



Sociolinguistic Survey of Lawa in Thailand

Dr. Ramzi W. Nahhas

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DR. RAMZI W. NAHHAS

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Abstract

Western and Eastern Lawa are closely related Waic languages spoken in two provinces of northern Thailand: Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son. An orthography based on the Western Lawa variety spoken in Ban La-up has been developed and is used widely, especially by Christians, since there is a Western Lawa translation of the entire Bible. There is no Eastern Lawa orthography, and it was not clear before this survey whether or not the Eastern Lawa were shifting to Thai. A team of researchers surveyed the Lawa in February and March, 2006, using sociolinguistic questionnaires and intelligibility testing in order to assess the need for further vernacular literature development among the Lawa.

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การวิจัยภาคสนามภาษาละว้าเชิงภาษาศาสตร์สังคม

ดร. แรมซี นาส์ฮาส

หน่วยวิจัยภาคสนาม ภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์

คณะมนุษยศาสตร์

มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ และ สถาบันภาษาศาสตร์ภาคฤดูร้อน (เอสไอแอล)

เชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย

ภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกและภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกเป็นภาษาตระกูลว้าที่มีความเกี่ยวข้องกันอยู่
 ใกล้เคียง มีผู้ใช้ภาษานี้อยู่ในสองจังหวัดทางภาคเหนือของประเทศไทย คือ
 จังหวัดเชียงใหม่และจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน
 มีการพัฒนาตัวเขียนขึ้นตามหลักวิธภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกที่พูดกันในหมู่บ้านละอูบ
 และมีการนำมาใช้อย่างกว้างขวาง โดยเฉพาะในหมู่ชาวคริสต์เตียน
 เนื่องจากได้มีการแปลพระคริสตธรรมคัมภีร์ทั้งฉบับเป็นภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตก
 ภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกไม่มีตัวเขียน และก่อนที่จะมีการสำรวจครั้งนี้
 ไม่เป็นที่แน่ชัดว่าผู้ใช้ภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกได้เปลี่ยนมาใช้ภาษาไทยหรือไม่ คณะวิจัยจึงได้
 ทำการสำรวจภาษาละว้าในเดือนกุมภาพันธ์และเดือนมีนาคม พ.ศ. 2549
 โดยใช้แบบสอบถามเชิงภาษาศาสตร์สังคมและการทดสอบความเข้าใจเพื่อที่จะประเมินความต
 ้องการด้านการพัฒนาวรรณกรรมท้องถิ่นของภาษาละว้าต่อไป

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For the research team,

Dr. Ramzi W. Nahhas
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กิตติกรรมประกาศ

ผู้วิจัยขอขอบคุณมหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ (จ.เชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย) ที่กรุณาสับสนุนงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ผ่านหน่วยวิจัยภาคสนามของภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ นอกจากนี้ผู้วิจัยแล้ว คณะวิจัยยังประกอบไปด้วย นางสาวเอริน คอว์กินส์ (หน่วยวิจัยภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ และ เอสไอแอล) นางสาวคอร์ตนิย์ เกิร์กแลนด์ (เอสไอแอล) และนายฟิลิป แลมเบรคต์ (เอสไอแอล) สำหรับเอรินและคอร์ตนิย์ นอกจากจะเป็นกำลังสำคัญของคณะวิจัยภาคสนามแล้ว ยังมีส่วนอย่างมากในการจัดทำและแปลสื่อที่ใช้ในการวิจัย ส่วนฟิลิปซึ่งเป็นนักสำรวจภาษาที่มีประสบการณ์ก็ได้ให้คำแนะนำที่เป็นประโยชน์อย่างยิ่ง ทำให้การเก็บข้อมูลภาคสนามมีคุณภาพมากขึ้น

ขอขอบคุณชุมชนชาวละว้าที่ได้ช่วยเหลือคณะวิจัย โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง ผู้ใหญ่บ้านของหมู่บ้านละอูบ หมู่บ้านกอกหลวง และหมู่บ้านบ่อหลวง ที่ได้ให้การต้อนรับคณะวิจัยเป็นอย่างดี ทำให้มีโอกาสดำเนินงานหลายคน นอกจากนี้ ขอขอบคุณประธานองค์การบริหารส่วนตำบลบ่อสลิและผู้ช่วยผู้ใหญ่บ้านหมู่บ้านบ่อหลวงที่ได้แนะนำให้คณะวิจัยรู้จักกับชาวละว้าหลายคน ทำให้สามารถเข้าถึงชุมชนต่าง ๆ ที่ไม่เคยรู้จักมาก่อนได้ งานวิจัยนี้จะสำเร็จไม่ได้หากปราศจากความช่วยเหลือของผู้นำชาวละว้าเหล่านี้

คณะวิจัยขอขอบคุณชาวละว้าทุกคนที่ได้พบปะพูดคุย ทุกคนล้วนเป็นมิตรและให้ความช่วยเหลือเป็นอย่างดี คณะวิจัยจะระลึกถึงช่วงเวลาที่ได้ไปเยี่ยมที่บ้านและได้ทำความรู้จักกัน พวกเขาจะอยู่ในใจคณะของเราตลอดไป

ขอขอบพระคุณ อาจารย์ทองทิพย์ แก้วใส สำหรับความช่วยเหลือในระหว่างการศึกษาภูมิหลังก่อนการวิจัยภาคสนาม และการแนะนำคณะวิจัยเข้าสู่หมู่บ้านละอูบ นอกจากนี้

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ที่ได้สละเวลาให้ความรู้เกี่ยวกับชาวละว้าแก่คณะวิจัย

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กิตติกรรมประกาศ และบทสรุปเป็นภาษาไทย

ตัวแทนคณะวิจัย
ดร. แรมซี นาฮ์ฮาส
เมษายน 2550

Summary

Introduction

The Lawa have been in what is now Thailand for many years, most likely since even before the Thai arrived. Today, there are two distinct Lawa languages being spoken. Western Lawa is spoken in the mountains of Mae Hong Son and Chiang Mai provinces, to the north and east of Mae Sariang; Eastern Lawa is spoken in Amphoe Hot of Chiang Mai province.

Language-development work was started in Western Lawa by Christian missionaries in the 1950's. There is now a Western Lawa orthography based on the variety of Lawa spoken in Ban La-up, as well as a widely used translation of the Christian Bible. There are Western Lawa people who use this script for writing letters, songs, and poems. However, based on previous research, it is not clear if La-up Lawa is intelligible to all Lawa speakers, particularly speakers of Eastern Lawa. It is possible that further language development is needed among the Western and/or Eastern Lawa. A team of researchers from Payap University and SIL International conducted a survey of the Western and Eastern Lawa languages in February and March 2006.

Research Questions

The purpose of this survey was to determine if there is a need for further language development in any variety of Lawa in Thailand. This purpose led to the following set of research questions:

1. Comprehension of La-up Lawa

Do Western Lawa speakers adequately comprehend the La-up variety of Lawa?

Do Eastern Lawa speakers adequately comprehend the La-up variety of Lawa?

2. Attitude toward La-up Lawa

Do Western Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa?

Do Eastern Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa?

3. Language Vitality

Which varieties of Eastern Lawa will continue to be spoken by future generations?

4. Thai Proficiency

Do Eastern Lawa speakers master Northern or Central Thai adequately?

5. Attitude towards Thai

Do Eastern Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward Northern or Central Thai?

In order to answer these research questions, the research team used sociolinguistic questionnaires and intelligibility testing.

Results

The Ban La-up variety of Lawa is not inherently intelligible to Lawa speakers from Ban Kok Luang, the Western Lawa variety that was reported to be the most different from La-up Lawa. However, Ban Kok Luang residents do have contact with the Ban La-up variety of Lawa, contact which ranges from minimal to a moderate amount. The highest amount of contact observed, primarily among Christians but also among some Buddhists, serves to increase comprehension of La-up Lawa to a barely adequate level. Assuming that, relative to Kok Luang Lawa, other Western Lawa varieties are more similar to La-up Lawa and that the speakers of other Western Lawa varieties have more contact with La-up Lawa, we conclude that Western Lawa speakers do, in general, adequately comprehend La-up Lawa. Also, we did not encounter any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa among the Lawa of Ban Kok Luang. As we did not visit other Western Lawa villages, we cannot draw any conclusions about the attitudes towards La-up Lawa held by speakers of other Western Lawa varieties.

La-up Lawa (and Western Lawa in general) is not inherently intelligible to speakers of Eastern Lawa. Also, the current low level of contact has not increased comprehension to an adequate level. Eastern Lawa speakers, in general, do not comprehend any variety of Western Lawa. Despite this lack of comprehension, the Eastern Lawa still consider that they and the Western Lawa share a common identity as “Lawa.”

Eastern Lawa has a high level of language vitality. It is currently the language of the home and the community. However, the likely increase of contact with Thai people and language over time could lead to a shift away from the use of the Lawa language. It is likely that Eastern Lawa will continue to be spoken in the next generation, but it is also possible that its vitality will be weaker in that generation than it is now.

There is a high level of proficiency in both Central and Northern Thai among the Eastern Lawa. However, there are a large number of Eastern Lawa people who consider Lawa to be their single best language. This, along with the reported predominant use of Lawa in the home domain, indicates that while Thai literature might be adequate for some Eastern Lawa speakers, others might be better served by having Eastern Lawa literature. A more accurate assessment of the adequacy of their bilingual ability would be needed to confirm this conclusion.

There is no evidence that the Eastern Lawa have any negative attitudes toward Thai people or language that would cause them to not accept Thai literature. Indeed, they already embrace Thai literacy as evidenced by their active participation in the Thai educational system.

Conclusions

For the Western Lawa, it does not seem like there is any need for further language development. The La-up variety is already developed and widely used. Additionally, it is reported to be understood in most Western Lawa villages. Even in the most remote village, many Lawa have enough contact with La-up Lawa to raise comprehension to an adequate level. Additionally, there does not seem to be any negative attitudes that would cause Western Lawa speakers to not accept the La-up variety for literature.

For the Eastern Lawa, however, there might be a need for language development. They clearly do not comprehend La-up Lawa. While many are highly proficient in Thai, many report Eastern Lawa to be their single best language. This indicates that Eastern Lawa language development might benefit a significant segment of the Eastern Lawa community. Additionally, language development could serve to help preserve the currently high Eastern Lawa language vitality into the future.

The *best* way to preserve the Lawa language, however, is for one or both parents to speak only Lawa to their children in the home. As children have ample opportunity to learn both Central and Northern Thai at school and in the community, this would not hinder Lawa children in their education and future careers. Rather, by making it a high priority to use only Lawa at home, future generations of Lawa children will, just like the current generation, grow up bilingual, which is a great developmental and intellectual advantage.

สรุป

บทนำ

ชาวละว้าได้อาศัยอยู่ในบริเวณที่เป็นประเทศไทยในปัจจุบันมานานแล้ว เป็นไปได้มากกว่าอยู่มาก่อนที่ชาวไทยจะอพยพมาถึง ปัจจุบันมีการพูดภาษาละว้าที่แตกต่างกันอยู่สองภาษา คือภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกและภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออก โดยภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกจะพูดกันในแถบเทือกเขาบริเวณจังหวัดเชียงใหม่และจังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน ทางทิศเหนือและทิศตะวันออกของอำเภอแม่สะเรียง ส่วนภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกพูดกันในอำเภอฮอด จังหวัดเชียงใหม่

งานพัฒนาภาษาได้เริ่มต้นขึ้นที่ภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกโดยคณะผู้สอนศาสนาคริสต์ในช่วงทศวรรษ 1950

ปัจจุบันมีตัวเขียนภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกตามหลักของวิธภาษาละว้าที่พูดกันในหมู่บ้านละอูบ และมีพระคริสต์ธรรมคัมภีร์ฉบับแปลเป็นภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกซึ่งใช้กันอย่างแพร่หลาย มีชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกที่ใช้ตัวเขียนชุดนี้ในการเขียนจดหมาย บทเพลงและบทกลอน อย่างไรก็ตาม จากการวิจัยก่อนหน้านี้ ยังไม่เป็นที่แน่ชัดว่าชาวละว้าทุกคน โดยเฉพาะชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกจะเข้าใจภาษาละว้าที่พูดกันในหมู่บ้านละอูบหรือไม่ มีความเป็นไปได้ว่าภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกและ/หรือภาษาละว้าถิ่นออกยังต้องได้รับการพัฒนาด้านภาษาต่อไป คณะวิจัยจากมหาวิทยาลัยพายัพและเอสไอแอล อินเตอร์เนชันแนล จึงได้ทำการวิจัยภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกและภาษาละว้าถิ่นออกในเดือนกุมภาพันธ์และเดือนมีนาคม พ.ศ. 2549

คำถามวิจัย

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มีจุดประสงค์ในการประเมินว่าควรจะมีการพัฒนาด้านภาษาในวิธภาษาละว้าใดในประเทศไทยหรือไม่ อันนำไปสู่คำถามวิจัยดังต่อไปนี้

1. ความเข้าใจในภาษาละวาที่พูดในหมู่บ้านละอูบ
ชาวละวาถิ่นตะวันตกเข้าใจวิธภาษาละวาของหมู่บ้านละอูบมากพอหรือไม่?
ชาวละวาถิ่นตะวันออกเข้าใจวิธภาษาละวาของหมู่บ้านละอูบมากพอหรือไม่?
2. ทักษะคิดต่อภาษาละวาที่พูดในหมู่บ้านละอูบ
ชาวละวาถิ่นตะวันตกมีทักษะคิดในด้านลบต่อวิธภาษาละวาที่พูดในหมู่บ้านละอูบหรือไม่?
ชาวละวาถิ่นตะวันออกมีทักษะคิดในด้านลบต่อวิธภาษาละวาที่พูดในหมู่บ้านละอูบหรือไม่?
3. ความมีชีวิตของภาษา
วิธภาษาใดของภาษาละวาถิ่นตะวันออกที่จะยังคงสืบทอดต่อไปถึงชนรุ่นหลัง?
4. สมบัติภาพทางภาษาไทย
ชาวละวาถิ่นตะวันออกมีความชำนาญในการใช้ภาษาไทยถิ่นเหนือหรือภาษาไทยถิ่นกลางเพียงพอหรือไม่?
5. ทักษะคิดต่อภาษาไทย
ชาวละวาถิ่นตะวันออกมีทักษะคิดในด้านลบต่อภาษาไทยถิ่นเหนือหรือภาษาไทยถิ่นกลางหรือไม่?
คณะวิจัยได้ใช้แบบสอบถามเชิงภาษาศาสตร์สังคมและการทดสอบความเข้าใจเพื่อตอบคำถามเหล่านี้

ผลการวิจัย

ชาวละวาในหมู่บ้านกอกหลวงไม่มีความเข้าใจโดยธรรมชาติต่อวิธภาษาละวาที่พูดในหมู่บ้านละอูบ
มีรายงานระบุว่าวิธภาษาละวาถิ่นตะวันตกของหมู่บ้านกอกหลวงมีความแตกต่างกับวิธภาษาละวาของหมู่บ้านละอูบมากที่สุด อย่างไรก็ตาม
ชาวบ้านหมู่บ้านกอกหลวงได้สัมผัสกับวิธภาษาละวาของหมู่บ้านละอูบตั้งแต่ระดับน้อยที่สุดถึงปานกลาง จากการสังเกตการณ์พบว่าการสัมผัสในระดับสูงสุดเกิดในหมู่คริสเตียนมากที่สุด แต่ก็พบในหมู่ชาวพุทธด้วย
ทำให้มีความเข้าใจในวิธภาษาละวาของหมู่บ้านละอูบเพิ่มขึ้นถึงระดับพอใช้
คณะวิจัยสันนิษฐานว่า วิธภาษาละวาอื่นๆ
เมื่อเปรียบเทียบกับวิธภาษาละวาของหมู่บ้านกอกหลวงแล้ว
น่าจะมีการคล้ายคลึงกับวิธภาษาละวาของหมู่บ้านละอูบมากกว่า
และผู้พูดวิธภาษาละวาถิ่นตะวันตกเหล่านั้นน่าจะสัมผัสกับวิธภาษาของหมู่บ้านละอูบมากกว่า

จึงได้สรุปว่าชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกโดยรวมแล้วมีความเข้าใจในวิธภาษาละว้าของหมู่บ้านละอูบมากพอ นอกจากนี้ยังไม่พบว่าชาวบ้านหมู่บ้านกอกหลวงมีทัศนคติด้านลบใดๆ ต่อวิธภาษาละว้าของหมู่บ้านละอูบ

และเนื่องด้วยคณะวิจัยไม่ได้เข้าไปในหมู่บ้านละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกอื่น จึงไม่สามารถลงความเห็นเกี่ยวกับทัศนคติของผู้ใช้วิธภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกอื่นๆ ต่อวิธภาษาละว้าของหมู่บ้านละอูบได้

ชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกไม่มีความเข้าใจโดยธรรมชาติต่อวิธภาษาละว้าของหมู่บ้านละอูบ (และวิธภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตก โดยทั่วไป)

อีกทั้งการสัมผัสภาษาในระดับต่ำที่เป็นอยู่ก็ไม่ได้เพิ่มความเข้าใจให้ถึงระดับที่เพียงพอ ทำให้ชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกโดยทั่วไปไม่เข้าใจวิธภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกใด ๆ แต่อย่างไรก็ตาม ชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกยังคงถือว่าพวกตนและชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกต่างก็เป็นคน “ละว้า” เหมือนกัน

ความมีชีวิตของภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกอยู่ในระดับสูง ในเวลานี้ภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกเป็นภาษาประจำบ้านและชุมชน แต่กระนั้นแนวโน้มที่เพิ่มขึ้นของการติดต่อกับคนไทยและภาษาไทยเป็นระยะเวลานาน อาจทำให้เกิดการเปลี่ยนมาใช้ภาษาไทยแทนได้ คนรุ่นต่อไปน่าจะยังคงพูดภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออก แต่ก็มีความเป็นไปได้ว่าความมีชีวิตของภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกในคนรุ่นใหม่จะต่ำกว่าที่เป็นอยู่ในปัจจุบัน

ชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกมีสมิทธิภาพทางภาษาไทยถิ่นกลางและภาษาไทยถิ่นเหนืออยู่ในระดับที่สูง อย่างไรก็ตาม มีชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกจำนวนมากที่ถือว่าภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกเป็นภาษาที่พวกเขาใช้ได้ดีที่สุดเพียงภาษาเดียว ขอเท็จจริงนี้ประกอบกับการใช้ภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกเป็นหลักภายในบ้านตามที่มีการรายงานมานั้น บ่งชี้ว่าวรรณกรรมไทยอาจเพียงพอสำหรับชาวละว้าบางคน แต่สำหรับบางคน การมีวรรณกรรมเป็นภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกก็อาจจะดีกว่า ทั้งนี้ การประเมินความสามารถทางทวิภาษาของชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกให้แน่นอนแม่นยำมากขึ้นจะช่วยให้ยืนยันข้อสรุปนี้ได้

ไม่พบหลักฐานใดที่ระบุว่าชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกมีทัศนคติด้านลบต่อคนไทยหรือภาษาไทยจนทำให้ไม่ยอมรับวรรณกรรมภาษาไทย แท้ที่จริงแล้วชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกได้ยอมรับการรู้หนังสือไทยโดยดีดังเห็นได้จากการที่พวกเขามีส่วนร่วมอย่างแข็งขันในระบบการศึกษาของไทย

บทสรุป

สำหรับภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกนั้น ไม่พบความต้องการด้านการพัฒนาภาษาแต่อย่างใด เพราะวิธภาษาละว้าของหมู่บ้านละอูบได้รับการพัฒนาและนำไปใช้อย่างกว้างขวาง อีกทั้งยังเป็นที่น่าสนใจในหมู่บ้านละว้าถิ่นตกส่วนใหญ่ แม้แต่หมู่บ้านที่ห่างไกลที่สุด ชาวละว้าจำนวนมากก็ยังได้สัมผัสกับภาษาละว้าของหมู่บ้านละอูบมากเพียงพอที่จะทำให้ความเข้าใจเพิ่มขึ้นจนถึงระดับที่ใช้งานได้ นอกจากนี้ ไม่ปรากฏทัศนคติด้านลบใดๆ ที่จะเป็เหตุให้ชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันตกไม่ยอมรับวรรณกรรมในวิธภาษาละว้าของหมู่บ้านละอูบ

แต่สำหรับชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกอาจมีความจำเป็นที่จะต้องมีการพัฒนาด้านภาษา เนื่องจากเห็นได้ชัดเจนว่าพวกเขาไม่เข้าใจภาษาละว้าที่พูดกันในหมู่บ้านละอูบ แม้ว่าชาวละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกหลายคนจะมีสมิทธิภาพทางภาษาไทยสูง แต่หลายคนก็ยังบอกว่าภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกเป็นภาษาที่ตนเข้าใจได้ดีที่สุดเพียงภาษาเดียว ซึ่งเป็นเครื่องบ่งชี้ว่าการพัฒนาภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกอาจส่งผลดีต่อสมาชิกส่วนสำคัญของชุมชนยิ่งไปกว่านั้น

พัฒนาการด้านภาษายังจะช่วยอนุรักษ์ความมีชีวิตของภาษาละว้าถิ่นตะวันออกที่ปัจจุบันอยู่ในระดับสูงให้คงอยู่ต่อไป

อย่างไรก็ตาม วิธีที่ดีที่สุดในการอนุรักษ์ภาษาละว้า คือการให้ผู้ปกครองหนึ่งคนหรือทั้งสองคนสื่อสารกับลูกด้วยภาษาละว้าเพียงอย่างเดียวภายในบ้าน เนื่องจากเยาวชนละว้ามีโอกาสได้เรียนทั้งภาษาไทยถิ่นเหนือและภาษาไทยถิ่นกลางในโรงเรียน และชุมชน พวกเขาจะไม่มีอุปสรรคทั้งในการศึกษาและอาชีพในอนาคต ในทางกลับกัน การให้ภาษาละว้าเป็นภาษาสื่อสารหลักภายในบ้าน จะทำให้เยาวชนละว้ารุ่นต่อไปเติบโตเป็นผู้ชำนาญสองภาษาเช่นเดียวกับคนรุ่นปัจจุบัน ซึ่งนับเป็นข้อได้เปรียบอย่างยิ่งทั้งในแง่พัฒนาการและภูมิปัญญา

1 Introduction

The Lawa have been in what is now Thailand for many years, most likely since even before the Thai arrived. Today, there are two distinct Lawa languages being spoken: Western Lawa and Eastern Lawa. Language development work was started in Western Lawa by missionaries in the 1950's. There is now a Western Lawa orthography and a translation of the Bible (both the Old and New Testaments). There are Western Lawa people who use the script for writing letters, songs, and poems. However, based on previous research, it is not clear that the variety of Western Lawa used for the script and in which the literature is written is intelligible to all Lawa speakers, particularly speakers of Eastern Lawa. The purpose of this survey is to determine if there is a need for further language development in any variety of Lawa in Thailand.

A team of researchers, including myself, participated in two 2-week fieldwork trips, one to the Western Lawa and one to the Eastern Lawa. When I say “us” or “we” in this report, I am referring to this research team.

This section introduces the Lawa people and language, summarizing the previous research and supplementing it with any new information found during this survey. Sections 3 and 4 specify the research questions that this survey was designed to answer and the methodology used to answer them. Section 5 applies the survey results to answer the research questions. Finally, Section 6 presents conclusions based on the answers to the research questions.

1.1 Geography

Lawa is spoken in Thailand in the provinces of Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son. Those in Mae Hong Son live in mountainous areas. Some in Chiang Mai are in the mountains and a number live on the Bo Luang plateau. There are two Lawa languages, namely Western Lawa which is spoken in the mountain villages, and Eastern Lawa which is spoken in the plateau villages. See the following maps for specific village locations.

Figure 1 shows Thailand and its neighboring countries in mainland Southeast Asia. Figure 2 shows the approximate locations of the Lawa-speaking area in Northern Thailand. Figure 3 provides a closer view of the Lawa area, with rectangles indicating the areas shown on the more detailed maps that follow. The Lawa villages are divided geographically here into the following groups:

- Western Lawa: Northern (Figure 4), North-Central, Central, and Omphai (Figure 5), Mae La Noi (Figure 6), and Mae Sariang (Figure 7).
- Eastern Lawa (Figure 8).



Figure 1 – Thailand and Neighboring Countries

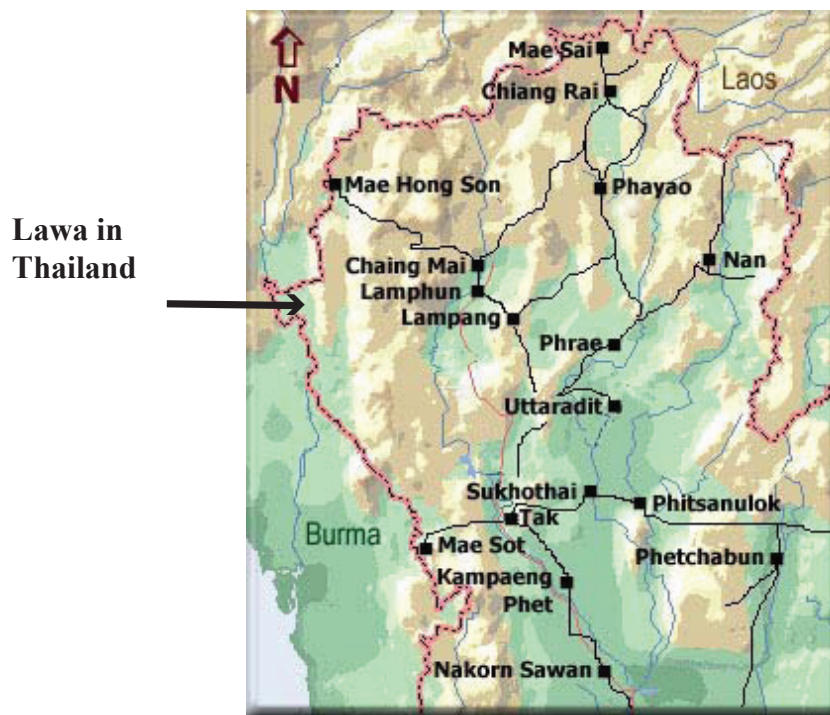


Figure 2 – Northern Thailand

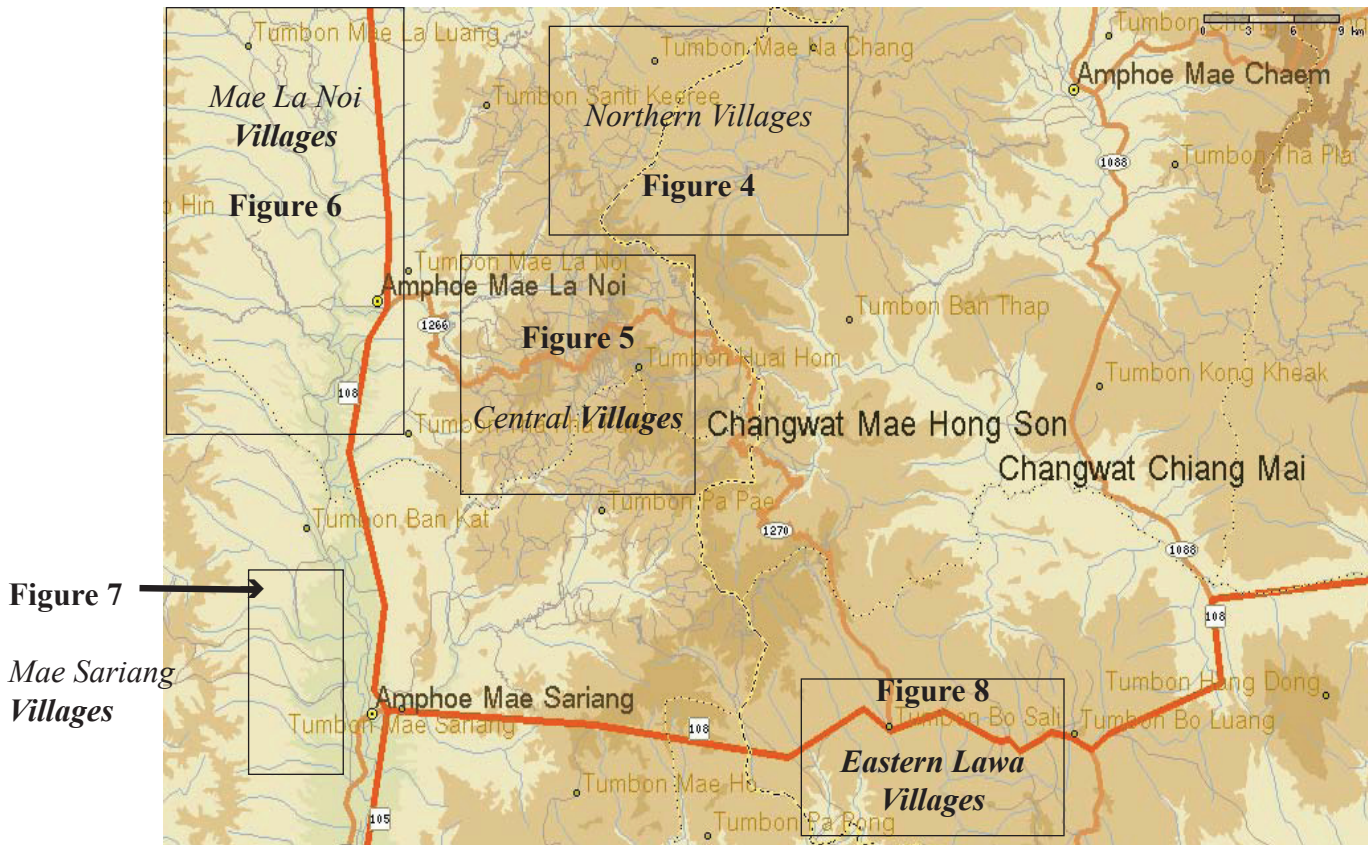


Figure 3 – Lawa Villages within Northern Thailand
See the Figures indicated for village locations



Figure 4 – Northern Villages (Western Lawa)
Flags mark the locations of Lawa villages

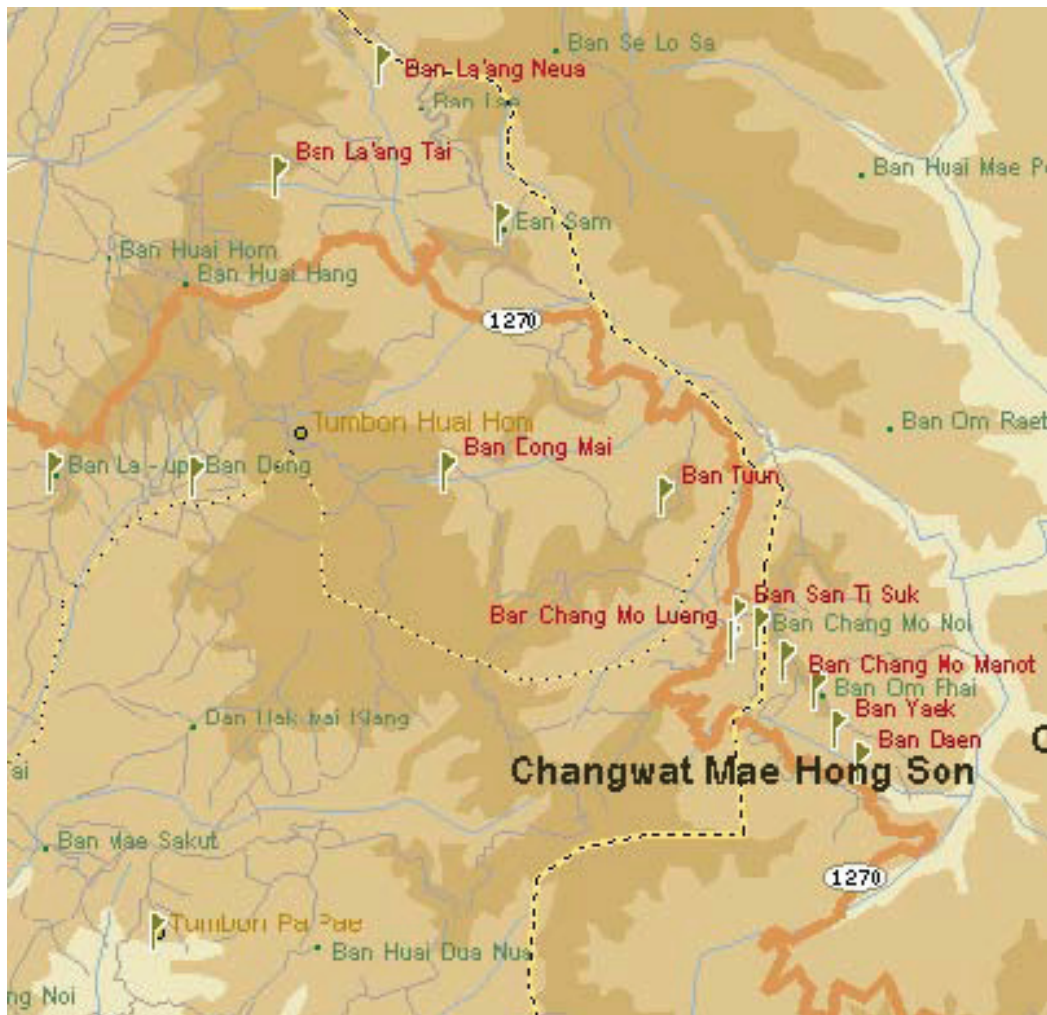


Figure 5 – North-Central, Central, and Omphai Villages (Western Lawa)
Flags mark the locations of Lawa villages; those with names in red or dark print are approximate. (For example, Ban Dong Mai is approximate, but Ban La-up is more accurate.)



Figure 6 – Mae La Noi Villages (Western Lawa)

Flags mark the locations of Lawa villages; those with names in red or dark print are approximate



Figure 7 – Mae Sariang Villages (Western Lawa)

Flags mark the locations of Lawa villages; those with names in red or dark print are approximate. Note that Ban Huai Sai is a Northern Thai village with about 10 Lawa families living together on the outskirts of the village (Schlatter, p.c.).



Figure 8 – Eastern Lawa Villages

*Flags mark the locations of Lawa villages; those with names in **bold** are approximate.*

1.2 The Lawa People

1.2.1 Names

The Lawa people being considered in this survey speak a Waic language (Diffloth 1980) and live in Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son Provinces in northern Thailand. The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) divides Lawa into two distinct languages: Western Lawa [ISO code: lcp] and Eastern Lawa [ISO code: lwl]. While these terms do roughly describe the relative location of these two languages, the speakers of “Western” and “Eastern” Lawa all refer to themselves (and their languages) by the single term [ləvɿəʔ]. In this report, in order to conform to the existing literature, I will refer to the people and their languages in general as “Lawa” and, more specifically, as “Western Lawa” and “Eastern Lawa.”

Some people in Thailand call them [luaʔ] (ลัวะ), which the Western Lawa feel is derogatory.

They prefer that outsiders call them [laaʔ waa] (ลาว้า) or [laʔ waa] (ล้า), which they consider to be more polite (Flatz 1970, Schlatter 1976a and 2005, Aspinwall 2005, and also confirmed in this survey). However, during this survey, we found that the Eastern Lawa do not recognize the word [laaʔ waa] (ลาว้า) as referring to themselves, but prefer that outsiders call them [luaʔ] (ลัวะ), the name that the Western Lawa do not like.

Various pronunciations of their autoglottonym are given in Diffloth (1980:107): [ʔawiaʔ] (Bo Luang), [rawiaʔ] (Omphai), [ɣawiaʔ / lawiaʔ] (Ban Phae), and [rawüa] (“Northern” dialect, village not specified). In ancient sources, the Lawa are referred to as Lawa, Lua, Milukku, Tamilla and La (Aronrut 2000:138).

Various other peoples in Thailand have been referred to as “Lawa” or “Lua’.” The so-called “Lawa of Kanchanaburi” mentioned by Kerr (1927) were actually Ugong, speakers of a disappearing Loloish language. The Lua’ of Nan province do speak a Northern Mon-Khmer language, as do the Lawa proper, but their language is Khmuic rather than Waic, closely related to Mal (Thin) and Phai. Also, the Nyah Kur, speakers of a Mon-Khmer language most closely related to Mon, have been referred to as “Lawa” in the literature. Perhaps, since the Lawa proper have resided in the area for so long, when the Thai moved in and met them, the names “Lawa” and “Lua’” became synonymous with “people that speak a different language and live in the mountains.” So, when the lowlanders met other such groups, they simply called them by that same term. See Suriya (1984, in Thai), Jiranan (1985), or Suriya (1996) for a discussion of the distinctions between the Lawa proper and these other groups.

1.2.2 *Population*

The 1979 Tribal Population Summary in Thailand reported 9,841 Lawa people in 1,767 households in 33 villages (Tribal Research Center 1979). By province, the Summary reported:

- Chiang Mai: 19 villages, 1,239 households, 7,139 individuals
- Mae Hong Son: 13 villages, 499 households, 2,570 individuals
- Chiang Rai¹: 1 village, 29 households, 132 individuals

Schlatter estimates the number of Lawa speakers to be 7,000 (personal communication to William Smalley, see Smalley 1994:257), but it is not clear if this includes only the Western Lawa, among whom Schlatter primarily worked, or if it includes the Eastern Lawa, as well.

Based on this survey I estimate that there are 8,000 Western Lawa speakers (about 8,500 ethnic Western Lawa) living in 32 villages and 7,000 Eastern Lawa speakers (about 8,000 ethnic Eastern Lawa) living in 16 villages (see Appendix B.6).

1.2.3 *Culture*

1.2.3.1 *Social Structure*

Traditionally, the Lawa divided their population into three classes. The highest class was called “samang,” followed by “lam,” and then “lua” (or ordinary person). This system seems to be dying out, but there is still a memory of the system and perhaps knowledge of who belongs to a “samang” family. See Obayashi (1964) and Kauffmann (1972) for more. The current state of this traditional class system was not explored during this survey.

1.2.3.2 *Economics*

The Eastern Lawa used to be engaged in mining and iron smelting. Some are still iron smiths. Now, most Lawa villages are primarily agricultural (Young 1974:57–58). The Western Lawa lost their lowland area to the Thai long ago (Kauffmann 1972:239–240). More recently, over the last 150 years, Sgaw Karen from Myanmar have moved into the Lawa mountains. At first, they leased land from the Western Lawa. Later, the Lawa lost the right to collect tribute from the Karen. Now, many Western Lawa villages are surrounded by Karen villages. “The hills [to the north and east of] the town of Mae Sariang were once the exclusive property of the three [Western Lawa] villages of Pa Pae, Ban Dong and [La-up]. Now the spaces between these [Lawa] villages have been filled with about thirty Karen hamlets, whose total population is probably three times that of the [Lawa] villages” (Kunstadter 1970:3).

In the mountain regions, swidden agriculture is used. In the past, when land was plentiful, the Lawa were able to practice a good system of land conservation. Due to the influx of other people into the Lawa areas, however, there are now too many people on the land. The Lawa are forced to work in the towns, or, if they continue with farming, to have shorter fallow periods which is harmful to the land. “The land shortage is squeezing the ancient [Lawa] to death” (Smalley 1994:263).

¹ I do not know what village in Chiang Rai is being referred to. It could be a confusion with one of the other groups referred to as “Lawa” mentioned previously.

In Ban La-up, the Lawa farming method was explained to us. They use one plot of land for one year, and then leave it fallow for eight years. There are nine plots of land arranged in a ring around the village, and each household has one portion of each plot. Incidentally, one of these plots is the sight of an ancient (Lawa?) village. Lawa farmers often see shreds of pottery, pipes and other artifacts when tilling their fields. Cabbage is grown along the road rather than in these plots since it is easier to transport it by vehicle than by foot.

1.2.3.3 Customs

Kraisri (1967:190) wrote that the Lawa “living near the Thai are being gradually assimilated; those dwelling deep in the dense forest still keep much of their original culture.” The Lawa have traditional clothing, but it is generally only worn in the more remote villages. The less remote Lawa dress the same as the Northern Thai (Young 1974:57). Kauffman (1972:241–243) contends that Lawa culture is being lost due to the influence of Karen, missionary activity, and the lure of modern life. Regarding the claim that missionary activity has promoted cultural decline, Aspinwall (2005) argues that, in fact, many Lawa Christians have become *more* proud of their ethnic identity than before resulting in a desire to *preserve* their cultural identity. For example, they are trying to revive the use of Lawa traditional clothing at special events.

Suriya (1979) describes a unique kind of Lawa poetry, called [ləsəm lə], which is used by the Lawa to express emotions at funerals, during courtship, and on other occasions. In a follow-up article, Suriya (1996) states that this custom, unfortunately, is disappearing as the youth leave the villages to study and work elsewhere, missing out on the particular time of life in the village when they would have learned to practice this custom.

Schlatter (2005), more hopeful for the language than the other aspects of Lawa culture, concludes, “As for the present generation, they will continue to use Lawa, but it is obvious that the culture is changing toward a Thai culture.”

During this survey, it was reported to us that, for the Eastern Lawa, when a Lawa man wants to marry a Lawa woman, he must pay the woman’s family both [khaa\ sia\ phi\] (ค่าเสียผี), a fee to appease the spirits of about 3,600 Thai Baht, as well as [khaa\ nam\ nom\] (ค่าน้ำนม), literally the “price of mother’s milk,” which represents paying back the parents for the effort spent in raising their daughter.

1.2.3.4 Religion

The Lawa have traditionally practiced animism. Kunstadter (1983) gives an excellent account of Lawa religious life in Ban Pa Pae in the 1960’s. Although the Lawa have a traditional religion similar to that of many ethnic groups in Southeast Asia, most Lawa today profess to be Buddhists. In reality, they practice a mixture of Buddhism and traditional religion in varying degrees, with the amount of Buddhism decreasing with the remoteness of the village (Lebar, et. al. 1964).

Christian missionaries came to the Lawa in the mid-1900’s. They developed a writing system for the Lawa language (based on the La-up dialect) and helped facilitate the translation of the whole Bible into Lawa (again, based on the La-up dialect). Don and Janet Schlatter, in particular, lived a long time among the Western Lawa, although some Eastern Lawa have met them, as

well. The Lawa call Mr. Schlatter, “Khun Lung Don (คุณ ลุง ดอน).” There are now 18 Lawa churches. These no longer rely on missionaries but are self-governed and self-run (Aspinwall 2005, Schlatter 2005). The Lawa, whether they are Catholic, Protestant, or Buddhist, generally get along well. The only tensions that exist are when a Lawa community wants the Christians to participate in some traditional activity with which the Christians are uncomfortable (Schlatter 2005).

1.2.4 History

The Lawa have an oral legend that indicates that they were chased from what is now Myanmar to their current location by “two huge rolling stones” (Obayashi 1964:205). Kunstadter (1966:141) mentions a similar legend in which the Lawa were chased into the mountains by a “huge rolling stone.” Kraisri (1967) and Aroonrut (2000) speak of the Lawa as being indigenous to what is now Thailand. Indeed, the Wa in Myanmar, speakers of a language very closely related to Lawa, have oral legends that indicate that they may have come from what is now Thailand (Young 1974:53). Regardless of whether they came to Thailand from elsewhere or not, the Lawa certainly were living in Northern Thailand when the Mon, and later the Thai, peoples came to the area. For details on the history of the Lawa, see Lebar et. al. (1964), Kunstadter (1966), Kraisri (1967), Young (1974), Suriya (1996), Condominas (1990), and Aroonrut (2000).

The Lawa appear in various Thai legends, often ones involving the coming of Buddhism to Thailand (Aroonrut 2000). Kraisri (1967:186–189) gives a version of one such legend: the story of Pu Saeh and Ya Saeh, and their son Sudeva. They were Lawa cannibals who lived at the foot of Doi Suthep, a mountain just outside of what is now Chiang Mai. According to the legend, this family was converted to Buddhism by the Buddha himself. Sudeva went on to become a famous monk, and Doi Suthep derives its name from him.

The Lawa retreated into the mountains at the time of the coming of the Mon to Northern Thailand in the 7th century A.D. The rise of the Mon at the expense of the Lawa is memorialized in the legend of Khun Luang Wilangkha (ขุนหลวงวิรังคะ), the “last in the line of Lawa tribal chieftains” (Kraisri 1967:190–194). Wilangkha unsuccessfully attacked the Mon Kingdom of Haripunjaya (หริภุญชัย) (present day Lamphun) numerous times out of spite towards the more advanced Mon peoples. The Queen of Haripunjaya was a beautiful woman named Chamadevi (จามเทวี). Wilangkha fell in love with her. Some sources indicate that she was actually Lawa (Condominas 1990:17), or married to a Lawa (Kraisri 1967:185). Wilangkha failed in winning her hand and was defeated through her cunning and magic. “His last wish was that his remains be conveyed high onto the hilltop so that the Kingdom of [Haripunjaya] would be within sight” (Kraisri 1967:193). Kraisri adds, “The death of Khun Luang [Wilangkha] was the beginning of the end of Lawa unity: from this time onward the Lawa people began to be assimilated and their clan was reduced and scattered about the hills, leaving fast-disappearing memories of Lawa tradition and custom” (1967:194).

1.3 Sociolinguistic Background Information

This section summarizes the previous sociolinguistic research among the Lawa, along with information from background interviews we conducted before the survey fieldwork. Most of the published research is about the Western Lawa. I have tried to make it clear in the following paragraphs whether I am referring to the Western Lawa, the Eastern Lawa, or to the Lawa in general.

1.3.1 Ethnolinguistic Identity

For the Western Lawa, ethnicity seems to be linked to “social and geographical location.” To remain Lawa, they must remain living in the Lawa way and in the Lawa villages. Those who move to the lowlands basically become Northern Thai (Kunstadter 1983:47). Moving from their birthplace can mean loss of identity as Lawa (Smalley 1994:258, from Kunstadter 1979:141–147). Some Western Lawa move to Sgaw Karen villages and take up Sgaw cultural practices, basically becoming Sgaw Karen, possibly because it is cheaper to perform the Sgaw animistic sacrifices (Smalley 1994:258, Kunstadter 1967:34). However, the Sgaw do not become Lawa except by intermarriage (Smalley 1994:258 from Kunstadter and Helm 1966:3–4).

In the past, the Western Lawa have been embarrassed by their identity and would try to hide it by blending in with the Northern Thai. This trend may be changing, at least among the Christian Lawa who seem to be proud of their culture and language (Aspinwall 2005). Also, they are proud of the fact that they now have a written language, and so are less embarrassed about being Lawa. This increase in Lawa pride has not interfered with their identity as Thai, however. They were born in Thailand; they respect the king and consider themselves to be Thai (Schlatter 2005).

1.3.2 Language Use

Schlatter (2005) reports that Western Lawa of all ages use Lawa in all domains. In Ban Phae, near the town of Mae Sariang, there was a generation that was not speaking Lawa anymore. They grew up understanding it, but not speaking it. Some Christians among this generation, however, motivated by the presence of the Bible in Lawa, are now speaking Lawa and teaching it to their children (Aspinwall 2005). Yet the trend moving the youth towards the Thai language may be too powerful. Schlatter (2005) notes, “The young people who are educated in Thai tend to use the Thai Bible because they have not taken time to master the Lawa writing system. For those who live in the valley,² some find the Lawa language more difficult than Thai. A sizeable group who are educated in Thai are using the Lawa Bible to help them understand difficult passages in Thai. As far as the future goes, I think that the next generation probably will use the Thai Bible more because they are communicating more and more in Thai all the time. Most villages now have Thai schools and have learned about the outside world through reading in Thai.”

Most Lawa churches (all are Western Lawa) are made up entirely of Lawa people and Lawa language is used in worship and all aspects of church life. However, the church in Ban Phae has about 5% Northern Thai people and 15% Karen people (Sgaw and Pwo). At that church, Northern Thai is used in group functions, with some functions being split into separate groups for the purpose of each being able to use their own language (Thongthip 2005). Schlatter (2007) reports that, at a recent conference in Ban Phae, both Lawa and Thai were being used.

1.3.3 Contact and Bilingualism

As mentioned in Section 2.2.3, the Western Lawa are surrounded by Karen villages. Some Lawa learn to speak Sgaw Karen, but few Karen learn to speak Lawa (Obayashi 1964). Some villages are mixed Lawa-Karen villages (Kunstadter 1969). There is also some contact with nearby Hmong villages. Eastern Lawa from Bo Luang sometimes go to work in Hmong fields and the Hmong sometimes go to buy rice from the Eastern Lawa in Bo Luang (Kauffmann 1972:242–243).

² Here, “the valley” is referring to the area near the town of Mae Sariang as opposed to in the mountains where the Western Lawa villages are.

Smalley (1994) stated that even though many Lawa speak Sgaw Karen and Northern Thai, they continue to speak Lawa. He notes that they do not speak Tai Yai (Shan) even though it is a language of wider communication in part of the area where the Lawa live (Smalley 1994:257, from Kunstadter p.c.). The Lawa “sometimes look down on the Sgaw as inferior to themselves because they do not learn as many languages and are not as adept in speaking the languages they do learn” (Smalley 1994:258). The Lawa seem to get along with the Sgaw Karen who live in the same area (Smalley 1994:258) and even intermarry with them (Aroonrut 2000, Schlatter 2005).

There has been contact between Lawa and Northern Thai for quite a long time. In some Lawa villages, there is language shift in progress from Lawa to Northern Thai due to proximity to and intermarriage with Northern Thai people, and also due to Thai schooling (Jiranan 1985). Some villages have shifted entirely to Northern Thai (Schlatter 2005).

Aspinwall (2005) reports that many Lawa are functionally proficient in two or three languages. However, in some of the more remote villages, there may still be some older people who do not speak any language other than Lawa very well (Thongthip 2005).

1.3.4 Lawa Literacy

During the fieldwork, two different Eastern Lawa individuals mentioned a legend regarding an ancient Lawa writing system. The legend says that, at one time, the Lawa had writing on buffalo skins, but a dog came and ate it and so it was lost and never recovered. Other than this legendary writing system, the first writing system for Lawa was developed by Christian missionaries using a Roman script. In 1963, the missionaries changed the script to Thai characters to facilitate transfer between Thai and Lawa literacy (Jiranan 1985:15). In addition to religious uses, the Lawa use the script for letters, poetry and songs (Kunstadter 1966, Suriya 1979, Schlatter 2005). Suriya (1979, 1996) reports that Ban Pa Pae residents can use the script even though it was developed based on the La-up dialect because everyone knows the systematic sound correspondences (Suriya 1979, 1996). Schlatter (2005) reports that Lawa literacy is mainly among the Christians.

1.4 Linguistic Background Information

Descriptive linguistic work on Lawa includes a Western Lawa-English Dictionary (Schlatter 1965), a phonological sketch of the Eastern Lawa spoken in Bo Luang (Lipsius n.d.), a description of the Western Lawa orthography (Schlatter 1976a), a grammatical sketch of Western Lawa (Jiranan 1985), a phonology of the Western Lawa spoken in Ban Pa Pae (Suriya and Lakhana 1985), a Western Lawa-Thai rhyming dictionary (Suriya and Lakhana 1986; there is a review in Schlatter 1989 and an English translation of the dictionary in Peiros 1997), and a description of Western Lawa pronouns (Jiranan 1992). See Appendix D for tables showing the phones of Lawa based on the phonological descriptions in the literature.

Comparative linguistic work has yielded the following results:

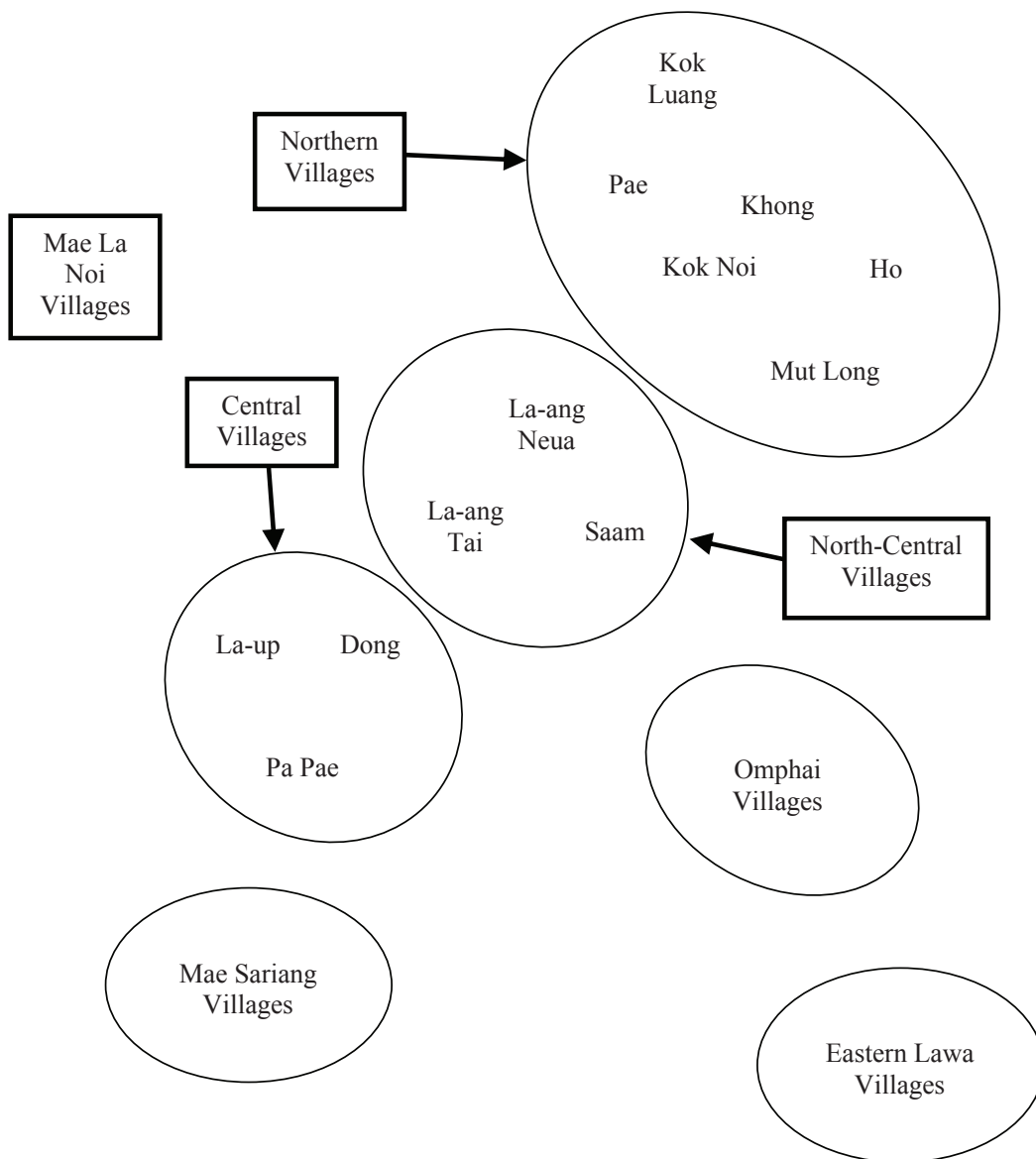
- The Bo Luang variety of Eastern Lawa is closer to Wa Vu than to Kengtung Wa (Embree and Thomas 1950:81).
- The La-up variety of Western Lawa is 35–41% cognate with Palaung (Thomas and Headley 1970:403).

Wenk (1965) refers to “Kien Ka Lawa” (Kien Ka is the name of the village), but Diffloth concludes that this variety is really part of the Samtau branch of Waic, rather than the Lawa branch (1980:12, 14).

Thongthip (2005) reports that, of all the Western Lawa varieties, those spoken in the northernmost villages are closest to Wa. However, even speakers of these varieties cannot understand the Wa of Myanmar.

1.4.2 Relationships between Lawa Varieties

The following schematic illustration of the geographical groupings of Lawa villages is useful for keeping track of the names and relative locations of the various villages that will be referred to here. (This illustration is not to scale.)



With respect to the relative prestige between [Western] Lawa varieties, according to Kauffmann, Omphai has been referred to as the most prominent Lawa village (1972:250). The “Omphai group” consists of a number of nearby villages. Of these, Kauffmann reported that Ban Daen might be the most prestigious one (p. 248). Among Lawa Christians, at least, Ban La-up has a place of prominence as it is the variety that was chosen for orthography development and for translation of the Bible. Schlatter (2005) recalls that “...the decision to use the La-up dialect instead of one of the others was that this dialect seemed to be more widely understood than any of the others. Also, ...the first [Christian] believers were in that village.”

Eastern and Western Lawa are “quite different from each other” (Mitani 1965) and, according to Lipsius (n.d.), are not mutually intelligible. Lipsius states that there are a few older Eastern Lawa men who used to travel to the mountain villages that can understand or speak Western Lawa. Schlatter (2002) claims that Eastern and Western Lawa share about half of their words in common,⁴ and that people from these two areas begin to understand one other when they spend some time together.

Smalley (1994) claimed that there are four Lawa “languages”: Bo Luang (i.e. Eastern Lawa), Omphai (the easternmost Western Lawa), La-up, and one more dialect in the north (not specified other than that it is in Amphoe Mae Chaem, Chiang Mai).

Kauffmann (1972) categorized the Western Lawa villages into two groups: “southern Lawa” and “northern Lawa.” He placed Ban La-up and Ban Dong in the northern group but noted that they “show some traits of the southern” group as well (Kauffmann 1971, 1972). Kauffmann’s grouping seems to be based on cultural characteristics rather than linguistic ones. He categorized the Lawa villages of Amphoe Hot separately in the “Bo Luang Group”; this grouping corresponds to the Eastern Lawa.

With respect to intelligibility between the varieties spoken in different villages, Kunstadter (1969:79) stated that Lawa people “...who live in villages more than a day’s walk apart usually have mutually unintelligible dialects.” On the other hand, Schlatter (1967, personal communication to Thomas and Headley 1970:403) suggested that:

“Almost every Lawa village has its own private dialect. The differences are sometimes minor, such as aspiration vs. non-aspiration, changes in the vowel glides, etc., but distant villages have dialects which are mutually unintelligible. For our own purposes ...we think of three areas: the [La-up] dialect or central area, the northern area which is made up of about six villages which have related dialects, and the eastern area which also has a number of related dialects. The [La-up] village dialect is understood by nearby villages; about 2500 people understand it even though their own dialects are different in varying degrees.”

Later, Schlatter grouped the Lawa varieties into ten dialects, as follows: Pa Pae, La-up, Ban Dong, Kok Luang, Kok Noi, La-ang, Ban Tuun, Omphai, Kong Loi, and Bo Luang. According to

⁴ After taking into account regular sound correspondences, the proportion of words that are lexically similar is actually much higher. See Section 2.4.2.1.

Schlatter, the last two, which are Eastern Lawa, are not mutually intelligible with the first eight (which are Western Lawa). These ten dialects all have high cognate percentages and those with contact can adjust easily and communicate (Schlatter 1989). In cases where the dialect difference is too great, and there has not been enough contact to make the adjustment, Lawa use Northern Thai to communicate with each other. The Lawa sometimes react to their dialect differences by laughing at one another (Schlatter 2005).

Schlatter (2005) indicates that the level of comprehension of the Western Lawa Bible seems to depend on village, age, and, in some cases, on gender. Presumably, the age- and gender-based comprehension differences are related to differences in the frequency of contact with the La-up variety.

Within the Eastern Lawa villages, Lipsius (n.d.) stated that there are “slight” dialect differences, but that these do not hinder intelligibility. The people of each of these villages trace their origin to one (or two) of three contiguous villages (Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Bo Sangae, which Lipsius labeled as A, B, and C, respectively). Based on his phonological analysis, he concluded that the Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen varieties are quite similar, but that Bo Sangae is still intelligible with them. He stated, “No research has been done on the differences [between the three varieties], since they are not a communication barrier and because the one dialect [that of Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen] is so dominant over the other [Bo Sangae].” All but two Eastern Lawa villages were founded by people from Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen.

1.4.2.1 Lexical Similarity between Lawa Varieties

A number of Lawa wordlists are found in the literature. In general, if the lexical similarity percentage between two sites is lower than 70%, then intelligibility is highly unlikely and the varieties of these two sites can be concluded to be separate languages. When the lexical similarity percentage is 70% or more, then intelligibility is possible. I compared Lawa wordlists from the literature before the field work in order to determine if any additional wordlists should be collected. As it turned out that all comparisons between Lawa varieties yielded lexical similarity percentages above 70% (see Table 1), I decided that it would not be useful to collect additional wordlists in order to screen for lack of intelligibility.

Table 1 – Lexical Similarity between Lawa Villages

	Bo Luang	Omphai	La-up	Phae
Bo Luang				
Omphai	100.00%			
La-up	92.13%	92.05%		
Phae	100.00%	100.00%	93.90%	

For some locations, the data from the literature was rather sparse. Only Bo Luang, Omphai, La-up, and Phae had enough data to allow a wordlist comparison. The decision to use these lists was based on an evaluation of how many words in the MSEAG Comparative Wordlist (Mann 2004) were available for each location. The four sites analyzed here all had at least 85 of the 118 weight

3 words given the highest weight in Mann (2004).⁵ The next highest total was 46 for Khalo'. The data from these locations comes from Kerr (1927), Rangsit (1942–1945), Kraisi (1963), Schlatter (1967), Mitani (1972), Schlatter (1976b), and Huffman (1977). Additional data can be found in Flatz (1970, Khalo') and Peiros (1997, Pa Pae).

Note that the data from these sites was primarily from Diffloth (1980).⁶ His purpose was historical reconstruction, so he was considering similarities between words. The words he used were chosen specifically *because* they were similar across Waic languages. Thus, using his data biases, the lexical similarity percentages appear to be too high. Yet, even if every one of the 118 weight 3 words from Mann (2004) had been available to me, and if most of the ones that were currently missing had turned out to be lexically dissimilar, the percentages would still have been above 70%, leading to the same conclusion: additional wordlist collection and analysis to screen for lack of intelligibility is not necessary. Instead, intelligibility testing is needed to assess comprehension between Lawa varieties where it is in question.

Also, note that the data from Bo Luang, Omphai, and Phae were (mostly) *originally* from Mitani (1972), while the La-up data was from a different original source. It could be that the percentages of similarity with La-up are lower due to a difference in the words actually elicited for the same English gloss.

2 Research Questions

The purpose of this language survey was to assess the need for further vernacular language development among the Lawa. This led to two sets of research questions, one for each of the two Lawa languages.

2.1 Western Lawa

Based on background research, it seemed that the only question for the Western Lawa was whether or not speakers of all the varieties could and would use existing materials developed in the La-up variety of Lawa. This led to the following two research questions:

1 Comprehension of La-up Lawa

Do Western Lawa speakers adequately comprehend the La-up variety of Lawa?

2 Attitude towards La-up Lawa

Do Western Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa?

If any group of Western Lawa speakers either does not adequately comprehend La-up Lawa or has negative attitudes to the La-up variety, then further Western Lawa language development might be needed. An alternative to additional language development would be the promotion of contact with La-up Lawa (to increase comprehension) and/or some strategy to foster more positive attitudes.

⁵ Mann assigned “weights” to the words in commonly used wordlists. Words with the same weight theoretically have the same level of resistance to borrowing and change. This method is still being refined. In principle, the idea is to only make comparisons based on words with the same “weight.” Then, if two sets of comparisons are based on different words, but they are all of the same weight, the two percentages are still on the same footing.

⁶ Diffloth got the data from other sources, but he himself chose which words to include in his work.

2.2 Eastern Lawa

I did not find much information in my background research regarding language vitality among the Eastern Lawa. The Eastern Lawa villages are at lower elevations and most of them are along the highway connecting Chiang Mai and Mae Sariang. This led me to wonder if they might be shifting to Thai. Additionally, I received a few informal reports that some of the Eastern Lawa, at least, were indeed speaking Lawa less. Based on this, there seemed to be three options for literacy among the Eastern Lawa: La-up Lawa, some variety of Eastern Lawa, or Thai. This led to the following five research questions:

1. Comprehension of La-up Lawa
Do Eastern Lawa speakers adequately comprehend the La-up variety of Lawa?
2. Attitude toward La-up Lawa
Do Eastern Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa?
3. Language Vitality
Which varieties of Eastern Lawa will continue to be spoken by future generations?
4. Thai Proficiency⁷
Do Eastern Lawa speakers master Northern or Central Thai adequately?
5. Attitude towards Thai
Do Eastern Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward Northern or Central Thai?

The answers to these research questions will help in assessing which language is the best option for literacy for the Eastern Lawa. If the best option is Eastern Lawa, then language development would be needed.

3 Methodology

In this section, I describe the instruments used to collect data relevant to the research questions, the reasons for the selection of sites, the method of subject selection, a timeline of the fieldwork, and the methods by which the data are analyzed to answer the research questions.

3.1 Instruments

In all cases, the instruments were administered using Central Thai as the language in which we conducted the interview. In what follows, “SLQ” stands for sociolinguistic questionnaire (SLQ), and “RTT” stands for Recorded Text Testing (RTT). The instruments used were as follows:

3.1.1 Village Leader SLQ

For a number of villages, a local leader was interviewed using the Village Leader SLQ. The questions contained in this instrument are shown in Appendix A.1.

3.1.2 Dialect Perceptions Group Interview (DPGI)

At a number of villages, a group of Lawa-speaking residents were gathered and interviewed regarding reported similarities and differences between the Lawa spoken in their village and other villages. The questions contained in the Dialect Perceptions Group Interview (DPGI) are shown in Appendix A.2.

⁷ Throughout this report, when the term “Thai” is used in reference to language and is not specified, it means “a Thai language,” i.e., Northern Thai or Central Thai.

3.1.3 Eastern Lawa Individual SLQ

In some Eastern Lawa villages visited, a number of individual subjects were selected and interviewed. The questions contained in this instrument are shown in Appendix A.4. Note that questions 34 to 42 about language use in church were never asked since we did not encounter any Eastern Lawa Christians.

3.1.4 Recorded Text Testing (RTT)

In many villages visited, both among the Western and the Eastern Lawa, a number of individual villagers were selected for administration of the RTT in order to test their comprehension of the La-up variety. The test consisted of listening to a recording of a story, told by a resident of La-up speaking the La-up variety of Lawa, with questions inserted in the story asked in the local variety of Lawa. The development and administration of the RTT proceeded as described in Blair (1990:73–85) with some modifications (also see Casad 1974). Details on the actual RTT development and protocol used are shown in Appendix A.5. Additionally, post-RTT questions were asked (modified from Radloff n.d.). These questions helped assess attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa and toward people from La-up.

The Western Lawa RTT Interview (demographic information and post-RTT questions) is shown in Appendix A.3. The Eastern Lawa RTT Interview was part of the Eastern Lawa Individual SLQ as shown in Appendix A.4.

In a few locations, a *group* RTT was administered. Before the fieldwork, we thought there was a possibility that the Eastern Lawa would understand nothing of Western Lawa. On the first day of data collection in Bo Luang, we asked a group of people to listen to the RTT story in order to get a quick screen of their comprehension. We soon realized that this was not a good idea, as we had no way to evaluate the results. Thus, we decided to go back to our original plan and administer the RTT to individuals and to use this Group RTT result in a qualitative manner. Later, in Na Fon, we were trying to locate a local official. He was not home, but a group of Lawa people gathered and we decided to conduct a group interview. We administered an Individual SLQ to one man in the group and then had a number of them listen to the RTT story simultaneously. In this case, we did the Group RTT because we already had the group gathered and we were not planning to do individual testing. Similarly, in Wang Kong and Bo Sangae, we did not have plans to do individual RTT but we already had a group of people gathered and had extra time. In both of these cases, we administered a Group RTT in order to observe their attitude towards La-up Lawa and because we thought they would be interested in hearing it.

3.1.5 Teacher Interviews

In the Eastern Lawa villages of Bo Luang and Kong Loi, teachers were interviewed at the local school about their impressions of the language-use patterns and Thai proficiency of Lawa school-children.

3.1.6 Observation

The research team noted any observations that were relevant to the research questions.

3.2 Site Selection

For Western Lawa, the research focus was on intelligibility of the La-up variety. Reported information from the background research indicated that Lawa people in other Western

Lawa villages can understand the La-up variety well, with the possible exception of those in the Northern group of villages. Kok Luang, the most remote of the Northern villages, was reported to be the place where Lawa is spoken most differently from La-up. Thus, if adequate intelligibility of the La-up variety was found in Kok Luang, then it could be reasonably assumed that all the Western Lawa varieties can understand the La-up variety and be able to use La-up literature. Thus, the research team visited two Western Lawa sites: La-up (in order to develop the RTT), and Kok Luang (in order to administer the RTT).

As discussed in Section 2.4.2, there are three varieties of Eastern Lawa, labeled ‘A’, ‘B’, and ‘C’, that originated from the villages of Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Bo Sangae, respectively. According to Lipsius (n.d.), two of them, A and B, are very similar. Thus, for the purpose of testing intelligibility of La-up Lawa, it was desired to select sites from each of the A/B group and the C group. Further opportunities arose during the fieldwork and so additional sites were selected as well. The Eastern Lawa villages, where we administered the RTT, were Bo Luang (A), Bo Phawaen (B), Khun (C), and Kong Loi (C).

The three contiguous villages of Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Bo Sangae were selected for administration of Individual SLQs due to the fact that together they form the largest concentration of Eastern Lawa people in any one location. Given their close proximity, it was felt that the sociolinguistic situation would be similar in these three sites and their results could be combined in the analysis. Together, they are referred to here as the “Bo Luang group.” Additionally, reported information gained during the survey indicated that language vitality might be lower in Kong Loi. Thus, the Eastern Lawa sites selected for Individual SLQ administration were the Bo Luang group (Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Bo Sangae) and Kong Loi.

The researchers also visited Na Fon (Group RTT) and Wang Kong (Village Leader SLQ and Group RTT).

3.3 Subject Selection

3.3.1 Screening Criteria

When testing intelligibility using RTT, the target population in a village consisted of people from that village who are Lawa speakers. This is formalized by using the following criteria for subjects. If a subject did not meet all the criteria, then they were not part of the RTT target population and, thus, they were either not tested or, if tested, their results are not counted in the analysis.

1. The subject is “from the village.” This is defined as growing up in the village, living in the village at present, and, if they have lived elsewhere, their time elsewhere is not a significant amount of recent time.⁸
2. The subject speaks Lawa as either their first language or their best language.
3. The subject has at least one Lawa parent from the village.
4. That parent spoke Lawa with them when they were a child.

⁸ It is difficult to define a specific time period (e.g. ‘more than the last 5 years’) for “a significant amount of recent time.” Thus, this criterion is intentionally subjective as it depends on how long the subject lived elsewhere and how long they have been back in the village relative to their age, as well as on how atypical their pattern of living elsewhere is relative to the other residents of the village.

Since language vitality was one of the research questions for the Eastern Lawa, the Individual SLQ administration had a broader target population, namely Lawa residents of the village, whether or not they can speak Lawa. This is defined by Screening Criteria 1 and 3. However, all four criteria were required for an Eastern Lawa subject to be eligible for the RTT.

Note that in order for Lawa children to continue their studies beyond grade 9, they must live outside of the Lawa area. Thus, more flexibility was allowed for including such subjects. If all who live elsewhere were excluded, then all the secondary school students would have been excluded. Yet they are very much part of the target population. The Eastern Lawa fieldwork fortunately took place during the school break. Thus, many secondary school students were in their home village and available to be interviewed.

3.3.2 *Sampling*

Quota sampling was used to select subjects for the Individual SLQ and for the RTT, with age and gender as the stratification variables. For the Western Lawa, religion was also used as a stratification variable since it was likely that religion was the main factor influencing contact with La-up Lawa. In general, the motivation for quota sampling is to make sure that all relevant sub-populations are adequately represented in the data. The term “quota” comes from the fact that this method of sampling requires the researcher to specify a certain number of people to sample in each category.

In order to fill our quotas, we interviewed individuals until the desired quota sizes were achieved. Individuals were not selected randomly due to the unavailability of a sampling frame. Within each age \times gender (\times religion) combination, we used convenience sampling. For example, if we needed to sample an older man, we simply looked for an older man to interview. An effort was made to sample in all locations of a village and at various times of day so as to not systematically exclude any segment of the target population. Often, the village leader arranged appointments for us with the interviewees. This was a less than ideal situation since some of the subjects were part of the same family, thus reducing the amount of information that was obtained per subject.⁹

Since quota sampling is not a random sampling method, the results cannot be said to be representative of the target population without some assumptions. In order to claim that the results within each age \times gender (\times religion) stratum of the sample (e.g. older women in the sample) are representative of that stratum in the population of the village (e.g. older women in the village), I must make one of the following assumptions (see Nahhas 2007):

- (a) The villagers are somewhat homogeneous within that stratum (e.g. all the older women are about the same with respect to what is being measured).
- (b) The subjects were encountered in a random fashion. That is, the target population (Lawa residents of that village) is “well-mixed.” This would be true if the “convenient” villagers do not differ much from the “inconvenient” villagers with respect to what is being measured (e.g. those hanging about outside their house when we came by were no different, in general, than those who stayed inside, with respect to what we were researching).

⁹ In general, two people in the same family tend to be more alike than two randomly selected people in the target population. This translates into less “information” for the same sample size.

If both of these assumptions are false, then the sample is biased towards the more convenient people. For example, if the more convenient people were more proficient in Thai, then an estimate of Thai proficiency for the community, using convenience sampling, would be biased too high. I will evaluate these assumptions here separately for (a) the research question about comprehension of La-up Lawa and (b) the other research questions.

The main factor that seems to explain differences between subjects in their comprehension of La-up Lawa is contact with La-up Lawa. *For the Western Lawa*, this factor was stratified on¹⁰ and so is accounted for by the sampling scheme.¹¹ *For the Eastern Lawa*, contact with La-up was very minimal. Thus, even if we had stratified the sample based on contact, almost all of the subjects would be in the same contact stratum. Thus, it is only necessary that one of the two assumptions hold within the age \times gender strata. The sample sizes within strata were really rather small, so it is difficult to judge the validity of assumption (a). As for assumption (b), even within age \times gender groups, there was quite a lot of variation in the scores. However, the average score was so low, that it is clear that there is a significant segment of the community (those that were available to interview) that has very low comprehension of La-up Lawa. Thus, even if we had a truly random sample, the conclusions would almost surely be the same.

For the other research questions, it is very unlikely that the population is “well-mixed” with respect to the indicators of language attitudes, Thai proficiency, and language vitality. For example, the most “inconvenient” people, those who were not in the village when we were there, are likely to be better speakers of Thai than those who were there. Also, the sample sizes within strata are so small that it is difficult to evaluate the assumption of homogeneity. If results within a stratum are very different, is that just because by chance we interviewed the few who are very different? If the results are very similar, is that just because we did not interview enough to find the many who are very different? Thus, all I can do is **assume** that either (a) the variability within strata is small, or (b) the differences between the convenient and inconvenient groups are not so large with respect to the indicators of language attitudes, Thai proficiency, and language vitality as to render these results very far off.

The above discussion has to do with representativeness of the results within age \times gender (\times religion) strata. In order to combine results over strata and generalize to the population of the whole village, knowledge of the village-level proportions in each stratum is needed. As these are not known, when aggregate results are given for a village, these results assume that the proportion of individuals in each quota category in the sample is the same as that in the village.¹²

I conclude, therefore, that the results for comprehension of La-up Lawa are indeed representative of the target populations. The results for the other research questions (attitudes, vitality, Thai proficiency) are not necessarily representative, but in most cases seem so clear that it is not likely

¹⁰ In fact, we stratified on religion. But, during the analysis, I split the subjects up into “minimal” and “moderate” contact groups based on their responses to the questionnaire.

¹¹ This is true, if all I am interested in is the comprehension within each group (Christian and Buddhist). If I also want to pool over the two groups, then I also need to know the relative proportions of those two groups in the population.

¹² In fact, for all of Thailand, the proportions are 23% females age 15–34, 24% males age 15–34, 28% females age 35+, and 26% males age 35+ (National Statistics Office Thailand 2003). Any of the village-level results could be re-weighted, by multiplying by appropriate factors, to produce these proportions. This would lead to more accurate village-level estimates, assuming that the villages surveyed have similar demographic characteristics as Thailand as a whole.

that the conclusions would change even with a representative sample. In particular, even if the subpopulation that was excluded by the sampling method were vastly different, the results for the observed sample indicate the presence of a subpopulation of sufficient size to warrant the same conclusions.

3.3.2.1 Western Lawa

For the Western Lawa, contact with La-up Lawa is much greater for Christians than for Buddhists due to the use of the Lawa Bible in church and the fact that La-up Lawa is used as the “central” dialect among Christians. Thus, religion was an additional stratification variable. Christianity is not the only source of contact, however, so subjects were also asked questions about their contact with La-up and this was taken into account in the analysis of the RTT data. The sample sizes obtained in each village are shown in the following data. The sample sizes were limited by the time constraints of the research team.

Altogether, 26 individuals were interviewed in Kok Luang. Of these 26 subjects, 24 passed all four screening criteria (see Section 4.3.1). Of those 24, only 12 passed the Extended Practice Test and were administered the RTT. Those who failed the Extended Practice Test were primarily old and uneducated. They were unfamiliar with taking tests and, thus, had difficulty with the Extended Practice Test. This difficulty was compounded by our less than adequate test development. See Appendix C.1.1.2 for a discussion of this problem.

Additionally, there were three Buddhist subjects (one young woman, one older woman, and one older man) who failed the Extended Practice Test but were still administered the RTT due to various circumstances (e.g. it would have been embarrassing to dismiss them). We do not know if incorrect answers to the RTT questions for these three subjects are due to poor test-taking ability or to lack of comprehension. We may validly conclude, however, that had they been subjects who had passed the Practice Test, then their scores would have very likely been at least as high as observed. Since two of these three scores came from older Buddhists, a quota category for which we otherwise would have had very few subjects, these scores were included in the analysis, leading to a total RTT sample size of 15. Thus, the average RTT scores presented here are a slight underestimate of the true level of comprehension for Buddhist Kok Luang residents. As previously mentioned, there were some problems with the Extended Practice Test in Kok Luang. These 15 subjects were the only ones who actually made it to the end of the test without giving up. So, in effect, the criterion that is being used is to include those subjects who finished the Extended Practice Test, regardless of their score. Table 2 shows the RTT sample sizes by quota category.

Table 2 – RTT Sample Size by Religion, Age, and Gender (Kok Luang)

The target quota sizes were 2 per strata for a target total sample size of 16.

Christians		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	2	2	4
	Male	2	1	3
Total		4	3	7
Buddhists		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	3	2	5
	Male	2	1	3
Total		5	3	8

3.3.2.2 Eastern Lawa

The Individual SLQ was administered in four Eastern Lawa villages: Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, Bo Phawaen, and Kong Loi. The results for the first three of these villages were combined since these villages are contiguous and seem to have the same sociolinguistic characteristics. Kong Loi, however, has different patterns of contact with other languages and so was analyzed separately.

The RTT developed in La-up was administered in a number of Eastern Lawa villages: Khun, Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Kong Loi. Results for Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen were combined since there were only a few subjects from Bo Phawaen. Bo Phawaen is contiguous with Bo Luang, and the Lawa spoken in Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen is very similar.

Depending on the location and the time of the interview, some subjects were administered an Individual SLQ, some an RTT, and some both. As described in Section 4.3.1, the screening criteria for these two instruments were different, reflecting differences in the target populations. However, the target population for the RTT was a sub-population of the target population for the Individual SLQ, so any subject who was administered an RTT was also eligible for an SLQ, whether they were given one or not. Thus, the demographic information for subjects who were given only an RTT can be combined with that of the Individual SLQ subjects for the purposes of describing the Individual SLQ target population.

There were 41 subjects who passed screening criteria 1 and 3 and were administered an Individual SLQ. These are hereafter called “SLQ subjects.” There were an *additional* 32 subjects who also passed screening criteria 1 and 3,¹³ but were not administered an Individual SLQ because only RTTs were being conducted at the time these subjects were interviewed. These 73 subjects are together referred to hereafter as “eligible subjects”; these are the subjects for whom we have demographic information based on the SLQ and RTT screening questions.

¹³ Note that one subject, counted as being from Bo Luang, actually grew up in Mae Sanam Kaw. But we counted her as being from Bo Luang since both her parents were from there and she’s lived there half her life. Also, six students did not currently live in the Lawa village. One was studying in Lamphun and the other five in Chiang Mai. As discussed in Section 4.3.1, this was ignored since strict adherence to the screening criteria would have excluded most of the high school students in the villages.

When answering the research questions, some data are available for only the SLQ subjects and some data are available for all the eligible subjects. Any conclusion that relies on the answer to a question found only on the SLQ can only be based on the 41 SLQ subjects, but conclusions that are based on the demographic information of the SLQ target population (e.g. first language) can be based on all 73 eligible subjects. For example, when answering the research question about language vitality, only data from the 41 SLQ subjects is available for investigating the use of Lawa in various domains. However, when considering the reported “best language,” data from all 73 eligible subjects is available.

The sample sizes for the SLQ subjects and the eligible subjects are as follows:

Table 3 – Number of SLQ Subjects by Location, Age, and Gender (Eastern Lawa)

The target quota sizes were 3 per strata for a target total sample size of 12 per location.

Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	4	5	9
	Male	5	8	13
Total		9	13	22
Kong Loi		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	6	4	10
	Male	3	6	9
Total		9	10	19

Table 4 – Number of “Eligible Subjects” by Location, Age, and Gender (Eastern Lawa)

Khun		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	4	3	7
	Male	3	7	10
Total		7	10	17
Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	8	9	17
	Male	9	10	19
Total		17	19	36
Kong Loi		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	6	4	10
	Male	3	7	10
Total		9	11	20

Altogether, 69 individuals were interviewed in locations where RTT was conducted. Of these, there were 30 individuals who failed the screening criteria, failed the practice test, were interviewed at times when only Individual SLQs were being conducted, or were excluded for other reasons. This resulted in a sample size of 39 subjects who passed all the screening criteria specified in Section 4.3.1 and were tested using the RTT.¹⁴ The sample sizes for the RTT subjects by location are given in Table 5.

Table 5 – RTT Sample Size by Location, Age, and Gender (Eastern Lawa)

The target quota sizes were 3 per strata for a target total sample size of 12 per location.

Khun		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	4	3	7
	Male	2	4	6
Total		6	7	13
Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	3	3	6
	Male	3	3	6
Total		6	6	12
Kong Loi		Age		Total
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	4	3	7
	Male	3	4	7
Total		7	7	14

Three subjects (a young man from Khun, a young woman from Bo Luang, and an older woman from Kong Loi) failed the Extended Practice Test but were given the RTT anyway. While their RTT scores have not been included in the analysis, their post-RTT answers have. One more additional subject (an older man from Kong Loi) passed the Extended Practice Test, refused to answer any of the RTT questions, but did answer the post-RTT questions. His post-RTT answers have also been included in the analysis. Thus, while there are 39 RTT subjects, there are 43 subjects included in the analysis of the post-RTT responses.

3.4 Fieldwork Timeline

For the Western Lawa phase of the fieldwork, we stayed in La-up February 13–19, 2006, and in Kok Luang February 20–24, 2006. For the Eastern Lawa phase of the fieldwork, we went on a preliminary visit to Bo Luang on March 7, 2006, and then to the following villages in Tambons Bo Luang and Bo Sali March 13–24, 2006: Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, Bo Sangae, Khun, Na Fon, Wang Kong, and Kong Loi.

3.5 Analysis

The criteria for answering the five research questions are shown in the following five sub-sections. The first two research questions are common to both phases of the survey. There

¹⁴ Six students, however, did not currently live in the Lawa village. One was studying in Lamphun and the other five in Chiang Mai. As discussed in Section 4.3.1, this was ignored since strict adherence to the screening criteria would have excluded most of the high school students in the villages.

is no difference in the analysis criteria between Western and Eastern Lawa for these research questions.

In this section, for each research question, the following are described:

- The instruments that will be used to answer the research question.
- The criteria by which the results will be used to answer the research question.

3.5.1 Comprehension of La-up Lawa

Do Lawa speakers adequately comprehend the La-up variety of Lawa?

The RTT, post-RTT questions, DPGI, and Western Lawa RTT Interview (A.3 questions 45–51 about Lawa Bible comprehension) will be used to answer this research question.

An average RTT score of at least 85% indicates likely comprehension of the La-up variety of Lawa. An average RTT score of less than 85% indicates unlikely comprehension. RTT results will be checked for consistency with the reported comprehension results. The standard deviation of the scores in each village will also be assessed. A standard deviation of at least 12–15% may indicate that the scores come from people with varying amounts of contact with the La-up variety of Lawa. It is hypothesized that the main source of contact is Christianity. Thus, the average and standard deviation will be checked for Christians and Buddhists separately.

3.5.2 Attitude towards La-up Lawa

Do Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa?

The DPGI and post-RTT questions will be used to answer this research question. No quantitative criteria are used here for this research question. The question responses will be assessed qualitatively.

3.5.3 Language Vitality

Which varieties of Eastern Lawa will continue to be spoken by future generations?

Questions 25–26, 31–35, 38–40, and 42–46 from the Village Leader SLQ, and the Eastern Lawa Individual SLQ will be used to answer this research question.

A number of sociolinguistic factors that are associated with language vitality were measured in this study, or are known based on background research. These are: *language use at home and with children, Lawa proficiency of children, language attitudes, attitudes to literacy, Thai proficiency, contact, language use in the community, ethnolinguistic identity, ethnolinguistic makeup of villages, geographical distribution, government policy, and population.*

While each of these factors is, indeed, related to language vitality, the first two, language use at home and with children and the Lawa proficiency of children, are more related to *current* vitality. These will be referred to as “indicative” language vitality factors. These define the most basic form of strong language vitality: people are using the language at home and passing it on to their children. But there are also other factors that are not essential in the short term but are, rather, *predictive of future trends* in vitality. If many of these “predictive” factors are negative, then language vitality can be said to be threatened in the future. For example, even if the present generation of children is fluent in the mother-tongue, negative language attitudes toward language maintenance could lead to this fluency not being passed on to the next generation.

In Section 5.2.3, the survey results for each of the indicative and predictive language vitality factors are summarized individually, and then considered collectively. Based on the data, each factor is classified as “positive,” “negative,” or “unclear.” An indicative factor is “positive” if it points to higher current language vitality, “negative” if it demonstrates a lack of vitality, and “unclear” if the evidence is not sufficient to determine current vitality. A predictive factor is “positive” if it is very likely to support future language maintenance, “negative” if it is very likely to promote future language shift, and “unclear” if it is not clearly positive or negative with respect to future language vitality.

3.5.4 Thai Proficiency

Do Eastern Lawa speakers master Northern or Central Thai adequately?

Questions 22–24, 29, and 51–57 from the Eastern Lawa Individual SLQ will be used to answer this research question. The bilingualism proficiency interview in the Individual SLQ will be used to assess reported proficiency in Northern and Central Thai. It is difficult to assign a quantitative criterion for interpreting these results so they will be assessed qualitatively. Even if Thai proficiency is reported to be high, it will not be considered adequate unless Thai is used in many domains, especially between relatives and friends. High proficiency in limited domains will not be considered to be adequate.

3.5.5 Attitude towards Thai

Do Eastern Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward Northern or Central Thai?

Questions 44, 45, 58, 59, and 62 from the Individual SLQ will be used to answer this research question. No quantitative criteria are used here for this research question. The question responses will be assessed qualitatively.

4 Results

In all the results, subjects from Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen have been grouped together and collectively referred to as being from “Bo Luang” or “the Bo Luang group.” Most of them are, indeed, from Bo Luang, and the three villages are contiguous and share the same sociolinguistic situation. Appendix B provides the village-level results and Appendix C provides the individual-level results. In this section, the relevant results for the research questions specified in Section 3 are summarized. Each research question is answered according to the criteria described in Section 4.5.

4.1 Western Lawa

4.1.1 Comprehension of La-up Lawa

In this section, the data will be used to answer the research question: **“Do Western Lawa speakers adequately comprehend the La-up variety of Lawa?”**¹⁵

Based on the responses to the DPGI, Western Lawa subjects feel that most people from Western Lawa villages have little trouble communicating with those from other Western Lawa villages, with the possible exception of some of the Northern Group villages, especially Kok Luang. La-up Lawa is generally seen as the central variety, especially among Christians. Those we interviewed reported that those from almost all Western Lawa villages can understand La-up

¹⁵ The relevant data available to answer this question comes from the Western Lawa DPGI results (see Appendix B.1.1), RTT results (see C.1.1.3), and post-RTT results (see C.1.1.4).

Lawa inherently. However, those from Kok Luang report difficulty in understanding La-up Lawa when hearing it for the first time. They are able to learn it fairly quickly when there is contact, which has been increased due to Christianity and the Lawa Bible.

The RTT and post-RTT results were very consistent with the DPGI responses. Table 6 presents the RTT scores for the 15 individuals in Kok Luang, as well as the average RTT scores by religion, age, and gender. The scores are percentages correct out of ten questions, but some questions were scored as 0.5 when it was not clear if the answer was correct or incorrect. Additionally, the first question was not scored at all for two subjects (resulting in a percentage out of nine subjects) due to someone else giving away the answer before the subject could respond. One subject (#22) scored only 10%. It could be that this is a legitimate score, or it could be that even though she passed the Extended Practice Test, she just gave up part way through the La-up story and missed all but one question. The following tables present the results both with and without that subject's score. The analysis that follows excludes this low score. As explained here after, the 10% score does not seem representative of the true level of intelligibility.

Table 6 – RTT Scores by Religion, Age, and Gender (Kok Luang)

Christians		Age		Average
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	60%, 100%	70%, 80%	78%
	Male	70%, 100%	90%	87%
Average		83%	80%	81%
Buddhists		Age		Average
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	60%, 72%, 80%	10%, 80%	60%
	Male	75%, 100%	80%	85%
Average		77%	57%	70%
Buddhists without #22		Age		Average
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	60%, 72%, 80%	80%	73%
	Male	75%, 100%	80%	85%
Average		77%	80%	78%

Based on the results in this table, it appears that both Christians and Buddhists (excluding Subject #22) comprehend La-up Lawa at about the same level, a level which is just below the 85% cutoff for “adequate” comprehension. However, religion does not entirely explain contact with La-up Lawa, and it is the effect of contact in which we are really interested.

I labeled each subject as having “minimal” or “moderate” contact with La-up Lawa based on their interview responses. Subjects either had never been to La-up or had been a few times.¹⁶ All indicated that people from La-up sometimes come to Kok Luang. All but one Christian was classified as having “moderate contact.” All but two Buddhists were classified as having “minimal contact.” All the Christians hear La-up Lawa in church in Kok Luang. The only Buddhist who has been to La-up was also the only Buddhist to score 100%. Table 7 presents the average and standard deviation of the RTT scores for various sub-groups of subjects. In particular, the scores are analyzed by contact.

Table 7 – RTT Means and Standard Deviations (Kok Luang)

	Number of Subjects	Mean	SD
All Subjects	15	75%	22.3
All Subjects except #22^a	14	80%	13.5
Christians	7	81%	15.7
Buddhists	8	70%	26.5
Buddhists not counting Subject #22	7	78%	12.0
Moderate Contact	8	85%	15.1
Minimal Contact	7	64%	24.7
Minimal Contact not counting Subject #22	6	73%	7.5

^a Subject #22 is the elder female who scored only 10%. Means are considered both with and without this subject since she scored so much lower.

The overall average RTT score is 75% which is below the 85% cutoff for comprehension. However, the standard deviation is rather large.¹⁷ It is possible that the 10% score for subject #22 is not valid. When dropping that score, the average increases to 80%, still below the adequate comprehension threshold, and the standard deviation decreases to 13.5. If we had no information about contact, this result would end the investigation and we would conclude that Kok Luang residents do not have adequate comprehension of La-up Lawa.

Even after factoring in religion, which is known to affect contact, the average scores for Christians and Buddhists (again excluding subject #22) are 81% and 78% with standard deviations of 15.7 and 12.0. These results would not change this conclusion.

However, when the subjects’ contact with La-up Lawa is taken into consideration, I come to a different conclusion. Those with moderate contact with La-up Lawa had an average RTT score of 85%, indicating adequate comprehension. Note that the standard deviation of 15.1 indicates that there is a moderately wide range of ability in comprehension of La-up Lawa.

¹⁶ No subject had lived in any other Lawa village, only in cities outside the Lawa area. Two subjects had lived in Mae Sariang, where there are a lot of Lawa from La-up. Both of these were already classified as having moderate contact based on other factors.

¹⁷ A standard deviation of more than about 12–15% indicates that there is a wide variety of scores. This implies that there is some factor other than test-taking ability which is influencing comprehension, such as contact-induced bidialectalism.

Those with minimal contact, however, have an average RTT score well below the adequate comprehension threshold. The low standard deviation (7.5) for the six subjects in the last row indicates that 73% might be a reasonable estimate of the *inherent* intelligibility of La-up Lawa for Kok Luang speakers. That is, all the scores are close together with an average that is lower than the average score for those with moderate contact with La-up Lawa. This result also justifies excluding the 10% score for subject #22. If the inherent intelligibility is around 73%, then a score of 10% most likely represents a subject who simply gave up and did not try to understand the story.

Two-thirds of the subjects reported in the post-RTT interview that they only understood “some things” in the La-up story. The other third reported that they understood almost everything. Additionally, for Christians, about half reported that the language of the Bible (La-up Lawa) is hard to understand. One subject added that he feels that the Lawa Bible is still easier to understand than the Thai Bible.

Another possible indicator of comprehension of La-up Lawa is actual language use between Kok Luang and La-up residents. That is, if someone from Kok Luang actually uses La-up Lawa to communicate, then their comprehension of it is likely higher than someone who does not use it. Table 8 summarizes the responses to the post-RTT question about language use.

Table 8 – Language use with people from La-up vs. Contact

“When you speak with people from [La-up], what language do you use with each other?”	Number of Subjects	Contact with La-up ^a	Second best language (number of subjects)
La-up Lawa	6	+	Central Thai (2) Northern Thai (2) Karen (2)
Kok Luang Lawa^b	6	-	Northern Thai (1) Karen (3) None (2)
Lawa (dialect not specified) and Thai^c	2	+	Central Thai
Thai^d	1	-	Northern Thai

^a A “+” indicates moderate contact. A “-” indicates minimal contact. Within each row, it happened that all subjects were either all + or all -.

^b Two subjects specified that they each use their own variety. The other four did not specify what the La-up person would speak, but at other times it was reported that no one else learns Kok Luang Lawa. The subject who can speak Northern Thai second best said “We can understand each other.” One of the monolingual subjects added that she does not know how to speak the La-up dialect.

^c When asked “Why?,” one subject answered “I cannot really understand that dialect.”

^d This subject stated “I do not really understand them.”

About half of the subjects indicated using La-up Lawa with people from La-up. It is interesting to note that the responses to this question were somewhat predictable from the level of contact. Those with less contact either speak Kok Luang Lawa or Thai with those from La-up. This is because these are their only choices, not because they *could* speak La-up Lawa to them but choose not to. Even though some of the subjects can speak Karen, La-up subjects reported knowing Karen much less often than Kok Luang subjects. So, if a Kok Luang resident does not have much contact with La-up Lawa, their choices when speaking to someone from La-up are Kok Luang Lawa or Thai, and only two of the seven subjects with lower contact speak Thai as their second best language. Normally, use of Kok Luang Lawa with someone from La-up might indicate that those from La-up can understand Kok Luang Lawa, but in this case it might only indicate that this is the only way they can communicate at all.

So, all but one of the Kok Luang subjects use Lawa when speaking to someone from La-up. Those who know the La-up variety use it, but those who do not must try to use Kok Luang Lawa or switch to Thai. In the Dialect Perceptions Group Interview, La-up residents reported not being able to understand Kok Luang Lawa very well. Given that the La-up variety is more prestigious due to its central location and language development, those from Kok Luang that want to communicate with La-up speakers in Lawa have to learn the La-up variety since the two are not mutually inherently intelligible and people from La-up are not going to learn the Kok Luang variety.

Note that these results are likely to be biased a little bit high since most of the subjects who did not pass the Extended Practice Test are older and uneducated. That is, the scores for the older subjects are based on the best test-takers among the old, and so are most likely higher, on average, than the scores of old people in general, were they able to take the test.

Based on these results, we conclude that La-up Lawa is not inherently intelligible to speakers of Kok Luang Lawa. However, there is contact between Kok Luang residents and La-up Lawa which ranges from minimal to a moderate amount. The highest amount of contact observed, primarily among Christians but also among some Buddhists, serves to increase comprehension of La-up Lawa to a barely adequate level. Assuming that, relative to Kok Luang Lawa, other Western Lawa varieties are more similar to La-up Lawa and that the speakers of other Western Lawa varieties have more contact with La-up Lawa, I conclude that Western Lawa speakers do, in general, adequately comprehend La-up Lawa.

4.1.2 Attitude towards La-up Lawa

In this section, the data will be used to answer the research question **“Do Western Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa?”**¹⁸

When the DPGI pilot test subject from Pa Pae was asked “In what village would you say Lawa is spoken most purely?” he answered “La-up.” The reason he gave is that it has “longer” sounds and slower speech, so it is easier for others to understand. When the group of DPGI respondents from Kok Luang were asked the same question, they responded that La-up Lawa is “cool,” “pretty,” “sweet,” and “softer,” while Kok Luang Lawa is a little “strong.” They reported that,

¹⁸ The relevant data available to answer this question comes from the Western Lawa DPGI results (see Appendix B.1.1) and post-RTT results (see C.1.1.4).

before La-up Lawa became a written language and the Bible was translated into the La-up variety, there was no “central” variety of Lawa, but that now the La-up variety is central.

During the post-RTT interview, every subject reported that the storyteller’s variety of Lawa was different from theirs, particularly his accent. Despite this difference, almost all subjects reported feeling that the La-up storyteller speaks Lawa well. All but one of the subjects correctly guessed that the storyteller was from La-up. The other one guessed Dong, which is the village closest in proximity and accent to La-up. When asked about whether or not they would be in favor of their child marrying someone from La-up, the respondents were mostly neutral, that is, they did not mind the idea. When asked “Why,” the general response was that people from La-up and people from Kok Luang are both “Lawa.”

Based on these results, we conclude that Kok Luang Lawa speakers do not have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa.

4.2 Eastern Lawa

4.2.1 Comprehension of La-up Lawa

In this section, the data will be used to answer the research question “**Do Eastern Lawa speakers adequately comprehend the La-up variety of Lawa?**”¹⁹

The respondents from both the Western Lawa DPGIs and the Eastern Lawa DPGIs consistently reported that the Eastern and Western Lawa languages are very different and that they have difficulty communicating with speakers of the other language using Lawa. Not only are the accents different, but many words differ as well. A number of Eastern Lawa people we met stated that when they meet Western Lawa people, they are able to use Lawa for the first few words, but even for a simple conversation they switch to Northern Thai. There are some differences in perception, however. A few Eastern Lawa people felt that Western Lawa is not very different from their own variety. The RTT results, however, are consistent with the more common perception that the two kinds of Lawa are quite different.

While it was reported that all age groups lack comprehension, some subjects claimed that the older generation can comprehend Western Lawa somewhat better due to having more contact in the past. This reported difference in comprehension due to age is consistent with the RTT test results (see the following data) for Kong Loi and Bo Luang but not for Khun. However, of these three villages, Khun is the furthest from the Western Lawa villages and so, presumably, had less contact with them.

The RTT results confirm the reported lack of comprehension of Western Lawa. The average RTT score for all 39 subjects was 43% and the standard deviation of these scores was 21%. The scores ranged from 0% to 85%. Figure 10 provides a graphical illustration of the Eastern Lawa RTT scores.²⁰

¹⁹ The relevant data available to answer this question comes from the Eastern Lawa DPGI results (see Appendix B.1.2), RTT results (see C.1.2.3), and post-RTT results (see C.1.2.4).

²⁰ There is no need to conduct a separate analysis excluding the lowest scores as was done for the Western Lawa. Whereas in the Western Lawa results a score of 10% was considered to be invalid, here such low scores are not uncommon and so should not be excluded.

It is not clear what factor is causing the wide range of RTT scores. A large standard deviation for RTT scores would usually be caused by a wide range of contact with the test variety. However, as will be shown later, differences in the reported levels of contact with Western Lawa do not seem to explain this variation. This is probably because the contact that actually exists is not intense enough to increase comprehension to an adequate level. The highest score observed in this study barely reached the adequate comprehension threshold of 85%. This result shows that the La-up variety of Lawa is not inherently intelligible to speakers of Eastern Lawa and that the current level of contact is not sufficient to produce adequate intelligibility. As shown in Table 9, this conclusion is the same for each location and for each age \times gender sub-group.

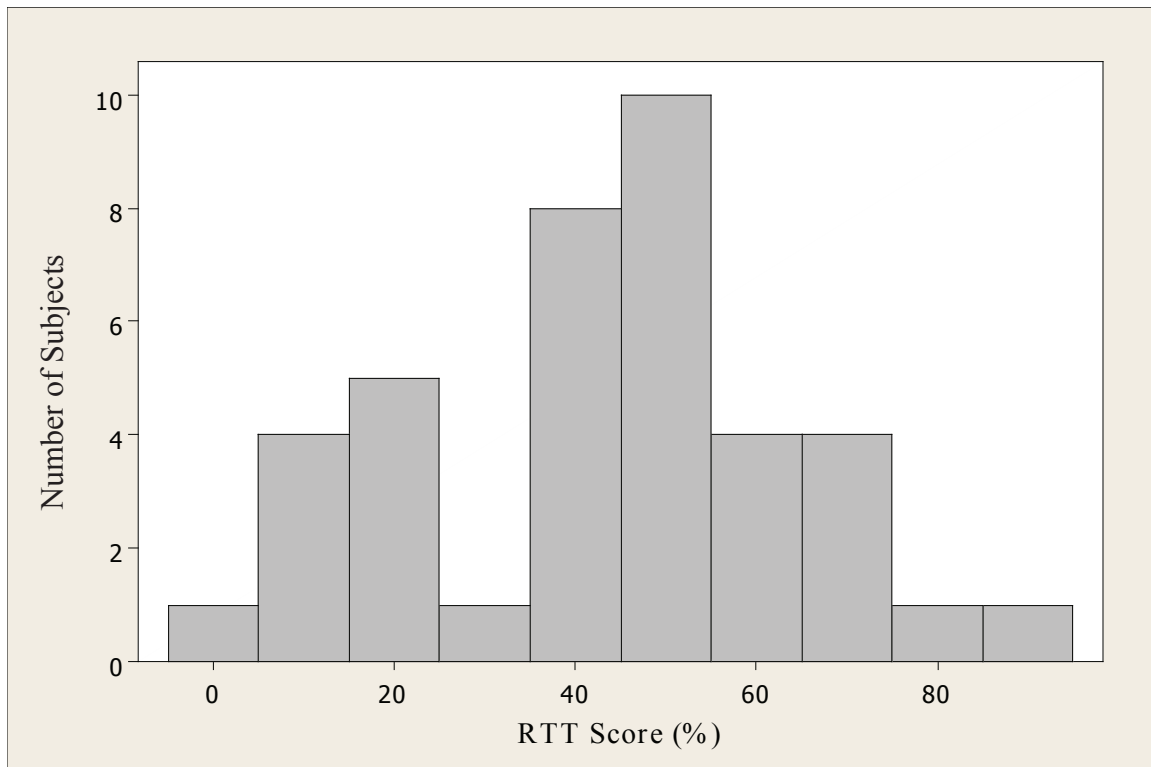


Figure 10 – Eastern Lawa RTT scores

Table 9 – RTT Scores by Location, Age, and Gender (Eastern Lawa)

Khun		Age		Average (SD)
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	20%, 40%, 50%, 50%	10%, 35%, 40%	35%
	Male	20%, 40%	0%, 10%, 40%, 60%	28%
Total		37%	28%	32% (18)
Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen		Age		Average
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	20%, 50%, 50%	65%, 70%, 85%	57%
	Male	10%, 50%, 50%	10%, 40%, 50%	35%
Average		38%	53%	46% (23)
Kong Loi		Age		Average
		15–34	35+	
Gender	Female	20%, 20%, 60%, 70%	30%, 50%, 80%	47%
	Male	40%, 50%, 50%	40%, 60%, 60%, 70%	53%
Average		44%	56%	50% (18)

It is interesting to note that the order of the locations by average RTT score is exactly the same as the order of the locations by distance from the Western Lawa (Khun is furthest away, Kong Loi is closest). The difference between the average scores in Khun and Kong Loi is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$)²¹ (see Figure 11). It is not clear, however, if this difference is due to a distance-related difference in contact or to the fact that the Khun subjects generally had less education than the subjects in the other locations (see Table 43 in Appendix C.1.2.1) and so performed more poorly on the test. In Figure 11, for each location, the circled + indicates the average RTT score, the box encloses the middle 50% of the RTT scores (i.e. from the 25th to the 75th percentile), the horizontal line in the box signifies the median score, and the top and bottom ends of the vertical line represent the minimum and maximum scores. The horizontal dashed line represents the average RTT score that is considered to represent the minimum level of adequate comprehension (85%).

²¹ This significance test was done using Fishers test of multiple comparisons in a one-way analysis of variance. (computed using Minitab 14, www.minitab.com).

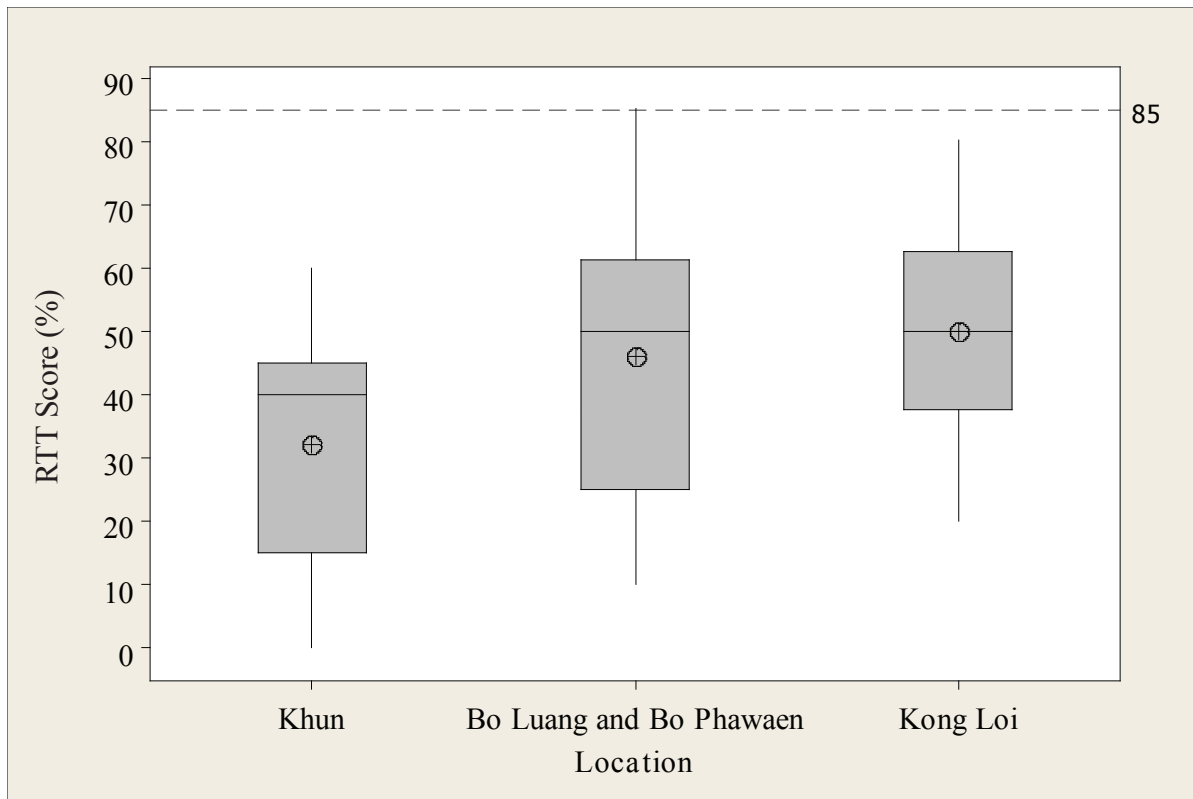


Figure 11 – Eastern Lawa RTT Scores by Location

In the analysis of the Western Lawa RTT scores, it was necessary to consider the effect of contact in order to accurately understand the data. In that case, the current level of contact was (barely) sufficient to increase comprehension to an adequate level. For the Eastern Lawa, however, contact does not seem to currently be a factor. While there is some level of reported contact, it does not seem to be enough to increase comprehension to the point of allowing communication in Lawa. Presumably, this is because almost all Eastern Lawa people either have no contact or very little contact with the Western Lawa. There is some contact between the Western Lawa in the Omphai group of villages and the Eastern Lawa in Kong Loi. These Western Lawa come often to Kong Loi to sell cabbage. This is rather minimal contact, however, as it is basically a business transaction. It is not clear if a more intimate level of contact would increase comprehension of Western Lawa to the level required for real communication. I suspect it would, because some of the subjects did score close to the cutoff of 85%, but we did not encounter many Eastern Lawa people who had any significant amount of contact with Western Lawa. In fact, many Eastern Lawa say they have never even met a Western Lawa person. We did hear some reports of a small amount of intermarriage, but none of the RTT subjects were married to Western Lawa. A few Eastern Lawa reported that some people have more contact and do learn to understand Western Lawa, but none of the RTT subjects we interviewed had that level of contact.

To see this, consider Table 10. Each RTT subject was classified, based on self-report, as having no (or very minimal) contact with Western Lawa, contact only in the subject's village, contact only in the Western Lawa area, or contact both in their village and in the Western Lawa area. As

can be seen in this table, the reported levels of contact with Western Lawa do not seem to have a very large effect on the RTT scores. That is, the average RTT scores seem to reflect about the same amount of comprehension for each of the four contact groupings.

Table 10 – Average RTT Scores by Reported Contact (Eastern Lawa)

Reported Contact with “Omphai” ^a	Number of Subjects by Location			Total	RTT	
	Khun	Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi		Mean	Standard Deviation
None or very minimal	3	6	1	10	37%	17.0
Contact only in the subject’s village	4	3	7	14	49%	24.9
Contact only in the Western Lawa area	2	2	0	4	33%	25.0
Contact both in their village and in the Western Lawa area	4	1	6	11	44%	16.3
Total	13	12	14	39		

^a “Omphai” is the name of a Western Lawa village. But it is also a cover term used by the Eastern Lawa for Western Lawa people or the Western Lawa area. This is the way the respondents understood the questions about contact with the storyteller’s variety.

Nine of the 43 post-RTT subjects reported that they understood little or none of the La-up story. One subject reported understanding “everything.” The remaining 33 subjects reported that they only understood “some things.” To compare, consider the results in the Western Lawa village of Kok Luang. There, a majority of subjects indicated understanding “some things,” while the rest indicated understanding even more. For the Eastern Lawa, a majority reported understanding “some things,” but the rest indicated understanding even *less*. This reported information is consistent with the RTT results for the Eastern Lawa and is also consistent with the difference in RTT scores between Kok Luang and the Eastern Lawa. Neither understand La-up Lawa well enough (inherently), but those in Kok Luang are much closer to understanding it than are the Eastern Lawa, even without contact.

All of these results are consistent with the reported language-use patterns when Eastern Lawa and Western Lawa meet. Almost every Eastern Lawa subject who reported having any contact with Western Lawa indicated that they have difficulty understanding each other and/or that they speak Thai with them.

Following are some additional comments made by Eastern Lawa subjects when answering the post-RTT questions. These comments are generally supportive of the previous results, but one of

them also highlights that there are some individuals with different perceptions of the differences between the two groups.

For question 66, “Is the way he/she speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?”

- A young woman from Kong Loi added that “Lawa Omphai is very different. That person [the La-up storyteller] speaks a little different [from me] but I can still understand him.”
- An older man from Khun added that he has “to listen very carefully.”
- A young man from Kong Loi said, “If I did not listen very hard, I would not understand it at all.”

For question 67, “(If not the same) How is it different?”

- A young woman from Bo Luang said that “some words are different, but the main words are the same.”

For question 75, “(if not Lawa) Why don’t you speak to them in Lawa?”

- A school-age girl from Bo Luang said “We speak different languages, so we have to use Thai with each other.”
- An older woman from Khun said that they “cannot understand each other if we get into more conversation” (i.e. more than a few words of greeting).

Based on these results, we conclude that La-up Lawa (and Western Lawa in general) is not inherently intelligible to speakers of Eastern Lawa and that the current level of contact has not increased comprehension to anywhere near an adequate level.

4.2.2 Attitude towards La-up Lawa

In this section, the data will be used to answer the research question “**Do Eastern Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward the La-up variety of Lawa?**”²²

It is difficult to assess the attitude of the Eastern Lawa toward the La-up variety of Lawa in particular since the Eastern Lawa just lump La-up together with all the other Western Lawa villages and refer to them as “Omphai.” Omphai is actually a particular Western Lawa village and the term can also be used to refer to the group of villages in close proximity to Omphai. Perhaps the Eastern Lawa use this as a cover term for all the Western Lawa because the Omphai group of villages are the ones they have the most contact with. They also sometimes refer to the Western Lawa as the “Lawa from Mae Hong Son” because, while all the Eastern Lawa villages are in Chiang Mai Province, almost all of the Western Lawa villages are in Mae Hong Son Province.

The Eastern Lawa DPGIs revealed a number of interesting facets of their attitude toward the Western Lawa. First, they seem to view the Western Lawa as different based on their lifestyle living in the mountains. One of the Eastern Lawa subjects said (somewhat tongue in cheek), “They do not marry with us because we are not strong... we cannot carry [big loads of] cabbage. It’s not because we are ugly or because there are not any young men... we have a lot, and we

²² The relevant data available to answer this question comes from the Eastern Lawa DPGI results (see Appendix B.1.2) and post-RTT results (see C.1.2.4).

are good looking, but they do not want us because we cannot handle the hard work, farming on the mountain.” To some extent he was being humorous, but his statement seems to indicate that there is a feeling among the Eastern Lawa that the Western Lawa are different due to their rural mountain lifestyle.

Another difference they pointed out between the two groups is in the fervor of their practice of the Buddhist religion. While all Lawa Buddhists also practice Lawa traditional religion, the Eastern Lawa have the outward appearance of being more Buddhist. There are far more Buddhist temples in the Eastern Lawa area than in the Western Lawa area.

Lastly, the Eastern Lawa seem to view the Western Lawa as their “elder siblings” and the Western Lawa language as similar to the language that the Eastern Lawa spoke in the past. One Eastern Lawa individual claimed that Western Lawa is closer to the original form of the Lawa language. An older man stated that some of the words in the La-up story sounded like older words that he remembered but that are not used anymore.

The post-RTT responses indicate that some Eastern Lawa see the Western Lawa variety as a different, strange kind of Lawa and one subject expressed the feeling that the Western Lawa people were a “different tribe” altogether. Despite this difference, most subjects were not opposed to their child marrying a Western Lawa person. Only one subject expressed a negative attitude to this possibility and a large number responded that they would be happy about it since they are both Lawa.

In summary, the Eastern Lawa seem to view themselves as more modern and developed in lifestyle, religion, and language. They see the Western Lawa as living a lifestyle that is similar to that of their ancestors. While they do not view them negatively in the sense of disliking them, they do think of them as less developed. Whether this is a negative attitude or a positive attitude is unclear. It is positive in the sense of viewing the Western Lawa language as the purer form of the language and the people as having a purer form of Lawa culture.

Thus, we conclude that there is evidence of the attitude that the Western Lawa people and language are different and more traditional but that both the Western and Eastern Lawa share a common identity as “Lawa.” Whether this attitude would help or hinder the sharing of literature is unclear, but it might not matter since there is a lack of comprehension of each other’s language.

4.2.3 Language Vitality

This section discusses how the survey results address the research question **“Which varieties of Eastern Lawa will continue to be spoken by future generations?”**²³

The following survey results relevant to language vitality are summarized for each of the indicative and predictive language vitality factors mentioned in Section 4.5.3. As explained there, each factor is classified as “positive,” “negative,” or “unclear.” Note that the interpretation of the classification differs between indicative and predictive factors, depending on whether the factor

²³ The relevant data available to answer this question comes from the teacher interviews (see Appendix B.3), the village summaries (see B.4), and the Individual SLQ results (see C.2).

is related to current or future language vitality, respectively. A summary of the impact of the individual factors is provided in Table 11 in Section 5.2.3.3.

4.2.3.1 *Indicative Factors*

Language use at home and with children

When investigating language use, it is important to understand which languages *could* be used in a given situation. The choices for language use in a given situation are those in which one of the speakers has some speaking proficiency and in which the other speaker has some listening proficiency. For an overwhelming majority of subjects, Lawa was their first language and remains their best language. A few report fluency in Northern Thai, as well. Sixty-four of 73 subjects (88%) report that Lawa is their single best language. Of the remaining nine subjects, four report Lawa as one of two or three languages in which they are equally fluent. Additionally, every subject reported that they can speak at least some Northern and/or Central Thai, with varying levels of proficiency. Thus, for all intents and purposes, Lawa and some form of Thai can be considered as possible choices in every conversation between Eastern Lawa people.

The Individual SLQ results that are relevant to language use at home and with children are listed as follows:

- Almost every subject reported that both parents spoke Lawa to them when the subject was a child.
- Almost every married subject is married to a Eastern Lawa person who spoke Lawa as their first language.
- Almost every subject reported speaking only Lawa when speaking with their parents, grandparents, siblings, or spouse.
- Over 80% of Bo Luang subjects reported speaking only Lawa when speaking to their children, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews. For Kong Loi subjects, however, this proportion is only just over half with the others speaking Northern Thai (sometimes in addition to Lawa) or Central Thai to their children.
- All but one of the 22 Bo Luang subjects and 16 of 19 Kong Loi subjects reported Lawa as the language they use most often at home.
- Almost every subject reported that Lawa parents in their village speak Lawa to their children. The only exceptions were mixed marriages. But even for mixed marriages, most subjects said the Lawa parent would speak Lawa to the children. In addition to Lawa, it is also very common for children to speak Thai at home. Parents have a neutral to positive attitude about this, responding that it is good for their children to know more than one language, good to practice at home the Thai they learn at school, and normal for Lawa people to know Northern Thai.

These results paint a picture of a bilingual community where the mother tongue is still the

primary language of the home but many people regularly use the national language (Central Thai) and regional language (Northern Thai), as well. Our observations during the fieldwork were consistent with this picture. We observed people of all ages speaking Lawa and also were able to communicate with most people in Central Thai.

*That Lawa is currently **the language of the home and is spoken with children** is a positive factor with respect to current language vitality. This is true even though Thai is widely known and used, as well. It is not yet clear whether or not Thai will eventually take over in these domains in the future. This situation could stabilize into diglossia or could lead to language shift. See the conclusions in Section 6.2 for more discussion of this issue.*

Lawa proficiency of children

The survey results that are relevant to the Lawa proficiency of children are listed as follows:

- All but one subject in each of Bo Luang and Kong Loi said Lawa children in their village learn only Lawa first. Note that this question was asked about children in the subject's village in general, not just their own children.
- Seventeen of 22 (77%) Bo Luang subjects and thirteen of nineteen (68%) Kong Loi subjects reported that Lawa children speak Lawa when playing. All but two of the rest said they use both Lawa and Thai. The remaining two subjects (both in Bo Luang) said that children speak just Thai when playing. Teachers reported that even the older children (the villages' schools go up to grade 9) continue to speak Lawa when playing. Our limited observations of children at these schools confirmed their reports.
- Every subject interviewed felt that Lawa children speak Lawa well.²⁴

We met a twelve-year-old girl in grade 6 who said that even the non-Lawa children learn to speak Lawa well because so much Lawa is used by the children at school. This was confirmed by another girl in grade 5 whose mother is Northern Thai and whose father is Lawa. She herself learned Lawa from the other children at school. Her parents speak Northern Thai to each other so she was not exposed to Lawa much at home. Another example comes from a Northern Thai woman we met who said that her five-year old child had been in the Bo Luang pre-school for one year and learned to speak Lawa from the other children because, even though the teachers speak Thai to the children, the children speak Lawa to each other.

According to teachers we interviewed in Bo Luang and Kong Loi, Lawa children from Bo Luang are generally monolingual in Lawa before they go to pre-school. In Kong Loi, Lawa children generally know some Northern Thai when they begin school, as well as having Lawa as their first language. It takes about two to five years of school before the children can speak Central Thai

²⁴ One younger subject (an 18-year-old female from Bo Luang) added that there are some Lawa words that she and other young people do not know. It is not clear if this is because of language change or language shift. That is, it could be that there are some Lawa words that old people use, but for which the young people have a different, newer, Lawa word; or, it could be that the young people do not know the Lawa word for some things and must use the Thai word in its place. Unfortunately, we did not clarify this at the time of her interview. Additionally, a middle-aged man from Bo Luang felt that the younger people had stopped using some of the Lawa words which communicate politeness. Again, it is not clear if this is because of language shift or because of a trend of young people acting less polite in each successive generation.

well and, for the children from Bo Luang, a little bit longer to learn Northern Thai well. Thus, Lawa children have a solid foundation in Lawa because of their initial years spent with it, either as their only or their best of two or three languages. This foundation of fluency is then supported by the language-use patterns discussed previously.

A number of additional comments volunteered by the interview subjects and by other people we conversed with informally confirm these results. However, while the fluency of Lawa children in almost all of the Eastern Lawa area does not seem to be in question, we did hear a few comments in Kong Loi to the effect that children there are shifting to Thai. One girl we interviewed (a 16-year old from Kong Loi) was asked about her own Lawa proficiency. She had reported Central Thai as her best language and Northern Thai as her second best language, and we conducted the bilingualism proficiency interview to assess her Lawa ability. She reported that while she has some ability in Lawa, she is not able to speak it as well as an older Lawa person. While one subject is clearly not representative of all Lawa youth in Kong Loi (in fact, others reported Lawa as one of their best languages), her response is noted here as it is an indication that not *every* Lawa child in Kong Loi is fluent in Lawa. If we happened to find one such child, then there are likely to be more, as well, especially since her reported proficiency is consistent with other comments we heard about youth in Kong Loi.

*Lawa children, even those from mixed marriages with a few exceptions, are currently all **fluent in Lawa**. Lawa is their first language and, even after they learn Thai, it remains their best language. Due to getting a Thai education, Lawa children gain a high proficiency in Thai but generally this does not cause them to lose any fluency in Lawa. This is an extremely **positive** factor with respect to current language vitality. This fluency might be somewhat less common in Kong Loi and much less common in Bo Sali than in the great majority of the Eastern Lawa area.*

4.2.3.2 Predictive Factors

Language attitudes

A number of questions on the Individual SLQ (ISLQ) were designed to probe the attitude of Lawa people toward their own language. The relevant results are described here.

Almost every subject felt that Lawa children are proud of being Lawa and of the Lawa language. In fact, we heard that in Bo Luang there are some young people who are interested in starting a Lawa preservation society. The village leader of Bo Luang said that in men's, women's, or youth meetings everything spoken is said in Lawa. "We want to preserve our language, we do not let them speak any other language." This implies a positive attitude towards Lawa, but at the same time implies that there is recognition that, despite its current high level of use, the Lawa language and culture are threatened.

ISLQ question #60, which asks if there are people who have stopped speaking Lawa, was designed to probe attitudes toward language shift. However, no subject in Bo Luang and only three subjects in Kong Loi reported that there are any such people in their village. Thus, there was not much opportunity to ask about their attitude towards those people's behavior. All three anomalous subjects from Kong Loi were referring to the Lawa spouse or child in a mixed marriage. One of these three did express an attitude, namely, that he is not proud of the fact that

some Lawa are not speaking Lawa, since Kong Loi is a Lawa village.

Just under one-third of all subjects predicted that Lawa might not be spoken as much by future generations due to the encroachment of Thai. Interestingly, almost all of these subjects are from Bo Luang. Subjects from Kong Loi seem to be more optimistic about the future of Lawa than those in Bo Luang despite other indicators pointing to higher language vitality in Bo Luang. This might mean that those in Bo Luang have more concern for their language since it is not yet shifting in their village but they can see it shifting in others, while fewer of those in Kong Loi are aware of the extent of the shift going on around them.

Of those who predicted language shift in the next generation, only three (all from Bo Luang) expressed any attitude toward it. Their comments were:

- “I would be sad if no one could speak Lawa.”
- “If they could not speak Lawa, I would wonder why they did not maintain their traditions.”
- “Mai pen rai” (this is a Thai expression indicating a lack of concern like “oh well” or “it does not matter”).

Following are additional comments that two subjects volunteered at some point during their interviews. Both reveal a positive language attitude. A 34-year-old man from Bo Luang said that he is sad that in some villages Lawa is not spoken anymore. “They have lost an important part of our culture. Lawa people value loving our parents... that is important to preserve. Parents should teach their kids Lawa, even if Northern Thai people marry in. In our village, those who marry in, learn Lawa. This is not so in some other Lawa villages, like in Bo Sali.” A 39-year-old man, also from Bo Luang, said that “young people do not know Lawa as well as the old. For example, they do not know the right words to use to be polite. As they become more educated, they throw away the language.” He said that he does not want Bo Luang to become like Bo Sali where Lawa is being used less.

*The **generally positive attitudes** toward the Lawa language held by Lawa people are a **positive** factor with respect to future language vitality.*

Attitudes to literacy

Subjects generally felt that there would be an advantage to being literate in Lawa. They gave a variety of answers when asked what kind of advantage they could see, including recording history, being literate in one’s best language, being like other languages, benefits for the children, benefits for teaching Lawa, and for language preservation. Of those who responded to the question about what they would like to be able to read in Lawa, most answered history. Other answers included books about daily life and school books. Of course, they were answering a hypothetical question. How they would actually accept and use Lawa literacy may or may not reflect the attitudes given in this survey.

Only a few subjects reported ever trying to write Lawa. None had tried writing it using the Thai-based La-up Lawa script. Rather, they had tried to write it using the standard Thai script, Lanna, or Karen script.

The teachers we interviewed in Bo Luang expressed an interest in seeing the Lawa language developed with the help of linguists. They have developed picture books with vocabulary items in Thai and Lawa (in Thai script), but they realize that not all Lawa words can be written in the standard Thai script.

*The **positive attitudes** toward the Lawa literacy held by Lawa people are a **positive** factor with respect to future language vitality.*

Thai proficiency

Later, in the context of answering the research question about Thai proficiency, I will present the results of the Bilingual Proficiency Evaluation part of the SLQ (see Section 5.2.4). However, Thai proficiency is also a factor that impacts language vitality. To summarize here, Eastern Lawa people in general do not have a low level of proficiency in Northern or Central Thai. Note that the evaluation tool used only acts as a screen for low proficiency; it is not able to clearly distinguish between higher levels of proficiency. The results imply that while Thai proficiency might be fairly high, there are many who report being less than fluent, with Lawa as their single best language.

According to the local teachers we interviewed, Lawa children from Bo Luang do not know any Thai before starting pre-school. In Kong Loi, however, Lawa children do know some Northern Thai when they begin school. In both locations, by fourth grade they can read and write in Thai and there is no difference in reading and writing ability between Lawa and Northern Thai children. By the time they finish primary school, most Lawa children can speak Central and Northern Thai well. Considering that most go on and study through grade 9 and quite a few study further in Northern Thai communities, the current generation of Lawa children and young adults can be said to be close to fluent in Central and/or Northern Thai.

Despite this proficiency, almost all Lawa people report that Lawa is either their single best language or that Lawa and Thai are both equally their best languages.

*The high levels of **proficiency in Central and Northern Thai** achieved by Lawa people have yet to displace the place of Lawa as the primary language of the community. The current vitality of Lawa is high, despite high Thai proficiency. But as a predictor of future language vitality, this factor is **negative**. Of course, it is not guaranteed that the high levels of Thai proficiency will in time lead to a complete shift from Lawa to Thai, but that certainly is a possibility.*

Contact

A major source of language contact that influences language vitality is the school environment. In each of Bo Luang, Wang Kong, and Khun, there is a primary school up to grade 6 and all the students are Lawa. This is very positive for language vitality as the children have no contact with other languages other than Central Thai, which is the medium of education. For grades 7 to 9, the students from these three villages study in the Bo Luang school which, for these grades, also has Northern Thai and Karen students from nearby villages. These non-Lawa students comprise about 10% of the school population.

As in Bo Luang, students in Kong Loi can study in their home village up to grade 9. However, 25% of the students in all grades are Karen and an additional 5% are Northern Thai. The Lawa children still usually speak Lawa with each other, but they also speak Northern Thai with the other children. This situation is still supportive of language vitality, since such a large majority of the students are Lawa, but it is not as supportive as the situations in other Eastern Lawa villages.

None of the Eastern Lawa villages have a high school, and non-farming jobs are limited, so many young people move outside of the Lawa area to study past grade 9 or find work. Many do come back eventually to marry and settle in their home village. During their time away, however, they almost exclusively speak Northern and Central Thai, other than when they return to their home during term breaks.

To summarize, for most Eastern Lawa children, contact with other languages through education does not occur until they are about 11 or 12 years old (grade 7), and even then, Lawa children remain the overwhelming majority through grade 9. While many do move out of the Lawa area to study further or work, they generally visit often and eventually marry and settle in their home village.

Just over half of the respondents (of all ages) have, in fact, never lived anywhere other than their home village. As for those who have lived elsewhere, our sample by default could only include those who had returned to the village to live or visit. To investigate the impact of out-migration, we would have to survey the populations of Bangkok and Chiang Mai, along with a number of other larger towns. We can reasonably conclude that over half of the Eastern Lawa population has at some time lived outside of the Lawa area for at least one year and that during that time they spoke Thai almost exclusively.²⁵ While this amount of exposure to Thai is ubiquitous within the Lawa community, it is quite often temporary and of short duration. Those for whom the exposure to other languages is greater are the ones who do not return to the Lawa area, so their shift from Lawa to Thai language does not impact the Lawa community, other than by reducing the population.

Another major source of contact is the ethnolinguistic makeup of the village in general, not just the school which has children that come to study from other villages. This factor, however, is discussed separately below.

*The **lack of exclusive contact** with other languages (i.e. loss of contact with the Lawa community), and the almost entire absence of language contact for primary school children, is a positive factor with respect to current language vitality. This strong foundation for children leads to a long-term ability to use the Lawa language, even for those with a later increase in exposure to Thai, namely those who attend secondary school or go out of the Lawa community to find work. **However, it is likely that contact with Thai people and Thai language will only increase over time.** Thus, with respect to future language vitality, this factor is **unclear.***

Language use in the community

Almost every subject reported speaking only Lawa with their Lawa friends, co-workers, and

²⁵ We asked about the presence of Lawa communities in these cities but no one said that there were any.

classmates and with Lawa people at the market or at funerals. Other than one subject who reported speaking Lawa with their non-Lawa friends, every subject reported speaking only Thai (usually Northern Thai) with non-Lawa people in all situations. We were also told that, in fact, some Northern Thai people at the market can understand some Lawa. A mix of Lawa and Thai was reported to be used at village meetings with more Lawa used in Bo Luang and more Thai used in Kong Loi. Every subject reported speaking only Thai with government workers and teachers.

Our observations in Bo Luang (where we spent more time) generally support the subjects' reported language use patterns. That is, whenever at least two of the participants in a conversation are able to speak Lawa, Lawa is spoken; otherwise, Thai (usually Northern) is used. We heard that this is even true for some Lawa people living in Chiang Mai; they still speak Lawa to each other, especially because in that way no one else knows what they are talking about which is useful for keeping secrets. We heard that some young Lawa people who go to work in the city stop speaking Lawa. It is not clear if this is because they are not in contact with any Lawa people where they live or because of choice. Someone else told us that when young people see each other in Chiang Mai, they speak Lawa to each other. A 16-year old male told us that he stays in a dorm in Chiang Mai with other Lawa from Bo Luang and they still speak Lawa; but if there are some Northern Thai friends in the conversation, as well, then they speak Northern Thai.

One subject told us that even when non-Lawa people are present, Lawa people speak Lawa with each other, even though they can speak Northern Thai well. Because of this, outsiders have to learn Lawa if they want to be a part of the community. There were a few times in Bo Luang, however, when we overheard Lawa people use Northern Thai with each other for short interactions.

The predominant use of Lawa in the community is a positive factor with respect to future language vitality.

Ethnolinguistic identity

When asked, “Do you think of yourself first as Thai, Khonmuang,²⁶ Lawa, or something else?” most subjects responded “Lawa.” However, a few responded “Thai” or “Northern Thai.” As discussed in Smalley (1994:330–333), it is not uncommon for minority groups in Thailand to have more than one ethnic identity at the same time; they identify with a different group, depending on the context. In Smalley’s terminology, their identity represents a “centered” category rather than a “bounded” one. The borders between identities are not strict and one can move between them easily. They do not feel the need to identify with only one group when identifying with more than one group is acceptable and advantageous. Clearly, a Lawa person could not reasonably call himself “Karen” unless he adopts Karen customs, but a Lawa person can be 100% Lawa and 100% Northern Thai, and 100% Thai at the same time without changing anything because Lawa people *are* Northern Thai, in terms of where they live, and they *are* Thai, in terms of their nationality and their education. As one subject from Bo Luang stated, “I am Lawa, but a citizen of Thailand.” Few in Thailand would see them as non-Thai and there is no advantage to the Lawa to reject their Thai identity. In hindsight, it might be that this question

²⁶ “Khonmuang” means a Northern Thai person.

does not make sense to ask in Thailand, since it asks a subject to pick one identity, when in reality, they have more than one to choose from, depending on the situation. The results of this question can still be said to imply, at least, that the Lawa have not rejected their Lawa identity.

The adult generation is very much in favor of maintaining the distinctive Lawa identity in the community. Almost every subject said that they want the younger generation to maintain Lawa customs²⁷ and language. The reason they usually gave was “because they are Lawa people” or “because our ancestors are Lawa.” A teacher at the Bo Luang school said that “we do not want to lose [Lawa culture]. If the children understand their origins, they will not be embarrassed about being Lawa. There are also certain traditions that we need to keep, so we teach culture and traditions²⁸ at all levels from preschool to grade 9. Sometimes we bring in speakers from outside the school to teach the children.” There is even a Lawa Cultural Center at the Bo Luang school. Additionally, on February 2, 2007, Tambon Bo Luang celebrated the installation of a statue of Wilangkha, the famous Lawa king, in front of the Tambon office. Some Western Lawa came to Bo Luang for this event, as well. Clearly, the Eastern Lawa community has a strong sense of being Lawa, and of being connected to Lawa living elsewhere.

While the effort to teach Lawa culture in the school reveals that there is a perceived challenge to it, the current generation of young people seems to be overcoming that challenge. Almost every subject felt that Lawa children are proud of being Lawa and of the Lawa language. In fact, we heard that there are Lawa youth who are asking the older people for old Lawa songs and compiling the lyrics (in Thai script) to make a book. Also, we heard that in Bo Luang there are some young people who are interested in starting a Lawa preservation society.²⁹

The evident desire of the Lawa to maintain their identity as “Lawa” is a positive factor with respect to future language vitality. This desire was not only expressed as a wish but they are acting on it through education and community awareness.

Ethnolinguistic makeup of villages

In the preceding discussion of language use in the community, I concluded that “the predominant use of Lawa in the community is a positive factor with respect to language vitality.” Indeed, even the presence of some outsiders does not stop those in Bo Luang from using Lawa. But the Lawa are still a strong majority there. In other places (e.g. Kong Loi), where more and more outsiders are encroaching, the situations in which Lawa is a possible language choice will likely decrease over time.

Most Eastern Lawa villages are still almost entirely made up of Eastern Lawa people who can speak Eastern Lawa. The non-Lawa residents are primarily people who have married a Lawa person. Many of these learn to speak some Lawa and their children grow up speaking Lawa. The homogeneity of these villages is currently a great support to the Eastern Lawa language. Note

²⁷ The Lawa custom that was mentioned most often as being distinctively “Lawa” was their form of traditional religion. In the past, the Eastern Lawa had distinctive clothing but they have not worn it for a long time. The Western Lawa, especially in the more remote villages, still wear traditional Lawa costumes every day or at least at special events.

²⁸ For one hour each day they teach Lawa culture, traditional religion, ceremonies, etc.

²⁹ Someone else told us it was the Tambon leaders who were the ones wanting to start this society. Clearly, someone is interested; we just are not sure who.

that intermarriage with other ethnicities is acceptable and becoming more common over time as more Karen and Northern Thai people move into the Eastern Lawa area. It is possible that, in the future, these currently homogeneous villages will become mixed villages, threatening the vitality of the Eastern Lawa language.

There are a few villages, however, all in Tambon Bo Sali, that are already mixed. Not surprisingly, these are also the villages where the Eastern Lawa language seems to have lower vitality. These are Kong Loi, Bo Sali, Thung, and Mae Waen.

- Kong Loi is a very large village which is located on a major road at a T-intersection leading north to Omphai, west to Mae Sariang, and east to Hot and Chiang Mai. This location makes it an attractive location for people migrating into the area. Kong Loi is still mostly (80%) inhabited by Eastern Lawa people. However, there is also a sizeable Karen sector of the village, as well as some Northern Thai households. The Karen have come relatively recently and make up a larger proportion of the community than do the Northern Thai. However, there is also a lot of intermarriage between the Eastern Lawa and the Northern Thai. Usually this is a Lawa woman marrying a Northern Thai man, so if they settle in Kong Loi their children usually grow up speaking Lawa, and some of their husbands learn it as well. Some Karen also intermarry with the Lawa and some of these learn to speak Lawa.
- Bo Sali and Thung are rather large villages, as well, with over 300 households each. However, only about 10% of Bo Sali residents and 70% of Thung residents are Lawa. We did not visit these villages, but we heard many reports that the Lawa people there are not speaking Lawa as much anymore
- In Mae Waen, only about 5% of the almost 200 houses are Lawa households.

Although these Tambon Bo Sali villages are atypical with respect to the majority of Eastern Lawa villages, they do represent a possible future for the other villages.

*While the **current homogeneity** of most Eastern Lawa villages is a positive factor with respect to language vitality, **intermarriage is increasing** and more and **more outsiders** are moving into the area. This could potentially threaten this homogeneity in the future. This, in fact, is already happening in the Lawa villages of Tambon Bo Sali. Thus, there is a potential for the ethnolinguistic make-up of Eastern Lawa villages to have a negative impact on language vitality in the future. However, this potential might not be realized. Therefore, I consider the future impact of this factor on language vitality to be **unclear**.*

Geographical distribution

All of the Eastern Lawa villages are in close proximity, both in terms of distance and in terms of access (almost all of them lie along a continuous stretch of highway). This allows for more interaction between them, increasing the number of occasions when Lawa can be used outside of one's own village.

*The **close proximity** of the Eastern Lawa villages is a **positive** factor with respect to future language vitality.*

Government policy

The current government policy in Thailand is favorable towards the use of minority languages. While Central Thai is still the primary medium of education, Kosonen (2005:102) states that “the new Thai school curriculum allows teaching of ethnic minority languages in minority areas in allocating up to 30 percent of the curriculum for minority language study or other local content (IMNA 2003; Office of the National Education Commission 2001). In some areas, local language classes are taught in the slot of ‘local curriculum.’” The Bo Luang school makes use of this policy by teaching Lawa culture in every grade (pre-school through grade 9).

*Thailand’s minority language educational **policies** are a **positive** factor with respect to future language vitality.*

Population

I estimate that there are altogether approximately 8,000 ethnically Eastern Lawa people and about 7,000 Eastern Lawa speakers living in 16 villages (see Table 36 in Section B.6). It is not clear, in general, what population size is necessary to maintain language vitality, but this seems to be large enough such that there is sufficient opportunity to continue speaking Lawa and such that intermarriage does not have to be a factor that reduces the number of 100% ethnic Eastern Lawa people.

*The total number of Eastern Lawa **villages** and the total number of Eastern Lawa **speakers** are **positive** factors with respect to future language vitality.*

4.2.3.3 Language Vitality Summary

Table 11 summarizes the foregoing discussion of indicative and predictive language vitality factors.

Table 11 – Summary of Indicative and Predictive Language Vitality Factors

Indicative Factor	Criteria for Higher Vitality	Indication of <i>Current</i> Vitality
Language use at home and with children	More usage	Positive
Lawa proficiency of children	Higher Lawa proficiency of children	Positive
Predictive Factor	Criteria for Higher Vitality	Impact on <i>Future</i> Vitality
Language attitudes	Positive attitude toward Lawa usage	Positive
Attitudes to literacy	Positive attitude toward Lawa literacy	Positive
Thai proficiency	Lower other-language proficiency	Negative
Contact	Less contact with other languages	Unclear
Language use in the community	More usage	Positive
Ethnolinguistic identity	Identify with Lawa more than with any other group	Positive
Ethnolinguistic makeup of villages	Closer to 100% Lawa	Unclear
Geographical distribution	Lawa villages in closer proximity	Positive
Government policy	More support of minority languages	Positive
Population	Larger population	Positive

Clearly, Eastern Lawa has a high level of language vitality at present. Additionally, most of the predictive factors predict that Lawa will continue to experience high vitality into the future. However, the high level of Thai proficiency, the increasing amount of intermarriage with non-Lawa people, and the slowly increasing rate of outsiders moving into some Lawa villages over time (particularly Kong Loi), threaten to negatively impact Lawa language vitality in the future. It is likely that Eastern Lawa will continue to be spoken in the next generation, but it is also possible that its vitality will be weaker in that generation than at present.

4.2.4 Thai Proficiency

In this section, the data will be used to answer the research question: **“Do Eastern Lawa speakers master Northern or Central Thai adequately?”**³⁰

Again, the purpose of this research into the Eastern Lawa sociolinguistic situation was to assess the need for vernacular literature development. One way in which one might conclude there is no need is if the Eastern Lawa people are adequately proficient in a language that already has literature.³¹ “Adequacy” of proficiency for a *community* depends on the community profile of proficiency (i.e. the distribution of proficiency among individuals and sub-populations in the community) and the domains in which proficiency exists. For example, if only the men are bilingual in Lawa and Thai, or if everyone is fluent in the Thai that is needed at the local market but not many speak Thai anywhere else, then proficiency cannot be said to necessarily be adequate for the use of Thai literature.

Table 12 shows an estimated profile of the Thai proficiency of the subjects. Each of the seven “can-do” question asks the subject if they can perform a certain task in Thai. The percentages shown here represent estimates of what proportion of the population would answer “yes” to each question. For more details on how these percentages were obtained, see Appendix C.2.5.1.

Table 12 – Estimated Profile of Self-Reported Thai Proficiency

Location	Question (see Appendix A.4 for the exact question wording)						
	52	53	54a	54b	55	56	57
	Buy something	Tell about family	Overhear... Repeat in Lawa	Overhear... Repeat in Thai	Explain job	Speak as fast as Thai person	Speak as well as Thai person
Bo Luang group	100%	95%	95%	92%	89%	63%	44%
Kong Loi	100%	100%	100%	100%	95%	80%	70%

When asked question #56 “Can you speak as fast as a Thai person and still be understood?” one subject responded, “Yes, but I have to think when I speak.” After answering question #57, “Can you speak as well as a Thai person?” one subject added, “I am embarrassed when I talk to Northern Thai people because I do not speak Northern Thai correctly,” and another said, “My Northern Thai friends do not even know that I am Lawa until I speak Lawa with my Lawa friends.” Such comments are consistent with the overall results. That is, all Eastern Lawa can function in Central and/or Northern Thai to some degree but there is a range of Thai proficiency. Some are fluent in Thai to the point of speaking just like a mother-tongue Thai speaker while others have a lower level of proficiency. It seems that Eastern Lawa people, on average, are fairly

³⁰ The relevant data available to answer this question comes from questions 22–24, 29, and 51–57 from the Eastern Lawa Individual SLQ results (see Appendix C.2).

³¹ Assuming they would accept such literature; as seen in the next section on attitude to Thai, that is a fair assumption.

proficient in Thai but that there is a significant proportion of them who do not feel that they are fluent, and that report Lawa as their *single* best language.

Regarding the domains of use inhabited by Thai, based on the responses of the survey subjects, we can conclude that Lawa, not Thai, is the language of the home for a vast majority of Eastern Lawa people.

There is a high level of Thai proficiency among the Eastern Lawa. However, the lack of fluency for a significant proportion of the subjects and the reported predominant use of Lawa in the home domain indicates that while they might be able to use Thai literature for some tasks, Eastern Lawa speakers might be better served by having their own literature. A more accurate assessment of the adequacy of their bilingual ability would be needed to confirm this conclusion.

4.2.5 Attitude towards Thai

In this section, the data will be used to answer the research question: **“Do Eastern Lawa speakers have any negative attitudes toward Northern or Central Thai?”**³²

It is difficult to assess attitudes toward another ethnic group. If a positive attitude is expressed, is it genuine or is the subject simply telling you what they think you want to hear? If a neutral attitude is expressed, is it genuine or is the subject simply trying to avoid expressing a negative opinion to a stranger? The only clear result would seem to be if the subject expresses negative attitudes in their response about a group that others do not view negatively. So, the questions on this survey that were asked to assess attitude to Thai are basically questions that are probing for a strong negative attitude. A mildly negative attitude might not be expressed and it is not clear if positive attitudes are genuine. We asked questions about how subjects feel about children speaking Thai at home, about how they feel about intermarriage with Thai people, and about their primary ethnolinguistic identity.

Only one subject expressed a negative attitude to the fact that sometimes children speak Thai when they play or at home. Many subjects expressed that they feel it is good for children to be bilingual. Almost every subject felt that intermarriage with Thai people is acceptable. A few expressed a preference for Lawa people to marry other Lawa (in order to preserve Lawa, not because they dislike Thai people). Intermarriage with Thai people is not uncommon, so questions about attitude to intermarriage are not hypothetical. When asked about their primary ethnolinguistic identity, most said “Lawa” but some responded that they view themselves first as Thai or Northern Thai. This does not necessarily mean that the majority who responded “Lawa” do *not* also view themselves as Thai, just that they were asked to give one answer and that is the one they chose. It can be said to indicate a positive attitude toward their own group but not a negative attitude toward Thai people.

These results seem to indicate that the Eastern Lawa do not have any negative attitudes toward Thai people. Another indication of this is that the teachers we interviewed indicated that the Lawa and Northern Thai children do not segregate themselves in school. They all play together. As stated previously, the lack of expression of a negative attitude does not mean that there is no

³² The relevant data available to answer this question comes from Questions 44, 45, 58, 59, and 62 from the Individual SLQ results (see Appendix C.2).

negative attitude. These results imply that if there is any negative attitude toward Thai people, it is not very strong; that is, it is not strong enough for subjects to be willing to express it in front of outsiders researching their language. This being said, I do not really think there are any negative attitudes. That is, there is every reason to believe that the neutral-to-positive attitudes expressed by the Eastern Lawa toward Thai people are genuine. They interact daily with Thai culture, education, and entertainment, Thai and Lawa people intermarry frequently, and Lawa people commonly move out to live among Thai people.

There is no evidence that the Eastern Lawa have negative attitudes toward the Thai people that would cause them to not accept Thai literature. Indeed, they already embrace Thai literacy as evidenced by their active participation in the Thai educational system.

5 Conclusions

In this section, the answers to the research questions are brought together to address the purposes of the survey, namely to assess the need for further vernacular language development among the Lawa.

5.1 Western Lawa

We visited the most remote Western Lawa village, Kok Luang, because our hypotheses were that all Western Lawa speakers can understand the La-up variety, and that the level of comprehension (inherent or due to contact) would decrease with distance from La-up. Thus, if those in Kok Luang can comprehend La-up Lawa sufficiently, then one can conclude that *all* Western Lawa speakers can comprehend it. In fact, what happened was that those in Kok Luang without contact with La-up Lawa did not, on average, comprehend it adequately. Those with contact, however, did. Thus, because those living in the most remote village cannot inherently comprehend La-up Lawa, we do not know where the boundary of inherent intelligibility with La-up lies. This would have to be researched further by visiting more villages. However, we did find that a moderate amount of contact with La-up can increase comprehension to an adequate level. If there is, in fact, even more contact between the less remote villages and La-up, then this adequacy with contact can be assumed to hold for all the Western Lawa.

The key to whether or not any more language development is needed for the Western Lawa is the actual extent of contact with La-up Lawa. If the contact is extensive, then there is no need for development (assuming good attitudes toward La-up Lawa). If the contact is not extensive, then there is a need for either development of at least one other Western Lawa variety or for promotion of contact with La-up (again, assuming good attitudes).

How extensive is the contact? Again, we only have evidence from Kok Luang. In general, it seems like the main vehicle for contact is religion. The Lawa Christians use the Lawa Bible, which is based on La-up Lawa, and La-up Lawa is becoming the central dialect for them. However, only about half the village is Christian, so religion-induced contact cannot be said to be extensive enough. Some of the Buddhists in Kok Luang also have contact with La-up Lawa, but not nearly as much as the Christians do.

In conclusion, whether or not more language development is needed for Western Lawa depends on (a) how much more different Kok Luang Lawa is from La-up Lawa than the other Western Lawa varieties are, and (b) how extensive the contact is with La-up Lawa in other Western Lawa villages. If Kok Luang Lawa is the only variety of Western Lawa that is not inherently intelligible with La-up Lawa, then perhaps no further language development is needed; even those in Kok Luang with little contact are not that far from adequate comprehension (average RTT score of 73% compared to the cutoff of 85%). If there are other Western Lawa varieties that are not inherently intelligible with La-up Lawa but the speakers of these varieties have enough contact with La-up Lawa, then these speakers will have adequate comprehension and, again, no further language development is needed.

This conclusion is based on the idea that what matters is intelligibility. However, it might be that no further language development is needed simply based on a common ethnolinguistic identity for the Western Lawa. For Christians, La-up Lawa serves as a “supra-dialectal norm,” even for those with marginal inherent intelligibility (see Brown 1998). For Buddhists, this might not be so; they might not have any one variety of Lawa that they consider to be the norm. If use of the current La-up Lawa orthography were to expand beyond the domain of Christianity, then perhaps, over time, La-up Lawa might become the central Western Lawa dialect for all Western Lawa people.

5.2 Eastern Lawa

In one sense, there might not be a need for language development for the Eastern Lawa because a large segment of the community, especially among the younger generation, might be adequately served by the Thai language. However, there are some who might be better served by a developed Eastern Lawa language, namely those who feel Lawa is their single best language. Additionally, *all* the Eastern Lawa would be served by language development since such development would further strengthen their already strong language vitality, reducing the likelihood of a future language shift to Thai in all domains, with the resulting accompanying loss of Lawa culture. Given this high vitality, it is clear that Eastern Lawa people would be able to use Eastern Lawa literature if it were available. These results reflect the current situation. Community-wide Thai proficiency is increasing over time with an increase in language contact. It is possible that language shift to Thai might take place in the future. On one hand, Eastern Lawa language development could be seen as unnecessary in light of this possibility. On the other hand, this language shift is not guaranteed and language development could play a significant role in preventing it.

What points to a possible future language shift to Thai? There are four combinations of individual bilingualism and societal diglossia (see Ferguson 1959 and Fishman 1967). Eastern Lawa seems to fit the category of bilingualism (in Thai) *without* diglossia. This situation

...exists where there are individuals who use or can use more than one linguistic variety, but where there are no societal norms as to which language is appropriate to use with which interlocutor concerning which topics, under what circumstances. Fishman states that this situation will only occur under circumstances accompanying ‘rapid social change, great

social unrest, ... widespread abandonment of earlier norms before the consolidation of new ones' (Fishman 1968, 1972:145). Furthermore, it seems that, in this kind of situation, bilingualism is acquired at an early age and in the home and neighborhood. The variety brought home from work and school is acquired as a second language. In these situations, societal institutions tend to promote monolingualism in the second language. (Hatfield and Lewis 1996)

If this categorization is true, then the prediction is eventual language shift to Thai. This would mean that although Eastern Lawa is used at home, there are societal pressures that are leading to widespread bilingualism but without a protection of the role of Lawa in the home. Unless there becomes a motivation to always use *only* Eastern Lawa at home, Eastern Lawa could eventually be replaced by Thai. This would provide an important domain in which Eastern Lawa dominates and move the situation into the category of bilingualism *with* diglossia, a category in which languages have a much higher chance of avoiding a total language shift.

As it is likely that contact with outsiders will only increase over time, the main method by which the Eastern Lawa language (and, therefore, Eastern Lawa culture as well) can be maintained is through ensuring that Eastern Lawa remains the exclusive language of the home domain. In order to accomplish this, Lawa parents, whether married to Lawa or non-Lawa, must make a determined effort to speak only Lawa with their children from the time each child is born. Also, if both parents are able to speak Lawa, then they should try to speak only Lawa with each other in the home, thus increasing their children's exposure to the language. There is already ample opportunity for Lawa children to learn Central and Northern Thai at school and in the wider community so parents would not need to feel that the practice I am recommending will hinder their children's ability to succeed in Thai society. Indeed, the fact that Lawa children currently grow up bilingual is a great developmental and intellectual advantage for them, and this advantage should be maintained in the future through exclusive use of Lawa by Lawa parents in the home. If this policy is not practiced in Eastern Lawa families, there is a high likelihood that, at some point in the future, Eastern Lawa will no longer be spoken and, therefore, eventually Eastern Lawa culture will disappear, as well.

While maintaining the place of Lawa as the language of the home is the most effective method that can be employed for maintenance of the current high language vitality, other methods can support language vitality as well. Language development would serve to increase the opportunities for use of Lawa by introducing Eastern Lawa reading and writing. Indeed, any method by which Lawa can be promoted in the community, or motivation to use Lawa can be increased, will serve to support language maintenance. Possible opportunities for increasing the scope of Eastern Lawa usage include education, media, entertainment, tourism, and community-wide Lawa cultural events.

In conclusion, most younger and more educated Eastern Lawa speakers are currently adequately served by the Thai language. A developed Eastern Lawa language, however, would potentially serve many adults in the Eastern Lawa community better than does Thai, and it would serve

to help preserve the Eastern Lawa language and culture into the future. Whether Eastern Lawa language development is needed depends on (a) how high a priority one places on the literacy needs of the adult generation of Eastern Lawa speakers, (b) how important one feels the benefit would be if young people could be literate in their first and best language (Eastern Lawa) in addition to Thai, and (c) how high a priority one places on language preservation.

Appendix A Instruments

A.1 Village Leader SLQ

A.1.1 Instructions

- If you have to explain the question, make sure you do NOT suggest an answer. Note in your notebook (near the answer) that you had to explain the question.
- Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.
- Items in parentheses () give information about when or how to ask a question. Items in brackets [] require a choice, depending on whatever is appropriate.
- Write exactly what the subject answers.

A.1.2 Oral Consent

สวัสดีค่ะ ดิฉันชื่อ__ ค่ะ เราทำงานกับมหาวิทยาลัยพายัพที่เชียงใหม่เกี่ยวกับภาษาของชนกลุ่มน้อยค่ะ เราอยากจะทำรบบมากขึ้นเกี่ยวกับชาวละว้าที่อยู่ในหมู่บ้านนี้ เพราะฉะนั้นเราอยากให้คุณช่วยเราในวันนี้ได้ไหมคะ

Hello. My name is __. We work with Payap University in Chiang Mai studying minority languages. We want to know more about the Lawa living in this village. We would like you to help us today. Is that okay?

ORAL CONSENT: Given:

Not Given:

NOTE: If they say no, number this questionnaire and go on to the next subject. It is important to keep this “rejected” questionnaire in the numbering so we know how much non-response there was.

ENTER THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING AHEAD OF TIME IN YOUR NOTEBOOK:

English	Central Thai
1. Questionnaire Number	แบบสอบถามหมายเลขที่
2. Survey	เรื่องที่สำรวจ
3. Interview Location	สถานที่สัมภาษณ์
4. Interviewer Name	ชื่อผู้สัมภาษณ์
5. Date	วัน / เดือน / ปี
6. Language of Elicitation	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการถาม
7. Language of Response	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการตอบ
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)	ชื่อล่าม (ถ้ามี)
9. Comments	หมายเหตุ

SUBJECT DEMOGRAPHICS

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself.	ตอนนี้จะถามคำถามทั่วไปเกี่ยวกับตัวของพี่	+ ตอนนี้ใจถามเกี่ยวกับตัวของพี่ อ้าย
10. What is your name?	ขอโทษ ชื่ออะไร	ขอสุมาเตอะ ชื่ออะหยังกา
11. Gender	เพศ	เพศ
12. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร	ขอสุมาเตอะ อายุกี่ปี
13. Are you married already or not yet?	แต่งงานแล้วหรือยัง	แต่งงานละกา
14. (If married) How many children do you have?	(ถ้า “แต่งงานแล้ว”) มีลูกกี่คน	(ถ้า “แต่งงานแล้ว”) มีลูกกี่คน
15. What is your religion?	นับถือศาสนาอะไร	นับถือศาสนาอะหยัง
16. What is (was) your work?	(เคย) ทำงานอะไร	(เคย) ยะกานอะหยัง
17. Up to what level of education did you complete?	เรียนจบชั้นอะไร	เรียนจบจันอะหยังกา
18. When you were born, what village did you live in?	ตอนที่พี่เกิด อยู่หมู่บ้านไหน (ตำบลอะไร, อำเภออะไร, จังหวัดอะไร)	+ ตอนที่พี่เกิด อยู่หมู่บ้านไหน (ตำบลอะหยัง, อำเภออะหยัง, จังหวัดอะหยัง)
19. Where did you grow up?	โตที่ไหน	ใหญ่ดีไหน
20. Where do you live now?	ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ไหน	+ ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ไหน
21. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปี ... ที่ไหน ...เมื่อไหร่ ...นานเท่าไร	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปี ... ดีไหน ...เมื่อใด ...นานเท่าใด

VILLAGE NAME AND POPULATION

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai	
22. What is the official name of this village?	ชื่อหมู่บ้านจริงๆ ชื่อว่าอะไร	ชื่อหมู่บ้านแต่ๆ ชื่อว่าอะไร	
a. What Tambon, Amphoe, and Province is it in?	หมู่บ้านอยู่ในตำบลอะไร, อำเภออะไร, จังหวัดอะไร	หมู่บ้านอยู่ในตำบลอะไร, อำเภออะไร, จังหวัดอะไร	
23. What do the people who live here call this village?	คนที่อยู่ที่นี่เรียกหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะไร	คนที่อยู่ที่นี่ชื่อหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะไร	
a. Is that a Lawa name?	ชื่อนี้เป็นชื่อลาวไหม	ชื่อนี้เป็นชื่อลาว	
b. What does that name mean?	ชื่อนี้มีความหมายอะไร	ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะไร	
24. What do outsiders call this village?	แล้วคนอื่นละ เรียกหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะไร	แล้วคนอื่นล่อ (คืบ/เงา) ชื่อหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะไร	
(if not the same as their own name for the village)	a. Who calls it that?	ใครบ้างเรียกชื่อนี้	มีไฟฟองชื่อชื่อนี้
	b. What does that name mean?	ชื่อนี้มีความหมายอะไร	ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะไร
	c. Do people in this village like that name?	คนที่อยู่หมู่บ้านนี้ชอบชื่อนี้ไหม	คนที่อยู่หมู่บ้านนี้ชอบชื่อนี้
	d. (If no) Why not?	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) ทำไมจึงไม่ชอบ	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) เพราะอะไรถึงบอชอบ
25. How many houses are in this village?	หมู่บ้านนี้มีบ้านกี่หลัง	หมู่บ้านนี้มีบ้านกี่หลัง	
26. What is the total number of people in this village? (adults and children)	หมู่บ้านนี้มีทั้งหมดกี่คน (ทั้งผู้ใหญ่และเด็ก)	หมู่บ้านนี้มีทั้งหมดกี่คน (ทั้งผู้ใหญ่และเด็ก)	
27. What do the people of this village call their language?	คนหมู่บ้านนี้เรียกภาษาของเขาว่าภาษาอะไร	คนหมู่บ้านนี้สองภาษาของเขาว่าภาษาอะไร	

English		Central Thai	Northern Thai
a. What does that name mean?		ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะไร	จื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะฮยัง
28. What do others call the language of this village?		คนอื่นเรียกภาษานี้ว่าอะไร	กนอื่นซ้องภาษานี้ว่าอะฮยัง
(if not the same as their own name for the language)	a. Who calls it that?	ใครไซชื่อนี้บ้าง	ไผ่ผองดีใจจื่อนี้
	b. What does that name mean?	ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะไร	จื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะฮยัง
	c. Do people in this village like that name?	คนในหมู่บ้านนี้ชอบชื่อนี้ไหม	กนในหมู่บ้านชอบจื่อนี้ก่
	d. (If no) Why not?	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) ทำไมจึงไม่ชอบ	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) เพาะอะฮยังถึงบ่ชอบ
29. What do the people who live in this village call themselves?		คนในหมู่บ้านนี้เรียกตัวเขาเองว่าชนเผ่าอะไร	กนในหมู่บ้านนี้ซ้องตัวเขาเองว่าชนเผ่าอะฮยัง
a. What does that name mean?		ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะไร	จื่อนั้นหมายความว่าอะฮยัง
30. What do others call the people who live in this village?		คนอื่นเรียกคนในหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าชนเผ่าอะไร	กนอื่นซ้องกนในหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าชนเผ่าอะฮยัง
(if not the same as their own name for their people)	a. Who calls you that?	ใครไซชื่อนี้บ้าง	ไผ่ผองดีใจจื่อนี้
	b. What does that name mean?	ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะไร	จื่อนั้นหมายความว่าอะฮยัง
	c. Do people in this village like that name?	คนในหมู่บ้านชอบชื่อนี้ไหม	กนในหมู่บ้านชอบจื่อนี้ก่
	d. (If no) Why not?	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) ทำไมจึงไม่ชอบ	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) เพาะอะฮยังถึงบ่ชอบ

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
31. Is this village all Lawa people or are there others living here as well?	หมู่บ้านนี้มีแต่คนละว้ายอยู่ หรือว่ามี คนเผ่าอื่นอยู่ด้วย	หมู่บ้านนี้มีแต่คนละว้ายอยู่หรือว่ามี คนอื่นอยู่ด้วย
a. (If others, too) What groups live here?	มีคนเผ่าอะไรบ้างที่อยู่ใน หมู่บ้านนี้	มีคนอะฮยังพองที่อยู่ในหมู่บ้านนี้
b. (if others, too, ask the following for each group) (Group)... How many houses? How many people?	ของ (กลุ่ม) มีบ้านกี่หลัง... แล้วมีกี่คนละ	ของ (กลุ่ม) มีเฮือนกี่หลัง แล้วมีกี่คน
32. Has it been this way a long time?	อยู่แบบนี้มานานแล้วหรือ	เป็นจะอีมาเมิ่นละก่า
a. Is it changing? More Lawa people or fewer?	มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงบ้างไหม มี คนละวา เพิ่มขึ้น หรือ น้อยลง	มีกานเปลี่ยนแปลงพองก้อ คนละวานัก ขึ้นวานน้อยลง
33. Are there people in this village who speak only Lawa?	คนในหมู่บ้านนี้ มีคนที่พูดภาษาละวาได้แต่ ภาษาเดียวไหม	คนในหมู่บ้านนี้ มีคนทีู่ภาษาละวาได้ แค่ภาษาเดียวก้อ
a. (If yes) Which types of people? (e.g. old, men, women)	(ถ้า “มี”) เป็นคนกลุ่มไหน (เช่น... คนแก่, ผู้ชาย, ผู้หญิง)	(ถ้า “มี”) ไผ่ (คนกลุ่มอะฮยัง) (เช่น... คนแก่, ผู้ชาย, ผู้หญิง)
34. Are there Lawa people in this village who can speak Lawa, but not very well?	คนละวาในหมู่บ้านนี้ที่พูด ภาษาละวาได้แต่ไม่ค่อยเก่ง มี ไหม	คนละวาในหมู่บ้านนี้ทีู่ภาษาละวาได้ แต่บ่อค่อยเก่ง มีก้อ
a. Which types of people? (e.g. old, men, women)	(ถ้า “มี”) เป็นคนกลุ่มไหน (เช่น... คนแก่, ผู้ชาย, ผู้หญิง)	(ถ้า “มี”) ไผ่ (คนกลุ่มอะฮยัง) (เช่น... คนแก่, ผู้ชาย, ผู้หญิง)
b. What language(s) do they speak well?	(ถ้า “มี”) พวกเขาพูดภาษา อะไรได้เก่ง	(ถ้า “มี”) พวกเขาูภาษาอะฮยังได้เก่ง

English		Central Thai	Northern Thai
35. Are there Lawa people in this village who cannot speak Lawa at all?		คนละว่าในหมู่บ้านนี้ที่พูดภาษาละว่าไม่ได้เลย มีไหม	คนละว่าในหมู่บ้านนี้ที่พูดภาษาละว่าไม่ได้เลย มีก้อ
(If yes) (ถ้ามี)	a. Which types of people? (e.g. old, men, women)	เป็นคนกลุ่มไหน (เช่น... คนแก่, ผู้ชาย, ผู้หญิง)	ไฟ (คนกลุ่มอะหยัง) (เช่น... คนแก่, ผู้ชาย, ผู้หญิง)
	b. What language(s) do they speak well?	พวกเขาพูดภาษาอะไรได้เก่ง	พวกเขาพูดภาษาอะหยังเก่ง

MIGRATION

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
36. Have Lawa people lived here long?	คนละว่าอยู่ที่นี่นานหรือยัง	คนละว่าอยู่ที่นี่มาเเมนหรือยัง
37. Where did they come from before they lived here?	ย้ายมาจากไหน	ย้ายมาจากตีใด
a. When did they move here?	ย้ายมาเมื่อไร	ย้ายมาเมื่อใด
b. Why did they move here?	ทำไมเขาย้ายมาอยู่ที่นี่	เพราะอะหยังเขาย้ายมาอยู่ที่นี่
38. Do young people from this village go live in Mae Sariang, Chiang Mai, or Bangkok?	วัยรุ่นและหนุ่มสาวจากหมู่บ้านนี้ไปอยู่แม่สะเรียง เชียงใหม่ หรือ กรุงเทพฯ มีไหม	มีวัยรุ่นและหนุ่มสาวจากหมู่บ้านนี้ไปอยู่แม่สะเรียง เชียงใหม่ หรือกรุงเทพฯ มีก้อ

(If yes) (ถ้า “มี”)	a. Why do they go?	เขาไปทำอะไร	เขาไปยะอะหยัง
	b. Do very many go?	วัยรุ่นและหนุ่มสาวที่อยู่ที่นี่ มีเยอะไหม	วัยรุ่นและหนุ่มสาวที่อยู่ที่นี่ มีนักก้อ
	c. While they live there, what languages do they use there?	เขาอยู่ที่นี่ เขาพูดภาษาอะไร บาง	เขาอยู่ที่นี่ เขาพูดภาษาอะหยังพ่อง
	d. In general, do they go there to stay or do they come back and live here?	แล้วส่วนใหญ่เขาจะไปอยู่ที่นั่นเลย หรือ กลับมาอยู่ที่นี่	แล้วส่วนใหญ่ เขาจะไปอยู่ที่นี่เลย หรือ ปักมาอยู่ที่นี่

SCHOOL

	English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
	39. Is there a school in this village?	มีโรงเรียนในหมู่บ้านไหม	มีโรงเรียนในหมู่บ้านก้อ
(If yes) (ถ้า “มี”)	a. What levels are taught in the school?	ถึงชั้นอะไร	ถึงชั้นอะยัง
	b. What is the language of instruction?	ที่โรงเรียนใช้ภาษาอะไรสอน	ดีโรงเรียนใช้ภาษาอะหยังสอน
	c. Are the children who go to this school all Lawa?	เด็กๆ ที่ไปโรงเรียนนี้เป็นเด็กลวะทั้งหมดไหม	ละอ่อนดีไปโรงเรียนนี้เป็นละอ่อนลวะดีทั้งหมดก้อ
	d. (If no) About what proportion of the school is from each ethnic group?	(ถ้า “ไม่ใช่”) ที่โรงเรียนมีเด็กแต่ละเผ่าอย่างละกี่เปอร์เซ็นต์	(ถ้า “ไม่ใช่”) ดีโรงเรียนมีชนเผ่าอย่างละกี่เปอร์เซ็นต์
	e. At school, when the children play together, what language(s) do they generally use?	ที่โรงเรียน เมื่อเด็กๆ เล่นด้วยกัน ปกติเขาใช้ภาษาอะไร	ดีโรงเรียน ตอนละอ่อนเล่นด้วยกัน เขาใช้ภาษาอะหยัง

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai	
40. Do any children go to any other villages/towns for school?	เด็กๆ ในหมู่บ้านนี้ไปเรียนที่หมู่บ้านอื่นหรือในเมืองไหม	ละอ่อนไปเรียนที่หมู่บ้านอื่น/เมืองอื่นก้อ	
(If yes) (ถ้า “ไป”)	a. About what proportion of children go elsewhere for school?	(ถ้า “ไป”) เด็กๆ ที่ไปเรียนที่อื่นมีประมาณกี่เปอร์เซ็นต์	ละอ่อนไปเรียนที่อื่นประมาณกี่เปอร์เซ็นต์
	b. Where?	ไปเรียนที่ไหนบ้าง	ไปเรียนที่ไหนผ่อง
	c. What levels do they go for?	เขาไปเรียนชั้นอะไรบ้าง	ละอ่อนไปเรียนชั้นอะหยั่ง
	d. What is the language of instruction in that place?	ที่โรงเรียนนั้นใช้ภาษาอะไรสอน	ตี้โรงเรียนนั้นใจภาษาอะหยั่งสอน
	e. What ethnic groups attend that school?	โรงเรียนนั้นมีเด็กๆ คนเผ่าอะไรบ้าง	มีชนเผ่าชาวเขาเผ่าอื่นๆ อะหยั่งผ่องมาเรียนตี้โรงเรียนนั้น
	f. About what proportion of that school is from each language group?	ที่โรงเรียนนั้นมีเด็กแต่ละเผ่าอย่างละกี่เปอร์เซ็นต์	มีเผ่าละกี่เปอร์เซ็นต์
41. About how many years of education do children from this village usually complete?	ส่วนใหญ่เด็กๆ หมู่บ้านนี้เรียนจบชั้นอะไร	ส่วนใหญ่ละอ่อน หมู่บ้านนี้เรียนจบจั้นอะหยั่ง	

LANGUAGES OF WIDER COMMUNICATION AND INTERMARRIAGE

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
Now I want to ask you some questions about the various languages spoken in this village.	ต่อไปจะถามเกี่ยวกับภาษาต่างๆ ที่ใช้ในหมู่บ้าน	ต่อไปไข่ถามเกี่ยวกับภาษาต่างๆ ตี้ใจในหมู่บ้าน
42. What languages are spoken in this village?	ในหมู่บ้านนี้คนพูดภาษาอะไรกันบ้าง	ในหมู่บ้านนี้คนอูภาษาอะหยั่งกั้นผ่อง

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai	
43. (For each language) What groups of people speak [language] well? [For example, men, women, old, teenagers, etc.]	คนกลุ่มไหนบางพูด (ภาษา) ได้ดี (เช่น ผู้ชาย ผู้หญิง คนแก่ วัยรุ่น ฯลฯ)	คนวัยไหนฟังดีอยู่ภาษาได้ดี (เช่น ผู้ชาย ผู้หญิง คนแก่ วัยรุ่น ฯลฯ)	
a. Why do those types of people speak it well?	ทำไมเขาถึงพูด (ภาษา) ได้ดี	เพราะอะไรง่ายเขาอยู่ได้ดี	
b. What groups of people speak [language] poorly?	คนกลุ่มไหนบางพูด (ภาษา) ไม่ค่อยได้	มีกลุ่มคนใดฟังดีอยู่ (ภาษา) บ่อยไม่ค่อยได้	
c. Why do those types of people speak it poorly?	ทำไมเขาถึงพูด (ภาษา) ไม่ค่อยได้	เพราะอะไรง่ายเขาอยู่ (ภาษา) บ่อยไม่ค่อยได้	
44. For the most part, people of this village use which language the most?	ส่วนใหญ่คนหมู่บ้านนี้ใช้ภาษาอะไรมากที่สุด	ส่วนใหญ่คนหมู่บ้านนี้ใจภาษาอะไรมากที่สุด	
45. If someone from this village meets someone who cannot speak Lawa, what language do they use with that person?	ถ้าเจอกับคนที่พูดภาษาละว่าไม่ได้ คนหมู่บ้านนี้จะพูดภาษาอะไรกับเขา	ถ้าปะกับคนที่อยู่ภาษาละว่าไม่ได้ ชาวบ้านจะอยู่ภาษาอะไรกับเป็น	
46. Are there Lawa people in this village who are married to non-Lawa people?	คนละว่าในหมู่บ้านนี้ที่แต่งงานกับคนที่ไม่ใช่คนละว่า... มีไหม	คนละว่าในหมู่บ้านนี้แต่งงานกับคนตื้อบ่อใจคนละว่า มีก้อ	
(If yes) (ถ้า "มี")	a. Are there a lot?	มีเยอะไหม	มีนักไหม
	b. What kind of non-Lawa people do they marry?	ส่วนใหญ่ เขาแต่งงานกับคนอะไร	ส่วนใหญ่ เขาแต่งงานกับคนอะไรง่าย
	c. Usually, what language do their children end up speaking?	ส่วนใหญ่ ลูกของเขาจะพูดภาษาอะไร	ส่วนใหญ่ ลูกของเขาพูดภาษาอะไรง่าย
	d. Why?	ทำไม	เพราะอะไรง่าย

A.2 Dialect Perceptions Group Interview

A.2.1 Instructions

- Gather 3–5 Lawa people to interview in a group. Ask for people who speak Lawa well.
- Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.
- Items in parentheses () give information about when or how to ask a question. Items in brackets [] require a choice depending on whatever is appropriate.
- Write exactly what the subject answers.

A.2.2 Oral Consent

สวัสดีค่ะ ดิฉันชื่อ ___ ค่ะ

เราทำงานกับมหาวิทยาลัยพายัพที่เชียงใหม่เกี่ยวกับภาษาของชนกลุ่มน้อยค่ะ

เราอยากจะทราบมากขึ้นเกี่ยวกับชาวละว้าที่อยู่ในหมู่บ้านต่างๆ

เพราะฉะนั้นเราอยากให้คุณที่ช่วยเราในวันนี้ ได้ไหมคะ เราจะถามคำถามแบบง่ายๆ

เกี่ยวกับตัวพวกตัวเองและภาษาที่พูดค่ะ พวกที่ไม่ต้องกลัวนะคะ

เพราะว่าการสัมภาษณ์นี้ไม่เหมือนการสอบที่โรงเรียน ไม่มีคำตอบที่ผิดหรือถูก

พวกที่ตอบตามที่พวกที่คิดได้เลยค่ะ ถ้ามีคำถามไหนที่รู้สึกลำบากใจที่จะตอบ

ก็ไม่ต้องตอบก็ได้ค่ะ คงจะใช้เวลาประมาณ 30–45 นาที

แต่ถ้าพวกที่ไม่ว่างก็ไม่เป็นไร ไม่ต้องเกรงใจนะคะ พวกที่พอจะมีเวลาช่วยเราบ้างไหมคะ

Hello. My name is ___. We work with Payap University in Chiang Mai studying minority languages. We want to know more about the Lawa living in different villages. We would like you (all) to help us today. Is that okay? These questions are not difficult; they're questions about yourself and your language. You don't need to be afraid. This interview is not like a test at school. There are no wrong or right answers. You can answer according to what you think. If there's a question that you don't feel comfortable answering, that's OK, you don't have to answer. It'll take about 30–45 minutes, but if something comes up, don't feel like you have to stay. Is this something you could help us with?

ORAL CONSENT:

Given:

Not Given:

NOTE: If they say no, number this questionnaire and go on to the next subject. It is important to keep this "rejected" questionnaire in the numbering so we know how much non-response there was.

ENTER THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING AHEAD OF TIME IN YOUR NOTEBOOK:

English	Central Thai
1. Questionnaire Number	แบบสอบถามหมายเลขที่
2. Survey	เรื่องที่สำรวจ
3. Interview Location	สถานที่สัมภาษณ์

English	Central Thai
4. Interviewer Name	ชื่อผู้สัมภาษณ์
5. Date	วัน / เดือน / ปี
6. Language of Elicitation	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการถาม
7. Language of Response	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการตอบ
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)	ชื่อล่าม (ถ้ามี)
9. Comments	หมายเหตุ

BACKGROUND INFORMATION & SCREENING QUESTIONS

Record answers for EVERY one of the group interviewees.

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
10. Gender	เพศ	เพศ
11. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร	ขอสุมาเตอะ อายุกี่ปี ⁺
12. What is your religion?	นับถือศาสนาอะไร	นับถือศาสนาอะหยัง
13. What is (was) your work?	(เคย) ทำงานอะไร	(เคย) ยะกานอะหยัง ⁺
14. Up to what level of education did you complete?	เรียนจบชั้นอะไร	เฮียนจบจั้นอะหยังกา
15. When you were born, what village did you live in?	ตอนที่พื้เกิด อยู่หมู่บ้านไหน (ตำบลอะไร, อำเภออะไร, จังหวัด อะไร)	⁺ ตอนที่ปี้เกิด อยู่หมู่บ้านไหน (ตำบลอะหยัง, อำเภออะหยัง, จังหวัดอะหยัง)
16. Where did you grow up?	โตที่ไหน	ใหญ่ตี้ไหน
17. Where do you live now?	ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ไหน	⁺ ตอนนี้อยู่ตี้ไหน
18. How many years have you lived here/there?	อยู่มากี่ปีแล้ว	อยู่มากี่ปีละกา
19. What language did you speak first?	พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	⁺ อุภาษาอะหยังได้เป็นภาษาแรก

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
20. Can you speak any other languages?	พูดภาษาอื่นได้ไหม	อุภาษาอื่นไดกอ
a. (If yes) What languages?	(ถา “ได”) ภาษาอะไร	(ถา “ได”) ภาษาอะหยังกา
21. Of all the languages you speak, which language do you speak best?	พูดภาษาอะไรเก่งที่สุด	อุภาษาอะหยังเก่งที่สุด
a. ... second best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง

[If necessary, ask for other people. We want people who are from this village and speak Lawa well.]

VILLAGE INFORMATION

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
22. What is the official name of this village?	ชื่อหมู่บ้านจริงๆ ชื่อว่าอะไร	ชื่อหมู่บ้านเตๆ ชื่อว่าอะยัง
a. What Tambon, Amphoe, and Province is it in?	หมู่บ้านอยู่ในตำบลอะไร, อำเภออะไร, จังหวัดอะไร	หมู่บ้านอยู่ในตำบลอะยัง, อำเภออะยัง, จังหวัดอะยัง
23. What do the people who live here call this village?	คนที่อยู่ที่นี้เรียกหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะไร	คนที่อยู่ที่นี้ฮองหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะยัง
a. Is that a Lawa name?	ชื่อนี้เป็นชื่อละว่าไหม	ชื่อนี้เป็นชื่อละว่ากอ
b. What does that name mean?	ชื่อนี้มีความหมายอะไร	ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะหยัง
24. What do outsiders call this village?	แล้วคนอื่นละเรียกหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะไร	แล้วคนอื่นลอ (คับ/เจ้า) ฮองหมู่บ้านนี้ว่าอะยัง

	English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
(If not the same as their own name for the village)	a. Who calls it that?	ใครบ้างเรียกชื่อนี้	มีไฟส่องส่องจื่อนี้
	b. What does that name mean?	ชื่อนี้มีความหมายอะไร	จื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะหยัง
	c. Do people in this village like that name?	คนที่อยู่หมู่บ้านนี้ชอบชื่อนี้ไหม	คนที่อยู่หมู่บ้านนี้ชอบจื่อนี้ก้อ
	d. (If no) Why not?	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) ทำไมจึงไม่ชอบ	(ถ้า “ไม่ชอบ”) เพาะอะหยังถึงบอชอบ
25. How many houses are in this village?	หมู่บ้านนี้มีบ้านกี่หลัง	หมู่บ้านนี้มีบ้านกี่หลัง	
26. What is the total number of people in this village? (adults and children)	หมู่บ้านนี้มีทั้งหมดกี่คน (ทั้งผู้ใหญ่และเด็ก)	หมู่บ้านนี้มีทั้งหมดกี่คน (ทั้งผู้ใหญ่และเด็ก)	
27. Have Lawa people lived here long?	คนละวายุที่นี้นานหรือยัง	คนละวายุที่นี้มาเมินหรือยัง	
28. Where did they come from before they lived here?	ย้ายมาจากไหน	ย้ายมาจากตีใด	
a. When did they move here?	ย้ายมาเมื่อไร	ย้ายมาเมื่อใด	
b. Why did they move here?	ทำไมเขาย้ายมาอยู่ที่นี่	เพาะอะหยังเขาย้ายมาอยู่ที่นี่	

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
29. Does everyone in your village speak Lawa about the same?	ภาษาละว้าที่นี้ละ ทุกคนในหมู่บ้านนี้พูดเหมือนกันไหม	ภาษาละว้าละ ภูคนในหมู่บ้านนี้พูดเหมือนกันกอ
[If no, find out what the subject's variety is and make sure the comparisons below are all made with that variety.]		
Please compare the villages that speak Lawa and split them into three groups: villages that speak Lawa the same as here, a little different from here, and very different from here.	หมู่บ้านที่พูดภาษาละว้า ถ้าจะเปรียบเทียบและแบ่งออกเป็นสามอย่าง คือ (1) หมู่บ้านที่พูดภาษาละว้า...เหมือนที่นี้ทุกอย่าง (2) ต่างจากที่นี้บ้าง และ (3) ต่างจากที่นี้มาก	หมู่บ้านคือภาษาละว้า ขอเปรียบเทียบและแบ่งออกเป็นสามประเภท คือหมู่บ้านคือภาษาละว้า... เหมือนที่นี้ทุกอย่าง ต่างจากที่นี้พอง และ ต่างกันนักจากที่นี้
30. What are the names of other villages that speak Lawa the same as here?	มีหมู่บ้านไหนบ้างที่พูดภาษาละว้าเหมือนที่นี้ทุกอย่าง	มีหมู่บ้านไหนพองคือภาษาละว้าเหมือนที่นี้ทุกอย่าง
a. Are there any of these villages where the children cannot speak Lawa? Which villages?	ในหมู่บ้านเหล่านี้ มีหมู่บ้านไหนบ้างที่เด็กๆ พูดภาษาละว้าไม่ได้	ดีหมู่บ้านเหล่านี้ มีหมู่บ้านไหนพองคือละออนอุภาษาละว้าบอจาง
31. What are the names of other villages that speak Lawa a little different from here, but you can understand each other	มีหมู่บ้านไหนบ้างที่พูดภาษาละว้าต่างจากที่นี้บ้าง แต่เมื่อพวกเขาคุยกับพวกเขาเข้าใจกันได้	มีหมู่บ้านไหนพองคือภาษาละว้าต่างจากที่นี้พองแต่เมื่ออยู่ด้วยกันเขา ก็ยังเข้าใจกันอยู่
a. Are there any of these villages where the children cannot speak Lawa? Which villages?	ในหมู่บ้านเหล่านี้ มีหมู่บ้านไหนบ้างที่เด็กๆ พูดภาษาละว้าไม่ได้	ดีหมู่บ้านเหล่านี้ มีหมู่บ้านไหนพองคือละออนอุภาษาละว้าบอจาง
32. What are the names of other villages that speak Lawa very differently from here, so different that you have trouble understanding each other?	มีหมู่บ้านไหนบ้างที่พูดภาษาละว้าต่างจากที่นี้มากจนเมื่อพวกเขาคุยกับพวกเขาเข้าใจกันได้ยาก	มีหมู่บ้านดีไหนพอง คือภาษาละว้าต่างจากที่นี้นัก จนขนาดดีอยู่กับเขาบอจอยเข้าใจ

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
a. Are there any of these villages where the children cannot speak Lawa? Which villages?	ในหมู่บ้านเหล่านี้ มีหมู่บ้านไหน บางที่เด็กๆ พูดภาษาละวาไม่ได้	ดีหมู่บ้านเหล่านี้ มีหมู่บ้านไหน นพองดีละอ่อนอุภาษาละวา บอจาง
33. The villages that speak the same... (remind them which villages they named!) What do you call their language?	ส่วนหมู่บ้านที่พูด เหมือนที่นี่ทุกอย่างละ... พวกที่เรียกภาษานั้นว่าภาษาอะไร	หมู่บ้านดีอุเหมือนดีนี่ทุกอย่าง ลือ... พวกปี่สองภาษานั้นว่าภาษา อะหยัง
a. What do you call those people?	พวกที่เรียกคนที่นี่ว่าชนเผ่า อะไร	สองคนดีอุภาษานั้นว่าชนเผ่า อะหยัง

A LITTLE DIFFERENT

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
34. The villages that speak a little different... (remind them which villages they named!) For the most part, when you talk with them, do you understand everything or some things, or nothing at all?	ส่วนหมู่บ้านที่พูดต่างจากที่นี่บาง ละ... ส่วนมากเวลาพวกที่คุยกับพวกเขา เข้าใจกันทุกอย่าง หรือ บางอย่าง หรือ ไม่เข้าใจกันเลย	หมู่บ้านดีอุต่างจากดีนี่พอง ลือ... ส่วนมากอยู่เข้าใจกันทุกอย่าง กว่า บางอย่าง กวา บเข้าใจกันเลย
a. (If “some things” or “nothing at all”) How are the language here and their language different?	(ถ้า “บางอย่าง” หรือ “ไม่เข้าใจ กันเลย”) ภาษาที่นี่กับภาษาของเขา ไม่เหมือนกันยังไงบ้าง	(ถ้า “เข้าใจกันพอง” หรือ “บ เข้าใจกันเลย”) ดีบเหมือนกันนั้น บ่อเหมือน กันจะใดพอง
Note whether or not you have to give the “for example” below. Examples given Examples NOT given		
(If they don't answer) For example... How are the sounds different? How are the words different? How is the speed of speech different?	(ถ้าไม่ตอบ) มีเสียงที่ไม่เหมือนกันบ้างไหม เช่นอะไร มีคำศัพท์ที่ไม่เหมือนกันบ้างไหม เช่นอะไร พูดช้าเร็วเหมือนกันไหม	(ถ้าไม่ตอบ) มีเสียงดีบเหมือนกันพองก้อ เช่นอะหยัง มีคำศัพท์ดีบเหมือนกันพอง ก้อ เช่นอะหยัง อุจาวะเหมือนกันก้อ

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
b. What do you call their language?	พวกที่เรียกภาษานั้นว่าภาษาอะไร	สองภาษานั้นว่าภาษาอะไรยัง
c. What do you call those people?	พวกที่เรียกคนที่นี่ว่าชนเผ่าอะไร	สองคนที่อยู่ภาษานั้นว่าชนเผ่าอะไรยัง
d. Do you often talk with people from there?	คุยกับคนหมู่บ้านนั้นบ่อยไหม	ได้คุยกับคนจากหมู่บ้านปุ่น เริง กอ
e. When you speak with people from one of those villages what language do you use with each other? (see below)	เมื่อพวกที่คุยกับพวกเขา ใช้ภาษาอะไร	ตอนที่คุยกับเขา ใช้ภาษาอะไรยัง
If they answer "Lawa," then clarify which of the following it is:		
Do you each just speak your own style of Lawa or do either of you have to change the way you speak? (If they have to change) Who changes? What style of Lawa do they change to?	แล้วแต่ละคนจะพูดภาษาละว่าแบบหมู่บ้านของตัวเองไหม หรือ จะต้องเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละว่าแบบอื่นไหม (ถ้าต้องเปลี่ยน) คนไหนจะเปลี่ยน แล้วจะเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละว่าแบบไหนล่ะ	แล้วแต่ละคนจะอยู่ภาษาละว่าแบบหมู่บ้านของตัวเองเก่า หรือ จะต้องเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละว่าแบบอื่น (ถ้าต้องเปลี่ยน) คนใดจะเปลี่ยน แล้วจะเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละว่าแบบใด
f. (If not Lawa) Why don't you speak to them in Lawa?	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ละว่า) ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ภาษาละว่าละ	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ละว่า) เพราะอะไรยังถึงบอใจภาษาละว่า

VERY DIFFERENT

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
35. The villages that speak very different ... (remind them which villages they named!) For the most part, when you talk with them, do you understand everything or some things, or nothing at all?	หมู่บ้านที่พูดต่างจากที่นี่มากละ... ส่วนมากเวลาพวกที่คุยกับพวกเขา เข้าใจกันทุกอย่าง หรือ บางอย่าง หรือ ไม่เข้าใจกันเลย	หมู่บ้านที่อยู่ต่างกันนักจากที่นี่... ลอ... ส่วนมากอยู่เข้าใจกัน คุยอย่าง กว่า บางอย่าง กว่า บเข้าใจกันเลย

a. (If “some things” or “nothing at all”) How are the language here and their language different?	(ถ้า “บางอย่าง” หรือ “ไม่เข้าใจกันเลย”) ภาษาที่นี่กับภาษาของเขา ไม่เหมือนกันยังไงบ้าง	(ถ้า “เข้าใจกันพอ” หรือ “บໍเข้าใจกันเลย”) ดีบเหมือนกันนั้น บอเหมือนกันจะไดพอ
Note whether or not you have to give the “for example” below. Examples given Examples NOT given		
(If they don’t answer) For example... How are the sounds different? How are the words different? How is the speed of speech different?	(ถ้าไม่ตอบ) มีเสียงที่ไม่เหมือนกันบ้างไหม เช่นอะไร มีคำศัพท์ที่ไม่เหมือนกันบ้างไหม เช่นอะไร พูดเร็วเหมือนกันไหม	(ถ้าไม่ตอบ) มีเสียงดีบเหมือนกันพองกอ เช่นอะไรหยัง มีคำศัพท์ดีบเหมือนกันพองกอ เช่นอะไรหยัง อูจา เวเหมือนกันกอ
b. What do you call their language?	พวกที่เรียกภาษานั้นว่าภาษาอะไร	สองภาษานั้นว่าภาษาอะไรหยัง
c. What do you call those people?	พวกที่เรียกคนที่นี่ว่าชนเผ่าอะไร	สองคนดีอูภาษานั้นว่าชนเผ่าอะไรหยัง
d. Do you often talk with people from there?	คุยกับคนหมู่บ้านนั้นบ่อยไหม	ไดอูกับคนจากหมู่บ้านปุ่น เริงกอ
e. When you speak with people from one of those villages what language do you use with each other? (see below)	เมื่อพวกที่คุยกับพวกเขา ใช้ภาษาอะไร	ตอนนี้อูกับเขา ใจภาษาอะไรหยัง
If they answer “Lawa,” then clarify which of the following it is:		
Do you each just speak your own style of Lawa or do either of you have to change the way you speak? (If they have to change) Who changes? What style of Lawa do they change to?	แล้วแต่ละคนจะพูดภาษาละวาแบบหมู่บ้านของตัวเองไหม หรือ จะต้องเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละวาแบบอื่นไหม (ถ้าต้องเปลี่ยน) คนไหนจะเปลี่ยน แล้วจะเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละวาแบบไหนละ	แล้วแต่ละคนจะอูภาษาละวาแบบหมู่บ้านของตัวเองเกา หรือ จะต้องเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละวาแบบอื่น (ถ้าต้องเปลี่ยน) คนใดจะเปลี่ยน แล้วจะเปลี่ยนเป็นภาษาละวาแบบใด
f. (If not Lawa) Why don’t you speak to them in Lawa?	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ละวา) ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ภาษาละวาละ	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ละวา) เพราะอะไรหยัง ถึงบอใจภาษาละวา
36. In what village would you say Lawa is spoken most purely?	มีหมู่บ้านไหนที่พูดภาษาละวาได้ ดีที่สุด	มีหมู่บ้านใดพอง ดีอูภาษาละวาได้ดีที่สุด

ขอบคุณมากที่ช่วยเราในงานนี้ เราหวังว่าสิ่งที่เราทำด้วยกันจะเป็นประโยชน์มาก ขอบคุณมากค่ะ

Thank you for helping us in this work. We hope/expect that the things that we've done together today will be very valuable. Thank you very much.

A.3 Western Lawa RTT Interview

A.3.1 Instructions

- If you have to explain the question, make sure you do NOT suggest an answer. Note in your notebook (near the answer) that you had to explain the question.
- Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.
- Items in parentheses () give information about when or how to ask a question. Items in brackets [] require a choice depending on whatever is appropriate.
- Write exactly what the subject answers.

A.3.2 Oral Consent

สวัสดีค่ะ ดิฉันชื่อ ___ ค่ะ เราทำงานกับมหาวิทยาลัยพายัพที่เชียงใหม่เกี่ยวกับภาษาของชนกลุ่มน้อยค่ะ เราอยากจะทำมากขึ้นเกี่ยวกับชาวละว้าที่อยู่ในหมู่บ้านต่างๆ เพราะฉะนั้นเราอยากให้เราช่วยเราในเวลานี้ ขอข้อมูลส่วนตัวได้ไหมคะ เราจะถามคำถามแบบง่ายๆ เกี่ยวกับตัวพี่เองและภาษาที่พี่พูดค่ะ พี่ไม่ต้องกลัวนะคะ เพราะว่าการสัมภาษณ์นี้ไม่เหมือนการสอบที่โรงเรียน ไม่มีคำตอบที่ผิดหรือถูก พี่ตอบตามที่พี่คิดได้เลยค่ะ ถ้ามีคำถามไหนที่รู้สึกลำบากใจที่จะตอบ ก็ไม่ต้องตอบก็ได้ค่ะ คงจะใช้เวลาประมาณ 30-45 นาที แต่ถ้าพี่ไม่ว่างก็ไม่ใช่ไร ไม่ต้องเกรงใจนะคะ พี่พอจะมีเวลาช่วยเราบ้างไหมคะ

Hello. My name is ___. We work with Payap University in Chiang Mai studying minority languages. We want to know more about the Lawa living in different villages. We would like you to help us today. We would like to ask you some questions about yourself. Is that okay? These questions are not difficult; they're questions about yourself and your language. You don't need to be afraid. This interview is not like a test at school. There are no wrong or right answers. You can answer according to what you think. If there's a question that you don't feel comfortable answering, that's OK, you don't have to answer. It'll take about 30-45 minutes, but if something comes up, don't feel like you have to stay. Is this something you could help us with?

ORAL CONSENT: Given: Not Given:

NOTE: If they say no, number this questionnaire and go on to the next subject. It is important to keep this "rejected" questionnaire in the numbering so we know how much non-response there was.

ENTER THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING AHEAD OF TIME IN YOUR NOTEBOOK:

English	Central Thai
1. Questionnaire Number	แบบสอบถามหมายเลขที่
2. Survey	เรื่องที่สำรวจ
3. Interview Location	สถานที่สัมภาษณ์

English	Central Thai
4. Interviewer Name	ชื่อผู้สัมภาษณ์
5. Date and Time of Day	วัน / เดือน / ปี
6. Language of Elicitation	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการถาม
7. Language of Response	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการตอบ
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)	ชื่อล่าม (ถ้ามี)
9. Comments	หมายเหตุ

BACKGROUND INFORMATION & SCREENING QUESTIONS

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
10. What is your name?	ขอโทษ ชื่ออะไร	ขอสุมาเตอะ ชื่ออะหยังกา
11. Gender	เพศ	เพศ
12. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร	ขอสุมาเตอะ อายุกี่ปี ⁺
13. Are you married already or not yet?	แต่งงานแล้วหรือยัง	แต่งงานละกา
14. (If married) How many children do you have?	(ถ้า “แต่งงานแล้ว”) มีลูกกี่คน	(ถ้า “แต่งงานแล้ว”) มีลูกกี่คน
15. What is your religion?	นับถือศาสนาอะไร	นับถือศาสนาอะหยัง
16. What is (was) your work?	(เคย) ทำงานอะไร	(เคย) ยะกานอะหยัง ⁺
17. Up to what level of education did you complete?	เรียนจบชั้นอะไร	เฮียนจบจันอะหยังกา
18. When you were born, what village did you live in?	ตอนที่พี่เกิด อยู่หมู่บ้านไหน (ตำบลอะไร, อำเภออะไร, จังหวัดอะไร)	⁺ ตอนที่พี่เกิด อยู่หมู่บ้านไหน (ตำบลอะหยัง, อำเภออะหยัง, จังหวัดอะหยัง)
19. Where did you grow up?	โตที่ไหน	ใหญ่ตีไหน
20. Where do you live now?	ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ไหน	⁺ ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ไหน

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
21. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปี ... ที่ไหน ...เมื่อไหร่ ...นานเท่าไร	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปี ... ที่ไหน ...เมื่อใด ...นานเท่าใด
SCREENING CRITERIA #1: YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		
Grew up here, Live here now, and, If they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.		
22. What language did you speak first?	พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	อุภาษาอะหยังได้เป็นภาษาแรก
23. Can you speak any other languages?	พูดภาษาอื่นได้ไหม	อุภาษาอื่นได้ก้อ
a. (If yes) What languages?	(ถ้า “ได้”) ภาษาอะไร	(ถ้า “ได้”) ภาษาอะหยังกา
24. Of all the languages you speak, which language do you speak best?	พูดภาษาอะไรเก่งที่สุด	อุภาษาอะหยังเก่งที่สุด
a. ... second best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง
b. ... third best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สาม	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สาม
SCREENING CRITERIA #2: Speaks Lawa either first OR best. YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		
Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your parents.	ต่อไปจะถามคำถามเกี่ยวกับพ่อแม่ของพี่	ต่อไปไข้ถามเกี่ยวกับป้อแมของปี้
25. Where was your father born?	พ่อของพี่เกิดที่ไหน	ป้อของปี้เกิดที่ไหน
a. What [people group/tribe/clan] is your father from?	พ่อเป็นคนอะไร	ป้อเป็นคนอะหยัง
b. What language did your father first speak as a child?	พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	ป้ออุภาษาอะหยังตอนเป็นละอ่อน
c. What language did your father usually speak to you when you were a child?	ตอนพี่เป็นเด็ก พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรกับพี่	ตอนปี้เป็นละอ่อน ป้ออุภาษาอะหยังกับปี้

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
26. Where was your mother born?	แม่ของพี่เกิดที่ไหน	แม่ของปี่เกิดตีไหน
a. What [people group/tribe/clan] is your mother from?	แม่เป็นคนอะไร	แม่เป็นคนอะหยัง
b. What language did your mother first speak as a child?	แม่พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	แม่อุภาษาอะหยังตอนเป็นละอ่อน
c. What language did your mother usually speak to you when you were a child?	ตอนพี่เป็นเด็กแม่พูดภาษาอะไรกับพี่	ตอนปี่เป็นละอ่อนแม่อุภาษาอะหยังกับปี่
27. When you were a child, what language did your parents speak to each other?	ตอนพี่เป็นเด็กพ่อกับแม่พูดภาษาอะไรต่อกัน	ตอนปี่เป็นละอ่อนป้อกับแม่อุภาษาอะหยังกับกันกา
SCREENING CRITERIA #3:		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
At least one Lawa parent from this village AND that parent spoke Lawa with them.		

SCREENING CRITERIA: The three boxes above must be checked. Otherwise, thank the subject and go on to the next person.

Thank you (if subject doesn't pass the screening criteria).	
Thank you for helping us in this work. We hope that the things that we've done together today will be very valuable. Thank you very much.	ขอบคุณมากที่ช่วยเราในงานนี้ เราหวังว่าสิ่งที่เราทำด้วยกันจะเป็นประโยชน์มาก ขอขอบคุณมากคะ
If subject passes the criteria, then explain what will happen next.	
We would like to play a tape for you to hear and ask you some questions about the story on the tape. Is that okay? It will probably take about 20 minutes. You don't need to be concerned. If you feel troubled about a question or unsure about how to answer, it is no problem; you don't have to answer.	เราอยากเปิดเทปให้พี่ฟังเรื่อง 2 เรื่องและถามคำถามพี่เกี่ยวกับเรื่องในเทปนี้ ได้ไหมคะ เราคงจะใช้เวลาประมาณ 20 นาที พี่ไม่ต้องกังวลคะ ถ้าพี่รู้สึกลำบากใจหรือไม่แน่ใจว่าจะตอบยังไงก็ไม่เป็นไร ไม่ต้องตอบก็ได้คะ
Here are the headphones. (We use headphones to hear the sounds.)	นี่หูฟังคะ (เราใช้หูฟังเพื่อจะฟังเสียง)

*** ADMINISTER RECORDED TEXT TEST HERE ***

After playing the Introduction, ask the following two questions:		
“Do you understand?”	พี่เข้าใจไหม	ปี่เข้าใจก่อ
“Can you hear the sound clearly?”	พี่ได้ยินเสียงชัดไหม	ปี่ได้ยินเสียงชัดก่อ

DO NOT COUNT THE FIRST THREE QUESTIONS ON THE PRACTICE TEST!

- If they score 5, 6, or 7 (out of 7) on the Practice Test, then administer the rest of the RTT.
- If they score 5, note that this subject might be dropped later.
- If they score 4 or less, dismiss the subject (see the **Thank you (if subject doesn't pass the screening criteria)** above).

POST-RTT QUESTIONS

English		Central Thai	Northern Thai
Great job! Now we will ask you some questions about the person who told the second story.		ดีมากคะ ต่อไปเราจะถามคำถามพีเกี่ยวกับคนที่เล่าเรื่องที่สอง	
28. Does this person speak Lawa well?		คนที่เล่าเรื่องนี้พูดภาษาละว้าดีไหม	คนตีเล่าเรื่องนี้พูดภาษาละว้าดีก้อ
(If no or so-so) (ถ้าไม่ดีหรือกิด)	a. Do you like the way they speak Lawa?	ชอบไหม	ชอบก้อ
	b. (If don't like) Why not?	(ถ้าไม่ชอบ) เพราะอะไร	(ถ้าไม่ชอบ) เพาะอะหยัง
29. Did you understand everything, some things, or nothing at all?		พีเข้าใจทุกอย่าง หรือ บางอย่าง (หรือ ไม่เข้าใจเลย)	ปีเข้าใจ กู้อย่าง หรือ บางอย่าง (หรือ บ่อเข้าใจเลย)
30. Is the way he/she speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?		การพูดของเขา กับ การพูดของพี เหมือนกันทุกอย่าง หรือ ต่างกันบ้าง หรือ ต่างกันมาก	การอูของเขา กับ การอูของปี เหมือนกันกู้อย่าง หรือ ต่างกันพ้อ หรือ ต่างกันนั๊ก
31. (If not the same) How is it different?		(ถ้า ไม่เหมือนกันทุกอย่าง) ต่างกันยัง ไรบาง	(ถ้า ไม่เหมือนกันทุกอย่าง) ต่างกันจะ ไดพ่อง
32. Now that you've heard their accent... where do you think the person who told this story is from?		ฟังสำเนียงแล้ว... คิดว่า คนที่เล่าเรื่องนี้ผู้อยู่หมู่บ้าน ไหน	ฟังสำเนียงแล้ว... ก็คิดว่า คนตีเล่าเรื่องนี้ผู้อยู่ดีหมู่บ้าน อะหยัง
33. What helps you to know they are from that place?		มีอะไรบางที่ทำให้คิดอย่างนี้	มีอะหยังตียะหือกิดจะอี่

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
34. How would you feel if your child wanted to marry someone from that place?	ถ้าลูกจะแต่งงานกับคนที่มาจากหมู่บ้านของผู้เล่าเรื่องนี้ พี่จะรู้สึกอย่างไร	ถ้าลูกของพี่จะแต่งงานกับคนที่มาจากหมู่บ้านของคนเล่าเรื่องนี้ พี่จะรู้สึกจะไคพ่อง
a. Why?	เพราะอะไร	เพราะอะหยัง
35. Do you often go to the village where this person is from?	พี่ไปหมู่บ้านของผู้เล่าเรื่องนี้บ่อยไหม	พี่ไปหมู่บ้านของคนเล่าเรื่องนี้เริงก้อ
35. How long do you usually stay there?	ปกติเมื่อพี่ไปที่นั่น อยู่นานเท่าไร	ตอนที่พี่ไปตีปูน อยู่เมินเต้าไค
37. Do people from that area ever come here?	คนหมู่บ้านนั้นมาที่นี้บ้างไหม	คนหมู่บ้านปุ่นมาตีนี้พ่องก้อ
38. When you speak with people from there, what language do you use with each other?	เมื่อคุยกับพวกเขา ใช้ภาษาอะไร	อูกับหมู่เขา ใช้ภาษาอะหยัง
39. (If not Lawa) Why don't you speak to them in Lawa?	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ภาษาลวะ	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) เพราะอะหยังถึงบ่อใจภาษาลวะ
*** NOTE: Only ask the next questions if they did not mention Ban La-up above! ***		
40. What about Ban La-up, do you often go there?	พี่ไปบ้านละอุบบ่อยไหม	พี่ไปบ้านละอุบเริงก้อ
41. How long do you usually stay there?	ปกติเมื่อพี่ไปที่นั่น อยู่นานเท่าไร	ตอนที่พี่ไปตีปูน อยู่เมินเต้าไค
42. Do people from Ban La-up ever come here?	คนบ้านละอุบมาที่นี้บ้างไหม	คนบ้านละอุบมาตีนี้พ่องก้อ
43. What language do you use with people from Ban La-up?	เมื่อคุยกับคนบ้านละอุบใช้ภาษาอะไร	พี่ใช้ภาษาอะหยังอูกับคนจากบ้านละอุบ
44. (If not Lawa) Why don't you speak to them in Lawa?	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ภาษาลวะ	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) เพราะอะหยังถึงบ่อใจภาษาลวะ

COMPREHENSION OF THE LAWA BIBLE

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
<i>Ask the following questions ONLY if you know this person is a Christian.</i>		
45. Where do you usually go to church?	ปกติฉันมักไปที่โบสถ์ไหน	กู๋เต๋อไปโบสถ์ตี้ไหน
46. The Bible that is used at your church, what language is it in?	พระคัมภีร์ที่ไซ้ที่โบสถ์นี้ เป็นภาษาอะไร	พระคัมภีร์ตี้ใจตี้โบคเป็นภาษาอะหยัง
47. Is it hard or easy to understand that Bible?	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจ ยาก หรือ ง่าย	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจ ยาก หรือ ง่าย
48. (If not “easy”) Why? Because it is the Bible or because of the language?	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพราะอะไร เป็นเพราะพระคัมภีร์ หรือ เพราะภาษา	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพราะอะหยัง เป็นเพราะพระคัมภีร์ ก่าว่า เพราะภาษา
49. (If the Bible used in their church is not the Lawa Bible) Have you ever read or heard the Lawa Bible?	(ถ้าพระคัมภีร์ที่ไซ้ที่โบสถ์ไม่ใช่พระคัมภีร์ละวา) พี่เคยอ่านหรือฟังจากพระคัมภีร์ละวาไหม	(ถ้าพระคัมภีร์ที่ไซ้ที่โบสถ์ไม่ใช่พระคัมภีร์ละวา) พี่เคยอ่านหรือฟังจากพระคัมภีร์ละวากอ
50. Is it hard or easy to understand that Bible?	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจ ยาก หรือ ง่าย	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจ ยาก หรือ ง่าย
51. (If not “easy”) Why? Because it is the Bible or because of the language?	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพราะอะไร เป็นเพราะพระคัมภีร์ หรือ เพราะภาษา	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพราะอะหยัง เป็นเพราะพระคัมภีร์ หรือ เพราะภาษา

ขอบคุณมากที่ช่วยเราในงานนี้ เราหวังว่าสิ่งที่เราทำด้วยกันจะเป็นประโยชน์มาก ขอขอบคุณมากค่ะ

Thank you for helping us in this work. We hope/expect that the things that we've done together today will be very valuable. Thank you very much.

A.4 Eastern Lawa individual SLQ

A.4.1 Instructions

- If you have to explain the question, make sure you do NOT suggest an answer. Note in your notebook (near the answer) that you had to explain the question.
- Shaded items are NOT to be read aloud.
- Items in parentheses () give information about when or how to ask a question. Items in brackets [] require a choice depending on whatever is appropriate.
- Write **exactly** what the subject answers.

A.4.2 Oral consent

สวัสดีค่ะ ดิฉันชื่อ ___ ค่ะ เราทำงานกับมหาวิทยาลัยพายัพที่เชียงใหม่เกี่ยวกับภาษาของชนกลุ่มน้อยค่ะ เราอยากจะทราบมากขึ้นเกี่ยวกับชาวลาว่าที่อยู่ในหมู่บ้านต่างๆ เพราะฉะนั้นเราอยากให้เราช่วยเราในวันนี้ เราจะถามคำถามแบบง่ายๆ เกี่ยวกับตัวพี่เองและภาษาที่พี่พูดค่ะ พี่ไม่ต้องกลัวนะคะ พี่ตอบตามที่พี่คิดได้เลยค่ะ ถ้ามีคำถามไหนที่รู้สึกลำบากใจที่จะตอบ ก็ไม่ต้องตอบก็ได้ค่ะ คงจะใช้เวลาประมาณ 30-45 นาที แต่ถ้าพี่ไม่ว่างก็ไม่เป็นไร ไม่ต้องเกรงใจนะคะ พี่พอจะมีเวลาช่วยเราบ้างไหมคะ

Hello. My name is ____. We work with Payap University in Chiang Mai studying minority languages. We want to know more about the Lawa living in different villages. We would like you to help us today. These questions are not difficult; they're questions about yourself and your language. You don't need to be afraid. You can answer according to what you think. If there's a question that you don't feel comfortable answering, that's OK, you don't have to answer. It'll take about 30-45 minutes, but if something comes up, don't feel like you have to stay. Is this something you could help us with?

ORAL CONSENT:

Given:

Not Given:

NOTE: If they say no, number this questionnaire and go on to the next subject. It is important to keep this "rejected" questionnaire in the numbering so we know how much non-response there was.

ENTER THE ANSWERS TO THE FOLLOWING AHEAD OF TIME IN YOUR NOTEBOOK:

English	Central Thai
1. Questionnaire Number	แบบสอบถามหมายเลขที่
2. Survey	เรื่องที่สำรวจ
3. Interview Location	สถานที่สัมภาษณ์
4. Interviewer Name	ชื่อผู้สัมภาษณ์

English	Central Thai
5. Date	วัน / เดือน / ปี
6. Language of Elicitation	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการถาม
7. Language of Response	ภาษาที่ใช้ในการตอบ
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)	ชื่อล่าม (ถ้ามี)
9. Comments	หมายเหตุ

BACKGROUND INFORMATION & SCREENING QUESTIONS

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
10. What is your name?	ขอโทษ ชื่ออะไร	ขอสุมาเตอะ ชื่ออะหยังกา
11. Gender	เพศ	เพศ
12. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร	ขอสุมาเตอะ อายุกี่ปี ⁺
13. Are you married already or not yet?	แต่งงานแล้วหรือยัง	แต่งงานละกา
14. (If married) How many children do you have?	(ถ้า “แต่งงานแล้ว”) มีลูกกี่คน	(ถ้า “แต่งงานแล้ว”) มีลูกกี่คน
15. What is your religion?	นับถือศาสนาอะไร	นับถือศาสนาอะหยัง
16. What is/was your work?	(เคย) ทำงานอะไร	(เคย) ยะกานอะหยัง ⁺
17. Up to what level of education did you complete?	เรียนจบชั้นอะไร	เฮียนจบจั้นอะหยังกา
18. Where were you born? (village, sub-district, district, province)	เกิดที่ไหน (หมู่บ้าน, ตำบล, อำเภอ, จังหวัด)	เกิดที่ไหน (หมู่บ้าน, ตำบล, อำเภอ, จังหวัด)
19. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปีไหม ... ที่ไหน ...เมื่อไหร่ ...นานเท่าไร	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปีก่อ ... ตี่ไหน ...เมื่อใด ...นานเท่าใด

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
20. So you grew up here, right? (modify wording if necessary)	เติบโตที่นี่ ไซ่ไหม	ใหญ่ตี้ไหน
21. (Don't ask if it is obvious) Where do you live now?	ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ไหน	* ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ไหน
SCREENING CRITERIA #1: YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		
Grew up here, live here now, and, if they have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.		
22. What language did you speak first?	พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	ู้อุภาษาอะหยังได้เป็นภาษาแรก
23. Can you speak any other languages?	พูดภาษาอื่นได้ไหม	ู้อุภาษาอื่นได้กอ
a. (If yes) What languages? (distinguish Northern and Central Thai)	(ถ้า “ได้”) ภาษาอะไร	(ถ้า “ได้”) ภาษาอะหยังกา
24. Of all the languages you speak, which language do you speak best?	พูดภาษาอะไรเก่งที่สุด	ู้อุภาษาอะหยังเก่งตี้สุด
a. second best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง	... เก่งเป็นอันดับตี้สอง
b. third best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สาม	... เก่งเป็นอันดับตี้สาม
SCREENING CRITERIA #2: Speaks Lawa either first OR best. YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		
Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your parents.	ต่อไปจะถามคำถามเกี่ยวกับพ่อแม่ของพี	ต่อไปไข้ถามเกี่ยวกับป้อแมของงปี
25. Where was your father born?	พ่อของพีเกิดที่ไหน	ป้อของปีเกิดตี้ไหน
a. What [people group/tribe/clan] is your father from?	พ่อเป็นคนอะไร	ป้อเป็นคนอะหยัง

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
b. What language did your father first speak as a child?	พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	ป้ออู้ภาษาอะหยังตอนเป็นละอ่อน
c. What language did your father usually speak to you when you were a child?	ตอนพีเป็นเด็ก พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรกับพี	ตอนปีเป็นละอ่อน ป้ออู้ภาษาอะหยังกับปี
26. Where was your mother born?	แม่ของพีเกิดที่ไหน	แม่ของปีเกิดตีไหน
a. What [people group/tribe/clan] is your mother from?	แม่เป็นคนอะไร	แม่เป็นคนอะหยัง
b. What language did your mother first speak as a child?	แม่พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	แม่อู้ภาษาอะหยังตอนเป็นละอ่อน
c. What language did your mother usually speak to you when you were a child?	ตอนพีเป็นเด็กแม่พูดภาษาอะไรกับพี	ตอนปีเป็นละอ่อน แม่อู้ภาษาอะหยังกับปี
27. When you were a child, what language did your parents speak to each other?	ตอนพีเป็นเด็ก พ่อกับแม่พูดภาษาอะไรต่อกัน	ตอนปีเป็นละอ่อน ป้อกับแม่อู้ภาษาอะหยังกับกันกา
SCREENING CRITERIA #3: At least one Lawa parent from this village. YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		
SCREENING CRITERIA #4: That parent spoke Lawa with them. YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>		

SCREENING CRITERIA for RTT: All four boxes above must be checked for this subject to be eligible for the RTT.

SCREENING CRITERIA for SLQ: Boxes#1 and #3 above must be checked for this subject to be eligible for the SLQ.

Thank you (if subject does not pass screening criteria #1 and #3).	
Thank you for helping us in this work. We hope that the things that we've done together today will be very valuable. Thank you very much.	ขอบคุณมากที่ช่วยเราในงานนี้ เราหวังว่าสิ่งที่เราทำด้วยกันจะเป็นประโยชน์มาก ขอบคุณมากค่ะ

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
28. (If married) Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your spouse. Where was your [husband/wife] born?	(ถ้าแต่งงานแล้ว) ต่อไปจะถามคำถามเกี่ยวกับแฟน ของพี่ แฟนเกิดที่ไหน	(ถ้าแต่งงานแล้ว) ต่อไปไข้ถามเกี่ยวกับแฟนของ ปี่ แฟนเกิดตีไหน
a. What people group is your [husband/wife] from?	แฟนเป็นคนอะไร	แฟนเป็นคนอะหยัง
b. What language did your [husband/wife] speak first as a child?	แฟนพูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแ รก	แฟนตอนเป็นละอ่อนอุ้ภาษาอะ หยัง

LANGUAGE USE

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
Next, I want to ask about what language you use in different situations.	ต่อไป จะถามเกี่ยวกับภาษาที่พี่ใช้ใน สถานการณ์ที่แตกต่างกัน	
29. What languages do you speak...	พูดภาษาอะไร...	อุภาษาอะหยัง...
a. ... with your parents?	...กับพ่อแม่	...กับป้อแม่
b. ...with your grandparents?	...กับปู่ย่าตายาย	...กับอูย
c. ...with your siblings?	...กับพี่น้อง	...กับปิ่น้อง
d. (If married) ...with your spouse?	(ถ้าแต่งงานแล้ว) ...กับแฟน	(ถ้าแต่งงานแล้ว) ...กับแฟน
e. (If have children) ... with your children?	(ถ้ามีลูก) ...กับลูก	(ถ้ามีลูก)...กับลูก
f. (If old and have children) ...with your grandchildren / nieces / nephews?	(ถ้าแก่และมีลูก) ...กับหลาน	(ถ้าแก่และมีลูก) ...กับหลาน
g. So, in your house, what language do you use the most?	ถาอย่างนั้นที่บ้าน ไรภาษาอะไร มากที่สุด	ไจภาษาอะหยังมากที่สุด ที่บ้าน
h. What languages do you speak with Lawa friends?	พูดภาษาอะไรกับเพื่อนลาวะ	อุภาษาอะหยังกับเปื้อนลาวะ
i. ...with non-Lawa friends?	...กับเพื่อนที่ไม่เป็นคนลาวะ	กับเปื้อนตีบอไจคนลาวะ
j. ...with Lawa co-workers?	...กับเพื่อนผู้ร่วมงานลาวะ	กับเปื้อนคนลาวะตียะกานตว ยกัน
k. ...with non-Lawa co-workers?	...กับเพื่อนผู้ร่วมงานที่ไม่เป็น คนลาวะ	กับเปื้อนตีบอไจคนลาวะตียะ + กานตวยกัน
l. ...at the market with Lawa people?	...ที่ตลาดกับคนลาวะ	ตีกาดกับคนลาวะ
m. ...at the market with non-Lawa people?	...ที่ตลาดกับคนที่ไม่เป็นคนลาวะ	ตีกาดกับคนตีบอไจคนลาวะ
n. ...at a funeral?	...ที่งานศพ	ตีบ้าน/งานสว
o. ...at a village meeting?	...ที่ประชุมหมู่บ้าน	ตีประชุมหมู่บ้าน

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
p. ...with a government worker?	...กับข้าราชการ	...กับข้าราชการ
Ask the next three only if the subject is still in school.		
q. At present, what language do you speak with Lawa classmates at school?	ปัจจุบันนี้พูดภาษาอะไรกับเพื่อนๆ ลัวะ ที่โรงเรียน	ภู่วันนี้พูดภาษาอะฮยังกับเพื่อนๆ ลัวะ ตีโฮงเฮียน
r. ...with non-Lawa classmates at school?	...กับเพื่อนๆ ที่ไม่เป็นคนลัวะ ที่โรงเรียน	กับเพื่อนๆ ตีบ่อใจคนลัวะ ตีโฮงเฮียน
s. ...with your teacher?	...กับครู	กับครู

LITERACY

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
30. Have you ever read or written Lawa?	เคยอ่านหรือเขียนภาษาลัวะไหม	
(If literate in Lawa) (ถ้า “อ่านได้”)	31. What kinds of things do you read in Lawa?	อ่านอะไรบ้างที่เป็นภาษาลัวะ
	32. What kinds of things do you write in Lawa?	เขียนอะไรบ้างที่เป็นภาษาลัวะ
33. (If not literate in Lawa) Do you see any advantage in being able to read and write Lawa?	(ถ้า “อ่านไม่ได้”) การอ่านและการเขียนเป็นภาษาลัวะมีประโยชน์ไหม	(ถ้า “อ่านไม่ได้”) การอ่านและเขียนภาษาลัวะ เป็นประโยชน์ก้อ
a. (If yes) What advantage?	(ถ้า “มี”) มีประโยชน์อะไรบ้าง	(ถ้า “มี”) มีประโยชน์อะฮยังพ่อง

<i>Ask Questions 34 to 42 ONLY if you know this person is a Christian</i>		
34. Where do you usually go to church?	ปกคินมัศการที่โบสถ์ไหน	ภู่เตื่อ ไปโบสถ์ตี่ไหน
35. At church, what language is used most often for...	ที่โบสถ์นี้ ไซ่ภาษาอะไรมากที่สุด...	ตี่โบค ใจภาษาอะหย้งนักตี่สุด
a. ...fellowship	...เวลาสามัคคีธรรม	...ตอนสามัคคีธรรม
b. ...singing	...เวลารองเพลง	...ตอนฮองเพลง
c. ...preaching	...เวลาเทศนา	...ตอนเทศนา
d. ...corporate prayer	...เวลาอธิษฐานร่วมกัน	...ตอนตื่ออธิษฐานตวยกัน
e. ...announcements	...เวลาประกาศงาน	...ตอนประกาศงาน
36. What language do you use when you pray on your own?	ที่ไซ่ภาษาอะไร เวลาอธิษฐานส่วนตัว	ตอนตื่ออธิษฐานคนเดียวใจภาษาอะหย้งกา
37. The Bible that is used at your church, what language is it in?	พระคัมภีร์ที่ไซ่ที่โบสถ์นี้ เป็นภาษาอะไร	พระคัมภีร์ตี่ใจตี่โบคเป็นภาษาอะหย้ง
38. Is it hard or easy to understand that Bible?	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจยาก หรือ ง่าย	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจ ยาก หรือ ง่าย
39. (If not “easy”) Why? Because it is the Bible or because of the language?	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพราะอะไร เป็นเพราะพระคัมภีร์ หรือ เพราะภาษา	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพาะอะหย้ง เป็นเพาะพระคัมภีร์ กาวา เพาะ ภาษา
40. (If the Bible used in their church is not the Lawa Bible) Have you ever read or heard the Lawa Bible?	(ถ้าพระคัมภีร์ที่ไซ่ที่โบสถ์ ไม่ไซ่พระคัมภีร์ลัวะ) ฟี เคยอ่านหรือฟังจากพระคัมภีร์ลัวะไหม	(ถ้าพระคัมภีร์ที่ไซ่ที่โบสถ์ไม่ไซ่พระคัมภีร์ลัวะ) ฟีเคยอ่านหรือฟังจากพระคัมภีร์ลัวะก่อ
41. Is it hard or easy to understand that Bible?	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจยาก หรือ ง่าย	พระคัมภีร์เล่มนี้เข้าใจ ยาก หรือ ง่าย
42. (If not “easy”) Why? Because it is the Bible or because of the language?	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพราะอะไร เป็นเพราะพระคัมภีร์ หรือ เพราะภาษา	(ถ้าไม่ “ง่าย”) เพาะอะหย้ง เป็น เพาะพระคัมภีร์ หรือ เพาะภาษา

CHILDREN

English		Central Thai	Northern Thai
Next, I want to ask you some questions about what languages Lawa children speak.		ต่อไปจะถามเกี่ยวกับภาษาที่เด็กๆ พูด	
43. Normally, what language do Lawa children in this village speak first?		ปกติเด็กๆ ลัวะที่หมู่บ้านนี้จะพูดภาษาอะไรเป็นภาษาแรก	กูเพื่อหละอ่อนลัวะที่หมู่บ้านนี้จะอยู่ภาษาอะหยังใดก่อน
44. What language do Lawa children in this village speak when they play?		ตอนที่เด็กๆ หมู่บ้านนี้เล่นด้วยกัน เขาพูดภาษาอะไรกัน	+ ตอนที่หละอ่อนเล่นด้วยกัน เป็นอยู่ภาษาอะหยัง
(If not only Lawa) (ถ้าไม่ใช่ลัวะอย่างเดียว)	a. How do you feel about that?	รู้สึกยังไง	รู้สึกจะไคพอง
	b. Why?	เพราะอะไร	เพราะอะหยัง
45. (If they have children) Do your children ever speak Northern or Central Thai at home?		(ถ้ามีลูก) ลูกของพี่เคยพูดภาษาไทยหรือคำเมืองที่บ้านไหม	(ถ้ามีลูก) ลูกของพี่เคยอยู่ภาษาไทยหรือคำเมืองที่บ้านก้อ
(If yes) (ถ้าเคย)	a. How do you feel when they do that?	เวลาเขาพูดภาษาไทยหรือคำเมืองที่บ้าน รู้สึกยังไง	ตอนที่เขาอยู่ภาษาไทยหรือคำเมืองที่บ้าน รู้สึกจะไคพอง
	b. Why?	เพราะอะไร	เพราะอะหยัง

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
46. Are the young people in this village proud of the Lawa language?	เด็กๆ และหนุ่มสาวในหมู่บ้านนี้ ภูมิใจในภาษาลัวะไหม	หนุ่มละอ่อนกับหมู่หนุ่มสาวในหมู่บ้านนี้ ภูมิใจในภาษาลัวะก้อ
a. (If no) Why not?	(ถ้าไม่ภูมิใจ) เพราะอะไร	เพาะอะหยัง
47. Are the young people in this village proud of being Lawa?	เด็กๆ และหนุ่มสาวในหมู่บ้านนี้ ภูมิใจที่เป็นคนลัวะไหม	หนุ่มละอ่อนกับหมู่หนุ่มสาวในหมู่บ้านนี้ ภูมิใจที่เป็นคนลัวะก้อ
b. (If no) Why not?	(ถ้าไม่ภูมิใจ) เพราะอะไร	เพาะอะหยัง
48. (If they have children) What parts of being Lawa would you like to see your children and grandchildren continue?	(ถ้ามีลูก) พี่อยากเห็นลูกหลาน รักษาความเป็นคนลัวะอย่างไรบ้าง	(ถ้ามีลูก) พี่อยากเห็นลูกหลาน รักษาความเป็นลัวะจะไดพ่อง

Note whether or not you have to give the “for example” below. Examples given		Examples NOT given
For example: customs, culture, traditions, food, dress, etc..	...เช่น ธรรมเนียม / วัฒนธรรม / ประเพณี / อาหาร / การแต่งตัว / ฯลฯ	...เงิน ธรรมเนียม / วัฒนธรรม / ประเพณี / อาหาร / กานแต่งตัว / ฯลฯ
a. Why?	เพราะอะไร	เพาะอะหยัง
49. Do you think Lawa children in this village speak Lawa well?	คิดว่าเด็กๆ ลัวะในหมู่บ้านนี้พูดภาษาลัวะเก่งไหม	คิดว่าหละอ่อนลัวะในหมู่บ้านนี้พูดภาษาลัวะเก่งก้อ
(If no) (ถ้า “ไม่เก่ง”)	a. In what ways do they speak it not well?	ไม่เก่งยังงัยบ้าง
	b. How do you feel about this?	รู้สึกอย่างไร
	c. Why?	เพาะอะหยัง

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
50. What language do Lawa parents use with their children?	พ่อแม่ลัวะในหมู่บ้านนี้พูดภาษาอะไรกับลูก	ป้อแม่คนลัวะในหมู่บ้านนี้พูดภาษาอะหยังกับลูก
a. (If not Lawa) Why not Lawa?	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ภาษาลัวะ) ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ภาษาลัวะ	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ภาษาลัวะ) เพราะอะหยังถึงบอภาษาลัวะ

BILINGUALISM PROFICIENCY EVALUATION

- If “best” language is Lawa: Evaluate their ability in their next best language that has literature.
- If “best” language is something else (that has literature), and they did report some ability in Lawa, then ask about Lawa proficiency here (for the purpose of vitality). **In this case, change “[LWC] person” to “your parents” or “the old people” or whatever you decide is the group that does speak Lawa well.**
- LWC (below) stands for the language being tested.
- If you know from observation that the subject can speak LWC very well, then only do the last two questions.
- If you don’t know (e.g. they have been answering all the questions in Lawa and LWC=Thai), do all questions.

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
51. INTERVIEWER OBSERVATION OF BILINGUAL PROFICIENCY		
Next, I want to ask you some questions about how well you can speak [LWC].	ต่อไป อยากจะถามว่าพี่พูด [LWC] ได้ดีแค่ไหน	ต่อไป จะถามว่าป้อ [LWC] ได้ดีจะไดพ่อง
52. Can you buy something in [LWC]?	พี่ใช้ [LWC] ในการซื้อของได้ไหม	ป้อใช้ [LWC] ในกานซื้อของได้ก้อ
53. Can you tell about your family in [LWC]?	พี่เล่าเรื่องเกี่ยวกับครอบครัวเป็น [LWC] ได้ไหม	ป้อเล่าเรื่องครอบครัว เป็น [LWC] ได้ก้อ
54. If you overhear two [LWC] people speaking [LWC] in the market...	ถ้าพี่ได้ยินคนพูด [LWC] ที่ตลาด...	ถ้าป้อได้ยินคนอู [LWC] ตีกาด...
a. Can you repeat in Lawa what you heard?	...พี่พูดตามแบบเขาเป็นภาษาลัวะได้ไหม	ป้อด้วยเขาเป็นภาษาลัวะได้ก้อ

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
b. Can you repeat in [LWC] what you heard?	...พี่พูดตามแบบเขาเป็น [LWC] ได้ไหม	ปี่อู้ตวยเขาเป็น [LWC] ได้ไหม
55. Could you use [LWC] explain to a [LWC] person how to do your job?	พี่สามารถไซ้ [LWC] เพื่ออธิบายการทำงานของพี่ให้คน [LWC] ทำควยตัวเองได้ไหม	ปี่สามารถใจ [LWC] เพื่ออธิบายกานะกานของปี่หื้อคน [LWC] ยะคนเดียวไดค้อ

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
56. Can you speak [LWC] as fast as a [LWC] person and still be understood?	พี่พูด [LWC] ได้เร็วเท่ากับคน [LWC] และคนฟังยังเข้าใจไหม	ปี่อู้ [LWC] ได้ไวเตากน [LWC] และกนอื่นก็เข้าใจตวยก้อ
57. Can you speak [LWC] as well as a [LWC] person?	พี่คิดว่า พี่พูด [LWC] ได้ดีเท่ากับคน [LWC] ไหม	ปี่อู้ [LWC] ได้ดีเตากน [LWC] ก้อ

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
Next, I have some more questions about Lawa language and people.	ต่อไปจะถามคำถามเกี่ยวกับภาษาลัวะและคนลัวะ	
58. Would it be appropriate for a young Lawa man to marry a Thai / Northern Thai woman?	ถาผู้ชายลัวะแต่งงานกับผู้หญิงคนไทย / คนเมือง จะเหมาะสมไหม	ถาปู้จายลัวะแต่งงานกับปู้ยั้งคนไทย / คนเมือง จะเหมาะสมก้อ
a. (If no) Why not?	(ถาไม่เหมาะสม) เพราะอะไร	(ถาไม่เหมาะสม) เพาะอะหยัง
b. (Ask if yes or no) Are there many couples (like this)?	มีหลายคู่อใหม่ (ผู้ชายลัวะแต่งงานกับผู้หญิงคนไทย / คนเมือง)	มีหลายคู่อ ตีปู้จายลัวะแต่งงานกับปู้ยั้งคนไทย / คนเมือง
59. What about a young Lawa woman who wants to marry a Thai / Northern Thai man... would that be appropriate?	แล้ว ถาผู้หญิงลัวะแต่งงานกับผู้ชายคนไทย / คนเมือง จะเหมาะสมไหม	ถาปู้ยั้งลัวะแต่งงานกับปู้จายคนไทย / คนเมือง จะเหมาะสมก้อ

English		Central Thai	Northern Thai
a. (If no) Why not?		(ถ้าไม่เหมาะสม) เพราะอะไร	(ถ้าไม่เหมาะสม) เพาะอะหยัง
b. (Ask if yes or no) Are there many couples (like this)?		มีหลายคู่ใหม่ (ผู้หญิงลัวะแต่งงานกับผู้ชายคนไทย / คนเมือง)	มีหลายคู่ก่อ ตี๋บู้ยั้งลัวะแต่งงานกับปู้จายคนไทย / คนเมือง
60. Are there Lawa people in this village who do not speak Lawa?		ในหมู่บ้านนี้มีคนลัวะที่ไม่ได้พูดภาษาลัวะใหม่	ในหมู่บ้านนี้มีคนลัวะตี๋บ่ออูภาษาลัวะก่อ
(If yes) (ถ้า “มี”)	a. Why don't they speak Lawa?	ทำไมเขาจึงไม่ได้พูดภาษาลัวะ	เพาะอะหยังเขาถึงบ่ออูภาษาลัวะ
	b. How do you feel about that?	ฟี่รู้สึกอย่างไร	ปู้รู้สึกจะไคฟ่อง
	c. Why?	เพราะอะไร	เพาะอะหยัง
61. Other than speaking Lawa, how are Lawa people different from other people?		นอกจากการพูดภาษาลัวะได้ คนลัวะ และ คนอื่น แตกต่างกันยังไงบ้าง	นอกจากกานอูภาษาลัวะได้ คนลัวะ และ คนอื่น แตกต่างกันยังไงฟ่อง
62. Do you think of yourself first as Thai, Khonmuang, Lawa, or something else?		สิ่งแรกฟี่คิดว่าตัวเองเป็นคนอะไร ... คนไทย / คนเมือง / คนลัวะ หรือ อื่นๆ	สิ่งแรกปู้คิดว่าตัวเองเป็นคนอะหยัง ... คนไทย / คนเมือง / คนลัวะ กาว่า คนเผ่าอื่นๆ
63. Twenty years from now, do you think there will still be children in this village who can speak Lawa?		ฟี่คิดว่าอีก 20 ปีข้างหน้า จะยังมีเด็กๆ ในหมู่บ้านนี้ที่จะพูดภาษาลัวะไค มีไหม	ปู้คิดว่าแหม 20 ปีไปตางหน้า จะยังมีละอ่อนในหมู่บ้านตี๋อูภาษาลัวะไค มีก่อ
(If no) (ถ้า “ไม่มี”)	a. How do you feel about that?	ฟี่รู้สึกอย่างไร	ปู้รู้สึกจะไคฟ่อง
	b. Why?	เพราะอะไร	เพาะอะหยัง

***** IF ALL FOUR CRITERIA WERE MET, THEN CONTINUE *****

Explain the RTT procedure:	
We would like to play a tape for you to hear and ask you some questions about the story on the tape. Is that okay? It will probably take about 20 minutes. You don't need to be concerned. If you feel troubled about a question or unsure about how to answer, it is no problem; you don't have to answer.	เราอยากจะเปิดเทปให้พี่ฟังเรื่อง 2 เรื่องและถามคำถามพี่เกี่ยวกับเรื่องในเทปนี้ ได้ไหมคะ เราคงจะใช้เวลาประมาณ 20 นาที พี่ไม่ต้องกังวลนะคะ ถ้าพี่รู้สึกลำบากใจหรือไม่แน่ใจว่าควรจะตอบยังไงก็ไม่เป็นไร ไม่ต้องตอบก็ได้ค่ะ
Here are the headphones. (We use headphones to hear the sounds.)	นี่หูฟังคะ (เราใช้หูฟังเพื่อจะฟังเสียง)

***** ADMINISTER RECORDED TEXT TEST HERE *****

After playing the introduction, ask the following two questions:		
“Do you understand?”	พี่เข้าใจไหม	ปียังไง
“Can you hear the sound clearly?”	พี่ได้ยินเสียงชัดไหม	ปียังไง

DO NOT COUNT THE FIRST THREE QUESTIONS ON THE PRACTICE TEST!

- If they score 5, 6, or 7 (out of 7) on the Practice Test, then administer the rest of the RTT.
- If they score 5, note that this subject might be dropped later.
- If they score 4 or less, dismiss the subject.

Thank you (if subject doesn't pass the screening criteria).	
Thank you for helping us in this work. We hope that the things that we've done together today will be very valuable. Thank you very much.	ขอบคุณมากที่ช่วยเราในงานนี้ เราหวังว่าสิ่งที่เราทำด้วยกันจะเป็นประโยชน์มาก ขอบคุณมากค่ะ

POST-RTT QUESTIONS

English		Central Thai	Northern Thai
Great job! Now we will ask you some questions about the person who told the second story.		ดีมากคะ ต่อไปเราจะถามคำถามที่เกี่ยวกับคนที่เล่าเรื่องที่สอง	
64. Does this person speak Lawa well?		คนที่เล่าเรื่องนี้พูดภาษาลาวะดีไหม	คนตีเล่าเรื่องนี้พูดภาษาลาวะดีก้อ
(If no or so-so) (ถ้าไม่ดีหรือก๊ดี)	c. Do you like the way they speak Lawa?	ชอบไหม	ชอบก้อ
	d. (If don't like) Why not?	(ถ้าไม่ชอบ) เพราะอะไร	(ถ้าไม่ชอบ) เพาะอะหยัง
65. Did you understand everything or some things , or nothing at all ?		พี่เข้าใจทุกอย่าง หรือ บางอย่าง (หรือ ไม่เข้าใจเลย)	ปีเข้าใจ ก้อย่าง หรือ บางอย่าง (หรือ บ่อเข้าใจเลย)
66. Is the way he/she speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?		การพูดของเขา กับ การพูดของพี่ เหมือนกันทุกอย่าง หรือ ต่างกันบ้าง หรือ ต่างกันมาก	การอูของเขา กับ การอูของปี เหมือนกันก้อย่าง หรือ ต่างกันพ้อ หรือ ต่างกันนั๊ก
67. (If not the same) How is it different?		(ถ้า ไม่เหมือนกันทุกอย่าง) ต่างกันยังไงบ้าง	(ถ้า ไม่เหมือนกันทุกอย่าง) ต่างกันจะไคพ่อง
68. Now that you've heard their accent... where do you think the person who told this story is from?		ฟังสำเนียงแล้ว... คิดว่า คนที่เล่าเรื่องนี้อยู่หมู่บ้านไหน	ฟังสำเนียงแล้ว... ก็คิดว่า คนตีเล่าเรื่องนี้อยู่ที่หมู่บ้านอะหยัง
69. What helps you to know they are from that place?		มีอะไรบางอย่างที่ทำให้คิดอย่างนี้	มีอะหยังตีหยังหือก็คิดจะอี่
70. How would you feel if your child wanted to marry someone from that place?		ถ้าลูกจะแต่งงานกับคนที่มาจากหมู่บ้านของผู้เล่าเรื่องนี้ พี่จะรู้สึกอย่างไร	ถ้าลูกของปีจะแต่งงานกับคนตีมาจากตีหมู่บ้านของคนเล่าเรื่องนี้ ปีจะรู้สึกจะไคพ่อง
b. Why?		เพราะอะไร	เพาะอะหยัง

English	Central Thai	Northern Thai
71. Do you often go to the village where this person is from?	พื้ไปหมู่บ้านของผู้นี้ บ่อยไหม	ปื้ไปหมู่บ้านของผู้นี้ เร็งก้อ
72. How long do you usually stay there?	ปกติเมื่อพื้ไปที่นั่น อยู่นานเท่าไร	ตอนตีปื้ไปตีปूं อยู่เมินเท่าใด
73. Do people from that area ever come here?	คนหมู่บ้านนั้นมาที่นี่บ้างไหม	คนหมู่บ้านปूंมาตีนี้พองก้อ
74. When you speak with people from there, what language do you use with each other?	เมื่อคุยกับพวกเขา ใช้ภาษาอะไร	อู้กับหมู่เขา ใจภาษาอะฮยัง
75. (If not Lawa) Why don't you speak to them in Lawa?	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษาลวะ	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) เพาะอะฮยังถึง บ่อใจภาษาลวะ
*** NOTE: Only ask the next questions if they did not mention Ban La-up! ***		
76. What about Ban La-up, do you often go there?	พื้ไปบ้านละอูปบ่อยไหม	ปื้ไปบ้านละอูปเร็งก้อ
77. How long do you usually stay there?	ปกติเมื่อพื้ไปที่นั่น อยู่นานเท่าไร	ตอนตีปื้ไปตีปूं อยู่เมินเท่าใด
78. Do people from Ban La-up ever come here?	คนบ้านละอูปมาที่นี่บ้างไหม	คนบ้านละอูปมาตีนี้พองก้อ
79. What language do you use with people from Ban La-up?	เมื่อคุยกับคนบ้านละอูป ใช้ภาษาอะไร	ปื้ใจภาษาอะฮยังอู้กับคนจาก บ้านละอูป
80. (If not Lawa) Why don't you speak to them in Lawa?	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษาลวะ	(ถ้าไม่ใช่ลวะ) เพาะอะฮยังถึง บ่อใจภาษาลวะ
81. How would you feel if your child wanted to marry someone from Ban La-up?	ถ้าลูกจะแต่งงานกับคนที่มา จากบ้านละอูป พื้จะรู้สึก อย่างไร	ถ้าลูกของปื้จะแต่งงานกับคนตี มาจากบ้านละอูป ปื้จะสูสึกจะ ใดพอง
c. Why?	เพราะอะไร	เพาะอะฮยัง

ขอบคุณมากที่ช่วยเราในงานนี้ เราหวังว่าสิ่งที่เราทำด้วยกันจะเป็นประโยชน์มาก ขอบคุณมากค่ะ

Thank you for helping us in this work. We hope/expect that the things that we've done together today will be very valuable. Thank you very much.

A.5 Recorded Text Test

A.5.1 Introduction

The RTT is an intelligibility test designed to measure the amount of comprehension Lawa speakers have of the La-up variety of Lawa. We spent one week in La-up developing this test. The first stage of the test development consisted of eliciting, transcribing, and translating a story, developing and translating test questions, recording the questions, and putting all these items together on a test disc (using a mini disc player/recorder). Once the test disc was constructed, the second stage of test development was to pilot test the questions on native speakers of La-up Lawa. The goal for this pilot test was not to test the speakers, but rather to test the questions. That is, if native speakers had difficulty answering a question, then that question was not suitable for testing comprehension of La-up Lawa.

Once the questions were pilot tested, then the RTT was ready to be taken to the test sites. On this survey, the test sites were Kok Luang (Western Lawa) and a few Eastern Lawa villages. Once at the test site, further test development was needed before the RTT was ready for administration to subjects. Namely, every item on the test disc, other than the La-up story, had to be translated into the *local* variety of Lawa. For Eastern Lawa, we only translated them into the variety of Lawa spoken in Bo Luang since all our background research and initial fieldwork indicated that the Eastern Lawa villages all speak mutually intelligible and very similar forms of Lawa. Once all the translation was done, these items were recorded and then back-translated into Thai in order to check the Lawa translation. Finally, the recorded items were transferred to a test disc in the proper order. After this, the test was ready for administration. Unlike the pilot test, this test was designed to test the *speakers* to see how well they comprehend La-up Lawa.

A.5.2 Modifications to the RTT Protocol

In the usual RTT protocol, as described in Blair (1990) and based on Casad (1974), each subject takes a short Practice Test before taking the RTT. For pilot test subjects, then, the subjects would take a Practice Test and a Pilot Test, which would be for them a Hometown Test (HTT) since it is in their own variety. Subjects at a test site, however, would take the Practice Test, a HTT, and the RTT (a comprehension test of a story from a different variety). The Practice Test serves to help the subject get used to the testing procedure (a warm-up test). The HTT acts as a control test, allowing the researchers to screen out subjects who are poor test takers or not native speakers of the variety at that location. Such subjects, were they allowed to take the RTT, could confound the results if they get low scores; one would not know if low score were due to poor test taking ability, being a non-native speaker, or to lack of comprehension.

In this survey, the functions of the usual Practice Test and HTT were performed by a single, “Extended Practice Test.” Usually, a Practice Test would be a short story and 4–5 questions *translated* into the subject’s own variety, and the HTT would be a longer, 2–5 minute story *elicited* in the subject’s own variety and containing 10 questions. This elicitation of the HTT story implies the need to develop questions and pilot test those questions, *at every test site*. When testing comprehension of many different varieties, this does not involve that much extra work since a pilot-tested story is needed at most sites anyway (in order to test comprehension at other sites). But when, as in this survey, one is testing comprehension of only one variety, elimination of the *elicited* story can save an enormous amount of time.

The Extended Practice Test consisted of a story originally elicited in Northern Thai and pilot tested in Chiang Mai. Then, the research team modified the story slightly to make it simpler to translate. Thus, at each test site, this story could simply be *translated* instead of needing to elicit and pilot test a HTT. This test included ten questions, with the first three comprising the warm-up test which was not scored, filling the role of the traditional Practice Test. The final seven questions were scored and fulfilled the same function as the traditional HTT, that of a control test to screen subjects.

Thus, in La-up, the subjects took the Extended Practice Test and the Pilot Test; which is actually a little bit more than the usual RTT protocol calls for at a reference site. In Kok Luang and in the Eastern Lawa villages, subjects took the Extended Practice Test and the RTT, which is a little less than the usual RTT protocol calls for at a test site.

A.5.3 Test Administration Protocol

In all cases, for each story, the subject first heard the story in its entirety, and then heard the story broken up into pieces, or “breath groups” with questions inserted after each breath group. The test was paused after each question so the subject could answer the question. For the first three questions of the Extended Practice Story (the warm-up test), subjects were allowed to hear any part of the story or any question more than once. However, for the final seven questions of the Extended Practice Test, and for the entire RTT story and questions, no part was replayed. If a subject asked for a replay, we or our helper explained that it was fine if they could not answer and that we would just continue with the test.

A.5.4 Pilot Test

In La-up, we elicited three stories, only one of which was suitable for an RTT story. A La-up resident who is literate in Lawa then listened to the story and transcribed it for us in both Lawa and Thai. He then explained the story to us in detail (in Thai) so that we could translate it into English. After this, we brainstormed questions and narrowed them down to a total of 19 pilot test questions covering a range of semantic domains and grammatical categories. With the help of another La-up resident, we translated and recorded the questions in La-up Lawa, along with a test introduction and some transitional sentences. Then we asked yet another La-up resident to back-translate the questions into Thai for us to check the translation. Our local helper also wrote an answer key for us for the tests. Finally, we transferred all the recordings in the right order onto a final pilot test disc. Thus, the pilot test consisted of the following five items (with transitional statements between each pair of items):

1. Introduction
2. Extended Practice Test Story
3. Extended Practice Test Story with 10 questions inserted at the appropriate places
4. RTT Story
5. RTT Story with 19 questions inserted at the appropriate places

All of these items were recorded in the local La-up variety of Lawa. After the pilot test, the best 10 questions were selected for use at the test sites (see the following sub-sections for details on the question selection). Thus, the test at each village where we tested comprehension of La-up Lawa consisted of the same five items as above, except that there were only 10 questions in #5

and all the items, except the RTT story, were translated and recorded in the Lawa variety of that village.

A.5.4.1 Extended Practice Test

Tables 13 and 14 show the Extended Practice Test in English and Central Thai. We named this story the “Stolen Motorcycle Story.”

Table 13 – Extended Practice Test (English)

Breath Group		Question	Answer
Warm-up Test	Yesterday, I went to the store	1. When did the storyteller go to the store?	yesterday
	to buy some eggs to make lunch.	2. What did the storyteller go to buy?	eggs
	I walked to the store	3. How did the storyteller get to the store?	by walking
and I heard some people saying that there was a robber who had stolen a motorcycle.		4. What happened to the motorcycle?	it was stolen by a robber
It was parked in front of the store,		5. Where was the motorcycle parked?	in front of the store
so I was surprised that the owner of the motorcycle did not see her motorcycle being stolen. But then the seller told me that the owner of the motorcycle did see, but did not catch him in time.		6. What did the seller say?	the owner of the motorcycle did see, but did not catch him in time.
Two men chased after the robber,		7. How many men chased after the robber?	two
but the robber drove away into the woods.		8. Where did the robber flee to?	the woods
Later, we got the news that they were able to catch the robber.		9. What was the news?	that they were able to catch the robber
At first, I felt sad for the owner of the motorcycle, that her motorcycle was stolen,		10. At first, how did she feel?	sad
but now I feel happy for her.		(no question)	

Table 14 – Extended Practice Test (Central Thai)

Breath Group		Question	Answer
Warm-up Test	เมื่อวานนี้เราไปร้านขายของ	1. เขาไปร้านขายของเมื่อไหร่	เมื่อวานนี้
	จะไปซื้อไข่มาทำอาหารเที่ยง	2. เขาไปซื้ออะไร	ไข่
	เราเดินไปที่ร้าน	3. เขาไปยังไร	เดินไป
แล้วเราได้ยินเขาพูดกันว่ามียัง โมยล์กรดมอเตอร์ไซค์		4. มีอะไรเกิดขึ้นกับรถมอเตอร์ ไซค์	มียังโมยล์กรดมอเตอร์ไซค์
รถจอดอยู่หน้าร้าน		5. รถจอดอยู่ที่ไหน	หน้าร้าน
เราเลยแปลกใจว่าทำไมเจ้าของรถ ไม่เห็นคนขโมย แต่แม่ค้า บอกว่าเจ้าของรถเห็นแต่จับไม่ทัน		6. แม่ค้าบอกว่าอะไร	เจ้าของรถเห็นแต่จับไม่ทัน
มีผู้ชายสองคนไล่ตามขโมยไป		7. มีผู้ชายกี่คนที่ไล่ตามข โมยไป	สองคน
แต่ขโมยชี้รถหนีเขาป่าไป		8. ขโมยหนีไปไหน	เขาป่าไป
ทีหลังเราได้ข่าวว่าจับขโมยได้แล้ว		9. เขาได้ข่าวอะไร	จับขโมยได้แล้ว
ตอนแรกรู้สึกเสียใจแทนเจ้าของ รถที่รถมอเตอร์ไซค์ถูกขโมย		10. ตอนแรกเขารู้สึกยังไง	เสียใจ
แต่ตอนนี้ดีใจแทนเขา		(ไม่มีคำถาม)	

A.5.4.2 La-up Story and Questions

Table 15 shows the La-up story and pilot test questions. We called this story the “Bee Story.” For future reference, the shaded questions were the ones that were evaluated as among the ten best and used for the final form of the RTT at the test sites.

Table 15 – La-up Story and Pilot Test Questions (English)

Breath Group	Question	Answer
Now I want to tell a story from my life. Once when I was small, back then when I was small, around 7 years old.	1. How old was the boy?	Seven
One time, I went with my mother to the fields.	2. Who did he go to the fields with?	Mother
Then was the time that the rice was full ear ripe.	3. At this time, how was the rice?	Full ear ripe
And I was still small. Then when we arrived at the fields, mother also went to see the fields, the rice in the fields was very beautiful. That time when we were at the fields, I was still a child. I went on an outing to the fields. I went to play in the water.	4. What did the boy go to do in the water?	Play
I went to play in the middle of the rice plants. It was a fun event when I went with mother. And then, when it was noontime, the sun was very hot. At the fields, mother had me bathe in a stream. There was a small water spout. Then, when a little past noon, when I was bathing... Because I was still a small child so mother bathed me.	5. Just after noon, what was the mother doing to the boy?	Bathing him
At the time, I was bathing, there was a swarm of bees that flew/came.	6. When he was bathing, what flew/came?	Swarm of bees
A whole lot. Mother and I, at that time, at first we saw only one.	7. How many bees did they see at first?	One
So when many came, they crowded around me and mother. They stung me... stung my head, stung my neck, stung my back... all over my body. It hurt really badly. I cried there at the stream. Mother also cried. Then I didn't know what to do. I hurried to gather my clothes.	8. When the bees came, what did he hurry to gather/do?	Clothes
I grabbed all my clothes. I ran back to the field hut.	9. Where did the boy run to?	Field hut

Table 15 – La-up Story and Pilot Test Questions (English) (continued):

Breath Group	Question	Answer
Mother carried me but I was heavy for her.	10. What did his mother do for him?	Carry him
That was the time mother was pregnant with my youngest sibling.	11. At that time, what was his mother's condition?	Pregnant
After that mother didn't have much strength. I cried as we went. After that mother gathered our things. When we arrived at the field hut, we didn't know what to do. Those bees chased us to the hut.	12. What did the bees do to the two of them?	Chase them
After that, I and mother hurried to gather our things and went home. I cried to my mother. I remember that I asked mother to carry me on her back. I said, "Mother, I can't go anymore."	13. What did the boy say to his mother?	"Mother, I can't go anymore."
The bee stings hurt terribly. My whole body was swollen. "Please carry me," I said to mother. Mother said, "Alas, son, I can't carry you." Mother said that.	14. What did mother say to him?	"Alas, son, I can't carry you."
Because mother was pregnant with the youngest child. But we kept going. I cried the whole way home.	15. What did the boy do the whole way home?	Cry
Upon reaching the village, mother went to grandmother (paternal) and grandfather's (paternal) house.	16. When they reached the village, to whose house did they go?	Grandparents
Grandfather and grandmother were in the house... gave me medicine.	17. What did the grandparents give the boy?	Medicine
They spread medicine on my body to relieve the sting symptoms. After that, they build a fire. I sat up against the fire and they made many kinds of Lawa herbal medicines for me. Afterwards, the symptoms got a little better. That was one thing I remember all my life. It was one experience of my life as a child. I've never forgotten this story at all. That I cried for my mother to carry me home. In the morning of the next day, it was Saturday, and when Sunday arrived mother had stomach pain and had the baby.	18. On Sunday, what was mother's condition?	Stomach pain/ mother had baby

Table 15 – La-up Story and Pilot Test Questions (English) (continued):

Breath Group	Question	Answer
That was the last born of my family. He's the one named Iruh in our family. My poor mother. When I was older, mother told me this story. If she sees a swarm of bees, mother thinks of this story immediately.	19. What makes his mother think of this story?	(Seeing) bees
I usually think of this story, too. That was one time. It was a story about when I went to the fields with my mother.	No question	NA

The following section describes the results of the RTT pilot test.

A.5.5 Pilot Test Results

The La-up story Pilot Test consisted of the Extended Practice Test and the La-up story and questions. Demographic information about the subjects is given below, along with the test results.

A.5.5.1 Subject Demographics

Out of 13 RTT Pilot Test subjects, one subject (subject #9) was not included in the scoring due to poor performance on the Extended Practice Test. Thus, the final sample was made up of 12 subjects, as shown in table 16:

Table 16 – Pilot Test Sample Size by Age and Gender

Gender	Age		Total
	15–34	35+	
Female	3	3	6
Male	3	3	6
Total	6	6	12

All 12 subjects passed the screening criteria specified in Section 4.3.1. All were born in La-up and grew up in La-up, but over half (seven of 12) spent a year or more in Chiang Mai or Bangkok. All 12 spoke Lawa first *and* currently speak it best. Only two subjects were monolingual in Lawa. For the other 10, languages spoken include Central Thai, Northern Thai and Karen. All 12 have Lawa parents who were born in La-up, spoke Lawa first, and spoke Lawa to the subjects when they were children. The following two tables describe the occupations and educational attainment of the subjects:

Table 17 – Occupations of Pilot Test Subjects

Occupation	Number of Subjects
Farmer	8
Farmer, Metal Worker, and Tambon leader	1
Farmer and Seller	1
Metal worker	1
Weaver and Seller	1
Total	12

Table 18 – Educational Attainment of Pilot Test Subjects

Years of Education	Number of Subjects
0	4
6	2
9	2
10	1
12	3
Total	12

A.5.5.2 Extended Practice Test Results

In order to pass the control test screening criteria and be considered a native speaker and an adequate test taker, a subject had to answer five of the final seven questions on the Extended Practice Test correctly. Twelve subjects passed and one failed (subject #9). The following table shows the test results for each question by subject, where “1” means “correct,” “0” means “incorrect,” and “0.5” means “half credit.”

Table 19 – Extended Practice Test Results (La-up, RTT Pilot Test)

Subject	Warm-Up Questions			Scored Questions							Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	5
3	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	6
4	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
6	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	6.5
7	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	6
8	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	5
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	---	---	---	0
10	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
11	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
12	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	5
13	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7
Total	9	10	8	11.5	12	7	11	12	11	11	
Percent	75%	83%	67%	96%	100%	58%	92%	100%	92%	92%	

Note that subjects generally did worse on the first three questions. It is not clear if this is because they were just getting used to the procedure or because these questions were not translated well. If the former, then three questions was a good choice for the length of the warm-up test since they scored almost perfectly for the remaining questions, with the exception of question 6. The reason so many missed question 6 was probably because of a confusion between the two “owners” in the story. The question asked, “What did the seller (the owner of the store) say?” and the answer was supposed to be “the owner of the motorcycle did see, but did not catch him in time.” Therefore, we omitted question 6 from the Extended Practice Test from then on.

A.5.5.3 Question Evaluation Results

Table 20 provides the pilot test results for the La-up story. Note that subject 9 did not pass the practice test and so was not given the rest of the pilot test.

Table 20 –La-up Story Pilot Test Results

Subject	Question																			Total		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19			
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	16	
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	15
3	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17
4	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	16	
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19
8	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	15
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	19
11	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	16
12	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	12
13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	17
Total	11	12	12	8	11	12	9	4	12	11	12	10	12	10	11	11	12	12	12	6		
Percent	92%	100%	100%	67%	92%	100%	75%	33%	100%	92%	100%	83%	100%	83%	92%	92%	100%	100%	100%	50%		
Final Form RTT Question	YES	YES	YES		YES	YES			YES				YES		YES				YES			

The goal was to have at least ten questions that all subjects answered correctly. These would then be used for the final form of the RTT to be administered elsewhere. However, there were only eight questions that everyone answered correctly. Subject 12 did not seem to hear very well, gave many unusual answers, and scored only 12 out of 19, by far the worst. He was the only subject to miss Questions 1, 5, and 15. Keeping these questions gave a total of 11 good questions. Question 18, however, was dropped, in order to make the test shorter (Question 19 was too difficult and Question 18 was preceded by a 45-second breath group). So in the end, the final form of the RTT consisted of seven of the eight “perfect” questions and the three that only Subject 12 missed, leading to a total of 10 questions for the final form of the RTT. These 10 questions are indicated by a “YES” in the final row of the table. The final form of the La-up story test looked like the following:

Table 21 – La-up Story and RTT Questions (English)

Breath Group	Question	Answer
Now I want to tell a story from my life. Once when I was small, back then when I was small, around 7 years old.	1. How old was the boy?	Seven
One time, I went with my mother to the fields.	2. Who did he go to the fields with?	Mother
Then was the time that the rice was full ear ripe.	3. At this time, how was the rice?	Full ear ripe
And I was still small. Then, when we arrived at the fields, mother also went to see the fields, the rice in the fields was very beautiful. That time when we were at the fields, I was still a child. I went on an outing to the fields. I went to play in the water. I went to play in the middle of the rice plants. It was a fun event when I went with mother. And then, when it was noontime, the sun was very hot. At the fields, mother had me bathe in a stream. There was a small water spout. Then, when a little past noon, when I was bathing... Because I was still a small child, so mother bathed me.	4. Just after noon, what was the mother doing to the boy?	Bathing him
At the time I was bathing, there was a swarm of bees that flew/came.	5. When he was bathing, what flew/came?	Swarm of bees

Table 21 – La-up Story and RTT Questions (English) (continued):

Breath Group	Question	Answer
<p>A whole lot. Mother and I, at that time, at first we saw only one. So when many came they crowded around me and mother. They stung me... stung my head, stung my neck, stung my back... all over my body. It hurt really badly. I cried there at the stream. Mother also cried. Then I didn't know what to do. I hurried to gather my clothes. I grabbed all my clothes. I ran back to the field hut.</p>	6. Where did the boy run to?	Field hut
<p>Mother carried me but I was heavy for her. That was the time mother was pregnant with my youngest sibling.</p> <p>After that, mother didn't have much strength. I cried as we went. After that, mother gathered our things. When we arrived at the field hut, we didn't know what to do. Those bees chased us to the hut. After that, I and mother hurried to gather our things and went home. I cried to my mother. I remember that I asked mother to carry me on her back. I said, "Mother, I can't go anymore."</p>	7. At that time, what was his mother's condition?	Pregnant
<p>The bee stings hurt terribly. My whole body was swollen. "Please carry me," I said to mother. Mother said, "Alas, son, I can't carry you." Mother said that. Because mother was pregnant with the youngest child. But we kept going. I cried the whole way home.</p>	8. What did the boy say to his mother?	"Mother I can't go anymore."
<p>Upon reaching the village, mother went to grandmother (paternal) and grandfather's (paternal) house. Grandfather and grandmother were in the house... gave me medicine.</p>	9. What did the boy do the whole way home?	Cry
<p>Upon reaching the village, mother went to grandmother (paternal) and grandfather's (paternal) house. Grandfather and grandmother were in the house... gave me medicine.</p>	10. What did the grandparents give the boy?	Medicine

Table 21 – La-up Story and RTT Questions (English) (continued):

Breath Group	Question	Answer
<p>They spread medicine on my body to relieve the sting symptoms. After that, they build a fire. I sat up against the fire and they made many kinds of Lawa herbal medicines for me. Afterwards, the symptoms got a little better. That was one thing I remember all my life. It was one experience of my life as a child. I've never forgotten this story at all. That I cried for my mother to carry me home. In the morning of the next day, it was Saturday, and when Sunday arrived mother had stomach pain and had the baby. That was the last born of my family. He's the one named Iruh in our family. My poor mother. When I was older mother told me this story. If she sees a swarm of bees, mother thinks of this story immediately. I usually think of this story, too. That was one time. It was a story about when I went to the fields with my mother.</p>	No question	NA

Appendix B Village-Level Results

This appendix details the information collected at the village level. Table 22 shows which village-level instruments were administered for each location. The sub-sections that follow present the results *for each instrument* and *for each village visited during the fieldwork*. The final two subsections provide a comprehensive list of Lawa villages and an estimate of the population of each Lawa village.

Table 22 – Village-Level Instruments by Location

Location		Dialect Perceptions Group Interview	Village Leader SLQ	Group RTT	Teacher Interviews
Western Lawa	La-up	1	1		
	Pa Pae	1 ^a			
	La-ang Neua	1 ^b			
	Kok Luang	1	1 ^c		
	Total	4	2	0	0
Eastern Lawa	Kong Loi		1		1
	Bo Luang	1	1 ^d	1	1
	Bo Sangae			1	
	Bo Phawaen				
	Wang Kong		1	1	
	Khun		1		
	Na Fon			1	
	Total	1	4	4	2

^a This interview was a pilot test of the instrument and took place in Chiang Mai.

^b This interview was done in Kok Luang with a teacher who is from La-ang Neua.

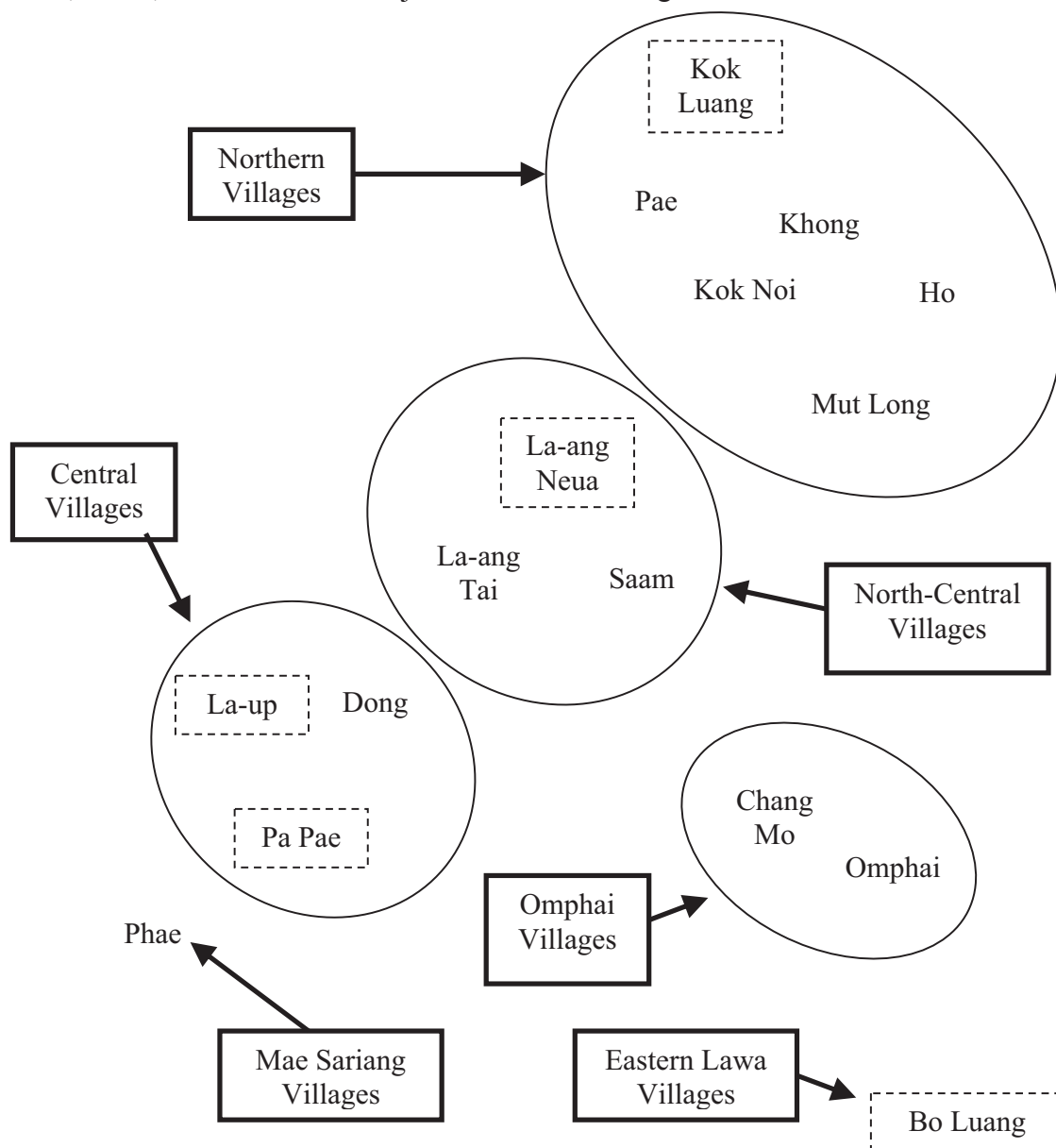
^c Two VL-SLQs were done in Kok Luang, but the information is combined in this section.

^d Two VL-SLQs were done in Bo Luang and one in Bo Sangae but the information is combined in this section.

B.1 Dialect Perceptions

A Dialect Perceptions Group Interview was administered to representatives of four Western Lawa villages and one Eastern Lawa village. The following sub-sections describe the sources of information and a summary of the results for each village. The information for each village represents the reported perceptions of the relationships between the speech of that village and the speech of other Lawa villages, *from the perspective of that village*.

The following schematic illustration of the geographical groupings of Lawa villages will help you remember the various villages that will be referred to as you read the information in this section. This illustration is not to scale. It is intended only to show the relative locations of the villages that you will read about in the following data. Village names surrounded by dashed lines indicate the five villages for which a DPGI was conducted. We did not actually visit La-ang Neua and Pa Pae; rather, we interviewed subjects from those villages at other locations.



Note in particular that the villages “Phae,” “Pa Pae,” and “Pae” are distinct. Phae is close to Mae Sariang, Pa Pae is in the Central Group, and Pae is in the Northern Group.

Also, I must emphasize that the information in this section is *reported* dialect *perceptions*. The information here does not necessarily indicate the presence or lack of inherent intelligibility between any particular Lawa villages. Rather, it indicates subjects’ perceptions of the relative ease of communicating with those from other villages, either because of inherent relationships between languages or because of contact.

B.1.1 Western Lawa Dialect Perceptions

B.1.1.1 La-up

We interviewed five men, ages 35 to 67 in La-up. One of the men, age 35, acted as a translator for us when necessary (from Lawa into Central Thai). Not very far into the interview, this man started answering all the questions, with the others just agreeing with him. He was a man whom the research team trusted and had interacted with a great deal, so it might have been that he was the one who felt most comfortable speaking to us.

When we started asking the questions about which villages are the same and different from La-up, the subjects started listing villages with their impression of the percentage comprehension that La-up people have of each village (see Table 23). For example, they said that when talking with people from Dong, La-up people understand about 90% of what is being said. They were not very specific about this; it could have meant that they are about 90% “the same” in some sense other than comprehension (e.g. vocabulary, accent, etc.). Nevertheless, these figures give some kind of relative ranking of Lawa villages in terms of how “similar” their speech is to La-up Lawa for some unspecified definition of “similar.”

In addition to what is shown in Table 23, some other comments from the La-up DPGI were as follows:

- The Lawa villages that La-up people have the most contact with are Dong, Saam, and Chang Mo. People from these villages, along with people from Pa Pae, go to each others’ festivals.
- The speech of Western Lawa people from other villages who move to La-up sounds just like La-up Lawa within one year.

Additionally, one resident of La-up said that she has made trips to Mut Long and their variety of Lawa is very different from hers. However, the difference in their speech is not an obstacle to communication because the people there understand La-up Lawa. It is not clear if this comment indicates that those from Mut Long inherently understand La-up Lawa or if she is referring to those in Mut Long who have had prior contact with La-up Lawa and therefore have acquired an understanding of it.

Table 23 – Dialect perceptions in La-up

“---“ indicates that the subjects did not make any comments relevant to that cell of the table.

Village	Percent Similarity with La-up Lawa ^a	Difference	Intelligibility
Western Lawa villages			
Dong	90%	The accent is “harsher” than in La-up (the La-up accent is “softer”). They write Lawa the same.	---
Saam	80%	They write the same but their pronunciation is different.	---
La-ang	80%	---	---
Chang Mo	75%	Some words are different, as well as the accent.	La-up people and Chang Mo people can understand about 75% when each speaks his own variety. Children understand less because they have had less contact.
Pa Pae	70%	The vowels and consonants are different from La-up and they have started writing Lawa differently than they write it in La-up.	---
The villages of the Northern Group other than Kok Luang	70%	The speech variety of those in these villages is “between Kok Luang and La-up but closer to La-up.” They did not specify if this meant they are closer to La-up than to Kok Luang or they are closer to La-up than Kok Luang is.	When speaking with La-up people, speakers from these villages change to be more similar to La-up Lawa (especially Christians). If they do not change, they still understand La-up better than La-up understands them (presumably due to the fact that La-up Lawa is the variety used when Christians from different villages get together).

Table 23 – Dialect perceptions in La-up (continued):

Village	Percent Similarity with La-up Lawa ^a	Difference	Intelligibility
Kok Luang	40–50%	Totally different from La-up. La-up people do not understand Kok Luang Lawa. It has different vocabulary. The La-up subjects claimed that La-up Lawa is older because the village has an older history.	<p>If a Kok Luang person hears La-up Lawa for the first time, he will understand only about 20%. However, if someone from one of the other Northern group villages were to hear La-up Lawa for the first time, they understand more than someone from Kok Luang would and would have no problem communicating.</p> <p>Many in Kok Luang do in fact understand La-up Lawa due to contact since La-up Lawa is the central variety.</p> <p>Kok Luang people and Bo Luang people (Eastern Lawa) would understand only about 5% of each others' speech.</p>
Eastern Lawa villages			
Bo Luang	50%	---	<p>When La-up people meet Bo Luang people, each speaks his own variety and they understand about 50%. They do not change their speech to be like each other. <i>[NOTE: Those in Bo Luang reported using Thai with Western Lawa people.]</i></p> <p>Kok Luang people (the most distinct Western Lawa variety) and Bo Luang people would understand only about 5% of each others' speech.</p>
Kong Loi	50%	---	---

^a Some of the comments made by the subjects imply that the percentages in this table reflect actual comprehension, not just inherent intelligibility.

Note that these percentages do not indicate which villages' speakers can understand La-up Lawa; they only indicate a relative similarity ranking of some sort.

B.1.1.2 Pa Pae

The source of the dialect perceptions information from Pa Pae is from a pilot test of the DPGI that we did in Chiang Mai, before the survey fieldwork. The subject was a 48-year old Lawa man who lives in Chiang Mai. He lived in Pa Pae from birth until about age 29. Then he went to La-ang Tai (for about two years) and La-ang Neua (for about six years). He has been in Chiang Mai the last twelve years. His wife is 42 years old and lived in La-up from birth to age five or six. Then she lived in Mae Sariang until 12 years ago, when she and her husband moved to Chiang Mai.

The subject reported that every Lawa village has its own unique accent, but they still can all understand each other. **The villages that were reported to be a little different from Pa Pae** are La-up, Dong, Saam, La-ang Neua, and La-ang Tai. People from these villages understand just about everything when hearing Pa Pae Lawa, but there are some words and pronunciations that must be explained. When Pa Pae people speak with people from these villages, each person speaks their own variety and can usually communicate. Sometimes, however, the Pa Pae person changes their speech to sound more like La-up Lawa.

The villages that were reported to be very different from Pa Pae are those in the Northern Group, as well as Bo Luang (Eastern Lawa). As for the villages in the Northern Group, the subject reported that before Christianity came to the Lawa, they could not communicate with each other. However, now they can understand each other better because of the increase in contact due to Christianity. When asked how these villages are different in their speech, the subject responded that the accent and some words are different. He reported that, when speaking with someone from one of these villages, if they each speak only their own variety, they do not understand each other at all. In order to communicate, they both switch to La-up Lawa.

When asked “In what village would you say Lawa is spoken most purely?” the subject answered “La-up.” The reason he gave is that it has “longer” sounds and slower speech, so it is easier for others to understand.

B.1.1.3 Kok Luang

The sources of the dialect perceptions information from Kok Luang are the village leader along with two or three other men. They reported that no other Lawa village speaks Lawa like they do in Kok Luang. They reported many things about many villages, but it is not clear which ones they consider “a little different” or “very different.” They reported that when speaking with people from another Lawa village, the person from Kok Luang will always change their speech to match that of the other person in order to facilitate understanding. While this might be generally true, it is not true for everyone in Kok Luang. One of the RTT subjects from Kok Luang reported that if people from La-up come to Kok Luang, Kok Luang people need to think for a minute before answering, and when people from Kok Luang go to La-up, they still have to use Kok Luang Lawa because it is hard to change to the La-up variety. More specific comments about each village are listed below:

- Kok Luang people understand the speech of Pae (the closest Lawa village to Kok Luang), but adjust their own speech towards the Pae variety to accommodate them.
- When speaking with someone from Mut Long (another village from the Northern Group), Kok Luang people adjust their speech towards the Mut Long variety. If they did not, the Mut Long person would not understand them. They reported that Mut Long Lawa is even more different from Kok Luang Lawa than is La-up Lawa. Those in Mut Long have fast speech.
- The village that has the most different speech from Kok Luang is Bo Luang (Eastern Lawa). The second most different is Chang Mo.
- They reported that there is much contact between Kok Luang and other Western Lawa villages. People come to visit often from Dong, Pae, Ho, and also from many Karen villages. When Kok Luang people travel, they usually go to other Northern villages (Pae, Kok Noi, Ho, Khong, and Mut Long). They also go to Mae Sariang often for work and school.
- Before La-up Lawa was developed into a written language, those in Kok Luang did not understand it very well. But, due to the contact that arose from having a written language and from Christianity, many have now acquired bidialectal proficiency in La-up Lawa. When a Kok Luang person hears La-up Lawa for the first time, it is difficult to understand some words.
- When asked which village speaks Lawa the most purely, they responded that La-up Lawa is “cool,” “pretty,” “sweet,” and “softer,” while Kok Luang Lawa is a little “strong.” They said that La-up Lawa is the central variety since it has the written language and it has the Bible; they felt that its vowels are easier vowels to write.
- They reported that, before La-up Lawa became a written language, Lawa did not have a “central” variety.

B.1.1.4 La-ang Neua

The source of the dialect perceptions information from La-ang Neua is a 29-year old male teacher at the school in Kok Luang. He lived in La-ang Neua until he was 12 years old. His mother is from Mut Long but moved to La-ang Neua after getting married. He has also taught in Pa Pae for four years.

He reported the following information about a number of Lawa villages, but it is not clear which ones he considers “a little different” and “very different.”

There are no villages where people speak Lawa exactly like it is spoken in La-ang Neua, but the varieties spoken in La-ang Tai and Saam are the most similar. His mother is from Mut Long. She spoke her own variety after moving to La-ang Neua and the people there understood her. He learned La-ang Lawa from his father and cannot speak Mut Long Lawa.

Omphai Lawa is more different from La-ang Neua Lawa than La-up Lawa is.

Mut Long Lawa is more similar to La-ang Neua Lawa than Kok Luang Lawa is, because people from Mut Long and La-ang Neua intermarry more often.

We wrote the following in the data notebook: “Pae Lawa and Khong Lawa are closer to Kok Luang Lawa than La-ang Neua Lawa.” This is ambiguous and could mean either that “Pae Lawa and Khong Lawa are closer to Kok Luang Lawa than they are to La-ang Neua Lawa” OR that “Pae Lawa and Khong Lawa are closer to Kok Luang Lawa than La-ang Neua Lawa is.”

When the teacher lived in Pa Pae, at first he could not understand their variety of Lawa. After about one year, he could understand it, but not speak it. After about three years, he could speak it. He taught in Thai, so I infer that he may have had less opportunity to speak Pa Pae Lawa than a typical resident, since he was using Thai all day. Perhaps someone whose job required speaking in Lawa might have learned the Pa Pae variety sooner.

Those from La-ang Neua can understand La-up Lawa when they first hear it, as it is not very different from their variety of Lawa.

The teacher gave the following list of villages, in order, from most alike to most different from La-ang Neua:

1. La-ang Tai, Saam
2. La-up
3. Mut Long
4. Omphai
5. Pa Pae
6. Northern group villages
7. Bo Luang

Regarding Bo Luang, he indicated that he has not often met anyone from there and has never been there. He spoke Thai with the few he has met.

B.1.2 Eastern Lawa Dialect Perceptions

The only Eastern Lawa village where a DPGI was conducted was Bo Luang. The respondents were the assistant to the village leader (a man, age 30) and four other men, ages 27 to 76. The assistant to the village leader provided most of the answers during the interview.

B.1.2.1 Perceptions of the Western Lawa

The Lawa themselves (both Western and Eastern) do not call themselves “Western” or “Eastern” Lawa. They think of themselves as just “Lawa.” When those I am calling the Eastern Lawa refer to where those I am calling the Western Lawa live, they often use the term “Omphai.” Omphai is actually a particular Western Lawa village. This term has also been used in the literature to refer to the group of villages up and down the mountain from Omphai. However, when the Eastern Lawa use this term, they are referring to all the Western Lawa in general. Perhaps they use this term because the Omphai group of villages are the closest Western Lawa villages to them. Western Lawa from the Omphai group of villages come down the mountain daily to sell produce in Kong Loi.

Another aspect of the generic term “Omphai,” that the Eastern Lawa use for the Western Lawa, is that it reveals that the Eastern Lawa lump all the Western Lawa together. In other words, they do not recognize the distinctions in their speech. They just recognize that the Western Lawa speak differently than the Eastern Lawa (who have less variation in speech between their villages).

Besides referring to the location of the Western Lawa as “Omphai,” they also sometimes refer to it as “Mae Hong Son,” which is the province of Thailand where all the Western Lawa villages are located, except most of the Northern villages. The Eastern Lawa are all in Chiang Mai Province.

When comparing themselves to the Western Lawa, the Eastern Lawa subjects reported the following. They consider the Western Lawa to be their “elder siblings.” The two groups used to be one group, but they separated during a war. They used to be “brothers,” now, “[the Western Lawa] have the Lawa costume and we do the iron working.” Western Lawa say only a few words the same as the Eastern Lawa, but, other than that, the two groups do not understand each other very well. When asked to explain how the two kinds of Lawa differ, they indicated that the vowels and the words are different. Additionally, they said that Western Lawa can be written, but Eastern Lawa cannot. The subjects indicated that when they meet a Western Lawa person, they “use Lawa for the first few words, but if we want to really talk, we use Northern Thai.”

It seems that in the past, the Eastern Lawa had more contact with the Western Lawa and some people learned to understand their speech. The subjects indicated that the older generation understands more of the Western Lawa speech than the younger generation. This is consistent with what is reported by Lipsius (n.d.), as well as with an interview we conducted with the head of Tambon Bo Sali (where Kong Loi is and which is the closest area to the Western Lawa villages). We asked, “Can people here speak with Western Lawa people and understand?” He answered, “Old people can pretty well, but my generation cannot well. We have to mix Northern Thai. Omphai³³ is easier to understand than further away, such as Ban La-up.” This is also consistent with our intelligibility testing results. As shown in Table 9 (Section 5.2.1), the older subjects from Kong Loi and Bo Luang had a higher average comprehension score than the younger subjects in their villages. This actually was not true for Khun, but of these three villages, Khun is the furthest from the Western Lawa villages and so, presumably, had less contact with them, even among the older generation.

There is not much intermarriage between the Eastern and Western Lawa. One of the Eastern Lawa subjects said (somewhat tongue in cheek, I thought), “They do not marry with us because we are not strong...we cannot carry cabbage. It’s not because we are ugly or because there are not any young men...we have a lot, and we are good looking, but they do not want us because we cannot handle the hard work, farming on the mountain.” I assumed that he was just being humorous, but this same reasoning was expressed by another Eastern Lawa person who said that the Eastern Lawa men are not as strong as the Western Lawa men, so the Western Lawa women do not want to marry them. There seems to be a feeling that the Western Lawa are different, that they have a different way of life that has to do with living in the mountains.

Another difference they pointed out between the two groups is religion. The Eastern Lawa have

³³ Here, the term “Omphai” is being used to refer to the group of villages near Omphai.

more Buddhist temples. They said that Western Lawa people come to the Eastern Lawa for religious reasons, seeking advice and direction. They added that spirit worship is very important in Tambon Bo Luang. They said that the Western Lawa used to also have customs of animal sacrifice, but the subjects were not sure if they still do.

B.1.2.2 Perceptions within the Eastern Lawa

According to Lipsius (n.d.), the oldest Eastern Lawa villages are Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Bo Sangae. At present, these three villages are all joined together and seem like one village, but, in fact, they were distinct at one time and had slightly different varieties of Lawa. All three varieties were mutually inherently intelligible, but that of Bo Sangae was more distinct. The other Eastern Lawa villages were founded when people from one (sometimes two) of these three villages moved and started a new village. Because of this, knowledge of the migration patterns basically tells much of the story of dialect variation among the Eastern Lawa. Almost everything we heard during the field work was consistent with Lipsius' account of the origins of the Eastern Lawa villages. In the table of Eastern Lawa villages (Table 33 in Appendix B.5), the groupings of the Eastern Lawa villages are indicated by the letters "A," "B," and "C," referring to the founding villages (Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Bo Sangae, respectively).

The Eastern Lawa subjects reported that all Eastern Lawa people speak Lawa about the same with only some small differences. They indicated that the biggest differences with the majority of villages are found in the following group of villages: Kong Loi, Khun, and Bo Sangae. Also, when we were conducting a Group RTT in Na Fon, we asked the group about differences between villages. They mentioned that the Lawa in Kong Loi has different vocabulary and is as different from Na Fon Lawa as Central Thai is from Northeastern Thai (Isan or Lao). These reports are perfectly consistent with Lipsius' information, since he wrote that Kong Loi and Khun were founded by residents of Bo Sangae, the village of the original three with the most distinct variety. Additionally, the village leader of Bo Sangae indicated that the Lawa spoken in Kong Loi has changed over time such that now it is different in accent. However, the Lawa spoken in Khun, which was founded more recently, is still like the Lawa spoken in Bo Sangae.

When we asked them which village speaks Lawa the most purely, the subjects responded that Bo Luang Lawa (their own variety) is the "easiest to listen to."

B.2 Group RTTs

B.2.1 Bo Luang

When we arrived in Bo Luang for the fieldwork (March 13, 2006), we went to the house of the village leader where we conducted a DPGI. While we had the subjects gathered, we decided to conduct a Group RTT. There were seven subjects: the five DPGI subjects (men ages 27 to 76) and two other men whose ages we did not record.

Wearing headphones, they simultaneously listened to the story from La-up. When we asked about their understanding of the story, the assistant to the village leader did most of the answering (as he did for the DPGI), but some of the others answered, as well. While they were listening to the story, they looked very interested and they laughed or chatted when they could not understand the words. They recognized the story as being "Mae Hong Son Lawa"

but reported that they understood very little of it. One old man was more specific and said it was from Dong (the village closest to La-up). Another old man said it was from Tuun (the northernmost of the Omphai group of villages).

We asked them to tell us what the story was about. Here is some of their “retelling” (along with what the story actually said in parentheses).

- When the storyteller was a child, he went to the fields to harvest (when the storyteller was a child, he went to the fields with his mother).
- He went to Chiang Mai and his mother carried him (his mother carried him to the field hut).
- He called to his mother (he asked his mother to carry him).
- His mother made some medicine for him (his grandparents made some medicine for him).

Basically, they got some of the details right, many details wrong, and did not understand many other details. This seemed to indicate that they were picking up isolated words and piecing the story together from context. This did not give us enough information to estimate the level of comprehension, although we suspected comprehension was rather low. We decided to continue with our original plan and administer RTTs to a sample of the community.

Following is a list of some questions we asked them, along with their responses:

“Would children in this village understand this story?”

- “They would not understand it at all.”

“Does this person speak Lawa well?”

- “They probably think their language is better. We think ours is better. In general, he speaks good Lawa.”

“Did you understand everything, or some things, or nothing at all?”

- One younger man said he understood “not even 30%.”
- A middle age man said he understood “about 50%.”
- The younger men kept insisting that one of the older men, who had had contact with Western Lawa in the past, understood almost all of it, but he answered that he understood “some things.”

“Is the way he speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?”

- “Very different. There were only four or five words that were exactly the same as ours. His accent is different from ours.”

B.2.2 Na Fon

On March 16, 2006, we conducted a Group RTT in Na Fon. We were looking for the village leader but he was not home. There was a group of people there so we decided to conduct a group interview. We played the La-up story for one woman and six men (all over age 35, we think). Halfway through, one man said, “We do not understand it at all. It’s La-up language.” He added that maybe he does understand a few words, that “it is a story about rice, at home.” Another man guessed that the storyteller was from “the Omphai area.”

Following is a list of some questions we asked, along with their responses:

“Does this person speak Lawa well?”

- “They [the Western Lawa people in general] speak good Lawa.”

“Is the way he speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?”

- “They speak different in some ways; a few words are the same.”

“What did you understand in the story?”

- “It is about daily life, what they do in the fields.”

We also tried asking a few of the content questions from the RTT:

“When the boy was bathing, what flew/came?”

- They said they did not know.

“Who did the boy go to the fields with?”

- They said they did not know. After a little while, one man correctly guessed “mother” (the same man who guessed that the storyteller was from La-up).

B.2.3 Bo Sangae

On March 18, 2006, we conducted a Group RTT with six people in Bo Sangae. While they listened, the older people were smiling and laughing while the younger people were concentrating and frowning. The youngest man present said “I understand some words.” Two subjects took off their headphones halfway through the story. Following is a list of some questions we asked them along with their answers:

“Does this person speak Lawa well?”

- “Good, fluent in their own kind.”

“Did you understand everything, or some things, or nothing at all?”

- The two oldest subjects said that they did not understand a single word.
- The youngest subjects said, “I could not catch the words in time.”

“Is the way he speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?”

- They reported that the accent is different from theirs, that there is only a small amount of similarity between the storyteller’s speech and theirs.

“Can anyone understand what this story is about?”

- “A history about being a child.”
- “Something about bees and bee stings.”

“Do people from there come here often?”

- “Yes. They speak Lawa but we only understand some of the words. We misunderstand each other a lot.”
- “They come to sell vegetables.”
- “We do not interact with them often.”

“How would you feel if your child wanted to marry someone from that place?”

- The subjects claimed that there is not any intermarriage at all.³⁴
- “They are so different, so strong. The Western Lawa men are stronger than our men, so their women would not want to marry our men.”

B.2.4 Wang Kong

On March 23, 2006, we conducted a group RTT with one older woman and eight men age 20 to 70 in Wang Kong. When asked, “Which language do you like to hear more, Northern Thai or this kind of Lawa on the tape? Which one is nicer?” One subject responded “Northern Thai, because I do not understand this Lawa.”

Some general comments made by various subjects include:

- “That kind of Lawa is strange.”
- “It is a different language.”
- “I only understand some of the words.”
- “The older generation went to Omphai more.”
- “If we meet them, we use Northern Thai.”
- “Our people do not understand them.”

B.3 Teacher Interviews

Interviews were conducted with teachers at the schools in the Eastern Lawa villages of Bo Luang and Kong Loi. Both schools teach pre-school through grade 9. In Bo Luang, we interviewed two women: the pre-school teacher and a grade 7–9 teacher. One is Lawa and the other is Northern Thai but married to a Lawa (she can speak some Lawa and her children speak Lawa). In Kong Loi, we interviewed a Northern Thai woman who teaches grades 7–9, as well as a teacher who is a Lawa man. Table 24 shows the results of these interviews.

Table 24 – Teacher Interview Responses

Question	Bo Luang	Kong Loi
What villages are the students from?	<p>Grades 1 to 9 Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen</p> <p>Grades 7 to 9 only Wang Kong, Mae Sanam, and Kiu Lom</p>	<p>Grades 1 to 9 Kong Loi, Kong Phae, Long Mo, Pon Yom, Mai Thung Song (10 students)</p> <p>Grades 7 to 9 only Mae Sa Nam, Dok Daeng (a Karen village), and others</p>
What percentage of students are from each ethnic group?	<p>90% Lawa 10% Thai, Northern Thai, Karen (no pure Karen; all are children of mixed marriages)</p>	<p>70% Lawa (about 20% of these are children of mixed marriages) 25% Karen 5% Northern Thai</p>

³⁴ In fact, there is some intermarriage, but it seems to be very infrequent. We only heard of one case, in Kong Loi.

Table 24 – Teacher Interview Responses (*continued*):

Question	Bo Luang	Kong Loi
<p>If you compare the children from each ethnic group, when they first start school, what differences are there?</p>	<p>Northern Thai: Already understand Central Thai when they enter school.</p> <p>Lawa: Cannot speak Central Thai when they first enter pre-school. It is hard for some to learn, easier for others. At first, Lawa students cannot understand Central Thai at all. After 2 to 3 months, they begin to understand it. There are two special education students who have a lot of difficulty understanding Thai.</p>	<p>Lawa: Usually know some Northern Thai when they start school.</p> <p>Karen: When they start school, they only know Karen and have difficulty understanding the teachers.</p>
<p>On test scores, how do the different groups compare?</p>	<p>To pass pre-school, a child must be able to write his/her name in Thai, but some Lawa children cannot do that.</p> <p>In grades 7 to 9, there is no difference between Lawa and Thai students' test scores. It depends on the individual's aptitude.</p>	<p>In the older grades, Lawa tend to study better, and Karen tend to be more polite and well-behaved. The test scores usually go in this order, from best to worst: Northern Thai, Lawa, Karen.</p>
<p>Is Lawa culture taught in this school?</p>	<p>“Yes. We do not want to lose it. If the children understand their origins, they will not be embarrassed about being Lawa. There are also certain traditions that we need to keep, so we teach culture and traditions at all levels from preschool to grade 9. Sometimes we bring in speakers from outside the school to teach the children.”</p>	<p>Not asked</p>

Table 24 – Teacher Interview Responses (*continued*):

Question	Bo Luang	Kong Loi
Is Lawa language (or any tribal language) taught in this school?	There are two Lawa people who help the Northern Thai pre-school teacher that we interviewed. They speak Lawa to the children who do not understand Thai so that they know what is going on. If teachers are explaining about Lawa culture or language, then they speak Lawa, even in grades 7 to 9. “The Northern Thai children learn to use Lawa too – they are smart and can understand it. We do not need to teach Lawa language because everyone understands it.”	“In this school, there is no teaching of other languages, we only use Central Thai. The children use their own languages (their mother tongues) to talk together, but with the teachers they speak only Central Thai.”
Do the children ever try to write Lawa?	“In all grades they draw or look at pictures and write the words in Lawa, but there is a problem with some words and sounds that cannot be written [using Thai].”	“No students can write Lawa. In this area, very few Karen people can read or write Karen, usually just adults.”
Do the ethnic groups split up to play or do they play together?	Students all play together. They do not split into groups.	When playing, kids separate into ethnic groups in the younger grades, but in the older grades they tend to play together, especially for sports.
When the youngest kids are playing, what languages do they speak?	Some Lawa, some Northern Thai. The students mostly speak Lawa with each other, and if there is a Northern Thai child in the group, they may use Northern Thai. When the pre-school children are washing their hands and eating lunch, they usually use Lawa.	Each group uses its own language when they play.
Do the teachers mind if the kids speak Lawa, or do they want the kids to speak Thai?	“It is no problem for the children to speak the local language at school.”	“Teachers here feel it does not matter what language children speak when they play.”

Table 24 – Teacher Interview Responses (*continued*):

Question	Bo Luang	Kong Loi
When the older children play, what languages do they speak?	The grade 7 to 9 children usually use Lawa when they play. They do not usually use Northern Thai.	In grades 6 and 7, Lawa children talking together use Lawa, and Lawa children talking with Karen use Northern Thai. Children who are not Lawa usually learn a little Lawa. They also learn a little Karen, but not much.
When the Lawa children start school, can they speak <i>any</i> Central Thai or Northern Thai?	<p>“During their first few years of school, the Lawa children are not really interested in learning or speaking Northern Thai. Teachers mainly use Central Thai, so pre-school children learn more Central Thai at school than Northern Thai. Northern Thai is learned in the community through interaction with Northern Thai people.”</p> <p>“A few Lawa parents have taught their children Northern Thai, so they can easily transition to Central Thai at school. But most students do not know any Thai when they start pre-school, so the teachers have to teach them Central Thai. For the first two to three months, the Lawa children do not know even basic Thai words like ‘spoon’, and they cry a lot for their parents.”</p>	Lawa children usually cannot speak Central Thai or Northern Thai before pre-school, but children of mixed marriages usually already speak Northern Thai.
At about what grade are the Lawa children good Central Thai speakers?	In grade 1 they know some words but are not yet conversational. By grade 2 or 3, Lawa children can speak Central Thai well.	By grade 4 or 5, Lawa children can speak Central Thai fluently.

Table 24 – Teacher Interview Responses (*continued*):

Question	Bo Luang	Kong Loi
At about what grade are the Lawa children good Northern Thai speakers?	By grade 5 or 6, Lawa children can speak Northern Thai well. They mainly learn it in the local community.	By grade 4 or 5, Lawa children can speak Northern Thai fluently.
At about what grade are the Lawa children good Central Thai readers?	By grade 4, Lawa children can read and write Central Thai well. Northern Thai and Lawa children attain this aptitude at the same time.	By grade 4 to 6, Lawa children can read and write Central Thai well.
Where do the teachers at this school come from?	Of the 22 or 23 teachers, five are Lawa. The rest are Northern Thai from Amphoe Chom Thong, Amphoe San Pa Tong, Amphoe Hang Dong, and Lamphun province.	Of the 13 teachers, one is Lawa. The rest are Northern Thai from Amphoe San Pa Tong, Lamphun province, Lampang province, and Amphoe Hang Dong.
Where do the teachers live while they are here?	Five or six of the Northern Thai teachers live at the school in teacher housing. Six others come and go from home each day. Several live in houses nearby.	All the teachers stay in the teacher housing on the school property, except for the one Lawa teacher who lives in his own home in the village.
Can the Thai teachers speak any Lawa?	Northern Thai teachers cannot really speak Lawa. “It’s a hard language to learn,” the Northern Thai teacher said.	Some Northern Thai teachers know some Lawa words, but not very much.
In 20 years, do you think there will be children in this village who can speak Lawa?	The respondents were afraid that in 20 years the children will not speak Lawa. “Many go to Chiang Mai, and Thai society and prosperity has come into the community. The principal wants to protect the language here. There are many villages (Bo Sali for example) that have already stopped speaking Lawa, and we do not want to be like that. We want the children to preserve the language and to be able to speak it fluently.”	“Yes, there will still be children here speaking Lawa. The language will not disappear. In Bo Sali it has disappeared, but here the children learn Lawa from birth.”

Table 24 – Teacher Interview Responses (*continued*):

Question	Bo Luang	Kong Loi
What are some important Lawa traditions and customs that you teach about and want to preserve?	“Wedding traditions and religion, especially ‘lamang’. Lamang is ancestor worship in which we sacrifice a water buffalo, because when our ancestors died, they probably did not have enough money to buy a buffalo, so we sacrifice one for them. They are in heaven, and they need the living to help them. There is a string-tying ceremony for the oldest son, and he wears a string on his wrist for protection. The principal, a Northern Thai man, is interested in preserving Lawa culture. He has been here for five years.”	Not asked
What do grade 9 students usually do after they graduate? What percentages?	20% study grades 10 to 12 30% study at vocational school 10% farm in the village 40% go to work in the city	70–80% continue studying 20–30% go to work, mostly as hired laborers
Is there are difference between male and female students?	Females usually study further, while males usually go to work.	No difference, both genders do the same things.
Where do they study?	Most go to work or study in Chiang Mai city. Others go to Lamphun province, Amphoe Chom Thong, or Bangkok.	Most go to study further in Chiang Mai city.
Are there any temple schools in this area?	Ban Khun has the only temple school in the area where grades 7 to 9 are taught for novices only. The respondents did not know if the teaching was in Lawa because they had never been there. [When we went to Ban Khun, we confirmed this information with the village leader’s wife. She said that only a few Buddhist novices were currently studying at the temple school.]	Not asked

The following are some additional notes from the Bo Luang interview:

- Right now, the students are asking the old people for old Lawa songs, and are writing down the lyrics using the Thai script to make a book.
- The teachers expressed an interest in seeing the Lawa language developed.
- The teachers were happy that people from the outside were interested in the Lawa people.

Some of us wandered around the school while the teacher interview was being conducted. The following are some of our observations:

- We visited the cafeteria and talked to one of the cooks there. She is Northern Thai and sells food each day to the students, for about 8/baht per plate. She said she has no trouble communicating (using Northern Thai) with the students, even the youngest ones. Of course, the sorts of things she would talk about with the children are rather limited and are things the children would be highly motivated to learn at an early age in order to eat.
- Then we visited the grade 1–2 building. We observed the grade 1 children playing together and using Lawa language.
- We met the grade 1 teacher, a Lawa woman who is the sister of the grade 7–9 teacher that the others were interviewing. She took us to meet another grade 1 teacher. The two of them were working together on making small picture dictionaries (Thai-Lawa-English) for their students. They had made 10 so far (numbers, colors, body parts, school objects, verbs, kinship terms, vegetables, fruits, etc.) and one book that had the entire list, from which they had made the semantic category books (see Figure 12). Many of these books had a digital color photo on each page (body parts, fruits, vegetables, and school objects) that the teacher had taken herself. The Lawa was typed using Thai script, but the teachers said there were a lot of problems with knowing how to spell the Lawa. They mentioned that they would like to have a linguist help them. They said the students love to look through the photo dictionaries and use them daily. They look at the pictures, say and “read” the Lawa word. However, the books without pictures are not as interesting to them. The other grade 1 teacher is Northern Thai, but she knows a little bit of Lawa. She is interested in helping them with language development. We took photos together and also signed their dictionary guestbook (two others had already signed the guestbook).



Figure 12 - Eastern Lawa Picture Books

B.4 Village Summaries

The political divisions of Thailand are (from smallest to largest):

- Village (a group of houses [muu] baan^๖) (หมู่บ้าน), numbered and abbreviated as M.# or ม.#),
- Tambon, or sub-district, ([tam] bon^๖), ตำบล, abbreviated T. or ต.),
- Amphoe, or district, ([am] p^๖ :], อำเภอ, abbreviated A. or อ.), and
- Changwat, or province, ([caŋ] wat^๖), จังหวัด, abbreviated C. or จ.).

In addition to the Dialect Perceptions Group Interview, Group RTTs, and other interviews, Village Leader SLQs were administered in two Western Lawa villages and four Eastern Lawa villages. Some of these were, in fact, conducted with the village leader while some were conducted with others knowledgeable about the village. Table 25 lists the Village Leader SLQ respondents in each village. The following sections summarize the responses to the Village Leader SLQs:

Table 25 – Village Leader SLQ Respondents by Location

Location	Respondent(s)
La-up	Village leader
Kok Luang	Village leader and two other men
Kong Loi	Chairman of Tambon Council, Tambon Bo Sali (a resident of Kong Loi)
Bo Luang	Village leaders of Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen
Wang Kong	Village leader
Khun	Assistant to the village leader

B.4.1 La-up

B.4.1.1 Names

Ban La-up [bâ:n là^๖u:p] (บ้านละอุบ) is a Western Lawa village in Tambon Huai Hom (ห้วยห้อย), Amphoe Mae La Noi (แมลาน้อย), Mae Hong Son Province (แม่ฮ่องสอน). While Thai people refer to the village by its official name (Ban La-up), Western Lawa people call it by its Lawa name: [yɔ ra^๖au?] (ยวงไรอวก).³⁵ The Thai name for the village, “La-up,” is derived from a legend that someone in the royal family once left a silver box for holding money there. I understood the La-up village leader to say that “la” means “to leave something” and “up” is the word for the silver item.

B.4.1.2 Population and ethnolinguistic make-up

As of February 2006, Ban La-up had 187 houses and 1,086 people, almost all of whom are Lawa. There are fewer than ten Karen women married to Lawa men and fewer than ten Northern

³⁵ [yɔ] is a La-up Lawa word for village. All else I have read or heard indicates that this must be just a fast speech form of [yuan], the word usually used for “village” in Lawa.

Thai men married to Lawa women living in the village. The Karen women learn Lawa and their children grow up speaking Lawa.

B.4.1.3 History

Lawa people came from Chiang Mai around 800 years ago and founded La-up. There used to be a large group of Lawa in Chiang Mai, but they were defeated by Northern Thai people and fled. The village has moved a number of times, but it has always been within 10 kilometers of its present location, where it has been for over 200 years.

B.4.1.4 Education

La-up has a pre-school as well as a primary school for grades 1 to 9. In grades 1 to 6, all the children are Lawa. In grades 7 to 9, however, 30% of the children are Karen from nearby villages that only have schools up to grade 6. The Lawa children speak Lawa with each other and Thai with the Karen children. Up to grade 9, only about 10% of Lawa children in La-up study elsewhere, but after grade 9, about half of them continue their studies in Mae La Noi, Thung Ruang Thong (located just south of Mae La Noi, or Mae Sariang, where they study along with Karen, Hmong, Shan, and Northern Thai children. In Mae La Noi, most of the students are Karen, but in Mae Sariang, the two largest groups of students are Karen and Northern Thai (about equal proportions).

Typically, a young person from La-up completes about nine years of schooling and then begins work. Either immediately after grade 9 or later, about 70% of young people at some point go to Mae Sariang, Chiang Mai, or Bangkok to work. However, they generally come back to live in La-up. Even those who do not come back to stay, do come back for special events.

B.4.1.5 Language

The language of La-up is Lawa. Other languages that most villagers know are Northern Thai and Central Thai (sometimes spoken mixed together). Some can also speak Karen with Karen people. Everyone in the village can speak Lawa well, but proficiency in the other languages varies by age and opportunity. Those who do not get jobs outside the village cannot speak Northern Thai well. Those who do not study and do not go out of the village much cannot speak Central Thai well. In general, old people do not leave the village. Children start learning Central Thai when they start school and later can speak Central Thai well. Lawa people, 15 to 40 years old, can speak Northern Thai well, since they often interact with Northern Thai people. Forty to eighty-year old men also can speak Karen. Older women generally speak Northern Thai poorly and both men and women over 50 years old generally speak Central Thai poorly. There are only a few older, uneducated people who are monolingual in Lawa.

B.4.2 Kok Luang

B.4.2.1 Names

Ban Kok Luang [bâ:n kò : k lǔaŋ] (บ้านกอกหลวง) is the official name, of a Western Lawa village in Tambon Mae Na Chang (แม่นาจาง), Amphoe Mae La Noi (แมลาน้อย), Mae Hong Son Province (แม่ฮ่องสอน). Those from Kok Luang refer to their village by its Lawa name: [yuaŋ kò : k] (ยั้งกอก). In both the Thai and Lawa names, [kò : k] comes from the name of the [makò : k] tree (an olive tree). Similarly, Karen people refer to the village as [kə la] and to the

language as [kɔ vaʔ], where the first syllable in each has the same meaning as [kɔ̃ : k].

B.4.2.2 History

Kok Luang was founded about 100 to 200 years ago. The Lawa founders came from Chiang Mai. At first, there were only about ten houses, but then more and more Lawa moved in as they saw that the location was good.

B.4.2.3 Population and ethnolinguistic make-up

As of February 2006, Ban Kok Luang had 79 houses and 420 people, almost all of whom are Lawa. There are fewer than ten Karen and fewer than ten Northern Thai living in the village, all of whom are married to Lawa; most are women, but there are a few Karen men married to Lawa women.

B.4.2.4 Education

Kok Luang has a pre-school and a primary school with grades 1 to 6. When children enter pre-school, they do not speak any Thai. There are Lawa pre-school teachers who can help the children transition into Central Thai more easily. In the primary school, about half the children are Lawa and about half are Karen. There are no children from Northern Thai families. When they first enter school, the Lawa and Karen children have to communicate non-verbally until they learn Central Thai.

After finishing grade 6, many students from Kok Luang go to Mae La Noi for grades 7 to 12. Most finish at least through grade 9, but more and more are studying through grade 12 and some even study further to the bachelor's degree level.

After school, some go to Bangkok to work. Some work for a few years in Mae Sariang, Chiang Mai, Lampang, or Lamphun. Most of them eventually come back to Kok Luang when they have enough money to buy or build a house.

B.4.2.5 Language

Lawa is the language of Kok Luang. Even non-Lawa people who have married into the village learn to speak Lawa, albeit with an accent and less clearly. Most Kok Luang residents can also speak Northern Thai, Central Thai, and Karen,³⁶ although there are some older people who are monolingual speakers of Lawa.

Students learn Central Thai at school, but do not know much Northern Thai. People in Kok Luang who speak Northern Thai well can do so because they have worked as hired laborers in Mae La Noi or Mae Sariang.

In general, older people can speak Karen better than younger people. Those over age forty-five speak Karen and Northern Thai well, with the women speaking Karen better than the men. The reason that the older ones can speak Karen better is that, in the past, many of them had to go to Karen villages to buy rice and animals and the Karen would come to Kok Luang often. There are also a few fifty to sixty-year-old people who learned some Shan in Mae Sariang in the past.

³⁶ There are some Hmong villages nearby, but the Lawa cannot speak or understand that language at all.

B.4.3 Kong Loi

B.4.3.1 Names

Ban Kong Loi [bân kɔŋ lɔi] (บ้านกองลอย) is an Eastern Lawa village in Tambon Bo Sali (บ่อสลี), Amphoe Hot (ฮอด), Chiang Mai Province (เชียงใหม่). It is the Eastern Lawa village that is closest to the Western Lawa. While Thai people refer to the village by its official name (Ban Kong Loi), Eastern Lawa people call it by its Lawa name: [yuaŋ kɔŋ aʔloi]. The name for the village is derived from a legend about a gong floating in a river.

B.4.3.2 History

Lipsius (n.d.) reported that Kong Loi was founded around 1770 by Lawa from Bo Sangae. The interview respondent (the Tambon Council Chairman) reported that people came to Kong Loi about 150 years ago from Bo Sali. It is not clear if this is a contradiction or just that there were two different times when Lawa people moved to Kong Loi.

B.4.3.3 Population and ethnolinguistic make-up

Altogether, there are approximately four hundred houses and 1,500 people in Kong Loi. But only 80% of these are Lawa with the other 20% being Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen, and Northern Thai. There are more Karen than Northern Thai and there is a Karen sector of the village. The Karen came to Kong Loi relatively recently. There is a lot of intermarriage between Lawa and Northern Thai. The children of these mixed marriages end up speaking Lawa, if they live in Kong Loi, for two reasons. First, it is usually Lawa women who marry a non-Lawa, and the children learn Lawa from their mother. Second, the children are surrounded by many Lawa speakers in Kong Loi.

The Tambon leader also gave us the following approximate information about Lawa in other villages in Tambon Bo Sali. The Tambon has ten villages, and in addition to Kong Loi, there are three other villages with Lawa people. Bo Sali (บ่อสลี) has over 300 households, about 10% of which are Lawa. It used to be a purely Lawa village long ago. Thung (ทุ่ง) also has over 300 households, with about 70% of them being Lawa. Mae Waen (แม่แวน) has over 190 households, but only about 5% of them are Lawa. We heard consistent reports throughout the survey that the villages of Tambon Bo Sali are shifting away from Lawa. In fact, we found that this shift is not that far along in Kong Loi, the one village of this Tambon that we actually visited. However, given that the other villages have even lower proportions of Lawa people, there is no reason to strongly doubt the reports of lower vitality.

B.4.3.4 Education

Kong Loi has a school that teaches through grade 9. There are Lawa, Karen, and Northern Thai students. Most are Lawa, with Karen being the second-largest group. The Lawa students speak mostly Lawa with each other, but if there is a non-Lawa student with them, they speak Northern Thai. Many young people from Kong Loi go to Chiang Mai to study further and/or work. Many come back to visit, and many come back to get married and settle down in Kong Loi.

B.4.3.5 Language

There are no monolingual Lawa speakers in Kong Loi; all can speak Thai. Non-Lawa people in Kong Loi do not speak Lawa well. The Lawa speak Northern Thai with outsiders. The Karen in the area call the Kong Loi Lawa language [ave].

B.4.4 Bo Luang

B.4.4.1 Names

Ban Bo Luang [ba:n bɔ̀: lǔaŋ] (บ้านบ่อหลวง) is the official name of an Eastern Lawa village in Tambon Bo Luang (บ่อหลวง), Amphoe Hot (ฮอด), Chiang Mai Province (เชียงใหม่). The Lawa name of the village is [yuaŋ næum] (“first village”) or [yuaŋ raʔ] (“big person village”). Outsiders use the official name but Lawa people generally call it [yuaŋ raʔ].

B.4.4.2 History

Lawa people first came to Bo Luang over two hundred years ago. The population continued to gradually increase as more and more people settled there, coming in from the “forest” where they moved around a lot. There is a legend that the Lawa liked peace and preferred to avoid conflict. That is why they fled Chiang Mai and began moving about.

B.4.4.3 Population and ethnolinguistic make-up

Bo Luang is actually one of three villages that are joined together contiguously. Bo Luang is M1, Bo Sangae (บ่อสะแก, [yuaŋ tiaŋ]) is M11, and Bo Phawaen (บ่อแพวน, [yuaŋ kʰəviaŋ]³⁷) is M12. All three villages together have about 679 houses (M1 has 196, M11 has 141, M12 has 342). There are about 965 people (approximately 870 of whom are Lawa) in M1 and about 640 (approximately 620 of whom are Lawa) in M11. We did not get a population estimate for M12, but assuming about 4.4 people per house (see Table 36 in Appendix B.6), there are approximately 1,505 people (approximately 1,355 of whom are Lawa) in M12. Thus, altogether there are about 3,110 people in these three contiguous villages, about 2,845 of whom are Lawa. There are some Northern Thai, Karen, and Lahu who have married into these villages and there are a few Northern Thai families who live there, as well. The children of the mixed marriages can speak Lawa.

B.4.4.4 Education

There is a school that serves all three villages from grades 1 to 9. Up to grade 6, all of the children are Lawa. In grades 7 to 9, about 20% of the students are Karen and Thai from villages where the school only goes up to grade 6. Typically, children from these three villages study through grade 9, although many of those who can afford it send their children to study further in Chom Thong or Chiang Mai.

Many young people go to Chiang Mai to study and/or work and some go to work in Bangkok. Those who are very educated do not come back as they do not want to farm. But, in general, those who work elsewhere come back after only a few years, get married, and settle in Bo Luang.

B.4.4.5 Language

Lawa is the language of Bo Luang and all of the Lawa people there speak it well. Some outsiders who marry in also learn to speak Lawa. There might be a few older people who are monolingual Lawa speakers, but most people can speak Central and Northern Thai, as well. The younger generation can speak Northern Thai well. By grade 4, children can speak Central Thai well. Older people can speak some Northern Thai but not much Central Thai. Generally, Lawa speak Lawa with each other, but sometimes they speak Northern Thai with each other, depending on the circumstances.

³⁷ The Thai name of M12 comes from a kind of vegetable that grows there, more than in other places, called [pʰāk wə:n].

B.4.5 Wang Kong

B.4.5.1 Names

Ban Wang Kong [bâ:n waŋ kɔ:ŋ] (บ้านวังทอง) is the official name of an Eastern Lawa village in Tambon Bo Luang (บ่อหลวง), Amphoe Hot (ฮอด), Chiang Mai province (เชียงใหม่). The Lawa name of the village is [yuaŋ kɔŋ] which, like the name of Kong Loi, is derived from a legend about a gong.

B.4.5.2 History

Wang Kong was founded over a hundred years ago by five or six Lawa households that moved from Bo Luang in order to be closer to their fields.

B.4.5.3 Population and ethnolinguistic make-up

There are 139 houses with over 600 people in Wang Kong. The only non-Lawa people are a few Thai people that have married into the village.

B.4.5.4 Education

There is a primary school in Wang Kong from grades 1 to 6. All of the students are Lawa. About 70% of them study further in Bo Luang up to grade 9. Those that study beyond that go to Chom Thong or Mae Chaem. Typically, a child from Wang Kong will study up to grade 12 and then settle in Wang Kong and take up farming. Some young people go to Chiang Mai to study and/or work. They generally come back to visit while they are away and eventually come back to settle in Wang Kong.

B.4.5.5 Language

Lawa is the language of Wang Kong. All the Lawa in Wang Kong can speak Lawa and at least some Thai. There are no monolingual Lawa speakers in Wang Kong. Those who have studied beyond grade 6 continue to speak Thai as well as Lawa. Older people generally do not speak Thai well.

B.4.6 Khun

B.4.6.1 Names

Ban Khun [bâ:n kʰŭn] (บ้านขุน) is the official name of an Eastern Lawa village in Tambon Bo Luang (บ่อหลวง), Amphoe Hot (ฮอด), Chiang Mai Province (เชียงใหม่). While Thai people refer to it by its official name, Lawa people call the village [yuaŋ ndaʔ nafoan], but the [nafoan] is optional.

B.4.6.2 History

Lawa people moved to Khun from Bo Sangae about ninety years ago because the land was good.

B.4.6.3 Population and Ethnolinguistic Make-Up

There are 171 houses and over 800 people in Khun, all of whom are Lawa, except for a few Thai households. Before 10 or so years ago, the road to Khun was not good and there were only Lawa people living there. A few Khun men have intermarried with non-Lawa, as well.

B.4.6.4 Education

Khun has a primary school from grades 1 to 6. All of the students are from Khun and generally cannot speak Thai before they start school. Many students then study further in Bo Luang, Hot, or Chiang Mai, but generally come back to Khun to settle. Typically, students from Khun study through grade 9, but some have gone as far as a bachelor's degree.

B.4.6.5 Language

Lawa is the language of Khun, but almost everyone can also speak Central and/or Northern Thai.

B.5 Table of Lawa Villages

The following tables list all the Lawa villages that I have been able to read about in the literature or hear of in interviews. They are grouped into geographical categories, but these groupings are not intended to imply intelligibility within groups or lack of intelligibility between groups. For each village, there is one row of information from each source. Information learned during this survey is noted as "This survey (2006)." All the Thai names for villages are preceded by the word "Ban," which is Thai for "village." Similarly, all the Lawa names for villages are preceded by some form of the word [yuaŋ], the Lawa word for "village." The Western Lawa villages are placed into the following geographic groups: Northern, North-Central, Central, Omphai, Mae La Noi, and Mae Sariang. Two additional groupings of Lawa in the tables are the Eastern Lawa, and the Khalo', or "Mae Rim Lawa" (Flatz 1970). Within the Eastern Lawa villages, there are also codes "A," "B," and "C." These are from Lipsius (n.d.) and refer to Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, Ban Bo Sangae, respectively, the three villages that are the origin of the people that founded all the other Eastern Lawa villages.

Table 26 provides coordinates for a few villages that we obtained using a GPS device.

Table 26 – Coordinates for a few Lawa villages

Village Name	Latitude (N)	Longitude (E)	Elevation (m)
Ban La-up	18.34676	98.06033	1150
Ban Kok Luang	18.53088	98.13908	1052
Ban Pae	18.48303	98.12	1098
Ban Kok Noi	18.45754	98.14991	1016
Ban Ho	18.45779	98.17871	1003
Kong Loi	18.15141	98.24482	845

In the following tables of village details, a blank indicates that the information is not known to me:

Table 27 – Northern Villages (See Figure 4)

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Mut Long	บ้านมุดหลวง		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านมุดลอง	[yuaŋ hlauŋ]	Kauffmann (1972)	35	~1100m T. Ban Thap, A. Mae Chaem, C. Chiang Mai	
Ban Kok Noi	บ้านกอกน้อย	[yuaŋ mokoei (mokai)]	Kauffmann (1972)	35	~1050m T. Ban Thap, A. Mae Chaem, C. Chiang Mai	
Ban Ho (or Ban Mae Ho)	บ้านแม่เหาะ		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านเหาะ	[yuaŋ roʔ]	Kauffmann (1972)	46 (26 Lawa, 20 Karen)	~1100–1150m T. Ban Thap, A. Mae Chaem, C. Chiang Mai	
Ban Khong	บ้านขง		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านขง	[yuaŋ khrāu]	Kauffmann (1972)	33	~960m T. Ban Thap, A. Mae Chaem, C. Chiang Mai	
Ban Pae	บ้านแปะ	[yuaŋ bæʔ (beʔ, preʔ)]	Kauffmann (1972)	60	~1260m T. Ban Thap, A. Mae Chaem, C. Chiang Mai	
Ban Kok Luang	บ้านกอกหลวง	[yuaŋ kok]	Kauffmann (1972)	68 (54 Lawa, 12 Karen, 2 Haw)	~1110m T. Mae La Noi, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	
	บ้านกอกหลวง	[yuaŋ kɔ̌k] or [yuaŋ kwək] ขี้กอก	This survey (2006)	79 (420 people, about 400 of which are Lawa; others are Karen and Northern Thai who have married into the village)	T. Mae Na Chang, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	The Karen call this village [kɔ̌ lo] or [kɔ̌ la]

Table 27 – Northern Villages (continued):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Huai	บ้านห้วย		Schlatter (2002)		Near Thung Sieo, which is near A. San Pa Tong in Chiang Mai Province	Populated by people from northern villages. Not shown on map.
Ban Umeng	บ้านอูเมง		Thongthip (2005)		Near A. San Pa Tong in Chiang Mai Province	Not shown on map.

Table 28 – North-Central Villages (See Figure 5)

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban La-ang Neua	บ้านละอองเหนือ	[yuaŋ raŋ lāuŋ (laʔhaŋŋ)]	Kauffmann (1972)	24	~1160m T. Mae La Noi, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	La-ang = 'high'
			This survey (2006)	~28	T. Huai Hom, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	Source was not a leader, just a former resident.
Ban La-ang Tai	บ้านละอองใต้	[yuaŋ raŋ dīam]	Kauffmann (1972)	9	~1140m T. Mae La Noi, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	diam = 'low'
			This survey (2006)	~10		Source was not a leader, just a former resident of La-ang Neua.
Ban Sam	บ้านสาม		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านซาม	[yuaŋ sām]	Kauffmann (1972)	31	~1180m T. Mae La Noi, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	

Table 29 – Central Villages (See Figure 5)

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban La-up	๖ บ้านละอูป	[yuaŋ la-ueʔ (la-uek, la'ɔk)]	Kauffmann (1972)	92	~1100–1160m T. Mae La Noi, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	Has traits of both “northern” and “southern” groups.
			Obayashi (1964)	85	12 km from Pa Pae	“the village of Lawa silversmiths”
	๖ บ้านละอูป	[yɔ raʔauʔ] ขวงรโวก	This survey (2006)	Lawa: 187 (1,086 people)	T. Huai Hom, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	
Ban Bo Kaew	๖ ๖ บ้านบอแก้ว		Thongthip (2005)	~20 families from Ban La-up	?	Not shown on map.
Ban Dong	๖ บ้านดง	[yuaŋ nɔŋ]	Kauffmann (1972)	96	~1090m T. Mae La Noi, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	Has traits of both “northern” and “southern” groups. Has a Border Patrol Police school.
Ban Dong Mai	๖ บ้านดงใหม่		Schlatter (2002)		East of Ban Dong	Populated by people from Ban Dong (Thongthip 2005).
Ban Pa Pae			Obayashi (1964)	40	25 km east of Mae Sariang	
			Kunstadter (1983)	51 (231 people) (in 1968)		A combination of 5 hamlets that joined in the early 1800s.
			Kunstadter (1966)	49	They had to hike 3 hours up a mountain to get to Pa Pae	All those in Pa Pae came from several other villages. 150 years ago, these villages combined for protection from robbers from Burma.
	๖ บ้านป่าแป๋	[yuaŋ jāoe (mo hoŋ)]	Kauffmann (1972)	51 (233 people in 1970)	~720m	
		[yuaŋ pɛ]	Suriya (1979)	54 (284 people)	T. Pa Pae, A. Mae Sariang, C. Mae Hong Son	
			Suriya (1996)	74 (415 people)	M.3	
	๖ บ้านป่าแป๋	[yuaŋ cai] ๖ วงจ้ำ	This survey (2006)	~75 (~400 people)		Thai name means “mango tree forest.” The Lawa name means “waterfall village.”

Table 30 – Omphai Villages (See Figure 5)

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Tuun	บ้านตูน	[yuaŋ dū]	Kauffmann (1972)	31	~1220m T. Mae La Noi, A. Mae La Noi, C. Mae Hong Son	
Ban Chang Mo Luang	บ้านช้างหมอลวง	[yuaŋ tiam]	Kauffmann (1972)	43	~1137m T. Mae Sariang, A. Mae Sariang, C. Mae Hong Son	
Ban San Ti Suk	บ้านสันติสุข		Schlatter (2002)		Near Ban Chang Mo Luang	
Ban Chang Mo Noi	บ้านช้างหมอน้อย		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านช้างหมอน้อย	[yuaŋ kōŋ]	Kauffmann (1972)	27	~1137m T. Mae Sariang, A. Mae Sariang, C. Mae Hong Son	
Ban Chang Mo Manot (Omnot)	บ้านช้างหม่อมะ นอต (อมนอต)	[yuaŋ ommadoi]	Kauffmann (1972)	17	~1137m T. Mae Sariang, A. Mae Sariang, C. Mae Hong Son	
Omphai Luang	บ้านอมพาย		MapMagic (2003)			
			Obayashi (1964)	160 “including neighboring villages”		the “stronghold of Lawa villages”
			Mitani (1965)		30 km northwest of Ban Kong Loi, the village just to the west of Bo Luang	“a few villages clustered together”
	บ้านอมพายหลวง	[yuaŋ tiŋ]	Kauffmann (1972)	17	~1137m T. Mae Sariang, A. Mae Sariang, C. Mae Hong Son	
Ban Yaek	บ้านแยก	[yuaŋ yiaʔ]	Kauffmann (1972)	11	~1137m T. Mae Sariang, A. Mae Sariang, C. Mae Hong Son	

Table 30 – Omphai Villages (continued):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Daen (formerly Ban Umphai Noi)	บ้านแดน	[yuaŋ moŋgri?]	Kauffmann (1972)	24	~1137m T. Mae Sariang, A. Mae Sariang, C. Mae Hong Son	As of 1972, Daen, Yaek, Omphai Luang, Chang Mo Manot, Chang Mo Noi and Chang Mo Luang form the “Omphai group” and all have the same headman.

Table 31 – Mae La Noi Villages (See Figure 6)

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban San Ti Suk	บ้านสันติสุข		Schlatter (2002)		North of Mae La Noi. Across the river, to the west of Mae La Luang	Thongthip (2005) said this was a large village.
Ban Mae Su	บ้านแม่สุ		Schlatter (2002)		North of Mae La Noi	
Ban Tha Song Khwa	บ้านท่าสองแคว		Schlatter (2002)		South of Mae La Noi	
Ban Mae Tia	บ้านแม่เตี้ย		Thongthip (2005)	3 or 4 Lawa	South of Mae La Noi	

Table 32 – Mae Sariang Villages (See Figure 7)

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Phae	บ้านแพะ		Jiranan (1985)	270 (1,460 people) [not known how many are Lawa] Two parts – Ban Phae Bon (70 houses) and Ban Phae Lang (200 houses)	2 km from Amphoe Mae Sariang office; Between Ban Chom Chaeng and Ban Pong	Many Lawa have moved here from elsewhere.

Table 32 – Mae Sariang Villages (*continued*):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Huai Sai	บ้านห้วยทราย		Schlatter (p.c.)		South of Mae Sariang	This is a Northern Thai village with about 10 Lawa families living together on the outskirts of the village.
Ban Nong Mae La			Thongthip (2005)	6 or 7 Lawa	South of Mae Sariang	
Ban Huai Sing Tai	บ้านห้วยสิงห์ใต้		Thongthip (2005)		South of Mae Sariang	Only the older generation speaks Lawa.
Ban Huai Sing Nuea	บ้านห้วยสิงห์เหนือ		Thongthip (2005)		South of Mae Sariang	Only the older generation speaks Lawa.

Table 33 – Eastern Lawa Villages (*See Figure 8. “A,” “B,” or “C” in parentheses indicates the Lipsius grouping; see Section B.5*).

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Thung Luang (A)	บ้านโตงหลวง	[yuaŋ tōŋ luaŋ]	Kauffmann (1972)			
	บ้านทุ่งหลวง		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านตงหลวง	Three names given : [yuaŋ toŋ luaŋ], [k ^h ɛcɪk], [bantōŋ]	Lipsius (n.d.)	~ 100	750m	Founded 1865 (2408 B.E.)
	บ้านทุ่ง		This survey (2006)	Total: 300 (only 210 are Lawa and probably not all of these are <i>speakers</i> of Lawa)	T. Bo Sali, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	

Table 33 – Eastern Lawa Villages (*continued*):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Mae Tian (A)	บ้านแม่เตียน		MapMagic (2003)			
		[yuaŋ mæ tɿən]	Lipsius (n.d.)	> 10	?	People came from Ban Na Fon and Ban Thung Luang [kʰacik]. “Only village with no road.” Founded 1950 (2493 B.E.)
Thung Son (A?)			Thongthip (2005)		Just west of Ban Sanam	Also called Mae Sa Nam Mai, or “New Mae Sa Nam.”
Ban Sa Nam (A)	บ้านแม่สะนาม	[yuaŋ phoɪphoi]	Kauffmann (1972)			
	บ้านสนาม		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านสะนาม	[yuaŋ sanam] Two subnames (?) also given : [raʔ / phraɪŋ]	Lipsius (n.d.)	> 30	1126m	Founded 1910 (2453 B.E.)
			Thongthip (2005)			Also called Mae Sa Nam Kaw, or “Old Mae Sa Nam.”
			This survey (2006)	30 (~132 people)	T. Bo Luang, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	Not clear if this village and the next are the same or not. I think this is the original one, “Old Mae Sa Nam,” and the other is a new one with the same name.

Table 33 – Eastern Lawa Villages (*continued*):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Wang Kong (A)	บ้านวังทอง	[yuaŋ waŋ kɔ̃ŋ]	Kauffmann (1972)			
		[yuaŋ kɔŋ]	Lipsius (n.d.)	> 100	?	Founded 1910 (2453 B.E.)
	บ้านวังทอง	[yuaŋ kɔŋ]	This survey (2006)	139 (> 600 people)	T. Bo Luang, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	Only a few Thai in the village (they are married to Lawa).
Ban Na Fon (Nuea) (A)	บ้านนาฟ่อนเหนือ		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านนาฟ่อน	[yuaŋ nafūan]	Kauffmann (1972)			
		[yuaŋ nafoan]	Lipsius (n.d.)	> 100	1100m	Founded 1850 (2393 B.E.)

Table 33 – Eastern Lawa Villages (*continued*):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Bo Luang (A)	บ้านบ่อหลวง		Mitani (1965)	250	130 km SW of Chiang Mai, on the way to Mae Sariang, on the highway, on the Bo Luang plateau	
		[yuaŋ raʔ] or [yuaŋ næum]	Lipsius (n.d.)	> 360 (this figure might be combining Bo Luang, Bo Phawaen, and Bo Sangae)	1100m	
			Young (1974)	230		
		[yuaŋ laʔ]	Kauffmann (1972)	312		la = ‘big village’
		[yuaŋ næum] or [yuaŋ raʔ]	This survey (2006)	196 (965 people, about 90% (~870) Lawa, only a few Thai households)	M. 1, T. Bo Luang A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	[yuaŋ næum] is the original name and means “first village.” [yuaŋ raʔ] means “big person village” (perhaps meaning it is the main village of the three (M1, M11, and M12), or perhaps it is what they call all three villages together).
Ban Bo Phawaen (B)	บ่อแพวน	[yuaŋ kʰavian] (Lipsius n.d.) or [yuaŋ kawian] or [yuaŋ kʰəvian]	This survey (2006)	342 (~1,505 people, about 90% (~1,355) Lawa, only a few Thai households)	M. 12, T. Bo Luang, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	

Table 33 – Eastern Lawa Villages (*continued*):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Bo Sangae (C)	บอสะแง	[yuaŋ tɪaŋ]	This survey (2006)	141 (640 people, 620 are Lawa, no Thai households)	M. 11, T. Bo Luang, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	
Nyia Kut (Lawa name?) (A and B)	ญื่อะ กุด (This might just be the Thai transliteration of the Lawa name)	[yuaŋ nioʔ kut]	Lipsius (n.d.)	~ 15	> 900m	Founded 1965 (2508 B.E.) Not shown on map.
Ban Sam Lang (A and B)	๗ บานสามหลัง	[yuaŋ sam laŋ]	Lipsius (n.d.)	~ 20	1100m ; Just west of Ban Bo Luang	Founded 1960 (2503 B.E.)
Ban Bo Sali (B)	๗ บานบอสลี	[yuaŋ mæʔ sari]	Kauffmann (1972)			
		[yuaŋ mæ sɔli]	Lipsius (n.d.)	?	750m	Founded 1875 (2418 B.E.)
	๗ บานบอสลี		This survey (2006)	Total: 300 (only 30 are Lawa and probably not all of these are <i>speakers</i> of Lawa)	T. Bo Sali, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	
Ban Mae Waen	๗ บานแม่แวน		This survey (2006)	Total: 190 (only 10 are Lawa and probably not all of these are <i>speakers</i> of Lawa)		Not shown on map.
Ban Kiu Lom (B)	๗ บานกิวลม	[yuaŋ tū balɛ̃]	Kauffmann (1972)			
		[yuaŋ kʰɔoʔ]	Lipsius (n.d.)	50	1100m	Founded 1945 (2488 B.E.)

Table 33 – Eastern Lawa Villages (*continued*):

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Kong Loi (C)	บ้านกองลอย	[yuaŋ koŋ roi]	Kauffmann (1972)			
		[yuaŋ koŋ ʔaloɪ]	Lipsius (n.d.)	> 100	820m	Founded 1770 (2313 B.E.)
		[yuaŋ koŋ aʔloɪ]	This survey (2006)	Total: 400 (1,600 people) Lawa: ~320 (~1,200 people)	T. Bo Sali, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	The other residents are mostly Karen (they have their own section of the village), and there are some Northern Thai people, as well.
Ban Khun (C)	บ้านขุน	[yuaŋ taʔ naʔuaŋ]	Kauffmann (1972)			
		[yuaŋ ndaʔ nafoan]	Lipsius (n.d.)	> 100	1100m	Founded 1860 (2403 B.E.)
		[yuaŋ dat (na fuan)]	This survey (2006)	171 (all but 1–2 are Lawa) (> 800 people)	T. Bo Luang, A. Hot, C. Chiang Mai	

Table 34 – Khalo’ (“Mae Rim Lawa”) Villages (*See Figure 9*)

Village Name			Source	# of Households	Location	Comments
English	Thai	Lawa				
Ban Pang Hai	บ้านปางไฮ		Flatz (1970)		98°50.1' E 18°57.7' N	Predominantly Khalo'
Ban Ka	บ้านค้อกะ		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านกะ		Flatz (1970)		98°49.3' E 19°00.7' N	Predominantly Khalo; In Map Magic, this is “Ban Lawa Ka”
Ban Iak	บ้านเอี้ยก		MapMagic (2003)			
	บ้านเอี้ยก		Flatz (1970)		98°48.8' E 19°02.3' N	Larger, mainly N. Thai speakers; few “pure” Khalo' but many with one parent who is Khalo'

B.6 Population Estimates

Tables 35 and 36 present population estimates for Lawa villages, as well as totals for each of Western and Eastern Lawa.

Table 35 – Western Lawa Population Estimates, by Village

Village	Number of Lawa Houses ^a	Number of Lawa Speakers ^b
Phae ^c	270	1,460
La-up	187	1,086
Bo Kaew	20	<i>108</i>
Dong	<i>144</i>	<i>778</i>
Pa Pae	75	400
Tuun	47	<i>254</i>
Chang Mo Luang	65	<i>351</i>
Chang Mo Noi	41	<i>221</i>
Chang Mo Manot (Omnot)	26	<i>140</i>
Om Phai Luang	26	<i>140</i>
Yaek	<i>17</i>	<i>92</i>
Daen	36	<i>194</i>
La-ang Neua	28	<i>151</i>
La-ang Tai	10	<i>54</i>
Saam	47	<i>254</i>
Mut Long	53	<i>286</i>
Kok Noi	53	<i>286</i>
Ho	39	<i>211</i>
Khong	50	<i>270</i>
Pae	90	<i>486</i>
Kok Luang	79	400
Total	1,403	7,622

^a The figures in this column in italics were estimated by multiplying Kauffman's 1972 estimate by 1.5, a multiplier based on the increase in the number of houses for those villages where I have estimates both for 1972 and 2006.

^b The figures in this column in italics were estimated by multiplying the number of houses by 5.4, a multiplier based on the current number of people per house for those villages where I have estimates for both.

^c Jiranani (1985) reported that Ban Phae has 270 houses and 1460 people but I do not know how many of these are Lawa.

This does not include Ban Dong Mai, a new village founded by people from Ban Dong. This also does not include the villages from the Mae La Noi group, for which I have no population estimates. Thongthip (2005) told us that one of these villages, Ban San Ti Suk, is rather large, and that another, Ban Mae Tia, only has three or four households. The total does not include any villages in the Mae Sariang Group, other than Ban Phae.

Therefore, I estimate that there are 8,500 Western Lawa people and 8,000 Western Lawa speakers living in about 32 villages (those in this table, plus those in the previous appendix that are not listed in this table).

Table 36 – Eastern Lawa Population Estimates, by Village

Village	Number of Lawa Houses	Number of Lawa People ^a	Number of Lawa Speakers ^b
Kong Loi	320	1,200	~1,000
Bo Sali	30	<i>132</i>	~30
Thung	210	<i>924</i>	~250
Mae Waen	10	<i>44</i>	~10
Mae Sanam	30	<i>132</i>	132
Bo Luang	196	870	870
Bo Sangae	141	620	620
Bo Phawaen	342	<i>1,355^c</i>	1,355
Wang Kong	139	600	600
Kiu Lom	100	<i>440</i>	440
Khun	170	800	800
Na Fon	200	<i>880</i>	880
Total	1,888	7,997	6,987

^a These numbers were either reported by local leaders or, for those in italics, estimated from the reported number of houses by multiplying by 4.4 (the number of people per house in the villages where we have both figures).

^b I am assuming that the only Eastern Lawa who are no longer speaking Lawa are in Tambon Bo Sali, and that the language shift is much further along in Bo Sali, Thung, and Mae Waen than it is in Kong Loi.

^c This figure represents 4.4 times the number of houses multiplied by 90%. It was reported that about 90% of the village is Lawa, the others being Thai, Karen, or Lahu who have married in and a few Thai households.

For most of these villages, language vitality is very high. For a few (Kong Loi, Bo Sali, Thung, Mae Waen) vitality might be slightly to much lower. The third column provides rough guesses for the number of Eastern Lawa *speakers*. Also note that the sources for the population figures for Kiu Lom and Na Fon are old. In cases where we *do* have current information, the older sources report fewer households than was found on this survey. That is, the populations have grown. Thus, the number of households for these two villages here represent the old figures multiplied by two.³⁸

Therefore, I estimate that there are 8,000 Eastern Lawa people and 7,000 Eastern Lawa speakers living in 16 villages (those in the table plus those in the previous appendix that are not listed in this table).

³⁸ Where we have both old and current figures, the current figures are anywhere from about 1.5 to 3 times the old.

Appendix C Individual-Level Results

This appendix presents the results from the individual-level instruments: RTT and Individual SLQ. In general, the raw data is simply tabulated or described without much discussion of its significance. See Section 5 (Results) for an application of the information in this appendix to the research questions.

C.1 RTT

C.1.1 *Western Lawa*

Data summaries for demographic variables and RTT results are given below for the Kok Luang RTT subjects. Kok Luang was the only Western Lawa test site.

C.1.1.1 *Subject Demographics*

All but one subject spoke Lawa first and currently speaks it best. The remaining subject spoke Karen first and currently speaks both Lawa and Karen equally well. Four of the subjects are monolingual Lawa speakers. Languages spoken by the remaining 22 subjects, in addition to Lawa, are Central Thai, Northern Thai and Karen. Karen is the most common second-best language, with Northern and Central Thai tying for second most common.

Table 37 – Occupation of RTT Subjects (Kok Luang)

Occupation	RTT Subjects
Farmer	12
Hired Laborer	1
Homemaker	2
Total	15

Table 38 – Educational Attainment of RTT Subjects (Kok Luang)

Years of Education	RTT Subjects
0	4
4	3
6	3
9	3
12	2
Total	15

C.1.1.2 *Extended Practice Test Results*

The Extended Practice Test translation process seemed to work very well in La-up. The only problem with the test was that many subjects had difficulty answering question 6 (see Appendix A.5.5.2 for an explanation of why). Thus, we omitted question 6 from the Extended Practice Test at all the test sites.

In Kok Luang, we failed to back-translate the translated Extended Practice Test story to check for translation errors. As a result, we did not notice that the first question was very confusing until some subjects reacted strangely. The question was supposed to ask “When did *he* (*the storyteller*)

go to the store?” but what was recorded was “When did *you* go to the store?” Remember that when this question was asked, the subject had already heard the whole story, which is about a motorcycle that was stolen in front of a store. As a result of this mistranslation, some subjects, particularly older ones, were very confused. Some even thought we were accusing them of being involved in a theft! Our local helpers tried to explain this problem; younger ones were able to get past this question and do well, but quite a few older subjects did not. In hindsight, as soon as we found out there was a problem, we should have stopped any further test administration until we had re-translated and re-recorded the Extended Practice Test questions.

Thus, the first question was omitted from the test, and the warm-up test consisted of only questions 2 and 3. Since, as previously mentioned, question 6 was also omitted, we only had six questions to score. We decided at that point, to set the cutoff for passing at 4.5 out of 6. Since the total score was not actually calculated until after all subjects had been tested, three subjects were given the RTT who scored less than 4.5. All the other subjects who made it past questions 2 and 3 (the warm-up test) gave up and stopped answering questions part-way through the Extended Practice test, and were not given the RTT.

It may be that the right interpretation is that the Extended Practice Test was so bad (due to the problem with the first question) that people who would have failed a *good* Extended Practice Test just gave up at some point, and those who would have passed a good Extended Practice Test did not give up. So no matter what their score was, if they made it to the end, then they should have passed. It would be nice if this was true, since that is in effect how the data are being treated here. The three subjects who finished the Extended Practice Test, but did not score high enough to pass, were given the RTT anyway, and they all did well on it. As discussed in Section 4.3.2.1, these three subjects are included in the analysis. Thus, all fifteen subjects who at least attempted to answer all the questions in the Extended Practice Test are considered to have passed.

Table 39 shows the Extended Practice Test results by subject. Cells in the table marked “---” represent questions that were not scored for a subject. The percentages correct for each question are based only on the questions that were scored.

Table 39 – Results of the Extended Practice Test (Kok Luang)

	Subject ^a	Warm-Up Questions			Scored Questions							Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Passed	1		1	0	1	1		1	1	0	1	5
	6		1	0	1	1		1	1	1	1	6
	7		1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	6
	9		1	0	1	1		---	1	1	1	5
	10		1	0	1	1		1	1	1	1	6
	11		0	1	0	0		1	1	1	1	4
	12		1	0	0.5	1		1	1	1	0	4.5
	13		1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	6
	15		1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	6
	18		1	0	1	1		0	1	0	1	4
	20		1	1	0	1		1	1	1	1	5
	21		0	1	0	1		0.5	1	1	0	3.5
	22		1	0	1	1		0.5	1	1	1	5.5
	23		1	0	1	1		1	1	1	1	6
24		0	0	1	1		1	1	1	1	6	
Failed	2		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	3		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	5		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	8		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	14		1	1	1	0		1	---	---	---	2
	16		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	17		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	26		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	27		---	---	---	---		---	---	---	---	NA
	Percent		81%	44%	78%	88%		87%	100%	87%	87%	

^a Subject 4 was not included in the results. She was only asked some of the screening questions and her RTT was not scored. She was only being trained as a helper. Subjects 19 and 25 were excluded for failing to meet the screening criteria.

Table 40 presents the results of the RTT for subjects from Kok Luang; that is, the scores by subject and by question for the “Bee Story” from La-up.

Table 40 – RTT Results (Kok Luang)

Subject	Contact ^a	Religion	Gender	Age	Question										Total	Percent
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
15	+	Christian	F	15-34	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	6	60%
10	+	Christian	F	15-34	---	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	100% ^b
24	-	Christian	F	35+	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	7	70%
1	+	Christian	F	35+	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	8	80%
7	+	Christian	M	15-34	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	7	70%
9	+	Christian	M	15-34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	100%
6	+	Christian	M	35+	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	9	90%
12	-	Buddhist	F	15-34	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	6	60%
11	-	Buddhist	F	15-34	---	0.5	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	6.5	72%
20	-	Buddhist	F	15-34	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	8	80%
22	-	Buddhist	F	35+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	10%
18	-	Buddhist	F	35+	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	8	80%
23	-	Buddhist	M	15-34	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	0	1	1	0	7.5	75%
13	+	Buddhist	M	15-34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	100%
21	+	Buddhist	M	35+	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	80%
Total					11	13.5	12	8.5	14	12	4	12	13	11		
Percent					85%	90%	80%	57%	93%	80%	27%	80%	87%	73%		

^a A “+” indicates moderate contact. A “-” indicates minimal contact.

^b The helper gave the answer to the first question, so it was not counted in the results. This subject’s percentage is calculated out of a total of 9.

C.1.1.4 Post-RTT Results

This section presents the answers to the post-RTT questions given by the 15 RTT subjects in Kok Luang.

Table 41 – Reponses to Post-RTT Questions (Kok Luang)

Question #	Question	Responses	Number of Subjects
28 ^a	“Does this person speak Lawa well?”	Yes	14
		Neutral answer	1
		No	0
29	“Did you understand everything or some things, or nothing at all?”	Some things	10
		Most things	1
		Almost everything	2
		Everything	2
30	“Is the way he/she speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?”	Same	0
		A little different	9
		Different (not specified)	1
		Very different	5
31	“(If not the same) How is it different?”	Accent	9
		Words	2
		Phrases	1
		Difficult to understand	1
		Different	1
		Other ^b	1
32	“Now that you’ve heard their accent... where do you think the person who told this story is from?”	Ban Dong	1
		Ban La-up	14
33	“What helps you to know they are from that place?”	Accent ^c	10
		Words	0.5
		Contact	4.5
34	“How would you feel if your child wanted to marry someone from that place?”	Willing, Positive attitude	2
		Willing, Neutral attitude	8
		Prefer a marriage within Kok Luang	1
		Not asked	4

Table 41 – Responses to Post-RTT Questions (*Kok Luang*) (continued):

Question #	Question	Responses	Number of Subjects
34a	“Why [do you feel this way about your child marrying someone from that place]?”	Because they are also Lawa	7
		Because we do not understand each other ^d	1
		Because the language is different and they might have a different religion ^e	1
		Irrelevant response	1
		Not asked	5
35	“Do you often go to the village where this person is from?”	Often ^f	2
		4–5 times	1
		At least 2 times	1
		Not often	4
		Never	7
36	“How long do you usually stay there?”	< 1 day	2
		1–2 days	2
		2–3 days	4
		Not asked	7
37	“Do people from that area ever come here?”	Yes, specified that it is not frequent	5
		Yes, unspecified frequency	10
		No	0
38 ^g	“When you speak with people from there, what language do you use with each other?”	La-up Lawa	6
		Kok Luang Lawa	6
		Lawa (dialect not specified) and Thai	2
		Thai	1
45	“Where do you usually go to church?”	Kok Luang ^h	7
		Not asked	8

Table 41 – Responses to Post-RTT Questions (*Kok Luang*) (continued):

Question #	Question	Responses	Number of Subjects
46	“The Bible that is used at your church, what language is it in?”	La-up Lawa	3
		Lawa (dialect unspecified)	3
		Lawa (dialect unspecified) and Central Thai	1
47	“Is it hard or easy to understand that Bible?” ⁱ	Easy	3
		Some parts are easy, some parts are hard	1
		Hard	3
48	“(if not 'easy') Why? Because it is the Bible or because of the language?”	Because it is the Bible	1
		Because of the language	3

^a For almost every subject, question 28a “Do you like the way they speak Lawa?” and 28b “(if no) Why not?” were not asked. The researchers decided these questions were too similar to question 64 and were causing confusion.

^b This answer was difficult to understand, but it was something about the wording, phrasing, or style of speech.

^c One subject answered both “accent” and “words” and another answered both “accent” and “contact.” These were counted as 0.5 for each answer in order to keep the total equal to the number of subjects.

^d The subject who answered this reported a willing but neutral attitude to intermarriage in Question 34.

^e The subject who answered this reported a preference for marriage within Kok Luang in Question 34.

^f One of these two said “Often” and added “Once every 7 years for Christmas.” The question should have been asked “How often...” instead. As it is, it is not clear what “often” and “not often” mean.

^g See Section 5.1.1 for more details on the languages that the subjects could use with people from La-up.

^h These seven are all the Christians in the sample.

ⁱ All subjects were answering this question for the Lawa Bible, not the Thai Bible.

C.1.2 Eastern Lawa

Following are the data summaries for demographic variables and RTT results for the Eastern Lawa subjects.

All RTT subjects reported speaking Lawa as their first language, but none were monolingual. Thirty-five of thirty-nine subjects reported Lawa to be their best language. The four exceptions were all from Kong Loi; two reported speaking Northern Thai best, one reported Northern Thai and Lawa, and one reported Northern Thai, Central Thai, and Lawa. The most common second best language was Northern Thai, with some reporting Central Thai as their second best. Many of the former reported Central Thai as their third best language. The two who reported Northern Thai as their best language said Lawa was their second best.

C.1.2.1 Subject Demographics

Table 42 – Occupation of RTT Subjects by Location (Eastern Lawa)

Occupation	Khun	Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Farmer	9	6	5
Seller	---	1	2
Hired Laborer	3	---	1
Student	---	5	3
Homemaker	---	---	1
Government	---	---	1
Professional	1	---	1
Total	13	12	14

Table 43 – Educational Attainment of RTT Subjects (Eastern Lawa)

Years of Education	Khun	Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
0	1	1	---
4	5	3	2
6	4	3	2
9	1	2 [†]	2 [†]
10	---	1 [†]	2 [‡]
12	1	---	5
12+	1	2 [†]	1
Total	13	12	14

[†] These were all currently in school.

[‡] One is currently a student, one is an adult currently studying grade-10 equivalent in non-formal education.

Table 44 – Birthplace of RTT Subjects by Location (Eastern Lawa)

Birthplace	Khun	Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Khun	13	0	0
Bo Luang	0	10	0
Bo Phawaen	0	1	0
Mae Sanam Kaw ^a	0	1	0
Kong Loi	0	0	14
Total	13	12	14

^a This subject's parents are both from Bo Luang and she lived in Bo Luang half her life. Also, the residents of Mae Sanam Kaw all came from Bo Luang in the past. So this subject was considered to have passed the screening criteria, despite not being born in Bo Luang.

Table 45 – Other Places of Residence of RTT Subjects by Location (Eastern Lawa)

“Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?”	Khun	Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
No	9	4	6
Chiang Mai (1–3 years)	3	2	2
Chiang Mai (4+ years)	0	3	3
Bangkok (3 years)	0	1	0
Other ^a (2–4 years)	1	2	3
Total	13	12	14

^a These other places are Mae Sanam Kaw village, Amphoe Hot, Amphoe Omkoi, Lamphun Province, and Nonthaburi Province. No one mentioned living in a Western Lawa village.

C.1.2.2 Extended Practice Test Results

As in Kok Luang, question 6 was omitted from the Extended Practice Test. Additionally, when we were back-translating the translated Extended Practice Test for Eastern Lawa, we found a mismatch between the story and question 4. That is, the question as recorded was not easy to answer given how the story was translated. The question was supposed to be “What happened to the motorcycle?” (it was stolen by a robber). But the translation was understood as “What *was wrong* with the motorcycle?” We remembered that, when translating this question, the translator was having difficulty, so after the back-translation we decided to just omit question 4 rather than try to re-translate it. This led to a test with three warm-up questions and only five scored questions. Since we had so few scored questions, we decided to score question 3, as well, resulting in a test with only two warm-up questions and six scored questions. We then set the cutoff for passing at 4.5 out of 6.

The following three tables show the Extended Practice Test results by subject, by location. Cells in the tables marked “---” represent questions that were not scored for a subject. The percentages correct for each question are based only on the questions that were scored. Note that Kong Loi subjects did better than subjects in the other villages. This is probably because they are more educated (see Table 43), and thus, more used to test-taking situations.

Table 46 – Results of the Extended Practice Test (Khun)

	Subject	Warm-Up Questions		Scored Questions							Total	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
Passed	33	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	34	1	1	1		1		1	1	0	1	5
	35	1	1	1		0.5		1	1	0	1	4.5
	36	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	47	1	1	1		0		1	1	1	1	5
	49	1	1	1		0		1	1	1	1	5
	59	1	1	1		1		1	1	0	1	5
	60	1	1	1		1		0	1	1	1	5
	64	0	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	65	1	1	1		1		0.5	1	1	1	5.5
	66	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	67	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
69	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6	
Failed	19	1	1	1		0		1	1	0	---	3
	40	---	---	---		---		---	---	---	---	NA
	63	---	---	---		---		---	---	---	---	NA
	68	1	1	0		1		1	1	0	1	4
	Percent	93%	100%	93%		77%		90%	100%	67%	100%	

Table 47 – Results of the Extended Practice Test (Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen)

	Subject	Warm-Up Questions		Scored Questions								Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Passed	9	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	14	0	1	1		1		0	1	1	1	5
	15	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	0	5
	28	1	1	1		0		1	1	1	1	5
	29	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	30	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	32	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	37	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	43	0	1	1		1		1	1	0	1	5
	44	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	45	0.5	0	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
46	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6	
Failed	13	0	1	1		0		1	1	0	0	3
	16	1	1	1		0		1	1	0	0	3
	27	0	1	1		0		0	0	0	0	1
	31	0	1	1		1		1	1	0	0	4
	Percent	66%	94%	100%		75%		88%	94%	69%	69%	

Table 48 – Results of the Extended Practice Test (Kong Loi)

	Subject	Warm-Up Questions		Scored Questions								Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Passed	50	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	51	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	53	1	1	1		1		1	1	0	1	5
	54	1	1	1		1		1	1	0	1	5
	55	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	56	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	58	0	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	61	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	70	0	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	76	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	77	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
	78	1	1	1		1		1	1	0	1	5
	80	1	1	1		1		1	1	1	1	6
83	1	1	1		1		1	---	1	1	5	
Failed	52	1	1	1		1		1	1	---	---	4
	71 ^a	1	1	1		0		0	0	1	1	3
	Percent	88%	100%	100%		94%		94%	93%	80%	100%	

^a This question was not scored, since we did not understand the subject's answer.

C.1.2.3 RTT Results

Each RTT subject was classified as having no contact (or very minimal), contact “here” (in the Eastern Lawa area), contact “there” (in the Western Lawa area), or contact both here and there. There is not much contact between the Western and Eastern Lawa and no subject has ever lived in a Western Lawa village. So even those with contact cannot be said to have had very much contact. The following three tables present the RTT results by contact, gender, and age, by location.

Table 49 – RTT Results (Khun)

Subject	Contact	Gender	Age	Question										Total	Percent	
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
35	There	F	15-34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	20%
67	Here	F	15-34	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	40%
34	No	F	15-34	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	5	50%
59	Here	F	15-34	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	50%
47	Here	F	35+	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10%
60	No	F	35+	1	1	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	1	0	0	3.5	35%
65	Both	F	35+	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	40%
36	There	M	15-34	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20%
49	No	M	15-34	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	40%
33	Here	M	35+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
66	Both	M	35+	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10%
69	Both	M	35+	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	40%
64	Both	M	35+	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	6	60%
Percent				77%	38%	62%	15%	35%	8%	0%	8%	46%	31%			

Table 50 – RTT Results (Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen)

Subject	Contact	Gender	Age	Question										Total	Percent		
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
44	There	F	15-34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	20%
30	Here	F	15-34	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	50%
32	No	F	15-34	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	50%
45	Here	F	35+	1	1	0.5	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	6.5	65%
15	There	F	35+	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	7	70%
28	Here	F	35+	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	8.5	85%
43	No	M	15-34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10%
37	No	M	15-34	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	50%
46	No	M	15-34	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	50%
14	No	M	35+	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10%
9	Both	M	35+	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	40%
29	No	M	35+	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	50%
Percent				92%	67%	33%	42%	58%	25%	0%	25%	58%	58%				

Table 51 – RTT Results (Kong Loi)

Subject	Contact	Gender	Age	Question										Total	Percent		
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
54	No	F	15-34	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20%
77	Here	F	15-34	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	20%
55	Here	F	15-34	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	6	60%
83	Both	F	15-34	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	7	70%
51	Both	F	35+	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	30%
50	Here	F	35+	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	5	50%
80	Here	F	35+	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	8	80%
58	Both	M	15-34	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	40%
61	Both	M	15-34	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	50%
78	Here	M	15-34	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	5	50%
70	Both	M	35+	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	4	40%
56	Both	M	35+	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	6	60%
76	Here	M	35+	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	6	60%
53	Here	M	35+	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	7	70%
Percent				93%	71%	57%	43%	50%	0%	0%	50%	79%	57%				

At all the sites, almost all the subjects answered questions 6 and 7 incorrectly. For question 6, it is possible that the long preceding breath group caused the subjects to lose concentration. However, question 4 also had a long preceding breath group and the results for that question were not nearly so bad. For question 7, the reason for the poor performance is most likely that the two languages have a different word for “pregnant,” which is the key word in that part of the story.

C.1.2.4 Post-RTT Results

There were three subjects who failed the Extended Practice Test but were given the RTT anyway and also answered the post-RTT questions. These are included in the results below, along with another subject who passed the Extended Practice Test, refused to answer the RTT questions, but answered the post-RTT questions. Thus, the total sample size for the post-RTT data is $39 + 4 = 43$.

Table 52 – Responses to Post-RTT Questions (Eastern Lawa)

Question #	Question	Responses	Number of Subjects			
			Khun	BL ^a	Kong Loi	Total
64 ^b	“Does this person speak Lawa well?”	Yes	4	5	4	13
		Yes, but different	5	0	8	13
		Neutral answer	2	2	1	5
		Different	2	4	2	8
		No	1	2	1	4
65	“Did you understand everything or some things, or nothing at all?”	Nothing	2	1	1	4
		Little	2	1	2	5
		Some	9	11	13	33
		Everything	1	0	0	1
66	“Is the way he/she speaks the same, a little different or very different from the way you speak?”	Not asked	1	0	0	1
		Same	0	0	0	0
		Some different	2	6	5	13
		Very different	11	7	11	29
67	“(If not the same) How is it different?”	Accent	2.5	1.5	3	7
		Words ^c	2	5.5	4	11.5
		Phrases	0.5	0	1	1.5
		Clarity	1	0	1	2
		Directness	0	0	1	1
		Length	0	1	0	1
		Speed	0	0	1	1
		Difficult to understand	5	2	2	9
		Different	1	1	1	3
		Do not know	1	1	2	4
		Not asked	1	1	0	2

Table 52 – Responses to Post-RTT Questions (*Eastern Lawa*) (continued):

Question #	Question	Responses	Number of Subjects			
			Khun	BL ^a	Kong Loi	Total
68	“Now that you’ve heard their accent... where do you think the person who told this story is from?”	La-up	0	1	0	1
		Ban Dong	1	0	0	1
		Mae Sariang	0	1	1	2
		Western ^d	9	6	13	28
		Not here	1	2	0	3
		Another Eastern Lawa village	0	0	1	1
		Karen person speaking Lawa	0	1	0	1
		Do not know	1	1	0	2
		No answer	0	1	0	1
		NA ^e	2	0	1	3
69	“What helps you to know they are from that place?”	Accent	5	2	8	15
		Contact	1	1	1	3
		Language	1	1	1	3
		Not us, so must be them ^f	1	1	0	2
		Do not know	1	0	0	1
		Not a clear answer	0	1	1	2
		Not asked	1	2	3	6
		NA ^g	4	5	2	11
70	“How would you feel if your child wanted to marry someone from that place?”	Good / Happy / Proud	6	5	5	16
		Neutral	7	5	6	18
		Unwilling	1	0	0	1
		Not Asked	0	3	5	8

^a This signifies Bo Luang and Bo Phawaen.

^b For almost every subject, question 64a “Do you like the way they speak Lawa?” and 64b “(if no) Why not?” were not asked. The researchers decided these questions were too similar to question 64 and were causing confusion.

^c One subject in Khun and one in Bo Luang answered both Accent and Words. One subject in Khun answered both Words and Phrases. These were counted at 0.5 for each answer in order to keep the total equal to the sample size.

^d The Eastern Lawa usually refer to the Western area as “Omphai” or “La-up / La-ang.” Sometimes they say “Mae Tho,” which is an area on the way to Omphai.

^e These subjects were told the answer by someone else before they had a chance to guess.

^f In other words, there are only two Lawa groups and the storyteller is not from here, so he must be from there.

^g This question was not applicable to these 11 subjects because their responses to question 68 were something other than La-up, Ban Dong, Mae Sariang, or Western.

Table 52 – Responses to Post-RTT Questions (*Eastern Lawa*) (continued):

Question #	Question	Responses	Number of Subjects				
			Khun	BL	Kong Loi	Total	
70 ^h	“Why [do you feel this way about your child marrying someone from that place]?”	Answer to question 70	Answer to question 70a				
		Good / Happy / Proud	Because they are hard working	0	0	1	1
			Similar language	2	1	0	3
			They are also Lawa	1	2	3	6
			Thai people just like us	1	0	0	1
			They have a lot of work there	1	0	0	1
			Good to learn another language	0	1	0	1
			Because they’d be getting married	1	0	0	1
		Not asked	0	1	1	2	
		Neutral	They are also Lawa	2	2	2	6
			Similar language	0	0	1	1
			Depends on them	1	0	0	1
			Not asked	4	3	3	10
		Unwilling	Not the same language	1	0	0	1
Not Asked	Not Asked	0	3	5	8		
71	“Do you often go to the village where this person is from?”	Often	2	0	1	3	
		Often, but not recently	2	2	0	4	
		2–5 times	1	0	4	5	
		One time	0	1	3	4	
		Not often	2	1	2	5	
		Unspecified frequency, but not recently	1	0	0	1	
		Never	6	8	6	20	
		Not asked	0	1	0	1	
72	“How long do you usually stay there?”	≤ 1 day	4	2	10	16	
		2–3 days	0	1	0	1	
		5–10 days	1	0	0	1	
		One month	1	0	0	1	
		Not asked	8	10	6	24 ^h	
73	“Do people from that area ever come here?”	Yes	8	8	7	23	
		Yes, often	0	0	7	7	
		Yes, but not recently	1	1	0	2	
		Yes, not often	2	2	1	5	
		Never seen them	2	1	0	3	
		No	1	0	0	1	
		Not asked	0	1	1	2	

^h These 24 answered the following for Question 71: “Not asked” (1), “Never” (20) and “Not often” (3).

Table 52 – Responses to Post-RTT Questions (*Eastern Lawa*) (continued):

Question #	Question	Responses	Number of Subjects			
			Khun	BL	Kong Loi	Total
74 ⁱ	“When you speak with people from there, what language do you use with each other?”	Lawa with understanding	1	0	2	3
		Lawa	0	0	1	1
		Western Lawa	1	0	0	1
		Lawa, but with only partial understanding	2	3	4	9
		Lawa and Thai	0	1	0	1
		Lawa at first, then Northern Thai ^j	3	0	1	4
		Northern Thai, a few Lawa words	1	0	0	1
		Northern Thai ^k	1	3	7	11
		Central Thai ^l	0	0	1	1
		Never talked with them	2	1	0	3
		Not asked	3	5	0	8
75	“(if not Lawa) Why don’t you speak to them in Lawa?”	Cannot understand	5	2	7	14
		If do not know they are Lawa	0	0	1	1
		Not asked	9	11	8	28

ⁱ All can speak Northern Thai and almost all can speak Central Thai. All but two subjects speak Lawa as their best language. The other two speak Lawa as their second best language. Both of these answered that they use “Lawa, but with only partial understanding” for this question. So it seems that when speaking with Western Lawa people, the choice is generally between Lawa and Northern/Central Thai.

^j One of these said “Lawa at first, then Northern and Central Thai.”

^k One of these said “Thai” but this is assumed to be Northern Thai since it is their second best language.

^l This subject said “Thai” but this is assumed to be Central Thai since it is their second best language.

C.2 Individual SLQ Results

Following are summaries of the Individual SLQ results. For some questions, some subjects gave more than one answer. In these cases, each of their answers received a score equal to one divided by their number of answers. For example, if a subject gave three answers, each added 1/3 to the total number of responses for that answer. In this way, the total number of responses is kept equivalent to the sample size in all cases.

C.2.1 Subject Demographics

In using the information in this section, note the following:

- Demographic information from the 41 “SLQ subjects” describes those who actually were interviewed with an Individual SLQ.
- An additional 32 subjects could have been administered an ISLQ based on the screening criteria but were not because only RTTs were being administered at that site at that time. Even though they were not given an ISLQ, demographic information was still gathered for these subjects in order to screen them for the RTT. These 32, along with the SLQ sample of 41, make up what I am calling the “eligible subjects.”
- Demographic information from the 73 eligible subjects is more accurate than that from the 41 SLQ subjects, due to the larger sample size. The demographic information from this larger group can be used to help answer some of the research questions. See Section 4.3.2.2 for more on the difference between the SLQ subjects and the eligible subjects.
- The first six tables of this sub-section (through question 24) are the only ones that contain information about the additional 32 eligible subjects.

Table 53 – Occupation by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 16)

Occupation	Khun	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Kong Loi	
	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects
Farmer	12	17	24	9	9
Hired Laborer	4	0	0	1	1
Homemaker	0	0	0	1	1
Seller	0	1	2	3	3
Student	0	3	9	4	4
Office	0	1	1	1	1
Professional	1	0	0	0	1
Total	17	22	36	19	20

Table 54 – Educational Attainment by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 17)

Years of Education	Khun	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Kong Loi	
	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects
0	3	6	7	1	1
<4	0	0	0	1	1
4	6	4	8	4	4
6	5	6	9	2	2
9	1	4	7	3	3
10	0	0	1	2	2
12	1	1	1	6	6
12+	1	1	3	0	1
Total	17	22	36	19	20

Subjects in Kong Loi were more educated, in general, than subjects in the other locations. This might reflect the education levels in general, or it might be a product of who the researchers were introduced to by our local contacts.

Table 55 – Birthplace by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 18)

Birthplace	Khun	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Kong Loi	
	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects
Khun	17	0	0	0	0
Bo Luang	0	16	27	0	0
Bo Sangae	0	4	4	0	0
Bo Phawaen	0	2	4	0	0
Mae Sanam	0	0	1	0	0
Kong Loi	0	0	0	19	20
Total	17	22	36	19	20

Table 56 – Other Places of Residence by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 19)

“Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?”	Khun	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Kong Loi	
	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects	SLQ Subjects	Eligible Subjects
No	13	11	17	12	12
Chiang Mai (1–3 years)	3	3.5 ^a	6.5	2	2
Chiang Mai (4+ years)	0	3	6	2	3
Bangkok (2–3 years)	0	1.5	1.5	0	0
Other ^b (1–11 years)	1	3	5	3	3
Total	17	22	36	19	20

^a One subject lived in both Chiang Mai and Bangkok (each for 2 years).

^b These other places are Lamphun Province, Amphoe Hot, Amphoe Omkoi, Amphoe Chiang Dao, Nonthaburi Province, Amphoe San Pa Tong, and Khon Kaen Province (in Isan). No one mentioned living in a Western Lawa village.

The following tables are cross-tabulations of the subjects’ first and best languages. For example, 11 SLQ subjects in Kong Loi reported that Lawa was both their first and best language.

Table 57 – First and Best Languages by Location (Eastern Lawa SLQ subjects) (ISLQ questions 22–24)

“What language did you speak first?”	“Of all the languages you speak, which language do you speak best?”						
	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Kong Loi				
	Lawa	NT	Lawa	NT	CT	Lawa, NT	Lawa, NT, CT
Lawa	21	1	11	2	0	3	1
Northern Thai (NT)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Central Thai (CT)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Table 58 – First and Best Languages by Location (Eastern Lawa, all eligible subjects)
(ISLQ questions 22–24)

	“Of all the languages you speak, which language do you speak best?”							
“What language did you speak first?”	Khun	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen		Kong Loi				
	Lawa	Lawa	NT	Lawa	NT	CT	Lawa, NT	Lawa, NT, CT
Lawa	17	35	1	12	2	0	3	1
Northern Thai (NT)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Central Thai (CT)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Regarding second and third best languages, Northern Thai was by far the most common second-best language, followed by Central Thai. All three subjects who learned Lawa first, but did not report Lawa as their best language, reported it as being their second-best language. One subject reported Isan (Northeastern Thai) as being his third-best language; he is married to a woman from Northeastern Thailand.

Table 59 – Birthplace of Spouse by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 28)

“Where was your spouse born?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, Bo Phawaen	13	0
Amphoe Omkoi	2	0
Northeastern Thailand	1	0
Kong Loi	0	7
Bo Sali	0	1
Chang Mo^a	0	1
Amphoe Chom Thong	0	1
Chiang Mai City	0	1
Unspecified Karen village	0	1
Not married	6	7
Total (married)	22	19

^a A Western Lawa village.

Intermarriage with people from other places is far more common in Kong Loi. Also, the Bo Luang group and Kong Loi perhaps do not interact much, since there is no intermarriage between

them among these subjects, and their spouses are all from distinct places.

Table 60 – Ethnicity of Spouse by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 28b)

“What people group is your spouse from?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Lawa	13	8
Northern Thai	0	2
Lawa – Northern Thai	0	1
Karen	2	1
Northeastern Thai	1	0
Total (married)	16	12

Most married subjects were married to another Eastern Lawa person. Notice that no subject from the Bo Luang group is married to a purely Northern Thai person. The first language of the spouses is not shown here, but matches their ethnicity.

C.2.2 Language Use

Table 61 – Language Use by Domain and Location (ISLQ question 29) [NT = Northern Thai, CT = Central Thai]

Numbers in parentheses represent a proportion of “Lawa” responses out of the total responses, not including NA or skipped.

	“What languages do you speak with/at...?”	Bo Luang (22 subjects)								Kong Loi (19 subjects)								
		Lawa	Lawa and NT	Lawa and CT	Lawa, NT, and CT	NT	CT	NT and CT	Other	NA or ^a skipped	Lawa	Lawa and NT	Lawa and CT	Lawa, NT, and CT	NT	CT	NT and CT	NA or skipped
a	Parents	(95%) 19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	(83%) 15	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
b	Grandparents	(95%) 19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	(88%) 14	1	0	0	1	0	0	3
c	Siblings	(95%) 20	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	(79%) 15	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
d	Spouse	(82%) 14	0	0	0	2	0	0	1 ^b	5	(90%) 9 ^c	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
e	Children	(82%) 14	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	(58%) 7	3	0	0	1	1	0	7
f	Grandchildren/ Nieces / Nephews	(89%) 16	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	(55%) 6	0	0	1	3	1	0	8
g	Home (most frequent)	(95%) 21	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	(84%) 16	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
h	Lawa friends	(91%) 20	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	(89%) 17	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
i	non-Lawa friends	(0%) 0	0	0	0	16	3	3	0	0	(5%) 1	0	0	0	16	0	2 ^d	0
j	Lawa coworkers	(100%) 18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	(79%) 11	1	1	0	1	0	0	5
k	non-Lawa coworkers	(0%) 0	0	0	0	10	4	3	0	5	(0%) 0	0	0	0	13	0	1 ^e	5
l	Market with Lawa people	(91%) 20	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	(79%) 15	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
m	Market with non-Lawa people	(0%) 0	0	0	0	16	2	4	0	0	(0%) 0	17	0	0	0	0	2 ^f	0

Table 61 – Language Use by Domain and Location (*continued*)

“What languages do you speak with/ at...?”	Bo Luang (22 subjects)								Kong Loi (19 subjects)								
	Lawa	Lawa and NT	Lawa and CT	Lawa, NT, and CT	NT	CT	NT and CT	Other	NA or ^a skipped	Lawa	Lawa and NT	Lawa and CT	Lawa, NT, and CT	NT	CT	NT and CT	NA or skipped
n Funeral	(86%) 19	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	(79%) 15 ^g	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
o Village meeting	(55%) 12	4	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	(21%) 4	6	0	1	8	0	0	0
p Government worker	(5%) 1	0	1 ^h	0	10	4	6	0	0	(0%) 0	1 ⁱ	0	0	11	4	3	0
q Lawa classmates at school	(50%) 1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	(50%) 2	2	0	0	0	0	0	15
r non-Lawa classmates at school	(0%) 0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	19	(0%) 0	0	0	0	2	0	j ^j	16
s Teacher	(0%) 0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	19	(0%) 0	0	0	0	1	2	0	16

^a Some domains did not apply (e.g. if subject is not married). Some were skipped, if the answer would not reflect current language use (e.g. asking about an old person's parents who have already passed away).

^b One subject from Bo Luang is married to a Northeastern Thai woman and speaks Northeastern Thai with her.

^c One subject also speaks Karen with his wife.

^d One subject reported speaking Karen as well as Northern Thai and Central Thai with non-Lawa friends

^e This subject also reported speaking Karen with non-Lawa co-workers.

^f One subject also reported speaking Karen at the market with non-Lawa people.

^g Eight of these subjects specified that Lawa, Northern Thai, or Karen would be used, depending on where the deceased was from. Lawa would be used for a Lawa person in Kong Loi.

^h Lawa if a Lawa person, otherwise, Central Thai

ⁱ Lawa if a Lawa person, Northern Thai, if a Northern-Thai person

^j Also Karen

C.2.3 Literacy

Table 62 – Lawa Literacy by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 30)

“Have you ever read or written Lawa?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes^a	4	1
No	16	15
Illiterate in Thai	2	2
Not asked	0	1
Total	22	19

^a One subject in Bo Luang used Lanna script to write a few Lawa words. Two others in Bo Luang said they had tried to write some Lawa using Thai script.

Table 63 – Lawa Literacy Desired by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ questions 31 and 32)

“If there were Lawa writing, what kinds of things would you want to read or write?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
About daily life, family, making a living	1	2
Books for the purpose of language preservation	0	2
History	4	3
Thai-Lawa bilingual books and books about translation	0	1
Alphabet book / Books for teaching children	2	1
Not asked / No answer / Not sure what they said	15	10
Total	22	19

Table 64 – Attitude to Lawa Literacy by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 33)

“Do you see any advantage in being able to read and write Lawa?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	18	15
Probably	0	2
Maybe	1	0
No	0	0
Do not know	0	1
No answer	3	1
Total	22	19

Table 65 – Perceived Advantage to Lawa Literacy by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 33a)

“What advantage?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
For children / Language and people group preservation	7.5	4
To know Lawa history	2.5	0
So others can know about Lawa	1	3
Increase the value and prestige of Lawa	0	3
Song and poetry books	1	0
To record names	1	0
Lawa is my best language	0	1
Not asked, No answer, or Vague answer	9	8
Total	22	19

C.2.4 Children

Table 66 – Children’s First Language by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 43)

“Normally, what language do Lawa children in this village speak first?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Lawa	21	18
Thai [not specified] and Lawa	1	0
Northern Thai	0	1
Total	22	19

Table 67 – Children’s Language of Play by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 44)

“What language do Lawa children in this village speak when they play?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Lawa	16	13
Lawa in village, Central Thai at school	1	0
Lawa and Northern Thai	3 ^a	4
Lawa, Northern Thai, and Central Thai	0	2 ^b
Thai [not specified]	2	0
Total	22	19

^a One subject said that, in general, Lawa children speak Lawa while playing, but that if there is a Thai child present, they speak Northern Thai.

^b One subject added that there are some children who learn Karen first. It is not clear if this subject was answering about Lawa children only, or also about Karen children that live in Kong Loi.

Table 68 – Attitude to Children’s Language of Play by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 44b)

(If not Lawa) “How do you feel about that?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Positive attitude	2	4
Neutral attitude	0	1
Negative attitude	0	0
Not asked or No answer	20	14
Total	22	19

Table 69 – Reason for Attitude to Language of Play by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 44c)

“Why?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Because they can use more than one language	2	3
Not asked or No answer	20	16
Total	22	19

Table 70 – Children’s Use of Thai at Home by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 45)

(If they have children) “Do your children ever speak Northern or Central Thai at home?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	10	9
No	4	2
Not asked or No answer	8	8
Total	22	19

Table 71 – Attitude to Children’s Use of Thai at Home by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 45b)

(If yes) “How do you feel when they do that?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Positive attitude	4	1
Neutral attitude	3	4
Negative attitude ^a	1	0
Not asked or No answer	14	14
Total	22	19

^a This subject (a woman over 60) responded, “If they speak Northern Thai to me, I answer in Lawa.” This subject reported that Lawa is her best language but also reported having a high proficiency in Northern Thai, so she could answer in Northern Thai but chooses to answer in Lawa. This is interpreted here as a negative attitude towards a child speaking Thai at home.

Table 72 – Reason for Attitude to Use of Thai at Home by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 45c)

Answer to 45b, “How do you feel when they do that?”	“Why?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Positive attitude	They can speak with Thai people	1	1
	They study Central Thai at school	1	0
	Not asked or No answer	2	0
Neutral attitude	They can use more than one language	0	1
	They study Central Thai at school	1	0
	It is normal for children to know Northern Thai	1	1
	It is a good opportunity for them to practice	0	1
	Not asked or No answer	1	1
Negative attitude	Not asked or No answer	1	0
Other	Not asked or No answer	14	14
Total		22	19

Table 73 – Youth Pride in Lawa Language by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 46)

“Are the young people in this village proud of the Lawa language?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	22	16
No	0	2 ^a
Not asked or No answer	0	1
Total	22	19

^a One subject responded, “My generation is, yes, but the younger generation... well, proud. They speak it.” The other responded, “A little embarrassed. Adults are fine and glad to be Lawa.”

One of the two subjects who answered “No” was asked “Why not?” (question 46b). His response was, “Sometimes they are shy and do not want to be known as tribal, but want to fit in.”

Five of the Bo Luang subjects who answered “Yes” were asked “Why?” Their responses were:

- “They are very proud. There is nothing to be ashamed of.”
- “They are born Lawa and are happy to be Lawa.”
- “Lawa is the only language we have.”
- “Because it is the language of our people.”
- “Because it is our origin.”

Table 74 – Youth Pride in Lawa Identity by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 47)

“Are the young people in this village proud of being Lawa?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	20	17
No	0	0
Not asked or No answer	2	2
Total	22	19

Question 47b, “(if no) Why not?” was never asked.

Table 75 – Cultural Values by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 48)

References	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Customs, Traditions, Culture	5	4.33
Language	5.5	4
Lawa identity	4.5	0.83
Spirit worship	1	1.83
Other	2 ^a	0
Not asked, No answer, or Not a clear answer	4	8
Total	22	19

^a These two subjects said, “Farming” and “I would like to see them in harmony and not have enemies.”

Table 76 – Reasons for Cultural Values by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 48a)

“Why?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Our ancestors are Lawa	2	1
They (the children) are Lawa	2	0
The language is important / Language preservation	0.5	2
Other	3.5	3
Not asked, No answer, or Not a clear answer	14	13
Total	22	19

The “Other” responses were:

- “In the past, kids went to the fields, but now they do not want to.”
- “One needs to know what makes one Lawa.”
- “So they will be good people.”
- “I want to have clothing particular to our group. Since we became prosperous, only the mountain people still wear them.”
- “To keep our ‘easy way of life.’” This subject was very proud of the Lawa spirit worship traditions. Her response was given in the context of her expressing her pride in them.
- “Lawa culture is old.”
- “So they will not forget.”

Table 77 – Lawa Proficiency of Children by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 49)

“Do you think Lawa children in this village speak Lawa well?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	22	19

Even though every subject answered “yes” to question 49, one subject was still asked question 49a, “In what ways do they speak it not well?” (an 18-year-old female from the Bo Luang group). She responded that there are some Lawa words that she and other young people do not know. It is not clear if this is because of language change or language shift. That is, it could be that there are some Lawa words that old people use, but the young people have a different Lawa word for the same thing; or, it could be that the young people do not know the Lawa word for some things and must use the Thai word in its place.

Table 78 – Language Used with Children by Location (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 50)

“What language do Lawa parents use with their children?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Lawa	20	14
Lawa and Northern Thai	1	5
Not asked or No answer	1	0
Total	22	19

The reason given for why some parents use Northern Thai as well as Lawa with their children is that they are in a mixed Northern Thai-Lawa marriage and parents speak their own languages to their children.

One of the subjects in Kong Loi (a 16-year-old female) was asked about her Lawa proficiency. She had reported Central Thai as her best language and Northern Thai as her second best language. While one subject is clearly not representative of all the Lawa youth (in fact, others reported Lawa as one of their best languages), her responses are noted here as they are an indication that not *every* Lawa child in Kong Loi is fluent in Lawa. If we happened to find one such child, then there are likely to be more, as well.

Table 79 – Lawa proficiency (one subject)

		Question (see the Eastern Lawa Individual SLQ in Appendix A.4 for the exact question wording)								
		52	53	54a	54b	55	56	57		
Lawa	Language asked about:	Response	Buy something	Tell about family	Overhear... Repeat in Thai	Overhear... Repeat in Lawa	Explain job	Speak as fast as Lawa older person	Speak as well as Lawa older person	
			Yes	X		X				
			Some		X			X		
			No						X	
		Not Asked			X					

C.2.5 Thai Proficiency (ISLQ questions 52–57)

It is reasonable to assume that if someone reports Thai, or Lawa and Thai, as their best language, then they are adequately proficient in Thai. However, if someone reports that their single best language is Lawa and that Thai is their second best language, it is not clear whether this implies adequate Thai proficiency or not. To further assess bilingual ability for these subjects, we asked a set of seven questions designed to probe what they feel they can and cannot do using their second best language. This sort of self-reported bilingual proficiency evaluation, while rather crude, can serve as a screen for *low* proficiency. That is, if a subject reports not being able to use Thai for many functions, then it is unlikely that they are adequately bilingual. However, if a subject claims they can do all the tasks we ask them about, it is still not clear whether or not they are proficient enough to use literature in that language. The instrument is simply not accurate enough, nor is it able to assess proficiency at high levels.

The goal was to test those who report Lawa as their single best language, in order to assess their proficiency in their reported next best language that has literature. Northern Thai is included here, not only because there is some Northern Thai literature in existence, but because, more importantly, proficiency in Northern Thai can presumably be transferred into an ability to use Central Thai literature. So, in the analysis presented in this section, I am pretending that all subjects were tested for their “Thai” proficiency, even though, in fact, some were tested for Northern Thai and some for Central Thai.

The questions asked were:

52. Can you buy something in Thai?
53. Can you tell about your family in Thai?
54. If you overhear two Thai people speaking Thai in the market...
Can you repeat in Lawa what you heard?
Can you repeat in Thai what you heard?
55. Could you use Thai to explain to a Thai person how to do your job?
56. Can you speak Thai as fast as a Thai person and still be understood?
57. Can you speak Thai as well as a Thai person?

While this was the goal, the bilingualism proficiency evaluation was, unfortunately, not used consistently by all the interviewers. The protocol specified the following procedure for deciding which language to test:

- If the subject’s “best” language is Lawa, then evaluate their ability in their next best language that has literature (e.g. Central Thai or Northern Thai).
- If you know from observation that the subject can speak Thai very well, then only ask questions 56 and 57.
- If the subject’s “best” language is something else (that has literature), and they did report some ability in Lawa, then ask about their Lawa proficiency here (for the purpose of assessing language vitality).

These criteria were not applied consistently by all the researchers. For example, some understood them to mean that we were just interested in their Central Thai ability, and if that seemed good to the researcher, then this section of the interview was skipped altogether. The following two tables explain which subjects were asked about which language, and which language each subject should have been asked about if the criteria had been applied correctly. The shaded cells represent subjects who were asked about a language according to the protocol. The others either were skipped or asked about the “wrong” language.

Table 80 – Bilingual Proficiency Interviews (Bo Luang Group)

Bo Luang Group		Should have been asked about...				Total
		CT	NT	CT or NT	Lawa	
Actually asked about...	CT	3	1 ^a	0	0	4
	NT	0	9	1	0	10
	Lawa	0	0	0	0	0
	[Skipped]	3	3	1	1	8
Total		6	13	2	1	22

^a This subject’s best languages are, in order: Lawa, Northern Thai, and Central Thai. Thus, we should have asked about Northern Thai, but we actually asked about Central Thai. This does not really reflect her best chance at using literature in a language other than Lawa. This subject was tested for Central Thai because she was interviewed along with another girl, and we asked them both about Central Thai. This subject is excluded from the data analysis.

Table 81 – Bilingual Proficiency Interviews (Kong Loi)

Kong Loi		Should have been asked about...				Total
		CT	NT	CT or NT	Lawa	
Actually asked about...	CT	0	0	0	0	0
	NT	1	4	0	1	6
	NT or CT [Not sure]	1	0	0	0	1
	Lawa	0	0	0	1	1
	[Skipped]	1	8	1	1	11
Total		3	12	1	3	19

Thus, in the Bo Luang group, 13 of 22 subjects were asked about the correct language, one was asked about the wrong language, and for the remaining eight subjects this section of the interview was skipped. In Kong Loi, only six of nineteen subjects were asked about the correct language, two were asked about the wrong language, and for the remaining eleven subjects this section of the interview was skipped. Therefore, the raw data is not really representative of the Thai proficiency of the sample, let alone of the population.

In hindsight, even had it been applied consistently, I think this was not a good protocol. It would have allowed me to find out if *at least one language* with literature is accessible to each *individual*. But what I really wanted to know is if any *one particular language* with literature is accessible to enough of the *whole community*. So, I should have tested *everyone’s* Central Thai proficiency, and perhaps also their Northern Thai proficiency.

But, all is not lost! By making a few reasonable assumptions, this data is still usable. Basically, I replaced all the missing values with the most reasonable value based on the subjects who were tested. (See Section C.2.5.1 for more details.) This results in an estimate of the Thai proficiency profile for the entire sample, as shown in the next table. This in turn serves as an estimate of the Thai proficiency for the community.

Table 82 – Estimated Thai Proficiency Profile (Eastern Lawa)

Location	Question # (see above for the question wording)						
	52	53	54a	54b	55	56	57
Bo Luang group	100%	95%	95%	92%	89%	63%	44%
Kong Loi	100%	100%	100%	100%	95%	80%	70%

Note that this profile claims that Lawa people in the Bo Luang group are less proficient in Thai, on average, than Lawa in Kong Loi. This could be a cause or a result of language shift in Kong Loi. On the other hand, the Kong Loi sample was more educated than the Bo Luang group sample. If people from Kong Loi are really more educated on average, then these Thai proficiency results are representative. However, if, in fact, the two areas are equally well educated and we just happened to get a more educated sample in Kong Loi, then the observed difference in Thai proficiency may just be a result of chance educational differences in the sample.

C.2.5.1 Explanation of Imputation Method for Missing Values

For those who are interested, I will show here more specifically what I did to replace the missing values. For those who are not interested, feel free to skip ahead to the next section.

In the field of statistics, the process of filling in values for previously missing values is called “imputation.” In this case, if a subject was not asked one of the seven Thai proficiency questions, then they have a missing value for that question. If they answered “yes,” I gave them a score of 1. If they answered “no,” then they scored 0. If they answered “some,” then they scored 0.5. The imputed values are shown in Table 83 for the Bo Luang group, and in Table 84 for Kong Loi. In each table, there is one row per subject.

In order to get these values, I started with all of the SLQ eligible subjects. The cells in the table that are not shaded contain actual test results. All the rest were missing values. To impute values for the missing values, I did the following four steps, in order:

1. I imputed a “yes” for a missing value that was followed by a “yes” and preceded by a “yes” or all missing values.
This was done for values shaded lightly or in yellow and edged by a black border.

2. I imputed the average of the two adjacent values for a missing value where both adjacent values are non-missing and not both “yes.” This only occurred for the two values that are shaded darkly with no border.
3. For all subjects that reported Lawa as their best language and were tested, I computed the average score for each question, by location, resulting in the following profiles:

Location	Question #						
	52	53	54a	54b	55	56	57
Bo Luang group	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
Kong Loi	1	1	1	1	0.91667	0.66667	0.5

Then, for all subjects that reported Lawa as their best language but were *not* tested, I imputed the corresponding average scores for each question that had a missing value, by location.

This was done for cells shaded darkly or in green and edged by a thick black border.

4. Finally, I imputed a “yes” for all missing values for subjects who reported Thai as one of their best languages. This was done for all cells shaded lightly with no border.

Table 83 – Table of Imputed Values for Thai Proficiency (Bo Luang Group)

Best Language	Question #						
	52	53	54a	54b	55	56	57
Lawa	1	0.5	0.5	0.25	0	0	0
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0	0.5
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0	0
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0	0
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0	0
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
	1	0.94444	0.94444	0.91667	0.88889	0.61538	0.42308
Northern Thai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Table 84 – Table of Imputed Values for Thai Proficiency (Kong Loi)

Best Language	Question #						
	52	53	54a	54b	55	56	57
Lawa	1	1	1	1	0.5	0	0
	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	0.91667	0.66667	0.5
	1	1	1	1	0.91667	0.66667	0.5
	1	1	1	1	0.91667	0.66667	0.5
	1	1	1	1	0.91667	0.66667	0.5
	1	1	1	1	0.91667	0.66667	0.5
	1	1	1	1	0.91667	0.66667	0.5
	Northern Thai	1	1	1	1	1	1
1		1	1	1	1	1	1
Central Thai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Central Thai, Lawa, and Northern Thai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lawa and Northern Thai	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

C.2.6 Language Attitudes

Table 85 – Appropriateness of Lawa-Thai Intermarriage (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 58³⁹)

“Would it be appropriate for a young Lawa man to marry a Thai/Northern Thai woman?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	15	13
Depends on them	0	2
No	0	0
Other	2	2
No answer or Not asked	5	2
Total	22	19

The “other” answers, along with some other added comments are as follows:

- “There is a lot of intermarriage of Lawa with Thai, Northern Thai, and Karen because of contact at work and school.”
- “[It is appropriate] if they accept Lawa traditions... If possible, I want them to marry Lawa.”
- “The important thing is love, not ethnicity.”
- “It does not work out sometimes. We [Lawa] are workers. They [Thai] are comfortable. It does not last long, they do not stay together long.”
- “In my parents’ time, they did not like it. Now, no one cares.”
- “They go off to study and meet each other.”
- “It is necessary sometimes.”

Some subjects were asked the follow-up question “Why?” Their responses were as follows:

- “Because we do not forbid it. We are all Thai people, just different kinds of Thai.”
- “If they like each other.”
- “Only one in ten stay together.”
- “I do not want to see the Lawa culture die.”
- “To preserve Lawa.”
-

⁷ The answers to question 59 (intermarriage between a Lawa woman and a Thai/Northern Thai man) were not any different. That is, people did not indicate that the level of appropriateness depended on whether the Lawa person was the husband or the wife.

Table 86 – Frequency of Lawa-Thai Intermarriage (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 58b⁴⁰)

“Are there many couples (like this)?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	16	14
No	0	1
No answer or Not asked	6	4
Total	22	19

Some other added comments are as follows:

- “They want to marry each other, but then they divorce.”
- “Lots.” (Kong Loi)
- “Perhaps half the village.” (Kong Loi)
- “Not many, except those who live in Chiang Mai.” (Kong Loi)
[This response is inconsistent with the last one, as well as with the reports of many other subjects.]

The responses to question 58 indicate that intermarriage between Eastern Lawa and Thai or Northern Thai people is common and accepted.

Table 87 – Presence of Lawa People Who Do Not Speak Lawa (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 60)

“Are there Lawa people in this village who do not speak Lawa?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	0	3
Few / Maybe	0	2
No	19	14
No answer or Not asked	3	0
Total	22	19

Some other added comments are as follows:

- “Those that move away will not learn to speak Lawa [presumably, their children], or do not use it.” (Kong Loi)
- “No. They must speak Lawa.” (Bo Luang)
- “No. Only Karen people who marry in cannot speak Lawa.” (Kong Loi)
- “People that marry in can speak Lawa after one year.” (Bo Luang)
- “Yes, if they grow up outside the village, but there are not many like this.” (Kong Loi)

⁴⁰ The answers to question 59b (frequency of intermarriage between a Lawa woman and a Thai / Northern Thai man) were not any different.

Thus, it seems clear that almost all Eastern Lawa people can speak Lawa to some extent. Kong Loi seems to have more Lawa people that have shifted to Thai than there are in the Bo Luang group.

Three subjects in Kong Loi were asked the follow-up question “Why?” Their responses were as follows:

- “Because the person’s spouse is a Northern Thai.”
- “They are children of mixed marriages (perhaps a total of fifty people up to 17 years old).”
- “If a child’s parent is not Lawa, he might not learn Lawa. Also, if they move away, they do not use Lawa.”

Two Kong Loi school-age subjects (both age 15) responded to the follow-up question “How do you feel about this?” One responded that he did not feel anything and the other said she was not proud (of the fact that there are some who do not speak Lawa) because they live in a Lawa village.

Table 88 – Lawa Ethnic Distinctives (Other than Language) (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 61)

“Other than speaking Lawa, how are Lawa people different from other people?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Nothing but the language	10	9
Customs related to weddings, funerals, rituals, food, and spirit worship	7	9
Physical appearance	2	0
No answer, Vague answer or Not asked	3	1
Total	22	19

Thus, about half of the subjects felt that the Lawa are no different from other people other than in their language, and about half mentioned differences in local customs.

Table 89 – Primary Ethnolinguistic Identity (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 62)

“Do you think of yourself first as Thai, Khonmuang, ^a Lawa, or something else?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Lawa	17	15
Thai / Northern Thai	4	3
“I am Lawa, but a citizen of Thailand.”	1	0
No answer or Not asked	0	1
Total	22	19

^a “Khonmuang” means a Northern Thai person.

Thus, about 75–80% of the subjects responded that they think of themselves first as Lawa.

For those who answered “Lawa,” some additional comments were as follows:

- “I was born Lawa and cannot change that.”
- “Lawa people are better / cleaner than other people.”

For those who answered “Thai,” some additional comments were as follows:

- “I have an ID card.”
- “Thai first because I live in Thailand.”
- “I am a Thai person who speaks Lawa.”

Table 90 – Attitude Towards Language Maintenance (Eastern Lawa) (ISLQ question 63)

“Twenty years from now, do you think there will still be children in this village who can speak Lawa?”	Bo Luang, Bo Sangae, and Bo Phawaen	Kong Loi
Yes	12	16
Yes, but not as many as now	4	1
Maybe	5	1
No	0	0
No answer, or Not asked	1	1
Total	22	19

The following comments were also made (some in response to the follow-up questions 63a “How do you feel about that?” and 63b “Why?”).

Those from Bo Luang who answered “Yes” added...

- “When they are born, they can speak Lawa. They do not naturally speak Thai.”
- “I have seen young people interested in having a Lawa preservation society.”
- “Yes, but more than half of them will [also] be speaking Thai. I feel good about that because they will be able to communicate with all different kinds of people.”

Those from Kong Loi who answered “Yes” added...

- “They will always speak Lawa because the parents will teach it. Other villages forget the language, but not here.”
- “Yes, because people in this village speak Lawa with children, much more than some other villages.”

[The previous two comments seem to be comparing Kong Loi with other villages in Tambon Bo Sali that have Lawa people, but are not using Lawa as much anymore. See the Village Summaries in appendix B.4.]

- “Everyone teaches their children to speak Lawa.”
- “They have to speak Lawa because their parents are Lawa.”

Those from Bo Luang who answered “Yes, but not as many” added...

- “Some will, some will not, because they go other places to work.”
- “Yes, but fewer than now because the children listen to Thai on television.”
- “Yes, but not as much as today because of marriage with Thai people.”
(Two subjects said this.)
- “The preschool [age 3–5] children speak Northern Thai so well these days, but when they play they still speak Lawa.”
- “I would be sad if no one could speak Lawa.”

Those from Kong Loi who answered “Yes, but not as many” added...

- “Maybe half would still speak Lawa.”
- “If they could not speak Lawa, I would wonder why they did not maintain their traditions.”

Those who answered “Maybe” (all from Bo Luang) added...

- “In the future they might not speak it well.”
- “Young people are using so much Thai. I do not know.”
- When asked “How do you feel about this?” one subject responded “mai pen rai”
(This is a Thai expression indicating lack of concern.).

Appendix D Lawa Phones

The following contains descriptions of the phones of Lawa from La-up (Schlatter 1976a), Pa Pae (Suriya 1979, Suriya and Lakhana 1985, and Suriya 1996), and Bo Luang (Lipsius n.d.). Phones followed by †, *, and ‡ are found in La-up, Pa Pae, and Bo Luang, respectively. Phones without any following superscript are found in all three varieties. The only consonants that occur in syllable-final position are p, t, c, k, ʔ, h, m, n, ŋ, and ŋ.

Table 91 – Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial		Labio-Dental		Alveo-Palatal		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless
Aspirated Stop ^a	p ^h				t ^h		c ^h		k ^h		
Unaspirated Stop	p	b [*]			t		c	f [*]	k		ʔ
Prenasalized Stop		^{mb}				ⁿ d	^{pc} *	^{pf} [†]		^{ng}	
Preglottalized Stop		ʔb ^{†‡}				ʔd ^{†‡}		ʔf [*]			
Fricative			f	v ^{†‡*}	s			^{pf} ^{†‡}		y [*]	h
Preglottalized Fricative										ʔy [*]	
Nasal	m̃	m			ñ	n	ɲ̃ [*]	ɲ	ŋ̃	ŋ	
Preglottalized Nasal		ʔm				ʔn		ʔɲ ^{†*}		ʔŋ	
Lateral					l̃	l					
Preglottalized Lateral						ʔl ^{†*}					
Flap					r̃ ^{†‡}	r ^{†‡}					
Semivowel				w ^b [†]			ɟ [†]	j ^c			
Preglottalized Semivowel								ʔj [†]			

^a Lipsius (n.d.) and Schlatter (1976a) both refer to these as consonant clusters but they seem to behave as single consonants.

^b Schlatter (1976a:274) states that /w/ is close to the English [v].

^c For Pa Pae, j only occurs as the second consonant in a consonant cluster.

Table 92 – Consonant Clusters

	Bilabial			Alveo-Palatal			Velar		
	La-up	Pa Pae	Bo Luang	La-up	Pa Pae	Bo Luang	La-up	Pa Pae	Bo Luang
Lateral	p ^h l pl ^m bl	p ^h l pl ^m bl	pl ^m bl				k ^h l kl ^ʊ gl	k ^h l kl ^ʊ gl	kl ^ʊ gl
Flap	p ^h r ^m br		p ^h r pr ^m br				k ^h r ^ʊ gr		k ^h r kr ^ʊ gr
Semivowel		p ^h j pj ^m bj				ʔdj	k ^h w kw	k ^h j kj ^ʊ gj	

Table 93 – Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back	
			Unrounded	Rounded
High	i	ɨ		u
Mid-High		ɯ* ^a		
Mid	e	ə		o
Low	ɛ	a	ɒ [‡]	ɔ

^a Suriya (1979) calls this a “mid-high, central-back” vowel. Both in Suriya (1979) and in Suriya (1996), she has it placed between ɨ and ə, so it is presumably unrounded. This phoneme is “only found in nine words, all of which are undoubtedly Thai (or [Northern Thai]) loan words” (Suriya 1979:8).

Table 94 – Diphthongs (those in bold are common to all three locations)

	Front			Central			Back		
	La-up	Pa Pae	Bo Luang	La-up	Pa Pae	Bo Luang	La-up	Pa Pae	Bo Luang
High	iu iə	iə	iə ia	iə	iə	iə ia	ui uə uæi	ui uə	ui uə ua
Mid	ei eo		ei ea	əi əo	əi əi əo	əi	oi	oi	oi oe oa
Low	æo	ɛo	æi æi æu æo	ai ai ao	ai ai aiɛ ao	ai ai au ao	ɔi	ɔi ɔɛ	ɔi ɒu ɔɛ ɒo

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