INDIAN WORDS
IN ENGLISH
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This comprehensive though concise study of the words from India which have from time to time been made familiar or adopted in English is of interest and value in three respects. It is the work of one who was well fitted for the task by natural acquaintance with some of the numerous languages of India, and by having learned others by contact with speakers of them or by study. It brings together the history of the British in India and the result of this in enriching their own language during a period of three centuries and a half. It gives in detail the extent to which the words thus made familiar have played their part in English literature from the seventeenth century down to the present time.

The following particulars relating to G. Subba Rao, the author of this work, have been kindly supplied by his brother, who is a Lecturer in Physics in the Hindu College in Masulipatam. He was born in July 1919 at Berhampur in the Ganjam District (then part of the Madras Presidency). The spoken language there is Oriya, but later on he prosecuted his studies at Masulipatam, where the language in common use is Telugu, which was also the tongue of his mother. He passed the Intermediate Examination of the Andhra University in the First Class in 1936, and took his B.A. there with distinction in 1938. An M.A. in English Language and Literature followed at the University of Madras in 1941, and he served as Lecturer in English in the Maharaja's college, Vizianagaram, during 1943–5. This combination of historical and linguistic studies was also carried on by him as a research scholar at the University of Madras, and there in 1948 earned for him the degree of M.Litt. Early in 1949, having by that time become Reader in English at Andhra
University in Waltair, he sent his dissertation, considerably enlarged, to Oxford, where it was submitted to the Clarendon Press and favourably received. Several suggestions for improving it by rearrangements and omissions were readily accepted, but the revision which this entailed was unavoidably delayed for some time, and it was not until 1953 that it was finally ready for the press. Unfortunately, before the printing had begun, his sudden death in the end of June prevented him from seeing in print the work he had successfully completed. As now printed, only a few minor alterations have been made in it, such as he would himself have been likely to make or approve of.

The chapters which will most naturally be interesting to many readers are the first, second, third, and seventh, the titles of which clearly indicate the various aspects under which the subject calls for special treatment. The last of them also displays a knowledge of English and its literature from the seventeenth century onwards which would do credit to many who have not had to learn English as a foreign tongue, while it is also a good example of how much English writers have profited by the study of other languages.

Some of the salient features in the adoption of Indian words which are here brought out are the variations in the numbers at different periods, such as the decline in the eighteenth century compared with the seventeenth and nineteenth and the introduction of a new element and incentive by the study of Sanskrit. Another feature, not made prominent in any of the chapters, is the predominance of words from Hindi and Urdu over those from the southern languages, although some of them were early adoptions through Portuguese and are specially mentioned in pages 11 and 12.

Considering the great variety of the languages and dialects spoken in India and the difficult nature of most of them in respect of phonology and grammar, it is remarkable that
English speakers were able to transfer so many words from them into their own language in varying degrees of correctness, usually improving in the course of time. That this was something that could be acquired without unusual effort is shown by the number of words which the Icelander Jón Ólafsson picked up by ear during a few years spent in southern India in the third decade of the seventeenth century, and remembered so well that he was able to write them down in 1660. That the knowledge was limited to the simplest form of the word, and did not include the grammar, was natural and is well exemplified by the Urdu imperative being taken over to serve as the infinitive.

It is obvious that the recent changes in the administration of India, and the separation of Pakistan, may have some effect in lessening the number of Indian words that may be retained, or hereafter adopted, in English. It is also possible that the penetration of English into the Indian languages may be lessened by the ultimate adoption of Hindi as the recognized language of India. At present however, the estimate that Spoken Telugu contains at least 3,000 English words, and the adoption of English for the definitions and other matter in the large dictionary of Sinhalese now in preparation does not suggest any immediate change over to another language in either India or Ceylon.

However this may be, it is well that this survey of the influence of India upon English has been made just at this time of transition, so that thereby a good basis has been provided for later comparisons between the past and the future.

W. A. CRAIGIE
PREFACE

The aim of this study is to inquire into the Indian element found in the English language as a result of the contacts between Great Britain and India from 1600 to the present time. It attempts to explain more fully and clearly than has been done heretofore how and why Indian words were taken into English and what happened to them in the new milieu. The scope of this survey is thus limited to the adoption of actual words, the new uses to which English material has been put under Indian influence being, as a rule, left out. Unlike the other foreign elements in English, the Indian element has not so far been treated chronologically and systematically. Writers on English vocabulary make, if at all, but a passing mention of it and the short introductions to such nineteenth-century glossaries as Yule and Burnell’s Hobson-Jobson and Wilson’s Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of British India do not pretend to be comprehensive. My indebtedness to these, to the great Oxford English Dictionary, and to a number of philological, literary, and other works will be evident from the following pages. The OED deserves special mention, as it is the authority for most of the etymological and semantic material on which my study is based.

G. S. R.
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ABBREVIATIONS

abbr. abbreviation, abbreviated.
ad. adaptation of.
adj. adjective.
Ar. Arabic.
attrib. attributive, attributively.
Beng. Bengali.
Can. Canarese.
COD Concise Oxford Dictionary.
comb. combination, combined, combining.
corr. corruption, corrupted.
esp. especially.
fig. figurative, figuratively.
Fr. French.
fr. from.
Guj. Gujarati.
H. Hindi, Hindustani.
IA The Indian Antiquary.
Mal. Malayalam.
Mar. Marathi.
MEU Modern English Usage.
naut. nautical.
ob. obsolete.
OED Oxford English Dictionary.
orig. original, originally.
Pers. Persian.
Pg. Portuguese.
pl. plural.
sg. singular.
Skr. Sanskrit.
SM The Diaries of Streynsham Master (The Indian Record Series).
SOED Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.
ABBREVIATIONS

S.P.E. Society for Pure English.
spec. specially.
Tam. Tamil.
Tel. Telugu.
Terry Edward Terry (Early Travels, &c.).
tr. translated.
transf. in transferred sense.
ult. ultimately (derived from).
Whittington Nicholas Whittington (Early Travels, &c.).

> sign used for 'derived from'.
I

THE EXTENT OF INDIAN INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH VOCABULARY

During the centuries that the British and Indians have known one another, the British mode of life, customs, speech and thought have been profoundly influenced by those of India—more profoundly than has often been realized.

LORD MOUNTBATTEN, 14 August 1947

1. Since the beginning of direct and uninterrupted intercourse between England and India in 1600, with the chartering of the East India Company, there has been a continuous and considerable influx of Indian words into English. 'I once took the trouble', said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, 'to collect the Hindustani words in the English language. I could not complete the task, but I was myself surprised to find such a number of Hindustani words current in the English language.' Besides Hindustani, many other languages of India are well represented in the English dictionary.

2. Most writers on English vocabulary realize the amplitude of the Indian element in it; but none, with the solitary exception of Dr. Mary S. Serjeantson, has attempted to evaluate its extent. Dr. Serjeantson's History of Foreign Words

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1 Speeches by the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 1947–48 (New Delhi, 1949), P. 29.
2 'India' throughout this study stands for 'the whole sub-continent of India and Pakistan'.
3 'Address to the Local Self-Government Ministers’ Conference', The Hindu (Madras), 7 Aug. 1948.
in English\textsuperscript{1} is admittedly a general and incomplete survey. Yet in her short chronological treatment (chapter x) she tries to establish the number of Indian words in English with a finality that is misleading. Her computation shows in the aggregate 188 words—a number which would make one wonder whether writers like Professor Weekley are, after all, right in holding that the Indian contribution to English is ‘really considerable’.\textsuperscript{2} She does not include even all the words admitted into the \textit{Concise Oxford Dictionary}. Thus, areca, jaggery, lacquer, brahman, and mogul, for instance, are missing from her list. The word-counts of Dr. Serjeantson are, therefore, clearly undependable, although, otherwise, her short account of the Indian element in English is a good chronological introduction to the subject.

3. That the Indian element in English is really considerable is amply borne out by the great \textit{Oxford English Dictionary}. It accords recognition to no less than 900 main words of Indian origin (listed in the Appendix to this book) and many thousands of derivatives from these words.

4. These, however, constitute only a small fraction of the foreign contribution to the English language. Compared also with the vast army of English words admitted into Indian languages, their number is small. Spoken Telugu, for instance, is estimated to contain at least 3,000 English words.

5. There are many reasons for the comparative meagre-ness of the Indian contribution to English. The English, for one thing, were always a very small minority in India, as ‘England had never seriously considered India as a colonie de peuplement’.\textsuperscript{3} The climate of the country prevented its ever being a ‘white man’s country’. Englishmen who spent some time in India and then returned home carrying accounts of

\textsuperscript{1} London, 1935.
\textsuperscript{2} Ernest Weekley, \textit{Something about Words} (London, 1935).
strange customs, institutions, or articles of trade, could not exert any profound influence on the language of their own country.

6. The reasons for the adoption of Indian words into English have been varied. Many of them denote objects and actions for which English names cannot easily be found and thus meet a real need. Besides these, however, there are a great many that have been chosen merely for their picturesque-ness and local colour. Thus, a large number of words like calico and tussore, banian and pyjamas, suttee and juggernaut, bandicoot and mongoose, jack and mango had of necessity to be borrowed. Further, as H. H. Wilson rightly says: ‘Ryot and Ryotwar, for instance, suggest more precise and positive notions in connexion with the subject of the land revenue in the south of India, than would be conveyed by cultivator, or peasant, or agriculturist, or by an agreement for rent or revenue with the individual members of the agricultural classes.’ But in addition to these a large number of words for which good English equivalents could have been found were sometimes employed. Thus midde (from Telugu) which means only ‘an upper-storied house’ and avira (widow) in the ‘barbarously transmuted form’ obeera were used in English. The OED does not record these words, and they must be reckoned among the numerous casualties in the vast army of 26,000 words found in Wilson’s Glossary.

7. Pedantic affectation of familiarity with the native languages, as well as the habit already acquired of borrowing foreign words freely, contributed to a certain extent in the beginning to the introduction of a large number of Indian words of the above type into English. This process would have continued and many more words might have gradually gained entrance into English, but for a certain check that

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1 H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of British India* (Calcutta, 1940), p. i.
took place. The words naturally caused much difficulty to the people in England, and the authorities of the East India Company passed orders directing their servants to use English words wherever possible, and to have recourse to the native word only when it could not be avoided. ‘Wee have forbidden the severall Factoryes from wrighting words in this languadge and refrayned it ourselves, though in bookes of coppies we feare there are many which by wante of tyme for perusall we cannot rectifie or expresse.’ But the natural tendency to borrow could not be completely checked by official command. Here is a good specimen of the jargon that continued to be employed by the factors, despite the ‘forbidding’:

Robert Young and John Willoughby at Lahore to the President and Council at Surat, October 26, 1624:

Their last was of the 15th present, with a copy of the King’s ‘furmand’ [farmān: command]. Since then they have procured the dispatch of two ‘haddies’ [āhādī: a royal messenger], who are ordered to carry to them the royal farmān, in company of John Willoughby, ‘Cojah [Khwāja Abūl Hasan] havinge givne them his parwanna [parwāna: a written order] to see all thinges restorred unto you and re-established againe in youre formar trad and priviolidges’. The messengers should therefore be acquainted with all moneys unjustly taken from them, either by Safī Khān, ‘Chuckedares [chaukidār: here, a customs-guard] or radarries’ [rāhdār: a road-guard]. . . .

If any money be forced from them before the arrival of the aḥadīs, the latter should be sent with the farmān to redemand it. Should this be denied, Young should be furnished with the particulars ‘under the duscoote [daskat: handwriting] and choope [chhap: a seal-impression] of the haddies’, when he will ‘make cares [arz: a petition] to Cojah’ for redress. . . .

Further on in this letter (over a page in length) occur ‘setonbarratt’ [sitān-barāt: an order to take], ‘dusturies’ [dastūrī: 1 Hobson-Jobson, p. ii.
an agent’s commission], shash [a turban cloth], ‘freaded’ [a verb made out of the noun faryād: a cry for help or redress], ‘dwa’ [duā: a prayer or good wishes], and ‘delassa’ [dilāsā: encouragement].

Some 150 years later the language of the Company’s records was still so excessively charged with Indian words that it provoked the following comment by Burke:

This language is indeed of necessary use in the executive department of the company’s affairs; but it is not necessary to Parliament. A language so foreign from all the ideas and habits of the far greater part of the members of the House, has a tendency to disgust them with all sorts of inquiry concerning this subject. They are fatigued into such a despair of ever obtaining a competent knowledge of the transactions in India, that they are easily persuaded to remand them... to obscurity.

An obscure versifier of the same period voiced a more general complaint:

In common usage here a chit
Serves for our business or our wit.
Bankshal’s a place to lodge our ropes,
And Mango orchards all are Topes.
Godown usurps the ware-house place,
Compound denotes each walled space.
To Dufterkhanna, Ottor, Tanks,
The English language owes no thanks;
Since Office, Essence, Fish-pond shew
We need not words so harsh and new.
Much more I could such words expose
But Ghauts and Dawks the list shall close;
Which in plain English is no more
Than Wharf and Post expressed before.

1 William Foster, The English Factories in India, 1624–1629, p. 32.
2 Edmund Burke, ‘Ninth report from the select committee of the House of Commons appointed to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, 25th June, 1783’, Works, vol. iv.
3 Hobson-Jobson, p. 243.
8. There is another factor which inhibited the flow of Indian words into literary English. By the seventeenth century the English language had become 'self-conscious', possessing a rich vocabulary. The English of this period, it must be remembered, was the language of Shakespeare. No foreign language could have any chance thereafter of exercising an influence comparable with that of Latin, or French. Englishmen began to take a just pride in their language. The poet Daniel asks:

And who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasures of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent
T'enrich unknowing nations with our stores?¹

9. The prophecy of the poet has come true. The languages of 'unknowing nations' are enriched with English words. But, on the other side, English too has not failed to receive an impress from them. More than three centuries of unbroken and growing Indo-British contacts could not but leave a pronounced mark on the English vocabulary and it is left in possession of a considerable number of Indian words, which have a singular cultural, philological, and literary interest.

¹ Samuel Daniel, Musophilus, or a General Defence of Learning (1599).
II

THE CHARACTER OF THE WORDS

1. To determine the character of the Indian words in English, two questions require consideration:
   First, the extent to which they are naturalized.
   Second, the permanence and usefulness they possess in the vocabulary of the borrowers.

2. The first is a knotty problem which admits of no final solution. The OED, realizing that 'the English language has a well-defined centre but no discernible circumference' and that opinion will differ as to the line dividing 'Denizens' ('words fully naturalized as to use, but not as to form, inflexion or pronunciation') from 'Naturals' (all native words and fully naturalized words), observes rightly: 'if we are to distinguish these classes at all, a line must be drawn somewhere'. So it marks with a parallel sign || all those words which it regards as 'Denizens' or 'Aliens' ('names of foreign objects, titles, etc. which we require often to use and for which we have no native equivalents as . . . backsheesh, sepoy') or 'Casuals' ('foreign words of the same class not in habitual use which for special and temporary purposes occur in books of foreign travel . . .').\(^1\) To take a few examples, the OED rightly includes under 'Naturals'—lac, loot, Mogul, pagoda, jack, jungle—and a host of similar Indian words, and marks with || many words like maya, mofussil, baboo. But in this marking consistency is, unfortunately, not met with. Thus there is no reason why such uncommon Indian words as anaconda (Tamil) 'a large snake that crushes its prey',

\(^1\) Vol. i, pp. xxvii–xxix.
lunka, lunkah (Telugu) ‘a kind of strong cheroot’, ‘panda’ (Nepal) ‘a racoon-like animal of the South-Eastern Himalayas’ should not be classed as ||.¹ The OED in these and similar cases omits the mark while giving it to such common words as ‘kedgeree’, ‘khaki’, and ‘baksheesh’, and puts down ‘buckshee’ as ‘army slang’. ‘Baksheesh’ (or ‘buckshee’) has, in fact, been found to be a most serviceable word. ‘We do not seem to have in England’, says Yule, ‘any exact equivalent for the word, though the thing is general; “something for (the driver)” is a poor expression; “tip” is accurate, but slang; “gratuity” is official or dictionary English.’ The editor of the OED Supplement considered it safe to give up this marking, evidently realizing its arbitrary nature.

3. The attempt, again, to class some words as Anglo-Indian, some as Indian (i.e. used with reference to Indian life), and some as belonging to neither class, i.e. ‘naturals’, is also beset with difficulties. Thus, for example, the OED describes ‘bungalow’ as Anglo-Indian, whereas the COD with better justice omits this qualification. On the other hand, the COD describes words like badmash and bandar (the rhesus monkey) as Anglo-Indian but the OED does not do so.

4. There is further reason for not accepting the OED view as final in regard to the status of the words. The early volumes of the OED were published in the concluding years of the nineteenth century (1888 onwards). What was then considered as alien may now no longer be so regarded. Words which were then not in common use have since gained currency and a new lease of life. A perusal of Kipling’s Kim would make us realize, as it did Professor Weekley, how many Indian words no longer need to be italicized or explained, and are now so familiar to English readers that we hardly realize that to those of earlier centuries they would have been

¹ No reason, that is, at the time of compilation. But ‘anaconda’ and ‘panda’ have since become much more common.
largely gibberish. 'During the past few years', says the note to the COD Addenda (1934), 'the average Englishman's vocabulary has been considerably improved; ... he sees in his paper, owing to the increasing interest taken in the country, many Indian and Anglo-Indian expressions that are strange to him.' Thus, for example, brinjal, batta, jaggery were admitted by the OED into Vol. I, but the editors of the COD thought fit to include them only in the Addenda to the 1934 edition. Perhaps it is not yet time to deduce definite principles of classification, and speculation as to which of the words will be permanent is hardly possible or profitable.¹

5. One thing can be said at once with certainty about the character of the vast number of Indian words which have already been admitted to full franchise in the English language. They have not left so deep or wide a mark on the English vocabulary as to modify its character and structure. The sahib can shampoo or slip into dungirees without using Indian words; they are to the language what curry and pilau are to the daily fare—not absolutely indispensable, but certainly delicious and desirable.

6. The second question, whether these words form a permanent and useful part of the English vocabulary, is closely allied to the first and has been already answered to some extent. But here we are more concerned with the literary aspect of the Indian element. It will be shown later on with what art such eminent English men of letters as Thackeray and Kipling (to name no others) employed Indian words in their imaginative works. Burnell's remark in this connexion that 'though a few (of the Indian loans) furnish allusions to the penny-a-liner, they do not represent new ideas',² is far from the truth.

¹ The point is underlined by the fact that brinjal and bas are absent from the fourth edition of the COD (1950) while batta and jaggery are now in the body of the work.
² Hobson-Jobson, p. xxi.
III

HISTORY IN THE WORDS

1. It is a strange story—the historical and cultural relations of two races so dissimilar in their ways of life and thought as the English and the Indian. The Indian element in English tells us this story from the side of the English in an authentic, though inadequate, way. It indicates faithfully, on the one hand, India’s contribution to the civilization of England; and, on the other, the reaction of the English to the social, political, economic, and religious life and thought of the Indians.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

2. Indian words taken into English in the seventeenth century bear out that the first direct relations between England and India were, as is well known, commercial in character. Almost all the words borrowed are ‘content words’ (names of things), many of which are connected with trade and commerce.

3. Words like calico, chintz, chuddar, gurrah, jamwar, tussore, bengal (applied to piece-goods of different kinds), palampore (a kind of chintz bed-cover), dungaree (a kind of coarse inferior Indian calico, applied in the nineteenth century to trousers of this material) reveal that trade in textiles was very important. There are a hundred other names of this category, most of which are now obsolete, and many of which are not admitted into the OED. Commenting on these Hobson-Jobson remarks:¹ ‘Nothing is harder than to find intelligible explanations of distinction between the numerous varieties of cotton stuffs formerly exported from India to

¹ s.v. bafta, p. 47.
Europe under a still greater variety of names—names and trade being generally alike obsolete. Among the names which have survived, calico has a romantic life-history. It appears in English in the sixteenth century in the forms ‘callicut’, ‘kalyko’, &c. The word was influenced by the Portuguese and French forms. It is the name of a white fabric associated with Calicut, which was then, next to Goa, the chief port of intercourse between India and Europe. India has given England and Europe many words of this type—names of products associated with special geographical names—Dungaree, Surat, Bengal, Madras, Malabar, Jodhpur, Jaconet, and many others. Calico was so important an article of commerce in the seventeenth century that all kinds of cotton cloth imported from the east were, at one time, given this general name. Later the word took on the now obsolescent sense of ‘thin, attenuated, wasted’. It came to be used also in the attributive and combinative positions even in the seventeenth century, a privilege which was extended to many other borrowings of this period only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, we find ‘calico cupboard’, ‘calico mantle’, &c. A ball where the ladies wore only cotton dresses was called ‘calico ball’. The expression then acquired the general sense of ‘a cheap public dance’. In slang the derivative ‘calico-bally’ was formed, meaning ‘somewhat fast’. In America ‘calico’ came to mean ‘printed cotton cloth’ and added two phrases to the slang of the American student—‘a piece of calico’, ‘a choice bit of calico’, for a girl. In French slang an interesting sense-change took place, where calicot is used to signify a ‘draper’s assistant’. Likewise surat, the name of a coarse cotton material, acquired in Lancashire the general sense of inferior or adulterated. Professor Weekley cites a report in The Times for 8 May 1863, ‘of a libel action in which a brewery firm

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obtained damages for having been described as ‘surat brewers’.\textsuperscript{1} Even after the Industrial Revolution had dealt a hard blow to calico as well as other textile industries in India the names have been in constant use.

4. Among other trade-goods of this century which also bear Indian names are: copra, coir, tutenag, lac, pepper, sugar, and indigo. Lac (lacquer), pepper, ginger, sandal, sugar, indigo—are all Indian names borrowed by Greek and Latin long before direct Indo-British relations commenced.\textsuperscript{2} They are ‘much travelled’ words and indicate the overland routes by which the products were brought to European markets. Various other words bearing directly or indirectly upon commerce belong to this century: banian (a Hindoo trader; in Bengal applied to a native broker); bora (a Mohammedan trader), shroff, dubash, coolie; bazar, bankshall, godown; batta (agio or difference in exchange), hoodi, chop, dustoor; names of coins like rupee, pice, mohur, pagoda (a coin then current in Golkonda), dinar, fanam—and names of measures and weights like guz, candy, mangelin, maund, viss, seer, tola.

5. The second interesting piece of information which the loans of this century offer us is that by the seventeenth century the Portuguese were already well settled on the west coast of the Peninsula. Not a few Indian (especially Malayalam) words were borrowed through Portuguese, for when the English arrived in India an Indo-Portuguese dialect was the lingua franca of the country between Europeans and Indians as well as among Europeans of different nationalities.\textsuperscript{3} Dr. Dalgado lists over 300 such words, most of them now obsolete and not

\textsuperscript{1} Ernest Weekley, op. cit., ch. x.
\textsuperscript{2} The form in modern English only is given. The seventeenth-century spellings were, of course, various.
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Sir Thomas Roe, ‘I said my Interpreter was kept out, I could speak no Portugall, and so wanted meanes to satisfie his Majestie’ (Journal, ch. ii).
recorded by the *OED*. The word ‘topass’, recorded by the *OED*, bespeaks this phase of Indo-British relations. It was applied to a half-caste claimant of Portuguese descent, and to a soldier or a ship’s scavenger who was of this class. The word is traced to Hindu *dōbāshi* (*dubash*), man of two languages, interpreter. The Indo-Portuguese were first employed in this capacity.

Another word which is full of history is *feringhee*, a name which the Indians first applied to the Portuguese and then extended to all the Europeans who came to India. In the nineteenth century the Englishman came to regard it as a ‘positive affront’ to be called a *feringhee*. The word is recorded (1634) in the *OED* and explained thus: ‘Formerly the ordinary Indian term for a European; now applied chiefly to the Indian-born Portuguese and contemptuously to the Europeans.’ The etymology of the word is, however, quite innocent. It is a corruption of Frank. ‘All Europeans in the East are called “Franks” probably because of the leading part taken in the crusades by the French.’ In India the word was used to denote ‘a European in general, a Portuguese in particular, and in a more restricted sense “an Indo-Portuguese”,... and as the Portuguese professed Christianity and were zealous in the spread of their religion, *farangi* became a synonym for Christian.... In the Dravidian languages the word is also used to mean “a cannon or a piece of ordnance”.'

6. Almost all the Malayalam words which were absorbed into English during this century bear distinct traces of having passed through Portuguese: betel, areca, coir, copra, and jack. Some other words, too, came into English through Portuguese, for example, *brinjal* (ultimately Sanskrit), *cutch*, and *jaggery*.


3 S. R. Dalgado, op. cit.
7. In addition to those Indian words borrowed at second hand, English took some Portuguese words directly, for example: *comprador* (a native servant employed by Europeans in India and the east—the word, *OED* says, is now obsolete in India, but current in China); *bayadère* (Fr. > Pg. a Hindu dancing-girl—the English later borrowed the Hindi word *nāch* and formed the compound ‘nautch-girl’); ‘amah’, ‘ayah’ (*dai*, the Indian word for ‘wet-nurse’, came to be known only later); and a more important word than any of these, ‘caste’ (*OED* 1613; Finch 1608–11).¹

8. The third inference which we may legitimately draw from a study of the borrowings of this century is that during the seventeenth century the Mogul empire was at its height of magnificence and power and that the relations between the early English traders and the Padishas (1612) were by no means hostile. Ralph Fitch, who was in the company of John Newbery sent by Queen Elizabeth in 1586 to Akbar as her representative, styles Akbar as the *Great Mogor*.² As early as 1678 the word ‘Mogul’ acquired in English the transferred sense of ‘a great personage, an autocratic ruler’. In the next century it was applied to a kind of plum, the *Magnum Bonum*. In the nineteenth century it came to be applied to a locomotive of a peculiar type built for hauling heavy trains, and also to a pack of playing cards of the best variety. ‘Mogul’ thus came to be regarded as synonymous with *Ai*.

9. ‘Firman’ reveals the primary concern of the early

² Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, p. 23. The party of Newbery set out to India by the overland route through Asia Minor. They went to Tripolis in the ‘Tyger’—a fact which is probably alluded to twenty years later in *Macbeth*, when the witch says:

‘Her husband’s to Aleppo gone, master o’ the Tyger’ (III. iii).

English merchant adventurers. Despite his pomp and splendour the Mogul emperor was easy of access to the envoys from Queen Elizabeth. Captain Hawkins, 'who may not unfairly claim to be ranked among the founders of the Indian Empire',¹ could enter Jahangir’s durbar, gain his favour, and obtain a firman from him for the establishment of a factory of the English Company at Surat, the cradle of the British empire in India, although the Portuguese were still strong enough in India to procure the revocation of the decree. (The OED assigns firman to 1616 quoting from Sir Thomas Roe; Hobson-Jobson cites an earlier instance of 1614). Roe secured from the Emperor a general firman 'for our reception and continuation in his domynyons'. The favour that this British ambassador found in the sight of Jahangir made him, in the words of Chaplain Terry, 'a Joseph in the court of Pharaoh, for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better'.²

10. Coming as he did from his island home to a new and vast country at a distance of half the globe, with an entirely different culture, civilization, and climate, with numerous classes of people and an immense variety of animals and trees, the Englishman of this period, as might be expected, paid more than ordinary attention to everything around him and adopted a large number of Indian words into his vocabulary. Thus we find him noting names of different classes of people: 'pundit' and moonshee, who tried with little success to teach the native languages to the young writers of the East India Company; gomashta and dubash, khidmutgar and 'boy' (in the sense of palankin-bearer, from the name of the caste, Telugu and Malayalam 'boyi'), 'fakir' and jogi, 'raja' and 'nabob'; names of buildings like bungalow, choky (custom or toll station; police station or lock-up, variously misused by association with 'choke'), cutcherry, and mahal; names of con-

¹ H. G. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 51.
² The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, p. lix.
veyances like *hackery*, ‘doolie’, *kajawak*, and ‘palanquin’; names of rafts and boats like ‘catamaran’, *dhoney*, and *dandy*; names of fruits like ‘mango’, ‘the delight of India’ (Fryer), and *jack*; trees like ‘banyan’, ‘teak’, and *mahwa*; snakes and animals like ‘anaconda’, ‘ghoont’, and ‘sambur’. India, being one of the world’s most prolific sources of big game, has been the hunter’s paradise. Since ‘the sine qua non of British bliss’, as Edward Thompson humorously put it, ‘is things to kill’,¹ *shikar* was very early adopted.

11. That the Hindu and Muslim festivals—Holi and Dewalee, Moharram and Ramadan—should have early roused the interest of the Englishman in India is as we should expect. But the word applied to Moharram was a new formation—‘Hobson-Jobson’, a delightful perversion of *Yaā* *Hasan*, *Yaā* *Hosain*, the wailings of the Mohammedans as they beat their breasts in the procession of the Moharram. An excellent illustration of folk-etymology, the word came to signify the procession itself.² ‘Juggernaut’ is another serviceable loan of this period. The fiction that devotees threw themselves *en masse* under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut fired the English imagination so powerfully that capital use has been made of this term. In the eighteenth century it came to be used as a transitive verb ‘to crush to death as a victim’ and in the figurative sense ‘an institution, practice or notion to which persons blindly devote themselves or are ruthlessly sacrificed’. Ever since ‘the Press seldom lets a week pass without some reference to the juggernaut of capitalism, militarism,

² See Word-list. Sir R. C. Temple cites ‘a bonafide literary quotation for this well-known colloquialism’ from *The Nineteenth Century* (April 1902, p. 581) where a whole article is written on ‘The Hobson-Jobson’ by a Miss A. Goodrich-Freer: ‘It is some sort of a holiday that the Hindu sailors keep every year. . . . ’ ‘A typical instance’, comments Temple, ‘of the almost contemptuous ignorance of things Indian on the part of English literary personages.’ *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxxi (Bombay, 1902), p. 514.
industrialism, bolshevism or some other -ism regarded as an awful and irresistible power destroying victims wholesale'.

12. The Englishmen in this period of their life in India learnt how to deal with strangers. 'They square with the humour and meet with the praise' of Indians, says Fryer. It is significant that they applied no English term of disparagement to Indians, their customs, and religions. Thoroughly practical-minded, they carefully refrained from denigrating the Indian way of life and offending the susceptibilities of the Indians. On the other hand, they adapted their own way of life to the social and climatic conditions in the new country of their living. In matters of dress, food, and drink they soon acquired the Indian taste. Even the Honourable members of the Council 'studied ease instead of fashion'. They wore 'banyan shirts', 'long drawers', and 'congee caps'. 'Banyan coats' and 'Moormen's trousers' were worn by Englishmen as a matter of course, testifies Fryer. Indian dishes figured on their tables: cabob, pilau, dumpoked fowl, curry, kedgeree. They found these dishes delicious and employed Indian cooks. 'The governor of Sindhu . . . ate some banqueting stuff made in my house by a Moore Cooke', notes Roe in his Journal. They developed a strong liking for arrack, which was the staple drink at this time, punch, and toddy besides cha. They favoured the cheroot and the hookah. These words bespeak the rapid, though partial, Indianization of the early settlers in respect of certain aspects of their life.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

13. Three things strike us most concerning the words of this century:

First, that the number of words borrowed is smaller than that in the preceding century.

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1 Ernest Weekley, op. cit., ch. x.
2 The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 215.
Secondly, that attributive, combinative, and derivative use is largely made of words already borrowed. They are employed in figurative and transferred senses as well.

Thirdly, that the distribution of the new words is remarkably unequal—for those of the first half of the century are very few (only 20 of the 160 words in the Word List belong to this period) while the large majority belong to the latter half. From these linguistic data certain inferences can be drawn.

14. During the first half of the century the English continued to be peaceful traders. The most frequently used and important words having been already adopted, there was little need for new terms pertaining to trade and commerce. In fact we find a mere handful of words of this class. Thus, there are a few names of articles of merchandise, ‘jute’ (1746) and *kincoab* (1712, a rich cotton stuff embroidered with gold or silver). ‘Bandanna’ (1752, coloured handkerchief), ‘jaconet’ (1769, a cotton fabric), ‘seersucker’ (1757), ‘cassimere’, thin, fine, twilled woollen cloth (1784, another form of ‘cashmere’ (1822)), and ‘kerseymere’ (1798, a corruption of ‘cassimere’ due to erroneous association with ‘kersey’) belong to the second half of the century. One important word in this connexion is *Dustuck*. Although adopted as early as 1646,¹ it assumed importance in this century and reveals the privileged position which the English soon began to acquire in this country. *Dustucks* are passports, especially ‘those granted by the covenanted servants of the East India Company’, which obtained exemption from transit duties. This privilege Clive secured for the Company’s merchants from Mir Jafar. From these words it may be seen that the English continued their commercial transactions. Even during the war with the French ‘the English busily transacted their ordinary commercial affairs and increased the value of their exports, as the

records of their trade and shipping prove', observes P. E. Roberts.\textsuperscript{1} Still, the words suggest that their trade with India was not flourishing as well as might have been expected, considering the splendid beginnings of the seventeenth century. History tells us that 'by the eighteenth century “mercantilist” theories were widely accepted and a kind of “economic nationalism” developed which became more intense during the Napoleonic period. The East India Company ... found themselves blocked by tariffs and prohibitions in nearly every country, including England itself. The Company encouraged the manufacture of such goods in the limited part of India over which it exercised control.'\textsuperscript{2}

15. Though the new words are few, a variety of uses—attributive, combinative, derivative, transferred, and figurative—is made of the old ones throughout the first as well as the second half of the eighteenth century and even more so in the next century.

*Attributive and combinative uses:* (1) Bengal silk (1711), dawk chowckies (1727), banian day (1748), cowage cherry (1725), jute stair carpeting (1746), lacquer-hat, lacquer ware (1705), mango-bird (1738), paddy-bird (1727), pagod-worship (1719), pagod-gods (1719).

(2) cot frame (1799), cutcherry list (1771), dawk bearers (1796), hookah-bearer (1763), India paper (1768), India rubber (1799), malabar nut (1753), mina-bird (1782), mina-grackle (1782), nabob-fortune, nabob-hunting, nabob maker, nabob-plunderer, nabob-land (1764, fig.), jaghir lands (1770), mahratta ditch (1758), sepoy chief (1772), sepoy battalions (1763), Sanskrit (attrib. and comb. 1794, adj. 1773), tusser (silk) worm (1796).

*Derivatives:* Indianize (1702), Islamism (1747), Indiaman (1709), laccate from lac (1794), nabobery, nabobism, nabobish, nabobishly, nabobry, nabobess (1673, fig.), nabobship (1753).


\textsuperscript{2} *The Legacy of India*, p. 397.
Transferred and figurative senses: banian (1725, a loose gown or jacket, orig. attrib.), cot (naut. a kind of swinging bed for officers, sick persons, &c., on board ship), cutcherry (1799, a division or brigade of infantry), Indian (1751, a European, esp. an Englishman who resides or has resided in India; an Anglo-Indian; chiefly in 'old Indian', 'returned Indian', and the like), nair (1791, 'Did the privileged nobility deserve to be looked on as the Nayres ... of this age'), pagod (1719, a person superstitiously or extravagantly reverenced, or otherwise likened to a heathen deity), pagoda (1796, a small ornamental building or structure in imitation of an oriental pagoda), nabob (1764, a person of high rank or great wealth; spec. one who has returned from India with a large fortune acquired there; a very rich and luxurious person). For other examples see Chapter VI.

These words show that throughout the century there was no slackening in the interest taken by the English in India.

16. In striking contrast to the paucity of words relating to commerce in this century is the abundance of political and military terms. Thus to this period belong sepoy (see Word-list); se bundy (irregular native soldiery); telinga (obs. for native soldier disciplined and dressed in quasi-European fashion; the term was frequently used in Bengal in the eighteenth century 'no doubt because the first soldiers of that type came to Bengal from what was considered to be the Telinga country, viz. Madras'); ressalah (squadron of native cavalry); loot, lootie (body of native irregulars whose chief object in warfare was plunder—the lootiewallahs of Hyder Ali who frequently pillaged the Carnatic were familiar to the English); 'Mahratta ditch' (1768, ditch made in Calcutta in 1742 to protect Calcutta from the invasion of the Mahrattas; similar ditch made at Madras in 1780); Pindari (one of the body of mounted marauders who appear to have arisen in Central India in the seventeenth century, and who in the eighteenth

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1 Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790).
2 Hobson-Jobson.
century were frequently employed by contending princes as irregular cavalry to pillage the country and massacre the subjects of their enemies); *dewauni* (office of dewan, especially the right of receiving as dewan or finance minister the revenue of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa conferred upon the East India Company by the Great Mogul, Shah Alam in 1765; also the territory which was the subject of the grant).

The notable infusion of these military and political terms into English in the latter half of the century points to the rapid changes that were taking place in the character of Indo-British relations. A great deal of history is enshrined in them. The military terms take us back to the days when few European soldiers were available for the English in India, as the storm clouds of the Seven Years War were gathering over Vienna, St. Petersburg, Paris, and London, and Clive organized the first battalion, nicknamed the Lal Pultan or the Red Coats. This contained the following British officers and N.C.O.s: a captain, two subalterns, a sergeant-major, and several sergeants. They were an advisory staff to help in training, not to command in the field. The Indian complement consisted of a commandant, an adjutant, 10 *subedar*s, 30 *jemadar*s, 50 *havildar*s, 40 *naiks*, 10 buglers, 700 sepoys.¹

The name ‘Black Hole’ became historic in connexion with the gruesome incident of 1756.² Besides the special military sense of ‘the punishment cell or lock-up in a barracks’, it later acquired the general sense of ‘a place of confinement for punishment’ (1831).³ It was also used as a verb meaning ‘to

² Penderel Moon, *Warren Hastings and British India* (London, 1948), p. 28. It ‘has given Siraj-ud-daula a dubious fame, but it was unlikely that he intended or was responsible for it’ (p. 28).
³ Thomas Hardy, *The Return of the Native*, 1878. ‘“You must not shrink from me, dear Clym”, said Thomasin earnestly, in that sweet voice of hers which came to a sufferer like fresh air into a Black Hole’ (Bk. v, ch. i).
confine to the black hole'. No word, however, is more characteristic of this period than 'nabob', which had become a household word in England since the battle of Plassey, in the sense of 'one who has returned from India with a large fortune acquired there'. The sensational impeachment of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India (1788–95), occasioned the publication in 1788 of 'An Indian Vocabulary to which is prefixed the forms of Impeachment'. 'The event of Mr. Hastings's trial', wrote the compiler, 'which at present engrosses the general attention, being accompanied with circumstances both interesting and uncommon, every publication capable of rendering assistance to those whom curiosity may lead to be present at so important a scene, will, no doubt, be received with the approbation of the public.' In Burke's speech against Hastings we find some Indian words employed for the first time. With the renewal of English interest in India due to these political events a number of Indian terms came to be used in English.

17. To the Englishman in India during this century the nautch (1796) became a popular amusement and the institution of the zenana (1761) interested him greatly. The hookah, although adopted in the preceding century, came to be more widely favoured. Chillum (1781) (the part of the hookah containing the tobacco and charcoal balls; also applied loosely to the entire hookah, the act of smoking, and the 'fill' of the tobacco) and hookah-bearer (1763) belong to this period. The elephant now attracted greater attention than before, as may be seen from muckna (1780, male elephant without or with only rudimentary tusks—SOED); mahout (1799; in the seventeenth century 'Indian' was used in this sense); howdah (1774); and kheda (1799, enclosure for the capture of wild elephants; the kheda method is said to be one of the most spectacular methods of capturing wild elephants).
18. There is a striking increase in the intake of Indian words during this century. Not only is the number of the words now adopted larger than that of the preceding century; the character of the words also is in many instances different. Attributive, combinative, derivative, and figurative uses become even more prominent than before. The word 'cot' (borrowed in 1634; a light bedstead), for example, is used attributively and combinatively as 'cot bed', 'cot arrangement', and has also gained the sense 'a portable bed or one adapted for transport' as well as 'a small bed for a child'. 'Khaki' is another example. 'khaki-clad', 'khaki-bound', 'khaki-coloured', 'khaki election', 'khaki policy', 'to vote khaki', 'khaki loan'—all occur in this century. Juggernaut, jungle, firman, pundit, and many more words take up figurative and transferred senses. Hybrids like gymkhana, mem-sahib, competition-wallah, are found. Verbs too (borrowed or nouns used as such) are not uncommon, e.g. loot, mull, leep, nautch, palankeen, juggernaut, baksheesh, curry, Hinduize, sanskritize, shikar, toddy, toddyize, tom-tom. Idiomatic expressions occur, like: 'to shake the pagoda tree', to 'do' or 'make kef', to 'vote khaki', to 'care a damn (?)' (one-fortieth of a rupee). From this linguistic evidence the inference that there was a greater English interest in India seems inevitable.

19. The nineteenth century happily discovered a new bond of kinship between India and England. The word Indo-European, which now occurs for the first time, bespeaks this phase in our relationship. With characteristic gusto Max Müller bids us 'Think what the synthesis of these two words, India and Europe implies. . . . Nothing has drawn the bonds of fellowship between India and England more closely than this discovery of the common origin of their language and of the principal languages of Europe and more particularly
English.' The discovery of Sir William Jones (1786) has been of far-reaching consequence and perhaps the finest fruit of English association with India. Comparative grammar (1808) and Indology (1888) emerged as subjects of investigation. Sanskrit words came to be adopted into common philological terminology showing to what extent ‘modern grammar and phonetics are founded on the Indian sciences’: e.g. guna (1804), also forming a verb, gunate (1864); sandhi (1874); svarabhakti (1880), svarabhaktic (1894). The interest of English scholars in the ‘ancient and precious linguistic tradition of India’ already awakened towards the close of the eighteenth century and also stimulated by the rivalry of the French in this domain, is further indicated by such words as Devanagari (1781, Sir Charles Wilkins), Nagari (1776), Prakrit (1786), Pali (1800), Gujarati (1808), Hindi (1825), Urdu (1796), Kashmiri (1880), Tamil (1734), Telugu (1813), Canarese (1875), Dravidian (1862, Caldwell), and Kolarian (1866).

20. The Indian contribution to English had until now been essentially materialistic. But in this century Indian philosophy, regarded as ‘the most outstanding achievement of Indian civilization’, and Indian religion and literature began to attract the attention of English scholars. ‘Scholars now prosecuted the search for Sanskrit manuscripts with the avidity of explorers seeking for Australian gold fields or the mines of Golconda, and the study of Sanskrit was put upon a scientific footing by H. T. Colebrooke, the greatest of all the early Sanskrit scholars’ who ‘aimed at a union of Hindu and European learning’. Though the word ‘Brahmin’ itself

was borrowed very early (1481, Caxton: Bragman), the large number of derivatives now appearing for the first time indicates the interest taken in 'Brahminic philosophy' (1862, Max Müller); brahminical (1809), brahminicide (1811), brahminize (1883, Monier Williams), brahmanhood (1840, H. H. Wilson), brahminee (female brahmin, 1794, Sir William Jones), brahmin ox (1847), braminee fig-tree (1811). A large number of words relating to Indian philosophy and religion are thus found:

End of eighteenth century: Veda (1734), Rig-veda (1776), avatar (1784), Brahmin (1785), Kalpa (1794), Shalgram (1784), Saman (1798), Sharaddha (1787), Sura (1795), suttee (1786), tantra (1799), yug, yuga (1784).

Nineteenth century: amrita (1810), bhakti (1877), Brahmoism (1813), Brahmism (1857), Buddhism (1801), chela (1883), jataka (1861), dharma (1806), stupa (1876), mahatma (1884), nirvana (1836), vihara (1878), deva (1819), dharma (1862), gayatri (1843), guptavidya (1888), granth (1837), Hinduism (1829), karma (1828), maya (1823), Krishnaism (1885), Vishnuism (1871), mantra (1808), math (1834), mela (1800), poojah (1806), sadhu (1844), sahti (1810), samadhi (1853), samhita (1806), samsara (1845), samskara (1845), sandhya (1868), sikra (1828), Sivaite (1880), soma (1827), sutra (1801), swastika (1871), upanishad (1805), vedanta (1823), vimana (1863), yoga (1820).

Some of these words like avatar, guptavidya, karma, maya, nirvana, samsara, yogi, yoga—became familiar in connexion with theosophy. Commenting on this point, Owen Barfield remarks:

The meagreness in our language of ... relics of Hindoo and Persian religion is ... eloquent of the total separation of the Northwestern and South-eastern Aryans. The whole vast structure of eastern philosophy, with its intricate classifications cutting completely across our own, was practically a sealed book to the west until after the French re-established a commercial connexion with
India in the eighteenth century. Signs are not wanting, however, that the rapid growth of interest in this ancient and lofty outlook which has taken place in Europe during the last fifty years, may enrich our vocabulary with some extracts from the ancient terminology, such, for example, as *maya*—the soul’s external environment considered as being ‘illusion’ or as obscuring and concealing the spiritual reality, and *karma*, the destiny of an individual as it is developed from incarnation to incarnation.¹

No satisfactory equivalents in English have been found for these terms (*dharma, karma, maya*, &c.) as they signify purely Hindu concepts.

21. Military activities like the war with Nepal, the Afghan wars, and the Mutiny contributed to the infusion of certain terms. Thus the Gurkha (1848) and his *kukri* (1811) belong to this period. From the Afghana came *jexail* (a long and heavy Afghan musket) and *jexailchee* (soldier carrying a *jexail*). The year 1857 is in many respects a key date to the British period. The Mutiny had left its mark on the English vocabulary in the word *pandy* (1857)—‘from the surname Pande, the title of a Jot or subdivisional branch of the Brahmins of the upper Province, which was very common among the high-caste sepoys of the Bengal army. One of these bearing the surname was Mangul Pande, the first man to mutiny in the 34th regiment’ (*OED*). The word came to be extended first to a revolted sepoy in the Mutiny and later to a mutineer. *Chupatty* and *lotah*, too, ‘became historical with the Mutiny’.² The *phansigars* or ‘thugs’, although rigidly suppressed from 1831, have their name enshrined in the English vocabulary, and still inspire and provide matter for fiction.³ The word ‘thug’ acquired the transferred sense of ‘cut-throat, ruffian’ as early as 1839. The *OED* quotes

² Ernest Weekley, op. cit., ch. x.
³ e.g., Eric Linklater, *Mr. Byculla* (London, 1950).
from no less a writer than Carlyle (1839) but adds the qualification, 'Now U.S.', which may, however, be disregarded, for, later we find Stevenson employing it: 'Sometimes (death) leaps suddenly upon its victims like a thug.' And not long ago Sir Winston Churchill spoke of 'Nazi thugs and torturers'.

22. A large number of words of other categories belong to this period as a look at the Word-list will show. To mention only a few examples, we have names of people such as bungy and 'dacoit', names of textiles and garments like 'pyjamas' and 'cashmere', household objects like 'charpoy' and 'teapoy', and articles of food like 'chupatty' and 'chutney'. We find again a number of terms relating to sports and amusements like 'gymkhana', 'polo', pachisi, and tamasha. Shikar continued to be favoured as may be seen from shikaree (1827, hunter or sportsman; applied to a European sportsman, 1860); 'bobby' pack (scratch pack of hounds and dogs of various breeds, usually for hunting jackals); machan (elevated platform used in tiger-shooting, &c.); pug (footprint of beast; verb. to track by pugs); and puggy (a tracker).

23. Interest in the rich variety of fauna and flora in India led to the adoption of a very large number of Indian words. Some of these are adapted to botanical and zoological Latin—terms which are indeed more like algebra than language—but they show India's contribution in this sphere. Examples are: from bungarum (a snake) the name of a genus—bungarus; deodar—cedrus deodara; hoolock (black gibbon)—hylobates hoolock; patchouli (an oderiferous plant)—pogostemon patchouli; toon (timber tree)—cedrela toona.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

24. India's struggle for independence and the unique methods adopted for its achievement are indicated by such

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words as Gandhism, _hartal_, _khaddar_, _khilafat_, _satyagraha_, _swadeshi_, and _Swaraj_—all faithfully recorded by the _OED_.

25. The First World War exercised a noticeable influence on the borrowing of Indian words into English. This influence is seen in two directions:

(i) Borrowing of new words,
(ii) Giving fresh currency (sometimes with a new meaning) to old borrowings.

Many of the war words belong to army slang, but as a writer in _The Athenaeum_ rightly points out,

it is not possible to differentiate between civilian slang and army slang to the extent imagined by many authorities and others interested, in view of the fact that the army during the past four years (1915–19) has not, properly speaking, been composed of soldiers, but civilians in uniform. There were many officers and men who wore uniform for four years, but who never in the strict sense of the word, were soldiers. I make this point because I notice there are many words that had obtained local or limited usage in peace time, but which the superior people avoided as they would a plague; yet once in the army these same people embraced such expressions, gave them 'tone' and so helped in the addition of... odd words and phrases to the common speech of the people.¹

26. Among the words introduced into English about this time may be mentioned 'blightly', 'cushy', and 'cootie', which are recorded by the _OED_. 'Blightly' gave rise to a large number of expressions like 'blightly one' (wound that ensures return to blightly); 'blightly leave' (furlough to England); 'blightly bag'; 'blightly hut' (home); and 'blightly touch' (tendency to be lucky). 'Cushy' was equally popular, though its origin puzzled many. That it comes from Hindustani is now well known. But amusing etymologies were once suggested, relating it to 'cushion', 'kiss', and French _coucher_!

27. Words which were borrowed earlier than 1914, but which had to wait till the war to be heard on the lips of the ordinary Englishman, are considerable in number. To this class belong ack dum, atta, bobachee, buckshee, bundook, char, chello, chit, chitty, deck, dekko, dixie, puggled (mad, from pagal), rooty, and wallah. Of these ‘ack dum’ (ek dum), ‘at once, on the instant’, to which the war gave currency, was used earlier by Kipling (‘William the Conquerer’, The Day’s Work, 1908; not recorded by the OED). Its etymology puzzled men who were unaware of its Indian origin. Here is one of the suggested derivations which are now exploded. ‘As to ack-dum there is one German word which has faced Tommy at every step, on every poster, every notice board, Achtung (halt-notice). Not able to pronounce the soft ch the reader would pronounce this ack-dum.’¹ Chello, again, was put to use by Kipling (Naulahka, 1892). The form ‘chell’, not as yet completely naturalized, is used in Anglo-Indian, as in ‘the engine doesn’t chell (go) properly’.² ‘Char’ (cha, 1616) was mobilized during the war. ‘Char up, lads’, that is, ‘here is the tea’, was a very popular expression during the trench warfare days, when hot tea was brought up in dixies by fatigue parties.³ The words ‘deck’ and ‘dekko’ are recorded by the OED Sup. It records ‘deck’, ‘a look, peep’ (1853; from H. dekha: sight) as Anglo-Indian and ‘dekko’ (1894; from H. dekho, imperative of dekhna) as ‘army slang’. No quotation is found for ‘deck’ after 1886. The second has representative illustrations from 1894 to 1927. Clearly ‘dekko’ ousted ‘deck’ and acquired currency owing to the war. ‘Chitty’ was used even in 1698 by Fryer. ‘Chit’, from ‘chitty’, has been in use from 1785. Both these words, as also ‘wallah’, borrowed in

1776, obtained a new lease of life after the war. 'In 1914–18 “wallah” usually designated an officer with a specific job, as, for example, “Lewis Gun wallah”. One occasionally heard the phrase an “amen-wallah”, a clergyman, especially a chaplain, but originally a chaplain’s clerk.' The most interesting word in this class is ‘buckshee’, which was one of the most popular words during the war. It is only a clipped form of baksheesh which was borrowed as early as the seventeenth century. ‘ Buckshee’, which also acquired the senses recorded by the OED Sup., ‘superfluous, costing nothing’, seems now to be definitely in the common stock of English vocabulary. We thus see that the First World War left its mark on the Indian element in English, as on everything else.

28. The Second World War produced an effect similar to, and perhaps more profound than, that of the First World War on the diffusion of Indian words into English. There were three reasons for this. First, during this period there was a tenfold expansion of the normal Indian army, this being manned by 2 million men from all parts of the country. 'In those desperate years', said F.M. Sir Claude Auchinleck, 'the ties of comradeship and affection between him (the Indian soldier) and his British officers (who numbered about 13,500) reached their height. How close those ties were and how enduring they became only those who had the honour of serving with Indian soldiers can know.' Secondly, there were British, American, and other troops stationed in India. A vast majority of the British troops were educated civilian conscripts. Those of them that came to India brought with them sensitive and open minds and took a more than superficial interest in the complex political and social picture of the country. Some of them like Alun Lewis and R. N. Currey wrote poetry of no

mean order reflecting the Indian scene.\(^1\) In the words of R. N. Currey and R. V. Gibson, 'it seems that despite the limitations of living in camps and cantonments, many of those serving out here are interested in India for what it is, and not merely as a more or less reluctant provider of commercial resources, facilities for *shikar*, cheap labour, and the mysterious "glamour" that is so much more obvious from a high and spacious bungalow than from a *bashá* or tent'.\(^2\) The presence of the British forces created a market for books about India and a large number of such books were published during the war years. A list of 'common terms' given in one of these books,\(^3\) for example, contains such terms as *ahímsa*, *goonda*, and *zoolum* (not recorded by the *OED*) besides many others already known and found in the dictionary. Thirdly, in Great Britain there has been a growing public interest in India, the returned soldiers contributing not a little to it. These factors did not fail to affect the Indian element in English.

The Indian army, however, added to the general army slang of this period only a few new words, like *chagal* (H. a canvas water-bottle) and *chup*\(^4\) (silence; to 'keep chup'). This is not surprising; for as Eric Partridge points out\(^5\) the army as a whole added the smallest number of new terms to the slang of the Forces, because it already had a very large slang vocabulary from 1914–18. The effect of the later war is more noticeable in the wider circulation it gave to words already borrowed, often with a diverting twist, a new signifi-

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\(^2\) Ibid., p. vii.

\(^3\) F. R. Moraes and Robert Stimson, *Introduction to India* (Bombay, 1942).

\(^4\) 'Choop' was, however, used earlier by Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug* (1839).

\(^5\) *A Dictionary of Forces' Slang* (1939–45), edited by Eric Partridge (London, 1948). (The definitions in the rest of this paragraph are all taken from this work.)
cance, or in a new combination. Among these are: *batta*, blighty, bobbery, buckshee, char, charpoy, chit, *coggage*, cooly, cushy, dekko, dhobey (also as verb), dixie, *doolally* (insane), *izzat*, *jildi*, *muckin(g)* (butter), *pawnee*, phut (‘go phut’), puggled, pukka, *rooty*, wallah.

From ‘cooly’ came ‘aerial coolies’ (‘the airmen who supported the chindits in Burma by dropping supplies’), from ‘charpoy’, ‘charpoy-bashing’ (sleep, a rest on one’s bed), and from ‘chit’, ‘blood chit’ (also known as ‘gooly chit’: ‘any written authorization—chit, is a pass-key word in the Army—that “covers” or protects the bearer; earlier, and still, a ransom note carried by members of air-crews flying over hostile or dubious territory in the East. By 1943 or 1944 the term was official’). ‘Wallah’ again gave rise to a band of hybrids like ‘base wallah’ (‘in theory, one whose duties kept him at the base; in practice, one whose duties did not take him so far forward as the speakers’), ‘ground wallah’, ‘signals wallah’, and ‘sanitary wallah’. Bangalore contributed ‘Bangalore torpedo’ (‘a metal pipe filled with explosive and laid under wire obstacles; when detonated it cleared a way through the wire’), and Bombay, ‘Bombay bowler’ (‘service-issue topi; mostly R.A.F., because usually jettisoned at Bombay, port of entry into India, by its uncomfortable weight’). Peculiarities of usage also occur. Thus an easy-going officer is said to be ‘cushy’. ‘To get a good chit’ is ‘to be highly commended by the powers’ and ‘to chit up a person’ is ‘to seek him through the head of his department’. ‘To do a jildi move’ is in general army slang ‘to beat a hasty retreat’ and among tank men ‘to take evasive action’.

29. The agitation for Pakistan and the mass hysteria that preceded and followed its creation have familiarized the English public with such terms as Pakistani and Pakistanization, *goonda* and ‘goondaism’.

30. The full effect of the transfer of power to India, and of
the continuance of the Republic of India and of Pakistan as full and equal partners in the Commonwealth, is not immediately discernible and will not become apparent for some time to come. But it is permissible to hope that the friendly relations between India and England, which have now brought the two countries closer than ever before, will not only preserve but enrich the Indian element in the English language.
IV
PHONETIC CHANGES

I
EARLY TENDENCIES

1. The history of Indian words in English is, in a sense, the record of the fortunes of two conflicting and opposite processes. The one assimilates the foreign word to English habits of spelling and pronunciation; the other preserves its alien shape and sound.

2. The principle which governed the borrowing of Indian words in the seventeenth century is that of assimilation. Two things characterize the Indian loans of this century. First, their number is considerably larger than that of any of the following centuries. English helped itself freely not only to every Indian word which it seemed to need, but also to any which caught its fancy. A good many of these are recorded by the OED. Secondly, all the words which were borrowed were given a completely English pronunciation, accent, and spelling. Some were indeed wonderfully transmogrified.

Representative Examples¹

Ralph Fitch (1583–91)
Dericcan—Pers. darikhana: a palace.
Schesche—Skt. shishya: a disciple.
Chownam—chunām: lime.

John Mildenhall (1599–1606)
Ars—‘Ars or petitions’ (sic) as if ars is the plural of ar! (H. arz).
drugman—Ar. tārjumān: an interpreter.

¹ Chosen from Early Travels in India, The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, and John Fryer’s A New Account of East India and Persia.
PHONETIC CHANGES

William Hawkins (1608–13)
trouch-man, treuch-man, truch-man—Ar. tārjumān.
mamadies—mahmūdi: a small silver coin.
Pattans—Pathāns.
Brammen—Brahmin.
rotties—rati: the seed of Abrus precatorius, used as jeweller’s weight.
arise or petition.
leckes—lakhs.
crou—kror.
rupias—Hawkins uses the plural rupiae also.
Rasbootes—Rājputs.
riats—raiyat: a cultivator.
seminams—H. shamiyāna: an awning.

William Finch (1608–11)
dawne—dīwān.
cheet—order. H. chitthi.
cose, course—kos.
medon—H. maidān: an open space.
dew—H. deo: a spirit.
fokeers—fakirs.
mukom—makām: a halt.
chuckees—H. chauki: guards.
mussocke—H. mashak: a goatskin water-bag.
ombra—umara: a noble (really the plural of amīr).
nill or indigo—Pg. anil from Ar. al-nil, pron. an-nil.
moholl, mole—mahal: palace.
devencan—dīwānkhāna: hall.
fosder—faujdār: military commandant.
cutwall—kotwāl.
sides or churchmen—Ar. saiyyid: a lord; the designation in India of those who claim to be descendants of Muhammad.

Nicholas Whithington (1612–16)
layer—lāri: a coin.
man subdare—mansabdār.
Thomas Coryat (1612–17)
Musselman, musulman (sg.), muselmen (pl.). ‘There are two kinds of Muselmen.’
gusle-can—ghuzl-khāna: bath-room and hence a private apartment.

Edward Terry (1616–19)
courses—kos.
Adam—H. ādmi. ‘They call a man Adam from our first father Adam.’

Sir Thomas Roe (1615–19)
Cutwall.
gussel chan.
umbras—omrahs.

Dr. John Fryer (1672–81)
Rashpoots—Rājputs.
cutchery—kedgeree.
cash—kāsu.
coolies, duties.
tope (topes) of plantains, &c.
Fool rack—phūl arrack. ‘It causes those that take it to be fools!’
Musselmen—pl. of Musselman.
Butt—Bhat.
pullow—pilau.

Even proper names were Englished with a thoroughness which is amusing and a freedom which is enviable today.

Ralph Fitch (1583–91)
Sultan Badu for Sultān Bahādur. (This and the following correct forms have been given by William Foster: Early Travels in India.)
Hidalcan for Ādil Khān (Adil Shah), i.e. the king of Bijāpur (‘Bisapur’).
Cutup de lashach for Kutb Shāh, the title of the kings of Golconda.
The king of Bread—Barīḍ, the family name of the dynasty of Bidar.
Tipperdas—Tripura dās.
Chondery—Chānd rai.

William Hawkins (1608–13)
Mocrechan—Mukarrab Khān.
Hassun Ally—Hasan Ali.
Bramport—Burhānpur.
Koushaberchan—Khūshkhabar Khān, the title given by Jahangir to the man who brought him the news of the defeat of his rebel son Khusrau.

William Finch (1608–11)
Mocrow Bowcan, Mo. Bowcan—Muharrab Khān.
Sykary—Sikri: Not satisfied with the quite original form he has given, Finch offers a curious etymology for Fatehpur: ‘It was at the first called Sykary, which signifieth seeking or hunting; but after the Acabar was returned from his Asmere pilgrimage and was father of this Sha Selim, hee named it Fetipore, that is, a towne of content or place of hearts desire obtained.’ Finch’s etymology is at fault. Fatepur signifies ‘the city of victory’; while Sikri is the name of the original village and has nothing to do with shikār, ‘hunting’.
Matrobet Caun—Mahābat Khān.
Cusseroom—Khusrau.

Nicholas Whithington (1612–16)
Mill Jeffed—Mīr Jafar.
Newlocke Abram—Nūrullah Ibrāhīm Kābulī.

Thomas Coryat (1612–17)
Freed—Farīd.

Edward Terry (1616–19)
Hajacan—Hāji Khān.
Chishmere—Kashmir.

Sir Thomas Roe
Cytore—Chittore.
Dr. John Fryer (1672–81)
Medapollon for Mādhavapalem.
Shaw Juan for Shah Jehan.

3. Simplification in the seventeenth century was, to a large extent, a necessity rather than a choice. The Englishman of that period had little knowledge of the Indian languages. True, in the beginning of the seventeenth century the existence of Sanskrit became known. But the older belief in the Hebrew origin of all languages still persisted: 'The Jesuites conceive that the Bramanes are of the dispersion of the Israelites, and their Bookes called Samescretan doe some what agree with the scriptures, but they understand them not.' The nature of Sanskrit, its growth and development, the number and nature of the Indo-Aryan languages—not to speak of the Dravidian group—were yet unknown. It was believed that there was only one colloquial form of speech spoken over the whole country. Thus Edward Terry, chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, in whose Voyage to the East Indies (1655) appears the earliest notice of the modern Indian languages, writes:

For the language of this empire I mean the vulgar, it is called Indostan, a smooth tongue and easie to be pronounced which they write as wee to the right hand. [Terry is obviously referring to Hindi, written in the Nagari characters.] The learned tongues are Persian and Arabian, which they write backward as the Hebrews to the left.

4. There further developed, as Grierson points out, the curious error that the colloquial language was Malay, a kind of lingua franca, before which the indigenous speech was disappearing. John Ogilby (Uncle Ogilby of Dryden's Mac

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1 Purchas, Pilgrimage, 1623.
Flecknoe) writes in his Asia (1673): 'As to what concerns the language of the Indians it onely differs in general from the Moors and Mahumetans, but they have also severall different dialects amongst themselves. Amongst all their languages there is none which spreads itself more than the Malayan (as shall be declared more at large) ...' (quoted by Grierson). But the intelligent John Fryer (1673) observed with characteristic insight:

(Some of the Bramins) are masters of Persian, Indostan, Arabick, Sanscript (or Holy Language), Portuguese, and all the depending speeches of Indostan, as Duccany, Moratty, Conchany, and the like; besides the Carnatick, in which all their sonnets and Poesies are expressed being softer and more melting than the others; which is an argument also of its antiquity, Indostan, not having a character to expresse itself in, on which the later dialects depend.

Again, 'The Language at Court is Persian, that commonly spoke is Indostan (for which they have no proper character, the written language being called Banyyn) which is a mixture of Persian and Sclavonian, as are all the dialects in India.'

But, as Grierson remarks, to wipe out completely the misapprehension that Malay was the lingua franca of India and to realize fully the existence of more than one spoken language —these were reserved for a later date.

5. In this stage of the Englishman's knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the Indian languages, it is no wonder that he wrote and spoke each Indian word as he heard it with his English ears. Some of the seventeenth-century English

1 Fryer's Account, ch. vi.

2 Sir Charles Wilkins gives an instance of the confusion occasioned from the ignorance of the Englishman in India, as well as from the ignorance and inattention of the 'Native clerks employed in the public offices of India to copy the transactions of the Company'; this is the word Mahāl, which 'occurs under no less than eight different shapes, not one of which is correct upon any system of orthography, viz. Mal, Maal, Mahl, Mehal, Mehaal, Mehaul, Mhal, and Mohaul. A great many other instances
travellers like Thomas Coryat and John Mildenhall¹ did certainly master Hindustani and Persian (the Court language); but such men were few.² Simplification, then, extreme forms of which are folk-etymology and form-association, in the seventeenth century was obligatory and not optional.

**THE PURIST REACTION**

6. This process of simplification was checked from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The closer cultural contacts between England and India brought about, as has been occur where the same term is variously spelt, and often in the same page.' Preface Explanatory to the Glossary appended to the Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company (dated 28 July 1812), ed. W. K. Firminger (Calcutta, 1918), vol. iii, p. 1.

¹ John Mildenhall (1599–1606): 'I got a schoolemaster, and in my house day and night I so studied the Persian tongue that in sixe monethes space I could speake it something reasonably.' Foster, Early Travels in India, p. 57.

² We see, for instance, the Directors in England writing in 1671 to Fort St. George: 'We are sorry to heare that wee have not any one of our servants that can speake the language. Wee now purposely send you over some young men, which wee would have instructed therein, as also to write it, that wee may not depend on accidentall persons. And for the encouragement of those that shall atteyne thereto, so as to transact business with the Natives, wee order you to pay each of them £20 as a gratuety, and that a Schoole Master bee allowed for teaching them. Wee are informed that John Thomas hath made some progress herein. Wee would have you encourage him to proceed to perfection.' Quoted by Sir Richard Temple in Thomas Bowrey's A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679 (Hakluyt Society, London, 1905).

Again: 'Wee did some yeers since propose an encouragement of £20 a peecce to any of our Writers that should attain to a perfection in the Gentue of Indostan language, but as yet have heard but of one proficient therein, wee doe require you to reminde them hereof in all your Agency, and when you give us an Accompt of any that have learned it wee shall order the promised reward to be paid them, and if any shall attain the Persian Language which wee understand also to be usefull wee shall give them £10 each.' ('Companies Generall to Fort St. George, 12th Dec. 1677.') Despatches from England, 1670–1677, Records of Fort St. George (Madras, 1911), p. 129.
shown, a deeper interest in Indian life and languages. Sir William Jones averred, 'no man can perfectly describe a country, who is unacquainted with the language of it'. At the end of the eighteenth century Europe had a fairly clear idea of the names and general characters of the principal Indian languages. The need for dictionaries in Indian languages for the use of Englishmen was felt, and men like Sir William Jones realized the necessity for employing a consistent and complete system of ‘orthography of Asiatic words in Roman letters’.

7. As a result of the increased knowledge of Indian languages the mode of representing Indian words in Roman letters underwent a change. Hitherto regard was paid only to the pronunciation of the Indian word intended to be expressed in English; but now spelling became the criterion. The latter system consists ‘in scrupulously rendering letter for letter without any particular care to preserve the pronunciation’ and Sir William Jones and his supporters believed (although a few still advocated the first method) that ‘as long as this mode proceeds by unvaried rules it seems to be clearly entitled to preference’.

8. That it is essential for orientalists to have a uniform system of transliteration for special purposes cannot, of course, be disputed. But the men familiar with these languages often failed to realize the need for giving an accepted pronunciation and spelling to the foreign words they adopted, and thus retarded the process of simplification. Not the new loans alone, but the old ones as well were made to conform to the standards of ‘correct’ orthography and pronunciation; they suffered a process of de-assimilation. The most typical examples of this tendency are the words containing an

1 Sir William Jones, ‘A dissertation on the orthography of Asiatic words in Roman Letters’, Collected Works, with the Life of the Author by Lord Teignmouth (1807), vol. iii.
aspirated stop consonant. With a correct *Sprachgefühl* the early English borrowers generally omitted the aspirate. But in the nineteenth century it was often retained in Indian loans old and new.

**BH-** Bang occurs from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth. Bhang appears in the nineteenth century (1859). The *OED* recognizes both the forms but gives preference to Bhang as the more correct, commenting: ‘Bang... has prevailed since c. 1675; bhang has become frequent during the present century and it is etymologically preferable.’ Beasty (1781)—bheesty (1810). But the pronunciation suggested by the *OED* as well as by Daniel Jones is *bʰs tʰi*. The *OED* rightly omits the aspirate in the pronunciation of the preceding and the following BH- words: *bhoosa* (1819); *bhakti* (1877) (*OED Sup.*).

**PH-** In the earlier loans it was regularly and naturally substituted by *f*:

- phül—fool (rack) (Fryer).
- phuslao—foozilow.

In the nineteenth century we get:

- *phansigar* (1813), *phulkari* (1890), phut (*OED*: ‘echoic’, but the *COD* connects it with H. *phatna*: ‘to burst’). The *OED* as well as Daniel Jones record the pronunciation *fát* for the last word, but the *OED* offers with questionable propriety the quite un-English pronunciation: *pʰäːnsigar*, *pʰūːlkari* for the first two words.


**GH-** Ghaut, ghat (1844)—gate (1603).

- ghee—gee (1665).

**TH-** Thug (1810), *OED* pron. ‘phag, properly *tʰag’; Daniel Jones: *θAg*. *Thana* (1803)—*tana*.

**DH-** Dhatura (1892)—*datura* (1673), still older dewtry (obs.)
dhoti, -ee, -y; dhootie, -y are all nineteenth century forms—
duttee (1622).
dhurra (1832)—durra (1798).
dhall (1799), dhobi (1860), dhole (1827), dhow (1802),
dhaman (1817), dhammoo (1846), dhan (1815), dhani
(1826), dharma (1862), dharmsala (1805), dhoon (1814),
dhoona (1846), dhoop (1857), dhanchi (1815).
The *OED* lends its authority to the pronunciation of Indian
dh- words with *dh*, a sound which is un-English. The
*OED Sup.* and Daniel Jones more properly English the
sound as *d*. Thus dhobi is pronounced by the *OED* as
dhobi; Daniel Jones records dōubi. The pronunciation
suggested by the *OED* of the following dh- words is also
spelling pronunciation: dhak, dharma, dhol, dhoti,
whereas the *OED Sup.* gives *d* uniformly to all the dh-
words it records.

9. Ignorant men often introduced the aspirate in the wrong
place, giving rise to such monstrosities as the following:
Bhudda for Buddha; Bhaber for Baber; dhooly (1869); dhal
(1866); dhoney (1859); dhow (1802); dhourra (1832);
dhurrie, dhurzie (1922); dhirzie (1920). The correct forms
are without the aspirate.

10. Besides giving Indian loans a foreign form, the nine-
teenth-century English writers (chiefly journalists) proclaimed
their outlandish origin by typographical devices which were
unknown to the seventeenth-century writer—the printing of
the words with an initial capital, within quotation marks, in
italics, and the use of diacritical marks. The English writer
of the seventeenth century also wrote words with an initial
capital even in the middle of a sentence. But then this use was
by no means confined to Indian words. Even native words
long in vogue (chiefly nouns) were written with an initial
capital. It should therefore be considered only as a method
of ornamentation and as serving no other purpose. Here is,
for example, a quotation from Fryer’s *Account*:
The Rich [women in India] have their Arms and Feet Fettered with Gold and Silver, the meander with Brass, Glass, or Tuthinag. ... A Lunny ... tied loose over their shoulders Belt-wise and tucked between their Legs in nature of short Breeches, besides a short Wastecoat, or Ephod ... being all their Garb.¹

**TWENTIETH CENTURY**

11. In the twentieth century there was a reaction against the pedantry of the preceding century and assimilation of needed words was advocated. The Society for Pure English (1913–47) cautioned against 'foolish interference with living developments'.² It held that

English should be at liberty to help itself freely to every foreign word which seems to fill a want in our own language. It ought to take those words on probation, so to speak, keeping those which prove themselves useful and casting out those which are idle or rebellious. And then those which are retained ought to become completely English, in pronunciation, in accent, in spelling, and in the formation of their plurals. No doubt this is today a counsel of perfection; but it indicates the goal which should be strived for. It is what English was capable of accomplishing prior to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is what English may be able to accomplish in the middle of the twentieth century, if we once awaken to the danger of contaminating our speech with unassimilated words, and to the disgrace, which our stupidity or laziness must bring upon us, of addressing the world in a pudding-stone and piebald language.³

12. Two of the S.P.E. tracts—those on the Persian words in English⁴ and Arabic words in English⁵—tackle some of the

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¹ John Fryer, op. cit.
problems that confront us as well in studying the Indian words. The writer of the S.P.E. Tract No. XLI on 'Persian words in English' answers the question 'What should be the rules for the usage in English of words of Persian origin?' (under which category come, of course, the Persian words borrowed in India also).

The first rule which I should be tempted to propose, especially from the point of view of the S.P.E., is the rather heroic one of not using them at all! But if this is too drastic, I should say, then let them be used in a thoroughly English garb; and here I am thinking more particularly of the vowels. English vowels being what they are, the Persian ones ought to be made to conform to them. But, in doing this, one thing should be avoided—the introduction of such letters as h, l, r, etc. to make up for the shortage of vowel symbols, on the false analogy of some English words. In English these letters, unjustifiable phonetically, do at least serve one useful purpose, that of preserving derivations. But in Persian words they would be definitely misleading. In any case, what practically amounts to the inclusion of consonants in vowels can hardly be defended on principle.

As for the consonants, it is quite unnecessary to be faithful to the originals. On the contrary, transliteration involves duplications and combinations of consonants, and endings often unpronounceable in English. Here again the rule should be to observe the laws of English phonetic usage. That is to say, words should be written in the simplest possible way.

13. To produce results more in conformity with English values than some of the versions usually met with, the following notation is suggested:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \text{ (not } u) \text{ for short Pers. } a \\
aa & \text{ (not } au \text{ or } aw \text{) for long } a \\
e & \text{ (not } i \text{) for short } e \\
ee & \text{ (not } i \text{ or } y \text{) for long } e \\
o & \text{ (not } u \text{) for short } o \\
\text{o}o & \text{ (not } u \text{ or } ou \text{) for long } o
\end{align*}
\]
PHONETIC CHANGES

Following this notation the improvement on the usual spellings suggested are:

bakshesh for baksheesh
bahador for bahadur
bandar for bunder
bandobast for bundobust
cammarband for cummerbund
darbaar for durbar
dastoor for dustoor
dastack for dustuck
farmaan for firman
paadeshah for padishah
peeshcash for peshcush
parda for purdeh
shecaar for shikar
zameendar for zemindar
zanana for zenana

14. In the Tract on ‘Arabic words in English’ similar suggestions are made:

ee for i as in vakeel, jereed.
oo for u as in cooscoos, doocan, hooka(h).
i for ai as in sice (if an accurate pronunciation is to be indicated, we could accept saîs). But Fowler in MEU prefers syce.
Omitting the final -h in words like hooka(h), howdah, khalsah, zillah, &c. Howdah is a strange form, as there is no -h in the Indian word, and the Arabic form from which it is corrupted is haudaj. There is also no -h in the Arabic form of mullah, omlah, omrah, where the English -h is added for the look of the thing.
k for kh.
c or k for kâf and qâf.

WORDS WHICH RESIST INNOVATIONS IN SPELLING

15. We must, however, realize that there exist two kinds of words which are not susceptible to any reform, however sensible it may be:
PHONETIC CHANGES

(i) Words which are well established in the language and put to a variety of uses. Examples: purdah, shikar, howdah, cutcha.

(ii) Words where form-association or folk-etymology has operated. Examples: curry, cot, cutch, grasscutter, mongoose.

II

16. The phonetic changes suffered by Indian words in English are of two kinds: changes undergone by (i) single sounds, (ii) groups of sounds—the syllable or even the word as a whole. In the first class we can observe how the laws of English phonetic usage operated in the transition of Indian words into English. In the second class of sound change are found such phenomena as folk-etymology and form-association.

17. Folk-etymology considerably influenced the lives of many Indian loans. A number of examples may be mustered:

chupatty, which is ‘inevitably associated with our patty’ (Weekley, op. cit.), godown, gymkhana, grasscutter, kerseymere, Bombay duck, Hobson-Jobson, solar hat, teapoy, eagle-wood, college pheasant (H. kalij), nut-cut (H. nat khat: rogue; Kipling’s ‘Kim’).

Forms given up:

brown jolly (brinjal), upper Roger (yuva raja),¹ rashboot (rajput, 1616, Sir Thomas Roe), sanscript (Sanskrit, 1698, Fryer), seapoy (sepoys, seventeenth century), topass (ultimately H. dobashi, fancied derivation from H. topi (hat), making the term topi-wallah, current since the middle of the eighteenth century).

¹ ‘As Sir Richard Temple has pointed out [Bowrey, p. 259 note], the Pali word is “upa-rāja” and this is much nearer to the Hobson-Jobson form than the Sanskrit “yuva-rāja”’. S. H. Hodivala, ‘Notes on Hobson-Jobson’, The Indian Antiquary.
Folk-etymology is most conspicuous in Indian proper nouns:

We have heard [says Sir Henry Elliot] our European soldiery convert Shekhavati into Sherry and water, Siraju-d-daula into a belted knight 'Sir Roger Dowler', Dalip into tulip, Shah Shujaul-mulk into 'cha, sugar and milk', and other similar absurdities.¹

18. The importance of this phenomenon, however, seems to have been overestimated. There are instances where explanations other than folk-etymology have to be sought. 'Mongoose', for example, is explained by Dr. McNight as due to folk-etymology. The Marathi word is mangus. That the long u here should be represented by -oo- is quite in conformity with the genius of English orthography. No connexion or confusion need by assumed between 'goose' and '-goose' in 'mongoose'. Again, speaking of 'cot' (H. khat: bedstead), Dr. McKnight says: 'Under the influence of folk-etymology [it] has become falsely associated with the cot abbreviated from cottage.'² It appears, however, that the proper explanation in these as in the following cases should be sought neither in misunderstanding nor in any elementary punning instinct (the two chief causes of folk-etymology), but in the methods of English orthography. Yule explains 'fool rack (fool's arrack)' as a corruption. The Hindi word is p'hul. As the modern English sound system does not possess the voiceless aspirated stop ph, which Hindi has (掴), it is here rendered by the voiceless open f. But that folk-etymology has stepped in is patent from the form 'fool's rack'. As in the case of '-goose' in 'mongoose', the '-root' in 'cheroot' (ad. Fr. cheroute from Tam. shurutfu) should be explained with reference to orthography rather than folk-etymology.

19. Closely allied with the foregoing is another pheno-

¹ Sir Henry Elliot, and John Dowson, The History of India as told by its own Historians, vol. i (London, 1867), p. 516.
² G. H. McKnight, English Words and their Background (New York, 1923).
menon which may be called form-association. A large number of Indian borrowings are homophonous with words already existing in English, so that the form and spelling of the former were considerably influenced by the latter. As the Indian and English words were far removed from each other in meaning this process was facilitated. Thus the following Indian loans, for example, fell into the letter and sound moulds of the already existing English words noted against them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bandy (in <em>OED</em> as trans. verb, noun, and adj.)</td>
<td>Tel. <em>bandi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheese</td>
<td><em>H. chiz</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td><em>H. chikin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jack (<em>OED</em> records 10 substantives)</td>
<td><em>Pg. jaca,</em> from <em>Mal. chakka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mull (<em>OED</em> has 8 substantives and 7 verbs)</td>
<td><em>mull</em> <em>mull,</em> muslin, shortened to <em>mull.</em> <em>H. malna,</em> to rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mugger (<em>OED</em> records 4 substantives)</td>
<td><em>H. magar,</em> crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutter</td>
<td><em>H. matar,</em> a variety of pea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pie (<em>OED</em> records 5 substantives and 3 verbs)</td>
<td><em>H. pā'ī,</em> a coin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pug (<em>OED</em> records 5 substantives and 3 verbs)</td>
<td><em>H. pug,</em> footprint of a beast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punch (<em>OED</em> records 6 substantives and 2 verbs)</td>
<td><em>H. panch</em>¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan (<em>OED</em> records 5 substantives and 2 verbs)</td>
<td><em>H. pan,</em> betel leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tope (<em>OED</em> records 5 substantives and 1 verb)</td>
<td>Tamil <em>toppu,</em> Tel. <em>topu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. In many cases stress has influenced the length and

¹ But see *OED* for difficulties in the way of accepting an Indian derivation.
quality of Indian vowels passing into English, for, whereas in the Indian languages pitch or musical accent is generally conspicuous, in English, as is well known, stress plays an important part in pronunciation and sound change. Thus, Southee in his Curse of Kehama lengthens the short \( i \) in amrita, his form being 'amreeta'. He has also forms like 'Seeva' and 'Veeshnou'. The OED represents the first vowels in Sivaistic and Sivaite as long. Sepoy may be pronounced either with a long or short \( i \). The OED, as well as Daniel Jones, offers the alternative. The pronunciation with long \( i \) seems, however, to be older as indicated by the seventeenth-century spelling of the word—'seapoy'. The character of the vowels noted in the following loans was determined by their receiving the primary stress in English; in the Indian languages they are short:

\[
\text{nabob } (a:ei), \text{moonshi, also munshi } (oo:u), \text{moonsif, also munsif } (oo:u), \text{sola } (o:ou), \text{tola } (o:ou), \text{mulligatawney.}
\]

21. When unstressed, Indian vowels, in conformity with English speech habits, were all levelled to \( o \). The unaccented vowel is sometimes represented by \( er \) as in 'cummerbund' and 'Juggernaut'. The vowels noted in the following words are all levelled to the weak vowel \( o \):

avatar, chukker, chela, bahadur, dacoit, howdah, kedgereee, nirvana, nullah, Veda, rajah, salaam, wallah.

This weakening of vowels in unstressed positions is seen in almost all Indian words in English.

\(^1\) The first phonetic representation is that of OED; the second, that of Daniel Jones.
GRAMMATICAL CLASSES AND
WORD-FORMATION

GRAMMATICAL CLASSES

1. Most of the Indian words adopted into English have been fitted well into its grammatical system. The assignment of the words to the several grammatical classes (parts of speech) presents little difficulty where there is a general correspondence between English and the Indian languages.

2. Nouns naturally constitute by far the largest class. In languages like Hindi and Urdu all nouns are either masculine or feminine, there being no neuter gender. Thus 'roti' is feminine, and 'cha' masculine; 'chitty' is feminine and 'tamasha' masculine. They differ in their inflexion and syntactical environment. English has inevitably ignored this distinction and the gender of Indian nouns in English depends on their meaning.

3. A small number of adjectives has been borrowed. Examples are Bengali, 'cutcha' and 'pukka'. Here, too, there are differences in usage between languages like Hindi and Urdu and English. In the former, adjectives ending in \( a \) change \( a \) into \( i \) before all feminine nouns and into \( e \) before all masculine nouns in the plural and in the oblique cases. Thus \( kachcha \) (cutcha) takes the form \( kachchi \) before \( chitti \). These distinctions are dispensed with in English and the uninflected forms are taken over. The abundance of adjectives ending in \(-y\) (\( i \)) in English, as also of Indian derivatives ending in \(-i\) as in Bengali, has led to the suffix \(-i\) being freely
added to Indian words for the formation of new adjectives in English. Thus we have 'blighty', 'brahminee', and 'cushy'.

4. Verbs are not easily adoptable. Yet we meet with a good number of them. It is significant that Hindustani verbs have been adopted into English in the imperative form and converted into the infinitive. *Hobson-Jobson* notes that 'Hindustani verbs . . . are habitually adopted into the quasi-English by converting the imperative into an infinitive. Thus to *bunow*, to *lugow*, to *foozilow*, to *puckarow* . . . to *sumjow*, and so on, almost *ad libitum*, are formed as we have indicated' and remarks that 'this doubtless exemplifies some obscure linguistic law'.\(^1\) Some of these are no longer 'quasi-English'. *Bunow*, we are told, is still used in London docks. *Toco* (a thrashing) is used in slang. *Maro* occurs in Kipling.\(^2\) *Dekho* and *chello* gained currency after the First World War. 'Shampoo' (imperative of *champa*) is no longer an outlandish guest. To my mind there does not appear to be any obscure linguistic law behind the adoption of these imperative forms. The explanation is to be sought primarily in the social situation. The Indians with whom the newcomers had to come most into contact were the servants. They had an extensive staff of servants, installed by their stewards (the banian of Bengal or the *dubash* of Madras).

Their expostulations [says Dr. T. G. P. Spear] would only lead to endless explanations as to why the sweeper could not be allowed to make the bed, the bearer would refuse to clean the boots or the clerk to dust his papers, why one man was required exclusively to fill his hookah, another to cool the wine and a third to wait at table. Physical force might cut short the explanations, but it never cut down the number of servants; in the last resort the servants

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\(^1\) p. xx.

had a strange power of taking joint action and had their own ideas of the strike and the boycott.¹

As European servants 'were very expensive since they needed a house and servants of their own and they often saved money and then set up in some business without warning', the settlers had to employ a whole host of native servants. In Bengal for example their retinue, says Dr. Spear, consisted of darogah or gomastah, munshi (interpreter), palanquin-bearer, soontah-burdars (who bore silver batons), chobdars (who carried silver poles), mossaulchees (link boys), khansamah, babachy (cook), kitmatgar, hookah burdar, krannya (clerk), sarkar, duftaree, hikarras, piadas or peons, molly, syce (grass-cutter), chaubuckassar (horse breaker), dooreat (dog-keeper), chokydar (watchman), darzi (tailor), dhobi (washerman), hajaam (barber), and mate (sweeper). Usually the settler possessed a boat, in which case he had to employ a manji (steersman), gooleah (bowman), and a number of dandys (rowers). Women servants were the ayahs or ladies' maids and dhyes. Finally there were frequently slave boys and women who acted as pages and ladies' maids. We know for certain that William Hickey, the 'Bengal Pickle', contemporary of Sir William Jones, had at least sixty-three servants. Even persons less extravagant than Hickey did not consider themselves 'as comfortably accommodated without entertaining a Dubash at 4 pagodas per month, a Butler at 3, a Peon at 2, a Cook at 3, a Compradore at 2, and a kitchen boy at 1 pagoda'.² It is easy to see how important the imperative forms must have been for the masters. The linguistic position—the primary need for learning the imperative forms of verbs—could not be much altered even when there was a retrenchment in the establishment. Kipling remarks in The Naulahka,

² Quoted in Hobson-Jobson, s.v. 'butler', p. 133.
‘Tarvin . . . pitched his gripsack into the bullock-cart, bounded in himself, and shouted the one Indian word he knew. It happened fortunately, to be the word that moves all India, ‘challo’, which, being interpreted, is ‘go on’. A passage in E. M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* further confirms my view: ‘[Mrs. Turton, wife of the Collector] shook hands with [the Indian ladies] and said a few words of welcome in Urdu. She had learnt the lingo, but only to speak to her servants, so she knew none of the politer forms and of the verbs only the imperative mood.’

The conversion of the imperative forms into the infinitive was obviously a case of erroneous analysis based on this special situation.

5. Not isolated words only, but one or two word-formative elements as well have been adopted into English from Indian languages. Thus ‘wallah’ is a derivative element which has given rise to a host of *nomina agentis* in English. In Hindi *wala* is a suffix forming adjectives with the sense ‘pertaining to or connected with’ what is denoted by the substantive, hence forming substantives as in *nao-wala* (boatman), *Dilli wala* (inhabitant of Delhi). The suffix in this function may be compared to *-er*. Europeans have commonly apprehended it as a substantive equivalent to ‘man’, ‘fellow’ (*OED*). Thus we have ‘box wallah’, ‘competition wallah’, ‘rickshaw wallah’, ‘canal wallah’ (ship built for voyage by the Suez canal), ‘Lewis gun wallah’, ‘amen wallah’, ‘base wallah’, ‘ground wallah’, ‘sanitary wallah’, and ‘signals wallah’ (see *supra* III, 27 and 28). *Log* again added to nouns denoting a class or community forms the collective plural (*H. log*: people, used only of persons). Examples in English are *babu log*, ‘saheb log’, *bandar log* (Kipling’s ‘nation of monkeys’), and *bhadra log* (respectable people, Bengali middle class).

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WORD-FORMATION

6. Besides direct borrowings as those noted above, we see new forms created in English out of the material borrowed, by means of derivation. Thus we have the following categories of derivative forms. The examples here given below are some of those recorded by the *OED*.

i. *Derivative Nouns*:

(a) Nouns formed by the addition of suffixes as:
- *-age*: dacoitage (Daniel Jones\(^1\) gives only this form and not dacoity, both of which are recorded by the *OED*), shroffage.
- *-dom*: baboodom, pariahdom, thugdom.
- *-ism*: babuism, banianism (Burke), Brahmoism, Brahminism, Brahmism, Buddhism, coolieism, fakirism, Hinduism, Jainism, Lingamism (Macaulay), Parseeism, swadeshism, swarajism, vedaism, vedantism.

(b) Nouns formed by other suffixes:
brahmahood, Indianist, punchery (after brewery), looter, shampooer, sanskritist, swarajist, thugster, vedantist (*vedantin* and *vedanti* are later borrowings); ameership, nabobship, punditship, rajahship; laccate, Poonahlite, pagodite (in mineralogy), nabobess; punditry (Sadleir, *Anthony Trollope*, ‘Mid-Victorian punditry suffered in many cases from an extreme form of the inferiority complex’, cited by *OED Sup.*).

(c) Verbal substantives formed from the verb by the addition of the suffix *-ing*: looting, salaaming, shampooping.

ii. *Derivative Adjectives*:

lootable, bungaloid,\(^2\) brahminic, brahministic,\(^3\) laccic,

\(^1\) Daniel Jones, op. cit. 
prakritic, puranic, svarabhaktic, vedantic, vedic, brahminical, nabobish, Hindustanish (Shelley).
Past participle used as adjective:
aryanized, howdahed, jungled, pilawed, puggreed, purdahed, pyjaamaed, tattied, verandahed.

iii. Derivative Verbs:
aryanize, brahminize, Hinduize, prakritize, sanskritize, toddyize.

7. As a result of the variable function of words in English, we get a large number of such usages as the following:

i. Attributive use of Nouns:
Nouns borrowed from the Indian languages are employed in this manner to a remarkable extent during and after the eighteenth century. Examples and the importance of this phenomenon in interpreting Indo-British cultural relations have been considered in Chapter III above.

ii. Verbs used as Nouns:
Examples: shampoo, toco, dekko (deck).

iii. Nouns used as Verbs:
Examples: bahadur, baksheesh, cowage, curry, dacoit, dum-dum, Juggernaut, lacquer, mull, nautch, palankeen, punkah, salaam, toddy, tom-tom.

8. Certain Indian proper names have come to be used as common nouns:
Examples: Amadavat (Ahmedabad), Brahmapootra, calico, Dum-dum, Golconda, Juggernaut, Kohinoor, Lunkah ('islands' of the Godavari), Madapellam, Poonah, Surat (see Chapter VI on 'Semantic Changes'), Taj Mahal.¹

¹ 'He was like a man who had been told to make his will in the Taj Mahal. He found it hard to concentrate.' Quoted by Eric Partridge, Name into Word (London, 1950), s.v. Taj Mahal, from A Story to Tell, Peter Fleming, 1942.
9. Interesting results of folk-etymology and form-association have been discussed above. Examples: bandicoot, godown, grasscutter, Hobson-Jobson, mongoose, solar hat.

10. We may note here certain hybrids like ‘gymkhana’, ‘mem saheb’, and ‘box wallah’. In fact, the forms obtained by derivative and combinative uses of the loans should be considered as hybrids.

11. Some phrases and idioms have also come into existence:

Examples: to sling (spin) the bat (Kipling)
               It is (not) the cheese (Thackeray)
               first chop, second chop
               Let’s have a dekko
               sitting (in) dharna, put in dharna
               to vote khaki
               to shake the pagoda tree

12. There are certain translation-loans (calques):

Examples: twice born (in a special sense, devija: 1794, Sir William Jones), pig rat (literal translation of Tel. pandikkokku), pepper water (Tam. mulagu tannir, mulligatawney), seven sisters or brothers (sat bhai, a kind of bird, so named from being constantly seen in little companies of about that number), dancing girls, devil worship (bhuta puja), untouchable.

Hubble bubble (‘echoic’ word for hookah).

Creation of English names for trees, fruits, birds, and beasts has been prolific in India: Indian fig-tree (banian), Indian gooseberry, and a number of such ‘Indian’ expressions; drumstick, firefly, flying bat, sweet apple (sita phal), shoe flower, tailor bird, wood apple, wood oil.

13. Certain English words corrupted in Indian languages went again into Anglo-Indian; for example, ‘mem saheb’ and ‘Inglees’ (sepoy’s pension), while ‘simkin’ (H. corruption of

champagne) occurs in Kipling's *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses*. Englishmen used these perversions in India when speaking to the natives, considering them, as Jespersen remarks, to be an aid to those who had not mastered the intricacies of the English language, though the result was at best a retardation of the perfect acquisition of correct speech by the natives. 'The usual question on reaching the portico of an Indian bungalow is "Can missus see?"—it being a popular superstition amongst the Europeans that to enable a native to understand English he must be addressed as if he were deaf, and in the most infantile language.'

VI

SEMANTIC CHANGES

1. A large number of Indian words have lived long enough in English to undergo considerable semantic changes. The common processes of generalization and specialization as well as the comparatively rarer processes of transference, degeneration, and multiplication of senses are found to have operated. Cases of occasional misuse of words by individuals, like Browning’s erroneous application of ‘nautch’ to a nautch girl,¹ are not given here, and only those words are chosen which show ‘a habitual modification’ of their traditional range ‘among a comparatively large number of speakers’.²

GENERALIZATION

2. The normal phenomenon of generalization or expansion of meaning is found illustrated in the following words.

3. ‘Anaconda’ (probably from Tamil) may have meant a large and terrible snake of Ceylon but came to be applied in the nineteenth century to any large snake which crushes its prey. ‘Avatar’ borrowed in the eighteenth century in the original sense in Hindu mythology came to mean in the nineteenth century a manifestation in human form, an incarnation, and later any manifestation. India and the host of related words suffered a number of sense-changes. In addition to its former misapplication to America, India was also used

¹ Browning, Fifine at the Fair, xxxi: ‘The pariah of the North, the European nautch.’
² Gustaf Stern, Meaning and Change of Meaning (Göteborg, 1931), ch. vii.
allusively in the general sense of a source of wealth. ‘Bandicoote’ from Telugu pandi-kokku, a large Indian rat, is applied to any animal of the marsupial genus Perameles. ‘Bungalow’ originally signified only a one-storied house or temporary building, such as a summer-house, lightly built, usually with a thatched roof. ¹ ‘Cheese’ (slang) meant only the right or correct thing. It is now applied to anything good, first rate in quality, genuine, pleasant, or advantageous. ‘Cowrie’, the porcelain-like shell of a small gastropod found abundantly in the Indian ocean and used as money, is now applied also to any gastropod (or its shell) of the genus cypraea. ‘Chela’ signifying in esoteric Buddhism a novice qualifying himself for initiation has been generalized by Kipling (Kim, 1901) to ‘one who occupies the position of a disciple and servant’. ‘Divan’, an oriental council of state, is applied to a council in general. ‘Firman’, an edict or order issued by an oriental sovereign, has been used also in the general sense of a grant, licence, passport. ‘Koh-i-noor’, the famous Indian diamond, has been put to figurative use (1892). Mr. Attlee, speaking in the House of Commons, said, ‘India—this kohinoor diamond has a great many facets’ (Oct. 1942). ‘Nabob’ is applied to any person of great wealth, specially one who has returned from India with a large fortune acquired there. ‘Thug’, one of an association of professional robbers and murderers in India who strangled their victims, acquired also the general sense of a cut-throat.

**SPECIALIZATION**

4. Since the process of specialization is closely associated with that of generalization, there are a number of words

¹ Eric Partridge remarks that Arnold Bennett’s ‘two-storeyed bungalow’ in *The City of Pleasure* ‘is absurd’. (*Usage and Abusage, 4th ed., London, 1948, p. 60.*) But the word is so used in India.
which show the results of both processes. ‘Nabob’, for example, the title of certain Mohammedan officials who acted as deputy governors of provinces or districts in the Mogul empire, has been used in the transferred and general sense of a very rich and luxurious person and also in the restricted sense already mentioned. Nevertheless there are definite instances of specialization among Indian words in English.

5. ‘Baboo’ in Anglo-Indian is used in the restricted sense of a native clerk or official who writes English. Bat (Hindi: speech, language, word) used in the slang phrase ‘sling the bat’, means only the colloquial speech of a foreign country. ‘Calico’, originally signifying an Indian stuff made of cotton dyed with gay and beautiful colours, and subsequently various cotton fabrics of European manufacture, is now applied in England chiefly to plain, white, unprinted cotton cloth and in the U.S.A. to printed cotton cloth. Chota is specially applied in the twentieth century to a ‘peg’ of whisky. ‘Indian’ was also used in the seventeenth century in the restricted sense of an Indian elephant driver or mahout and shikaree had gained the restrictive sense of a ‘European sportsman’.

6. There are certain cases of specialization resulting from, first, the attributive use of a noun and, later, the omission of the noun with which the attributive is used, thus making the attributive word alone convey the sense which the whole phrase was intended to express.

7. Thus ‘banian’ is used for ‘banian jacket’, a loose gown, jacket, or shirt of flannel worn in India, much favoured by the banians, and also for the banian tree. ‘Sambur’, applied to the soft leather prepared from the hide of the Indian elk is a further case in point, as is ‘zenana’, in the sense of a light, thin fabric used for women’s dresses, which is a contraction of ‘zenana-cloth’.
8. By the omission of the noun which followed them some place-names in India which were used as attributives became names of things.

9. 'Amadavat' (corruption of Ahmadabad) is thus the name given to a certain pretty little cage-bird ('Red Wax-Bill') found throughout India, but originally brought to Europe from Ahmadabad. Similarly a variety of domestic fowl is called Chittagong (district of Bengal). 'Bengal' was applied to piece-goods exported from Bengal to England in the seventeenth century. 'Calamander', a beautiful, extremely hard, cabinet wood of Ceylon and India is perhaps from Coromandel (COD). 'Calico' is from Calicut. 'Dum-dum' is used for dum-dum bullet. 'Goa' is applied to a marsh crocodile, 'Jaconet' to a cotton fabric, and 'Jodhpur' to a kind of breeches. 'Kerseymere' (a corruption of Cassimere) means a twilled fine linen as well as trousers made of kerseymere—it being common in English for the material of which a thing is composed to become the special name of the article itself. 'Lun-kah', the local term for the 'islands' of the Godavari delta in which the tobacco is grown, is applied to a kind of strong cheroot. 'Madapollam', a kind of cotton cloth, 'malabar', 'Madras', kinds of handkerchiefs, satara, a woollen cloth, 'surat', a kind of cotton and coarse cotton goods produced in Surat—are all cases in point.

TRANSFERENCE

10. Some of the Indian words have been figuratively or otherwise applied to objects or actions other than the usual ones owing to some kind of association or similarity between them.

11. Thus, 'betel nut', the nut or fruit of areca palm, is so misnamed by Europeans because it is chewed with the betel
leaf. ‘Cooey’ is applied in slang to a common fellow of the lowest class, also to a soldier. ‘Gadi, gaddi’, the cushioned throne of an Indian ruler, is also used in the transferred sense ‘the regal position’. ‘Indian’ is applied to a European, especially an Englishman, who resides or has resided in India. ‘Juggernaut’ is figuratively applied to an institution, practice, or notion to which persons blindly devote themselves or are ruthlessly sacrificed. ‘Jungle’, which in India originally meant waste or uncultivated land overgrown with underwood, is used in the transferred sense of wild, tangled mass. ‘Koh-i-noor’ has gained the figurative sense of something most precious or most superb of its kind. ‘Loot’ is now sometimes used in the transferred sense of illicit gains (e.g. by a public servant). ‘Mango’ in cookery was formerly applied to a pickle, especially of melons or cucumbers resembling that made of green mangoes. It was also used as a verb meaning ‘to pickle as green mangoes’ are pickled. ‘Pagod’ is applied to a person superstitiously or extravagantly reverenced, or otherwise likened to a heathen deity. ‘Pyjamas’ is in England now generally applied to a sleeping-suit of loose trousers and jacket. ‘Purdah’ is figuratively applied to the system of seclusion by purdah. ‘Salaam’, the oriental salutation, is jocularly used in the transferred sense ‘respectful compliments’. ‘Sunn’, *crotalaria juncea*, is applied to *Hibiscus cannabinus*, which yields brown or Indian hemp. ‘Tom-tom’, a native East Indian drum, has acquired the transferred sense ‘anything beaten like a drum so as to make a loud noise’.¹ ‘Wallah’, which is in Hindi only a suffix forming adjectives with the sense ‘pertaining to’ or ‘connected with’ what is denoted by the substantives, is commonly apprehended by Englishmen

¹ Inside my brain a dull tom-tom begins
Absurdly hammering a prelude of its own.

as a substantive equivalent to ‘man’, ‘fellow’, as in Sir George Trevelyan’s well-known Letters of a Competition Wallah.

MULTIPLICATION

12. A few Indian loans illustrate this phenomenon. ‘The simplest meaning stands at the centre and the secondary meanings proceed out of it in every direction like rays. Each of them is independent of all the rest and may be traced back to the central signification as if there were no other derivative meaning in existence.’

13. Thus ‘cot’ (from Hindi) has the following senses: (1) a light bedstead, charpoy; (2) a portable bed or one adapted for transport; (3) Naut. a sort of swinging bed for officers or sick persons on board ship; (4a) a small bed for a child, (4b) a bed in a children’s hospital. Lac: (1) the dark red resinous incrustation produced on certain trees by the puncture of an insect, used as a scarlet dye; (2) the colour of lac, crimson; also a pigment prepared from lac; (3) the varnish made from lac, also applied to various resinous varnishes used for coating wood; (4) ware coated with lac or lacquer. Mogul: (1) a Mongol or Mongolian: (a) a follower of Baber, (b) a follower of Jenghis Khan; (2) a great personage, an autocratic ruler; (3) the name of a kind of plum; (4) a locomotive of a peculiar type built for hauling heavy trains; (5) (Pl.) playing-cards of the best quality (OED).

DEGENERATION

14. Some Indian words have suffered degeneration of meaning in English, being first used generally in slight or jocose disparagement.

15. Thus, 'Baboo', a Hindoo title of respect answering to Mr. or Esq., is sometimes applied disparagingly to a Hindoo or more particularly a Bengali with a superficial English education. The abstract nouns which are derived from this word 'baboo-dom' and 'babooism' are also terms of contempt. So also 'bahadur'. In Anglo-Indian colloquial parlance 'bahadur' denoted 'a haughty or pompous personage, exercising his brief authority with a strong sense of his own importance; a don rather than a swaggerer. Thackeray, who . . . [had] a humorous felicity in the use of Anglo-Indian expressions, has not omitted this serviceable word.'1 Beebee (the Hindustani name for a lady) came to be applied to English women of lower rank and to native mistresses 'on the principle of degradation of titles, which is so general'.2 The word was also applied sometimes to a prostitute. The pejorative tendency is seen to have operated in two other important words, 'pariah' and 'pundit'. The 'pariahs' (from Tamil paraiyan) are the largest of the lower castes in southern India. They are by no means the lowest caste. By Europeans the word 'pariah' is even applied to one of no caste and also figuratively (first by Shelley) to any person (or animal as 'pariah dog') of a degraded or despised class, a social outcast. The word is unknown to Indians in the English sense. Herman Melville in Israel Potter (1854) has used it in a sense not recorded by the OED or the DAE. He has coined 'sea-pariahs' meaning 'lazy, ineffective, melancholy and infirm seamen'.3 'Pundit' is often facetiously used. The OED cites a passage from George Saintsbury's A History of Nineteenth Century Literature: 'Hallam was an honoured pundit and champion of the whig party' (p. 213). Here are two more passages: the first from

1 Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Bahaudur.
2 See Chapter IV.
C. E. Montague’s *The Right Place* and the second from *The Scientific Attitude* by Dr. C. H. Waddington (a war-time ‘Pelican’).

The only way you can fail, as a spectator of nature and art, is to say things and try to believe them, just because some aesthetic pundit or critical mandarin has said them before. That way humbug lies and boredom too.¹

The architect who wished to build for a scientific and sceptical age had to, whether he liked or not, find out what was left when scepticism had done its worst. The pundits would say that nothing was left; values they said are based on faith, or on ethical intuition, or a whole host of mysterious things, not at any rate on science.²

VII

THE USE OF INDIAN WORDS BY ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS

1. INDIAN words have been put to effective use by eminent English men of letters. Among the major writers some have given a distinctive character and flavour to their vocabulary by making free use of these, while others have spiced their diction with a few that are ‘strange and sweet equally’. Handled by master craftsmen and preserved in some of the shining monuments of English literature, the words are often redeemed from degradation or even total oblivion; they tend to acquire a standing of their own and come into common use.

2. Indian words appearing in English literature before the beginning of the first direct relations between England and India, that is, before the establishment of the East India Company, are few but full of history. Such are: algum, beryl, camphor, candy, ginger, mace, musk, nard, opal, pepper, rice, sandal, sendal, sugar, malabathrum, panther. They belong to ‘the dim backward and abyss of time’ and the etymology of some of them is still obscure. Reference may be made to OED for the evidence for Indian origin in each case.

3. These words, which entered English through Greek, Latin, and French, have all been freely employed in literature since their adoption. Some were put to new use even before the seventeenth century, while others obtained a new vogue, and new meanings and were used in new combinations after the establishment of direct Indo-British contacts.

4. Chaucer, for example, speaks of ‘walles of berile’.¹

¹ The Hous of Fame, l. 1288.
'Sugar' is used by him figuratively\(^1\) and by Marlowe combinatorially.\(^2\) Marlowe again puts 'rice' to attributive use.\(^3\) Shakespeare employs 'pepper' attributively\(^4\) and as a verb,\(^5\) 'sugar' proverbially,\(^6\) and 'opal' figuratively.\(^7\)

5. Among the words of the 'pre-Company' period none, however, possess a greater significance and interest than the names applied to this strange land. India, Indies, and Ind have been to poets as precious as 'the metal of India'\(^8\) and have gathered around them a romance all their own. They are indeed fine fossil poems, revealing the spell that India has cast over the Anglo-Saxon mind since the earliest beginnings of its history. The word India, which is traced from Latin, through Greek, through Persian to Sanskrit Sindhū, shows that the English owe their earliest knowledge of India to the Romans and the Greeks. Indea (or India), Indeas (Indians), and Indisc (adj. Indian) occur in Old English. Indisc is found in the translation of Orosius and elsewhere and the later Indish (1548) was current throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century.

6. In the Middle English period the form India went out of vogue and in its place are found Ynde, Inde, and Ind, which are readoptions through French. Chaucer uses the form Ynde or Inde fifteen times and 'India' nowhere.

7. Throughout the long period from King Alfred to Queen Elizabeth, India remained a far-off land of wonder and

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\(^1\) Troilus and Criseyde, III, i. 1194.
\(^2\) Marlowe and Nashe: Dido, II, i. 600.
\(^3\) 'rice porridge'. The Jew of Malta, III, iv. 1368.
\(^4\) 'pepper-ginger-bread': Henry IV, III, i. 260; 'pepper-corn': Henry IV, III, iii. 9; 'pepper-box': The Merry Wives of Windsor, III, v. 152.
\(^5\) 'I am pepper'd, I warrant, for this world.' Romeo and Juliet, III, i. 104.
\(^6\) 'Honestie coupled to beautie is to have honey as sauce to sugar.' As You Like It, III, iii. 33.
\(^7\) 'The tailor make thy doublet of changeable taffata, for thy mind is very opal.' Twelfth Night, II, iv. 76.
\(^8\) Twelfth Night, II, v. 17.
wealth, full of 'gold hordes' and 'jimstones', and the home of strange fauna like the 'Indian ass', 'which hath one only horne in his forehead' and the elephant which is 'full peryllous'.

8. Spenser, following Chaucer, uses the form Ynde; only once does he employ 'India',¹ and in a fine sonnet, where he puts to excellent poetic use his awareness of the hazardous voyages of the 'tradeful merchants' of his day, he speaks of 'the Indias', referring to the East and West Indies.² It is in Marlowe that we find the older form 'India' being definitely readopted.³ This was due to Spanish and Portuguese influence as well as to the influence of the classics. Shakespeare employs the form 'India' more frequently than Indies or Ind. In his works they are all awakened to fresh life with the kiss of metaphor. They become a symbol of exceeding wealth and bounty⁴ and expanse ('From the east to western Ind'),⁵ a region to which profitable voyages may be made.⁶

9. Travellers like Ralph Fitch, John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, William Finch, Sir Thomas Roe, Thomas Coryat, Sir Thomas Herbert, Dr. John Fryer, Rev. F. Ovington, and Captain Alexander Hamilton displayed a keen interest in India, its people and their ways. They were particularly captivated by the gorgeousness of the Great Mogul and his court. They made lavish use of Indian words with a freedom and facility now seldom found in English. Further, they enlighed Indian words with a sound linguistic feeling, and offer here a

¹ The Faerie Queene, II. x. 72, 5.
² Amoretti, Sonnet xv.
³ e.g. Tamburlaine, III. iii. 263; v. iii. 131; Dr. Faustus, i. i. 80.
⁴ The Merry Wives of Windsor, I. iii. 78; Henry VIII, I. i. 20; IV. i. 45; Troilus and Cressida, I. i. 103.
⁵ As You Like It, III. ii. 78–79.
⁶ In slang this latter sense was further extended and the word India acquired an obscene significance. J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley cite a passage from Donne, Elegy, xviii, in their Slang and its Analogues (London, 1890–1904).
striking contrast to the purists of a later day. Their spirited writings are exceedingly interesting, both in themselves and also for having inspired, among others, Marlowe and Shakespeare. They might be said to have familiarized the English reading public with a large number of Indian words. Among the records of travel special mention must be made of Dr. John Fryer's *A New Account of East India and Persia*, where we find a strikingly large body of Indian words, many for the first time, like


The *Hobson-Jobson* acknowledging its indebtedness to Fryer's work says: 'No work has been more serviceable in the compilation of this Glossary.' It is a mine of historical and philological information.

10. Milton was fascinated by the travellers' accounts of India. A close similarity has been found between his description of Satan and Roe's picture of the Great Mogul. But he scarcely drew on the Indian vocabulary of the travellers at all. His use of Indian place-names is unique—Bengala, Decan, Malabar, Agra, and Lahor—and names of rivers—the Ganges, the Indus, and the Hydaspes (Jhelum). Among common nouns, however, Milton resorts only to the older oriental loans like nard, opal, sugar, turban (in its older form *turbant*), and divan. The last word he was the first to use in the


2 *Paradise Lost*, v. 293.

3 Ibid. ii. 1049.

4 *Eikonoklastes*, Preface.

5 *Paradise Regained*, iv. 74.

6 *Paradise Lost*, x. 457.
transferred sense of 'a council in general'—an example followed by Pope and Byron.

11. The more recent words pouring into the language, with which Milton must have been familiar through Purchas, he does not use. For they could have been only pariahs to him. Their patent of nobility was not yet conferred and his epic as well as his temperament demanded the use of Dante's 'sieve for noble words'. So even when referring to that most stupendous effort of vegetable nature, the banian tree of India (which term had already entered the English language) Milton resorts to the 'fig-tree' and explains:

The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd
But such as at this day, to Indians known,
In Malabar or Decan spreads her arms,
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground,
The bended twigs take root and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
High over-arched and echoing walks between
There oft the Indian Herdsman shunning heat
Shelters in coole and tends his pasturing herds
At loopholes cut through thickest shade; those leaves
They gathered broad as Amazonian targe.¹

The description is found to be largely based on Purchas and Pliny. Pliny writes: 'The leaves of this tree are very broad, made in form of an Amazonian or Turkish target.' Milton obviously copies this incorrect description of Pliny. Had he used 'banian', the first two lines in the above passage could have been cut out. But is it not appropriate that Adam and Eve, in search of 'some tree' whose broad leaves might cover their nakedness, should have chosen the ancient fig-tree in preference to the new-come and outlandish banian? The same preference for English equivalents is shown in another place, where he speaks of 'elephants indorsed with towers',² which

¹ *Paradise Lost*, ix. 1101.  
² *Paradise Regained*, iii. 329.
are the same as Dryden’s ‘castled elephants’. The towers are, of course, the howdahs.

12. Dryden was deeply interested in India and was an ardent advocate of foreign terms. Nevertheless, he made no lavish use of Indian words. He shows familiarity with Indian ways of life, but he is often satisfied with English equivalents for Indian words and with long explanations. In his Aureng-zebe he refers to the ‘castled (i.e. howdahed) elephants’ and describes the suttee without using the term:

a funeral vow
Which cruel laws to Indian wives allow
When fatally their virtue they approve
Cheerful in flames, and Martyrs of their love.

13. To Dryden, however, goes the credit of using for the first time ‘Indian’ in the sense of ‘Indian manufacture or material’, mogul in the transferred sense of ‘a great personage, an autocratic ruler’, and ‘brachman’ in a figurative sense. Referring to Aureng-zebe who pretended to an extraordinary devotion Morat says: ‘Comes he to upbraid us with his innocence? Seize him and take the preaching Brachman away.’ The OED does not note that the word is perhaps here used in a figurative sense. Byron later followed Dryden in making a similar use of the word.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

14. Two names stand out pre-eminently during this period—Robert Orme and Edmund Burke.

15. Robert Orme is little known to students of literature. He is now regarded more as an historian than as a man of

1 Dryden, Aureng-zebe, Act i.
2 Ibid., v.
3 Marriage à la Mode, iv. 304.
4 Kind Keeper, iv. i.
5 Aureng-zebe, iii. OED also fails to note Dryden’s use of omrah in the same play (Act ii).
letters. It is impossible for readers of his works today to appreciate the tremendous impression they made on men like Sir William Jones, Macaulay, Thackeray, and Stevenson.

16. Born in Travancore and employed in India for the best part of his life, Orme was able to acquire a deeper knowledge of the Indian social and political scene than many men of his day. His *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745* has been regarded as 'the prose epic of the early military achievements of our race in India'.

One of the principal intentions of this narrative, he says, is 'to give a just idea of the superiority of European arms when opposed to those of Indostan.' And in carrying out this intention 'with a lucid, almost superhuman and wholly ghostly gusto', he employs a large number of Indian military and political terms and explains them. Thus:

Sepoys: 'The Indian natives and moors who are trained in the European manner are called sepoys.' (i. 80.)

Topasses: 'The Christians who call themselves Portuguese always formed a part of a garrison. . . . From wearing a hat these pretended Portuguese obtained amongst the natives of India the name of Topasses, by which name the Europeans likewise distinguish them.' (i. 80.)

Jemmaddars or Jemautdars or Jemidars are 'captains either of horse or foot'.

Lascars are 'the native seamen of India, employed likewise to tend and serve the artillery on shore'.

Naires 'are by birth the military tribe of the Malabar coast and assert in their own country even prouder pre-eminence than the Rajpoots'. (ii. 161.)

Soubah: 'From the word soubah, signifying a province, the viceroy of this vast territory (Decan) is called Soubahdar, and by Europeans improperly soubah.' (i. 35.)


The *OED*’s first quotations under ‘Jemadar’, ‘subah’, ‘subahship’ are from Orme. (But see Word-list.)

17. To Orme *Indostan* appeared to be the proper word to describe the country. He says:

Europeans understand by the East Indies all the countries and empires which, lying south of Tartary, extend from the eastern frontiers of Persia to the eastern coasts of China. The islands of Japan are likewise included in this denomination, as are all the Malay islands... But the name India can only with propriety be applied to the country which is distinguished in Asia as well as in Europe by the name of Indostan.¹

He was familiar with the social and religious life of the country and mentions the bramins, the joguees, and facquires, the casts or tribes, their pagodas, their diet, their arts, and their manners, freely employing a large body of Indian words:

bang (bhang), *cadi, catwal, choultry, coolies, duan, kalif, killidar, mulla, musnud* (throne), nabob, *patnam* (town), peon, *pettah* (‘by this name the people on the coast of Coromandel call every town contiguous to a fortress’), *phirmaund, pitans, polyar* (‘chief of a mountainous or woodland district’), rajah, rajah-saheb, *seepaws* (‘these are garments which are presented sometimes by superiors in token of protection and sometimes by inferiors in token of homage’), swamy (god), tindal, veda, vizir, zemindar.

18. Orme had, however, little knowledge of the languages of India. The spelling of many of the words listed above bear this out. He tries to draw a curious distinction between ‘brachman’ and ‘braman’, evidently based on the fact that the former is an older form (ad. Greek and Latin):

The Bramins who are the tribe of priesthood, descend from those Brachmans who are mentioned to us with so much reverence by antiquity.²

¹ A dissertation on the establishments made by the Mahomedan conquerors in Indostan.
² *Dissertation*, p. 3.
Again, he applies Malabar and Indostan erroneously to the Malayalam and Hindustani languages respectively:

It is said that [Dupleix] was preparing a column, with a pom-pous inscription in French, Malabar, Persic, and Indostan, which he intended to erect in the middle of the town.¹

19. If Orme acquired an astounding knowledge of India by living in the country, Burke gained it without ever setting foot on its shores. During the long years of his prodigious labours on behalf of India, he employed Indian words with a facility which equalled, and a discreetness which excelled, Orme’s. He was no thoughtless lover of exotic words. He declared in 1783 in the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons which conducted an inquiry on Indian affairs in regard to the administration of the Company, his determination to avoid the indiscriminate use of those technical terms from Indian languages which had a tendency to disgust the greater part of his countrymen and fatigue them ‘into such a despair of ever obtaining a competent knowledge of the transactions in India, that they are easily persuaded to remand them . . . to obscurity’.²

20. Burke’s use of Indian terms seems to have been determined by two purposes. With him it is a rhetorical device, no less than a precise and accurate means of describing peculiarly Indian things and ways. Having employed Indian terms, he explains them. In the early part of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, he assured the tribunal, having just used the Indian word jeeeps (obligations): ‘the Indian vocabulary will by degrees become familiar to your lordships, as we

¹ History, iii. 213.
² Ninth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the province of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, 1783. Works, vol. iv, Report on the affairs of India, and articles of charge against Warren Hastings.
develop the modes and customs of the country'. He never leaves one in doubt as to the meaning of the alien words that occur in his pages. Thus, *begums* are the ladies of an Eastern prince. *Zenana* is the apartment of the wives:

The people of the East, it is well known, have their zenana, the apartment for their wives, as a sanctuary which nobody can enter—a kind of holy of holies—a consecrated place, safe from the rage of war, safe from the fury of tyranny.

Of the *banyan* he says:

When the Company's service was no more than mercantile and the servants were generally unacquainted with the country they used the intervention of certain factors among the natives, which were called banyans; we called them so because they were of the tribe or caste of banyans or merchants. . . . He is called dewan or steward and indeed, this is a term with more propriety applied to him in several of his functions.

21. Burke's mastery of technicalities is astonishing. For instance, as John Morley points out, the masterpiece known as the 'Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts', delivered in Parliament on a motion for papers (1785), handles 'matters of account, of interest turned into principal and principal super-added to principal; it deals with a hundred minute technicalities of *teeps* and *tuncaws*, of *gomastahs* and *sowcaring*; all with such a suffusion of interest and colour, with such nobility of idea and expression, as could only have come from the addition to genius of a deep morality of nature and an overwhelming force of conviction'. Examining as he does the political and commercial affairs of the East India Company, it is natural that most of the Indian terms that Burke employs belong specifically to these spheres of the Company's activities. Thus we have

1 Burke's *Works*, vii. 78.
2 Ibid. viii. 263.
3 Ibid. vii. 440.
4 Ibid. vii. 32.
artzies (petitions), aumeeny (commission), cabooleat (contract), dustuck (permit), nutseddies (clerks), dewaun (steward), duanni ('the office of the Lord High Steward' of the kingdoms of Bengal, Behar and Orissa which the East India Company had got from the Mogul charter of 1765), aumil, fouzdar, zemindar, vizir, jaghir, jaghirdar, nabob, rajah, raunee, soubah, poligar, pollam, durbar, vackiels, nizamut, nuzzer, nuzzerana, mozannamas (testimonials), musnud, bandobust, perwannahs, sepoys, sircar, lacks (of rupees), pescush, jessera (poll tax), and chowkey (place of guard).

22. Under dewani, jaghirdar, nuzzerana, and jungle in the sense of a dwelling-place of wild beasts, *OED*’s first illustrations are from Burke. He was the first to use nair in a transferred sense. The *OED* quotes a passage from his *French Revolution*: ‘Did the privileged nobility . . . deserve to be looked on as the Nayres or Mamelukes of this age . . .?’ From ‘banyan’ he derived ‘banyanism’, an expression ‘steeped in the power of mass-suggestion’, which the *OED* has not recorded:

Through them (the banyans) Mr. Hastings has exercised oppressions, which, I will venture to say, in his own name, in his own character, daring as he is (and he is the most daring criminal that ever existed), he never would dare to practise. Many, if not most, of the iniquities of his interior bad administration have been perpetrated through these banyans or other native agents and confidants . . . This is the system of banyanism and of concealment which Mr. Hastings, instead of eradicating out of the service, has propagated by example and by support, and enlarged by converting even Europeans into that dark and insidious character.¹

23. Burke, like Orme, was not conversant with the languages of India and following a sound linguistic instinct he gave English forms to the Indian words he employed.

24. Most of the eminent English men of letters of the eighteenth century spiced their writings with a few Indian

¹ *Works*, vii. 36.
words, which were generally new recruits. Among these none is more significant than that characteristically eighteenth-century product ‘nabob’, which gained as much currency as ‘mogul’ did in the preceding century and gave rise to many derivatives. Horace Walpole refers in one of his letters to ‘Mogul Pitt’ and ‘Nabob Bute’ (the Marquis of Bute). He puts the word to attributive use as well and has also the derivative ‘nabobical’. Burns uses the word attributively:

As to his fine Nabob fortune
We’ll e’en let this subject alone.¹

Lawrence Sterne derives the form ‘nabobess’ and Maurice Morgann ‘nabobry’. As we should expect, Sheridan, too, makes use of the word ‘nabob’ in a context clearly showing the sense it had already acquired. Charles Surface, in The School for Scandal, is prepared to sell all the family pictures except, for any price, the portrait of ‘that little nabob’, that ‘devilish rich uncle’ of his, Sir Oliver Surface.

25. Among other instances of literary use of Indian words in this period are lacquer (verb) in Captain Singleton and ‘mogul’, ‘punch’, and ‘rack’ in Robinson Crusoe by Daniel Defoe, ‘mogul’ by Addison, ‘India’ (for India silk) by Steele, ‘lacquer’ in a figurative sense by Gay, ‘brahman’ and ‘pagod’ by Pope, Golconda (for the first time) by Walpole, ‘banian-day’ by Smollett, ‘mogul’ by Gibbon (in Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire), ‘amadavats’ and ‘pagodas’ by Sheridan (in School for Scandal), ‘toddy’ by Burns (for the first time):

The lads an’ lasses, blythely bent,
To mind baith saul an’ body,
Sit round the table, weel content,
An’ steer about the toddy.²

¹ ‘Heron Election Ball’, II. ii. This and the other illustrations in this paragraph are from the OED, unless otherwise stated.
² Burns, ‘Holy Fair’, xx. Cited by OED, which says that the British
There is no Indian variant to support Sterne’s distinction between ‘bramin’ and ‘bramine’. The latter is usually his feminine form of the former and is applied by him to his ‘Eliza’ (Elizabeth Draper), obviously in allusion to her Indian connexions. (She was born in India and her husband, Daniel Draper, was a servant of the East India Company.) He was Eliza’s ‘bramin’. While she was in India he kept a journal addressed to her, which he called *The Bramine’s Journal*, on seeing the manuscript of which Thackeray remarked: ‘I am sorry that reading the Bramin’s letter to his Bramine did not increase my respect for the revered Lawrence Sterne.’

26. The end of the eighteenth century saw the rise of a group of eminent English scholars like Sir Charles Wilkins, Nathaniel Halhed, Alexander Dow, Sir William Jones, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, and Alexander Hamilton, who were all deeply interested in Indian studies. They used Indian words with a scholarly facility and freedom, as well as with accuracy and clearness in meaning and pronunciation.

27. The student of language, when he comes to the writings of these men is struck not so much by the abundance of the Indian terms they legitimately employed, as by their effort to create something like a system, where only chaos ruled before, in the realm of orthography. They realized, as none had done before them, the need for a system of transliteration of Indian words in Roman characters. Thus Sir Charles Wilkins evolved a system consisting of prosodical marks to indicate the length of vowels. Halhed tried to improve upon this system by using double letters for long vowels and mixing italic with roman letters in the same word. Sir William Jones resorted to dia-critical marks, by whose help he applied ‘our present alphabet so happily to the notation of all Asiatick languages as to equal

Museum MS. copy of 1785 in Burns’s own handwriting has the last line: ‘And steer about the punch’ (also an Indian word).
the Devanagari itself in precision and clearness and so regularly that any one who knew the original letters, might rapidly and unerringly transpose into them all the proper names, appellatives or cited passages occurring in tracts of Asiatick literature.¹ This method of Sir William Jones usually known by his name has, in its broad principles, been widely adopted.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

28. The nineteenth century produced an abundance of English writers who employed Indian words. They may be divided into four groups:

First, writers whose works belong to the great central body of English literature, and who made a striking use of Indian words. Into this category come such writers as Scott, Southey, Byron, Macaulay, Thackeray, and Kipling.

Secondly, writers whose works, containing a large number of Indian words, are generally included in a distinct class of literature—Anglo-Indian literature. Such, for instance, are Sir Edwin Arnold, Philip Meadows Taylor, Sir A. C. Lyall, W. D. Arnold, and Sir G. O. Trevelyan.

Thirdly, men of letters who are eminent, but whose writings are spiced with a mere sprinkling of Indian words. In this category may be put writers like Charles Lamb (banian-day), Jane Austen (mohur, mull, nabob, palanquin), Thomas Moore (amrita, vina), De Quincey (Ramadan, first use in a transferred sense), Shelley (Hindoostanish, pariah (figuratively), champak (‘Indian Serenade’)), Carlyle (banyan tree, jungle (transferred and figurative sense) (first), jungley (first), thug (first use in a transferred sense)), Thomas Hood (firman (transf.), kerseymeres), Lytton (shampooer (first), vakeel), Dickens (divan, fakir, jungled, lacquered, loot, puggree, punch, shampoo, veranda), Browning (lacquered, nautch (in the erroneous sense of a nautch girl), pariah (‘Fifine at the

¹ The Collected Works of Sir William Jones (1807), vol. iii.
Fair', not cited by *OED*), Kingsley (fakirism, mango, roc), Longfellow (juggernaut (fig.)), Ruskin (bungalow, loot, punkah), Meredith (suttee (fig.)), Morley (fakir), and Stevenson (thug, verandahed).

Fourthly, Indologists who employed Indian words for technical purposes. Examples are Sanskritists like Henry Thomas Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Max Müller, and Monier Williams; historians like James Grant Duff, Mountstuart Elphinstone, John Briggs, Sir H. M. Elliot, Sir John Kaye; archaeologists like James Tod and Sir Alexander Cunningham; lawyers like Sir Henry Maine; philologists like Caldwell, Hoernle, John Beames, and Sir G. A. Grierson, and several other writers and scientists.

29. Sir Walter Scott is the first great British novelist to turn to India for the theme of one of his novels—*The Surgeon’s Daughter*. When Scott wrote this novel, very late in his career as a writer, he appears to have been so deeply fascinated by Indian life and the Indian scene that he declares in the preface ‘India is the true place for a Scot to thrive in’. His description in this novel of Indian life is accurate and his use of Indian words masterly. It seems to have been a matter of surprise to Scott himself as it certainly is to us. ‘How could you Mr. Croftangry’ [Scott], asks one of the ladies in Mr. Croftangry’s conclusion to the novel ‘collect all these hard words about India? You were never there?’—‘No, Madam, I have not had that advantage; but like the imitative operatives of Paisley, I have composed my shawl by incorporating into the woof a little Thibet wool, which my excellent friend and neighbour, Colonel Mackerris,'¹ one of the best fellows who ever trode a Highland moor or dived into an Indian jungle, had the goodness to supply me with.’

30. *The Surgeon’s Daughter* is set in the middle of the

eighteenth century, when ‘the directors of the Honourable East India Company in Leadenhall Street were silently laying the foundation of that immense empire, which afterwards rose like an exhalation’. The India of this novel was the ‘land of cowries’ and mohurs, where ‘gold was won by steel’ and men were making lacs and crores of rupees by relieving some nabob or rajpoot of his plethora of wealth or by storming a pettah or plundering a pagoda.

31. Scott describes the life led by the Feringis in India. If the griffin changed sheep’s-head broth and haggis for mulligatawny and curry, he had for compensation the luxuries of a nautch of the houris, who performed their voluptuous eastern dances. He moved in palanquins for many a mile, sometimes escorted by a dowrah (official guide of a Hindu village). Sometimes he was accompanied by a group of black soldiers who with their occasional ejaculation of ulla proceeded meditating on former adventures, the plundering of a kaffila (party of travelling merchants), or some such exploit, or perhaps reflecting that a tiger in the neighbouring jungle might be watching patiently for the last of the party in order to spring upon him according to his usual practice; and sometimes the travellers discovered the banks of a small nullah or brook covered with the foot-marks of tigers and other animals of prey.

32. Doctors from Frangistan were ‘much sought after among the natives, who, whatever may be their prejudices against the Europeans in other respects, universally esteem their superior powers in the medical profession’. A doctor like Hartley could get large fees from the wealthy Moslemah (Moslems) and Hindus and found it necessary to make the Indian languages his study in order to hold communication with his patients without the intervention of an interpreter. A man like Richard Middlemas would learn enough to address

1 The Surgeon’s Daughter, ch. x.
Begum Montreville as 'my Nourjehan, my light of the world, my Motee Mahal, my pearl of the palace'.

33. Scott also describes the ways of the Muslim princes, the nawaubs, their begums, their zenana, their durbars, and their servants like the dewan, the bukshee, the sirdar, the vakeel, the killedar, the sowar, the sipahee, the peon, &c., with their nuzzers and salams. The long and graphic description of a princely sowarree (a grand procession) in Chapter XIV, where words like naggra, tom-tom, chobdar, howdah, chowry chabootra, and musnad occur, is a striking instance of the remarkable facility with which Scott treated Indian life and handled Indian words.

34. Among other Indian words used by Scott in this novel, in Guy Mannering (in which Colonel Mannering is represented as having spent his youth in India), and in his other works are: brahmin, banka, chabouk, creeze, cummerbund, cuttyawar, dubash, fakir, hookah, kafr, khan, khelaut, lootie, mango, motakul, moullah, nabob, pariah, tatoo.

35. The OED has not made adequate use of Scott in citing illustrative quotations under Indian words. Only under a few like ‘lootie’ and ‘zenana’ does it press The Surgeon’s Daughter into service.

36. Southey turned, in his search for the romantic, to Hindu mythology for the theme of one of his longer poems—The Curse of Kehama. Macaulay doubted whether Southey’s long poems, which were received enthusiastically by some of his great contemporaries, would survive half a century and his prophecy seems to have come true. Many modern readers would dismiss Kehama as dull and devoid of any human interest. Southey treated his subject with little understanding and sympathy. The religion of the Hindoos, he declares, is ‘of all false religions, the most monstrous in its fables and the most fatal in its effects’. At the time when he wrote his poem he

1 The Surgeon’s Daughter, ch. xi.
anticipated 'an obvious objection that the religion of Hindoostan is not generally known enough to supply fit machinery for an English poem', and his answer is that 'if every allusion to it throughout the work is not sufficiently self-explained to render the passage intelligible, there is a want of skill in the poet. Even those readers who should be wholly unacquainted with the writings of our learned orientalists, will find all the preliminary knowledge that can be needful, in the brief explanation of mythological names prefixed to the poem.'

37. In this explanation are found words like *swerga* (Indra's paradise, one of the Hindoo heavens), *devatas* (the inferior deities), *suras* (good spirits), *asuras* (evil spirits or devils), and glendoveers (the most beautiful of the good spirits).

38. Besides these mythological names, Southey employed a number of other Indian words in his *Curse of Kehama*, such as: amreeta (*amrita*), banyan, *jungle*, *pandal*, rajah, yoguee. He was the first to use 'amreeta' in the sense of 'ambrosial, immortal'.

39. What is significant in Southey's use of Indian words is their form. He made no attempt at purity, at preserving the Indian pronunciation of Indian words in the English language. In the case of a writer like Southey, who always founded his writings on immense reading and who had in Sir William Jones a learned guide, this cannot be attributed to ignorance or indifference. Such forms, therefore, as 'amreeta' (as also 'Seeva' and 'Veeshnu') and 'glendoveers' should be explained not as corruptions, but as deliberate attempts at assimilation of Indian words to English speech habits. Thus the italicized vowels in the words above although originally short were

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1 *The Curse of Kehama*, original preface.
2 There is a discussion of this term in The Times Literary Supplement (27 July, 1946 and earlier).
3 *Kehama*, xxiv. 626.
4 Ibid. xiii. 51.
5 Ibid. xiii. 7.
6 Ibid. ix.
7 Ibid. vii. 11.
8 Ibid. xiii, xvi.
lengthened by Southey, obviously because they bore the primary stress in English. In ‘glendoveers’ for _gandharvas_ we have an extreme example of assimilation. It was for the sake of that body of readers ‘who are unacquainted with the writings of our learned orientalists’, that Southey had stripped the Indian words of their native garb and given them an English shape and sound.

40. Byron employed a large number of oriental words in his romances which began with *The Giaour*. Most of these relate particularly to the Levant, which Byron visited and knew. But there are some which are current in India also: for example, _attar_ ² _bismilla_ ³ _bulbul_ ⁴ _divan_ ⁵ _emir_ ⁶ _fakir_ ⁷ _firman_ ⁸ _franguistan_ ⁹ _gul_ ¹⁰ _houri_ ¹¹ _pilaff_ ¹² _Rhamazan_ ¹³ _salam_ ¹⁴ _sultan_ ¹⁵ _sultana_ ¹⁶

41. That Byron did not confine himself to the Levant, but drew on India as well, is clear from his use of the typical Indian word _palampore_ ¹⁷ his reference to the butterfly of Kashmir ¹⁸ in _The Giaour_, and the occurrence in his other works of such words as _brahman_ ¹⁹ _padishah_ ²⁰ _pagod_ ²¹ _pariah_ ²² _rack_ ²³—under which the _OED_ cites him.

1 ‘Avowedly an alteration of _grandouver_ in Sonnerat, _Voyage aux Indes orientales et à la Chine_ (1782).’—_OED_.

2 _The Bride of Abydos_, i. 270.
3 _The Giaour_, 568.
4 _The Bride of Abydos_, i. 288.
5 Ibid. 24.
6 _The Giaour_, 357.
7 Ibid. 339.
8 _The Bride of Abydos_, i. 456; _The Corsair_, ii. 7.
9 _The Giaour_, 506.
10 _The Bride of Abydos_, i. 8.
11 _The Giaour_, 486.
12 _The Corsair_, ii. 31.
13 _The Giaour_, 449.
14 Ibid. 338.
15 _The Corsair_, ii. 129.
16 _The Giaour_, 22.
17 _The Giaour_, 666.
18 Ibid. 388–90.
19 _Don Juan_, xiii. lxxxiii: ‘Thirty three of the highest caste—the brahmins of the ton.’
20 Ibid. vi. xxxix.
21 _Diary_. Also ‘Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte’:

_Those pagod things of sabre-sway_
-With fronts of brass and feet of clay. (Not cited by _OED_).

22 _Don Juan_, xii. lxxviii.
23 Ibid. iv. liii.
42. Byron must have noted the use made of Eastern words by his predecessors particularly Dryden, for he perpetuated Dryden’s misuse of *amuck* as a noun (*a muck*),¹ and like him employed brahman in a figurative sense. The OED cites Byron as the first writer to put this word to such use, but the credit must rightly go to Dryden (q.v.).

43. During the latter part of the nineteenth century two writers made a free use of Indian words in their imaginative works—Thackeray and Kipling. The OED, it may here be pointed out, has not fully utilized these writers, who did much to familiarize the English public with Indian words. Thus, for example, the OED cites Thackeray² under

 bahadur, bandanna, Bengali, bismillah, buggy, bulbul, *cabob*,
catamaran, cheese, *chillum*, chutney, curry, kedgeree, kerseymere,
*khubber*, kohinoor, lacquer, lakh, mufti (brandy), pawnee, pilaff,
Poonah paper, punch, pyjamas, rack-punch, shampoo, sultan,
sultana, suttee, and syce.

But to give a fair idea of his full Indian vocabulary a large number of other words require to be added, as:

backsheesh (P. 44),³ baksheesh (P. 31), bangles (V. 51; N. 15; N. 20),
bany(h)ann (V. 17), banyan day (N. 63), bazaar (V. 39),
bearer (N. 5), begum (P. 39; N. 9), betel (N. 8), brahmin (N. 28),
budgerow (N. 4), bungalow (N. 5), calico (V. 4; P. 26; N. 35),
cashmere (V. 2; P. 49), cheroot (V. 43; N. 1), chintz (V. 4; P. 22; N. 9),
*consomah* (N. 4), cot (V. 56; N. 8), curry-powder (V. 59; N. 9),
divan (V. 51), *deewan* (P. 38), fakir (E. 111), firman (V. 51),
Golconda (E. iii. 9), Hindoo (N. 5), hookah (V. 43; N. 8),
*hookabader* (V. 58), houri (V. 51; P. 74; N. 1; N. 9), Indian

¹ *Don Juan*, x. lxix: ‘Thy waiters running mucks at every bell.
² This section on Thackeray was published in *The New Review* (Calcutta), April 1949.
³ Abbreviations used: P. *Pendennis*, V. *Vanity Fair*, N. *The Newcomes*, E. *Henry Esmond*. The numbers refer to the Chapter and Book. Thus, P. 44 stands for *Pendennis*, ch. 44; E. i. 7: *Henry Esmond*, Book i, ch. vii. References are to the *Oxford Thackeray*. 
(Englishman living in India) (V. 59), juggernaut (N. 52), jungle (V. 17; V. 29; N. 6), jungly (V. 3), kincob (N. 5; N. 28), kitmutgar (N. 4; N. 8), lac (V. 60), mohout (V. 4), mango (V. 39; V. 59 proper noun), Mogul (V. 3; E. i. 7), mohur (N. 39), mulligatawney (V. 3 proper noun; P. 75; N. 65), nabob (V. 2; N. 8; N. 50), nawaub (P. 25), Nizam (P. 26), pagody (pagoda) (V. 17), pagoda (N. 59), pagoda-land (N. 59), palankeen (V. 43), palanquin (V. 3; N. 5), Pindaree (N. 1), punkah (V. 4; N. 28), purdah (N. 28), qui-hi (N. 62), rajah (N. 8; N. 12 generalized), rice (V. 28; N. 29), rupee (P. 38), sicca rupees (N. 50), sahib (V. 59), salam (V. 51; N. 5), sepoj (N. 14, attrib. N. 47), tatties (V. 4), tattys (N. 28), toddy (V. 13), verandah (N. 9), and zenana (V. 43).

44. Thackeray’s use of Indian words is an aspect of ‘his vigilant sense of words that makes the most trifling page living and significant and pleasing’.¹ From his Indian connexions and study of books bearing on India,² he enjoyed a remarkable felicity in the use of Indian words. They appear in his major novels—Vanity Fair, Pendennis, Esmond, and The Newcomes, as well as in the minor works like Major Gahagan and the Book of Snobs. Their number is considerable, as the preceding list will show. What is noteworthy, however, is not so much their number as the context in which they occur. In Vanity Fair and The Newcomes they are associated mostly with two immortal characters—Joseph Sedley and Colonel Newcome.

45. Thackeray’s forte consists in (i) bending Indian words to strange and humorous use and (ii) turning them into proper nouns. There are several examples of the first class of words—pale words, possessing little intrinsic power, to which a strange relative power, a new ‘slant’ is given. Thus, from

² Orme’s History was Colonel Newcome’s favourite book in his boyhood (The Newcomes, ch. ii). In ch. iii reference is made to Mrs. Sherwood’s Little Henry and his Bearer. Lalla Rookh is referred to in Pendennis (ch. iii) and in The Newcomes (ch. xx). Hakluyt is mentioned in Pendennis (ch. iii).
Vanity Fair may be cited the following instances. Mr. Hammerdown, auctioning Mr. Sedley’s portrait of a gentleman on an elephant, urges the company assembled to examine it as a work of art—the attitude of the gallant animal quite according to nature; the gentleman in a nankeen jacket, his gun in his hand, is going to the chase; in the distance a banyhann (banian) tree and a pagody (pagoda), most likely resemblances of some interesting spot in our famous Eastern possessions.

The colonel in chapter xliii smokes his hookah after both meals and puffs as quietly while his wife scolds him as he did under the fire of the French at Waterloo. Lacquer goes with moustachios: lacquered moustachios occur in Vanity Fair (22) as well as in Pendennis (56), and The Newcomes (8). There is a humorous allusion in The Newcomes (6) to the intimacy between some of the Englishmen and Indian women. Barnes asks:

You don’t know anything against my uncle, do you, Sir Thomas? Have I any Brahminical cousins? Need we be ashamed of him?

By the time Thackeray wrote, the figurative use of brahmin seems to have been so firmly established that while referring to the caste he specifies ‘Indian Brahmins’ (N. 28), just as speaking of the nabobs of India he says ‘Hindu (Indian) nabobs’ (N. 50). Lastly, we see F. B., who ‘moves among moneyers and city nobs and eats kabobs with wealthy nabobs’ (N. 64), preferring a coco-nut day at the colonel’s to a banyan day anywhere else (N. 63). The humorous intention in the passage is patent.

46. There are certain other words employed by Thackeray where this intention is either absent or not of primary importance, but which take on a figurative or transferred sense. Thus we owe to Thackeray the first extended use of Koh-i-noor (the name of the famous Indian diamond):
ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS

Laura] had such a sparkling and brilliant koh-i-noor in her bosom, as is even more precious than that famous jewel. (P. 66.) Sultan and sultana also are used figuratively in Pendennis (P. 7, 27, 53) and rajah in The Newcomes (N. 12). More interesting, indeed, than these instances is the application of the word catamaran to Mrs. Mackenzie in The Newcomes, in the sense of 'a quarrelsome woman'. 'What a woman that Mrs. Mackenzie is', cries F. B. 'What an infernal tartar and catamaran' (N. 75). F. B.'s fertile imagination has in an earlier chapter (69) turned 'mulligatawny' into an Indian place-name when he was badly in need of one, and here without hesitancy he makes another innocent Tamil word signify something more hideous than 'an infernal tartar'. This usage is philologically interesting. 'Catamaran' (from Tamil katta-maram), a kind of raft or float, came to be used in the now obsolete sense of a kind of fire-ship or instrument of naval warfare resembling the modern torpedo, especially those prepared in 1804 to resist Napoleon's intended invasion of England. Probably by association with this as also with 'cat' (a spiteful woman) the word has been applied in colloquial use to 'a cross-grained or quarrelsome woman'. The addition of one or more meaningless syllables to a word is a common phenomenon in slang. 'Catamaran' may thus be taken also as slang extension of 'cat'.

47. Thackeray's use of Indian common nouns as proper nouns is felicitous and humorous. He possessed, as Saintsbury points out, what has been called in the case of Victor Hugo 'la science des noms'. He used Indian common nouns as

(i) names of Indian places: e.g. Boggley wallah (V. 3; N. 62; M.G. 1), Mulligatawney (N. 69).
(ii) names of Indian characters: e.g. Bobbachy Bahawder (N. 51; M.G.), Bucksheesh Bey (N. 16), Loll Jewab (Jos's native

1 M.G. Major Gahagan.
servant). As the Hobson-Jobson observes, bucksheesh and bahawder are two particularly serviceable words, which Thackeray did not fail to use. Bahawder denotes ‘a haughty or pompous personage exercising his brief authority with a strong sense of his own importance’. Colonel Newcome and his boy are often considered by others as bahawders.

(iii) names of English characters: for naming some of his English characters Thackeray pressed into service names of Indian foodstuffs and drinks, fruits and birds, piece-goods, ornaments, and coins!

Foodstuffs: Mr. Chutney (who was at the head of the civil service at Madras) (V. 43); General Sir Rice Curry, K.C.B. (‘A shabby Genteel Story’, ix); Sir Curry Baughton (N. 19); Mulligatawny (‘a devilish good fellow, a magistrate at Budgebudge’, V. 3). Also in M.G. i, and Book of Snobs, 34.

Drinks: Punch (N. 12); Miss Mac Toddy (P. 8).

Fruits: Mr. Mango (V. 38, 42). Also Our Street, Cox’s Diary; Lady Mary (pun on mēri: my?) Mango.

Birds: Bulbul—Lady Betty, Clarence, Tom (Our Street).

Piece-goods: Baron Bandanna (V. 60).

Ornaments: Bangles, Capt. (V. 43), the masters (V. 56), Major (Sketches and Travels).

Coins: Goldmore, Col. (a rich widower from India) (Book of Snobs), Miss Goldmore (the Indian nabob’s rich daughter) (The Memoirs of Barry Lyndon).

48. Thackeray exercised considerable freedom in spelling Indian words. Variant spellings are frequent in his works. Thus:

backsheesh (P. 64), baksheesh (N. 31), bucksheesh (N. 16).
lac (V. 60), lakh (N. 26).
mulligatawny (V. 3), mulligatawny (P. 75).
palankeen (V. 43), palanquin (N. 5).

1 In Christmas Books.
2 Miscellaneous Contributions to Punch.
pillau (V. 2), pilaw (V. 59; P. 24).
tattys (pl. of tatty; N. 28), tatties (V. 4).

49. Thackeray’s handling of Indian words is unique. But their character would reveal that his picture of India was largely that of tradition—the land of nabobs and pagodas, of curries and pilaus, of tatties and punkahs, of suttee and juggernaut. The India that orientalists like Sir William Jones had just discovered had left the novelist unmoved.

50. Kipling made a far more lavish and effective use of Indian words than Thackeray. His interest in Indian was deeper than Thackeray’s; it was not merely that of a saheb born in this strange land and looked after by one of those ayahs that are still alive in his pages. Unlike Thackeray, Kipling lived and moved among the Indians for many years. Even as a child, before he could speak English, he was able to sling the bat, surely with greater ease than the Thomas of his *Barrack-room Ballads*, ‘whose first and foremost conviction is that he is a profound Orientalist and a fluent speaker of Hindustani’,¹ but who, as a matter of fact, depended largely on sign language. ‘As a child Kipling thought and dreamed in Hindustani. It is easy to imagine him as one of those Anglo-Indian children in his own books, chattering with the native Indians, taking their generous presents, listening entranced to their stories and more learned in the deep hidden character of India than many a member of the Legislative Council.’²

51. Later, having come back to India in 1882, with those early impressions still fresh, once again he lived among the people of the country and watched the pageant of Indian life with a keen and genuine interest and brought home to English readers on both sides of the Atlantic the colour, intensity and variety of Indian life and scene. ‘One reason why India

¹ ‘Route Marchin.’ *Barrack-room Ballads and other Verses* (vol. i).
appeals so deeply to the American imagination’, said a writer in *The New York Times* in 1930, ‘is because of the wide circulation here enjoyed by the works of Mr. Kipling. His commissioners, syces, Pathans, and budmashes continue to be as well known as the fascinating denizens of the animal kingdom celebrated in *The Jungle Books*. Of all the beasts perhaps as great a favourite as any is Hathi, the elephant.’

52. Part of the secret of his method lies in his appropriate choice of a large body of Indian words. He employed them with the true ease that ‘comes from art, not chance’. Kipling himself said:

The Elizabethans stood on the edge of a new and wonderful world filled with happy possibilities. Their descendants, three hundred and fifty years later, have been shot into a world as new and as wonderful, but not as happy; and, in both ages, you can see writers raking the dumps of the English language for words that shall range further, hit harder, and explode over a greater area than the service-pattern words in common use.

53. To such effective use did Kipling put Indian words that even those which had already entered the English language had to wait for the touch of his magic wand to be roused into a new life. Thus, the word *bhistie*, for instance, although its earliest usage dates back to 1781, was not generally known till Kipling created his ‘regimental bhisti’, Gunga Din, that ‘limpin’ lump o’ brick-dust’. To take just another example, Kipling breathed a new life into *pukka*, which was used as early as 1698 by John Fryer. The word was put to several uses by Kipling:

- *pukka* (permanent) job.
- *pukka* (hot, with plenty of chillies) curry.

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pukka (make of stone or brick and mortar) house.
pukka (malignant) fever.
pukka (a real outer-and-outer, not mere verse or doggerel) poem.¹

54. A large segment of Kipling’s Indian vocabulary has not attained English currency, for example, *shabash* (well-done, *The Naulahka*, recorded in *Hobson-Jobson*), *haidi* (prisoner, *The Naulahka*), *sahiba*, *Rajputni* (*The Naulahka*), *shouk* (hobby, ‘A Deal in Cotton’),² *ek dum* (‘William the Conqueror, Pt. 1’),³ *daur* (expedition, ‘A Conference of the Powers’),⁴ *but* (*Kim*, recorded in *Hobson-Jobson*), *kaiser-i-Hind* (*Kim*), *sat-bhai* (Indian starlings, ‘In Spring Time’, *Departmental Ditties and other verses*), *jildi*, and *mlech* (*Barrack-room Ballads*). Among those recorded by the *OED*, Kipling was the first to use such words as *izzat*, *jadoo*, *kowl*, *leep*, *oont*, and *phut* (*The Naulahka*, 1892, cited by *OED Sup.*). Some he used attributively for the first time like *ekka pony* and *jungle people*. Some he employed with a new significance like ‘chela’ (which has been supposed to be identical with Highland ‘gillie’) in the general sense of ‘one who occupies the position of a disciple or servant’ and *dungaree* signifying ‘trousers made of this material’.

55. It is remarkable how small a portion of Kipling’s large Indian vocabulary is drawn from the Dravidian languages of South India. Even the few that we find him using are those already well established in English, like ‘cheroot’, ‘mango’, and ‘tope’. The reason was that Kipling saw little of the south and cared less for it. He seems to have had a strange repulsion for Madras. Says Martyn in ‘William the Conqueror’: ‘He (Jimmy Hawkins) was a good chap, even though he is a

² *Actions and Reactions* (London, 1926).
³ *The Day’s Work* (London, 1927).
thrice-born civilian and went to the Benighted Presidency. What unholy names these Madras districts rejoice in— all ungas or rungas or pillays or polliums.'¹ Later Miss William exclaims, 'What can you expect of a country where they call a bhistie a tunni-cutch.'² And when she was done with 'the South of pagodas and palm trees, the over-populated Hindu South' and returned to the north, she felt that 'the large open names of the home towns were good to listen to. Umballa, Ludianah, Phillour, Jullundur, they rang like the coming marriage bells in her ears.'³

56. In point of spelling Indian words, we find Kipling is not a purist. He retains the old spellings wherever they are established. In the case of new words he trusts to English speech habits. Examples: faquirs, bhistie (Kim), bhisti ('Gunga Din', Barrack-room Ballads), khitmutgar also khitmutgar ('Army headquarters', Departmental Ditties), nut-cut (natkhat, rogue; Kim, ch. v), by (bhai, 'Gunga Din'), oont (oo is pronounced like 'u' in 'bull', but by Mr. Atkins to rhyme with 'front', Barrack-room Ballads).

57. Kipling's love of technicalities is a distinctive aspect of his craftsmanship that has been much discussed by his critics. One result of this trait of his is his perception, to quote Chesterton, of 'the divine parentage' of slang.⁴ Kipling is a fearless artist. Says Cochrane Maxton Dalrymple in his masterly work, Kiplings Prosa:

Er scheut sich nicht 'slang' zu verwenden, wenn es ihm paßt. So sammelt er die eigentümlichen Redewendungen aus allen Gesellschaftsklassen, und auch die Armee liefert natürlich ihren Anteil.⁵

And so it happens that nowhere else in literature is Tommy

¹ The Day's Work, p. 183.
² Ibid., p. 208.
³ Ibid., p. 225.
⁵ Cochrane Maxton Dalrymple, Kiplings Prosa (Marburg, 1905), p. 31.
Atkins, who constantly 'thinks o' friends in England, an' wonders what they're at, An' 'ow they would admire for to hear us sling the bat'—nowhere else in literature is he so truly portrayed and his slang, that strange mixture of English and Hindustani, so faithfully reproduced as in the works of Kipling. But whether such poems as the *Barrack-room Ballads*, such verses as

You limpin' lump o' brick-dust, Gunga Din,
Hi! slippery *hitherao*
Water, get it! *Panee lao!*
You squidgy-nosed old idol, Gunga Din,

will enjoy more than a passing popularity, it is perhaps too early to say. Yet, even if these poems were to pass into well- or ill-deserved oblivion, *The Jungle Books* and *Kim*, with the India and Indian words embalmed in them, will surely not be allowed to die.

58. After the First World War we find a new class of writers coming into existence, like E. M. Forster and Edward Thompson. Their works bearing on India differ in substance as well as method from those of Kipling. They show a keen awareness of the racial and political tension that disturbs this period in Indo-British relations and are painfully alive to the pervading atmosphere of distrust and prejudice.

59. The India, then of these writers is a changed India. 'Where were the colours and contrasts', asks F. Yeats Brown, 'I had found in the books? Where were the Rajahs who ruled in splendour and those other Rajahs who drank potions of powdered pearls and woman's milk? Where were the priests and nautch-girls and idols whose bellies held rubies as big as pigeon's eggs?'¹ The land of nabobs had vanished. But it is not to be inferred that the Englishman's life in India had suffered a 'sea-change'. The country continued to be for him

a land full of unexpected colour and splendour, beautiful and terrifying. For instance, the saheb still delighted in the shikar (‘that sine qua non of British bliss, things to kill’) in an intensely baghiferous or bhalookiferous¹ jungle. He watched and wondered at the rich fauna and flora of the country: the Brahmīny bull and the Brahmīny kite, the kokil and the bulbul, and the beasts and birds of the jungle; the banyan and the peepal, the mango and the toddy, the sal and the neem, the palas, simul, mahua, and such luxuriant vegetation. But, as has been shown above, the interest of the cultured Englishman did not generally stop with that. It went further and manifested itself in a desire to understand the people and their philosophy. Words like maya, karma, yoga, bhakti, vedanta, and vedantism are used freely by Forster and Thompson.

60. A new class of political words is found for the first time in the literature of this period. In A Passage to India, which relates to the period before the First World War (the novel was begun in 1912, although not completed and published till 1924), only words like British Raj (1890) and izzat (‘that untranslatable prestige of India’²) occur. Izzat, first used by Kipling (1895), occurs in Forster in the phrase ‘increasing the izzat’. The Indian scene brings out with great clarity, Forster’s ‘power of slipping suddenly within a sentence from the colloquial to the sublime’.³ In Thompson’s An Indian Day occur swaraj, swarajists, and swadeshi—words reflecting the political unrest in the country. These writers also put to use the vocabulary peculiar to the Anglo-Indians (the term is used in its old and familiar sense by Forster). Thus, in A Passage to India we have: ‘Fielding wasn’t pukka’ (ch. iii). Phrases like ‘increasing the izzat’ worked and were in

¹ Edward Thompson, An Indian Day (Penguin Books, 1940), ch. xx.
² F. Yeats-Brown, loc. cit.
current use at the Club (ch. iii). In *An Indian Day* are found: ‘jao jeldily’, ‘be choop about it’, ‘babu’s chair’ (expressions current only in Anglo-Indian parlance).

61. The rapid movement of events in India during and after the Second World War provided abundant material to British novelists in search of new themes. Dennis Gray Stoll’s *The Dove Found No Rest*¹ and Cecilie Leslie’s *Goat to Kali*,² for example, present the Indian scene during the war, from two different points of view. The latter gives a lengthy glossary of the Indian words employed, like *Bharat, Bande mataram, goonda, zulm*. Both make free use of such terms as *Pakistan, ahimsa, satyagraha*, besides *kumkum, natya*, and *muktì*, and also of such expressions as ‘Quit India’ and ‘Congress wallah’.

62. The British withdrawal from India ‘has led to the production of novels on Indian themes which are both new and unexpected and which may for some time continue to hold the attention of both Indian and British writers. For instance, some aspects of what happened in Kashmir are portrayed with but slight camouflage in Alan Moorehead’s *The Rage of the Vulture*,³ and in Philip Woodruff’s *The Island of Chamba*⁴ there is a clear reflection of Hyderabad.⁵ While Woodruff is content with using a few Indian words already established in English (e.g. looters, punch, jungle, coir, toddy, purdah) or well known like ‘Hindustan’ and ‘Pakistan’, Moorehead makes a very liberal use of words like *Zindabad, Quaid-i-Asim, Jai Hind, kirpan*, and *shikara*. Besides this exploration of new Indian themes, there has been a renewed interest in old themes like the Moguls, the Marathas, and the thugs.

63. More fundamental has been the influence of Indian life and thought on T. S. Eliot and Aldous Huxley. Huxley,
who is a Vedantist today, 'stands for the revival, under a totally different context, of the fourth order of Sanyasis in the modern community'. He believes that 'it is in Satyagraha, or non-violent direct action that the only hope of future revolutions resides' and advocates the Gita gospel of non-attachment, in order to save man from the degradation that is so luridly described in 'Ape and Essence'. The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi is here made to point a moral and the need for realizing the conception of 'Brahman who is also Atman' is stressed. T. S. Eliot admits, 'The Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita have impressed me most.' In recalling their lesson of self-surrender and self-control, he introduces words and passages from them, with the boldness which is so characteristic of him, and a purposiveness seen only in great poetry.

Ganga was sunken, and the limp leaves
Waited for rain, while the black clouds
Gathered far distant, over Himavant.
The jungle crouched, humped in silence.
Then spoke the thunder

Datta. Dayadhvam. Damyata.¹
Shantih shantih shantih.²

² Give, sympathize, control. The fable of the Thunder is found in the Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad, 5. i. (Eliot's note, The Waste Land.)
³ Eliot explains: 'Shantih repeated as here, a formal ending to an Upanishad. "The peace which passeth understanding" is our equivalent to this word.' But The Times Literary Supplement takes this English expression as the equivalent of the Sanskrit Ananda, which demonstrates the difficulty of finding exact English equivalents to Indian philosophical terms. Commenting on Christopher Isherwood's use of Ananda in his Vedanta for the Western World, the reviewer asks, 'What profit has Mr. Isherwood of the Sanskrit Ananda that he could not find in its English equivalent? In English also the peace of God passeth understanding' (The Times Literary Supplement, 5 Feb. 1949).
64. We may here conclude our survey of English literature, undertaken with the object of discovering what use it has made of Indian words. It is by no means an exhaustive study. Its scope is restricted to representative English men of letters, whose works may be said to belong to the central body of English literature. We have left out of consideration two classes of literature: the Anglo-Indian and the Indo-Anglian. Indian words naturally abound in these, but their appearance here has not the same significance as it has in the class of works that has formed the subject of our study. Burnell's remark that a few of the Indian words only 'furnish allusions to the penny-a-liner' is as far from truth today as when he made it. The writings we have examined reveal the significant contribution that the growing Indo-British contacts have made to the vocabulary of some of the most eminent English men of letters through the centuries.
CONCLUSION—SUMMARY

1. The Indian element in English, it has been shown, is quite considerable. The *OED*, which rejects over half the words noticed by *Hobson-Jobson* and does not contain words which have become familiar only in very recent times, accords recognition to about a thousand words, apart from numerous compounds and derivatives. Yet, considering the length of the period during which they have been borrowed and compared to the English words in the Indian languages, their number should be regarded as small. The reasons for this linguistic position have been explained.

2. Many of the words, it is true, are exotica referring specifically to Indian life, while some have become obsolete or obsolescent even in India. For the linguistic historian, however, these words possess a peculiar interest, revealing the tastes and needs of former times. On the other hand, there are a number of other words which have been promoted to Standard English, undergone interesting formal and semantic changes, and have been put to effective use by eminent English writers.

3. In many of the words we have enlightening vignettes of history: they tell us in an authentic, if inadequate, way the strange story of Indo-British cultural relations through the centuries, from the viewpoint of the English. The borrowings of the seventeenth century testify that the first direct relations between India and England were commercial in character, that the Portuguese were already well settled in India, that the Mogul empire was at its height of magnificence, and that there was free social intercourse between the Englishmen in India and the people around them. The words adopted during the first half of the eighteenth century were few, as the
English continued to be peaceful traders and the necessary words had already been borrowed. But that throughout this period there was no slackening in the interest taken by the English in India is shown by the attributive, combinative, and figurative uses to which the old words were put. In the latter half of the eighteenth century a greater number of words were borrowed, owing to the excitement created in English minds by such events as the Siege of Arcot, the Black Hole tragedy, the Battle of Plassey, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In striking contrast to the paucity of words relating to commerce we have in this century an abundance of military and political terms, which testify to the rapid change in the nature of Indo-British relations. The words of the nineteenth century far outnumber those of the eighteenth. So far Indian contribution to English had been essentially materialistic. But in this century the religions, languages, and literatures and above all the philosophy of India began to attract the attention of English scholars. India’s contribution to the terminologies of philosophy and philology began in this period. The First and Second World Wars facilitated the borrowing of new words and gave currency to old ones, sometimes with a new meaning. Lastly, there are a few words that reflect the momentous changes in the political scene of India culminating in the partition of the country and the withdrawal of the British.

4. The extent to which English men of letters drew upon this element has been surveyed. Among the words of the ‘pre-Company’ period none possess a greater interest than the names—India, Indies, Ind—applied to this country, which was conceived as a magic land of romance and adventure. In the seventeenth century a large number of Indian words were employed by travellers with remarkable freedom and a facility now seldom found in English. The literature of travel and adventure familiarized the English reading public with
some of the exotic words. Milton put certain Indian place-names to unique use. Dryden evinced a keen interest in India; the Indian terms he employed were, however, few, though interesting. In the eighteenth century Orme and Burke made effective use of Indian words. Other writers of this period also spiced their writings with a few words of Indian origin. In the nineteenth century Scott employed a surprisingly large number of such words in *The Surgeon’s Daughter*, the first English novel with an Indian theme. Southey’s importance lies in the attempt he made to assimilate some of the Indian words into English by giving them an English form. Byron seems to have noted carefully the use made of Indian words by his predecessors. Thackeray and Kipling did much to familiarize the English public with Indian words. Thackeray’s forte was to put them to strange and humorous use and to employ them as proper nouns. Kipling made a far more lavish and effective use of Indian words than Thackeray. Among writers that came after the First World War, E. M. Forster and Edward Thompson made use of a considerable number of Indian words. The nature of these words and the purpose of their employment have been examined. Indian philosophical thought considerably influenced writers like T. S. Eliot and Aldous Huxley, while to many others the pageant of Indian life and history, the exciting events of the present and the no less engrossing episodes of the past, continue to provide themes for imaginative writing. These writers make effective use of Indian words.

5. In their transition to English, Indian words suffered certain phonetic changes. The principle which governed the borrowing of these words in the seventeenth century was that of assimilation, but in the nineteenth century there was a purist reaction, the tendency later being to revert to assimilation. There are several instances of the operation of such processes as folk-etymology and form-association.
6. Most of the Indian words adopted into English were fitted into its grammatical structure, the grammatical niceties of the languages from which they are borrowed being, as a rule, ignored. The adoption of Hindustani verbs in the imperative is, however, significant.

7. Lastly, it has been shown that the meanings of Indian words in English are not always identical with those in the Indian languages. Not only such common processes as generalization and specialization, but also the comparatively rarer processes of transference, multiplication, and degeneration of meaning have been at work.

8. An endeavour has thus been made in these pages to indicate the Indian influence on the English vocabulary—an influence that bids fair to continue, thanks to the new type of association that has begun between Great Britain and India.
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APPENDIX

WORD-LIST

NOTE

The following collection contains all the more important words, together with some of those less familiar. It is based, in all particulars, chiefly on the authority of the Oxford English Dictionary. A few words not recorded by the OED (particularly those originating in the twentieth century) are included and specified; but no general attempt is made to extend the OED collection.

The words are arranged chronologically under periods. In order to facilitate reference and as the various aspects of the words are discussed in the text, they are not further classified under subjects.

The figures after a word represent the date of its earliest known occurrence in English. Those enclosed within brackets relate to translations. Where examples earlier than those recorded by the OED are quoted, the reference is given. For the purpose of dating a word, the OED draws no distinction between its use by Englishmen in India and that in England. For example, the OED’s first quotations under *fat* (OED Sup.) and *Hoondi* (OED Sup.) are from Foster’s *English Factories in India*. Also, it takes into account the actual date of composition of a work. Under *Cheroot* (OED), for instance, the first quotation is from Bowrey’s *Bengal* (‘MS. in possession of Col. S. L. Howard, Dorset’). Following these criteria, it has been found possible to give earlier examples of many words, especially seventeenth-century examples of those shown by the OED as originating in the eighteenth century.

The primary sense of each word is briefly indicated. Secondary and figurative senses, as well as derivative forms are, as a rule, not mentioned.

When not specified the origin of a word is Hindi or Hindustani. * before a word indicates that it is not included in the OED.
ACHAR—BENGAL

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Achar 1612 Hf, 1697 OED acid or salt relish, pickle.

Adatis 1687 muslin.

*Agam 1614 term applied to certain cloths dyed in some particular way. ('Indian Arabic or Indian corruption of an Arabic word.'—Walt Taylor, 'Arabic words in English', S.P.E. Tract No. XXXVIII.)

Aldea 1608–11 Finch, 1698 OED village or villa (Pg. > Ar.).

Almadia c. 1565 St. Dict., 1681 OED canoe, small native boat.

Amarhat 1608 Fryer (Amidabod), 1777 OED song-bird (corr. of Ahmedabad).

Amuck (Malay) Run amuck 1669 EF, 1672 OED run about in frenzied thirst for blood (also fig.). The expression first occurs in an Indian context, EF 1668–1669, p. 283, Coromandel Coast 1669: 'One of them (the slaves) . . . wounded many people in a kinde of mucck he did runn.' Foster notes the fact that 'the earliest quotation in the OED for “running amuck” is dated 1672'.

Anaconda 1693 large snake (Tam.?).

Anna 1620 EF, 1727 OED one-sixteenth of a rupee; corresponding fraction of any kind of property, especially in regard to coparcenary shares in land or in a speculation. (Latter sense not recorded by OED.)

Areca (1510) 1583–91 Fitch, 1599 OED genus of palms, nut (Pg. > Mal.).

Arrack 1602 spirituous liquor.

Atoll 1625 coral island consisting of a ring-shaped reef enclosing a lagoon (Mal.?).

Aumildar 1663 EF ('mauldars'), 1799 OED native factor, manager, agent.

Bael 1618 Bengal quince.

Baft(a) 1608–11 Finch, 1612 OED kind of calico.

Bahar 1599 St. Dict., 1753 OED measure of weight.

Bajri 1635 EF, 1813 OED various kinds of grain.

Baksheesh 1625 gratuity.

Baluch, -l 1612–16 Nicholas Withington, 1616 Roe, 1617 OED inhabitant of Baluchistan (Baluchi).

Bandicoot 1654 EF, 1789 OED large Indian rat (Nesocia Bandicota) (Tel.).

Bangy 1632 EF ('pingaes'), 1789 OED shoulder yoke for carrying loads, parcel post carried thus.


Bankshall 1629 EF, 1673 OED warehouse, office of a port authority (Beng.).

Batta 1628 EF, 1680 OED agio or difference in exchange.

Batta 1632 EF, 1680 OED extra allowance (?)

Bazaar 1599 market.

*Bagari 1673 Hf (Fryer) forced labourer. Begar 1800 Hf forced labour.

Begum 1626 EF, 1634 OED queen, princess.

Bengal 1678 St. Dict., 1680 OED kinds of piece goods.
Bengali 1613 (Native, language) of Bengal (Beng.).

Betel 1555 St. Dict., 1608–11 Finch, 1616 Roe; (1583) 1626 OED leaf of Piper betle (Pg. > Mal.). b. nut 1673 areca nut.

Bhang (1563) 1621 hemp used as narcotic and intoxicant.

Bora 1622 EF (‘vora’), 1698 OED Mohammedan trader.

Boy 1609 personal servant, palanquin bearer (Tel., Mal.?).

Brahmin (1481), 1583–91 Fitch, 1634 OED member of Hindu priestly caste.

Brawl 1619 EF, 1778 OED obs. blue and white striped cloth.

Brinjal 1611 fruit of the egg-plant (Pg. > ult. Skr.).

Brinjarry 1626 EF, 1632 OED travelling grain and salt merchant.

Buddha 1681 the Enlightened, title applied esp. to Gautama.

Budgerow 1669–79 Bowrey, 1727 OED keelless barge used for travelling on rivers (H. or Beng.).

Bukshi 1615 (Mogul) officer high in military administration, European civil officer, (army) paymaster.

Bulbul 1665 St. Dict., 1784 OED bird, sweet singer (Thackeray).

Bummalo 1698 small fish used as relish when dried (Mar.).

Bunder 1629 EF, 1698 OED sea port. b. boat 1825.

Bundookdar 1619 EF, musketeer. Bundook 1875 OED musket or matchlock.

Bungalow 1659 EF, 1676 OED one-storied house. Bungalowoid 1927.

Cabob 1698 roast meat.

Cadjan 1626 EF, 1698 OED palm leaves.

Cadi 1608–11 Finch, 1625 OED civil judge.

Cafila 1608–11 Finch; (1594) 1630 OED body or convoy of travellers.

Cajan 1693 shrub which gives dhall (Cajanus indicus).

Cajeput 1626 EF, 1876 OED tree. c. oil fragrant essential oil.

Calico (1505) 1616 cotton cloth (ult. Calicut).

Canaut 1616 Roe, 1625 OED side wall of a tent, canvas enclosure.

Candy 1618 weight (Mar., Tam., Mal.).

Carambola (1598) acid fruit of small tree (Pg. > Mar.) (Averrhoa carambola).

Cash 1621 EF, 1711 OED small coin (Tam.).

Catamaran 1622 EF, 1698 OED raft (Tam.).

Catechu, cutch 1683 astringent substance (Acacia catechu) (Tam., Tel., Can.).

Catur 1653 light rowing vessel on the coast of Malabar (?).

Cha 1616 tea.

Chank 1658 EF, 1698 OED large kind of shell.

Chawbuck 1618 EF, 1698 OED horse- whip (chabouk 1815).

Chay, choy, chaya 1583–91 Fitch, 1598 OED root of Indian plant used for dyeing (Tam.).

Cheroort 1669 Bowrey (cited by OED) cigar with both ends open (Tam.).

Chick 1698 screen blind made of bamboo.

Chillunchee 1675–80 SM, 1682 EF, 1715 OED wash-hand basin.

Chintz 1614 cotton cloth fast-printed with parti-coloured pattern and usually glazed. *Chin-
ters 1656 EF painters engaged in making chintz.

Chit 1608 Finch, 1785 OED.

Chitty 1623 EF, 1698 OED note or written paper.

Chobdar 1669 EF, 1675–80 SM, 1701 OED usher carrying a staff.

Chokidar (chaukidar) 1624 EF, 1698 OED watchman.

Choky 1608 custom or toll station; station for palankin-bearers; guard-house; police station or lock up. In this sense also slang and by association with ‘choke’ variously misused (1873).

Chop 1614 seal, impression, licence, passport; first (or other) rank.

Chopper 1621 EF, 1780 OED thatched roof.

Choultry 1620 EF, 1698 OED hall, shed, resting place (Tel., Mal.).

Chout 1672 EF, 1673 OED blackmail levied by the Mahrattas from the provincial governors; like exactions (Mar.).


Chuddar 1614 large sheet worn as a shawl.

Chunam 1583–91 Fitch, 1687 OED prepared lime (Tam.).

Chunamning 1668 EF.

Coir 1583–91 Fitch; (1582) 1625 OED coconut fibre used for ropes, &c. (Mal.).

Compound 1679 H7 enclosure in which a house or factory stands (Mal.).

Conicopoly 1669–79 Bowrey, 1680 OED native clerk, writer, currum (Tam.).

Conjee 1622 EF, 1698 OED water in which rice has been boiled; stiffening of rice starch (Tam.).

Cooja 1675–80 SM, 1883 OED water vessel.

Cooley 1622 EF, 1638 OED hired labourer (N. or S. Indian?).

Copra 1584 dried kernel of the coconut (Pg. > Mal.).

Coss, cos 1616 measure of distance.

Cossid 1619 EF, 1682 OED courier or running messenger.

Cot 1622 EF, 1634 OED light bedstead.

Cowage 1640 plant with stinging hairs on pod.

Cowle 1622 EF (‘caule: safe conduct or amnesty’), 1688 OED written agreement.

Cowrie 1610 IA lx, 1662 OED shell of small gastropod used as money in Africa and S. Asia.

Crore 1609 ten millions.

Culgee 1688 rich figured silk worn as turban, &c. (obs.); 1715 jewelled plume surmounting the sir-pesh or aigrette upon the turban.

Cumbly 1583–91 Fitch, 1673 OED blanket.

Cummerbund 1616 sash or girdle round the waist.

Curry (1598) 1681 dish of meat, &c., cooked with bruised spices and turmeric (Tam.).

Cuscus 1632 EF, 1810 OED aromatic root of an Indian grass used for fans, &c.

Cutch 1617 catechu (Mal., Can.).

Cutcherry 1610 office, court.

Cuttanee, co-, 1622 fine linen.

Dal 1645 EF, 1698 OED pulse.
DAMMAR—FOUJDAR

**DAMMAR** 1636 *EF*, 1698 *OED* various resins.

**Dandy** 1685 boatman.

**Daroga** 1623 *EF* (‘Drew’?), 1634 *OED* governor (under the Moguls), later degraded.

**Dastour, dastur** 1630 chief priest of the parsees.

**Datura** 1598 (Dewtry), 1662 genus of poisonous plants.

**Dawk** 1623 *EF* (‘Dawke chowkeek’), 1727 *OED* post or transport by relays of men.

**Deloll** 1664 *EF*, 1665 *OED* broker (Walt Taylor, op. cit.).

**Desai** 1698 revenue official, petty chief (Mar.).

**Dewalee** 1664 *EF* (‘Duelley’), 1698 *OED* Hindu festival.

**Dewan** 1608–11 Finch, 1690 *OED* head financial minister or treasurer, prime minister.

**Dhobi** 1620 *EF*, 1860 *OED* washerman.

**Dhoneey, doney** 1622 *EF*; (1582) 1859 *OED* small sailing vessel (Tam.).

**Dhoti** 1622 loin cloth worn by Hindus.

**Dinar** 1634 various oriental coins.

**Dingy** 1634 *EF*, 1794 *OED* small boat or skiff (Beng.).

**Divan** (1586) 1619 council (of state).

**Doolie** 1608–11 Finch, 1635 *OED* litter or palanquin.

**Dora** 1624 *EF*, 1675–80 *SM*, 1696 *OED* kind of striped Indian Muslin.

**Dubash** 1671 *EF* (‘dubasse’), 1675–80 *SM*, 1698 *OED*. **Dubashee** 1669–79 Bowrey, interpreter and mercantile broker.

**Dubba** 1619 *EF*, 1698 *OED* leather bottle.

**Dufter** 1621 *EF*, 1776 *OED* bundle of official papers; office.

**Dumpoked** 1696 applied to baked meat boned and stuffed; dish of this kind.

**Dungaree** 1613 inferior calico; trousers made of this (1891).

**Durbar** 1609 court kept by an Indian ruler; levee held by native prince, British governor or viceroy in India.

**Dustoor** 1620 *EF*, 1680 *OED* custom, customary commission.

**Dustoory** 1616 Roe, 1681 *OED* customary commission.

**Dustuck** 1646 *EF*, 1748 *OED* passport; especially those granted by the covenanted servants of the E. I. Co.

**Eagle-wood** 1669–79 Bowrey, 1712 *OED* aloes wood (ult. Skr. aguru).

**Fakir** 1609 (Mohammedan or Hindu) religious mendicant, devotee.

**Fanam** 1555 small coin (Mal., Tam.).

**Ferash** 1600 menial servant.


**Fetwa** 1625 decision given by a mufti.

**Firman** 1614 *HJ*, 1616 *OED* edict of a sovereign, grant, licence, passport.

**Fool’s rack** 1698 strongest distillation from toddy or sura (obs.).

**Foujdar** 1608–11 Finch, 1683 *OED* military commandant, military governor of a district.
Gangetic 1677 belonging to the river Ganges.

Ganja 1669–79 Bowrey, 1800 OED preparation of Indian hemp, intoxicating and narcotic.

Garce 1674 EF (‘garrs’), 1675–80 SM, 1752 OED measure for rice (Tel.).

Gentoo 1669–79 Bowrey, 1686 OED Hindu, Telugu-speaking Hindu. Gentile 1583–91 Fitch Telugu language (Pg.).

Ghaut 1639 EF, 1675–80 SM, 1698 OED mountain pass; flight of steps leading to the river side; burning ghat.

Ghee 1665 butter clarified to resemble oil.

Ghoont 1625 Himalayan pony.

Ghurry 1616–19 Terry, 1619 EF, 1638 OED space of time; metal plate on which the hours are struck (1816).

Gingili 1629 EF, 1704 OED plant, seeds of which yield a bland oil. G. coast the strip of coast from the Godavari delta to Puri.

Goa stone 1696 fever medicine once greatly in vogue.

Godown 1583 Fitch; (1588) 1615 OED warehouse (Malay > Tel., Tam.).

Golconda 1583–91 Fitch; 1608–11 Finch, &c., 1780 OED place celebrated for diamonds, mine of wealth.

Gomashta 1621 EF, 1747 OED native agent, factor, clerk.

Gooroo, Guru 1613 Hindu spiritual teacher or head of a religious sect.

Gosain 1608–11 Finch, 1774 OED Hindu religious mendicant.

Grab 1680 large coasting vessel (Mar. > Ar.).

Gunny 1619 EF, 1711 OED coarse material used for sacking, sack.

Gup 1617 IA lviii, 1806 OED gossip; silly talk (Partridge).

Gurrah 1642 EF, 1727 OED muslin.

Gurry 1698 small port.

Guz 1630 EF, 1698 OED measure of length.

Hackery 1698 bullock cart (corr. of H. chhakra).

Hadj 1673 Fryer, 1704 OED pilgrimage to Mecca.

Hadjil, Hajji 1609 Hf, 1612 OED Mahommedan who has performed the Hadj (> Ar.).

Hakeem (1585), 1622 EF, 1638 OED physician.

Hakim 1615 judge.

Halalcor(e) 1622 EF, 1662 OED one of the lowest and vilest class in Persia and India to whom everything is lawful food.

Hashish, hasheesh (1598) 1613 leaves and tender parts of the Indian hemp dried for smoking or chewing.

Havildar 1628 EF, 1698 OED sepoy non-commissioned officer.

Hindu (1662) 1665 one who professes Hinduism.

Hindustani, Hindo- 1697 IA lviii, 1616 OED language formerly called Indostan, Indostans.

Hing 1583–91 Fitch, 1586 OED asafoetida.

Hircarra, Hurcaru 1639 EF, 1747 OED spy, messenger.

*Hobson-Jobson 1630 Hf native festal excitement; tamasha; but especially the Moharram ceremonies. This phrase may be taken as the typical one of the highly assimilated class of Anglo-Indian argot. . . . It is . . . an Anglo-
Saxon version of the wailings of the Mahommedans as they beat their breasts in the procession of the Moharram—'Ya Hasan! Ya Hosain!' (Hf). As an excellent illustration of folk-etymology the word acquired the sense 'folk-etymology' (Indian Arabic).

Hookah 1675 Bowrey, 1763 OED pipe for smoking.

Hoolee, holl 1622 EF ('Wholy'), 1687 OED the great festival or carnival of the Hindus.

Hoondi 1619 negotiable instrument.

Hulwa 1662 kind of sweetmeat.

Humpum 1620 coarse cotton cloth (?).

Imam 1613 officiating priest of a Mohammedan mosque; title given to Mohammedan leaders and chiefs.

Imam 1619 EF, 1803 OED gift, gift of rent-free land. Inamdar 1850.

Jack 1613 tree; its fruit (Pg. < Mal.).

Jaggery 1588-91 Fitch, 1598 OED coarse, dark brown sugar (Pg. < Can.).

Jaghir(e) 1608-11 Finch ('jag-gere'), 1617 Roe ('jagger'), (1684) 1698 OED ('juggea') assignment of the King's or government's share of the produce of a district to an individual or body with power to administer; tract so assigned. Jaghirdar 1656 EF, 1794 (Burke) OED holder of a jaghir.

Jambo (1598) 1630 rose apple.

Jambolam 1613 tree, its fruit (Eugenia jambolana).

Jamwar 1635 EF, 1721 OED kind of chintz, flowered sheet or shawl.

Jangada (1598) 1600 raft (Pg. < Mal.).

Jat 1622 member of a tribe.

Jemadar 1675-80 SM, 1763 OED native officer in a sepoy regiment ranking next below a subahdar.

Jeziah 1675-80 SM, 1683 OED poll-tax imposed by Mogul emperors on non-Mohammedan subjects.

Jibbah 1630 EF, 1892 OED cotton outer garment.

Jowar, Jawar 1636 EF, 1800 OED Indian millet.

Juggernaut 1616 Hf, 1638 OED Hindu deity; institution, &c., to which persons blindly devote themselves or are ruthlessly sacrificed.

Kajawah 1634 camel litter for women, &c.

Kedgeree 1612-17 Coryat, 1625 OED dish.

Khan 1610 Persian title of nobility, in Indian especially applied to Pathans.

Khanjahr 1645 EF, 1797 OED Eastern dagger.

Khansamah 1645 house-steward; head of the kitchen and pantry department.

Khatri 1621 EF, 1630 OED member of the second or military caste among the Hindus.

Khidmutgar 1632 IA lx, 1635 EF, 1765 OED male servant who waits at table.

Khillat, khee- 1638 EF, 1684 OED dress of honour presented by a king, &c., as a mark of distinction; any handsome present made by an acknowledged superior.

Khoja 1625 teacher in a Mohammedan school, scribe, clerk.

Khutba 1666 EF, 1800 OED sermon delivered every Friday.
Kotwal 1608–11 Finch; (1582) 1616 OED chief officer of police for a city or town in India; native town magistrate.

Kuttar 1696 short dagger.

Lac 1618 *EF*; (1533) 1622 OED dark-red resinous incrustation produced on certain trees, used as scarlet dye. Lacquer 1579 lac.

Lac, lakh 1608–13 Hawkins, 1613 OED one hundred thousand.

Langooty 1579 *IA lx*, 1816 OED ‘I cannot describe (it) better to my female readers, than substituting a pocket-handkerchief for Eve’s fig-leaf.’

Lascar 1625 East Indian sailor; tent pitcher; artillery man. Lascarree short spear.

Lashcar 1616 camp of native Indian soldiers (obs.).

Lilac 1625 shrub cultivated for its fragrant blossoms (ult. Skr. nila).

Lungi 1619 EF, 1634 OED loincloth.

Madras 1654 EF, 1833 OED handkerchief(place-name). *Madrassi* 1877 of Madras; 1878 native of Madras.

Mahal 1608–11 Finch, 1638 OED private apartments or lodgings; summer-house or place; territorial division, &c.

Maharaja(h) 1698 Indian prince; Maharaj 1826.


Mahrattl, Mahratta 1698 Fryer (‘Moratty’) language of the Mahrattas.

Mahwa 1608–11 Finch, 1697 OED timber tree.

Maidan 1608–11 Finch, 1625 OED open space in or near town; esplanade; parade ground.

Malabar 1583–91 Fitch, 1669–79 Bowrey; (1582) 1696 OED inhabitant of Malabar; the language; kind of handkerchief (1882). Used attributively in the names of various plants, vegetable products, &c.: m. bark, m. catmint (*Arismeles malabarica*), m. laurel (*Melastoma malabarica*), m. oil.

Malabar leaf (Cinnamomum malabathrum).

Malabathrum 1601 aromatic leaf, classical export from India.

Mangelin 1555 small weight (Tel., Tam.) (obs.).

Mango 1608–11 Finch, 1616 Roe; (1582) 1655 OED fruit; the tree, *mangifera indica*; pickle (Pg. > Tam.).

Manjee 1683 master or steersman of a boat (H., Beng.).

Martaban 1622 EF, 1698 OED vessels of peculiar pottery (> Tel.).

Maud 1684 1611 weight.

Mercal 1669–79 Bowrey, 1776 OED measure for grain (Tam.).

Mina 1620 EF, 1769 OED common talking starling of India; name used in Australia also.

Mokaddam 1616 Roe, 1634 OED headman.

Mogul 1583–91 Fitch (‘Great Mogor’), 1616–19 Terry (‘Great Mogoll’), 1616 (‘Mogolls’), 1625 OED great personage; autocratic ruler (1678); kind of plum (1718); locomotive (1884); playing cards

Mohur 1608–11 Finch, 1696 *OED* coin.

Mongoose 1673 *EF*, 1696 *OED* ichneumon (*Mungos* used as name of a genus) (Mar., Tel.).

Mooltree 1616 Roe, 1625 *OED* Mohammedan doctor of the law, teacher of Arabic; learned man (> Ar.).

Moonshi, Munshi 1622 *IA* lx, 1776 *OED* native secretary or language teacher.

Moory 1696 kind of cotton cloth (Pg. ?).

Moplah 1675–80 *SM*, 1787 *OED* one of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Malabar (Mal.).

Muchulka 1675–80 *SM*, 1803 *OED* written bond.

Muga 1675–80 *SM*, 1833 *OED* wild silk of Assam (Assamese).

Mull 1668 (Hugli letter book), 1669–79 Bowrey, 1798 *OED* thin variety of plain muslin.

Mullah 1625 Mohammedan learned in theology and sacred law (> Ar.).

Mulmul 1619 *EF*, mul.

Mussal 1698 torch, torch bearer.

Mussalchee 1610 torch bearer.

Mussuck 1610 leather water-bag.

Nabob 1612 title of certain Mohammedan officials, who acted as deputy governors of provinces or districts in the Mogul empire; person of great wealth, spec. one who has returned from India with a large fortune acquired there.

Naib 1682 deputy governor; deputy. Nawab 1758.

Naik 1622 *EF*, 1675–80 *SM*; (1588) 1698 *OED* lord, prince, governor; 1787 military officer.

Nakhoda 1605 captain or master of a boat.

Nair 1583–91 Fitch; (1582) 1603 *OED* member of the noble and military caste in Malabar; transf. 1791 (Burke).

Nazir 1648 *EF*, 1797 *OED* native official.

Nilla 1698 kind of piece goods (obs.) (?).

Nizam 1601 ruler of Hyderabad. Nizamut 1764 office or authority of the Nizam.

Nullah 1656 *EF*, 1776 *OED* river or stream, river bed, ravine.

Olla 1622 *EF*, 1625 *OED* palm-leaf used for writing on; letter or document so written (Pg. > Mal., Tam.).

Omrah 1608–11 Finch (‘ombra’), 1616 Roe, 1625 *OED* lord or grandee of Mohammedan court, esp. that of a great Mogul.

Paddy (1598) 1623 rice in the straw or in the husk (Malay). p. bird 1777; p. field.

Padishah, padshah 1612 emperor.

Pagod 1583–91 Fitch, 1616 Roe, 1624 *EF*; (1582) 1630 *OED*; Pagoda 1634 *OED* idol temple; idol; person extravagantly reverenced; gold coin (1619 *EF*) (?). Pagoda tree to shake the pagoda tree (1836). p. sleeve; pagodite (1837).

Palampore 1676–80 *SM*, 1698 *OED* kind of chintz bed cover (?).

Palankeen, palanquin (1588) 1612 covered litter or conveyance (Pg. < H.).

Pan 1616 betel leaf; combination of betel leaf, areca nut, lime, &c., used as a masticatory. *Pan*
supari distribution of pan and supari (areca) as a form of ceremonial hospitality.

Pariah 1613 person of a degraded or despised class; social outcast. p. dog (1626); p. arrack (1671) (obs.); p. kite (1880).

Parsee 1615 Indian adherent of Zoroastrianism.

Patel 1630 EF, 1802 OED headman of a village (Mar.).

Pathan 1603–13 Hawkins, 1665 OED member of Afghan tribes in, or on frontiers of, India.

Pattamar 1612–16 Nicholas Withington; (1598) 1616 OED (a) courier (obs.); (b) ship (Pg. < Mal., Mar., &c.).

Pawl 1656 EF, 1811 OED small tent.

Pergunnah 1608–11 Finch, 1765 OED division of territory.

Peshcush 1619 EF, 1634 OED offering, present, tribute, quit-rent, fine.

Peshwa 1665 EF, 1698 OED chief minister of the Maharatta provinces (from 1660) who made himself in 1749 the hereditary sovereign of the Maharatta state.

Pice 1615 coin (one-fourth of an anna).

Pilau 1612 dish consisting of rice boiled with fowl, meat, or fish and spices, raisins, &c.

Pir 1608–11 Finch, 1698 OED Mohammedan saint or holy man.

Poligar 1672 EF (‘pillage’) 1681 holder of a pollam or feudal estate; subordinate feudal chief; predatory follower of such a chief. P. dog 1830 large breed of dogs found in S. India (Mar., Tel.).

Poone 1699 timber tree (Tam.).

Pucka 1619 EF 1618–21, p. 74 (‘A very early example of English use of the well-known antithesis of kachcha (raw, temporary, slight) and pakka (ripe, permanent, solid)—Foster); 1698 OED genuine, thorough, &c.

Puggree 1665 light turban.

Punch 1632 EF (‘This appears to be the earliest known mention of this famous drink’—Foster); OED cites from the same letter: beverage (H.?). p. house 1652 EF tavern.

Pundit 1661 EF, 1698 OED learned expert or teacher. Pun-ditry 1926.

Punkah 1610 Finch, 1625 OED fan.

Purana 1696 class of sacred poetic works in Sanskrit (Skr.).

Purdah 1621 EF, 1800 OED curtain to screen women from the sight of men; seclusion of women.

Purwanah 1619 EF, 1682 OED grant or letter under royal seal.

Putchuk, putchock (1588) 1617 trade name for a fragrant root (> Tel.?).

Rack 1602 (aphetic form of arrack).

Rahdar 1623 road keeper, toll-gatherer.

Rahdaree 1623 EF, 1685 OED transit-duty, toll.

Raja 1583–91 Fitch; (1555) 1608 OED Indian king or prince.

Rajpoot 1608–13 Hawkins; (1598) 1615 OED member of a Hindu soldier caste.

Ramadan, ramazan 1599 ninth month of Mohammedan year, during all daylight hours of which rigid fasting is observed (transf. 1822 De Quincey, ‘A Lent or Ramadan of abstinence from opium,’ cited by OED).

Ranee 1698 Hindu queen.
Romal 1647 EF, 1683 OED towel, handkerchief.
Rupee 1608–13 Hawkins, 1612 OED coin.
Ruttee 1625 seed of Abrus precatorius used as goldsmith’s weight.
Ryot 1608–13 Hawkins, 1625 OED Indian peasant.
Sahib 1696 respectful title; Englishman, European. ‘Since c. 1925 often derisive of “Public school”’.
Sal 1678 EF, 1789 OED timber tree (Shorea robusta).
Salaam 1613 ceremonious obeisance; respectful compliments (used as verb 1669–79 Bowrey, 1698 OED).
Salempo 1622 EF; (1598) 1698 OED blue cotton cloth formerly made at Nellore (?).
Sambur 1698 Indian elk.
Sannah 1641 EF, 1696 OED some kind of cotton fabric formerly exported from India (?).
Sanskrit 1617 language.
Sapan (1598) 1626 dye wood (< Tam. ?).
Satrangi, sitringe 1621 carpet or floor rug made of coloured cotton, now usually with a striped pattern (Beng.).
Saul = Sal, Sal-tree.
Seer 1616 Roe, 1618 OED denomination of weight; measure of capacity.
Seerpaw 1623 EF; (1671) 1698 OED complete suit presented as khilat or dress of honour by the sovereign or his representative.
Sepoy 1612–17 Coryat (used in its original sense of horseman), 1682 OED soldier.
Seral 1609 building for the accommodation of travellers.
Seral 1672 flagon.
Serang 1643 EF, 1799 OED native boatman or captain of a lascar crew.
Shabunder 1599 officer at native ports.
Shamiana(h) 1609 awning or flat tent-roof without sides; flat awning or canopy.
Shampoo 1632 IA lxi (Travels of Peter Mundy); 1762 OED massage; lather; wash and rub. Dry s. 1913 preparation of powdered starch, &c., used for cleansing the hair.
Shaster 1616–19 Terry, 1630 OED any one of the sacred writings of the Hindus.
Shastri 1645 one learned in, or teacher of, the shasters.
Shawl 1662 ‘the Persian word has been adopted in Urdu and other Indian languages and hence into all the European languages’.
Sheikh (1577) 1615 Roe, 1698 OED in India, one of a dissenting sect of Mohammedans; now a general term for Hindu converts to Islam.
Shikar 1608–11 Finch, 1613 OED hunting, sport, game.
Shrab 1662 wine, spirits, or a drink prepared with them (Indian Arabic —Walt Taylor, op. cit.).
Shroff 1616 Roe, 1618 OED banker or money changer; expert employed to detect bad coin. Shroffage 1629 commission charged for shroffing coin. Shrofferage 1675–80 SM.
Sicca 1619. s. rupee: orig. a newly coined rupee; rupee coined by the government. s. weight.
Sidi 1615 title of honour, now an African negro.
Singhara 1608 Finch, 1834 OED water chestnut of India or the edible fruit produced by this.
Singh 1623 great warrior; title borne by several of the warrior castes of N. India.

Sirdar 1615 military chief.

Sirkar 1616 Roe, 1619 OED court or palace of a native king (obs.); 1627 province, circar; 1772 horse steward; 1798 the state or government; 1828 writer, accountant.

Sissoo, sisham 1645 EF, 1810 OED valuable timber tree, the timber.

Soosy 1621 mixed striped fabric of silk and cotton in India (obs.).

Subah 1627 EF ('Saheb Subah'), 1675–80 SM ('Suba or Government'), 1753 OED 'The English habitually write subah, which properly means government or province, for subahdar.'—C. R. Wilson, Old Fort William in Bengal, vol. i, p. 50. Subahdar 1698 governor of a subah; local commandant or chief officer.

Sudra 1630 the fourth caste among Hindus.

Sunnyasee, sunnyasi 1613 brahman in the fourth stage of his life; wandering faikir or religious mendicant.

Sura (1598) 1609 fermented sap of various species of palms.

Surat 1643 kind of cotton; cotton goods (place-name).

Surpeach 1675–80 SM, 1753 OED ornament of gold, silver, or jewels on the turban (obs.).

Surpooze 1698 cover of a (silver) vessel (obs.).

Suttee 1621 EF ('The Sanskrit sati simply means "good woman", "a true wife", but it came to be specially applied to one who consummated her devotion by burning herself with her dead husband. Here the word is extended to persons of both sexes burnt by accident.'—Foster; 1786 OED (a) Hindu widow who immolates herself on the funeral pile with her husband’s body; (b) the immolation (1813); fig. 1833 (Skr.).

Syce 1653 servant who attends to horses; groom.

Syud 1608–11 Finch ('sides or churchmen'), 1669–79 Bowrey ('siddy': 'Bowrey's reference is valuable for the history of the Anglo-Indian term, now in common parlance an East-African negro.'—R. C. Temple); 1788 (Burke) OED sayyid: title given to a man who is supposed to trace his descent from Husain the elder grandson of the prophet.

Tabasheer 1598 siliceous substance; bamboo salt.

Taboot 1622 sacred box or coffin.

Tallich, tarryar 1654 EF, 1680 OED village watchman (Tarn.).

Talipot 1681 fan-palm (Mal., H., &c.).

Tamasha 1608–11 Finch, 1623 EF; (1687) 1872 OED entertainment, show, display; transf. 1862 fuss, commotion.

Tana, thana 1647 EF, 1803 OED police station, formerly military station or fortified fort. Thanadar 1665 EF, 1802 OED 'a term now restricted to the chief of a police station (thana). The Portuguese adopted it for a military officer charged with the policing and defending of a town or district, as here.'—EF 1618–21, p. 45.

Tanga (1598) 1615 coin (Pg. < various Indian vernaculars).

Tank 1616 pool or lake, artificial reservoir (Guj., Mar., or Pg.?).

Tappal, Tappaul 1674 EF ('tappal'), 1675–80 SM, 1791 OED transmission of letters, &c., by relays of runners; the organiza-
tion by which this is carried on; the mail; one who carries the post, &c. (?).

Tattoo 1629 EF, 1784 OED pony (tat, tatt 1840 short for tattoo).

Teak 1698 timber tree, applied usually with defining words to other trees which produce strong or durable timber, or otherwise resemble the Indian teak, as African teak, Bastard teak, &c. (Pg. < Mal.).

Telinga 1698 Telugu language, one of the Telugu people (1800), sepoy 1760 (obs.).

Tincal, tincar 1635 borax.

Tindal 1663 EF, 1698 OED petty officer of lascars on board ship; foreman; personal attendant.

Toddy 1609 sap of some kinds of palm from which, when fermented, arrack is obtained; sweetened drink of spirits and hot water.

Tola 1608–13 Hawkins, 1614 OED weight.

Tom-tom 1603 drum; beating of a drum; imitation of this sound.

Topass (1648) 1670 EF, 1680 OED half-caste claimant of Portuguese descent; applied to a soldier or ship’s scavenger, or bath-attendant who is of this class (corr. of H. dobashi: man of two languages, interpreter, in which capacity these men were employed).

Topsee 1623 gunner or artillery man.

Tope 1675–80 SM, 1698 OED clump, grove, or plantation of trees, esp. mango grove or orchard (Tam., Tel.).

Top-khana 1656 EF, 1668 OED armoury or arsenal; spec. the ordnance department or artillery.

Tulsi 1698 species of basil sacred to Vishnu, cultivated by the Hindus as a sacred plant (Ocimum sanctum).

Tusser, tussore 1619 coarse brown silk; also dress made of this.

Tutenag 1622 whitish alloy resembling German silver; also used loosely in Indian trade for zinc (Mar., Tam., Tel.).

Tyre 1613 (1844 Southey) curdled milk and cream beginning to sour (Tam.).

Vakeel 1622 agent, representative, minister, envoy, ambassador, attorney, barrister.

Vishnu 1638 one of the principal Hindu deities.

Viss 1621 EF; (1588) 1626 OED weight (Tam.).

Vizier 1608–11 Finch; (1562) 1614 OED high state official, minister, governor or viceroy of a province.

Yogi, -ee 1619 Indian devotee or ascetic who practises the system of yoga.

Zamorin 1583–91 Fitch, 1601 OED Hindu sovereign of Calicut and the country around (Pg. > Mal.).

Zemindar 1656 EF, 1683 OED district governor and revenue-farmer under Mogul empire; landed proprietor.

Zerumber (1555) 1662 two aromatic roots.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Abkari 1790 Hf, 1797 OED (excise duty on) manufacture or sale of spirits.

Anicut 1776 dam across river (Tam.).

Argala 1754 adjutant-bird.
Aryan (1601) 1794 Indo-European; aryan language; speaker of this (Skr.).

Avatar 1784 incarnation (Skr.).

Ayah 1782 nurse (Pg.).


Bahadur 1776 St. Dict., 1781 OED (occurs in names of persons as early as 1583–91, e.g. 'Sultan Badu', Fitch) distinguished personage.

Bandobust 1768 HJ, 1776 OED arrangement.

Bandanna 1752 coloured handkerchief.

Bandy 1761 carriage (Tel.).

Bangle 1787 ring bracelet or anklet.

Bearer 1760 palanquin-carrier; 1766 domestic servant (Beng.).

*Bhagavad Gita 1785 (Charles Wilkins) the Lord’s song; celebrated philosophical poem embedded in Mahabharata (Skr.).

Bheesty 1781 servant who supplies water.

Bidri 1794 alloy.

Bigha 1763 measure of land.

Bilimbi 1772 tree.

Bismillah 1704 St. Dict., 1813 OED in the name of Allah or god.


Brahминee 1794 female brahmin (Skr.).

Buggy 1773 light one-horse vehicle (?).

Burkundauze 1776 St. Dict., 1781 OED armed retainer who acts as door-keeper, &c.

Buserry 1748 (obs.) match-lock man.

Carboy 1712 large glass bottle.

Champac 1770 species of magnolia (Michelia champaca).

Chatta 1796 umbrella, 1834 umbrella tree.

Chatty 1781 earthenware waterpot (Tam., Tel.).

Chee-chee 1781 minced English of Eurasians.

Cheeta 1704 hunting leopard.

Chelingo 1761 vessel (Mal., Tam., > Ar.).

Chillum 1781 part of hooka, hookah, &c.

Chuckler 1759 tanner or cobbler (Tam., Mal.).

Circur 1782 province or division under the Moguls.

Colbery 1763 non-Aryan race (Tam.). c horn 1879; c stick 1830.

Corundum 1728 crystallized mineral (Tam., Tel.).

Cotta 1784 small land measure (Beng.).

Courap 1706 cutaneous disease (Mar.).

Dai, daye 1782 nurse, wet-nurse, midwife.

Dam 1781 copper coin.

Devanagari 1781 formal alphabet in which Sanskrit has been written.

Dewauni 1783 office of dewan, esp. the right of receiving as dewan or finance minister the revenue of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, conferred upon the E. I.
Dhak 1798 tree noted for its brilliant flowers.

Dharna 1793 mode of extorting payment by sitting at the debtor’s door.

Dial-bird, dayal 1738 bird.

Doob 1795 (Bengal Consult. cited by R. C. Temple, IA, vol. xxxi), 1810 OED Indian grass, dog’s tooth grass.

Dub 1781 small copper coin, = 20 cash (Tel.).

Durgah 1793 shrine of a Mahommedan saint; place of religious resort and prayer.

Durra 1798 kind of corn.

Durwaun 1773 porter or door-keeper.

Dusserah 1799 Hindu annual festival.

Florikan 1780 two species of small bustard.

Gayal 1790 semi-domesticated kind of ox.

Gecko 1711 kind of house lizard.

Golah 1771 storehouse for grain, salt, &c.

Grasscutter 1789 native employed to cut and bring in grass for horses.

Gubber 1711 Dutch ducat.

Gunge 1776 market.

*Hamal 1750 Hf porter. Hamal- age (1711) cooly-hire (Ar.).

Hopper 1707 kind of cake usually of rice flour (Tam.).

Howdah 1774 seat erected on the back of an elephant (the thing is described by Fitch, Terry, and Roe, although they do not use the word).

Huzoor 1775 Indian potentate, title of respect.

Jaconet 1769 cotton fabric formerly imported from India, but now manufactured in England (corr. of jagannathi from Jagannath, place-name).

Jama(h) 1776 long cotton gown worn by Hindus.

Jampen 1716 kind of sedan used chiefly by ladies.

Jumma 1781 assessment for land revenue. j.-bundi 1845.

Jungle 1776 land covered with tangled vegetation; tangled mass; jungle fever 1803; jungle fowl 1824.

Jungli 1880 inhabiting the jungle; ‘uncouth, unrefined’ (Partridge).

Jute 1746 fibre from bark, used for canvas, cord, &c. (Beng.).

Kalpa 1794 in Hindu cosmology a great age of the world (Skr.).

Kerseymere 1798 twilled fine woollen cloth; trousers made of this (corr. of cassimere).

Khalsa 1776 revenue department in Indian states; state exchequer; the Sikh community.

*Khana 1784 Hf room (bobachee k., bottle k., &c.) (Pers.).

Kheda 1799 enclosure for the capture of wild elephants.

Killadar 1778 commandant or governor of a fort or castle.

Kincob 1712 rich Indian stuff embroidered with gold or silver.

Kist 1764 instalment (of the yearly land revenue or other payment). k.-bundi 1764.

Kokila 1791; koel (1826) a cuckoo (Skr.).

Kshatriya, kshatri 1782 member of the military or reigning order (Skr.).
Kunkur 1793 coarse kind of limestone.

Lingam 1719 phallus worshipped as symbol of Siva (Skr.).

Loot 1788 plunder, spoil. Lootie 1757 body of native irregulars whose chief object in warfare was plunder; band of marauders or robbers. Lootie wallah 1757 plunderer, member of a gang of looters.

Mahout (1662) 1799 elephant driver.

Maistry 1798 master workman, &c.

Majoone 1780 intoxicating confecction.

Mallee 1759 gardener.

Mango-bird 1738 oriole. M.-fish 1751; m.-trick 1888.

Matranee 1785 female sweeper.

Mofussil 1781 the country as distinguished from the presidency.

Mogra (1662) 1757 Arabian jasmine.

Monaul 1769 (SOED) Impayan pheasant.

Moorpunky 1767 pleasure boat.

Moorva 1794 bowstring hemp (Skr.).

Mora 1795 stool, footstool.

Muckna 1780 SOED male elephant without or with only rudimentary tusks.

Mulligatawny 1784 highly seasoned soup (Tam.).

Musnud 1763 seat made of cushions esp. one used as a throne.

Nagari 1776 Devanagari.

Naja 1753 genus of venomous snakes; cobra.

Nautch 1796; 1858 nauch dance.

Nawab 1758 governor or nobleman.

Nuzzer 1776 present made by an inferior to a superior.

Nuzzerana 1788 (Burke) nuzzer.

Nylghau 1770 short-horned antelope.

Omlah 1778 body of native officials in a civil court.

Palas 1799 dhak-tree.

Panchway, pansway 1757 boat.

Pandal 1717 shed, booth, or arbour esp. for temporary use (Tam.).

Pandaram 1711 low-caste Hindu ascetic mendicant, priest (Tam.).

(Brandy) Pawnee 1754 Hʃ, 1788 OED brandy and water.

Peepul, pipal 1788 Indian species of fig-tree (Ficus religiosa).

Pettah 1763 town or village around a fort.

Piccalilli 1769 pickle (?)

Pindari 1788 one of a body of mounted marauders.

Pollam 1783 (Burke) feudal estate or territory held by a poligar (Tel., Tam.).

Pottah 1776 lease, deed certifying tenure.

Prakrit 1786 languages or dialects of northern and central India which existed alongside of or grew out of Sanskrit.

Puckauly 1789 water-carrier, water-skin.

Pullicate 1793 kind of cotton cloth (place-name).

Pulwar, -wah 1765 light keelless boat.

Ragi 1792 grain.

Reepers 1734 small laths laid across the rafters of a sloping roof to bear the tiles (ad. Mar.).
Ressalah 1758 squadron of native cavalry.

Rig Veda 1776 chief veda.

Ryotti 1772 (of land in Bengal) held on a permanent tenure in return for payment of a certain rent.

Saman 1798 third veda (Skr.).

Saree (1598) 1785 long wrapping garment worn by Hindu women.

Sayer 1789 class of impost.

sebundy 1782 (Burke) irregular native soldier.

Seersucker 1757 linen or cotton fabric.

Shalgram, salgram 1784, salagrama 1801 ammonite.

Sheristadar 1775 head clerk or registrar of a court.

Shradda, sraddha 1787 Hindu ceremony in honour and for the benefit of a deceased relative (Skr.).

Sikh 1781 member of a Hindu community in the Punjab.

Sirdar-bearer 1782 valet or body servant.

Soucar 1785 (Burke) Hindu broker or money-lender.

Sowarry 1776 mounted attendants of a person of high rank, state official, &c., a number of these forming a cavalcade.

Sudder 1787 chief, supreme, applied esp. to high government departments or officials.

Sunn 1774 branching leguminous shrub cultivated for its fibre; fibre of this.

Sunnud 1759 deed or grant, charter, patent, or warrant.

Sura 1795 good angel (Skr.).

Suttee 1786 (a) Hindu widow who immolates herself on the funeral pile with her husband’s body; (b) the immolation 1813. fig. 1833 sutteeism (Skr.). (The practice is described by seventeenth-century travellers although the word is not used, e.g. Fitch, Bowrey. Bowrey—‘the widow burneth alive’—described and illustrated).

Swami 1773 Hindu idol; 1901 Hindu religious teacher. s. work, s. jewellery 1773 gold and silver jewellery made chiefly at Trichi.

Taluk, -q 1799 orig. a hereditary estate; subdivision of a zillah.

Talukdar 1798 holder of a taluk.

Tamil, Tamul (1579) one of a non-Aryan race; their language Tamilian 1764.

Tantra 1799 one of a class of Hindu religious works in Sanskrit (Skr.).

Tatty 1792 screen or mat (tat, tatt 1812 short for tatty).

Telinga (obs.) 1760 native soldier disciplined and dressed in quasi-European fashion; sepoy 1827 Scott.

Telugu 1789 (a) people who speak this language; (b) 1813 the language.

Urdu 1796 Hindustani.

Vaisy 1794 Hindu caste (Skr.).

Veda(s) 1734 (but John Marshall, 1668–77: Saun Bead) ancient Hindu scriptures (Skr.).

Veranda 1711 open portico of light roofed gallery alongside of house.

Vina 1796 musical instrument.

Wallah 1776 person or thing employed about or concerned with something. Box-w. 1847 native itinerant pedlar; ‘European commercial man’ (Partridge).

Woots 1795 crucible steel made in S. India (orig. misprint of Can. ukku).
Yaboo 1753 large pony.

Yojan, yojana 1784 measure of distance.

Yug, yuga 1784 in Hindu cosmology any of the four ages in the duration of the world.

Zebu 1774 (Goldsmith) humped species of ox (Bos indicus)?.

YABOO—BRAHMANA

Zemindarl 1757 system of land tenure; office, jurisdiction of zemindar.

Zenana 1761 harem; light thin fabric, z. cloth 1900; attrib. 1810 esp. of missionary work carried on by Christian women among native women in India.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

• Ack dum, ak dum, ek dum (Kipling) at once, quickly.

• Akali 1832 Hymn member of a reformed monistic sect of the Sikhs; now of the politico-religious dal or community of Sikhs (Punjabi).

Almirah 1878 cupboard.

Amah 1839 wet-nurse (P. G.).

Ambary 1887 (fibre of) an Indian plant.

Amrita 1810 immortal, ambrosial (Skr.).

• Ananda blessedness (one of the characteristics of Brahman) (Max Müller, Theosophy, 1892) (Skr.).

• Apsara(s) one of a class of female divinities, wives of the Gandharvas (Max Müller, Theosophy, 1892) (Skr.).

• Asura spirit; demon (Max Müller, Theosophy, 1892) (Skr.).

• Atman soul; Self (Max Müller, Introduction to the Science of Religion, 1870) (Skr.).

Atta 1806 wheaten flour (Punjabi).

• Avidya nescience, spiritual ignorance; ignorance together with non-existence (Max Müller, Theosophy, 1892) (Skr.).

• Ayurveda system of Hindu medicine.

Babul 1824 thorny mimosa.

Badian 1847 star anise.

Badmash 1843 bad character, rascal.

Bandar 1886 rhesus monkey.

Barasingha 1880 deer.

• Bas 1839 Meadows Taylor, Confessions of a Thug; (1934 COD Addenda) enough, hold, stop, that‘ll do!

Bat 1892 colloquial speech.

Beebee 1816 lady (occurs in names of persons as early as Coryat, 1612-7, ‘Bibee Maria’).

Bendi 1810 plant (Hibiscus esculentus), pod esteemed as vegetable.

Bendy-tree 1886 Thespesia populnea.

Ber 1874 Chinese date or jujube.

Bhakti 1877 religious devotion (Skr.).

Bhoosa 1819 husks and broken straw used as food for cattle.

• Bhoot 1826 Hymn ghost, demon, goblin.

Bikh 1830 poison of various species of Aconite.

Bobachee 1810 male cook.

Bobbery 1830 disturbance. b.-pack 1878 pack of hounds.

Bombay duck 1803 bummalo.

• Brahmana one of the scholastic treatises belonging to the Vedas (Max Müller, Introduction to Science of Religion, 1870) (Skr.).
Brahmapootra (brahma) 1851 domestic fowl.

Brahminee pertaining, appropriate to the brahmins (derived after Bengali, &c.); b. bull 1885; b. duck, b. fig-tree 1811; b. kite 1813.

Brahmism 1813 tenets of Brahma Sabha.

Brahmo 1878.

Brahmolsism 1857 reformed theistic Hinduism.

Buck 1895 (bragging) talk.

Buddhism 1801 religion founded by Buddha. -ist.

Budzat 1863 low fellow, scoundrel, blackguard.

Buggalow 1842 vessel (Mar.).

Bund 1810 ḫý, 1813 OED dam.

Bungarum 1835 snake (genus: bungarbus) (Beng.).

Bungy 1826 low caste of sweepers.

Bunow 1853 fraud, sham.

Burhal 1838 wild sheep of the Himalayas.

Burka 1839 Meadows Taylor, Confessions of a Thug; 1905 OED long veil worn by women.

Burr 1849 (Southeys) banyan-tree.

Burra sahib 1863 ‘great sahib or master’, in a family, father or elder brother, in a station, collector, &c.

Bursautee 1886 (a) disease; (b) water-proof cloak.

Busteey 1885 a village; now generally means ‘slum’.

Calamander 1804 hard cabinet wood (Tam. ?).

Camise 1812 (Byron) shirt.

*Campong 1803 ḫý camp.

Canareese 1875 (adjective and substantive) Dravidian language.

Carcoon 1803 clerk (Mar.).

Cashmere 1822 shawl.

Cassab, cussab 1881 seaman.

Cauth, caut 1858 cutch.

Cawney 1807 ½ acre (Tam.).

Chabootra 1810 (1827, Scott) paved or plastered terrace or platform often attached to a house or in a garden.

Chalan 1858 invoice, pass, voucher, way-bill.

Chamar 1858 one who works in leather, member of a low caste.

Chandoo 1847 preparation of opium

Charka 1880 spinning wheel.

Charepoy 1845 common light bedstead (1654 ḫàρ ‘chupper’: a mounted courier; Pers. charpa: on four feet).

Chawl 1891 large tenement house peculiar to India (esp. Bombay) (native name).

Cheese 1818 right or correct thing, &c.

Chela 1883 disciple and servant.

*Chello, chel(l) hurry (Partridge).

Chick 1875 gold coin current in India.

Chicken 1886 embroidery.

Chikhor, chikor 1815 game-bird.

Chir, cheer 1885 pine-tree.

Chiragh 1899 oil lamp.

Chital 1880 spotted deer.

Chittack 1889 (Kipling) weight (Beng.).

Chittagong 1830 variety of domestic fowl (district of Bengal).

Chitra 1843 chital.

*Chokra 1875 ḫý boy; office boy.

Chopper-cot 1807 bedstead with curtains.
Chota 1853 small as in c.-peg.
Chota Hazri 1863 light early breakfast.
Chowchow 1850 mixed preserves, &c. (?).
Chupatty 1810 small cake of unleavened bread.
Chuprasssy 1828 uniformed office messenger.
Churrus 1860 resinous exudation of the hemp plant, basis of intoxicating preparations like bang and gunja.
Chutney 1845 strong hot relish or condiment.
Cock-up 1845 fresh-water fish (?).
Conjee-house 1835 military lock-up (conjee 1669–79 Bowrey).
Cutch 1834 imperfect, &c.
Dacey 1876 native.
Dacoit 1810 armed robber. dacoity 1848 gang robbery.
Danchi 1815 shrub (Beng.).
Deck 1853 look, peep.
Dekko 1804 (army slang) look (also as verb).
Deodar 1804 tree (Cedrus deodara).
Deshmukh 1801 hereditary revenue officer (Mar.).
Deva 1819 god, divinity (Skr.).
Dhagope 1860 tope or monumental structure containing relics of Buddha or some Buddhist saint (Magadhi).
Dhaman 1887 (a) grass; (b) snake 1878 (Skr.).
Dhanno 1846 tiliaceous tree.
Dhan 1815 rice in the husk (Beng.).
Dhandh 1887 lake or swamp of Sind.

Dharma 1862 right behaviour.
Dharmsala 1805 rest-house.
Dhole 1827 wild dog of Deccan (Can.?).
Dhoon 1814 valley.
Dhoona 1846 resin (Skr.).
Dhoop 1851 plant.
Dhow 1802 native vessel (Mar. or Ar.?).
Dhurrie 1880 kind of cotton carpet.
Dikamally 1858 resinous gum (Mar.).
Dikh 1873, dikhdari 1888 (Kipling) worry.
Dingar 1899 large wild bee.
Doab, auab 1803 the tongue or tract of land between confluent rivers.
Dixie 1879 iron kettle or pot.
Dolly 1860 complimentary offering of fruit, flowers, &c.
Dom 1828 member of a Dravidian caste.
Dravidian 1856 (Caldwell) (member, language) of a race of S. India.
Ducks, Bombay 1860 slang distinctive name for gentlemen belonging to the Bombay service (corruption of Bummalo).
Duffadar 1800 petty officer of native police.
Dum-dum 1897; d. bullet (place-name).
Durzee 1812 tailor.
Ekka 1811 small one-horsed vehicle.
Foujdarre 1862 district under a foujdar (1608–11).
Gadi 1855 throne, regal position (Mar., Beng., H.).
Gaekwar 1854 title of the native ruler of Baroda (Mar.).
Gaur 1806 ox (Bos gaurus).
Gavial 1825 alligator (Gavialis gangeticus).
Gayatri 1843 ancient metre, hymn (Skr.).
Gazal 1800 species of lyric poetry.
Gharry 1810 cart or carriage.
Ghetchoo 1858 aquatic root plant.
Gingall, jinjall 1818 heavy musket, light gun.
Glendoveer 1810 (Southey) gandharva (Skr.).
Goa 1863 marsh crocodile (place-name).
Gond 1810 member of a Dravidian people.
Googul 1813 aromatic gum resin.
Goor, gur 1835 coarse variety of sugar.
Gora 1861 H'f white man, Englishman (title of one of Rabin-dranath Tagore's novels).
Goral 1834 antelope (Cemus goral).
Granth 1837 sacred scriptures of the Sikhs.
Gujarati 1808.
Gul-gul 1867 kind of cement.
Gumlah 1834 water jar.
Guna 1804 grade of ablaut series (Skr.). Guna (verb); gunate (verb) 1864.
Guptavidya 1888 (Theosophy) hidden or secret knowledge (Skr.).
Gurjun 1858 tree, seeds yield oil.
Gurkha 1848 dominant race of Nepal.
Gurrah 1864 earthen jar.
Gymkhana 1861 public place with facilities for athletics; athletic sports display (Gym(nastics)+ (gend)KHANA).
Hangul 1869 deer (Kashmiri).
Hanuman 1814 monkey.
Hathi 1820 (1892 Kipling) elephant. h.-tractor.
Hilsa 1810 rich savoury fish.
Himalayan 1869 of or pertaining to the Himalayas; 1878 enormous, gigantic.
Hinayana 1877 Buddhism of S. India.
Hindi 1825 (Aryan vernacular language) of N. India.
Hinduism 1829 religion of Hindus.
Hookum 1839 Meadows Taylor, Confessions of a Thug; 1843 OED command, order; (old army colloquial term) regulation, the correct thing.
Hoolock 1809 black gibbon, native of Assam.
Hoon 1807 gold coin, the pagoda.
Huma 1858 fabulous bird of the east.
Imaumbarra 1883 building in which Mohammedans observe the festival of Moharram (Ar. imam+H. bara).
Ispaghul 1815 plant.
Izzat 1895 (Kipling) honour, reputation, credit.
Jadoo 1886 (Kipling) magic, conjuring. j.-wallah 1890.
Jain, Jaina 1805 member of a non-brahminical sect.
Jam 1843 title given to certain native chiefs in Kutch, Kuttywar, and the lower India (?).
Jaman 1826 fruit of Eugenia jam-bolana.
Jamdani 1858 species of fine cotton cloth with spots or flowers woven in the loom.
Jampan 1832 kind of sedan chair carried by men, used in the hill
country of India (Beng.). Jampanee 1859 bearer of jampan.
Jamrosade 1866 rose-apple (from jambo with addition or mixture of rose +-ade).
Jangar 1800 raft (jangada) (Tam.).
Jat 1894 caste, tribe, sect.
Jataka 1861 piece of Buddhist literature (Skr.).
Jaun 1851 small palanquin- carriage (?).
Jelaubee 1870 sweetmeat (‘Indian Arabic or Indian corruption of an Arabic word’—Walt Taylor, S.P.E. Tract No. 39).
Jezail 1838 long and heavy musket.
Jezailchee 1862 soldier carrying jezail.
Jheel 1805 pool or lagoon.
Jhow 1827 shrubby tamarisk (Tamarix indica).
Jhula 1830 rude bridge used in the Himalayas.
Jihad, jehad 1869 religious war of Mohammedans.
*Jildi 1892 (Kipling) look sharp; to be quick, move quickly.
Jirga 1843 assembly or council of the headmen of Afghan tribes (Pushtu).
Joar, johar 1802 massacre of women and children.
Jodhpur 1809 kind of riding-breeches (place-name).
Jugger 1855 falcon.
Kadir 1879 alluvial deposit of river beds, river bed.
Kala-azar 1882 virulent, infectious malarial fever (Assamese).
Kaleege, kalij 1864 pheasant.
Kamala 1820 fine orange-coloured powder used for dyeing silks.
Kanjari 1875 gipsy community in India.
Kanoon 1817 species of dulcimer, harp, or sackbut.
Kans 1874 common Indian grass allied to the cane.
Karma 1828 fate (Skr.).
Kashmiri 1879 native, language of Kashmir.
Kef 1852 state of drowsiness or dreary intoxication, enjoyment of idleness; Indian hemp.
Keora 1858 plant. k.-oil, also called ketgee oil.
Khair 1831 acacia catechu.
*Khalasi Indian fireman, sailor, artillery man, or tent-pitcher (Partridge).
Kharaj 1860 tribute, rent, poll-tax.
Kharif 1882 autumn crop.
Khatun 1834 lady, also a term of address.
Khet 1878 tract of cultivated land.
Khor 1884 water-course, ravine, &c.
Khubber 1878 information, news, report, rumour.
Khud 1837 deep ravine or chasm, precipitous cleft or descent in a hill-side.
Kikar 1883 species of acacia yielding much of the best gum arabic.
Kilta, kilter 1876 kind of wicker basket (?).
Kismet 1849 destiny, fate.
Koel 1826 cuckoo.
Koft 1880, koft gari 1874, kind of damascene work.
Kohinoor 1849 magnificent diamond.
Kol 1847 aboriginal people of Chota Nagpur (?).
Kolarian 1866 non-Aryan linguistic stock of India (Can.).
Kotal 1880 pass over a mountain, ridge or summit of pass (Pushtu).
Krait 1874 venomous snake.
Krishnaism 1885 worship of or belief in Krishna.
Kukri 1811 curved knife.
Kurung 1866 tree yielding oil.
Kusti 1860 woollen cord worn round the waist by Parsees (Guj.-P.).
Kuteera 1838 kind of gum obtained from a shrub.
Langur 1826 certain species of monkeys.
Lat 1800 (a) staff, poll; (b) obelisk or columnar monument.
Lathi 1850 long heavy stick usually of bamboo and bound with iron.
Leep 1895 (Kipling) to wash with cow-dung and water.
Lota(h) 1809 water-pot.
Lumberdar 1855 registered headman of a village (corr. of Number + Urdu (P.)-dar).
Lunkah 1889 kind of strong cheroot (Tel.).
Machan 1886 elevated platform used in tiger-shooting.
Madapollam 1832 cotton cloth (place-name).

Madrasah (1662) 1834 Mohammedan college.
*Mahabharata Hindu epic.
Mahajan 1858 money-lender, usurer.
Mahant 1800 religious superior.
Maharaj 1826 title of some Indian princes.
Maharanee 1862 Maharajah’s wife.
Mahatma 1884 person with preternatural powers (Skr.). Mahatmism 1905.
Mahseer 1854 large fresh-water fish.
Mantra 1808 sacred text or passage.
Markhor 1867 large wild goat.
Mash 1800 pulse.
Math 1834 Hindu convent of celibate mendicants.
Maty 1810 (asst. or under) servant (?)..
Maya 1823 illusion (Skr.).
Mehtar 1810 sweeper or scavenger (Beng.).
Mela 1800 religious fair and festival amongst Hindus.
Mem-sahib 1857 European married lady (Ma’am-sahib).
Mendee 1813 variety of henna.
Misree 1810 sugar candy (Indian Arabic—Walt Taylor, op. cit.).
Modeliar (1662) 1840 headman, chief military officer (Tam.).
Moharram (1615) 1861 Mohammedan festival.
Mooch 1837 leather-worker.
Moodooga 1866 tree (only attrib. in m.-oil) (Tel.).
Moong, mung 1800 species of vetch.
**MOONSIFF—POONAH**

**MOONSIFF** 1812 native judge in India.

**Mora** 1813 stool, footstool.

**Mudar, madar** 1819 shrub.

**Mufti** 1816 plain clothes worn by one who has a right to wear a uniform; civilian (1833).

**Mugger** 1844 crocodile.

**Mull** 1816 applied to members of the service belonging to Madras Presidency (contraction of multigawny).

**Mull** 1881 to rub.

**Muncheel, manjeel** 1808 kind of hammock litter (Mal.).

**Munjeet** 1813 plant, roots used in dyeing (Beng.).

**Murwa** 1847 kind of millet.

**Must, mast** 1871 frenzied.

**Mutter** 1884 variety of pea.

**Nainsook** 1804 cotton fabric.

**Narghile, nargileh** 1839 hookah.

**Natya** dancing, mimic representation.

**Neem** 1824, the margosa, an East Indian tree yielding a bitter oil.

**Nilgai, nilghye** 1882, nylghau 1770 antelope.

**Nirvana** 1836 extinction of individual existence and absorption into the supreme spirit; perfect beatitude (Skr.).

**Numdah, numnah** 1859 felt or coarse woollen cloth.

**Oont** 1892 (Kipling) camel.

**Oorial** 1887 species of wild sheep (Punjabi).

**Pachisi** 1800 four-handed game.

**Palay** 1866 shrubs or trees with milky juice (Tam.).

**Pali** (1693) 1800 language.

**Palkee** 1859 palankeen. p.-gharry 1872.

**Panchayat** 1805 council of five (also punch: short for panchayat).

**Panda** 1824 racoon-like animal of the south-eastern Himalayas (Nepalese).

**Pandan** 1866 small box for holding pan.

**Pandy** 1857 revolted sepoy in the Indian Mutiny of 1857–9; mutineer (Partridge) (personal-name).

**Pashm** 1880 underfur of hairy quadrupeds; material of cashmere shawls.

**Patchouli** 1851 odoriferous plant dried leaves of which are used for various purposes (Pogostemon patchouli) (Tam.).

**Phansigar** 1813 professional robber and assassin.

**Phulkari** 1890 kind of flower embroidery; cloth or shawl so embroidered.

**Phut, fut** 1892 sound of bladder collapsing, bullet passing; go p. collapse (H. phatna: to burst OED Sup.).

**Picotah** 1807 device for raising water.

**Pie** 1859 smallest copper coin (H., Mar., &c.).

**Piffer** 1892 member of the Punjab Irregular Frontier Force.

**Pishpash** 1834 slop of rice soup with small pieces of meat in it.

**Polo** 1842 game (Balti).

**Poogy** 1864 nose-flute.

**Poojah** 1806 rites performed in Hindu idol-worship (Skr.).

**Poonac** 1890 coconut-oil cake (Tam.).

**Poonah** 1821 painting fashionable in England in the nineteenth
century (place-name). Poonahite 1831; p. paper; p. brush; &c.

Poonga oil 1866 oil from seeds of Pongamia glabra (Tam., Mal).

Popadam 1820 lentil cake (Tam.).

Posteen 1815 Afghan leathern pelisse.

Pug 1865 footprint of a beast.

Puggy 1879 tracker.

Pultun 1800 regiment of infantry in India (Tam., Tel. corr. of battalion).

Punch 1862 short for panchayat.

Punjabi 1812 native, language, of Punjab.

Purree 1852 yellow colouring matter.

Puttee, putty 1875 long strip of cloth wound spirally round the leg by sportsmen, soldiers, &c.

Puttoo 1857 fabric made of the coarse refuse hair of the cashmere goat.

Putwarry 1810 village registrar or accountant.

Pyal 1873 raised platform under a veranda. P. school (Pg. > S. Indian).

Pye-dog 1864 familiar designation among British soldiers for a pariah dog, ownerless dog.

Pyjamas 1800 loose drawers or trousers.

Qui-hi 1816 Anglo-Indian, esp. one belonging to Bengal.

Raj 1800 sovereignty (the British raj).

*Ramayana Hindu epic.

Rayat 1818 ryot.

Ressaldar 1800 native captain in Indian cavalry regiment.

Rezai 1834 quilted counterpane or coverlet.

Rice Christian 1864 Hindu convert.


Rock-pigeon 1885 sand grouse.

Roosa 1853 Indian grass.

*Rooty c. 1883 bread, food. R. gong long service medal (Partridge).

Rubbee 1850 most important of the three grains of Hindustan.

Ruth 1813 vehicle or carriage.

Ryotwar, ryotwary 1834 (of land tenure) arranged directly between the government and the cultivators.

Sadhu 1844 holy man, sage (Skr.).

Sahiba(h) 1849 mistress, lady.

Sakta 1810 one who worships Sakti.

Sakti 1810 the female principle, esp. when personified as the wife of a god (Skr.). Saktism 1878.

Sala 1871 rest-house, inn.

Salagrama 1801 black schistose stone worshipped by the Hindus as a representation of Vishnu.

Samadh 1828, Samadhi 1853 profound or abstract meditation on the supreme being; the tomb of a yogi; self-immolation (Skr.).

Samaj 1876 assembly or congregation.

Samhita 1805 text treated according to Sandhi version of the Vedas (Skr.).

Samsara 1845 metempsychosis (Skr.).

Samskara 1845 essential and sanctifying rite or ceremony among the Hindus (Skr.).

Sandhi 1874 assimilative change in Sanskrit, extended to analogous
phenomena in other languages (Skr.).

**Sandhya** 1868 twilight; period which precedes a yuga; morning or evening prayers (Skr.).

**Santal** 1876 member of a non-Aryan people.

**Santhali** the Santals’ language.

**Sarangi** 1851 musical instrument.

**Sasin** 1834 common antelope (Nepalese).

**Satara** 1878 woollen cloth (place-name).

**Seacunny** 1800 steersman or quartermaster in a ship manned by lascars.

**Serai** (1672) 1808 earthenware flagon.

**Serow** 1847 antelope.

**Sha** 1842 kind of sheep found in Kashmir.

**Shaheen** 1839 Indian falcon.

**Shama** 1815 cereal.

**Shama** 1839 song-bird.

**Shigram** 1841 kind of hack gharry or palanquin carriage.

**Shikaree** 1827 hunter or sportsman; applied to a European sportsman 1860.

**Shikra** 1839 small hawk sometimes used in falconry.

**Shola** 1862 thicket or jungle in S. India (Tam.).

**Shooldarry** 1808 small tent.

**Shumsheer** 1834 scimitar.

**Shutur sowar** 1834 camel driver.

**Sikkim** 1866 used attrib. to designate certain trees, fruits, animals, &c. (native state).

**Sikra** 1829 tower on a Hindu temple (Skr.).

**Silladar** 1802 irregular cavalry-man who provides his own horse and arms.

**Simkin** 1853 Urdu corruption of ‘champagne’.

**Sirdar melon** 1880 fruit (Pushtu).

**Sirgang** 1891 corvine bird.

**Siris** 1874 leguminous tree.

**Sirki** 1810 upper part of the culm of a species of tall reed grass; matting made of this.

**Sitar** 1845 form of guitar.

**Siva, Saivite, Sivaite** 1867 one who worships Siva.

**Slvalism** 1878 the worship of Siva.

**Sola** 1845 tall leguminous plant; pith of this employed in making light hats (Beng.).

**Soma** 1827 intoxicating drink holding a prominent place in Vedic ritual and religion; soma plant (Skr.).

**Soojee** 1810 flour obtained by grinding Indian wheat, nutritious food prepared from this.

**Sooranjee** 1848 root of a tree, dye obtained from this.

**Soorkee** 1899 mortar consisting of pulverized brick mixed with lime.

**Sowar** 1802 native horseman, native trooper.

**Stupa** 1876 Buddhist monument.

**Sundri** 1831 tree abundant in the Ganges delta (Beng.).

**Sunga, sanga** 1832 bridge made of beams used in the Himalayas.

**Sungar** 1841 breast-work of stone (Pushtu, Punjabi).

**Surma, soorma** (1687) 1819 sulphide of antimony used for darkening the eyes.

**Surra** 1890 disease of horses and other domestic animals.

**Susu** 1801 gangetic dolphin (*Platanista gangetica*) (Beng.).
Sutra 1801 short mnemonic rule in grammar, &c. Also applied in Buddhistic textbooks (Skr.).

Sutto, -u 1886 barley parched and ground into coarse flour.

Svarabhakti 1880 process by which a parasitic vowel is inserted between two consonants (Skr.).

Swastikā 1871 cross of equal arms with rectangular continuations (Skr.).

Swat 1815 member of an Indo-European tribe (?)

Tahsil 1849 territorial division. t. dar.

Taliera 1814 palm.

Tamboura (1585) 1864 musical instrument.

Tat 1820 coarse canvas made from various fibres.

Teapoy 1828 small three-legged table; tripod. (By erroneous association with tea such a table with a receptacle for tea or a tea-caddy.)

Teesoo 1823 flowers of the dhak or palas, dye obtained from them.

Tehr 1835 Himalayan wild goat.

Terai 1899 terai hat.

Thakur 1800 lord, used as a term of respect.

Thug 1810 professional robber and murderer, cut-throat, ruffian, rough (H., Mar.).

Thuggee 1837 system practised by the thugs.

Ticca 1827 engaged on contract, hired.

Til 1840 plant (Sesamum indicum).

Tilka 1845 Hindu caste mark on forehead.

Tirthankar 1835 Jain prophet or early teacher.

Toco, toko 1823 chastisement.

Tonga 1874 light carriage or cart.

Tonjon, tomjohn 1804 kind of sedan chair slung on a pole and carried by four bearers.

Toon 1810 timber tree (Indian mahogany, Cedrela toona).

Tope 1815 ancient structure for the preservation of relics, or in commemoration of some event (Punjabi).

Topi 1835 hat, now spec. sola t., sola helmet or hat. t. wallah 1826.

Trichi 1877 short for Trichinopoly cigar (place-name).

Tulwar 1834 sabre.

Upanishad 1805 treatise dealing with the Deity, creation, existence forming a division of the Vedic literature (Skr.).

Vedanta 1823 one of the leading systems of Hindu philosophy (Skr.).

Vetiver (1846) 1858 cuscus (Tam.).

Vihara 1878 Buddhist temple or monastery.

Vimana 1863 central tower enclosing the shrine in an Indian temple (Skr.).

Vishnuism 1871 worship of Vishnu. Vishnuite 1871, Vishnuvite 1883 adherent of Vishnuism.

*Yama* 1809 (Southey) Hindu god of departed spirits and judge of the dead (Skr.).

Yercum 1826 shrub, fibre used medicinally (Tam.).

Yoga 1820 union with the supreme spirit; system of ascetic practice used as a method of attaining this (Skr.).

Zillah 1800 administrative district.

Zumbooruck 1825 small swivel gun, esp. one mounted on the back of a camel. Zumbooruck-chee gunner.
ACHKHAND—MANVANTARA

2

TWENTIETH CENTURY

*Achkhān* long coat having buttons in front.

*Ahimsa* non-violence. ('In its negative form it means not injuring any living being whether by body or mind. ... In its positive form, Ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity.'—Gandhi, 1915.)

*Ashram, -a* hermitage, sanctuary; a stage in a Brahman’s life. *-ite* inmate of an ashram.

*Bande Mataram* ‘Hail Motherland’, ‘term of acclamation of national sentiment’. (Opening of a song in praise of India composed by Bankin Chandra Chatterji and first published in his novel *Ananda Math*. It has exerted a strong national appeal since 1905.)

*Basha* hut.

*Bharat* since 1950, the Republic of India; earlier, the sub-continent of India and Pakistan.

*Blighty* 1915 England, home after foreign service.

*Brahmi* 1902 one of the oldest alphabets of India (Skr.).

*Buckshee* 1916 allowance above the usual amount (alteration of baksheesh).

*Chukker* 1900 each of the periods into which the game of polo is divided.

*Cootie* 1917 body louse (H.?).

*Cushy* 1915 easy, pleasant, comfortable.

*Darshan* holy sight. ('Crowds insisted on darshan. One man suggested that Mahatmas needed no rest and that it was their duty to give darshan.'—Gandhi, 1920.)

Denkli 1902 *picotah* a contrivance for raising water for purposes of irrigation, the shadoof of the Nile.

*Dhani* 1926 a palm.

*Dogra (C.O.D Addenda 1934)* war-like Hindu race of NW. India.

*Doolally* insane, eccentric (abbr. of Doolally (place-name) tap (= fever) (Partridge)).

*Doonga* 1905 flat-bottomed dug-out.

*Dosooti* 1908 kind of linen.

*Gandhism* 1921 policy advocated by Gandhi.

*Goonda* desperado, hooligan. *-ism*.

*Gopura* ornamented gateway of a temple; tower above the gateway.

*Harijan* ‘the elect of God’, name bestowed on the ‘untouchables’ (Gandhi, 1932).

*Hartal* 1920 day of national mourning in India, during which shops are shut and no business transacted; used as a form of boycott.

*Jai Hind* Victory to India.

*Jatha* 1922 armed or organized band.

*Khaddar* 1921 hand-woven cloth.

*Khilafat* 1923 the Moslem anti-British movement in India after the treaty of Sèvres.

*Kirpan* sword worn by Sikhs.

*Kumkum* red powder (used by Hindu women for making a mark on the forehead).

*Manvantara* ‘the period or age

of a Manu... held equal to 4,320,000 human years'.—James Joyce, *Ulysses*, 1937.

*Mazdoor* labourer, porter (now officially recognized term for 'coolie').

*Mudra* positions or intertwinings of the fingers (commonly practised in religious worship, &c.).

*Mukti* 'release', spiritual liberation (synonymous with Moksha).

Pakistan Muslim autonomy; (now) Muslim republic, divided into East and West Pakistan 900 miles apart. ('The Conception was first put forward by Sir Mohammad Iqbal in 1920; movement founded by Mr. C. Rahmat Ali in 1921; materialized in 1947. Word variously explained: 'land of the pure'; from Punjabi, Afghan Frontier, Kashmir, and Baluchistan.) Pak contraction of Pakistan. Pakistani (citizen) of Pakistan. Pakistanization.

*Pralaya* destruction, esp. the destruction of the whole world at the end of a Kalpa (James Joyce, *Ulysses*, 1937).

*Quaid-e-Azam* a great leader ('Mohammed Ali Jinnah had become the Quaid-i-Azim, the Leader, of the new Muslim state of Pakistan.'—Alan Moorehead, *The Rage of the Vulture* (London, 1948)).

*Rajpramukh* governor of certain states in the Indian Republic. *Uparajpramukh* deputy governor.

*Samprasarana* name of a sound change.

*Sarwan* 1908 camel driver.

*Satyagraha* 1921 *OED* passive resistance (literally 'insistence on truth'). 'Soul-force or love-force' (Gandhi, 1914). *Satyagrahi* one who practises satyagraha.

*Shantih* 'The peace which passeth understanding is our equivalent to this word.'—T. S. Eliot, 'The Waste Land', *Collected Poems*, 1907–35 (London, 1936), p. 84.

*Swadeshi* 1905 of one's own country, i.e. made in India.

*Swaraj* 1907 self-government (for India); the agitation in favour of this. *swarajist* 1908. *swarajism* 1925. *Purna swaraj* complete independence (c. 1930).

*Taj Mahal* 'the mausoleum Shah Jehan... erected in 1632–50 to commemorate his departed and beloved wife, has for at least two centuries constituted as much of an emblem as the Parthenon: the acme of ornate memorial architecture in marble: so that one not seldom meets with such phrases as "the Taj Mahal of architectural elegance" or "the Taj Mahal of romantic architecture", for "the supreme statement made by man of the mysteries of love and death" is indescribable in its loveliness and its significance".—Eric Partridge, *Name into Word* (London, 1950).

*Tangi* 1901 gorge or defile (Persian).

*Zindabad* long live (as in 'Inqilab z.: long live revolution'; 'Congress z.').

*Zoolum, zulum, zulm* tyranny, oppression.
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