

TURKISH AND PERSIAN LOANS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

Abstract

Of the 600 Persian and 284 Turkish loans collected from standard English dictionaries, at least 319 have been used by 98 significant literary figures throughout the centuries. These demonstrate that literary writers directly affect the English language by providing the first known record of a given loan, or by creatively using a previous borrowing to introduce a new sense, a different form as in a derivation or compound, or a different form class (as in Jonson's noun *chouse*, from Shirley's original verb). Literature and linguistics are thereby more closely, naturally linked in interdisciplinary research. Sir William Jones, Gibbon, Byron, and a few others provided rich raw materials for later literature. The data reveal a progression toward greater accuracy and authenticity, which add to the reputation and stature of the work. Poets like Byron, utilizing rhyme and subtle internal definitions to explain exotic words, enhanced their literary artistry and charm by employing actual Oriental words. Without the words, the writers might never have gained fame in Oriental aspects of Romanticism and Victorianism. The numerical rank is surprising, led by Byron with 94 different words, followed by James Morier, Thomas Hope, Thackeray, Thomas Moore, Jones, Purchas, Disraeli, Gibbon, William Beckford, Scott, and Kipling with 34.

The collecting of 600 Persian and 284 Turkish loans (Cannon 1998a and forthcoming), in a continuing series of linguistic articles on loans recorded in the English language, turned up hundreds of citations from 98 significant literary figures throughout the centuries. The citations underpin this article on (1) why the figures presumably used such words and (2) whether that use influenced the words' acceptance into English. The dual purposes address the old question of whether literary writers actually affect the language. Literary scholars have neglected the role of loans in writers' poetic and prose vocabulary, which are often used multiply; and such a multidisciplinary study linking linguistics and literature brings the two disciplines into further consonance with other multidisciplinary research.

The three Oriental verse-tales of Byron, who helped to develop and characterize the Oriental aspects of Romanticism – the period most affected by such aspects – made him an obvious touchstone for finding the literary usages in Cannon's corpora. We excluded Arabic items that came into English directly from Arabic and not directly from Turkish and/or Persian unless Byron used the words extensively. Otherwise, Cannon's 2,338 Arabic loans (1994) were excluded on principle, in order to keep our literary corpus within bounds. Some of our Turkish and Persian religious words were themselves borrowed from Arabic and are so indistinguishable that they could reinforce the primarily Arabic transfer, but are not yet credited in dictionaries (Cannon 1998a). We will first describe three monographs, which concentrate on Oriental themes and imagery, and then, roughly chrono-



logically, discuss the 98 literary figures' use of 319 loans. Our Appendixes 1 and 2 list these loans and writers.

The monographs treat few of the actual borrowings used by literary figures, implying that Orientalization was effected with little use of Oriental words. Martha Pike Conant's *Oriental tale in England in the eighteenth century* (1908) discusses the Orientalist Sir William Jones (1746–1794) and others, at a time not yet propitious for Oriental fiction. Her conclusions in comparative literature, history, and criticism hardly reach into linguistics proper. Edna Osborne's *Oriental diction and theme in English verse, 1740–1840* (1916), extending into some of the most eventful decades, includes a few of our words in her "Oriental vocabulary in Sir William Jones" (134–135); but most are Indic or Arabic. Even these are mainly place-names and other proper nouns that belong in encyclopedias and atlases rather than in the general English vocabulary, though they did contribute to Jones's intended literary Orientalization. Osborne's list of "Oriental" vocabulary in the King James Bible (138) contains none of our items, which, indeed, do not appear in that epochal version. Marzieh Gail's *Persia and the Victorians* (1951), lacking an index, mainly treats travel books and Victorians who sought Persian information in their research. The longest chapters are "Sir William and Bocara's gold" (13–34) and James Morier's frolicking with Hajji Baba (163–184), with brief chapters on Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum* and Edward FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát*. Gail omits Tennyson, Robert Browning, and Thackeray, major figures who employed Persian materials to improve their works.

Our three earliest loans are Arabic religious words, used in Middle English for influential political dogma inspired by Pope Urban II's rallying call of "Deus vult" ("God wills [it]"), which effectively authorized the Crusades and the blaspheming of Islam (Cannon 1995: 25). Layamon's *Brut* introduced *Mahun* "Mahomet" to English as a false god or idol. By the time of William Langland's *Piers Plowman B*, folk etymology had pejorated the name to *Mahoun(d)*, a devil in hell with Lucifer. In *King Lear*, Edgar terms *Mahu* "The Prince of Darkenese". Such use was not for artistic or narrative purposes. The authors' stature familiarized the names in the general vocabulary and advanced the prejudice that has now reappeared against the Muslim Middle East.

Chaucer and Spenser characterized Islam by Muslim personages in a few passages. Thus Muslims in "The Man of law's tale" explain that they were taught by "Mahoun, oure prophete", and they swear by Mahound in five passages in *The Faerie Queene*. The negative *Mahound*, rather than the modern *Muhammad*, is echoed as late as Sir Walter Scott, Browning's "The Return of the Druses", and Thackeray. The scattering of *Mahomet* elsewhere and later as *Muhammad* has ameliorated the prejudice. *Alkoran* fared better, with Chaucer voicing Muslims' protestations like "the hooly laws of oure Alkaron". The most vigorous defense was the Egyptian sultan's

criticism of Christianity from a Muslim basis, in a long conversation with Sir John Mandeville. Unlike *Mahomet*, *Allah* (< Arabic *al-'ilāh* "the god") was used circumspectly from the first.

In turning to individual authors, we find five pre-Renaissance writers. We have seen the use of *Mahomet* (we will cite the standard form hereafter) by Layamon and Langland, and by Chaucer and Mandeville, both of whom also used *Alkoran*. While William Caxton's introduction of the now-rare *solak* and the common *tambour* is linguistically important (cf. Chaucer's 24 Arabic introductions, detailed in Cannon 1994: 71), the most important source was *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1499). Its vast, lasting popularity chiefly motivated the English and Continental zest for travel books that laid the groundwork for borrowings in the 18th and 19th centuries, which were to expand the English vocabulary and provide raw materials for literature. The author used only four of our words, which were common names like *Turk* rather than borrowings employed for local color. His sources were books rather than actual travels to the Middle East and India, though Columbus and others evidently consulted his book for geographical information.

At the outset of the Renaissance, authenticity in literary description of Oriental places was not a major goal, as opposed to the later, firsthand observations of Jones, Byron, Morier, etc. Then Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas collected and published explorers' accounts of far-flung travels, inspiring many literary figures to burrow into libraries for detailed materials for describing Oriental scenes and actions. These accounts contain dozens of enticing words. Thirteen of Hakluyt's 21 items are cited in *The Oxford English dictionary* (OED 1989) as the earliest record: *Bairam*, *batman*, *bey*, *elchee*, *giaour*, *kehaya*, *nefte*, *pik*, *Ramazan*, *shah*, *shahi*, *subashi*, and *toman*. The "Muslim slave" sense of *mameluke* was the first recorded shift from the original 1511 sense of "member of the former Egyptian military class". However, excepting a few items like *Ramazan* and *shah*, most of these are still little used. A few other items reinforced some earlier transfers that later became common (*vizier*, 1562), or provided a word and concept on which to base a poem (Byron's *giaour*).

Continuing Hakluyt's publications, Purchas gave us the first record of 26 (of his 53) loans: *caique*, *canaut*, *elatcha*, *firman*, *hammam*, *imaret*, *jackal*, *khoja*, *kiosk*, *lascar*, *mahmudi*, *maidan*, *Mir*, *mogul*, *nakhoda*, *oda*, *oke*, *ormuzine*, *Parsi*, *pilau*, *ryot*, *serai*, *shahbandar*, *shikar*, *tezkere*, and *yoghurt*. Also earliest known are the transferred sense of *muezzin* in "the Mouden, or Sexten crieth in the steeple", and the derivation *sultanship*, which Byron liked. More of Purchas' introductions have become common in English than have Hakluyt's, often familiarized by later usage.

Other Renaissance nondramatic introductions are Richard Crashaw's *pasha*, John Foxe's *Mussulman*, Spenser's *Scanderbeg*, and Sir Thomas More's *bashaw* and *janizary* (of his six items), besides the first produc-

tive form in Andrew Marvell's participle *Alkorand* and Roger Ascham's first use of *Turkish*. Robert Burton's *Anatomy of melancholy* reinforced the earlier *bhang*, *dervish*, and *roc*, as did Bacon's *sherbet*. As *beylik* is the only introduction in Sir Thomas North's version of Plutarch's *Lives*, apparently North was not seeking to add Oriental "inkhorn terms" to the English vocabulary, alongside his classical introductions (Cannon 1998b: 133).

In the dramas, the items are used familiarly in dialogue, where glosses cannot easily be given, and the orality is likely to have more impact on the audience. The introductions include Francis Beaumont's *hyleg* and Ben Jonson's noun *chouse* (the verb form first used by James Shirley in 1659), and the transferred sense of *turban* in "a huge turbant of nightcaps on his head". Philip Massinger advanced the naturalization of *mufti* (of his four loans), as did Jonson for *martagon* and *seraglio*, John Fletcher for *mogul*, John Ford for *chouse*, and Shakespeare for *Sophy* and *turbaned*. In view of the Moorish theme in *Othello*, the nine appearances of forms of *Turk* there is not surprising. Indeed, the "turbaned Turk" helps to characterize this enemy, with forms of *Turk* appearing 30 times in 14 of Shakespeare's plays.

The use of our loans in Restoration literature is generally unimpressive, as in Nicholas Rowe's use of *Allah*. Of the six items in *Paradise lost* (*turban* is in *Paradise regained*), Milton's introduction of *Gehenna* "Muslim hell" (related to Turkish *jehennem* and Persian *Jehannam*, both from Arabic) in "black *Gehenna* call'd, the Type of Hell", and *Ormus* (now *Hormuz*) as a symbol of Eastern wealth was unsuccessful, as the two do not appear in dictionaries. His uses of "great *Mogul*" and *Sophy* were only mild reinforcements.

Dryden's 17 items are the exception. They include the first-known figurative or transferred senses of *mogul* "great personage", *dragoman* in "druggerman of heaven", and *seraglio* "nunnery". He was creative with old loans, introducing the derivatives *hylegiacal*, *Mussulwoman* (< *Mussulman*), and *Muftiship*, though none became common. His *Conquest of Granada* may have been the first use of two of our items for dramatic heightening, where two Moors are preparing to fight as champions. They swear on and kiss the *Alcoran*, in the name of *Mahomet*, before beginning the climactic battle (Part II, v, 47ff.). Dryden's *simar* was later adopted as *symar* by Byron. The use of *caravansary* and *jackal* in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *Spectator* and *Guardian*, in view of the widespread reading of those newspapers in coffeehouses, may have been influential, as was possibly Samuel Butler's *bashaw*. But the use of *chenar* (*tree*) in John Eveyln's *Diary*, and *Scanderbeg* in Thomas Otway's *The Atheist*, did little to assist the naturalization of those still-rare words.

In the 18th century, we find Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Edward Gibbon, William Beckford, and especially Jones, as the major providers of Oriental loans. All but Jones had much less direct impact on the English

vocabulary than Hakluyt and Purchas did, but much more influence on Romantic poetry, as evidenced by acknowledgments to them in notes. Some of Montagu's charming, polished eye-witness descriptions of her life in Constantinople in 1717 rival Pope's letters as major literary correspondence. Among her 27 items are introductions of *Arnaut*, *feridgi*, *kislar aga*, and *divan* as "levee". Her items are usually skillfully blended into the text, with occasional glosses, as for *defterdar*, which she wrote as "*tefterdar* (i.e., treasurer)". Her compoundings may convey a moral judgment (*seraglio ladies*), and a letter to Pope communicated *janizary*.

Preceding Jones, we find Dr. Johnson's introduction of *hour* and his use of *china* in a *Rambler* essay (none of our words is in his "Oriental" *Rasselas*), Jonathan Swift's use of *vizier* in several works, Henry Fielding's *bashaw*, Samuel Foote's *jagir* in *The Nabob*, and Laurence Sterne's introduction of a transferred sense in "caravanseras of rest". Six of Oliver Goldsmith's seven items appeared in a 1774 journalistic preface to a work in natural history, with the goat *pasan* introduced, *gazelle* first used as an adjective, and the mythical *roc* described. His bezoar *pazar* was its last record and so became obsolete. Not among our cited authors but meriting a negative reference is William Collins' *Persian eclogues* (1742), which, by title, would seem to be a source of loans and is praised by Osborne (1916), but uses only the common *Turk*, of our words. Its "Persian" qualities derive from the subject matter, themes, images, and a few encyclopedic proper nouns.

British literary translators had introduced classical "inkhorn terms" into English to enrich and provide needed vocabulary. Asiatic languages lacked their champion until Jones challenged the neoclassical constraints and began urging the use of Middle Eastern words and other elements to rejuvenate British literature and restore its imaginative qualities (Cannon 1994: 70). The scholar rather than the artist dominated Jones's writings that were inspired by Persian (but not by Arabic and Sanskrit, as his translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* and Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* had wide literary impact). Only four of his 57 Persian and/or Turkish items appear in his poetry: *narghile* in "The Enchanted fruit" (1784), and *Hindustani*, *jackal*, and *subadar* in his slight 1784 "Plassey-plain". Eight others are in "An Essay on the poetry of the eastern nations", an essay in literary criticism appended to his much-praised, innovative *Poems, consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatick languages* (1772). Jones used the other 45 words in the many essays and books in which he dramatically communicated his Oriental discoveries, chiefly in *A Grammar of the Persian language* (1771), the unfinished "Essay on the history of the Turks" (1773), and his "Fifth anniversary discourse" and "Sixth anniversary discourse" to his Asiatic Society (1788, 1789).

"A Persian song of Hafiz" titillated readers with fluid place-names that are not a part of the general vocabulary, in lines like

Than all Bocara's vaunted gold,
 Than all the gems of Samarcand. . . .
 A stream so clear as Rocnabad,
 A bower so sweet as Mosellay.

But Jones's place in literature is as a Romantic precursor and source, not as an original poet. A well-liked member of Johnson's Literary Club (see his description of the fellow-members, in *Letters 2*: 278–281), he had long conversations with Edmund Burke, Gibbon, Johnson, Thomas Percy, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Adam Smith that influenced their writings. His use of notes in verse-romances like "The Enchanted fruit", so as not to mar the music and syntax with glosses, still weakened the poem, which nonetheless influenced Robert Southey, Byron in the verse-romance genre, Thomas Moore, and others. Jones's voluminous writings from India, widely pirated in England and America, further inspired his contemporaries.

He attempted to introduce dozens of Persian proper nouns and other encyclopedic words that he transliterated, items of such rare currency that they are still not recorded in dictionaries, as well as many Arabic and Sanskrit loans that he successfully introduced or helped to naturalize (Cannon 1990: 311). His 57 Persian and/or Turkish words surpass Purchas' 53, but are exceeded by Byron's 94. Twenty-eight are the first-known record, of which the OED credits Jones for only *bulbul*, *shikasta*, and *taliq*. As our Jones citations antedate 13 other OED entries and provide the earliest record of 12 items in dictionaries other than the OED, we see that a study of literary usages can emend standard linguistic and lexicographic information. His introductions include common items like *Afghan* "the people", *Avesta*, *bulbul* and *gul* (both of which Byron liked), *Iran*, *narghile*, *Osmanli*, *Pahlavi*, and *Sassanid*. And he advanced the naturalization of *gazelle* (in his *Poems*), *houri*, *Iran*, *jackal*, *sultan*, etc.

Though *The Decline and fall of the Roman empire* introduces none of our loans or derivational or compounded forms created from them, at least 47 of the items are employed for precision and literary enhancement. At the beginning of his long account of Muhammad and Islam, Gibbon acknowledges a "total ignorance of the Oriental tongues" and consequent reliance on extensive reading. His decades-long research supplied the items, supplemented by Jones as a personal source. Because Gibbon was one of the few well-known literary figures to use numbers of items like Jones's *Zend* and *Zend-Avesta*, he assisted in their acceptance into English. When we contrast Lady Montagu's use of select Turkish words to describe a harem or smallpox inoculation, we perceive a purposeful, stylistic Gibbon creating a vast panorama. When he needs a precise detail, he chooses Turkish *ichoglan* rather than an unwieldy phrase like "sultan's page-in-waiting", or *kislar aga* rather than *chief eunuch*. When he needs the name of the Persian unit of length, he finds the Latin-transmitted *parasang* (< Persian).

Such words increase the interest, help his history to come alive, and enhance one of the finest historical styles of all time. His goal of accuracy eschewed glittering, exotic language or expansion of the English vocabulary. His spelling is usually accurate, as when he uses the old form *beglerbeg*, which was not yet superseded by *bey(lerbey)*, and the common *Curd* for modern *Kurd*. The loans are all nouns, including 18 proper nouns. His history is one of the major vehicles for our items. Reading (and Jones) provided his scattered Asian information, and his synthesis of the data constituted rich materials for later literature.

The final significant 18th-century use of our items was in Beckford's fantastic novel *Vathek* (1784), which, emulating Jones, uses notes rather than glosses to explain all but *pilau* and *mosque* (which needed no definition by then). "The Giaour", a central character, leads the evil caliph Vathek down to Eblis "chief of the wicked jinn", and Vathek is punished for his empty pomp and forbidden power. Of Beckford's introductions (*abdest*, *Bismillah*, *takhtrawan*), only *ghoul* has become common. He could have found all but five of his 37 loans in Jones's works, several of which he acknowledges in the notes. Eblis' gloomy galleries resemble the great gallery in Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1765), except that, barring the Indian tale in Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the wanderer*, the Gothic novels do not use our items. Instead of Eblis, Shaitan, ghouls, and afrits, vague entities like bad angels, Satan, etc. haunt the Gothic galleries.

Romanticism exhibits the peak of the literary use of our loans, followed distantly by the Victorians. Chronologically, the key representatives are Robert Southey, Byron (the principal user), Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, Thomas Hope's *Anastasius*, Morier, and Sir Walter Scott. Like Beckford, Southey probably found more of his Oriental items in Jones's writings than in any other source, though many appear in the travel books that Jones himself read. These formed part of the erudition underpinning Southey's epics like *Thalaba the destroyer* (1801, containing 24 of his 33 items), which are no longer read but advanced the acceptance of several words. He introduced *Al Araf*, *huma*, and the transferred sense of *ghoul* in "human ghouls".

Influenced by Jones's narratives like "The Enchanted fruit", Byron established the Romantic tradition of Oriental tales, which Moore emulated in poetry, and Hope and Morier followed in their picaresque novels. Unlike some of his colleagues, Byron did not find the majority of his loans in Jones, who was nonetheless his major source, which he supplemented with words heard in person in Albania. His high, historical stature is evidenced by the OED's crediting his 1814 introduction of *alma* (actually in "The Waltz", 1813), *attar-gul*, *camise*, *galiongee*, *rayah*, *Stamboul*, *tophaike*, and *yataghan* in "silver-sheath'ed ataghan", with only *tambourgi* (no entry in the OED) overlooked. Though only *camise* and *yataghan* have become

comparatively common, his great popularity insured that his 94 items (of our total 319) received substantial impetus toward naturalization.

His *use* of the items demonstrates his superiority to Jones and fellow-poets. Usually indicating the exotic nature of the word only by capitalizing the first letter, he eschews italics, quotation marks, and glosses, and appends fewer definitional notes than other Romantics and the Victorians do (cf. the lengthy Spanish quotations in Southey's notes for *Roderick*). Sometimes Byron's sophisticated internal definitions blend a possessive form into the rhyme, as in various couplets in *The Giaour* (1813). An entire Muslim cultural-religious observance is simultaneously dramatized in "To-night, set the Rhamazani's sun;/ To-night, the Bairam feast's begun." His couplets convey both the syllabic stress and the pronunciation, when needed, as in "Swift as the hurled on high jerreed/ Springs to the touch his startled steed" and in "Not thus was Hassan wont to fly/ When Leila dwelt in his Serai." A few couplets later we find rhyming pairs like *set/ Minaret, power/ Giaour, Mosque/ Kiosk, Gazelle/ well*, and *lid/ Giamschid "Jamshid"*. So Byron employed the loans for purposes far beyond mere local color, as seen often in Southey and Moore. He shaped the items so deftly into the poetry that the lines become more artistic, while making the poetic situations more authentic in Turkish or other environments. Arabic words are similarly used. Moreover, his concordances disclose many obscure Oriental items that, while appropriate for his dramatic situations, have still not been accepted into English dictionaries. But however far his Oriental tales have declined in modern interest, our loans often appear in his flashes of real poetry.

Moore's *Lalla Rookh* (1817), based on wide reading, was translated and made into an opera. It, too, has lost its great popularity, borne down, as it is, with long, explanatory notes and many quoted sources. His lexical introductions are small: the OED credits *zel*, but overlooks his *Kashan* and first attributive use of *Gabar* in "Gheber belt". His 61 loans do sharpen the Oriental flavor of the sprawling, verbose tale, but add little to its artistry, charm and wit, or plot. All but 23 appear in his friend Byron's poems.

Hope's *Anastasius* (1819) and Morier's *Adventures of Hajji Baba* (1824) create anthropologically and linguistically authentic pictures of Asia Minor and the Middle East, built upon extensive travel there. These greatly surpass the "Orientalism" created in earlier works except by Jones and Gibbon. The OED credits Hope's introduction of *bimbashi*, but overlooks his *araba* and *rezai*. He appends notes for the loans, totaling 86, that he used most often. *Anastasius* makes no special artistic or dramatic use of the words, but is important for its popularity, influence, and the praise of Byron (leading to his use of the Russo-Turkish war in *Don Juan*) and Scott in *The Talisman*.

Anastasius was the direct precursor of *Hajji Baba*, which was more interesting, dramatic, and creative, despite the constant, distracting glosses

for the usually italicized 89 loans. The words, reminiscent of Jones's expertise in gaining authenticity through Oriental words, helped to make this novel a kind of touchstone throughout the 19th century as a true picture of Persian culture, reflected in the Persianisms littering Hajji Baba's broken English. Thus one terrified, superstitious character screams, "It's a ghôl!" The OED credits Morier's introduction of *yakdan* "portmanteau", *yuzbashi*, and the first figurative sense of *kabob* ("making kabob of our hearts") and transferred sense of *shaitan* ("He is a Sheitan", in *Ayesha*), but overlooks his introduced *anderoon*. Besides dozens of obscure Persianisms (e.g., *kabobchi* "roast-beef man"), we have arbitrarily excluded 21 other rare items that are solely in Morier and dictionaries. Thirteen of these are the first record in English (*shalwar*), and five antedate the OED's earliest citation (*zurna*, predated from 1970 to 1824). Morier influenced the acceptance of *baklava*, a Near Eastern pastry that no other literary figure mentions. His loans enhanced both the language and the delightful artistry in his novels, which constitute a Persian treasure trove.

A plethora of loans sometimes clutters his prose, unlike the works containing Scott's 35 items. *The Talisman* (1825) makes sophisticated, discreet use of almost all the items to extend the ambiance of the Jerusalem scene that Scott paints, despite the modest caveat in his Introduction that he "was almost totally unacquainted" with this setting. His items contribute little to the language, unless one affects the Arabic plural *Maugrabin* (rather than use the common, regularized *Maugrabees*) that he attempts to introduce. But this was probably a natural development by 1825, as Jones, Gibbon, Bryon, etc. had already introduced most of our items and effected much of the naturalization. Literary usage was now mainly for creative, narrative purposes, as when an unnamed *dervish* dances and spins so violently that, when he collapses at the feet of King Richard, the retainers think that he is dead. In this tense climactic scene, he opens his eyes surreptitiously and attempts to kill the English monarch with his *khanjar*, a word not used by Jones or Byron. These two words and their milieu are crucial to the drama.

Starkly excepting Byron, the slim use of our items by the major Romantics suggests an objective difference from their Oriental colleagues. Separate from the Oriental strain, the eight items in each of Wordsworth and Keats, and the 12 in Coleridge indicate the non-Oriental aspect of Romanticism, in "a selection of language really used by men" who would not know exotic Turkish and Persian words. Shelley's 17 items do exhibit three exceptions in *Hellas* – an Arabic call, *Arnaut*, and Byron's spelling *pacha* instead of the *pasha* established since Gibbon's time. There is little need for poetic utility. In an 1811 letter, Shelley coined the derivation *Hindoostanish*; and Coleridge's notebook first records *seraglio* as a verb ("My heart seraglios a whole host of joys"). In his *Osorio* (1797), the line "Of Mosks, and minarets, and golden crescents" fits two of our

words into the kind of stylistic list characterizing the new poetry, as in Wordsworth's "A lover of the meadows and the woods,/ And mountains".

There are other writers in this period. Mrs. Mary Sherwood's 11 items have an Indian setting (they were mainly transferred via Indic languages, as borrowed from Persian). She introduced the transferred sense of *nawab* as "a wealthy, retired Anglo-Indian", and helped to naturalize words like *cummerbund*. Maturin's 11 items in *Melmoth* (1820) are common ones like *Turkish mosque*, used to heighten the moody, sensuous quality of a Hindu setting within the successive religious perversions. Maria Edgeworth introduced the verb *shawling*, and Walter Savage Landor's two items include the derivation *mamelukery*. Our Appendix 2 specifies the single items appearing in each of Jane Austen, Thomas Campbell, and Thomas De Quincey, besides Charles Lamb's well-known essay on *china*. Thomas Hood's minor poem "Poetry, prose, and worse" (1835) contains 11 of his dozen common items.

Of the six Victorian poets who used our loans, only Tennyson and Browning employed significant numbers. Besides Tennyson's major debt to Jones for the idea underpinning "Locksley Hall", four items appear in his adolescent *Poems by two brothers* (1827), with credit given to Jones in the notes. Twenty-six items are skillfully interwoven across Tennyson's poetic corpus, ranging from his being the only literary figure known to have used the item (*kuphar*, *mujtahid*), to dialectal usage in "The Northern cobbler" ("An I were chousin' the wife"), and powerful embellishment of the theme of death in "The Ancient sage" ("Some death-song for the Ghouls/ To make their banquet relish"). "Akbar's dream" (1835) contains 13 items, with the first transferred sense (but unsuccessful) of Jones's *alif* ("The Alif of Thine Alphabet of Love"), and a note on *Zend-Avesta* echoing Gibbon.

Browning's 32 items, 25 of which do not appear in Tennyson, are also smoothly employed across his entire corpus. With nine to 16 usages each, *dervish*, *shah*, and *Turk* are his favorites. *Pippa Passes* contains the first figurative sense of *martagon*, and his Persian form *khanjar* (rather than the Turkish *hanjar*) signals the replacing of Byron's Turkish impetus with a Persian one. Browning's political sense of Jones's *hamza* "a Lebanese office", in "The Return of the Druses", is unsuccessful, as dictionaries eschewed it. The only known poetic use of *Shahanshah* occurs in "A Bean-stripe". There are echoes from Milton (*Ormuz*) and Byron (*attar-gul*). "The Flight of the duchess" emulates Byron's technique of indicating pronunciation through rhyme, in "Like the band-roll strung with tomans/ Which proves the veil a Persian woman's". The loans can effect a stark contrast, as in *Sordello* ("I'd fain hope, sweetly; seeing, peri or ghoul").

When Arnold translated a portion of Firdausi's *Sháhnáma* as "Sohrab and Rostum" (1853), Jones's plea in the preface to his 1772 *Poems* was partly fulfilled, for he never completed more than a few sample verses of

his long-envisioned epic. FitzGerald's version of Omar Khayyám's *Rubáiyát* (1859) further signalled the final success of Jones's and later arguments for a revolution against neoclassicism, with an imaginative new poetry sometimes with a Persian-Arabic component now established. Among Arnold's numerous Persian proper nouns are only six of our items, besides six other, well-known ones in "The Sick king in Bokhara" (1849). His attempted introduction of *Registân* "market-place" failed, as did FitzGerald's first recording of *mah*, *Mahi*, *Mushtari*, and *tamam*, which were not inserted in dictionaries. *Rubáiyát* remains semantically tied to its Persian context, and *Jamshid* and *saki* were little advanced from their obscurity. FitzGerald's only advancement was Jones's *Pahlavi*.

Passing over Robert Louis Stevenson's Romantic use of *bazaar*, *minaret*, and *mosque* in his little "Travel" (1885), we reach Rudyard Kipling. Many of his 34 items appear in prose and overlap into the 20th century. He introduced the still-rare *Kabuli*, *shadi*, *tar* "telegram" ("My father is at the *tar*-house sending *tars*", in a 1893 *Harper's weekly*), *jackal* as a functionally shifted verb, and *Zakka Khel* as an attributive. *Kim* introduces no items, though it contains perhaps the only literary use of *Hubshee*, *shabash*, *shikasta*, and *yarak*. His *Departmental ditties* (1889) offers the first poetic appearance of *babul* and *musth*, as well as the rare *dasturi*, *jezail*, and *shikar*. Repeating some of Mrs. Sherwood's Indic-transferred items, Kipling's items are fundamental to his creative skills and reputation for highly original Anglo-Indian literature. Without them, that literature would have been much poorer or might not have existed.

Three writers of nonfiction prose made minor use of our loans. John Ruskin is represented by *gul*; and Thomas Carlyle, by *afghan*, *Allah*, and *ghoul*. Thomas Babington Macaulay's 13 items, first published in journalistic essays in the *Edinburgh Review*, usually relate to India (*lac*, *lascar*). Denotationally necessary, they had little effect on the language.

The Victorian novelists are chiefly represented by William Makepeace Thackeray and Benjamin Disraeli. Thackeray introduced *Kohinoor* in *Pendennis*, and *bulbul* as an attributive in *Vanity fair*. His Indian antecedents partly explain why he utilized several Indic items in various novels with non-Indian settings to create satire, wit, and/or characterization (*cheese* "something first-rate", *mufti*, *narghile*, and *yashmak*). The majority of his 85 items appear in two small books. *A Journey from Cornhill to Cairo* (1845) exhibits how 59 loans had a considerable role in converting a travel book into a work of literary value (cf. *Tancred*), transcending the local color created in early travelers' books. His satirical genius is often assisted, as in contrasting the title *Emin Bey* a few lines later with *Skinflint Beg*. Many of his often duplicated items in the burlesque *Tremendous adventures of Major Gahagan* (1841) exaggerate character, as the invincible commander of the Indian Irregular Horse narrates his Munchausen-like exploits composing the book. Thus "I shouted to him in a voice of thunder (in the

Hindustanee tongue of course)". The major dons "a scarlet turban three feet high" and strips off an enemy's "turban, camerbund, peijammahs, and papooshes". Such examples illustrate a fine novelist's artistic blending of Oriental words into his prose.

Almost all of Disraeli's 50 loans appear in *Tancred* (1847) to describe the landscape around Jerusalem, where the hero travels. This primarily local color (cf. Scott's *Jerusalem*), intended to buttress the essentially religious theme, is little better than the travel accounts that most of our writers surveyed for Asiatic words and culture. Disraeli introduced *Latakia* "aromatic Turkish tobacco" in an 1833 letter, and *ghoul-like* in *Coningsby*, with unsuccessful naturalization or introduction of several obscure Arabic and Turkish words. His failed supernatural theme in *Tancred* is little assisted by the repetition of *Eblis*; missing are *div*, *Munkar*, and other needed words that Beckford, Byron, and Morier expertly employed.

Among seven novelists who used a few of our words, there are Thomas Hardy's introduction of an extended sense of *attar* ("the attar of applause", in *Far from the madding crowd*); and George Meredith's *fezzy*, in *Beauchamp's career*. Ouida's pair of words includes Byron's *alma*; and Charles Dickens used *fakir*, *mogul*, and *shawl*. Charlotte Bronte, Charles Kingsley, and Edward Bulwer-Lytton each employed one or two of our words.

Six 19th-century Americans should be mentioned. Many of Herman Melville's 34 items are used creatively and dramatically, as in the male whales who become *sultans* of their *harems*. The mysterious *Parsi*, Fedallah, is significant in Ahab's final revenge against Moby Dick, as are other religious words like *Eblis* and Milton's *Gehenna* elsewhere. Ralph Waldo Emerson's 19 items are spread among nine works, where he argues for tolerance and universal religion in his "Song of Seyd Nimetollah" in couplets like "What are Moslems? What are Giaours?/ All are Love's, and all are ours". His "Saadi" utilizes *Allah*, *bazaar*, *dervish*, and *fakir* for similar intellectual purposes. Washington Irving's 21 items, excepting *gazelle* and *ghoul*, are in his *Mahomet*, a minor work where they appear in his text and an appendix. Besides Oliver Wendell Holmes's *harem*, *huma*, and *meer-schaum*, we should list William Dean Howells' *seersucker*.

Excepting Melville, the other major American literary use was by Edgar Allan Poe, who selected nine Muslim religious words to intensify his eerie ambiance. A Muslim concept inspired "Al Araaf" and "Israfel" (the angel of music), where we find the attributive "Houri glances". Poe used both *Eblis* and *simoom* in his "Tamerlane". His best-liked loan was *ghoul*, which he employed musically in "The Bells" and "Dream-land". Generations of readers have shuddered at the phrase "ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir" in "Ulalume".

Various 20th-century works contain several items introduced into English. Among Lawrence Durrell's eight words are some Turkish ones first

appearing in the 1920s (*mastika*, *meltemi*) and the inflected form “purdah-ed girls”. Sinclair Lewis introduces *shish kebab* and routinely uses seven items (*harem*, in “feminism and haremism”). T.E. Lawrence’s seven words, mainly from his letters in the period 1911–1938, introduce *mukhtar* in 1911 and two rug terms (*Kermanji*, *kilim*). Arthur Koestler’s four items exhibit the first literary employment of *hora*, a journalistic use of *Kemalist*, Lawrence’s *mukhtar*, and *shish kebab*. John Galsworthy’s two items include the first transferred sense of *purdah* as “quarantine”. O Henry initiates the figurative sense of *cheese* in “Big Cheese”, and burlesques FitzGerald in the story “The Rubaiyat of a Scotch highball”. There are one or two items in Wystan Hugh Auden, C. S. Forester, James Joyce, Dame Iris Murdoch, Wilfred Owen, Ezra Pound, Saki, George Bernard Shaw, Evelyn Waugh, and H. G. Wells.

The stature of some other novelists bars their words from inclusion in our literary corpus. As most of the citations, mainly missing Sax Rohmer’s, are in the OED, we will not cite the titles in the following list. The largest usages are in John Masters’ Indian novels (*chaprassi*, *cheese*, *chokidar*, *dafadar*, *kulah*, *rissaldar*, *saj*, *tahsildar*, *tangi*, and Morier’s *yakdan*), followed by Rohmer’s *bimbashi*, *Latakia*, *mudir*, *muezzin*, *yashmak*, and *yuzbashi*. Mary Margaret Kaye’s *The Far pavilions* (1978) uses four loans (*shadi*, *tahsildar*, *tar*, *yakdan*), as do Emma Lathen’s *By Hook or by crook* (*Hamadan*, *lungi*, *Qum*, *Sarouk*), and William Haggard’s *gup*, *Herat*, *Ispahan*, and *posteen*. There are also Louis Bromfield’s *khoja*, Arthur Joseph Cronin’s *rahat lokum*, Len Deighton’s recent *biryani* and *Kashan*, James T. Farrell’s *harem*, Dashiell Hammett’s *pajamaed*, Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Gibraltar*, David Jordan’s *nastalik* and *tabla*, Richard Mason’s *lungi*, Vladimir Nabokov’s *charshaf* and *kiosk*, and Rex Stout’s *Imam Bayildi* and *Kirman*.

Finally, our literary corpus suggests five conclusions. First, though writers are almost certainly going to be influenced by others’ works, our Appendix A indicates that the rich, authentic, lexical raw materials provided by Jones, Gibbon, Byron, *Lalla Rookh*, *Anastasius*, and *Hajji Baba* helped to impart the Oriental qualities in some Romantic and Victorian literature. For example, Byron’s preference for the oral clipping *Stamboul* (not his contemporaries’ place-name *Istanbul*) led Hope to adopt Byron’s more intimate spelling, just as Shelley espoused Byron’s *pacha* instead of the established *pasha*.

Second, there is a fairly clear chronology and partial explanation of the sources. Before Jones’s many data were available, the number of loans used by a given writer was usually small, for the limited Orientalization was effected principally by means other than the use of Oriental words. With the exception of Purchas’ large total tabulated from the travelers’ accounts that he published, Dryden’s 17 items constituted a large total (cf. Byron’s 94). Writers drew their Turkish, Persian, and Arabic culture from the increas-

ingly popular travel books, as Dryden did for *The Conquest of Granada* and *Oreng-Zeb*. Personal observation, including residence among peoples in the given area, did not become a significant literary source until the impact of Mrs. Montagu's widely read letters from Constantinople, Jones's ten years in India (but earlier work at Oxford with native speakers of Arabic and Persian), and, later, Byron's associations with Ali Pasha and his Turkish followers. But as Byron did not know Arabic, many words of which appear in his poetry, these words and much Muslim information came from his reading. Such evidence invites studies of literary sources.

Third, our loans improved the quality, authenticity, and reputation of some literary works. Even without any direct observation, good poetry could derive from research, so that a scholar could be a poet like Jones, who was considered a major poet of his day. We note the large sum paid Moore for *Lalla Rookh*, and the influence and European stature that flowed from it, as seen also in Southey's research for *Thalaba*. Yet Southey's and Moore's dependence on glossing and cumbersome notes (that can leave the text incoherent if one interrupts the aesthetic flow in order to read the needed definition and explanation) helped to make them inferior to a really good poet like Byron. He employed notes only when necessary, artistically meshing the loans and cultural information into his poetry. These words added realism and authenticity to his created Turkish and Muslim environments. Overall, whether derived from reading or travel, they improved English literature and rendered its Oriental qualities more fully and truly Oriental.

Fourth, the loans demonstrate the sometimes inextricable interdisciplinary linking of literature and linguistics. When the usage is the first record (Jones's *Afghan*), it becomes more important linguistically because of the stature of the writer. This may be a new sense (Dryden's *seraglio* "nunnery"), or employment in a different form (Edgeworth's *shawling*) or form class (Jonson's noun *chouse*, from Shirley's verb). This originality may emend the etymology in dictionaries, as in Byron's Turkish forms of originally Arabic words, which should now be corrected to specify a dual source even when Arabic remains the main source. Comparably, *Hajji Baba* contains Persian forms of words that Persian borrowed from Arabic, as in *ketab*, *madrase*, and *salam* (= *kitab*, *madrasa*, and *salaam*, respectively). Such lexicographic corrections will affect the database for the third edition of the OED (projected for 2010) and entries in the much-used college dictionaries. And the data in dictionaries, principally the OED, comprise elements of a writer's vocabulary (thereby style). They enlarge his or her overall impact on posterity by crediting effects on the English language alongside the literary work transmitting the words. And our reading through the likely sources discovered that the concordances, even when published by reputable presses, omit some of our words, as do the Melville concordances.

Lastly, the identity and rank of the numerous literary figures who have affected English by using words from our limited corpora offer some surprises. While the small number of introductions by Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare might seem to indicate little impact, they powerfully influenced the negative meanings of key Islamic words and thus the Western view of Muslim culture. A Shakespeare's use of a previously introduced word called attention to the word and advanced its naturalization faster than if employed by a lesser writer, especially when the word was orally conveyed at the Globe instead of read in a book. Moreover, Shakespeare probably contributed more new words and meanings than any other writer, literary or nonliterary, with 1,500 tabulated (McQuain and Malless 1998). The number of loans contained in a work can be a tenuous criterion. Ascham's single word was the introduction of *Turkish*, which was surely more valuable than Coleridge's 12 items that include the introduction of the still unusual use of *seraglio* as a verb, even though, in the abstract, any word or sense is as valuable as any other.

Let us rank the largest number of different usages, parenthesizing the number of introductions and the best-known one, if any. Among the surprises in the following list is the high rank of Thackeray (not known as an Oriental writer) and of the minor figures Hope and Morier (whose novels motivated later writers), with Byron (not Jones, who has the highest Oriental reputation) in first place: Byron 94 (9 – *camise*), Morier 89 (5 – *yakdan*), Hope 86 (3 – *araba*), Thackeray 85 (2 – adjective *bulbul*), Moore 61 (3 – *zel*), Jones 57 (28 – *Iran*), Purchas 53 (26 – *yoghurt*), Disraeli 50 (2 – *Latakia*), Gibbon 47, Beckford 37 (4 – *ghoul*), Scott 35, Kipling 34 (5 – verb *jackal*), Melville 34, Southey 33 (3 – *huma*), Browning 32 (1 – *martagon* “a human sense”), Mrs. Montagu 27 (5 – *divan* “levee”), Tennyson 26, Hakluyt 21 (13 – *shah*), Irving 21, Emerson 19 (1 – *Gibraltar* “impregnable stronghold”), Dryden 17 (6 – *mogul* “great personage”), and Shelley 17 (1 – *Hindoostanish*). And all but the fairly recent of the 98 writers have made lexical introductions or advanced words from their originally Oriental setting toward the more generalized context found when a modern novelist like Rex Stout uses the words as though they are of native stock.

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Appendix 1: Turkish and/or Persian Loans Used by Literary Figures

Ninety-eight literary figures have used some of at least 319 Turkish and/or Persian loans (which may be ultimately from Arabic and transmitted by one or both into English) in

literary works or their correspondence. Appendix 2 lists these authors (e.g., Byron, Disraeli, Gibbon, Thomas Hope, Irving, Sir William Jones, Kipling, James Morier, Purchas, Scott, and Thackeray symbolized by the first letter of their last name). High-frequency items like *Allah*, *harem*, *Koran*, *mosque*, *sultan*, *turban*, *Turk*, and *vizier* often appear many times in the same work or in multiple works by the same author, but are tabulated only once for that author. Only likely works have been searched, as a minute reading of the complete corpus of the many writers, few of whom are represented by concordances or glossaries, would require years, though possibly turning up some additional usages and authors. A comprehensive search of *The Oxford English Dictionary* would likely discover other writers of lesser quality or non-aesthetic intent who have used some of the 319 loans.

| | |
|---|--|
| abdest – Be | b(h)ang – Burton, Mac |
| adrop – Jonson | bimbashi – H, K |
| Afghan – J, Moo, M, Mac, T, Ar, D | bismillah – Be, So, B, M, T |
| afghan – Car, Law | bosh – Kingsley, Brow |
| Afshar – J | bostangi – Mon, H, M |
| aga – B, H, M, T | boza – So |
| Ahriman – J, G, S, Brow | bukshi – P |
| Al Araf – So, Poe, I | bulbul – J, B, Moo, Te, T |
| alif – J, Te | burkha – K |
| Alkoran – Chaucer, More, Burton, Dry, Marvell, Mon, J, Be, Em | caftan – Mon, B, Moo, S |
| Allah – Dry, Rowe, G, Be, So, Cole, B, Moo, S, Words, Te, Car, T, Ar, Em, Me, I, D – many | caique – P, B, H, T |
| alma – B, H, Maturin, T, Ouida | calender – Be, M, T |
| Al Sirat – Be, B, H, I | calpac – B, H |
| anderoon – M, T | camise – B, S |
| araba – H, T | canaut – P |
| Arnaut – Mon, B, H, Sh, T | caratch – B, H |
| attar – Mac, Te, T, Hardy | caravansary – Hak, Ad, Sterne, So, H, M, T |
| attar-gul – B, Moo, Brow | carboy – Poe |
| Avesta – J | chadar – P |
| Azrael – Be, So, B, H, S, Poe, Te, I | chaprassi – T |
| babul – K | (big) cheese – T, Henry |
| baft – P | chenar – Evelyn, Moo, M |
| Bahadur – T | chiaus – Hak, Jonson, Massinger, G, B |
| Bairam – Hak, B, Te | chibouk – B, Moo, H, M, Me, D |
| Bakhtiari – J | chick – Sherwood |
| baklava – M | chillum – T |
| baksheesh – T, D | china – Mon, Johnson, B, Keats, Sh, Lamb, M, Me |
| Baluchi – P | choga – K |
| ban – Cole, Campbell | chokidar – Sherwood, B, K |
| bashaw – More, Fielding, Butler, B, Hood, Me | chouse – Jonson, Ford, Dry, Shirley, Butler, S, Keats, Te, Brow |
| batman – Hak | cummerbund – Sherwood, T |
| bazaar – Mon, So, Moo, M, Brow, T, Em, Mac, I, Me, D, Stevenson | cushy – Waugh, Auden |
| beg – J, G, M, T | Dari – J |
| bellum – Law | dasturi – K |
| bey – Hak, Mon, B, Moo, H, T, D | daye – Sherwood |
| beylerbeg – G | defterdar – Hak, Mon, H |
| beylik – North | dervish – P, Burton, G, Be, B, H, Sh, M, S, Mac, T, Em, D, Brow |
| | dey – Dry, B, H, Me |

- dinar – G, Moo, M, Brow
disdar – B
div – J, Be, Moo, H, M, I
divan “levee” – Mon, Be, B, Moo, H, M, S,
Hood, T, Me, Em, D
dixie – Wells
doab – T
dragoman – Hak, Dry, G, B, H, T
durbar – P
Eblis – G, Be, So, B, Moo, H, M, S, Poe,
I, Me, Em, D
effendi – Mon, J, H, M, T, D
elatcha – P
elchee – Hak, M
fakir – G, Be, B, Moo, Maturin, Em, So, S,
Dickens
farsang – P
fatwa – H, M
feridgi – Mon, H
Feringhee – Hak, Sherwood, T
fez – M, T, Meredith, Lewis
firman – P, B, H, M, Hood
Gabar – G, J, Moo, M, I, D
galiongee – B
gambroon – Lytton
gazelle – J, Goldsmith, I, B, Moo, Hood, T,
D – many
Gehenna – Milton, B, M, Me, I
ghazal – J, Moo, Hood, T
ghoul – Be, So, B, Moo, I, Car, Brow, Poe,
D, T, Te – many
giaour – Hak, Be, B, M, S, Em, T, D, Brow
Gibraltar – So, Sh, B, Brow, T, Me, Em
gul – J, B, Hood, Ruskin
gup – Galsworthy
Hajji – H, G, M, S, T, I
halva – Saki, K
hammam – P, T
hamza – J
hanjar – P, H, D
harem – Mon, Be, B, Moo, S, T, Me, Em,
Holmes, Te, D, Lewis – many
havildar – T
henna – P, So, B, Moo, H, M, Brow, T, D
Hindustani – J, Sh, T
hora – Koestler
hourī – Johnson, J, G, Be, So, B, Moo, S,
Lytton, Poe, Te, Mac, T, I, Me, Brow –
many
Hubshee – K
huma – So, Moo, Holmes
huzoor – K
hyleg – Beaumont, Dry
ichoglan – G, H, T
imaret – P, Moo
Iran – J, G, B, Moo, M, Te, Ar, Em –
many
Israfil – So, Moo, Poe, I
jackal – P, Dry, Ad, J, So, B, Moo, H, Sh,
Em, Ar, K – many
jagir – Foote
Jamshid – J, Be, B, Moo, H, M, S, Ar, Brow,
Fitz
janizary – More, Mon, G, B, Moo, H, Sh,
M, T, Keats, Me, D – many
jelick – B
jerid – B, Moo, H, S, D
jezail – K
kabob – H, M, T
Kabuli – K
kaimakam – Mon, H, D
kajawah – K
kanoon – Moo
Kashan – Moo
kehaya – Hak, P, North, Mon, H
Kemalist – Koestler
Kermanji – Law
khabar – K
khan “inn” – Mon, H, T, D
khanjar – S, Brow, K
khansama – Sherwood
khoja – P
kilim – Law
kincob – Sherwood
kiosk – P, Mon, B, Moo, T, Em, D
Kirghiz – De Quincey, Ar
kislār aga – Mon, G, B, H
kismet – M, Lewis
Kohinoor – M, T, Brow
konak – H, Durrell
Koran – P, G, Be, J, So, B, Moo, Sh, S, Te,
T, I, Me, Lewis – many
kulah – Moo
kuphar – Te
Kurd – G, B, H, M, S, Ar, D, Law
kurus – Pound
lac – Marvell, Mac
lari – P
lascar – P, Words, Mac, Brow
Latakia – T, D
mahmudi – P
Mahomet – Layamon, Chaucer, Mand, More,
Spenser, Shake, Bacon, Dry, Butler, J, G,
Be, Cole, B, Moo, S, Sh, T, Brow, Te, I
– many
maidan – P, So, T

- mameluke – Hak, More, Butler, G, B, Moo, H, Landor, Cole, T, Me, D
 martagon – Jonson, Brow
 mastika – Durrell
 Maugrabee – B, H, S
 maund – M
 Mazhabi – K
 meerschaum – Cole, Holmes
 mehmandar – Moo, H, M
 meltemi – Durrell
 meze – Durrell
 minaret – Be, So, Cole, B, Sh, Moo, H, Maturin, S, Te, Words, Brow, T, D, Stevenson – many
 Mir – P, J, Hood, Mac
 mirza – P, Dry, G, M
 miskal – P, M
 mobed – J
 mogul – P, Fletcher, Milton, Dry, G, J, B, Moo, Words, Dickens, Mac, Me, Te – many
 mohur – Austen
 mosque – P, Dry, Mon, G, Be, Cole, So, B, Moo, Words, Maturin, M, S, Te, T, Ar, I, Me, Em, D, Stevenson – many
 moussaka – Durrell
 mudir – Durrell
 muezzin – P, G, Be, B, Moo, H, Maturin, M, S, T, Me
 mufti – Massinger, Dry, J, G, So, B, H, M, T, Em, Me, D
 mujtahid – Te
 mukhtar – Law, Koestler
 mullah – P, J, Be, H, M, S, T, Ar
 Munkar and Nakir – Be, B, Moo, I
 musellim – B
 mussalchee – P
 Mussulman – Foxe, Dry, J, G, Be, Cole, So, B, Moo, H, M, Hood, Keats, T, Te, Mac, I, Me, D
 musth – K
 mutessarif – Law
 nakhoda – P
 narghile – J, M, T, Me, D
 nawab – J, Sherwood, Maturin, T
 nazir – Moo, M, Mac
 nefte – Hak
 neskhi – J, H
 nil “dye” – P, H
 oda – P, B
 odalisque – B, Te, Shaw, Joyce
 Oghuz – J, Auden
 oke – P, H, I, D
 Ormuz – Milton, Marvell, G, J, Moo, Me, Brow, D
 ormuzine – P
 Osmanlı – J, B, H, M, D
 pabouch – H, M, S, T
 Padishah – P, B, H, T
 Pahlavi – J, Fitz
 pajamas – T, Lewis
 para – B, H, M
 parasang – G, B, M
 Parsi – P, G, J, Moo, H, Te, Me
 pasan – Goldsmith
 pasha – Crashaw, Mon, G, B, H, Sh, M, T, D – many
 pashalic – B, H
 pazar – P, Goldsmith, M
 peri – Be, J, So, B, Moo, H, Keats, M, Brow, I, Me
 pik – Hak
 pilau – P, Be, B, H, M, S, T, Me, D
 Porte – J, G, Be, H, M, T, D
 posteen – K
 purdah – Maturin, T, Galsworthy, Durrell
 qasida – J, Durrell
 rahat lokum – Forester
 raki – D
 Ramazan – Hak, B, H, M, T
 rayah – B, H
 rezai – H, Sherwood
 rial – M
 rissaldar – K
 roc – Burton, Goldsmith, So, H, T
 Rubáiyát – Fitz, Henry
 ryot – P, M
 saic – B, M
 saki – J, M, Fitz
 samiel – Goldsmith, Moo, H
 sanjak – G
 Sassanid – J, G
 Scanderbeg – Spenser, Jonson, Otway, G, H, Em
 scanderoon – D
 seersucker – Howells
 selictar – B
 Seljuk – G, S
 sepoy – D
 seraglio – Jonson, Massinger, P, Marvell, Dry, Mon, G, Be, Cole, B, Sh, Te, T, Bronte, Me – many
 serai – P, B, H
 serang – K

- Seraskier – Mon, B, H
shabash – K
shadi – K
shah – Hak, G, Moo, M, T, Brow, Me – many
Shahanshah – M, Brow
shahbandar – P
shahi – Hak, M
shaitan – B, M
shamiana – P
shawl – Edgeworth, B, Sh, Keats, Brow, Dickens, T, Me, Ar, D – many
sherbet – Bacon, Mon, Be, B, Moo, H, M, S, T, Em, D
shikar – P, K
shikasta – J, K
Shiraz – Be, So, Moo, M
shisham – K
shish kebab – Lewis, Koestler
simar – Dry, Be, B, S
simoom – Cole, So, B, Moo, H, S, Poe, Em, Brow, T, Me
simurg – J, Be, So, Moo, Brow
sirdar – Sherwood, H, M
sitringee – Sherwood
solak – Caxton
Sophy – Spenser, Shake, Milton, G, Be, B
spahi – B, H, Landor, Ouida
Stamboul – B, H, Sh, Brow, D
subadar – J, K
subashi – Hak, P, H
sultan – Mand, P, Shake, Milton, Mon, G, Be, J, So, Cole, B, Words, Moo, Sh, S, Poe, Brow, T, Me, Te, D – many
sumbul – J
syagush – Goldsmith
syce – T, K
tabla – Murdoch
taboot – So, M
takhtrawan – Be, M
taliq – J
tamasha – T, K
tamboo – Owen
tambour – Caxton, So, B, Keats, S, T
tambourgi – B
tar – K
Tatar – J, So, H, M, D, Lewis
tendour – Mon, H
tezkere – P
Timariot – Massinger, B
toman – Hak, G, M, T, Brow
tophaik – B
Topkhana – H, T, K
Turanian – J
turban – Hak, P, Shake, Jonson, Milton, Dry, G, B, So, Words, Moo, S, Keats, T, Me, Brow, D, Lewis – many
Turk – Mand, More, Spenser, Ascham, Shake, Milton, Evelyn, Pope, Dry, J, G, Cole, B, Words, Moo, Sh, S, Te, Brow, T, Em, Me – many
Turkoman – P, J, B, Moo, M, Em, D
ulema – J, M, So, Te, Ar
Uzbek – G, Moo
vakeel – M, K
vizier – Hak, Swift, Mon, J, G, Be, B, Sh, Moo, T, Te, Ar, Mac, Me, Meredith, D – many
yakdan – M
yarak – K
Yasa – J
yashmak – T
yataghan – B, H, T, Brow
yoghurt – P, M, Waugh
Yusufzai – K, Kaye
yuzbashi – M
Zakka Khel – K
zel – Moo
Zend – J, G
Zend-Avesta – Goldsmith, G, J, Te, Me

Appendix 2: Literary Figures Who Have Used the Loans

One exemplar loan is given for each of 98 literary figures who have used some of at least 319 different Turkish and/or Persian loans in the works cited, though, except for concordances, the searches could not be comprehensive. For economy, some writers' names are abbreviated in Appendix 1, and each writer's known uses of the loans are totaled. The accessibility and editions of the works cited are such as to preclude giving bibliographical reference to specific editions. An asterisk indicates that the specified writer is the first known to have used the cited loan, which may also be in a different form class, derivative or compound form, or in a transferred or extended definition.

- Ad. Addison, Joseph. *The Guardian* #71, *The Spectator* #289. (*jackal*)-2
- Ar. Arnold, Matthew. "Calais sands", "The Sick king in Bokhara", *Sohrab and Rustum*. (*Afghan*)-12
- Ascham, Roger. *Toxophilus*. (*Turkish*)-1*
- Auden, Wystan Hugh. *The Age of anxiety, On the frontier*. (*Oghuz*)-2
- Austen, Jane. *Sense and sensibility*. (*mohur*)-1
- Bacon, Francis. "Of boldness" (*Essayes*), *Sylva sylvarum*. (*sherbet*)-2
- Beaumont, Francis. *The Bloody brother*. (*hyleg*)-1*
- Be. Beckford, William. *Vathek*. (*ghoul*)-37*
- Bronte, Charlotte. *Jane Eyre*. (*seraglio*)-1
- Brow. Browning, Robert. "Aristophanes' apology", "Bad dreams II", "A Bean-stripe", "The Flight of the duchess", "Home thoughts, from the sea", "Jochanan Hakkadosh", "Mihrab Shah", "Old pictures in Florence", "Pacchiarotto", *Paracelsus*, "A Pillar at Sebzevar", "Pippa Passes", "Porphyria's lover", *Red cotton night-cap country*, "The Return of the Druses", *The Ring and the book*, *Sordello*, "Two camels", *Two poets of Croisic*, "Waring". (*martagon*)-32*
- Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of melancholy*. (*bhang*)-4
- Butler, Samuel. *Hudibras*. (*bashaw*)-4
- B. Byron, Lord. *Beppo*, *The Bride of Abydos*, *Childe Harold's pilgrimage*, *The Corsair*, *Don Juan*, *English bards and Scotch reviewers*, *The Giaour*, *The Island*, *Sardanapalus*, *The Siege of Corinth*, "The Waltz". (*camise*)-94*
- Campbell, Thomas. "The Turkish lady". (*ban*)-1
- Car. Carlyle, Thomas. *On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history; Sartor resartus*. (*afghan*)-3
- Caxton, William. *The Cronicles of England, The Fables of Aesop*. (*solak*)-2*
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. "The Man of Law's Tale". (*Mahoun*)-3
- Cole. Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *The Death of Wallenstein*, "A Mathematical problem", *Osorio*, *The Piccolomini* (transl. of first part of Schiller's *Wallenstein*), "Religious musings", *Table-talk*, notebooks, 1799 letter. (*seraglio*)-12*
- Crashaw, Richard. *Carmen Deo nostro*. (*pasha*)-1*
- De Quincey, Thomas. "Revolt of the Tartars" (*Blackwood's Magazine*, July 1837, p. 109). (*Kirghiz*)-1
- Dickens, Charles. *Barnaby Rudge*, *Oliver Twist*, *Tom Tiddler's ground*. (*fakir*)-3
- D. Disraeli, Benjamin. *Coningsby*, *Tancred*, 1833 letter. (*Latakia*)-50*
- Dry. Dryden, John. *Annus mirabilis*, *The Assignation*, *Aureng-Zebe*, *The Conquest of Granada*, *Don Sebastian*, *An Evening's love*, *The Flower and the Leaf*, "The Hind and the panther", *The kind keeper*, *The Wild gallant*. (*dragoman*)-17*
- Durrell, Lawrence. *Balthazar*, *Bitter lemons*, *Spirit of place*, *Tunc*. (*moussaka*)-8
- Edgeworth, Maria. *Absentee*. (v. *shawling*)-1*
- Em. Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *English traits, manners*; "Fragments on the poet and the poetic gift"; "Mithridates"; "Monadnoc"; "Ode inscribed to W. H. Channing"; "Saadi"; *Society and solitude*; "Song of Seyd Nimetollah of Kuhistan". (*Gibraltar*)-19*
- Evelyn, John. *Diary*. (*chenar*)-2
- Fielding, Henry. *Jonathan Wild*. (*bashaw*)-1
- Fitz. FitzGerald, Edward. *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*. (*Rubáiyát*)-4*
- Fletcher, John. *The Fair maid of the inn*. (*mogul*)-1
- Foote, Samuel. *The Nabob*. (*jagir*)-1
- Ford, John. *The Ladies triall*. (*chouse*)-1
- Forester, Cecil Scott. *The Commodore*. (*rahat lokum*)-1
- Foxe, John. *The Book of Martyrs*. (*Mussulman*)-1*
- Galsworthy, John. *Swan song*, *The White monkey*. (*purdah*)-2*
- G. Gibbon, Edward. *The Decline and fall of the Roman empire*. (*Zend*)-47

- Goldsmith, Oliver. *The Citizen of the world*, Preface to Richard Brookes's *A New and accurate system of natural history*. (adj. *gazelle*)-7*
- Hak. Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principall navigations, voiajes, and discoveries of the English nation*. (*bey*)-21*
- Hardy, Thomas. *Far from the madding crowd*. (*attar*)-1
- Henry, O. "The Rubaiyat of a Scotch highball", "The Unprofitable servant". (*Big Cheese*)-2*
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell. *The Autocrat of the breakfast-table*, *The Poet at the breakfast-table*. (*huma*)-3
- Hood, Thomas. *Kilmansegg*, "Poetry, Prose, and Worse". (*firman*)-12
- H. Hope, Thomas. *Anastasius*. (*araba*)-86*
- Howells, William Dean. *Their wedding journey*. (*seersucker*)-1
- I. Irving, Washington. *The Lives of Mahomet and his successors*, *Salmagundi*, *Tales of a traveller*. (*ghoul*)-21
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel. *Irene*, *Rambler* #200. (*hour*)-2*
- J. Jones, Sir William. "The Enchanted fruit", "An Essay on the history of the Turks", "An Essay on the poetry of the eastern nations", *A Grammar of the Persian language*, *The History of the life of Nader Shah*, "Plassey-Plain", Fifth/Sixth anniversary discourse, 1784 letter. (*Pahlavi*)-57*
- Jonson, Ben. *The Alchemist*, *Every man in his humour*, *The Sad shepherd*, *The Silent woman*. (*chouse*)-6*
- Joyce, James. *Giacomo Joyce*. (*odalisque*)-1
- Keats, John. "Ben Nevis", "The Cap and bells", "The Eve of St. Agnes", *Lamia*, *Otho the great*. (*chouse*)-8
- Kingsley, Charles. *The Water-babies*. (*bosh*)-1
- K. Kipling, Rudyard. *Barrack-room ballads*, "The City of dreadful night", *The Day's work*, *Departmental ditties*, *The Eyes of Asia*, *From sea to sea*, *The Jungle book*, *Kim*, *Land and sea tales*, *Letters of travel*, *Life's handicap*, *Many inventions*, *Plain tales from the hills*, *Soldiers three*, *Stalky and Co.*, and in *Daily Mail* of 4 April 1900. (v. *jackal*)-34*
- Koestler, Arthur. *The Age of longing*, "London letter" (*Partisan Review*, 1947, 14: 344), *Thieves in the night*. (*hora*)-5
- Lamb, Charles. "Old China". (*china*)-1
- Landor, Walter Savage. *Imaginary conversations of literary men and statesmen*. (*mamelukery*)-2*
- Langland, William. *Piers Plowman B*. (*Mahound*)-1
- Law. Lawrence, Thomas Edward. *Seven pillars of wisdom*, 1911–1938 letters. (*mukhtar*)-7*
- Layamon. *Brut*. (*Mahun*)-1*
- Lewis, Sinclair. *Main Street*, *Our Mr. Wrenn*. (*shish kebab*)-8*
- Lytton, Edward Bulwer-. *Lucretia*, *Pelham*. (*gambroon*)-2
- Mac. Macaulay, Thomas Babington. *The History of England*, Rev. in *Edinburgh Review* ("Lord Clive", "Warren Hastings", "Milton"). (*vizier*)-13
- Mand. Mandeville. *The travels of Sir John Mandeville*. (*Mahomet*)-4
- Marvell, Andrew. "Bermudas", "Britannia and Rawleigh", "The First anniversary of the government under O.C.", "The Last instructions to a painter". (*alcoran'd*)-5*
- Massinger, Philip. *The Picture*, *Renegado*. (*mufiti*)-4
- Maturin, Charles Robert. *Melmoth the wanderer*. (*purdah*)-11
- Me. Melville, Herman. *Mardi*, *Moby-Dick*, *Omoo*, *Pierre*, *Redburn*, *Typee*, *White-jacket*. (*harem*)-34*
- Meredith, George. *Beauchamp's career*, *The Tragic comedians*. (*fezzy*)-2*
- Milton, John. *Paradise lost*, *Paradise regained*. (*Ormuz*)-7*

- Mon. Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley. 1713–1718 letters. (*Arnaut*)-27*
- Moo. Moore, Thomas. *Lalla Rookh*. (*zel*)-61*
- More, Sir Thomas. *The Confutacyon of Tyndales answere, A Dialoge concerning heresyys, A Dialoge of comforte against tribulation*. (*bashaw*)-6*
- M. Morier, James. *The Adventures of Hajji Baba, Ayesha, Hajji Baba in England*. (*yakdan*)-89*
- Murdoch, Iris. *A Word child*. (*tabla*)-1
- North, Sir Thomas. *Plutarch's lives*. (*beylik*)-2*
- Otway, Thomas. *The Atheist*. (*Scanderbeg*)-1
- Ouida. *Tricotrin, Under two flags*. (*spahi*)-2
- Owen, Wilfred. 1918 letters. (*tambo*)-1
- Poe, Edgar Allan. "A. G. Pym", "Al Aaraaf", "The Bells", "Dream-land", "Israfel", *Politian*, "Tamerlane", "To Marie Louise". (*Israfel*)-9
- Pound, Ezra. *Thrones*. (*kurus*)-1
- P. Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his pilgrims*. (*jackal*)-53*
- Rowe, Nicholas. *Tamerlane*. (*Allah*)-1
- Ruskin, John. *Fors clavigera*. (*gul*)-1
- Saki (H. H. Munro). *The Toys of peace*. (*halva*)-1
- S. Scott, Sir Walter. *Don Roderick, Harold the dauntless, Ivanhoe, Peveril of the peak, Quentin Durward, St. Ronin's well, The Talisman, Woodstock*. (*jerid*)-35
- Shake. Shakespeare, William. *King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, Othello, Twelfth night*. (*Sophy*)-5
- Shaw, George Bernard. 1903 letter. (*odalisque*)-1
- Sh. Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Hellas, "Julian and Maddalo", Laon and Cythna, "Letter to Maria Gisborne", Oedipus tyrannus, Queen Mab*, 1811 letter. (*Hindoostanish*)-17*
- Sherwood, Mrs. Mary. *The history of Little Henry and his bearer, History of little Lucy, The Lady and her ayah, The Lady of the manor, Orange grove*. (*nawab*)-11*
- Shirley, James. *Honour and Mammon*. (*v. chouse*)-1*
- So. Southey, Robert. *Common-place book; The Curse of Kehama; Roderick, the last of the Goths; Sir Thomas More; Thalaba the destroyer*; in *Quarterly Review* (1812: 7.53). (*ghoul*)-33*
- Spenser, Edmund. *Commendatory sonnets, The Faerie queene*. (*Scanderbeg*)-4*
- Sterne, Laurence. *The Sermons of Mr. Yorick*. (*caravansary*)-1*
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. "Travel". (*bazaar*)-3
- Swift, Jonathan. "A Project for the advancement of religion". (*vizier*)-1
- Te. Tennyson, Alfred, Lord. "Akbar's dream", "The Ancient sage", "A Dream of fair women", "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After", "The Lover's tale", "Maud", "Montenegro", "The Northern cobbler", "The Palace of art", "The Princess", *Poems by two brothers*, "Recollections of the Arabian Nights", "Romney's remorse". (*ulema*)-26
- T. Thackeray, William Makepeace. *The book of snobs, Codlingsby, The History of Henry Esmond, The Newcomes, Notes of a journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo, Pendennis, Sultan Stark, The Tremendous adventures of Major Gahagan, Vanity Fair*. (*adj. bulbul*)-85*
- Wagh, Evelyn. *Decline and fall, A Handful of dust*. (*yoghurt*)-2
- Wells, Herbert George. *Mr. Britling sees it through*. (*dixie*)-1
- Words. Wordsworth, William. "The Armenian lady's love", *The Excursion*, "Peter Bell", *The Prelude*. (*lascar*)-8

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