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**Language Contact and Its Linguistic
Consequences due to Migration at the Chittagong
Hill Tracts in Bangladesh**

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Abstract

This study explores the effects of the language contact situation which has been recently created in the Chittagong Hill-Tracts (CHT) by means of immigration of Bangla speaking people from other parts of Bangladesh.

The CHT, which borders India and Myanmar, has been the abode of approximately 1.5 million people, about 50% of whom are minority speech communities, including the speakers of Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages such as Marma, Tripura (Kokborok), Kyang and Khumi (Faquire, 2010). The remaining 50% are the speakers of Bangla, the national and official language of Bangladesh. The new distribution of various speech communities comprising an overwhelming majority of Bangla speakers has been created by the Government of Bangladesh through a migration policy during the 1980s.

The Policy of the Bangladesh Government which led to the creation of the language contact (the term carried over from Winford, 2003) situation in the Chittagong Hill-Tracts can be listed as follows.

- i) That the implementation of a common education policy for which the children of the TB speech communities are to receive education through the medium of Bangla,
- ii) That the people of TB speech communities require using Bangla for the official, legal and business dealings under the government's policy,
- iii) That the TB languages regularly come into contact with the dominant language, Bangla.

In this new situation of language contact, the spoken languages of TB speech communities have been found not to be mutually intelligible, though these speech varieties have common ancestry. Again, the speakers of Bangla cannot speak any of the languages of minority speech communities. Therefore, both the speakers of minority languages as well as the Bangla speech community inhabiting the Chittagong Hill-Tracts communicate with each other in Bangla, the lingua franca for all communities, for their daily needs. Accordingly, people of these TB speech communities are growing to be bilingual with different degrees of control in their second language, Bangla. In this way, the languages of the minority speech communities have grown to be recipient languages and consequently encounter the continuing effect of language contact from the dominant language Bangla in the new contact situation. Consequently, some of these recipient tribal languages, e.g. Marma, Murong and Tripura, etc. are now showing changes at different levels of their linguistic structures by borrowing and calquing from the Bangla language due to the effect of this contact.

Keywords: Language Contact, Bangla, Migration, Assimilation, Chittagong Hill Tracts

Introduction

The aim of this study is to shed light on the trend of language contact (LC) and its outcomes that manifested in the LC situation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) due to migration, by employing a framework of contact linguistics.

The CHT is a Sprachbund situated in southeastern Bangladesh bordering India and Myanmar (Burma) covering 13, 295 square kilometers. Topographically, the CHT being a hilly area historically remained as a scarcely and sparsely populated region. It was originally inhabited by different independent hill-tribes belonging to the Kuki-Chin group of Tibeto-Burman languages, who were later joined by post-tribal ethnic groups such as Chakma and Marma from the neighboring Arakan in the first phase and also Bangalee people from the plain of Bangladesh. In a census conducted in the 1991 during the Bangladesh period, the population was found to be 974,447, of which 501,114 were tribal peoples and the rest were from the Bangalee (Muslim and Hindu) community.

The CHT having been surrounded by the Tripura Kingdom in the north, the Arakan Kingdom in the South, the Lushai Chiefdom in the East and Bengal Sultanate (and later Mughal Bengal) in the Northwest has been the focus of rivalry for centuries. Therefore, it always existed as a hinterland for all of the four centers of political powers and would received influences from all of them. It, however, came under the control of the political authority of Bengal, as from the time of the Mughal domination over this region following the loss of Arakanese power to Mughal military power in 1666 (The East India Gazetteer by Hamilton, 1815, 358). The Mughal authority initiated political maneuvers in order to integrate the people of the CHT in their political and economic domain. After the fall of Nawab of Bengal, the power was transferred to the British authority who had continued to apply political maneuvers in a similar manner. A subsequent transfer of political power beginning from the time of Muslim Bengal up to the Bangladesh regime similar political maneuver was exercised on the CHT. These political maneuvers were exercised to integrate the Tibeto-Burman (TB) people into an economic system and taxation system. These political measures consequently created conditions for the LC, which, in effect, brought forth various LC-induced outcomes.

Given the above backdrop of LC, this study will reveal the outcomes of LC in consideration of the migration and demographic changes in the CHT in the framework of contact linguistics.

Foregrounding the Framework of Study

The situation of LC (LC) created in the CHT due to the immigration of people from the neighboring Rakhine state (formerly the Arakan kingdom) and Tripura in the past and Bengal/ Bangladesh in recent decades in different phases, has been the foci of interest among linguistics scholars. The recent development of contact linguistics has provided the basis for the study of LC and LC-induced changes. However, an LC study involves the analyses of data, information, narrative, and statistics of the past, which were not available until they were made available Online by academic institutions, for which a study on the LC in the language situation of CHT was impracticable until recently. With the recent development of LC theory and availability of the data, information, narrative, and, statistics published in gazettes, books and administrative manuals by the British Colonial Authority, have made the present study possible. Hence, the issues of LC theory and the approach of the study will be presented below in order to channel the course of the intended study.

Articulation of the Theory of Language Contact

A theory of LC, under our consideration, accounts for LC and its related phenomena by incorporating all the social, political and linguistic issues in an interactive manner. Uriel Weinreich (author of *Languages in Contact*, 1953) and Einar Haugen (author of *The Norwegian Language in America*, 1953) are commonly regarded as the pioneers of language-contact studies. LC is a social and linguistic phenomenon in which languages (or different dialects of the same language) of one or more speech communities are set to interact with each other which bring forth different kinds of linguistic, social, and political outcomes. LC occurs in a number of phenomena: Language maintenance, creation of a new contact language, i.e. pidgin and creole, and language shift involving certain kinds of processes in each phenomenon instigated by a certain political, economic and social movement. It, in the end, brings forth different kinds of economic, social and political outcomes.



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Fig.1: Theory of Language Contact at a Glanc

The CHT has been a Sprachbund where LC occurred for centuries under political maneuvers showing different kinds of language changes in several phases. LC occurred throughout the phases of political and economic development in different patterns predicated on the pattern of social interaction among the different speech communities in the CHT. The speed and pattern kept changing due to the political maneuver initiated for economic and political integration by each political authority. The theory of LC posits that LC involves three different LC phenomena. They are as follows.

- i) LC involves the phenomenon of language maintenance when borrowing, calquing and structural convergence occur and varying degrees of bilingualism exist. In the phenomenon of language maintenance, the minority speech communities of recipient languages bear high expectation to retain the purity of their speech variety, though, in practice, all the recipient languages tend to receive the effects of LC with relexification, calquing and structural convergence.
- ii) LC leads to the creation of new contact languages, i.e. pidgin and creole involving the

processes of pidginization and creolization. Hence, the LC processes involved in the phenomenon of creation of contact language are pidginization and creolization.

- iii) The dominant language in an LC operates as superstrate which the speakers of recipient language learn as a second language for some generations, and this practice of learning the superstrate as the second language leads to a shift from their first language to the second language.

Given the above backdrop of the LC situation, this study will attempt to shed light on the outcomes of LC i) in consideration with the issues of migration and settlement pattern, ii) which occurred due to the political maneuvers, iii) within a framework of theory of LC in the LC situation of CHT.

Methodological Issues

This study concerns the outcomes of LC that occurred due to migration following the maneuver of political integration by different political powers in the CHT. The study is qualitative, involving the analyses of data, information, narrative, and statistics of the present and past. We located the data, information, narratives, and statistics of the different historical periods ranging from the Mughal period to the Bangladesh period from different sources. Three different sources were found to be useful for the accumulation of data, information, narrative, and statistics. They are i) the gazettes, books and administrative manuals compiled by the British Colonial Authority, ii) the census/survey and administrative manual of the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) and the World Bank (WB), and iii) the research of individuals conducted over the past few decades. In addition to these aforementioned sources of data, information, narrative, and statistics, I have collected data and information on LC from the dwellers such as Chakma, Marma and Tanchangya of the CHT, by interviewing. I interviewed the dwellers of the CHT at Dhaka city and the CHT by visiting the location in order to map the prevalent situation of LC. In these interviews, we discussed their families' extent of control over their mother tongue and other languages they use in day to day interaction. I also asked what language they use with the family members and peer groups as well as the speakers of other languages. I also observed their speech to record the extent of use of Bangla and English linguistic elements in their speech. In addition, I asked the respondents to read legends/stories [given in the appendix of the Chakma (2000)] written in their language and to report on to what extent they understand the legend/story written in their language.

In order to know the LC-induced outcomes of the present time, we require reconstructing the LC situation of the past. The gazettes, books and administrative manuals compiled by the colonial authority have been the only source of information of the LC situation of the past. The British imperial authority has conducted surveys at various times and compiled Gazetteers and administrative manuals to consolidate their power over the CHT. These documents as a whole give a complete picture of characteristics of different language speech communities and their customs, religion, lives, education and settlement patterns. They also shed light on the pattern of interaction among the inhabitants as well as with the outsider people of different speech communities. The aforementioned other sources of censuses/surveys and administrative manuals of the GOB and WB provide the present demography of the CHT, while the research outcomes of individuals conducted in the past few decades provide language situation information and a linguistic analysis of the CHT.

The pieces of literature of different sources and data and information from my own

interviewing and observation as a whole provide a picture of the prevalent LC situation created out of the new demographic composition as well as the outcomes of this LC situation, including bilingualism, the creation of a new contact language, and language shifts.

Characteristics of the Population at Present and in the Past

The CHT had always been an abode for the Tibeto-Burman (TB) people, up until the latest large-scale immigration of the Bangalee people under a migration plan of GOB in 1984. There are now four types of inhabitants in the CHT, including

- i) the Kuki-chin language speaking nomadic hill-tribes including the indigenous *Chak, Pankho, Mro, Murang, Bom, Lushei, Kheyang, and Khumi,*
- ii) the tribes who have undergone political integration under the Tripura kingdom, e.g. *Tippera and Riang,*
- iii) the people who have undergone political integration under the former kingdom of Arakan, e.g. *Chakma, Marma* and, *Tanchangya,* and
- iv) the newly settled Bangla speaking Bangalee people.

According to the census of 1991, the population of CHT was 974,447, of which 501,114 were tribal peoples and the rest were from the Bengali (Muslim and Hindu) community. The population totaled 1,587,000 in the provisional returns of the census of 2011, which made population density roughly 120 per square km. About 34% of the population are tribal peoples, who are mainly the followers of Theravada Buddhism; 65% of the inhabitants are Bengalis (Muslims and Hindus); and 1% Christians or animists.

The tribes other than the Bangalee people were previously distinguished into two major groups including the Toungtha [Hill-tribe (*Toung* means *a hill*, and *tha* or *tsa* means *a son*)] and the Khyoungtha [River Basin-tribe (*Khyoung* means *a river* and *tha* or *tsa* means *a son*)] in the Arakanese language in the British period. Lewin's (1869) record shows that the Bangalee people used to distinguish them into two classes: i) the hill-tribes, who were unable to speak the vernacular of Bangla as *Kookies (Kuki)*, and ii) the friendly tribes, who could understand the vernacular of Bangla, living close along the Chittagong District border as *Joomahs (jhumia)*. Though the last one is the known as Jhumia, both of the hill-tribes and river basin-tribes used to practice and still practice jhum cultivation, i.e. shifting cultivation on the slope of hills. The tribes inhabited CHT can be distinguished in different groups as follows.

The hill tribes

The hill tribes are named so, due to their tradition of dwelling on the top of the remote hills. They were previously nomadic Mongoloid folks from antiquity and live in small groups not exceeding 2000. The tribes belonging to this group are a few thousands in number. They are independent and savage in nature and are mostly speakers of the languages belonging to the Kuki-chin groups (Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers by Hutchinson 1909, 8). The SIL International placed their five language varieties including *Bawm, Khumi, Khyang, Lushai,* and *Pangkhua* into the Kuki-Chin language group. Rengmitcha, a newly identified language, is

also included in this group. The British authority found them to be a stout muscular people, but not tall, and have the peculiar features of all the natives of the eastern quarter of Asia, namely, the flat nose, small eye, and broad round face.

The Jhumia tribes

The Jhumia tribes over the past few centuries underwent some kind of political integration, are more or less civilized, and practiced sedentary living. They comprise most of the TB population including the Chakmas, who numbered 44,000; the Maghs, 35,000; and the Tipperas, 23,000 according to the census of 1901 (Imperial Gazetteer of India vol. 10, 1908). They include i) the tribes who have undergone political integration under the Tripura kingdom, e.g. *Tippera*, and *Reang*, and ii) the people from the present Rakhine state who have undergone a process of political integration under the former kingdom of Arakan, e.g. *Chakma*, *Marma*, and *Tanchangya*.

The Tippera

The Tipperas are found chiefly in the erstwhile Mong circle, and consider the Mong circle as their home. They are mainly Hindus and number 79,772 (census report of 1991). They were Hill-tribes in antiquity, which underwent political integration under the Tripura Kingdom, and immigrated from Hill Tipperah into the Chittagong Hills [Lewin, 1869]. Their languages belong to the Bodo branch of Tibeto-Burman group, which received influence from the Indo-Aryan variety. The Tippera tribe was previously distinguished into four clans: *the Pooran*, *the Nowuttea*, *the Osuie*, and *the Riang*. Among these, the Reang has lineage to the Kuki tribe (Hutchinson, 1909).

The Arkanized Tribes

The TB tribes from erstwhile Arakan are mostly Buddhist who practice Jhum cultivation but lead sedentary lives along the river basin. These tribes having origin in Arakan came into the CHT a few generations ago in several phases. The first group being the Chakma arrived in CHT at around the 16th century and later. Other tribes, e.g. Magh (i.e. Marma and Rakhine) arrived at the CHT after the fall of Arakan in the year 1783. Some others came later in the aftermath of the Burmese War in 1824 (Lewin, 1869, 28). They include Marma (or Rkhaine), Chakma and Tanchangya.

The Marna

The Marma until recently bore the tribal name Magh. The Maghs are found chiefly in the southern circle, under the sway of the Bohmong chief. They are, for the most part, the descendants of Arakanese who fled there when their own country was overrun by the Burmese in 1784. They are Buddhist in faith and still speak one of the vernaculars of the Arakanese dialect belonging to the TB language group. They underwent a process of social assimilation and intermarriage under the political maneuver of the Arakan kingdom. The British authority found them to be in three groups: i) the Jhumia, or cultivators of jhums who regard themselves as the aborigines of the Hill Tracts, in contrast with ii) the Roang or Arakan Maghs, while the iii) *Barua* or *Rajbansi Maghs* have intermarried with Bengalis (Imperial Gazetteer, 1908). Lewin

(1869, pp. 37) described that the Magh belonging to the last group had come out of the forced intermarriage occurring during Portuguese hegemony in southeastern Bengal under the political domination of Arakan. They became famous as good cooks in Kolkatta during the British period. This group of Barua or Rajbansi Magh has existed as a community over the past two centuries as a legacy of Portuguese hegemony on Southeastern Bengal assisted by the Arakan kingdom until they integrated to either the Bangalee or the Marma.

The Chakma and Tanchangya

The Chakma along with the Doingnak and Tanchangya form a large tribe. They are mostly Buddhist in faith and speak an Indo-Aryan dialect, close to the Chittagong vernacular of Bangla, who previously used to speak a dialect of Arakan. They are a Mongoloid race of Arakanese origin, which at first intermarried with different tribes of Arakan including Marma and later largely with the Bangalees (Hutchinson, 1909, 21-22). They emigrated from Myanmar due to repression by the Burmese king and settled in the CHT with the consent of the subedar of Bengal who was the representative of the Mughal emperor. Among them, the Chakma was the first immigrant from Arakan at the decline of the Mughal domination in Arakan. The origin of this tribe can be traced from the myth 'to unions between the soldiers of Nawab Shaista Khan, the Governor of Lower Bengal, under the Emperor Aurungzeb at about 1070, and Arakanese immigrants; and subsequently with the hill women. Buddhism appears to have always been their religion, and there are no traces of Muhammadanism in spite of the fact that all their Chiefs have Muhammadan names (Hutchinson 1909, 25). They have now been a very important tribe because of their number and political organization in Bangladesh. The Tanchangya immigrated from Arakan, who joined the Chakma as late as 1818 and could speak Arakanese until the British period. The Doingnaks broke away from the main tribe long ago and remained in the Rakhine state.

The hill-tribes and river basin-tribes, which we will come to through the discussion, differ at least in terms of the following aspects.

i) Origin of the People

The hill-tribes and river basin-tribes vary in their origin. The hill-tribes are the earliest inhabitants of the CHT; the river basin-tribes entered into the CHT from the Arakan kingdom in three successive waves of immigration in the phases beginning from the 16th century, where the wave of immigration from the Arakan continued until the fall of Arkan kingdom in 1824. Therefore, the origin of the river basin-tribes can be attributed to the present day Rakhine state of Myanmar.

ii) Size of population

The hill-tribe and river basin-tribe respectively vary in size of population. A consensus report shows that there was a time when one-tenth of the population was hill-tribes, while the rest were the river basin-tribes in the 19th century. This demographic composition still exists in the CHT. While the size of population of each hill-tribe is a few thousand, ranging from 3,000 to 10,000, where one of the hill-tribes called Rengmitcha has a population of only 25 people. However, most of the TB population belongs to each river basin-tribe and numbers several hundred thousand, ranging from 79,772 to 252,986 (1991). Until the 16th century, there were no river basin-tribes in the CHT.

iii) Settlement pattern

The settlement pattern of hill-tribes and river basin-tribes was found to be different until a few decades ago. The hill-tribes were found to live on the top of a high hill by a greater distance of the inhabitants of the plain, while the river basin-tribes were found to dwell along the river basin such as the Matamuhuri and Karnafuli river basins.

The British documents describe the settlement pattern of the hill-tribes. A British Gazetteer recorded that, the hill-tribes build their home '*at a greater distance from the inhabitants of the plain, to whom they are consccpiently but little known to Europeans, and are seldom seen, except when they visit the markets on the borders of the jungles, in the Runganeah and Aurangabad divisions, to purchase salt, dried fish and tobacco* (Hamilton, East India Gazetteer 1815).' Another British administrative documented that '*A Lhoosai village is always situated on the top of a high hill, and in time of war is fortified by a stockade of heavy timber logs. The time that a village stays in one place is determined by the facilities afforded for cultivation in the neighborhood. When all the land within easy reach is exhausted, the village is moved to a fresh site. The ordinary time of remaining in one place is four to five years. The houses are built, not of bamboos, as is usual in the hills, but of logs, and thatched with the palmated leaf commonly used throughout the hills for that purpose* [Lewin 1869]. Another British Gazetteer evidenced that '*Choomeas (Khumis) who is a savage people, who inhabit the first range of hills to the north and east of the province of Chittagong, in Bengal and are tributary to the British government. Their villages are called Chooms, but they seldom remain longer than two years on one spot. Beyond them are the Kookies, with whom the Choomeas traffic; but the Kookies do not allow the latter ever to enter their villages* (The East India Gazetteer by Hamilton, 1815, pp. 282)'.

However, the river basin-tribes have long experienced sedentary lives in the Arakan and continued these practices of living and moved into the CHT. By the time of colonization of the British, the hill-tribes accepted the city lives at the urbanization of CHT. The river basin-tribes experienced urbanization, and now prefer city life to hill life. After many decades of political maneuver, the hill-tribes now have become accustomed to making shelters near the locality. Nonetheless, many are shifting to towns.

iv) Richness of language

The languages of the hill-tribes and the river basin-tribes clearly differ in amount of vocabulary and grammatical complexity. While the language of the former bears a few hundred items of vocabulary and a simple grammatical structure, the later bears abundant vocabulary borrowed from Pali, as it does complex grammar. Among them, the languages of hill-tribes have no scripts, therefore no record about their origin exists; they depend on the oral tradition to understand their origin. The river basin-tribes employ written language.

The languages of hill-tribes maintain a primitive structure with a few hundred items of vocabularies. The British authority recorded the characteristics of hill-tribe languages that their languages '*possess no written character, and the languages spoken by them are simple to a degree, expressing merely the wants and sensations of uncivilized life. The information obtainable as to their origin and past history is therefore naturally meager and unreliable* [Lewin, 1869, pp. 33]. Another document shows that their speech was (and is still now) comprised of several hundred items of vocabulary and no words can be called perfect verbs. Another survey of British authority ([*The Imperial Gazetteer of India the Indian Empire*, Vol I, 1909, pp. 388]) has described the impoverishment of their language that '*the Kuki-Chin are the most typical of all the Tibeto-*

Burman languages. They do not possess a real verb, the conception being expressed with the aid of a verbal noun. When a speaker of Lushei, for instance, wishes to say 'I go,' he says 'my going'; and for 'I went,' 'my doing completion'. Similarly, Barbe (1845) found that language spoken by Bonzoos (probably Bwam) has very few words, and their language did not have days of the week and borrow many words from Kookie and Burmese.

However, the languages of the river basin-tribes received their richness from the Indo-Aryan variety for the first time when they underwent Arakanization and later at the CHT by receiving the effects of contact from the vernacular Bangla. Their language had undergone the process of LC during their inhabitancy in Arakan where their language received heavy effects from the Pali, as a vehicle of Buddhism, and subsequently received the effect of the LC from the vernacular of Bangla in the last few centuries. The Tippera was also influenced heavily by the vernacular Bangla in the LC situation of the Tripura Kingdom. Hence, two groups of languages spoken by the two groups of people differ in their richness of vocabulary and grammatical complexity, the former being the least complex and the later being the most complex.

v) Custom of inter-marriage

The hill-tribes and river basin-tribes differ in the extent of intermarriage they experienced in the past. Both tribes experienced intermarriage. The later group had experienced more than the former. The genetic study shows that the river basin-tribes have experienced frequent inter-tribal intermarriage and intermarriage with the people of Indian origin including Bangalee people. A genetic study done by Gazi et al (2013) shows that the Arkanese tribes of Bangladesh carry substantially higher mainland Indian ancestry components than the Northeast Indian Tibeto-Burmans and that there exists haplotype diversity among them, as the highest level among Marma, followed by Tripura and Chakma. The Marma populations share a high frequency of Indian influence and low frequency of East Asian influence as specific maternal haplogroups, and have the highest haplotype diversity when compared with Tripura and Chakma populations. Thus, the genetic study attests to the fact that there occurred intermarriage among the river basin-tribes, other tribes, and Bangalee people.

Migration and Demographic Change

LC requires social interaction to occur, for which it is necessary to know about the people, demographic change, and their settlement patterns, to understand the LC-induced changes and its outcomes. From the earliest known records compiled in the British imperial period to the latest census in 1991, there occurred various patterns of settlement and demographic changes in phases due to migration in the CHT.

In antiquity, the CHT was a scarcely and sparsely populated region and was inhabited by Kuki-Chin hill tribes. The Kuki-Chin hill tribes were driven to the northeast by the invasion of the Chakmas, who had gained settlement in the southern portion of the District of Chittagong, but who, in the time of the Burmese wars, was ousted by the Maghs from Arakan and forced to enter into CHT. They finally settled in the central and northeastern portions, while their former possessions were absorbed by the Maghs (cf. Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers by Hutchinson, 1909; 8). Since then, the District has been inhabited by a variety of tribes, each speaking its own distinct dialect.

We can observe changes in population and demography by comparing the census data left by the British authority and that of the present time compiled by the GOB. The Imperial Gazetteer of India is one such source compiled by the British authority that shows a population of 69,607 in 1872 and an increase from 69,607 in 1872 to 101,597 in 1881, to 107,286 in 1891, and to 124,762 in 1901 (Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.10, pp. 319). The latest census conducted in the Bangladesh period in 1991 shows that the population of the CHT was 974,447, of which 501,114 were tribal peoples and the rest were from the Bengali (Muslim and Hindu) community. The WB reported an increase in population with an estimation in the year 2001. According to the Chittagong hill tracts commission (2000), the tribal inhabitants were Tibeto-Burman folk include the *Chakma*, *Marma*, *Kokborok (Tripura)*, *Tanchangya*, *Mro (Mrung)*, *Lushai*, *Khumi*, *Chak*, *Khilyang*, *Bawm*, *Pankhua*. The following Table shows the name of different speech communities and their populations from the censuses of 1901 and 1991.

Table-1: Table showing the name of different speech communities and their population in different years

Name of Language	Number of Speakers according to Census conducted in 1901	Number of Speakers according to Census conducted in 1991	Number of Speakers as estimated by the WB in 2001
<i>Bangalee people</i>		473,333	
<i>Chakma</i>	44, 329	252,986	4,44,748
<i>Bawm</i> (6,978)	696	6,978	10,327
<i>Chak</i> (2,000)		2,000	2,960
<i>Khelyang</i> (2,345) Hyow	416	2,345	3,471
<i>Khumi</i> (1,241)	1,469	1,241	1,873
<i>Lushei (Mizo)</i> (662)	1,615 (Kuki)	662	978
<i>Marma</i> [157,301]	31, 906	157,301	2,28,240
<i>Mro (Mru)/Murang</i>	10,540	22,178	32,823
<i>Pankhua</i> (3,227)	144	3,227	4,776
Rengmitcha*	None	25	-
Tanchangya	2,500 [in 1909]	21,057	31,146
Tippera	23, 341	79,772	1,18,063

*Rengmitcha has long been considered to be Murang, but a survey shows that their speech variety can be named as Rengmitcha.

The following is a discussion on the chronology of migration and settlement of the people that shows a change in the demography that occurred throughout the last century.

Until the 17th century, the demography of the CHT remained unchanged and inhabited by a number of savage hill-tribes of Kuki-Chin speech communities who have an ethnic affinity with hill-tribes of Lushai hills.

An increase in population occurred with a number of immigration waves of the Arakized tribes from the erstwhile Arakan Kingdom. In this immigration wave, who first poured into the

CHT are the Chakma (along with Tanchangya) and then the Marma (Rakhine) people. Lewin (1869, 28) has described their exodus from the Arakan Kingdom and their habitancy in the CHT in the following way. The Chakma left Arakan due to escaping the repression and hostility by the Rakhaine people and entered the southern part of CHT in the 16th century. They dwelt there until the influx of the Maghs in the second wave of immigration from the Arakan. The Maghas (Rakhine) people came into the CHT after the fall of the Arakan kingdom. They entered the CHT to escape persecution by the occupational army of the Burmese king Bodawpaya in 1784. The influx of the Marma people continued even after the annexation of the Arakan kingdom in the British Indian Empire in 1824. The immigration of the two groups of people caused a change in the demography. By the time of British imperialism, the demography of the CHT was comprised of the Chakma and Marma as major groups and 10 other minor groups belonging to the Kuki-Chin hill-tribes. A census conducted in 1901 during the British regime shows that there were 124,762 tribal people and about 9,000 Bangla speaking people (cf. Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers by Hutchinson, 1909).

From the beginning of the 20th century, the Bangla speaking Bangalee people sporadically entered the CHT for administrative and commercial purposes, without making a major change in the demography of the CHT. In 1962, the third phase of demographic change occurred when the displacement of TB tribes occurred due to the rise of water level for the construction of a dam for producing hydroelectricity. Here, many people lost their shelter, some of whom escaped to neighboring countries, Myanmar and India. This out-migration again caused a decrease in the population and a change in the settlement pattern.

The fourth phase of dramatic demographic change occurred in recent decades when a hundred thousand Bangalee people immigrated and settled in the CHT under a settlement plan undertaken by the GOB. The GOB made this plan to counter the militancy of the Shanti Bahini by making changes in the ratio of TB people and Bengalee people. This GOB policy ushered 400,000 people, who mostly were river erosion stricken landless people. This move of the GOB caused a change in the demographic mosaic, making the Bangalee a major share of the population. With the new demographic composition, a new kind of LC started to occur.

Political Maneuver, Settlement Pattern and Changing Situation of Language Contact throughout the Ages

LC theory posits that LC occurs when different speech communities come together for social, economic, and religious purposes. The immigration occurred in the CHT in phases due to the political maneuvers which created a condition for social interaction among the different speech communities. Each event of immigration of new speech communities led to change in the LC situation, which, in effect, yielded different kinds of LC-induced outcomes. The major demographic changes occurred in at least four phases, once during the Mughal period, and then twice in the British period, and last in the Bangladesh period. LC took a new form in each event of immigration. LC occurred in the past as it occurs in the present. The speed and pattern of LC were not the same throughout its development; rather it changed depending on the demographic and settlement pattern. In this respect, I present the situation of LC that was likely to have existed in each phase of historical development, including the present.

The situation of LC before Immigration of Tribes from Arakan

The LC situation of this period is unknown. This is the period when the Arkanized tribes, who makeup of the lion's share of the population of the CHT did not yet get in. Then there would have inhabited only the hill-tribes who used to make their dwelling on the summit of a hill. Therefore, the LC would have not been occurred, due to their practice of making shelter isolatedly. Hence, this period can be characterized as the antecedent of occurrence of the LC. This is the earliest pattern of LC, about which we are almost ignorant. However, we can reconstruct the LC situation from the documents retained by the British colonial authority. The British government records show the practice of making shelter, settlement pattern and their practice of perpetual intertribal and intratribal warfare. This practice of the Kookies, hill-tribes, can be found in the East India Gazetteer (East India Gazetteer 1815, pp. 173), which evidenced that *'Kookies is a wild race of people, who live among the mountains to the northeast of the Chittagong district, at a greater distance from the inhabitants of the plain----. Like other savages, the Kookies are engaged in perpetual warfare and prefer ambuscades and surprises to regular open fighting. This miserable race are of a most vindictive disposition, and blood must always be shed for blood on the principle of retaliation. ----- Every five years they migrate from one situation to another, but seldom to a greater distance than 12 hours journey.'* In this warfare, the dominant hill-tribes often used to conquer the opponent tribes and integrate them into their society. There is even an instance (Lewin, 1869) that once a hill-tribe attacked a Bangalee village and taken away the whole people of a Bangalee village in a surprise raid. From the aforementioned practice of warfare, the haunt of other people and settlement pattern, we can assume that there would have occurred either a full-fledged LC in the case of absorption by the powerful tribe by raid or no LC at all. However, it is too difficult to reconstruct the LC then occurred for want of enough literature on this issue.

The situation of LC in the PreBritish Period

This period started with the immigration of Arakanized tribes in the 16th century. This is the period when the LC started among the hill-tribes and the Arakanese tribes when the immigration of the Arakanized tribes started in the 16th century. The migration en masse of the Arakanized tribes made a significant change in the demography of the CHT making the nine-tenths of the total population of CHT leaving the hill-tribes as minority communities. It actually marks the onset of the LC in the history of CHT.

The Arakanese tribes including Chakma, Marma, and Tanchangya were originally the speakers of one of the vernaculars of the Arakan. The Arkanized tribes have been formed out of the amalgamation of the people of different ethnicities including Bangalee involving the social process of Arakanization. Here the term Arkanization requires qualification. Arkanization is a cultural shift whereby people of diverse ethnicity adopted an Arakanese culture characterized with the religion of Buddhism and its vehicle of Pali. As the Arakan kingdom developed and grew, diverse peoples including hill tribes of TB ethnicity including Mon, Shan, Kuki and Chin as well as Bangalee underwent the process of Arkanization. An early form of Arkanization occurred during the Arakan Kingdom among the local population of Arakan, involving intermarriages, religious conversion, linguistic shift, and interethnic relationships, which today is reflected in the genetic makeup of the Doingnak (cognate to Chakma) and Magh people. Hence, all the Arakanised tribes once had undergone the process of LC before the arrival in CHT, when their

speech variety received heavy effects of Indo-Aryan variety for which the Arakanised languages, Marma, Doingnak and the language formerly spoken by the Chakma are seen to bear abundant elements from the Indo-Aryan variety, i.e. Pali and the vernacular of Bangla.

The LC situation had created a new in the CHT when the Arkanised tribes, Chakma, Marma, and Tanchagya got into the CHT en masse. This period witnessed the increase in the population with the immigration in the CHT. When the Mughal domination extended to the CHT in the 17th century, the Chakma cheftaindom was established under the vassalage of the Mughal authority. A study (Faquirie, 2017) shows that the political maneuver exercised by the Chakma cheftaindom (raj) cause to bring the people of CHT under overarching economic and taxation system. The Chakma raj then used to encourage the intermarriage when the intertribal marriage between the Chakma people and, the Magh and Bengalee people had occurred. This practice of intermarriage had caused to the assimilation of the people of other tribes into the overarching post-tribal society of Chakma and increase in the population of Chakma. This, in effect, would have created LC situation, where the speakers of different speech communities adopted the vernacular of Bangla as lingua franca. Then the use of vernacular Bangla as a lingua franca led towards the creation of a new Indo-Aryan pidgin, which has now been revitalized to a full-fledged language under the name of Chakma language being itself a variety of Bangla.

The situation of LC in the British Period

With British domination in the CHT in 1760, the situation of LC began to change in a new direction. The British East India Company took control over the CHT region and made it a tributary after battling tribal leaders up to 1787. It brought the CHT under direct control in the year 1860, when it administratively divided the CHT into three circles, namely the Chakma Circle, the Bohmong Circle and the Mong Circle, each put under a hereditary chief of the Chakma and Marma ethnicity.

Two major events occurred, which mapped the later course of LC. Between the two major events, one was migration and another a political maneuver, which together made headway towards the making of new LC phenomena. The event of migration caused a change in the demographic mosaic and settlement pattern. However, a political maneuver exercised by the British authority caused it to consolidate the people of CHT so that they can be exploited with ease within a new socioeconomic and taxation system.

The major event, which occurred in this period, was the immigration en mass from Arakan. The event of immigration of the Arakanese tribes caused change in the size, makeup, and ratio of the demography of the CHT. The immigration of Magh (Marma and Rakhine) people occurred in phases that continued after the acquisition of Arakan from the Burmese force by the British authority in 1824. In this event of immigration, the founding chieftain of the Mong circle named Mrachai entered the CHT as an immigrant in the year 1782 (Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers by Hutchinson, 1909, 17). The wave of immigration of Maghs caused several changes: i) increase in the population; ii) pushing of the earlier Arakanese inhabitants, i.e. Chakma, towards the Northeast of the CHT, i.e. Khagrachari, iii) change in the ratio of population, iv) creation of two new administrative circles, i.e. the Mong circle and the Bohomang circle under hereditary chieftainship. In this immigration, some Bangalee from the plain also joined, contributing to demographic change. The assimilation of indigenous people and new immigrants made headway, supplemented by the political maneuver.

In the event of a political maneuver, the British authority built educational, administrative and communication infrastructures by the 19th century. This maneuver created an administrative district by placing its headquarter at Rangamati, with the business centers at Bandarban, Chandraghona, Rankhiang, Rangamati, Subalong, Barkal, Mahalchari, and Ajodhya. As part of this maneuver, it created three circles, namely the Chakma Circle, and the Bohmong Circle and the Mong Circle, each putting under a hereditary chief of the Chakma, and Marma ethnicity. The then British authority found that Bangla is mostly intelligible among the hill people for which it introduced Bangla as a court language. It built the educational infrastructure to assimilate the hill people by giving modern education in English and Bangla. The school then built to impart education in October 1862 was divided into a Burmese class and a Chakma class. In the former, Burmese, English and Bengali were taught, and in the latter only English and Bengali (Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers by Hutchinson, 1909). It attempted to build a communication system so that administrative control could be enhanced with ease. It also launched a military expedition to bring control over the savage hill-tribes. All of these political maneuvers brought changes in socioeconomic interaction, which, in effect, contributed to the creation of a new LC situation with new intensity and direction. The LC situation can be assumed from a census report by the authority (Imperial Gazetteer, vol.10, and pp.319) that *'there were no towns, and 211 of the villages had populations of less than 500 apiece; only one exceeded 2,000. The population density, excluding the area of uninhabited forest (1,385 square miles), was 33 persons per square mile. There was a little immigration from Chittagong, and a few persons had emigrated to Tripura. The proportion of females to every 100 males was only 90 in the district-born, and 83 in the total population. Buddhists numbered 83,000, Hindus 36,000, and Muslims 5,000.'*

The aforementioned events of immigration and political maneuver contributed in intensity, speed and pattern of LC, in which Bangla operated as a superstrate over all other speech varieties being the substrate. The new phenomena of LC created in this period had manifested as various outcomes.

The situation of LC from the Pakistan Period Extended to Bangladesh Period

The LC situation created during the British period further continued even after the transfer of regime respectively to the Pakistan government and the Bangladesh government in the year 1947 and further in 1971. Hence, the LC situation made further headway with the accentuation of political maneuver at the hand of Pakistan and Bangladesh Governments. The LC situation created in the British period involving different kinds of phenomena continued to occur with the political maneuver towards the consolidation of power as well as with the new immigration of Bangla speech communities towards the change in demographic makeup.

After the withdrawal of British colonial authority, the postcolonial authority continued to exercise political maneuvers in order to consolidate power over the hill people of CHT. The postcolonial regime, especially GOB, encouraged the immigration of Bangalee, which caused change in the demographic mosaic and settlement pattern.

The authority, especially the GOB, placed efforts in building more and more educational, administrative and communication infrastructure. As part of this effort, the Pakistan Government created three subdivisions (later elevated to Districts by GOB) namely Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachari, under the administrative district of CHT. The postcolonial authority including

both Pakistan and Bangladesh government started to use Bangla as an official language. As with the British government, GOB built the educational infrastructure in order to impart education to the growing number of Bangalee people in which hill people were to receive education in Bangla. The GOB had furthermore constructed roadways, and established telecommunication systems and mass communication systems under a megaplan with a view to enhancing an overarching communication system, so that the CHT came within reach of administration. It also launched military administration to place control over the hill-tribes. All of these political maneuvers brought changes in socioeconomic interaction, which, in effect, contributed to the creation of a new LC situation with a new intensity and direction.

As part of the political maneuver, the authority encouraged the immigration of the Bangalee of the plain under an immigration plan augmented by the establishment of administration, communication and transportation systems that ushered a huge number of Bangla speakers from the interior districts of Bangladesh. The immigration of the Bangla speech communities caused change in the makeup of demography. The immigration of the Bangla speech community caused several changes: i) an increase in population; ii) dominance in the business and commerce of the Bangla speech communities over the tribal people, iii) rapid urbanisation creating favourable conditions conducive to LC between the Bangla speech communities and tribal speech communities. Hence, LC involved various kinds of LC phenomena towards the assimilation of the tribal communities in the political superstructure of Bangladesh.

After the subsequent immigration of Arakanese tribes and Bangalee people, the CHT now accommodated a population of approximately 1.5 million, less than half of whom were minority speech communities, including the speakers of Indo-Aryan speaking Chakma and Tanchangya and that of the Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages like *Marma*, *Tripura (Kokborok)*, *Chak*, *Pankho*, *Mru*, *Murung*, *Bawm*, *Lushei*, *Kyang*, and *Khumi*. The remaining were the speakers of Bangla. The new distribution of various speech communities with an overwhelming majority of Bangla speakers created a condition for intensive LC.

The new distribution of different speech communities in the well-designed socioeconomic setup created a new LC situation where Bangla operated as a superstrate over all other languages of minority speech communities in the following ways:

- i) The common education policy of Bangladesh required all children of minority speech communities to receive education through the medium of Bangla.
- ii) The official, legal and business dealings under the government's policy required the people of minority speech communities to use Bangla in communication.
- iii) The Tibeto-Burman people did not understand the language of each other but had a certain control on Bangla for which they used Bangla as a lingua franca for day-to-day communication.

In the LC situation of CHT, LC now involved different kinds of phenomena that were manifested as various outcomes.

Language Contact Phenomena and Manifestations of Their Outcomes

LC now manifested itself as an outcome illustrated in the two consecutive sections. LC occurred due to LC in the CHT involving various phenomena: i) a LC phenomenon involving language maintenance, ii) a LC phenomenon involving the creation of a new contact language,

and iii) LC phenomenon involving the acquisition of dominant as a second language leading to language shift. The LC phenomena have now been manifesting themselves as different kinds of outcomes that can be distinguished political outcome, sociolinguistic outcomes, and linguistic outcomes as follows.

Language Contact Involving Different Kinds of Phenomena

LC between Indo-Aryan and Bangla and the languages of other tribal speech communities had been found to occur through various phenomena. They are as follows.

LC Phenomenon involving the Language Maintenance

Language contact phenomena are found to occur involving language maintenance with varying degrees of bilingualism among the TB speakers. As minority speech communities of the CHT, the TB tribes expect to defend their ethnic boundary by conserving the purity of their speech variety. However, in practice, all the TB languages are being received the effects of LC involving the processes of relexification, calquing and structural convergence. Chakma being a speech variety of Bangla the revitalization is going on and still receiving the elements of Bangla. However, they still tries to maintain its structure, while it is affected by all forms by LC.

LC Phenomenon involving the Creation of New contact language

Language contact lead to the creation of new contact languages. The creation of contact languages, i.e. pidgin and creole, occurred throughout the phases involving the process of pidginization and creolization. There are several instances of creation of contact languages in the CHT as follows:

- i) The important two Indo-Aryan creoles, i.e. *Chakma* and *Tanchangya* spoken by the people of the TB ethnicity were created out of contact between the vernacular of the Arakan and the vernacular of the Chittagong dialect. The speakers of the *Chakma* and *Tanchangya* were originally the people of the TB ethnicity who were the speakers of one of the vernaculars of the Arakan, but their speech underwent a process of LC while the Chittagong dialect of Bangla operated as its superstrate. Thus, LC between the vernacular of the Arakan and the vernacular of the Chittagong dialect occurred for decades, leading to the creation of Indo-Aryan varieties of *Chakma* and *Tanchangya*.
- ii) Another instance of the creation of TB (Marma) pidgin was the contact language based on the Marma now spoken by the speakers of *Chak*, *Khumi*, and *Khayang*. The *Chak*, *Khumi*, and *Khayang* living in Bandarban spoke a different variety of TB languages mutually unintelligible to each other, for which they created a pidgin out of the local variety of Marma through contact in order to ease their day-to-day verbal communication.

LC Phenomenon Involving the Acquisition of Second Language En Masse and Language Shift

Language contact was found to occur involving Second Language Acquisition (SLA) by the TB speakers through their language shift. There were many instances when the TB speakers

learned the Indo-Aryan variety including standard Bangla as a second language and after some generations, they shifted to Bangla, and some of whom, especially the young generation, received education in Bangla, more so by living in the city.

Outcomes of Language Contact

Language contact involved various different kinds of phenomena throughout the last few centuries, and brought forth various outcomes which were distinguished into a linguistic outcome, a sociolinguistic outcome, and political outcomes, as follows.

Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact

The linguistic outcomes manifested from LC were of different types including lexical borrowing, calquing and structural convergence, which are given below.

- i) Evidence of lexical borrowing from Marma and Bangla in Kheyang
 - a) Significant levels of lexical borrowing in Kheyang from Marma occurred, e.g. names of days and names of months; b) The percentage of lexical borrowing in Kheyang from Bangla was smaller, e.g. taka→táa [Zakaria, 2018]
- ii) Relexification of personal names and rituals in Bangla
 - a) Nomenclature: Personal names were mostly borrowed in almost all the TB languages from the Indo-Aryann languages, i.e. Sanskrit, Pali, and Bangla. For example, Amit Chakma, Raja Devasish Roy, Manabendra Narayan Larma, Jyotirindra Bodhipriya Larma; Names of the kings during 17th to 18th century: Jan Baksh Khan, Tabbar Khan, Jabbar Khan and Dharam Baksh Khan; b) The names of religious rites/rituals and the things, e.g. Sangrai (Year ending festival) had mostly been borrowed from the TB languages from the ancestral languages of Bangla, i.e. Sanskrit or Pali.
- iii) Evidence of structural convergence

Owing to receive heavy effects of superstrate Indo-Aryan varieties, i.e. Pali and Bangla, many grammatical structures of the TB languages converged with their superstrates. The examples are as follows.

a) Evidence of structural convergence in Marma [Chakma, S., 2000]

Pre tɔbreman-sa ɔmaittɔ-sa arakaittɔ-sathuŋ-ya

Country one son of king son of minister and son of Kotwal 3 person

ataitpɔŋyasapɔtoak pre baŋtoulakhare

education learning purpose of country other for went off.

The sons of a king, a minister and a Kotwal of a country went to another country for the purpose of receiving education.

b) Evidence of structural convergence in Tripura [Chakma, S., 2000]

a. Tripura has received the relative clause pattern of Bangla as follows:

Odaini za munbo bono salaiyo.

from there Rel-M (which) can bring Corl-M (that) Eat

They eat those things that they can bring from there.
(They eat whatever they can bring from there.)

c) Tripura has received the phrasal verb pattern of Bangla as follows:

Arai khayoi konorokom sal ktaiyo.

That way somehow days pass.

They somehow pass there days.

In addition to the above, Zakaria (2018) has given evidence that Khyang bears Relative-correlative construction, which is carried out from Pali via Marma.

Sociolinguistic outcomes of language contact

The LC that occurred in the past and is still occurring brings forth sociolinguistic outcomes. Among the sociolinguistic outcomes, the important are i) Bilingualism, ii) Multilingualism, iii) Code-switching and code-mixing, and iv) Language-shift, which are as follows.

- i) Bilingualism: Almost all members of TB speech communities were bilingual by this time as were within LC for the longterm, for which they were bound to their ancestral language, e.g. Riang, Marma and Chakma along with the superstrate Bangla.
- ii) Multilingualism: Many people of a young age belonged to the TB speech communities and some people of Bangalee communities received education in both Bangla and English, who again encountered LC for the longterm, for which they were now found to have control over more than two languages along with their mother tongue, e.g. Bwam, Marma and Bangla.
- iii) Code-switching/code-mixing: Code-switching and code-mixing between Bangla, as a superstrate, and tribal language, as a substrate, had been very common in the speech of the hill people.
- vi) Language-shift: Throughout the history of LC in the CHT, there were many instance of language-shift. The Chakma people who used to be the speakers of Arakanese vernacular created an Indo-Aryan variety to which they all shifted. The total population of Chakma was around half million, all of whom shifted to Chakma by leaving their original language, so this can be signified as mass shifting in the LC history of CHT. Since their language is cognate to Bangla, they comprehend and speak Bangla. Therefore, the Chakma have now been natural bilingual, being the speakers of Chakma with different degrees of control over Bangla. Likewise, the speakers of Tippera experienced longterm effects of Bangla being the Kingdom Tripura where the court and literary language was Bangla. For this many Tippera people were found to have more control over Bangla than Tippera. The result of my survey and interviews shows that almost all of the TB population is now on the verge of language-shift because many bilingual people belonging to the TB speech communities can comprehend their language but cannot speak it thoroughly.

Political outcomes of language contact

In antiquity, the inhabitants of CHT were the speakers of different languages for which they

long remained disintegrated. However, the political maneuver supplement by the administrative, economic planning exercised by the different political authorities led to creating different kinds of LC phenomenon, which, in the end, made shifted almost all the TB speaking tribes to become a bilingual population.

Thus, LC consequently brought forth different sociolinguistic outcomes, which consequently led to assimilation of the different speech communities in a political superstructure. The Arakanese of different ethnicities first assimilated into greater society in the language situation of Arakan and further integrated in the political superstructure of Bangladesh. They, along with other indigenous hill-tribes, underwent further political maneuver in the subsequent period, leading to the assimilation and integration of TB speech communities, who are now making headway in favour of the political and economic superstructure of Bangladesh.

Conclusion

The CHT, as a region of linguistic richness, once accommodated various speech communities speaking different speech varieties unintelligible to each other. However, the language situation of the CHT has changed much by receiving the effects of LC in last two centuries and more so over the past few decades. The LC has now mirrored itself in the political and socioeconomic makeup of the CHT society. It brought forth outcomes can be distinguished into linguistic, sociolinguistic and political. Thus, the present socioeconomic makeup of CHT reflects the various outcomes of LC, which occurred involving various phenomena in the few past centuries. The LC is still occurring and involved various LC phenomena due to large-scale immigration making the Bangla speakers a majority in demographic composition as well as in the development of physical, economic and administrative infrastructures due to the application of political maneuvers. In the present LC situation, Bangla operates as a superstrate over other tribal languages, reflecting a change inclined to the Bangla language, for which almost all of the tribal people have been bilingual and many of whom tend towards learning Bangla as a second language. Accordingly, the people who have been learning Bangla as a second language tend to shift to their second language Bangla by leaving their ancestral language of TB origin. This movement of tribal people in favour of the current of LC is contributing to their assimilation in the political superstructure of Bangladesh. Consequently, it has now become easy for the GOB to exercise administrative control over the socioeconomic and taxation systems of the CHT.

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