Chapter 3

Beehives and Wet Markets: Expat Metaphors of Hong Kong

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Hong Kong may be experienced, like all physical locations, through the interaction of our sensory systems with the external world. But, as in the case of physical locations, Hong Kong is also experienced in our minds through memory and reflection. In this chapter, I will explain how expatriate residents integrate their conceptualization of Hong Kong through the metaphorical source domains that are most resonant to them, and in doing so, "making the other local" via conceptual inferencing.

In order to set the stage for what follows, I need to first provide a bit of aviation history: Hong Kong once had one of the top six most dangerous airports to land in in the world. Prior to the closure of Hong Kong's Kai Tak international airport in 1998, planes would descend toward the landing strip perilously close to buildings, as passengers gasped at the sight of t-shirts drying on poles sticking out of the windows of six-story apartment buildings, which themselves were framed against deep green mountains (Figure 3.1).[1]

Figure 3.1. Cathay Pacific 747-300 on descent into Kai Tak airport

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[1] Released into the public domain via the Creative Commons License. For details refer to webpage: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:A_CX_Final_Approach_to_KaiTak.jpg]

Nowadays, the descent into the new airport at Chep Lap Kok is much less dramatic with open space on either side of the landing strip. However, apartment buildings (some over forty-stories tall) can be seen rising up out of the base of green mountain ranges like narrow, miniature Lego blocks just outside the airport, and it is this verticality of both buildings and mountains that visitors see soon after departing the airport by bus, taxi or train (Figure 3.2).[2]

Figure 3.2. Cathay Pacific plane at Hong Kong International Airport

The limitation on the amount of stable, flat land that can be used to build housing, along with the government's tight control on the land made available to property developers, is what drives this tight block-like verticality.[3] I will argue that this verticality, in turn, drives many expat's conceptualizations of Hong Kong, as they favor the notion of contrast to explain the city in which they live. In order to gain insight into these conceptualizations, I asked a number of expat writers in Hong Kong to compare Hong Kong to something else and explain

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[2] Released into the public domain via the Creative Commons License. For details refer to webpage: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/05/Hong_Kong_International_Airport_%28526352532%29.jpg

[3] Lam and Graddol (2017) point out that Hong Kong's verticality also creates a different way of conceiving indexical social meaning as compared with the stratification associated with horizontal landscapes.

why they chose that particular thing. I then analyzed these comparisons in order to better understand how these expats conceptualize their adopted city.

A great deal of research in linguistics and psychology has examined possible underlying methods for how people compare two concepts.[4] Glucksberg & McGlone (2001) and Glucksberg (2003), for example, posits that metaphor comprehension occurs when an abstract link, known as an attributive category, is created between two specific concepts in semantic memory. Work by George Lakoff and colleagues in Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Ahrens 2010; Kövecses, 2002, 2003, 2008; Lakoff 1993, 2014; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Gibbs, 1994, along with many others) posits instead that there are underlying mappings between a source domain (a conceptual domain that prototypically involves concepts that are concrete, like JOURNEY or BUILDING) and a target domain (one that contains more abstract concepts, like JUSTICE or DEMOCRACY.) While the attributive categorization view emphasizes the ad hoc nature of metaphor in that these semantic links may be created on the fly at any time, the conceptual metaphor view highlights the systematicity of the source-target domain pairings (Ahrens, 2010; Gong & Ahrens, 2007). In this study, I am utilizing both approaches in that I am asking participants to both make comparisons on the fly and then explain their reason for that particular comparison. Then I look for systematicity between the source domains they generated and their explanations of those generated source domains in order to extract the commonalities in their comparisons. This study, thus, extends beyond the traditional notion of identifying the conceptual mappings between a particular source and target domain pairing and moves forward to

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[4] When direct comparisons are made using the word 'like' or 'as', it is known as a simile. If the comparison occurs without 'like' or 'as' it is known as a metaphor. Similes may also be thought of as a direct or signalled metaphor, and thus I will use metaphor as an over-arching term for both in this chapter. See also Steen et al. (2010) for further discussion on this point.

examine what is similar about the mappings between each novel source and target-domain pairing. As such, this study has the potential to further develop research on metaphor and conceptual reasoning.

The study itself is a production task that aims to elicit an explicit comparison from participants and, additionally, have them analyze the responses that they themselves have generated. Given that I wanted participants who were comfortable with providing written responses with no pre-determined answer, I decided to pose this question to expatriates who are interested in language and literature, namely writers or translators. In addition, as I knew all the participants professionally as writers and translators, e-mail was used as the point of contact and follow-up. This use of email also allowed the participants time to reflect on their answers and to send me a reply at their convenience.[5] As the recipients of the email also know that I am a university professor and a linguist, in addition to being a writer, my writing an email to them to request a response on a particular topic, while unanticipated, is not completely surprising as they know I served as the Director of the International Writers' Workshop at HKBU from 2012-2017 and was serving as a Member of the Advisory Board and International Regional Advisor Chairperson of the Society of Children's Book Writers and Illustrators from 2008 to the time of the request.[6]

With these guidelines in mind, thirteen people whom I know as writers or translators were contacted via email for this study and all thirteen replied. For writers, this meant that they write creatively (stories or poetry) in English and they regularly participate in literary activities such as readings and/or critique groups; for the translators, it means they translate

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[5]For a discussion of the methodological issues to be cognizant of when using email to undertake qualitative research, as well as proposed guidelines, see Meho (2006).

[6]These two leadership roles do not contain any decision-making power with regard to publication or other aspects of their writing career. The participants are free to respond (or not) as they wish.

literary work. However, one participant worked on her reply with another person, so this reply was discarded from the analysis.[7] Of the twelve participants remaining, eight were women and four were men, between 25 and 75 years of age. One classified herself as a translator, all the rest considered themselves to be writers (in addition to whatever day job they may hold). All participants were informed that their answers would be used as part of a linguistic study and that their responses would be presented anonymously for research purposes.

In addition, as the goal was to focus on expatriates, the participants all have/had family and English-speaking educational experiences outside of Hong Kong/China/Taiwan/Singapore. Furthermore, they are not fluent in reading or writing in Chinese.[8] At the same time, it was necessary that aspects of newness had worn off to some degree, so writers were contacted who had all been living in Hong Kong, with Hong Kong as their main residence, for more than two years, ensuring that they have become familiar with the Hong Kong environment, and importantly, that they have decided to remain in Hong Kong after an initial period of acclimation.[9]

All participants were made aware of the purpose of the study. In addition, they were provided with a draft copy of the paper prior to submission to thank them for their help, to share the results with them, and to assure them of the anonymity of the responses.

The metaphors themselves were generated by asking these expatriates to fill in the answer to "Hong Kong is (like) a(n) X" via email. They were then asked to expand upon the

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[7]The reply read: "Hong Kong is like a multicoloured bowl of Fruitloops rubbing shoulders with one another!"
[8]One participant can speak Cantonese, the Chinese dialect spoken in Hong Kong, very well, but is not literate in Chinese.
[9]Two of the twelve were educated in international (English) schools in Hong Kong as their parents had come to Hong Kong as expats. They later went overseas for tertiary education, and then returned to Hong Kong.

reasons why they considered Hong Kong to be similar to the chosen X. The participants were all told this question was part of a linguistic study, but at the same time the questions were asked in an informal, conversational manner, as in (A) below, so as to elicit a natural response, with time for both reflection and clarification of their initial ideas.

(A) Sample of question in initial email:

I need your help with a linguistic paper I am writing -- related to expat's views of Hong Kong...as a metaphor. So, if you were to compare Hong Kong to something (i.e. Hong Kong is (like) a ....), what would you compare it to?

In some cases, the participants immediately explained why they chose a particular metaphor. If they didn't, I followed up by e-mail with a question similar to the one given in (B) below.

(B) Sample of Question in subsequent email (if needed):

Okay, so can you expand further on the XXXX metaphor/analogy for me?

Why/How is Hong Kong (like) a XXXXX? (And also, why/how is it not - if that helps).

Once I received all the responses, I identified the keywords from the source domain, which is the (prototypically) more concrete domain that is used to understand or explain a (prototypically) more abstract concept domain, in this case, Hong Kong.

In what follows, I will provide the portions of the emails that relate to the above questions for each of the twelve participants. The 'a' part of the answer is in reply to the initial question and the 'b' part of the answer is in reply to the follow up question, unless an explanation is

provided in the original answer (in which case only the number is given) or unless otherwise noted.[10]

After each response, I will briefly discuss each response in turn and then provide a summary table for the source domains, the reasons given by the respondent for the source domain selection, and then the postulated key concept that can be extrapolated from these reasons. Please note the responses are grouped according to their source domains, so the first four respondents gave insect homes (i.e. anthill or beehive), the next two respondents gave 'kaleidoscope' and the remaining six respondents gave a variety of individual source domains. After the respondent number, I provide what I view as the main explanation for the respondent to provide this source domain and I underline the portions of the response that influenced my judgement in this regard.

Four of the twelve respondents provided source domains that had to do with insect homes. These explanations all focused on busyness as a recurring reason for conceptualizing Hong Kong in this way. Respondent number one said:

1a- *A beehive! [though not quite sure who might be the Queen.... maybe, ultimately, Beijing?]*[11]

1b - *So - in a beehive, <u>everyone comes and goes without much reference to the others</u> - though I know that drones inform the workers about sources of nectar, etc. with dancing. But I think the reason I thought of it was because, when you open a hive to check for honey etc., <u>you see everyone doing their own thing, climbing over each</u>*

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[10] All responses are edited for spelling.

[11] As Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, the Chief Executive of the HKSAR is appointed by political leaders in Beijing. Please see Ahrens & Zeng (2017) for an examination of the metaphors used by these Chief Executives when discussing issues related to democracy.

other and kind of just following their pre-programming without any apparent desire or incentive other than just to do what they're supposed to do. Is that making sense?

I suppose it could also be an ant-hill, for exactly the same reasons, though when an anthill is threatened there is more cohesion in the efforts to save the pupae etc.

Both of us[12] have made the bee-hive analogy when visiting anyone who lives in high-rise multi-tower units [sorry!][13] because we find them really difficult to navigate, and impersonal to some degree. It's perhaps about living at close quarters without caring much about the other members of your community...

Plus the fact that many ex-pats choose to live in ghetto-type groups...[i.e. ESF staff; Indian families centred in Kowloon; dog-owners in Sai Kung, etc]

Unlike a beehive, there doesn't seem to be a worthwhile product for all the mayhem.

Maybe I'm just not the usual ex-pat type?

The explanation here focuses on the busyness of the beehive and the density and impersonality of the living situation. The respondent also notes the similarity to an ant-hill. Another person who mentioned a beehive simply said:

2-a *A beehive.*

2-b *Hong Kong is like a beehive in that it's crowded with busy workers coming and going from densely packed homes.*

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[12] Meaning the participant and her spouse.

[13] This apology likely has to do with the fact that the writer knows that I live in a high-rise apartment.

In this case, there are two reasons for the selection of this source domain. One is, again, the busyness of the workers in Hong Kong, and the second is again reference to the dense conditions in which people live.[14] The third respondent also focused on busyness:

3-a   *Here are some of the metaphors that come to mind:*[15]

   - an ant nest (anthill)

   - beehive

   - New York of the East

   - one huge construction site

   - giant shopping mall

3-b

 I would choose the first (ant nest or rather anthill) since I see Hong Kong as very orderly, and its people as <u>*very diligent and busy*</u>*. The tall apartment building also remind me of anthills. However, I see it also very fragile and inward oriented.*

Busyness is mentioned here, with density only implied with the visual reference to anthills, and both beehive and anthill are mentioned in this reply (as in the replies of the first respondent), with beehives being associated with the dense living conditions and the anthills with the vertical height of the apartment buildings. Of other note is that respondent three is the only person who thought of 'shopping mall.' Visitors to Hong Kong may often joke that

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[14] The Hong Kong Free Press reported that the average living space for an individual in Hong Kong is 161 square feet compared with an average of approximately 220 square feet in Japan, 370 square feet in Taiwan and 800 square feet in the United States https://www.hongkongfp.com/2015/07/27/the-unlivable-dwellings-in-hong-kong-and-the-minimum-living-space/ (Accessed on 11 March 2017).
[15] In the follow up question, the respondent was asked to select one metaphor and explain further.

Hong Kong is one big shopping mall, but this metaphor, although mentioned initially, was not selected upon further reflection and no other respondents mentioned it either. This may be because the people surveyed were expatriates who are living here and do not have the same conceptualization of Hong Kong as a tourist who comes to shop.

The fourth person to mention beehive writes:

4a - *HK is a buzz, a whizz - like a busy beehive that never sleeps*

4b - *A beehive never sleeps, never stops - feeding the 'Queen' (money!!)*

Although bees breathe life into the world by pollinating - HK city (not country parks!) is the antithesis of nature

Two points are of note here. First, is the discussion again of busyness. All four respondents (one-fourth of our respondents) who chose insect homes as the conceptual domain to compare Hong Kong to all mention this perceived aspect of the frame. In addition, two of the four also mention the issue of housing density. Second, this respondent also indirectly refers to the contrast here between city and country parks. This notion of contrast occurs repeatedly in the next four conceptual metaphors that we look at, even though the source domains are very different from one another.

For example, respondent #5 writes:

5 – *Hong Kong is a turf war between concrete and jungle, fought out between soaring peaks and a bright blue sea.*

Here the notion of 'turf war' is explicitly related to the physical contrasts in the Hong Kong environment that I mentioned in the opening of this chapter – the buildings rising up

out of the base of mountains.[16] This response also references the reason underlying the war –
the lack of buildable land in Hong Kong.

Respondent #6 also talks about contrasts, but uses food as the source domain. S/he
writes:

6 - *Kong is an expensive, beautiful and delicious <u>fusion dish</u> that presents
<u>complimenting Chinese and British flavours</u> in an exquisite manner. It is a flavourful
dish with <u>contrasting elements of East and West</u> <u>of high tech modernity and
skyscrapers</u> as well as <u>old traditions and lush beautiful nature</u>. It is an exquisite
scrumptious dish that should be experienced, enjoyed and savoured at least once by
any explorer's palate.*

This respondent again points out the contrasts here in Hong Kong, and mentions not
on the physical contrasts (i.e., 'skyscrapers' and 'lush beautiful nature') but also 'high tech
modernity' and 'old traditions' as well as the 'contrasting elements of East and West'. While
the source domain is very different from 'turf war' the respondent also wants to emphasize
that Hong Kong is a place that contains a variety of contrasts and dichotomies and most apt
comparison s/he can provide is one based in the source domain of food, specifically a 'fusion
dish' which is an expression used in high end restaurants to explain that their chef's offerings
use a combination of methods or ingredients – ones that would not traditionally be paired
together.

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[16] As I write this chapter, I am looking out of the window of forty-something floor of a residential building that
looks out onto a green mountain range, on which other forty-something story residential buildings perch
precariously. A deep gash of brownish-red dirt runs diagonally in between two of the apartment buildings,
seemingly waiting to fold them into the earth below.

The seventh respondent again notes contrasts in Hong Kong, but this time focuses on the people, particularly 'everyday' people as part of a machine. S/he writes:

7-a *A fantastical machine.*

7-b *I compared Hong Kong to a fantastical machine because there are many parts to this city, <u>some shine and some are dull.</u> Some appear to do little but enjoy the view from atop and others are the grit and oil that keep things moving but see only the grease and walls of the inner machine. There is a <u>huge juxtaposition in the lives of its inhabitants</u>. For example, <u>high atop the peak it looks otherworldly,</u> like it can't possibly be a real place. The buildings glisten in the sun and the clouds float by with dream like quality (on an optimal weather day of course). <u>Descending from the fantasy from the peak we see the giant cogs of the tram</u> that will take us back down into the streets that are more like the inner machine, where the <u>everyday person is the elbow grease, they may never have seen the city from the top but without them it may cease to exist.</u> So like a machine each part is important but there is something about the machine as a whole that is almost unreal.*

The area of Hong Island known as the 'Peak' referred to above is extremely expensive (even for Hong Kong), with the homes secluded, gated and often with large square footage that makes them even more expensive. The Mansion Global website, which writes about luxury properties worldwide, estimates that the price for an apartment on the peak is US$8 to $13 million and the price for a townhouse or a detached home is US$20 to $100

million[17] Given that the average salary in Hong Kong is around US$2000 per month, homes on the Peak are definitely a 'fantasy' for 99.9% of Hong Kong's population of 7.4 million inhabitants.[18] The contrast in this example has to do with the everyday worker, who is the 'elbow grease' for the machine, and the people who live in the otherworldly Peak, and who look down on the tall buildings that line Victoria Harbour.[19] Comparing Hong Kong to a machine also brings out the concept that the machine looks shiny for those with money, but is full of grease and labor for those who toil in the 'inner machine'. The socio-economic class differences are thus starkly portrayed in this explanation, which is not seen elsewhere.

Interestingly, in this eighth example, the writer begins by saying that Hong Kong is all about contrasts and then goes on to compare Hong Kong to a local market place, usually held in the ground floor of an un-air-conditioned or not very well air-conditioned building:

8 – *I think HK is all about contrast and that its essence is encapsulated in*

the wet market - particularly the one in Central, where at street level, hawkers,

surrounded by modern mirrored skyscrapers, sit low to the ground using old wooden

boxes as makeshift seats. Where stalls of soil-peppered vegetables piled high on

bamboo baskets darkened with age, rub shoulders with shops full of imported

tchotchke, or shiny new espresso bars, where well-shod patrons buy lattes and vegan

cakes for the price of a bag of pak choi which would feed a family of four for a week.

The smells are a kaleidoscopic assault on the senses too - from the stink of the

beloved (by locals) 'chou dou fou'; the blunt iron odour of the raw meat hanging on

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hooks at the butcher shop; the sweet perfume of mangoes; the throat catching diesel fumes of the lorries driving by; to the saliva-inducing scent of wonton noodles. <u>The patrons are a similarly varied meld of wrinkled and fresh-faced, prosperous and ragged, hurried and leisurely...</u> And it's possible to catch snatches of many languages in the soup of noise that emanates from the crowd bustling by. At night, the site of the wet market shows yet another aspect of Hong Kong - the quiet underbelly - where there are very few people and rats scuttle about with impunity. They feast amongst the rotting leftovers which have been swept into corners and drains, fearless of the scrawny cats that slink around, waiting for the sun to rise and the market to come to life again.[20]

The contrast here is again on people of different socio-economic classes. Here they are nearer to one another than when they are on the Peak looking down, but their experience of the market differs in the amount of money they spend and the shops they spend it in. Here the wealthy and the poor "rub shoulders" when they go to their different shops. However, they all smell the same smells and they all leave the market at night to the rats. The market metaphor as explained above allows for the conceptualization of sharing the same space during a particular time period, and thus, while portraying a clear socio-economic dichotomy between those with more financial resources and those with less, there is also space for a shared life in Hong Kong.

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[20]A second metaphor that was provided as an alternate later in the email was: "Hong Kong is like a Pantone Book - where every color representing every different type of person, every mood, every situation and every bit of scenery from the lush green of the country parks, to the grey of concrete, to the red of the CNY [Chinese New Year] decorations, to the azure blue of the sea can be found between the covers of the book."

The fifth example that mentions contrasts also mentions socio-economic differences, In addition, this is the only example where the respondent specifically compares life in Hong Kong to life back in the UK. S/he writes:

9 – *After being here a couple of months, (nine years ago!) someone told me that "Hong Kong is like university <u>except everyone has money</u>" I can relate to that very narrow view, especially as I live in mid-levels![21]*

It's like a university, (or has a feel of university life) because for most of us, going to Uni was the first time of leaving home, parents, friends and everything that was comfortable. I, like many others, dived into a social scene of going out drinking and dancing and meeting new people, and the majority of people I met were open and friendly. Fast forward ten years and being newly married, Pat[22] and I moved to Hong Kong, and it was <u>exactly the same</u>, only this time we were more confident, and <u>we had money to spend</u>. When we first arrived, it felt as free and exciting as it did when I left home the first time.

Also, studying in a university town, (Bristol) I had a view of <u>'us and them,'</u> the students and the townies, moving here <u>was the same with the expats and the locals</u>. I felt <u>part of society but not fully integrated, looking in</u>. (This changed over the course of ten years, but certainly it was the way I felt for the first couple of years.)

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[21] Many international bankers and accountants live in apartments in the mid-levels, where modest-sized flats sell for several million US dollars. While apartment prices are similar to the lower end of the apartment prices on the Peak, the people who live in mid-levels value their location because they can often take an escalator and/or escalator and subway system to get to and from their jobs, whereas the public transportation options on the Peak are restricted to public buses.

[22] All personal and place names have been changed to protect the privacy of the respondent.

Another similarity was that if I'd left HK under two or three years and gone back home, I would have thought that I'd 'failed' same as if I'd left University.

The respondent notes the similarities with Hong Kong to university life – the friendships and sociability of that life, and also the sense of needed to 'make it' in this new environment. The respondent also notes feeling removed from the local people, especially at first. As mentioned above, this is the only example given where the writer explicitly contrasts aspects of Hong Kong life with life at home. One reason may be that the writer answered what to him or her was the implicit question: moving to Hong Kong is like going off to university.

While the first four source domains were very similar in nature, all referring to either beehives or insect homes, these five source domains are disparate. The former source domains emphasize the notion of busyness and living density; the latter either the physical contrasts, cultural contrasts or socio-economic contrasts that are present in modern-day Hong Kong. In addition, one respondent specifically contrasts moving to Hong Kong with his/her experience of going off to university. The final two source domains to be examined below are also very different from each other, but their focus is similar: it has to do with the dizzying lack of predictability that can be found in Hong Kong.

Two of the respondents mention kaleidoscope when they wanted to get across this idea.

10a – *A kaleidoscope.*

10b –*When it is in motion, <u>Hong Kong constantly transforms</u> revealing countless possibilities that would <u>be impossible to predict</u> or create had you not had the opportunity to look inside.*

11 – *HK is like a kaleidoscope with <u>each person who looks through it seeing and experiencing a different place</u>*.

The notion of transformation, of differences and of unpredictability are all referenced in these explanations, as they are for the comparison provided below:

12 – *Hong Kong is like manic's thoughts. <u>Makes no sense at all</u> until you immerse yourself and just go with the flow.*

Here the references is again how unpredictable Hong Kong is, and how different it is from anything that might be expected.

Table 3.1 below summarizes the main findings: namely that insect homes are the most commonly selected source domain and the reason for the selection of this particular source domain is similar among respondents as they discuss the busyness and/or crowdedness of life in Hong Kong.

Source Domain	Inferences
Insect homes (Beehive/anthill) (4)*	Busyness (4) Density (2)
Wet market	Contrast
Fusion dish	Contrast
Turf war	Contrast
Fantastical machine	Contrast
University	Contrast (with home)
Manic's thoughts	Unpredictability
Kaleidoscope (2)	Unpredictability

Table 3.1. Source domains and postulated inferences

*The number represents how many respondents mentioned this concept.

The next four source domains emphasize the contrasts that can be found in Hong Kong, with the fifth domain (that of the university) the only example where the respondent contrasts his/her former life abroad with his/her life now in Hong Kong. The final two source domains

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discussed (over three examples) all share references to the unpredictable nature of life in

Hong Kong; the swirling panoply of possibility that is Hong Kong.[23]

In conclusion, this chapter has explored the various conceptualizations

of Hong Kong by expatriates through the examination of the metaphors they chose to

compare Hong Kong to, as well as their subsequent explanation of their selection. I found

that while the conceptual source domains selected by the conceptualizations differ, the

inferences underlying the mappings between the source domains and the target domain of

Hong Kong primarily coalesce around the notion of contrast – not of contrast between the

expat home and Hong Kong, but contrasts within Hong Kong itself. Contrasts that have been

particularly noted are the differences between the jungle and the concrete, old and new, rich

and poor, and the British and Chinese aspects of Hong Kong. In addition, two other sets of

inferences invoke source domains that reflect 1) the busyness of life in Hong Kong and 2) the

unpredictability of life in Hong Kong.

This study has pointed out that even when people use newly generated, *ad hoc*

metaphors to explain the reason for a comparison, the underlying explanations often share

similar features. The fact that these commonalities can be found, in turn, point to a way

forward for competing theoretical views concerning metaphor, suggesting that the attribute

categorization view may be relevant when modelling source-target domain pairings that are

highly unusual in the language (Glucksberg, 2003; Glucksberg & McGlone, 2001), while a

structure mapping model (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005) or conceptual mapping model (Ahrens,

2010) may be more useful for modelling novel expressions that extend from conventional

metaphorical expressions.

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[23] I suggest that this is also the inference for the comparison to a Pantone Book that is discussed in footnote 19. This comparison was not included directly in the above analysis because it was the second choice given by the respondent, the first being the wet market.

These findings are based on a sample of expatriates who are fluent in English, are of working age, are writers, and are living in Hong Kong for the foreseeable future. Further investigation needs to be carried to ascertain if the pattern of results seen here can be extended to a larger sample of expatriates, including those who are not writers (and so who may not be as inclined to expand in detail on their chosen metaphor), and/or those who are younger or older than working age, as teenagers (or retirees) may have a different perspective on Hong Kong than those drawing a salary. In addition, it would be interesting to compare how local residents of Hong Kong (those who have been educated in the local education system from kindergarten through university) conceptualize their home city – what source domains would they invoke and what inferences would they highlight?

Additional studies could also interrogate how expatriates and locals in other major cities conceptualize their particular city. In particular, do the inferences of contrast, busyness, and unpredictability hold for all cities of a certain size? Or does a city need to be large and (or) multi-cultural in order to invoke these entailments? What entailments would hold for smaller and (or) more mono-cultural cities? And what source domains would be selected to create these entailments? Lastly, to what extent do cultural paradigms of a particular city (i.e. New York as the "Big Apple" or Paris as "the city of lights") influence the conceptualizations of those who live there?

This chapter opened with a brief explanation of the physical contrasts expats see when they arrive into Hong Kong by air – the contrast of buildings rising up against dark green mountain ranges. This contrast, along the impact of the density and verticality of the buildings, appears to have influenced the conceptualizations of Hong Kong expats as shared by the participants in this study, as seen through an analysis of their explanations of their chosen comparison for Hong Kong. While many of the source domains differ, a unifying

theme is how much of Hong Kong is a contrast, not with the location from which they came, but in and of itself – its history, geography, and its culture.

Acknowledgements

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