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<th>The bilingual verbal art of Fama: linguistic hybridity and creativity of a Hong Kong hip-hop group</th>
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<td><strong>Author(s)</strong></td>
<td>Lin, A</td>
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The Hong Kong Music Scene and Hong Kong Identity

The music scene in Hong Kong has centred around Cantopop (Cantonese pop songs) since the mid 1970s. With easy-listening melody and lyrics about the common working class people’s plight, Sam Hui’s music and lyrical style marked the genesis of this popular music form in Hong Kong (Erni, 2007). Cantopop has served as ‘a strategic cultural form to delineate a local identity, vis-à-vis the old British colonial and mainland Chinese identities’ (McIntyre, Cheng, and Zhang, 2002: 217). Even after the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997 and the rising importance of Mandarin Chinese in the official domains and Putonghua (PTH)² in the service domains of Hong Kong (Luke, 2003) Cantonese remains an important local Hong Kong identity marker and lingua franca among the majority of Hong Kong people (Luke, ibid).
However, Cantopop since the 1990s has become increasingly about idol-making, churning out songs about love affairs mainly, losing much of the thematic versatility of Cantopop’s early days (e.g., working class life, friendship and family relationships, life philosophy, etc.) (Chu, 2007). Hip hop music, with its trans-local defiant symbols and attitude, thus became an attractive alternative to the tired Cantopop melodies and themes in the mainstream music scene in the mid 1990s in Hong Kong.

2. LMF Enters the Hong Kong Music Scene: Capitalizing on the Grassroot Cantonese Youth Identity

It was from this climate that LMF (LazyMuthaFuckaz) emerged in the mid 1990s, attracting urban youth with their indignant, socially-relevant lyrics. Though they are generally seen as a hip-hop group, LMF’s music style was actually a fusion of Rock, Hip Hop, and Pop Rap genres. Researching on the historical development of LMF, I interviewed Davy Chan, a former LMF member who composed and produced most of the music and songs for LMF in the studio — ‘a.room’. Davy mentioned that in the last-known lineup of LMF, only two members (MC Yan and DJ Tommy) had a Hip Hop music background. However, the audience’s image of LMF has always been largely one-sidedly that of a Hip Hop group, chiefly because of the profiles of the vocalists of the group, especially that of MC Yan, who always identifies himself as a Hip Hop artist (Lin, 2008).
LMF was, however, disbanded in 2003. According to Davy, it was largely due to the loss of advertising sponsors with increasingly negative coverage of LMF in the media.

3. From LMF’s Rock-Rap to Fama’s Pop-Rap: Creating a ‘Suave School Boy Bilingual Identity’

Since the disbanding of LMF, the Hip Hop scene in Hong Kong has never been as animated as the LMF days. However, Fama, a two-emcee group was formed in 2000. In 2002 the two emcees came under the tutorage of DJ Tommy, and were signed under DJ Tommy’s music production company. Fama has striven to keep local Hip Hop music alive in Hong Kong. Although they remained marginal in the mainstream music scene in the early and mid 2000s, Fama are popular among college and high school students and are by far the only local Hip Hop group that has enjoyed some degree of commercial success since LMF. In the late 2000s, Fama has gained increasing commercial success, however, not exactly for their music, but more for their talk-show skills, and they performed mainly as TV fun-show hosts in 2008-2009.

This distinctive style of Fama seems to have been chosen early on. From day one, Fama had its own style which they seemed to want to distinguish clearly from the LMF style. Fama (phonologically standing in for the word, ‘farmer’) as a name is also very unconventional for a hip hop group, as Fama seems ‘country’ or ‘folk’ in its connotations
rather than rock or hip hop. In contrast, LMF rocked the local music and media scene by being the first local popular band to put Cantonese ‘chou-hau’ (vulgar speech) into their lyrics (and their name, LMF) in publicly released albums and live performances (Ma, 2002). LMF’s lyrics were largely vernacular Cantonese. As Chan (2009) pointed out, Cantopop lyrics are traditionally characterized by the use of Mandarin Chinese spoken and sung in Cantonese. That is, the syntactic and lexical styles of Cantopop lyrics are those of ‘high’ Cantonese (Luke, 1998), while the phonology is that of Cantonese.

So, the lyrical style of LMF is quite revolutionary in the Hong Kong mainstream music scene. It breaks away from the traditional lyrical style of Cantopop which uses a high variety of Cantonese or written Mandarin Chinese sung in Cantonese (Chan, 2009). LMF lyrics consistently draw on a low variety of Cantonese (i.e., everyday vernacular Cantonese), and when English (a potentially high variety in Hong Kong, see discussion by Chan, 2009) was used, it was mainly English slang; for instance: ‘Do you know what the fuck I’m saying?! Hahm-gaa-ling!’ (‘Hahm-gaa-ling’ is a Cantonese ‘chou-hau’ expression literally meaning: ‘To hell with your whole family!’). The combination of English vulgar words (‘fuck’) with Cantonese vulgar words (‘Hahm-gaa-ling’) is consistent with LMF’s angry, grassroots lyrical style.

LMF’s sociolinguistic positioning can thus be said to be mostly that of the Hong Kong Cantonese working class youth — the speaking style projects a powerful, defiant, angry, Cantonese, working class, masculine image, with lots of ‘rage’— called ‘fo’ (which literally means ‘fire’) in Cantonese.
In this sense, LMF can be seen as a Rock and Pop-Rap renewal of earlier socioeconomic concerns, as articulated by Sam Hui, an artist who enjoyed broad popularity among the working class (as well as among some middle class audiences). Fama has, however, endeavored to distinguish themselves from the expletive-laden polemics of their predecessors. Li (2006), in her unpublished M.Phil. study of Hip Hop music in Hong Kong, pointed out that Fama seemed to want to rectify Hong Kong people’s misconceptions about Hip Hop music. In a song by Fama called ‘F.A.M.A. Praise’, Fama rapped explicitly in their lyrics about these misconceptions:

三百萬個唔正常唔聽廣東說唱 <Three million people are abnormal and they don’t listen to ‘Chinese Narrative Singing’> (referring to Canto-rap in the text)
佢哋以為 Hip Hop 就係粗口 <They think that Hip Hop is profane language>
點知聽到農夫幾首先至發覺 <However, there is a new discovery after listening to Fama’s music>
等一等 咦 有啲野諗 <Wait, there’s something to think about>
等 幾千萬個押韻從我口 <Wait, hundreds and thousands of rhymes coming from my mouth>

(Lyrics and translations from Li, 2006, p. 51)

Fama never uses Cantonese ‘chou-hau’ in their lyrics. While LMF’s lyrics were chiefly Cantonese (except for some English vulgar words), Fama are effectively bilingual, and
their facility with both languages attests to their cosmopolitanism, especially when English is identified as a language of cosmopolitan citizens (Guilherme, 2007). Indeed, one thinks of gentrified college students rather than working-class men when listening to Fama CDs (Lin, 2007).

Although Fama’s two emcees address popular misconceptions about Hip Hop, they do have an attitude of their own. For instance, they readily identify themselves as Hip Hop artists who are more into fun-making than idol-making. In their lyrics they say they are more like ‘siu-jeuhng’ (‘fun-making masters’) than ‘auh-jeuhng’ (‘idols’). In Hong Kong, if an artist has good looks he/she can go for the idol-singer route, and if the artist does not have good looks, he/she can go for the fun-making, witty, humourous talk show master route. They also jeer at those ‘wannabe Hip Hop’ artists who know little about Hip Hop music but outfit themselves in Hip Hop garb. In one of their songs they also critique the self-seeking, rude, pushy public manners of many Hong Kong people (e.g., they seldom greet strangers; they fight to get seats in public transport, etc.). Fama thus represents a new stance and a new identity as developed in Hong Kong’s local Hip Hop music scene after the LMF. In contrast to LMF, they seem to enjoy having fun, making jokes along with putting forward some social and media critique, while all the time stressing their genuine friendship with their music fans, and addressing the loneliness of many adolescents (called ‘yan-bai ching-nihn’—’hidden youth’—a term coined in the mass media in Hong Kong during the late 1990s and 2000s to refer to teenagers who stay home all the time, interacting on the Internet rather than in face-to-face social situations). In short, they present themselves as genuine, caring friends of youths in Hong Kong,
especially those struggling in schools and not knowing how to express themselves. In this sense, they can be seen as a Pop-Rap version of Cantopop groups such as ‘I Love You Boyz’, targeting a similar college/high school youth market. Despite Fama’s explicit identification of their music as Hip Hop, their musical and lyrical styles are very much influenced by Cantopop, and can be said to be a Pop-Rap variation of mainstream Cantopop music genres and a reaction to LMF’s grassroot Cantonese youth identity. In the next section we shall look in detail how Fama capitalizes on a hybrid identity to appeal to a different market segment of the Hong Kong music audiences.

[Insert Figures 1 and 2 about here]

4. **Fama: Crafting out a Hybridized Cantonese-English Identity through Bilingual Lyrics**

Fama’s two emcees draw on both Cantonese and English in their lyrics as well as the ‘art names’ that they have crafted for themselves. MC Six-wing (or ‘6-wing’, ‘Six-wing’) is the art name of Luhk Wihng-Kuehn. In Hong Kong, many young students have pet names or nick names which are formed by playing on the bilingual features of their names. Six-Wing represents an example of such a common cultural practice among school boys and young people in Hong Kong. The Cantonese word ‘Luhk’ (the family name of MC 6-wing) sounds the same as the word for number ‘six’ in Cantonese, and so, MC 6/Six-wing has formed his English art name by this process. In his rap lyrics, he
proudly raps his name in this bilingual way (English translations are given in pointed
brackets < > after the Cantonese characters; the original English lyrics are highlighted in
bold text):

Example (1)

俾支筆我寫歌詞  <Give me a pen to write lyrics>
我寫左幾萬字 <I’ve written several thousand words>
俾支咪我 <Give me a mike to> Rap 我好寫意! <I’m very happy!>
我叫做 <I’m called> S-I-X-W-I-N-G, S-I-X-W-I-N-G,

Sing!

(From the song: 456 Wing)

One has to listen to the way he raps his name to notice the Anglicized wordplay that MC
6-wing has mobilized to craft out his English name in a fun, innovative, bilingual way.
When he raps the English letters for his name in the song, ‘456-wing’ (which is basically
a song about himself), he raps it in a characteristically Cantonese intonation. Below I
shall mark out the tones in which he raps the English letters of his name:

S\textsuperscript{6}-I\textsuperscript{6}-X\textsuperscript{1}-W\textsuperscript{1}-I\textsuperscript{2}-N\textsuperscript{6}-G\textsuperscript{1}
Cantonese has six commonly used contrastive tones (marked 1-6) and each syllable must be marked with a tone as tones are morphemically differentiating (Cantonese morphemes are mostly mono-syllabic, and the same syllable spoken in different tones constitutes different morphemes). By rapping the spelling of his ‘English’ name (Six-wing) in a Cantonese tonal way, Six-wing has crafted out his bilingual identity in an innovative manner: in its segmental features, it is an English name, but in its suprasegmental features (tones and intonation), it sounds like a Cantonese name. Such clever Cantonese-English linguistic hybridity seems to be a feature of most of Fama’s lyrics in their 2006 album, Music Tycoons (Yam-ngohk Daaih-hang).

MC C-gwan (Si-gwan)\(^1\) has a similarly interesting alias. C-gwan’s real name is Chehng Si-gwan. Since the Cantonese word ‘Si’ sounds like the English letter ‘C’, and ‘gwan’ is a polite address term (like the English address term, ‘Mr./Ms.’), C-gwan has been used commonly in Hong Kong to mean ‘Mr./Ms. C’, along with ‘A-gwan’ (Mr/Ms. A), ‘B-gwan’ (Mr/Ms. B)—for referring to someone anonymously in a polite way. There is some self-deprecatory irony in this, implying that he is just a ‘Mr. C’, some anonymous nobody in this world. And when he raps it in his song, ‘ABC-gwan’ (which is basically a song about himself), he has blended English into Cantonese almost seamlessly:

\textbf{Example (2)}

\(^1\) C-Kwan is the name used in the public media. In this paper I also use C-gwan to be consistent with the Yale transcription system for transcribing Cantonese.
OK 各位觀眾 <Okay, everyone of the audience>

我想問 ABC 之後係個咩字呀？<I want to ask: after A-B-C, what is the next letter?>

(君!) <gwan!>

冇錯 咁我地大家一齊講一次「ABC 君 EFG」

<That’s right, let’s say it again together: ‘A-B-C-gwan-E-F-G’>

Come on

人人開開心心 個個興興奮奮 <Everybody very happy, everybody very lively>

跟我講下英文 ABC 君 <follow me to speak some English: A-B-C-gwan>

In Example (2) above, we can see that MC C-gwan blends English words and letters into
his Cantonese lyrics which evolves around wordplay on his bilingual name: ‘C-gwan’.
And instead of calling upon his audience to rap A-B-C-D-E-F-G, he inserts his own name
seamlessly into the alphabet song. The result is a clever conceit that many students in
Hong Kong can readily recognize and enjoy.

As documented in the research literature (Chan, 2009), code-mixing and code-switching
enhance the poetic resources available to the lyricist and facilitate rhyming in the verses.
Fama has frequently mixed English letters, words, or phrases into their Cantonese
‘matrix’ to enhance both internal and sentence-final rhymes. For instance, in the
following example, the English word ‘seat’ is used to rhyme with the final Cantonese
word ‘鐵’ (‘tit’) in the previous line.
**Example (3):** the rhyming words are italicized, and the phonetic transcription of

Cantonese words is given in Yale System in round brackets ( ): 

你揸保時捷 (jit) 我司機揸地鐵 (tit) <You drive a Porsche; my driver drives an underground train>

你坐兩個人 我有二百個 seat <You carry two people; I have 200 seats!>

(from the song, “The Whole City Rejoices”)

In the next example, to enhance the rhyming resources in their lyrics, the emcees also draw on PTH. PTH is not a language spoken by most Hong Kong people as their native tongue (Cantonese being the lingua franca of the city), but it is becoming an important political language in Hong Kong after 1997.

**Example (4):** the rhyming bi-syllabic words are italicized and their phonetic transcription given in round brackets ( ): 

別人笑我訓街邊 (gaai-bin) 我比他人開心 (kai xin) [spoken in PTH]

<Other people laugh at my sleeping on the street; I’m actually more happy than many people!>
We can notice that ‘gaai-bin’ (Cantonese word meaning: street-side) rhymes with the PTH-pronounced word: ‘Kai xin’ (meaning: happy). When this line is rapped, the word meaning ‘happy’ is pronounced in PTH to make it rhyme with ‘gaai-bin’. If the word is pronounced in Cantonese, the rhyme collapses — the Cantonese equivalent of ‘kai xin’ is ‘hoi sam’.

We can see that by doing this verbal play with three languages, the rhyming resources are enhanced. And this is possible only because Fama’s audience is a trilingual one. This audience is composed of local students and young adults who have been educated in English, PTH and Cantonese. As such, Fama invoke an ideal audience in the process of penning their lyrics — a suave, urban, hybrid crowd of multilingual youths. In an interview with Phat Chan, a former LMF vocalist, Phat made a similar observation to me about Fama’s audience, as the Fama emcees are relatively educated themselves (e.g., Six-Wing is a graduate of the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts, majoring in theatrical performance).

Sometimes, English words are inserted into an otherwise Cantonese ‘matrix’ to serve discourse marking functions, thereby re-asserting an English-speaking cosmopolitan identity. For instance, in the following example the insertion of the English words not only serves rhyming purposes (all the words rhyme: Go, no, oh, so, no), but also marks out the transitions of the different units in the stanza. They also call attention to themselves: i.e., the sudden switch to the English word in the otherwise Cantonese lyrics
helps to draw the audience’s attention to what is to follow; they help to demarcate and highlight boundaries of idea units.

**Example (5):** the English words serving as discourse markers are highlighted in bold.

**GO!**大大步走上前大大步

  <big, big steps, making my own big steps>

走 屬於你自己既路，唔好著人地對鞋，走人地條路

<go your own way, don’t walk in other people’s shoes, don’t follow other people’s way>

**NO!**我諗我搵到

  <I think I’ve found it>

大大步走上前大大步 我冇博大霧 featuring?

< big, big steps, making my own big steps, I haven’t tried to gain by featuring (in big stars’ songs)>

話我博大路 我淨係知道冇狗仔隊跟我

<they say I’m trying to gain by going mainstream, but I only know that no paparazzi follow me>

冇 o 靚妹仔跟我 仲憎我話我

<no young girls follow me, and they also hate me>

**OH!** 有人話我似阿 rain.

  <someone says I look like ‘Rain’ — a Korean pop star>

**SO!** 又話我似祖名
<someone says I look like ‘Jo-mihng’—another pop star in HK; Jacky Chan’s son>

NO! 你話我似兩個巨星 我唔敢認

<y say I look like these two big stars, I dare not agree>

我淨係希望有一日你會話佢地兩個都幾似陸 WING

<I only hope that one day you will say both of them quite look like Luhk-wing>

呢首歌我淨係要你識得 我 Six Wing 我冇得逼你覺得我得

<with this song, I only hope you will get to know me Six-wing, I won’t force you to think I’m great>,

但萬一你覺得我得 Throw Your Hands Up!

<but if you do find me great, throw your hands up!>

(from the song, ‘456-wing’)

In Example (5) above, we can see that the English words starting each sentence were all said in an exclamation tone.  They seem to be parallel interjection particles, which serve the function of expressing the emcee’s strong feelings, upon hearing what others say about him, in a parallel, repeated, semantic and emotional pattern somewhat like this:

Go!  (showing strong determination of the emcee to express his agency by finding and going his own way, and not by copying or following others)

<the emcee then urges the audience to go their own way too>

No! (to reinforce his strong feeling when he urges the audience not to follow others>
Oh! (to express his strong feeling of unhappiness and surprise at this: others say that he looks like ‘Rain’)  
So! (to express his strong feeling about being repeatedly said to look like other big stars)  
No! (to express his determination to reject these comparisons and his desire to be recognized on his own)  

By using these English interjection particles in a systematic way (e.g., sentence-initial positions followed by a few lines providing the context of these emotions), the lines form a neat semantic and sound pattern. There are other interesting instances of code-switching in which the two emcees comfortably switch between English and Cantonese to joke about school life. For instance, in the example from a 2007 song from Fama titled ‘學海無涯’ (literally: No Shore to the Sea of Learning), the two emcees crafted out a whole stanza of lyrics in English (Hong Kong style English) amidst other mainly Cantonese-based stanzas:

**Example (6)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpts from the Song: ‘學海無涯’ ('No Shore to the Sea of Learning')</th>
<th>English Translation of Lyrics</th>
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</table>
| A 班俾人話係精英班
B 班又俾人話係精靈班
士多啤梨啤梨蘋果橙
ABCDE 班點樣揀 | Class A is called the Elite Class
Class B is called the Smarty Class
Strawberries, pears, apples and oranges
How to choose between Classes A, B, C, D and E? |
| FAMA college beautiful life
We have Six-wing and C-Kwan be your guide |
Notes: HKCEE is the shortened form for the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination, which is the most important examination facing all secondary school students (like the GCSE examination in Britain). Getting 30 marks in HKCEE means getting very good grades in the examination (A = 5 marks)

The above excerpts are taken from Fama’s song about secondary school life in Hong Kong. Those who have gone through or are going through secondary schooling in Hong Kong will find the references in the lyrics very familiar, and they can evoke immediate emotional responses. The Fama emcees are particularly talented in crafting out bilingual lyrics to depict school life in Hong Kong, which is characterised by frequent Cantonese-English code-mixing and code-switching as many schools in Hong Kong teach some subjects in English and some subjects in Cantonese and bilingual code-mixing and code-switching in the classroom is part of students’ everyday life.

(The reader can visit the following link to listen to the song and see the music video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dcZLW1or38, in which typical secondary school campus scenes are shown).
For instance, the code-mixed term, ‘A-班’ (A-baan; means: Class A), is a common name for classes in Hong Kong schools. Typically, students are streamed into Class A, B, C, D or E according to their academic standards, with Class A usually being the top class and Class E the bottom class. Such an extremely competitive and elitist system has often done a lot of psychological damage to many Hong Kong students. The Fama emcees, capitalizing on this school reality of Hong Kong, have crafted out lyrics that depict this harsh fact of school life but without making it more gloomy. They have simply added their humorous twist and light-hearted comments by using the metaphor of different kinds of fruits to de-hierarchicalize (or just to laugh away) this elitist streaming practice. By juxtaposing the two lines: ‘Strawberries, pears, apples and oranges’ and ‘How to choose between Class A, B, C, D and E?’, the rappers successfully de-mystify the ‘class’ hierarchy and humorously make them look all colorful and desirable (merely as different kinds of fruits), and turn the tables: giving students the choice and agency to choose their own class, if only discursively, lyrically, vicariously and not realistically. But this seems to be what popular culture does: they give you vicarious pleasure of what does not exist in reality. This kind of vicarious de-hierarchicalization, and somewhat fantastical re-inscribing and re-inventing, of an otherwise grim school fact, in a fun, light-hearted way represents exactly what so many Hong Kong students need to escape from or to laugh away their unhappiness. Instead of launching a serious critique of the cruel streaming practice of schools, the Fama’s approach is always one of fun, light-heartedness but still achieving the purpose of empathizing with students’ feelings and realities in their everyday life, giving them momentary relief and escape from grim school realities, if not long-lasting empowerment.
Another way in which Fama have shown themselves to be masters in creating bilingual lyrics that just push the buttons of many school fans’ hearts is shown in the following code-mixed stanzas about Fama’s role as students’ guides and giving them happiness and a beautiful life, and urging them to work hard to become a better person, despite their unhappiness in learning difficult school subjects such as biology, history, chemistry (which ‘make them cry’):

FAMA college beautiful life
We have Six-wing and C-Kwan be your guide
We need to 努力做人
HKCEE 三十分
.....

Biology makes me cry
Chemistry makes me cry
中西史都 make me cry
農夫D 歡 makes me smile
.....

The Fama emcees do not seem to have any psychological hang-ups about using English for the local Hong Kong audience and they seem to project the image of their audience as similar to themselves: (formerly) young students in Hong Kong having the bilingual resources to decode, recognize and enjoy their ‘bilingual-ness’ and bi-lingual (and sometimes tri-lingual) rhymes and creative word puns.

Fama has thus marked out their lyrical style as totally different from their Hip Hop forerunners, LMF. Davy Chan, an experienced music maker and producer in the Hong Kong music scene, as well as a former member of LMF, commented in an interview that Fama’s fun lyrical style is more suitable for the current social atmosphere (in the mid-
and late-2000s) than the social atmosphere of the LMF in the late 1990s, when the economic situation in Hong Kong was poor and people in general harbored great resentment towards the government and the ruling elite. So, LMF had lots of rage (e.g., as expressed in the use of Cantonese vulgar words; see analysis in Lin, 2008) in their lyrics and the public at that time seemed to resonate well with it. Things seem to have changed, and the fun, happy, humorous style of Fama seems to suit the current social atmosphere better. Phat Chan, another main vocalist and rapper of LMF expressed similar sentiments about Fama. Phat expressed his own personal liking of Fama’s lyrical style when in an interview he said, ‘There are not so many things in society to always admonish about! Why not have fun?!’

In light of the above analysis, it can be said that Fama has demonstrated a great deal of local creativity in freely drawing on both Cantonese and English (and sometimes PTH) linguistic resources to break away from the stereotypical ‘angry’ hip hop image of LMF on the one hand, and to creatively hybridize Western hip hop rapping with local bilingual Cantonese-based fun-making language, into which they freely mixes English words styles (see also Pennycook, 2007 for a discussion of global Englishes through local hybrid hip hop styles). This is part of many Hong Kong students’ everyday conversational practice. This increasing linguistic creativity from the bottom-up (i.e., emerging from popular culture and from students’ everyday conversations) also seems to coincide with the development of increasing acceptance or attractiveness of globalized, cosmopolitan, multicultural, hybridized identities among Hong Kong young people.
Notes:

1. This chapter is a significantly revised and enriched version of an earlier paper by the same author collected in: Tam, Kwok-kan (Ed.) (2009), *Englishization in Asia: Language and cultural issues*. Hong Kong: Open University of Hong Kong Press.

2. Mandarin Chinese is the standard language of China. Its spoken form is called Putonghua (PTH). Mandarin Chinese texts can, however, be spoken with Cantonese pronunciations. In Hong Kong, for instance, the news broadcasters read aloud their news texts in spoken Cantonese while the texts are usually written in Mandarin Chinese. This is a formal or high variety of Cantonese.

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Li, Wai Chung. (2006). *The emergence and development of Hong Kong Hip-Hop and rap music since the 1980s*. Unpublished M. Phil. thesis, Department of Music, Chinese University of Hong Kong.


**Fig. 1: Fama’s 2 emcees: Six-Wing & C-Kwan**
Fig. 2: Fama performing at TVB’s Live House Concert (a pay-TV music channel)