今日人类学民族学论丛 Anthropology and Ethnology Today Series 国际人类学民族学联合会第十六届大会文集 Book Series of the 16th World Congress of IUAES 黄忠彩 总编 Editor-in-Chief Huang Zhongcai

语言变化与生态环境

Language Change and Ecology

周庆生◎主编 [荷兰]董 洁◎副主编 Edited by **Zhou Qingsheng Dong Jie**



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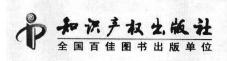
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责任编辑: 纪萍萍 冯彤

图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

语言变化与生态环境 = Language Change and Ecology: 英文/周庆生主编. 一北京:知识产权出版社,2012.9 ISBN 978-7-5130-0833-4

Ⅰ. ①语… Ⅱ. ①周… Ⅲ. ①人类语言学 - 研究 -英文 IV. ①H0

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2011) 第 191325 号

语言变化与生态环境 / Language Change and Ecology YUYAN BIANHUA YU SHENGTAI HUANJING

编: 100088

责编邮箱: jpp99@126.com

价: 26.00元

张: 8.75

经

印

ED

定

箱: bjb@ cnipr. com

真: 010-82000860 转 8240

次: 2012 年 9 月第 1 次印刷

销:新华书店及相关销售网点

周庆生 主编

出版发行: 和识产权出版社

址:北京市海淀区马甸南村1号 社

址: http://www.ipph.cn

发行电话: 010-82000860 转 8101/8102

责编电话: 010-82000860 转8387

EIJ 刷:知识产权出版社电子制印中心

本: 720mm×960mm 1/16 开

版 次: 2012年9月第1版

字 数: 220 千字

ISBN 978-7-5130-0833-4/H · 066 (10355)

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Preface

China won the right to host the 16th IUAES World Congress in July, 2003. After six years of preparation, the Congress will be held in Kunming, China during July 27-31, 2009.

The International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) was established on August 23, 1948, when it merged, in fact, with the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES), which was founded in 1934. The latter was the product of various Congresses of Anthropological Sciences, starting in 1865.

The IUAES is one of the member organizations of the International Social Science Council (ISSC) and also of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS). The IUAES is also a member of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). Its aim is to enhance exchange and communication among scholars of all regions of the world, in a collective effort to expand human knowledge. In this way, it hopes to contribute to a better understanding of human society, and to a sustainable future based on harmony between nature and culture. The IUAES once noted a draft statement on the future of world anthropology in "Current Anthropology" (1979): "The scope of anthropology in terms of areas of human interest includes such critical issues of the contemporary world as problems of environmental management, pressure for the progressive reduction of disparities and the restructuring of the world order, the future of the nation-state, ethnic pluralism and the future of national society, and the harmonization of the roles and functions of institutions with the basic and derived biological and psychic drives of man." The IUAES itself consists of national and institutional organizations in more than 50 countries in all parts of the world, and also includes some hundreds of individual members. The research effort and involvement of the IUAES is principally arranged by its scientific commissions, of which, currently, there are twenty-seven, and each of which concentrates on some areas of anthropological interest. They included ethnic relations, aging and the aged, women, children, youth, migration, epidemiology and Aids, tourism, primatology, linguistics, and so on.

The theme of the 16th IUAES World Congress in Kunming, China is "Humanity, Development, and Cultural Diversity". The Anthropologists and Ethnologists around the world will present over 4000 papers, which covered 33 sub-disciplines or research fields as follows: Aging and the Aged Studies, Aids, Archaeological Anthropology, Children, Youth

and Childhood Studies, Communication Anthropology, Development and Economic Anthropology, Educational Anthropology, Enterprise Anthropology, Ecological/Environmental Anthropology, Ethnic Culture Studies, Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Identities, Food and Nutrition Anthropology, Gender and Woman Studies, Globalization Anthropology, Historical Anthropology, Human Ecology, Human Rights Studies, Indigenous Knowledge and Sustainable Development Studies, Legal Anthropology and Legal Pluralism, Linguistic Anthropology, Medical Anthropology and Epidemiology, Migration Anthropology, Museum and Cultural Heritage, Nomadic Peoples Studies, Physical Anthropology and Molecular Anthropology, Psycho-anthropology, Religious Studies, Sport Anthropology, Theoretical Anthropology, Tourism Anthropology, Urban Anthropology, Urgent Anthropological Research, and Yunnan Studies.

As the organizer of the 16th IUAES World Congress, the Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (CUAES) decided to edit and publish "Anthropology and Ethnology Today Series"—the paper collection series of the above sub-disciplines or research fields, for example, Physical Anthropology, Molecular Anthropology, Migration Anthropology, Museum and Cultural Heritage, Nomadic Peoples Studies, Linguistic Anthropology, Medical Anthropology, and Ethnic Culture Studies. We hope that the scholars from different parts of the world can share with all the achievements in the book series of this congress.

Zhou Mingfu, Executive Vice-president Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences

Huang Zhongcai, Secretary-general Chinese Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences July 14, 2009

Contributors

Jan Blommaert is Professor at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

Chen Liping is Professor at the Department of English, PLA University of Foreign Languages, China.

Dong Jie is Associated Professor at Tsinghua University, China, and Researcher at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

Dong Yan is Lecturer at the Jilin University and a Ph.D. researcher at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

Gao Liqin is Professor at Xinjiang University, China.

Sjaak Kroon is Professor at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

Pinky Makoe obtained her PhD from the Institute of Education in London, and is currently senior lecturer at the University of South Africa, Johannesburg.

Shayilan is Associate Professor at Xinjiang Altay Distance Learning University, China.

Sechenchogt is Research Fellow at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China.

Kutlay Yagmur is Associate Professor at Tilburg University, the Netherlands.

Yao Kecheng is Associate Professor at Peking University, China.

Zhang Weijia is Professor at Peking Language and Culture University, China.

Zhou Qingsheng is Professor at the Institute of Ethnology & Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China.

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Language Change and the Economic and Social Transition: the Case of the Jings in China

Zhou Qingsheng

1. Introduction

A small people formerly inhabiting the Do Son areas in the northern Vietnam, now located near the Sino-Vietnamese border in three small islands of Wanwei, Wutou and Shanxin in the south of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, which are known as "Three Islands of the Jings". Most of the Jings lived in "Three Islands for the Jings", and a small number in Hengwang, Tanji, Hongkan, Chushan and other regions in Guangxi.

The Jings have had close contacts with the Vietnamese for a long time, and the spoken Jing language is basically the same as Vietnamese. There are not too many communication barriers between the Jings and northern Vietnamese. But there are certain differences of pronounciation and vocabulary between the Jing language and the Vietnamese language after nearly 500 years separation. The Jings currently have no a native-common writing system.

According to the 2000 census, the Jings had a total population of 22.5 thousand, in which the Jing language speakers were about 7,000 – 8,000 (Wei Jiachao and Wei Shengnian, 2003: 138). And most of the Jings are available to use "Cantonese", a Chinese dialect, also known as "粤语"(Yue) or "白话"(Vernacular Chinese).

With a simple mode of production and a closed living environment in history, the Jings engaged in inshore fishery is the only ethnic group in China lived by the sea. They have hardly contact with other ethnic groups. The Jing language was the most important of social intercourse used by the Jings.

In terms of agriculture, fish processing industry, cultured pearls and hippocampus, there is development in the Jing-speaking community after the founding of new China in 1949, especially since the Reform and Opening up policy. The change of language use has

taken place in the Jing speaking community because the relationship between the Jing and Han peoples in production, marriage, trades, politics and economics is becoming more and closer.

The number of the Jing speakers making up 50 percent of the population has declined since the 21st century. At the region where the Jings inhabit in compact communities, the Jing language is used for less occasions and ranges of social life (Wei Jiachao, Wei Shengnian. 2003:142), while the language shift is gradually increasing. As more and more Jing people speak Cantonese and Putonghua (standard Mandarin), a word borrowed from the Chinese language is increasing in the Jing language. The language used by the Jings has been obviously impacted by social and economic life. For the Jing-speaking community, the Jing monolinguals to the "Jing-Chinese" bilingualism and to the "Jing-Chinese-Vietnamese" multilingualism, the change of the language use has a direct correlation with the transition of the economic and social life.

2. The Jing Monolinguals and the Shallow Sea Fishery

Due to residing in three islands and being engaged in individual family activities prior to 1949, the Jings had been isolated from outside. The Gulf of Tonkin to its south is an ideal fishing ground. Of more than 700 species of fish found there, over 200 are of great economic value and high yields. Pearls, sea horses and sea otters which grow in abundance are prized for their medicinal value.

The main source of livelihood was coastal and inshore fishing. They seldom had a chance to communicate with outsiders. The Jings in the islands were shut off from the Han in mainland by the sea.

The Jing language was completely and perfectly maintained for a long time, being transmitted from one generation to another since it was mostly and frequently used at home and for native communication. While the Chinese language such as Cantonese was occasionally used for country fair, and nodding to the Han's boat in the sea.

3. The "Jing-Cantonese" Bilingualism and the "Enclosing Tideland for Cultivation" Project

To attribute to the declining of marine fishery production, the project of "Enclosing Tideland for Cultivation", started in the 1960s, has linked the islands to the mainland and made possible an expansion of agriculture: in addition to rice, sweet potatoes, and taros, they raise bananas, papayas, coconuts, and other newly introduced tropical fruits after several decades of construction. The islands have become peninsulas. It is much convenient for the Jing people to contact with the Han people. In addition, with the implementation of the policies of reform and opening up, as well as the augmentation of the social mobility from rural areas to urban areas, the intercourse between the peoples of two ethnicities were growing increasingly and closely.

Among the more and more Jing-Han bilinguals, Cantonese as the most important tool to contact with non natives has become the second most important language of the Jings. The Jing language is more and more influenced by Cantonese. These dramatic changes have continuously expanded the scope of social and economic integration, and also have promoted the cultural fusion and permeation between ethnic groups.

Naturally a lot of Chinese loan words are often used by the Jing-Han bilinguals. A 1980s survey of Jing vocabulary listed the number and percentage of loan words from Chinese, see Table 1.

Order Name of Theme The total Chinese Loan Jing Words Number Publications in the vocabulary Words Jing Language Number Number % % 1 Scolopendra Hole 757 656 86.5 101 13.5 Legend 245 2 My Family Family 175 71.4 70 28.6 My Production Team History 246 91 37.0 3 155 63.0 Improving the Field Introduction 249 47.4 4 130 52.6 119 Management of Corn Production 295 179 63.7 116 36.3 5 Strengthening the Production Field Management Politics 6 Note on Chinese 100.0 Celebrating the for all International

Table 1 The Statistical Graph of Chinese Loan Words in Jing Language

Source: Ouyang Jueya, Cheng Fang, Yu Cuirong. *Jingyu Jianzhi (Brief Record of Jing Language)*. Beijing: Minorities Press. 1984, pp. 55, 59.

Children's Day

The statistics in Table 1 reflect the Jing-Han languages used in daily life of the Jing people. In general, the use of Chinese loan words is closely related to the content of conversation of the Jings. Chinese loan words are less used in the legends and daily life,

and more used in the production and labor as well as the new Changes in the new transaction. However the Chinese language is almost used for political activities and new sciences and technologies.

Jing people's acceptance of Chinese language is not balanced. The closer they live away from the Han areas, the greater the development and opening up of residential land, and the Chinese use of the Jings is relatively high. In addition, the pupils and middle school students who accepted training in *Putonghua* speak better Mandarin than the older people. The Jing cadres who often go out for meeting and the Jing businessmen speak better Mandarin than the Jing fishermen who are not used to going out.

Geographically, because the three islands of Shanxin, Wanwei, and Wutou have different distances to the mainland, and some of them connect the island with the mainland to be peninsulas were earlier, and some later; so that some of the Jings are affected by the Chinese language deeper; and some shallower, and some of Chinese loan words in the three islands are more, and some less. In general, the Jings who lived from the mainland closer and contact with the mainland people earlier are influenced by the Chinese language earlier and deeper.

Shanxin Island is closest with mainland and became a peninsula firstly; and Wutou Island followed by, and Wanwei Island at the last. Therefore, some of Jing words had been switched into Chinese loan words in Shanxin Island, while Jing words are still used in the Islands of Wutou and Wanwei.

There is different language use in the villages where three ethnic groups of Jing, Han, and Zhuang live together:

- (1) Jing and Han are common languages, used in the villages where the Jings and the Hans live together in the Jianglong, Tanji, and Wanwei places; while the Han language is used as the common language in the mixed villages in Wutou areas.
- (2) Han and Zhuang are common languages, used in the villages where the Jings and the Hans and the Zhuangs inhabit together in Zhushan; however the Jings can not speak the Jing language but the Han and Zhuang languages (Wang Shaohui, 2005: 65).

4. Multilingualism and the Development of Border Trade and Tourism

With the deepening of reform and opening up, especially after the 1990s, the domestic economy and trade, tourism, the Vietnam border trade have become the main source of livelihood of the Jings (Wei Jiachao and Wei Shengnian, 2003:142).

In the emerging market for border trade in Dongxing, the Jing people use their geographical and linguistic advantage to start the cross-border trading. In the Wutou village away from the Vietnam Wan Column Island for one nautical mile, there are more than 100 Jing people do brokers. Each year they made more than 100 cases of futures, the turnover reached over 10 million Yuan (Zhao Zirong, 1994; Fan Liping, 2007: 51). Since the normalization of the relations between China and Vietnam in 1989, Jing people use their advantages, such as they can connect with the Vietnamese, close to area, and actively participate in cross-border trade, tourism and other economic activities. After 10 years of rapid development, now the annual per capita income of the Jings has become the top of all ethnic groups in China (Wei Jiachao and Wei Shengnian. 2003: 142).

As the Jings contact with both the Cantonese speakers coming from Lingnan areas and more *Putonghua* speakers of business passengers and tourists coming from across the State, the Jing language, Cantonese and/or vernacular Chinese had been used rarely. Facing the new challenges of production and lifestyle, the original Cantonese and the Jing Language are not enough for communication, and *Putonghua* has been frequently used in daily communication. The Jings have to learn to speak *Putonghua* which is popularized in China. At the end of the last century, with the deepening of China's reform and opening up and the impact of economic integration and globalization, the Jings started to study *Putonghua* to meet the need of communication (Wang Shaohui, 2005: 67).

In the Three Islands, the Jing language, in general, is mainly used by the Jings of seventy and eighty years old and older. The Jing-Han languages are used by the Jings aged under 50 and/or 60, of whom some can speak *Putonghua*. With regard to the young students aged 6 to 20, the Jing language is mainly used at home; and *Putonghua* is used for the language course in primary schools; and Cantonese for the exchange between the students after class. The children under 6 speak in Jing at home, understand some of the Chinese words, and gradually learn Chinese at elementary school.

The Han women who get married with the Jings usually learn to speak Jing within one year for communicate with their family members, while the Jing women married the Han guys speak Chinese with his family and others. In addition, Cantonese is used for cultural entertainment such as singing, performances, and opera, etc. The Jing language is used in folk songs that can be sung only by the 60 to 70 aged Jings and the rest of the Jings will not sing (Wang Shaohui, 2005: 65).

The level of *Putonghua* of the Jings nowadays is not very high. Most people are not used to communicate with others in *Putonghua*, which indirectly reflects the

underdeveloped trade and tourism in the regions, and fewer opportunities for people to practice *Putonghua*. With the further expansion of economic and trade activities and the establishment of China — ASEAN Free Trade Area, it can be expected that the Jing language, vernacular, Cantonese and *Putonghua* will be a good grasp by Jing people.

5. Enthusiasms for the Languages of Jing and Vietnamese and the Establishment of China-ASEAN Free Trade Area

With China's accession to the World Trade Organization, China-ASEAN has cooperated to establish the "China-ASEAN Free Trade Area", China-ASEAN Expo has permanently settled in Nanning, Guangxi. As the construction of "Two Corridors and One Zone" between China and Vietnam and the acceleration of the economic corporation pace of the Greater Mekong sub region in which China has participated, the boom to learn the languages of ASEAN countries is the rise in China.

The 10 ASEAN countries totally have 11 national or official languages, of which the national languages are listed as follows: Cambodia is Cambodian (Khmer), Brunei is Malay, Indonesia is Bahasa Indonesia, Laos is Lao, Malaysia is Malay, Myanmar is Burmese, the Philippines is Filipino (Wikang Tagalog), Singapore are English, Chinese (Mandarin), Malay and Tamil, Thailand is Thai, Vietnam as Vietnamese.

States Major Ethnic Groups Languages Brunei Malays, Chinese Cambodia Khmer Khmer is the official language and the common language; English and French are the official languages Java Clan Indonesia Bahasa Indonesia is the official language and the common language; English is also used widely Laos Lao Loum, Lao Theung, Lao Sung Lao language is the common language

Table 2 Overview of Ethnicity and Language in Ten Countries of ASEAN

China and Vietnam reached an agreement in May 2004 to build "Two Corridors and One Zone", namely "Two corridors" includes the first economic corridor from "Kunming-Lao Cai-Hanoi-Haiphong-Quang Ninh", and the second economic corridor of "Nanning-Lang Son-Hanoi-Haiphong-Quang Ninh"; and "economic corridors" covers the economic zone of Circum-the-Beibu-Bay, abbreviated as "Two Corridors and One Zone", which involve China's Guangxi, Guangdong, Yunnan, Hainan, Hong Kong and Macau and Vietnam's 10 coastal zones. A total span of the two corridors is 140,000 square kilometers, with a total population of 39 million.

continued

States	Major Ethnic Groups	Languages	
Malaysia	Malays, Chinese	Malay language, Chinese	
Myanmar		Burmese is the national language; some people speak English	
Philippines	Malays	Filipino is the common language; English is the official language	
Singapore	Chinese, Malays	Malay language is the national language; Chinese, and English, and the Malay language is the official	
Thailand		Thai language	
Vietnam	Vietnamese(Jing)	Vietnamese	

Source: Gu Xiaosong (ed.), Zhongguo Dongmeng Zhishi Duben (Reader on China-ASEAN Knowledge), Nanning: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2004, p. 67.

Under the framework of China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, the demand for foreign languages in the ethnic minority areas of southwest border of China is inevitably of ASEAN languages, especially those of the ASEAN countries that are connected with China or the neighboring countries, such as Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Cambodia.

Vietnam is a bridge for economic development and technology communication between Guangxi of China and Southeast Asia. Since the normalization of bilateral relations in 1991, the economic cooperation between China and Vietnam has been closer. In 2004, China and Vietnam started to build the economic zone around the Gulf of Tonkin. Vietnamese government has strengthened the cooperation with Guangxi in the field of trade and investment¹⁰, and many Vietnamese enterprises have invested in southern China. The expanded cooperation have pulled on the demand for the more proficient and bilingual professionals. Learning Vietnamese in China set off a wave rapidly, students studying the Vietnamese language in colleges and universities have increased in the number by several times.

Vast majority of Jing parents, according to a survey, agreed their children to learn Vietnamese; most parents even hoped that school was teaching Vietnamese to replace English. The purpose of their study focused on the Vietnamese in order to do business or a

¹ http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2006-11-01.

tour guide. Their motivation had a strong pragmatic sense (Wei Jiachao and Wei Shengnian, 2003: 141).

In recent years, "Jing language fever" has raised in the Jing regions. The Jing language school in Wanwei village holds training courses each year, training several groups of Vietnamese translator, to the more direct involvement in the trade. Bilingual signs written by both Vietnamese and Chinese are used in some of private hotels in the Jing regions. Not only the local Jing cadres are actively training personnel in the Jing language, but also prepare to establish the "the Jing Culture Eco-Museum" to protect the Jing Language and culture. The Jing language tends to gradually "warming" in the three islands for the Jings.

6. Conclusions

In summary, all the changes in the Jing language not only are closely related to the economic development, but also to commercial activities in the Three Islands of the Jings. It also demonstrates that the nature of language is a communicate tool, while the choice of tools is determined by the radius of the people's activities and the purpose of activities.

In the 21st century, the Jing language has weathered some great changes:

Firstly, the scope of *Putonghua* has extended. With the economic development, the frequent contacts with foreign countries, especially the rise of tourism, outsiders come and go to "Jing Resort Islands". *Putonghua* is increasingly popular in the Jings. The Jings between the native speakers in a number of occasions, consciously or unconsciously, tend to talk in *Putonghua*, which in a number of occasions inadvertently replaced the native/ethnic language.

Secondly, Cantonese, or "vernacular Chinese" will tend to be strong. Chinese vernacular has always been the dialect of Fangcheng, Jiangping, and Dongxing areas. In recent years, with the deepening of reform and opening up, a large number of vernacular-Chinese speakers has gone to Jing islands to do business, living together with the Jings. Therefore, the "vernacular Chinese" will further become the lingua franca or the common language of the Jing community, where the "vernacular Chinese" is used more widely than the Jing language.

Thirdly, the young generations only speak *Putonghua* and/or vernacular Chinese, unwilling to speak or not speak the Jing language. However, the Jing language still has vitality. The Jing language has always played an important role in the diplomatic history of China and Vietnam. During the Assistance to Vietnam's War against France in the 1940s and the 1950s, in particular the Assistance to Vietnam's War against the United States in the

1960s and the 1970s, the State selected a large number of Jing youths, training them to master the Vietnamese, to become Vietnamese translators, and professionals of Vietnam's diplomatic, military and trade aspects.

In short, the Jing language, vernacular Chinese, and *Putonghua* will be coexisted in a long-term. Meanwhile, the Jing language in Guangxi, under the positive protection of the Jings, and also because of the needs of economic and trade activities, has great vitality.

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