Original Research Article

Language Usage in Different Domains by the Chakmas of Bangladesh

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	The language policy of Bangladesh advocates the use of the national language 'Bengali' in all spheres of life. While English serves as a foreign language and taught as a compulsory subject in the academic domain, the dominance of Bengali prevails. As a result, the leading indigenous group known as the 'Chakma' has no other choice but to speak these languages regardless of having a distinct vernacular. The situation evoked the possibility of language shift by the Chakmas to Bengali which brought about this investigation. For serving the purpose, a mixed-method approach was applied through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to know the language usage in seven major domains by the Chakmas who live in the Chattogram city and Rangamati of Bangladesh. The research outcomes portray the domination of the national language Bengali in the formal domains along with a noticeable interference of it in the intimate spheres. The Use of English turned out minimal in all domains. The findings confirmed that the Chakmas have not completely shifted their language to the Bengali. However, the presence of Bengali in the intimate domain may indicate that the coming generations who will live in the city areas will completely shift their language to Bengali. The study will draw the attention of the policymakers of Bangladesh to acknowledge the indigenous languages in the existing language policy. Besides, both the Bengali and Chakma society will be aware of the necessity of maintaining the Chakma language, which is a part of the national cultural heritage. The study will further inspire the Chakma speakers to increase their Chakma use in the social domains, especially the migrated families in the city areas.

Introduction

Background of the Study

It is a blessing to have the freedom of using one's mother tongue in every sphere of life. Yet, not everyone has the privilege to enjoy this choice. When a country is comprised of inhabitants belonging from different speech communities, those communities may have to speak in the national or official language of the country. Several speech communities exist within a country due to migration, historical/political partition of lands and because of indigenous communities living in for centuries. Though they have limited opportunity to speak in their tongues, some of these groups become successful in maintaining their language on their own. On the contrary, the extreme situation is also seen where these communities completely shift their language from their mother tongue to the mainstream language. The term 'language shift' is used to refer to this language situation and there are many communities around the world that have experienced or experiencing this phenomenon.

Bangladesh is an independent, diverse and densely populated country in South Asia. The mainstream people in this country are Bengalis, who speak in the Bengali language. Besides, several indigenous groups live in the southeastern part of the country along with some parts of Rajshashi, Mymensingh, and Sylhet. The Southeastern region where the indigenous communities live can be subdivided into three districts. These are Rangamati, Bandarban, and Khagrachhari. These are the hilly areas where they

reside with a minor number of non-tribal people from the land. The Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Tanchangya, Chakma, Pankho, Mro, Murung, Bom, Lushei tribe, Khyang people, Santal, Oraon and Khumi are the notable communities and they have many similarities with the ethnic groups of northeastern India and Myanmar (Khaleque, 1998). Most of these people are the followers of Buddhism and among the ethnic groups; the largest group is the Chakma. "According to the 1991 census, there are about 1.2 million indigenous people in Bangladesh (1.13% of the total population), divided among 45 distinct ethnic groups" (Sagar and Paulson, 2003, p. 1). Different terminologies both in English and Bengali have been used to specify the people with an ethnic background other than Bengali, such as upajati, pahari, jumma, adivasi or adibasi, tribal people, ethnic, ethnic minority and indigenous people or community All these communities cannot but use the Bangla language in all formal, semi-formal situations. And while doing so, they might have been maintaining their language well, whereas others might be facing the possibility of language shift.

Research Topic
Many researchers did their respective studies on different research problems regarding the rights of indigenous communities of Bangladesh. Yet, the extent of language usage in different domains by these groups has not been explored by any researcher. Now, the concern of this paper will be to find out the language usage of an indigenous community in the context of Bangladesh. Among the indigenous groups, the research will focus particularly on the Chakmas, as they are the largest and educated group compared to other ethnic groups. The Majority of the Chakmas in Bangladesh are either bilingual or multilingual speakers. They are competent in their mother tongue Chakma with little or advanced proficiency in Bangla and English. Therefore, the primary objective of this research is to investigate their language preferences among the Chakma language, Bangla and the English in different social domains.

Research Questions
The primary aim of this paper is to find out the answers to these questions:

   i.   What languages do the Chakmas in Bangladesh use in different domains?
   ii. Which languages seem to get priority in these domains?
   iii. Does the priority direct the Chakma community towards a probable language shift?

Literature Review
Languages Spoken by the Chakmas of Bangladesh
In the context of Bangladesh, Bengali language was at stake before the liberation war. The then Pakistani ruler tried to demolish that language by imposing Urdu as the state language of Pakistan. However, the Bengalis protested provoking the language movement in 1952 and after struggling a lot it gained official recognition in 1956. However, the language got actual status and power after Bangladesh got independence in 1971. The Bengali language became an integral instrument in the formation of a new nation and the politics of nationalism. While describing the history and facts about the language policy taken after independence Ali (2013) stated that the new sense of Bengali nationalism "not only demolished Urdu but also dislodged English, conferring on Bangla (the first language) precedence at all levels of bureaucracy, education, administration, and judiciary" (p.117). He further mentioned the declaration of Bengali as the state language of Bangladesh in the constitution which was also written in Bengali and about the law of Bengali implement act "Bangla procholon ain" in 1987. This law worked as an enforcement to use the Bengali language in all public and national domains, limiting the use of English only as a lingua franca to communicate with foreigners. Ironically, the recognition of indigenous languages was excluded from these policies and laws. Mohsin (2010) reports after independence to build "one language, one culture and one nation" (p.106) Article 6 part 1 of the constitution declared all the citizens of Bangladesh will take the identity of Bengalis. As cited by Mohsin (2010), the representative of CHT and the single non-Bengali member of the then parliament, Manobendra Narayan Larma, refused this constitution by stating:

You cannot impose your national identity on others. I am a Chakma, not a Bengali. I am a citizen of Bangladesh, Bangladeshi. You are also Bangladeshi but your national identity is Bengali … they (Hill people) can never become Bengali.

Mohsin (2010) criticized the language policy in Bangladesh expressing that "Bangladesh has one of the most hegemonic and chauvinistic language policies" (p.157). She stated so based on the fact that the 21st February has been celebrated as international mother language day all over the world remembering the sacrifice of Bengali language martyrs in 1952 for their mother tongue. The day signifies the language rights of speaking in one's mother tongue. Ironically the indigenous communities of this country are deprived of the right to speak in their tongue in public domains.

Despite having a distinctive language with a written script, the Chakmas cannot solely use that language in every domain. As mentioned earlier, most of the Chakmas are bilinguals, since they know the national language apart from their first language. Furthermore, English plays a crucial role in education. In Bengali-medium all the subjects are taught and learned by Bengali except for English and Religion, while in English-medium schools offer 'globalized curriculum, imported from the UK, for the preparation of the social elite' (Imam, 2005, p. 477). Therefore, the community has no substitute than learning and using two powerful languages to get them 'educated' and to be a part of 'social elite' While some researchers claimed that the indigenous groups in Bangladesh use their mother tongue 80-100% in the domain of the home, they have also found the presence of another indigenous language and the use of Bengali in it (Ahmed, Kim & Kim, Sangma, 2010; Brightbill, 2007; Kim & Kim, 2008a, 2008b; Rafi, 2006).

In the field of education, the Chakmas have no other language choice except for Bengali and English. Hossain &Tollefson (2007) pointed out that the mainstream education in Bangladesh includes three types of instruction, differentiated according to mediums of instruction and religion: Bengali-medium, English-medium, and Madrasah or religious instruction for Muslims. Since the majority of the Chakmas are the followers of Buddhism, they do not enrol in Madrasahs. Besides, in Bengali-medium they are exposed to textbooks all written in Bengali and about two books written in English, such as 'English For Today' and another English Grammar book. Moreover, in the English medium, the primary language spoken and used as a medium of instruction is English with little use of Bengali. Thus, there is hardly any scope to use their native language in this domain. On top of that, fostering the Bengali language the textbooks also contain topics that promote the Bengali culture, leaving the experience of school education almost inadaptable and difficult for Chakma children. However, three researchers named Kamal, Sikder and Nasreen (2004a) found out that most of the indigenous parents want their children to know Bengali although they also want their children to be able to read and write in their mother too. These parents think educating their children in Bengali will help their children to cope up with the majority of people. They also prioritize the importance of learning English. In this regard, the researchers asserted that indigenous children are already facing problems learning mother tongue at home and Bengali in school at the same time. So, learning English undoubtedly becomes very difficult for them. Therefore, in the domain of education, from primary to higher studies they use Bengali and English.

Domain of Language Use

As stated by Boxer (2002), a domain refers to a sphere of life in which verbal and nonverbal interactions occur. The idea of domain was first used by Fishman (1972), according to whom it refers to a 'sociocultural construct' based on topics of communication, relationship among the speakers and locations where the communication is taking place. These three factors influence the concept to a great extent. In addition to these three factors, Tanner (1967) mentioned two other factors which are 'social distance' and 'motivational factors'. By simple meaning, social distance refers to the continuum of closeness and distance in relationships. Reference of two dimensions is given by Tanner which deals with social distance. These are vertical and horizontal dimensions. While the vertical dimension portrays the social distance of the speaker that influences the language use, the horizontal dimension delineates the 'relative closeness' of the speakers in the same regard. That is to say, speakers will tend to use a low or informal code of language if the relationship is close based on friendship, ethnicity, and gender, religious and educational background. Motivational factors, by contrast, refer to the intrinsic motivation for using a particular language or code for the sake of learning or out of profound interest.

While defining the domain and the factors of language choices, some of the linguists also came up with specifying the social context in regards to domain. For instance, according to Dyers (2008) domains include the areas of work, family, school and other educational institutions, a circle of friends and wider communication. While he pointed out four major domains, Parasher gave the most categorized model of social domain back in 1979. Cited by Fereidoni (2003) according to Parasher each social context was defined in terms of seven domains as follows: Family, Religion, Friendship, Neighborhood, Transaction, Education, and Government and Employment. Therefore, these seven domains, which are rich with social norms and behaviours, are great opportunities for investigating linguistics resources.

Research Studies Done on Domain Analysis

Fereidoni (2003) did research in Azerbaijan where the population consists of Turks, Kurds, and Armenians. The primary goal of the author of this research was to find out the influences of social factors on language choice. In the investigated area, all the inhabitants share the same city as well as three languages; Persian, Turkish and Kurdish and/or Armenian. Kurdish and Armenian are used as mother tongues, Turkish is used where the Turk settlers reside and Persian is the prestigious government and official language. To get a clear picture, he investigated the language use of these ethnicities in seven domains, following Parasher's model. In addition, he took the language information based on five age groups [children (under 10), youngsters (11

to 16), the young (17 to 25), middle-age (26 to 65), and the old (over 65)], five educational groups (illiterate individuals, primary school, guidance school. high school, and university groups) and two sex groups which are male and female.

While discussing the results the author affirmed that the use of Persian language increases, as he moved investigating from informal to formal domains. Again, the same increase in using the Persian language was seen as the level of education of participants increased. Emphasizing on the influence of gender in terms of language choice, the researcher also pointed out the impact of age in this regard as he figured out that the more the older were the participants, the more they likely to use their mother tongue. The results showed that the use of Armenian (mother tongue) prevailed in the domains of family, religion, and friendship. Interestingly, no significant difference had been found in the use of these three languages in the domain of neighbourhood. However, the use of official language, Persian existed in all the formal domains of education, government, and employment. Furthermore, in the transactional domain, it was seen that Turkish which is the language of traders and settlers, outweighs the other languages.

Thus, it is apparent that the prestigious and powerful languages are used in formal domains more than the less powerful languages. In the intimate informal domains like family and friendship, no other language can take the place of mother tongue easily. Again, in the transaction, the language of the settlers is used mostly to conduct transactions with them. Besides, age, education, and sex also play a vital role in the choice of using language.

Factors that Influence Language Preference in Diverse Domains
Usually which language will get priority over others depends on different factors. Three authors Yeh, Chan and Cheng (2004) discussed three aspects while investigating language proficiency and domain analysis in Taiwan. Firstly, they have pointed out that, the sociological factors may influence and subcategorize the speaker's behaviour towards their language choice. Therefore, the social factors, such as age, education, gender and many other social aspects have a big role to play. Secondly, they stated about socio-psychological factors which can figure out internal reasons for choosing a particular language by analyzing the human behaviour and needs according to social settings. In other words, it tends to perceive the influence of a speaker's psychological state, moods and needs in their language choice. And finally, the third factor according to them is the anthropological aspect which includes some external factors such as culture, policies or systems of the society. These external factors may create a situation where a speech community may not have any other option but to use a particular language and that may even compel them to prioritize it over their tongue. In the context of Bangladesh, these external anthropological factors, for instance, mainstream cultural influence, language policies, educational system, employment policies and the norms of the mainstream society may have a significant impact on the language choice of the Chakmas which foster greater use of mainstream language (Bengali). This study will strive to find out the socio and socio-psychological factors consecutively through quantitative and qualitative data collection.

Social Factors in Language Choice and Shift
From many research studies, it is found that age, gender and education level play a catalyst role in language preference. Huang (1988) did research on the language usage in Taiwan and found out that various social factors either in isolation or in combination make a speaker to use Mandarin or other native languages. The female speakers, younger, educated participant and those who lived most of their lives in Taipei city tend to speak in Mandarin in the domain of family. He further added the ethnic identity of the speaker's early neighbourhood has also an important role to play. Similar to this study, Fereidoni (2003) also report the vital impact of education level, age and gender in the language use and preferences in his study done in Azerbaijan. However, Chan (1994) who researched language proficiency of Minnanrens in Taiwan acknowledged the function of education and age while stated that the role of gender is insignificant.

Anderson (1998), pointed out that age is playing a catalyst role in the shift of language of the tribal people of Northern Arapaho. The community lives in the eastern plains of Colorado and Wyoming of the United States and they are in the process of shifting their mother tongue Arapaho to English. At one hand, the number of younger generations with English preference is increasing, on the other hand, the number of older people and teachers with linguistic and cultural knowledge of Arapaho is decreasing. Similar factor of age has been found by Taumoefolau, Starks, Davis and Bell (2002) while studying in the language shift situation in Manukau City situated in the south of Auckland of New Zealand. Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan, and Niuean, these four communities have their respective mother tongues. Yet the younger generations are attracted to the mainstream language English. Even in the intimate domain of family, the elders try to use their native language while the younger ones tend to reply in English.

Apart from these, the shift towards mainstream language also depends on the demographic location. The Arvanatika speakers were able to maintain and preserve their language when they used to live in the mountains of Greece but gradually shifted to Greece when they began to move in semi-urban and urban areas (Tsitsipis, 1988).

Methodology
Method Used for Data Collection
Data has been collected using a mixed-method approach, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. Apart from the intention to avoid the shortcomings of a single method, the nature of this study itself needed a mixed-method approach. To get a general idea about their language choices in the social domains, a questionnaire will serve well to a great extent. Besides, through questionnaires, it was easy to find out their socio-economic background, which could have been very hard to elicit from the qualitative method. On the contrary, along with language used, it was also essential to find out their thoughts and opinions about the present situation and the prospective language usage in future. And for that, a semi-structured interview would serve the best. Considering all these facts, the research was conducted following the mixed-method approach.

Framework of Data Collection
The study was conducted in two major places; Chattogram city and Rangamati town. As discussed earlier, location plays a vital role in language choice. That is why; two places were selected. Chattogram city is known to be the port city and second capital city of Bangladesh. Majority of the people here are Bengalis and also commonly known as Chittagonian because they have a regional dialect known as Chittagonian dialect. And the town named Rangamati is situated in the Chattogram hill tracts and this is the place where the majority of the Chakmas reside.

To explore the roles of the social factors in language choices and probable shift, four major criteria have been selected. These are age, gender, education and location. Other issues that the research will take account are the locations of educational institutions and medium of instructions.

Parasher's domain model (1979) was used to explore the language use. The participants were expected to tick the frequency of their language use of the Chakma, the Bengali and the English in some couple of situations and with different interlocutors. All these were written in the questionnaire in an integrated way, which in due course gave their linguistic information that is used in the domains of family, friendship, religion, neighbourhood, education, transaction and government and employment. The researcher made a slight adjustment in the domain of the neighbourhood by adding social networking with it.

In the semi-structured interview, it was intended to bring about the same information with some additional discussion on a few themes and topics. Apart from their language using the topics included code-switching and mixing to the Bengali language, their positive and negative feeling while using the languages and about the possibility of language shift.

The Questionnaire
The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first segment included blank spaces and ticking options which asked the participants to give personal information of age, gender, education, location and information regarding parents' occupation and education. The questionnaire also asked to provide the location of the educational institution and the medium of instruction. The graduate participants who are currently employed gave their responses in the section of Government and employment domain, while unemployed teenagers and young individuals didn't.

The second part of the questionnaire included 21 situations and interlocutors in which the participants had to tick frequency of their language use in the Chakma, the Bengali and the English. The Likert's scale was used to calculate the frequency. Four adverbs of frequency were used in which the response "Always" was given number 3, "Sometimes" was allotted number 2, and "Often" was given the number of 1 and "Never" was assigned number 0.

Sampling

The sample was stratified. The demographic features of the subjects are shown in the tables below:

Table 1.1: Frequency and percentage of subjects according to age group:

Age	Frequency	Per cent
Teen (13-19)	39	61.9
Young (20-29)	13	20.6
Mid (30+)	11	17.5
Total	63	100.0

Table 1.2: Frequency and percentage of subjects according to education level:

Education Level of participant	Frequency	Per cent
Secondary Education (SSC Passed)	38	60.3
Higher Secondary Education (HSC Passed)	1	1.6
Graduate or more	24	38.1
Total	63	100.0

Table1.3: Frequency and percentage of subjects according to location:

Current Place	Frequency	Percent
Chattogram	18	28.6
Rangamati	45	71.4
Total	63	100.0

Table 1.4: Frequency and percentage of subjects according to gender:

Gender	Frequency	Per cent
Female	30	47.6
Male	33	52.4
Total	63	100.0

The Interviews

In total 9 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Rangamati and Chattogram. There were 5 interviewees from Chattogram and 4 from Rangamati. Among them, three students are currently studying in University and two others are job holders in Chattogram. The remaining interviewees included two college students and two college teachers from Rangamati.

The Semi-structured Interview Questions

A semi-structured interview question was made to be on track while taking the interviews. In total there were 8 questions with sub-questions based on the themes of code-switching, their approach and comfortability while using the Chakma, Bengali and English language, their thoughts on the probability of language shift and overall, their language usage and choices in different spheres of lives.

Data Analysis Procedures

The data gathered through questionnaires were analyzed using statistical software SPSS. Individual responses were recorded for 21 questions in the software, then the mean score (Likert score) of language usage of seven domains for every individual was calculated. After that, the mean score of every domain for 63 participants were calculated. Moreover, mean comparison was conducted for different groups based on age, gender, education, etc. to figure out the influence of these factors in language usage.

The data gathered through semi-structured interviews were transcribed and translated into English. After that, new topics along with the intended ones were categorized for further analysis and discussion.

Findings

Findings from Quantitative data:

The following tables portray the data gathered through the questionnaire. The first table shows the frequency of the three-language usage in the seven domains by the Chakmas and later four tables illustrate the mean values of their language choice within these domains according to their age, education, location and gender.

Table 2.1: Total means of language use in the seven domains: The figures ensure higher Chakma usage in family and religion, nonetheless, a strong preference of Bengali can be seen in other domains.

Domain	Chakma	Bangla	English
Family	2.6762	1.2095	0.6476
Friends	1.8995	2.2116	0.9418
Religion	2.6587	1.0238	0.1905
Neighbourhood and networking	2.2619	2.1111	1.1429
Education	1.1852	2.6931	1.3915
Transaction	1.1640	2.6085	0.5503
Govt. and employment	0.1961	2.8824	0.8824

Table 2.2: Means of the three languages in seven domains according to three age groups: The mean values confirm that the teens are more active users of Chakma compared to the young and middle-aged people.

Age		Family	Friends	Religion	Neighbor	Education	Transaction	Govt.
Teen (13-19)	Chakma	2.8103	2.0085	2.7308	2.6154	1.7009	1.6667	N/A
	Bangla	1.1487	2.2650	0.9359	2.1026	2.6923	2.4274	N/A
	English	0.5846	1.0085	0.2308	1.1154	1.2906	0.5128	N/A
Young (20-29)	Chakma	2.3692	1.6923	2.4231	1.8462	0.5385	0.5128	0.4444
	Bangla	1.2615	2.1538	1.0769	1.6923	0.26410	2.8205	2.8889

	English	0.9692	1.2308	0.0769	1.0769	1.6154	0.8462	0.8333
Mid (30+)	Chakma	2.5636	1.7576	2.6818	1.5000	0.1212	0.1515	0.0606
	Bangla	1.3636	2.0909	1.2727	2.6364	2.7576	3.0000	2.8788
	English	0.490	0.3636	0.1818	1.3182	1.4848	0.3333	0.9091

Table 2.3: Means of the three languages in seven domains according to Education level: The values delineate the gradual increase of Bengali and decrease of Chakma use following the advancement of educational level.

Education Level		Family	Friends	Religion	Neighbor	Education	Transaction	Govt.
SSC Passed	Chakma	2.8263	2.0000	2.7368	2.6316	1.7150	1.6754	N/A
	Bangla	1.1316	2.2544	0.9342	2.1053	2.6930	2.4211	N/A
	English	0.578	1.0000	0.2237	1.0921	1.2895	0.5175	N/A
HSC Passed	Chakma	2.2000	2.3333	2.5000	2.0000	1.3333	0.3333	N/A
	Bangla	1.8000	2.6667	1.0000	2.0000	2.6667	2.6667	N/A
	English	0.8000	1.3333	0.5000	2.0000	1.3333	0.3333	N/A
Graduate or more Chakma		2.4583	1.7222	2.5417	1.6875	0.3472	0.3472	0.1961
	Bangla	1.3083	2.1250	1.1667	2.1250	2.6944	2.9028	2.8824
	English	0.7500	0.8333	0.1250	1.1875	1.5556	0.6111	0.8824

Table 2.4: Means of the three languages in seven domains according to two locations: The mean values verify the greater use of Bengali in the city Chattogram. Nonetheless, its dominance can also be seen in four domains in Rangamati where the Chakma use was supposed to be greater.

Present Location		Family	Friends	Religion	Neighbour	Education	Transaction	Govt.
Chattogram	Chakma	2.3778	1.6667	2.3889	1.5833	0.1111	0.2037	0.0556
	Bangla	1.4889	2.1667	1.5000	2.5556	2.6852	2.9444	2.8889
	English	0.7778	0.8706	0.1667	1.2500	1.7037	0.6852	1.0833
Rangamati	Chakma	2.7956	1.9926	2.7667	2.5333	1.6148	1.5481	0.5333
	Bangla	1.0978	2.2296	0.8333	1.9333	2.6963	2.4741	2.8667
	English	0.5956	0.9704	0.2000	1.1000	1.2667	0.4963	0.4000

Table: 2.5: Mean values of the languages in seven domains according to two sex groups: The figures portray that there is no such difference in language use according to sex groups. The preference of the three languages are almost constant.

Gender		Family	Friends	Religion	Neighbour	Education	Transaction	Govt.
Female	Chakma	2.7267	2.0444	2.8167	2.3000	1.1000	1.1778	0.2778
	Bangla	1.1400	2.0444	0.9667	2.1000	2.6756	2.6000	2.9444
	English	0.6133	0.7889	0.0500	1.0667	1.2111	0.4889	0.7500
Male	Chakma	2.6303	1.7677	2.5152	2.2273	1.2626	1.1515	0.0000
	Bangla	1.2727	2.3636	1.0758	2.1212	2.7273	2.6162	2.7333
	English	0.6788	1.0808	0.3182	1.2121	1.5556	0.6061	1.2000

Findings from the qualitative data
Languages that the Chakmas use
Through the interviews, it was found out that the Chakmas use their mother tongue mostly in the domain of home and religion. The usage in the neighbourhood depends who their neighbours are. In the context of city areas, they are surrounded by Bengali neighbours, thus they have no choice but to use Bengali with them. However, in Rangamati the situation is different. There they are surrounded by the Bengalis, the Marmas and people from their community. The interviewees said that in social gatherings, they speak in the Bengali, the Chakma and a dialect of Bengali "Chittagonian". One participant confirmed that they start greetings in Bengali with stranger people having similar facial features as them because they can turn out to be people from other indigenous communities.

Besides, all the participants confirmed that their common language with the Marmas is Bengali. Even in the domain of religion; if the monk or 'Bhante' belongs to the Marma community they speak in Bengali with them. Similar situation prevails in the schools and colleges in Rangamati. They can speak in the Chakma with the teachers of their community. But with the Bengali and Marma teachers, they have to use only the Bengali. This situation is also seen in the market places, where the mixed cultures gather around to buy and sell goods and the use of the Bengali and Chittagonian dialect is greater than the Chakma. In the friendship domain, they said they use Chakma with the Chakma friends and Bengali with the Bengali friends. Also, in the domain of employment, it is seen that the Chakmas prefer using only Bengali in workplaces. In the lunch breaks or other recreational times, they speak in Chakma only if they have colleagues from their community.

Code-switching and code-mixing from Chakma to Bengali
All the interviewee reported that the phenomenon of code-switching from Chakma to Bengali is very common and it takes place frequency when they speak. Though the tendency of switching from the Chakma to Bengali is far greater, a female interviewee reported that the local Chittagonian Bengalis in Rangamati also switch to Chakma, since they know many Chakma words.

Location and early neighbourhood
After interviewing all the participants, it was found out that, all of them have got their school and college education from Rangamati or Khagrachari (a town like Rangamati where indigenous communities live). Since there are fewer facilities of higher education in those areas, later on, they shifted to the city areas. A male interviewee who is currently studying at the University of Chattogram said that his childhood was spent in Rangamati where all the neighbours were Bengali and who were all Chittagonian. Those neighbours used to speak in Chittagonian dialect, and as this variety has similarity with the Chakma, it was easy for him to learn it quickly. He stated that "from the playground to market place I used to speak only in Chittagonian dialect and since I was brought up in a place like that, my Chakma was not so well. I learned my language when I grew up older although I don't know many Chakma words yet".

Till the Higher Secondary Certificate exam, the Chakma teenagers and young adults living in their home districts, have the opportunity to speak in their tongue even in the formal domains. In school, they could communicate in the Chakma language with the Chakma teachers. Conversely, this chance disappears as they shift to city areas for higher studies. Throughout all locations, their usage of Chakma in the family and religion domains are high and almost same.

Approach and comfortability toward the Chakma, Bengali and English language
For a rational reason, all the interviewee expressed their deep emotions with their mother tongue Chakma. They all feel comfortable speaking in their tongue with their community people. Though it would not have been unusual, if they seemed uncomfortable using the mainstream language, surprisingly all the interviewees had a very positive approach towards it. Most of them reported that they don't get the feeling of using a different tongue when they speak Bengali. Besides, they acknowledged the importance of learning the Bengali language, not only for educational or other social factors but also for survival factors. Likewise, some of their statements also reflected negative feelings for not having a pure accent like the Bengali speakers.

By contrast, the approach towards the foreign language 'English' was seen positive. They all acknowledged its importance in their academic life; however, all of them reported their discomfort ability while using it. They stated that they are not fluent speakers and they all use it in the domain of education, particularly where it is essential to use.

Opinions about the possibility of language shift
All the interviewees conveyed that their daily usage of Bengali is greater than the Chakma. One particular participant said her usage of Bengali is greater when she stays in the city and the Chakma use is greater when she is in Rangamati. Other participants expressed their concerns about the future of the Chakma language since they believe that the coming generations will not speak in their mother tongue, for they will be speaking in Bengali along with English. Regarding this, one participant showed concern that several families are shifting in the cities and these days they enrol their children in the English medium schools, which will make the coming generations to speak mostly in English and Bengali.

Discussion
Languages that the Chakmas Use in Different Domains
Addressing the first research question, data were collected to find out three language practice of the Chakma community, however, from the findings, we have been assured of four codes used by the Chakmas and these are Bengali, English, Chakma, and the local dialect 'Chittagonian'. At this point, let us consider family, friendship and religion as informal/intimate domains, neighbourhood and social networking as semi-formal domains and education, transaction and govt. & employment as formal domains. While moving from the continuum of informal to formal domains, the use of Bengali increased significantly and the scope of using the Chakma decreased moderately. Moreover, a strong interference of the Bengali is seen in the intimate domain of friendship. Therefore, even in the intimate domain, intrusion the second language prevails. To know the precise choice among the languages, each domain is discussed portraying the outcome.

The domain of family
Family is the utmost intimate domain of all, where vernaculars are being preferred over all codes. As anticipated from the previous research the Chakmas regularly use their mother tongue at home. Though a small presence of the Bengali has been found out, no presence of other indigenous languages has been there. Since the questionnaire comprised of different situations and interlocutors to extract authentic information, it was found out that they practice speaking in Bengali too (Frequency of Often) with some particular family members. Moreover, repeated code-switching tendency to the Bengali also proves the considerable presence of the mainstream language in this close domain.

The domain of friendship
The relationship of friendship is beyond doubt intimate and informal. The Chakmas have friends both inside and outside their community and that is why it was expected that both the Chakma and the Bengali would be used in a balanced way. However, the collected data delineates greater use of Bengali in both locations regardless of different age and educational levels. It also proves that their choice of the mainstream language is not limited only for the Bengali friends. In this intimate domain, the preference of the Bengali was higher in comparison to the Chakma because they have no choice but to use only Bengali with the Bengali friends, whereas, the scope and option of switching to Bengali remain open when they are speaking with their community friends.

The domain of religion
Religion is another domain which is very intimate, personal and sensitive in comparison to others. As anticipated, the use of mother tongue Chakma ruled over Bengali in this domain. When they pray, they use the Chakma most, but when they talk to priest or monk, they have to choose Chakma for Chakma monks and the Bengali for those monks belonging to other communities. Thus, Bengali is only used as a lingua franca while taking to monks who have different tongues.

The domain of neighbourhood and social networking
This is a semi-formal domain where the choice of the Bengali and the Chakma turned out almost equal in the quantitative data. The Chakmas have both Bengali and Chakma neighbours, however, if we consider location, they have more Bengali neighbours compare to Chakmas. In the city area, they are surrounded by the Bengalis, whereas in Rangamati apart from their people they have other indigenous communities and Bengalis as neighbours. In the interview, one participant stated that the neighbours also used 'Chittagonian' dialect with them, and as this dialect has many similarities with the Chakma, it was easy for them to understand, learn and use the dialect as well. Therefore, they use Chakma with their people, Bengali and Chittagonian with the Bengali people and again Bengali with the people of other indigenous community. Here it ensures that the Chittagonian dialect and Bengali are used as a lingua franca while interacting with non-Chakma neighbours.

Besides, social networking, which is a public platform to connect with people and to express thoughts and ideas, can be regarded as a semi-formal domain; as people use both formal and informal language in it. The average mean indicates that they use the two languages in an equal way with often use of English. Since it is a public platform, their scope of using the Chakma is limited to their friends and family. Besides, they expressed using the Bengali and English in these networking sites creates a positive impression of the users' proficiency in these languages to others. That is why the whole average means of neighbourhood and networking came out with the balanced frequency of "Sometimes" to "Always" for both the Chakma and Bengali. Meanwhile, the English also got preference with the frequency of "Often".

Education
Education is a formal sphere where the Chakmas are directly exposed to the Bengali and English language. In the educational institutions, it is not only compulsory to speak in these languages, but also it is obligatory to read, write and learn in these two languages. The use of the Chakma in this domain depends on having classmates and teachers belonging to their community. The teachers from other ethnic groups speak in Bengali with them. The findings of this research show greater use of Bengali, with often usage of English and the Chakma.

Transaction
Transaction deals with buying and selling commercial goods for survival needs and to spin the wheel of the economy. This is a formal domain where communication and conversations took place almost everywhere in a formal way. And the Chakmas have the option of speaking in their mother tongue when the second party in the transaction process belongs to their community. Bengali, as well as the Chittagonian dialect, are used as a lingua francas in the market places of Rangamati. Participants expressed many of the sellers belong to other ethnic communities, for which they use Bengali as a common language to interact.

Govt. and employment
The last domain which is the most formal one is govt. and employment. The preference of the Bengali is at its peak while the Chakma usage is low. The use of English, however, turns out a little bit higher than the Chakma. Govt. officials and the employment sectors of Bangladesh are in the hands of a powerful mainstream community. Though the Bangladesh govt. provides 'quota' facilities for indigenous communities in govt. jobs, their scope to practice their language in the workplaces are very low. On the contrary, in private oriented jobs, they are expected to use standard Bengali along with proper English where needed.

Languages that Get Priority in these Domains
If we look from an overall perspective, we will see that the use of Bengali is dominating over other languages in the formal domains, is maintaining an equal presence with the Chakma in the semi-formal domain, and has significant interference in the informal and intimate domains. Therefore, in general, the mainstream language the Bengali gets the uppermost priority in comparison to other languages, while the second most preferred language is the Chakma. English is the least preferred language with its limited use in education and neighbourhood and social networking domains.

At one hand, the Bengali language has an intruding nature in the intimate domain of family and religion and showed greater preference in friendship. On the other hand, the often use of the Chakma is also present in the formal domains of education

and transaction. Now, this paper will attempt to make a connection between some essential factors with the Chakmas' language choice.

Factors that are Influencing their Language Choices
The factors which were examined in the data collection have greater or less influence in the language choices of the Chakmas. All those factors are discussed below:

Age
Previous research studies have shown greater influence of the age factor on language choices and preferences. Majority of those studies demonstrated that the younger speakers of minority community are attracted to the mainstream language, while the older speakers tend to speak to their mother tongues. However, in the case of the Chakma community, it is a different scenario. The findings of this study show that teenagers are the highest Chakma speakers compare to young and middle-aged speakers. By contrast, the middle-aged Chakmas tend to speak more Bengali than the other two groups. Needless to say, this result is also influenced by the factors of geographical location and education.

Education Level
Educational level has always influenced the language choice in all the language studies. And this study is no exception. The levels were classified into three groups; SSC passed, HSC passed and

graduate or more. As expected, the preference of the mainstream language Bengali has been greater in the graduate level and the use of the Chakma was higher in the SSC passed level. Also, the mean of Chakma usage decreased as the education level increased. Similarly, the mean of the Bengali usage increased as the level of education increased. Among the three levels, the moderate use of English has been seen only in HSC passed level. The boosted use of the Bengali can also be observed in the remaining formal domains with the advancement of the educational level.

Location
Since the urban areas are usually populated with the people of the mainstream community, there is less opportunity to speak in the minority language. This study has been done in two locations of Bangladesh; Rangamati and Chattogram. Rangamati is an underdeveloped town which is the permanent resident of the majority of the Chakmas. Whereas, Chattogram is a well-developed city populated by the Bengalis and the Chakmas move here for better education, job and other purposes. The findings of this study illustrate that the use of Bengali is almost similar in both places, with a slightly higher mean in Chattogram city. One previously discussed study showed how geographically isolated areas can help preserving language. Rangamati is located in the hill tracts which could have separate the Chakmas to maintain their language, but, because of the Bengali settlers and educational system, they are finding it hard to do so. The results in Rangamati turned out different as anticipated and it showed the dominance of Bengali in four domains in compare to the supremacy of Chakma in three domains.

Gender
Unlike other research, the findings show that the role of gender is insignificant to some extent in this study. The difference between comparative mean values is not sufficient enough to make any judgments.

Correlation of the factors influencing their language choice
After these discussions, now we are certain that education level of the Chakmas, their age and the locations where they are staying or living most have direct impact on their language choices and these factors are taking crucial part in choosing the appropriate languages in the seven domains. Besides, these three factors are interconnected regarding their influences on the usage of language. First of all, all the participants in this study have given their SSC and HSC examinations (which are the board examinations administered by the Government) from different schools and colleges of Rangamati. There are few responded who have given these exams from Khagrachari, which is another underdeveloped town of the indigenous community like the Rangamati. And many of the participant teenagers are the current student of a college in Rangamati. Therefore, till teenage, they all get an environment where they have the opportunity to speak in their mother tongue, more or less in all domains. Gradually, after giving the HSC exam, they shift to the city area for higher education and job. Eventually, they get themselves surrounded by the Bengalis in all walks of their lives including teachers, classmates, boss and colleagues. Over time, they step into adulthood when they start using the second language more than the first. On top of that, they expose themselves to a new learning environment where the medium of instruction is English. In the educational institutions in Rangamati, they studied in a situation where they could speak in the Chakma and in the Bengali where necessary. On the contrary, in the Universities of city areas, they have no option but to speak only in the Bengali and the English where necessary. All these issues all together made the teenagers speak more Chakma than the young and middle-aged adults, the educated young and middle-aged

Chakmas to speak more in the Bengali and the Chakmas currently living in Rangamati to use their mother tongue more than those Chakmas staying in the city.

Factors which are Liable for Possible Language Shift
After analyzing and discussing the findings, we have got the information that the Chakmas in Bangladesh use the Bengali language in most of the domains while maintaining their mother tongue in the intimate domain of home and religion. Therefore, the language shift from the Chakma to the Bengali has not occurred completely. The current situation shows the dominance of the Bengali in the formal domains and growing interference in the intimate domains. This finding differs from the study of Dyers (2008) who have shown strong dominance of native language in the intimate domain by the African non-racial community. Here, in this case, the practice of native language remains but it is not strong enough to prevent the intruding Bengali use. Besides, this growing tendency of a shift towards the Bengali by the Chakmas also involves getting economical and educational favours. By this time, if they get more standard educational facilities, along with a better standard of living in the city areas, it is more likely that they will completely shift in the Bengali language. Moreover, the affirmative views regarding Bengali language by the Chakmas specify that they have accepted, learned and are using it without any negative feelings. If this positive approach prevails in the minds of the current generation, it is predictable that this language will be more appreciated, accepted and will be highly preferred by the next generation Chakmas. And all these will eventually lead the language shift towards the Bengali. That is to say, in the intimate domains, the presence of the Bengali will get higher than the Chakma language.

Conclusion
Uncovering the preferred languages by the Chakmas in the social domains, was the primary goal of this study, along with investigating the probability of language shift. As anticipated, the findings of this research claim the dominance of Bengali in the formal domains and its alarming presence in the intimate domains. The outcomes also reveal the use of Bengali and Chittagonian dialect as lingua francas in the Chakma inhabited places like Rangamati. A first encounter with a stranger with similar facial features in the social gatherings or market places while transacting always start by using Bengali, as they are not sure of the ethnic backgrounds. To be more specific with the lingua francas; Chittagonian dialect is used with the local Bengali people while Bengali is used with the people of other indigenous communities. Moreover, major factors influencing their language choices are education, location and age. Getting a higher education and moving in the developed city areas are the crucial reasons for using more Bengali language over the Chakma. Though in this study all the participants belonged to the Bengali medium school and college, the qualitative data confirmed the growing tendency of the young Chakma parents to admit their children in the English medium schools. We have observed that the Chakmas who are currently studying in Private Universities (English mediums) frequently use Bengali and English and their usage is much higher than those who are studying in Bengali medium colleges in Rangamati. If the next Chakma generation gets better primary education in the city areas either in the Bengali medium or English, they will undoubtedly speak in the Bengali and English more than their tongue. The present situation advocates that they have partially entered in the process of the shift while maintaining their language Chakma in the domains of family and religion. However, the growing tendency of moving to the city for education, job and a better standard of living and the intruding nature of the Bengali language in the intimate domains are the indication that in the coming years there is a possibility that they will fully shift their language to the Bengali. Another important factor which is indirectly linked with the language shift phenomenon is the positive approach of the participants for the Bengali language. All the interviewee confirmed their positive acceptance of the mainstream language, expressed about their confidence while using it and showed eagerness to use it more accurately as like as the Bengalis. Nevertheless, exceptions can be seen in the language usage of the older Chakmas in the local areas such as Rangamati which needs future investigation. The older people of that community who have been living in their local areas for ages may have a different language choice. It is a limitation of this study not to include the older generation and the migrated Chakmas living in the capital city 'Dhaka'. Future research covering the language data of these prospective participants may give us a clearer picture, drawing the careful attention of language policymakers, language researchers, and all the members of the Chakma speech community.

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Appendix: 1

Personal Information:

Please write your information in the gaps and give a tick (√) where answer options are given. It is to note that, all the information will be used in language research and will not be disclosed anywhere else.

Age: _____ years old

Gender: Male/Female

Birth Place: _____

Place/city where you live/stay most: _____

Your Education level:

i. Literate (can read and write)
ii. Primary School Education (class 1-5)
iii. Junior School Education (Class 5-8)
iv. Secondary Education (SSC Passed)
v. Higher secondary Education (HSC passed) vi. Graduate or more

Language usage by the Chakmas

Location of educational institution and medium of instruction: (For example: Dampara, Chittagong; Bengali medium)

a. School _____ b. College: _____
c. University _____ Place of work: _____ (If applicable)

Type of work: _____ (if applicable)

Language use:

How often do you use your own mother tongue Chakma, the national language Bengali and the international language English in the following situations or with the participants?

Please tick (√) the number to indicate frequency of use:

0= never,
1=often,
2= sometimes

3=always

Languages Situations /participants	Chakma Language				Bengali Language				English Language			
1. with parents	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
2. with siblings	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0

3. with children	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
4. with grandparents	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
5. with spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
6. with close friends	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
7. with friends from your community	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
8. with Bengali friends	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
9. when you pray	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
10. when you talk to priest/monk	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
11. with neighbors	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
12. when using facebook	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
13. with teachers	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
14. with authorities at school/college/university	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
15. with classmates	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
16. when buying something from street	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
17. when buying something from super store/ shopping malls	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
18. when doing business or other transactions	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
19. with govt. officials (dealing about gas, electricity, water etc)	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
20. with boss in your workplace	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0
21. with colleagues	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0

Appendix 2:

Interview questions: Sample 1(Answers were given in Bengali, The English translation is given)

1. Which language do you prefer most at home? Why? What about other languages?

Ans: Chakma, because from childhood, we learn Chakma first from our family. Besides, most of our neighbours are Chakma people, so we don't have to use Bangla in our neighbourhood to communicate. With Tripura or Marma people, we use Bangla to communicate, but if they know Chakma, then we use Chakma.

2. Apart from that language, what other languages do you often use and why?

Ans: I know Bangla and English, but my English is not that strong. Since I live in Chattogram now, I have to use Bangla most of the times. I don't have to use English that much. I understand English but can't speak fluently, English is used mostly for academic purpose like presentations.

3. While speaking in your mother tongue with your family members, do you often switch codes to the Bengali or the English? Why?

Ans: Yes, this happens a lot. We use Bangla and Chakma so much that sometimes words get mixed up from both languages. Some of the Bengali neighbours also understand some Chakmawords as they hear it in the neighbourhood a lot. So, we habitually use some of the Chakma words when we are conversing with them in Bangla.

4. In social gatherings and platforms, which language do you prefer to use and why?

Ans: It depends on the situation. If we are attending a Chakma wedding, then everyone speaks in Chakma. On the other hand, if we are attending a Bengali program, then we use Bangla. In case of public platform, we usually use Bangla, because everyone understands Bangla

5. To what extent do you think knowing and using the Bengali language is important for you? Why and how do you feel using it?

Ans: I think, knowing Bangla is very important for us because almost everyone understands Bangla. People who don't know Bangla get in trouble sometimes. For instance, once I wanted to buy some vegetables from an uneducated old man in the rural area in Bandarban who only knew Marma. He couldn't understand a single word I said to him, so, I had to use hand gestures to communicate with him. That's why knowing Bangla is very important for us. I'm very comfortable in Bangla, as we have to use it a lot. But sometimes, I feel shy because my pronunciation and accent is not like Bengali people.

6. To what extent do you think knowing and using the English language is important for you? Why and how do you feel using it?

Ans: English is important for academic purpose, but I don't use English unless I have to. I don't feel comfortable using English

7. To what extent do you think knowing and using the Chakma language is important for you? Why and how do you feel using it?

Ans: Most of the time I stay in Rangamati with my family. Our whole community uses Chakma there. Chakma is very important for me as we speak in Chakma with my family and relatives. Chakma language comes naturally to us and it also feels great to talk in Chakma.

8. Do your regular usage of the Bengali language is greater than the use of your mother tongue? To what extent do think your next generations will be using only the Bengali language?

Ans: As I said earlier, I have spent most of life in Rangamati. My regular usage of Bangla is only greater when I'm in the city, otherwise, I use Chakma all the time. I strongly believe that soon the new generation will slowly move towards Bangla as most of the Chakma people are moving out to the cities and their kids are born and raised there. They don't get the same environment to learn Chakma and slowly Chakma language will be used no more.