英語教育的需求，學生及其家長重英輕中的態度，既是受社會需求而不是受政府政策影響，所以政府現在能否通過教育政策改變學生對英語教育的需求，這是值得懷疑的。

這種希望以制度內的改革去改變制度外的問題的做法，在英國殖民歷史中並不罕見，例如在非洲，殖民地官員也曾利用教育制度的改革，嘗試改變一種非因教育問題引起的社會現象。

非洲的殖民地教育政策，基本上與英國其他殖民地的教育政策無異，一切是以英式教育制度為主導：教學語言是英語，課程也是參照宗主國本身使用的課程而制定的，主要強調文學、宗教等人民學科。結果導致學習內容完全脫離非洲國家本身的文化背景及實際需要。但由於接受西式教育

是進入政府部門或獲得其他白領工作的唯一途徑，年青人都趨之若鶩；更因為提供西方教育的學校祇設在城市裡，不少人因此要遷離農村到城市入學，最後引致不少農村人口流失，農務工作後繼無人。

面對這種情況，殖民地終於決定成立委員會以制訂一套適合非洲特色的課程。一九二二年發表的 Phelps-Stokes 報告書中強調，“教育應配合當地人民的精神及傳統……要通過改善農業及傳統工業以促進社會的進步……並應加強人民對其宗族的責任感”（見 Foster 1965：160 引述）。根據報告書的精神，殖民地的官員設計了一套新的課程，一般稱為“配合教育”。這課程加添了實用的農業科目，希望藉此可以加深學生對農村的歸屬感，從而減少人口流失。

可惜的是，這計劃祇考慮到殖民地整體的教育目標，而忽略了個人的教育目標。從社會層面看，“配合教育”應該可以產生穩定農村及其經濟的作用。但從個人層面看，“配合教育”會限制他們的發展，並堵截他們晉身中層社會的唯一通道。留在農村意味著從此要面對較差的生活質素。顯而易見，非洲人民絕不會接受這種被認為是次等的教育。果然，不少學校在家長的壓力下放棄了新的實用課程而恢復過去著重書本的文科課程。在荷亞，更有族人設立私立學校與採用“配合教育”的學校對衡。

明顯地，殖民地政府推出的教育改革因與社會實際情況嚴重脫節，是註定失敗的。有學者分析“配合教育”失敗的原因，是由於教育的設計者及其受益人對教育的目標及價值有著嚴重的分歧。

非洲的“配合教育”似乎與一號及四號報告書所提出的語文計劃有異曲同工之處：非洲鼓勵人民接受實用課程，放棄西方教育；而香港則鼓勵人民接納中文教育，放棄英語教育。很可惜，政府沒有以非洲的失敗例子為鑒，仍希望通過香港式的“配合教育”解決因社會環境而產生的問題。但在社會上重英輕中的客觀條件沒改變前，學生對英語教育的需求也不會改變，所以不管是非洲的實用課程，還是香港的母語教育，都會被殖民地人民視為剝奪其晉升機會的次等教育而不會被接納。

四號報告書與“非殖民化”的關係

香港政府，作為一個英國殖民政府，為貫徹殖民教育政策以英語為主導的精神，拒絕鼓勵全面母語教育而堅持保留小部份英文學校，是可以理解的。就是在殖民統治快要完結時，政府尚如此積極地推動四號報告書，

並花費龐大資源設計分流語文計劃，以確保小部份英文中學可以繼續收取質素好的精英學生入讀，這也不足為怪。事實上，這種做法在其他英國殖民地歷史中是有先例可援的。從其他前英國屬土的非殖民化例子可以見到，英國殖民者在撤離前，總喜歡保留一些代表宗主國文化及傳統的制度，例如英語教育或三年制大學等，希望藉此可以繼續在當地發揮一定程度影響力。

例如在英國快要撤出中東前，英國的中東石油（官方）委員會於一九五五年曾向英國政府提出，為確保輸入英國的中東石油來源，英國必須在該地區保持影響力。要達到這目的，英國政府必須採取多方面行動，其中在教育方面，可以考慮“提供老師或津貼薪金以容許當地政府僱用英國人當老師……設立英國學校，例如計劃在黎巴嫩興建的那一所，以便培訓北阿拉伯國家的未來領袖，這樣做可確保在未來十至十五年間英國在當地享有相當影響力”（見Porter et al 1989: 390-391 引述）。

Darwin在研究英國與非殖民化時也提出同樣證明，“英國政府希望新獨立國家（指前英國殖民地）的社會及文化體制可以盡量追隨英國的模式。……故殖民者通過設立精英教育，培養受英式教育的專業人士以及推銷極具吸引力的英國語文等，以達到這個目標”（1988:299）。而香港殖民政府推出的四號報告書——一個可能是殖民統治結束前的最後一個語文計劃，巧合地包括了Darwin提出的數點政策。

四號報告書通過測試將學生分流，被證明祇可以以中文學習的學生會被“勸導”入讀中文中學；祇有被證明可以同時以中文及英文學習的精英學生才可選擇入讀英文中學。由於該測試是以實驗數據為基礎作的科學研究，故其可信性甚高。既然這個值得信賴的測試證明某些學生可以用英語學習，那麼政府為他們提供英語教育似乎是順理成章，而要接受中文教育的學生，也祇有承認這測試的結果，接受自己起碼在某一方面是不如人的。

由於這測試的試驗期跨越一九九七直至二零零零年，九七後如何把它妥善處理，將是新特區政府的棘手問題。若把它束之高閣，那麼為設計這測試而花費的過千萬元，祇有白白浪費；若繼續利用該測試來鑑定學生，那麼被認定可以利用英語學習的學生，該如何處理？若不為他們提供英語教育，那麼測試的目的何在？若為他們繼續提供英語教育，那將使中文教育永遠成為次等教育。而英國殖民政策為保留影響力的計劃就可以得逞；通過精英教育，英國可望繼續培訓一些精通英文，了解英國文化，繼而認

同英式體制的未來社會棟樑。換句話說，四號報告書的分流計劃是使英語教育可以在九七後繼續成為精英英語教育，中文教育成為次等教育法定化，正統化的絕佳一著。

筆者在另文曾指出一號報告書鼓勵母語教育的政策若失敗，會對中文教育帶來很壞的影響（Yau 1989）。其實四號報告書所提出的語文政策對中文教育的不良影響更有過之而無不及。

從以上分析，我們大概可以推斷一號及四號報告書的語文計劃並不意味政府對母語教育立場的改變。反之，這兩份報告書把殖民政策對母語教育及英語教育的基本精神發揮得淋漓盡致。讓我們在這裡把這種精神重申一下：

- 一、英語教育在殖民地教育系統中永遠是主導。根據四號報告書，祇有小部份通過測試證明是質素高的學生才可以接受英語教育。這方法使英語教育在學生及家長心中的崇高地位比其他任何時間更為鞏固。
- 二、母語教育不會因其本身的優點而被提倡，祇有在母語教育可以達到其他目的時才會被利用。四號報告書規定不合資格接受英語教育的學生選擇母語教育，這樣做，一不妨礙政府培訓精英的目標；二可以節省提供廣泛英語教育所需要的大量資源；三可以解決不少學生用外語學習所引起的問題；四可以安撫民間要求母語教育的呼聲，政府這個計劃可謂一舉數得。

未來語言策劃者的困境

大概有人會認為在殖民者撤走以後英語教育轉為母語教育是當然的。但從其他已獨立的殖民地經驗看，這並不是必然。新的統治階層對教學語言的問題大多會意見分歧：英語教育支持者一般認為過速轉向母語教育會引致英語水平下降，若不能維持一定程度的英語水平，會使這新生國家失去與世界的聯繫，甚至陷於孤立⁶。但母語教育支持者則認為母語教育可加強人民對新政府的認同；同時有人認為保留精英教育會導致社會分化。

基於以上考慮，新特區政府在決定語文政策時，未免會進退維谷。進一步說，由於任何一個決定都有其不足之處，特區政府無論作出任何決定，都會引起部份人士的不滿。

語言政策不單是一個教育問題，也是一個政治問題。若處理不當，甚至會引起社會分裂。這種情況在曾被殖民統治的新興國家十分普遍。一般來說，問題總是環繞著英語與當地母語的地位之爭。例如印度最近就有反英語的運動，他們認為“由於懂得英語的精英壟斷了最好的教育及工作機會，做成一種根據語言分等的階級制度”。他們也投訴，“這外來語（英語）令九成不諳英語的印度人受歧視”（見 *Time Magazine* September 1990）¹。

從印度的經驗，任何語言政策的策劃者都應正視語言政策會帶來社會分化的問題。但香港的語文計劃居然在其全民教育的系統內，通過政策設立分化式的教育制度，將學生劃分為精英與非精英兩等。這對一個正在邁向民主的社會無疑是一大諷刺。若大部份學生，以至老師，感覺到在自己地方，運用自己母語去學習或任教會被歧視，將會使其產生所謂“身份危機”；而鄒嘉彥提出的“文化閹人”現象也將會加劇；若有部份人擺脫不了過去的殖民地從屬心態，也將不利於培養人民對新特區政府的認同。

訂定一個合適的語言政策無疑是一項巨大挑戰，但若決策者有足夠的民意為依歸，在制定政策時就有所根據。其實香港大部份教育界人士對教學語言的問題已有共識：根據津貼中學議會調查顯示，“七成半被訪會員要求港府由一九九二年學年起落實於初中推行母語教學”（明報 1991 年 1 月 30 日）。但大部份校長鑒於一些學校轉為中文中學後，招收的新生水準下降，故不願個別轉為中文中學，而傾向由政府通過政策強逼學校在初中同時使用母語教學。但從上文分析，我們似乎沒有理由相信港府，作為一個殖民地政府，會採取這一步，因為這並不符合前文多次提及的殖民地教學語言政策的基本精神。

若殖民地人民不願採取主動，通過行動表達他們的意見，殖民政府就有藉口把不利的政策加諸他們身上。Bude 在研究非洲“配合教育”時指出，“殖民地改革者大都抱著家長式的處事態度，認為非洲人民不成熟，也不懂欣賞他們的“保護者”為他們設計的“本意良好”的計劃（1983：349）。同樣，若香港人不主動爭取一個較合理的教育制度，恐怕也要被逼接受殖民者本意良好但會做成分化的語文計劃。

為避免重蹈其他國家因語言政策而引至社會分裂的舊路，我們必須把民意通過行動表達出來。具體的說，各學校一致主動地在初中轉用母語教學，如此可以減少校長恐怕因個別轉為中文中學而收不到好學生的憂慮。這樣做才可以說服政府改變過去在教育上必然以英語為主導的政策。

當然，要鞏固中文教育在初中以至高中的地位，必須徹底改變社會上的語言環境。但一般認為，這種情況大概要在特區政府成立後才會出現。“要改變人民對英語教育的需求（而轉向追求母語教育），祇有等到人民有自治權力才可，例如可以由本地的專業團體鑒定各種專業資格而不必受制於外國機構的承認”（Ward 1959：195）。Symonds 在研究西非洲殖民地歷史時，也作出同樣結論：“祇有一個自治政府才可以設計一套適合當地社會的教育制度，因為她控制了政府招聘人員的條件”（1966：146）。

換言之，若政府可以保證接受母語教育的學生在升學及就業方面不會受到歧視，他們自然樂於入讀中文中學。

無論如何，要達到這目標，必須由殖民地人民自己爭取，通過實際行動反映對殖民者歧視中文教育的不滿，同時也給特區政府在制訂未來語文政策時一個鮮明的民意訊息。

註釋：

- 一、本篇所見引文乃筆者據原文翻譯。
- 二、有關香港早期語文政策的詳情可參閱 Fu (1975) 及 So (1984)。
- 三、So (1984) 在其博士論文中研究香港政府語言政策與群眾對該等政策之反應時，與 Foster 有相同結論。
- 四、第一號報告書並沒有論及學校裡同時使用兩種教學語言的原因。一般認為實施初中全民教育後，學生水平普遍下降。為應付那些語文水準不足而偏要入讀英文中學的學生，老師唯有在課堂內中英並用。所以一號報告書希望這些學生入讀中文中學，好使老師可以專心用一種語言教學。
- 五、目前大約有一百三十間中學採用母語教授部份科目。
- 六、在殖民統治尚未結束前已有人急不及待地作出這種預測，香港大學英文系前系主任 (Roy Harris) 甚至認為若大學不積極培訓精通英語的人材，將來(殖民者)撤走後，即使香港建成新機場也不能吸引外國人來港 (South China Morning Post 6 March 1991)。
- 七、印度的語言問題極之複雜：除了英語與印度方言之爭外，也涉及印度本土各方言之間的地位問題。

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PART THREE: MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

Language-based Bifurcation of Secondary Schools in Hong Kong : Past, Present & Future

Daniel W.C. So

Introduction

The proposal of the Education Commission Report No.4 (ECR4) to stream seventy per cent and thirty per cent of Secondary One students into Chinese-medium and English-medium sectors¹ has rekindled the debate concerning the desirability of allowing over ninety per cent of local secondary students to receive their education in Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools which profess to use English as a medium of instruction. This debate can be dated back to the release of a report on the effects of medium of instruction on local students published by Siu et al. in 1979.² Since then, the issue has been taken up by the Llewellyn Commission in 1981 (Llewellyn et al. 1982), the Education Commission in 1984 (ECR1), The Report of the Working Group set up to Review Language Improvement Measures in 1989, and, most recently, the Education Commission's Fourth Report.

Although growth in enrolment at Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools continues unabated through the course of this debate, ECR4's Streaming Proposal, first mentioned in the 1989 Working Group report, will probably put a stop to this relentless expansion during the past thirty years, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Hong Kong school enrolment at the secondary level
(by medium of instruction), 1958-1988*

Year	ACSS		CMS		Total school	Total student	% (CMS)
	School	Student	School	Student			
1958	74	25,863	89	21,210	163	47,073	45
1960	112	55,510	95	27,778	207	83,288	33
1961	107	53,000	91	31,000	198	84,000	37
1962	125	66,600	102	37,500	227	104,100	36
1963	147	81,163	106	41,079	253	122,242	34
1964	148	94,625	105	44,349	253	138,974	32
1965	169	109,123	107	45,334	276	154,457	29
1966	188	124,449	117	48,501	305	172,950	28
1967	187	134,347	117	46,295	304	180,642	26
1968	223	149,921	123	50,596	346	200,517	25
1969	230	157,881	120	50,638	350	208,519	24
1970	229	172,569	114	48,484	343	221,053	22
1971	233	184,651	108	51,142	341	235,793	22
1972	232	208,118	102	55,027	334	263,145	21
1973	239	223,254	96	57,321	335	280,575	20
1974	250	253,000	101	63,449	351	316,449	20
1975	263	273,418	102	64,119	365	337,537	19
1976	283	303,413	104	65,774	387	369,187	18
1977	302	331,036	103	63,485	405	394,521	16
1978	330	375,470	104	58,548	434	434,018	14
1979	333	378,570	97	52,396	430	430,966	12
1980	321	386,531	87	48,105	408	434,636	11
1981	326	385,543	78	43,587	404	429,130	10
1982	346	383,900	72	40,742	418	424,642	10
1983	351	380,203	68	38,671	419	418,874	9
1984	n.a.	375,673	63	36,841	n.a.	412,514	9
1985	n.a.	370,615	57	35,295	n.a.	405,910	9
1986	339	372,422	58	35,585	397	408,007	9
1987	344	370,410	60	34,640	404	405,050	8.5
1988	343	365,330	57	32,973	400	398,303	8

*The figures in this table refer to enrolment at day grammar schools only. 1958 and 1988 are the years when such figures were reported in the *Annual Reviews* for the first, and the last time.
Source: Hong Kong Government, *Hong Kong Annual Review*, Chapters on Education, various issues.

Now that the administration has cast its dice on the medium of instruction issue and turned a new page in its educational language policy, this is an opportune moment to look back in time to explore the question how such a differential selection of the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools and Chinese Middle Schools came to pass, to use this historical survey to put the current

situation in perspective, and to assess whether or not the Streaming Proposal is an appropriate model for Hong Kong as she moves into a new phase of development towards 1997 and beyond.

One Territory, Two Secondary Education Sectors

The development of a language-based bifurcation in the local secondary system is a result of largely three sets of historical circumstances. First, the cultural backwardness and foreign encroachment of Modern China,³ as well as her effort to strengthen herself. Second, the colonization of Hong Kong, and the needs of the local colonial administration to cultivate a class of bilingual brokers to mediate between itself and the governed. And third, the Chinese Nationalist Party's political platforms on modern education and the Overseas Chinese. This section deals with the link between and the interplay of these three sets of circumstances and the differential growth of Chinese-medium and English-medium education in Hong Kong before 1949.

This language-based bifurcation can be dated back to 1926 with the founding of the Government Vernacular Middle School (renamed Clementi Middle School in 1951).⁴ However, at the time of its founding, there were already at least sixteen well-established institutions offering a rather comprehensive English-medium secondary education by the standards of the times.⁵ The dominance of these English-medium schools⁶ in the secondary sector was largely a result of the colonial administration's measures, as shown in the careful documentation of government language policy during this period by Fu (1975:38-77). From 1902 until the eve of the Second World War, a substantial amount of the resources allocated to education were funnelled, via the Grant-in-aid Scheme, to English-medium schools with the manifest purpose of cultivating a Westernized and English-speaking elite among the local population. The consequence of this policy can be seen from a remark in the *Annual Colonial Report-Hong Kong 1946*: "The grant-aided schools mainly use English although one school is entirely taught in Chinese... secondary education in English is to a great extent in the hands of Government and grant-aid schools..." (p.44)⁷

It is unfortunate that most of the polemical literature on the medium of instruction issue chooses to stop at this point and, on the basis of evidence such as those quoted above, hypothesizes that the current plight of Chinese-medium secondary education in Hong Kong is a direct consequence

of the colonial administration's pro-English-medium policy.⁸ As a result, people who subscribe to this Colonial-Policy Hypothesis tend to pay little attention to an interesting as well as crucial period in the development of Chinese-medium secondary education in Hong Kong. This period begins with the founding of the Nationalist Government in Nanjing in 1928, and ends with its retreat from Nanjing (Nanking) to Taipei (Taipei) in 1949.

The importance of this period to local Chinese-medium secondary education can be seen from the following fact. While it took more than eighty years after the founding of the Colony for Chinese-medium secondary education to get started, a mere fifteen years after 1926, upon the eve of the Second World War, at least forty-nine⁹ institutions offering an education up to either junior or senior secondary level can be identified (Wong, 1982:270-353). However, during the same period, the number of English-medium institutions with an upper section increased by only five, bringing their total number to twenty-one.¹⁰ In other words, Chinese-medium institutions with an upper section out-numbered their English-medium counterparts by more than a two-to-one margin, albeit in terms of enrolment, the two sectors were probably comparable in size before the War.¹¹

On the other hand, this period saw the colonial administration largely pursuing a policy of providing an English-medium education up to university level¹² for children from well-to-do families, and a vernacular primary education for children from less well-to-do families (Irving 1914). In other words, the local government did not have much to do with this dramatic expansion of the Chinese-medium secondary sector. Unlike English-medium secondary education whose development was largely determined by local socio-economic dynamics and local government aid, the development of Chinese-medium secondary education in Hong Kong was mostly driven by developments in Mainland China.

At the dawn of the 1928-49 period, modern Chinese-medium education had found itself a political patron, a national structure, and a linguistic medium. 1928 saw a semblance of national unity achieved with the founding of the Nationalist Government in Nanjing. The temporary political unity facilitated the implementation of a national curriculum, which was based on the American model and had been adopted earlier in 1922,¹³ as well as the popularization of a national language, Guo Yu, in the nation's schools. For example, in 1931, Guo Yu was made the official medium of instruction in all

schools. By 1928, a Chinese model of modern education was finally taking shape, and ready for export.

Evidently, recipients of this export were overseas Chinese communities, including Hong Kong. The scale of this influence can be understood in the light of the ideology of the Chinese Nationalist Party, and the impact of the Second Sino-Japanese War 1937-45. Since its founding by Dr Sun and his associates, the Nationalist Party has regarded itself as the leader of all Chinese nationalist movements both at home and abroad. It also treats all Overseas Chinese as citizens of the Republic regardless of whether or not they were citizens of their respective host countries. Accordingly, the Nationalist Party found it politically opportune to promote nationalist education for its overseas citizens, and in fact, as early as 1921, when the Nationalist Party consolidated its power in Canton, agents were sent to Southeast Asia and beyond to assist local Chinese communities in the development of nationalistic modern education for their children (Akashi, 1970:1-14).

However, the climax of the expansion of Chinese-medium secondary education in Hong Kong did not come until the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. When the war came, many Chinese-medium schools in China simply moved across the border and re-established themselves in Hong Kong which, for four years, became a haven for escapees from China.

Given the external origin of the development of the local Chinese-medium secondary education, and the centre-and-periphery kind of relationship between China and Hong Kong, it is quite understandable that the former gradually assumed, for the local Chinese-medium sector, the role of a model, a provider of resources and financial support (for some schools), a supplier of personnel, textbooks and other ancillary materials, a regulator, a certifying agent and a place for further studies.

For example, local Chinese-medium schools with an upper section mostly followed China and adopted the American 6-3-3 curriculum structure instead of the local 6-5-1 system (see note 6).

Guo Yu was extensively taught in all Chinese-medium schools until the late 1950's even though opportunities for its use locally were minimal.

Moreover, most CM schools with an upper section, in addition to their local registration, also had registration with the Overseas Chinese Affairs

Committee of the Nanjing Government, and with the provincial Bureau of Education in Guangzhou. Students from these schools also participated in the public examinations administered by the Guangdong authorities. In fact, after 1935, such examinations were made available locally by the Guangdong authorities for the convenience of Hong Kong students (Wong 1982: 347-8).

Also, while evidence is not readily available, it is understood that many local CM schools were regularly inspected by Nationalist Government officials. Usually such inspections were done covertly because the Nationalist Government was acting beyond the scope of its legal authority. In 1949, news of such a visit paid by an official from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee to local Chinese Middle Schools was leaked to the press, but the colonial administration at that time chose not to create a fuss with an open response (Cheng 1949:322).

Therefore, by the 1930's, the language-based bifurcation of the local secondary sector was about complete. A student who had gone through primary education might choose to continue his education in either a Chinese-medium or an English-medium institution. A student who had finished his secondary education in the Chinese medium might continue his education in any of the tertiary institutions on the mainland, many of which enjoyed higher prestige than Hong Kong University¹⁴. Measures had in fact been taken by the colonial administration to deal with such a development. In the Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1935, it was said that a curriculum designed to accommodate this choice was planned in 1929, and had since been adopted by the Department.

The Post-1949 Decline of the Chinese Middle Schools

Consequently, as Hong Kong started its reconstruction after the Second World War, its secondary education system was rebuilt on a foundation that not only was marked by its bilinguality, but also by its dual tradition. Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools had their origin in the missionary zeal of the West;¹⁵ had their orientation in meeting the needs of the colonial administration and the expatriate community for bilingual brokers; and had their constituency among the indigenous elite whose elitist status was in no small measure a result of an English-medium education.

Whereas the Chinese Middle Schools had their origin in the patriotic zeal of the Chinese intelligentsia for national salvation and in the political ideology of the Nationalist Party for extending its influence among the Overseas Chinese, they had their orientation in meeting the needs of China for achieving unification and freedom from imperialist encroachment, and they had their constituency among the less well-heeled local families.

Another difference between the two sectors was that the English-medium sector, owing to government aid and resources provided by their patrons in the West, managed to develop an infrastructure that was largely self-sustaining. The entire process of education and certification up to the tertiary level could be conducted locally.

In contrast, the Chinese-medium sector saw itself essentially as an appendage to a larger system with which presumably it would soon re-integrate. Its centres were in Nanjing and Guangzhou.

As it turned out, History was unkind to the local Chinese Middle Schools. On the one hand, China's victory in the Second World War failed to accelerate the de-colonization process in Hong Kong, which would have benefited the Chinese Middle Schools. On the other hand, the collapse of the Nanjing regime in 1949 also deprived these schools of their centre of reference, and source of logistic support. As early as 1950, the administration already indicated its concern for the problems faced by the Chinese Middle School graduates as a result of this deprivation (Colonial Office 1950:61). The irony of history in this case is that the Chinese Middle Schools declined during a period when the administration was directing relatively more effort and resources for Chinese-medium education,¹⁶ and adopted a more and more enlightened approach to its language policy. For example, local certification for Chinese Middle School graduates was made available again by the colonial administration in 1952.

In 1963, the Chinese University of Hong Kong was founded to provide, among other things, local opportunities for tertiary education for Chinese Middle School graduates. In the Preamble of its founding Ordinance, it is clearly written that "the principal language of instruction [in the University] shall be Chinese." Moreover, the four-year norm of its curriculum structure also reflects the intention of the authorities at the time to have the Chinese Middle Schools as the major supplier of students to the University.¹⁷

In 1974, the Chinese language was accorded official status. Since then, the use of Chinese has increased in the public sector. For example, there has been a growing demand for the provision of simultaneous interpretation in government or quasi-government meetings as more and more legislators, municipal and district councillors and advisory committee members choose to speak in Cantonese. Also, the provision of a Chinese version of all communication from the government to the public has long become standard practice.

In 1986, a policy of positive discrimination in favour of secondary schools adopting CM instruction was promulgated.

In spite of all these efforts, there are few signs that Chinese Middle Schools are going to make a come-back. Such a continual decline might have triggered the latest drastic measures from the government to revamp the system. Whether or not these measures will succeed remains to be seen. However, the fact is that proponents of the Colonialist-Policy hypothesis should find it hard to square their thesis with the historical evidence shown above. Indeed, their thesis would create for us the riddle of Chinese Middle Schools flourishing during a period when the colonial administration adopted a manifestly 'pro-English' language policy, and declining during a period when the colonial administration adopted a more enlightened language policy.

Lest it be misunderstood, it is not suggested here that the colonial administration be absolved of its responsibilities concerning the decline of the local Chinese Middle Schools. Rather, what is submitted here is that this decline is a function of forces that are much more powerful than government language policy. The collapse of the Nanjing regime, and the ascendancy of the anti-intellectual, totalitarian Beijing regime created an extremely negative environment for the local Chinese Middle Schools which, short of switching to the English-medium sector, have so far proved themselves not very adaptable to the Post-1949 developments.

Meanwhile, after 1949, the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools found themselves in an increasingly favourable environment as a result of three sets of developments. These are the development of Hong Kong into an international manufacturing and financial centre in relative isolation from the Mainland until the 1980's; the emergence of English as the predominant medium in trade and in academic discourse (Fishman, Cooper & Conrad

1977); and the tremendous advance made in science and technology after the War has intensified the demand for educated labour at the work-place.

The Popularity of the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools

What is significant here about the three aforementioned developments is that their interaction produces an effect that further accentuates the historical role of the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools as a major vehicle of upward mobility. The rapid growth in the local economy after 1949 has dramatically expanded opportunities of such mobility. For example, the number of

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF H.K. WORKING POPULATION
BY OCCUPATION 1961-1986

Occupation	1961	1971	1981	1986
Professional, technical & related workers	5.1	5.2	6.0	8.3
Administrative & managerial workers	3.1	2.4	2.7	3.6
Clerical & related workers	5.8	8.3	12.2	14.6
Sales workers	13.7	10.6	10.3	11.7
Service workers	15.1	14.8	15.6	16.2
Agricultural workers & fisherfolk	7.4	3.8	2.1	1.9
Production & related workers, transport equipment operators & labourers	48.7	52.3	50.4	43.3
Armed forces & unclassifiable	1.1	2.6	0.7	0.4
Total Labour Force (Million)	1.2	1.6	2.5	2.6
Total Population (Million)	3.130	3.937	4.980	5.396

Source: Census & Statistics Department *Hong Kong 1981 Census, Main Report*. Vol. I & *Hong Kong 1986 By-Census, Main Report*. Vol. II.

traditionally more desirable and/or more prestigious jobs has been on the increase in the past thirty years. As shown in Table 2, a shift towards skilled-cum-white collar jobs in the occupational structure is very much in evidence in the past thirty years. Between 1961 and 1986, it is estimated that the number of professional, technical and related workers increased by 3.6 times; the number of administrative and managerial workers 2.6 times; the number of clerical and related workers 5.6 times; the number of sales workers 3.8 times; the number of servicing workers 4.8 times.

During the same period, the size of the labour force increased by only 2.17 times. The size of the population by only 1.72 times.

Given the fact that English has become the language of wider communication especially in the domain of commerce and finance, these traditionally more desirable occupations demand varying degrees of proficiency in English. Furthermore, the more prestigious among them often require tertiary education qualifications. To the local people, there is no question what gives one the best access to these occupations. After all, most of the local and foreign destinations of tertiary institutions offer their education in the English medium.¹⁸ Children from the well-established elite usually get a head-start in one of the few local, exclusive English-medium primary schools. Other people try to get into the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools, places where traditionally 'good English' was learnt.

Given the transient nature of the population especially before 1949, the refugee character of the population after 1949, and the *laissez-faire* ethos of the society at large, there are no entrenched class structure, divisive religious affiliations, nor dogmatic ideological subscription to put stops in people's path to upward mobility. In the past, especially during the last thirty years of rapid economic growth, anybody who possesses English skills and secondary education qualifications will avail himself of a career in the white-collar profession. For somebody who possesses tertiary education qualifications or more, he will be assured of either an upward passage and become a member of the local, expanding bourgeoisie; or an outward passage and become a member of the Overseas Chinese communities in one of the advanced, English-speaking nations of the world.

In short, a successful English-medium secondary education has become the principal determinant of upward and outward mobility for the people of Hong Kong. Many, if not most, aspire to both.

The socio-economic transformation of Hong Kong described above and the pathetic post-1949 situation in China have led many local people to perceive the Chinese Middle Schools as some sort of an anachronism, and led to an over-selection of the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools.¹⁹

The Over-selection of the Anglo-chinese Secondary Schools: False & Real Issues

By the 1980's when ninety per cent of secondary students were receiving their education at Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools, most, if not all, educators agreed that the use of English in these schools posed problems for students and teachers. After all, Hong Kong is essentially a monolingual, Cantonese-speaking society where English is used in only a restricted number of domains.²⁰ Given the fact that subsidized junior and senior secondary education are now offered respectively to close to 100 per cent and over seventy per cent of the appropriate age group, it is simply unrealistic to expect that quality English-medium instruction can be provided in all subjects, and at all levels, to such large number of students most of whom are brought up in Cantonese-speaking environments.

What educators fail to agree is what constitutes the best possible alternative to the present situation. And many educators do find the Streaming Proposal leaves a lot to be desired. Before we proceed to examine the Streaming Proposal from the perspective provided by the previous historical survey, and look forward to the future, it is necessary to put the current situation in perspective and expose the fallacy of a number of suppositions many people, including the architects of the Streaming Proposal, subscribe to in this debate.

The Mother-tongue hypothesis

It is regrettable that the current debate on the medium of instruction issue has made such a heavy use of the mother-tongue hypothesis.²¹ In a sense this is unfair to the parents in Hong Kong. They do not send their children to Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools because they do not know that Chinese-medium education is easier for them. They prefer English-medium schools for the reasons discussed in the previous section, and not because they were not in favour of teaching in Chinese. In fact, all the experimental studies

on the effect of English-medium instruction on educational outcomes among local students have been churning out findings proving the obvious: when students are instructed entirely in Chinese, they tend to perform better than when they receive instruction entirely in English.²² The problem is that the constraints of the design of these studies preclude them from taking into account the mediating effect of the use of Cantonese under naturalistic conditions, and of the fact that in Hong Kong, learning in Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools seldom takes place exclusively in Chinese or in English. Indeed, if the findings of these experimental studies were taken at their face value, it would mean that year after year the Anglo-Chinese schools would be producing graduates with 'brain damage'!

The fact is most parents somehow know that on the one hand, the educational consequences of English-medium secondary education are not as catastrophic as some pundits would have them believe. On the other hand, the education offered by Chinese Middle Schools is not as easy and effective as their advocates say it is. They could sense that it is tricky to equate Chinese-medium education with mother-tongue education. After all, they know a local Cantonese student will not be able to make his grade in a Chinese Middle School with his Cantonese alone. In fact, traditional Chinese teachers would tell him Cantonese cannot be written, should not be used in written academic discourse, and is merely a 'dialect'. To these educators, the label 'language' should be reserved for the standard variety alone.

Whether a local student goes to an Anglo-Chinese Secondary School or a Chinese Middle School, chances are that he will find himself in an unfamiliar linguistic environment, and his success will partly depend on how well he manages to achieve proficiency in the two standard languages. The local trilingual situation in education (Lord & T'sou 1985) is a nettle that most mother-tongue hypothesis subscribers have yet to come to terms with.²³

Parents=Lemmings hypothesis

Another misguided assumption made about the parents is that they are lemmings rushing their children towards an English-medium cliff, and therefore have to be stopped, even at great cost if necessary.²⁴ However, findings from two surveys conducted in 1983 and 1986 offer a somewhat different picture.

TABLE 3
MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION PREFERENCES OF HONG KONG PARENTS
1983 & 1986

MOI at Secondary Level	1983			1986		
	YES	NO	N.O.*	YES	NO	N.O.
EM ONLY	226 (58)**	67 (17)	96 (25)	118 (52)	85 (37)	24 (11)
CM ONLY	144 (37)	122 (31)	126 (32)	70 (31)	142 (63)	15 (7)
CM & EM	216 (55)	51 (13)	124 (32)	207 (91)	16 (7)	4 (2)

*No Opinion

**Figures in brackets are percentages

Source: So, 1984; So, 1986

TABLE 4A
H.K. PARENTS' MEAN RATING
OF CRITERIA FOR AN IDEAL SCHOOL
1983

Criteria	Mean	N	S.D.
Quality of Teaching Staff	2.72	414	0.57
English standards	2.49	414	0.59
Quality of Campus	2.39	414	0.74
Chinese Standards	2.23	414	0.66
Prestige of School	2.11	414	0.84
Performance in Public Exams	2.06	414	0.84
Whether English Textbooks are used	1.38	414	1.07
Whether Chinese Textbooks are used	1.30	414	1.04

Notes: The rating scale is from 1 to 5 with 1 meaning the criterion is of no importance at all, and 5 meaning the criterion is very important.

TABLE 4B
PARENTS' MEAN RATING OF CRITERIA FOR AN IDEAL SCHOOL
1986

Criteria	Mean	N	S.D.
Quality of Teaching Staff	1.5	227	0.6
Quality of Campus & Equipment	1.1	227	0.7
English standards	1.1	227	0.7
Whether English Textbooks are used	0.9	227	0.8
Whether Instruction is in English	0.8	227	0.9
Performance in Public Exams	0.7	227	1.0
Chinese Standards	0.6	227	0.9
Whether Instruction is in Chinese	0.5	227	0.9
Whether Chinese Textbooks are used	0.4	227	0.9

Notes: The rating scale is between -2 and 2 with -2 meaning the criterion is of no importance at all, and 2 meaning the criterion is very important.

Source: So, 1984; So, 1986.

Tables 3 and 4 clearly show that there is no evidence of a rejection of the use of Chinese in secondary schools among the parents, and that their primary concern is English standards rather than an exclusive use of English. Nor is it accurate to allege that local parents' choice of secondary schools is predominantly medium-based.

Also, it is interesting to note that among the parent respondents of the 1986 survey, who were from the industrial township of Tsuen Wan, Kwai Chung & Tsing Yi Island, and were of working class background, there was an overwhelming preference for a combined use of the two mediums in the schools. Whereas among the parent respondents of the 1983 survey, who were sampled territory-wide, and approximated a cross section of the local community, the preference was not as overwhelming, albeit it was still relatively strong.

One might surmise from this difference that working class parents in Hong Kong, seeking upward mobility for their children, may well approach the medium of instruction issue in a practical, common-sense way. They realize that it is impractical to expect the schools to educate their children entirely in

English. However, they would like their children to have access to English-medium education, and may, as a result attain a level of English proficiency that would enable them to progress in the local society. In fact, what the parents are shunning are Chinese Middle Schools, not instruction in Chinese. These parents may have very high expectations of their children, but they are not lemmings.²⁵

'Schools have to be forced to switch to Chinese Medium' hypothesis

Before we move to the future, there is one more fallacy that needs to be exposed. In 1987, the council of Carmel English School opted to switch the medium of instruction in lower forms to Chinese. The media was informed of the decision, and they in turn heralded it as a historic move, and Carmel was portrayed as taking a lead in the promotion of Mother Tongue education. However, in 1990, the teachers of the school voted to switch the teaching medium at the lower forms back to English, and their decision was endorsed by the council. The saga of Carmel has been taken by the media, and subscribers to the Streaming Proposal, as a prime example showing the conservatism of school authorities regarding the greater use of Chinese at secondary level, and that they would not make 'the right move' unless forced to do so.

This sort of allegation is very unfair to many Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools which have been struggling to do a good job in a very difficult situation. Ho (in this volume) details the experience of one school in a *self-motivated* implementation of greater use of Chinese in lower forms, a practice sustained to this day, in the early 1980's, years before the Carmel saga. Moreover, as a result of the policy of positive discrimination announced in 1986, by 1990, similar moves have been taking place in 126 schools, some of which have made a more extensive switch than Carmel, as reported in ECR4 (p.89).

In addition, there is also the much lamented use of Cantonese and the mixed code (see Luke, this volume), which, in varying degree of effectiveness, helps the students adapt to the English-medium environment.

Actually, the force of parental preference and the inadequacy of students' English proficiency have engendered a process of convergence in the secondary sector. While, as mentioned above, many Anglo-Chinese

Secondary Schools are making greater use of Chinese, many of the thirty-odd Chinese Middle Schools are adopting English textbooks, and opening Form Seven classes to better align themselves with the three-year norm of the curriculum structure at tertiary level.

In other words, the schools have been doing a lot to cope with the linguistic pressure, and as a result of that, the differences between the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools and the Chinese Middle Schools have been getting smaller and smaller, particularly in the last fifteen years. Many Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools have been making greater use of Chinese, although they have stopped short of making a total switch. After all, many Chinese Middle Schools themselves do not adhere to the dogma of making exclusive use of Chinese in their instruction.

In fact, in recent years, the government has made a number of positive moves that help promote this process of convergence. For example, after 1978, partly to enhance the image that the two sectors were on equal footing, the language-based separate administration of the Certificate of Education Examinations was abolished, and candidates from the Chinese-medium and English-medium sectors were given the same examination papers, albeit in different languages. In 1985, ECR1 recommends to 'put an end to the distinction between Anglo-Chinese and Chinese Middle Schools by encouraging the removal of such references from the names of schools' (p.45). In 1986, in order to encourage employers to focus on students' achievements rather than on the teaching medium, the medium indicator on the certificate of education was removed. From 1988, enrolment figures at secondary level were no longer reported on the basis of medium of instruction. In 1994, in order to fully align the Chinese Middle Schools with the local tertiary sector, the Advanced Level examinations will be made available in Chinese, and students taking the examination in Chinese will not be discriminated against by any UPGC institutions, according to a recent joint announcement made by the heads of these institutions.

If such a process of convergence is allowed to take its course, over time, parents will learn to focus their choice more and more on the school, rather than on its teaching medium.

Unfortunately, the Streaming Proposal will put a spoke in this development by highlighting once again the language differences among the schools. It will also lead to a trifurcation of the secondary sector.

The Streaming Proposal: A Good Model for our Future?

It is submitted here that the answer to the question is 'no,' because of the adoption of the fallacious hypotheses by the architects of the streaming proposal, and because of their anachronistic vision of our future. In fact, their Proposal have raised at least two important questions: Will the proposed scheme be able to meet our future language needs? Do we really want to have linguistic segregation in our schools?

What are our future language needs?

What we have in Hong Kong is an increasingly service-oriented economy which demands the provision of a large number of personnel proficient in at least two international languages — Putonghua Chinese and English — in the context of a largely monolingual, dialect-speaking environment. Under the sociolinguistic conditions of Hong Kong, schools are the only places where our children have a chance to actually use these languages under quasi-naturalistic conditions before they do so in their respective work domains. Our future language needs render the dichotomous Chinese vs English orientation of the current debate out-dated, and point to a need to simulate a linguistic environment within the schools that approximate the linguistic dynamics in Post-1997 Hong Kong. This environment will be characterized by a shift from a need for bilingual brokers to mediate between the colonial administration and the governed to a need for trilingual brokers to mediate among Beijing, the local government and the international community. Indeed, what is the point of having thirty per cent of our best secondary schools receive an education exclusively in English, and reproducing to-day's role models many of whom have a predominant western outlook, and are functionally literate only in English? Isn't it another form of anachronism?

If there is anything to be learnt from the decline of the Chinese Middle Schools, it is that educational development cannot evolve in isolation from socio-economic developments. Now that the wheel of change is again moving at a fast pace, we had better take heed of the lesson of history and move with the times, or bear the consequences of being left behind by a backward-looking instead of forward-looking orientation.

And if one does look forward, what he sees is that the inevitable shift in language demands and political orientation require that our students be given opportunities to perform tasks of various nature in Cantonese, Putonghua and English, rather than in any one of these languages, and also be given a good measure of biculturalism that is grounded in the Chinese tradition. Our next generation will have to be well-versed in the rhetorics of Cantonese, Putonghua and English, and be brought up with a better understanding of their cultural identity in a post-colonial metropolis.

Do we really want linguistic segregation in our schools?

According to ECR4, the Streaming Proposal is based on three premises. The first is the mother-tongue hypothesis; the second is the preference that it is "better if one clear medium of instruction for teaching, textbooks and examinations are (sic.) used" (p. 101); the third is the conviction that "students should be grouped by reference to a medium in which they could learn effectively" (p. 101). However, the mixed-code is not regarded as an acceptable option.

The information on the bases of which the grouping will be carried out is to be produced by the two test batteries administered by the Examinations Authority at the end of Primary Six and then again at the end of Secondary Three. It is claimed that by 1994, these tests will have given schools sufficient information concerning who can benefit from English-medium instruction (ECR4, p.112). Indeed, a time-table has been proposed for all schools to adopt a clear language policy. (ECR4, p.105).

The fact is many Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools have already been administering an in-house screening test to their new admittees each year to assess their abilities in Chinese, English and Maths. This information is then used to make medium of instruction decisions within the school. However, at present, these decisions seldom involve a total segregation of students within the school. Students who initially are given instruction in Chinese are not precluded from receiving instruction in English later on. There are no official labels attached to them. In other words, what streaming will do to the schools is not so much provide them with new information, but put a medium of instruction label on them, as well as on their students; and in so doing, effect linguistic segregation in the secondary sector. The Streaming Model is our linguistic 'Berlin Wall' of the 1990's.

It is also alleged that after the implementation of the Streaming Model "criticism which has been levelled at existing secondary schools that they claim to teach through English whilst actually using mixed-code, would fall away. The medium of instruction offered by schools would come to reflect the reality of students' needs." (ECR4, p.113) This claim is misplaced, and indicates a lack of understanding of the language dynamics in local classrooms, and of the development of bilinguality under local conditions on the part of the architects of the Streaming Proposal. The fact is the use of the mixed-code is itself a reflection of the reality of students' needs. This issue is dealt with in depth by Luke in this volume. Suffice it to briefly mention three aspects here.

First, code-mixing is a mark of bilingual behaviour. In other words, if more and more bilinguals are produced in Hong Kong, code-mixing will get more and more common, and it appears that this is exactly what is happening now, with the mixed code becoming the native tongue of the local educated community.²⁶

Second, the antagonistic attitude towards the mixed-code as a form of corrupted speech is more a case of either a monolingual, inward-looking society unaccustomed to such a language variety, or an inappropriate application of monolingual norms, on the part of language purists, to bilingual behaviour. Numerous recent studies have shown that, far from being a form of corrupted speech, code-mixing behaviour has enhanced bilinguals' communicative efficiency, and enriched his linguistic repertoire.²⁷

Third, lest it be misunderstood, it is not suggested here that the mixed-code be treated as a *standard* variety. The case made here is that it is a *functional* variety the use of which is not random, and very often serves useful purposes. So long as English Medium or Putonghua instruction is given to a large number of students, the mixed-code will serve a useful function of providing students with a means to negotiate meaning in the classroom. Actually, implicit in the rejection of the mixed-code is the belief that somehow it stands in the way of developing rhetorical skills in Chinese and English among the students. The causal relationship between the two can only be minimal as all parties concerned are aware that the norms used in the evaluation of proficiency in the respective languages remain monolingual. If local students' rhetorical skills in the languages are found wanting, the cause probably lies in the fact that, in addition to Cantonese, they are required to master another two unfamiliar languages rather than the assumed problem of mistaking the

mixed-code as a model. For most students, the mixed-code is a building block rather than a stumbling block of their bilingual proficiency.

Therefore, the so-called "clear policy concerning medium of instruction" that all schools are required to adopt by the middle of the 1990's will only stigmatize the spontaneous use of the mixed-code, limit the options available to schools (including the Chinese Middle Schools), engender divisiveness among as well as within schools, and among students, and necessitate additional expenditure in the recruitment of 'language police' to regulate classroom language behaviour.

Such regulators must be recruited if the government is really serious about students being taught in either English or Chinese. After all, anybody who knows the local situation will wonder: Where are we going to find that thirty per cent secondary students who will be able to have their education *exclusively* in English (see Tung's article in this volume)? And what are we going to do with those Chinese Middle Schools that make use of English textbooks?

Looking Forward

By force of tradition, there will always be English-only and Chinese-only schools in Hong Kong. No matter how popular is the former, or how unpopular is the latter, the fact remains that the times that produced the dynamics that selected these schools are moving fast behind us. The dynamics in the future will probably select neither Chinese Middle Schools nor English-medium Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools, but schools that are able to make flexible and sensible use of Cantonese, Putonghua and English, as well as provide our young people with an exposure to the cultures of China and of the West.

Having an English-medium cocoon at the top of the secondary sector with a large Cantonese segment at the bottom, which apparently is where the Streaming Proposal is leading us, is a form of anachronism that replicates the pre-1926 situation, and will not last for long even if the departing administration imposes it upon us.

Indeed, it is intriguing to find that the Streaming Proposal opts to intensify the monolingualism of the current model that most people find wanting and

out-of-date. As argued elsewhere (So, 1987:266-67), for the majority of the local students, bilingual education in Hong Kong at present is characterized by its sequential use/monolingual tracking of two different teaching media at two different — primary and post-primary — phases. In other words, currently, students who have gone through a monolingual education in Chinese are then expected to continue their education in a monolingual English environment. Most people today accept that this model is not working. In fact, the popular use of the mixed-code or Cantonese in the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools can be seen as a way of getting round the problems created by the inadequacy of the model.

Our future language needs require that ways should be sought to eliminate the monolingual tracking approach, and to replace it with a concurrent, multilingual approach through a combined use of Cantonese, Putonghua Chinese and English. In other words, instead of having two monolingual phases, a viable model should have provisions to offer a combined use of the relevant languages in all phases (including the tertiary phase). During the course of their education, students should first be given a good grounding in Cantonese, and then with Putonghua as well as English gradually being phased in at varying degree of exposure and pace depending on the respective circumstances of the schools.

Being a vernacular-speaking minority, it would be unrealistic for the people of Hong Kong to believe that Cantonese should remain the major medium of instruction in our system indefinitely. The best protection of the status of our mother tongue in education is not to wave the magic wand of the mother tongue hypothesis, but to promote a multilingual approach to education which will offer the best means to accommodate the linguistic demands of China and to meet the sociolinguistic needs of Hong Kong. In so doing, the planning involved will be able to accord a clear role to Cantonese in the education system.

Such an approach will also entail efforts of codifying and standardizing Cantonese, formulating the teaching of Putonghua Chinese as a second language to local students,²⁸ and re-focusing the teaching of English for academic and special purposes.

These are by no means easy tasks, and the pointers mentioned here may not lead to a model whose structural elegance matches that of the one proposed by ECR4. However, a model based on the concurrent, multilingual approach

can be pedagogically sound, administratively viable, socially relevant and politically popular. It will be an arrangement that will offer to people things that they want, and will not impose on people things only the government finds desirable.

NOTES

1. The following is an outline of the proposal: Before Secondary School Places Allocation (SSPA), criterion reference tests of Chinese and English will be administered to all primary six students in the public sector to determine their ability to learn in Chinese or English. Based on their performance in these tests, students will be classified into three groups: 'C' for those who would learn best through the Chinese medium; 'B' for those who would probably learn better through the Chinese medium but who are possibly able also to learn in English; 'E' for those who are able to learn effectively in English many of whom could equally well learn in Chinese should they so wish.

Similarly, based on the performance of their intakes in the aforementioned tests, all secondary schools will be divided into three groups: Chinese-medium schools, English-medium schools and Two-medium schools where classes will be conducted exclusively either in Chinese or English.

Such information will then be given to parents and schools. Parents of children in Groups 'B' and 'C' will be advised to select places in CM or TM schools. Based on researches done under the auspices of the Education Department, it is estimated that students from Groups 'B' and 'C' constitute seventy per cent of their cohort.

There are three other important elements in this proposal: First, an intensive English programme (called 'bridging course') will be provided to Secondary One students at English-medium schools.

Second, at the end of secondary three, all students will sit another battery of criterion referenced language tests. Their performance in these tests will provide grounds for English-medium schools to transfer their weak students to either Chinese-medium or Two-medium schools. On the other hand, if their performance in English is found to be up to par, students at Chinese-medium or Two-medium schools can be transferred to English-medium schools if they so wish.

Third, an intensive English programme will be provided by all tertiary institutions to their admittees from Chinese Middle Schools.

2. In 1973, Cheng et al. put out a tract titled *At What Cost?--Instruction through the English Medium in Hong Kong Schools* and managed to attract some attention to the medium of instruction issue within the educational community. However,

sustained debate on the issue both inside and outside the educational community was not in evidence until the 1980's.

3. This paper takes the Opium War of 1839-42 as the event that marks the birth of Modern China.
4. The Government Vernacular Middle School was not the first Chinese Middle School in Hong Kong. The honour should probably go to Lingnam Middle School which was founded in 1922. Between 1922 and 1926, according to Wong (1982), at least thirteen institutions that offered some form of secondary education in Chinese were founded. In addition to Lingnam, four of these institutions--Sung Lan Middle School, Tack Ching Girls' Middle School, Sung Tsun Middle School, and Munsang College--are still in operation today, although Sung Lan and Munsang are now Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools. Among these thirteen institutions, only Munsang College benefited from the Grant-in-aid Scheme.

The rationale of selecting the founding of the Government Vernacular Middle School, instead of that of any of these thirteen institutions, as the occasion marking the birth of the local Chinese-medium secondary sector is largely based on the scale of operation. For example, unlike the thirteen institutions most of which were in fact primary schools with a secondary extension, it was the other way round for the School which started right away as a middle school with a Normal division, albeit with a 'prep school' attachment. The School was well-endowed at its founding, and had long been regarded as the equivalent of Queen's College in the Chinese-medium sector.

5. These institutions were, in the order of the time of their founding, St. Joseph College, Queen's College, St. Paul's Convent School, St. Mary's (Canossian) College, Belilios Public School, Ying Wa Girls' School, Diocesan Boys' School, St. Stephen's College, St. Stephen Girls' College, St. Paul's College, Diocesan Girls' School, Wah Yan College (Hong Kong), Wah Yan College (Kowloon), and Maryknoll Convent School.
6. It would not be appropriate to label these institutions Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools during this period because most of them had three sections: a four-year lower section, followed by a two-year 'prep school' (Classes VIII and VII), and topped with an upper section (Classes VI - I) that offered a curriculum that approximated modern secondary education. Even though their upper sections all became self-contained secondary institutions after the Second World War, many of them still maintain their tradition of keeping 'feeder primary schools' to this day.
7. It should be interesting to explore the apparent lack of interest among most of the Christian missionaries in the Colony, who operated these grant-aid schools, to provide secondary education in Chinese during this period.
8. For example, in discussions on the plight of the Chinese Middle Schools conducted in the media, the catch phrase, Zhong Ying Qing Zhong (high priority to English,

- low priority to Chinese), will invariably be used to label government educational language policy for the past 150 years.
9. This figure can be regarded as a minimum of the actual number of schools in operation at that time because it was a common practice among school administrators of small operations not to register with the Colonial Administration so as to avoid control and regulation, notwithstanding the fact that such acts contravened the stipulations of the Education Ordinance of 1913.
10. They were: Holy Spirit School (Predecessor of today's Marymount Secondary School), St. Clare's Girls' School, King's College, La Salle College and Sacred Heart Canossian College.
11. Figures of enrolment at secondary level in the two sectors during this period are not readily available. However, because of government assistance and a longer history, enrolment in the upper sections of the English-medium institutions were usually much larger than that of their Chinese-medium counterparts. Therefore, the English-medium institutions, though much fewer in number, had as many secondary students as their Chinese-medium counterparts.
12. Local tertiary education in English was made available with the founding of Hong Kong University in 1912.
13. Before the adoption of this new curriculum, the common practice, largely based on the Japanese model, was to have seven years for primary education and four years for secondary education. According to the new curriculum primary education took six years, junior and senior secondary education each took three years.
14. On the top of this list is probably Bei-Da (Peking University). Others include Tsing Hua, Yenching (both at Beijing), St. John's (at Shanghai), Fu-jen (at Beijing), Lingnan (at Guangzhou), just to name a few.
15. Even to this day, eight out of the Top Ten sponsoring bodies in education are Christian organizations. They are: The Church Body of the Chinese Anglican Church in Hong Kong, The Roman Catholic Church in Hong Kong Inc., Hong Kong Council of the Church of Christ in China, Daughters of Charity of the Canossian Institute Inc., Society of St. Francis of Sales, Lutheran Church--Hong Kong Synod, The Methodist Church Hong Kong Tsun To district, and The Methodist Church Hong Kong Wei Li District. The other two are the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, and The Hong Kong Buddhist Association.
16. After the war, the colonial administration implemented a recommendation for greater government spending in vernacular education made in a report written by HMI Burney in 1935, and launched a large scale Chinese-medium primary school building programme that culminated in the provision of free primary education for close to all students of the appropriate age group in 1971.

17. To date, medium of instruction practices and student intakes at the Chinese University have departed from these intentions. For example, English textbooks are extensively used, and the main bulk of its students come from the Anglo-Chinese Secondary Schools.
18. For example, all local UPGC tertiary institutions use English text-books extensively, conduct their examinations mostly in English, and have varying levels of requirements of English proficiency in their various courses. For professional degrees such as accounting and engineering, with few exceptions, the external examinations were conducted in English. In the case of local students' favourable overseas destinations of tertiary education, they are all English-speaking countries: Australia, Canada, Great Britain and The U.S.A..
19. For a more in-depth and theoretical treatment of the dynamics of differential social selection of these two institutions, see So (1984).
20. For an analysis of the sociolinguistic status and function of English in Hong Kong, see Luke & Richards (1982); Cheung (1984).
21. Cheng et al. (1973); Siu et al. (1979); Llewellyn et al. (1982); ECRs 1 and 4; as well as writers of polemical literature on this topic in the media all invoke this hypothesis, and appeal to the government to educate parents about this hypothesis.
22. For example, see Cheung (1974); Poon (1978); Siu et al. (1979).
23. For an examination of this issue, see So (1989).
24. This is not an exaggeration. Cheung (1990) characterizes the situation as follows: "As far as possible, Ah Mou, Ah Sau, Ah Chu--the Chinese expression for every Tom, Dick and Harry--all rush to English grammar schools, resulting in endless problems in learning motivation, attitude and school discipline."
25. For an eloquent expression of these sentiments, see Tsim (1978). For an examination of the validity of parents' belief that there is a link between English-medium instruction and English proficiency, and the effects of English-medium instruction on local students' educational development, see So (1987).
26. Solid studies on code-mixing behaviour among local people are still few in number. One such study is Gibbons (1987) which focuses mostly on students at Hong Kong University.
27. For example, see Appel & Muysken (1987:117-128).
28. Few mother-tongue education advocates note the fact that standard Chinese and Putonghua, in the context of Modern China, are, by definition, nobody's mother-tongue. As for the idea of Teaching Standard Chinese as a Second Language in Hong Kong, see Liu (1970).

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母語教學在中學實踐的經驗

賀國強

(一) 背景

六十年代時筆者就讀於一所官立中學，六年的中學生涯，除了英文一科外，其他各科俱是用母語來學習，其間並沒有遇到多大困難。中學畢業之後考進中文大學物理系，雖然課本改為英文，部份講師全用英語講授，適應起來並沒有多大的困難。

七十年代初年，筆者在一所資助英文中學任教，校長乃一洋人，要求校內教師全用英語講授，雖然初時略有困難，總算能應付過來。當年小學教育剛達普及階段，教育當局還未全面推展中學教育，能進入官立或資助中學的學生，若以今日的標準來說，俱為學能第一級的，而筆者所任教的主要是高年級的數理科，發覺學生們雖然應用英語來學習，似乎並沒有多大困難。

七十年代後期，筆者往加拿大修讀教育，當時系內同學來自五湖四海，特別是非洲和南美洲的一些發展中的國家，通過同學間的交流，激發了筆者選擇母語教學為論文的題材，回到香港進行實驗研究。

(二) 嘗試階段

筆者留加一年後，回到香港進行有關母語教學的實驗研究（見 Ho 1980）。研究分為三階段，第一階段的實驗對象取自兩間中學的中四學生，一所為中文中學，一所英文中學，在同一學期裡用同樣的課本，依同

樣的進度，學習同樣的物理課題（聲和光學），中文中學組採用全中文，而英文中學則組採用全英文的教學方式，學期終結時，兩組學生參加相同題目，但不同語文的考試，經統計調整兩組學生的學能差異後，發覺他們的成績並沒有多大差別。

第二階段的實驗對象取自上述英文中學的兩班中四學生，在隨著的兩個月內採用同樣的課本，依同樣進度，學習同樣的課題（力學），其中一班採用英語，而另一班用雙語（英語輔以粵語）授課，實驗終結時發覺兩班的成績沒有多大的差別。

第三階段的實驗仍取上述英文中學的兩班學生，在四教節有關原子物理的課程中，一班用全英文，而一班則用全中文學習，結果兩班同學的成績仍無差別。

從上述的三階段實驗研究中，筆者感覺到學生用英語或母語學習時，雖然有理解和表達上的差別，但已非統計所能觀察得到，若要找尋母語教學的成效，似乎不能從高中或高質素的學生中觀察得到。

（三）實踐時期

八十年代初期，筆者轉往現在任職之中學任校長，接掌校政首年，可說是觀察期，校內各方面的政策維持不變，該校中四、五的同學有一班選修聖經參加中學會考，報考的語文是英文，該年的及格率低於百分之四十。筆者建議任教會考班的老師翌年改用中文授課，並鼓勵學生用中文報考，結果次年的合格率超過百分之八十！

到校的第二年，筆者與中二的英、數、史、地、經公及科學老師共同進行一個研究（Ho 1985），將兩班學能中上的中二學生交給他們，一班用全英語講授，一班用英語輔以粵語講授（本港英文中學的正常授課形式），課本仍是原來的英文課本，經過一學期的試驗，除了經濟及公共關係科外，其他各科的學習成績沒有多大分別。

到校的第三年，筆者再與中一的科學及社會科學老師作進一步的研究（Ho 1986, 87），四班學生採用不同形式的教學語文、課本及老師配搭，結果發現中一學生要是全應用中文，在閱讀課本、聽講及測驗時，對其學習有極大的幫助，其影響甚至遠超學能方面的差異。

在同一時間，筆者分析自從一九七六年後，中學會考裡准許學生用中或英文作答多個科目的成績差別（賀國強1983），發覺雖然用中文作答的考生平均學能稍遜於用英文作答的考生，但在經濟及公共關係和西史兩科中，用中文作答的考生平均成績顯著較用英文作答的為佳。

經過這一連串的研究後，筆者和校內的老師們已認清了母語教學的優點，其關鍵處可能是書面語方面，即學生若能用中文課本和用中文答卷，母語的效果才會發生作用。要是用粵語講授，而課本及答卷俱是英文，其作用不大。於是勸告參加中學會考經公及西史兩科的學生選用中文作答，使他們在學習和應考時較為容易，在會考中亦能考得更佳的成績。可是八六年之前考試局仍未除去會考證書內各科應考語文的標籤，部份學生和家長認為用中文應考是次一等的象徵，寧可不合格或取得較低的成績，也不可改用中文作答，這個現象雖然日漸消滅，惟直到大學當局近日宣佈接納用中文作答的高級程度科目後，考生的抗拒才大為減低。至於那些聽勸告用中文去應試的同學，其成績一般都較那些用英文作答的為佳。請別忘記，這些願意用中文應試的同學，通常都是班中中下成績的一輩，而在會考內所得的成績，竟較那些中上或名列前茅的為佳，母語教學的優勝實在極其明顯。

考試局在一九八六年正式宣佈取消會考證書上各科應考語文的標籤，教育署亦在同年頒佈增派英文老師給採用大量母語教學的學校，這些都是鼓勵中學增加使用母語的措施，可是社會大勢仍然是重英輕中，忽視母語教學的優點及英語教學的限制，至八九年時才有略多於四分之一的中學，嘗試多些採用母語教學（教育署 1989），有個別中學公開宣佈改用母語教學而帶來中一收生水平顯著下降，使到其他嘗試改用母語教學的學校猶疑不前。

筆者任職的學校早在八二年便嘗試採用母語教學，首先是上述聖經科的學生改用母語應考後成績大進，全校的宗教科都改為母語教學。隨後發覺應用中英文作答各科會考的成績有顯著差別後，經公、西史及地理各科老師亦勸告成績較次的學生改用中文應考，其會考成績通常都有改善。

教育署公佈增加採用母語教學授課學校的英文老師數目後，學校亦響應教署的政策，在初中時採用更多的母語教學，選用中、英文兩種版本俱備的課本，以利學生過渡，而且低調和小心處理，故此在表面上沒有遇到中一收生水平下降的困難。但有幾年暑假時舉行的中一家長招待會中，亦有家長提出這方面的疑慮，只是經過筆者詳加解釋後，他們都能滿意學

校的政策，沒有轉校的現象。雖然如此，在升中選校時，外間竟有傳聞本校是中文中學，而放在較次的選擇中，學校因這方面的謠傳所受到的損失很難估計。總而言之，社會各界對母語教學的疑慮仍未消除，在廿一世紀前，母語教學恐難有全面推行的機會。

(四) 結語

自從一九五三年聯合國肯定母語教學的價值後 (UNESCO 1953)，母語教學在世界各發展中國家的推展極為可觀，可是在香港的中學教育方面卻舉步為艱，六十年代初年中文大學的成立、七十年代的中文運動都未能助長母語教學的發展。七十年代末期本港推行初中普及教育，學生程度普遍下降，教育界才正式面對推行母語教學的迫切需要，縱然如此，社會人士及家長卻未能面對學生程度不逮的現實，仍然鼓吹學生多學英文。教育當局雖然在八十年代正面肯定母語教學在中學階段的價值，在八六年時取銷中學會考各科應考語文的標籤，及增加採用母語教學各中學裡的英文教師數目，但到八九年時，處於學生程度下降和社會及家長壓力夾縫中的中學，只有四分之一敢採用較多的母語教學。

九〇年公佈的教統會四號報告書，表面上肯定母語教學的地位，實際上是阻止母語教學進一步的擴展，因為清一色的英文中學實在很少，絕大部份是採用英文課本粵語授課的一類所謂折衝型，要是教育當局要徹底界定各校的語言模式，勢必令那些嘗試多用母語教學的英文中學在社會和家長壓力之下走回頭路，過去幾年已有幾所中學放棄母語教學，要是未來幾年教育當局貫徹執行四號報告書內富爭論性的語文政策，將會有更多學校放棄母語教學，到其時筆者任職的學校恐亦難支持下去，難道要留到九七年之後，香港才能全面實施母語教學嗎？

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Appendix

A Bibliography of Empirical Research on Mother Tongue Education in Hong Kong, with an introduction and a survey

Introduction

Before 1949, people were able to move freely between Hong Kong and mainland China. The need for English was not as keenly felt during that period because people could go to China for higher education and business, and many did.

Movement in and out of China became increasingly restricted and was subject to periodic social and political turmoil. Meanwhile, the importance of English was increasingly felt in Hong Kong for higher education, career opportunities, and emigration.

At about the same time, the use of mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in schools in post-colonial countries was recognized to be axiomatic and beneficial (Unesco 1953). Primary education then was already being conducted in Chinese (Education Dept 1947). But plans to extend mother-tongue education to secondary schools met strong resistance from the Grant schools (Sweeting 1990).

The medium of instruction question has been a dilemma in Hong Kong over the past 40 years. Parents, students and

members of the community all see the importance of English, which has led to the flourishing of Anglo-Chinese secondary schools and the decline of Chinese Middle schools. On the other hand, educationalists have come to realize that the transition from elitist education to universal education in the 70's has completely exposed the shortcoming of using English as the medium of instruction in the Anglo-Chinese schools. Most students have more than a little difficulty to use English as the language of learning. Many do not make any progress in learning English at all.

The main problems relating to medium of instruction are: (1) Is mother tongue really a more effective medium of instruction? and (2) Will using English as the medium of instruction enhance students' proficiency in English? Attempts have been made to answer these questions through carefully devised research studies. There have been a number of controlled empirical studies done on this subject in Hong Kong in the past. In the next section, I will survey these studies, then outline areas of research for the future.

2. Survey

(a) Research Studies before 1980

No real climate for educational research was evident in Hong Kong until the 1970s. There were only four studies on the medium of instruction before 1980.

Cheung (1974) investigated the effects of medium of instruction on two samples of Form I & Form III students (315 in total) selected from two Anglo-Chinese secondary schools. A lesson in Topology was taught to both groups in each sample, but through different media of instruction. Results indicated that the two groups of students learning in Chinese performed consistently better.

Poon (1978) investigated learning difficulties in Mathematics among 198 Hong Kong Primary school leavers from four schools. Two sample lessons in binary scale and sets were taught to the students and the following results were obtained.

- (1) Students whose mother tongue was Cantonese but who had learned English as a foreign language would learn Mathematics more efficiently in Chinese than in English except for those with high ability.
- (2) Chinese primary school graduates obtained higher scores in Mathematics than their counter-parts in Anglo-Chinese primary schools. In particular, they were better in

specific vocabulary, concept differentiation, problem comprehension, and self expression in the presentation of solution but not in the speed of problem reading.

Siu et al. (1979) did a large scale study on 9095 students chosen from F.2, 3 & 4 levels of secondary schools. Part of the study was to evaluate the effectiveness of English and Chinese as a medium of instruction in a controlled study of four lessons on three subjects (History, Mathematics and Science). Results indicated that Chinese was a more effective medium of instruction and English could only be used as medium of instruction in upper forms after students had reached a higher level of proficiency.

Ho (1980) did three studies on 176 F.4 students chosen from two secondary schools of Hong Kong. The duration of the studies varied from four lessons (one week) to 48 lessons (3 months). It was found that achievement in Physics at F.4 level was not affected by the medium of instruction and students did not spend extra time or effort learning Physics when instruction was given in English rather than Chinese.

Even though there were only four studies done before 1980, it can be seen that results have tended to confirm that it is beneficial for Hong Kong students to learn in Cantonese at least up to F.3 level. It could be that students in higher forms who have reached a more advanced proficiency level can cope

with using English as the medium of instruction, although no research findings were available to either prove or disprove this possibility. With the exception of Ho (1980), studies in the 1970s were all done on a short-term basis. They did not always have a firm grounding in actual classroom situations.

(b) Research Studies since 1980

Since the introduction of nine years' compulsory education in 1978, the gradual decline in academic standards has made it difficult for many Anglo-Chinese secondary schools to use English as the medium of instruction. Both the Llewellyn Report (1982) and the Education Commission Report No. 1 (1984) recommended the extension of Chinese as the medium of instruction from Primary to Junior Secondary level, or at least a gradual shift from Chinese to English during that transitional period. It was only then that the government started to do research in the area of medium of instruction. Before the release of their official results, two independent studies had been conducted.

Loi (1984) investigated the effect of medium of instruction on academic achievement in 82 F.1 students in a secondary school of high standing. The controlled study focused on three subjects (Mathematics, Science and Social Studies) and lasted five months. Results indicated that no significant difference in achievement was found

between the use of English or Chinese except for a sub-test in Social Studies.

Ho (1985) investigated the relationship between academic achievement in five subjects (History, Geography, EPA, Science and Mathematics), second language proficiency and language of instruction on 74 F.2 pupils in an above-average secondary school. The controlled period lasted five months. He found that when the above average pupils were immersed in a second language school program, they were not hindered in academic achievement except for subjects closely related to their daily life, nor did it help to improve their second language proficiency.

The Government studies were all organized by the Educational Research Establishment (ERE), a section of the Education Department. They were usually larger in scale and better in sampling. Strictly speaking two of them were not controlled studies. One project was a joint venture of ERE and the University of Hong Kong.

Lo, Chan & Ip (1985) compared the academic performance in five school subjects (Chinese, English, Mathematics, Science, and History) of 1411 F.1 to F.3 students. These students were taken from 25 Anglo-Chinese and Chinese Middle Schools. The study lasted two academic years. They found that Anglo-Chinese school students did better in English while Chinese

Middle Schools students did better in Chinese and History.

Ip & Chan (1985) examined different modes of instructions in four school subjects (English, Mathematics, Science, and History) on 7500 students and their outcomes at junior secondary level in 15 Anglo-Chinese schools. The study lasted two years, and they found that variable amounts of English were being used by schools that claimed to use English as the medium of instruction. In most classes, a great deal of Cantonese was used, and code switching was common. Teachers used Cantonese in class mostly in Mathematics lessons, and then in descending order of use in Science, History and English. Teachers seldom used English exclusively except beyond F.5. Students who were weak in English had poorer results in English version tests than in bilingual or Chinese versions and vice versa. The performance of students from English primary schools was better in English and History but worse in Chinese and Science in F.1. However, they had caught up by F.3.

Brimer et al. (1985) looked at the effects of different modes of instruction on students of different ability and language proficiency. A total of 1175 F.2 students from 36 schools were involved in the study which lasted for six weeks. Results indicated that only an estimated 30% could follow instructions well in English. They suggested that Chinese should be adopted as the medium of instruction

for those unable to benefit from English in order to avoid educational disadvantage.

Ho (1986, 1987) studied the effect of spoken and written Chinese on students' achievement in Science and Social Studies on a sample of 152 Form One students from an aided Anglo-Chinese school. All the students were taught orally through the medium of Chinese while the written language was different, half in Chinese and half in English. Results indicated that students who learned all things in Chinese (written and spoken) performed significantly better than the others who used English as the written language. Furthermore, their standard of English remained at about the same level as their counterparts who used English as the medium of instruction.

Siu & Mak (1989) investigated the effect of switching the medium of instruction from English to Chinese on the academic achievement of 238 F.1 students from an Aided Secondary School. The following results were observed:

- (1) Students taught in Chinese learned much more History in one year than their counterparts taught in English, but no significant difference in progress was observed in two language subjects or in Science and Mathematics.
- (2) The progress in English for students of below average ability who had been immersed in English for two years, was found

to be no better than their counterparts in a Chinese Middle School.

On the whole, the studies after 1980 continued and provided further support to the studies carried out in the 1970s. Due to the involvement of the Government research team, the sampling size and the generalizability of research results improved significantly. On top of the findings before 1980, studies since 1980 confirmed that only high ability students can cope with using English as the medium instruction at junior secondary level.

3. Directions for Future Research

The above of research studies on medium of instruction done in Hong Kong shows quite clearly that the mother tongue is no doubt a more effective medium of instruction for the majority of secondary students.

However, the second problem — whether using English as the medium of instruction will enhance students' proficiency in English, remains unanswered. The study of Lo, Chan & Ip (1985) confirms this hypothesis, but the studies of Ho (1985, 1986, 1987), and Siu & Mak (1989) do not. Longitudinal studies using more precise instruments will be needed to tackle the question.

Since the Education Commission Report No.4 (1990) objected to the use of the mixed code but research in this area is scarce, studies on the effect of

mixed-code teaching on student's language proficiency is badly needed in order to test the Education Commission's common sense approach to the mixed-code problem.

Lastly, in view of the language situation in Hong Kong many bilingual educators suggest that students can move gradually from using mother tongue to English as the medium of instruction during the junior secondary level. However, the Education Commission rejected this suggestion without any backup research. This is also an important area for further studies since it will have profound influence on schools and students.

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中英混合和雙語教學

一 從教統會第四號報告書談起

陸鏡光

一九九〇年十一月，教育統籌委員會第四號報告書（以下簡稱“報告書”）面世。報告書雖以“課程與學生校內行為問題”為標題，不過還是花了不少篇幅，處理教學語言及有關的問題。報告書共分九章，直接討論教學語言的雖僅佔一章（即第六章“教育的語言問題”，共二十六頁），但第五章“學業目標及有關的評估措施”（共十八頁），跟教學語言其實也有十分密切的關係¹。因此，報告書除附件外共一百零七頁，其中實有超過三分之一的篇幅（共四十四頁）是直接或間接與教學語言有關的。由此可見，九十年代香港教育發展所面臨的重大課題中，語言仍將是備受注目的一環。

三大原則

報告書第六章開宗明義指出，有關教學語言的討論和建議，是建立在三條大原則之上的。其中第一及第二條，第二號報告書（1986年）已提出過，現在只是重新確認。至於第三條，是首次正式提出，也是本文將要集中討論的地方。

仔細推敲這三條原則的內涵及其配置，則教統會在教學語言問題上的立場，可見端倪。

① 第一條原則是：“鼓勵各中學採用中文作為教學語言，因為假如其他條件都相同，採用中文作為教學語言，一般會使教與學兩方面都有較好的功效。”(6.4.1)

這條原則不妨稱之為“母語教學原則”。它正面肯定了母語教學的優越性，做出一個決心要全面推行母語教學的姿勢。不過隨即又加上一項附帶條件：“雖然學生透過母語學習會更好，但對於那些已證明有能力透過英語學習的學生，應給予透過英語學習的機會。”(6.4.1)

這樣一來，一條表面看來是再清楚不過的原則，忽然卻又變得有點不知所云了。好比我們說：“吸煙危害健康”，但接著又說：“雖然吸煙危害健康，但對於那些已證明能抵受得住尼古丁的人士，吸煙還是可以的。”這裡可以看到，政府雖然一方面竭力討好母語教學運動，但同時卻又不肯輕易捨棄英文中學。“中英分流”政策就是在這樣一個進退兩難的境況下勉強泡製出來的妥協。

中英分流的主要問題是，把教學語言變成了幾乎是辨別教育質素優劣的一項準則。可以想見，在一個中英分流的架構裡，英文班勢將成為首選，吸納成績最好的學生，而中文班則只好從體制上被界定為“二等公民”。這樣做先不去說它是對是錯，但是否已經違背了報告書自己提出的“母語教學原則”？

② 第二條原則是：“個別學校應自行決定採用英文抑或中文作為教學語言。”(6.4.1)

表面看來，這條原則也是再明白不過的了。個別的學校可根據自己的實際情況，決定採用中文或英文授課。往積極處想，這條“自由選擇”的原則表示政府不會運用直接的行政手段來迫使學校放棄英文，轉用中文，而是給予他們一個自決、選擇的機會。這未嘗不是一件好事。可是另一方面，經過多年的討論和試驗，到今天政府依然以自由選擇為理由而遲遲不肯在這重大問題上作出明確的決定，難免給人一種舉棋不定，甚或臨陣退縮的感覺。

退一步說，即使教育當局有充分理由在現階段不作決定，以現時大部份學校的師資、資源、以及學生質素等情況來看，如何享受和行使報告書給予他們的自由，倒還是一個問題。要能行使這“選擇的自由”，學校必

須先具備既能運用中文授課，又能運用英文授課這樣的條件。在目前的情況下，恐怕只有少數條件特別優越的學校才有可能作出真正的選擇。條件一般或較差的學校，到底有多少自決、選擇的餘地？看來只好被“指引”及“確實指引”（報告書用語）到母語教學的道路上去。

③ 不過三條原則之中，最不為人注目卻又最值得深入了解的，我認為是最後一條：“校內中英混用的教學方式應盡可能減少，以便每班在教學、課本、及考試三方面都只用中文或英文。”(6.4.1)

這條原則以前從未明確提出過，這次在報告書是首次鄭重地提到議程上來的。由於其要旨在於消除混合語，保障中、英文的純正，因此不妨稱這一條為“純語言原則”。

“純語言原則”看起來好像無可非議。有誰會反對純正、“不含雜質”的語言？特別是當兩個語言被視為互相污染的時候，就更有必要把它們分開淨化，以維持它們自身的完整。因此在報告書面世後所引起的眾多討論中，甚少提到這條原則，更絕少聽到保留或反對的聲音。

“純語言原則”要求學校放棄現行的中英並用的教學方式，以純粹的中文或英文取代之。實際的情況是，由於很多學校根本不具備全用英語授課的條件，因此要它們採用“純語言”授課，等於是叫它們放棄英文課本和考試，而改用中文，也就是把（起碼一部份的）英文班轉為中文班。

報告書為什麼要把混合語提昇到大原則的層面上來討論？如果教育當局的意願是逐步實行母語教學，那麼只需確認第一條原則就已經足夠²。但上面已經提到，政府其實並沒有全面推行母語教學的意圖，反而是希望設立一種中英分流的制度。要達到這目的，自然不能光說母語教學是如何如何的優越，如何如何的重要，因為這樣做只會惹來令人尷尬的問題——既然母語教學那麼優越，為什麼不乾脆全面執行？

政府的處境是，一方面既要應付母語教學的呼聲，另一方面又要向社會和教育界內的保守勢力交待，此外還要照顧到家長和僱主對英文的殷切要求。在進退兩難的困境下，政府採取了迴避和妥協的對策。首先是堅決不肯在教學語言問題上作出正面的決定。由於沒有一個政策能充分照顧到各方面的利益，滿足到各方面的要求，任何正面的決定都不可能討好所有的人，而政府在這些問題上卻又總是給人一種要想討好所有的人的感覺。再說，正面地作出決定之後，必須承擔決定所可能帶來的後果。教育

當局並不見得有這種心情，去肩負這重大的責任。因為最安全的做法，莫過於打出自由選擇的旗幟，把責任再一次推到學校和家長的身上。套用一句教統會主席范徐麗泰的話，報告書中有關教學語言的建議，實在是教統會“給家長和學校投了信任的一票”。

結果是：教育當局先漂亮地說一些母語教學如何優越的話（原則一），做出一個開放的姿態。可是轉過頭來，又以保留學校和家長的選擇為理由，提出分流的政策（原則二）。最後把混合語提到大原則上，指其為母語教學推行未果和英語水平下降的罪魁禍首。

這樣做一方面可以為教育政策和語言政策的困境找到代罪羔羊。另一方面又可迫使大部分的中學把一些英文班轉為中文班，而同時又可達到保留少部分英文中學的目的，可謂一舉數得。

“純正語言”一旦提到議程上，關於教學語言的爭論焦點，便從“哪個語言？”轉移到“純正還是混合？”這樣的問題上，於是問題一下子就變得好像十分簡單了。似乎只需剷除混合語，恢復“純正”的中、英文班，問題就可迎刃而解。可惜問題正正就在於：混合語的出現、語文水平被認為下降，這些現象，到底是在什麼社會、教育的條件下形成的？把視線轉移到混合語的身上，是接觸到問題的根本，還是迴避了問題的癥結？

讓混合語扮演代罪羔羊的角色，當然是最合適不過的了。有誰會反對純正的語言？正如血統、風俗和習慣一樣，“純正”往往就是“好”的代名詞。於是在一片純化、淨化、分化的呼聲中，真正的問題就在不知不覺間被置諸腦後。

反對混合語的聲音，聽起來固然理直氣壯，但是，使用混合語來授課，其歷史、社會、文化背景為何？如有不當，又錯在哪裡？報告書對此卻語焉不詳。對於中英混合的不是，報告書並沒有提出任何論據，只是簡單地認為中英混用會使教育效率下降，用中文講解英文課本，花在翻譯上的時間太多，學習因而變成用英語死記硬背課文的內容。不過這些反對的理由，仍只是停留在“認為”的層面上，報告書既沒有解釋反對語言混合的理論根據，也沒有引用任何學術研究的成果。說到底，對中英混用的指責，其實只是訴諸一般人在感性和直覺上對混合語的排斥和抗拒，而不是建立在周詳的論證之上的。

混合語是非種種

純正語言論的看法是，把中文和英文混合在一起使用，產生了很多不中不英、“半鹹半淡”的說話，這樣做有損中文和英文的純正，不應鼓勵。

要堅持本土語言的純正，不受外來因素的影響，這種意願是很普遍的。在民族主義高漲的情況下尤其如此（Fishman 1972）。可是“純正語言”的說法，在理論上卻是困難重重的。何謂“純正語言”？如果“純正”是不含“雜質”的意思，那麼語言裡的“雜質”，又該如何界定？如果外來因素（主要是外來詞）算是一種雜質，那麼是否一個完全不含外來詞的語言，才配得上稱為純正語言？

語言和語言的接觸，相互影響，以至混合使用，是經常出現的現象。中外古今，莫不如是（見 Hymes 1971）。歷史上凡有因貿易、商旅、軍事、遷移而引起的文化、語言接觸，無可避免地會產生交際、溝通的需求，在沒有共同語言的情況下，往往就出現了一些語言混用的例子，其中有些甚至會發展成為“混雜語”。由於中外歷史上不斷有天災、戰亂以及種種因政治、經濟等因素而引發的大量人口遷移，現今世界上絕大部分的語言，或多或少都有一些外來因素和其他語言的影子。因此，要想找一個符合“純正語言”定義的實例，十分困難。

現代漢語裡就有不少的外來詞。如“菩薩”、“涅槃”，原來是從梵文借來的。“沙發”、“馬拉松”、“坦克”、“漢堡包”等，是英語借詞。此外還有一些法語、德語的影子。

英語也不見得怎樣“純正”，現代英語裡也有好一大堆從拉丁文、法語、中文借過去的詞。

或許可以這樣說：“純正”只不過是相對的觀念。沒有絕對純正的語言，但並不能抹殺“純正”的概念。例如某些語言所包含的外來因素較少，與一些混雜語相比，可以說是比較純正。這樣說也許是可以的，可是同時得有一個準則，如何的比重才算多，如何才算少？又由誰來決定？

以現代英語和現代漢語為例，這些算是比較“純正”的語言嗎？現代英語中外來詞的比重為何？要對這問題有一初步的認識，可參考一些較

具規模的英語詞典。任何一本有詞源資料的詞典，隨便翻查一下，就不難發現，幾乎每一頁都有好一大堆的外來詞。試舉以下一個實例。Shorter Oxford Dictionary 第 293 頁上所收的三十個詞，九個是源自古希臘文和拉丁文的、四個來自法語、另四個來自西班牙語，也就是說，有超過半數的詞，不是本土詞。現代英語中包含大量的外來詞，應是不爭的事實。

現代漢語的情況又如何？現代漢語裡的外來詞也不少。不過由於歷來的字典和詞典鮮有詞源的資料，也缺少嚴謹的詞源研究傳統，所以真實的情況比較難以確認，雖然這樣，我們還是可以從現存不完整的材料中，找到一個粗略的輪廓。例如，一九八五年商務印書館出版的《漢語外來詞詞典》（孫正琰、高名凱、麥永乾、史有為合編），裡面就收了一萬多個外來詞。收詞的標準極為嚴格：（一）寧缺毋濫；（二）方言中的外來詞（如粵語、上海話中大量的外來詞）很多卻沒收進去；（三）意譯的外來詞不收（如「馬力」、「熱狗」）；（四）特殊的行業用語（如電腦行業）和專門術語一般不收（例如圍棋中就有很多日本術語，像「手順」、「見合」等，詞典裡都找不到）。在這樣狹窄的範圍裡，還是採納了超過一萬條。現代中外來詞的份量，可見一斑。

當然，這些外來詞並不都是常用的。可是其中也有為數不少的頗為常見的詞，如「白蘭地」、「巧克力」、「沙發」、「革命」、「經濟」、「手續」、「霓虹燈」等。

並且還有比數量和使用頻率更重要的問題，那就是能否取代的問題。現代英語和現代漢語裡有好些外來詞，是常用而且難以取代的。英語中常常用到的 elite（精英）、coup（政變）、garage（車房）等詞，本來都是法語的借詞，但現在要說它們到底是英語還是法語，已無多大意義，反正精英教育你不說 elitist education；政變你不說 coup；車房你不說 garage 那幾乎是不可能的事。香港粵語也是這樣。「撻車」就要說「撻車」，「打波」就得說「打波」。原先從另一個語言進入中文裡的一些字竟可發展到成為通用而不能取代的詞。從這種意義上講，要反對語言的混合是徒勞的。

雙語教育？單語教育？

報告書反對中英混用的主要理由，是中英混用使教學效率下降。但教學效率如何界定？如何測量？有何研究？卻不見說明。如果「效率」並

不單是課程進度的快慢而是包括教學效益、如學生的理解、對學科的興趣、會否主動思考、提問、探索、以至功課的質素和考試的成績，則所包含的因素甚多，也十分複雜。而混合語跟教學效率的關係，更應詳加研究和探討。

就現有的研究來看，似乎不能簡單地得到「混合語」導致教學效率下降的結論。有些研究指出混合語和單語授課，在教學效益上並無顯著差別，有些研究更顯示混合語的效益要比只用英語或者只用中文強。（見 Brimer 1985, Johnson 1985, Lin 1990）

其實所謂教學效率並不是絕對的，每一種制度作為一種手段皆有其優點和缺點，問題是要達到怎樣的目的，和樂意付出怎樣的代價。

目前教育當局的政策是：儘可能培養學生的雙語能力（中、英文），這是既定政策。（Education Department 1989:1）從這個目的出發，一切能有效地培養雙語能力的手段，都是應該予以肯定的。所謂「中英混用」其實真正就是雙語教學的一種模式。這樣做是否最好，容或有進一步的討論，但相對於分流的制度，現行的做法都更能培養最多數學生的雙語能力。分流只會導致一部分學生英語水平提高，而其餘大部分學生英語水平卻會因而下降。「分流」其實是一種單語教育制度——一邊是單純的英語、另一邊是單純的中文。這樣做跟政府宣揚的雙語政策，是否有點不協調？

因此，報告書對混合語的指責，即使有理，也不能單憑這些理由就認為必須推行分流，因為必須先認清各種制度所能提供的效果和所需要付出的代價。現行制度的長處在於機會均等，只要學生成績優異就能進入較好的學校。分流制度下機會並不均等，因為在這制度下學業成績已不是最重要。反而是英文科的成績（即英語能力），而英語能力與家庭背景可能有一定的關係，會否因此而令家庭背景較好的學生得到較大的機會進入英語教學的精英學校，這是一個值得注意的問題。

這樣說是否表示支持中英混合教學，甚或認為這是最好的制度？上面已說過，並沒有絕對完善的制度，衡量不同制度的相對優劣時，必須認清所能達致的效果和所需付出的代價。分流與混合語皆有其缺點，兩者相比，混合語比較容易接受，因為分流會導致單語的分化，而現行制度有雙語的基礎，比較符合教育當局現行的政策，並且保證教育機會均等。

至於應否全面推行中文教學，那是另一個原則性的問題。倘政府不再以提高雙語能力為目標，那麼中文教學自有它的好處，但也必須認清它的單語本質，也必須就其對學生整體英語水平的影響有所理解。

平情而論，要在可見的將來消滅中英混合的現象，無論在學校裡或社會上一恐怕是不大可能的。香港的歷史社會條件早已注定了這種語言現象的出現。從教學的角度看，中英混用其實也是雙語教學的一種，政府既然以提高雙語能力為目標，就不應反其道而行，強行推動單語教學，把學生壁壘分明地“分流”。這樣做甚至會帶來不必要的社會分化，對提高社會整體的中、英語文能力也不見得有利。

註釋：

1. 第五章的主要內容，是介紹、闡釋、及推薦一種名為“目標為本評估”的公開考試模式。所謂“目標為本評估”，就是說以某些清楚界定的知識或技能為準則，用以釐定個別考生在個別學科中所達到的水平。現行的考試，一般都是以學生與學生之間的相互比較而訂定個別考生的級別的。從這種意義上說，目標為本評估是建立在“自我超越”，而不是相互競爭這樣的基礎之上的。（至少理論上是這樣，實行起來是否如此又當別論。）對於報告書建議的“中英分流”，目標為本評估的作用是，可以根據小六學生的英文科成績，決定哪些可以入讀“英語流”，哪些必須入讀“中文流”。由於目標為本評估表面上沒有惡性競爭的成分，因此以之進行中學學位分配便更能迴避精英教育的指責。在分流教學的制度裡，小學畢業生能否入讀英文班勢將成為家長及市民大眾至為關心的問題，目標為本評估，正好為分流政策提供一種有力的學生分配手段。

2. 當然不能簡單地把教統會和教育當局等同起來。教統會是由港督直接委任的超然團體，獨立於政府部門之外。而教育政策的制訂和執行卻是政府教育及人力統籌司和教育署的責任。教統會的成員包括政府部門的官員（公務員）和非公務員。兩者之間的關係頗為複雜和微妙，由於教統會的組成、運作及其與政府教育部門之間的相互關係，並非本文的要旨，因此不可能花太多篇幅討論。簡單來說，就教育語言而言，教統會內並無語言學、教育學的專業學者，有關語言方面的討論和建議基本上是參考教育署（特別是語文教育學院）的意見，而語文教育學院實在是政府的一個行政部門。有關教統會成員的背景和組成的分析，可參閱本書李行德君的文章。

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Learning from the West: The Medium of Instruction in Hong Kong Schools

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Educational innovations in Hong Kong have often followed those in the West. In formulating a policy for the medium of instruction for Hong Kong schools, attempts have been made to apply some of the theories, concepts, and practices developed in the West. Recently, for example, the Education Department of Hong Kong has decided to group beginning secondary school students into English- and Chinese-medium classes based on a "Threshold Hypothesis" first conceived in the Western world. Such applications of Western ideas need to be examined carefully, not least because of two notable pitfalls. First, because of a change of context, Western ideas and practices may not be applicable or practicable in the schools of Hong Kong. (Second, there is a danger that ideas and practices may be selected and applied to serve largely the interests of dominant groups in society.

To pursue these points further, this paper will focus on three notions originated in the West that are relevant to the current discussion of the medium of instruction in Hong Kong schools. The aim is to find out how Western ideas and practices have or have not been applied in Hong Kong and to arrive at some observations on learning from the West in choosing a medium of instruction for Hong Kong schools.

The Threshold Hypothesis

A theoretical notion that the government has made known it will apply in Hong Kong is the "Threshold Hypothesis". The concept of a "threshold level"

was first used by the government in the *Report of the working group set up to review language improvement measures* published by the Hong Kong Education Department in 1989, to justify grouping students at the end of primary school into one of two types of classes in the secondary school (pp. 28-9). It is proposed in this report that only children whose English ability has reached a certain "threshold level" will be educated through the medium of English; children who have not attained the "threshold level" of competence in English will be educated through the medium of Chinese. The rationale is that a child must have reached a level of language ability, called the "threshold level", before he or she can benefit from English-medium education. This recommendation of the Education Department's report to categorize primary school leavers has been endorsed by the government policy paper *Education Commission Report No. 4* published in late 1990 (pp. 106-108).

To examine the validity of the government's application of the threshold concept, it is necessary to understand how the idea came about. The "Threshold Hypothesis" was first formulated in the mid-1970s by the Canadian psychologist and educationalist, Jim Cummins (1976, 1979), to explain the relationship between the use of two languages by school children and their intellectual abilities. Cummins was concerned with the large differences in academic outcomes of bilingual children, that is, children who had to cope with a second language as well as their first. Typically, bilingual pupils who did well in school tended to be those whose competence in both their first and second languages had reached a rather high, "native-like" level appropriate for their age and needs, whereas pupils who did not do well academically tended to be those whose proficiencies in both their first and second languages were below a fairly low level.

Cummins's Threshold Hypothesis, therefore, postulates that the pattern of bilingual proficiency associated with academic success is one in which pupils are highly proficient in both their first and second languages. One explanation for this prediction is, by attaining high levels of language proficiency, children's interaction with their educational environment would be enhanced. Furthermore, there is evidence that knowing two languages well enables children to be more analytical and be better communicators. Cummins labelled the high level of language proficiency that should be attained by

bilingual pupils before these beneficial effects could occur the "higher threshold".

The Threshold Hypothesis also postulates that the pattern of bilingual proficiency associated with academic retardation is one in which pupils are proficient in neither their first nor second language. In this case, the pupils' interactions with their educational environment would be restricted. The level of language competence below which academic progress could be hampered is labelled the "lower threshold".

It is clear that Cummins's Threshold Hypothesis specifies two distinct thresholds. However, in the *Report of the working group set up to review language improvement measures*, there is reference to only one threshold. The problem is, it is unclear that the Education Department's threshold coincides with either of the two thresholds described in Cummins's Threshold Hypothesis.

If it is the higher-threshold the Education Department is referring to, then the number of pupils who may qualify for English-medium education will be very small. There are simply not many pupils in Hong Kong who are competent to study in both English and Chinese at the end of primary school. In any case, the figure would be very much lower than the 30% of primary pupils suggested by the Education Department's report, which bases its estimation on an interpretation of the studies carried out by the department's Educational Research Establishment (Education Department 1989: 26). It might be instructive to note here that in the context of the highly successful Canadian immersion program, in which English-speaking children are educated in French, only about 8% of the primary school population is involved. This figure has grown from a small experimental program that took place over a quarter of a century ago.

If the Education Department is referring to the lower threshold, then assuming that the predominantly Chinese-medium primary schools in Hong Kong are doing their job, the great majority of the pupils entering secondary education in Hong Kong can qualify for English-medium education. That is, there is no reason to suspect that the majority of primary school children are not competent to study in Chinese and are not performing according to their academic expectation. This group of children clearly far exceeds the 30% of

the primary school pupils referred to in the Education Department's report (1989). If the figure of 30% is what the Education Department thinks is about right, it is obvious that it is referring to a "threshold" that is neither the higher nor the lower threshold postulated by Cummins's Threshold Hypothesis on which the recommendation for grouping students is supposedly based. It can only be concluded that this recommendation of the Education Department has little theoretical support.

There are other causes for questioning the Education Department's understanding of the Threshold Hypothesis that it is determined to put into practice. First, it is not clear whether any threshold level could be described in such detail as to allow an observer to tell with confidence when a pupil's language ability has reached a threshold level. So far, threshold levels have typically been indicated by children's scores on vocabulary measures or reading comprehension tests. This is acceptable for research purposes but not for applications where we wish to determine whether a particular child can benefit from instruction in a second language. There needs to be a clear description of a full range of linguistic tasks that a child has to be able to do in order to be judged to have reached a threshold level and to be able to benefit from a certain type of education. In other words, the public must be assured that there is a fair and objective way to establish when a pupil can perform at the higher threshold, and that any assessment method used will bring about beneficial backwash effects on learning activities in the schools. Formulating a policy to group primary-six leavers before these issues are resolved cannot be a valid way to apply Western ideas, or indeed any idea.

Second, in considering the applicability of the Threshold Hypothesis in Hong Kong, it is necessary to examine the context in which it was formulated. The hypothesis was originally conceived in the context of education for majority and minority children in North America and Europe. When the majority English-speaking children in North America are educated in a second language, it is likely that they are adding a language to their first. This is because the children's first-language development is unaffected in the longer term, since the children's first-language development does not depend only on the education they receive at school but also on the support they get from their homes and communities. The Canadian school children in French

immersion programs generally fit this description and they exemplify those who have passed Cummins's "higher threshold".

For the minority children, say, children from Spanish-speaking homes in the United States who are educated entirely through the medium of English at school, there is evidence that the children's first language, Spanish, may be replaced by the second language. English is, of course, the more prestigious and economically consequential language in that society; consequently, the home and community often do not provide an environment conducive to the development of Spanish literacy. Not unrelated to this, as will be shown later, many of these children could only attain a very low level of proficiency in English, far below that required for academic studies. In other words, they are the ones who fall below Cummins's "lower threshold".

Returning to the situation in Hong Kong, school children here are neither in a majority nor a minority context as described above. First of all, Hong Kong is not a minority situation because most people in the territory speak and use Chinese. However, it is not a majority situation either. This is because the first language of Hong Kong children is not supported to the same extent in the home and the community as in North America. The oral language spoken locally, i.e., Cantonese, is obviously supported, but those aspects of the Chinese language, particularly those related to the written forms of Modern Standard Chinese that are important for work at school, are not. Parents in Hong Kong actively encourage their children's learning of English because they believe proficiency in English will lead to better educational and career opportunities. On the other hand, these parents are not as keen to promote the learning of Chinese literacy skills. This important contextual difference regarding support for children's first language development raises a serious question whether the Threshold Hypothesis is applicable in Hong Kong.

In short, the attempt by the Education Department to apply the Threshold Hypothesis in Hong Kong is clearly an example of misapplication of Western ideas. It is tempting to conclude that the educational administrators of the Department have made an interpretation of a Western concept to justify a policy that appeals to them on other grounds.

The Linguistic Interdependence Principle

The contextual difference discussed above leads to the second idea from the West. It has to do with the question whether there is any relationship between a bilingual's proficiency in the first language and his or her proficiency in a second language.

The answer to this question very much depends on the aspects of language proficiency under consideration. An important characterization of language use made by Cummins and others (see, for example, Cummins 1983) relates to the extent and range of contextual cues available to support language comprehension and use. At one end of the scale, language communication may rely to a large extent on the context. For example, in face-to-face conversations, contextual cues such as gestures, facial expressions, and the level and tone of voice can be very helpful in conveying the speaker's intention. As a last resort, utterances can be rephrased at the request of the listener to aid comprehension.

At the other end of the scale, communication using language depends very much on the formal aspects of language, such as spelling and grammar, and interrelationships within the text, such as those between pronouns and their referents. That is, language understanding and use at this end of the scale depends relatively little on contextual support. In this "decontextualized mode", in order that communication may be possible with the minimum amount of distortion, the writer (or speaker) must follow generally established textual conventions, take care to avoid ambiguity, and ensure coherence in encoding information in the text. The reader (or hearer), on the other hand, must be able to engage in a process mirroring the above, in order to recover the information intended by the writer (or speaker) from the text. This kind of language use in encoding and decoding information in relatively decontextualized contexts is important in academic studies for perceiving, analyzing, inferring, developing, and clarifying thoughts and ideas. The textual conventions and other literacy skills needed to recover meaning from the text are formally learnt at school when children learn to read and write.

The single most important fact relevant to the choice of a medium of instruction for Hong Kong schools is that a large number of studies have shown that this ability to use language with relatively little contextual support

-- the ability that is crucial to academic success -- can be transferred across languages. This transferability of language competence, given learner motivation and adequate exposure to the language(s) concerned, has been epitomized by Cummins in his "Linguistic Interdependence Principle". This principle has been supported by research in many contexts.

In a particularly instructive research study involving children of Japanese expatriates working in Toronto, children who arrived with a better knowledge of Japanese required for academic studies, acquired similar skills in the English language more quickly than children who did not have a good background of Japanese to start with (see, for example, the summary provided in Cummins and Swain (1986: 89-92)). Comparable results also emerged in studies of children who arrived in the West at different ages. Older children who had developed reading and writing skills in their first language were found to be better at learning to read and write a second language than younger children who arrived without the benefit of learning to read and write in their first language. This points to the desirability that priority should be given to educating children in their first language until such time important skills needed for academic studies are acquired by the children. A second language can then be added relatively efficiently and to the maximum benefit of the children.

In the context of Hong Kong, two additional factors seem to be relevant to the decision as to when English-medium education should be introduced in schools. First, the great majority of the children in Hong Kong have Cantonese as their first language, which, in many respects, is different from Modern Standard Chinese, the variety of Chinese that is used in formal Chinese writings and in academic settings. Because Hong Kong children do not generally speak Putonghua, on which Modern Standard Chinese is based, it should not be surprising if it takes them somewhat longer to acquire the literacy skills required in academic studies than, say, English-speaking children in England whose spoken language is much closer to the written language. Educated estimates by Chinese language educators cited in DeFrancis (1984: 153) put the length of time needed by Putonghua speakers to master three thousand Chinese characters for reading and writing at seven to eight years, and the time required by Cantonese speakers to attain the same level of competence at an additional one or two years. This consideration

alone argues for introducing English-medium education later rather than earlier in Hong Kong to allow sufficient time for students to develop their literacy skills in Modern Standard Chinese.

The second factor which has a bearing on when to introduce English-medium education in Hong Kong schools has to do with the relative neglect of Chinese literacy skills in the home and society. Many Hong Kong parents are simply not aware of the benefits that Chinese literacy skills may bring to their children. They do not know that proficiency in written Chinese can translate into proficiency in written English and that a good background in Chinese is precisely the kind of preparation leading to satisfactory academic results when English is used as the medium of instruction. Consequently, and because of the pragmatic considerations mentioned earlier, they have not paid sufficient attention to the development of Chinese literacy skills of their children. In this way, Hong Kong is very different from the majority context in the West, where children's first language development has always been strongly supported by the home and the community. Because of this relative neglect of Chinese literacy skills in Hong Kong, children here will require a longer period of time to develop their skills in Modern Standard Chinese.

There are two important lessons that Hong Kong should derive from the investigations informing the Linguistic Interdependence Principle. The first is that we should redouble our efforts to educate our students in Chinese. Only then will our students have a better chance of success in learning through English. Second, efforts should be made to create favourable conditions for our students to acquire Chinese literacy skills. This means that the government must take the lead in recognizing the importance of Chinese for our children and for Hong Kong. For example, a hiring and promotion policy may be devised to provide incentive for people who are proficient in both English and Chinese. Without such concrete measures, it is difficult to envisage how the adverse attitudes of Hong Kong parents towards the Chinese language will change.

The "Maximum Exposure" Argument

The third idea from the West to be examined in this paper is again closely related to what has been discussed. Although this idea has already been

discredited by researchers in the West, many people still cling on to it for one reason or another. This is the idea that using students' second language exclusively as the medium of instruction, thereby maximizing students' exposure to it, would produce proficient users of that language (a fuller exposition of this idea can be found in Cummins and Swain 1986: 80). The idea forms part of the rationale behind the recommendation of the Education Commission in its Fourth Report (p. 94 and pp. 103-4) that a percentage of classes in Hong Kong secondary schools should use only English as the language of instruction. It also provides a basis for the Education Commission's condemnation of the widespread practice of "mixed-code teaching", where English and Chinese are used in a wide variety of combinations in the classrooms of nominally English-medium schools (pp. 100-1).

The reasoning of the Education Commission is as follows. Industry and commerce in Hong Kong require a large number of workers who can conduct business through English. In order that the education sector may produce enough competent users of the language to meet this demand, a good proportion of students in Hong Kong must be instructed through the medium of English in all subjects other than the Chinese language and Chinese History. The rationale is that only then will sufficient numbers of students get the exposure they need to become skilled users of English. The assumption here is of course that the more the students are exposed to English, the better they function in the language.

A bit of thought in the light of the discussion so far will show that this "maximum exposure" argument for English-medium education is false. It is not the amount of exposure *per se* that matters. Many Spanish-speaking children in the United States, for example, are maximally exposed to English through English-medium education, yet a significant number of them are unsuccessful in academic studies. Another instructive example comes from the comparison of early immersion students and late immersion students in Canada. At the end of Grade 10 (equivalent to Form 4 in Hong Kong), after three years of about 1400 hours of instruction in French, the late immersion students performed better on a French reading test than the early immersion students who had spent over 4000 hours being instructed in French since kindergarten (Swain 1981: 25). Even the Education Department of Hong

Kong seems to be ambivalent about the "maximum exposure" argument at one point. Its Working Group set up to review language improvement measures concluded that "the time spent on English should not be increased [in primary schools] since it was unlikely that this would lead to higher standards and might indeed result in a distortion of the primary curriculum" (see Education Commission 1990: 94).

Clearly, the heart of the matter with respect to education in a second language is not simply the cumulative amount of exposure to that language. It is whether students' cognitive development is continued when instruction is conducted in their second language. Returning to the example of immersion students in the last paragraph, Swain (1986: 25) reported that the late immersion students received 70% of their instruction in French in Grade 8 (equivalent to Form 2 in Hong Kong) and only 40% of their instruction in French in Grades 9 and 10 (equivalent to Forms 3 and 4). The continuous development of these students' academic knowledge and skills and their ability to use language for academic purposes is guaranteed by studying partly in the first language. As Swain (1986: 26) remarked, "It is ... one problem to learn to read and learn a second language at the same time, and a lesser problem to learn to read a second language when one already knows how to read, and when one already understands the functions reading serves."

The "maximum exposure" argument thus presents a simplistic view of the issue of the medium of instruction. It is supported in the United States by those who fear that "American culture" would be threatened by preserving and consolidating the first language of minority students. In Hong Kong, the "maximum exposure" argument helps the government to justify the continuation of English-medium education for a significant proportion of school children and to minimize the need for drastic changes to the status quo. It also relieves pressure on the government from the business sectors for more workers proficient in English, and it satisfies the wishes of many parents who see English-medium education as the path to success.

Arguing from the needs of industry and commerce for more workers capable of functioning in English and concluding that a sizeable proportion of the student population should be identified and taught only through the medium of English cannot be supported by research on the development of bilingual

proficiency. There is, however, considerable support from numerous studies for the notion that knowledge and skills learnt through Chinese are transferable to English. It makes educational, social and economic sense, therefore, to promote and strengthen students' academic knowledge and literacy skills in Chinese as far as possible, and to institute procedures to help them transfer these skills to English. This strongly suggests that public funds should be used to instruct students firstly in Chinese, which has been shown for some time to be the more effective medium of instruction for students in Hong Kong. To ensure there is transfer of skills from Chinese to English, adaptations of various late French immersion programs in Canada could be adopted. For example, students may be taught selected subjects entirely in English for part or all of their secondary school years. In this way, students' continuous cognitive development will not be impeded, and proficiency in the second language can be an attainable goal. In the final analysis, it is the ability of students to function effectively in both Chinese and English that matters in study, work or life. This will also benefit the whole of Hong Kong, not least its industry and commerce.

Conclusions

It has been argued in this paper that Western ideas and practices have influenced government decisions on the medium of instruction in Hong Kong schools. However, these borrowed ideas and practices have not always served the best interests of Hong Kong. This may be due to an inadequate understanding of the principles involved and a lack of appreciation of the contextual differences between Hong Kong and the West. Such is the case of the Education Department's application of the Threshold Hypothesis. Another reason for the unsatisfactory application of Western ideas and practices may be the government's desire to placate as many influential groups as possible. An example is the decision to maintain English-medium education for a sizeable proportion of the secondary school population, which looks to the discredited "maximum exposure" argument for support.

There is of course much that Hong Kong can learn from the experience gained in the West regarding the choice of a medium of instruction for school children. Four general theoretical principles that have been shown to hold in

different contexts are described in Cummins (1988), a speech he gave at an international conference in Hong Kong organized by the Education Department's Institute of Language in Education. Among these general principles, the Linguistic Interdependence Principle is central to the present discussion. The Education Department (1989: 13) has alluded to research supporting this principle when it refers to the need for coherence in the efforts of those educators working in Chinese and those working in English, but it has not applied the principle to contexts where research has demonstrated it to be fundamental, in ensuring that children's literacy-related skills in their first language and second language are maximally developed.

In learning from the West, it is crucial to identify general theories that are applicable across contexts and pertinent to our problems. In particular, if a general theory is to be useful for identifying appropriate languages for instructing children in Hong Kong at different stages of their education, it should help us to understand the present situation and to anticipate the likely consequences of educational measures that might be adopted. The Linguistic Interdependence Principle clearly fulfils these requirements. It helps us to understand why many of our children are less than competent in both English and Chinese, and it aids us in choosing languages of instruction that will ensure both the uninterrupted development of our students' academic knowledge and their bilingual proficiency.

Once general theoretical principles have been chosen and their implications for Hong Kong recognized, the authorities must undertake to create conditions for implementing educational measures consistent with them. Specifically, if the Linguistic Interdependence Principle is to be successfully applied in Hong Kong, the government must undertake to publicize its merits widely in terms that can be comprehended readily by various sectors of the community. Necessary teaching materials and other resources must be made available and teachers trained to make full use of them. Teachers, as well as parents, must be convinced of the virtues of any changes to the present system. Then careful research and evaluation studies must be carried out to monitor the progress of students and other expected and unexpected outcomes. The implementation of educational measures must of course be responsive to feedback gained from these studies.

All things considered, there is no reason why Hong Kong cannot profit from the experiences of other societies.

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PART FOUR:
ENGLISH AND CHINESE LANGUAGE TEACHING

Using English as a Medium of Instruction and English Language Acquisition

Amy B.M. Tsui

Introduction

There is a common belief among parents and some educators in Hong Kong that using English as a medium of instruction necessarily facilitates English language learning, and necessarily leads to higher standards of English. The immersion programmes in Canada have often been quoted as an example of successful second language acquisition through using it as a medium of instruction.

But does using a second language as a medium of instruction necessarily lead to better second language acquisition? What are the factors that may affect the acquisition of a second language? In the following discussion, I will look at some of the important factors in second language acquisition: motivation, parental support, language input and language output. I shall make comparisons between the 'immersion programme' in Hong Kong schools and Canadian Immersion Programmes.

Canadian Immersion Programmes

Before we discuss the four factors, it may be useful to give a brief account of the Canadian Immersion programmes.

Immersion programmes are defined in Canada as programmes where half or more of the instruction occurs in a second language.

The immersion programmes began in the mid-60s in response to the considerable pressure by a group of English-speaking parents in Quebec who

wanted their children to become highly proficient in French. At that time, French was being increasingly emphasized as the language of work and has become legalized as the official language of work in Quebec. The Federal Government was also introducing bilingual services in English and French. Hence, there was an increased recognition and acceptance among English-Canadians of the value of French. Therefore parents and educators across Canada looked for educational solutions that would lead to increased proficiency in French. The solution was to use French as a medium of instruction in schools, but ensuring that students get the same type of education as they would in regular English schools. Hence the Immersion Programmes.

There are three major models. Table 1 is a summary of them. (see Table 1)

The first model is 'early total immersion' (Carleton, Ottawa, and Toronto Boards of Education) where 100% French is used from Kindergarten to Grade 1, from Grades 2 to 4, 80% French is used, in Grade 5, 65%-80% French is used and from Grades 6-8, 50% French is used. (Follow-up programmes have been designed so that the early immersion students may take 3 to 5 subject options in French at high school.)

The second model is 'early partial immersion' (Elgin County Board of Education) which begins at Grade 1, following a half-day English Kindergarten, with English and French used equally as the medium of instruction up to Grade 8. This model arose out of parents' concern that early total immersion would have negative effects on first language development.

The third model is 'late immersion' (Peel County Board of Education, Toronto, Ottawa and Carleton). There are different versions in this model: (a) late entry immersion, which begins at Grade 6 or 7, following core French which starts at Kindergarten, with 100% French for Grade 6, and 50%-80% French in Grades 7 & 8; (b) late extended immersion, where 25% to 40% French is used in Grades 7 and 8; and (c) late partial immersion, where there is core French for Grades 6 & 7 and 55%-70% of the curriculum is in French.

The rationale behind these programmes is that using a second language as the medium of instruction will provide a naturalistic setting for second language acquisition. It is thought that by interacting with speakers of the language in authentic and meaningful communicative situations, students will acquire a second language in the same manner as children acquiring their first language.

Table 1 French Immersion in Ontario: A Description of Some Programs to Grade 8 (Swain & Lapkin 1982:49)

Program	Board of Education	Board Terminology	Grade Program Begins	Description	Accumulated Hours of French at End of Grade 8
LATE IMMERSION	Peel County	Late Partial Immersion	8	Grade 6 - core French (30 minutes daily) Grade 7 - core French (20 minutes daily) Grade 8 - 55-70 % of curriculum in French	625-780
	Toronto	Late Extended	7	Students have varying core French backgrounds prior to entering programs and have accumulated from 90-315 hours of core French instruction to end of grade 6 Grade 7 - 25-30% French Grade 8 - 40% French	700-870
	Ottawa	Late-Entry Immersion	6	K-grade 5 - core French (20 minutes daily) Grade 6 - 100% French Grade 7 - 50% French Grade 8 - 50% French	2145
	Carleton	Late-Entry Immersion	7	K-Grade 6 - core French (20 minutes daily) Grade 7 - 80% French Grade 8 - 80% French	1845
EARLY PARTIAL IMMERSION	Elgin County	Early Partial Immersion	1	Grades 1 to 8 - 50% French	3330
EARLY TOTAL IMMERSION	Ottawa, Carleton	Early Immersion	K	K to Grade 1 - 100% French Grades 2 to 4 - 80% French Grade 5 - 65-80% French Grades 6 to 8 - 50% French	4450-4985

In both cases, students are provided with rich language input and they gradually learn to use the language in order to communicate.

Evaluation of Canadian Immersion Programmes

Academic Achievement

The obvious concern of both parents and educators was whether these immersion programmes will adversely affect the academic achievement of the students and their first language development. They were also interested in finding out whether these programmes indeed helped students to achieve a higher standard of French. Studies were carried out and some of the findings are summarized as follows (see Swain and Lapkin 1982 for detailed findings).

The academic achievement of immersion students was compared with their peers in the English-only programme. The results associated with early total immersion consistently showed that in both science and mathematics, the immersion students performed as well as their English-instructed comparison groups. (Note that the tests were administered in English.) For example, in summarizing 9 years of testing early total immersion students in Ontario, Swain and Lapkin (1982) report that in 38 administrations of standardized Mathematics achievement tests from Grades 1 to 8, the immersion students performed as well as, or better than, their English-taught comparison groups in 35 instances. In 3 instances, the English-taught comparison groups scored significantly higher than an immersion group in one or two of the subtests, but never the test as a whole.

Results in the science tests were similar. The average scores of the immersion and comparison groups were similar in 14 separate administrations from Grades 5 to 8.

Results associated with early partial and late immersion, however, did not consistently show equal performance between immersion and comparison groups. In Mathematics, inferior performance has occasionally been measured among some groups of early partial immersion from Grade 3 onwards, and in Science, from Grade 5 onwards. Inferior performance in Science and Mathematics has also been occasionally measured in late immersion groups.

Results from the early partial and late immersion programmes suggest that students' inferior performance could well be due to the lack of an adequate

command of French to deal with the complexities of the subject material taught in French. (This will be discussed in a later section.)

Second Language Performance

In terms of second language performance, each and every study that has compared the second language performance of students in early total immersion programmes with that of students in core French programs (20-40 minutes of French each day focusing on specified vocabulary and grammatical structure) has shown a significant difference in favour of the immersion students.

First Language Development

As for the first language development of immersion students, the results indicated that although they were initially behind students in unilingual English programmes in literacy skills, they were able to catch up within a year of introduction of an English language arts component which is usually at Grade 2. In some cases, the immersion students even out-performed their English peers in some aspects of English language skills.

The above results show that, as far as Canada is concerned, early total immersion is the answer to achieving high standards of French in schools while maintaining first language and academic standards.

Hong Kong 'Immersion Programmes'

Does this mean, however, that immersion in English is the answer to achieving high English standards in Hong Kong schools? What are some of the factors that we need to take into consideration?

Before we discuss the factors, it must be pointed out that the 'immersion programmes' in Hong Kong are very different from the Canadian models. There are very few early total immersion schools. The model for English medium schools in Hong Kong are supposed to be late total immersion in which, except for Chinese as a subject, 100% English is used throughout Forms 1 to 7. (This model is not found in the Canadian experience.) In reality, however, most schools are adopting late total mixed-code immersion, or the 'mixing approach' (McLaughlin 1978). Some schools have adopted late partial immersion.

Factors in Effectiveness of Immersion Programmes

In the following, I shall examine four factors which contribute to the effectiveness of immersion programmes. I shall compare the Canadian experience with the Hong Kong experience.

Motivation

In learning a language, motivation is the most important factor. In fact, it is the most important factor in learning in general. So long as students are motivated to learn the language, they will learn it well no matter whether they are integratively or instrumentally motivated.

In Canada, parents send their children to immersion programmes by choice. In a sense, we could also say that parents in Hong Kong send their children to English medium schools by choice. However, if we compare the status of French and English in Canada and the status of English and Chinese in Hong Kong, we will see that Hong Kong parents do not really have a choice. In Canada, English is a majority language and a prestigious language. Although French was at that time becoming more and more important and prestigious, it was not threatening the status of English. By contrast, in Hong Kong, Chinese is the majority language in the sense that it is the language used out of school and at home, but it is not a prestigious language. English is the language of work, government, business, education. If parents want a better future for their children, they have no choice but to send them to English medium schools.

A comparison of the percentage of students enrolled in the immersion programmes in Canada and the percentage of students enrolled in English medium schools in Hong Kong is telling. In 1979-80, 2.5% of the total English-speaking student population enrolled in the immersion programs at elementary school level, that is, from kindergarten to grade 8. In Swain (1986), the figure was 5%. And in a recent discussion with Dr. Merrill Swain, the figure provided was 2.5%. By contrast, in Hong Kong, over 90% of the students are studying in English medium schools.

When immersion and core French students were asked about their views on the French programmes in which they were enrolled, it was found that relative to the core FSL students (students studying French as a second language, with a 20-40 minute French lesson each day), Grades 4 and 5

immersion students were much more likely to say that they enjoyed studying French the way they did. They thought their programme had just about the right amount of time spent on French and that they wanted to continue learning French. Some even said that it was a bit too short. The core FSL students, by contrast, tended to say that too much time was spent on learning French. In a study where Grade 11 students and their parents were interviewed, there was a very clear appreciation for the early immersion experience both on the part of the students and the parents. They said that they would choose the immersion option if they had to do it all over again (see Swain and Lapkin 1982).

To the best of my knowledge, there is no large scale survey of Hong Kong secondary students' attitude towards English learning in English medium schools (see however Pierson, Fu & Lee 1980). A rough guess would be the top 5% to 10% students who do well in their English language are likely to say that they enjoy studying English and studying in English. However, it will hardly be surprising if the remaining 80% or so students say that they know that English is very important, but they find it difficult and boring, and that far too much time is spent on studying English.

Parental Support

The second factor is parental support. Parents of immersion students in Canada are very keen that their children do not suffer first language loss. The majority of the immersion students come from middle and upper-middle class families. This suggests that students will be able to get support at home in their first language development as well as their cognitive development.

In Hong Kong, the scenario is very different. Students come from a much wider range of family background, mostly working class and lower-middle class. Parents do not seem particularly keen that their children do not suffer first language loss. These two factors mean that the majority of students do not and cannot get the kind of parental support that students in Canada do in terms of both their first language and cognitive development. Learning in the mother tongue is not easy without parental support. Learning in a second language without parental support is something which only a very small percentage of students can cope with.

Language Input

The third factor and a very important factor indeed in second language acquisition is input. According to Krashen (1980), the input that learners receive is crucial. Firstly, if students are exposed to rich language input in communicative situations where meaning is negotiated between speakers, they are more likely to acquire the language. Secondly, not only does the language input have to be rich, it must also be comprehensible. Krashen maintains that the best second language learning environment is one in which the input that learners are exposed to is slightly more difficult than learners' present level of proficiency so that they can understand most of it. Krashen refers to it as $i + 1$, 'i' standing for comprehensible input. The part that learners do not understand will challenge them to go a bit beyond their present level of proficiency.

I would like to consider comprehensible input first. In the Canadian experience, it was found that it was not until Grade 6 of early total immersion that students' French performance is equivalent to an average Francophone student. In other words, it was not until after 7 years of French immersion that their level of French is comparable to an average French native speaker at Grade 6. In the process of early total immersion, as we have already seen, students are allowed to talk to their teachers and peers in their mother tongue, and there is also a gradual increase in the use of English in the curriculum.

If we look at the Hong Kong situation, students in Secondary One have had only six years or less of English as a subject. In immersion terminology, this would amount to six years of 'core English'. And yet, at the point of entry to Secondary One, students are expected to handle the curriculum solely in English. This is clearly unrealistic. In fact, from the Canadian experience, we have already seen that the inferior academic performance of the early partial immersion and late immersion students is a strong indication that unless students have attained a sufficiently high level of French, their academic achievement will suffer. Cummins & Swain (1986) refer to this level as the threshold level. When the second language input is largely incomprehensible to students in Hong Kong, not only will their academic achievement be adversely affected, so will their English language acquisition.

Secondly, the kind of input that students are exposed to in Hong Kong are nowhere near the rich and communicative input that they receive in their first language. A look at the kind of interaction that goes on in Hong Kong

classrooms shows that it mainly consists of the teacher imparting knowledge to students and a question and answer interaction where the teacher checks students' knowledge. This kind of communication is far from the kind that one finds outside the classroom. In fact this is one of the problems that the Canadian immersion students have as well. I shall deal with this when we discuss the fourth factor - language output.

Thirdly, unless the language that students are exposed to are of native speaker quality, we cannot expect them to acquire native-like proficiency. In the Canadian immersion programmes, all teachers are either native speakers of French or English speakers with native speaker proficiency. Decisions with regard to which subjects are to be taught in English and which in French are made on the basis of the language proficiency of the teachers available. The language in which school subjects are taught varies among boards and even among schools so that the best use be made of teachers available. If a given subject is taught in different languages in two consecutive years, the teachers and/or the consultants involved will discuss the course content and develop the same type of sequential curriculum that characterizes any well-planned English programme. This is possible in Canada because of the small percentage of students enrolled in the immersion programmes. The number of teachers with native-like French proficiency required is relatively small and the logistics of ensuring parity and continuity in the curriculum simpler. I am sure if only such a small percentage of students were enrolled in English medium schools in Hong Kong, there would have been sufficient numbers of teachers with native-like English proficiency. But when the number is as great as more than 90% of the student population, it is clearly unrealistic to expect that there would be an equally large number of teachers with English native speaker proficiency to teach the content subjects. The result is that the language input that students receive is largely substandard. How then do we expect students to attain good English standards?

Language Output

In the Canadian immersion programmes, it was found that when compared with Francophone students in Grade 6, immersion students' French was not native-like in terms of grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence and global discourse competence. Educators in Canada asked why they were still significantly not as good as French native-speakers when the language input that they received was clearly comprehensible because they did as well as native speakers in listening comprehension and written production. One

reason they proposed is that the interaction that immersion students were involved in was not as rich as the kind that one finds in first language interaction. Most teachers were concerned with imparting knowledge. Very few exchanges in the classroom were motivated by two-way exchange of information as among conversational equals. Another very important reason that they proposed is the output. They maintained that not only were they not given adequate opportunities to use the target language in the classroom, they were not being pushed hard enough to produce the target language more accurately and precisely. In other words, they now maintain that it is not enough to just get students to convey their message. They need to do it precisely, coherently and appropriately. Therefore, they proposed that in order that immersion students be able to achieve a high standard of French, they need not only comprehensible input, but also the production of comprehensible output.

Again, if we take a look at classrooms in Hong Kong, lessons are mainly dominated by teacher-talk. Teachers are very happy if students are able to understand what they are saying, let alone producing output. And when students do answer teachers' questions, the responses are very often one-word responses or very short responses. Our teachers are already very happy if students are able to convey their message in English, let alone conveying it accurately, precisely and appropriately. Students have a long way to go before they can produce comprehensible output.

Concluding Remarks

In the above discussion, I have only outlined some of the factors that need to be taken into consideration when making decisions on medium of instruction. I am sure there are many that have not been outlined here. For example, the importance of first language proficiency in acquiring a second language. In the bilingual programme in the U.S. for minority language students, it was found that before students had reached a threshold level in their first language, more exposure to second language in fact resulted in poor second language acquisition and poor cognitive development. In a number of researches done to investigate the interdependence between cognitive/academic skills in the first language and those in the second language, it was also found that students' first language cognitive/academic skills are just as important as their second language exposure for the development of cognitive/academic skills in the second language (see Cummins 1984; Dolson 1984, quoted in Cummins & Swain 1986; Cummins &

Swain 1986 for example). This suggests that when we make decisions on the medium of instruction, we should consider not only whether students have attained the threshold level in the second language, but also in the first language.

What I hope I have demonstrated in this paper is that while a bilingual programme is desirable and attractive, there are many variables and interacting factors which contribute to the success of such a programme. When we make decisions on language policies, we must be able to identify these factors and carry out large scale longitudinal empirical research. Otherwise, the ones to suffer are not a handful of policy makers, but thousands of helpless students.

Notes

1. This paper has been presented at the Northcote Education College Staff Seminar held on 2 May 1991.
2. This was a discussion with Dr. Merrill Swain when she visited Hong Kong in November 1991.
3. The research conducted by Pierson, Fu & Lee (1980) is an investigation into the relationship between language attitudes and English attainment of secondary students in Hong Kong. The subjects involved were 466 Form IV (Grade 10) students.
4. This is an impression I get from visiting many schools in Hong Kong supervising teachers and talking to students.

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中文教學除舊佈新的設想

從「檢討提高語文能力措施工作小組報告書」 談到中文教學的有關問題

王培光

一·重英輕中使人費解

重英輕中！這是「檢討提高語文能力措施工作小組報告書」（以下簡稱「報告書」）給人的印像。香港語言學會批評「報告書」的「重點顯然放在英語上」，的是確評。誰都可以看到，「報告書」論述中文教學的篇幅甚少，縷析英文教學之處則甚多。中文與英語的教學集中在報告書的第三部份討論，但這部份論述英文的多，提及中文的少。第三部份的總論與第一節至第三節，兼論中文與英語。令人驚奇不置的是，第四節至第七節共有四節專論英語教學，而僅有第八節一節淺涉中文教學。論英語教學的四節，所陳述的措施其實都可應用到中文教學上，例如第四節提及學生使用無線接收系統聆聽英語，這系統何嘗不可用於聆聽普通話或粵語。何故當局未能措思及此呢？

第三部份的總論說第八節將「檢討關於中文的措施」，但該節僅僅探討了普通話的推廣辦法，標題就是「鼓勵學校上課時間或以課外活動形式教授普通話」，整節沒有片言隻字觸及中文的寫作或閱讀教學，也未涉及粵語的說話或聆聽教學。莫非普通話就等同中文的全部？這種以偏概全的做法，使人百思不得其解。

二·中文教學的主要問題

除上述問題使人費解外，報告書還有一點偏差值得注意。報告書對英語教學法有明確的主張，提倡教授英語以傳意法為主並兼顧文法；然而對中文教學法則一無宣示。從教育學教程論來看，中文科不似其他以知識為主體的學科如數、理、化等，學科的基本結構十分明確。數理學科以概念、原理和規律為主體。中文雖然也有其概念與規律，然而聲韻、文字、詞匯、語法等方面的知識並非中小學中文科的主體。這就使中文課程與教法難如數理科般明確。毋庸置疑的是，語言知識只居中小學中文科的次要地位；中文科的重點在語言能力的提高。香港的中文教學向來以範文教學為主要成份，而範文教學的課程結構並不十分明確。

一九九一年的中文新課程雖然頗有進步，但仍未能脫離範文教學的窠臼。範文教學要求學生透過對典範文章的理解、欣賞與揣摩，提高閱讀與寫作的的能力。範文教學所選的文章，不少是三十年代名家的作品，從今天的眼光來看，有些已不是典範的語體，一些篇章的語病不在少數。三十年代白話文初興，欠圓熟以至有瑕疵之處在所難免。制訂課程者對一些範文中的語病，不加處理而放之任之，而部份教師凜於作家大名，對其中語病又未敢加以褒貶，學生難免受其不良影響了。小學的課本均由出版社編寫，其中課文的文句也有不合規範之處。另外坊間出版的一些小學文字推理分類練習，設題頗多不當，如成語練習中的成語失之過僻，對小學生的中文學習甚為不利。

香港的中學中文教師分配給範文教學的時間多達一半至三分之二，這許多時間大部份花在文章的背景、主旨、段落大意、詞句解釋與修辭技巧等等的討論上，只有很少的時間用作語言運用的練習，即是說未能從範文帶出充份的寫作練習。如果中文教學能丟掉範文教學為主的包袱，把範文教學與寫作教學的主從關係易位，當更能提高學生的中文能力。這樣的課程以寫作能力的訓練為中心，選擇適切的精讀、略讀及課外閱讀教材予以配合，因而更能針對學生的寫作問題而對症下藥。

以寫作為訓練主幹的中文科，寫作教學應佔用最少一半中文教節。寫作課應有自己的一套課本，寫作課程的編排可考慮下列三方面。第一方面，若以學生為中心，須照顧學生寫作能力的兩大方面：(一)認識能力、(二)表達能力。認識能力的高低直接表現於文章內容的優劣上，它包括(1)觀察能力、(2)分析能力、(3)想像力、(4)思維能力。至於表達能力的高低則直接反映於文章中文字的好壞上，它包括用字、遣詞、造句、謀篇

四方面的能力。第二方面，從寫作過程來分析寫作能力，對寫作課本的編寫也能有所啟發。寫作前的蘊釀階段，就是上述的認識能力在平時進行吸收與積蓄。到了寫作時，學生運用的就是(1)審題能力、(2)立意能力與(3)選材能力。在動筆時，則須應用上述的表達能力。最後，文章初稿完成後須應用一種重要的能力就是文章修改的能力。第三方面，從文章的功能而言，有所陳述須用到記敘能力，有所解釋用到說明能力，有所說服則用到議論能力。記敘、說明與議論等技巧也應成為寫作課程中的訓練項目。

從社會語言學的觀點來看，寫作可分作個人的與公事的兩大類。個人的寫作以抒情言志為主，公事的寫作以闡述說服為主。個人的寫作如日記、私人函件以至文學作品等，公事的寫作如公函、啟事以至學術論文等。過去，中小學的寫作教學有一項偏差，即個人的寫作練習過多。常見的寫作命題如我的志向、我的媽媽、海洋公園遊記、一本書的讀後感等，都屬於個人的寫作。這些寫作練習固然對寫作能力的提高有所幫助，但並非社會中常用的文字。顯然，個人的寫作練習過多，而公事的寫作練習過少，是一種偏差。這種偏差可能受範文教學影響所致，範文以文學作品為主，教師進行寫作教學難免會配合範文教學，因而易於傾向擬訂帶文學意味的寫作命題。這再一次說明，扭轉中文教學以範文教學為主的傳統是很有必要的。

公事的寫作與個人的寫作這兩種語體差別相當大，並非一般人所隱想的主要為格式的不同。拿公事寫作中的公文事務語體來說，黎運漢(1990)指出，這種語體在下述三方面都有其特色。(一)在語匯方面，使用規範的書面語詞，很少使用口語詞語。用語單純平實，形象性和感情性的用語很少。專用詞語和慣用語佔26.9%，一些慣用語保留了古漢語成份，如“審核”、“希即”等。(二)在語法方面，句子較長，每句在20字以上；就句類而言，陳述句佔92.9%，祈使句佔7%；就句型而言，主謂句佔95%。(三)在修辭方面，很少使用對偶、排比、反覆與對照等技巧，一般不用誇張、摹擬、反語與雙關等修辭方式。黎氏還指出各種語體差異頗大，各有特色。如此說來，學生的寫作練習就不宜有所偏廢了。公事寫作與個人寫作都應是學生作文的練習重點，這樣學生才能熟習不同語體的特點。

三·語法教學的問題

傳統的中文教學以範文教學為主，對語言知識極少作系統的講授，內地中學的語法教學也只是從一九五六年才開始，香港的中小學並不系統地

講中文語法。一九九一年實施的中學中文科新課程，確立了語法教學這一項目，內容如下：(一)詞類及其作用(二)句子的主要成份(三)單句和複句。新課程指出：「在中學階段教一些語法知識，不是要學生認識語法的學派和理論，也不是要學生記誦術語和定義，而是要提高學生的語文能力。」這段話作為指導原則誠然確當無誤，但新課程並無提供如何落實這個原則的方法。

內地的語法教學推行至今已有三十四年，堪謂經驗豐富，也提出雷同的指導原則，然而實施多年的結果是重語法知識而輕語言運用。教材中，語法知識的練習比比皆是，如找出句中的主語與謂語，指出句中加橫線的詞的詞性等；至於語言運用的練習如填寫關聯詞語，改正病句等等，則份量甚少。看來，我們不宜重蹈內地語法教學的覆轍。

新的中文課程並未以語法教學為主要教學項目，更未要求對語法作一全面的教授，因此不可能也不需要讓語法教學佔用較多的教節。那麼，如何以較少的時間進行重點的語法教學？從實用的觀點來看，針對學生常犯的語誤進行教學，應該較易見效。母語干擾是學生語誤的主要成因之一，這種成因很易於辨認。就母語與目標語的差異進行比較教學，可以提高學生的語感，減少語誤。這種語法差異的教學為時間所限，不能對眾多的語法術語進行闡述，只好盡量少用或不用術語施教。

筆者(王，1989，1990)主張針對粵語與普通話的差異，進行句型教學或傳意活動的語法教學。句型教學使學生透過大量同句型句子的學習，把一些句型的語言規律內化了。傳意活動的語法教學是在傳意活動中，創造學生使用語言的環境，使學生有表達的需要，透過語言的實踐把語言規律內化。上述兩種教學，教師進行設計時雖然要有語法觀念，但在講解時則盡量不用語法術語。不用或少用語法術語並非不可能，一項英語教學的研究(Chandler Robinson 與 Noyes，1989)甚具啟發性。該研究顯示，百分之八十九的教師對詞類並不全面施教，只教名詞、動詞與形容詞。他們根據自己的專業知識，決定對小學生應講授甚麼語法術語。

四·香港中文教學的三方面

上文評報告書論述中文教學僅涉及普通話，是以偏概全，可以說是以三分之一代替全部。因為，香港的中文教學可分為三大方面：(一)中文書面語的閱讀寫作，(二)粵語的聽講，(三)普通話的聽講。必須理清這三方面的關係，使這三方面的教學相輔相成，才能發揮最大的教學效果。

中文書面語雖然以普通話為張本，但兩者的詞匯語法並不同。朱德熙(1987年)說，“漢語的書面語和口語之間的差別是相當大的……對於本族人來說，學會用書面語寫作也不是一件輕而易舉的事。”Marianne 與 Dickinson (1985)認為，口語與書面語的鴻溝寬得使許多成年人士無法跨過。口語與書面語有多方面的差異：

- (一)在結構上，書面語比口語更為複雜，長句較多。(Tannen 1985; Gumperz 等, 1984).
- (二)與口語比較，書面語較為抽象，較不投入語言環境 (Chafe and Danielewicz 1986).
- (三)書面語比口語更為訊息密集 (Brown and Yule, 1983). 書面語傾向多提供訊息，用語確當。(Biber, 1988)

由此可見，並不是我手寫我口的普通話就是好的中文書面語，普通話口語必須經過琢磨，才能成為優良的中文書面語。另外，能以普通話把中文書面語朗讀得標準流利，也不等如能說一口地道的普通話。內地一些小學語文科(即中文科)特別撥出時間作說話課之用，就是要獨立地培養普通話能力。香港中小學的普通話現在是作為獨立科目施教。

筆者曾進行一項試點研究(王，1990)，比較粵語與普通話的差異。這項試點研究包括兩種語料，一種是課堂中教師以普通話講授中文的課堂錄音，(以下簡稱「課堂錄音」)，另一種是北京出版的《普通話會話》(群力，1986)。《普通話會話》供方言區推廣普通話之用，口語程度甚高，包含各種日常生活的語言環境，如問住址、早起遇熟人與串門等。筆者將上述語料改用粵語說出，比較語料中的普通話與粵語的異同。就詞匯而言，《普通話會話》與粵語相同的55.9%，「課堂錄音」與粵語相同的則為53.8%。就語法相同的句子而言，《普通話會話》與粵語相同的99.9%，「課堂錄音」與粵語相同的則為99.5%。以這兩種語料來看，詞匯相同的百分率平均為54.9%，語法相同的句子的百分率平均為99.7%；可見粵語與普通話的詞匯相同者過半，不同者則近半，至於句法方面則十分近似。在粵語與普通話的不同詞匯中，有一類普通話口語詞最值得注意。這類詞如閨女、師傅、邋邋、張羅、欸、大伙兒等，從香港的中文書面語中難以學到，而只能在獨立的普通話科中認識。如果藉著採用普通話講授中文科，以達成教學普通話的目標，學生就學不到這類口語詞了。

普通話是中國人的共同語，極有學習的價值。另外，普通話與中文書面語相當接近，掌握普通話對寫好中文書面語大有裨益。因此，一些人主張以普通話教授中文，以收一舉兩得之效，即既可學到普通話，也可學好中文。然而這最少須考慮兩個方面，第一方面，學生須有能力使用普通話聽講；第二方面，教師的普通話必須相當標準流利。目前，普通話科的師資也不足，遑論以普通話教授中文的師資了；況且，學生的普通話能力亦未足以應付課堂內溝通所需；故此，普通話還是作為獨立科目教授為宜。

將來即使有足夠的師資，如果要採用普通話作教學語言，也要考慮兩方面。首先，要考慮家長、教師與學生的意願，教師與學生願意使用普通話進行教學，普通話才能得到真正的推廣。Fasold(1984)說得好，必須得語言使用者的首肯，才有真正的語言轉變。其次，要考慮學生能否聽懂普通話，使用普通話發問與討論。人口統計資料顯示，香港百分之九十八的家庭都使用粵語，所以粵語是絕大多數香港兒童的母語。周祖謨(1981)與王士元(Wang, 1982)都認為粵語區大多數的人未經學習普通話，不能立即理解普通話。因此，學生應先以普通話作為獨立科目學習，掌握基本的普通話後，才在一些科目上接受普通話作為教學語言。這樣，可以減少突然全面以普通話施教對學生帶來的衝擊。

報告書建議釐訂中小學普通話教師的口語水平，這對提高普通話教學水準而言，確有必要。報告書關注到普通話標準的問題，卻未論及粵語規範的問題。香港人在許多莊重的場合需要說比較優雅的粵語，學校內施教的是否就是這種優雅的粵語？這種優雅粵語的規範是怎樣的？在香港，這些問題在教學上是極關緊要的。

*本文根據“中文未受教育當局重視”一文擴寫而成，該文載於一九九零年五月十一日明報。

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APPENDIX

Appendix I

A Blueprint for Linguistic Chaos : A Critique of the Report of the Working Group Set up to Review Language Improvement Measures

The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

1. Facing Up to the Language Realities

The Report of the Working Group set up to Review Language Improvement Measures represents the first major attempt by Government to spell out policy issues on language in education.

The Report reviews a range of social and educational factors underlying the standards of achievement in English and Chinese in Hong Kong. It addresses the problems of learning and teaching which stem from using English as the medium of instruction in the schools. It also draws attention to the need for stepped-up efforts in language education for teachers.

The Report ends with a list of 78 recommendations, the most controversial of which is the proposal to stream students on the basis of their English proficiency at entrance to secondary school. Another proposal which has sparked off considerable debate is the setting up of a Language Planning Unit within the Institute of Language in Education.

The Report marks a break from the past in trying to face up to the complex realities of the language situation in Hong Kong. It recognizes the dominance of spoken Cantonese and written Chinese in the local community and in the lives of the learners. It rightly observes that the English language, despite its being highly valued, is restricted to certain specific domains of use. Further, it

candidly acknowledges that negative sentiments about the use of English as a medium of instruction are felt in the classroom.

A professional effort has been made by the Working Group to draw on selective research findings in formulating their analyses and recommendations. Their willingness to tackle controversial issues such as the decline or maintenance of standards in Chinese and English in the schools is commendable.

It is also a step forward for the Working Group to emphasize the importance of and necessity for language planning in Hong Kong. The proposed survey of language needs and language use in the local community reaffirms the need for empirical research as a basis for rational and informed decision-making.

2. A General Appraisal

However, the *Report* has a number of serious problems, in its theoretical underpinnings, its arguments and its concrete proposals. Four salient problems deserve our attention. One is that while the main concern of the report is improving the language standards of students in Hong Kong schools in the context of bilingual education, the emphasis is clearly placed on English. Where the analysis touches on Chinese, no clear differentiation is made between spoken and written Modern Standard Chinese. The amount of attention paid to mother tongue education in the document is cosmetically minimal.

Secondly, the key proposal of the Working Group — the streaming proposal — lacks a sound theoretical basis; its foreseeable negative social consequences far outweigh the benefits it is supposed to bring.

Thirdly, the research methodology, as well as the findings of some of the studies upon which the recommendations are based, has not been made known to the public. It is not clear whether these studies can meet the normal standards of the academic community.

Fourthly, setting up a language planning unit within an executive branch of the government bureaucracy, where conflict of interests is hard to avoid, is not likely to lead to critical thinking about language issues and effective coordination with educational bodies, institutions, and professionals.

2.1 A Taste of the Mother Tongue?

As stated, it is government policy "to promote bilingual skills in Chinese and English among all students in schools at both primary and secondary levels." It is also the express purpose of the Working Group to look into ways of improving learners' proficiency in the two languages.

For a professional group embarking on such an important task, a clear definition of the concept of "bilingual skills" is an obvious prerequisite to any policy recommendations. Does the term "bilingual skills" refer to equal competence in Chinese and English? If not, what levels of competence are learners expected to attain in Chinese (spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese)? What levels of proficiency are expected of learners in English, in various domains of its use? What roles are played by these languages in the overall intellectual development of learners in Hong Kong?

It is not clear from the *Report* what view is being taken of the relationship between knowledge in Chinese, the primary language, and the teaching and learning of English as a secondary language. Recent research has shown that a sound knowledge of one's mother tongue may facilitate the effective development of one's competence in a second or foreign language, a point acknowledged in the *Report*. If so, what measures should be taken to recognize the importance and priority of Chinese language learning, and how can its positive contributions to English language learning be maximized?

Nowhere in the report are these fundamental questions addressed. Still larger but highly relevant issues such as the educational implications of the relative status of Cantonese, Putonghua and English, especially in the context of possible changes in the coming decade, have been entirely ignored. Also conspicuously missing is any discussion of the divergence of norms between spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese, and the problems this poses for the teaching and learning of Chinese.

The Working Group clearly accept the value of mother tongue education. And yet, in spite of the professed emphasis on coherence in planning across languages (Chinese and English), the *Report's* focal attention is clearly on English. The amount of thinking devoted to the learning and teaching of Chinese is, to say the least, cursory.

The concerns of the Working Group on these matters are restricted to appeals for additional Chinese textbook materials, language training for

teachers using Chinese as the medium of instruction, and minimal proficiency requirements for the teachers of Putonghua in the schools.

It is not difficult to imagine the immensity and complexity of the task of training and retraining secondary teachers (the majority of whom have been trained in their subjects partially in the English medium) with a view to enabling them to teach effectively through Chinese. A comprehensive, well thought-out plan is required to make this conversion feasible. The *Report* fails even to consider the complexity of the issues involved. The proposals for such teacher training are limited to teacher education at the College of Education level and short-term in-service courses, and as such do little justice to the problems involved.

2.2 "Streaming" : An Incoherent Option

The most damaging proposal of the Working Group must be to stream students according to their level of English proficiency. On the basis of diagnostic tests, primary students would, according to the Report, be assigned to English-medium or Chinese-medium classes at the beginning of Secondary One. Likewise, students in the colleges of education will also be categorized into two groups: those fit for teaching in the English medium, and those who are not so qualified.

The Streaming proposal is based on two premises: (a) only 30% of the secondary school students can benefit cognitively from an English-medium education; (b) the mixed use of Cantonese and English in the classroom, which is prevalent in the schools, is detrimental to language learning. This code-mixing is considered undesirable and is to be banned from the classroom.

Accepting for the sake of argument these premises (which we will return to in later discussion), these proposals would amount to the government using simplistic administrative measures to impose a 'solution' on the complex, age-old educational problems that have arisen as a result of using a non-native language as the medium of instruction.

Whatever its original intentions, streaming is on all counts a regressive and socially divisive measure. It runs counter to the egalitarian spirit in education. If practised, what is bound to happen is that education through one's mother tongue will be stigmatised. Those who learn through the Chinese medium will

be those who cannot make it to English-medium classes. The damage this will inflict on the self-esteem of the majority of learners is unthinkable.

As already observed by other critics, streaming will inevitably increase the academic pressure of primary students, who will have to compete for eligibility for the English-medium stream. It may also disrupt the subsidized schools sector, as parents are likely to send their children who are unsuccessful in the diagnostic test to private English-medium schools.

Given the dominance of Cantonese and the status of English as a non-native language in the community, it is highly unlikely that code-mixing in the teaching of non-language subjects (e.g. history and biology) will disappear from the proposed 30% English-medium classrooms. One can also be sceptical of the effectiveness of bridging programs. Presumably these programs will not last for more than several months. Will learners emerge from these brief programs so proficient in English that teachers and learners alike will have no need to fall back on code-mixing in classroom communication? If code-mixing should persist after the introduction of streaming, the measure would defeat its own purpose. One wonders what is there to gain at such a huge social cost.

2.3 A Question of Research Validity

A positive feature of the Report is the importance it attaches to research findings as a basis for the Working Group's assessment of the language situation in the schools and for its policy recommendations.

However, much of the research cited in the *Report* which is crucial to one's evaluation of the language situation has been conducted by the government's Educational Research Establishment (ERE) in the Education Department, and has not been released to the public. The lack of public access to these studies casts doubt on their methodology and severely weakens the credibility of their findings.

For example, research is cited to dispel the belief that the standards of English and Chinese have declined over the past decade. While the Report provides some useful information on this issue, the question whether students' proficiency has declined is far from settled.

The claim about the absence of decline in language standards is based on results from public examinations. It is unclear, however, how the results of one year are made comparable to those of another in the official analysis. It is also unclear whether a decline has been observed in specific areas of proficiency, e.g. oral or writing ability.

Methodological issues are important because other statistics (e.g. TOEFL scores) are available suggesting a drop in the English proficiency of local candidates as compared to candidates in other countries. Unless we have full information about the government's research, it will be difficult not to remain sceptical about the theoretical foundations of the *Report's* proposals.

To take another case in point, the estimate that only 30% of Secondary One students can benefit from English-medium education is also based on government research. The figure was deduced from three completed experimental studies of which only two are directly relevant to the issue in question. We do not feel that this trickle of research provides an adequate basis for a major change in educational policy.

One might also take issue with the way published research findings are interpreted and used in the *Report*. For example, the notion of 'threshold', which forms the theoretical underpinning of the Streaming proposal, deserves closer examination.

The term has been used to explain the differential educational outcomes in bilingual education in Europe and North America. What the term essentially says is that children must achieve certain levels of proficiency in both their mother tongue and the second language before they can benefit from an education in the second language.

Therefore, 'threshold' is a hypothetical concept used to reconcile seemingly contradictory findings in bilingual education research. To say that such a critical point in fact exists among our students, and that this point is identifiable by a test battery, is very close to committing the reification fallacy -- making real and concrete that which is hypothetical and abstract. The potential dangers of basing a drastic administrative measure on a theoretical notion that has not found empirical support in the Hong Kong context cannot be emphasized more.

As a further example of a theoretical pitfall in the *Report's* analysis, consider the educational effects of using both Cantonese and English in the classroom. The *Report* advocates a categorical rejection of code-mixing in the classroom. It is plausible that code-mixing does not provide an optimal environment for the learning of either Chinese or English. However, it is not at all clear what the harmful effects of code-mixing are as far as the teaching of such content subjects as biology, history, geography, or computer science is concerned. Code-mixing clearly serves specific pedagogical functions. For example, content subjects may be more effectively taught and interest more successfully aroused if the language most familiar to the students is used in explanation of terms and concepts in English. It may even be argued that, given the sociolinguistic situation in Hong Kong and the constraints imposed on teachers and students alike, code-mixing is an indispensable means to ensure that learning takes place at all. The learners can be drawn closer to the teacher in a language which as members of the wider community they share. It is obvious that learning depends crucially on a lasting, trusting relationship between teachers and students which would be hard, if not impossible, to establish in any other language.

The negative attitude toward code-mixing reflected in the *Report* can be seen as a consequence of applying monolingual norms in a bilingual educational context. Code-mixing is a natural behavior of a person becoming bilingual. At the societal level, code-mixing is an inevitable linguistic phenomenon in a community like Hong Kong, where languages come into contact. In fact, code-switching abounds in the speech of educated speakers in the local community who serve as role models for the young.

If code-mixing is part of Hong Kong's social reality, then it should be recognized as such by educationalists. It should not, and cannot, be banned by administrative decree. Launching a policy that renders code-switching illegal in the schools without substantial research evidence is no rational decision. Such a policy can hardly be enforced anyway.

2.4 Plan Now For the Future

As the *Report* indicates, the need for coordinated efforts in language planning in a multilingual society like Hong Kong has finally been accepted by the government. The question remains how this planning should be carried out.

The Working Group recommends setting up a 'language planning unit' within the Institute of Language in Education, for policy review and implementation, research and development, as well as coordination with outside bodies.

While we fully endorse the setting up of a language planning body to advise on language policy issues, we believe that this should be a commission comparable in status to the Education Commission. It should have a broad base of consultation, and its organizational setup should facilitate exchanges between educationalists, academics and various branches of the government. Further, it should maintain a certain degree of autonomy.

As a government agency responsible for policy implementation, with inevitable institutional interests of its own, the ILE is clearly not the appropriate place for the language planning commission. If research resources are concentrated in a government organization, there is always the danger that research findings unfavorable to existing government practices may not be fully disclosed. The conservatism of government bureaucracies is certainly not conducive to intellectual diversity and free discussion.

Impetus for research on bilingualism in Hong Kong may be provided instead through a government-sponsored research foundation, to which all can submit project proposals on specified or relevant topics. A review committee will need to be set up to decide on which research projects to support.

3. As We See It

To conclude, while the *Report* represents an attempt on the part of the government to come to grips with a range of problems relating to language in education in Hong Kong, it has serious pitfalls. It sidesteps completely the important issue of mother tongue education. It has failed to fully appreciate the weight and scale of the adverse social effects of streaming.

Many of its policy recommendations are either based on undisclosed research or controversial interpretations of published research findings. It assigns to a single government institution too large a role in language planning and research.

We recognize that the issues are complex and the local research data available are meagre. In the absence of reliable empirical information, one should be doubly cautious in policy recommendation. A wider range of alternatives

should be considered and opened up for discussion before a final decision is made.

We urge that the Government attach greater importance to the teaching and learning of Chinese in the schools. The aims of Chinese language education should be spelled out in detail in the larger context of possible changes in the next decade. Attention should be paid to the norms and the complex roles of spoken Cantonese, spoken and written Modern Standard Chinese, and the implications of these for language education.

We firmly object to the implementation of the streaming proposal of the *Report*. We urge the Working Group to consider alternatives to streaming at Primary Six in helping learners achieve bilingual skills, such as boosting resources in teacher education and the development of textbook materials. The Government should always take into account the uniqueness of the local sociolinguistic situation in borrowing from overseas experience in the promotion of bilingualism.

We call for the publication of all government researches relevant to the formulation of language policies. These documents should be made available, commercially or otherwise, to all citizens who are interested. We urge that the Government support more controlled and more comprehensive studies on the educational effects of various modes of instruction before taking a final decision on streaming.

We endorse the setting up of a language planning advisory commission. Given the complexity of the language planning task, we believe that this commission should be external to government departments, and should therefore not be placed within the Institute of Language in Education. This commission could coordinate work carried out by units focussing on various aspects of language planning, for example bilingual policy, English, Chinese, and legal aspects of language use. This commission could also oversee the way in which government research funding on language education is allocated.

We hold that the Chinese Textbook Committee is not adequate to meet the needs of Chinese language education. We urge the government to reconsider the feasibility of establishing a Chinese Language Foundation as recommended in the *Llewellyn Report*.

Appendix II

Education Commission Report No.4 : A Response

The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong

1. Introduction

In spite of its title ("The Curriculum and Behavioural Problems in Schools"), a major feature of the *Fourth Education Commission Report* (November 1990) is a set of proposals relating to educational language policy.

In chapters 5 and 6 of the *Report*, a scheme is sketched which purports to tackle problems in the field of language in education in terms of a broad, comprehensive, and "coherent framework" (p.98).

As a group of professional linguists and language teachers, the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong are concerned first and foremost with educational policy and practice where they impinge on the teaching and learning and use of languages. In particular, we are concerned with the theoretical and empirical foundations of local language policies. The following comments and recommendations are therefore offered with a view to addressing mainly chapters 5 and 6 of the *Report*.

2. Background

The backbone of the set of recommendations on language in education bears striking similarities to the framework proposed in *The Report of the Working Group Set Up to Review Language Improvement Measures*, published by the Education Department in May 1989.

While the *Report* says it does not fully endorse all the points made in the Working Group's report, it should be evident that the basic approach and

many of the main proposals contained in the latter have been adopted more or less wholesale.

In particular, the concepts of streaming, criterion-referenced tests, and bridging programmes remain a central feature in the *Fourth Report's* recommendations.

Also inherited from the Working Group's report is a distinct lack of interest in the teaching and learning of Chinese as a subject, and the question of how Chinese-medium instruction in the classroom can be made a truly viable and practicable option.

In response to the Working Group's report, the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong made a formal submission in February 1990. The following recommendations were made in our submission:

- (1) The streaming proposal should not be adopted as government policy.
- (2) All government research relevant to the formulation of language policies should be published and made publicly available.
- (3) A language planning advisory commission should be set up at an appropriately high level.
- (4) The Education authority should attach greater importance to the teaching and learning of Chinese in the schools.
- (5) The Government should reconsider the establishment of a Chinese Language Foundation, as recommended in the *Llewellyn Report*.

There is unfortunately little sign in the *Fourth Report* that any of these recommendations have been seriously considered.

We must therefore reiterate our deep concern that many of the Working Group's proposals, which have found their way now into the Commission's report, contain serious inherent defects. Their adoption and implementation would trigger a major set-back to Hong Kong's education in terms of language learning and language use in the schools.

3. A General Appraisal

Our overall impression is that the set of proposals relating to language in education do not form a conceptually coherent framework.

Nor do they, in the context of ongoing reforms in education, constitute a genuine continuation and strengthening of principles previously discussed and agreed upon, and policies currently being practised.

We are concerned that the learning of Chinese as a subject and the use of Chinese as a medium of instruction continue to attract very little attention.

We remain opposed to streaming, criterion-referenced tests, and bridging programmes, which we believe are theoretically unsound, unsubstantiated, and in any case impracticable.

The *Report* re-affirms the two principles underlying the Government's current policy on language in education, namely, a move towards greater use of Chinese as the teaching medium in view of its educational efficacy, and the principle of non-coercion whereby schools and parents retain their right to choose. We endorse these two principles. However, we are of the view that the newly added third principle, which makes it a mission to eradicate the concurrent use of Cantonese and English in the classroom, is ill-founded and misguided.

Finally, we notice that the research basis of most of the recommendations is extremely weak. As a professional body of teachers and researchers in Language and Linguistics, we must point out that the implicit claim that the proposals in the *Fourth Report* are supported by the latest in scientific innovations and academic research is but a false impression.

In the rest of this paper, each of our main objections will be dealt with in a separate section.

4. Abandoning Current Policy?

The *Report* purports to support the general philosophy underlying previous recommendations concerning language in education. However, its proposals appear to have departed from these previously adopted principles in fundamental ways. There are two main considerations here:

- (1) Whereas current policy is predicated upon Chinese-medium education being a valuable provision in and of itself, and therefore greater use of Chinese should be encouraged as a general goal in secondary education, the streaming proposal emphasizes division and stratification instead. Under this proposal, students would be classified on the basis of their

English language proficiency. This proposed policy to divide and teach does not appear to follow from any previously accepted general principles.

- (2) Whereas current policy is to encourage schools to adopt at least some degree of Chinese-medium teaching – incentive being provided in the form of measures such as ‘positive discrimination’, with a view to helping schools to gradually, and over a period of time, change over into an essentially Chinese-medium system, the present proposals contain no strengthening of such incentives, or any sign that this policy is still being actively pursued. Instead, one finds punitive measures designed to ‘firmly guide’ principals and schools who, by implication, cannot be entrusted to make sensible decisions.

Indeed, the overall tone of the *Report* seems to be more punitive than encouraging, reflecting an urge to press for quick results rather than patience and confidence in allowing changes in school’s policies and parents’ attitudes that are already underway to take their course.

We support the current policy to encourage and help schools to effect changes in the language of instruction initially in some subjects and at some form-levels. We think time should be allowed for experiments to be done, and for changes to gather momentum. We do not believe that the success of this policy should be gauged entirely in terms of quantity (i.e. how many schools have effected changes), but also in terms of quality – for example, student motivation and participation, examination results, teacher-student relationship, and discipline. The Government can do more to help by publicizing examples of successful cases.

Unfortunately, the tenor of the *Report* suggests abandoning, perhaps even reversing, current policy which has proved to be acceptable and, given greater conviction on the part of the Government itself, may yet have a chance to work.

A case in point here is the ‘positive discrimination’ measure. What is the Commission’s stand on this? Is it the Commission’s intention to continue with the current provisions? Have they considered the need to further strengthen this measure, such a recommendation being explicitly made in the Working Group’s report, but has become noticeably absent in the Commission’s Report?

5. The Teaching of Chinese and Its Use as a Medium of Instruction

Precious little attention is paid to the teaching and learning of Chinese in the schools. The whole issue is dismissed in one sentence in the *Report*: “There was less concern over standards of Chinese although writing skills might have declined slightly.” (6.3.4). The assumption seems to be that all is well and little needs to be done about the teaching of Chinese as a subject.

We must ask, however, if such a stance does not smack of complacency. In view of a steady growth in the importance of, and therefore greater need for, Chinese in many sectors of the community, which is duly acknowledged in the *Report*, the last thing we should do is sit and wait until problems become unmanageable. In planning one surely must look ahead, identify future developments and needs, and anticipate problems. Even now, there is widespread dissatisfaction among Chinese teachers as to students’ inability to speak and write effectively. We believe maintaining current levels is not enough. Looking ahead at future opportunities and needs in the context of the complex relationship between Cantonese, Putonghua, and Modern Standard Chinese, we are of the view that measures to improve the quality of Chinese language teaching and to raise the standard of Chinese will need to be considered without any further delay.

As for using Chinese to teach, in spite of the rhetoric about Chinese-medium education, little is said about how favourable conditions can be created to foster the use of Chinese in teaching and learning in the schools. It would be naive to assume that just because most of our teachers happen to speak Cantonese, they would automatically become effective instructors in particular subjects using Chinese as the medium. Proper programmes, pre-service as well as in-service, will need to be designed to help teachers perform effectively. This will in turn have to be backed up by basic research into the use of Chinese in the classroom, of which practically nothing is known. This is not a satisfactory situation if the Government intends to promote and encourage greater use of Chinese in the schools.

6. Streaming, Target-Related Assessment and Bridging Programmes

6.1 Streaming

We pointed out in our previous response to the Working Group’s report:

- (1) that the basic assumptions underlying the streaming proposal (namely, that only 30% of the secondary school students can benefit from

English-medium education, and that the mixed use of Cantonese and English is detrimental to language learning) were either highly dubious or excessively simplistic;

- (2) that, if adopted and implemented, the plan would have the self-defeating consequence of lowering the status of Chinese-medium education;
- (3) that primary schools would be put under a great deal of pressure, and primary education would as a consequence suffer; and
- (4) that it was socially divisive;

Our view has clearly failed to impress upon the Commission. We must now reiterate that we remain utterly opposed to the idea of streaming and its attending apparatus (target-related assessment and bridging programmes), because we are convinced that the proposal as a whole is unsound, and almost all of its component parts suffer from problems and inadequacies of a very serious nature.

The greatest problem with streaming as we see it is that it immediately implies a two- (or three-) tier system in which a school's inherent value is determined on the basis of its language of instruction. All-English schools will almost certainly be seen to be superior to English-and-Chinese schools and All-Chinese ones. This will then have the undesirable effect of making English-medium education an even more intensely sought commodity, and will therefore make secondary entrance once again very competitive. This may result in greater pressure being felt in the primary schools, and a consequent shift back into more examination-oriented approaches in primary education.

We understand that in principle, the proposed target-related assessment (TRA) to be administered at P6 are not meant to be competitive, being not norm-referenced. And yet, given (1) that English-medium is the superior option that most parents and students would go for; (2) that streaming will be based on students' results in the TRA; and (3) the testing criteria to be set up for the TRA will be as clear and detailed as possible; then there is a strong likelihood that classes in P5 and P6 will once again devote their full attention to drilling and training students in order to obtain good results in the TRA and secure the right to enrol in the English stream.

We are not in principle opposed to drilling and examination as such. We are concerned, however, that the proposed system of streaming based on TRAs may turn out to be counter-productive by rendering Chinese-medium

education second-class, and by turning S1 admission into a fierce competition for better results at an English language proficiency examination.

But if the Government is adamant in pushing through the streaming proposal, then we would like to make a strong plea for schools to be given the option of streaming by subject. We believe this is a more realistic way of moving into a Chinese-medium based system. It is also more consonant with the *Report's* stated intention that "secondary school authorities should be encouraged to adopt Chinese as the medium of instruction" (p.99). This should also be a welcome move for those schools which are already developing in this direction.

It must also be pointed out that even if we were to agree with the entire framework, the present proposals would still fall far short of addressing and giving due consideration to the Chinese stream. What should be done to help Chinese-medium schools and classes in their transition towards using Chinese? Should English teaching in the Chinese stream be given further assistance? And how about making it a really attractive option by taking measures to ensure that students in the Chinese stream will not be handicapped or treated differently when it comes to admission to tertiary institutions? For after all, under the streaming system, Chinese must surely be the mainstream, and as such should deserve the allocation of the bulk of educational resources. The proposals contained in the *Report*, however, give one the impression that more caring attention is being given to the minority English stream. This cannot be right.

6.2 Bridging

Bridging plays an important role in the streaming proposal by providing (in principle) a linkage between stages in the education system. A switch from Chinese into English as the medium of instruction is to be facilitated by an appropriate bridging programme. Thus, under the streaming proposal, the majority of secondary students would eventually be educated in the Chinese-medium. With a bridging programme they are reassured of access to English-medium tertiary education. Without effective bridging, streaming would be extremely hard to justify.

But effective bridging remains a big 'if'. Not enough information is available on the proposed bridging programmes. What is their exact nature? How are they to be funded and implemented?

In any case, it does not sound at all convincing that as much as 30% of the P6 students entering secondary schools, who have been taught in the previous 6 years in an all-Chinese environment, can, at the application of some magical formula, in a matter of a few months, become so proficient in English that they can study a range of subjects in the language, and benefit from it.

As teachers in tertiary institutions, we have extensive experience in teaching students at Hong Kong's universities and polytechnics. In our experience, even students from English-medium schools often have difficulty learning in English at the tertiary level. We can only assume that the problems for Chinese-medium educated students will be that much more serious. In our view, with regard to the proposed bridging between end of secondary and beginning of tertiary, a short bridging course of two or three months' duration is vastly inadequate in bringing students up to the required level for studies at the tertiary level.

6.3 Target-Related Assessment (TRA)

Target-related assessment is the third integral component in the tripartite structure of the streaming proposal. They provide the basic means for streaming students, i.e. classifying them in terms of their English language proficiency. In particular, TRAs are supposed to make it possible for the authority to tell whether any student has the ability to benefit from English-medium education.

Again, little is known about TRAs. Local experience is unavailable: TRAs have not been tried out in Hong Kong before. International experience is unlikely to be of direct relevance. What targets should be set at the different levels, and how should this be done? For students entering S1 to be able to study and function entirely in English – given that the content of the subjects taught at S1 be roughly comparable to those in other countries around the world – the targets would presumably have to be set at a level comparable to native learners in an English-speaking setting. This is obviously totally unrealistic. It is unlikely that more than an extremely small proportion of the students can reach these targets. If the targets are to be set differently, then we have yet to be informed of the precise definition of 'being able to benefit from English-medium education'. Without a clear definition of this in terms of a set of targets, the whole exercise could become totally arbitrary and serve no useful purpose other than provide the administration with an excuse for drawing any line of division to suit itself.

In any case, we fail to see how, given the basic tenets of criterion-referencing, more or less fixed cut-off points (70%-30%) can be set on the TRAs in advance of their administration, since in principle any proportion of candidates in any one year could reach a pre-determined set of targets. We believe it is important that the targets be set in terms of a clear definition of 'ability to benefit from English-medium education'. We also think that TRAs should be conducted without any pre-determined cut-off points.

Without a firm basis in extensive local experience with such tests, it does not seem wise to us to build an entire secondary education system on the foundation of TRAs.

7. Mixed Code

The Report's attitude towards code-mixing, reflects an unwillingness to appreciate the complexity of the phenomenon. The Report proposes to stem out the 'mixed code' but presents no evidence or argument for doing so. The preference for adopting a "clear and consistent" language is presented largely as dogma.

We think this urge to get rid of the mixed code reflects deep-rooted puristic prejudices: the assumption that regardless of particular historical, social, and economic conditions, languages are (or should be) always and invariably 'pure'. But this ignores the actual service that such a mode of communication has contributed to a uniquely bilingual setting in the domain of education in Hong Kong.

The only argument given in the *Report* against the mixed code is that it involves translation, and translation is a waste of teaching time. But how should one balance this against its greater effectiveness in most classroom situations? There is some research evidence to suggest that mixed code is under certain circumstances a more effective medium than either Chinese or English.

We do not wish to sound as though we approved of the use of mixed code as an ideal system. We merely point to its practicality and proven usefulness, and the need for a considerable period of time (not a matter of a few years) for conditions – in society as much as education – to evolve which would render it no longer necessary. We do not believe that these conditions obtain at the moment.

8. Research Basis

It has been mentioned above that neither the proposals for target-related assessment, bridging programmes, nor the 'no code-mixing' principle are backed up by solid research evidence. Equally lacking is any research input on the question of how Chinese-medium education should best be facilitated and achieved in practice.

Also, the assumption that about 30% of students entering S1 should be capable of benefiting from English-medium teaching does not seem warranted by the research in question (presumably Brimer et al.'s "The Effects of the Medium of Instruction on the Achievement of Form 2 Students in Hong Kong Secondary Schools", Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong, December 1985). The division of students into three ability-groups (in terms of their proficiency in English) of 30% (high), 40% (mid), and 30% (low) of the sample, was made with some degree of arbitrariness. It was at least 'judgmental', and therefore to some extent subjective. Although the results showed significant differences in the groups' ability to learn in English, it must be stressed that the ability groups could have been divided at quite different cut-off points, and the differences between the groups might still be statistically significant. In any case, the research in question represents but one study and a study whose usefulness must, like any other study, be qualified against its own inherent limitations. As the researchers rightly point out in the final chapter of the report, "it should be remembered that [the study] involved only Form 2 students, covered no more than six weeks' teaching of two topics and could not claim to have controlled the language used by teachers to students in more than an advisory fashion." (p.40) In the light of these cautionary remarks, the comfortable and confident way in which conclusions have been drawn from the study, and the way in which they have been used to justify major policy recommendations, would strike one as unnecessarily rash – almost cavalier.

As a general comment, we believe that there is a need for greater openness by making research reports available to the public. Many of the research on which major recommendations are based are not readily available, making discussion of policy proposals based on them more difficult.

9. Conclusions and Recommendations

At this crucial time in the history of Hong Kong, fundamental policy changes in education must be taken with great caution. The proposals contained in the

Fourth Report strike us as being overly rash and lacking in adequate consultation. And yet precisely these same proposals are to take us all the way into the twenty-first century. Once adopted and implemented, they would have tremendous repercussions and far-reaching consequences. We cannot afford to rush into a plan unless we are absolutely satisfied and totally confident that it is conceptually coherent, theoretically sound and stands a good chance of success in practice. The consequences of any major error would be too formidable to imagine.

May we conclude by urging the Government in the strongest possible terms:

- (1) not to adopt the proposals in the Fourth Report relating to language and education;
- (2) to put on hold the entire package of proposals regarding educational language policy until further notice;
- (3) to allow current policy to take its course, by encouraging schools to adopt Chinese as the teaching medium possibly on a subject by subject basis;
- (4) to further encourage schools to adopt such changes by providing extra resources for the enhancement of English learning in those schools which opt for such a change;
- (5) meanwhile, to initiate a serious and thorough-going re-think of the entire package, by re-examining counter-arguments and counter-evidence with an open mind, in particular with regard to streaming, bridging, and criterion-referenced testing;
- (6) to allow more time for research and pilot projects which are already underway to bear concrete results, and for locally relevant experience to accumulate, and to support new and independent research on pertinent questions.

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Into the 21st Century

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