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CHITTAGONIAN VARIETY: A DIALECT OF BANGLA OR A DISTINCT LANGUAGE?

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explore whether Chittagonian is a dialect of Bangla or a distinct language. In spite of its closeness to Bangla, its distinctive features place it in a separate position. So we feel encouraged to rethink about the existing idea of its being a dialect of Bangla and to try to present some arguments in favour of its being a separate language. Here we have framed our paper with some introduction to language and dialect; previous literature dealing with the status of Chittagonian as well as other supportive studies and the use of qualitative methods followed by some findings and discussion and subsequent recommendations.

Keywords: Chittagonian variety, dialect, Bangla, language.

1. INTRODUCTION

Chittagonian- spoken at Chittagong and some other regions in Bangladesh- is considered a dialect of Bangla. But its distinctive features like its mutual unintelligibility with Bangla, even with other dialects of Bangladesh place it in a separate position. Incidentally, Kumar (2011) rightly opines that although Sylheti, Chittagonian, and Chakma are mutually intelligible with neighboring dialects of Bengali, a native speaker of Standard Bengali would hardly understand them. Despite distinctive features of Chittagonian, we observe, the Chittagonian variety is losing its speakers day by day, because of the negligence by the modern Chittagonians in using it in their every day communication. Consequently, it may be extinct in the very near future from the world history and the world will lose not only a variety, but also its culture, literature and its overall inheritance. Considering the matter seriously, this paper aims to concentrate on the answer to the following questions:

- 1. Is the Chittagonian variety a dialect or a language?
- 2. To what extent is it true to say that the Chittagonian variety is a dialect of Bangla?
- 3. To have some idea about the answer to the first question we have discussed the terms 'language' and 'dialect'.

1.1. Language and Dialect

Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics defines dialect as a variety of a language, spoken in one part of a country, by people belonging to a particular social class, which is different in some words, grammar, and/or pronunciation from other forms of the same language. A dialect is often associated with a particular accent. Sometimes a dialect gains status and becomes a standard variety of a country. (Richard, Platt and Platt, 1993:107)

Referring to Haugen (1966a), Wardhaugh (2006:28) has stated that for ordinary people a dialect is certainly no more than a local non-prestigious variety of a real language. In contrast, scholars often experience considerable difficulty in deciding whether one term should be used rather than the other in a certain situation. In this regard, Spolsky (1998:30) says that terming language or dialect depends on social and political rather than purely linguistic factors. On his observation,

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linguists considered Serbo-Croatian a language with regional variation until Yoguslavia was united. But 'with the separation into distinct and warring territories, and with the subsequent transfer of populations and insistence on ethnic difference, Serbian and Croatian have now emerged as distinct languages'. Contrastingly, in the Netherlands, 'only Frisian is recognized as a distinct language; all other regional varieties are labelled dialects. At last, he remarks, 'a language is a dialect with a flag, or even better, with an army.'

Similarly, regarding distinction between 'dialect' and 'language' Crystal (2003:136) has stated that dialects are subdivisions of languages. It is usually said that people speak different languages when they do not understand each other. But so-called dialects of Chinese are mutually unintelligible in their spoken form, though they share the same written language, which is the main reason to regard them as dialects of Chinese. Contrastingly, Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes are generally able to understand each other, but their separate histories, cultures, literatures and political structures suggest different languages.

So from above statements, we observe distinction between language and dialect is ambiguous. But, according to Longman Dictionary, a dialect is different only in some words, grammar, and pronunciation. However, Chittagonian, as we know, is vastly different in words and pronunciation from Bangla.

3. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

We think that our research on the area will make a pathway to the consideration and recognition of the Chittagonian variety as a separate language that will enrich the number of languages of Bangladesh and the world as well.

4. METHODOLOGY

As a desk work, we have followed Qualitative method in this research. In carrying out the research we had the privilege to gather information by random sampling on the basis of a collection of newspaper articles, books, and web sources, etc. In doing so, we have taken enough liberty in translating some information written in Bangla into English.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

So far our study has investigated; the status of Chittagonian regarding its position is still an unexplored area in Bangladesh. But some studies on Chittagonian strongly support our area of study.

Chittagonian has a highly distinctive sound system, and vocabulary. In the following discussion we have tried to have some idea about that.

5.1. Sound system

From Moniruzzaman's (2007) study we find seven vowels. 3 front: [i, e, æ], 1 mid: [a] and 3 back [u, o, b] vowels (including an irregular vowel [e] lower than [e] and higher than [e]) in Chittagonian. Almost all the vowels of Chittagonian can be nasalized.

Nasalization of vowels is contrastive in Chittagonian with other Eastern Indic languages. A word can change its meaning solely by changing an oral vowel into a nasal vowel, as in "আঁর" (and) vs. আঁর (my). (Wikipedia, 2010).

However, as far we observe, in Chittagonian 'Tũi' with nasalization is formal showing distant relationship, whereas in both Chittagonian and Bangla 'Tui' without nasalization is used for near and dear ones as well as inferior ones.

Moniruzzaman (2007) also observes whereas in standard Bangla there is no difference between long and short vowels, in Chittagong differences are found in generally open or monosyllabic words; in free variation; in the phonological environment (phoneme) where the long vowel is essential, as: roi (Sunday) / ro:i (to stay).

He also shows there are almost 33 diphthongs (13 with front vowel+6 low vowel+14 with back vowel). Again there are almost 12 triphthongs and 2 tetraphthorgs.

He again identifies 19 plosives (including 11 regular plus 8 irregular and peripheral), 1 affricate or almost affricate, 6 spirant (including regional variety and free variation), 3 fricative (including contrastive distribution of [s] and [\int]), 1 rolling, 1 flap and 1 lateral. He also identifies 3 Nasals: m, n, q. (Moniruzzaman, 2007)

Chittagonian is distinct from Bangla because of its large inventory of fricatives, which often correspond with stops in Bangla. For example, the Chittagonian voiceless velar fricative [x] (like the Arabic "kh" or German "ch") in [xabar] corresponds to the Bangla voiceless aspirated velar stop [kh], and the Chittagonian voiceless labiodental fricative [f] corresponds to the Bangla voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [ph]. Some of these pronunciations are used in eastern dialects of Bangla as well. (Wikipedia, 2010)

Vocabulary

Chittagonian is rich in a number of words from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Portuguese. English words are also widely used in spoken Chittagonian. The contribution of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words to Chittagonian is far greater than to the standard Bengali. Because Chittagonian was a port city open to traders from Arabia, Persia and Turkey since ancient times, causing Chittagonian variety to absorb their words. As a port city Chittagonian was for a time under the administration of the Portuguese, so a larger proportion of Portuguese loanwords are used in Chittagonian than in standard Bangla. Wikipedia (2010).

The study of BSC (2011) presents a great number of foreign loan words used in Chittagonian. Some of them are:

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ঠাডার (thunder) - (English)
                                                  রয়ার (wind) – (Persian)
কিচিম কিচিম (different kinds)–(Urdu)
                                                  গম (well) – (Urdu)
হট্টিটি পাখি (Hoten tit bird)–(English)
                                                  বালা (good) – (Persian). It is not the corrupt form
জজবা (over excitement) – (Urdu)
                                                  of Bengali 'bhala' (good).
দাবাই (medicine) – from Arabic 'dawa'
                                                  পোরা (boy) – (from Dravidian 'pilla')
দবজ(strong) – (Persian)
                                                  গারা (danger/hole) – (Arabic)
ছন্না (pretending to be a 'Jinn'-a spirit)- (changed
                                                  কুইজ্যা (a pile of straw) – (Arabic)
                                                  লেডঅ- (from English 'lay down')
from Persian)
বাইন দুয়ার (back door) – (Persian)
                                                  আই- (from English 'I'). It is not the corrupt form
চিজ (thing) – (Urdu). It is found in the Muslim
                                                  of Bangla 'আমি'
dialects of other regions too.
                                                  বজা (egg) – (Arabic). It is also present in the
মেসাল (example) – (Urdu). It is also found in the
                                                 Muslim dialect of Narail.
Muslim dialects of other regions.
                                                  গৰ (cock and bull story)— (Hindi)
লিচ্চির (shameless) – (Urdu)
                                                  ট্যা, দুয়্যা (one, two) – (Portuguese)
এগানা (relative) – (Urdu)
                                                  চদর বদর (disorder)— (Arkani)
বেগানা (not related) – (Urdu). It is also present in মন্ধারি (fun)–(Urdu). It is found in the dialects of
the Muslim dialect of Narail.
                                                  other regions of Bangladesh.
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Kashem (2011), however, observes that some words and grammatical specimen of Charyapada are exactly found in present Chittagonian. For example, PxAY(thin), দুআরত(by door) (charya no. 3); কাছি (rope) (charya no.7); পীঠত(at back) (অধিকরণে '-ত' বিভক্তি) and the use of negative marker before verb (যেমণ-ধরণ ন জাই) etc. are worth mentioning. (17 June 2011, The Daily Azadi)

From our observation we see words like ডামিশ (not clever), owl(from Arabic 'ধবি' meaning 'disorder') and হাবিল (from arabic 'kabil' meaning 'ahead') have no substitution in Bangla. The

hesitation device 'geya' originated from Persian 'মর্ধ্য' has no alternative in Bangla. The following verses of Sukumar Barua (সুকুমার বড়ুয়া) are notable: দেয়াণা হাডর দেয়ানা/মস্ত বড় সেয়ানা/গরু বেচের বাড়ি কিনের/এই টেয়া সেই টেয়ানা?/বেডার মত বেড়া বেড়া হইয়ে/তোরার মত গেয়া-না? (Hasan, 2010)

Chittagonian word of common gender 'Kura' (both cock & hen) is not found in Bangla, though in the dialect of Narail it appears as 'kudo' seeming to have derived from কুঁকড়ো < Skt. কুকুট.

Chittagonian has got singular and plural marking articles. When they are used before nouns, they are indefinite, but when they are used after nouns, they are definite. án and wá mark the singular numbers and ğín and gún, mark the plural numbers.

(Singular) (Plural) Fothú án (the picture) Fothú Ğín (the pictures) Fata Ğin(the leaves) Fata wá (the leaf) Faár gwá (the mountain) Faár gún(the mountains) Debal lán (the wall) Debal lún(the walls) *Kitap pwá* (the book) *Kitap pún*(the books) Manúish shún(the men) Manúish shwá (the man) Uggwá fata (a leaf) *Hodún fata*(some leaves) Ekkán fothú (a picture) Hodigin Fothú (some pictures)

Sometimes indefinite singular markers are used after nouns as well. In that case, they are preceded by 'ugg' and 'ekk' meaning 'one/a', but indefinite plural markers are used as 'ún' and 'ien' preceded by 'hod' meaning 'some', when they are used after nouns.

(Singular) (Plural)

Fata uggwá (a leaf) Fata hodún (some leaves)

Fothú ekkán (a picture) Fothú hodien (some pictures)

Tar gán (the wire) Tar Ğin (the wires)

(Chittagonian language, 2011)

Literature

Chittagonian is rich in both oral and written literature. The poets and literary figures of Chittagong background used many words of Chittagonian in their work of Bangla literature. Among them, Daulat Kazi, Alaol, Daulat Uzir, Bahram Khan, and Sabirid Khan are worth mentioning. From them the following words have been summed up:

- 1. pus (to ask): শুক সম্বোধিয়া নৃপ করিল পুছার (পদাবতী-Padmabati by Alaol, edited by Syed Ali Ahsan, p.65)
- 2. chapai (hiding): পরম যতনে শুক রাখিল ছাপাই। (as above)
- 3. baza (to confine/to detain): আহার দেখিয়া যেন পক্ষীমনে বস। পশ্চাতে বাঝিলে ফাঁন্দে বড়ই কর্কস।(as above)
- 4. khate (to close eyes): তা দেখিয়া লোকসবে চক্ষু খাটে ভ এ। (হানিফার দিগ্নিজয়- Hanifa's Victory of Direction by Sabrid Khan)
- In Sabrid Khan's poetry words like pore-অওরে (meaning 'concealment'), kone-কনে (meaning 'who'), khesi- খেঁছি (meaning 'with force') etc. are also noticeable. (Kashem, 2011)

As Chittagonian does not have any writing symbol, Chittagonian poets and literary figures have had tendency to use Chittagonian words using Bengali letters. Here is s an example from the study of BSC (2011):

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      1) গুপ্ত কথা কইশুন
      1) এত বড় ভিংছা জাতি

      একে একে সব
      বসত রাজ্য শেষ,

      বানাউটি ন হয় কথা
      মাইনসে মাসুষ বেচি খায়

      ন অয় ইবা গব।
      এক আচানক দেশ।
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Local songs occupy a great part in Chittagonian literature. Among the Chittagonian local singers, Shefali Ghosh, Kalyani Ghosh, and Shyam Shundor Baishnab lead the list.

Not only in Chttagong, but also in other parts of Bangladesh, Chittagonian songs hold a reputable position. Here the following song is worth mentioning:

হইলজার ভুঁতুর গাঁতি রাঁইকুম তঁয়ারে সিনাল লগে বাঁদি রাইকুম তুঁয়ারে ও নঁনাইঁরে হইলজাঁর ভূঁতর গাঁতি রাঁইকুম তুঁয়ারে।

Like this, the song "Natin boroi haar" is also popular all over the country.

Previous literature

Regarding the status of Chittagonian researchers and scholars differ in their opinions.

Alam (2011) observes Chittagonian is the farthest of all dialects from the Bangla in pronunciations, sentence construction, and part-of-speech sequence. So he tried to find out whether the dialect came from altogether a different language or was a distorted colloquial form of Bangla. Even most of the educated people of Chittagonian can't speak Bangla with the correct pronunciation, or do speak with a heavy accent for Chittagonian dialect has almost nothing similar to Bangla so far as the linguistic properties are concerned. Though Chittagonian scholars like Abdul Karim Shahitya Bisharad, Dr Enamul Haq and Abul Fazal used to view Chittagonian derived from the standard Bangla, they couldn't tell him the derivation history. But they said Chittagong being bordering with the Arakan kindom of Burma, interexchange between the Arakanian language and the Bangla spoken in Chittagong had taken place and the result was Chittagonian.

In Wikipedia's (2010) observation though Chittagonian is closely related to Bangla, it is normally considered by linguists to be a separate language rather than a dialect of Bangla. It is estimated to have 14 million speakers spread in different countries. According to the status of Top 100 Languages by Population by Ethnologue, Chittagong ranked 69th of the world. It has got a long historical and ethnic background shown in the following table.

| Sp Spoken in | Bangladesh, India, Myanmar | | |
|------------------|--|------|--|
| Region | Eastern South Asia | | |
| Total speakers | 14 million | | |
| Language family | Indo-European Indo-Iranian | | |
| | • Indo-Aryan | | |
| | ■ Eastern Group | | |
| | ■ Bengali-Assamese | | |
| | ■ Chittagonian | | |
| Sister languages | Sylheti (Silôţi), Bengali (Bangla), Assamese (Īxômiya), Oriya, the Bihari and also less directly all other Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi. | | |
| ISO 639-1 | | None | |
| ISO 639-2 | | Cit | |
| ISO 639-3 | | | |

In an interview, Khan (2009) opines that the language that the middle-class poets of Calcutta have introduced is also a regional language. But it has got the status of a standard language for political and historical reasons. As a language many things are to be learnt from it. It does not mean that we have to look down upon the qualities of the languages of other regions. If we do so, it will be suicidal. If we can learn Greek and Italian as Madhusudhan did, we should learn the

languages of Mymensingh and Barishal. He again maintains, "English is not a single language, but Multilanguage. So I have wanted to give a message that there is no single language named Bangla, but it is Multilanguage". (Salimulla Khan, interviewed by Shams al Amin, New York/December 14, 2009/published on 18 August 2010/)

The observation of Wasif (2012) is almost similar to the above mentioned opinion. He says many people of Bangladesh consider only Bangla is the standard and complete language, as dialects others are incomplete ones. This idea has no linguistic stand. The linguists do not justify the loftiness or the meanness of any language. They look into the varieties and the probabilities of a language. What is undermined as a dialect or regional variety is the substance of a language. The oral language is the one in which most of the people speak.

Moniruzzaman (2007), on the contrary, opines that considering the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Chittagong dialect it is said that the variation of the language or the dialect surrounded by the sea and hills makes it nothing but one of the dialects of Bangla.

But referring to Mahbubul Haq's observation, Alam (2012) argues that literature expert Abdul Karim in an article termed Chittagonian a separate and distinct language instead of a dialect, and so did Muhammad Enamul Haq.

Correspondingly, Ahmad (October, 2013) has said that like new Indian Aryan languages: Oriya, Assamese, Maithili, etc, Chittagonian is not any dialect of Bangla. Because he observes that the history of Chittagonian is older than that of Bangla. In his earlier work (September, 2013), he argues that if intonation, word order, syntax, etc. of Caryapada are analysed, it will be proved that Chittagonian is older than Bangla. He has shown that some Carya words like "বাকলত' 'দুআরত' 'আইল'' 'চীঅন'' (Carya 3) 'উআস'' (Carya 7) 'ঘলিলি' (Carya 10) 'উইতা' (Carya 30) 'উত্থু' (Carya 32) 'টালত' (Carya 33) and others are exactly found in Chittagonian. Moreover 'চনসুজ্জ' of Chittagonian is derived from Carya verse 'চান্দ সুজ্জ দুই চাকা সিটি সংহার পুলিন্দা' (Caray 14). He again observes that the preverbal negative marker of Chittagonian is found in many verses of Caryapada, e.g. 'দুলি দুহি পীঢ়া ধরণ ন জাই' (Carya 2). And জে জে আইল তে গেইল।' Thus he observes that Chittagonian is apparently older than Bangla and from 650 to 1200 C.E. Chittagonian was seemingly like Caryapada. He further opines that before the arrival of foreign traders in a great number, the Chittagonian would speak in the Prakrit language, instead of Bangla.

In his later studies he rightly says that for the strong theoretical foundation of Bangla, Muhammad Shahidullah, Sunitikumar Chattopadhyay, Sukumar Sen, Professor Muhammad Abdul Hai and others have worked hard, whereas in the case of Chittagonian such attempts by any scholar were not taken. He acknowledges that Moniruzzaman paved the way for Chittagonian to be studied, but his study was based on Northern-Chittagong where root form of Chittagonian was absent. He clarifies that in the Northern and Metro area, Chittagonian has been corrupted greatly by other languages. In this regard in his earlier studies (September, 2013), he opines that Arakani effect is a little more on the southern regions and on the Northern region, there is the influence of the regional languages of Tripura and Noakhali. But excluding the speeches of riparian people of Feni and Napha rivers, unity is observed in the speeches of the riparian people of Karnaphuli, Shankha, Matamuhuri and Bankkhali rivers with very slim differences. So as a model for a standard or universally accepted forms of Chittagonian, the speeches of Chittagong city, Hatahajari, Raujan, Boalkhali, Patiya, Chandanaish, Anowara, Banskhali, Satkaniya, Lohagara, Chakariya and so, can be taken.

In his further observation he says though Moniruzzaman has been staying in Chittagong for a long time, he is from Norshingdi. In this regard, he observes that those who are deep-rooted Chittagonian can study Chittagonian better. It is difficult for the speakers of other regions. In another study through internet search ~Slsmhu (2011) found that Rohingya, a language spoken by the Rohingya Muslim people of Arakan, Myanmar, is linguistically similar to Chittagonian

spoken in the neighboring south-eastern Chittagong of Bangladesh.

So if Rohingya which is almost similar to Chittagonian can be a language, why can Chittagonian not be a language? Then Chittagonian is a dialect of Rohingya or Rohingya is a dialect of Chittagonian.

Of the above mentioned studies, the studies by Ahmad (2013), Wikipedia (2010) hold the view that Chittagonian is not a dialect of Bangla, rather it is a distinct language. Alam's (2012) observation too is supportive for claiming Chittagonian as a separate language. Alam, M. U. (2011) is confused if Chittagonian is a dialect or a distinct language. Moniruzzaman (2007) has studied Chittagonian rigorously, but he doesn't think Chittagonian is a separate language. The studies by Khan (2009), Wasif (2012), and ~Sismhu (2011) are worth supportive for the separate status of Chittagonian.

6. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Many linguists admit that there are noticeable differences between Chittagonian and Bangla. In this regard, BSC (2008, Preface) says: "In writing 'Chottogramer Manush O Sankskriti, while visiting many villages, I have found some slangs that have no similarity with Bangla."

A great number of Chittagonian words are found much different from Bangla. For example, Chittagonian দৈন্দ্ৰা from Urdu 'dorya', কল্লা, and আনত্যা are completely different from Bengali দাগর (Sea), পড়ালেখা (Study) and আবার (Again) respectively.

From our observation we can show much difference in the sound systems of Chittagonian and Bangla

| | Bangla | Chittagonian |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Bilabial-Plosive (p/न) | labiodental fricative (f) |
| 2. | Bilabial voiced aspirated plosive (bh/ভ) | Bilabial unvoiced unaspitated plosive (b): for example, 'bhala' of Bangla is 'bala' in Chittagonian |
| 3. | unvoiced Velar aspirated plosive (kh/গ) | Aspirated fricative |
| 4. | unvoiced affricate (c/চ) | Unvoiced fricative (s) |
| 5. | Voiced affricate (d 3 ^{/ জ}) | Voiced fricative (z) |
| 6. | Alveolar palatal plosive (ch/ছ) | Alveolar palatal fricative |
| 7. | For the front vowels (e) and (æ) | An irregular vowel [ɛ] which is lower than [æ] and higher than [e]) |

Though Chittagonian grammar is almost similar to that of Bangla, variations are seen in inflectional morphology (prefixes, suffixes, particles, etc.), and some variation in word order.

Unlike Bengali, Chittagonian has preverbal negation, whereas the corresponding Bangla has a negative particle following the verb. (Wikipedia, 2010)

IN 'বঙ্গবাণী' (BANGOBANI) BY ABDUL HAKIM, THE USE OF PREVERBAL NEGATION IS FOUND:

যে সবে বঙ্গেত জন্মি হিংসে বঙ্গবাণী। সে সব কাহার জন্ম নির্ণ্য ন জানি।।

From the characteristics of Chittagonian we discussed and the literature of other researchers, we have gathered following information.

a) Chttagonian is not mutually intelligible with Bangla. Syal and Jindal (2008) opine that the partial solution to the problem of identifying whether A and B are different languages or just different dialects of the same language is mutual intelligibility. If two speakers are mutually intelligible, they are using the same language even if they are using different dialects. If they are not intelligible to each other, they are using different languages.

- b) Though Chittagonian is closely related to Bangla, it is normally considered by linguists to be a separate language rather than a dialect of Bangla.
- c) In the status of Top 100 Languages by Population by Ethnologue, Chittagong ranked 69th of the world.
- d) It has many other sister languages beside Bangla like Sylheti, Assamese, Oriya, the Bihari languages and also less directly all other Indo-Aryan languages.
- e) It has highly a distinctive sound system and distinctive grammar, and vocabulary dating from the Aryan history.
- f) It has its own rich oral literature. Some literature written in Bangla letters is also found. Even some poets used some Chittagonian words in their pieces of Bengali literature.
- g) It has dialects of its own ranging from the borders. Because Abdul Karim Shahitya Bisharad says the Chittagonian language has lost its purity when it crossed Cox's Bazar for the influence of Rosanga.
- h) Chittagonian is apparently older than Bangla and from 650 to 1200 C.E. Chittagonian was seemingly like Caryapada.

So the above information goes against the existing idea that Chittagonian is a dialect of Bangla.

6.2. Limitations

Though some information is found in favour of the status of Chittagoian as a language, it is observed that it has no writing symbols; it has no official status and is not taught at any academic level; its literature is not rich enough for the status of a language, etc. Therefore, the study has many limitations in presenting the necessary arguments. So some more studies are needed in support of our claim.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We can conclude that though Chittagonian is considered a dialect of Bangla, it is far different from Bangla in many respects. For this distinction, it is questionable whether Chittagonian is a dialect of Bangla or a distinct language. So though still some more studies are needed to have answer to the question regarding the status of Chittagonian, it is not difficult for it to be developed into a language. so we recommend to take the following measures.

- i. The linguists should come ahead to develop the writing symbols for Chittagonian. It can be done using letters both from Bangla and English, if necessary even from other languages.
- ii. Literature in Chittagonian can be developed using Bengali writing symbols until the separate writing symbols for Chittagonian are developed.
- iii. The study observes that Chittagonian people, especially language experts should claim for the status of Chittagonian. Government also should take steps to develop Chittagonian as a language. In this regard, Spolsky (1998, p. 30) says: "A language, it has been remarked, is a dialect with a flag, or even better, with an army."

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