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CORPUS-ASSISTED DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LINGAO LANGUAGE
IN THE HAINANESE PRESS
IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

1. Introduction

Lingao is a language spoken on Hainan Island, mostly in Lingao city and Lingao county.¹ Native Lingao speakers are not Han Chinese (汉族 Hánzú), but they are also not one of the fifty-five minority groups, according to the Chinese government. In fact, they have lived on Hainan Island for so long that they identify themselves as “locals.”² Genetic research also proves that Lingao people are not Han Chinese.³ Lingao is an unrecognized minority language which belongs to the Tai–Kadai language group. It is referred to as a local dialect by the Chinese government and operates within conditions of symbolic subordination to the official language – that is, 普通话 (*Pǔtōnghuà*). Lingao is a language mainly used for communication with older relatives and is generally perceived as not suitable for official communication, education, and in most formal contexts. Nowadays, many native speakers decide to communicate with their children only in Putonghua.⁴ The media often reflect perceptions of a language’s status and then shape these perceptions by presenting an image of a certain language. People who speak a given

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¹ J. Liu 刘剑三, *Lingao yu huayucailiaoji* [Lingao language materials] (1st ed.), China Minzu University Press, Beijing 2009, pp. 2–3.

² M. Liang 梁敏, J. Zhang 张均如, *Lingao yu yanjiu* 临高语研究 [Yanjiu, a study of the Lingao language], Shanghai yuandong 上海远东, Shanghai 1997, pp. 4–17.

³ H. Fan, X. Wang, H. Chen et al., *The Ong Be language-speaking population in Hainan Island: Genetic diversity, phylogenetic characteristics and reflections on ethnicity*, “Molecular Biology Reports” 2019, Vol. 46, pp. 4095–4103, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11033-019-04859-8>.

⁴ K. Wizla-Lin, *Language Attitudes of Native Be Speakers Towards the Be Language – Xianguang Village Survey*, “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 2023, nr 1–2, pp. 117–118.

language may receive praise, and the language may be portrayed as valuable. At the same time, journalists, by choosing the contexts in which the language is presented, show what function it serves within a given newspaper's readership community. The way the Lingao language is portrayed not only reflects journalists' views but may also result from specific language policies. The choice of topics and the manner in which reality is portrayed depend both on journalists' beliefs as well as the impact of government language policies. Analysing the press discourse regarding the Lingao language helps to show how it is presented in newspapers.

2. Current and future research on the Lingao language

To the best of my knowledge, the number of publications on the Lingao language is limited as only a few researchers have shown interest in this particular language. The most comprehensive publication on the topic is *Research on the Lingao language* by Liang Ming (梁明) and Zhang Junru (张均如), which contains a detailed description of Lingao language features such as tones, syntax, and vocabulary. The introductory chapter discusses theories regarding the possible origins of native Lingao speakers. The appendix contains a Chinese–Lingao dictionary. Words in both Lincheng and Qiongshan dialects are included. At the end of the publication, a few longer sample texts (Lingaohua transcription combined with Chinese characters) are presented.⁵

Another significant publication is Liu Jiansan's 刘剑三 (Lingao language materials). This book is a collection of spoken language materials in the Lingao language, consisting predominantly of folk stories and songs. Each text is presented with a Lingaohua transcription and a Chinese translation. The introductory chapter presents a short description of the language itself.⁶

It is also worth noting that in 2001 Theraphan L. Thongkum published an article entitled *The Tai-Kadai peoples of Hainan Island and their languages*. This is a valuable source of knowledge about the possible connection between the Lingao language and other Tai-Kadai languages.⁷

The Lingao language is also mentioned in publications describing the language situation of Hainan Island. The most comprehensive article in Chinese is by Liu Xinzhong (刘心中), who presents the most important languages of Hainan Island one by one.⁸

⁵ M. Liang, J. Zhang, *Lingaoyu yanjiu...*

⁶ J. Liu, *Lingaoyu huayucailiaogji*.

⁷ T.L. Thongkum, *The Tai-Kadai peoples of Hainan Island and their languages*, “Essays in Tai Linguistics” 2001.

⁸ X. Liu 刘新中, *Hainandao de yuyan yu fangyan* 海南岛的语言与方言 [Languages and dialects of Hainan], „Fangyan” 2001, Vol. 1.

There is some research on the grammar of the Lingao language. An example is *Grammatical Notes on Languages in the Hainan Island* by Zhang Huiying (张惠英), who compares and contrasts languages of Hainan Island, including the Lingao language.⁹ The lexis of the Lingao language has also been studied, for example, by Shen Bing (沈冰) and Lin Huayong (林华勇), who compare the Lingao language with the Hainanese Min language.¹⁰

I, too, have written on the Hainan language and continue to research the Lingao language, Hainanese, and other languages of Hainan Island.¹¹

Further research on the Lingao language and its situation is important as official language policy in China and on Hainan Island is generally not favourable to lesser-spoken languages. In the recent years, the Chinese government has published two important documents which further elevate the role of Putonghua in all possible domains. The first document, Opinions of the General Office of the State Council on Comprehensively Strengthening the Work of Spoken and Written Chinese for a New Era, underlines the importance of Putonghua use in all possible contexts. The main goal is to increase the use of the official language, first to 85% by 2025 and by 2035 “standard spoken and written Chinese shall be popularized nationwide in a more comprehensive and sufficient manner, the popularization rate of Mandarin in ethnic minority areas and rural areas shall be increased significantly, the undertaking of spoken and written Chinese shall achieve substantial development.” In the future of China there is no space for other languages. Moreover, promotion of Putonghua should take place both on a national and a local level. The Chinese Communist Party is dedicated to popularization and standardization of the official language in the years to come.¹²

⁹ H. Zhang 張惠英, 海南島语言语法札记 [Grammatical Notes on Languages in the Hainan Island] [in:] *New Horizons in Chinese Linguistics: Dialects, Grammar and Texts*, T.T. Ng Chinese Language Research Centre, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 2016.

¹⁰ B. Shen 沈冰, H. Lin 林华勇, 海南闽语“枚”的来源与发展 [The Origin and Development of the Chinese classifier mo 枚 in Hainan Min Dialect], “民族语文” [Minority Languages of China] 2023, Vol. 2.

¹¹ K. Wizla-Lin, Różnorodność językowa wyspy Hajnan [Langauge diversity on Hainan], Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Poznań 2016; *eadem*, *The role of the Chinese characters in the Be language*, “Porta Orientalis. Orient w Badaniach Młodych Naukowców. Young Researchers on the Orient” 2022, pp. 165–178, <https://doi.org/10.48226/978-83-67287-46-3>; *eadem*, *Language Attitudes...*, pp. 107–118.

¹² 国务院办公厅 [General Office of the State Council], 国务院办公厅关于全面加强新时代语言文字工作的意见 [Opinions of the General Office of the State Council on Comprehensively Strengthening the Work of Spoken and Written Chinese for a New Era], 2020, September 14, https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2021-11/30/content_5654985.htm (access: 11.12.2025).

Another document discusses plans to promote and teach China's national language (that is, Putonghua) as the foundation for high-quality education, a tool for fostering national unity, and a key measure to support the rural revitalization strategy. It focuses on the idea that rural development is linked to popularization of Putonghua. By 2025, the nationwide Putonghua proficiency rate is expected to reach 85%. In minority regions the proficiency rate is expected to increase by six to ten percentage points from the current level, and the target is 80%. The document does not mention the role and significance of the local dialects. Even in minority regions the use of languages other than Putonghua will be further restricted.¹³

A detailed description of concrete measures for the implementation of official language policy on Hainan Island itself can also be found in a 2010 document containing information on Hainan Province Measures for Implementing the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language.¹⁴ The most important provisions are:

1. The education department is obliged to supervise the use of the standard language in speech and writing in all schools and other educational institutions.
2. The civil affairs department must ensure the use of the standard language in speech and writing in all matters under its jurisdiction.
3. The public administration department should ensure that company names, job advertisements, recruitment, and advertising are in the standard language.
4. The media may use only the standard language.
5. The quality supervision department must ensure that all product descriptions and user manuals are written in the standard language.
6. The security department should permit only surnames in standard characters on identity cards.
7. The city management department is obliged to monitor language use in public spaces.

Thus, in almost all contexts, one should speak and write Putonghua. Other languages and traditional characters may be used only in the following circumstances: in inscriptions on monuments, naming historical figures from before the revolution, giving traditional surnames, using traditional or already registered business names,

¹³ 教育部 [Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China], 国家通用语言文字普及提升工程和推普助力乡村振兴计划实施方案 [Implementation Plan for the National Promotion and Enhancement of Standard Language and the Program Supporting Rural Revitalization through Language Promotion], 2021, December 23, https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/zhengceku/2022-01/09/content_5667268.htm (access: 11.12.2025).

¹⁴ 海南省人民代表大会常务委员会 [Standing Committee of the Hainan Provincial People's Congress], 海南省实施《中华人民共和国国家通用语言文字法》办法 [Hainan Province Measures for Implementing the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language], 2001, <https://www.hainan.gov.cn/hainan/dfxfg/201008/0c66a7db65f540298f0d3f03fc9c1ea.shtml> (access: 11.12.2025).

in calligraphy and seals, and in publications (if this is necessary because of the subject matter).

Given the stipulations of the above legislation, the Lingao language appears to be at risk of not being spoken in the future. Further research is therefore required to gain a deeper understanding of its current situation. The present article seeks to contribute to this objective from one possible perspective, namely through the lens of corpus-assisted discourse analysis.

3. Methodology

The main aim of this article is to broaden the understanding of how the Lingao language is presented in the press using linguistic tools (corpus-assisted discourse analysis), based on the example of newspaper articles. Considering the current language policies in China, it seems valuable to explore how the Lingao language is portrayed in the Hainanese press.

Creating corpora from online newspapers makes possible a perspective on which words/phrases collocate with “临高话” (the Lingao language). Concordances with the same phrase from the corpora are analysed as well. This analysis facilitates an exploration of the ways in which the Lingao language is presented in the Hainanese press and provides an opportunity to gain a broader understanding of the situation of lesser-spoken languages in China. In the world of attention-seeking news articles, results based on a detailed discourse analysis of the data in the corpora created provides an opportunity to explore the topic from a broader perspective.

My main research questions are:

1. How is the Lingao language presented in the Hainanese press?
2. What attitudes towards the Lingao language emerge from the texts (from the relevant corpus)?
3. What frequent topics and issues relating to the Lingao language are discussed in the texts (from the relevant corpus)?

Analysing the image of the Lingao language in the Hainanese press through corpus-assisted discourse analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of language attitudes and the role of the media in shaping public discourse on linguistic diversity in China.

The basis of the study is the use of corpus and discourse analysis methods to analyse corpora in Sketch Engine. The analysis is designed to reveal the Lingao language's image as presented in the Hainanese press. The texts for the corpus were acquired from the online newspaper website “Hainan Daily,”¹⁵ and a corpus

¹⁵ 海南日报 *Hainán ribào*, <http://www.hndaily.com.cn/> (access: 11.12.2025).

consisting of 245,654 words was created from this. The time frame is the last twenty-five years (2000–2025).

The next step is to undertake a quantitative analysis of the collected data. Sketch Engine can be used to find collocates with “the Lingao language.” The next step is qualitative analysis. Concordances with chosen words/phrases is analysed. In order to create a list of collocates, the Word Sketch tool available on the Sketch Engine platform is used. A minimum frequency of 4 and a minimum score of 5 will be chosen. The logDice statistical measure is automatically applied by Sketch Engine to identify collocations.

In order to find concordances, the concordance tool available on the Sketch Engine platform is used. The automatic default settings are enough to obtain useful results for the purpose of this study. Concordance analysis should be combined with the author’s knowledge of the context and is qualitative.

Both collocations and concordances are used to examine semantic prosody and semantic preference. They are assessed for positive/negative bias and assigned to groups representing the same topic. Identifying the main topics makes it possible to answer the research questions.¹⁶ Subsequently, the results of the analysis are discussed, and conclusions regarding the attitudes expressed by the authors of press statements toward communication in the Lingao language are presented.

4. The Lingao language in media discourse

The first part of this article focuses on the analysis of collocations involving the Lingao language as represented in the Hainanese press. Using Sketch Engine, a total of eighty collocates were systematically examined in terms of their prosodic features and arranged according to thematic categories.

¹⁶ Even though it is possible to filter only words (instead of words and phrases), in the case of Chinese it is better not to differentiate these. The author favours the stance that in Chinese the distinction between a word and a phrase is often not clear and is a matter of opinion. Because of the nature of the Chinese language and the fact that Chinese does not use spaces between words, there is often no way to determine which characters are one word. This distinction is not a key issue in this project and is not likely to impact the results. For a similar reason, lexical items are filtered by POS. Even though Chinese has been described in the modern era according to concepts used for the grammar of other languages, Chinese linguists originally differentiated only between function words *xuci* (虚词) and content words *shici* (实词). For this reason, filtering is not likely to influence the results; in fact, not filtering might benefit research. The nature and objective of the research makes word/phrase distinction and POS filtering rather irrelevant.

4.1. The Lingao language in Hainanese media: collocations as evidence of linguistic vitality

As illustrated in Figure 1 below, there is a considerable number of collocates with 临高话 (the Lingao language):

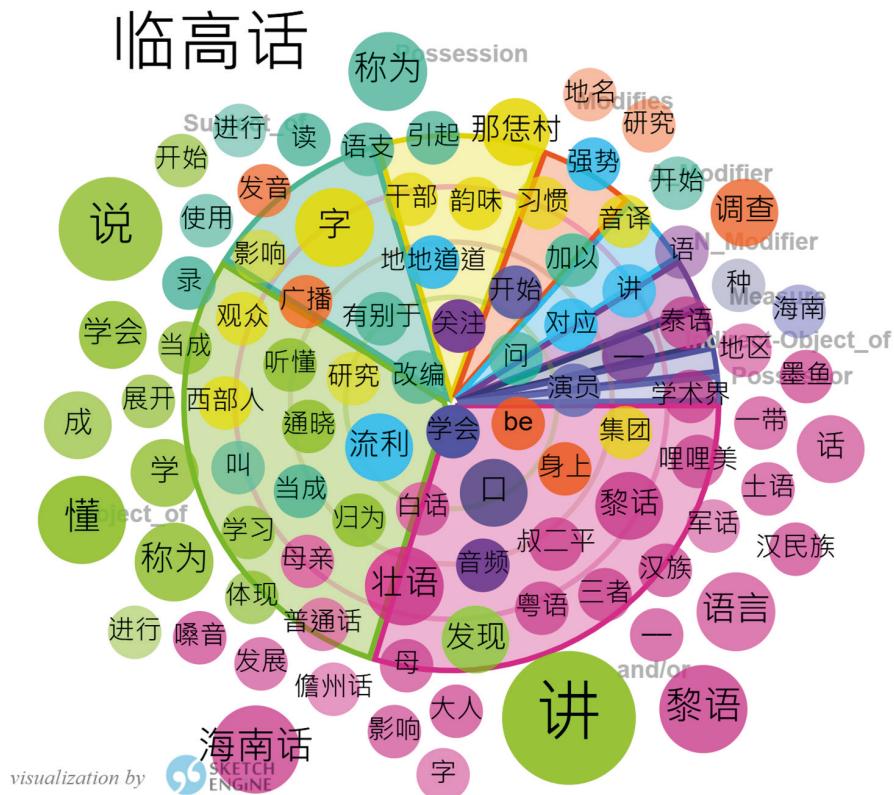


Figure 1. Collocates with “Lingaohua”

Source: Own work.

The table 1 lists the eighty collocates of “Lingaohua” and indicates their positive or negative prosody. I assess the prosody of these words. Their classification as positive or negative is based on the criteria from the UNESCO document *Language Vitality and Endangerment*.¹⁷

¹⁷ M. Brenzinger, A.M. Dwyer, T. de Graaf *et al.*, *Language Vitality and Endangerment: UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages*, 2003, March 10, <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00120-EN.pdf> (access: 11.12.2025).

Table 1. Collocates with 'Lingaohua'

NO.	COLLOCATE	TRANSLATION	PROSODY
1	演员	actor	positive
2	海南	Hainan	positive
3	学会	learn (successfully)/master	positive
4	开始	start	neutral
5	流利	fluently	positive
6	地道道	genuine	positive
7	强势	strong tendency	neutral
8	对应	corresponding	neutral
9	讲	tell, speak	positive
10	口	measure word for a language	neutral
11	种	kind, type	neutral
12	音频	audio	positive
13	关注	pay attention to	positive
14	一	one	neutral
15	语	language	positive
16	身上	on somebody	neutral
17	Be	Be (language)	positive
18	广播	radio	positive
19	调查	research	positive
20	发音	pronunciation	positive
21	研究	research	positive
22	地名	place names	positive
23	字	characters	neutral
24	那恁村	(name of a village)	positive
25	西部人	people from the west region	positive
26	集团	group	neutral
27	韵味	charm	positive
28	观众	public	positive
29	音译	transliteration	positive
30	干部	cadre	positive?
31	习惯	habit	positive
32	影响	influence	positive
33	当成	regard as	neutral

Table 1 cont.

34	有别于	be different from	neutral
35	录	record	positive?
36	加以	apply	neutral
37	称为	be called	neutral
38	读	read (aloud)	positive
39	改编	modify	neutral
40	语支	language branch	positive
41	引起	lead to	neutral
42	问	ask	positive
43	使用	use	positive
44	叫	call	positive
45	进行	conduct	neutral
46	懂	understand	positive
47	说	speak	positive
48	发现	notice	neutral
49	学	learn	positive
50	通晓	proficient	positive
51	归为	classify as	neutral
52	听懂	understand	positive
53	展开	develop	positive
54	成	become	neutral
55	体现	embody	positive
56	学习	learn	positive
57	状语	the Zhuang language	positive
58	黎语	the Li language	positive
59	黎话	the Li language	positive
60	海南话	Hainanhu (a language)	positive
61	三者	the third	neutral
62	汉民族	Han Chinese	neutral
63	噪音	tone of voice	positive
64	大人	adult	neutral
65	墨鱼	cuttlefish	neutral
66	汉族	Han Chinese	neutral
67	学术界	academic community	positive

68	泰语	the Thai language	positive
69	粤语	the Yue language	positive
70	语言	language	positive
71	白话	Baihua (a language)	positive
72	母亲	mother	positive
73	一带	belt	neutral
74	土语	Tuyu (a language)	positive
75	话	hua (speech = language)	positive?
76	发展	development	positive
77	普通话	putonghua (Modern Standard Chinese)	positive/negative
78	地区	region	neutral
79	军话	Junhua (a language)	positive
80	儋州话	Danzhouhua (a language)	positive

Source: Own work.

There are several groups of collocates, with the largest group consisting of the names of various languages. It is positive that the Lingao language is discussed alongside other languages, which, given their geographic proximity, is to be expected. The inclusion of multiple languages spoken on Hainan Island in the Hainanese press is an encouraging phenomenon as the presence of such discourse may indicate a broader space for these languages to be actively spoken by the Hainanese people. At the very least, the discussion itself suggests that the topic is of interest to readers. One particularly noteworthy collocate is “the Thai language” as it suggests that a more in-depth origin of the Lingao language is mentioned in the press. This is significant as Thai and Lingao both presumably come from the same ancestor language. Be is more closely related to Tai languages than the other branches of the Tai-Kadai language family.¹⁸ The collocate “the Zhuang language” further suggests the inclusion of linguistic or academic content in the discourse as this language is spoken in the Zhuang Autonomous Region and is related to the Lingao language as well. The presence of academic information regarding the Lingao language in the Hainanese press is a positive indication of public and academic interest in the topic. Figure 2 illustrates that the main collocates are actually the names of languages.

Similarly, when a word cloud representation is generated in Sketch Engine as in Figure 3, the most frequently occurring phrases/words are predominantly the names of different languages.

Another group of positive collocates is collocates related to research. These are, for example, “research,” “academic community,” “language branch,” or another

¹⁸ T.L. Thongkum, *The Tai-Kadai people...*, pp. 189–190.

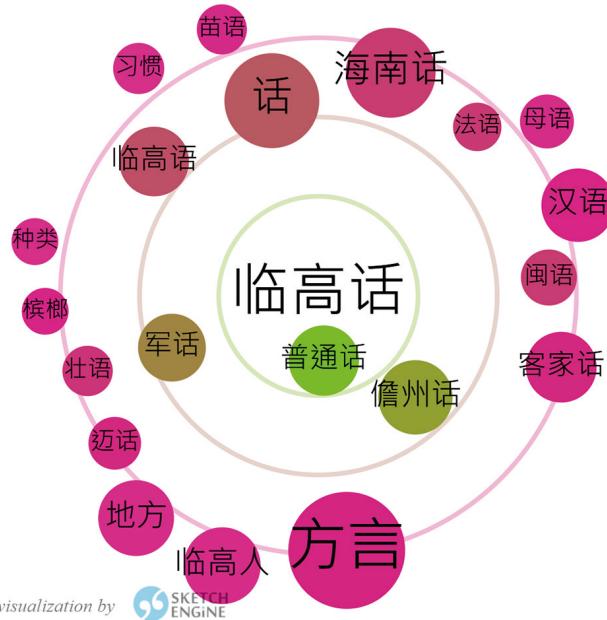


Figure 2. Main collocates of “Lingaohua”

Source: Own work.



Figure 3. Word cloud based on the collected corpus

Source: Own work.

name of the “Be” language that is discussed. The presence of discourse relating to the academic community’s interest in this language indicates that Lingao is regarded as a subject worthy of further linguistic investigation and is taken seriously.

There is also a group of collocates that describe the manner in which the Lingao language is spoken, such as “fluently” and “genuine,” and that the language is, in

fact, spoken: “speak,” “tell,” “pronunciation,” “tone of voice,” and “understand.” It is not surprising that the name of a language forms collocations with verbs denoting the act of speaking. However, in case of a lesser-used language, these collocates are a positive sign for the future of the Lingao language. Even if the act of speaking the language is portrayed negatively, there is still a need to discuss the topic; so probably a significant number of people use the language. A similar interpretation can be applied to the collocates “learn” and “learn successfully,” as even a discussion of the possibility of learning a certain language shows that this idea remains present in public consciousness.

Collocates such as “region,” “Hainan,” “mother,” “habit,” “influence,” and “people from the west region” indicate a strong connection between the Lingao language and Hainan Island. This suggests that the language is perceived as an integral part of the local cultural and linguistic landscape. Such associations are generally a positive indicator for the future of a lesser-spoken language as they reflect its ongoing cultural relevance.

There are also collocates that suggest the presence of Lingao in the media, such as “actor” and “radio.” However, based solely on these collocations, it is difficult to determine whether this is a positive indication. Similarly, the collocate “develop” could be highly positive, as it may imply that the Lingao language is portrayed as something modern rather than a relic of the past. Nevertheless, without analysing the broader context, it is impossible to draw definitive conclusions based solely on the collocate itself.

The rest of the collocates do not appear to be meaningful. To obtain a comprehensive understanding, concordances must be analysed as well. It is worth examining the broader context and attempting to explain how and in what situations the Lingao language is represented.

4.2. The Lingao language in Hainanese media: concordance-based evidence from public discourse

The next part of my article offers a systematic analysis of the discursive contexts in which the Lingao language is represented in the Hainanese press. Utilizing Sketch Engine, 118 textual excerpts related to the Lingao language were extracted and examined. These excerpts, along with their respective concordances, were methodically categorized based on the thematic patterns they exhibit. Through this process, the following thematic classifications were identified:

1. the situation of the Lingao language;
2. toponyms in the Lingao language;
3. the Lingao language as a research subject;
4. the Lingao language as part of local identity.

4.2.1. The situation of the Lingao language

The largest group of concordances reflects the situation of the Lingao language on Hainan Island. Firstly, the “Hainan Daily” has a habit of informing where the Lingao language is spoken. For instance, “There are two villages in the area that speak different languages – one is Nane Village, where Lingao dialect is spoken, and the other is Datong Village (some say Nanda Village), where Hakka is spoken.”¹⁹ This shows that journalists are aware of the language variety and find it interesting enough to present to their readers. Another example is: “In addition to the Li language, there are also various dialects in Hainan, such as Hainanese, Jun dialect, Gelong dialect, Danzhou dialect, Cantonese, and Lingao dialect.”²⁰ The Lingao language is mentioned together with other languages spoken on Hainan Island. It is presented as part of the linguistic landscape.

Second, the newspaper presents a nuanced portrayal of the Lingao language, revealing a kind of sociolinguistic duality. On the one hand, the use of Lingao in educational settings is praised, with lessons described as “easy to understand, engaging, and interesting,”²¹ on the other hand, this kind of education seems to be offered to farmers only (Lingao County Agricultural Technology Extension Center), suggesting a perception that Lingao is not an appropriate language for education. Moreover, while Putonghua typically holds a dominant position, “its use is largely restricted to formal settings such as official meetings and school instruction in urban areas. By contrast, the Lingao dialect prevails in informal everyday interactions across rural villages, towns, and even the county seat.”²² This points to a clear case of diglossia, where two languages coexist within a community but serve different sociolinguistic functions.

Even though the Lingao language lacks official legal protection and is generally deemed inappropriate for formal contexts, it remains indispensable in local informal communication. Journalists’ tone remains neutral and descriptive, allowing the sociolinguistic dynamics to speak for themselves. This underscores the significance of language attitudes among native speakers, who ultimately determine the contexts and functions in which their language is used. In this situation, the state-level language policies, by contrast, appear distant and less influential in shaping actual linguistic practices. Furthermore, another excerpt shows that the Lingao language

¹⁹ 有两个语言不同的村庄,一个讲临高话的那恁村,另一个讲客家话的大同村(一说南大村)。(3).

²⁰ 除了黎话,还有海南话、军话、哥隆话、儋州话、白话、临高话等方言(14).

²¹ 临高县农技推广中心高级农艺师王光恩用临高话在田头授课,通俗易懂,生动有趣。(35).

²² 从农村到乡镇到县城,临高话几乎成了集贸市场交易唯一的交际语言,作为“龙头老大”的普通话只能屈就在县里开会和城镇教学用语上。(39).

“has remained strong to this day as a minority language on the island,”²³ highlighting its resilience despite the lack of institutional support.

4.2.2. Toponyms in the Lingao language

There is one group of concordances which visibly reflects the impact of the Lingao language on the local linguistic landscape. The analysed corpus reveals a systematic discussion of toponyms in the Lingao language. The journalists observe that “in areas where Lingaohua is spoken, there are many place names that include the word 头 (tóu, meaning ‘head’ or ‘front’). For example, Tóumán Village (头南村), where 南 (nán) in Lingaohua means ‘river.’ Thus, Tóumáncún means ‘a village located upstream’ [many more examples follow].”²⁴ Notably, instead of imposing Putonghua nomenclature, journalists describe the etymology of the toponyms. They explain that Chinese characters in toponyms are used as phonetic and semantic approximations to represent lexemes in the Lingao language. On one hand, this practice of sociolinguistic marginalization of Lingaohua highlights its lack of a standardized and widely adopted writing system, thus possibly contributing to its perceived inferior status. On the other hand, discourse in the Hainanese press demonstrates that Lingaohua remains integral to the toponymic landscape of the region. The fact that journalists provide explanations of Lingao-derived toponyms reinforces the language’s cultural and historical significance, illustrating its enduring influence on local identity and place-naming conventions.

4.2.3. The Lingao language as a research subject

Even though the “Hainan Daily” is just a local newspaper, journalists decide to present research and academic information on the topic of the Lingao language, for instance: “Research has shown that Lingao has close linguistic ties to the languages spoken in Guangdong and Guangxi, belonging to the Zhuang-Dai branch of the Tai-Kadai language family, with Zhuang being its closest relative.”²⁵ Similar information appears in the concordance numerous times in different versions. The connection between the Lingao language and the Zhuang language is highlighted by quoting research results. It appears that discussing the origins of the Lingao language and research on the topic is not taboo and might be of interest to “Hainan Daily” readers. The language is not presented as a means of communication of poor rural people but rather as an independent language whose origin is worth further discussion and understanding.

²³ 作为岛上的一种弱势语言,它至今依然坚挺 (37).

²⁴ 临高话通行地区还有不少带“头”的地名,比如头南村,“南”为临高话的音译,本义为河流,“头南”意为位于河流上游的村庄。 (6).

²⁵ 学者们调查发现临高话与两广一带的语言有着密切的联系,属于壮傣语支,跟壮语最接近 (...) (113).

Concordances contain the names of current as well as historical researchers dealing with the Lingao language, for instance: “The Lingao dialect is also the phenomenon that experts and scholars pay the most attention to.”²⁶ The “Hainan Daily” mentions Father Savina, a French researcher who travelled in Hainan nearly 100 years ago and conducted research on the languages of Hainan. The most important result of his research was the dictionaries he compiled. “Over a span of more than four years, Savina travelled across Hainan Island, conducting research on Hainanese, Lingaohua, and Li language. He compiled three dictionaries: Hainanese–French, Lingaohua–French, and Li–French.”²⁷ Savina’s research is mentioned in nearly twenty concordances, which might suggest that journalists are impressed by this early research. They might be proud of the fact that a foreign scholar expressed interest in the Lingao language and other Hainan languages such a long time ago. Journalists state that “numerous scholars from both China and abroad have conducted in-depth research on the Lingao dialect.”²⁸ The researchers mentioned in the “Hainan Daily” who are interested in the Lingao language include Liang Min (梁敏), Fu Changzhong (符昌忠), and Zhan Ci (詹慈). The most important publication mentioned is Zhang Yuansheng’s (张元生) book *Hainan Lingaohua*.²⁹ It is worth noting that the Lingao language is very often discussed together with other languages in Hainan. Such discourse concentrates on presenting the variety of languages and customs of the Hainanese people.

There are also discussions on the Lingao language itself, for instance: “the Lingao dialect and Zhuang language place adjectives and adverbs after nouns or verbs, forming a type of inverted grammatical structure.”³⁰ The number of speakers and their history is mentioned as well: “In some areas of Lingao, Danzhou, and Chengmai County, there are approximately 500,000 speakers of Lingao dialect, with a history of over 300 years.”³¹ There is also a number of concordances discussing the meaning and use of specific words in the Lingao language. It seems that journalists believe that this kind of content might be interesting for their readers. Cultural practices are presented as well, for instance: “In the Lingao dialect, cuttlefish is called ‘hong’, which sounds similar to ‘tong’ (meaning ‘smooth’ or ‘unimpeded’). Because of this, eating cuttlefish at the New Year symbolizes having a smooth and successful year where everything goes well.”³²

²⁶ 临高话也是专家学者们最为关注的现象之一。(96).

²⁷ 在4年多的时间里,萨维纳跑遍了海南岛,调查了海南话、临高话和黎语,编写了“海南话-法语”、“临高语-法语”和“黎语-法语”3部词典。(68).

²⁸ 国内外多位学者开始对临高话进行深入调查研究。(105).

²⁹ 上世纪80年代,张元生的《海南临高话》是国内最早出版的临高话研究著作。.

³⁰ 临高话和壮语都把形容词、副词置于名词或动词后,成为倒装的一种语法。(109).

³¹ 在临高和儋州、澄迈县部分地区,有约50万讲临高话的观众,已有300多年历史。.

³² 临高话叫墨鱼为“hong,”发音接近“通”,因而吃墨鱼还意味着:新年吃了“通,”一年到头做什么事都通,都顺利。(30).

The fact that journalists from a general interest newspaper present academic information about the Lingao language is surprising, indicating that this kind of content may appeal to readers. It might also suggest that – in contrast to general language policy – the language is valued more than expected.

4.2.4. The Lingao language as part of local identity

The Lingao language is presented as a most important part of the identity of a significantly large group of people in Hainan. The journalists directly write that “The Lingao dialect has a strong unifying power.”³³ Speaking the language is associated with family: “No matter where a Lingao person goes or how far they travel, they instantly feel like family as soon as they speak the Lingao dialect!”³⁴ Lingao people identify themselves with and through their language. Even when travelling, they perceive other Lingao speakers as their family. It is directly stated that “The Lingao people speak the same language – the Lingao dialect – which serves as a shared cultural and spiritual bond among them.”³⁵

Furthermore, the uniqueness of the language is underlined by referring to proverbs and folk sayings which “truly capture the essence of Lingaohua and highlight the unique charm of Lingao culture.”³⁶ It is also mentioned that only the Lingao people can truly understand them. Language is portrayed as an important part of the culture of a people. Translation of the Lingao language into Putonghua is presented as a nearly impossible task, for instance: “Accurately translating something into authentic Lingaohua – especially folk songs and proverbs – is not an easy task.”³⁷ On one hand, this might result from the fact that there are not enough people fluent in both languages; on the other hand, it might mean that – just as is the case with any language – there are values and ideas unique to the Lingao culture. These values are portrayed as part of the local identity connected to the Lingao language.

The “Hainan Daily” frequently discusses the historical processes of assimilation, offering perspectives that contrast with the prevailing language policies in the region. Rather than aligning itself with the modern language policy narrative, the newspaper often presents an interpretation grounded in scholarly and historical understanding, emphasizing how immigrant communities in Hainan assimilated by adopting the Lingao language and customs. In some articles, the assimilation process is summarized, as in the following example: “Over time, their descendants naturally become assimilated into the Lingao ethnic identity.”³⁸ This approach aligns

³³ 具有强大凝聚力的临高话 (...) (101).

³⁴ 临高人不论他走到哪里,走多远,只要一说临高话,大家便是一家人! (110).

³⁵ 临高人说着同一种语言 – 临高话,因而,他们有着共同的精神依托。 (25).

³⁶ 是这些谚语俗语,才体现临高话的韵味和临高文化的独特之处。 (72).

³⁷ 要翻译成为原汁原味的临高话歌谣谚语,不是很容易。 (74).

³⁸ 久而久之他们的后代就很自然地被同化为临高人。 (116).

with the broader narrative that Hainanese language formation was influenced by the integration of the Lingao language. According to such accounts, Hainanese developed primarily from the Min language but was enriched with elements of Lingao vocabulary. This portrayal suggests a blending of cultures and languages. The influence of the Lingao language on the local Hainanese dialect is highlighted.

A few more similar stories are presented in the “Hainan Daily,” ones that suggest a historical process of cultural and linguistic convergence, where the dynamics of immigration, language, and identity are tightly interwoven. The complex social and linguistic interactions that shaped the region’s history are reflected in, for example, toponyms. This historical perspective contrasts with the current political and linguistic landscape, where assimilation processes might be presented that highlight the role of standardized language policies. It is worth noting that newcomers are generally expected to assimilate and learn the Lingao language, even if only to use it in a variety of informal contexts, for instance: “Within two or three generations, nearly everyone is ‘assimilated’ into the Lingao-speaking community, with few exceptions. Even if the first generation insists on speaking their native language, by the second generation they typically speak fluent Lingao dialect.”³⁹ While top-down language policies promote the universal adoption of Putonghua, newcomers to the Lingao region often encounter the practical necessity of acquiring the Lingao language for both everyday communication and business interactions.

5. Conclusions

The study demonstrates that the representation of the Lingao language in the Hainanese press is complex and multifaceted. The analysis reveals that the Lingao language is frequently mentioned alongside other languages, reflecting the linguistic situation on Hainan Island as well as the history of various languages in the region. Positive prosody is particularly apparent in collocations related to language use, research, and local identity. The presence of academic and linguistic content – unusual for a general-themed newspaper – suggests that the topic is considered worthy of attention. It might suggest that, in fact, the Lingao language plays a more significant role than expected in light of the current unfavourable language policies promoting Putonghua. The Lingao language is portrayed as a vital means of communication in informal settings and an important part of local identity. The discussion of Lingao-derived toponyms and linguistic research on this language proves that the Lingao language is a vital part of a widespread discourse.

³⁹ 只要进入该县两三代，都要被其“同化，”几乎无一例外，即使他本人还顽强地讲自己的母语，但到了第二代，一般都会讲一口地道的临高话。(38).

Although the Lingao language lacks official support and faces pressures from dominant language policies favouring Putonghua, media representation suggests a subtle and perhaps natural resistance to top-down assimilation narratives. To sum up, while challenges to language maintenance remain, positive representation in the media can play a crucial role in shaping language ideologies.

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STRESZCZENIE

KORPUSOWA ANALIZA DYSKURSU NA TEMAT JĘZYKA LINGAO W HAJNAŃSKIEJ PRASIE XXI WIEKU

W niniejszej pracy przeanalizowano wieloaspektowe sposoby przedstawiania języka lingao (ong-be) w prasie hajnańskiej z wykorzystaniem analizy korpusowej i analizy dyskursu. Korpus obejmuje teksty pochodzące z dziennika „Hainan Ribao”. Analiza wykazała, że język lingao jest tam często wzmiankowany obok innych języków, co odzwierciedla sytuację językową na wyspie Hajnan, a także historię różnych języków w regionie. Pozytywna prozodia była szczególnie widoczna w kolokatach związanych z używaniem języka, badaniami nad językiem i lokalną tożsamością. Tematy lingwistyczne związane z językiem lingao również stanowią część dyskursu, co wskazuje, że nawet język używany przez mniej liczną społeczność uważany jest za godny uwagi. Co więcej, język lingao przedstawiany jest jako istotny środek komunikacji w sytuacjach nieformalnych i ważny element lokalnej tożsamości. Może to sugerować, że odgrywa on istotniejszą rolę, niż można by sądzić w kontekście obecnej niekorzystnej polityki językowej promującej putonghua.

APPENDIX A: CONCORDANCES WITH “THE LINGAO LANGUAGE”



simple 临高话 • 118
725.45 per million tokens • 0.073% i

Details	sentence
1 doc#0	<s>经查访发现,临高县多文镇有一个地名的发音与“三亚街”的“三亚”非常相近,即“大田”(临高话发音为“ddaa1 nia6”)。</s>
2 doc#0	<s>8月8日,小李哥骑行到达西藏拉萨,禁不住内心的兴奋和激动,在布达拉宫广场上一边骑车,一边用临高话录了一段向家乡父老问候的短视频,然后上传到几个移动互联网平台发布。</s>
3 doc#0	<s>1996年出版的《儋县志》有这样的记载:(当地)有两个语言不同的村庄,一个是讲临高话的那恁村,另一个是讲客家话的大同村(一说南大村)。</s>
4 doc#0	<s>在临高话当中,“美”和“买”发音相似,“巢”和“愁”发音也相近,而“买愁”缺乏美好寓意,相比之下,“美巢”既有美好寓意又文雅,这或是促成后人将“买愁”改为“美巢”的原因。</s>
5 doc#0	<s>临高话通行地区还有不少带“头”的地名,比如头南村,“南”为临高话的音译,本义为河流,“头南”意为位于河流上游的村庄;临高还有名为“头榔”的村庄,“榔”为临高话的音译字,意指“田洋”,这一村庄建于一片田洋的前头,因此得名“头榔”;儋州有一个叫“头潭”的村庄,此村先祖来自临高,村民都讲临高话,因村庄前面有一水潭,因此有“头潭”之名;临高有一个
6 doc#0	<s>临高话通行地区还有不少带“头”的地名,比如头南村,“南”为临高话的音译,本义为河流,“头南”意为位于河流上游的村庄;临高还有名为“头榔”的村庄,“榔”为临高话的音译字,意指“田洋”,这一村庄建于一片田洋的前头,因此得名“头榔”;儋州有一个叫“头潭”的村庄,此村先祖来自临高,村民都讲临高话,因村庄前面有一水潭,因此有“头潭”之名;临高有一个村庄名为“头车”,因当地有一个地方的形状像一辆车的车头,由此被称为“头车”。</s>
7 doc#0	通行地区还有不少带“头”的地名,比如头南村,“南”为临高话的音译,本义为河流,“头南”意为位于河流上游的村庄;临高还有名为“头榔”的村庄,“榔”为临高话的音译字,意指“田洋”,这一村庄建于一片田洋的前头,因此得名“头榔”;儋州有一个叫“头潭”的村庄,此村先祖来自临高,村民都讲临高话,因村庄前面有一水潭,因此有“头潭”之名;临高有一个村庄名为“头车”,因当地有一个地方的形状像一辆车的车头,由此被称为“头车”。</s>
8 doc#0	<s>临高还有一个名为“昆尼”的村庄,“尼”是临高话的音译字,意指“小”。</s>
9 doc#0	<s>“文”为临高话的音译字,含义为旱地或者园子,临高有村庄命名为“文昆村”,“昆”为山丘,“文”为园子,“文昆”可以理解为位于山丘上的园子。</s>
10 doc#0	<s>有学者认为:海南东部著名的小镇--博鳌的名称,应该是临高人语言(即临高话)在此地使用的标志遗存。</s>

11	doc#0	<s>"据调查,后来上岸居住的疍民受当地方言影响,日常交往时也熟练使用当地方言交流,如住在海口港附近的疍民会说海口话,住在文昌清澜港的会说文昌话,住在临高新盈港的会说临高话,住在三亚港的会说三亚话等。</s>
12	doc#0	<s>补锅匠这边,弟弟负责拉风箱熔铁水,哥哥认真地查看铁锅的破损情况,然后把铁锅的小漏洞敲大,一些很薄容易裂开的地方也敲出个洞来,看到这般操作,铁锅主人叔二平(临高话的称呼习惯)急了,对铁匠说:"师傅,你怎么越敲越多,眼看着好好的你也敲开。"</s>
13	doc#0	<s>操闽方言的居民在文昌、琼山一带受黎语、临高话的影响,逐渐形成了闽方言的一支--海南话。</s>
14	doc#0	<s>除了黎话,还有海南话、军话、哥隆话、儋州话、白话、临高话等方言,在一些乡镇,部分老党员、群众听不懂普通话。</s>
15	doc#0	<s>民间传说那大的名称,是在明代从说临高话的那恁村和讲客家话的大同村的村名中,各取一字组成。</s>
16	doc#0	<s>然而,由于琼剧以海南话为戏曲语言,而临高话有别于海南话,属于侗台语系,与壮语、布依语比较接近,临高本地居民看琼剧时常会遇到听不懂的情况。</s>
17	doc#0	<s>"以前剧团演出没有字幕,县城会讲普通话、海南话的还好,农村地区很多人只会讲临高话,听不懂也就看不过瘾。"</s>
18	doc#0	<s>符昌忠教授在调查研究过程中,将村话与岛上同为壮侗语族的黎话和临高话的基本词汇及主要语法现象进行了详细的比较鉴别之后,在他的专著《海南村话》一书中指出:"村话无论在语音、词汇和语法诸方面,都有着壮侗语族诸语言所具有的许多共同的特点。</s>
19	doc#0	<s>儋州童谣在儋州话、军话、临高话等方言区都有流行。</s>
20	doc#0	<s>在148个村委会、16个居委会,开展反诈音频临高话(普通话)双语版反诈宣传,提升群众防范电信诈骗能力。</s>
21	doc#0	<s>他用英语问,我翻译成汉语,第三个人翻译成临高话,就这样,我们充当了沟通的桥梁。</s>
22	doc#0	<s>新中国成立后,父亲长期在基层工作,时常走村串寨,繁忙中亦没有放弃学方言的习惯,后来也大体学会了临高话,只是不比讲儋州话和哥隆话那般流畅。</s>
23	doc#0	<s>但是也存在不足,有些少数民族语言没有调查,如海南苗语(属于瑶语支勉语)以及一些系属未明或者混合性的语言,如临高话、那月话(东方市那斗村和月村)等。</s>
24	doc#0	<s>用临高话问她什么,她就答什么,并且吐字清楚。</s>
25	doc#0	<s>临高人说着同一种语言--临高话,因而,他们有着共同的精神依托。</s>
26	doc#0	<s>然而令洪世统感到遗憾的是,近几年来,不少父母并不支持孩子学习临高话,在影片中出现的几名小演员的临高话,都是在拍摄现场"现学现卖"。</s>
27	doc#0	<s>然而令洪世统感到遗憾的是,近几年来,不少父母并不支持孩子学习临高话,在影片中出现的几名小演员的临高话,都是在拍摄现场"现学现卖"。</s>
28	doc#0	<s>2016年5月,海南省地质局需要派一个懂临高话的干部到美山村扶贫,刚拿到国外项目工作签证的符港,果断选择了下乡,并于当年10月正式成为美山村驻村第一书记。</s>

29	doc#0	<s>他们一家都说临高话,我一句都听不懂,要想知道他们说什么,只能靠爱人翻译。</s>
30	doc#0	<s>临高话叫墨鱼为" hong ",发音接近"通",因而吃墨鱼还意味着:新年吃了"通",一年到头做什么事都通,都顺利。</s>
31	doc#0	<s>海南临高地区的方言被认为是侗台语系,学者詹慈曾从语言要素、语音系统、语法等方面进行对比时发现,临高话与壮语十分接近。</s>
32	doc#0	<s>张惠英指出,海口话、文昌话,还有临高话,母亲的"母"都音mai。</s>
33	doc#0	<s>张惠英认为,临高话的"lan",就是汉语的"栏"。</s>
34	doc#0	<s>把海南少数民族语言与汉语相比较中,张惠英发现了许多古韵之美,特别是汉语对周围语言的影响,例如临高话、村话中都用"囊"指"皮",古代汉语'皮囊'连用,可以指人、畜的躯体。</s>
35	doc#0	<s>临高县农技推广中心高级农艺师王光恩用临高话在田头授课,通俗易懂,生动有趣。</s>
36	doc#0	<s>2016年以来,临高启动对涉毒娱乐场所"一次性死亡"的高压措施,先后查处娱乐场所15家,关停5家;全县10个镇(农场)先后开展了以"无毒临高,健康生活"为主题的禁毒宣传活动,各村(居)委会每天用临高话广播禁毒知识,组织木偶戏、哩哩美等多种形式的送文艺下乡禁毒宣传活动;畅通涉毒案件信息举报渠道,面向群众征集线索,构筑全民禁毒防线;做好社区戒毒康复工作,对登记在册吸毒人员"一人一档"人性化帮教;全力推动"无毒社区""无毒村庄""无毒校园"创建工作。</s>
37	doc#0	<s>然而,这样的情况在临高县境内的临高话身上一直没有发生,相反,作为岛上的一种弱势语言,它至今依然坚挺,不仅没有萎缩,反而在不断扩大自己的"领地"。</s>
38	doc#0	<s>该县是"临高人"最集中的地方,在这里,临高语势力很强,一支独大,就像一个大熔炉,不管哪个语言集团,不管来自何方,不管是官员、商人还是经营其他行业者,为了交际的需要,定居下来之后都不得不学临高话,只要进入该县两三代,都要被其"同化",几乎无一例外,即使他本人还顽强地讲自己的母语,但到了第二代,一般都会讲一口地道的临高话。</s>
39	doc#0	<s>由于人多势众,他们不太愿意去学母语以外的其他话,除极少数人外,一般人只会讲本地话,而其他语言集团为了交际的需要,定居下来之后都要学临高话,因此,从农村到乡镇到县城,临高话几乎成了集贸市场交易唯一的交际语言,作为"龙头老大"的普通话只能屈就在县里开会和城镇教学用语上。</s>
40	doc#0	<s>加来镇有个叫美塘村的村子,其祖先是400多年前从广东丰顺迁来的,现在已经发展到600多人,尽管第一语言还是母语,但都通晓临高话,无论是大人还是小孩,临高话都说得跟本地人一样溜,单从他们所讲的临高话上根本无法识别其身份,只有通过风俗习惯才能分辨得清。</s>
41	doc#0	<s>加来镇有个叫美塘村的村子,其祖先是400多年前从广东丰顺迁来的,现在已经发展到600多人,尽管第一语言还是母语,但都通晓临高话,无论是大人还是小孩,临高话都说得跟本地人一样溜,单从他们所讲的临高话上根本无法识别其身份,只有通过风俗习惯才能分辨得清。</s>

42	doc#0	<s>但是，在临高这方土地上，面对远比它强势的本地语 临高话 ，根本无法阻挡，这些纯客家后裔的村落，很多人已经被临高话同化了，他们被临高语同化的程度比闽人还要深，如四门寮的中青年根本不会讲客家话了。</s>
43	doc#0	<s>想当初，谢渥兄弟两家到临高时都应该是讲闽语的，而且还可能坚持了好几代，但终于守不住，不知道从什么时候起，他们的后裔把自己的母语彻底忘掉，而把 临高话 当成了自己的母语。</s>
44	doc#0	<s>据了解，现今岛上三亚市的榆林港、南海及藤桥渔业村，海口市的捕捞新村、捕捞旧村和白沙门下村，陵水的新村港，昌江的昌化港都在使用一种被称为“疍家话”的语言，但“临高人”地区讲的却是 临高话 ，显然，这些到“临高人”地区的疍民，后来都被“临高人”同化了。</s>
45	doc#0	<s>海口市郊和琼山区农村现在讲的村话都是“ 临高话 ”，当然有很多已经掺杂了闽南话，或者说是变了味的“ 临高话 ”。</s>
46	doc#0	<s>据今人考证，正语乃当时的官话，客语即海南闽语，西江黎语即广义的 临高话 ，土军语即儋州话，地黎语即黎语。</s>
47	doc#0	<s>局部则因地域不同而称谓也不同：临高和儋州地区讲这种话的人和周边别种语言的人都称其为 临高话 ，海口（含原琼山）和澄迈地区讲这种话的人自称为村话，周边的其他人则称其为黎话。</s>
48	doc#0	<s>叶显恩表示，从今天操 临高话 （内有琼山土语、澄迈土语和 临高话 ，三者稍有差异）人群的范围看，也可大略发现：时至今日， 临高话 族群依然坚守南渡江以西这一传统的家园，即海口（含琼山）、澄迈、临高和儋州等地区。</s>
49	doc#0	<s>在这本谱志中， 临高话 被归为西江黎语。</s>
50	doc#0	<s>刘剑三介绍，上世纪50年代，中央民委派一个团队到海南对当地的民族种类进行调查，在调查中， 临高话 引起了这个团队的注意，虽然当时对 临高话 的研究已经有了成果，却一直没有形成文字，也没有发表任何文章。</s>
51	doc#0	<s>大一学生刘和峰说，部分同学还没返乡，在学校的时候大家就开始在网上寻找剧本了，剧本内容和主题大致确定后，他们会再根据当地的情况用 临高话 加以改编，“排练都是利用晚上的时间，一般至少都要连续排练四五个晚上”，排练地点则是利用村里寒假时被闲置的小学校园。</s>
52	doc#0	<s>据介绍， 临高话 族群是指讲 临高话 的语言集团，现主要分布于我省北部地区，包括海口市琼山区、定安、澄迈、临高、儋州等市县，加上海南省外人口总计约100万。</s>
53	doc#0	<s>如此看来，通津坊更早的居民是 临高话 族群，后来迁琼闽人渐多，甚至通津坊无人再说 临高话 ，但是本着“名从主人”的原则仍把古名刻于碑中铭记。</s>
54	doc#0	<s>在敲定秘密渡海线路的同时，也选定了最佳带队人员，西区选派儋州籍的傅三美，南区则由昌江本地人陈德隆领头，尤其是陈德隆，他的母语是儋州话，同时还会讲 临高话 、海南话，也听得懂普通话，又是渔民出身，可谓最佳人选。</s>
55	doc#0	<s>这里的人说“ 临高话 ”——一种带有地域特色的“海南话”，无论你来自何方，只要学上一句“么啰麦”（你们好），就可以顺利走遍临高，探寻这片土地上有趣的故事。</s>
56	doc#0	<s>52岁的谢杰睿是地道的临高人，讲一口流利的 临高话 。</s>
57	doc#0	<s>细心的人可以发现这与海南的 临高话 、黎话中的“倒装”现象如出一辙。</s>

58	doc#0	<s>其实,临高话与泰语同属侗台语族。</s>
59	doc#0	<s>临高语:最是难忘"哩哩美"临高话是海南岛北部临高人的一种语言,虽然其操用者历来族属均为汉族,但"临高话"却并非汉语,是汉藏语系侗台语族台语支中与壮语、布依语比较接近的一种语言。</s>
60	doc#0	<s>临高语:最是难忘"哩哩美"临高话是海南岛北部临高人的一种语言,虽然其操用者历来族属均为汉族,但"临高话"却并非汉语,是汉藏语系侗台语族台语支中与壮语、布依语比较接近的一种语言。</s>
61	doc#0	<s>"不"字,临高话读"be",恰好与域外人称临高人为"贝"(bei)同音,而不读"bu",普遍用到对人的尊称,如"不公"、"不婆"、"不爸"、"不妈"、"不哥"、"不姐"。</s>
62	doc#0	<s>为了便于与村民们沟通,为日后的工作打下坚实的群众基础,他决心学说临高话,于是我便成了教他临高话的"小老师"。</s>
63	doc#0	<s>为了便于与村民们沟通,为日后的工作打下坚实的群众基础,他决心学说临高话,于是我便成了教他临高话的"小老师"。</s>
64	doc#0	<s>毕竟是喝过"墨水"的人,头脑精灵,没多久就学会了讲一口流利的临高话,不知底细的人还真辨不出他究竟是广州人还是临高人。</s>
65	doc#0	<s>虽然记者听不懂临高话,只能靠别人翻译,但从老人激动的表情,还有不停竖着大拇指的手势中,还是读懂了两个词:高兴、感激。</s>
66	doc#0	<s>上世纪80年代,张元生的《海南临高话》是国内最早出版的临高话研究著作。</s>
67	doc#0	<s>依据桥本万太郎的记录和笔者的辨认,临高话be指父亲,也可指伯父、叔父,但音调略有变化,也可称普通男子。</s>
68	doc#0	<s>在4年多的时间里,萨维纳跑遍了海南岛,调查了海南话、临高话和黎语,编写了"海南话-法语"、"临高语-法语"和"黎语-法语"3部词典。</s>
69	doc#0	<s>同年5月中旬,马洪中在海口的家中见到了哥哥和弟弟,哥哥讲的是昌江话、弟弟讲的是澄迈话,马洪中讲的是临高话,互相听不懂,一旁的妈妈则要充当起"翻译"。</s>
70	doc#0	<s>地地道道的临高话,嗓音洪亮,诙谐风趣---人偶戏结束,宣讲团成员邓天庆登台宣讲,得到了一阵阵热烈的掌声。</s>
71	doc#0	<s>临城人秦海灵说,"伤感小海"唱得非常好,临高话歌曲翻译成普通话很多都平淡无奇,但是懂临高话,就能体味到里面的幽默,以及苦笑之后的现实无奈。</s>
72	doc#0	<s>让人遗憾的是,恰恰是这些谚语俗语,才体现临高话的韵味和临高文化的独特之处。</s>
73	doc#0	<s>"有些翻译成汉语后,再翻译成临高话,却让很多年轻人犯难。"</s>
74	doc#0	<s>全德亮说,普通话对应的临高话有很多种表达方式,要翻译成为原汁原味的临高话歌谣谚语,不是很容易。</s>
75	doc#0	<s>2012年12月22日,临高学全国学术论坛在海口举行,众多专家学者就对"临高话地名"产生了浓厚兴趣,从地名窥探临高族群的迁徙线路。</s>
76	doc#0	<s>当时,萨维纳神父调查了海南话、临高话和黎语,并编辑了第一部临高话词典---"临高语-法语词典"。</s>

77	doc#0	<s>萨维纳神甫把临高话称为"贝话",把讲临高话的人称为"Be"或"Ong- Be"("翁贝")。</s>
78	doc#0	<s>也许,87年前萨维纳在临高调查时就听到很多"be"的声音,而或许当时他就被临高人尊称为"伯",或者"翁伯",才把临高话称为"贝话",把临高人称为"贝"。</s>
79	doc#0	<s>1957年,中国科学院少数民族语言调查分队赴临高县调查,撰写了调查报告《海南村话和临高话调查简报》,报告中认为临高语"属于汉藏语系侗台语族壮傣语支的一种语言"。</s>
80	doc#0	<s>研究学者梁敏认为,"临高话"具有包括天象、地理、农业、手工业生产和日常生活等各方面在内的一套完整的词汇体系。</s>
81	doc#0	<s>梁敏等人认为台语支和侗水语支分离之后,临高话跟台语支其他语言分离,而其他台语支语言后来再分为泰语、壮南、壮北三个分支。</s>
82	doc#0	<s>临高土语即临高人自称的"临高话",通行于临高县全境和儋州的几个乡镇,琼山土语包括海口几个乡镇。</s>
83	doc#0	<s>海南岛临高语族群分布图 儋州临高澄迈海口石梁均绘注:左图中■为海南岛临高语族群分布区域临高语一般称为"临高话",属于汉藏语系侗台语族壮傣语支的一种语言,分布地区包括临高全县,海口的龙塘、龙桥、龙泉(原十字路)、永兴、石山、长流、海秀、西秀等乡镇,澄迈的老城(包括原白莲、马村)、桥头、福山等乡镇,以及儋州的那大、南丰、和庆等乡镇部分村落,人口大约80万至90万(根据1982年普查操临高语人口50.6万,占海南总人口
84	doc#0	<s>临高土语即临高人自称的"临高话",琼山土语也称为羊山话或村话。</s>
85	doc#0	<s>"临高话",一般把形容词、副词置于名词、动词之后,构成倒装的语法形式,由于不属于汉语语系,是儋州几种方言里最为难学的一种。</s>
86	doc#0	<s>不过,通过临高人居住区的地名也可以学到一些词汇,例如,顺口溜里的"和"、"美"是临高话地名常见词。</s>
87	doc#0	<s>学者莫祖禧在其论文《"临高人"进居海南岛时代探讨》写道,"美"是临高话"母"的音译,临高读"母"为"mai",与"美"音近,如儋州的"美敖村"读"mai nia",意思是"母亲的田"。</s>
88	doc#0	<s>临高话中,也有只有临高人才能懂的俗语。</s>
89	doc#0	<s>原有两个村庄:一个叫那恁村(讲临高话),一个叫大同村(一说南大村,讲客家话),后来两村各取一个字合为"那大"。</s>
90	doc#0	<s>(临高话,你去哪?)</s>
91	doc#0	<s>"有来自南丰讲客家话的同学,有来自和庆讲临高话的,有来自那大墟讲军话的,有来自东城讲白话的,还有来自兰洋的黎族、苗族同学,而老师很多来自广东讲广州话。</s>
92	doc#0	<s>(临高话)",售票员回答听不清楚。</s>
93	doc#0	<s>原有两个村庄:一个叫那恁村(讲临高话),一个叫大同村(一说南大村,讲客家话),后来两村各取一个字合为那大。</s>
94	doc#0	<s>(民国《儋县志》)在那大镇中心区居民主要讲军话,在其边缘曾出现过三条"语言街"---"梅县街"讲的是客家话,"临高街"讲的是临高话,"儋州街"讲的是儋州话。</s>

95	doc#0 <s>唐诗圣说,除了临高话,儋州汉民族的语言种类虽然繁杂,分布错落,但是因为它们都是从古汉语中分化发展起来的,在语音上都有整齐的对应规律,基本词汇和语法构造也大体相同,甚至多有互为通假,所以很容易学会其他方言。</s>
96	doc#0 <s>临高话也是专家学者们最为关注的现象之一。</s>
97	doc#0 <s>北京大学教授薄文泽说,临高人虽然被划入汉族,但是临高话却不是汉语,而是侗台语族的一个重要成员。</s>
98	doc#0 <s>在儋州也有一种独特的语言,与海南方言不同,在这里可以讲客家话、粤语和临高话,因此该地区的语言是一种通行的交流位置。</s>
99	doc#0 <s>在4年多的时间里,他的足迹遍及海南各地,他调查了海南话、临高话和黎语,并编辑了"海南话-法语"、"临高语-法语"和"黎语-法语"3部词典。</s>
100	doc#0 <s>据说,传唱哩哩美的"临高人",因操一口有别于普通话和海南话的"临高话",在海南这片热土上,显得独特而神秘,并引起了学界的研究兴趣。</s>
101	doc#0 <s>具有强大凝聚力的"临高话""哩哩美"临高话的意思为"姑娘美丽",不是临高人一般很难听懂临高话,而学术界关于"临高学"的研究最初正是从关注临高话开始的。</s>
102	doc#0 <s>具有强大凝聚力的"临高话""哩哩美"临高话的意思为"姑娘美丽",不是临高人一般很难听懂临高话,而学术界关于"临高学"的研究最初正是从关注临高话开始的。</s>
103	doc#0 <s>20世纪初,法国萨维那神甫来到海南,展开对临高话的调查研究,并把他的研究成果向世人公布。</s>
104	doc#0 <s>当时,萨维那神甫把临高话称为"贝话",把讲临高话的人称为"Ong-Be"("翁贝"即讲"贝话的人")。</s>
105	doc#0 <s>此后,国内外多位学者开始对临高话进行深入调查研究。</s>
106	doc#0 <s>1957年,中国科学院少数民族语言调查分队赴临高县调查,撰写了调查报告《海南村话和临高话调查简报》,报告中肯定了临高话"属于汉藏语系侗傣语族壮傣语支的一种语言"。</s>
107	doc#0 <s>研究学者梁敏认为,"临高话"具有包括天象、地理、农业、手工业生产和日常生活等各方面在内的一套完整的词汇体系。</s>
108	doc#0 <s>学者詹慈从语言要素、语音系统、语法等方面进行比对时发现,临高话与壮语十分接近。</s>
109	doc#0 <s>例如,临高话和壮语都把形容词、副词置于名词或动词后,成为倒装的一种语法。</s>
110	doc#0 <s>临高学者陈江感叹:"临高人不论他走到哪里,走多远,只要一说临高话,大家便是一家人!</s>
111	doc#0 <s>"临高话"与壮傣语支关联紧密"临高话"与壮傣语支千丝万缕的联系,让人不禁联想起海南"临高人"这一族群的起源。</s>
112	doc#0 <s>"临高话"与壮傣语支关联紧密"临高话"与壮傣语支千丝万缕的联系,让人不禁联想起海南"临高人"这一族群的起源。</s>
113	doc#0 <s>在海南方言里,临高话也是一个独立的语种,学者们调查发现临高话与两广一带的语言有着密切的联系,属于壮傣语支,跟壮语最接近,但是具体的情况仍需要临高人民提供支持和帮助,以便进一步确证。</s>

114 doc#0 <s>在海南方言里,临高话也是一个独立的语种,学者们调查发现临高话与两广一带的语言有着密切的联系,属于壮傣语支,跟壮语最接近,但是具体的情况仍需要临高人民提供支持和帮助,以便进一步确证。</s>

115 doc#0 <s>"这是班里学生在教师节前一天送给我的礼物,学生们知道我是外地人听不懂临高话,特地写了翻译表。"</s>

116 doc#0 <s>由于人口众多而且聚居,散居于临高语地区内操其他汉语方言的汉人一般都容易地学会临高话并熟练地使用,久而久之他们的后代就很自然地被同化为临高人。</s>

117 doc#0 <s>曾几何时,在著名的松涛大会战工地上,讲儋州话、临高话的西部人,讲文昌话的东部人,讲普通话和粤语的"新海南人",中部山区的黎族和苗族群众,以及海南归侨等等全都汇聚于此,构成复杂、源流语言各不相同的海南人群在这里作为一个整体被世人所认识。</s>

118 doc#0 <s>在临高和儋州、澄迈县部分地区,有约50万讲临高话的观众,已有300多年历史。</s>