







## Lexical borrowings from the English language into Bangla short stories

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### Abstract

Although lexical borrowing from the English language into Bangla has been reported in the literature, not many studies have investigated the nature and the extent to which this borrowing has taken place in relation to Bangla short stories. This study examined five Bangla short stories, which were selected based on purposive sampling. Our analysis of the textual data drew upon thematic analysis. The findings of the study illustrated four types of borrowings, which were classified as 'with Bangla equivalents', 'without Bangla equivalents', 'with close Bangla equivalents', and 'hybridised'. The borrowed words were further studied to understand the domains in which lexical borrowing took place. Findings reported in this study indicate that an increasing number of English lexis is gradually getting their place within creative writings published in Bangla. These findings provide the basis for the argument that while lexical borrowings can enrich Bangla, this practice may also contribute to marginalising the language by replacing some of its lexis. The study contributes to our understanding of the nature of lexical borrowings from the English language into the contemporary short stories written in Bangla, notably by illustrating the domains in which the borrowings have taken place.

*Keywords:* Borrowings; English lexis; Bangla short stories; Impact; Bangla

## 1. Introduction

The English language was introduced in the Indian subcontinent by the British rulers during the colonial period (1757-1947). The language was then promoted within the administration. Therefore, while other languages were subjugated, English consolidated its position as a language of power, prestige, and employment (Ali & Hamid, 2021). Given the role of English for having access to administration and employment, people opted for learning the language, albeit not many people could have access to this valued capital. The establishment of the Kolkata School Book Society in 1817 brought an opportunity for the Bangla speaking people to learn English (Ferdous, 2016). In 1835, English was recognised as the medium of instruction for schools and universities by the British Government in India (Bhaskararao, 2002). This legacy continued on the Continent even after the end

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of the British rule. English had its strong roots in the Indian elites, so it sustained both in India and Pakistan even after their partition in 1947.

During the Pakistan period (1947-1971), a vast number of shops and industries used English names and signs. And then shops with Bangla names or names written in Bangla script were hardly seen, particularly in Dhaka. After the independence of East Pakistan (current Bangladesh) from the Federation of Pakistan in 1971, signboards with English and/or Urdu names or scripts were questioned based on nationalistic sentiments. The English names were replaced by Bengali names and scripts, e. g., *Bahadur Shah Park* instead of *Victoria Park*, *Udayan Biddyalaya* instead of *English Preparatory School*, and *Dhaka* instead of anglicised *Dacca* (Banu & Sussex, 2001). Nevertheless, English was sustained in Bangladesh as a language of the elites. In other words, the language remained a symbolic capital in Bangladesh as it did in other countries of the Continent. However, globalisation has left a significant impact on the spread of the language to the mass level. Eventually, following the 1990s, English has been promoted massively in the country in relation to Bangladesh's development plan (Ali & Hamid, 2021). As a result, the English language dominance has increased over the years, and this dominance is visible in the day-to-day life, education, business, and literature of the Bangla speaking people (Banu & Sussex, 2001).

The popularisation of the English language in Bangladesh has come to influence other languages in the country. One such influence is lexical borrowings from English; more and more English words are getting their place in Bangla by replacing their Bangla equivalents. In this article, we argue that while this phenomenon has started receiving scholarly attention (Banu & Sussex, 2001; Dash, Chowdhury, and Sarkar, 2009; Hoque, Puteh-Behak, Baharun & Molla, 2018; Ferdous, 2016), not much has been researched about how much influence has extended to creative writings written in Bangla, notably Bangla short stories. More importantly, we do not know much about the nature of lexical borrowings from English, as well as the domains in which the borrowed lexis could be categorised. Drawing on five Bangla short stories, this article explored the nature of English lexical borrowing into Bangla by illuminating the domains in which the borrowing took place. The study contributes to our understanding of the spread and the influence of the English language on Bangla creative writings (Phillipson, 1992).

### 1.1 Theoretical Perspectives

Although borrowing is a common practice across language communities, lexical borrowing from the English language into other languages is widely documented (Jackson & ZeAmvela, 2002). Being the language of globalisation, English was promoted across the world through trade, science, and technology. The phenomenon has resulted in what Kachru termed as 'Englishisation' (Kachru, 2005, p. 99), which refers to the mass popularisation and incorporation of English into another language. Englishisation is a contact-induced phenomenon between English and other languages (Kachru, 2005). Language contact, defined as the alternative use of two or more languages by the same individual (Weinreich, 1968), has some purchase in relation to the concept of borrowing and Englishisation. Borrowing is deemed a particular type of contact-induced change (e.g., Thomason, 2001; Haugen, 1950; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Weinreich, 1968; Van Coetsem, 2000).

The history of English and any modern language is necessarily contact-based (Mufwene, 2013). The phenomenon in the former British colonies is undoubtedly no different. The languages of the Indian sub-continent came in significant contact with the English language in the seventeenth century. Subsequently, the English language acquired a superior position in relation to social, linguistic, literary, and ideological domains in the subcontinent (Kachru, Kachru & Sridhar, 2008). In a relevant statement, Chatterji (1963, p. 5), states "through the impact of English and ideas through English, our

regional languages developed new forms of expression”. Like other prominent (Eastern) Indo-Aryan languages spoken in India and Bangladesh, Bangla has been in contact with English for more than two hundred years (Tunga, 1995). Consequently, the development of extensive Bangla-English code-switching (especially in informal contexts) among English-educated Bangladeshis is a quite observable phenomenon, in addition to the arguably obvious lexical borrowing that has taken place due to the contact (Chatterjee, 2015). The magnitude of such borrowing is evident in Japanese, Bangla, Chinese, Hindi, Malay, and other languages (see, for example, Kachru, 2005).

Many languages of former colonies have undergone the process of Englishisation in which a happy marriage took place between English and the native language. Hinglish (Hindi + English) is an example. This type of variety includes words like *kalej* (< “college”) and *kaimrā* (< “camera”) (Risato, 2018, p. 80). Another example comprises Chinglish (Chinese + English) in which sentence like “You can you up, no can no BB” meaning, “if you have the ability, then you do it. If you don’t have the ability, then say nothing” (see, Wei, 2016, p. 14). Lexical borrowing from English has also been reported in Manglish (Malay + English); for instance, *Awsum* (< “awesome”) and *stylo* (< “stylish”) have been developed (Norizam, 2014). We see a similar trend in Banglish (Bangla+English) e.g., *istishon* from English ‘station’, *hashpatal* from ‘hospital’ and *baksho* from ‘box’ (see also Mostafa & Jamila, 2012). Therefore, Englishisation is a global phenomenon, as it has manifested across cultures and language communities (Haspelmath, 2009). As a contact-induced phenomenon, the tangible changes have been noticed in punctuation marks of these languages. Kachru (2005, p. 115), in this context, maintains that in most South Asian languages such as Hindi, Punjabi, and Bangla, the punctuation marks were only two vertical lines ‘||’ (*viram*) to mark the end of a paragraph or a ‘thought unit’, and one vertical line ‘|’ (*ardhaviram*) for a full stop. This traditional system has now been entirely replaced by a complete set of English punctuation marks. The practice of breaking texts into paragraphs has also been introduced.

On the other hand, the contact-induced change is not a one-way effect. The local variety of English has become widely accepted by people in the periphery, and this acceptance helps in the origin of new varieties of English (Kachru, 1992). This phenomenon is conceptualised as ‘nativisation’, i.e., a type of modified English language combined with the lexical items and collocations from local languages (Kachru, 1986). In many former British colonies, a long-term affiliation of English with indigenous languages has given rise to different ‘varieties’ of English (Banu, 2000). South Asian writers also nativised the English language through extensive stylistic experimentation and acculturation (Rajashanthan, 2016). The varieties have been recognised with some unique features, such as sound, intonation patterns, words, expressions, etc. (Kachru, 1994; Platt, Weber & Lian, 1984).

Finally, foreign words may be borrowed to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no apparent available word in their native language. This kind of borrowing is motivated by lexical needs and involves single words— mainly nouns (Holmes, 2013). However, Myers-Scotton (1992, 2006) asserts that all established borrowings occur not for the perceived absence of an equivalent term in the beneficiary language. In this context, she puts forward two terms: cultural borrowings (new to the recipient language culture) and core borrowings (lexical items that have viable equivalents in the recipient language). She believes the core borrowed items of the giver language have a higher symbolic value than that of the recipient language. The social prestige associated with the donor language motivates the use of English lexical items without changing their phonological properties. Therefore, educated bilingual speakers may practise elite closure by consciously pronouncing borrowed items as closely to the originals as possible. The same assertion has been emphasised by Kachru (2005) through two hypotheses (i.e., deficit and dominance). The deficit hypothesis entails borrowings from another language to fill in the lexical gap in the recipient language. In other words, the prime motivation for such borrowing is to remedy the linguistic deficit of the receiving language.

On the other hand, the dominance hypothesis refers to when the lexical items are not necessarily borrowed to fill in the recipient language's lexical gap. These words are still borrowed due to the symbolic prestige associated with a dominant language such as English.

In the case of contact between two cultures where one is dominant, and the other is subordinate, “the directionality of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing” goes from the dominant to the subordinate (Higa, 1979; as cited in Kachru, 2005, p.103). In this case, then, the determining factor is the symbolic power of a language, when it is valued in the job market, and for immigration and overseas human resources export, IT sector, and many more (Ali & Hamid, 2021; Chowdhury, 2013; Ashrafuzzaman, Ahmed & Begum, 2021).

## 1.2. Literature review

### 1.2.1. Lexical Borrowing

Lexical borrowing refers to adopting an individual or large set of words or vocabulary items—including roots and affixes, sounds, collocations, and grammatical processes—from another language or dialect (Daulton, 2011). Borrowing generally takes place when two or more languages come in contact with one another. Borrowing can occur due to economic, cultural, and socio-political contact between two language communities (see, for example, Sarkar, 2012). Borrowing words from another language are driven by the need to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no apparent word available in their native language (Holmes, 2013). However, Myers-Scotton (1992, 2006) asserts that not all established borrowings occur due to the absence of an equivalent term in the recipient language. Borrowings are also found with viable equivalents in the recipient language. She terms such phenomenon as core borrowing, which has a higher symbolic value than the recipient language. In this case, the social prestige associated with the donor language motivates English lexical items without changing their phonological properties. Kachru (2005) has explained this type of borrowing with his concept of ‘dominance hypothesis’ that entails borrowings from a prestigious outlook (see 1.2 Theoretical Perspectives section for details). Lexical borrowing is a common phenomenon across language communities. For example, Portuguese scholars borrowed the Chinese word *chai*, i.e., ‘tea,’ and adapted it as *chá* (Haspelmath, 2009). Similarly, the Spanish community borrowed many Arabic words, such as ‘albani,’ ‘alcoba,’ ‘alcove,’ and ‘alcohol.’ Arabic also passed words like “*ṭibb*” and “*istifrag*” to Turkish “*tıp*” (medicine) and “*istifra*” (vomit), respectively (Çilek, 2021). This trend has also been documented within the English language. Words such as ‘algebra,’ ‘alcohol,’ and ‘alchemy’ have been borrowed into this global language from Arabic. Arabic itself has borrowed lexis from Greek. Examples include ‘zunnar’ (belt) and ‘Derham’ (money coin) (see, for example, Khrisat & Mohamad, 2014).

### 1.2.2. English Lexical Borrowings in Bangla

Borrowing English lexis into Bangla is becoming increasingly visible in the Bangladeshi media and modern Bangla literature (Hoque et al., 2018). Numerous books of different disciplines written in Bangla have illustrated this trend. Even books published by the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) of the Bangladesh Government demonstrate a similar trend (Mostafa & Jamila, 2012). In a pioneering empirical research dealing with the naturalisation of English words into Bangla, Dash et al. (2009) have examined a body of modern Bangla prose texts and extracted a catalogue of English lexis from the texts. They analysed how English words and terms are naturalised into Bangla lexical stock. The naturalisation of English lexis in Bangla, as observed by Dash et al. (2009), takes place in two broad ways: adoption and adaptation. Examples of some adopted words from the English language include ‘club,’ ‘ball,’ ‘cricket,’ ‘politics,’ ‘party,’ ‘science,’ ‘cycle,’ ‘arts,’ ‘sentiment,’ ‘naughty,’ etc. On the other hand, adaptation (i.e., changing with necessary phonological and morphological operations needed to be adjusted to Bangla) takes place at two levels: phonological and morphological.

At the phonological level, multifarious adaptations like Prothetic adaptation (e.g., iskel<scale), Epenthetic adaptation (e.g., birij< bridge), Epithetic adaptation (e.g., anti < aunt), and Metathetic adaptation (e.g., flask >phlaks) have been identified.

Morphological adaptation is identified as the addition of Bangla classifiers with English words (e.g., pen + -guli); addition of Bengali case markers with English words (e.g., hall + -er); addition of English suffix with Bengali words (e.g., sukhi+ -ly); addition of Bengali suffix with English words (cinema + -khor); and formation of compounds with English and Bengali words (e.g., half + hata). Moreover, morphological adaptation is observed through some other processes like analogical generation, i.e., word formation in Bangla following the process in English (e.g., electricity [English] >bidyut [Bengali]) and loan translation where some of the English words are used as models to generate semantically equivalent forms in Bangla, e.g., bathroom [English] >snanghar [Bangla] (Dash et al., 2009).

Dash et al. 's (2009) observation goes parallel with the findings of Ferdous's (2016) study, where she analysed English loanwords in Bangla at three levels: phonological, morphological, and semantic. As she observed, the phonological operation done in line with the phonological characteristics of Bangla is understood through several processes, namely, final vowel insertion (e.g., gilti<gilt), syncope (e.g., ton<tone), consonant elision (e.g., tul<stool), Anapticsis (e.g., tebil<table), partial phonological change (e.g., kaman<cannon), metathesis (e.g., riks< risk), the prosthesis (istil< Steel), and substitution (e.g., cen<chain). While conducting a Morphological analysis of English loan words in Bangla, Ferdous identified several grammatical categories such as noun (e.g., album), adjective (e.g., electric), and verb (e.g., avoid). English verbs are generally used in Bangla with a Bangla particle, e.g., করা (to do). The borrowings again go through some morphological processes, namely, compounding (e.g., headmaster); hybridisation (e.g., head-pondit); clipping, i.e., initial (e.g., phone <telephone), etc. Some English expressions such as 'by the by,' 'good morning,' and 'don't mind' are frequently used in everyday Bangla speeches (Ferdous, 2016). Shanta (2017) has investigated conversations from private radio and TV channels and Facebook pages to understand Bangladesh's current linguistic landscape. As she observed, Bangla has undergone tremendous changes through code-switching/mixing between Bangla and English (e.g., Recently আমি facebook এ এতটা active না), violation of standard form of Bangla, transliteration of Bangla into English (e.g., *onek manush dekhlam shob shomoy bole #desh amader jonno ki korse...*), the use of English accent in Bangla pronunciation, and the trendy use of English by the young generation. From these pieces of evidence, it is understandable that English is now strikingly manifested in various domains such as media (i.e., radio, advertising, television, and motion pictures), press (i.e., newspapers and periodicals), and education. Television programs, including drama serials and talk shows, reveal a consistent Bangla-English interaction pattern (Shanta, 2017). The phenomenon presents a changing linguistic scenario in Bangladesh.

Although scholars have started researching lexical borrowings from English into Bangla (e.g., Dash et al., 2009; Ferdous, 2016; Shanta, 2017), not much has been explored about lexical nature borrowing from the English language into the short stories written in Bangla. Importantly, there is a lack of understanding of the domains in which such borrowing took place to date.

### 1.3 Research questions

Hence, concerning the research problems, this study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What is the nature of English lexical borrowings in Bangla short stories?
2. What are the domains in which such borrowing took place?

## 2. Method

The current study was undertaken to understand the nature of English lexical borrowings into Bangla, notably examining the domains in which the borrowed words are accommodated. Five short stories were purposively selected, which were: (a) *অতনু ফিরে যাবে* (Otnu will Return) by Shunil Gangupaddaya (2013); (b) *টোপ* (Bait) by Narayan Gangupaddaya (2012); (c) *পোস্টমাস্টার* (Postmaster) by Rabindranath Tagore (1908); (d) *ভ্রাতা ও ভগ্নী* (brother & sister) by Begum Rokeya Sakawat Hosen (1971) and (e) *হেনা* (Hena) by Kazi Nazrul Islam (1922). The texts were chosen from the 20th and the 21st centuries taking two from the first half and one from the second half of the 20th centuries, and the other two from the current century in order to know the extent of English lexical use in the texts from the beginning of the 20th century to the current century of the modern period. These texts dealt with various themes, namely, love, war and love, social picture of gender discrimination between brother and sister regarding their conservative and generous attitudes, cruel hunting, etc. We analysed the texts employing ‘thematic analysis’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In doing this, first, we read the texts several times and labelled the texts with codes. The coding process served two purposes: (a) to identify different English words borrowed in the Bangla short stories, and (b) to classify them into groups. The coding process was informed both by our understanding of the previous literature and theoretical perspectives discussed above (deductive) and the textual data (inductive).

Once we identified the borrowed words, we categorised them under the following themes: (a) Bangla equivalents, (b) close Bangla equivalents, (c) without Bangla equivalents, and (d) hybridised forms of both Bangla and English. Some English words were used abreast or interchangeably with their Bangla counterparts in the texts. The words found with Bangla counterparts (e.g., water) have been categorised as English words with Bangla equivalents, while the words not found with any Bangla counterparts (e.g., alcohol) have been categorised as English words without Bangla equivalents. Accordingly, the words which were found with near meanings (e.g., flask) have been categorised as English words with close Bangla equivalents, and loan blends of Bangla and English have been categorised as hybridised words, e.g., half-Bangla. This thematic categorisation helped us to understand the nature of borrowings in this research. Following this process, we read the texts again and coded the texts further to categorise the borrowed words into some thematic domains. This process helped us to understand the domains and the contexts in which the words were borrowed. The domains which emerged as an outcome of the thematic analysis of the texts included: Education; health science; science, engineering and technology; business; food and drink; media and culture; war and arms; animals and livestock; drug and alcohol; road and transport; and fashion, cosmetics, and toiletries. In the following section, we present these findings in more detail.

## 3. Findings

### 3.1. Nature of lexical borrowing from English into Bangla short stories

Our analysis revealed 194 English words, which have been borrowed from the English language into five selected Bangla short stories. As illustrated in Table 1, words with Bangla equivalent constituted the major trend with 112 English words (57.73%). This category was followed by 40 words with close Bangla equivalent (20.26%) and 35 words without Bangla equivalents (18.04%), respectively. Hybridised words were less common in the Bangla short stories, with only seven examples (3.61%). Table 1 below presents the words that have been identified along with the categories.

**Table 1.** The number and nature of English lexical borrowings into Bangla short stories

Nature of words	List of words	No. of words
Words with Bangla equivalents	School, college, school master, promotion, class, hostel, training, result, institute, certificate, channel, miss, maintenance, telephone, north Bengal, India, Belgian, westernised, natural museum, band, film line, serial, film, cinema, scene, outdoor, clash, trench, camp, damned-rifle, air gun, regiment, make, believe, centre stage, bright star, produce, airport, left, right, disturb, non-ferrous, rationing, electronic, charge, engine, cell, engineer, assistant, privately, personally, boring, cigarette, nostalgia, court-manner, office, management, manager, party, prize, prized position, line, hunting, metal, order, fountain pen, state, energy, forest, gorilla, vampire, hippopotamus, pattern, refreshed, bracket, soap case, carpet, roast, drink, lime juice, dinner, tube well, cup, try, pocket, silk, honeymoon, plot, seat, chair, dressing room, load, hopeless, good conduct, devil luck, thanks, night, keeper, flash, postmaster, post office, benefactor, unreasonable, temperature, brain, nurse, daktar<doctor, driver, train, inhibition, nombor<number, farce.	112 (57.73%)
Words without Bangla equivalents	British, Coat, tie, march, howitzer zeppelin, piano, rail station, metro train, bathtub, tray, half-pant, whisky, alcohol, saccharin, TV, NRI, internet, lawn, glamour, shooting, pistol, rifle, rail line, rail, pitch, cocoa, coffee, dial, foot, inch<inch, second (unit of time), baptised, spring, card.	35 (18.04%)
Words with close Bangla equivalents	Commanding officer, resort, make-up— take up, damn, air gun, trigger, machine gun, Lewis gun, military line, haversack, battalion, motor, headlight, radium, weld, hotel, lounge, railing, quarter, bathroom, glass, flask, Thank Heavens, shirt, bag, torch, computer, channel, posted, sir, poster, tack, station, parcel, beer, blade, mam, bandage, pump.	40 (20.62%)
Hybridised words	school + শিক্ষক, ই + hoarding, doctor>daktar + ই, Bayonet + পোরা (Bayonet-stuck), কাঠ + pencil (wooden pencil), fit + ফাট (congruous), dinner + টেবিল< table	7 (3.61%)
Total		194

The use of the highest number of English words with Bangla equivalents indicates the Bangla short story writers' preference for English lexis over their Bangla counterparts while borrowing from the English language. The phenomenon also indicates that many borrowings are not entertained to fill in the lexical gap in Bangla; rather, they are seemingly borrowed as they carry power and prestige (as suggested by Kachru's 'dominance hypothesis'). However, the words without Bangla equivalents are borrowed to express concepts and to refer to things for which there are no viable Bangla equivalents (as suggested by Kachru's 'deficit hypothesis'). Although a number of English words used in Bangla can be translated into Bangla, the meanings are not precise. Therefore, instead of using alternative Bangla translated words, English ready-made words are used to maintain the accuracy of their meanings. In this context, Weinreich (1968, p. 57) states, "using ready-made designation is more economical than describing things afresh". Such English words have been represented here as close Bangla equivalents in the present study. It can be argued that this category of words plays an important role in enriching Bangla vocabulary by filling in its lexical 'deficit', in relation to the deficit hypothesis as discussed above. In this enrichment process, however, Bangla seems to have undergone 'Englishisation', in which a happy marriage took place between the language and English. However, as can be seen in Table 1, some English words are combined with the lexical items, collocations, and affixes from Bangla. This phenomenon of hybridisation corresponds with what Kachru conceptualised as 'nativisation' of English.

### 3.2. Domains in which English words were borrowed

The use of English words in the Bangla literature was not frequent in the past (see Chatterjee, 2015). The more Bangla literary texts became modern, the more they received English lexis due to the dominance and spread of English as a global language (Kachru, 2005). In this section, we present our findings in relation to the domains in which English lexical items were accommodated in the selected Bangla short stories. These domains included: health science; Education; business; clothing and wearing; food and drink; science, engineering and technology; media and culture; war and arms; animals and livestock; drugs and alcohol; household; road and transport; fashion, cosmetics, and toiletries; office and management; human nature and attributes; and hotel and restaurants (see Table 2).

**Table 2.** Domains in which English words were borrowed

Domains	Extract	Source Text
Health Science	Extract 1: ব্যান্ডেজটা (bandage) বেঁধে নিই নিজেই (I tied myself the bandage)	Islam, 1933, p. 25
	Extract 2: মানবের মানসিক বল তাহার Brain-এর (মস্তিষ্কের) উপর নির্ভর করে। (The human's mental strength depends on his brain.)	Hosen, 1971, p.419
Education	Extract 3: এখন তার খুড়তুতো ভাইয়ের ছেলেমেয়েরা স্কুলে যায়, (Now her step-brother's sons go to school.)	Gangupaddaya, 2013, p. 2
	Extract 4: সে আনন্দটা এই কাঠ পেন্সিলটার (pencil) সীসা দিয়ে ঐকে দেখাতে পারছি না। (I can't show that joy with this wood pencil lead.)	Nazrul, 1933, p.24
Business	Extract 5: কিন্তু জুতোজোড়া পাঠাল কে? কোথাও অর্ডার (order) দিয়েছিলাম বলেও তো মনে পড়ছে না। (But who sent the pair of shoes? I do not even remember to have placed an order anywhere.)	Gangupaddaya, 2012
Clothing and Wearing	Extract 6: কিছু পথ খরচা বাদে তাহার বেতনের যত টাকা পাইয়াছিলেন পকেট হইতে বাহির করিলেন।…… ভূতপূর্ব পোস্টমাস্টার নিশ্বাস ফেলিয়া হাতে কার্পেটের ব্যাগ ঝুলাইয়া, কাঁধে ছাতা লইয়া, মুটের মাথায় নীল ও শ্বেত রেখায় চিত্রিত টিনের পেরা তুলিয়া ধীরে ধীরে নৌকাভিমুখে চলিলেন। (Except for some way cost, he got out all the money received as salary from his pocket... The former postmaster having breathed out, hanging carpet bag in hand, with an umbrella on his shoulder, keeping a blue and white portmanteau of tin on the head of a porter, moved slowly towards the boat.)	Tagore, 1908, p.7
	Extract 7: কেউ কেউ নাকি আগাগোড়া কালো সিল্কের বোরখায় ঢাকা এক মহিলাকে ধীর পায়ে দোতলার বারান্দায় হাঁটতে দেখেছে, (Someone has seen a woman in a black silk veil walking on the porch of the first floor.)	Gangupaddaya 2013, p. 2
Food and Drink	Extract 8: চা, কফি, কোকো, ওভালটিন, রুটি, মাখন, পনির, চর্বিতে জমাট ঠান্ডা মাংস। কলা থেকে আরম্ভ করে পিচ পর্যন্ত প্রায় দশ রকমের ফল। (Tea, coffee, cocoa, ovaltine, bread, butter, cheese, fat freezing cold. About ten varieties of fruits from banana to peach.)	Gangupaddaya, 2012, p. 12
Science, Engineering, and	Extract 9: ইহার পাতা ছাঁটিয়া তোমাদের ইলেকট্রিক পাখার ফলা (blade) প্রস্তুত হয়। (After trimming the leaves of this tree, the blade of electric fans is made.)	Hosen, 1971, p.418



Technology		
Media and Culture	Extract 10: একটা বড় ফিল্মের পোস্টারে এক যুবতী দু' চোখ দিয়ে হাসছে। (A young woman is smiling with two eyes in a big film poster.)	Gangupaddaya, 2013
War and Arms	Extract 11: বাহবা! ট্রেনের ভিতর একটা ব্যাটালিয়ন মার্চ হচ্ছে। ফ্রান্সের মধুর ব্যান্ডের তালে তালে কি সুন্দর পাগুলো পড়ছে আমাদের। লেফট- রাইট- লেফট! (Wow! A battalion is marching inside the trench. How beautifully our feet are touching the ground in the rhythm of the sweet French band! Left- Right- Left.)	Nazrul, 1933, p. 31
	Extract 12: তাছাড়া গেরা সৈন্যদের মাঝে মাঝে রাইফেল উঁচিয়ে শকুন মারতে দেখা ছাড়া শিকার সম্বন্ধে কোন স্পষ্ট ধারণাই নেই আমার। (Besides, I have no clear idea about hunting without the occasional sight of white soldiers raising rifles.)	Gangupaddaya, 2012
Animals and Livestock	Extract 13: যতদূর মনে হচ্ছিল গরিলা, হিপোপোটামাস, ভ্যাম্পায়ার কোনো কিছুই বাকি নেই এখানে। (As far it seemed, gorillas, hippopotamus, vampires, nothing was left here.)	Gangupaddaya, 2012
Drugs and Alcohol	Extract 13: তবে বিয়ার আনবে? একেবারে মেয়েদের ড্রিন্ক! নেশা হবে না। (Will he, then, bring the beer? It's, however, girls' drink! It does not fit well for addiction.)	Gangupaddaya, 2012
Road and Transport	Extract 14: জঙ্গলের ভেতর ছোট একটা রেললাইন আরো ছোট একটা স্টেশনে গাড়ি থামল। (The car stopped at a small railway station in the jungle.)	Gangupaddaya, 2012
Office and Management	Extract 15: সকালে একটা পার্সেল এসে পৌঁছেছে। (A parcel arrived in the morning.)	Gangupaddaya, 2012, p. 9
	Extract 16: তাহাকে সমস্ত চার্জ বুঝাইয়া দিয়া পুরাতন পোস্টমাস্টার গমনোন্মুখ হইলেন। (The old postmaster turned away, rendering all the charges to him)	Tagore, 1908, p. 7
Hotel and restaurants	Extract 17: এখন সেই ভূতের বাড়ির জায়গায় একটি ঝকঝকে রিসর্ট, (Now a sparkling resort is seen to have replaced that ghost house)	Gangupaddaya 2013, p. 2

*Health science* emerged as an important domain in which English lexis was borrowed into Bangla short stories. The influence of the English words, in relation to health, on the modern Bangla short stories is understandable. A report revealed that the United States is the largest single market for medical devices and accounts for about 40 percent of worldwide sales (BMI Research, 2015). Therefore, a large chunk of words used in the domain of *health science* is provided by English. Similarly, *education* is also one of the domains wherein English lexical borrowings are most frequently visible (Truchot, 2002). In this study, we identified a number of English lexis in the domain of education, which included: *school, college, hostel, schoolmaster, result, certificate, fountain pen, library, textbook, packet, dictionary, diary, and promotion*. English is currently considered as the most dominant global language of business and communication (Neeley, 2012; Nunan, 2003). Our analysis also revealed the borrowing of English words in Bangla short stories, which are related to the business domain. Banu and Sussex (2001) opined that in business advertisements and commercial signs, English is mixed with Bangla perceptively to attract consumers and to expose their prestige and image

(see also Kachru, 2005). A significant number of English borrowings were also found under the domain *clothing and wearing*, which included: *pocket, silk, tin, and postmaster*. English lexical items related to the domain of food and drink have also entered into Bangla literature. Several English lexis under this domain, such as *lime juice, roast, dinner, canteen, coffee, ovaltine, cocoa, and peach*, were identified. The domain of *science, engineering, and technology* in Bangla received a significant number of words. Thus, words such as *the engine, engineer, electronic, metal, temperature, cell, blade, and energy* have been identified. English lexical incorporation also appeared in the domain of *media and culture* (see also Begum, 2015). We identified *cinema, film, filmline, centre, stage, scene, hunting, and channel* within the texts. *War and arms*, as a domain, also manifested some borrowings from English lexis. The domain included: *rifle, march, zeppelin, regiment, trench, and camp*. The domain of *animals and livestock* displayed some English lexis. In this domain, *hippopotamus, gorilla, vampire, etc.*, were identified. We also identified lexical borrowings related to the domain of *drug and alcohol*. These included: *cigarettes, whisky, drinks, and alcohol*. The domain of *roads and transport* presented a group of words like *train, rail, railline, railstation, and metro train*. In contemporary Bangladesh, it is an entrenched business culture to use the words or phrases from a prestigious language like English, which is associated with a stylish connotation (Tina, 2014). Hence, in *fashion, cosmetics, and toiletries*, words such as *dressing room* and *soap case* were found. A number of English words related to the domain of *office and management* were also identified. These words included: *office and post office, card, charge, and parcel*. Under the *hotel and restaurant* domain, some words, including *lawn, hotel, lounge, resort, etc.*, were also identified.

#### 4. Discussion

English loan words of various nature, namely, English words with Bangla equivalents, without Bangla equivalents, with close Bangla equivalent and hybridised words, and their spread in multiple domains clearly indicate the breadth of their use in Bangla short stories. These words were seen to be used as several lexical categories, i.e., noun (e.g., chair), compound noun (e.g., film line), verb (e.g., dial), adjective (e.g., non-ferrous), adverb (e.g., privately), etc. Morphologically existing loanwords in Bangla are noun, adjective, conjunction, and interjection in nature (see, for example, Ferdous, 2016). However, the current study identified most of the borrowings as nouns (see also Mostafa & Jamila, 2012). As in Dash et al. (2009), the borrowings found in the present study were again identified as adopted and adapted. The adoption (i.e., without changing their phonological and morphological properties) was seen in the case of some English words such as *tray* and *coffee*. On the contrary, adaptation took place in a number of words like *আফিস* /ʌfɪʃ/ and *পোস্ট আফিস* /post ʌfɪʃ/ as identified in *পোস্টমাস্টার* (postmaster). The adapted borrowings were usually found in classical and older literary texts. For example, in *পোস্টমাস্টার* (postmaster), written in 1891 by Rabindranath Tagore, *আফিস* /ʌfɪʃ/ and *পোস্ট আফিস* /post ʌfɪʃ/ were used as the adapted borrowings of English *office* /'ɒfɪs/ and *post office* /'pəʊst, ɒfɪs/, while *স্কুল*/sku:l/, as used in *অতনু ফিরে যাবে* (Otnu will return), was adopted borrowing.

English words with Bangla equivalents tend to be borrowed when they are deemed to be prestigious, of superior image and status, e.g., *dressing room* (সাজঘর). In Higa's (1979, p.278, as cited in Kachru, 2005, p.103) view, when two cultures come into contact, "if one is more dominant or advanced than the other, the directionality of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual, but from the dominant to the subordinate" (as presupposed by 'dominance hypothesis' of Kachru). This process also points to the hegemony of the English language (see Phillipson, 1992). Some borrowings of this category may also be used to give more straightforward meaning, e.g., *bracket* (দেওয়ালে ঝোলানো তাক). In addition, some English words like *a chair* (কেদারা) reflect

modernisation and sound better in English expression. On the contrary, the words without Bangla equivalents are need-based. The prime motivation for this type of borrowings is to remedy the lexical deficit in Bangla (as suggested by the 'deficit hypothesis' of Kachru). This means they have been borrowed to express concepts and to refer to things for which there are no viable Bangla equivalents, e. g., *bathtubs* and *internet*. The borrowings of this kind are immensely motivated by the "need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts" (Weinreich, 1968, p. 56) when faced with "new areas of cultural knowledge and experience through contact with others" (Winford, 2003, p. 37). The English words with close Bangla equivalents are borrowed to maintain the accuracy of the meaning conveyed by the English lexical items, e.g., *resort* (ভ্রমণ বা বিনোদনের জন্য যাবার জায়গা). In giving the precise meanings, this category also plays an important role to fill in the lexical gap of Bangla. Therefore, English borrowings of this kind are more commonly used than their Bangla counterparts. The borrowings, as discussed above, indicate a gradual 'Englishisation' of Bangla, which seems indispensable for the expansion of its lexicon and the modes of expressions (Kishe, 1994). However, some of the loan blends (i.e., hybridised words) are also identified in the present study. Hybridisation is, indeed, an important way of 'nativisation' of English in local contexts.

Findings reported in this study also indicated that the borrowings took place in multiple domains, including education; health science; science, engineering, and technology; food and drink, clothing and wearing; business, media, and culture; road and transport; war and arms; office and management; drugs and alcohol; hotel and restaurants; animals and livestock, etc. This phenomenon indicates the increasing dominance and the influence of the English language on Bangla short stories. The domains also suggest the evolving nature of the Bangla short stories; for example, the changing social structures with media and science and technology are also reflected in Bangla's creative writings. In this changing context, and particularly in relation to the globalisation of culture, science, and technology, lexical borrowings from other languages are understandable.

English is inseparable from the processes of globalisation. In the context of globalisation, English has significantly influenced Bangladeshi society (Ali & Hamid, 2021). The language has contributed to filling the lexical gap in Bangla, as English is synonymously associated with the advancement of science and technology, modernity, and development in the present world (Phillipson, 1992). In this context, English lexical borrowings are desirable for Bangla to be enriched so that it can fit well for effective communication (Hoque et al., 2018). 20.62% without Bangla equivalent, and 18.04% close Bangla equivalent lexical borrowings from English, reported in this study, suggest the contribution of English loan words to the enrichment of Bangla lexical stock (cf. Table 1). However, the vastness of English lexical absorption has practically led to the shifting of a lot of rich Bangla lexis. The use of English words with Bangla equivalents as of the highest (57.73%) of all other categories, undeniably bears a threat to the existence of their Bangla counterparts (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Therefore, the present trend of English lexical incorporation bears two-fold effects on Bangla: positive and negative or "beneficial and exploitative" (Kachru & Nelson, 1996, p.8).

## 5. Conclusions

English has had an unprecedented spread in the context of globalisation (Phillipson, 1992). In this context, English has left noticeable impacts on Bangla. The impact, as reported in this study, can be both useful and negatively consequential. To introduce modernised and new conceptual ideas and the ideas related to science and technology wherein Bangla requires words, English loan words may be beneficial. However, in the areas and fields where there are available Bangla words, borrowing English lexis seems to be more fashionable than a necessity. Although the number of English loan words is not so large in comparison with the number of Bangla lexical stock, the gradual

Englishisation may be alarming. We emphasise that the findings reported in this study have implications for different stakeholders. In the first place, the findings may inform the Bangla short story writers about the nature of their linguistic practices, notably highlighting how such practices contribute to the dominance of the English (Phillipson, 1992). Secondly, the study has implications for education, particularly in relation to the courses and university degrees, which teach Bangla and English literature. These courses may be used to inform students as well as future creative writers about the lexical borrowings, particularly explicating how such borrowing practices may contribute to local languages in either positive or negative ways.

## 6. Ethics Committee Approval

The authors confirm that the study reported in this paper did not include any human participants so no ethics approval was required according to the research integrity rules in their countries (Date of Confirmation: 08.03.2021).

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