# Hybridisation in English Newspapers in Bangladesh

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#### Abstract

Over the decades, Bangladesh has experienced many language contact situations. Based on history, there are many instances of the presence of Urdu, Perso-Arabic, and Hindi (Sanskrit) words within the Bengali language. As a result, when Bangladeshi newspapers use English, there are common Bengali loanwords throughout the articles, derived from the region's developmental process. The motivation behind this study is to look at hybridisation in Bangladeshi English newspapers and to determine their functions in relation to the socio-cultural and political contexts in which they are found. This study is being conducted as a qualitative textual content analysis. The data were collected from three national dailies namely, *The Daily Star, The Independent* and *The News Today*. This study strives to create a corpus of contact expressions based on these newspapers; delineate the types of Bengali and other loan words used in the corpus and reasons for their use; and examine the results in relation to the language ecology. The analysis of data in this study shows that hybridisation is one of the most language contact features found in the English dailies in Bangladesh which contributes to the higher number of loanwords in English and are often used by people in different domains within Bangladesh.

**Keywords:** English newspapers, hybridisation loanwords, nativisation, English education

#### 1. Introduction

Language contact occurs when two or more languages come in contact with one another. Bangladesh has experienced many language contact situations. It has various historical events. There are a few languages with no or limited language contact (Thomason, 2001). This is a global phenomenon. The Bengali language is no exception. At the same time, it is noted that lexical borrowing sources are not constant. Lexical borrowing refers to the borrowing of non-native words and has been used when there is not an equivalent of a native lexicon. Moreover, lexical hybridisation is a procedure by which a word will be created with the help of two languages. In Bangladesh, different historical periods include instances of English, German, and French languages. During the time of British rule, English, Arabic, and Hindi (Sanskrit) loanwords were borrowed. In Bangladesh, 90% of the people are Muslim (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). Many Arabic words have been adopted for religious activities. Based on history, there are many instances of merging between Urdu, Perso-Arabic, and Hindi (Sanskrit) words within the Bengali language. As a result, when Bangladeshi newspapers use English, Bengali hybrid words are commonly found in the articles. These hybrid words are derived from the region's formative procedure. Currently, it can be seen that there are many loan words in Bangladeshi English from different reading materials. These loanwords can also be found in electronic media sources, such as television and radio programs. There are many reasons for this. For example, it is difficult to translate some concepts from Bengali to English due to the lack of an equivalent or difficulty in paraphrasing. Therefore, in situations with no appropriate English translation, it would be more beneficial for the author to utilise other words, such as Urdu, Perso-Arabic, and/or Hindi (Sanskrit) loanwords. At the same time, there are instances where it would be more beneficial to express these concepts through the creation of new Bengali words. However, instead of engaging in these activities of turning to other sources, the Bengali language relies heavily on English. The present study is undertaken to explore and describe Bangladeshi English, focusing on lexical borrowing (hybridisation) in Bangladeshi English newspapers.

Media is used to gauge the English language spreading into South Asia (Gargesh, 2008). The Bangladeshi scene can be viewed as a representative case because many of the newspapers in the country are in English and cater to

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the English-speaking population. There is, however, a lack of research on the use of lexical borrowing (hybridization) of other languages in Bangladesh, significant because not only is the English language involved in this borrowing, but also other languages, such as Hindi (Sanskrit) and Arabic, as opposed to a more similar combination of languages. While other studies have been similar, they have not focused on the cultural and social aspect of the borrowing, as this study does. The focus of this study is on lexical expressions that exist within local languages in English newspapers within Bangladesh, relating to both dimensions that are influenced by politics and culture. The objectives of this study are to find out the Bengali and other loanwords used in aforesaid three newspapers and to delineate the types of in the corpus and functions served. Based on the objectives of the study, the research question is as follows:

What specific hybrid words can be found within the English newspapers in Bangladesh and what functions do they serve?

#### 2. Review of Literature

Much research has been conducted regarding linguistic borrowing, which involves incorporating one language (source language) to another language (recipient language). Linguistic borrowing implies that there is a reorientation the locus of the act of borrowing to the use of borrowing through cultural, cognitive, or social factors (Andersen et al., 2017).

A lexical hybrid is developed from at least two languages (Aletras & Stevenson, 2015). Tan (2013) has mentioned that hybrid creation in Malaysian English generally takes the form of compound words. An example is 'heongsamtop', 'a blouse with a Mandarin collar and Chinese-craft buttons,' which comprises the Chinese word, 'cheongsam', 'form-fitting dress characterised because the design is cheongsam-inspired'. Moreover, Chalaya (2007) has presented a hybrid compound from Malaysian English as in 'mamak stalls' or 'mamak restaurant'. A 'mamak restaurant' is a combination of the Indian loanword 'mamak' and the English word 'restaurant' (cf. 90). Furthermore, according to Matsuura, Rilling, Chiba, Kim, and Rini (2017), Filipino English commonly has hybrid compound, including compound words like colegiala English (college English) or balikbayan box (box with miscellaneous items sent by an overseas Filipino) (cf. 31). Kachru (1983) has highlighted that a lexical hybrid or a mixed form is made up of elements from two or more different languages, where at least one of the elements is from the local language and one is from English. Such as 'British Sarkar' in Indian English, here British is an English word and Sarkar is a local word means government. The Indian-English hybridized items are culturally alien to non-Indian readers, but they are unique to the local readership.

## 3. Method

#### 3.1 Data Sources

In Bangladesh, English newspapers are widely read in offices, colleges, universities and foreign organisation offices. As a foreign language base, English newspapers are not usually read at home and in the rural areas of the country.

Banu and Sussex (2001) have highlighted that when Bangladesh became independent in 1971, there were only two English newspapers: *The Pakistan Observer* and *The Morning News*. *The Pakistan Observer* became *The Bangladesh Observer* and *The Morning News* disappeared. By 1977, there were three English dailies, and within three more years, three were seven. The combined circulation of six major newspapers is estimated at around 127,650, which is slightly over 0.1% of the total population. This gives the idea of the overall position of English newspapers in relation to the total population. The readership of English-language newspapers is limited mostly to the urban centres and the English-educated elite of the country. It is also significant that all but one of the English newspapers are privately owned and the only government-owned paper was stopped in 1997.

Bangladeshi English newspapers were used for data collection purposes. *The Daily Star, The Independent,* and *The News Today* were chosen for this study because of their popularity and online availability (archives). *The Daily Star* covers more reporting in different cultural and festival reports followed by *The Independent* and *The News Today.* The total number of borrowings has shown in Table 1.

Table 1. The total numbers of borrowings of hybridisation

Newspapers	Loanwords	Per cent	Articles	Percent
The Daily Star	114	42.85%	149	45.98%
The Independent	96	36.10%	98	30.24%
The News Today	56	21.05%	77	23.76%
Total	266	100.00%	324	100.00%

A random search was conducted for 83 online copies of the three newspapers over a 6-months; from 13 October 2013 to 14 April 2014. This period of 6 months covers major festivals that are integral to Bangladeshi culture. *The Daily Star* uses more loanwords in different culture and festive related loanwords followed by *The Independent* and *The News Today*. The only articles included were those by Bangladeshi writers.

## 3.2 Data Analysis Procedures

Media theorist McKee (2003) has highlighted that textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world. It is a methodology—a data-gathering process—for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live. In this study, textual analysis is selected as the main method due to its direct relation to content analysis. Content Analysis is used to identify, enumerate, and analyse occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in texts (Frey et al., 1999).

The procedure of textual analysis, adapted from Allison's (2002), Creswell's (2003), and Belsey's (2005) studies, is comprised of three phases: (1) text selection; (2) text coding; and (3) categorising. These stages lead to text analysis and interpretation. According to (Bainbridge 2008), Textual analysis can be utilised as a major aspect of a bigger literary examination for printed text examination and the three phases are easy for understanding.

The procedure is described in the following table.

Table 2. Data analysis process

Phase	Goal	Processes	
(1) Text selection	The three picked English dailies are blended for the accompanying procedures of content determination	(1.1) The analyst picks suitable examples of writings that speak to the dialect of the author from every daily paper. Certain things of lexis introduced in the printed information abusing the lexical, morphological and semantic of Standard English however including etymological inventiveness are set apart out by underlining. In such manner, certain lexical variety things are checked by British and American English lexicons.  (1.2) These things with their relevant message are efficiently recorded as portions in the specialist's document, in the printed version. These recorded things are not to be set apart out again however they show up in the consequent pages in light of the fact that the recurrence check of these things is not underscored.	
(2) Text coding and categorising	The chosen things of semantic imagination are separated into littler segment units	(2.1) Each semantic thing (the selection) recorded in the scientist's document or notes is coded with its source in the section at the base edge, which contains the title (name) of the daily paper, day, month and year of production.  (2.2) An accumulation of the things is arranged into various classifications of hybridisation.	
Acculturated Word(s)	Extract(s)	Meaning	
Deshi cow	"And last but not least, the only female and the <i>Deshi cow</i> amongst the contestants,"  (The Daily Star, 13 October 2013)	Local (indigenous) cow	
(3) Text analysis The information from the coded and and ordered writings are interpretation examined and translated		(3.1) A stamped thing with its excerpted relevant messages is broken down with the ideas of semantic imagination and Bangladeshi English in the remarks separated in the documents. For example, a hybrid word 'birangonas' is dissected as far as a morpho-semantic variety by means of the mixing of a Bengali word 'birangona' and an English addition '-s'; (3.2) The specialist's printed copy documents of every single broke down thing is replicated for other new remarks or understandings. (3.3) All investigated semantic things in every daily paper are condensed in organisations and a top to bottom understanding. They are likewise introduced as an element of the lexical innovativeness highlights.	

Conceptually, the framework for the analysis and interpretation of hybridisation was based on similarities and differences between the two selected approaches of Kachru and Strevens. It was "a combination of two approaches", as two scholars' particular linguistic terms and concepts of World Englishes media were selected and utilised. Hybridisation was analysed through the overlapping concepts of context, innovation typology, lexical innovation, and nativisation of lexical borrowing of Kachru (1983, 1985, 1986, 1987). These elements contribute toward analysis and interpretation of hybridisation. Moreover, Streven's Local Forms of English (1980; 1982) was taken into consideration. In general, these two researchers' ideas are probably going to be a useful guide for the investigation and translation of hybridisation in English newspapers in Bangladesh.

# 4. Results and Discussion

This study sheds light on a wide range of data that represents the Bengali-English hybrid formation. Such data is isolated into two fundamental systems: open and closed sets. As indicated by Kachru (1983, pp. 153-154), an open-set thing is considered 'open' because of its having no grammatical constraints on the chosen components of the lexis. Moreover, a closed-set thing is decided as 'closed' as no less than one component has a place with the closed system of South Asian dialects, for example, the suffix 'wallah.' From this idea, 'Bengali and other words with English modifiers and Bengali and other words with English suffixes' are adjusted as groupings of the two systems of hybridisation.

The following table shows hybridisation excerpts and words. The first five are open sets and the second five are closed sets. It must also be recognised that the number of results is shown in the tables is limited to five at most, yet the discussions consider all results.

Table 3. Hybridisation based on open and closed sets

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Nativised word(s)	Excerpt(s)	Meaning(s)	
mela-space	The <i>mela</i> -space becomes brighter, and there are more people as evening turns to night.  (The Daily Star, 14 April 2014)	Fair-space	
Chatra Union	While studying in class 8, he was drawn towards the concept of Communism. As a result, he joined Chatra Union, the student wing of the Communist Party. He was with the <i>Chatra Union</i> till 1966. ( <i>The Independent</i> , 13 December 2013)	Student union	
Deshi cow	"And last but not least, the only female and the <i>Deshi cow</i> amongst the contestants, Jorina packs a meaty punch  (The Daily Star, 13 October 2013)	Local cow	
Swadeshi Movement	He (Krishna) was a freedom fighter during the British Raj and involved in the Swadeshi Movement of 1930. (The Daily Star, 07 February 2014)	Part of the Indian independence movement	
shariah-based	We highlighted the key features of the <i>shariah-based</i> index to the top executives of the institutions and they expressed their interest in investing in the securities under the index,"  (The Daily Star, 31 January 2014)	the Islamic legal system -based	
Bauls	Bauls are being offered meals this will continue till October 20. Free medical treatment for the Bauls has also been arranged.  (The Daily Star, 19 October 2013)	Mystic minstrels	
Dhakaites	Classical music festivals enthral <i>Dhakaiities</i> (The Independent, 13 December 2013)	The residents of Dhaka	
hijras	Briefing journalists after the meeting, Cabinet Secretary M Musharraf Hossain said the approval was given for the overall welfare of <i>hijras</i> . ( <i>The Daily Star</i> , 12 November 2013)	People who are transsexual performing as singers or dancers at religious festivals	
hartals	Wholesalers were already rather reluctant in purchasing the highly perishable fruit from growers doubting whether they would arrive in Dhaka, and other districts, amid countrywide <i>hartals</i> enforced	Strikes	

The first two items represent Bengali/other words (modifier) and English (head) compound nouns. Most of the modifiers depend on Bengali, Arabic/Perso-Arabic, Urdu and Hindi (Sanskrit). Bengali and English compound nouns are: 'Chanda fish, Aman paddy, Aman rice, Kathak dance, Shishu Park, Parjatan Motel, Shabash Bangladesh, Bandar area, gram police, and 'sari exhibition', which are spaced of being compound nouns. Interestingly, two Bengali and English compound nouns are hyphenated, namely 'robi-crop' and 'mela-space'. On the other hand, Arabic/Perso-Arabic and English compound nouns are: 'Madrasa girl, Asr prayers, Shibir activists, Hajj pilgrims, Tafseer series, Tafhimul Quran, Shariah index', and 'Eid festivals' which have spaces between the two words. Aside from this, Urdu and English compound nouns are: 'Shibir activists, Mehendi plant, Jamaat supremo', and 'Razakar commander' which are spaced compound nouns, except 'Jam-e-mosque,' which is hyphenated. Finally, the following two words are Hindi and English compound nouns which are spaced: 'Brahmo community', and 'Harijan community'.

The second two items in the table represent hybridised items combined with Bengali, Arabic/Perso-Arabic, Hindi and Urdu modifiers (Adjectives) and English (head) compound nouns. Bengali (Adjective) and English (head) compound nouns are: 'Deshi cow, Swadeshi Movement, Awami League, Jatiya Party, Hridoye '71', deshi toys, Boro Masjid area', and 'Jatiya Press Club' which are spaced and not hyphenated between the two words of the compounds. Most interestingly, 'Boro Masjid area' is the only one compound noun which has two modifiers (Boro Masjid=Adjective+Noun) and an English head 'area'. Aside from this, Arabic/Perso-Arabic (Adjectives) and English (heads) nouns are: 'Taliban activist, Shaheed president, Ebtedayee teachers, Shahid Day', and 'ebtedai terminal tests'. On the other hand, Sanskrit (Hindi) adjectives and English compound nouns are: 'Tandoori foods, austami day, zaminder's palace, Hydrabadi dishes', and 'Bihari men'. Finally, there are only two Urdu (Adjectives) and English compound nouns are: 'Awami league', and 'Jamaati institutes'.

The fifth item represents the hybrid combined with Bengali and Arabic/Perso-Arabic modifiers (nouns) and English (head) compound verbs are: 'BNP-backed, BNP-led, AL-backed' and 'HM Ershad-led'. BNP (noun) is modified by (verb participle) 'led'. Likewise, 'AL' and 'HM Ershad' are modified by the verbs (participle) 'backed' and 'led' respectively. Aside from this, Arabic/Perso-Arabic (noun) and English (heads) verbs are: 'shariah-based', and 'Jammaat-inflicted', Arabic Noun 'sharia' is modified by the verb (participle) italics. Likewise, Perso Arabic noun 'Jammaat' is modified by the verb (participle) italics. Bengali and different nouns in which compound adjectives are included two adjectives-'Amar Ekushey Book Fair'. The compound word-'Amar Ekushey Book Fair' which has comprised one Bengali adjective (Amar) with another compound adjective modifier (Ekushey) with a compound noun (book) which is modified by a noun (head) (Fair). This is a typical example of a compound noun in Bengali English. Bengali items are- 'film gurus, border haats, apple kul, warrior begums, bullet Raja, ferry ghat, fish ghat, Project Kombol', and 'Senate Bhaban'. Moreover, Perso-Arabic compound nouns are- 'Muslim Ummah, Mount Arafat', and 'Tiger Siddque'. Aside from this, Sanskrit (Hindi) and Urdu compound nouns are- 'God Shiva, Tomato toofan, goddess Durga, cotton pyjamas', and 'vegetable pakora' respectively.

The sixth through ninth items on the table represent closed end suffix 's' forms, while the final time represents closed end derivational prefixes. This results in six categories. The first item falls into eight compound nouns 'Chikankarikameezes, Tushar saris, Upazilaparishads, Puja mandaps, Pithamelas, kheyaghats, Baul gurus', and 'film gurus'; these nativised items are spaced. The second item falls into two Perso-Arabic compound nouns 'namaz-e-janazas' and 'Al-Badrs' which are hyphenated. The third category falls into two compound nouns added with conjunctive and such as 'Janapaes and MahaJanapades'. Another characteristic is that whatever remains of the four categories vary from one to four syllables. Monosyllabic compounds are: 'daals, khats, maunds, hats, chars'. Next, disyllabic words are the maximum numbers such as: 'Bauls, addas, hijras, Garos, koftas, Imaams, Shorbas', and 'kebabs'. Furthermore, tri-syllabic words are: 'pakoras, Bulbulis, Razakars, madrassas, Ansaris, Samosas, and 'biryanis.' Finally, there are four four-syllabic words such as: 'Muktijodhas, birangonas, gonosnageets', and 'Kalbaishakhis'. These mix categories with the inflectional suffix '-s' structure connected are comparative due to being adjusted by compound modifiers. The utmost typical item is 'pseudo-Bauls,' as it is modified by hyphenated compound adjectives (one hyphenated compound adjective and one Bengali Head). Next, there are two adjectives that are connected by conjunctive (and) and one Bengali Head, such as compound adjective 'Seven and a half crore Bengalis'. Meanwhile, the final hybrid item comprises, the first morphological segment is only one adjective that modifies Bengali Heads with the Inflectional suffix '-s' form, such as 'colourful alpanas, border haats, warrior begums, BDR Jawans, Cotton pyjamas, four bighas' and '23 kathas'.

Table 4. Hybridisation based on prefix and suffix

Nativised word(s)	Excerpt(s)	Meaning(s)
anti-Jihadist	Shoaib, who used to work as a special correspondent for right leaning Inquilab newspaper till 2002, posed as an <i>anti-Jihadist</i> journalist in the eyes of the USA and Israel from 2003 and devoted himself to fighting anti-Jew sentiments.  (The Daily Star, 10 January 2014)	Against war
anti- jhatka	A day-long <i>anti-jhatka</i> (hilsha fry) catching drive led by MM Azam Ali, ( <i>Independent</i> , 07 February 2014)	Against Hilsha fry
pro-Awami League	Smashed ballot boxes at Korpur High School polling centre in Sonatala upazila of Bogra yesterday after supporters of a <i>pro-Awami League</i> upazila chairman candidate attacked and vandalised the centre.  ( <i>The Daily Star</i> , 22 March 2014)	In favour of Awami League
pro-BNP	They also locked in a clash with a <i>pro-BNP</i> candidate's supporters, causing suspension of voting for about an hour.  ( <i>The Daily Star</i> , 22 March 2014)	In favour of BNP
Pro-hartal	Pro-hartal pickets had burnt the 14-year-old alive while he was asleep in his father's covered van parked near Gazipur intersection. With 90 per cent burns, Monir died three days later at DMCH. (The Daily Star, 06 December 2013)	In favour of hartal (strike)

The word 'Jihadist,' is comprised of the Arabic noun 'Jihad' and the English suffix '-ist'. On the other hand,

'anti-' prefix is added with the Arabic word Jihadist and Bengali word jhatka. Moreover, the 'pro'- prefix is added with the Bengali words 'hartal, BNP', and 'Awami League,' respectively.

The Bengali prefixation words 'anti-Jihadist, anti- jhatka, Pro-hartal, pro-BNP', and 'pro-Awami League' can be similar to the Malaysian compound word 'un-gedeberin' (Ramakrishna, 2009, p. 11) because the prefixes are hyphenated from non-English heads. Some hybrids are of Bengali origin whereas most are from South Asian languages like Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi and Arabic/Perso-Arabic. These words were generally used in those articles that deal with the Bangladeshi culture. Thus, the articles are clearly written for a reader who has background knowledge about Bangladeshi culture (Gargesh, 2008; Kachru, 2013; Lambert, 2014). Only the Bengali hybrid word 'Bangalees' has plural genitive inflectional suffixation. Those mentioned above hybrid words deliver a glimpse of their usages in Bengali English.

Bengali hybrid words in the selected English newspapers' texts share some common structures with those in past studies. Most importantly, according to Kachru (1983, p. 67), the class (N+N) is most productive; such formations are frequently seen in the newspapers and other pieces of creative writing. The Bengali hybrids 'rice, mela-space, muslin cloth, Swadeshi movement, shura council, boro season, Lolan song, Madrasa girl, Baul's music, Jamaat men, Hijrapeople, char people, charwomen, Marma people', and 'eid festival' are similar to the Indian hybrids 'akkulupaddy, kumkum-rice, mela festival/mela-ground, Swadeshicloth, khilafat committee, kharif season, bhajan song, vinayaka festival, sanai music, nautch-girl', and 'harikatha-man'. The above nativised items are also similar to the Pakistani nativised items 'tandoori chicken, chiraita juice' and 'punkah breeze' (Bennui & Hashim, 2013, p. 114) and also in the Malaysian English items 'kebaya top, kopitian table' and 'sarong skirt' (Tan, 2013, p. 34). Moreover, the Arabic hybrid 'shariah-based' can be similar to the Indian hybrid 'khadi-bound' (Kachru, 1983, p. 67). Likewise, the following Bengali hybrids 'border haat, fish ghat, vegetable pakora, ferry ghat' and 'cotton pyjamas' can be similar to the Indian Hybrids as in 'Saturday haat, cotton kapas/pajama, onion pecoras' and 'ration ghat'. Interestingly, both hybrids (presented here and by Kachru) are structurally and semantically similar due to their originating from the same languages (Hindi/Sanskrit) (Kachru, 1983, p. 66). Furthermore, the Bengali hybrid 'Rokeya fair' parallels the Philipino English item 'colegiala English' (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 31). Moreover, the Arabic and Perso-Arabic words, Tafseer series, Shura council, Jumma prayers, Esha prayers, Magrib prayers, Razakar commander, Ansar members, Hijri year, Karbala episode, Shariah index, Ijtema venue, Eid festivals' and 'Eid greetings' are similar to the Pakistani English hybrids 'Ushr tax, Zakat ordinance, Bismillah ceremony, Aqiqa ceremony, Ittar bottle, Nikah ceremony', and 'Eid card' (Rahman, 2014, p. 68). Likewise, the Bengali plural hybrids 'maidans, annas, chars, maunds, pithas, Dhakaites, bindis' and 'pujas' are similar to the Malaysian English hybrids 'dungus, tikars, kolams, pujas, chappatis, angpows, kerises' and 'toddies' (Ramakrishna, 2009, p. 10). Moreover, the Bengali genitive inflectional suffixation words 'Prohith's, Baul's, zaminder's, Jamaat's, Bangabandhu's, khalujan's, Nani's, Durga's, Ma's, Lalon's', and 'Bangalees' are similar to the Malaysian English words 'tuan's, syaitan's, Tok's, towkay's, athan' and 'Ayah's' (Ramakrishna, 2009, p. 10).

#### 5. Conclusion

In summary, the findings of this study reflect the distinct characteristics of hybridisation in Bangladeshi English newspapers. Bangladeshi English newspapers show innovation at the lexical level due to the strong influence of Bengali language. The present study of Bangladeshi English newspapers has manifested to where the Bengali and other hybrid words have been used by writers in Bangladeshi English newspapers to depict the rich Bengali culture. In view of hybridisation, it is the most complicated class as two principal systems -open and closed setscovering different sorts and instances of Bengali/other and English hybrid developments. Some open set hybrid words appear to be more than in the closed item, but both result in the unique phenomenon of an English-Bengali (other items) and Bengali (other items)-English loan blend. This category also reflects the concept of Bengaliness. Moreover, the feature is needed to provide for ideas and concept expressions when there is no equivalent in the receiving language. From the study, it can be said that Bangladeshi English newspapers show efficiencies at the hybridisation level because of the solid impact of the Bengali language. According to Kachru (1983, p. 67), the class (N+N), such as 'Swadeshi movement' is the most productive; such formations are frequently seen in the newspapers and other pieces of creative writing. This study shows that the word-formation process 'hybridisation' in Bengali English newspapers is framed out with processes similar to that of Asian, African and American English writings. Bengali, Perso-Arabic, Sanskrit (Hindi) and Urdu were the donor languages, due to prolonged colonialism. Among them, Bengali was the highest donor of the lexicon because of prestige motive. Finally, the study also showed that newspapers mainly used culture based (content hybrid words) borrowings. The findings can contribute towards comparative studies on World Englishes. Apart from newspaper writing, further studies on hybridisation should be required in creative writings, such as English in fictions, local films, magazines etc. which was a limitation of this specific study.

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#### Informed consent

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### **Ethics** approval

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# Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

# Data sharing statement

No additional data are available.

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