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HEATH W. LOWRY

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#### THE TURKISH ELEMENTS IN URDU

#### Erkan TÜRKMEN

The Turkish lingual and literary influence on the Subcontinent of India can be divided into the following four major parts:

- 1 Pre-Islamic Period
- 2 From Mahmud of Ghazni to Babur
- 3 From Babur to Shahjihan
- 4 From Shahjihan to the 19th century and onwards.
- 1 Pre-Islamic Period: It cannot be denied that there had been a close contact between the ruling Turkish tribes such as Kushans and the White Huns who got mixed up with the local communities of India. Uigurs having accepted Budhism were influenced by the Sanskrit religious literature. Today, we find countless words of Sanskrit origin in the Uiguric vocabulary. Similarly, some Turkish words are found in Sanskrit. Since a few written texts of these periods come down to us, it is difficult to say precisely what Turkish elements affected the local Indian languages of that time.
- 2 From Mahmud of Ghazni to Babur: As pointed out by Amir Khusrau Dehlevi (1253-1325 A.D.) the great Persian poet of Turkish origin, Turkish came first to the Subcontinent of India. In his 'Nuh Sipihr' he says:
- 1 For example see A. Caferoğlu, *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü* (the Old Uiguric-Turkish Dictionary), Türk Dil Kurumu (Board of Turkish), Ankara 1968.
- 2 For some words see Prof. Dr. Abidin İtil's article «Türkçe-Sanskrit Arasında Linguistik Paraleller», *Doğu Dilleri*, Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, Ankara 1970, I, No. p. 139-150.

شهرت ترکی هم از آن شد سقین کاغلب شه ترك بر آمد برزمین شد سخنش خاصگیاترا چو زبر عامه گرفت و مجهان گشت سمر هند همین قائده دارد بسخن هندوی بود در ایام کهن غوزی و ترکی آمد شانرا مدهان پارسی بود بدیدار نهان

«Surely Turkish got its fame because the Turkish king appeared on the earth first. The favourite friends of the king learnt his words (language) while from them the public picked it and like the moonlight spread all over the world. So it happened in India. There was Hindi here in the old days. Ghuzi (the Oğuz dialect) and Turkish came to their mouths (they started speaking it). Persian was yet out of sight»3.

Here Khusrau refers to the early Turkish rulers Mahmud of Ghazni, his dynasty, Ghories, Kutub al-Din Aybek, Shems al-Din Iltutmush, Ghiyas al-Din Balaban and Khiljies who recruited a large number of Central Asian Turks that migrated to India specially at the time of Mongolian onslaught.

When Turks embraced Islam, Samarkand, Bukhara, Khorasan and Transoxania became the centres of Islamic new culture. Arabic was taught for religious purposes while Persian became the lingua franca of the Turkish and Afghan tribes. Immigrant Turks brought this culture along with their own to India which has become a part and parcel of the present Indian civilisation. Turkish being from an entirely different family i.e. from the Ural-Altaic group, remained peculiar and difficult for the natives of India who welcomed Persian which was much closer to their own Aryan culture and languages. However, Turkish continued its importance as a private language of the royalities until the English invasion.

The number of Turkish immigrants never decreased since the arrival of Mahmud of Ghazni and his descendants. As reported by Minhaj Saraj\*, there were 4000 Turkish soldiers at the court of Mahmud alone. The number of the soldiers at large can be assumed as

<sup>3</sup> Amir Khusrau Dehlevi, Nuh Sipihr, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa (Hkm.) No. 661, folia 139a.

<sup>4</sup> Minhaj Saraj, Tabakat-i Nasri, Merkezi Urdu Board Lahore 1975, p. 413.

ten times more. When Chengiz Khan invaded Central Asia, the number of Turkish immigrants increased in Iran, Turkey and India. Sultan Shems al-Din Iltutmush (1210-1236) showed great sympathy towards the newcomers and helped them to form colonies near Delhi and Lahore. The migration continued for centuries to come and revived after Babur's conquest.

From Mahmud of Ghazni until Babur, Persian grew fast as a literary language and like the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey, Indian Sultans also wrote poems in Persian. Many scholars and poets used Turanian Persian, so called by Blochmann<sup>5</sup>, to please their rulers. There can be seen similarities between the Indian and Turkish Persian which was looked down upon by the proper Iranian native speakers. It is probably due to this reason that the Ottomans turned towards the Ottoman Turkish and Indians towards Urdu. The Turko-Indian Persian literature coming from the same root is more realistic and close to nature. Although, this literature ultimately got mixed up with the Indian elements and ended up with highly ornamental 'Indian Poetical Style (Sabk-i Hindi)'7 that also influenced the great Turkish mystic poet Sheikh Ghalib (1757-1799). Impressions of free thinking as well as realistic ideas are found in the poetry of Asadullah Khan Ghalib who came from a Turkish family.

Turkish, despite its being a royal language was taught at schools and we find 'Nisab-i Türki' of Khusrau as everlasting memory of those days's. Since we fail to find the Hindi Divan of Sa'ad bin Salman (Died 1121 A.D.) it will not be incorrect to say

<sup>5</sup> H. Blochmann, The Prosody of the Persians, Philo Press, Amsterdam 1970 p. XVI.

<sup>6</sup> The reason why Iranians disliked the Indian Persian is discussed in details by Prof. Jemil Jalbi (see his book *Tarikh-i Edeb-i Urdu*, Majlis-i Taraki-yi Edeb, Lahore 1982, vol. II, p. 22).

<sup>7</sup> For further information see Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, D. Reidel Publishing Co., 1968, p. 295-297 and 713-717.

<sup>8</sup> An early mention of such a work is made in the MS No. 18 found at the Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna fl. No. 2b and a copy of the work is available at the Penjab University library A pi 11 No. 6.

that Khusrau Dehlevi was the one who laid the foundation of Urdu<sup>9</sup>.

After Khusrau it became customary to mix Hindi (Barj Bhasha) with Persian. Turkish came in either directly or via Persian by means of the Turkish immigrants. At this period many Muslim and even Hindu scholars and saints used Hindi mixed with Persian vocabulary to address the public. However, the proper Urdu was yet to appear much later at the Timurid era.

As no fixed date can be given for the birth of any language so is the case with Urdu. Some estimates can be made under the light of historical facts. The early seeds of the language were sowed in the Western part of India where Pakistan exists today as discussed in details by Mr. Mahmud Shirani<sup>10</sup>. His assumptions seem to be true because when we travel from Delhi to Afghanistan the Turkish effects on language and culture become more and more visible. Turkish foods i.e. 'kebab', 'kavurma' 'pilav', 'açar (appetizer)', 'dolma (stuffed vegetables); dresses: 'salvar', 'sal'; weapons: 'top', 'topcu', 'tüfek', 'tamança', military terms: 'haravel (karakol)', 'tümen', titles: 'beg', 'han khan)', 'uluhan (the great khan)', 'kutlu han (an auspicious khan);, relations: 'anne', 'bacı', 'apa' etc; marital customs such as 'henna night': riding of bridegroom on horse-back draw our particular attention and we all of a sudden find ourselves in a Turkish atmosphere. Same is the case with Punjabi. In Punjabi many Turkish words are used in daily conversation the most striking ones are: 'baji'=sister; 'apaji'=an elder sister; 'jiji' or 'çiçi'=sweet things. Pashto has more Turkish words than Punjabi<sup>11</sup>.

Delhi, however, remained as a cradle of the new born baby, Urdu and many saints, specially of Chestiye sect such as: Mu'in ud-din Cheshti (II43-1235 A.D.), Baba Ferid Sheker Ganj (1186-1265 A.D.) wrote mystic verses in the language. Non-muslim saints like Kebir (died 1450 A.D.) and the great leader of Sikhs Baba Guru Nanak (1469-1539) used a lot of Persian words in their poems.

<sup>9</sup> See my article «Emir Husrev-i Dehlevi'nin Urduca'nın Doğuşundaki Rolü» (Amir Khusrau Role in the Birth of Urdu), *Edebiyat Dergisi*, S.Ü. Fen Ed. Fak., 1983 p. 21-32.

<sup>10</sup> See his book 'Punjab men Urdu', Nasim Book Depot, Lucknow 1981.

<sup>11</sup> A seperate article is being written on the subject.

In 1311 A.D. Ala al-Din Khilji (Kalach in Turkish) and in 1325 A.D. Muhammed Tuğluk conquered the southern part of India upon which the Turko-Indian army took the newly growing language with them. Many Turkish kings ruled in the Southern part of India and they gave importance to Turkish, although Persian dominated as a literary language. It was at the time of Kutub Shahs, the Turkoman tribes, that Urdu started to take literary shape. Kuli Kutub Shah (1581-1611) wrote the first great divan of Urdu<sup>12</sup>. A Turkish-Persian dictionary containing 1183 foliae written by Muhammed Taki Beg son of Kuvam al-din Beg Karakoyunlu (Türkmen)in 1727 is an evidence of our statement<sup>13</sup>.

3 — From Babur to Shahjihan: After Babur, Urdu started to develop further under the name «Rekhta»<sup>14</sup>. He revived and encouraged the tradition of mixing Hindi with Persian and Turkish by uttering the following verse:

«Muchku na huva kuyi heves-i manik u muti Fakr ehliga bes bulgusudur pani ve ruti»

(I have no great desires for diamonds or pearls; but for a mystic bread and water suffices) 15.

Babur's sons Kamuran and Humayun wrote poems in Turkish while their vezir Bayram Khan and his son Abdurrahim Khan-1 Khanan played an active part in mixing Turkish elements with Hindi. As a result, cultural as well as literary amalgamation reached its climax.

At the time of Humayun, migration of Turkish tribes increased and new comers used more Turkish vocabulary in their Persian works<sup>16</sup>, a large part of which transfered later to Urdu. Ekber

- 12 Muhammed Kuli Kutub Shah, *Kulliyat-ı Kuli Kutub Shah*, composed by Dr. Muhyuddin Kadri Zor, İbrahimiye Mission Press, Haydarabab 1940.
- 13 MS at the Oriental Manuscript Library and Research Institute Tarnaka Haydarabad No. 89.
- 14 «Rekhta» is a Persian word that means 'poured out from the mouth as it comes» actually it was a name given to the mixed Perso-Turkish music of India.
- 15 For the verse vide Denison Ross, Divan-i Babur Padishah, journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1910, p. 21.
- 16 For a list of such scholars see M.A. Ghani, A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Cohurt, Part I, Allahabad 1929, p. 149.

Shah's (1555-1605) racial as well as religious intermixing policy is not devoid of interest. He fully realised that it was not possible for the Turkish races to return to Central Asia. India had become their homeland. So, Ekber tried to find a common language and joint religion to attain homogenity. In religion, he was not successful at all, but the common language 'Rekhta' flourished a great deal. At the time of Jihangir (1605-1627), Ghuwasi wrote his Tutiname<sup>17</sup> in the mixed language.

When Shah Jihan moved his capital from Agra to Delhi, the new capital was called 'Shahjihan Abad' and the army centre 'Urduyı Mualla'¹¹² = 'the royal camp or court, the court language'. The shopping centres were called 'Urdu Bazar'¹¹². It is from the 'Urdu Bazar' or 'Urdu-yı Mualla' that the short form 'Urdu'²¹² comes. It shows clearly that Urdu was born by the mixing of Turkish and Indian soldiers who came in close contact at the army shopping centres and used each other's languages for trade.

Like his ancestors Shahjihan took great interest in the improvement of the new language. He appointed secretaries (Delal) who would note down the words spoken at the markets (Urdu Bazars). The position became customary later<sup>21</sup>. Finally, Urdu took a literary shape and began to spread as the lingua franca of India. In accordance with the statement of the Pakistani scholar Dr. Melik Hasan the first poet who used the word 'Urdu' for the language is Murad Shah Lahori (1789 A.D.) and following him is Mushafi (1790 A.D). However, the name Urdu was used earlier than the 18th century. It shows that Urdu improved under the supervision of Turkish Sultans of India. Soon after the English invasion in 1857,

<sup>17</sup> The work had been translated from Sanskrit into Persian by Ziya al-Din Bakhshi Bedayuni and into Urdu by Kadri, into Turkish by Abdullah Sabri (see Hamid Hasan Kadri, *Destan-ı Tarikh-i Urdu*, Agra 1938, p. 45-47).

<sup>18</sup> Vide Mir Amin Dehlevi, Bagh u Bahar (preface), Urdu Bazar Lahore 1975, (first published in 1775) p. 10.

<sup>19</sup> For the meaning of the word «Urdu» see here the list of the Turkish words.

<sup>20</sup> See Urdu Lughat, vol. I, Preface p. II, Taraki Urdu Board, Karachi 1977.

<sup>21</sup> Asfiye, I, p. 21 22- See Melek Hasan, Tarikh-i Edeb-i Urdu, University Book Agency, Lahore 1979, p. 33.

the Indian and Indianised Turkish scholars left Persian aside and embraced their self produced language. Thus, Shahjihan's period can be called 'the Dawn of the Modern Urdu' spoken by more than four million people of Pakistan and India.

4 — From Shahjihan to the 19th century and onwards: Many Turkish tribes along with their traditions immersed in the deep sea of the huge population of India at the time of Aurang Zeyb and his Indianised ancestors. Today, their traces are found under such titles as: 'Mirza', 'Beg', 'Türki Banjara', 'Ghori', 'Khoja', 'Joja', 'Chaghatay', 'Khilji'. The word 'Turk' was used for the Muslim and many Indians called their beloveds "Turkova'22. In the southern part of India they call Urdu 'Turki Mata (the Turkish words)». The Turkish language once taught at the Indian schools disappeared, for ever, after the English invasion. The deeply rooted Persian also faded away. The English tried to change the name of Urdu into 'Hindustani' and attempted to replace Turkish and Persian with English. As Urdu was based on the strong Islamic ground, it was not easy for the English to unroot it.

Some documents are found at Indian libraries to prove that Turkish went side by side at schools India<sup>23</sup>. For example a large Turkish - Persian Dictionary containing 1183 foliae was composed by Muhammed Taki Beg son of Kavam al-Din Beg Türkmen in 1727 and numerous Nisab-1 Türkies (The Turkish course books) were scribed in versified form for young students, a copy of which is found at the Punjab University Library<sup>24</sup>. In Hazinetü'l Lughat of Rani of Bhopal, a dictionary of Urdu with Persian, Turkish, Arabic, English and Sanskrit equivalents written in the year 1886 we come across this verse:

Ger Rekhta zuban ka hey ustad-1 hoshmand Amuz gar-i kamil-i Tazi zuban hey wo English men Sanskrit men abr-i mutir hey

<sup>22</sup> Vide preface of Asfiye p. 19.

<sup>23</sup> Kindly see my article for some Turkish MSS at the Indian Libraries «Hindistan Kütüphanelerindeki Bazı Türkçe Yazma Eserler» Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Ankara 1985, p. 479-499.

<sup>24</sup> Punjab University Library, Lahore No. 6 API II.

Türki men Farsi men behri revan hey wo²⁵ «If he is a wise teacher of Rekhta,
He is also a perfect teacher of Arabic
He is like a flying cloud of English and Sanskrit
In Turkish and Persian he is like a flowing river».

Why one has to be like a flowing river in Turkish? is the question to be studied further. The Indian Turks did not only influence the Urdu language but they also played an outstanding role in the improvement of its literature. The Turkish scholars who migrated to India during the 17th and 18th centuries were not small in number. Their Indianised ancestors such as: Mirza Bedil (1720-1644); Mir Taki Mir (1713-1724); Khuvaja Mir Derd (1720-1784); Mirza Muhammed Refi Sevda (1713-1780); Inshaullah Khan Insha (died in 1817); Saadet Yar Khan Rangeen (1756-1835) and the king of Modern Urdu poetry Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869) perhaps did not know Turkish well, yet they had Turkish minds that reflected in the Urdu poetry. Last Timurid kings Muhammed Shah, Alemgir-i Sani, Shah Alem Sani<sup>26</sup> and Bahadur Shah Zafer tried their hands successfully on the Urdu poetry.

As far the language itself is concerned, there are some grammatical similarities between Turkish and Urdu<sup>27</sup> that, however, require further scientific study. To draw our reader's attention towards the subject we give a summary of these similarities and then pass on to the Turkish words that entered Urdu either directly or via Persian. Some words that are not of Turkish origin but are given as Turkish<sup>28</sup> have been deleted from the list.

Despite the fact that Urdu belongs to the Indo-European group and Turkish to the Ural-Altaic, some similarities are seen as follows:

<sup>25</sup> See Mevlevi Seyyid Ahmed Dehlevi, Hazinetü'l-lugat, Bhopal 1886 A.D., p. 523.

<sup>26</sup> See Dr. Jemil Jalbi, ibid, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> For details vide Prof. Dr. Halide Dolu's article «Some Similarities in the Turkish and Urdu Languages», University of Peshawar Magazine, 1974.

<sup>28</sup> For example see the words enlisted by Dr. Akmel Ayyubi in his article «Urdu ke Turki Anasir», Aks-i Jamil, Islamiye University Aligarh 1984, p. 17-18. Some such words are Paycha, sodagari, nagha, nakab, sipahi, shalvar etc.

a) Syntactic similarities:

Persian, Turkish and Urdu have the same sentence structure i.e. Subject+object+verb.

b) Possesive and adjectival constructions:

and;

Following is the list of the Turkish words that managed to live on in Urdu. Some diachronical details have been given to prove the origin of the words while semantic differences have also been given: (āpa) آپا

Elder sister, sister (As., I, 98)

apa: «sister, elder sister (Uyg. 18; \$S., 3; DT., I, 87; Rad., I 612)» aba, apa: »sister, elder sister, mother» (DS. I, 1).

[] (ata)

1-Father 2-respect worthy old man (Fer., 61).

ata: «father» (Uyg., 24); «nick name title, father» (DT. Diz., 47); «any of the grand parents» (TS., 57).

(utak) اتاق

Tent, house (Fer., 61 the word is shown as Per.).

otağ: «tent» (KB., 347; DT. III, 208) «big and decorated tent» (TS., 575).

(atalik) اتالق

1 - Master 2 - Teacher of culture, trainer (As. 1 103).

atalik: «God father, a man who is trusted by a king and regarded as father, a rank in Turkistan, a person whose duty is to listen to the complaints of people and thus advise the king about it (ŞS., 4; Rad. I, 458). Not used in MT.

(atga) اتگه

Husband of child's nurse (Fer. 63).

ataka: «same as'atalık', a rank in the Central Asia» (SS. 4); «an uncle who trains» (Rad. I, 842); composed of the words: 'ata' = father and 'eke' = elder brother. For other details see Vekayi, 579.

آبُو آبُون (atun or) (atu) Lady teacher, a lady who teaches reading and writing (As. 1, 108). katun: «lady» (DT, I, 138); «wife of a religious man» (Rad, I, 463); «wife of a king, head wife» (atun and khatun, TL, I, 25).

(ucag) احاغ Stove, hearth (Fer., 67). «stove» (ogak DT., I, 67).

(acha)

1-Father or grand father 2 - Old servant, aged nurse of children (As. 1, 119).

(urdu) اردو

1-Army, an army camp 2-A name of the language spoken in Pakistan and India. It was also called 'urdu-yi mualla'. The most efficient form is of Delhi and Lucknow (As. 1, 143).

ارمغان (armaghan) thing» (As., 1 148 gives as Per.).

(ash)

1 - Soup 2 - Dish with plenty of water in it (Fer., 21).

(ushluk) Slander, backbiting (Fer., 93; As. 1, 175).

آغا (agha) 1 - Master, owner 2 - elder brother 3 - husband 4 - judge and a gentleman. (Fer. 22 and 24).

aça: «mother, old woman» (SS. 5); «a word that indicates any member of relatives» (ETY., IV, 3) «elder sister» (ece, DT., I, 85).

ordu: «The city where the royal camp or Khan is found» DT. I, 124); «The palace or a place where the royality is found» (Cl., 203 and Uyg., 142); «a place where the army settles, the tent of an emperor (Khan (Rad. I, 1072); «The whole of the army of a government» (TS., 903).

armağan: «a gift brought from a «A gift, a new object, a rare journey, a gift» (DT. I, 140 and Cl., 232).

> as: «food, feast given on the occasion of festival of sacrifice, animal to be sacrifised» (Uyg., 23); «food, rice (pilav)» (SS., 13); «cooked food» (TS., 54).

> uşak : «backbiting, slander, slanderer» (DT. I, 123 and Cl., 16). Does not exist in MT.

> ağa: «elder brother» (Uyg. 6); from the verb 'ağmak' = to rise from some-where; to climb up (Cl. 77); «a title given to a person who is respected by people and has influence» (TS., I, 16).

VT (aka)

1 - Elder brother, friend 2-A word for addressing «my friend, O, my friend» (As. 1, 89).

aka: «elder brother» (Uyg. 9); «mother and father, elders» (Rad., I, 676); «father, elder brother» (DS., 1135).

JT (al)

A root from which red colour is obtained, red colour (As. 1, 208).

al: «red colour» (DT. III, 162) and (Cl., 120). Also used in MT.

(ulagh) الاغ

1 - A post horse 2 - A donkey used for carrying load 3 - a small boat (Fer., 106).

ulag: «chain, line, connection» (Uyg., 264); «an animal for carrying goods, source of water, or a small boat» (§S., 38); «any horse which an express horse rider takes by order of an emir (i.e. beg) and rides until he finds another (Cl. 136 DT., I, 122).

(altamgha) آلتمغا

1-Red seal (fig. a signed royal order); 2-A title-deed; land certificate issued by a king for the land estate presented by him (As., 1, 209).

al+tamga: «A piece of land presented by a king» (for detail see Bayur, II, 442).

النارون (algarun) Poo much, in excessive

Too much, in excessive amount (according to As. it is compound noun i.e. 'elgar' (Tur.) + -un (Arabic suffix for plural, (As., 1 215).

In MT. it does not exist. The form in use was «yelgar» in old Turkish.

الش (ulush) Remnant of meal, remnant of meal of a rich man. (As.

ülüş: «remnant of melal», «remnant it of meal of a Khakan presented to a s. person who handles swords or fights 1, 215).

successfully against enemy» (Rad., I, 1853); «hare, morsel» (DT. I, 62 and Cl. 153). Not in use in MT.

#### Ul (anna)

Nurse of a child, nurse who gives a suck to a child (As. truely states that it is from the word «ana» p. 233).

ana: «mother» (Uyg. 14); a woman who has a baby or an animal that has a baby» (TS., 38).

#### (oyulma) اولما

To pluck skin by softening it in hot water; to cook intestine by stuffing mince meat in it (As. 1, 312).

اياخ (ayagh) A cup, goblet (Fer., 135).

(aybek)

1 - A slave 2 - messenger 3 - beloved, idol (Fer., 135).

(elchi) ایلچی

1 - Ambassador 2 - Messenger (As., 1, 334).

(baji) باجي

1 - Sister 2 - Elderly woman 3 - Woman who has become mother at an early age (As., 1, 346). yolma: from the verb 'yolmak' = to pluck, to put a skin in hot water for the process of plucking (DT. III, 64); Cl. gives as 'yulmak' (p. 918); «to pluck by pulling» (TS., 810).

ayak: «goblet» (Uyg., 27); «a cup, goblet, wine glass» (§S., 54); «pot, goblet, cup» (DT. Dizin., 53).

aybek: «ay» = moon + «bek» = big, therefore «aybek» = a big moon (see also An., I, 514); «servant or messenger» (An. I, 514) No more used in MT.

elçi: «ambassador, representative of a government in foreign countries» (l. 129 and ŞS. 58).

bacı: «elder sister, sister» (ŞS. 67 and DS. II, 457).

1 - A person who distributes mander, general (Fer., 171).

(bakhshi) منع (bakshi) bahşi : «Music player, singer lover» (SS., 74); «a secretary» (ASN., IV, the salaries of soldiers 2 - Com-IV, 278); «secretary, clark that deals with accounting, a doctor» (Vekayi, 585).

420 Anything wrapped in a piece of cloth. (As. 1, 399).

(bukcha) (bugça) boğ : «baggage, saddle-bag» (DT. Dizin 98); «a square wrapper for a bundle» (TS., bohça p. 114).

Joki (bekavul) Cook, a rank (Fer., 187 gives it as Per.).

bekavul: «Head of the council of state, chief taster at the Sultan's court» (SS. 75); «one who supervises the royal kitchen, a group of soldiers that serve meals during feasts» (Vekayi., 590). Not used in MT.

(bulak) بلاق

1 - A nazal ornament 2 - A nazal ornament with bead placed by babies' mother as a protection against death (As. I, 408).

bulak : «water fountain, a nazal ring worn by women» (An. I, 754 and Cl. gives only «the spring of water» (ibid, 336).

(boz) 34 Horse, specially white horse (Old Urd. 50).

boz: «white of horses, mules and asses» (Cl. 389); «white horse, red horse, grey horse» (DS. II, 750).

(bahadur) سادر 1 - A young man 2 - A strong man 3 - Courageous, brave 4 - A title used for the governmental officers. 5 - Something precious like pearls (As. I, 425).

bahatur: «a Hunnish proper name, picked warrior» (Cl. 313, bağatur); «A person who is renowned for being successful in wars» (TS., 90).

## رُلُو (beg)

1 - Master, a prince or commander. 2 - A title given to the Turks of India (Mughals) (As. I, 467).

(begum) A lady (Fer., 215).

إنا (pasha)

Title given to the Turkish chiefs, governor, lord, chief of army (Fer., 233).

تتى (tutuk) Curtain, tent (Fer., 309).

1 - Order 2 - law 3 - principle 4 - police regulations 5 - grandour 6 - The diary of a king (Fer., 324).

### air lir (tamga)

1 - A stamp on gold or silver 2 - royal seal 3 - sign 4 - impression burnt on animal's back 5 - trade mark 6 - titledeed 7 - gold or silver medal given as present 8 - coin 9 receipt of tax 10 - stamp of a degree (Fer., 346, As., I 626). beg: «a prince, the head of a clan, husband, a married man» (DT. Dizin 78). «chief of a clan, a man, husband (Uyg. 37 and Cl. 322). «A rich man, a noble or head of a kingdom, Mr.» (TS., 100).

bige or bigim: «a lady» (AŞN, II, 236) Not used in MT. Female of 'beg'.

Probably a short from of 'baş' = head and 'ağa' = master i.e. 'head master' «a title given to hingh rank officer or clerks at the Ottoman time now it means 'a general' (TS., 948).

tutuk: «overcast sky, tongue-tied; paralysed, closed» (Cl. 453); «curtain, veil, a lady's veil, covelred and closed» (Yeni Tar., 215).

tuzuk: «well arranged, proper, appropriate, right, good and marvellous» (SS., 119); Tüzük: «ordinance» in MT., see Vekayi, 659.

tamga: «the stamp of a king or an emperor» (DT. Dizin., 567); «impression burnt on animals, stamp etc. (Cl. 505); damga: «a tool for stamping a paper, a mark made by burning or heatening up a stamp» (TS. 182).

30 (tumen)

1 - Ten thousand 2 - A group of soldiers 3 - Team of soldiers in hundred each, 4 - Golden coin (Fer., 346 and As. 1, 626).

tümen: «large in number» ('tümen tümen' DT. Dizin 670); «ten thousand» and «an in definitely large number» (Cl. 507); 1 - a large heap 2 - division 3 - ten thousand soldiers» (TS., 749).

(top) توب

1 - Gun, cannon 2 - A fat man (Fer., 353). 'Topcu' and 'tophane' also exist in Urdu.

top: «a cannon» (see 'topik' DT., Dizin 640): «things somewhat round in shape, cannon» (TS. 738).

توشك (toshak)

Cotton mattress (As. 1, 638).

töşrek: «mattress» (DT. Dizin 647); «mattress, bed, a pillow» (SS., 119); For its Turkish origin see Cl., 563 and Doerfer II, 967.

(tura)

1 - Islamic tradition, Islamic law 2 - Royal order 3 - Division or section 4 - Food distributed a few days before a nuptial day 5 - pride, richness 6 - rank (Fer., 354, As., I, 636).

töre or törü: «a traditional law» (Cl. 53) «order, ordinance, tradition» (DT. Dizin, 647) also see Vekayi. 657; «Tradition or customs of a group of people» (TS. 742).

(joghrat) جغرات

Coagulated or curdled milk, milk» (Cl. 905 and TS., 808). yogurt» (Old Urd. 93).

yoğurt : «Yogurt, coagulated curdled

(chadir) حادر

1 - Red cover, sheet 2 - A cover on tomb (As. II, 88).

see «Catr».

(chak) حاق

çak: «exactly, precisely» (Cl. 404) 1 - Strong, healthy 2 - Active «action of a violent character, physi-

(As. II, 92). cal or mental, e.g., to strike fire, to bite, sting, to slander, decry, betray» (Cl. 405) Not used in MT.

92).

çaku: «knife» (Rad., IV, 1834) «a A small knife. knife (As. II, foldable pocket knife» (TS., 148).

(chavush) حاوش 1 - A guard who has a club in his hand 2 - A leader (Fer., 473).

çavuş: «sergeant, guard; a person who keeps the soldier's line in order during war and protects them from torture» (DT. Dizin, p. 139). In MT it means only 'sergeant'.

(chapkalish) چىقاش 1-A sword 2-Turmoil 3-Crowd (As. 11, 98).

capkalış: «turmoil, crowd, mass, a group of people» (SS. 159); from the verb' capmak' = to hurry up, to raid, plunder, to strike with a sword, to wound, to sever with a single blow» (Cl. 394); «turmoil» (Rad., III, 2153) not used in MT.

(chatr) kings (As., II, 100 word is given as Urd).

cadir or catir: «loan word ultimately A large umbrella used for derived from sanskrit 'chatra' 'a royal umbrella» (Cl. 403); «a tent, a curtain for bed» (Rad., III, 1898). «a tent, a room, a large room» (TS., 147).

A curtain made of reeds (As. 11, 111,

çık : «a reed curtain» (Cl. 404); «a mat made of reeds» (DT. III, 1206).

(chakachak) خقاحاق clashes of swords (Fer., 487).

cakacak: «a sound produced by the Sounds produced by the claches of metalic things» (Yeni Tar 49).

ردان (chakmak) 1 - Flint 2 - Flintlock used in guns (Fer., 487).

جةر (chukar) Water pool (Fer., 484).

چکن (chikin) Handicraft, an embroidered piece of cloth. (As., 11 113).

جفندر (chukundar) Red beat (As. 11, III).

(chamcha)

1 - A spoon, an object used for drinking soup or syrup.

2 - ladle (Fer., 92 and As., II, 119).

جومان (chomak) A stick, club (Mir Aman, Bagh u Bahar, 1976 p. 251).

يجوك (chechek) Smallpox (As., II, 150) shown as Per.).

ارن (khatun) 1 - Wife, woman 2 - daughter of a lord 3 - lady 4 - daughter of an 'emir' (As., II, 173).

çakmak: «any means for burning fire» (DT. Dizin, 132). «a lighter, steel for triking on a flint» (DT. I, 469) Same in MT.

çukur : «a hallow, pit» (çakör : Uyg. 60); «a pit» (TS. 175).

çıkın: «embroidered piece of cloth» (An. II, 1446). «Shawl usually embroidered» (Sami, 514); «gold emroidery» (Cl. 416).

cükündür (çukundur, çükündürük) «beat, carrot or cabbage» (DT., III, 1307).

comce: «ladle, scoop» (Cl. 422). «a large wooden spoon or ladle» (DT. Dizin 158); «a large carved wooden cup for drinking water» and «a large wooden spoon» (DS. III, 1266, 1284).

comak : «stick, baton» (DT., Dizin
157); «a stick» (TS., 173).

cecek (cicek) : «flower, hence metph.
«a skin eruption especially 'smallpox'
(Cl. 400); «smallpox» (Doerfer III,
1073).

katun: «woman, lady» (DT. Dizin., 281, 602); «lady, queen (Uyg. 171) in MT 'hatun' (TS., 330).

(khakan)

title of the Chinese and Turkish kings (Fer., 531).

خان (khan)

1 - Chief 2 - Head 3 - A title given to Afghan tribes (Fer. 532; As. 178, Fer. shows as Tur., As. as Per.).

داغ (dagh)

made by hot iron 2 - Wound 3 - worry 4 - to stain the character of somebody (As. II, 222 gives as Per).

دادا (dada)

1 - Grand father 2 - Master 3 - Elder brother 4 - An old man (Fer. 552, Hindi).

(dulma) دله Dish prepared by stuffing mince meat in eggplant or carrot (As. II, 264).

hakan or kağan: «an independent 1 - A big king, emperor 2 - A ruler of a tribe or people» (Cl. 611); «sultan, emperor» (TS. ); «descendant of a royal family» (Rad, П,

> Han (xan): «It was synonym of 'Kağan' but later it was used for a subordinate ruler, the Turks' supreme ruler, emperor» (Cl. 630); «a title given to the descendants of Afrasyab» (DT. Dizin, 212). «King, a ruler of a nation, head of a household, ruler» (SS. 166); «a title given to a subordinate ruler who is independent or affiliated to an emperor, a title adapted by the Ottoman kings» (TS., 322).

dağı: «brand made with hot iron on 1 - Spot, sign 2 - impression horses or cattle, act of such marking» (DT., III, 153); «burn, scald, sign, mark made with hot iron» (SS., 168). «brand with hot iron or metal, such impression made for medical treatment» (TS., 178).

> dada: «grandfather, grand parents, mother's father» (SS., 168); 'father' (Oğuz., DT., III, 221); «Grandfather» (Cl. 451; Deorfer III, 1179); «uncle» (Rad, III, 1640).

> dolma: «any king of food prepared by stuffing rice or other objects» (TS., 214). From the verb 'doldurmak' = to stuff.

#### (sachak) ساحق

by bridegroom one day before wedding called «henna night» (Fer., 693).

sacuğ: «money and goods sent from Presents sent to bride's house the bridegroom's house to the bride's house on the occasion of a wedding» (Cl., 796); «jewels, money and food distributed on festive occasions» (Cl. 796); «dress and suit» (SS 178 not used in MT).

(suragh) سراغ

1 - Sign 2 - Traces 3 - Search 4 - foot prints 5 - hints or traces (Fer., 722).

surag or sorak : «asking, information, news, investigation, test» (SS. 188); in Türkmen dialect 'surag, or sorak = «inquiry, news, questioning» (Cl. 848).

(surma)

Collyrium (Fer., 725 gives as Per.).

sürme: «antimony, collyrium», «something rubbed (on the eyebrows)» (Cl. 852 and TS. 685 from the verb 'sürmek' = to rub).

(soghat) سوغات Present, gift (Fer., 747). savgat or soğat : «a present, gift» (Abuşka, 290, 273); «Present, gift, mercy» (Yeni Tar. 182).

طغرا (tughra)

1 - Mark 2 - Imperial signature 3 - A ring with stamp (Fer., 795).

tugrağ: «tuğra and tura: a royal sign manual, the seal and signature of a king» (Cl. 471, DT., I, 462).

(tuy) . طوي

1 - An embroidered ribbon not used in MT. esp. used on the occasion of wedding (As., III, 253; I, 640).

toy: «wedding ceremony» (SS. 17)

غول

gul: «lined up soldiers, the special 1 - A group of people, crowd group of Khan's soldiers» (TL, III,

2 - Headquarters, the centre of army (Hazinetü'l Lugat, I, 4 and As. III, 318).

595) not used in MT. It is probably Persianized form of 'kol' = a small group of soldiers (TS., and Doerfer, I, 307).

اآن (ka'an) 1 - A great justice 2 - A wise king 3 - A generous king (Fer. 847).

See 'hakan'

ناب (kab) 1 - A large cup 2 - A large plate 3 - A round large tray (Fer., 847, As. III. 359). kap: «cup, sack, bale, envelope or amion» (DT. Dizin, 262); for other details see Cl. 582 'kabak'.

(kabu)
1 - chance 2 - control 3 - ambush 4 - revenge 5 - ruler (emir) (As. gives as Tur. III, 363; Fer., gives as Per., 847).

kapu: «chance, aim» (SS., 212); «goal, reason, source, opposite» (TL. III, (683). Not used in MT.

الم برجى (kabuji)
1 - A door keeper 2 - used for belittling someone, «mean, egoist, opportunist, unthankful» (As. III, 361).

kapucu «from 'kapı' = door (Cl. 583); «A person who keeps door» (TS., 407); kapğuci: «snatcher, one who snatches cattle» (DT., II, 50); kapçı: «hunter, snatcher, usurpation» (ŞS., 213); to grasp or seize with hands, teeth etc». (Cl. 580).

كائر، قائر (kash) Slice of fruit, piece (As. III, 362). kas: «eyebrow» hence metph. «the edge or side of a thing» (Cl. 669). «side of a thing» (DT. Dizin 276). Not. used in MT as 'Slice'.

از (kaz) A goose (As. III, 362). kaz: «goose» (DT. Dizin., 287); (TS., same, 427). For other details see Cl. 679.

(kak) فاق

Dry meat, metaph. a very thin person (Fer., 849).

kak: «a dry thing or an object, dry fruit such as plum or apricot» (DT. Dizin., 251); «a place dried up by son or fire where water may accumulate» (SS. 200). Not used in MT.

قاقر (kakum) Ermine fur, or an animal like ermine (Fer. shows it as Tur., 849).

kakum: «ermine, lynx, bobcat, or any kind of animal for fur» (SS., 221) but Sami and TS gives it as Arabic.

(kuti)

1 - A small box 2 - a small grape box (As. III, 372 and Fer., 85 gives it as Tur.).

kuti: «small covered container, a small box» (Cl. 596 and Doerfer, III, 1569); Sami and TS gives it as a Greek word.

(kadghan) قدغن

1 - Great care 2 - Warning 3 - Information 4 - Respect shown to a king (Fer., 853; As., III, 374).

kadagan: «forbidden, break, cessation from work» (SS. 227 and Doerfer I, 270) Sanglax p. 268r where قاداغان and قدارغان are shown as the same words mean «warning».

(karavul) See here 'haravul'.

> (kurk) ق ق

1 - Prevention 2 - to forbid 3 - to stop from (Fer., 885; Old Urdu, 165).

koruk : «guarding, a meadow or pasture that is protected from grazing for the sake of the cattle of the Sultan's overseers» (Cl. 652).

(kuramsak). قرمساق

1 - One who offers his wife to others, pimp. 2 - Unwise person. (As, III, 381).

kurumsak: «pimp, whore» 234); Sanglax gives the similar meanings for detail see ibid p. 286r.

(kazak) قز اق

1 - One who wavlay on the road 2 - Cossack, the Cossacks (Fer., 856).

kazak: «adventurer, independent, rover» (Rad., II, 364); «Fighting horse-men who have a different class in Russia and Iran, A Turkish clan living in Central Asia, a man who has full control over his wife» (TS., 428).

قشلاق (kishlak) Winter quarters of kings (Fer., 857 gives as Ar.).

kışlak : «winter quarters» (DT. Dizin. 323) and Cl. 672). «a place where a tribe dealing with cattle growing come to stay during winter from normal pasture.

قشود (kushun) 1-A troop of soldiers 2-Camping site of an army (Fer., 857).

koşun: «soldiers, army, group of people, «(SS., 237); «troop of soldiers army headquarters» (Stein., 9717); «army, line of people» (TS., 466).

1 - A distance between two hands, 2 - A measure for cloth 3 - Springing or jumping of a horse, dear or rabbit (As. III, 393).

للانج، قلام (kulanch) or (kulach) kulac : «the distance between the finger tips of two outstretched arms» (Cl. 618; DT. Dizin, 375). Same in the MT.

(kalpak) قلماق A kind of high cap (Fer., 860).

kalpak : «a pointed cap, a cap» (KS,. 391. Rad., 268); «a cap made of fur or of cloth like fur» (TS., 400).

(kuli) 1 - Slave 2 - porter (Fer., 862 also gives the plural from 'kullar' = The royal body-guards.

kul: «slave» (DT. Dizin, 375). The form 'kuli' is not used in the MT.

1 - A whip 2 - a stick 3 - flex- Dizin 257). ible branch of a tree (Free.,

(kamchi) kamcı : «a whip» (UYG., 162; DT.

(kanat) قنات

Side curtains or sheets of a tent (Fer., 862).

kanat : «A covering of a large tent» (KS., 396) for other details see Bayur. II, 424 and Cl. «the fly of a tent» p. 635.

(kur)

1 - Weapon 2 - A ribbon or sash for the edges of cloth (Fer., 863) also 'kurcu' and 'kurbeyi' (see Vekayi., 625).

kur: «belt, a sash or girdle, to sit in a circular form on the occasion of wedding, weapon forbidden thing, trap and armoury» (SS. 233); not used in MT.

(korma) قورمه

Fried meat (Fer., 863 and As., 401).

kavurma: «fried meat» (DT. Dizin, 390); «aspoon, wooden spoon» (SS., 234); «to bake and roast (Cl. 612, 'kuğur-'); «to fry something» (TS., 242).

(koymak) قوياق

A special bread made with onion, butter and white of egg (Fer., 864).

kuymak: «a kind of bun baked with butter or oil, oily bread in layers» (SS., 242); «a kind of omlet with egg, flour and cheese» (DS., VIII, 3020).

(kivma) Minced meat, chopped meat (As. III, 410 shown as Ar.).

kıyma: «minced meat» (DT. Dizin., 325) «chopped beaten or minced meat» (SS., 249) also see Doerfer III, 1608 and Cl. 677. From the verb 'kıymak' = to chop.

(kenchi)

1 - Scissors 2 - An iron fence arround a house (Fer., 866). kayçı: «sciccors, beams of a roof» (Stein 999), kayıcı = «scissors» (DS. VIII, 2700 Not commonly used in MT.

(kulche)

A kind of bread baked in oven (Fer., 908 gives it as Urdu).

a bun» also used in the expression 'cheeks like külçe' (§S., 254); külço: «a small Özbek bread» (KS. 535); külçe: «A bun or bread made of maze or wheat without yeast in a tray or on a sheet iron» (DS., VIII, 3033).

külce: «a kind of round small bread.

(kotval) كوتوال

1 - Chief of police station 2 - Guard of a citadel (Fer., 923 gives as Per.). kötavul (Kütval): «warden of a citadel or castle» (ŞS., 256); «Guard, a military rank» (Rad. II, 1481). Not used in MT.

(kuch) کوچ

1-Migration or parting 2-Leaving a place 3-To transfer (Fer., gives as Per., 924; As. as Tur).

kög: «migration» (DT. Dizin, 354); Loan word in Per. (Doerfer, III, 1660); «migration» (UYG. 113 and TS., 'gög').

(kuçek) کوچك

A small child, small (As. III, 584; Fer., 924 both give as Per.).

kiçig: «small, little, young» (UYG. 109); «puppy, a small child» (ŞS., 257) for other details see Cl. 697-98. «small» (TS. 486).

کو کاتاش (kokultash)
A foster brother of a king (Fer., 926).

kökültaş: «foster brother» (Abuşka., 361); from 'kökül' = a nurse and-daş: a suffix for showing noun association.

5,5 (koka)

1 - Foster brother 2 - Child of a foster mother (Fer., 926 gives as Per. As. 593 gives as Tur.). köke: «a woman's breast, foster brother, a short form of 'kökültaş» (Hüm., 20); «kökül or koka» = milk nurse (ŞS., 260).

(kurnesh) کورنش

1 - To salute by bending 2 - Bending 3 - Bending due to respect (Fer., 925).

ري (nokar)

A servant (As. IV, 617 shows as Per.).

(vushak) وشاق

1 - Slave 2 - Servant 3 - A Turkish slave or a young boy (As. IV, 649).

(haravul) هراول

1 - A gun- man 2 - Vanguard keeping watch on enemy (Fer., 855 and 1245).

(yabu) يابو

A small horse (Fer., 1266)

(yagh) ياخ

Oil (Fer., 1267).

(yarga) بغه

A trotting horse. (Fa., 1268).

görmüş: «to see a king or to be seen by a king, e.i. to access him» (Bayur, II, 416); from 'körüş' = «meeting face to face, look, sight, eyesight, appearance etc. (Cl. 747); «görünüş» = apperance of a thing (TS., 299).

nöker: «servant, orphan» (ŞS., 283); «clerk, servant, comrade» (Rad. III, 695) It can be a loan word from Mongolian (see Cl. 774), however it is not used in MT.

uşak: (uvşak) «cmall, little» (DT. Dizin, 700); «a small child, a small object» (Cl. uvşak p. 16); «child, boy servant» (TS, 757).

karavul: «A sentinel, watchman» (Sanglax., 271 v); «A sentinel, spy, guard, the vanguard; a game keeper, hunter» (Stein., 962); «watchman, guard, vanguard» (Hüm., 19; ŞS., 287).

yabu: «an horse, house for carrying load» (SS., 289); yabağı (yabağa, çabağı): «colt, newly born horse» (Cl. 874); «useless horse» (Rad., III, 284). Not used in the MT.

yağ: «grease, fat or oil» (Cl. 895) and (DT. III, 159).

yoriga: «a horse that ambles or goes at a jog trot» (Cl. 964) and (DT. Dizin, 802).

(yarak) ر اق

1 - A weapon 2 - Tools for war (Fer., 1268). «saz-u yarak» (M. İqbal, Zarb-i kelim, Ghulam and Ali and Sons, Lahore 1966 p. 24).

yarak: «weapon» (ETY., IV, 133); «weapon like gun, sword etc.» (SS. 303); «A tool, weapon metph, penis» (TS., 789).

(yezek) بزك

1 - Night watchman 2 - Guards for protecting soldiers 3 - reconnaissance troop (As. IV, 782).

yezek : «Vanguard troop» (DT. Dizin, 778); «advance guard» (Cl. 986); Not used in the MT.

(yasal) سال Soldiers on guard or guards of soldiers (Fer. 12693.

yasal: «line, a row, a row, to stand in a row» (SS., 303 and Deorfer II, 1791); «wing of an army» Stein., 1531).

(yasavul) يساول

1 - Messanger 2 - Royal messanger 3 - police (Fer., 1269)

yasavul: «Otto. Hist. official charged with the arangement of state processions, guard» (Red. 1245); «protector, guard» (Yeni Tar. p. 237).

(yalgar) بلغار

1 - To attack enemies 2 - A speedy horse (As. IV, 786).

elgar: forwards» (UYG., 92); «to run, acceleration» (DS. V, 1713); «to run or attack towards enemies» (An., VII. 4684) and (Deorfer., I, 70).

(yal) يال

(As. IV, 780).

yal: «a horse's mane, hence the 1 - Neck 2 - A horse's mane place where mane grows» (Cl. 916); «horse's mane» (DT. Dizin, 821); in MT it is used as 'Yele' (TS., 797).

وروش (yurush) 1 - to attack enemies 2 - the act of attacking enemies (As. IV, 787). «an assault, attack, storm» (Stein, 1537): «to attack» (Rad., III, 603); yürüyüş: «to walk, practice of walking» (TS., 817 from the verb 'yürümek' = to walk or metph. to attack enemies).

yuz)
1 - One hundred 2 - Tiger
also 'yüzbaşı' = rank of captain. (Fer., 1271).

yüz: «a hundred» (DT. Dizin, 827) and (Cl. 983). «a small panther or ounce specially used in hunting deer» (Stein, 1537) and (Sanglax., 343r).

In addition to the above vocabulary there are quite a number of words formed with the Turkish suffix - ci ( , ) by attaching to the Persian and Arabic nouns, adjectives or even adverbs. The suffix denotes persons who are professionally or habitually concerned with or devoted to the object, person or quality denoted by the basic word. For example, topcu (gunner); hazançi (treasurer); afimçi (one who is edicted to opium etc.).

Bavurçu (  $\psi$ ) = As. shows that the word is formed from Per + Tur. 'Baver' = trust + - ci e.i. One who can be trusted thus metaphorically «A cook». Stein. says «An officer who attends to a great man's table and whose duty is to taste his master's food, a cook» (p. 153). Radloff gives as «a relative or friend» (Rad., I, 82).

Darugha ( دربف ): Both As. and Fer. show it as a Per. word (see As. II, 221 and Fer., 552) «a director, police officer and a guard». However, Prof. Fuad Köprülü (see Turkish Encyclopedia of Islam, III, 1774) gives the meaning as, «a policeman, a little clerk, superintendent of police or a representative of a Mongolian Khan». The word can be either of Mongolian or of Turkish origin.

Consequently, the Arabic and Persian elements in Urdu are more dominant than the Turkish ones because the Turkish immigrants adapted Persian as an official language. The author of Asfiye gives the number of the Turkish words as 105, of Arabic as 7584 and of Persian as 6041 and of English as 500 (see ibid, vol. IV, 794). Our list above covers around 118 words of Turkish ori-

gin. There are still a number of words that require further study because either they have been changed totally, for example: 'kuch' ( & ) from «küçük or kiçik = 'small' or they have been invented in India; for instance, 'Achar' = an appetizer, from the Turkish verb 'açmak' = to open, thus metph. an appetizer (literally 'an appetite openner').

We have tried briefly to throw light upon some possible similarities between Turkish and Urdu. Further detailed study is yet required specially in the field of literature and linguistics.

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