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MODERN TRENDS IN THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE

BY

A. SHAKOOR AHSAN

Formerly Chairman, Department of Persian

and

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IRAN PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF PERSIAN STUDIES

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قران السعدين

On the Auspicious Conjunction of

The Quaid-e-Azam Centenary Celebrations

1876-1976

and

The 50th Anniversary of the Pahlavi Reign

1926-1976

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In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

The conception of the establishment of the Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies formalized with the will—will to patronize Learning and promote Culture—of His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr of Iran and His Excellency the President of Pakistan translated in the joint communique of 4th November, 1969.

The Ministry of Culture and Art of Iran and the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research of Pakistan were entrusted with the task of drawing and implementing the project. The goodwill and the zeal of co-operation displayed by the authorities responsible was to such an extent that as soon as the bare outlines of the project emerged clear, preliminary steps were taken to implement it. The nucleus of the Institute was formed in form of a central office at Rawalpindi and it began functioning with no loss of time.

On 23rd October 1971, the Governments of Iran and Pakistan signed the Agreement 'regarding establishment of the Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies in Pakistan.' The Institute stood established.

The Agreement begins : "The Imperial Government of Iran and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan being desirous of strengthening and prepetuating the bonds of cultural, educational and linguistic co-operation between the two countries and with the object of arriving at the greatest possible understanding between them through mutual friendly co-operation in these fields, have decided to conclude this Agreement on co-operation in the fields of Culture and Education."

And the Constitution defines the objectives of the Institute : "Pakistan is the proud possessor of a cultural heritage which has been enriched through centuries by the Persian Language, Literature and Art. In order to preserve and develop this heritage further 'an Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies' shall be established in Pakistan jointly by the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, Government of Pakistan and the Ministry of Culture and Art, Imperial Government of Iran . . . for an indefinite period."

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One of the steps taken towards achieving the above-mentioned objective is to study Persian as an evolving language. Here is a treatise by Dr. A. Shakoor Ahsan, Professor Scholar of Persian and a prominent linguist of Pakistan, which traces the evolution of Persian from the earliest known beginning to the present-day throbing with new life.

It is hoped that this humble contribution will illuminate a rather dim corner of the wealthy wide world of the Pakistani Culture and will present the identity of the Common Cultural Heritage of Iran and Pakistan.

Islamabad, Pakistan
10th July, 1976

Ali A. Jafarey
Director,
Iran Pakistan
Institute of Persian Studies

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To

The Common Spiritual and

Cultural Heritage of

Pakistan and Iran

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CONTENTS

Introduction	*page*	XIII
Transliteration		XV
Abbreviations		XVII
1. Origin and Growth		1
2. New Consciousness		26
3. Towards Simplicity		34
4. Colloquialism		40
5. Western Loanwards		66
6. The Purist Movement		101
7. Farhangistān		111
8. Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Irān		131
9. New Connotations		135
10. Loan-Translation		140
11. Grammatical Changes		148
12. Contribution in the Linguistic Field		158
13. Conclusion		175
Bibliography		181
Index		190
Corrigenda		209

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INTRODUCTION

The contemporary Persian language in Iran is not precisely the same that it was before the advent of modern civilization in that country. It reflects positive changes. This transformation is in consonance with the principle that a living language cannot stay the same ; rather it throbs with a dynamic process of change. Being essentially a part of the cultural behaviour of a people, a language must establish correlation between itself and the changing patterns of their social and cultural life.

In Iran there have been momentous changes in all fields of life. New civilization has changed the traditional structure of society and influenced the conventional patterns of social and cultural behaviour. It has brought new knowledge and introduced new concepts. Life has expanded in all directions and fields and reflects a corresponding change in the language ; in its vocabulary, idiom, verbal patterns and styles, etc.

During the last two hundred years, the Persian language has had to travel a long distance. It is this evolution which invites a detailed survey, analysis and assessment. An effort has been made to study the causes of the sweeping changes, and the momentous part played by the Western impact on Iran. This follows an attempt to study the change in word and idiom, in meaning and structure, in verbal fashion and image.

The change in language in Iran has not been an unconscious process altogether, which is normally associated with a language, but in certain respects a rather conscious, and, even, planned phenomenon. Certain movements like Purism have been inspired by national awareness and pride. Some trends like colloquialism have been philosophized and encouraged to great success. There is evidence of immense interest in the development and expansion of the language both on the State and the individual level ; and of a sense of urgency and speed to meet the challenge. An attempt has been made to discuss these in their historical and social perspective in the present study, which was accepted for the degree of Doctor ofPhilosophy many years ago, but has been expanded and brought up to date in the light of the latest developments.

Literature provides an ideal background to appreciate the evolution of a language. The writer and the poet have played an important role in the development of the Persian language in modern times. If they have tried to bring the spoken

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and the written word closer to each other, they have also made significant contributions in widening the scope of the language and setting new linguistic fashions. It is, therefore, proper to measure the change and understand the development of the Persian language during the last two centuries in the background of contemporary literature, and an attempt has been made in that direction.

My sincere thanks are due to many friends and colleagues for their keen interest and assistance in the publication of this work. I am particularly thankful to Mr. Bahman Habibi, Visiting Professor of Persian in the University of the Punjab for many a profitable discussion I have had with him on modern Persian slang and idiom. My thanks are equally due to Dr. S. H. A. Rasoul, Chairman, Department of French in the Punjab University, for providing me his ungrudging and constant guidance in matters relating to the French language. Last but not least, I have to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Ali A. Jafarey, Director of the Iran-Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, Islamabad, for his kind and constant interest in the publication of this work.

Lahore
July, 1976.

A. SHAKOOR AHSAN

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TRANSLITERATION

ا, آ	a, ā	ز	z	ک	k
ب	b	ژ	zh	گ	g
پ	p	س	s	ل	l
ت	t	ش	sh	م	m
ث	th	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ج	j	ض	ḍ	و	v, ū
چ	ch	ط	ṭ	ه	h
ح	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ء	’
خ	kh	ع	‘	ی	y, ī
د	d	غ	gh	ـَ	a
ذ	dh	ف	f	ـِ	i
ر	r	ق	q	ـُ	u

Certain intimately known words like Iran, Pakistan, Islamabad and Tehran have not been transliterated, except where some of these have been used in compound form (e.g., *Īrān-i Nau* and *Ṭihrān-i Muṣavvar*).

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. H. B. I.	*The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* by J.J. Morier.
A. H. P.	*A Political History of Persia*, 2 vols. by Sir Percy Sykes.
A. I.	*Arzish-i Iḥsāsāt* by Nīmā Yūshīj.
'A. K.	*'Atabatu'l-Kataba* by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kātib, edited by Muḥammad Qazvīnī and 'Abbās Iqbāl.
A. L. M. B.	*Antarī ki Lūtīyash Murda būd* by Sādiq Chūbak.
A. M.	*Ababiyyāt-i Mu'āsir* by Rashīd Yāsamī.
'A. N.	*'Arḍ-nāma* by Afḍalu'd-Dīn Kāshānī, edited by Mujtabā Mīnuvī.
A. T. M. A.	*Aḥsanu't-Taqāsīm fi Ma'rifati'l-Aqālīm* by al-Maqdisī.
B. B. A.	*Barguzīda-yi az Bihtarīn-i Āthār-i Shu'arā-yi Mu'āṣir*, Tehran.
B. M. Q.	*Bīst Maqāla-yi Qazvīnī* by Muḥammad Qazvīnī.
B. Q.	*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*, edited by Muḥammad Mu'īn.
C. D.	*Chashmhā va Dasthā* by Nādir Nādir-pūr.
C. M.	*Chahār Maqāla* by Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, edited by Muḥammad Qazvīnī.
C. M. L.	*A Course in Modern Linguistics* by Charles F. Hockett.
C. O. D.	*The Consise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Oxford.
D.	*Dīvān.*
D. A.	*Dāstānhā va Amthāl* by Amīr Qulī Amīnī.
D. 'A.	*Dānish-nāma-yi 'Alā'ī* by Ibn Sīnā, edited by Mishkāt.
D. F.	*Dīvān-i Farrukhī.*
D. H.	*Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ.*
D. J. Z. F.	*Dastūr-i Jāmi'-yi Zabān-i Fārsi* by 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Humāyūn Farrukh.
D. N.	*Du Nāma* by Nīmā Yūshīj and Shīn Partau.
D. N. K.	*Dīvān-i Nāṣir Khusrau.*
D. P.	*Dabistān-i Pārsī* by Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī.
D. Q.	*The Dynasty of the Qajars*, translated by Sir Harford Jones Brydges.
D. Z. F.	*Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsi* by 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm Qarīb et al.
DAS. Z. F.	*Dastūr-i-Zabān-i Fārsī* by 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm Qarīb.

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F.	*Al-Fihrist* by an-Nadīm.
F. L. 'A.	*Farhang-i Lughāt-i 'Āmīāna* by Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda.
F. Z. I.	*Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān*, Tehran.
G.	*Gulistān* by Sa'dī.
G. G.	*Ganjīna-yi Ganjavī*, edited by Vaḥīd Dastgirdī.
G. S.	*Good Speech* by Walter Ripman.
H. E. L.	*A History of the English Language* by Albert C. Baugh.
Ḥ. K. Q.	*Ḥikāyat-i Khirs-i Quldūr-bāsān* by Fatḥ 'Alī Ākhūnd-zāda, translated by Ja'far Qarāja-dāghī.
Ḥ. M. J.	*Ḥikāyat-i Monsieur Jourdan* by Fatḥ 'Alī Ākhūnd-zāda, translated by Ja'far Qarāja-dāghī.
H. P.	*A History of Persia* by R. G. Watson.
H. P. G.	*Higher Persian Grammar* by D. G. Phillott.
H. P. L.	*History of Persian Literature* by Jan Rypka.
H. T.	*Havā-yi Tāza* by A. Bāmdād.
I.	*Iran* by William Haas.
I. 'A. S.	*Īrān bi 'Ahd-i Sāsānīān* (*Iran Sous Les Sassanides* by Arthur Christensen), translated by Muḥammad Iqbāl.
I. D.	*The Islamic Dynasties* by C. E. Bosworth.
I. K.	*Īrān Kūda*, Tehran.
I. M.	*Īraj Mīrzā*, edited by Muḥammad Ja'far Maḥjūb.
I. M. L.	*An Introduction to Modern Linguistics* by L. R. Palmer.
I. P. P.	*Iran Past and Present* by Donald N. Wilber.
I. Z. S.	*Īrān dar Zamān-i Sāsānīān* (*Iran Sous Les Sassanides* by Arthur Christensen) translated by Rashīd Yāsamī.
J. H.	*Jāmi'u'l-Ḥikmatain* by Nāṣir Khusrau, edited by Muḥammad Mu'īn.
J. P.	*A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809* by I. I. Moriers.
K.	*Les Kadjars* by Edmond Dutemple.
K. M. I.	*Kulliyyāt-i Muṣavvar-i 'Ishqī*, edited by 'Alī Akbar Salīmī.
K. S.	*Kīmiyā-yi Sa'ādat* by al-Ghazālī, edited by Aḥmad Ārām (p. 8).
K. S.	*Kulliyyāt-i-Sa'dī*, edited by Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī (p. 11).
K. T. I.	*Kitābu't-Tanbīh va'l Ishrāf* by Abū'l-Ḥusain 'Alī Mas'ūdī.
L. A.	*Lubābu'l-Albāb* by Muḥammad 'Aufī, edited by Sa'īd Nafīsī.
L C.	*Lūī Chahārdahum* (*Louis XIV* by Alexandre Dumas, translated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mīrzā).
L. F. I	*Lughāt-i Fārsī-yi Ibn Sīnā va Tā'thīr Ānhā dar Adabiyyāt* by Muḥammad Mu'īn.
L. H. P.	*A Litrary History of Persia* by E. G. Browne.

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L. N.	*Lughat-nāma*, edited by 'Alī Akbar Dih-khudā, Muḥammad Mu'īn, and Ja'far Shahīdī.
L. N. D. O.	*Language : Its Nature, Development and Origin* by Otto Jespersen.
L. P.	*The Legacy of Persia*, edited by A. J. Arberry.
L. S. B.	*Das Land und Seine Bewohner*, by J. Polak.
L. S. I.	*Linguistic Survey of India* by Sir George Abraham Grierson
M. A D.	*Majmū'a-yi Ash'ār-i Dih-khudā*, edited by Muḥammad Mu'īn.
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M. P. P. L.	*Modern Persian Prose Literature* by H. Kāmshād.
M. Q. M.	*Munsha'āt-i Qā'im Maqām*, edited by Jahāngīr Qā'im Maqāmī.
M. S.	*Maktab-i Shahryār* (Muḥammad Ḥusain Sharyār, *Dīvān iii*).
M. Z. A. A. R.	*Muḥīṭ-i Zindigānī Va Aḥvāl u Ash'ār-i Rūdakī* by Sa'īd Nafīsī.
N. A.	*Nuzhat-nāma-yi 'Alā'ī* by Shāh Mardān b. Abi'l-Khair.
N. F. M.	*Nathr-i Fārsī-yi Mu'āṣir* by Īraj Afshār.
N. K. N. I.	*Nakhustīn Kungra-yi Navīsandigān-i Īrān*, Tehran.
N. P.	*The New Persia* by Vincent Sheean.
PL.	*Platon* by Albert Hermant.
P. G.	*Persian Grammar* by Ann K. S. Lambton.
P. L.	*The Persian Language* by Reuban Levy.
P. N.	*Pārsī-yi Naghz* by 'Alī Asghar Ḥikmat.
P. P. M. P.	*The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* by E. G. Browne.
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R.	*Rag-shināsī* by Ibn Sina, translated by Ḍīāu'd-Dīn Darī.
RA.	*Rahā* by Farīdūn Tavallulī.

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R. Ḥ. Y.	*Risāla-yi Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān* by Ibn Sina, translated by Abū Manṣūr Zila.
R. T. S.	*A Report on the Translation Seminar*, Franklin publication, Kabul.
S.	*Sabk-shināsī* by Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Muḥammad Taqī Bahār.
SH.	*Shahryār, Dīvān* (*i, ii*) by Muḥammad Ḥusain Shahryār.
Ṣ. A.	*Ṣūratu'l-Arḍ* by Ibn Ḥauqal.
S. F.	*Safar-nāma-yi Farangistān* by Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh Qājār.
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S. M. S. S.	*Safar-nāma-yi Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī* by Ismā'īl Rā'īn.
S. N. F. M.	*Shāhkārhā-yi Nathr-i Fārsī-yi Mu'āṣir* by Sa'īd Nafīsī.
S. O. D.	*The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.*
S. Q. K.	*Si Qaṭra-yi Khūn* by Ṣādiq Hidāyat.
T. 'A. Ḥ.	*Tārīkh-i 'Aṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ* by Qāsim Ghanī.
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T. Ṭ.	*Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, translated by Abū ʻAlī Muḥammad Balʻamī.
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T. T. N. N.	*Mukhtaṣarī dar Taḥavvul-i Naẓm u Nathr-i Pārsī* by Dhabīḥu'llāh Ṣafā.
V. L.	*Vazīr-i Lankurān* by Ākhūnd-zāda Fatḥ ʻAlī Darbandī, translated by Jaʻfar Qarāja-dāghī.
V. N.	*Vāzhahā-yi Nau*, a *Farhangistān-i Īran* publication.
W. W.	*The World of Words* by Eric Partridge.
Y. P. D.	*Yād-nāma-yi Pūr-i Dāvūd* (Commemorative volume).
Y. Y.	*Yakī Būd Yakī Na-būd* by Muḥammad ʻAlī Jamāl-zāda.
Z. F.	*Mabāḥith-i Adabī va Hunarī dar bāra-yi Zabān-i Fārsī* by Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī.
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Z. P.	*Zabān-i-Pāk* by Aḥmad Kasravī, edited by Yaḥyā Dhakā.
Z. Z.	*Zabān-shināsī va Zabān-i Fārsī* by Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī.

JOURNAL AND NEWSPAPERS

A.	*Armaghān*, Tehran.
A. P.	*Āmūzish u Parvarish*, Tehran.
B.	*Bākhtar*, Iṣfahan.
DN.	*Dānish*, Tehran.
FI.	*Firdausī*, Tehran.
F. I.	*Farhang-i Īran-Zamīn*, Tehran.
F. T.	*Furūgh-i Tarbīat*, Tehran.
G. R. R.	*Gulhā-yi-Rang Rang*, Tehran.
H. H.	*Haft Hunar*, Tehran.
H. M.	*Hunar u Mardum*, Tehran.
IR.	*Īrān-shahr*, Berlin.
IṬ.	*Iṭṭilāʻāt*, Tehran.
IṬ. B.	*Ittilāʻāt-i Bānūān*, Tehran.
I. I.	*Īrān-i Imrūz*, Tehran.
I. N.	*Īrān-i Nau*, Tehran.
J. I.	*Javānān-i Imrūz*, Tehran.
J. R. A S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
KA.	*Kāva*, Berlin.

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KAI.	*Kaihān*, Tehran.
KAV.	*Kāviyān*, Tehran.
KH.	*Khvāndanīhā*, Tehran.
M.	*Mihr*, Tehran.
MA.	*Mardum*, Tehran.
MT.	*Muḥīṭ*, Tehran.
MU.	*Musīqī*, Tehran.
M. D. A. M.	*Majalla-yi Dānish-kada-yi Adabiyyāt (u 'Ulūm-i-Insānī)*, Mashhad.
M. D. A. T.	*Majalla-yi Dānish-kada-yi Adabiyyāt (u 'Ulūm-i-Insānī)*, Tehran.
M. E. J.	*Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C.
M. T. T.	*Majalla-yi Ta'līm u Tarbīat*, Tehran.
N. A. F. B.	*Nashriya-yi Anjuman-i Farhang-i Īrān-i Bāstān*, Tehran.
N. D. 'A.	*Nāma-yi Dānish-Sarā-yi 'Ālī*, Tehran.
N. D. A. T.	*Nashriyya-yi Dānish-kada-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tabriz.
N. F.	*Nāma-yi Farhang*, Tehran.
N. FN.	*Nāma-yi Farhangistān*, Tehran.
N. M.	*Nāma-yi Mardum*, Tehran.
N. S.	*Nasīm-i Shimāl*, Tehran.
P.	*Parcham*, Tehran.
PM.	*Paimān*, Tehran.
PT.	*Pashūtan*, Tehran.
P. NA.	*Payām-i Nau*, Tehran.
R. F.	*Raushan-Fikr*, Tehran.
R. I.	*Rādyū Īrān*, Tehran.
R. K.	*Rāh-namā-yi Kitāb*, Tehran.
SN.	*Sukhan*, Tehran.
Ṣ. I.	*Ṣūr-i Israfīl*, Tehran.
S. R. A. R.	*Sāl-nāma-yi Āryān*, Tehran.
S. S.	*Sifīd u Sīāh*, Tehran.
Ṭ. H.	*Ṭūfān-i Haftigī*, Tehran.
T. L. S.	*Times Litrary Supplement*, London.
T. R.	*Taḥqīqāt-i Rūz-nāma-nigārī*, Tehran.
Y.	*Yādgār*, Tehran.
YA.	*Yaghmā*, Tehran.
Z. R.	*Zan-i Rūz*, Tehran.

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ORIGIN AND GROWTH

The Iranian language belongs to the Indo-Persian group of the Indo-European family of languages.[1] This family includes the Indo-Iranian, Anatolian (Hittite, etc.), Armenian, Albanian, Baltic-Slavonic, Greek, Italic, Celtic, and Germanic groups. Each group started as a single language, but later split up into many members.

The Indo-Iranian Group may be further divided into two groups. One consists of the Iranian languages, and the other includes the languages of Pakistan and Northern India, ancient Sanskrit, as well as Singhalese in Ceylon.

The Iranian Group : This includes all the languages which have been current in the vast Iranian plateau stretching from the Pamir region in the east to the eastern border of Iraq in the west. The Aryan tribes migrated to it in successive waves in different ages.

These languages are divided into the Old, Middle and Modern Iranian groups.

1. The Old Group includes the Avestan, Old Persian and Median.
2. The Middle Group includes Parthian, Pahlavi, Soghdian, Khvarazmian and Khotanese.
3. The Modern Group includes Persian (*Fārsī*) and many dialects.

MODERN PERSIAN

Iran was divided into many linguistic regions in early Muslim times. According to 'Abdu'llāh b. al-Muqaffa' (d. 142/760), as quoted by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq an-Nadīm (d. 385/995), the main languages of the country were Pahlavi, *Darī*, *Fārsī*, *Khūzī* and

1 This is not an ideal name. It should mean the languages of Europe and India. But there are languages, both in Europe and India, to which the term Indo-European does not apply. Basque and Finnish in Europe, and the Dravidian languages in India, do not belong to this family. Again, there are other members of this group outside Europe and India, namely, Pakistani, Iranian, Afghan, Armenian and Anatolian (now included in the present group—hence the term Indo-Hittite). However, in the absence of an ideal name, the term Indo-European is used to signify all the descendants of the parent Aryan language known as the Proto-Aryan.

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Suryānī (Syriac).[1] We learn from *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān* (621/1224) of Yāqūt al-Ḥamavī (574/1178—626/1220)[2] that the linguistic description given by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' was reproduced almost verbatim by Ḥamza bin al-Ḥasan of Iṣfahān (280/893—360/970) in *Kitābu't-Tanbīh 'alā Ḥudūthit-Taṣḥīf*.

Apart from the above-mentioned languages, a large number of dialects existed in the country, and some of these had close affinity with one another. Many of these dialects have been mentioned by geographers of the early Muslim period. Al-Maqdisī (c. 336/947--380/990) has mentioned the dialects of Ṭabaristān, Qūmis, Gurgān, and Arān.[3] He has also made a reference to a group of dialects spoken in the north-west of Irāq-i 'Ajam.[4] Ibn Ḥauqal (d. after 367/977) has taken note of the dialect of Ādharbāījān,[5] and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 346/957) has spoken of the Qufs dialect prevalent in the region of Kirmān.[6] These writers have also taken notice of Soghdian and Khvarazmian.[7] Apart from these, more than thirty dialects including *Kurdī*, *Lurī*, and *Rāzī* have been mentioned in books written between the 3rd/9th and 7th/13th centuries.[8]

The present language *Fārsī*, named Modern Persian or New Persian by Irānists, is the developed form of the language known as *Darī* to the above-mentioned writers. What has been described as *Fārsī* (originally *Pārsīk*) by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', was the language of priests, scholars, and the like[9] in the province of Fārs or old Pārsa. Later, however, *Pārsī* or *Fārsī* came to signify Iranian.[10] This connotation takes its root from the fact that Fārs, on account of its age-old cultural importance, became synonymous with the whole of Iran, just as Pārsa (Greek *Persis*) had, on account of its great political significance, come to signify the whole country and given birth to the word Persia.

The evidence of *Darī* and *Fārsī* as being one and the same language is amply manifest in the following couplets composed in different ages :

دل بدان یافتی از من که نکو دانی خواند مدحت خواجهٔ آزاده بالفاظ دری[11]

You have captured my heart, because you can gracefully recite in praise of my noble Lord in *Darī*.

1 *F.*, p. 19.
2 Op. cit., vol. vi, pp. 406-407.
3 *A. T. M. A.*, p. 368.
4 Ibid., p. 398.
5 *Ṣ.A.*, p. 299.
6 *M.M.*, p. 99.
7 Ibid., p. 175 ; *A. T. M. A.*, pp. 334-335 ; *Ṣ. A.*, p. 403.
8 *Z. Z.*, pp. 81-85.
9 *F.*, op. cit.
10 *A. T. M. A.*, pp. 448-449.
11 *D. F.*, p. 400.

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من آنم که در پای خوکان نریزم مر این قیمتی در لفظ دری را[1]

I am one who would not cast these precious pearls of *Darī* before swines.

نظامی که نظم دری کار اوست دری نظم کردن سزاوار اوست[2]

Niẓāmī, who fondly pursues the art of poesy in *Darī*, deserves to sing his heart's desire in that language.

زمن به حضرت آصف که میبرد پیغام که یاد گیر دو مصرع ز من بنظم دری[3]

Who will convey my message to the Āṣaf of the realm to comprehand a line from my *Darī* lyric.

The transformation from *Darī* to *Pārsī* or *Fārsī* dates back to the period of the Iranian Renaissance, that is the 3rd/9th century. Bal'amī, in the introduction to his famous translation of *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* rendered in 352/963, uses the word Pārsī instead of *Darī* :

این تاریخ نامهٔ بزرگ است گرد آوردهٔ ابو جعفر محمد بن جریر یزید الطبری رحمة الله که ملک خراسان ابو صالح منصور بن نوح فرمان داد دستور خویش ابو علی محمد بن محمد بن البلعمی را که این تاریخ نامه را که از آن پسر جریر است پارسی گردان هرچه نیکوتر، چنانکه اندروی نقصانی نیفتد . . . جهد و ستم برخویشتن نهادم و این را پارسی گردانیدم.[4]

This large historical work was compiled by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr Yazīd at-Ṭabarī, may God bless him, with regard to which the ruler of Khurāsān Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr b. Nūḥ had thus ordered his Minister Abū' 'Ali Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Bal'amī : "This is the book of history written by the son of Jarīr. Render it into *Pārsī* in the finest possible shape, free from all blemish". . . I toiled and laboured and rendered the book into *Pārsī*.

Similarly, the language of the poems of Muḥammad b. Vaṣīf (3rd/9th century) and his contemporaries, sung in praise of Ya'qūb b. Laith (254/868--265/878), has been described as *Darī* in *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (c. 444/1052).[5] *Darī* and Pārsī were synonymous and interchangable words even in the 6th/12th century :

. . . . تا بدین ایام مملکت سامانیان و دیلمیان و صفاریان که بتدریج بپارسی نوشتن گرفتند و بر درگاه ملوک بازار زبان دری نفاق یافت.[6]

. . . . till the times of the Samanids, Dalamites and Saffarids, when *Pārsī* was gradually adopted as a written language, and *Darī* gained currency in the royal courts.

1 *D. N. K.*, p. 14.
2 *G. G.*, p. 61.
3 *D. H*, p. 315.
4 Cf. *S.*, vol. i, p. 291.
5 Op. cit., p. 210.
6 *'A. K.*, p. 2.

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Darī was spoken in the eastern parts of Iran,[1] Tājīkān, Afghanistan and Turkistān. "A certain part of the New Persian vocabulary," says H. W. Bailey, "has been derived from Soghdian."[2] This tends to confirm the view expressed by early Muslim writers. Ibn Ḥauqal states that *Darī*, the language of the people of Bukhārā, is the same as *Sughdī*, except that they have altered and corrupted certain words.[3] This statement has been fully corroborated by al Iṣṭakhrī.[4] Al-Maqdisī attributes a distinct character to Soghdian, but he is not slow to trace close similarity between this language and the rustic dialact of Bukhārā.[5] At one time the Muslim converts of that city even said their prayers in *Darī*.[6] Even Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' and Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan, who have associated the word *Darī* with the royal court at Ctesiphone, the capital of the Sasanian empire (A.D. 226—552), admit its predominantly eastern character.[7]

The eastern origin of *Darī* is further established on the irrefutable evidence of history. It was in the eastern regions that *Darī* literature made its early beginning in the 3rd/9th century as a part of the national revival under the patriotic guidance and munificent patronage of independent Iranian princes, and from here the currents flowed into the rest of the country, till *Darī* literature swept the land with its rich and noble traditions during the Saljūq period (429/1037—552/1157), and *Darī* became the main language of the country. The earliest poets, to wit, Muḥammad b. Vaṣīf and Muḥammad b. Mukhallid, both of Sīstān, Ḥanẓala of Bādghīs (d. about 219/834), Maḥmūd Varrāq of Harāt (d. 221/836), and Fīrūz Mashriqī (d. 283/896) all belong to the east. So do all the prose writers of the 4th/10th century.

Though the earliest works of *Darī* belong to the post-Muslim period, yet it has a close affinity with the Middle Group; while the origin of many words may be traced back to the Old Group. Some words of Median origin in Modern Persian may be mentioned as under :

Median	*Modern Persian*	
asan	sang	(stone)
khshāyathiya	shāh	(king)
mitra/mithra	mihr	(sun)
vazraka	buzurg	(great)

These words appear in cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian period (B.C. 550—330), and their Median origin is established through the application of specific linguistic principles.

1 (*a*) *A. T. M. A.*, p. 335. (*b*) *Ṣ. A.*, op. cit. (*c*) *M. M.*, op. cit.
2 "The Persian Language", *L. P.*, p. 188.
3 Op. cit.
4 Op. cit.
5 Op. cit., pp. 334-335.
6. *T B*, p. 47.
7 (*i*) *F.*, op. cit. (*ii*) *M. B.*, op. cit.

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A few words of Modern Persian which may be traced back to Avestan and Old Persian are cited below :

Avestan	*Old Persian*	*Modern Persian*	
dva	dva	du	(two)
draoga	drauga	durūgh	(lie)
mana	manā	man	(I)
tum	tuvam	tu	(you)

The primitive prefixes of a few verbs may be reproduced below :

Primitive Prefix		*Persian form of Prefix*		*Examples*	
Av. (Avertan) a O.P. (Old Persian) a	(to, towards)	ا	A	āvardan	(to bring)
Av.— paiti O.P.— pati	(towards, to, near to)	پذ	padh	padhīruftan	(to accept)
		پژ	pazh	pazhmurdan	(to wither)
		پی	pai	paivastan	(to join)
Av.— pairi O.P.—pari	(round, around)	پر	par	parvardan	(to nourish)
Av.— fra O.P.— fra	(before)	فر	far, fir	farmūdan	(to bid, order)
Av.— ni O.P.— ni	(low, down)	ن	nu, nei	navishtan	(to write)
Av.— ham O.P.—ham	(together)	ان	an	andākhtan	(to throw)

The close kinship of Modern Persian with the Middle Group may be illustrated in the following instances :

Parthian	*Pahlavi*	*Modern Persian*	
āfrivan	āfrin	āfrīn	(bravo, applause)
bar	dar	dar	(in)
cafār	cahār	chahār	(four)
das	dah	dah	(ten)
padgām	paigām	paighām	(message)
pavāg	pāk	pāk	(clean, pure)
puhr	pus	pisar	(son)
shahrdār	shahryār	shahryār	(king, sovereign)
yud	zudī	judā	(separate)
zīvandag	zīndag	zinda	(alive)

In grammatical system *Darī* is vastly different from Avestan and Old Persian and is close to the Middle Group. In the Old Group the inflection of verbs and nouns has

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the same pattern as Vedic Sanskrit.[1] There is a nominal system of eight cases. There are three numbers—singular, dual, and plural. Similarly there are three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter. The endings of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns in each case vary in the light of their number or gender. The verbal system of these languages is highly complex and is, in general, identical with Sanskrit.[2] In mode, tense and voice, and in their conjugation system, these languages are generally in accord with each other. In *Darī* the grammatical system has been simplified. The verbal system has now shed off its rich complexity. The old classification into three genders has also been dropped.

This change is in keeping with the general principle that languages have a progressive trend,[3] and there is a constant tendency towards simplicity. It also confirms, what Eric Partridge calls, a movement towards flexionless languages.[4] The grammar of spoken modern Greek has got rid of many complications of the language of Homer or of Demosthenes. Russian has a simpler grammatical structure than Old Slavonic. Modern English syntax has much greater logical simplicity than Old English. No wonder if the structure of Modern Persian has moved towards simplicity and regularity. The memory is not burdened now by the number of flexional endings as in the case of the Old Group or as in Greek, Latin and Gothic. The forms are generally shorter and economical. Words of many syllables and many flexions have given way to easily-grouped words of few syllables. There is a greater facility of expression through a large number of combinations and constructions.

It is, however, the sum total of changes which establishes the progressive character of a modern language in comparison with its remote past; for not all changes are in the right direction. For example, the number of Iranian verbs has been gravely reduced in Modern Persian, and a large number of Persian words has gradually perished under the impact of new historical forces.

During the first two centuries of Arab rule the Persian language and literature made little progress ; but a large number of words, both Persian and Arabic, entered the language in the process of its evolution. Similarly, due to reduction of Iranian verbs, compound verbs were frequently formed by combining verbs with Arabic

1 The common origin of the Old Group, especially Avestan and Sanskrit and the degree of their close kinship is revealed through a study of comparative grammer, i.e. by an intercomparison of the grammatical forms of kindred languages in accordance with certain laws which regulate the phonetic changes of letters. There are passages in Gathas, for instance, which through the application of these laws could be turned into good Vedic Sanskrit! George Abraham Grierson, *L. S. I.*, vol. x, p. 2.

2 The first scholarly comparison of Sanskrit grammar with that of Greek, Latin, Persian and German was made by Francis Bopp in A.D. 1816. In A.D. 1833 he published the first volume of his invaluable *Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Slavonic and German.*

3 *L. N. D. O.*, p. 326.

4 *W. W.*, p. 110.

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nomina verbi, verbal adjectives, *nomina agentis*, or *nomina patientis*, and they represent the Persian equivalents of Arabic verbal forms.

Though Modern Persian has not undergone any fundamental change since the earliest times, yet as a living language it could not remain unchanged or static. We come across certain changes in vocabulary, meanings, phonetics, morphology, and even grammar. The Arabic influence increased with the passage of time ; but before undertaking an elaborate survey of Arabic, and to some extent, Turkish influence—an essential prerequisite to appreciate modern trends in the Persian language—a brief reference may be made to changes within the language itself.

VOCABULARY

The vocabulary of a living language is never static or stationary. While new words are born under the interaction of social and cultural forces, some old words wither and perish. The Persian language showed signs of increasing vitality during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, when the process of introducing and coining new scientific and philosophical terms was initiated by famous thinkers and scholars who, although in the tradition of the age, adopted Arabic for their philosophical and scientific works, yet tried to widen the scope of their own language by introducing new indigenous terms in their Persian writings. Bu 'Alī Sīnā (370/980—428/1037) has used more than one thousand new Persian terms relating to logic, medicine, etc., in *Rag-shināsī, Dānish-nāma-yi 'Alā'ī* and certain other works.[1] Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī (362/973—440/1048) has adopted the same practice of coining new astronomical terms in *At-Tafhīm* (420/1029). Similar instances may be found in Nāṣir Khusrau's (394/1004-481/1088) *Zādu'l-Musāfirīn* (453/1061) and Ghazāli's (450/1058—505/1111) *Kīmiyā-yi Sa'ādat*. It was during the Safavid period (907/1502—1148/1736), however, that this creative work fell into incompetent hands.[2]

What further promoted the cause of Persian in the face of the rising Arabic influence, was ignorance on the part of certain ruling princes of Arabic language, which enjoyed monopoly of expression in the field of sciences and philosophy till the Mongol invasion in the 7th/13th century. Ya'qūb b. Laith refused to encourage Arabic poetry which he did not understand.[3] Ibn Sīnā had been asked by his Buvaihid patron 'Alāu'd-Daula (d. 433/1042) to pay attention to his own language, Persian;[4] and presumably a similar motive impelled al-Bīrūni to render *at-Tafhīm* into Persian for a certain lady Raiḥāna of Khvārazm.[5] Both rendered eminent service to the cause of the Persian language by adding to it a large number of new expressions, and in fact

1 Muḥammad Mu'in, "*Zabān-i Fārsī va Mafāhīm-i Tāza*," *R. K.*, Tehran, yr. iv, no. ii, p. 102.
2 Ibid.
3 *T. S.*, pp. 209-212.
4 *N. 'A.*, fol. 14.
5 Op. cit., Introduction.

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pioneered the movement which aimed at enriching its vocabulary, both technical and otherwise. These words, mainly in compound form, which is particularly suited to the genius of the Persian language, afforded an excellent opportunity to express new ideas. Moreover single words assumed new metaphorical meanings and idiomatic connotations.

Here is a specimen from the large number of words found in the writings of the great savants of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries which have been translated from Arabic both in compound and single word-forms :

Arabic	*Persian*	
مربع	چهار سو[1]	(square)
عدم قبول	نا پذیرائی[2]	(non-acceptance)
مثلث	سه سو[3]	(triangle)
قابل حرکت	جنبش پذیر[4]	(movable)
منبع	آب خیز گاه[5]	(source)
صامت	نا گویا[6]	(silent)
طالب علم	دانشجو[7]	(student)
سیاره	رونده[8]	(planet, wanderer)
بصیر	بینا[9]	(one who can see, clear-sighted)
اثیم	بزه کار[10]	(sinner, sinful)
تحریک	انگیزش[11]	(excitation, stimulation, instigation)
نفس	خود[12]	(self)
ظهور	پیدائی[13]	(appearance)

Some of these old translations like *dānish-jū* have attained great popularity in modern times, while others have set a model for the later ages. The services rendered by the old masters are truly inestimable, especially, as they have shown light to the present-day writer and scholar.

The 7th/13th century, by which time the Persian literary and scientific genius had blossomed into full shape, witnessed the terrible Mongol cataclysm. Besides the other

1 *D. 'A.*, (*Ṭab'iyyat*), p. 35.
2 Ibid., p. 132.
3 Ibid., (*Ilāhiyyāt*).
4 Ibid., p. 120.
5 *R. Ḥ. Y.*, p. 43.
6 Ibid., p. 55.
7 *J. Ḥ.*, p. 11.
8 Ibid., p. 12.
9 *K. S.*, p. 111.
10 Ibid., p. 121.
11 *'A. N.*, p. 148.
12 Ibid., p. 65.
13 *M. K.*, p. 5.

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tragic occurances of far greater import of socio-political nature, the Persian language also suffered ; because this great upheaval resulted, in course of time, in the elimination of many beautiful Persian words and idioms. The result of this impact was felt when the old structure of vocabulary gradually underwent a change, and a new tradition was set up to introduce Mongol and Turkish words into the Persian language.

ARCHAIC WORDS

Every language has archaic words. It seems that words have to fight for their survival just as any other species. Those which do not respond to the requirements—semantic, phonetic or aesthetic—of a particular age, face extinction. They may also die owing to the political or cultural dominance of the language of the conquering race. Amongst archaic Persian words a few may be mentioned. *Īdūn* and *īdhar* which occur frequently in the literary works of the Sāmānid period (261/874—389/999), such as *Tārīkh-i Bal'amī* (352/963) and *Ḥudūdu'l-'Ālam* (372/983), were discarded as early as the 5th/11th century. Similarly, words like *mar* and *hamī* are much less frequently used in the 6th/12th century book *Chahār Maqāla* (c. 550/1155) than in the earlier works. *Anausha* has been frequently used by Firdausī (c. 329/941—c. 411/1020) in his *Shāh-nāma* meaning 'eternal', but has been obsolete now for centuries The following couplet may be cited as a specimen :

کشاده دلان را بود بخت یار انوشه کسی کو بود بردبار[1]

Destiny favours the large-hearted ; the forbearing are eternal.

Yāzīdan in *Shāh-nāma* means to draw together ; to intend :

گر آیدت روزی به چیزی نیاز بدست و بگنج بخیلان میاز[2]

If you are ever in need, do not covert the support and treasure of the miserly.

Some other verbs which have gone out of use include *nishāstan*, (to cause to sit) ; *dūsīdan* (to cling) ; *lakhshīdan* (to slide) ; and *chaghīdan*, (to seek, to try), etc.

PHONETIC AND ORTHOGRAPHIC CHANGES

We come across certain phonetic changes in the language. Amongts vowels we find that *ō* (*vāv-i majhūl*) and *ē* (*yā-yi majhūl*) no longer exist in Persian, though they are old Iranian sounds and existed, not only in the Old and Middle Groups, but also in Darī Persian for centuries. Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī (597/1201—672/1274) considers *vāv* in شور as *vāv-i majhūl*,[3] which will, thus, read as *shōr* and not *shūr*. It has, however,

1 Op. cit., vol. viii, p. 2348.
2 Ibid., p. 2396.
3 *T. I. 'A. F.*, p. 61.

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lingered in many dialects. As regards *ē*, it existed during the 4th/10th century and even later.[1] It has survived only in certain dialects like *Kurdī* and *Lurī*.[2]

Changes have taken place in the shape of words. Bahār has drawn attention to the 5th/11th century Ms. *Iskandar-nāmā* in which certain words contain vowel-points here and there. These reveal the change which has occurred in short vowel-sounds in certain words. A few examples may be cited :

Old	*New*	
pusar	pisar	(son)
bufarmūd	bifarmūd	(ordered, said)
suvār	savār	(rider, horseman)
juvān	javān	(young)
dubīr	dabīr	(writer, secretary)
durīgh	dirīgh	(denial, regret)
padar	pidar	(father)[3]

Consonant د (d) has replaced ذ (dh) known as *dhāl-i Mu'jama*, or dotted *dhāl*, as for instance in the following cases :

Old	*New*	
būdh	būd	(was)
farmūdha	farmūda	(ordered, bidden)[4]

The old form lingerred till the 5th/11th century.[5]

Some other changes may be noted, as for example, *chughandar* (beet, beetroot) was originally *chugandar* ;[6] and *zhulīda* (dishevelled, intricate) is derived from *shulīda*.[7]

GRAMMAR

A few changes may be noted in grammar. To begin with the pronoun, we find that till the 6th/12th century *oo* and *vai* (he, she) were employed for inanimate objects also.

The following sentence may serve as a specimen :

و چون شعر بدین درجه نباشد تاثیر او را اثر نبود[8]

And when poetry does not attain this standard, it will produce little effect.

1 *S.*, vol. i, pp., 192-193.
2 *D. Z. F.*, p. 13.
3 Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 147-148.
4 *T. Ṭ.*, p. 41.
5 Cf. *R.*
6 *S.*, p. 201.
7 Ibid., p. 360.
8 *C. M.*, p. 47.

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The practice was discarded in the 7th/13th century, but it lingered in such important works as *Gulistān* :

تا تشنه و بیطاقت بسر چاهی رسید، قومی بر او گرد آمده[1]

Thirsty and exhausted, he reached a well which was flocked by people.

In plural formations, apart from the Arabic influence, the words ending with *alif*, whether of Arabic or Persian origin, take on the plural sign *ān* instead of the present *yān*. Thus, we have *dānāān* and *bīnāān* instead of dānāyān (the wise) and bīnāyān (the clear-sighted).[2]

The same holds true of the *mīm* of prohibition, which did not take on the additional *yā* with the use of verbs beginning with *alif*; for example, *mayāzār* (do not torment) and *mayafgan* (do not throw) would be written as *maāzār* and *maafgan*.

Yā-yi majhūl denoted past imperfact till the 7th/13th century when the present method of prefixing *mī* to the verb grew more popular :

و هو رسولی را که فرستادندی از حکم و رموز و لغز مسائل با او همراه کردندی[3]

And with every ambassador whom they despatched, they used to send wise sayings, riddles and enigmatic questions.

Similarly, it was used in the verb of condition.

اما بایستمی که امیر جعفر را بدیدی[4]

But I should have seen Amīr Ja'far.

The past perfect *būda būd* (had been) was formed from the infinitive *būdan* (to be) until the 9th/15th century. It still lingers in isolated cases in the east and south of Iran.[5] In the 7th/13th century, the now archaic *bāshidan* had also acquired a vogue. From these infinitives, *buvad* was used as an aorist and present tense, and *bāshad* as future tense.[6] *Namūdan* (to show, appear), *kardan* (to do, perform), and *gashtan* (to be, move, walk, etc.) have been used in early Persian not merely as auxiliary, but also as independent verbs.[7]

ARABIC INFLUENCE

The profound influence of the Arabic language on Persian in its vocabulary, word-patterns, linguistic fashions, and literary styles deserves close attention. The inter-mixture of the two races was bound to have an impact on their respective languages.

1 *K. S.*, p 109.
2 *S.*, p. 61.
3 *C. M.*, p. 40.
4 *T. S.*, p. 316.
5 *S.*, vol. i , p. 353.
6 *T. S* , p. 13.
7 *S* , pp. 320-321, 325.

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In this struggle for supremacy Arabic won the day; as it was not only the language of the rulers, but also of the Holy Book, *Ḥadīth*, religious law, and later, of the great intellectual movement of the early 'Abbāsid period (132/750—656/1258). In the 2nd/8th century, Arabic had become indispensable for the acquisition of knowledge in the famous centres of learning as Balkh, Harāt, Bukhārā, Dāmghān, and many other cities,[1] with the result that even the emerging independent Iranian dynasties could not bypass the Arabic influence. In fact the Buvaihids (320/932—447/1055) showed a marked preference for Arabic. So strong was the spell of Arab culture that Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād (326/936–385/995), the famous Buvaihid Minister, would not look into the mirror for fear of confronting a Magian.[2] Even the Ṣaffārids (254/867—290/903), who became the symbol of Iranian nationalism, accepted Arabic as their court language.[3] Many Iranian poets composed Arabic poetry in this era.[4] The Ghaznavid period (351/962—582/1186) marks a further rise in the Arabic influence. So much so, that out of a total of two hundred and thirty eight works, Ibn Sīnā wrote only one book, *Dānish-nāma-yi 'Alā'ī*, and twenty three treatise, besides a poem of sixty five couplets, in Persian.[5] Even Firdausī, who did more than any single individual to revive the national tradition, boasted of his knowledge of the Arabic lore :

بسی رنج دیدم بسی گفته خواندم ز گفتار تازی و از پهلوانی[6]

Much have I toiled, and much have I studied of the
Tāzī (Arabic) and Pahlavi lore.

As regards the royal attitude, it is significant to note, that inspite of his lavish patronage of Persian literature, Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (387/997—421/1030) replaced Persian with the Arabic language after the downfall of his Minister Abu'l-'Abbās Faḍl b. Aḥmad (d. 404/1014) in 401/1011.

During the Sāmānid and Ghaznavid periods Arabic was taught in educational institutions of all types. When the celebrated Saljūq Prime Minister Niẓāmu'l-Mulk (c. 408/1017—485/1092) founded a chain of colleges in Nīshāpūr, Balkh, Harāt, Khvāf, Āmul, and Iṣfahān, besides the famous Niẓāmiyya at the metropolitan Baghdād itself, Arabic enjoyed fundamental importance in the curricula of these institutions. He even restored the position of Arabic as the language of the *Dīvān*. Besides, being the

1 *S. F. I. M. Z.*, p. 39.
2 'Abbās Iqbāl, "*Fārsī-yi Sākhtagī*," *M.*, yr. i, no. vi, p. 437.
3 *S.*, op. cit., p. 164.
4 Tha'ālibī of Nīshāpūr (d. 428/1036) has taken note of Persian poets of the Arabic language in his four-volumed *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* (c. 384/994), three of which deal with the poets who enjoyed the patronage of the Sāmānids, Buvaihids and Ziyārids (316/928—434/1042).
5 *S. F. I. M. Z*, p. 411.
6 Op. cit. vol. ii, p. 270.

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language of religion, science and philosophy since the earliest Muslim times, Arabic was now regarded in Iran as the hallmark of an educated citizen. It was considered distasteful, if not rustic, to write Persian without a fair use of Arabic vocabulary. Strengthened in this belief 'Unṣuru'l-Ma'ālī Kaikāūs (b. 412/1021), the author of *Qābūs-nāma* (475/1082), dismissed as insipid, the language which lacked a flourish of Arabic.[1] It became fashionable to display one's knowledge of the Arabic language and literature, which led to a bombastic and pedantic style on the one hand, and a massive infiltration of Arabic words on the other. The phenomenal rise of Arabic vocabulary in the 6th/12th century was due as much to fashion, intellectual snobbery, and love of pedantry and rhetorics, as to what Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Bahār calls its structural qualities.[2] Not only words, but also Arabic phrases, proverbs, and verses overwhelmed Persian, with the result that the Arabic element, which had not exceeded five per cent of the total vocabulary in Persian prose works in the 4th/10th century, and was primarily confined to religious, administrative, and scientific fields, had risen to more than fifty per cent by the end of the 5th/11th century, and shot up to eighty per cent in the 6th/12th, 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. The torrent of word-borrowing from Arabic submerged for good some fine Persian vocabulary, as may be noticed in *Tārīkh-i Baihaqī* (448/1056) and other works of the Ghaznavid period. Poets of the Saljūq period took pride in drawing a parallel between themselves and the Arabic poets and paid glowing tributes to their poetry. The well-known 6th/12th century writer Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī of Samarqand (d.c. 560/1165) laid down the learning of the Arabic literary tradition as a must for the royal secretary, *Dabīr*.[3] A characteristic example of exultation in the knowledge of the Arabic language, and of an apologetic attitude towards Persian, is found in the remarks of Nāṣiḥ b. Ẓafar al-Jurfādaqānī, who translated *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī* in 603/1207 from Arabic into Persian :

اگرچه کرهٔ پارسیم حرونست مرکب تازیم خوش رو است و اگرچه کسوت عجمه ام خلق است حله عربیتم نیک نو است .[4]

Although the colt of my Persian (language) is refractory, yet the horse of my Arabic is fleet-footed ; and although the robe of my Persian is shabby, yet the cloak of my Arabic is mighty new.

Even after the destruction of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, and the disastrous blow struck to the traditions of the common Arab-Persian civilization by the Mongols, Arabic maintained its tight grip on the Persian language. In *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf* (728/1328) and other books of the kind the use of the Persian language seems to have been reduced merely to verbs, particles and conjunctions.

1 Op. cit., p. 187.
2 *S.*, p. 273.
3 *C. M.*, p. 22.
4 Cf. *S.*, vol. ii, p. 363.

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The Ṣafavid period, which was marked by a resurgence of the national spirit, could not retard the Arabic influence. The scholastic literature of the age was almost wholly produced in Arabic, while the philosophical and scientific works were soaked in Arabic terminology. Many Persian words and phrases were replaced by Arabic. The tradition of studying the Arabic language and literature was pursued with a rare sense of devotion. The post-Ṣafavid period maintained this linguistic tradition. Some of the famous historical works of the 12th/18th century, written in highly florid prose, meticulously kept up the style of the 7th/13th century works like *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*. The Arabic advance was not fully stemmed even in the 13th/19th century in respect of linguistic borrowing when the Western influence struck a momentous change in the Persian outlook and set new patterns of thought and expression ; for although new forces were at work to effect revolutionary changes in the literary and linguistic behaviour, Iranian publications, especially the Iranian newspapers, continued to borrow Arabic vocabulary, apart from the Western loanwords, to meet the new challenge in the social and political life of the country.

A comparative study of languages reveals that when two languages come in close contact with one another, their basic vocabulary seldom undergoes an appreciable change. But the Arabic impact on Persian was so stupendous that Arabic words penetrated even into the basic vocabulary of Persian. They have stuck to objects of basic need, trades and professions, dealings and transactions, family relationship, polite conversation, and emotional expressions.

In the process of intermixture of two languages, the general inclination is towards borrowing full words like nouns, adjectives, etc. The extraordinary influence of the Arabic language, however, is visible in the import of what Jespersen calls empty words,[1] to which class most of the grammatical words like prepositions, conjunctions, numerals, etc., belong. These are rarely borrowed by one language from another.[2] While one must agree with Browne that Persian has successfully retained the structure of the sentence and the pronouns and auxiliary verbs must continue to be Persian,[3] it must be pointed out that certain categories of empty Arabic words have become an integral part of the language. Amongst these are adverbial phrases, wholly Arabic[4] or formed in combination with Persian ;[5] nouns or adjectives in the accusative,

1 Op. cit., p. 211.

2 English contains very few such words in spite of a large influx from French and Latin. Amongst these may be counted the French *ace* (one) and *deuce* (two) amongst numerals, and the Latin *per* amongst prepositions.

3 *L. H P.*, vol. i, p. 73.

4 Examples : محققاً certainly — عجالتةً for the time being
موقتاً temporarily — بالاخره at last
لا کن but — لا جرم necessarily, undoubtedly

5 Examples :
Balki (rather, but) may be regarded as a combination of the Arabic *bal* (on the contrary) and Persian *ki* (that). *D. J. Z. F.*, p. 772.
Another category of such words is formed by the addition of the Persian terminal *āna* (انه) to Arabic words, e.g.
محرمانه confidentially — مشفقانه affectionately

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used in Persian alone or in conjunction with a Persian preposition ;[1] numerals and numeral adverbs,[2] prepositions,[3] and compound Arabic-Persian phrases used as conjunctions.[4] Arabic influence is also visible in complete Arabic plurals of Persian nouns, in combination with Arabic plural-signs and measures ;[5] in harmony between adjective and the substantive qualified,[6] in the employment of plural adjectives with plural nouns,[7] in the assumption of typical Arabic infinitive forms by Persian adjectives and nouns,[8] in the formation of adjectives on Arabic patterns[9], and of feminines on the

1 Examples : تحت the lower part فوق above, beyond
بعد then, next بین between
مابین between, middle خلاف contradiction, opposition
مقابل opposite ضد anti, contrary, opposite

2 It was a fashion to write dates, years, and figures in Arabic in classical Persian. Even today the Arabic *avval* is as popular as the Persian *yakum*, (first), while the numeral adverbs like *avvalan* (firstly), *thānian* (secondly), etc., are frequently used.

3 Examples : الی to, upto, untill حتی till

4 Examples : مادامیکه while حالانکه whereas
وقتیکه when درصورتیکه in case
موقعیکه when بلا فاصله immediately
علاوه بر in addition to, besides
بمحض اینکه as soon as بندرت rarely

5 Examples : (*i*) باغات gardens سرحدات frontiers
گزارشات descriptions, details فرشته جات angels

This influence was so strong that even the Mongol and Turkish words used in Persian took on the Arabic plural terminal *āt* :

یرلیغات royal mandates کنگاجات deliberations

(*ii*) (*a*) درویش دراویش (*b*) بندر بنادر

Dual plurals :

(*a*) دولت دولتین two governments

(*b*) مجلس مجلسین It is a modern addition to denote the two houses of the Iranian Parliament.

6 Examples : پادشاهان ماضیه Ancient kings مهتران خالیه Bygone chief
C. M., p. 45.

7 Examples : علمای اعلام Illustrious scholars پیغمبران عظام Great prophets
DAS. *Z. F*, p. 25.

8 Examples : خشونت from خشن rough, coarse
نزاکت from نازک delicate, thin

9 Examples : مزبور from زبر upper part, top
ملبب from لبا لب brimful

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same pattern by the use of the terminal 'ه'.[1] Reference has already been made to Arabic influence on verbs.[2]

The intermixture of Arabic and Persian words generated a vast process of new word-combinations which may briefly be described as under :

1. Arabic words with Persian prefixes.[3]
2. Arabic words with Persian suffixes.[4]
3. Arabic noun with the present stem of a Persian verb, a process which can be stretched infinitely to yield innumerable combinations.[5]
4. An Arabic noun with a qualifying Persian noun.[6]
5. An Arabic noun and a Persian noun placed in apposition.[7]
6. An Arabic and a Persian noun with *iḍāfa*.[8]
7. A Persian and an Arabic noun joined with the *vāv* of conjunction.[9]
8. An Arabic noun with a Persian past participle.[10]
9. An Arabic noun with a Persian preposition.[11]
10. Two Arabic nouns united by a Persian preposition.[12]
11. An Arabic noun with a Persian short infinitive.[13]
12. A Persian adjective with an Arabic noun.[14]

1 Example : همشیره sister

2 See Pp. 6-7.

3 Examples : نا نا مرتب disarranged
بی بی عقل foolish
پر پر خطر dangerous
هم همزمان contemporary

4 Examples : آسا حباب آسا bubble-like
سان قندیل سان lantern-like
کده عشرت کده pleasure house
گار مدد گار supporter
گر صورت گر painter, sculptor

5 Examples : حیوان شناس zoologist
برق سنج electrometer

6 Example : گاه صبح گاه early morning

7 Example : صاحب خانه owner of a house

8 Example : ماه عسل honeymoon

9 Example : صبح و شام morning and evenirg

10 Example : جمال زاده son of Jamāl

11 Example : باتربیت cultured

12 Example : اتکابه نفس self-reliance

13 Example : غم آلود sorrowful

14 Example : خوش معاشرت sociable

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13. The negative particle *nā* between an Arabic noun and the present stem of a Persian verb.[1]

Arabic signs of admiration, regret, and exclamation are universally employed in Persian.[2]

Even the Persian syntax was exposed to Arabic influence in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. Instances of this inroad into the syntactical structure of the Persian language can be found in *Chahār Maqāla*. This tendency lingered in certain theological works of the later ages, but it did not prove strong enough to leave a lasting impression.

TURKISH INFLUENCE

After tracing the profound influence of Arabic, it is necessary to assess the place of Turkish loanwords in Persian. The Turkish association with the Persian language, which developed as a result of the vital role which the Turks have played in the post-Muslim history of Iran, is far less significant than that of Arabic, but the close political, social and cultural relationship between the two races—the Turks and the Iranians—has left a linguistic legacy not too insignificant to be ignored.

In the Muslim history of Iran the Turks, who in Iran loosely signify all peoples of the yellow race, and as such may include even the Mongols, first appeared on the scene in 380/990 when Bughrā Khān of the Āl-i Afrāsiyāb, also known as Īlak (properly Īlig) Khāns or Qarākhānids (320/932—561/1165), invaded Transoxiana at the instigation of Abū 'Alī Sīmjūr, and two years later Naṣr b. 'Alī Īlak Khān, a scion of the same house, stormed Bukhārā and Samarqand. The political scene in Iran has been dominated by Turks through centuries. The dynasties that followed the Sāmāninds were mostly of Turkish origin. These included the Ghaznavids, Saljūqs, Khvārazmshāhs (470/1077—628/1231), Ghaurids (543/1148–612/1215), Tīmūrids (771/1369—991/1505), the Turkman Qarā Quyūnlūs (780/1378—874/1469) and Aq Quyūnlūs (780/1378—908/1502), and the short-lived Afshārs (1148/1736—1218/1803). The Qājārs (1200/1786—1344/1925) spoke Turkish,[3] but they were, originally, of Mongol origin.[4]

Apart from these, the Turkish dynasties of Iran include the Atābeks of Ādharbāījān (531/1136—622/1225) and of Fārs (543/1148—686/1287).[5] The famous Ṣafavid dynasty, though not of Turkish origin, hailed from Ādharbāījān, with the result that in spite of the Turco-Iranian Wars during its rule, the Turkish language made a definite inroad into Persian. The Turkish element in the Iranian society was not confined to the ruling dynasties. In fact large-scale Turkish migration into Iran had

1 Example : تغیر ناپذیر unchangeable

2 Examples : احسنت bravo ! مرحبا hail ! bravo ! افسوس alas ! حیف what a pity !

3 (*i*) *P. L.*, p. 9. (*ii*) *I. D.*, p. 112.

4 *D. Q.*

5 *Atābek* (اتابک) which is a compound of *atā* (father) and *bek* (chief, noble, lord), was the title conferred by the Saljūqs on persons who acted as tutors to young princes.

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started as early as the 5th/11th century, and it had continued for two hundred years till the Mongol storm burst in 616/1219. The Turkish tribes settled down in different parts of Iran, especially in north Khurāsān, Rai, Iṣfahān and Ādharbāījān. These included the Ghuzz, Qārā-Ghuzz, Qārā-Khitāī and Kharlakh etc.

Before the Turkish military campaigns and mass migrations started, the institution of Turkish slaves had already become popular in Iran. They were purchased by kings, ministers, and nobles including poets. In a long poem of reminiscences Rūdakī (d. 329/941) makes a rather nostalgic reference to Turkish slave-girls :

همی خرید و همی سخت بیشمار درم بشهر هر که یکی ترک نارپستان بود [1]

He would buy and weigh against countless dirhams every pomegranate-bosomed Turkish slave-girl in the city.

During the Samanid period they came to wield power and influence politics.[2] Some of them won their way to fame and even founded kingdoms and empires. Sabakti-gīn (366/976—387/997) was the slave of Alpti-gīn (351/962—352/963). Anūshti-gīn (c. 470/1077—490/1097), the founder of the famous house of Khvārazm-shāhs, was a slave of Sulṭān Malik Shāh (465/1072—485/1092). The Atābeks of Ādharbāījān were the descendants of Īldigiz, a slave of Mas'ūd (529/1135—547/1152), the Saljūq ruler of 'Īrāq-i 'Ajam.

The Turks struck the Iranians as a handsome people, Abu'l-Ma'ālī Rāzī (d. 541/1146) portrays the following reaction :

یا رب این بچهٔ ترکان چه بتانند که هست دیدهٔ مردم نظاره از ایشان خونبار [3]

O Lord ! What beauties these blooming Turks are, that the gazing eyes must rain down blood !

The poet found in the word Turk a metaphor for the beloved. Thus Ḥāfiz would make such magnanimous offers to his Shīrāzī sweetheart as :

اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آرد دل مارا بخال هندویش بخشم سمرقند و بخارا را [4]

If that Shīrāzī Turk were to capture my heart, I would barter away Samarqand and Bukhārā for her black mole.

The Turkish incursions disturbed peace in the country time and again. Hence the word 'Turk' appeared in certain noun and verb-forms to signify destruction. *Turktāz* now means an attack or raid accompanied by death or destruction, *Turk-i Falak* stands for the Mars, the god of war, *turkī kardan* is to commit atrocities, and *turki raftan* means a continuous state of oppression.

1 *M. Z. A. A. R*, p. 499.
2 *M. D.*, p. 285.
3 Cf. *L. A.*, p. 412.
4 *D.*, p. 3.

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The import of Turkish loanwords started slowly in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. The evidence of this new tendency may be found first in *Siyāsat-nāma* (484/1091) and *Rāḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudūr* (c. 599/1202).[1] Turkish words also started infiltrating into Persian poetry in the 6th/12th century. To quote Sūzanī (d. 562/1167) :

ای ترک ماه چهره چه باشد اگر شبی آنی به حجرهٔ من و گوئی قنق کرک[2]

O moon-faced Turk ! what bright luck if one night you enter my chamber and ask, "Do you need a guest" ?

The Mongol storm which struck Irān in two separate waves in 616/1219 and 654/1256, and the consequent foundation of the Īl-Khānī dynasty (654/1256—736/1336) brought about momentous social changes in Iran which could not leave the Persian language unaffected. The books of history written during this era and the Tīmūrid period contain dozens of Mongol and Turkish words, many of which are now an integral part of the Persian language.

It may be made clear that the Turkish and Mongol languages belong to two different families.[3] The total difference of their basic vocabularies confirms this view.[4] However, the Mongols started borrowing loanwords from Turkish late in the 6th/12th century, and this process continued till the 8th/14th century, with the result that the two languages began to share a good deal of common vocabulary material.

A few examples may be given below from amongst the Turkish and Mongol loan-words which entered Persian during this period :

Turkish Words

اردو	camp, army
الوس	tribe, especially nomadic
ایلچی	envoy
تمغا	wooden seal for sealing the doors of public granaries ; stamp ; tributes, etc.
تومان	originally a myriad, 10,000
قشون	company, troop, army, soldier
یورش	assault, attack, storm

Mongol Words

آقا	elder brother, eldest ; chief of a tribe or family
ایلغار	expedition
جارچی	herald
جرگه	tribal circle
جلگه	fruitful plain at the foot of a mountain

1 *T. A. I.*, vol. ii, p. 330.
2 Cf. *L. A* , p. 386.
3 *T. M. S.*, p. 36.
4 Ibid., p. 216.

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چاقو	clasp knife.
داروغه	governor
سوغات	present brought back by a traveller or a warrior
سیورغال	fief ; feudal tenure ; charity lands ; tax remission
شکنجه	press ; stock for the legs
شیلان	state banquet
قآن	title of the kings of Khata and Tartary ; prince, nobleman, lord
قابو	might
قدغن	strict order
قوریلتائی	the great assembly of the Mongols, princes and nobles
کشیکچی	guardsman
نوکر	follower, later a servant
نویان	prince, ruler
هراول	vanguard
یاسا	royal mandate, edict ; law, cods of laws, etc.
یاساق [1]	the Mongol code ; explanation ; investigation

The author of *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, who had imbibed profound Arabic influence, was not insensitive to the new trend and took delight in parading these quaint words in a couple of poems which he incorporated in his famous book.

One of the specimens may be reproduced below :

ای ترک نازنین که دلافروز و مه وشی ایناق دلربائی و امراق اینشی
کاکل بر الن تو چو مشکست برسمن خوی برعذار نغز تو چون قطره بروشی
گل کنگلک بدست حسد چاک میزند بر تو چو دید زینت ترلیک دلکشی [2]

O lovely Turk ! you are a heart-cheering moon-like beauty,
You are a heart-ravishing friend, a darling sweetheart !
The long tresses on your forehead are like musk on jessamine,
The sweat on your beautiful cheeks resembles drops on painted silk,
The rose tears up its garment out of jealousy when it sees you adorned in a fascinating short-sleeved dress.

It may be noted that the Turkish and Mongol words infiltrated into Persian in spite of the more advanced stage of Persian language, because the Mongols were the rulers, and as Gerard Clauson has put it, the dominant people expect their subjects to

1 As regards the autheticity of the Mongol words reference is made to *Von Gerhard Doerfer's Turkish und Mongolishe Elemente Im Neupersischen*, vol. i.

2

ایناق	companion
امراق - اینش	sweetheart
کاکل	a tuft of hair
الن	forehead
کنگلک	shirt
ترلیک	short-sleeved dress

S., p. 105.

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understand and use the words of their language in their dealings with them.[1] It may, however, be noted with interest that most of the loanwords of this period are military terms, because it was the arts of war in which the Mongols excelled. The people of Iran had even begun to learn the Mongol script and language during this period.

The alien words used by the historians of the Mongol period, most of which form the common Mongol-Turkish stock, were later employed by the writers of the Tīmūrid era when the Turkish influence became more dominant. The great protagonist of Turkish during this period was Mīr 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (844/1440—906/1501), the famous Prime Minister of Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiqarā (872/1467—912/1506), who even wrote a book entitled *Muḥākamatu'l-Lughatain* in 905/1500 to judge the comparative merits of the Persian and Turkish languages, and gave his verdict in favour of the latter in which he composed six *mathnavīs* and four *dīvāns*. His love of Turkish and promotion of its cause brought it greater prestige and popularity.

The Ṣafavid period saw a further increase of Turkish loanwords in Persian. The new rulers came from Ardabīl in dharbāījān and they brought their native tongue—a type of Turkish—with them, which they made the language of the Court.[2] The founder of this dynasty Shāh Ismā'īl (907/1502—930/1524) had been aided in his victorious career by seven tribes collectively known as the *Qizil Bāsh*. These tribes, separately known as *Ustājlu, Shāmlū, Takalū, Bahārlū, Zulqadar, Afshār* and *Qājār*, were all of Turkish origin except the Qājārs who, as mentioned above,[3] traced their descent from the Mongols. *Shāh Ismā'il* even wrote poetry in Turkish under the *non de plume* 'Fānī'. Shāh 'Abbās the Great (996/1588—1038/1629) of this dynasty relied at one time on the support of sixty thousand *Qizil-Bāsh* horsemen, who formed a vital part of his army. Later he gave the new force, which he had recruited from different tribes, the half Turkish and half Persian name of *Shāh-Savan* or the Shāh's Friends. Many powerful men at the court spoke Turkish.[4] This court influence lent many Turkish administrative and military terms to the Persian language during this period. Nādir Shāh (1148/1736—1160/1747) the immediate successor of the Ṣafavids, was of the *Kirklū* Turkish origin[5] and spoke the *Chaghatā'ī* (Eastern Turkish) dialect for choice.[6]

The Turkish influence not only maintained itself during the Qājār period, but with the establishment of the Press, new Turkish words found their way into Persian along with the new Arabic and Western loanwards.

1 Op. cit pp. 213-214.
2 *P. L.*, op. cit.
3 See p. 17.
4 *T. T. N. N.*, p. 68.
5 The weak *Kirklū* tribe had closely allied itself with the *Afshārs* with whom Nādir Shāh is generally associated.
6 *P. L.*, op. cit.

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As a result of the important role of the Turks in the history of Iran, hundreds of Turkish words have been gradually absorbed in Persian through centuries. They have become an integral part of the Persian language in pracisely the same manner as the Turkish tribes living in Iran have become a part and parcel of the Iranian nation. Turkish is still spoken in parts of Iran including Ādharbāījān. One of the most powerful tribes of Fārs, namely, the Qashqāī, is Turkish-speaking.[1] The Turkomans of Khurāsān also speak a Turkish dialect.

The Turkish loanwards mainly consist of noun-forms. As in case of Arabic, they have joined hands with the indigenous material to yield new combinations. The majority of the words, however, have retained their separate entity. An analysis of these words will reveal that they are used in certain specific fields which have been more exposed to Turkish influence. Some of the popular Turkish words used in Persian may be mentionad below :

Household effects and kitchen

اطو - اوتو - اتو	flat-iron
بشقاب	plate
پنجره	window
تلمبه	pump
قاب	dish, tray
قاپو	door, gate
قاشق	spoon, originally a wooden spoon
قالی	a costly kind of carpet
قالین	a costly kind of carpet ; a small carpet or rug
قالیون	pipe for smoking through water
قوطی	small box
قیچی	a pair of scissors
قیمه	minced meat

Dress and foot-wear

چکمه	high boot
یخه	collar

Relationship

داداش	brother
دائی	maternal uncle

Birds and beasts

بلدرچین	quail
قاز	gooze
قاطر	mule
قرقاول	pheasant

1 Ibid., p. 8.

60267

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falcon	قوش
ram	قوچ
frog	قورباغه

Some other Turkish words used in Persian in various walks of life may be noted :

swamp, marsh	باتلاق
strait	بغاز
groats, grits	بلغور
district	بلوک
cannon ; ball	توپ
tobacco	توتون
confusion, bustle, riot, etc.	شلوق
contraband	قاچاق
smuggler	قاچاقچی
bit, piece	قاش
boat[1]	قایق
slow, slowly	یواش
slowly, swiftly	یواشکی

It is interesting to note that some of the most frequently used polite terms of address in Persian are of Mongol or Turkish origin. For example *Āqā* and *Khānum* are both Mongol words which stand in Persian for the English Mr. and Mrs. The word *Khānum* is used for Miss and Madam also. The Persian *Bānū* for Mrs. and *Dūshīza* for Miss have not been able to oust the Mongol *Khānum*, especially in conversation.

Turkish words are also used in a large number of combinations with Persian words. In certain cases Persian and even Arabic words combine with Turkish suffixes like *chī*,[2] *tāsh*,[3] *bāshī*.[4]

Turkish words have been given the typical Persian shape by the addition of the

1 Eskimo in Origin (cf. *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, p. 1078), ***kayak*** has travelled to Iran through the Turkish language and Arabic spelling.

2 Examples : تماشاچی spectator
شکارچی hunter

3 Examples : شهر تاش fellow-townsman
خواجه تاش fellow-servant

4 Examples : منجم باشی chief astronomer
حکیم باشی chief physician

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adjectival *yā*,[1] the present stem of Persian verbs,[2] nouns, both Persian[3] and Arabic,[4] Persian prefixes[5] and sffixes.[6] Compound Persian verbs have also been formed with Turkish words.[7] Turkish words may combine with Western loanwords to yield new combinations.[8]

The extensive Arabic influence on and the import of Turkish words into Persian were the inevitable result of historical forces. But the intermixture of languages is not an unusual phenomenon. No language, according to Otto Jespersen, is entirely free from borrowed words, because no nation has ever been completely isolated.[9] Cultural and political contacts between nations generate a process of linguistic borrowing which at times assumes staggering proportions. If Persian was influenced by Arabic and imported loanwards from Turkish, it enriched, in its turn, the Turkish language with its own vocabulary and also lent a number of words to the Arabic language. Many Arabic words lost their original meanings and assumed new connotations. The typical Arabic sounds ḥ, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, ʻ, and q made little headway in the new surroundings, because they did not suit the geniue of the Persian

1 Examples :	قاچاقچی	smuggler
	ایلی	tribal
2 Examples :	قالی باف	carpet-weaver
	قاب ساز	framer
	چکمه دوز	boot-maker
3 Examples :	قرمه سبزی	a kind of stew with green vegetables
	قاب دستمال	dish-cloth
	تخته قاپو	settled (as a trible in a town)
	اردوگاه	camp
4 Examples :	خاله قزی	cousin, daughter of maternal aunt
	خانم رییس	lady principal
5 Example :	پیش قراول	vanguard
6 Example :	قال گر	smelter
7 Bxamples :	یورغه رفتن	to amble
	ییلاق کردن	to live in summer quarters
	قشلاق کردن	to live in winter quarters
	قرق کردن	to preserve ; reserve for exclusive use
	اتوزدن یا اتو کشیدن	to iron
8 Examples :	قوطی سیگار	(Turkish+French) cigarette-case
	در شکه چی	(Russian+Turkish) coachman

9 Op. cit., p. 208.

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language.[1] Not only sounds, but a part of the new vocabulary underwent changes to suit the needs of Persian. The import of foreign vocabulary, as explained above in detail, generated a process of combination, compromise and adjustment. The formation of new vocabulary took place in such an intimate relationship, that Arabic words shed their individual character and were wholly absorbed into Persian.[2] At times Persian words showed remarkable flexibility in imitating Arabic patterns, while on the reverse, the phonetic changes in Arabic words registered full consonance with the genuis of the Persian language.

It goes to the credit of the Persian language that in spite of the great political upheavals in the history of Iran, it has successfully preserved its basic structure.

1 *S.*, vol. i, p. 185.

2 To give a few instances :

(*a*) Persian infinitives were formed with Arabic words :

رقصیدن	to dance
بلعیدن	to swallow
طلبیدن	to demand
فهمیدن	to comprehend

(*b*) Persian plural signs were added to Arabic words :

خادمها	servants
شرطها	conditions
غریبان	strangers

(*c*) *Yā* of infinitive (*Yā-yi Maṣdari*) at the termination of certain Arabic words came to indicate profession, occupation, place, or premises :

نساجی	clothshop
قنادی	confectionery

(*d*) *Yā* of relationship (*Yā-yi Nisbatī*), in combination with Arabic words resulted in Persian adjectives :

فراری	fugitive, deserter

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2

NEW CONSCIOUSNESS

Iran was shaken out of its isolation by the growing forces of conflicting imperialistic interests in the early 13th/19th century during the reign of Fatḥ ʻAlī Shāh Qājār (1212/1797–1250/1834). It was the Anglo-French political rivalry which first drew her into the orbit of international diplomacy, though soon the French interest ceased and the vacuum was filled up by the expansionist policy of the Czarist Russia. During this process Iran had much to suffer and learn. The Western impact, however, brought about far-reaching changes in the political and social life of the country and in the attitudes and concepts of its people. A short history of this comprehensive change in the traditional pattern of national life from absolute monarchy and despotism to constitutional form of government and national liberalism may be traced below, because changes in the linguistic behaviour can only be appreciated properly in the background of this vast change in the socio-political life of the country.

The Anglo-French hostilities in Europe and Napoleon's grandiose plans to conquer India through Iran led Britain to send a political mission to the Iranian Court under Captain John Malcolm in 1215/1800 to forestall a possible French encroachment.[1] France exchanged envoys with Iran in 1222/1807, and an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the two countries through the efforts of General Gardanne.[2] Britain's stake in the South Asian Sub-continent had become so vital at this stage, that any political upset in this area was bound to cast serious repercussions in Europe. Consequently she established diplomatic relations with Iran in 1223/1808. A treaty of defensive alliance was also signed between the two countries in 1229/1814, which remained in force untill 1275/1857,[3] but proved of little value to Iran.

1 *H. P.*, pp. 126-127.
2 Ibid., p. 158.
3 *I. P. P.*, p 76.

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Russia did not lag behind in the new venture. She soon launched on a course of active military expansion in Iran, and after a protracted war, forced on her the treaties of Gulistān and Turkmanchāy. The former, concluded in 1228/1813, confirmed the Russian possession of Georgia, Dāghistān and many adjoining areas[1] and prohibited Iran from maintaining a navel fleet in the Caspian.[2] By the other, signed in 1243/1828, Iran gave away Erīvān and Nakhjivān to Russia,[3] paid an indemnity of twenty million roubles,[4] accepted the Russian demand to navigate in the Caspian,[5] and gave Russia the right to nominate trade counsels.[6] By a later annexe, Russia was accorded special economic, tariff, and legal rights.[7]

The short-lived Anglo-French rivalry was now replaced by the Anglo-Russian tussel for supremacy in Iran, which led to intrigues, encroachments, and a race for extension of political and economic concessions, which at times deprived the country of nearly all its resources.[8]

The march of Western Powers into Iran was facilitated by the decaying political and administrative conditions in the country, where the despotic Qājār rulers rode roughshod over the interests of their subjects. "Taxes were collected, concessions were granted and presents were offered all for the benefit of the Shāh and his courtiers which kepts Persia poor."[9] Power was abused in strange ways, as court decisions were sold and robbers were licensed.[10]

This sombre picture of external interference and internal oppression roused the enlightened and patriotic individuals to the need of urgent reform, if the Western advance was to be stemmed and things set in order at home. Military defeat at the hands of the Russians had proved the vulnerability of the army to the new scientific means of warfare and established the superiority of Western skills and methods. This was the beginning of the new cultural and educational movement. Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā (d. 1249/1833), the eldest son of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh whom Freygang, the Russian diplomat who visited Tabriz in 1227/1812, described as "the noblest of the Qājār dynasty," anxious to learn the causes of the rapid progress in Europe,[11] not only set to the task of reorganizing the army on Western lines, but also sent many

1 *T. S. D. I.*, vol. i, (Treaty of Gulistān), Article 23, pp. 273-274.
2 Ibid., Article 5, p. 27.
3 Ibid., (Treaty of Turkmanchāy), Article 3, p. 280.
4 Ibid., Article 6, p. 282.
5 Ibid., Article 8, pp. 282-283.
6 Ibid., Article 10, pp. 283-286.
7 Ibid., pp. 287-292.
8 *M. I.*, p. 60.
9 *A. H. P.*, vol. ii, p. 382.
10 *N. P.*, p. 10.
11 *T. S. D. I.*, p. 240.

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students to England for studying modern sciences. It was during this very year that the first printing press was installed in Tabrīz, to be followed up by other presses in Tehran, Iṣfahān, Mashhad and other towns.[1]

Another distinguished patriot was Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr-i Kabīr (d. 1268/1852), the Prime Minister of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh (1264/1848—1314/1896), who during the short tenure of office, tried to arrest political and social decline in the country by introducing important reforms in the educational, cultural, administrative, and economic spheres, as well as a vigorous foreign policy. His greatest reform was the foundation in Tehran of *Dāru'l-Funūn* on modern lines, which was formally opened by the King only thirteen days before the execution of this great person, whom Browne regards as one of the greatest men, and most honest, capable and intelligent ministers produced by Persia in modern times.[2]

Dāru'l-Funūn was destined to become the centre of the new educational and cultural activities. To begin with, the members of the college staff included seven Austrian professors and a number of Iranian translators who had had their education in France. Russian and British professors had been deliberately kept out by Amīr-i Kabīr to avoid political complications between Iran and the two powerful neighbours. According to J. Polak, a member of the staff of *Dāru'l-Funūn*, the Prime Minister feared foreign interference through such teachers in the politics of the country.[3] After the death of Amīr-i Kabīr, however, French, German and more Austrian professors were added.[4] The presence of European teachers facilitated the introduction of new teaching methods. The college provided officers for the civil, military, and foreign departments of the Government. The curriculum included geometry, engineering, geology, chemistry, pharmacy, medicine, English, French, and Russian, besides infantry, cavalry and artillery tactics. Music and painting were also added to the list of the subjects later. One of the most useful things done by the staff and students of this college was the translation and compilation of text books. The foundation of *Dāru'ṭ-Ṭibā'a va Dāru't-Tarjuma-yi Khāṣa-yi Humāyūnī* under the Education Minister, I'tiḍādu's-Salṭana, with Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣanī'u'd-Daula as its director,[5] accelerated the pace of translation.

The Ministry of Education was founded in 1272/1855, and forty-two students were sent to Europe in 1275/1858 in spite of the Shāh's opposition, who had once remarked

1 *S N. F. M*, p. 17.

2 *L. H. P.*, vol. iv, p. 152.

3 *L. S B.*, vol. i, p. 298.

4 *S. F. I. M.*, p. 586.

5 Khānlarī, "*Nathr-i Fārsī dar Daura-yi Ākhirī*," *N. K. N. I.*, p. 142.

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that an ideal Iranian was one who did not know whether Brussels was a city or a cabbage.[1]

A school of languages, namely, *Maktaba-yi Mushīriyya* was opened in 1289/1872 under the supervision of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān. A college was founded at Tabrīz in 1293/1876, to be followed by military colleges in Tehran and Iṣfahān in 1301/1883 and 1304/1886 respectively. Attention was paid to girls' education and the first girls' school was opened at Chāltās near Kirmān in 1315/1897. A society was founded in 1316/1898 to co-ordinate the working of various schools and unify educational standards. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs founded a school of political science the next year. A school of agriculture was opened in 1318/1900. That is how the country slowly struggled ahead in the field of education.

The national programme of educational expansion was augmented by certain Christian missions. A school had been opened at Tabrīz by the French Lazarite Mission as early as 1256/1840. In cooperation with Les Filles de la Charité, it founded seventy-six schools for boys and girls at various places in the next three quarters of a century. These schools played no mean role in the Government decision in 1319/1901 to reorganize schools in the country after the French model. The American Presbyterian Mission opened two schools in Tehran, one each for boys and girls in 1289/1872 and 1314/1896 respectively. The British Church Missionary Society established at Iṣfahān the Stewart Memorial College in 1322/1904. To these missionary schools were added other non-missionary foreign institutions, including the schools established by the Alliance Francaise and the Alliance Israelite Universelle. A technical college was founded in Tehran by Germans and a commercial school by Russians in 1330/1911, to be followed by more Russian schools at Tabrīz and other towns in northern Iran.

Amongst the educative forces the Press occupies tremendous importance. In Iran, it admirably discharged the vital function of building up public opinion, bringing about new light and, incidentally, playing an important role in moulding the language pattern, which ultimately touched colloquialism, as in the *Charand Parand* column of the famous newspaper of the Constitutional period *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl* founded in 1325/1907.

The first ever newspaper *Kāghadh-i Akhbār*[2] was founded in Tehran in 1253/1837 by Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, who belonged to the second batch of Iranian students sent to England in 1230/1815[3] by Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā, and who later became one of the public secretaries

1 *N. P.*, p. 10.
2 *S. M. Ṣ. S.*, p. 19.
3 Ibid, pp. 11-12.

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of the King.[1] The next newspaper, the official *Rūznāma-yi Vaqāyi'-yi Ittifāqiyya*, which was renamed *Rūznāma-yi Daulat-i 'Aliyya-yi Īrān* ten years later, was brought out in 1267/1850. It was associated with the Prime Minister Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amīr-i Kabīr.[2] The next newspapers included *Rūznāma-yi Daulatī*, *Rūznāma-yi Millatī*, *Rūznāma-yi 'Ilmī* and *Rūznāma-yi Īrān*.

The Press gradually became critical of the Government policies. Since the Government was intolerant of criticism, some patriots were obliged to start newspapers abroad. They and some of the future scholars who went out of the country came to form what Peter Avary calls "a sort of Persian diaspora, in Calcutta, Istanbul, cities in the Caucasus and round the Black Sea, Cairo, London and Paris and on the shores of Lake Geneva, and later in Berlin."[3] Amongst the newspapers started abroad were *Akhtar* founded in Istanbul in 1292/1875, *Qānūn* in London in 1307/1889, *Ḥikmat* in Cairo in 1310/1892, and *Ḥablu'l-Matīn* in Calcutta in 1311/1893. A ban was imposed on their entry from time to time, but they were smuggled into the country, enclosed in books or envelopes and commanded an ardent readership.

1 A transcript of this newspaper, lithographed and printed in Tehran is reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, A.D. 1839, Volume Fifth, Article XXIV, pp. 355-364 with the remarks : "..... The newspaper was undertaken a few years since under the editorship of Mirza Saleh, one of the public secretaries of H.M. the Shah of Persia, who has been employed on a diplomatic mission in this country. The original is lithographed on two large folios, printed on one side only ; it is closely written in plain hand and is surmounted by the Persian emblem of the Lion and the Sun.....".
The newspaper opens with the following words :

اخبار وقایع شهر محرم‌الحرام ۱۲۵۳ در دارالخلافه طهران الطباع یافته

News of the events of the month of Muḥarramu'l Ḥarām 1253, published in the capital Tehran.

Edmond Dutempl points out that the newspaper was first published in A.D. 1837 in Tehran as an official organ in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. He adds that it was a monthly paper, and its first issue was brought out in the month of May—Monday, the 25th of Muḥarramu'l-Ḥarām, A.H. 1253, *K.*, p. 43.

Ismā'īl Rā'īn, the editor of *Safar-nāma-yi Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī*, however, reveals that two pages of the newspaper preserved in the library of Ḥājī Muḥammad Āqā Nakhjivānī entitled *Ṭalī'a-yi Kāghadh-i Akhbār* were dated " *'Ashar-i Ākhir-i Ramāḍānu'l-Mubārak*, 1252 " (the last ten days of the holy month of Ramaḍān, 1252). This means that a specimen of this newspaper had seen the light of the day at least three months before the regular publication of the newspaper.....p. 21.

2 *N. K. N. I.*, p. 136.

3 *M. IR.*, p. 118.

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The role of the new literature in the political awakening of the nation was no less significant. While it brought about a distinct change in style and linguistic patterns, it gave its readers a glimpse into the modern age. There were the travel books written by Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, princes and nobles, which spurred the reader's imagination by providing him with interesting descriptions of the advanced European civilization. There were books which had been written with the express purpose of projecting political injustice, social backwardness, and administrative corruption and inefficiency in the country. Amongst these may be counted Mīrzā Fatḥ 'Ali Ākhūndzāda's plays translated into Persian by Mīrzā Ja'far Qarājadāghī in 1291/1874, Mīrzā Malkum Khān's (1249/1833—1326/1908) articles and four dramas, Ḥājī Zainu'l-'Ābidīn's *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Beg* (c. 1318/1900), which has the distinction of being not only the first noval written in Persian on modern lines, but also of playing a significant role in precipitating the political crisis and ushering in the new era of Constitutionalism in Iran,[1] and *'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Ṭalibof's Kitāb-i-Aḥmad* or *Safīna-yi Ṭālibī* in two volumes.

There was another category of books, that is, translations from European writings, which presented the miserable conditions in Iran as seen from the Western eye and challenged the national pride. The Western writings included the Persian translation of Sir John Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, first published in 1323/1905, and the *Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. The publication of the latter as a supplement to *Sāl-nāma* in 1313/1895 infuriated the Shāh, who had all the copies confiscated and destroyed.[2]

An important factor which brought Iran closer to Western civilization was the telegraph line. The history of the installation of telegraph in Iran goes back to 1275/1858, when a line was built between Tehran and Sulṭāniyya, later to be extended to Tabrīz and Julfa. Since Iran lay on the direct route between Great Britain and the South-Asian sub-continent, the British Government was keenly interested in the extension of telegraph line in that country. Consequently three conventions were signed between the two countries between 1280/1863 and 1290/1873 for this purpose. In accordance with the second convention signed in 1287/1870, the Indo-European Telegraph Company installed a line between London and Tehran *via* Berlin, Warsaw, Tiflis and Tabrīz. By the end of the last century, Iran had not only built an elaborate system within the country, but had also become a vital link in the international telegraphic network.

The Western impact on Iran deepened with the spread of education and higher studies by Iranian students in Europe, the growth of the new literary movement,

1 (*i*) *P. P. M. P.*, p. 22. (*ii*) *T. M. I.*, p. 45.
2 *P. P. M. P.*, op. cit.

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which in the early 14th/20th century developed into what has been called rightly as the literature of revolt,[1] social intercourse, exchange of diplomatic missions, and growth of commercial relations. The increasing knowledge of the spectacular progress of the West proved an eye-opener and offered a grim contrast between Iran and the West. It brought about a corresponding political and social awakening. The contrast became sharper on account of the reckless financial policies of the Shāh, his ruthless political behaviour, consistent opposition to reform,[2] and the rapid deterioration in the economic life of the country. The Shāh's three extravagant journeys to Europe and mishandling of the exchequer precipitated a financial crisis to avart which he adopted the still more perilous course of granting concessions to European Powers. Among these may be mentioned the concession granted to a British banker Baron Reuter in 1289/1872 to construct railways and exploit mineral wealth and oil for a period of seventy years, but withdrawn a year later ; the right given to Russia to create the famous Cossack Brigade in 1296/1879 ; the fishing rights in the Caspian Sea granted to a Russian in 1306/1888; the right granted to Baron Reuter in 1307/1889 to found the Imperial Bank of Persia ; and two years later, a similar right given to Russia to open the Discount Bank of Persia in Tehran. These European Powers launched on the course of involving the country in huge financial commitments of far-reaching political and economic consequences, and in the words of William Haas, "Tehrān became a meeting place for concession hunters of European nations, many of whom were adventurers and crooks."[3] The policy of granting concessions in quick succession culminated in the first open conflict between the Shāh and the people in 1309/1891, when the Government of Iran bargained away the entire tobacco industry of the country to an Englishman Major Talbot.

The political and social sensibilities thus awakened, and the public opinion built up by the Press, especially by the Persian newspapers founded abroad, and by leaders and reformers amongest whom Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn (1254/1838—1314/1896) and Mīrzā Malkum Khān may be regarded as the most eminent, led to widespread discontent, agitation[4] and finally to a movement which culminated in the Constitutional Revolution of 1324/1906.

1 *T. L. S.*, London, 5 August 1955.

2 As late as 1308/1891 the Britian Prime Minister Lord Salisbury had told the new British Ambassador to Tehrān, Sir Frank Lascelles : He (the Shāh) has a mortal dread of reform and of all that may lead to it. L. Lockhart, "The Constitutional Laws of Persia," *M. E. J.*, 1959, vol. xiii, p. 374.

3 *I.*, p. 35.

4 The Shāh's French physician Dr. Feuvrier was being far too optimistic when he wrote in his diary for the 10th and 11th of February, 1892, that cancellation of the Tobacco Concession had assured peace in the country. *T. P.*, p. 341.

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Thus, the contact with the West, which started with the brisk diplomatic overtures made by Great Britain and France to Iran in early 13th/19th century, when according to Lord Curzon : "The envoys of great powers flocked to its court, and vied with each other in the magnificence of the display and the prodigality of the gifts with which they sought to attract the superb graces of its sovereign, Fath Ali Shah"[1] had its great impact on the widely divergent fields of Iran's political economic, social and cultural life.

This process was pregnant with infinite possibilities. It had dazed all Muslim and Asian countries. It could not but affect the tone and tempo of the Iranian language and literature.

1 *A. H. B. I.*, Introduction.

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TOWARDS SIMPLICITY

The liberal movement in politics and progress in social life were bound to influence a language which had been inextricably tied to rhetorics since the 6th/12th century. It is significant that the tendency towards writing simple language in Iran in modern times owes itself, to a large extent, to the Royal Court of the Qājārs. It was Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim Qā'im Maqām (1193/1779—1251/1836), the Minister of Muḥammad Shāh (1250/1834—1264/1848), who first made a determined effort to restore to the language its natural simplicity. Though he could not free himself completely from the classical love of rhetorics, and followed with considerable success, in the footprints of Sa'dī (d. 691/1292) to write measured and rhymed prose, yet we see a definite trend towards simplicity and directness in his letters collectively known as *Munsha'āt-i Qā'im Maqām*, compiled at the instance of Prince Farhād Mīrzā (d. 1305/1888) in 1281/1864. Again, his language is rich with new vocabulary,[1] which distinguishes him from the old school and entitles him to the role of a pioneer in the new linguistic development.

It was not only Qā'im Maqām who was associated with the Court : there was Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Vahhāb Nashāṭ Mu'tamadu'd-Daula (d. 1244/1828), the well known contemporary poet and Secretary at the Royal Court, whose prose revealed the same simplicity. This trend was followed by Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh himself and a number of Qājār princes with greater vigour, who completely broke off with rhetorics and pedantry. The tradition set by Qā'im Maqām to shun bombast and obscurity was also eagerly followed by Mīrzā Taqi Khān Amīr-i Kabīr, who is even considered to have influenced the style of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. The latter's reign constitutes a conspicuous landmark in the history of modern Iran in more than one ways. The opening of his reign coincided with the foundation of *Dāru'l-Funūn* on modern lines, and the Press on sound footings; while its end by an assassin's bullet, marked a

1 *S.*, vol. iii, p. 361.

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violent reaction to his despotic and reckless policies. During this period of forty-eight years, the rapid publication of books, both in original and translation; and the growth of Persian newspapers, both inside the country and abroad; revealed the rising influence of the West, not only on the political and social horizons, but also on the Persian language and literature, which underwent a gradual but definite change. While new genres were adopted for prose, which revealed new political and social concepts and aspirations, the language of these works showed a positive trend towards simplicity and directness. If before Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh's reign efforts were being made to effect a blend between the classical respect for rhetorics and the modern urge for simplicity, by the end of his reign the lingering tradition of rhetorical style had completely died out.

A brief account of the books and authors who brought about this historic change may be given below.

The translations from European, especially, French books played a vital role in bringing about a change in the linguistic patterns to be discussed in detail later. The earliest translations were rendered during the reign of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh. The first among those was *Tārīkh-i Vaqāyi'-yi Nāpulyūn*, which Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī or one of his companions rendered into Persian during his stay abroad.[1] Other translations during this period were rendered by orders of the Crown Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā.[2] One such translation, *Tārīkh-i Iskandar*, was published much later in 1263/1846.[3] The first scientific European work, which comprised a treatise on vaccination, was translated by 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣabūr in 1245/1829.[4] The other contributions of this reign in the field of translation included the Persian translation of Voltaire's *Pierre Le Grand* and *Charles XII* by Mūsā Jibrā'īl. *Dāru'l-Funūn* and *Dāru'ṭ-Ṭibā'a va Dāru't-Tarjuma* accelerated the pace of translation, which was destined to become a highly important feature, not only of the modern literary movement, but also of the linguistic development, in so far as it added a new vocabulary and a new mode of expression to the language. Among the well known new renderings may be included Prince Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mīrzā's translation of Alexandre Duma's novels *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo, Le Trois Mousquetaires, La Reine Marqot, Louis XIV and Louis XV*, and Dhakāu'l-Mulk Furūghī's (1295/1878—1321 (s)/1943) translation of Jules Verne's *La Tour du Monde en 80 jours*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *La Chaumiere Indienne* and Chateaubriand's *Les Aventures du Abenceraqe.*

Whatever the role of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh as a despot, he played a significant part in giving the language an idiomatic touch. He was a man of literary taste and artistic bent of mind.[5] His books of travel, especially, his *Safar-nāma-yi Farangistān*

1 Ibid., p. 348.
2 *J. P.*, pp. 282-283.
3 *S. N. F. M.*, op. cit.
4 Ibid.
5 *S.*, op. cit., p. 381.

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(1291/1874) and his letters are characterized by a facile and fluent expression, which was maintained by Qājār princes like Nādir Mīrzā, the author of *Tārīkh u Jughrāfiyā-yi Tabrīz* (1302/1885), which Sa'īd Nafīsī (1315/1897—1345 (s)/1966) regards as one of the eloquent and exquisite prose works of the last century[1] ; Jahāngīr Mīrzā, the author of *Tārīkh-i Nau* (1267/1850) ; and Farhād Mīrzā Mu'tamadu'd-Daula, the author of about half a dozen books including *Jām-i Jam*, (1272/1856) ; and nobles like Majdu'l-Mulk, whose work, *Risāla-yi Majdiyya*, has been regarded by Bahār as the earliest book containing criticism of the Government policies and Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh's Court.[2]

The books of travel written during the 13th/19th century played a prominent role, both in widening the mental horizon of their readers and bringing the written language closer to the spoken word. Besides Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh's contribution in this field, some other books of travel were written before and after him, including *Safar-nāma* of *Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī* which mainly described his stay in England from 1230/1815 to 1234/1819, and which may be regarded as the first work of its kind written during the last century ; *Safar-nāma-yi Khusrau Mīrzā* by Muṣṭafā Afshār, who accompanied Prince Khusrau Mīrzā to Russia from Shavvāl 1244/April 1829 to Ramaḍān 1245/March 1830 after the murder of the Russian Minister A.S. Griboedov and his staff in Tehran in Sha'bān 1244/February 1829 ; Mīrzā Khānlar Khān's *Safar-nāma-yi Inglistān* (c. 1281/1864) ; and Mīrzā Farrukh Khān Amīnu'd-Daula's *Safar-nāma-yi Makka* (1316/1898). Incidentally these books of travel were among the first to make a frequent use of Western loanwords, which partly became indispensable to describe certain situations, objects, incidents and institutions, and were partly employed as a matter of fashion.

The simple and direct style was adopted by all patriots living inside the country or in exile. Mīrzā Malkum Khān, who had a fresh approach not only to political issues, but also to matters of language and style, deserves special attention. He introduced a style, which according to Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabā'ī, left an imprint on the Persian Press of the Constitutional period[3] and brought it nearer to the spoken word, as did his three plays, namely, *Sarguzasht-i Ashraf Khān*, *Ḥakīm-i 'Arabistān dar Ayyām-i Tavaqquf-i Oo dar Tehran*, *Ṭarīqa-yi Ḥukūmat-i Zamān Khān Burūjirdī* and *Ḥikāyat-i Karbalā Raftan-i Shāh-Qulī Mīrzā*. In all probability he wrote them during his stay in Istanbul. They were partly published as feuilleton in the newspaper *Ittiḥād* in 1326/1908 in Tabrīz. A complete edition was published in Berlin in 1340/1921, and a French translation of the plays called *Les Comédies de Malkom Khan* by A. Bricteux appeared in Paris in 1352/1933.

Born of Armenian parents in Iṣfahān, Malkum Khān, who later embraced Islam, had his early education in Europe. On his return to Iran, he joined Dāru'l-Funūn as a

1 *N. F M*, p. 12.
2 Op. cit., pp. 365-366.
3 *M. A. M. M. K.*, p. مب .

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teacher and also acted as an interpreter to European professors. Influenced by the liberal political ideas of the West, he showed a keeness for reform in his country's administration. At a later stage he even formed a kind of Freemasonry society in Tehran, which attracted the attention of certain discontented intellectuals. For his political views, he was banished to Istanbul but was recalled in 1288/1871. On his return, he presented the Shāh with a plan to form a National Assembly. Soon after, the Shāh conferred upon him the title of Nāẓimu'l-Mulk and appointed him the Iranian Minister in London in 1289/1872. He held this post until 1307/1889. He also represented Iran in the Congress of Berlin. The Shāh even conferred a Princedom upon him. But in 1308/1890 he was removed from his office for his political views. He joined hands with Sayyid Jamālu'd-Din and founded his famous newspaper *Qānūn* in London, which became immensely popular in Iran, in spite of the restrictions imposed upon its entry into the country for its violent attacks on the Iranian Government, the Shāh, and his ministers. After the assassination of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, Malkum Khān was appointed Minister in Rome and held this office untill the end of his life. He was alive when the Constitutional Revolution came about in 1324/1906, but was too weak and failing in health to take part in it. The laws passed by the first *Majlis*, however, had echoed his cherished principles, a true reward of a long struggle for the attainment of constitutional monarchy and individual rights.

Amongst other contemporary writers Mīrzā Āqā Khān of Kirmān (d. 1314/1896) and Mīrzā Ḥabīb of Iṣfahān (d. 1315/1897) had been especially influenced by the democratic ideas of the West.

Mīrzā Āqā Khān, who had lived in exile in Turkey on charges of belonging to the Bahā'ī sect and was later killed for his alleged assassination of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, wrote *Haftād u du Millat* and *Āyina-yi Sikandari* and was presumably the author of *Ṣad Khiṭāba* and *Si Maktūb*. He is further known for his initiation of anti-Arab prejudices in Iran.[1]

Mīrzā Ḥabīb of Iṣfahān, a staunch liberal, who took refuge in Turkey in 1285/1868 against charges of atheism, was associated with the famous Persian newspaper *Akhtar* of Istanbul. He also wrote *Dastūr-i Sukhan* (1286/1869), *Khaṭ va Khaṭṭāṭān* (1305/1888), *Dabīstān-i Pārsī* (1308/1890), and *Rāhnamā-yi Fārsī* (1309/1891) in simple and idiomatic prose. Besides, he published *Guzārish-i Mardum-gurīz* in 1286/1869, which is a Persian translation of Molières *Misanthrope*.[2] His outstanding literary achievement is the translation of Morier's *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* into Persian. This translation is generally associated with Shaikh Aḥmad Rūḥī (d. 1314/1896), but the facsimile of a part of a letter of Shaikh Aḥmad Rūḥī addressed to

1 *S.*, p. 374.

2 (*i*) *F. L. 'A.*, p. 23. (*ii*) *M. P. P. L*, p. 24.

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Prof. E. G. Browne and published in *Modern Persian Prose Literature*,[1] reveals that the translation was rendered into Persian by Mīrzā Ḥabīb of Isfahān and not by Shaikh Aḥmad Rūḥī of Kirmān. This translation is one of the most eminent literary productions of the period under discussion. If it makes a sharp departure from the literary tradition by introducing colloquial phrases and expressions, local idioms and a host of popular sayings and thus bringing it closer to the spoken language, it preserves some of the noblest features of classical prose. In him we have a translator who not only meets the requirements of the age with deftness and skill, but also maintains a strong link with the past traditions, and thus presents a work which has gone down in the history of Persian literature as a masterpiece of the 13th/19th century.

The Western influence not only rehabilitated idiomatic language in Persian literature, but it also gave it new norms and genres like novel and drama. These accelerated and accentuated the process of simplification of the language and brought home to the Iranian writer the special significance of colloquialism. The publication of Mīrzā Ja'far Qarājadāghī's Persian translation of Fatḥ 'Alī Ākhundzāda Darbandi's seven Turkish plays, first published in Tiflis about 1277/1861, broke fresh ground in Persian literature by the use of what the translator calls the common man's language:

.....بزبان عوام و سخنان روان وکلمات مانوس و عبارت معروف این کتاب مستطاب را نوشته
باتمام رسانید که بیسواد وبا سواد هر دو بخواندن و شنیدن از فوائد آن بهره مند شوند و اطفال
مظلوم که همیشه برای یاد گرفتن ترکیب کلمه وآموختن هجی در ورطهٔ عبارات مغلق
مستغرق و گرفتارند بخواندن این کتاب که بزبان خود آنها مسطور است خلاصی یافته سهولت
عبارت و مانوسی سخنان وسیلهٔ ترغیب و تشویق آنها گردید . آنچه که میخوانند و میاموزند
معنی آن را نیز فهمیده بصیرت و روشنائی حاصل کنند .[2]

.....He wrote this excellent book in popular language, using current phrases, familiar words and well-known expressions, so that both the educated and the uneducated benefit from studying and listening to its morals; and by reading this book which has been written in their own language, the poor, modest children may gain freedom from the abyss of abstruse phraseology in which they are caught up for learning verbal structure and spelling. The easy and familiar phraseology is now a source of encouragement for them. They will also understand and fully comprehend what they read and study.

The plays may be enumerated as *Vazīr-i Lankurān, Khirs-i Quldūr-Bāsān, Vukalā-yi Murāfa'a, Mullā-Ibrāhīm Khalīl-i Kīmiyāgar, Monsieur Jourdan, Mard-i Khasīs* and *Yūsuf Shāh Sarrāj*. The first five were reproduced in Europe with notes, glossaries and in some cases translations.[3]

1 Op. cit., facing p. 22.
2 *T. T.*, pp. 10-11.
3 *L. H. P.*, op. cit., p. 462.

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Other famous writers are 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Ṭālibof and Hājī Zainu'l-'Ābidīn of Marāgha, who, for the first time, introduced the Western art of story-telling in Persian. Ṭālibof's *Masāliku'l-Muḥsinīn* and Zainu'l-'Ābidīn's *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Beg*, although written in the form of travel books, have the characteristics of modern fiction and have simple and straightforward language. The latter created a sensation in Iran for its scathing criticism of the Iranian Government when first published anonymously. The publication of this three-volumed work was impossible in Iran due to the very nature of the book. Hence each volume was published at a different place. The first, which bears no date, was published in Cairo ; the second in 1323/1905 in Calcutta ; and the third in 1327/1909 in Istanbul. Its sincere and forceful tone had a profound effect on its readers. Browne considers it to be the best book for providing knowledge of the current speech and a general idea of the country to its readers.[1]

Last but not least, the emerging Press played an important role in lending simplicity to the language, though vestiges of the classical style lingered in some newspapers like *Thurayyā* and *Parvarish*, both founded in Cairo.

By the turn of the century, a new picture had emerged, which revealed the bridging, to a great extent, of the gulf between the writer and the spoken word, and setting into motion new forces, which were bound to effect far-reaching changes in the language.

The popularity of simple and direct style soon led to colloquial usage which infused a new life and vigour into the literary language.

1 Ibid., pp. 467-468.

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4

COLLOQUIALISM

A language cannot be fully standardized. It is bound to lose in vitality in what it gains in regimentation. "A vigorously regimented language would die from stiffness of the joints and boredom of the spirit."[1] The language must properly reflect contemporary thought in all its varying aspects. The classical idiom may suitably enshrine the ideas passed on to us from old generations, but new attitude towards such ideas will require a new axpression. Thus the new mode of thought and the new ways of living may be rightly expected to generate new vocabulary and even new modes of expression. The mere fact that a form of speech becomes a standard language is enough to limit its linguistic freedom. There are rules and usages for every standard or written language, but by constant use they may become stereotyped and lose their vigour. In such situations the language becomes rigid, and the conventional respect for stereotyped rules mars the picturesqueness and power of expression. The written language is, thus, gradually detached from that vigour and reality which is born of the intimate association with the people who speak it. It was precisely for this reason that Socrates cherished deep love for the colloquial word and expressed even his profoundest thought in the language of the people.[2] Less interested in the vigorous native reinforcement and yet conscious of the necessity of new terms, the written language meets its requirements by borrowing loanwords from foreign languages as literary Persian did from Arabic, Turkish and French, etc. The language may thus become more foreign and abstract in character. It is here that the role of popular speech comes into full play. Through this can we give the language the vitality it so badly needs. Popular speech and dialect may have many an uncouth word; but they are also rich in vivid phrases, fluent and vigorous words, subtle and

1 *W.W*, p. 198.

2 *PL.*, p. 108.

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picturesque compounds, and even in ancient words which have been unfortunately driven out of the sophisticated speech.

Linguistic fashions spring from the educated. It was, therefore, most welcome if a group of educated Iranis, particularly in the 14th/20th century, tried to relax the vigilance of the educated over the language, and introduced into it what may be regarded as democratic words and phrases, which had so for been excluded from the standard pattern of written Persian. These brought freshness and vitality to the language because a language is bound to derive vigour from the native soil in which its roots lie buried. A rigidly standardized language would degenerate if it did not draw its nourishment from the common soil.

Generally speaking, the colloquial phrase was shunned in literary Persian, with the result that a large number of popular words gradually perished, thus impoverishing the stock of the Persian language.[1] The French Orientalist Barbier de Meynard assigns the cause of general indifference to the colloquial word in Islamic languages to deep-rooted prejudice against its use as vulgar and offensive.[2] This, however, should not mean that the popular Persian idiom was altogether unwelcome. There is no dearth of colloquial words in classical dictionaries. In fact, in all ages poets and writers had been tempted to employ popular vocabulary, but its use was severely restricted. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Ali Jamāl-zāda has cited many instances of the use of colloquial words by classical poets.[3]

According to Sa'īd Nafīsī, stories told in coffee-houses and by the wayside played a vital role in preserving the simple, unadorned, popular language.[4]

In the 12th/18th century Jamāl Khvānsārī (d. 1125/1713) made a determined attempt to introduce the popular language in his book *Kulsūm Nana*.

Under the new impact some of the 13th/19th century Persian writers became conscious of the immense role of the popular language, but in the face of the rigid standards imposed by the written language, the start could be only flimsy and sproadic.

The new, simple, and direct style in Nāṣiru'd Din Shāh's reign tempted men like Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, Jā'far Qarāja-dāghī, 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Ṭālibof, and Yaghmā of Jandaq to democratize the language further. Ḥabib Iṣfahāni's *Guzārish-i Mardum-gurīz* is marked by an occasional use of proverbs and colloquial phrases which he substitutes for French words. In *Hājjī Bābā* not only colloquial expressions and local idioms, but also phrases associated with different classes and vocations have been used. Ja'far Qarāja-dāghī spotlighted the educational value of the stage, and included among his objectives, the appreciation of the plays he translated even by the unlettered,

1 (*i*) *L. N.*, no. 40, p. 404. (*ii*) *F. L. 'A.*, pp. 102-103.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid , pp 12-19.

4 *"Zabān-i Dāstān"*, *R. K.*, yr. vi, no. ix, p. 94.

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including children.[1] The language which he used so successfully, was the language of the masses. He even broke fresh ground by employing the colloquial pronunciation and accent in dialogues, which he claimed, was an unprecedented step in Persian literature. Examples of such dialogues may be given below :

بی شک دست و پاش را خورد کرده روانه خواهند نمود[2]

They will undoubtedly despatch him off after breaking his hands and feet.

بهادری ده تاست نه تاش گریختن است[3]

Nine out of ten parts of bravery is flight.

پول زیادی بردار ، هم برای ما هم واسه خودت[4]

Take up plenty of money, both for us and for yourself.

غلام علی خنده کنان واسه چه[5]

What makes Ghulam Ali laugh?

This was a revolutionary change and spoke eloquently for the aim of bringing Persian literature closer to common life and language.

Yaghmā of Jandaq, who apart from being a poet of note, also wrote simple prose, and was the first to write pure Persian in Modern times,[6] also employed colloquial accent in a *nauha* or "lamentation" of nineteen verses with the following opening :

دلم از زندگانی سخت سیره بمیرم هرچه زوتر بار دیره[7]

My heart is very sick of life, however soon I die, still it is too late.

The tendency became more pronounced in the Constitutional period. One of its most eminent exponents was the famous orator Sayyid Jamālu'd-Din Vā'iẓ, who had started delivering his sermons and speeches in colloquial language even before the Constitutional movement had taken shape. Browne ascribes the tremendous influence of Vā'iẓ on the masses to his use of the common man's language.[8] His famous work *Ru'yā-yi-Ṣādiqa* and his articles in *Ḥablu'l-Matīn* published under the fictitious pen-name 74 also had a colloquial element.

1 See p. 38.
2 Op. cit., *H. K. Q.*, p. 42.
3 Ibid., p. 46.
4 Op cit., *S. M. K.*, p. 32.
5 Op. cit., *H. M. J.*, p. 46.
6 *S. N. F. M.*, p. 17.
7 Cf. *L. H. P.*, op. cit., p. 343.
8 *P. R.*, (*T. I. I.*), p. 363.

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Since colloquialism gained popularity in all forms of writing as time went on, it would be proper to survey its expansion under separate heads.

JOURNALISM

A minute classification would not be possible as journalism, especially its comic side, which first gave colloquialism its full and free expression, was inextricably mixed up with humorous and satirical poetry. Together the journalist and the poet exerted to bring about a new social and political consciousness in the country. It was precisely to get closer to the common man that a section of journalists and poets launched a lively experiment in colloquialism and realized its immense potentialities. The reason why they invariably combined humour with their writings was that the popular language was not yet considered respectable for serious expression.

Shaikh Aḥmad Kirmānī, editor of the comic newspaper *Nidā-yi Vaṭan* (1324/1906) and *Kashkūl* (1329/1909) of Tehran, published articles in colloquial Persian in the latter newspaper. *Kashkūl*, along with *Ḥasharātu'l-Arḍ* (1326/1908—1327/1909) of Tabrīz, played an effective role in popularizing the colloquial language,[1] which found its best expression in *Charand Parand*, the humorous column written by 'Alī Akbar Dihkhudā (1297/1880—1334(s)/1956) in the famous newspaper of the Constitutional period *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl* (1325/1907—1326/1908). Dihkhudā, who was not only a journalist, but also a poet and a scholar of repute, promoted the cause of the popular language by introducing it, first, in the four-volumed *Amthāl u Ḥikam* (1308 (s)/1930—1311 (s)/1933), and then in the monumental lexicographical work *Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, started by him in 1325(s)/1946. He later explained that the main architects of the language were the people, who expressed new thoughts by coining new words, many of which survived as an integral part of the language for their suitability and expressiveness. But, unfortunately, he added, literati had shown consistent apathy to these wonderful words through centuries. Their value, however, could not be underestimated as they had no substitutes in the literary language and were thus indispensable.[2] He rightly advocated their use to enrich the stock of the language and himself made abundant use of colloquial phrases and popular idioms. A brief specimen from *Charand Parand* will serve to illustrate his colloquial style :

آدم حرف هم که نزند دلش می پوسد ما یک رئیق داریم اسمش دمدمی است . دمدمی حالا بیشتر از یک سال بود موی دماغ ماشده بود که کبلائی تو که هم ازین روزنامه نویسها پر تری هم دنیا دیده تری هم تجربه ات زیاد تر است پس چرا یک روزنامه نمی نویسی ؟ میگفتم عزیزم دمدمی اولا همین تو که الان بامن ادعای دوستی میکنی آن

1 *F. L. 'A.*, p. 27.
2 *L. N.*, op. cit.

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وقت دشمن من خواهی شد . ثانیا از اینها گذشته حالا آمدیم روزنامه بنویسیم بگوببینیم چه بنویسیم . یک قدری سرش را پائین میانداخت بعد از مدتی فکر سرش را بلند کرده میگفت چه میدانم از همین حرفها که دیگران می نویسند . معایب بزرگان را بنویس . بملت دوست و دشمنش را بشناسان میگفتم عزیزم والله بالله اینجا ایران است در اینجا این کارها عاقبت ندارد . میگفت پس یقین توهم مستبد هستی پس حکماً تو هم بله ... وقتی این حرف را می شنیدم می ماندم معطل برای اینکده می فهمیدم همین یک کلمهٔ تو هم بله.. چقدر آب بر میدارد . [1]

If a man does not talk, his heart will rot. We have a friend, Damdamī by name. It is more than a year that he has constantly bored me. He would say, "Boss ! you are older than these newsmen. You have seen more of life and you have more experience. Why not edit a newspaper?" I would reply, "Dear Damdamī ! firstly, you who are making such loud claims of friendship with me, will turn hostile. Well, apart from this, let's get down to brass tacks. Tell me, what shall we write?" He would slightly throw his head down, have a little thought, would raise it and say, "What do I know? Well, the sort of things the others write about. Write on the failings of the big ones. Introduce to the nation her friends and foes." I would snap, "By Jove ! this is Iran. These pursuits will lead you nowhere." He would retort, "Surely you are a despot too, and certainly, well ! you too..." When I heard these words I would be flabbergasted, since I realized what meaning these words 'well ! you too...,' carried !

During the Constitutional period another well-known poet-journalist Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Dīn (1288/1871—1309 (s)/1931) editor of *Nasīm-i Shimāl*, which was founded by him in 1325/1907, freely employed the spoken word in his poetry. His newspaper gained reputation for its use of popular language and played as noble role in the dissemination of colloquial vocabulary. Amongst the weekly and fortnightly journals of this type may be counted *Shab-nāma*, *Shaidā* and *'Ankabūt* of Tabrīz, *Nāhīd*, *Gul-i Zard*, *Nasīm-i Ṣabā*, *Umīd*, *Bābā Shamal*, *Hāji Bābā*, *Taufīq*, and *Mullā Naṣru'd-Dīn*[2] of Tehran, *Āgāhī* of Mashhad, and *Ṣadā-yi Iṣfahān* of the city of that name. These newspapers promoted the cause of the popular language in a big way, both through prose and poetry. *Umīd* of Tehran was one of the most outstanding examples of comic journalism in Persian language. It was founded in 1308 (s)/1929 and continued untill 1315 (s)/1936.

1 Cf. *S. N. F. M.*, p. 26.

2 It was originally founded in Caucasia.

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POETRY

Colloquial expression in poetry in the 13th/19th century made a sporadic beginning with such poets as Muḥammad Ḥusain Qārānī, known as Nabīu's-Sāriqīn (d. 1290/1873), whose collection was first published in Kirmān in 1323(s)/1944 and later in Tehran twice by Bāstānī Pārīzī and Ḥusain Kūhi respectively. Stray colloquial expressions may be seen even in the works of Qā'im Maqām and Qā'ānī (1222/1807—1270/1853). A poem *Shumaisa-yi Landaniyya* by Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir, which was published in London in 1299/1882, also contained some colloquial words. However, the first modern poet who took a rather sustained interest in popular idiom was Taqī Dānish (1288/1871—1326(s)/1948) of Tehran, whose collection is known as *Dīvān-i Ḥakim Sūrī*. The poet followed in the footsteps of the famous humorous poet Bushāq Aṭ'ima (9th/15th century) who mainly wrote on food.

The Constitutional period produced certain clear-cut and well-defined attitudes in poetry. If the poet stood out as one of the main architects of the Revolution for inspiring his readers with a new national spirit and reformist zeal, he also made new experiments not only in style and form, but also in the language of his poetry. Since the main objective of the new poet was to bridge the gulf between himself and the common man, it was but natural for him to show zeal for the popular language. Amongst the earliest poets of the Constitutional period who gave the popular idiom a chance to tread the generally forbidden paths were Dihkhudā and Nasīm-i Shimāl of Gīlān. The poems of the latter published in *Bāgh-i Bihisht* make an interesting study of the increasing use, not only of the colloquial phrase, but also of slang. These poems were originally published in the *Nasīm-i Shimāl*. The following opening stanza of a poem may be marked for its slangy expressions :

تا کلّهٔ شیخنا ملنگ است تا در دل ما غبار و زنگ است
تا پیر دلیل مست و منگ است تا رشته بدست این دبنگ است
این قافله تا بحشر لنگ است[1]

While tipsy is the skull of our reverend master,
While our heart is full of dust and rust,
While the old guide is drunk and dizzy,
While this humbug still holds string,
This caravan is lame and late till Doomsday.

Dihkhudā whose incisive humour in *Charand Parand* achieved special fame, also wrote humorous poems in the popular language, which according to Muḥammad Mu'īn (1291 (s)/1913—1350(s)/1971), gave his poetry one of the three distinct styles ; the

1 May 11, 1908, cf. *P. P. M. P.*, p. 194.

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other two being the classical and the modern.[1] One of these, a rather slangy poem, may partly be quoted below :

مردود خدا راندهٔ هر بنده اکبلای از دلقک معروف نماینده اکبلای
با شوخی و با مسخره و خنده اکبلای نز مرده گذشتی و نه از زنده اکبلای
هستی تو چه یک پهلو و یک دنده اکبلای[2]

Forsaken by God and rejected by man, O Kablay !
You are conspicuous by your well-known *dervish's* garment, O Kablay !
By your fun and frolic and humour, O Kablay !
Youh ave spared neither dead nor living, O Kablay !
So obstinate and stubborn you are, O Kablay.

Another of his poems, which appeared in *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl*,[3] was written in the typical colloquial accent. It opens with the following lines :

خاک بسرم بچه بهوش آمده بخواب نه نه یکسر دو گوش آمده

Dust on my head, the child has woken up,
Go to sleep my pet, the Bogey-man is coming.

The famous poet Īraj Mirzā (1291/1874—1344/1925) went much farther. His name commands respect for bridging the gulf between the spoken word and the literary idiom and adopting popular language as the main vehicle of expression for the first time. This has given him special importance in the history of modern poetry. According to the contemporary poet Nādir-pur :

ایرج شیوهٔ فرد و تحولی خاص در سخن ایجاد کرد . یعنی فاصلهٔ موجود بین کلام عوام و لفظ ادبیات را از میان برداشت و زبانی در شعر برگزید که از زبان عامه جدا نبود .[4]

Iraj introduced an individual style and wrought a special change in poetry, that is, he removed the present distance between the colloquial word and the literary vocabulary and selected a language for poetry which was no different from the popular speech.

It will be interesting to quote some of the verses of Īraj Mīrzā to elucidate the point :

اخم مکن ! گوش به عرضم بده مفت نخواهم ز تو قرضم بده[5]

Do not frown. Give ear to my request. I do not want to have it gratis, give it to me on credit.

نیست درین گفتهٔ من سوسهٔ گر تو بمن قرض دهی بوسهٔ[6]

There is no evil suggestion in my words if you advance me a kiss on loan.

1 *M. A. D.*, pp. 10-11.
2 *S. I.*, Nov. 20, 1907, cf. *P. P. M. P.*, p. 180.
3 Feb. 27, 1908, op. cit., p. 249.
4 *C. D.*, p. ج.
5 *I. M.*, p. 101.
6 Ibid.

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در تجدید و تجدد وا شد ادبیات شلم شوروا شد[1]

The gate of modernization and modernism has been flung open : literature is in chaos.

گر شعر دگر کلان جفنگست شعر تو کچل کلا چه اجفنگ[2]

If the poetry of others is sheer nonsense, yours is by far the more flat and absured.

At this time Muḥammad Ja'far Ḥasrat-zāda Pāzārgādī contributed poems written in colloquial language to the weekly *Ẓarīf* of Shīrāz. Yet another poet Afsar, whose collection of poems *Pand-nāma-yi Afsar* was published in Shīrāz in 1310 (s)/1932, wrote in the spoken language.

'Ishqi (1312/1894—1342/1924) is another important poet who realized the strength of the colloquial word. Slangs found their way into his vituperative poetry primarily reserved for punching attacks on his political apponents. His *Mustazād-i Majlis-i Chahārum* is a true specimen of such poetry.[3] He even used colloquial pronunciation in one of his plays, *Bachcha-yi Gadā*.[4]

Some of the contemporary poets have taken to popular language and even accent in all seriousness. Nīmā Yūshīj (1315/1897—1338(s)/1959), one of the pioneers of modern poetry, who broke the old order of rhymed verse on the ground that in doing away with music and conventional rhythm and giving poetry the shape of declamation he was inspired with the motive to bring it closer to life,[5] could not remain unmoved by the new colloquial trend. He has used not only popular phrases but also local vocabulary in his poems. *Mādarī va Pisarī*,[6] may be cited as an example of the apt use of the former. He has even lauded the harmonious blend effected by the Belgian poet Verhaeren (1855-1961) in his poem *a-paques* with a popular song.[7]

Muḥammad Ḥusain Shahryār has employed colloquial language in all moods ; for instance, he has introduced spoken element in the moving elegy on his mother entitled *Ai-Vāyyī* Mātharam,[8] a specimen from which may be given below :

نه ، او نمرده ، میشنوم من صدای او
با بچه ها هنوز سرو کله میزند
ناهید ، لال شو
بیژن ، برو کنار

1 Ibid., p. 120.
2 Ibid., p. 29.
3 *K. M. 'I.*, vol. iii, book vi, pp. 97-101.
4 Ibid., book iv, p. 61.
5 (*i*) *D. N.*, p. 75. (*ii*) *N. Z. A.*, p. 12. (*iii*) *KAV.*, yr. v., no. xxii, p. 27.
6 *N. M.*, *Ābān-māh* 1, A.H. (s)1325, p. 31.
7 *A. I.*, p. 78.
8 *M. S.*, pp. 115-124.

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کفگیر بی صدا

دارد برای ناخوش خود آش میپزد [1]

No she is not dead, I hear her voice.
She is still nagging at the kids.
"Nāhīd! be quiet!
"Bīzhan ! be off".
With noiseless skimmer.
She is cooking soup for her ailing self.

Again he has written a long humorous poem in colloquial language which is entitled *Guftārī-bi Zabān-i 'Āmīāna*.[2] Instances of this trend can be found in many other poems by him including his reflective poem *Mūmīāyī*.[3]

This mixture of the literary and the colloquial has found a delightful blend in Farīdūn Tavallulī 's *Kārūn*. The poem opens in the following vien :

بلم ، آرام چون قوی سبکبار بنر می بر سرکارون همی رفت [4]
The tiny boat, calm like a care-free swan, sailed gently
on the surface of the Kārūn.

It gradually develops into the song of a lover sung in an informal strain, until it merges again and again into the piercingly sweet laments of the great 5th/11th century-dialect poet Bābā Ṭāhir 'Uryān of Hamadān. The fusion starts with the following lines of Bābā Ṭāhir :

دو زلفونت بود تار ربابم چه میخواهی ازین حال خرابم
تو کم با ما سریاری نداری چرا هر نیمه شو آئی بخوابم [5]

Two tresses of yours form the string of my rebec.
What do you expect from this wretched state of mine ?
You do not wish to be my love.
Wherefore you come to me in dreams every midnight ?

These formal and informal notes blend into a unified whole in the poem and present as exquisite harmony not only of music and emotion, but also of the language.

Tavallulī has used popular expressions in his humorous poems interspersed with "imitation" prose in his books *Kārvān* and *At-Tafāṣīl*.

The poet has laid special emphasis on a judicious adoption of the most elegant words of the popular language in case of need, as for example, when they have to act as substitutes for cumbersome old vocabulary.[6]

1 Ibid., p 117.
2 *SH*., ii, pp. 86-87.
3 Ibid., p. 129.
4 *RA*., p. 147.
5 *T. B. T. 'U*., p. 33.
6 *RA*., pp. 36, 38.

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Nādir Nādir-pūr, who otherwise shows little interest in colloquial expressions, uses some words of common origin as *murdāb*[1] which forms the titles of one of his poems, *Jagan*,[2] *būta*[3] and *gavan*,[4] etc., which evoke new images and bring in a new vigour, freshness, and beauty in the poems and remind us of the immense strength and potentialities of popular words. The word *murdāb* has such a strong metaphorical appeal for the modern poet that Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī has named his poetical collection as *Māh dar Murdāb*.[5]

There is another category of poets who have been composing poems in popular idiom under fictitious names. This includes the lyrical poet Rahi Mu'ayyirī (1288 (s)/1909—1347/1968) who wrote under the fictitious name of *Zāghcha* and *Shāh-i Parīān* in certain magazines as *Bābā Shamal* and *Tihrān-i Muṣavvar*. Other prominent poets in this category include Ghulām Rīḍā Rūḥānī, who wrote as *Ajinna* in *Umīd*, and 'Abbās Furāt, who wrote under the name *Ibn-i Jinn* in various newspapers.

Amongst other poets Bāmdād has done new experiments to bring the language closer to the people. In his poem *Shi'rī ki Zindigīst*, he traces the origion of the metre, diction and rhyme of his poetry to men in the street.[6] Amongst typical examples of colloquial vocabulary and informal accent are his poems Shabāna, Rāz, Bārūn and Parīā.[7] The opening of *Shabāna* may be cited as a specimen of the accent employed by the poet :

یه شب مهتاب
ماه میاد تو خواب
منو می بره
کوچه به کوچه[8]

One moon-lit night,
The moon comes in my dreams.
It takes me away,
From lane to lane.

The poetess Furūgh Farrukhzād (1312(s)/1934—1345(s)/1967), whose unconventional sex-ridden themes created a sensation in literary circles in Iran in the recent past,

1 *C. D.*, p. 71.
2 Ibid., p. 68.
3 Ibid., p. 90.
4 Ibid.
5 Tehran, A.H. (s)1343.
6 *H. T.*, p. 65.
7 Ibid., pp. 108, 113, 114, 119.
8 Ibid., p. 108.

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has made in one poem, namely, *'Alī quft Mādarash Rūzī*, excessive use of colloquial vocabulary and accent, to wit :

علی کوچیکه
علی بونه گیر
نصف شب از خواب پرید
چشما شو می مالید با دس
سه چار تا خمیازه کشید
پا شد نشس[1]

Ali is small,
Ali makes excuses,
He flew from sleep at midnight,
Rubbed his eyes with hand,
Yawned three, four times,
Got up ; sat down.

One thing common in some of the colloquial poems of Bāmdād and Furūgh Farrukhzād is the tell-tale style of these poems, which provides on easy access to colloquial language.

Amongst other poets who have shown interest in colloquial phraseology may be mentioned Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥālat and Mahdi Suhailī.

FICTION

From the pedantic classical prose to colloquialism and slang is a long distance. Fashions set in Persian language, however, have made the change not only possible, but also popular in certain quarters. The style introduced in prose by Dihkhudā was zealously followed by Jamāl-zāda in his short stories, with whom it became a mission to promote the cause of colloquialism, as he rightly believed it to be a source of strength and richness for the language. As early as in 1337/1919 he had stressed the immense potentialities of colloquial language and had advocated its use by writers to meet the growing needs of Persian as a living language.[2] Much later, he took up the same cause and emphasized the use of popular words not merely for their indispensability, but also for the sake of expansion of the language. As the pioneer of this movement, his importance in modern Persian language and literature cannot be over emphasized. By advocating free and judicious use of popular phrases he had shown awareness of the writer's role as the custodian and even an architect of the language. In his first collection of short stories *Yakī Būd Yakī Na-būd* he had to add a glossary of colloquial and dialectal words and slangs for the benefit of the common reader, since these had been usually overlooked by lexicographers and shunned by writers.[3] Much later

1 *T. D.*, p. 123.
2 *Y. Y.*, p. 13.
3 Ibid., pp. 110-135.

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in 1341 (s)/1962, he published his valuable *Farhang-i Lughāt-i 'Āmīāna* to plead the cause he had taken up about half a century ago. He sticks to his point of view with remarkable tenacity, though he has dropped in a word of caution for modern writers against an exaggerated use of colloquialism,[1] to which he seems to be tempted himself at times. General evasion of popular phrases, he contends, has kept them isolated from the literary language and hastened the oblivion of many ; thus impoverishing the stock of the language as a whole. But these words and phrases, he points out, have not failed to impress their intrinsic worth upon the minds of classical masters, who were tempted to use them in spite of the general taboo. Even lexicons like *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* (1062/1652) and *Bāhār-i 'Ajam* (1162/1749) had to include them in written language. It will do well to cite a random example from one who is not only the first short story writer in modern Persian literature, but also one of the first and foremost advocates of the popular language :

من هاج و واج این جنس دوپا بودم و میخواستم ببینم از زیر کاسه چه نیم کاسه بیرون خواهد آمد . ولی یارو یک دفعه بدون مقدمه دست از ریش ما کشید و بنا کرد بجان و عزت و دولت دودمان خاقان السلطنه دعا کردن . لبهایش مثل دندانهای آسیاب می جنبید و آرد دعا بیرون می ریخت . پیش خود گفتم شاید جنون تعارف بسرش زده . باز تا وقتیکه تعارفها راجع بخود مان بود چیزی بود ولی بمن چه دخلی دارد که خدا در خانهٔ خاقان السلطنه را ببندد یا هزار سال هم نبندد . در این فکر و خیال بودم که طرف بی چشم و رو باز یک دفعه خاقان السطنه را کنار گذاشت و چسپید بجان فغفور الدوله رئیس الوزرای وقت . این دفعه آسیاب بجای دعا و تعارف بنای نفرین و لعنت آرد کردن را گذاشت و معلوم شد یارو همان قدر که خوش تعارف است بد فحش هم هست .[2]

I was astounded by this two-legged creature and wanted to see what cat would be out of the bag ! But the guy abruptly spared me and started praying for the life, honour and good fortune of Khāqānu's-Salṭana. His lips moved like the grinder of a water-mill and turned out the flour of prayers. I thought he had been afflicted with 'courtesy mania'. Anyhow as long as these courtesies concerned me they had some meaning ; but how the dickens was I concerned if God had closed up Khāqānu's-Salṭana's house, or would not do so for another one thousand years ? As I thought over it, this barefaced fellow suddenly skipped from Khāqānu's-Salṭana to Faghfūru'd-Daula, the Prime Minister of the day and trained his guns upon him. This time the water-mill started turning out the flour of hate and curse instead of prayers and courtesies ; and it dawned on me that if the fellow was good at formal courtesies, he also excelled in the use of foul language.

1 Op. cit., p. 97.
2 *Y. Y.*, p. 45.

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What seemed a lone voice found an ardent comrade in Ṣādiq Hidāyat (1281 (s)/1903—1330 (s)/1951), who carried the mission with great devotion and enriched the literary language by a free and artistic use of popular phrases, metaphors, allusions, idioms and proverbs. In his Introduction to *Nairangistān*, Ṣādiq Hidāyat laid stress on the close and peculiar relationship which the idioms, proverbs and verbal allusions of a language had with the genius of a people who spoke it. The closer these were to the popular genuis, the more vigorous and lively they turned out to be. The impact of these two writers was so great that colloquialism gradually grew into a movement in literature and captured the imagination of the ordinary writer, so that it became a popular medium of literary expression during the last quarter of a century.

Ṣādiq Hidāyat's love of democratic language is amply manifest in the following brief specimen from his story *Dāsh Ākul* :

همه اهل شیراز میدانستند که داش آکل و کاکا رستم سایه یک دیگر را با تیر میزدند . یک روز داش آکل روی سکوی قهوه خانهٔ دومیل چندک زده بود . همانجا که پا توغ قدیمیش بود . قفس کرکی که رویش شلهٔ سرخ کشیده بود پهلویش گذاشته بود و با سرانگشتش یخ را دور کاسهٔ آبی میگرداند . ناگاه کاکا رستم از در درآمد . نگاه تحقیر آمیزی باوانداخت و همینطور که دستش پر شالش بود رفت روی سکوی مقابل نشست . بعد رو کرد بشاگرد قهوه چی و گفت . . . .[1]

The whole of Shīrāz knew that Dāsh Ākul and Kākā Rustam were at daggers drawn with each other. One day Dāsh Ākul was squatting on a bench in the coffee house of Dumīl which was his old haunt. He had put beside him a quail's cage, which he had wrapped with a scarlet cloth, and turned ice in a bowl of water with the tip of his finger. Suddenly Kākā Rustam walked in. He cast a contemptuous glance at him, and as he had entered with his hand tucked into his sash, he went forward and occupied a seat on the bench lying opposite. Then turning his face towards the coffee house bearer he said . . . .

He went a step further, Jamālzāda had confined his writings to popular phraseology but had not reproduced the verbal peculiarities of the spoken language. Hidāyat's attempt to reproduce a faithful copy of the street accent may be seen in the succeeding lines of the same story, but he did not pursue it as assidiously as he pursued the idiom itself. Thus in most of his dialogues the standard literary accent has been reproduced. It was given to men like Ṣādiq Chūbuk to pursue the innovation to its extreme end.

Ṣādiq Chūbak expresses the feelings, passions and thoughts of his characters, usually coming from lower classes, in their own typical indioms and phrases and reproduces them in their own accent. But in his use of the popular idiom, he idulges

1 *"Dāsh Ākul," S. Q. K.*, p. 43.

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in great exaggeration. To quote Vera Kubīčkovā, Ṣādiq Chūbak allows people to speak a vulgar language which in reality they would never use.[1] Herbert W. Duda has made the following interesting comment on Kubīčkovā's opinion : "Perhaps there is an intention (in Chūbak's use of such language) to bring the younger generation around to new ways of thinking by means of shocking them *pour epater le bourgeois.*"[2]

Amongst other prominent writers who have made use of the colloquial language. may be mentioned Jalāl Āl-i Aḥmad (1302 (s)/1923—1348 (s)/1969) and Buzurg 'Alavī. Āl-i Aḥmad has employed the colloquial expressions even in his descriptive passages. Buzurg 'Alavī, however, has desisted from excessive use of the popular language and yet retained the purity of colloquial Persian in his writings. According to G. M. Wickens, ". . . . Unlike several others, he has not turned from artificial ornamentation and 'correct' cliches merely to fall into banality, jargon, bizarre dialectal forms, exaggerated slang, or deliberate obscenity."[3]

Colloquial Persian has now captured the imagination of young fiction writers and become a fashion. A casual glance at a popular Persian magazine will amply prove this statement. An outstanding specimen of this trend is the comical weekly *Kārīkātūr* edited by Muḥsin Divallū and published in Tehran.

DRAMA

Another affective vehicle of popular expression by its very nature is drama Like some other forms and genres of Persian literature as novel and short story, it owes its present origin and popularity to Western influences, though plays existed in Iran before the advent of Western civilization in the form of *Taqlīd* or *Rū Ḥaudī* and *Ta'ziya*. *Taqlīd* was a kind of a burlesque or farce which was played on festive occasions like marriages by persons known as *muqallid*, *muṭrib* or *bāzīqar*. This entertainment was provided in the street language, but unfortunately no record of these plays has been kept. Since they were forgotten after their short life, they have left no visible impression on the literary language. *Ta'ziyas*, on the other hand, were religious or passion plays and portrayed the events of the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain in 61/680. These were staged in the month of *Muḥarram* and gradullay won state patronage under the Qājārs; so much so, that a stage known as *Takya-yi Daulat* was provided for them in Tehran. These plays evoked deep emotion. According to Sir Lewis Pelly "If the success of a drama is to be measured by the effect which it produces upon the people for whom it is composed, or upon the audiences before whom it is represented, no play has ever surpassed the tragedy known in the Mussulman world as that of Hasan and Husain."[4]

1 *H. P. L.*, p. 397, cf. *M. P. P. L.*, p. 128.
2 Cf. *M. P. P. L.*, p. 128.
3 Buzurg 'Alavī's "Portmanteau," *U. T. Q.*, p. xxviii, 1958.
4 *M. P. H. H.*, vol. i, preface, p. iii.

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Mīrzā Ja'far Qarāja-Dāghī's translations of Ākhūnd-zāda's works and Mīrzā Malkum Khān's plays laid the foundation of modern drama in Iran. After his return from Europe, Nāsiru'd-Dīn Shāh instructed Muzayyinu'd-Daula to stage dramas in the hall of Dāru'l-Funūn, and some of Molière's plays were enacted.[1]

The stage has made quite rapid progress ever since. A number of plays have been written by men like Yūsuf I'tiṣāmu'l-Mulk, Riḍā Kamāl Shahrzād (1317/1899—1316 (s)/1937) and Sayyid 'Alī Naṣr (1311/1893—1340 (s)/1961). 'Alī Naṣr was a great lover of dramatic art whose contribution to the Iranian stage, both as a playwright and as one of its founders, cannot be overestimated. Jamāl-zāda credits him with one hundred and twenty plays which included ninty-six original works.[2] Among other writers may be included 'Alī Naqī Vazīrī, who founded a school of music and a club on his return from Europe in 1303(s)/1924, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz, Sādiq Hidāyat, 'Alī Jalālī, and 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain Nūshīn. Dhabīḥ Bihrūz wrote the satirical play *Jījak 'Alī Shāh*, published in Berlin in 1302 (s)/1923, and the historical drama *Shāh-i Īrān va Bānū-yi Arman*. *Ja'far Khān az Farang Āmada*, a comedy by Ḥasan Muqaddam 'Alī Naurūz made a mark for its popular language. This play was published twice and was staged at the Grand Hotel in Tehran in 1300 (s)/1921 by the Īrān Jāvān Club. It was translated into French and published in Alexandria in 1304 (s)/1925 under the title *Le Cahier Persan*. Ṣādiq Hidāyat's plays *Māziyār* and *Parvīn Dukhtar-i Sāsān*, Sa'īd Nafīsī's *Ākhirīn Yādgār-i Nādir Shāh* and *Qurbān-i Yak Dukhtar*, and 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain Nūshīn's translations of Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing (Hayāhu dar bara-yi Hīch)* and *Merchant of Venice (Tājir-i Vinīzī)*, and Maurice Maeterlinck's *'Parauda-yi Ābī'* have made special mark.

By its very nature, drama has brought home the importance of the spoken word. Plays staged in Iran, especially in Tehran, run into hundreds. In their turn they have left a mark of their own on popular speech.[3] Film industry, radio, and television have now joined the stage ; and every drama played on the stage, broadcast on radio, shown in television, or shot in film, marks a step forward towards the democratization of the language.

TAṢNĪF

Another manifestation of the popular language is the *taṣnīf* (musical composition). Like folk-tales, *taṣnīf* has played a significant role in preserving and popularizing colloquial expressions.

According to Browne "*Taṣnīf* or balland sung by the troubadour and wandering minstrel existed in Persia from very early—perhaps even from pre-Islamic—times."[4]

1 *"Nathr-i Fārsī dar Daura-yi Ākhirī,"* *N. K. N. I.*, p. 16.
2 Op. cit., p. 44.
3 *T. T. N. F. M.*, p. 112.
4 Op. cit., vol. iv, p. 221.

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It was primarily a simple love-song ; but its contents could also be topical, polemical or satirical. Since the literary snob did not pay much attention to this form of syllabic verse, it has not been wholly preserved. During the Constitutional period, when the poet was in search of new media for his political and social themes, and was also impelled by the urge to come closer to the masses in whose language it had always been written, *taṣnīf* found a rare opportunity to win popularity amongst the educated classes.

'Ārif Qazvīnī (1300/1883—1312(s)/1934) gained fame as a *taṣnīf* writer. He even used it as a medium for expressing political opinions and passions. Amongst other poets Bahār may be especially mentioned for composing *taṣnīf* as a means of mass communication. With the introduction of gramophone records and movies *taṣnīf* became more popular.

The colloquial language is no longer taboo. It proves that language, though regulated, is not fixed for all time, but must change in company with changing conditions of life.[1] About a hundred years ago, it sneaked into the standard language through poets and writers of courage and initiative. It has now assumed vast and even staggering proportions. Persian magazines freely employ popular language. Scores of books written in recent times contain colloquial expressions. Important person do not, at times, hesitate to use it in formal speeches and official addresses.[2] Scholars like Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī-zāda (1295/1878—1348(s)/1970) have advocated the inclusion of familiar current words of local origion in a comprehensive dictionary, if they have no substitute in standard Persian.[3] Colloquialism has given new and fresh blood to the language. But a note of warning is needed. The excessive use of colloquial language has now developed into a literary craze and stands in sharp contrast with the rigid and pedantic standards of earlier times of which it seems to be the direct reaction. A trend has developed to indulge in exaggerated slang, employ bizarre constructions, or use terms of purely local interest. There is need for a check, so that the new element becomes a source of strength and enrichment rather than prove a danger to the standard language, as feared by scholars like Khānlarī, who, though in favour of the use of colloquial expressions as employed by Dihkhudā, sounds a note of caution against their excessive use for their strictly local and even domestic character, and consequent liability to different interpretations.[4] As already pointed out, even Jamāl-zāda, that doughty champion of colloquialism, has expressed his disapproval of the exaggerated stress on popular language in literary writings.[5]

1 *M. E. M.*, preface p. vii.
2 *F. L. 'A.*, p. 96.
3 *"Jumbish-i Millī-yi Adabī,"* *A.*, yr. xii, no. viii-ix, p. 386.
4 *Z. F*, p. 125.
5 See p. 51.

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COLLOQUIAL SPEECH

In view of its rapid intrusion into the formal language, a study of the phonetical peculiarities of colloquial speech is necessary.

Not two persons speak exactly the same way. The differences may be due to various factors, such as early influences, physical surroundings, social environment, individual characteristics, etc. This is as much true of an average Īrānī as of an average Pākistānī or an average Englishman, or any other person for that matter. Even the same person will not always utter the same thing in the same manner; because speech is the product of certain muscular movements, and their repetition causes a gradual, unconscious movement in the position of the organs of speech. Hence there are slight changes in the speech of an individual.[1] But as in other languages, such shades and variations are limited in Persian, and we can assess the general pattern of the language.

It will be proper to keep the standard speech of Tehran in view, because of its ever-increasing influence as the metropolis, and the chief cultural, educational and intellectual centre of the country. There are two main styles of Persian speech in which not only the shape, but also the choice, order, and combination of words may change. One is the formal or the literary style, and the other is the informal or the colloquial style. The formal style is used not only for writings, but also for public lectures, radio broadcasts, and formal speeches and conversations. The informal style is used for general and intimate conversation. It is this style which is now popular amongst a section of writers.

A description of the difference between the two styles may begin with vowels.[2]

ا (ā) usually changes into و (ū) when it precedes the :

(*i*) nasal consonant ن (n) :

Formal	*Colloquial*
آن	اون
تهران	تهرون
دانم	دونم

1 *H. E. L.*, p. 19.

2 It is necessary to point out here that the transliteration system used in this book does not fully correspond to Persian phonetics, but for the sake of uniformity it rather conforms to the system generally adopted by Orientalists all over the world. The Persian vowels, phonetically speaking, will read as below :

Short vowels :	*Zabar* (ـَ)	=	a	:	dast (hand)
	Zir (ـِ)	=	e	:	del (heart)
	Pish (ـُ)	=	o	:	gol (flower)
Long vowels :	ا	=	ā	:	āb (water)

Note : It is generally a dark '*a*' as in "hall" or "Paul."

و	=	ū	:	rūz (day)
ی	=	ī	:	dīr (late)

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	Formal	*Colloquial*
(*ii*) nasal consonant م (m) :		
	بادام	بادوم
	آمد	اومد[1]

Note : This tendency is not found in the newly-formed or borrowed words :

دانشگاه	دانشگاه
رستوران	رستوران

Final ا (*ā*) changes into و (ū) in *rā* when the latter follows a vowel :

دستهارو	دستهارا
ما هارو	ما هارا

Note : ه (h) usually drops and gives way to a gliding *ā*.

ا (*ā*) is shortened to *zabar* ;

پیرن ، پیرهن	پیراهن
تومن	تومان

ی (ī) is reduced to *zir* :

بله	بلی
خیله	خیلی
آره	آری

Sometimes the opposite happens when *zir* is lengthened to ی (ī) :

کوچیک	کوچک
آتیش	آتش
نیگاه	نگاه
شیکم	شکم
چی	چه
کی	که

Zabar is replaced by *zir* when final (r) drops :

ا گه	اگر
مگه	مگر
دیگه	دیگر

Note : Zir is indicated by the unpronounced ه (*hā-yi ghair malfūẓ*) in the change mentioned above.

Pīsh is sometimes lengthened to و (ū) in vulgar pronunciation :

دوروغ	دروغ
خانوم	خانم

Consonants :

Final ت (t) drops if it follows :

(*i*) س (s) :

دس	دست
درس	درست

1 A vowel medial between *ā* and ū existed in Avestan. There was no letter to represent this sound in the Arabic script, which was adopted in Iran after the Arab conquest; but the sound did find an echo not only in the 'dark' *a*, but also in the tendency to change it further into ū in the colloquial language.

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	Formal	*Colloquial*
(*ii*) another consonant :		
	گفت	گف
	هفت	هف [1]

ه (h) drops :

(*i*) when it occurs between vowels :

خواهد	خاد
چهار	چار
خدا حافظ	خدا آفظ

Note : In these cases ه (h) has lengthened the vowel with a glide effect.

(*ii*) in the end :

پادشاه	پادشا
سیاه	سیا [2]

(*iii*) in plural endings :

آنها	اونا
شاگردها	شاگردا
دخترها	دخترا

(*iv*) in the enclitic particle هم (*ham*) :

منهم	منم
شماهم	شمام

Note : There is a vowel change in this case. In *shumām* we can notice a long gliding vowel.

د (d) drops :

(*i*) in the preterite 3rd person :

نشستند	نشستن
گفتند	گفتن

Note : Shift in stress will indicate whether *nishastan* (نشستن) and *guftan* (گفتن) are preterite 3rd person plural or infinitive.

(*ii*) in the aorist and the present 3rd person :

بگویند	بگن - بگوین
میخرند	میخرن

Note : Final د (d) does not drop :

(*i*) after the vowel *ā* :

میاید	میاد
میخواهد	میخاد

[1] It is interesting to note that 't' is also regularly omitted from 'fact', 'correct', 'taste', etc., in English dialects when it follows another consonant at the end. *G. S*, p. 28.

[2] Such changes have been considered permissible in standard Persian poetry to meet the requirements of rhyme.

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Formal	*Colloquial*
زدندش	زدندش
پرسیدش	پرسیدش

(*ii*) before a pronominal suffix :

It is substituted by :

(*i*) ه (h) in the present 3rd person singular and the aorist :

میرود	میره
فروشد	فروشه

(*ii*) ن (n) in the preterite 2nd person plural, the aorist and the present 2nd person plural :

رفتید	رفتین
بسازید	بسازین
میروید	میرین

Final ر (r) is, sometimes, lost :

چطور	چطو
چقدر	چقد

Final ک (k) is, sometimes, substituted by ه :

یک	یه

When a group of two consonants occurs between vowels and the first one is a sibilant, the latter is assimilated to the former :

(*i*)	راستی	..	راسّی
	فرستم		فرسّم
	نیستم		نیسّم
(*ii*)	درزی	..	درّی
	دزدیده		درّیده
(*iii*)	چشمها	..	چشّا

Pronominal suffixes used after preposition *bi* change shape in the following order :

به‌ام	بهم
بتو	بهت
باو	بهش
بما	بهمون
بشما	بهتون
بایشان	بهشون

Pronominal suffixes are also used with the words *gurusna* and *tishna* in vulgar pronunciation :

گرسنمه	I am hungry.
تشنمه	I am thirsty.

They further change shape :

گشنمه	I am hungry.
گشنشه	He is hungry.

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Here are further examples of pronominal suffixes added to the interrogative *chi* :

Formal	*Colloquial*
چه مرا هست	چمه
چه ترا هست	چته
چه او را هست	چشه
چه ما را هست . چه مانراهست	چمونه
چه شما را هست . چه تانراهست	چتونه
چه ایشان را هست . چه شانراهست	چشونه

The pronominal suffixes may follow *kū* in the form of *kūsh*. In such cases the final *sh* is also to be treated as the pronominal suffix :

بابا جون کوشش[1] Where is daddy ?

Iḍāfa or the connective vowel drops before pronominal suffixes :

کتابتون	کتاب تان
میزشون	میزِایشان
کتابهات	کتابهایت

The connective vowel generally drops in compound words.

مادر زن	مادرِ زن
آب خوردن	آبِ خوردن

The accusative preposition *rā* drops when it follows a consonant :

منو	(من را) مرا
کتابو	کتابرا
کتاباتو	کتابها یترا

Verbs : The present stem of verbs may change in colloquial speech. For example, *mīdiham*, *mīdihī* are formed from the present stem *dīh* in formal language which changes into د (*d*) in the colloquial :

میدم	میدهم
میدی	میدهی
میده	میدهد
میدیم	میدهیم
میدین - میدید	میدهید
میدن - میدند	میدهند

We deduce from the above that the following changes take place in colloquial speech if the present stem of a verb ends in a consonant :

1st person sing.	ـَم	ـَم
2nd person sing.	ـی	ی
3rd person sing.	ـَد	ه

[1] *A. L. M. B.*, p. 131.

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	Formal	*Colloquial*
1st person plu.	—یم	—یم
2nd person plu.	—ید	—ید
3rd person plu.	—وند	—ند

If the present stem of a verb ends in a vowel, the following changes take place in personal endings :

1st person sing.	—یم	—م
2nd person sing.	—ی	—ی
3rd person sing.	—ید	—د
1st person plu.	—ایم	—ایم
2nd person plu.	—اید	این - اید
3rd person plu.	—یند	ن - ند

An illustration may be furnished from the present stem *ā* of *āmadan* :

1st person sing.	میایم	میام
2nd person sing.	میایی	میایی
3rd person sing.	میاید	میاد
1st person plu.	میاییم	میاییم
2nd person plu.	میاییید	میایین - میاییید
3rd person plu.	میایند	میان - میاند

Some other verbs in which differences in the shape of the present stem are noticeable may be reproduced below :

(میارم, etc.)	آر	(میاورم, etc.)	آور
(میخوام, etc.)	خا	(میخواهم, etc.)	خواه
(میشورم, etc.)	شور	(میشویم, etc.)	شو
(میشم, etc.)	ش	(میشوم, etc.)	شو
(میگم, etc.)	گ	(میگویم, etc.)	گو
(میشینم, etc.)	شین	(مینشینم, etc.)	نشین
(میذارم, etc.)	ذار	(میگذارم, etc.)	گذار

The auxiliary verb *ast* changes into the short vowel *zīr* in the 3rd person singular in the colloquial language :

اون چیه	آن چیست
این کتابه	این کتاب است

DIALECTS

Love of colloquialism has encouraged the use of dialectal phraseology, and it will be desirable to discuss this aspect of the language at some length. Great interest has been evinced in the study of dialects in Iran in recent years. This interest has been shown both by Orientalists and the Iranian scholars themselves.

The Orientalists who have been studying various dialects of the country, exceeding one hundred and twenty, have so for written more than two hundred books, treatises

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and articles on the subject during the last one century.[1]

The Iranian linguists have become fully conscious of the importance of dialects, which had been generally ignored in the past; and they have carried out solid research in this field. Though the standard and sophisticated Persian language swayed the Iranian intellect for ages, yet it could not suppress the love of syllabic or blank verse in regional dialects, known as *Fahlaviyāt*, and composed in various epochs. The names of some of the regional poets are preserved in books of history and geography. *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān* (613/1216) contains an account of the 4th/10th century dialect poets 'Alī Pīrūza, Masta Mard, and the poet-scholar Marzbān b. Rustam, ruler of Ṭabaristān, who is the author of Marzbān-nāma, originally written in *Ṭabarī* (c. 400/1009), and is said to have left a collection of poems, namely, *Nīkī-nāma* in the same dialect.

Tārikh-i Baihaq (563/1168), *Rāḥatu's-Ṣudūr*, and *Tārikh-i Guzīda* (730/1330) also contain names of many poets who composed poems in dialects. Amongst those who made a name in this field Bundār Rāzī, Muḥammad b. Sa'īd and Amīr Pazvārī may be especially mentioned.

The force of the local word can best be reflected in the local colour given to some of their lines by the immortal poets like Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ (791/1389), Humām of Tabrīz[2] (d. 714/1314) and other.[3] Ḥāfiẓ would, at times, drop in a local word in his otherwise elevated language. The word *bū* for 'hope' and 'desire', for example, in the following couplets, comes straight from the Shīrāzī dialect :

ببوی نافهٔ کاخر صبا زان طره بکشاید
ز تاب جعد مشکینش چه خون افتاد در دلها[4]

How the lustre of her musky ringlets has caused hearts to bleed in the hope that the zephyr will at last diffuse musk from that curly lock !

دل گفت فروکش کنم آن شهر ببویش
بیچاره ندانست کـه یارش سفری بود[5]

How my forlorn heart longed to linger in that town for the love's sake !
Little did it know that she would depart on travels unknown !

چه جورها که کشیدند بلبلان از دی
بـوی آنکـه دگر نـوبهـار بـاز آیـد[6]

How miserably the nightingales have suffered from the winter month of *Dai*,
In the hope that the early flush of spring will not be far behind !

Rigid classical literary standards, however, did not permit the regional languages

1 *Z. F.*, p. 91.
2 *Z. Z.*, p. 158.
3 E. G. Browne, "The Poetry of the Persian Dialects," *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1895, pp. 773-825.
4 *D.*, op. cit., p. 2.
5 Ibid., p. 146.
6 Ibid., p. 159.

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to produce literature of consequence, or to flourish unhampered till the 13th/19th century, when under the modern impact poets and writers tried to wriggle out of some of the old conventions and traditions. More attention was now paid to what had been ignored by the literary snob and the highbrow. Amongst poets who wrote in dialects may be mentioned Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān of Shīrāz, who wrote in Shīrāzī dialect; Ṣubūḥī Bīrjandī who employed the local vocabulary of Bīrjand; Qā'ināt, the auther of a collection entitled *Niṣāb*, and Fayyāẓ Mughīta of Sabzvār.

In recent years words from regional languages have been employed in standard Persian. In his poem *Kār-i Shab-pā*, Nīmā yūshīj has used a number of words of Māzhandarānī dialect,[1] which are in full accord with the theme on account of their close association with it. Shīn Partau has paid a tribute to Nīmā for his apt use of local Māzhandarānī vocabulary in order to give a true expression to his thought and feeling.[2] Nīmā claimed to have had a poetical collection *Rūjā* in his mother tongue.[3] One of his quatrains written in this dialect under the same title has been included in a small collection of modern poetry.[4] It is significant that he even changed his original name 'Alī into Nīmā, which has local associations, and added the dialectal suffix of relationship to his birth place *Yūsh* to call himself Nīmā Yūshīj.

Shīn Partau employs local Khūrāsānī vocabulary for the same purpose.[5] Shahryār has composed *Hāidar Bābā*, a long poem full of reminiscences, in the local Ādharī dialect,[6] which has been rendered into Persian a couple of times.

Farīdūn Tavallulī has pleaded for a judicious adoption of elegant words not only from the colloquial language, but also from the various regional dialects.[7] Jamāl-zāda

1 These words may be given below along with their meaning:

شب پا	right-watch at a paddy-field.
اوخا	a species of the elm-tree.
تیرنگ	pheasant.
آیش	paddy-field.
کیبه	wooden pot, container.
بیخگر	rice cultivator.
کله سی	fire-place.
نپاری	a scaffold used for rest at night in the Caspian region.
شهاله	a burning wood used as a torch by forest dwellers in the Caspian region.
پلمی	a kind of grass.
لم	raspberry and thistle intertwined.

2 *D. N.*, p. 95.
3 *T. S. M. I.*, p. 416.
4 Cf. *B. B. A.*, p. 39.
5 *D. N.*, p. 95.
6 *SH.*, III, pp. 137-159.
7 *RA.*, p. 36.

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has also insisted on the borrowing of dialectal phrases in standard Persian. He believes that Persian language would register tremendous improvement and face-lift if it could reinforce itself with the rich material available in its regional dialects.[1] "The virtues of a dialect are", says Eric Partridge, "that it abounds both in pithy words, including vigorous and apt monosyllables and delightful compounds."[2] A select use of such words in standard Persian can play a noble role in further expansion of the language.

The Government of Iran has not been indifferent to this question. About forty years ago the Advisory Board of the Ministry of Eduction, consisting of chiefs of provincial education departments, had resolved to take necessary steps with regard to studying the means of collecting provincial vocabulary and folk-tales,[3] and the Ministry had deputed Ḥusain Kūhī of Kirmān on the work, who collected a large number of folk-tales and regional folk-lore, published under the title *Haft Ṣad Tarāna* in 1316(s) 1937. Amīr-Oulī Amīnī who was appointed to collect Bakhtyārī folk-tales, later published two collections, namely, *Amthāl-i Zabān-i Pārsī* and *Dāstānhā-yi Amthāl* in two volumes. He made an effort not only to collect proverbs but, as far as possible, also colloquial expressions.[4]

In 1317 (s)/1938 *Farhangistān* publicly invited material useful for the purpose of collecting regional terms and expressions, verses, proverbs, tales, and tunes as well as the terms of various trades and vocations, so that all these could be preserved and harnessed for the purpose of expanding the language through their publicity. *Farhangistān* also announced that work in this regard was being done by directorates of education at the provincial and district level.

In Mihr 1338(s)/September-October 1959 the Social Research and Study Circle of the Faculty of Literature in the University of Tehran notified the inauguration of a three-month course in cooperation with the Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique de L' Iran[5] and the Association for Research in Iranian dialects. It was further announced that two Western specialists in Iranian dialects from Oslo and Berne universities would conduct the classes.

The foundation of the *Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān* in *Ābān* 1349 (s)/October-November, 1970, with the object of further developing the Persian language, was a monumental step forward in this direction. This august body acknowledged the tremendous importance of the colloquial language and different dialects by giving their study a very prominent place in its aims and objects and two of its Centres are permanently occupied with

1 Op. cit., p. 65.

2 Op. cit., p. 190.

3 *M. T. T., Farvardin*, A.H.(s)1315, p. 8.

4 *D. A.*, Introduction.

5 A decision to prepare such an atlas was taken by the linguistic section at the 24th Session of the Oriental Congress held in Munich, West Germany, in 1336/1957.

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this mission.[1] The Research Centre of Persian Vocabulary has taken upon itself the publication of dictionaries of colloquial Persian of Tehran and Yazd along with other works. The Research Centre of the Old and Middle Group of Languages and Iranian Dialects makes the study of these languages and dialects obligatory upon itself. It also includes in its programme the ambitious plan of compiling dictionaries to render all Iranian dialects into Persian and *vice-versa*. It has chalked out further details in this regard,[2] and its planned list of publications includes dictionaries of Shushtarī, Yazdī. Aftarī, Simnānī and Ādharī dialects.[3]

These fruitful activities augur well for a proper appreciation of the importance of Iranian dialects.

1 *F. Z. I.*, Article vi (A), p. 7.
2 Ibid., p. 9.
3 Ibid., p. 10.

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WESTERN LOANWORDS

The Western impact on Iran not only gave new modes of expression and values to Persian literature, but it also set into motion a process of continued import of Western vocabulary into Persian language. Though the new development could not vie with the profound Arabic impact on Persian through ages, yet it proved more varied in charater than the Turkish and Mongol influence, and more significant than either in that it owed itself primarily to cultural contacts and not to race-mixture or political subjugation. This linguistic development was but one manifestation of the Western impact on Iran, which in its vast dimensions has no parallel in the history of that country after the Arab conquest in the 1st/7th century.

The earliest use of Western words, including French, English and Russian vocabulary, coincides with the beginning of diplomatic relations between Iran and Western Powers in the 13th/19th century. Stray European words are found in the political documents of this period, which consist of treaties signed between Iran and Great Britain, and later between Iran and the Czarist Russia. Military ranks, Roman months, in which the treaties were signed, and certain diplomatic posts were the first to figure. For instance, the English words 'lieutenant', 'major general', 'general', and 'March' appear in the Anglo-Persian Treaty signed in Tehran in 1227/1812[1] as لئوتنان, میجر جنرال, جنرال and مارچ. 'March' appears in the earlier treaty of 1224/1809 also[2] and 'November' in the subsequent treaty in 1229/1814[3] as نومبر. More words—French, Russian and English—found their way into the Treaties of Gulistān and Turkmanchāy. The earlier contains امپراطور (Russ. imperator, Eng. emperor);[4] امپریه

1 Cf. The text of the Treaty, *T.S.D.I.*, pp. 261-262.

2 Ibid., p. 257.

3 Ibid., p. 267.

4 Ibid., p. 271.

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(Fr. empire),[1] اسطاطسکو (Lt. status quo), [2]کرستیان (Eng. Christian),[3] and اکتبر (Fr. Octobre; Eng. October).[4] The latter includes فوریه (Fr. Février; Eng. February),[5] قنسول (Fr. and Eng. consul),[6] آجودان جنرال (Fr. adjudant général ; Eng. adjutant general),[7] ملیون (Fr. and Eng. million),[8] شارژ دافر (Fr. chargé d' affaires)[9] and کمیسر (Russ. kommissar ; Fr. commissaire ; Eng. commissar).[10] In the commercial treaty signed between Iran and Russia concurrently with the treaty of Turkmanchāy, such words as کنترات (Fr. contrat ; Eng. contract)[11] and مغازه (Fr. magasin;[12] Eng. magazine)[13] have been employed. Some of the above-mentioned words were indispensable, while Persian substitutes could be found easily for others, as for کنترات and مغازه. On the whole, specific names, posts and ranks, weights and measures, and numerals found a precedence. While giving a detail of the menu of the Russian ambassador Griboedov, the Iranian official in attendance on him during his journey from Tabrīz to Tehran in 1244/1828 frequently used the French weights کیلو (kilo)[14] and لیتر (litre).[15] Specific nouns were the first to infiltrate into literary Persian, as for instance, we see کوکو (cocoa) and پادری (padre) in the letters of Qā'im Maqām.[16]

Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī's *Safar-nāma* is the earliest work containing words of the English language, to whose influence he was constantly exposed during his stay in England during 1230/1815—1234/1819. Most of these words were indispensable, because they expressed new objects, ideas and practices, and no equivalents existed in the Persian language. A few examples may be quoted :

پرس[17] press

1 Cf. The text of the Treaty, *T. S. D. I.*, p. 271.
2 Ibid., p. 272.
3 Ibid., p. 274.
4 Ibid., p. 277.
5 Ibid., p. 278.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., p. 279.
8 Ibid., p. 282.
9 Ibid., p. 283.
10 Ibid., p. 284.
11 Ibid., p. 288.
12 Orig. Arabic *Makhāzin*, plural of *Makhzan*. *C.O.D.*, p. 718.
13 Ibid., p. 289.
14 Ibid., p. 233.
15 Ibid.
16 *M. Q. M*, pp. 36, 41, 403.
17 پرس کوچکی از برای من خریده
. . . purchased a small press for me.
Op. cit., p. 20.

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کوچ [1]	coach
چیرتی [2]	charity
ممبر [3]	member
پارلمنت [4]	parliament
هاسپتل [5]	hospital
میل [6]	mile
میوزیم [7]	museum

With the foundation of *Dāru'l-Funūn* and *Dāru't-Tarjuma* the foreign verbal influx received continued stimulus, The translation of European works, the writing of new text-books, the need for new terms, and the presence of European staff facilitated the borrowing process. The publications of *Dāru'l-Funūn* record a marked influx of the Western loanwords, which justify the theory that speech-mixture may be due as much to cultural contact, especially of a literary nature, as to race-mixture.

Out of the books published by this institution, examples may be cited both from technical and non-technical literature. On the technical side, the mathematical works of Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār Najmu'l-Mulk (d. 1328/1910), who was an engineer and head of the department of mathematics, will serve as an eloquent specimen of the rising Western influence in the domain of mathematical terminology, formulae and figures. The name of one of his books *Jadāvil-i Lauqārītm* (logarithm), published in 1292/1875, is half-European. Another book *Kifāyatu'l-Ḥisāb* by the same author, published in Tehran a year earlier, but actually written in 1281/1865,[8] contains

1 دو ساعت بعد از ظهر در کوچ رفته
. . . travelled by coach at 2 P. M.
S. N. M. S. S., p 191.

2 و از جمله ابنیه که در آن ولایت عمومی دارد مکتب خانهٔ چیرتی هست
And amongst public buildings in that land are charity schools.
Ibid., p. 192.

3-4 از شهر ایکستر دونفر بزرگان خود را وکیل نموده بمشورت خانه میفرستند که آنها را ممبر پارلمنت میگیند
They send two prominent persons from Exeter as their representatives to the Council House, and call them members of Parliament.
Ibid., p. 195.

5 چهار صد اطفال مستعمراً درهاسپتل مذکور میباشد
Four hundred children are permanently lodged in the said hospital.
Ibid., 298.

6 از لندن الی کیمبرج پنجاه و دو میل است
It is fifty-two miles from London to Cambridge.
Ibid., p. 380.

7 میوزیم مثل اکسفرد دارد
It has a museum like Oxford.
Ibid , p. 383.

8 Op. cit., p. 8.

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Western weights and measures like the French 'kilomètre' and the English 'mile'.[1] The legal tenders of different European countries along with their ratio with the French 'frank' have also been given.[2]

In another mathematical work *Misāḥat* by Mīrzā Zakī, the head of the department of artillery science at *Dāru'l-Funūn*, letters used in algebraical sums are Latin, though the numerals are Persian. Here is an interesting example of this intermixture.

$$y^۳+۳y^۲z+۳yz^۲+z^۳+\ a\ (y+z)+b=0\ ^{3}$$

This phenomenon not only points to the growing desire to learn Western sciences, but also to the tendency to intermingle Persian with Western patterns, even if the purity of the language could be guarded.

On the non-technical side, *Jām-i Jam*, one of the earliest publications of the college, reveals a strong tendency to import Western loanwords even without necessity. It makes an interesting reading from many points of view. It is written in a simple and direct style, leans freely on English and gives an immediate translation of many original words. However, a part of the imported vocabulary is utterly unnecessary and could have been easily avoided, but for the translator's keeness to interlard English with Persian words, in order, perhaps, to create an impression.

The imported words have been adapted to Persian phonetics, for example, هستریک تیمس is 'historic times', immediately followed by the phrase *ya'nī auqāt-i tārikhī*;[4] فرست ایرا is, 'first era', explained as *'asr-i avval*;[5] دمی گادس 'demi-gods' is followed by the literal translation *nīm-khudāyān*;[6] and so on and so forth. The original terms have been copied so faithfully that the word Persia has been reproduced in Persian, and quick comes the explanation *ya'nī Īrān*.[7]

The historical works translated from French into Persian show the same trend of borrowing Western words. Here are a few examples from *Lui Chahārdahom* (Louis XIV) by Alexandre Dumas, translated by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Mīrzā (1241/1826—1316/1898) in 1315/1897 and published in Tehran seven years later :

1 An arithmetical sum starts with the French "kilomètre" and "mètre" and the Russian "kaliaska" (Fr. calèche) in the following manner :

فاصله تهران از تبریز ۵۰۰ کیلومتر است (کیلومتر هزار متر فرانسه است) دو کالسکه
بیک وقت ازین دو شهر بسمت همدیگر شروع به حرکت نمود . . . .

Tehran lies at a distance of 500 kilometres from Tabrīz, (a kilometre is equal to 1,000 French metres). Two trains started simultaneously from these two cities in the opposite direction and . . . .

Op. cit., pp. 205-206.

2 Ibid., pp. 325-326.

3 Op. cit., Chap. iv.

4 Op. cit., p. 5.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 6.

7 Ibid., p. 10.

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مارشال [1]	Fr. maréchall ;	Eng. marshal
دیپلومات [2]	Fr. diplomate ;	Eng. diplomat
لادی [3]	...	Eng. lady
مسترس [4]	...	Eng. mistress
پارلمنت [5]	Fr. parlement ;	Eng. parliament

The process of word-borrowing was not confined to books of arts and sciences. New political and social concepts introduced by political leaders and reformers like Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn and Mīrzā Malkum Khān had also necessitated their import. In the oldest collection of the latter's articles *Kitābcha-yi Ghaibī* or *Daftar-i Tanẓīmāt* (c. 1275/1859), mainly written on political and social themes, we find many Western loanwords, which are employed here and there, especially in the article *Īrān Naẓm har-namī-dārad*. These words denote new concepts, objects and institutions, and no attempt has been made to translate them. Here are a few examples :

کمپانی [6]	Fr. compagnie ;	Eng. company
پولطیک [7]	Fr. politique ;	Eng. politics, political
تلگراف [8]	Fr. télégraphe ;	Eng. telegraph

Some more French words used in other articles include :

بانک [9]	Fr. banque ;	Eng. bank
اکونومی [10]	Fr. économie ;	Eng. economy

1-2 . . . . که مارشال و دیپلومات فرانسوی است

. . . . Who is a French Marshal and diplomat.

Op. cit., vol. i, p. 5.

3-4 پس رشلو به لادی که مسترس و معشوقه بو کنگام بود نوشت

Then Richelieu wrote to the Lady who was Buckingham's mistress.

Ibid., p. 40.

5 خبر آوردند که پارلمنت از صبح جمع شده

It was reported that Parliament had assembled in the morning.

Ibid., vol. ii, p. 210.

6 مداخل اکثر کمپانی های بلجیک از مداخل تمام دولت ایران بیشتر است

The income of certain Belgian companies exceeds the total revenues of the Government of Iran.

M. A. M. M. K., p. 6.

7 روش پولطیکهای ملی برای خاطر هیچ کس تغیر نخواهد یافت

The mode of national politics will not change for the sake of any person.

Ibid., p. 7.

8 . . . . مثل ساعت و تفنگ و تلگراف و کشتی بخار . . . .

. . . like watch, gun, telegraph, steam-ship . . .

Ibid., p. 10.

9 Ibid., p. 7.

10 Ibid , p. 80.

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سیویلزاسیون [1]	Fr. civilisation;	Eng. civilization
ریوالیسیون [2]	Fr. révolution ;	Eng. revolution
پولیس [3]	Fr. police ;	Eng. police

Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn's articles and speeches contain certain Western words. In a lecture delivered at Albert Hall, Calcutta, in Ramaḍān, 1289/November, 1872, he made use of the following English and French terms :

پرنسیپل [4]	...	Eng. principal
کود [5]	Fr. code;	Eng. code
فیلوزوفی آف لا [6]	...	Eng. philosophy of law

Other Western words used in these articles include :

اگئیست [7]	Fr. égoïste;	Eng. egoist
رفارمر [8]	...	Eng. reformer
نهلست [9]	...	Eng. nihilist

The new Western vocabulary even penetrated into the Persian translation of Fatḥ 'Alī Ākhūnd-zāda's plays where the stress, otherwise, is on the colloquial expression. Examples may be cited :

تیاتر [10]	Fr. théâtre;	Eng. theatre
امپرا طور [11]	Russ. imperator;	Eng. emperor

1 *M. A. M. M. K.*, p. 172.

2 Ibid., p. 178.

3 Ibid., p. 184.

4 من بسیار تعجب میکنم از این پرنسیپل
I simply wonder at this principal.
M. J., p. 88.

5 کود روما که مادر همه کودهای فرنگ است
The Roman Code which is the mother of all European codes.
Ibid., p. 89.

6 و علم اصول عبارت است از فلسفه شریعت یعنی فیلوزوفی آف لا
And methodology consists of the philosophy of *shariat*, that is the philosophy of law.
Ibid., p. 94.

7 Ibid., p. 34.

8 Ibid., p. 101.

9 Ibid., p. 104.

10 این فن تیاتر که اصلح و اهم واول وسیلهٔ ترقیات است
This art of theatre, which is the best, the most important and the foremost means of progress.
V.L., p. 2.

11 اعلحضرت امپر اطوار . . . .
His majesty the Emperor . . . .
Ibid., p. 19.

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[1] نمره Fr. nombre; Eng. number

[2] بلیط Fr. billet; Eng. ticket

Another category of books, which accelerated the pace of Western loanwords, are the royal books of travel including those of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh and Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh (1313/1896—1324/1906). The frequent use of foreign terms by them has been necessitated by the description of objects, experiences, practices and situations for which no Persian alternatives were generally available, as for example, the description of protocol ceremonies, social functions, interesting scenes depicting modern life and new institution and inventions, though an unnecessery use of Western words has not been avoided. A few examples picked up at random may be cited from Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh's *Safar-nāma-yi Farangistān* which he wrote in the form of a diary in 1290/1873 :

[3] گاز Fr. gaz; Eng. gas

[4] سن Fr. scène; Eng. stage

[5] برلیان Fr. brillant; Eng. diamond

[6] اکت Fr. acte; Eng. act

Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh's *Safar-nāma-yi Mubāraka-yi Shāhanshāhī*, which is an account of his visit to Europe in 1317/1900, contains a larger element of Western vocabulary. In one short paragraph he has used as many as six loanwords, to wit :

یک فرسنگ بگار راه آهن مانده سر باز آمده دو طرف راه ایستاده بودند و هورا میکشیدند
و در سر هر دسته موزیک بنوای روسی میزدند . خیلی وضع با شکوه بود . امپرال

1 از فوج نمره بیست
Of the twenty-first army . . .
M. KH., p. 44.

2 یک دفعه بی بلیط رفتم
Once I went without ticket.
Ibid., p. 75.

3 کوچه های پطرز بورغ باگاز روشن میشود
The streets of St. Petersberg are lit with gas.
Op. cit., p 32.

4 ما به سن بسیار نزدیک بودیم
We were very close to the stage.
Ibid., p. 34.

5 تاج هم الماس های برلیان وغیره بسیار داشت
The crown had also a number of diamonds, etc.
Ibid., p. 36.

6 بعد پرده بالا رفت چند اکت دادند
Then the curtain went up, and a few acts were staged.
Ibid, p. 244.

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از توی واگون ترن از آنها احوال پرسی میکرد .[1]

Troops had come and stood on both sides while the railway station was still a league away. They shouted hurrah. Russian music was being played at the head of each company. It was a magnificent sight. The Admīral inquired after their health from inside the wagon of the train.

This trend is visible not in the royal books of travel alone. Two more travel accounts may be cited to illustrate the point. Here are a few examples from Farhād Mīrzā's *Kitāb-i-Rūznāma-yi Safar-i Madīnatu's-Salām* (1294/1877) in which even meanings of certain Western words have been explained.[2]

هوتل Fr. hôtel; Eng. hotel
تلغراف Fr. télégraphe; Eng. Telegraph
جندرمه Fr. gendarme ...

'Alī Amīnu'd-Daula, whose writings brought modern prose very close to the spoken language, and who influenced the writers of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh's court, has used Western words in his *Safar-nāma-yi Makka* (1316/1898). This trend in his writings gives an indication of their growing hold on spoken Persian. Here are a few instances :

مادمازل [3] Fr. mademoiselle ...
سالن [4] Fr. salon; Eng. drawing room, saloon
پیانو [5] Fr. piano; Eng. piano

Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Beg is marked by an appreciable increase of Western words,

1 گار Fr. gare, Eng. railway station.
هورا ... Eng. hurrrh.
Note : هورا is an old Persian word too. Cf. Firdausī ;

ز هورای دیو و ز آوای دد فرو بسته گیتی لب از نیک و بد

The world had tightened its lips against all good and evil on account of the yells of demons and the howls of beasts.

موزیک Fr. musique ; Eng. music.
امیرال Fr. amiral ; Eng. admiral.
واگوان Fr. wagon ; Eng. wagon.
ترن Fr. train ; Eng. train.

Op. cif., p. 77.

2 Op. cit., p. 8.

3 و به صحبت سعد الممالک مشغول که از در ایوان مادمازل وارد شد

While the conversation was on with Sa'du'l Mamālik, the Mademoiselle entered through the door of the veranda.

N. F. M., p. 19.

4 بسالن کشتی رفتم

I walked up to the saloon of the ship.

Ibid., p. 20.

5 در دو سمت پیانو که گزاشته اند . . . .

On both sides of the piano which they have placed . . . .

Ibid , p. 21.

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to wit :

ایستاتیک [1]	Fr. statistique;	Eng. statistics
تمبر [2]	Fr. timbre;	Eng. stamp
مانور [3]	Fr. manoeuvre	...
بانک [4]	Fr. banque ;	Eng. bank

A year before the publication of *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Beg*, a new experiment in borrowing Western words in Persian poetry was made by Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim Farhang, son of the more famous poet Viṣāl Shīrāzī (d. 1262/1846), who composed a poem of seventy-eight verses on Paris. Here is a specimen :

همه کالسکه [5] ها چو حجلهٔ نور وه چه وانور [6] های خوش رفتار
از تر موا [7] و امبنوس [8] بسی هست چندان که ناید او بشمار
ز اول شهر تا باخر شهر در خیابان و کوچه و بلوار [9]
گوییا حجلهٔ ز قصر بهشت میبر ند ش همی یمین و بسیار [10]

All carriages are like chambers of light ; all vehicles move with elegance.
From end to end of the city, in streets, lanes and boulevards, tramways and omnibuses ply out of number.
It seems as if a chamber from the celestrial mansions is being moved right and left.

The employment of foreign loanwords become more frequent during the reign of Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh whose own book of travel is a befitting example of this trend.

The Press had generally followed the classical pattern of language during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. But as it became more vocal against the government policies, it also made a positive departure from the old style. Prominent amongst those who

1 و از ایستاتیک تجارت سالیانه آن مملکت آگاهی حاصل نما
And acquaint yourself with the annual trade statistics of that country.
Op. cit., p. 6.

2 از ایشان لفافهٔ که تمبر پوست ایران داشت گرفته
And took from them the envelope which had the postal stamp of Iran.
Ibid., p. 9.

3 در میدان عشق چنان به چستی و چالاکی باجرای مانور پرداختند
They set to carry out manoeuvres in the field of love with such quickness and agility.
Ibid , p. 10.

4 وین حواله نامه . . . هر وقت میخواهی برو از بانک بگیر
And you can draw this cheque . . . on the bank whenever your like.
Ibid., p. 13.

5 Russ kaliaska; Eng. open carriage.
6 Fr. voiture ; Eng. carriage.
7 Fr. tramway ; Eng. tramway.
8 Fr. omnibus ; Eng. omnibus.
9 Fr. boulevard ...
10 *L. H. P.*, vol. iv, p. 323.

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made use of foreign words were the weekly newspapers *Thurayyā* (1316/1898—1318/1900) and *Parvarish* (1318/1900), both edited by Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad Khān of Kāshān and printed in Cairo. The former was also edited by Sayyid Faraju'llāh of Kāshān for some time. Strangely enough, Bahār traces the earliest use of Western loanwords in Persian back to the publication of these two newspapers when he says :

لغات خارجی و ترجمه لغات و تعبیرات خارجی ازین تاریخ وارد زبان فارسی میشود [1]

Foreign words, translation of foreign vocabulary, and foreign expressions enter the Persian language from this date.

The process, however, had started much earlier. Here are a few examples from *Thurayyā* :

الکتریک [2] Fr. électrique ; Eng. electric
نمره [3] Fr. nombre ; Eng. number
کابینه [4] Fr. cabinet ; Eng. cabinet
کنفرانس [5] Fr. conférence ; Eng. conference, lecture

By the time the Constitutional Revolution took place, many European terms of political and social significance had been absorbed in Persian language even as a regular feature of the revolutionary poetry. The following may be quoted from the *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* :

بریده باد زبانم کنون که میشنوم خلل فتاده بارکان پارلمان دخو [6]

May my tongues be chopped off, O Dakhu ! for I now hear that the members of Parliament are in disarray.

آنانکه با جور منصوب گشتند در معدهٔ ملک میکروب گشتند [7]

Those who were commissioned to commit atrocities became microbes in the belly of the country.

1 Op. cit., p. 401.

2 سطور جمله که خوانده بودم چون اعلان ضیاء الکتریک دم بدم خاموش و روشن میشد
The lines of the sentence which I had read turned dark and bright every moment like an advertisement flashed in electric light.
Yr. i, no. xxvii, ibid., p. 402-403,

3 هر چه هستم یادگار اول نمرهٔ متمدنین عالمم
Whatever I am, I happen to be the number one keepsake of the civilized people of the world.
Yr. i, no. xxviii, ibid.

4 که اگر بدون محاکمه در مجس افتم ملت از هیت کابینه باز خواستی کند
That if I were to be thrown into prison without a trial, the nation would call the cabinet to account.
Ibid.

5 که امروز درمیان دول صحبت از کانفرانس اوست
That his lecture is the subject of discussion among various governments today.
Ibid.

6 Dih-khudā, cf. *N. S.*, March 5, A.D. 1908, op. cit., p. 190.

7 میکروب Fr. and Eng. microbe.
Bahār, cf. *I. N*, August 24, A.D.1909, ibid., p. 219.

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نقل و شراب و شمپا بالای میز خوردند هر کس بفکرخویشه تو هم بفکر خود باش [1]

They partook of sweetmeats, wine, and champagne in parties.

Every one is now seized with personal problems ; you also follow the line.

یک دسته شارلاتانها در طبع روزنامه بعضی سفیدنامه بعضی سیاه جامه [2]

A band of charlatans is engaged in publishing newspapers.

The sheets some use are white, the garbs others wear are black.

هم خیل اعتدالی هم فرقهٔ دموکرات دست برادری را دادند از مساوات [3]

Both the Moderates and Democrats have joined hands in full equality.

This trend found its most extravagant expression in some poets in the post-Revolution period. Example may be cited below :

بسکه در لیور [4] و هنگام لته [5] دوسیه [6] کردم و کارتن [7] ترته [8]
بسکه نت دادم [9] و آنکت [10] کردم اشتباه بروت [11] و نت [12] کردم
سوزن آوردم و سنجاق زدم پونز [13] و پنس [14] به اوراق زدم
هی نشستم به مناعت پس میز هی تپاندم دوسیه لای شمیز [15]
هی پاراف [16] هشتم و امضا کردم خاطر مدعی ارضا کردم [17]

In as much as I dealt with files and the filing case through winter and summer ; dictated notes, made inquiries, stumbled over the rough and the neat, amassed needles and pinned and clipped papers ; what airs I would assume as I sat at the table and tucked the file into the cover; what flourishing signatures I would put down to satisfy the pretender !

1 شمپا Fr. champagne.
Ashraf-i Gīlān also known as Nasīm-i Shimāl, in his newspaper of the same name, May, 11, A.D. 1911, ibid., p. 235.
2 شارلاتانها Persian plural of charlatan, ibid., p. 236.
3 Anon, cf. *N. S.*, July 30, A.D. 1911, ibid., p. 241.
4 L'hiver, winter.
5 Lété, summer.
6 Dossier, file, documents.
7 Carton, cardboard-box, de bureau, filing case.
8 Traité, treaty, agreement.
9 Note, note.
10 Enquête, investigation.
11 Brut, rough.
12 Net, clean.
13 Punaise, drawing-pin.
14 Pince, clip.
15 Chemise, shirt.
16 Parafe, flourishing signature.
17 *Īraj Mirzā*, p. 122.

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دکتری رفته دو سالی بفرنگ تازه گشته مد[1] و شیک[2] و قشنگ
باز کرده در بیمارستان بزده تابلوی[3] بر سر آن
که من اینجا و فلاطون درخم از انیورسته[4] دارم دیپلم[5]
داده فاکولته[6] لندن تصدیق که کنم هر سرمی[7] را تزریق[8]

A doctor went to Europe for two years, and returned modish, chick and smart.

He opened a hospital, and put up a signboard which read :
I am here, and Plato is in the large vessel;[9] I hold a university diploma
The Faculty in London has certified that I can inject all serums.

Taqī Dānish of Tehran has introduced one complete French hemistich into a couplet with his characteristic satirical humour :

برفته است سوری دوماهی فرانس ز صنعت نیاموخته غیر دانس
زبانی نداند مگر گوید او کمان تال وو[10] و کمان پرت وو[11]

The sponger has been two months to France.
Of art he has learnt nothing but dance.
For aught he knows, he blurts out to you,
"Comment allez vous" and "Comment portez vous."

Although the craze to use Western loanwords in poetry has died down, yet such words may be found here and there in the works of some of the contemporary poets.

Amongst fiction writers of the period Abdul Ḥusain Ṣan'atī-zāda may especially be mentioned for excessive use of Western vocabulary in his books.

The use of Western loanwords had became a fashion and continued to gain ground. All kinds of political, social and literary expressions were freely used as a mark of snobbery, even when the native speech-material was available. This tendency was rightly ridiculed by Jamāl-zāda in his short story *Fārsī Shikar Ast*, in which a

1 Mode, fashion.
2 Chic, stylish, in the fashion.
3 Tableau, signboard.
4 Université, university.
5 Diplôme, diploma.
6 Faculté, faculty.
7 Serum, serum.
8 Ghulām Riḍā Rūḥānī, cf. *S. I. 'A. Ḥ.*, vol. i, p. 115.
9 There is a story about Plato that he used to sit in a large vessel in order to reflect in solitude, and on his own desire he was buried in it by his disciples.
10 Comment allez vous, how are you ?
11 Comment portez vous, how do you do ?

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Westernized character speaks the following hybrid language :

در روی این سوژه [1] یک آرتیکل [2] درازی نوشته ام و با روشنی کور کننده ثابت نموده ام که هیچ کس جرات نمیکند باندازهٔ پوسیبلته [3] اش باید خدمت بکند وطن را که هر کس کند تکلیفش را ! این است راه ترقی و الا دکادانس [4] ما را تهدید میکند. [5]

I have written a lengthy article on this subject and proved it to the hilt that nobody has the courage to serve the country in the best possible way as one would perform one's own duties. Here lies the road to progress, or else we are threatened with decadance.

The indiscriminate linguistic borrowing in the written and spoken language was one of the causes which led to the foundation of *Farhangistān* during the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi (1304(s)/1925—1320(s)/1941). But Western vocabulary had found firm roots during the past one century. No sustained effort had been made earlier to stem the advance of European words by providing apt substitutes through available material, translation, or revival of old Persian terms. But the desire was not totally absent. Limited, sporadic efforts had been made on individual level. Some of the earlier writers tried to add Persian alternatives in their works. A reference has already been made to Farhād Mīrzā's *Jām-i Jam*.[6] Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār Najmu'l-Mulk has provided a short list of Persian translations of technical Western terms in his *Jadāvil-i Laugārītm*.[7]

We also come across easy and expressive substitutes such as :

تذکره [8] passport

راه آهن [9] railway line

وابستگان نظامی [10] military attachés

The pace of such translations, however, was too slow to respond to the growing needs of the language. Arabic and Turkish substitutes were also provided for many European terms, and the 13th/19th century Persian newspapers are replete with such words. But the sporadic translation work or the Arabic and Turkish substitutes was no adequate answer to meet the onrush of new requirements. The translation of Western literature had got off to a good start in the latter half of the 13th/19th century, but a lack of concerted effort under government patronage or on individual level to meet the challenge thrown to the Persian language by the new historical

1 Sujet ; subject.
2 Article.
3 Possibilité ; possibility.
4 Décadence ; decadence.
5 *Y. Y*, p. 29.
6 See p. 69.
7 Op. cit., p. 15.
8 *S. I. B*, p. 24.
9 *S. F.*, pp. 22, 214.
10 Op. cit., p. 99.

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forces led to a process of linguistic borrowing from the West, which was perhaps inevitable in the new social upheaval caused by the clash of two widely divergent civilizations. This borrowing, however, could have been kept within reasonable limits. The causes which accentuated the import of loanwords may be enumerated below.

Persian language in the 13th/19th century lacked the old vitality and creative urge, which had led to the formation of hundreds of new words in earlier times, and this task had fallen into incompetent hands since the Ṣafavid period.[1] The conditions were now conducive to a receptive attitude towards Western vocabulary, especially when a compelling need existed to find terms in certain specific spheres to express new ideas, describe new experiences and practices and denote new objects.

Another factor which accelerated the pace, was the translation of European literary works. Translators are, to a great extent, responsible for intrusive words in a language, which might otherwise be avoided by a resort to native speech-material.

French, as one of the advanced European languages, had been introduced as the second language of the country as early as 1319/1901, and it could not but leave an impression on Persian.

The glamour of Western civilization induced people to adopt Westren words as they had adopted Westren ways. The practice started with the Royal Court and passed on first to the aristocracy and then to the rest of the educated classes.[2] The use of these words was, therefore, impelled not by mere necessity, but also by the desire to look modern. In other words, it not only involved the need-filling purposes, but also the prestige basis, as Hockett would put it.[3] It became a fashion to use Westren words, and the fashion later turned into a craze, as amply demonstrated by the poem of Īraj Mīrzā.[4]

Facilities for university education were introduced in Iran rather late with the foundation of Tehran University in 1313(s)/1935. Previously, all Iranian students desirous of higher learning were obliged to go to Westren countries. During their stay abroad, they were fully exposed to the influence of Western languages.

It must, however, be pointed out that apart from other reasons, some Western loanwords were borrowed purely on merit. The French word *manoeuvre* may be cited as an instance. It was translated into *Jang-i haft lashkar* in the 13th/19th century. The translation could not last because, in the words of Bahār, it had a clumsy formation and soon lost ground to its superior foe.[5] The superiority of a word may lie in its greater structural or phonetical worth or better connotation or meaningfulness.

1 Muḥammad Mu'īn, *"Zabān i Fārsī va Mafāhīm i Tāza"*, op. cit., p. 100.
2 *S.*, vol. i, p. 182.
3 *C. M. L.*, p. 406.
4 See. p. 76.
5 Op. cit., pp. 185-186.

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Jaspersen goes even as far as to suggest that loanwosds may often be adopted not so much for their cultural affinity as for their sound appeal.[1]

In a race for survival the words seem to be governed partly by the theory of the survival of the fittest ! Thus, in a competition for supremacy, words in alien surroundings may pile up to staggering proportions, not merely owing to historical and cultural impact, but also to purely phonetical and semantic reasons. It can hardly be denied that loanwords in certain cases have enriched a language by providing for its users a greater variety and larger scope to express subtle shades of thought and meaning.

Why French especially curried favour with the Iranians may be due to certain reasons The French language enjoyed a pride of place in Europe as the language of politeness and international diplomacy. French culture dominated many capitals of the West, to which the Iranians now looked for guidance and inspiration. To the Iranians, French also struck as a neutral language. The French political interests had ceased in Iran with the downfall of Napoleon, while the ensuing Anglo-Russian rivalry for the political and economic dominance of the country acared the Iranians of the English and Russian languages. French, which did not hurt their national ego, also made headway in Iran owing to the efforts of the French Lazarite Mission and the Alliance Francaise to open a chain of schools in the country. Last but not least, the French and Iranian character found a rather close kinship of spirit. During the later half of the 13th/19th century, French was learnt by the Iranian Royalty with diligence. We learn from his *Safar-nāma-yi Farangistān*, that Nāṣiru'd-Din Shāh spoke French.[2] Khusrau Mīrzā, a son of Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā, was paid rich compliments for his command of the French language by Nicholas I, the Czar of Russia, who admitted that the Prince had outshone him in speaking French.[3]

Amongst the channels of the import of French words, literary contacts are particularly significant. Most of the European books translated into Persian in the 13th/19th century were the works of French authors. Again, French dominated the scene at Dāru'l-Funūn, the centre of the new cultural and literary movement in Iran in the later-half of 13th/19th century. Most of the early teachers of this college came from France. Their role with regard to the popularity of the French language cannot be underestimated. The Iranian translators at the college had been educated in France. So great was the impact of the French language at the time, that a monthly newspaper, *Rūznāma-yi 'Ilmiyya-yi Daulat-i 'Aliyya-yi Īrān*, which was published from 1280/1864 to 1287/1870, and was popularly known as *Ruznāma-yi 'Ilmī*, and later as *Rūznāma-yi Millatī* and *Rūznāma-yi Daulatī*, was sometimes issued in French and

1 Op. cit., p. 409.

2 Op. cit., p. 31.

3 *S. K. M.*, cf. "*Nathr-i Fārsī dar Daura-yi Ākhirī*" p. 134.

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Arabic also. This trilingual publication indicated the growing influence of French on the one hand, and the still strong position held by Arabic in the country on the other.

In 1293/1876, a wholly French newspaper *La Patrie* was founded by Mīrzā Ḥusain Khān Sipāh-Sālār in Tehran under the editorship of a Belgian, Baron Louis de Norman. The tone of freedom set by the editor was not liked by the Shāh, and the paper was suspended after the first issue.[1] Another paper in French, *Echo de Perse*, was started in 1302/1885 under the editorship of a Frenchman, Dr. Morel, who later joined the service of the Government of Iran and also worked as a teacher before he died in 1328/1910. The paper was closed down in 1305/1888.

This tradition maintained itself even during the Constitutional period. A daily newspaper, *Sharq*, which was printed in 1327/1909, contained one page of French in many of its issues. Incidentally, it criticised the policies of the Government in a near colloquial language.[2] French words were adopted as titles for newspapers. One such paper was *Tiātr* (Théâtre), a bi-weekly of Tehran, edited by Mīrzā Riḍā Khān, Ṭabāṭabā'ī in 1326/1908.[3] A French weekly, *Indépendance Perse*, was published in Tehran in 1328/1910 under the editorship of Dr. Ḥusain Khān Kahḥāl. Another paper, *Tabrīz*, which was published in the city of that name in 1328/1910 thrice a week under the editorship of Mīrzā Ismā'īl Yakānī and Mīrza Ḥusain Ṭabīb-zāda respectively, contained one column of French on its last page.

Russain loanwords are also present in the Persian language, yet it has acquired a very sparse scattering of such loans. French continued to be the most popular Western language in the country till World War II. In spite of the growing influence of English in the post-War period, French loanwords have found a congenial home in Iran. Proper nouns, as names of countries and cities, Roman months, etc., have also been borrowed from the French language. However, a quick inroad of English words into Persian in recent years indicates a positive shift in the borrowing process.

The Western loanwords have undergone a few structural changes, either alone or in combination with indigenous words, to bring themselves in line with the linguistic and phonetical requirements of the Persian language, much in the same way as many Arabic words had far earlier adapted themselves to the Persian genius. This loanblending process, which started with the influx of Western vocabulary in the 13th/19th century, has given new word-patterns to the Persain language. It has been done through the addition of the Persian plural terminals to Western words, or through *iḍāfa*, or some other grammatical device to be explained below with illustrations from books of the 13th/19th century as well as modern magazines and newspapers.

1 The leading article of this newspaper has been reproduced by Orsolle in *La Caucasie et La Perse*, and Carla Serena in her book *Hommes et Chosesen Perse*. Curzon has reproduced it partly in translation in his book *Persia and the Persian Question*, p. 470.

2 *P. P. M. P.*, p 110.

3 The name, however, was not to be taken in its literal sense. The paper only presented conditions under the despotic regime in dramatic scenes.

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Addition of plural terminals :

Nouns generally take on *hā* (ها) to give themselves a Persian look :

کمیسرها [1]	commisars
سینما ها [2]	cinemas
ویلاها [3]	villas

Use of pronoun with a Western word :

خیالات پولیتیکه ایشان [4]	their political views
فلمش [5]	her film

Use of *yā* of uncertainty :

میتنگی [6]	a meeting

The use of *Iḍafa*

This use is twofold. It may be applied to loanwords or to the indigenous words :

(*a*) *Iḍāfa* applied to a loanword :

نمرهٔ بیست ویکم [7]	number twenty-one
آبونمان سالیانه [8]	annual subscription
کنفرانس مطبوعاتی [9]	press conference
دکتر صد ساله [10]	hundred-year old doctor

(*b*) *Iḍāfa* applied to an indigenous words :

روشنائی الکتریسته [11]	electric light
قهرمان تنیس [12]	tennis champion
شبکهٔ مکرو ویو [13]	microwave network
اخطار پلیس [14]	police warning

1 *T. S. D, I.*, (Text of the Treaty of Turkmanchāy), p. 284.
2 *S. S.*, yr. ii, no. xxxvii, p. 51.
3 *KAI*, May 18, 1975, p. 3.
4 *L. C.*, p. 141.
5 *KH.*, yr. v., no. lxxv, p. 41.
6 *R. I.*, no. xcvii, p. 4.
7 *S. M. K.*, p. 44.
8 *KH.*, op. cit., p. 51.
9 *KAI.*, op. cit.
10 *IṬ. B.*, no. dcccxlvi, p. 11.
11 *S. F.*, op. cit., p. 26.
12 *IṬ.*, A.H.(s)1334, no. lxxxvi, p. 4.
13 *KAI.*, op. cit., p. 2.
14 *IṬ. B.*, no. dcccIvi, p. 5.

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(c) *Iḍāfa* may connect two loanwords to yield a new compound :

مدل ماشین	car model[1]
پمپ بنزین	petrol pump[2]
اتومبیل شیک	smart car[3]

Terminal *yā* of adjective or relationship with loanwords may yield new combinations :

لوکو موتیو اتمی	atomic locomotive[4]
مسابقه سنیمائی	cinema competition[5]
وسائل الکترونیک کامپیوتری	computerized electronic means[6]

Tarīn and *tar*, the suffixes forming the superlative and comparative dergees respectively may freely mingle with Persian words :

مینی ترن	the smallest[7]

Western loanwords may combine with Persian words to yield new compound forms :

پارتی بازی	party politics[8]
اتومبیل سازی	automobile idustry[9]

Phonetically speaking, Western loanwords have undergone many changes. The shape of many an incoming word has been modified more in keeping with the inherited pronunciation habits of the people, as always happens in such cases. Examples may be cited below :

The French nasal 'n' in 'an', 'en', 'in' and 'on' changes into the Persian consonant ن (n) :

ruban	روبان
bombardement	بمباردمان
intéressant	انترسان
collection	کلکسیون

The French vowel 'u' changes into the Persian و (ū) :

musique	موزیک
musée	موزه

The English vowel 'õ' changes into the Persian short vowel indicated by *pish* (ـُ) :

goal	گُل

1 *KAV.*, yr. v., no. xvi, p. 27.
2 *FI.*, yr. vi., no. cxciv., p. 24.
3 *Z. R.*, no. dii, p. 14.
4 *KH.*, op. cit., p. 3.
5 *RF.*, no. lxi, p. 32.
6 *KAI.*, op. cit.
7 *J. I.*, yr. viii, no. ccclxxvii, p. 67.
8 *R. F.*, op. cit., p. 34.
9 Ibid.

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Loanwords beginning with two consecutive consonants 's' and 't', are precedad in Persian by short vowel indicated by *zir* (ـِ) :

studio	استودیو
style	استیل
standard	استاندارد

Many silent terminal consonants in French are pronounced in Persian :

ballet	بالت
biscuit	بسکویت
chocolat	شکلات
billet	بلیت

The silent French 'r' may be pronounced in Persian :

contrôle	کنترل

The French consonant 'r' changes into 'ر' in Persian :

Paris	پاریس
caricature	کاریکا تور

The French consonant 'j', at times, changes into Persian 'ج' :

budget	بودجه

The English consonants 'd' and 't' change into Persian 'د' and 'ت' respectively :

dancing	دانسینگ
super-market	سوپر مارکت

Similarly in the use of English vowels changes are effected in keeping with the Iranian phonetics, as, for example, the short vowel i in dancing has changed into the long vowel 'ī' in Persian.

The stream of Western loanwords flowed too fast in the Constitutional period, and it became a fashion to use them both in literary and spoken language in preference to new Persian words. Even the use of Greek and Latin terms was advocated in certain quarters half a century ago.[1] But the climax appears to have passed. According to 'Alī Dashtī a reaction has set in against their indiscriminate use as witnessed during the Constitutional period.[2] There is a growing consciousness in intellectual circles to widen the scope of Persian itself and reduce the use of Western loanwords to the barest minimum. Taqī-zāda, for example, suggested drawing a line between the material and abstract borrowed nouns. The former like *télégraphe, automobile*, may be

1 Aranī, *IR.*, yr. ii, no. v-vi, p. 361.
2 "*Mud-i Jadid-i Naoisandigi*", *M.*, yr. i, no. vii, p. 482.

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retained, while the latter like *compagnie* : *refuser*, and *parquer* should be rejected.[1] Khānlarī has condemned indiscriminate borrowing in no uncertain terms. He would permit the use of select international and scientific terms only. The use of words like *émotif* and *soldarité* betrays sheer love of self-display.[2] Luṭf 'Alī Ṣūrat-gar (1319/1901—1348/1969) recommends the adoption of indispensable words like *poste, télégraphe, radio*. The number of such words, he believes, does not exceed one hundred. He quotes Taqī-zāda to have suggested in a discussion not to use Western loanwords in text-books.[3] Ṣurat-gar categorically condemns their use in poetry in all forms. Disagreeing with the theory of the inadequacy of the Persian language and attributing it to a lack of effort to find suitable words, he admits the need of adding new scientific vocabulary. Muḥammad Mu'īn permits acceptance of only indispensable international words like *téléphone, radio, banque*. The rest, he says, should be coined subject to the condition that they should be in keeping with the genius and grammatical and phonetical requirements of the Persian language.[4] We cannot, however, overlook the reality of the situation. The reaction to the unchecked intrusion of loanwords is only partly true, and the advice of the scholars stated above has not cut much ice. In spite of the constant, rapid expansion of Persian vocabulary, there is a large number of Western loanwords freely employed in the language. A representative list of these words used in various spheres may be reproduced below. All words, except indicated otherwise, are French or have come through French.

Educat'on

Académie	آکادمی
Université	اونیورسته[5]
Polytechnique	پلی تکنیک
Institut	انستیتو
Faculté	فاکلته
Diplôme	دپلم
Licence	لیسانس
Licencié	لیسانسیه[6]
Docteur	دکتر
Professeur	پروفسور

1 *"Jumbish-i Milli-yi Adabi"*, *A.*, yr. xxii, no. viii-ix, p. 385.
2 *Z. F.*, pp. 12-13.
3 *R. K.*, yr. iv, no. ii, p. 99.
4 Ibid., p. 103.
5 It has now given way to *danish-gāh*.
6 Licentiate.

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Classe	کلاس
Laboratoire	لابراتوار
Terme	ترم
Concourse	کنکور [1]
Refuser	رفوزه [2]
Bourse	بورس [3]
Conférence	کنفرانس
Symposium	سمپوزیوم
Tribune	تریبون [4]
Theorie	تیوری
Thèse	تیز [5]
Formule	فرمول
Microfilm	میکروفیلم
Fiche	فیش [6]
Dictée	دکته [7]
Phonétique	فونتیک
Consonne	کنسن [8]
Voyelle	ویل [9]
Accent	اکسان

Arts and Letters

Idéalisme	ایدالیسم
Impressionisme	امپرسیونیسم
Naturalisme	ناتورالیسم
Réalisme	ریالیسم

1 Competition.
2 To refuse ; to fail.
3 Scholarship.
4 Rostrum; speaker's grand stand, platform.
5 Thesis.
6 Slip of paper, memorandum slip, etc.
7 Dictation.
8 Consonant.
9 Vowel.

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Romantisme	رمانتیسم
Classique	کلاسیک
Sujet	سوژه [1]
Idée	ایده [2]
Comédie	کمدی
Comédien	کمدین
Iragédie	تراژدی
Lyrique	لیریک
Roman	رمان [3]
Folklore	فولکلور
Idéal	ایدال
Fantaisie	فانتزی
Symbole	سمبل
Symbolique	سمبالیک
Image	ایماژ
Reportage	رپورتاژ
Galerie	گالری
Collection	کلکسیون
Tableau	تابلو [4]
Biographie	بیوگرافی
Musée	موزه [5]
Boutique	بوتیک
Miniature	مینیاتور
Caricature	کاریکاتور
Photo	فتو
Photo-copie	فتوکپی

Sports and Games

Olympic	اولمپیک
Gymnastique	ژیمناستیک

1 Subject.
2 Idea ; notion.
3 Novel; romance.
4 Picture, painting.
5 Museum.

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Tennis	تنیس
Ski	اسکی
Raquette	راکت
Ping-pong	پینگ پنگ
Hockey	هاکی
Record	رکورد
Sport	اسپورت
Finalist	فینالیست

Music and Dance

Bal	بال
Ballet	بالت
Cabaret	کاباره
Concert	کنسرت
Danse	دانس
Gramophone	گرامافون
Guitare	گیتار
Musique	موزیک
Orchestre	آرکستر
Piano	پیانو
Valse	والس
Violine	ویولون
Artiste	آرتیست

Cinema and Theatre, etc.

Acteur	اکتر
Billet	بلیط [1]
Cinéma	سینما
Décor	دکور [2]
Doubler	دبله [3]
Entr'acte	انتراکت [4]

1 Ticket.
2 Setting, arrangement of stage.
3 To dub.
4 Interval.

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Loge	لـژ [1]
Pièce	پیس [2]
Rôle	رل
Scène	سن [3]
Studio	استودیو
Scenario	سناریو
Théâtre	تیاتر ـ تاتر
Cirque	سرک [4]

Social Life and Fashions

Famille	فامیل
Madame	مادام
Monsieur	موسیو
Sexe	سکس
Merci	مرسی [5]
Eliquette	اتیکت
Mode	مد
Modèle	مدل
Forme	فرم
Décoration	دکوراسیون
Style	استیل
Chic	شیک [6]
Gigolo	ژیگولو [7]
Cadeau	کادو [8]
Luxe	لوکس
Moderne	مدرن
Adresse	آدرس
Carte Visite	کارت ویزیت
Club	کلوب ـ کلاب
Pique-nique.	پکنیک

1 Box (theatre) ; cabin ; lodge.
2 Drama.
3 Scene ; stage (of theatre, etc.)
4 Circus; this English word is also pronounced as سرکیس.
5 Thanks ; thank you.
6 Smart, smartness ; stylishness.
7 Fancy-man.
8 Present.

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Rendez-vous	رندوو
Parc	پارک
Magasin	مغازه [1]
Passage	پاساژ [2]

Hotel

Hôtel	هتل
Suite	سویت
Restaurant	رستوران
Pension	پانسیون
Café	کافه
Menu	مینو
Service	سرویس
Gárcon	گارسون [3]
Ascenseur	آسانسور [4]

Dress and Clothing

Blouse	بلوز
Cache-col	کاشکول [5]
Corset	کرست
Cotte	کت
Cravate	کرا وات [6]
Faux-col	فکل [7]
Jaquette	ژاکت
Minijupe	مینی ژوپ [8]
Maillot	مایو [9]
Paletot	پالتو [10]

1 Shop, store.
2 Arcade.
3 Waiter.
4 Lift ; elevator.
5 Man's scarf.
6 Necktie.
7 Collar.
8 Mini skirt.
9 Long clothes ; tights ; (*de bain*) bathing costume.
10 Great-coat.

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Ruban	روبان [1]
Mannequin	مانکن [2]
Crêpe	کرپ
Flanelle	فلانل
Georgette	ژورژت
Satin	ساتن

Make-up

Grime	گریم [3]
Crème	کرم
Manicure	مانیکیور
Poudre	پودر
Rouge	روژ

House and Household Effects

Apartement	آپارتمان
Balcon	بالکن
Villa	ویلا
Salon	سالن [4]
Douche	دوش [5]
Toilette	توالت
Chauffage	شوفاژ [6]
Meuble	مبل [7]
Meubler	مبله [8]
Décoration	د کوراسیون
Radio	رادیو
Transistor	ترانزستور
Télévision	تلویزیون

1 Ribbon ; band.
2 Girl who shows off dresses.
3 Orig. 'Grimer', to make up (an actor).
4 Saloon.
5 Shower bath.
6 Heating.
7 Piece of furniture.
8 To furnish.

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Lampe	لامپ
Plaque	پلاک [1]
Electrique	الکتریک

Food and Drink

Dessert	دیسر
Omelette	املت
Soupe	سوپ
Compote	کمپوت [2]
Biscuit	بسکویت
Chocolat	شکلات
Cigare	سیگار
Pipe	پیپ
Soda	سودا
Ananas	اناس [3]

Weights, Measures and Numerals

Mètre	متر
Kilomètre	کیلو میتر
Kilo	کیلو
Litre	لیتر
Gramme	گرام
Tonne	تن
Centigrade	سانتیگراد
Hectare	هکتار [4]
Million	ملیون
Milliard	ملیارد [5]
Millionnaire	ملیونر
Maximum	ماکزیمم
Nombre	نمره

1 Plate.
2 Of fruit, etc.
3 Pineapple.
4 2.50 acres.
5 Thousand million.

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Medicine and Disease

Influenza	انفلوانزا
Appendice	اپاندیس
Rhumatisme	روماتیسم
Typhoïde	تیفوید
Diabèt	دیابت
Vitamine	ویتامین
Acide	اسید
Ampoule	امپول
Vaccin	واکسن
Microbe	میکروب
Massage	ماساژ
Pansement	پانسمان [1]
Régime	رژیم [2]
Cellule	سلول [3]
Clinique	کلینیک
Plastique	پلاستیک

Science

Atome	اتم
Bombe	بمب
Automatique	اتوماتیک
Biologie	بیولوژی
Physiologie	فیزیولوژی
Energie	انرژی
Electronique	الکترونیک
Mécanique	مکانیک [4]
Technique	تکنیک
Gaz	گاز [5]

1 Dresing.
2 Diet ; (also form of government).
3 Cell.
4 Mechanics, mechanism.
5 Gas.

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Mine	مین
Hydrogène	ئیدروژن
Oxygène	اکسیژن
Physique	فزیک
Chimie	شیمی[1]
Radium	رادیوم
Uranium	اورانیوم
Aluminium	آلومینیوم
Bronze	برنز
Microphone	میکروفون
Microscope	میکروسکپ
Technicien	تکنیسین
Technologie	تکنولوژی

Press

Cliché	کلیشه[2]
Gravure	گراور[3]
Polycopie	پلی کپی[4]
Tirage	تیراژ[5]

Means of Transport and Communications, etc.

Automobile	اتومبیل
Autobus	اتوبوس
Minibus	مینی بوس
Machine	ماشین[6]
Taxi	تاکسی
Camion	کامیون[7]
Train	ترن

1 Chemistry,
2 Block.
3 Engraving.
4 Manifolding or stencilling process.
5 Number printed.
6 Popularly used for automobile.
7 Truck ; lorry.

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Wegon	واگون
Coupé	کوپه
Locomotive	لوکوموتیف
Moteur	موتور
Garage	گاراژ
Hélicoptère	هلیکوپتر
Ballon	بالون
Radar	رادار
Boulevard	بلوار
Asphalte	اسفالت
Chaussée	شوسه [1]
Trafic	ترافیک
Tonnelle	تونل
Télégraphe	تلگراف
Télégramme	تلگرام
Téléphone	تلفن
Carte	کارت
Paquet	پاکت [2]
Timbre	تمبر [3]
Poste	پست
Bande	باند [4]

Ranks and Administrative Bodies

Agent	آژان
Agence	آژانس [5]
Candidat	کاندید
Comité	کمیته
Cadre	کادر
Commission	کمیسیون

1 Causeway, roadway.
2 Parcel, package; in Persian stands for envelope.
3 Stamp (postage).
4 Strip ; runway.
5 Agency.

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Personnelle	پرسنل
Chargé d' Affaires	شارژدافر
Consul	کنسول
Gendarme	ژاندارم
Général	ژنرال
Garde	گارد
Komando	کوماندو
Police	پلیس
Poste	پست
Secrétaire	سکرتر

Financial

Banque	بانک
Cheque	چک
Bourse	بورس[1]
Budget	بودجه

Politics and Constitution

Démocratie	دموکراسی
Dictateur	دیکتاتور
Diplomate	دیپلومات
National	ناسیونال
Cabinet	کابینه
Parlement	پارلمان
Sénat	سنا
Sénateur	سناتور
Syndicat	سندیکا
Parti	پارتی
Partisane	پارتیزان
Fédéral	فدرال
Fédération	فدراسیون
Coupd' état	کودتا
Référandum	رفراندوم
Bloc	بلوک

1 Stock Exchange.

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Système	سیستم
Stratégie	استراتیژی
Congres	کنگره
Libéral	لبرال
Féodal	فیودال
Communisme	کمیونیسم
Socialisme	سوسیالیسم
Impérialisme	امپریالیسم
Terrorisme	تروریسم
Anarchist	آنارشیست

Miscellaneous

Amateur	آماتور
Archive	آرشیو
Batterie	باطری
Blond	بلوند
Brillant	برلیان[1]
Canal	کانال
Cartel	کارتل
Censeur	سنسور
Chance	شانس
Charlatan	شارلاتان
Ciment	سیمان
Contrôle	کنترل
Coupon	کوپن
Cylindre	سیلاندر
Démonstration	دمنستراسیون
Discipline	دسپلن
Escadron	اسکادرن
Fanatique	فناتیک

1 Diamond.

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Geste	ژست [1]
Jeton	ژتون [2]
Jury	ژوری
Liste	لیست
Maquette	ماکت [3]
Médaille	مدال
Montage	مونتاژ [4]
Oriental	اورینتال
Passeport	پاسپورت
Plage	پلاژ [5]
Pompe	پمپ
Pose	پز
Pratique	پراتیک
Prestige	پرستیژ
Projet	پروژه [6]
Touriste	توریست
Type	تیپ
Visa	ویزا

English Loanwords

Cricket	کریکت
Basketball	بسکتبال
Football	فوتبال
Volleyball	والیبال
Skating-ring	اسکیتنگ رینگ
Water Polo	واتر پولو
Test	تست
Cup	کاپ

1 Gesture.
2 Token.
3 Model ; rough sketch.
4 Assembling.
5 Beach.
6 Plan, scheme.

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Stadium	استادیوم
Team	تیم
Jeep	جیپ
Tank	تانک
Tanker	تانکر
Benzine	بنزین
Gallon	گالون
Glass	گلاس
Sandwich	ساندویچ
Toaster	توستر
Cafeteria	کافه تریا [1]
Self-service	سلف سرویس
Cake	کیک
Cooler	کولر
Projector	پروژکتور
Generator	ژنراتور
Tractor	تراکتور
Computor	کامپیوتر
Microwave	مکروویو
Plaster	پلاستر
Pull-over	پلور
Uniform	یونیفارم
Super-market	سوپرمارکت
Festival	فستیوال
Dancing	دانسینگ
Jazz	جاز
Show	شو
Cast	کاست [2]
Reserve	رزرو

1 Also shortened to 'teria'.

2 Actors in a play.

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Meeting	میتنگ
Leader	لیدر
March	مارش [1]
Seminar	سمینار
Serial	سریال
Offset	آفست
Slide	اسلاید
Parking	پارکینگ
Shampoo	شامپو
Shorthand	شورت هند
Short	شورت [2]
Sexy	سکسی
Teen Princess	تین پرنسس

Russian Loanwords

Assignetsia	اسکناس [3]
Bochka	بشکه [4]
Drozhka	درشکه [5]
Kaliaska	کالسکه [6]
Samovar	سماور
Stakane	استکان [7]
Turmoz	ترمز [8]
Vanna (Gr. Wanne)	وان [9]

It may be pointed out that not every Western word used by a writer has been accepted into the language. The above-mentioned words, however, are a part of the vocabulary which has been absorbed in Persian.

1 Musical Composition meant to accompany marching of troops.
2 Underwear.
3 Bank-note.
4 Barrel.
5 Drosky, carriage.
6 Coach, carriage.
7 Tumbler.
8 Brake.
9 Tub.

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6

THE PURIST MOVEMENT

If contacts with the West brought forth a torrent of Western loanwords, the new concept of nationalism created a strong desire to purify the Persian language of Arabic and other foreign elements. This concept also expressed itself in unprecedented love of the past glory of the country now unfolded through archaeological excavations and study of the ancient Iranian languages.

The tendency to write pure Persian goes far back in time. It had originally appeared as a symbol of national pride, and its earliest exponents, who deliberately avoided the use of Arabic vocabulary, were Daqīqī (4th/10th century) and Firdausī. Amongst the latter's contemporaries, the famous Iranian thinkers and scholars Bū-'Alī Sīnā and Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī even tried to translate philosophical and technical Arabic terms into Persian.[1] Both these scholars came of Ismā'īlī families.[2] Nāṣir Khusrau is another eminent writer who upheld the cause of pure Persian. The purist trend in the works of these thinkers may be attributed to the impact of Shu'ūbī and Ismā'īlī movements. The attempt by Ismā'īlīs to safeguard the purity of the Persian idiom against the rising Arabic influence seems to have been motivated by the desire to use the language as a means of mass communication. Since the common man would understand only his own language, it was advisable to steer clear of foreign influences. Afḍalu'd-Dīn Kāshānī (d.c. 604/1208) also showed practical interest in pure Persian. The desire to purify the language was not confined to these eminent persons. We come across specimens of pure Persian in different periods of Iranian history, at times stimulated by, what Taqī-zāda calls, national and racial consciousness.[3] In his *Pārsī-yi Naghz*, 'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat has given specimens of

1 See pp. 7-8.

2 *S. N. F. M.*, p. 5.

3 "*Luzūm-i Ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi Faṣīḥ*", *Y.*, yr. v, no. vi, p. 13.

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pure Persian from works of many classical masters including Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh Anṣārī (396/1006—481/1088), Sa'dī Shīrāzī, Jalālu'd-Dīn Davānī (d. 908/1502), Mīrzā Ṭāhir Vaḥīd Qazvīnī (d. 1112/1700) and Farhād Mīrzā, etc.

A strong tendency towards preserving words of pure origin in Persian lexicons has also lingered through the ages. The first manifestation of this tendency is found in the earliest Persian lexicon *Luġhāt-i Furs* (compiled between 458/1066—465/1073) of Asadī the Younger (d.465/1073), to be followed much later by Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Fakhrī of Iṣfahān, who reserved the fourth part of his *Mi'yār-i Jamālī* (745/1344) for a brief yet pure Persian lexicon. Muḥammad Qāsim Sarvarī of Kāshān compiled a lexicon of this type during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (996/1587—1038/1629). The tradition passed on to the Mughul Court of the Sub-continent, and Mir Jamālu'd Dīn Ḥusain 'Aḍdu'd-Daula b. Fakhru'd-Dīn Ḥasan Injū of Shīrāz compiled a lexicon of Persian words, which was begun under Akbar's (963/1556—1014/1605) patronage in 1005/1597, but was completed in Jahāngīr's (1014/1605—1036/1627) regin in 1017/1608 and was named after him as *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*.

Some of the writers were carried off by an exuberant national pride to trace Arabic words to Persian origin—a tendency which found a fuller expression in the last century.[1] Ḥamza of Iṣfahān, for example, traced the origin of *muvarrikh* to the compound of *māh* and *rūz*. Manjinīq has been explained as *man chi nīkam*, Nahāvand as *Nūḥ āvand*, and *chalīpā* as *chahār-pāya*, etc.[2]

The earliest antagonist of the Arabian culture in the last century, according to Bahar, was the famous nationalist Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī.[3] The earliest person, however to use pure Persian in modern times was the well-known poet Yaghmā of Jandaq (d. 1276/1859), who wrote some of his letters in unadulterated language. But the earliest systematic work of pure Persian to have been undertaken in the 13th/19th century was *Nāma-yi Khusravān* by Jalālu'd-Dīn Mīrzā, son of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh. The book which is as account of the Zand Dynasty, was published in Tehran in three volumes between 1285/1868 and 1288/1871. The Qājār Prince Abu'l-Ḥasan Mīrzā, known as Shaikhu'r-Ra'īs, made similar contributions by writing poetry in pure Persian. Riḍā-Qulī Hidāyat (1215/1800—1288/1872) compiled a dictionary, *Farhang-i Anjuman-ārā-yi Nāṣirī*, of pure Persian words. Bahāu'llāh, the founder of Bahā'ism (d. 1309/1892) addressed some of his *Alvāḥ*, "Epistles", to Zoroastrians in a similar language. Furṣat of Shīrāz showed an inclination to use pure Persian words. Adību'l-Mamālik Farāhānī (d. 1336/1918) also employed what he considered to be words of pure Persian origin.

The next attempt was made by Mīrzā Riḍā Khān of Qazvīn, who wrote letters on various subjects in pure Persian. The author was *Chargé d'affaires* and Counselior

1 Taqī-zādā, op. cit.

2 Taqī-zādā, *KA*., yr. i, no. vii, pp. 8-9.

3 Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 374.

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of the Iranian embassy in Istanbul, and published this Epistolary Manual in 1300/1884. The following extracts from the preface of the book will serve as a specimen of the general tone of the language :

بندهٔ شرمسار محمد رضا افشار غزوینی از برای نمونهٔ نگارش از نامه و فرمانهای شاهی تا درخواست نامه و چک و سفته و شماره و دریافت و بازیافت و اماره و فهرست و باز پرس و بازخواست و پرسش و پاسخ در سوگ و شادیانه و مانند آنها نگاشته . درشش در و چند فرشیم وگونه بانجام آن پرداخته.[1]

This abashed and humble person Muḥammad Riḍā Afshār Ghazvīnī (Qazvīnī) has written a specimen of composition ranging from royal letters and decrees, petitions, cheques, drafts, receipts, restitutions, calculations, inventories, interrogations, investigations, questions and answers on mournings and rejoicings, etc., in six chapters and a few sections.

It is obvious that the words used were archaic or unintelligible, and the style made little headway. The purist movement however, had its ramifications in India, where Mīrzā Naṣru'llāh b. Muḥammad Ḥusain of Iṣfahān published his *Dāstān-i Turktāzān-i Hind*, a history of the Muslim rulers of the Sub-continent, in five volumes in Ḥaidar-ābād, in 1307/1890. Nāẓimu'l Aṭibbā was another Iranian scholar who used pure Persian in the prefaces to *Pizishkī Nāma* and *Nāma-yi Zabān Āmūz*. It must, however, be pointed out, that these early purists lived under a delusion, in as much as they borrowed lavishly from *Dasātīr*, which had captured their imagination for its mythical character. They looked upon it as a precious legacy of the ancient prophets of Iran, because *Dasātīr* claimed itself to be a sacred religious text written in the oldest language of the country.[2] According to Pūr-i Dāvūd, however, the book seems to have been written in the Sub-continent during Akbar's reign, and the author is an unknown imposter.[3] It was published by a Zoroastrian Mullā Fīrūz (d. 1246/1830) in good faith in 1234/1818. The language of *Dasātīr* has been coined by its author and has nothing to do with the ancient Iranian languages. But hundreds of its words found their way into *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* (1062/1652). Ever since its publication, it has exercised a baneful influence on the purists who have made free use of its fake vocabulary.

In Taqī-zāda's opinion the puristrmovement in Iran was influenced by a similar movement in Turkey which under Nāmiq Kamāl, Aḥmad Midḥat and Ḍiā Pāshā, etc., aimed at simplification of the Turkish language and later in the 14th/20th century turned into a purist movement.[4]

1 *T. T. N. F. M.*, pp. 11-12.
2 Pūr-i Dāvūd, "*Dasātīr*," *I. I.*, yr. ii, no. xi, p. 15.
3 Ibid., p. 16.
4 Op. cit., pp. 16-17.

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The movement got a fillip during the Constitutional period when patriotism ruled supreme. In the year of the Revolution, 1324/1906, Abū'l-Qāsim Khān Āzād of Marāgha brought out the maġazine *Nāma-yi Pārsī*. This literary journal published its entire contents in pure Persian but it did not last more than two years. The enterprise was condemned by prominent writers.[1]

The movement subsided during World War I, when Iran became deeply involved in international politics and suffered the ravages of war on a large scale. It was, however, revived with greater vigour during the reign of Reza Shah Pahlavi, when a wave of national resurgence swept the country, and love of the old found expression not only in a minute study of ancient Iranian languages and literature and the glorification of its past achievements, but also in an attempt, on the part of certain writers, to purify the Persian language of foreign influences. Abu'l-Qāsim Āzād, who had been active during the Constitutional period, started *Āsāyish* in 1338/1920, and *Rūz-nāma-yi Āzād* in 1340/1922 in Tehran. He also compiled a dictionary *Farhang-i Āzād* from Arabic into pure Persian and English. A magazine under the name of *Majalla-yi Namakdān* was founded in Tehran under the editorship of 'ع' (ع) Āyatī in 1308(s)/1928, in which most of the articles were written in pure Persian. His disgust of Arabic was amply revealed in the following couplet :

بیا که پاک الفبای مرز ایران را زعین قاف و ط و ظ و صاد و ضاد کنیم

Come, let us make a clean sweep of ʿ, q, ṭ, ẓ, ṣ and ḍ from the Iranian alphabet.

However, these articles were predominantly the editor's own contribution. The magazine stopped publication in 1313(s)/1934. In the meanwhile an illustrated paper *Rūznāma-yi Īrān-i Bāstān* was brought out from Tehran in 1311 (s)/1932 by Saif Āzād. This paper strongly advocated the cause of pure Persian during the short span of its life which ended in 1314 (s)/1935.

The most typical name amongst the purists is that of Aḥmad Kasravī (1308/1891—1324(s)/1945). In his relentless war against foreign elements in Persian language he took an extreme position, and as in the following passage, showed scant respect for the language of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ :

میگفتند : سعدی و حافظ با همین زبان مقاصد خود را فهمانیده اند . میگویم : این سخن عامیانه است . سعدی و حافظ نه دل شان برای مردم میسوخت و نه پی بزرگی و نیرو مندی توده میبودند . . . ما امروز به صد ها معنی نیاز داریم که سعدی و حافظ هیچ نمی دانستند . ما امروز بیک زبان توانا و ساده ای نیاز مندیم که بدستیاری آن اندیشه های خود را در سراسر شرق رواج دهیم .[2]

They said, "Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ have expressed their views in this very

1 *T. T., N. F.* M., p. 14.

2 *ZA. F.*, pp. 54-55.

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> language." I say, "This is all trash. Neither did the hearts of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ ever move for the people, nor did they strive for the greatness and strength of the masses . . . We are today in need of a hundred and one facts which Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ never knew. We are today in need of a strong and simple language by means of which we can propagate our views throughout the East."

Kasravī claimed to have taken a practical interest in Iranian dialects and linguistics and studied the problem from a scientific angle.[1] He contended that a language could be simplified and purified in the light of certain basic principles. He belived that a host of new Persian words could be coined with the help of the letter ک (k), on which he developed a thesis, later published by Yaḥyā Dhakā under the name *Kāf-nāma*. If we can derive *khūrāk* and *pūshāk* from the infinitives *khurdan* and *pūshīdan*, he posed, why should we not construct such words as *āmūzāk* and *khvānāk* from *āmūkhtan* and *khvāndan*. He appeared to be infatuated with the suffix *āk*, which, in his opinion, had limitless potentialities for framing new words.[2]

Western words are not only admissible where no substitute exists, but they can also serve as a source of new words. Thus we can have *tilgrāfīdan* and *tilgrāfanda*. Similarly we can have such verbal-forms as *tilfūnīdan* and *tilfūnanda*.[3] Regarding Arabic, he takes the position that if a word is indispensable, or has assumed a wholly Persian character, as for instance *fahmīdan* and *ṭalabīdan*, which have been formed from the Arabic words *fahm* and *ṭalab*, it ought to stay. In the past, he says, if Arabic vocabulary was borrowed for the sake of verbal artistry, it was excusable; but if today the language has to serve the purpose of mass communication, loanwords are full of dangerous possibilities.

He attached great importance to prefixes and suffixes and pleaded that they had potently contributed to the strength of the Persian language in the past. They should be harnessed for the same end now, because they had immense potentialities.

Kasravī also firmly believed that the purist movement could not sustain on individual efforts, least of all by men of little scientific knowledge. Such puerile attempts, he feared, would lead to utter chaos.[4] His own suggestions, however, were of an anomalous character. The new words he formed or suggested in his articles have hardly gained ground. Some of his suggestions were even unbalanced. To give an instance of some of his views, he seriously proposed that the nation should make a bonfire of the poetical works of classical masters on the 1st of *Dai-māh* (December-January) every year, because such works had spelled disaster to the nation![5]

1 *ZA. F.*, ed. Yaḥyā Dhakā, pp. 54-55.
2 Later, Khānlari also spotlighted the hidden potentialities of the letter ک. Cf. *Z. Z.*, p. 125.
3 *Z. P.*, pp. 9-10.
4 Ibid.
5 *ZA. F.*, po. c,it. p. 2.

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Kasravī founded the journal *Paimān* in 1312(s)/1933 in the cause of Purism and fought for it till the end of his life in 1324(s)/1945.

The purist movement, however, fell a victim to the idiosyncrasies of its own short-sighted enthusiasts, many of whom, in the words of Rashīd Yāsamī (1314/1896—1330 (s)/1951) were men of little competence, who only spoiled the cause of the movement by introducing unprecedented, meaningless, and quaint words in prose, and led to a literary controversy regarding the nature and extent of purification.[1]

'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtīānī has cited a few examples of these attempts, which made Persian an almost unintelligible language and evoked serious protest from various scholars.[2]

A few words below will illustrate what kind of new words were imported into Persian :

یونیگری	trechery
فرسنداج	nation
استرسا	perceptible
پلمه سرای	backbiting
سفته گوشی	obedience

At times the new meanings given to certain words made the confusion worse confounded. *Āmīgh*, which means 'association and connection with women' (*āmīzish u muqārabat bā zanān*)[3] was explained as 'reality' by purists who wrote such sentences as :

این کپ آمیغ ندارد	This word has no substance.
چم آمیغی این واژه اینست	The real meaning of this word is this.
دریابهٔ آمیغ های برهنه[4]	Perception of abstract realities.

For a time, even a section of sober writers of standing and eminence were swept off by the purist call. Amongst writers and scholars, who showed practical interest in this movement, such names may be mentioned as 'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz, Kamālī and Amīnī. Ḥikmat wrote a serial article *Sukhanān-i Fārsī* in pure Persian in *Āmūzish u Parvarish*, the official journal of the Ministry of Education.[5] Dhabīḥ Bihrūz made his contribution through two dramas *Shāh-i Īrān va Bānū-yi Arman* and *Dar Rāh-i Mihr* (1323/1944) ; a treatise entitled *Zabān-i Īrān Fārsī yā 'Arabī*, two lexicons and some other publications including *Khaṭ va Farhang* (1325/1946) and *Kūdak Dabīra*

1 *A. M.*, p. 108.
2 *Fārsī-yi Sākhtigī*, op. cit. pp. 438, 441.
3 *MJ.*, p. 221.
4 Cf. Taqī-zāda, *Jumbish-i Millī-yi Adabī*, op. cit., pp. 391-392.
5 Cf. nos., 3-4, 7-8, 9-10, A. H. (s)1320.

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(1324/1945). Amīrī compiled a rhymed glossary, *Paivasta Farhang-i Pārsī*. The poet Kamālī wrote two historical novels in pure Persian, *Lāzīkā* and *Maẓālim-i Turkān Khātūn*.

Poetry was also affected by the new movement, which had come to symbolize the national ego; and poets of all ranks and opinions were for a time carried away by it. Amongst these may be included Amīrī Farāhānī, Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, 'Alī Akbar Dih-khudā, Pūr-i Dāvūd, and Rashīd Yāsamī.

It will not be out of place to reproduce a few specimens of this poetry. The following lines of Amīrī are in praise of the Holy Prophet :

یگانه رادی کش کردگار بی همتا گرفته است به پیغمبری و وخشوری
ز تنگبار خدائی به تیمسار خرد رسید نامه که از وی گرفت دستوری
ز دار و برد سپاهش سپهر برد از یاد شکوه چتر کیانی و تخت شاپوری [1]

The unique, the magnanimous one, whom the Peerless Lord has selected for Prophethood;
From the inaccessible Divine Being came to that honoured paragon of wisdom the Book from which he received instructions,
By the sweeping victory of his army, the sky obliterated from memory the grandeur of the Royal parasol of Kīānīs and the throne of Shāpūr.

Pūr-i-Dāvūd lauds the Old Persian language in the following strain :

زبان ایران ماست پارسی باستان آن نیاگان ماست پارسی باستان
بر زبر کشور قباد و جمشید و کی چو هور رخشان ماست پارسی باستان
ز تازی ار ناخوشی چاره بجو از دری دارو و درمان ماست پارسی باستان

The language of Iran, our country, is Old Persian,
The heritage of our forefathers is Old Persian,
Over the land of Qubād, Jamshīd, and Kai,
Old Persian, like the resplendent sun shines,
If you are sick of Arabic, seek the remedy in *Darī*,
For Old Persian is our remedy, fair and fine.

The poets did not persist in such new experiments, though they registered their love of Persian by making a symbolic contribution to this movement.

'Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat regrets the position taken by a group of purists who had substituted Arabic vocabulary by quaint words.[2] Even Aḥmad Kasravī condemns the path chosen by the supporters of the purist cause of writing an unintelligible language

1 *D.*, p. 509.
2 *P. N.*, p. 48.

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which arrested the progress of the movement.[1]

Taqī-zāda considers ignorance on the part of some of the purists, regarding the usage and accuracy of a part of the Avestan and Pahlavi vocabulary, as the main cause of running riot with it.[2]

Alluding to the amusing attempts to recast *Gulistān* in purist mould, he has quoted a funny, new version of one of Sa'dī's famous fragments to illustrate what he calls sheer madness on the part of its author. The new version opens with the following line :

گلی خوشبوی در گرما به روزی رسید از دست برجسته بدستم [3]

One day I received in a public bath a fragrant rose from a distinguished hand.

The protest against the extremists finds its most bitter and scathing expression in a letter of 'Allāma Muḥammad Qazvīnī (1294/1877—1328(s)/1949) dated Dhul-hijja 24, 1342/July 17, 1924 and written from Paris to the Editor of *Majalla-yi 'Ulūm-i Māliyya u Iqtiṣād*.[4] The writer's patriotism cannot be questioned. He contends that the Arabic words, which penetrated into Persian centuries ago, had become a part and parcel of the Persian language and had assumed indigenous character. He draws a striking analogy. By living in Iran for centuries, he says, if the original Arab migrants like Sayyids, Shaibānīs, Ghaffārīs, Anṣārīs, Khālidīs, etc., could become Iranian to the core, their hearts beating in unison with the aspirations of their countrymen, why should the Arabic words not be regarded as an essential part of the structure of the Persian language. By throwing them out, he adds, the protagonists of pure Persian shall be doing incalculable harm to the glorious traditions of the Persian language and literature. His voice of disapprobation found an echo in the writings of Ḥusain Taqī-zāda, 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtīānī, 'Alī Dashtī, and more recently Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī. The position of these scholars may be summed up as under :

No language is free from foreign element. The complete isolation of a language is as impossible as the complete segregation of a nation.[5] There is no civilized language which does not contain a large number of foreign words.[6]

Apart from other reasons, Arabic vocabulary was imported into Persian for paucity of words in the latter,[7] and as such Arabic enlarged the stock of Persian language.

Arabic words in Persian command an important position in the expression of our

1 *P.*, yr. i, no. i.
2 Op. cit., p. 393.
3 "*Luzūm-i Ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi Faṣīḥ*", op. cit., p. 21.
4 *B. M. Q.*, vol. i, pp. 84 89.
5 Taqī-zāda, op. cit., p. 27.
6 Khānlarī, op. cit., pp. 135-136.
7 Taqī-zāda, op. cit. p. 25.

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thoughts. If we drop this element, it will seriously affect the number of single verbal-forms in our language.[1]

The language of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ is a cherished treasure and has to be preserved.[2] This language is the greatest custodian of our social heritage and national honour.[3] Sa'dī's language, in spite of eight Arabic words out of ten, is Persian, because it has the typical Persian character and personality, and its own grammar and syntax.[4]

Arabic words which have been current in Persian since centuries have shed their alien character. Many Arabic words have even changed connotations. For instance, *ḥarf* in Arabic does not mean 'speech'. *Ra'nā*, which in Persian means 'handsome', stands for a stupid woman in Arabic. Similarly *kathīf* in Arabic means 'thick', 'dense', 'massive', while in Persian it has taken on the connotation 'dirty'. *Tamīz* in Arabic means 'to distinguish'; in Persian it stands for 'neat and clean', and so on and so forth.[5] Taqī-zāda has drawn the same analogy as Qazvīnī between the Arabic element in Persian and the Arab settlers in Iran, who, in spite of their once foreign origin, are as good patriots today as anybody else.[6]

Arabic words have become an integral part of the Persian language, and any attempt at their total expulsion will spell disaster to its integrity. It will be like expelling French and Latin from the English language.[7] Qazvīnī expresses even greater apprehension on their elimination.[8]

Even Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī (1295/1878—1321(s)/1943) who, as Prime Minister of Reza Shah Pahlavi had much to do with the foundation of *Farhangistān*, regards the import of many Arabic loanwords in the past as indispensable.[9]

Lastly, some of these scholars argue that if the Arabic element has to be ousted to satisfy the national ego, then why not react to the infiltration of other foreign, and what Qazvīnī regards, as the new, repellings, alien Western words with equal force.[10]

The movement has failed to achieve its objective, but it has left an unmistakable impact on the Iranian mind. The new words coined are, except in very rare cases, of pure Persian origin. The present-day writers do not freely employ Arabic synonyms, nor are cumbersome Arabic words used in speech, which scholars like 'Abbās Iqbāl, Muḥammad Qazvīnī, Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī, and Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda have

1 'Alī Dashtī, op. cit., p. 484.
2 Taqī-zāda, op. cit.
3 'Alī Dashtī, op. cit., p. 486.
4 'Abbās Iqbāl Āshtīānī, op. cit., p. 441.
5 Taqī-zāda, op. cit., p. 11.
6 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
7 Ibid., p. 26.
8 Op. cit., p. 91.
9 *"Payām-i Man bi Farhangistān"*, *A.*, yr. xxii., no. vii, p. 340.
10 Op. cit., p. 90.

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ridiculed by providing amusing instances.[1] Colloquial Persian and even slangs have found way into literature and are widely popular. Certain societies are taking special interest in promoting the cause of Persian and enlarging its scope through research and publication. The process of Persianizing the Persian language, however, is free from the exuberant, chauvinistic enthusiasm of the pre-War days, when sheer adventure in the realm of language and individul efforts to shape it according to personal tastes and standards, led ultimately to the institution of *Farhangistān*, which had a definite bias for pure Persian, though it did not discard the use of Arabic and other foreign words.

1 (i) چنانکه آن طلبه بآنشخص گفت : ''ای انکه بر سطح بیت صعود نموده و عصفوری از عصافیر را طیران میدهی''

As that student of theology said to that man, "O thou ! who hast ascended the roof of that edifice, and set into flight a sparrow out of a flock of sparrows."
Muḥammad Qazvīnī, op. cit., p. 94.

(ii) آن طلبه . . . که به هیزم فروشی گفت : ''این وقر حطب را که ظهر این حمار اسود حمل نموده ای بچند درهم شرعی میتوان ابتیاع نمود''

That student of theology . . . who said to the wood-seller, "For how many lawful *dirhams* could this heavy burden of fire-wood, which thou hast loaded over the back of this black ass, be transacted ?"
'Abbās Iqbāl, op. cit., p. 437.

(iii) یاد دارم در جوانی طبیبی در جای نوشته بود ''جوش پلک چشم'' و طبیب دیگر زبان طعن و سرزنش او به سختی دراز کرده بود که این عبارت عامیانه چیست و این شخص سواد ندارد و نمی داند که باید گفت ''بثورات جفن''

I remember in the days of my boyhood a physician had written at a place, "inflammation of the eyelid." Another physician had severly reprehended him on the ground that it was vulgar language, and that the man lacked education and did not know that it should have been described as 'the sty of the palpebra'.
Furūghī, op. cit.

(iv) منظور شما مفهوم ذهن این داعی گردید . الصبر مفتاح الفرج . ارجو که عماً قریب وجه حبس بوضوح پیوندد و البته الف البته بائی نحوکان چه عا جلا و چه آجلاً بمسامع ما خواهد رسید . علی العجاله در حین انتظار احسن شقوق وانفع امور اشتغال بذکر خالق است که علی کل حال نعم الاشتغال است .

Your intention has been comprehensed by this humble self (who prays for you). Patience is the key to relief. Be hopeful that in the near future the cause of imprisonment will be made crystal clear, and will, doubtless, be comprehended by us immediately or ultimately. For the present, as we pass through waiting hours, the best of alternatives and the worthiest of things is the praise of our Lord, the Creator, because this, in all states, is an excellent occupation.
Jamāl-zāda, op. cit., p. 24.

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FARHANGISTĀN

The word *Farhangistān*, in its modern context, stands for 'academy.' It is an old word, and has been used in the second chapter of the Pahlavi text *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān* to mean an educational institution.[1]

The idea of *Farhangistān* was not entirely new. References to such societies existed in literary and historical works and provided an impetus to scholars in recent times to make a collective effort to build a language which would meet the challenge of the modern civilization.[2] Consequently, societies for this purpose had been founded in Tehran and district towns by scholars during the Constitutional period. The bi-weekly *'Asr-i Jadīd* of Mashhad wrote in 1330/1912 :

> یکی دیگر از خیالات غریب که برای بعضی از رفقا آمده است این است که به جهت تکمیل زبان فارسی باید انجمن های علمی و ادبی و بعبارت آخری اکادمی تاسیس نمود که وضع لغات و جعل اصطلاحات جدیده نماید .[3]
>
> Another novel idea which has struck some friends to make Persian perfect, is the foundation of scientific and literary societies, or an academy, as the latest terminology goes, for forming new words and technical terms.

However, no major effort was made in this direction. The earliest initiative from

1 Farhangistān consists of three word's, namely, *far*, *hang* and *stān*. *Far* is a prefix in the Avestan and Old Persian languages. It corresponds to the Sanskrit *pra* and Latin *pro*. In English it corresponds to *pre*. *Hang* is more popularly known as *āhang* in Persian and means design, purpose, intention; *thang* in Avestan and Old Persian, it has changed its 'th' into 'h' in the same way as *mithra* and *chithra* have changed into *mihr* and *chihr*. With the prefix *far* it took on the shape *farhang* in Pahlavi to mean education and knowledge. Collectively *Farhangistān* would mean the house of education and knowledge.

2 *"Tārīkhī az Farhangistān-i Īrān"*, *N. FN.*, yr. i, no. i, p. 6.

3 Op. cit., no. xxxv.

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the Government side came in 1303(s)/1924 when the whole military system was overhauled and reorganized on Western lines and a need arose for new terms. A committee was formed for this purpose with the co-ordination of the Ministries of War and Education.[1] The first meeting of this body was held on *Ābān-māh* 28, 1303(s)/November 19, 1924 in the Ministry of War. Weekly meetings were held till the end of 1303(s)/1925, and three hundred terms were coined or introduced. These terms generally related to aviation, artillery, military organization, engineering, installations and equipment and were translated from French. To wit a few :

Avion	هوا پیما
Aeronaute	هوا نورد
Aerodrome	فرود گاه
Aerometre	هوا سنج
Pilote	خلبان
Ballon	بالون
Bombe	بمب
Char de Combat	ارابه جنگی
Attaché militairé	وابستهٔ نظامی[2]

Another society was formed in the *Dāru'l-Mu'allimīn-i 'Ālī* in *Isfand-māh*, 1311/February-March, 1933 under the direction of the then Principal Dr. 'Īsā Ṣadīq.[3] This society lasted till 1319(s)/1941, that is, till five years after the foundation of *Farhangistān*. The society addressed itself to various subjects of arts and sciences on the student-teacher cooperative basis. It had to its credit the coining and the classification of about 3,000 terms in all, out of which 400 words were later borrowed by teachers to be used in their works.[4]

In 1313/1934, five months before the foundation of *Farhangistān*, the Ministry of Education had planned to form societies of specialists and experts in various fields and had made a start with the Academy of Medicine. The word *Farhangistān* was first used in one of the meetings of this academy. The new body was formed not so much with the exclusive purpose of coining new technical terms, as with the object of translating and writing books, collecting the available fund of technical terms and phrases, and encouraging research in all fields of arts and sciences. But before the constitution of the proposed academy could be ratified and enforced, the new plan

1 Isā Ṣadīq : *"Taudīḥ dar Tārikhcha-yi Farhangistān"*, *N. FN.*, yr. i, no. iv, p. 2.

2 This term, however, was formed much earlier in the 13th/19th century and had been used by Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. Cf. *S. F.*, p. 99.

3 Op. cit., p. 3.

4 Ibid., p. 5.

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for reform in the language and the literary genre was frustrated by a group of young enthusiasts through launching a drive to coin new terms in Persian in the winter of 1313(s)/1934-35. This drive to enrich the language and weed out clumsy words was presumably infused with a sincerity of purpose, but its authors lacked the requisite knowledge, method and good taste.[1] The racial pride had the better of technical skill and historical perspective. In this *mêlée* of conflicting aims and ideals Arabic was the worst sufferer. The anti-Arab element found it an opportune moment to replace Arabic words by incomprehensible vocabulary of ancient, native origin. Some extremists, not well steeped in the tradition and knowledge of their own language, drove out Persian words and replaced them by Arabic substitutes in a fit of excitement.[2] This new development, which was previously confined to a few societies, gathered momentum and began to affect publishing houses, Government offices and agencies. The purists, who wrote a language practically unintelligible to all except themselves, now undertook the mission of introducing the new vocabulary into official correspondence. They found support for their cause in the majority of Ministries in the Government Secretariat. Since this new linguistic venture lacked standardization and uniformity, the language was put to severe strain and reduced to a matter of personal taste. Credit goes to Aḥmad Kasravī for drawing the attention of the Ministry of Education to institute a central organization to standardize technical terms.[3] But the confusion prevailed. Although in the new medley of multi-origin vocabulary many new words and phrases became philological puzzles, creating bottlenecks in the execution of official business, yet the new movement did make headway in the latter half of 1313 (s)/1934-35. It now aspired for the Royal patronage. The Shāh, who stood as the symbol of the revivalist movement, was approached by certain officers of the Ministry of War to gain the Royal assent for the purification of the Persian language of the entire foreign, especially, Arabic element. Such an act of emancipation, they beseeched, would enhance the national prestige on the one hand, and restore the simplicity of the language on the other. The Shah was visibly impressed.

At the end of 1313(s) (early 1935) the Shāh went on an official tour of Turkey, and learnt about the measures the Turkish Government had taken with regard to the emancipation of the Turkish language. Strengthened in his resolve, he instituted a commission[4] in the Ministry of War on his return with the object of providing Persian substitutes for foreign military terminology, and of studying the question of

1 Furūghī, op. cit , p. 8.

2 Ibid., p. 9.

3 *ZA. F.*, p. 6.

4 Furūghī contends that the linguistic movement was wholly independent of foreign influence, and was purely an echo of the national urge to preserve the character of the Persian language. *N. FN.*, yr. i., no. i, p. 26.

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technical terms as a whole in consultation with other Ministries.[1]

The Ministry of War immediately invited representatives of the Education and other Ministries and made haste to select new terms not only for military but also other fields; so that after obtaining the Royal assent, the new vocabulary could be publicized immediately through the Press. These hasty steps put the Ministry of Education on the alert, which, fearing a new chaos, brought the state of affairs to the notice of the Prime Minister Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī Dhakāu'l-Mulk II, who lent his support to the Ministry after he had discussed the situation with the Shāh. The Prime Minister, then, expressed the idea of forming a body of scholars and linguists in co-ordination with the Ministry of Education to study the matter. This was the beginning of *Farhangistān* which, in the words of the Prime Minister, put an end to the sporadic attempts of irresponsible persons and extremist bodies to experiment with the Persian language with impunity.

A letter was drafted by the Ministry of Education[2] at the end of *Isfand-māh*, 1313/March 1935 and despatched to all Ministries in early 1314/1935 directing them to desist from using new terminology or substituting the common vocabulary with pure Persian words in official despatches and documents until the time when the proposed body of intellectuals, lexicographers, writers and scholars had been founded.

A letter[3] was addressed by the Prime Minister under the Royal assent to the Ministry of Education, Religious Trusts, and Fine Arts to take suitable steps to meet the needs of the Persian language and form new terms in it to express new ideas.

The constitution of the proposed *Farhangistān* was drafted by a number of scholars under the auspicies of the Ministry of Education and was ratified by the Government on *Urdībihisht* 29, 1314/May 19, 1935.

Farhangistān had a brief constitution comprising sixteen articles, which aimed at the progress and expansion of the Persian language and literature, and the reform of the Persian alphabet. The coining and selection of words and phrases was only one of its express aims,[4] but it was this work which claimed most of its time and attention. To satisfy the extremist trends prevalent regarding the purification of the language, it had included the expulsion of clumsy foreign words from the Persian language as one

1 Even before the appointment of the Commission a number of new military terms had been coined on the suggestion of the Army General Staff, and in consultation with the supporters of the new movement. These had been brought to the notice of the Shāh and commissioned into official use. Some of these terms are *afsar* (military officer) for *ṣāḥib-i manṣab*, *artish* (army) for *qushūn*, *tīmsār* (honorific title for a Brigadier and the ranks above him in the army) for *ḥaḍrat-i ajall*. Their accuracy, however, had been later challenged, and *Farhangistān* brought into disrepute on the assumption that the responsibility for coining these words lay on the shoulders of that body.

2 No. 7562/370 (General Publications Office).

3 No. 584, dated *Farvardīn-māh* 28, 1314 (s)/April 17, 1935.

4 *N. FN.*, Article 2, clause 1, p. 14.

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of its aims.[1] This was the least that could satisfy the purists and was done out of expediency.[2]

Farhangistān could not achieve all the objectives it had set before itself. Most of its energy was claimed by the selection of new words and technical terms. In this also, it lacked full freedom.[3] However, it cannot be gainsaid that but for its timely service and canalization of effort in the field of terminology, Persian language would have faced utter chaos on account of the invasion of thousands of, what Furūghī calls, forged and unauthentic words every week and month.[4]

The members of *Farhangistān* belonged to two categories—the permanent and the associate. To begin with, the permanent members were twenty-four in all, most of whom were drawn from amongst eminent scholars, professors and specialists in the country. To these a list of seventeen equally eminent scholars was added in the succeeding years. There were ten associate members, of whom eight were foreign scholars, including four from Egypt, and one each from the Soviet Union, France, Czechoslovakia and Denmark. The inclusion of four Egyptian scholars indicated the importance that *Farhangistān* still attached to the Arabic language.

Furūghī, whose efforts as Prime Minister had much to do with the foundation of *Farhangistān*, regards it as one of the most important institutions of the regime of Reza Shah Pahlavī, because it aimed at the development and perfection of the Persian language and literature, which, he thought, was the ideal method of projecting the country's civilization in the national tradition, and creating the true image of the Iranian culture.[5] He defends *Farhangistān* against the charge of its acting as a factory for the manufacturing of technical terms and of being instrumental in driving out Arabic words from Persian, though he does not totally reject these two charges. He further explains that the overwhelming influence of Arabic during the last six hundred years had stunted the growth of the Persian language and impoverished its resources.[6] But he adds that the aim of *Farhangistān* is not to expel Arabic element, because it is not only impossible but also dangerous for the cause of Persian.[7] He further adds that *Farhangistān* does not aim at the complete expulsion of foreign words or the revival of the old languages of Iran.[8] "Rather," he says after sounding a note of caution against the excessive use of superfluous foreign words, "we should

1 *N. FN.*, Article 2, clause 3.

2 Ibid., p. 14.

3 Ibid., p. 15.

4 Ibid.

5 *"Farhangistān Chist," N. FN.*, yr. i, no. i, p. 27.

6 Ibid., p. 28.

7 Ibid., p. 35.

8 Ibid., pp. 34-35.

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protect many of the words borrowed from Europe, and borrow again if need arises."[1] What was wanted was the expansion of the scope of the Persian language itself, which did not respond to the present-day needs, and to preserve its national character and individuality.[2] No political or anti-religious motive, he emphasized, should be attached to the foundation of *Farhangistān*.

NEW WORDS

As in many other Eastern countries, Western civilization has shaken the structure of traditional life in Iran. During its impact, now spread over more than one hundred years, the country has been gradually introduced to new ideas and objects and confronted with new situations and problems. This metamorphosis, both physical and intellectual, has substantially influenced the language, which must, perforce, respond to new conditions and situations and meet the requirements of a vastly different civilization. Hence the introduction of new vocabulary; which has come through translations, Western loanwords, revival of ancient terms, promotion of colloquial expression in literary language, formation of new words, and adaptation of old vocabulary to new needs through effecting a change of connotation.

Farhangistān, which was instituted at a much later stage, could not answer the stupendous challenge alone. It tried to standardize the language amidst a grand linguistic confusion, when it was being cast according to personal tastes and prejudices, and varying and even indifferent standards of knowledge. It had made only a limited contribution before its life came to an end. It was guided by the principle of simplicity, with a strong bias for purification of the language, though the utility of the Arabic and Western loanwords was not totally ruled out. It also revived old words of the Islamic and pre-Islamic periods, some of which were closely associated with the Iranian history and culture. It not only coined new terms, but also replaced certain cumbersome Arabic verbal-forms, both singular and compound. It also gave certain old words new and specialized connotations.

Persian language, in spite of its magnificent literary output, is not equally rich in vocabulary. Khānlarī attributes this sad feature, especially the dearth of adjectives, to the rather limited scope of Persian prose, and a strict adherence to tradition in poetical diction.[3] But in its weakness also lies its latent strength. Persian words generally consist of one, two, or three syllables, a sign of the highly developed character of the language; because a dynamic language must move to simpler and shortened forms with the passage of time. This short and chiselled structure of words makes the task of compound formations easier, which may be effected by a combination of

1 *"Farhangistān Chist,"* *N. FN.*, yr. i, no. i, p. 35.

2 Ibid., pp. 35-36.

3 *Z. F.*, pp. 123-124.

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full words and prefixes or suffixes, or through a combination of independent words. The inherent importance of prefixes and suffixes has been spotlighted by Muḥammad Muqaddam in *Īrān Kūda*.[1]

The old practice of taking recourse to prefixes and suffixes has been revived in modern times. While new compounds have been formed, certain old combinations have been revived or given new connotations. The method adopted by *Farhangistān* in its stupendous task of word-formation and selection may be illustrated with examples.

Prefix with the present stem of a verb :

(*i*) باز , e.g.

بازبین	controller
باز پرس	investigation
باز تاب	reflex
باز جو	investigator
باز رس	inspector
باز مان	remnant

(*ii*) پیش , e.g.

پیش نویس	minute

Prefix with the addition of yā of infinitive with the present stem of a verb :

(*i*) باز , e.g.

باز گیری	requisition

(*ii*) پیش , e.g.

پیش بینی	forecast
پیش گیری	prevention

(*iii*) وا , e.g.

واخواهی	protest
وارسی	investigation
واگرائی	divergence

(*iv*) بر , e.g.

بر رسی	consideration

1 Cf. *'Dar bāra-yi zabān-i 'Arabi,"* no. xi.

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Prefix with the past stem of a verb :

(*i*) باز , e.g.

باز داشت	internment
باز گشت	restoration, revival

(*ii*) پیش , e.g.

پیش نهاد	offer
پیش پرداخت	advance

Suffix with a noun :

(*i*) بان , e.g.

پاسبان	constable
دریا بان	vice-admiral
رسد بان	police lieutenant
زندان بان	gaoler
ناو بان	naval lieutenant

(*ii*) ستان , e.g.

بیمارستان	hospital
تیمارستان	mental hospital
شهرستان	each one of the forty-nine districts of Iran

(*iii*) مند , e.g.

افزار مند	artisan
سالمند	adult, grown up man
کارمند	clerk, official

Present stem of a verb with a noun :

(*i*) افگن , e.g.

اژدر افگن	topedo boat

(*ii*) بر , e.g.

ناوبر	navigator

(*iii*) پیما , e.g.

زمین پیما	land-surveyor
هوا پیما	aeroplane

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(*iv*) دار , e.g.

استاندار	governor
توپدار	gunboat
دریا دار	rear-admiral
شهر دار	mayor
فرماندار	incharge of *Shahristān* or district administration
کاردار	chargé d'affaires
مرز دار	frontier guard

(*v*) سنج , e.g.

آذر سنج	pyrometer
باد سنج	anemometer
گرما سنج	thermometer
هوا سنج	barometer
نیرو سنج	dynamometer

(*vi*) شناس , e.g.

پرتو شناس	radiologist
درمان شناس	therapeutist
زمین شناس	geologist
کار شناس	expert
مردم شناس	anthropologist
هوا شناس	metreologist

(*vii*) نگار , e.g.

انگشت نگار	dactyloscope
فشار نگار	barograph

(*viii*) نما , e.g.

پرسش نما	questionnaire

(*ix*) نورد , e.g.

دریا نورد	navigator

(*x*) نویس , e.g.

پشت نویس	endorsed
رو نویس	copyist

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Present stem of a verb with an adverb :

رو , e.g.

بالا رو	lift
پائین رو	descendant
پس رو	retrograde

The noun of the agent :

آزماینده	one who experiments
فروشنده	seller, dealer, salesman

Compound nouns :

Qualifying noun preceded by a noun :

(*i*) خانه , e.g.

پرستار خانه	infirmary
دارو خانه	chemist's shop
دبیر خانه	secretariat

(*ii*) گاه , e g.

آسایش گاه	sanitorium
پاس گاه	sentinel post
تیمار گاه	first-aid post
جامه گاه	wardrobe
درمان گاه	clinic
زایش گاه	maternity home
کشتار گاه	slaughter house

Note : Gāh combines with the present and past stem of a verb to yield new combinations.

Present stem, e.g.

باشگاه	club

Past stem, e.g.

تاخت گاه	race-track ; track

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(*iii*) نامه , e.g.

آیین نامه	regulations, rules of procedure
بخش نامه	circular
پایان نامه	doctoral thesis
پیمان نامه	written contract or agreement
تراز نامه	balance sheet
دانشنامه	diploma
گواهی نامه	certificate

Note : *Nāma* also yields new compounds in combination with :

(*a*) An adjectives, e.g.

استوار نامه	credentials

(*b*) Present stem of a verb, e.g.

شناسنامه	identity card

(*iv*) یار , e.g.

پاسیار	police colonel
داد یار	police prosecutor
دست یار	assistant

Qualifying noun followed by a noun :

سر , e.g.

سر پاسبان	police sergeant
سرپزشک	chief of a hospital
سر دسته	captain of a team
سر کلانتری	police office

Verbal-noun with the help of :

کار , e.g.

کار آموزی	probation
کار پردازی	management ; agency
کار شناسی	valuation
کار گزاری	agency
کار گزینی	office of employment and personnel

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Apart from concentrating on compound vocabulary *Farhangistān* also commissioned single words into the language with special connotations, some of which have come to stay, e.g.

بسیج	mobilization
پرونده	file, dossier
ترازٔ	balance
گشتی	patrole
ملوان	sailor

Examples of the replacement of cumbersome Arabic with simple Persian words by *Farhangistān* may be cited below :

راهنمائی و رانندگی	تامین وسائل عبور و مرور وسایط نقلیه
چار بر	ذواربعة اضلاع
دم نگار	میزان التنفس ترسیمی
کار پرداز	رئیس مباشرت و ملزومات
پیوسته	علی الا تصال
رفت و آمد	ایاب و ذهاب

This however does not mean that *Farhangistān* completely blacked out the Arabic element. Combinations may be cited which consist of Persian and Arabic words :

دو فلزی	bi-metallic
رایزن	counsellor
حسابدار	accountant
صندوق دار	cashier
شفاخانه	first-aid station
قانون گزاری	legislation
مسکین خانه	poor-house
نبض نگار	sphygmograph

A few single Arabic words which were retained may be quoted below :

برات	draft
جنس	genre
دوران	era
رای	vote
صرف	rate of exchange

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Some Arabic words were simplified, yet they retained their Arabic character :

وقت حاجت	عندالحاجة
بطبیب خاطر	بالطوع والرغبه

In fact not all the words introduced by *Farhangistān* met with popular response. Some of these, which failed to appeal to the public taste, may be cited below against their popular Arabic counterparts :

حد اکثر	بیشینه
عفونی	پلشت
ضد عفونی	پلشت بر
کمیت	چندی
سابقه	پیشینه
کفیل	پایندان
لااقل	کمینه

Many Arabic words still hold the fort. Though their Persian counterparts introduced by *Ferhangistān* are old and popular, yet these Arabic words still form an integral part of the Persian vocabulary and have an edge over the indigenous words :

آشکوب	طبقه
بنگاه	موسسه
بیماری	مرض
دغل	تقلب
شادباش	تبریک
زبانی	شفاهی
ساز و برگ	تجهیزات

Farhangistān also retained or borrowed certain Western, mainly French, words which had already dug themselves deep into the Persian Lenguage, to wit :

ترانزیت	Fr. transit ; Eng. transit
تمبر	Fr. timbre ; Eng. stamp
کنسول	Fr. consul ; Eng. consul[1]
مدال	Fr. Medaille ; Eng. medal
میکروب	Fr. microbe ; Eng. microbe
مین	Fr. mine ; Eng. mine

1 This has been employed in a compound also, to wit : سر کنسول - consul-general.

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Farhangistān forged a strong link with the past by reviving certain words of ancient Iranian languages in the administrative field. The number of such words is not large. Some of these are mentioned below.

Ustān and *Ustāndār*

Ustān has been derived from *ustanīdan* which means 'to extend' and has been used in Avestan in the same sense.[1] During the Sasanian period (A.D. 227—651) *ustān* stood for a royal estate and *Ustāndār* was the administrator of the estate.[2] Some regions of the country, during the Sasanian period, were also known as *Ustāns* whose administrative heads were called *Ustāndār*. Later this title was also adopted by two rulers of Ṭabristān.[3]

Shahristān or *Shathristān*

It stood for a district headquarter in the adminintrative set-up of the Sasanian empire.[4]

Shahrdār and *Shahrbān*

During the Sasanian period governors of the frontier provinces were known as *Shathrdār* or *Shathrbān*, and they enjoyed the title of Shāh.[5] They were also known as *Marzbān Shathrdār*.[6] *Shathr* or *Shahr* signified a vast region parallel to a modern province.[7] *Shathrdār* and *Shathrbān* were the Pahlavī forms of the Achaemenian *Khshathrapavan*, changed into *Satrap* by Greeks.

Dabīr

Another officer who commanded a key position in the political hierarchy of the Sasanian empire was *Dabīr*. There were a number of such officers, and their description would suggest that they rubbed shoulders with ministers.[8] They were real politicians. Besides, they drafted all kinds of correspondence and royal edicts, prepared lists of tax and revenue payers and looked after the government income and expenditure. The real test of their ability lay in the quality of their correspondence with the Emperor's hosts and rivals.[9] This office continued into the Islamic period

1 *T. S. H.*, (*H. P. E.*), p. 811.
2 (*i*) *I. 'A. S.*, (*I. S. S.*), p. 181. (*ii*) *I. Z. S.* (*I. S. S*), p. 86.
3 *T. T. I. S.*, p 268.
4 *I. 'A. S.*, p. 182.
5 Ibid., p. 178.
6 *T. T. I. S.*, pp. 268-274.
7 Sykes has enumerated four satrapies in the Sasanian empire on the authority of Ṭabarī and Mas'ūdī :
(*i*) The east, which included Khurāsān and Kirmān.
(*ii*) The west, which comprised Iraq.
(*iii*) The north, which included Armenia and Ādharbāījān.
(*iv*) The south, which included Fārs and Khuzistān.
A. H. P., vol. i, p. 461.
8 *I. 'A. S.*, p. 177.
9 Ibid., p. 175.

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and maintained its high significance in statecraft. In the chapter on this office in his famous *Chahar Maqala*, Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī of Samarqand has thrown light on the important role of *Dabīr* in matters of internal administration and foreign relations.[1]

Keeping in view its historical associations, the word *dabīr* has been adopted for 'secretary.' From *dabir* has also been formed the compound *dabīr-khāna* or secretariat.

Āmār

The Pahlavi *āmār*, same as *shumār* in Persian, has been selected for 'statistics', thus replacing the Arabic word *iḥṣā'iya*. This word is often seen in connection with administrative posts of the Sasanian period. The most important was that of *Āmār-badh* who was chief of the texation department.[2]

Sipāhbad

This ancient word has also been revived recently, *Badh* or *padh* is a suffix derived from the Avestan *paiti* which mean 'master, head, or chief.' In Old Persian it is *spazapati*.[3] The supreme commander of the Sasanian army was known as *Īrān-sipāh-badh*, who enjoyed the powers of the Commander-in-Chief and the Minister of War. According to *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān*, the *Sipāhbadh* enjoyed the highest position in the Court of Ardishir (A.D. 227-240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty.[4] Mas'ūdī, (d. 346/957), who states that the empire had four *Sipāhbadhs*, each assisted by a *Marzbān*, however, gives them the third position, the first two being occupied by the *Vuzurg Farmādār* or the Prime Minister, and the *Mūbadhan-Mūbadh* or the Chief Priest.[5]

Farhangistān, which revived most of the above-mentioned words, only touched a part of the problem. The number of words it coined, was too insufficient for the gigantic task lying before it. The work it did, has met with mixed response.

Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī, who as Prime Minister had much to do with the foundation of *Farhangistān*, had to defend its work in the face of growing opposition after the abdication of Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1320 (s)/1941. In a lengthy article published in two instalments[6] he took the position that the Persian language had suffered through ages on account of the overwhelming influence of Arabic, which started with the Arab conquest and rose beyond all proportions due to the unique position of Arabic as the language of common belief and thought in the Muslim world. For nearly three centuries after the Arab conquest, Persian had remained a neglected language, and by the time it was revived, many Persian words had perished already. Although as a

1 Op. cit., pp 19-41.
2 *T. T. 'I. S.*, p. 265.
3 Armenian, *sparapet* ; Syriac, *aspabad*.
4 *T. T. 'I. S.*, pp. 235-236.
5 *K. T. I.*, p. 103.
6 *"Payām-i Man bi Farhangistān"*, *A.*, yr. xxii, nos. vii and x.

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common link between the Muslim world, Arabic was a strong, cohesive force, yet it indirectly dealt a severe blow to Persian; for Iranian scholars produced practically all their works in Arabic and impoverished their own language in the scientific and literary fields, leaving their own countrymen at the mercy of the Arabic language. He regrets that Arabic held its tight grip on Persian in the succeeding centuries, even when the political hegemony of the Arabs had gone, because it had become fashionable to make the maximum use of Arabic vocabulary in Persian. This tradition, he adds, has travelled down to modern times, and Arabic still enjoys a great hold on the Iranian mind. People still use Arabic words in their conversation and writings, with the result that many Iranian scholars still think in Arabic and cannot help expressing their views on a solid subject in a whole sentence of Arabic or through an Arabic compound, which is in no way suited to the genius of the Persian language.[1] However, due to a strong reaction to Arabic in recent times, he finds the vocal sections divided into two groups. One group, out of love for Arabic as the language of religion and intellectual and literary tradition, does not resent its excessive use, and even its oppressive influence on their language, including its basic structure. The other group, animated with a feeling of exuberant nationalism, wants to make a clean sweep of Arabic, because it looks upon the Arabic language as the symbol of Arabian dominance over Persian. Furūghi takes the middle course. He admits that the intermixture of languages is not only not uncommon but even inevitable, though there are limits to such an intermixture. Mere love of another language should not result in its supremacy, or in its adverse influence on the basic structure and grammatical forms[2] of the mother tongue. But he simultaneously deprecates the cry to purify the Persian language of all vestiges of Arabic influence. He cites examples from European history. The Latin influence on French has never driven Frenchmen to the extreme demand of expulsion of Latin from French and restoration of the origional Gothic element. Nor have Englishmen ever agitated for ousting the French element from the English language.

Bahār has also appreciated the services of *Farhangistān* and has described the vocabulary introduced by it as a valuable addition of hundreds of standard Persian words, which have enriched the Persian language in a bid to meet the challenge of the new age. Condemning the trend to pick up Arabic words of dubious nature, introduced chiefly through the Turkish Press in the 13th/19th century, and to imitate French grammatical forms, the Poet-Laureate paused to appreciate the constructive efforts being made for the improvement of the present language,[3] and closed his monumental work, *Sabk-shināsī*, with a tribute to *Farhangistān* for its "precious services."[4] Again,

1 "*Payām-i Man bi Farhangistān*," *A.*, yr. xxii, no. vii, p. 343.
2 Ibid., p. 341.
3 Op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 405-407.
4 Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 408.

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speaking in the first meeting of the *Anjuman-i Adabī-yi Farhangistān*, Bahār lauded the work of *Farhangistān* for rehabilitating hundreds of Persian words in the contemporary language, which was overburdened with Arabic and Western loanwards.[1]

It may be pointed out that although Bahār finds total capitulation of Persian to Arabic vocabulary and partial surrender to Arabic grammar as unpardonable, he has paid a tribute to Arabic for giving to the Persian language a depth of meaning and artistry and grandeur of phrase.[2]

Taqi-zāda, however, takes an opposite line, and criticises the policies of *Farhangistān* to oust Arabic as an unwise step, though he condemns the excessive use of Arabic words as seen in books like *Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*, and regards the works of Rūdakī, Sa'dī, Hāfiẓ, Abu'l-Faḍl Baihaqī (385/995—470/1078), and Niẓāmu'l-Mulk as specimens of standard Persian. If extreme fondness of Arabic vocabulary is unwelcome, so is the attempt to deprive the Persian language of the integral Arabic element in it. He is opposed basically to the formation and import of new words, which, he thinks, are justified only when they express new ideas and objects and do not act as substitutes.[3] But here also, he would rather welcome foreign words than commissioning Persian terms into use to avoid likely confusion, born of association with the common indigenous words.[4] Regarding the new neological ventures, he is cynical and describes new words as lacking in good taste and standard.[5] He condemns the emerging language more than once as the language of the Government offices—a language which is artificial, 'insipid and ridiculous' like delirious speech gradually becoming unintelligible to the common man.[6] He fears that the new language has isolated Iran from her neighbours, and might even isolate her from her own provinces of Ādharbāījān and Khūzistān. He further takes a dig at new words. To give an example, he criticises the use of a *Artīsh* for army. This word, he says, is a compound of two old words *artha* (chariot) and *shitād* (one who stands), which by themselves do not mean an army for which *artish* is now used. But to be fair to *Farhangistān*, this word was not coined by it. He has also shown his disgust for words like *hazīnā* and *afzāyish* which are substitutes for *makhārij* and *iḍāfa*.

Another sworn enemy of *Farhangistān* was Vahīd Dastgirdī, who wrote a series of articles rediculing and slashing that body. Some of the terms to which he took strong exception may be mentioned below :

Malvān

The author ridicules it as a distorted from of *mallāḥān*, waich is originally Arabic

1 *N. FN.*, yr. v, no. i, pp. 11-12.
2 *S.*, op. cit., pp. 252-253.
3 Op. cit , p. 23.
4 Ibid., pp. 37-38.
5 Ibid., p. 24.
6 Ibid., p. 20.

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with the Persian plural sign *ān*.[1]

Āgāhī or *Āgahī*

These words have been criticised on the ground that they have meant 'information' since ages, and their new connotations are consequently wrong.[2] The supporters of *Farhangistān*, however, could justify the new connotations on the ground that a change of meaning or connotation was not an unknown phenomenon in the history of a language.

Amongst other words subjected to scathing criticism by the author may be mentioned *tīmsār*,[3] *parvanda*,[4] *nām-burda*,[5] *dām-pizishk*,[6] and *khalabān*.[7]

Dastgirdī's critism assumes an extreme form when he outright condemns *Farhangistān* publication *Vāzhahā-yi Nau*, as a jumble of howlers and absurdities from end to end.[8]

Like Taqī-zāda, he defends the Arabic language, which, he says, has enriched Persian beyond imagination, and protests against padding text-books with the new vocabulary.[9]

In a lecture reproduced in *Nāma-yi Farhangistān*, Ḥasan Isfandīārī, Chairman of the Pilot Commission of *Farhangistān*, tries to put up a defence for its work by saying that in the task of word-formation it had been tied down by the views of higher authorities.[10] Moreover, many words coined by others had been wrongly attributed to *Farhangistān*, while certain unfamiliar words, still under consideration, were published along with the terms finally adopted by it.[11] These mistakes, he continues, had been rectified, but the task was not free from blemish. Later, *Farhangistān* slackened due, perhaps, to what Isfandīārī calls, frustration, and an undetermined state of affairs.[12] While the vocabulary published by it was subject to criticism, the influx of foreign words continued. *Farhangistān* had also failed to execute its plans of compiling a comprehensive dictionary and producing a useful book of grammar.

1 Bahār has a'so explained *malvān*, in a different context, as a distorted form of *mallāḥān*. Op. cit., p. 225.

2 "*Ṭabi'at 'Ādat-i Thānavī Hast*," *A.*, yr. xxii, nos vii-ix, p. 402.

3 "*Intiqād*," *A.*, yr. xxii, nos v-vi, p. 230.

4 *Ṭabi'at 'Ādat-i Thānavī Hast*, op. cit., p. 409.

5 Ibid., p. 404.

6 Ibid.

7 "*Intiqad*," op. cit.

8 '*Zabān-i Fārsi rā Dar-yābid*," *A.*, yr xxii, no x, p. 476

9 "*Kutab-i Darsi*," *A.*, yr. xxii, no. vii, pp. 321-322.

10 Even Bahār made a passing reference in his lecture in the *Anjuman-i Adabī-yi Farhangistān* to the element of compulsion in the work of Farhangistān, though, he added, the period of compulsion was happily, *N. FN.*, yr. v, no. i, pp. 11-12.

11 *N. FN.*, yr. ii, no. ii, p. 2.

12 Ibid., p. 3.

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The voices of dissent have not died down. In recent years *Farhangistān* has been severely criticised by Khānlarī, who was a member of the Geographical and Cultural Commission set up under it. He charges it with toying with Persian language, the task it had been founded to put an end to. He accuses this august body with forming only a handful of vocabulary in its life of nine years, and then showing nervous willingness to disown its work under a barrage of adverse criticism.[1] He repeats the charge first laid by Taqī zāda, that the work of *Farhangistān* had been responsible for degrading the position of the Persian language in the East.[2]

Khānlarī lashes out at the method frequently adopted by *Farhangistān* to form words by dividing into parts the constituents of foreign words; going in search of counterparts of each ingredient in Persian, or one of the ancient languages of the country, and then joining the pieces together. This, he says, no longer suits the genius of the Persian language, because the separate meanings of the ingredients of most of the modern Persian words have long been forgotten, and each compound word now stands for a single meaning. He illustrates his point with the words *farsang*, *farhang* and *farzāna*, whose first ingredient once had a separate meaning, but today it conveys no sense whatsoever, whether in compound form or as a single unit. Thus, he says, we cannot form fresh combinations with dead ingredients.

The end of *Farhangistān* did not retard the process of expansion through new words. In fact the process had started with the dawn of the new age, and work had continued on individual initiative. Words which could stand on their own, found a permanent footing; others died off. The process has gone apace and the individual effort has never waned. Some lovers of the languages, according to 'Ali Dashti, took recourse to the 4th/10th or 5th/11th-century language.[3] Others tried to make use of the language of *Ādhar Kaivān* community.[4] Still others chose to follow *Dasātīr* in sheer ignorance of its real origin.[5] In the realization of this aim, constructive results were achieved even if mistakes were committed. The number of new words which have already become a part of the language was large enough to justify the compilation of a whole volume even during the life of Bahār.[6] New words continue to enrich the language, and they cover all fields of life. Amongst those which have recently gained popularity two words, *Āryā-Mihr* for the Shah's title and *Shāh-bānu* for the Queen, may be especially mentioned, because they are symbolic of the love of an ancient tradition and of the pure, indigenous stock of words.

The title *Āryā-Mihr* was offered to Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi by the two

1 Op. cit., pp. 109-110.
2 Ibid., p. 119.
3 Op. cit.
4 *L. F. I.*, op. cit., p. 38.
5 See p. 103.
6 Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 407.

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Houses of the Iranian Parliament in *Shahrīvar*, 1344 (s)/August-September, 1965, and by accepting it the Shah "revived the ancient national tradition after thirteen centuries."[1] The title consists of two words *Āryā* and *Mihr*. The first appears as *airya*, *ariya* and *ārya* respectively in Old Persian and means 'free-born noble.' This word appears in the inscriptions of Darius the Great (B.C. 521-485) at Naqsh-i Rustam and Susa in which he describes himself as *Āryā Chihr* (of the Aryan race). *Mihr*, which appears as *mithra*, *mitra* and *mītrā* in ancient Iranian languages and Sanskrit, was one of the old Aryan gods. In later parts of the *Avesta* it stands for an angel. In Persian lexicons it means 'the sun', 'friendship', 'love' and 'mercy'. The compound-form *Āryā Mihr* would mean "the Sun of the Free-born."

1 Ṣādiq Kīā, "*Āryā Mihr*," *H. M.*, *Ābān-māh*, A. H. (s)1344, p. 2.

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8

FARHANGISTĀN-I ZABĀN-I IRAN

The introduction of new sciences and the ever-expanding horizons of life necessitate the steady expansion of a language. The position of Persian as the medium of instruction even at the highest level in the country makes it still more incumbent upon the scholar and the intellectual to meet the ever-growing challenge in a befitting manner.

In a Royal Decree the Shāhanshāh Āryā Mihr announced the foundation of *Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Irān* in *Ābān-māh* 1349/October-November 1970 with the avowed object of protecting the national language and preparing it to meet the ever-increasing demands of science and technology. This was in fact the revival of the *Farhangistān* founded by Reza Shah Pahlavi. The distinguished Iranian scholar and linguist Dr. Ṣādiq Kīā was appointed President of the new Academy, which announced as its aims :

1. Protection of the high ancient cultural standard of the Persian language and its expansion to meet the scientific, technical and cultural needs of the country.
2. Studies in all old and present Iranian languages and dialects, especially for a better understanding and progress of the Persian language.

Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Irān has founded four study centres, namely, the Centre for Word-selection, the Persian Vocabulary Centre, the Centre for Old and Middle Iranian Languages and Dialects, and the Persian Grammar Study Centre.

The first Centre has so far established thirteen groups for word selection as under :

1. Pedagogy.
2. Army.
3. Economics and Commerce.
4. Medicine and Natural Sciences.
5. Geography.
6. Law and Administrative Science.

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7. Language and Literature.
8. Sociology and Political Science.
9. Technology and Industry.
10. Library Science.
11. Text-books.
12. Public Relations.
13. Fine Arts.

About one hundred professors and experts from various fields have joined together to suggest thousands of Persian words against their foreign counterparts. During the first two years they had suggested approximately six thousand six hundred and fifty words [1] These had been selected from Persian books, colloquial Persian, local vocabulary, other Iranian languages and dialects, and coined from the latent resources of Persian and other Iranian languages and dialects

Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān does not confine its work to Iranian experts, but also seeks advice and help from foreign scholars of Persian language, which gives a new dimension to its work. It has, so far, published four volumes of select English terms of pedagogy, gas technology, library science, social sciences, and a large number of natural sciences and arts respectively, along with their meanings in Persian under the title *Pīshnihād-i Shumā Chīst* (*What Do You Suggest*) from the year 1351/1972-73 to 1354/1975-76, and invited suggestions from scholars regarding their translation into Persian.

The Centre for Persian Vocabulary has an ambitious plan to collect a vast storehouse of words from Persian and foreign lexicons including technical and vocational terms. It also plans to provide critical texts of Persian glossaries in special fields and produce scientific and technical works.

Already glossaries have been prepared from some important classical Persian prose works. The Centre has also compiled books of Persian synonyms and of colloquial Persian of Tehran and Yazd. It is highly interesting from Pakistani point of view that a study of the relationship between Persian and Urdu has also been undertaken.

The third Centre aims at the study of the Old and Middle Iranian languages and modern Iranian dialects for their further promotion, and also for the development of Persian language from these vital sources. An ambitious scheme to prepare glossaries of these languages and dialects has been prepared. Another plan includes the publication of Pahlavī texts.

The fourth Study Centre is devoted to the task of studying Persian language with reference to its grammatical requirements The programme includes preparation of a grammar of the modern literary Persian, of colloquial Persian and local dialects, and of another grammar, to effect harmony between Persian and the other Iranian languages and dialects. This Centre will also take into account the grammatical influence of

1 *F. Z. I.*

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local and colloquial Persain and various dialects on written Persian. The programme includes the publication of :

1. Compound epithets used in the five *masnavis* of Niẓāmī of Ganja (cir. 535/1141—cir. 604/1208).
2. A grammar of the colloquial Persian of Tehran.
3. A book on differences in Persian Orthographical practices with the specific object of creating uniformity amongst these.
4. Books indicating separate orthographical characteristics of important Persian manuscripts.

In all, *Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān* has so far published thirteen volumes : the latest dates back to *Ādhar-mah*, 1354 (s)/November-December, 1975.

A few examples of the terms suggested by the Word-selection Groups may be given below. These point out an unflinching tendency towards pure Persian :

Abstract	برآمیخته
Accident	پیشامد
Administrator	فرمدار
Admission	پذیرش
Bottleneck	تنگنا
Business	سوداگری[1]
Cabaret	شادخانه
Candidate	دادخواه
Decorate	آذین کردن
Dialogue	گفت و شنود[2]
Dominant	چیر
Efficiency	کارایی
Elite	سرآمدان
Event	رویداد
Finalist	پایان رس
Generation	زاد ، زادگان
Index	نمایه
Innovation	نو آوری
Instruction	آموزش

1 This term is already in vogue ia Urdu.

2 Urdu : گفت و شنید

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Instructor	آموز شیار
Integration	یک پارچگی
Jury	داورگان
Management	کارفرمایی
Mixture	آمیزه
Occurance	رخداد
Phonetics	آوا شنامی
Polygamy	چند همسری
Reporter	گزارشگر
Semester	نیم سال
Specialist	ویژه کار
Teacher	آموختار (در معنای عام)
Terminal	پایانه
Tour	گشت
Tuition	آموزانه
Vocabulary	واژگان
Voice	واک
Vowel	واکه
Word Index	واژه نما

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9

NEW CONNOTATIONS

The study of words in any language will reveal the interesting fact that many words undergo a change of meaning. This change comes so gradually that it is not possible to detect all steps of the shifting process.[1] It is due to innumerable restrictions and extensions on the part of the people who speak the language. One word may have more than one meaning which may be related to social situations of a similar nature. Out of these gradually one meaning may overshadow others to adopt a specialized connotation.[2] In extreme cases words may lose their original sense altogether. 'Adulteration' which literally means 'alteration' has added to the connotation of 'changing in whatsoever way' the denotation 'corruption, especially by base admixture'. 'Broadcasting' which till recently meant '(of seed) scattering freely, not in drills or rows, now predominantly means 'to disseminate (news, music, any audible matter) by wireless telephony to owners of receiving sets,' etc.[3] 'Insane', originally used for 'unwell', has lost its euphemistical force and come to signify 'mentally deranged'.

Amongst the various context in which words are used—verbal, physical, social, etc.—the change in meaning may come through association. 'Assylum',[4] through constant association with 'insane' and to a smaller degree with 'orphan', has absorbed the qualifying elements of the meaning from associated words and has come to mean 'confinement' rather than 'a place of refuge'. *Tapancha* which had meant a 'blow' or 'a slap' since 7th/13th century,[5] also came to stand for a revolver, though it has

1 (*i*) *W. W.*, p. 143. (*ii*) *L. N. D. O.*, p, 174.
2 *I. M. L.*, p. 153.
3 *C. O. D.*, p. 148.
4 From the Greek asulos . . . inviolable, free from right of seizure.
5 Cf. *T. J.*, vol, i, p. 151.

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own been ousted by *haft-tir*. *Shām* originally 'evening', has taken on the connotation 'dinner' and has itself given place to *ghurūb* which is originally 'sunset.'

Farhangistān, for its association with the old Iranian legend of the dragon which spitted fire, chose the word *azhdar* for 'torpedo-boat'. In this case, however the change is not gradual or imperceptible but has come with, what Jespersen would call, a leap.[1]

A common noun of vague meaning may acquire a specific meaning or, in fact, more than one such specific meanings. The English word 'dear' once stood for an animal. It now stands for a specific animal. *Buqalamun* originally 'of various colours, and a chameleon', now predominantly stands for a turkey. *Majlis* which meant 'an assembly, a meeting, a party', etc., now stands for the Iranian parliament which was actually named *Majlis i Shūrā-yi Millī*, but has been gradually reduced to *Majlis*. From *Majlis* the dual plural *Majlisain* has also been adopted to signify the two houses of parliament. *Tīgh*, originally 'a sword', has assumed the connotation of a shaving blade. *Dāman*, which meant 'skirt' or 'lap', is generally used for womens' shirt of Western fashion now.

Against the restriction of meaning, we come across the process known as the extension of meaning.[2] Contrary to the practice of restriction to specialized connotation, some words may extend the area of their meaning and have various connotations. Apart from 'high' and 'tall' *baland* has also assumed the connotation 'long'. *Ṣafḥa* in combination with gramophone, now means 'a gramophone record' in addition to other meanings. *Jām*, in spite of its age-old association with wine, now, in combination with *sīmīn*, stands for a prize silver cup.

A few examples may be cited from a cross-section of the language in a little detail to mark the semantic changes that have taken piace in recent times. These changes underline the important fact that when confronted with a new object or practice, Persian has not invariably accepted loanwords, but has met the increasing needs by adopting material which is already a part and parcel of it. The words given below include not only Persian but also Arabic words which have now become a part of the Persian language :

Word	*Present meaning or dominant connotation*
اعتصاب	strike
انتشارات	publications
قطار باربر	goods train
بانو	Mrs., lady
بخش	district, administrative unit

1 Op. cit., p. 175.

2 *I. M. L.*, p. 86.

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Word	*Present meaning or dominant connotation*
برق	electricity, apart from lightning
پخش	broadcasting
پرده	act[1] ; apart from curtain, screen
پرستار	nurse
تبلیغات	propaganda, publicity
تتبعات	scientific research
تزریق	injection
تظاهرات	demonstrations
توقیف	proscription, internment
تیر	bullet
خیابان	avenue
داور	umpire (sports, etc.)
دستگیر	handcuff
دستگیر کردن	to arrest
دستور	grammar
دکمه برق	electric switch
دوشیزه	polite term of address for miss, mademoiselle
رساله	thesis
ساعت	watch, time; apart from hour
سرکشی	investigation
سرهنگ	army colonel
(قطار) سریع‌السیر	express train
سخنگو	spokesman; apart from poet
شرکت	company
شغل	post, hobby
طراح	maniquine
عضو	member
عکس	photo

1 Example : three-act historical play. درام تاریخی درسه پرده

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Word	*Present meaning or dominant connotation*
قسمت	department, section
قطار	train
قهرمان	hero
(زن) قهرمان	heroine
قید	adverb ; apart from restriction, fetter, shackle, etc.
گرفتار	busy
مخبر	newspaper reporter
مدیر	newspaper editor; director
مردود	unsuccessful ; failed
مسابقه	match ; race
مسلسل	machine-gun
معرفی	nomination; introduction
ملت	nation
منشی	secretary
موشک	missile
میزان	focus ; apart from balance, quantity, etc.
ناوبان	pilot of the ship
نظام	army
نگران	anxious, uneasy
یادداشت	memorandum, note

As distinct from words, a shift in whose meaning has been gradual; *Farhangistān*, in its objective to meet the pressing needs of the day, deliberately gave new connotations to certain old words like *azhdar*. Examples may be given to show how familiar words have been made to answer the challenge of the fast expanding pattern of life :

Words	*New Connotations*
ارز	foreign exchange
آگاهی	detective police
آگهی	notice; advertisement
انگیزه	stimulant

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داور	refree
شکست	fracture, break
گزارش	report, explanation, interpretation
ناخدا	naval captain
نوآموز	tender foot (in scouting)
یاور	police major

Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Irān is following the same pattern. From amongst the new terms proposed by the Word-selection Groups in the earliest publication of this body, a few specimens of familiar, old words conveying new connotations may be mentioned below :

تنگنا	bottleneck
دادخواه	candidate
پیشکش	dedication
سرآمدان	elite
همدلی	empathy
کارفرمایی	management
نیمسال	semester
جانداران	fauna.

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10

LOAN-TRANSLATIONS

Another feature of modern vocabulary is the pictorial imitation of Western words and expressions. Many Western words and phrases have been literally translated into Persian and transplanted on the Iranian mind. These reflect Western objects and practices, way of thinking, mode of living, values, social behaviour, experiences and so on and so forth. It could be assumed safely that but for the penetrating and compelling Western contact these loan-translations and exotic expressions would not exist in the Persian language. Instances of building parallel composite forms out of native raw material are found in different languages. English 'marriage of convenience' and 'that goes without saying' are loan-trenslations from French. A few examples of such translation in Persian may be cited below :

ابتکار	initiative
ابرقدرت	super-power
آتش بس	cease-fire
اتحادیه	union
اجلاسیه	session
افتخاری	honorary
اطاق بازرگانی	chamber of commerce
اسبه	horse power
آماده باش	stand to
بازار آزاد	free market
بازار سیاه	black market
برش	coupon

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پایاپای	barter
پدیده	development
پست حساس	sensitive post
تامین اجتماعی	social security
تبع	national
تدافعی	defensive
تهاجمی	offensive
تحت السلاح	active service
تشریفات	protocol
تلفات	casualties
توده	masses
تورم پول	inflation
جاذبه جنسی	sex appeal
جبهه	front
جشن کشایش	opening ceremony
جنبه	aspect
جنگ چریکی	guerilla warfare
جهان سوم	third world
چار چوب	framework
حداقل	minimum
حداکثر	maximum
حس ششم	sixth sense
حساب جاری	current account
حسن تفاهم	goodwill
حقوق بگیر	salaried
خراب کار	saboteur
خود یار	self-supporting
داو طلب	candidate; volunteer
درآمد سرانه	per capita income
در حال توسعه	developing

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دست چپی	leftist
دورهٔ آموزشی	academic term
دیدگاه	point of view
روحیه	morale, spirit
روش منفی	negative policy
زاد روز	birthday
زمینه	field, context, background
سالگرد	anniversary
سطح زندگی	standard of living
ستاره سنیما	film star
ستون پنجم	fifth column
شبکه	network
شرکت سهامی	limited company
شهرک	township
صد در صد	hundred per cent
صنایع مادر	basic industries
صندلی ریاست	presidential chair
عقب مانده	backword
قدیمی	conservative
فرمانده کل قوا	commander-in-chief of the army
قابل ملاحظه	considerable
قابل وصف	remarkable
قول شرف	word of honour
کار مند	clerk
مامور	government officer
ماه عسل	honeymoon
ماهواره	satellite
متارکه	truce
متخصص	specialist
مجتمع[1]	complex

1 Example : مجتمع صنعتی Industrial complex.

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مرز داش	frontier of knowledge
مصاحبه مطبوعاتی	press conference
مقاطعه کار	contractor
مقام مطلع	informed source
مقررات	regulations
مرتجع	reactionary
موقعیت	situation
نقش	role, part
طرح ، نقشه	plan
نوع پرست	humanitarian
واحد	unit
واکنش	reaction
هویت	identity
ورقه هویت ـ شناسنامه	identity card
هزینهٔ زندگی	cost of living
هسته	nucleus
هسته ای	nucleur
همزیستی	co-existence
هوزه انتخابی	electoral constituency
هیت مدیره ، هیت مجریه	executive body

In the process of loan-translation certain words have assumed special importance. Examples may be cited below :

Ra'īs

It stands for head, chief, chairman, director, manager, principal, superintendent, incharge, etc. Thus we have :

رئیس جمهور	president of a republic
رئیس مجلس	speaker of a parliament
رئیس دانشگاه	chancellor of a university
رئیس کمیسیون	chairman of a commission
رئیس اداره	director of an office

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Mu'āvin

It corresponds to the English words deputy, assistant, associate, etc., e.g.

معاون وزارتخانه	under-secretary of a ministry
معاون اداره	assistant director

'Adam

It is often employed as an equivalent of the English prefixes, 'in', 'dis', 'non', etc. in numerous instances.

عدم صحت	inaccuracy
عدم رضایت	dissatisfaction
عدم رعایت	non-observance

Ḍid

It corresponds to the English prefix 'anti' in the formation of certain compound words, to wit :

ضد عفونی	antiseptic, disinfectant
ضد تب	antifebrile
ضد تشنج	antispasmodic
ضد هوائی	anti-aircraft

Tajdīd

It is parallel to the English prefix 're' and has been employed in the formation of a number of compound forms, e.g.

تجدید نظر	revision, review
تجدید هوا	ventilation
تجدید مرض	relapse
تجدید قوا	reinforcement
تجوید قوه	refreshment

Padhīr

It may be considered as an equivalent of the English suffix 'able' or 'ible,' meaning 'capable' or 'susceptible', though its use is centuries old. Amongst the compound forms may be mentioned.

بخش پذیر	divisible
درمان پذیر	curable

Nā-padhīr

It corresponds to the English prefix 'in', 'ir', etc., e.g.

خستگی نا پذیر	indefatigable
جبران نا پذیر	irreparable

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Perhaps there would be no better example of Western association with Persian vocabulary than about half a dozen simple words which by adopting the term *Farangi* have become a lasting symbol of Western penetration both into the Iranian life and language, to wit :

توت فرنگی	strawberry
بنفشه فرنگی	pansy
رشته فرنگی (ضخیم و تو خالی)	macaroni
رشته فرنگی (باریک و توپر)	vermicelli
گوجه فرنگی	tomatoes
لوبیای فرنگی	sweet peas

The word *Farang* has entered a new satirical compound *Farang-ma'āb* used for a 'Europophile'.

The tendency to translate literally Western expressions into Persian has at times been stretched a little too far, and has created serious concern in the highest literary quarters.

'Allāma Muḥammad Qazvīnī raised alarm against this tendency in his letter dated *Rabī'th-Thānī* 19, 1343/November 17, 1924, written to the Editor, *Majalla-yi 'Ulūm-i Māliyya va Iqtiṣād* from Paris.[1] He cites following examples of this style :

فلان رل حضرت قاسم را بازی کرد

So and so played the role of Ḥaḍrat Qāsim

In idiomatic Persian, according to him, it should have been said as follows :

فلان شبیه حضرت قاسم را در آورده

Again, he doubs the following sentence as a literal version of the French way of writing :

فلان کاغذی به فلان نوشت و در مکتوبی که باو مینوشت باو میگفت که . . . .

So and so wrote a letter to so and so, and in the letter which he wrote, he told him to . . . .

He points out, that in such cases in Persian, the past definite was used instead of the past imperfect. The typical Persian expression in the above case would be :

در مکتوبی که باو نوشت باو چنین گفت که[2] . . . .

In the letter which he wrote to him, he said that . . . .

He regards this love of exotic phraseology and style as pregnant with fatal consequences for the Persian language.[3]

1 *"Maktūb az Pāris"*, *B. M. Q.*, pp. 93-100.
2 Ibid., p. 97.
3 Ibid., p. 98.

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'Abbās Iqbāl also regards this trend as a great calamity which may strike at the roots of the language and destroy its independent and individual character. Bahār too has made an uneasy reference to this tendency.[1] It was perhaps very difficult to resist this Western impact on people's mode of thought and expression, though it could be reduced to the minimum level through planned effort. Taqī-zāda protests that certain words have gained currency in spite of their undesirability.

More examples of the impact of Western speech-material and linguistic fashions on the Persian language may be seen below :

Īstāda and *raqābat* are alien to the genius of the Persian language in the following sentences :

بازار ایستاده است	The market is stationary.[2]
بانک ملی با بانک شاهنشاهی رقابت دارد	The National Bank is a rival of the Imperial Bank.[3]

The following phrases are literal translation of their European counterparts :

با احترامات فائقه	with kind regards
در پیرا مون	about
در آینده نزدیک	in near future
تحت الشعاع قراردادن	to outshine
انعکاس یافتن	to be reflected in

Some well-known writers have been influenced by this trend. Mushfiq Kāẓimī's *Tihrān-i Makhūf* is a typical example of the literal translation of European idioms and their over-usage.

Khānlarī has ridiculed this tendency by citing a few typical instances. One such example is the phrase *rul bāzī kardan*[4] or 'to play the role' which according to him is nothing beyond blind imitation.[5] *Rul* has been substituted by *naqsh* : hence the phrase *naqsh bāzī kardan*. Thus *naqsh-i Turkiya dar Jang* would mean 'the role of Turkey during the War.' This is an entirely unprecedented meaning of the word *naqsh*[6] in Persian or Arabic. A still another example is the use of the word *sharā'iṭ* as a substitue for *auḍā'*, as for example, in the sentence :

تعلیمات اجباری در شرائط امروز ایران

Compulsory education in the present-day conditions in Iran.

1 *Ṭ. H.*, 21 *Farvardīn-māh*, A. H. (s) 1307.
2 'Abbās Iqbāl, op. cit.
3 *Kh.*, no. lviii, p. 4.
4 Cf. 'Allāma Qazvīnī, p. 145.
5 *Z. Z.*, pp. 335-336.
6 Painting; picture; design; plan; impression, etc.

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This mistake is the result of literally translating into Persian the word 'condition', which in English as well as French stands both for *sharṭ* and *vaz'*. Other examples are *barāyi yakbāra* and *barāyi hamīsha*. These are wrongly used for 'for once' and 'for ever' respectively.

Taqi-zāda has similarly cited a couple of examples. One is the wrong use of the word *bāyigānī* (records, archives). When fiirst adopted, this word was regarded invariably as a substitute for *ḍabṭ* (archives, records, confiscation), and led to such ridiculous expressions as :

فلان املاک در فارس بایگانی شد

It was intended to mean 'such and such property in Fārs was confiscated', but it would mean that such and such property in Fārs was 'archived'. Similarly gramophone was called *ālāt-i Bāyigānī-yi āvāz*. Another mistake, according to the same author, was committed in respect of the word 'present' which means both 'at hand' (*maujūd*) and 'actual, modern' (*kunūnī*). The two meanings were confused with one another. Hence some of the West-ridden people would use the phrase *ḥukūmat-i ḥāḍir* and *ḥālāt-i ḥāḍir* for *ḥukūmat-i ḥāliya* and *auḍā-yi kunūnī*. A mistake has been made in the translation of the geographical term *falāt-i qāra* for 'continental shelf', which is a literal translation of the French *plateau continental* and hardly makes sense.[1]

These wrong translations are the direct result of faithful, literal translation of foreign phrases. At times, these are due to lack of a complete understanding of all aspects of the words being translated.

Strict adherence to the tradition and the genius of the Persian language is an essential prerequisite for the rendering of Western terms into Persian, which is necessary to meet the requirements of a life growing and expanding in all directions. A comparative study of languages shows that the use of exotic expressions is not very uncommon. But they must be resisted where they violate the structural purity of the language, or register an awkward trespass into its natural jurisdiction; not to speak of wrong translations which are bound to do it great harm.

1 Aḥmad Âtām, *"Tarjuma-yi Khūb"*, *R. T. S.*, p. 88.

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11

GRAMMATICAL CHANGES

Certain changes are visible in Persian grammar but they do not violate its basic principles. As in all progressive languages these changes have simplified the rules; for example the former endings of the past conditional or habitual have gone and the rules of forming plurals for animate and inanimate objects have moved towards uniformity.

Major changes may be discussed as under :

VERBS

The past conditional or habitual

The classical tense from the infinitive *raftan* reads as follows :

Singular	..	رفتمی	I would have gone.
		میرفتی	Thou would have gone.
		رفتی	He would have gone.
Plural	..	میرفتیم	We would have gone.
		میرفتید	Ye would have gone.
		رفتندی	They would have gone.

This tense is obsolete in colloquial Persian. It will now read exactly as the past imperfect, e.g.

Singular	..	میرفتم	I would have gone.
		میرفتی	Thou would have gone.
		میرفت	He would have gone.
Plural	..	میرفتیم	We would have gone.
		میرفتید	Ye would have gone.
		میرفتند	They would have gone.

'If he had come' will be translated as *agar mī āmad* and not as *agar āmadī*, etc.

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It is interesting to note that although the past conditional or habitual tense has now taken on the shape of past imperfact, the latter itself was formed generally with *yā-yi majhūl* added to the verb. This was the earliest method and it continued untill the 7th/13th century.[1] Thus, as late as Sā'dī we read past imperfact with *yā-yi majhūl* side by side with the later form, e.g.

یکی در کشتی گرفتن سرآمده بود . سیصد و شصت بند دانستی و هر روز بنوعی از آن کشتی گرفتی .[2]

A man had attained excellence in wrestling. He knew three hundred and thirty tricks and every day he would wrestle with the help of one of these.

باری وزیراز شمائل او درحضرت ملک شمهٔ میگفت که تربیت عاقلان دراو اثر کرده است .[3]

Once the minister was relating just a small part of his virtues in the kings' court, stating that the training of wise men had left a mark on him.

A yet another classical form which is now absolete, was to employ *hamī* instead of *mī* before the pretirite. Example may again be quoted from Sa'dī :

یکی از ملوک خراسان محمود سبکتگین را بخواب چنان دید که جمله وجود او ریخته بود و خاک شده مگر چشمان او که همچنان در چشم خانه همی گردید و نظر همی کرد .[4]

One of the kings of Khurāsān saw Maḥmūd, son of Sabakti-gīn, in a dream in a condition that his entire body had disintegrated and turned into dust, but his eyes still moved in their sockets and kept glancing.

Aḥmad Kasravī has divided past into thirteen instead of six and present and imperative into three tenses. Dividing past imperfact into a number of categories, he allots the old form, which reads with *yā-yi majḥūl*, to what he calls *guzashta-yi Hamīshigī*; the current form to *guzashta-yi Hamānzamānī*; the combination of the two to *guzashta-yi hamīshigī-yi Hamānzamānī*; and the still another classical form of employiug *hamī* with preterite to *guzashta-yi Paivastigī*.[5] It is noteworthy that none of the forms introduced

1 We, however, come across both forms of past imperfect before the 7th/13th century. For example, in *Asrāru't-Tauḥīd* (c.574/1178) *yā-yi istimrār* denotes a long span of time while the use of *mī* before preterite stands for a short duration:

من هر شبی چنانکه عادت پیاده روان باشد پاره پیش شتر کاروان برفتمی و بخفتمی تا کاروان در رسیدی . پس برخاستمی و باکاروان برفتمی . یک شب بدین ترتیب میرفتم . . . .

Every night I would go a little ahead of the caravan, as customary with pedestrians, and would sleep until it arrived ; then I would rise and accompany it. One night I was travelling in this fashion . . . p. 10.

2 *G.*, p. 101.

3 Ibid., p. 84.

4 Ibid., p. 81.

5 *T. T. N. F. M.*, pp. 24-26.

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by him is new, but he has differentiated between them by giving them specific names and definitions. Kasravī's nomenclature, however, has not gained currency.

The particle *hai* denotes repeated action, e.g.

هی میر قصید — He kept on dancing.

هی میر قصد — He keeps on dancing.

Future

Khvāhad, the aorist of *Khvāstan*, is not used in modern colloquial. Its place is taken by present tense :

برای صیغهٔ حال در زبان فارسی قاعدهٔ خاصی نیست و صیغهٔ حال و استقبال یکی است[1]

There is no special rule in the Persian language for the present tense, and there is a uniform tense for the present and the future.

کی میاید ؟ — When will he come ?

فردا میروم — I shall go tomorrow.

The old form is confined to literary Persian. *Khvāhad* also indicates certainty, e.g.

این حسن خواهد بود — This must be Ḥasan.

Prohibitive Imperative

This is formed by using *ma* or *na* before the present stem of the verb. In modern colloquial, however, *ma* has fallen into disuse and *na* is popular, as it is less imperative and has a more civil connotation. Hence :

نرو — Do'nt go.

نکن — Do'nt do.

The Auxiliary Verbs

(*i*) *Shudan* (to become) :

If the third person singular of the present and preterite tenses is used impersonally it means 'to be possible', e.g.

میشود — It is possible.

نمیشود — It is not possible.

It is followed either by the subjunctive present or by the short infinitive, e.g.

نمیشود آمد — It is not possible to come.

(*ii*) *Tavānistan* (to be able; can) :

The short infinitive after the tenses of *tavānistan* is not used in modern colloquial. Instead, the aorist (or subjunctive) is used after them, e.g.

نمیتوانم که بروم — I can't go.

1 *DAS, Z. F.*, p. 104.

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In colloquial speech the conjunction *ki* is generally dropped, e.g.

نمیتوانم بروم	I can't go.
میتوانید بنویسید	You can write.

The impersonal construction is also used in modern colloquial, e.g.

نمیتوانست خورد	One could not eat.
چگونه میتوان این کار را کرد	How is one to do this ?

(*iii*) *Dāshtan* (to have) :

The aorist of the simple verb *dāram* means 'I have', while the present tense *mī-dāram* signifies 'I keep', e.g.

پول دارم	I have money.
پول میدارم	I keep charge of the money.

In contemporary Persian the perfect subjunctive is generally used instead of the present subjunctive in order tc distinguish the subjunctive from the indicative mood. Instead of :

باید حوصله داشت

we have

حوصله داشته باشید	You must have patience.

Thus, we have the modern form of the imperative *dāshta bāsh* instead of *dār*, e.g.

حرفهایم را بخاطر داشته باش	Bear my words in mind.

The imperfect of the simple verb *dāshtan*, except in conditional sentences, is rare in modern colloquial. Its place is taken by the preterite,[1] e.g.

وقتیکه جوان بود میخواست شاعر بشود	When he was young he would wish to become a poet.

Dāshtan is also idiomatically used to express continuous past and continuous present. Its imperfect is used with the imperfect of the main verb; its present is used with the present of the main verb, e.g.

Continuous Past :

حسن داشت چای میخورد	Ḥasan was taking tea.
داشتم مینوشتم	I was writing

Continuous Present :

دارند حرف میزنند	They are talking.
حسن دارد آواز میخواند	Ḥasan is singing.

1 Similarly the preterite of *būdan* is generally used for the imperfect and the past conditional in contemporary Persian, e.g., اگر من بودم خیلی خوب بود (It would be so good if I was there) would be used instead of اگر من میبودم خیلی خوب میبود.

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In some parts of Iran *dāshtan* also means 'to consider',[1] e.g.

این صندلی را گرفته دارم — I consider this chair as bought.

این مرغ را گرفته دارم — I consider that bird as good as cought.

Dārad is also used impersonally so as to mean 'there is', e.g.

اشکالی ندارد — Never mind; it does not matter; there is no difficulty.

The Impersonal Verbs

Bāyistan (to be necessary; used in the sense of 'must' or 'ought to') and *Shāyistan* to suit, befit).

Bāyistan

It is not only impersonal, but also defective. Only infinitive, past participle, third person singular of the aorist, present imperfect and preterite, besides the future participle or noun of possibility are used.

Bāyistamī has been used in the Persian translation of *Hājjī Bābā* :

بعد سلام در دیوان خانه منتظر آمدن او بایستمی بود — "I was appointed to meet him at court after the morning levee." [2]

This use, however, is rare.

The classical *bi-bāyist*, *bi-bāyistī*, *hamī-bāyad*, and *bi-bāyad* are obsolete.[3] The use of this verb with infinitive, for example, *bāyad raftan* (ought to go) is also obsolete. Unlike the classical usage *bāyad* and *bāyist* are not preceded by the preposition *rā*. The verb is generally followed by aorist, e.g.

شما باید این کتاب را بخوانید — You should read this book.

Without a second verb *bāyad* signifies to 'lack, to be requisite, needful', and takes the dative of the person, e.g.

او را رحم باید — He lacks pity.

Bāyist is generally used with a past meaning,[4] e.g.

با یست رفت — It was time to go.

It will be seen that *mī-bāyist* is usually followed by the perfect subjunctive.[5] The aorist may also be used,[6] e.g.

دیروز میبایست برای اسلام آباد حرکت میکردم — Yesterday I should have left for Islamabad.

1 *H. P. G.*, p. 265.
2 Op. cit., p. 187.
3 *Z. Z.*, p. 364.
4 Ibid., pp. 364-365.
5 *P. G.*, p. 153.
6 *H. P. G.*, p. 270.

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Bāyad and *Shāyad :*

Bāyad is less polite than *shāyad*, e.g.

اینجا نباید نشست	You must not sit here.
	You are not to sit here.
اینجا نشاید نشست	You had better not sit here.
	It is not fitting for you to sit here.

Compound Verbs

There is a pronounced tendency to use compound verbs even where single verbs of pure Persian origin are available.

Here are a few examples :

Compound Verbs	*Single Verbs*	
گاز گرفتن	گزیدن	(to bite)
میل داشتن	خواستن	(to wish, desire)
ماچ کردن	بوسیدن	(to kiss)
درست کردن	ساختن ، پختن	(to make, fashion; cook, etc.)
تکان خوردن	جنبیدن	(to shake, move)
کوشش کردن	کوشیدن	(to try)
دوست داشتن	پسندیدن	(to like)
بلند کردن	دزدیدن ، افراشتن	(to raise, rob)
فکر کردن	اندیشیدن	(to think)
ملتفت شدن	فهمیدن	(to understand, take notice)
یاد گرفتن	آموختن	(to learn)
خنده کردن	خندیدن	(to laugh)
گریه کردن	نالیدن	(to weep)
حالی کردن	فهانیدن	(to explain)
قاطی کردن	آمیختن	(to mix)
آتش زدن	سوختن	(to set on fire)
گوش دادن	شنیدن	(to listen)

Apart from the Arabic grammatical influence, the other possible cause seems to be the desire to produce more effective connotations with compound verbs. There is a psychological and historical justification for this, as the decorative and florid style has ruled over Persian prose for ages.

Causal Verbs

Only a few causal verbs are used in modern colloquial. Other verbs, and compound at that, are used instead. *Ḥālī kardan*, for instance, will be preferred to *fahmānīdan*, and *yād dādan* will be preferred to *āmūkhtan*, which is obsolete.

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The shortened form of the causal verb is preferred. Thus *rasāndan* may be preferred to *rasānīdan*, e.g.

کتاب را بطبع رساندند They got the book published.

PREPOSITIONS

The substantives which commonly replace the prepositions are nouns suggesting direction or position, e.g.

Rū (face), on, e.g.

روی نیمکت On the bench.

Pusht (back), behind, e.g.

پشت پرده Behind the screen.

Sar (head), at, on, over, e.g.

سر میز بنشست He sat at the table.

Generally speaking, *tū* (in), *rū* (on), *jilau* (before, in front of), and *dumbāl* (back), have replaced *dar*, *bar*, *pīsh*, and *pas* in modern colloquial. *Rā* is not used in many cases where it would be used according to old rules. One instance of omission is in respect of *bāyad* and *bāyistī* as cited above.

In some cases *rā* is totally replaced by *bi*, e.g.

New	*Old*
بکسی گفتن	کسی را گفتن
بکسی دادن	کسی را دادن

The addition of *rā*, however, is essential when the definite noun is the direct object of the verb, e.g.

ساعت را بمن داد He gave the watch to me.

ساعتی بمن داد He gave a watch to me.

Colloquial Persian admits of some latitude in the use of *rā*, e.g.

کدام کتاب را میخواهید ؟ Which book do you want ?

رفت کتابی را بخرد He went to buy a book.

In this instance the indefinite *yā* gets the force of 'a certain' through the use of *rā*.

PRONOUNS

Affixed Pronouns

In modern colloquial affixed pronouns are much in vogue. While in the classical usage the plural affixed pronouns were not very popular, in contemporary Persian they are as frequently employed as single affixed pronouns.

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If the noun ends with silent 'h' the *iḍafā* in modern colloquial is often omitted, e.g.

خانه شان : خانهٔ شان	Their house.
کتاب هاتان : کتا ب هایتان	Your books.

The singular affixed pronouns in modern colloquial are frequently affixed to simple prepositions, e.g.

ازت	From you.
برایم	For me.
زیرش	Under it.
رویش	On it.
بتان	To you.

Possessive Pronouns

The classicial practice of signifying 'mine', 'thine', etc., by the demonstrative pronouns, as *azān-i man, azān-i shumā*, has given way to the use of *māl*, which literal y means 'property', e.g.

مال شما	Yours
مال او	His

Māl is used in a much wider context in modern colloquial to convey possession, relationship and association, e.g.

او مال تهران است	He belongs to Tehran.
این کتاب مال جامی است	This book is by Jāmī.
این پتو مال اصفهان است	This blanket is made in Iṣfahān.

Simple Demonstrative Pronouns

The classical plurals *īnān* and *ānān* of the demonstrative pronouns *īn* and *ān* are obsolete, and *īnhā* and *ānhā*, which were not very popular in classical usage, have taken their place, e.g.

اینها کی آمدند ؟	When did these (persons) come ?
آنها کی رفتند ؟	When did those (persons) go ?

Interogative Pronouns

Ki in modern colloquial is generally used as *kī*, e.g.

ایشان کی هستند : ایشان که هستند ؟	Who are they ?
کی بشما گفت ؟	Who told you ?

Ki and *kī* are also frequently used in the plural form *kihā* and *kīhā* respectively, e.g.

کیها آمدند : که ها آمدند	Which people came ?

Generally speaking, *kī* is common in colloquial, and *ki* in written Persian.

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Like *kī* and *kīhā*, the plural of *chī* is *chīhā*, which is rare in classical usage, e.g.

کیها آمدند و چیها گفتند ؟ Which people came and what things did they say ?

THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

Ya-yi Vahdat or ya of Unity

It is also called *yā-yi tankīr*. In classical practice the indefinite *yā* is generally added to the indefinite noun when it is qualified by an adjective, but not to the adjective, e.g.

مردی کامل A perfect man.

درختی بلند A tall tree.

In modern usage the indefinite *yā* is added to the adjective, e.g.

مرد کاملی A perfect man.

درخت بلندی A tall tree.

If however, the adjective itself has *yā* in the end, the numeral takes the place of the indefinite *yā*, e.g.

یک زن ایرانی An Iranian woman.

The noun and its attributes are considered to be a syntactical whole. If the noun is indefinite, the indefinite *yā* is added to the final adjective, e.g.

شهر بزرگ باشکوهی A large, magnificent city.

Dīgar (another) in classical usage is not followed by *yā*, but in contemporary Persian it does, e.g.

شخصی دیگر Classical

شخص دیگری Modern

ADJECTIVES

One or two adjectives precede their substantives with *iḍāfa*, e.g.

پیر مرد The old man.

مرحوم اقبال The late Iqbāl.

A few substantives like *ārām* and *rāḥat* are used as adjectives, e.g.

دریا آرام است The sea is calm.

راحت هستید ؟ Are you comfortable ?

That the above are treated as adjectives and not as substantives will be seen by their having such substantives as *ārāmish* and *rāḥatī*, and their comparative forms as *ārām-tar* and *rāḥat-tar*.

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PLURALS

The classical rule of adding *ān* to animate, and *hā* to inanimate beings is not strictly observed.

The plural *hā* is by far the most used.

According to Mu'īn, "In spoken language and colloquial writings *hā* can be used for one and all words."[1] There is no distinction in this respect between Arabic and Persian substantives.

The French impact has influenced plural formations of pronouns and Bahār has taken special note of it.[2]

As plural is used generally in singular personal pronouns as a mark of respect, double plural may be used in case of plural personal pronouns, e.g.

شماها	شما
ماها	ما

However, there is no double plural for *īshān*. The use of this kind of plural was popularized by Qā'im Maqām.[3]

Certain broken plurals are used incorrectly as singulars in modern colloquial, e.g.

طلبه	Student (of theology)
ارباب	Landlord, master

Certain Arabic nouns are used in broken plural but not as singulars, e.g.

اشراف	Aristocrats.
او از اشراف تهران است	He belongs to the aristocracy of Tehran.
رجال	Distinguished men.
او از رجال است	He is a distinguished person.

Certain Persian words are still popularly rendered plural by the addition of *āt*, e.g.

دهات	ده
باغات	باغ

The dual is used in certain cases, e.g.

اعلی حضرتین	Their Majesties.
دولتین	Two governments.
مجلسین	Two houses of parliament.

These facts indicate that some shifts and changes are visible in the grammatical structure of modern Persian; which only prove the dynamic character of Persian as a living language.

1 *Q. J.*, p. 70.
2 Op. cit., p. 405.
3 Ibid., p. 360.

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CONTRIBUTION IN THE LINGUISTIC FIELD

Deep interest has been taken in Persian grammar, lexicography, dialectology, phonetics, folk-lore, proverbs, etc., in modern times. This interest is unprecedented. While a few books existed in classical Persian on some of these subjects, the others constitute a totally new field unknown to the classical writer.

While Iranian scholars devoted full attention to Arabic lexicography and grammar in the past, they felt little need to attend to these branches of their own language. Deep interest, on the contrary, was taken in these subjects in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent where more than fifty works were produced in the field of lexicography alone. However, interest in lexicography and grammar was aroused in Iran in the 13th/19th century, mainly under Western influence, and it has achieved vast dimensions in these and other kindred subjects in recent times. This progress may be surveyed briefly under separate heads.

GRAMMAR

According to Jalāl Humā'ī, the earliest works of grammar written in Persian in Iran do not go back beyond the 13th/19th century.[1]

The first book written was *Qavā'id-i Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsī* by 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Abu'l-Qāsim of Airivān. It was published in Tabrīz in 1262/1846 during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. The author undertook the work for the guidance of Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Prince Bahman Mīrzā, Governor General of Ādharbā'ījān. The book is divided into four sections. The author has occasionally used Persian couplets to substantiate his point.

The next book *Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsī* was written by Ḥāj Muḥammad Karīm Khān b. Ibrāhīm Khān Kirmānī. The author was prompted by the desire to help his son

1 *"Guftār dar Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsī,"* *N. F.*, yr. i, no. ii, p. 41.

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Muḥammad in learning grammar. His attention, however, is claimed by Arabic rather than Persian grammar, which is given only secondary treatment. The author, in all probability, has not seen the earlier work, because he has expressed his regrets that in the absence of any book on the subject he was likely to miss many points, both of Persian grammar and syntax.

Another small work *Tanbīhu's-Ṣibyān* was produced by Muḥammad Ḥusain b. Mas'ūd b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Anṣārī in 1298/1881. The immense importance of the subject dawned upon the author while learning French, when he realized that French and Arabic grammar could not be learnt without the help of Persian. This led him to write the present book.

These are the only three works of Persian grammar produced within the country during the 13th/19th century. These had a limited value, being mere imitation and even translation of Arabic books of grammar.

The first important work of Persian grammar, *Dabistān-i Pārsī*, was published in Istanbul in 1308/1890[1] by Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, who may be regarded as the founder of the science of Persian grammar. In fact the word *dastūr* for grammar was first introduced by this scholar.[2] He was the first to segregate Persian from Arabic grammar and go beyond mere translation or imitation of the latter. *Dabistān-i Pārsī* was written both for the benefit of the common reader and the child, so that they could get a grounding in their own language through this book.[3] Perhaps, he realized the dire need for such a book owing to his sojourn abroad. Well-versed in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and certain European languages, Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī was in a position to make a comparative study of different languages and thus approach the subject from a fresh angle.

Dastūr-i Kāshif, another work on the subject, did not attract much attention, as the author of this work Ghulām Ḥusain Kāshif based it on the model of Turkish grammar.

In 1316/1898 Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Khān Nafīsī Nāẓimu'l-Aṭibba (d. 1303 (s)/1924), wrote *Zabān-āmūz-i Fārsī*. The author, who was a well-known physician and scholar of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, based his work on the pattern set by Ḥāj Muḥammad Karīm Khān, with the difference that while the latter's work mainly dealt with Arabic grammar and syntex, Nāẓimu'l-Aṭibbā drew a line between Persian and Arabic grammar and gave his book a distinct Persian colour.

The aims and objects of *Farhangistān* included the preparation of a Persian grammar.[4] It also set up an eleven-man commission for this purpose, with Prof. 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm Qarīb (1296/1879—1344 (s)/1965) as its chairman. He has two books of grammar to his credit, both entitled *Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī*. While he wrote one in

1 See p. 37.
2 Op. cit.
3 Introduction.
4 Article 2, B.

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1325 (s)/1946 single-handed, he produced the other along with four colleagues of Tehran University, namely, Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, Badī'u'z-Zamān Furūzānfar, (1318/1900—1349 (s)/1970) Rashīd Yāsamī and Jalāl Humā'ī in 1329 (s)/1950. The former consists of three volumes and has run into numerous editions. It has enjoyed greater popularity than any other single work of grammar written before him. The author worked on the lines of European books of grammar. He also made full use of Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī's *Dabistān-i Pārsī*, but differred with him in the classification of Persian words. In his method, Qarīb fell under French influence in forming nine groups of words.[1] There are points of similarity also. For instance, both treat the infinitive as the source of the verb.[2] The book produced by Qarīb and four other university professors is not a very comprehensive work—consisting of only 150 pages—but it shows a definite advance on earlier books on the subject. Parts of it appear to be a verbatim copy of Qarīb's earlier work.

A monumental book of Persian grammar, *Dastūr-i Jāmi'-yi Zabān-i Fārsī*, was written by Humāyūn Farrukh, (d. 1338 (s)/1959), a member of the Commission on Persian Grammar set up by *Farhangistān*, and was first published in 1324 (s)/1945. This is a highly elaborate and documented work of 1207 pages[3] which deals with various aspects of Persian grammar. The book was awarded first prize for the year 1334 (s)/1955-56.

Grammar is no longer a forsaken subject. In view of its fundamental importance with regard to the language, a number of books have been produced on its various aspects by famous scholars. These include *Mabāḥith-i Ṣarfī u Naḥvī* by Mujtabā Mīnuvī;[4] *Ṭarḥ-i Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī* Nos. I[5], II[6], III[7], which treat of (*i*) the principles of plurality (*ii*) *iḍāfa* and (*iii*) infinitive and verbal-noun, by Muḥammad Mu'īn; *Paidayish-i Ḍamā'ir-i Fārsī* by N. Rāst;[8] *Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī* by 'A. Khayyām-pūr;[9] *Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsī* by Ḥusain Samī'ī Adību's-Salṭana,[10] *Dastūr-nāma dar Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Zabān-i Fārsī* by Muḥammad Javād Mashkūr,[11] *Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī*, Part I, by Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī with the assistance of Fatḥu'llāh Mujtabā'ī, Muṣṭafā Muqarrabī, and Zahrā Khānlarī (Kīā),[12] produced by the Iran Text Book Organization, Ministry of

1 *D. Z. F.*, pp. 12-13.
2 (*i*) Ibid., p. 73. (*ii*) *D. P.*, p. 57.
3 Cf. ii, ed.
4 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1329.
5 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1331.
6 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1332.
7 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1332.
8 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1333.
9 Tabriz, A. H. (s) 1333.
10 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1333.
11 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1338.
12 Tehran A. H. (s) 1343.

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Education, Government of Iran,[1] *Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī* by Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī,[2] *Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī* by Ṭal'at Baṣṣārī,[3] and *Ḥurūf-i Rabṭ* by Khalīl Khaṭīb Rahbar.[4]

A large number of articles on grammatical subjects, which have appeared in magazines and journals from time to time, indicate the minute interest being taken by scholars on different aspects and problems of Persian grammar. For instance, suffixes have attracted the attention of Bahār,[5] Qarīb[6] and Kasravī;[7] Qazvīnī has written on the adverbial phrases *Chunānchi* and *Chunānki*,[8] Vahīd Dastgirdī on *vāv* and *yā*,[9] Furūzānfar on adjectives,[10] Khānlarī on the structure of verb,[11] and Jalāl Matīnī on marks of interrogation.[12] Humā'ī has written, apart from his elaborate treatment of Persian grammar in *Lughat-nāma*, two articles on this subject.[13]

LEXICOGRAPHY

Like grammar, work in the field of Persian lexicography had been ignored in Iran before modern times, through it had found an excellent field of activity in the Sub-continent.

The history of modern lexicography during the last century begins with the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. The earliest lexicons of this period may be mentioned below :

Farhang-i Anjuman-ārā-yi Nāṣirī was compiled by Riḍā-Qulī Khān Hidāyat (d. 1288/1871) in 1286/1869 and dedicated to Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. The book, as already pointed out,[14] concerns itself with Persain words alone. The author deals with certain lexicographical, grammatical and syntactical questions and with the history of Persian language in the Introduction. The book, which is divided into 24 *Anjumans*, is the earliest lexicon produced in Iran in modern times.

Lughāt-i Fārsī was compiled by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣanī'u'd-Daula, Incharge of the Government Publications in Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh's reign, who received the title of I'timādu's-Salṭana in 1304/1886.

1 *Shirkat-i Sihāmī-yi Ṭab' u Nashr-i Kitābhā-yi Darsī-yi Īrān*
2 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1351.
3 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1345.
4 Tehran A. H. (s) 1350.
5 "*Pasavandāk*," *DN.*, I., A. H., (s) 1328, pp. 250-297.
6 "*Pasavandhā yi Ittiṣāf u Mālikiyyat*," *N. FN*, yr. ii, no ii, pp. 44-48.
7 (*i*) "*Pasvand Ār*," *P. M*, iii, pp. 710-712. (*ii*) "*Pasvand Mand*," Ibid., iv, pp. 511-512.
8 *M. D. A. T.*, yr. i, no. ii, pp. 39-40.
9 "*Vāv u yā*," *A.*, ix, pp. 385-394.
10 "*Yak Mabhath az Dastūr-i Zabān-i-Fārsi (Ṣifat)*" *N. D. 'A.*, yr. i, no. i, pp. 11-25.
11 "*Sākhtumān-i Fi'l*", *P. NA.*, yr. x, no. ii.
12 "*Barkhi Nishānahā-yi Nādir-i Istifhām dar Fārsi*", *M. D. A. M.*, yr. v, no. 1.
13 (*i*) "*Qavā'id-i Zabān-i Fārsī*," *S. AR.*, A H. (s) 1324. (*ii*) *Guftār dar Sarf u Naḥv-i Fārsi*, *N. FN.*, yr. i, no. i, pp. 40-58 ; i, ii, pp. 26-28 ; i, iii, pp. 34-61; i-iv, pp. 6-20.
14 See p. 102.

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Farhang-i Nafīsī was compiled by Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Khān Nafīsī Nāẓimu'l-Aṭibbā. The author has rendered an encyclopaedic treatment of many words, especially scientific terms. Four volumes of this work were published in Tehran by his eminent son Prof. Sa'īd Nafīsī between the years 1317 (s)/1938 and 1324 (s)/1945.

Paivasta Farhang-i Fārsī-yi Manẓūm was compiled by Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān Amīrī Farāhānī Adību'l-Mamālik (1277/1860—1336/1917).

Lexicons compiled more recently may be enumerated as under :

Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrīzī Khīābānī :

Farhang-i Naubahār.[1]

Muḥammad 'Alī Kātūzīān :

Farhang-i Kātūzīān.[2]

Ḥabībūllāh Āmūzgār :

Farhang-i Āmūzgār.[3]

Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'i :

Farhang-i Dabīristānī-yi Vāzhanāma-yi Fārsī.[4]

Muḥammad Mukrī :

Farhang-i Fārsī.[5]

Ḥasan 'Amīd :

Farhang-i 'Amīd.[6]

Ḥasan 'Amīd and Farīdūn Shādmān :

Farhang-i Nau.[7]

Amīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Ghaffārī :

Farhang-i Ghaffārī.[8]

Muḥammad Mu'īn :

Farhang-i Fārsī.[9]

When *Farhangistān* was founded, it took upon itself the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary to meet the growing needs of the language. Accordingly, Sa'īd Nafīsī produced the first volume of *Farhang-nāma-yi Nafīsī.*[10] Simultaneously, *Farhangistān* published a list of the terms formed by it under the title *Vāzhahā-yi Nau.*[11]

1 Tabriz, ii vols, A. H. (s) 1308.
2 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1311.
3 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1331.
4 Tehran, vol. i, A. H. (s) 1333.
5 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1333.
6 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1335.
7 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1335.
8 Tehran, viii vols, A. H. (s) 1335-1337.
9 Tehran, vols. i, ii, A. H. (s) 1342-1343 ; vols. iii and v, A.H. (s) 1345; vol. iv, A.H. (s) 1347.
10 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1319.
11 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1319.

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The most comprehensive lexicon, unprecedented in scope and volume in the whole history of Persian literature, is the *Lughat-nāma-yi Dih-khudā*, which the famous journalist, poet, and scholar 'Allāma 'Alī Akbar Dih-khudā (1297/1880—1334 (s)/1956) took in hand. This ambitious task, based on forty-five years of laborious research undertaken by the editor,[1] was started on a scientific basis, and its first fascicule apeared in 1325 (s)/1946. The author could not finish this extensive work during his life, and after his death it was successively taken over by Dr. Muḥammad Mu'īn and Dr. Ja'far Shahīdī and was finally completed in 1354 (s)/1975. The largest lexicographical work ever taken in hand in Iran, it set before itself the ambitious task of including all Persian and Arabic words used in Persian, Western technical terms and other loanwords, colloquial expressions, grammatical and syntactical matters, names, and places, both in word and picture; and as such made a sharp departure from the style of the classical Persian lexicon. The project won appreciation of eminent Iranian scholars and Orientalists. 'Allāma Qazvīnī prophesied that when completed, it would be the most comprehensive Persian dictionary ever composed.[2] Louis Massignon described it as a Herculian task,[3] while Henri Massé regarded it as an immortal achievement.[4]

Apart from these lexicons, there have come out useful dictionaries, which relate to certain specific fields and indicate what active interest is being taken in this specialized knowledge. The following may be mentioned :

Intishārāt-i Idāra-yi Kull-i Āmār u Thabt-i Aḥvāl :

Frahang-i Fīshavarān.[5]

Ḥusain 'Imād-zāda :

Farhang-i 'Avāmāna.[6]

Ismā'īl Zāhidī :

Vāzha-nama-yi Gīāhī.[7]

Ḥusain 'Alī Bahrāmī :

Farhang-i Gīāhī.[8]

Yūsuf Raḥmatī :

Farhang-i 'Āmīāna.[9]

Aḥmad Ārām, Ṣafī Aṣfīā, Gul Gulāb, Ghulām Ḥusain Muṣāḥib and Muṣṭafā Muqarrabī :

Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i Jughrāfiyā'ī.[10]

1 *M. A. D.*, p. 14.
2 Cf. *M. A. D.*, p. 30.
3 Ibid., p. 32.
4 Ibid.
5 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1318.
6 Eṣfahan, A. H. (s) 1325.
7 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1327.
8 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1329.
9 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1330.
10 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1338.

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Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda :

Farhang-i Lughāt-i 'Āmīāna.[1]

Jalālu'd-Dīn Tavānā :

Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i Ṣan'at-i Naſt bi-Si Zabān-i-Fārsī, Rūssī, Inglīsī.[2]

Ḥabību'llāh, Riḍa-zāda Qashqā'ī :

Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i Ḥisāb-dārī.[3]

A glossary of the famous Pahlavi work *Bundihishn* was published by Mihr-dād Bahār in Tehran in 1345 (s)/1966. Again a dictionary of the Pahlavī language was compiled by Bahrām Farah-vashī under the title *Farhang-i-Pahlavī* a year later.

Last but not least, the rapidly increasing interest in this branch of linguistics has found a still another healthy expression in editing old lexicons, produced both in Iran and the Sub-continent. Some of these may be mentioned below.

Lughāt-i Furs

It was compiled by Abū Naṣr 'Alī b. Aḥmad Asadī of Ṭūs, the celebrated poet of the 5th/11th century and the author of *Garshāsp-nāma*. This book is the oldest Persian lexicon extant, and hence its value cannot be over-estimated. It was edited by 'Abbās Iqbāl in 1319/1940 with the help of the four extant manuscripts. A still another manuscript, which apparently dates back to 722/1322, and is the oldest of all the manuscripts, was later discovered by Ṣādiq Kīā in *Kitāb-khāna-yi Malik* in Tehran.[4]

Mi'yār-i Jamālī

It was compiled by Shams Fakhrī of Iṣfahān in 745/1344 and dedicated to Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Injū (d 759/1357). The book is divided into four sections, that is, prosody, the art of rhyme, rhetorics and lexicography. The fourth section is the oldest extant lexicographical work after *Lughāt-i Furs*, and it is because of this unique importance that it has been edited and annotated with an illuminating introduction by Ṣādiq Kīā and published by the University of Tehran.

Burhān-i Qāṭi'

It was compiled by Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz in Ḥaider-ābād in 1062/1652 and dedicated to 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh (1020/1611–1083/1672). An abridged edition entitled Burhān-i Jāmi' was published by Muḥammad Karīm of Tabrīz in 1270/1854. This lexicon was republished in 1278/1862, 1300/1883, and 1304/1887 in Tehran before it was edited by Muḥammad Mu'īn in four volumes.[5] Its value has been enhanced by a number of articles on Iranian languages, dialects, and lexicons

1 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1341. He also published a glossary of colloquial words and slangs as an appendix to *Yaki Būd Yakī Na-būd.*

2 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1344.

3 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1349.

4 *M. D. A. T.*, yr. iii, no. iii.

5 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1330-1334.

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contributed by some eminent Iranian scholars including the editor himself. Another edition of the book was published by Muhammad 'Abbāsī.[1]

Farhang-i Rashīdī

It was compiled by 'Abdu'r-Rashīd b. 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr al-Ḥusainī of Thatta in Sind in 1064/1654. It is regarded as one of the most valuable lexicons for its accuracy and precision. It has been edited in two volumes by Muḥammad 'Abbāsī.[2]

Amougst other lexicons recently edited in Iran may be mentioned *Farhang-i Ānand Rāj, Ghīāthu'l Lughāt* and *Bahār-i 'Ajam*.

It may be added that quite a few lexicons have been compiled in recent times from Persian into foreign languages and *vice versa*, but they have been left untouched as they do not come within the scope of the present discussion.

ETYMOLOGY

Iranian scholars have evinced deep interest in words, their roots, formation, and meanings, etc. A small, representative selection of the work done in this field may be mentioned below :

'Abbās Iqbāl :

Uṣūl u Ishtiqāq-i Ba'ḍī Lughāt.[3]

Ba'ḍī az Tarkībāt u Isti'mālāt-i Ghalaṭ.[4]

Besides, the author contributed a number of articles to the magazines *Yādgār, Īrān-i Imrūz*, and *Yaghmā*.

Aḥmad Kasravī :

Shimāl, Junūb, Mashriq, Maghrib.[5]

Falāt, Pushta.[6]

'Ammū, 'Amma, Khālū, Khāla.[7]

Kāf-nāma.[8]

Muḥammad Taqī Bahār :

Sabk-shināsi. Although primarily devoted to a survey of the growth and development of style in Persian prose, yet the book contains, amongst other linguistic subjects, a highly illuminating discussion on words, their growth and extinction, and the phonetical, morphological and semantic changes that have taken place in the Persian language in various epochs.

1 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1337.
2 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1337-1338.
3 *F. T.*, yr. i, no. ii, pp. 21-26.
4 *IṬ.*, op. cit., pp. 4-6.
5 *PM.*, yr. i, no. i, pp. 21-27 ; i, ii, pp. 24-29 ; i, v, pp. 23-25 ; i, viii, pp. 24-27 ; i, x, pp. 21-23.
6 Ibid., i, iii, pp. 31-32.
7 Ibid., pp. 236-237.
8 See p. 105.

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Muḥammad Mu'īn :

Lughāt-i Fā'rs-yi Ibn Sīnā va Ta'thīr-i Ānhā dar Adabiyyāt.[1]

Ādhar Kaivān va Pairauān-i Oo.[2]

Muḥammad Qazvīnī :

Bād-i Shurṭa.[3]

Tashbīḥ bi-Ma'nī-yi Subḥa.[4]

Isti'māl-i Qadīm-i Safīna bi ma'nī-yı Jang.[5]

Muḥammad Muḥiṭ Ṭabāṭabā'ī :

Adab va Adīb.[6]

Pursish u Pāsukh.[7]

Muḥammad Muqaddam :

Kīrāvāt [8]

Mujtabā Minuvī :

Agarchi, Bā-ānki, Har-chand.[9]

Bashakhshma va Bachakhshma.[10]

Riḍā zāda Shafaq (1310/1893—1350/1971) :

Asāmī-yi Īrānī-yi Jihāt i Chahārgāna.[11]

Sādiq Kīā :

Sarkarda, Sardār, Sarkār.[12]

Jalāl Matīnī :

Mīn va Mina, Do Pasvand-i Nādir va Farāmūsh-shuda-yi Zabān-i Fārsī va Sukhkani dar bāra yi Pasvand Nīn.[13]

DIALECTS

Reference has been made to the remarkable work done by Orientalists on Iranian dialects.[14] But the object here is to restrict the survey to the work done by Iranian

1 *M. A. D. T.*, yr. ii, no. ii, pp. 1-38.
2 Ibid., yr. iv, no. iii, pp. 25-42.
3 *Y.*, yr. i, no. ii, pp. 62-68.
4 Ibid., yr. ii, no. v. pp. 6-14.
5 Ibid., yr. iv, no. iv, p. 70.
6 *A. P.*, yr. ix, no. i, pp. 2-8, 48.
7 Ibid., pp. 44-48.
8 *I. K.*, no. iii, pp. 30-32.
9 *M. D. A. T.*, yr. xiii, no. iv.
10 *R. K.*, yr. xiii, no. x-xii.
11 *B.*, i, pp. 173-174.
12 *M. D. A. T.*, yr. xvii, no. i-ii.
13 *M. D. A. M.*, yr. ix, no. i.
14 See pp. 61-62.

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scholars and linguists in Iran itself. This interest is the direct result of a general renaissance which has taken place in Iran in the present century.

Amongst other institutions, *Īrān Kūda* and *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn* have done valuable work in this field. *Īrān Kūda* publications include works on Iranian languages, dialects, script, texts, history, and culture of ancient Iran; and are the result of the efforts of Dr. Ṣādiq Kīā and Dr. Muḥammad Muqaddam.

Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn, founded by Drs. Īraj Afshār, Mḥammad Taqī Dānish-puzhūh, 'Abbās Zaryāb, Manūchihr Sutūda and Muṣṭafā Muqarrabī, has been devoted to the studies of Iranian languages and dialects, the revival of archaic vocabulary, and the collection of folk-lore.

A few publications on various dialects may be mentioned below :

Muḥammad Muqaddam :

Yak Sanad-i Tārīkh az Gūyish-ī Ādharī-yi Tabrīz.[1]

Gūyīshhā-yi Vafs u Āshtīān u Tafrish.[2]

Ṣādiq Kīā :

Vāzhanāma-yi Ṭabarī.[3]

Chand Vāzha az Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān.[4]

Gūyish-i Āshtīān.[5]

Vāzhahā-yi Maḥallī-yi Īrān dar Lughāt-i Furs-i Asadī.[6]

Vāzha-yi Maḥallī-yi Īrān dar Burhān-i Qāṭi'.[7]

Yāddāshtī dar bāra-yi Zabān-i Rāzī va Tihrānī.[8]

Besides, he has also written some other articles of linguistic nature, to wit :

Kuhnatarīn-i Dast-navīs-i Lughāt-i Furs-i Asadī-yi Ṭūsī.[9]

Tarjuma az Maqāmāt-i Ḥarīrī bi Zabān-i Ṭabarī.[10]

Manūchihr Sutūda :

Farhang-i Kirmānī.[11]

Farhang-i Gīlakī.[12]

Farhang-ī Simnānī.[13]

1 *I. K.*, no. x, pp. 4-18.
2 Ibid., no. xi, pp. 1-184.
3 Ibid., no. ix, pp. 1-289.
4 *SN.*, i, pp. 135-136, 345-346, 440-441, 514.
5 Tehran University Publication, no. 384.
6 *I. K.*, no. iii, pp. 3-5.
7 Ibid., pp. 6-13.
8 Ibid., pp. 14-22.
9 *M. D. A. T.*, yr. iii, no. iii, pp. 1-9.
10 *A. P.*, xiv, pp. 477-478.
11 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1335.
12 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1335.
13 Vol. i, A. H. (s) 1342.

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Yaḥyā Māhyār Navābī :

Zabān-i Kunūnī-yi Ādharbāījān.[1]

Zabān-i Mardum-i Tabrīz.[2]

Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī :

Ṭarḥ-i Ijmālī dar Bāra-yi Taḥqīq dar Laḥjahā-yi Maḥallī-yi Īrān.[3]

Iḥsān Yārshāṭir :

Zabānhā va Lahjahā-yi Irānī.[4]

Lahjahā-yi Irānī dar Īrān va Khārij az Irān.[5]

Zabānhā-yi Īrānī-yi Alamūt.[6]

Muḥammad Mu'īn :

Lahjahā-yi Irānī.[7]

Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl zāda :

Zabān-i Rājī yā Rāzī.[8]

Aḥmed Kasravī :

Ādharī yā Zabān i Bāstān i Ādharbā'ījān.[9]

Sa'īd Nafīsī :

Lahja-yi Zardushtīān-i Irān.[10]

'Abbās Iqbāl :

Lahja-yi Tihrānī.[11]

'Alī Ākbar Ja'farī :

Balūch va Balūchi.[12]

Tazigīhā-yi Zabān-i Balūchī.[13]

Īraj Afshār :

Ṣad Vāzha-yi Sīstānī.[14]

Nāṣir Baqā'ī :

Fārsī-yi Kirmān.[15]

1 *N. D. A. T.*, v., pp. 110-128, 217-224, vi, pp. 95-112, 203-240, 315-358, 453-470.
2 Ibid., ix, 221-232, 396-426.
3 *SN*, x, pp. 565-575.
4 (*i*) *L. N.*, Serial no. 40, pp. 9-25. (*ii*) *M. D. A. T.*, *Mihr-māh* and *Dai-māh*, A. H. (s) 1336.
5 *KA.*, yr. vii, no. xxiv.
6 *T. R.*, vol. v, no. xvii.
7 *B. Q.*, vol. i, pp. 37-44.
8 *N. D. A. T.*, ix, pp. 217-218.
9 Tehran, 4th ed., A. H. (s) 1335.
10 *PT.*, yr. i, no. xii, pp. 21.
11 *Y.*, yr. v, no. iv-v, pp. 150-152.
12 *SN.*, yr. xv, no. ii.
13 *N. A. F. B.*, yr, i, no. iii.
14 *YA.*, vii, pp. 460-464.
15 *N. D. A. T.*, iv.

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Adīb Ṭūsī :

Baḥth dar Taṭavvur-i Gūyishhā-yi Irān.[1]

Riḍā Zumurrudīān :

Vīzhigīhā-yi Gūyish-i Qā'īn.[2]

Bahrām Farah-vashī :

Zabānhā va Gūyishhā-yi Irānī.[3]

REGIONAL POETRY AND FOLK-LORE

Interest in dialects has naturally led to the study of regional poetry and folk-lore. Bahār traced specimens of this poetry known as *Fahlaviyyāt* in Persian literature, which have been published posthumously under different titles to wit, *Shi'r dar Īrān*[4] and *Sabk shināsī* Vol. IV.[5] Light has been thrown on some regional poets and *Fahlaviyyāt* in the following writings :

'Abbās Iqbāl :

Bundār Rāzī.[6]

Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabā'ī :

Bundār Rāzī.[7]

Sharaf Shāh Gīlānī.[8]

Shi'r bi Zabān-i Qā'īnī.[9]

Ṣādiq Kīā :

Fahlaviyyāt va Tabrīziyyāt.[10]

Muḥammad Amīn Adīb Tūsī :

Fahlaviyyāt-i Zabān-i Ādharī dar Qarn-i Hashtum u Nuhum.[11]

Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-puzhūh :

Chand Fahlavī dar Kutab-i Irānī.[12]

Manūchihr Sutūda :

Majmū'a-yi Sukhan-rānīhā va Āhangha-yi Mūsīqī va Namāyish-nāmahā va Surūdhā-yi Makhṣūṣ-i Parvarish-i Afkār.[13]

1 *N. D. A. T.*, iv.
2 *M. D. A. M.*, Spring, A. H. (s) 1350.
3 *M. D. A. T.*, yr. xx, no. iii-iv.
4 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1333.
5 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1342.
6 *M.*, vii, pp. 27-35.
7 *MT.*, yr. i, no. iii, pp. 23-28.
8 *MU.*, yr. iii, no. x-xi, pp. 24-25.
9 *MT.* yr. i, no. i, pp. 52-53.
10 *I. K.*, x, pp. 19-25.
11 *N. D. A. T.*, vii, pp. 460-482.
12 *F. I. Z.*, vi, pp. 328-333.
13 Tehran, 3rd ed., A. H. (s) 1319.

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Īraj Afshār :

Fulklūr az Aṭrāf-i Yazd.[1]

'Alī Naqī Bihrūzī :

Tarānahā-yi Maḥallī.[2]

Tarānahā-yi Maḥallī va Ḍarbu'l-Amthālhā yi Maḥallī-yi Shīrāz va Kāzrūn.[3]

Muḥammad Amīn Adīb Ṭūsī :

Tarānahā-yi Maḥallī.[4]

Ṣādiq Hidāyat :

Du Ghazal bi Lahja-yi Shīrāzī va Chand Tarāna-yi Nairīzī.[5]

(ii) Tarānahā-yi 'Āmīāna-yi Fārsī.[6]

Farīdūn Tavallulī :

Du-baitīhā-yi Shīrāzī.[7]

Mahdī Muḥaqqiq :

Ash'ārī bi-Lahjahā-yi Maḥallī.[8]

Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī :

Du-baitīhā-yi Bābā Ṭāhir.[9]

Yaḥyā Dhakā :

Yak Taṣnīf-i Qadīm-i Shīrāzī.[10]

PROVERBS

Proverbs and folk-lore give a rare insight into the character and way of life of a people. Both these important and interesting aspects of language and literature had been shown previously the same indifference as grammar and lexicography. These stores of popular wisdom and emotion have now been explored as much for their linguistic importance as for their literary worth. Persian proverbs are generally of colloquial origin and they are widely used in Iran. Work done in this field in recent years may be mentioned below :

'Alī Akbar Dih-khudā's *Amthal u Ḥikam* is the most monumental work on the subject published in Iran. The popularity of Persian proverbs may be measured from the fact that the book contains 25,000 proverbs, and the list is not yet complete.

1 *MA.*, yr. i, no. iii, p. 16.
2 *G. R. R.*, vol. i, no. xv, p. 139 ; xxiii, p. 97 ; xxvi, pp. 2-11.
3 Ibid., xi, pp. 150-151.
4 *N. D. A. T.*, v, pp. 49-101.
5 Ibid., xi, pp. 2-18.
6 *MU.*, yr. i, no. vi, pp. 17-124, and yr. i, no. vii, pp. 17-28.
7 *MA.*, yr. i, no. v, p. 24.
8 *F. I. Z.*, vii, pp. 247-252.
9 *P. NA.*, i, pp. 26-30.
10 *MU.*, yr. iii, no. xxi, pp. 67-72.

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Amir Qulī Amīni Iṣfahānī has produced two books on the subject, namely, *Dāstānhā-yi Amthal*[1] and *Hazār u Yak Sukhan dar Amthāl u Ḥikam*.[2]

Mahdi Suhailī :

Ḍarbu'l-Mathalhā-yi Ma'rūf-i Īrān.[3]

Manūchihr Sutūda :

Amthāl-i Simnānī.[4]

Īraj Afshār :

Mathalha-yi Yazdī.[5]

Aḥmad Iqtidārī :

Mathalhā-yi Lārī.[6]

Ṣādiq Hidāyat :

Mathalhā-yi-Fārsī (Barāyi Khurd-sālān).[7]

Farīdūn Tavallulī :

Mathalhā-yi Shūsh.[8]

Aḥmad Kasravī :

Mathalhā-yi Shushtarī.[9]

PHONETICS

Deep and sustained interest in many branches of linguistics could not bypass Persian phonetics. But the interest in this field appears to have been limited. A few articles on the subject may be cited below :

Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī :

Vāhidhā-yi Aṣvāt-i Guftār yā Vākhā-yi Fārsī.[10]

Jalāl Matīnī :

Taḥavvul-i Talaffuẓ-i Fārsī dar Daura-yi Islāmī.[11]

Manūchihr Amīrī :

Taḥavvul-i Talaffuẓ-i Lughāt-i Fārsī.[12]

1 Iṣfahan, A. H. (s) 1324.
2 Iṣfahan, 2nd ed., A. H. (s) 1333.
3 Tehran, A. H. (s) 1349.
4 *F. I. Z.*, ii, pp. 80-92.
5 Ibid., pp. 377-392.
6 Ibid., pp. 233-253.
7 *MU.*, yr. i, no. viii, pp. 25-30.
8 *SN.*, iii, pp. 595-596 ; *P. NA.*, yr. iii, no. xii, pp. 31-35.
9 *P. NA.*, yr. ii, no. ix, p. 40.
10 *SN.*, vol. xxii, no. iii.
11 *M. D. A. M.*, yr. vi, no. ii.
12 *YA.*, yr. xxvi, no. ix.

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Muḥammad Riḍā Bāṭinī :

Muqāyasa-yi Ijmālī-yi Dastgāh-i Ṣautī-yi Fārsī va Inglīsī.[1]

Khusrau Khūrshīdvard :

Vazn-i Kalima dar Fārsī.[2]

Riḍā Jāvīd :

Nikātī dar Talaffuẓ-i Zabān-i Fārsī.[3]

The importance and future of the Persian language and the significance of language in different contexts have excited frequent discussions and discourses, and a large number of articles have appeared on this subject. A few of these written in recent years may be cited below :

Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī :

Barāyi Zabān-i Fārsī chi bāyad kard.[4]

Zabān-i Si Hazār Sāla.[5]

Daura-yi sihgāna-yi Taḥavvul u Takāmul-i Fārsī-yi Darī.[6]

Zabān-i Īrān.[7]

Muḥammad Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabā'i :

Zabān-i Fārsī dar Rāh-i Sarnivisht.[8]

Amīr 'Abbās Huvaidā :

Āyanda-yi Zabān-i Fārsī.[9]

Ṣādiq Kiā :

Zabān-i Fārsī.[10]

Mujtabā Mīnuvī :

Zabān i-Fārsī.[11]

Muḥammad Ja'far Maḥjūb :

Zabān u Adab.[12]

Zabān-i Fārsi rā chigūna bāyad āmūkht.[13]

1 *SN.*, vol. xviii, no. vii.
2 *M. D. A. T.*, yr. xxi, no. ii-iii.
3 *R. K.*, *Khurdad*, 1342.
4 *SN.*, yr. xx, no. vii.
5 Ibid., yr. xxi, no. iv.
6 Ibid., yr. xxi, vii, xi, xii.
7 Ibid., *Nauruz*, A. H. (s) 1336.
8 *R. K.*, *Ādhar-māh*, A. H. (s) 1349.
9 Ibid.
10 *H. H.*, v.
11 *SN.*, yr. xiv., no. i.
12 *H. H.*, i.
13 Ibid., ii.

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Muḥammad 'Alī Islāmī Nadūshan :

Zabān, Fikr u Pīshraft.[1]

Bīmārī-yi Zaban.[2]

Manṣūr Ikhtīār :

Irtibāṭ-i Zaban bā Fikr dar Tarjuma.[3]

Adīb Ṭūsī :

Baḥthī dar Bāra-yi Zabān-i Fārsī.[4]

Mahdī Muḥaqqiq :

Tāthīr-i Zabān-i Fārsī dar Zabān-i 'Arabī.[5]

Ḍīā'u'd-Dīn Sajjādī :

Tāthīr-i Shi'r dar Nigāhdārī va Taqviyyat va Gustarish-i Zabān-i Fārsī.[6]

Muḥsin Abu'l-Qāsimī :

Dar Bāra-yi Zabān-i Fārsī.[7]

Ghulām Ḥusain Yūsufī :

Zabān-i Fārsī.[8]

Ḥaidar Shahryār Naqavī :

Irtibāṭ-i Fārsī va Sānskrīt.[9]

While discussing the extensive, illuminating work being done in different branches of Persian language, reference must be made to three valuable books by Dr. Parvīz Nātil Khānlarī and a monumental book of reference by Dr. Īraj Afshār. Khānlarī's books *Mabāhith-i Adabī va Hunari* (1) *dar Bāra-yi Zabān-i Fārsī* and (2) *dar Bāra-yi Zabān-shināsī*, which have been frequently quoted in this work contain a critical review and analysis of certain trends and problems of the contemporary Persian language. The third work, *Tārīkh-i Zabān-i Fārsī*,[10] however, deals mainly with general linguistics and with the history of Iranian languages. Īraj Afshār's work *Fihrist-i Maqālāt-i Fārsī*,[11] is a voluminous and highly informative collection of available articles published in Iran and abroad compiled on lines of J. D. Pearson's *Index Islamicus*.[12]

The Government of Iran is taking constant interest in the development of the

1 *N.*, no. lxxix.
2 *YA.*, yr. xii, no. iv.
3 *T. R.*, yr. v, nos. v-vi, xvii.
4 *A., Khurdād, Murdād* and *Shahrivar*, A. H. (s) 1353.
5 *M. D. A. T., Farvardin* and *Tir*, A. H. (s) 1339.
6 *H. M., Ādhar* and *Dai*, A. H. (s) 1347.
7 *SN.*, vol. xix, no. i to vi.
8 *YA*, yr. xxv, no. ii.
9 *M. D. A. T., Tir*, 1353.
10 Tehran, vol. i, A H. (s) 1348, vol. ii, A. H. (s) 1349.
11 Tehran, vol. i, A. H. (s) 1340, vol. ii, A. H. (s) 1348.
12 Oxford, A. D. 1956.

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national language and its rich literature. One of the recent steps which it has taken in this direction is the institution of *Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān*, that is, the Iran Cultural Foundation, under the Imperial orders of the Shah on *Mihr-mah* 25, 1343(s)/ October 16, 1964. The constitution of the Foundation was approved by the Foundation Body on *Dai-māh* 3, 1343(s)/December 24, 1964. It consists of 25 articles and three notes. The objects of the Foundation are contained in the first two articles. Since its institution, the Foundation has published photostat copies of some rare manuscripts. The object of publishing photostat copies of the rarest, oldest and at times, unpublished manuscripts by the Foundation, as explained by Dr. Khānlarī, the Secretary General of the Foundation, is to bring the original within reach of the research scholar, to enable him to make a comparative study of various manuscripts, and to help the ordinary students of Persian literature not only to study the book but also the development of Persian script in its successive stages.

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13

CONCLUSION

The contemporary Persian language is passing through a transitional period. The purist movement, the institution of *Farhangistān* and *Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān*, the introduction of colloquial usage in literary Persian, and a general desire to reduce the Arabic element to the minimum, both in order to satisfy the national ego and to simplify the language, have definitely added a large vocabulary to it and comparatively reduced the number of Arabic words, but even a cursory glance at the language, whether spoken or written, will show that Furūghī did not much overestimate the Arabic element in Persian in his article *Payām-i Man-bi Farhangistān*.

Even during the 13th/19th century the interaction of various forces and concepts generated certain paradoxical trends. While the national ego set into motion the purist movement, exposure to Western influence led to an unending influx of Western loanwords. The political and social concepts, however, simultaneously accelerated the import of new Arabic words into Persian. Bahār has reproduced a long list of such words, many of which rushed into Persian through the Turkish Press. So stupendous was the Arabic spell that even certain Western loanwords adopted Arabic spellings.[1] No wonder, that reaction to the Arabic script, much later, led certain individuals to demand the adoption of Latin alphabet. This suggestion, however, evoked little interest, as such a radical step was pregnant with the dangerous possibility of isolating the nation from its rich literary and cultural heritage.

It is in view of the tremendous importance of Arabic language that Taqī-zāda had even recommended the compilation of a dictionary of Arabic words used in the Persian language.[2]

1 Examples : بلیط . قونصل ، سیغار . پولطیک As time has passed on they have shed off the Arabic influcnce, though *billet* still retains the Arabic ṭ.

2 *"Jumbish-i Milli-yi Adabī,"* *A.*, yr. xxii, no. vii-ix, p. 384.

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As compared with the dominant Arabic role, the Turkish and Western—mainly French—elements in the Persian language are negligible, but not too inconsiderable to be ignored.

Persian language, thus, has a large number of loanwards. This linguistic mixture speaks for the intermixture of Iranian culture with other foreign cultures and civilizations. This phenomenon is not new to the history of a language. No language can boast of hundred per cent purity. Persian itself has left a deep imprint on many languages, which came under the impact of the Iranian culture. Literary Turkish, according to the Turkish philologist Shamsu'd-Dīn Sāmī, had fifteen per cent Persian words,[1] a much larger proportion than that of Turkish words in Persian. Urdu is overwhelmingly Persian in its vocabulary and linguistic styles, and considerably Arabic in words. Arabic itself has a number of Persian words. Persian vocabulary has infiltrated into far off English[2] on the one hand, and Chinese on the other.[3] Besides Urdu, other languages spoken in Pakist an, like Panjābī, Pashtū, Sīndhī and Balūchī have a considerable element of Persian vocabulary. There are nine hundred Arabic words in French.[4] The English language has left a deep impression on the languages of the countries which have been ruled by the British race. There is a large number of French words in English itself. Technical terms in English, French and German languages are predominantly Greek and Latin in origin. How the original language may be overwhelmed by foreign vocabulary may be seen in the following instances.

Out of 5140 verbal roots given in an authentic dictionary of the Albanian language, only 430 are originally Albanian, the rest come from Greek, Turkish, Romance and Slav languages.[5] Out of 1940 words of old Armenian collected in a dictionary of that language, only 438 belong to the native stock. 680 words belong to Parthian, 171 to Arabic and Persian, 133 to Assyrian and 512 to Greek languages.[6]

One language may so drastically influence another that it may pose a serious question to subsequent scholarship to determine as to which of the two has played the role of the borrower and which of the source. The best current example is Vietnamese. Some scholars consider it to be basically Khmer with a heavy influx of loans from Thai, while others feel just the reverse.[7]

It is thus clear that intermixture of languages, even on an abnormal scale, is not an unprecedented phenomenon. Iran has stood at the cross roads of history. It could not

1 "*Luzūm-i Ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi Faṣīḥ*," op. cit., p. 17.
2 Ibid , p. 26.
3 Berhtold-Laufar, *Sino-Iranica*, Chichago, A. D. 1919.
4 "*Luzūm-i Ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi Faṣīḥ*," op. cit., p. 26.
5 *Z. Z.*, p. 128.
6 Ibid.
7 *C. M. L.*, pp. 419-420.

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remain unaffected by the great political upheavals which have shaken that country time and again.

Revolt against foreign elements in contemporary Persian may be commendable from a purely national angle; but from the strictly linguistic point of view, these foreign elements do not violate the integrity of the language, provided there is no unnecessary borrowing, which may be due to sheer fashion or mental laziness

The Iranian scholars have rightly assessed the position of their own language in the light of linguistic and historical principles. They want to preserve the structure of the classical language, but they do not like unsuitable foreign vocabulary or unnecessary absorption of loanwords in the Persian language.

Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī permits mixture of Persian with foreign words only if they are indispensable, limited in number, and do not violate the genius of the Persian language.[1] Taqī-zāda allows the replacement of Arabic by Persian words only if they are perfect substitutes and not 'fake' words like *charkhīda* and *aparkhīda* or unfamiliar terms like *chapūt*.[2] He recommends purification of the Persian language from the uncalled-for foreign vocabulary,[3] but the change should not come so abruptly as to turn the national foundations topsyturvy.[4] He has suggested gradation of words in such a manner that preference be given to familiar Persian words ; but in their absence Arabic words of long standing in the Persian language should be used : for instance, *haithiyyat*, *qadr*, and *manzalat* are preferable to *autocrité*.[5] He wants the utmost restraint on the use of Western words, combinations, phraseology and constructions on the one hand, and old, forgotten indigenous stock on the other. In the latter case exceptions may be made in cases where the authenticity of an ancient word is unquestionable, and its appeal to the Iranian taste is unmistakable.

The hold of Arabic vocabulary and infiltration of Western loanwords on the one hand, and the determind effort of the nation to expand the scope of its own language, presents a paradoxical situation. Keeping on overall picture of the present trends in view, it can be safely assumed that the indigenous speech-material is bound to gather strength in the new conflict. Already there is more stability, uniformity and standardization in the language than in the pre-*Farhangistān* days. Many Persian words have replaced foreign counterparts, or are on way to doing so.

Another source of strength for the contemporary language lies in the recently developed love of colloquialism and dialectal vocabulary, though caution has to be observed in keeping this tendency within healthy limits, and not giving a discordant, local colour to the language.

1 Op. cit., p. 509.
2 Op. cit., p. 388.
3 Ibid., p. 396.
4 Ibid., p. 379.
5 Ibid., p. 389.

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Some enthusiasts have made a wrong use of the freedom to break away from the ornate language overburdened with Arabic. Khānlarī complains that a section of writers is running riot with the language in flouting with impunity the classical tradition of *faṣāḥat* by which he means eloquence, accuracy, and uniformity of the meanings of words.[1] According to him some of them even lack basic knowledge of the grammar of their own language.[2] Such indifferent performance is a standing danger to the noble traditions of Persian and is, to no inconsiderable degree, due to bad translation of foreign languages and the gradual adoption of foreign and exotic modes of expression,[3] which have been exercising a baneful influence on Persian language, especially since the Constitutional Revolution.

The translation movement which started in the 13th/19th century and played a worthy role in revitalizing the language has had an uneven career. If valuable translations by scholars, university professors and writers of standing and distinction have done good to the language in its quick expansion, bad translations by quacks have dealt a severe blow to its integrity. This lack of planning and uniformity of standard in translation, which commands the major literary output in Iran today, has let loose a flood of exotic words and unintelligible expressions; and is a serious danger, which has to be averted.

Apart from pitfalls in translations and unwanted import of exotic verbal constructions, there is another style of language which has caused serious concern in certain quarters. This has been termed as office language by Taqi-zada[4] and Khānlarī.[5] Such officialese is characterized by verbal extravagance and ambiguity, where the content is likely to be lost in a maze of words arranged in a grammatically unsound manner. Another characteristic of this jargon is its especial fondness for lengthy, compound constructions which mar the simplicity and directness of the language.[6]

Again, there is the journalistic school of language, which caters to the needs of the common man. It dishes out its own vocabulary, which contains a large number of loanwords and foreign constructions. Many of these are slowly absorbed by the reader and become a part of everyday speech. This language, however, is not always wholesome, and its innovations may not be easily understandable. It cannot observe the high literary standard on account of the peculiar conditions of a newspaper office, the rush and speed of news and events, the quick comments required within the narrow time-limit, and the needs and taste of the average reader. The penetrating effects of such

1 *Z. Z.*, p. 213.
2 Ibid., p. 200.
3 Mujtabā Mīnūvī, *"Zabān-i Fārsī," SN.*, yr. xiv, no i, p. 6.
4 See p. 127.
5 Op. cit., pp. 199-200.
6 Ibid., p. 200.

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journalese, however, are far-reaching and are bound to affect gradually the general pattern of the language, even if it is disapproved by scholars.

It is heartening to note that these new tendencies have engaged the attention of scholars, whose firm and timely warning should go a long way in toning down the unrestrained experiments with the language and in improving its quality. Planned efforts for the progress of the language at higher levels are an unmistakable sign of the nation's concern for its fortunes.

The institution of the *Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān* is a momentous step in this direction, and bears eloquent testimony to the profound interest of the State in the progress and expansion of the Persian language.

Intense interest is being evinced in promoting the study of Iranian languages, both ancient and modern. The teaching of ancient languages, namely, Avestan, Old Persian, Parthian and Pahlavi in the universities of Iran, serves the purpose, not only of giving one a unique opportunity to look into the history and civilization of ancient Iran, but also of providing an ideal chance to pursue a scientific study of Modern Persian, originally known as *Dari*, in its true linguistic and historical perspective. In order to introduce and popularize the contemporary Persian idiom and accent, a special class exists for foreigners in certain Iranian universities, which offer special scholarships for this purpose and also allow an opportunity to study ancient languages and classical literature and do research in these fields. Students and scholars from different countries avail of this opportunity to learn the spoken idiom, which even such eminent Orientalists as Prof. E. G. Browne, at times felt difficult to understand.[1] These classes are serving a very useful purpose, and scholars back from Iran are disseminating the use of popular Persian idiom and accent in their own countries.

Another constructive step to popularize the Persian language and disseminate Iranian culture, which the Government of Iran has taken in recent years, is to open Iran Cultural Centres in certain countries. These hold classes in Persian and provide an opportunity to learn modern idiom and accent. Seven such centres are working in Pakistan alone in Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Quetta, Hyderabad and Karachi, and doing splendid service to the cause of the Persian language.

In the classical age, Persian was considered to be the cultural language of vast regions in Asia embracing many countries. The present geographical divisions and national interests have considerably restricted its scope of activity ; but within Iran itself, it had never found such well-planned means of progress and favourable circumstances for development. There is a general awareness of the importance of the language as the repository of a rich literature and the symbol of a mellow culture. An unprecedented activity can be witnessed in all fields of linguistics to stabalize, enrich and expand the language. The scholar and the State are both evincing deep enthusiasm in safeguarding

1 Cf. Letter from Dr. E. G. Browne to Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Jamāl-zāda, *F. L. A.*, p. 51.

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and promoting its interests with all the specialized knowledge of the modern age at their command. The flaws which have found way in the field of vocabulary and expression are being brought into sharp focus. Engaging controversies and discussions are a sign of lively interest being taken in the progress of the langugae and an anxious concern for its fortunes. Never before has such an extensive and intensive study of the Persian language been undertaken by Iranian scholars, nor have such vast and varied results been achieved in the field of linguistics in the country. The process is still on, and is gathering force to yield still more spectacular results.

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INDEX

'Abbād, Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl b., 12
'Abbāsī, Muḥammad, 165
Abbasid Caliphate, 13
Abbasid period, 12
'Abdullāh al-Muqaffa', 1, 2 (see Ibnu'l Muqaffa')
'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, 164
'Abdu'l Vahhāb Nashāṭ, Mīrzā (Mu'tamadu'd Daula), 34
'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣabūr, 35
Abū 'Alī Sīmjūr, 17
Abu'l-Qāsimī, Muḥammad, 173
Academy of Medicine, 112
Achaemenians, 124
Achaemenian period, 4
Adab va Adīb (article), 166
Adabiyyāt-i Mu'āṣir, 106 n.
Ādhar Kaivān, 129
Ādhar Kaivan va Pairauān-i Oo (article), 166
Ādharbā'ījān, 17, 18, 21, 22, 124 n., 127, 158
Ādharbā'īiān, dialect of, 2
Ādharī dialect, 63, 65
Ādharī yā Zabān-i Bāstan-i Ādharbā'ijān, 168
Adventurs of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, The, 31, 33 n., 37, 41. 44, 152
Advisory Board, Ministry of Education, Government of Iran, 64
Afghan (group of languages) 1, n.
Afghanistan, 4
Afsar, 47
Afshār Īraj, 168, 170, 171, 173
Afshār, Muṣṭafā, 36
Afshār (tribe), 21 and n.
Afshārs, 17
Aftari dialect, 65
Āgāhī, 44.
Agarchi, Bā-ānki, Har-chand (article), 166
Aḥmad, Faḍl, b, 12
Aḥsanu't Taqāsīm fi Mā'rifati'l-Aqālīm, 2 n., 4
Airivān, 27, 158
Ai-vayyi Mātharam (poem), 47
Ajinna, 49
Akbar (Emperor), 102, 103
Ākhirin Yādgār-i Nādir Shāh. 54
Akhtar, 30, 37
Ākhūnd-zāda, Mīrzā Fatḥ 'Alī, 31, 38, 54, 71
Alapti-gīn, 18
'Alāu'd-Daula, 7
'Alavī, Buzurg, 53 and n.
Albanian group of languages, 1
Albanian language, 176
Albert Hall, 71
Alexandria, 54
Āl-i Afrāsiyāb, 17
Āl-i Aḥmad, Jalāl, 53
'Alī Guft Mādarash Rūzī (poem), 50
'Alī, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 158
'Alī, 63 (see Nīmā Yushīj)
Alliance Francaise, 80
Alliance Israelite Universelle, 29
American Presbyterian Mission, 29
'Amīd, Ḥasan, 162
Amīnī Iṣfahānī, Amīr-Qulī, 171
Amīnu'd-Daula, 'Alī, 73
Amīnu'd-Daula, Mīrzā Farrukh Khān, 36
Amīr-i Kabīr, Mīrzā Taqī Khān, 28, 30, 34
Amīrī Farāhānī (Adību'l-Mamālik), 102, 107, 162
Amīrī, Manūchihr, 171
Amthāl-i Simnānī (article), 171
Amthāl-i Zabān-i Pārsī, 64
Amthal u Ḥikam, 43, 170
Āmul, 12
Āmūzgār, Ḥabību'llāh, 162
Āmuzish u Parvarish, 106, 167 n.
Anatolian language, 1 and n.

Marfat.com

Ancient Iranian languages, 104, 124, 130
Anglo-French rivalry in Iran, 26, 27
Anglo-Persian Alliance, 26
Anglo-Persian Treaties, 66 and n.
Anglo-Russian rivalry in Iran, 27, 80
Anjuman-i Adabī-yi Farhangistān, 127, 128 n.
'Ankabūt, 44
Amīnī, 106
Amīnī, Amīr-Quli, 64
Anṣāri, Shaikh 'Abdu'llāh, 102
Antarī ki Lūtīyash Murda Būd, 60 n.
Anūshti-gīn, 18
A paques (poem), 47
Aq Quyūnlūs, 17
Āqā Khān, Mīrzā. 37
Arab conquest of Iran, 57 n., 66
Arab-Persian civilization, 13
Arab rule in Iran, 6
Arab settlers in Iran, 109
Arabian culture, 12, 102
Arabic element in French, 176
Arabic impact on the Persian language, 7, 11-17, 20, 24, 66, 175
Arabic literary tradition, 13
Arabic loanwords, 21
Arabic lore, 12
Arabic poetry, 7
Arabic poets, 13
Arabic script, 57 n.
Arabic terminology, 14.
Arabic vocabulary, 13, 14, 25, 101, 105, 177
Ārām, Aḥmad, 147 n., 163
Arān, 2
Aranī, 84 n.
Archaic words, 9
Ardabīl, 21
Ardishīr, 125
'Arḍ-nāma, 8 n.
'Ārif Qazvīnī, 55
Armaghan, 85 n., 125 n., 128 n.
Armenia, 124 n.
Armenian group of languages, 1
Armenian language, 176
Āryā Chihr, 130
Āryā Mihr, (Aryamehr) (title of His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi), 129, 130 and n., 131
Aryan language (the Proto-Aryan), 1 n.
Arzish-i Iḥsāsāt, 47 n.
Asadī the Younger, 102, 164
Asāmī-yi Īrānī-yi jihāt-i Chahārgāna (article), 166
Āsāyish, 104
Aṣfīā, Ṣafī, 163
Ash'ār bi Lahjahā-yi Maḥallī (article), 170
Ashrafu'd-Dīn Sayyid (Nasīm-i Shimāl) of Gīlān, 44, 76 n.
Asia, 179
'Aṣr-i Jadīd, 111
Asrāru't-Tauḥīd, 149 n.
Association for Research in Iranian Dialects, 64
Assyrian language, 176
Atābeks of Ādharbā'ījān, 17 and n., 18
Atābeks of Fārs, 17 and n.
Aṭ'ima, Busḥāq, 45
Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique de L'Iran, 64
Aventures du Abencerage, Les, 35
Avery, Peter, 30
Avesta, The, 130
Avestan, 1, 5, 6 n., 57 n., 111 n., 124, 179
Avestan vocabulary, 108
Āyanda-yi Zabān-i Fārsī (article), 172
Āyatī, 104
Āyīna-yi Sikandarī, 37
Āzād, Abu'l-Qāsim Khān, 104
Āzād, Saif, 104

Bābā Shamal, 44, 49
Bachcha-yi Gadā (play), 47
Bād-i Shurṭa (article), 166
Bādghīs, 4
Ba'ḍī az Tarkibāt u Isti'mālāt-i Ghalaṭ (article), 165
Baghdad, 12
Bāgh-i Bihisht, 45
Bahaism, 102
Bahār, Mihr-dād, 164
Bahār, Muḥammad Taqī (Maliku'sh-Shu'arā), 10, 13, 36, 55, 75 and n., 79, 102, 107, 126, 127, 128 n., 129, 145, 146, 157, 160, 161, 165, 169, 175

Marfat.com

Bahār-i 'Ajam, 51, 165
Bahārlū (Turkish tribe), 21
Bahāu'llāh, 102
Bahrāmī, Ḥusain 'Alī, 163
Baḥthī dar Bāra-yi Zabān-i Fārsī (article), 173
Baḥthī dar Taṭavvur-i Gūyishhā-yi Īran (article), 169
Baihaqī, Abu'l-Faḍl, 127
Bailey, H. W., 4
Bakhtyārī folk-tales, 64
al-Bal'amī, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad, 3
Balkh, 12
Baltic-Slavonic group of languages, 1
Balūch va Balūchī (article), 168
Baluchī language, 176
Bāmdād, 49, 50
Baqā'ī, Nāṣir, 168
Bāqir, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 45
Barāyi Zabān-i Fārsī chi bāyad kard (article), 172
Barguzīda-yi az Bihtarīn-i Āthār-i Shuā'rā-yi Mu'āṣir, 63 n.
Barkhī Nishānahā-yi Nādir i Istifhām dar Farsi (article), 161 n.
Barūn (poem), 49
Bashakhshama ya Bachakhshma (article), 166
Basque language, 1 n.
Baṣṣārī, Ṭal'at, 161
Bāṭinī, Muḥammad Riḍā, 172
Berhtold-Laufar, 176 n.
Berlin, 30, 31, 36, 37, 54
Berne University, 64
Bihrūzī, 'Alī Naqī, 170
Bihrūz, Dhabīḥ, 54. 106
Bīmārī-yi Zabān (article), 173
Bīrjand, 63
Bīrjandī, Ṣubūḥī, 63
al-Bīrūnī, Abū Raiḥān, 7, 101
Bist Maqala-yi Qazvīnī, 108 n.
Black Sea, 30
Bopp, Francis, 6 n.
Bricteux, A, 36
Britain, 26 (see Great Britain)
British Church Missionary Society, 29
British race, 176
Browne, E. G., 6, 14, 38, 39, 42, 54, 62 n., 179 and n.
Brussels, 29
Bū 'Alī Sīnā, 7, 101 (see Ibn Sīnā)
Buckingham, 70
Bughrā Khān, 17
Bukhārā, 4, 12, 17, 18
Bundār Rāzī (two separate articles by :
(*i*) Iqbāl, 'Abbās and
(*ii*) Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Muḥīṭ), 169
Bundihishn, 164
Bunyād-i Farhang-Īrān, 174
Burhān-i Jāmi', 164
Burhān-i Qāṭi', 51, 103, 164, 168 n.
Buvaihids, 12 and n.

Constitutional Laws of Persia, The (article), 32 n.
Cahier Persan, Le, 54
Cairo, 30, 39, 75
Calcutta, 30, 39, 71
Cambridge, 68 n.
Caspian Sea, 27, 32
Caucasia, 44 n.
Caucasie et La Perse, La, 81 n.
Caucasus, 30
Celtic group of languages, 1
Centre for Old and Middle Iranian languages and Dialects (*Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān*), 131, 132
Centre for Word-Selection, (*Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān*), 131, 133, 139
Ceylon, 1
Chaghata'ī dialect (Eastern Turkish), 21
Chahār Maqāla, 9, 10 n., 11 n., 13 n., 15 n., 17, 125
Chāltās, 29
Chand Fa'lavi dar Kutab-i Īrānī (article), 169
Chand Vāzha az Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān, (article), 167
Charand Parand (newspaper column), 29, 43, 45
Charles XII, 35
Chashmhā va Dasthā, 46 n., 49 n.
Chateaubriand, 35
Chaumiere Indienne, La, 35
Chicago, 176 n.
Chinese language, 176
Chūbak, Ṣādiq, 52, 53
Clauson, Sir Gerard, 20

Marfat.com

Colloquial element in :
Drama, 53, 54
Fiction, 50-53
Journalism, 43-44
Poetry, 45-50
Colloquial Speech, 56-61
Comédies de Malkom Khan, Les, 36
Commission on Persian Grammar (*Farhangistān*), 159, 160
Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Slavonic and German, 6 n.
Comte de Monte-Cristo, Le, 35
Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, The, 67 n., 135 n.
Congress of Berlin, 37
Constitutional movement, 42
Constitutional period, 36, 42, 43, 44, 45, 55, 81, 84, 104, 111
Constitutional Revolution, 32, 37, 45, 75, 104, 178
Contemporary Persian accent, 179
Contemporary Persian idiom, 179
Contemporary Persian language, 175
Cossack Brigade, 32
Course in Modern Linguistics, A, 79 n., 176 n.
Ctesiphone, 4
Curzon, Lord, 33, 81 n.
Czarist Russia, 26
Czechoslovakia, 115

Dabīr, 13, 124, 125
Dabistān-i Pārsi, 37, 159, 160 and n.
Daftar-i Tanẓimāt, 70
Dāghistān, 27
Dailamites, 3
Dāmghān, 12
Dānish, 161
Dānish-nāma-yi 'Alā'i, 7, 8 n,, 12
Dānish-Puzhūh, Muḥammad Taqī, 169
Dānish, Taqī, 45, 77
Daqīqī, 101
Dar Bāra-yi Zabān-i 'Arabī, 117 n.
Dar Bāra-yi Zabān-i Fārsī (article), 173
Ḍarbu'l Mathalhā-yi Ma'rūf-i Īrān (article), 171
Darī, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 179
Daruis the Great, 130
Dar Rāh-i Mihr (play), 106
Dāru'l-Funūn, 28, 34, 35, 36, 54, 68, 69, 80
Dāru'l Mu'allimīn-i 'Ālī, 112
Dāru't-Ṭibā a va Dāru't-Tarjuma-yi Khāṣa-yi Humāyūnī, 28, 35, 68
Das Land und Seine, 28 n.
Dasātīr, 103, 129
Dāsh Ākul (story), 52. 84. 108, 109 n., 129
Dashtī, 'Alī, 84, 108, 109 n., 129
Dāstānhā-yi Amthāl, 64 and n., 171
Dāstān-i Turktāzān-i Hind, 103
Dastgirdī, Vaḥīd, 127, 128
Dastūr-i Jāmi'-yi Zabān-i Fārsī, 14 n., 160
Dastūr-i Kāshif, 159
Dastūr-i Sukhan, 37
Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsi, (by Qarīb, 'Abdu'l-'Azīm), 15 n., 150 n., 160 and n.
Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī (by Qarīb, 'Abdu'l-'Azīm et al), 10 n., 160
Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī (by Baṣṣārī, Ṭal'at), 161
Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī (by Khayyām-pūr), 160
Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī (by Khānlarī, Parvīz Nātil), 161
Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī, part i (by Khānlarī et al), 160
Dastūr-nāma dar Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Zabān-i Fārsī, 160
Daura-yi Sihgāna-yi Taḥavvul u Takāmul-i Fārsī-yi Darī (article), 172
Davānī, Jalālu'd-Din, 102
de Meynard, Barbier, 41
de Saint-Pierre, Bernardin, 35
Demosthenes, 6
Denmark, 115
Dhakā, Yaḥyā, 105, 170
Dhulqadar (Turkish tribe), 21
Dialectal vocabulary, 177
Dialects, 61-65, 166-169
Dih-khudā, Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar, 43, 45, 50, 55, 75 n., 107, 163, 170
Discount Bank of Persia, 32
Divallū, Muḥsin, 53
Dīvān-i Amīrī, 107 n.
Dīvān-ī Farrukhī, 2 n.
Dīvān-ı Ḥāfiẓ, 3 n., 18 n., 62 n.
Dīvān-i Ḥakīm Sūrī, 45

Marfat.com

Doerfer, Von Gerhard, 20 n.
Drama, 53
Dravidian languages, 1 n.
Du Ghazal bi Lahja-yi Shīrāzi va Chand Tarāna-yi Nairīzi (article), 170
Du-baitihā-yi Bābā Ṭāhir (article), 170
Du-baitihā-yi Shīrazī (article), 170
Duda, Herbert W., 53
Dumas, Alexandre, 35, 69
Du Nāma, 47 n., 63 n.
Dutempl, Edmond, 30 n.
Dynasty of the Qajars, 17 n.

East, The, 129
Echo de Perse, 81
Egypt, 115
England, 28, 29, 36, 67
English dialects, 58 n.
English language, 60, 28, 80, 109, 111 n, 176
English language in post-War (II) period in Iran, 81
English vocabulary, 66
Etymology, 165-166
Europe, 1 n., 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 36, 38, 54, 72, 77, 80, 116
European books, 80
European countries, 69
European languages, 79
European literary works, 79
European nations, 32
European Powers, 32
European staff (*of Dāru'l-Funūn*), 28, 68
European words, 66
European works, 68
Exeter, 68 n.
Exotic words in Persian, 178

Fahlaviyyāt, 62, 169
Fahlaviyyāt-i Zabān-i Ādharī dar Qarn-i Hashtum u Nuhum (article), 169
Fahlaviyyāt va Tabrīziyyāt (article), 169
Fakhrī, Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, 102, 164
Falāt, Pushta (article), 165
Fānī (*non de plume* of Shāh Ismā'īl), 21
Farah-vashī, Bahrām, 164, 169
Faraju'llāh, Sayyid, 75
Farangi, 145
Farhang-i 'Āmīāna, 163
Farhang-i 'Amīd, 162
Farhang-i Āmūzgār, 162
Farhang i Ānand Rāj, 165
Farhang-i Anjuman-ārā-yi 'Abbāsi, 102
Farhang-i Anjuman-ārā-yi Nāṣiri, 161
Farhang-i 'Avāmāna, 163
Farhang-i Āzād, 104
Farhang-i Dabīristānī-yi Vāzha-nāma-yi Fārsī, 162
Farhang-i Fārsi (Mu'īn, Muḥammad), 162
Farhang-i Fārsī (Mukrī, Muḥammad), 162
Farhang-i Ghaffārī, 162
Farhang-i Gīāhī, 163
Farhang-i Gilaki, 167
Farhang-i Īrān-Zamīn, 169, n., 170 n., 171 n.
Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt- Ḥisāb-dārī, 164
Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i Jugrāfiyā'ī, 163
Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥat-i Ṣan'at-i Naft bi Si Zabān-i Fārsī,, Rūssī, Inglīsī, 164
Farhang-i Jahāngīri, 102
Farhang-i Kātūziān, 162
Farhang-i Kirmānī, 167
Farhang-i Lughāt-i 'Āmīāna, 37 n., 41 n., 43 n., 51, 55 n., 164
Farhang-i Nafsī, 162
Farhang-i Nau, 162
Farhang-i Nau-bahār, 162
Farhang-i Pahlavī, 164
Farhang-i Pīshavarān, 163
Farhang-i Rashīdī, 115
Farhang-i Simnānī, 167
Farhangistān, 64, 78, 109, 110 and n., 111 and n., 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 136, 138. 159, 160, 162, 175, 177
Farhangistān Chist (article), 115 n., 116 n.
Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān, 64 and n., 65 n., 131, 132, 133, 139, 175, 179
Farhang, Mīrzā, Abu'l-Qāsim, 74
Farhang-nāma-yi Nafisī, 162
Farrukh, Humāyūn, 160
Farrukh-zād, Furūgh, 49, 50

Marfat.com

Fārs, 2, 17, 22, 124 n., 147
Fārsī (Modern Persian), 1, 2
Fārsī (originally Pārsīk), 2
Fārsī-yi Kirmānī (article), 168
Fārsī-yi Sākhtigī (article), 12 n., 106 n,, 110 n., 146 n.
Fārsi Shikar Ast (short story), 77, 110 n.
Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh Qājār, 26, 27, 33, 35, 102
Feuvrier, J.B., 32 n.
al-Fihrist, 2 n., 4
Fihrist-i Maqālāt-i Fārsī, 173
Filles de la Charité, Les, 29
Finnish language, 1 n.
Firdausī, 9, 12, 83 n., 101
Fīrūz, Mullā, 103
Foreign and exotic mode of expression, 178
Foreign vocabulary, 177
France, 26, 28, 33, 80, 115
Franco-Persian alliance, 26
French authors, 80
French character, 80
French culture, 80
French element in the English language, 126, 176
French element in the Persian language, 176
French interests in Iran, 26, 80
French language, 28, 40, 80, 109, 176
French Lazarite Mission, 29
French vocabulary, 66, 80
Freygang, 27
Fulklūr az Aṭrāf-i yazd (article), 170
Furāt, ʿAbbās, 49
Furṣat of Shīrāz, 102
Furūgh-i Tarbiat, 165 n.
Furūghī Muḥammad ʿAlī (Dhakāu'l-Mulk), 35, 109, 110 and n., 113 n., 114, 115, 125, 126, 175, 177
Furūzān-far, Badīʿu'ẓ-Zamān, 160, 161

Ganja, 133
Gardanne, General, 26
Garshāsp-nāma, 164
Gāthās, 6 n.
Geographical and Cultural Commission (of *Farhangistān*), 129
Georgia, 27
German language, 6 n., 176
Germanic group of languages, 1
Ghaffārī, Amīr Jalālū'd-Din, 162
Ghaffārīs, 108
Ghaurids, 17
Ghazālī, 7
Ghaznavid period, 12, 13
Ghaznavids, 17
Ghiāthu'l-Lughāt, 165
Ghuzz (Turkish tribe), 18
Gīlān, 45
Good Speech, 58 n.
Gothic language, 6
Grammatical changes (Persian), 10-11, 148-157
Grammar (Persian), 158-161
Great Britain, 31, 33, 66 (see Britain)
Greek Group of languages, 1
Greek language, 6 and n., 176
Greek language (Modern), 6
Greek terms, 84
Greeks, 124
Griboedov, A. S., 36, 67
Grierson, Sir George Abraham, 6 n.
Guftār dar Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsī, (article), 158 n., 161 n.
Guftār-i Zabān-t ʿĀmiāna (poem), 48
Gul-i Zard, 44
Gulab, Gul, 163
Gulha-yi Rang Rang, 170 n.
Gulistān, 11, 108, 149 n.
Gulistān, Treaty of, 27 and n.
Gurgān, 2
Gūyish-i Āshtiān, 167
Guzārish-i Mardum-gurīz, 37, 41
Gūyishhā-yi Vafs u Āshtiān u Tafrish, (article), 167

Haas, William, 32
Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, Mīrzā, 37, 38, 41, 159, 160
Ḥablu'l-Matīn, 30, 42
Ḥāfiẓ, 18, 62, 104, 105, 109, 127
Haft Hunar, 172 n.
Haftād u Du Millat, 37
Haft Ṣad Tarāna, 64
Ḥaidar-ābād, 103, 164

Marfat.com

Haidar Baba (poem), 63
Ḥālat, Abu'l-Qāsim, 50
Hamadān, 48
al-Ḥamavī, Yāqūt, 2
Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan, 2, 4, 102
Ḥanẓala of Bādghīs, 4
Harāt, 4, 12
Ḥasan (Imām), 53
Ḥasharātu'l-Arḍ, 43
Havā-yi Tāza, 49 n.
Hayāhū dar Bāra-yi Hīch, 54
Hazār u Yak Sukhan dar Amthāl u Ḥ kam, 171
Hidāyat, Riḍā-Qulī Khān, 102, 161
Hidāyat, Ṣādiq, 52, 54, 170, 171
Higher Persian Grammar, 152 n.
Ḥikāyat-i Karbalā Raftan-i Shāh-Quli Khān, 36
Ḥikmat, 30
Ḥikmat, 'Alī Aṣghar, 101, 106, 107
History of Persia, A, 26 n.
History of the English Language A, 56 n.
History of the Persian Empire, 124 n.
History of Persian Litrature, 53 n.
Hittite languages, 1
Hocket, Charles F, 79
Holy Prophet, The, 107
Homer, 6
Hommes et Chosesen Perse, 81 n.
Ḥudūdu'l-'Ālam, 9
Humā'ī, Jalāl, 158, 160
Humām of Tabrīz, 62
Hunar u Mardum, 130 n., 173 n.
Ḥurūf-i Rabṭ, 161
Ḥusain Baiqarā, Sulṭān, 21
Ḥusain (Imām), 53
Ḥusain Imām-zāda, 163
Ḥusain Khān, Mīrzā, 63
Ḥusain, Mīrzā Naṣru'llāh b. Muḥammad, 103
Ḥusain, Muḥammad of Tabrīz, 164
Ḥusain, Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Anṣārī, 159
al-Ḥusainī, 'Abdu'r-Rashīd b. 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr, 165
Huvaidā, Amīr 'Abbās, 172
Hyderabad, 179

Ibn Ḥauqal, 2, 4
Ibn Jinn, 49
Ibn Sīnā, 12, 166 (see Bū 'Alī Sīnā)
Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', 4
Ikhtīār, Manṣūr, 173
Īlak (Ilig) Khāns or Qarākhānids, 17
Īldigiz, 18
Īl-Khānī dynasty, 19
Imperial Bank of Persia, 32
Indépendence Perse, 81
Index Islamicus, 173
India, 1 and n., 26, 103
Indo-European languages, 1 and n.
Indo-European Telegraph Company, 31
Indo-Hittite languages, 1 n.
Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, 102, 158
Indo-Persian languages, 1
Injū, Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū Isḥāq, 164
Injū, Mīr Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥusain, 102
Intiqād (article), 128 n.
Intishārāt-i Idāra-yi Kull-i Āmār u Thabt-i Aḥvāl, 163
Introduction to Modern Linguistics, An, 135 n., 136 n.
Iqbāl, 'Abbās of Āshtīān, 12 n., 106, 108, 109 n. 110 n., 145, 146 and n., 164, 165, 168, 169
Iqtidārī, Aḥmad, 171
Iraj Mirzā, (poetical collection), 46 and n., 47 n., 76 n., 79
Iran, 1, 2, 4, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32 and n, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 44, 49, 53, 54, 57 n., 61, 66, 67, 69, 79, 80, 81, 103, 104, 108, 109, 116, 127, 146, 158, 161, 163, 164, 165, 170, 172, 173, 176, 178, 179
Iran, 32 n.
Īrān, bi'Ahd-i Sāsānīān, 124 n.
Iran Cultural Centres, 179
Īrān dar Zamān-i Sāsānīān, 124 n.
Iran, Government of, 64, 161, 173, 179
Īrān-i Imrūz, 165
Īrān-i Nau, 75 n.
Iranian character, 80
Iranian culture, 176, 179
Iranian dialects, 64, 65, 105
Iranian history, 101
Iranian history and culture, 116
Iranian Group of languages—Old Middle and

Marfat.com

Modren, 1 and n.
Iranian language, 2, 33, 173, 179
Iranian linguists, 62
Iranian literature, 33
Iranian nationalism, 12
Iranian newspapers, 14
Iranian Parliament, 130
Iranian Press, 21, 29, 36, 39, 74
Iranian publications, 14
Iranian Renaissance, 3
Iranian royalty, 80
Iranians, 17, 18, 80
Iranian scholars, 61, 177, 180
Iranian sounds, 9
Iranian students, 79
Iranian translators, 28
Iranian universities, 179
Iranists, 2
Īrān Javān Club, 54
Īrān Kūda, 117, 167 n., 169 n.
Īrān Naẓm bar namī-dārad (article), 70
Iran Past and Present, 26 n.
Īranshahr, 84 n.
Īrān Sipah-badh, 125
Iran Sous Les Sassanides, 124 n.
Iran Text Book Organization, 160
Iraq, 1, 124 n.
'Irāq-i 'Ajam, 2, 18
Irtibāṭ-i Fārsī va Sānskrit (article), 173
Irtibāṭ-i Zabān bā Fikr dar Tarjuma (article), 173.
Iṣfahān, 2, 12, 18, 28, 29, 36, 37, 38, 102, 103, 165, 171 n.
Isfandīārī, Ḥasan, 128
'Ishqī, 47
Iskandar-nāma, 10
Islam, 36
Islamabad, 152
Islamic Dynasties, The, 17 n.
Islamic languages, 41
Islamic period, 116, 124
Ismā'īlī families, 101
Ismā'īlī movement, 101
al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, 2, 4
Istanbul, 30, 36, 37, 39, 103, 159
Isti'māl-i Qadīm i Safīna bi Ma'nī-yi Jang (article), 166
Italic Group of Languages, 1
I'tiṣamu'l-Mulk, Yūsuf, 54
Ittiḥād, 36
Iṭṭilā'āt, 82 n., 165 n.
Iṭṭilā'āt-i Bānūān, 82 n.

Jadāvil-i Laugārītm, 68
Ja'far Khān az Farang Āmada, 54
Ja'farī, 'Alī Akbar, 168
Jahāngīr (Emperor), 102
Jalālī, 'Alī, 54
Jām-i Jam, 36, 69, 78
Jamālu'd-Dīn, Sayyid, 32, 37, 70, 71
Jamāl-zāda, Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī, 41, 50, 52, 54, 55, 63, 77, 110 and n., 164, 168, 179 n.
Jāmi'ul-Ḥikmatain, 8 n.
Jandaq, 41, 42, 102
Javānān-i Imrūz, 83 n.
Jāvīd, Riḍā, 172
Jespersen, Otto, 14, 24, 80, 136
Jibrīl, Mūsā, 35
Jijak 'Alī Shāh, 54
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 30 n., 62 n.
Journalistic school of language (journalese), 178, 179
Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809, A, 35 n.
Julfa, 31
Jumbish-i Millī-yi Adabī (article), 55 n., 103 n., 106 n., 108 n.
al-Jurfādaqānī, Nāṣiḥ b Ẓafar, 13

Kadjars, Les, 30 n.
Kāf-nāma, 105, 165
Kāghadh-i Akhbār, 29
Kaḥḥāl, Dr. Ḥusain Khān, 81
Kaihān, 82 n., 83 n.
Kaikā'ūs, 'Unṣuru'l-Ma'ālī, 13
Kamāl, Nāmiq, 103
Kamālī, 106, 107
Karachi, 179
Kār-i Shab-pā (poem), 63

Marfat.com

Kārikātūr, 53
Karīm 'Abdu'l b Abū'l-Qāsim, 158
Karīm, Muḥammad, 164
Kārnāmak-i Artakhshir-i Pāpakān, 111, 125
Kārūn (poem), 48
Kāshān, 75, 102
Kāshānī, Afḍalu'd-Dīn, 101
Kāshif, Ghulām Ḥusain, 159
Kashkūl, 43
Kasravī, Aḥmad, 104, 105, 106, 107, 113, 149, 150 161, 165, 168, 171
Kātūzīān, Muḥammad 'Alī, 162
Kāva, 102 n., 168 n.
Kāviyān, 47 n, 83 n.
Kāẓimī, Mushfiq, 146
Khālidīs, 108
Khān, Ḥāj Muḥammad Karīm, 158. 159
Khān, Riḍā Qulī, 102, 103
Khānlar Khān, Mīrzā, 36
Khānlarī, Parvīz Nātil, 49, 55, 85, 105 n., 108 and n., 116, 129, 146, 160, 161, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 178
Khānlarī, Zahrā (Kīā), 160
Kharlakh (Turkish tribe), 18
Khaṭ va Farhang, 106
Khaṭ va Khaṭṭāṭān, 37
Khayyām-pūr, 'A., 160
Khīābānī, Muḥammad 'Alī Tabrīzī, 162
Khirs-i Quldūr-Bāsān, 38, 42 n.
Khmer language, 176
Khotanese language, 1
Khshathrapavan, 124
Khurāsān, 3, 18, 22, 124 n., 149
Khurāsānī vocabulary, 63
Khūrshīdvard, Khusrau, 172
Khusrau, Nāṣir, 7, 101
Khūzi language, 1
Khuzistān, 124 n., 127
Khvaf, 12
Khvandanīhā, 82 n., 83 n., 146 n.
Khvānsārī, Jamāl, 41
Kirmānī, Mīrzā Āqā Khān, 102
Khvarazmian language, 1, 2
Khvārazmshāhs, 17, 18
Kīā, Ṣādiq, 130 n., 131, 164, 167, 169, 172
Kīānīs, 107
Kifāyatu'l-Ḥisāb, 68, 69 n.
Kimiyā-yi Sa'ādat, 7, 8 n.
Kirāvāt (article), 166
Kirklū (Turkish tribe), 21 and n.
Kirmān, 2, 29, 37, 38, 45, 64, 124 n.
Kirmānī, Shaikh Aḥmad, 43
Kitāb-i Aḥmad, 31
Kitāb-i Rūz-nāma-yi Safar-i Madinatu's-Salām, 73
Kitāb-khāna-yi Malik, 164
Kitābcha-yi Ghaibī, 70
Kitābu't-Tanbih 'alā Ḥudūthi't-Taṣḥif, 2
Kitābu't-Tanbih va'l-Ishrāf, 125
Kubičkovā Věra, 53
Kūdak Dabira, 107
Kuhantarin-i Dast-navis-i Lughāt-i Furs-i Asadi-yi Ṭūsi (article), 167
Kūhī, Ḥusain, 45, 64
Kulliyāt-i Musavvar-i 'Ishqī, 47 n.
Kulliyyāt-i Sa'di, 11 n.
Kulthūm Nana, 41
Kurdī dialect, 2, 10

Lahjahā-yi Īrānī (article), 168
Lahjahā-yi Īrānī dar Īrān Va Khārij az Īrān (article), 168
Lahja-yi Tihrānī (article), 168
Lahja-yi Zardushtiān-i Īrān (article), 168
Lahore, 179
Lake Geneva, 30
Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin, 6 n., 24 n., 80 n., 136 n.
Lescelles, Sir Frank, 32 n.
Latin alphabet, 175
Latin influence on French, 126
Latin language, 6 and n., 69, 109, 176
Latin terms. 84
Lazarite Mission, 80
Legacy of Persia, The, 4
Lexicography, 161-165
Linguistic Survey of India, 6 n.
Literary History of Persia, A, vol. iv, 38 n., 39 n., 42 n., 54 n., 74
Literary Persian, 175
Literary Turkish, 176

Marfat.com

London, 3 and n., 31, 37, 45, 78 n., 77
Lāzikā, 107
Lockhart, L., 32 n.
Louis XIV (*Lūi Chahārdahum*), 35, 69, 82 n.
Lubābu'l-Albāb, 18 n., 19 n.
Lughāt-i Fārsī, 161
Lughāt-i Fārsī-yi Ibn Sinā va Ta'thīr-i Ānhā dar Adabiyyāt (article), 166
Lughāt-i Furs, 102, 164
Lughat-nāma-yi Dih-khudā, 41 n., 43 and n., 161, 163, 168 n.
Luri dialect, 2, 10
Luzūm-i Ḥifẓ-i Fārsī-yi Faṣīḥ (article), 101 n., 127 n., 176 n., 177 n.

Mabāḥith-i Adabī va Hunarī dar bāra-yi Zabān-i Fārsī, 55 n., 62 n., 85 n., 116 n., 129 n., 173
Mabāḥith-i Adabī va Hunarī dar Bāra-yi Zabān-Shināsī, 173
Mabāḥith-i Ṣarf u Naḥv, 160
Mādarī va Pisarī (poem), 47
Madāriju'l-Kāmil, 8 n.
Maeterlinck, 54
Maḥjūb, Muḥammad Ja'far, 172
Maḥmūd of Ghazna, 12, 149
Majalla-yi Dānish-kada-yi Adabiyyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insāni-yi Mashhad, 161, 169 n., 171 n.
Majalla-yi Dānish-kada yi Adabiyyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insāni yi Tihrān, 161 n., 164 n., 166 n., 167 n., 168 n., 169 n.. 172 n., 173
Majalla-yi Namakdān, 104
Majalla-yi 'ulūm-i Māliyya va Iqtisād, 108, 145
Majdu'l-Mulk, 36
Majlis-i-Shūrā-yi Millī, 37, 136
Majmū'a-yi Ash'ār-i Dih-khudā, 46 n., 163
Majmū'a-yi Āthār-i Mirzā Malkum Khān, 36 n., 70 n., 71 n.
Majmū'a-yi Sukhan-rānihā va Āhanghā-yi Mūsiqī va Namāyish-nāmahā va Surūdhā-yi Makhṣūṣ-i Parvarish-i Afkār, 169
Maktab-i Shahryār, 47 n.
Maktūb az Pārīs (letter), 145 n.
Malcolm, Captain John, 26
Malik Shah, 18
Malkum Khān, Mīrzā, 31, 32, 36, 37, 54, 70
Marṣūr b. Nūḥ, 3
Maqālāt-i Jamāliyya, 71 n.
al-Maqdisī, 2, 4
Maragha, 39, 104
Mard, Masta, 62
Mard-i Khasīs, 38, 42 n., 72 n., 82 n.
Mardum, 170 n.
Marzbān, 125
Marzbān b. Rustam, 62
Marzbān-nāma, 62
Marzbān Shathrdār, 124
al-Masālik va'l Mamālik, 2 n., 4 n.
Masāliku'l-Muḥsinīn, 39
Mashhad, 28, 44, 111
Mashkūr, Muḥammad Javād, 160
Mashriqī, Fīrūz, 40
Massé, Henri, 163
Massignon, Louis, 163
Mas'ūd (the Saljūq ruler of 'Irāq-i 'Ajam), 18
Mas'ūdī, 124 n., 125
Mathalhā-yi Fārsī Barāyi Khurd-sālān (article), 171
Mathalhā-yi Lārī (article), 171
Mathalhā-yi Shūsh (article), 171
Mathalhā-yi Shushtarī (article), 171
Mathalhā-yi Yazdī (article), 171
Matīnī, Jalāl, 161, 171
Mazālim-i Turkān Khātūn, 107
Māzhandarānī dialect, 63
Māzhandarānī vocabulary, 63
Māziyār, 54
Median language, 1, 4
Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, 31
Merchant of Venice, 54
Middle East Journal, The, 32 n.
Middle Group of Iranian languages, 4, 5, 9
Midḥat, Aḥmad, 103
Mihr (magazine), 84 n., 169 n.
Mihr (Mithra, mitra mītrā), 130
Mīn va Mīna Du Pasvand-i Nādir va Farāmūsh-Shuda yi Zabān-i Fārsī va Sukhanī dar Bāra-yi Pasvand Nīn (article), 166
Ministry of Education, Government of Iran, 160-161
Mīnuvī, Mujtabā, 160, 166, 172, 178 n.
Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain, The, 53 n.

Marfat.com

Mīrzā, Prince 'Abbās, 27, 29, 35, 80
Mīrzā, Abū'l-Ḥasan, 102
Mīrzā, Bahman, 158
Mīrzā, Farhād, (Mu'tamadu'd-Daula) 34, 36, 73, 78, 102
Mīrzā, Jahāngīr, 36
Mīrzā, Jalālu'd-Dīn, 102
Mīrzā, Khusrau, 80
Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ṭāhir, 35, 69
Mīrzā, Nādir, 36
Misāḥat, 69
Misanthrope, 37
Mi'yār-i Jamālī, 102, 106 n., 164
Modern English in the Making, 55 n.
Modern Iran, (by Avery, Peter). 30 n.
Modern Iran, (by Elwell-Sutton, L.P.), 27 n.
Modern Persian language, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 179
Modern Persian Prose Literature, 37 n., 38, 53 n.
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Shahanshah Aryamehr, 129, 130, 131, 174
Mohammadan Dynas'ies, The, 18 n.
Molière, 37, 54
Mongol influence on Persian, 66
Mongol Invasion, 7
Mongol language, 19, 21, 23
Mongol loanwords, 19, 20
Mongol Period, 21
Mongol script, 21
Mongol storm, 18, 19
Mongol words, 9, 19
Mongols, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21
Monsieur Jourdan, 28, 42 n.
Morel, 81
Morier, 37
Mu'ayyirī, Rahī, 49
Mūbadhān-Mūbadh, 125
Much Ado About Nothing, 54
Mud-i Jadīd-i Navisandigi (article), 84 n., 129 n.
Mughīta, Fayyāḍ, 63
Mughul Court, 102
Muḥākamatu'l-Lughatain, 21
Muḥammad Āqā, Hājī, 30 n.
Muḥammad b. Ḥāj Muḥammad Karīm Khān, 159
Muḥammad b. Mukhallid, 4
Muḥammad b. Sa'īd, 62
Muḥammad b. Vaṣīf, 3, 4
Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, Mīrzā, 29
Muḥammad Shāh Qājār, 30 n., 34, 158
Muḥaqqiq, Mahdī, 170, 173
Muḥīṭ, 169 n.
Muḥīṭ-i Zindigāni va Aḥvāl u Ash'ār-i Rūdaki, 18 n.
Mu'īn, Muḥammad, 7 n., 45, 79 n., 85, 157, 160, 162, 163, 164, 166, 168
Mu'jamu'l-Buldān, 2, 4
Mujtabā'ī, Fatḥu'llāh, 160
Mukhtaṣari dar Taḥavvul-i Naẓm u Nathr-i Fārsi, 21 n.
Mukrī, Muḥammad, 162
Mullā Ibrāhim Khaiil-i Kimiyāgar, 38
Mullā Naṣru'd-Dīn, 44
Multān, 179
Mūmiāyi (poem), 48
Munich, 64 n.
Munsha'āt-i Qā'im Maqām, 34, 67 n.
Muqaddam, Muḥammad, 117, 166
Muqarrabī, Muṣṭafā, 160, 163
Muqāyasa-yi Ijmālī-yi Dastgāh-i Ṣauti-yi Fārsī va Inglisi (article), 172
Muṣāḥib, Ghulām Ḥusain, 163
Mūsiqi, 169 n., 170 n., 171 n.
Muslim countries, 3
Muslim period (early), 2, 13
Muslim period (post—), 4
Muslim rulers of the Sub-continent, 103
Mustazād-i Majlis-i Chahārum (poem), 47
Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh Qājār, 72, 74
Muzayyinu'd-Daula, 54

Nabīu's-Sāriqīn, 45
an-Nadīm, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, 1
Nādir-pūr, Nādir, 46, 49
Nādir Shāh, 21
Nadūshan, Muḥammad 'Alī Islāmī, 173
Nafīsī, Sa'īd, 36, 41, 54, 162, 166, 168
Nagin, 173 n.
Nahāvand, 103
Nāhid, 44
Nairangistān, 52
Najmu'l-Mulk, 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār, Mirzā, 68, 78
Nakhjivān, 27

Marfat.com

Nakhustīn Kungra-yi Navīsandigān-i Īrān, 28 n., 30 n., 54 n.
Nāma-yi Dānish-Sarā-yi 'Ālī, 161 n.
Nāma-yi Farhangistān, 111 n., 112 n. 113 n , 114 n. 115 n., 116 n., 127 n., 128 and n.
Nāma-yi Khusravān, 102
Nāma-yi Mardum, 47 n.
Nāma-yi Pārsī, 104
Nāma-yi Zabān-āmūz, 103
Napoleon, 26, 80
Naqavī, Ḥaidar Shahryār, 173
Naqsh-i Rustam, 130
Nashriyya-yi Anjuman-i Farhang-i Īrān-i Bāstān, 168
Nashriyya-yi Dānish-kada-yi Adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz, 168 n , 169 n., 170 n.
Nasīm-i Ṣabā, 44
Nasīm-i Shimāl (Ashraf of Gīlān), 4, 5, 76 n.
Nasīm-i Shimāl (newspaper), 14, 45, 75 n., 76 n.
Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh Qājār, 28, 31, 32 and n , 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 54, 72, 73, 74, 80, 112 n., 159, 161
Naṣr b. 'Alī, Īlak Khān, 17
Naṣr, Sayyid 'Alī, 54
Nathr-i Fārsī dar Daura-yi Akhīr (article), 28 n., 54 n.
Nathr-i Fārsi-yi Mu'āṣir, 36 n . 73 n.
Naurūz, Ḥasan Muqaddam 'Alī, 54
Navābī, Yaḥyā Māhyār, 168
Navā'ī, Mīr 'Alī Shīr, 21
Nāẓimu'l-Aṭibbā, Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Khān Nafīsī, 103, 159, 162
New cultural and literary movement in Iran, 80
New Persia, The, 27 n., 29 n.
New Persian, 4 (see Modern Persian)
New words, 116-130
Nicholas I (Czar of Russia), 80
Nidā-yi Vaṭan, 43
Nikāti dar Taḥaffuẓ-i Zabān-i Fārsi (article), 172
Niki-nāma, 52
Nimā, Zindigāni va Āthār-i Oo, 47 n.
Nīmā Yūshīj, 47, 63
Niṣāb, 63
Nīshāpūr, 12 and n.
Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī of Samarqand, 13, 125
Niẓāmī Ganjavī, 3, 133
Niẓāmī Ganjavī, five *mathnavis* of, 133
Niẓāmiyya (university), 12
Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, 12, 37, 127
Norman, Baron Louis, 81
Northern Iran, 29
Nūshīn, 'Abdu'l Ḥusain, 54
Nuzhat-nāma-yi 'Alā'i, 7 n.

Office language (officialese), 178
Old Group of Iranian languages, 4, 5, 6 and n., 9
Old Iranian words, 177
Old Persian, 1, 5, 107, 111 n., 125, 130, 179
Oriental Congress, 64 n.
Orientalists, 61
Orsolle, 81 n.
Oslo University, 64
Oxford, 68 n., 173 n.

Pahlavī language, 1. 5, 111 n., 164, 179
Pahlavī vocabulary, 108
Paidāyish-i Ḍamā'ir-i Fārsī, 160
Paimān, 106, 165 n.
Paivasta Farhang-i Fārsī-yi Manẓūm, 162
Pakistan, 1, 179
Pakistani languages, 1 n.
Pamir, 1
Pand-nāma-yi Afsar, 47
Panjābī language, 176
Paranda-yi Ābī, 54
Parcham, 108 n.
Parīā (poem), 49
Paris, 30, 36, 74, 108, 145
Pārīzī, Bāstānī, 45
Pārsa, 2
Pārsī (*Fārsī*), 2, 3
Pārsi-yi Naghz, 101, 107 n.
Partau, Shīn. 63
Parthian language, 1, 5, 176, 179
Partridge, Eric. 6, 64
Parvarish, 39, 75
Parvīn, Dukhtar-i Sāsān, 54
Pāshā, Ḍīā, 103
Pashtū, 176
Pasvand Ār (article), 161 n.

Marfat.com

Pasvand Mand (article), 161 n.
Pasvandhā (article), 161 n.
Pasvandhā-yi Ittiṣāf u Mālikiyyāt (article), 161 n.
Patrie, La, 81
Payām-i Man bi Farhangistān (article), 109 n., 110 n., 113 n., 125 n., 126 n., 175, 177 n.
Payām-i Nau, 170 n., 171 n.
Payām-i Nuvīn, 161
Pāzārgādī, Muḥammad Ja'far Ḥasrat-zada, 47
Pazvārī, Amīr, 62
Pearson, J. D., 173
Pelly, Sir Lewis, 53
Persia 2, 27, 28, 54, 69 (see Iran),
Persia and the Persian Question 81 n.
Persian Diaspora, 30
Persian Grammar, 152 n.
Persian Grammar Study Centre (*Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Irān*), 131, 132
Persian Language, The, (article) 4 n.
Persian Language, The, (book), 17 n., 21 n., 22 n.
Persian literature, 12, 35, 38, 42
Persian newspapers, 32, 78
Persian poets of the Arabic language, 12 n.
Persian prefixes and suffixes, 24
Persian Rovolution, The, 42 n.
Persian script, 174
Persian syntax, 17
Persian vocabulary, 176
Persian Vocabulary Centre (*Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān*), 131, 132
Persis, 2
Peshawar, 179
Phonetic and orthographic changes, 9
Phonetical changes from English into Persian, 84.
Phonetical changes from French into Persian, 83, 84
Phonetics, 171, 172
Pierre Le Grand, 35
Pilot Commission of *Farhang stān*, 128
Pīrūza 'Alī, 62
Pīshnihād-i Shumā Chist, 132
Pizishki-nāma, 103
Plato, 77 and n.
Platon, 40 n.
Poetry of the Persian Dialects, The, (article), 62 n.
Polak, J. 28
Political History of Persia, A, 27 n., 124 n.
Popular Turkish words, 22-23
Popularity of French in Iran till World War II, 81
Portmanteau (short story), 53 n.
Post-Ṣafavid period, 14
Pre-Islamic times, 54, 116
Press and Poetry of Modern Persia, The, 31 n., 45 n. 75, 81 n.
Pūr-i Dāvūd, Ibrāhīm, 103 and n., 107
Purēish u Pāsukh (article), 166

Qa'ānī, 45
Qābūs-nāma, 13
Qā'idahā yi Jam' dar Zabān-i Fārsī, 157 n,
Qā'im Maqām, Mīrzā 'Abu'l-Qāsim, 34, 45, 67, 157,
Qā'im Maqām, letters of, 67

Qā'ināt, 63
Qājār dynasty, 27
Qājār period, 21
Qājār princes, 34, 36
Qājār rulers, 27
Qājār tribe, 21
Qājārs, 17, 34, 53
Qānūn, 30, 37
Qarā-Ghuzz (Turkish tribe), 18
Qarāja-dāghī, Mīrzā Ja'far, 31, 38, 41, 54
Qarā-Khitā'ī (Turkish tribe), 18
Qārānī, Muḥammad Ḥusain, 45
Qarīb, 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm, 159, 160, 161
Qarā-Quyūnlūs, 17
Qashqā'ī, Ḥabību'llāh Riḍā-zāda, 164
Qashqā'ī tribe, 22
Qāsim, 145
Qavā id-i Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsī, 158
Qavā'id-i Zabān-i Fārsī (article), 161 n.
Qazvīn, 102
Qazvīnī, 'Allāma Muḥammad, 108, 109, 110 and n. 145, 146 n., 161, 163
Qizil-bāsh, 21
Quetta, 179
Qufs dialect, 2

Marfat.com

Qumis, 2
Qurbān-i Yak Dukhtar, 54

Radyū Īrān, 82 n.
Rag-shināsī, 7, 10 n.
Rahā, 48 n., 63 n.
Rāḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudūr, 19, 62
Rāhbar, Khalīl Khaṭīb, 161
Raḥmatī, Yūsuf, 163
Rāhnamā-yi Fārsī, 37
Rāhnamā-yi Kitāb, 7 n., 41 n., 79 n., 85 n., 172 n.
Rai, 18
Raiḥāna (of Khvārazm), 7
Rā'īn, Ismā'īl, 30 n.
Rāst, N, 160
Raushan Fikr, 83 n.
Rawalpindi, 179
Rāz (poem), 49
Rāzī, Abu'l-Ma'ālī, 18
Rāzī, Bundār, 62
Rāzī dialect, 2
Regional poetry and folk-lore, 169-170
Reine Marqot La, 35
Research Centre of the Old and Middle Groups of Languages and Iranian Dialects (*Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān*), 65
Research Centre of Persian Vocabulary (*Farhangistān-i Zabān-i Īrān*), 65
Reuter, Baron, 32
Reza Shah Pahlavi, 78, 104, 109, 113, 114 n , 115, 125, 131
Richelieu, 70
Risāla-yi Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān, 8 n.
Risāla-yi Majdiyya, 36
Romance languages, 176
Rome, 37
Rudakī, 18, 127
Rūḥānī, Ghulām Riḍā, 49, 77 n.
Rū Ḥaudi, 53
Rūḥī, Shaikh Aḥmad, 37, 38
Rūjā, 63
Russia, 27, 32, 36, 66, 67, 80
Russian language, 6, 28, 80
Russian loanwords, 81
Russian schools in Iran, 29
Russian vocabulary, 66
Rū'yā-yi Ṣādiqa, 42
Rūz-nāma-yi Āzād, 104
Rūz-nāma-yi Daulat-i 'Aliyya-yi Īrān, 30
Rūz-nāma-yi Daulat, 30, 80
Rūz-nāma-yi 'Ilmī, 30, 80
Rūz-nāma-yi 'Īlmiyya-yi Daulat-i 'Aliyya-yi Īrān, 80
Rūz-nāma-yi Īrān, 30
Rūz-nāma-yi Īrān-i Bāstān, 104
Rūz-nāma-yi Millatī, 30, 80
Rūz-nāma-yi Vaqāyi'-yi Ittifāqiyya, 30

Sabakti-gīn, 18, 149
Sabk-shināsī, vol. i, 10 n., 11 n., 12 n., 13 n., 25 n., 79 n.
vol. ii, 11 n., 126 n., 129 n.
vol. iii, 20 n , 34 n , 35 n., 37 n., 75, 102 n., 126 n , 127, 128 n., 157 n.
vol iv. (see *Shi'r dar Īrān*), 169
vol. i, ii and iii, 126, 165
Sabzvār, 63
Ṣad Vāzha-yi Sīstānī (article), 168
Ṣadā-yi Iṣfahān, 44
Sa'dī Shīrāzī, 34, 62, 102, 104, 105, 108, 109, 127, 149
Ṣadīq, 'Īsā, 112 and n.
Ṣad Khiṭāba. 37
Safar-nāma-yi Farangistān, 35, 72, and n., 78 n., 80, 82 n., 112 n.
Safar-nāma-yi Inglistān, 36
Safar-nāma-yi Khusrau Mīrzā, 36, 80 n.
Safar-nāma-yi Makka, 36, 73
Safar-nāma-yi Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī, 29 n., 30 n. 36, 67 and n.
Safar-nāma-yi Mubaraka-yi Shāhanshāhī, 72
Ṣafavid Dynasty, 17
Ṣafavid period, 7, 14, 21
Ṣafavids, 21
Ṣaffārids, 3, 12
Safīna-yi Ṭālibī, 31
St. Petersberg, 72
Sair-i Farhang-i Īrān va Maghrib-Zamīn, 12 n.
Sajjādī, Ḍīāu'd-Din, 173
Sākhtīmān-i Fi'l (article), 161 n.

Marfat.com

Salisbury, Lord, 32 n.
Saljūq period, 4, 13, 17
Sāl-nāma, 31
Sāmānid period, 9, 12 and n., 18
Sāmānids, 3, 17
Samarqand, 13, 17, 18, 125
Sāmī, Shamsu'd-Dīn, 176
Sānī'ī, Ḥusain (Adību's- Salṭana), 160
Ṣan'atī-zāda, 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain, 77
Ṣanī'u'd-Daula; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (I'timādu's Salṭana), 28, 161
Sanskrit, 1, 6 and n., 111 n. 130
Sanskrit grammar, 6 and n.
Sanskrit (Vedic), 6 and n.
Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsi, (by Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Karīm), 158
Ṣarf u Naḥv-i Fārsi, (Sāmī'ī Ḥusain, Adību's-Salṭana), 160
Sarguzasht-i Ashraf Khan Ḥakim-i Arabistān dar Ayyām-i Tavaqquf-i Oo dar Tihrān, 36
Sarkarda, Sardār, Sarkār (article), 166
Sarvarī, Muḥammnd Qāsim, 102
Sasanian empire, 4, 124 and n.
Sasanian period, 124, 125
Sayyids, 108
Serena, Carla, 81 n.
Shabāna (poem), 49
Shādmān, Farīdūn, 162
Shafaq, Riḍā-zāda, 166
Shāh 'Abbās I, 21, 102 (see Shah 'Abbās, The Great)
Shah Banu (Queen Farah Pahlavi), 129
Shāh-i Īran va Bānū-yi Arman, 54, 106
Shāh-i Parīān, 49
Shāh Ismā'īl, 21
Shahīdī, Ja'far, 163
Shāhkārhā-yi Nathr-i Fārsi-yi Mu'āṣir, 28 n., 35 n., 42 n., 44 n., 101 n.
Shāh-nāma, 9
Shahrbān, 124
Shahrdār, 124
Shahristān, 124
Shahryār, Muḥammad Ḥusain, 47, 63
Shahryār (poetical collection), 11, 48 n.
Shahryār, iii, 63 n.
Shahr-zād, Riḍā Kamāl, 54
Shāh-Savan, 21
Shaibānīs, 108
Shaidā, 44
Shaikhu'r-Ra'īs, 102
Shakespeare, 54
Shāmlū (Turkish tribe), 21
Shāpūr, 107
Sharaf Shāh Gīlānī (article), 169
Sharq, 81
Shathr, 124
Shathrbān, 124
Shathrdār, 124
Shathristān, 124
Shimāl, Junūb, Mashriq, Maghrib (article), 165
Shi'r bi Zabān-i Qā'inī (article), 169
Shi'r dar Īrān (see *Sabk-shināsi*, vol. iv), 169
Shīrāz, 47, 63, 102
Shīrāzī dialect, 63
Shīrāzī, Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, 29, 30 n., (Saleh, Mirza), 35, 36, 67
Shī'ri ki Zindigist (poem), 49
Shirkat-i Sihāmī-yi Ṭab' u Nashr-i Kitābhā-yi Darsi-yi Īrān, 161 n.
Shumaisa-yi Landaniyya (poem), 45
Slavonic language, Old, 6
Shushtri dialect, 65
Shu'ūbī movement, 101
Sifid u Siāh, 82 n.
Si Maktūb, 37
Simnāni dialect, 65
Sind, 165
Sindhī language, 176
Singhalese language, 1
Sino-Iranica, 176 n.
Sipāhbad, 125
Sipāh-Sālār, Mīrzā, Ḥusain Khān, 81
Si Qatra-yi Khūn, 52 n.
Sīstān, 4
Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhim Beg, 31, 39, 73, 74 and n., 78
Social Research and Study Centre, University of Tehran, 64
Siyāsat-nāma, 19
Slav languages, 176
Socrates, 40
Soghdian language, 1, 2, 4

Marfat.com

South-Asian Sub-continent, 26. 31, 103, 161, 164
Soviet Union, 115
Stewart Memorial College, Iṣfahān, 29
Sughdī language, 4 (see Soghdian)
Suhailī, Mahdī, 50, 171
Sukhan, 167 n. 168 n. 171 n. 172 n. 173 n.
Sukhanān-i Fārsī (article), 106
Sukhan-varān-i Īrān dar 'Aṣr-i Ḥāḍir, 77 n.
Sulṭāniyya, 31
Ṣūr-i Isrāfil. 29, 43, 46 and n.
Ṣūrat-gar, Luṭf 'Alī, 85
Ṣūratu'l-Arḍ, 2 n., 4
Suryānī language, 2
Sūsa, 130
Sutūda, Manūchihr, 167, 169, 171
Sūzanī, 19
Sykes, Sir Percy, 124 n.

At-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr, 3
Ṭabarī dialect, 62
Ṭabaristān, 2, 62, 124
Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Mīrzā Riḍā Khān, 81
Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Muḥammad Muḥīt, 36, 166, 169, 172
Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Sayyid Fakhru'd-Din, 162
Ṭabi'āt 'Adat-i Thānavi Hast (article), 128 n.
Ṭabīb-zāda, Mīrzā Ḥusain, 81
Tabrīz, 27, 28, 29, 31, 36, 43, 44, 62, 67, 69, 81, 158, 162 n., 164
Tadhkira-yi Shu'arā-yi Mu'āṣir-i Īrān, 63 n.
At-Tafāṣīl, 48
At-Tafhīm, 7
Taḥavvul-i Talaffuẓ-i Fārsī dar Daura-yi Islāmī (article), 171
Taḥavvul-i Talaffuẓ-i Lughāt-i Fārsī (article), 171
Ṭāhir Vaḥīd, Mīrzā, 102
Taḥqīq-i Intiqādī dar 'Arūḍ-i Fārsī, 9 n.
Taḥqīqāt-i Rūz-nāma-nigārī, 168 n., 173 n.
Tājīkān, 4
Tājir-i Vinīzī, 54
Takalū (Turkish tribe), 21
Ṭakya-yi Daulat, 53
Talbot, Major, 32
Ṭalī'a-yi Kāghadh-i Akhbār, 30 n.
Ṭāliboff, 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, 31, 39, 41
Tamthīlāt-i Tarjuma, 38 n.
Tanbīhu'ṣ Ṣibyān, 159
Taqī-zāda, Sayyid Ḥasan, 55, 84, 85, 101, 102 n., 106 n., 108, 109 and n., 127, 128, 129, 145, 146, 147, 175, 177, 178
Taqlīd, 53.
Tarānahā-yi 'Amīāna-yi Fārsī (article), 170
Tarānahā-yi Bābā Ṭāhir-i 'Uryān, 48 n.
Tarānahā-yi Maḥallī (article) 170
Tarānahā-yi Maḥallī va Ḍarbu'l Amthālhā-yi Maḥalli-yi Shīrāz va Kāzrūn (article), 170
Ṭarḥ-i Dastūr-i Zabān-i Fārsī (i, ii, iii), 160
Ṭarḥ-i Ijmālī dar Bāra-yi Taḥqīq dar Lahjahā-yi Maḥallī-yi Īrān (article), 168
Tārīkh-i Adabiyyāt dar Īrān, 19 n.
Tārīkhi az Farhangistān-i Īrān (article) 111 n.
Tārīkh-i Baihaq, 62
Tārīkh-i Baihaqī, 13
Tārīkh-i Bal amī, (translation of *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*), 9
Tārīkh-i Bukhārā, 4
Tārīkh-i Guzīda, 62
Tārīkh-i Inqilāb-i Īrān, 42 n.
Tārīkh-i Iskandar, 35
Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā-yi Juvainī, vol. i, 135 n.
Tārīkh-i Jughrafiyā-yi Tabrīz, 36
Tārīkh-i Mashrūṭa-yi Īrān, 31 n.
Tārīkh-i Nau, 36
Tārīkh-i Shāhanshāhī-yi Hakhāmanashī, 124 n.
Tārīkh-i Sīstān, 3, 7 n., 11
Tārīkh-i Siyāsī u Diplūmāsī-yi Īrān, 27 n., 66 n., 67 n., 82 n.
Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī, 3, 10 n.
Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān, 62
Tārīkh-i Taḥavvul-i Nathr-i Fārsī-yi Mu'āṣir, 54 n., 149 n.
Tārīkh-i Tamaddun-i Īrān-i Sāsānī, 124 n., 125 n.
Tārīkh-i Vaqāyi'-yi Nāpulyūn, 35
Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf, 13, 14, 20, 127
Tārīkh-i Yamīnī, 13
Tārīkh-i Zabān-i Fārsī, 173
Ṭarīqa-yi Ḥukūmat-i Zamān Khān Burūjirdī, 36
Tarjuma az Maqāmāt-i Ḥarīrī bi Zabān-i Ṭabarī (article), 167
Tarjuma-yi Khūb (article), 147 n.
Tasbīḥ-bi Ma'nī-yi Subḥa (article), 166
Taṣnīf, 54-55

Marfat.com

Tā'thīr-i Shi'r dar Nigāh-dārī va Taqviyyat va Gustarish-i Zabān-i Fārsi (article), 173
Tā'thīr-i Zabān-i Fārsī dar Zabān-i 'Arabī (article), 173
Taudīḥ dar Tārikhcha-yi Farhangistān, 112 n.
Taufīq, 44
Tavallud-i Dīgar, 50 n.
Tavallulī, Farīdūn, 48, 63, 170
Tavānā, Jalālu'd-Dīn, 164
Tāzigihā-yi Zabān-i Balūchī (article), 168
Ta'ziya, 53
Tehran, 7 n , 28, 29, 30 n., 31, 32, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45, 53, 54, 56, 65, 67, 68, 69, 77, 81, 102, 104, 111, 132, 133, 157, 162 and n., 163 n., 164 and n., 167 n., 168, 169, 171 n., 173 n.
Tehran University, 79, 160, 164, 167 n.
Telegraph conventions, 31
Tha'ālibī, 12 n.
Thai language, 176
Thatta, 165
Thurayyā, 39, 75 and n.
Tiātr, 81
Tiflis, 31, 38
Tihrān-i Makhūf, 146
Tihrān-i Muṣavvar, 49
Times Literary Supplement, 32 n.
Tīmūrid period, 19, 21
Tīmūrids, 17
Tour du Monde 80 Jours, La, 35
Translation movement, 178
Transoxiana, 17
Treaties between Iran and Great Britain, 66
Treaties between Iran and the Czarist Russia, 66
Treaty of Gulistān, 66 and n.
Treaty of Turkmanchāy, 27 and n , 66, 67
Trois Mousquetaires, Le, 35
Tūfān-i Hafligī, 145 n., 146 n.
Turkey, 37, 103, 113, 146, (see Turkiya)
Turkish and Mongolian Studies, 19 n., 21 n.
Turkish dialect, 22
Turkish dynasties of Iran, 17
Turkish element in the Persian language, 176
Turkish influence on Persian, 17-24, 66
Turkish language, 19, 21, 23, 40, 103, 113
Turkish loanwords, 19, 21, 22, 24
Turkish migration into Iran, 17, 18
Turkish military campaigns, 18
Turkish Press, 126, 175
Turkish slaves, 18
Turkish suffixes, 23
Turkish tribes, 18, 22
Turkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, 20 n.
Turkish words, 9, 20, 22
Turkistān, 4
Turkiya, 146 (see Turkey)
Turkmanchāy, 27 and n.
Turkmans, 17, 22
Turko-Iranian wars, 17
Turks, 17, 18, 22
Ṭūs, 164
Ṭūsī, Muḥammad Amīn Adīb, 169, 170, 173.
Ṭūsī, Naṣīru'd-Dīn, 9

Umid, 44, 49
Urdu, 132, 133 n,, 176
'Uryān, Bābā Ṭāhir, 48
Ustājlū (Turkish tribe), 21
Ustān, 124
Ustāndār, 124
Uṣūl u Ishtiqāq-i Ba'ḍi Lughāt (article), 165

Vāḥidhā-yi Aṣvāt-i Guftār yā Vākhā-yi Fārsī (article), 171
Vā'iẓ, Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn, 42
Varrāq, Maḥmūd, 4
Vāv u Yā (article), 161 n.
Vāzhahā-yi- Maḥallī-yi Īrān dar Burhān-i Qāṭi' (article), 167
Vāzhahā-yi Maḥallī-yi Īrān dar Lughāt-i Furs-i Asadī (article), 167
Vāzhahā-yi Nau, 128, 162
Vāzha-nāma-yi Gīāhī, 163
Vāzha-nāma-yi Ṭabarī (article), 167
Vazīr-i Lankurān, 38, 71 n.
Vazīrī, 'Alī Naqī, 54
Vazn-i Kalima dar Fārsī (article), 172
Verhaeren, 47
Verne, Jules, 35
Vietnamese language, 176

Marfat.com

Visāl Shīrāzī, 74
Vizhigihā-yi Gūyish-i Qā'in (article), 169
Voltaire, 35
Vukalā-yi Murāfa'a, 38
Vuzurg Farmādār, 125

Warsa, 31
West Germany, 64
West, The, 32, 33, 37, 79, 80, 101
Western Civilization, 31, 79, 116
Western element in fhe Persian language, 176
Western impact on Iran, 14, 26, 31, 38, 66, 146, 175
Western languages, 79
Western literature, 78
Western loanwords, 14, 21, 24, 36, 66-100, 177
Western Powers, 66
Western sciences, 69
Western terms, 78, 147
Western vocabulary, 77, 78, 79, 81, 105, 177
Wickens, G. M., 53
World of Words, The, 6 n., 40 n., 135 n.
World War I, 104
World War II, 81

Yāddāshtī dar bāra-yi Zabān-i Rāzī va Tihrānī (article), 167
Yādgār, 101 n., 165, 166, 168 n.
Yaghmā (magazine), 165, 168 n., 171 n , 173 n.
Yaghmā Jandaqī, 41, 42, 102
Yak Sanad-i Tārīkh az Gūyish-i Ādharī-yi Tabrīz (article), 167
Yak Taṣnīf-i Qadīm-i Shīrāzī (article), 170
Yakānī, Mīrzā Ismā'īl, 81
Yakī Būd Yakī Na-būd, 50 and n., 51 n., 78 n., 164 n.
Ya'qūb b. Laith, 3, 7
Yārshātir, Iḥsān, 168
Yāsamī, Rashīd, 106, 107, 160
Yatīmatu'd-Dahr, 12 n.
Yazd, 65, 132
Yazdī dialect, 65
Yūsh, 63
Yūsuf Shāh Sarrāj, 38
Yūsufī, Ghulām Ḥusain, 173

Zabān, Fikr u Pīshraft (article), 173
Zabān āmūz-i Fārsī, 159
Zabān-i Dāstān, (article), 41 n.
Zabān-i Fārsī (Kasravī, Aḥmad), 104 n., 105 n. 113 n.
Zabān-i Fārsī (article by Kīā, Ṣādiq), 172
Zabān-i Fārsī (article by Mīnuvi, Mujtabā), 172
Zabān-i Fārsī (article by Yūsufī, Ghulām Ḥusain), 173
Zabān-i Fārsī dar Rāh-i Sarnivisht (article), 172
Zabān-i Fārsī ra Chigūna bāyad āmūkht (article), 172
Zabān-i Fārsī ra Dar-yābid (article), 128 n.
Zabān-i Fārsī va Mafāhīm-i Tāza (article), 7 n.
Zabān-i Īrān (article), 172
Zabān-i Īrān Fārsī ya 'Arabī, 106
Zabān-i Kunūnī-yi Ādharbā'ijān (article), 168
Zabān-i Mardum-i Tabrīz (article), 168
Zabān-i Pāk, 105 n.
Zabān-i Rājī yā Rāzī (article), 168
Zabān-i Si Hazār Sāla (article), 172
Zabān u Adab (article), 172
Zabānhā va Gūyishhā-yi Īrānī (article), 169
Zabānhā va Lahjahā-yi Īrān (article), 168
Zabānhā-yi Īrānī-yi Alamūt (article), 168
Zabān-shināsī va Zabān-i Fārsī, 2 n., 62 n. 146 n., 152 n., 176 n., 178 n.
Zādu'l Musāfirīn, 7
Zāghcha, 49
Zāhidī, Ismā'īl, 163
Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, Hājī, 31, 39
Zakī, Mīrzā, 69
Zand dynasty, 102
Zan-i Rūz, 83 n.
Ẓarīf, 47
Ziyārids, 12 n.
Zumurrudīān, Riḍā, 169

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CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
3	29	Dalamites	Dailamites
14	n. 5, line 3	term nal	terminal
15	n. 6	Chief	Chiefs
20	7	Khata	Khatā
20	11	Mongols, princes	Mongol princes
21	3	arts	art
21	15	dharbā'ijān	Ādharbā'ijān
21	19	Zulqadar	Dhulqadar
28	n. 4	*S.F.I.M.*	*S.F.I.M.Z.*
30	9	Avary	Avery
31	12	noval	novel
42	21	بار	باز
43	33	پرتری	برتری
44	26	as	a
46	22	زبانی	زبانی
48	18, 19	5th/11th century-	5th/11th-century
49	10	1347	1347(s)
53	24	*bāzīqar*	*bāzīgar*
59	13	میرن	میرین
61	38	for	far
64	14	Amīr-Oulī	Amīr-Qulī
64	n. 5, line 2	1336/1957	1336(s)/1957
71	n. 6, line 2	*shariat*	*sharī'at*
80	16	acared	scared
83	11	مینی ترن	مینی ترین
103	2	extracts	extract
103	32	purist r movement	purist movement
111	10	بکی	یکی
123	25	Lenguage	Language

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Page	Line	For	Read
127	25	of a *Artish*	of *artish*
136	1	own	now
136	8	*Buqalamun*	*Būqalamūn*
156	13	literaly	literally
161	n. 11	*Sākhtumān*	*Sākhtimān*
168	14	Aḥmed	Aḥmad
168	20	Ākbar	Akbar
173	21, 22	*dar bāra-yi Zabān-Shināsī*	*Zabān-shināsī va Zabān-i Fārsi*
200	17	*dar Bāra-yi*	:
200	18	*Shināsī*	*Shināsī va Zabān-i Fārsī*

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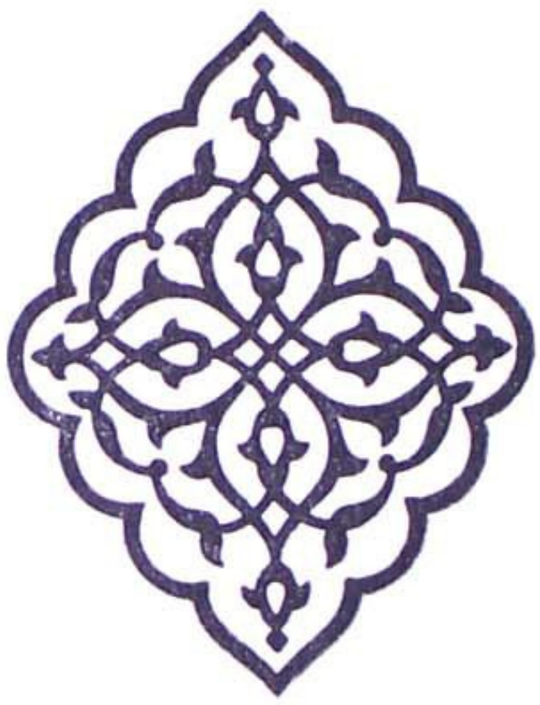

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