

Language Maintenance and Language Shift: A Study on the Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh

Nowshad Hasan Nelo

Khulna Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah University, Bangladesh

nowshadhasanneloy@gmail.com

Submitted: August 17, 2024

Revised: February 22, 2025

Accepted: March 08, 2025

Abstract

This study aims at investigating the language situation within the Rohingya refugee community, a marginalized and displaced population originating from Myanmar, in Bangladesh. This study attempts to explore their attitudes towards their mother tongue as well as Bengali. In addition, this study focuses on the native Rohingya speakers and aims to shed light on the factors influencing the preservation or alteration of their mother tongue in this context. A survey was conducted in order to investigate the related issues. The researcher focused on Kutupalong and Balukhali refugee camps in Cox's Bazar where Rohingya refugees live mostly. Data were collected from randomly selected 90 participants of different age, gender and educational background. Questionnaire and semi-structured interview tools were employed to collect data. Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, this study examined the linguistic choices, preferences, and practices of the Rohingya refugees in their new host environment. Findings from this study showed that Rohingya refugees have positive attitude towards their mother tongue. Yet, they are gradually shifting from Rohingya to Bengali.

Keywords: language maintenance, language shift, Rohingya refugees

Introduction

Language choices and practices among minority communities have always been a subject of scholarly interest in this diasporic world. Among such communities, Rohingya refugees have received a considerable amount of attention throughout the world lately. They are the point of interest of this research. They are the victim of the largest and fastest forced movements of people of all time. They have faced systemic discrimination for decades. Facing forced migration, Rohingya refugees have settled in different neighbouring countries, mostly in Bangladesh. It has brought them into contact with host country and its people where Bengali language dominates. As a result,

there are frequent interactions between their language and the language of the host country. The phenomenon of language shift is a common occurrence in such context.

Language remains at the core of the Rohingya people. Rohingya (additionally called Rohingalish) is the main language used by the Rohingya refugees. This language is a fundamental element of their cultural heritage, traditions, and collective memory. They try to maintain their language and consider it as a symbol of their identity. Living within the camps, Rohingya refugees are somehow mixing with the local people. Besides, it is not an easy task for the refugees and their growing children to maintain their own language since most of the time their



language remains under the dominance of the host language. This is why there is a strong possibility of language shift among the speakers. Thus, this linguistic diversity has raised questions regarding the shift towards Bengali and efforts to maintain the language. Through a comprehensive analysis of language choices, proficiency levels, and patterns of language use among the Rohingya refugees, this research aims to shed light on the present linguistic situation of the refugee speakers. By gaining insights into the language dynamics of Rohingya refugees, the researcher hopes to contribute to a deeper understanding of the broader issues of diaspora studies and sociolinguistics

The Rohingya is a Muslim ethnic group of the Northern Arakan State of Western Burma (also known as Myanmar). (Surhone, 2010) The Rohingya people's history in Myanmar is complex and fraught with persecution. It is marked by a series of displacements, discrimination, and violence that have led to their status as one of the world's most vulnerable and displaced communities. For decades, they have faced statelessness, denial of citizenship, and systematic discrimination in Myanmar. Because of consistent discriminations by the army-led administrations, they have extremely limited access to education, health care, and other basic rights. As a result, they have migrated forcibly from Myanmar to Bangladesh. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR),

more than 700,000 Rohingya refugees from Myanmar have fled to Bangladesh since 25th August 2017. They have migrated because of genocidal violence, known as “Ethnic Cleansing”. About 860,000 stateless Rohingya refugees live in the world's largest and most densely populated refugee camp, Kutupalong. Nearly half of the refugees are children. Now, the total number of the Rohingya refugees is around 1.2 million. They are living in Cox's Bazar and nearby places.

Since language maintenance and language shift are directly related to the issue of migration, this research aims to investigate the complex dynamics of language maintenance and language shift among the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. At the heart of this study lies the fundamental question of how the Rohingya refugees fight with the preservation or adaptation of their mother tongue within the challenging context of forced migration and diaspora. Language is not merely a communicative tool but a repository of cultural identity, heritage, and memory. When the Rohingya refugees try to learn and speak Bengali, it becomes a sign of language shift. It is hard to predict language shift because it does not affect the whole population at once. Language shift takes place when a mother tongue group switches to a new language. Rohingya refugees are using both their language and Bengali in different situations according to their needs. This is why the researcher has decided to



investigate language practices and preferences of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. The study may help to know the way they are mixing and changing their language with local language. This study also focuses on the reasons behind those changes and its impact on the life of the Rohingya refugees. The objectives of the research are (1) to explore the attitude of the Rohingya refugees towards their own language and Bengali; and (2) to investigate those factors which lead the Rohingya refugees to shift from their mother tongue to Bengali.

The study aims to answer the following questions: (1) Do the Rohingya refugees maintain their language or shift to Bengali? (2) What are the primary language choices and practices among the Rohingya refugees in their daily interactions within and outside the refugee camps? (3) What are their attitudes towards both Rohingya and Bengali? (4) What are the factors that have helped the Rohingya refugees either to maintain their own language or shift to Bengali?

Many studies have dealt with minority languages in South Asia but studies that have investigated the language situation among the Rohingya refugees are difficult to find. Rohingya refugees are large in number but they did not receive much attention of researchers and scholars. They are in complex linguistic situation. This research will let everyone know, how the Rohingya

refugees are gradually shifting towards the mainstream Bengali.

The study would be helpful to the researchers who would carry any research on contact linguistics. Since it suggests factors that are responsible for language shift among the Rohingya refugees, it would be significant to all Rohingya language researchers.

Literature Review

According to Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (2010), language maintenance is the degree to which an individual or group continues to use their language, particularly in a bilingual or multilingual area or among immigrant groups and language shift is the process by which a new language is acquired by a community usually resulting with the loss of the community's first language. Certainly, language shift is opposite to language maintenance. Language shift usually occurs in minority communities. Immigrants who take up the dominant language of their new territory are mainly responsible for language shift. It is a kind of language loss. Conversely, language maintenance is a response to language shift and refers to the continuing use of a language. These two are the results of complex linguistic situations. Fishman (1964) discussed the necessity of language maintenance and language shift for understanding complex linguistic situations. Fishman (1964) states that the basic datum of



the study of language maintenance and language shift is that two linguistically distinguishable populations are in contact and that there are demonstrable consequence of this contact with respect to habitual language use.

In such situation, the language of majority population is usually more powerful and thus the weaker language faces a challenge from the stronger one. Language maintenance denotes the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful or numerically stronger language (Hornberger, 2012). Language maintenance, also known as language survival, refers to the linguistic situation where speech community continues to use its traditional language ignoring the dominance of host language. It is the process of preserving the use of a particular language within a community or among its speakers to prevent its decline or extinction.

On the contrary, Language shift refers to the change of using mother-tongue to another language in a speech community. Language shift becomes a serious concern when a country has migrants from other countries since it is directly related to the issue of immigrants. According to Weinreich (1964), language shift is the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another one.

That is to say, language shift mainly deals with the change of using one language to another in daily life. It is the process of

acquiring a new language by a community. In a complex linguistic situation, the host language dominates over the minority language. This situation is mostly known as language shift. This is why language shift appears to be a difficult process to investigate since it figures out the attitudes and feelings of a minority group at a state to their mother tongue. Being a refugee it is difficult for Rohingya people to maintain their mother tongue in different situations. Moreover, socio-cultural factors such as, geography, economy, education etc. plays an important role in language maintenance and language shift. In the course of time, the language of the majority gradually replaces the minority languages.

Language maintenance and language shift across the globe

Much research has been done on language maintenance and shift throughout the world. Sciriha (1989) conducted research on the Maltese migrants in Canada. The study discussed the language use of three generations of the same family of Maltese-Canadians living in Toronto, Canada. Researcher found that there was a shift to English since Maltese immigrants looked for higher status. The researcher described it not as a surprising. Makrakis (1995) explored the process of Language Maintenance and Shift among Greek background students in Sweden. The result showed that students' attitudes towards learning Greek were positive and associated with sentimental



orientation. Kedrebeogo (1998) examined language shift among the Koromba community in Burkina Faso (West Africa). Result confirmed that this community was shifting to Moore, the dominant language. David and Noor (1999) discussed the status of Kristang, a creole among the Portuguese Eurasians of Malaysia. They focused on members of the Portuguese Eurasian community. Result showed that the use of Kristang was dominant in older age groups and English in the younger people. They concluded that language shift for the Portuguese community would take place soon.

Similarly, Veettil et al. (2000) examined linguistic scenario among Keralites (known as Malayalees) in Oman. Result showed that Keralites people use Malayalam in their home condition. But outside home domain, they are forced to use Hindi, English or Arabic for communication. Researchers described it as an inevitable impact of globalization. Nath (2000) examined the preservation of Tiwa language, an endangered language of the Tibeto-Burman language family, in Assam and Meghalaya. Result showed that the new generation speakers considered their mother tongue as a powerless and non-prestigious language. Due to the impact of modernization speakers shifted towards English and surrounding dominant language of the region. Nasution (2000) examined the language attitude of Rohingya teenagers toward their ethnic

language in Medan. Results showed that Rohingya teenagers have maintained their language and counted the language as their identity. David (2000) examined the choice of languages in the home, work and religious domains of a minority ethnic community (Sindhis) in Singapore. The Singaporean Sindhi community is English proficient and there is a tendency for many Sindhis to move towards its dominant use, even in intra-community interactions. He indicates that it is merely a matter of time before the family moves away from the use of the ethnic or ancestral language. Kuhl (2000) conducted research on Danish immigrants in the US. The study confirmed a rapid language shift from Danish to English. The study also mentioned that this was not a straightforward and unilateral process.

In recent times, more research on language contact situations has been conducted in Bangladeshi context. For instance, Afreen (2000) observed language usage in different domains by the Chakmas of Bangladesh. The findings confirmed that the Chakmas have not completely shifted their language to the Bengali. Besides, Hamid (2005) conducted research on language maintenance and shift within Sylheti community in Leeds. She found that heritage languages, Sylheti and Bangla, maintained variously but those have symbolic and educational importance in the lives of the community in Leeds.



Furthermore, Habtoor (2012) addressed the issue of language maintenance and language shift among the young Tigrinya speaking Eritrean immigrants in Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He found that the use of Tigrinya was seemingly decreasing and the use of Arabic was increasing. AL-Rahal (2014) investigated language situation among the Turkmen in Baghdad. Results showed that the Turkmen of Baghdad have maintained their ethnic language over the years despite the presence of the majority and the official language, Arabic. Dweik and Qawar (2015) examined language choice among Arabs of Quebec in Canada. The report showed that Arabic speakers in Quebec freely use their Arabic language mostly in different domains. Medjedoub (2015) investigated into the language choice among the Algerian immigrant community in France. Result showed the status of Arabic as a minority language in France. The linguistic situation described that Arabic was preferred for emotional and symbolic reasons like maintaining identity and French was chosen for practical reasons such as educational, economic and social. Thus, the study justified the shift toward French among the third-generation members. David et al. (2017) investigated the language shift of Sindhi language in Pakistan. The study showed that the Sindhis have strongly maintained the bond with their language.

Bocale (2019) conducted research on language shift and language revival among

Italian new speakers in Crimea as there was a shift towards Russian. Samina et al. (2021) investigated the language shifting and maintenance in daily life conversation of Pakistani family resided in the United States. The findings revealed that there was a clear evidence of language shift among Pakistani-American immigrants. Chalise (2022) investigated the factors and forces responsible for language shift in the Majhi community. The researcher did not find any remarkable changes in the individual factors but suggested that modernization and globalization brought remarkable changes in the group factors. Li et al. (2022) observed changes in the patterns of language practices of the Chinese Communities in Brussels. They did not reveal a traditional pattern of shift toward the dominant majority languages, but rather hint at a community-level shift toward more complex multilingual repertoires with an increased role for English and Mandarin. Melaku and Semu (2023) focused on language maintenance and shift in Ethiopia in the case of the Diraytata language. The finding showed that in the Diraytata language, speakers constantly use their mother tongue for day-to-day communication, bible learning, and teaching. *Language shift in the perspective of Bangladesh*

In main land, people mostly use Bengali since it is the official language. However, different dialects and regional accents are present. Shift in language may



hardly found except Hill tracts and Border areas. Among different minority communities and tribal people of Rangamati, Bandarban and Khagrachhari, different languages, religions and culture are practised. Shift in language may slightly found in those areas. Further study needs to be conducted to know actual picture.

Method

The setting of this study is the Rohingya refugee camps at Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh. A large number of Rohingya speakers make it a crucial location for examining language dynamics within this displaced community.

Mixed-methods approach was chosen to collect data for this study. This approach was used to obtain large amount of information from a large sample of participants in no time. Using mixed methods research design will incorporate quantitative and qualitative approaches in presentation of findings and its analysis.

This study is non-experimental and descriptive. The researcher does not collect data manipulating the sample but obtain the data only by surveying them. The study gathers the opinion of the samples about what the Rohingya refugees feel regarding the shift from their mother tongue to Bengali.

Rohingya refugees, who are living in both Kutupalong and Balukhali refugee camps at Cox's Bazar in Bangladesh, constitute the population of this study. A total

of 90 refugees were selected as sample for this study randomly. Sample size may seem relatively small yet collecting a larger sample was impractical due to access issues and funding. However, diversity in sample and meaningful effect strengthen research validity.

Young generation refugees are the main participants of the survey. Most of the participants are aged between 16 to 29 years. However, there are participants of different age, gender, and educational background.

The data for this study were collected via both a questionnaire and semi-structured interview. The first part of the questionnaire included some items to elicit demographic information of the participants, while the second part comprised 12 close-ended (multiple-choice) and 1 open-ended questions to obtain data on the participants' attitudes towards their mother tongue and Bengali. Through questionnaire survey, 80 responses were collected. An interview was also conducted on 10 participants over phone focusing on their language choices, identity and cultural preservation.

The questionnaire was administered online using Google Form to collect primary data from the participants. The link of the form was sent to the participants via email or using social media with a request to respond to the questionnaire. The participants responded the questionnaire and submitted to the researcher. To conduct this research 10 individuals from the target group have been thoroughly interviewed. Each of the

respondents has been asked to answer orally the selected questions designed in a questionnaire. With permission, their responses have been recorded during the interview. To ensure the authenticity and to remove any shortcomings, close observations have been done. Symbolical names have been used in this study to maintain confidentiality. Smartphone and voice recording apps were used to record interviews. These recordings ensure accuracy in capturing participants' responses and discussions.

Microsoft Excel was used to organise the raw data. The percentage value of their opinion on each item of the questionnaire was calculated and presented them in table or pie chart. Later, tables and charts were set in the 'Data Presentation and Analysis' section.

Due to strict government policy, it was quite impossible to visit the camp physically for data collection. It was difficult to collect large number of samples using mobile phone and internet. As this may affect the generalizeability of the findings, efforts were made to ensure diversity within the available sample. The sample size is small but representative.

Therefore, the result of this study is expected to provide evidence to investigate on other minority communities regarding the same issue. The study can be helpful to understand the present situation of Rohingya language usage and to predict the future of it. Awareness may be increased among the

Rohingya refugees to maintain their own language from the sense of own cultural belonging.

Result

Using both table and visual chart, the information that was collected from the Rohingya refugees through questionnaire survey and interview is presented. Each of the tables and figures is then followed by a brief analysis of the data.

Data analysis from questionnaire survey

Question 1. What is your mother tongue?

The very first question was open ended to know the actual name of their mother tongue. From their response it is clear that Rohingya is the mother tongue of the Rohingya people.

Question 2. What is your level of proficiency in mother tongue?

To know Rohingya refugees' proficiency in their mother tongue.

Table 1. Level of proficiency in mother tongue

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Excellent	60	75%
	Very good	14	17.5%
	Good	6	7.5%
	Bad	0	0%
	Very bad	0	0%

Result shows that most of the respondents have excellent proficiency in their mother tongue. 17.5% and 7.5% respondents have very good and good proficiency respectively in their mother tongue.

Question 3. Can you speak Bengali?

To know Rohingya refugees' ability to speak Bengali.

Table 2. Bengali speaking ability

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	49	61.3%
	No	31	38.7%

Result shows that more than half of the participants (61.3%) can speak Bengali.

Question 4. What language do your children use at school?

To explore children's usage of language at school.

Table 3. Usage of language at school

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Bengali	2	2.5%
	Rohingya	64	80%
	English	14	17.5%

Result indicates that 17.5% and 2.5% children use English and Bengali respectively at school. The medium of instruction is Rohingya language inside the camps because there are strict government rules and regulations. Still children are trying to learn English and Bengali.

Question 5. Do you prefer to teach Bengali at school?

To examine Rohingya refugees' preference to teach Bengali at school.

Table 4. Preference to teach Bengali at school

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	18	22.5%
	No	62	77.5%

Result shows that 22.5% respondents prefer to teach Bengali in the classroom so that their future generation can stay here in future and get better job opportunity.

Question 6. Which language do you use when you meet local people?

To know Rohingya refugees' usage of language when they meet local people.

Table 5. Usage of language with local people

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Bengali	26	32.5%
	Rohingya	45	56.3%
	English	9	11.3%

Result reveals that 32.5% respondents use Bengali when they meet local people. This number indicates their ability and proficiency in Bengali to communicate with local people.

Question 7. Which language do you use most when you talk with officials of different Government and Non-Government Organizations?

To know Refugees' usage of language when they talk with officials of different Government and Non-Government Organizations.

Table 6. Usage of language with officials of different government and non-government organizations

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Bengali	18	22.5%
	Rohingya	20	25%
	English	42	52.5%

Result shows that the respondents use English and Bengali mostly when they talk

with officials of different Government and Non-Government Organizations.

Question 8. Do you switch between Bengali and Rohingya language when you speak?

To investigate actual code-switching situation in the refugee camps.

Table 7. Switching between Bengali and Rohingya

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	44	55%
	No	36	45%

Result shows that most of the respondents (55%) switch between Bengali and Rohingya when they speak.

Question 9. Do you switch consciously between languages?

To know whether the Refugees are aware of Code-switching or not.

Table 8. Conscious of switching between languages

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	40	50%
	No	40	50%

Half of the participants answer that they switch between languages and they are aware of it.

Question 10. Do children/young boys mix between Bengali and Rohingya language when they speak?

To understand next generation Refugees' preference to situational code-switching.

Table 9. Mixing between Bengali and Rohingya language by children/young boys

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	53	66.3%
	No	27	33.7%

Result shows that 66.3% respondents think children/young boys mix between Bengali and Rohingya language when they speak.

Question 11. Do the Rohingya refugees shift towards Bengali?

To know squarely from the participants regarding their shift towards Bengali.

Table 10. Shift towards Bengali from mother tongue

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	31	38.7%
	No	49	61.3%

Result shows that 38.7% respondents think the Rohingya refugees are shifting towards Bengali.

Question 12. Do you maintain the use of your mother tongue?

To know if the Rohingya refugees maintain the use of their mother tongue or not.

Table 11. Maintaining the use of mother tongue

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	68	85%
	No	12	15%

Result suggests that most of the respondents think they maintain the use of their mother

tongue. Certainly, they maintain their native language while speaking with their family members only. Yet they are switching between Bengali and Rohingya intentionally in different situations. Thus, it is clear that the refugees are gradually experiencing language shift.

Question 13. Are you proud of your mother tongue and identity?

To explore cultural identity and sense of belonging of the Rohingya refugees.

Table 12. Pride in Mother Tongue and Identity

Total Respondent	Responses	Particular number of the respondent(s)	Percentage
80	Yes	80	100%
	No	0	0%

All the participants are proud of their cultural and linguistic identity.

Data Analysis from Semi Structured Interview

The number of total participants is 10.

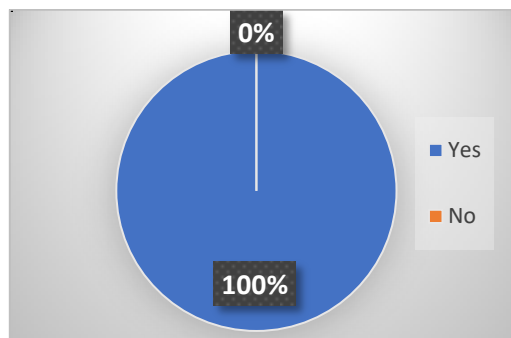


Figure 1. Bengali speaking ability of the Rohingya refugees

The result from **Figure 1** indicates that all participants can speak Bengali.

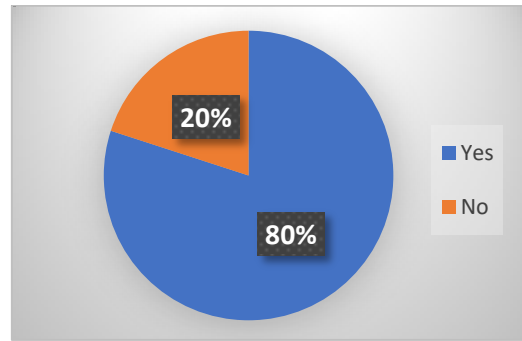


Figure 2. Shift towards Bengali from mother tongue

The result from **Figure 2** supports the notion that most of the refugee participants are shifting towards Bengali.

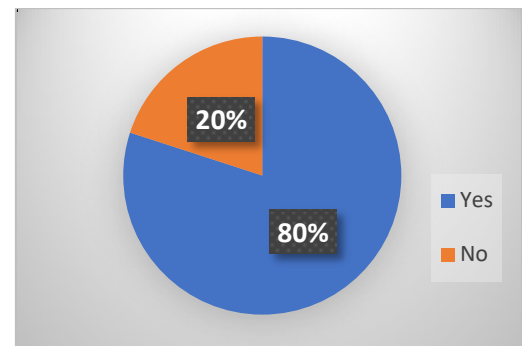


Figure 3. Mixing between Rohingya and Bengali by refugee children

The result from **Figure 3** shows that most of the Refugee children mix between Rohingya and Bengali when they speak.

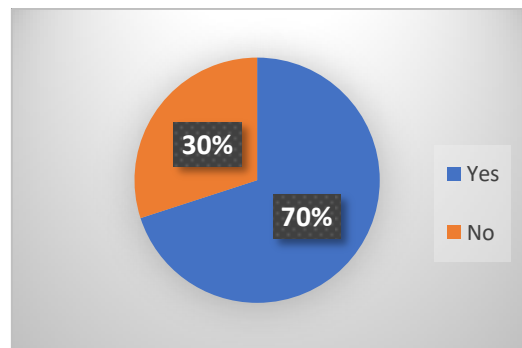


Figure 4. Knowing Bengali is beneficial for getting job and future living



Rohingya refugees cannot go outside of the camps. However, participants think if they can learn and use Bengali, they will get good job opportunity. In addition, knowing Bengali will also be helpful for their future living in Bangladesh.

The finding is that the Rohingya refugees are gradually shifting from their language. Most of them willingly use Bengali to get job and other facilities. Their attitude towards their mother tongue is positive yet the overall scenario of language changing is a concern for its users.

Reasons behind shifting from Rohingya to Bengali: (1) to hide their original identity from local people; (2) to avoid embarrassing situation of being called 'Rohingya'; (3) to go outside of the camp and have marital relations with Bengali speaking people; (4) to get National Identity Card (NID) and live in Bangladesh permanently; (5) to be advantaged of both Rohingya and Bengali languages; and (6) to pronounce the exact Bengali words timely while speaking with local people.

Some significant comments from the interviews on the reasons of language shift:

"At times when we are heard speaking Rohingya, people call us the Rohingya which is humiliating. It makes me shift from Rohingya to Bengali." – Sahat Zia.
"Actually, we take the advantage of using both languages. I do mix according to the situations." – Ro Faruque. *"But sometimes we face problem to speak Bengali as we are*

not completely fluent in Bengali." – Asmot Ullah.

Fishman (1964) stated that the study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change (or stability) in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language use are in contact with each other. That languages (or language variants) sometimes replace each other, among some speakers, particularly in certain types or domains of language behavior, under some conditions of intergroup contact. Here, Fishman points out various social domains where language choices are made, including family, religion, education, and employment. Similarly, Rohingya refugees are using different languages in different domains. They take the advantage of using both languages. After all, most of the Rohingya refugees are being motivated to use Bengali to live in Bangladesh for a long time. They feel interest in using Bengali. New born babies do not know the exact history of their migration. As they grow up, their language habit changes. Gal (1987) stated that a speaker's choice between varieties is also structured. It is systematically linked to social relationships, events or situations. Since young refugees are facing different situations or events, language choice is controlled by above reasons.

Additionally, Bangladesh does not have an official language policy specifically

for the Rohingya refugees. On top of that, teaching in Bangla is strictly prohibited in refugee camps to prevent long term settlement. Some organizations, including Rohingya activists, promote writing in Arabic or Burmese scripts, but there is no official policy supporting linguistic preservation. In short, Bangladesh does not officially recognize or support the Rohingya language in governance, education or media. Instead, the focus is on Burmese based education to prepare Rohingya refugees for eventual repatriation to Myanmar.

Conclusion

Rohingya refugees do not have entirely positive or negative attitude towards Bengali. Besides, the young generation refugees are facing more bilingual situation than the old refugees. As a result, the young refugees are changing their habit for learning Bengali. Different social issues are controlling their language habit. Lack of motivation, lack of scope to practice, identity crisis, environment, etc. are major reasons behind the changes of their language attitude. Future research should use a larger sample for further validation. In addition, future researchers could focus on how these findings can be translated into policy recommendations or practical interventions.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to express special gratitude to the members of the Rohingya

community who agreed to participate in this research.

References

- Afreen, N. (2020). Language usage in different domains by the Chakmas of Bangladesh. *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Translation*, 3(6), 135–151. <https://doi.org/10.32996/ijlt.2020.3.6.13>
- AL-Rahal, S.N.A. (2014). Language maintenance and language shift among the Turkmen of Baghdad: A Sociolinguistic Study. [M.A. Thesis, Middle East University, Jordan]. Middle East University Library. https://meu.edu.jo/libraryTheses/5870caae328fa_1.pdf
- Bocale, P. (2019). Language shift and language revival in Crimea. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2019(260), 85-103. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2019-2049>
- Chalise, K. P. (2022). Language maintenance and shift in the Majhi Community. *Gipan*, 5(1), 17-26. <https://doi.org/10.3126/gipan.v5i1.49539>
- David, M. K., & Noor, F. M. N. (1999). Language maintenance or language shift in the Portuguese settlement of Malacca in Malaysia?. *Migracijske teme*, 15(4), 465-481.
- David, M. K. (2000). The Sindhis of Singapore- Language maintenance or language shift?. *Migracijske teme*, 16(3), 271-287.
- David, M. K., Ali, M., & Baloch, G. M. (2017). Language shift or maintenance: the case of the Sindhi language in Pakistan. *Language Problems & Language Planning*, 41(1), 26-45.



<https://doi.org/10.1075/lplp.41.1.02dav>

- Dweik, B., & Qawar, H. (2015). Language choice and language attitudes in a multilingual Arab Canadian community: Quebec–Canada: A sociolinguistic study. *British Journal of English Linguistics*, 3(1), 1-12.
- Fishman, J. (1964). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. *Linguistics*, 2(9), 32-70. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1964.2.9.32>
- Gal, S. (1987). Linguistic repertoire. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. Mattheier & P. Trudgill (Eds.), *Soziolinguistik/Sociolinguistics* (pp. 286-292). De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110858020-045>
- Habtoor, H. A. (2012). Language maintenance and language shift among second generation Tigrinya-speaking Eritrean Immigrants in Saudi Arabia. *Theory & Practice in Language Studies*, 2(5), 945-955. <https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.2.5.945-955>
- Hamid, S. (2005). A study of language maintenance and shift in the Sylheti community in Leeds. [Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, UK]. White Rose eTheses Online. <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/14086/1/437597.pdf>
- Hornberger, N. H. (2012). Language shift and language revitalization. In R. B. Kaplan (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics* (2nd ed., pp. 412-420). Oxford Academic. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195384253.013.0028>
- Kedrebeogo, G. (1998). Language maintenance and language shift in Burkina Faso: The case of the Koromba. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*, 28(2).
- Kuhl, K. (2000). Language shift and maintenance among Danish Immigrants in the US. *The Bridge, Journal of the Danish American Heritage Society*, 43(1).
- Li, X., Vosters, R., & Xu, J. (2022). Language maintenance and shift in highly multilingual ecologies: A case study of the Chinese Communities in Brussels. *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 18(1), 31-61. <https://doi.org/10.1163/17932548-12341455>
- Makrakis, N. K. (1995) Language maintenance or shift? : A study of Greek background students in Sweden. *Studies in Comparative and International Education*, (33). [Doctoral thesis, Stockholm University]. DiVA portal. <https://su.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1192821&dsid=6716>
- Medjedoub, R. (2015). Language shift and maintenance: The case of Algerian Immigrants in France. *Journal of Milev Research and Studies*, (1).
- Melaku, Z., & Semu, S. (2023). Language maintenance and Shift in Diraytata. *Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Language Teaching (JLLLT)*, 2(2), 61-73. <https://doi.org/10.37249/jllt.v2i2.565>
- Nasution, L. N. I. (2000). The attitude of Rohingya teenagers towards their language. *Journal of English Education and Linguistics*, 1(2), 33-41.
- Nath, A. K. (2011). Revitalizing Tiwa Language: The phenomena of language shift and maintenance. *Language Forum*, 37(2).
- Richards, J. C., & Schmidt, R. (2010). *Longman dictionary of language*



teaching and applied linguistics (4th Edition). London: Person Education Limited.

Samina, S., Kabir, H., Qayyum, N., & Akram, M. (2021). language shift and maintenance: A case study of Pakistani-American Family. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.5539/ijel.v11n1p86>

Sciriha, L. (1989). Language maintenance and language shift of the Maltese migrants in Canada. *Journal of Maltese Studies*, 19-20, 34-41.

Surhone, M. L. (2010). *Rohingya Language*. USA, UK, Germany: Betascript Publishing.

Tay, A. K., Islam, R., Riley, A., Welton-Mitchell, C., Duchesne, B., Waters, V., Varner, A., Silove, D., Ventevogel, P. (2018). *Culture, context and mental health of Rohingya Refugees: A review for staff in mental health and psychosocial support programmes for Rohingya refugees*. Geneva, Switzerland. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Veettil, R. P., Binu, P.M., & Karthikeyan, J. (2020). Language maintenance and language shift among Keralites in Oman. *Arab World English Journal*, 11(4), 319-327. <https://dx.doi.org/10.24093/awej/vol11no4.21>

Weinreich, U. (1964). *Language in Contact*. New York: Mouton Publishers.