

The Relationships between Language and Culture – Vulgarity in Hong Kong Films

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Abstract

Cantonese used in Hong Kong contains rich local slangs and vulgarism. Vulgarism and swearwords are regarded as social taboo, which is generally not discussed with enough depth in academic writing. In Hong Kong, films with excessive vulgarities are given a Category III rating, which stipulates that the film can only be viewed by people of age 18 and above. Cantonese vulgarities use in Hong Kong films are strictly monitored by the Office for Film, Newspaper and Article Administration of the Hong Kong SAR Government. Hence, for the consideration of commercial success, Hong Kong films made in the 1990s strategically self-censored on various aspects, including politically sensitive scenes, language use and violent scenes to avoid the Category III rating. These decisions, in a way, restricted the creativity of films as an art form and distorted the films' authentic representation of Hong Kong culture and its social issues. Films in recent years have shown a change in attitude towards the use of Cantonese swearwords and vulgarities. There has been a more authentic representation of vulgarities in Hong Kong films. Besides gangster films, the use of Cantonese vulgarities started to appear in other film genre, such as in horror films and science fiction. This can be attributed to two main reasons. Firstly, the significant drop in attendances of Hong Kong films has weakened the financial concern in whether the films are given a Category III rating or not. In other words, there is also no longer the need for filmmakers to reduce or mitigate the extent of vulgarities used in films. Secondly, the self-reflexive need to push forward the Hong Kong culture and identity post-1997 has encouraged the authentic use of vulgarities in Hong Kong films.

Keywords: Hong Kong Films; Hong Kong's Language and Culture; Vulgarities in Hong Kong Films; Self-reflexive Films, Film Censorship in Hong Kong.

1. Introduction

The history of Hong Kong films can be dated back as early as 1909 (Zhang, 2004). In the 20th century, the film industry in Hong Kong underwent a series of ups and downs, with one of its milestones in the 1950s and 1960s, dominated by mandarin films (Valck and Hagener, 2005). In the 1970s, the local dialect of Cantonese made a comeback in films (Costanzo, 2013), particularly from the comedic Cantonese films of the Hui Brothers (Ng, 2009). The next milestone happened in the 1980s, where many Hong Kong superstars, such as Jackie Chan, and Chow Yun Fat, were born out of films (Chu, 2013). Hong Kong films were very well sought after in cinemas within Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and Taiwan (Lo, 2005). It was also during this era where Hong Kong film industry gained the status of the 'Hollywood of the East' (Stokes and Hoover, 1999). Another key milestone of the 1980s was the introduction of film rating systems by the Hong Kong government¹ in 1988. Films with excessive violence, vulgarities, nudity (softcore erotica) are given a Category III rating, which stipulates that the content of the film can only be viewed by people of age 18 and above (Carter, 2010). The 1990s, however, marked the steep decline of the Hong Kong film industry. The boom of the 1980s has generated the scenario of overproduction of the films in Hong Kong, causing an oversupply of films beyond the actual demand (Stokes and Hoover, 1999). The rise of film piracy also caused a severe drop of actual audience buying film tickets. Despite the poorer quality, pirated VCDs were much cheaper alternatives and were widely available on the streets of Hong Kong, and elsewhere in the regional market of Asia (Funnell, 2014). While there were still commercially successful films in the 1990s, lesser and more choosy audiences were going into the cinemas. Many film production houses ceased productions or cut production budget substantially, resulting in a drop of film quality that further perpetuated the decline in the popularity of Hong Kong films. The 1990s also saw the rise of many low-budget Category III erotic films, featuring nudity and stimulated sex (Carter, 2010). Moving into the 21st century, there seemed to be some improvement in the Hong Kong film industry, with a focus of better technology and filming techniques. The success of the film trilogy, *Infernal Affairs* 《無間道》 (2002-2003), has led to a Hollywood adaptation, *The Departed* (2006). More films are focusing on specific societal aspect of Hong Kong, such as the plight of the Hong Kong LGBT community, the aging population as well as other less privileged communities. While vulgarities have always been used in many Hong Kong film, there is also growing trend of a more authentic use of vulgarities in recent years. This paper seeks to explore the relationship between language and film and to provide justifications on the more accurate usage of vulgarities in Hong Kong films.

2. Language Use and Hong Kong Society

The Basic Law of Hong Kong stipulated "Biliteracy and Trilingualism (兩文三語)" as the official policy of Hong Kong (Tung, 2001), with written Chinese and English are the official languages used in government documents, legal documentation, education and business domains, while Putonghua, Cantonese and English are official spoken languages. Anthropologically, Cantonese is a language predominantly used by 90% of the population in Hong Kong (Hong Kong SAR Government, 2013). The use of Cantonese, to certain extent, marked the identity of Hong Kong people (Luke and Richards, 1982). In some language surveys concerning the multilingual situation in Hong Kong (Bacon-Shone & Bolton 2008), Cantonese was perceived to serve as the first language of Hong Kong culture and the first language of the Hong Kong society, while English was perceived as the first language of business. Cantonese is widely known as a "living, vibrant dialect, actually distinguished itself from other varieties (particularly the standard varieties of Chinese) through its use of punning, double entendre, slang and racy word-play: an aspect of language often seen as 'naught but nice'." (Bolton and Hutton, 1997).

Cantonese used in Hong Kong contains rich local slangs (鄭定歐, 1997) and vulgarism (方小燕, 2003; Hutton and Bolton, 2005). Linguistic studies of Cantonese vulgarism and swearwords show that Cantonese swearwords started to be used by lower working-class males, criminals, triad members and construction workers and later became a linguistic property of the Hong Kong people as a whole. Vulgarism and swearwords are regarded as

social taboo, which is generally not discussed with enough depth in academic writing. Bolton and Hutton (1997) pointed out that serious academic studies could be done on various levels. “Firstly, there is the question of the official policy towards bad language; second, the language behavior of particular groups with regard to swearing; and third, informal attitudes to the acceptability or otherwise of using certain language in particular contexts” (Bolton and Hutton, 1997). They suggested that swearing and the use of swearwords are not always out of place. It is out of place only when it is used to insult, to attack or to breakdown social boundaries. Swearing can be “part of a social role acted out and understood” and strengthen social boundaries. An informant in Bolton and Hutton’s study even defined swearing as ‘male language, taxi-driver language’ in Hong Kong. Bolton and Hutton gave an example that a taxi driver swears because that is what taxi drivers do in such situations and the passage is talking in the way that taxi drivers talk. The language use in this situation is an example of showing the in-group identity of the speech community.

3. Film Censorship and Language Use in Hong Kong Films

In Hong Kong, television and film censorship is strict comparing to Western societies in terms of language use. Triad rituals, signs and language may not be shown in films unless rated Category III. Cantonese vulgarities use in Hong Kong films are strictly monitored by the Office for Film, Newspaper and Article Administration of the Hong Kong SAR Government.

Cageman 《籠民》 is a 1992 Hong Kong film directed by Jacob Cheung. The film depicted the lives of the underprivileged class and lower working class who live in tiny “cage home”ⁱⁱ and won the Hong Kong film award for best film in 1993. The film is regarded as documentary film and has a box record of HKD\$1,767,657. It is rated as a Category III film because of the extensive use of Cantonese swearwords. There was an argument then to request a less strict categorization of this particular film so that it can be released to wider population and shown to youngsters who are under 18 but eager to understand this particular social issue relevant to the Hong Kong society (Saroch, 1992).

4. Gangster Films in Hong Kong and the Misrepresentation of Hong Kong Culture through Language

Apart from looking at films depicting life of lower working class, it is worthy to take an in-depth look at gangster films to discuss the issue. Gangster films, as a film genre, can be traced back to the 1950s, under the influence of American gangster films and the legacy from Chinese swordsmen films in which the swordsmen always follow specific moral codes and use their martial arts skills to flight with their enemies without regard to the law (Po, 2014). The boom of Hong Kong Gangster films began with the success of *A Better Tomorrow* 《英雄本色》 released in 1986 with a box office record of HKD\$34,650,000. In addition to the box office success, the film romanticized and hero-ised members of the triads and promote a sense of loyalty and righteousness as moral value among gangster members. Po (2014) pointed out that *A Better Tomorrow* marked the beginning of Hong Kong gangster films’ golden age and regarded as a major genre in Hong Kong cinema.

Following the success of *A Better Tomorrow*, many gangster films were produced in Hong Kong. *Young and Dangerous* series 《古惑仔》 (1996-2000) contained a series of about 10 films adopted from a Hong Kong comics series *Teddyboy* (1992-present) published by Concord Publishing Limited. The first of the series *Young and Dangerous* 《古惑仔之人在江湖》, which was released in 1996, generated a box office record of HKD\$21,115,357 in Hong Kong. Table 1 shows the Hong Kong box office and information about the first six films of the *Young and Dangerous* series.

Table 1: The Hong Kong box office of the first six films of the Young and Dangerous series

Film titles	Year of release	Film category	Box office (HKD\$)
#1: <i>Young and Dangerous</i> 人在江湖	1996	II(B)	\$21,115,357
#2: <i>Young and Dangerous 2</i> 猛龍過江	1996	II(B)	H\$ \$22,493,617
#3: <i>Young and Dangerous 3</i> 隻手遮天	1996	II(B)	\$19,496,308
#4: <i>Young and Dangerous 4</i> 戰無不勝	1997	II(B)	\$15,793,320
#5: <i>Young and Dangerous 5</i> 龍爭虎鬥	1998	II(B)	\$12,875,420
#6: <i>Born to be King</i> 勝者為王	2000	II(B)	\$7,707,039
		Total:	\$99,481,061

Source of the box office and film information are extracted from Hong Kong Film Database <http://hkmdb.com>.

The box office of the six films almost reached 100 million dollars. The success of the box office of the *Young and Dangerous series* demonstrated successful marketing strategy and vigorous strategic plans of making of the series (Wong, 2014). An interview with Manfred Wong, the screenwriter as well as the producer, showed that he had awareness and deliberately avoided the film being classified under Category III. “Despite our efforts, the entire scene was cut. If I recall rightly, we would have received a Category III certification if we did not cut the scene.” (Wong, 2014) Although the quotation from Wong talks about political self-censorship and very few comments have been made to the language use of the film series in the interview, it is surmise to say that the language used is relatively decent in this genre as shown in Examples 1 and 2 below, which depict the language used in quarrelling and fighting scenes among gangsters in the film.

Example 1: Scenario: An arguing scene between two triad head, Leng Kwan and Big Brother B, Leng Kwan caught Big Brother B and his family. Finally Leng Kwan killed Big Brother B. (*Yong and Dangerous*, 1:12:57-1:13:27)

Leng Kwan: “求我啊, 或者會大發慈悲放你一馬嘅。”
(Beg me, maybe I will show my mercy and let you go.)

Big Brother B: “大家自己人, 我今日衰喺你手無話可說, 如果你搞我屋企人, 我做鬼都唔放過你呀!”
(We are of the same group, and I am at your mercy today. I have nothing to say. If you bring trouble to my family, I will come back to haunt you as a ghost.)

Leng Kwan: ...

Big Brother B: “靚坤, 唔好亂嚟呀!”
(Leng Kwan, calm down!)

Leng Kwan: “你做鬼都唔放過我? 我要你做鬼都唔靈呀!”
(You want to haunt me? I will make sure you become a powerless ghost!”)

[Leng Kwan then killed Big Brother B.]

Example 2: Scenario: Two groups of gangsters are quarrelling and about to start fighting while watching soccer matches. 2 big brothers want to stop the fight. (*Born to be King*, 8:25-8:50)

Big brother 1: “做乜野睇波睇到要郁手咁大件事呀?”
(What happened that lead to a flight while watching soccer?)

Gangster A: “Bobbie 哥你睇到架啦, 係佢搞事咋。”
(Bother Bobbie, as you can see, it is he who cause the

- trouble.)
- Big brother 2: “你兩個紅綠燈呀！自己人黎架嗎，洪興。下，做乜呀？一人少句咪得囉。”
(Red and Green hair! Both of you are from the same group, Hung Hing. Argue less and your problems will be solved.)
- Gangster B: “大頭哥，俾面你，我唔係你個場度搞事。”
(Brother Big Head, I give you face. I won't cause trouble in your turf.)

[Immediately followed by a fighting scene]

The strategic self-censorship on various aspects, including political sensitive scenes, language use and violent scenes, etc. made the film series a success in Hong Kong as well as in Mainland China. Wong also claimed that audiences from Mainland China who are around 30 or so years of age will have seen at least one *Young and Dangerous* film and the reason for this is that youths in the Mainland can experience brotherhood, loyalty, bravery and a lot of things in the film that they do not normally experience in real life. The film series was, no doubt gangster films. However, the series was marketed as youth film.

“The economy in the mainland started to take off in the 1990s, and due to the one-child policy, most of the younger generation were single children, brought up in a relatively well-to-do environment. They learn to mix with the right crowds and to stay in the right cliques. They don't have any channels or ways to experience things like brotherhood, loyalty and bravery, but by watching *Young and Dangerous*, they can have a glimpse of what it means to risk your life for a friend.” (Wong 2014:167)

It is worthwhile to compare another successful gangster film series, *Election 1* 《黑社會》 first released in 2005 and *Election 2* 《黑社會以和為貴》 in 2006. *Election 1 & 2* were praised by film reviewers for not exercising self-censorship in attempt to enter the Mainland market after the implementation of Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (CEPA) in 2003 (盧覓雪, 2006). Under the CEPA arrangement, many films were co-produced by Hong Kong and mainland companies, with the intention of appealing to the sizeable mainland market. The *Election 1 & 2*, in contrast, was produced by Johnnie To and Wai Ka-fai's Milkyway Image (Hong Kong) Ltd and One Hundred Years of Film Company, meaning that it was a 100 per cent local production and made no compromise in self-censorship to get into the huge China market.

“得知杜琪峰不想為了能夠在大陸上映，而扭曲了原創劇本，索性放棄大陸市場。這一點更贏得我的掌聲。” (盧覓雪, 2006)

(“Knowing that Johnny To did not want to distort the original screenplay to release in Mainland China, he chose to give up the market in the Mainland. This won my applause.”)

Johnnie To, the film director, did not resort to self-censorship to meet the requirement of CEPA, he also wanted to show the authentic life of the gangsters in the films. The films, *Election 1 and 2* are both classified in Category III films because of their violence, demonstration triads' rituals and language use.

“With the characters in *Election*, I wanted to capture a sense of their real lives. They are actually just ordinary people, living ordinary lives; they will go grocery shopping, buy that pound of roast pork for dinner. They are not written as some metaphoric heroes, most of their existences are casual and unsophisticated.” (To, 2014)

Table 2: The Hong Kong box office of the first six films of the Election 1 & 2

Film titles	Year of release	Film category	Box office (HKD\$)
#1: <i>Election 1</i> 黑社會	2005	III	\$15,700,000
#2: <i>Election 2</i> 黑社會以和為貴	2006	III	\$13,500,000
		Total:	\$29,200,000

Source of the box office and film information are extracted from Hong Kong Film Database <http://hkmdb.com>.

The contrast between the *Election series* and the *Young and Dangerous series* shows the film directors and producers have different concerns when making their decisions on self-censorship matters when making their films. These matters include, on one hand, whether the films is aiming at maximizing revenue from the huge market in mainland China by exercising self-censorship on political correctness, sensitive social issues and by compromising on regulations imposed by CEPA; and on the other hand, a more general issue concerning the cleansing of language use in order to avoid making the film into a Category III film in order to attract viewers under 18 years old. These decisions, in a way, restricted the creativity of films as an art form and distorted the authentic representation of Hong Kong culture and its social issues.

5. Observations of Recent Change

Films in recent years have shown a change in attitude towards the use of Cantonese swearwords and vulgarities in the film. Some critics (陳志華, 2013, 2014; 朗天, 2013, 2014) pointed out that Hong Kong film industry needed to find a way out after the implementation of CEPA for more than 10 years through increasing the awareness of nativism. *Vulgaria* 《低俗喜劇》 (2012) tried to describe the difficulties local film industry were facing through massive use of irony and vulgarism. At the prologue of the film, a disclaimer showed, “內容充滿不雅用語, 成人題材, [...]”(the content is full of vulgarities and adult topics, [...]) and stated that the viewers are free to leave the cinema if they cannot accept the content) (陳志華, 2014). The film was directed by Pang Ho-Cheung and has won two awards, Best Supporting Actor and Best Supporting Actress, at the 32nd Hong Kong Film Award. The story of the film depicted the struggle of a film producer who struggled to make a living in the current atmosphere of the film industry in Hong Kong and approached a film investor who was a triad head in Guangxi. The film was filled up with X-rated materials (sex scenes, sex connotations, etc.) and Cantonese vulgarities. *Vulgaria* was a satirical film highlighting the local Cantonese culture by using vulgarities and posting sarcasm on the difficulties of the film industry in Hong Kong after the implementation of CEPA for about 10 years (朗天, 2013).

“透過粗話俚語作道地招徠, 一心破禁, 但除了日常用語外, 粗話並非無的放矢 [...] 突顯了語言以至文化的差異, 溝通失效 [...]”(登徒, 2013)

(“Attracting people through foul language and slangs, the film tries to break the rules, in addition to everyday language use, the foul language is not used without reasons [...] it highlights the differences in language as well as culture differences, and communication breakdown [...])”)

The film was commented by *The Hollywood Reporter* that it is “[f]ully living up to its title, *Vulgaria* is Hong Kong comedy at its breeziest and most communicative” and Pang Ho-Cheung was commended as a director with strong local appeal (Young, 2012).

Films in 2013 continued to show local appeal and nativism (陳志華, 2014), to emphasize on local identity, as well as to show reminiscence of the past images (陳志華, 2014; 朗天, 2014). Some recently released gangster films, such as *Young and Dangerous: Reloaded* 《古惑仔: 江湖新秩序》, tried to represent gangsters’ life in an authentic manner. As a commentary pointed out,

“影片嘗試用「三級」的元素來增加新的吸引力其實出現粗口,性愛裸露和更暴力的場面,是更合乎黑幫片的需要。”(蒲鋒, 2014)
 (“The film tried to add a new attraction with the 'Category III' elements. In fact the use of vulgarities, nudity, sex scenes and more violent scenes, fitted the needs of gangster films.”)

In 2013, the use of Cantonese vulgarities started to appear in other film genre as well, such as in horror films and science fiction. *Rigor Mortis* 《殭屍》(2013), a salutation to Chinese zombie films, did not avoid the use of Cantonese vulgarities. The story of *Rigor Mortis* happens in an old public estate where Uncle Dung died in an accident but his wife, Auntie Mui wanted to keep his corpse and resulted in transforming him into a zombie. Uncle Dung was a working class old man and used Cantonese vulgarities in his daily life. Similarly, the use of Cantonese vulgar by the mini-bus driver in another award-nominated film, *The Midnight After* 《那夜凌晨, 我坐上了旺角開往大埔的紅VAN》, portrayed by Lam Suet, represented authentic street life in Hong Kong. Examples 3 and 4 below show the language used by the working class old man and the mini-bus driver in these two films.

Example 3: Scenario: Auntie Mui was helping her neighbour to repair a gown and her husband, Uncle Dung, was helping her. (*Rigor Mortis*, 20:27-20:45)

Uncle Dung : “件衫係唔撚係俾人著㗎? 隻豬都要著衫?”
 (Is this clothes fucking made for human beings? Does that pig need to wear clothes?)

Example 4: Scenario: When the mini-bus had arrived Taipo terminal, the mini-bus driver urged the passengers to get off the mini-bus so he can finish his work. (*The Midnight After*, 10:48 –11:04)

Mini-bus driver: “屌, 你哋落唔落車㗎?”
 (Fuck, are you guys getting off the car?)
 Passengers: [...]
 Mini-bus driver: “喂, 屌! 你係落就快撚啲啦!”
 (Hey, fuck! If you are getting off then do it fucking quickly!”)

Bolton & Hutton’s sociolinguistic study of Cantonese vulgarities used in Hong Kong showed that the use of swearword is not only restricted to male lower-working class, gangsters, criminals and construction workers, but also later became a linguistic property of the Hong Kong people as a whole. The use of swearwords “is associated with a number of partially contradictory, partially interlocking stereotypes” (Bolton and Hutton, 1997). The absence of avoiding vulgarities in the two films showed that the films are trying to represent Hong Kong street culture in a more authentic manner in terms of language use in the films. It is observed that the attitude towards language use in Hong Kong films has changed in recent years because of awareness to present Hong Kong nativism and show the awareness of Hong Kong identity.

6. Reasons for the Authentic Use of Vulgarities in Recent Hong Kong Films

“It really is time to drop the mass market mentality or at least to redefine it. Mass market are evaporating inexorably... Trying to maintain position by rebranding campaigns, redesigns and giveaways may provide an interim solution, but also run the risk of burning cash and diverting attention from the need to find a new way of doing business in an era without the types of mass audiences the current industry has grown up with.” (Küng, 2008)

The above quote truly defines the current situation of the Hong Kong film industry. As mentioned in the introduction, the Hong Kong film industry has been facing a decline in

attendances since the mid 1990s. Even with the improvement of the situation in the recent years, the Hong Kong film industry has not been able to achieve yet another milestone. The revitalizing of the Taiwanese film industry in recent years (Zhang, 2012) might challenge the Hong Kong's process towards betterment. Another major threat is the explosive and exponential growth of the film industry in Mainland China, with huge budgets and stellar cast (Zhang, 2012). Filmmakers in Hong Kong should rethink if there is still a possibility for their films to reach a group of mass audience. If this is no longer possible, it may be more financially viable for films to cater to more specific minorities – the niche markets. Targeting niche markets can help filmmakers better achieve a competitive advantage, and by focusing on a specific segment of the market, there is greater potential for the films to achieve success. Recent research has also shown that there is a severe drop of teenagers going into the cinemas to watch films (Cmiel, 2013). The result is not a surprise as teenagers today are spoiled with leisure choices and therefore, is a harder a segment to target. Considering these factors, it is surmise to say that there is no longer a financial concern in whether the films are given a Category III rating or not. In other words, there is also no longer the need for filmmakers to reduce or mitigate the extent of vulgarities used in films. The use of vulgarities, similar to how they are use in the everyday street life of Hong Kong, can be represented in Hong Kong films authentically.

Another reason for the more authentic use of vulgarities in recent Hong Kong films can be attributed to the gradual loss of the Hong Kong's culture and identity. Hong Kong is essentially a postmodern city, with its shifting from labour intensive mass production in its early days to the service and innovative oriented condition of today. Today, Hong Kong is a globalized city with influences from a fusion of east and west (Chang, 2007). The massive economic development in Hong Kong has also blurred the concept of place. Today, a town in Hong Kong is saturated with huge shopping malls, major business institutions, cafes, cineplex and mass transit railway system (with its own in-station cafes and shopping zone). This is in relation to what Mark Auge referred as the rise of 'non places'. People in Hong Kong are spending a lot of their time in places that bear very little cultural past and identity. Every corner of the city is growing in line with the level of economic growth. Technological development is another key area in Hong Kong (Ash and Holbig, 2013). New technology is replacing old technology, creating new problems in order for newer technologies in the future to tackle. Aesthetics works, such as films, in postmodern contexts, are often highly self-reflexive, which simply means the reference to the self.

“Self-reflection needs to recur because we continue to perform throughout life, and therefore need as often to reflect upon the previously unassessed. Also, culture's eye is capricious, its attention and emphasis over matters ebb and flow, thus we must continually re-anticipate culture's judgment over not only our nonce, but also over the whole history of our being in the world.” (Liu and Davenport, 2005)

The use of vulgarities in Hong Kong films similar to their usage in the Hong Kong daily street life is often not meant to further represent any specific cause or issue. It is merely a representation of Hong Kong's street culture. Despite the shallowness in its apparent representation, the authentic use vulgarities in Hong Kong films has got great significances in recent times. Since the return to Mainland China in 1997, Hong Kong has seemingly made more efforts to protect its own identity (Wong, 2011). The gradual replacement of the Hong Kong-style Cantonese language with Guangdong-style Cantonese and Mainland China's Putonghua has been an area of concern for many Hong Kong people (Chu, 2013). Furthermore, the locals are concerned about the overcrowding in Hong Kong due to the influx of many visitors from Mainland China (Peng, 2010). There have been several protests in recent years, demanding the Hong Kong government to take necessary measures to curb the number of visitors from Mainland China. More recently, the decision made by the Central government in Beijing on the electoral procedures of the Chief Executive in Hong Kong has triggered the Occupy Central Movement, where protestors deliberately occupy some key roads in Hong Kong, in hope to pressurize the decision to be revoked (Lam, 2014). In a recent survey conducted by the Chinese University of Hong Kong, only 8.9% of the Hong Kong population consider themselves 'citizens' of Chinaⁱⁱⁱ. Films, therefore, play an important role

in perpetuating and reflecting the Hong Kong's culture and identity. It is also there observable that, regardless of film genres, there has been a more authentic use of vulgarities, common to those spouted and heard in Hong Kong style cafes, trains and on the street, in Hong Kong films.

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ⁱ Hong Kong government, in this paper, refers to the government of Hong Kong during the British rule till the 30th June 1997. Hong Kong SAR government, on the other hand, refers to Hong Kong as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China.

ⁱⁱ The situation of “cage home” can refer to an article by written by Eunice Yoon written for CNN in 2009 entitled “Living in a cage in Hong Kong”, depicting the living condition and social issues relating to this issue.

ⁱⁱⁱ Refer to article, Record low number of Hong Kongers call themselves 'Chinese': http://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/record-low-number-of-hong-kongers-call-themselves-chinese-114111100988_1.html.