ON THE LEXICAL EVIDENCE OF THE CONCEPT OF "LEADER" IN MIDDLE PERSIAN AND ARABIC LANGUAGES[*]

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Abstract

In New Persian (hereafter NP) there are more than two dozen Arabic borrowings, attested in different dictionaries and partly still using today for the concept of "leader" [8], while most of the words for the same concept in Middle Persian (hereafter MP) are of Iranian origin. The present article introduces and examines the lexemes attested in Middle Persian and Arabic with the meaning "leader, leader, commander". The choice of the Middle Persian language is due to the task of showing the features of the public perception of the concept "leader" and its expressions at the linguistic extent in Sassanid Iran, still free from strong Arab influence. On the other hand, the choice of Arabic is due to the fact that it shows the enormous influence that the Arab world had already in the post-Sassanid period on the Iranians' perception of the concept of "leader", and, consequently, the Arabic language itself, in the level of linguistic thought, in the face of Arabic borrowings to denote the concept of "leader" in NP. The Arabic loanwords in NP, used for the concept of "leader", are presented in the authors' previous paper [8], because of which the present examination is limited in the presentation of the denotants of the concept of "leader" only in Sasanian Middle Persian and Arabic.

The lexical material of Middle Persian is extracted from the well-known dictionaries of D. N. MacKenzie [18], H. S. Nyberg [21], and D. Durkin-Meisterenst [10], and Arabic from the dictionaries of X. Baranov [3] and E. W. Lane [17]. In addition, Arabic loans in NP are written out from the dictionaries of 'Amīd [1], Mo'īn [19], Dehxodā [9], Steingass [24], Rubinčik [22] etc.

Four lexemes of Iranian origin, i.e. parwānag, pēšar, pēšōbāy and sālār, attested in Middle Persian with the meaning of "leader" were subjected to etymological examination. Simultaneously, 26 Arabic words in the same meaning, the majority of which were also borrowed in Persian, are presented.

Keywords: Sasanid Iran, Middle Persian, post-Sasanian Iran, Arabic, leader, parwānag, pēšar, pēšōbāy, sālār, etymology, etymon, semantic development, Arabic loans

The denotants of the concept of "leader" in Middle Persian

There are approximately thirty lexeme for the concept of *leader* in Modern Persian, among which, in addition to the original Iranian words, there are at least two dozen loanwords from Arabic and Turkish [8], while, the words in Middle

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Persian for the same concept are incomparably less (parwānag, pēšār, pēšōbāy and sālār), but only of Iranian origin without any exception. There are still 4 words for the concept of *leader* in the Middle Persian texts of the Sasanid period[1], which are:

Parwānag 'leader, guide' [18: 65] which in Classical Persian is referred to as *parvāna(k)* with the same meaning [9, s.v. "parvānak"], which passed from Persian into Arabic as *furānaq*, literally meaning 'leader, guide, avanguard' [23:71]. The phonetical form of Middle Persian word is identical with a zoonym *parvānak* 'caracal' [28, s.v. "parvānak"][2] or its variant *farāna(k)* known in the Modern Persian also as *sīāhgūš*[3] with the meaning of 'caracal'[4], 'desert lynx' or 'Persian lynx'[5]. The interpretation given by Xalaf Tabrīzī [28, s.v. "sīāhgūš"], Ānand Rāj [2, s.v. 'sīāhgūš'] and other lexicographers of this appellation is the following: '*In Persian parvānak also means sīāhgūš. The sīāhgūš is renowned as šāṭer-e sīr [the herald/forerunner of the lion] because it goes ahead of the lion and cries in order to warn the other animals of the lion's coming*' [14: 245-248]. Hūšang Aʿlam, considering a bayt by Ḳāqānī Šervānī[6], calls this interpretation of Ānand Rāj wrong [14: 245-248]

It is interesting that according to Zakarīyā Qazvīnī (13th century), the Iranians were able to catch caracal, especially when it was young, to use it later in hunting, because it hunted cranes and crows by springing 5 to 6 feet into the air after them, when they rise from the ground [14: 246]

It could be possible that the semantic development of the word, when the name of the animal, maybe as a result of transposition or adjectival nominalization (cf. e.g. Tat. *mārna* "woman" (< Pers. *mādīn* "a female in general", *narna* "man"(< Pers. *nar* "male, masculine") has acquired the meaning of *leader*, is connected with its hunting function, due to the fact that it has always been ahead of the hunting group. Anyhow, the weak point for this interpretation is that *parwānag* by meaning 'caracal' is never mentioned in Middle Persian[7], instead it appears in

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[1] MP *xwadāy* "lord" (18, 95), *bay* "god, lord" (18, 17), *dahibed* "ruler, lord of land" (18, 23) and *šāh* "king" (< Old Persian *xšāyaθiya*-) and *pātaxšāh* "king" (< Old Iranian **pati-xšāyaθiya*- [12]) have not been discussed in the present paper. The etymological connection of last one with Armenian *bdeašx* (about main function of the Armenian *bdeašxes* see A. Hakobyan A. [10/1]) has been seriously put into doubt by G. Kapantsian [14/1].

[2] Written in India by Xalaf Tabrīzī in 1651. In this article, we used the 1997 version republished in Tehran.

[3] In Persian, *sīāhgūš*, lit. 'black-eared,' so called because the back of its long, tufted, black-tipped ears is distinctively black.

[4] The name *caracal* itself comes-ultimately-from Turkish *qara-qūlāq/kara-kūlāk*, lit. 'black-ear(ed),' as a calque of the Persian name [14:245].

[5] The caracal, which ranges from Africa to central and southwestern Asia, occurs widely in Persia: It has been reported from Xūzistān, Fārs, Kermān, the Kavīr region, Balučistan, Xorasan, Šāhrud, and Tehran area [14].

[6] Sire, thou art a lion and I am thy *parvāna*; the *parvāna* is better off under the lion's protection [14].

[7] MP *parvānak* "butterfly", mentioned by Horn, is a homonym, derived from Old Iranian **par*- "to fly" (11, 675-676).

Middle Persian texts only with the meaning of *leader*. As a zoonym, it begins to appear in Classical Persian texts, which may lead one to think that the original meaning of the word was *leader* and in the case of zoonym it is the secondary semantical development. The word *parwānag (prw'nq)* with the only meaning *leader* is attested also in Parthian and Turfan MP and is borrowed from Iranian languages to Arabic and Aramaic [11: 674-675]. Therefore, Nyberg's [21: 152] etymology seems to be correct, according to which the first component of this lexeme could be **parw*, meaning 'in front of, before' (cf. Prth. prw'n [parwān] 'in front of, before, forward' [10: 280].

In Middle Persian there is only one word derived from the root *parwānag,* i.e. *parwānagīh*, which means 'leadership' [18: 65]).

Pēšār and *pēšōbāy*

In the Middle Persian texts **pēšār** means 'leader, guide' [18: 68], the first component of which is Middle Persian *pēš* 'before, ahead, in front of'. The lexeme is derived from Old Persian *paišiya* 'before, ahead' [5: 136]. The second component -ār is a common agentive suffix in Middle Persian, which, being attached to the past stem of verbs, forms a agent nouns e.g. *dādār* 'creator', *frēftār* 'deceiver', *guftār* 'speaker', *hammōxtār* 'learner', *kastār* 'destroyer', *madār* 'comer' etc. But, given that there is no example of amalgamation of ār to nouns or adjectives in Middle Persian, another solution must be sought here: pēšār might have descended from **pēšyār*, with the -y- has been reduced due to the existing of another word in the same phonetic form (a homonym) in Middle Persian - *pēšyār* (< Av. *pairi-fra-harəz* 'to ejaculate sperm' [21: 161]), which means 'urine' [18: 68]. The second component *yār* (< MP *ayār* 'friend') is also found in other compound words, such as *šahryār* 'lord, ruler' [18: 79], *dastyār* 'helper' [18: 25] etc.

The same lexeme, i.e. *pēš* 'before, in front of' is attested also in other compound word *pēšōbāy [pyš(')wp'd]* 'leader, vanguard'[8] [18:68], the second component of which can be related with *pā(y)*[9], meaning 'foot' [11: 778]. According to Horn the vowel *ō* in the middle of word is an anaptyxis between two components and does not have an etymological value [12: 34].

From the point of view of origin and semantic changes this word can be compared with the Old French paonier 'foot-soldier' (> *pionner* in Modern French and English) and the Arabic *qādem* 'vanguard, forehand' (cf. *qadam* 'step'). Moreover, a new phonetical development of the latter is used in the sense of *leader* also in Modern Persian [19, s.v. 'pīšvā'].

Pēšōbāy has been changed to *pēšvā* in Classical Persian and means 'leader, ruler' [28, s.v. 'pēšvā']. *Pīšvā* with the same meaning has usage in Modern Persian [22, s.v. 'pīšvā'].

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[8] Cf. also MP pēšōbāyīh 'leadership' [18, 68].

[9] In the initial position, the shift of MP *b-* to *p-* in NP is a common phenomenon, cf. MP *bizešk* and NP *pezešk* (18, 18), MP *bōzišn* and NP *pōziš* (11, 743-744).

The issue of the using of this word in Middle Persian texts is of high interest. The title *pēšōbāy-i dēn* 'leader of Religion' is mentioned in them, attested in the Abbasid period as *hudēnān pěšōbay*[10] or *wehdēnān pēšōbāy*, 'leader of the faithful [Zoroastrians]' or lit. 'leader of those of the Good Religion'[11]. Mahnaz Moazami by affirming the thesis of M. Boyce [4: 147-149], finds that *hudēnān pěšōbay* is an epithet, possibly in correspondence to the Muslim title *amir al-mo'menin*, 'commander of the faithful' [20: 361].

Sālār 'leader, master' through the regular shift of consonant compound **-rd-* to sonant *-l-* is derived from Old Iranian **sara-dāra-* [13: 72], the first component of which, i.e. **sara-* means 'head' and second component, i.e. **dāra-* is an agent noun consisting of the present stem of the possessive verb *dar* (*dāraya-*) 'have, hold' (cf. Old Persian *dar* 'hold, dwell' [15: 189]) by the suffix *–ā*. In contrast to the word *pēšōbāy*, which has more of the meaning of only religious leader, the Middle Persian *sālār* and Parthian *sardar* [10: 305] both have the meaning of 'chief, head' of any professional group[12]. Anyway, the examination of the semantic fields of sālār and other compound words derived from it in Middle, Classical and Modern Persian, e.g. *sālār* 'commander, commandant, ruler' [9, s.v. 'sālār'], *gundsālār* 'colonel, senior military officer rank used in Sasanid army' [27: 85-86], *sepāhsālār* 'military commander, commander-in-chief' [9, s.v. 'sepāhsālār'] makes it plausible that this lexeme, in time, gradually acquired the meaning of only a military commander.

Middle Persian *sālārīh* 'leadership' is originates from *sālār* with adding suffix *-īh*, which forms abstract nouns in Middle Persian.

The denotants of the concept of "leader" in Arabic

In this section are briefly presented the basic denotants of the concept of "leader" in Arabic language. This is strictly a compilation section which exists for comparative purposes and does not pretend to be complete. It does not include words of Altaic and Iranian origin borrowed into Arabic. It also does not include idiomatic expressions which are very numerous. The denotants will be looked upon root by root in the Latin alphabet order. The main sources used while compiling the list are Baranov's [3] and Lane's [17] dictionaries.

ʔmm: *ʔimām* 'imam, worship leader at the mosque' 'a person, or learned man, whose example is followed, or who is imitated' [17, s.v. "ʔmm"], 'any exemplar,

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[10] According to Ph. Kreyenbroeck, the title *hudēnān pěšōbay* arose as a result of strong administrative changes in Zoroastrian Curch of post-Sasanid Iran period, replacing the title of Sasanian high priest *mōbedān mōbed* [16:160].

[11] Ādurfarrōbay ī Farroxzādān (early 9th century) and Ādurbād ī Ēmēdān (early 10th century), who assembled portions of the Middle Persian Dēnkard 'Acts of the Religion', both were known by the title *hūdēnān pēšōbāy* [6].

[12] Cf. *artēštārān sālār* 'chief of the warriors' as a high-ranking title in Sasanian army [25: 662], *murwīšān sālār* 'head of soothsayers' [7, 43], *axtarmārān sālār* 'head of astronomers' [26: 123-124], *dēn sarðar* 'highpriest' [10: 305].

or object of imitation to a people, or company of men such as a head, chief, or leader, or some other person' [17, s.v.]. The term also may be referred to Muhammad himself: *ʔimām-(al-ʔumma)*. Cf. *ʔamma* 'to pursuit, to come'.

ʔmr: *ʔamīr*, adj., 'ruler, commander, monarch, aristocrat', cf. *ʔamara* 'to command'. Is referred to a military, but not necessarily military, leader. Later, the term has become a formal title and is usually translated into in English as 'prince' (cf. NP *amīr* "commander, ruler, prince" [1, s.v. "amīr"]).

ʕhl: *ʕāhil*, form I active participle, 'chief, master, lord' (cf. NP *ahl* "lord, master", "worthy of" [24, s.v. "ahl"]).

ʕlm: *ʕallāma* 'expert, connoisseur'; N.B.: the noun has tā marbūṭa (*ʕallāmatun*) but is of male gender; cf. *ʕalima* 'to know' (cf. NP *ʕālī̆(/i)m* "learned, intelligent, wise, theoretic" [24, s.v. "ʕālim"]).

ʕmd: *ʕamīd*, adj., 'chieftain, commander', cf. *ʕamada* 'to support, to hold'.

bṭrq/bṭrk: 1. *baṭraq/baṭrak* 'patriarch' (from Greek πατριάρχης), 'a leader of the Christians or the chief of the Magians' [17, s.v.]. 2. *biṭrīq* 'patriarch' from Latin patricius (cf. *pater* 'father') [17, s.v. "bṭrq"], historically a leader of an army.

hdy: *hādin* (or, without tanwīn, *hādi*), form I active participle, 'guide, leader, conductor, director', cf. *hadā* 'to lead'.

ḥkm: *ḥakīm*, adj., 'sage, wise man', cf. *ḥakama* 'to rule' and *ḥakuma* 'to be wise' (cf. NP *ḥāki(/e)m* "commander, ruler, governor" [1, s.v. "ḥāki(/e)m"]).

kbš: *akbuš/akbāš* 'the chief, or lord, of a people, or company of men' [17, s.v. "kbš"].

mlk: *mālik* 'king, lord', cf. *malaka* 'to rule, to manage' (cf. NP *māli(/e)k* "possessor, occupier, lord, master, proprietor, ruler, king" [24, s.v. "mālik"]).

nqb: *naqīb*, adj., 'big man, supervisor, chieftain, tribe leader', cf. *naqaba* 'to dig, to undermine, to sap' (cf. NP *naqīb* "chief, leader, an intelligent person" [24, s.v. "naqīb"]).

qdm: *mutaqaddim*, form V active participle, 'leader', cf. *qadam* 'foot' (cf. NP *qādi(/e)m* "a comer, a man's head, the fore-part of a camel's saddle, a camel's front teat" [24, s.v. "qādim"]).

qṭb: *quṭb* 'leader, magnate, pole, pivot' (cf. NP *qu(/o)ṭb* "an axis, a pivot, a prince, lord, chief, a general, commander" [24, s.v. "quṭb"]).

qwd: *qāʔid*, form I active participle, 'leader, chief', cf. *qāda* 'to lead, to guide, to steer'

rʔs: *raʔīs*, adj., 'leader, chief, master, commander', cf. *raʔs* 'head' (cf. NP *ra'īs* 'head, superior, boss, chairman, chief' [1, s.v. "ra'īs"]).

ršd: *muršid*, form IV active participle, 'teacher, mentor, superior, spiritual guide', cf. *ʔaršada* 'to show the right way' (cf. NP *muršid/moršed* 'teacher, mentor, superior, spiritual guide' [1, s.v. "muršid"]).

syd: *sayyid* 'master, head'; *sāʔid*, form I active participle, 'master, head'; cf. *sāda* 'to be in charge, to rule'.

slṭ: sulṭān 'sultan, lord', cf. sulṭa 'power' (cf. also NP *sulṭān* "ruler, monarch, sovereign, a potentate, sway, emperor, king, absolute power, authority" [24, s.v. "sulṭān"])

ṣdr: *mutaṣaddir*, form V active participle, 'leader', cf. ṣadr 'chest' (cf. NP *ṣadr* "chief, a high official" [24, s.v. "ṣadr"]).

šyx: *šayx* 'elder, cheikh', cf. *šāxa* 'to get old' (cf. NP *šeyx* 'tribal chief, chieftain, big boss, leader' [1; 22, s.v. "šeyx"]).

šrf: *šarīf*, adj., 'noble; descendant of the prophet Muhammad', cf. *šarufa* 'to be noble'.

xdm: *maxdūm*, form I passive participle, 'lord, governor, leader', cf. *xadama* 'to serve' (cf. NP *maxdūm* 'lord, governor, leader, a person whom serve' [1, s.v. maxdūm]).

xlf: *xalīfa* 'khalif, lord', adj., N.B.: the noun has *tā marbūṭa (xalīfatun)* but is of male gender; cf. *xalafa* 'to follow' (cf. NP *xalīf*).

wly: *wālin* (or, without tanwīn, *wāli*), form I active participle, 'ruler'; historically, an administrative term throughout Arabic and Muslim world (cf. NP *valī* "guardian, supervisor, ruler, friend" [22, s.v. 'valī').

zʕm: *zaʕīm* morphologically, an adjective; 'responsible, leader, master, guide', morphologically, and adjective, cf. *zaʕama* 'to be responsible of'.

Summary

In summary, it should be noted that the Middle Persian lexical items of Iranian origin to denote the concept of "leader", mostly, show a clear semantic (etymon) and etymological connection with the words meaning "forward", "front" and head", while in Arabic and New Persian forms borrowed from Arabic there is a pure semantic connection, in the main, with the words and concepts of "knowledge", "wisdom" and "command".

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ՄԻՋԻՆ ՊԱՐՍԿԵՐԵՆՈՒՄ ԵՎ ԱՐԱԲԵՐԵՆՈՒՄ «ԱՌԱՋՆՈՐԴ» ՀԱՍԿԱՑՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԲԱՌԱՅԻՆ ՎԿԱՅՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՇՈՒՐՋ

Արտյոմ Տոնոյան, Արտյոմ Դավիդով

Բանալի բառեր՝ Բանալի բառեր՝ Սասանյան Իրան, միջին պարսկերեն, հետսասանյան Իրան, արաբերեն, առաջնորդ, parwānag, pēšar, pēšōbāy, sālār, ստուգաբանություն, բնիմաստ, իմաստային զարգացում, արաբական փոխառություններ:

Ի տարբերություն նոր պարսկերենի, որտեղ «առաջնորդ» հասկացության համար վկայված, մասամբ այժմ էլ գործածական բառերի մեջ մեծ թիվ են կազմում արաբական փոխառությունները, միջին պարսկերենում նույն հասկացու-

թյան համար վկայված բոլոր բառերն իրանական ծագման են: Հոդվածում ներկայացվել և քննվել են այն բառերը, որոնք միջին պարսկերենում և արաբերենում վկայված են «առաջնորդ, ղեկավար, հրամանատար» նշանակությամբ: Միջին պարսկերենի ընտրությունը պայմանավորված է առաջադրանքով՝ ցույց տալու մինչիսլամական և դեռևս արաբական ուժեղ ազդեցությունից զերծ Սասանյան Իրանում «առաջնորդ» հասկացության հանրային ընկալման առանձնահատկությունները և լեզվային մակարդակում դրա արտահայտությունները: Մյուս կողմից դասական արաբերենի ընտրությունը պայմանավորված է ցույց տալու համար այն հսկայական ազդեցությունը, որ արդեն հետսասանյան շրջանում ունեցել է արաբական աշխարհը իրանցիների՝ «առաջնորդ» հասկացության ընկալման վրա, և հետևաբար, նաև ինքնին արաբերենը՝ լեզվամտածողության մակարդակում՝ ի դեմս «առաջնորդ» հասկացության համար նոր պարսկերենում հայտնված արաբական փոխառությունների: Նոր պարսկերենում «առաջնորդ» հասկացության համար կիրառական արաբական փոխառությունները ներկայացված են հեղինակների՝ սրան նախորդած հոդվածում, որի պատճառով այս նյութը սահմանափակվել է «առաջնորդ» հասկացության նշանակյալները Սասանյան միջին և դասական արաբերենում ներկայացմամբ:

Միջին պարսկերենի բառային նյութը քաղված է Դ. Մաքքենզիի [18], Հ. Ս. Նյուբերգի [21] և Դ. Դուրկին–Մայսթերենսթի [10], իսկ արաբերենինը՝ Բարանովի [3] և Է. Լեյնի [17] բառարաններից: Արաբերեն բառերի հետ համեմատության մեջ դրված պարսկական փոխառությունները քաղված են Դեհխոդայի [9], Ամիդի [1], Մոհինի [19], Շթայնգասսի [24] և Ռուբինչիկի [22] բառարաններից:

Հոդվածում քննության է ենթարկվել միջին պարսկերենում «առաջնորդ» իմաստով վկայված 4 բառ (parwānag, pēšar, pēšōbāy և sālār), որոնք բոլորը ունիկ իրանական ծագում ունեն: Միաժամանակ, «առաջնորդ» հասկացության համար ներկայացվել է արաբական 26 բառ՝ քաղված բառարաններից, որոնց մեծամասնությունը փոխառվել է նաև պարսկերենում, ուստի արաբերեն բառերին զուգահեռ ներկայացված են նաև դրանց՝ պարսկերենում փոխատյալ ձևերը: