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The Nature and Extent of English Lexical Borrowings into Bangla: An Investigation into selected Modern Bengali Novels and Short Stories

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ABSTRACT

English lexical borrowings are a common manifestation in Bangla. Modern Bengali literary texts like novels and short stories, likewise, display a wide range of English lexis. The observation of the phenomenon has motivated the present researchers to move forward with the study of five modern Bengali novels and five short stories in order to explore the borrowings in a variety of natures and extents and their consequent impact on Bangla. After a careful collection of English borrowings from the texts, the borrowings have been categorized as with Bengali equivalents, without Bengali equivalents, with close Bengali equivalents and hybridized. The findings show the depth and breadth of English lexis with about 65% English lexis with Bengali equivalents, 19% without Bengali equivalents, 13% with close Bengali equivalents and 4% hybridized observed in several domains. The phenomena show their consequent impact on Bangla. As a result, it is believed that many English loans are gradually getting integrated into Bangla. In many cases, they are additions to Bengali lexical stock, but in many other cases they are replacing Bengali equivalents. It is feared that replacement of Bengali lexis by the English counterparts may contribute to shifting of them. Thereby, this phenomenon may produce mixed impacts-lexically both enriching and impoverishing Bangla. Methodologically, the present research is based on a qualitative content analysis under a descriptive framework. Finally, the study likes to recommend finding ways to guide English borrowings, specifically for enriching and safeguarding the rich heritage of Bangla, particularly in literary texts like novels and short stories in Bangladesh.

Keywords: *Lexical Borrowing, Literary Texts, English Lexis, Bengali Modern Novels, Short Stories*

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1. Introduction

Lexical borrowing is quite a natural phenomenon in all languages, as civilization advances, and societies and nations come in contact with one another through trade, political structure, religious campaign, scientific and technological advancement, globalization, etc. Though English itself has borrowed its lexicon from many other languages, it is the most widely borrowed language in the world. Now, the use of English lexis has become quite common in almost all distinguished languages, following the advancement of English nations through trade, political structure,

science and technology. In Bangla, too, English lexis has been given more places in every sphere of modern Bengali life, particularly in socio-cultural and linguistic arenas to get the language renovated with the expression of new ideas in various specialized fields like science and technology. Therefore, borrowing from English into Bangla is a desirable phenomenon and sign of linguistic enrichment to fit it well for effective communication competency and to make up-to-date for global advancement. However, the extensiveness of English lexical incorporation has virtually led to shifting of



many of rich Bengali lexis. It is feared that this trend is more likely to affect the very identity and rich heritage of Bangla.

1.1 Borrowings

Borrowing is the practice of incorporating elements of one language into another to make them parts of latter's lexical stock: these are called loanwords and the process is called linguistic borrowing resulted from language contact. But certain level of bilingualism between donor and recipient languages is needed for loanwords to be occurred (Campbell 1998, pp. 57-58). Sarkar (2012) states that borrowing is a consequence of cultural, sometimes political contact between two language communities. People may borrow words from another language to express a concept or describe an object for which there is no obvious word available in the language they are using. This kind of borrowing involves single words – mainly nouns – and is motivated by lexical need (Holms 2013, p.43). However, Myers-Scotton (1992 and 2006) proposes two types of borrowing: *cultural borrowings* (new to the recipient language culture) and *core borrowings* (lexical forms that have viable equivalents in the recipient language). She thinks the core borrowed item of the giver language has a higher symbolic value than that of the recipient language, and the social prestige associated with the donor language motivates the non-integration (e.g., phonological) of any type of borrowed item. Therefore, it is observed that educated bilingual speakers may practice elite closure by consciously pronouncing borrowed items as closely to the originals as possible. In this case, the source language community has some advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth that makes the objects and ideas it brings as desirable and useful to the borrowing language community. In this context, two hypotheses by Kachru (2005), i.e. 'deficit' and 'dominance' are worth mentioning. Whereas 'deficit hypothesis' proposes borrowings in order to fill the lexical gap of the recipient language, 'dominance hypothesis' entails borrowings as they carry prestige. It is observed that both hypothetical situations of borrowings from English are present in Bangla.

1.2 English Lexical Borrowings in Bangla

Regarding the spread of English in Indian sub-continent during the regime of British colonization, Ferdous (2013) opines that after establishing the Supreme Court in Kolkata in 1775, learning English was considered necessary. Because of having no

institutional education, people taught and learnt English language privately in many ways. Gradually the invasion of English words was increased in the vocabulary of Bengali people. Seeing English language learning very profitable, many people started to open small institutions to teach English. Besides, in 1817 many Bengali people got the opportunity to learn English after establishing Kolkata School Book Society. However, in spite of the British colonialism having been ended in 1947 through the partition of India and Pakistan, the use of English language remained the same in Indian subcontinent (Ferdous 2013). After the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, Legislation established Bangla as the language to be used for state purposes: "the state language of the republic is to be Bangla" (Part 1, Article 3). For about five years after independence, Bengali nationalism expressed itself in a wave of creative renaming of shops and industries in Bangla. Gradually, however, English has been re-entering the life of the former colonial nation at various levels, and in various forms (Banu and Sussex 2001). Therefore, English lexical incorporation is clearly demonstrated in Bangladeshi lifestyle, Bengali media, modern Bengali literature, etc. The present study shows interest in some selected modern Bengali novels and short stories. It is identified that the texts have entertained a good number of English lexis many of which have viable Bengali equivalents.

Hence, the English borrowings identified can be perceived in terms of words having a) Bengali equivalents, b) close Bengali equivalents, c) without Bengali equivalents, and d) hybrid constructions of both languages. To explore into these varied natures of English borrowings, their extent and their consequent impact on Bangla, the present study entailed 5 modern Bengali novels and 5 short stories for textual analysis.

2. English Lexical Borrowings: A Brief Survey

Borrowing of words can go in both directions between the two languages in contact, but often there is an irregularity, i.e. more words go from one side to the other. In this case, the source language community has some advantage of power, prestige and/or wealth that makes the objects and ideas it brings as desirable and useful to the borrowing language community. English, likewise, has achieved an advantageous

position in this globalized world. Therefore, there is a tendency of Englishization among different communities of the world.

In a study, Mohideen (2009) has analyzed the function of English loanwords contributing to enriching Bahasa Melayu vocabulary and facilitating communication as well as their interference in the language by means of textual analysis of selected Bahasa Melayu newspaper articles. She thinks that the tendency of borrowing numerous English words by Bahasa Melayu has stimulated the purists of Bahasa Melayu to feel of threat for the language to lose its identity. In carrying out the research, she selected around 140 articles from various domains including 70 feature articles and 70 editorials from July 2004 to July 2005 for analysis. With the aim of finding out the common reasons for using English loanwords with already Malay equivalents, a separate questionnaire was designed, particularly for the 20 selected newspaper writers and Interviews were also conducted with Bahasa Melayu experts. The researcher categorized the words according to those with equivalents and without equivalents according to their semantic categories to see the significance of English loan words in Bahasa Melayu and find out the areas in which the words have influence. The findings revealed that the English loanwords were generally preferred over their Malay equivalents. She thinks the loanwords identified also reflect social, political, educational and mental development as well as changes in trend and lifestyle and cultural influence in a community. This study revealed that there are several linguistic factors such as semantic factors as well as extra-linguistic factors such as pragmatic, social and psychological factors and modern development that lead to the borrowing and preference for English words.

Mohideen's study goes neck and neck with the present research in many respects. Like her observation with Bahasa Melayu, the researchers of this paper realize that Bangla entertains English lexical borrowings with Bengali equivalents and without Bengali equivalents and close Bengali into its lexical stock. But the present research discover another type, i.e. hybridized. The users' attitude towards preferring English borrowings over the native equivalents is observed in both studies of Mohideen and the present researchers. Therefore, both studies sense threats to the native equivalents of English borrowings being incorporated into them. However,

Mohodeen's study focuses on the significant roles the English loans play in Bahasa Melayu, whereas the focus of the present study is the impact of English lexical borrowings on Bangla through their spread in various natures and extents.

Like the present study, Sedeeq (2018), in a quantitative analysis of the use of English and Arabic loanwords, talk about the impact of English loanwords in the central Kurdish dialect using Kurdish-writing articles from the Xebat, one of the most widest-read newspapers. He observes that though formerly Arabic loan words were entertained to fill the lexical gap of the dialect, presently the frequency of the use of English loanwords began to increase due to political and economic changes in Kurdish society as the result of regular contact of Kurdish and English languages. The consequence of language contact is also observed in the phonological changes in English loanwords, even though Kurdish authors have had the tendency to use the loanwords in closer to English than to Arabic. The article also conducts with the procedural analysis of orthographic adaptation of the loanwords. However, the results indicates that the majority of these loanwords are adapted to the structure of this dialect of the Kurdish language. The phenomena of increasing use of English loanwords with adaptation and without adaptation are clearly present in the present study too. But the focus of the present study is identifying English lexical borrowings in varying natures and extents and their consequent impact on Bangla, whereas the focus of the Sedeeq's study is the impact of English on Central Kurdish dialect in comparison with Arabic.

The above studies show that loanwords are a universal phenomenon, and are found in all languages with varying regular rates (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). English is contextually the most contributing language in supplying borrowings to other languages of the present world.

Though most recent studies could not be found, some earlier studies on English lexical borrowings into Bangla have been presented in the present article. Such in an empirical research dealing with naturalization of English words into Bangla, Dash et al. (2013) have tried to know how several modern English words and terms crept into the modern Bengali vocabulary within last few decades, and how these lexical items are gradually replacing the



existing Bengali words and terms as well as increasing the total number of words of the existing Bengali vocabulary to fill in the lexical gap to meet the new requirements of the new age. To accomplish the research they have used a body of modern Bengali prose texts along with a catalogue of English lexis collected from the texts of last few years.

They have observed that these borrowings naturalized in Bangla take place in two broad ways: adoption and adaptation, at three levels (a) phonology, (b) morphology, and (c) lexicon. In simple observation, adoption usually takes place for those words (e.g., cricket, politics, party, ball, club, cycle, arts, science, sentiment, naughty, etc.), where application of the existing Bengali phonological and morphological processes is not much feasible. On the other hand, adaptation takes place for those words (e.g., benci < bench, tebil < table, lampha < lamp, anti < aunt, etc.) where, borrowed English words have been undergone with phonological and morphological operations applicable in Bengali.

According to them, the majority of English words entered into Bengali lexical stock have come from the fields of medicine, science and technology, business and commerce, dress and ornaments, transport and tourism, entertainment, games and sports, communication, and administration, etc.

It is observed that Dash et al.'s (2013) focus is on the enrichment of Bengali lexical stock through naturalization of English words and terms. Unlike the current research, they did not mention the fear of Bengali lexical shift due to the incorporation of English counterparts. But their study, like the present study, analyzed both adopted and adapted forms of English lexis. Though their study is based on Indian Bengali context, history of emergence of Bangla in both India and Bangladesh and spread of English in whole Indian sub-continent are almost identical. Many of domains wherein English lexis is identified mostly in the present study are also observed in their study.

Similarly, Mostafa and Jamila (2012) identified and discussed 500 English loan words collected from different Bengali short stories, novellas, daily newspapers and oral discourse, such as talk shows, interviews and news broadcasts on TV and radio. They have written down them whenever they heard them in daily conversation in

university, bank, company, shopping center, etc. and analyzed them with their impact, both positive and negative, on Bangla as well as on English used as a second language.

They also observe that besides the use of English loanwords in everyday communication in Bangla, their use increases in academic, commercial, bureaucratic, political and social settings. Since these loanwords are integrated into Bangla, they are naturally pronounced with a Bengali accent for which sometimes any native speaker may misunderstand a non-native (Bengali) speaker. And this use of English is neither English nor Bangla. They also observe sometimes some loan words are found to be spread easily as native equivalents. They identified the words in several thematic categories. A few examples with their thematic categories include: Food and drink e.g. pizza, pastry, coke, toast, burger, coffee, apple, etc.; clothing, accessories and cosmetics, e.g. shoe, sandals, bracelet, lip-gel, cream, powder, face wash, make up, clip, chain, shirt, pants, coat, tie, suit, pocket, purse, etc.; dwellings and buildings, e.g. chamber, office, garage, canteen, pillar, school, college, university, court, theatre, hospital, bank, building, flat, hotel, motel, chamber, etc.; sports and games, e.g. football, cricket, player, innings, volleyball, hockey, series, etc.; education and school life, e.g. class, serial number, pencil, pen, box, scale, pass, fail, sir, madam, master, blackboard, duster, etc.; science and technology, e.g. remote, fan, wireless, robot, network, memory card, internet, website, massage, fax, plane, television, rice cooker, inch, feet, email, hardware, software, etc. and entertainment, e.g. cinema, disco, band show, fashion show, magazine, circus, cinema, disco, concert, cartoon, Facebook, album, talk show etc.

Interestingly, like the data sources of the current research, data sources of all above studies are literary texts, though Mostafa and Jamila's (2012) data source also includes some oral texts. Whereas focus of the studies by Mohideen (2009), Sedeeq (2018) and Mostafa and Jamila (2012) is the impact of English loan words, Dash et al.'s (2013) focus is the enrichment of Bengali lexical stock through naturalization of English lexis into Bangla.

However, focus in the present treatise is the analysis of varied natures of English borrowings and their extent, and their

consequent impact on Bangla through exploration of 5 modern Bengali novels and 5 short stories. The studies by Dash et al (2013), and Mostafa and Jamila (2012), notably, paved the way for the present research.

3. Methodology

Current study was undertaken to recognize the nature and extent of English lexical borrowings and their consequent impact on Bangla, following the qualitative content analysis method under a descriptive framework in line with Mayring's (2000) model and Leedy and Ormrod's (2015) method. To identify the borrowings, the present study used lexical data gathered from a collection of textual data, i.e. 5 novels and 5 short stories of modern Bangla. Though they are not representative of all literary texts, two genres of the texts, i.e., novels and short stories of different periods were collected to ensure validity. The texts were selected on the basis of their reputation and popularity of the literary figures in the respective fields and availability of the texts in the internet. Therefore, the texts were collected as soft copies from the internet. The texts are dealt with various topics, namely, importance of Bangla and Bengali literature, love, politics of university teachers, war, cruelty and brutality for luxurious hunting, etc. The borrowings were categorized and analyzed in terms of words having a) Bengali equivalents, b) close Bengali equivalents, c) without Bengali equivalents, and d) hybrid constructions of both Bangla and English. This categorization is termed as nature of borrowings in the research.

In categorizing the words, the present study has had the privilege to take the support of Bangla Academy English-Bengali Dictionary, Bangla Academy Byabharik Bangla Abhidhan (Bangla Academy Functional Bengali Dictionary) and Google translate to extract their meanings in order to know if they have their counterparts in Bangla. Therefore, the words found with direct meanings in these three sources, e.g., headmaster has been categorized as English words with Bengali equivalents, while the words not found with Bengali meanings, rather English words were written as meanings, e.g., compass have been categorized as English words without Bengali equivalents. Accordingly, the words which were found with near meanings, e.g., 'bag' have been categorized as English words with close Bengali equivalents and combined words of both Bangla and English

have been categorized as hybridized words, e.g., note-বই (notebook).

Categorization and analysis also go with identifying the borrowings in several domains termed as extent of borrowings in the research. The borrowings have also been discussed in terms of adoption (with modification) adaptation (without modification), having polysemous meaning, using both Roman and Bengali scripts, etc. Lastly, the consequent impacts (both beneficial and detrimental) have been discussed as well.

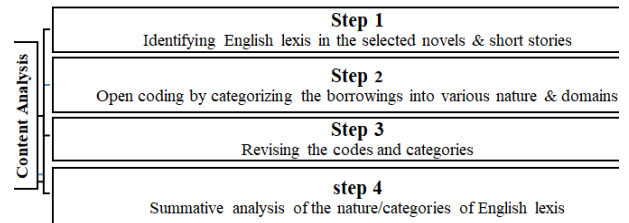


Figure 1: Qualitative Content Analysis

4. Findings

4.1 Nature of Borrowings

Modern Bengali literary texts like novels and short stories have been found with a good number of English lexical borrowings in terms of their nature and extent.

In order to measure the nature of borrowing, the English loans have been grouped into four categories: Words with Bengali equivalents, Words without Bengali equivalents, Words with close Bengali equivalents and Hybridized words (words formed of components from English and Bangla). Whereas total number of English lexis gathered from 5 novels and 5 short stories embody 793, net total of them (shown in figure 1) is 737 which is after deducting the overlapping words within the novels.

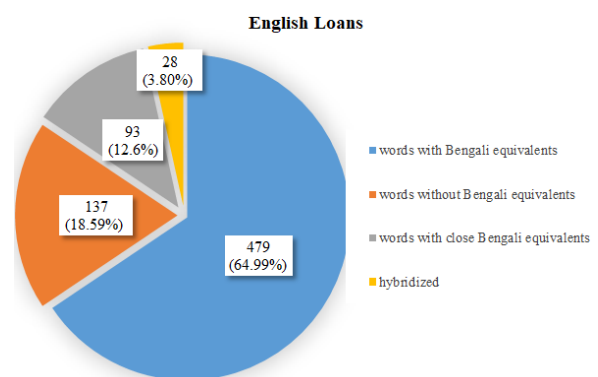


Figure 2: English Loans in Bengali Novels & Short stories

In the chart (Figure 2), it is demonstrated that English words having Bengali equivalents represent 479 words constituting around 65%, while without Bengali equivalents represent 137 showing about 19% and close Bengali equivalents



embody 93 which is about 13%, whereas (combined form of English & Bengali components) 28 is found as hybridized representing about 4% of English loans identified in modern novels and short stories.

4.2 Categories of Borrowings in Various Domains (Extent of Borrowings)

Chatterjee (2015, p. 76) observes, “Unlike modern Bengali, we find only eight English words in the 1860 play and none in the 1854 play. The English words occurring in the 1860 play are school, college, magistrate, inspector, government, mark, commission and doctor.” However, among the novels of modern period, particularly 20th and 21th centuries, the number of English loans may vary from domain to domain. The present study observes that গাভী বিস্তান্ত (Cow facts) and শেষের কবিতা (The last poem) contain more English lexis than কবি অথবা দণ্ডিত অপুরুষ-০১ (Poet or Punished Unman-01) and শালিক পাখিটি উড়েছিল (Myna Bird Got Flid) do.

Therefore, in order to measure the extent of English lexical borrowings in various domains, the study has attempted to analyze them according to the domains the borrowings occur in.

In the study of Dash et al. (2013), several fields of borrowings, namely, medicine, science and technology, business and commerce, dress and ornaments, transport and tourism, entertainment, games and sports, and administration, etc. have been analyzed. In the study of Mostafa and Jamila (2012) also English words have been discussed in several thematic categories, namely, science and technology, entertainment, food and drink, clothing, sports and game, education and school life, etc. Though in different names, both studies have discussed some similar domains. Many of them are identical to the following domains.

The domain of **Health Science** makes use of a good number of English words, of which words like brain, nurse, temperature, dentist, veterinary, surgeon, thermometer, nurse, surgery, hysteria, hospital/haspatal and doctor/daktar have been identified with Bengali equivalents. Many equivalent words are also found to have interchangeably been used in the novels. For example, both microscope and অনুবীক্ষণ যন্ত্র (*anubiksan jantra*) as in আজ হিমুর বিয়ে (Himu Marries Today), ‘menstruation pad’ and পুরিন্দা (*purinda*) as in গাভী বিস্তান্ত (the cow facts)

have been interchangeably used with the respective counterparts. Some English words, namely, tablet, plastic surgery, ambulance, HIV, and heart line have been identified as without Bengali equivalents. Words like bandage, typhoid, pharmacy, tube, saline and injection have been identified to have close Bengali equivalents. However, doctor > daktar +ই is found as hybridized.

The domain of **Education** makes use of a good number of English lexical borrowings. Of the words identified in this domain, words like school, school master, college, hostel, result, class eight, high school, certificate, fountain pen, library, packet, text book, diary, dictionary, headmaster, third class, break of study, text book, teachers’ club, public library, house tutor, department, academic council, college, training, principal, university, intermediate, faculty, tense, number/nombor, gender, panel, meeting, formula, professor, term, chancellor, calculation, formula, algebra, chemistry, botany, library, packet, text book, diary, etc. are found with Bengali equivalent. However, words like tutorial, MA, SSC, rubber, test, doctorate, session jot, compass, foolscap, scotch tape, foolscap, etc. have no proper Bengali equivalents, whereas words like calculus, sir, academy, Olympiad, pamphlet, and pass mark can be identified with close equivalents and school + শিক্ষক (school teacher) and কাঠ+pencil (wooden pencil), note-বই (notebook), master-নি (lady teacher), professor-ই (teaching as a professor), schoolmaster-ই (teaching as a school teacher), কাঠ-pencil (wooden pencil), etc. are hybridized.

It is to be noted that ‘test’ is found in the domain of Health science, too. And words like calculation, formula, algebra, chemistry, botany, compass, Olympiad, etc. can also be under the domain of science.

In this domain, too, words like department and বিভাগ (*bibhag*), and promotion and পদোন্নতি (*padunnati*) are found to have interchangeably used in গাভী বিস্তান্ত (the cow facts). In the same way, the alternative use of dictionary and its Bengali counterpart অভিধান (*abhidhan*) have been noticed in আজ হিমুর বিয়ে (Himu Marries Today).

A significant number of English borrowings are found in **Clothing** and **Wearing**. Some of the Bengali equivalent English lexis include glamour, dressing room, pocket, garments, cloak, frock, skirt,

ring, bracelet, gold, sandal, and slipper. In the same way, some interchangeably used words like 'pocket' and its Bengali equivalent জেব (*jeb*), and 'tailoring house' and দর্জির দোকান have been identified in শালিক পাখি উড়েছিল (Myna Bird Got Flied) and in গাভী বিতান্ত (the cow facts) respectively. Some English words having no Bengali equivalent represent 'coat', 'tie', 'half-pant', and 'shirt', 'bag', blouse, three-piece, suit, jacket, t-shirt, jeans, keds, and pump shoe; while fit-ফিট (congruous), lace-ওয়লা (with lace), and full-হাতা (long sleeve) are identified as hybridized words, and boot is identified as close-Bengali equivalent.

In the domain of **Hotel** and **Restaurant**, restaurant, five star, cabin are identified with Bengali equivalents; while hotel, lawn, lounge and resort, bathroom, lounge can be labelled as to be close Bengali equivalents and 'suite' is not found with any Bengali equivalent. The interchangeably used *Hotel* and its close Bengali equivalent পাহাশালা have been identified in শেষের কবিতা (The last poem).

It is worth mentioning that 'cabin' is also seen in the domain of **Health science**.

Food and **Drink** is another domain wherein English lexis is markedly noticeable. Hence, lunch, breakfast, delicious, lime juice, roast and dinner, etc. are the ones which can be identified as with Bengali equivalents. Words like cocoa, coffee, pudding, biskut/biscuit, chop-cutlet, coke, soda, etc. are found without having any Bengali counterparts; while 'caterer, parcel, canteen, etc. are found to be close Bengali equivalents and dinner- *tebil* (dinner table) is found as hybridized.

In the same way, the domain of **Politics** and **Government** is seen to make use of words like government, power, politics, politician, secretariat, democracy, misgovernment, etc. as with Bengali equivalents.

In the field of **Building** and **Construction**, words, namely, monumental, building, tender, contractor, construction, structure, etc. are identified with Bengali equivalents; while 'compound' is identified with close-Bengali equivalent, 'cement' is identified as without Bengali equivalent, and flat-বাড়ি (flat house) and head-মিস্ত্রি (head mason/carpenter) are found as hybridized.

The field of **Business**, **Banking** and **Money** depends on English borrowings to a greater extent. Hence, the words like trading, labor, service, production, loan, contract, trading, report, earnest money, stolen

property, finance, cash, tender, economics, business management are found with their Bengali equivalents; whereas without equivalents show company and bank, and cash-বাক্স (cash box) is identified as hybridized.

In the domain of **Science**, **Engineering** and **Technology** words like engineer, metal, engine, temperature, electronic, cell, energy, engineering, civil engineering, district engineer, chief engineer, magnifying glass, telephone and architect have been identified as some of the Bengali equivalent English words. While without equivalents represent mobile telephone set, IQ level and oxygen; mobile and call are identified as close Bengali equivalent.

Words like office, officer, post, chairman, principle, managing director, club, register, business administration, and caretaker are observed as with Bengali equivalents in the field of **Administration**, **Office** and **Management**; but desk, commissioner, IG are not found with viable Bengali equivalents, whereas 'committee' can be labelled as with close Bengali equivalent. It is also observed that some equivalent words are interchangeably used, e.g. 'promotion' and পদোন্নতি in the novel গাভী বিতান্ত (the cow facts).

Sometimes, desk, as mentioned in the domain is found in metathetical form, i.e. *deks*, particularly in oral text.

The field of **Sports** and **Recreation** reveals a good number of Bengali equivalent English words such as scene, film, film line, cinema, hunting, cinema, center stage, scenery, clown, lyric, etc.; whereas words like piano, guitar, channel, tennis bat, and circus are found without viable Bengali equivalents and football and race can be expressed with close Bengali equivalents.

However, the word 'channel' may be with Bengali equivalent, if it is meant for 'river basin, though it does not have viable Bengali equivalent if it is meant 'TV channel'.

In the field of **War** and **Arms**, too, English borrowings are observed. In this domain, trench, and camp are identified as with Bengali equivalents. In the same way, commanding officer, machine gun, air gun, Lewis gun, haver sack, military line, battalion, pistol, trigger, rifle, damned-rifle, etc. are identified with near meanings in Bangla. However, words like revolver rifle, march, zeppelin, regiment, etc. cannot be



expressed with any Bengali counterparts and bayonet-পোরা (Bayonet-stuck) is hybridized.

The field of **Animals** and **Livestock** displays a good number of English lexis. Thus, hippopotamus, gorilla, vampire, dog, puppy, tropical cattle, dairy farm, and livestock, etc. are the ones which can be labelled as English words with Bengali equivalents. Accordingly, the alternative use of ‘puppy’ and ডগের বাচ্চা (dog’s child) is observed in আজ হিমুর বিয়ে (Himu Marries Today). Hence, the use of ‘dog’ with Bengali বাচ্চা (infant) instead of its Bengali equivalent কুকুর is interesting. The word ‘tabby’ is identified without Bengali equivalent, while the close equivalents represent words like mew mew and bulldog.

The field of **Machine**, **Machineries** and **Electronics** makes use of a great number of English lexical borrowings. While washing machine, air cooler, knot, pipe are observed with their Bengali counterparts; words like dynamo, fax, charger, photocopier, transformer, microphone, fridge, and camera are not found with any Bengali counterparts. However, motor, pump, lift and steering wheel can be expressed with near meanings in Bangla.

Some English words are also found in the domain of **Drug** and **Alcohol**. Thus, Bengali equivalent lexis embody words like cigarette, tobacco, and drug addict. However, ‘cigarette’ and its Bengali equivalent চুরুট/tfurut/ have been interchangeably used in শেষের কবিতা (The last poem), a novel and in অতনু ফিরে যাবে (Otnu will Return), a short story respectively. The use of চুরুট/tfurut/ is also observed in টোপ (Bait). However, traditionally চুরুট/tfurut/ was a kind of dried tobacco leaf shaped coarsely into cigarette for smoking. Some without Bengali equivalent English lexis represent aphim<opium, beer, whisky, whereas words like অফিমওয়ালী (opium-wali=opium holding woman) and cocaine-টোকেন are hybridized. Some without Bengali equivalent English lexis represent ‘whisky’ and ‘alcohol’.

In the **Household** domain, too, the use of English lexis like pan, cup, carpet, basin, bracket, and bottle, cup, and bottle as with Bengali equivalents is noticed; whereas words, namely, bathtub, tray, flask, coffee set, sink, coffee set cannot be expressed with any Bengali counterparts and the words like lighter, television, flask, and glass are identified with close Bengali equivalents.

The field of **Roads** and **Transport** contains a huge number of English lexis. Thus, words like road, highway, aircraft, train, and railway are found with their Bengali counterparts, but words, namely, rail station, rail line, rail, metro train, pajero, CNG (taxi), truck, tyre, garage, and pitch are found without Bengali equivalents and words like van, station, puncture, etc. can be labelled as with close Bengali equivalents and motor-গাড়ি (motor car), and baby-ওয়াল (baby taxi driver) are found as hybridized.

In the area of **Fashion**, **Cosmetics** and **Toiletries**, words like dressing room, soap case, style, fashion, and cream are found with Bengali equivalents; while some close-Bengali equivalents include bag, make-up—take up, beauty parlour, bag, vanity bag, fashionable, etc. Here, unlike English, *take up* is observed to have used as a reduplication of *make-up* like the use of reduplication in Bangla. While glamour, paste and bob are without any Bengali counterpart; fit-ফ্যাট (*fat*), fashion-দুরস্ত (*durasta*) and Cream-ট্রিম (*trim*) are found as hybridized.

However, some English words like ‘cream’ has got more than one meaning (polysemous) in Bangla. For example, ‘cream’ means either ননী (*nani*, i.e. butter) or an item of toiletries. Unlike English, Bangla is enriched with reduplications therefore, some English words are hybridized with Bengali reduplication like Cream-ট্রিম (*trim*)

The area of **House**, **Housings** and **Dwellings** represents words like housing, hostel, mess, dining room, guestroom, waiting room, salon, and bedroom as with Bengali equivalents, while ‘flat’ is without Bengali equivalent. However, ‘room’ and its Bengali correspondent কক্ক (*Kakka*) have been used alternately in গাভী বিত্তান্ত (the cow facts)

A good number of English lexical borrowings are identified in the domain of **Furniture**. Several furniture items, namely, bracket, chair, easy chair, and drawer are observed as with Bengali equivalents. Along the same vein, some Bengali expressions কেদারা (chair) and আরাম কেদারা (easy chair) which are rarely used presently are identified in শেষের কবিতা (The last poem). However, chair, easy chair and drawer appear to be more impressive than their Bengali equivalents. On the contrary, sofa, desk, tebil<table, benchi<bench are

identified as without Bengali counterparts, while dressing- *tebil* < table is hybridized.

Here also it is recognized that English words like 'bracket' has got more than one meaning (polysemous) in Bangla. For example, the word stands for either *দেওয়ালে ঝোলানো তাক* (hanging wall rack) or *বন্ধনী* (parenthesis) in Bangla. Thus, the word can, even though, be expressed in Bangla, it enriches Bangla, giving two fold meanings. Having so many equivalents in Bangla of an English word indicates the richness of Bangla as well.

The domain of **Tree** and **Plantation** contains some Bengali equivalent English words like chrysanthemum, and mushroom, whereas 'pine' cannot be expressed with any Bengali term and head-*মালি* (*mali*= gardener) is found as hybridized.

The domain of **Law** and **Order** contain a good number of English words. The literary texts used in the present treatise identify words like attorney, case, rule, court, dismiss, order as with Bengali equivalents, while the word 'barrister' is found without Bengali equivalent and the word 'magistrate' can be identified as with near meaning in Bangla.

English lexical borrowings are also seen in the **Units of Measurement**. Thus, minute, second, feet, *inchi* < inch, etc. are identified as without Bengali equivalent English words in this domain.

A significant number of borrowings are observed in the domain of **Human Nature** and **Attributes**. Some of the Bengali equivalent attributes are 'manners', 'famous', 'sentimental', 'jealous', 'tight, stupid, and old.

Apart from above mentioned domains, some borrowings can also be listed in various other (**miscellaneous**) domains. Of them, some are related to pipe and fittings, some others go with greetings and leave taking, etc. In the list, words like water, gas and shower are in the category of Bengali corresponding English words, whereas relativity of names, and plus point are not found with any Bengali counterparts. Here besides personal enquiry to find out the equivalent Bengali words of English borrowings used in Bengali literary texts, some Bengali equivalent English words are also seen to be used interchangeably in some novels. Thus, 'hello' and its Bengali counterpart *ওহে* have been found in *আজ হিমুর বিয়ে* (Himu Marries Today) and *adieu* along with *বিদায়* have been observed in the short story Hena. Similarly, the use of

compound nouns, e.g. 'intuitive power' and its Bengali purport *আধ্যাত্মিক ক্ষমতা*, and 'Hard Nut' and *কঠিন বাদাম* in the novel *আজ হিমুর বিয়ে* (Himu Marries Today) is worth mentioning.

5. Discussion

5.1 Nature and Extent of Borrowings

The present study is conducted to identify the nature of borrowings and how they are spread in several domains. The findings demonstrate four categories of borrowings: English words with Bengali equivalents, English words without Bengali equivalents, English words with close Bengali equivalents and crossbred words of Bangla and English.

Like Dash et al (2013), the present researchers also notice both adopted and adapted borrowings. Thus, words like reaction, pocket, skirt, demography, chair, society, etc. are the ones which are being used in Bangla without any major modification. In this list, some compound words, namely, dressing room, soap case, school master, tube well, fountain pen, natural museum, post office, and high school are also identified.

Therefore, a good number of English lexis are found to be used in Bangla with non-integrated English phonological characteristics. They are seemingly produced as closely to the linguistic characteristics of English. The practice is usually observed in the use of elite and educated class. Many of them have viable Bengali equivalents. Thus, school, doctor, hospital are some examples which are very frequent and common in everyday use of Bangla. Therefore, the use of their orthographic adapted forms like *ishkul*, *hashpatal*, and *daktar* are hardly noticed. Some of them are also noticeable in some novels. For example, 'glass' was identified in *গাভী বিস্তার* (Cow facts), and 'number' was seen in *আজ হিমুর বিয়ে* (Himu Marries Today) and *গাভী বিস্তার* (Cow facts).

Some English lexis are used with polysemous meanings in Bangla. For example, English words like 'cream' has got more than one meaning (polysemous) in Bangla. For example, 'cream' means either *ননী* (*nani*, i.e. butter) or an item of toiletries. Likewise, 'bracket' has got more than one meaning in Bangla. For example, the word stands for either (hanging wall rack) or (parenthesis) in Bangla. Thus, the word can, even though, be expressed in Bangla, it enriches Bangla, giving two fold meanings. Having so many equivalents in Bangla of an



English word indicates the richness of Bangla as well.

Some other English lexis are seen in Bangla directly with Roman scripts. Examples of this kind include Hard Nut, intuitive power, stand by, positive, dog, puppy, one, two, stop, mutation, yes, sir and a number of initialisms, namely, KLM, HIV, PhD as in আজ হিমুর বিয়ে (Himu Marries Today).

According to Dash et al (2013), English loan words are from the fields of medicine, science and technology, business and commerce, dress and ornaments, transport and tourism, entertainment, games and sports, communication, and administration, etc.

5.2 Impact of English Lexical Borrowings on Bangla

The identification of English loans in the selected novels and short stories in various categories like English words with Bengali equivalents (64.99%), without Bengali equivalents (18.59%), with close Bengali equivalent (12.62%) and hybridized words (3.80%) and spread of them in several domains clearly show the natures and extensiveness of their use in Bangla. The use of English words with Bengali equivalents as the highest (64.99%) of all other categories shows the preference of English lexis over Bengali even there are viable Bengali equivalents. The phenomenon clearly shows the English lexical impact on Bangla. Moreover, it has been found that some English lexis of first three categories are common in both novels and short stories. The following table show their nature:

Table 1: English Lexis found common in both novels and short stories

Nature of borrowings	Word list	No. of words	%
1. Words with Bengali equivalents	Promotion, telephone, training, result, engineer, assistant, airport, miss, cigarette, school, hostel, cinema, office, party, chair, certificate, line, order, pocket, cup, thanks, driver, flash, college, daktar<doctor, train, nurse, nombor<number, plot.	29	51.79
2. Words without Bengali equivalents	Rail, coffee, whisky, inchi<inch, spring, tack, mam, and metro train.	8	14.28
3. Words with close Bengali equivalents	Rifle, pitch, pistol, machine gun, shirt, hotel, quarter, sir, station, bathroom, beer, motor, trigger, bag, blade, glass, pump, parcel and canteen.	19	33.93
Total		56	100

Table:1 presents 56 English lexis common in novels and short stories. It is seen that 51.79% words constitute English words with Bengali equivalents, 14.28% words are found as without Bengali

equivalents and 33.93% words show the close Bengali equivalent English words.

It is undenyng that a lot English words enrich Bangla by filling in its lexical gap, particularly in some specialized fields like science and technology (e.g. plastic surgery and microphone), sports (e.g. tennis and badminton), education (doctorate and session jot), etc.

In contrast, many English words are threatening for the existence of their Bengali equivalents. Thus, some Bengali words, namely, *bidyalaya* (school) and *sonod* (certificate) are on board of shifting.

Moreover, some Bengali words are being distorted being influenced by English sound systems. Therefore, the use of some borrowings with mostly native-like pronunciation of English (Mostafa and Jamila, 2012), e.g. school and office, inspite of having their adapted Bengali forms, i.e. /ɪʃku:l/ and /ɔʃfɪʃ/ is a clear demonstration of English lexical impact.

All these phenomena show that English lexical borrowings have two fold impacts on Bangla, enriching and impoverishing Bengali lexical stock.

6. Conclusion

Above analysis shows that modern Bengali novels and short stories accommodate a good number of English lexical borrowings. In introducing modernized and new conceptual ideas and the ideas related to science and technology wherein Bangla falls short of words, English loans may be deemed as beneficial. But in case of the areas and the fields where there are available Bengali equivalents, entertaining English lexis seems to be more of a fashionable rather than for necessity. Though the number of English loans is not so large in comparison with the number of Bengali lexical stock, the flow of insertion of English loans in every day Bangla could be alarming. It is obvious that novels and short stories are the mirror of culture and society. Therefore, the occurrence of English lexis in them is also the reflection and attitude of the people of a society. Though the common people are not concerned about the incorporation of English loans into Bangla, the linguistic purists feel threatened from such phenomena. They think unretrained and unguided borrowings may paralyse Bangla. Therefore, the present study proposes the following recommendations.

a) The concerned authorities, particularly Bangla Academy should take initiative

to maintain the existing Bengali lexical stock.

- b) They should form a committee of experts to look into the widespread use of English loans in Bangla. The committee can analyze to preserve the Bengali words which have to compete with English ones, e.g. কুকুর (dog), বিদ্যালয় (school) and ডাকঘর (post office) and প্রতিবেদন (report). However, if the English loan words are found to be concise and easy to express, they may be retained.
- c) Researches may be steered on the current English loans to study whether they really do not have equivalents in Bangla.

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Appendix: Nature, number & percentage of English lexis in 5 modern Bengali novels and 5 short stories

Categories of lexis	Novels	Short Stories	#	%
	1. অক্ষয় কুমার -১ & ২ (Himu Marries Today-1 & 2) by Humayun Ahmed (2006) 2. কবি অথবা দণ্ডিত অপকৃষ্ণ -০১ (Poet or Punished Unman-01) by Humayun Azad (1999) 3. শাবিক পখি উড়েছিল (Myna Bird Got Flies) by Imdadul Hoque Milon (2012) 4. গাভী বিব্রাহ (Cow facts) by Ahmed Sofa (1995) 5. শেষের কবিতা (The last poem) by Rabindranath Tagore (1929)	1. অমলু ফিরে যাবে (Omu will Return) by Shumil Gangupaddaya (2013) 2. বেটা (Bait) by Narayan Gangupaddaya (2009) 3. পোস্টমাস্টার (Postmaster) by Rabindranath Tagore (1908) 4. ভ্রাতা ও ভনী (brother & sister) by Begum Rokeya Sakawat Hosen (1971) 5. হেনা (Hena) By Kazi Nazrul Islam (1933)		
1. Words with Bengali equivalents	dressings room, school master, make believe, film line, centre stage, north Bengal, prized position, soap case, lime juice, tube well, fountain pen, natural museum, post office, high school, good conduct, devil luck, telephone, restaurant bottle, suicide, disease, rate, south, reaction, pocket, skirt, demography, chair, society, protect, dog, puppy, information, one, two, three, crime, thanks, asthma, cabin, clown, packet, settlement, brand, tight, result, palmist, leader, mutation, daktar<doctor, nurse, preparation, vagabond, sandal, aircraft, control, airport, cigarette, pan, razor, faculty, department, case, fact, figure, meeting, report, club, promotion, tense, gender, hysteria, secretary, class, panel, formula, professor, term, magic, degree, diary, nombor<number, king, ring, university, certificate, star, engineer, slogan, type, scenery, cinema, master, villain, rule, brush, out, free, positive, jealous, stupid, you, seriously, stop, off, shave, claustrophobia, judge, indent, garments, sink, dismiss, fail, drawer, help, manage, cup, college, ready, line, chancellor, urgent, order, pipe, tobacco, court, housing, road, highway, first class, contractor, room, bedroom, driver, gate, assistant, chrysanthemum, season, drain, dummy, knot, caretaker, hostel, cutting, syndicate, consultancy, prize, title, menstruation pad, hello, construction, lunch, frock, engineering, civil engineering, chance, husband, wife, river, dredger, dredging, gate, architect, president, wall, school, tender, overseer, accountant, receive, political, backing, labour, trouble, production, loan, trading, contract, settle, invest, fountain, truck, horn, interview, lecturer, chairman, permission, slipper, structure, shed, bracelet, earring, calculation, complete, mushroom, present, gift, program, miss, problem, solution, university, correct, authority, chemistry, copy, current, idiot, livestock, handsome, preside, finance, pressure, principal, extension, intermediate, old, gold, shelf, leaflet, service, building, straightforward, decent, caliber, principle, allotment, possession, activist, cash, main, welding, duty, breakfast, veterinary, surgeon, tropical cattle, style, fashion, original, train, salon, distinguished, party, picnic, botany, culture, first, democracy, aristocracy, aristocrat, politics, philosopher, words, evolution, sentimental, public, loyalty, primitive, building, secretariat, neuralgia, politician, practice, cloak, tourist, plain (simple), posterity, library, pamphlet, artist, photograph, edition, pass, mister, hospital-chaspatal, punctual, dentist, lyric, psychology, specific gravity, vulgar, respectable, tragedy, philosophy, monsoon, art, steam, brief, aphs<office, economics, telegraph, plan, government, artist, registry, slang, double, palm, governess, green (young), interesting, message, manners, famous, delicious, algebra, naughty, dog, sedition, punctuality, thermometer, I, congratulate, gentleman, officer, post, griddle, island, pass, fan, start, ladies, second, year, Masters, misgovernment, special, creation, modern, review, fit, receiver, behavioural, training, weather, positive, headmaster, wild, goose, yes, hot, water, shower, monumental, building, reporter, guestroom, self-deposit, sub-engineer, Persian philosopher, Sunday school, name plate, district engineer, dairy farm, easy chair, third class, break of study, text book, proper name, teachers' club, air cooler, public library, house tutor, circulating library, communal riot, drug addict, stand by, chief engineer, waiting room, full time, part time, final year, family planning, third division, drawing room, water board, managing director, business administration, fast magnitude, earnest money, money, faculty of science, private car, calling bell, stolen property, alumni association, so what, working partner, intuitive power, washing machine, assistant professor, associate professor, magnifying glass, dining room, tailoring house, class six, black & white, academic council, flash, five star, strap, plot, race, surgery, business management, India, westernized, serial, class eight, damned-rifle, non-ferrous, rationing, privately, maintenance, disturb, personally, outdoor, boring, film, nostalgia, produce, scene, institute, manager, management, metal, engine, court-manner, state, forest, hippopotamus, gorilla, vampire, pattern, hunting, refreshed, bracket, silk load, try, energy, drink, hopeless, seat, night, keeper, dinner, cell, postmaster, charge, carpet, bright star, benefactor, temperature, electronic, brass, unreasonable, daktar<doctor, honeymoon, Belgian, trench, roast, left, right, regiment, band, camp, clash, inhibition, farce, weld.	479	64.99	
2. Words without Bengali equivalents	mobile telephone set, three-piece, plus point, plastic surgery, session jot, relativity of names, IQ level, c and b, felt hat, tennis bat, coffee set, heart line, pump shoe, rail station, metro train, rail line, chop-cutlet, HIV, minute, rail, ringtone, mess, coke, CNG, tap, police, suite, PhD, ambulance, blouse, barrister, NGO, bank, sink, paste, t-shirt, jeans, keds, matriculation<matic, tebil<table, SSC, revolver, rubber, flat, doctorate, corporation, football, VC, transformer, bob, MA, microphone, IG, mam, pajero, fridge, dynamo, whisky, soda, fax, photocopier, rod, complex, feet, TV, charger, provost, sponge, garage, compass, tennis, badminton, coffee, platinum, tablet, Cadillac, botam<button, jacket, aphim<opium, fashionable, camera, passport, gas, cement, pencil, magazine, rhododendron, note, pine, eucalypts, foolscap, inch<inchi, launch, attorney, sofa, desk, eucalyptus, postcard, metre, degree, tin, pudding, tabby, oxygen, dean, tyre, biscuit<biskut, terminus, spring, company, commissioner, half-pant, alcohol, TV, NRI, internet, lawn, glamour, coat, tie, shooting, bathtub, cocoa, howitzer, tray, dial, foot<unit of measurement, saccharin, British, second (unit of time), baptized, zeppelin, piano, march, tack, card.	137	18.59	
3. Words with close Bengali equivalents	Make-up— take up, Commanding officer, Lewis gun, military line, air gun, head light, Thank Heavens, fire brigade, fire engine, vanity bag, steering wheel, baby taxi, beauty parlour, dinner set, machine gun, pass mark, mew mew, charge, note, record, circus, lighter, bathroom, police, typhoid, saline, blade, cream, tube, pants (used as pant), gobbet, bag, nigger, tutorial, television, calculus, glass, pump, chain, compound, boot, canteen, academy, peon, commode, quarter, pitch, pistol, cross, committee, teenager, van, newspaper, pharmacy, cafeteria, senate, campus, caterer, bell, injection, amber, hotel, bulldog, parcel, romance, romantic, sir, mobile, call, magistrate, puncture, shirt, lift, suit, rifle, station, resort, computer, channel, posted, poster, task, lounge, beer, motor, radium, railing, torch, bandage, damn, battalion, haversack.	93	12.62	
4. Hybridized words	Half-Bangla, cash, বাক্স, cocaine- কোকেন, flat- ফ্ল্যাট, Cream- ক্রিম, baby- ওয়ালা (baby taxi driver), full-ফুলা (long sleeve), master- মাস্টার, panel- প্যানেল, college- কলেজ, head- মালি, head- মিলি, fashion- ফ্যাশন, lace- ওলালা, opium< afimwali, note- নোট, motor- মোটর, master-নি, professor- প্রফেসর, schoolmaster- স্কুলমাস্টার, dressing tebil<table, school - শিক্ষক, হি= hoarding, daktar<ডাক্তার, Bayonet- পোনা (Bayonet-stuck), কটা -pencil (wooden pencil), fit- ফিট (congruous), dinner- tebil <table.	28	3.80	
Total			737	100