



A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF PWO KAREN IN NORTHERN THAILAND

ERIN DAWKINS AND AUDRA PHILLIPS

LINGUISTICS INSTITUTE
LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENT
PAYAP UNIVERSITY
CHIANG MAI, THAILAND

2009
RESEARCH PROJECT: SU1

Abstract

Erin Dawkins and Audra Phillips

Payap University Linguistics Institute and Linguistics Department

SIL International

Chiang Mai, Thailand

This paper presents the results of a sociolinguistic survey of the Pwo Karen people in northern Thailand, with a special focus on those located furthest from the center of literature development in Chiang Mai province. It was hypothesized that the Pwo Karen in some areas of northern Thailand speak a language unintelligible with the Northern Pwo Karen language of Chiang Mai province. Therefore, the purpose of this survey was to determine whether there are any unintelligible varieties and whether there is any further need for language development among the Pwo Karen of northern Thailand. Language vitality, attitudes, and bilingualism were assessed using sociolinguistic interviews. Intelligibility was assessed using recorded text testing, and lexical similarity was assessed using wordlists. The survey's conclusion is that further language development would be beneficial, because Pwo Karen is a vital language in northern Thailand, and there is substantial variation among speech varieties. Language development, however, might not include development of *written materials* in every dialect or group.

บทคัดย่อ
การวิจัยภาษาศาสตร์เชิงสังคมของภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ในภาคเหนือ
ของประเทศไทย

แอริน ดอร์กินส์ และ ออดร่า ฟิลลิปส์
สถาบันภาษาศาสตร์และภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ
สถาบันภาษาศาสตร์ภาคฤดูร้อน (เอสไอแอล)
เชียงใหม่ ประเทศไทย

รายงานนี้นำเสนอผลการวิจัยภาษาศาสตร์เชิงสังคมในกลุ่มชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ในภาคเหนือของประเทศไทย โดยเน้นเป็นพิเศษที่ชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ที่อาศัยอยู่ในบริเวณห่างไกลจากศูนย์กลางการพัฒนาด้านวรรณกรรม)จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ (มากที่สุด เบื้องต้นมีข้อสันนิษฐานว่าชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ในภาคเหนือบางแห่งและชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปว์เหนือในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่พูดภาษาที่แตกต่างและไม่สามารถเข้าใจกันได้ งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้จึงมุ่งศึกษาค้นคว้าว่ามีวิธภาษาที่ไม่สามารถเข้าใจกันได้จริงหรือไม่ พร้อมกับประเมินความจำเป็นด้านการพัฒนาภาษาเขียนของภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ในภาคเหนือของประเทศไทยต่อไป คณะวิจัยใช้วิธีการสัมภาษณ์ในลักษณะภาษาศาสตร์เชิงสังคมในการประเมินความมีชีวิตของภาษา ทัศนคติเกี่ยวกับภาษา และภาวะทวิภาษา และใช้วิธีทดสอบความเข้าใจในเรื่องเล่าที่บันทึกไว้เพื่อประเมินความเข้าใจในภาษา ส่วนการประเมินความคล้ายคลึงกันของคำศัพท์ในวิธภาษาต่าง ๆ ทำโดยวิธีรวบรวมคำศัพท์ ผลสรุปของการวิจัยนี้ คือ การพัฒนาภาษาเพิ่มเติมจะเป็นประโยชน์อย่างยิ่ง เพราะว่าภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ในภาคเหนือของประเทศไทยเป็นภาษาที่มีชีวิตและแต่ละวิธภาษามีความแตกต่างกันอยู่มาก อย่างไรก็ตาม การพัฒนาภาษาอาจไม่ได้หมายรวมถึงการพัฒนาภาษาเขียนสำหรับทุกกลุ่มหรือทุกวิธภาษา

Acknowledgments

This research was carried out under the auspices of the Linguistics Institute and the Linguistics Department of Payap University.

We were only able to complete this research because of the partnership, knowledge, and hard work provided by many people, both Pwo Karen people and fellow linguists. We would like to especially thank these Pwo Karen leaders who contacted local people and made arrangements for our visits: Saman Yoklaksanaphrai, Nuchanat Chaisotsai, Dee Kheng Puyoh, Thong Laklaem, and Chinda Charoenkul. Many others had valuable roles: Maipao Khamchunhongkha was the storyteller for the recorded text test used in other provinces. Cortney Kirkland (SIL) was an invaluable partner in planning and carrying out the first stages of the research. Noel Mann and Dr. Ramzi Nahhas (both of Payap University and SIL) provided direction and wise advice. Marcus Choo (Payap/SIL), John Epple (Payap/SIL), and Rashauna Mead assisted in carrying out the data collection. We deeply appreciate the contributions of each one of these people.

The Pwo Karen people of northern Thailand have not only touched our hearts but also earned our deepest respect. We extend our sincere appreciation to the many village leaders who graciously allowed us to conduct research in their villages. Thank you to our hosts who welcomed us into their homes. Thank you also to our local helpers, who showed skill, patience and warmth. They are too many to name here, but they will always be in our hearts. In addition, thanks to the more than 200 Pwo Karen people who were patient interviewees and recorded text test subjects. This research is dedicated to all of you, with the hope that it will be beneficial to you and your children as you navigate through the complex multilingual society in which you live.

Corrections or comments are welcome and should be submitted to Audra Phillips by email at audra_phillips@sil.org or by mail to Audra Phillips, Linguistics Department, Faculty of Arts, Payap University, Chiang Mai 50000 Thailand.

Erin Dawkins and Audra Phillips
2009

Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments.....	iii
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Names	1
1.2 Language classification.....	2
1.3 Location and population	3
1.4 History.....	4
1.5 Culture and lifestyle	5
1.6 Vernacular literature	5
1.7 Previous research	6
2 Methodology	7
2.1 Research questions.....	7
2.2 Methods used	7
2.3 Selection of sites	9
2.4 Selection of subjects	14
3 Chiang Rai province: Doi Luang	15
3.1 Introduction.....	15
3.2 Language vitality	18
3.3 Bilingualism.....	22
3.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	22
3.5 Attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen.....	23
3.6 Desire for vernacular literature	24
3.7 Grouping	24
4 Chiang Rai province: Muang	25
4.1 Introduction.....	25
4.2 Language vitality	26
4.3 Bilingualism.....	27
4.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	27
4.5 Attitudes.....	27
4.6 Grouping	27
5 Lampang province	28
5.1 Introduction.....	28
5.2 Language vitality	30
5.3 Bilingualism.....	30
5.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	31
5.5 Attitudes.....	31
5.6 Grouping	31
6 Lamphun province	32
6.1 Introduction.....	32
6.2 Language vitality	35
6.3 Bilingualism.....	36
6.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	37
6.5 Attitudes.....	37
6.6 Grouping	37
7 Mae Hong Son province	38
7.1 Introduction.....	38
7.2 Language vitality	41

7.3	Bilingualism	42
7.4	Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	43
7.5	Attitudes	43
7.6	Grouping	43
8	Phrae province	44
8.1	Introduction	44
8.2	Language vitality	47
8.3	Bilingualism	50
8.4	Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	51
8.5	Attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	52
8.6	Desire for vernacular literature	52
8.7	Grouping	53
9	Northern Tak province	54
9.1	Introduction	54
9.2	Language vitality	57
9.3	Bilingualism	57
9.4	Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	58
9.5	Attitudes	58
9.6	Grouping	58
10	Chiang Mai province	59
10.1	Introduction	59
10.2	Language vitality	61
10.3	Grouping	62
11	Summary of conclusions	62
11.1	Proposed groupings	62
11.2	Summary of other conclusions	64
11.3	Need for language development	66
	References	67
	Appendices	70
	Appendix A: Pwo Karen villages in northern Thailand	70
	Appendix B: Population estimation procedures	80
	Appendix C: Village-level group interview	82
	Appendix D: Individual interview	86
	Appendix E: RTT methodology	91
	Appendix F: RTT screening questions and post-RTT interview	93
	Appendix G: RTT transcript	96
	Appendix H: RTT results	99
	Appendix I: International Phonetic Alphabet	100
	Appendix J: Lexical similarity counting methodology	101
	Appendix K: Data collection locations and dates	103
	Appendix L: Religions practiced by Pwo Karen in northern Thailand by location... ..	104
	Appendix M: Traditional religious life in Ban Doi	105
	Appendix N: Pwo Karen proverbs from Ban Salok	106
	Appendix O: Pwo Karen textiles	106

Figures

Figure 1. Sino-Tibetan language family (Matisoff 1996).....	2
Figure 2. Karenic language family (Bradley 1997)	2
Figure 3. Districts where Pwo Karen live in northern Thailand	3
Figure 4. Village-level group interview sites.....	10
Figure 5. Individual interview sites	11
Figure 6. RTT test sites	12
Figure 7. Wordlist sites	13
Figure 8. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Chiang Rai province.....	16
Figure 9. Pwo Karen villages in Doi Luang district	17
Figure 10. Pwo Karen villages in Wiang Chai district	17
Figure 11. Pwo Karen villages in Muang district	26
Figure 12. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Lampang province.....	28
Figure 13. Pwo Karen villages in Lampang province.....	29
Figure 14. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Lamphun province	33
Figure 15. Some Pwo Karen villages in Li and Thung Hua Chang districts	34
Figure 16. Some Pwo Karen villages in Mae Tha and Ban Hong districts	34
Figure 17. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Mae Hong Son province.....	39
Figure 18. Pwo Karen villages in Mae Sariang and northeast Sop Moei districts.....	39
Figure 19. Some Pwo Karen villages in southeast Sop Moei district.....	40
Figure 20. Some Pwo Karen villages in western Sop Moei district	40
Figure 21. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Phrae province.....	45
Figure 22. Pwo Karen villages in Long district	45
Figure 23. Pwo Karen villages in Wang Chin district	46
Figure 24. Districts where Thai Pwo Karen live in Tak province	55
Figure 25. Some Pwo Karen villages and subdistricts in Tha Song Yang district	56
Figure 26. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Chiang Mai province.....	60
Figure 27. Some Pwo Karen villages in Omkoi district	60
Figure 28. Some Pwo Karen villages in Hot and Doi Tao districts	61

Tables

Table 1. Pwo Karen languages (Gordon 2005).....	2
Table 2. Population of Pwo Karen in northern Thailand by location	4
Table 3. Village-level group interview sites	9
Table 4. Quota sample goal	14
Table 5. Individual interviewees by province.....	14
Table 6. Parents' language use with children (Doi Luang)	19
Table 7. Children's language use during play (Doi Luang).....	19
Table 8. Reported first language of children (Doi Luang).....	20
Table 9. Individual interviewees' prediction of language vitality (Doi Luang)	20
Table 10. Domains of language use (Doi Luang)	21
Table 11. Languages spoken by interviewees (Doi Luang).....	22
Table 12. Attitudes toward Chiang Mai storyteller (Doi Luang).....	23
Table 13. Ideas of topics for Pwo Karen written materials (Doi Luang).....	24
Table 14. Ban Doi lexical similarity with other areas	25
Table 15. Languages spoken by interviewees (Lampang).....	31
Table 16. Ban Klang lexical similarity with other areas.....	32
Table 17. Languages spoken by interviewees (Lamphun).....	36

Table 18. Mae Lek lexical similarity with other areas.....	37
Table 19. Huai Thok lexical similarity with other areas.....	38
Table 20. Languages spoken by interviewees (Mae Hong Son).....	42
Table 21. Seumeu Luang lexical similarity with other areas.....	44
Table 22. Sop Khong lexical similarity with other areas.....	44
Table 23. Parents' language use with children (Phrae).....	47
Table 24. Children's language use during play (Phrae).....	47
Table 25. Reported first language of children (Phrae).....	48
Table 26. Individual interviewees' prediction of language vitality (Phrae)	48
Table 27. Domains of language use (Phrae)	49
Table 28. Languages spoken by interviewees (Phrae).....	50
Table 29. Interviewees' ideas of topics for Pwo Karen written materials (Phrae)	53
Table 30. Christians' interest in religious literature in own variety (Phrae).....	53
Table 31. Ban Salok lexical similarity with other areas	54
Table 32. Languages spoken by interviewees (Tak).....	58
Table 33. Mae Pho lexical similarity with other areas.....	59
Table 34. Thung Chamroeng lexical similarity with other areas.....	62
Table 35. Lexical similarity among all Pwo Karen varieties compared.....	63
Table 36. Summary of conclusions by geographical area	65
Table 37. Ban Salok (Phrae) RTT scores.....	99
Table 38. Ban Doi (Chiang Rai) RTT scores.....	99
Table 39. Word length and lexical similarity (Blair 1990:32).....	102

1 Introduction

Pwo Karen languages are a subgroup of the Karenic languages, spoken in Thailand and Myanmar. There are Pwo Karen communities in both northern and central Thailand. This paper focuses on Pwo Karen groups in northern Thailand, especially those outside Chiang Mai province, which is the population and literature development center. The Pwo Karen of northern Thailand are characterized by linguistic and sociolinguistic variation.

1.1 Names

In this paper, the term “Pwo Karen of northern Thailand” refers to all Pwo Karen living in northern Thailand, in contrast to the name “Northern Pwo Karen,” which refers to one language spoken by the Pwo Karen in northern Thailand. In the *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) and some other publications, the term “Phrae Pwo Karen” is used to refer to the Pwo Karen of Phrae province and other “eastern” provinces. The *Ethnologue* does not define which provinces this group includes. In English, the Phrae Pwo Karen have also been called Northeastern Pwo Karen or Northern Pwo Karen of Phrae (Gordon 2005).

English speakers pronounce the word “Pwo” as [p^ho].¹ This term is borrowed from a Burmese term, which in turn comes from a Karen word of unknown meaning (Renard 1980:10). The English “Karen” comes from the Mon word “Kariang” by way of the Burmese “Kayin” (Renard 2003:1).

The Pwo Karen in northern Thailand generally call themselves [p^hlōŋ] in their own language, which means “person.” When making a distinction between Pwo and Sgaw Karen, they call Pwo [ɕu] and Sgaw [ɕaŋ] or [tɕua]. Central Thais refer to Pwo Karen as [kà rìaŋ pō:]² or simply [kà rìaŋ], and Northern Thais refer to Karen as [jāŋ]. This Central Thai term is accepted by most Pwo Karen, while the Northern Thai term is considered derogatory by some. However, some Pwo Karen use the word [jāŋ] to refer to themselves when speaking Northern Thai. When speaking Central Thai, Pwo Karen use the term [kà rìaŋ] to refer to themselves, often without the word [pō:], and indeed many Pwo Karen do not even know the term “Pwo” or [pō:]. The Pwo Karen do not usually use the terms “Northern” Pwo Karen or “Phrae” Pwo Karen as they have been labeled in English. Instead, they usually specify their sub-group by a region, province, or district name. For example, the Pwo Karen of Wang Chin district in Phrae often refer to themselves in Central Thai as [kà rìaŋ waŋ çín], which translated means “Wang Chin Karen.”³

¹ Words in brackets are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet. (See Appendix I.) Tone is marked when known.

² In Thai script: กระเหรี่ยงปว. According to Wut (2003), the Central Thais borrowed the term [kà rìaŋ] from the Mon.

³ Data compiled from our interviews with Pwo Karen people and observation.

1.2 Language classification

Karenic languages form one branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family, which, in turn, is one branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Matisoff 1996), shown in Figure 1.

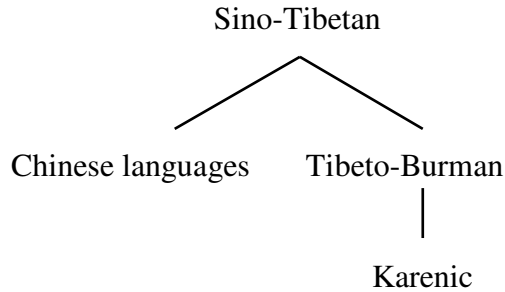


Figure 1. Sino-Tibetan language family (Matisoff 1996)

The internal classification of Karenic languages is not agreed upon by linguists. One classification of Karenic languages is shown in Figure 2, after Bradley (1997).

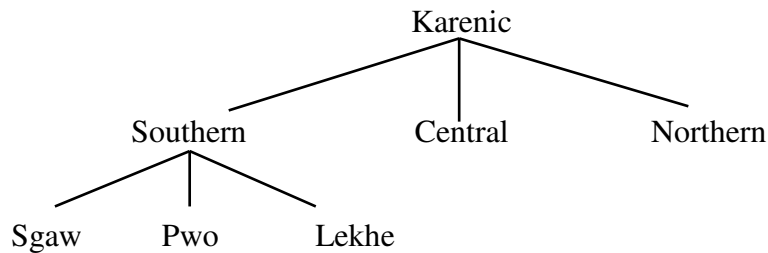


Figure 2. Karenic language family (Bradley 1997)

See Manson (2003) for the most detailed lexical and phonological analysis of Karenic language relationships, as well as a summary of previous research.

Within the Pwo sub-group of the Karenic language family, four languages are identified in the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Pwo Karen languages (Gordon 2005)

Language	Location
Western Pwo Karen	Irrawaddy Delta region of Myanmar
Eastern Pwo Karen and West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen	Eastern Myanmar and west-central Thailand
Northern Pwo Karen	Northern Thailand (Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son provinces)
Phrae Pwo Karen	Eastern provinces of northern Thailand

The Ethnologue presumably separates “Phrae Pwo Karen” from “Northern Pwo Karen” based on some reports of low intelligibility and 87% lexical similarity. In section 11.1 we will give our conclusions about groupings of Pwo Karen in northern Thailand.

1.3 Location and population

In northern Thailand, the Pwo Karen live in seven provinces: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lampang, Lamphun, Mae Hong Son, Phrae, and Tak.⁴ In some areas, such as Mae Hong Son province, the Pwo Karen live on mountains; in other areas, such as Phrae province, they live on the plains.

See Appendix A for a list of Pwo Karen villages in northern Thailand, compiled from published materials and our fieldwork. Figure 3 gives an overview of where Pwo Karen live in northern Thailand; the triangles mark centers of districts (amphoes).⁵ (See section 2.3 for data collection locations.)

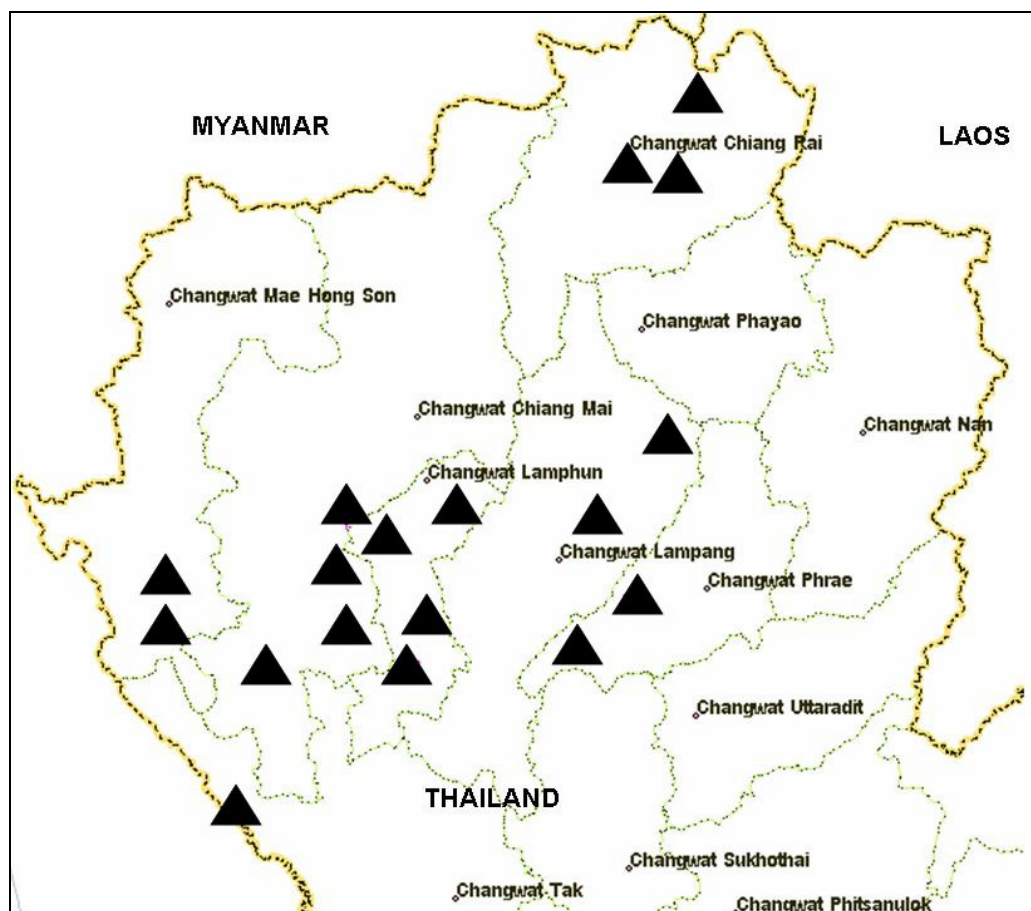


Figure 3. Districts where Pwo Karen live in northern Thailand⁶

The Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) estimates the Northern Pwo Karen population at 60,000 and does not give a population estimate for Phrae Pwo Karen. We estimate the total

⁴ Some report that there are Pwo Karen in Sukhothai province. Culy (1993), however, investigated those villages and found them to be Sgaw Karen villages with some Pwo Karen who married in.

⁵ Thailand’s administrative divisions are as follows, from smallest to largest: ‘ban,’ ‘moo,’ or ‘mooban’ (village/ neighborhood); ‘tambon’ (subdistrict); ‘amphoe’ (district); and ‘changwat’ (province).

⁶ All maps are taken from the computer program MapMagic: Thailand (2005).

population of Pwo Karen in northern Thailand at around 83,000.⁷ See Table 2 for population by location.

Table 2. Population of Pwo Karen in northern Thailand by location

Location	Estimated population	Number of villages ⁸	Source of data
Chiang Mai	30,000	at least 75	Culy (1993); interviews
Chiang Rai: Doi Luang	1,700	4	Interviews in 4 villages
Chiang Rai: Muang	<1,000	3	Interview in 1 village
Lampang	1,000	4	Interviews in 4 villages
Lamphun	20,000	33	Interviews in 4 villages
Mae Hong Son	22,000	83 ⁹	Interviews in 4 villages and with local leaders
Phrae	6,000 ¹⁰	9	Interviews in 9 villages
Northern Tak	2,000	7	Interview in 1 village

1.4 History

Karen peoples migrated from the north into southeast Asia some time before the year 700. Many Karen moved into Thailand during the Burma-Mon-Thai wars from 1753-1824. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, Karen people in Thailand were given Thai citizenship (Renard 1980:v-vii).

Recently, Karen peoples have continued to move into Thailand, many as refugees, but the Pwo Karen groups which are the focus of this survey have lived in Thailand for at least a century. When asked “How long ago did the Pwo Karen come and establish this village?” interviewees in most villages said they had been there for 200-500 years or that they did not have any idea. (Some villages which had been established more recently relocated from other locations within Thailand, with the exception of the Tak villages which reported moving into Thailand 100-200 years ago.) Renard’s detailed history of Karen in Thailand reports that most of the Pwo Karen in northern Thailand came from the Zwei Kabin mountain area, which is east of Pa-an in Kayin State of Myanmar, beginning around 1802. Some were brought as captives by the northern Thai ruler Kawila, and others came willingly. First, they lived in what are now Mae Hong Son and Chiang Mai provinces. Later, in the late 1800s, they spread into Lamphun, Lampang, and Phrae provinces.¹¹ A smaller group of Pwo Karen migrated separately and stayed in the

⁷ See Appendix B for the procedures we used in estimating population. Since we were able to visit every village in Phrae, Doi Luang, and Lampang, our population estimates and village numbers are more accurate for these areas than for others.

⁸ This includes some ethnically mixed villages in which Pwo Karen may or may not be the majority ethnic group, but does not include villages where there are ethnic Pwo Karen that no longer speak Pwo Karen.

⁹ When you compare the number of villages in Mae Hong Son (83) with Lamphun (33), you may wonder why the population estimates are similar. In Mae Hong Son, the Pwo Karen live in the mountains in small settlements, and our local contacts reported the names of many small villages. In Lamphun, as in Phrae, the Pwo Karen live mostly on the plains in large villages. Naklang village in Lamphun, for example, has about 1,400 people.

¹⁰ This is an estimate of Pwo Karen *speakers* in Phrae province, as some villages have given up the language. Ritchie and Yang (1999) report that there are 14 Karen villages and 8,600 Karen people in Wang Chin and Long districts of Phrae province, and this presumably is a count based on ethnicity instead of language. (There are no Sgaw Karen in the area, so the Karen figures refer only to Pwo Karen.)

¹¹ Renard says this group of Pwo Karen are called ‘suai kabang,’ a Thai pronunciation of ‘Zwei Kabin.’

mountains of southern Mae Hong Son (Renard 1980:13-15,132,157). The interviewees on this survey were mostly unsure of where their ancestors had moved from before living in northern Thailand. There does not appear to be a strong link of identity with Karen outside Thailand.

1.5 Culture and lifestyle

Most Pwo Karen in northern Thailand who live in their home villages are farmers; usually they grow rice, and may also raise livestock or grow other crops such as chilies, peanuts or vegetables. They practice paddy or hill (swidden) rice farming, depending on the area. In most provinces, they eat non-glutinous rice, but in some places glutinous (sticky) rice is the staple. They may own their own fields or work as hired laborers. Others who go away to work in towns and cities have many kinds of jobs, while even some who live in villages are teachers or government workers. Many young Pwo Karen people leave the village to work in the city after finishing their education; most return to their home village to start their families.

The Pwo Karen are known for their colorful weaving of shirts, skirts, and bags. The traditional clothing of unmarried women is different than that of married women: the unmarried women wear long dresses (usually white), while the married women wear colorful shirts and skirts. Men wear shirts similar to the married woman's shirt, with trousers. The colors and designs on the clothing vary by province as well as from village to village. In some areas, almost all the women wear Karen clothing on a daily basis; in other areas, the traditional clothing is reserved for special days or worn only by the oldest generation. Traditionally, women also wore many beaded necklaces; older women in some places still do. See Appendix O for photos of Pwo Karen textiles.

The Pwo Karen of northern Thailand mostly follow a mixture of Buddhism and traditional Karen religious practices (animism). In some areas, however, there are many Christians. The estimated percentage of religious adherents in each area is shown in Appendix L. Appendix M contains a description of traditional religious practices in one village, Ban Doi in Chiang Rai province. See Appendix N for Pwo Karen proverbs from Ban Salok in Phrae province.

1.6 Vernacular literature

The Northern Pwo Karen have vernacular literature of several kinds in a Thai-based script, but literacy is not widespread. The Pwo Karen Christians in Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son provinces have translated the New Testament and developed other Christian materials along with literacy materials over several decades, with the help of OMF International and the Thailand Baptist Missionary Fellowship. Currently, the Pwo Karen are translating the Old Testament (Saman, personal communication).

During the years 2003-2006, the Thailand Ministry of Education's Non-formal Education Department carried out a pilot project for multilingual education in the Pwo Karen village of Nong Ung Tai, Omkoi district, Chiang Mai province. Since 2007, another multilingual education project has been in progress in some Northern Pwo Karen villages in Hot district, Chiang Mai province. It is being carried out under the auspices of the Foundation for Applied Linguistics, a Thai non-governmental organization, with funding from the Pestalozzi Children's Foundation (Phillips 2009).

Some Pwo Karen in northern Thailand are also aware of other Pwo Karen writing systems, such as the Eastern Pwo Karen Monastic script or the Pwo Karen Christian script used in Myanmar. Renard reports that some Pwo Karen in Lamphun used to use the Monastic script in secular and Buddhist activities (1980:162). However, on this survey we did not meet anyone who indicated that they were able to read any Pwo Karen script other than the newer Thai-based script.

There is no vernacular literature based on the Pwo Karen varieties of other provinces in northern Thailand.

1.7 Previous research

Before we began our research, several others had investigated Pwo Karen language varieties in northern Thailand.

In 1956, the American Baptist Mission in Thailand conducted a survey comparing Pwo Karen in Thailand with Pwo Karen in Myanmar (Beaver and Truxton 1957). The researchers concluded that the Pwo Karen of Thailand could use Pwo Karen literature from Myanmar in spite of dialect differences, if they started with simplified literacy materials. Wordlists were collected in five villages in Thailand and compared with each other and with the two Pwo Karen languages in Myanmar, Western and Eastern. Their results stated that the Thailand varieties and Myanmar varieties were 63-78% similar, and the Thailand varieties were 63-83% similar to each other. The methodology they used differs significantly from our lexical comparison methodology, based on Blair (1990).

Cooke, Hudspeth, and Morris (1976) published a phonology of Pwo Karen spoken in Hot district in Chiang Mai. Naruemon (1995) studied the phonology of the Pwo Karen in Mae Tha district in Lamphun, and Lalin (1997) studied their syntax.

Culy (1993) investigated lexical similarity among Pwo Karen varieties in northern Thailand. He and his assistant collected 18 wordlists from six provinces: Chiang Mai, Mae Hong Son, Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Rai, and Phrae. All these varieties were found to be between 85 and 97% lexically similar. He grouped the varieties into various dialects and proposed two major dialect groupings: “Northern Pwo Karen” (spoken in five provinces not including Lampang) and “Lampang Pwo Karen” (spoken in the four villages in Lampang and three villages in Chiang Rai).

Aspinwall and McManigle (1996) and Wannemacher (1994) interviewed Pwo Karen in Ban Salok in Phrae province and suggested further linguistic research to determine whether the Pwo Karen in Phrae could understand the Chiang Mai variety of Pwo Karen.

Phillips (n.d.) collected wordlists from Chiang Mai and Phrae speakers and compared them. The 87% lexical similarity between the Chiang Mai and Phrae varieties indicated that “Phrae Pwo Karen” and “Northern Pwo Karen” varieties might not be intelligible with one another. Testing to confirm or disprove intelligibility, therefore, was one of our goals.

Anthropological studies on Pwo Karen in northern Thailand include Hamilton (1976 and 1983), Keyes (1979), and Delang (2003).

The rest of this paper describes the research purpose and methods (section 2), the results for various geographical areas (sections 3-10), and a summary of conclusions (section 11).

2 Methodology

2.1 Research questions

The purpose of this survey was to assess the need for further language development among the Pwo Karen of northern Thailand. In order to accomplish this purpose, the survey needed to answer the following six research questions:

1. What is the **language vitality** of Pwo Karen in northern Thailand (low, moderate, high)?¹²
2. Do the Pwo Karen in northern Thailand report high **bilingualism** in Northern Thai or other languages?
3. Do the Pwo Karen in Phrae or Chiang Rai (Doi Luang) adequately **comprehend the Chiang Mai variety of Pwo Karen**?
4. Do the Pwo Karen in Phrae or Chiang Rai (Doi Luang) have any negative **attitudes toward the Chiang Mai variety of Pwo Karen**?
5. Do the Pwo Karen in Phrae or Chiang Rai (Doi Luang) have a **desire for literature** in their language variety?
6. What are the potential ethnolinguistic **groupings** of Pwo Karen in Northern Thailand?

Now we will describe the methods we used to attempt to answer these questions.

2.2 Methods used

The fieldwork methods included recorded text testing (RTT) and individual interviews in Phrae and Chiang Rai provinces, and village-level group interviews and wordlists in Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Lampang, Mae Hong Son, Phrae, and Tak provinces.

In each village visited, we asked our local contacts to gather a group of at least four people for a **village-level group interview**. We requested that the group consist of people who live in that village, represent more than one family, represent both younger and older people, and include the village leader. In a few cases, the group we interviewed did not meet all these criteria because of unavailability of interviewees or misunderstandings about what we wanted. We asked the questions in Central Thai; sometimes there was translation into Pwo Karen, but it was rarely needed. This interview was used to obtain demographic information about the village as well as information about the languages spoken by its residents and reported comprehension of other Pwo Karen varieties. See Appendix C for a sample group interview schedule.

We conducted **individual interviews** in Central Thai if the subject was able to understand. If not, an interpreter translated into Pwo Karen. This interview was used to obtain information about language use and attitudes in the villages where it was

¹² “Language vitality” refers to whether the speakers are using their traditional language or are giving it up in favor of another language. See also section 3.2.

administered. We also conducted a **Christian literature interview** with a few Christians in Phrae province. See Appendix D for a sample individual interview schedule.

A **recorded text test** or “RTT” is a test of comprehension of a language variety (Casad 1974). For this survey, comprehension of only one variety was tested, that is, the Chiang Mai variety of Pwo Karen, as this is the variety which has existing literature. The test consisted of listening to a recording of a story told by a Pwo Karen speaker from Chiang Mai, with questions inserted into the story asked in the local variety of Pwo Karen. See Appendix G for a transcript of the test the subjects listened to.

We developed and administered the RTT basically following Casad (1974), with some steps as described in Blair (1990:73-85), except that we replaced the “Hometown Test” (which uses an original story in the local variety) with a “Screening Test” (which used a culturally appropriate story translated into the local variety). See Appendix E for further explanation of the RTT methodology used on this survey.

Before beginning the research, we chose our criteria: An average RTT score of at least 80% indicates likely comprehension. An average score of less than 60% indicates unlikely comprehension. An average score between 60 and 79% indicates marginal comprehension; in this case other factors would need to be assessed to determine whether literature could be shared.¹³ In interpreting the RTT results, we also considered the variation in the scores (standard deviation) and reported intelligibility.

After the subject completed the RTT, we asked **post-RTT questions**. These questions served to assess subjects’ attitudes toward and reported comprehension of the Chiang Mai variety of Pwo Karen. For example, we asked, “Does the storyteller speak good Pwo Karen?” See Appendix F for the post-RTT questions.

In each province, we collected one or more **wordlists** of Pwo Karen vocabulary items. In most cases, the list used included 421 words; in Lamphun, where data from Culy (1993) was available and our time was limited, we collected only 170 words. The lists we used were based on the 436-word list often used by SIL in Thailand, modified slightly for ease of elicitation in Pwo Karen languages. We selected as informants one or more mother-tongue speakers of Pwo Karen who grew up in the selected village, who had at least one parent from the selected village who spoke Pwo Karen with them, and who were without any obvious speech impediment. We transcribed the wordlist phonetically using the International Phonetic Alphabet (see Appendix I) and made an audio recording. Later, we compared the wordlists with each other and with other wordlists we had previously collected, to determine the lexical similarity between the Pwo Karen speech varieties. See Appendix J for the lexical similarity counting methodology. The full wordlists themselves and a more detailed account of the counting methodology will be published later under “Lexical Similarity in Pwo Karen” (Phillips, forthcoming).

¹³ Our criteria are modified from Blair (1990:25) and Grimes (1995:22). Blair says that RTT scores below 60% are “low” and above 80% are “high.” Grimes says that RTT scores of 85% or above indicate a single language; scores of 70% or below indicate distinct languages; and scores in between indicate marginal intelligibility. In the case of marginal intelligibility, Grimes says, criteria other than linguistic ones need to be considered.

2.3 Selection of sites

To aid in the selection of sites, we gathered sociolinguistic and demographic information about various villages through background research and village-level group interviews. See Appendix A for a summary of sociolinguistic and demographic data on Pwo Karen villages in northern Thailand. This section gives the sites chosen for various types of data collection and the rationale for the selection.

When possible, **village-level group interviews** were conducted in every village in an area. This was possible in Phrae province, Lampang province and in Doi Luang district of Chiang Rai province. In Muang district of Chiang Rai province, we only visited the village where our contacts lived, since language vitality was reported to be low in the area. In Lamphun, we selected one village per district, also making sure to include at least one village per dialect group identified by Culy (1993). In Mae Hong Son, we chose two easy-access villages in different subdistricts (tambons) and one difficult-access village in another subdistrict, which was reported to speak a different dialect. In addition, we were able to interview leaders from another village which we did not visit, Mae Hat. In Tak, we visited the only village for which we were able to get directions. We conducted village-level group interviews in 28 villages, listed in Table 3. These 28 sites are also shown in Figure 4 as unlabeled points.

Table 3. Village-level group interview sites

Province	Villages
Chiang Rai: Doi Luang and Wiang Chai	Huai Sak, Nong Dan, Ban Doi, Pa Sang Ngam, Thung Khong
Chiang Rai: Muang	Nam Lat
Lampang	Huai Tat, Mae San, Ban Klang, Mae Hang Tai
Lamphun	Naklang, Mae Lek, Nong Lak, Huai Thok
Mae Hong Son	Mae Hat, Seumeu Luang, Sop Khong, Mae Umda Nuea
Phrae	Mae Chong Fai, Khang Tana, Mae Haet, Mae Teut, Ban Salok, Ban Pong, Khang Chai, Mae Phung Luang (Khang Pin Chai), Mae Sin
Tak	Mae Pho

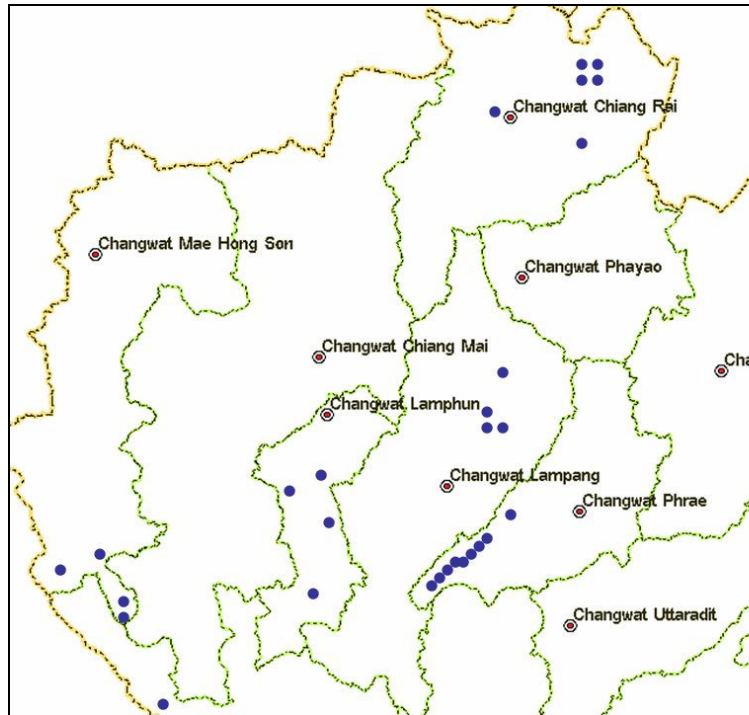


Figure 4. Village-level group interview sites

We administered **individual interviews** in two of four villages in Doi Luang district of Chiang Rai province (Ban Doi and Pa Sang Ngam) and two of nine villages in Phrae province (Mae Chong Fai and Ban Salok). We chose Ban Doi and Pa Sang Ngam because they were reported to be more homogenous ethnically than the other two Pwo Karen villages in Doi Luang district and thus were more likely to show high language vitality. Since we were using the individual interviews mainly to confirm language vitality in the area, we wanted to select sites that were more likely to show high language vitality.¹⁴ In Phrae province, we chose Ban Salok and Mae Chong Fai to capture a range of language vitality within a small spectrum, according to our hypothesis (based on village-level group interview data) that Ban Salok had medium-high language vitality and Mae Chong Fai had the highest language vitality in the province. See the four individual interview sites in Figure 5, indicated by pushpins.

¹⁴ That is, if there is high language vitality in any one village in the district, it can be said that there is high language vitality in the district, even if some villages have lower vitality.



Figure 5. Individual interview sites

Recorded text tests were conducted in one village in Doi Luang district of Chiang Rai (Ban Doi) and one village in Phrae (Ban Salok). RTT scores should be roughly the same among various villages which speak the same dialect, provided that one village does not have higher contact with the test variety than another. Since village-level group interviews showed that all four villages in Doi Luang speak the same dialect and have very little contact with the test variety (Chiang Mai), any of the four villages was acceptable. We chose Ban Doi because we had contacts and helpers there, which would facilitate testing and provide the best opportunity for accurate data. In Phrae, there are two main dialects corresponding to the two districts where Pwo Karen is spoken, Wang Chin and Long. We chose Wang Chin district because it has a much larger Pwo Karen population. Again, according to village-level group interviews, the Phrae villages were found to have very little contact with the test variety, so any of the seven Wang Chin villages was acceptable as an RTT test site. We chose Ban Salok because we had contacts and helpers there. See RTT test sites in Figure 6, indicated by pushpins.

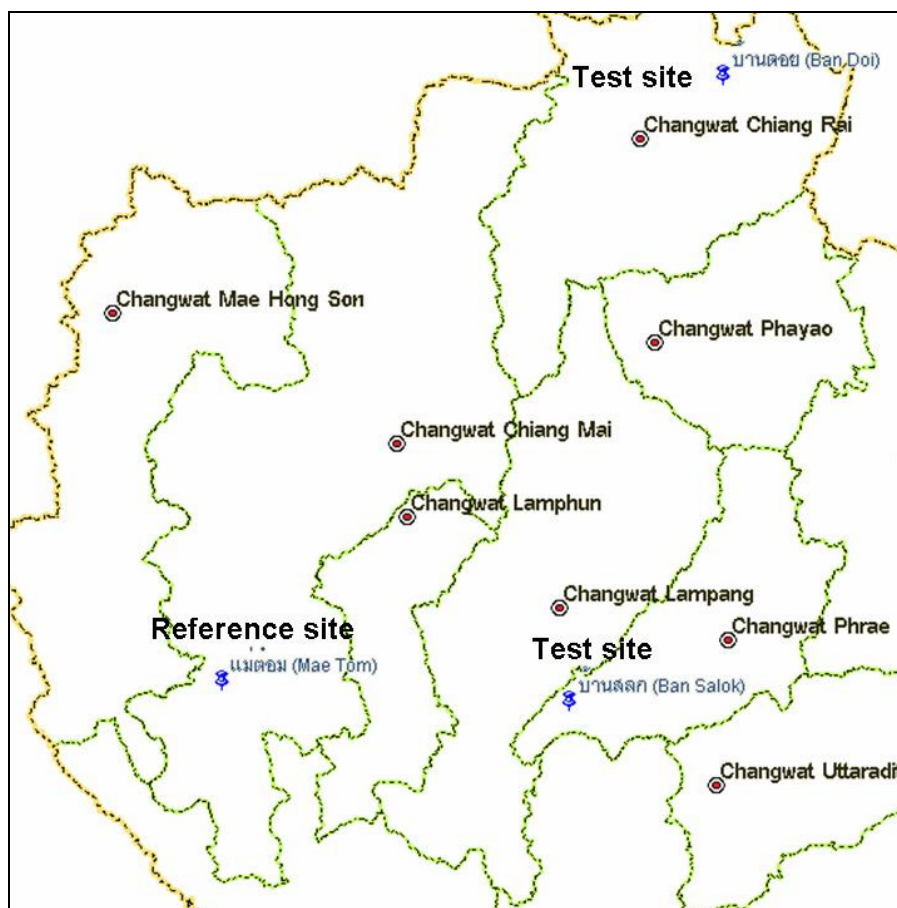


Figure 6. RTT test sites

We also needed to select a site for the development of the RTT in the test variety (Chiang Mai). We considered the following factors in choosing Mae Tom village: Omkoi and Hot districts have the highest concentration of Pwo Karen population in Chiang Mai province. The Non-Formal Education Department's pilot Pwo Karen multilingual education project was conducted in several villages in Omkoi district (Thailand Ministry of Education 2004). The Pwo Karen Christian literature development took place mostly in the area around Mae Lai village, Hot district, and some in Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son province. Pwo Karen from Omkoi, Hot and Mae Hong Son participated in checking the materials (Dee Kheng and Stephens, personal communication). Since the literature available in Pwo Karen is not representative of any one village, we needed to select a village representative of the area. Mae Tom is in Omkoi district, near the Hot-Omkoi boundary, a few kilometers from Mae Lai, and speaking the same dialect as Mae Lai (according to several local people interviewed). It is a very large village, around 3,000 people, and easy to access by car. When we were invited by some local people to stay in the village, we considered the factors involved and decided that Mae Tom would be a suitable representative of the test variety and a good location for RTT development.

At least one **wordlist** was collected in each province surveyed. In Doi Luang and Wiang Chai districts of Chiang Rai, the local people and Culy (1993:17) reported that the dialect was the same in all five villages, so only one wordlist was needed to represent the area; Ban Doi was chosen because of contacts available there. In Lampang, the local people reported that the dialect was the same or almost the same throughout the province. We chose Ban Klang since that is where our main contacts were located. For Lamphun, Culy

(1993:11-12) states that there are three closely related dialects, and that speakers of the Ban Hong district dialect probably migrated from a different location than the others. For this reason, we collected one wordlist for each of the two migration groups. In Mae Hong Son, local leaders reported that although there is some variation across all areas, most dialects are very similar to one another except the dialect in the Mae Ngao area.¹⁵ Therefore, we collected one wordlist in the Mae Ngao area and another in a village near Sop Moei town to represent the majority. In Phrae, local people and Culy (1993:13) reported that there are two closely related dialects corresponding to the two districts where Pwo Karen live; Wang Chin district was chosen for its larger population, and Ban Salok was chosen because of the contacts available there. In Tak, we collected a wordlist in the only village we visited; the people there reported that the other villages speak similarly. In Muang district of Chiang Rai, we did not collect a wordlist, because of low reported language vitality and dialectal similarity to Lampang, where a wordlist was collected. See wordlist sites in Figure 7, indicated by pushpins.



Figure 7. Wordlist sites

In addition, two wordlists we had previously collected in other research were compared with the new ones. One was from Yang Khaw village, Sangkhlaburi district, Kanchanaburi province. The other was from Nong Ung Tai and Thung Chamroeng villages, Omkoi district, Chiang Mai province; hereafter we will refer to this wordlist as the “Thung Chamroeng” wordlist. It is important to note that the Omkoi wordlist used,

¹⁵ That is, the southern part of Mae Suat subdistrict (in Sop Moei district) along the Mae Ngao river (see Figure 19).

although useful for comparison, does not represent exactly the same speech variety as the recorded text test from Mae Tom village in Omkoi district.

2.4 Selection of subjects

For the **RTT** and **individual interviews**, we selected subjects using quota sampling within the target population, with age and gender as the quota categories. Age was split into two levels: younger (15-34) and older (35+). Our goal was to interview and test at least three individuals in each category, resulting in a sample size of 12 (see Table 4), in at least one village in each province tested (Phrae and Chiang Rai). We tested a total of 12 RTT subjects in Ban Doi (Chiang Rai) and 12 in Ban Salok (Phrae), according to the quota sample goal.

Table 4. Quota sample goal

	Younger (15-34)	Older (35+)	Total
Male	3	3	6
Female	3	3	6
Total	6	6	12

For individual interviews, first we conducted the interview with the quota sample goal of 12 persons as in the preceding Table 4. Then, we interviewed additional individuals as we had the opportunity to do so, adding to the number of individuals in each category, but not always uniformly. See Table 5.

Table 5. Individual interviewees by province

		Younger (15-34)	Older (35+)	Total
Chiang Rai: Doi Luang	Male	4	8	12
	Female	4	5	9
	Total	8	13	21
Phrae	Male	4	6	10
	Female	6	6	12
	Total	10	12	22

In addition, we conducted the Christian literature interview with five individuals from Ban Salok and Mae Teut villages in Phrae province. We did not attempt to obtain a quota sample, because the population of Christians there is very small.

For **individual interviews**, the target population was Pwo Karen people living in the village being surveyed. We used the following screening criteria:

1. The subject lives in the village and has lived there long enough to observe language use in the village, that is, at least five years.
2. The subject has at least one Pwo Karen parent.

For **RTT**, the target population was Pwo Karen who speak the local language variety of the village being surveyed and who do not have atypically high contact with the reference variety. We used the following screening criteria:

1. The subject grew up in the village, lives in the village at present, and, if he/she has lived elsewhere, it was not for a significant amount of recent time¹⁶.
2. The subject speaks Pwo Karen as his or her first *or* best language.
3. The subject has at least one Pwo Karen parent from this village¹⁷ who spoke Pwo Karen with him/her when he/she was a child.
4. The subject does not have atypically high contact with the reference variety.¹⁸

RTT measures comprehension of a related speech variety and results should be similar within a location after accounting for contact. However, we used quota sampling, as shown in Table 4, to aid in locating a variety of subjects.

See Appendix D for the screening questions which we used for individual interviews and Appendix F for the RTT screening questions. Selection of wordlist informants and interviewees for the village-level group interview is described in section 2.2.

In the following sections, we present the survey results and attempt to answer the research questions. The results are given by geographical area.

3 Chiang Rai province: Doi Luang

3.1 Introduction

The Pwo Karen in Chiang Rai province can be divided into two groups, which we will call “Doi Luang” and “Muang.” The Doi Luang group lives in Doi Luang and Wiang Chai districts. They migrated from Lamphun province, are rural farmers and live in villages that are fairly homogenous ethnically. The Muang group lives in Muang district. They migrated from Lampang province and live in or near the city alongside many other ethnic groups. The Pwo Karen spoken in these two areas is also quite different. Because of these differences, we discuss them separately in this report. Figure 8 shows the three districts where Pwo Karen live in Chiang Rai province, marked with triangles. Boxes show the areas enlarged in Figure 9, Figure 10, and Figure 11, which show the locations of Pwo Karen villages in each district.

¹⁶ The concept of “a significant amount of recent time” was not well-defined before the fieldwork. However, it will be more clearly defined here for readers: living away from the village for one-third or more of the subject’s lifetime *and* having returned to live in the village less than two full years, or living away from the village for two-thirds or more of the subject’s lifetime.

¹⁷ In Ban Doi, it was difficult to find older RTT subjects who had a parent born in Ban Doi village, because the village was only established about 100 years ago and migration from Lamphun continued for many years afterwards. Therefore, the criterion was changed to accept those subjects who had at least one Pwo Karen parent born in Lamphun or Ban Doi. However, the subject still needed to be born in Ban Doi.

¹⁸ “Atypically high contact”, which means contact that is not typical for the village, was not well-defined before the fieldwork. Only one RTT subject was eliminated based on this criterion: as a young man living in the city, he had two or more close friends who spoke the test variety, and he had visited their home area. Most others in his village had never met speakers of the test variety, and some had only had a few brief meetings with them.

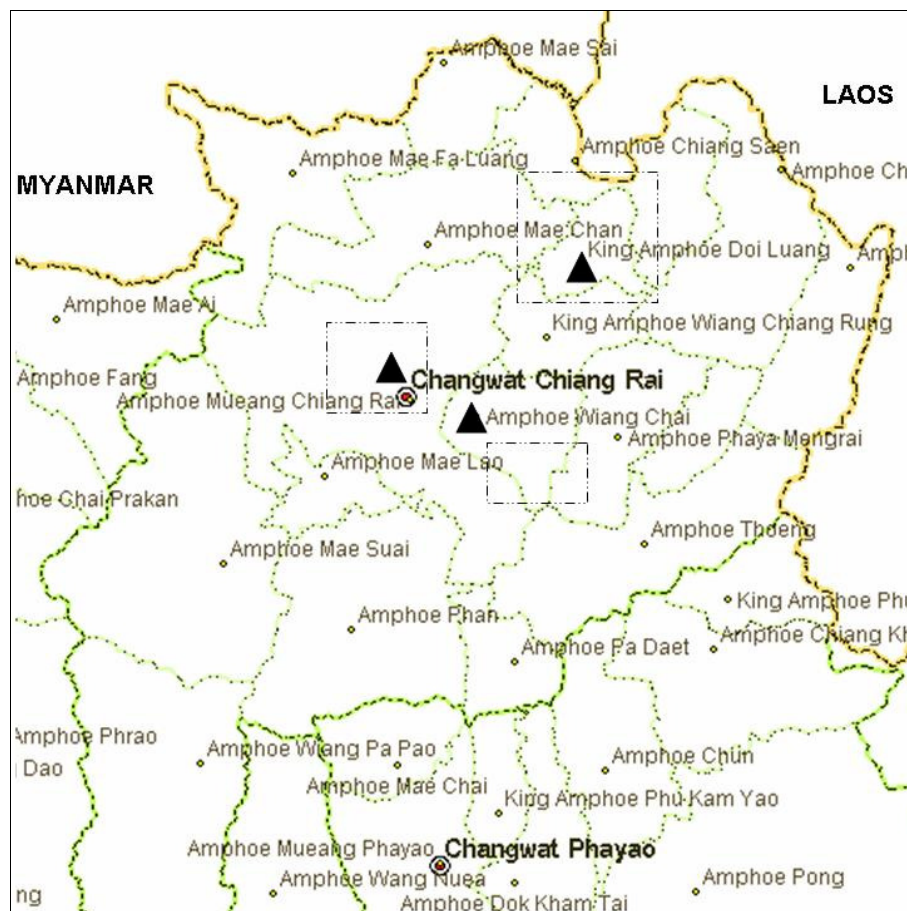


Figure 8. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Chiang Rai province



Figure 9. Pwo Karen villages in Doi Luang district¹⁹

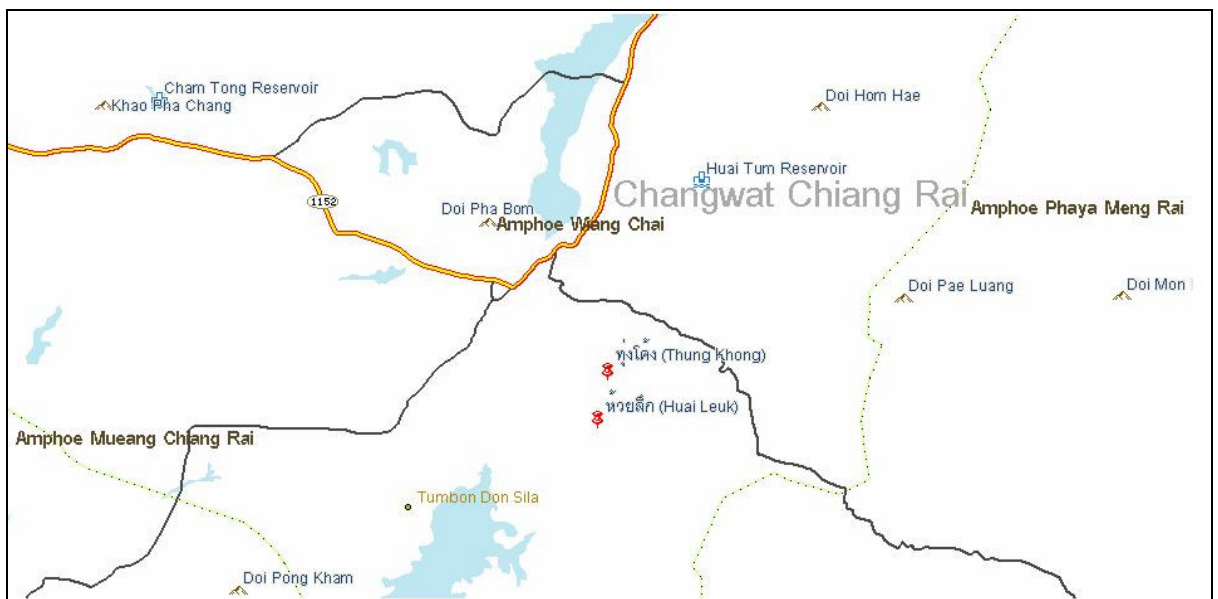


Figure 10. Pwo Karen villages in Wiang Chai district

There are three Pwo Karen-majority villages in Doi Luang district: Ban Doi, Pa Sang Ngam, and Huai Sak. In Wiang Chai district, there are two: Huai Leuk and Thung Khong, which are actually adjacent to one another and in the same Moo (administrative unit). In addition, in Doi Luang, there is one Sgaw Karen-majority village which has

¹⁹ Although the map shows that Doi Luang is a “King Amphoe” (district branch), Doi Luang became a separate district (amphoe) in 2007.

many Pwo Karen, Nong Dan. In fact, there are many Sgaw Karen living in the other Doi Luang villages as well, and so much intermarriage that some individuals are not sure whether to call themselves Pwo or Sgaw Karen. Because of this, bilingualism in these two languages is common. In addition, there are many Northern Thai people married to Pwo Karen in these villages. We estimate the population of Pwo Karen in Doi Luang and Wiang Chai at 1,700.

These villages are located on or close to paved roads, on rural rolling plains. The people's main occupation is paddy farming of glutinous rice. The children study primary school in their own or nearby villages and can study secondary school in a town or village within ten kilometers of their home. The Pwo Karen here practice Buddhism mixed with traditional Karen religion. Many women, especially older ones, wear Karen woven skirts or shirts as everyday clothing.

All the Pwo Karen villages in Doi Luang and Wiang Chai were established by migrants from Lamphun province between 60-110 years ago, except Pa Sang Ngam whose founders moved from nearby Huai Sak (after having moved from Lamphun). They came mostly from Li district in Lamphun, from many villages including Nong Lak, Pa Ko, Huai Ping, Hua Khua, Mai Sali, Naklang, Mae Bon Nuea, Mae Bon Tai, and Huai Ya Sai. Contact with and marriage with Pwo Karen in Lamphun continues to this day.

The Doi Luang Pwo Karen do not use any Karen literature, but many are literate in Central Thai.

In the following sections, we will present the data we gathered as it relates to various research questions.

3.2 Language vitality

This section applies the survey results to various factors that affect language vitality, such as: *language use with children, Pwo Karen proficiency of children, language attitudes, ethnolinguistic identity, language use in the community, demographic factors (ethnolinguistic makeup of villages, geographical distribution, population), and multilingualism*. Data on some of these factors was collected for every province, but more comprehensive data on vitality was collected in Phrae province and Doi Luang district of Chiang Rai province. The first two factors, language use with children and the Pwo Karen proficiency of children, are primary. That is, they are the key to language vitality: people are passing the language on to their children. The other factors listed are secondary, or predictive of future trends in vitality. If many of these predictive factors are negative, the language's vitality may be threatened.

To begin with language vitality in Doi Luang in Chiang Rai, we asked parents what language they speak with their children. See Table 6.

Table 6. Parents' language use with children (Doi Luang)

What language do you usually use with your children?	Village		Total
	Ban Doi	Pa Sang Ngam	
Pwo Karen	8	2	10
Northern Thai	1	1	2
Sgaw Karen	1	0	1
Pwo Karen and Northern Thai	1	0	1
Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen	0	1	1
Total	11	4	15

Ten of fifteen individual interviewees²⁰ reported speaking mostly or only Pwo Karen with their children. Those who speak mainly Northern Thai or Sgaw Karen with their children have a spouse from those groups. We also asked them what language the children in the village use when playing together. See Table 7.

Table 7. Children's language use during play (Doi Luang)

When the children in this village play together, what language do they use?	Village		Total
	Ban Doi	Pa Sang Ngam	
Pwo Karen	6	4	10
Other language	4	0	4
Pwo Karen and other language	5	2	7
Total	15	6	21

In Pa Sang Ngam, all reported that the children use Pwo Karen when playing, or Pwo Karen and another language. In Ban Doi, some reported the children using only another language, but the majority still report that the children use either Pwo Karen solely or Pwo Karen and another language. The other languages used include Central Thai, Northern Thai, and Sgaw Karen.

All 19 interviewees we asked reported that the children in their village speak Pwo Karen well. In addition, we asked what language children speak first. See Table 8.

²⁰ When the number of responses to a question does not equal the total number of interviewees in that location (see 2.4), it is because there is no data for the remaining subjects. The question might have not been applicable to those subjects; they might have been unable to understand the question; or some other factor, such as an interpreter giving the answer, may have made the data for that interviewee on that question invalid.

Table 8. Reported first language of children (Doi Luang)

Usually, what language do children in this village speak as their first language?	Village		Total
	Ban Doi	Pa Sang Ngam	
Pwo Karen	12	5	17
Northern Thai	1	0	1
Pwo Karen and Northern Thai	0	1	1
Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen	1	0	1
Total	14	6	20

Seventeen of 20 reported Pwo Karen as the first language of children in their village. However, group interviewees in Ban Doi, Huai Sak, and Thung Khong reported that there are at least some Pwo Karen children in their villages who cannot speak Pwo Karen; these are usually children with one Northern Thai parent. They also reported, however, that other children of mixed marriages can speak Pwo Karen, especially if the mother is Pwo Karen.

We asked questions to assess interviewees' attitudes toward their language, identity, and language vitality. When asked, "Do you want to see your children and grandchildren pass on and preserve Pwo Karen identity?" all 20 said yes, and several gave emphatic responses, such as "definitely!" or "100%!" When asked what aspects they would like their children to preserve, religion/ceremonies was the most frequent answer (13 times), followed by language (12) and clothing (7). Also, we asked individual and group interviewees if they think there will be children in their village speaking Pwo Karen 20 years from now. See Table 9.

Table 9. Individual interviewees' prediction of language vitality (Doi Luang)

Do you think that in 20 years there will still be children in this village who can speak Pwo Karen?	Village		Total
	Ban Doi	Pa Sang Ngam	
Yes	9	4	13
Yes, but less than now	2	1	3
Unsure	3	1	4
No	1	0	1
Total	15	6	21

Sixteen of twenty-one interviewees believe that there will be children speaking Pwo Karen 20 years from now in their villages, but some add that there will be fewer than now. We asked this same question in group interviews in the five villages, and interviewees in three villages said that there will be children speaking the language in the future, while in Nong Dan the interviewees gave two different answers (yes and no) and in Thung Khong they said "maybe."

Another indicator of language vitality is domains of language use, that is, in what areas of life speakers use the language. See Table 10.

Table 10. Domains of language use (Doi Luang)

What language do you usually use...	Pwo Karen	Northern/Central Thai	Sgaw Karen	Pwo Karen and other language ²¹	Totals
With spouse	8	4	0	3	15
With (own) children	10	2	1	2	15
With parents	11	0	0	2	13
With siblings	17	0	0	4	21
With grandchildren	3	2	1	1	7
With grandparents	4	0	0	1	5
With Pwo Karen friends	11	0	0	10	21
With non-Pwo Karen in village	0	18	0	3	21
When doing religious activities	11	5	0	5	21
Most in everyday life	15	1	0	3	21

In general, most interviewees use Pwo Karen with family members. With Pwo Karen friends, they are more likely to use some Northern Thai as well as Pwo Karen. With non-Pwo Karen people in their village, they use other languages, or sometimes Pwo Karen and another language. In religious activities, most reported using Pwo Karen. However, 2 interviewees explained religious language use this way: they use Pwo Karen to speak to one another while at the temple, but they use Northern Thai for recitations. Most interviewees reported that they use Pwo Karen more than any other language in everyday life.

As for demographic factors, the Pwo Karen in Doi Luang and Wiang Chai live in majority-Pwo Karen villages, except those in Nong Dan which is majority Sgaw Karen. However, each village also has some people of other ethnicities living there as well. In fact, intermarriage with non-Karen people is reported to be very common among young people. In addition, the Pwo Karen are a minority in these areas; in Doi Luang district they form about 6% of the population, and in Wiang Chai about 1%.²²

Multilingualism in this community will be discussed in the next section (3.3). Here we will simply say that widespread bilingualism in Northern Thai is a possible threat to Pwo Karen language vitality.

Since, in Doi Luang, most of the children speak Pwo Karen well, as their first language, and while playing with friends, and most parents speak it to their children, we can see that the language has been transferred to the current young generation. There are positive attitudes toward Pwo Karen language and identity that make it more likely that the language will be transferred to the next generation as well. For these reasons, we

²¹ Northern Thai, Central Thai and/or Sgaw Karen.

²² Based on Thailand's 2000 census (National Statistical Office 2000), Doi Luang district has a population of 20,644 and Wiang Chai 43,365.

conclude that language vitality in Doi Luang is *currently high*. However, demographic factors and multilingualism are possible threats to the language, and some local people doubt that the language will be spoken in the future.

3.3 Bilingualism

We asked group interviewees to report about bilingualism in their community—if there are any people in their villages who cannot speak Central Thai, Northern Thai or Sgaw Karen. All villages reported that there are some who cannot speak any Central Thai, usually older people. Ban Doi, Pa Sang Ngam, and Huai Sak reported that there is no one who cannot speak Northern Thai, but Nong Dan and Thung Khong said there were (some older people and some children). Nong Dan, the majority Sgaw Karen village, reported that everyone can speak Sgaw Karen, but Pa Sang Ngam, Huai Sak, and Thung Khong reported that there are some who cannot. Whether they can speak Sgaw Karen depends on family, personal interest, and age, that is, older people are more likely to speak it.

Individual interviewees, RTT subjects, and group interviewees reported what languages they can speak.²³ Their answers are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11. Languages spoken by interviewees (Doi Luang)

Pwo Karen	Northern Thai	Central Thai	Sgaw Karen	Other language	Total interviewees
48	48	37	32	0	48

All interviewees reported that they can speak Northern Thai; more than half can also speak at least some Central Thai and/or Sgaw Karen. In addition, we asked individual interviewees to answer several questions about their bilingualism in Northern Thai. When asked “If you overhear two Northern Thai people speaking Northern Thai in the market, can you repeat what you heard?” and “Are you able use Northern Thai explain your work to a Northern Thai person so he can do it himself?”, all 14 interviewees said yes to both. However, when asked if they could speak Northern Thai as well as a Northern Thai person, only 7 of 19 said yes.²⁴

In addition, it seems from interviews that the Pwo Karen in Doi Luang have mostly positive or neutral attitudes toward the use of Northern Thai and Central Thai languages.

We conclude that *Northern Thai bilingualism is widespread and some are highly bilingual*, according to reports. Many of the Pwo Karen in Doi Luang also speak Sgaw Karen or Central Thai.

3.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

Twelve subjects in Ban Doi scored an average of 69% on an RTT testing their comprehension of a Pwo Karen story from Chiang Mai. The standard deviation was low (8.2). This average score indicates *marginal comprehension*, that is, they understand but

²³ It should be noted here that we asked about individual languages. That is, after asking “What languages do you speak?” we then asked “And what about X language?” for languages commonly spoken in that area. Otherwise, interviewees would often answer only “Thai and Karen,” where Thai could mean Central, Northern, or both, and Karen could mean Pwo, Sgaw, or both.

²⁴ Some interviewees were asked only certain questions because of their reported best languages or ethnicity. See Appendix D.

not well. After the Chiang Mai story was played, we asked each subject if they understood all, some or nothing. Most replied that they understood some, while one said they did not really understand and another said they understood everything. We also asked them if they had ever met Pwo Karen from Chiang Mai and what language they spoke with them. Only 3 subjects had met someone, and they all reported that they spoke Pwo Karen with them.

In group interviews, we asked in what places Pwo Karen speak the same, a little different, and very different, and if Chiang Mai was not mentioned, we specifically asked about it. Out of five group interviews in Doi Luang and Wiang Chai, three groups said Chiang Mai Pwo Karen is a little different and/or they can understand some. One group said that Chiang Mai Pwo Karen is easier to understand than some other places, such as Suphanburi province. The fifth group had had no contact with Chiang Mai Pwo Karen.

In conclusion to this section, comprehension is marginal. We need to assess other factors in order to determine whether Doi Luang people could share literature with Chiang Mai Pwo Karen. Some of these additional factors are discussed in sections 3.5 and 3.6.

3.5 Attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

We screened for any negative attitudes toward the Chiang Mai Pwo Karen language or people (that might inhibit use of the literature from there) using post-RTT questions and group interview questions. We asked RTT subjects if the storyteller spoke good Pwo Karen. Their responses are summarized in Table 12.

Table 12. Attitudes toward Chiang Mai storyteller (Doi Luang)

Does the person who told this story (the last story) speak good Pwo Karen?	Total
Good but fast	5
Good	2
Good, like an older, purer version of Pwo Karen	1
Good, because very fluent	1
Good and clear	1
It's not real Pwo Karen	1
Good, but not the same [as ours]	1
Total	12

The opinions were positive or neutral except for 1 subject who said “It’s not real Pwo Karen.” We also asked if the storyteller spoke Pwo Karen the same, a little different or very different from their own speech variety. Nine of twelve said “a little” or “some” different or “close,” one said “very” different,” one said “different” and another said simply “fast.” When asked how it was different, subjects mentioned both accent and vocabulary. For those subjects who had some knowledge of Pwo Karen in Chiang Mai, we asked how they would feel if their child married a Pwo Karen from there. Out of 10, 5 expressed positive feelings and 5 expressed neutral feelings. Those who felt positive were asked why, and they responded that marrying within the ethnic group is good (3), it would be good for meeting more people (1), and they would be able to communicate (1).

In the group interviews, we asked where Pwo Karen is spoken the nicest and clearest. In one of the five groups, an interviewee identified Chiang Mai.

Since the people in Doi Luang expressed mostly positive or neutral attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen people and language, we conclude that they *do not have negative attitudes* which would inhibit the sharing of vernacular literature. However, since comprehension is marginal, they would need strong positive attitudes to motivate them to use the Chiang Mai literature, which may not be present.

3.6 Desire for vernacular literature

We asked individual interviewees if they would want to study Pwo Karen literacy. Thirteen said yes, 6 said no, and 2 said maybe or “I don’t know.” Of the 6 who responded “no,” 4 gave the reason that they were too old or otherwise unable. The other 2 indicated that Pwo Karen literacy would not be useful to them. We also asked interviewees what kinds of materials they would want written in Pwo Karen. See Table 13.

Table 13. Interviewees’ ideas of topics for Pwo Karen written materials (Doi Luang)

Suppose a Pwo Karen person wrote books/materials in Pwo Karen, what kinds of books/materials would you like them to write?	Total times mentioned ²⁵
Daily life	7
Karen culture/religion	5
General topics/everything	5
Karen history	4
Conversations	1
Culture of other tribes	1
Preserve/document the language	1

It is interesting to note that interviewees were interested in not only historical and linguistic preservation, but also in reading general topics in Pwo Karen. Although these responses do not guarantee that Pwo Karen in Doi Luang will actively participate in literacy programs, we conclude that there is *at least some desire for vernacular literature*.

3.7 Grouping

The group interviewees reported that the Pwo Karen in these two districts, Doi Luang and Wiang Chai, speak exactly the same. Culy (1993) also reports that they are one dialect, based on interviews and lexical similarity. Also, their connection with Lamphun is close: they migrated from there and still have some contact with the Pwo Karen there. They report that the Pwo Karen in Lamphun speak only a little differently.

See the lexical similarity between Ban Doi and other areas where we collected wordlists in Table 14.

²⁵ Each subject could mention as many topics as they wished.

Table 14. Ban Doi lexical similarity with other areas

Ban Doi (Chiang Rai)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
100%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
96%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoi	Chiang Mai
95%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
95%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
93%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
90%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak
90%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang
90%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
89%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son

The lexical similarity percentage indicates that the Ban Doi speech variety is most lexically similar to Mae Lek, which represents the main dialect group in Lamphun (see section 6.6). Ban Doi is also quite similar to Chiang Mai, Phrae and Seumeu Luang, which represents the main dialect in Mae Hong Son (see section 7.6). It is less similar to the Lampang variety, which is the same dialect as Pwo Karen in Muang district of Chiang Rai (according to Culy 1993:23-24 and interviews). This lexical similarity analysis yields results consistent with Culy's (1993:22).

An overall summary of ethnolinguistic groupings of Pwo Karen in northern Thailand will be given in section 11.

4 Chiang Rai province: Muang

4.1 Introduction

Figure 11 shows the villages where Pwo Karen live in Muang district of Chiang Rai province: Nam Lat, Ruam Mit, and Pong Nam Tok.



Figure 11. Pwo Karen villages in Muang district

Pwo Karen are not the majority population in any of these villages. Northern Thai is the largest group in Nam Lat. Pwo Karen is the second largest group, and many other ethnic groups live there as well. One section of Nam Lat, however, has a Pwo Karen majority. Pong Nam Tok, also called Ban Fai, is mostly Northern Thai. Ruam Mit is mostly Sgaw Karen. Nam Lat is actually more like a neighborhood in the city of Chiang Rai than a “village,” and the other villages are less than 15 kilometers from the city. Most of the Pwo Karen in Nam Lat sold their farmland in the past and now work as laborers and professionals, but in Pong Nam Tok there are many farmers. We estimate the population of Pwo Karen in Muang district to be less than 1,000.

All of the Pwo Karen in this district are Christians, since their ancestors, who migrated from Lampang, were all Christians. They migrated first to Ba Ko Dam (south of Nam Lat) and stayed for a few years before establishing Nam Lat in 1921. The Pwo Karen in Ruam Mit and Pong Nam Tok later moved to these villages from Nam Lat.

The Pwo Karen in Muang district of Chiang Rai have traditionally used Sgaw Karen literature in the religious domain. Today they also use some Central Thai, since their churches are not all ethnically homogenous.

In the following sections, we present our data as it relates to each research question.

4.2 Language vitality

We gathered data on language vitality during a group interview in only one of the three Pwo Karen villages in Muang district. In Nam Lat village, interviewees reported that

some Pwo Karen children cannot speak Pwo Karen, since their parents do not teach them. When we asked what language children of mixed Pwo Karen and Northern Thai families speak first, they said that only when the mother is Pwo Karen will the children learn to speak Pwo Karen. They also said that Pwo Karen children speak Northern Thai when playing together. When we asked if they thought that there would be children in their village 20 years from now who can speak Pwo Karen, they said that probably only (Northern) Thai would be spoken.

As for demographic factors, there are no villages in which Pwo Karen are the majority, and only three villages with significant numbers of them. Multilingualism will be discussed in the next section (4.3). Here we will simply say that widespread bilingualism is a potential threat to Pwo Karen language vitality.

Preliminary data (a group interview in only one village) indicate that the language has been passed on to only some of the younger generation in Nam Lat village. For all three villages, demographic factors are not favorable. Therefore, we tentatively conclude that language vitality is *moderate*, at least in Nam Lat village.

4.3 Bilingualism

When we asked the group in Nam Lat about bilingualism in their village, they said that even the oldest people can speak Northern Thai, but that there may be some who cannot speak Central Thai. They also said that there are no Pwo Karen in their village who cannot speak Sgaw Karen. We do not have data on bilingualism in the other villages, but we know that the people there also have a lot of contact with Northern Thai and/or Sgaw Karen.

We conclude that there is *widespread bilingualism in Sgaw Karen and Northern Thai* among the Pwo Karen of Muang district in Chiang Rai, at least in Nam Lat village. In addition, there is some bilingualism in Central Thai. The level of bilingualism in various languages is not known.

4.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

We have only reported data and so no formal conclusions can be drawn, but we will present what information we have here. When we asked group interviewees in Nam Lat what places speak Pwo Karen very differently from them, they named Chiang Mai and Lamphun. Then, when we asked how much they understood the Pwo Karen speech from there, one interviewee said that he would not understand except that he has a lot of contact with them. He also said that some people from his area have to use Northern Thai when speaking with Pwo Karen from Chiang Mai.

4.5 Attitudes

In this area, we did not attempt to gather any data on attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen or on the desire for vernacular literature. However, the interviewees did express positive attitudes toward Sgaw Karen literature and the Sgaw Karen script.

4.6 Grouping

We did not collect a wordlist in Muang district of Chiang Rai because Culy (1993:23-24) and interviewees reported that they speak the same speech variety as the Pwo Karen in Lampang.

5 Lampang province

5.1 Introduction

There are four Pwo Karen villages in Lampang province: Mae San, Ban Klang, Huai Tat, and Mae Hang Tai. The first three are located in Mae Mo district, and Mae Hang Tai is in Ngao district. Figure 12 shows the district centers. The box marks the area enlarged in Figure 13, which shows the four villages.

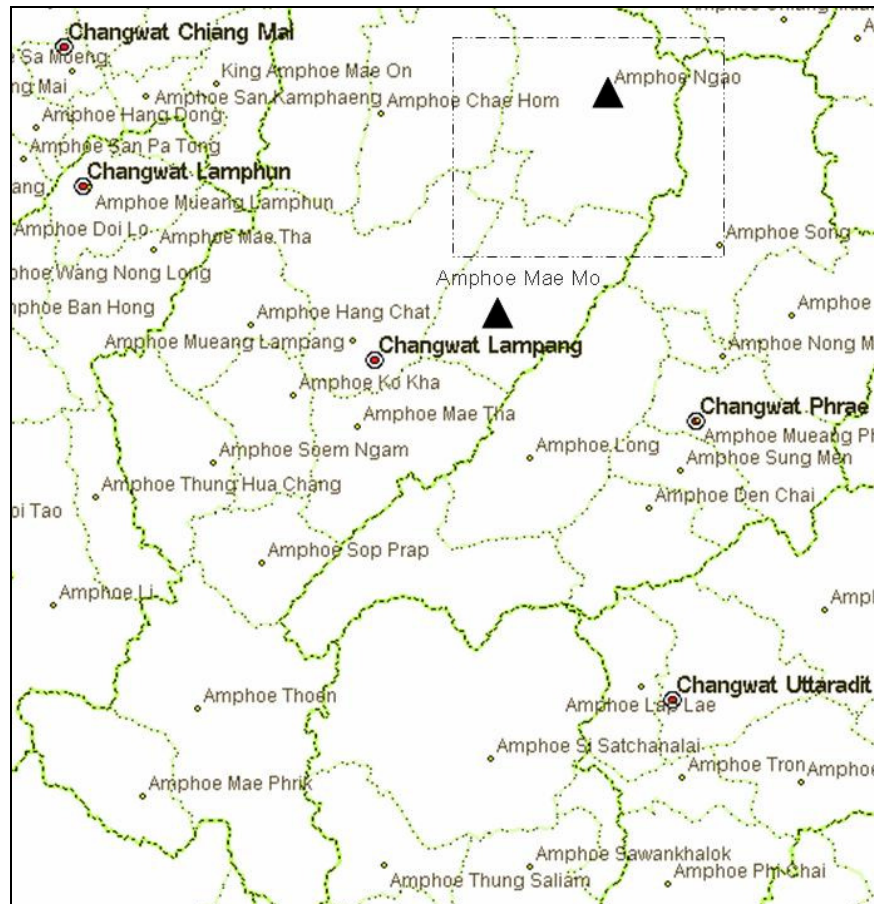


Figure 12. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Lampang province



Figure 13. Pwo Karen villages in Lampang province

All four of these villages are majority-Pwo Karen. Huai Tat has 10 to 20 Khmu families. In Mae San and Mae Hang Tai, there are a few families of other ethnic groups, such as Sgaw Karen, Mien, Akha, and Northern Thai. In Ban Klang there are no families of other ethnic groups. There are people of other ethnic groups married to Pwo Karen in all these villages. Mae Hang Tai, in Ngao district, is surrounded by many Sgaw Karen villages; Mae Mo district, where the other three villages are, has very few Sgaw Karen villages. We estimate the population of Pwo Karen in Lampang province to be 1,000.

The Pwo Karen villages in Lampang are located on or at the base of mountains. The people farm mostly glutinous rice, in both paddy and hill rice fields. The children study primary school in their own village or adjacent villages. For the Mae Mo district villages, the closest secondary schools are more than 50 kilometers away, but some children do attend.

The majority of the people practice Christianity. In fact, the first Pwo Karen church in Thailand was in Lampang at Ban Nok, whose inhabitants later moved and established Ban Klang. All the Pwo Karen in Ban Klang, Huai Tat and Mae Hang Tai are reported to be Christians. In Mae San, there are about 20 Christian families, and the rest practice Buddhism mixed with traditional Karen religion. Many Pwo Karen Christians in Lampang are bilingual in Sgaw Karen because the churches have traditionally used it for singing, Bible reading and some preaching.

The Lampang Pwo Karen migrated from Phrae province around 200 or more years ago. Later, in the early 1900s, a group from Mae San moved and founded Mae Hang Tai. Today, the Lampang Pwo Karen have very little contact with the Pwo Karen of Phrae.

The Lampang Pwo Karen Christians use both Sgaw Karen and Central Thai literature in the religious domain. Buddhists do not use any Karen literature, but many of both religions are literate in Central Thai.

In the following sections, we will present the data on Lampang as it relates to various research questions.

5.2 Language vitality

We gathered data on language vitality through group interviews in all four villages. In all villages, Lampang Pwo Karen reported that children speak Pwo Karen as their first language. All four villages also reported that the children speak Pwo Karen well and clearly, but in Mae Hang Tai one interviewee added that the children's accent is influenced by Thai. When asked if there were any Pwo Karen children who cannot speak Pwo Karen, all four groups said there were none. When we asked what language the children speak when they play together, all four groups responded that they speak Pwo Karen, while the Mae Hang Tai group added that the children speak Northern Thai or Central Thai when playing with Akha children. When we asked what language a child of a mixed Northern Thai and Pwo Karen marriage speaks first, most interviewees said Pwo Karen, while a few others said that the child learns both languages simultaneously. Further, we asked their prediction of language vitality, that is, whether they thought that there would be children in their village 20 years from now who could speak Pwo Karen. Every group said yes. One interviewee said that there will always be children speaking Pwo Karen in his village (Ban Klang), and an interviewee in Mae Hang Tai said that there will be fewer children speaking the language in 20 years.

As for demographic factors, the Pwo Karen villages in Lampang have Pwo Karen as their majority ethnic group, and each village also has some people of other ethnicities living there as well. Inter-marriage with non-Karen people is reported to be common among young people. In addition, the Pwo Karen are a minority in these districts, comprising less than 3% of the total district population.²⁶

Multilingualism in this community will be discussed in the next section (5.3). Here we will simply say that widespread bilingualism in Northern Thai is a possible threat to Pwo Karen language vitality.

Preliminary data (from group interviews) indicate that most of the Pwo Karen children in Lampang speak Pwo Karen well, as their first language, and while playing with friends. It seems that the language has been transferred to the current younger generation. For these reasons, we conclude that Pwo Karen language vitality in Lampang is *currently high*. However, demographic factors and multilingualism are possible threats to the language.

5.3 Bilingualism

We asked group interviewees about bilingualism in their communities. All four groups reported that there are some people in their villages who cannot speak Central Thai, either older people, or in one village, a Sgaw Karen family that recently migrated from Chiang Mai. As for Northern Thai, all four groups reported that everyone in their

²⁶ Based on Thailand's 2000 census (National Statistical Office 2000), Mae Mo district has a population of 37,830 and Ngao district a population of 59,294.

villages speaks at least a little, and those who speak only a little are the older people. We asked about Sgaw Karen in Ban Klang, Mae San, and Mae Hang Tai. They reported that there are many people in Ban Klang and Mae San, and some in Mae Hang Tai, who cannot speak Sgaw Karen, especially in the younger generation.

Although we did not administer the individual interview in Lampang, we did ask each of the group interviewees what languages they could speak. Their responses are summarized in Table 15.

Table 15. Languages spoken by interviewees (Lampang)

Pwo Karen	Northern Thai	Central Thai	Sgaw Karen	Other language	Total interviewees
20	20	19	14	1 ²⁷	20

All reported speaking Northern Thai, and all except one reported ability to speak Central Thai. More than half reported speaking Sgaw Karen.

We conclude that *Northern Thai bilingualism is widespread among Pwo Karen in Lampang, but we do not know the level of bilingualism*. Many of the Pwo Karen in Lampang also speak Sgaw Karen or Central Thai to some degree.

5.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

For Lampang, we have only reported data and so no formal conclusions can be drawn, but we will present what information we have here. In group interviews, two villages reported that Chiang Mai Pwo Karen is “very different.” Reports of how much they understand of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen speech included “some,” “most,” “have to try hard,” and “do not really understand.”

5.5 Attitudes

In Lampang, we did not attempt to gather any data on attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen. However, in group interviews, when asked where Pwo Karen is spoken nicest and clearest, one person said Chiang Mai. Others said that their own dialect is the nicest.

We also did not ask about the desire for vernacular literature, but one local leader brought up this topic, saying that the children are no longer interested in Sgaw Karen literacy because it is not the same as their spoken language. He said that if there were literature in Pwo Karen, it should be in the same script as Sgaw Karen, since they are already familiar with it.

5.6 Grouping

Culy (1993:23-24) and our interviewees report that the villages in Lampang and in Muang district of Chiang Rai speak the same variety of Pwo Karen. Those in Muang district of Chiang Rai moved from Lampang, and they still have some contact with each other. We did not take a wordlist from Muang district of Chiang Rai. See the lexical similarity between Ban Klang and other areas in Table 16.

²⁷ Akha

Table 16. Ban Klang lexical similarity with other areas

Ban Klang (Lampang)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
90%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
90%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
90%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
90%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
90%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
88%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
88%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoï	Chiang Mai
87%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
86%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak

Our analysis, as well as that of Culy (1993), shows that the Pwo Karen spoken in Lampang is somewhat different from the other locations, even with Phrae where they migrated from. Their speech has changed since their migration 200 or more years ago; it is likely that the main influence for change has been from Sgaw Karen. A leader in Lampang told us, “Our Pwo Karen is a special group, different than the Pwo Karen in other places. Our Pwo Karen is mixed with Sgaw Karen.” A leader in Muang district of Chiang Rai said the same.

6 Lamphun province

6.1 Introduction

Figure 14 shows the districts where the Pwo Karen live in Lamphun province: Mae Tha, Ban Hong, Thung Hua Chang, and Li. The boxes indicate the areas enlarged in Figure 15 and Figure 16, which show some of the Pwo Karen villages in these districts.

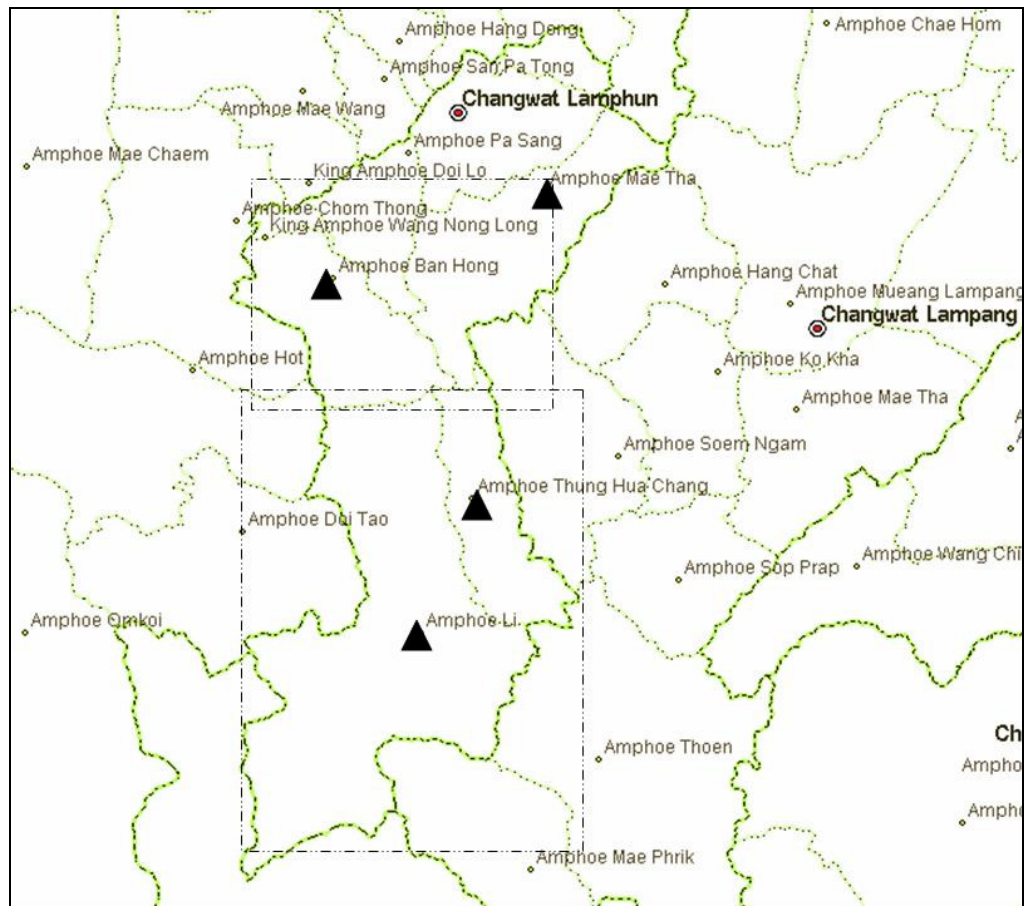


Figure 14. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Lamphun province

Local Pwo Karen report 33 Pwo Karen villages in Lamphun province. See Appendix A for a list of these villages. Most of these villages are majority-Pwo Karen, often with Northern Thai or Sgaw Karen living there as well. We estimate the population of Pwo Karen in Lamphun province to be 20,000.

The villages are located mostly at the base of mountains or on rolling hills. Most of the Pwo Karen here farm rice, and many in Li district are laborers in corn or longan fields. Buddhism mixed with traditional Karen religion is the main religion. There are also between 20 and 30 Christian families, mostly in Mae Lek village.

Many Pwo Karen women in Lamphun wear Karen shirts and/or skirts daily, especially older women. The people in Mae Lek reported that unmarried women wear long dresses for special occasions, but in many colors, not only in white as in other Karen areas.

According to Culy (1993:12), the Pwo Karen in Huai La village migrated from Mae Hong Son, and those in Mae Tha and Thung Hua Chang districts came from Chiang Mai. On this survey, interviewees in Li named Chiang Mai and those in Huai Thok named Mae Hong Son as their possible origins. They were not sure when they had migrated, guessing between 100 and 300 years ago. According to Renard's history (1980:148), there were Pwo Karen at Huai La by 1850.

The Pwo Karen in Lamphun rarely use any Karen literature. The Christians occasionally use Northern Pwo Karen literature. Many are literate in Central Thai.

In the following sections, we will present data from the survey as it relates to answering research questions for Lamphun.

6.2 Language vitality

We gathered data on language vitality during group interviews, which we administered in 4 of the 33 villages in Lamphun. In three villages, interviewees reported that children speak Pwo Karen as their first language. In Mae Lek, they said that most children speak Pwo Karen first, but some speak Northern Thai as their first language. In all four villages, interviewees reported that the children speak Pwo Karen well and clearly, and in Mae Lek an interviewee added that the children mix in some Thai. When asked if there are any Pwo Karen children who cannot speak Pwo Karen, all villages reported that there are none. However, in Mae Lek and Huai Thok the interviewees said that some children of mixed Northern Thai and Pwo Karen marriages do not speak Pwo Karen even though they are able to speak it. When we asked what language the children speak when they play together, three villages said Pwo Karen, and the Mae Lek group said they speak mostly Northern Thai or Central Thai. When we asked what language a child of a mixed Northern Thai-Pwo Karen marriage speaks first, most said Pwo Karen, but one of the interviewees in Mae Lek said that the child learns both languages simultaneously. Further, we asked their prediction of future language vitality, that is, if they thought that there would be children in their village 20 years from now who could speak Pwo Karen. The responses were mixed. In Naklang and Nong Lak, they said yes, and one person in Naklang added, "It will not be lost. Although the culture may change, the language will not." As for Mae Lek and Huai Thok, some interviewees in each village said yes and some said no. In Huai Thok, the person who said the language will be lost gave an example of a nearby village (Dong Ma Fueang) where the Pwo Karen no longer speak their language.

As for demographic factors that affect language vitality, the Pwo Karen villages we visited in Lamphun have Pwo Karen as their majority ethnic group, and each village also has some people of other ethnicities living there as well. Inter-marriage with non-Karen people is reported to be very common among young people, perhaps even more common than Pwo Karen marriages. The Pwo Karen are a minority in the area, making up about 12% of the population of the four districts they live in, if the four districts are considered as a whole. In some areas, such as Ban Hong, however, they are very few: only two villages in a district of over 45,000 people.²⁸

Multilingualism in Lamphun will be discussed in the next section (6.3). Here we will simply say that widespread bilingualism in Northern Thai is a possible threat to Pwo Karen language vitality.

Preliminary data (group interviews in only four villages) indicate that most of the Pwo Karen children in Lamphun speak Pwo Karen well, as their first language, and while playing with friends. It seems that the language has been transferred to the current younger generation. For these reasons, we conclude that Pwo Karen language vitality in Lamphun is *currently high*. However, demographic factors and multilingualism are possible threats to the language, and Pwo Karen in some villages think the language will not be spoken by the next generation.

6.3 Bilingualism

We asked group interviewees about bilingualism in their communities. All four groups reported that there are some people in their villages who cannot speak Central Thai, usually older people. As for Northern Thai, three villages said there is no one who cannot speak it, and Mae Lek interviewees said there were a few, which they estimated to be about 1% of the population. Only some older people were reported to be able to speak Sgaw Karen; most people cannot.

Although we did not administer the individual interview in Lamphun, we did ask each of the group interviewees what languages they could speak, including languages they did not speak fluently. Their responses are summarized in Table 17.

Table 17. Languages spoken by interviewees (Lamphun)

Pwo Karen	Northern Thai	Central Thai	Sgaw Karen	Other language	Total interviewees
20	20	11	4	2 ²⁹	20

We conclude that *Northern Thai bilingualism is widespread among Pwo Karen in Lamphun, but we do not know the level of bilingualism*. Some of the Pwo Karen in Lamphun also speak Sgaw Karen or Central Thai to some degree, although Sgaw Karen bilingualism is less common here than in Lampang and Chiang Rai.

²⁸ The population of these districts is as follows: Mae Tha 42,210; Ban Hong 45,543; Li 64,137; and Thung Hua Chang 18,570 (National Statistical Office 2000). Our data on Pwo Karen villages in Lamphun is not sufficient to estimate the Pwo Karen population per district.

²⁹ English.

6.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

For Lamphun, we have only reported data and so no formal conclusion can be drawn, but we will present what information we have here. The Huai Thok group interviewees named Huai Muang village in Chom Thong district of Chiang Mai as speaking Pwo Karen exactly the same as Huai Thok. They also said that Wang Luang village in Doi Tao speaks very differently, but they still understand everything. When we asked them about Omkoi and Hot districts in Chiang Mai, they said that the language there is harder to understand—that the older people can communicate but the younger people cannot. In Naklang, interviewees said that the Pwo Karen in Doi Tao district of Chiang Mai speak only a little differently, but they had never met Pwo Karen from Omkoi or Hot. Interviewees in Mae Lek also named Chiang Mai as a place where they speak Pwo Karen very differently, and said that they only understood some. In Nong Lak, interviewees did not mention Chiang Mai; when we asked them about it, they said the Pwo Karen from there was hard to understand.

6.5 Attitudes

In Lamphun, we did not attempt to gather any data on attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen or on the desire for vernacular literature.

6.6 Grouping

Both local interviewees and Culy (1993:12) report that there is a dialect difference between Ban Hong district and the other districts. Therefore, we collected a wordlist from Ban Hong district (Huai Thok) and one from Mae Tha district (Mae Lek).

See the lexical similarity between Mae Lek in Mae Tha district and other areas in Table 18.

Table 18. Mae Lek lexical similarity with other areas

Mae Lek (Lamphun)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
100%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
96%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoi	Chiang Mai
95%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
95%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
93%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
90%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak
90%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
90%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang
89%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son

The Mae Lek variety is most similar to Doi Luang (Chiang Rai). See the lexical similarity between Huai Thok in Ban Hong district and other areas in Table 19.

Table 19. Huai Thok lexical similarity with other areas

Huai Thok	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
94%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
93%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
93%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
93%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
93%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoi	Chiang Mai
90%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
90%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang
89%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak
88%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son

The Huai Thok variety is most similar to Seumeu Luang in Mae Hong Son (94%), and is also similar to nearby Mae Lek (93%).

7 Mae Hong Son province

7.1 Introduction

In Mae Hong Son, Pwo Karen live mostly in Sop Moei district and also some in Mae Sariang district. These districts are shown in Figure 17. Boxes indicate areas enlarged in Figure 18, Figure 19, and Figure 20, which show some of the villages.



Figure 19. Some Pwo Karen villages in southeast Sop Moei district



Figure 20. Some Pwo Karen villages in western Sop Moei district

Local leaders reported 74 Pwo Karen villages in Sop Moei and 10 in Mae Sariang. Pwo Karen are the majority people in Sop Moei district. Most of these villages have a majority of Pwo Karen, and some of them are completely homogenous ethnically. Others are mixed with Northern Thai or Sgaw Karen. We estimate the population of Pwo Karen in Mae Hong Son at 22,000.

Most of the Mae Hong Son villages are more remote and have less contact with Northern Thai people than the Pwo Karen villages in Lampang, Lamphun and Chiang Rai. Most of the villages are situated on steep mountains, and there are a few villages that have no road suitable for cars or trucks. Access to education is also less common here than in other areas previously discussed—the primary schools in some villages do not have regular teachers. Some villages, however, have regular teachers and even schools to the third year of secondary school.

Most of the Pwo Karen in Mae Hong Son farm non-glutinous hill rice. Many also grow chilies or peanuts for income. Most women living in the villages wear traditional Karen clothing on an everyday basis, including the younger generation. Many women also wear the traditional beaded necklaces. The majority of the people practice Buddhism and traditional Karen religion. Local Christian leaders estimate that about 2-5% practice Christianity.

Interviewees in Mae Hong Son could often report when their village was founded and from where they had moved most recently, typically within the local area.

The Pwo Karen Christians in Mae Hong Son use Northern Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen, or Central Thai religious literature, depending on individual and church preference. No use of Karen literature by Buddhists is known, but many are literate in Central Thai.

In the following sections, we will present the survey data as it relates to answering research questions for Mae Hong Son.

7.2 Language vitality

We gathered data on language vitality during group interviews, which we administered in 4 of the 85 Pwo Karen villages in Mae Hong Son. In all four villages, interviewees reported that children speak Pwo Karen well, clearly, as their first language, and speak only Pwo Karen when playing together. In the three villages where there was some Sgaw Karen and Pwo Karen intermarriage, we asked which language the children in those families speak first, and all three groups said Pwo Karen. (There were no mixed Northern Thai and Pwo Karen marriages in these villages, so we did not ask about that situation.) Further, we asked their prediction about language vitality in the future, that is, if they thought that there would be children in their village 20 years from now who could speak Pwo Karen. Interviewees in Sop Khong and Mae Umda Nuea said yes. Mae Hat interviewees said, “Yes, there will be, even in 100 years, but it will be mixed [with other languages].” In Seumeu Luang village, the interviewees were not sure whether there would be or not.

As for demographic factors which affect language vitality, most of the Pwo Karen villages in Mae Hong Son are majority-Pwo Karen, and, in fact, Pwo Karen is the majority ethnic group in Sop Moei district. In Mae Sariang district, however, Pwo Karen

are a minority, making up only about 6% of the population.³⁰ Also living in Mae Sariang are Northern Thai, Sgaw Karen, Lawa, and other ethnic groups. Interviewees in the four villages said that the young people mostly marry other Pwo Karen.³¹

Multilingualism among Pwo Karen in Mae Hong Son will be discussed in the next section (7.3). Here we will simply say that a lack of bilingualism in Northern Thai and Central Thai supports the conclusion that there is high Pwo Karen vitality.

Preliminary data (group interviews in only four villages) indicate that most of the Pwo Karen children in Sop Moei district of Mae Hong Son speak Pwo Karen well, as their first language, and while playing with friends. The language has been passed on to the current younger generation. In addition, demographic factors and a lack of bilingualism in Thai languages make it likely that future generations will continue passing the language on. For these reasons, we conclude that Pwo Karen language vitality in Mae Hong Son is *high*, at least in Sop Moei district.

7.3 Bilingualism

We asked group interviewees about bilingualism in their community. Since it was obvious from initial interactions that few people could speak Central Thai, we asked what kinds of people in their village *could* speak Central Thai or Northern Thai. In Mae Hat, Sop Khong, and Mae Umda Nuea, the interviewees reported that only the young people (under 30 years old) could speak Central Thai. When asked about Northern Thai, Mae Hat interviewees said that only some people, usually under the age of 40, could speak it. In Sop Khong, they reported that only a few could speak Northern Thai, usually middle-aged. In Mae Umda Nuea, they said that only some people could speak Northern Thai, both young and old, and that young people could usually speak it at least a little.³² As for Sgaw Karen, Mae Hat interviewees reported that only two people in their village could not speak it. In Sop Khong, they said everyone could speak Sgaw Karen. In Mae Umda Nuea and Seumeu Luang, they said that some could speak and some could not, and that younger people were less likely to be able to speak it.

We also asked each group interviewee what languages they could speak. Their responses are summarized in Table 20.

Table 20. Languages spoken by interviewees (Mae Hong Son)

Pwo Karen	Northern Thai	Central Thai	Sgaw Karen	Other language	Total interviewees
16	2	7	14	0	16

Few reported speaking Central Thai or Northern Thai, but many could speak Sgaw Karen. In addition, we observed a lack of Central Thai and Northern Thai bilingualism. In most Pwo Karen areas, such as Lampang and Chiang Rai, all except the oldest people were able to communicate with us in Central Thai or a mixture of Central Thai and Northern Thai, and we rarely needed interpreters for interviews. However, in Mae Hong

³⁰ Based on a population of 35,250 in Sop Moei and 46,035 in Mae Sariang (National Statistical Office 2000).

³¹ In Mae Umda Nuea, they answered “Karen” to this question, which may mean marriage with Pwo or Sgaw Karen.

³² There is no data for these two questions from Seumeu Luang village.

Son, even some 20 to 40 year olds were unable to talk with us, and we needed an interpreter for several interviews.

We conclude that *there is some bilingualism among Pwo Karen in Mae Hong Son: mostly in Sgaw Karen, some in Central Thai, and less in Northern Thai*. The level of bilingualism is not known.

7.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

For Mae Hong Son, we have only reported data so no formal conclusions can be drawn, but we will present what information we have here. First, we should note that some Mae Hong Son villages are near to Omkoi district of Chiang Mai; in fact, Sop Khong, one interview village, is just across the river from Omkoi. In the group interview, Mae Hat interviewees named a certain village in Omkoi, Mae Sate, as speaking Pwo Karen exactly the same. The Sop Khong group named an Omkoi village, Phurukhi, as speaking only a little different. We asked the Sop Khong group, further, whether they could understand all the villages in Omkoi, and they said they could, but some of those villages could not understand the Sop Khong speech variety. Interviewees in Mae Umda Nuea reported that there are two dialect groups in Omkoi: one similar to their own village and one similar to the “Mae Ngao” area.³³ The Seumeu Luang interview group simply said that they could understand only some when speaking with Pwo Karen from Omkoi.

7.5 Attitudes

In Mae Hong Son, we did not attempt to gather any data on attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen or on the desire for vernacular literature. However, concerning attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen, it is worthwhile to note that there is some contact between the Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son Pwo Karen. All four interview groups reported that people in their villages sometimes travel to Pwo Karen areas in Chiang Mai, some for work and others for visiting. Also, some of the Christians in Mae Hong Son use the same Christian Pwo Karen literature as those in Chiang Mai.

7.6 Grouping

When we asked group interviewees about Pwo Karen speech in other areas, they named various Mae Hong Son villages as speaking Pwo Karen the same, a little different, and very different from them. They even said that there are some villages within their own province that they do not understand well (a statement not made by interviewees in other provinces). The difference most often reported was between the Mae Ngao area and the rest of Mae Hong Son. This linguistic variation may reflect the two different migrations as reported by Renard (1980:132): that most Pwo Karen in northern Thailand moved from the Zwi Kabin hills of Myanmar and spread over many provinces, but a smaller group of Pwo Karen moved from elsewhere and stayed in the southern mountains of Mae Hong Son.

See the lexical similarity of Seumeu Luang with other areas in Table 21.

³³ That is, the southern part of Mae Suat subdistrict, where Sop Khong and Mae Hat are located, along the Mae Ngao river (see Figure 19).

Table 21. Seumeu Luang lexical similarity with other areas

Seumeu Luang (Mae Hong Son)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
97%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoï	Chiang Mai
95%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
95%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
94%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
91%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak
91%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
91%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
90%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
90%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang

Seumeu Luang is most lexically similar to Thung Chamroeng in Chiang Mai (97%). See the lexical similarity of Sop Khong with other areas in Table 22.

Table 22. Sop Khong lexical similarity with other areas

Sop Khong (Mae Hong Son)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
90%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
90%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoï	Chiang Mai
90%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak
89%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
89%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
88%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
88%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
88%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
88%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang

Sop Khong speech is 90% lexically similar to Seumeu Luang; this is consistent with the reports by local people that the Mae Ngao area speaks a noticeably different dialect.

8 Phrae province

8.1 Introduction

In Phrae province, there are nine Pwo Karen-speaking villages. Two are in Long district and seven are in Wang Chin district. Figure 21 shows the district locations, and boxes indicate the areas enlarged in Figure 22 and Figure 23, which show the villages.

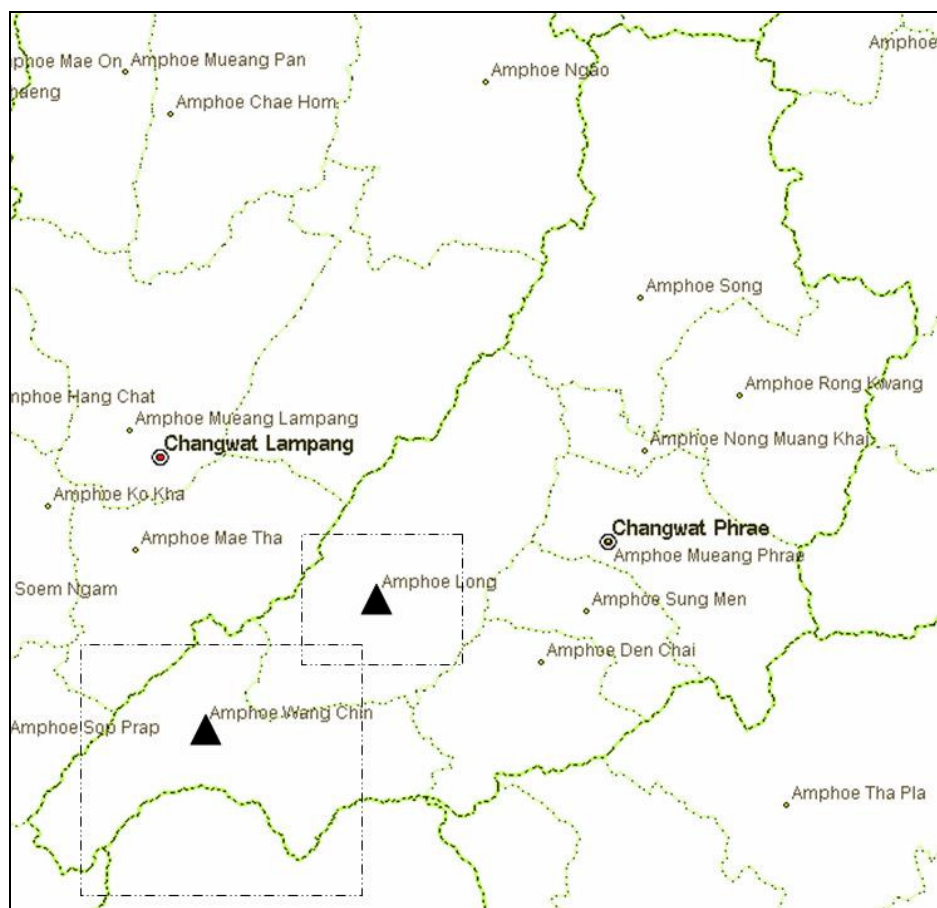


Figure 21. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Phrae province

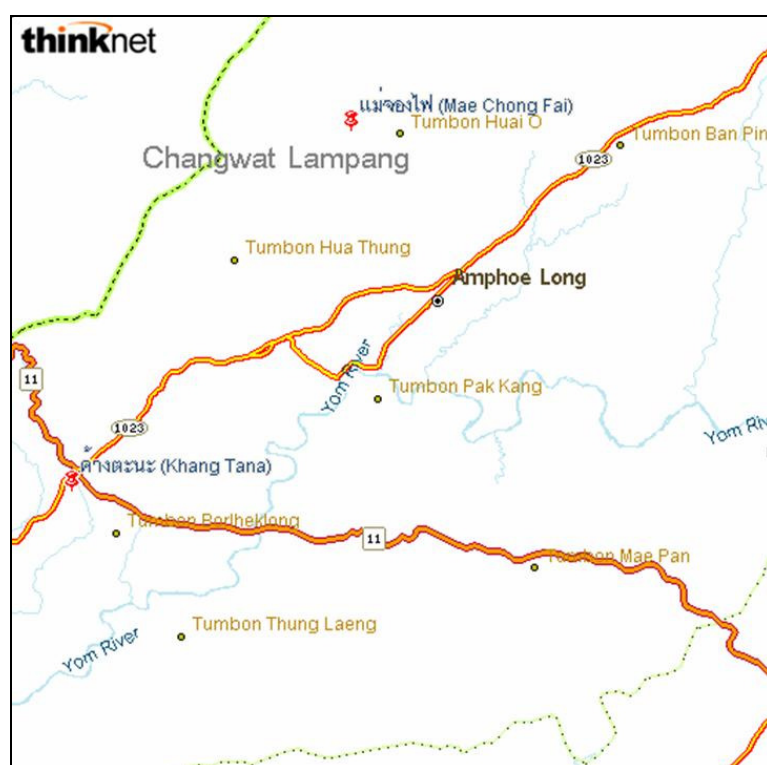


Figure 22. Pwo Karen villages in Long district

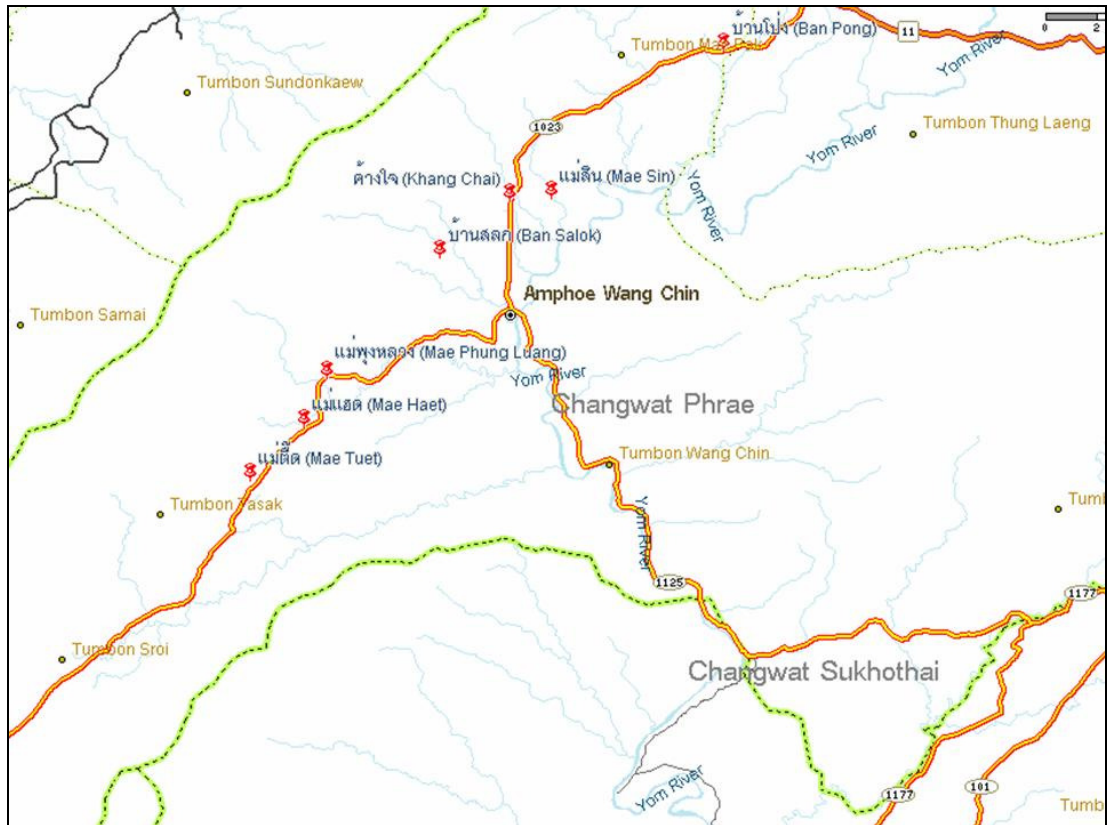


Figure 23. Pwo Karen villages in Wang Chin district

In addition, there are several villages where the people are ethnically Pwo Karen but have given up the language. These are Chae Fa, Na Hang, Khang Kham Pan, and Mae Lang. Also, Khang Pin Chai used to have a large population of Pwo Karen, until the Pwo Karen section of the village formed Mae Phung Luang as a new village (in the same location) in the late 1990s. Now Khang Pin Chai is a Northern Thai village with some Pwo Karen families.

As for the nine main Pwo Karen villages, they are homogenous ethnically except for individuals married to Pwo Karen living there. Those married in are mostly Northern Thai, but also Central Thai, Isan, Khmu, and Sgaw Karen. We estimate the population of Pwo Karen in Phrae province to be 6,000.

The villages are on the plains and very near the highway, except for Mae Chong Fai which is near mountains and further from the highway. Most of the Pwo Karen here farm glutinous paddy rice. Some additional income comes from peanuts, weaving, and hired labor. The children attend primary school in their own or nearby villages, and there are secondary schools within twelve kilometers which they may attend.

The majority of the Pwo Karen in Phrae practice Buddhism mixed with traditional Karen religion. There are also 10 to 20 Christian families, mostly in Ban Salok. Many women wear Karen skirts, especially the oldest ladies, but also some middle-aged women. Some weave their own, and some buy them from others.

The Pwo Karen in Phrae rarely use any Karen literature. The Christians have occasionally used Northern Pwo Karen religious materials. Many people are literate in Central Thai.

In the following sections, we will present the survey data as it relates to answering research questions about Phrae.

8.2 Language vitality

This section applies the survey results to various factors that affect language vitality. First, we asked parents what language they speak with their children. See Table 23.

Table 23. Parents' language use with children (Phrae)

What language do you usually use with your children?	Village		Total
	Ban Salok	Mae Chong Fai	
Pwo Karen	2	4	6
Northern Thai	3	0	3
Pwo Karen and Northern/Central Thai	2	3	5
Total	7	7	14

Only 6 of 14 individual interviewees³⁴ reported speaking mostly or only Pwo Karen with their children. Those 3 who spoke only Northern Thai with their children are married to a Northern Thai; however, of 5 additional interviewees who are married to Thais³⁵, 3 speak Pwo Karen and 2 speak both languages to their children.

We also asked interviewees what language the children in the village use when playing together. See Table 24.

Table 24. Children's language use during play (Phrae)

When the children in this village play together, what language do they use?	Village		Total
	Ban Salok	Mae Chong Fai	
Pwo Karen	10	6	16
Northern/Central Thai	0	0	0
Pwo Karen and Northern/Central Thai	2	3	5
Total	12	9	21

In both villages, most people reported that the children use Pwo Karen when playing, and a few reported that the children speak Pwo Karen and another language.

Twenty of twenty-one interviewees asked reported that the children in their village speak Pwo Karen well. One person in Ban Salok said the children speak it well but mixed with Thai. In addition, we asked what language children speak first. See Table 25.

³⁴ See footnote 20.

³⁵ Including Northern Thai, Central Thai and Isan.

Table 25. Reported first language of children (Phrae)

Usually, what language do children in this village speak as their first language?	Village		Total
	Ban Salok	Mae Chong Fai	
Pwo Karen	12	9	21
Northern/Central Thai	0	0	0
Pwo Karen and Northern/Central Thai	1	0	1
Total	13	9	22

Out of 22 interviewees, all but one said that children speak Pwo Karen as their first language. One interviewee said they learn Pwo Karen and Central Thai simultaneously. Of nine village-level group interviews, two groups (Mae Teut and Ban Salok) reported that there are some Pwo Karen children in their villages who cannot speak Pwo Karen; these are usually children with one Northern Thai parent. The other seven groups said that all the Pwo Karen children in their villages can speak Pwo Karen. In addition, we asked group interviewees what language the children of a mixed Northern Thai-Pwo Karen marriage speak first. Eight groups said the children speak Pwo Karen first, and in Ban Salok they said those children learn Pwo Karen and Northern Thai simultaneously.

We asked questions to assess interviewees' attitudes toward their language, identity, and language vitality. When asked, "Do you want to see your children and grandchildren pass on and preserve Pwo Karen identity?" all 21 said yes. Aspects of identity that they want their children to pass on include language (mentioned 11 times), religion/ceremonies (10), clothing (4), farming (1), and basket weaving (1). Also, we asked if they think there will be children in their village speaking Pwo Karen 20 years from now. See Table 26.

Table 26. Individual interviewees' prediction of language vitality (Phrae)

Do you think that in 20 years there will still be children in this village who can speak Pwo Karen?	Village		Total
	Ban Salok	Mae Chong Fai	
Yes	6	4	10
Yes, some	2	2	4
Probably	4	1	5
Maybe	0	1	1
No	0	0	0
Total	12	8	20

Nineteen of twenty individual interviewees said "yes," "some," or "probably." Some of those who responded "yes" were very sure of it, including one in Mae Chong Fai who said, "Yes, there will always be, even 100 years from now. Every child that is born has to speak it. They can learn other languages later."

We observed a positive attitude toward Pwo Karen identity during interviews and conversations. Ban Salok residents who were ethnically half Karen and half Thai usually classified themselves as "Karen." For example, one interviewee, when asked, said that his father's ethnicity was Karen. Later in the interview, however, when discussing

language use with his family, he noted that his father was half Karen and half Thai. Others responded similarly. Another example is from our teenage language helper. When we first arrived, we emphasized that we wanted helpers who were Pwo Karen, and the helper chosen for us said of herself, “This is the true Karen.” Later, we learned that her mother is Isan.

Another indicator of language vitality is domains of language use, that is, in what areas of life speakers use the language. See Table 27.

Table 27. Domains of language use (Phrae)

What language do you usually use...	Pwo Karen	Pwo Karen and Northern/Central Thai	Northern/Central Thai	Totals
With spouse	4	2	6	12
With parents	15	3	2	20
With siblings	15	1	3	19
With grandchildren	3	0	3	6
With grandparents	11	1	1	13
With Pwo Karen friends	17	3	1	21
With non-Pwo Karen in village	0	5	16	21
When doing religious activities	16	2	1	19
Most in everyday life	15	4	1	20

Many interviewees use a Thai language with their spouse; in fact, 8 of the interviewees are married to Northern Thai, Central Thai, or Isan people. Most interviewees use Pwo Karen with their other family members and Pwo Karen friends. With non-Pwo Karen in their village, they use a Thai language or sometimes Pwo Karen and Thai. In religious activities, most reported using Pwo Karen, but some explained the language situation this way: they use Pwo Karen in Karen religious activities but Northern Thai or Central Thai for Buddhist activities. In addition, the Christian literature interviewees reported (and we observed) that they use mostly Central Thai or Northern Thai in their church service. Pwo Karen is used occasionally for prayers or songs. They reported that the reason they use mostly Thai languages is that there are some non-Pwo Karen church members who would not understand if Pwo Karen was used. Overall, according to individual interviewees, they use Pwo Karen more than any other language in their everyday lives.

As for demographic factors, the nine Pwo Karen-speaking villages in Phrae are majority-Pwo Karen; the only residents of other ethnic groups are those who married into the village. Intermarriage is common: out of nine villages, five reported that their young people marry Pwo Karen and non-Pwo Karen in about equal numbers, two reported they marry more Pwo Karen, and two reported they marry more non-Pwo Karen. In addition, the Pwo Karen are a minority in the two districts where they live: in Wang Chin district

they form about 10% of the population, and in Long about 1%.³⁶ Some villages in the area that were previously Pwo Karen-speaking are now Northern Thai-speaking.

Multilingualism among the Pwo Karen in Phrae will be discussed in the next section (8.3). Here we will simply say that widespread bilingualism in Northern Thai is a possible threat to Pwo Karen language vitality.

Since, in Phrae, most of the children speak Pwo Karen well, as their first language, and while playing with friends, we can see that the language has been passed on to the current younger generation. Also, there are positive attitudes toward Pwo Karen language and identity that make it more likely that the language will be transferred to the next generation. For these reasons, we conclude that language vitality in Phrae is *currently high*. However, quite a few parents speak other languages to their children in addition to or in place of Pwo Karen. That, along with demographic factors and multilingualism, means that the language's vitality may be threatened.

8.3 Bilingualism

We asked group interviewees about bilingualism in their communities. We knew from background research that Sgaw Karen contact was almost nonexistent, so we did not ask about it. All groups reported that there are some people in their villages who cannot speak any Central Thai, usually older people. Eight of nine villages reported that there is no one who cannot speak Northern Thai, but two added that some residents may not speak it clearly. Mae Teut interviewees said there are some older people who cannot speak Northern Thai.

Individual interviewees, RTT subjects and group interviewees reported what languages they could speak. Their answers are summarized in Table 28.

Table 28. Languages spoken by interviewees (Phrae)

Pwo Karen	Northern Thai	Central Thai	Other language	Total interviewees
71	70	56	4 ³⁷	71

All interviewees except one said that they can speak Northern Thai. Many can also speak Central Thai. In addition, we asked individual interviewees to answer several questions about their bilingualism in Northern Thai. When asked “If you overhear two Northern Thai people speaking Northern Thai in the market can you repeat what you heard?”, all 12 asked said yes. However, when asked if they could speak Northern Thai as well as a Northern Thai person, only 11 of 17 said yes.³⁸

As for Central Thai bilingualism, we asked several people (using the Christian literature interview) whether they and others in the church could understand the Bible used in their church (Central Thai) when read aloud. Four of five said that they understood it and

³⁶ Based on Thailand's 2000 census (National Statistical Office 2000), Wang Chin district has a population of 48,815 and Long district, 60,285.

³⁷ Including Isan, Mien (Yao), and English.

³⁸ Some interviewees were asked only certain questions because of their reported best languages or ethnicity. See Appendix D.

everyone else did too. One said that he understood most but not all of it, and that there were others like him.

In addition, it seems from interviews that the Pwo Karen in Phrae have mostly positive or neutral attitudes toward the use of Northern Thai and Central Thai languages.

We conclude that *Northern Thai bilingualism is widespread and some are highly bilingual*, according to reports. Many of the Pwo Karen in Phrae also speak Central Thai.

8.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

Twelve subjects in Ban Salok scored an average of 59% on an RTT testing their comprehension of a Pwo Karen story from Chiang Mai. However, the standard deviation is somewhat high (16.4)³⁹, and the range of scores is 30% to 80%. We asked each subject about any previous contact with Chiang Mai Pwo Karen, and contact does not account for the high standard deviation. Two subjects scored much lower than others, at 30%; they were 55 and 71 years of age. Although they both passed the screening test, we speculate that they may have become tired or confused by the procedure. If their scores are eliminated from the sample, the average score (for 10 subjects) is 65%, with a standard deviation of 10.0 and a range of 50-80%.

An average score of 59% indicates unlikely comprehension. If we use the 65% average score instead, it indicates marginal comprehension; in that case other factors need to be assessed to determine whether literature can be shared (see section 2.2).

After the Chiang Mai story was played, we asked each subject if they understood all, some or nothing. Most replied that they understood some, while one said they could not understand and another said they understood everything. We also asked them if they had ever met Pwo Karen from Chiang Mai and what language they spoke with them. Nine subjects had met someone before. Six said they spoke Pwo Karen; two said they spoke Northern Thai or Central Thai; and one said “We start out in Pwo Karen, but if we cannot understand, then we switch to Northern Thai.”

In group interviews, we asked in what places Pwo Karen speak the same, a little different, and very different. Out of nine group interviews in Phrae, four groups named Chiang Mai as a place where they speak Pwo Karen very differently, and one group said Chiang Mai is a little different. Other groups did not mention Chiang Mai at all.

In the Christian literature interview, we asked whether interviewees had ever tried to read the Pwo Karen New Testament produced in Chiang Mai. Three people said they cannot read it (because they have never studied the writing system). One said he does not understand some things in it. Another said she can read it but does not understand certain words.

³⁹ Standard deviation indicates how much individual scores vary from the mean. According to Blair (1990:25-26), a low standard deviation is 10 or below; a high standard deviation is 15 or above. A low standard deviation shows that comprehension of the story is fairly uniform throughout the community. Usually, linguists interpret a high standard deviation in RTT scores to mean that some people in the community understand the story better than others because they have had more contact with the tested speech variety.

In conclusion to this section, *comprehension is unlikely or marginal*. We need to assess other factors in order to determine whether Pwo Karen in Phrae could share literature with Chiang Mai Pwo Karen. Some of these additional factors are discussed in sections 8.5 and 8.6.

8.5 Attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

We screened for any negative attitudes toward the Chiang Mai Pwo Karen language or people (that might inhibit use of the literature from there) using post-RTT questions and group interview questions. We asked RTT subjects if the storyteller spoke good Pwo Karen. Thirteen of fourteen⁴⁰ subjects said yes; 2 of those also noted that the storyteller's Pwo Karen is less mixed with Thai than their own speech variety. One subject said that the storyteller spoke "not very clearly—not as clear as this village."

We also asked if the storyteller spoke Pwo Karen the same, a little different or very different from their own speech variety. Nine said "a little different", two said "some different" and two said "very different." When asked how it was different, subjects mentioned both accent and vocabulary. For those subjects who had some knowledge of Pwo Karen in Chiang Mai, we asked how they would feel if their child (or if they had no children, someone from their village) married a Pwo Karen from there. Five expressed positive feelings and 6 expressed neutral feelings. Those who felt positive were asked why, and they mostly responded that it is good to marry someone of the same ethnic group and language.

In the group interviews, we asked where Pwo Karen is spoken the nicest and clearest. They all named their own or nearby villages.

In general, attitudes of Pwo Karen in Phrae toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen people and language are positive or neutral. We conclude that they *do not have negative attitudes* which would prevent the sharing of vernacular literature. However, since comprehension is marginal, they would need strong positive attitudes to motivate them to use the Chiang Mai literature, which may not be present.

8.6 Desire for vernacular literature

We asked individual interviewees if they would want to study Pwo Karen literacy. Nineteen of twenty-one said yes, and 2 said no. Of those who responded "no," one gave the reason that he was too old, and the other indicated that Pwo Karen literacy would not be useful. We also asked interviewees what kinds of materials they would want written in Pwo Karen. See Table 29.

⁴⁰ In addition to the 12 RTT subjects, there were two additional subjects who took the whole test and whose attitudes we include in this section. Their RTT scores do not count, however, because one did not pass the screening test and one did not pass the screening criteria for low contact with Chiang Mai Pwo Karen.

Table 29. Interviewees' ideas of topics for Pwo Karen written materials (Phrae)

Suppose a Pwo Karen person wrote books/materials in Pwo Karen, what kinds of books/materials would you like them to write?	Total times mentioned ⁴¹
Karen culture/religion	6
Karen history	5
General topics/everything	3
Preserve/document/teach the language	3
Daily life	2
Tourism	1
Don't know	6

More interviewees said that they wanted to study Pwo Karen literacy in Phrae than in Doi Luang, but the Doi Luang people seemed more interested in reading general topics in their own language. In Phrae, the most common examples of written materials they would like had to do with the preservation of Pwo Karen language, history and culture, and some interviewees could not give examples of the kinds of materials they would like to have in their language.

In addition, we asked Christian literature interviewees if they would use parts of the Bible written in their Pwo Karen variety. See their answers in Table 30.

Table 30. Christian interviewees' interest in religious literature in their own variety (Phrae)

Suppose there were parts of the Bible written in Phrae Pwo Karen, would you want to use it or would you keep using [the Bible usually used]?	Number of responses
Yes, if it were in Thai script	1
Yes, if there was someone to teach me	1
No, Central Thai is easy since I already know it	1
Maybe	1
Would use both	1

Although the positive responses do not guarantee that Pwo Karen in Phrae will actively participate in literacy programs, we conclude that there is *at least some desire for vernacular literature*.

8.7 Grouping

The Pwo Karen in Phrae are historically linked with those in Lampang, who migrated from Phrae 100 or more years ago. Later, those in Muang district of Chiang Rai migrated from Lampang. However, the Lampang and Phrae groups do not have ongoing contact with each other. We observed that the Pwo Karen in Phrae do not identify closely with any other Pwo Karen variety: they see themselves as part of the wider Karen family and then as “Phrae Karen” or “Wang Chin Karen.”

See Ban Salok's lexical similarity to other areas in Table 31.

⁴¹ Each subject could mention as many topics as they wished.

Table 31. Ban Salok lexical similarity with other areas

Ban Salok (Phrae)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
95%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
95%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
93%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
91%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoï	Chiang Mai
91%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
90%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak
90%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang
88%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
86%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi

Ban Salok shows the highest lexical similarity with Doi Luang and the main Lamphun dialect, represented by Mae Lek (95%). Although the Lampang Pwo Karen came from Phrae, their speech is no longer very similar. (See section 5.6.)

9 Northern Tak province

9.1 Introduction

According to interviews with Karen in Mae Sot, Tha Song Yang and Chiang Mai, there are Thai Pwo Karen⁴² in Umphang, Phop Phra, and Tha Song Yang districts in Tak province. That is, they live only in the northernmost and southernmost parts of the province. In addition, Pwo Karen immigrants from Myanmar live in Mae Sot, Umphang and possibly other districts. Figure 24 shows the districts of Tak province, with the triangles marking the districts where Thai Pwo Karen live. The box shows the area enlarged in Figure 25.

⁴² By “Thai Pwo Karen” we mean Pwo Karen who have Thai citizenship and are not recent immigrants from Myanmar.



Figure 24. Districts where Thai Pwo Karen live in Tak province

After we learned the locations of Thai Pwo Karen in Tak, we originally hypothesized that the Pwo Karen in Tha Song Yang were Northern Pwo Karen, that is, speaking the same language as those in nearby Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son provinces. We also hypothesized that those living in southern Tak were West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen, that is, speaking the same language as the Pwo Karen in adjacent Kanchanaburi and Uthai Thani provinces. Although Tak province is considered part of northern Thailand, the southern districts actually border central Thailand provinces. Therefore, we narrowed our research to investigate only those living in Tha Song Yang.

Interviewees in Mae Pho village in Tha Song Yang reported that there are a total of seven Pwo Karen villages in Tha Song Yang district. (See Appendix A.) These villages are located in Mae La, Mae Song, and Mae Tan subdistricts. Mae Tan has five villages, while the other two subdistricts have only one village each. Two of the Mae Tan villages are shown in Figure 25; also shown are Mae Song and Mae La subdistricts in place of the villages found in those subdistricts.



Figure 25. Some Pwo Karen villages and subdistricts in Tha Song Yang district

All of these villages are reported to have Pwo Karen as the majority ethnic group, but there are significant numbers of Sgaw Karen living in these villages, as well. Intermarriage between Sgaw and Pwo Karen is very common. There are few Central Thai or Northern Thai in this area; in fact, Sgaw Karen is the majority population in Tha Song Yang district.⁴³ We estimate the population of Pwo Karen in Tha Song Yang district to be roughly 2,000.

These Pwo Karen villages are in a mountainous area. The residents of Mae Pho formerly farmed hill rice and now have switched to paddy rice. Those who do not own paddy fields work as hired laborers. Many women wear Karen clothing, especially skirts. Most of the Pwo Karen in Tha Song Yang practice Buddhism mixed with traditional Karen religion, but there are a few Christians.

The people of Mae Pho report that they migrated from Myanmar between 100 and 200 years ago. The area they came from is called [kwe ka bɔ]. The interviewees in Mae Pho speculate that the other Pwo Karen in Tha Song Yang may have come from the same area and at the same time, since they are relatives and speak the same dialect of Pwo Karen.

⁴³ Interviewees reported this, and it is consistent with published data indicating that Karen are the majority. Ritchie and Yang (1999) report a Karen population in Tha Song Yang of 35,848 in 1997, and the National Statistical Office (2000) reports a total population of 58,437 in Tha Song Yang in 2000.

In the following sections, we will present the data from Tak as it relates to the research questions.

9.2 Language vitality

We gathered data on language vitality in our group interview, in one of seven Pwo Karen villages in northern Tak. In Mae Pho village, interviewees reported that Pwo Karen children spoke Pwo Karen first, well and clearly, and that they spoke Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen when playing together. Since there was some Sgaw Karen and Pwo Karen intermarriage, we asked which language the children in those families spoke first, and they said it was Pwo Karen. (There were no mixed Northern Thai and Pwo Karen marriages, so we did not ask about that situation.) When we asked their prediction of future language vitality (whether they thought that there would be children in their village 20 years from now who could speak Pwo Karen) they said, “It will probably not be lost.” We asked if there were any villages in the area where Pwo Karen had stopped speaking their language, and the interviewees said no.

As for demographic factors, the seven majority-Pwo Karen villages in northern Tak also have Sgaw Karen living among them, and Sgaw Karen is the majority ethnic group in Tha Song Yang district. Interviewees reported that young people mostly marry with other Karen; they said that it is difficult to say whether they marry Sgaw or Pwo more often, because so many of the young people themselves are of mixed Pwo and Sgaw ethnicity. However, there is little contact with Northern Thai people, compared to other Pwo Karen areas.

Multilingualism among Pwo Karen in northern Tak will be discussed in the next section (9.3). Here we will simply say that a lack of bilingualism in Thai languages supports high vitality in Pwo Karen, but high bilingualism in Sgaw Karen is a possible threat to vitality.

Preliminary data (a group interview in only one village) indicate that Pwo Karen children in Tha Song Yang district of Tak speak Pwo Karen well and as their first language. The language has been passed on to the current younger generation, at least in Mae Pho village. A lack of bilingualism in Thai languages make it likely that further generations will continue speaking a Karen language. For these reasons, we tentatively conclude that Pwo Karen language vitality in northern Tak is *high*. However, demographic factors and multilingualism in Sgaw Karen are possible threats to the language.

9.3 Bilingualism

Only information from one group interview is available to answer the question of bilingualism. We asked if there is anyone in Mae Pho who cannot speak Central Thai; they said yes, that people around age 40 and older who did not attend school cannot speak Central Thai. As for Northern Thai, they said only the teenagers can speak some. They reported that there is no one in their village who cannot speak Sgaw Karen.

We also asked each group interviewee what languages they could speak. Their responses are summarized in Table 32.

Table 32. Languages spoken by interviewees (Tak)

Pwo Karen	Northern Thai	Central Thai	Sgaw Karen	Other language	Total interviewees
5	2	5	5	0	5

All reported being able to speak Sgaw Karen and Central Thai. We should note here, however, that all 5 group interviewees were between the ages of 16 and 32.

We observed a lack of Central Thai bilingualism ourselves which is consistent with the group interview report. We met several people with whom communication in Central Thai was difficult or impossible.

We conclude that there is *widespread bilingualism in Sgaw Karen among the Pwo Karen in northern Tak*, at least in Mae Pho village. In addition, there is some bilingualism in Central Thai and less in Northern Thai. The level of bilingualism in various languages is not known.

9.4 Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen

For northern Tak, we have only reported data so no formal conclusion can be drawn, but we will present what information we have here. First, we should note that Tha Song Yang district borders Sop Moei district (Mae Hong Son) and Omkoi district (Chiang Mai), which are areas of high Pwo Karen population. However, they do not have a lot of contact with those groups. In fact, the Mae Pho interviewees had never heard that there were Pwo Karen in Sop Moei to the north of them. Only one interviewee had met Pwo Karen from Omkoi, when a former Mae Pho resident married a Pwo Karen from Omkoi.

When we asked about places where they speak Pwo Karen the same or different than Mae Pho, they did not mention Chiang Mai. When we asked specifically about it, the one interviewee who had met someone from there said, “It’s hard to understand. It’s a different language. I used more Thai than Pwo Karen with them.”

9.5 Attitudes

In northern Tak, we did not attempt to gather any data on attitudes toward Chiang Mai Pwo Karen or on the desire for vernacular literature.

9.6 Grouping

When we asked Mae Pho interviewees about other places where Pwo Karen is spoken, they said that the six other villages in Tha Song Yang speak exactly the same and that Pwo Karen in Myanmar speak a little different. The Pwo Karen in northern Tak migrated from Myanmar later than the other Pwo Karen in northern Thailand.

See the lexical similarity of Mae Pho Pwo Karen with other varieties in Table 33.

Table 33. Mae Pho lexical similarity with other areas

Mae Pho (Tak)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
91%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
91%	Thung Chamroeng	Omkoi	Chiang Mai
90%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
90%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
90%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
90%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
90%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
89%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
86%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang

Out of the speech varieties for which we have wordlists, the Pwo Karen variety spoken in Mae Pho is most lexically similar to Seumeu Luang and Thung Chamroeng at 91%. It is possible that the Mae Pho variety would show higher similarity if compared with the location in Myanmar from which these Pwo Karen migrated.

10 Chiang Mai province

10.1 Introduction

In Chiang Mai, Pwo Karen live in four districts: Omkoi, Hot, Doi Tao and Chom Thong. Figure 26 shows the districts, and boxes indicate areas which are enlarged in Figure 27 and Figure 28.

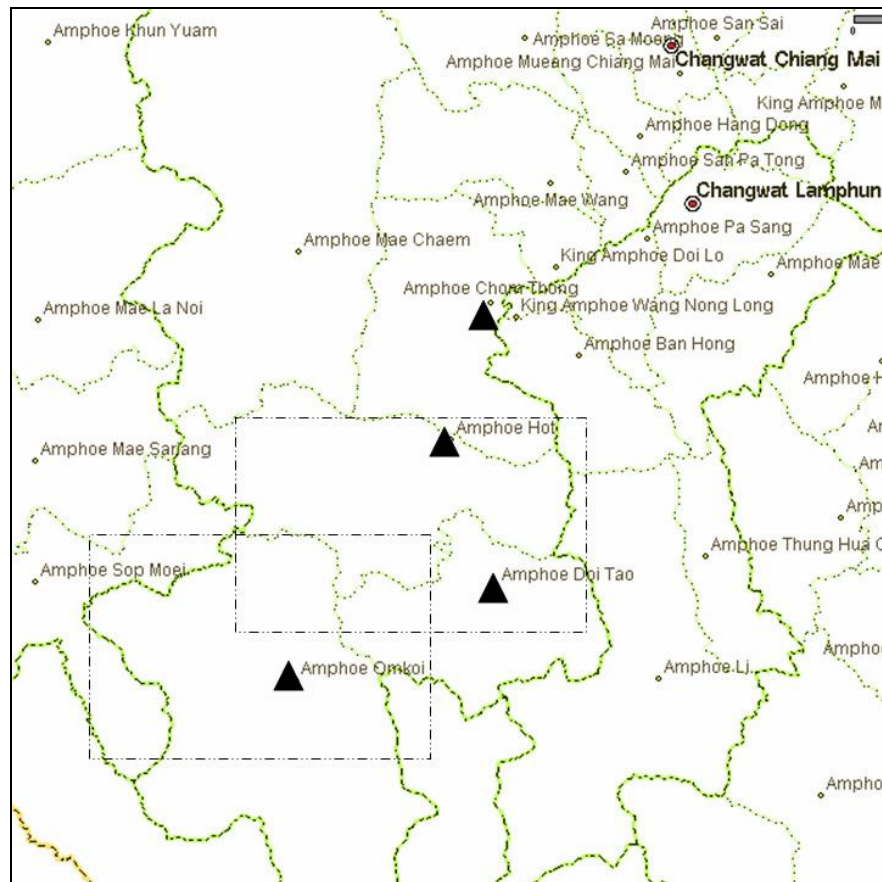


Figure 26. Districts where Pwo Karen live in Chiang Mai province



Figure 27. Some Pwo Karen villages in Omkoi district

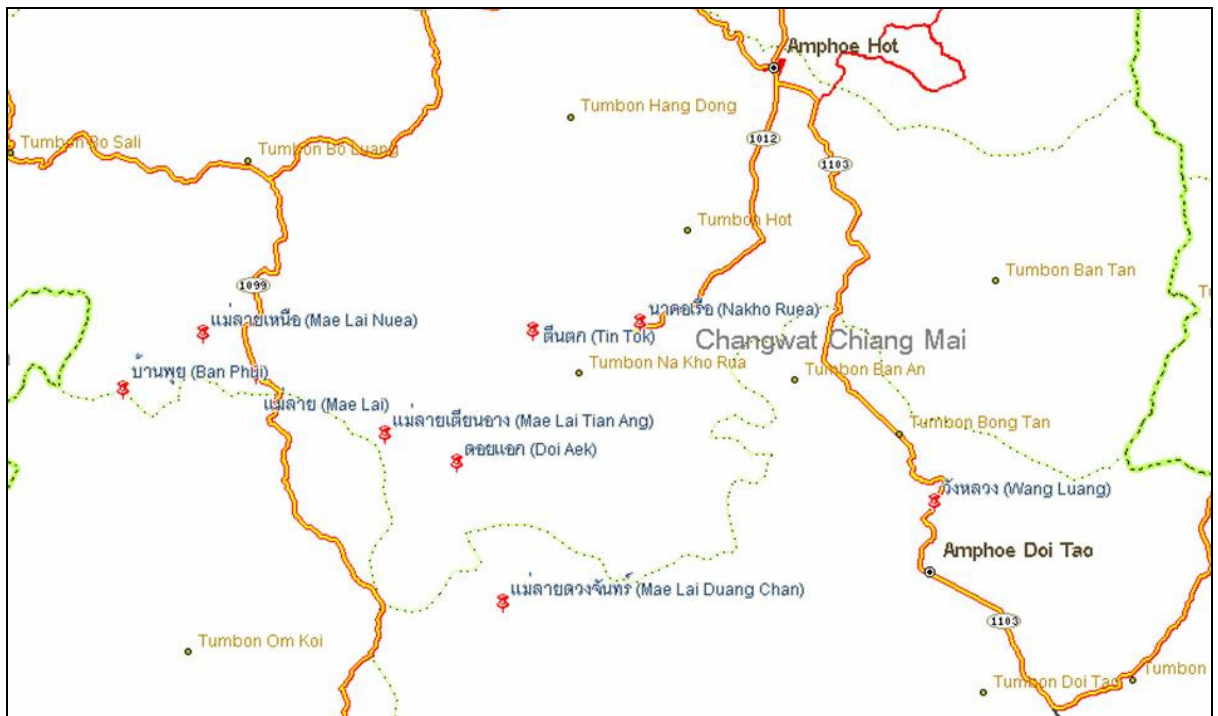


Figure 28. Some Pwo Karen villages in Hot and Doi Tao districts

The total number of Pwo Karen villages in Chiang Mai province is at least 75. The Karen in Chom Thong district are mostly Sgaw, while the Karen in Hot, Omkoi and Doi Tao are mostly Pwo. Culy roughly estimates the Chiang Mai Pwo Karen population at 30,000 (1993:18-19). According to Ritchie and Yang (1999), the total Karen population in Hot, Omkoi and Doi Tao is a little over 50,000, so it seems that Culy's estimate is not too large. Some Chiang Mai villages are remote, on steep mountains, and have little contact with Northern Thai people, while others are situated along main roads.

Most of the Pwo Karen in Chiang Mai farm non-glutinous hill rice, and some also farm paddy rice. The majority of the people practice Buddhism and traditional Karen religion, but there are also many Christians.

Some Pwo Karen in Chiang Mai are literate in Northern Pwo Karen through church-based literacy programs. The Christians in Chiang Mai use Northern Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen, or Central Thai religious literature, depending on individual and church preference. Many Pwo Karen in Chiang Mai are also literate in Central Thai.

10.2 Language vitality

Chiang Mai was not the focus of the research, as language development is already in progress and language vitality was hypothesized to be the highest there for all of northern Thailand. However, we will give a brief summary of available data on vitality. First, Pwo Karen are the majority population in Omkoi district, and are also numerous in Hot district. Second, on visits to two villages, we observed Pwo Karen language use in the religious domain, that is, in preaching, singing and Bible reading in Christian churches. (In contrast, churches we visited in Lampang, Lamphun and Phrae used Sgaw Karen or Central Thai for singing and Bible reading.) Third, bilingualism in Mae Tom village was found to be lower than in many areas, as 6 of the 27 RTT pilot test subjects reported not being able to speak any language other than Pwo Karen. These three factors

support the hypothesis that Pwo Karen language vitality is *high* in at least some parts of Chiang Mai province.

10.3 Grouping

From our Mae Hong Son interviews and from Culy (1993:25), we know that there is some variation in Pwo Karen speech within Chiang Mai province, and even within Omkoi district. The Omkoi speech variety used in the recorded text test, from Mae Tom village, was chosen to represent the vernacular literature from the area, while, in fact, the literature (both government and Christian) is based on several speech varieties. The wordlist we used from Omkoi district may not represent the same dialect as Mae Tom, since, within this research, we did not collect a wordlist from Mae Tom. Following are the lexical similarity percentages between the Omkoi wordlist (from Nong Ung Tai and Thung Chamroeng villages) and other varieties of Pwo Karen for which we collected wordlists.

Table 34. Thung Chamroeng lexical similarity with other areas

Thung Chamroeng (Chiang Mai)	Lexical similarity with...		
	Village	District	Province
97%	Seumeu Luang	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
96%	Mae Lek	Mae Tha	Lamphun
96%	Ban Doi	Doi Luang	Chiang Rai
93%	Huai Thok	Ban Hong	Lamphun
92%	Yang Khaw	Sangkhlaburi	Kanchanaburi
91%	Ban Salok	Wang Chin	Phrae
91%	Mae Pho	Tha Song Yang	Tak
90%	Sop Khong	Sop Moei	Mae Hong Son
88%	Ban Klang	Mae Mo	Lampang

Thung Chamroeng speech is most lexically similar to the main Mae Hong Son variety (Seumeu Luang), and also shows similarity to Lamphun and Doi Luang.

11 Summary of conclusions

11.1 Proposed groupings

It is not simple to sort the Pwo Karen in northern Thailand into two or even three groups because of the linguistic variation caused by migration patterns, influence from other languages, and other factors. Because of the complex sociolinguistic situation, we will not draw formal conclusions.

Among *most* of the Pwo Karen in Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son provinces, reported intelligibility is good and lexical similarity is fairly high (97%). Lexical similarity with Mae Lek (Lamphun) and Ban Doi (Doi Luang) is also high (95-96%). However, reported comprehension and lexical similarity suggest that the Mae Ngao area of Mae Hong Son differs somewhat from the other Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son villages. See Table 35.

Table 35. Lexical similarity among all Pwo Karen varieties compared

Ban Salok (Phrae)	95%								
Ban Klang (Lampang)	90%	90%							
Mae Lek (Lamphun main)	100%	95%	90%						
Huai Thok (Ban Hong Lamphun)	93%	93%	90%	93%					
Thung Chamroeng (Chiang Mai)	96%	91%	88%	96%	93%				
Seumeu Luang (MHS main)	95%	91%	90%	95%	94%	97%			
Sop Khong (Mae Ngao MHS)	89%	88%	88%	89%	88%	90%	90%		
Mae Pho (n Tak)	90%	90%	86%	90%	89%	91%	91%	90%	
Yang Khaw (Central Thailand)	90%	86%	87%	90%	90%	92%	91%	88%	90%
Variety	Ban Doi (CR Doi Luang)	Ban Salok (Phrae)	Ban Klang (Lampang)	Mae Lek (Lamphun main)	Huai Thok (Ban Hong Lamphun)	Thung Chamroeng (Chiang Mai)	Seumeu Luang (MHS main)	Sop Khong (Mae Ngao MHS)	Mae Pho (n Tak)

As for the intelligibility testing, the Doi Luang Pwo Karen comprehension of the text from Chiang Mai was marginal (69%), despite fairly high lexical similarity with Chiang Mai (96%). The Pwo Karen in Doi Luang still identify themselves closely with the Pwo Karen in Lamphun, and the lexical similarity between Mae Lek in Lamphun and Doi Luang is 100%.

The Pwo Karen in Phrae scored only 59% on the recorded text test, indicating unlikely comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen. The lexical similarity between these groups is 91%, but lexical similarity between Phrae and Mae Lek in Lamphun is higher, at 95%.

Pwo Karen spoken in Lampang shows relatively lower lexical similarity with the other groups. The difference between this group and the other varieties is also recognized by the group's speakers.

Lastly, we come to the Pwo Karen in northern Tak province. Their highest lexical similarity percentage with any other varieties in our study is 91% with Thung Chamroeng and Seumeu Luang. Their lexical similarity with West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen is 90%. Based on lexical similarity alone, we cannot group the northern Tak Pwo Karen with either the West-Central Thailand Pwo Karen or Northern Pwo Karen. Perhaps their speech variety relates closely with Pwo Karen in the area from which they

migrated in Myanmar, which is not currently available for research. In any case, they have little contact with other Pwo Karen varieties in northern Thailand.

11.2 Summary of other conclusions

Table 36 on the following page summarizes the sociolinguistic situation and answers to the research questions for each geographical area.

Table 36. Summary of conclusions by geographical area

Area	Estimated population	Language vitality	Karen literature used		Comprehension of Chiang Mai Pwo Karen	Bilingualism (reported)			Desire for vernacular literature
			Sgaw Karen	Northern Pwo Karen		Sgaw Karen	Northern Thai	Central Thai	
Chiang Rai: Doi Luang	1,700	Currently high	No	No	Marginal: 69% comprehension of recorded text test	Some	Wide-spread	Some	At least some
Chiang Rai: Muang	<1,000	Moderate	Often (Christians only)	No	Unclear	Wide-spread	Wide-spread	Some	No data
Lampang	1,000	Currently high	Often (Christians only)	No	Unclear	Some	Wide-spread	Some	No data
Lamphun	20,000	Currently high	No data	Rarely (Christians only)	Unclear	Some	Wide-spread	Some	No data
Mae Hong Son	22,000	High	Some (Christians only, depends on church and individual)	Some (Christians only, depends on church and individual)	Unclear; probably not uniform among various villages in each province	Some	Some	Some	No data
Phrae	6,000	Currently high	No	Very rarely (Christians only)	Unlikely to marginal: 59%-65% comprehension of recorded text test	None	Wide-spread	Some	At least some
Northern Tak	2,000	Currently high	No data	No data	Unclear	Wide-spread	Some	Some	No data
Chiang Mai	30,000	High	Some (mostly Christians)	Some (both Christians and Buddhists)	Not all villages speak the same dialect; comprehension of Mae Tom dialect by other villages unknown	Some	Some	Some	No data
							Many Pwo Karen monolinguals		

11.3 Need for language development

Finally, we come to the purpose of this survey: to assess the need for further language development among the Pwo Karen of northern Thailand. We believe that further language development would be beneficial, because Pwo Karen is a vital language in northern Thailand, and there is substantial variation among speech varieties. Comprehension is marginal among those tested; if more varieties were tested, more marginal comprehension would likely be found, if we use lexical similarity as a clue.

Language development, however, might not include development of *written materials* in every dialect or group. Instead, valuable language development could include any of the following:

1. Literacy (teaching people to read existing materials, such as Northern Pwo Karen or Sgaw Karen);
2. Promotion (introducing and encouraging the use of existing vernacular materials);
3. Translation (producing new written materials in Northern Pwo Karen); or
4. Oral material production (translating written materials into local varieties for use in audio form).

The community leaders and local people in each Pwo Karen area should decide what types of language development to pursue, if any. We hope this research will help the Pwo Karen to better understand the language development needs of their communities.

References

- Aspinwall, Clark, and Scott McManigle. 1996. Survey Form: Northern Pwo Karen of Phrae. ms.
- Beaver, Raymond W., and Addison S. Truxton. 1957. Survey of Pwo Karen Dialects in North Thailand. *Practical Anthropology*. Vol. 4, No. 1. January-February 1957.
- Blair, Frank. 1990. Survey on a shoestring. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.
- Bradley, David. 1997. Tibeto-Burman languages and classification. In *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics* No. 14: Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas. Ed. by David Bradley. *Pacific Linguistics* A-86. p. 1-71.
- Casad, Eugene H. 1974. Dialect intelligibility testing. Norman, OK: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Cooke, Joseph R., J. Edwin Hudspith, and James A. Morris. 1976. Phlong (Pwo Karen of Hot District, Chiang Mai). In *Phonemes and Orthography: Language Planning in Ten Minority Languages of Thailand*, ed. by William A. Smalley. *Pacific Linguistics* C-43. pp 187-220.
- Culy, Martin M. 1993. A Preliminary Investigation of the Pwo Karen Dialects of Northern Thailand. Payap University Linguistics Department.
- Dee Kheng Puyoh. Personal communication. 8 August 2006.
- Delang, Claudio. 2003. *Living at the Edge of Thai Society: The Karen in the Highlands of Northern Thailand* (RoutledgeCurzon Studies on South East Asia). London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Fifteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>. Accessed 12 May 2006.
- Grimes, Joseph E. 1995. *Language Survey Reference Guide*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hamilton, James W. 1976. Pwo Karen: At the Edge of Mountain and Plain. In *American Ethnological Society Monographs*. St. Paul: West Publishing Co.
- Hamilton, James William. 1983. *Ban Hong: Social Structure and Economy of a Pwo Village in Northern Thailand*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.
- Keyes, Charles F. ed. 1979. *Ethnic adaptation and identity: the Karen on the Thai frontier with Burma*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

- Lalin Benjakul. 1997. A syntactical study of the Pwo Karen dialect in Huay-Hom-Nok village, tambon Tha Mae Lob, Mae Tha district, Lamphun province. Nakhon Pathom: Mahidol University Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development.
- Mann, Noel. 2004. Mainland Southeast Asia comparative wordlist for lexicostatistic studies. Chiang Mai: Payap University. ms.
- Manson, Ken. 2003. Karenic Language Relationships: A Lexical and Phonological Analysis. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University.
- Matisoff, James A. 1978. Variational semantics in Tibeto-Burman. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.
- Matisoff, James A., General Ed., and Ju Namkung, Ed. 1996. Phonological Inventories of Tibeto-Burman Languages. STEDT Monograph Series, No. 3. Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project. Berkeley, California: Center for Southeast Asia Studies, University of California. p 455.
- Naruemon Chuensukon. 1995. A phonological study of Pwo Karen at Huay-Hom-Nok village, Tambon Tha-Mae-Lob, Mae-Tha district, Lamphun province. Nakhon Pathom: Mahidol University Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development.
- MapMagic. Thailand. 2005. Bangkok: ThinkNet Co., Ltd.
- Nahhas, Ramzi W. 2007. Sociolinguistic Survey of Lawa in Thailand. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University.
- National Statistical Office Thailand. 2000. Population and Housing Census 2000. http://web.nso.go.th/pop2000/pop_e2000.htm. Accessed 5 March 2008.
- Phillips, Audra. n.d. Explanation of Pwo Karen Groups in Southeast Asia. ms.
- Phillips, Audra. 2009. Omkoi Pwo Karen Phonology and Orthography. In *PYU Working Papers in Linguistics 5*, Audra Phillips (ed.). Chiang Mai, Thailand: Payap University Linguistics Department.
- Phillips, Audra. Forthcoming. Lexical Similarity Counting in Pwo Karen.
- Renard, Ronald D. 1980. Kariang: History of Karen-Tai Relations from the Beginnings to 1923. University of Hawaii Doctoral Dissertation.
- Renard, Ronald D. 2003. Studying Peoples Often Called Karen. In *Living at the Edge of Thai Society: The Karen in the Highlands of Northern Thailand* (RoutledgeCurzon Studies on South East Asia), ed. by Claudio Delang. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Ritchie, Mark and Bai Yang. 1999. Demographic and Social Survey of Tribal People: Analysis of Existing Data. Center for the Coordination of Non-Governmental Tribal Development Organizations (CONTO) and World Concern (Thailand).

- Saman Yoklaksanaphrai. Personal communication. 24 October 2006.
- Stephens, Nancy. Personal communication. 23 September 2006.
- Swadesh, Morris. 1952. Lexico-statistic dating of prehistoric ethnic contacts. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. 96:152-163.
- Swadesh, Morris. 1955. Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatistic dating. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 21:121-137.
- Thailand Ministry of Education. Project on Research Study and Materials Development for Ethnic Minority in Omkoi District, Chiangmai Province, Thailand. 2004.
<http://www.moe.go.th/webpr/report/reportEng.html>. Accessed 3 July 2006.
- Wannemacher, Mark. 1994. Report on Visit to Pwo Christians in Phrae. ms.
- วุฒิ บุญเลิศ. 2003. เมื่อกะเหรี่ยงสวนผึ้งลุกขึ้นพูด. โครงการวิจัยประวัติศาสตร์ท้องถิ่นภาคกลาง. (Wut Boonlert. 2003. When the Suan Pheung Karen Get Up to Speak. Central Thailand Local History Research Project.)

Appendices

Appendix A: Pwo Karen villages in northern Thailand

On the following pages is a list of Pwo Karen villages in northern Thailand by province. The data on individual villages is more complete and reliable for those areas in which we were able to visit all the Pwo Karen villages, that is, Phrae, Chiang Rai (Doi Luang), and Lampang. For the other areas, most of the villages listed here were named by interviewees in other villages but in the same district. For Chiang Mai, we have more data for some districts and subdistricts than others. Specifically, we lack data on villages in Yang Piang subdistrict of Omkoi district and on villages in Doi Tao and Chom Thong districts.

Generally, we only include on this list villages which are majority-Pwo Karen or those in which Pwo Karen live there mixed with another group and we do not know which is the majority. There are some exceptions: Nong Dan and Umlo Mai, which have a majority of Sgaw Karen, are included here because we visited and interviewed Pwo Karen there, and the Chiang Rai Muang district villages are included since they are the only Pwo Karen villages in the area. In addition, we have not included villages that are no longer speaking Pwo Karen. An asterisk (*) indicates villages which we visited and/or for which we conducted a group interview. We have used abbreviations as follows: PK for Pwo Karen, SK for Sgaw Karen, and NT for Northern Thai.

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Huai Muang	ห้วยม่วง	Chiang Mai	Chom Thong				
Mae Lai Duang Chan	แม่ลายดวงจันทร์	Chiang Mai	Doi Tao				all PK except those married in
Wang Luang	วังหลวง	Chiang Mai	Doi Tao				
Ban Phui	บ้านพุย	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in
Kiw Leuk	กิวลือก	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in
Mae Heu	แม่เหือ	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in
Mae Lai*	แม่ลาย	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in
Mae Lai Nuea	แม่ลายเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in
Mae Lai Som Poi	แม่ลายสมปอย	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in
Mae Lai Tai	แม่ลายใต้	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in
Mae Lai Tian Ang	แม่ลายเตียนอาง	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang		200+	all PK except those married in
Mae Lai Tom Tao	แม่ลายตอมเต้า	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Luang			all PK except those married in

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Ban Mai Hokhi	บ้านใหม่ไฮค์	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Sali			all PK except those married in
Kong Pa	กองปะ	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Sali			all PK except those married in
Mae Tian	แม่เตียน	Chiang Mai	Hot	Bo Sali			all PK except those married in
Doi Aek	ดอยแอก	Chiang Mai	Hot	Nakho Ruea			
Nakho Ruea	นาคอเรือ	Chiang Mai	Hot	Nakho Ruea			mostly PK, also NT
Tin Tok	ตันทก	Chiang Mai	Hot	Nakho Ruea			all PK except those married in
Huai Bong	ห้วยบง	Chiang Mai	Hot				
Bai Na 1	ไบนานา 1	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Bai Na 2	ไบนานา 2	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Ban Nakian	บ้านนาเกียน	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian		100+	all PK
Hin Luang	หินหลวง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Huai Bong 1	ห้วยบง 1	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Huai Bong 2	ห้วยบง 2	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Huai Khrang	ห้วยคั้ง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Huai Kwang	ห้วยกว้าง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Huai Lok	ห้วยลอก	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Huai Som	ห้วยส้ม	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Huai Wai	ห้วยหวาย	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Khao Neung Dam	ข้าวทุ่งดำ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Kong Da	กองดา	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Kong Nae	กองแนะ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Kong Po Nuea	กองป้อเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Kong Po Tai	กองป้อใต้	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Hong Klang	แม่ฮ่องกลาง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Hong Nuea	แม่ฮ่องเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Hong Tai	แม่ฮ่องใต้	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Khong Klang	แม่โขงกลาง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Mae Khong Nuea	แม่โขงเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Khong Tai	แม่โขงใต้	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Koep	แม่เกียบ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Lok	แมลลอก	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Lok Nuea	แมลลอกเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae Sate	แมสสะเต	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae So Nuea	แมสสอเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Mae So Tai	แมสสอใต้	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Nong Ung Nuea	หนองฮ้างเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Nong Ung Tai	หนองฮ้างใต้	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Phalang Thae	พหลังแท	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Phi Pan Nuea	ฝิพานเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Phi Pan Tai	ฝิพานใต้	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Sala The	ศาลาเท	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Sangin Klang	สงินกลาง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Sangin Nuea	สงินเหนือ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Sangin Tai	สงินใต้	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Thi Kaye	ทีกะเย	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Thi Long	ทีลลอง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Thi Noe	ทีเนอะ	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Thu Chong	ทุดจอง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian			
Utum	อุตุ้ม	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Nakian	70		all PK
Ban Khun	บ้านขุน	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Omkoï			
Kaboe Din	กะเบอะดิน	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Omkoï	100+		all PK except those married in
Mae Ang Khang	แมอ่างขวาง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Omkoï			
Mae Tom*	แมต้อม	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Omkoï	13 & 5	800+	all PK except those married in
Mahin Luang	มะหินหลวง	Chiang Mai	Omkoï	Omkoï			

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Makok Sam Ton	มะกอกสามตัน	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Pong Din	โป่งดิน	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Thung Chamroeng	ทุ่งจำเริง	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Thung Kwang	ทุ่งกว้าง	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Tung Loi	ต่งลอย	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Tung Ting	ต่งตึง	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Yang Kao	ยางแก้ว	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Yang Pao	ยางเปา	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Yong Keu	ยองเกือ	Chiang Mai	Omko	Omko			
Yang Khrok	ยางครก	Chiang Mai	Omko	Yang Piang			
Yang Piang	ยางเปียง	Chiang Mai	Omko	Yang Piang			
Ban Doi*	บ้านดอย	Chiang Rai	Doi Luang	Chok Chai	3	165	all PK except those married in (SK, NT, westerner)
Nong Dan*	หนองด่าน	Chiang Rai	Doi Luang	Chok Chai	6	140	mostly SK, also PK, NT, Isan
Huai Sak*	ห้วยสัก	Chiang Rai	Doi Luang	Nong Pa Ko	1	123	all PK except those married in (SK,NT)
Pa Sang Ngam*	ป่าซางงาม	Chiang Rai	Doi Luang	Nong Pa Ko	2	130	all PK except those married in (SK,NT)
Nam Lat*	น้ำลาด	Chiang Rai	Muang	Rim Kok	3	370+	mostly NT, also PK and other
Ruam Mit	รวมมิตร	Chiang Rai	Muang	Mae Yao			mostly SK, also PK
Pong Nam Tok ⁴⁴	โป่งน้ำตก	Chiang Rai	Muang	Ban Du			mostly NT, also PK
Huai Leuk*	ห้วยลึก	Chiang Rai	Wiang Chai	Don Sila	10	see note ⁴⁵	
Thung Khong*	ทุ่งโค้ง	Chiang Rai	Wiang Chai	Don Sila	10	120+	all PK except those married in (NT,SK)
Ban Klang* ⁴⁶	บ้านกลาง	Lampang	Mae Mo	Ban Dong	5	60	all PK except those married in (SK, NT, Lahu)
Huai Tat*	ห้วยตาต	Lampang	Mae Mo	Ban Dong	4	40	mostly PK, also Khmu, NT, SK, Mien
Mae San*	แม่ส้าน	Lampang	Mae Mo	Ban Dong	6	110	mostly PK, also Mien, NT, SK

⁴⁴ Also called Ban Fai (บ้านฝาย).

⁴⁵ Houses counted under Thung Khong, since these two villages make up only one Moo.

⁴⁶ Also known by some as [bân nók], the name of the place Ban Klang people lived before settling in their current location.

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Mae Hang Tai*	แม่ฮ้างไต้	Lampang	Ngao	Na Kae	4	100+	mostly PK, also SK, Akha, NT
Huai La	ห้วยหละ	Lamphun	Ban Hong	Pa Phlu		500+	mostly PK
Huai Thok*	ห้วยโทก	Lamphun	Ban Hong	Pa Phlu	11	150	mostly PK, also NT
Huai Ya Sai	ห้วยหย้าไซ	Lamphun	Li	Dong Dam			
Pa Kha	ป่าคา	Lamphun	Li	Dong Dam			
Ban Mai Nam Pheung	บ้านใหม่น้ำผึ้ง	Lamphun	Li	Li			PK & NT mixed
Mae Ya Wua	แม่หย้าวัว	Lamphun	Li	Li		10+	
Naklang*	นากกลาง	Lamphun	Li	Li	17 & 2	353	mostly PK, also NT
Huai Bong	ห้วยบง	Lamphun	Li	Mae Teun			
Nam Dip Chomphu ⁴⁷	น้ำดิบชมพู	Lamphun	Li	Pa Phai			
Huai Kaew	ห้วยแก้ว	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Mae Lop			mostly PK, also NT
Luang Mai	หลวงใหม่	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Mae Lop			mostly PK, also NT
Mon Hin Khaw	มอนหินขาว	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Mae Lop			mostly PK, also NT
Huai Hia	ห้วยเหี้ยะ	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Mae Lop			mostly PK, also NT
Huai Hom Nai ⁴⁸	ห้วยฮ่อมไน	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Mae Lop		100+	mostly PK, also NT
Huai Hom Nok	ห้วยฮ่อมนอก	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Mae Lop		200+	mostly PK
Khun Kong	ขุนกอง	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Mae Lop			
Mae Lek*	แม่เหล็ก	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Tha Khum Ngoen	8	96	mostly PK, also NT
Huai Pang	ห้วยป่าง	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Thakat			
Mae Khanat (Luang)	แม่ขนาต(หลวง)	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Thakat		400+	mostly PK
Pa Lau	ป่าเลา	Lamphun	Mae Tha	Thakat			mostly PK
Huai Ping	ห้วยปิ้ง	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang	Ban Puang		200+	mostly PK, also SK & NT
Nong Lak*	หนองหลัก	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang	Takhian Pom	9	200	mostly PK, also SK, NT
Ban Mai	บ้านใหม่	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Doi Wong	ดอยวง	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				

⁴⁷ Also called Pha Pun (ผาปูน).

⁴⁸ Also called Kasalong (กาสะลอง).

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Hua Khua	หัวขัว	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Mae Saem	แม่แสม	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Mai Sali ⁴⁹	ไม้อสลี	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Nong Pham	หนองผา	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Pa Ko	ปากอ	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Pong Daeng	โป่งแดง	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				PK & SK mixed
San Chai	สันชัย	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Huai Pong	ห้วยโป่ง	Lamphun	Thung Hua Chang				
Ban Pong	บ้านโป่ง	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Ban Kat			mostly PK, also NT & SK
Dong Ku	ดงกู่	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Ho			mostly PK
Dong Luang	ดงหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Ho			mostly PK
Huai Pla Kang	ห้วยปลากั้ง	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Ho			mostly PK
Khun Wong Nuea	ขุนวงเหนือ	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Ho			mostly PK
Khun Wong Tai	ขุนวงใต้	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Ho			mostly PK
Mae Chang	แม่จาง	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Ho			mostly PK
Mae Sawan Noi	แม่สวรรค์น้อย	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Ho			mostly PK
Dong Sangat ⁵⁰	ดงสงัด	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Saring			mostly PK, also NT
Huai Bong	ห้วยบง	Mae Hong Son	Mae Saring	Mae Yuam			mostly PK, also NT
Bo Sali	บอสลี	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			PK & NT mixed
Huai Chang	ห้วยช้าง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Huai Kai Pa	ห้วยไคป่า	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Huai Wok	ห้วยวอก	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Klong Ton	คลองตัน	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Kong Koi	กองก่อ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			PK & NT mixed
Mae Phae Luang	แม่แพหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK

⁴⁹ Often called Mae Sali (แม่สลี).

⁵⁰ Also called Thung Phraw (ทุ่งพร้าว).

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Mae Salong	แมสลอง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			PK & SK mixed
Pha Ang	ผาอ่าง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Pha Ang Luang	ผาอ่างหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Pha Yoe	ผาเยอ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Tha Fai	ท่าฝาย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Thung Yong	ทุ่งยง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Kong Koi			mostly PK
Khon Pheung	คองผึ้ง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Khatuan			PK & NT mixed
Kong Ka	ก้องกะ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Khatuan			mostly PK
Mae Ok Klang	แมออกกลาง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Khatuan			mostly PK
Mae Ok Nuea	แมออกเหนือ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Khatuan			mostly PK
Mae Ok Tai	แมออกใต้	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Khatuan			mostly PK
Mae Umda Nuea*	แมอุมดาเหนือ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Khatuan	8	83	all PK
Mae Umda Tai	แมอุมดาใต้	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Khatuan			mostly PK
Huai Kratai	ห้วยกระต่าย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Sam Laep			mostly PK
Khroe Bo	โคระบอ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Sam Laep			mostly PK
Khroe Bo Noi	โคระบอน้อย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Sam Laep			mostly PK
Mae Khae Luang	แมคะหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Sam Laep			mostly PK
Mae Khae Noi	แมคะน้อย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Sam Laep			mostly PK
Mae Lama Noi	แมลามาน้อย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Sam Laep			mostly PK
Mae To La	แมตอละ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Sam Laep			PK & SK mixed
Bo Lu	บอหลู	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Cho Reu	จอร์อู	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Cho Reu Nuea	จอร์อูเหนือ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Cho Reu Tai	จอร์อูใต้	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Huai Manam	ห้วยมะน้ำ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Huai Muang	ห้วยม่วง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Klo Ta Po	โกลตะโป	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Ko Bi Khi	โกะบิคี	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Ko Cha	โกจา	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Kong U	กองอุ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae Bo	แมบอ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Mae Haet	แมแฮด	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Mae Hat (Khi)*	แมหาด(คี)	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat	7	85	all PK except those married in (SK)
Mae Kha	แมคะ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae Kha Klang	แมคะกลาง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae Kha Nuea	แมคะเหนือ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae Kha Tai	แมคะใต้	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae Khu Tha	แมคู้ถ่า	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae La O	แมลาโอะ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Mae Lui Klang	แมหลยกลาง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Mae Pa Luang	แมปะหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae Pa Noi	แมปะน้อย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			mostly PK
Mae Phae Luang	แมแพหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Mae Phae Noi	แมแพน้อย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Mae Suat	แมสวด	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & NT mixed
Pha Daeng	ผาแดง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Sop Khong*	สบโขง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat	10	73	all PK except those married in
Umlo Mai*	อุมโละใหม่	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat	5	57	mostly SK, also PK
Umlo Nuea	อุมโละเหนือ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Mae Suat			PK & SK mixed
Huai Chai Yong	ห้วยไชยยงค์	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei		59	mostly PK
Huai Kong Mun	ห้วยกองมูล	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Huai Nam Sai	ห้วยน้ำใส	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Huai Thi Sa	ห้วยทีชะ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Huai Ya	ห้วยหญ้า	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			PK & SK mixed

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Khun Mae Khatuan	ขุนแม่คะตวน	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			PK & SK mixed
Khun Mae Khatuan Kaw	ขุนแม่คะตวนเก่า	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			PK & SK mixed
Klo Kho	กลอโค๊ะ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Lekho	เลโค๊ะ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Mae Khatuan	แม่คะตวน	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			PK & NT mixed
Mae Lama Luang	แมลามหาหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Mae Pong	แม่ปอง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Mae Thalu Klang	แม่ทะลกลาง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			PK, SK & NT mixed
Mae Thalu Nuea	แม่ทะลุน้อย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			PK, SK & NT mixed
Mae Thalu Tai	แม่ทะลใต้	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			PK, SK & NT mixed
Nam Ok Hu	น้ำอวกฮู	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Pu Kaew	ปู่แก้ว	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Seumeu Luang*	ชื่อหม้อหลวง	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei	6	77	all PK except those married in (SK)
Seumeu Noi*	ชื่อหม้อน้อย	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei	6	30	mostly PK
Thi Eu Leu	ทีเอ้อลือ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Thi Ya Phoe	ทียาเฟอ	Mae Hong Son	Sop Moei	Sop Moei			mostly PK
Khang Tana*	ค่างตะนะ	Phrae	Long	Bo Lek Long	6	99	all PK except those married in (NT,Isan)
Mae Chong Fai*	แม่จองไฟ	Phrae	Long	Huai Or	2	131	all PK except those married in (NT,Isan)
Ban Salok*	บ้านสลก	Phrae	Wang Chin	Mae Koeng	4 & 8	292	all PK except those married in (NT,Isan)
Khang Chai*	ค่างใจ	Phrae	Wang Chin	Mae Koeng	7	245	all PK except those married in (NT)
Mae Sin*	แมสิน	Phrae	Wang Chin	Mae Koeng	6	182	all PK except those married in
Ban Pong *	บ้านปง	Phrae	Wang Chin	Mae Pak	1	124	all PK except those married in (NT,CT,Isan)
Mae Haet*	แม่แฮด	Phrae	Wang Chin	Mae Phung	5	105	all PK except those married in (NT)
Mae Phung Luang* ⁵¹	แม่พุงหลวง	Phrae	Wang Chin	Mae Phung		161	all PK except those married in (NT,Isan)
Mae Teut*	แม่ตืด	Phrae	Wang Chin	Mae Phung	6	163	all PK except those married in (SK,Thai)

⁵¹ Formerly a part of Khang Pin Chai village, now a separate administrative unit but in the same location.

Village Name	Village Name	Province (Changwat)	District (Amphoe)	Subdistrict (Tambon)	Moo #	# of houses	Ethnic makeup
Mae La Yang	แม่หละยาง	Tak	Tha Song Yang	Mae La			mostly PK
Riang Kaew	เรียงแก้ว	Tak	Tha Song Yang	Mae Song			mostly PK
Huai Maeng Bung*	ห้วยแมงบุง	Tak	Tha Song Yang	Mae Tan	7	see note ⁵²	mostly PK, also SK, in mixed families
Huai Pu Kaeng	ห้วยปูแกง	Tak	Tha Song Yang	Mae Tan	5		mostly PK
Khun Huai Mae Tan	ขุนห้วยแม่ตัน	Tak	Tha Song Yang	Mae Tan	6		mostly PK
Klae Beu Cho	เกลบือโจ๊ะ	Tak	Tha Song Yang	Mae Tan	8		mostly PK
Mae Pho*	แม่โพ	Tak	Tha Song Yang	Mae Tan	7	361	mostly PK, also SK, in mixed families

⁵² Houses counted under Mae Pho, since these two villages make up only one Moo.

Appendix B: Population estimation procedures

We used several methods for estimating population, according to how much data we had for various areas.

First, in some areas we were able to visit every Pwo Karen village and make a fairly accurate estimate of population. These areas included Phrae, Chiang Rai (Doi Luang), and Lampang. We based our population estimate on interviews in each village, in which we asked the number of houses and people and the ethnic makeup, usually from the village leader. To determine the number of Pwo Karen houses in the area, we subtracted the number of non-Pwo Karen households reported in each village from the total number of houses, and then added together the number of Pwo Karen households in all the villages. Then, we estimated the average number of people per household by dividing the number of houses by the number of people for villages in which we had both figures. Next, we multiplied the number of Pwo Karen houses by the average number of people per household. We rounded the final estimate down to the nearest 100. For example, in Phrae province, we found from interviews that there were 1,552 Pwo Karen households and an average of 3.9 people per household. The population estimate was then 1,552 multiplied by 3.9, which equals 6,052.8, and rounded down to 6,000.

Second, in Lamphun and Mae Hong Son, we were able to visit several but not all the Pwo Karen villages. We base our estimate on interviews in some of the villages in that area, in which we asked the number of houses and people, the ethnic makeup of the village, and the names of other nearby Pwo Karen villages. In a few cases we met individuals from villages we did not visit that were able to tell us numbers of houses and ethnic makeup of those villages. To determine the number of Pwo Karen houses in the area, we used the number of houses per village in the villages for which we had data to find an average number of houses per village. Then, we calculated the average number of people per household, as previously described. Next, we multiplied the number of people per household by the average number of houses per village. Then, we multiplied that figure by the number of villages in the area that were reported to be homogenous or nearly homogenous Pwo Karen in ethnicity. For villages that were reported to be mixed Northern Thai and Pwo Karen or Sgaw Karen and Pwo Karen, we used the same calculation but divided it in half for a rough estimate of the number of Pwo Karen people in those villages. Then, by adding the number of Pwo Karen people in homogenous villages to the number of Pwo Karen people in mixed villages, we found an estimate of the Pwo Karen population in the area and rounded it down to the nearest 1,000.⁵³

Third, in some places we had very little demographic data but still needed to make a rough estimate. We only visited one village in Muang district of Chiang Rai, and it was a very large village. Therefore, we could not assume that the other villages were the same size as the one we visited. Also, there are no ethnically homogenous villages. So, we simply estimated the population at less than 1,000, for Pwo Karen living in three villages where they are the minority in each. In Tak, we only visited one village, and we were told the population of that village plus the adjacent one, in the same Moo (village administrative unit). We divided that number by two, for population per village, and multiplied it by 7 villages. Our interviewees also estimated that their village is only about 70% Pwo Karen, and the rest are Sgaw Karen. So, we then multiplied the number by 70%, assuming that the other villages are in similar

⁵³ In the first situation, we rounded down to the nearest 100, since the estimates were more accurate and generally low (between 1,000 and 7,000). In the second situation, the estimates were generally larger and less accurate, so we rounded down to the nearest 1,000, to avoid overestimating the population.

proportion, in an area that is dominated by Sgaw Karen. Then we rounded down to the nearest 1,000.

For Chiang Mai, we used Culy's population estimate (1993).

Finally, we compared our estimates with government census data (district total population and province total Karen population) to ensure that our estimates were not unreasonable for each area.

Appendix C: Village-level group interview

The village-level group interview was modified according to location, because sociolinguistic factors were not the same in each area. The village level group interview used in Mae Hong Son and Tak provinces follows, in English and Central Thai.⁵⁴

ORAL CONSENT Given: <input type="checkbox"/> Not Given: <input type="checkbox"/>	
1. Village Name	
2. Interview Location	
3. Interviewer Name	
4. Writer Name (if not interviewer)	
5. Date/Time of Day	
6. Language of Elicitation	
7. Language of Response	
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)	
9. Comments	
Background Information for Each Interviewee	
10. Gender	
11. Name	ขอโทษ ชื่ออะไร
12. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร
13. What work do you do?	ทำงานอะไร
14. Were you able to go to school? to what level?	ได้เรียนหนังสือไหม ถึงชั้นอะไร
15. Where you were born and where did you grow up?	เกิดที่ไหน เติบโตที่ไหน
16. What languages can you speak? ⁵⁵ (distinguish Northern Thai and Central Thai)	พูดภาษาอะไรได้บ้าง
17. Which language do you speak best?	พูดภาษาอะไรเก่งที่สุด
18. ... second best?	...เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง
19. Where was your father born?	พ่อเกิดที่ไหน
20. Your mother?	...แม่ละ
21. What people group is your father?	พ่อเป็นคนอะไร
22. Your mother?	...แม่ละ
23. (if married) Where was your spouse born?	แฟนเกิดที่ไหน
24. What people group is your spouse?	แฟนเป็นคนอะไร
Interview Questions	
25. The Thai name for this village is [name of village], right? Is there a Karen name for this village?	หมู่บ้านนี้ชื่อไทยชื่อว่า [name of village] ใช่ไหม มีชื่อกะเหรี่ยงไหม
26. What does this (Karen) name mean?	ชื่อนี้หมายความว่าอะไร
27. Are there any other names for this village?	มีชื่ออื่นไหม
28. What Moo is this?	ที่นี่หมู่อะไร
29. What Tambon is this village in?	อยู่ตำบลอะไร
30. What Amphoe is this village in?	อยู่อำเภออะไร
31. How many houses are in this village?	หมู่บ้านนี้มีทั้งหมดกี่หลังคาเรือน

⁵⁴ During the interviews, personal pronouns were changed and polite particles added as appropriate.

⁵⁵ If the interviewee did not name commonly spoken languages for that area, the interviewer prompted him or her by asking, for example, “And Northern Thai, do you speak it?” Otherwise, data would have been incomplete, because interviewees often leave out languages they speak out of modesty, or because they group related languages together. For example, they may name only Karen, when actually they can speak both Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen.

32. How many people live in this village?	มีชาวบ้านที่อาศัยอยู่ในหมู่บ้านนี้ทั้งหมดมีกี่คน
33. Are all the people Pwo Karen ⁵⁶ or are there others living here too?	ในหมู่บ้านนี้มีแต่ กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ ไหม หรือมีคนเผ่าอื่นอาศัยอยู่ด้วย
34. The other groups, are they whole families that have moved in, or just people who married in?	คนเผ่าอื่นมาเป็นครอบครัวหรือมาแต่งงานที่นี่
35. How many families/people [of each group]?	มีกี่ครอบครัว มีกี่คน [of each group]
36. What religions do the people here practice? Ask for percentages of each	คนที่นี่นับถือศาสนาอะไรบ้าง
37. Is there a school in this village?	หมู่บ้านนี้มีโรงเรียนไหม
38. (If there is a school) To what level?	ถึงชั้นอะไร
39. (If there is a school) Do any students come from other villages? What villages? From what tribes?	มีนักเรียนที่มาจากหมู่บ้านอื่น ๆ ไหม หมู่บ้านอะไรบ้าง เป็นคนอะไร
40. Do children from this village go to other places for school? Where? For what levels?	เด็กๆ ของหมู่บ้านนี้ไปเรียนหนังสือที่อื่นบ้างไหม ที่ไหน ไปเรียนชั้นอะไร
41. How long ago did the Pwo Karen come and establish this village?	กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ มาตั้งหมู่บ้านนี้กี่ปีแล้ว
42. Where did the first generation move from?	รุ่นแรกที่มาอยู่ เขาย้ายมาจากที่ไหน
43. What all languages can the people in this village speak?	ในหมู่บ้านนี้ชาวบ้านพูดภาษาอะไรได้บ้าง
44. Can the non-Pwo Karen people in this village speak Pwo Karen?	คนที่ไม่ใช่กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ในหมู่บ้านนี้ เขาพูดภาษา กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ได้ไหม
45. Is there anyone in this village who does not speak any Central Thai? a. What types of people?	ในหมู่บ้านนี้มีคนที่พูดภาษาไทยกลางไม่ได้ไหม เป็น คนแบบไหน
46. Is there anyone in this village who does not speak any Northern Thai? a. What types of people?	ในหมู่บ้านนี้มีคนที่พูดคำเมืองไม่ได้ไหม เป็นคนแบบไหน
47. (If applicable) Is there anyone in this village who does not speak any Sgaw Karen? a. What types of people?	ในหมู่บ้านนี้มีคนที่พูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงสะกอไม่ได้ไหม เป็นคนแบบไหน
48. What language do (Pwo Karen) children in this village usually speak first?	ปกติเด็กๆ (กะเหรี่ยงโปว์) ที่หมู่บ้านนี้จะพูดภาษาอะไร เป็นภาษาแรก
49. Do the children in this village speak Pwo Karen well and clearly?	พวกพี่ คิดว่าเด็ก ๆ ในหมู่บ้านนี้ พูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ เก่งไหม ชัดไหม
50. Are there any (Pwo Karen) children in this village who can't speak Pwo Karen? a. (If there are) Why can't they speak it?	ในหมู่บ้านนี้มีเด็ก ๆ (กะเหรี่ยงโปว์) ที่พูดภาษา กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ไม่ได้ มีไหม เพราะอะไรที่เขาพูดไม่ได้
51. When the children in this village have never even gone to school at all, when they are still small, can they speak Central Thai?	ตอนที่เด็ก ๆ หมู่บ้านนี้ยังไม่เคยไปโรงเรียนเลย ตอนที่ ยังเล็กอยู่ เขาพูดภาษาไทยกลางได้หรือยัง
52. When the children in this village have never even gone to school at all, when they are still small, can they speak Northern Thai?	ตอนที่เด็ก ๆ หมู่บ้านนี้ยังไม่เคยไปโรงเรียนเลย ตอนที่ ยังเล็กอยู่ เขาพูดคำเมืองได้หรือยัง
53. (If applicable) When the children in this village have never even gone to school at all, when they are still small, can they speak Sgaw Karen?	ตอนที่เด็ก ๆ หมู่บ้านนี้ยังไม่เคยไปโรงเรียนเลย ตอนที่ ยังเล็กอยู่ เขาพูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงสะกอได้หรือยัง

⁵⁶ Many Pwo Karen do not use or know the Thai term for “Pwo Karen”, that is, [kà rìan pō:]. Therefore, we sometimes substituted the terms [kà rìan], [pʰlôn], or [siw] as appropriate, so that the interviewee would understand the meaning. See section 1.1.

54. When the children in this village play together, what language do they use?	ตอนที่เด็กๆ หมู่บ้านนี้เล่นด้วยกัน เขาใช้ภาษาอะไร
55. Do you think that in 20 years there will still be children in this village who can speak Pwo Karen?	พวกพี่ คิดว่าอีก 20 ปีข้างหน้ายังจะมีเด็ก ๆ ในหมู่บ้านนี้ที่พูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ได้ จะมีไหม
56. These days, who do the young people of this village marry more often: Pwo Karen or non-Pwo Karen?	สมัยนี้หนุ่มสาวหมู่บ้านนี้แต่งงานกับใครมากกว่ากัน คนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์หรือคนไม่ใช่กะเหรี่ยงโปว์
57. If a Pwo Karen and Northern Thai are married and live in this village, what language do their children speak first, Northern Thai or Pwo Karen? a. Why? b. (if not Pwo Karen) Can the children also still speak Pwo Karen?	ถ้ามีกะเหรี่ยงโปว์แต่งงานกับคนเมืองและอยู่หมู่บ้านนี้ ลูกของเขาจะพูดภาษาอะไรได้ก่อน คำเมืองหรือกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ เพราะอะไร แล้วลูกพูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ด้วยได้ไหม
58. (If applicable) If a Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen are married and live in this village, what language do their children speak first, Sgaw Karen or Pwo Karen? a. Why? b. (if not Pwo Karen) Can the children also still speak Pwo Karen?	ถ้ามีกะเหรี่ยงโปว์แต่งงานกับคนกะเหรี่ยงสะกอและอยู่หมู่บ้านนี้ ลูกของเขาจะพูดภาษาอะไรได้ก่อน กะเหรี่ยงสะกอหรือกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ เพราะอะไร แล้วลูกพูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ด้วยได้ไหม
59. What other Pwo Karen villages are there in this Amphoe?	อำเภอนี้มีหมู่บ้านกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ที่ไหนบ้าง
60. Is [name of each village] all Pwo Karen or mixed with other groups?	ในหมู่บ้าน [name of each village] มีแต่กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ไหม หรือมีเผ่าอื่นอาศัยอยู่ด้วย
61. Are there any villages where Pwo Karen have stopped speaking Pwo Karen?	มีหมู่บ้านไหนไหม ที่คนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์เลิกพูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์แล้ว
62. What villages speak Pwo Karen exactly the same as here?	มีหมู่บ้านไหนบ้างที่เขาพูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์เหมือนที่นี่ทุกอย่าง
63. What places speak Pwo Karen a little different than here but you can still understand?	มีที่ไหนบ้างที่พูดภาษา กะเหรี่ยงโปว์อาจจะต่างกันนิดหน่อยกับที่นี่แต่ยังฟังเข้าใจกันได้
64. Where are the places that speak Pwo Karen very different from here?	มีที่ไหนบ้างที่พูดภาษา กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ที่ต่างกันมากกับที่นี่
65. The places that speak a little different... [name the places] do you understand everything or some things (or nothing at all)?	สำหรับ [name the places] ที่พูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ต่างกันนิดหน่อยกับที่นี่ เข้าใจคำพูดของเขาทุกอย่างหรือบางอย่าง (หรือไม่เข้าใจเลย)
66. When you talk with Pwo Karen people from there, what language do you usually use with each other?	ถ้าพวกพี่พบกับคนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ จากที่นั่น มักจะใช้ภาษาอะไรพูดคุยกัน
67. The places that speak very different... [name the places] do you understand everything, some things, or nothing at all?	สำหรับ [name the places] ที่พูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ต่างกันมากกับที่นี่ เข้าใจคำพูดของเขาทุกอย่างหรือบางอย่าง หรือไม่เข้าใจเลย
68. When you talk with Pwo Karen people from there, what language do you use with each other?	ถ้าพวกพี่พบกับคนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์จากที่นั่น มักจะใช้ภาษาอะไรพูดคุยกัน
69. (If CM not mentioned) What about Pwo Karen from Chiang Mai (Omkoi), can you understand their language?	แล้วกะเหรี่ยงโปว์จากเชียงใหม่)อมก๋อย(ละ เข้าใจคำพูดของเขาไหม
70. (For Tak interviews only: if southern Tak not mentioned) What about Pwo Karen from southern Tak (Phop Phra or Umphang districts), can you understand their language?	แล้วกะเหรี่ยงโปว์จากตอนใต้ของจังหวัดตาก)อ .พพบพระ หรือ อ .อุ้มผาง (ละ เข้าใจคำพูดของเขาไหม
71. Do the people of this village ever travel to Pwo Karen villages in other provinces? a. To where? b. What do they go to do?	คนหมู่บ้านนี้ไปเยี่ยมหมู่บ้านกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ที่จังหวัดอื่นบ้างไหม ไปที่ไหน ไปทำอะไร
72. Do the people of this village ever marry Pwo Karen	คนหมู่บ้านนี้แต่งงานกับกะเหรี่ยงโปว์จากจังหวัดอื่น

from other provinces? a. From where? b. How many?	บ้างไหม จากจังหวัดอะไร มีกี่คน
73. Are any young people from this village now living in other places like Chiang Mai or Bangkok? a. Why do they go? b. Right now about how many are gone? c. Do they usually marry and have children there or come back here?	มีหนุ่มสาวจากหมู่บ้านนี้ ไปอยู่ที่อื่นบ้างไหม เช่น เชียงใหม่ กรุงเทพฯ ฯลฯ ไปทำอะไรบ้าง ตอนนี้ไปกันประมาณกี่คน ปกติเขาจะสร้างครอบครัวที่นั่น หรือกลับมาสร้างครอบครัวที่นี่
74. In your opinion, in what place is Pwo Karen spoken the nicest and clearest? a. Why do you feel this way?	ในความคิดของพวกพี่ คนที่ไหนพูดภาษา กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ เพราะที่พูด ชัดที่สุด ทำไมจึงรู้สึกอย่างนี้
(Continue with next section in Christian villages only)	
75. How many people come to the church in this village on Sundays?	ปกติคริสตจักรที่นี่มีประมาณกี่คนมานับสัปดาห์อาทิตย์
76. Is it all Pwo Karen people or are there other groups too?	มีแต่ กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ไหมคะ หรือมีคนเผ่าอื่นด้วย
77. What language is used in church for... singing?	ที่โบสถ์ใช้ภาษาอะไรในการร้องเพลง
78. preaching?	ในการเทศนา
79. prayer?	ในการอธิษฐาน
80. testimonies?	ในการเป็นพยาน
81. (If not Pwo Karen) Why don't they use Pwo Karen?	ทำไมจึงไม่ได้ใช้ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์
82. What language(s) Bible is used to read aloud in church?	ที่โบสถ์ใช้พระคัมภีร์เป็นภาษาอะไรในการอ่านออกเสียงให้คนฟัง
83. Is there anyone in the church who can't understand [the language used for Bible reading]?	มีคนที่ไม่เข้าใจภาษา [the language used for Bible reading] ไหม
84. (If Pwo Karen not mentioned) Have you ever tried to read a Pwo Karen Bible? Did you like it? Do you understand it? (Find out whether PK Bible from Myanmar or from northern Thailand.)	พี่เคยลองอ่านพระคัมภีร์ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ไหม ชอบไหม เข้าใจไหม
85. (If Northern PK Bible not mentioned) Have you ever seen the Pwo Karen Bible from Chiang Mai? Can you read it? Do you like it?	พี่เคยเห็นพระคัมภีร์ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์จาก เชียงใหม่ไหม อ่านออกไหม ชอบไหม

Appendix D: Individual interview

The individual interviews varied slightly according to location, because sociolinguistic factors were not the same in each area. The questionnaire used in Chiang Rai province follows, with an individual “Christian literature interview” used only with Christians in Phrae province afterwards.

Individual interview sample

ORAL CONSENT	Given: <input type="checkbox"/> Not Given: <input type="checkbox"/>
1. Interviewee Number	
2. Interview Location	
3. Interviewer Name	
4. Writer Name (if not interviewer)	
5. Date/Time of Day	
6. Language of Elicitation	
7. Language of Response	
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)	
9. Comments	
10. Subject Gender	
If this interviewee was already an RTT subject, note name, ask 13 & 14 and then from 35 on.	
11. What is your name?	ขอโทษ ชื่ออะไร
12. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร
13. Are you married already or not yet?	แต่งงานแล้วหรือยัง
14. (if married) How many children do you have?	มีลูกกี่คน
15. What is your religion?	นับถือศาสนาอะไร
16. What is (was) your work?	(เคย) ทำงานอะไร
17. Were you able to go to school? to what level?	ได้เรียนหนังสือไหม ถึงชั้นอะไร
18. Where were you born? (If unknown village, ask amphoe and people group of that village.)	เกิดที่ไหน
19. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปีไหม ... ที่ไหน ...เมื่อไหร่ ...นานเท่าไร
20. So you grew up here, right? (modify wording if necessary)	เติบโตที่นี่ ใช่ไหม
21. And now you live here right? (Ask only if not sure)	ตอนนี้อยู่ที่นี้ ใช่ไหม
22. What languages can you speak? ⁵⁷ (distinguish Northern and Central Thai)	พูดภาษาอะไรได้บ้าง
23. What language did you speak first?	พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก
24. Which language do you speak best?	พูดภาษาอะไรเก่งที่สุด
25. ... second best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง
26. ... third best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สาม
27. Where is your father from?	พ่อเกิดที่ไหน
28. Your mother?	...แม่ละ
29. What people group is your father?	พ่อเป็นคนอะไร
30. Your mother?	...แม่ละ
31. When your father was a child, what language did he speak as his first language?	ตอนพ่อเป็นเด็ก พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรเป็นภาษาแรก
32. Your mother?	...แม่ละ

⁵⁷ If the interviewee did not name commonly spoken languages for that area, the interviewer prompted him or her by asking, for example, “And Northern Thai, do you speak it?”

33. What language did your father usually speak to you when you were a child?	ตอนที่เป็เด็ก พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรกับพี
34. Your mother?	...แม่ละ
35. (If not obvious) When you were a child, what language did your parents speak to each other?	ตอนที่เป็เด็ก พ่อกับแม่พูดภาษาอะไรกัน
36. (if married) Where was your spouse born?	แฟนเกิดที่ไหน
37. (if married) What people group is your spouse from?	แฟนเป็นคนอะไร
38. (if married) What language did your spouse speak first as a child?	แฟนพูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก
<i>SCREENING CRITERIA for SLQ: Subject has lived here for a significant amount of recent time and has at least one Pwo Karen parent.</i>	
Now I'm going to ask you some questions about what languages you use in your everyday life.	ต่อไปจะถามเกี่ยวกับว่าใช้ภาษาอะไรบ้างในชีวิตประจำวัน
39. What language do you usually use:	ปกติพีพูดภาษาอะไร...
a. with your spouse?	กับแฟนของพี
b. (If have children) with your children?	กับลูกของพี
c. with your parents?	กับพ่อแม่ของพี
d. with your siblings?	กับพี่น้องของพี
e. (if younger) with your grandparents?	กับปู่ย่าตายายของพี
f. (if older) with your grandchildren (and nieces/nephews)?	กับหลานของพี
g. with your Pwo Karen friends in this village?	กับเพื่อนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ของพีที่อยู่หมู่บ้านนี้
h. with non-Pwo Karen people in this village?	กับคนเผ่าอื่นในหมู่บ้านนี้
i. in religious ceremonies?	เวลาทำพิธีเกี่ยวกับศาสนา
j. (if not obvious) So, in your everyday life, what language do you use the most?	ถ้ายังงั้น ในชีวิตประจำวัน พีพูดภาษาอะไรมากที่สุด
40. (If have children) Do your children ever speak Northern Thai or Central Thai at home?	ลูกของพีเคยพูดภาษาไทยหรือคำเมืองที่บ้านไหม
41. (If yes) How do you feel when they speak Northern Thai/Central Thai at home?	เวลาเขาพูดภาษาไทย/คำเมืองที่บ้าน พีรู้สึกยังไงเพราะอะไร
42. (If feeling expressed) Why?	
Now I'm going to ask you about children in this village.	ต่อไปจะถามเกี่ยวกับเด็ก ๆ ในหมู่บ้านนี้
43. Usually, what language do children in this village speak as their first language?	ปกติเด็กๆ ที่หมู่บ้านนี้จะพูดภาษาอะไรเป็นภาษาแรก
44. When the children in this village play together, what language do they use?	ตอนที่เด็กๆ ที่หมู่บ้านนี้เล่นด้วยกัน เขาใช้ภาษาอะไร
a. (If not Pwo Karen) How do you feel about that?	พีรู้สึกยังไงเพราะอะไร
b. (If feeling expressed) Why?	
45. When the children in this village have never even gone to school at all, when they are still small, can they speak Northern Thai?	ตอนที่เด็ก ๆ หมู่บ้านนี้ยังไม่เคยไปโรงเรียนเลย ตอนที่ยังเล็กอยู่ เขาพูดคำเมืองได้หรือยัง
46. When the children in this village have never even gone to school at all, when they are still small, can they speak Central Thai?	ตอนที่เด็ก ๆ หมู่บ้านนี้ยังไม่เคยไปโรงเรียนเลย ตอนที่ยังเล็กอยู่ เขาพูดภาษาไทยกลางได้หรือยัง
47. Do you think Pwo Karen children in this village speak Pwo Karen well?	พีคิดว่าเด็กๆ กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ในหมู่บ้านนี้พูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์เก่งไหม
48. Do you think that in 20 years there will still be children in this village who can speak Pwo Karen?	พีคิดว่าอีก 20 ปีข้างหน้ายังมีเด็ก ๆ ในหมู่บ้านนี้ที่พูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ได้จะมีไหม

49. Do you want to see your children pass on and preserve Pwo Karen identity? ⁵⁸ What do you want them to pass on and preserve? (Give examples if needed) Language, customs, ceremonies, culture, food, dress? a. Why?	พื๋อยากเห็นลูกหลาน สืบทอด รักษาความเป็นกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ไว้ไหม อยากรจะให้เขาสืบทอด รักษาอะไรไว้บ้าง (ภาษา ธรรมเนียม ประเพณี วัฒนธรรม อาหาร การแต่งตัว) เพราะอะไร
50. Would you prefer your children to marry Northern Thai or Pwo Karen people? a. (If answer not "whatever") Why?	พื๋อยากรจะให้ลูกหลานแต่งงานกับคนเมืองหรือคนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์มากกว่ากัน เพราะอะไร
<p>Instructions for bilingualism questions (51-56): If best language is reported to be Northern Thai, skip all questions. If best language is reported to be Central Thai, ask about Northern Thai. If Central Thai is not best language but is reported to be better than Northern Thai, ask questions for both CT and NT. When in doubt, ask about both. The order of questions can be changed. Questions 51 and 52 can be skipped at the interviewer's discretion.</p> <p>Questions 55 and 56 can be skipped if subject answers "no" to 53 and 54.</p>	
Next, I'll ask about your Northern Thai ability.	ต่อไป จะถามเกี่ยวกับความสามารถคำเมืองของพื๋
51. Can you buy something in Northern Thai?	พื๋ใช้ คำเมือง ในการซื้อของได้ไหม
52. Can you tell a story about your family in Northern Thai?	พื๋เล่าเรื่องเกี่ยวกับครอบครัวเป็น คำเมือง ได้ไหม
53. If you overhear two Northern Thai people speaking Northern Thai in the market can you repeat what you heard?	ถ้าพื๋ได้ยินคนเมืองพูด คำเมือง ที่ตลาดพื๋พูดตามแบบเขาได้ไหม
54. Are you able use Northern Thai explain [your work] to a Northern Thai person so he can do it himself? (Can insert phrase appropriate to interviewee's work, such as "planting rice")	พื๋สามารถใช้ภาษาคำเมือง เพื่อจะอธิบาย [งานของพื๋] ให้กับคนเมือง เพื่อให้เขาทำงานด้วยตัวเองได้ไหม
55. Can you speak Northern Thai as fast as a Northern Thai person and be understood?	พื๋พูดคำเมืองเร็วเท่ากับคนเมืองได้ไหม และคนฟังจะเข้าใจไหม
56. Can you speak Northern Thai as well as a Northern Thai person?	พื๋คิดว่า พื๋พูด คำเมือง ได้ดีเท่ากับคนเมืองไหม
Now I'm going to ask you about Pwo Karen language.	ต่อไป จะถามเกี่ยวกับภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์
57. Does Pwo Karen have a written language? (If yes) Have you ever seen it? (If yes) Can you read it?	ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ มีภาษาเขียนไหม พื๋เคยเห็นไหม อ่านออกไหม
58. Suppose a Pwo Karen came to teach Pwo Karen reading and writing, would you go to study with them?	สมมุติว่ามีคนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ มาสอนอ่านเขียนภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ พื๋จะไปเรียนกับเขาไหม
59. Suppose a Pwo Karen person wrote books in Pwo Karen, what kinds of books would you like them to write?	สมมุติว่ามีคน กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ เขียนหนังสือเป็นภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ พื๋อยากรจะให้เขาเขียนเกี่ยวกับเรื่องอะไรบ้าง

⁵⁸ Interviewees who did not have any children were asked questions 49 and 50 by adding, "Suppose you have had children already..."

Christian literature interview

ORAL CONSENT:	Given: <input type="checkbox"/>	Not Given: <input type="checkbox"/>
1. Interviewee Number		
2. Interview Location		
3. Interviewer Name		
4. Writer Name (if not interviewer)		
5. Date/Time of Day		
6. Language of Elicitation		
7. Language of Response		
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)		
9. Comments		
10. Gender		
11. What is your name?	ขอโทษ ชื่ออะไร	
12. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร	
13. What is (was) your work?	(เคย) ทำงานอะไร	
14. Up to what level of education did you complete?	เรียนจบชั้นอะไร	
15. Where were you born? (If unknown village, ask amphoe and people group of that village.)	เกิดที่ไหน	
16. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปีไหม ... ที่ไหน ...เมื่อไหร่ ...นานเท่าไร	
17. What languages can you speak? (distinguish Northern and Central Thai)	พูดภาษาอะไรได้บ้าง	
18. What language did you speak first?	พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก	
19. Which language do you speak best?	พูดภาษาอะไรเก่งที่สุด	
20. ... second best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง	
21. ... third best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สาม	
22. Where is your father from?	พ่อเกิดที่ไหน	
23. Your mother?	...แม่และคะ	
24. What people group is your father?	พ่อเป็นคนอะไร	
25. Your mother?	...แม่และคะ	
26. (if married) Where was your spouse born?	แฟนเกิดที่ไหน	
27. What people group is your spouse from?	แฟนเป็นคนอะไร	
28. How long have you been a Christian?	พี่เป็นคริสเตียนมานานเท่าไรแล้ว	
29. How many people come to the church in this village on Sundays?	ปกติคริสตจักรที่มีประมาณกี่คนมา นมัสการวันอาทิตย์	
30. Is it all Pwo Karen people or are there other groups too?	มีแต่ กะเหรี่ยงโปว์ไหมคะ หรือมีคนเผ่าอื่นด้วย	
31. Are the leaders and preachers from this village or somewhere else?	ผู้นำและผู้เทศนาเป็นคนหมู่บ้านนี้หรือเป็นคนมาจากที่อื่น	
32. What language is used in church for... singing?	ที่โบสถ์ใช้ภาษาอะไรในการร้องเพลง	
33. preaching?	ในการเทศนา	
34. testimonies?	ในการเป็นพยาน	
35. (If not Pwo Karen) Why don't you use Pwo Karen?	ทำไมจึงไม่ได้ใช้ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์	
36. What language(s) Bible is used to read aloud in church?	ที่โบสถ์ใช้พระคัมภีร์เป็นภาษาอะไรในการอ่านออกเสียงให้คนฟัง	
37. Do you understand it?	แล้วพี่เองเข้าใจไหม	
38. Is there anyone in the church who can't understand [the language used for Bible reading]?	มีคนที่ไม่เข้าใจภาษา....ไหม	
39. When you read the Bible at home, what language(s) Bible do you use?	แล้วพี่อ่านพระคัมภีร์ที่บ้าน พี่อ่านภาษาอะไร	

40. (If Pwo Karen not mentioned) Have you ever tried to read a Pwo Karen Bible? Did you like it? Do you understand it?	พี่เคยลองอ่านพระคัมภีร์ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ไหม ชอบไหม เข้าใจไหม
41. Suppose there were parts of the Bible written in Phrae Pwo Karen, would you want to use it or would you keep using [the Bible usually used]? a. Why?	สมมุติว่ามีพระคัมภีร์บางส่วนแปลเป็นภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์จังหวัดแพร่ พี่จะใช้ไหมหรือจะใช้ภาษา.....ต่อ เพราะอะไร
42. Suppose there were parts of the Bible written in Northern Thai, would you want to use it or would you keep using [the Bible usually used]? a. Why?	สมมุติว่ามีพระคัมภีร์บางส่วนแปลเป็นภาษาคำเมือง พี่จะใช้ไหมหรือจะใช้ภาษา.....ต่อ เพราะอะไร

Appendix E: RTT methodology

We developed and administered the recorded text test (RTT) following Casad (1974), with some steps as described in Blair (1990:73-85), except that we replaced the “Hometown Test” (which uses an original story in the local variety)⁵⁹ with a Screening Test (which used a culturally appropriate story translated into the local variety). This design is much more efficient for a situation like this where the reference variety is known. In the following paragraphs, we describe the purposes of the Hometown Test (HTT) and how we fulfilled these purposes without using a traditional HTT.

First, the HTT allows the researchers to screen out subjects who, after the Practice Test, still do not understand the procedure well enough to correctly answer questions on the HTT, which is a story in their own language variety. If these subjects took the RTT and scored low, it would not be clear if their low scores were due to lack of comprehension of the language variety or due to some other unrelated factor. These subjects are therefore dismissed politely and other subjects are tested instead. For this survey, we screened subjects using a translated story (rather than a story elicited in the local variety as in the usual HTT procedure). This is similar to the “Extended Practice Story” methodology used in 2006 on a Payap University survey of the Lawa language. The Lawa survey used a long Practice Story for both practice and screening with satisfactory results (Nahhas 2007). On this survey, we used a short Practice Test and a full-length (10-question) Screening Test instead, to allow subjects more opportunity for practice and us more opportunity for screening.

Second, in some dialect intelligibility testing situations, many varieties are being tested for comprehension by other communities. Therefore, the HTT, after serving as a “hometown” test, is later used as the RTT to test comprehension of that variety by other communities. However, in this survey, comprehension of only one variety (Chiang Mai) was being tested. Thus, HTTs from the test locations were not needed for this purpose.

The story used for the Screening Test was a simplified and translated version of the “Bee Story” told by a Lawa speaker and used as the RTT story on the Lawa survey. Our local helpers translated the Central Thai text of the story into local Pwo Karen varieties. Questions about this story had already been formulated for use on the Lawa survey. We also pilot-tested the simplified Central Thai version of the Bee Story among Thai speakers in Chiang Mai city, using 13 questions and later eliminating the questions that were difficult for subjects, to make a 10-question Screening Test. In testing, those who could answer 7 of 10 questions correctly “passed,” and we administered the rest of the test to them.

We used a 3- to 4-question Practice Story before the Screening Test to help subjects learn the testing procedure. This was a short, easy story that we made up, pilot-tested in Central Thai, and translated from Central Thai into local Pwo Karen varieties for use on the RTT. In the RTT administration, we repeated the Practice Story and its questions as often as necessary to help the subject to learn the testing procedure. At first, the Practice Story contained four questions. However, during fieldwork in Phrae province, a subject informed us that question 2, when translated into Pwo Karen, was confusing. We eliminated that question for the fieldwork in Chiang Rai. (See Appendix G.)

⁵⁹ Blair does not use the term “Hometown Test” (commonly known among surveyors who use RTT methodology), but he does describe the use of such a test.

To construct the RTT, we elicited a Pwo Karen story from a speaker in Mae Tom village, Omkoi district, Chiang Mai province. We formulated nineteen questions about this story, and made a test disc, including the local story plus the Practice Story and Screening Test. Twelve Mae Tom residents took the test; we then eliminated the questions that the local speakers could not answer correctly and other problematic questions, leaving ten questions for RTT administration in other areas. Then, we administered the final 10-question RTT, along with the Practice Story and Screening Test, to another twelve Mae Tom residents, to provide a control group with which to compare the scores of the RTT subjects in other locations. The final Mae Tom group's average score was 96%.

See Appendix G for a transcript of the recorded text test listened to by subjects.

Appendix F: RTT screening questions and post-RTT interview

Screening and Background Information	
1. Interviewee Number	
2. Interview Location	
3. Interviewer Name	
4. Writer Name (if not interviewer)	
5. Date/Time of Day	
6. Language of Elicitation	
7. Language of Response	
8. Interpreter Name (if needed)	
9. Comments	
10. Subject Gender	
If this subject was already an SLQ interviewee, note name, confirm that he/she passes screening, and skip all background/screening questions.	
11. What is your name?	ขอโทษ ชื่ออะไร
12. How old are you?	ขอโทษ อายุเท่าไร
13. What is your religion?	นับถือศาสนาอะไร
14. What is (was) your work?	(เคย) ทำงานอะไร
15. Were you able to go to school? to what level?	ได้เรียนหนังสือไหม ถึงชั้นอะไร
16. Where were you born?	เกิดที่ไหน
17. Have you lived anywhere else for more than a year? Where? When? How long did you live there?	เคยอยู่ที่อื่นมากกว่าหนึ่งปีไหม ... ที่ไหน ...เมื่อไหร่ ...นานเท่าไร
18. So you grew up here, right? (modify wording if necessary)	เติบโตที่นี่ ใช่ไหม
19. And now you live here right? (Ask only if not sure)	ตอนนี้อยู่ที่นี้ ใช่ไหม
SCREENING CRITERIA #1: YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> Grew up here, live here now, and if have lived elsewhere, it is not a significant amount of recent time.	
20. What languages can you speak? (distinguish Northern Thai and Central Thai)	พูดภาษาอะไรได้บ้าง
21. What language did you speak first?	พูดภาษาอะไรได้เป็นภาษาแรก
22. Which language do you speak best?	พูดภาษาอะไรเก่งที่สุด
23. ... second best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สอง
24. ... third best?	... เก่งเป็นอันดับที่สาม
SCREENING CRITERIA #2: Speaks PK either first OR best. YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
25. Where was your father born?	พ่อเกิดที่ไหน
26. And your mother?	...แม่ละ
27. What people group is your father from?	พ่อเป็นคนอะไร
28. And your mother?	...แม่ละ
29. What language did your father first speak as a child?	ตอนพ่อเป็นเด็ก พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรเป็นภาษาแรก
30. And your mother?	...แม่ละ
31. What language did your father usually speak to you when you were a child?	ตอนพี่เป็นเด็ก พ่อพูดภาษาอะไรกับพี่
32. And your mother?	...แม่ละ
SCREENING CRITERIA #3: YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> At least one PK parent from this village who spoke PK with the subject.	
*****Administer RTT here*****	

Post-RTT Interview	
33. Does the person who told this story (the last story) speak good Pwo Karen? a. (If not) Why not?	คนที่เล่าเรื่องนี้ (เรื่องสุดท้าย) เขาพูดภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปรวดีไหม เพราะอะไร
34. Did you understand everything or some things (or nothing at all)?	ฟังเข้าใจทุกอย่าง หรือ บางอย่าง (หรือ ไม่เข้าใจเลย)
35. 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
36. (If not the same) How is it different? Accent, or vocabulary or what?	ต่างกันยังไงบ้าง อยู่ที่สำเนียงหรือคำศัพท์หรืออะไร
37. Now that you've heard their accent... where do you think the person who told this story is from?	ฟังสำเนียงแล้ว... คิดว่า คนที่เล่าเรื่องนี้เป็นคนไหน
(Ask 38-43 if the respondent has an answer for 37)	
38. Have you ever been to [place said from]? a. How often do you go there? b. What do you go to do?	พี่เคยไป [place said from] ไหม ไปบ่อยไหม ไปทำอะไร
39. Do Pwo Karen people from there ever come here? a. How often do they come? b. What do they come to do?	คนกะเหรี่ยงโปรวจากที่นั่นเคยมาที่นี่ไหม มาบ่อยไหม เขามาทำอะไร
40. (If no to 38 & 39) Have you ever met a Pwo Karen person from there? Where did you meet?	พี่เคยพบคนกะเหรี่ยงโปรวจากที่นั่นไหม เจอกันที่ไหน
41. When you speak with them, what language do you use with each other?	เมื่อคุยกับพวกเขา ใช้ภาษาอะไรพูดคุยกัน
42. (if not Pwo Karen) Why don't you speak to them in Pwo Karen?	ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปรว
43. How would you feel if your child wanted to marry someone from [place said from]? ⁶⁰ a. Why?	ถ้าลูกของพี่จะแต่งงานกับคนที่มาจาก [place said from] พี่จะรู้สึกอย่างไร เพราะอะไร
(Ask the following if the respondent did not mention Chiang Mai/Omkoi above.)	
44. Have you ever visited Pwo Karen villages in Chiang Mai (Omkoi)? a. How often do you go there? b. What do you go to do?	พี่เคยไปเยี่ยมหมู่บ้านกะเหรี่ยงโปรวที่จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ (อมก๋อย) ไหม ไปบ่อยไหม ไปทำอะไร
45. Have Pwo Karen people from Chiang Mai (Omkoi) ever come here? a. How often do they come? b. What do they come to do?	คนกะเหรี่ยงโปรวจากจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ (อมก๋อย) เคยมาที่นี่ไหม มาบ่อยไหม มาทำอะไร
46. (If no to 44 & 45) Have you ever met a Pwo Karen person from there? Where did you meet?	พี่เคยพบคนกะเหรี่ยงโปรวจากที่นั่นไหม เจอกันที่ไหน
47. (If ever met) What language do you use with Pwo Karen people from Chiang Mai (Omkoi)?	เมื่อคุยกับคนกะเหรี่ยงโปรวที่มาจากจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ (อมก๋อย) ใช้ภาษาอะไรพูดคุยกัน
48. (if not Pwo Karen) Why don't you speak to them in Pwo Karen?	ทำไมไม่ได้ใช้ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปรว

⁶⁰ For questions 43 and 49, subjects who did not have any children were sometimes asked, "How would you feel if someone from this village married someone from [place said from]/Pwo Karen from Chiang Mai?" When these questions were changed, it was noted on the answer sheets.

<p>49. How would you feel if your child wanted to marry a Pwo Karen from Chiang Mai (Omkoi)?</p> <p>b. Why?</p>	<p>ถ้าลูกของพี่จะแต่งงานกับคนกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ที่มาจากเชียงใหม่ (อมก๋อย) พี่จะรู้สึกอย่างไร เพราะอะไร</p>
<p>SCREENING CRITERIA #4: YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Does not have atypically high contact with the reference variety. (To be determined by answers to post-RTT questions in relation to typical contact patterns of this village. Subjects with atypically high contact can be eliminated from the sample later, after testing.)</p>	

Appendix G: RTT transcript

We are language researchers from Payap University in Chiang Mai. We are doing research about the Pwo Karen language in various provinces, to see how different they are. We have recorded some stories on the tape and would like you to listen to them. You will hear each story two times. The second time, there will also be questions. Please listen to the stories and questions carefully. When you hear a question, we will stop the tape. When we stop the tape, please answer the question.

Here is the first story.

One time when I was a little child, I saw a snake in front of my house. It was the longest green snake I had ever seen! I felt really scared. So I called to my father to come out and see. But the snake had already slithered away when my father came out.

Now you will hear this story again with questions. When you hear a question, please answer it.

One time when I was a little child, I saw a snake in front of my house.

What did she see?

It was the longest green snake I had ever seen!

What color was the snake?⁶¹

I felt really scared.

How did she feel?

So I called to my father to come out and see.

Who did she call?

Now you will hear a longer story.

One time when I was a child, about 7 years old, I went to the rice fields with my mother. That was the time that the rice was putting out grains. I went to play in the water and run around the fields. It was very fun. At that time, when it was noontime, the sun was hot, so mother took me to bathe in the stream, and she bathed me. While I was bathing, a swarm of bees came. At first, just one bee came. When the swarm came, they crowded around me and stung me. They stung me on the head, the neck, the back, and all over my body. It hurt very badly. So I cried. Mother cried too. At that time we didn't know what to do. So we hurried to gather the clothes and ran back to the field house. Mother carried me, but I was too heavy for her. That was when mother was pregnant with my youngest sibling. So mother didn't have much strength. When we arrived at the field house, we didn't know what to do. The bees chased us all the way to the field house. So we hurried and got our things to go home. I cried and asked mother to carry me home. I said to mother, "I can't go anymore." I was hurting terribly and my whole body was swollen. I asked mother to please carry me, but mother said, "Sadly, I can't carry you." Because mother was pregnant. So we kept on walking and I cried the whole way. As soon as we reached the village, we went to Grandma and Grandpa's house. And Grandma and Grandpa brought me medicine. They spread medicine on my body to relieve the pain. After that they built a fire for me to warm up. Later my symptoms got better. The next morning—it was Sunday—mother had stomach pain and gave birth to her baby, my youngest sibling. My poor mother! And when I grew up, mother told me this story. Whenever mother sees bees, she thinks about this story right away.

Now you will hear this story again with questions. When you hear a question, please answer it.

One time when I was a child, about 7 years old

How old was the child?

I went to the rice fields with my mother.

Who did the child go to the fields with?

That was the time that the rice was putting out grains.

At this time, how was the rice?

I went to play in the water and run around the fields. It was very fun. At that time, when it was noontime, the sun was hot, so mother took me to bathe in the stream, and she bathed me.

What did the mother do for the child?

While I was bathing, a swarm of bees came.

⁶¹ This question was used in Mae Tom and Ban Salok, but not in Ban Doi. We eliminated this question when we learned that the words "green snake" could be translated into Pwo Karen as a type of snake instead of a snake of a certain color. Thus, the answer—the word "green"—was not actually in the Ban Salok translation of the story. Although many subjects could give the correct color, it required them to deduce the information.

When she was bathing, what flew/came?

At first, just one bee came. When the swarm came, they crowded around me and stung me. They stung me on the head, the neck, the back, and all over my body. It hurt very badly. So I cried. Mother cried too. At that time we didn't know what to do. So we hurried to gather the clothes and ran back to the field house.

Where did they run to?

Mother carried me, but I was too heavy for her. That was when mother was pregnant with my youngest sibling.

What was the mother's condition?

So mother didn't have much strength. When we arrived at the field house, we didn't know what to do. The bees chased us all the way to the field house. So we hurried and got our things to go home. I cried and asked mother to carry me home. I said to mother, "I can't go anymore."

What did the child say to the mother?⁶²

I was hurting terribly and my whole body was swollen. I asked mother to please carry me, but mother said, "Sadly, I can't carry you." Because mother was pregnant. So we kept on walking and I cried the whole way.

What did the child do the whole way home?

As soon as we reached the village, we went to Grandma and Grandpa's house.

When they reached the village, to whose house did the mother and child go?

And Grandma and Grandpa brought me medicine.

What did the grandparents give to her?

Now you will hear another story.

One day when I was a child, back then...It was like, back then, mother had me go to school but I didn't want to go. And this day mother told me to stay home. Mother went to work at seven o'clock. Mother went to work. Mother ordered me: you don't have to go to school. Mother had me stay home. I said "Yes." Mother went to work at seven o'clock, and I went to school at eight o'clock. I secretly went to school. When I went to school I was nine years old. I came back from school... mother asked... mother asked the others "Where did Maipao go?" And they said, "Maipao went to school." Mother said, "If she went to school, when she gets home I'm going to hit her." I came home, and mother didn't hit me. I said to mother, "My skirt is very pretty!" My skirt was dark blue and my shirt was white—student uniform skirt, student uniform shirt. When I got home, mother saw me. She said "The skirt is not pretty at all." Mother hugged me. Mother was happy that I went to school. Back then, mother didn't let me go to school. I was a mischievous child. When I went that day, I couldn't understand Thai at all. The teacher said, "It's forbidden to go up and play on the window." I said "Yes." As soon as the teacher left, I went up on the window and jumped from the window. Then the teacher squeezed my ear. Teacher Sopha was the teacher, a woman. I was in Preschool (Anuban) Level One, because I was a mischievous child. There were many teachers. I came to school at eight o'clock, I ate lunch and at four o'clock I came home. When I got home, I helped mother. I carried firewood and cooked rice. When the work was done, I fed the chickens. When that was done, I went to bathe. Then mother came home and we ate together.

Now you will hear this story again with questions. When you hear a question, please answer it.

One day when I was a child, back then...It was like, back then, mother had me go to school

Who had/wanted the child to go to school?

But I didn't want to go. And this day mother told me to stay home. Mother went to work at seven o'clock. Mother went to work.

What time did the mother go to work?

Mother ordered me: you don't have to go to school. Mother had me stay home.

Where did the mother order the child to stay?

I said "Yes." Mother went to work at seven o'clock, and I went to school at eight o'clock. I secretly went to school. When I went to school I was nine years old.

When the child went to school, how old was she?

I came back from school... mother asked... mother asked the others "Where did Maipao go?" And they said, "Maipao went to school."

What did the others answer?

Mother said, "If she went to school, when she gets home I'm going to hit her."

⁶² This question was not counted in the scoring of the screening test. It is not an appropriate RTT question because it has more than one possible answer. The question was asked, however, to avoid a long story section without any question, which can cause the subject to lose concentration. Therefore, the screening story had eleven questions, but only ten were scored.

What did the mother say she was going to do when her child came home?

I came home, and mother didn't hit me. I said to mother, "My skirt is very pretty!" My skirt was dark blue and my shirt was white—student (uniform) skirt, student (uniform) shirt. When I got home, mother saw me. She said "The skirt is not pretty at all." Mother hugged me.

What did the mother do to/with her child?

Mother was happy that I went to school.

How did the mother feel about her child going to school?

Back then, mother didn't let me go to school. I was a mischievous child.

What kind of character was this child?

When I went that day, I couldn't understand Thai at all. The teacher said, "It's forbidden to go up and play on the window." I said "Yes." As soon as the teacher left, I went up on the window and jumped from the window. Then the teacher squeezed my ear.

What did the teacher do to/with the child?

Appendix H: RTT results

Table 37. Ban Salok (Phrae) RTT scores

Subject number ⁶³	Gender	Age group	Scores (all 12 subjects)	Scores (eliminating 2 subjects)
SA07	F	15-34	70	70
SA10	F	15-34	55	55
SA11	F	15-34	60	60
SA05	F	35+	70	70
SA08	F	35+	80	80
SA13	F	35+	67	67
SA02	M	15-34	50	50
SA06	M	15-34	60	60
SA15	M	15-34	80	80
SA01	M	35+	30	n/a
SA03	M	35+	60	60
SA16	M	35+	30	n/a
Average			59	65
Number of subjects			12	10
Standard deviation			16.42799	10.01998
Range of scores			30-80	50-80

Table 38. Ban Doi (Chiang Rai) RTT scores

Subject Number	Gender	Age group	Score
BD05	F	15-34	60
BD06	F	15-34	65
BD09	F	15-34	60
BD04	F	35+	60
BD14	F	35+	70
BD18	F	35+	60
BD01	M	15-34	80
BD07	M	15-34	80
BD15	M	15-34	80
BD12	M	35+	70
BD13	M	35+	70
BD17	M	35+	75
Average			69
Number of subjects			12
Standard deviation			8.211227
Range of scores			60-80

⁶³ Subjects not listed here either did not pass the screening criteria or did not pass the Screening Test.

Appendix I: International Phonetic Alphabet

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 2005)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

© 2005 IPA

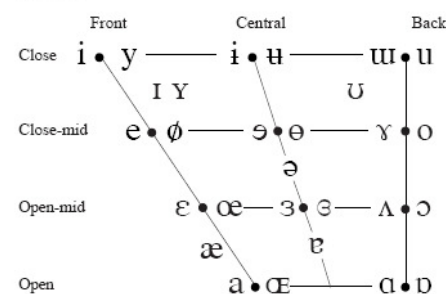
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Clicks	Voiced implosives	Ejectives
◌ ɸ Bilabial	ɓ Bilabial	ʼ Examples:
◌ ɗ Dental	ɗ Dental/alveolar	pʼ Bilabial
◌ ɗ̥ (Post)alveolar	ɟ Palatal	tʼ Dental/alveolar
◌ ɗ̥ Palatoalveolar	ɡ Velar	kʼ Velar
◌ ɗ̥ Alveolar lateral	ɠ Uvular	sʼ Alveolar fricative

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

OTHER SYMBOLS

ʍ Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ɕ ʑ Alveolo-palatal fricatives
ʋ Voiced labial-velar approximant	ɺ Voiced alveolar lateral flap
ɰ Voiced labial-palatal approximant	ɟ Simultaneous ʃ and x
ħ Voiceless epiglottal fricative	
ʕ Voiced epiglottal fricative	Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary.
ʡ Epiglottal plosive	

kp ts

SUPRASEGMENTALS

ˈ	Primary stress
ˌ	Secondary stress
ː	Long
ˑ	Half-long
˚	Extra-short
˘	Minor (foot) group
˙	Major (intonation) group
ˌ	Syllable break
ˌ	Linking (absence of a break)

DIACRITICS Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. ɲ̥̄

◌ ɸ Voiceless	◌ ɗ	◌ ɗ̥ Breathily voiced	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Dental	◌ ɗ̥
◌ ɗ Voiced	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Creaky voiced	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Apical	◌ ɗ̥
◌ ɗ Aspirated	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Linguolabial	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Laminal	◌ ɗ̥
◌ ɗ More rounded	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Labialized	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Nasalized	◌ ɗ̥
◌ ɗ Less rounded	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Palatalized	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Nasal release	◌ ɗ̥
◌ ɗ Advanced	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Velarized	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Lateral release	◌ ɗ̥
◌ ɗ Retracted	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Pharyngealized	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ No audible release	◌ ɗ̥
◌ ɗ Centralized	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Velarized or pharyngealized	◌ ɗ̥		
◌ ɗ Mid-centralized	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Raised	◌ ɗ̥ (ɹ = voiced alveolar fricative)		
◌ ɗ Syllabic	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Lowered	◌ ɗ̥ (β = voiced bilabial approximant)		
◌ ɗ Non-syllabic	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Advanced Tongue Root	◌ ɗ̥		
◌ ɗ Rhoticity	◌ ɗ̥	◌ ɗ̥ Retracted Tongue Root	◌ ɗ̥		

TONES AND WORD ACCENTS

LEVEL	CONTOUR
˥ or ˧ Extra high	˥ or ˧ Rising
˥ High	˥ Falling
˥ Mid	˥ High rising
˥ Low	˥ Low rising
˥ Extra low	˥ Rising-falling
˥ Downstep	˥ Global rise
˥ Upstep	˥ Global fall

Appendix J: Lexical similarity counting methodology

An adapted version of the Blair (1990:27-33) lexical similarity counting procedure was used to determine the lexical similarity percentages in this report. A more detailed account of the lexical similarity counting procedures used for Pwo Karen word list comparison can be found in Phillips (forthcoming).

Since the Pwo Karen varieties are isolating languages with compounding as their primary means of word formation, every effort was made to collect words with a comparable number of syllables representing the concept of interest. In addition, all known derivational and inflectional affixes, along with class syllables were ignored.

For similarity counting, the words were lined up and compared phone by phone in the same position. Each phone pair was put into category I, II or III using the following criteria.

Category I includes:

- a. Exact matches (e.g., [b] occurs in the same position in each word.)
- b. Vowels which differ by only one *phonetic similarity* feature (e.g., [i] and [e] occur in the same position in each word.)
- c. Phonetically similar segments which occur consistently in the same position in three or more word pairs.

Category II includes:

- a. Phonetically similar nonvocalic segments which are not attested in three pairs.
- b. Vowels which differ by two or more *phonetic similarity* features (e.g., [a] and [u]).

Category III includes:

- a. All corresponding segments which are not phonetically similar.
- b. A segment which corresponds to nothing in the second word of the pair.

Pwo Karen provisos:

- a. Nasalization and final velar nasals are counted as [+nasal] on the vowel, e.g. [ɪ̃] and [iŋ] are counted the same.
- b. [s] and [θ] are counted the same.
- c. Diphthongs are compared with two instances of a monophthong, e.g. [aⁱ] and [aa].
- d. Tone, including glottalization, is not included in the lexical similarity counts.

Once phone correspondences are categorized, words are considered to be lexically similar if at least half of the phone correspondences are in Category I and at least half of the remaining phone correspondences are in Category II. Table 39 illustrates the intersection of word length and lexical similarity.

Table 39. Word length and lexical similarity (Blair 1990:32)

Word Length	Category I	Category II	Category III
2	2	0	0
3	2	1	0
4	2	1	1
5	3	1	1
6	3	2	1
7	4	2	1
8	4	2	2
9	5	2	2
10	5	3	2
11	6	3	2
12	6	3	3

The lexical similarity percentages are based on the comparison of 107 words that are included in the Calmsea 200 (Matisoff 1978), MSEAG 436 and the Swadesh 100 and 200 lists (1952, 1955) following Mann (2004).

Appendix K: Data collection locations and dates

Location	Dates
Mae Lai village, Hot district, Chiang Mai province	November 11-12, 2006
Mae Tom village, Omkoi district, Chiang Mai province	January 16-22, 2007
Wang Chin & Long districts, Phrae province	February 17-24, 2007
Muang, Wiang Chai & Doi Luang districts, Chiang Rai province	February 26-28, 2007
Mae Mo & Ngao districts, Lampang province	September 28-October 1, 2007
Doi Luang district, Chiang Rai province	October 20-27, 2007
Mae Tha, Thung Hua Chang, Li & Ban Hong districts, Lamphun province	December 2-3, 2007
Sop Moei district, Mae Hong Son province	December 11-15, 2007
Tha Song Yang district, Tak province	December 15-16, 2007
Ban Salok village, Wang Chin district, Phrae province	January 3-4, 2008
Background interviews, Chiang Mai city	2006-2008

Appendix L: Religions practiced by Pwo Karen in northern Thailand by location

This information was gathered through interviews with Pwo Karen people knowledgeable about their area and through group interviews in many villages. Here, “Buddhist” includes those who practice Buddhism exclusively, as well as those who are nominally Buddhist and practice traditional Karen religion or a mixture.

Location	Religions
Chiang Mai	Mostly Buddhist, 2-5% Christian
Chiang Rai: Doi Luang	All Buddhist
Chiang Rai: Muang	All Christian
Lampang	1/3 Buddhist, 2/3 Christian
Lamphun	Mostly Buddhist, 0.5-2% Christian
Mae Hong Son	Mostly Buddhist, 2-5% Christian
Phrae	Mostly Buddhist, <1% Christian
Northern Tak	Mostly Buddhist, 0-5% Christian

Appendix M: Traditional religious life in Ban Doi

When we interviewed a community leader in Ban Doi village (Chiang Rai province), he described some aspects of traditional religious life, recorded here. In the fifth and ninth months, Ban Doi holds important ceremonies. For three days no one works. In the fifth month, each household must bring one chicken for sacrifice to the village's spirit house. In the ninth month, they must bring one chicken as well as one pig. In earlier times, outsiders could not enter the village during these ceremonial days, and if they needed to pass through, they had to pay a fine. In recent times, this requirement has been relaxed. There is now no fine for passing through, since a main road goes through Ban Doi. At other times during the year, individual families that wish to ask for special blessings (such as safety, educational opportunities for their children, or prosperity) may take candle-flowers to the spirit house. Later, if the blessing is received (for example if the child graduates), they will sacrifice a pig. Ban Doi has two spiritual leaders who oversee these matters. If a village resident marries a non-Karen person, they are allowed to stay in the village if they agree to participate in the traditional religious ceremonies.

Appendix N: Pwo Karen proverbs from Ban Salok

During an interview with a local leader in Ban Salok village (Phrae province), he wrote down some traditional local proverbs, recorded here. (Pwo Karen transcription and Thai translation by Suthet Khamdok. English translation by Erin Dawkins.)

Pwo Karen: อั้งเมโต้ อั้งเมหลา อั้งบาเหยก

Central Thai: ซื่อกินไม่หมด คดกินไม่นาน

English: The honest will always have enough, but cheaters will run out before long.

Pwo Karen: เมหนะซ็องมองแถ่งเถอหลังแถ่งหนะบาตะนองกะเถอหยังสะ

Central Thai: ถ้าท่านคิดถึงแต่ความหลัง ท่านจะพบแต่รังแห่งความเศร้า

English: If you only think of what has passed, you will only find a house of sadness.

Appendix O: Pwo Karen textiles



Married woman's shirt from Mae Tom, Chiang Mai



Shoulder bag from Pa Sang Ngam, Chiang Rai



Woman weaving in Pa Sang Ngam, Chiang Rai



Mother and daughter in Ban Doi, Chiang Rai