Language Change in Progress: A Case Study of Pwo Karen Fauna

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Outline of the presentation

- **Research objectives**
- **Conceptual framework**
- **Field site**
- **Speech community**
- **Language contact situations**
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Research objectives

- **To study lexical change in progress by investigating the knowledge of animal names among Pwo Karen speakers in three age groups: 45-60, 20-40 and 10-15.**

- **To predict the attrition and retention of the animal name words from the present to the future.**

Conceptual framework

"Contact Linguistics"

- **Weinreich, U. (1968)**
- **Weinreich, U., W. Labov and M. Herzog (1968)**
- **Labov, W. (1994)**
- **Thomason, S.G. and T. Kaufman (1988)**

- **Thomason, S.G. (2001)**
- **Thomason, S.G. (2006)**
- **Thomason, S.G. (2005)**
- **Sankoff, G. (2004)**
- **Myers-Scotton, C. (2002)**
- **Winford, D. (2003)**

Field site (1)

- **Uthai Thani is a province in the north-western region of Central Thailand.**

- **It consists of eight districts. Muang, Nong Khayang, Nong Chang, Thapthan, Sawang Arom, Lan Sak, Huai Khot and Ban Rai**

- **In the 60's and 70's, the mountains and jungles in the districts of Lan Sak, Huai Khot and Ban Rai were heavily infiltrated by communists.**

- **The mountainous areas of the three districts have been modernized since the 80's.**
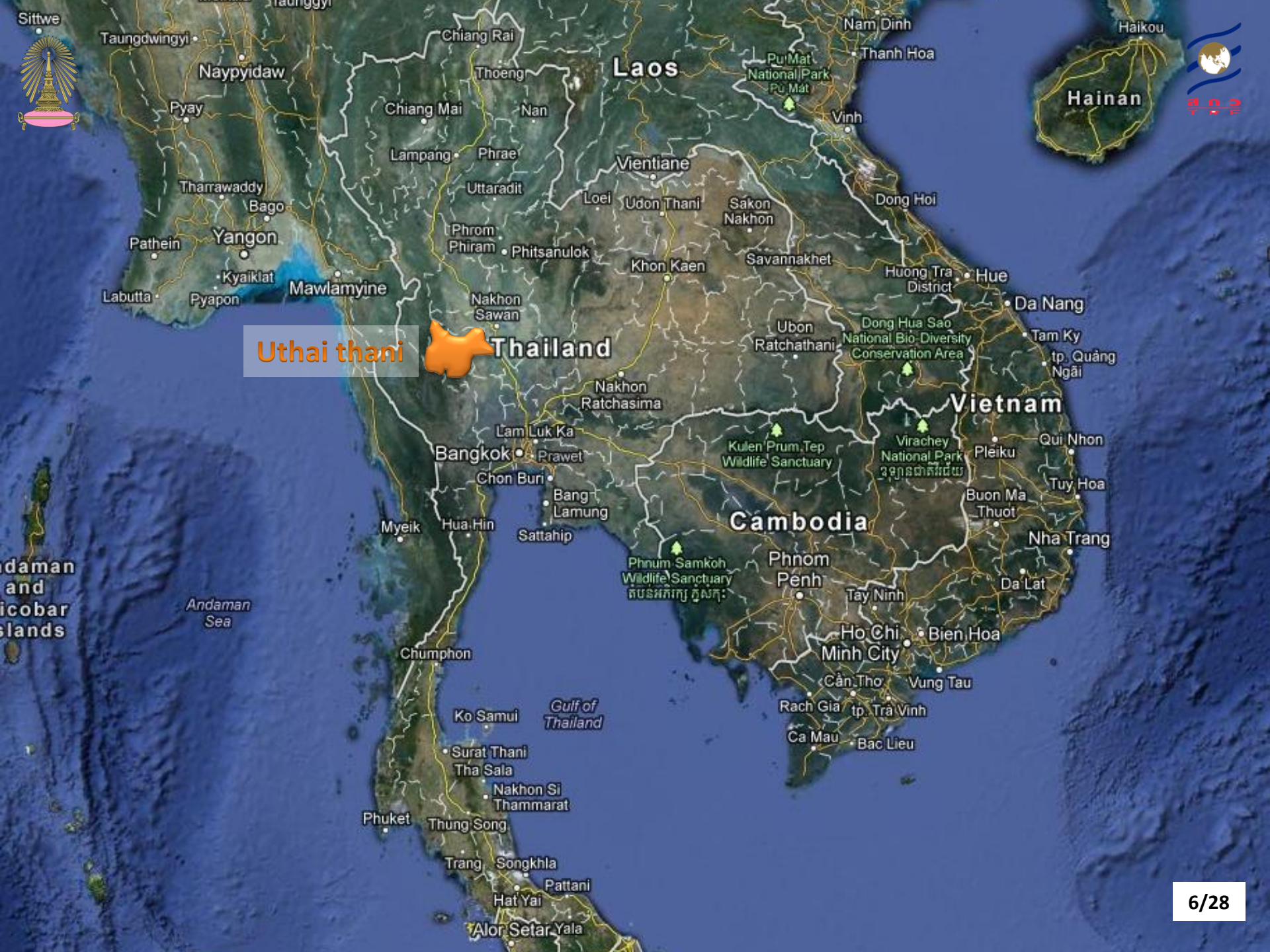
Uthai thani

Field site (2)

- **Kaen Makrut, founded in 1917, is one of the eight sub-districts of Ban Rai District.**

- **This mountainous area, where Pwo Karen speaking people live, is part of Huai Kha Khaeng Wildlife Sanctuary, a UNESCO world heritage site.**

- **There is a centre for the promotion of cold-climate plant agriculture.**

Field site (3)

- **The total population of Kaen Makrut Sub-district is 1,367, mostly Pwo Karen peasants and labourers (95%).**

- **Every village in Kaen Makrut has electricity, a water supply and public telephone.**

- **There are three schools (from kindergarten to secondary level), one hospital, one health-care centre, three Buddhist temples and a few tourist attractions.**

- **Seven Pwo men are members of the Sub-district Administrative Committee.**

Huai Kha Khaeng Wildlife Sanctuary (office)

Ban Rai District

Tai

Mai Khlong Angwa 1

Mai Khlong Angwa 2

Khlong Salao

I-Mat

I-Sai

Chao Wat

Phu Bon
Mo Kho

Ban Rai Municipality

I-mat & I-sai speech community (1)

- **I-mat & I-sai villages were selected as the speech community for investigating progressive lexical change, i.e. animal name words.**

- **The Pwo Karen living in I-mat & I-sai, about three kilometres apart, always share administrative, social and cultural activities, so together the two villages are regarded as a single speech community.**

I-mat & I-sai speech community (2)

- **I-mat & I-sai are 27 and 24 kilometres, respectively, from the municipality of Ban Rai District.**

- **They can be reached within half and hour by car, due to good road.**

- **Some families send their children to schools in town.**

I-mat & I-sai speech community (3)

- **The two villages share a school, a temple and a hospital.**

- **The office of the Unit 73 of the Social Welfare Development Department and home stays are located in I-mat, while a centre of Karen cloth weaving is in I-sai.**

- **In December and January of every year, I-mat & I-sai become important tourist attractions.**

I-mat & I-sai speech community (4)

- **Being members of the "Little Guide Programme", children can earn a lot of money during the high season.**

- **Strawberries and other local agricultural produce and handicrafts are for sale along the road from I-sai to I-mat.**

- **Tulips and lilies are displayed in the garden of the Social Welfare Development (Unit 73) which is located in I-mat.**

I-mat & I-sai speech community (5)

- The total population is 343(189 + 154).

- Four generations of Pwo Karen speakers defined by age group and their degree of bilingualism can be found in this speech community: above 70, 45-60, 20-40 and below 15 years old.

- In everyday life, the 70$^+$ age group (rare) uses more Pwo and the 15$^-$ age group uses more Thai.

- No problem for outsiders in communicating in Thai with the Pwo in the four age groups because they are bilingual.

Four generations of S.Pwo Karen speakers

I-mat & I-sai speech community

70⁺ age group

45-60 age group

20-40 age group

15⁻ age group

Language contact situations (1)

- **Code-switching between Pwo and Thai is very common.**

- **Some Pwo men and women are married to outsiders, i.e. Lao Wiang, Lao Khrang and Thais; however, only Pwo and Thai are used in the households.**

- **Thai is used in classrooms, public places and when outsiders are present.**

- **Young Pwo married couples speak Pwo to each other but speak Thai with their children.**

Language contact situations (2)

- **Young people always visit the downtown of Ban Rai District on Friday evenings and at the weekend for some social activities and special food.**

- **Watching television is their favourite pastime.**

- **Mobile shops with loud speakers advertising their merchandise in Thai come to I-mat and I-sai villages almost everyday.**

- **Many men and women in the 20-40 age group have had an opportunity to work in the towns and cities of Central Thailand.**

Methodology (1)

- **A word list with 70 animal name words selected from the reconstructed forms given in my paper on Proto-Karen (*k-rjaŋ^A) fauna was devised. (See Appendix in the handout.)**

- **It was used as a guideline for interviewing 30 Pwo-Thai bilinguals divided into three age groups: 45-60(45-58), 20-40(23-40) and 10-15(9-13), 10 in each group.**

Appendix
Proto-Karen, Proto-Pwo and Southern Pwo Animal Names

1. **ant** *dəŋ^B [SP: thəi^{33}; PP: *thəɯɴ^4]
2. **bamboo rat** *(jow^B) khan^A [SP: khɔ̃^{53}]
3. **bat** *pla^A, *p/bla^B [SP: phla^{55}]
4. **bear** *tham^A [SP: (pu^{11}) thɔ̃^{53}]
5. **bedbug** *ɹram^A [SP: phɔ̃^{53}~ phɔ̃i^{53}]
6. **bee (Apis cerana)** *k(h)wat^D [SP: kwe^{31}]
7. **bee (Apis dorsata)** *k-hne^A [SP: ni^{53}; PP: *ne^1]
8. **bird** *tho^B [SP: thu^{55}; PP: *tho^3]
9. **boar (wild ~)** *thɔ^{ʔD} mi^A [SP: thu^{ʔ21}mɛi^{31}]
10. **buffalo (water ~)** *b-na^B [SP: pa^{ʔ21}na^{33}; PP:*pəna^4]
11. **caterpillar** *si^ʔ~ (?)[SP: sɛi^{31}mi^{33}]
12. **catfish** *~ku^A, *~ku^B [SP: (ja^{55}) ku^{55}]
13. **centipede** *ʔda-ʔbaŋ^A [SP: da^{ʔ21}bɔ̃^{31}]
14. **chameleon, lizard** *khwi^B [SP: khwi^{55}]
15. **chicken** *chjaX^A, *chjaN^A [SP: chɔ̃^{53}; PP: *chaɴ^1]
16. **cicada** *ŋjaj^A [SP: jai^{31}]
17. **civet cat** *thu^B [SP: thu^{ʔ21}thɔ̃^{31}]
18. **crab** *chwɛ^B [SP: chwe^{55}; PP: chwe^3]
19. **cricket** *s-ki^A [SP: kha^{ʔ21} rai^{ʔ45}]
20. **crocodile** *s-hma^B, *s-ʔma^B [SP: ma^{55}]
21. **deer (barking ~)** *d-khej^A [SP: khei^{53}bɔ̃^{31}]
22. **deer (sambha ~)** *t-khro^{ʔD}, *t-gro^A [SP: chə^{33}xo^{31}]
23. **dog** *thwi^B [SP: thwi^{55}; PP: *thwi^3]
24. **dove** *(tho^B) lwi^B [SP: (thu^{55}) lwi^{33}]
25. **earthworm** *k-ljɛ^{ʔD} [SP: chɔ̃^{53}ka^{ʔ21}li^{ʔ45}]
26. **elephant** *k-chaŋ^A [SP: ka^{ʔ21}chɔ̃^{53}; PP: kəchaɴ^1]
27. **fish** *da^{ʔD} [SP: ja^{55}; PP: *ja^3]
28. **flea** *kli^A, *kli^{ʔD} [SP: khlei^{53}]
29. **fox, wolf** *thwi^B mi^A [SP: thwi^{55} mɛi^{31}]
30. **frog** *ʔde^B [SP: di^{55}]
31. **grasshopper** *ʔdwɛ^B [SP: thwe^{33}]
32. **hawk** *lek^D [SP: lai^{ʔ45}]
33. **hornet** *phrim^A, *phrin^A [SP: *phlɔ̃i^{53}]
34. **horse** *k-se( )^T [SP: ka^{ʔ21} θi^{55}; PP: *kəse^3]
35. **leech (land ~)** *swa^{ʔD} [SP: wa^{ʔ33}]
36. **leech (water ~)** *k/s-lej^A [SP: lei^{31}]
37. **lemur (flying ~)** *p/ble^{ʔD} [SP: phlai^{ʔ45}]
38. **loris** *k-ch( )N^A [SP: ka^{ʔ21}chɔ̃i^{53}]
39. **louse(chicken), insect** *gra^B [SP: (chɔ̃^{53}) xa^{33}]
40. **louse (head ~)** *swiX^B [SP: θəi^{55}; PP: *səɯɴ^3]
41. **maggot** *hl/ʔloŋ^B [SP: lou^{55}]
42. **millipede** *k/s-waj^A, *k/s-waj^B [SP: wai^{31}di^{31}]
43. **mole** *(jow^B) wi^A [SP: wei^{31}]
44. **monitor lizard (land ~)** *kho^{ʔD} [SP: khou^{ʔ31}]
45. **monitor lizard (water ~)** *~kre^A [SP: ɣɛi^{31}]
46. **monkey** *k-jo^{ʔD} [SP: chə^{55} ʔəu^{ʔ31}; PP: *chəʔəu^5]
47. **mouse, rat** *jow^B [SP: jou^{33}; PP: *ju^4]
48. **ox** *bo^B [SP: chə^{33}nəi^{53}; PP: *khlau^4]
49. **pangolin, anteater** *jo^A [SP: jĩ^{31}]
50. **parrot** *(tho^B) ki^B/ kli^B ([SP: dai^{ʔ31}ja^{ʔ45}ka^{ʔ21}])
51. **peacock** *(tho^B) bra^{ʔD} [SP: (thu^{55}) sa^{ʔ45}~sja^{ʔ45}~ca^{ʔ45}]
52. **pheasant** *(tho^B) re^{ʔD} [SP: (thu^{55}) ɣai^{ʔ45}]
53. **pig** *thɔ^{ʔD} [SP: thu^{ʔ21}; PP: *thoʔ^5]
54. **porcupine** *sun^B [SP:chə^{33}ɣɔu^{ʔ45}chou^{55}]
55. **porcupine** (brush-tailed~) *s-ʔba^A [SP: θə^{33}ba^{31}]
56. **quail** *(tho^B) hr/ʔrwi^T (?)[SP: (thu^{55}) wei^{55}]
57. **rabbit, hare** *p-ʔdɛ^A [SP: pə^{31}de^{31}; PP: *pədai^2]
58. **serow, mountain goat** *jaj^A [SP: chə^{33} pha^{ʔ21}]
59. **sheep** *so^A, *so^B ([SP: bi^{55} 'goat'])
60. **skink** *blɛ^{ʔD} [SP: phli^{ʔ45}phlɔ̃^{33}]
61. **snail (land ~)** *khlo^B [SP: khlu^{55}; PP: *khro^3]
62. **snail (water ~)** *s-ŋwi^B [SP: khlu^{55} mĩ^{55}]
63. **snake** *row^B [SP: ɣou^{33}~βou^{33}; PP: *ɣu^4]
64. **spider** *gaŋ^A [SP: khɔ̃^{31}; PP: *khaɴ^2]
65. **squirrel** *hl/ʔli^B, *hl/ʔli^D [SP: lei^{55}]
66. **termite (winged ~)** *bi^B [SP:phɛi^{31}]
67. **tick** *khej^B [SP: khei^{55}]
68. **tiger** *khe^A [SP: khi^{53}]
69. **toad** *(ʔde^B) sow^B [SP: di^{55}θou^{55}]
70. **tortoise** *khli^{ʔD} [SP: khlai^{ʔ31}]
71. **vulture** *hl/ʔlaŋ^A k-da^{ʔD}[SP: lɔ̃^{31}ka^{ʔ21}tha^{ʔ45}]
72. **wasp** *(dəŋ^B) ʔde^A [SP: (thəi^{33}) di^{31}]
73. **weevil** *roŋ^B [SP:ɣou^{33}~βou^{33}]

Abbreviations

SP = Southern Pwo

PP = Proto-Pwo (Kato, 2009)

Methodology (2)

- **Each language consultant was separately interviewed in Thai for about an hour.**

- **Animal pictures were shown to them during the interviews to ensure their recognition of each animal and its name.**

- **They were told that the contents of the interview must be kept top secret.**

- **The data was tabulated and quantitatively analysed.**

Results

No.	Gloss	30 Pwo Karen speakers (9 – 58 years old)		
		Oldest — 10 speakers (58-45)	10 speakers (40-23)	Youngest — 10 speakers (13-9)

Legend:
- Green = Karen
- Magenta = Coin word
- Orange = Thai
- White = No response

Gloss list (1–70): ant, bamboo rat, bat, bear, bedbug, bee (Apis cerana), bee (Apis dorsata), bird, boar (wild.), buffalo, caterpillar, catfish, centipede, chameleon, chicken, cicade, civet cat, crab, cricket, crocodile, deer (barking-), deer (sambhar.), dog, dove, earthworm, elephant, fish, flea, fox, wolf, frog, grasshopper, hawk, hornet, horse, leech (land-), leech (water-), lemur (flying-), loris, louse (chicken.), louse (head-), maggot, millipede, mole, monitor (land-), monitor (water.), monkey, mouse, rat, ox, pangolin, peacock, pheasant, pig, porcupine, porcupine (brush-tailed-), quail, rabbit, serow, skink, snail, snake, spider, squirrel, termite (winged-), tick, tiger, toad, tortoise, vulture, wasp, weevil

Progressive lexical change of the 70 animal names (70 words = 100%)

Present

Lexical change in progress

Future

- Stage1 — 🔴 1 animal name (1.43%)
- Stage 2 — 🟧 2 animal names (2.87%)
- Stage 3 — 🟨 6 animal names (8.57%)
- Stage 4 — 🟩 10 animal names (14.29%)
- Stage 5 — ⬜ 7 animal names (10.00%)
- Stage 6 — 🟦 11 animal names (15.70%)
- Stage 7 — 🟪 33 animal names (47.14%)

5 words (15.15%)

4 words (12.12%)

10 words (30.30%)

14 words (42.43%)
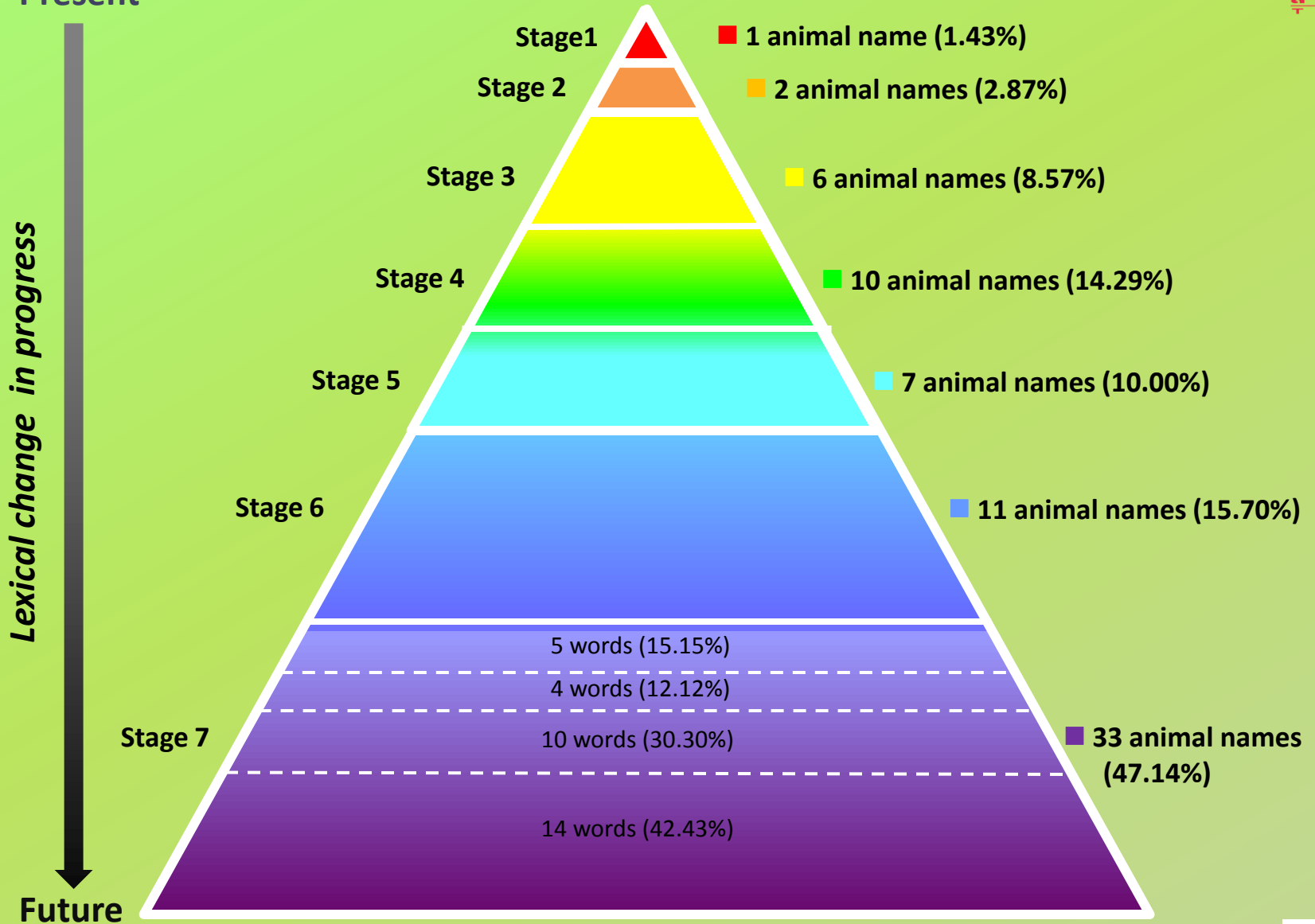
Prediction of progressive lexical change in S. Pwo

Fauna

Fewer and fewer native words but more and more Thai borrowings

0 LC (0%)	Stage 1: weevil (1 word = 1.43%)
12-14 LCs (40-46.67%)	Stage 2: water leech, vulture (2 words = 2.87%)
15-17 LCs (50-56.67%)	Stage 3: bedbug, land leech, lemur, brush-tailed porcupine, quail, serow (6 words = 8.57%)
18-20 LCs (60-66.67%)	Stage 4: bee(Apis cerana), civet cat, sambhar deer, flea, mole, water monitor, pangolin, peacock, pheasant, spider (10 words = 14.29%)
21-23 LCs (70-76.67%)	Stage 5: crocodile, grasshopper, hawk, hornet, loris, maggot, wasp (7 words = 10.00%)
24-26 LCs (80-86.67%)	Stage 6: bamboo rat, bear, caterpillar, centipede, barking deer, dove, chicken louse, head louse, porcupine, skink, tick (11 words = 15.70%)
27-30 LCs (90-100%)	Stage 7: ant, bat, honey bee (Apis dorsata),**bird**, wild boar, **buffalo**, catfish, chameleon, **chicken**, cicada, **crab**, cricket, **dog**, earthworm, **elephant**, **fish**, fox/wolf, **frog**, horse, millipede, land monitor, **monkey**, **mouse/rat**, **ox**, **pig**, rabbit, snail, **snake**, squirrel, winged termite, tiger, toad, **tortoise** (33 words = 47.14%)

Notes: 70 animal name words = 100%, see the Appendix

30 Pwo language consultants (LC) = 100%; 0% = none of the LCs remembers the native word

27-30 LCs = 90-100% of the LCs still remember the native words

14 words with * are still remembered by almost all of the LCs (9-58 years old)

Present ——————————————→ Future

Stage   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
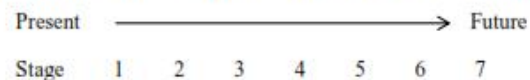
Conclusion and discussion (1)

- **The research findings indicated that the two younger age groups (9-13 and 23-40) had a lower Pwo lexical range compared with the older age group (45-58).**

- **Nowadays, with the decrease in hunting and the increase in transportation, compulsory education, mass media, rural development, tourism and so on, the younger groups are less and less familiar with wildlife. This has contributed to native lexical attrition and progressive lexical change, i.e. increasing the use of Thai loanwords, since they are bilingual in Pwo and Thai.**

Conclusion and discussion (2)

- In contact with Thai, the official language of the nation or the language of the majority, Pwo as a minority language cannot remain resistant to linguistic change in progress.

- With regard to animal name words, the names of wild animals will be lost more rapidly due to the fact that hunting has been forbidden in the mountainous and jungle areas where they live. At present, hunting is no longer part of Pwo men's daily routine nor hobbies.

Conclusion and discussion (3)

- In the future, common animals such as 'chicken', 'pig', 'dog', 'fish', 'bird', 'crab', 'frog', and so forth, which can be seen around villages, will help remind the younger generation of their Pwo name words. This means that Thai borrowings will have a lower chance of replacing them.

- The research results can be regarded as evidence to support the concepts of "contact-induced language change" and "language change in progress".

Thank You