

**NANYANG
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**MULTILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE SHIFT
IN NORTHEASTERN THAILAND: THE BRU IN WOEN BUEK**

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**Multilingualism and Language Shift in Northeastern Thailand:
the Bru in Woen Buek**

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in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2019

Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research, is free of plagiarised materials, and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

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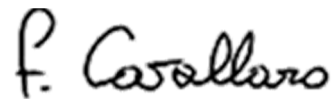
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Authorship Attribution Statement

This thesis contains material from 5 papers accepted at conferences in which I am listed as an author.

Chapter 4 was presented as Tomioka, Y. (2018a). The development of a questionnaire for language use survey in Southeast Asian contexts - a case study in Thailand and Indonesia. Paper presented at the *Third International Conference on Documentary Linguistics - Asian Perspectives*, July 23-24, 2018, Mahidol University, Salaya, Thailand.

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The contributions of the co-authors are as follows:

- I prepared the presentation slides. The slides were revised and proofread by Dr Cavallaro.
- I designed the study and analyzed the data, and Dr Cavallaro provided guidance in the interpretation.

- The data was collected by me and my research assistant under my supervision.

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Summary

Although the majority in Thailand speaks one of the Tai-Kadai languages, the country is, in fact, a multilingual and multicultural society. This study focuses on a speech community of an Austroasiatic language (Woen Buek (เวินบึก, WB) in Bru) in Northeastern Thailand, where the Northeastern Thai (Lao Isan) is spoken. Similar to other cases worldwide, it is estimated that most of the languages and cultures of minority communities in Thailand may not be safe.

I conducted a language use survey together with in-depth interviews and participant observation with the special foci on language attitudes and language choice to assess the language vitality and endangerment of Bru in WB and to analyse the factors that affect the language shift and/or maintenance of Bru.

From the quantitative results, it is clear that language shift is ongoing in WB. This is even though the participants of the survey mainly possess positive attitudes towards Bru. The results show that the participants in their twenties and younger use Lao instead of Bru, even in situations where the use of Bru is expected.

The results from the qualitative approach revealed that many Bru parents did not pass Bru on to their children because of the negative attitudes they had in the past towards Bru. This was due to the discrimination directed against them by the majority people in the past. The results also found that, over the past decades, the WB people have experienced drastic sociocultural transitions. It can be said that even though the Bru are currently shifting to Lao, Bru can be considered a core identity of the WB people; otherwise, Bru would have already been lost a long time ago.

I assessed the degree of endangerment and the language shift of Bru amongst the WB people by applying existing scales for assessing language vitality and endangerment, LVE and EGIDS. While these scales are very effective and have been fine-tuned over the years, they do not capture the speed of language shift, the different language choice patterns of different age cohorts, and how rapidly the rate of successful intergenerational language transmission from one generation to another is shrinking.

A number of other factors affecting language shift and maintenance were also analysed. All of Fishman's (1991) dislocations apply to the minority Bru, the lack of a stable diglossia, and the negative attitudes toward Bru have contributed to and caused

the language shift. Whereas language being a core value, grandparents, the school and institutional support have partly encouraged language maintenance.

To summarize, without any countermeasures, the use of Bru by the Woen Buek people will disappear sooner or later. It is crucial to increase Bru-speaking population through, for example, grandparents' and school's participation in fostering Bru-speaking children, and accepting varieties of non-fluent speakers etc. I also suggest that assessors of the language vitality and endangerment should observe the rates of successful intergenerational language transmission and the language choice patterns of people of different ages and from as diverse backgrounds as possible.

Chapter 1 Introduction

In this chapter, I briefly introduce the background of the current study and its special foci on language endangerment, language maintenance and language shift, and the factors at play in a language shift. I will also present the hypotheses and objectives of the study.

The field site for the present study is a speech community in Woen Buek (WB), a border town in Northeastern Thailand (see Figure 1.1) that has 400 officially registered residents. This study focuses on a speech community using the Katuic language under an Austroasiatic language family – Bru – in an area where Northeastern Thai (Lao Isan) is spoken. Because most Bru speakers are distributed in Laos, the population of Bru in the neighbouring country of Thailand is quite small (Premsrirat et al., 2003). Even when the total population of the speakers of the Katuic languages in Laos is included (approximately 500 thousand in Laos; Lao Statistics Bureau [LSB], 2016), they are not a large group in either Thailand and Laos, where the Tai-Kadai languages dominate.¹ Furthermore, besides WB, there is only one smaller village (Tha Long) in Thailand where the same variety of Bru is spoken. In WB, we see an interesting cultural and linguistic confluence of the local language, Bru; the regional language, Lao Isan; and the national language, Thai. This has created a situation of relatively unstable multilingualism. Similar to other cases worldwide, it is estimated that most of the languages and cultures of the minority communities in Thailand may not be safe. Which language will persist, and which will perish? What are the factors leading to the survival of some languages over others? These are the questions that form the focal point of this research. As a departure point, I will be reviewing some of the key terminology of concern in this research. This frames and informs the genesis of the current enquiry.

¹ Luangthongkum (2007) reports that 92.7% of the population of Thailand speaks one of Tai-Kadai languages as their mother tongue, and the LSB reported that there are 3.4 million ethnic Lao citizens out of the 6.5 million population in Laos (see Chapter 3).



Figure 1.1. Map of Thailand showing the field work site with the red dot and rectangle (United Nations, 2009)

1.1 Language Endangerment

Worldwide, there are thousands of languages being spoken. *Ethnologue*² (Simmons & Fennig, 2018) reports that there are more than 7,097 languages in the world. A closer

² A reference work cataloguing almost all of the world's languages.

look at the numbers shows that the demographic distribution of these languages is unequal. Harrison (2007) points out that the top 10 largest languages account for over 50% of the world's population. The top 83 languages are spoken by 4.5 billion speakers, which is equivalent to 79.5% of the people in the world, while more than 3,500 languages have only a total of 8 million speakers, that is, 0.2% of the global population. What is worse, at least half of these languages are losing speakers and are in danger of extinction. Linguists agree that more than half of the world's languages are moribund (Ostler, 1996). Hale (1998) estimates that 3,000 languages will die out, and 2,400 more languages will be under the threat of extinction by the end of the twenty-first century. More pessimistic estimations, such as Brenzinger and Graaf's (2006) and Krauss' (1992), warn that up to 90% of the world's languages may be replaced by the dominant languages by the end of the twenty-first century. Even now, Moseley (2010) estimates that approximately 2,500 languages are endangered. Simons and Fennig (2018) put this figure at 2,481 languages.

Thailand, where the current study was conducted, is not an exception to this phenomenon. Through an analysis of 6,359 languages and three symptoms of language endangerment – population size, population growth or decline, and geographical speaker ranges – Amano et al. (2014) predict that the risks of future language loss are higher in the tropic regions because of small populations and rapid economic growth. Simons and Lewis (2013) calculate that 412 (32%) out of the 1,277 languages in Southeast Asia are at risk of extinction, and 131 (10%) of these languages are already dead or dying. Bradley (2007) reports that over 95% of the population in Thailand belong to the major ethnic group and that the following languages are more or less endangered: Nyahkur (Thailand has fewer than 10,000 speakers), Phalok (moribund or extinct), Lavua (about 10,000 speakers), Mlabri (125 speakers), Thavung (1,000 speakers), Chong (2,000 speakers), Song or Kasong (200 speakers), Samre (100 speakers), Samrai (2 speakers in 1975), Sa-ong (20 fluent speakers out of 150 people in Thailand), Tonga' or Mos, Moken and Moklen (the populations along the coast of southern Burma and the west coast of southern Thailand number 2,000 and 4,000, respectively), Urak Lawoi (the population in Thailand consists of 3,000 speakers), Saek (the population in Thailand and Laos is about 20,000 speakers), Gong (80 speakers out of 500 ethnic Gong people), Mpi (1,200 speakers), Akeu (10,000 people), and Bisu (about 500 acknowledged group members).

The possible reasons for language endangerment have been the focus of numerous studies for a long time. An early study by Swadesh (1948) points out that the factors leading to the obsolescence of a language are non-linguistic, such as geographical location, age group, sex, economic status, cultural status, and personality. Tsunoda (2005) and Bowern (2017) divide the reasons for language endangerment into

- (1) the factors that lead to the death of the population or
- (2) those that lead to a language shift within speech communities.

As for the latter factors, there are at least three approaches:

- (1) language transmission,
- (2) community-level factors that lead to the language shift, including a variety of social and demographic factors, and
- (3) language policies and language support, including education.

Tsunoda (2005) attempts to list the possible factors of language endangerment and notes them as follows:

- (1) dispossession of land,
- (2) relocation of people,
- (3) decline or loss of population,
- (4) increase in contact leading to a decrease in isolation and proximity to towns,
- (5) dispersion of the population,
- (6) mixing of speakers of different languages,
- (7) socio-economic oppression, economic deprivation, exploitation, oppressive domination, discrimination, exclusion from political participation, social control, and abuse,
- (8) low status/low prestige of the group and its language,
- (9) language attitudes,
- (10) assimilative policies, especially language policies,
- (11) a lack of literature in the indigenous language,
- (12) social development, modernization, industrialization, and urbanization,
- (13) destruction of the environment/habitat,
- (14) the spread of religion, and
- (15) cultural contacts and clashes.

Campbell (2017) classifies these factors into three main categories:

- (1) economic factors, which are the most important factors in many cases,

- (2) political, geographical, demographic, and sociocultural factors, including a lack of institutional support and language use and language choice, and
- (3) subjective attitudes or motivations.

Anderson (2011: 274) refers to two scenarios that lead to the disruption of the intergenerational transmission of language:

- (1) parental generations refraining from speaking to their children in the heritage language and
- (2) children rapidly rejecting the use of the heritage language because of a complex set of social evaluations.

Anderson (2011) also attributes language endangerment to changing language ideologies that lead to a change in the attitudes of a speech community towards their language. At any rate, what is agreed upon by most is that the speed and pervasiveness of language obsolescence have dramatically increased in the twentieth century (Himmelman, 2008: 339).

In response to this negative trend, UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage declares that an intangible cultural heritage should be safeguarded; here, Article 2 defines that language is a vehicle of an intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2003a). The peoples of the world have equal rights without the distinction of language, as well as race, sex, and religion. Therefore, UNESCO has developed programs that aim at working with endangered language communities towards language maintenance, development, revitalization, and perpetuation. Linguistic diversity is recognised as having the same importance as biodiversity and cultural diversity (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages [UNESCO], 2003b).

1.2 Why Save Languages?

Many native speaker communities, governments, organizations, and scholars have recognized the threat of the extinction of numerous languages around the world and have begun trying to save these endangered languages. Tsunoda (2005) lists the value and functions of these languages for communities: language as (1) a gift from ancestral beings, (2) a connection to ancestors and land, (3) irreplaceable cultural knowledge and a conveyor of culture, (4) a carrier of ethnolinguistic values (e.g., some expressions have humorous effects, but they cannot be translated into other languages), (5) a determiner of identity, (6) a source of pride and self-esteem, (7) a

source of solidarity, (8) a source of sovereignty (e.g., people perceive a majority language from an outsider group as an invader's language), (9) innately beautiful, and (10) something to preserve for future generations.

In particular, (3) culture and (5) identity are the most common reasons cited as to why languages should be saved or maintained (see the next section). Fishman (1991) provides three ways that people relate language and culture: (i) indexically, (ii) symbolically, and (iii) as a part or whole fashion. Regarding the first way, those who want to maintain a language or reverse a language shift (RLSers³) believe that an indigenous language can describe any substances or concepts that exist in the indigenous culture better than any other language. Thus, the indigenous language and culture are linked (i) *indexically*. The second demonstrates the idea that speaking an indigenous language stands for being a member of that indigenous ethnic group. Indigenous languages are thus considered (ii) a *symbol* of respective cultures. As for the third way, Fishman (1991) states that almost all non-material cultures, such as songs, laws, greetings, history, and all other things expressed verbally, are associated with an indigenous language. In other words, an indigenous language closely adheres to (iii) *a part of or whole fashion* of a culture. In addition, Fishman notes that efforts to reverse the shift away from the traditional language should be made by the indigenous people themselves. He goes on to say that they have the right to choose the majority's culture in exchange for their indigenous culture; thus, outsiders should not compel indigenous people if they really want to abandon their language and culture.

Maintaining one's traditional language while accessing a mainstream language is also beneficial to communities in terms of the development of people's cognitive abilities, even though they may not be aware of it. That is, speaking a second or third language can enhance the cognitive development and academic achievement of bilingual children (see a summary in Thieberger, 1990 and Cavallaro, 2005, 2010). That is, bilingualism is educationally advantageous because it has been shown to enhance the educational achievements of minority children. Studies have shown that being bilingual or multilingual raises the cognitive abilities of children. Peal and Lambert (1962) show that bilingual pupils performed better than monolingual pupils on verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests. Ben-Zeev (1972) reports that bilingual children have greater cognitive flexibility than monolingual children. Hakuta and Diaz

³ Fishman calls those who want to reverse LS 'RLSers' (reversing language shift-ers).

(1984) prove the degree of bilingualism influences children's cognitive ability and find that as children develop their bilingual abilities, their cognitive ability grows.

Cummins (1979) proposes that the level of the mother tongue, that is, an indigenous or minority language, is an important factor in determining how well children can acquire a second language(s) (usually the majority or national language) at school. If minority children can enhance their mother tongue before entering school, they have better opportunities to maximise this competency when acquiring the school language(s). Therefore, maintaining the mother tongue raises the comprehensive ability in a majority language, too. This helps with the co-existence of the minority community and majority society over the long term.

Saving the ethnolinguistic knowledge of minority communities can also bring benefits to the population at large. Nettle and Romaine (2000) suggest that linguistically diverse areas often coincide with biologically diverse areas, and the speakers of a language in any particular environment will develop an in-depth knowledge and wisdom to survive in their respective environments; in turn, these experiences and knowledge are transmitted through their language. Brenzinger and de Graaf (2006) agree with this and emphasize that within the speakers' knowledge and wisdom, there might be solutions for human problems that other cultures do not yet know. Once these languages are lost, this knowledge and wisdom would also be lost. The loss of languages is thus equivalent to the loss of cultural heritage and the loss of potential solutions to common human problems.

Furthermore, world languages contribute to the development of academic disciplines (Evans, 2010). By comparing the lexicons of existing languages (a comparative method), researchers can reconstruct an ancestral language (a proto-language). This method reveals how languages that are closely related (sister languages) have diverged from their common ancestor. The findings are also beneficial to the fields of archaeology that study the migration pathways of mankind. Indeed, some languages can be the key to deciphering the epigraphs of lost civilizations. For example, the Coptic language, a religious language of Egyptian Coptic Christians, was used to decipher hieroglyphs by an Egyptologist, and the Mayan languages were used to decode inscriptions of the Inca civilization. Once these languages are lost from our world, though, this means that we completely lose the ways to decipher the wisdom of ancestral civilizations. It is not only a serious loss to the academic world, but also to the development of a culturally rich society.

In addition to historical studies, Evans (2010) also refers to the benefits of studying the human cognitive system. The speakers of different languages have different cognitive systems, and it is believed that language and human behaviour mutually influence each other. In Aymara, a language in the Andes, the past and future are expressed by the words 'the front' and 'the back', respectively. Aymara speakers, therefore, point to the front when indicating the past and to the back when indicating the future. It could also be said that the Aymara people conventionally point to the front/back when indicating the past/future; therefore, the Aymara language uses the word 'the front'/'the back' when indicating the past/the future, respectively. By contrast, Spanish speakers in the same area point to the back to describe the past and to the front to describe the future. Studying the cognitive system of various speakers helps investigate how humans develop their cognitive systems and to what extent they are common throughout the world.

Lastly, for language activists, the concept of 'linguistic (language) rights' is one of the many reasons for saving minority languages (Tsunoda, 2005); at first, this concept was formed to save minority languages from the spread of English around the world. In 1996, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights was proclaimed. Briefly, the main purpose of this declaration is to guarantee equal rights to officially use and teach every indigenous language, regardless of its economic, social, religious, cultural, demographic, or linguistic features. Skutnabb-Kangas (2012) emphasizes the importance of mother-tongue-based multilingual education (MLE) because MLE can reduce the negative consequences from dominant-language submersion education for indigenous/tribal and minority children. Skutnabb-Kangas (2012) explains that dominant-language submersion education prevents access to education, curtails the development of children's capabilities, perpetuates poverty, and causes mental harm. Indeed, this will cause social dislocation, psychological, cognitive, linguistic, and educational harm, as well as economic, social, and political marginalization.

In summary, there are many reasons for saving languages from both the communities' and outsiders' points of view. However, regardless of the many justifications behind saving languages, one thing is clear: a language is the vehicle of culture and identity. Speakers have the right to use and inherit their own languages because these languages also contain unique, rich, and valuable knowledge; wisdom; and information and systems. Whether or not these systems can contribute to the improvement of our world, a language loss is a world that is lost for the communities

where this language is spoken; hence, it represents an intangible and irrevocable loss of heritage.

1.3 Language Maintenance and Shift

This section will discuss the issues concerning language maintenance and language shift and the views of different research perspectives. Languages are endangered for a number of reasons, and many factors are involved in this, as referred to in Section 1.1. The scenarios behind a language shift are tremendously diverse (Abtahian & Quinn, 2017). However, the main issue is when the speakers of languages no longer pass on their languages to the next generation, that is, the disruption of the intergenerational transmission of a language. Though elderly speakers still use the language, children do not acquire it and instead use only the dominant language(s) (Brenzinger & de Graaf, 2006). This is a clear sign that a *language shift* (LS) is occurring.

Pauwels (2016: 18-19) defines LS as the gradual abandonment of one language in its normal spheres of usage for another language from a specific speech community that is in contact with the indigenous language. LS could occur both in migrant settings and indigenous linguistic minorities in nation-states. In addition, Pauwels (2016: 20) defines the term language maintenance (LM) as the continued use or retention of a minority of a heritage language in one or more sphere of language use.

Fasold (1984) states that LS can be defined as when ‘a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one’ (213). He states that it occurs only where *societal bilingualism* exists. Therefore, bilingualism is a *prerequisite* for LS. Bilingualism in and of itself, though, is not a sufficient condition for LS because there are many communities around the world that have been in a state of stable bilingualism or even multilingualism. Being in a state of stable multilingualism is called *LM*: the community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used (Fasold, 1984). By contrast, if LS proceeds to the last stage, where parents stop transmitting their language to children, the language is no longer used. When the last speaker passes away, this is known as *language death* (Edwards, 1985; Fasold, 1984).

Fishman (2001: 2) proposes studying LS as ‘the societal loss of functionality in the weaker language when two languages interact and compete for the same function in the same ethnocultural community’. Similar to Fasold’s (1984: 213) definition, this implies that LS can occur only when a community is bilingual. Furthermore, Fishman

(2001) proposes taking into account whether the language is threatened because the very lives of the speakers are also threatened or whether it is the language that is at risk, hence being ‘a much less serious functional threat’ (2).

Brenzinger and de Graaf (2006) point out that LS may be caused by both external forces and internal forces. External forces are the primary reason behind LS. Briefly, when minority communities come into contact with larger or more dominant neighbours, there are imbalances in many aspects of their lives: economy, religion, culture, or education. If these neighbours speak another language, then this uneven relationship destroys the stable multilingualism of that community. This unequal relationship is not limited to the demographic imbalance between these communities. Edwards (1985) mentions that the most apparent and common trigger of LS is the imbalanced distribution between a minority language and the language of more economically and technically advanced neighbours.

These contrastive differences between minority communities and majority societies at the societal level influence the individuals in minority communities. Minority language speakers seek social mobility and improvement of their own lives through the acquisition of majority languages. Brenzinger and de Graaf (2006) mention that the internal forces are derived from the external ones. For instance, minority people may have negative attitudes towards their own languages in favour of the majority language. According to Grenoble and Whaley, ‘the subjective attitudes of a speech community towards its own and other languages are paramount for predicting [an] LS’ (1998: 24). In other words, negative or indifferent attitudes are prerequisites for LS. Ultimately, parents stop transmitting their indigenous language to their children in favour of the more advantageous majority languages (Edwards, 1985). In these cases, this leads to the end of stable multilingualism in these communities.

Tsunoda (2005) follows Edward’s (1992) typology and lists the possible factors of LS without confining himself to endangered languages:

- (1) Geographic factors
 - (a) geographical extent of the language
 - (b) national territory
 - (c) rural–urban nature of residence
 - (d) isolation of the community and distance from urban centres
- (2) Demographic factors
 - (a) size of the ethnic group

- (b) birth rate of the ethnic group
 - (c) number of speakers of the language
 - (d) density of the population
 - (e) homogeneity/heterogeneity of the speakers
 - (f) proportion of speakers of the language to those of other languages
 - (g) age of the speakers
 - (h) sex of the speakers
 - (i) race of the speakers
 - (j) marriage patterns
 - (k) static settlement versus migrant movement
 - (l) migration patterns
- (3) Sociological factors
- (a) social stratification in the ethnic group
 - (b) degree of interaction with other ethnic groups
 - (c) social status of the speakers
 - (d) cultural (dis)similarity between the groups
 - (e) way of life
- (4) (Socio)linguistic factors
- (a) genetic classification of the language
 - (b) history of language
 - (c) existence/absence of native speakers
 - (d) transmission of the language to children
 - (e) language contact
 - (f) linguistic capabilities of individual speakers
 - (g) type of the speech community
 - (h) domains of use
 - (i) autonomy of the language
 - (j) internal variety of the language
 - (k) existence/absence and nature of the written language
 - (l) standardization of the language
- (5) (Socio) psychological factors
- (a) the group's attitude towards other groups
 - (b) other groups' attitude towards this group
 - (c) the group's self-esteem

- (d) the group's attitudes towards their language
- (e) prestige or status of the language
- (6) Historical factors
 - (a) history of the area in which the groups now live
 - (b) history of the group
- (7) Political, legal, and governmental factors
 - (a) recognition of speakers' rights and ethnic identity
 - (b) degree and extent of official recognition of the language
 - (c) institutional support for the use of the language in various domains
 - (d) organisations for the promotion of the community's interests
- (8) Economic factors
 - (a) economic health of the region
 - (b) economic status of the speakers
- (9) Educational factors
 - (a) state of education in the area
 - (b) literacy and writing system
 - (c) school support for language
 - (d) how the people are presented in education
 - (e) upbringing of the children
- (10) Religious factors
 - (a) importance of religion in the area
 - (b) religion of the speakers
 - (c) use of the language in religion
 - (d) type and strength of association between language and religion
- (11) Media
 - (a) existence/absence of modern mass media
 - (b) use of the language in the media
 - (c) representation of the group in the media

What most scholars agree upon is that there are no certain combinations of the above factors that can predict LS (Fasold, 1984). In other words, a combination of various social factors might cause LS in one minority community, but another community would maintain their language (Edwards, 1985). At the same time, it is impossible to point out the factors that always cause LS because contextual variations are important. In the next section, the classical Fishman discussion of LS is reviewed.

Despite more recent studies of LS, many of Fishman's thoughts are still current and useful in shaping the way we think about LS.

1.3.1 Domains

Domain is an important and useful concept for studies of LM and LS. This concept is explained by Fishman (1965a) as the major clusters of interaction that occur in particular multilingual settings. Holmes (2001) elaborates on Fishman's (1972a) argument and defined a domain as the 'typical interactions between participants in typical settings' (21). In multilingual settings, speakers may choose different languages or varieties depending on the domains, no matter whether the choices are made intentionally or unintentionally. When a language in a multilingual speech community is shifting, this means that the language is losing domains in which the language is used. In other words, for some reason, more and more speakers stop to use the language and choose to use another language in particular domains at first and then in all domains.

In our daily lives, there are a number of different domains that we interact within; however, the number of domains used in any particular sociolinguistic study varies. According to Fishman (1965a), Schmit-Rohr (1963) recommends nine domains: the family, the playground and street, the school, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental administration. Mak (1935 cited in Fishman, 1965a) includes the work sphere in addition to the nine factors, while Frey (1945) requires only three domains: home, school, and church. Parasher (1980) uses seven domains: family, friendship, neighbourhood, transactions, education, government, and employment. Chunthawithet (1989) applies seven broad domains with 13 subdomains to the study of language choice in Northeastern Thailand: family, village, shopping (retail shop, market in the district centre, and market in the province centre), school (inside the classroom and outside of the classroom), temple, governmental administration (district office and city hall), and hospital (community clinic, district hospital, and provincial hospital). The concept of domains is related to diglossia (Fasold, 1984; see Section 1.4.6 for more on diglossia); some languages or varieties are seen as more appropriate for formal situations; thus, they are used in formal domains such as education, work, and government. However, other languages or varieties are seen as more appropriate for informal situations; thus, they are used in informal domains such as family or home.

Fishman (1965a) mentions several components as the controlling factors in language choice: group membership, the situation, the physical setting, the topics, the functions of discourse, and the speakers and interlocutors. In other words, they are the components of domains. Greenfield (1972) takes at least three components into account: persons, places, and topics. Holmes (2001) introduces the idea that the language choice in a domain can be analysed by the addressees (participants), settings, topics, and variety/code used in a domain. Pauwels (2016) refers to and amends the factors referred to in Fishman (1965a) as follows: ‘who speaks (uses) what language (language variety/code) to whom, when, where and to what end/for which purposes’ (53).

1.4 Language Attitudes

Language attitude is a field of sociolinguistics and is an important factor – in addition to others (see Section 1.5) – that could determine LM and LS.

Oppenheim (1982) defines attitudes as a psychological construct. This view is widely accepted, and because of their abstractness, it is not easy to access or gauge people’s attitudes (Garrett, 2010: 20).

Various approaches have been adopted to study language attitudes. Broadly, these approaches fall into two categories: (1) the direct approach and (2) the indirect approach. The direct approach can be further classified into two categories: (1) societal treatment, which involves analysing the content of various sources in the public domain, such as prescriptive or proscriptive texts, language policy documents, media texts and various kinds of advertisements (Garrett, 2010: 51), and (2) the attitudinal data obtained by directly asking the participants their opinions.

The indirect methodological approach in language attitudes measures more subjective reactions to variations in languages. The most well-known indirect method attitude is the matched-guise technique developed by Lambert et al. (1960) and Lambert (1967). With this experimental method, the participants are asked to listen to brief speech samples in the different languages or varieties, but these are recorded by the same person. The participants are not informed that the speakers of the story in the different languages or varieties are the same person and are then asked to evaluate the characteristics of the speakers of different languages or varieties on a battery of semantic scales such as ‘intelligent’, ‘educated’, and ‘honest’. This technique is an indirect approach because the participants are asked to evaluate the speakers, not the

languages. By contrast, a questionnaire with both open and closed questions, an interview, and observation are direct approaches (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970). At any rate, it should be noted that the attitudes towards languages actually reflect people's attitudes towards the languages, the speakers of the languages, or the varieties and the contexts and functions with which they are associated (Fasold, 1984: 148; Holmes, 2001: 343).

Garrett (2010) states that another commonly accepted fact regarding language attitudes is that attitudes can function as both an input into and output from social action; therefore, they can influence both one's reactions to other languages and other language users and others' responses to one's own language use. In other words, one's language attitude can influence language choice. Attitudes towards languages also play a key role in parents' decisions on whether to use their language with their children or not. Bradley (2002) posits that 'the crucial factor in [an] LM is the attitudes of the speech community concerning their language' (1).

However, the relationship between language attitudes and language choice is neither simple nor straightforward. Fishman (1972b) points out that there is a negative relationship between the use of a language and attitudinal positiveness. Tomioka (2009a) finds that university students and workers in Northeastern Thailand have positive attitudes to Lao Isan (Northeastern Thai); however, the use of Lao Isan is limited to people's private domains.

Why people do not always decide to use a language that they have positive attitudes to could be also explained by the different types of orientation. Gardner and Lambert (1992) introduce the concept 'instrumental' orientation and 'integrative' orientation as a part of the motivations and attitudes in learning languages. When language learners are motivated by an instrumental orientation, this means that the learners are aiming to gain social recognition or economic advantages through learning or using the language. By contrast, if the learners are driven by an integrative orientation, this means that the learners consider the language as representative of their ethnolinguistic community. This dichotomic, instrumental vis-à-vis integrative view of categorising language attitudes is used in language attitude studies regardless of area; for example, Lai (2005, 2007, 2009) explores the language attitudes of youths in Hong Kong towards Cantonese, Mandarin, and English; Letsholo (2009) studies the attitudes of youths towards their mother tongue in Botswana; and Oakes (2013) investigates language attitudes and identity in Reunion.

Although language attitudes are widely accepted as being important in language learning and use, little research has been carried out to understand the effect of the attitudes of immigrant groups towards their own language by and of the attitudes of minority groups. Bradley (2002) points out that according to their attitudes, some speakers may choose to use their language in many more domains; other speakers only in certain domains; and others will only use it in their ‘village and the home’ (4).

Table 1.1 summarizes the different orientations underlying language ideologies.

Table 1.1. Language attitudes.

Language Attitudes	Language as a Problem	Language as a Right	Language as a Resource
Language goals	LS to English L1 → L2	Bilingualism among immigrants, L1 → L1 + L2	Bilingualism for all, L1 + L2
Cultural goals	Assimilation	Accommodation	Biculturality
Social goals	Mainstreaming, or ‘melting pot’	Social autonomy	Social integration

Source: Adapted from Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009: 79)

Researchers have outlined the role of language ideologies in whether a group maintains its language or whether it shifts to the majority language. Fishman (1991) argues that reversing LS is only possible if both the majority and minority groups have positive attitudes towards the minority language. Li (1999) finds that the parents’ positive attitudes towards both English and the heritage language (Chinese) and their attitudes that the two cultures were very important to the children’s bilingual education.

1.5 Factors in LS

1.5.1 Fishman (1991)’s Three Dislocations

Fishman (1991) argues that a stable bilingualism is disrupted and LS happens because of three dislocations:

1. Physical and demographic dislocation
2. Social dislocation
3. Cultural dislocation

Each dislocation has different aspects, but the basic mechanism is the same: people link minority languages with the practical disadvantages in a society, while the majority languages are seen as providing more advantages than the minority languages. Therefore, the speakers of minority languages shift to using the majority languages.

First, physical and demographic dislocation often occurs because of out-migration and industrialization, and/or because of urbanization. For out-migration and industrialization, the emigrants are usually a minority group; they need to live in an unfamiliar place surrounded by the majority indigenous groups and are detached from their original culture and traditions while needing to cope with new circumstances. When physical and demographic dislocation is led by urbanisation, minority language speakers have frequent contact with other minority groups from outside of their own speech community, as well as the majority group. A lingua franca used in the new (urban) society is necessary for them to interact with locals and other migrants from different backgrounds. Under these circumstances, the minority language speakers would gradually use the majority language(s) in more and more domains and eventually displace their indigenous language from even their family or home domains.

Second, social dislocation represents the imbalance that minority language communities have in terms of access to education or economic status compared with the majority group. People – both minorities and majorities – tend to perceive a minority language as a symbol of backwardness. As a result, many minority language speakers try to abandon their own language to improve their lives and increase the opportunities for their children.

The last dislocation is called cultural dislocation; this is the situation in which minority speakers cannot have opportunities to practice and maintain their own culture as freely as the majority culture.

Modernization and democratization increase the interactions among people from different cultures, including minority communities. Therefore, the impact of a dominant community on minority communities would also increase. This increased interaction lessens the cultural differences among the groups and leads both dominant and minority communities to be dependent on the same media, political parties, educational system, and economic efforts, even though these sources should ideally be diverse. As a result, every citizen may be able to access these sources equally,

regardless of ethnic groups (called ‘the greater general good’). However, these sources are those of the majority culture. The majority’s language is necessary to access the resources. Under such circumstances, the minority people are compelled to enter into a binary choice: either maintaining their language and culture at the expense of obtaining ‘the greater general good’ or giving up their own culture to access ‘the greater general good’ (Fishman, 1991: 63).

The minority people themselves may not be oppressed; nevertheless, they rely on the majority language and culture to access the above-mentioned services. Fishman (1991) claims that this is merely superficial modernization and democratization. Cultural dislocation would exist in any society unless access to education, mass media, and economic endeavours through a minority language would be available and the extent of opportunities provided by such access is as broad as those served by access via the majority languages. The whole society should recognize the fact that a general democracy contains a cultural democracy and is responsible for it.

1.5.2 Sociocultural Characteristics

Smolicz (1980, 1981) and Fishman (1991) point out that some minority communities see language as a core value or symbol of their culture and ethnic identity. Losing their indigenous language is equivalent to losing their identity. Therefore, in a community where a language has this function, people tend to maintain the language better and longer than groups who do not view their language as a core value. On the other hand, Fishman (1991) also suggests that some communities do not hold their language as a symbol of their identity, so they can still be members of an indigenous or minority group while using the majority language. According to Smolicz, if a community does not consider their language to be a core value, their LM efforts are not as strong as they would be if their language held such a value.

1.5.3 Economic Status and Economic Change

Fishman (1991) indicates that economic imbalance is one factor of social dislocation that leads to LS. For example, the household income in Northeastern Thailand is the lowest among the five regions of Thailand (National Statistical Office, 2014a).⁴ Such a macroeconomic disadvantage would put pressure on the people in rural villages to go

⁴ The average monthly household income of Northeastern Thailand in 2013 is 19,181 Bahts. It is 43,058 Bahts in Greater Bangkok, 26,114 Bahts in the central region, 19,267 Bahts in the northern region, and 27,504 Bahts in the southern region.

and work in urban areas. As a result, the usefulness of standard Thai may be emphasized, and the status of the indigenous languages may be detracted. When the status of indigenous languages is lowered, it results in LS (Dorian, 1981; Gal, 1979).

However, an economic change can be an ambivalent factor that can promote LM in some cases. The formation of the fishing industry by local Scottish people built a strong Gaelic speech community in East Sutherland in Scotland (Dorian, 1981). Edwards (1985) posits that if the urban areas in Ireland had any concentrated Irish-speaking areas, then the Irish language would have been maintained better. These examples suggest that even though the ethnolinguistic minority community is economically less well off than the majority society, this community still have opportunities to maintain their language if there are stable industries and/or urbanized areas within the community.

1.5.4 Grandparents

Kloss (1966) and Clyne (1982, 1985 and see 2003: 29) place grandparents as crucial factors in the promotion of LM. The grandparent generation tends to maintain their indigenous language better than younger generations. In an investigation on the Chinese community in England, Li (1994) finds that among immigrants from a Chinese background, the Chinese dominant are the older speakers and the bilingual or English dominant are the younger speakers. Cavallaro (2010) finds the same in his investigation of the Sicilians in Australia. That is, the members of the community who speak the most Sicilian and Italian are the older members of the community, and the younger generations are either bilingual or almost totally monolingual in English. Therefore, there are LM benefits if younger family members actively engage with their grandparents. In other words, grandparents can elicit the use of indigenous languages from younger family members. Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels (1995) and Tan and Ng (2010) find higher rates of LM among families where grandparents played an active role in the caring of children. Lee (2004) discovers that the presence of grandparents supports parents' efforts in LM among Taiwanese aboriginal families. Similarly, Brown's (2008) study reports that although Belarusian is shifting to Russian among Belarussian university-age participants, the rate of using Belarusian is higher when they interact with their grandparents than with their parents. These results also support the idea that the presence of grandparents elicits the use of an indigenous or traditional language. For the reasons above, if grandparents care for their grandchildren at home,

their grandchildren would have more opportunities to be exposed to fluent indigenous languages from their grandparents.

1.5.5 Inter-group Marriage (Exogamy)

Inter-group marriages have been a main factor in LS (Cavallaro, 2010; Clyne, 2003; Pauwels, 2004). Cavallaro (2010) discusses two impacts from inter-group marriage on LM. First, exogamy makes the boundary between a minority community and a majority community ambiguous. As a result of exogamy, the boundary between the majority group and the minority community becomes blurred. The minority people might then consider themselves as no longer different from the majority group. Second, children of the inter-group marriage might not be able to speak the minority language; this may be because one of the parents may not speak and may not learn the minority language, so he or she will use the majority language with his or her own children. Research shows that if the languages are not properly managed within a family, then compared with intra-group marriages, children will have fewer opportunities to acquire the minority language (see the research on family language policy, such as by Fogle & King, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010; Pérez Báez, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Gregory, Arju, Jessel, Kenner, & Ruby, 2007).

1.5.6 Diglossia

The original definition of diglossia (Ferguson 1959) involves a situation in which two varieties of the same language exist within a community. One variety is a primary dialect or a variation used in ordinary conversation, and another variety is a divergent and highly codified variety used for written or formal purposes and learned through formal education. Fishman (1967) expands this concept to any situation in which two languages exist and have different functions. One language is a standardized variety or the language of the majority group, which is called the high variety (H). The H variety is used in formal situations. The other language is called the low variety (L). The L variety is used in informal situations. Fishman (1967) proposes that in a situation of bilingualism with diglossia, an indigenous language can possess certain functions or roles that the majority language does not fulfil. This situation will contribute to an LM because a minority community would maintain some domains in which the indigenous language is exclusively used. By contrast, bilingualism without diglossia leads to an

LS because there is no clear functional separation between languages, and most speakers tend to use the dominant languages.

1.5.7 School Language and Institutional Support

Malone and Arnove (1998) list the objectives of MLE (education in a minority language and a language wider of communication) for children as follows: educational success and revitalization and/or maintenance of the heritage language. Those for adults are employment, access to information, education, socio-economic education, access to heritage language texts, and revitalization and/or maintenance of heritage language (see Malon [2005] for a summary). In other words, the revitalization and/or maintenance of a heritage language is a common purpose of an MLE, irrespective of the age of the learners.

Smith-Christmas and Armstrong (2014: 323) suggest that the adult learners of Gaelic in Scotland play a lynchpin role in facilitating the intergenerational transmission of a minority language in the family. However, to save Gaelic from the risks of endangerment, policy needs to advance the development of a qualitatively different pedagogy for adult Gaelic learning, one that brings adult learners to full proficiency and prepares them for the special challenge of speaking a threatened minority language. Mahidol University's and Thailand Research Fund's Chong Language Revitalization Program is a prototype of literacy education that has this aim. Kosonen (2008) and Bradley (2015), for example, argue that in Thailand, one aim of literacy education of/in minority languages is LM and language revitalization. In addition, Kosonen (2008) suggests that literacy education is successful only when 1) indigenous language speakers actively participate in the project and 2) technical support from the government and other institutions or organizations is provided. In other words, having official or institutional support of literacy education promotes LM, while the lack of them seems to have no effect.

1.6 Hypothesis and Objectives

1.6.1 Objectives

The current research has three main objectives. First, I aim to assess the language endangerment and vitality in a minority community in Northeastern Thailand by considering various factors that I mentioned in the previous sections. I will apply the language vitality and endangerment (LVE) scale (UNESCO, 2003b; UNESCO's

Culture Sector [UNESCO], 2011) and expanded graded intergenerational disruption scale (EGIDS) (Lewis & Simons, 2010) to do so (see the next chapter).

Second, after an initial assessment, I will investigate further factors (outlined in Section 1.4) that LVE and EGIDS do not cover but might determine the directionality of LS or LM of the target groups. The main focus will be on factors such as sociocultural characteristics, economic status and economic change, grandparents, inter-group marriage (exogamy), school language, and institutional support.

Finally, I plan to propose further viewpoints that the LVE and EGIDS do not cover but that should be considered to assess language endangerment and vitality in such communities.

1.6.2 Hypotheses

I hypothesise that the minority languages of the target ethnolinguistic minority community (the Bru language in the WB village) are threatened. First, the languages are not being successfully passed on to all children. Second, the domains usually allocated to the indigenous language are gradually becoming smaller and fewer according to the age of the members of the communities. Third, Fishman's (1991) three dislocations (Section 1.4.1) are applicable to the relationship between the target communities and the majority Thai society based on the minority languages' relationship vis-à-vis standard Thai and the regional Thai spoken in that part of Thailand (Lao Isan). Nevertheless, simply looking at the domains and roughly overviewing the macro-level relationship between the majority society and minority communities will not give us the total picture of the dynamics of this shift. Therefore, a study needs to be carried out to find out what other factors are bringing about LS.

Among the many factors involved in LS, I believe the six factors outlined above (Sections 1.4.2.–1.4.7.) significantly influence the language vitality of these communities both in positive and negative ways. Therefore, my research questions centre around evaluating how these factors contribute to LS or LM among the Bru.

The Bru people link together their language, culture, and identity; they still maintain prominent cultural characteristics such as traditional beliefs and customs, so they do not consider the loss of language as equivalent to a serious loss of their identity. Therefore, I hypothesise that LS can more easily occur in this community than in a community that has retained language as part of its unique cultural characteristics.

Regarding economic disparities, the income disparities between the Isan region and the richest region (Greater Bangkok) have decreased in recent decades (National Statistical Office, 2014a, 2014b). Community members also perceive that their economic status has been developed, and some of them prefer to stay in their home villages because they are satisfied with their current income levels. Theoretically, these changes must help with an LM because more people are able to remain in the villages than in the past, and the absolute number and proportion of speakers within the speech community would also increase to a more stable position. If the working generation, which largely overlaps with the parent generation, does not need to work away from home, this generation will have more opportunities to transmit their language to their children. However, I hypothesise that this is not the case for the Bru language in WB. Their economy may largely depend on the non-Bru population that has recently settled in the region. The fact that the community members are satisfied with their current lives may be, thus, because they can earn a high enough income by working in an environment where the majority languages are the main mediums of communication. Therefore, even though the Bru community members in WB are satisfied with their economic level and live in the community, this does not necessarily serve as a factor for LM.

I hypothesise that grandparents' contribution to LM is limited in WB for several reasons. First, the grandparents' generation is bilingual or multilingual. Braun (2012) reveals that the language proficiency of grandparents partly affects LM efforts in multilingual families if grandparents do not speak the language of the community where the parents and grandchildren live. In these cases, the parents tend to employ their native language as a means of communication between the grandchildren and grandparents. On the other hand, such efforts are minimal when the grandparents are at least bilingual and speak the language of the community where the children live. Therefore, in the case of WB, the grandchildren would not be seriously motivated to reply to their grandparents in their indigenous languages. Second, most parents may overestimate the positive effect of grandparents for LM. Thus, they leave the role of ILT to the grandparents while taking on the role of teaching standard Thai or Lao to their own children. Furthermore, Marr and Pooley (2009) point out that the influence of grandparents on LM is limited if they regard their language as less useful. That is, their perception is that it lacks an instrumental value. I postulate that Bru is seen in this

way by most people in WB, including the grandparents. As a result, most of the children's generation may be no more than passive speakers of Bru.

In terms of the marriage pattern and language choice at home, I hypothesise that there would be three types: monolingual in a majority language – both parents speak a majority language (Thai or Lao Isan), the parents are bi/multilingual in both the minority and majority languages, and both spouses are monolingual in a minority language. Castonguay (1982) reports that in Canada (except Quebec), the use of English is dominant among exogamous couples, regardless of the mother tongue of each spouse. In Quebec, the use of French is dominant if the combination of the mother tongue of the spouses is French and a language other than English or French, whereas English is dominant if one of the spouses speaks English as their mother tongue. The implication of these findings is that exogamous couples tend to choose the dominant language of the community where they live. Thus, when comparing the proportion of the three types of marriage patterns and language choices above, I estimate that most exogamous couples choose to be monolingual in the majority language (Thai or Lao Isan) or bi/multilingual (Thai or Lao Isan and Bru), while some endogamous couples still actively use the minority languages (Bru), even though there would be a trend to be bi/multilingual among these endogamous couples. Research has shown that exogamous couples provide fewer opportunities for LM to their children than endogamous couples. For example, in Taiwan, Hakka youths with exogamous parents are much less likely to use Hakka than those with endogamous parents (Jan, Kuan, & Lomeli, 2016). Kim and Min (2010) find that U.S.-born endogamous Asian Americans use their mother tongue more frequently than exogamous ones, and parental exogamy has been found to lead to Anglicisation of the home language in the United States (Alba, Logan, Lutz, & Stults, 2002; Stevens, 1985).

An investigation of the language choice in various domains may prove that the target community – WB – is in a diglossic situation. Because of the multilingual and multiethnic composition, standard Thai and/or Lao Isan will have encroached into all domains. Therefore, I postulate that many minority people are used to accommodating the language of the majority people on a daily basis. The language choice in situations in which there are no majority people, nevertheless, would reveal that LS is ongoing because I envisage that young community members choose the majority languages, even in domains where the use of Bru is expected.

The language attitudes of the WB people, including their attitudes towards LM and language revitalization, are estimated to be positive, irrespective of the existence of literacy education or institutional support at the target village. However, I hypothesize that the WB people are aware of language endangerment because the community has experience in community-based education programs or supports (see Section 3.7.2). Thus, I expect them to be making practical efforts to maintain their language, for example, by actively using their indigenous language at home and with relatives or friends.

The methodology for carrying out this study will be detailed in Chapter 4.

1.7 Summary

In this chapter, I introduced the linguistic phenomenon ‘language endangerment.’ Most languages in the world are now in danger of disappearing for various reasons. One of the main reasons is LS. Therefore, this chapter quickly reviewed the concept of LM and LS, which was followed by the possible factors that lead a speech community to shift away from their traditional language. The factors discussed were those that are estimated to cause LS in the target community of the current study.

Chapter 2 Literature Review: Scales for Assessing the Progress of LS

As pointed out in Chapter 1, there is a large number of endangered languages all over the world; nevertheless, the degree of LS and endangerment for each language is not the same. In this chapter, I will review the major scales proposed for assessing the status of language shift and language endangerment.

2.1 Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Fishman (1991) proposed a sociolinguistic disruption scale that can assess the status and vitality of languages: Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). This scale is represented by eight stages. Each stage is defined by a statement concerning the language under review (Table 2.1). If a language is in Stage 8, that language is in the most seriously endangered situation, while languages in Stage 1 are relatively more stable. Since Fishman (1991) focused on reversing language shift (RLS), Stage 8 depicts the highest level of endangerment and Stage 1 the lowest, and argues that the status of the language improves as the stage number decreases.

Table 2.1. Definition of Each Stage of GIDS

Stage	Definition in Fishman (1991)
1	Some use of Xish in higher level in educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)
2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen
4	Xish in lower education that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy
6	The attainment of inter-generational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
8	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouth and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults

Note. RLS: reversing language shift, i.e. trying to stop LS and raise the status of the language. RLSers: those who aim to RLS, i.e. minority community members, scholars, social activist, etc. Xish: an indigenous or minority language. Xmen: speakers of Xish. Yish: a dominant or majority language. Ymen: speakers of Yish.

In this section, I briefly introduce the definition of each stage of GIDS from Stage 8 to Stage 1 in accordance with the order Fishman proposes.

Stage 8

When a language in question is at this stage, there are few remaining users. They are scattered and may not be able to use the language in every day conversation. They have no interlocutors to use with it either.

Stage 7

Stage 7 is different from Stage 8 in the fact that elderly indigenous language speakers societally live together with younger generations who speak a majority language. As they are no longer of child-bearing age, they cannot directly increase the number of indigenous language speakers. However, Fishman points out that they still have the potential to pass the indigenous language to the younger generations: children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

Stage 6

Fishman (1991) emphasizes the importance of this stage, and the functions of a family in this stage. Firstly, this stage is crucial to RLS. In this Stage, the indigenous language is used normally in informal speech amongst grandparents, parents and children, in a family. A family is a very important unit that can prevent indigenous language speakers from LS pressure. If there is a concentrated area with families who use the indigenous language at home, it will be used as a neighbourhood communication too. These circumstances would definitely support children in acquiring the indigenous language. Fishman thinks that intergenerational transmission is an essential condition for LM. Therefore, he uses it as determiners especially for three stages that are close to language death (Stage 8 to 6).

Stage 5

From Stage 5 downward, Fishman (1991) considers macro-societal factors that influence the decision of intergenerational transmission. Especially for Stages 5 and 4, he focuses on the existence and use of literacy.

In Stage 5, all generations are presumed as active speakers of an indigenous language. There is literacy of the indigenous language; it is used at home, school and community; however the language is taught informally by the indigenous community themselves, and may not be acknowledged by the majority group.

Stage 4

An indigenous or minority language is introduced in formal education at primary level in Stage 4. The main difference of Stage 4 from Stage 5 is that the efforts to attain literacy are officially recognized or supported by the majority.

Fishman stresses that education links pupils or students to the reward system of those who provide education. This means that the indigenous children may be integrated into the majority society through education, if their education is run by a majority. Though the minority group also have rights to gain benefits from the majority's social system, we should notice that majority-based education system might detach minority pupils' from their indigenous language and ethnic identity. Therefore it is a crucial point to see whether the indigenous communities can maximize education in their own language or not.

Stage 3

In this situation, there can be two possibilities. First, minority speakers function in a majority society, but try to continue to use their own language. The other is that majority speakers conduct business within a minority society. Therefore, the majority speakers accommodate to their customers and choose to use the minority language.

Stage 2

RLSers would succeed in Stage 2 when RLS efforts expand to demographically large number of people, and the educational, economic and political grassroots movement. Even though they have good proficiency of a majority language, the local government and mass media provide services in the minority language for the greater good of the greatest number of people. This societal action is seen as the acknowledgement of their identity.

Stage 1

This Stage is attained when a minority group successfully reaches cultural autonomy. However, Fishman admits that some of the RLSers would be still unsatisfied. This is because, firstly, outside of the speech community that attains Stage 1, there might be many areas, in which language revitalization and LM are not guaranteed. Secondly, they might still feel pressure from a majority language.

2.2 UNESCO's Guidelines 'Language Vitality and Endangerment (LVE)'

In 1996, UNESCO published the UNESCO Atlas of Languages in Danger of Disappearing (Wurm, 1996). In its revised edition, Wurm (2001) classifies languages

in danger into 5 levels depending on the degree of endangerment; (1) potentially endangered language: decreasing numbers of children learn the language, (2) endangered language: the youngest speakers are young adults, (3) seriously endangered language: the youngest speakers have reached or passed middle age, (4) moribund language: only a few elderly speakers are left, and (5) extinct language: no speakers are left.

In 2000, a necessity for indicators to better assess the language vitality and endangerment was recommended. The indicators proposed consisted of (a) the percentages of speakers within population, (b) the extent of language transmission, (c) loss of function in language use, (d) attitudes toward one's own language, (e) urgent needs for documentation, and (f) the current status of documentation (Brenzinger, 2007).

In 2003, a UNESCO ad hoc expert group developed the Language Vitality and Endangerment classification scale (LVE). This scale aims to classify languages depending on the level of endangerment, and clarify specific problems of respective languages. While GIDS consists of one scale with eight stages, LVE consists of a much more detailed scale of three broad categories and nine factors (Table 2.2), with each factor having its own scale. The viewpoints of GIDS' stages correspond to those of some of LVE's factors: Stage 8 to 6 of GIDS and LVE's Factor 1 (Intergenerational Language Transmission), Stage 5 to 4 of GIDS and LVE's Factor 6 (Materials for Education and Literacy), and Stage 3 to 1 of GIDS and LVE's Factor 4 (Trends in Existing Language Domains) (see Dwyer, 2010 and discussion below and Tables 2.3 – 2.10). The reasons for LS are determined by various factors on a case by case basis. Some languages might already have written materials, such as dictionaries and textbooks, so that the community would only need institutionalized education system. While other languages might not have been documented yet, and active speakers are nearly extinct. In this case, what the community can do is to document their language; vocabulary, grammar etc. as many as possible. Stakeholders for maintaining the language are expected to understand the overall situation of an endangered language by this scale.

2.2.1 Definition of LVE's Nine Factors

LVE's three broad categories evaluate

- a language's vitality and state of endangerment (six factors);

- language attitudes (two factors);, and
- the urgency for documentation (one factor) (See Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. LVE’s Three Categories and Nine Factors (UNESCO, 2003b, p.7)

Categories	Factors
a language’s vitality and state of endangerment	1) Intergenerational Language Transmission
	2) Absolute Number of Speakers
	3) Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
	4) Trend in Existing Language Domains
	5) Response to New Domain and Media
	6) Materials for Language Education and Literacy
language attitudes	7) Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies, Including Official Status and Use
	8) Community Members’ Attitudes toward Their Own Language
the urgency for documentation	9) Amount and Quality of Documentation

Most factors are scored as one of six grades from Grade 5 to 0. Similar to GIDS, each grade is defined by a statement regarding the language in question in terms of each factor. If a language is evaluated as Grade 5 of one factor, this means that the language is safe, at least, in terms of that factor. However, the same language could be evaluated as Grade 0 for another factor. Therefore, we cannot judge that one language is safe only from one factor. UNESCO (2003b), thus, advises to use a combination of these factors.

The factors are reviewed in the following section.

Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission (ILT)

Factor 1 focuses on the passing on of a language from the older to the younger generation. Evaluators will observe the age distribution of speakers. The vitality is the highest when a language is spoken by all generations. The more the generation of speakers inclines to be older, the more threatened a language is (see Table 2.3). This is because, once the younger generation stops using a language in question, the language will eventually disappear.

Table 2.3. Factor 1 Intergenerational Language Transmission (UNESCO, 2003b)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
<i>safe</i>	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
<i>unsafe</i>	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
<i>definitively endangered</i>	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
<i>severely endangered</i>	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
<i>critically endangered</i>	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of great-grandparental generation.
<i>extinct</i>	0	There is no speaker.

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers

According to UNESCO the number of speakers is an important factor. The smaller the number of speakers is, the more easily the community is affected by LS. UNESCO (2003b) did not provide an actual number for this factor.

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

The proportion of speakers within the total population can play an important role in the maintenance or shift of a particular language. UNESCO (2011) defined that the ‘total population’ means that of the ethno-linguistic group. Table 2.4 shows that according to this scale, only when all group member speak the language can the language be considered ‘safe’.

Table 2.4. Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population (UNESCO, 2003b)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
<i>safe</i>	5	All speak the language.
<i>unsafe</i>	4	Nearly all speak the language.
<i>definitively endangered</i>	3	A majority speak the language.
<i>severely endangered</i>	2	A minority speak the language.
<i>critically endangered</i>	1	Very few speak the language.
<i>extinct</i>	0	None speak the language.

Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains

Factor 4 is concerned with the opportunities a community has to speak their language. From Table 2.5 we can see that, the more domains are available to speakers of a language, the higher the probability that the language possesses a higher vitality. This is because ‘where, with whom, and the range of topics for which a language is used directly affects whether or not it will be transmitted to the next generation (p.9)’.

Table 2.5. Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains (UNESCO, 2003b)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
<i>universal use</i>	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions
<i>multilingual parity</i>	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
<i>dwindling domains</i>	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
<i>limited or formal domains</i>	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
<i>highly limited domains</i>	1	The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions
<i>extinct</i>	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media

Factor 5 is similar to the previous factor, but it focuses on newly emerged domains. UNESCO (2003b) includes schools, new work environments, new media, broadcast and the Internet as new domains and media. This factor (Table 2.6) allows assessors to decide which domains to choose according to the local context.

Table 2.6. Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media (UNESCO, 2003b)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
<i>dynamic</i>	5	The language is used in all new domains.
<i>robust/active</i>	4	The language is used in most new domains.
<i>receptive</i>	3	The language is used in many domains.
<i>coping</i>	2	The language is used in some new domains.
<i>minimal</i>	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
<i>inactive</i>	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy

If speakers are able to receive education in their language, the vitality of their language is higher. For this reason, Factor 6 (Table 2.7) focuses on the accessibility of written educational materials; in particular what types of written material are available, and to what extent a community utilizes them.

Table 2.7. Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy (UNESCO, 2003b)

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies, Including Official Status and Use

Factor 7 and 8 relate to language attitudes. These factors cover both attitudes of individual speakers and those of external, wider and/or superior groups. Attitudes of minority communities are usually influenced by governmental and/or institutional policies regarding the minority groups. These policies are, in other words, outcomes of the government's attitudes toward minority groups.

In addition to attitude, Factor 7 includes policy, official status and use of relevant languages (Table 2.8). This is because explicit policies are established based on implicit attitudes toward languages in the state. A non-dominant language will lose its vitality by overt prohibition, but also due to the lack of overt support from a government. If a government does not promote a non-dominant language, even if they don't discourage it, it will be overwhelmed by a dominant language sooner or later.

Table 2.8. Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use (UNESCO, 2003b)

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes toward Language
<i>equal support</i>	5	All languages are protected.
<i>differentiated support</i>	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
<i>passive assimilation</i>	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
<i>active assimilation</i>	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
<i>forced assimilation</i>	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
<i>prohibition</i>	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language

The more positive the attitude of community members towards their own language, the higher would the vitality of the language be. This factor also treats indifference as a negative attitude on the same level as supporting language loss (Table 2.9).

Table 2.9. Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language (UNESCO, 2003b)

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes toward Language
5	<i>All</i> members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	<i>Most</i> members support language maintenance.
3	<i>Many</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	<i>Some</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only <i>a few</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	<i>No one</i> cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation

The last factor is concerned with the urgency of language documentation. By assessing the amount and quality of existing language materials, community members could find out what kind of documentation they need to do, while government and linguists could

design appropriate research projects to assess the state of the language or to help revitalize it. (See Table 2.10)

Dwyer (2011) added that the combinational use of all these factors allows a government or community to determine which countermeasures they should prioritize: LM, revitalization or documentation.

Table 2.10. Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation (UNESCO, 2003b)

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
<i>superlative</i>	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
<i>good</i>	4	There are one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.
<i>fair</i>	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
<i>fragmentary</i>	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
<i>inadequate</i>	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.
<i>undocumented</i>	0	No material exists.

2.2.2 Review of LVE

In this section, I summarize the points that assessors should consider when they use LVE.

Moseley (2010) mapped the world's languages in danger based on LVE's Factor 1; however, he modified six Grades into seven grades by splitting Grade 5 into two grades as safer languages. As shown in Table 2.11, one grade (Grade 5-) was

added between Grade 5 and 4. Furthermore, Moseley (2010) interprets the definition of each Grade in more detail.

Table 2.11. Factor 1 Intergenerational Language Transmission (Moseley, 2010)

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Intergenerational Language Transmission
<i>safe</i>	5	The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
<i>stable yet threatened</i>	5-	The language is spoken most contexts by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in the native language and one or more dominant language(s) has usurped certain important communication contexts. Note that such multilingualism alone is not necessarily a threat to languages.
<i>vulnerable</i>	4	Most, but not all, children or families of a particular community speak their parental language as their first language, but this may be restricted to specific social domains (such as the home, where children interact with their parents and grandparents).
<i>definitively endangered</i>	3	The language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The youngest speakers are thus of the parental generation. At this stage, parents may still speak their language to their children, but their children do not typically respond in the language.
<i>severely endangered</i>	2	The language is spoken only by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children, or among themselves.
<i>critically endangered</i>	1	The youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. These older people often remember only part of the language but do not use it on a regular basis, since there are few people left to speak.
<i>extinct</i>	0	There is no one who can speak or remember the language.

Many researchers agree that Factor 1, ILT, is one of the most critical factors (See Austin, 2008; Dwyer, 2011; Grenoble, 2011; Legère, 2007; Norris, 2010). However, LVE's way to assess ILT is not very objective. LVE adopts three notional generations: children, parents, and grandparents. Unless assessors know the social structure of a target community well, they may not know who should be considered as children, parents, and grandparents.

Dwyer (2011) pointed out two shortcomings of Factor 2. First, assessors often misinterpret the definition of 'number of speakers' as the total population of an ethnic group or an entire community instead of those who can really speak a target language. UNESCO (2011) recognized this problem in the review of LVE 2003 version, yet they did not provide an alternative scale in their 2011 review of application and feedback. Second, Dwyer (2011) suggest that having a large number of speakers does not mean the language is safe. If a language lacks ILT, and/or literacy, education, and media, the language can be endangered within a few generations. For example, Vail (2006) argues that Northern Khmer is endangered despite its large population of more than a million, because he observed that a significant number of speakers have negative attitudes towards their language and this prevents them from transmitting it to their children. Dwyer (2011) used LVE to assess the language vitality and endangerment of several languages that belong to the Amdo macrogroup of the Tibeto-Burman language family and to the Wutun and Sanie languages (see Section 2.4). He reports that the Wutun language has only 2000 to 4,000 speakers, but ILT has been relatively successful. On the other hand, the Sanie language has a larger number of speakers, i.e. 7,000 (Bradley, 2005). Nevertheless, most fluent Sanie speakers are above 60 years old, and there are almost no speakers under 20 years of age. The contrast between these two languages demonstrates that the absolute number of speakers on its own cannot indicate the risk of endangerment. Dwyer (2011), therefore, proposes that Factor 2 should be used with Factors 1 and 3.

In Factors 2 and 3 there is a problem of the ambiguity of the term 'speaker'. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies [AIATIS] (2005) suggests that the term 'speaker' should be defined more precisely. Respective speakers have different levels of fluency; some might have limited proficiency. Currently LVE, however, treats all of these speakers as one collective 'speaker' regardless of language proficiency.

Lewis (2005) points out that the perspective of Factor 4 is sometimes incompatible with that of available secondary data. Assessors are required to observe a language from a diachronic perspective. That is, what domains the language is no longer being used in. However, linguists normally collect the data of language use from a synchronic perspective. That is, what domains the language is being used in. Though the language is not used at home, with friends, and/or in the neighbourhood, this does not necessarily indicate LS. After the language is no longer used in such domains, the language might stably remain to be used in other domains for a long period. In this case, LS is not on-going. If assessors do not know the specific diachronic background, they would not know for any specific domain whether the language has gradually lost its function or has maintained its function. Therefore, in some cases, Lewis (2005) could not easily determine the Grade of Factor 4 of some languages, because he fully relied on secondary sources, for instance, Ethnologue fourteenth edition and other databases, and he did not know the specific diachronic background of respective speech communities.

UNESCO (2011) noticed that there are too many domains in Factor 5. For example, one language may be used in schools, but not in media broadcasts. In such cases, assessors may not be able to evaluate the grade of the language correctly. Each domain is also too broad and no definition is given to domains such as ‘new work environments’ nor ‘new media.’ However, UNESCO (2011) had not suggested any alternative criteria.

Factor 6 also has a problem of ambiguity. The description in some grades contains more than one argument. For example, Grade 4 expresses that written materials are used at school but not in administration. LVE has no instruction whether assessors can choose Grade 4, if one community has materials used in administration, but not used in schools.

In addition, assessors should not simply choose higher grades for Factor 6, just because a minority community has established written materials. For example, El Kirat (2008) reports that introductory Amazigh and its orthography has been taught at school in Morocco since 2003. However, Amazigh education has not worked efficiently at all. The schools lack proper curriculum, teaching manuals, manpower, etc. Amazigh teachers are not well motivated in their teaching due to these obstacles. Pupils also have low motivation in learning Amazigh because of the negative attitudes in their community. In summary, the language materials and education do not

contribute to the revitalization, maintenance or transmission of Amazigh. The ineffectiveness of the Amazigh language education implies that the minority language education is valid only when it is carried out in a successful way.

Lewis (2005) proposes to consider two aspects for Factor 7. Firstly, assessors could profoundly identify the governmental and institutional language attitude through investigating the history of language and education policy in addition to studying the current situation. Furthermore, assessors should investigate the specific policy applied to a particular language. This might be different from the generally reported official policy.

UNESCO (2011) suggests taking two aspects into consideration for Factor 8. First, the same as Factor 7, diachronic perspectives should be considered. Secondly, in some communities, language attitude and the age of the speakers are closely related to each other; therefore, Factor 8 should focus more on age groups specifically.

UNESCO (2011) pointed out that Factor 9 only focuses the availability of materials, but does not consider whether or not these materials are practically used for a language revitalization project. Materials are meaningful only when language education or language revitalization programs use them. The language documentation materials should be, therefore, evaluated only when they are used and have impacts on language vitality.

Beside LVE's nine factors, AIATSI (2005) independently added a new factor 'Status of Language Programs' for its research on language vitality and resources of indigenous communities in Australia. This factor consists of six grades (Table 2.12).

Table 2.12. Factor 10: Status of Language Programs (AIATSIS, 2005)

	Grade	Status of Language Programs
<i>successful</i>	5	A regular and successful program is running involving >5 per cent language identifiers.
<i>good</i>	4	A program is running with two out of three of the following: regularly; successfully; >5 per cent language identifiers.
<i>fair</i>	3	A program is running with one out of three of the following: regularly; successfully; >5 per cent language identifiers.
<i>basic</i>	2	A program is running involving a small group (<5 per cent of identifiers) irregularly and with few or no outcomes.
<i>aspiring</i>	1	No language programs but a group are talking of starting one.
<i>none</i>	0	No language program and no interest in starting one.

Note. ‘‘Language identifiers’ is a group of people that identifies with a language. If 400 people identify with the local language and more than 20 of them are involved with the program, that is relatively large and the program will register at beyond the Basic (Grade 2) (AIATIS, 2005, p.134).’

Factor 9 does not focus on whether or not the materials are really used in language revitalization activities, while Factor 10 of AIATSIS (2005) considers how far activities are introduced and successful. This factor consists addresses four issues: (i) whether a program is launched or not, (ii) regularity of the program, (iii) success of the program, and (iv) the proportion of language identifiers. This factor seems to complement the shortcomings of Factor 9.

Legère (2003) proposes that in addition to the LVE scales, we need to consider whether minority pupils are immersed in the national language, which is in effect a second language at school. He bases this proposal on the finding of his study of Vidunda pupils entering Swahili-medium schools in Tanzania. His study focussed on the language proficiency and language choice of grade 1, 5, and 7 pupils in the Vidunda speaking area in Tanzania. While the Vidunda people acquire Swahili as the second language through trade, government administrative services and the education system, Vidunda is the dominant language in the area. However, only Swahili is used as the medium of instruction at school in Tanzania. Legère (2003) found that, in some domains, Swahili replaces Vidunda when pupils get older, despite their Vidunda language proficiency. Almost every pupil speaks Vidunda as their mother tongue regardless of grade. Most them also use Vidunda when speaking to their parents. However, when they talk with their peers, older pupils tend to use Swahili rather than Vidunda. 99% of the grade 1 pupils use Vidunda with their peers, and it is the most frequently used language for them. On the other hand, by the time pupils reach grade

7, only 7% use Vidunda with friends, and only 2% of them use it more than Swahili. Legère (2003) believes that the second language (Swahili) immersion at school affects this shift. When Vidunda speaking pupils enter school, they almost all use Vidunda only. However, the longer pupils are immersed in Swahili as the second language at school, the more they shift to this language.

2.3 Lewis and Simons' (2010) Extended GIDS

Lewis and Simon (2010) took the shortcomings of the existing scales of Fishman's GIDS and UNESCO's LVE (UNESCO, 2003b) and further developed Fishman's GIDS into the Expanded GIDS (EGIDS).

Lewis and Simons (2010) point out that GIDS has four shortcomings. Firstly, GIDS' static terms cannot reflect the dynamic changes in ILT. For example, Lewis and Simons believe that the scale should differentiate two different situations in Stage 6. One situation is when languages potentially develop its status upwardly toward Stage 5; all children thus stably acquire the languages. The other situation is when languages gradually lose their status downwardly toward Stage 7; not all children thus acquire the languages. As children in both situations still learn the language in question, GIDS's Stage 6 cannot fully distinguish these two directionalities.

Secondly, GIDS does not cover all possible statuses of the world's languages. The highest stage of GIDS (Stage 1) is equivalent to regional languages, and the lowest one (Stage 8) is languages with old speakers still alive. However, there are national languages and internationally used languages whose classification should be higher than Stage 1. There are extinct languages that would be classified below Stage 8 too. If a scale aims to classify the status of languages, the scale needs the addition of new levels to be able to cover these languages.

In addition, though Fishman thinks ILT is the most important factor, Stages 5 and above do not address it, but focus on factors concerned with the use of languages outside the home or family. Lewis and Simons, thus, believe that Stage 5 and above should more clearly state the function of institutional developments that support firm ILT.

Lastly, considering the objectives of GIDS, the scale is a guideline for language revitalization. In other words, when stakeholders work for language revitalization, they need to reach the situation described in the higher stages than the current stages of the target languages. However, Lewis and Simons (2010) consider

that the description of the lowest stages, especially for the lowest stage (Stage 8), is too simple to be a guideline.

Lewis and Simons (2010) also mention two shortcomings of UNESCO's LVE. Factor 1 of LVE simply classifies languages as 'Safe,' only if ILT is successful. By contrast, GIDS has a more precise classification of languages with successful ILT. In GIDS Stage 1 to 6 require full ILT, while the stages are subdivided in terms of the use of the language in various domains.

Moreover, Lewis and Simons (2010) consider that LVE was designed and more relevant for locally based small-scale surveys of language use. Lewis (2005) tested this by applying LVE to 100 languages in the world. He used the following eight databases.

- 1) Ethnologue, fourteenth edition (Grimes, 2000)
- 2) The Linguist List Language Database (www.linguistlist.org) which includes the Seven Tones Linguistic Database.
- 3) The SIL Bibliography (www.ethnologue.com)
- 4) Rosetta Project (www.rosetta-project.org)
- 5) OCLC First Search (newfirstsearch.oclc.org) which provided access to the
- 6) ERIC and Article First databases.
- 7) The UNESCO Redbook of Endangered Languages (www.tooyoo.l.utokyo.ac.jp/Redbook/index.html)
- 8) House of the Small Languages (www.houseofthesmalllanguages.org)

(Lewis, 2005, pp.16-17)

He found that there is little or no sufficient data to decide on an adequate grade of factors for many languages. For example, some languages lack demographic data. Thus, he could not fill in Factor 2. As a result, he was able to complete all nine factors only for seven out of a hundred languages⁵. He, therefore, points out that a comprehensive database is necessary for effective use of LVE. However, up to this point in time the data for many languages has not been collected yet, and much of the collected data has not been adequately placed into databases.

Lewis and Simons (2010) believe that EGIDS can be a better tool for the assessing of endangered languages. EGIDS has two sets of scales. The first scale

⁵ Bunaba (Australia), Arrernte (Australia), Amto (Papua New Guinea), Welsh (Great Britain), Gascon (France), Gaelic (Great Britain), and Cornish (Great Britain)

consists of 13 levels that can classify languages (See Table 2.13). LVE's Factor 1 puts less endangered languages in one group all together. Any language is labelled as 'safe' as long as ILT is successful irrespective of the level of vitality determined by other factors. However, like GIDS, EGIDS enables assessors to classify relatively less endangered languages in detail. The latest edition of Ethnologue adopts EGIDS (Simons & Fennig, 2018).

Table 2.13. Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Adapted from Fishman, 1991) (Lewis and Simon, 2010)

EGIDS Level	EGIDS Label	EGIDS Description	UNESCO Descriptor
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	5 Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level.	5 Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	5 Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	5 Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	5 Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	5 Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	5 Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations, but only some of the child-bearing generations are transmitting it to their children.	4 Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves, but none is transmitting it to their children	3 Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	2 Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	1 Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	0 Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	0 Extinct

Note. With the column ‘UNESCO Descriptor,’ Lewis and Simons (2010) indicated how each level of EGIDS is equivalent to the grades of Factor 1 of LVE ‘Degree of Endangerment.’ For instance, EGIDS’ level 6b ‘threatened’ is equivalent to LVE’s the grade 4 ‘vulnerable’ of Factor 1. (Numbers in the row ‘UNESCO Descriptor’ are added by author.)

When comparing GIDS and EGIDS a number of differences are evident. In the first scale of EGIDS, two levels are added above Stage 1 of GIDS. Stage 1 of GIDS (regional language) is equivalent to Level 2 in EGIDS. Level 0 and 1 of EGIDS represents international language and national language respectively. Similarly, another two levels are added below Stage 8 of GIDS. There are still few speakers in Stage 8 of GIDS, while EGIDS' Level 9 and 10 represent extinct languages. When a language is classified in Level 9, though people no longer speak the language, they consider the language as a symbol of their ethnic identity. On the other hand, Level 10 expresses that the language does not carry even such a function. Furthermore, Stage 6 of GIDS is split to two EGIDS levels (Level 6a and 6b). Level 6a represents the status of languages that is developing to upper levels, while Level 6b represents languages that are shifting toward lower levels. Stage 8 of GIDS is also split into two levels (Level 8a and 8b). This allows the classification of the nearly extinct languages more precisely.

Lewis and Simons (2010) designed the first scale of EGIDS so as to enable researchers to assess a level of a language in question by assessing only two to three out of five key issues. These issues are the (i) identity function, (ii) vehicularity (whether or not the language functions as a language of wider communication, and to what domains the language is used), (iii) state of intergenerational language transmission, (iv) literacy acquisition status, and (v) societal profile of generational language use. These constitute the part of a decision tree (Figure 2.1). This will help to categorize languages of the world rapidly even though little information is available.

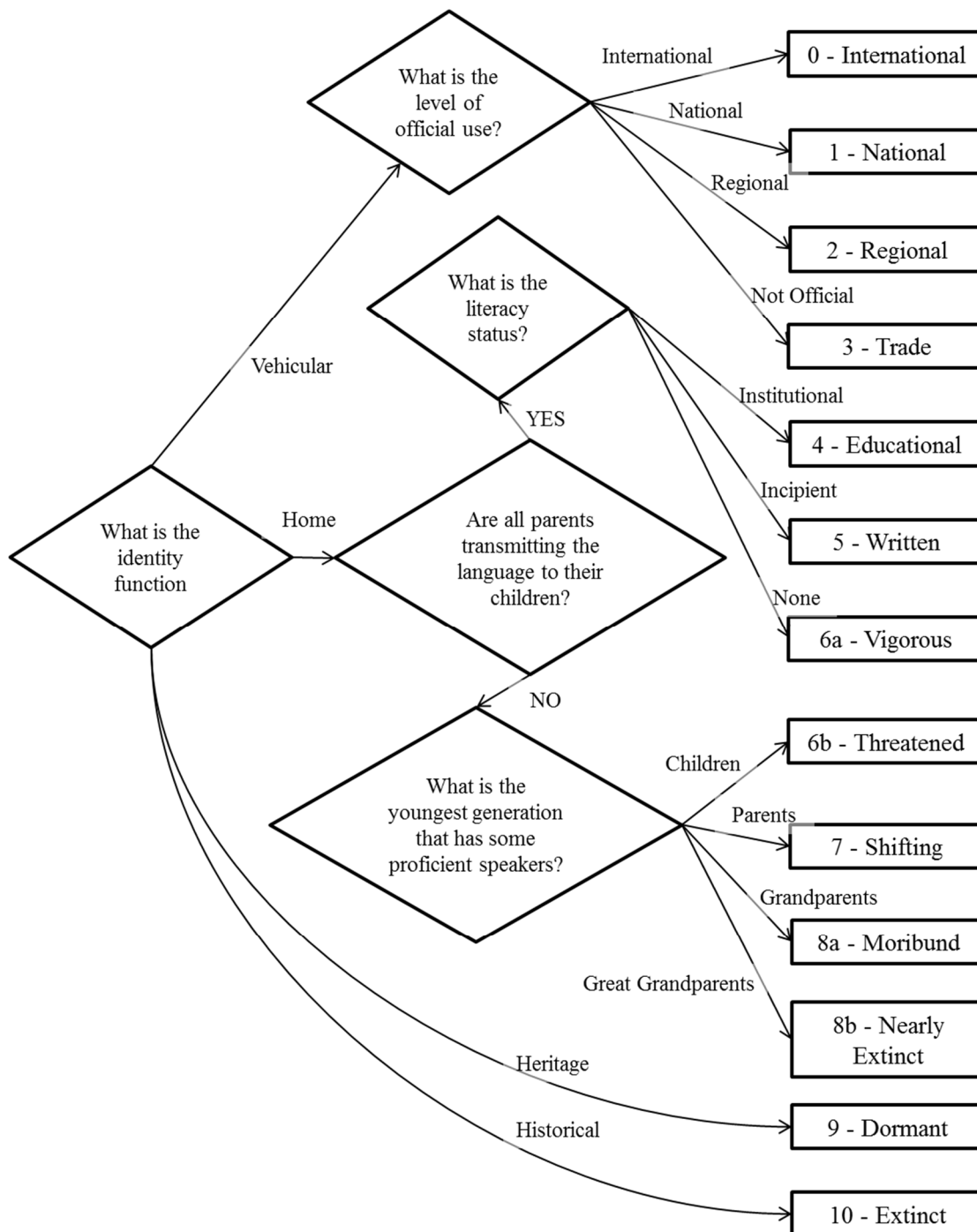


Figure 2.1. Extended GIDS Diagnostic Decision Tree (Lewis and Simons, 2010).

The second scale of EGIDS is specially designed as a guideline for language revitalization. This scale is formed with six levels that relate to ILT. The highest level is thus Level 6a, and the description of this level is in common with the first scale (Table 2.14).

Table 2.14. Revitalization EGIDS Levels (Lewis and Simon, 2010)

EGID Level	EGIDS Label	EGIDS Description
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned at home by all children as their first language.
6b	Re-established	Some members of the third generation of children are acquiring the language in the home with the result that an unbroken chain of inter-generational transmission has been re-established among all living generations.
7	Revitalized	A second generation of children is acquiring the language from their parents who also acquired the language in the home. Language transmission takes place in home and community.
8a	Reawakened	Children are acquiring the language in community and some home settings and are increasingly able to use the language orally for some day-to-day communicative needs.
8b	Reintroduced	Adults of the parent generation are reconstructing and reintroducing their language for everyday social interaction.
9	Rediscovered	Adults are rediscovering their language for symbolic and identificational purposes.

Lewis and Simons (2010) explain that, for language revitalization, stakeholders should focus on the oldest generation who can speak the language. They need to enlarge this ‘oldest generation’ to include as many ‘young’ people as possible. When the oldest generation is equivalent to the youngest member of the community, it means that all generations acquire the language, that is, Level 6a. After that, efforts for language revitalization correspond with levels of the first scale; to achieve further revitalization, stakeholders need to accomplish the statements described in Level 5 to 0 of the first scale.

2.4 Research on the Comparison of EGIDS and LVE

Dwyer (2011) tested the strength and shortcomings of EGIDS and LVE by applying them to three languages: Amdo, Wutun, and Sanie.

Firstly, Dwyer estimated the grades of LVE’s nine factors regarding three target languages. The results are shown in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15. UNESCO (LVE) Score Sheet (Adapted from Dwyer, 2011, pp.13-14)

Factors	Amdo Tibetan ISO 639-3 code: adx	Wutun (wuh)	Sanie (ysy)
	Rating		
LVE Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission	5 - strong	5 - strong	2/3 - no under - 20s
LVE Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers	ca. 1 million	ca. 2000-4000	ca. 7000
LVE Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within Total Population	5 - ca. 100%	5 - ca. 100%	2 - 39%
LVE Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains	4 - most domains strong	3 - strong private and village use	2/3 - (ltd. Info)
LVE Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media	4 - transliteration on internet	0 - no new media	0 - no new media
LVE Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy	5 - schooling, media	0 - no orthography	1 - schooling in Std Yi; ltd. Orthography
LVE Factor 7: Official Status and Use: Governmental & Institutional Language Attitude, Policies	4 - regional standard	3 - no official status; ethnically misclassified	2 - no status; but official policy support
LVE Factor 8: Community Members' Attitude toward Their Own Language	5 - strong	2 - mixed opinions on language maintenance	1/2 - no transmission to children, suggests active abandonment
LVE Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation	4 - fairly extensive; no corpora	3 - no dictionary; sketch grammar only	1 - survey
EGIDS Level	2: Regional, 3: Trade or 4: Educational	6a: Vigorous	7: Shifting

From his comparison Dwyer (2011) states that UNESCO's LVE allows researchers to highlight the strengths and problems of a language in question. For instance, the scale shows that the Wutun language obtained Grade 5 of Factor 1, while it has no vitality (Grade 0) in terms of Factors 5 and 6. LVE in this instance is able to alert stakeholders

of Wutun that they should prioritize Factors 5 and 6: the development of new domains and educational materials.

At the same time, Dwyer (2011) points out that EGIDS is also useful for a rough estimation since not all communities have sufficient information for the application of LVE. However, one risk of EGIDS is that it may lead to a misleading assessment if it is done too quickly. A brief definition of one level cannot cover all the situations of a language. One language could be, thus, classified as being in more than one level.

From Table 2.15, Amdo's situation illustrates that it can be equivalent to several Levels. Amdo is, at highest, Level 2 as it is a regional language. Nevertheless, Dwyer (2011) implies that Amdo might be lower than Level 2, as it is subordinate to Mandarin. Amdo may be classified as Level 3, as it is a trade language. However, Amdo is generally used only by insiders, while EGIDS determines that Level 3 languages are used by outsiders too. Furthermore, Amdo is used in education, but not the highest level. Dwyer (2011) cannot decide whether Amdo can simply be categorized as Level 4 or not, because Level 4 only focuses on the existence of literacy education, while the level of education is not concerned.

Wutun is at Level 6a, as it is being transmitted; nevertheless, Dwyer (2011) thinks that other factors do not seem as vigorous as Level 6a. As shown in Table 2.15, the Wutun population does not seem large enough, no orthography is available, or no official status is given to Wutun. Despite these negative factors, EGIDS's diagnostic decision tree led Wutun to Level 6a.

In summary, LVE and EGIDS are complementary to each other. LVE would be more relevant to comprehend the strengths and problems of one language through in-depth surveys. This means that LVE requires detailed information. On the other hand, EGIDS would allow quick comparisons of the statuses of languages without detailed information. However, this may not be an advantage, as it may mislead the precise evaluation.

Despite these differences, ILT is the focus of almost all the scales. ILT is, thus, one of the most important and critical factor for LM and language revitalization. Besides ILT, LVE and EGIDS also stress the need to take other factors into consideration. LVE suggests observing both individual and societal attitudes toward the languages in question, because these attitudes determine parents' decision to transmit the languages to their children. Macro-societal factors, such as the use in

education and media, language policy, and official support, etc. are also important, as they can both strengthen and discourage ILT.

We also must note that neither LVE nor EGIDS are perfect scales. Some statements in both are ambiguous. Assessors need to have a comprehensive and deep knowledge of the target communities; otherwise it may be almost impossible to place the target languages in the right grade or level. Moreover, we should be aware that in addition to LVE's nine factors, there are other factors that may influence LS or LM. For example, Fishman's (1991) three dislocation; physical and demographic, social, and cultural dislocation, and industrialization, urbanization, economic change, inter-group marriage, and sociocultural characteristics etc. Which factors are more important is highly dependent on respective societies. Therefore, when assessing language vitality, the best way is doing on-site research, collecting primary data, and carefully considering all possible and specific factors for LS and LM of the target groups.

2.5 The Taxonomy of Language Motivations Model

As I stated in Chapter 1 and reviewed in the section 2.2, language attitudes are an important factor in determining language shift and maintenance. However, LVE does not provide details on how assessors should investigate language attitudes. Though Gardner & Lambert (1992) proposed the broad category of attitudes: integrative motivations vis-à-vis instrumental motivations, this dichotomic way may not be detailed enough to explore one's attitudes. This study, therefore, applies the Taxonomy of Language Motivations (TLM) model (Karan, 2008, 2011).

The TLM derived from the Perceived Benefit Model (PBM) (Karan, 2000), is slightly different from the scales for assessing language vitality and endangerment outlined above. However, TLM indicates the aspects that assessors should focus on when observing language choice. PBM proposes that language choice is determined by individuals' belief that the language they choose would provide benefits to them. The most important is a speaker's own perception. If a speaker believes that being fluent in a dominant language helps to obtain a job with high income, the speaker would choose the dominant language over an indigenous language, regardless of whether the fluency of the dominant language does really help to obtain a good job or not. Karan (2008; 2011) suggests that LS in a community is the collective result of

individual language choices, and these choices reflect various motivations. TLM covers the necessary motivations that assessors should investigate as follows.

1. *Communicative Motivations (Integrative)*: people use and acquire languages that best facilitate communication.
2. *Economic Motivations (Instrumental)*: people use and acquire languages that provide financial advancement or profit. This motivation is divided into three sub-categories.
 - a. *Job related*: a language that helps to obtain or maintain an employment
 - b. *Trade related*: a language that helps to facilitate or improve the success of people's trade
 - c. *Network related*: a language that helps to create or maintain networks that will be financially beneficial to people
3. *Social Identity Motivations*: people want or do not want to be identified with a group or individual through using a language. This motivation is divided into four sub-categories.
 - a. *Prestige Group related*: a language that helps to associate people with a prestige group who uses that language, and a language that helps to disassociate people with a low prestige group that uses that form
 - b. *Solidarity related*: a language that helps to create or maintain a solidarity bond with an individual, group, culture or sub-culture
 - c. *Hero/Villain related*: a language that helps to associate people with a well-known individual who uses that form, and a language that helps to disassociate people with a well-known individual who uses that form
 - d. *Distance related*: a language that creates or maintains a distance between people and an individual, group, culture or sub-culture
4. *Language Power and Prestige Motivations*: languages are associated with power and prestige or lack of power and prestige. For this motivation, the prestige and power are linked with the language itself, not the group who speak the language. This category is concerned with the concept 'diglossia.'
 - a. *High language forms*: a language that helps to gain power or prestige in a diglossic situation

- b. *Low language forms*: a language that associates people with the lack of power and prestige in a diglossic situation
5. *National and Political Motivations*: when a nation and a language are associated, in some cases, people use a language to be perceived as a good citizen. When political camps or parties and a language are associated, people's political preference influences their language choice.
6. *Religious Motivations*: when a religion and a language are associated, people's religious beliefs or preference influence their language choice. This motivation is divided into four sub-categories.
- a. *Pleasing or Appealing*: a language that helps to attain a greater being
 - b. *Sacred Language*: a languages itself is seen as special or sacred by some religions.
 - c. *Access Writings*: a language that provides access to their sacred writings
 - d. *Religious Communication*: desires or directives to communicate religious ideas influence people's language choice.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I introduced and reviewed four frameworks for language maintenance and shift studies: GIDS, the LVE and EGIDS scales for assessing language vitality and endangerment, and a taxonomy for investigating language attitudes, TLM. While the scales for assessing language vitality and endangerment are widely used, it should be noted that even they may not cover all possible factors affecting language shift.

Therefore, I designed the methodology of this study to cover all factors in LVE and EGIDS and even other possible factors listed in Chapter 1. For TLM, the taxonomy focuses on language attitudes and the factors influencing people's motivations for their choice, use, and acquisition of a language in question. Though LVE takes language attitudes into account as a factor (Factor 7 and 8), the details, how an assessor should assess language attitudes of a speech community, are not provided. In this study, therefore, TLM was adopted to systematically investigate and analyse the language attitudes of the target speech community. The details of the methodology are discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 3 Multilingualism in Thailand

In this chapter, I introduce some basic information on Bru, the language spoken by the people of the target of this study, including the basic information of Woen Buek.

3.1 Language Ecology in Thailand

Thailand is a multiethnic and multilingual country, though this fact is often overlooked (Rappa & Wee, 2006). Smalley (1994) reports that 40 languages are spoken in Thailand, while Simons & Fennig (2018) report this number to be 71. This number is in line with Premsrirat (2007) who reports that more than 70 languages are currently spoken in Thailand (see Figure 3.1. for the distribution of languages in Thailand). Among approximately 61 million (Luangthongkum, 2007) Thai nationals, the Tai languages are the majority as the number of speakers of these languages accounts for 92% of the total population (Table 3.1).

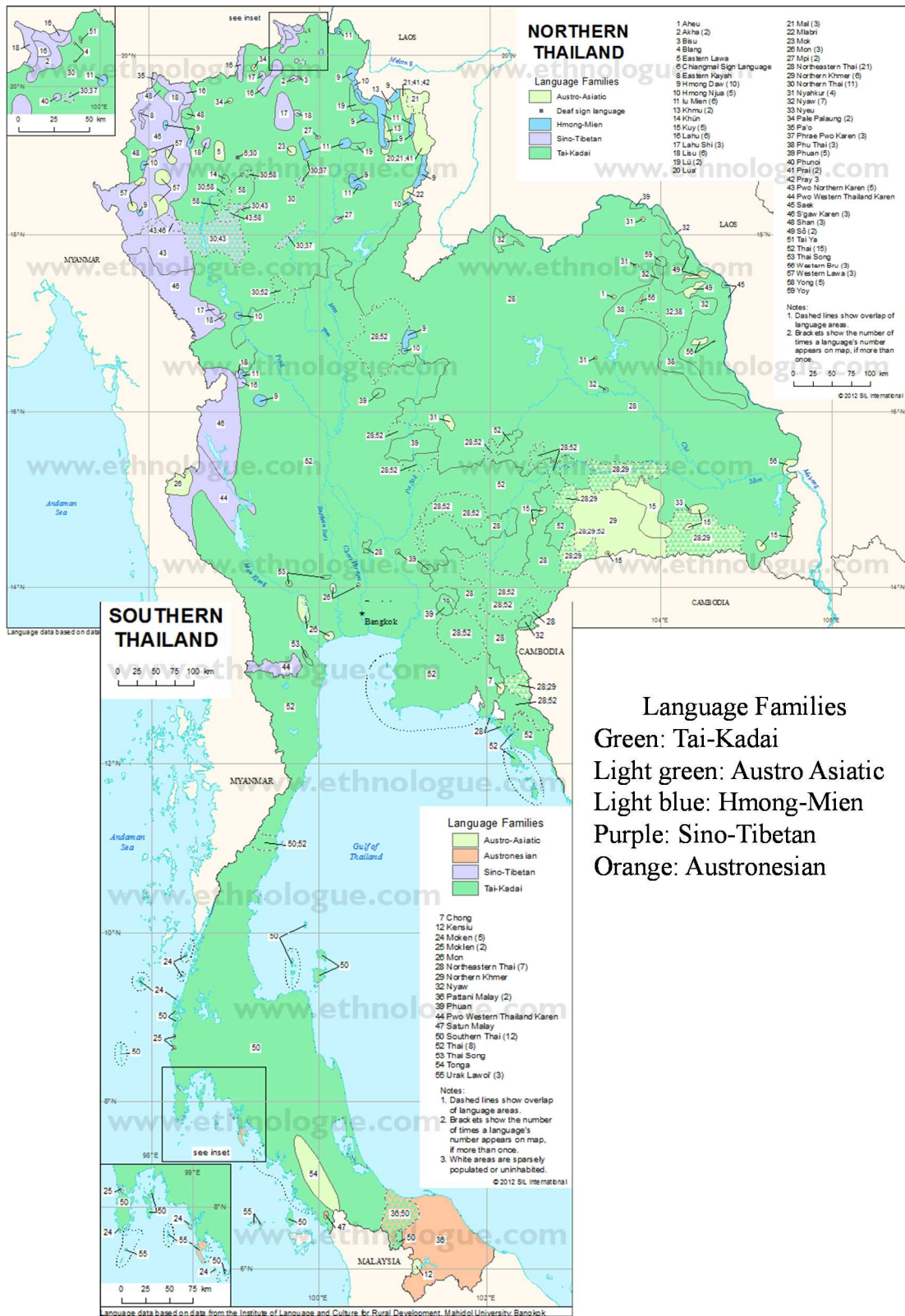


Figure 3.1. Language Map of Thailand (adapted from Simons & Fennig, 2018).

Table 3.1. Languages in Thailand

Language family	Number of languages	Ratio of population
Tai-Kadai	24	92.0%
Austroasiatic	20	4.3%
Sino-Tibetan	21	3.1%
Hmong-Mien	2	0.3%
Austronesian	3	0.3%

Smalley (1994) classifies languages in Thailand into four groups and seven subgroups as follows:

The National Language, Standard Thai, is derived from Central Thai or Thai Klang.

There are four *Regional languages*: Central Thai/Thai Klang, Northern Thai/Kam Muang/Lanna, Northeastern Thai/Isan/Lao, and Southern Thai/Paktay. The Royal Institute of Thailand and many Regional Thai speakers recognize these regional vernaculars as dialects. On the other hand, some academic institutions, such as Mahidol University, and linguists prefer to use the ethnic names, especially for Northern Thai and Northeastern Thai, because their historical identities, historically used orthographies, and linguistic features are different from those of Central Thai (Draper, 2013a; Rappa & Wee, 2006).

Marginal regional languages. This group of languages has a large number of speakers and is distributed along the border of Thailand and neighbouring countries. High Khmer (Northern Khmer) with 1.2 million speakers, Pattani Malay with 1.2 million speakers, Karen (Phlaw and Sgaw) with 31 thousands speakers, and Tai Yai (Shan) are classified in this category.

Other categories include four subcategories: displaced languages, town languages, marginal languages, and enclave languages.

Displaced Tai languages are from the Tai-Kadai language family: Lue, Yong, Tai Yai, Tai Khoen, Tai Ya, Lao Wiang, Lao Tai, Lao Khrang, Lao Ngaew, Song (Tai Dam), Phuan, Nyo, Yoi, Kaloeng, and Saek. These languages are historically used by migrants who settled in current Thailand from Vietnam, China and Laos etc. about 150 to 400 years ago (Smalley, 1994) due to war, famine, work opportunities and being prisoners of war (Premsrirat, 2007).

Town and city languages are spoken by immigrants from outside Thailand in urban area: these include several Chinese languages, Vietnamese, and Indic languages.

Enclave languages exist in remote areas, for example, Lua', Mpi, Bisu, Mla Bri, Nyah Kur, Ugong, Tavueng (So), Chong and Samre. This term is used especially for languages that have small numbers of speakers. Some of them are endangered: Bisu, Samre, Kasong etc.

Marginal languages refer to mainly non-Tai minority languages existing near the border, and a majority of them living on the other side of the national border: Tibeto-Burman languages and Hmong-Mien languages in the north and northwest, Kuay in the northeast, and Mon in the northwest etc.

In Smalley's system, the relationship among the languages is a hierarchical one. That is, the *National language* is at the top. *Regional languages*, *Marginal Regional languages*, and *Other categories* follow in that order. Despite the number of languages, only Standard Thai is the *de facto* national and official language of Thailand (Draper, 2013a; Kosonen, 2008.)

In fact, if we consider that four regional Thai languages are dialects of Standard Thai, most Thai nationals speak Standard Thai or one of its dialectal varieties. *The 2000 Population and Household Census* reported that 52 million Thai nationals are monolingual in Standard Thai or one of four regional dialects (Luangthongkum, 2007). By contrast, the number of speakers who can speak either a marginal regional language or a language from other categories⁶ is less than 4 million, even though this number includes bilingual and multilingual speakers.

Based on Simons & Fennig (2018), the number of regional Thai languages or dialects vis-à-vis that of Standard Thai is quite similar. There are 20.2 million Standard Thai speakers versus 25.5 million of either of three regional Thai speakers. Despite such a large population, no legal status is given to these regional languages. Even the status of Standard Thai is not mentioned in the *1997* nor *2007 Constitutions* (Draper, 2013a).

3.2 Language Policy of Thailand

Standard Thai has not been clearly legislated as the national or official language of Thailand. However, in 2006 the Royal Institute of Thailand began to explore the need

⁶ The census calls all of them "Non-Thai languages"

for a National Language Policy (NLP) (Draper, 2013a; Kosonen, 2008). However, Draper (2013a) states that, as of 2013, ‘the NLP has not been formally approved nor discussed publicly (p.213).’

Prior to the efforts of developing a NLP, an important turning point in the field of education was achieved in the middle of the 1990s (Draper, 2013a; Luangthongkum, 2007). In *The Eighth National Security Plan* in 1997, the concept of *Pahuluk* ‘Pluralism’ was introduced by the *National Security Council* and Thai academics, and it replaced the past concept *Ekkalut* ‘Only one characteristic’. Until the 1990s, only the Thai language was allowed to be used in government schools (Smalley, 1994). This explains the Thai government’s assimilationist policies up to that time. In 2001, the national basic education curriculum was enacted based on the National Education Act (Ministry of Education, 1999), and this curriculum allows schools to include up to 30% of classroom time as local curriculum. The National Education Act does not overtly declare that schools can use or teach local languages, though, it allows to have local curriculum that may teach local languages and cultures (Ampra & Thaitae, 2000; Kosonen, 2008; Siltragool & Petcharugsa, 2005). When the National Education Act was amended in 2002, the government started to acknowledge indigenous cultural rights. In this act, ‘local wisdom’ as a national culture is explicitly promoted, while language is not explicitly mentioned. The act only promotes local wisdom, and does not make any reference to language. Draper (2013a) states that the lack of such reference covertly permits the promoting or teaching of languages other than Standard Thai at school. That is, it is not clear whether the scope of wisdom includes language or not, and whether non-Standard Thai can be used when promoting local wisdom or not. Therefore, it is possible to interpret that language is a part of local wisdom on the grounds that language is a part of culture. Non-Standard Thai language could be also used when promoting an understanding of local wisdom because it is not proscribed in the act.

3.2.1 Language Maintenance and Revitalization in Thailand

3.2.1.1 Pattani Malay

Over the last decades in the areas of Thailand where Pattani Malay is spoken (four provinces in the Southern-most region of Thailand: Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and a part of Songkhla. In Satun Province, the variety Satun Malay is also spoken), there

have been violent acts committed by separationists. Because the majority of Thai citizens are Buddhist and the Patani Malay are Muslim, many scholars regard the religious differences as the reason for this insurgency (Draper, 2013a; Kosonen, 2008; Yamashita, 2003). The religious differences are not the only issues that have alienated Pattani Malays in Thai society. One main issue is that Pattani Malay had been banned in government schools (Kosonen, 2008, p. 175), even though Pattani Malay and its orthography are important symbols of their religious identity. Pattani Malays will have rarely used Standard Thai before they enter primary school (Premsrirat, 2008a). However, they are compelled to study all subjects in an unfamiliar language. This would prevent them from educational success, and cause the failure in integration to Thai society. Some Pattani Malays, thus, prefer the *Pondok* or *Ponoh*, traditional religious schools which are seen as symbols of ‘resistance in the form of a liberation ideology to perceived Thai hegemonic encroachment, and cannot acquire enough skills to succeed in Thai society.’ (Draper, 2003a, p.328). The Thai government has supported this group by funding a project to translate the Koran to Thai, funding four-months paid religious leave for Muslim officials to go on religious pilgrimages (Rappa & Wee, 2006), and a parallel Islamic education system that contains religious studies, Arabic and Thai Malay [i.e. Pattani Malay] (Draper, 2013a). Using Pattani Malay in primary education is an effective way to stop this vicious cycle (Premsrirat, 2008b).

Based on the study of the language use conducted in 2006, The Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia (RILCA) of Mahidol University proposed that young Pattani Malay pupils need a mother tongue bridging course when they start official education. In the same year, the Royal Institute of Thailand recommended that the government develop a Pattani Malay writing system (Kosonen, 2008) and a few years later researchers from Mahidol University developed a Pattani Malay orthography using Thai alphabets (see The Royal Institute of Thailand, 2010). Therefore, Pattani Malay speakers are now able to learn the Thai script through their own language. Moreover, as of 2007, the government started plans to develop Malay-Thai bilingual education programs for the Southern provinces (Bureau of International Cooperation, 2007.) Draper (2013a) reports that a school now has a pilot programme teaching Arabic, English, Pattani Malay, and Standard Malay.

3.2.1.2 Language Revitalization Projects

RILCA is one of the most active institutions on language revitalization and language maintenance projects in Thailand. It began developing language and cultural revitalization projects for the first time in 2002, and by 2013, it had cooperated and was cooperating in up to 23 projects all over the country (Premssirat, 2013.)

The Chong Language Revitalization Project (CLRP) is the first project among the above-mentioned projects, and also the prototype for many projects that followed. Chong is a language of the Austroasiatic language family, spoken in the Chanthaburi province, in Eastern Thailand. Chong is endangered, as the number of speakers remains at 2000 to 4,000, and young Chong people below twenty years old no longer use Chong (Premssirat, 2007).

The Chong people wanted to revitalize their own language and culture, but they did not have the know-how. Fortunately, they had a personal connection with someone from Mahidol University, and they contacted them and asked for help (Premssirat, 2007). The project on the promotion of Chong language and culture started in 1999 with technical support from Mahidol University. RILCA became involved in 2002 and the project also received financial support from the Thailand Research Fund (TRF) (Kosonen, 2008).

After the success of the Chong project, the same model has been applied to other ethnic minority groups. One of the targets of this PhD study, Bru, was also included as one of Mahidol University's language revitalization projects. The project was funded for a year by the TRF from 2009 to 2010 (Division of Research for Community, 2011).

Revitalization efforts have also been made for the regional languages. Khon Kaen University has just introduced a trial on signage with Tai Noi orthography (Draper, 2013b). It was once used in Lao speaking areas in Northeastern Thailand and Laos. While Laos' Socialist government adjusted it to the present Lao orthography, the project aims to revitalize the old scripts. (Draper, 2012; 2013a) reported that some municipal schools in Khon Kaen province have started a pilot program to teach the Isan language and culture. The subject is taught one hour a week, for pupils of Grade 4 and up as a free hour allocation of the curriculum.

Though there have been on-going language revitalization projects, Draper (2013a) states that most projects are small scale, except the case of Pattani Malay. He

also reports that even if one language enjoys a language revitalization project in one community, the same language might be about to die in another community that speaks the same language. Furthermore, even in the communities where revitalization projects were once carried out, it is not well investigated how or if these programs have continued after the end of official and financial support.

3.3 The Bru Communities

This doctoral study focuses on the Bru minority community in the Northeastern Thailand (Woen Buek, Khong Chiam district, Ubon Ratchathani province, see Figure 3.2. for map of surrounding areas). It was selected based on two criteria. I chose Northeastern Thailand at first, as I am more familiar with the languages and cultures of this region than those of any other regions in Thailand (see Tomioka, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c). This region is where I could maximize my language proficiency and personal network in finding participants, observing their language use and conducting interviews. Secondly, I was looking for an endangered language in this region. This excluded Northeastern Thai (Lao) as a possibility. Crystal (2000, p.15) roughly estimates that a safe language at the end of twenty-first century would have more than 100,000 speakers, and now Northeastern Thai has 15 millions speakers (Draper, 2007). They are the second largest language group in this region followed by Central Thai (Person, 2011). Therefore, this language may not be as seriously endangered as smaller languages in Thailand. Lastly, I focussed on a non-Tai language. Vail (2006) reports that code-switching patterns of Northeastern Thais are so complicated that even local people are often confused what languages they are speaking. This complexity is derived from phonological similarities among Tai-Kadai languages (for example, Standard Thai and Northeastern Thai). Since I needed to judge what language participants use in various situations for revealing the factors behind the language shift, it was preferable to work with languages that we can linguistically distinguish from the majority or regional language.

In the rest of this chapter I will introduce the background information of the Bru people and the target community. The various linguistic classifications of the branch to which the Bru language belongs to will be discussed in Section 3.4, and the ethnolinguistic classification by the Laotian government in Section 3.5. The population of the Bru people in Thailand and Laos will be presented by using the results of Thai and Laotian census respectively in Section 3.6, and I will finish the

Chapter with an overview of the basic information concerning the target community (Section 3.7).

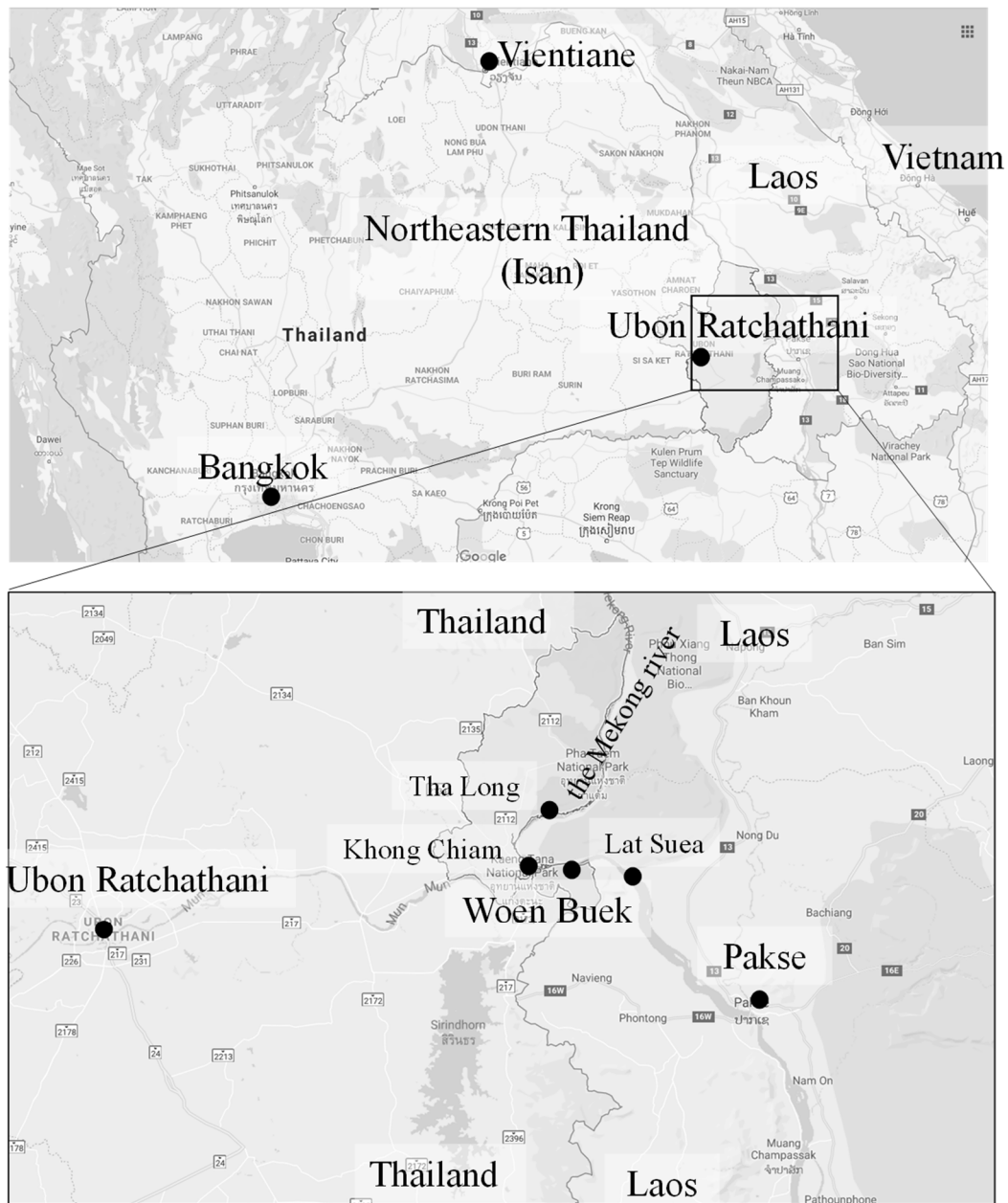


Figure 3.2. Map of Northeastern Thailand, Ubon Ratchathani province, Khong Chiam district and surrounding areas (adapted from Google, 2018).

3.4 Linguistic Classifications of Bru

The name ‘Bru’ is ambiguous (Engelkemier, 2010). Endonym and mutual intelligibility do not always match. For instance, the people in the target community, Woen Buek (WB), identify themselves as Bru. However, the language in WB is similar to Kataang in Laos and, while many Woen Buek villagers do not know the name ‘Kataang’, even those in WB that know Kataang, do not identify Kataang

speakers as belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves (Green & van der Haak, 2001). On the other hand, both peoples in Woen Buek and Quan Tri in Vietnam call themselves ‘Bru’, but they do not speak the same dialect (L. Thongkum, 1979). Following the endonym of WB people, in this study I have designated the name of the language spoken in WB as ‘Bru’, and, in this section, I discuss in which sub-branch the Bru language is linguistically classified.

Despite the mis-match between endonym and mutual intelligibility, the Bru language at any rate belongs to a group of Katuic languages (the Katuic branch) in the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austroasiatic (AA) language family (also called the AA stock or the AA phylum). Sidwell (2015, p. 185) states that the Katuic branch includes about 15 distinct languages in Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The majority of Katuic languages speakers mostly live in Thailand and Cambodia, whereas linguistic diversity of Katuic languages is more prominent in the central Laos (Salavan and Sekong provinces) and adjacent border areas of Vietnam. There is a consensus that Katuic branch is established as an individual branch in the AA phylum (p. 148). Choo (2012, p. 2) pointed out that, however, the classification and categorization of speech varieties within the Katuic branch is yet to be agreed amongst researchers.

Katuic languages have been known to scholars since the 1800s, but the notion of the distinct Katuic branch was not made until the 1960s when Thomas’ (1966) lexicostatistical study brought the breakthrough that established the Katuic branch (Sidwell, 2009, p. 87) (See Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Katuic Languages Adapted from Thomas (1966, p. 197)

Katuic
A. Brôuan
1. Brôu (Bru, Kalo, Leu, Galler, Muong Kong, Quantri Tri Van Kieu)
2. Pacoh (Pko, Bô River Van Kieu; subgroups Pacoh Pahi, Pacoh Ndyong, Pacoh, Ta-oih)
3. Ta-oih (in Laos)
B. Katuan
1. Katu (Teu)
2. High Katu
3. Phương (Huu River Van Kier, Phuang)

Thomas and Headley (1970) proposed the list of Katuic languages without sub-grouping as a result of their lexicostatistical studies (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Katuic Languages Adapted from Thomas and Headley (1970, p. 406)

1. Katu	10. Lor, Klor
2. Kantu, High Katu	11. Leun
3. Phurang (Hu'u River Vân Kiêu)	12. Ir
4. Bru (Leu, Quảngtrị Vân Kiêu, Galler, Makong, Tri)	13. Tong
5. Pacóh (Bô River, Vân Kiêu)	14. Souei
6. Ta'oih	15. So
7. Ngeq, Nkriang	16. Alak ⁷
8. Kataang	?17. Kasseng, Talieng ⁸
9. Kuy	

This list has had an impact on the classification of the Katuic languages as ‘this list is popularized by Diffloth (1974)’ (Sidwell, 2009, p. 88) and ‘reflected in the Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009)’ (Choo, 2012, p. 2). Diffloth (1974) proposed the three sub-groups shown in Figure 3.1. This sub-grouping suggest that Bru (Brou) comes under the sub-branch ‘Western Katuic’. On the other hand, Katang (or Kataang) that is possibly the same language as the Bru language spoken in WB is classified under the other sub-branch.

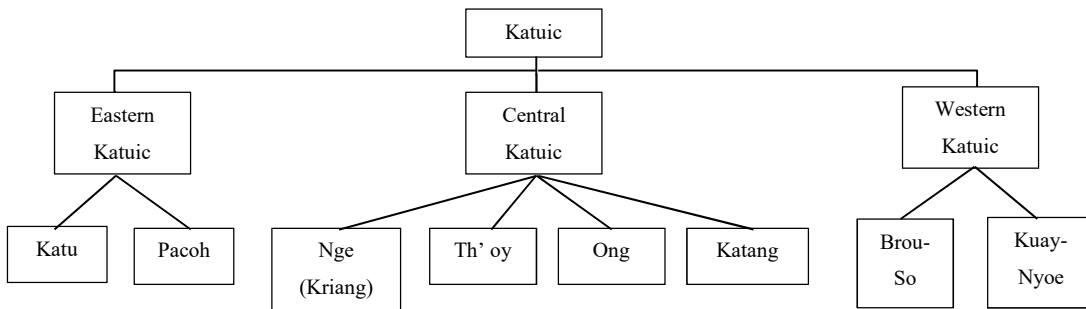


Figure 3.3. Katuic Languages by Diffloth (1974) Cited in Nawalertpreecha (2009).

Further lexicostatistical studies suggested different classifications; both Smith (1981) and Miller and Miller (1996) classified Bru and Kataang (Katang) in the same sub-group ‘North Katuic’ (see Figure 3.2 and Table 3.4). In particular, Miller and Miller (1996) surveyed WB Bru and reported that their language is similar to Katang even though their endonym is ‘Bru’. This finding illustrates the ambiguity of the term ‘Bru’; the endonym, and possibly also the exonym, do not necessarily match to linguistic similarities. In fact, Diffloth (2011) states that

⁷ Sidwell (2009) pointed out that Alak, Kasseng and Talieng are later recognized as Bahnaric languages.

⁸ Ditto.

‘[t]his term “Bru” is used by linguists to cover several closely related varieties, some of which have their own distinct names: Sô, Truk, Saluy, Mangkong, Vân-Kiêu, Katang and others.’ (p. 11)

In a broader sense, the Bru spoken in WB may be considered a variety of Katang. However, in a narrower sense Bru and Katang can be considered as being distinct varieties.

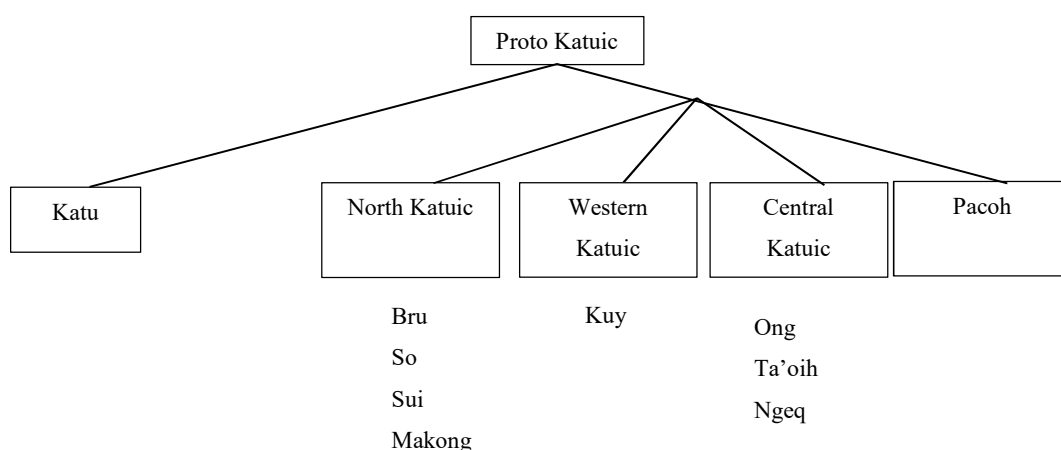


Figure 3.4. Katuic Language Tree Adapted from Smith (1981, p. 204).

Table 3.4. Katuic Groups Adapted from Miller and Miller (1961, p. 281)

Katuic
North Katuic: So, Bru, Tri, Makong/Mangkong, Siliq, Katang
West Katuic: Sui/Suoi/Suai, Nheu, Kui, Kuay
Pacoh
Central Katuic: Ong, Ir
Ngeq
Katu (Laos)
Katu (Vietnam)

L. Thongkum (2001) suggested another sub-grouping with the foci of lexical isoglosses (see Figure 3.3). Bru is classified under the sub-branch ‘North,’ however, L. Thongkum mentioned that Bru and So in Thailand, i.e. northeastern Thailand, which includes the target community of this study, share a lot of lexical items with West Katuic, and thus they are different from the Bru spoken in Vietnam.

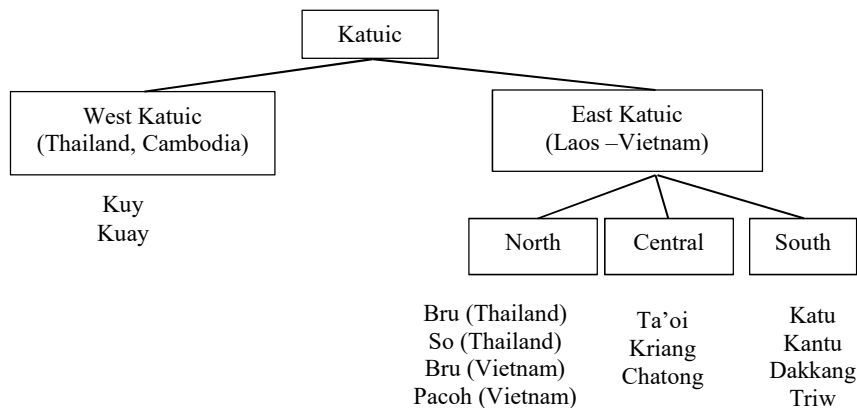


Figure 3.5. Katuic Classification Adapted from L. Thongkum (2001, p. 118).

Sidwell (2009) suggested another classification based on a phonological reconstruction of Proto-Katuic, that is different from studies based on lexical or lexicostatistical methods (see Table 3.5). In his classification, Bru is in the sub-group ‘West Katuic’, while Katang is one of the ‘Ta’oih’ languages.

Table 3.5. Katuic Classification Adapted from Sidwell (2009, p. 93)

Katuic
West Katuic:
Kui, Souei
Bru, Sô
Ta’oih:
Ta’oih, Katang, Talan/Ong/Ir/Inh
Kriang/Ngeq
Chatong
Katu:
Kantu, Katu, Phuong, Triw, Dakkang
Pacoh:
Pacoh

Choo (2012) pointed out that the classification in Ethnologue (Lewis, 2009) seems to be adapted from that of Thomas and Headley (1970) with some exceptions; the addition of Nyeu and Tareng, the splitting of Bru and Ta’oih, and the exclusion of Alak. This similarity still remains in the 19th edition (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016), but the classification was revised in the 21st edition (see Table 3.6). For example, Kataang was moved from the Central Katuic group to West Katuic as Northern Kataang and Southern Kataang. Kaseng was removed from the East Katuic group. Brou-So was renamed as Bru, and Kuay-Nheu and Kuay Yoe were merged into Kuay.

Table 3.6. Katuic Languages in Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2018)

Katuic (19)	
<u>Central Katuic (4)</u>	
Ta'oih (4)	
Ir	(Laos)
Ong	(Laos)
Ta'oih, Lower	(Laos)
Ta'oih, Upper	(Laos)
<u>East Katuic (7)</u>	
Katu-Pacoh (5)	
Katu, Eastern	(Vietnam)
Katu, Western	(Laos)
Pacoh	(Vietnam)
Phuong	(Vietnam)
Tareng	(Laos)
Ngeq-Nkriang (2)	
Khlor	(Laos)
Ngeq	(Laos)
<u>West Katuic (8)</u>	
Bru (6)	
Bru, Eastern	(Laos)
Bru, Western	(Thailand)
Katang, Northern	(Laos)
Katang, Southern	(Laos)
Khua	(Vietnam)
Sô	(Laos)
<u>Kuay (2)</u>	
Kuay	(Thailand)
Nyeu	(Thailand)

While Ethnologue follows Thomas and Headley's (1970) classification, Diffloth's (2013) classification merged three sub-groups into two sub-groups: West and East Katuic sub-branches. Just like in his previous classification (Diffloth, 1974), Katang and Bru do not belong to the same sub-group (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7. Katuic Languages by Diffloth (2013)

Katuic	
West Katuic	
Bru, Makong, Kanay	(central Vietnam, central Laos, northeastern Thailand)
So, Tri (Chali), Truy	(central Laos, northeastern Thailand)
Kuay (Souei, Kuy), Yeu	(central Laos, northeastern Thailand)
East Katuic	
Katu, Kantu, Phuong	(central Vietnam, central Laos)
Pacoh	(central Vietnam, central Laos)
Ngkriang (Ngeq)	(central Laos)
Katang	(central Laos)
Ta-oih (Ta-oi, Ta-uas), Ong, Yir	(central Laos)

3.4.1 Classification of Bru within Thailand

The classification of Bru within Thailand is not unified. Tebow (2010) recognizes three Bru groups: Woen Buek, Don Luang, and Khok Sa-at. Premsrirat et al. (2003) separate Bru in Thailand into two groups: Bru and So; Bru is equivalent to the language spoken in Woen Buek, while So corresponds to the varieties spoken in Don Luang, and Khok Sa-at. Simons & Fennig (2018) considers all of them as one group: Western Bru.

3.5 Classifications of Ethnolinguistic Groups by the Laotian Governments

In this section, I report how the ethnolinguistic groups are recognized and classified in Laos (see Figure 3.6. for the map of Laos).



Figure 3.6. Map of Lao People's Democratic Republic (the United Nations, 2004)

In Laos, a topographical category had long been used for the classification of three large ethnic groups (*son saat* or *son phaw nyay*) with a total of 68 ethnic groups (*son phaw*) until the late 1990s. The National Assembly of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR; [the NAL]) (2008a) defines these ethnic groups as follows;

(1) *Lao Lum* ‘lowlanders’ are the inhabitants of valleys and of plain areas at the feet of mountains, and/or along rivers, and consist of 12 ethnic groups (*son phaw*) such as Lao and other Tai groups,

(2) *Lao Thoeng/Theung* ‘uplanders’ are the inhabitants of flat areas of mountains at least 700 meters above sea level, and consist of 36 ethnic groups (*son phaw*) including Katang, Katu, Suay etc., and

(3) *Lao Sung* ‘highlanders’ are the inhabitants of high mountains at least 1,000 meters above sea level, and consist of 20 ethnic groups (*son phaw*) such as Hmong, Lahu, etc.

Lum, *Thoeng*, and *Sung* means ‘below, under, and down,’ ‘above and upper,’ and ‘high’ respectively⁹, while *Lao* in this context means people in Laos rather than simply ethnic Lao.

This topographical classification first emerged in the 1950s when the French colonial regime came to an end and the ethnic Lao nationalist project appeared. The classification was later promoted by the revolutionary movement, the Pathet Lao, to integrate the non-Tai people into the revolutionary struggles (Ovesen, 2004). The Lao government (the NAL, 2008a) also admits that the classification was determined in the 1950s; after the establishment of *Neo Lao Issara* ‘the Free Laos Front’¹⁰ in 13 August 1950; and its committee determined this classification for the purpose of the unification of various ethnic groups, and the commitment of their political duties towards the liberation of the Lao nation.

Ovesen (2004) categorized the differences between these large ethnic groups and linguistic and historical backgrounds as (1’) to (3’) below;

(1’) *Lao Lum* refers to the speakers of the Tai/Lao languages, who have settled in Laos since the thirteenth century onwards, and are now mainly ethnic Lao people have attained the dominant position in terms of politics, economy, and culture;

(2’) *Lao Thueng* refers to the speakers of Austroasiatic languages, who dominated parts of Laos prior to the immigration by the Tai people. In the southern half of Laos, the Austroasiatic people constitute at least 25 different self-identifying groups; and

⁹ Based on Kerr’s (1992) translation.

¹⁰ The non-communist nationalist movement against French colonialism

(3') *Lao Sung* refers to the speakers of Hmong-Mien and Sino-Tibetan languages in northern Laos. They are the newest group; the first immigration by this group to Laos occurred in the early nineteenth century.

According to Ovesen, Bru is classified as *Lao Thoeng/Thueng* as they are speakers of Austroasiatic languages.

Lao Lum, speakers of the Tai languages, are all low land wet-rice farmers in permanent villages and practice Buddhism, while the other two groups, those of Austroasiatic, Hmong-Mien, and Sino-Tibetan languages are swidden farmers (Li, Feng, Jiang, Liao, & Zhang, 2014) and local animists. Such oversimplified stereotypes brought about a perceived cultural and moral superiority by the *Lao Lum* people towards the socio-economic and cultural backwardness and *Lao Thueng* and *Lao Sung* people.

After the foundation of the Lao PDR in 1975, based on the assent of the conference in 16 June 1981, the Lao PDR government temporarily defined 47 ethnic groups (*son phaw*) with more than 90 synonyms in 1984. This classification was used in the 1985 and 1995 censuses; there were a number of respondents who could not find their own ethnonym and/or rejected reporting their ethnonym. Since 1999, the Ethnic Department, the Lao Front for National Construction [ED, LFNC] began reorganizing the ethnic classification with some motivations and purposes;

(1) to replace some ethnonyms that discriminate, libel, ridicule, and satire a group including the exonym *khaa* that discriminatively refers to the speakers of Austroasiatic languages,

(2) to encourage the use of individual ethnic group (*son phaw*) names in exchange of the large ethnic group (*son saat* or *son phaw nyay*) names: *Lao Lum*, *Lao Thoeng*, and *Lao Sung*,

(3) to encourage the use of the term 'demographically large/small ethnic group' in exchange of the term 'majority/minority ethnic group', and

(4) to define the number of ethnic groups.

The ED initially relied on the four factors for their classification: spoken languages, realms (where these languages are spoken), economy, and philosophies and cultures. However, it then concluded that Laos has only one nation (*saat*), i.e. the Lao nation. Therefore, the ED changed the factors to determine the number of ethnic groups (*son phaw*) to: spoken languages, history linked with ethnonyms in the past, and traditions and cultures. As a result, the Lao government concludes that there are

49 ethnic groups (*son phaw*), 90 synonyms, and 200 local names from 4 language families in Laos. The National Assembly of Lao PRD officially identified these ethnic groups (*son phaw*) and abolished three topographical names in 2008 (the NAL, 2008b). It is noteworthy that the law states using this topographical category and terms ‘ethnic majority/minority’ is now illegal. However, people still broadly use *Lao Lum*, *Lao Thoeng*, and *Lao Sung* in Laos. This concept is thus useful to understand Bru’s social status where ethnic Lao is more predominant. This classification was used in the latest population and housing census in Laos in 2005. The names of ethnic groups are listed in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8. The List of the Name of Official Ethnic Groups in the Lao PDR

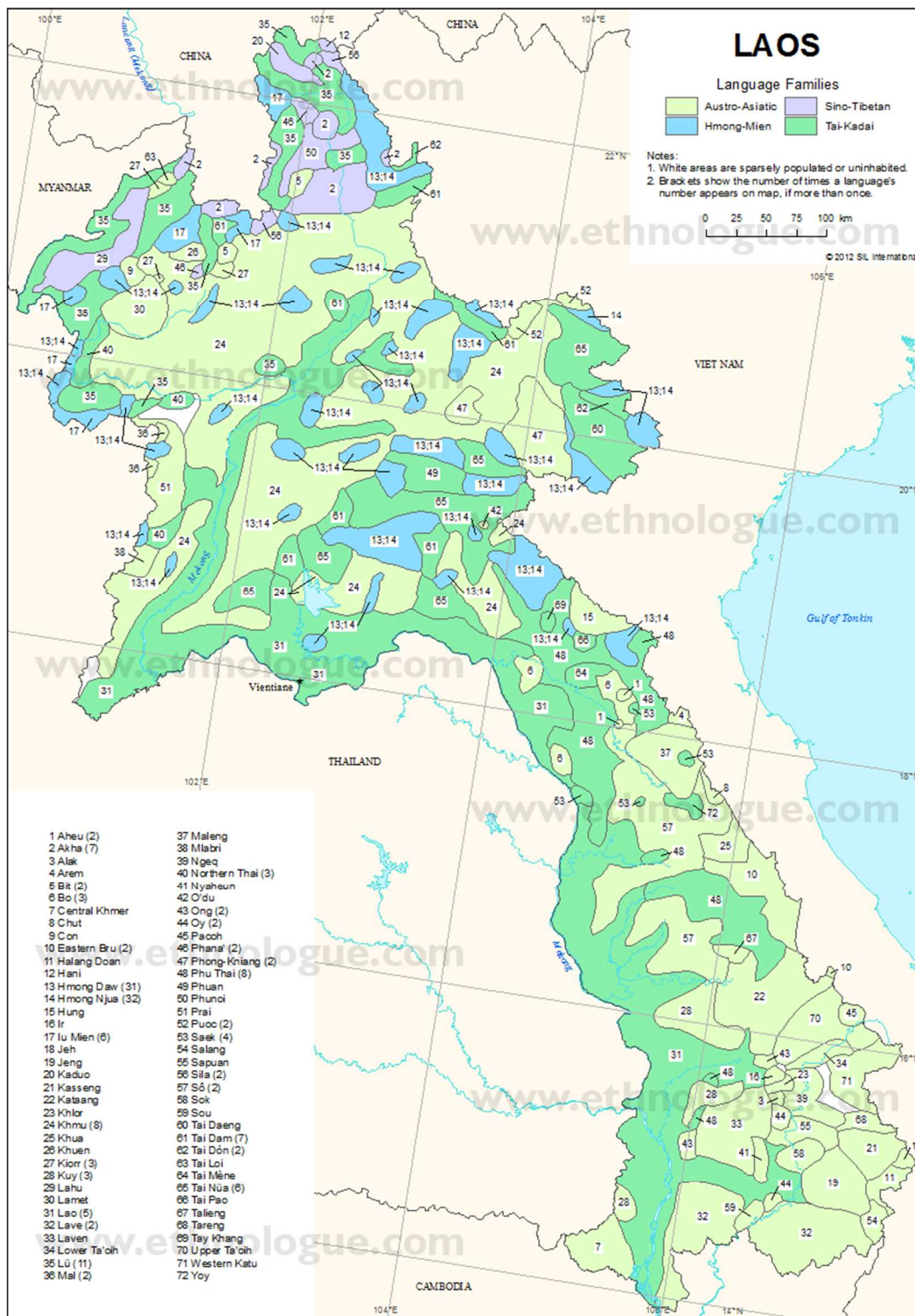
No.	Name in Lao (the NAL, 2008a)	Name in the 2005 census	Phonemic transcription (without tones)
Lao-Tai (Tai-Kadai) languages			
1	ລາວ	Lao	laaw
2	ໄຕ	Tai	tay
3	ຜູ້ໄທ	Phuthai	phuu thai
4	ລື້	Leu	luuu
5	ຢວນ	Nguan	ɲuan
6	ຢັ່ງ	Yung-Yuan	yang
7	ແຊກ	Sairk	sɛɛk
8	ໄທເໜືອ	Thaineau	thai nuua
Mon-Khmer (Austroasiatic) languages			
9	ກຶມມຸ	Keummeu	kummu?
10	ໄປຣ	Prai	pray
11	ຊິງມູນ	Singmoon	siŋmuun
12	ຜ້ອງ	Phong	phoŋ
13	ແທ່ນ	Thein	theɛn
14	ເອີດູ	Adoo	?əɛduu
15	ບິດ	Bid	bit
16	ລະເມດ	Lamed	lameet
17	ສາມຕ່າວ	Samtao	saamtaaw
18	ກະຕາງ	Katang	kataaŋ

19	ມະກອງ	Makong	makooŋ
20	ຕຣີ	Tri	trii
21	ຢຣຸ	Yuroo	yruʔ
22	ຕຣຽງ	Treang	triaŋ
23	ຕາໂອ້ຍ	Taoy~Ta-oy	taʔooy
24	ເຢຮ	Yerh	yɛʔ
25	ເບຣົາ	Brao	braw
26	ກະຕູ	Katu	katuu
27	ຮາຮັກ	Hahak~Harak	haarak
28	ໂອຍ	Oy	ooy
29	ກຣຽງ	Grieng~Krieng	kriaŋ
30	ເຈັງ	Cheng	ceŋ
31	ສະດາງ	Sdang~Sadang	sadaaŋ
32	ຊ່ວຍ	Shuay	suay
33	ຍະເຫິນ	Ngahearn	nyaʔhəən
34	ລະວີ	Lavy	lawii
35	ປະໂກະ	Pako~Pakoh	pakoʔ
36	ຂະແມ	Kamer	khamee
37	ຕຸ້ມ	Toum	tum
38	ງວນ	Guan	ŋuan
39	ມ້ອຍ	Moy	mooy
40	ກຣີ	Kree	krii
Hmong-Iu Mien (Hmong-Mien) languages			
41	ມັງ	Mong	moŋ
42	ອີວມຽນ	Ilmearn	?iiu mien
Sino-Tibetan languages			
43	ອາຄາ	Akha	?aakhaa
44	ຜູ້ນ້ອຍ (ສິງສິລີ) ^a	Singsiri	phuu nooy/siŋsiliʔ
45	ລາຫູ	Lahoo	laahuu
46	ສິລາ	Sila	siilaa

47	ຮາຍີ	Hayee	haajii
48	ໂລໂລ	Lolo	looloo
49	ຫ້	Hor	hoo

Notes. Name in the 2005 census is retrieved from the National Statistics Centre [the NSC] (n.d.). Names in brackets following language family names are added by the author. Katuic languages are in bold. Phonemic transcriptions were done by the author. Lao orthography automatically carries tones, even though some languages do not have tones; I thus do not express tones in this table to avoid confusion. The spelling of some ethnonyms is unstable within the same census. These cases are expressed with ~.

^aNo.44 Singsiri seems to have been renamed to Singsiri from phuu ນ້ອຍ in the census, probably because the term phuu ນ້ອຍ literally means ‘little person’ and may carry a negative image.



Language Families

Green: Tai-Kadai

Light green: Austro Asiatic

Light blue: Hmong-Mien

Purple: Sino-Tibetan

Figure 3.7. Language Map of Laos (adapted from Simons & Fennig, 2008).

As the government partly relied on ‘spoken languages’ to reorganize the naming of the ethnic groups, it can be said that this classification is based on ethnolinguistic groups, not simply ethnic groups. However, there is no ‘Bru’ in these 49 groups. The question is, thus, to which ethnic group Bru corresponds.

As detailed in Section 3.4, identifying the synonym of Bru is more complicated because this term is used to cover closely related varieties (Diffloth, 2011) or commonly used as an ethnonym amongst ‘non-Bru’ people in Laos (Choo, 2012, p. 11). There are at least three types of discrepancies;

(1) Linguistically distinct groups have the same endonym ‘Bru’: for instance, L. Thongkum (1979) concluded that WB Bru and Bru in the Quang Tri province, Vietnam that was studied by Miller (1967) and Phillips, Miller and Miller (1976) are not the same. In Ethnologue, ‘So’ is referred to as ‘Bru’ and/or ‘Mangkong’ in Laos, while, at the same time, WB Bru is at the same time classified as both ‘Western Bru’ and ‘Katang’ and are differentiated from ‘So’ in its 19th edition (Lewis et al., 2016). However, they are classified solely as ‘Western Bru’ in the 21st edition (Simons & Fennig, 2018). The officially distinct ethnic groups: Katang, Tri, and Makong are locally called as ‘Bru Katang,’ ‘Bru Tri,’ and ‘Bru Makong’ respectively (the NAL, 2008a) (see Table 3.9).

(2) Groups with different endonyms/ethnonyms share linguistic similarities: for example, Miller and Miller (1996) reported the similarity between WB Bru and Katang. In addition, the equivalent group to WB Bru on the Laos side of the river designate themselves as ‘Bru-Katang’; accordingly, Choo (2012) classified WB Bru as a part of Katang. This view is also reflected in the Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2018).

(3) Linguistically closely related groups may not share a sense of belonging: for example, contradictory to the item above, WB Bru people do not know the name ‘Kataang’ or even those who know this name differentiate themselves from Kataang in Laos (Green & van der Haak, 2001) (see Figure 3.4).

Taking all this into consideration, I believe that the most reasonable solution is to regard ‘Katang’ in the Laos’ official ethnic groups list as a group corresponding to WB Bru. However, the problem is that, as mentioned in (1) above, Bru in Ubon

Ratchathani, i.e. WB Bru and their sister community¹¹, are classified by the Ethnologue's latest edition as Katang and Western Bru (Simons & Fennig, 2018). Therefore, it cannot be said that WB Bru exclusively belongs to Katang or the idea that WB Bru corresponds to Katang in Laos is not broadly agreed on. If WB Bru is one variety of Western Bru¹², WB Bru should be partially mutual intelligible with Eastern Bru, that includes 'Tri' as its dialect (Simons & Fennig, 2018). Therefore, in this case, 'Tri' in Laos' official ethnic group listing could be regarded as a potentially corresponding group to WB Bru¹³.

In summary, Bru, especially WB Bru, can be primarily identified as 'Katang', and 'Tri' is the possibly second closest group to Katang. In this thesis' discussion of the census data of the Lao PDR, the focus is on the speakers of Austroasiatic languages as members of the former Lao Thoeng people, and, as long as the breakdown is publicly available, these two ethnic groups, i.e. Katang, and Tri, correspond to Bru.

¹¹ In Ubon Ratchathani, Bru is distributed only in the Khong Chiam district (Premrirat et al., 2003), and they are relatives (Khanakammakan Chamra Prawatsat Amphoe Khong Chiam, 2007).

¹² Western Bru is recorded as "a language of Thailand" and not distributed in Laos; therefore it is not listed in Table 3.10.

¹³ However, equating WB Bru and Eastern Bru would cause another controversy because Tri (Eastern Bru) is regarded as Bru Van Kieu or Quang Tri Bru in Viet Nam, the language that L. Thongkum (1979) denied its dialectal similarities to WB Bru.

Table 3.9. A Cross Reference between the Katuic Groups Identified by the Lao PDR Government and the Katuic Languages in Laos by Ethnologue

NAL (2008a)			LSB (2016)	Ethnologue (a language of Laos) (Simons & Fennig, 2018)			
In Lao	Alternate names	Local Names	Name in the 2015 census	Entry word	Alternate names	Dialects	Remarks
ຊ່ວຍ	NA	Suay	Xuay	Kuy	Aouei, Cuoï, Dui, Khamen-Boran, Kui, Kuoy, Old Khmer, Soai, Suai, Suay, Suei, Sui, Suoi	Antra, Na Nhyang	
ກະຕາງ	Pha Kaew	Bru Katang, Pha Kaew	Katang	Kataang	Katang		Ubon Ratchathani province: Khong Chiam district, 2 villages (from ‘Thailand’ section)
ຕຣີ	NA	Bru Tri	Tri	Bru, Eastern	Bru Tri	Leun (Kaleu, Leung), Tri (Chali, So Tri, So Trii), The Mangkong dialect in Viet Nam and eastern Laos	Partially intelligible with Western Bru [brv] of Thailand. The Mangkong dialect in Viet Nam and eastern Laos is a dialect of Eastern Bru, different linguistically from the Mangkong that are the same as So [sss] of Thailand. ‘...[W]here it is known, Western Bru is not mutually intelligible with So or Eastern Bru.’ (Choo, 2012, p. 12)
ມະກອນ	Truy, Phua, Maroy, Trong	Bru Makong, Truy, Phua, Maroy, Trong	Makong	Sô	Bru, Kah So, Makong, Mang Cong, Mangkong, Mang-Koong, Mankoong, So Makon, Thro		Reportedly similar to [eastern] Bru [bru]. ‘...[W]here it is known, Western Bru is not mutually intelligible with So or Eastern Bru.’ (Choo, 2012, p. 12)

ຕະໂນ້ຍ	Tong, Yinr	Taoy, Hadong, In	Taoy/Ta-oy	Ta'oih, upper	Kantua, Katang, Ta Hoi, Ta-Oi, Ta-oiq, Ta-Oy, Tau Oi	Pasoom, Kamuan', Palee'n, Leem, Ha'aang (Sa'ang)	Not inherently intelligible with Lower Ta'oih [tto].
ກະດູ	Triw, Daakkang	Katu, Triw, Daakkang (Pandaeng)	Katu	Katu, Western			Different language, Eastern Katu [ktv], and orthography from Viet Nam
ກຣງ	Catong, Ko	Ngae, Catong, Ko	Krieng	Ngeq	Kriang, Ngae, Nge', Ngeh, Nkriang		
ປະໂກະ	Kado, Kano	Pako, Kado, Kano	Pako	Pacoh	Bo River Van Kieu, Pokoh	Pahi, Kado,(Cado, Cadô).	
NA	NA	NA	NA	Khua			
NA	NA	NA	NA	Ta'oih, lower		Tong, Hantong'.	

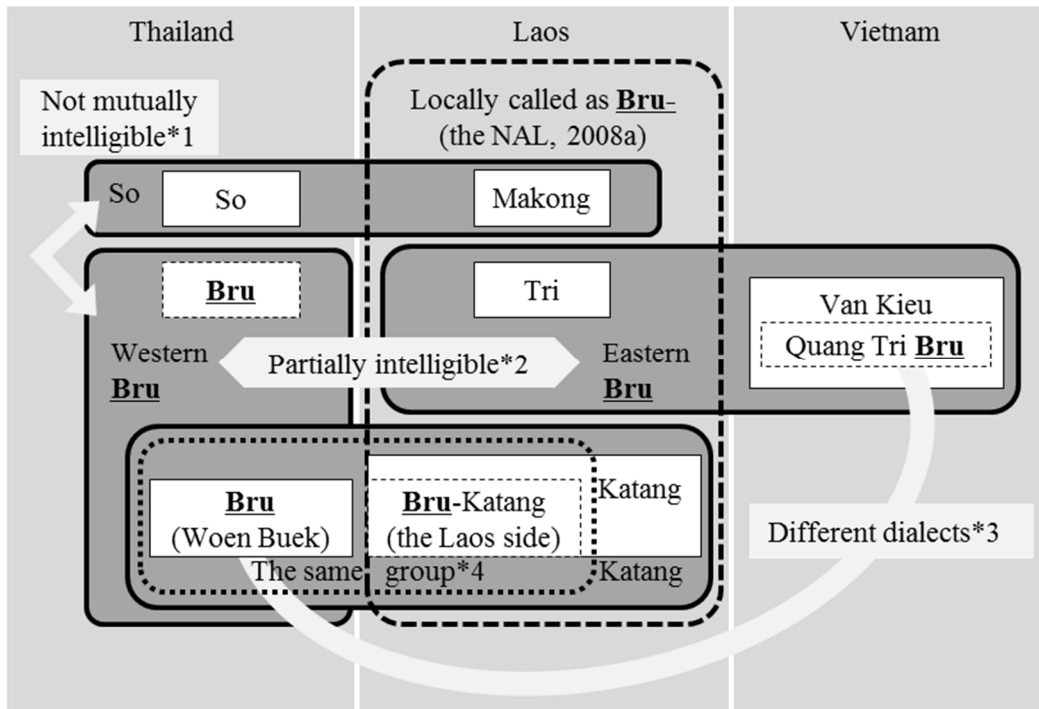


Figure 3.8. The Relationship amongst Groups of People with the Term ‘Bru.’

Notes: This figure only shows ethnonyms or languages names that relationships with WB Bru, Western Bru, or Eastern Bru are mentioned in this section.

*1 By Choo (2012)

*2 By the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016)

*3 By L.Thongkum (1979)

*4 By Green & van der Haak (2001), and Choo (2012)

Legend:

name In Thailand: ethnonyms in Premsrirat et al., (2003),
 In Laos: the official ethnonyms in the NAL (2008a) and the NSC (no date)
 In Vietnam: the official ethnonym in the Vietnam’s 2009 census (The Central Population and Housing Census Steering Committee, 2010)

name In Thailand: ethnonyms in Choo (2012) etc.
 In Laos: endonym in Choo (2012)
 In Vietnam: alternate name in the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016) and ethnonym in L. Thongkum (1979)

name Entry words in the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016)

The scope of ethnic groups who are locally called “Bru-” in the NAL (2008a)

The scope of the perception as the same group by WB Bru people based on Green & van der Haak (2001), and Choo (2012)

3.6 Demographic Information

3.6.1 The Census Data

3.6.1.1 Thailand

The latest population and household census of Thailand was conducted in 2010 by the National Statistical Office, Thailand [NSO]. The NSO (2012a) reported that the population of Thailand is approximately 65.98 million with 32.35 million males and 33.63 females. Among them, 29.13 million people live in municipal area, while 36.85 million people live in non-municipal area. The NSO subdivided Thailand into 5 regions; Bangkok (8.30 million), Central (18.18 million), North (11.66 million), Northeast, where the Bru is distributed, (18.97 million), and South (8.87 million). Regarding nationality, 63.29 million (95.9%) of the population are Thai nationals, 2.70 million (4.1%) hold other nationalities. Among the total of 39 nationalities reported in the 2010 census, Myanmar is the largest group with 1.29 million followed by Cambodian (0.28 million), Lao (0.22 million), and Chinese (0.14 million). As Draper (2015) pointed out, the Thai census lacks data on ethnic minorities.

Regarding language, the census uses the question '*usual language spoken at home*'. The question is a closed question in which a participant is required to choose an answer from three choices: 1 use only the Thai language, 2 mix the Thai language and other language(s), and 3 use only other language(s). When a participant chooses 2 or 3, the participant is supposed to specify the name of other language(s) with an open-ended format (see Figure 3.5). It should be noted that, regarding the third choice, the NSO's official English translation simply states *3 Others*, however, it is in fact written as *3 use only other language(s)* in the Thai questionnaire. Therefore, there would be a bias that would make participants choose 3 only when they never use the Thai language.

ข. ภาษาที่ใช้พูดประจำระหว่างสมาชิกในครัวเรือน					
ใช้เฉพาะภาษาไทย.....1	ใช้ภาษาไทยปนภาษาอื่น.....2	ใช้เฉพาะภาษาอื่น.....3	ภาษาที่ใช้พูด	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
			ภาษาอื่น ๆ	<input type="checkbox"/>	22-23
g. Household language(s)					
Thai only..... 1	Thai mixed with other languages 2	Others 3	Language spoken	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
			Other languages	<input type="checkbox"/>	22-23

Figure 3.9. The Language Related Question in the 2010 Population and Housing Census of Thailand. (The official Thai version was retrieved from <http://popcensus.nso.go.th/profile.php>; and the official English version was retrieved from <http://popcensus.nso.go.th/en/index.php?id=6&sub=1>)

The census reports (Table 3.10) that 59.87 million (90.7%) people use only Thai among the household members, 4.21 million (6.4%) people use Thai and other language(s), and 190 million (2.9%) people use only other language(s). For *other language(s)*, a total of 36 languages are listed in addition to entries such as *other languages spoken in the Asian continent*, *other languages spoken in the European/American/Australian continents*, and *other languages spoken in the African continent*. The categorization of languages in this report is slightly unusual. For example, there are two entries related to Malay: *Malay/Yawi* and *Malaysian*. The former entry is described as *Mlayu Thin* ‘regional Malay’ */Naawii/Yaawii* in the Thai report. Thus, it is assumed to refer to Malay varieties spoken in the deep-southern Thailand. While, the latter entry is assumed to refer to Malay languages spoken in Malaysia. Malay/Yawi is the largest group with 1.47 million speakers followed by *local languages*¹⁴ with 0.96 million speakers, *Burmese* with 0.83 million speakers, *Thaikueang*¹⁵ with 0.79 million speakers, and *Karen* with 0.44 million speakers.

¹⁴ The term used in English, and stated as *Phaasaa Thin* ‘regional language, local language, or dialect’ in Thai.

¹⁵ Stated as *Thai Khueang/Thai Loei*, and *Lao Loei* in Thai.

Table 3.10. Population by ‘Usual Languages Spoken at Home’ (Adapted from NSO (2012a, p.98))

<i>Language</i>	Whole country		Northeast	
	Number of speakers	%	Number of speakers	%
Only Thai Language	59,866,190	90.7%	17,347,601	91.5%
Thai and other languages	4,214,001	6.4%	1,494,755	7.9%
Only other languages	1,901,468	2.9%	123,734	0.7%
Total	65,981,659	100.0%	18,966,090	100.0%
Karen	441,114	0.7%	7,372	0.0%
Thaikueng [sic]	787,696	1.2%	531,478	2.8%
Mon	47,298	0.1%	1,291	0.0%
Lao-krung	177,453	0.3%	24,192	0.1%
Hmong/Meaw	149,090	0.2%	1,455	0.0%
Local languages	958,251	1.5%	883,623	4.7%
Malay/Yawi	1,467,369	2.2%	37	0.0%
Dialect and others in Thailand	318,012	0.5%	45,775	0.2%
Chinese	111,866	0.2%	2,987	0.0%
Burmese	827,713	1.3%	9,364	0.0%
Viatnam [sic]	8,281	0.0%	3,793	0.0%
Lao	60,199	0.1%	13,660	0.1%
Cambodia [sic]	180,533	0.3%	6,100	0.0%
Total (other languages)^a	6,033,950	9.1%	1,579,221	8.3%

Notes. The order of other languages follows NSO (2012a). Items not shown in this table are; Korean, Japanese, Tagalog/Filipino, Bengali/Banca Lee [sic]/Bangladesh, Malaysia [sic], Indonesia [sic], India [sic]/Hindi, Arab [sic], Others language in Asia, English, German, Greek, Spanish, Polish, Portugal [sic], Russian, Swedish, Finnish, French, Danish, Italian, Hungarian, Mexican, Cuban, Others language in Europe/America/Australia, and Others language in Africa.

^a Total (other languages) is the sum of each figure of other language items, and not necessarily equal to the sum of Thai and others languages and only other languages.

There are no items Bru and Khaa in the 2010 census. However, this may not mean that no one speaks Bru at home. Some figures and wordings are problematic due to the ways of asking in the questionnaire as follows.

(1) First of all, the census question only allows one answer per household despite the fact that individual household members do not necessarily speak the same language to each other in bi/multilingual families (see Figure 3.5). With this questionnaire, all members are, thus, automatically considered as a speaker of the same language(s).

(2) Secondly, the definition of the term *Thai* is unclear and not explained in NSO (2012a). ‘Thai’ might indicate only Standard Thai and Central Thai (Thaiklang¹⁶), or include three other major regional languages, regional varieties or dialects of Thai: Northern Thai (Kam Mu’ang), Northeastern Thai (Lao), and Southern Thai (Paktay). Draper (2013a, p. 319) claims that ‘most foreign and increasing numbers of Thai linguists have regarded the first two [Northern Thai (Kam Mu’ang) and Northeastern Thai (Lao/Lao Isan)] as separate indigenous ethnolinguistic identities from Central and Southern Thais (p. 319)’. At the same time, they are ‘described as regional variety of Thai by the Royal Institute of Thailand [RIT]. (p. 319)’ As for this census, I believe that ‘Thai’ covers these four major regional languages/Thai dialects for two reasons; the proportion of monolingual Thai speakers are too high (more than 90%, see Table 3.10) if the term ‘*Thai*’ covers only Standard/Central Thai, and, secondly, languages such as Kam Mu’ang, or Paktay are not listed in *other languages*. Nevertheless, it is also possible that respondents interpreted the definition according to their own understanding of the term, and judged that these regional languages are *other languages* on the ground of their ethnolinguistic identity. NSO (2012a) explains that the data was collected through interviews by enumerators, a self-entry by respondents, an online submission, and a phone-interview. Respondents were, thus, able to submit the questionnaire without any instruction from trained remunerators. In addition, there are no detailed instructions on how to fill in this question within the questionnaire (see Figure 3.5).

(3) There are some problematic expressions in the list of *other language(s)*: *local languages (phaasaa thin* in Thai), and *dialect and others in Thailand (phaasaa phuean mueang lae chaaw khaw uean uean)*. *Phaasaa thin* means ‘dialect, regional speech, localism’¹⁷. The RIT defines this term as ‘a specific language of an area or region that has lexical, accentual or other special features’¹⁸ (RIT, 2003 translated by the author). *Phaasaa phuen mueang* is a synonym of *phaasaa thin* ‘dialect, regional speech, localism’ though there is no such entry in the RIT’s dictionary (RIT, 2003)¹⁹. Both expressions are covert in terms of ethnolinguistic features unless we know a

¹⁶ Names in brackets are introduced by Smalley (1994).

¹⁷ *Phaasaa* means ‘language,’ and *thin* means ‘area, part.’

¹⁸ translated by author

¹⁹ *phueng mueang* means ‘native, local, domestic, homemade,’ *Chaaw khaw* means ‘hill tribes’ that usually refers to people in mountainous area of the northern and the western Thailand, *lae* mean ‘and’, and *uean uean* means ‘others’.

specific context. Therefore, in the census, we cannot determine what languages these terms refer to, and how *phaasaa thin* may differ from *phaasaa phueng mueang*.

I infer from the comparison with the 2000 population and housing census that these expressions broadly cover non-Thai indigenous languages of Thailand and the NSO may have merged various entries into these categories. First of all, a choice *others* is generally placed in the bottom of the list, however, *dialect and others in Thailand* is placed in the middle of the items. Languages placed below this item are national or official languages of other countries: Chinese, Burmese, Vietnamese, Lao, Cambodian, Korean, Japanese, etc. Therefore, languages placed above this item are assumed to be indigenous languages of Thailand that are not seen as one of the *Thai* varieties. Secondly, Figure 3.5 illustrates that the same question and form has been adopted since the 2000 census. However, the classification of *other languages* in the 2010 census is different from that of *Non-Thai languages* in the 2000 census; there were neither *local languages* or *dialect* in the 2000 census (see Table 3.10). Therefore, these items were probably newly introduced by the NSO in the 2010 census, although some respondents might have really filled in such language names. Furthermore, the classification of *Non-Thai languages* in the 2000 census is also partly problematic; *Mon-Burmese*, and *Lao-Vietnamese* are a pair of languages from different language families respectively. This way of classification, hence, suggests that the NSO probably manipulated categories during the tabulation.

Despite these discrepancies, the 2010 census does provide a picture of the linguistic situation in the target area to some extent. Table 3.11 is an extract from the 2010 census in the provinces where the target communities of this research belong. Approximately 98% of the population of Ubon Ratchathani answered that they use only Thai, in a broader sense, with their household members. This trend can be found in both municipal and non-municipal areas; though people in municipal areas are slightly more bi-/multilingual than those in non-municipal areas. The speakers of *local languages* and *dialect and others in Thailand* account for only 1.20% of those who use *other languages* at home. Although the 2010 census may not precisely indicate the population of Bru speakers, the result suggests that the Bru community is located in a more monolingual area, or at most bi-/multidialectal area of Thai and a regional Thai variety.

Table 3.11. Population by ‘Usual Languages Spoken at Home’ and Area in Ubon Ratchathani Adapted from NSO (2012b, p.83)

Language	Total			Municipal area			Non-municipal area		
	Number of speakers	% (a) ^b	% (b) ^c	Number of speakers	% (a) ^b	% (b) ^c	Number of speakers	% (a) ^b	% (b) ^c
Only Thai Language	1,722,972	98.6%	-	404,068	98.1%	-	1,318,904	98.8%	-
Thai and other languages	17,849	1.0%	-	5,614	1.4%	-	12,235	0.9%	-
Only other languages	5,972	0.3%	-	2,277	0.6%	-	3,696	0.3%	-
Grand Total	1,746,793	100%	-	411,959	100%	-	1,334,835	100%	-
Local languages	1,819	0.1%	7.7%	363	0.1%	4.6%	1,456	0.1%	9.1%
Dialect and others in Thailand	1,010	0.1%	4.3%	19	0.0%	0.2%	991	0.1%	6.2%
Lao	5,765	0.3%	24.3%	1,153	0.3%	14.6%	4,612	0.3%	29.0%
Cambodia [sic]	644	0.0%	2.7%	165	0.0%	2.1%	479	0.0%	3.0%
Total (other languages)^a	23,689	1.4%	100%	7,891	19%	100%	15,924	1.2%	100%

Notes.

^a Total (other languages) is the sum of each figure of other language items, and not necessarily equal to the sum of Thai and others languages and only other languages.

^b % (a) represents percentage against grand total.

^c % (b) represents percentage against total (other languages).

3.6.1.2 Laos

As of 2012, Laos, or the Lao People’s Democratic Republic [the Lao PDR], consists of 1 capital, 16 provinces²⁰, and 145 districts (the Lao Statistics Bureau [LSB], 2014). The latest census of the Lao PDR that information is available to the public was conducted in 2015. This census reported that the population of Laos is 6.49 million with 3.25 million males and 3.28 million females. The population in rural areas accounts for 67% while that in urban areas accounts for 33% (LSB, 2016.) (see Table 3.12). 99.6% of the population is Laotian (5.60 million), while the largest foreign nationals in Laos in 2005 was Vietnamese (8,795 people) followed by Chinese (1,825), Thai (986), and Cambodian (979).

²⁰ As of 2012, the newest province was founded and now there are 16 provinces.

Table 3.12. The Population Size of the Lao PDR

	1995	2005	2015
Females	2,314,000	2,821,000	3,237,000
Males	2,261,000	2,800,000	3,255,000
Total	4,575,000	5,621,000	6,492,000

Notes. The results of 1995 and 2005 are retrieved from the NSC (2005), while the result of 2015 is adapted from the LSB (2016).

The Lao census collected data regarding ‘ethnic origin (*son phaw*).’ This question, therefore, does not directly reflect the languages spoken by respondents. It indicates the estimated size of speech communities. Unlike Thailand’s census, the question was prepared for individual household member with a closed format. A total of 51 codes with 49 ethnonyms were prepared (see Figure 3.6); these ethnonyms are convertible to the ones that are officially identified by the Lao government (i.e. the name of *sonphaw*). The census conducted in 2005, the NSC (2004), instructed enumerators that this question is only applicable to the Lao nationals (note that at the time of writing this the manual for the 2015 census was not available to ascertain whether this instruction still remained). When a respondent came up with an ethnonym that is not prescribed in the questionnaire, enumerators are to probe if the answer is a sub-group to one of the pre-coded alternatives. The way of probing is, for instance, by asking a local ‘ethnic representative’. Therefore, even though people had self-designated themselves as Bru; their answer would have been aggregated into one of these 49 ethnonyms, probably either of Katang, Tri, or Makong.

B		For all person	
Q1	Q8		
Ethnic origin			
(Enter the code from the list provided)			
(Only Lao citizens need to answer this question)			
Person ID			
1		<u>Question Q8</u>	
2		01	Lao
3		02	Tai
4		03	Phonhlay
5		04	Lue
6		05	Ngonm
7		06	Yang
8		07	Xark
9		08	Thamra
10		09	Khamu
11		10	Pray
12		11	Xingmoum
13		12	Phong
14		13	Tham
15		14	Oedou
16		15	Bul
17		16	Lamed
18		17	Sambou
19		18	Katang
20		19	Makong
21		20	Th
22		21	Yiou
23		22	Triang
24		23	Ti-oy
25		24	Yai
26		25	Beau
27		26	Katu
28		27	Hank
29		28	Oy
30		29	Onang
31		30	Chang
32		31	Sadang
33		32	Xouy
34		33	Nhalam
35		34	Lery
36		35	Phool
37		36	Khamr
38		37	Toum
39		38	Ouan
40		39	Moy
41		40	Kee
42		41	Houng
43		42	Himuan
44		43	Akha
45		44	Pouyoy
46		45	Labou
47		46	Syla
48		47	Hekt
49		48	Loko
50		49	Hou
51		50	Other
52		51	No
53			

Figure 3.10. The Question ‘Ethnic Origin’ in the 2015 Population and Housing Census of the Lao PDR.

Adapted from the LSB (2016)

The population of *Katang*: the nearest equivalent group to WB Bru (see discussion above) is 144,255 (2.2% of the total population), and that of *Tri*: the possibly second closest group is 37,446 (0.6%). In addition, the total population of ethnic groups under the Katuic branch is 513,450 (7.96%). Their demographic size is still smaller than the single population of ethnic Lao people: 3,427,665 (53.2%). (See Table 3.13)

Table 3.13. Population of Laos by Ethnic Origin in 2015 Adapted from the LSB (2016)

Ethnicity	Number			Percent		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
Total	6,446,690	3,221,255	3,225,435	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 Lao	3,427,665	1,716,221	1,711,444	53.2	53.3	53.1
2 Tai	201,576	99,354	102,222	3.1	3.1	3.2
3 Phouthay	218,108	111,213	106,895	3.4	3.5	3.3
4 Lue	126,229	63,284	62,945	2.0	2.0	2.0
5 Nhooun	27,779	14,024	13,755	0.4	0.4	0.4
6 Yang	5,843	2,848	2,995	0.1	0.1	0.1
7 Xaek	3,841	1,973	1,868	0.1	0.1	0.1
8 Thaineau	14,148	7,100	7,048	0.2	0.2	0.2
9 Khmou	708,412	351,387	357,025	11.0	10.9	11.1
10 Pray	28,732	14,473	14,259	0.4	0.4	0.4
11 Xingmoun	9,874	4,819	5,055	0.2	0.1	0.2
12 Phong	30,696	15,226	15,470	0.5	0.5	0.5
13 Thaen	828	429	399	*	*	*
14 Oedou	602	302	300	*	*	*
15 Bid	2,372	1,157	1,215	*	*	*
16 Lamed	22,383	11,591	10,792	0.3	0.4	0.3
17 Samtao	3,417	1,680	1,737	0.1	0.1	0.1
18 Katang	144,255	72,876	71,379	2.2	2.3	2.2
19 Makong	163,285	82,672	80,613	2.5	2.6	2.5
20 Tri	37,446	18,819	18,627	0.6	0.6	0.6
21 Yrou	56,411	28,932	27,479	0.9	0.9	0.9
22 Trieng	38,407	19,427	18,980	0.6	0.6	0.6
23 Ta-oy	45,991	23,102	22,889	0.7	0.7	0.7
24 Yae	11,452	5,782	5,670	0.2	0.2	0.2
25 Brao	26,010	13,171	12,839	0.4	0.4	0.4
26 Katu	28,378	14,341	14,037	0.4	0.4	0.4
27 Harak	25,430	12,964	12,466	0.4	0.4	0.4
28 Oy	23,513	11,876	11,637	0.4	0.4	0.4
29 Kriang	16,807	8,368	8,439	0.3	0.3	0.3
30 Cheng	8,688	4,435	4,253	0.1	0.1	0.1
31 Sadang	898	440	458	*	*	*
32 Xuay	46,592	23,954	22,638	0.7	0.7	0.7
33 Nhaheun	8,976	4,398	4,578	0.1	0.1	0.1
34 Lavy	1,215	556	659	*	*	*
35 Pacoh	22,640	11,426	11,214	0.4	0.4	0.3
36 Khmer	7,141	3,524	3,617	0.1	0.1	0.1
37 Toum	3,632	1,767	1,865	0.1	0.1	0.1
38 Ngouan	886	434	452	*	*	*
39 Moy	789	368	421	*	*	*
40 Kree	1,067	535	532	*	*	*
41 Hmong	595,028	292,800	302,228	9.2	9.1	9.4
42 Ewmien	32,400	15,935	16,465	0.5	0.5	0.5
43 Akha	112,979	56,070	56,909	1.8	1.7	1.8
44 Pounoy	39,192	19,574	19,618	0.6	0.6	0.6
45 Lahou	19,187	9,609	9,578	0.3	0.3	0.3
46 Sylu	3,151	1,514	1,637	*	*	0.1
47 Hayi	741	367	374	*	*	*
48 Lolo	2,203	1,100	1,103	*	*	*
49 Hor	12,098	5,797	6,301	0.2	0.2	0.2
Other and Not Stated	77,297	37,241	40,056	1.2	1.2	1.2

The 2015 census provides a cross tabulation of ‘Literate Population Aged 15 Years Old and Over’, and ‘Population Aged 6 Years Old and Over by School Attendance’ by ethnicity. Table 3.14 illustrates that females tend to be more illiterate, and attend school less than the males, irrespective of ethnicity. The results also suggests that access to education in general is higher among groups of the Lao-Tai language speakers (the former Lao Lum people), especially for ethnic Lao people, than among the group of Katuic language speakers. There are various reasons for this: the linguistic difference could be a barrier for non-Lao-Tai people to cope with the educational curricula as the Lao-Tai people, and/or Lao-Tai people mainly reside in the lowlands so that they can more easily access educational institutions and facilities. Table 3.14. Literacy Rates and School Attendance Rates (Adapted from the LSB, 2016.)

Ethnic Group	Literacy Rate (15 years old and above)			School Attendance: Never been to school (6 years and above)		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Tai-Kadai (Lao-Tai) languages (the former Lao Lum people)						
1 Lao	90.8%	95.8%	93.3%	7.7%	3.8%	5.7%
18 <u>Katang</u>	<u>38.5%</u>	<u>64.0%</u>	<u>51.0%</u>	<u>50.3%</u>	<u>31.3%</u>	<u>40.9%</u>
20 <u>Tri</u>	<u>24.4%</u>	<u>46.9%</u>	<u>35.4%</u>	<u>63.2%</u>	<u>45.2%</u>	<u>54.3%</u>
TOTAL	79.3%	90.0%	84.6%	17.3%	9.0%	13.1%

Note. Languages under the Katuic branch are underlined.

Choo (2012) provides Katuic population in Laos based on the 2005 census by province (Table 3.15). The data shows that Katang and Tri people are distributed the most in Savannakhet. The second largest Katang group is distributed in Saravane followed by Champasak which are located on the other side of WB and its sister community across the Mekong River.

Table 3.15. Katuic Population in Laos, 2005 Census (Adapted from Choo, 2012)

	Katang	Makong (So)	Tri (Eastern Bru)	Other Katuic Languages
Vientiane Capital	96	35	10	206
Phonsaly	0	4	1	14
Luangnamtha	11	1	0	8
Oudomxay	4	3	0	1
Bokeo	10	22	0	72
Luangprabang	15	3	0	11
Huaphanh	16	1	0	41
Xayabury	19	5	6	10
Xiengkhuang	22	1	1	53
Xaysomboun	106	0	0	10
Special Region				
Vientiane Province	79	3	0	132
Borikhamxay	31	43	3	440
Khammuane	343	42,942	4,946	457
Savannakhet	71,805	74,381	21,591	8,587
Saravane	41,664	132	5	61,320
Sekong	44	5	66	33,361
Champasak	3,990	253	25	21,639
Attapeu	15	0	26	782
Total	118,270	117,834	26,680	127,144
Katuic Total			389,928	

Note. The total Katuic population does not match with the one in Table 3.13. This may be because the tables are based on different sources; Choo (2012) obtained the data from the Katuic Cluster team, while the author manually summed up each figure in Table 3.15.

Furthermore, the Katuic population as a whole in the 2005 census data is partly accessible to the public through a database ‘the Lao DECIDE info,’ (The Government of Lao PDR, n.d.) so that we can retrieve statistical data per district and village. First of all, the retrieved data (Table 3.16) illustrates that Katuic people are concentrated in specific districts, not thinly distributed, even in the above-mentioned provinces. In WB’s neighbouring districts, Katuic people only account for a small percentage of the district’s total population: Khongxedone in Saravane (1.18% of the total population), and Phonthong and Sanasomboon in Champasak (1.82% and 3.18% respectively). However, this small Katuic population is interesting; the ED (2015a) uses the result of this census as a source, and mentions the names of districts in which Katang people are distributed. Then, these three districts are all referred to in the ED (2015a). While, no other Katuic groups are referred to be distributed in these districts (ED, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d, 2015e, 2015g). Therefore, it could be said that the Katuic population in these district in fact refers to the Katang population.

Table 3.16. The Population of Ethnic Katuic People by Province and District

Province/District	Total Population	Katuic Population	Katuic Rate (%)
Sekong	84,995	33,476	39.39%
Dakcheung	18,461	2,931	15.88%
Kaleum	12,869	12,502	97.15%
Lamarm	26,584	3,939	14.82%
Thateng	27,081	14,104	52.08%
Saravane	324,327	103,347	31.87%
<u>Khongxedone</u>	<u>54,062</u>	<u>636</u>	<u>1.18%</u>
Lakhonepheng	37,966	3,669	9.66%
Laongarm	58,685	19,059	32.48%
Samuoi	11,750	11,394	96.97%
Saravane	85,875	25,108	29.24%
Taoi	22,198	21,678	97.66%
Toomlarn	21,812	21,133	96.89%
Vapy	31,979	670	2.10%
Savannakhet	825,902	176,364	21.35%
Atsaphangthong	39,102	7,609	19.46%
Atsaphone	50,448	12,396	24.57%
Champhone	101,559	16,613	16.36%
Kaysone	112,915	644	0.57%
Nong	21,106	19,362	91.74%
Outhoomphone	80,516	5,559	6.90%
Phine	50,784	30,807	60.66%
Sepone	43,046	28,970	67.30%
Songkhone	82,461	692	0.84%
Thapangthong	31,497	13,798	43.81%
Thaphalanxay	31,734	10,326	32.54%
Vilabuly	30,264	8,761	28.95%
Xaybuly	54,441	187	0.34%
Xayphoothong	44,557	31	0.07%
Xonbuly	51,472	20,609	40.04%
Khammuane	336,170	48,688	14.48%
Bualapha	25,089	11,706	46.66%
Hinboon	62,030	173	0.28%
Mahaxay	30,919	5,759	18.63%
Nakai	20,245	8,396	41.47%
Nhommalath	27,699	10,451	37.73%
Nongbok	40,023	1,104	2.76%
Thakhek	83,957	2,781	3.31%
Xaybuathong	20,704	3,765	18.18%
Xebangfay	25,504	4,553	17.85%
Champasak	607,370	25,907	4.27%
Bachiangchaleunsook	48,743	10,696	21.94%
Champasack	55,403	342	0.62%
Khong	73,419	47	0.06%
Moonlapamok	38,525	35	0.09%
Pakse	78,669	257	0.33%
Paksxong	64,145	4,050	6.31%
Pathoomphone	51,370	1,204	2.34%
<u>Phonthong</u>	<u>85,188</u>	<u>1,551</u>	<u>1.82%</u>
<u>Sanasomboon</u> ²¹	<u>62,238</u>	<u>1,977</u>	<u>3.18%</u>

²¹ The way of transliteration of some sounds are unstable even within the same literature; /s/ as <s> and <x>, /uu/ as <oo> or <ou>, and /-n/ as <n> or <ne> etc. I follow the original transliteration every time it occurs.

Sukhuma	49,670	5,748	11.57%
Attapeu	112,120	823	0.73%
Borikhamxay	223,616	517	0.23%
Bokeo	145,263	104	0.07%
Vientiane	414,685	327	0.08%
VientianeCapital	692,804	371	0.05%
Xiengkhuang	240,327	80	0.03%
Phongsaly	165,574	19	0.01%
Huaphanh	279,546	58	0.02%
Luangnamtha	145,310	20	0.01%
Xayabury	338,669	40	0.01%
Luangprabang	400,254	27	0.01%
Oudomxay	265,179	8	0.00%
Total	5,602,111	390,176	6.96%

Note. Districts where contact with the Khong Chiam district, Ubon Ratchathani are underlined.

Secondly, at the village level, amongst all the 10,520 villages in Laos, there are 1,334 villages where more than 10% of the residents are Katuic people. Among them, 1,058 villages are highly ethnically homogenous as more than 90% residents are Katuic people. (see Table 3.17 and Figure 3.7). The data suggests that most Katuic people live in a Katuic predominant village than in an ethnically mixed village.

Table 3.17. The Number of Villages with High Rate of Katuic People

Katuic Rate of a Village	Number of Villages
10%~29.99%	114
30%~49.99%	79
50%~79.99%	83
80%~89.99%	98
90%~98.99%	562
99%~100%	398
Total	1,334

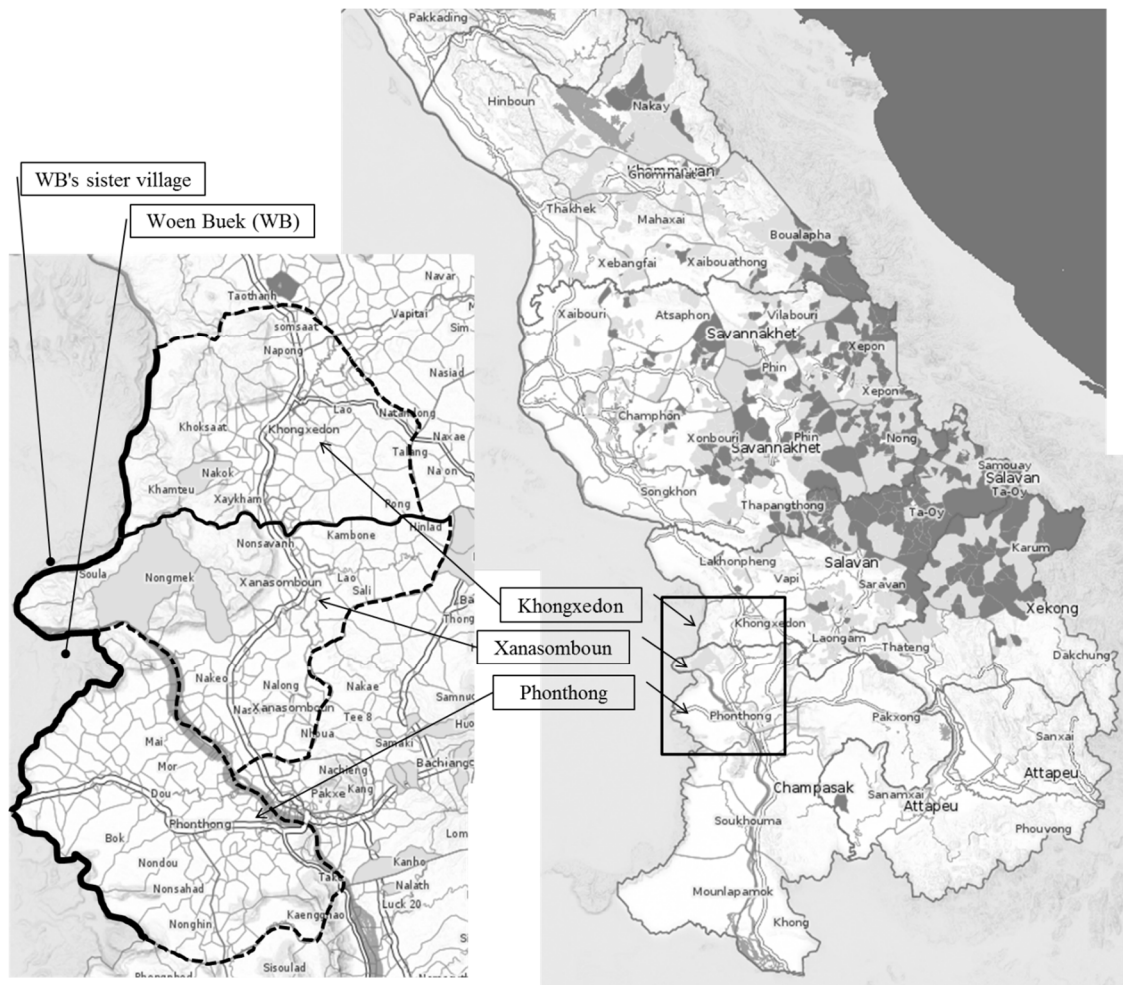


Figure 3.11. The Distribution of Katuic People (Central and Southern Laos).

Legend: Light grey 80% - 99%; Grey > 99%.

Adapted from the Lao DECIDE info (the Government of Lao PDR, n.d.):

<http://www.decide.la/en/gis>

In the neighbouring districts of WB: Xanasomboun (Sanasomboon) and Phonthong in Champasak, and Khongxedon (Khongxedone) in Saravane, there are 9 villages where Katuic people (Katang people according to the ED (2005a)) exceed 50% of residents (see Table 3.18). Choo (2012) reported anecdotal evidence that, in Laos, the same variety of WB Bru is spoken in at least 7 villages; 5 villages in a cluster: (1) Lao Nong Ngam, (2) Lui, (3) Nong Khen, (4) Nong Nok Khiem, and (5) Lat Sua, and 2 villages located further north: (6) Na Kok and (7) Na Sadong). A total

of 5 villages in the list match Choo’s (2012) anecdotal information: (2) Luy tay, (3) Nong kan /nɔŋ khéen/, (4) Nong nok kien, (5) Nong mek²², and (6) Na kok²³.

Table 3.18. The Katuic (Katang) Predominant Villages in WB’s Neighbouring Districts (Adapted from the Lao DECIDE Info (the Government of Lao PDR, n.d.): <http://www.decide.la/en/statable> and Choo (2012))

Province	District	Village	Village name in Choo (2012)	Total Population	Katuic Population	Katuic Rate (%)
Champasak	Phonthong	Non phachao		426	247	57.98
Champasak	Phonthong	Song khone		447	288	64.43
Champasak	Sanasomboon	Na nham [sic] /Na ngam		479	389	81.21
Champasak	Sanasomboon	Nong nok kien	Nong Nok Khien	419	376	89.74
Champasak	Sanasomboon	Lu tay [sic] /Luy tay	Luy	212	196	92.45
Saravane	Khongxedone	Na kok	Na Kok	575	548	95.30
Champasak	Sanasomboon	Nong mek	Lat Sua	340	329	96.76
Champasak	Sanasomboon	Nong kan	Nong Khen	346	335	96.82
Champasak	Sanasomboon	Sok koung		330	326	98.79

3.7 The Bru People in Thailand

In this section, I will introduce the target group of this study, the Bru²⁴ in Woen Buek. First, I will give an overview of the distribution of Bru people in Thailand (3.7.1), then I will focus on historical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural backgrounds of Bru in Woen Buek (3.7.2)

3.7.1 The Distribution of Bru People in Thailand

Tebow (2010) states that there are total of 15,000 Bru speakers, while Simons & Fennig (2018) reported that there were 20,000 speakers in Thailand as of 1991. Premsrirat et al. (2003) estimate that there are up to 70,000 So and 500 Bru speakers. According to their survey, 400 out of 500 Bru speakers, live in Woen Buek and Tha Long (Figure 3.8).

²² Lat Sua is officially called as Nong Mek, and this village is where WB people emigrated from (Phuengpa, n.d.).

²³ There is a village ‘Nong Sadong’ in the north of Na Kok, however, no Katuic people is recorded in this village.

²⁴ Bru is also spelled as Bruu or Brou. I use Bru in this report, while following the original spelling when I refer to others’ work.

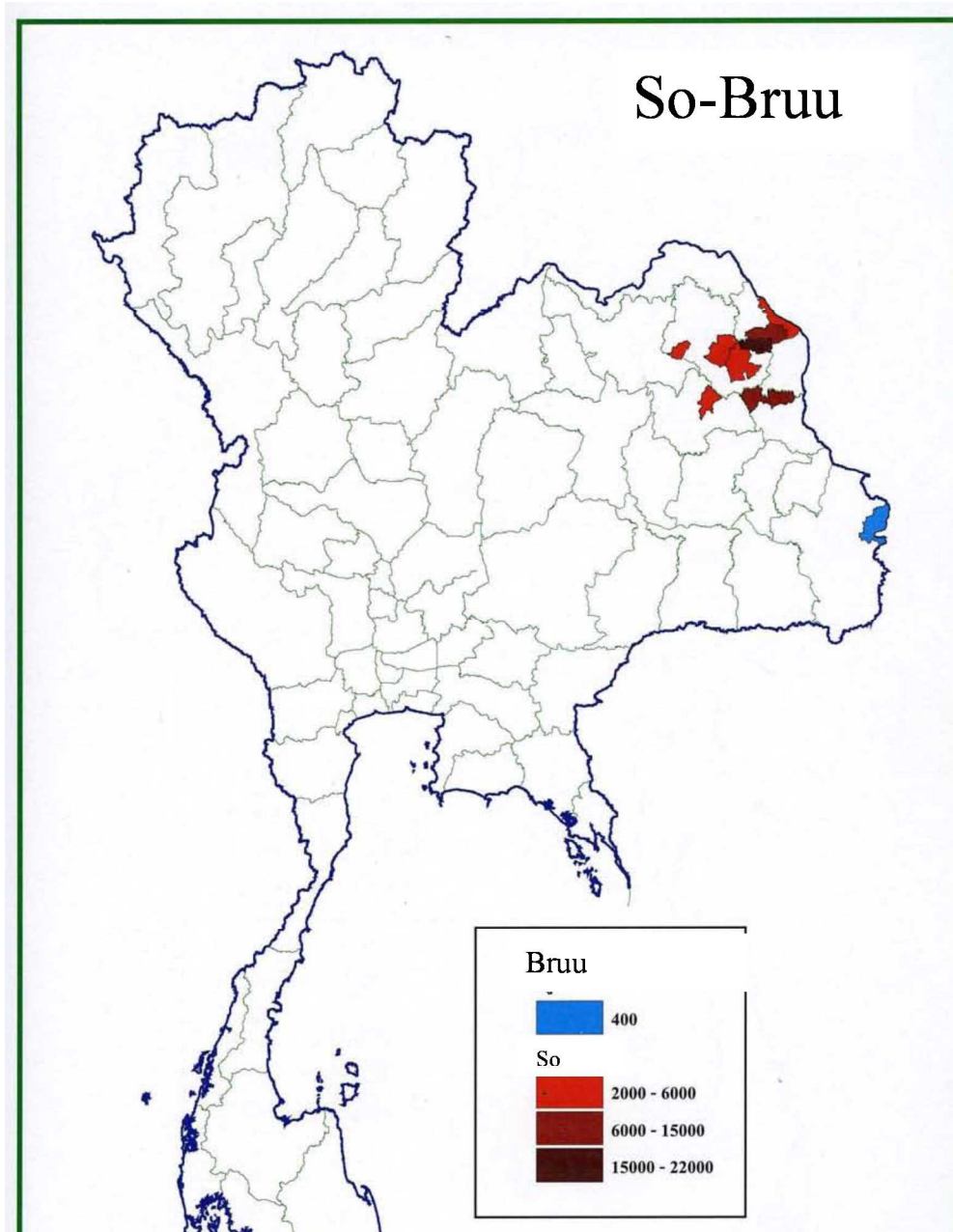


Figure 3.12. The Distribution of So and Bru people (Premsrirat et al. 2003, p. 73).

Most Bru villages in Thailand can be found in three provinces in the Northeastern Thai region (the Isan region): Mukdahan, Nakhon Phanom, and Sakon Nakhon (see ovals in Figure 3.9). On the other hand, Woen Buek (WB in the rectangle in Figure 3.9) is located in the Ubonratchathani province in the same region.

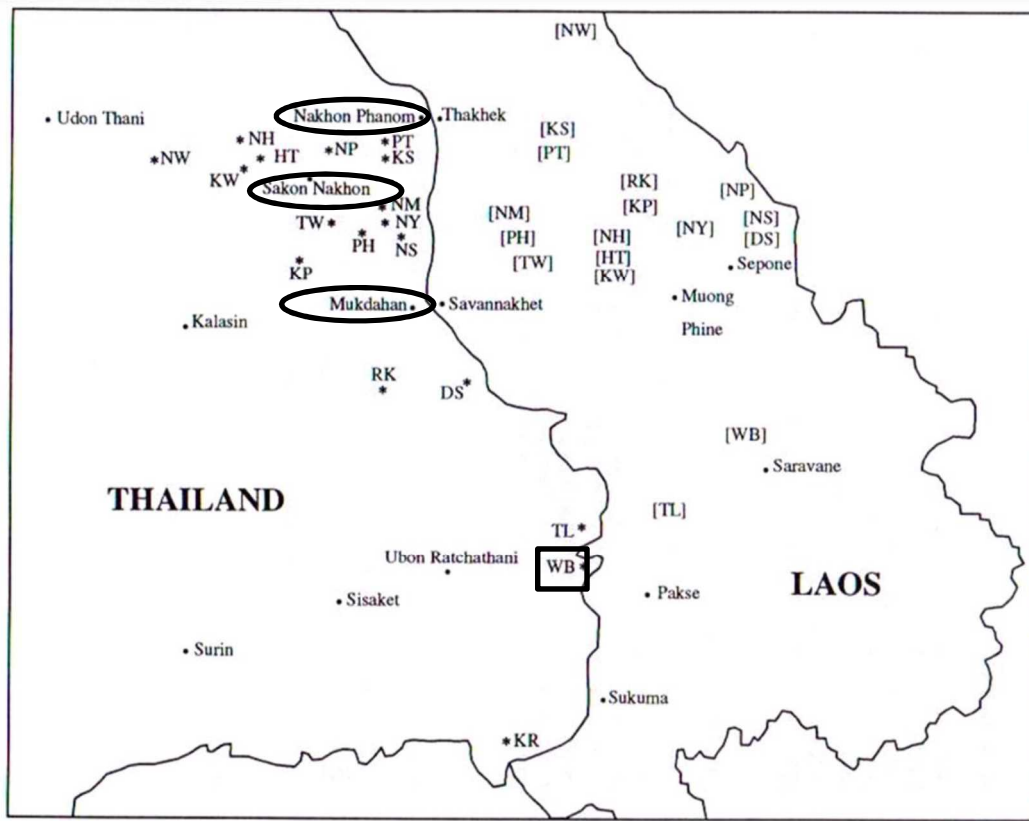


Figure 3.13. Villages in the Three Areas Where Western Bru is Spoken (Miller, 1994, pp. 99-100 Cited in Engelkemier, 2010, p. 7).

The whole area of Thailand shown in this map is a part of the Isan region. WB represents the village of Woen Buek, and TL represents the village of Tha Long.

3.7.2 Fieldwork Site - Woen Buek Village

The Woen Buek village is *muu* ‘village’ 8 of the Khong Chiam sub-district, the Khong Chiam district, Ubonratchathani Province. This sub-district is known as the east end of Thailand, and Woen Buek is the east-most community in Thailand. Only Woen Buek is a Bru village within this sub-district.

The official population of Woen Buek is approximately 600 persons (Samnak Thabian Amphoe Khong Ciam, 2014) (Table 3.19). However, some villagers stay outside the village to study or work. A Bru coordinator, an ex-village leader, told me that probably only 400 out of 600 people really live in the village. No one has counted the precise size of the population in a practical sense. Though Pongam (1993) recorded 435 people (Table 3.20), it is unclear whether this data is based on registration or real residents. Phuengpa (n.d.²⁵) recorded the number of respondents of a language use

²⁵ This is a paper-based report summarized by the Woen Buek community members after the completion of language revitalization project from 2009 to 2010.

survey in June 2010. The data (Table 3.21) shows that at least 243 people actually lived in Woen Buek.

Table 3.19. Official Demographic Data of Woen Buek village as of 25 June 2014 (Samnak Thabian Amphoe Khong Ciam, 2014)

Male	Female	Total
319	315	634

Note. When I contacted the Khong Chiam sub-district office and the Khong Chiam district office, age information was not available.

Table 3.20. Demographic Data of Woen Buek Village in 1993 (Pongam, 1993)

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-6	29	17	46
7-18	62	66	128
19-50	97	93	190
51-60	16	23	39
61 and above	22	10	32
Total	226	209	435

Table 3.21. The Number of Respondents of a Language Use Survey Conducted at Woen Buek in June 2010 (Adapted from Phuengpa, n.d.)

Age	Male	Female	Total
5-25	58	44	102
26-49	46	39	89
50 and above	25	31	56
Total	129	114	243

Note. The data implies the total population size must be larger than above figures.

Woen Buek is approximately 8 to 9 km east of the centre of Khong Chiam district. The village stands on the craggy bank of the Mekong River. Most areas are surrounded by mountainous forests. The village is connected to the central area of Khong Chiam by a road from the west. On all other sides, the village faces Laos across the Mekong River (Figure 3.10).

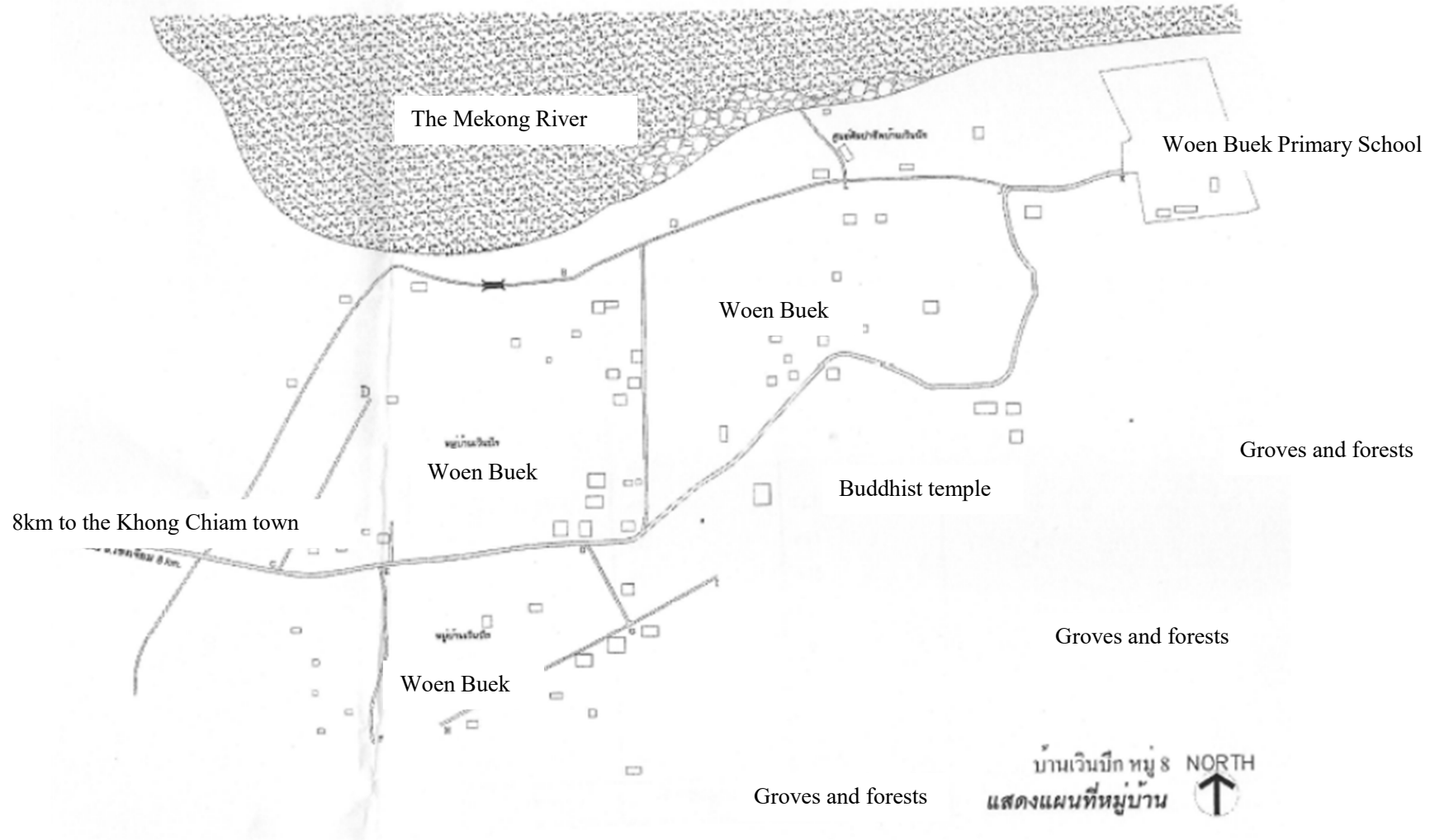


Figure 3.14. The Map of Woen Buek (O Bo To Khong Chiam, n.d.).

Land transportation is available only toward the west. There is no public transportation except hired three-wheeled taxis. Motorcycles are commonly used, while automobiles are rarer than motorcycles. There are paid pick-up truck services for students and workers who commute to the central area everyday. Some villagers are fishermen. They can, thus, travel by boat. Upstream there is the Khong Chiam town and a Bru village, Tha Long, while there is another Bru village called Lat Suea downstream in Laos. Woen Buek villagers have more frequent contacts with Bru in Lat Suea than those in Tha Long.

Bru people believe that their ancestors once lived in the northern part of Laos, moved southward, and lived in Salavan and Champasak provinces of Laos (Green & van der Haak, 2001; Pongam, 1993). The pressure of high taxation by the French government resulted in their migration from Lat Suea to Woen Buek about 100 years ago.

Two old Bru interviewees in their late seventies said that Bru people usually stayed in the forest and mountain areas until the 1970s. When they were pupils, they stayed at a shed in the present village area on weekdays to go to primary school, while their parents stayed in the forests to do farming, hunting and gathering. They stayed together in the forests on weekends. When the socialist revolution occurred in Laos during the 1970s, the socialists entered Thailand to chase Lao royalists who took refuge and hid themselves in the forest on the Thai side. At that time the Bru people were forced to leave the forests and started to settle down in the village.

Woen Buek people seem to have experienced dramatic socioeconomic and sociocultural changes from about 30 to 40 years before this study was done. Until 30 years ago, there was no road between the center of Khong Chiam district and Woen Buek village. The Bru people, thus, rode boats to barter with Lao²⁶ people both in Thailand and Laos for their crops. After they settled down in the village, fishing became the main occupation of some villagers. There was no Buddhist temple inside the village until 25 to 30 years before this study, but Bru people gradually accepted Buddhism. An interviewee in her seventies said that their traditional law basically prohibited them from exogamy. There were no Bru-Lao couples in her generation, but

²⁶ Bru people tend to treat both the Northeastern Thai dialect and the Lao language in Laos as 'Lao.' Northeastern Thai people and Lao people in Laos are also called in the same way: 'Lao people.' If they indicate only Northeastern Thai, I will use 'Lao (Northeastern Thai).' If they specifically indicate Lao in Laos, I will use 'Lao language/people in Laos.'

exogamy is no longer prohibited. In addition, the most significant change to the village was the opening of a road and the arrival of electricity 30 years before this study. It is no wonder that this development allowed for easier and closer contact with Lao and Thai people from both of the Northeastern and the Central region than ever before.

Nowadays, Bru males mainly work as fishermen, farmers of small fields in the forests, and/or as paid construction workers within the village and nearby areas. Many young females work as housekeepers in hotels in the central area of Khon Chiam. In addition, both male and female villagers gather mushrooms and bamboo shoots, etc. from the forests. Some villagers make traditional baskets. These products are both for self-sustenance and sale.

Language Attitude and Use

According to Green and van der Haak (2001) and Miller (1994), Woen Buek people were then bilingual in Lao and Bru, while their Standard Thai proficiency is lower than Lao. Attitudes toward Standard Thai and Lao are positive, while attitudes toward Bru depend on the person. In general, Bru is used at home, with friends and social events in the village. Lao (Northeastern Thai) is used in the market and with local government officials, while Standard Thai is used at school. Furthermore, Green and van der Haak (2001) estimate that Bru is in danger of becoming extinct within next two generations. They found that some young male speakers tend to use Lao with their children instead of Bru, even though their wives are also Bru.

From 2009 to 2010, Mahidol University²⁷ implemented a Bru language revitalization project²⁸ in Woen Buek. The project consisted of various activities such as recording the history of Woen Buek, unifying existing Bru orthographies developed by different scholars or local intellectuals, and native Bru speakers' teaching Bru to primary school pupils. A language use survey was conducted as a part of the project. The survey divided respondents into three age groups: 5-25 years old (young), 26-49 years old (middle), and 50 years and above (elder). According to Phuengpa (n.d.), the results show the following characteristics.

1) Language proficiency: Most middle and elder respondents maintain Bru language proficiency well, while most young respondents do not maintain it.

²⁷ Resource Center for Documentation and Revitalization of Endangered Languages and Cultures, Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University

²⁸ See Division of Research for Community (2011), Phuengpa (n.d.), Resource Center for Documentation and Revitalization of Endangered Languages and Cultures (n.d.), and Suun Sueksaa lae Fuenfuu Phaasaa (n.d.)

2) Language attitude: Most middle and elder respondents have positive attitudes toward Bru ethnicity, language and culture, while one-third of the young respondents were indifferent to them.

3) Language choice: language shift occurs mainly from Bru to Lao (Northeastern Thai). In formal domains, shifts from Lao to Standard Thai also occur.

Language shift seems to start from the middle group. While 82% of elder Bru respondents use Bru on a daily basis, 65% of the middle group do so. The rest choose Lao instead, so that the middle group seems to have shifted language from Bru to Lao. When interacting with government officials, no elders chooses Standard Thai; however, 24% of the middle group choose Standard Thai in the same situation. In formal domains, language is shifting from Lao to Standard Thai (Table 3.22).

In the project report, Phuengpa (n.d.) attributes language shift in WB to (1) the discrimination suffered by Bru people in the past at the hands of the majority Lao people; and (2) exogamy between Bru and Lao people. (These factors are discussed in Chapter 6.)

Table 3.22. Selected Results of Language Use Survey (Phuengpa, n.d.)

Domains	Age group	Language used (persons / %)		
		Bru	Isan (Lao or Northeastern Thai)	Standard Thai
Languages used in a daily life	5-25	32 / 28%	81 / 72%	
	26-49	65 / 65%	35 / 35%	
	50-	50 / 82%	11 / 18%	
Languages used when interacting with government officials	5-25		78 / 74%	27 / 26%
	26-49		74 / 76%	23 / 24%
	50-		54 / 100%	

After the completion of the project, Puengpa (n.d.) did not conduct a survey of the Bru people. Therefore, it is unclear how and to what extent the Bru people's language attitudes and language use were affected by the revitalization project. Moreover, once financial and technical support ended, the Bru in WB, like many other minority communities across Thailand, did not have the means to run language revitalization activities by themselves (personal communication, Premsrirat, Suwilai, July 2, 2014). If this is the case in Woen Buek village, it is doubtful that the possible positive impacts by the project are still effective among Bru people today, eight years since the end of

the project. I, thus, believe that the Woen Buek village is an important case to study the lasting impacts, if any, of such a language revitalization project.

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, I introduced the Linguistics and Sociolinguistics situations of Thailand where WB, the target speech community of this study, is located. After that, I reviewed the different classifications of the Bru language according to different scholars. This illustrates that although Bru has been studied for some time, a number of issues remain to be studied or are yet to be agreed on by researchers. In the latter part of the chapter, I reported the demographics of Bru people both in Thailand and Laos, as WB is located on the border between Thailand and Laos and most WB people have contacts with people in the Laos side. At the end of the chapter, I detailed information on WB where I conducted the fieldwork.

Chapter 4 Methodology

In this chapter, I report the methodology of this study. This study applied a *mixed method*, or *multiple method* approach that utilizes both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) suggest that a mixed method often more efficiently answers research questions than if a quantitative or qualitative method would be used on their own. Quantitative data can represent collective information of a target group, and be processed systematically by a computer, but it cannot express individual differences in depth. While qualitative data can illustrate detailed differences amongst participants (Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007), it cannot give a picture of the whole group as well as the quantitative method. An approach that uses a mixed method would overcome these shortcomings. For example, Denzin (2009) suggests that *triangulation* ‘using the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (p.297)’ can verify the appropriateness of data, investigator, theory and methodology used in a study. Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989, p.259) propose five methods for a mixed method approach: (a) triangulation, (b) complementation of the results, (c) development of the results, (d) initiation of paradoxes and contradictions to reframe the research question, and (e) expansion of the inquiry.

Sociolinguistic studies have obtained benefits from a mixed method. Lai (2005, 2007, 2009) used a combination of surveys and focus interviews and found that the Hong Kong’s secondary school students who were born after its return to China have positive attitudes toward Cantonese from the aspect of usefulness, followed by English and then Mandarin. That is, they judged Mandarin as the least useful language, despite the enhanced presence of China. The quantitative results (i.e. Lai, 2005, 2007) could not clearly explain why Mandarin was rated the lowest. The qualitative interviews (i.e. Lai, 2009), on the other hand, found that people in Hong Kong perceive the world as a dichotomy: home and the international world. Because of this mind-set, they see Cantonese as their home language, and they see English as an international language. Therefore, there is no place where Mandarin can be placed, and it is ranked the lowest even in terms of usefulness. This interesting revelation was only possible through the synergy of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies

Gogonas (2009) applied both a quantitative method (i.e. questionnaire) and qualitative method (i.e. in-depth interview) in their study of Albanian immigrants in

Greece. He found that they are shifting from Albanian to Greek. Based on the questionnaire, more than 90% of Albanian pupils have good skills in Greek. However, few of them are as good in Albanian. Language choice in the home domain illustrates that they prefer Greek to Albanian, except when speaking with their parents. Though almost 80% of parents use ‘mostly/only Albanian’ when speaking to them, only about 34% of the pupils surveyed use Albanian as frequently as their parents. Moreover, when they speak to their siblings and Albanian friends, approximately 10% of them use ‘mostly/only Albanian’, while more than 50% of them choose ‘mostly/only Greek.’ The in-depth interviews revealed that some pupils estimated their Albanian proficiency as low because they believed that Albanian is a stigmatized language and did not want to be seen as an Albanian speaker. Albanian adolescents seem to be trying to distance themselves from a stigmatized language and identity.

As mentioned in Section 1.5.1, one of the aims of my research is to assess the language vitality and endangerment of a minority language community in Northeastern Thailand. For this purpose, quantitative data was needed to represent the collective patterns of language choice and the stages of language shift in these communities. At the same time, I intended to investigate what factors are affecting either LS or LM in the target group. Thus, a qualitative approach was also necessary to reveal the possible factors that influence individuals’ language attitudes and language choices.

4.1 Quantitative Method

The quantitative method was implemented through a survey of a large number of people. Survey research reveals ideas and behaviours of a target group of people. The quality of the result largely relies on the *sampling* method (Gray et al., 2007), and the quality of sampling method is determined by three key aspects (Fowler, 2002): (i) the sample frame: whether or not the set of people who are selected are representative of the target groups, (ii) probability sampling: whether or not each participant is selected randomly without any bias, and (iii) the details of the sample design: for example, sample size or how many participants must be investigated from a sample frame.

4.1.1 Sample Frame

A sample frame is a group of people that are selected as participants. Fowler (2002) says a sample can be considered as representative of people in that sample frame only.

If the sample frame covers only a part of members of an area, the result also represents only that part of people of the area. For example, suppose the sample frame is all the pupils of one school, the result expresses no more than the pupils of that school, not all members of the area. In the case of this study, the sample frame is all people who currently live in the target village (WB). I included non-Bru residents who moved from outside to WB as information gathered from them was also necessary. This is because, for example, Factor 3 of the LVE takes into account the proportion of indigenous language speakers in the target area.

4.1.2 Probability Sampling

Gray et al. (2007) explain that there are two main sampling methods: *probability sampling* and *non-probability sampling*. Using a probability sampling procedure ensures that every participant has an equal chance to be selected as long as one person is considered as one sample²⁹. In other words, when researchers pick up ten participants from a sample frame of 100 persons, they must know that every participant might be selected with a probability of 10%. On the other hand, non-probability sampling procedure arbitrarily controls which individuals to be selected. Provided the researchers choose participants whom they encounter accidentally (accidental sampling), or whom they think relevant to the research question (purposive sampling), there must be bias in choosing participants. Every participant has a different degree of chances to be selected. Probability sampling is theoretically preferable to objectively reflect the sample frame.

One of the techniques of probability sampling is called *systematic sampling*. Fowler (2002) states that systematic sampling guarantees probability as well as *simple random sampling* what is the most objective sampling method. These sampling techniques require a list that covers all samples of the sample frame. Provided there are 1,000 villagers in a target village; each person is labelled from 1 to 1,000 on the list. At first, one number is generated randomly by using any tools that can generate a random number, for example, a computer. While simple random sampling requires generating a number as many times as the number of participants that I need, *systematic sampling* requires doing it only once. I envisaged that I would need a

²⁹ One person has a higher chance than others, if a study does not consider one person as one sample. When a research picks up a piece of medical record at a hospital as one sample, a patient who visited the hospital ten times must have ten times higher opportunities than those who visited that hospital only once (Fowler, 2002).

sample size of at least 100 people (see next section); therefore, I needed to administer a questionnaire to about one fourth of all people in WB. If I could adopt *systematic sampling*, therefore, I would have chosen every fourth person from the number of firstly selected sample until the 100th person.

However, I faced some difficulties in adopting *systematic sampling* during the actual fieldwork. First, it was not realistic to obtain and have access to the complete list of villagers. A local government may have the data of residents based on housing registration but obtaining such data from the local government would violate people's privacy unless I asked for permission from everyone in the community. Second, even though I could have obtained the list of people who formally reside in the community, not everyone in the list practically lives in the community as many have moved to work elsewhere, and thus there would be some participants to whom I could not administer the questionnaire. According to both a former and a current village heads, it is common in Thailand that people who work away from home do not withdraw their house registration from their home town and transfer it to the administrative body in the area they currently live. Therefore, even the village head does not know the actual population of the community at any particular time. Third, it is also common that, even if all selected participants currently lived in WB, I cannot guarantee that all of them would answer a questionnaire. Therefore, even though there may be a list of actual residents of WB, this means that *probability sampling* is not feasible.

Due to the reasons that I explained above, I had to adopt *non-probability sampling* for this study, *accidental sampling* and *snowball sampling*. *Accidental sampling* is a sampling method that a researcher asks a participant whom the researcher accidentally meets to answer questions, while *snowball sampling* is the method in which a researcher asks a participant who has already answered questions to introduce the next participant. I adopted these two sampling methods with *quota sampling*, the consideration regarding the size of subgroups (see next section for subgroups). I conducted a survey with participants whom I accidentally met and/or previous participants introduced; however I took gender and age of a candidate into account before I made a decision to conduct a survey with that candidate. This process was necessary to avoid the imbalance of the size of the subgroups.

4.1.3 Sample Size

Sample size is one of the major concerns of researchers, and, it is often difficult to determine the exact size (Fowler, 2002; Gray et al., 2007).

Though statistics provides formulae to answer this question, Gray et al. (2007) recommend using them when the total population of a target population is over 150, and a researcher is able to use simple random sampling. Moreover, researchers must know some statistical values, such as a specific population parameter, an estimated proportion of an answer of a binary question, and the degree of margins of error, prior to a survey; otherwise researchers cannot use the formulae.

Fowler (2002) is more sceptical about the use of statistics for calculating the adequate sample size. He criticizes some misconceptions that place too much importance on the sample size and the need to calculate adequate sample size on the basis of statistical values. Although statistical concepts are theoretically correct, there are other factors that reduce the accuracy. For example, when a number of selected participants do not answer a questionnaire, the response rate becomes too low to credit the accuracy of the sampling, even though a researcher used simple random sampling. Hence, he suggests considering the size of subgroups within the total population. When researchers analyse the data, they would extract subgroups of or compare those among the total population. Thus, they need to ensure that the sample sizes of these subgroups are large enough.

Among many possible points of view, I recognize that generation is one of the basic criteria to separate the total population into subgroups, as ILT is a factor of importance in determining language vitality and endangerment (Dwyer, 2011; Fishman, 1991; Lewis & Simons, 2010; UNESCO, 2003b). In other words, each subgroup should adequately represent language use of different generations. I, thus, adopted the notional generation (grandparents, parents and children generation) when subdividing the total population into subgroups, following the suggestion by UNESCO's (2003b) LVE Factor 1: ILT.

Gray et al. (2007) state that, in general, a sample size should be at least 100 for it to be considered as representative of the total population. Taking Fowler's (2002) suggestion above into account, I interpreted that, 100 in each 'subgroup' may be reliable enough to represent a whole subgroup. Therefore, my aim was to collect data from a total of 300 participants: 100 respectively from grandparents, parents, and

children generation. Nevertheless, this size is not realistic for WB in that actual number of residents are approximately 400 out of 600 formal residents. There are babies and infants, and elderly people who are not able to answer my questions and hired labourers who stay in WB only after work at night and cannot spare the time to answer my questions. Excluding these people from a group of candidates, the figure 300 means that the survey would be a quasi-complete survey. Even the language use survey conducted by WB community members in 2010 (2010-survey) (Phuengpa, n.d.) did not reach such a large number. The number of participants of that survey was approximately 250. What is more, that survey includes 5-year-old children, even though some questions seem to have been too difficult for small children to answer. According to my screening of the original answer sheets of the survey³⁰, there also are unclear answers. For example, some participants selected all choices in the questions. Such discrepancies suggest that working with too large a sample size may cause inaccuracies in the results.

After having considered the above-mentioned risks, I compromised on the sample size to at least 120 participants: 40 from each subgroup mentioned above. This sample size meets the minimum requirement by Gray et al. (2007) as a sample size representing WB people as a whole. In addition, I aimed to avoid the bias by precisely regulating the breakdown by gender and age of participants. For instance, instead of collecting a total of 40 participants per subgroup without any consideration, I regulated to collect the data respectively from 10 male and female participants, and evenly do so from 6 sub-generations: 10 to 19, and 20 to 29 years old as the youngest cohort (Cohort A), 30 to 39, and 40 to 49 years old as the middle cohort (Cohort B), and 50 to 59, and 60 years old and above as the oldest cohort (Cohort C). This preset would help guarantee the representativity of the subgroups.

4.2 Participants

Through the main fieldwork (see Section 4.5) phase I (FW1) in 2015 and the main fieldwork phase II (FW2) in 2016, questionnaires were collected from a total of 138 participants (PPs). Since FW1 and FW2 were done within a year: October 2015 to

³⁰ The original answer sheets were kept by the Research Institute for Asian Languages and Cultures, Mahidol University. I deeply appreciated Ms. Atcharaporn Thawornphat, a mentor of the WB's language and culture revitalization project, that allowed me to inspect the original copies of the questionnaire.

April 2016; the age of PPs is not adjusted and is reported as the one as of the interview date.

4.2.1 Age

The youngest PP was 10 years old whereas the oldest PP was 87 years old. The mean of the PPs' age is 40.6 years old. Table 4.1 shows the break down of the PPs by age and gender, grouped in 10-year groups. All PPs above 60 years old are grouped together. Precisely, there are 12 PPs of 60 to 69 years old, 6 PPs of 70 to 79 years old, and 4 PPs of 80 to 89 years old.

As explained above, the PPs were classified into 3 cohorts for the analysis; Cohort A (the PPs from 10 to 29 years old), Cohort B (the PPs from 30 to 49 years old), and Cohort C (the PPs above 50 years old). There is approximately equal number of PPs among three cohorts: 46 in Cohort A (the average is 18.9 years old), 44 in Cohort B (the average is 40.5 years old), and 48 in Cohort C (the average is 61.5 years old).

4.2.2 Gender

The PPs are balanced by gender: 71 male PPs from 11 to 87 years old (the average for the males is 41.3 years old) and 67 female PPs from 10 to 85 years old (the average for the females is 39.8 years old). The gender balance by age is also maintained as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. The Cross Tabulation by Age and Gender

Age (every 10 years)		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
10~19 years old	N	12	12	24
	% within age group	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within gender	16.9%	17.9%	17.4%
20~29 years old	N	10	12	22
	% within age group	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%
	% within gender	14.1%	17.9%	15.9%
30~39 years old	N	11	12	23
	% within age group	47.8%	52.2%	100.0%
	% within gender	15.5%	17.9%	16.7%
40~49 years old	N	11	10	21
	% within age group	52.4%	47.6%	100.0%
	% within gender	15.5%	14.9%	15.2%
50~59 years old	N	15	11	26
	% within age group	57.7%	42.3%	100.0%
	% within gender	21.1%	16.4%	18.8%
60 years old and above	N	12	10	22
	% within age group	54.5%	45.5%	100.0%
	% within gender	16.9%	14.9%	15.9%
Total	N	71	67	138
	% within age group	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%
	% within gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Therefore, the gender balance per cohort is also balanced (see Table 4.2). As I analyse the age differences based on Cohort, in this study, the term ‘age’ hereafter indicates cohort unless otherwise specified.

Table 4.2. The Cross Tabulation by Cohort and Gender

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Cohort A	Count	22	24	46
	% within Cohort	47.8%	52.2%	100.0%
	% within Gender	31.0%	35.8%	33.3%
Cohort B	Count	22	22	44
	% within Cohort	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	% within Gender	31.0%	32.8%	31.9%
Cohort C	Count	27	21	48
	% within Cohort	56.3%	43.8%	100.0%
	% within Gender	38.0%	31.3%	34.8%
Total	Count	71	67	138
	% within Cohort	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4.2.3 Birthplace

More than 80% of the PPs were born in WB (113 PPs, 81.9%). The number of PPs who were born outside WB is larger in Cohort B (10 PPs, 22.7% of Cohort B) whereas those in Cohort A and C account for approximately 15% of each cohort (7 PPs: 15.2% for Cohort A, and 8 PPs, 16.7% for Cohort C).

Among the WB-born PPs, most of them have never lived outside WB before (96 PPs, 69.9% of the all PPs). Almost all Cohort C PPs, except one male, claimed that they have never lived outside WB. One third of the WB-born Cohort B PPs (11 PPs, 25.0% of Cohort B) have lived outside WB; they work or have worked away from home, for example, in Bangkok, and returned home to settle down or were on holidays at the time the interviews took place. Among the 39 WB-born Cohort A PPs, 5 female PPs have lived outside WB (10.9% of Cohort A) (See Table 4.3).

Table 4.3. The Cross Tabulation by Cohort and Gender, and Birth Place

Cohort	Gender		Born in WB		Born Outside WB	Total
			Never Lived Outside WB	Lived Outside WB Before		
A	Male	N	19	0	3	22
		% within Gender	86.4%	0.0%	13.6%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	41.3%	0.0%	6.5%	47.8%
	Female	N	15	5	4	24
		% within Gender	62.5%	20.8%	16.7%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	32.6%	10.9%	8.7%	52.2%
	Total	N	34	5	7	46
		% within Gender	73.9%	10.9%	15.2%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	73.9%	10.9%	15.2%	100.0%
B	Male	N	14	7	1	22
		% within Gender	63.6%	31.8%	4.5%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	31.8%	15.9%	2.3%	50.0%
	Female	N	9	4	9	22
		% within Gender	40.9%	18.2%	40.9%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	20.5%	9.1%	20.5%	50.0%
	Total	N	23	11	10	44
		% within Gender	52.3%	25.0%	22.7%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	52.3%	25.0%	22.7%	100.0%
C	Male	N	19	1	7	27
		% within Gender	70.4%	3.7%	25.9%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	39.6%	2.1%	14.6%	56.3%
	Female	N	20	0	1	21
		% within Gender	95.2%	0.0%	4.8%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	41.7%	0.0%	2.1%	43.8%
	Total	N	39	1	8	48
		% within Gender	81.3%	2.1%	16.7%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	81.3%	2.1%	16.7%	100.0%
Total	Male	N	52	8	11	71
		% within Gender	73.2%	11.3%	15.5%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	37.7%	5.8%	8.0%	51.4%
	Female	N	44	9	14	67
		% within Gender	65.7%	13.4%	20.9%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	31.9%	6.5%	10.1%	48.6%
	Total	N	96	17	25	138
		% within Gender	69.6%	12.3%	18.1%	100.0%
		% within Cohort	69.6%	12.3%	18.1%	100.0%

The responses to the demographic questions will be presented in the next chapter

4.3 Questionnaire

The quantitative survey was done by administering a *questionnaire* in an interview style. The questionnaire was translated from English to Thai and checked by several

native Thai speakers. It was not a *self-administered questionnaire*, but rather a *face-to-face interview* in Lao Isan or Thai. Gray et al. (2007) point out that a self-administered-questionnaire might elicit a low return rate, as participants are reluctant to answer, or may not understand some of the questions. I envisaged that these problems would occur in this study. Tomioka (2009a) adapted a self-administered questionnaire, and found that some urban participants did not answer the questionnaire, or seemed to give up doing it half way through it. Most participants of this study, on the other hand, lead a rural life, thus they are not familiar with documentary work, though they are literate. Answering a questionnaire might be too much for them, if no one helps them while answering it. I believed that face-to-face administration can reduce participants' load and collect data more precisely. I would be able to give guidance or support when participants do not understand a question, instead of relying on the participants' self-interpretation.

The questionnaire of this study consists of three main parts: Demographic and other personal information on the participants, questions on language attitudes, and questions on language choice.

4.3.1 Demographic and Personal Information

The first part of the questionnaire elicits demographic data such as gender, age, occupation, educational background, etc. As this research focuses on speech communities of ethnolinguistic minorities, this section also elicits the participants' ethnic background and their language proficiency. The questions included in this part are as follows.

- (PI01) Age
- (PI02) Gender
- (PI03) Birth place
- (PI04) Experiences of living outside WB
- (PI05) Education
- (PI06) Occupation
- (PI07) Main occupation (if a participant engages in more than one occupations)
- (PI08) Experiences of engaging in other occupations (if any)
- (PI09) Ethnicity
- (PI10) Proud of being Bru (applicable for an ethnic Bru participant)

- (PI11) Representatives of being Bru
- (PI12) The most typical representative of being Bru
- (PI13) Father's birth place
- (PI14) Father's ethnicity
- (PI15) Mother's birth place
- (PI16) Mother's ethnicity
- (PI17) Paternal grandfather's ethnicity
- (PI18) Paternal grandmother's ethnicity
- (PI19) Maternal grandfather's ethnicity
- (PI20) Maternal grandmother's ethnicity
- (PI21) Spouse's birthplace (if any)
- (PI22) Spouse's ethnicity (if any)
- (PI23.1) Speaking proficiency of Bru, Lao Isan, and Standard Thai
- (PI23.2) Listening proficiency of Bru, Lao Isan, and Standard Thai
- (PI23.3) Reading proficiency of Standard Thai
- (PI23.4) Writing proficiency of Standard Thai

Basically, questions were prepared as closed-ended questions, with open-ended spaces in case a participant chose 'others.' However, the questions related to occupation and representatives of Bru identity (i.e. PI06, PI07, PI08, PI10, and PI11) are open-ended questions. The question (PI10) is 5-level Likert scale from '1-not proud,' '2-rather not proud,' '3-middling' '4-rather proud,' and '5- proud.' The questions regarding language proficiency are also on a 5-level Likert scale from '1-not at all,' '2-limited,' '3-middle,' '4-good,' and '5-excellent' such that a participant is supposed to estimate his/her own speaking, listening, writing, and reading skill of Bru, Lao Isan, and Standard Thai respectively, (see Table 4.4). Through the pilot study (detailed in 4.5.1), it is confirmed that participants understand the concept of Likert-scale. Since Lao Isan and Bru do not have widely known and used orthographies, the participants were not asked about their writing and reading proficiency in these languages.

Table 4.4. Format of the Questions (PI23) on Language Proficiency

PI23 For the next question, please estimate your language proficiency and choose in the box with a figure for each language.

			Not at all	Limited	Middle	Good	Excellent
PI23. 1	How well you can speak these languages?	Bru	1	2	3	4	5
		Lao Isan	1	2	3	4	5
		Standard Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others.....	1	2	3	4	5
PI23. 2	How well you understand these languages?	Bru	1	2	3	4	5
		Lao Isan	1	2	3	4	5
		Standard Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others.....	1	2	3	4	5
PI23. 3	How well you can read these languages?	Bru	Not necessary to answer				
		Lao Isan	Not necessary to answer				
		Standard Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others.....	1	2	3	4	5
PI23. 4	How well you can write in these languages?	Bru	Not necessary to answer				
		Lao Isan	Not necessary to answer				
		Standard Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others.....	1	2	3	4	5

Since this study aimed to investigate the contribution of grandparents for language maintenance, the questionnaire, therefore, included questions related to the ethnicity of the participants' grandparents. Such information helps to more concretely draw out the participants' language choice with their grandparents. In particular, when a participant stated not using Bru with his/her grandparents, further clarification was needed to see whether that was due to the grandparents not being ethnic Bru or that the participant intentionally chose not to use Bru with them.

Similar to the grandparents, as this study investigated the influence of exogamy on language shift, the questionnaire included questions regarding the birthplace and ethnicity of the participants' parents and spouse (if any). This information helped to illustrate the correlation between language choice and exogamy.

Question '(PI10) [you are] proud of being Bru' was originally used in the questionnaire for the 2010-survey that was conducted by the WB community members under the support of the RILCA as a part of the Bru language and culture revitalization project in 2010. This question was included for this doctoral research for the purpose of comparing the results of this study with those of the 2010-survey.

While some questions were added to investigate possible factors of language shift and maintenance, other questions had to be removed before finalizing the

questionnaire. This was done after trialling the questionnaire with a group of native speakers of Thai. One problematic issue that came out of the trial was that it was not so straightforward to ask a participant to estimate his/her economic status; the question seemed to be offensive for the participant. Even though some participants may not find the question to be offensive, they may be humble and may lower their estimate of their economic status. Therefore, it was decided that the participants' economic status may not be estimated through the questionnaire, and it was decided that it would be better done through observation or other approaches instead.

4.3.2 Language Choice

The second section of the questionnaire concerns daily language choices. That is, what languages the participants report using and to what extent they use them in various domains. I estimate the degree of language vitality and endangerment, especially for micro-societal factors, on the basis of the answers in this section of the questionnaire.

The questions were designed to cover many factors regarding language use and factors from the previous survey and the frameworks already discussed earlier in this study: language use related questions used in the 2010-survey, use with grandparents (see 1.4.4), language use in inter-group marriages (1.4.5), are the languages in a diglossic situation (see 1.4.6)? What is the school language (1.4.7)? Is there intergenerational transmission (LVE's Factor 1)? What are the trends in existing language domains (LVE's Factor 4)? And what have been the responses to new domains and media (LVE's Factor 5)? This part of the questionnaire also took EGIDS factors in consideration: (i) identity function of language, (ii) its vehicularity, (iii) the state of intergenerational language transmission, and (v) the societal profile of generational language use. In addition, I also included questions reflecting TLM from a language choice's point of view as some motivations could not be well represented solely by the language attitude questions. For instance, instead of asking 'if you use this language, you will be seen as a good citizen' to test TLM's (5) Nationalistic and Political Motivations, I asked what languages participants would use in situations where they are required to behave as good citizens, such as talking to a government officer. Another example is that, instead of asking 'if you use this language, you will construct a better relationship with your work associates/boss' (TLM's (2b) Economic, network related motivations), I simplified it to what language would participants use when they talk with their work associates/boss.

A domain usually consists of a speaker, an interlocutor, a place, and a topic (Fishman, 1965b). Therefore, I started to design questions containing all four elements in one question (i.e. domain), for instance, ‘what language would/did you use when you talk(ed) with your mother at home about your school education?’ However, inserting all four elements in one question leads to the question being too specific to generalize the results. From the sample question above I could not conclude what language was used with the participants’ mother unless the question was repeated asking about different places and different topics. This would have caused the inclusion of too many questions as each question would have needed a number of subquestions. For the purpose of decreasing the participants’ workload and for the questionnaire to be feasible, I had to choose not to specify some factors or domains, and not ask about topics. For example, the above sample was limited to ‘what language would/did you use when you talk with your mother at home.’

As a result of above-mentioned consideration, the components of language choice questions in the finalized questionnaire are as follows (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5. The Components of Domains Used in Language Choice Questions

Question	Speaker	Locale	Interlocutor	Topics
LC01	Participant	In general	In general	In general
LC02	Participant	Home	Father	Not specified
LC03	Participant	Home	Mother	Not specified
LC04a	Participant	Home	Children	Not specified
LC04b	Participant’s children	Home	Participant	Not specified
LC05a	Participant	Home	Grandchildren	Not specified
LC05b	Participant’s grandchildren	Home	Participant	Not specified
LC06	Participant	Home	Spouse	Not specified
LC07	Participant	Home	Paternal grandparents	Not specified
LC08	Participant	Home	Maternal grandparents	Not specified
LC09	Participant	N/A	Relatives	Not specified
LC10	Participant	Work place	Work associates	Not specified
LC11	Participant	Work place	Boss	Not specified
LC12	Participant	School	Teacher	Not specified
LC13	Participant	Class Room	Classmates	Not specified
LC14	Participant	Outside Classroom	Classmates	Not specified
LC15	Participant	N/A	WB People	Not specified

LC16	Participant	N/A	People in the central area of the Khong Chiam district	Not specified
LC17	Participant	N/A	People in the central area of the Ubon Ratchathani province	Not specified
LC18	Participant	WB	Bru people	Not specified
LC19	Participant	Outside WB	Bru people	Not specified
LC20	Participant	N/A	Senior Bru people	Not specified
LC21	Participant	N/A	Bru buddies	Not specified
LC22	Participant	WB	Isan People	Not specified
LC23	Participant	WB	Outsider	Not specified
LC24	Participant	N/A	Government officers	Not specified
LC25	Participant	Sanitary station	Doctor	Not specified
LC26	Participant	N/A	Bru monks	Not specified
LC27	Participant	N/A	Non-Bru monks	Not specified
LC28	Participant	N/A	Shamans	Not specified
LC29	Participant	WB	Sellers	Shopping
LC30	Participant	Market	Sellers	Shopping
LC31	Participant as an adult person	WB	Teachers	Not specified

The Speaker is the PP, except for LC04b and LC05b where the speakers are the PP's children or grandchildren; so, for example, LC04b supposes that the speaker is child of the PP and asks about the languages the child uses when they talk to the PP (column 4) at home (column 3) about daily and general topics. Therefore, LC04b reflects the perception of a PP regarding the language choice of his/her children when speaking to him/her at home. LC05b also supposes that a speaker is not a PP, but the PP's grandchildren. LC25's locale 'Sanitary Station' is a translation from its Thai name *sathaanii anaamay*. Sanitary station is a public clinic that serves as a primary health care unit in rural Thailand, and now it is officially renamed as 'health promoting community hospital' *roong phayaabaan songsoem sukkhaphaap chumchon*; however, the former name is still common amongst WB people. I thus adopted the former name in this study. The speaker for LC31 is 'Participant as an adult': this does not mean that a PP is either a pupils or student whereas an interlocutor is his/her own teacher, but a PP has already graduated from school and talks with a teacher as an adult person. The

topic of each question was not specified or left 'In general' except for LC30 and LC31 where the topics are specified as 'shopping.'

When a question is not applicable to a participant, the participants were not asked to answer that question. For instance, if a participant never talked with paternal grandparents as they had passed away before the participant was born, the participant did not need to answer the question LC07. If a participant engaged in farming, fishing, or any other occupations that do not have a specific boss, the participant could skip LC11. Current students needed to answer from LC12 to LC14, while those that had graduated did not need to.

As stated above, the questions in the questionnaire needed to cover factors at the individual level that may affect the assessment of the language vitality and endangerment. While all language choice questions were concerned with diglossia, some questions were concerned with specific factors listed in the beginning of this section. For example, whenever a question contained a family member in a prescribed domain (i.e. LC01 to LC09), that question was possibly linked to LVE's Factor 1 (intergenerational transmission), but not to Factors 4 or 5. The correspondences between each language choice question and the above-mentioned factors are summarized in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. The Correspondences between Language Choice Questions and Language Maintenance/Shift Factors

QUESTION	LVE FACTOR	EGIDS KEY ISSUE	TLM	GRAND-PARENTS	INTER-GROUP MARRIAGE	SCHOOL LANGUAGE & INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT	THE SURVEY IN 2010
LC01	Factor 1	i, ii, v					Q01
LC02	Factor 1	i, ii, v			Yes		Q03
LC03	Factor 1	i, ii, v			Yes		Q03
LC04A	Factor 1	i, ii, v			Yes		Q05
LC04B	Factor 1	i, ii, v			Yes		Q05
LC05A	Factor 1	i, ii, v		Yes	Yes		Q05
LC05B	Factor 1	i, ii, v		Yes	Yes		Q05
LC06	Factor 1	i, ii, v			Yes		
LC07	Factor 1	i, ii, v		Yes	Yes		Q02
LC08	Factor 1	i, ii, v		Yes	Yes		Q02
LC09	Factor 1	i, ii, v			Yes		Q04
LC10	Factor 5	i, iii, v	Economic				
LC11	Factor 5	i, iii, v	Economic				
LC12	Factor 5	i, iii, v				Yes	Q11
LC13	Factor 5	i, iii, v				Yes	Q12
LC14		i, iii, v				Yes	Q13
LC15		i, iii, v	Communicative				
LC16		i, iii, v	Communicative				
LC17		i, iii, v	Communicative				
LC18		i, iii, v	Communicative				Q06
LC19		i, iii, v	Communicative				Q16
LC20		i, iii, v	Identity				
LC21		i, iii, v	Identity				
LC22		i, iii, v	Communicative				Q07
LC23		i, iii, v	Communicative				Q08
LC24	Factor 4	i, iii, v	Nationalistic and Political				

QUESTION	LVE FACTOR	EGIDS KEY ISSUE	TLM	GRAND- PARENTS	INTER-GROUP MARRIAGE	SCHOOL LANGUAGE & INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT	THE SURVEY IN 2010
LC25	Factor 4	i, iii, v	Nationalistic and Political				
LC26	Factor 4	i, iii, v	Religious				Q10
LC27	Factor 4	i, iii, v	Religious				Q10
LC28	Factor 4	i, iii, v	Religious				
LC29	Factor 4	i, iii, v	Communicative				Q09
LC30	Factor 4	i, iii, v	Communicative				Q15
LC31	Factor 4	i, iii, v					

4.3.3 Language Attitudes

The last part of the questionnaire focuses on attitudes towards or related to language and elicits what the participants think about each language used in their community. Language attitudes can be a factor of language shift and maintenance; although attitudes are not detailed by UNESCO's LVE (UNESCO, 2003b). Therefore, this part was designed using two approaches as follows.

First, questions used in the 2010-survey were included so that the comparison between two surveys was possible. These questions are as follows.

- (LA10)³¹ I want to teach and pass on this language.
- (LA11) I want school to teach this language.
- (LA12) I am embarrassed (อับอาย) when speaking this language.
- (LA13) Family stimulates the use of this language.
- (LA14) WB people should speak this language within family.
- (LA18) I prefer living in a Bru-mono-ethnic community to a multiethnic community.
- (LA19) There will be no Bru speakers in Thailand in the future.

The questions are given as an affirmative statement, and participants were supposed to estimate how much they agreed with the given statement regarding three languages: Bru, Lao Isan, and Standard Thai, except (LA18) and (LA19) who were asked regarding Bru only.

Secondly, a classification of language attitudes was adopted based on Karan's (2011) Taxonomy of Motivations Influencing Language (Stability and) Shift (TLM). Karan (2011) proposes that motivations are important for language revitalization as they determine speakers' language choice. According to Karan (2011), they are: (1) Communicative Motivations, (2) Economic Motivations, (3) Social Identity Motivations, (4) Language Power and Prestige Motivations, (5) Nationalistic and Political Motivations, and (6) Religious Motivations. In addition, these motivations are further detailed into subgroups except (1) and (5): (2a) Job related [motivation], (2b) Trade related [motivation], (2c) Network related [motivation], (3a) Prestige Group related [motivation], (3b) Solidarity related [motivation], (3c) Hero/Villain related

³¹ Numbers in brackets correspond with the order of questions in the questionnaire. There are nine more questions preceding LA10, but they do not correspond to the 2010-survey questions. Therefore, they are not shown here.

[motivation], (4a) High language forms, (4b) Low language forms, (6a) Pleasing or Appeasing, (6b) Sacred Language, (6c) Access Writings, and (6d) Religious Communication. Karan (2011) does not propose in what ways these motivations should be asked; therefore, I developed statements in accordance with TLM and using the same format as above, asked the participants to estimate how far they agreed with a given statements using a 5-level Likert scale.

With a pilot questionnaire, I originally designed questions for the language attitude part to cover all of the categories and subcategories of TLM. However, the results of pilot fieldwork (see 4.5.1) indicated that some questions confused participants because such questions may not match Northeastern Thai socio-cultural contexts or a participant's background. For example, (5) Nationalistic and Political Motivations could be represented as 'If you use this language, you will be seen as a good citizen.' for a language attitude question, but the participants of the pilot questionnaire seemed to be confused and suspicious why and how the languages that they use are linked to whether they are good citizens or not. I thus had to minimize any obstacles for a participant to complete the questionnaire and deleted the problematic questions. As a result of this compromise, all of the main categories of motivations are covered in either the language attitudes or the language choice parts (see the next section for language choice part).

The finalized questions and their correspondence to TLM are shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. Language Attitude Questions that Were Developed from TLM

Question	Question (Full Sentence)	TLM	TLM's Subgroup
LA01	If you use this language, you will communicate well with WB people.	Communicative	N/A
LA02	If you use this language, you will communicate well with people in the central area of the district.	Communicative	N/A
LA03	If you use this language, you will communicate well with people in the central area of the province.	Communicative	N/A
LA04	If you use this language, you will easily get a job.	Economic	Job
LA05	If you use this language, you will be seen as a person with a high status.	Identity	Prestige
LA06	If you use this language, you will get intimacy with Brus in WB.	Identity	Solidarity
LA07	If you use this language, you will get intimacy with Non-Bru WB people.	Identity	Solidarity
LA08	If you use this language, you will get intimacy with outsiders.	Identity	Solidarity
LA09	This language is religiously more special than other languages.	Religious	Access sacred writings
LA10- LA14	(See above)	Developed from the 2010-survey	
LA15	Speakers of this language are more popular than non-speakers.	Identity	Hero/Villain
LA16	Speakers of this language look more prestigious than non-speakers.	High/Low	N/A
LA17	Speakers of this language are more appreciated than non-speakers.	High/Low & Religious	Pleasing/appealing a greater being
LA18- LA19	(See above)	Developed from the 2010-survey	

For all language attitude questions, the degree of agreement is expressed with a Likert scale. A prototype questionnaire initially adopted 7-level Likert scale from '1-disagree so much' to '7-agree so much'. However, the participants of the pilot fieldwork gave feedback that they were not able to distinguish such detailed differences, and proposed a 3-level Likert scale: '1-disagree,' '2-middling,' and '3-agree.' The 3-level Likert scale was too simple for this study to analyse the results. I thus compromised to using a 5-level Likert scale: '1-disagree, '2-rather disagree,' '3-middling,' '4-rather agree,' and '5-agree.' An example of the language attitude part is shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. Extract of Language Attitude Part from the Finalized Questionnaire

Please evaluate each language: Bru, Lao Isan, and Standard Thai.		Bru					Lao Isan					Standard Thai				
-	If you agree very much about Standard Thai, neither agree or disagree about Lao Isan, and rather agree about Bru.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
25	If you use this language, you will communicate well with WB people.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
26	If you use this language, you will communicate well with people in the central area of the district.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
27	If you use this language, you will communicate well with people in the central area of the province.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
28	If you use this language, you will easily get a job.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
29	If you use this language, you will be seen as a person with a high status.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

The language attitude part was originally placed in the second part of the prototype questionnaire. However, in the trial I found that answering attitudinal questions was difficult for the participants as they are conceptual. Due to this abstraction, some participants were quite stuck at this part. They answered the language choice related questions quite readily since their answers were based on their daily practices. I thus switched the order of language attitude and language choice parts, so that the language attitude part became the last part of the questionnaire following the language choice part. This way, the participants had already answered language choice related questions when they came to the language attitude questions. Answering the language choice questions first allowed them to get used to answering language related questions, and thus, they were able to answer the attitudinal questions more easily.

4.3.4 How to Report Frequency of Use

In the trial run of the questionnaire, participants were asked to evaluate their frequency of the use of each language in terms of percentage. That is, a participant was asked to answer what languages he/she would use in a given setting and estimate the breakdown of the use of the languages to a total of 100%. As shown in Figure 4.1, if a participant used Bru and Lao Isan when he/she is at home and talks with his/her father, he/she is supposed to fill in figures in the box 'Bru' and 'Lao Isan.' If he/she used Bru and Lao Isan evenly, the figures should be 50 respectively. For the example in Figure

4.1, the participant used Bru more than twice more frequently than Lao Isan and estimated the use of Bru to be 70% while that of Lao Isan to be 30%.

LC02. When you are at home and talk with your father.
 (If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with him.)

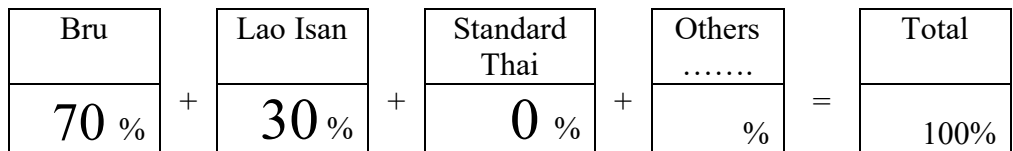


Figure 4.1. The Prototype Format for Language Choice Questions.

The difficulty of this format was that the concept of percentage was very abstract for many participants, especially the elderly people, so much so that they did not understand the question. Many participants of the trial questionnaire were concerned over this problem and recommended the use of another index than per cent. I firstly envisaged to maintain the concept of per cent so that I could analyse language choice in detail and designed a second format that visualized the concept of per cent (see Figure 4.2). With this format, a participant would see the scale from 0 to 100, and the interviewer would draw arrows that corresponded to the ratio of the use of a language based on the participant's answer. However, according to the participants of this trial questionnaire, this format was more complicated than the first format. What is more, as long as we were using the concept of per cent, the elderly people were still confused by the question even with the new format.

LC02. When you are at home and talk with your father.
 (If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with him.)

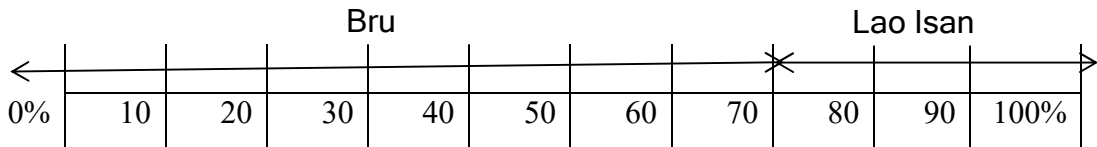


Figure 4.2. The Revised Format for Language Choice Questions.

Therefore, as a result, I had to compromise and simplify the format of the language choice answer form. I adopted a 5-level Likert scale: ‘1-do not use this language at all,’ ‘2-use this language less frequently than other languages,’ ‘3-use this language as frequently as other language,’ ‘4-use this language more frequently than other languages,’ and ‘5-use only this language’ (see Figure 4.3).

LC02. When you are at home and talk with your father.
 (If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with him.)

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other languages	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other languages	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Standard Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other languages	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other languages	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Figure 4.3. The Finalized Format for Language Choice Questions.

Participants were asked to choose one choice per language per question according to strict criteria. Firstly, the choice ‘5’ is exclusive: once a participant chose ‘5-use only this language’ for a language, the choices for any other languages must be ‘1-do not use this language at all’ (see Example 1). Secondly, when a participant chose ‘4-use this language more frequently than other languages,’ ‘2-use this language less frequently than other languages’ or ‘3-use this language as frequently as other language’ must be chosen for, at least, another language (see Examples 2 and 3). Thirdly, when a participant use more than two languages in one situation, and he/she evenly uses two languages, ‘3-use this language as frequently as other language’ will be chosen for these two languages (see Examples 4 and 5).

Example 1: When a participant uses only one language (i.e. Bru).

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Standard Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Example 2: When a participant uses Bru and Lao Isan (no use of Standard Thai), then the participant feels that he/she uses Bru more than Lao Isan.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Standard Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Example 3: When a participant uses all three languages, then the participant feels that he/she uses Bru the most often, followed by Lao Isan and Standard Thai in order.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Standard Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Example 4: When a participant uses all three languages, and the participant feels that he/she evenly use Bru and Lao Isan, while uses Standard Thai the least often.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Standard Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Example 5: When a participant uses all three languages, and the participant feels that he/she use Bru the most often, while evenly uses Lao Isan and Standard Thai.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Standard Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/ as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

With this format, a participant was first asked to estimate what languages he/she would use in a given situation, then simply compare what language he/she would use more frequently than other languages. While the participant did not need to calculate percentage, the obtained data still allowed me to analyse language choice in detail: not just what language(s) are used in a given setting but also what language(s) is/are relatively used more frequently than (an)other language(s).

4.3.5 Research Assistants

Since I had a total of 120 participants for the quantitative section of this study, and many community members were simultaneously available, only after work and/or on a day off, I hired research assistants who helped to administer the above-mentioned questionnaire. I trained them how to administer the questionnaire, so that they were aware of not influencing the participants' choices of answers. Training also enabled these research assistants to ask the questions in the same manner, thus, decreasing the risks that answers might be influenced by the research assistants.

Ideally, research assistants should have received or are currently receiving tertiary education and should come from the community. However, such educated villagers usually move out to the urban areas and have permanent jobs away from the village. Current university students also live close to their university rather than commute from their home in the village. I had two possible solutions for this challenge as follows.

Firstly, subgroup³² leaders gained significant experience in administering questionnaires for the 2010-survey (Phuengpa, n.d.) when the WB community members conducted a language and culture revitalization project. At that time, local leaders were given the task of collecting data from villagers under their responsibility. The ex-village leader of Woen Buek said that this strategy worked very well because subgroup leaders knew how to approach the villagers and the villagers were comfortable with them. This solution seemed to be the best solution if sub-group leaders and leaders of the language and culture revitalization projects were still available. However, some of them were working away from WB when I did my fieldwork. Also, since this study was not an official project of the WB village, but my

³² A village consists of group(s), and there are subgroups under these groups, called *khum* in Thai, within a village.

personal PhD thesis project, it was difficult to organize them in a systematic manner. At the same time, due to them being older than me, I could not compel them to collect the data for my study. Thus, I could not adopt this solution.

Another solution was to hire university students who live close to the target areas. There are several universities in the Ubon Ratchathani city, the closest city in Thailand from WB. I received support from the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Ubon Ratchathani University (UBU)³³, and thus could hire UBU undergraduate students as interviewers. Most of them are from Northeastern Thailand (Isan), so that they could administer a questionnaire in Lao Isan. This was an advantage compared to Standard Thai-speaking interviewers, because Lao Isan is the regional language of the Isan region (Smalley, 1994; Premsrirat, 2007), and serves as a part of regional identity for many Isan people (Alexander & McCargo, 2014). Therefore, even though a WB participant may not think that Lao Isan is their own language, I expected that an ethnic Lao interviewer using Lao Isan during an interview would establish solidarity, and make participants feel at ease in cases where they may not be confident in their Standard Thai proficiency.

4.4 Qualitative Method

This research also uses qualitative data to support the findings from the quantitative survey mentioned above. There are mainly two approaches: to confirm and countercheck the quantitative data gained from the questionnaire, and to investigate other factors that the questionnaire cannot explore. The methods used here were an ethnographic approach: participant observation and in-depth interviews with individuals.

4.4.1 Observation and Interview

In this study, participant observation and in-depth interviews were used to delve deeper than the questionnaire can possibly go, and to check discrepancies between answers and actual behaviour. If a participant answered that he/she uses a majority language and indigenous language at a rate of 50:50 at home, there would be, at least, two issues that need to be explored. Firstly, from the questionnaire, researchers cannot determine what triggers a 50% use of the majority language. There are many possible

³³ I sincerely acknowledge Dr. Kanjana Thepboriruk, who allowed me to contact to Dr. Chalermchai Wongrak again after I left Khon Kaen University 12 years before the fieldwork, and Dr. Chalermchai Wongrak, who introduced his students and arranged the venue of training in UBU.

reasons for this; for example, one parent is not an indigenous language speaker, and is only present half of time, or parents might use both languages at this rate to raise the participants as a bilingual speaker. Such reasons are too specific to ask in a questionnaire. The second issue would be that the questionnaire cannot confirm whether or not he/she really uses these languages at a rate of 50:50. For the case of language choice question, the answers reflect the participants' self-perception, but not necessarily real language use. For instance, follow-up in-depth interviews reveal complex practices of LM amongst the second generation of German, Greek, and Vietnamese immigrants in Australia, which a macro survey could not detail (Winter & Pauwels, 2006).

Daymon (2011) classifies participant observation into four levels: 1) a researcher is a complete observer without any actual participation, 2) an observer as a participant, 3) a participant as an observer, and 4) a complete participant without letting participants know that a researcher observes them. This is determined by how a researcher participates in the daily routine of a target group. I started from the second type of observation. When I stayed in a community, it was no surprise that at first everyone considered me as an outsider. Therefore, even though I pretended to join their daily activities, the participants would realize that they were being observed by me. However, by spending a considerable amount of time in the community, the participants slowly got used to my presence, and I was then classified as the third type.

Follow-up in-depth interviews were carried out with a select number of participants who had answered the questionnaire. Daymon (2011) explains that *unstructured* or *semi-structured interviews* are the two options at this stage. That is, an interviewer asks general and broad topics, such as about the daily life of an interviewee, instead of specific predetermined questions, because interviewees are not expected to be sensitized to the research topic. Though they must be aware of my research topic to some extent, I believe that these interview techniques were helpful in eliciting experiences not limited to language-related matters. This approach allowed me to obtain data on individual experiences or the community's history that may have had an impact on the language attitudes, the language choices and the language shift of the participants, though they may be unaware of this. If I had asked about language issues directly, I might not have obtained such narratives.

4.4.2 The Main Researcher

The main researcher of this study, the author, is a 33-year old male as of the first visit to Woen Buek. I visited Woen Buek for the first time in May 2014. Thanks to the support given by scholars of RILCA, Mahidol University, I was able to make contact with a former village head, who had worked with both Thai and foreign linguists who had conducted field work in Woen Buek in the past. He became my 'contact person' in WB, and he arranged with his elder brother for his family to be my host family during my stay in Woen Buek.

The languages that I mainly used with the people in Woen Buek were Thai and Lao. By the time I conducted this study, I had had long and varied experiences with the Thai society: I majored in Thai language and culture in Japan; I studied in Khon Kaen University in Northeastern Thailand for one year; I completed my Master's degree in Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok and wrote my thesis in Thai; and I worked for a Thai governmental organization. Therefore, I could already speak and understand Thai without any problems. Since I am a foreigner in Thailand, one of the initial concerns of the people in Woen Buek was whether I could communicate with them, since they did not expect a foreigner to speak Lao and/or Bru. They, thus, tended to ask me or my local contact person whether I could understand Thai or not. When they realized I could speak Thai, they spoke to me in Thai. As long as Woen Buek people spoke to me in Thai, I also responded in Thai.

My second language choice was using Lao. I had acquired Lao when I studied in Khon Kaen University and as a university subject in Japan. I, thus, can understand and conduct conversations in Lao. I switched to Lao from Thai whenever an interlocutor seemed to be more comfortable with using Lao. In fact, during the fieldwork, I found that Lao has an identity function among Woen Buek people. One of the sons in my host family told me that Woen Buek people do not feel comfortable if ethnic Lao university students from the Isan region visited Woen Buek and spoke to the people in Woen Buek in Thai. This was seen as the Lao Isan students being arrogant and showed a lack of solidarity with Woen Buek people. The son added that people from other regions than Isan are exception because it is common that they cannot speak Lao. I also fit this exception. Hence, it was accepted that I did not primarily use Lao because I am not Lao Isan, but a foreigner. I spoke primarily in Thai when I administered the questionnaire. This was because all participants and

interviewees had completed their compulsory school education. In other words, they had learned Thai at school. I, thus, used Lao only when an interlocutor spoke Lao to me.

Bru was also used during the daily conversations between Bru speakers and I. However the use of Bru was mainly limited to simple phrases due to my limited Bru proficiency. At any rate, I actively learned and used Bru while I stayed with fluent Bru speakers to show respect to the language, culture, and people of Woen Buek. I do not consider not using Bru as a medium of data collection as a serious issue. First of all, those who could speak Bru fluently, mainly the elderly people, were able to speak Lao as fluently as Bru. Therefore, we could communicate well enough by using Lao. Second, many young people could not speak or understand Bru and thus using Bru for an interview was not a realistic choice.

As stated above, I am not Thai citizen, and thus an outsider. Some people in Woen Buek addressed me as *aacaan* ‘a teacher’ or ‘a lecturer.’ This was because it is not uncommon for university lecturers to take study leave in order to attain a higher degree. I was, therefore, seen as one such PhD student. Otherwise, they believed that PhD students will become university lecturers after their graduation, so that it is relevant to address such people as *aacaan*. In fact, for the purpose of building solidarity, I initially tried to tell people that I was just a student but not yet a teacher. Nevertheless, being seen as a teacher enabled me to approach senior people more easily. Since Thai society is based on hierarchical and seniority system, students must be reserved toward a senior person. Once I was seen as a teacher, I was somewhat free from this hierarchical system and had an easier time approaching those who are older than me and asking for their help.

By contrast, being seen as a teacher first prevented me from approaching younger people. Some youths seemed to be awed by me and my role as a teacher. They did not know whether I, a foreign teacher, could speak Thai or Lao, and thus dared not talk with the author at first. They may also have felt that I was far older than them so that they should be reserved and polite toward me. To cope with such distances between the young people and me, I actively joined the community’s festivals and events. I tried to find opportunities to communicate with the youths both directly and indirectly to let them realize that I could communicate with them in Thai and Lao, and was not as severe a person as they believe. It took some time, but, in the end, I became friends with many of them and was able to talk to them freely.

Although I was an outsider for Woen Buek community, I was not always treated as an outsider. My host family treated me as a family member more than a researcher or guest. The host parents were in their fifties, while I was 33 years old at the time. They have three children: the eldest child (daughter) is almost my age and lives away from home with her husband, the middle child (daughter) is one year younger than me and lives in Ubon Ratchathani centre with her husband, and their youngest child (son) was in his early thirties then and lived in Woen Buek with his wife and a son (a grandson for my host parents). For my host parents, I was as old as their children, and they addressed me as *luuk* ‘child’. When my host mother met neighbours and was asked who I was, she introduced me as *luuk* or *luuk rak* ‘a man whom one loves like one’s own child’. Similarly, older family members or older Woen Buek people addressed me as *nong* ‘younger siblings’ and younger family members or younger Woen Buek people addressed me as *phii* ‘older siblings’ in Thai, or *aay* ‘older brother’ in Lao and Bru. Though using kinship term to address people is common in Thai society, I believe that if they had no solidarity with me and thought that I was just an outsider, they would have addressed me as *aacaan* or *khun* Yutaka ‘Mr. Yutaka.’ In addition, in the early days of my field work, I greeted my host family by saying *sawat dii khrap* ‘hello’ in the morning since I did not know how to start a conversation after I woke up,. However, my host father told me that we were family and thus we did not need to greet each other in such a formal way. My host mother and her son often cared about the progress of my data collection. When they knew that I needed to conduct an interview with people of a specific age and gender but I could not find a relevant interviewee, they often took me to the house of such candidates and introduced me to them. The son once told me that, in the future, even if my host parents are no longer alive, I can visit him and his family as if we were true relatives. From the speech and behaviour of my host family and of many other people in Woen Buek, I believe that I was able to achieve a certain level of solidarity and intimacy with people in Woen Buek that allowed me to have access to their in-group behaviour as an active members of their community .

4.5 Fieldwork Plan

This study collected the data through fieldwork. The fieldwork phase consisted of two steps: pilot fieldwork and a main fieldwork. The main fieldwork was undertaken in two stages: phase I and phase II.

4.5.1 Pilot Fieldwork

The aim of pilot fieldwork was to choose a target community (i.e. to assess the feasibility of conducting a survey), trial a questionnaire, and plan how to hire research assistants.

There were originally three candidate communities including WB. The other two communities are a Kuay community in Surin province, Thailand, and an Abui community in the Nesa Tenggara Timur province, Indonesia. I visited these communities for two weeks per place from May to August 2014. Due to the factors mentioned in Section 3.3, I chose a Bru community in Northeastern Thailand. In addition, I trialled a prototype questionnaire with several community members during the pilot fieldwork in each candidate community. The purposes of the trial were to check the appropriateness of the questions and format in order to avoid ambiguous, offensive, and/or confusing questions, estimate the time taken to administer the questionnaire, and receive feedback regarding anything related to the questionnaire and interview from the trial participants. The questions and the format of the questionnaire were revised based on the feedback from the participants and self-reflections after the trial (see 4.3).

The trial suggested that the prototype questionnaire was too long. The longer it takes to go through all questions, the more risk of the participants losing concentration and/or motivation. Even when participants were able to keep up with the questionnaire a number of times we were interrupted because someone called the participant over a phone, or a participant had to go to work. Once an interview was suspended, it was not easy to find another opportunity to continue the interview with the same participant.

After the pilot study, I revised some problematic questions and carefully selected questions so that the final questionnaire covered the necessary information and at the same time would not take too long to administer it to a participant.

4.5.2 Main Fieldwork

The main fieldwork consisted of two stages: phase I and II. The most important aim of the main fieldwork phase I was to finalize the questionnaire and begin the data collection. I finished finalizing the questionnaire to the final version at the end of June 2015. After that, I started to use the final version of the questionnaire during the main fieldwork phase I between October and November 2015. During this phase, I recruited

research assistants, and instructed them how to administer the questionnaire. The length of stay for the fieldwork phase I was approximately six weeks.

After the main fieldwork phase I, I fine-tuned the questionnaire. Fine-tuning was done only with a part that really was essentially inevitable to revise as I had to keep consistency between the questionnaire used in the fieldwork phase I and the one used in the phase II. The main fieldwork phase II was conducted between April and July 2016 for approximately five weeks following the same procedures as phase I.

Concurrently, I collected all available research materials written in Thailand because a number of works are not published abroad. I contacted RILCA, Mahidol University to collect their academic works, the records of language revitalization projects, demographic data of ethnolinguistic minorities in Thailand etc.

Quantitative data and qualitative data were collected simultaneously. Although quantitative data should be gathered as soon as possible, it was not always possible to administer the questionnaire with many people within a short period. The free time of many villagers overlapped with each other. I and my research assistants thus could not approach so many participants per day. Therefore, I spent the time flexibly and effectively by engaging in participant observation and carrying out the qualitative in-depth interviews.

During the 6-week stay, I occasionally went to neighbouring urban areas to reflect on the data collected. I recorded and summarized my reflections on all my observations and findings of the target village as early as possible. This process was necessary to avoid bias and not to influence the responses of the participants. I, thus, distanced myself from participants, and temporally left the target village during the fieldwork periods to retire to a neighbouring town. This session was done for reviewing both quantitative and qualitative data, and lasted a few days at a time.

Besides the periodical reflections and summaries, data was compiled for further analysis after each phase of the main fieldwork. Phase II of the fieldwork was completed by the end of April 2016.

4.6 Data Analysis

4.6.1 Quantitative Data (Data Obtained by the Questionnaire)

The various data obtained from closed-ended questions was coded and keyed into Microsoft Excel 2013, then the data was imported to IBM SPSS ver.20 for statistic analysis. For most of the personal information questions, the number and per cent of

valid cases were calculated. For those regarding language proficiency, language attitude, and language choice, the number and mean of the valid cases were calculated. When mean values of variables were so close to each other that I could not predict whether they were different or not, a statistical test, t-test or One-way ANOVA, were performed to confirm whether the difference was significant.

Answers to open-ended questions were directly keyed in Microsoft Excel 2013. When an answer or an item was longer than a word, such as a phrase or sentence, a core term or a keyword was excerpted and tagged to the items. The tags were analyzed to see whether there was a common trend amongst the responses.

Whenever a participant gave further comments or explanations that could not be coded to a closed-ended question, such information was treated as a part of the qualitative data collection (see the next section).

4.6.2 Qualitative Data (Data Obtained by Observation and In-depth Interview)

When I conducted an in-depth interview, I always took notes even though voice-recording was available³⁴. I also brought a fieldnote book with me at all the times whenever I stayed in WB or accompanied any participant so that I could take notes when I observed or heard anything of value to the research. When a note was taken in a hurry, I re-wrote it as soon as possible afterwards.

Similar to the open-ended questions, I keyed these notes into Microsoft Excel 2013. When a note was a narrative or longer than a sentence, I split it per sentence and filled one sentence in one cell: one cell contains at least one piece of information. After that, I tagged each item by observing its category or keyword. One item could be tagged more than once. For example, when a participant narrated his/her memory when he/she went to Khong Chiam by boat to barter with Lao Isan people, an item under this narrative may be tagged as ‘lifestyle in the past,’ ‘transportation (boat),’ ‘transportation (no road),’ ‘socio-economic information (barter),’ ‘relationship with Lao Isan people,’ etc. After tagging, I utilized the information in two ways: (1) sorted and extracted the information under the same tag, and summarized the data, and (2) diachronically lined up the items under the same tag from various interviewees, made

³⁴ Many participants declined to have voice-recording or indirectly expressed their desire that they did not want to be recorded.

a timeline, then observed and summarize the historical changes that happened in WB from various points of view.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I reported the methodology of this study. A key aspect of this study was applying a mixed method, that is, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used to complement each other and to guarantee the data gained by each approach. I used a questionnaire as the quantitative method, while I conducted in-depth interviews and used observations as the qualitative approaches. Although I faced some obstacles in conducting this study, for instance, probability sampling was not feasible because of the research settings, I managed to sample a good number of participants for the questionnaire considering the size of the community.

Chapter 5 Results of Questionnaire Survey

In this chapter, I report the results of this study with a particular focus on those obtained through the quantitative data collection approach: the questionnaire. I have separated the results into 4 parts; personal background and general attitudinal questions, language proficiency, language choice, and language attitudes. They are introduced in accordance with the order of the questions in the questionnaire used during the main fieldwork phase II.

5.1 Personal Background and General Attitudinal Questions

In this part, I report the results of the PPs' personal information, age, gender, education, occupation, ethnicity, and family member information. The first part of the questionnaire also included attitudinal questions. That is, whether a PP is proud of his/her own Bru ethnicity, and what does a PP think represents Bru-ness (cultural constraints). The first question was applicable only to PPs who identified themselves as ethnic Bru; the latter question was applicable to all PPs. These questions may not exactly represent personal information and they are not questions about language attitudes like those in the last part of the questionnaire. However, they immediately followed the question regarding personal information (i.e. a PP's ethnicity). Therefore, I deal with these questions here in this Results section.

5.1.1 Education

Table 5.1 shows the highest level of education that the PPs achieved. The table illustrates that every PP except one Cohort B female PP received at least primary education. The female PP without education is from Laos.

The results show that the level of the highest education has changed upwardly over the cohorts. The majority of the PPs in Cohort C are Grade 4 graduates though there are 2 Grade 9 graduates, one of which is from outside WB. For Cohort B, more PPs continued their study to the secondary level, and there is one vocational certificate holder in Cohort B. For Cohort A, there is one Bachelor degree holder as the PP with the highest educational achievement among the PPs. However, interestingly, despite the popularization of secondary education, there are 4 Cohort A PPs in their twenties who were born in WB and whose highest education ended with primary education. There is one more PP in her twenties whose highest education is primary education, but she is from Lat Suea village, Laos. This suggests that, even nowadays, not all WB

people consider it essential to continue to the secondary education, or to send their children to secondary school.

Table 5.1. Educational Background of the Participants

Gender	Cohort A			Cohort B			Cohort C			All participants		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Never attended					1	1					1	1
Primary (Currently Attending)	2	5	7							2	5	7
Primary (Graduated) (Grade 4, 5, or 6 ^a)	7	4	11	11	15	26	25	21	46	43	40	83
Secondary (Grade 9 or equivalent ^b)	7	4	11	2	4	6	2		2	11	8	19
Higher Secondary (Grade 12)	4	5	9	8	2	10				12	7	19
Vocational Certificate ^c		1	1								1	1
Higher Vocational Certificate ^d	1	1	2	1		1				2	1	3
Bachelor Degree	1	4	5							1	4	5
Total	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138

^a The length of compulsory education differs depending on the period. I classified PPs who completed primary education into one group no matter how many years the compulsory education was at that time (for example, Grade 4 (၁.4), Grade 6 (၁.6) etc.).

^b There is one PP who graduated from *Mo So 3* ‘secondary education grade 3,’ which is equivalent to *Mo 3* ‘secondary education grade 3 (Grade 9)’ at present. This PP’s answer was counted as Grade 9.

^c Vocational Certificate is translated from *prakaatniiyabat wichaachiip* (Po Wo So): a 3-year vocational curriculum after Grade 9.

^d Higher Vocational Certificate is translated from *prakaatniiyabat wichaachiip chan suung* (Po Wo So): a 2-year vocational curriculum after Grade 12 or Po Wo So.

5.1.2 Occupation

It is common in rural Thai societies that people engage in more than one occupation; therefore, I allowed PPs to mention as many occupations as they regard as their occupation with an open-ended format. After a PP listed all of his/her occupations, the PP was required to choose one of them as their ‘Main Occupation’, unless the PP found it impossible to choose one. Furthermore, if any, the PP was to answer any other occupations that the PP had engaged in other than current ones.

Table 5.2 shows the number of the PPs by their ‘main occupation’, cohort and gender. The five most common main occupations are similar to the ones in case multiple answers were allowed: ‘Weaving’ (25 PPs: 18.1% of all PPs), ‘Hired Labour’ (22 PPs: 15.9%), ‘Student’ (18 PPs: 13.0%), ‘Fishery’ (16 PPs: 11.6%), and ‘Housewife/husband’ (11 PPs: 8.0%) in order. For these occupations, ‘Weaving,’ ‘Student,’ and ‘Housewife’ are the occupations that the female PPs tend to engage in more than the male PPs, whereas ‘Hired Labour’ and ‘Fishery’ are the ones that the male PPs tend to engage in more than the female PPs.

The most common main occupation among Cohort C is ‘Weaving,’ while that among Cohort B is ‘Hired Labour’ as well as the case multiple answers were allowed. Furthermore, the majority of Cohort C engages in occupations that can be done within WB: the total of ‘Weaving,’ ‘Fishery,’ ‘Housewife/husband,’ ‘Farming,’ and ‘Stockbreeding’ accounts for 72.9% of them (35 out of 48 PPs). Meanwhile, among Cohort B, PPs who engage in these occupations account for 52.3% (23 out of 44 PPs); they are a majority of Cohort B, but the proportion is less than that of Cohort C.

‘Hired Labour’ is the translation of the terms *rap caang*: literally means ‘accept [being] hired [for wages],’ or *luuk caang* ‘an employee’ in Thai. The term ‘*rap caang*,’ generally implies that a labour or worker is rather ‘casual worker’ or ‘temporarily hired labour.’ Most PPs did not specify what their job duties are under the term *rap caang*: for instance, *rap caang thua pay* ‘general hired labour,’ implying that they would accept a variety of jobs upon a demand of that time. While some PPs specified their current job duties: for example, *rap caang mae baan* ‘hired maid,’ or *rap caang - tham khwaam sa'aat thii utthayaan* ‘hired labour - cleaning in a [national] park.’ Whoever referred to these term *rap caang* or *luuk caang* were classified into the ‘Hired Labour’ category. In the cases where a PP is ‘Construction Worker’, while they can be ‘hired’ to work on a construction site, they were placed in a separate category

from the 'Hired Labour.' By contrast, the term *phanak ngaan X* 'a worker who has a duty of X' commonly refers to a more permanent position than *rap caang* and *luuk caang*. In the case where PPs used the term *phanak ngaan*: for instance, *phanak ngaan roong raem* 'a hotel worker,' I classified them into a separate category from 'Hired Labour,' such as 'Hotel Worker' since the PPs differentiated themselves from *rap caang* or *luuk caang*.

Table 5.2. The Main Occupation of the Participants

Occupation	Cohort A			Cohort B			Cohort C			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Weaving					7	7	4	14	18	4	21	25
Hired Labour	1	3	4	10	6	16	2		2	13	9	22
Student	6	12	18							6	12	18
Fishery	1		1	5	1	6	8	1	9	14	2	16
Housewife/husband		1	1		8	8		2	2		11	11
No Occupation	6	2	8					1	1	6	3	9
Farming (total ^a)	1		1	2		2	2	2	4	5	2	7
Multiple				1		1	2	1	3	3	1	4
Company Worker		3	3								3	3
Commerce		1	1				2		2	2	1	3
Construction Worker				2		2	1		1	3		3
Government (total ^b)	2		2	1		1				3		3
General Occupation							2		2	2		2
Hotel Worker	1	1	2							1	1	2
Stockbreeding							2		2	2		2
Factory Worker				1		1				1		1
Guard	1		1							1		1
Janitor							1		1	1		1
Nurse		1	1								1	1
Rower	1		1							1		1
No Answer	2		2				1		1	3		3
Total	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138

Note. M = males; F = females.

^a the term *total* implies that there was a variety of answer formats under one category: for example, farming can be further classified into ‘rice-farming,’ ‘crop-farming,’ and ‘farming a plantation.’ The numbers shown in the table represent the total of the PPs engaging in the relevant occupations. (Moreover, *tham naa* ‘rice-farming’ (< ‘do’ + ‘rice’) can be interpreted as ‘farming in general’ in Thai, and often used in a form of *tham ray tham naa* ‘do farming’ (< ‘do’ + ‘rice’ + ‘do’ + ‘fields’) however, WB has few flatlands and few do not engage in rice-farming in contrast to a stereotypical image to the Isan farmers. Therefore, when a PP intentionally said *tham naa*, it could be interpreted that they have rice paddies and do ‘rice-farming.’ For this reason, I firstly differentiated the answer *tham naa* ‘rice-farming’ from the other answer *tham ray* ‘crop-farming,’ then added up them under a broad category ‘farming.’ Among the total of 22 PPs engaging in farming, there are 9 PPs doing

rice-farming, 7 PPs growing tree crops, 2 PPs doing crop-farming and 4 PPs doing a more general kind of farming.)

^b a PP works for governmental organization, nevertheless the PP did not state their position (for instance, *luuk caang*, *phanak ngaan*, or government officer); therefore, I did not specify it in the legend.

5.1.3 Ethnicity

Figure 5.1 shows that most of the PPs are ethnic Bru regardless of their gender and age. Approximately 80% of PPs for all cohorts and both genders identify themselves as Bru.

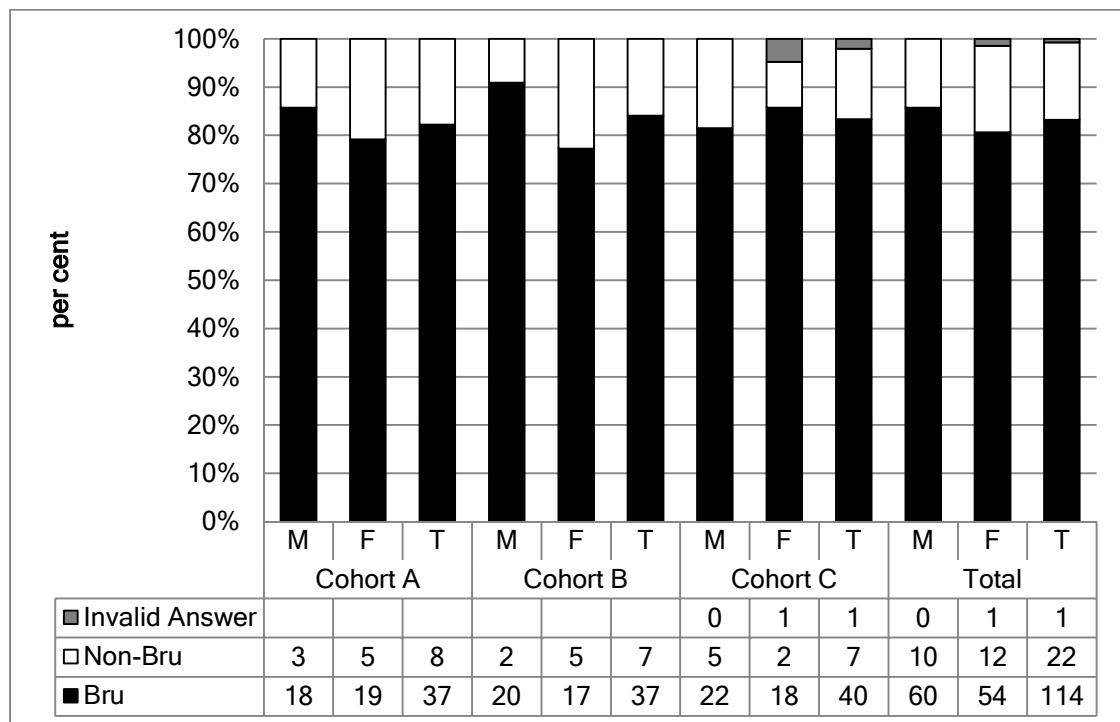


Figure 5.1. The Proportion of PPs by Ethnicity, Cohort, and Gender.

M = Males; F = Females; T = Total

5.1.4 Cultural Traits

I investigated WB people’s sociocultural characteristics, or the core values or symbols of their culture and ethnic identity; in particular, what aspects of their life at WB are representative of their Bru ethnic identity. To elicit this, I asked the open-ended question ‘when it comes to the representative(s) of Bru, what do you think of? (what do you think is a good representative(s) of Bru-ness?)’ The question allowed the PPs to give more than one answer, and, if a PP provided more than one trait, the PP was asked to further reply to ‘amongst the answers above, which do you think is the best representative(s) of Bru-ness?’

As the answer format was open-ended for both questions, I classified the answers (a word or phrase) based on their meaning. The top 5 categories and their component are as follows (see Table 5.3);

- (1) Language: answers including the term ‘language,’ ‘word,’ ‘speak’ (for example, ‘Words spoken by Bru people’), or ‘accent.’
- (2) Rituals: answers including the term ‘(respect) spirits³⁵,’ *kot* ‘rule (determined by their ritual),’ *caariit/caariit prapheonii* ‘custom (determined by their ritual),’ *caw* ‘god,’ *lak tham* ‘moral principle,’ or *saat sanaa* ‘religion.’
- (3) Traditions: *prapheonii* ‘tradition,’ or *khanop thamniam*³⁶ ‘customs.’
- (4) Culture
- (5) Weaving: answers including the term ‘weaving,’ or *huat* ‘a sticky rice steamer that WB people weave as an occupation’

³⁵ The WB Bru rituals seem to be animistic in nature. Thai has a corresponding term *sayyasaat* ‘animism;’ although no one in WB described their rituals using this term. They simply described it as *nap thue phii* ‘respecting spirits’ in Thai.

³⁶ According to the Royal Institute’s dictionary (RIT, 2011) *caariit* is defined as “*prapheonii* that has been held for long”; *caariit prapheonii* is defined as “*prapheonii* that has been preferred and practiced for long, and will be considered as a sin if broken”, *prapheonii* is defined as “what has been preferred or practised for so long that it becomes a model, *khanopthamniam*, or *caariit prapheonii*,” and *khanop thamniam* is defined as “a model or pattern that has been preferred for long.” The terms *caariit* and *caariit prapheonii* give a listener more concrete images as if there are some rules or protocols; while the *prapheonii* and *khanop thamniam* are more general.

Table 5.3. The Top Five Cultural Traits

Cultural traits	Cohort A						Cohort B						Cohort C						All participants					
	Males		Females		Total		Males		Females		Total		Males		Females		Total		Males		Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Language	12	44.4%	7	33.3%	19	39.6%	13	59.1%	15	68.2%	28	63.6%	16	72.7%	19	79.2%	35	76.1%	41	57.7%	41	61.2%	82	59.4%
Rituals	4	14.8%	7	33.3%	11	22.9%	4	18.2%	3	13.6%	7	15.9%	1	4.5%	5	20.8%	6	13.0%	9	12.7%	15	22.4%	24	17.4%
Tradition	4	14.8%	5	23.8%	9	18.8%	7	31.8%	1	4.5%	8	18.2%	3	13.6%	1	4.2%	4	8.7%	14	19.7%	7	10.4%	21	15.2%
Culture	2	7.4%	1	4.8%	3	6.3%	2	9.1%			2	4.5%	3	13.6%	7	29.2%	10	21.7%	7	9.9%	8	11.9%	15	10.9%
Weaving	2	7.4%	1	4.8%	3	6.3%	3	13.6%			3	6.8%			3	12.5%	3	6.5%	5	7.0%	4	6.0%	9	6.5%
No Answer ^a	2	7.4%	4	19.0%	6	12.5%	2	9.1%	3	13.6%	5	11.4%	4	18.2%	3	12.5%	7	15.2%	8	11.3%	10	14.9%	18	13.0%

Note. The sum of each category exceeds Total N as this question allows more than one answer.

^a No Answer includes both blank and answers such as ‘do not know,’ or ‘nothing.’

A total of 82 PPs (59.4%) stated ‘(the Bru) language’ as representative of their Bru-ness, and this is the most frequent answer. In particular, the proportion of PPs who mention language is the highest among Cohort A (N=35, 76.1%) whereas that is the lowest among Cohort C (N=19, 39.6%), although even for Cohort C, Language recorded the highest score. There do not seem to be large differences between genders in all cohorts. The second and third most frequently obtained answers were: ‘Rituals’ (N=24, 17.4%) and ‘Traditions’ (N=21, 15.2%) respectively. Even when these categories are combined as one, the number of responses is approximately a half that for ‘language.’ Amongst 24 PPs who stated ‘Rituals,’ 15 of them specified examples such as the names of ceremonies, the way of respecting spirits (for example, offering sacrifices), specific practices (rules), for example, a wife cannot enter her husband’s home without prior permission from the spirits).

Other answers than the above-mentioned ones and the number for each are as follows;

N=8: Ancestors, Life styles (this category includes answers indicating WB Bru people’s life style such as ‘help to each other,’ or ‘swidden farming’), and Personality (This category includes answers indicating WB Bru people’s personality such as ‘honest,’ ‘shy,’ and ‘do not like to exploit others’);

N=4: Food, Music and/or dance, and Mountain;

N=3: Occupation (i.e. answers did not clearly refer to ‘weaving.’);

N=2: Festivals, expressed by the Buddhist term *bun* ‘virtue, merit,’ and Field (for farming);

N=1: Clothes, Amusement, Animals, Traditional medicine (herb), Appearance, and *Kha* ‘the exonym of Bru’.

For the second question or when the PPs were asked to choose only one item, 44 PPs out of 63 valid answers referred to ‘Language’ as the best representative of Bru-ness . While, only a few chose other answers: for instance, 7 chose ‘Rituals’ and 6 chose ‘Traditions.’

Due to the objectives of this study, it could not be denied that the PPs may have been sensitized and even unconsciously guided to answer ‘Language’; meanwhile, the fact that 59.4% of all PPs chose ‘Language’ as the representative of Bru-ness indicates that the Bru language is regarded as the center of their culture regardless of age and gender. At the same time, they have their own traditions such as

believing in the spirits, and ceremonies and rules pertaining to it. The rituals, traditions, and customs also express their ethnolinguistic uniqueness.

5.1.5 Bru Identity

Once PPs identified themselves as ethnic Bru (either fully or partly having a Bru lineage), the PPs were asked to evaluate to what extent they are proud of being Bru, using 5-level Likert Scale: ‘1-Not proud,’ ‘2-Rather not proud,’ ‘3-Middling,’ ‘4-Rather proud,’ and ‘5-Proud.’ Figure 5.2 shows that the mean values are higher than 4.50 for all cohorts and genders. In other words, the PPs are highly proud of being Bru. In fact, there was no PP who selected a lower choice than ‘3-Middling.’

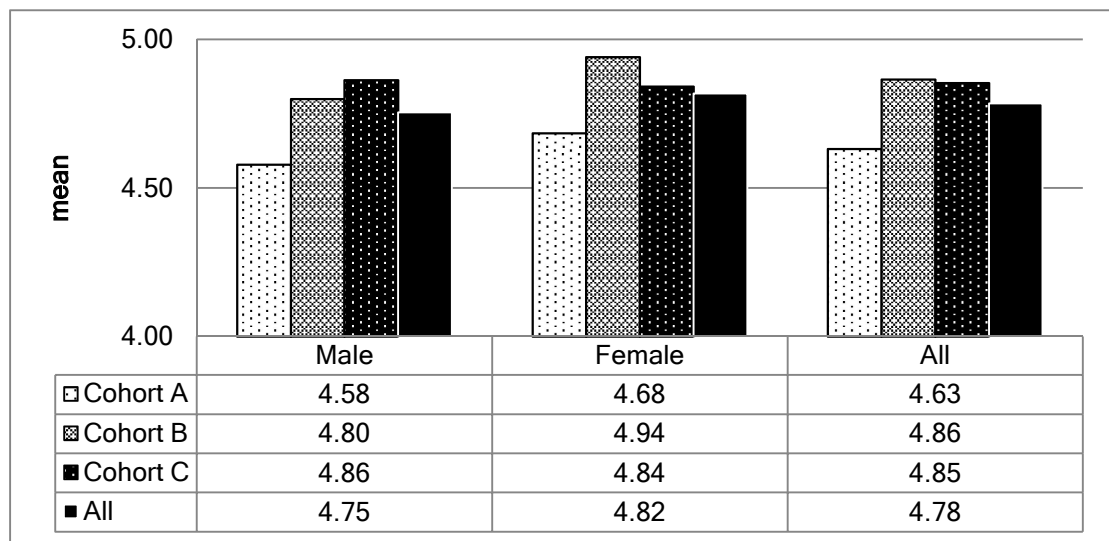


Figure 5.2. Pride in Being Bru by Cohort and Gender.

5.1.6 Family

In this section, the composition and details of the PPs’ family are reported according to the following criteria:

- (a) the birthplace and the ethnicity of the PP’s father and mother respectively,
- (b) the ethnicity of paternal and maternal grandfather and grandmother respectively,
- (c) the birthplace and the ethnicity of the spouse if any.

The birthplace of the spouse was added after FW1, some PPs, thus, answered only their spouse’s ethnicity but not the birthplace.

5.1.6.1 Parents

Table 5.4 shows the number of PPs per Cohort by their parents’ birthplace.

Table 5.4. Birthplace of the Participants' Parents

	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C		All PPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Parents born in WB								
Both	12	27.3%	23	53.5%	27	56.3%	62	45.9%
Father	20	45.5%	8	18.6%	3	6.3%	31	23.0%
Mother	6	13.6%	4	9.3%	4	8.3%	14	10.4%
Neither	6	13.6%	8	18.6%	14	29.2%	28	20.7%

Note. % indicates the proportion against the total valid answer per Cohort. There are two PPs who did not answer their father and mother's birth place respectively, and they were not counted.

More than a half of the PPs in both Cohort B and C have parents born in WB. The proportion of such PPs is much lower among Cohort A: 27%. Nevertheless, 45.5% of Cohort A's fathers were born in WB, and this proportion is higher than those of Cohort B and C (18.6% and 6.3% respectively). Furthermore, the proportion of the Cohort A PPs that have at least one of the parents born in WB is as high as that of Cohort B (86.4% and 81.4%), and higher than that of Cohort C (70.8%). In other words, nearly 30% of the parents of Cohort C moved to WB from outside, and this proportion is higher than those of Cohort B and C, especially for the males (see Figure 5.3). This could be explained by the origin of WB; Bru people had sporadically immigrated from Lat Suea (LS also called Nong Mek) in Laos since approximately a century before the fiedwork.

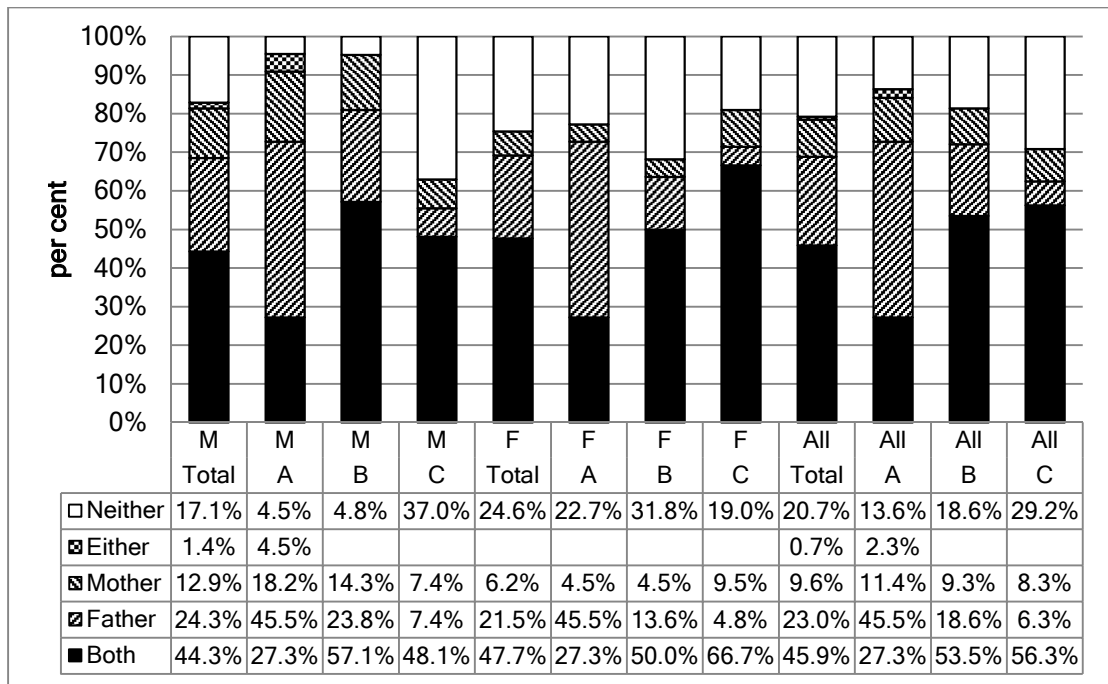


Figure 5.3. The PPs by Cohort, Gender and Parents' Birthplace.

M = Males; F = Females. All = both males and females. A = Cohort A; B = Cohort B; C = Cohort C; Total = all PPs. Neither = neither the father or the mother of a PP was born in WB; Either = either the father or the mother of a PP was born in WB, while the PP does not know where it the birthplace of the other; Mother = the mother of a PP was born in WB; Father = the father of a PP was born in WB; Both = both the father and mother of a PP were born in WB.

Having their birthplace inside/outside WB is not necessarily an indication of their ethnicity; for instance, some might be WB-born ethnic Lao and others could be ethnic Bru from outside WB. Thus, I collected the ethnicity of the PP's parents by using the term 'have a lineage' that is more commonly used and understood in Thai society than the term 'ethnicity'³⁷. Table 5.5 and Figure 5.4 show the number of PPs per Cohort by their parents' ethnicity.

³⁷ However, WB people seem to better understand the term than the majority Thai and Isan people, probably, because WB Brus are a minority ethnic group and are more aware of their 'different' ethnicity.

Table 5.5. Ethnicity of the Participants' Parents

Ethnicity of parents	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C		All PPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bru Endogamous couple	14	30.4%	31	70.5%	39	81.3%	84	60.9%
Exogamous couple								
Father is Bru	18	39.1%	4	9.1%	1	2.1%	23	16.7%
Mother is Bru	8	17.4%	1	2.3%	1	2.1%	10	7.2%
Non-Bru couple/Do not know								
Neither is Bru	4	8.7%	8	18.2%	7	14.6%	19	13.8%
Do not know	2	4.3%					2	1.4%
Total	46	100.0%	44	100.0%	48	100.0%	138	100.0%

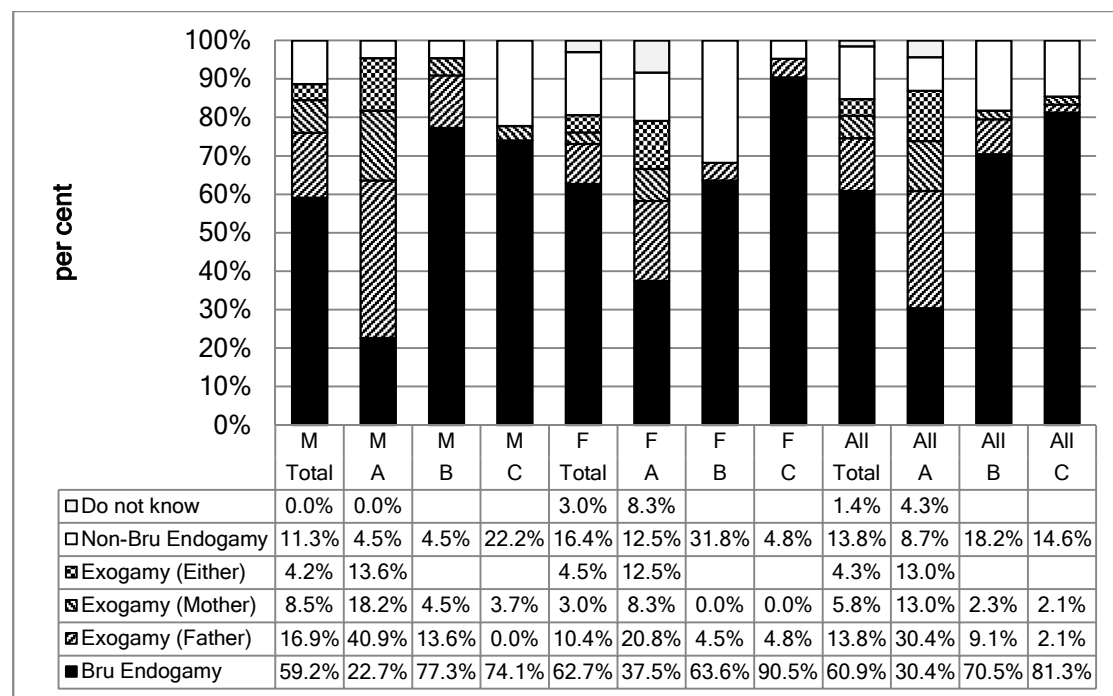


Figure 5.4. The PPs by Cohort, Gender and Parents' Ethnicity.

M = Males; F = Females. All = both males and females. A = Cohort A; B = Cohort B; C = Cohort C; Total = all PPs. Exogamy (Father) = the father of a PP is ethnic Bru; Exogamy (Mother) = the

have Bru father, and 13.0% of them have Bru mother. The total of them is 87.0%.

Cohort B: 81.8%, and Cohort C: 85.4%)

The results suggest that, based on the PPs' perception, the parents of Cohort A are mostly an exogamous couple (43.4%: 30.4% of Cohort A PPs have Bru father and Non-Bru mother, and 13.0% of them Non-Bru father and Bru mother), in contrast to the high rate of endogamous couples in Cohort B (70.5%) and C (81.3%). At any rate, irrespective of the PPs' age, most PPs have at least one of parents who was born in WB and who is ethnic Bru.

5.1.6.2 Grandparents

Table 5.6 and 5.7 respectively show the number and the ratio of PPs by the ethnicity of PP's paternal and maternal grandparents.

Table 5.6. Ethnicity of the Participants' Paternal Grandparents

Ethnicity of P grandparents	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C		All PPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bru Endogamous couple	26	56.5%	32	72.7%	36	75.0%	94	68.1%
Exogamous couple								
P grandfather is Bru	1	2.2%	2	4.5%	0	0.0%	3	2.2%
P grandmother is Bru	5	10.9%	1	2.3%	1	2.1%	7	5.1%
Non-Bru couple/Do not know								
Neither is Bru	8	17.4%	8	18.2%	9	18.8%	25	18.1%
Do not know	6	13.0%	1	2.3%	2	4.2%	9	6.5%
Total	46	100.0%	44	100.0%	48	100.0%	138	100.0%

Note. P = Paternal

Table 5.7. Ethnicity of the Participants' Maternal Grandparents

Ethnicity of M grandparents	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C ^a		All PPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bru Endogamous couple	20	43.5%	31	70.5%	33	70.2%	84	61.3%
Exogamous couple								
M grandfather is Bru	4	8.7%	2	4.5%	0	0.0%	6	4.4%
M grandmother is Bru	1	2.2%	1	2.3%	2	4.3%	4	2.9%
Non-Bru couple/Do not know								
Neither is Bru	15	32.6%	9	20.5%	10	21.3%	34	24.8%
Do not know	6	13.0%	1	2.3%	2	4.3%	9	6.6%
Total	46	100.0%	44	100.0%	47	100.0%	137	100.0%

Note. M = Maternal

^aThere is one PP who did not give their maternal grandmother's ethnicity, and this PP was not counted.

The tables illustrate that, for Cohort B and C, more than 70% of the PPs have Bru paternal grandparents and maternal grandparents. However, for Cohort A, these proportions are approximately 56% for paternal grandparents and 43% for maternal grandparents. However, around 69.6% of Cohort A have at least one ethnic Bru paternal grandparent, and more than half of them (54.3%) have at least one ethnic Bru maternal grandparent.

5.1.6.3 Spouse

Table 5.8 shows the number of PPs by their spouse's birthplace. Though this question was only applicable to the PPs of the fieldwork phase II (FW2), the results illustrate that around a half (54.7%) of the PPs' spouses were born in WB.

Table 5.8. Birthplace of the Participants' Spouse

Spouse's birthplace	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C		All PPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
WB	3	42.9%	24	61.5%	20	50.0%	47	54.7%
Outside WB	3	42.9%	10	25.6%	7	17.5%	20	23.3%
No Answer	1	14.3%	5	12.8%	13	32.5%	19	22.1%
Total	7	100.0%	39	100.0%	40	100.0%	86	100.0%

Table 5.9 is the cross tabulation of the PPs by their ethnicity and their spouse's ethnicity. The table shows that most of the PPs in Cohort A PPs (84.4%) are still

single. Of those in Cohort A who are married (n=7), only 2 or 28.5% are married to another ethnic Bru.

Table 5.9. Ethnicities of the Participants and Their Spouse

Ethnicity of the participants and their spouse	Cohort A		Cohort B		Cohort C		All PPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bru Endogamous couple	2	4.4%	24	54.5%	26	54.2%	52	38.0%
Exogamous couple								
Participant is Bru	3	6.7%	8	18.2%	6	12.5%	17	12.4%
Spouse is Bru	1	2.2%	7	15.9%	5	10.4%	13	9.5%
Non-Bru couple	1	2.2%			3	6.3%	4	2.9%
No spouse								
Participant is Bru	32	71.1%	5	11.4%	8	16.7%	45	32.8%
Participant is not Bru	6	13.3%					6	4.4%
Total	45	100.0%	44	100.0%	48	100.0%	137	100.0%

Table 5.9 also shows that just over half of both Cohort B (54.5%) and C (54.2%) are Bru-endogamous couples. Figure 5.5 further illustrates the breakdown by age and gender.

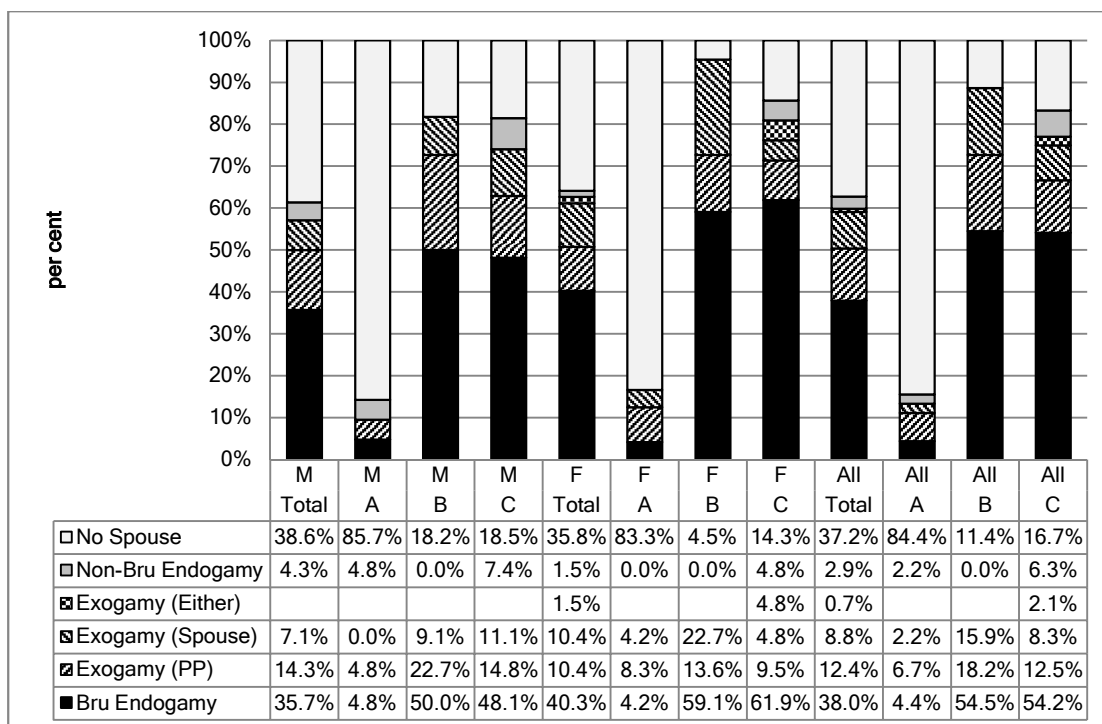


Figure 5.5. The PPs by Cohort, Gender, Ethnicity and Spouse's Ethnicity.

M = Males; F = Females. All = both males and females. A = Cohort A; B = Cohort B; C = Cohort C; Total = all PPs.

Exogamy (PP) = the PP is an ethnic Bru, while the PP's spouse is not;

Exogamy (Spouse) = the PP's spouse is an ethnic Bru, while the PP is not; Exogamy (Either) = the PP's spouse is an ethnic Bru, while the PP did not answer their own ethnicity; No Spouse = the PP does not have a spouse.

The results show that the rate of Bru-endogamy is higher amongst Cohort B and C females than the males; Cohort B females = 59.9% and males = 50%. For Cohort C it is 61.9% for females and 48.1% for males. For Cohort A, there is no real difference between the genders, 4.8% for males and 4.2% for females.

5.1.6.4 Children

Table 5.10 reports the number of children each PP has by Cohort and sub-age groups divided in groupings of 10 years. Most of Cohort A PPs are yet to have children as they are still young. By contrast, Cohort C PPs have 4.71 children on average³⁸. In particular, the PPs in their sixties and up have more than six children on average. The results illustrates that the older the PPs are, the more children they have: the birthrate of WB people had been quite high when those in their sixties were of childbearing age; it has been decreasing since those in their fifties were of childbearing age till now.

³⁸ The mean values were calculated from the PPs who have more than one children.

Table 5.10. The Number of Children

Subgroup	None	More than one		
		Cannot remember ^a	Remember exact number ^b	
	N	N	N	Mean ^c
Cohort A	42	0	4	1.25
10~19 years old	24	0	0	0
20~29 years old	18	0	4	1.25
Cohort B	9	1	34	2.82
30~39 years old	6	0	17	2.29
40~49 years old	3	1	17	3.35
Cohort C	8	2	38	4.71
50~59 years old	4	2	20	3.00
60~69 years old	2	0	10	6.50
70 years old above	2	0	8	6.75
Total	59	3	76	3.68

Note.

^a Some PPs could not remember how many children they have.

^b Those who remember how many children they have.

^c The mean values were calculated from the PPs who have more than one child.

Tables 5.11 and 5.12 respectively report the age of the eldest and youngest child. These question were asked only in case the PPs had child(ren). The results illustrate that it is hard to define the age of the children generation of a cohort because the age of children of a PP varies depending on the individuals. For instance, the average age of the Cohort C PPs' eldest child is 33 years old, but one PP has a 67-year old child (see Maximum of Cohort C in Table 5.11) while in the same cohort one other PP has a nine-year old child (see Minimum of Cohort C in Table 5.11). Furthermore, for example, the average age of the Cohort C PP's youngest child is 19 years old (see Mean of Cohort C in Table 5.12.) This means that one PP could have their eldest child belonging to one cohort and their youngest child belonging to another cohort. Therefore, it can be hardly said that 'Cohort X's child(ren) is/are in the range of Y to Z years old.'

Table 5.11. The Age of the Eldest Child

Subgroup	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	N
Cohort A	3.5	4.0	3.8	4
10~19 years old	N/A	N/A	N/A	0
20~29 years old	3.5	4.0	4	4
Cohort B	1.6	29	16	32
30~39 years old	1.6	19	12	17
40~49 years old	10	29	21	15
Cohort C	9.0	67	33	37
50~59 years old	9.0	39	27	21
60~69 years old	25	45	38	10
70 years old above	23	67	49	6
Total	20	67	24	73

Note. Decimal points are shown only when an age is less than 10 years old. The age of the PP's only child is calculated in this table.

Table 5.12. The Age of Youngest Child

Subgroup	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	N
Cohort A	20	20	20	1
10~19 years old	N/A	N/A	N/A	0
20~29 years old	20	20	20	1
Cohort B	2.8	21	10	28
30~39 years old	3.0	15	9	12
40~49 years old	2.8	21	11	16
Cohort C	6.0	42	19	29
50~59 years old	6.0	26	15	15
60~69 years old	11	20	17	9
70 years old above	27	42	36	5
Total	20	42	15	58

Note. Decimal points are shown only when an age is less than 10 years old. The ages are calculated only when a PP has more than one children.

5.1.6.5 Summary

To summarize, the results revealed that for most of the PPs, at least, one parent is from WB and/or ethnic Bru. The older PPs are likely to be a child/grandchild of a Bru-endogamous couple; while younger PPs are likely to be a child of an exogamous couple. Such a difference is obvious in the responses which show that Cohorts B and C match the former pattern while Cohort A matches the latter one. When comparing the ethnicity of the PPs' parents and spouses within the same Cohort, especially for Cohorts B and C, we see that the rate of the PPs who have Bru-endogamy parents is higher than that of those who are in a Bru-endogamous marriage. In other words, the PPs tend to exhibit more exogamy than their parents' generation. The results briefly

correspond to the opinion given to me by some WB community members. That is, that exogamy (with Lao people) was not common amongst Bru people in the past (and even prohibited by Bru rituals). Nevertheless, it has become more common. Indeed, some WB respondents attributed language shift (LS) away from Bru to the increase of exogamy in their community (this will be discussed later in this thesis).

However, when the information regarding the ethnicity of spouse is taken into consideration, there seem to be some discrepancies in the self-reported data. First of all, while WB people claimed that exogamy has increased, such a transition cannot be discerned from the responses, as there is very little difference between Cohorts B and C (Cohort B = 54.5% and Cohort C = 54.2%). Secondly, only 28.5% of Cohort A answered that their parents are a Bru-endogamous couple whereas more than 50% of both Cohort B and C, who are supposed to be the age group that includes Cohort A's parents, answered that they are a Bru-endogamous couple. I postulate three reasons for it and discuss to what extent they are probable.

(1) The restriction of the sampling method (accidental and snowball sampling), resulted in an imbalance of the PPs attributes; I could not approach all the exogamous couples in WB who are equivalent to the parents of Cohort A. However, the selection process included any residents of WB, regardless of their birthplace and ethnicity. It hardly seems possible, therefore, that that the sampling was accidentally partial to Bru-endogamous couples for Cohort B and C, but to children of exogamous couples for Cohort A.

(2) One possible reason is that exogamous-couples are likely to work away from home and leave their children at their home village, WB; while Bru-endogamous couples are more likely to work in WB. Therefore, as a result, the sampling for Cohort A is slightly biased towards children of exogamous marriages.

(3) The last, the most likely, reason is that more parents of Cohort A are a Bru-endogamous couple, but the PPs were unaware of it. Some research assistants did report that when they reached that section of the questionnaire, some youths were unsure of their parents' ethnicity. In fact, among Cohort A, all PPs, except one, could answer where the birthplace of their parents was, but more PPs (6 PPs: 17.4% of Cohort A) did not know the ethnicity of one of both of their parents. This may be because some parents were divorced or had passed away when they were so small that they did not know or remember, and could no longer ask their parents. In addition, even though the PPs currently live with their parents, the parents usually speak only

Lao with them. This and the fact that ‘ethnicity’ is not something they commonly discuss at home made them unsure about the ethnicity of their parents. Therefore, the PPs were not confident enough, and answered ‘Do not know’. In this case, if the parents of these PPs are, in fact, ethnic Bru, the proportion of Bru-endogamous parents would be higher than what is reported, and closer to those of Bru-endogamy couples in Cohort B and C.

5.2 Language Proficiency

In the language proficiency (LP) related questions, the PPs were asked to evaluate (self-report) their LP of Bru, Lao, and Thai respectively. For Bru and Lao, they were asked to evaluate their speaking and listening skills, while for Thai, they were asked to evaluate their speaking, listening, reading, and writing skills. They were to select one of the most relevant choices from a five-point Likert scale; ‘1-Not at all,’ ‘2-Limited,’ ‘3-Middle,’ ‘4-Good,’ and ‘5-Excellent’ depending on their self evaluation. Individual answers were combined and means were calculated per question. Therefore, in this section, 1.00 represents the lowest value: the PPs have no proficiency in the language in question, while 5.00 represents the highest value: they have the highest proficiency in the language in question.

There were 138 PPs in total who gave valid answers to this part. The results show that the PPs evaluated their LP no less than the middle level for all languages. In terms of language, they evaluated Lao as their most fluent language; while they reported Bru to be slightly better than Thai (see Figure 5.6).

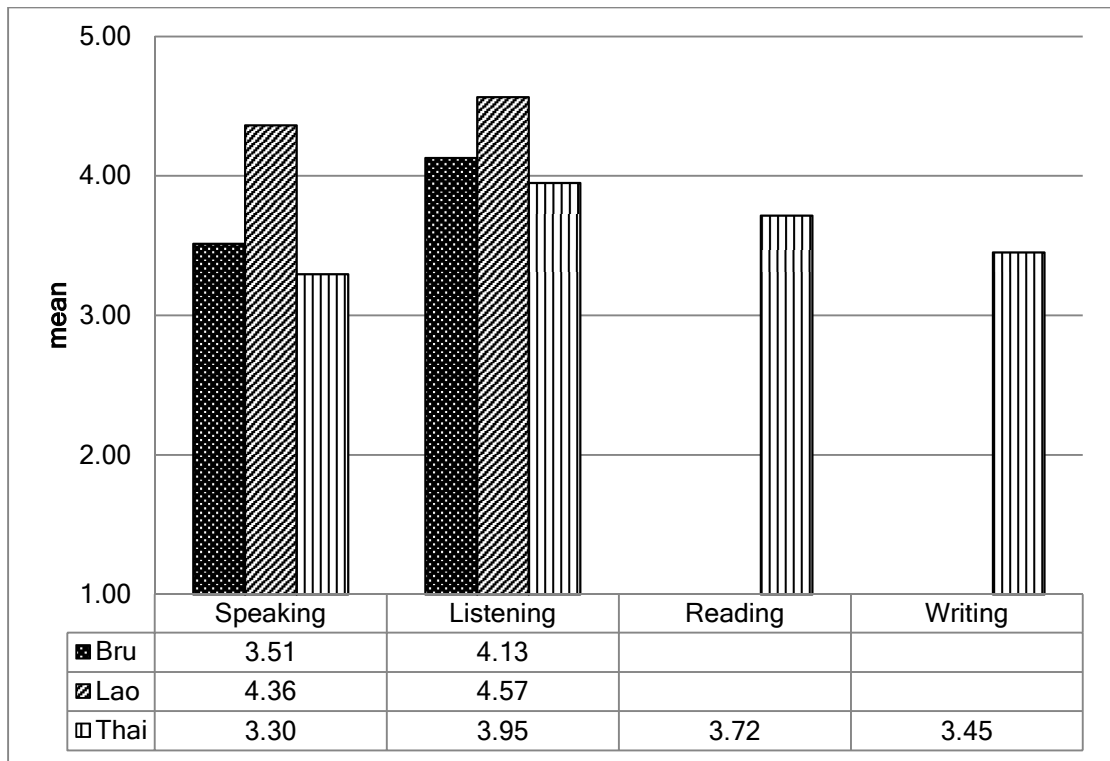


Figure 5.6. Language Proficiency of the PPs.

5.2.1 Language Proficiency by Gender

Among the total of 138 PPs, 71 are male and 67 are female. The results indicate that there are few gender differences regarding Bru and Lao. Regarding Thai, by contrast, males evaluated their Thai proficiency higher than females did (see Figure 5.7) especially for speaking.

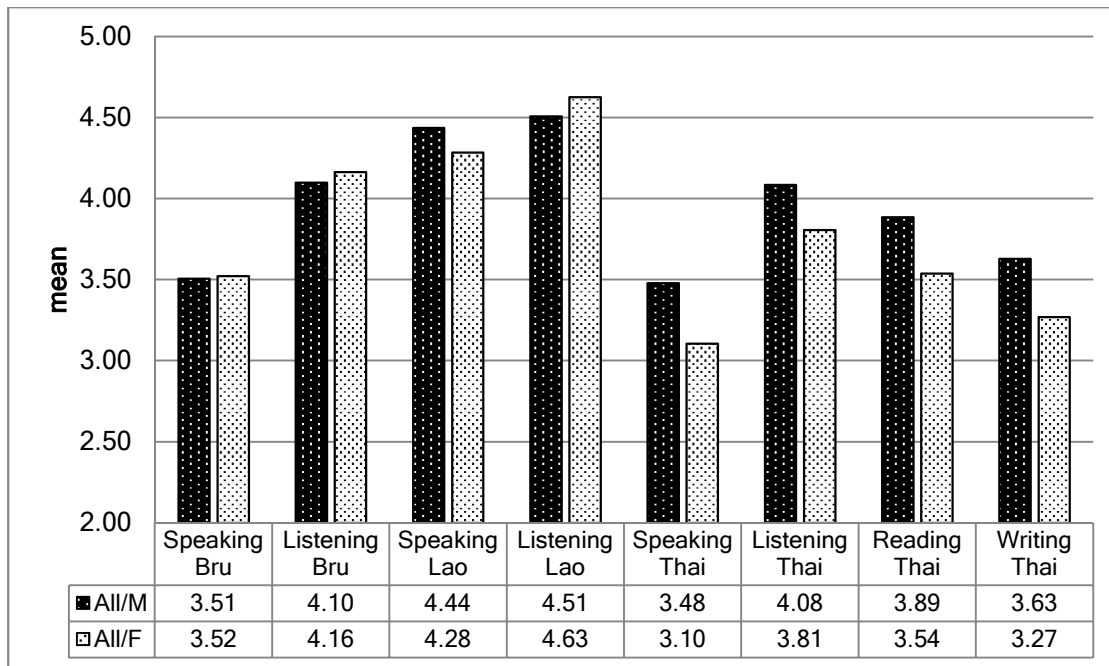


Figure 5.7. Language Proficiency by Gender.

All = all PPs. M = Males; F = Females. Significant difference is observed in speaking Thai ($p < .05$.)

5.2.2 Language Proficiency by Age

Among the total of 138 PPs, 44 belong to Cohort A (10 to 29 years old), 44 belong to Cohort B (30 to 49 years old), and 48 belong to Cohort C (50 years old and above). Figure 5.8 illustrates that there can be seen two prominent correlations between LP and age. First of all, the younger the PPs are, the lower they evaluated their Bru proficiency. In particular, there is a large difference between Cohort C and the other two cohorts. Cohort B evaluated their Bru proficiency higher than ‘good’ (speaking = 3.91, and listening = 4.23); Cohort A evaluated their Bru proficiency lower than the ‘good’ level (listening = 3.63) or even the ‘middle’ level (speaking = 2.54). Secondly, in contrast to their evaluation of Bru, the younger the PPs are, the higher they evaluated their Thai proficiency. In the responses for speaking Thai, the mean is below the ‘middle’ level (2.79) for Cohort C whereas it is close to the ‘good’ level (3.87) for Cohort A. Regarding Lao, Cohort C evaluated their Lao proficiency the highest among the three cohorts; however, all three cohorts reported high levels of proficiency in Lao, and there is no correlation between Lao and age. This suggests that Lao has been used across generations.

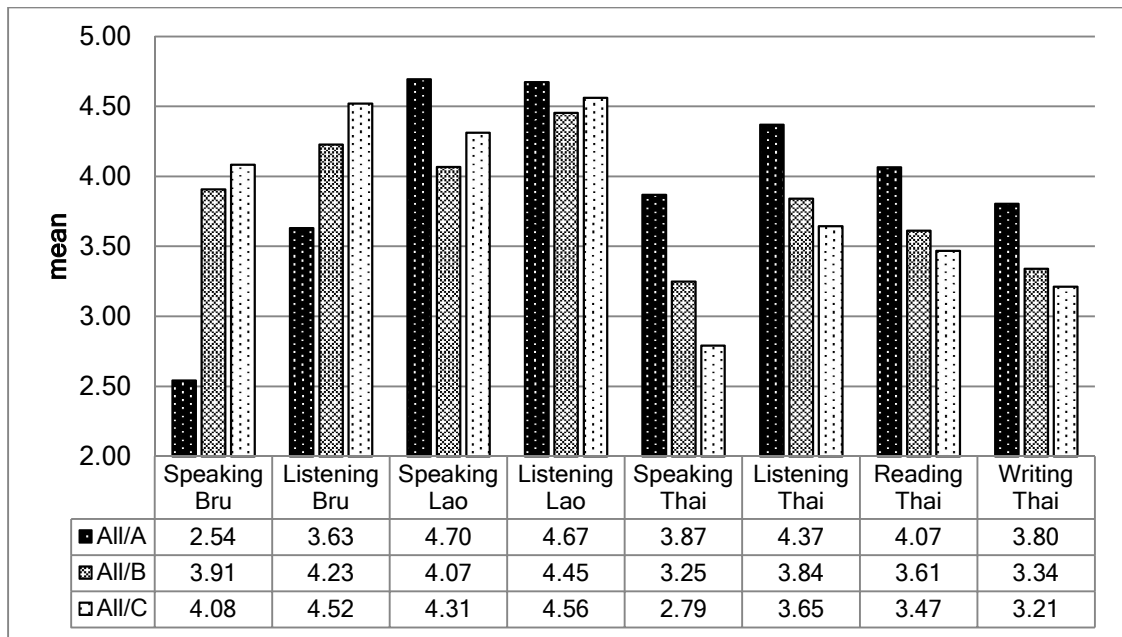


Figure 5.8. Language Proficiency by Cohort.

All = Both males and females. A = Cohort A; B = Cohort B; C = Cohort C. Significant differences are observed in speaking Bru, listening Bru, speaking Lao, and listening Thai for Cohort A vis-à-vis Cohort B and C ($p < .01$); Significant difference is observed in speaking Thai for Cohort A vis-à-vis Cohort B vis-à-vis Cohort C ($p < .01$.)

5.2.3 Language Proficiency by Gender per Cohort

5.2.3.1 Cohort A (10 to 29 Years Old)

Among the total of 46 PPs of Cohort A, 22 are male and 24 are female. Figure 5.9 demonstrates that the females reported their LP as being higher than that of the males overall, except in speaking Bru. However, it is only in reading Thai proficiency that this is statistically significant ($p < .05$). Such a trend is different to that for Cohorts B and C (see below), and even the overall results. The results suggest that females in Cohort A have a better proficiency than the males in a majority language.

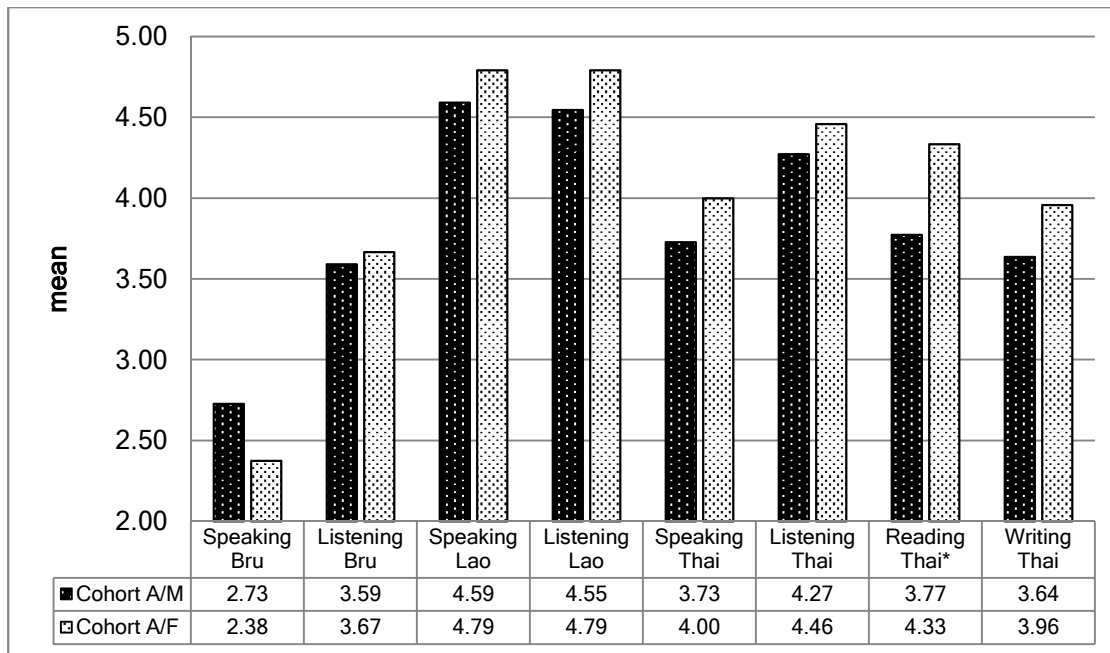


Figure 5.9. Language Proficiency of the Cohort A by Gender.

M = Males; F = Females.

* $p < .05$.

5.2.3.2 Cohort B (30 to 49 Years Old)

Among the total of 44 PPs of Cohort B, there are 22 males and females respectively.

Figure 5.10 demonstrates that the means of the males are higher than those of the females in all skills and languages. In particular, such a gender differences are statistically significant in speaking, reading, and writing Thai. It can also be said that males in Cohort B report a higher proficiency in Lao than Bru; for instance, the mean of speaking Bru is 3.95 whereas that of Lao is 4.32. These results suggest that, amongst Cohort B, the PPs from 30 to 49 years old, the males report a better proficiency in all the languages, Bru, Lao, Thai, than the females. In addition, the males report speaking Lao better than Bru, whereas the females are as fluent in Lao as they are in Bru.

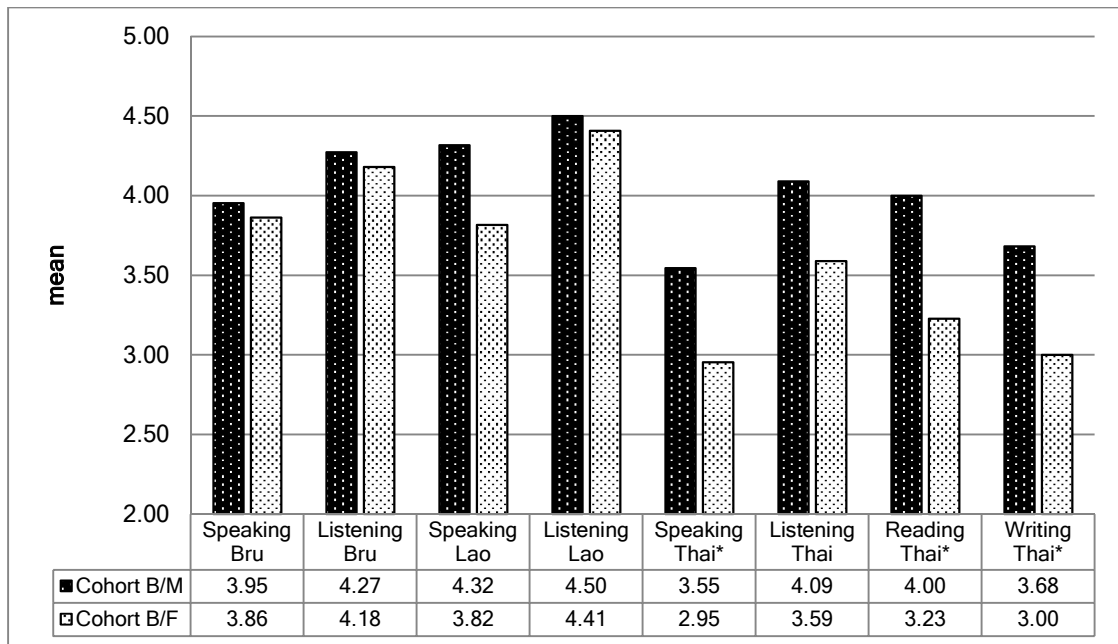


Figure 5.10. Language Proficiency of the Cohort B by Gender.

M = Males; F = Females.

* $p < .05$.

5.2.3.3 Cohort C (50 Years Old and Above)

Among the total of 48 PPs of Cohort C, 27 are male and 21 are female. Figure 5.11 illustrates several gender differences. The females evaluated their speaking proficiency in Bru higher than the males did, and, by contrast, the males evaluated their speaking and listening proficiency in Thai higher than the females did. Furthermore, both genders evaluated their Thai proficiency lower than for Bru and Lao. In particular, females reported their Thai speaking skill as so limited that the mean is below the 'middle' level ($m=2.24$). It can be said, therefore, that males have a higher proficiency in Lao than Bru; for instance, the mean of speaking Bru is 3.78 whereas that of Lao is 4.41. Moreover, it could also be said that females have a higher speaking proficiency in Bru than Lao; the mean for the females in speaking Bru is 4.48 whereas that of Lao is 4.19.

These results suggest that, amongst the PPs above 50 years old, the males report a better proficiency of the majority language, such as Thai, than the females, whilst the females report a better proficiency in the minority language, Bru.

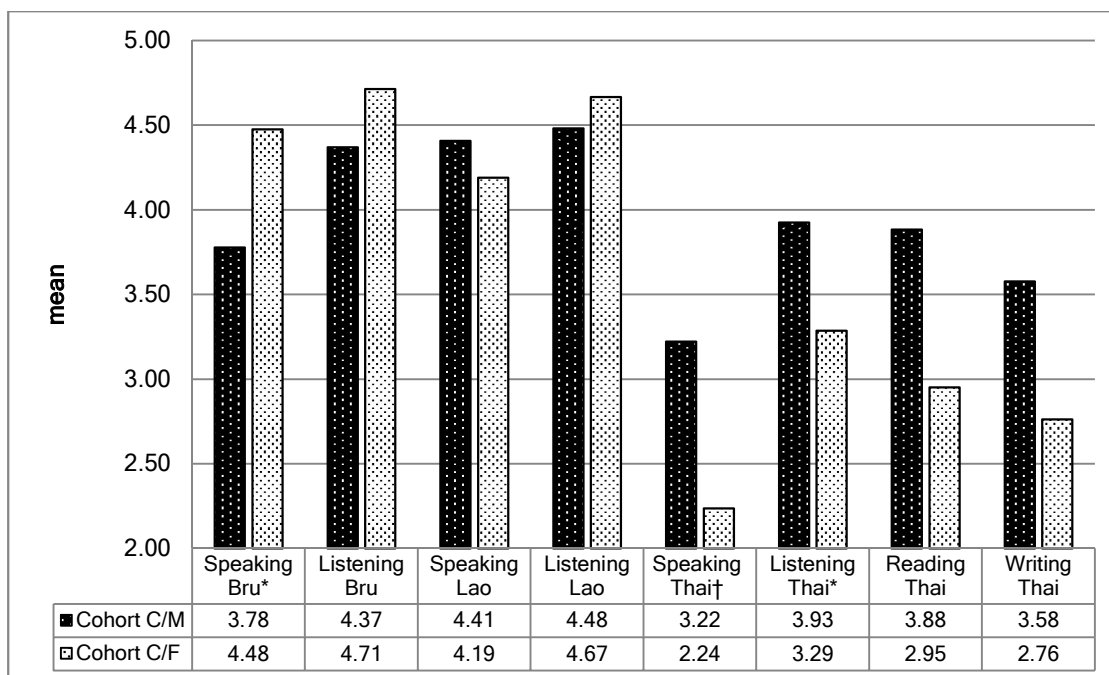


Figure 5.11. Language Proficiency of the Cohort C by Gender.

M = Males; F = Females.

* $p < .05$. † $p < .01$.

To summarize, the results clearly indicate that all the PPs in WB have a very good command of Lao. The results show that the PPs possess good proficiency in Lao irrespective of their age and gender. Whether they possess a good proficiency in Bru and Thai depends on their age; the younger the PPs are, the higher their Thai proficiency, and the older they are, the higher their Bru proficiency. Regarding gender difference, the older females possess higher proficiency in the minority language than the males do, whereas older males possess higher proficiency in the majority languages. By contrast, the younger females possess higher proficiency in the majority languages than the males do.

5.3 Language Choice

5.3.1 Overall Results

In the language choice (LC) related questions, the PPs were asked to evaluate what languages they use and how frequently they use them in given situations (or domains). Bru, Lao Isan (Lao), Standard Thai (Thai) and others were given to them as choices for languages. As detailed in Chapter 4, there were a total of 31 LC related questions. Each question consists of four components: a speaker, a locale (domain in a narrower sense), an interlocutor, and a topic. The questions used in this study and their

components are shown in Table 5.13. The PPs were asked to answer only questions that were applicable to their real experiences. If a PP did not have children, the PP was, thus, asked to skip from LC04a to LC05b. Because of this, the number of responses for each question thus varies depending on the question. (Expressions in brackets represent abbreviation in tables and graphs hereafter);

Table 5.13. List of LC Related Questions

Question No.	Speaker	Locale/Doma in	Interlocutor	Topics
LC01	Participant (PP)	In general (Daily)	In general (Daily)	In general (Daily)
LC02	Participant (PP)	Home	Father	Not specified (NA)
LC03	Participant (PP)	Home	Mother	Not specified (NA)
LC04a	Participant (PP)	Home	Children	Not specified (NA)
LC04b	Child	Home	Participant (PP)	Not specified (NA)
LC05a	Participant (PP)	Home	Grandchildren (G-Children)	Not specified (NA)
LC05b	Grandchildren (G-Children)	Home	Participant (PP)	Not specified (NA)
LC06	Participant (PP)	Home	Spouse	Not specified (NA)
LC07	Participant (PP)	Home	Paternal grandparents (P-GrdP)	Not specified (NA)
LC08	Participant (PP)	Home	Maternal grandparents (M-GrdP)	Not specified (NA)
LC09	Participant (PP)	NA	Relatives	Not specified (NA)
LC10	Participant (PP)	Work	Work associates (Wk Assoc)	Not specified (NA)
LC11	Participant (PP)	Work	Boss	Not specified (NA)
LC12	Participant (PP)	School	Teacher	Not specified (NA)
LC13	Participant (PP)	Class room (Cls Rm)	Classmates (Cls mates)	Not specified (NA)
LC14	Participant (PP)	Outside classroom (Out Cls Rm)	Classmates (Cls mates)	Not specified (NA)
LC15	Participant (PP)	NA	WB people (WB ppl)	Not specified (NA)
LC16	Participant (PP)	NA	People in the central area of the Khong Chiam district (Dist ppl)	Not specified (NA)
LC17	Participant (PP)	NA	People in the central area of the Ubon Ratchathani province (Prov ppl)	Not specified (NA)
LC18	Participant (PP)	WB	Bru people (B ppl)	Not specified (NA)
LC19	Participant (PP)	Outside WB	Bru people (B ppl)	Not specified (NA)
LC20	Participant (PP)	NA	Senior Bru people (Senior B)	Not specified (NA)
LC21	Participant (PP)	NA	Bru buddies (B Buddy)	Not specified (NA)
LC22	Participant (PP)	WB	Isan people (Isan ppl)	Not specified (NA)
LC23	Participant (PP)	WB	Outsider	Not specified (NA)
LC24	Participant (PP)	NA	Government officers (Gov Off)	Not specified (NA)

LC25	Participant (PP)	Sanitary station (Sanit Stn)	Doctor	Not specified (NA)
LC26	Participant (PP)	NA	Bru monks (B Monk)	Not specified (NA)
LC27	Participant (PP)	NA	Non-Bru monks (Non-B Monk)	Not specified (NA)
LC28	Participant (PP)	NA	Shamans	Not specified (NA)
LC29	Participant (PP)	WB	Sellers	Shopping
LC30	Participant (PP)	Market	Sellers	Shopping
LC31	Participant as an adult person (PP as an adult)	WB	Teachers	Not specified (NA)

Unless otherwise specified, I express these questions following this order: ‘Question No.-Speaker-Locale-Interlocutor-Topic (if any)’, when I show results in this section. Hence, for instance, the second question of the LC part ‘what languages do you use when you talk with your father at home’ is expressed as ‘LC02-PP-Home-Father.’

The frequency of languages used in these questions was reported using a five-point Likert scale: ‘1-Do not use this language at all,’ ‘2-Use this language but less frequently than other languages,’ ‘3-Use this language as frequently as other languages,’ ‘4-Use this language and more frequently than other languages,’ and ‘5-Only use this language’. Therefore, in this section, 1.00 represents the lowest value: the PPs do not use that language in a given domain, while 5.00 represents the highest value: they use only that language in a given domain.

I classified these domains based on the trends of reported language use. First of all, I regarded languages whose mean (m) exceeds 4.00 as ‘frequently used,’ because such a mean value suggests that there are a number of PPs having chosen ‘5-Only use this language,’ while I regarded languages whose mean falls below 2.00 as ‘rarely used,’ because such a mean value suggests that there are a number of PPs having chosen ‘1-Do not use this language at all.’ Languages whose mean is between 2.00 and 4.00 are regarded as used but competing with other languages. Then, I further observed the relation between the languages in terms of frequency; what language is the most frequently used or what languages are rarely used. As a result, I classified these domains into 5 Types.

5.3.1.1 Type I

First of all, there are no domains where the mean for Bru exceeds 4.00; however, there are some domains where Bru is the most frequently used language. I classified them as Type I. In Type I domains, the common feature is that an interlocutor is Bru, and,

especially for some domains, they are older than the PPs, such as grandparents. This suggests that the Bru ethnicity of an interlocutor is a strong motivator for choosing Bru. However, Lao is also used to some extent ($m > 2.00$). This can be attributed to the limited language proficiency in Bru amongst Cohort A as reported in Section 5.2.2. In other words, Cohort A, who are younger PPs, use Lao and lowered the means of Bru in these domains. In Type I domains, by contrast, Thai is rarely used ($m < 2.00$). (see Figure 5.12)

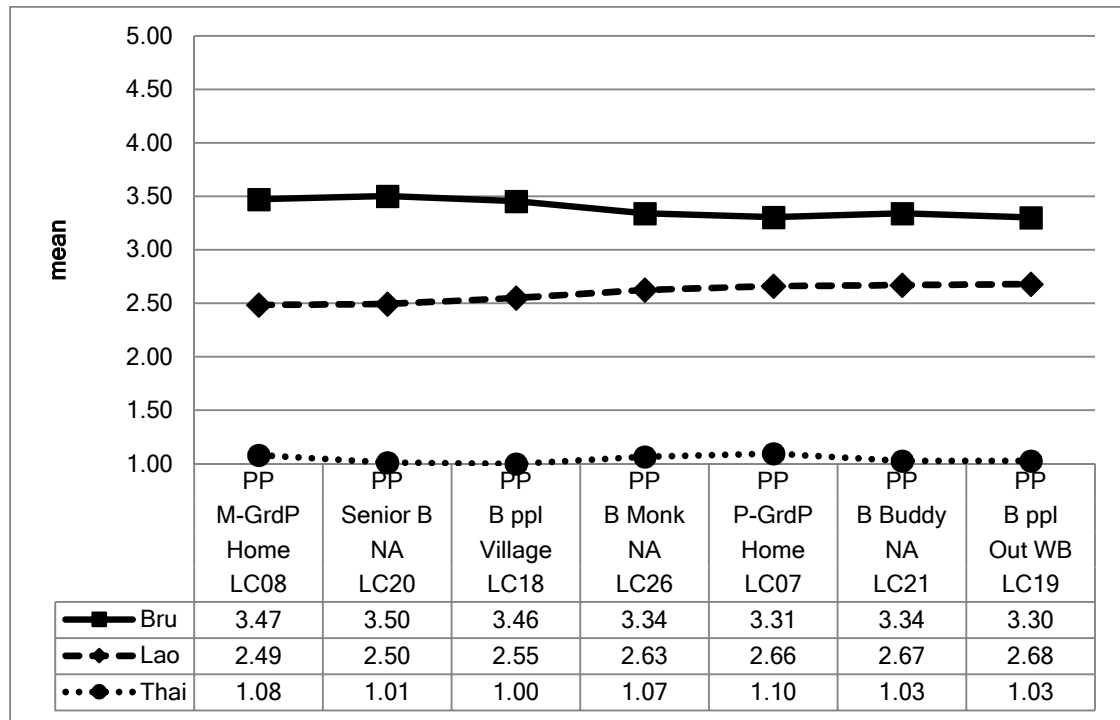


Figure 5.12. Mean of Language Choices in Type I Domains (All PPs).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it.

5.3.1.2 Type II

I classified as Type II domains those where the means of Bru and Lao compete (at around 3.00), while those of Thai are lower than 2.00 (Figure 5.13). One of the common characteristics of Type II domains is that the interlocutors are very close to the PPs in terms of relationship and the locales are in WB; therefore, it could be expected that the PPs use Bru more frequently, similar to Type I domains. However, in fact, these interlocutors are not necessarily ethnic Bru due to exogamy with ethnic Lao people highlighted earlier. Moreover, most of the interlocutors are younger family

members than those in Type I domains; for example, father, mother, children, spouse compared to grandparents in Type I.

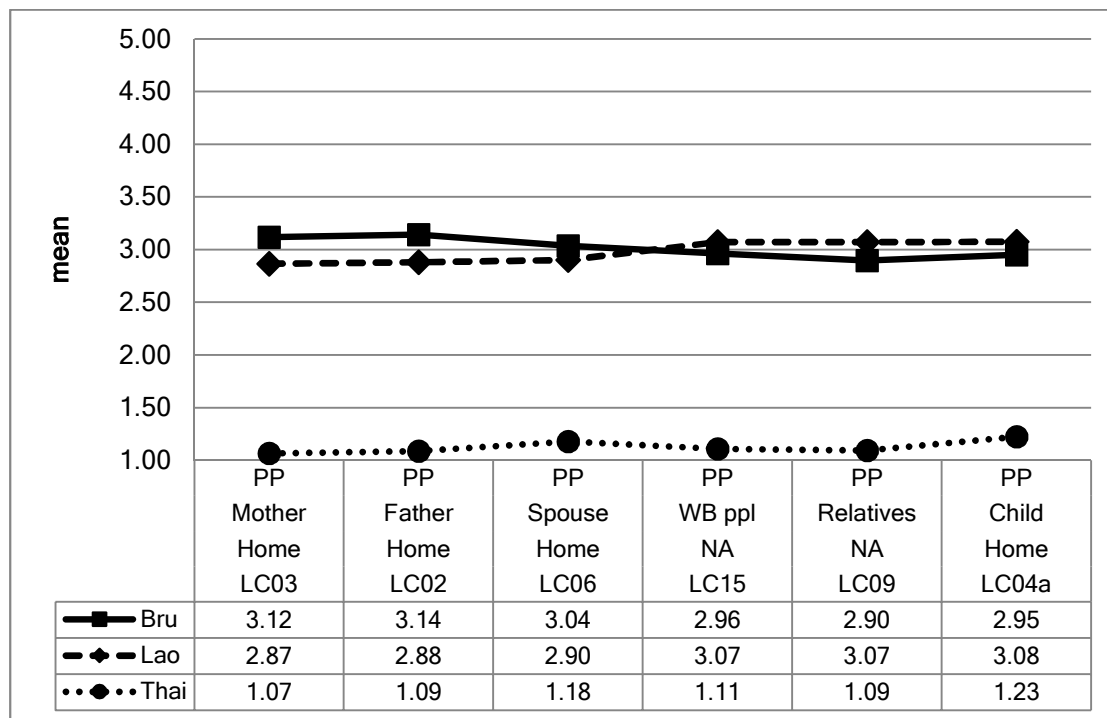


Figure 5.13. Mean of Language Choices in Type II Domains (All PPs).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it.

5.3.1.3 Type III

Type III are domains where Lao is the most frequently used, though the means are lower than 4.00, and Bru is also still used to some extent ($m > 2.00$). Similar to the previous two types, Thai is the least used ($m < 2.00$) (Figure 5.14).

One of the common characteristics of Type III domains is that most interlocutors are those with whom the PPs communicate in their daily lives, including the PPs' children and grandchildren; however, their ethnicity can be Bru, Lao or mixed depending on the person. As for LC28-PP-Shaman-NA, when answering this question some of the PPs had in mind a specific Bru elder speaker in WB, who can administer a Brahmanist ceremony as a shaman, therefore they chose Bru. Other PPs instead thought of general shamans from outside WB who are normally ethnic Lao, thus they chose Lao. As for LC29-PP-Seller-WB-Shopping, there are minimarts run by both Bru and Lao residents respectively. The result was thus influenced by what stores the PPs

often use; if they use a store run by ethnic Lao WB resident, they tended to choose Lao.

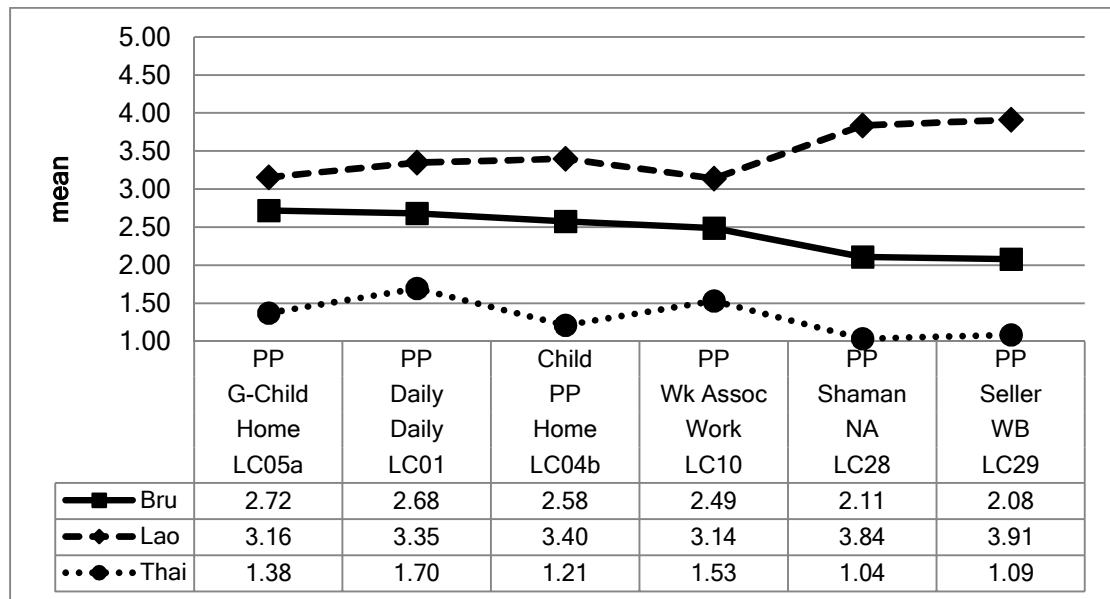


Figure 5.14. Mean of Language Choices in Type III Domains, (All PPs).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it.

5.3.1.4 Type IV

Type IV also consists of domains where Lao is the most frequently used, though the means are lower than 4.00. The difference from Type III is that Thai is used to some extent ($m > 2.00$). By contrast, Bru is the least used ($m < 2.00$) (Figure 5.15).

One of the common characteristics of Type IV domains is that they are more formal settings due to the interlocutors and locales, such as a teacher and school, a boss and a work place, a government officer, and people in the provincial center. This formality should motivate the PPs to use more Thai. However, in fact, the means for Lao are still higher than those for Thai. In some questions, for example, LC24-PP-Gov Off-NA, and/or LC17-PP-Prov ppl, some PPs gave higher scores for Lao than Thai, and attributed their answers to the assumed ethnicity of the interlocutors, that is, Lao. These results illustrate that Lao is highly dominant over Thai and commonly used in Khong Chiam district and Ubon Ratchathani Province.

Figure 5.16 represents the number of PPs per answer choice regarding Thai. As I stated above, though the use of Thai is limited, there is a certain proportion of PPs that answered that they use only Thai (25.5% of valid answers for LC11, 16.9% for

LC24, and 9.1% for LC17). The results suggest that some PPs, though they are not the majority of PPs, switch to Thai when a domain is perceived to be more formal.

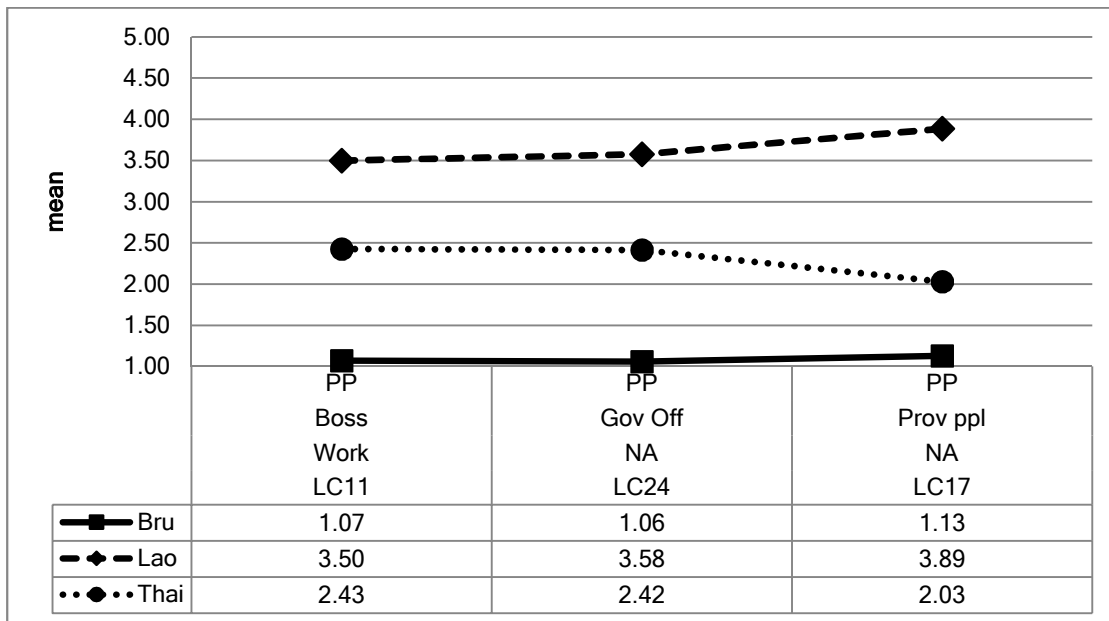


Figure 5.15. Mean of Language Choices in Type IV Domains (All PPs).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it. LC12-PP-Teacher-School is omitted from the figure as the data reflects language choice of only current pupils and students, but not that of all participants.

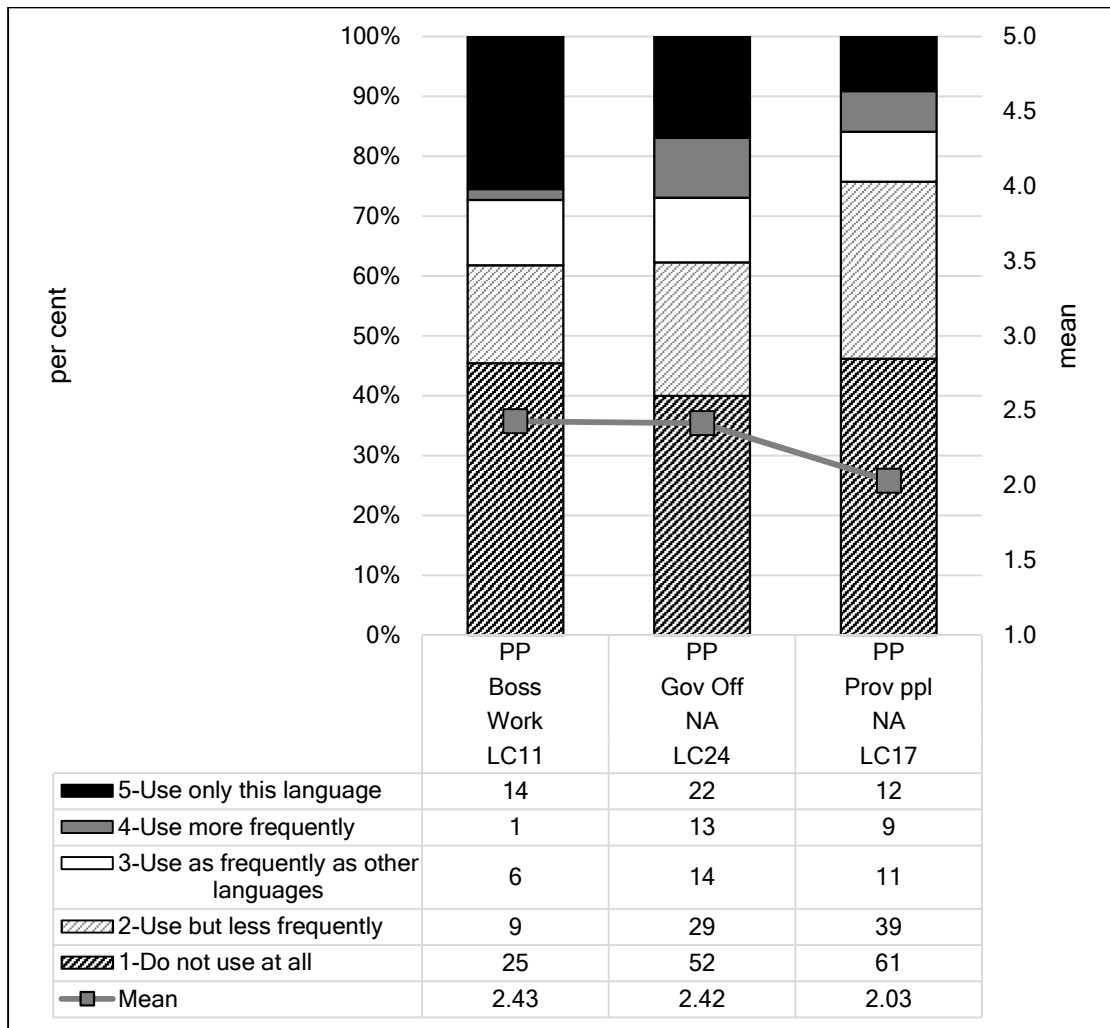


Figure 5.16. The Number of PPs per Answer Choice Regarding Thai in Type IV Domains (All PPs).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it.

5.3.1.5 Type V

The last type, Type V, is the domains where Lao is almost exclusively used ($m > 4.00$ except LC05b), while Thai and Bru are rarely used ($m < 2.00$). Though the mean for Lao of LC05b-G-Children-PP-Home falls lower than 4.00, I classified this domain into this type as neither the mean of Bru or Thai exceeds 2.00 (Figure 5.17).

One of the common characteristics of Type V domains is that, except for LC05b, the locales are all outside of the home, and the ethnicity of most interlocutors is assumed to be Lao. The locales include the market in the center of Khong Chiam where most Lao Isan people are distributed (LC30-PP-Seller-Market-Shopping) as

there are no markets in WB. Some PPs commented that the non-Bru monks in WB and surrounding areas are likely to come from the Isan region rather than other regions (LC27-PP-Non-B Monk-NA) and hence speak Lao. Khong Chiam is dominated by Lao Isan people except for two villages: WB and TL. Therefore, the people in the Khong Chiam district area whom they interact with (LC16-PP-Dist ppl-NA) speak Lao. The doctor, in the *sathaanii anaamay* ‘the sanitary station’, and the teachers, except the principal of the WB primary school, are known to be ethnic Lao by the PPs (LC25-PP-Doctor-Sanitary Stn-NA and LC31-PP as adult-Teachers-WB).

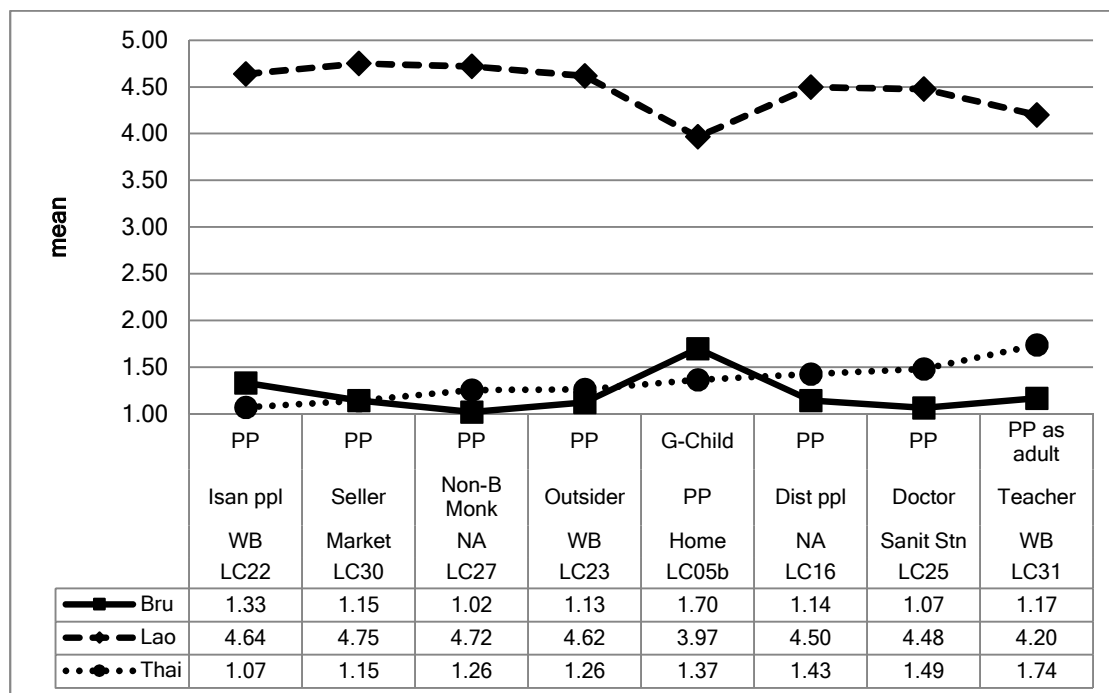


Figure 5.17. Mean of Language Choices in Type V Domains (All PPs).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it. LC13-PP-Classroom-Classmate, and LC14-PP-Outside Classroom-Classmate is omitted from the figure as the data reflects language choice of only current pupils and students, but not that of all participants.

The results suggest that when the ethnicity of an interlocutor is not overtly stated the PPs tend to use Lao instead of Bru.

5.3.2 Language Choice by Gender

In this section, I report the results of the language choice by gender.

There are only two domains where gender differences are statistically significant. These are, first of all, LC28-PP-Shaman-NA (Type III) where the female PPs reported to more frequently use Bru than the male PPs (valid N = 57 and 54

respectively, and $p < .05$). Secondly, LC13-PP-Cls mates-Cls Rm (Type V) where the female PPs reported to use Thai more frequently and use Lao less frequently than the male PPs do (valid N = 17 and 11 respectively, and $p < .05$ for both Lao and Thai). It should be noted that, since the PPs who currently are not studying at school, college, or university were allowed to skip these questions, the means of LC13 reflect those of Cohort A, the youngest generation (see Figure 5.18).

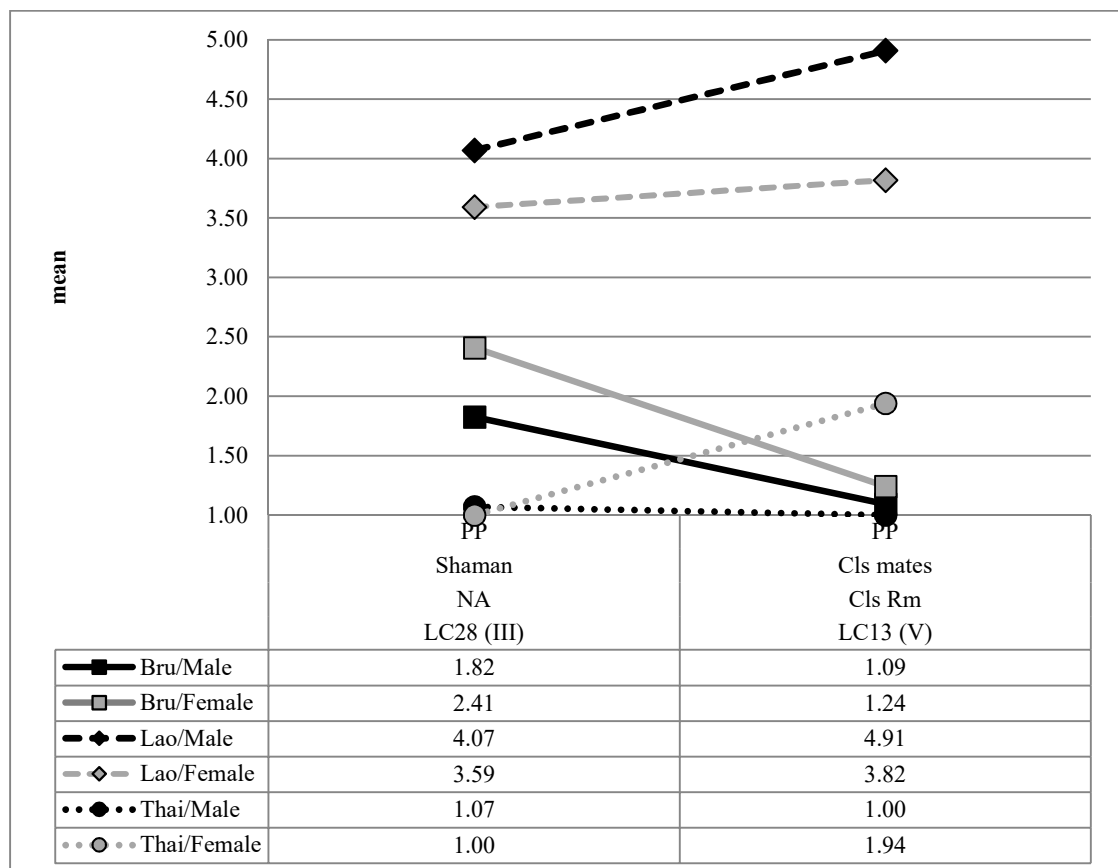


Figure 5.18. Mean of Languages Choices by Gender (All PPs).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it.

5.3.3 Language Choice by Age

In this section, I report the results of language choice by age. There are 21 out of 33 domains where the mean of at least one language is statistically significantly different by Cohort. Since LC14 was applicable only to Cohort A, this domain was excluded from any statistical test.

The differences between the means of Bru and Lao are statistically significant in all Type I and most of Type II domains: LC08, LC20, LC18, LC26, LC07, LC21,

LC19, LC03, LC02, LC15, LC09, and LC04a (see Table 5.14 for p values). In addition, the mean for Bru is statistically significant in LC06 ($p < .05$). The results of the post-hoc Tukey B test illustrated that Cohort A is separated from the rest two cohorts while Cohort B and C are more homogeneous in all of above-mentioned domains except LC04a-PP-Child-Home for Lao³⁹. In other words, the patterns of language use of Cohort B and C are similar: they tend to use Bru more frequently than Lao when the ethnicity of an interlocutor is defined as or assumed to be Bru due to its attribution, while Cohort A tends to choose Lao more frequently than Bru, even though an interlocutor may also be ethnic Bru. For instance, both Cohort B and C reported a high use of Bru as reflected by the mean being approximately 4.00 in Type I domains. By contrast, the mean of Cohort A is approximately 2.00. Figure 5.19 clearly demonstrates that Lao is preferred over Bru amongst Cohort A.

³⁹ The two subsets were divided as Cohort A vis-à-vis Cohort B and C in all other domains, for Lao in LC04a-PP-Child-Home, the two subsets are Cohort A and B, vis-à-vis Cohort B and C.

Table 5.14. The Results of Statistical Tests for LC Questions (1)

		Bru		Lao		Thai	
		<i>p</i> value	Significant difference	<i>p</i> value	Significant difference	<i>p</i> value	Significant difference
I-01	LC08	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-a-vis B Cohort A vis-a-vis C		Not sig.
I-02	LC20	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
I-03	LC18	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
I-04	LC26	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
I-05	LC07	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-a-vis B Cohort A vis-a-vis C		Not sig.
I-06	LC21	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
I-07	LC19	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
II-01	LC03	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
II-02	LC02	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
II-03	LC06	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.		Not sig.
II-04	LC15	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
II-05	LC09	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-a-vis B Cohort A vis-a-vis C		Not sig.
II-06	LC04A	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.

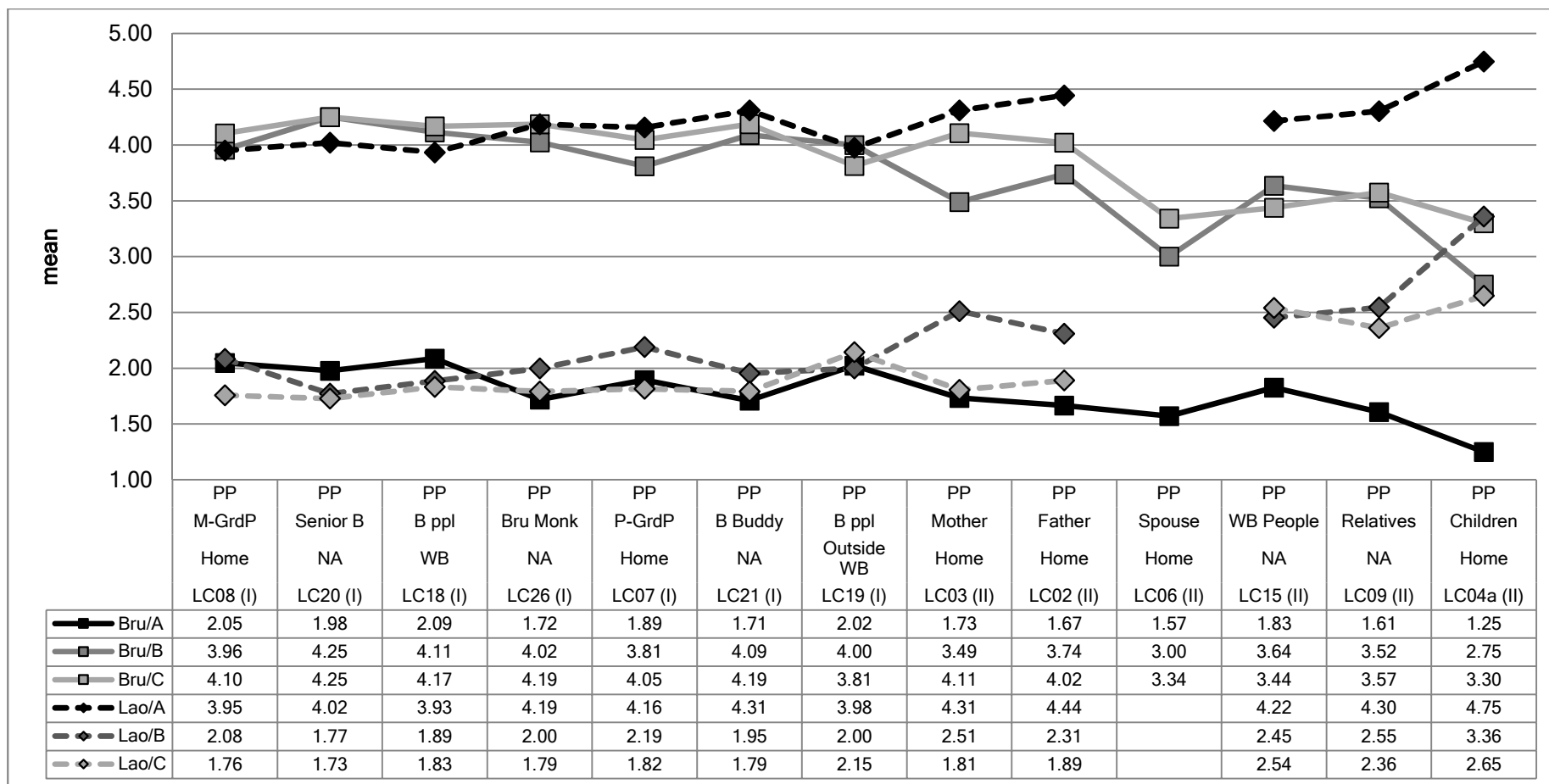


Figure 5.19. Mean of Language Choices of all PPs by Cohort (1).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it. Figures show only languages and domains that are discussed. Thai is not shown as the mean was around 1.00, meaning it was rarely used. A = Cohort A; B = Cohort B; C = Cohort C.

In Type III, IV, and V domains, Cohort A reports using Bru least frequently while Cohort C reports using Bru most frequently. This trend is statistically significant for LC01, LC04b, LC10, LC29, and LC30 (see Table 5.15 for p values). This tendency is reversed for Lao: Cohort A reports using Lao most frequently while Cohort C reports using Lao least frequently. This trend is statistically significant for LC01, LC04b, LC29, and LC23 (see Table 5.15 for p values). The mean values are shown in Figure 5.20. This difference is similar to the one found in Type I and II domains mentioned above; however, the differences amongst the cohorts are smaller in these domains than those in Type I and II domains. Post-hoc Tukey B test illustrated that there are two groups, and they consist of Cohort A and B, and Cohort B and C in case of Bru, and Lao in LC04b-Child-PP-Home, Bru in LC10-PP-Work Associates-Work and LC30-PP-Market-Seller-Shopping, and Lao in LC23-PP-WB-Outsider. This pattern in the results suggests that, besides Cohort A and B, Cohort B and C also to some extent report similar language choice patterns.

In addition to this trend, some domains show prominent age differences. First of all, for Cohorts A and B, Bru is still reported as the main language along with Lao because the means of these languages in LC01-PP-Daily-Daily-Daily are not significantly different. Secondly, Cohort C reports that their children use Bru with them as frequently as Lao as the means of these languages in LC04b-PP's child-PP-Home are not significantly different. Cohort B reports that their children use Lao with them more frequently than Bru as the means of these languages are significantly different ($p < .01$). This suggests that language shift in WB seems to have begun, at latest, after the generation of Cohort C's children and before the generation of Cohort B's children.

In contrast to the use of Bru and Lao, the use of Thai is very limited amongst all three cohorts; however, the means for Thai are statistically different for LC01 ($p < .05$), LC10 ($p < .01$), and LC29 ($p < .05$). In particular, Cohort A uses Thai most frequently in LC01-PP-Daily-Daily-Daily, and LC10-PP-Work Associates-Work (see Figure 5.20).

Table 5.15. The Results of Statistical Tests for LC Questions (2)

Type & Code	Question No.	Bru		Lao		Thai	
		<i>p</i> value	Significant difference	<i>p</i> value	Significant difference	<i>p</i> value	Significant difference
III-01	LC05A		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
III-02	LC01	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C
III-03	LC04B	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
III-04	LC10	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-a-vis B Cohort A vis-a-vis C
III-05	LC28		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
III-06	LC29	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C
IV-01	LC12		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
IV-02	LC11		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
IV-03	LC24		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
IV-04	LC17		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
V-01	LC22		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
V-02	LC30	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.		Not sig.
V-03	LC27		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
V-04	LC23		Not sig.	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
V-05	LC05B		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
V-06	LC16		Not sig.	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C Cohort B vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
V-07	LC25		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
V-08	LC13	<i>p</i> < .01	Not sig.		NA		NA
V-09	LC14		NA		NA		NA
V-10	LC31		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.

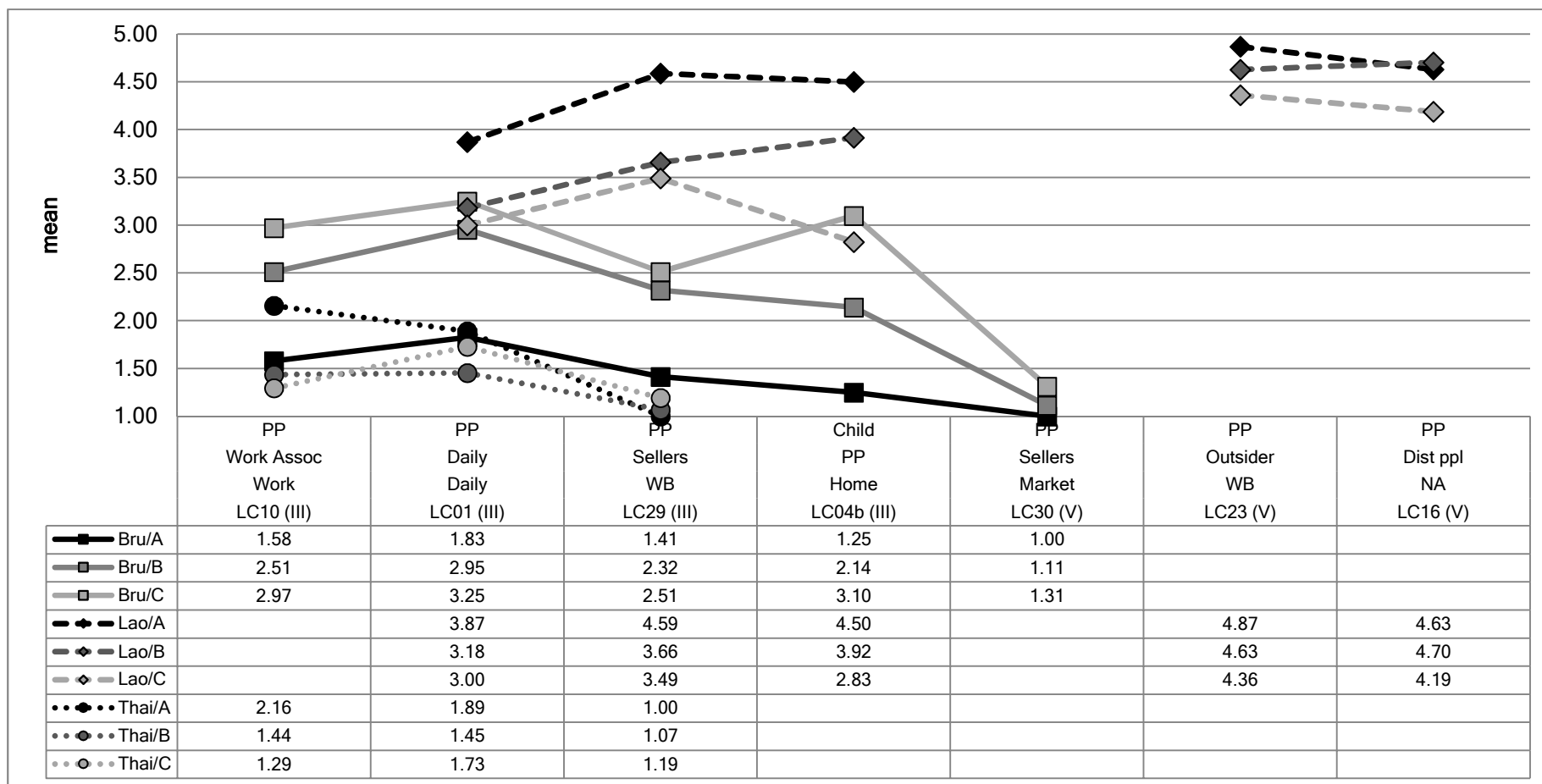


Figure 5.20. Mean of Language Choices of all PPs by Cohort (2).

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it. Figures show only languages and domains that are discussed. A = Cohort A; B = Cohort B; C = Cohort C.

5.3.4 Language Choice of Cohort A by Gender

There is no domain where Cohort A males or females report using Bru more frequently than the other gender. While, for Lao and Thai, there are four domains where the means of Cohort A males and females are statistically significant: LC09 for Thai, and LC11, LC13, and LC17 for both Lao and Thai ($p < .05$ for all cases; see Figure 5.21). In these domains, Cohort A females report using Thai more frequently than males, and Cohort A males more frequently report using Lao than females. In other words, for Cohort A, males report using the relatively minority language, Lao vis-à-vis Thai, whereas females report using the majority language, Thai.

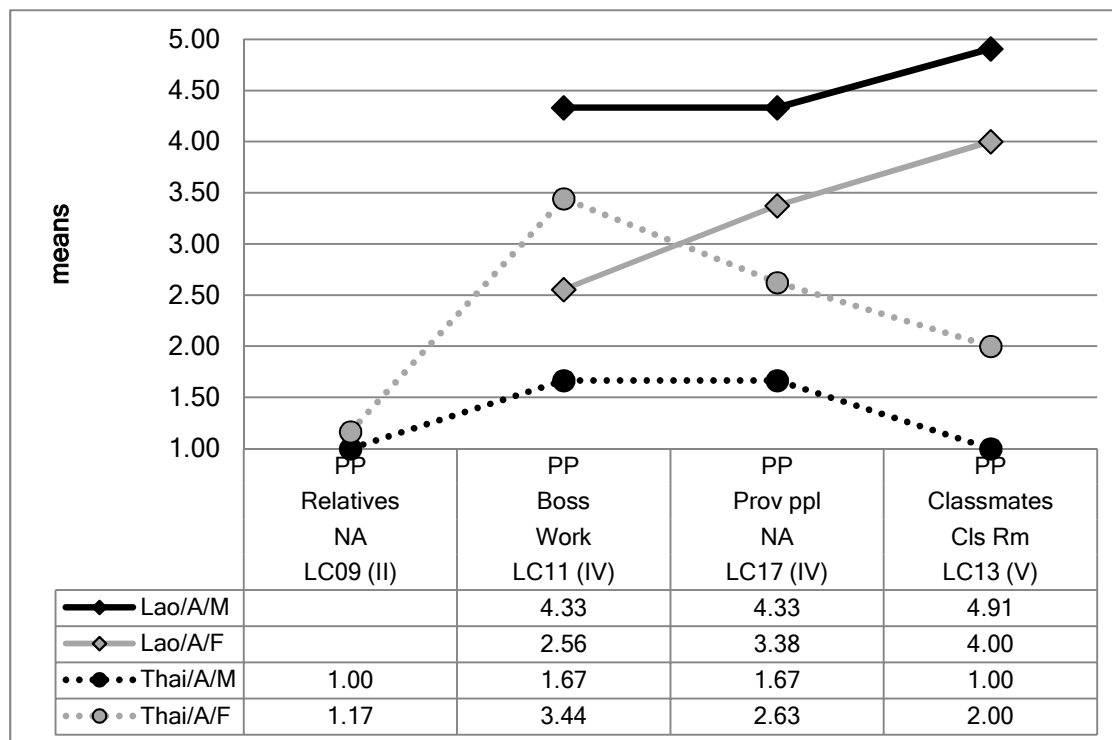


Figure 5.21. Mean of Language Choices of Cohort A by Gender.

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it. Figures show only languages and domains that are discussed. M = males; F = females.

5.3.5 Language Choice of Cohort B by Gender

There is only one domain where the mean of Cohort B males and females is significantly different: LC09-PP-Relatives-NA for Lao ($p < .05$). In this domain, Cohort B females report using Lao more frequently ($m = 3.00$) than males do ($m =$

2.09). There are no statistical differences regarding the three languages in other domains.

5.3.6 Language Choice of Cohort C by Gender

There are a total of eight domains where the means of Cohort C males and females are significantly different⁴⁰.

First, regarding Type I to Type III domains, Cohort C females tend to report using Bru more frequently than males do, while Cohort C males tend to report using Lao more frequently than females do in LC08, LC07, LC15, and LC28 ($p < .05$ except LC24 for both Bru and Lao, and LC08 and LC28 for Bru: $p < .01$; see Figure 5.22). The interlocutor is possibly deemed to be an ethnic Bru person in most of these domains: maternal and paternal grandparents, WB people, and shamans respectively. Therefore, it could be said that when Lao serves as a majority language vis-à-vis Bru, Cohort C males are more likely to report using the majority language than females do.

Second, with respect to Type IV and V domains, Cohort C males tend to report using Thai more frequently than females do in LC24, LC17, LC16, LC31 ($p < .05$ except LC24: $p < .01$). In addition, Cohort C females report using Lao more frequently than males do in LC24 ($p < .05$), and they also report using Bru more frequently than males do in LC16 ($p < .05$; see Figure 5.22). In these domains, the interlocutors are defined as a government officers, people in the central area of Ubon Ratchathani, those in the central area of Khong Chiam, and teachers. In other words, the formality of these domains is relatively high. In such situations, Cohort C males tend to report using the majority language, Thai, more frequently than females do, whereas Cohort C females tend to report using a relatively minority language, Lao and Bru, more frequently than males do.

⁴⁰ LC11 was excluded from the statistical test as there were only two Cohort C female participants who responded.

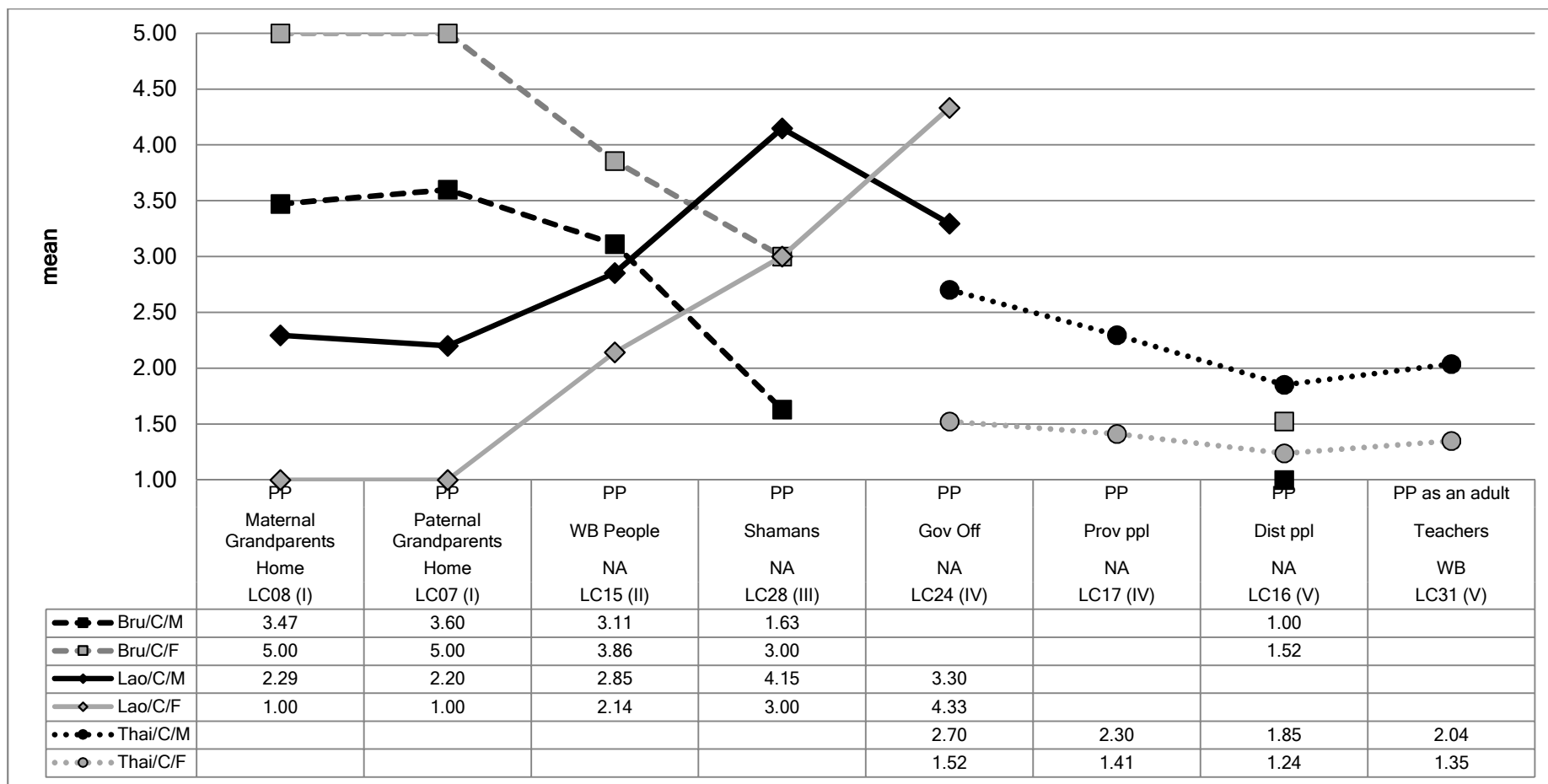


Figure 5.22. Mean of Language Choices of Cohort C by Gender.

The X axis represents questions/domains; the top line represents the speaker, the second line represents the interlocutor, and the third line represents the locale. The topic is omitted as only three questions/domains specify it. Figures show only languages and domains that are discussed. M = males; F = females.

5.3.7 Summary

In this section, I summarize the results obtained from the demographic section and language choice section of the questionnaire.

For all PPs, or when age and gender of a PP are not taken into consideration, the trend of language choice is as follows. First of all, when an interlocutor is specified as or assumed to be ethnic Bru, the PPs tend to report using Bru over Lao. In this case, the interlocutor is often a senior or someone close to the PPs. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Lao is also highly reported (Type I). Second, when an interlocutor is assumed to be ethnic Bru, but also could be ethnic Lao or mixed, the PPs tend to report using both Bru and Lao (Type II). Thirdly, in other domains (i.e. Type III, IV, and V), the PPs report using Lao so frequently that the reported usage of Lao overwhelms that of Thai even in formal domains. These domains are basically beyond the home domains. However, even some home domains, such as LC05a-PP-Grandchildren-Home and LC04b-Children-PP-Home, are also included in this type.

When age is taken into consideration, it is clear that the younger a PP is, the more frequently the PP report using Lao instead of Bru. This feature is often seen when an interlocutor is assumed to be ethnic Bru. Even under such a condition, Cohort A report using Lao much more frequently than Bru, while Cohort B and C still report using Bru more frequently than Lao. In addition, the sign of LS can be also found between Cohorts B and C; in some domains, the pattern in the reported language usage of Cohort B regarding Bru and Lao is very similar to that of Cohort A so that they can be grouped within the same subset with Cohort A. For Thai, by contrast, all cohorts rarely report using it in any domains. These age differences suggest that LS in WB may have begun in Cohort B; however, it has rapidly progressed between Cohort A and B whose boundary is 29/30 years old. This rapid decrease of the reported usage of Bru amongst Cohort A correlates with the transition in terms of language proficiency. As reported in Section 5.2, Cohort A lacks proficiency in Bru; whereas all PPs, regardless of cohort, possess a high proficiency in Lao. Even in cases where an interlocutor would motivate or pressurize a speaker to choose Bru, this is hardly ever successful for Cohort A because they report not being fluent in Bru. This is possible because all interlocutors in WB, and nearby areas, are fluent in Lao. Cohort A, therefore, has little necessity to acquire Bru and/or report using Bru even when an interlocutor is ethnically Bru. In addition, the low reported usage of Thai suggests that,

though Cohort A has high Thai proficiency, their main language in their daily lives is Lao.

With respect to gender differences per Cohort, the following trends were found for each cohort. First of all, for Cohort A, the males tend to report using the indigenous/minority language more frequently than the females do. By contrast, for Cohort C, the females tend to report using the indigenous/minority language more frequently than the males. For Cohort B, such gender differences were rarely observed.

To summarize, the results of the language choice questions show that there are no longer domains where Bru is overwhelmingly reported being used; while there are such domains for Lao. Lao encroaches even in domains where Bru is the most frequently reported language. These results suggest two findings; Lao is widely spread as the daily language of the people of WB, and the WB's bi/multilingualism is not diglossic (bi/multilingualism without diglossia). WB's LS could have begun from Cohort B; however, it has become much more significant amongst Cohort A, who are more fluent in Lao than Bru. Lastly, the gender differences between Cohorts suggest that there are correlations between gender and language, and the pattern has changed over time. The females from Cohort C, in other words the elderly WB females, function as the maintainers of the indigenous/minority languages whereas the males lead the use of the majority languages. This gender role-sharing has gradually interchanged; Cohort A females now lead the use of the majority languages whereas the males are the maintainers of the relatively indigenous/minority languages. The interchange of the pattern of language choice by gender is possibly related to LS; however, it is necessary to investigate why the pattern had interchanged and whether this interchange reflects social political changes.

5.4 Language Attitude

5.4.1 Overall Results

In the language attitude (LA) related questions, the PPs were asked to evaluate to what extent they agree or disagree to a given question for Bru, Lao, and Thai. As I introduced in Chapter 4, *Methodology*, there were a total of 19 LA related questions, and two of them were only applicable to Bru due to the contents of the questions. The LA related questions used in this study are shown in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16. List of LA Related Questions

Question No.	TLM/RILCA ^a	TLM's Subgroup ^b	Question (Full Sentence) ^c	Question (Short Form) ^d
LA01 ^e	Communicative	N/A	If you use this language, you will communicate well with WB people.	X communicate well w/z WB ppl
LA02 ^e	Communicative	N/A	If you use this language, you will communicate well with people in the central area of the district.	X communicate well w/x ppl in the district
LA03 ^e	Communicative	N/A	If you use this language, you will communicate well with people in the central area of the province.	X communicate well w/z ppl in the province
LA04	Economic	Job	If you use this language, you will easily get a job.	X easily get a job
LA05	Identity	Prestige	If you use this language, you will be seen as a person with a high status.	X be seen as a person w/z a high status
LA06	Identity	Solidarity	If you use this language, you will get intimacy with Brus in WB.	X get intimacy w/z Brus in WB
LA07	Identity	Solidarity	If you use this language, you will get intimacy with outsiders.	X get intimacy w/z Non-Bru WB ppl
LA08	Identity	Solidarity	If you use this language, you will get intimacy with outsiders.	X get intimacy w/z outsiders
LA09	Religious	Access sacred writings	This language is religiously more special than other languages.	This lang is religiously special
LA10	RILCA	N/A	I want to teach and pass on this language.	Want to teach & pass on this lang
LA11	RILCA	N/A	I want school to teach this language.	Want school to teach this lang
LA12 ^f	RILCA	N/A	I am embarrassed when speaking this language.#	Embarrassed when speaking this lang#
LA13	RILCA	N/A	Family stimulates the use of this language.	Family stimulates the use of this lang
LA14	RILCA	N/A	WB people should speak this language within family.	WB ppl should use this lang within family
LA15	Identity	Hero/Villain	Speakers of this language are more popular than non-speakers.	Spkrs of this lang are more popular
LA16	High/Low	N/A	Speakers of this language look more prestigious than non-speakers.	Spkrs of this lang look more prestigious
LA17	High/Low & Religious	Pleasing/appealing a greater being	Speakers of this language are more appreciated than non-speakers.	Spkrs of this lang are more appreciated

LA18	RILCA	N/A	I prefer living in a Bru-mono-ethnic community to a multiethnic community.	Prefer living in a Bru-mono-ethnic community
LA19 ^f	RILCA	N/A	There will be no Bru speakers in Thailand in the future.	Will be no Bru speakers in the future

Note. X = this language

^a TLM/RILCA illustrates the reference of a question. In case a question was developed by the author based on Karan's (2011) '*[t]axonomy of motivations influencing language (stability and shift,*' (TLM), the name of motivations is mentioned in the table. While, in case a question was adopted from the questionnaire used in the Bru language and culture revitalization project (Phuengpa, n.d.), 'RILCA' is shown in the table.

^b TLM's subgroup: in the case where I developed a question based on TLM, the subgroup of motivations are stated in the table. In Karan (2011), these subgroups are named '...-related' such as 'job-related.' However communicative motivations are not further classified into subgroups, I thus put 'N/A' in this category when a question corresponds to the communicative motivations. When a question corresponds to 'RILCA,' I put 'N/A' as well.

^c Question (Full Sentence) is the literal translation from the questions used in the questionnaire.

^d Question (Short Form)' will be used in tables and figures hereafter.

^e Only applicable to PPs of the fieldwork phase II.

^f The original mean value reflects as follows; 5.00 is the most negative whereas 1.00 is the most positive.

Three questions, LA01 to LA03, were added after the fieldwork phase I reflecting the fine-tuning of the questionnaire. Only the PPs of the fieldwork phase II answered these questions.

The answer choice was given as a 5-point Likert scale; '1-disagree,' '2-rather disagree,' '3-middling,' '4-rather agree,' and '5-agree.' Basically, because of the meanings of each question, agreeing or disagreeing to the question can be respectively interpreted whether a PP has positive attitudes or negative attitudes to the languages in question. Individual answers were combined and mean values were calculated per question and language. Therefore, in this section, 1.00 represents the most negative attitudes (the least positive) or the highest disagreement (the lowest agreement) to a given question, while 5.00 represents the most positive attitudes or the highest agreement with a given question.

The exceptions are LA12 'I'm embarrassed when speaking this language' and LA19 'there will be no Bru speakers in Thailand in the future,' because agreeing with

these question reflects a PP's negative attitudes, and disagreeing to them reflects his/her positive attitudes. When the results from these questions were compared with those from other questions, I reversed the answers to have '1' represents negative attitudes and '5' represents positive attitudes.

Compared to the results for language choice (LC), it is harder to categorize the questions based on the distribution pattern of the mean values for all languages in one question. In the case of LC, for example, certain domains show a common trend such as 'Lao is highly frequently used, whereas Bru and Thai are rarely used.' In case of LA, there are few such questions that can be classified into a category because of the common pattern of the distribution. I, therefore, prioritized the means for Bru as a criterion over those for Lao and Thai instead of taking all 3 languages into consideration. I then classified the results into three types, 'positive', 'neutral', and 'negative', based on the mean value for Bru. I determined that the PPs are positive towards Bru when a mean exceeds 3.75, the PPs are neutral to Bru when a mean is between 2.26 and 3.74 ($2.25 < m < 3.75$), and the PPs are negative to Bru when a mean is below 2.25. There are reasons why I did not use the same criteria as LC; above 4.00 and below 2.00. First of all, in the LC part, what choice to select for one language is determined by the selection of a choice for (an)other language(s). For instance, if a PP use both Bru and Lao in a given situation, and the PP uses Bru more frequently than Lao, the choice is fixed as '4' and '2' respectively. The PP was not allowed to choose, for instance, '4' for Bru and '3' for Lao, or '3' for Bru and '2' for Lao. In the LA case, a PP might also have compared the degree of (dis)agreement for each language; however, the PP was allowed to choose any combinations. The PP could choose '4' for Bru and '2' for Lao, or '3' for Bru and '2' for Lao. If I split the LA types by the same criteria as those of LC, some questions, with their values being just above 2.00 and below 4.00, are overlooked and mistakenly classified into 'neutral.' I thus needed to broaden the ranges of 'positive' and 'negative' respectively. Secondly, if I split these types just halfway between 2.00 and 3.00 (i.e. 3.50), and 3.00 and 4.00 (i.e. 3.50), the range for 'neutral' becomes too narrow, i.e. only 0.98 from 2.51 to 3.49, compared to that for 'positive', i.e. 1.50: from 3.50 to 5.00, and for 'negative', i.e. 1.50 from 1.00 to 2.50. Such classification may misrepresent the results that the PPs may in fact be more neutral than positive/negative, but they look positive/negative. Therefore, I chose to draw the line halfway between 2.00 and 2.50 (i.e. 2.25), and 3.50 and 4.00 (i.e. 3.75).

As a result, the questions were classified into 3 types: (1) Type I includes questions/perspectives where the PPs are positive towards Bru, (2) Type II includes those where they are neutral towards Bru, and (3) Type III includes those where they are negative towards Bru. I will summarize the results of the language attitudes based on this classification. First of all, I will report the results by all PPs, when gender and age are not taken into account, then discuss by gender, by age, and by gender per cohort in this order.

5.4.1.1 Type I

In Type I, I further classified the questions into 2 subtypes; (1) only the mean for Bru exceeds 3.75, and (2) the mean for (an)other language(s) also exceed(s) 3.75. The questions of subtype (1) and their means are shown in Figure 35.

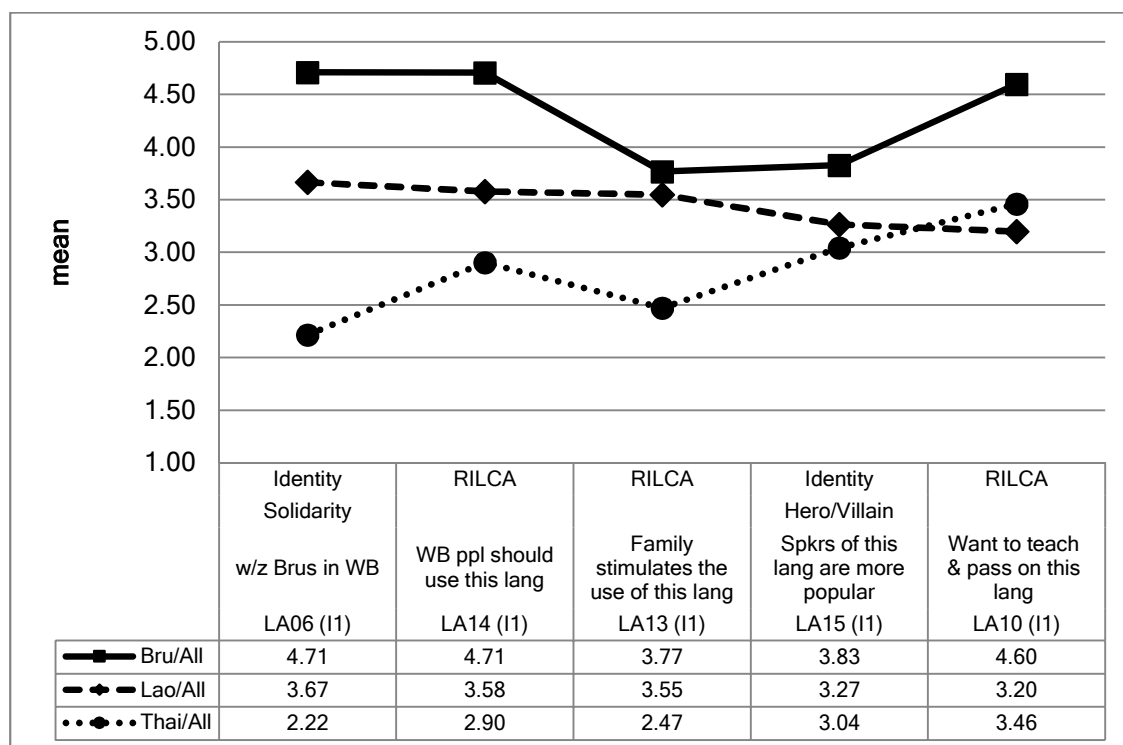


Figure 5.23. Mean of Type I-(1) Questions for All PPs.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM’s motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. All = All PPs.

In the questions detailed in Figure 5.23, the PPs have more positive attitudes towards Bru than both or either one of other two languages.

For subtype (2), the PPs also have positive attitudes towards Lao in the below questions:

LA12: Embarrassed when speaking this language, and

LA01: X communicate well with WB people.

While the PPs also have positive attitudes towards Thai in question

LA11;

LA11: Want school to teach this language. (See Figure 5.24)

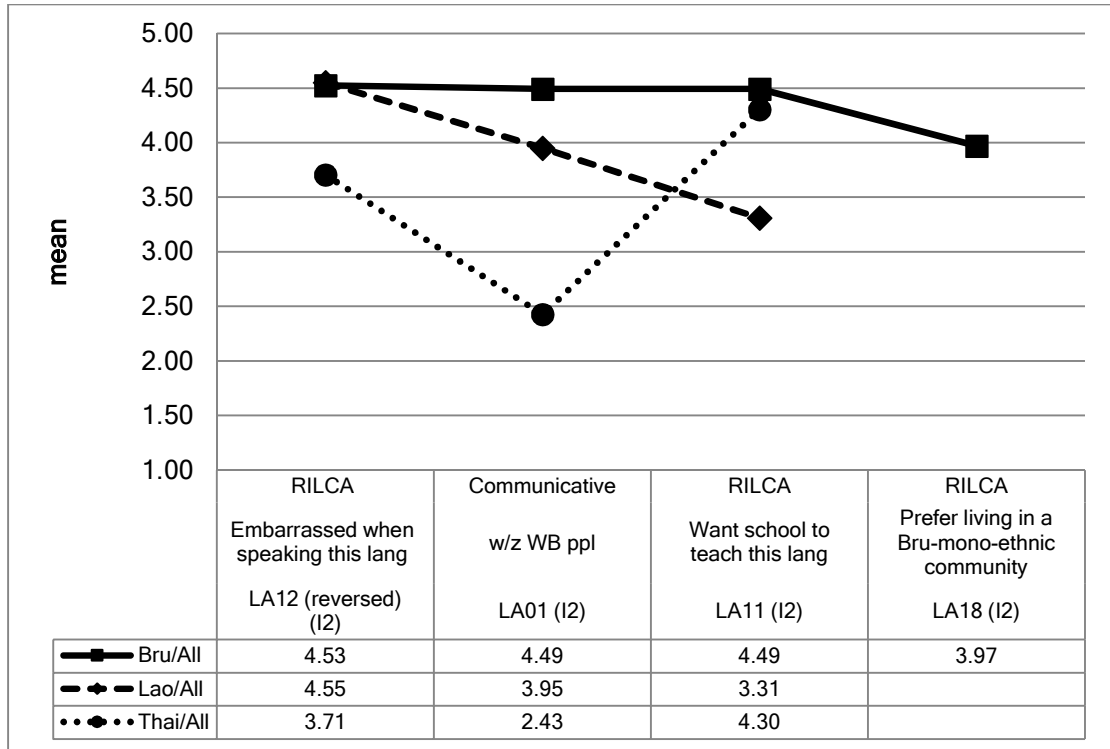


Figure 5.24. Mean of Type I-(2) Questions.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM's motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. All = all PPs.

5.4.1.2 Type II

In Type II, the mean values for all languages are within 2.26 to 3.74 except LA09 for Lao ($m = 3.79$) (see Figure 5.25). In other words, the PPs are not only neutral about Bru but also Lao and Thai in terms of the questions as illustrated in Figure 5.25.

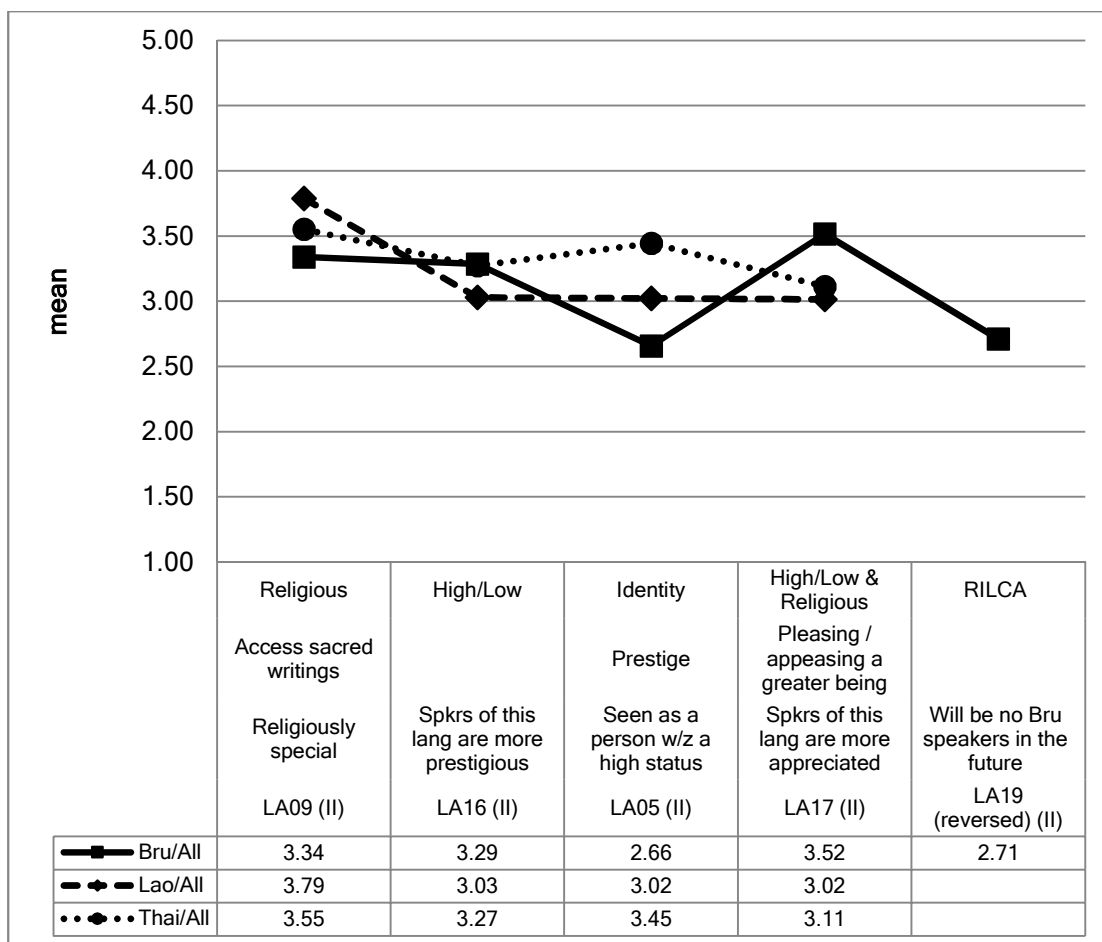


Figure 5.25. Mean of Type II Questions for All PPs.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM’s motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. All = all PPs.

It should be noted that LA17 (religiously more appreciated) could have been interpreted as simply ‘more gifted’ without the religious context. A native proofreader of the questionnaire commented that in translating this concept it was difficult to fit Thai religious concepts, and even a literally translated expression may just confuse readers. The proofreader, thus, suggested the expression that was finally adopted in the questionnaire, though it is not perfectly interchangeable with ‘religiously appreciated’. Furthermore, from my observation while administering the questionnaire, PPs seems to have interpreted this phrase as ‘gifted’ and being gifted is not necessarily derived from religious practice, for example, having collected merits in their previous lives. Therefore, PPs who agreed with the question ‘Bru speakers are (religiously) more appreciated than non-Bru speakers’ mainly attributed their idea to their whole

language repertoire: being able to speak 3 languages compared to the mono/bilingual ethnic Thai or Lao people.

In addition, these questions, in particular, the first 4 questions (LA09: religiously special, LA16: prestigious, LA05: high status, and LA17: appreciated) are highly abstract compared to those in Type I and III. Through these questions, I aimed to link the languages in question and abstract concepts, and then asked the PPs whether they agree with these questions or not. However, this abstractness may have resulted in the mean values being close to 3.00. The reasons could be that, first of all, the PPs may have had difficulty in understanding these concepts. Secondly, the PPs may rarely link these concepts with specific languages because a number of PPs commented that the language that one speaks is not related to/does not matter to whether or not s/he is prestigious, rich, or appreciated.

5.4.1.3 Type III

The mean values of the questions in Type III are below 2.25 for Bru as I explained above. In contrast to such results for Bru, the mean values for both Lao and Thai are not lower than 2.25, and even exceed 3.75 in some questions. This contrast suggests that the PPs have negative attitudes towards Bru, while not towards Lao and/Thai, and even have positive attitudes towards Lao and/Thai. The questions classified in this type and the means of these questions are shown in Figure 5.26.

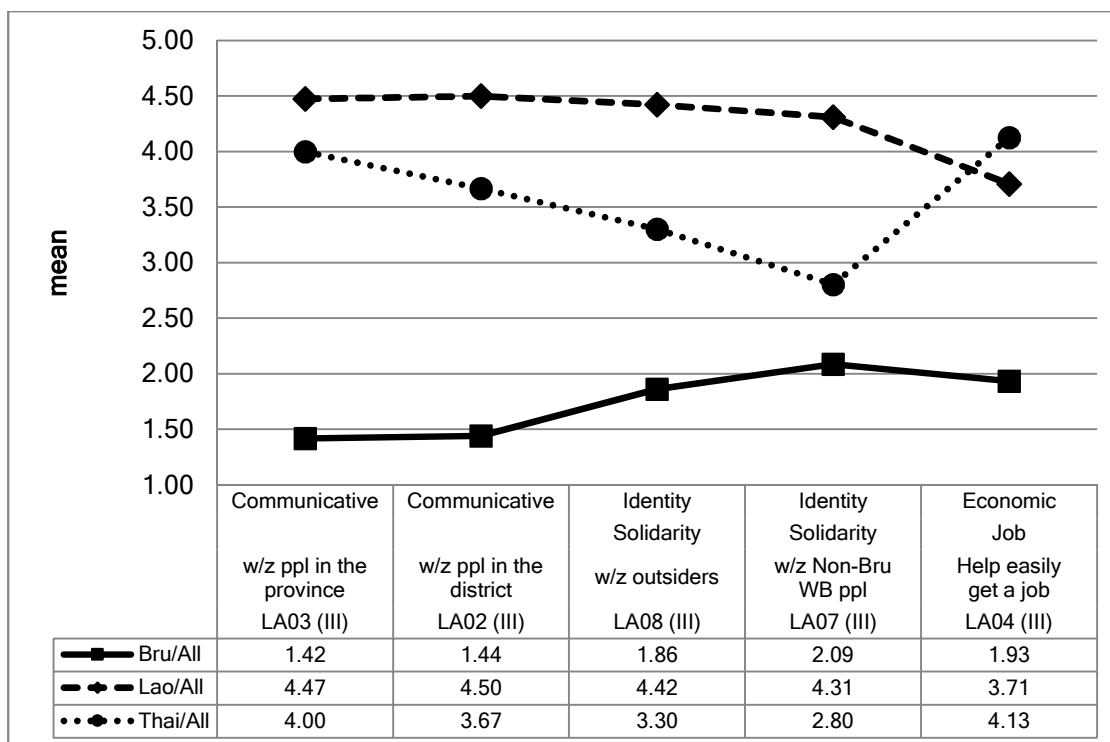


Figure 5.26. Mean of Type III Questions for All PPs.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM’s motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. All = all PPs.

Lao is the language that scores the highest in Type III questions, except for LA04, where Thai is seen as the language of (better) employability. Both Lao and Thai are the languages of wider communicative functions.

5.4.1.4 Summary

From the results in Type I, it can be said that, when the differences by gender and age are not taken into account, the PPs have positive attitudes towards Bru as a heritage language and that they want to pass it on to the next generation, and the PPs feel that it is a language that raises solidarity/intimacy within the Bru people. This suggests that the Bru language is tied to Bru people’s identity. However, at the same time, the results in Type III revealed that the PPs perceive Bru to be less useful than Lao and Thai outside WB or the Bru community. I believe that this contrast is two sides of the same coin; since Bru is spoken in very limited areas, Bru raises solidarity/intimacy within a community on one hand (i.e. positive attitudes in Type I), but this limited use causes the lack of instrumental values (i.e. negative attitudes in Type III) on the other hand.

The negative attitudes towards Bru further suggest how the PPs' attitudes to Bru are different from those towards Lao and Thai. As explained in the early part of this section (5.4.1 Overall results), I defined 'negative' when a mean value fell below 2.25. In fact, only some questions for Bru fulfilled this criterion; while there are no questions where the mean values for Lao and Thai are below 2.25 (except Thai's 2.22 of LA06). This seems to indicate that the PPs basically do not have negative attitudes towards Lao and Thai (at lowest neutral); though they do have negative ones towards Bru in some cases. That the PPs are positive towards Bru is true; it should be noted that their attitudes towards Bru are not simple and straightforward, but ambivalent. They recognize that Bru lacks instrumental functions, unlike Lao and Thai.

The attitudes towards Thai, despite its status as de facto national language, are not as positive as those towards Lao. For instance, Thai may not raise as much solidarity and/or smooth communication as Lao would do. Nevertheless, because of its status as national language, the PPs showed more positive attitudes towards Thai than towards Lao in terms of its importance in school education (LA11) and job hunting (LA04). Some PPs answered that, unlike Thai, Lao is unnecessarily taught at school and attributed their answer to the fact that their children could have acquired Lao through their daily lives without it being taught as a subject at school. By contrast, as shown by the high language proficiency in Thai but its low use (see Section 5.2 and Section 5.3.1), Thai is not their daily language, but Lao is. The PPs, therefore, may have perceived that their children may not acquire Thai well unless it is taught at school.

5.4.2 Language Attitudes by Gender

In this section, I report the results of the language attitudes questions by gender.

The mean values by gender show that there seems to be few gender differences for all languages. There are a total of six pairs across five questions, and regarding Bru and/or Lao, where the means are significantly different (see Figure 5.27). The females have more positive attitudes than the males do ($p < .05$) for both Bru and Lao except in LA07. For LA07, both the males and females disagree with the statement that Bru will generate intimacy with outsiders; the females disagreed with the given statements more than the males did.

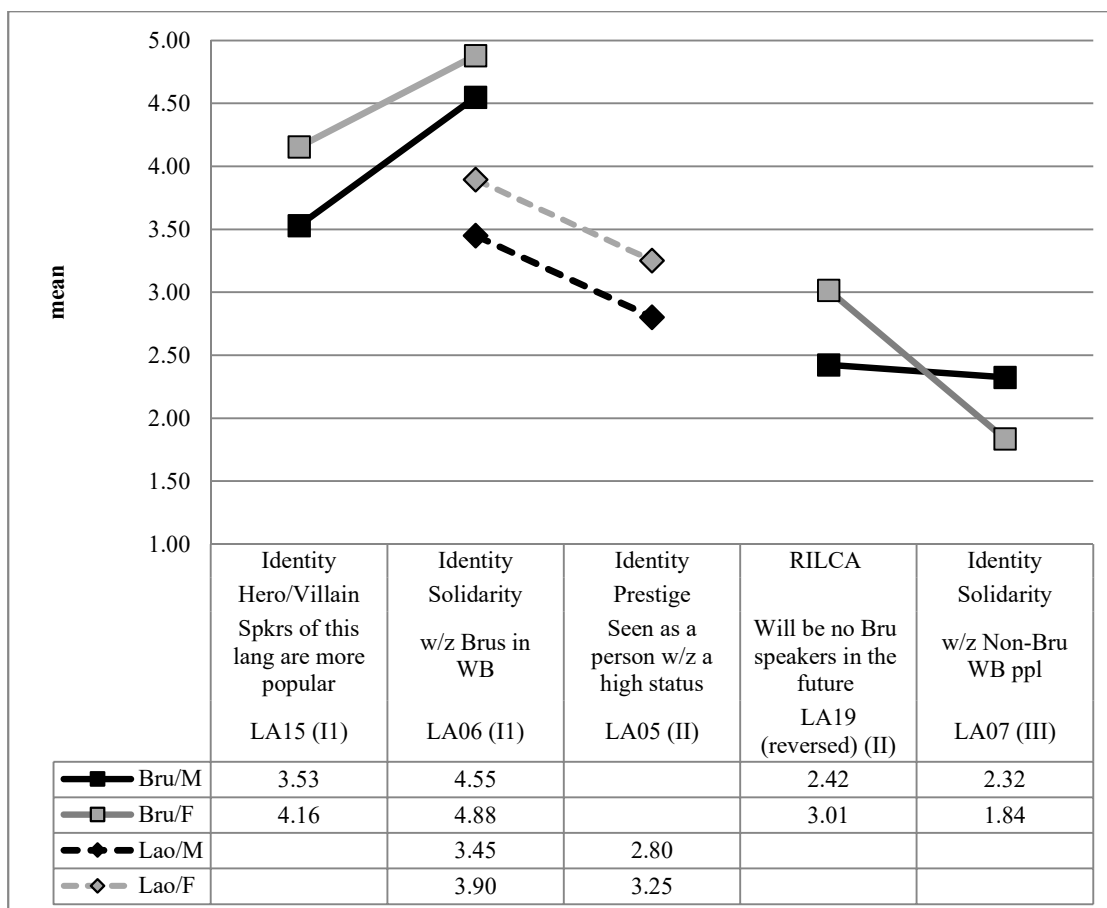


Figure 5.27. Mean of Language Attitudes by Gender.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM’s motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. Figures show only languages and questions that are discussed. M = males; F = females.

5.4.3 Language Attitudes by Age

In this section, I report the results of language attitude by age, according to the three Cohorts (A, B and C) based on a statistical analysis (Oneway-ANOVA test and post-hoc Tukey B test).

There was a total of six questions regarding Bru where the difference between the means are significantly different, four questions regarding Lao, and two questions regarding Thai (see Table 59 for *p* values, and Figure 5.28 for the mean values).

For Type I questions, the means are statistically significant for these 4 questions: LA06, LA01, LA15, and LA18 when these questions were asked about Bru. Cohort A tends to evaluate Bru less positively than Cohort B and C do. Note that while Cohort A tends to evaluate Bru less positively than Cohort B and C do, they are still positive towards Bru in some questions such as LA06 and LA01. The results of post-hoc Tukey B test showed that there are significant differences between Cohort A vis-à-

vis Cohort B and C for LA06, LA15, and LA18, between Cohort A and B for LA01, between Cohort A and C for LA16, and between Cohort A and B vis-à-vis Cohort C for LA04 (see Table 5.17). For LA10 the means of Lao and Thai are significantly different between Cohort A and C (see Table 5.17), by contrast, Cohort A tends to have more positive attitude to Lao and Thai than Cohort B and C do. In other words, these results suggest that, in the case of Type I questions, Cohort A and C have the least similarity.

For Type II and III questions, there are five questions and six cases where the means of a language are significantly different by Cohort: LA16, LA17, LA09, LA07, and LA04. The means of some questions amongst them, such as LA17, LA07 and LA04 (regarding Bru), do not show that Cohort A has the lowest means among the three cohorts. Despite this fact, the results of the post-hoc Tukey B test suggest that Cohort A and C share little similarity on their language attitudes because the means of Cohort A and C are significantly different in these six cases except LA07 (see Table 5.17). Like Type I questions, Cohort A and C are rarely classified in the same subset.

Figure 5.29 represents the number of PPs per answer choice of the questions where significant difference was found regarding Bru. For these questions, Cohort A showed the lowest values (except LA04), and these values are closer to 3.00 than those of Cohorts B and C. When the mean value is close to 3.00, there are two possible interpretations: there are an almost equal number of PPs who agree and disagree, or there is a number of PPs who are middling (neutral) on a given question. The case of WB PPs is somewhere in the middle of both scenarios: there is a certain number of Cohort A PPs who chose '3-Middling,' and a similar number of the PPs who agreed and disagreed with the statements (for example, LA15, LA18, and LA16). This result suggests that more PPs in Cohort A link Bru with negative attitudes than PPs in Cohorts B and C, and more Cohort A are also likely to be indifferent to Bru than PPs from Cohort B and C.

Table 5.17. The Results of Statistical Tests for LA Questions

Type & Code	Question No.	Bru		Lao		Thai	
		<i>p</i> value	Significant difference	<i>p</i> value	Significant difference	<i>p</i> value	Significant difference
I1-01	LA06	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.		Not sig.
I1-02	LA14		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
I1-03	LA13		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
I1-04	LA15	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.		Not sig.
I1-05	LA10		Not sig.	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis C
I2-06	LA12		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
I2-07	LA01	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis B		Not sig.		Not sig.
I2-08	LA11		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
I2-09	LA18	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		NA		NA
II-01	LA09		Not sig.	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
II-02	LA16	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.		Not sig.
II-03	LA05		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
II-04	LA17		Not sig.		Not sig.	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C Cohort B vis-à-vis C
II-05	LA19		Not sig.		NA		NA
III-01	LA03		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
III-02	LA02		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
III-03	LA08		Not sig.		Not sig.		Not sig.
III-04	LA07		Not sig.	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort B vis-à-vis C		Not sig.
III-05	LA04	<i>p</i> < .05	Cohort A vis-à-vis C Cohort B vis-à-vis C	<i>p</i> < .01	Cohort A vis-à-vis B Cohort A vis-à-vis C		Not sig.

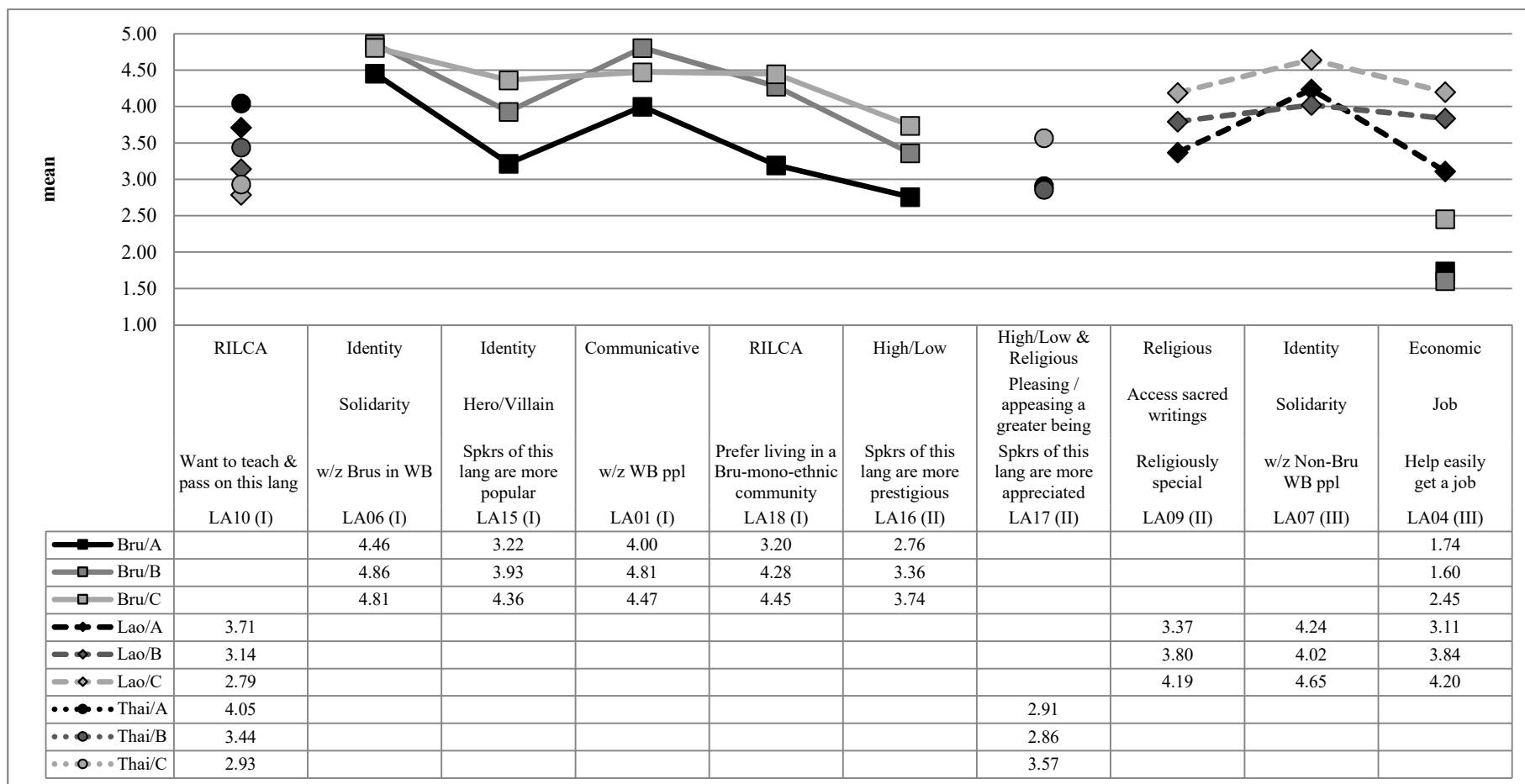


Figure 5.28. Mean of Language Attitudes by Cohort.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM's motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. Figures show only languages and questions that are discussed. A = Cohort A; B = Cohort B; C = Cohort C.

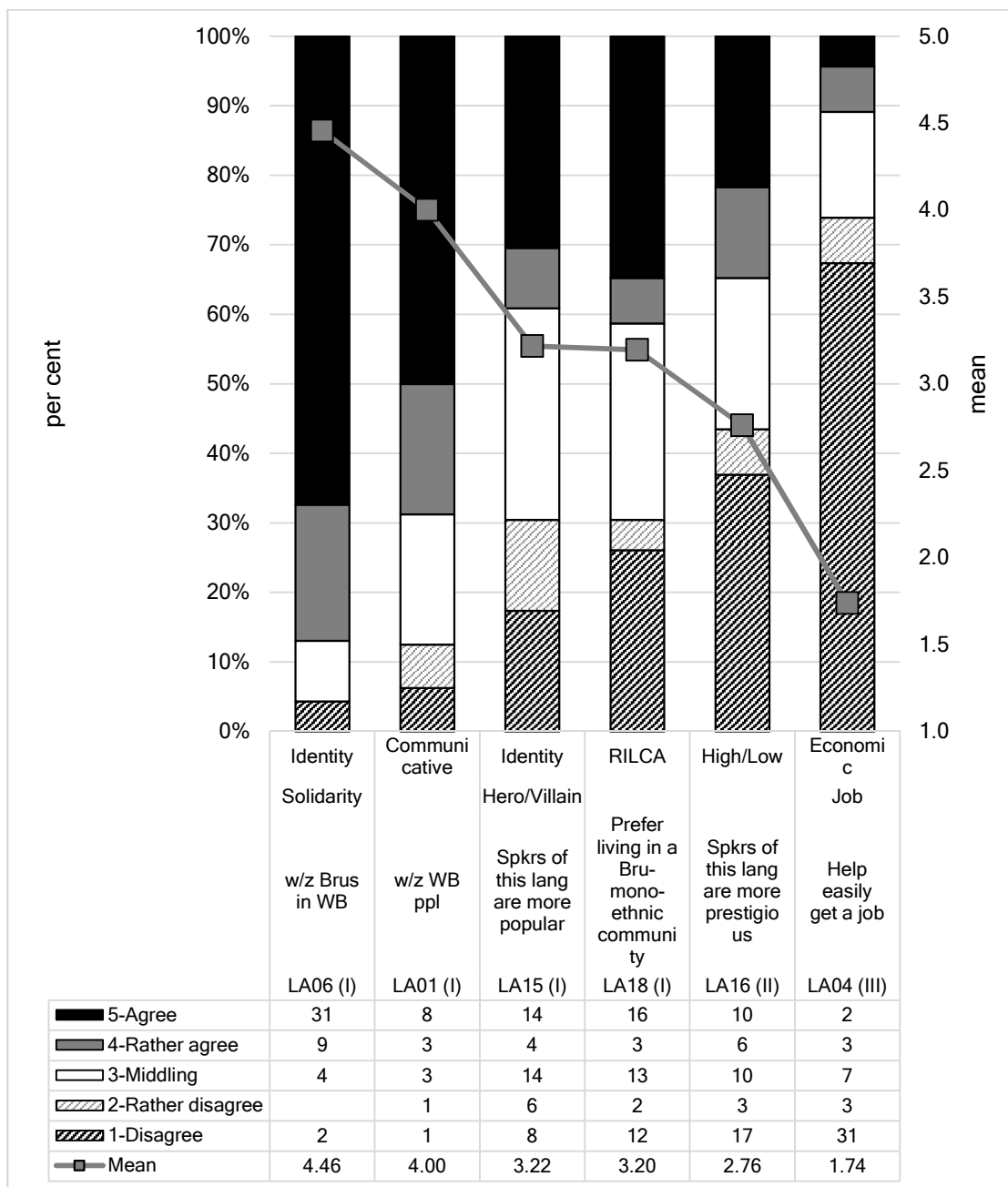


Figure 5.29. Mean of Language Attitudes of Cohort A and Number of PPs per Answer Choice - Only the Questions Where Significant Differences Were Found.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM's motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. Figures show only languages and questions that are discussed.

5.4.4 Language Attitude of Cohort A by Gender

In Cohort A, there are three cases from three questions where the means of the males and females are significantly different: LA06 (Bru), LA14 (Lao), and LA11 (Lao) ($p < .05$ for all, see Figure 5.30 for the mean values.) Whether the males or females are

more positive than the other depends on the question. For example, the males are more affirmative to the use of Lao within family than the females (LA14); the males, at the same time, feel more neutral or slightly more negative about the teaching of Lao at school than the females do (LA11). The females also score Bru higher on solidarity than the males (LA06).

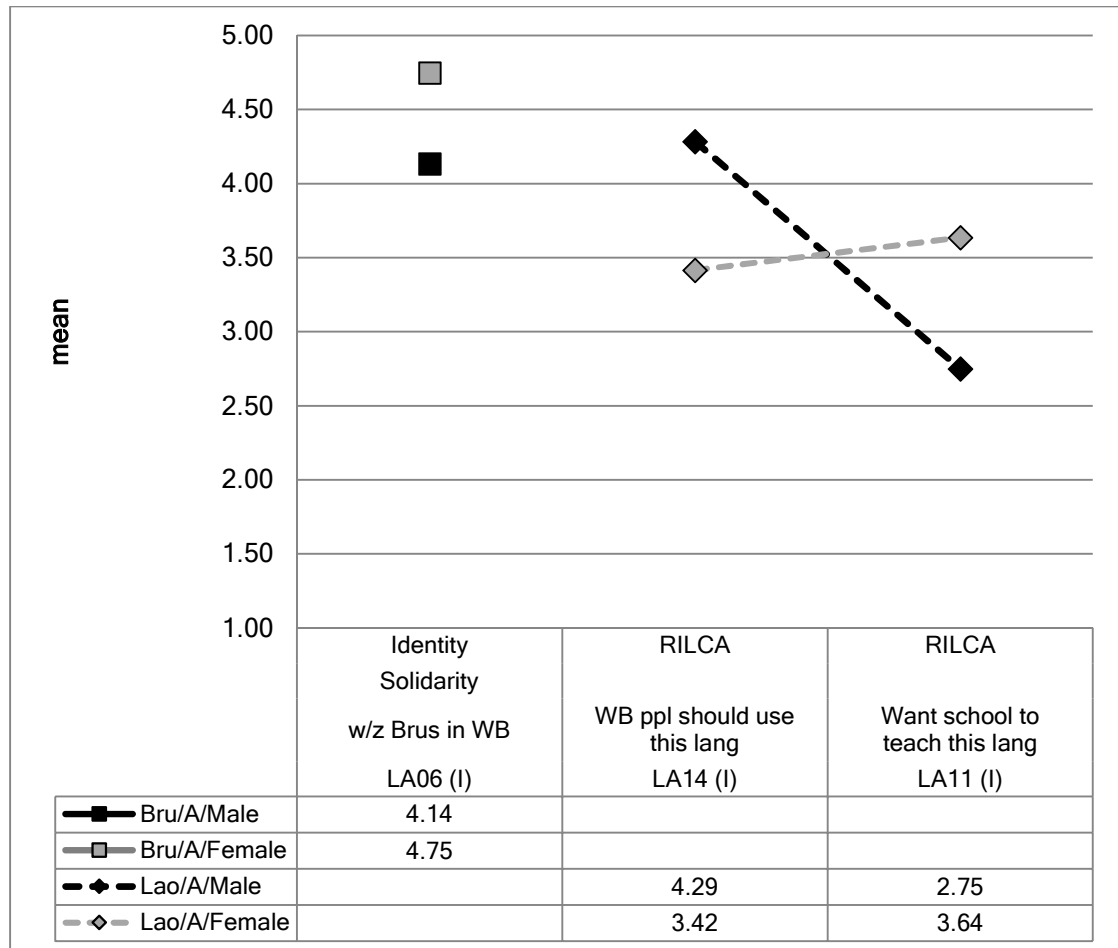


Figure 5.30. Mean of Language Attitudes of Cohort A by Gender.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM’s motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. Figures show only languages and questions that are discussed.

5.4.5 Language Attitude of Cohort B by Gender

In Cohort B, there are five cases where the means of the males and females are significantly different: LA13 (Lao, $p < .01$), LA15 (Bru, $p < .01$), LA10 (Bru, $p < .05$), LA16 (Bru, $p < .05$), and LA17 (Thai, $p < .05$) (See Figure 5.31 for the mean values). In these cases, the females tend to be more positive than the males. The difference is more obvious in LA15 and LA16: most of the females agree to the statements that speakers of Bru are more popular and prestigious than non-speakers

while the males are more neutral to these statements. In addition, the exception from the above-mentioned trend is LA13 where the males are affirmative to family members ‘stimulating’ the use of Lao whereas the females are more neutral to it.

Another feature of Cohort B is that, unlike Cohort A and C, significant differences by gender are observed for all three languages. As discussed above, there are no questions where significant differences were observed with respect to Thai amongst Cohort A. In other words, Cohort A males and females have the same attitudes towards Thai. Similar to the case of Thai in Cohort A, Cohort C males and females have the same attitudes toward Lao (see next section). By contrast, Cohort B males and females have different attitudes toward Bru, Lao, and Thai depending on the question.

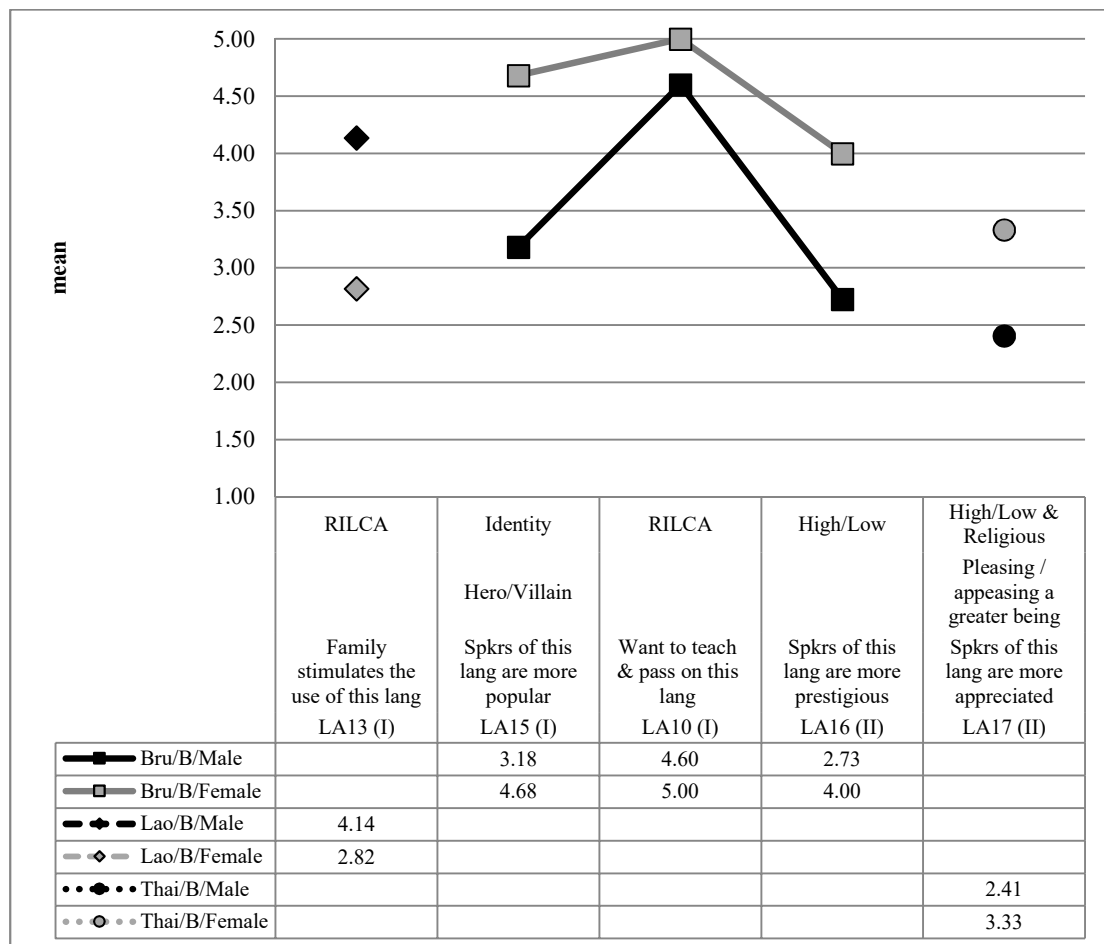


Figure 5.31. Mean of Language Attitudes of Cohort B by Gender.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM’s motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. Figures show only languages and questions that are discussed.

5.4.6 Language Attitude of Cohort C by Gender

In Cohort C, there are seven questions where the means of the males and females are significantly different: LA10, LA12, LA01, LA16, LA08, and LA07 regarding Thai, and LA05 regarding Bru. ($p < .01$ for LA08, LA10, and LA16; $p < .05$ for LA01, LA05, LA07, and LA12) (See Figure 5.32 for the mean values).

It is notable that, as for Thai, the significant difference was observed in one third of all questions, six out of 17 applicable questions. Furthermore, for these questions, the males are always more positive than the females.

For LA05 a significant difference is observed regarding Bru: the females are more positive than the males, and they think Bru is more prestigious than the males.

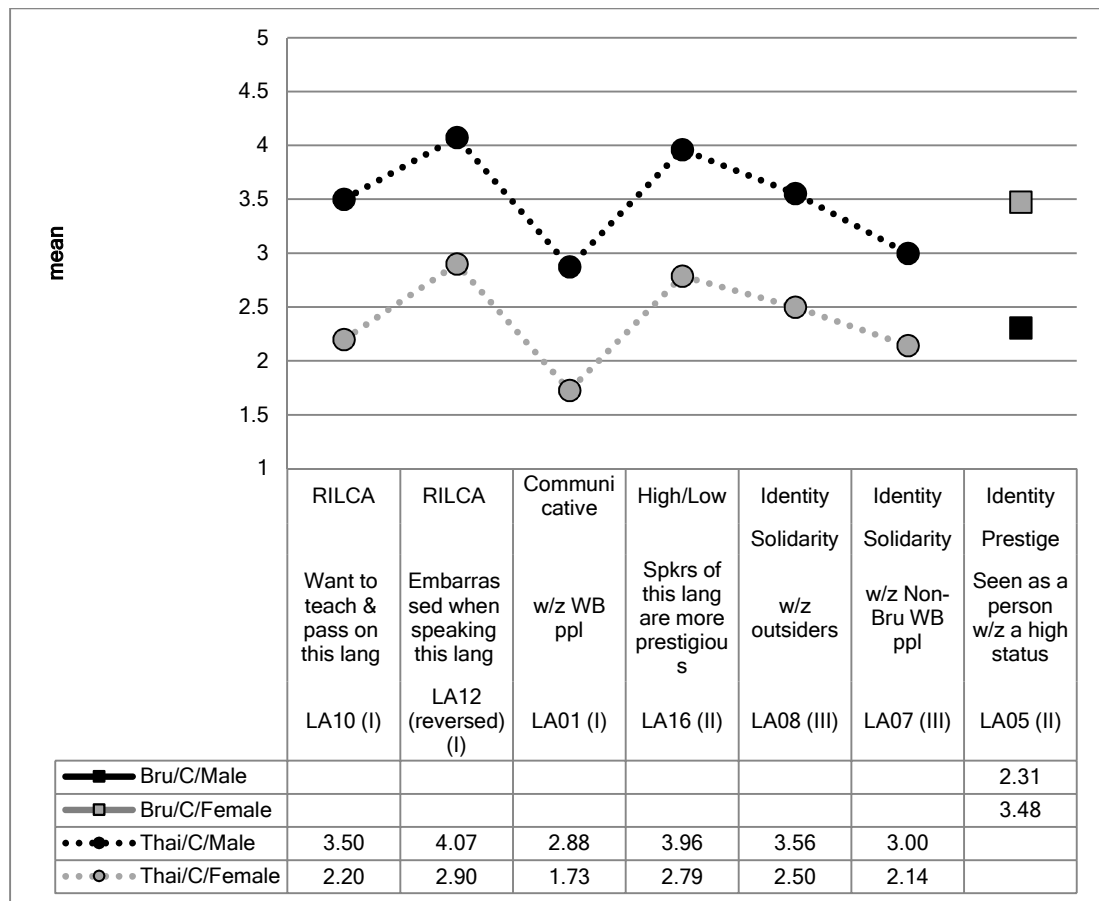


Figure 5.32. Mean of Language Attitudes of Cohort C by Gender.

The X axis represents questions; the top line represents the source: TLM's motivation or RILCA, the second line represents the subgroup of TLM, and the third line represents the questions. Figures show only languages and questions that are discussed.

5.4.7 Summary

In this section I aim to summarize the general trends of LA in WB from two perspectives: the correlation between LA and age, and the correlation between LA, age and gender.

First of all, the older PPs tend to be more positive toward Bru. This trend does not always appear in direct/inverse proportion between age and the mean values as Cohort B sometimes reported the highest mean value and/or Cohort A is not always a group with the lowest mean value. However, when the significant difference was observed, it was almost always observed between Cohort A and Cohort C.

Second, gender differences are not as prominent as age differences. However, the results for Cohort C illustrated that Cohort C males tend to have more positive attitudes toward Thai than the females do. Such an obvious correlation between gender and language attitudes were not observed amongst the other two cohorts, especially for Cohort A.

5.5 Language Proficiency and Language Choice

As Intergenerational Language Transmission (ILT) is one of the most important factor of LM, in this section, I report the relationship between LP, especially that of Bru, and LC, especially in the home domain and when the interlocutors are children.

The aim of this section is to report (1) how frequently PPs with Bru fluency use Bru with their children, (2) whether or not the PPs' children use Bru with the PPs as frequently as the PPs use Bru with their children, and (3) how fast the rate of ILT is decreasing from the older cohort to the younger one.

First of all, the focus is only on PPs who have children (including those who answered LC04a and LC04b. I also focus only on Cohorts B and C since there are only four PPs in Cohort A who have children and this number is too small to be representative of Cohort A. Secondly, I selected the PPs who evaluated their Bru-speaking proficiency higher than '3-Middle,' in other words, those who assessed themselves as '1-Not at all' and '2-Limited' were screened off even though they have children. After this screening process, the reports of the PPs for language proficiency (speaking Bru) and LC when the interlocutors/speakers are their children were cross tabulated (see Tables 5.18 to 5.19).

Tables 5.18 and 5.19 show that there are a total of 31 Cohort B PPs who estimated that they have at least 3-Middle level of speaking Bru and have children. In

particular, Table 5.18 shows that, among them, 17 PPs (4+8+5) answered that they use Bru, at lowest, as frequently as other languages with their children. This number is equivalent to 54.8% of the total target persons (31 PPs). In other words, almost a half of Cohort B parents do not actively pass on Bru to their children despite the fact that they have enough fluency in Bru.

Table 5.18. The Crosstabulation of LP (Speaking Bru) and LC04a (Cohort B)

LC04a-PP-Home-Children (Bru)						
LP Speaking Bru	1-Do not use at all	2-Use but less frequently	3-Use as frequently as other languages	4-Use more frequently	5-Use only this language	Total
3-Middle	4	1	2	1	0	8
4-Good	0	2	0	5	1	8
5-Excellent	2	5	2	2	4	15
Total	6	8	4	8	5	31

Table 5.19 illustrates that 10 PPs (3+2+5) perceived that their children use Bru at least as frequently as other languages with the PPs. This number is equivalent to 32.3% of the total target persons (31 PPs). This means that even though half of Cohort B parents have high enough Bru fluency pass on Bru to their children, not all of their children use Bru with them. There are then some families whose children tend to respond in other languages than Bru though parents speak to them in Bru.

Table 5.19. The Crosstabulation of LP (Speaking Bru) and LC04b (Cohort B)

LC04b-Children-Home-PP (Bru)						
LP Speaking Bru	1-Do not use at all	2-Use but less frequently	3-Use as frequently as other languages	4-Use more frequently	5-Use only this language	Total
3-Middle	5	2	1	0	0	8
4-Good	2	3	1	1	1	8
5-Excellent	7	2	1	1	4	15
Total	14	7	3	2	5	31

Tables 5.20 and 5.21 shows that there is a total of 35 Cohort C PPs who estimated that they have at least 3-Middle level of speaking Bru and have children. In particular, Table 5.20 shows that, among them, 25 PPs (4+7+14) answered that they

use Bru, at lowest, as frequently as other languages with their children. This number is equivalent to 71.4% of the total target persons (35 PPs). In other words, even among a generation who vigorously use Bru, there are one third of parents who do not actively pass on Bru to their children despite the fact that they are fluent in Bru.

Table 5.20. The Crosstabulation of LP (Speaking Bru) and LC04a (Cohort C)

LP Speaking Bru	LC04a-PP-Home-Children (Bru)					Total
	1-Do not use at all	2-Use but less frequently	3-Use as frequently as other languages	4-Use more frequently	5-Use only this language	
3-Middle	3	1	2	1	3	10
4-Good	1	1	0	0	1	3
5-Excellent	1	3	2	6	10	22
Total	5	5	4	7	14	35

Table 5.21 shows that 21 PPs (3+3+15) perceived that their children use Bru at least as frequently as other languages, with the PPs. This number is equivalent to 60.0% of the total target persons (35 PPs). This means that though more about 70% of Cohort C parents have high enough Bru fluency pass on Bru to their children, only 60% of their children use Bru with them. Similar to what we saw in Cohort B, there are some families in this cohort whose children tend to respond in other languages than Bru when parents speak to them in Bru.

Table 5.21. The Crosstabulation of LP (Speaking Bru) and LC04b (Cohort C)

LP Speaking Bru	LC04b-Children-Home-PP (Bru)					Total
	1-Do not use at all	2-Use but less frequently	3-Use as frequently as other languages	4-Use more frequently	5-Use only this language	
3-Middle	4	1	2	0	3	10
4-Good	2	0	0	0	1	3
5-Excellent	1	6	1	3	11	22
Total	7	7	3	3	15	35

The results above are summarized in Figure 5.33. For Cohort C, 71.4% of parents with Bru fluency use Bru as frequently as or more frequently than other

languages when they talk with their children, and 60.0% of their children also mainly respond in Bru. In other words, 84.0% ($=60.0\%/71.4\%$) of the children in families where parents frequently use Bru to their children also respond in Bru. In Cohort B, 54.8% of parents with Bru fluency report that they use Bru as frequently as or more frequently than other languages when they talk with their children. The ratio of parents who actively practice ILT is, thus, 23.2% lower from Cohorts C to B (i.e. $100\% - 54.8\% / 71.4\% = 23.2\%$). What is more only 32.3% of their children also mainly respond in Bru. This means that 58.9% ($=32.3\%/54.8\%$), of the children in families where parents frequently use Bru to their children also respond in Bru. The ratio of children who actively inherit Bru is, thus, reduced by 43.2% from Cohorts C to B ($100\% - 32.3\% / 60.0\% = 43.2\%$). The results suggest that: (1) some parents do not pass on Bru to their children though they have high enough Bru speaking proficiency; (2) some children do not speak Bru though their parents report using Bru with them; (3) fewer children use Bru with their parents in the younger cohort, Cohort B, than in the older cohort, Cohort C. From these results, it can be easily predicted that the rate of successful ILT from Cohort A, when they become parents, to their children will be even lower than that of Cohort B.

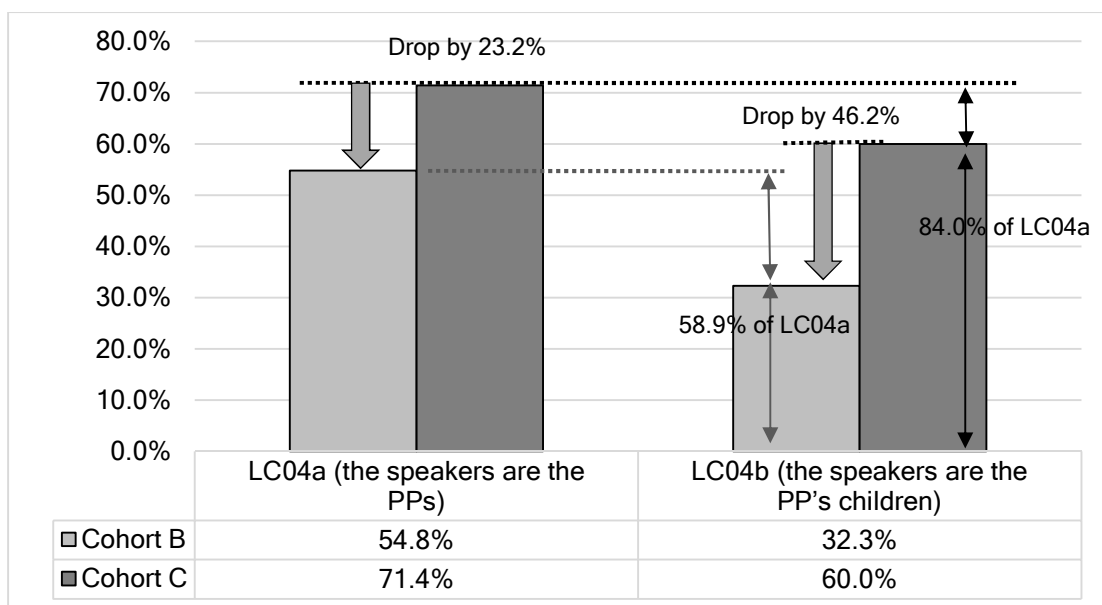


Figure 5.33 The Rate of Choosing Bru as a Main Language in Home Domains.

5.6 Summary of the Quantitative Results

In this section, I aim to integrate the results for LP, LC, and LA obtained from the quantitative data collection during the fieldwork.

The results showed that PPs report language proficiency in all three languages, report using Bru and Lao as their daily languages, and have positive attitudes towards all three languages. The results show a number of age and gender differences. In particular, the differences were more obvious when the results were divided by age (without gender) than when they were divided by gender (without age). This is partly because the gender differences of one cohort were offset by those of the other cohorts. Therefore, I firstly focus on the influences by age, then focus on the influences on gender per Cohort.

5.6.1 Language Proficiency, Language Choice, and Language Attitude by Age

Regardless of the viewpoint: LP, LC, or LA, there are shifts from the indigenous/minority language to a majority language along the age/cohorts. Lao can be interpreted as an indigenous/minority and a majority language depending on the language it is compared to: a majority language vis-à-vis Bru, but a minority language vis-à-vis Thai.

In term of LP, the younger PPs report better Thai proficiency but lower Bru proficiency compared to the older PPs. Therefore, the language repertoire of a typical PP has changed from Lao and Bru (older PPs) to Thai and Lao (younger PPs) with age. Particularly, the rapid deterioration of Bru proficiency is most apparent between Cohort B and C; in other words, Bru was well acquired until the generation of Cohort B (the youngest being 30 years old). In contrast to Bru, Lao is spoken by all PPs in all the cohorts.

In terms of LC, the PPs in WB are undergoing a LS from Bru to Lao. Despite the Cohort A's high proficiency in Thai, there are no signs that there is a LS from Lao to Thai. The use of Thai is still limited to the more formal domains. The results of from the LP and LC survey illustrate how the status of Lao is overwhelmingly strong and stable in all spheres of WB people's lives. To summarize, Thai is being acquired more and more by the younger generations, but Thai is not yet used as frequently.

What is more, the LC of the PPs with Bru speaking fluency in the home domains revealed that not all of them pass Bru on to their children despite their high Bru fluency, and not all of children acquire Bru even though parents speak Bru to their children. Such tendencies are more prominent in the younger cohorts (Cohort B vis-à-vis Cohort C).

In terms of LA, the correlation between the results and age are less obvious than that of LP and LC. For example, for Bru, the younger PPs are less positive than the older PPs. This trend could correspond to the LC pattern: the younger PPs, particularly Cohort A, report using Bru much less frequently; they are also less positive about Bru. However, Cohort A also displayed rather positive attitudes towards Bru. The attitudes towards Bru have not decreased as much as the use of Bru has among Cohort A yet. For Thai, on the other hand, the younger PPs hold more positive attitudes than the older PPs, especially when the PPs were asked if they want to teach and pass on Thai to their offspring (LA10). However, this trend does not correspond to the LC pattern as the younger PPs, even Cohort A, rarely use Thai in their daily lives. Therefore, this points to another disparity between the LC and the LA regarding Thai for Cohort A. The transition of the LA for Thai has progressed to be more positive now, while LS to Thai has not overtly progressed yet.

One observation that can be made from this disparity between the low use of Bru and the positive attitudes towards it is that in WB, language shift seems to have preceded the transition from positive to negative language attitudes regarding the minority language (Bru). It may be that the young people in WB today (Cohort A) are indifferent to Bru rather than having real negative attitudes toward it.

There would be several possible reasons for this phenomenon. From the results of the LC, we can see that Lao still maintains the most domains where it is exclusively reported as used. However, Thai is the undisputed national language of Thailand, and the PPs all recognize this when they need to choose a code for the more formal domains. This, therefore, points to a bi/multilingualism with diglossia between Lao and Thai, but bilingualism without diglossia for Bru vis-à-vis Thai; and a more complex relationship between Bru and Lao. I will discuss about diglossia in WB in Section 7.2.6.

5.6.2 Language Attitudes and Language Shift

Grenoble and Whaley (1998) stated that ‘the subjective attitudes of a speech community towards its own and other languages are paramount for predicting language shift’ (p.24). In WB’s case the attitudes of the Bru people towards their own language play a very important part in whether it is being maintained or not. In WB, the ‘other languages’ mentioned by Grenoble and Whaley are Thai and Lao. It is well documented that positive attitudes towards your own language makes it more resilient

to shift; and that negative attitudes towards your own language are a factor leading to LS (Bradley 2002; Grenoble & Whaley 1998). From the other perspective, it can be seen that positive attitudes towards another language, especially a majority or regional language, also leads to LS. It is in this context that the attitudes of the PPs will be discussed in this section.

The PPs' attitudes to Lao are generally very positive regardless of the cohort, even the older cohorts who are more fluent in Bru. The LC results also show that Lao is very prevalent across all cohorts. I can say then that the positive attitudes towards Lao (a regional language) seem to be more of a prerequisite for LS to Lao in WB than the attitudes towards Bru. This LS most seems to have begun sometime between Cohort B and C.

The attitude of the PPs towards Bru in Cohort A, unlike in Cohort B and C, is not always positive as the results show that more PPs in Cohort A are indifferent and negative to Bru, than in Cohort B and C. The results indicate a definite shift away from Bru among the younger Bru in WB. This reflects the situation where linguistic and cultural assimilation toward a majority language goes hand-in-hand with negative attitudes toward the minority language (see Schreiber & Sitaridou, 2017 for the shift to Turkish from Romeyka in Istanbul).

On the other hand, Thai is still under the process of gaining positive attitudes (fulfilling the LA prerequisite for LS) by Cohort A and, possibly, future generations. As reported above, the attitudes towards Thai do not seem as positive as those towards Lao, especially in terms of solidarity and/or better communication, for which the PPs overwhelmingly stated that Lao does much better. Only the older PPs state that Bru still fulfils these functions for them. Nevertheless, the PPs rated Thai higher than Lao in terms of its importance in education and jobs. The results for Thai mirror Oakes' (2013) results on the French (the majority language) and Creole (the minority language) bilingualism in Reunion. He found that the majority language has not been overtly seen as a symbol of identity, while the minority language has seen an increase in its status and more positive attitudes towards it. However, these favourable changes have not been due to an increase in its instrumental value so much as its symbolic value. Oakes, therefore, posits that, since Creole lacks instrumental value, people will gradually shift away from it to French.

In WB, Bru people have already started to shift to the second majority language, Lao. This is largely due to its perceived instrumental value as the regional

language of wider communication. Once Lao loses its instrumental value (to Thai), even though Thai will probably not be overtly seen as a symbol of identity, a further shift may occur from Lao to Thai.

5.6.3 Language Proficiency, Language Choice, and Language Attitudes by Gender per Cohort

The results by gender per cohort in terms of LP, LC, and LA suggest that there has been a generational reversing between the genders. In WB, three languages are used and they are relatively hierarchical as below;

- (1) Thai as a majority language vis-à-vis Lao and Bru,
- (2) Lao as a majority language vis-à-vis Bru,
- (3) Lao as a minority language vis-à-vis Thai, and
- (4) Bru as a minority language vis-à-vis Lao and Thai.

The results suggest that there exist certain gender differences across the three languages, but to what specific language(s) varies depending on the generation.

Cohort A females report better proficiency, higher rate of choice and more positive attitudes regarding the majority language (Thai), while Cohort A males report better proficiency, higher rate of choice and more positive attitudes regarding the majority/minority language (Lao). The females report being more fluent in reading Thai than the males, whilst the females and the males report the same level of speaking and listening skills for Bru and Lao. The females report using Thai more frequently, even more than Lao (LC11), than the males (LC09, LC22, LC17, and LC13). The males report using Lao more frequently than Thai compared to the females (LC11, LC17, LC13); even though the reported use of Thai is low among both genders. There are no domains where the males and the females have different frequency of the use Bru. When looking at the LA data, the correlation between gender and the trends detailed above is not as obvious as LP and LC. Though Cohort A males are less positive than the females regarding Bru, it is only in question LA06 that the means for Bru are significantly different according to gender. Therefore, with this result, it cannot be conclusively said that Cohort A males are less positive than the females toward Bru.

To summarize the characteristics of Cohort A, the gender differences are overt between Thai as a majority language and Lao as a minority language with respect to LP and LC, while the gender differences are covert for Bru and with respect to LA.

By contrast, Cohort C exemplifies the complex (dual) role of Lao in the community. The females are more favourable towards the minority languages Bru and Lao (in this case being more of a minority language) vis-à-vis the Cohort C males. What this means is that in Cohort C, the females are better at Bru than the males, whereas the males are better at Thai than the females. The males, in turn, are more favourable towards Lao as a majority language, and the majority language, Thai. This means that in the domains where both Bru and Lao are used (LC08, LC07, LC15, and LC28), the females report using Bru more frequently than the males, whereas the males report using Lao more frequently. In the domains where Lao and Thai are reported being used (LC24, LC17, LC16, and LC31), the males report using Thai more frequently than the females. Especially for LC24 (when the interlocutor is a government officer, see Figure 5.22), the formality of the interactions means that Thai should be the default language. However, the females use more Lao than the males, who use more Thai. Furthermore, the males have more positive attitudes than the females towards Thai (LA10, LA12, LA01, LA16, LA08, and LA07). In contrast, there are no significant differences between the males and the females regarding Bru and Lao, except for LA05 where the females reported being more positive towards Bru than the males.

To summarize the characteristics of Cohort C, the males report being more proficient in Thai, they report using Lao more frequently than Bru, they report using Thai more frequently than Lao, and are more positive to Thai than the females. While the females report being better at Bru, are more positive towards Bru, and report using Bru more frequently than the males.

The results of Cohort B show that Cohort B's characteristics are somewhat in the middle of the other two cohorts. The males report being more fluent in speaking, reading, and writing Thai than the females. Both have the same level of fluency in speaking and listening in Bru and Lao. The gender differences for LC are covert in Cohort B as there are no statistically significant differences between the males and the females for 32 out of the 33 questions. The one domain where gender differences are significant is LC09, when participants are interacting with relatives. Cohort B females have more positive attitudes towards Bru than the males in the questions LA15, LA10, and LA16. Nevertheless, the males have more positive attitudes towards Thai than the females, similar to the situation in Cohort C when answering LA17 (in the religious context -speakers of this language are more appreciated than non-speakers). By

contrast, the males are more amenable to Lao being used within the family (LA13) than the females.

To summarize the characteristics of Cohort B, the males are better at Thai than the females, and are more positive towards Lao than the females. The females have more positive attitudes towards Bru. However, there only minor gender differences in terms of LC.

The correlations between gender and language attitudes of all the three cohorts detailed above suggest that the older WB females are more attached to their indigenous/minority languages (Bru and Lao) than the males. However, women in the subsequent cohorts have gradually shifted to using Lao more and more and, especially the younger females, the majority language, Thai. Furthermore, the younger a PP is, the less prominent the correlation between the females' attitudes and the minority language, Bru, and Lao are. While the older WB males are very positive towards the majority language, Thai, and also Lao, they also show that they still are fluent in and do report using their indigenous/minority language, Bru. However, they also have gradually shifted to using the regional language, Lao, more and more. Cohort B males are more frequent reported users of Thai than the females. Moreover, the younger a PP is (Cohort A), the less prominent the correlations are between the males' attitudes and the minority language, Bru, and the majority language, Thai. This shows a clear preference for using Lao. Whereas Cohort A females are slightly more frequent reported users of Thai than the males. Cohort C males are more frequent reported users of Lao and Thai than the females, who are more frequent reported users of Bru. Cohort A males are more frequent users of Lao than the females who also report using Lao, but report using more Thai than the males. By contrast. Cohort C males have more positive attitudes towards Thai than the females, and Cohort B females are slightly more positive toward Bru than the males; the correlation between language attitudes and gender seen in Cohort A is less apparent amongst Cohort B and C.

Chapter 6 Results of Participant Observation and In-depth Interviews

In this chapter, I report the results that were obtained through the qualitative data collection approaches (Section 4.4.1): 1) observation, 2) in-depth interviews, 3) daily and occasional conversations, and 4) further comments and/or conversations.

6.1 Approaches

As explained in Section 4.4, one of the approaches adopted for the qualitative data collection was participant observation. I spent a total of 3.5 months in WB during my first visit to conduct the pilot study in July 2014 and then the fieldwork phase II (FW2) in July 2016. During both visits, I occasionally joined local (Bru, Lao and/or Thai) traditional events such as Buddhist Lent, a ceremony where a local man became a monk, events held at the end of the Buddhist Lent, a long boat race, the Songkran festival, and daily Buddhist charitable events. In addition, during my fieldwork, the WB community supported and allowed a local university, Ubon Ratchathani University (UBU), to arrange a task-based camp for its undergraduate students. The students visited two Bru villages in Ubon Ratchathani (WB and Tha Long (TL)). During their visit, the students interviewed community members regarding the Bru language, customs, traditions, and culture, and summarized their learning outcomes at the end of the camp. I was invited to give a lecture to the students about the Bru prior to their visit, and then, I joined the students in their camp in WB. I had numerous dialogues with UBU's Lao Isan scholars and students regarding their thoughts and views on the Bru language and culture. Using this approach I was able to collect a substantial amount of information. Besides daily observations, any findings, even though they are not directly related to the Bru language, from all the events I participated in were noted down, and many of them will be discussed in this chapter.

One other approach I adopted for the qualitative data collection was in-depth interviews. These were in fact un/semi-structured interviews (in-depth interviews in a narrow sense). These unstructured interviews were one of the main tools of the qualitative data collection approaches of this study. I was the sole interviewer unlike the questionnaires, which were also administered by research assistants. The interviewees (or informants: INFs) were aware that they were being interviewed from the start of each interview. They were asked to answer a number of questions; however, since the interviews were un/semi-structured, the questions that were asked were broader than specified questions. They freely gave me narratives based on the

given topics, and the combination and order of questions varied depending on individuals and the contexts of the conversations. The venues of interviews were generally at their home or working place; anywhere that was convenient for the INFs and they could feel comfortable. These places included spaces in front of their house or beneath the raised-floor architecture, or their gardens. I aimed to have the data reflect thoughts and memories of both male and females, and various age groups. I thus conducted the interviews so that the number of INFs by gender and by age would be approximately even (Table QL001). Some INFs answered the questionnaire, yet answering the questionnaire was not a necessary condition of being interviewed. Some INFs, thus, did not answer the questionnaire. To better understand the peripheral environments where Bru people live, study and work, I also interviewed teachers of the primary school in WB and the secondary school in Khong Chiam town. More specifically, I interviewed the teachers who have taught for the longest period amongst all teachers at the two schools. I will discuss the results of the interviews with teachers later in this chapter.

The third approach I adopted was to have daily and occasional conversations with members of the community. These are different from the in-depth interviews in terms of the formality and length. INFs were not told they were being interviewed; however, they were told and were aware that I would take notes during our conversations and that I would include their narratives in this study. Whereas INFs of (1) were prepared to spare their time for the interview, the length of each conversation in this approach was subject to the exigencies of each situation. For example, one conversation might be very short because it was interrupted by others, while others were quite lengthy as the conversation took place in a car or the back of a lorry on the way to the market. Nevertheless, the imports of the stories are as useful as those from the more formally conducted interviews.

The last approach was to analyse the extra comments and/or conversations that participants of the questionnaire gave me or the research assistants while we were administering the questionnaire. While the research assistants or I were administering the questionnaire, PPs occasionally made comments regarding questions in the questionnaire. We took notes of such comments in as much detail as possible. When such dialogues happened between the PPs and us, we let them talk freely so that a number of PPs provided detailed background not only about language attitude and language choice, but also peripheral information. I have included this information as a

part of the qualitative data collection because it is more than just figures and need to be explained in a narrative format.

There were a total of 34 WB INFs who provided qualitative information. There were also 2 primary school and 2 secondary school teachers.

Because of the large number of INFs, I have used a code to refer to individual INFs. The INFs who are WB community members are expressed by *Cohort-Gender-Age*: for instance, *CF70*, thus, represents Cohort C, female and her age is 70 years old at the time of the interview. When there are 2 INFs whose gender and age are the same, they are distinguished one another with *a* and *b* followed by age, for example, *CF80a* and *CF80b*. Teachers are expressed by *School level* followed by *age*. So that *Pr47* represents a primary school teacher and she is 47 years old, whereas *Se59* represents a 59-year old secondary school teacher. When I refer to an INF who gave extra comments during the questionnaire, I coded them as PP-BM001, an abbreviation of ‘participant’ followed by Cohort, gender and PP number. When data was collected through narratives or other qualitative data collection methods, the INF are coded without the ‘PP-.’

6.2 Reported Data by Topics

Though I obtained a substantial amount of information in terms of various viewpoints, I will focus on the factors that could have influenced WB people’s language attitude and language use. Two topics came out as the most important and prominent ones in this data collection phase: a causal relationship (1) between the discrimination suffered by Bru people in the past at the hands of the majority Lao people, their language attitudes and the observed language shift; and (2) between the exogamy of Bru people with Lao (both Lao Isan and Lao people in Laos), their language choice and the observed language shift in the community.

WB people attribute the LS among youths to these factors according to Phuengpa (n.d.) (Section 3.7.2), and such views were also made by community members during my pilot study. Phuengpa (n.d.) further attributes LS to a social change: many younger community members nowadays work away from home, and need to use Central Thai in the urban areas in which they live and work. They also raise their children there and their children cannot speak Bru. Even if they return to WB, they no longer feel it is necessary for them or their children to speak Bru. With this background information, in this chapter I will, focus on the socio-cultural, socio-

economic, and socio-political changes that have affected WB and how the WB people of different ages remember and view these transitions. I will also analyze the situation at school in relation to language choice and attitudes based on the interviews with the INFs, including both primary and secondary teachers. The structure of the analysis in this chapter is as follows.

Two factors contributing to language shift in WB

6.2.1 Discrimination, language attitude, and language shift

6.2.2 Exogamy, language choice, and language shift

Social Changes

6.2.3 Religion and Customs

6.2.4 Relationship with neighbouring villages

6.2.5 Livelihoods

Language Choice at School

6.2.6 Language Choice at School

6.2.1 Discrimination, Language Attitude, and Language Shift

During the pilot study, a significant number of villagers explained that LS among the Bru in WB is a consequence of the discrimination they suffered at the hand of the majority people, the Lao⁴¹. However, details of how and why they were discriminated against are unclear, and how the discrimination has led to LS among the WB people.

In this section, I begin with the extra comments made on a question in the questionnaire as a starting point, and will discuss the consequences, the state, and the reasons (mechanism) of the discrimination, Lao people's perceptions of Bru, counter examples of the causal relation between the discrimination and LS in WB, and the young INFs' perceptions of the discrimination and attitudes. Following that, I will report the INFs' language attitudes towards the majority languages, and compare them with those towards Bru.

6.2.1.1 The Consequences of the Discrimination

While the research assistants and I were administering the questionnaire, many PPs asked the meaning of the question LA12 'I'm embarrassed (๑๗๘ /ʔaay/) when speaking this language' as they wanted to confirm whether we were being asked about their

⁴¹ The term covers both Lao Isan and Lao in Laos unless specified, thus it could be interpreted as they were/are discriminated by Lao on both sides, or either of them.

feelings at present or in the past. They needed to check this because, according to them, their answer would differ depending on the time: they were embarrassed of speaking Bru (and/or other languages) in the past, but not at present⁴². Such queries on this particular question happened regardless of the PPs' age; however, they were mainly from Cohort B and C. Below are some extracts from the notes.

I was embarrassed (of speaking Bru) in the past. [PP-CM050 (87 years old)]

I was embarrassed (about speaking Bru) in the past, but I feel ordinary at present. (In the past, we) needed to conceal (our ethnicity from others). I did not want to speak Bru because people looked down (on Bru people) and thus I was embarrassed of Bru. Once I went out of the village, I immediately stopped to speak Bru in former times. [PP-BM054 (52 years old)]

In the past, I was embarrassed of speaking Bru, while I am not at present. [PP-BM024 (49 years old)]

I was embarrassed of speaking Bru because (Brus) are a minority. [PP-BM053 (41 years old)]

When I went to school, I was teased (because of the Bru ethnicity) by classmates, so that I had an inferiority complex. It was when I was a grade 7 to 8 student. [PP-AF037 (28 years old)]

The answer shows that the Bru's status as a minority resulted in the negative attitudes to (speaking) Bru reflected in the quantitative survey and reported as Type III questions (low mean values for Bru) in Section 5.4.

6.2.1.2 The Contents of the Discrimination

One typical example of the discrimination is the exonym *khaa* (*kha*) which is a term for Austroasiatic groups used by Lao people. The term is generally interpreted as *khaa*

⁴² In this case, we recorded current attitudes as the answer for the questionnaire, and then noted their further comments about their past negative feelings against speaking the languages in question.

thaat ‘slave.’ Chamberlain (1996) questioned this broadly-believed meaning and suggested that it was a myth, proposing that the etymology of *kha* is derived from an ancient ethnonym for Austroasiatic people. Whatever the etymology, the term has negative connotations and depicts the Bru and other Austroasiatic people as a group of lower status compared to Lao people (Ovesen, 2004).

The term is certainly relevant in the case of the Bru in WB. CM58a explained that WB people were called *Kha* wherever they went and were afraid of being discriminated against. CF80a and BM48 explained how Lao people looked down on them by referring to them with the typical phrase ‘*Kha has come*’ directed at them by Lao people. CF80a further gave this narrative:

[When I was young,] WB people visited Khong Chiam town (KC) for barter, and I saw Lao Isan people shouting ‘Kha has come, Kha has come!’ I got angry with being called Kha. WB people called themselves Bru at that time. Lao people still call us Kha even nowadays.

6.2.1.3 The Reasons of the Discrimination

AF28a is a Lao speaker despite the fact that her parents are both ethnic Bru. While I was asking for the reason why she does not speak Bru, her father (equivalent to Cohort C) interjected and supplied the reason for it. First of all, he stated that her mother, his wife, is from an ethnic Bru village on the Laos side of the border, and she speaks only Lao as her village had shifted to Lao much earlier. He continued by stating that since a mother generally spends a longer time with the children than a father; he had, thus, accommodated to the mother’s language repertoire and also spoke Lao to his daughter. The apparent inconsistency here is that, even if the INF’s mother only spoke to her in Lao, her father should have been able to speak to her in Bru if he wanted to pass on Bru to her. The fact that he did not, and preferred to speak to his daughter in Lao, he associated to the discrimination towards Bru people as follows;

Bru people spent their lives like ‘a beggar’. They spent their lives as if they were hunters and gatherers as they did not have their own paddies and fields, whereas Lao people did have therefore, the surrounding communities looked down on them, but they had to accept that value as they relied on crops produced by the majority Lao people. They tried to look good and to improve their way of life to be as developed as Lao people. [The father of AF28a]

From their statements, the causal relationship is such that Bru people perceive(d) that Lao discriminate(d) against them due to the link between the backwardness of the Bru and their lifestyle. Bru people were, thus, embarrassed of speaking Bru, and some WB people may have refrained from using Bru with their children for fear of being discriminated against.

6.2.1.4 Local Lao People's Perceptions of Bru

During the fieldwork, I did not encounter Lao people who straightforwardly abused Bru whether they lived in KC or WB⁴³. Nonetheless, I noted down several narratives made by local Lao people, and they somewhat clarify how WB Bru people were seen from majority people's point of view.

The first narrative was told by the owner of the accommodation in KC where I stayed before entering WB for the fieldwork phase I (FW1). She was an ethnic Lao woman in her late fifties or early sixties, and was in fact, an older and close friend of my host mother in WB (CF57). CF57 had worked away from home in KC and a neighbouring district, the Sirinthorn district, when she was a teenager. They have known to each other since then, but I did not know about this while staying at this accommodation. The owner proposed to drive me to WB in her car as there is no public transportation between her town and WB. She did not know that I would stay at CF57's house. On the way to WB, we had a chat and I explained that I was going to do research regarding the Bru people in WB. She then told me as follows:

Bru people were stubborn in the past. [Answering my question 'how were they stubborn?'] It was difficult to approach them in the past. For instance, outside people attempted to aid them [she used the term phatthana sangkhom 'social development']; Bru people hardly accepted advice from outsiders as they had own beliefs. [The owner of an accommodation in KC]

I thus assumed that she might have negative attitudes to Bru; however, this assumption was proven wrong when we arrived at WB. As soon as she found out who my host mother was, she was surprised and became very happy in a flash and she ran and hugged my host mother (CF57). Thai people generally use the term *phi nong*

⁴³ This is in contrast to another ethnolinguistic minority community, a Kuay village, in Surin Province where I conducted field research. In the Kuay village, even the ethnic majority people living inside the community expressed negative attitudes towards Kuay people. Some perceived that Kuay people are less developed than the majority Lao Isan people in the same area.

‘brothers and sisters or relatives’ to express their intimacy to close friends, and CF57 later explained they had been *phi nong* to each other since she were young.

The second narrative was told to me by an officer of the Department of Community Development in his fifties. When I visited the Ubon Ratchathani provincial office to gather information after the fieldwork phase II (FW2), he welcomed me and tried to provide the necessary information despite my sudden visit. He said ‘I am pleased to see a foreign researcher being interested in the Isan region, and my father was from KC though I was raised in a neighbouring district.’ When I explained that I had already stayed in WB for data collection, he volunteered his view on some of the characteristics of Bru people by referring to a historical event:

I don't know what the WB people told you, but they were very aggressive when the Pak Mun river dam was to be constructed. They were strongly against the construction...You can check with WB people how they felt about this from their point of view. [The officer of the Development of Community Development in Ubon Ratchathani]

In fact, Phuengpa (n.d.) mentions this event; in 1991, the WB people including a community leader were against the construction of the dam as they felt that their occupation, fishery, would be affected by the dam⁴⁴.

The two narratives reported above do not suggest that Lao Isan people look(ed) down on Bru people. The owner of the accommodation has even developed and maintained a close friendship with a number of WB persons (the owner has more friends in WB besides CF57). Nevertheless, it can be read from their narratives that Bru people avoided contacts with outsiders and acted based on their own strong beliefs. In fact, Phuengpa (n.d.) explained that it is in their nature for Bru people not to like contact with other ethnic groups, and they prefer not to work under someone's supervision or having deadlines as they love their freedom.

⁴⁴ BM30b, the son of my host parents, remembered that WB adults fought against the dam construction when he was a child. He looked a little excited when telling about this; however, I never heard any criticisms against the government regarding this issue from BM30b or other villagers. They seem to perceive their fights as a simple historical fact. Many fishermen claimed that their haul of fish vastly decreased compared to the past; however, none of them attributed it to the construction of the Pak Mun dam.

Furthermore, Se59 and Se30s⁴⁵, the teachers in a secondary school in Khong Chiam, praised WB students as they have good personalities, they are diligent, and fewer Bru students turn delinquent during their secondary education compared to Lao students. They even praised that the WB students speak Thai more ‘beautifully’ than Lao students.

6.2.1.5 The Reasons for Attitudinal Improvement

Some PPs gave reasons why their attitudes have made a complete volte-face as follows;

In the past, I was embarrassed (of speaking Bru) for two reasons. Isan Thais and Central Thais looked down on us because of our poverty and the low level of hygiene. However, my attitudes have changed, because foreigners have become interested in us. This change occurred when I was a Grade 4 student that was about 30 years ago [30 years before the interview]. [PP-BM015 (44 years old)]

I was embarrassed of (speaking) Bru in the past. (This is because Bru) is a tribal people. (However,) since BM48 worked with researchers on the development of orthography, I began feeling (that speaking Bru is) not something to be ashamed of. [PP-CF002 (65 years old)]

The comments by PP-BM015 do match historical records. Woen Buek Bru first became known through the work of a linguist in 1975 (L. Thongkum, 1979). At that time, a Bru native speaker was invited to Bangkok and worked in editing the Bru-Thai-English dictionary published in 1980 (L. Thongkum & Puengpa, 1980). While PP-CF002 seems to refer to works edited by BM48 (Phuengpa & Phranmen, 1994a, 1994b), and a proposed orthography by Green, Van der Haak, Miller & Miller (1994); BM-015 himself was a local collaborator for SIL linguists who worked with the Bru people in WB. BM30a and AF29 (30 and 29 years old respectively) remembered the visit of the SIL linguists. According to BM30a:

⁴⁵ Se30s is the first alumna to receive a scholarship to attend tertiary education in pedagogy with service obligation to teach in her old school, KCW, after her graduation.

American and Dutch scholars repeatedly visited WB with BM15 when I was at junior high-school [author: Grade 7-9]. They spoke Bru with the elderly people. I was ashamed because their Bru was better than mine [author: BM30a is a speaker of Lao].

In fact, more villagers than the abovementioned INFs referred to the visits by the SIL linguists in a positive way. They praised their Bru proficiency and still miss their fieldwork visits. Such narratives were in contrast to those regarding the discrimination by Lao people. The visits of WB by outside scholars, especially linguists from the West, seem to have awakened WB people in positive ways, and raised pride in their ethnolinguistic identity ‘Bru are so special that foreigners visit and study on our language and cultures’ (PP-BM015).

Furthermore, BF47b believes that the Lao people ceased their discrimination as the Bru people have improved their lives and are now as developed as they are. If she accurately comprehends the transition in the relationship between the two groups, the end of the discrimination may have also supported the rise of WB Bru people’s identity and the improvement of attitudes towards them.

6.2.1.6 Counter Examples of the Causal Relation

As I mentioned above, some WB INFs claimed that they were/are discriminated by Lao, and this led their own negative attitudes towards Bru in the past, and even influenced their LC. However, the below comments show that such a process did not happen to everyone in WB.

I am not ashamed (of speaking Bru). I speak it (in public such as) on airplane or bus. [PP-CM012/CM61]

When I was a kid, I always spoke Bru. I did not think anything in negative ways about Bru. [PP-BF011 (35 years old)]

It is worth noting that the parents of PP-AM012 (he is also INF: CM61) are both ethnic Lao. He is the first generation of Lao children born in a Lao monogamous family raised in WB. He was the only Lao pupil at the WB primary school, therefore, he acquired Bru naturally. His ethnicity, Lao, probably prevented him from acquiring

any fear of discrimination. While PP-BF011 is ethnic Bru, therefore, it can still be said that not everyone was embarrassed of speaking Bru due to their ethnicity or because they spoke a minority language.

BF47b gave another counterexample. She has never visited any place outside WB except KC in her youth. She occasionally visited there when she was 14 or 15 years old to join in the annual Buddhist festivals. When she visited KC, she frequently heard people there say ‘Kha Woen Buek has come’ and people mimicking the Bru language. She recognizes that the majority people in KC and Huay Mak Tai (another neighbouring Lao village between WB and KC, HMT) did not accept Bru people and referred to them as *Kha* or *Khom*⁴⁶. However, when she visited KC, she and other Bru people did not quarrel or fight with the majority people of the town. She did not argue because she feared Lao people, but was also nervous and a little angry. She attributed their discrimination to the economic and educational disparities between WB and these Lao communities. Interestingly, despite her bitter experience in KC, unlike AF28a (Section 6.2.1.3), she passed on the Bru language to her daughter, AF17a. AF28a is one of two fluent Bru users amongst seven WB classmates. When I visited BF47b for the interview, AF17b received me and called her mother (i.e. BF47b) in Bru *achuay thoe* ‘he (used for and older man than the speaker) has come’.

6.2.1.7 Youths’ Perceptions of the Discrimination and Attitudes

It seems that some Cohort B and C PPs experienced a change in their attitudes towards Bru. In this section I will summarize the language attitudes of Cohort A INFs before moving on to their attitudes towards majority languages.

First of all, I did not receive further comments from Cohort A PPs regarding the question LA12. This result indirectly suggests that their attitudes have not changed like those of some PPs from Cohort B and C.

Secondly, according to the results of the in-depth interviews, Lao people still distinguish themselves from WB people. For example, Lao students in the secondary school make fun of Bru students, even if this is not taken seriously by most of the INFs from Cohort A.

For example, AF24 has a passive knowledge of Bru. She reported that she understands roughly 80% of conversations in Bru. In her secondary school days, she

⁴⁶ The latter term addresses Mon-Khmer people, generally Khmer people, all at once. From my observation, the term is also often used when general Thai people, not historians, refer to the Khmer empire.

was teased as *Suay kha* by Lao classmates⁴⁷. She countered that by saying to them that ‘Kuay are also human’. She also thought that being fluent in Bru is advantageous as Bru speakers are able to communicate to each other secretly in public. She, thus, did not take such teasing seriously.

AF19 is a younger sister of AF24, and a speaker of Lao. She evaluated that she only understands half of what is said in Bru. According to her memory, Lao students at school teased Bru students by saying ‘Kha,’ and ‘(Bru students) are not understandable,’ and ‘(WB students) pronounce (Lao) differently from (other people from Lao villages).’ She seems to have taken such experiences more seriously than her elder sister. She considered some verbal abuse was simply jokes but other were serious. She said ‘I was saddened by their words.’ As an example, she narrated an incident from her youth that happened between HMT Lao and WB students. There is a pickup truck service arranged by parents/guardians between the school and WB. The truck is shared by the Tha Phae village, HMT and WB students as all villages are in the same direction from the school. One day, some HMT male student(s) abused/teased WB student(s) in the truck, and they physically fought each other. After that, a separate truck was organized for WB students from Grade 10 upwards. (However, she did not use the separate pickup truck as she did not continue her studies at the school after Grade 9.)

AF17b, a fluent speaker of Bru, was present at the scene when the HMT and WB male students fought. According to her, it was not a serious conflict; they just exchanged a few punches and no one was seriously injured. At the time of the interview, the parties involved in the fight had already graduated, and the pickup trucks had been separated since this incident, about a year before. There are now two pickup services: one for HMT and one for WB students. In addition, she says that no one dares to mimic Bru at school anymore mainly because the Lao students do not know how to speak Bru and thus even if they try to mimic Bru, they would be confuted by a true Bru speaker in Bru. Her narratives suggest that she does not care about the discrimination by Lao students.

AM24, a classmate of AF24, is a speaker of Lao with a limited proficiency in Bru. He has never studied at the secondary school, and worked in KC for 2 years. He

⁴⁷ *Suay* is generally interpreted as the exonym of Kuay and Kuy people who are distributed in neighbouring provinces of Ubon Ratchathani.

occasionally visited KC after his graduation from Grade 6, primary education, until the time he began working in KC. However, he also feels that people outside WB, including those from various villages besides KC, distinguish WB people from themselves because of the different language. He could not verbalize in detail to me, but he had an experience that made him think so. At any rate, he clearly stated that this distinction is not discriminatory for him in answer to my question ‘are such attitudes the same as the discriminatory ones in the past?’

Thirdly, as the INFs’ narratives above suggest, the distinction made by Lao people has not necessarily resulted in negative attitudes towards Bru as happened to the older generations. AM24 feels that outsiders’ attitudes towards WB people are rather neutral. AF19 feels that WB people are differentiated as ‘special’ by outsiders, and, like AM24, she feels that such attitudes from outsiders are neutral. She remembers that in her school days her classmates seemed to have been rather interested in the Bru language, rather than looking down on it. She started to learn Bru on her own after she had grown up, and now expects her child, though her husband is Lao, to acquire Bru. AF24 told me that she wants to preserve Bru, though she does not speak it. AF29 is not embarrassed of speaking Bru in public. Her employer once asked what language she was using. He was simply curious and asked, and she was not offended by his question. She replied ‘a local language,’ he thought it to be Khmer, she then told him it was *Bru*. She has used Bru even in Bangkok when she talks with her family over the phone.

Se59 and Se30s observed that Bru secondary students’ attitudes have improved over recent times. They have seen Bru students using Bru to each other at school, which is a sign that they are less embarrassed using Bru than before. Furthermore, Se59 believes that the attitudinal change happened following the change in educational policy more than a decade before the fieldwork (see Section 3.2). She said that before that, for example, the common occupation in WB, weaving *huat* ‘sticky rice steamer’, was linked with backwardness and thus Bru students were embarrassed of it. Nevertheless, with the policy change it began to be known as *phumi panya thong thin* ‘local wisdom.’ Se59 also reported that the Bru language has also been focused on in school. In school, Bru students have been asked to choose Bru words and present them to their classmates. In these activities, the (non-Bru) classmates seem to be more interested in Bru than before. Therefore, as of the interview date, she observed that Bru students are proud of the Bru language and ethnicity. However, she has noticed

that more recently Bru students have become rather neutral and less proud because this focus on their language and culture is no longer a novelty for them, and they feel it is becoming less important.

Whether the INFs from Cohort A have positive or negative attitudes to the languages in question, in fact, depends on the individuals. AF24, for example, has positive attitudes toward Bru, while AF19 is more sensitive to perceived discrimination. The contrast between these sisters follow the same patterns detailed in the qualitative results so far, in that they seem to conclude that the INFs seldom have negative attitudes towards Bru; and whether they have positive attitudes to Lao or not depends on individual experiences.

6.2.1.8 Summary of Language Attitudes towards Bru

Before moving to the next topic, language attitude towards the majority language(s), I will briefly summarize the causal relationship between the discrimination, language attitudes towards Bru, and language shift.

BM48 expressed his idea regarding the reason for LS that WB adults in general:

Young generations are not supposed to be blamed for the extinction of the inheritance of the Bru language. It is older generations who are to be blamed. They did not pass on Bru to their children. Though many people tend to claim that Lao people discriminated against them, Lao people may not have taken it as seriously as they thought. Those who really looked down on them were themselves. They saw themselves low and gave up using Bru.

BM48 claims that blaming Bru people for the language shift is too ‘heartless’ (not fair) on the ground that they have undergone hard times due to disparities between the majority groups and them. However, his words imply possible causal relationships between the people in WB, their ethnicity and their languages.

- (1) There were disparities in terms of the level of social and economic development between Bru and Lao in the past,
- (2) WB people thought that such disparities caused the discrimination against Bru by Lao people,

- (3) as a consequence; negative attitudes towards Bru increased among some WB people,
- (4) many in Cohort B and C, thus, have given up passing on Bru to their children,
- (5) however, WB people are no longer ashamed of their language,
- (6) this is because they are more confident in their social status and the originality of Bru language and culture, and
- (7) indeed, some youths have become passive speakers or lack Bru proficiency.

However, the counter examples reveal that these points are not applicable to everyone. In other words, discrimination is not the sole factor causing the language shift. If so, WB people should have returned to using Bru with their children when their attitudes changed for the better.

As far as Cohort A are concerned, the results also suggest that:

- (1) despite the fact that many young Bru in WB are better at Lao than Bru, they can easily be distinguished from Lao by the Lao people in nearby towns and villages,
- (2) simply being ethnically distinguishable may not always give rise to negative attitudes as it did among the older generations,
- (3) this does not mean all the youths feel more solidarity towards Bru than towards Lao as attitudes to language and ethnicity depend highly on individual experiences.

6.2.1.9 Language Attitudes to Majority Languages

Some PPs gave further comments on Lao and/Thai regarding question LA12; however, the reasons for their embarrassment are different from the cases outlined above. The comments below illustrate that the INFs were embarrassed of speaking Bru even though they are fluent in it, while they were/are embarrassed of speaking Lao and/or Thai because they think they are not fluent enough in these languages. These are extracts of the comments for Lao:

I feared Lao speakers when I was a child. I was afraid that I may have not been able to answer when I was spoken by them. [PP-CF060 (61 years old)]

In the past, I was not good at Lao, so that I was embarrassed. Though my Lao was accented, I tried to speak Lao as hard as I could. (Nonetheless, I might have sounded funny to native Lao speakers.) . [PP-BF015 (44 years old)]

I'm afraid of using some Lao words as I might use them in a wrong way. [PP-BM029 (40 years old)]

While, the extracts below are the reasons why they were/are embarrassed of speaking Thai;

(I was embarrassed) because I cannot speak Thai. [PP-CF060 (61 years old)]

(I was embarrassed) because I was not good at Thai.[PP-CM016 (52 years old)]

I'm embarrassed (speaking Thai) because of my accent. [PP-CM054 (52 years old)]

I'm embarrassed (speaking Thai) because I'm not an expert and fluent in Thai.[PP-CF079 (51 years old)]

I feared to make a mistake.[PP-BF024 (49 years old)]

I was also afraid of using some Thai words besides Lao words as I might use them in a wrong way.[PP-BM029 (40 years old)]

I'm still not good at speaking Thai. [PP-AM039 (12 years old)]

What I observed during the interviews and the entire fieldwork, is that none of the people in WB are monolingual in Bru or lack proficiency in Lao, except spouses from outside Isan and Laos. Therefore, from the current situation, it is hardly imaginable that they could not speak Lao well in the past. CF51 described how she could not speak Lao, and felt about Lao people in her childhood and youth:

My parents immigrated from the East, Laos at present together with others. ... My grandparents passed away when I was 7 or 8 years old. (I remember that) they could not speak Lao well.

... There were a total of 10 classmates at WB primary school. ... Thai was used between teachers and pupils while only Bru was used among classmates. There was/were Lao pupil(s), but they had to use Bru as we could not speak Lao (well). I feared strangers; I ran away when I saw them. [Author asked when she met such strangers.] There were Lao speaking Thai nationals that came to WB to buy vegetables and corn that we planted on the Mekong riverside at that time, and huat – a sticky rice steamer. While, I gradually acquired Lao. ...

A younger INF than CF51, BF47b, also described her Lao proficiency in a similar way;

I did not know Lao well in the past. My nine classmates were all ethnic Bru and used Bru with each other. Teachers used Thai or Lao with pupils at the primary school. I did not understand their Lao. I acquired Lao after I entered primary school, then my Lao was good enough when I completed Grade 4.

The narratives of CF51 further illustrated how WB persons felt about Lao;

I worked as a nanny after I graduated from Grade 4 in KC [author: Grade 4 is the last grade of the compulsory education of Thailand for her generation.]. ... (We were told that) 'Kuay Bru ['Bru people' in Bru] speak accented Lao.' Nowadays, there are no such (ideas). Bru people are rather advantaged (because of our wider linguistic repertoire). We no longer care about it. Thai people are linguistically diverse, and we are the same, Thai. Lao people did not know human values. When I was about 12 to 14 years old, I feared Lao people. I did not want to talk with them as I might speak Lao incorrectly. If it was not necessary, I did not talk with them.

She is fluent in both Bru and Lao, and seems extrovert; in fact, she worked as a volunteer staff at the sanitary station in WB. My host family and her family are

relatives through her husband, and their houses are located close to each other. My host family sometimes referred to her as an example of a Bru family having shifted to Lao. She explained the language use at her family:

I use(d) Bru with my parents, and husband, while I use Lao with my children, sometimes Bru. I wanted them to be good at Lao, speaking Lao. My husband also uses Lao with our children [author: he is also ethnic Bru and a fluent speaker of Bru.] We once agreed to use Lao with our children. ... However, nowadays, I try to reply in Bru with my youngest son even when he speaks to me in Lao. [Author: at the time of the interview, the son was in Grade 7, while her older children, all daughters, live outside WB for their work or education]

Interestingly, even now, native Lao speakers such as Se50, Se30s, UBU scholars, and Pr47, can easily distinguish Bru-accented Lao Isan from native Lao Isan. Pr47 observed that Lao Isan spoken by WB Bru speakers is different from that spoken by the WB younger generations who are Lao monolingual. Therefore, it is no wonder that WB parents have been keen for their children to acquire Lao and expect them to have native-like fluency in Lao.

The abovementioned INFs showed that negative language attitudes are also born from the lack of fluency in the majority languages (Lao and Thai) as this is embarrassing for them. This seems to have played a significant part for many WB adults to encourage their children's acquisition Lao, at the expense of Bru.

To summarize, the overall results suggest that there seem to have been two mechanisms driving LS: (1) the INFs felt that Bru is inferior to the majority ethnic group, i.e. Lao in their context, so that some WB adults had/have refrained from passing on Bru to their children, and (2) the INFs are embarrassed of their low fluency in the majority languages, so that some of them prioritized the acquisition of the majority language(s) for their children instead of Bru. However, such views have changed over the last decade or so, and the INFs report being positive towards Bru at present, although this is not apparent in their language use as reported in Chapter 5. Moreover, as I stated above, these trends seem to be different among the young, Cohort A, INFs. They are more neutral or positive towards Bru though they realize that they are distinguished by Lao people due to their different language and culture.

6.2.2 Exogamy

During the fieldwork, many villagers whom I talked to attributed language shift to exogamy. In the past exogamy with Lao people was prohibited by traditional Bru rules⁴⁸. However, exogamy has increased and has become common. Phuengpa (n.d.) state that exogamy with those from outside WB began in around 1987 (or B.E. 2530) with other social changes as follows:

In B.E. 2530, many WB youths began working away from home leaving the elderly people and children at home. This made villagers' economy and livelihood better. There has been more money circulating in WB. Prosperity has, thus, come to the village. Marriages with people from outside WB have happened [began happening].

[The use of] Bru inside WB began deteriorating because of education (in the majority language) and (negative) attitudes of people in new generation towards Bru. (Phuengpa, n.d., p.63)

In this section, I briefly examine two arguments: (1) whether exogamy really started in 1987, and (2) whether exogamy is really a reason for language shift. In particular, I examine the latter question, by looking at four case studies: (a) a number of Lao spouses that acquired Bru, (b) a child of a Lao couple that speaks Bru, (c) a Bru couple passing on Lao to their children, and (d) the reasons why children of mixed marriages are monolingual in Lao, besides their parents' mixed ethnicity.

6.2.2.1 The Emergence of Exogamy

The accounts by the INFs point out that there has been exogamy only since before about 1987, and WB people's perception regarding the actual time when exogamy became common varies depending on the individual. However, it seemed to have begun in the near past as WB people still remember the change.

CF70 is an ethnic Lao. She was born in Phonthong, the territory of Laos on the east bank of the Mekong. She moved to WB when she was 16 years old, 54 years before the fieldwork, for her marriage with a Bru husband. She said that WB was

⁴⁸ If one wanted to do so, one needed to follow the rules. For example, sacrifice a domesticated animal to ask permission from the spirits.

almost entirely a Bru ethnic community at that time⁴⁹. She is living evidence that exogamy happened before 1987.

CF80b, on the other hand, stated that, when she was small, there was no exogamy in WB like the present. BM48, a Bru intellectual in WB, recognizes that the socialist revolution in Laos in 1975 resulted in an influx of refugees from Lao into WB, and this caused the emergence of exogamy. An account from BM30b, the nephew of BM48, about another Lao lady living in WB supports this observation. The wife of CM61's older half-brother is an ethnic Lao and Lao national who evacuated from Laos and arrived in WB during the revolution. She was still a youth when she arrived at WB. Though I could not confirm her age; she looked to belong the same generation as CF57, she has sons in their thirties to forties and a 10-year old grandson. CM61, a WB-born ethnic Lao intellectual, recounts that exogamy has become more common since 1987 (i.e. 28 years before the fieldwork), i.e. his view is in agreement with Phuengpa (n.d.). Overall, the information above could be summarized as follows; exogamy was once much less common in WB, but this does not mean that there were no cases at all. However, it has become more common than before since 30 to 40 years before the fieldwork.

6.2.2.2 Exogamy as a Factor for Language Shift

(a) A Number of Lao Spouses That Acquired Bru

First of all, being Lao does not necessarily equal not speaking Bru. AF03, the Lao wife of a Bru man, reports that she can speak Bru though she feels she is not fluent. When she moved to WB, there were almost only Bru people and Bru was the language they spoke to each other. This led her to acquire Bru to some extent. However, she did use Lao with her parents in law when she moved to WB as they were able to speak Lao.

BF46 is another ethnic Lao woman who moved from Phonthong, Laos, in 1990 (when she was 20 years old) for her marriage with a WB husband. She was working at a hotel in KC when I interviewed her during FW2. As approximately ten WB people were working at this hotel as a housekeepers, servers, gardeners and front staff, I asked permission from the owner of the hotel, and administered the questionnaire and conducted the in-depth interview on site during their breaks. Some workers commute

⁴⁹ She did not say how many Lao persons were living in WB at that time, but the word "almost" implies that almost everyone in WB was Bru.

on their own motorbikes with their husbands. BF46 commutes by a pick-up truck contracted by some WB women who work in KC. On a number of occasions, I used this pick-up truck to travel to KC, and had lunch together with some hotel workers including her. BF46 speaks Bru, and often liked using and teaching it to me during our commutes on the pick-up truck and lunches. In WB, many Lao people and non-Bru speakers dare not use Bru even though they speak it to some extent, and the other people on the pick-up truck or present at lunch with us commented that they could not speak Bru. While I interacted with the group of housekeepers, they did not behave as if BF46 was a Bru speaker and pointed out that she was a Lao speaker. BF46 said ‘I did not understand Bru at all for the first 2 years, but I was able to understand it 4 to 5 years after I moved to WB.’ However, none of her family members, her husband or parents in law, have used Bru with her or her children. Moreover, villagers from WB usually spoke to her only in Lao.

BM30b pointed out an ethnic Lao female who is in her thirties to forties and is a member of the committee of Tambol (subdistrict) Administration Organization. He described her as the *only WB Lao resident who has an excellent proficiency in Bru*. CM58a, the father in law of BM30b, also mentions this person as *a Lao person who is apparently fluent in Bru*. AM58a commented about the proficiency of Bru among Lao residents as follows:

Almost all Lao residents in WB understand Bru, but they do not speak it. In the past, ethnic Lao immigrants had to accommodate to Bru people; while nowadays we accommodate to them as we know and are able to speak Lao.

These narratives suggest that, unlike the perception of many WB Bru villagers, some ethnic Lao residents in WB do know Bru, though their Bru may not be as fluent as that of native speakers. Furthermore, not every ethnic Lao resident was unwilling to learn Bru. At the same time, there did not seem to be much pressure to acquire Bru from the Bru residents. Rather it has been the Bru people in WB and the surrounding areas who have accommodated to the majority Lao community by using Lao, and the acquisition of Bru by ethnic Lao residents is now only a matter for the individuals.

(b) A Child of a Lao Endogamous Couple That Speaks Bru

As I introduced in the previous section (6.2.1), CM61 is the first generation of ethnic Lao who was born and grew up in WB. His father is Lao Isan from Det Udom,

Ubon Ratchathani, who left his village because of mistreatment he suffered at the hands of his step mother, his mother is from Laos and fled from the French colonization. Both moved to WB 10 years before CM61 was born. He used Lao exclusively with his father, and used Bru exclusively with his mother⁵⁰.

During his childhood, there were only ethnic Bru pupils at the WB primary school except him and a child of the teacher⁵¹. The teacher resided in WB and understood Bru because of his long experience of teaching in WB. When the pupils talked to the teacher, they used Thai inside the classroom and sometimes Bru outside the classroom. When the pupils talked to each other, Bru was used exclusively except for those occasions when the teacher joined in their conversation. CM61 did not understand Lao Isan well, and even thought that he was an ethnic Bru person.

His wife is a WB Bru, and both of them use Bru with their children, so that their children understand Bru. His answers in the questionnaire roughly correspond to this statement: he uses Bru and Lao evenly with his wife, and uses Lao more frequently than Bru (but he still uses Bru) with his children. One of his children, PP-AF124, now in her twenties, evaluated her Bru speaking proficiency as ‘2-Limited’ and listening as ‘3-Middle’ (i.e. she does possess some Bru proficiency).

He has a total of 6 siblings including two older half-siblings with a different father. According to him, all of them understand Bru, though they usually use Lao with each other. His youngest brother (CM53) also married a WB Bru female. CM53 also understands Bru; nonetheless, based on the observation and the results of the data obtained from CM53, it is clear that his two children, PP-AM062 and PP-AF037, both speak only Lao.

CM61’s narratives prove that even a child of a Lao couple can be a speaker of Bru if certain conditions are fulfilled. Despite the parents’ proficiency, however, only limited Bru seems to be used and passed on to their children.

(c) A Bru-Endogamous Couple Passing on Lao to Their Children

As mentioned in Section 6.2.1.3, the father of AF28a, who is an ethnic Bru, used Lao instead of Bru to accommodate to his wife (the mother of AF28a) who is

⁵⁰ The information from CM58a supports this information: CM58a recognizes that the family of CM61 is the first Lao family who settled down in WB, the mother of CM61 was fluent in Bru, and CM61 is the first generation of WB-born Lao.

⁵¹ They were in different grades: the teacher’s child was in Grade 1 when CM61 was in Grade 3 or 4. CM58a also referred to this person as his Lao classmate at primary school.

also ethnic Bru, but from a Bru village in Laos that has already shifted to Lao. So she does not speak Bru. He also stated that he spoke Lao due to the negative attitudes towards Bru. Another Bru couple, CF51 and her husband, decided to use Lao with their children aspiring for them to acquire a good proficiency of Lao. These cases clearly disprove the idea that only exogamy is a major factor in LS. They further suggest that even Bru couples have shifted away from Bru.

The 10-year-old son of BM30b and BF30, the grandson of CF57 and CM58a, is another example that shows how difficult the maintenance of Bru is at present in WB. He is one of only a few fluent speakers of Bru in his generation in WB. During the pilot study in 2014, he was in Grade 2 and stayed with his paternal grandmother, i.e. my host mother, during the day. As the pilot study coincided with the school holidays, I often observed his language behaviour at home. Bru seemed to be his first language. His Lao was not as fluent as his Bru, and his Lao and Thai seemed to be almost at the same level. During FW1 in 2015, I noticed that he was able to speak Lao more fluently, and he used Lao more frequently with me than before. He was still most fluent in Bru, Lao seemed to be his second best language, followed by Thai. His parents attributed this change to the fact that he needed to use Lao with his classmates as they did not speak Bru. When I had dinner together with him and his mother, BF30, during FW2, he asked me something in Bru, and quickly repeated the same question in Lao as he noticed that I did not understand his words. His mother did not catch the first part of our conversation, and seemed to have thought her son initiated his talk in Lao. She, thus, reproached the use of Lao by her son, and ordered him to use Bru within the family. He seemed to want to offer a counterargument that I did not understand Bru, but she did not give him a chance to explain. To my question about her scolding her son, she explained that she and her husband (BM30b) raised him to use only Bru at home, as she had also been raised in this way by her parents⁵². This event shows that his Bru proficiency was attained through the family's language policy with the parents' strong intentions to preserve Bru in the family domain. Nevertheless, despite the strict family language policy, he seems to be gradually shifting to Lao over Bru as he does not have any other domain in which he can use Bru other than the home domain.

⁵² Her father is CM58a, and he commented that he only uses Bru with his daughter.

(d) Reasons for Children of Mixed Marriages Being Monolingual in Lao Besides Their Parents' Mixed Ethnicity

In addition to the cases documented above of ethnic Lao people acquiring Bru and ethnic Bru people passing on Lao, some INFs of mixed background stopped using Bru or did not acquire Bru. Some of these cases are discussed in this section.

AM24 has a WB-born Bru father and a Lao Isan mother from Mueang, Ubon Ratchathani. He answered questions regarding the language choice with family members as follows;

the father speaks Bru to AM24

AM24 speaks Lao to his father

the paternal grandparents and AM24 converse in both Bru and Lao,

the mother and AM24 communicate in Lao, and

the maternal grandmother (the grandfather has passed away) and an aunt, and AM24 speak both Bru and Lao to each other,

In all cases, the use of Bru has decreased because using Lao Isan is easier for him.

AM24 replies to his father in Lao though his father speaks to him in Bru. He attributed this to an occurrence in his childhood when he was told [by his paternal grandparents] that ‘your Bru [accent] is not the same [as that of your grandparents] and not strong [i.e. fluent].’ He was not sad, unhappy, or disappointed about this. However he stopped using Bru as he thought that his Bru was not the same as that of native speakers.

His narrative suggests that casual words and behaviours of Bru speakers may have, without meaning to, hindered the INFs of mixed parentage from having the opportunity of acquiring Bru.

To summarize, exogamy is not the sole and implicit factor for language shift, but is an important factor in the language shift in combination with other factors such as language attitudes. Furthermore, it seems that language attitudes may be a stronger factor for LS than exogamy. Some Lao spouses or children of endogamous Lao couple have acquired Bru as they were willing or circumstances encouraged them to do so. While other endogamous Bru couples did not speak Bru because of their negative language attitudes towards it. In other words, the consequence that many children of

exogamous couples and Bru-endogamous couples have not acquired Bru suggests that most WB people have not had strong motives, have not been encouraged by family or friends, or there were no community or societal pressures for them to do so. The discriminatory hierarchical relationship between Lao and Bru confined Bru to the status of a minority language.

6.2.3 Religions and Customs

In the following sections, I briefly report the results regarding social changes: socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-political changes for the purpose of identifying further potential factors contributing to the language shift in WB. In this section, I report how WB Bru people have changed and maintained their religious and traditional practices and the role of language in these practices.

6.2.3.1 Bru accepting Buddhism and Thai-Lao customs

When I conducted the pilot study I attended an initiation ceremony for the son of BF47b in WB who became a Buddhist monk. WB seems to be an ordinary village in Thailand; however, villagers told me that they did not believe in Buddhism in the past, and instead had their own beliefs, *nap thue phii* ‘respect spirits’⁵³.

According to Phuengpa (n.d.), the legend of the origin of Bru people says that they originated in Savannakhet, Laos, and they believed in *phii ciaw* (the name of a spirit) as their ethnic spirit. However, when they immigrated southward and entered the land of the Lao people, they had to abandon *phii ciaw* as this spirit could not follow the Bru people. Phuengpa (n.d.) did not record which spirits the Bru people believed in after leaving *phii ciaw* behind, but implies that they had still maintained their original traditions and animism. Between 1897-1907 (B.E. 2440-2450), a group of Bru people crossed the Mekong River fleeing from the exploitation by the French colonial government and settled down in what is now WB. After a while, they faced an internal division: some began believing in Buddhism; while the faithful of animism believed that they were not allowed to stay with the heathen (Buddhists) so they moved out of WB and founded a new village *Hin Khrok* in a place approximately 2km from WB. There was a total of 18 households at that time⁵⁴. However, the government ordered them to return to WB.

⁵³ Thai has the term *sayyasaat* ‘animism’, but no one in WB used this term. I thus also do not adopt the Thai term for ‘animism’ to refer to their tradition of *nap thue phii*. *phii* ‘spirit’ is a Thai and Lao term.

⁵⁴ WB was officially registered as a village by the Ministry of Interior in 1927 (B.E. 2470).

The information above suggests that Buddhism entered the Bru community at least a century ago. According to the INFs' memory, by contrast, WB people seem to perceive that Buddhism was widely accepted in the community much later than this historical record.

Currently, there are two Buddhist temples in the WB territory. One is named *samnak song Silata*. It is located inside the community, and functions as one of the meeting places for villagers, whereas the other, *samnak song Sila'at*, is located on a hill in the south of the community and it is much less frequented than the other temple. In actual fact, when WB people refer to 'the temple', this usually means *samnak song Silata*.

CF80b remembered that there was no temple in WB in her childhood. Before the temple was built, monks stayed outside WB, in a cave on a hill, and wandered into the village from there. She remembers that the monks only used Thai and Lao, and did not preach to Bru people. BM44 interpreted the same history as follows: WB people did not believe in Buddhism and did not allow the monks to enter the village; therefore, the monks stayed at a temple in a cave on a hill.

CM65 remembered that there has been a very small *kuti* 'monk's dwelling' since he was a child, around 50 to 60 years before the fieldwork in WB. At the beginning, he observed there were only 2 to 3 households who believed in Buddhism. His father was one of them⁵⁵. Though there was/were a monk/monks in WB, he/they did not settle down in WB but travelled around the region. It was 55 years before the fieldwork when the first WB person became a monk. As it is generally known that Thai men are supposed to become a monk once in a lifetime, I asked him if he have done so. He replied that he has never become a monk because it was not common in his generation; while his son(s) have.

CM61 remembered that a small *thii phak song* 'a temporary residence for monks,' which is legally not regarded as *wat* 'temple,' was built in 1969 (B.E. 2512, 47 years before the fieldwork). According to CF80b's memory, the temple was built when she was 45 to 50 years old (i.e. approximately 30 years before the fieldwork)⁵⁶. This temple is the one located in inside the community, *samnak song Silata*.

⁵⁵ In general, *kuti* is regarded as a component of a temple; he may regard this *kuti* as a temple.

⁵⁶ Even at now, the temple in WB is legally not upgraded to *wat*, but is still registered as *samnak song* 'temple without royal bound Buddhist stone'. Therefore, the temple that people mention is the main hall of this *samnak song*.

There were five monks in this temple as of FW1. According to the villagers, all are ethnic Bru except for one Lao monk⁵⁷. Not only on important Buddhist events, but also in the mornings of Buddhist holy days, many villagers visit the temple bringing offerings to the monks, chant a sutra, and listen to the monks' sermon in Thai. Their narratives represent the process how Buddhism gradually entered and expanded in WB, and this process happened less than a century before the fieldwork.

The period of FW2 fell during the *Songkran* festival season that is generally regarded as the most important holiday for Thai people. Relatives who work away from home are supposed to come back and have a family gathering. Like other parts of Thailand, WB community members who work or study away from WB came back to be with their families. Kids and youths kept water in tanks at the roadside and splashed water on passers-by. Even outsiders came to WB with water tanks and splashed water from the beds of pick-up trucks. In the evening, WB villagers joined in a procession with a statue of Buddha from the temple (*samnak song Silata*) around WB. When the Buddha statue passed in front of a house, the residents of the house came out and poured water on the statue. The participants of the parade and residents would pour water on each other in a polite manner. When one pours water on another, one wishes well to the person on whom they poured the water. The festival looked more traditional and has not intensified to be the free and easy party that it has become in some other rural areas of Thailand. One reason for this may be the recent history of this festival in WB, as stated by CF57:

Songkran was not held in WB in the past. My parents prohibited me from participating in the Songkran festival when I was young as this is the festival of Lao people, but not that of Bru people.

Her narrative indicates that, even though the rites of this festival were held as if the festival has been taking place for generations, in fact, it was introduced in WB no more than a half century before the fieldwork.

The language used for this blessing depends on the individuals. In other words, Lao and Thai could be used by community members who lack Bru proficiency. The

⁵⁷ However, I was told that there is one monk who comes from Sam Rong Thap, Surin where Kuay/Kuy, a sister language of Bru, is spoken. The villagers might perceive this Kuay/Kuy monk as Bru on the ground that Kuay/Kuy is not Lao and is linguistically close to Bru.

use of Bru is not compulsory. In fact, I did not hear any Bru spoken while I participated in the festival.

In addition, WB people practice the *baay sii suu khwan* ceremony and the language used is solely Lao. The *baay sii suu khwan* ceremony is derived from Brahmanism and generally believed to be a cultural practice of Northern and Northeastern Thai (i.e. Lao Isan), and Lao people. According to the Office of the Royal Institute (2011), *khwan* is the mental power in our body. Once people are surprised or scared, the *khwan* will disappear from their bodies and this will make them act in an abnormal manner. To call the *khwan* back, the *baay sii suu khwan* ceremony is necessary. The ceremony is often arranged as a part of various other ceremonies to wish good fortune. Senior persons or people in higher positions tie a white ceremonial thread on the wrist of younger or subordinate persons believing that the thread will keep the *khwan* from disappearing from their body. The Thai dictionary by the Royal Institute (2011) defines that *baay* is a loanword from Khmer ‘rice,’ while *baay sii* is a tool for inviting or receiving *khwan* and is made of banana leaves. Usually *baay sii* has a layered structure with a column stuck in the center, and offerings are put inside and a peeled egg is placed on the top. In WB, the ceremony is held when they organize not only an important Buddhist ceremony such as initiation ceremonies for monks⁵⁸ and *thoot kathin* ‘a ceremony where robes are presented to monks at the end of Buddhist Lent’⁵⁹, but also on important community events. For example, in 2014 while I was conducting the pilot fieldwork, WB and TL hosted a short-term fieldtrip for Czech postgraduate students (of social development) and the ceremony was arranged in the farewell party for this group of foreign students. The full ceremony briefly consists of *moo khwan* ‘a priest for *baay sii suu khwan*’, *baay sii* ‘a ritual item made of banana leaves and used for calling spirits’, offerings such as *law khaaw* ‘rice whiskey’ and *khaw tom mat* ‘steamed sticky rice cake’, and cotton threads. The brief protocol of the ceremony held in WB is basically the same as ones held in Lao communities. The ceremony starts with the *moo khwan* chanting a sutra to call the spirits. This is done in Lao⁶⁰. When the ceremony reaches its climax, long cotton threads are pulled from the centre (*baay sii*) and circulated among the participants. The

⁵⁸ I observed in May 2014 during the pilot study.

⁵⁹ I observed in October 2015 during FW1.

⁶⁰ Some Thai words could be included as Thai and Lao are closely related languages, and they are Thai citizens, but it is quite sure that Bru terms are never included in the chant.

participants are supposed to touch a cotton thread or their neighbours who are touching the cotton thread. When the chant is finished, short cotton threads hung on *baay sii* are taken and tied to each other's arms. When one ties a cotton thread to another person, one wishes them something good, such as success in their study or business, health, or a long life. Like the *Songkran* festival, the language used for blessing is not strictly predetermined, and thus Bru is not prominently used. One can use either Thai, Lao, or Bru depending on the language proficiency of the interlocutor (i.e. the person who is blessed). The tied thread is regarded as a sacred and auspicious thing so that people are supposed to keep it tied for at least three days. This holy cotton threads are commonly used by WB people in their daily life even when the full ceremony is not arranged. For example, when one is going to leave home for a long period, family and other close villagers tie a cotton thread to the arm wishing them safe travels and and a safe life. WB people conventionally call tying a cotton thread *sattawiay* in Bru (the term corresponds to *phuuk khaen* 'tie an arm' in Thai and Lao).

It is not sure when this custom entered and was accepted in WB. CF80b remembers the ceremony for so long that she is not sure whether it existed since before Buddhism was accepted or not. BM48 believes that the ceremony was introduced together with Buddhism. BM44 cites this ceremony as a Bru tradition together with the rituals that I report in the next section. At any rate, having a specific Bru term and the long existence of the ceremony suggest that this convention has been widely accepted and commonly practiced among WB people.

6.2.3.2 The Maintenance of Bru Indigenous Customs

When I first visited WB, a number of villagers told me that Bru people have their own rituals. Usually, they described their rituals using Thai or Lao terms: *kot* 'rule,' *hiit* (*riit* in Thai) or *caa riit prapheonii* 'custom', or *nap thue phii* 'respect spirits' without any specific Bru terms. I list some examples and practices that I collected and observed below;

If a woman has a lover before an official marriage, she has to sacrifice a whole water buffalo to the spirits. [BM44]

(As long as a Bru woman follows the traditional rule) the Bru woman is prohibited from entering her husband's family home. So am I not allowed to

enter my husband's family home. [INF: CF57 and her husband lives in her house, not in his own family's house. Otherwise she would not be allowed to enter it.] [CF57]

If a wife breaks this rule [i.e. entering her husband's family house], she has to sacrifice a water buffalo...If a Bru woman gets married with a Lao husband, she cannot enter her own family's house. [Author: during this interview, her daughter, who is married to a Lao man, came back home to visit her but she remained outside the house because of this rule. She is allowed to come back to WB and see her family, but not allowed to enter her family's house.] [CF80a]

CF57 implied that a Bru woman is also prohibited from entering the house of her husband's relatives. I once saw her female friend passing in front of our house. The friend's family was taking her to a hospital as she has terminal cancer. Not long after that day, CF57 asked me to visit this friend in her stead, as the friend was so sick that she could no longer go outside on her own. CF57 explained that she (herself) cannot enter her friend's house as it is the house of one of her husband's relatives.

It is possible to opt-out from the Bru rituals through making offerings to the spirits, though people who withdraw from the Bru traditions and rituals are no longer allowed to enter the houses of the those still faithful to the rituals. An interesting example is the case of CM58a's younger brother. He had just opted-out from the rituals one year before the interview because, due to the first rule above, his wife had not been able to enter his home. Once he opted-out from the rituals, they were free from the Bru traditional rules and she was able to enter his home. However, this was as long as long as she did not stay for more than 4 to 5 days. They considered that the demerit caused by the resignation from the ritual (i.e. he can no longer live in his family home in WB as he did before his marriage) would be less than the merit for his wife (i.e. she can now visit and stay in his home in WB for a few days). Thus, they decided to arrange a ceremony where they made their offering to the spirits. The ceremony was conducted by a priest called *calabo*⁶¹ who followed a certain process in

⁶¹ Phuengpa (n.d.) transliterates this as *caraboo*, while a map made by the villagers uses the Thai *caalaaboo*. I will briefly discuss *calabo* later. I use the term *calabo* in this study to avoid a confusion with the Brahmanism priest *moo khwan*.

making the offering. By going through the process, the younger brother and his wife are now allowed to enter his family's house in WB. Both, however, are not allowed to live in this house in WB as they are no longer followers of the Bru rituals. They are fine with this because they do not need to live in his house in WB as they have a home in Northern Thailand.

According to CM58a, even outsiders such as Lao Isan people in the past believed in the spirits as well as the Bru. However, he observed that some Bru villagers 'opted-out from the rituals' after accepting Buddhism. The Bru believe that are two types of spirits: *phii baan* 'house/village spirits'⁶² and *phii paa* 'forest spirits.'⁶³ Some people have opted-out from the former spirits; while WB people in general still respect the latter spirits. Furthermore, there are two groups of the faithful: those who arrange ceremonies three times a year and those who only do so twice a year. The ceremonies are held on the occasion of (1) harvesting the rice and offering new rice to thank the spirits for the good harvest, (2) rice-planting, and (3) cutting of trees (CM58a called this *thaang paa* 'mowing forests'). The first group participate in all the three ceremonies, while all the Bru in WB participate in the latter two ceremonies⁶⁴. Anecdotal information from a Ubon Ratchathani University (UBU) scholar suggests that there are also different family spirits, and the rules differ for each family.

BM30b introduced me to *loh ya*⁶⁵ also called *ho chaaw baan* 'villagers' shrine' in Thai by the WB people. The shrine is located in a mountainous forest to the southeast of WB. There is no architectural structure at the shrine. According to him, WB people climb to the shrine twice a year: the Thursday before rice-planting and sometime in November after rice-harvesting. The journey to the shrine is made on foot with a sack of rice, a chicken, and a bottle of whisky. They kill, sacrifice, and eat a whole chicken on site. Besides these annual ceremonies, people sacrifice a chicken and a bottle of whisky when a family member comes back home after being away for a significant period. Only men and male outsiders who have been granted permission are allowed to enter the shrine.

⁶² In Thai and Lao, *baan* means both a village and a house depending on the context.

⁶³ Both terms are in Thai and Lao, but not Bru.

⁶⁴ From the context during the interview, the classification of two groups seems to be different from the house/village spirits vis-à-vis forest spirits. This seems to be the classification by the faithful of house/village spirits.

⁶⁵ Phuengpa (n.d.) transliterates this as *lo aa ya* in Thai.

Though the date of one of the ceremonies did not fall during FW1 or 2, CF57 took me to see the acting *calabo* to ask for permission to enter the shrine in advance. The *calabo* went to the rear of his house with leaves and candles, and chanted to spirits asking permission to let me enter the shrine. The prayer was chanted in Lao. According to CF57, there is only one *calabo* in a village; once the current *calabo* passes away, the next *calabo* will take over his duties. However, the current *calabo* is too old to hold a ceremony now, the in-coming *calabo*, whom I met later during the fieldwork, thus, already has the role of *calabo*. CF57 added ‘future generations of *calabo* have already been assigned, and even AM18 has been chosen.’ Though AM18 answered in my interview that he is able to speak Bru, and uses it to some extent with his mother (his father had passed away) and close friends, he is regarded as a Lao speaker by most fluent Bru speakers, such as CF57 and BM30b. Moreover, the prayer in the ceremony was chanted in Lao. I thus asked CF57 whether Bru is necessary or used in their rituals and is it necessary to speak Bru to be a *calabo*. She answered ‘no’: neither the use or the proficiency of Bru is a necessary condition for their rituals or the role of *calabo*.

At around the same time as my visit to the *calabo*, CF57 and I went to administer the questionnaire to BF32, a WB Bru speaker, who had just come back from Bangkok for the Songkran holidays. When the interview came to the topic of the Bru traditions, she mentioned that her mother prayed to the spirits for her safe travel from Bangkok to WB. Once she safely arrives at WB, her mother redeems a vow to the spirits through sacrificing a chicken and a bottle of whisky. Therefore, her mother was about to arrange the sacrifice at the time of the interview. The villagers make a wish to the spirits when someone is going to travel to Bangkok and/or take an exam. CF57 complemented that even the Lao Isan doctor at the WB sanitary station, who is supposed to be dispatched from the government for a certain period, also made the wish to the spirits to allow him to continue to stay in WB, and his wish came true. BF32 recognizes that most WB people still practice the Bru rituals. When she would go back to Bangkok, she thinks that her mother will make the wish to the spirits again though it is not compulsory. Both BF32 and CF57 agreed that Buddhism, Brahmanism, and the Bru rituals can coexist amongst WB people. In fact, on the day BF32 went back to Bangkok, 4 days after the interview, her relatives gathered and practiced *satta wiy*, and tied cotton threads on her arm wishing her safe travel to Bangkok.

In December 2016, UBU arranged a camp for its undergraduate students. The students split into several groups and interviewed WB and TL villagers on different topics, for example, traditional clothes, songs and music, and handicrafts. At the end of the camp, the students were supposed to give a presentation per group. They rode 2 buses separately; in the morning, half the students visited WB whereas the other half visited TL. In the afternoon, the students visited the other village. I remained in WB all day and observed the students' interviews. They found that Bru people living in KC have shared the same traditions for a long time in the past, much longer than the elderly villagers can remember⁶⁶. They also found that these Bru traditional rituals, and the rules governing the rituals, are significantly different from those of Lao people. One group, thus, focused on the traditional rules and *calabo* in their presentation. The content of their presentation was developed based on the data collected from the WB interviewees, and they observed that TL Bru do not practice the same rituals and rules as WB Bru.

To summarize, Bru indigenous rituals and rules are vigorously practiced in WB and coexist with newer religions and customs despite some changes, for instance, some people have opted out from the rituals. As the Bru language is not necessary in the practice, the religious domains may not help the language maintenance of Bru in WB.

6.2.4 Relationship with Neighbouring Communities

In this section, I focus on the transition of the relationships between WB and the neighbouring villages aiming to investigate how WB people's lifestyles have changed over time. First of all, I report the narratives related to the relationship with neighbouring villages on the Laos side of the Mekong River, and other Bru villages. Then I report the narratives on villages on the Thailand side of the border including TL. I will especially focus on the human exchanges between WB people and others outside the school domains. The development of road access from/to WB and the language use in school domains will be reported separately later.

6.2.4.1 The Relationship with Neighbouring Communities in Laos

From the elderly INFs, it became clear that the socialist revolution in Laos in 1975 impacted on and changed the ways people moved between WB and villages in Laos. I

⁶⁶ I had also got the same answer throughout my fieldwork.

broadly classified the narratives into 3 periods: before 1975, after 1975 until Thailand and Laos resumed friendly ties⁶⁷, and the present time.

(a) Before the Socialist Revolution (1975)

It was in 1961 when CF70, a Lao national resident, moved to WB because of her marriage to a WB Bru man. She met her husband when he visited her home village for a traditional festival. Her home village is in Phonthong (see Figure 6.1): a downstream district of the Mekong River from WB over the Thailand-Laos border. CM61 was 15 to 16 years old, i.e. 1970 to 1971, when he visited Lat Suea (LaS) for the first time to see a Bru traditional festival.

⁶⁷ Thailand and Laos had border disputes until the late 1980s but the first friendship bridge over the Mekong River was opened in 1994.

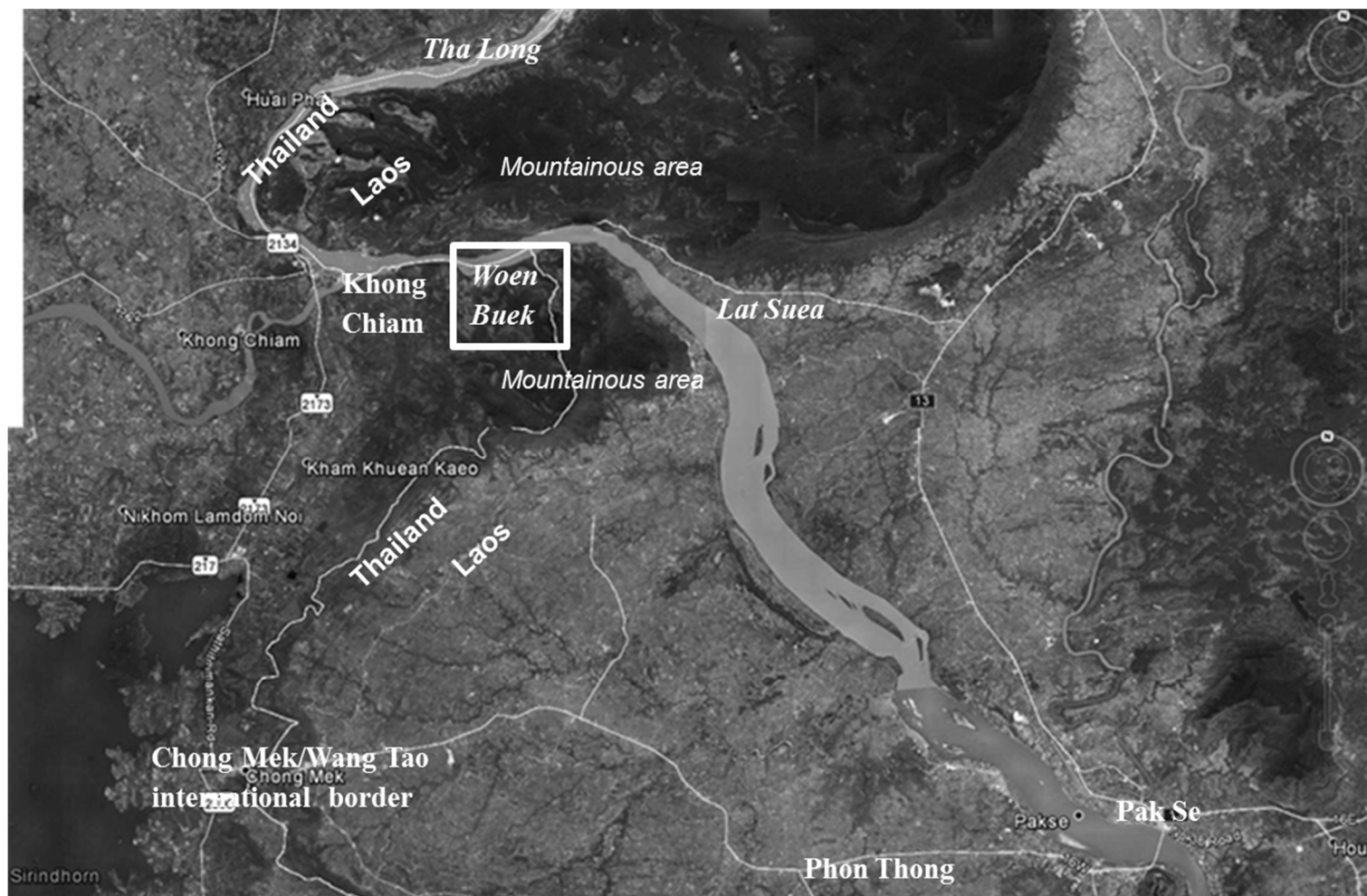


Figure 6.1. Area Map of Woen Buek Showing the Laos/Thailand Border and the Nearby Villages and Towns. Adapted from Google (2018) and the Government of the Lao PDR (n.d.) Bru villages are shown in *Italic*.

CF80a remembers that the Lao military entered Thailand and forced the WB people to leave the forest even though they were in Thailand. Based on CF80a's memory, the Lao military entered Thailand again when Laos became a socialist country. Why they entered Thailand is unclear; however, it could be possible that they unintentionally entered Thailand due to the undetermined border at that time. CM65 told how when he was a village head from 2004 to 2010, together with local Thai, he negotiated with Lao authorities on various issues, including the border confirmation.

In the past, WB engaged in bartering with villages on the Laos side including both LaS and ethnic Lao villages. CF80a's family planted corn, chilli, and eggplant, and exchanged them for rice with villagers from Woen Say, Sawang, and Nong Hay (see Figure 6.2), Lao villages on the western bank of the Mekong River. There have always been rice paddies in LaS. After CF80b graduated from Grade 4, she engaged in farming many kinds of crops: rice, corn, eggplant, chilli, and taro. She went downstream by boat, and bartered chilli for rice with Lao people on the Laos side. Lao people also visited WB to barter. The father of CM65 had an ethnic Lao friend from the Laos side. This friend travelled along the river by raft, but usually had to spend the night in WB during the dry season, and thus he got to know CM65's father. He invited CM65 to his village in Laos to barter, and CM65 exchanged rice, chilli, and salt with Lao people from Khan Nyang (see Figure 6.2), and Sawang (Savang) for rice. He, CM65, only bartered with people on the Laos side. He recalls that KC people also sought to barter their crops by boat with Lao people. He visited LaS on a daily basis as well and exchanged his produce for rice with them.

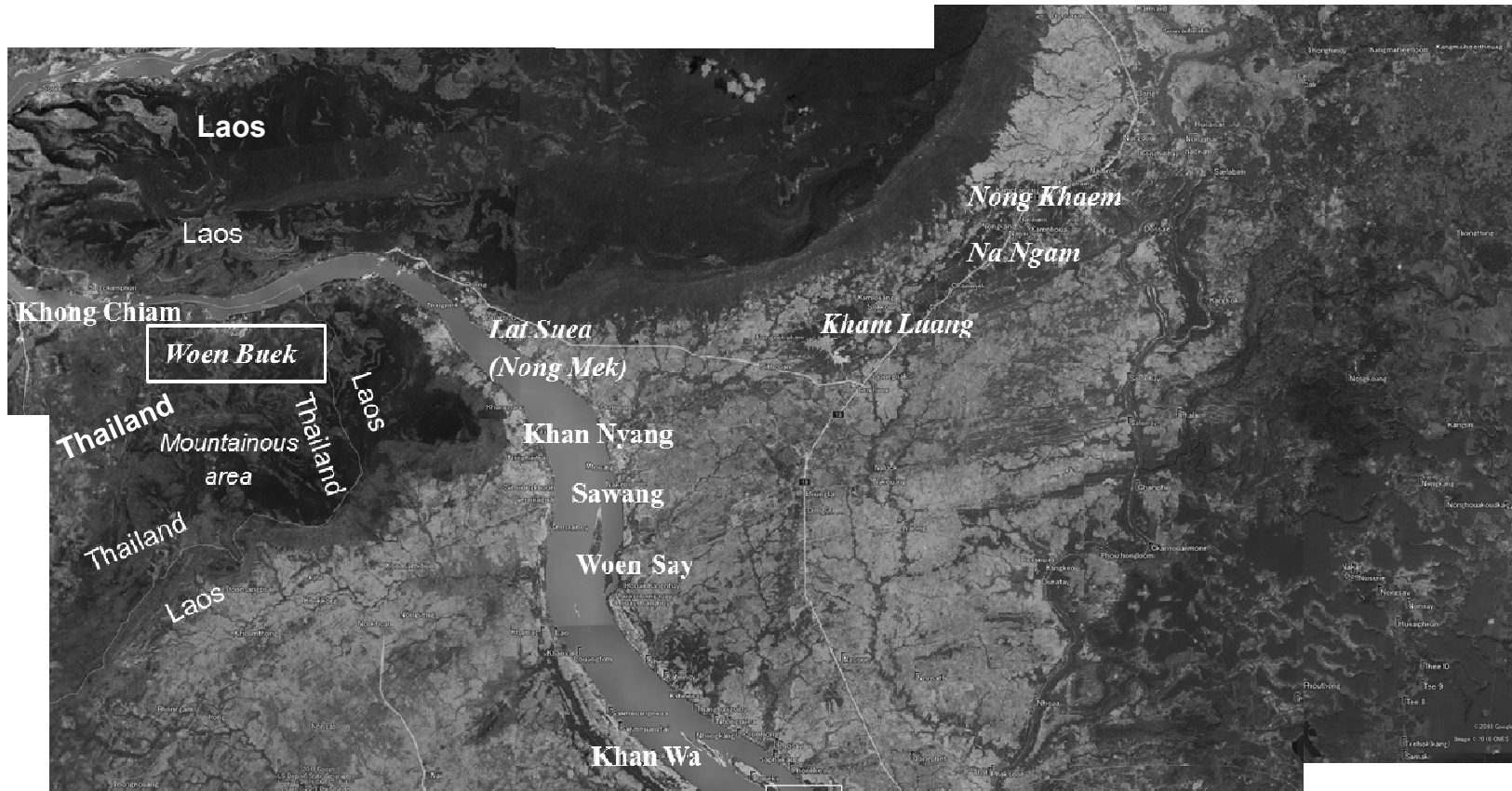


Figure 6.2. The Precise Map of Woen Buek and Neighbouring Villages on the Laos' Side of the Border.

Adapted from Google (2018) and the Government of the Lao PDR (n.d.). Despite linguistic similarity, the manners of transliteration of Lao is different from that of Thai (the former one follows a more French style than English); for example, /w-/ and some /s-/ are transliterated with <w> and <s> in Thai while <v> and <x> in Lao. The transliterated Lao names are often not consistent depending on the source. A village that is assumed to be Na Ngam (literally means *naa* 'rice paddy' and *ngaam* 'beautiful') is shown on some maps as Na Nham or Ha Ngam.

CM65 even engaged in farming in Lao villages in the Laos side for 3 years after his graduation from Grade 4, i.e. around the early 1960s. According to his experience, Lao people along the Mekong River in the Laos side did not discriminate against Bru people.

The grandparents and parents of CF51 also bartered chilli and rice with Lao people from Woen Say and Nong Hay. However, her generation no longer engaged in the barter. What is more, since the socialist revolution in 1975, WB people could no longer barter with people in Laos. This continued for around 20 years (see below).

Before 1975, it seems that the cross-border exchanges were not strictly controlled by the authorities. WB people were free to contact people on the Laos side on both banks of the Mekong River regardless of their ethnicity.

(b) After the Socialist Revolution (1975) to the Early 1990s

The socialist revolution of Laos brought about a chaotic situations in WB. When CF80a was 40 years old (in 1976), the Lao military entered WB again. There were both *Lao Khaw* (White Lao), who were royalists taking refuge from the socialist government, and *Lao Daeng* (Red Lao) who were socialists chasing White Lao. At that time, she no longer stayed inside the forest farming, but stayed at home in WB. WB villagers no longer engaged in barter because no one came, and thus they engaged in fishery or weaving. She was thus very scared of the Lao military. The Lao military wanted to search WB to seek out and arrest White Lao. In fact, there were White Lao people concealed in WB when the Lao military entered WB and she remembers that a gun was discharged on the Thailand side. She does not remember the details of the shooting. At that time, there were only 'district volunteers' in WB, and no police officers, and they were also scared of the Lao military. CF80a's brother, CF57's father in law, was shot in his knee and back by the Lao military from the Laos side while he was fishing.

CM65 narrated that WB and TL accepted refugees from Laos for 2 to 3 years from 1975. There were not only relatives of the villagers, and ethnic Bru and Lao, but also other 'tribes' that had evacuated to Thailand through WB. Due to its geographic position, WB was a convenient crossing point into Thailand. WB became a temporary evacuation shelter before the refugees were sent to Ubon Ratchathani. There were approximately 70 households in WB at that time, but WB had to let a larger number of refugees than its population in their homes. The socialist revolution hindered WB

people from contacting their relatives in LaS. CM65, who had daily contacts with LaS before the revolution, could not contact LaS for approximately 10 years.

When I interviewed CM58b, three old friends were visiting him. They were members of the Border Patrol Police (BPP). Even at now, there is a BPP post on the outskirts of WB. According to them, the BPP post was inside WB when they were dispatched to WB for the purpose of guarding WB and controlling the refugees. The BPP post was established in WB in 1975⁶⁸. They were posted there in 1985.

The chaotic situation caused by the ‘Red Lao’ extended over not only to WB but also to KC town. Pr47, an ethnic Lao teacher at WB primary school, was born and lived in KC until Grade 9. When she was in Grade 4, around 1979, she heard the terms ‘Red Lao’ and ‘White Lao,’ and ‘Thailand’ quite often. She particularly remembers the Mekong Riverine Unit (MRU) of the Royal Thai Navy, fighting with Red Lao units, and this continued even after she entered secondary school in KC. It was when she was beginning Grade 8, around 1983, that she no longer heard about evacuation drills or shooting incidents.

It is not clear when the refugees left WB; CF80a could not remember, CM58a said they stayed for 2 to 3 years, but CM58b’s friends were dispatched to other parts of Thailand 10 years after the socialist revolution. At any rate, the cross-border barter was disrupted due to the transition of the political system in Laos. BF46, a Lao national who moved from Phonthong to WB in 1991, remembers that villagers had to be very careful when they crossed the border by boat at that time (when she had just got married) as the two countries were still in conflict in the forest areas⁶⁹. The situation improved in 1994 or 1995. Since then, as long as the villagers do not openly break the law, people from the Laos side can go shopping in KC by boat, even though government officers see them crossing the border.

(c) The Present Time

After the bilateral diplomatic relationship improved, the comings and goings between WB and villages in Laos have also recovered. However, whether or not and how frequently WB people visit villages in Laos depends on each individual’s network.

⁶⁸ They also added that Bru people, both WB and TL, were not stubborn at all. Bru people obeyed their order to stay at a determined place without protesting. Their view toward Bru people is different from those of general Lao Isan people that I reported in the previous section (6.2.1).

⁶⁹ The east and the south of WB is all forest, and also the adjoining Thailand-Laos border

CM58b frequently visits LaS to buy woven handicrafts (sticky rice boxes which WB people are unable to weave) every 2 or 3 days. He visits more villages in Laos: Nong Khaem, and Na Ngam for Bru sticky rice boxes, and Khan Wa (see Figure 6.2), Khan Nyang (Khan Gngang), and Sawang (Savang) for Lao sticky rice boxes. He also visits on the occasion of festivals as his relatives and friends invite him.

BM33, the son of CM58b, is fluent in Bru and, when he was 18 to 19 years old, he visited LaS as often as 3 times per week to see his relatives and close friends. He even stayed overnight there. However, since he turned 25 years old, he has only occasionally visited there, perhaps once a year, because he began working as a temporal labourer outside WB.

BM30a, a Lao speaker with exogamous parents, visited LaS for the first time when he was 18 years old (i.e. 2004). He has crossed the Mekong River to LaS, and further travelled to his maternal relatives' village further into Laos 4 to 5 times after his graduation from Grade 9. After that, he began working in KC, and moved to Bangkok, thus he stopped visiting there. For him, the exchange with the Laos side such as LaS is a practice of his parents' generation.

AF28a once loved participating in festivals in LaS because of the *Ram Wong* dance there, a Thai-Lao folk dance. Even now, she visits her mother's home village in Laos (Kham Luang, a Bru village speaking Lao (see Figure 6.2),) once a year when she comes back from Bangkok. However, she no longer joins the festivals in LaS as there are no more *Ram Wong* dances, and, she says, there are only drunkards.

The maternal grandmother of AF24 and AF19 is from a Bru village in Laos. For them, LaS is just a stop on the way to their maternal grandmother's home village. However, they have only ever visited this village once.

AM24 visited LaS for the first time when he was 19 years old on the occasion of a festival. Since then he has visited LaS three times each year. He has also visited his spouse's Lao village in the southernmost of Laos, Mueang Khong.

AM18, an appointed *calabo*, can't remember exactly, but he believes that he has frequently visited LaS by boat. He has been going there whenever there are any festivals or activities since he was a kid. He is now a fisherman. He owns a boat and lives in WB. His objectives of the visit to LaS are similar to those of CM58b and BM33, that is, to visit friends and relatives. Furthermore, unlike BM33 or BM30a, in his job as a fisherman, he is able to cross the river in his boat and visit LaS whenever he wants.

***(d) Changes in the Relationship between WB and Neighbouring
Communities in Laos and Language Maintenance***

It seems that Cohort A INFs mainly visit LaS or other villages on the Lao side of the border where they need to visit relatives for a special occasion. They do not have any contact with ethnic Lao villages on a frequent basis. This is in contrast to the older INFs, such as CF70, CM58b and BF46. Unless they are engaged in an independent business in WB, like AM18, they find it difficult to cross the border whenever they want. Thus, the purpose of visiting Laos seems to have changed over the generations; from an essential activity of their lives, such as to barter for rice, and recreation, to special occasions and to visit their own relatives.

However, this does not mean that Cohort A INFs have lost all contacts with Lao nationals. PP-AF105, a daughter of a WB-born father, had just moved from Nong Khaem, an ethnic Bru village in Laos. Her cross-border relatives' network allowed her to obtain a job in KC. AF24 and AM24 respectively met their ethnic Lao spouses from Laos at their work place in the KC district. Labourers from surrounding areas of Laos are attracted by the more developed Thai economy and come to work in KC. In other words, WB youths still have opportunities to come into contact with Bru-speaking people from Laos, but the type of opportunities may have shifted from a more traditional occasion (e.g. festivals) to more work-related. This transition, nevertheless, is likely to increase the risk of language shift more than it being of help in language maintenance through providing an opportunity to encounter Bru people from Laos. The decreased proficiency in Bru of the younger Bru INFs and the fact that these encounters with Bru from Laos occur in work-related situations means that the language they mostly use is Lao, not Bru. Also, labourers do not come from only the neighbouring ethnic Bru villages but also Lao villages from a wider area than was the case in the past when the Bru in Thailand met other Bru from Laos during traditional festivals. The rate of exogamy has increased during this transition and, as argued earlier, the exogamy will accelerate language shift to Lao.

For the possibility of language maintenance, first of all, the INFs' comments suggest that WB people are able to provide opportunities for their children to visit Bru-speaking villages such as LaS and stimulate their motivation for acquiring and practicing Bru. However, practically, such occasions seem to hardly happen, especially for the younger Bru. BM48 explained that WB children usually do not visit

LaS on a regular basis because WB villagers usually visit LaS to drink and party (see AF28a's comments above), and you need to be older to do so and also not all Bru youth want to drink and party. The occasions when most Bru will visit LaS may be the annual traditional festivals held in LaS sometime in March to April. The 'drinking parties' and the occasional festivals are not enough to have a positive effect on the maintenance of Bru.

Secondly, the above-mentioned narratives suggest that the younger INFs have fewer opportunities of visiting the ethnic Bru or even the Lao villages in Laos than before. By contrast, Lao nationals along the Mekong River, including Bru people, still do visit WB as they see the village as an entry point into that region of Thailand. According to BM48, they pass WB to see the doctor in KC. WB is their landing point along the river and then they continue their travel to KC on land. During my stay in WB I often encountered Lao nationals in WB; some were hired by their relatives in WB to harvest rice, others were waiting for their acquaintances coming to pick them up and take them to KC town. There is an immigration gate for Thai and Lao citizens in KC; it opens only when the bi-weekly market is held. Therefore, according to BM48, local crossing of the border by Lao citizens without going through the immigration process is permitted tacitly as long as they have their own ID card; otherwise, they have to take a roundabout way on land to the nearest checkpoint. When I travelled from Ubon Ratchathani to KC on a public van, I saw a warning written in Thai and Lao, saying 'this van does not help illegal passengers enter the city.' The warning implies that there are such travellers that cross the border without undergoing the legal processes. At any rate, whatever ethnicity Lao-national visitors have, and even though Lao Isan and Lao in Laos are not the same variety, they are able to communicate with WB people in Lao. They may help the maintenance of a local network over the border, but they do not help the WB people without Bru proficiency to acquire Bru, or the Bru speakers to maintain it.

6.2.4.2 The Relationship with Neighbouring Communities in Thailand

In this section, I focus on the relationships between WB and the neighbouring villages and communities in Thailand. That is, with what communities, in what occasion, and for what purposes do the people in WB come into contact with people from outside their village but from Thailand over the generations.

There aren't many communities neighbouring WB on the Thailand side of the border. WB people are able to go downstream along the Mekong River, and barter with riverside Lao villages or land in LaS then travel further inland from there. In Thailand, they only come into contact with other communities in only one direction, to the west. There is HMT, and the Pak Mun cluster of the Tha Phae village on the way to KC from WB. The names of other communities further than KC seldom appeared in the INFs' narratives except TL, the other Bru community in Ubon Ratchathani. Therefore, the main focus of the section is the relationship with HMT, KC and TL.

In particular, the contacts with TL people are thought to be an important factor for language maintenance. The increase of the ratio of WB pupils who go on to secondary education in KC allows them to have contact with TL students, the other Bru people in Thailand. Therefore, I will report separately on the language use at school in different generations in a later section.

(a) Cohort C's Contacts in Thailand

No WB-born Cohort C INFs continued their education after Grade 4. For example, CM61's parents did not allow him to go to the secondary school in KC on the grounds that, first of all, the transport from WB to KC relied on a narrow boat without an engine and it was dangerous for kids to travel, and, secondly, they were worried that he could turn to delinquency. For WB people above 60 years old (i.e. the upper half of Cohort C), therefore, it seems that contact with outsiders only happened when they bartered for goods. While CM65 did not barter with Lao Isan people, CF80a, and the parents of CF51 did so. CF80a said 'WB people sold potatoes in KC by boat', and CF51's parents bartered not only with HMT and KC but also Wang Sabaeng, an upstream village along the Muun River located between KC and Phibun Mangsahan⁷⁰ (see Figure 6.3). It was because of the bartering that WB people (felt that they) were looked down upon by Lao Isan people as they were called out '*Kha has come*' (see 6.2.1).

⁷⁰ the west of the KC district



Figure 6.3. A Wide Area Map of Woen Buek and its Thailand Neighbours.

Adapted from Multimedia Technology (2014).

Some of the INFs in their fifties (i.e. the lower half of Cohort C) have worked outside WB. CM58b was hired by a Thai employer and engaged in fishery in the Sirinthorn dam when he graduated from Grade 4 for 8 to 9 years. He went fishing at night and stayed at the Phibun Mangsahan or Sirinthorn district⁷¹ (see Figure 6.3). After that, he came back for a physical examination for conscription at the age of 21 and remained in WB after that. When CF57 was 17 years old, she worked at the Khuennai district⁷². However, working outside WB may not have been popular yet. CM58a, by contrast, has stayed in WB all the time except the period he had to engage in military service for approximately 1 year and 6 months. Like BF47b (see 6.2.1), CM58b narrated that he witnessed discrimination by KC people against WB Brus⁷³; when they met each other at traditional festivals, they had quarrels, especially when both parties were drunk⁷⁴.

The frequency of visiting TL is less than that of visiting LaS due to the longer travel time. Because of its proximity and relative ease of reaching it, it is no wonder that they visited LaS more frequently than TL. To get to TL people had to wind their way upriver by boat and TL is also further away. The other way to get there would be to ignore the border, cross the river and go across a mountain in Laos territory (see Figure 6.4). CM65 remembers that to travel to TL by boat to visit his relatives took him a whole day. He departed in the morning and arrived in the evening. He saw there were more crops, such as watermelons, in TL than in WB. CM58b also travelled to TL to see his relatives by boat. He said he left at 7 am and arrived at 2 pm by boat. He visited 2 to 3 times a month with 3 to 4 other boats per visit. Now, he visits there only once a year despite the improvement in travel conditions. It now takes only an hour to travel from WB to TL.

⁷¹ the south of the KC district

⁷² the northwest of Ubon Ratchathani city

⁷³ Some people conventionally call KC as Ban Daan ‘a border village’ that is now used as a name of municipality in KC town. He also used this name in this narrative.

⁷⁴ However, now, he thinks WB, KC and HMT have good relationships.

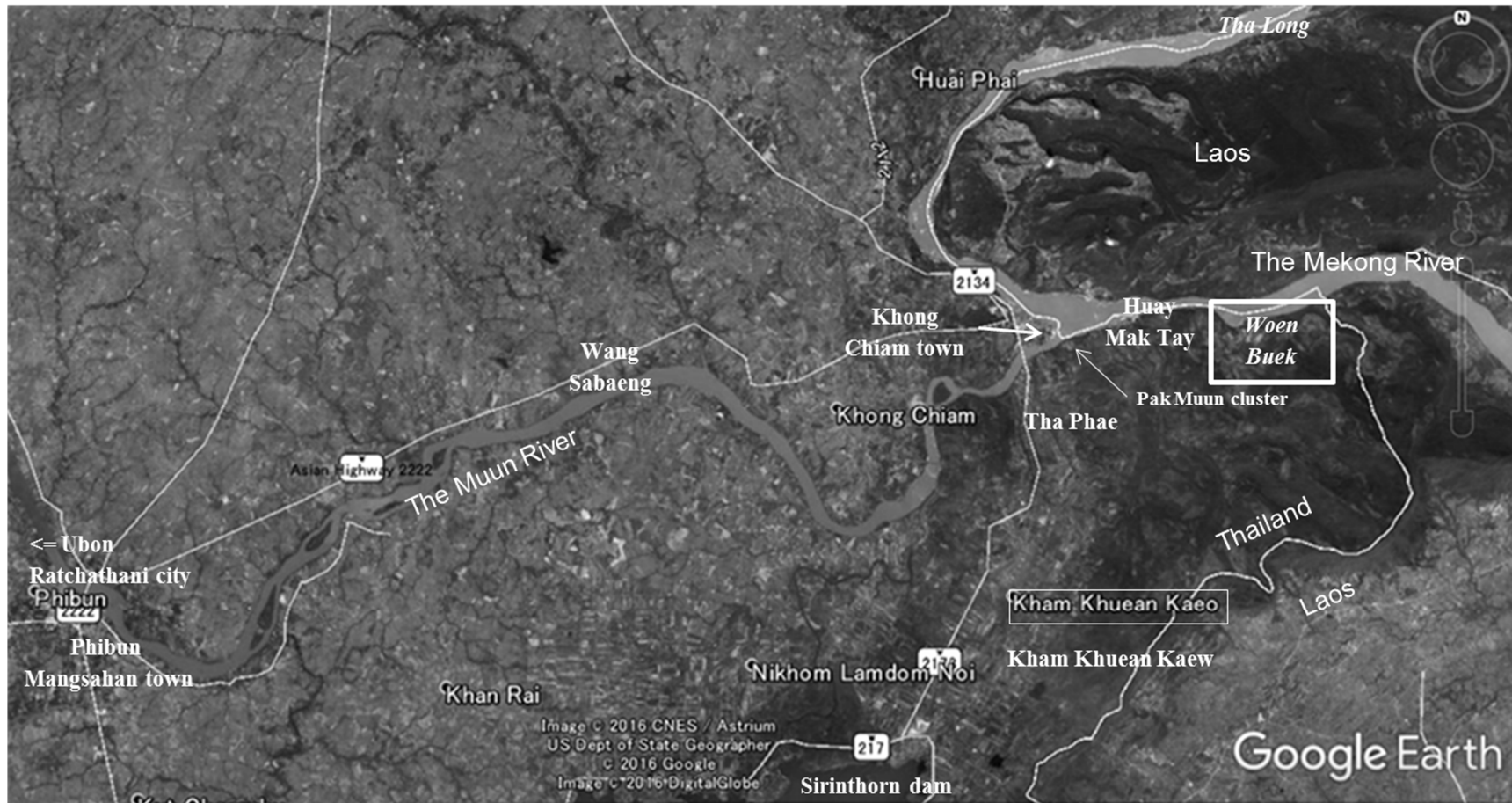


Figure 6.4. The Precise Map of Woen Buek and Neighbouring Communities in Thailand.

Adapted from Google (2018)

(b) Cohort B's Contacts in Thailand

It seems that the upper half of Cohort B, the INFs in their forties, is the last generation who bartered with Lao Isan people. BF47a accompanied her parents to barter with people in KC when she was 12 to 13 years old. She was not fluent in Lao but their parents could speak Lao well enough. The barter ended 30 years before the fieldwork, since then her family has managed to plant or purchase commodities on their own⁷⁵. BF47a's parents stopped farming when she was 11 to 12 years old (i.e. around 1980), and now barter woven *huat* 'sticky rice steamer' for rice with ethnic Lao peddlers⁷⁶. They transported *huat* to KC by boat and transferred to land transportation in order to sell them in Phibun Mangsahan.

Some of Cohort B INFs, though not everyone, have experiences of working further away from WB than the INFs from Cohort C. BM43 worked in Bangkok for 5 years from when he turned 17 years old. He registered at a governmental organization together with his Bru friends and was sent to work in factories in Bangkok. BF37 and BF32 have worked in Bangkok since they were at least 20 years old. BM30a also currently works in Bangkok, and BM33 travels all over the country due to his job as a construction worker. Because of this travel requirement, I might not have met enough people in their late forties who were working in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) or further than their own province at the time of my fieldwork; therefore, I cannot conclude that the WB people in their early forties are the very first generation who began working far away from home. However, it could be said that Cohort B has experienced a different type of contact with outsiders from that of Cohort C.

Moreover, Cohort B is the first age group that began continuing their study until secondary education. According to BF47b, BM48, her classmate in primary school, is the first person to have continued to the secondary education from WB. Pr47 is one year younger than BM48 but he entered the secondary school one year after her. He was so famous, as the first student from WB, that she heard about him in her secondary school days. BM43 and BM44, INFs in their forties, also graduated from the formal secondary education. Though there are INFs (and PPs) below their thirties who did not continue to the secondary education, such as, BF37, BM30b, AM27,

⁷⁵ At the time, 30 years before the fieldwork (i.e. 1986), the contacts with the Laos side were disrupted because of the socialist revolution.

⁷⁶ One of them is the wife of AM06's half sibling, who evacuated from Laos.

AM24, and AM18, Cohort B is the first generation who visited KC for formal education.

For contacts with TL, almost all INFs recognized that they are ‘relatives (in a sense of the same ethnicity, while some INFs do really have close relatives there)’ as long as they are ethnic Bru. However, the frequency of visiting TL is much less than their feeling of intimacy to TL would indicate. BF47b has never been to TL. BF47a had just visited TL for the first time the previous year. BM33, a frequent visitor to LaS, visited TL once the previous year on the occasion of *Songkran*; he did not go there this year. It was BM30b’s second time to visit TL when he took me to TL in October 2015. Interestingly, BF32 used to visit her classmate in TL when she was in Grade 8 to 9. Her story suggested that the secondary school in KC also functions to help WB and TL students to know to each other. However, her relationship with her TL friend did not last long as she no longer visits them now.

(c) Cohort A’s Contacts in Thailand

Cohort A’s contacts with neighboring communities have been reported as a part of the previous sections such as 6.2.1. Besides the INFs who currently work in the BMR (i.e. AF29, AF28a, AF28b), some INFs are employed or study in KC (for example, AF24, AM24, and AF19 for work, and AF17a, AF17b, and AM16 for secondary education). These INFs have Lao Isan people as colleagues or classmates in KC, HMT and surrounding areas. AM18 and AM27, because they are engaged in farming and fishery in WB respectively, don’t have acquaintances in KC, and they only visit KC for shopping. AM27 goes to a market once a week for purchasing ready-to-eat dishes. AM18 goes to a local general store where BF30 and another Bru lady work. They do not need to directly sell their crops or fish hauls in KC. AM27 bring his cassava, crops, to the wholesale market in Kham Khuen Kaew, Sirinthorn, to the southeast of WB. AM18 sells his fish to a dealer, who regularly comes to WB to purchase fish, but he does not know where the dealer is from.

When asked about their contacts with TL, Cohort A answered in similar ways to Cohort B; AF29 and AM27 have never been there, AM24 rarely visits TL and the first time he visited there was four years before the fieldwork to participate in an annual festival, and AF28a visited her classmate or for festivals when she was a student, but doesn’t go there anymore. In addition, some INFs below 30 years old were

taken to TL by adults: a monk or school. When BM30a was in Grade 9 or 10⁷⁷, his school arranged an excursion to *Pha Taem* ‘the Taem cliff’⁷⁸. They travelled to TL by boat, and then continued on their excursion. AF24 stated she went to TL on a car chartered by a WB Bru monk for a Buddhist event when she was in Grade 3 or 4. In this case it was to offer robes to Buddhist monks. AM18 does not visit TL as frequently as he does LaS, and also referred to the same monk as AF24 as the person who first took him to TL. AM16 has been to TL twice; both were arranged by the WB primary school when he was in Grade 5. It seems that the monk and the school are two entities that attempt to maintain the connection between TL and WB. However, no one visits TL on a daily basis, and some of my INFs have never visited TL.

To summarize the physical exchanges between WB and the Lao Isan communities, the purposes have changed from bartering and/or visiting traditional festival to being the work places or the site for secondary education. Some INFs, particularly Cohort A, now no longer work at neighbouring Lao Isan communities but rather in the capital city or other places outside of their region. The comings and goings between WB and other parts of Thailand have increased and extended further than before. This is in contrast to the visits to the communities in Laos, which have decreased. Regarding the contact with TL, there have been some comings and goings, but overall they have become less frequent than those with LaS, and this holds for all cohorts.

However, despite the weak exchanges with TL, even the young INFs maintain that they feel stronger intimacy towards TL than to (physically closer) Lao Isan communities because of their common ethnicity (see 6.2.1). Therefore, the density of real exchanges does not always correspond to the emotional distance between WB and neighbouring communities.

6.2.5 Livelihoods

In this section, I report the transitions of the livelihood of the people in WB with a special focus on four viewpoints: livelihoods in the forest, the opening of road(s), the arrival of electricity, and other changes. The first three viewpoints above were highlighted because, during the pilot study, WB people often mentioned them when they compared how their livelihoods have changed from the past. Many remember

⁷⁷ He is Cohort B; however, he is only 1 year older than Cohort A, I thus present his narrative here.

⁷⁸ *Pha Taem* is located further west of TL and is famous for the primitive paintings on rocks.

how they stayed in forests, did not have electricity, and did not have a road to Khong Chiam (KC) town. I thus hypothesized that there might be a correlation between when LS began and these social changes occurred in WB.

6.2.5.1 Livelihoods in Forest

At present, almost all WB people seem to live permanently and constantly in the village; some elderly INFs told me ‘we lived in the forest before’ despite the fact that WB had already been established when they were born. This raised questions on whether or not they meant that they engaged in swidden farming and did not stay in WB. Why did they not stay in the village though it had been already established? Who lived in the village instead? And even though they only completed Grade 4, how could they go to school while living in the forest? I thus clarified these points with the INFs to estimate when WB people stopped living in the forest.

Table 6.1 is the extracts of narratives related to the experience of or the observations about staying in forest.

Table 6.1. The Narratives Related to the Experiences of Staying in Forest

Years before the fieldwork	A.D.	INF	INF and narrative
81 ~ 80	1935 ~36	CF80a CF80b	[CF80a] <u>Her parents</u> had farms and fields on a mountain. Her family planted corn, chili, and eggplant then exchanged them for rice with Lao people. At that time, people didn't purchase commodities, but they made by themselves: for example, making combs out of water buffalo horns. They lived in caves with wooden sections. In the past, people stayed/lodged on their farms all the time and did not come to WB village or their houses. <u>Her family</u> , therefore, ate foods from the forest. [CF80b] <u>CF80b's parents</u> had farms (there were no places that could be farmed as rice paddies), at that time they stayed on a mountain.
70 ~ 69	1946 ~47	CF80a	[CF80a] While CF80a was <u>studying (Grade 1 to 4: approximately 75 to 70 years before the interview)</u> , she commuted from a small house in the village, not the forest, studied on weekdays and a half day on Saturday. On Sunday, her father came down to pick her up to bring her to her family's farm on a mountain. After her graduation, she farmed many kinds of crops: rice, corn, eggplant, chili, and taro etc. Her work was farming both vegetables and fruits, weaving with bushes and bamboo, and also going to a

				CF80b	mountain to collect wild vegetables and fruits. [CF80b] When she was a kid, she stayed in WB village and went to school till <u>Grade 4 (approximately 70 years before the interview)</u> .
61	~ 60	1955	~56	CM61	[CM61] <u>CM61's father</u> stayed in the village all the time (his father did not go to forest).
59	~ 58	1957	~58	CM58a	[Phuengpa (n.d.)] In 1957, the Thai government announced that communists are to be deported and ordered to live in forest. This made the Bru people give up swidden farming and settle down in the village, and then start to engage in fishery. [CF58a] <u>CM58a's parents</u> engaged in swidden farming, so that they rarely stayed in WB village. They had a house in the village, and they went into the mountain latest at the end of April, and came down to the village after they finished harvesting rice.
58	~ 57	1958	~59	CM58b	[CM58b] In the forest, people engaged in swidden farming, and produced chili, salt, corn, and wheat. <u>His parents</u> engaged in swidden farming so that they moved every three to four years. They stayed in a mountain to keep watch on their fields. They came and went between the village and the forest.
52	~ 51	1964	~65	CM58a	[CM58a] (When CM58a was still <u>a primary school pupil</u> .) his father came to pick him up from the forest on Friday evening to take him to the forest, and he came back to the village on Sunday evening. His uncle and paternal grandmother, mainly the latter person, lived in the house in the village.
51	~ 50	1965	~66	CM61	[CM61] <u>Other people's</u> parents engaged in farming fields on a mountain, <u>they</u> went to the forest from Friday to Sunday.
				CF51	[CF51] <u>CF51's parents</u> engaged in weaving and swidden farming. They moved every two to three years and stayed on their fields.
48	~ 47	1968	~69	CM58a	[CM58a] After CM58a <u>graduated from Grade 4</u> , he stayed with his parents (i.e. inside the forest/mountain) all the time.
47	~ 46	1969	~70	CM61	[CM61] CM61 recognizes that people started to settle down in the village instead of carrying out swidden farming from <u>1969</u> .
				BF47a	[BF47a] <u>BF47a's family</u> engaged in crops-farming from June to November. They stayed at a hut (in the forest/mountain) and came back to the village after they finished harvesting their crops.

42	~	41	1974	~75		Department of National Parks (31 January 2017): Thai governmental organizations started to prepare for registering the surrounding areas of WB as a national park in 1974.
41	~	40	1975	~76	CF80a	The socialist revolution occurred in Laos in 1975. [CF80a] CF80a no longer constantly stayed in the village when she was 40 years old and the Lao socialist revolution occurred. At that time, she was scared of being chased by the Lao socialists. WB people remained in the village and engaged in weaving and fishery (instead of going to barter with Lao people in Laos, as none of them could cross the border in that period).
					CF51	[CF51] CF51 went to her family's fields on Friday and came back to the village on Sunday. On weekdays, she stayed at home with her older sister <u>to attend school</u> . Besides this, she also stayed in the forest until she began working as a hired labourer. [She began working outside WB after her graduation from Grade 4 and came back to settle down in WB when she married at the age of 21.]
39	~	38	1977	~78	CM67	[CM67] It was <u>1977</u> when CM67 thinks that WB people stopped staying in their fields and started to constantly stay in the village. The reason is because the forest was registered as a preserved forest so that people were no longer allowed to stay.
37	~	36	1979	~80		The first linguistic research was done in WB in 1980 by L. Thongkum & Phuengpa (1980).
36	~	35	1980	~81	BF47a	[BF47a] There were fields in the forest and a hut, therefore, (Unlike BF47a's parents, she) left the village in the morning, and came back in the evening on foot. [Regarding the question when BF47a or her family stopped to stay at the hut in the field:] at the time of her <u>graduation from Grade 4</u> , (BF47a's family) no longer stayed in the hut in the fields, but left the village in the morning and came back to their home in the village in the evening. While BF47a engaged in weaving at home <u>after her graduation from Grade 4</u> .
35	~	34	1981	~82		Department of National Parks (31 January 2017): Thai governmental organizations enforced a law that registered the surrounding areas of WB as a national park in 1981.
34	~	33	1982	~83		[Phuengpa (n.d.)] A road and electricity became available in 1982.
32	~	31	1984	~85		[Phuengpa (n.d.)] Modernized public health service became available from the sanitary station in 1984.
					BF37	[BF37] <u>When she was a kid</u> , she stayed in the forest for 1 to 2

nights with her maternal grandparents. They came and went between the forest and the village (but she did not).

29	~	28	1987	~88		[Phuengpa (n.d.)] Youths began working away from WB.
28	~	27	1988	~89	AF28a	[AF28a] AF28a's parents stayed at the house in the village.
					BM33	[BM33] When <u>BM33 was a kid</u> , he stayed at the house in the village. His parents also constantly stayed in the village. [His father is CM58b who engaged in fishery.]
27	~	26	1989	~90	BF32	[BF32] (When <u>BF32 was a kid</u>), she stayed in the forest to seek for edible frogs with her mother and aunt. Her mother constantly stayed at her house in the village; her mother left the village (for farming) at daytime and came back in the evening. When her mother stayed in the forest, the period was just one to two nights.
					CM58b	[CM58b] CM58b's parents stopped farming <u>26 to 27 years before the fieldwork</u> .
25	~	24	1991	~92	BF46	[BF46] When BF46 moved to WB in <u>1991</u> , WB people had already settled down in the village due to the policy of preserving the forest. Only two to three households constantly stayed in the forest. Her husband engaged in fishery while she engaged in weaving (so that they did not need to go to the forest.).
					BM30a	[BM30a] When <u>BM30a was a kid</u> , he never stayed in forest or fields and rice paddies. His parents constantly stayed at a house in the village; however, the house was so small that when it rained his family evacuated to a neighbours' house.
24	~	23	1992	~93	AF29	[AF29] (When <u>AF29 was a kid</u>), AF29 climbed to the forest called <i>dong khii yaang</i> to help with rice-farming and stayed there. She went there on Friday evening or Saturday morning, and came back to the village on Sunday, while her parents stayed in the fields ⁷⁹ .
23	~	22	1993	~94	AF28a	[AF28a] (When <u>AF28a was a kid</u>), she sometimes stayed in forest seeking edible frogs 1 to 2 times.
22	~	21	1994	~95	AM27	[AM27] (When <u>AM27 was a kid</u>), his parents constantly stayed in the village.
21	~	20	1995	~96	CM58a	[CM58a] It was <u>20 years before the interview</u> when CM58a (and his family) stopped carrying out swidden farming and staying in forest due to the law for preserving forest. WB people, thus, changed their occupation to fishery and/or weaving after that.
					BF30	It was <u>20 years before the interview</u> when WB experienced drastic changes. Before then AM58a's daughter [i.e. BF30] had stayed in the forest.

⁷⁹ *Dong khii yaang* is a name of forest where WB people still do farming. In the past, it was dangerous because of malaria. They regarded *dong khii yaang* to be far from the village and, therefore, they did not want to take me there unless we could stay overnight. So I didn't visit this forest during my fieldwork.

20	~	19	1996	~97	CF80a	[CF80a] Food has changed in the last <u>20 years</u> . They [or she] no longer engage in farming and stays at the village in their/her own house. Bru people in the past ate wild yam called <i>klooy-kooy</i> . They used a stone bowl to mix it with orange/lime to soften it, then steamed it to eat with rice. Now they eat farmed yam.
					CM58a	[CM58a] When CM58a's daughter [i.e. <u>BF30</u>] was a <u>primary school pupil</u> , she stayed in the village with her paternal grandmother, (while his grandfather still stayed in the forest).
19	~	18	1997	~98	AF24	[AF24] (When <u>AF24</u> was a kid,) her parents constantly stayed at their house in the village. Her father engaged in fishery while her mother engaged in weaving. They entered the forest when they aimed to collect bamboo shoots and/or mushrooms. They stayed in the forest overnight and came back in the morning. AF24 has never constantly stayed in the forest.
					AM24	[AM24] When <u>AM24</u> was a kid, his parents engaged in rice-farming, so that they stayed in the forest or rice paddies. During weekends, he went to see his parents (in the forest or rice paddies) and they stayed together.
15	~	14	2001	~02	CM58a	[CM58a] After CM58a's daughter (<u>BF30</u>) graduated from <u>Grade 9</u> , her parents began staying at the house in the village instead of engaging in swidden farming.
13	~	12	2003	~04	AF29	[AF29] AF29 stopped to help her parents in the fields <u>at the age of 16</u> as she went to Bangkok for work. At that time, her parents still went to the forest.
12	~	11	2004	~05	AM24	[AM24] <u>12 years before the interview</u> , when AM24 was in Grade 6, he stopped going to see his parents and stay with them in the forest.
8	~	7	2008	~09	AM16	[AM16] When AM16 was in <u>Grade 2 or 3</u> , his father changed his job from a farmer in the forest <i>dong khii yaang</i> to a guard in a hospital (thus it is when his father stopped staying in the forest). During school holidays and the season of farming, he sometimes stayed in the fields for 2 nights but this was a rare case.
7	~	6	2009	~10	AM24	[Phuengpa (n.d.)] The Bru language and culture revitalization project was implemented from 2009 to 2010. [AM24] AM24's parents stopped staying in the forest about <u>7 to 8 years before the interview</u> .
2	~	1	2014	~15		The pilot study was carried out in 2014
1	~	0	2015	~16		The fieldwork phase I (FW1) was carried out in 2015
0	~		2016	~17		The fieldwork phase II (FW2) was carried out in 2016

Note. The INFs could not always indicate exact years. I, thus, arranged their narratives according to the following criteria, underlining the criterion that I adapted. (1) Whenever a narrative indicates information regarding an exact year: ‘X years before the interview,’ ‘when I was Grade X,’ or ‘Buddhist Era (B.E.) 2xxx,’ I converted B.E. to A.D., or dated back from the year of the interview, and arranged the narrative in that year. (2) When a narrative refers to a livelihood of an INF’s parents, I arranged the narrative on the year when the INF was born. (3) When a narrative includes information such as ‘when an INF was a primary school pupil,’ I arranged the narrative in the year when the INF was 10 years old: when the INF was supposed to graduate from the compulsory education, Grade 4, in the past. (4) When it is clear that a narrative refers to an INF’s childhood without a specific year, I arranged the narrative when the INF was 10 years old. (5) When a narrative could indicate a period of time that started after an INF’s graduation from a certain grade, I arranged the narrative a year after the INF’s graduation from that grade. (For example, BF47a narrated her livelihood after she graduated from Grade 4. In this case, I estimate that she graduated from Grade 4 when she was 10 years old, and arranged the narrative on the year when she was 11 years old.) (6) When a narrative indicates a period of time without specifying a certain year: for instance, ‘when I was a kid,’ I arranged the narrative when the INF was 5 years old unless other information helped narrowed down the more relevant period.

The narratives from various INFs in different ages could be roughly classified into the following trends.

(a) The Informants in Their Late Fifties and Above

The parents of some INFs in their late fifties to eighties (for example, CF80a, CF80b, CM58a, and CM58b) engaged in swidden farming in forest on mountains. Their parents, thus, did not stay in the WB village even though they had their own house in the village. It is not clear how far their parents moved from one place to another place as they changed their fields every few years. Because the INFs had to go to school, some of them only entered and stayed in the forest on weekends. After the INFs graduated from the compulsory education, they tended to remain in the forest as their parents had done. Needless to say, not every INF in this generation had such a lifestyle. As I mentioned in the previous sections (such as 6.2.4), some INFs engaged in other occupations from their own parents (for example, CM58b), and parents of other INFs did not stay in the forest as they were not farmers (for instance, CM61).

(b) The Informants in Their Forties to Early Fifties

The parents of some INFs in their forties to early fifties (BF47a, and BF51) stayed in the forest. Since the INFs did not clearly define that their parents engaged in

swidden farming, their parents might have engaged in farming in a fixed place, but this cannot be determined from the available narratives.

Like the older generation, the INFs stayed in the forest together with their parents; however, both of BF47a and BF51 stopped doing so after they graduated from compulsory education, Grade 4. BF47a remained to work at home in the village whereas BM51 worked as a hired labourer until she got married and settled down in the village at the age of 21.

(c) The Informants in Their Thirties and Below

In this age group, there are both types of INFs: 1) whose parents or grandparents constantly stayed in the forest (the grandparents of BF37, the father of BF30: CM58a, the parents of AF29 and AM16, the parents of AM24) and 2) whose parents did not do so (BM33, BF32, BM30a, AF28a, AM27, and AF24). Some of the former type of INFs regularly visited the forest to stay together with their parents (for instance, BF30 and AF29). In particular, AF29's experiences are closer to those of the oldest generation (i.e. the INFs in (a) of this section). Even after her graduation, she continued to stay in the forest with her parents until she left WB for work, while other INFs have few experiences of staying in the forest (for example, AF28a and AM16).

The INFs in this generation tend to work outside WB after their graduation instead of staying in the forest like the oldest generation or working at home like the immediate older generation (i.e. the INFs in (b) of this section). Some INFs commute to KC from WB (BF30, AF24, and AM24) whereas others live and work further away from WB (BF37, BF32, BM30a, AF29, AF28a). Even in the case where the INFs remain to live in WB and do not work in KC, they do not constantly stay in the forest. AM33 is engaged in hired jobs outside WB on demand. AM30 helps his family business at a minimart and is irregularly hired by other villagers as a truck driver; and AM27 has engaged in farming near WB.

(d) The Periods When WB People Stopped Staying in the Forest

The oldest records that could explain when and why WB people settled down in the village is the Thai government's policy against communists announced in 1957 (Phuengpa, n.d.). This led WB people to give up doing swidden farming and change to fishery. However, the narratives show that, even after 1957, WB people engaged in

swidden farming, or at least they still stayed in the forest for farming. CM61's narrative indicates that people still engaged in swidden farming in 1969.

The second oldest trigger for WB people to settle down in the village could be when the surrounding forests were registered as a preserved forest by the Thai government. Based on CM67's perception, this led to some people coming down to the village. This started in 1977, 39 years before the fieldwork. His perception closely matches the narratives of BF47a and BM51, who claim that they were stopped visiting their parents in the forest 37 and 41 years before the fieldwork respectively. According to the official record of the central government, the Thai governmental organizations had started their processes for registering the surrounding area of WB as a national park (the *Kaeng Tana* National Park) in 1974, 42 years before the fieldwork, and the law was enforced in 1981, 35 years before the fieldwork (the Department of National Parks, 2017). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that WB people gradually stopped staying in the forest as the legislation took effect. In fact, two other INFs (BF47 and CM58a) also attribute the end of this lifestyle to the registration of the preserved forest (the national park). However, even though the law was enforced in 1981, this does not mean that everyone stopped staying in the forest at that time all at once. BF47 remembered that when she moved to WB in 1991, 29 years before, there were still two to three households constantly staying in the forest. CM58a stated he stopped staying in the forest 20 years before, in 1995. Furthermore, AM24 and AM16 recounted that their parents remained in the forest even until the late 2000s.

To summarize, of the INFs', the last person who came down from the forest was about 20 years before the fieldwork, while the last family who stayed in the forest was less than 10 years before the fieldwork took place.

We can estimate that the INFs in their forties and fifties are the age group that still remained in the forest after the graduation. That is, the INFs below their forties tend to work at home or outside WB after their graduation instead of helping their parents in the forest. We can estimate that the INFs in their twenties and thirties never regularly visited their parents in the forest on weekends when they were attending school. There are INFs in their thirties (and also one 29 years old) with such an experience, though not everyone, while there are no such INFs below 29 years old.

6.2.5.2 *The Opening of Roads*

A road is another symbol of social changes for WB people. Table 6.2 details the extracts of narratives related to the opening of the road to WB. Phuengpa (n.d.) states that it was in 1982 that a road (and electricity) reached WB. After the opening of the road, people were able to travel to KC more easily. The narratives by the INFs suggest that there were two impactful changes at around the same time: the road reached WB, and a bridge was constructed over the Muun River between Khong Chiam and WB. Therefore, in terms of land transportation the period could be classified into three phases: (a) before a functional road was opened from/to WB, (b) after a functional road was opened from/to WB and before a bridge across the Muun River was opened, and (c) after both a functional road and a bridge were opened.

Table 6.2. The Narratives Related to the Opening of the Road

Years before the fieldwork	A.D.	INF	INF and Narrative
42 ~ 41	1974 ~75	CM67	[CM67] <Road> <u>In the past</u> , there was no road to WB. People could not come and go by car; they thus had to go to KC by boat. [Author: 'the past' in his narrative is interpreted as further past than before even a narrow unpaved path was available.]
41 ~ 40	1975 ~76	CF51	The socialist revolution occurred in Laos in 1975. [CF51] <Road> When AF51 engaged in hired work (i.e. <u>after she graduated from Grade 4 until she was 21 years old</u>), she went to work by boat. In general, one could drive a car to/from WB, but the road was not paved.
37 ~ 36	1979 ~80	BF47b	[BF47b] <Road> BF47b went outside WB only to KC to participate in annual Buddhist festivals in <u>her childhood and youth</u> . She went to KC by boat. [BF47b] <Bridge> In those days, there was no bridge yet .
35 ~ 34	1981 ~82		Department of National Parks (31 January 2017): Thai governmental organizations enforced a law that registers the surrounding areas of WB as a national park in 1981.
34 ~ 33	1982 ~83		[Phuengpa (n.d.)] A road and electricity started to be available.
33 ~ 32	1983 ~84	CM67	[CM67] <Road> Road was developed <u>during 1983 to 1984</u> by donating lands formerly used for rice-farming.
32 ~ 31	1984 ~85	BF47b	[BF47b] <Road> When BF47b was a kid, the Mekong Riverine Unit, Royal Navy (MRU) visited WB by a large boat (not on land) to distribute clothes, blankets, and rice. Their objectives were to patrol the village and distribute commodities. The commodities were put in a jute bag and given away to all households. They came periodically when she was <u>10 to 15 years old</u> .
31 ~ 30	1985 ~86	CF80b	[CF80b] <Road> CF80b often visited KC, but the transportation was not convenient; she went there by boat (because) <u>[in] the past</u> , the road was very narrow. [Author: 'the past' is interpreted as at latest before she reached the age of 50 from the context.]
30 ~ 29	1986 ~87	CF80b	[CF80b] <Road> The road was expanded when CF80b was around <u>50 years old</u> . Then machines (automobiles?) could come to WB.
29 ~ 28	1987 ~88	CF51	[CF51] <Road> The road reached to WB before electricity. It should be <u>in 1987</u> .

28	~	27	1988	~89	BF47b	[BF47b] <Road> <u>At around 1988</u> , the road changed from one with red clay to the paved one (like we have today).
					BM33	[BM33] <Road> BM33 cannot remember when the road reached WB; it was not available when <u>he was a kid</u> .
27	~	26	1989	~90	BF47b	[BF47b] <Road> BF47b remembers that the MRU no longer came to WB when she turned 20. BM30b, who accompanied her during the interview, also remembers that the MRU came to WB.
25	~	24	1991	~92		[Phuengpa (n.d.)] WB people demonstrated against the construction of the Pak Mun dam.
					CM67	[CM67] <Road> It is <u>since 1991</u> that people are able to come and go from/to WB by car.
					BF46	[BF46] <Road> When BF46 moved to WB for her marriage (i.e. <u>1991</u>), the road was still rough.
					BF37	[BF37] <Road> The road was not yet available when BF37 was a kid and not even when she <u>graduated from primary school</u> .
24	~	23	1992	~93	CM58a	[CM58a] <Road> The road reached WB 2 to 3 years before electricity did (and it has been almost 20 years since electricity has been available.)
22	~	21	1994	~95	AM27	[AM27] <Road> A road was not available when <u>AM27 was a kid</u> ; there was a bridge near BM48's home.
					BF47b	[BF47b] <Bridge> Once one suddenly became sick at night, people had to go around and take the emergency patient to Pibun Mangsahan town because the Pak Mun dam was closed at night. (People can pass on the dam at day time, and this was an alternative route to KC from WB on land). At that time, there was no hospital in the Sirinthorn district either. [Author: the construction of the Pak Mun dam started in 1990 and finished <u>in 1994</u> (the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand, 2017); while the Sirinthorn hospital opened with 10 beds as a community hospital <u>in 1995</u> (the Sirinthorn Hospital, 2017). Therefore, the time of this narrative is assumed to reflect the situation in the early 1990s.]
21	~	20	1995	~96	Se30s	[Se30s] <Bridge> When <u>Se30s was a secondary school student</u> , WB students came to school by boat because there was no bridge across the Muun River between KC and WB. If people wanted to visit WB or the Sirinthorn district (i.e. the east bank of the Muun River) from KC exclusively on land, they needed to travel via the Phibun Mangsahan district where the nearest bridge was. <u>Until 20 years before the interview</u> , transportation from KC to the Chongmek (i.e. the international border

						between Thailand and Laos in the Sirinthorn district) side had relied on boats, not a bridge.
20	~	19	1996	~97	BF47a	[BF47a] <Road> The road to KC was so narrow that BF47a used a boat to visit KC until <u>20 years before the interview</u> .
					CM61	[CM61] <Road> The road was opened in the end of 1996 together with electricity.
19	~	18	1997	~98	BM30a	[BM30a] <Road> The road was available when BM30a was in <u>Grade 5 or 6</u> .
18	~	17	1998	~99	AF29	[A]F29] <Road> The road was available around <u>1998 or 1999</u> . AF29 was attending informal education in KC at that time (after Grade 6). There was public transportation on a 6-wheel truck between KC and WB; so that a large truck could enter WB from KC. The road was not paved and there was a stream in front of the temple in WB; the truck needed to cross this stream even in the rainy season.
17	~	16	1999	~00	BM30a	[BM30a] <Road & Bridge> When BM30a <u>went to the secondary school in KC (from Grade 7 to 12)</u> , he went by boat.
16	~	15	2000	~01	BF47b	[BF47b] <Road> BF47b remembers that the road was paved coinciding with <u>the visit of Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn to WB</u> . [Author: it was in 2000 according to Phuengpa (n.d.).]
					AF28a	[AF28a] <Road> AF28a recalls that the road was not paved when she was a kid, and was paved <u>when Princess Maha</u>
					Se30s	<u>Chakri Sirindhorn visited WB</u> . [Se30s] <Bridge> When a large resort hotel was opened in Huay Mak Tay, a neighbouring village, <u>15 years before the interview</u> , a large raft service started (for the resort hotel) across the Muun River. Cars and pick-up trucks have been able to cross the Muun River since then.
14	~	13	2002	~03	BF32	[BF32] <Road & Bridge> BF32 went to <u>the secondary school in KC by hired boat for all her 6 years of schooling</u> .
12	~	11	2004	~05	BM30a	[BM30a] <Road & Bridge> The boat to the secondary school was replaced by a car <u>later in his secondary school days</u> .
					AM24	[AM24] <Road> After AM24 <u>graduated from primary school</u> , he seldom visited KC, but if he did, it was for shopping at ‘the Thai-Lao market’ on Saturdays. At that time, public transportation (by road) was available between KC and WB; so that WB people were able to visit KC in the morning and go home at noon.
					Pr47	[Pr47] <Bridge> Pr47 thinks that a bridge across the Muun River was constructed <u>in 2003</u> . She recalls that when she was sent to WB in July 2004 there was already a bridge. Before

2003, people used a raft and a smaller raft for motorbikes to cross the river.

11	~	10	2005	~06	Se30s	[Se30s] <Bridge> The bridge across the Muun River was constructed in the last <u>10 years</u> .
10	~	9	2006	~07	BF47b	[BF47b] <Bridge> Before the bridge across the Muun River was available, people visited WB by boat and/or a large raft. The raft could fit 2 to 3 cars and 2 pick-up trucks. The rafts were used <u>until around 10 years before the interview</u> .
9	~	8	2007	~08	AF24	[AF24] <Road> When <u>AF24 was a secondary school student</u> (Grade 7 to 9), she used a hired pick-up truck. A road had already been well paved except for a path to the fourth administrative group of WB (the southern part of WB).
					AF28a	[AF28a] <Bridge> It was <u>after CF28a graduated from Grade 12</u> when the current bridge across the Muun River was constructed.
7	~	6	2009	~10	AF19	[AF19] <Bridge> When <u>AF19 was a secondary school student</u> (Grade 7 to 9), there was already a bridge across the Muun River.
6	~	5	2010	~11	Se30s	[Se30s] <Bridge> The current bridge was constructed 5 years before the interview. More WB parents have sent their children to the secondary school (in KC) after the bridge was in use.
4	~	3	2012	~13	AM24	[AM24] <Road> Public transportation was terminated 3 to 4 years before the interview.
2	~	1	2014	~15		The pilot study was carried out in 2014
1	~	0	2015	~16		The fieldwork phase I (FW1) was carried out in 2015
0	~		2016	~17	BF47b	The fieldwork phase II (FW2) was carried out in 2016 [BF47b] <Road> At present, the MRU no longer comes to WB by boat or patrol the river. The governmental vehicles still come to WB to patrol on land. BF47b can distinguish the official vehicles from other vehicles from their registration numbers.

Note. The INFs could not always indicate the exact year. I, thus, arranged their narratives with the same criteria as those adapted in Table PI017.

(a) Before the Road Was Opened

As far back as the INFs could remember, WB people travelled to KC by boat because there was no road to KC from WB (CM67), or, there was one, but it was unpaved, very narrow and difficult to travel on (CF51 and CF80b). There was no bridge over the Muun River either. Therefore, even though a narrow path was available from WB toward KC, it would end at the bank of the Muun River. Based on Phungpa (n.d.), a road reached WB in 1982. This date could not be confirmed by all INFs. However, the narratives of some of the INFs in their forties and above confirm that the road (rather than path) began to be developed in the 1980s and no earlier than 1982.

In addition, BF47b and BM30b remembered that the Mekong Riverine Unit (MRU) periodically visited WB by boat for patrol and distributing commodities such as clothes as a donation to WB people in the past. The reason the MRU came by boat was because the road to WB was not developed enough. Based on BF47b's memory, the MRU no longer visited WB when she was 20 years old⁸⁰. The reason the MRU stopped to visit and distribute commodities is because the police was able to visit by road WB to patrol, and the WB people had as developed enough so that the MRU did not need to donate commodities anymore.

(b) After a Road Is Open and Before a Bridge is Open

From the 1990s to the early 2000s was a period with the road but without a bridge. As I mentioned above, some INFs in their forties and above remembered that the road access has been available since 1980s; while other INFs, mainly those in their below thirties, think that the road was opened since the 1990s or even in 2000. I assume that such differences might have occurred due to the lack of a clear definition of the term *thanon* 'road, street.' during the interviews. The INFs answered a question 'when *thanon* entered WB' or 'when WB started to have *thanon*.' I did not pursue this question in detail such as 'which part of the road the INFs were referring to: whether between KC and WB or within WB,' 'whether the road that the INF was referring to is paved or not,' or 'how wide was the road that the INFs were referring to' etc. It is, therefore, possible that some INFs might have interpreted the question 'when the road reached WB' as 'when a paved road with enough width was constructed'; while other

⁸⁰ It is when BM30b was three years old; therefore, if BM30b remembers the visit of MRU as his own memory but not as an anecdotal story, the MRU might have visited slightly later than this timing.

INFs might have interpreted the same question as when any kind of road that looked more than a path reached WB. At any rate, it is clear that some kind of road must have existed during or before the 1990s; the road(s) could be paved or unpaved, may refer to roads within WB and/or from/to WB, and may not be as wide as what they are now. Then, by 2000, the road was upgraded in preparation for the royal visit by Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

In those days, despite the opening of the road, WB people had not been able to travel on land all the way to KC yet as there was no bridge across the Muun River yet. Based on Se30s' narrative, WB people are thought to have relied on rafts to cross the Muun River. She said 'a large raft crossing the Muun River was available just 15 years before...' Her narrative suggests two facts: there had already been a service with smaller rafts before 15 years before, and WB people could travel on land to the river bank, then transfer to a raft for the crossing of the Muun River.

The INFs in their early thirties and late twenties went to the secondary school in KC by boat with their classmates. BF32 used a boat during her secondary schooling; BM30a experienced the transition from transportation in a boat to a pick-up truck during his secondary school days. The road had already been open when they were secondary school students (i.e. 1997 to 2004). Therefore, even though the road was already open, some WB people such as secondary school students still travelled to KC by boat from WB instead of the combination of land transportation and the raft service.

Without the raft service, for example, after business hours, WB people had to go around to the Pak Mun Dam (PMD) or even Phibun Mangsahan town to be able to reach KC on land (see BF47b's comment in 1994~1995 in Table 6.2). The PMD was completed in 1994 and is approximately six kilometres from the point where the Muun River joins the Mekong. At present, the distance between WB and KC is approximately nine to ten kilometres through the current bridge, while if one goes via the PKD, it is nearly 28 kilometres. Even this distance is much shorter than the alternative route from WB to KC via Phibun Mangsahan (over 80 kilometres).

The land transportation between WB and KC was improved by the opening of the road that happened from the 1980s to 2000. However, their travel was limited to daylight hours because of the raft service's business hours, and the transportation was not yet as convenient as what it is now because of the difficulties in travelling at night.

(c) After Both a Road and a Bridge Are Open

The last period is estimated to have started around 2003. While Se30s does not think it has been more than a decade since the bridge was opened, Pr47 remembers that the bridge was opened in 2003 as she could pass the bridge when she first visited WB in July 2004. If Pr47’s memory is accurate, the opening of a bridge would have changed WB secondary school students’ mean of transportation from a boat to a pick-up truck at that time. As mentioned above, BF32 went to secondary school by boat for 6 years (graduating 14 years before the fieldwork, in 2002); while BM30a went to the school by pick-up truck before his graduation from Grade 12 (12 years before the fieldwork, in 2004)⁸¹. Furthermore, the original bridge was replaced by the current one sometime after 2006 (about 10 years before the fieldwork) when AF28a graduated from Grade 12, and no later than 5 years before the fieldwork (Se30s).

With the bridge, WB people are able to come and go to KC whenever they want. It is clear that it has had a large impact on the livelihood of the people in WB.

6.2.5.3 The Arrival of Electricity

According to Phuengpa (n.d.), electricity began to be available in WB in 1982. The INFs’ narratives, meanwhile, suggest that it reached WB slightly later than 1982, and not every villager could start using electricity at the same time (see Table 6.3). Based on the narratives, it began to be available in the mid to late 1980s, and gradually spread to more households during the 1990s. It could be said that electricity became common by the end of the 1990s because most narratives relate the coming of the electric grid to a decade since the mid-1980s, and the last narrative regarding the time of its arrival in WB is in 2000. While CM27 remembers the livelihood without the electricity; AM24 and AF24 do not; therefore, it is estimated that people in the late twenties are the last generation who experienced non-electrified lives.

Table 6.3. The Narratives Related to the Opening of Electricity

Years before the fieldwork	A.D.	INF	INF and Narratives
34 - 33	1982 -83		[Phuengpa (n.d.)] A road and electricity started to be available.
31 - 30	1985 -86	BM48	[BM48] It was around 30 years before the interview (dated from 2014) when a road and electricity reached WB. People started to

⁸¹ The means of transportation for secondary school students will be further reported in 6.2.6.

						possess TV 30 years before the interview; at that time, people used an engine to generate electricity to turn on a TV.
29	-	28	1987	-88	BF47b	[BF47b] Electricity reached WB around <u>1987 to 1988</u> .
28	-	27	1988	-89	CM58b	[CM58b] Electricity reached <u>in 1988</u> . At that time, PA systems were sold the most (as WB people started to be able to enjoy using electricity).
					BM33	[BM33] BM33 cannot remember when electricity reached WB; it had not reached when <u>he was a kid</u> .
27	-	26	1989	-90	CF80b	[CF80b] Electricity reached WB <u>in 1989</u> . CF80b lived in a house along the Mekong River, therefore the electricity had not reached her house and thus she used lamps.
26	-	25	1990	-91	BF47b	[BF47b] The electricity reached BF47b's house <u>in 1990</u> .
					AF29	[AF29] As far as AF29 remember, when <u>AF29 became old enough to understand what is going around herself</u> , WB people had already started to use electricity. WB has changed since the electricity became available.
25	-	24	1991	-92	BF46	[BF46] <u>As of 1991</u> (when BF46 moved to WB for her marriage), electricity had reached WB. It had just begun to be available.
					BF37	[BF37] Electricity had reached by the time BF37 <u>graduated from Grade 6</u> .
					BM30a	[BM30a] When <u>BM30a was a kid</u> , electricity had reached only houses along the Mekong River; it had not reached his house yet. His family thus used lamps.
24	-	23	1992	-93	CM67	[CM67] Electricity has been available since 1992. It also provided prosperity to WB.
23	-	22	1993	-94	AF28a	[AF28a] Electricity had been already available when <u>AF28a was a kid</u> .
22	-	21	1994	-95	BF32	[BF32] When <u>BF32 was a primary school pupil</u> , she still used lamps.
					AM27	[AM27] AM27 cannot remember when electricity became available, but he remembers that it was yet to reach WB when <u>he was a kid</u> .
21	-	20	1995	-96	CF51	[CF51] Electricity reached WB when <u>CF51's daughter was 3 to 4 years old</u> (her daughter was born in 1992). She used lamps before then.
					AF24	[AF24] Electricity has been available since <u>AF24 was a kid</u> .
					ACM24	[AM24] Electricity has been available since <u>AM24 was a kid</u> ; a (mobile?) telephone was yet to be available.
20	-	19	1996	-97	CM61	[CM61] Electricity was started at <u>the end of 1996</u> together with the road.
					CM58a	[CM58a] It has passed <u>almost 20 years</u> since electricity reached WB. People started to possess TV together with the arrival of

electricity; however, at the beginning, an engine was used to run a TV and only 1 household possessed TV.

17	-	16	1999	-00	BF32	[BF32] When <u>BF32 was 15 to 16 years old</u> , electricity became available.
2	-	1	2014	-15		The pilot study was carried out in 2014
1	-	0	2015	-16		The fieldwork phase I (FW1) was carried out in 2015
0	-		2016	-17		The fieldwork phase II (FW2) was carried out in 2016

Note. The INFs could not always indicate the exact year. I, thus, arranged their narratives with the same criteria as those adapted in Table 2 and I regard the age when one became old enough to understand what is going around oneself as around the age of 2-3.

6.2.5.4 *Other Miscellaneous Changes*

Besides the abovementioned social changes: the lifestyle relying on the forest, the opening of the road, the opening of the bridge, and the arrival of electricity, there are more narratives and observations that could have impacted on the transition of WB people's livelihoods. I, thus, list up them in the last part of this section.

(a) Flood and Relocation

Before the road and electricity became available, WB suffered from a flood disaster with the Mekong rising one to three metres for two to three weeks in 1978. The flood damaged many houses and crops in WB and resulted in the relocation of some households to higher ground (Phuengpa, n.d.). It is not clear when the relocation happened since the official records mention the year of the flood but not of the relocation.

CM67 stated that WB village originally was a slum due to narrow plots of lands. It was relocated due to the flood sometime after 1986. He currently lives in the southern half (the upper side) of WB. He once lived closer to the Mekong River bank, which is another person's home at present. His youngest son was born in this previous house 30 years before the fieldwork (i.e. 1986). The WB village carried out the relocation through drawing lots. CM67 drew a plot in the southeastern end of WB, at the bottom of a street, and next to the temple. Though the plot is far from the heart of the community, he is satisfied compared to the slummy situation in the past.

These records and narratives suggest that the disposition of the households before 1978 and that at some point after 1988 in WB are entirely different.

One interesting issue was recounted to me by BM48, who told me that the Bru spoken in WB in the past had two different varieties (he used the term ‘accents’), and people could distinguish these different accents. A large sacred tree used to be in the middle of the village and together with the Mekong River formed the boundary of these variations: called north (upper stream from the tree) and south (downstream from the tree). Such distinctions would have been lost due to the relocation⁸².

(b) Automobiles and Motorbikes

Even at present, very few people in WB household possess automobiles. Almost every household possesses motorbikes. Once the road was paved to WB, the number of people owning a vehicle (either automobiles or motorbikes) increased dramatically.

Three INFs gave their observation regarding the possession of motorbikes. When AF29 was a kid, students went to school on foot⁸³, motorbikes were very rare unlike the present. If one possessed a bicycle, this was already an improvement on walking. CM58a thought that it was just 10 to 15 years before the fieldwork that WB people started to possess motorbikes in significant numbers, while AM24 thought that it was only 4 to 5 years before the fieldwork that WB people began possessing their own motorbikes. He obtained his own motorbike when he was 23 years old, just 1 year before the fieldwork. Their perceptions suggest that possessing a motorbike is quite a recent change for WB people: at most, it would have happened in the late 1990s to the early 2000s whereas, at least, it happened within the last decade.

(c) Architectural Styles of Houses

At a glance, the structure and feature of houses in WB is the same as those of Lao Isan villages. Houses are raised-floor-style made of wood, and whole or a part of the ground floor is often paved in cement and used as a living space. However, the development in terms of the house structure in WB seems to be still behind compared to present Lao Isan villages in general. For instance, few people decorate their house:

⁸² BM48 might be aware of specific linguistic distinctions that other general people in WB are not aware of. This is because he is the local intellectual, who has worked with foreign linguists for many years. During the fieldwork phase 1 (FW1), I thus trialed a question regarding the southern and northern accent of the Bru language to investigate how well WB people recognize such a distinction. The results showed that almost none of the FW1 PPs, even the elderly people, properly understood this question. The existence of the north-south linguistic distinction in WB should be, therefore, further investigated. At any rate, his narrative suggests that WB people in the past were clustered with the tree as a boundary.

⁸³ At present, students have their own or their family’s motorbikes, and drive them after school or weekends.

walls of most houses are unpainted or unvarnished. As of April 2016, there were only two households who had built boundary walls on their plots. One of them is a vacant house. Others use poles and barbed wire or plants to separate their plots from their neighbours and roads.

When Ubon Ratchathani University arranged a camp in WB, both Lao Isan students and lecturers were excited with WB's 'antique' house structure. According to them, some houses still maintain old or antiquated structural features, such as rocks being placed beneath wooden pillars to prevent infestation by termites and to protect the pillars in flooded periods.

Though the infrastructure has already developed to a certain level in WB, and WB people feel that prosperity has reached WB, WB does not seem as developed as surrounding Lao Isan communities.

(d) Mobile Phones

AM26 said WB people started to have mobile phones only in the last 2 years. It is exceedingly late compared to other parts of Isan or Thailand. The reason may be because WB is located in the Thailand-Laos border area and behind a mountain, thus WB had no mobile phone signal till recently. Until the fieldwork phase II (FW2, October to November in 2015), none of the three major mobile phone carriers provided stable signals to WB. WB people, thus, needed to go to the highest point of the village to get a signal. Despite such efforts, the signal was so weak that I could rarely use the mobile internet service. Some people even used Lao mobile phone carriers as their signals were often stronger and more stable than the Thai ones.

When I visited WB again in April 2016 for FW2, the situation had changed. One mobile phone carrier had built an antenna (it is possible that a villager had rented out a plot of land to the carrier for them to build the antenna) so that WB people were able to enjoy a full mobile phone service. As long as they use that specific carrier, they no longer need to move around to seek for signals. According to BF47b (AF29's mother), this dramatic shift changed the WB youths' behaviour. Before the mobile phone signal was available in WB, they tended to go outside WB by motorbike, perhaps seeking the mobile phone signal coverage. At present, by contrast, they more often remain in WB as they can play with their own mobile phone within WB.

The narratives in the previous sections illustrate the fact that WB has experienced social changes from many perspectives, some very recently. Furthermore,

BF47b's story suggests that, in fact, social changes are still ongoing in WB. That direct internet access from WB stops the WB youths from going outside WB would have both positive and negative impacts on language maintenance or revitalization. For example, by staying more in WB, the youths may have more opportunities to be exposed to the Bru language. However, through their smart phones they are more exposed to the majority languages, especially Thai, than before.

(e) Nostalgia for the Good Old Days

To an outsider, WB seems to maintain good harmony among the villagers compared to other villages in Isan in general. However, some INFs told me how the lives of WB at present are different from those in the past. CM67 said that 'the personalities of people have changed: when there was little food available in the past, people shared the crops from the forest and a large fish.' CM61 also reminisced about the lives in the past as follows. 'People loved each other and were unified. Once someone caught a fish, we shared it.' As they said, WB people now do not share their harvests and catches unless they belong to the same household. From my observation, when someone obtained an exceedingly large crop or a lot of fish, people tended to sell them to neighbours or do so at a market in Khong Chiam.

Interestingly, even younger INFs, AM30a and AF28b, who work in Bangkok, expressed similar nostalgia toward WB in the past. Regarding the question about the differences between the past and the present, AM30 answered that mutual dependences has decreased, and villagers have split into factions. Because of the factionalism, there has been less and less cooperation among the villager especially in the last 5 to 6 years. AF28b missed WB's good old days: people could live without money (because they shared their crops and catches). AF28b also mentioned that people ate whatever was edible, even tree lizards that urban people may not see as a food, and she enjoyed her childhood.

Moreover, Lao Isan outsiders also have similar impression about the current WB. First of all, exchanges with WB villagers leads Pr47 to feel that WB villagers' behaviour has changed in the last 10 years: the elderly villagers remain true to their 'Bru' heritage; whereas the younger villagers who have had significant contact with outsiders want changes. Secondly, a Lao Isan lecturer from UBU gave me her impressions of two Bru villages (WB and TL) during the camp. She felt that TL is still unified as *chumchon* 'a community' because of several characteristics: houses are built

close to each other, and the size of the village both in terms of area and population is not too large. By contrast, WB does not look *chumchon* any longer because the features are opposite to those in TL: houses are built a distance from other houses and the road and the size of village is too large to call *chumchon*.

To summarize, their stories suggest that WB has undergone internal and intangible social changes along with the physical and visible social changes over the last few decades.

6.2.6 Language Choice at School

The main focus of this section is the diachronic changes in language choice (LC) at school by the INFs. The educational domain is seen as another important domain for LM (Pauwels, 2007). With the questionnaire, I investigated LC in the school domains with the current students. These questions were not asked to everyone for the purpose of reducing the burden on the PPs if the questionnaire was too long, and, therefore, avoiding the risk that the older PPs would be reluctant to answer the questionnaire. However, though it may not have been prioritized in the quantitative study, it was always a major aim of this research to study the LC in the school domains across different generations. In particular, I was interested in finding out when and how Lao started to dominate over Bru in in the schools.

During the in-depth interview, questions regarding LC and/or language attitude (LA) were included whenever the INFs talked about their school days. Relevant answers and narratives from different INFs were categorized according to topics; for example, the number of pupils/students in school and/or in the same year as the INFs, the number of teachers, LC, LA and/or narratives related to the relationship between other students and the INFs. In this section, I will compare how the information from the INFs of different ages is different. I begin with the results in respect to the secondary school because only some of the INFs (younger than BM48) completed secondary education, and the results are somewhat predictable because of the locale of the education (the KC town). Following that, I will report the results regarding the primary education. Every INF in this study completed primary education (or was currently still attending). Compulsory education in Thailand in the past was till Grade 4. Therefore, the information could be collected from the oldest INFs to the youngest ones, and I hypothesized that the narratives from those who attended primary school would be more varied than those with the secondary education.

6.2.6.1 The Primary School

Roon rian baan Woen Buek ‘Woen Buek village school (WBV)’ was established in 1938, 78 years before the interviews. The oldest INFs of this study are 80 years old (CF80a and CF80b), and they both claim that the WBV was already providing education when they were born⁸⁴.

Table 6.8 shows the number of pupils in the WBV based on the INFs’ memory and official information. The number of pupils is decreasing; there were only 72 in 2016. The number in each grade varies from around 5 to 10, depending on the year.

Table 6.4. The Number of Pupils in the WBV School

INF	The Total N ^b of Pupils of the School	The N of Pupils in the Same Year
CM67	Approximately 100 because senior pupils failed a graduation exam and repeated Grade 4.	
CM61	Approximately 20 to 40 pupils	4 pupils
CM58a	Less than 30 pupils but everyone entered the primary school.	
CM58b		4 pupils (2 males and 2 females)
CF51	39 pupils 4 classes (grades)	10 pupils (5 males and 5 females)
BF47a	Approximately 30 pupils 4 classes (grades)	
BF47b	Approximately 40 to 50 pupils	9 pupils
BF37	Approximately 50 to 60 pupils	
BM33		10 pupils
BF32		More than 10 pupils
BM30a	More than 90 pupils	8 pupils
AF29	More than 100 pupils from approximately 50 households (15 to 16 years before the fieldwork)	5 pupils; the least N in the school at that time
AF28a	Surely less than 100 pupils: approximately 60 to 70 pupils	11 pupils; the largest N in the school at that time
AF28b		5 pupils
AM27	CM27 could not remember this information.	8 pupils
AF24	Approximately 70 to 80 pupils	12 pupils (AF24 and AM24 are in the same year)
AM24	Approximately 100 pupils	

⁸⁴ The narratives here come from the INFs that took part in the qualitative section of the study. The actual oldest participant of this study is 87 years old (PP-CM050), the father of CM65, the father in law of CM58a and CM58b, and the maternal grandfather of BM33, BF30, and AF28b. He immigrated from Laos when he was 5 years old, and graduated from Grade 4. Unfortunately, he was not available to be interviewed.

Pr47 (in the past)^a	Less than 100 pupils (approximately 98 to 99) from kindergarten to Grade 6.	Pr47 was responsible for Grade 1 to 3. There were approximately 20 pupils in her classroom (3 grades).
AF19	Almost 100 pupils	14 pupils
AF17b		7 pupils
AM16		9 pupils
Pr30s	There are 83 pupils in 2014	
Pr47 (at present)^a	From kindergarten to Grade 6, 90 pupils in 2013, 88 in 2014, and 72 in 2015 72 pupils as of May 2016 (the official record would be released on 10 June.) The N is gradually decreasing but still larger than HMT where some guardians send pupils to the KC town instead.	

^a The information provided by Pr47 is split and entitled as ‘Pr47 (in the past)’ and ‘Pr47 (at present)’ depending on whether the information refers to the situation in the past or at present.

^bN: Total number regardless of ethnicity and village

The WBV provides a kindergarten besides the primary school. At the time of the interview with Pr47 in 2016, there were a total of five teachers, excluding the principal, and four of them taught Grade 1 to 6. Since the number of teachers is less than that of the grades, the WBV adopts a combined class for Grade 2 and 3, and 4 and 5. There is no Bru teacher; all teachers except the schoolmaster are ethnic Lao people from the Isan region.

Table 6.9 summarizes the information regarding the teachers who taught/teaches the INFs, and the LC of the INFs and these teachers. The results show that teachers and pupils use Thai or Lao for communication. This is not surprising as, first of all, the teachers were/are not ethnic Bru; secondly, Lao Isan is widely spoken in the region; and, lastly, the teachers use Thai as a medium of education and expect the pupils to acquire Thai. However, it is notable that three elderly INFs (CF80a, CF80b, and CM61) used Bru with their teachers when they were at school. This suggests that some teachers of the INFs above 60 years old understood Bru despite the fact that they were not ethnic Bru.

Table 6.5. The Information of Teachers and Language Choice with Teachers

INF	Information about Teachers	Language Choice (Teacher to Pupils)	Language Choice (Pupils to Teachers)
CF80a		Thai	Bru

CF80b			Bru In classroom: Thai
CM67	2 Lao Isan teachers 2 classes (Grade 2 & 4 and 1 & 3)	Spoken: Lao Written: Thai	Thai and a little Lao; pupils should use Thai.
CM61	2 teachers 2 classes (Grade 1 & 2 and 3 & 4)	In general: Thai Outside classroom: Lao	Spoken: Bru (the teachers understood Bru thanks to their long experience teaching at WB.) Written: Thai
CM58b		Thai	Mixed with Thai and Lao
CF51	2 teachers	Thai	Thai
BF47a	1 teacher taught all 4 grades. The teacher commuted from KC by a row boat from KC every day.	Lao	Lao
BF47b	1 teacher taught all 4 grades. Later there were 2 teachers.	Thai and Lao	Lao
BF37		Thai	Thai
BM33		Lao	Lao
BF32		Thai	Thai
BM30a		Thai	Thai
AF29		Thai or Lao depending on the teacher CF29 used Thai in Thai classes and in public places.	Thai
AF28a		Lao and/or Thai	Lao and no Bru
AM27		Lao	Lao
AF24		Thai	Inside classroom: Thai Outside classroom: Lao
AM24		Thai	Thai
Pr47 (in the past)	When Pr47 had just started to teach in WB, there were 3 teachers; Grades were split into 3 lasses: Grade 1-3, 4, and 5-6. When another teacher retired, classes were split into Grade 1-2, 3-4, and 5-6.		
AF19		Thai and Lao	Thai and Lao
AM18		Thai	Thai
AF17b		Thai and Lao	Thai and Lao depending on a situation

AM16		Inside classroom: Thai When teachers ask a student to run an errand: Lao	Lao; teachers are instructed to use Thai
Pr30s	Pr30s is in charge of Grade 6.		
Pr47 (at present)	Pr47 has taught at WB for 11 years since 2005. She commutes from her home in KC. There are four teachers at present. She teaches Grade 1 for all subjects. Because of the government's policy, teachers whose degree major is Thai (Pr47) are supposed to be responsible for Grade 1. Three other teachers are respectively responsible for Grade 2 and 3, Grade 4 and 5, and Grade 6.	Thai If the teachers are able to speak Bru; it would be good because they could teach Thai in Bru; she has attempted to imitate Bru but her pronunciation was not good enough to be successful.	Lao, but teachers encourage pupils to use Thai.

Currently, the WBV pupils are supposed to wear different types of uniform depending on the day (it seems to be common in Thailand): formal uniform, white robe (linked with Buddhism), boy/girl scout uniform, traditional clothes, and sportswear. They wear black shirts and pants or skirt with a red line on the hems as their traditional clothes. The cloth was just recently designed by WB people as they do not have (Bru) traditional clothes (Pr30s and BM48). They referred to traditional clothes of sister ethnolinguistic groups and adopted black and red as their symbolic colours (BM48). This story illustrates that WB Bru may not have their own culture of clothes or have lost them so long ago that they cannot remember.

The LP of the INFs' classmates and their LC are shown in Table 6.10. The results illustrate how Bru has been replaced by Lao in the school domain across the generations. From the older INFs to BF47a and BF47b, Bru seems to have been predominant among the students. Some INFs had ethnic Lao classmates, but all talked to each other in Bru. BF37 is a Lao speaking child of a Lao speaking ethnic Bru mother and a Bru speaking father, who passed away when she was still too small to acquire Bru. As she is more fluent in Lao than Bru, her classmates accommodated her instead of pressurizing or encouraging her to acquire Bru like the older generations had done with their ethnic Lao classmates. The INFs in their late twenties, AF28a and AM27, still remember that other

Bru speaking classmates used Bru with each other. Furthermore, AF28a was spoken to in Bru by her school mates, and AM27 spoke Bru even though they can both speak Lao. AF24 and AM24 also told a similar story; Bru speaking classmates knew who were the Bru speaker and chose to use Bru with them. Among Bru speakers in their teens, Lao seems to have taken over from Bru. AM18, AF17b, and AM16 claimed that they are Bru speakers, but they answered that they mainly use(d) Lao even with Bru speaking classmates.

In 2009, when the Bru language and cultural revitalization project was supported by the Thailand Research Fund (TRF) and the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia (RILCA), Mahidol University (MU), Bru was taught by a Bru community member to pupils in WBV. AM16 was the grade that participated in this Bru class. He stated that his classmates used Lao with each other though some of them were interested in learning Bru.

Table 6.6. The LP and LC of the INFs and Their Classmates

INF	Classmates' Ethnicity and Language Proficiency	Language Choice (Among Pupils)
CF80a		Bru
CF80b		Bru
CM67	All were ethnic Bru and could speak Bru.	Bru
CM61	CM61 is ethnic Lao. Another ethnic Lao pupil was in Grade 1, a child of the teacher, when he was Grade 4.	Bru except when teachers talked to pupils; pupils did not understand Lao well.
CM58b	All were ethnic Bru and could speak Bru.	Bru and a few Lao words
CF51	There was/were ethnic Lao pupil(s), but the Lao pupil(s) had to use Bru.	Bru (no Lao); Bru pupils could not speak Lao.
BF47a	There were ethnic Lao pupils, but the Lao pupil(s) could speak Bru.	Bru; BF47a was scared of the Lao students.
BF47b	There were only ethnic Bru pupils and no mixed children. BF47b acquired Lao after she entered the school.	Bru
BF37	There were not many non-Bru pupils.	Lao, and some Bru; the proportion was the same. Bru classmates to BF37: Lao Among Bru classmates: Bru
BM33	All could speak Bru.	Lao and Bru Pupils used both Bru and Lao to an interlocutor regardless of his/her ethnicity.
BF32	All were fluent in Bru; BF32 is less fluent in Bru than before.	Only Bru and no Lao

BM30a	Among eight pupils, three could speak Bru; five spoke Lao.	Lao and simple Bru words
AF29	Almost 60% (of pupils) used Bru, and 95% (of them) understood Bru.	Lao (some pupils only spoke Lao.)
AF28a		In general: Bru Classmates to AF28a: Bru AF28a to classmates: Lao (she does not understand Bru.) AF28a used Bru only with simple phrases, such as, 'have a meal.'
AF28b	Among five classmates, two were fluent in Bru; three used Lao.	
AM27	There were pupils using Lao but they were not so many. AM27 used Lao since he was small as her mother is ethnic Lao.	In general: Bru AM27 is not fluent in Bru but he replied in Bru. He forgot Bru after he grew up. Classmates to AM27: only Lao (he has never questioned why the classmates did not use Bru with him).
AF24		Mainly Lao, four to five classmates used Bru; they used Bru with their parents. Classmates knew who were able to speak Bru and they used Bru with such classmates.
AM24	Among 12 classmates, four could speak Bru; eight spoke Lao.	In general: Lao and Bru (Bru was also frequently used.) Classmates to AM24: Lao as he is a passive speaker of Bru. Among Bru speaking classmates: Bru
Pr47 (in the past)	The pronunciation of Thai by pupils who completed 12 grades and are working in Bangkok is good. According to Pr47's personal impression, Grade 4 to five pupils were able to use Bru in the past.	
AF19	All could understand Bru; in particular, three were fluent in Bru, one spoke Bru a little, and the rest were passive speakers.	Lao
AM18		Mainly Thai (CM18 meant Lao?) and sometimes Bru
AF17b	Only two of seven classmates spoke Bru fluently; some could speak Bru, but did not do so, others did not understand.	Lao and sometimes Bru

AM16	Among nine classmates, three could speak Bru; others could speak limited Bru or could not do so at all. Some of them wanted to be able to speak Bru. Some of his junior students were also fluent in Bru; mainly they were passive speakers.	Lao
Pr47 (at present)	Pupils sometimes use the wrong Thai words that are influenced by Lao: <i>ma khuea</i> ‘eggplant’ in Thai, is <i>maak~bak khuea</i> in Lao Isan. They then apply the <i>ma vis-à-vis maak~bak</i> correspondence to other pairs such as <i>*ma mii (khanun)</i> ‘jack fruit’ which is <i>bak mii</i> in Lao. Some pupils seem to translate from (Bru to) Lao to Thai when they were spoken to by teachers. Pr47 observes that even parents no longer speak Bru. She observes, therefore, that it is no wonder that the pupils don’t speak it then. As of 2013, the result of a survey at the school revealed that nine out of 72 pupils answered that they are fluent in Bru; other pupils had limited knowledge of Bru, knowing only simple words/phrases.	In contrast to the past, Pr47 does not hear pupils shouting in Bru at now.

AF17b, one of two fluent Bru speakers in her grade, listed to what extent her classmates knew Bru and how they used it as follows (their names are initialized and they are re-ordered from a person with the excellent proficiency).

- (1) AF17b claims that she knows Bru very well.
- (2) JN (a grandson of CF57): he knows Bru very well but uses Lao a lot.
- (3) MN (male): he knows Bru but does not speak it.
- (4) NY: s/he understands Bru but does not speak it; the proficiency level is similar to MN (male)
- (5) OY: s/he understands Bru but does not speak it.
- (6) YN: s/he knows Bru but does not speak Bru.
- (7) AK: s/he knows only limited Bru; if she is asked to speak Bru, she can say some words/phrases.
- (8) PY: s/he does not know Bru; s/he only knows several Bru words, in particular, expletives.
- (9) KY: s/he does not know Bru; s/he only knows several Bru words.

(10) MN (female): she does not know Bru; she only knows several Bru words.

According to AF17b, only she knows Bru very well and also frequently uses it. (2) JN knows Bru as well as she does, but he prefers to use Lao over Bru. The next four classmates know Bru, but they do not speak it. The remaining four classmates were regarded as people without any practical Bru proficiency.

In addition, further narratives from AM16 suggest that some young Bru speakers have given up using Bru with other Bru speakers in the same generation, even in more private domains than school. Despite the fact that he and his younger brother are fluent in Bru and use Bru with their parents, he said that they talk to each other in Lao. He is accustomed to doing so and had never reflected why he uses Lao with his younger brother⁸⁵.

The status of Bru at the WBV, thus, seems to have changed across time from

1. the language that everyone was supposed to know (until BF47a and BF47b),
to
2. the language used only among Bru speakers whereas Lao speakers were partly accommodated for, but not always (BF37 and AM27),
to
3. the language that is used exclusively among Bru speakers and they voluntarily and always switch to Lao to accommodate for Lao speakers (AM24 and AF24),
to
4. the language that is rarely used even between fluent speakers (AF19 and below).

The youngest INFs' LC pattern at school may show that they regard Lao as the medium of communication with 'their classmates', no matter what their ethnicity is, instead of switching languages depending on the interlocutor. Moreover, AM16's LC seems to reflect the fact that some youths may further regard Lao as the medium of

⁸⁵ By contrast, I observed AF17b uses Bru with her younger brother, and she confirmed this language choice with him during the interview.

communication with people in the same generation. The latter explains why the choice of Lao is not limited to the school domains but also applied to all other domains, including the home. Language shift to Lao for this age group seems to be almost complete.

6.2.6.2 *Secondary School*

In Thailand, there are now six years of *prathom sueksaa* ‘primary education.’ Unless WB pupils are sent to other schools by their guardians, they are supposed to continue their secondary education at *Rong Rian Khongchiam Witthayakhom* ‘the Khongchiam Witthayakhom School (KCW).’ *Matthayom sueksaa* ‘secondary education’ in Thailand is separated into *matthayom sueksaa toon ton* ‘junior high school’ (equivalent to Grade 7 to 9), and *matthayom sueksaa toon plaay* ‘senior high school’ (equivalent to Grade 10 to 12)⁸⁶. The current KCW provides 6 years of continuous secondary education⁸⁷.

KCW started its educational service as a branch school of another school in the Phibunmangsaan district in 1971, then it was officially established as a separate school in 1973 (Rongrian Khoongchiam Witthayakhom, n.d.). The school initially provided curricula up to Grade 9. It then extended this up to Grade 12 in 1992 (Se59). When Se59, who had taught at the KCW for 35 years – the longest amongst the 44 current teachers as of 2015, was dispatched to the KCW, there were slightly more than 200 students. The number of students has increased every year, and it was more than 800 in 2015⁸⁸.

The information regarding the KCW was obtained not only from the WB INFs who were students or alumni but also from teachers. Se59 recounted the situations of WB students at the KCW from a teacher’s view both in the past and at present. Se30s provided information from both a Lao Isan student’s view when she was a KCW student 20 years before the fieldwork, and a teacher’s view at present. Pr47 teaches primary education in WB at present, and she is also an alumna of KCW. She thus could talk from a viewpoint as a student when she was studying in KCW more than 30 years before the fieldwork.

⁸⁶ In Thailand, Grade 7 to 12 are called *Mo 1* to *Mo 6* and Grade 1 to 6 are called as *Po 1* to *Po 6*. *Mo* and *Po* represent the first letter of *matthayom* and *prathom*. I adopted general terms in English: Grade 7 to 12 to avoid any confusions.

⁸⁷ Compulsory education at present is up to Grade 9.

⁸⁸ The official information on the website (Rongrian Khoongchiam Witthayakhom, n.d.) states it is a total of 795.

As I stated above, I classified narratives from various INFs under common topics. Table 6.4 shows the information regarding the school experience of each INF. The results reveal that, as discussed above, the means of transportation changed from boat to land access. This change would have encouraged WB adults to send their children to the KCW (for example, CM61's parent did not allow him to go to the secondary school as they thought waterborne traffic was dangerous (see 6.2.5.2), though there are INFs and PPs below 30 years old who studied up to Grade 6. Moreover, if more WB children were able to enter KCW thanks to this change, this could be another turning point that has increased the opportunity for them to be more easily exposed to the Lao Isan society than before.

Table 6.7. Highest Education Attained and the Way of Going to the KCW

INF	Grade Attained ^b	The Way of Going to School
Pr47 (as a student)^a	Grade 9	Pr47 lived in her own house in KC. Female students from remote areas stayed at a school's dormitory, while male students stayed at a temple. They went home on Friday and came back on Sunday.
Se30s (as a student)^a	No info	Se30s recounts how WB students came to the school by ferryboat. Some guardians did not want their children to go to school as river crossing was dangerous. During the rainy season, torrents prevented some WB students from attending classes. As the transportation became more convenient, more guardians sent their children to school.
BM33	Grade8	BM33 went to school on his own motorbike.
BF32	Grade 12	BF32 went to school by a hired boat. Sometimes BF32 was late for classes as the boat was delayed due to heavy streams. Teachers seemed to understand her situation.
BM30a	Grade 12	BM30a went by boat. In BM30a's latter school days, it changed to be a shared vehicle with HMT and Tha Phae students.
AF28a	Grade 12	AF28a went by boat. The boat arrived at the temple in KC, and the students walked from there. The current bridge over the Muun River was completed after AF28a's graduation. The travel on rainy days was scary because of torrents. The boat was for the students and classmates to travel together. The boat was <i>ruea haang yaaw</i> 'long-tailed boat' and capsized later.
AF24	Grade 9	AF24 went by pick-up truck.
AF19	Grade 9	AF19 went by shared pick-up truck with HMT students. It changed to the one exclusively for WB students after the trouble between the two groups outlined in 6.2.1.
AF17b	Currently Grade 12 (as of the interview)	AF17b went by shared pick-up truck with HMT students until Grade 10, then used the one exclusively for WB students from Grade 11. (Recently HMT students are able to ride this truck.)
AM16	Currently Grade 11 (as of the interview)	No information
Se30s^a	(Teacher)	Se30s recalls that it was 15 years before the interview when a pick-up truck and a passenger car were able to cross the Muun River on a large raft. This is thanks to the opening of a large resort hotel in HMT. A bridge has been available for 10 years, and the current bridge was built 5 years before the interview.

^a Pr47 and Se30s are alumnae of KCW. The information provided by them is split and entitled as 'Pr47/Se30s (as a student)' and 'Se30s (at present)' depending on whether the information refers to the situation when they were a KCW student or at present as teachers.

^b Grade Attained: Grade that a INF has completed at the KCW. This may not match their highest education achievement.

Table 6.5 shows the extent of WB students' network and their relation with TL (Bru) students (for example, how many students from TL do/did the WB INFs know when they attended KCW). It is no wonder that the population of ethnic Bru students are/were a minority. There are more than 100 students per grade in KWC, but the WB students account for less than 10% of them. According to Se59, the number of TL

students is so few that they may not increase the proportion of ethnic Bru students in the KCW.

Table 6.8. The Number of Students and the Bru Network at the KCW

INF	Total N ^a of Students	The N of WB Students	The Network with TL Students
Se59 (in the past)		There have been WB students since Se59's early days in KCW.	
Pr47 (as a student)	20 students/class 2 classes/grade 3 grades/school	The first WB students entered KCW 1 year after Pr47.	
Se30s (as a student)		Se30s did not have WB classmates in the same year in school. Se30s had WB friends in (a) different grade(s).	
BM33	Approximately 20 students/class	Approximately 40-50 students/school BM33 could not remember the number of WB students in his class.	No TL students
BF32		20-30 students/school 2-3 students/grade 2 students in her class	BF32 recognized 2-3 TL students
BM30a		Only BM30a in his class. No other WB students	There were some TL students in high school (Grade 10 to 12)
AF28a		Only AF28a in her class	One TL student in AF28a's class
AF24	38 students/class 4 classes/grade	At most 11 students/grade (AF24 has 12 classmates from WB and 11 of them continued to secondary education.) 5 WB classmates in her class	There were no students from TL in the same year in school
AF19	More than 40 students/class	11 students/grade 6 classmates in AF19's class	AF19 did not recognize any TL students.
AF17a	42 students/class 4 classes/grade (in 2015)	6 students/grade 3 students in AF17a's class (all female)	There was approximately the same number of students as WB.
AF17b	3 classes/grade (in 2016)	7 students/grade (3 of 10 AF17b's classmates did not continue their education.) 3 students in her class	There was no TL student in AF17b's class. She does not have friends from TL.
AM16	More than 40 students/class 3 classes/grade	9 students/grade Only AM16 in his class	There were no TL students in his class. AM16 recognizes 8-9 TL senior students but never talked with them.
Se59 (the present)	More than 800 students. (The official data is 795). A total of 22 classes from Grade 7 to 12	Approximately 50 students/school Approximately 10 students/grade (If there were 20 WB students/grade, it would be regarded as 'many.' 2-3 students/class	TL students are few, approximately 5. TL students may attend a newly established junior high school (Grade 7 to 9) annexed to the primary school in their neighbouring community (the Kum village), many may not continue to Grade 10.

^a N: Total number regardless of ethnicity and village

According to Se59 and Se30s, pupils of most villages in the KC district attend KCW. There are so many villages that they could not list all the names of villages at

the interview. Se59, however, remembered that the current Grade 7 students come from a total of 13 villages. Meanwhile AF17a listed as many as 20 villages including WB and TL that she remembers. Figure 6.5 shows the rough locations of these 20 villages (with stars). Though villages in the far north from the KC town are not shown.



Figure 6.5. The Location of the Home Villages of KCW Students.

Adapted from Google (n.d.).

Regarding the network with TL students, it can be hardly said that WB INFs know/knew many. Se59 suggested the possible reason that most TL students now go to the junior high school (Grade 7 to 9) annexed to the Kum primary school in Kum, a much closer neighbouring village. Many of them then they may not continue to Grade 10. At any rate, despite KCW's potential to connect TL and WB students, this seems to have had little effect.

Table 6.6 shows the LC in school domains with 3 sub-domains: when the teachers speak to the students, when the students speak to the teachers, and when the students speak to each other. The narratives show that Bru is rarely used in these domains. Even the students with high Bru proficiency tend to use mainly Lao. From a teacher's view, they want the students to acquire Thai. However, Lao is predominant over Thai among the students.

Table 6.9. Language Choice at the KCW

INF	Language Choice (Teachers to Students)	Language Choice (Students to Teachers)	Language Choice (Among Students)
Se30s (as a student)		Bru students to the teachers: Lao or Thai	Lao (even when talking with other Bru students) (Se30s thought they used Bru at home.)
BF32			In general: Lao Among TL students: Bru BF32 and WB students: Bru BF32 and TL students: Lao
BM30a			Neither WB or TL students rarely used Bru. BM30a used Bru only a little.
AF28a			AF28a and WB students: Lao AF28a and her TL classmate: Bru (the TL classmate liked using Bru with AF28a)
AF24	When teaching: Thai Other times: Thai and Lao	Mainly Thai, and Lao	Mainly Lao plus Bru AF24 and her WB fellow students, in particular, about another person who does not understand Bru: Bru
AF19	Thai	Thai	Lao
AF17a			AF17a and TL students: Lao (TL students are/were able to speak Bru.)
AF17b	Thai	Thai	Lao (even with WB students)
AM16	Thai both inside and outside classrooms	Thai both inside and outside classrooms	AM16 and WB students: mainly Lao, and occasionally Bru AM16 and two other WB classmate with Bru fluency: Lao, or Bru when talking about what they do not want others to hear.
Se59 (at present)	In general: Thai (The teachers aim for the students’ acquisition of Thai.) Outside classroom: Lao and sometimes Thai in general; uses Lao when Se59 needs to seriously/really talk in depth. Se59 wants the students to practice using Thai as it is a ‘polite’ language.	Inside the classroom: Thai (Students sometimes cannot fully switch to Thai; Se59 instructs the students to use Thai and Lao depending on time, place and occasion.) Outside the classroom: Mainly Lao	In general: Lao Among Bru students: mostly Lao Isan, but Se59 has observed them use Bru.

Table 6.7 shows the INFs’ narratives regarding the relationships between WB students and other students, attitudes of both the INFs and others to the Bru language and ethnicity. As discussed in the previous section (6.2.1.), some WB students were teased and picked on because of their ethnicity. Whether or not the WB students took

it seriously depended on the individuals. AF24 and AM16 took advantage of their minority language and used Bru as their secret language to joke or talk about others knowing they could not be understood. AM16's narrative suggests that even some non-Bru students were rather interested in Bru and did not discriminate against them.

Table 6.10. Relationship with Others, and Attitudes to Bru Language and Ethnicity

INF	Relationship with Other Students, and Attitudes to the Bru Language and Ethnicity
Se59 (the past)	When Se59 began teaching at KCW, the information and communication technologies (ICT) including computers, mobile phones, and smartphones were not as common as they are now. Se59 believes that the access to the ICT spoiled students as they are exposed to inappropriate information for youths. The character/personality of students in the past was different from now. In particular, WB students studied hard and had a good character. WB students were diligent and top students.
Pr47 (as a student)	Even though Pr47 did not directly know the first student from WB to the KCW (the ex-village head), WB drew the attention of the surrounding communities, so that it was known at that time that there had been students coming from WB when she was a student.
Se30s (as a student)	WB students were smart. Se30s was aware of some teasing about Bru language and ethnicity, but put it down to the nature of children.
BM33	The relationships with students from other communities were fine.
AF28a	There was a Bru project (a contest). Other classmates asked (her) how a word was said in Bru. AF28a did not witness any teasing or discrimination.
AF24	AF24 was made fun of and called 'Suay' 'Kha' and she argued when that happened. She thinks her Bru proficiency is an advantage as others do not know what she is saying. She regards these teasing simply as jokes. (See 6.2.1)
AF19	There were both joking and serious teasing. Students from other communities teased WB students: 'They speak and we are unable to understand', 'your pronunciation is different (from us)', 'Kha'. She was sad about the teasing. (See 6.2.1)
AF17a	AF17a joked with TL students in Bru.
AF17b	No one dared to tease WB/Bru students. Lao Isan students were friendly to Bru students. AF17b witnessed the fight between WB and HMT male students. (See 6.2.1)
AM16	Teacher(s) asked him about the origin and history of Bru, but he could only partly answer all questions. Surrounding people asked 'what you are talking about' when AM16 used Bru. He joked in Bru with his friends even though they may not know Bru. Students from other communities did not tease him. They asked how to say a word/phrase in Bru and used it on other friends to make fun of them.
Se59 (the present)	In the past, WB students were embarrassed of their language and culture, but this changed more than 10 years before the interview. However, they have neutral attitudes about their language and culture. (See 6.2.1) Now, they seem to be proud of their language and ethnicity. Their friends in turn seem to be interested in Bru. A retired Thai teacher studied Bru; s/he chose students with Bru proficiency and let them present how to say a word/phrase in Bru in class. Se59 guesses that Bru people think Bru is useless. Compared to students from other villages, WB students behave better and study harder. Fewer students turn delinquent. This may be because they are less influenced by mass media because of their harder access to ICT.
Se30s (the present)	Recent WB students are not always good at studies like those in the past. Their economic status is poorer than students from other communities. Se30s has seen Grade 1 to 3 WB students in recent times joking with each other in Bru. They answered in Bru though they were spoken to in Thai.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter, I reported the results of the in-depth interviews and observation I carried out during my fieldwork. The results were classified based on the possible factors that I listed in Chapter 1. The results allow us to have insights into the social transitions that WB people have experienced and even how non-linguistic social factors influenced the language use and encouraged the disruption of the intergenerational language transmission. I will integrate the data collected by the quantitative approach and the qualitative approaches, and discuss the overall results in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 Discussion

In this chapter, I will discuss the major findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data. The discussion will begin with a review of the objectives and hypotheses of this study, and the research questions introduced in Chapter 1. It will then go on to an assessment of the language vitality and endangerment according to the existing scales, and will propose other factors that need to be adopted in order to supplement the existing scales. Lastly, based on the discussion in 7.2 and 7.3, I will propose some points of consideration regarding the field and practices of assessing language endangerment and vitality.

7.1 Review of Research Objectives and Hypotheses

Briefly, the objectives of this study are as follows;

(1) to assess the language endangerment and vitality of the Bru community in WB through the use of the LVE (UNESCO, 2003b, 2011) and EGIDS (Lewis and Simons, 2010),

(2) to investigate further factors that LVE and EGIDS do not cover but might determine the directionality of LS or LM of the target group. Such as:

Sociocultural characteristics,

Economic Status and Economic Change,

Grandparents,

Inter-group Marriage (Exogamy), and

School Language and Institutional Support,

(3) to propose further considerations not currently covered by LVE and EGIDS that may be essential when assessing language endangerment and vitality.

The hypotheses of this study can be summarized as below;

Hypothesis 1: The WB Bru are shifting their language habits from using Bru to using Lao Isan and Thai, and their language is threatened on the grounds that

(1-1) intergenerational language transmission (ILT) is not successfully done;

(1-2) domains traditionally allocated to Bru are gradually getting fewer and smaller, especially as the age of WB people decreases; and

(1-3) Fishman's (1991) three dislocations (Section 1.4.1) are applicable to the relationship between the Bru people in WB and the majority Thai/Lao society:

1. physical and demographic dislocation,
2. social dislocation, and
3. cultural dislocation

Hypothesis 2: Besides the abovementioned macro-level viewpoints, the following six factors influence the language vitality of Bru in WB (from here on: WB Bru), and thus they need to be examined to what extent and whether they have a positive or negative influence (Sections 1.4.2. – 1.4.7.).

(2-1) Sociocultural characteristics: whether this factor accelerates LS or promotes LM is culturally dependent (Fishman, 1991). I hypothesized that the Bru language is a core value for the Bru culture and identity among WB people. Therefore, they would be actively encouraging LM as they regard the loss of language as the loss of their culture and identity (see Section 7.3.2).

(2-2) Economic Status: research has shown that whether this factor accelerates LS or promotes LM is another factor that is culturally dependent (Edwards, 1985). In the WB's case, I hypothesized that that WB's recent economic development is indirectly encouraging LM: the economic development may have allowed a working population, especially the parent generation, to stay in WB rather than being forced to find work in distant urban areas. Therefore, ILT could be carried out more smoothly than in the past (see Section 7.3.3).

(2-3) Grandparents: this factor generally promotes LM (Kloss, 1966; Clyne, 1982, 1985, 2003). In WB, meanwhile, I hypothesized that their role in LM is compromised because they are fluent speakers of the majority language(s), and thus their grandchildren are not motivated to speak Bru with them (see Section 7.3.7).

(2-4) Exogamy: this factor generally accelerates LS (Cavallaro, 2010; Clyne, 2003; Pauwels, 2004). I hypothesized that this trend is also true in WB.

(2-5) Diglossia: the disruption of diglossia is the prerequisite of LS (Fishman, 1967). I hypothesized that there is no stable diglossia in WB,

and that there are no clear and separate domains for Bru and the majority language(s) (see Section 7.3.5).

(2-6) Language Attitude and Institutional Support: whether these factors accelerate LS or promote LM are also culturally dependent (Kosonen, 2008). I hypothesized that the experience the Bru people gained from a past language revitalization program would have positive impacts on WB people's language attitudes. They are, thus, well aware of language endangerment and are making practical LM efforts (see Section 7.3.7).

7.2 Assessment of the Language Endangerment and Vitality of Bru in WB

In this section, I assess the degree of language endangerment and vitality of WB Bru in accordance to the LVE (UNESCO, 2003b, 2011) and EGIDS (Lewis and Simons, 2010) respectively.

7.2.1 LVE (UNESCO, 2003; Moseley, 2010)

As I explained in 2.2.1., LVE consists of three broad categories and nine factors. Most factors are scored from one of six grades from Grade 5 to 0. I compared the situation of WB Bru using each factor and its definition and determined a relevant grade.

Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission (ILT)

First of all, the results of the questionnaire suggest that Bru is used in limited domains by some children. This means that WB Bru does not meet the condition of Grade 4: 'the language is used by some children in all domains' (UNESCO, 2003b) or 'most, but not all, children...of a...community speak their parental language as their first language...' (Moseley, 2010). WB Bru, thus, should be lower than Grade 4. While WB Bru's situation corresponds to one of the statement of Grade 3 'the language is used mostly by the parental generation and up' (i.e. the WB Cohorts B and C), at the same time WB Bru is in a better state than the stated criteria for the other condition of Grade 3: 'the language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home,' (Moseley, 2010) as there are still Bru children who have acquired Bru as their mother tongue. This means that the situation for the WB Bru in part, but not perfectly, matches the criteria for Grade 3. Therefore, according to this factor, LVE does not accurately capture the ILT in WB as the situation of WB Bru is between Grade 3 – Definitely Endangered and Grade 4 – Vulnerable/Unsafe.

Nevertheless, if one grade must be chosen for WB Bru, it would be Grade 3 because the situation in WB matches one of the statements for Grade 3 that the main users of the language are the parental and older generations.

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers

This factor states that the smaller the number of speakers is, the more easily the community is affected by LS. The result of the questionnaire survey revealed that among a total of 138 PPs, 103 PPs (78.3%) evaluated their Bru speaking proficiency as no lower than ‘3-Middle.’ While it is difficult to precisely estimate the absolute number of speakers in WB, we can assume that when this proportion is applied to the total population (634 as of June 2007) of WB, around 496 people seem to be a fairly fluent in Bru. Note, though, that this study adopted a non-probability sampling and the youngest participant is 10 years old. Because of this, I cannot statistically prove that the ratio of Bru speakers from the total participants (PPs) is proportional to that of the total WB population. Therefore, the criterion above (no lower than ‘3-Middle’) might allow too many or too few people to be counted as a ‘speaker’. However, the results do show that there is a still a high number of Bru speakers in WB. The problem with the LVE is that the way to distinguish ‘a speaker’ from ‘non-speaker’ is not clearly stated by UNESCO (2003b).

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

The proportion of speakers is defined as the number of speakers in relation to the total population of an ethnolinguistic group. It is difficult from the results of this study to estimate the total number of Bru people in WB and then to work out the proportion of speakers within the Bru population. In the case of WB Bru, as I mentioned in Factor 2, 78.3% of the PPs claimed that they are able to speak Bru at least at the middle level. If we accept that this percentage is true across the whole community, then from these results, I could estimate that WB Bru’s Factor 3 is at Grade 3 (A majority speak the language) - Definitely Endangered. However, it should be noted that the grade for the younger population must be lower than Grade 3 because the results showed that fluency in Bru decreases as the PPs get younger. For instance, the percentage of PPs in Cohorts A, B, and C who estimated their Bru speaking proficiency no lower than ‘3-Middle’ is 50.0%, 86.4%, and 87.5% respectively. The grade, thus, varies depending on what generation we focus on. In a

community where LS is rapidly ongoing, simply applying a proportion of speakers within the total population doesn't adequately capture the dynamically changing generational differences.

Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains

The analysis of the results shows that older Bru speakers (Cohorts B and C) use Bru primarily in the home domain, and the younger cohort (Cohort A) has almost totally shifted to Lao and Thai. Therefore, the grade for Factor 4 would be Grade 3 – Dwindling domains. However, as shown in the discussion of Factor 3 above, this could only be applicable to fluent speakers, and 'fluent speakers' tend to be older speakers. In WB, by simply applying this criterion to the total population, this factor in the LVE doesn't adequately capture the generational differences. In the case of the younger cohort, the grade could be 2 – limited domains or 1 – highly limited domains.

Factor 5: Response to New Domain and Media

New domains and media are, for instance, schools, new work environments, new media, broadcasting and the Internet. Assessors can decide which domains to include. For WB, no matter what domains are subject to the assessment, the Grade is 0 – inactive. Bru is not used as a medium of communication in any such domain. Though a few PPs occasionally use Bru with their Bru classmates and/or colleagues in school or work spheres, such language choice simply depends on the interlocutor more than on any new domain.

However, it should be noted that there is a chance to raise the grade. As I reported in Section 6.2.5.4, the mobile phone internet signal has recently become available in WB. This has led an increased use of mobile phones and smart phones by WB people and this has meant an increase in chat and SMS being done in Bru. If this continues in the future, the grade could be increased to Grade -1 minimal. It is worthy to note, though, that at the time of this study, there was little indication from the in-depth interviews that WB informants were using Bru with their mobile phones or smartphones.

Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy

In WB, different kinds of Bru orthography were unified as part of the language and culture revitalization project (Phuengpa, n.d.; and Section 3.7.2). The project also produced plays written with the new Bru orthography. However, it has not been taught

or used at school since the end of the project. I did not observe any use of the orthography in WB, not even as symbolic usage such as signage. Therefore, for this factor an appropriate Grade is 1.

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use

As I reviewed in Section 3.2., Thailand's educational policy does not overtly promote minority languages (Ampra & Thaitae, 2000; Kosonen, 2008; Siltragool & Petcharugsa, 2005); nevertheless, it could be interpreted that they covertly permit teaching languages other than Standard Thai at school (Draper, 2013a). At a practical level, based on narratives from students and teachers, Bru students are neither encouraged nor forced to assimilate to Lao and Thai, and neither are they actively encouraged to use Bru. Since the use of Bru is not regarded as prestigious (i.e. Grade 4 - differentiate support), and the Thai government does not officially discourage or prohibit minority languages (i.e. Grade 0 - prohibition), the grade for Factor 7 lies between 1 and 3. For Grade 1, the statement that non-dominant languages are neither recognized or protected is in conflict with the circumstances in WB as Bru is recognized by the local educational institutions. For Grade 2, the statement that the government encourages assimilation to the dominant group is also in conflict with the circumstances in WB for the abovementioned reasons. No explicit policy exists for Bru and Lao Isan to prevail in the public domain. Therefore, I think Grade 3 – passive assimilation is the most suitable to the case in WB.

Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language

The results of the questionnaire survey obviously indicated that the PPs hold strong positive attitudes to Bru especially in terms of solidarity, intimacy, and identity function. Therefore, Factor 8 can be awarded the highest grade, Grade 5.

Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation

Compared to neighbouring Bru communities such as TL and LaS, a number of linguistic studies have been carried out in WB and the Bru language has been documented. L. Thongkum and Puengpa (1980) compiled a Bru dictionary, Phuengpa and Phranmen (1994a) and (1994b) are a trilingual phrase book and thesaurus respectively, Green (1996) is a phonological study of Bru, Miller and Miller (1996) compiled a wordlist of So-Bru languages in Isan, Haak, Green, Miller, and Miller

(1994) developed an orthography, Green and van der Haak (2001) documented Bru folktales, and Suun Kaanrianruu Nok Rongrian Phaak Tawan Ook Chiang Nuea [The Center of Non-Formal Education, the Northeastern Region] (2007) compiled a textbook of conversational Bru. However, the above have not been updated and no new material has been developed or collected. There are no adequately annotated high-quality audio and video recordings that are a condition for Grade 4. Therefore, the grade for Factor 9 is, at highest, Grade 3.

As a result of the evaluation, the grades of WB Bru are summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. The LVE Grades of WB Bru

Factor		Grade
1	ILT	In the middle of 4 - vulnerable/unsafe, and 3 - definitively endangered
2	Absolute Number of Speakers	108 out of 138 (~496 out of 634)
3	Proportion of Speakers	78.3% (varies from 87.5% for Cohort C to 50.0% for Cohort A)
4	Trend in Existing Language Domains	3 – dwindling domains to 1 – highly limited domains
5	Response to New Domain and Media	0 – inactive
6	Materials for Language Education and Literacy	1
7	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies	3– passive assimilation
8	Community Members’ Attitudes	5
9	Amount and Quality of Documentation	at highest 3 – fair

7.2.2 EGIDS (Lewis & Simons, 2010)

The following is a diagnosis of WB Bru according to Lewis and Simons’ (2010) diagnostic decision tree presented in Figure 2.1 (see Section 2.3.).

According to the EGIDS diagnostic decision tree, assessors are supposed to firstly estimate ‘the identity function’ of the language. If the identity function is ‘heritage’ or ‘historical,’ the EGIDS level is automatically determined. If the identity function is ‘vernacular’, the assessors are to estimate ‘the level of official use’ and the EGIDS level will be determined by these two issues. Secondly, if the identity function is ‘home,’ assessors need to estimate two more issues: whether ILT is successful to all children or not, and if the answer to this second issue is ‘yes,’ the third issue to be assessed is the literacy status of the language; while if the answer to the second issue is ‘no,’ the last issue to be assessed is the youngest generation with some fluency of the language.

The results in this study revealed that Bru is used in limited domains, and mainly when an interlocutor is another ethnic Bru person. This shows that Bru is at least still used in some domains so that the identity function is more than just ‘heritage’ or ‘historical’. It should, therefore, be ‘vehicular’ or ‘home.’ What it leaves is the fact that the language is used when an interlocutor is another ‘ethnic Bru person’. In WB, most of the people do not have daily contacts with neighbouring Bru

communities such as TL and LaS. Thus, the fact that they use Bru when they talk with ‘an ethnic Bru person’ really refers to them talking with another member of the same community. Because of the limited use with other Bru communities, Bru cannot be categorized as a lingua franca used for communication with people beyond the community. Therefore, Bru’s identity function can only be classified as being at the ‘home’ level.

Secondly, the diagnostic decision tree states that when the identity function is ‘home’, the assessors next need to estimate ‘the state of intergenerational language transmission’ or whether all participants transmit the language to their children or not. The results in this study show that is definitely not the case. The results for language proficiency and language choice revealed that the younger a PP is, the less fluent the PP is in Bru, and the less frequently the PP uses Bru. This is because they did not learn Bru from their parents. Therefore, the assessment of whether ILT is successful to all children is ‘No.’

Lastly, when ILT for all families is unsuccessful, the assessors are supposed to evaluate the ‘societal profile of generational language use’. That is, determine the youngest generation of fluent speakers, and choose one generation from ‘Children,’ ‘Parents,’ ‘Grandparents,’ and ‘Great Grandparents’. The results in this study show that for WB Bru, there are still fluent speakers who are between 10 to 29 years old (i.e. Cohort A). Although the proportion within this generation seems small. As they are the youngest generation, and, in case of WB, only three out of 46-Cohort A participant have children, it is reasonable to regard Cohort A as the ‘Children’ generation. According to the diagnostic decision tree, therefore, WB Bru can be classified as ‘6b – threatened.’ In contrast, this level is one level lower than that of Katang⁸⁹ classified in Ethnologue (‘6a – vigorous’) (Simons & Fennig, 2018). In order to be classified as EGIDS level 6a, the language must be successfully transmitted to children by all parents, and the literacy status is ‘None.’ The difference between EGIDS levels of WB Bru and Katang is attributed to the fact that, unlike inWB, Katang is still safely transmitted to the children in the most Katang communities or at least the Katang community Ethnologue uses as its data source.

⁸⁹ Possibly the same ethnic group as WB Bru (See Sections 3.4 and 3.5)

7.2.3 Review of the Assessment by LVE and EGIDS

In the previous two sections I have attempted to assess the degree of language endangerment and vitality of WB Bru according to LVE and EGIDS. In this section, I will discuss the appropriateness of these assessments, and propose possible shortcomings of each of these two scales.

LVE (UNESCO, 2003; Moseley, 2010)

For Factor 1, ILT is undoubtedly important. However, the definitions of its grade in LVE may not well correspond to a language under a rapid LS situation. The condition for Grade 4 is that ‘most but not all’ (Moseley, 2010, p. 11; UNESCO, 2003b, p. 7) children inherit their parental language as their first language. In other words, ILT is successfully done for almost every child in the community. While one of the conditions for Grade 3 is that ‘the language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home’ (Moseley, 2010, p. 12; UNESCO, 2003b, p. 7). In other words, ILT is not successfully done. The diverging point of Grade 4 and 3 is, thus, whether ILT is successful for almost all of the children or not. Meanwhile, neither grade represents a dynamic LS situation. That is a situation where ILT for children is rapidly or gradually being lost, and a language’s vitality and endangerment is dynamically slipping from Grade 4 toward Grade 3 year by year. Once some of the children stop learning their parental language, the language should not be classified as Grade 4; nevertheless, the language may not fulfil the condition of Grade 3 either until all children have completely lost the language and the youngest speakers has grown to the parental generation. WB Bru falls in a gap between these two grades. Many of the youngest PPs, Cohort A, have not fully learned Bru (i.e. not quite Grade 4). However, at the same time, there are still some young PPs who have successfully learned Bru (i.e. not yet completely reached Grade 3).

What is more, I believe that such a situation is also critical in terms of LM and reversing language shift (RLS). When the vitality and endangerment of a language is dropping from Grade 4 to 3, like WB Bru, though the proportion of indigenous language-speaking children is getting smaller and smaller, there are still such children, as ILT for the children is yet to be completely lost in the community. Therefore, the community still has a possibility of LM (for example, a part of population within the community maintains the language), and for RLS to be possible they are required to increase the number of such children. By contrast, once a community has reached

Grade 3 in LVE, there are no longer indigenous language-speaking children. The community will, therefore, most likely lose the language sooner or later, as the effort to re-train their children for RLS would be almost impossible. Despite the importance of ILT, especially amongst the youngest community members, it seems that Grades 4 and 3 do not capture the state of ILT precisely enough.

I also propose that the grade for other factors, such as Factors 3 and 4, may vary depending on the generation in such communities where LS is ongoing. In WB, since LS has rapidly progressed, the proportion of speakers (Factor 3), and trend in existing domains (Factor 4) of older (mainly Cohorts B and C) and younger (mainly Cohort A) generation(s) are contrastive: the older generations still maintain high rates of Bru speakers and the usage of Bru to some extent, whereas the younger generation does not. Therefore, when I evaluated the grades as a whole community, they were neutralized, and thus look less serious than the actual situation at now. The assessors should take such generational differences into account when LS is ongoing. Thanks to the exhaustive survey to almost all generations carried out in this study, I could find such clear contrasts between generations and document the rapid changes that have occurred within the last few decades. If I had only looked at a specific generation (for example, taking Cohort A PPs only from those in their twenties, instead of taking PPs in their teens and in their twenties.) the grade would have been way off the mark (See Tomioka & Cavallaro, 2017)

Factor 6 and 9 are both related to written (and audio-visual) materials. In WB, there are such materials, but it is hard to say whether they are well known and used by the community members. For instance, the orthography was unified, but it does not seem to have been utilized after the revitalization project. WB people recognize and remember that linguists have done significant research on Bru in WB, but they do not seem to know what was published and/or archived as a result of the research. Therefore, in the case of WB, the impact or relative importance of these factors on the LVE of Bru would be low regardless of their grade.

Attitudes, Factor 8, of the Bru in WB are evaluated at the highest grade due to the PPs' positive attitudes towards Bru. Nevertheless, the results of the questionnaire revealed that such positive attitudes have not and are not helping them in their use of Bru. In WB, therefore, Factor 8 seems to have little impact on the LVE or LM of Bru. Such an inverse relation is, in fact, common, especially for among young generations, that positive attitudes seldom have a direct impact on the use of indigenous language

(Pauwels, 2005). Since the results of this study are based solely on self-reported data, it could also be that the PPs over-reported their positive attitudes towards Bru. Any follow-up research could adopt a more indirect method to study language attitudes in WB and ascertain exactly what the role of attitudes is in the language shift in this community.

EGIDS (Lewis & Simons, 2010)

EGIDS allows only communities with successful ILT to be evaluated at '6a-vigorous' or higher. WB Bru does not fulfil this condition, as 'only some of the child-bearing generations are transmitting it to their children' (Table 2.13). The grade I gave the community was thus determined as '6b-threatened' (Section 7.2.2). The condition in the EGIDS levels 5, 6a and 6b accounts for the generational differences by stating that 'the language is used orally by all generations' (Table 2.13). This helps to fill the abovementioned gap between Grades 4 and 3 in Factor 1 of the LVE. The level '6-threatened' suggests that ILT is not successful for 'all or most' children; however, it also accounts for the fact that ILT is still successful for some of families unlike either LVE Grade 4 and Grade 3.

However, even though EGIDS seems to account for the situation in WB better than LVE, it may not adequately reflect the dynamics of the LS in WB. The results of this study revealed that LS in WB has progressed very rapidly and there is a large decrease in the use of Bru between the PPs in their thirties and twenties (Cohorts B and C). If the decrease in use of Bru continues at this rate, when the current Cohort C will themselves be the next child-bearing generation, they will meet the criteria for the EGIDS level of '7-shifting' (The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves, but none is transmitting it to their children), and soon after '8-Moribund' (The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older).

I believe that being able to visualize the speed of LS - how quickly fewer and fewer children are able to speak an indigenous language in a community - is an important tool for the community members to understand the seriousness of language endangerment in their community. This conclusion comes after observing that the presence of a few young fluent speakers seems to reassure some community members about the future of WB Bru, when in fact, there is no evidence and it is by no means guaranteed that these few young fluent speakers will use Bru with their children. This

is backed up by the results from the endogamous Bru couples that have passed on Lao Isan to their children and not Bru.

It is therefore crucial for specialists coming from outside to be able to assess the rate of LS in communities that are undergoing LS in order to prioritize which community to focus their RLS efforts on. On the evidence from this study, however, EGIDS may not indicate how fast the rate of use and level of proficiency of WB Bru is changing downwardly from the current level.

I will continue this discussion in Section 7.4.

7.3 Evaluation of Further Factors in the Language Shift of WB Bru

In this section, I will evaluate how Fishman's (1991) three dislocations apply in WB Bru. The dislocations are regarded as prerequisites of LS. I will also evaluate whether and to what extent other factors (see Research objective (2) in Section 7.1.) than those included in LVE and EGIDS determine the directionality of LS or LM of WB Bru. The factors I investigated are: sociocultural characteristics, economic status and economic change, grandparents, inter-group marriage (exogamy), diglossia, and school language and institutional support.

7.3.1 Fishman's (1991) Three Dislocations

The results of this study further revealed that WB Bru fulfils all the three of Fishman's dislocations, and is certainly in a minority situation vis-à-vis the majority languages Lao and Thai. In the sections below I will discuss how WB Bru is marginalized in terms of each dislocation.

Physical and Demographic Dislocation

The macro-level demographic information by Premsrirat et al. (2003) clearly suggested that *Bru* in Ubon Ratchathani is isolated and in a predominantly Lao Isan-speaking region. There are only two Bru villages in the Khong Chiam (KC) district: WB and TL. Furthermore, the in-depth interviews revealed that most WB people seldom come into contact with TL Bru people.

There are more ethnic *Katang* (i.e. cognate with WB Bru) villages in Laos and relatively close to WB, for example, Nong Mek or LaS (the Government of Lao PDR, n.d.). However, Bru (*Katang*) in Laos is also demographically a minority vis-à-vis ethnic Lao people and a minority language compared to Lao.

What is more, this study revealed that most WB people nowadays usually study and/or work in WB, KC, or other towns or cities in Thailand, but not in Laos. Some WB people still periodically visit LS, but this is not common and it is not for work or study. Therefore, WB Bru people are a physical and demographic minority both from macro-perspective and from the viewpoint of their sphere of life.

Social Dislocation

Ethnic Bru in WB have experienced social dislocation against the majority ethnic Lao. Ovensen (2004) pointed out that speakers of Austroasiatic languages, including Bru, have been called ‘*Kha*’ by the majority Lao people, and linked with backwardness together with their stereotypical livelihood as swidden farmers. The in-depth interviews in this study further revealed that older WB Bru people experienced discrimination at the hands of the majority Lao Isan people due to this perceived ‘backwardness’ and also because of their lower economic status and degree of social development, and their lifestyle as swidden farmers and/or hunter gatherers.

In terms of access to education, primary education has been provided to WB people from approximately 80 years before the fieldwork, 10 years after WB was officially established by the Thai government. However, it is only approximately 35 years before the fieldwork that WB people attained access to secondary education. Therefore, WB Bru people have experienced social dislocation compared the majority ethnic Lao. This social dislocation is slowly improving, but this seems to be going hand in hand with the loss of their traditional language.

Cultural Dislocation

The Thai government does not prohibit WB Bru people from practicing their own culture. However, as a minority group in a hierarchy which sees even Lao Isan above them on the prestige scale with Thai as the sole de facto national language, there is no doubt that WB Bru do not have the political, educational and economic means to practice and maintain their own culture as freely as the majority Lao and Thai.

The results and observations in this study show that Fishman’s three dislocations are still very relevant today nearly three decades after he proposed them.

7.3.2 Sociocultural Characteristics

The results and observations clearly indicate that Bru language can be regarded as a core part of WB Bru people’s culture and identity. This is proven by the unanimous

answers to the high value placed on Bru in in the survey. In turn, this would then validate Hypothesis 2-1. Nevertheless, the data and observations also show that the Bru are shifting to Lao Isan (and Thai) and the reported identity value they place on their language is not having any LM effects. So, the reported high values and positive attitudes placed by the PPs on Bru seem to indicate that Bru is a core value for them. However, Hypothesis 2-1 is not supported because these positive feelings have not translated into any active LM efforts.

I propose two possible scenarios to explain this inconsistency. First of all, besides the Bru language, both the questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews revealed that many WB people still maintain their own religious belief and practice. According to the informants, these beliefs are coexisting with the Buddhism and Brahmanism in WB. Therefore, even though the Bru language may be lost in the future; WB people can still realize their Bru identity through the unique religious beliefs and practices. WB people, therefore, hold their religious beliefs and practices as the other core part of their culture and identity. The Bru language, thus, can be ‘one of the core parts,’ but may not be the main or only one .

Secondly, in fact, WB people have already lost other sociocultural characteristics. For instance, Phuengpa (n.d.) recorded that Bru people avoided intermingling with Lao people in the past, and practiced traditional medicine until the governmental sanitary station (community-level public clinic) was established 1984. This study further revealed that they have given up staying in forests for swidden farming, they have no traditional clothes, and fewer WB PPs engage in weaving especially the younger people⁹⁰. Taking this background into consideration, it could be said that many other sociocultural components have been lost as they assimilate to the Lao majority. Language shift in WB Bru, thus, may have to be regarded as a part of the larger social assimilation process toward Lao Isan. The continuous assimilation process has now reached an advanced stage, so that the Bru language is being encroached by Lao Isan. In other words, the process of ‘Lao-ization’ that the community is undergoing should be seen as a wider process than simply the LS away from the Bru language.

⁹⁰ In addition, WB people only maintained the skills for weaving *huat* from their ancestors but not for weaving *katip khaw/kratip khaaw* ‘a bamboo container for cooked sticky rice’ like TL and LaS people.

7.3.2.1 *Redefining WB's Characteristics*

By focusing on sociocultural characteristics, I initially aimed to investigate the relationship between language as a core part of one's culture and identity, and LS/LM. However, as a result of studying the social changes that have happened in WB in recent times, I propose that WB should be redefined as an immigrant minority in terms of LS/LM study.

From a macro-level, WB Bru is a regional/territorial minority as ethnic Bru (or possibly equivalent to Katang in Laos) have lived in the southern Laos for as long as, even longer than speakers of Tai-Kadai languages. Bru (Katang) and Lao people could have been topographically segregated from each other in the past: Bru (Katang) people (Austroasiatic people, or the former *Lao Thoeng* in Laos) have traditionally been the inhabitants of uplands; whereas Lao people (Tai-Kadai people or the former *Lao Lum* in Laos) have been the inhabitants of lowlands. However, WB's history shows that a group of Bru people, the ancestors of the people in WB, came down to the lowlands, where Lao people are dominant, sometime in the past. This migration can be seen as the origin of the present massive contacts and the ethnolinguistic interminglement between Lao/Lao Isan and WB Bru. Furthermore, WB and TL are located on the southwestern edge of the present distribution area of ethnic Bru (Katang) people. This suggests that, when the ancestors of WB people were moving west, they would be on the forefront of the contacts between Bru (Katang) and Lao. Therefore, from a micro-level, the WB Bru ethnolinguistic group would have been regarded as a newcomer, not a long coexisting neighbouring ethnic group, by the Lao Isan people in Khong Chiam when the Bru people gave up their constant migration and settled down in WB.

I further propose that WB Bru is ambiguous in terms of the classification 'regional/territorial' or 'immigrant' minority because they, in fact, possess both the backgrounds of a regional/territorial and an immigrant minority. Khong Chiam is right next to the distribution area of ethnic Katang in Laos; therefore, WB can be regarded as an extension of the Bru (Katang) distribution area. At the same time, WB people have the historical fact that they have 'immigrated' from Laos after it separated from Thai (Siamese) power.

This ambiguity is derived by, first, the feature of migration: the ancestors of WB migrated to a neighbouring area by land. If they had travelled far away from the original area, for example, like the ancestors of Malay speaking Muslims in Bangkok,

who were taken from the present deep southern Thailand by the Siamese kingdom as a result of a defeat in war, they could be easily classified as a (pre-modern) immigrant minority.

The ambiguity is, secondly, also derived from the timing of the migration. In Southeast Asia, it was common that there were no clear borderlines between pre-modern countries, and the borderlines were subject to change depending on the shifts of power across countries at that time. When the ancestor of WB people began settling down in the present WB from the 1910s and WB was officially registered in the 1920s, Thailand was in the process of constructing a modern nation state. In 1940 the Thai government announced *Ratthaniyom* No. 9, to instruct Thai citizens on the use of the national language, Standard Thai (Tanaka, 2003). Borderlines between Thailand and French Indochina were still subject to change; therefore, in the 1940s, and the Thai government implemented Standard Thai adult education system for ethnic Lao and Khmer people, who were ‘new citizens’ (Tanaka, 2003, p. 39) of Thailand in the former French Indochina territories which it had control over at that time (Tanaka, 2003). Therefore, if Bru people settled down before the beginning of the Thailand’s modernization process, they could be more clearly classified as a regional minority, because WB Bru would have lived in the territory of Thailand since the pre-modern era. On the other hand, if they crossed the Mekong River after Thailand succeeded in the construction of its nation state, they would have been regarded as the Lao nationals at the time they moved to Thailand, and they, thus, would be classified as an immigrant minority.

WB Bru people are speakers of an Austro-Asiatic language, and they are linked with backwardness in a society where Tai-Kadai (Lao) people are a majority (Ovesen, 2004). Traditionally, they are considered a regional minority and their regional minority status as been seen as a major factor why WB Bru people have been discriminated against by the majority Lao people, and this in turn has resulted in the WB Bru community’s rapid language shift. However, this seems a rather static view. The LS cannot be attributed to the discrimination that WB people have suffered in the Khong Chiam area. If being a stigmatized regional minority resulted in language shift, other Katang communities also would have experienced language shift like WB people. However, according Ethnologue, not all Katang people are shifting, and their EGIDS level is ‘6a – vigorous’ (Simons & Fennig, 2018; see Section 7.2.2). Therefore, a larger factor of the reason for the discrimination could be the fact that the

immigration of WB ancestors that brought about the contact with Khong Chiam Lao people, may be more recent than that of the other Bru communities in Lao. In fact it is very common for the elderly people in WB to remember that their older relatives immigrated from outside of Thailand. In this regard, WB Bru people could be regarded as both a regional and immigrant minority.

Pauwels (2016, p. 84) states that the generation a speaker belongs to is one of the most clear-cut factor of language shift, especially in the case of immigrant minorities. Following this, a standard methodology for researchers would be to subdivide the PPs and INFs in a fieldwork site like WB according to their ‘generation’. However, the actual situation in WB is not very clear cut. As stated in the previous paragraph, WB is a cross between a regional and an immigrant minority. For my fieldwork, I did not choose to look on them as an immigrant community when I collected the data. One of the reasons was because the first generation had almost all disappeared⁹¹ at the time of the data collection. It would have been, thus, impossible to compare the first generation with the following generations. Also, WB’s migration is not simple as it did not happen only one-time but continued for a long time. At the same time, exogamy with Lao people has increased and the people in WB have also been marrying Bru people from the communities in Laos. This means that outsiders, regardless whether they are ethnic Bru or Lao, have sporadically been coming to live in WB since WB was founded. Until recently, WB people used to have babies very early (in their teens) and had many children (having more than five children was not uncommon) because of the high infant mortality. This meant that the range between the eldest and youngest children can be very large. This means that the age and the generation do not always match. Therefore, it would have been difficult to place all PPs in the right ‘generation’. The younger a PP/INF is in WB, the more difficult to define their ‘generation’. Under such circumstances, treating WB as an immigrant minority might have led to a discordance between the analysis of the results and the real situation in WB.

The WB case suggests that, for a precise and better assessment, outside assessors need to have a complete understanding of the background of the language and the community in question, and researchers should not automatically assess a community in a way that is common with immigrant communities. With the proper

⁹¹ PP-CM050-87, an 87-year old man is the only first generation PP of this study.

background checks then it is time to formulate research strategies that are appropriate to the type of communities they are investigating.

7.3.3 Economic Status and Economic Change

WB people have experienced dramatic economic changes in the last 50 years: from relying on waterborne traffic to land transportation, from obtaining daily commodities through barter economy to a money economy, from lodging in forests for farming to living in the village. The exchanges with outside society have also become more and more frequent. The narratives obtained in the qualitative data collection phase illustrate that WB people have always had a lower economic status than the surrounding Lao Isan people, and this has been one of the major causes of the negative attitudes by both Lao Isan and WB Bru people towards the Bru ethnicity and language. Currently, they perceive that the economic disparity has diminished so that they no longer see their own language in a negative way.

I hypothesized that the improvement of the economic status and the economic changes allowed WB youths to remain in WB and that this fact would aid LM efforts. However, the reality is that more and more WB youths tend to work further away from WB.

One of the reasons for this inconsistency is due to the misunderstanding of the location of WB in relation to access to KC and other urban areas. The location of WB seems to be a typical remote area because of its position. That is, it is located at the dead end of a road from KC and all directions except west are surrounded by the Thailand-Laos border, by forests and the Mekong River. However, the distance to WB from KC is, in fact, less than 10km. The improvement of land transportation has made it easier than ever before for WB youths to leave their homes to work and seek higher education. Unless WB people can earn a high enough income, or they are satisfied with income obtained from whatever work they find in KC, WB, or neighbouring communities, an outflow of child-bearing generation will continue. Therefore, at present, the economic status and change seem to be accelerating the LS process.

7.3.4 Grandparents

I hypothesized that grandparents would motivate WB people to use Bru. However, the results in this study show that its effect is limited. The results of the language choice (LC) related questions in the survey show that the average values of (choosing) Bru

are certainly slightly higher when an interlocutor is a grandparent than any other interlocutor, even among Cohort A (see Section 5.3.3). Such results signify that WB people are sensitized to the presence of grandparents and intentionally use Bru more frequently with them. However, in fact, the absolute values for the use of Bru are much lower than those for the use of Lao Isan, especially among Cohort A (see Section 5.3.3). The reason why Bru is not used as much as Lao Isan can be seen in the results of the language proficiency related questions (see Section 5.2.2). These results show that Cohort A are not as fluent in Bru as Cohorts B and C, and, at the same time, they show that Cohort C, the grandparent generation, is fluent in Lao Isan. This seems to have led to the situation where Cohort A or other young WB members hardly need to speak Bru with their grandparents as they know that they are able to communicate in Lao Isan if they do not use Bru.

Meanwhile, the cause and effect relationship is still unclear. The results and in-depth interviews showed that the PPs in the parent generation tend to use Lao Isan more frequently with their children, even in the home domain. The results show very clearly that some parents, even endogamous Bru couples, intentionally use Lao Isan as they aspire to give a greater fluency of Lao Isan to their children, and many of these parents expect the grandparents to play a major role in Bru LM and thus they do not use Bru frequently. From the grandparents' perspective, the reasons why they use Lao Isan and not Bru with their grandchildren are more complex. As Cavallaro (2010) found for migrant groups in Australia, it is obvious that parents and grandparents in Bru do not have the necessary knowledge or strategies of how to bring up their children bilingually or trilingually. Like many other minority groups around the world, they have realized that upward mobility, education and economic success are linked to a good knowledge of the majority languages. This is rather surprising considering that WB was the focus of a language revitalizing project only a decade or so before the fieldwork (see Section 3.7.2).

7.3.5 Inter-group Marriage (Exogamy)

While some WB villagers believe the increase of exogamy is one of the main reasons for LS, this study found that, in WB, exogamy may not be as primary a factor in LS as they believe. The questionnaire survey revealed that exogamy was practiced as early as the Cohort C generation, who maintain Bru well. The survey also could not find the rapid increase in exogamy amongst all the cohorts that the PPs indicated. The in-depth

interviews further revealed that, in terms of LS, both exogamous couples and endogamous couples are contributing to the LS in WB. Therefore, for WB, exogamy is merely one factor among many others leading to the LS. Even if the exogamy were not common as it is, Bru parents' wish to give better fluency of Lao Isan to their children seems to be a major reason factor for the LS in the Bru homes.

7.3.6 Diglossia

Due to the hierarchical relationship of the languages of Thailand, and the fact that Thai is the de facto national language (Smalley 1994; Premsrirat, 2007), Thai is unquestionably the H language in WB. At the same time there can be no question that Bru is the minority language, and in a classical diglossic situation it would occupy the position of Low-Language. Lao is a regional language and the lingua franca in the region where WB is situated. It could, therefore, be said that Lao occupies the H-language position compared to Bru, but the L-position when compared to Thai. Following Cavallaro 2010) and Bettoni (1989), Thai, then, is the high language. Within the lower levels of this hierarchy, Lao seems to be the high variety and Bru seems to be the low variety. The relationship can be visualized as in Figure 7.1.

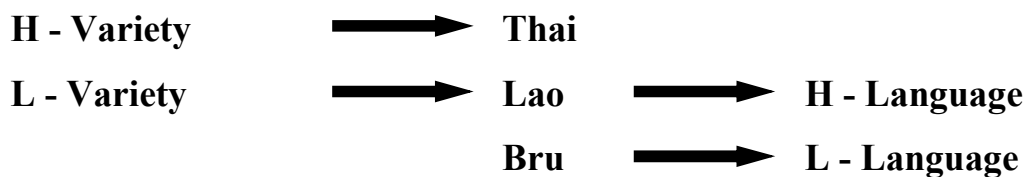


Figure 7.1. Possible Diglossic situation in the WB community.

When diglossia is used to categorize the languages used in a multilingual community, the assumption can be that the languages have clear and separate domains and functions. Diglossia by definition states that the use of one language excludes the use of the other language(s). The results presented in this chapter, however, indicate that the use and functions of the three languages spoken by the people in WB are anything but clear and separate.

The results show that there is no clear evidence that Bru and Lao, and Bru and Thai are in a diglossic relationship. This is because, first: there are examples where both Bru and Lao are used within the same domain even by fluent Bru speakers (Cohort B and C); second, even in formal domains, Bru is almost exclusively used by fluent Bru speakers when the interlocutor is a senior Bru person (LC20) and when the interlocutor is a Bru monk (LC26); thirdly, even in very informal domains, such as the

'Home', the language of choice is not always Bru. For the second and third cases, Cohort B and C prioritize the (Bru) ethnicity of an interlocutor over the formality of a domain. While, for Cohort A, it is difficult to identify any signs of diglossia regarding Bru because most of the PPs in this Cohort have limited proficiency in Bru.

This situation, therefore, corresponds to Fishman's (1967) bi-/multilingualism without diglossia in which leads to LS due to the lack of clear functions for an indigenous language. The results point to Bru being the language that (only) fluent speakers will use with other Bru speakers, no matter in what domain the interaction takes place. Lao is the preferred language in most contexts, especially by the younger people. While Thai is the language used only in very formal occasions.

7.3.7 School Language and Institutional Support

WB has both directly and indirectly received institutional support, and these experiences have helped WB people to improve their language attitudes towards Bru. WB people have improved their negative language attitudes since their language and culture became an object of interest by schools and experts. One interviewee (PP-BM015-44) narrated that they realized the originality of their language through linguists, who carried out a research project on the WB Bru language. The WB Bru language and culture revitalization program held in 2009 to 2010 was supported by the national-level institutes, Mahidol University and the Thailand Research Fund. The secondary school teacher (Se59) observed that WB students seem to have better attitudes towards Bru since the education policy was changed to appreciate local wisdoms.

Nevertheless, as Tomioka (2016) pointed out, though this positive support of LM/RLS of WB Bru could have improved WB people's attitudes, most of them still continue to use Lao Isan instead of Bru. At the WB village primary school, the Bru language was taught by fluent Bru speakers from 2009 to 2010; such LM/RLS efforts were suspended once the institutional support came to an end. From a Thai teacher's view (Pr47), it would be beneficial if there was a Bru teacher who could teach Standard Thai by using Bru. There is no Bru-speaking teacher at present.

At the secondary school level, I found that educational support to the minority people can sometimes bring about a dilemma. The Khong Chiam Witthayakhom School (KCW) had unintentionally provided WB Bru students opportunities to meet and interact with other ethnic Bru students on the Thailand side (TL Bru), an obvious

LM factor. However, as the teachers (Se59 and e30s) observed, the recent establishment of an ‘extensional program’ in a primary school in Ban Kum village, a village neighbouring TL, now allows TL Bru pupils to pursue their lower secondary education at a more convenient location. Thus, fewer TL Bru students come to the KCW school now. This new school is undoubtedly a positive support for TL pupils. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as the loss of opportunities for WB Bru students to construct a Bru network beyond WB village.

For WB, therefore, school and institutional supports have indeed helped WB Bru in terms of LM/RLS. However, since the end of the WB Bru language and culture revitalization program, the outcome is limited to an attitudinal level, and does not seem to have had any lasting practical aspects. I will discuss possible forms of support that could be beneficial and efficient for LM/RLS of WB Bru in the next chapter.

7.4 Proposed Consideration for Language Endangerment and Vitality

In previous sections in this chapter, I have discussed how LVE (UNESCO, 2003b) and EGIDS (Lewis & Simons, 2010) can evaluate WB Bru’s level of language vitality and stage of endangerment (Section 7.2), and evaluated how and to what extent further factors impact on WB Bru’s LS/LM (Section 7.3). Based on the discussions I made, I propose three viewpoints that the existing scales may not clearly take into consideration, but assessors may need to take into account when they assess the language vitality and endangerment of any minority community.

7.4.1 Intergenerational Language Transmission and Speed of Language Shift

I pointed out the shortcomings of EGIDS and LVE regarding ILT. First of all, LVE does not provide detailed enough statements for the situation when a language is between Grade 4 of Factor 1 (the language is still intergenerationally transmitted by almost everyone) and Grade 3 (the language is no longer transmitted) despite the importance of such a transitional period. Secondly, the grades of Factors 3 and 4 may vary depending on the generations the speakers belong to when a community is undergoing rapid LS. In such a case, assessing the grades by the overall results may mislead us as to the level of endangerment because the situation of the younger generation that is more severe is offset by the situation of the older generation that is more vigorous. As a result, the grades would look less serious than the actual situation that a community faces. Thirdly, EGIDS Grades 6a and 6b do cover the gap between

LVE's Factor 1's Grade 4 and 3. However, EGIDS does not accurately represent how fast the rate of ILT is shrinking, or how fast, in terms of time, ILT is decreasing in the community.

I believe it is important, to gauge the level of impending endangerment, for both community members and outsiders to precisely understand

1. the proportion of successful ILT. That is, the number of people in a generation that successfully inherit the language from older generations compared to the total number of the population; and
2. the decrement of successful ILT. That is, how fast families that are successfully transmitting their language are decreasing in number;

Moreover, though this study did not apply Lee and Van Way's (2016) Language Endangerment Index (LEI) as this study had been designed since 2014 that is before the LEI was introduced, the LEI's *Scale of speaker number trends* could be one of the solutions for EGIDS' shortcomings.

7.4.2 Sampling Considerations

This study revealed that WB Bru is rapidly shifting to Lao Isan and the LS has accelerated in the last two decades. It also shows that there is a clear-cut boundary between the PPs in their thirties and twenties showing that LS started to speed up about twenty years before the fieldwork. If surveys had been performed periodically, they might have objectively captured such a fast LS, and countermeasures could have taken earlier. However, in many communities it is difficult or even impossible to carry out such longitudinal studies. Assessors, indeed, in most cases will only have the opportunity for a one-time survey. Therefore, appropriate methodological approaches are needed to be able to assess 'the proportion of successful ILT' and 'the decrement of successful ILT' in the occasion of the single study. The LVE and EGIDS do not seem capable of such assessment. Both LVE and EGIDS recommend assessing the language of 'grandparents, parents and children'. Factors are graded according to which (great-) (grand)parental generation speak the language fluently. This approach does not work so well. This classification may not be detailed enough to capture the abovementioned features when LS is rapidly ongoing.

The possible solution is basic, though both LVE and EGIDS do not address sampling in any way: assessors should evenly examine as broad age groups as

possible. I propose that, at the time of survey (not analysis), assessors should subdivide community members in detail with more objective criteria, such as age. For example, assessor could survey every 5-10-year old, rather than rely on the subjective classification of ‘grandparents, parents, and children’.

In case of WB, I started from a presupposition that they are more like a regional/territorial minority, I did not intend to classify the PPs into the first, second, third generation like it is normally done in the case of immigrant minority⁹². In addition, I did not rely on the classification of ‘grandparents, parents, and children generations’. If I had adopted this classification, the PPs in their twenties would have been classified in the ‘children and adolescents’ generation’, because most of them are not parents. This approach would have meant many participants in the age range 20-30 years old could have been overlooked. This is because they are neither real children nor do they belong to the ‘parent’ generation. If I had done this in WB, I may have not been able to exactly calculate the timing when LS began, as I may have lacked the data from the participants in their twenties.

In the case of WB Bru, ‘the parent generation’ would consist of the participants in their twenties and above, and the results show that the participants in their twenties are already passive speakers of Bru. However, an assessment based on the parent generation would point to it being the intermixture of the active speakers and the passive speakers. With this information, an assessment would misguidedly conclude that the parent generation in WB is gradually changing to be passive speakers of Bru. One of the strengths of this study was collecting data from WB people of various ages. This approach enabled me to conclude that the Bru language proficiency as well as the use of Bru has dramatically decreased from the PPs in their thirties and twenties. In other words, LS has progressed with a surprisingly rapid speed.

Therefore, though both LVE and EGIDS adopt the terms ‘a grandparent, parent, or children generation etc.’, assessors should aim to collect data in accordance with the participants’ age, broadly, and evenly. When the assessors analyse the data, then they may want to conveniently label each cluster of the participants into the appropriate generation.

⁹² In fact, such a way of self-identification is not common in WB. Even though I had attempted to ask such a question, they would be hard to answer because one’s parents may be from different generations.

7.4.3 Intergenerational Language Transmission and Home Domains

As I explained above, whether intergenerational language transmission is successful among a part of one generation to another does not mean the language is being maintained. In a community where a part of the community members still inherits their language from the previous generation, and the proportion of such people out of the total population is stable, means that the level of language vitality and endangerment would also be stable. This is because even though intergenerational language transmission is not successful for all community members, a number of fluent speakers would still be constantly raised. In these cases, the level of EGIDS would remain at '6b-threatened.' What I observed in WB is that, even though there are still such people in the community, the proportion of fluent speakers is shrinking along with each generation.

The results from this study show that the rate of ILT decreases from Cohort C to Cohort B. (Cohort A was excluded as only a few of them have children.)

The observable trends are:

- (1) Not all PPs who are fluent in Bru use Bru with their children despite their high fluency;
- (2) The trend of (1) is more prominent among Cohort B than Cohort C;
- (3) Children do not speak Bru to their parents as frequently as their parents speak Bru to them.

These observations, therefore, indicate that there will be fewer, or even no, fluent speakers of Bru in the future. The level of language vitality and endangerment, then, will be lower than what it is now: 6b - threatened.

I believe it is important that assessors should be able to predict whether a community is going to have fewer and fewer fluent speakers, like in WB, or constantly raise new fluent speakers. They need to be able to see if intergenerational language transmission is successful only for a part of or all community members.

For this purpose, it is inevitable that the language proficiency and language choice/use of younger community members be surveyed. However, surveying younger community members is not always easy or feasible, particularly when they are too young to understand the questions in a survey⁹³. Even if they are old enough to

⁹³ Participant observation can, of course, complement such a difficulty; it may not be quantified and directly compared with answers of a questionnaire from older community members.

understand a questionnaire; it is still difficult to forecast what their language choices will be when they become adults and of child-bearing age. This issue was highlighted in this study. The results of this study demonstrated that, even though the child-bearing generation had a high enough fluency in Bru, it did not mean that they were using it with their children. The results also show that they did not use Bru with their children as much as they did with their parents.

First, this study minutely investigated the language choice of PPs with as many interlocutors as possible without making the number of questions too much for the PPS: father, mother, children, paternal grandparents, maternal grandparents, spouse, and relatives in general. This detailed classification helped illustrate that the participants tended to use the majority language, Lao Isan, more frequently with their children than with their parents or grandparents.

Secondly, the study further asked participants about their perception of the language their child/children used with them. This question allowed me to indirectly investigate the language choice of very young Bru who would have been too young to answer the questionnaire and without needlessly forcing children of an adult participant to answer the same questionnaire and then compare their answers⁹⁴. This approach allowed me to see that the participants' children tend to use the majority language, Lao Isan, more frequently with their parents than the parents do with their children. This is also true for the children of the PPs from Cohort B, who still maintain a high proficiency and use of Bru (Tomioka & Cavallaro, 2017).

In addition, though I propose that adding 'siblings' (it could be further expanded to 'older siblings' and 'younger siblings' if possible) to the home domain related questions may be helpful for the assessment. In case of this study, however, time constraints meant that I could not include these extra questions⁹⁵.

7.4.4 Language Attitudes

The results of the questionnaire show a contradiction between the positive language attitudes and the actual language choice. That is, while the participants in WB have strong positive attitudes towards Bru, their use of Bru in many domains and with many

⁹⁴ Such a data collection method was, needless to say, impossible while protecting the participants' rights to be anonymous and/or not to participate in the research.

⁹⁵ The question in this study: 'when the interlocutor(s) is/are relatives' technically includes both younger family members and older ones. The answers to this question thus cannot well reflect language choice with other young family members.

interlocutors is not high. As a result, Bru has not been passed on to most young Brus in WB, Cohort A.

When community members have negative attitudes towards or are indifferent to their own language, it is not surprising that their attitudes decrease the level of vitality and increase the endangerment of their language. By contrast, when people have positive attitudes towards their language, it does not always positively impact on the language maintenance of that community. Such a contradiction is not uncommon and is often derived from the indigenous language's deficiency in instrumental/economic values. For example, Bidayuh language speakers have ambivalent attitudes towards the Bidayuh language. It is a symbol of their ethnic identity. However, educated members of the community inculcate the use of English at home due to English's perceived advantages over Bidayuh in terms of social mobility and economic advancement (Norahim, 2010). Rajah-Carrim (2010) reports that the Asian languages in Mauritius, such as Chinese and Hindi etc., are seen as ancestral languages or symbols of ethnic identity and he predicts (Rajah-Carrim, 2010) that due to the encroachment by Creole, they 'will soon function exclusively as symbols of culture, personal history and/or religion rather than spoken languages' (p. 329). Fishman (1972b) summarized a long-term distinction between attitudes and use among immigrants who arrived in the United States from rural Eastern and Southern Europe before World War I. He reported 'an increased esteem for non-English mother tongue concomitant with the increased relegation of these languages to fewer and narrower domain of use' (p. 142). However, UNESCO's (2003b) LVE does not seem to take this contradiction into account at all. What the LVE does is simply to state, in Factor 8, that the more people in a community have positive attitudes, the higher the grade is, irrespective of the type of positive attitudes or whether these attitudes lead to an increase in use of the language.

The results of this study illustrate that all languages in WB are basically perceived in a positive way. However, there seem to be differences how the two majority languages, Lao and Thai, and the indigenous language, Bru, are viewed. The responses for Lao and Thai are hardly ever negative regardless of the question. For Thai and Lao, most of the questions have mean values at around 3.00 out of 5.00, and even for questions where the response was lower, it was never lower than 2.00 out of 5.00. Specifically, in the overall results, when gender and cohort is not taken into account, the mean values for Thai are no less than 2.22 and for Lao is no less than 3.02

in the questions relating to ‘intimacy’ or ‘solidarity’ (e.g. LA06) By contrast, Bru is seen in more negative ways than Lao and Thai when it comes to questions of the language as a medium of communication in wider societies, and an instrument for economic aspirations (e.g. LA02-04, LA08). The mean values of all these questions are lower than 2.00 out of 5.00. These contrastive results suggest that WB people have positive attitudes to Bru in terms of ‘intimacy’ or ‘solidarity’, but the attitudes are not linked with instrumental or economic usefulness. These attitudes seem to be the main factor motivating WB people not to use, acquire, and/or pass on Bru.

The results from other parts of the questionnaire illustrated that their language choice patterns are highly dependent on whether an interlocutor is (perceived) to be ethnic Bru or not, and the participant’s Bru language proficiency. Simply having positive attitudes to the Bru language or the necessity for intergenerational transmission of their traditional language do not seem to be enough to motivate WB people to choose Bru and lead practical Bru language maintenance efforts.

Based on this study of the WB Bru community where language attitudes are positive, I propose that assessors further consider in what contexts or perspectives the community members are positive towards their own language. In particular, the assessors should carefully investigate whether such positive attitudes also extend to the any instrumental value. If community members do not find practical values in their own language, the positive attitudes may not well encourage language maintenance. Then, assessing and labelling language attitudes as ‘positive’ might just mislead any user or reader of such an assessment into believing that things are not as bad as they really are.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, I integrated the results from both the quantitative method and the qualitative methods to assess language vitality and endangerment of WB Bru according to the LVE and EGIDS scales. The results of my assessment illustrate that WB Bru is not safe at all and shifting to the majority languages such as Lao Isan. Though both scales are able to indicate the degree of endangerment of WB Bru, I recommended a number of shortcomings of the scales that does not allow their users to fully describe the current situation that WB faces. I also assessed whether other factors than those considered in LVE and EGIDS have influenced the shift away from Bru in WB. As a result, some factors, such as language attitudes, were found to have been the

main cause of the disruption of intergenerational language transmission, while it turns out that other factors, such as exogamy, are not always the reason for the language shift, as is perceived by people in WB. Through the outcomes of this study, I proposed certain considerations that should be taken into account when assessing language vitality and endangerment in minority settings.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I concludes this study on the language shift and maintenance of WB Bru from the following points of view:

8.1 Summary of findings

8.1.1 Language vitality and endangerment,

8.1.2 Factors at play in language shift and maintenance,

8.2 WB Bru in the future,

8.3 Limitations of this study,

8.4 Suggestions,

8.4.1 Suggestions for further studies on language shift and maintenance,

8.4.2 Suggestions for the assessment of language endangerment and vitality,

8.4.3 Suggestions for reversing language shift of WB Bru.

8.1 Summary of Findings

8.1.1 Language Vitality and Endangerment

The results of this study illustrate that WB Bru is apparently shifting to Lao (Lao Isan), as youths below 30 years of age have a limited proficiency of Bru and choose Lao even in domains where the use of Bru is expected.

The grades for WB Bru according to UNESCO's (2003b) nine factors have been assessed based on the results of this study.

The grade for Factor 1 (Intergenerational Language Transmission) is the middle of Grade 3 - Definitely endangered and Grade 4 – Vulnerable/Unsafe. In other words, there are still children learning WB Bru as their first language, but they only comprise a small portion of children in the community, and the main users of the language are the parental and older generations.

Factor 2 (Absolute Number of Speakers). There are 103 PPs (78.3%) out of 138 PPs who evaluated their Bru proficiency as '3-middle' or above. However, for this study, probability sampling could not be adopted, and community members under 10 years old could not be included. Therefore, it cannot be statistically said that this

proportion (i.e. 78.3%) is the ratio of fluent speakers in the total population of WB. At any rate, there is a still high ratio of Bru speakers. The problem, however, is that the LVE does not provide sufficient proficiency benchmarks to judge whether or not '3-Middle' is an appropriate criterion to distinguish 'speakers' from 'non-speakers.'

The grade for Factor 3 (Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population) is Grade 3 - Definitely endangered (or a majority speak the language). However, the proportion of speakers varies depending on the age cohort, and therefore the grade could be lower than 3 for the younger community members.

The grade for Factor 4 (Trends in Existing Language Domains) is Grade 3 - Dwindling domains. The situation is that Bru is still used in the home domains for many functions for some PPs, but a dominant/majority language, Lao, is penetrating the home domains among other PPs. The grade could be even lower than Grade 3 amongst the younger community members for the same reason as Factor 3.

The grade for Factor 5 (Response to New Domains and Media) is Grade 0 - inactive, as Bru is not used in any new domains. However, there are some possibilities that the grade will rise to Grade 1 - minimal thanks to the improvement of the Information and Communication Technologies and the increase in the use of smartphones, PCs, etc.

The grade for Factor 6 (Materials for Language Education and Literacy) is Grade 1, as there is an orthography, but there is very little evidence of its use.

The grade for Factor 7 (Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use) is Grade 3 - passive assimilation. WB Bru is recognised by local school teachers, and the knowledge of Bru is regarded as a local wisdom. However, the Thai government does not overtly encourage the use of minority languages.

Factor 8 (Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language) is the only factor with the highest grade: Grade 5. Though Bru is viewed as less useful than Lao and Thai in terms of instrumental values, almost all community members acknowledge the high value of WB Bru as their intangible heritage that promotes solidarity, intimacy and ethnic identity.

Finally, Factor 9 (Amount and Quality of Documentation) is Grade 3 - fair. Although the language has been documented, these materials are not effectively utilised within the community. There are no audio or video media readily available.

The level according to EGIDS of WB Bru was also assessed based on Lewis and Simons (2010): WB Bru is 6b - threatened, which is lower than the level of '6a-vigorous' given in Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2018) for Katang, who are possibly the same linguistic group as Bru. The difference is derived from the judgement regarding intergenerational language transmission. WB Bru is not transmitted to all children; therefore, the judgement of this key issue must be 'no', and the level is thus the highest at 6b - threatened.

In addition, it should be noted that WB Bru is not only shifting but also rapidly losing its vitality. In WB, it has already passed the 'tip' phase (Dorian, 1981; Anderson, 2014). As reported, only a limited proportion of the community members below 30 years of age are fluent in Bru, and therefore the rate of successful intergenerational language transmission from them to their children's generation must be more limited than before. Consequently, the proportion of fluent Bru speakers within the community in the future will also be more limited.

8.1.2 Factors at Play in Language Shift

Among the other factors at play in language shifts and maintenance examined in this study, four factors have directly and indirectly accelerated the language shift in WB: Fishman's (1991) three dislocations, diglossia, inter-group marriage (exogamy) and economic status and economic change.

First, regardless of which dislocations are discussed, WB Bru is always placed in a minority position against Lao and Thai. In terms of physical and demographic dislocation, WB Bru is surrounded by Lao Isan people who are the majority in the area and are even separated from their sister communities in Laos by the Thailand-Laos borderline. In terms of social dislocation, WB Bru as an Austroasiatic language has long been linked with backwardness by the majority Lao people. Finally, in terms of cultural dislocation, WB Bru is an enclave language that does not have the political, educational and economic means that Thai and Lao do. Therefore, WB Bru is vulnerable and susceptible to language shift pressure.

Second, as discussed in Section 7.3.6, there is no clear evidence to show that there is diglossia between Lao and Bru, and Thai and Bru. When there is bi/multilingualism in a community without diglossia, or a clear distinction of choice depending on domains, the community has a higher risk of language shift (Fishman, 1967). This is because in these situations the dominant/majority language will encroach domains where an indigenous language is conventionally used. In fact, the results from this study illustrate the process of a language shift which sees the older age groups, Cohorts B and C, still preferring and using Bru over Lao. However, amongst Cohort A, Lao is encroaching all domains where the use of Bru is expected.

The other factors indirectly cause language shift by discouraging WB people to transmit Bru to their offspring. For instance, the combination of negative attitudes towards Bru and exogamy has caused most Bru parents not to pass Bru to their children (see Section 7.3.5). Furthermore, these negative attitudes have increased due to WB Bru people's historically lower economic status vis-à-vis the majority of Lao Isan people. It should be noted that the negative attitudes due to the lack of an instrumental value or a lack of economic usefulness have played a significant role in accelerating the language shift. The improvements in the economic conditions of the Bru in WB seen in the last 10 or so years seem to have come too late to have a maintenance effect on the language.

8.1.3 Factors at Play in Language Maintenance

Three factors encourage language maintenance in WB: socio cultural characteristics, grandparents and school language and institutional support. However, their effects are limited for various reasons.

In terms of sociocultural characteristics, from the results, Bru seems to be one of the core values for WB people. If Bru were not a core value for WB people, it would have already been lost under the decades of strong language shift pressure along with their traditional lifestyles, such as swidden farming. However, Bru is less maintained than is expected if the language had a strong integrative value. The results of the interviews suggest that in WB, while language is important, Bru people have other core values, such as rituals. So, though the language could be lost, the Bru in WB still have their unique rituals that allow them to confirm and express their ethnic identity. What we can conclude then is that the language shift or assimilation process

is so strong and advanced that even one of WB people's core values, language, is being encroached upon now.

In WB there are the expectations that grandparents will motivate and encourage the use of Bru, and this is true to some extent. The results show that the PPs tend to choose Bru when an interlocutor is believed to be ethnic Bru, and even more when it is an older person, such as a grandparent. Thus, it can be said that grandparents are actively contributing to language maintenance. However, their contribution is limited for two reasons: (1) all grandparents are fluent enough in Lao that the younger community members are not motivated to accommodate to their grandparents by using Bru; and (2) many younger community members are not fluent enough in Bru anymore to choose it when conversing with their grandparents who are fluent Bru speakers. The reasons why the grandparents have not tried to bring their grandchildren up as active speakers of Bru are: (1) they do not know how to raise their children bilingually or trilingually; and (2) they aspire to better social mobility for their grandchildren, and believe it can only be attained through a good knowledge of the majority languages.

The school and other institutional support encourage, or perhaps it is better to say that they do not discourage, language maintenance in WB, but their effect is also limited. Based on the results of the interviews, the support given at school and at other local institutions has helped improve WB people's attitudes towards Bru. Although the results of this study show that the language choice pattern has not been reversed. Secondary school can potentially be a place for WB students to meet other ethnic Bru students from TL, but this possibility does not work well in practice as not all TL students study in KC town. Even if some TL students continue their secondary education in KC, no active support is provided to create opportunities for both WB and TL students to interact to each other at school. I will discuss about the possible countermeasures in educational domains later (see Section 8.4.2).

8.2 The Future of WB Bru

The language shift in WB is not only a matter of language but also a part of the assimilation to Lao (and Thai). WB people have already changed their traditional lifestyles, and all that has remained are language and rituals. Now, the language is

shifting. Without any countermeasures and efforts, the Bru language will be extinct in WB at some point in the near future.

WB people are motivated to use Bru when an interlocutor is an ethnic Bru. However, they rarely have opportunities to meet ethnic other Bru people outside WB unless they cross the Thailand-Lao border and visit LaS and other Bru villages. The narratives of younger informants illustrate that WB people have less and less contact with the ethnic Bru people in LaS, who are the closest ethnic Bru neighbours in Laos. Thus, the worst-case scenario would be that there will be no or a quite limited number of Bru speakers remaining in WB, and they will have no regular contacts with LaS people. When the majority of WB people will communicate with the Bru people in LaS only in Lao (and not Bru), it will be an indication of the death of the Bru language in WB.

8.3 Limitations of This Study

Though this study has successfully revealed a language shift from Bru to Lao in WB and has provided detailed information, there are some limitations to note.

(1) The study was conducted only in Thailand

First, the geographic area of this study was limited to Thailand, though there are more Bru villages on the opposite bank of the Mekong River, such as LaS, which is one of the two sister villages of WB. Anecdotal information from INFs also suggests that there are more Bru villages further inland in Laos. Because these villages are located in a different country, the language attitudes and language choice patterns may be different amongst the people in these villages. Investigating additional Bru communities will help provide an overview of the sociolinguistic status of the Bru people as a whole.

(2) The study was conducted in only one community

Second, the target community of this study was in only one village. This was done to identify the mechanisms of the language shift and maintenance in the whole community and in as much detail as possible. However, there is another Bru village, TL, in Khong Chiam, Thailand. Anecdotal information and preliminary interviews with TL people suggest that Bru is much better maintained in TL than in WB. Conducting a language use survey in TL and comparing the results between WB and TL may help obtain a better understanding of the mechanisms of the language shift

and maintenance, as both are located in Northeastern Thailand with the same or similar socio-cultural, socio-historical and socio-political contexts.

(3) Confirmation of information

This study examined peripheral information related to a language shift in a broad context, such as narratives related to personal life and the community's history. Due to time limitations, it was sometimes difficult to check and confirm the information, especially the information obtained from elderly people. They sometimes only roughly remembered the year when an incident occurred, and different informants mentioned different years for the same event (for example, when and why they stopped living in the forests). As these events often occurred at a local and personal level, official documents did not always record them. With more time and funding, additional informants could have been interviewed, and more data could have been collected from different points of view on the events mentioned. This process would have helped better organise the timeline of various events in WB.

8.4 Recommendations

8.4.1 Recommendations for Further Research

In this section, four avenues for future research regarding the language shift and maintenance of Bru people are proposed.

(1) A comparative study of WB, TL and LaS

As stated, this study was limited to one target community in Thailand, despite the fact that there is another Bru community nearby (i.e. TL) as well as more Bru communities in Laos (LaS, etc.). Though anecdotal information suggests that Bru is still vigorously used in TL and LaS, conducting surveys in these communities would help confirm the extent to which Bru is still used in these communities and would provide a broader picture of the language vitality of Bru people in a wider area range. Moreover, adapting a qualitative data collection process within these communities would help identify the reasons for the language shift and maintenance in these other communities. If Bru is maintained in TL and LaS, it is possible to compare and further analyse the differences between the possible factors at play in WB with those in TL and LaS.

(2) A study utilising linguistic data

This study relied on the self-estimation of PPs of language proficiency and language choice based on the assumption that their estimation reflects real language use to a high extent. However, investigating real language use may better reveal the process of the language shift and the pattern of language choice in WB. For instance, a study on code-switching may reveal how, why and in which ways community members of different ages mix Thai and/or Lao words in their Bru speech. (See Bradley (1989) for the Ugong case in Thailand.)

(3) Further description and documentation studies for the current Bru in WB

As discussed under the assessment of Factor 9 of LVE (see Section 7.2.1), WB Bru has been documented to some extent and recordings made. However, I believe that further documentation work is still necessary for language revitalization for two main reasons. First of all, there are few or no up-to-date materials available to or known by WB people. The materials or linguistic works that I referred to in Section 7.2.1 were mainly done during the late 1970s to the early 2000s. The language and culture revitalization project from 2009 to 2010 focused on (1) recording WB's history, (2) conducting a language use survey, (3) unifying the Bru orthography, and (4) teaching Bru to Grade 4 pupils. Though some of these activities could be considered as documenting the language ecology of WB at that time, they are not direct language documentation. Secondly, although WB has been studied and, as a result, there are already a dictionary, phrase books, a record of folklore, phonological studies etc., it seems that few or no morpho-syntactic studies for Bru have been done in WB, and no grammar has been written. Therefore, more studies focussing on a complete language description for Bru are necessary to better understand Bru, and to serve as basis for the development of proper materials for language revitalization.

(4) A longitudinal study

A total of three years was spent conducting this study, and even within these years, there have been a number of changes in WB: the host family upgraded their house structure; they opened a grocery and minimart business; they built a new house and expanded their business; some PPs/INFs began to work in KC to earn cash income for their children's higher education; and some PPs/INFs changed their occupation and moved from WB or returned from outside WB. In terms of the language shift and maintenance, there are potential risks (or chances) that fluent Bru speakers leave (or

return to) WB and lose (or provide) opportunities to increase the next generation of Bru speakers (or vice versa).

The transitions have occurred not only at a personal level but also at a community level. When I first visited WB, there was no phone signal at all. Now a mobile phone signal is available within WB. On my first visit, the riverside was covered with bushes, weeds, and grasses, whilst by the time of FW2, shore protection works were implemented, and the river bank looks less natural. The adjoining lands upstream of WB used to be a thicket, but a local influential person developed his/her land and it is now a vacant lot. According to WB people, some other lots along the riverside within WB have also been bought by a local business person. Though these riverside lots are still left vacant, it seems that there is a common understanding among WB people that the local businessman plans to develop hotels or other tourism attractions in WB and surrounding areas when the time is right.

Social changes can occur so rapidly that researchers may miscalculate the factors of language shift and maintenance at play in a community if they were to base their conclusions on a one-time survey. To support language maintenance and language revitalization, especially of smaller groups, it is important to continuously observe the target community, to assess the language vitality and endangerment, to analyse the possible (new) factors at play and to propose adjustments to LS countermeasures.

(5) An interdisciplinary study

An interdisciplinary approach, such as from area studies, may provide a better understanding of the socio-cultural, socio-historical and socio-political background of WB and its surrounding areas: Thailand and Laos. In Southeastern Asian countries, the border lines were not as clear and fixed in the past as they are in the modern era. Thus, some concepts may not always match the case of Western countries concepts. For example, WB people immigrated to present Thailand around a century ago. Therefore, WB people are descendants of immigrants, which makes their context of immigration very different from the concept of ‘immigrant minority’ detailed in the language shift and maintenance studies of, for example, immigrant groups in America or Australia. The cross-border migration in this area at that time would not have been strictly controlled by the Thai and Lao governments. Without the knowledge of Southeast

Asian history and social transitions, it is difficult to properly understand the unknown backgrounds of the factors at play in such communities and their movements.

Moreover, this study relied on qualitative approaches to estimate the economic status of WB people. However, a study on the economic and/or community development would be useful for language revitalization. The results of this study have illustrated that Bru lacks the instrumental value that Thai and Lao have. In other words, WB people may still endeavour to improve their economic status, though it has been developed in recent decades. Therefore the usefulness of the majority languages is still a concern for them. Analysing their livelihood based on economical and/or community development, for example, could reveal ways they can attain economically better lives without giving up their traditional language. If they can better subsist as a consequence, there may be more space for language revitalization and language maintenance in the community. Language shift and maintenance never involve language alone but also involve the lives of the community members as a whole. Therefore, all studies that support indigenous people contribute to language revitalization and language maintenance even if the studies do not directly deal with language.

8.4.2 Suggestions for the Assessment of Language Endangerment and Vitality

In this section, I propose three considerations for the assessment of language endangerment and vitality based on the discussion in the previous chapter (see 7.4).

(1) Intergenerational language transmission and speed of language shift

Despite the importance both LVE and EGIDS place on ILT, neither could capture how fast, in terms of time, the number of families that are successfully transmitting Bru to their children is shrinking in WB, a community where LS is occurring. I thus propose that the following two points of view should be considered and included when assessing the language endangerment and vitality in a community.

1. The proportion of successful ILT: the number of people in a generation that successfully learn the language from older generations from the total number of the population; and
2. The decrement of successful ILT: how fast families that successfully transmit their language are decreasing in number.

(2) Sampling considerations

When it is too difficult to conduct a longitudinal study and, thus, assessors of language endangerment and vitality can only conduct a one-time survey, they are required to compare the results from different generations. My recommendation in these cases is that the assessors should aim to examine as broad age groups as possible, and subdivide them by more objective criteria, such as age, rather than the more subjective criteria as ‘grandparents, parents, and children’ (see Section 7.3.2.1). Collecting sufficient number of responses from various age groups evenly allows the assessors to analyse the results more objectively, and more easily find the point when language shift started and when the decrement of language maintenance began. Lacking the right information from a specific age group or gender could lead to the wrong conclusions or the assessors might not be able to make any conclusion at all since the data of a specific subgroup is not enough.

(3) Intergenerational Language Transmission and Home Domains

While it is not always feasible or easy directly to investigate the language choice and use of younger community members, studying it is essential. If younger people do not use the language, even though they have inherited it from their parents, then the language will not be passed on to the next generation and it will disappear sooner rather than later. Therefore, the assessors need to collect language choice/use data of younger community members both directly and indirectly. I propose two approaches as below.

1. If the assessors have direct access to younger community members, they should subdivide the home domain according to the interlocutors of different ages within the family structure. That is, they can investigate what languages the younger members choose with the different family members, such as grandparents, father, mother, elder siblings, younger siblings, spouse, child(ren), etc.
2. No matter whether the assessors can directly ask younger community members or not, the assessors should explore their language choice/use from their interlocutors’ point of view. That is, asking their family members what the language(s) they use when they talk to their younger family members.

These approaches would allow the assessors to check language use by all interlocutors and whether the younger community members use the language as frequently as their older family members do or not. This would help the assessors to predict/calculate the rate of successful ILT.

8.4.3 Suggestions for Reversing Language Shift/Language Revitalization

Optimistically speaking, there is still some hope of reversing the language shift in WB because WB people above 30 years of age are still fluent in Bru. Although they do not speak it frequently, they could change this behaviour. Thus, in the final sections of this chapter, seven potential actions for the language maintenance and language revitalization of WB Bru people are proposed.

(1) Grandparents' efforts

As discussed, grandparents have the potential to motivate and encourage the use of Bru among their grandchildren, though so far it has not worked well in practice. WB people below 30 years of age have become passive speakers, and they are the youngest generation of child-bearing age. This means that their children are unlikely to learn Bru from them. However, they still have opportunities to hear Bru from their grandparents. WB people, especially grandparents, therefore, should speak Bru with their grandchildren more frequently. Though now they may be accustomed to accommodating to their grandchildren by switching to Lao, they should be made aware of their role in increasing the number of Bru speakers.

As stated earlier, older Bru speakers are not aware of the techniques and methods of bringing up children bilingually or multilingually and see learning Bru as an impediment to the educational and career opportunities for their children and grandchildren. Classes or workshops should be run by linguistic experts, especially from RILCA, Mahidol University the TRF and Ubon Ratchathani University, to make older Bru speakers aware of the benefits of being multilingual and whenever possible to talk to their grandchildren only in Bru and respond to them only when they reply in Bru. However, it is not realistic to expect that grandparents will suddenly stop using Lao with their grandchildren or that their grandchildren will suddenly make efforts to reply in Bru. A more realistic action would be to change their behaviour with newly born infants.

(2) Provide more opportunities for Lao speakers in WB to learn Bru

While it is undoubtedly important to pass Bru on to ethnic Bru children, all people in WB should be encouraged to learn Bru as well. To do this, opportunities for ethnic Lao community members to learn Bru within WB should be provided. WB people's current mindset is that Bru people must accommodate to Lao people. Therefore, many children of exogamous marriage, and even children of endogamous marriage, learn only the Lao language. This belief is of course untrue. When ethnic Lao people move to WB, they should acquire some Bru proficiency. Indeed, ethnic Lao community members also have the right to learn Bru if they so desire. If more ethnic Lao parents of mixed couples acquire and possess some Bru proficiency, this would encourage their Bru spouse to use Bru with them and their children. Consequently, the rate of intergenerational transmission would improve.

As part of the general language revitalization efforts in WB, Bru language classes should be run for people of all ages. Item (7) below is aimed at primary school age children. However, there need to be some community run language classes for older WB residents as well.

(3) Accept the various varieties of Bru spoken by non-fluent speakers and by younger Bru

The in-depth interviews brought to light a tendency for 'Bru purism' among people in WB, especially among elderly Bru. Very often people were described as not being able to speak Bru 'properly'. Non-native pronunciation in particular was singled out for criticism. That is, a 'Bru speaker' must be able to precisely pronounce Bru sounds in the conventional variety. This means that young Bru people, ethnic Lao people and children from mixed marriages are sometimes labelled as a 'non-fluent' or 'accented' speakers. These attitudes demotivate these people from acquiring, learning and continuing to use Bru because their efforts to speak Bru are not appreciated. These purist attitudes are part of the combination of factors that has led the total number of Bru speakers (regardless of fluency level) to decrease.

The Bru language should not be limited to ethnic Bru people. WB Bru is not only the language of ethnic Bru people in WB but should also be a language of all community members in WB. Ethnic Lao community members and mixed couples' children should have opportunities and/or make efforts to acquire and learn Bru. To stop this vicious cycle, as Bradley (2010) notes about a view toward semispeakers,

WB Bru people must be made aware that their attitudes towards the ‘correct’ Bru language is not helpful in the overall scheme of Bru LM and that they need to be more open to non-fluent speakers.

The elderly people should be ‘generous’ and accept the variation in the speech of the younger Bru even though they use words and expressions borrowed from the majority languages (as is the case in any community where language contact is the norm). I’m afraid that, however, if language revitalization and purism are linked, the variety spoken by the elderly generation becomes conventionalized or standardized in a community, and the elderly people may enforce their way of speaking on the younger generation. Their way of speech may sound out-of-date to the younger generation, and they may not accept its imposition. I do not believe that this is what RLSers aim to do.

As a sociolinguist, I think that it is worth recording the speech of younger people as well as that of the elderly people. Then, all should acknowledge the value of the variations spoken by the younger people as one of the variations of the indigenous language. Therefore, I believe that documenting varieties of younger generation is also necessary to motivate the younger generation and thus continuous language documentation is necessary.

The classes or workshops suggested in (1) and (2) above could be the venues where these attitudes could be explored and discussed. A small change in attitudes and accepting an ‘accented’ or more ‘modern’ variety would help maintain or even increase the number of Bru speakers at a macro level because these ‘non-fluent’ and ‘accented’ speakers would also be counted as Bru speakers and would be encouraged to continue to use Bru.

(4) Exchanges with ethnic Bru people outside WB

WB youths may know that they have relatives in TL and LaS, but as the results show, most of them rarely visit these villages. The evidence so far suggests that Bru is maintained better in these villages. It would, therefore, help the LM efforts if there would be more opportunities for people in WB to visit and interact with other Bru people in these other villages. Although they may use a mixture of Bru and Lao to communicate with each other, these interactions may empower WB Bru youths, as they would realize that they are not the only ethnic Bru people in the area.

As some young INFs have experienced, a school trip to TL (and possibly LaS) is a good way to begin these interactions. In fact, a Bru monk in WB has been making efforts to create link between the different Bru communities by taking WB kids to TL for Buddhist festivals. These efforts could be expanded to the village level. As WB people develop more frequent exchanges with LaS and TL, then WB youths will be motivated to visit LaS as frequently as WB adults.

However, this approach can only be applied if support is received from the whole community of WB, TL and of the villages in Laos. All communities would need to find more ways or reasons to interact. Perhaps larger and more significant religious and cultural events than the current ones could be organized.

What is more, if possible, WB people together with LaS and TL people should restore the networks with Bru people in the main distribution areas in central Laos. Thanks to the development of land transportation and the deregulation of cross-national movements within ASEAN countries, it is now possible and affordable for Bru people in Thailand to travel to central Laos. Having opportunities to re-connect with their remote relatives may make them understand that they are not the only Bru people in the region and may change their attitudes positively and support LM as a consequence.

(5) Encourage ethno-tourism

(6) Develop information and communication technology (ICT) content

When I first visited WB in 2014, there was no mobile phone signal within the village. If youths wanted to obtain a strong mobile phone or Internet signal, they had to leave WB or use the computers at the primary school.

The mobile phone signal has now been available since the beginning of 2016, and this has changed the behavioural patterns of WB youths as they can use their smartphones within their own community. If Bru could be associated with this new domain, it could provide a promising opportunity for reversing language shift advocates. Bru orthography has already been developed and unified by the language and cultural revitalization project run by Mahidol University some time ago. The orthography should be shared with the residents in WB and the youth in particular. Being aware of the Bru orthography may motivate them to chat in Bru in existing SNS

or chat applications. This may further motivate WB youths to become more interested in learning Bru.

(7) Increase the presence of Bru in primary school

Currently, there are no Bru-speaking primary school teachers in WB. As of April 2016, the first WB-born primary school teacher was preparing to be dispatched to a school in KC (a child of CF51, a Lao Isan speaker). This means that some WB people have already managed to provide their children with tertiary education. Bru could be introduced in some capacity in the local primary school and this would be useful to language revitalization. A Bru-speaking teacher should, ideally, be employed. In the interim, a student could also be assigned to the primary school in WB as an assistant or trainee teacher, to help teach Bru to non-Bru speaking pupils. This person could also support Bru-speaking pupils to learn standard Thai as they know the difference between these languages and how learning standard Thai is difficult for speakers of Bru as a mother language. The trainee teachers could then be supported through a community-funded scholarship to pursue their teaching qualifications. The people in WB should consider establishing a funding source for scholarships with service obligations, such as Se30s in KCW, who graduated from KCW and received a scholarship for tertiary education with a service obligation to teach in KCW (See Section 6.2.1.4). Though it is difficult to find a Bru-speaking student as a candidate who is willing to be a teacher, this is worth exploring.

Summary

Seven possible countermeasures against the language shift in WB have been proposed. In all seven, it is important that WB people need to play a major role in these countermeasures. However, this does not mean that WB people must fight against the language shift alone. Support from other organizations, such as RILCA, Mahidol, and Ubon Ratchathani Universities and TRF, needs to be provided and this support is essential for the revitalization to be a success. Moreover, continuous rather than short term support is crucial regardless of the support provided. It is not always easy for language revitalization actors outside a community to remain involved in the same community, as there are many other endangered languages in the world. However, if the aim is to reverse a language shift in a community such as WB, then all parties must work hand-in-hand and the collaborations need to be long-term.

8.5 Summary

In this chapter, as the conclusion of this study, I determined that the Bru language is rapidly shifting to Lao Isan in WB despite the existence of a number of factors encouraging language maintenance. Although there are some limitations to this research, I do believe that this study has successfully achieved the objectives of the study. However, the ultimate aim is not just assessing the language vitality and endangerment of WB Bru. No matter whether we are a community member or a foreign linguist, the ultimate aim of this study is to apply the findings of this study for the purpose of revitalizing and maintaining the Bru language in WB and even any other minority language, regardless of migrant or territorial situations, in other parts of the world.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Number of valid responses to language choice questions

Domain type	Question Code	Cohort A			Cohort B			Cohort C			All PPs		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
III	LC01	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
II	LC02	21	24	45	21	21	42	26	21	47	68	66	134
II	LC03	22	23	45	21	22	43	27	21	48	70	66	136
II	LC04a	2	2	4	15	21	36	22	18	40	39	41	80
III	LC04b	2	2	4	15	21	36	22	18	40	39	41	80
III	LC05a				2	3	5	13	14	27	15	17	32
V	LC05b				1	2	3	13	14	27	14	16	30
II	LC06	3	4	7	17	21	38	22	17	39	42	42	84
I	LC07	7	12	19	10	11	21	15	7	22	32	30	62
I	LC08	11	10	21	14	10	24	17	12	29	42	32	74
II	LC09	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	20	47	71	66	137
III	LC10	8	11	19	21	18	39	21	13	34	50	42	92
IV	LC11	6	9	15	16	13	29	10	2	12	32	24	56
IV	LC12	11	16	27							11	16	27
V	LC13	11	16	27							11	16	27
V	LC14	11	16	27							11	16	27
II	LC15	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
V	LC16	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
IV	LC17	21	24	45	21	22	43	27	17	44	69	63	132
I	LC18	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
I	LC19	22	21	43	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	64	135
I	LC20	22	23	45	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	66	137
I	LC21	22	23	45	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	66	137
V	LC22	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
V	LC23	22	24	46	21	22	43	26	21	47	69	67	136
IV	LC24	18	21	39	21	22	43	27	21	48	66	64	130
V	LC25	22	22	44	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	65	136
I	LC26	19	24	43	22	21	43	27	21	48	68	66	134
V	LC27	22	23	45	22	22	44	26	21	47	70	66	136
III	LC28	12	12	24	18	21	39	27	21	48	57	54	111
III	LC29	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	20	47	71	66	137
V	LC30	21	24	45	22	22	44	27	21	48	70	67	137
V	LC31	13	16	29	22	22	44	26	20	46	61	58	119

Note. M = males; F = females. Participants were to answer these questions only when the question was applicable to their experiences.

Appendix 2. Number of valid answers to language attitude questions (Bru)

Question No.	Question (short form)	Cohort A			Cohort B			Cohort C			All		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
LA01 ^a	X communicate well w/z WB ppl	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	11	19	23	38	61
LA02 ^a	X communicate well w/x ppl in the district	6	10	16	9	16	25	8	10	18	23	36	59
LA03 ^a	X communicate well w/z ppl in the province	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	10	18	23	37	60
LA04	X easily get a job	22	24	46	21	22	43	27	17	44	70	63	133
LA05	X be seen as a person w/z a high status	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	21	47	70	67	137
LA06	X get intimacy w/z Brus in WB	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA07	X get intimacy w/z Non-Bru WB ppl	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA08	X get intimacy w/z outsiders	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	20	47	71	66	137
LA09	This lang is religiously special	22	23	45	22	22	44	27	19	46	71	64	135
LA10	Want to teach & pass on this lang	20	23	43	20	22	42	27	20	47	67	65	132
LA11	Want school to teach this lang	20	24	44	22	22	44	27	21	48	69	67	136
LA12 ^b	Embarrassed when speaking this lang#	22	23	45	22	22	44	25	21	46	69	66	135
LA13	Family stimulates the use of this lang	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA14	WB ppl should use this lang within family	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	21	47	70	67	137
LA15	Spkr of this lang are more popular	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	18	44	70	64	134
LA16	Spkr of this lang look more prestigious	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	20	46	70	66	136
LA17	Spkr of this lang are more appreciated	22	23	45	22	21	43	25	19	44	69	63	132
LA18	Prefer living in a Bru-mono-ethnic community	22	24	46	22	21	43	26	21	47	70	66	136
LA19 ^b	Will be no Bru speakers in the future#	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138

Note. M = Male; F = Female. X = this language

^aOnly applicable to PPs of the fieldwork phase II.

^bThe original mean value reflects as follows; 5.00 is the most negative whereas 1.00 is the most positive.

Appendix 3. Number of valid answers to language attitude questions (Lao)

Question No.	Question (short form)	Cohort A			Cohort B			Cohort C			All		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
LA01 ^a	X communicate well w/z WB ppl	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	11	19	23	38	61
LA02 ^a	X communicate well w/x ppl in the district	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	10	18	23	37	60
LA03 ^a	X communicate well w/z ppl in the province	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	9	17	23	36	59
LA04	X easily get a job	22	24	46	21	22	43	27	18	45	70	64	134
LA05	X be seen as a person w/z a high status	22	24	46	21	22	43	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA06	X get intimacy w/z Brus in WB	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA07	X get intimacy w/z Non-Bru WB ppl	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA08	X get intimacy w/z outsiders	22	23	45	22	22	44	27	20	47	71	66	137
LA09	This lang is religiously special	22	24	46	21	21	42	27	19	46	71	66	137
LA10	Want to teach & pass on this lang	20	23	43	21	20	41	26	20	46	67	64	131
LA11	Want school to teach this lang	20	23	43	20	20	40	25	20	45	67	65	132
LA12 ^b	Embarrassed when speaking this lang#	21	24	45	22	22	44	27	20	47	71	67	138
LA13	Family stimulates the use of this lang	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	70	67	137
LA14	WB ppl should use this lang within family	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	20	46	69	67	136
LA15	Spkrs of this lang are more popular	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	19	45	70	65	135
LA16	Spkrs of this lang look more prestigious	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	19	45	70	65	135
LA17	Spkrs of this lang are more appreciated	22	23	45	22	21	43	25	19	44	69	63	132

Note. M = Male; F = Female. X = this language

^aOnly applicable to PPs of the fieldwork phase II.

^bThe original mean value reflects as follows; 5.00 is the most negative whereas 1.00 is the most positive.

Appendix 4. Number of valid answers to language attitude questions (Thai)

Question No.	Question (short form)	Cohort A			Cohort B			Cohort C			All		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
LA01 ^a	X communicate well w/z WB ppl	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	11	19	23	38	61
LA02 ^a	X communicate well w/x ppl in the district	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	10	18	23	37	60
LA03 ^a	X communicate well w/z ppl in the province	6	10	16	9	17	26	8	9	17	23	36	59
LA04	X easily get a job	22	24	46	21	22	43	27	18	45	70	64	134
LA05	X be seen as a person w/z a high status	22	24	46	21	22	43	27	21	48	70	67	137
LA06	X get intimacy w/z Brus in WB	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA07	X get intimacy w/z Non-Bru WB ppl	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA08	X get intimacy w/z outsiders	22	23	45	22	22	44	27	20	47	71	65	136
LA09	This lang is religiously special	22	24	46	21	21	42	27	19	46	70	64	134
LA10	Want to teach & pass on this lang	20	23	43	21	20	41	26	20	46	67	63	130
LA11	Want school to teach this lang	20	23	43	20	20	40	25	20	45	65	63	128
LA12 ^b	Embarrassed when speaking this lang#	21	24	45	22	22	44	27	20	47	70	66	136
LA13	Family stimulates the use of this lang	22	24	46	22	22	44	27	21	48	71	67	138
LA14	WB ppl should use this lang within family	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	20	46	70	66	136
LA15	Spkr of this lang are more popular	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	19	45	70	65	135
LA16	Spkr of this lang look more prestigious	22	24	46	22	22	44	26	19	45	70	65	135
LA17	Spkr of this lang are more appreciated	22	23	45	22	21	43	25	19	44	69	63	132

Note. M = Male; F = Female. X = this language

^aOnly applicable to PPs of the fieldwork phase II.

^bThe original mean value reflects as follows; 5.00 is the most negative whereas 1.00 is the most positive.

Appendix 5. The List of the Informants

Cohort	Code	Age^b	Gender	Date^d	Questionnaire
A	AM10	10	Male	28 April 2016	No
A	AM16	16	Male	24 April 2016	No
A	AF17a	17	Female	14 October 2015	Yes
A	AF17b	17	Female	24 April 2016	No
A	AM18	18	Male	16 April 2016	No
A	AF19	19	Female	8 April 2016	No
A	AM24	24	Male	18 April 2016	Yes
A	AF24	24	Female	18 April 2016	Yes
A	AM27	27	Male	20 April 2016	Yes
A	AF28a	28	Female	16 April 2016	Yes
A	AF28b	28	Female	11 and 16 April 2016	Yes
A	AF29	29	Female	12 and 15 April 2016	Yes
B	BF30	30	Female	25 and 28 April 2016	Yes
B	BM30a	30	Male	16 April 2016	Yes
B	BM30b	30	Male	8 October 2015 and 16 April 2016	No
B	BF32	32	Female	16 April 2016	No
B	BM33	33	Male	16 April 2016	Yes
B	BF37	37	Female	16 April 2016	Yes
B	BM43	43	Male	13 July 2014	No
B	BM44	44	Male	7, 8, and 11 July 2014, and 6 and 20 October 2015	No
B	BF46	46	Female	8 April 2016	Yes
B	BF47a	47	Female	8 April 2016	No
B	BF47b	47	Female	3 and 24 April 2016	No
B	BM48	48	Male	4, 10, and 11 July 2014, 7 October and 4 November 2015	No
C	CF51	51	Female	22 April 2016	Yes

Cohort	Code	Age ^b	Gender	Date ^d	Questionnaire
C	CM53	53	Male	14 October 2015	Yes
C	CF57	57	Female	5, 7, 11, and 12 July 2014, 8 and 12 October 2015, and 17 April 2016	No
C	CM58a	58	Male	27 October 2015	No
C	CM58b	58	Male	23 April 2016	No
C	CM61	61	Male	12 October 2015, and 8 April 2016	Yes
C	CM65	65	Male	22 April 2016	Yes
C	CF70	70	Female	26 October 2015	No
C	CF80a	80	Female	12 July 2014	No
C	CF80b	80	Female	12 July 2014	Yes
NA ^a	Pr47	47	Female	6 October 2015, and 28 April 2016	Exempt
NA ^a	Pr30s	30s ^c	Female	8 July 2014	Exempt
NA ^a	Se59	59	Female	22 October 2015	Exempt
NA ^a	Se30s	30s ^c	Female	22 October 2015	Exempt

Note. The classification of Cohort A, B, and C follows that in the previous sections (A: 10 to 29 years old, B: 30 to 49 years old, and C: 50 years old and above.)

^aTeachers were not administered the questionnaire survey.

^bAge is at the time of the interview or conversation except the pilot study-INFs: the age of them is adjusted by adding 2 years onto their age as of the pilot study in 2014.

^cSome INFs declined to tell their precise age. In this case, I entered my impression of their age, for example, '30s' when an INF seemed to be in his/her thirties. In particular, Se30s is in her late thirties.

^dDate indicates the date when an interview was conducted or conversations were made; this did not include the date of observation.

Appendix 6. The Questionnaire (the last version used in the fieldwork phase II)

ผู้สัมภาษณ์จะฉีกหน้าแรกให้ผู้ตอบเก็บไว้ ซึ่งเป็นข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับผู้วิจัยและงานวิจัย

การใช้ภาษาในชีวิตประจำวันของชุมชนที่มีความหลากหลายทางภาษา
ผมชื่อ ยูทาเกะ โทมิโอกะ เป็นชาวญี่ปุ่น และกำลังศึกษาต่อปริญญาเอก ที่ประเทศสิงคโปร์ (ม.เทคโนโลยี นันยาง) การศึกษานี้เกี่ยวข้องกับภาษาของคนบ้านเวินปิก รวมถึงคนที่ไม่ใช่คนบรู กล่าวคือ ผมสนใจจะรู้ว่าคนบ้านเวินปิกรู้และใช้ภาษาอะไรบ้าง และรู้สึกอย่างไรเกี่ยวกับการใช้ภาษานั้น รวมทั้งข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับตัวคุณ ผมทำการศึกษานี้เพราะผมสนใจการใช้ภาษาในชีวิตประจำวันของชุมชนที่มีความหลากหลายทางภาษา และอยากจะมีส่วนร่วมกับการฟื้นฟูภาษาและวัฒนธรรมของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ในประเทศไทย
แบบสอบถามนี้ไม่ใช่ข้อสอบจึงไม่มีคำตอบที่ถูกหรือคำตอบที่ผิด ผมเพียงต้องการคำตอบและความคิดเห็นที่มีต่อภาษาของคุณที่ตรงกับความเป็นจริง

นาย ยูทาเกะ โทมิโอกะ

นักศึกษาปริญญาเอกของภาษาศาสตร์และพหุภาษาศึกษา คณะมนุษยศาสตร์และสังคมศาสตร์

มหาวิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีนันยาง ประเทศสิงคโปร์

อีเมล : [REDACTED]

โทรศัพท์มือถือ : [REDACTED]

หน้าแรก

เรียน ผู้ตอบแบบสอบถาม

เพื่อป้องกันความเป็นส่วนตัวของผู้ตอบแบบสอบถาม ทางผู้วิจัยขอรับรอง และขออนุญาตเป็นลาย
 ลักษณะอักษรดังต่อไปนี้

- (1) คำตอบของคุณจะรวมอยู่กับคำตอบของผู้ตอบแบบสอบถามคนอื่นๆ ผู้อ่านผลงานวิจัยจะไม่มีทางรู้ว่าคำตอบอะไร;
- (2) คุณหยุดตอบแบบสอบถามได้ทุกเมื่อ;
- (3) คุณสามารถเปลี่ยนคำตอบที่ได้ตอบมาแล้วก่อนหน้านี้ได้;
- (4) คุณถามผู้วิจัยหรือผู้สัมภาษณ์ได้ หากไม่เข้าใจว่าผู้วิจัยกำลังทำอะไร;
- (5) คุณขอให้ผู้วิจัยส่งคืนสำเนาคำตอบที่คุณตอบให้ผู้สัมภาษณ์ได้;
- (6) ถ้าผู้ตอบอนุญาต ผู้สัมภาษณ์จะขออัดเสียงขณะที่ให้คุณตอบคำถามเมื่อว่าผู้วิจัยจะได้ตรวจสอบคำตอบภายหลัง

ถ้าผู้ตอบยอมรับเงื่อนไขทั้งหมดนี้ ผู้สัมภาษณ์ โปรดลงวันที่สัมภาษณ์

วันที่ _____

ชื่อของผู้สัมภาษณ์ ชุมชนที่

ส่วนที่ 1 ข้อมูลส่วนบุคคล

- 1 คุณอายุเท่าไร ปี
- 2 เพศ ชาย หญิง
- 3 คุณเกิดที่ บ้านเวินปิก ใช่หรือไม่
 1) ใช่ (เกิดที่บ้านเวินปิก)
 2) ไม่ใช่ (เกิดนอกบ้านเวินปิก): โปรดระบุชื่อหมู่บ้านที่คุณเกิด
 หมู่บ้าน..... ตำบล/แขวง..... อำเภอ/เขต..... จังหวัด.....
 กรณีประเทศลาว (บ้าน..... เมือง..... แขวง.....)
- 4 คุณอยู่ในบ้านเวินปิกตลอดตั้งแต่เกิดจนถึงตอนนี้ใช่หรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่: โปรดระบุว่าเคยอยู่ที่ไหนบ้าง.....

- 5 ระดับการศึกษาสูงสุดของคุณ (โปรดเลือกเพียงหนึ่งข้อ)
- | | | |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1) ไม่ได้เข้าเรียนเลย | <input type="checkbox"/> 2) เรียนนอกระบบ | <input type="checkbox"/> 3ก) ประถม (กำลังศึกษา) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3ข) ประถม (จบแล้ว) | <input type="checkbox"/> 4) มัธยมต้น | <input type="checkbox"/> 5) มัธยมปลาย |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 6) ปวช. | <input type="checkbox"/> 7) ปวส. | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 8) ปริญญาตรี | <input type="checkbox"/> 9) ปริญญาโท | <input type="checkbox"/> 10) ปริญญาเอก |
- 6 อาชีพปัจจุบันของคุณ (ระบุได้มากกว่าหนึ่ง) (นักเรียน/นักศึกษา ถือเป็นหนึ่งอาชีพ)
- 1).....
- 2).....
- 3).....
- หากคุณมีมากกว่า 1 อาชีพ โปรดตอบข้อที่ 7
- 7 อาชีพใดที่คุณคิดว่าเป็นอาชีพหลักของคุณ: ข้อที่ 1) 2) 3)
- 8 คุณเคยทำงานอื่นมาก่อนใช่หรือไม่
- 1) ใช่: โปรดระบุว่าคุณประกอบอาชีพใดบ้างหลังเรียนจบ.....
- 2) ไม่ใช่
- 9 คุณคิดว่าคุณเป็นคนขรุขระหรือไม่
- 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่
- 10 ถ้าคำตอบข้อ 9 คือ "ใช่" คุณคิดว่า "คุณภูมิใจที่เป็นคนขรุขระ" หรือไม่
- 1) ไม่ภูมิใจ
- 2) ค่อนข้างไม่ภูมิใจ
- 3) เฉยๆ
- 4) ค่อนข้างภูมิใจ
- 5) ภูมิใจ

ไม่ว่าคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูหรือไม่กี่ตาม โปรดตอบข้อที่ 11 และ 12

- 11 เมื่อพูดถึงตัวแทนของความเป็นคนบรู คุณนึกถึงอะไรบ้าง
(อะไรที่คุณคิดว่าเป็นตัวแทนของความเป็นคนบรูได้เป็นอย่างดี)
คุณบอกก็ซื้อก็ได้:
- 12 ในบรรดาคำตอบด้านบน คุณคิดว่าอะไรเป็นตัวแทนของความเป็นคนบรูได้ดีที่สุด
- 13 พ่อของคุณมาจากบ้านเวินปิกไข่หรือไม่
 1) ใช่
 2) ไม่ใช่ => โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณจำได้ 3) ไม่ทราบ
 หมู่ที่..... หมู่บ้าน..... ตำบล/แขวง.....
 อำเภอ/เขต จังหวัด.....
 กรณีประเทศลาว (บ้าน..... เมือง..... แขวง.....)
- 14 พ่อของคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูไข่หรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่ 3) ไม่ทราบ
- 14-2 ถ้าพ่อของคุณมีเชื้อสายอื่นนอกจากบรู โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณทราบ.....
-
- 15 แม่ของคุณมาจากบ้านเวินปิกไข่หรือไม่
 1) ใช่
 2) ไม่ใช่ => โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณจำได้
 หมู่ที่..... หมู่บ้าน..... ตำบล/แขวง.....
 อำเภอ/เขต จังหวัด.....
 กรณีประเทศลาว (บ้าน..... เมือง..... แขวง.....)
- 16 แม่ของคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูไข่หรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่ 3) ไม่ทราบ
- 16-2 ถ้าแม่ของคุณมีเชื้อสายอื่นนอกจากบรู โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณทราบ.....

- 17 ปู่ของคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูไนหรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่ 3) ไม่ทราบ
- 17-2 ถ้าปู่ของคุณมีเชื้อสายอื่นนอกจากบรูไน โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณทราบ.....
-
- 18 ย่าของคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูไนหรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่ 3) ไม่ทราบ
- 18-2 ถ้าย่าของคุณมีเชื้อสายอื่นนอกจากบรูไน โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณทราบ.....
-
- 19 ตาของคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูไนหรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่ 3) ไม่ทราบ
- 19-2 ถ้าตาของคุณมีเชื้อสายอื่นนอกจากบรูไน โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณทราบ.....
-
- 20 ยายของคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูไนหรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่ 3) ไม่ทราบ
- 20-2 ถ้ายายของคุณมีเชื้อสายอื่นนอกจากบรูไน โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณทราบ.....
-
- 21 คุณมีสามี/ภรรยาใช่หรือไม่
 1) ใช่ => โปรดระบุว่าเป็นคนที่ไหนเท่าที่คุณจำได้
 หมู่บ้าน..... ตำบล/แขวง..... อำเภอ/เขต..... จังหวัด.....
 กรณีประเทศลาว (บ้าน..... เมือง..... แขวง.....)
- 2) ไม่ใช่
- 22 ถ้าคำตอบข้อ 21 คือ "ใช่" สามี/ภรรยาของคุณมีเชื้อสายบรูไนหรือไม่
 1) ใช่ 2) ไม่ใช่ 3) ไม่ทราบ
- 22-2 ถ้าสามี/ภรรยาของคุณมีเชื้อสายอื่นนอกจากบรูไน โปรดระบุเท่าที่คุณทราบ.....

- 23 สำหรับคำถามต่อไปนี้ โปรดประเมินความสามารถด้านภาษา และเลือกตัวเลข
ในกล่องด้านหน้าแต่ละภาษา

		ชื่อภาษา	ไม่ได้ เลย	น้อย มาก	ปาน กลาง	ดี	ดีมาก
23.1	พูดภาษาเหล่านี้ได้ดี อย่างน้อยแค่ไหน	บรู	1	2	3	4	5
		ลาว(ของฝั่งไทย)	1	2	3	4	5
		ไทยกลาง	1	2	3	4	5
		อื่นๆ.....	1	2	3	4	5
23.2	ฟังภาษาเหล่านี้เข้าใจ ได้ดีอย่างน้อยแค่ไหน	บรู	1	2	3	4	5
		ลาว(ของฝั่งไทย)	1	2	3	4	5
		ไทยกลาง	1	2	3	4	5
		อื่นๆ.....	1	2	3	4	5
23.3	อ่านภาษาเหล่านี้ได้ดี อย่างน้อยแค่ไหน	บรู	✗ ไม่ดี ✗				
		ลาว(ของฝั่งไทย)					
		ไทยกลาง	1	2	3	4	5
		อื่นๆ.....	1	2	3	4	5
23.4	เขียนภาษาเหล่านี้ได้ดี อย่างน้อยแค่ไหน	บรู	✗ ไม่ดี ✗				
		ลาว(ของฝั่งไทย)					
		ไทยกลาง	1	2	3	4	5
		อื่นๆ.....	1	2	3	4	5

ส่วนที่ 1 ความสามารถทางภาษา

ส่วน ที่ 2 การเลือกใช้ภาษา

ในส่วนนี้ ผมอยากให้คุณตอบว่าคุณใช้ภาษาอะไรบ้างในสถานการณ์ต่างๆ และใช้แต่ละภาษาบ่อยแค่ไหน
โปรดเลือกระดับความถี่ที่ตรงกับการใช้ภาษาของคุณในสถานการณ์ที่กำหนดให้

โปรดใช้ตัวเลขในการแสดงระดับความถี่ 5 ถึง 1 ดังต่อไปนี้

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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ตัวอย่าง 1: ใช้แค่ภาษา**บูรณาษาเดียว**

โปรดเลือก 5 ใช้แต่ภาษานี้เท่านั้น กับภาษา**บูร** และเลือก 1 ไม่ได้ใช้ภาษานี้เลย กับภาษาอื่น ๆ ทั้งหมด

บูร	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

ตัวอย่าง 2: ใช้ภาษา**บูร**และภาษา**ลาวอีสาน** และใช้ภาษา**บูร**น้อยกว่าภาษา**ลาวอีสาน**

โปรดเลือก 4 ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษา**บูร** (ภาษาที่ใช้น้อยกว่า) และเลือก 2 ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษา**ลาวอีสาน** (ภาษาที่ใช้น้อยกว่า)

บูร	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

ตัวอย่าง 3: ใช้ทั้ง 3 ภาษา และคุณรู้สึกว่าคุณใช้ภาษา**บูร**น้อยที่สุด รองลงมาเป็นภาษา**ลาวอีสาน** ส่วนใช้ภาษา**ไทยกลาง**น้อยที่สุด

โปรดเลือก 4 ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษา**บูร**, 3 ใช้ระดับปานกลาง กับ ภาษา**ลาวอีสาน**, และ 2 ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษา**ไทยกลาง** (เลือก 4-3-2 ตามลำดับ)

บูร	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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ตัวอย่าง 4: ใช้ทั้ง 3 ภาษา และคุณรู้สึกว่าจะใช้ภาษาบรู และภาษาลาวอีสานพอ ๆ กัน ส่วนใช้ภาษาไทย
กลางน้อยกว่า

โปรดเลือก 3 ใช้เท่ากับภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษาบรู และลาวอีสาน (ภาษาที่ใช้น้อยพอ ๆ กัน), เลือก 2 ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษาไทยกลาง (ภาษาที่ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาดังกล่าว)

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

ตัวอย่าง 5: ใช้ทั้ง 3 ภาษา และคุณรู้สึกว่าจะใช้ภาษาบรูน้อยที่สุด ส่วนภาษาลาวอีสาน และภาษาไทย
กลางพอ ๆ กัน

โปรดเลือก 3 ใช้เท่ากับภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษาลาวอีสาน และไทยกลาง (ภาษาที่ใช้น้อยพอ ๆ กัน), และ
4 ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาอื่น ๆ กับภาษาบรู (ภาษาที่ใช้น้อยกว่าภาษาดังกล่าว)

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

24. ในภาพรวม คุณใช้ภาษาใดในชีวิตประจำวัน

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

คำถามเริ่มจาก

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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25. เมื่อคุณอยู่บ้าน และพูดคุยกับพ่อของคุณ

(ถ้าตอนนี้ไม่ได้อยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว โปรดตอบคำถามตามประสบการณ์เมื่อตอนที่ได้อาศัยอยู่กับพ่อ)

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	พ่อ
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

26. เมื่อคุณอยู่บ้าน และพูดคุยกับแม่ของคุณ

(ถ้าตอนนี้ไม่ได้อยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว โปรดตอบคำถามตามประสบการณ์เมื่อตอนที่ได้อาศัยอยู่กับแม่)

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	แม่
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

กรณีคุณมีลูก โปรดตอบข้อที่ 27 และ 28 (กรณีไม่มี ข้ามไปยังข้อที่ 31)

(ถ้าตอนนี้ไม่ได้อยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว โปรดตอบคำถามตามประสบการณ์เมื่อตอนที่ได้อาศัยอยู่กับลูก)

27. เมื่อคุณอยู่บ้านและพูดคุยกับลูก

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	ลูก
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

28. เมื่อลูกอยู่บ้านและพูดคุยกับคุณ

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	คุณ
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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กรณีลูกของคุณมีลูก (คุณมีหลาน) แล้ว โปรดตอบข้อที่ 29 และ 30 (กรณีไม่มี ซ้ำมไปยังข้อที่ 31)
(ถ้าตอนนี้ไม่ได้อยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว โปรดตอบคำถามตามประสบการณ์เมื่อตอนที่ได้อาศัยอยู่กับหลาน)

29. เมื่อคุณอยู่บ้าน และพูดคุยกับหลานของคุณ

บุตร	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

หลาน

30. เมื่อหลานอยู่บ้าน และพูดคุยกับคุณ

บุตร	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

หลาน

กรณีคุณมีสามี/ภรรยา โปรดตอบคำถามข้อที่ 31 (กรณีไม่มี ซ้ำมไปยังข้อที่ 32)
(ถ้าตอนนี้ไม่ได้อยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว โปรดตอบคำถามตามประสบการณ์เมื่อตอนที่ได้อาศัยอยู่กับสามี/ภรรยา)

31. เมื่อคุณอยู่บ้าน และพูดคุยกับสามี/ภรรยาของคุณ

บุตร	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

สามี/ภรรยา

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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32. ไม่ว่าเรื่องอดีตหรือปัจจุบันก็ตาม คุณเคยอาศัยอยู่กับปู่และย่าเป็นประจำหรือไม่

- 1) ใช่ และปัจจุบันก็อาศัยอยู่ด้วยกัน => โปรดตอบข้อที่ 33
- 2) ใช่ แต่ปัจจุบันนี้ไม่ได้อาศัยอยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว => โปรดตอบข้อที่ 33
- 3) ไม่ใช่ => โปรดข้ามไปยังข้อที่ 34

33. เมื่อคุณอยู่บ้าน และพูดคุยกับปู่และย่าของคุณ

(ถ้าตอนนี้ไม่ได้อยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว โปรดตอบคำถามตามประสบการณ์เมื่อตอนที่ได้อาศัยอยู่กับปู่และย่า)

บุรี	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

ปู่

34. ไม่ว่าเรื่องอดีตหรือปัจจุบันก็ตาม คุณเคยอาศัยอยู่กับตาและยายเป็นประจำหรือไม่

- 1) ใช่ และปัจจุบันก็อาศัยอยู่ด้วยกัน => โปรดตอบข้อที่ 35
- 2) ใช่ แต่ปัจจุบันนี้ไม่ได้อาศัยอยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว => โปรดตอบข้อที่ 35
- 3) ไม่ใช่ => โปรดข้ามไปยังข้อที่ 36

35. เมื่อคุณอยู่บ้าน และพูดคุยกับตาและยายของคุณ

(ถ้าตอนนี้ไม่ได้อยู่ด้วยกันแล้ว โปรดตอบคำถามตามประสบการณ์เมื่อตอนที่ได้อาศัยอยู่กับตาและยาย)

บุรี	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

ยาย

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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36. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับญาติโดยทั่วไป

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	ญาติ
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

37. ตอนนี้คุณมีงานทำใช่หรือไม่ (งานทำ รวมถึง ทำไร่นา ทำประมง เก็บของป่า ขายของ ฯลฯ)

- 1) ใช่ => โปรดตอบข้อที่ 37-2
- 2) ไม่ใช่ ตอนนี้ไม่ได้ทำงาน => โปรดข้ามไปยังข้อ 40

37-2. คุณประกอบอาชีพเหล่านี้ในบ้านเรือนปึก ไร่หรือไม่

- 1) ใช่ (*หากตอนนี้คุณมีอาชีพมากกว่าหนึ่งอาชีพ และอาชีพใดอาชีพหนึ่งที่คุณทำอยู่นั้นเข้าข่ายให้ตอบว่า "ใช่")
- 2) ไม่ใช่ ไปทำงานนอกบ.เรือนปึก => โปรดระบุสถานที่.....

38. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับคนที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการทำงาน (เช่น เพื่อนร่วมงาน คนในที่ทำงานของคุณ คนที่ทำงานด้วยกันรวมถึงทำนา ทำไร่ ทำประมง เลี้ยงสัตว์ ไปเก็บของป่าด้วยกัน เป็นต้น)

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	งาน
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

กรณีมีเจ้านายในที่ทำงาน โปรดตอบคำถามข้อที่ 39 ตามประสบการณ์ (กรณีไม่มี ข้ามไปยังข้อที่ 40)

39. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับเจ้านาย

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	เจ้านาย
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้ง่ายกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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กรณีคุณเป็นนักเรียนหรือนักศึกษา โปรดตอบข้อที่ 40 ถึง 42 (กรณีไม่ใช่ ข้ามไปยังข้อที่ 43)

40. เมื่อคุณอยู่ที่โรงเรียน/วิทยาลัย/มหาวิทยาลัย และพูดคุยกับครู/อาจารย์

ครู/อาจารย์	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

41. เมื่อคุณอยู่ที่โรงเรียน/วิทยาลัย/มหาวิทยาลัย และพูดคุยกับเพื่อนร่วมชั้นในห้องเรียน

นักเรียน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

42. เมื่อคุณอยู่ที่โรงเรียน/วิทยาลัย/มหาวิทยาลัย และพูดคุยกับเพื่อนร่วมชั้นนอกห้องเรียน

นักเรียน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้ง่าย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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48. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับคนบรูที่เป็นผู้ใหญ่กว่า

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	ผู้ใหญ่บรู
สาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

49. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับคนบรูที่เป็นเพื่อนสนิท

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	เพื่อนสนิทบรู
สาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

50. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับคนอีสานที่อาศัยอยู่ในบ้านเวินบึก

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	คนอีสาน
สาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

51. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับคนนอกบ้านเวินบึก (คนที่ไม่ได้อาศัยอยู่ในบ้านเวินบึก)

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	คนนอกบ้าน
สาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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ข้อที่ 52 เป็นต้นไป โปรดตอบเฉพาะข้อที่คุณเคยมีประสบการณ์ หากไม่เคยสามารถข้ามได้

52. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับเจ้าหน้าที่ของรัฐ

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	จนท.รัฐ
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

53. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับหมอที่สถานีอนามัย

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	หมออนามัย
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

54. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับพระที่เป็นคนบรู

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	พระบรู
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

55. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับพระที่ไม่ได้เป็นคนบรู

บรู	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	พระ
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

ตัวเลือกเต็ม ประโยค	1: ไม่ได้ใช้ ภาษานี้เลย	2: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	3: ใช้ระดับปานกลาง หรือ เท่ากับภาษาอื่นๆ	4: ใช้น้อยกว่า ภาษาอื่นๆ	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้ เท่านั้น
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56. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับหมอทำขวัญ/หมอสูชวิญ

บุรี	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	หมอสูชวิญ
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

57. เมื่อคุณไปซื้อของที่ร้านค้าในหมู่บ้านและพูดคุยกับคนขาย

บุรี	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	ร้าน
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

58. เมื่อคุณไปตลาดและพูดคุยกับคนขาย

บุรี	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	ตลาด
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

ถ้าคุณเรียนจบแล้ว โปรดตอบข้อที่ 59 ในฐานะที่เป็นผู้ใหญ่ (ไม่ใช่ในฐานะนักเรียน/นักศึกษา)

59. เมื่อคุณพูดคุยกับครูที่หมู่บ้าน

บุรี	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	ครู
ลาวอีสาน	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
ไทยกลาง	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	
อื่นๆ	1: ไม่ได้ใช้	2: ใช้น้อย	3: ปานกลาง/เท่ากับภาษาอื่น	4: ใช้น้อย	5: ใช้แต่ภาษานี้	

ส่วนที่ 3 ทักษะติดต่อภาษา

ผู้สัมภาษณ์จะอ่านประโยคบอกเล่าให้ฟัง โปรดประเมินว่าคุณเห็นด้วยกับประโยคเหล่านั้นมากน้อยแค่ไหน และเลือกตัวเลขที่ใกล้เคียงที่สุดในความคิดของคุณ

โปรดใช้ตัวเลขที่แสดงระดับความเห็นดังต่อไปนี้

'1: ไม่เห็นด้วย', '2: ค่อนข้างไม่เห็นด้วย', '3: ปานกลาง', '4: ค่อนข้างเห็นด้วย', และ '5: เห็นด้วย'

โปรดประเมินในแต่ละภาษา ได้แก่ ภาษาบรู, ภาษาลาวฝั่งประเทศไทย/ไทยถิ่นอีสาน (เรียกว่าลาวอีสาน) และภาษาไทยกลาง

	บรู					ลาวอีสาน					ไทยกลาง				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
-															
(ตัวอย่าง) หากคุณ "2. ค่อนข้างเห็นด้วย" กับภาษาภาษาบรู, "3. ปานกลาง" กับภาษาลาวอีสาน, และ "5. เห็นด้วย" กับภาษาไทยกลาง กรุณาวางตัวเลขแบบนี้	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
60 ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คุณจะสื่อสารกับคนในบ้านเงินบิกได้ดี	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
61 ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คุณจะสื่อสารกับคนในตัวอำเภอโขงเจียมได้ดี	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
62 ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คุณจะสื่อสารกับคนในตัวเมือง จ.อุบลราชธานีได้ดี	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
63 (สมมติว่าคุณกำลังทำงาน) ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คุณจะมีโอกาสได้งานง่ายขึ้น	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
64 ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คนอื่นจะมองว่าคุณเป็นคนมีสถานะสูง	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

		1: ไม่เห็นด้วย', '2:ค่อนข้างไม่เห็นด้วย', '3:ปานกลาง', '4:ค่อนข้างเห็นด้วย', และ '5: เห็นด้วย'												
		ลาวอีสาน	ไทยกลาง	ลาวอีสาน	ไทยกลาง									
65	ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คุณจะได้สนิทสนมกับคนบุรีรัมย์บ้านเรือนมากขึ้น	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
66	ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คุณจะได้สนิทสนมกับคนที่ไม่ใช่บุรีรัมย์บ้านเรือนมากขึ้น	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
67	ถ้าคุณใช้ภาษานี้ คุณจะได้สนิทสนมกับคนนอกบ้านเรือนมากขึ้น	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
68	ภาษานี้มีความสำคัญทางศาสนาเป็นพิเศษมากกว่าภาษาอื่น	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
69	(สมมติว่าคุณมีลูก) คุณอยากสอนหรือถ่ายทอดภาษานี้ให้ลูกหลาน	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
70	(สมมติว่าคุณมีลูก) คุณอยากให้โรงเรียนสอนภาษานี้ให้ลูกหลาน	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
71	คุณรู้สึกอายนี้อะไรเวลาพูดภาษานี้	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
72	คนในครอบครัวมีอิทธิพลในการกระตุ้นให้พูดภาษานี้	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
73	คุณคิดว่าคนบ้านเรือนบักควรพูดภาษานี้ในครอบครัว	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
		จากข้อที่ 74 ถึง 76 โปรดตอบโดยไม่ต้องคำนึงว่าผู้พูดพูดภาษานี้ที่ใด												
74	คนที่พูดภาษานี้เป็นพื้นชอบมากกว่าคนที่ไม่ได้พูดภาษานี้	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
75	คนที่พูดภาษานี้ดูมีระดับมากกว่าคนที่ไม่ได้พูดภาษานี้	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
76	คนที่พูดภาษานี้ดูมีบุญวาสนากว่าคนที่ไม่ได้พูดภาษานี้	1	2	3	4	5								
		2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
		3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
		4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
		5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		

1: ไม่เห็นด้วย', '2: ค่อนข้างไม่เห็นด้วย', '3: ปานกลาง',

'4: ค่อนข้างเห็นด้วย', และ '5: เห็นด้วย'

		บุรี				
77	คุณชอบอยู่ในชุมชนที่เป็นคนบุรีเหมือนกันมากกว่าอยู่ในกลุ่มคนเชื้อชาติอื่น	1	2	3	4	5
78	คุณคิดว่าจะไม่มีคนพูดภาษาบุรีในประเทศไทยอีกแล้วในอนาคตอันใกล้นี้	1	2	3	4	5

ขอขอบพระคุณ

หากท่านอนุญาตให้ผู้วิจัยสอบถามเพิ่มเติมได้ กรุณากรอกที่ติดต่อของท่าน

ชื่อ-สกุล โทรศัพท์

ที่อยู่: บ้านเลขที่ หมู่ที่ 8 (บ.เวินบึก) ตำบล โขงเจียม

เขียนผู้สัมภาษณ์ (เรียนผู้ช่วยวิจัย): กรุณาถามข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับลูกและหลาน เท่าที่ผู้ตอบจำได้

ขอทราบรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับลูก-หลาน เท่าที่คุณจำได้และเล่าให้ฟังได้

45-2. คุณมีลูกทั้งหมดกี่คน คน

45-2-1. ลูกคนที่ 1 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-2. ลูกคนที่ 2 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-3. ลูกคนที่ 3 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-4. ลูกคนที่ 4 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-5. ลูกคนที่ 5 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-6. ลูกคนที่ 6 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-7. ลูกคนที่ 7 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-8. ลูกคนที่ 8 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-9. ลูกคนที่ 9 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

45-2-10. ลูกคนที่ 10 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง

ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

หลาน (ลูกของลูก)

47-2. คุณมีหลาน (ลูกของลูก) ทั้งหมดกี่คน คน

47-2-1. หลานคนที่ 1 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-2. หลานคนที่ 2 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-3. หลานคนที่ 3 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-4. หลานคนที่ 4 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-5. หลานคนที่ 5 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-6. หลานคนที่ 6 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-7. หลานคนที่ 7 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-8. หลานคนที่ 8 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-9. หลานคนที่ 9 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น47-2-10. หลานคนที่ 10 อายุ ปี / เพศ ชาย หญิง / เป็นลูกของลูกคนที่ปัจจุบัน อยู่ที่ บ.เวินบิก ที่อื่น ระบุ / ทำงานที่ หรือ เป็น

Appendix 7. The Questionnaire (the translated version)

Note: As the questionnaire was designed to be compatible with other speech communities, some proper nouns such as ‘Bru’ and ‘Woen Buek’ are expressed as ‘language name’ or ‘ethnicity name’ etc. In addition, the style of English may not be as is used in a typical questionnaire in English-speaking communities. This is because I intentionally chose to reflect original Thai expressions and sentence structures in this translated version.

The language practices of multilingual communities
<p>My name is Yutaka Tomioka. I am Japanese who currently study PhD program in Singapore (Nanyang Technological University). This study is about the languages of the Woen Buek people including those who are not the Bru people as well some information about you. In other words, I am interested in finding out what languages the Woen Buek people know and use, and what you feel about. I am doing this study because I am interested in the language practices of multilingual communities, and would like to contribute to the revitalization of language and culture of ethnolinguistic minorities in Thailand.</p>
<p>This is not a test - there are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your honest answers and opinions about your languages.</p>

Mr. Yutaka Tomioka

PhD Student, Division of Linguistics and Multilingual Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

E-mail: xxxxxxxx

Mobile: xxxxxxxx

Dear Valuable participant

In order to save a participant's privacy, the researcher would like to guarantee and ask a permission with a written form as follows.

- (1) Your answers will be gathered with others' answers so that readers of the research achievements will not know what your exact answer is;
- (2) You can stop helping me at any time;
- (3) You can change what you answered to me;
- (4) You can ask the researcher or the interviewer if you do not understand what the researcher is doing;
- (5) You can ask the researcher to give you back a copy of what you answer to the interviewer;

The interviewer will record sounds while administering this questionnaire in case the researcher (6) needs to check what you answered later (If a participant do not want to be recorded, the interviewer will proceed without recording);

If the informant accepts conditions above, the interviewer please fill in the date of the interview/please fill in the date of answering the questionnaire.

date _____

Interviewer No.

Part 1 Personal Infotmation

1 How old are you? years old

2 You are male female

3 Were you born in Woen Buek?

1) Yes (Born in Woen Buek)

2) Outside this village: Please specify the name of village where you were born

Village _____, Subdistrict _____, District _____, Province _____,

In case of Laos (Village _____, District _____, Provice _____)

4 Have you lived in this village all the time since you were born until now?

1) Yes 2) No: Please specify where you have lived: _____

5 What is your highest education level which you have already graduated? (Please choose only one)

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1) Did not attend school at all | <input type="checkbox"/> 2) Non-formal education | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3) Primary school (any grades) | <input type="checkbox"/> 4) Secondary school grade 9 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5) Secondary school grade 12 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 6) Vocational certificate | <input type="checkbox"/> 7) High vocational certificate | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 8) Bachelor degree | <input type="checkbox"/> 9) Master degree | <input type="checkbox"/> 10) Doctoral degree |

6 What is your current occupation? (you can mention more than one) (student is considered as one occupation.)

1).....

2).....

3).....

9 Do you think you are [ETHNICITY/LANGUAGE NAME]?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1) Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> 2) No => What do you think you are |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|

10 If 9 is yes, are you proud of being [Ethnicity/Language name]?

- 1) Not proud
- 2) Rather not proud
- 3) Middling
- 4) Rather proud
- 5) Proud

Everyone please answer No.11 and 12 irrespective of your lineage.

11 What do you think do represent [ETHNICITY-NAME]-ness well?
You can write down as many as you think.

.....
.....
.....

12 Amongst the answers above, which one do the best represent [ETHNICITY-NAME]-ness?

.....

13 Is your father from this village?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No => Please specify: *Please fill in the names as many as you remember.
- 3) Do not know

Village _____, Subdistrict _____, District _____, Province _____,

In case of Laos (Village _____, District _____, Province _____)

14 Does your father have a lineage to [ETHNICITY NAME]?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No*
- 3) Do not know*

14-2 If he has other lineages than [ETHNICITY NAME], please mention.....

15 Is your mother from this village?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No => Please specify: *Please fill in the names as many as you remember.
- 3) Do not know

Village _____, Subdistrict _____, District _____, Province _____,

In case of Laos (Village _____, District _____, Province _____)

16 Does your mother have a lineage to [ETHNICITY NAME]?

- 1) Yes
- 2) No*
- 3) Do not know*

16-2 If she has other lineages than [ETHNICITY NAME], please mention.....

-
- 17 Does your paternal grandfather have a lineage to [ETHNICITY NAME]?
- 1) Yes 2) No* 3) Do not know*
- 17-2 If he has other lineages than [ETHNICITY NAME], please mention.....
-
- 18 Does your paternal grandmother have a lineage to [ETHNICITY NAME]?
- 1) Yes 2) No* 3) Do not know*
- 18-2 If she has other lineages than [ETHNICITY NAME], please mention.....
-
- 19 Does your maternal grandfather have a lineage to [ETHNICITY NAME]?
- 1) Yes 2) No* 3) Do not know*
- 19-2 If he has other lineages than [ETHNICITY NAME], please mention.....
-
- 20 Does your maternal grandmother have a lineage to [ETHNICITY NAME]?
- 1) Yes 2) No* 3) Do not know*
- 20-2 If she has other lineages than [ETHNICITY NAME], please mention.....
-
- 21 Do you have a spouse or partner?
- 1) Yes -> Please mention where your spouse or partner comes from:
- Village _____, Subdistrict _____, District _____, Province _____,
- In case of Laos (Village _____, District _____, Province _____)
- 2) No
- 22 If No. 21 is yes, does he/she have a lineage to [Ethnicity name]?
- 1) Yes 2) No* 3) Do not know*
- 22-2 If s/he has other lineages than [ETHNICITY NAME], please mention.....

23

For the next question, please estimate your language proficiency and choose in the box with a figure for each language.

			Not at all	Limit ed	Midd ling	Well	Very well
23.1	How well you can speak these languages?	Bru	1	2	3	4	5
		Lao	1	2	3	4	5
		Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others....	1	2	3	4	5
23.2	How well you understand these languages?	Bru	1	2	3	4	5
		Lao	1	2	3	4	5
		Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others....	1	2	3	4	5
23.3	How well you can read these languages?	Bru	Not necessary to answer				
		Lao					
		Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others....	1	2	3	4	5
23.4	How well you can write in these languages?	Bru	Not necessary to answer				
		Lao					
		Thai	1	2	3	4	5
		Others....	1	2	3	4	5

Part 2 Language Choice

In this part, I would like you to answer how frequently you use respective languages in various situations.

Please choose the frequency that best represents your usage of each language in given situation.

Please interpret choices from 5 to 1 as follows.

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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Example 1: If you use only [Language name], please mark as followings.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 5: Use this only
Lao Isan	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Example 2: If you use [Language name] and Lao, then you feel you use [Language name] more than Lao Isan, please mark as followings.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Example: If you use [Language name], Lao in Thailand/the Isan Thai dialect and Central Thai, and you feel you use [Language name] the most often, use Lao in Thailand/the Isan Thai dialect the second most often, and use Central Thai the least often, please mark as followings.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 1: Not at all	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Example: If you use all 3 languages, and you feel you evenly use [Language name] and Lao/Isan, while use Thai the least often, please mark as followings.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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24. Languages which you use in your daily life as a whole.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

25. When you are at home, and talk with your father.

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with him.)

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

26. When you are at home, and talk with your mother.

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with her.)

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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In case you have child(ren), please answer No. 27 and 28. (If not, skip to No.31)

27. When you are at home, and talk with your child(ren).

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

28. When your child(ren) are at home, and talk with you.

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

In case you have grandchild(ren), please answer No. 44 and 28. (If not, skip to No.31)

29. When you are at home, and talk with your grandchild(ren).

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

(Once deleted but will use in ver.3.1)

30. When your grandchildren are at home, and talk with you.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

If you have spouse or partner, please answer No. 31. (If not, skip to no. 32.)

31. When you are at home, and talk with your spouse/partner.

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
-----------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------	---------------------------

32. In the past or at present, have you stayed with paternal grandparents?

- 1) Yes and stay together at present => Please answer No. 33
- 2) Yes but no longer stay together => Please answer No. 33
- 3) Never => Please skip to No.34

33. When you are at home and talk with your paternal grandparents.

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with them.)

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

34. In the past or at present, have you stayed with maternal grandparents?

- 1) Yes and stay together at present => Please answer No. 35
- 2) Yes but no longer stay together => Please answer No. 35
- 3) Never => Please skip to No.36

35. When you are at home and talk with your maternal grandparents.

(If you do not stay together now, please answer based on your experience when you lived with them.)

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

36. In general, when you speak with relatives.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
-----------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------	---------------------------

37. Do you currently have any work(s) (including farming, fishing, gathering, selling commodities etc.)?

- 1) Yes => Please answer No. 37-2.
- 2) No, do not work at now. => Please skip to no 40.

37-2. Do you do this/these work(s) inside village?

- 1) Yes *If you have more than one occupation at present, and any of them is applicable, you can answer yes.
- 2) No, work outside village. => Please specify the place

38. When you talk with your work associates (Work associates means, for example, those at your work place, those who work together including farming, fishing, domesticating animals, or gathering crops in the woods etc.).

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

If you have a boss(es) in your work place, please answer No.39 (If you do not have, please skip to no. 40.)

39. When you talk with your boss.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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If you are a pupil or student, please answer No 40 to 42. (If you are not, please skip to No. 43.)

40. When you are at school/college/university, and talk with your teacher/professor.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

41. When you are at school/college/university, and talk with class mates inside classroom.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

42. When you are at school/college/university, and talk with class mates outside classroom.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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43. Overall, when you communicate with people in [village name].

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

44. Overall, when you communicate with people in the central area of [the district].

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

45. Overall, when you communicate with people in the central area of [the province].

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

46. When you are in the village and talk with [Ethnicity name] person.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

47. When you are outside village and meet [Ethnicity name] person.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

48. When you talk with [Ethnicity name] person who is more adult and senior than you.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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49. When you talk with close [LANG NAME] friends.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

50. When you talk with [ISAN] person who live in the [village name].

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

51. When you talk with outsider (those who are not villager of this village).

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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From No.49, please skip if you do not have such an experiences.

52. When you talk with government officer.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

53. When you talk with a doctor at the sanitary station.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

54. When you talk with a [LANG NAME] monk/priest.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

55. When you talk with a non-[LANG NAME] monk/priest.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Full expression	1: Do not use this language at all	2: Use this language less than other languages	3: Use this language at the middle level/as even as other languages	4: Use this language more than other languages	5: Use this language only
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56. When you talk with a [NAME of SHAMAN of INDIGENOUS BELIEF] (Mo Tham Khwan).

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

57. When you go to local stores (minimart) inside village and talk with a seller.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

58. When you go to market and talk with peddlers

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

If you have graduated, please answer no 59 as an adult (not pupils or student).

59. When you talk with teacher(s) at village.

Bru	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Lao Isan	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Central Thai	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only
Others.....	1: Not at all	2: Use less	3: Middle/as even as other langs	4: Use more	5: Use this only

Part 3 Language Attitude

For part 3, an interviewer will read up a sentence.
Please estimate to what extent you agree with these statements, and choose the number that is the closest to your thoughts.

Please use the number which express the degree of agreement as follows:
'1: Disagree', '2: Rather disagree', '3: Midlling', '4: Rather agree', and '5: Agree'

	Please evaluate each language: [Language name], Lao in Thailand/the Isan Thai dialect, and Central Thai.									
	Bru		Lao Isan		Central Thai					
-	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
60	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
61	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
62	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
63	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
64	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

		Bru					Lao Isan					Central Thai				
	1: Disagree', '2: Rather disagree', '3: Midling', '4: Rather agree', and '5: Agree'															
65	If you use this language, you would gain more intimacy with [Ethnicity] people in your village.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
66	If you use this language, you would gain more intimacy with Non-[Ethnicity] people in your village.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
67	If you use this language, you would gain more intimacy with others from outside your village.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
68	This language is a religiously more special than other languages.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
69	(Provided you have children) You want to teach or transfer [language name] to my descendants.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
70	(Provided you have children) You want the school to teach [language name] to my descendants.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
71	You feel embarrassing when speaking this language.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
72	Family members influence on the encouragement of speaking this language.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
73	You think the [Community name] people should speak this language in a family.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
	From No. to No., please consider regardless of place - this village, provincial capital or Ban															
74	A person who speaks this language is more popular than those who do not speak this language.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
75	A person who speaks this language is more prestigious than those who do not speak this language.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
76	A person who speaks this language has accumulated more religious merit than those who do not speak this language.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

	1: Disagree', '2: Rather disagree', '3: Midling', '4: Rather agree', and '5: Agree'	Bru				
77	You like staying within the same [Ethnicity name] community more than other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
78	You think there will be no [Language name] speaker in Thailand in near future.	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you very much

If you allow the researcher to have further interviews, please provide your contact.

First Name-Family Name _____ Phone _____

Address: House number _____ Group _____ Subdistrict _____

Dear participant (research assistant): Please ask information about children and grandchildren as far as the participant can answer.

Please ask the details of children and grandchildren that you can remember and provide.

45-2. You have _____ children.

45-2-1. The first children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-2. The second children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-3. The third children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-4. The fourth children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-5. The fifth children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-6. The sixth children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-7. The seventh children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-8. The eighth children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-9. The ninth children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

45-2-10. The tenth children: age years old / gender male female

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

Grandchildren

47-2. You have _____ grandchildren.

47-2-1. The first grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-2. The second grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / th child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-3. The third grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-4. The forth grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-5. The fifth grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-6. The sixth grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-7. The seventh grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-8. The seighth grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-9. Thenineth grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as

47-2-10. The tenth grandchildren: age years old / gender male female / the child ofth child

At present, live in Woen Buek Other places: specify work as