

## ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

UDC 811.22+811.43

**Concepts of Charisma and Leadership  
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**For citation:** Davydov A. V., Tonoyan A. Concepts of Charisma and Leadership in Bambara and Persian. *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Asian and African Studies*, 2022, vol. 14, issue 4, pp. 635–647. <https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu13.2022.404>

The article deals with the concepts of charisma and leadership in two non-Western Islamic cultures from the linguistic perspective. The concepts of charisma and charismatic leadership have a long tradition of studying in sociology, political science and psychology since M. Weber. Charisma can be defined as compelling attractiveness or charm that can inspire devotion in others. Cognates of this Greek word are found in most European languages. The English word *leader* has been borrowed by many related and non-related languages. The questions we are addressing in this article are: How to translate charisma and leader into Bambara and Persian? What Bambara and Persian words can be translated with the English words charisma and leader? What is the origin of these words in Bambara and Persian? How these words function within the two languages and two cultures? To answer these questions we analyze a wide range of lexicographic and textual sources. We come to a conclusion, that in both languages the vocabularies consist of layers of different origin: Soninke and Manding in Bambara, Iranian and Altaic in Persian, Arabic in both languages. Despite long histories of Islamization both languages, though influenced by Arabic, have kept their core vocabularies in what concerns *charisma* and *leadership*.

*Keywords:* charisma, leadership, concept, Bambara, Manding, Mande, Persian, Iranian.

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\* The study was funded by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research and Science Committee of the Republic of Armenia, projects no. 20-59-05006 and no. 20RF-189.

## Preface

Charisma “is compelling attractiveness or charm that can inspire devotion in others” [1]. The English word *charisma* comes from latinized form of Greek *χάρισμα* ‘favor, divine gift’. Its cognates are found in most European languages, cf. German *charisma*, French *charisme*, Spanish *carisma*, Russian *харизма*, etc. The concepts of *charisma* and *charismatic leadership* have a long tradition of studying in sociology, political science and psychology since M. Weber [2]. The English *leader*, on the other hand, is of Old English origin: *lædere* ‘one who leads; a leader’. Cognates of this Old English word are found in many Germanic languages (cf. German *Leiter*, Dutch *leider*), whereas the Modern English *leader* has been borrowed by many related and non-related languages, cf. French *leader*, Spanish *líder*, Russian *ли́дер*, Japanese *riidā*.

V. V. Bocharov [3, p. 120] associates charisma with anomaly as such, including physical. The present article is written within the framework of a larger project directed at analysis and deconstruction of what charisma and charismatic really are. The methods of this article are purely linguistic and consist of etymological analysis and (in the Bambara part) corpus analysis.

We deal with the concepts of charisma and (charismatic) leadership in two cultures which are both non-Western and Islamic. We do not suppose that comparing two cultures (even though they share at least two noticeable features) is enough. However, we hope that more data will follow.

The questions we are addressing in this article are: How to translate *charisma* and *leader* into Bambara and Persian? What Bambara and Persian words can be translated with the English words *charisma* and *leader*? What is the origin of these words in Bambara and Persian? How these words function within the two languages and two cultures?

## Bambara

Bambara (also known as Bamana or Bamanankan) belongs to the Manding (or Mandingo) branch of the Mande language family which is arguably a part of the hypothetical Niger-Congo phylum. Bambara is spoken natively by about 5 million people and, being the lingua franca of Mali, has about 10 million second language speakers. Bambaras were eventually converted to Islam in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, it is most likely that most of the Arabic loanwords in Bambara predate this time, since the process of the Islamization of the region was slow and gradual. Soninke (Soninke-bozo < Mande), the language of Ancient Ghana (Wagadu), had an essential mediating role in borrowing from Arabic into Manding in the earlier periods. As early as in 1920s M. Delafosse [4<sup>1</sup>, i–iii] estimated the number of Arabic loanwords in Manding<sup>2</sup> between 15 and 20%. More recent dictionaries tend to record a lower percentage which is probably due to lack of documentation [5, p. 230–231].

The major lexicographic source used for Bambara is the electronic Bamadaba Dictionary [6], but also [7]. The source of phrasal examples is Corpus Bambara de Référence [8].

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<sup>1</sup> Published posthumously, see also [5].

<sup>2</sup> I. e., in Bambara, Dyoula (Jula) and Malinké (Maninka).

## Persian

Modern Persian vocabulary consists of two main parts: 1) words of Iranian origin, 2) loanwords, most of which are of Arabic origin. According to various calculations, about 65 % of the Modern Persian vocabulary is Arabic [9]. A large number of loans in Persian is borrowed also from Turkish-Mongolian. For the examination of *charisma* and *leader* concepts in Persian, it is also important to examine the vocabulary of Middle Persian, as the state language of Sasanid Empire spoken on the Iranian plateau before the Arab invasions. Some of the words evidenced for these concepts in Middle Persian have undergone various phonetic and semantic changes and have reached modern Persian. For the New and Modern Persian, this article used well-known dictionary of N. D. MacKenzie [10], and for Modern Persian vocabulary, several classical dictionaries, including 'Amīd [11], Ānand Rāj [12], Borhān-e Qāte' [13], 'A. A. Dehxodā [14] F. G. Steingass [15], J. Rubinčik [16], etc.

## Charisma

### *Charisma: The Bambara Lexicon*

As expected, there is no close equivalent. The meaning of *charisma* is expressed by a range of lexemes and idiomatic expressions, most of which are polysemic and express meanings other than those in the focus of this article.

**Dárajá.** The noun *dárajá* 'influence' occurs 101 time in the Corpus. The French equivalents in Bamadaba are *célébrité*, *influence*. It is a loan from Arabic *daraja* 'degree' and its cognates are attested in many languages of West Africa, e. g. Fulfulde *daraja*, Songhay *dárzà* [17, p. 180]. In Bambara *dárajá* is semantically very close to *dáwula*. As Mahamadou Konta, one of the major authors of the Bambara language newspaper *Kibaru* 'News', points out: *daraja = dawula kɔɔ ye kelen ye 'daraja = dawula, their meanings are the same.*

Another Bambara language author, one of the major authors of another Bambara newspaper *Jekabaara* 'Common work', explains what is *dárajá* in the Postface to his book of tales *Basa ku nà ka dingèda* 'Lizard's tale and its hole'. According to him, *dárajá* is nothing else but a gift from God, a gift which is not in everybody's destiny. This gift is to reconcile conflicting individuals and to bring peace and harmony:

*Jamakulu bɛɛ n' a ka kolabɛnna don. N' a min desera fɔcogo juman tigilamɔɔ la, o barokene de laban ye jekeneya ye. Anw ta tun ye Cɛmɔɔ kolabɛnna ye. Waati o waati, ni sɔsɔli tun ye dansagon an ni jɔɔɔn cɛ baro sen fɛ, walima ni baroden fila ka faamuta fɔra jɔɔɔn kɔ, Cɛmɔɔ kolabɛnna de tun bɛ kuma an ni jɔɔɔn cɛ. A tun bɛ se kuma na haali. Hali n' ale kumana adamaden nigɛlɛn fɛ, o tun b' a dusu da. O **daraja** fana ye sɔɔfɛn dɔ ye Ala ye min di mɔɔ dɔw ma. Dɔw, ka se ka mɔɔw cɛ fɔ k' u ben. Bɛɛ tɛ se o la de. O **daraja** tɛ bɛɛ dakan na<sup>3</sup>. 'For every crowd there is someone who can calm it down. If the ability to talk reasonably is lost, a conversation will end for nothing. Our someone was Tiemogo the Peacebringer. Every time we were quarreling to much or if two people could not come to an agreement, Tiemogo the Peacebringer would appear and talk to us. He was a very able talker. The most stubborn would calm down if he talked to them. This **dárajá** is gift*

<sup>3</sup> Here and throughout the article examples taken from the Corpus Bambara de Référence do not have tonal notation.

which God gives to some people. To bring people together. This *dárajá* is not in everybody's destiny.

**Dáwula.** As stated above the noun *dáwula* is semantically close to *dárajá*. It is a loan from Arabic *dawla* 'state; power', but it doesn't seem to have any 'state' component in its semantics. Cognates with similar meanings are attestend in many other languages of West Africa, cf. Fulfulde *dawla* 'reachness', Hausa *daula* 'power', Wolof *doole* 'power', etc. In the Corpus *dáwula* occurs 537 times which makes it quite frequent as compared to *dárajá*. It also occurs in proverbs:

**Dáwula** *ká fisa tìjɛ yé.* 'Dáwula is better than truth.'

The following eloquent example of use of *dáwula* is from a collection of Bambara rural texts, which French translation is published in [18]. It also contains *nówrɔ*, a close Bambara concept which will be discussed in the next section, and *jàmatigi* 'leader' which will be discussed later. Here *dáwula* is looked upon as a direct result of *nówrɔ*, i. e. a possession by jinns.

*Adama ko : jinew ka nówrɔ tun be a dennin nɔ fe . Adama ko : ni Ala ye mɔgɔ o mɔgɔ dako jɛ nin cogo la , ka i ce jɛ , o be a sɔrɔ jinew ka nówrɔ be i fe , sitane be i fe , a tigi nɔ fe jinew ka ca kojugu , hali n' i y' a ta muso ye , n' i ye si sɔrɔ , i be ke fatɔ ye . a nɔ fe jinew be fa wuli i la , wa a mɔgɔ "fasɔn " caman te si sɔrɔ . Adama ko : ni a den "fasɔn " ye ce ye , e min y' a fa ye , n' i y' a ka ko cogo dɔn , i be a don morikalan la , ni a nana jinebaaraw sidɔn , k' o ke , o tuma na a ni jinew be baara ke ni jɔgɔn ye , a be dawula sɔrɔ , a be tɔgɔ sɔrɔ , a be ke jamatigi ye.* 'Adama said: 'The *nówrɔ* of the jinns is on his child'. Adama said: 'If God determines someone's fortune this way, and makes him or her beautiful, if the *nówrɔ* of the jinns is on this person, if devil is in this person, and if the jinns are numerous, and if this person is female, she will lose her mind as she ages. The jinns pursue people of this kind, and not many of them get old. Adama said: 'If the child is male, and if his father recognizes his true kind, he gives him to be apprenticed by marabouts. And if he learns the ways of the jinns, he achieves *dáwula*, he achieves fame, he becomes a *jàmatigi* (leader).'

*Nówrɔ.* *Nówrɔ* n. 'shining, glow; charisma' has been described in the previous section as jinn possession. Its ethymology is rather unclear. It is most likely a loan from Arabic *nūr* 'light', cf. Man. *nówrɔ*, Son. *nòròbèjnyè* 'solar eclipse'. In the Corpus it occurs only fourteen times which makes it rather infrequent. It is noteworthy that the concept *nówrɔ* may not be related to physical attractiveness as it is clearly set out in the following example:

*Mɔgɔ caman ce ka ni nka nówrɔ te i la.* 'Many people are good-looking, but do not have *nówrɔ*'.

The following example, where *nówrɔ* is described as inner glow emanated by a member of a Sufi brotherhood, can be regarded as an argument for Bambara *nówrɔ* and Arabic *nūr* being cognates:

*San 1952 desanburukalo tile 17 don, den karamɔgɔ sheki Fanta Madi Keyita ko, Kankan Sekuba , y' a ka talibedenw bee fara jɔgɔn kan Kankan misiriba kɔrɔ, k' a da u tulo kan k' ale jɛ be olu dɔ rɔ kelen ka nówrɔ ta yeelen menenen na ka se fo sankaba la.* 'On the 17<sup>th</sup> of December, 1952, the teacher sheikh Fanta Madi Keyita, also known as Sekuba of Kankan, called all of his disciples into the Big Mosque of Kankan. He told them that he sees that one of them is radiating a glow which goes up to the sky.'

**Sára.** The noun *sára* 'charm, beauty' is also most likely of Arabic origin, cf. Arabic *saḥara* 'to charm', *sāḥir*, *sahḥār* 'magician', also cf. Migama *sèèrò* 'to charm, to poison'. In Bambara the term is usually used in relation to women and young men.

*Muso ka ceɛe n' a ka sara ma kun donsokɛ la. A ye muso furu o ɔrɔ bɛɛ. Hali a m' a sara a somɔɔw la.* 'The hunter was so fascinated by *sára* of this woman that he married her immediately. He didn't even pay a visit to her relatives.'

(It is noteworthy that the hunter would later find out that his wife was a jinn).

*A ka kɛnɛ i ko den, sara b' a la, w' a dɔnsɛn ka ni.* 'He is fresh like a child, he has charm, his sense of rhythm is good.'

**Nàara.** *Nàara* adj. 'eloquent', n. 'outstanding griot' is most likely a borrowing from Son. *ɲàara* 'outstanding griot'. The word is quite rarely used, in the Corpus there are 19 occurrences of it. The word is mostly used to describe griots, i. e. the members of the professional caste of musicians and storytellers, but also other types of artisans and slaves:

*Du Muke Tarawele ka jɔnkɛ bɛ yen , ko Ala Dungo, jɔn ɲaara don, a da jala ka gelen, a tɛ malo mɔɔɔ ma, a y' i sara a jatigikɛ la.* 'A slave of Du Muke Tarawele was there, his name was Ala Dungo, he was an eloquent slave, an unrepentant liar, a shameless one. That was he who appealed to the landlord.'

*U selen, numumuso ɲaaraw ko a ma...* 'When they [the ruler and his entourage] arrived, the eloquent female potters told him [the ruler].'

The type of situation in the both examples above can be described as 'talking up'. Here, an eloquent representative of a "lower" caste addresses the one in power, wins the verbal contest and achieves his or her goals.

**Bárika.** Addressing a topic of *charisma* in an Islamic culture and in a language profoundly influenced by Arabic, another Islamic concept cannot but come into mind — that of God's blessing, or *baraka* in Arabic. According to Islam, God may implant an emanation of *baraka* in the person of his prophets and saints [19]. Predictably, a borrowed form of this Arabic word — *bárika* — is found in Bambara and is very frequent with 256 occurrences in the Corpus. The Corpus also contains 30 occurrences of *bárikama* 'strong', an adjective derived from *bárika*.

The initial meaning of '[God's] blessing' is preserved in religious context, but the overall semantics of *bárika* has significantly shifted towards 'force' in general and even 'physical strength'. *Bárika bé à lá* (literally, 'the *bárika* is on him') means 'he is strong' or 'he is tough'.

**Nàma.** Bamadaba [6] defines *ɲàma*, a Bambara autochtone (and most likely pre-Islamic) concept, as a harmful occult force which may be contained by certain living and dead creatures, such as large trees, certain animals, dead by suicide or by drowning, struck by lightning and elderly people. It may also be used to indicate deceases caused by the eponymous occult force (e. g., skin deceases, seizures). The concept of *ɲàma* is typologically close to Melanesian and Polynesian *mana* first described by R. N. Codrington [20], Chinese *qi*, Sanskrit *prāṇa* or even to Arabic *baraka* discussed in the previous section.

The definition of *ɲàma* in Bamadaba misses another important entity which, according to Bambara beliefs, may contain *ɲàma*—speech. As a Bambara proverb states, *Nàma bé kúma lá* 'There is *ɲàma* in the speech' [21, p.37]. Those who are able to manipulate this force within the speech are highly valued by the society. Having *ɲàma* implies having authority and influence, but also having more responsibility and being in more danger of which *ɲàma* is the source. Using the language professionally is not a privilege of any single cast, although *jɛliw* 'griots' are traditionally considered to be masters of speech. *Nùmuw* 'male smiths/woodworkers and female potters' are also reputed to be capable speakers. The Bambara distinguish between at least three types of power language. *Kílisi* 'incan-

tation' is a form of ritualized speech which can harm or benefit the target [21, p.12], cf. also [6]. These incantations are often used together with poisonous substances *kɔ̄rɔtɛ* (or *kɔ̄rɔti*). *Dibikan* 'the language of darkness' is used by diviners and is believed to transmit messages from unseen world, i. e., from *dibi* 'darkness' [21, p.82], *dibi* being one of the fetiches of the *Kɔ̄mɔ* initiation society which is forbidden for griots. As another Bambara proverb puts it, *Kɔ̄rɔtigelikan tɛ jɛli dɔn Kɔ̄mɔ nɑ kɔ syɛsogo kɑ dɪ* 'A griot does not enter *Kɔ̄mɔ* although (s)he knows that chicken meat is delicious'. Finally, *jɛlikan* 'the griot language' is a special language used only by griots during some types of performances. Both *dibikan* and *jɛlikan* are composed of obscure noun phrases and are structurally similar.

***Dànbe, màkama, mànkutu, sáwura, tɔ̄gɔ.*** In this section we will briefly discuss some other candidates to continue the list. The following words are also used in certain context to describe charismatic properties of people, although charisma is not in the center of their semantics. Most of them are of Arabic origin.

*Dànbe* n. is 'dignity' or 'honour', but also 'good reputation'. The is a folk etymology which analyses *dànbe* as *dàn* 'limit' + affirmative copula *bé*, i. e. as 'There is a limit'. This is indeed a weak etymology, linguistically speaking, but it shows that *having honour* is understood within the culture as *having limits*.

*Màkama* n. (also *màkaama, màkanma, màkaba*) is a borrowing from Arabic *maqām* 'position'. The word is quite rare and 17 occurrences in the Corpus. The form *màkaama* is less adapted phonetically having conserved the long vowel. Two other forms — *màkanma* and *màkaba* — have been reinterpreted as having suffixes: \**màkan* + *ma* (adjective suffix), \**màka* + *ba* (augmentative suffix).

*Mànkutu* (also *màngutu, mànkutun*) n. 'quality', v. 'to glorify'; in grammar, it is also a neologism 'adjective'. It is most likely a borrowing from Arabic *manqūt* 'a letter' with dots', i.e. a letter which qualities have been defined by upper or lower diacritical dots. *Mànkutu* is part of such phraseological units as *kà mànkutu tɔ̄jné* 'to spoil reputation' and *kà mànkutu bó* 'to prove oneself'.

*Sáwura* (also *sábura*) n. 'image', is a borrowing from Arabic *šūra* 'picture' or, more likely, its plural form *šumar*.

*Tɔ̄gɔ* n. 'name' is used as a part of such idioms as *kà tɔ̄gɔ sɔ̄rɔ* 'to find name', i. e., 'to gain reputation and influence', and *à tɔ̄gɔ bóra*, literally, 'his name came out', i. e., 'he became prominent, famous'.

### **Charisma: The Persian Lexicon**

Among the few words used for the term 'charisma' in Modern Persian (*kārizmā, jādābbiyyat, nufud, farr, farrah, farrahmandī*), the most notable in terms of historical context, phonetic and semantic development are the forms *farr* and *farrah*, which have been studied by many well-known specialists in Iranian linguistics, including H. Hubschmann [22], G. Gnoli [23; 24], W. Lentz [25], H. Bailey [26], J. Duchesne-Guillemin [27], etc.

*Farr* and *farrah*, which both in NP are evidenced by 'refulgence, grandeur, magnitude, pomposity, authority' [13, s.v. 'farr'], 'beauty, brilliancy, luster, magnificence, glory, power, dignity' [15, s.vv. 'farr', 'farrah'], 'shine, splendor, pomp, pageantry' [16, s.v. 'farr'] and other meanings, are derived from the OP \**farnah* /(-a) [22, p.83]. According to W. Lentz [25, p.288], OP *farnah-*, which continued in Middle Persian as *farr, farrah* and *xwarrah* 'fortune, glory, splendour' [10, p.96], is a Median loanword in OP.

J. Duchesne-Guillemin [27] connected the etymology of the word with the Proto-Iranian \**xwara-*, which is widely used in Iranian languages for the concept of ‘sun’, to which, according to scholar, is joined by the neuter nominal suffix *-nah*:

In some interpretations ‘glory’ and ‘shine’, related with ‘sun’, were considered the initial meanings of the term *farr(ah)*, *x<sup>v</sup>arənah*. Semantic changes and etymologically secondary meanings connected to fortune (good), and majesty (kingly) have been discussed by H. W. Bailey [26].

In Avestan texts belonging to the Ancient Iranian Period *farr(ah)* and *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* have the meaning ‘magic force or power of luminous and fiery nature’, while in MP and NP they are more often used to denote ‘fortune (good)’, and in Armenian exists also *p<sup>h</sup>ark’*, which is an Iranian loanword in the sense of ‘glory’. In Modern Persian, the word ‘fortune’ is used in a number of contexts, such as *farr ī šāh* ‘fortune of the king’, *farr i yazdān* ‘the fortune-bestowing force of God’, *farr u aurang* ‘fortune and high rank’, *farr u jāh* ‘fortune and position’, *farr u burz* ‘fortune and position’ [26, p. 62].

If the etymology proposed by J. Duchesne-Guillemin [27], according to which the meaning of the word is related to the concepts of ‘sun’, ‘shine’, is correct, then the semantic development of the word may have the following form:

*sun* > *power (divine)* > *fortune (good)* > *glory* > *charisma*.

The term *farrahmandī*, etymologically related to *farrah*, used for the term ‘charisma’ in Modern Persian scientific literature, and its first component, *farrahmand* (<MP *xwarō-mand* ‘wealthy’ [10, p. 96]), means ‘majestic, solemn’ in Modern Persian (16, s.v. ‘farrah-mand’).

## Leader

### *Leader: The Bambara Lexicon*

*Ŋémɔɔ*. *Ŋé.mɔɔ* front.person ‘leader’ is the most obvious Bambara equivalent of English *leader*. The word is extremely frequent with 14,418 occurrences in the Corpus, including the form *Ŋémɔɔya* ‘leadership’ which is derived from *Ŋémɔɔ* with the abstract nouns suffix *-ya*. A frequent variant of *Ŋémɔɔ* is *Ŋémaa*. The first form, *Ŋémɔɔ*, belongs to so-called Standard Bambara, a lingua franca based on the dialect of the capital city of Bamako which is strongly influenced by a closely related Manding language, Maninka. The second form, *Ŋémaa*, may be attributed to the dialect of Segou, the capital of the pre-colonial Bambara state. This form is perceived as more archaic. The difference between two forms, therefore, is not just dialectal but also stylistic.

The plain meaning of *Ŋémɔɔ/Ŋémaa* can be illustrated by the following Bambara proverb: *Kāmi bé à Ŋémɔɔ tòn file* ‘The guinea fowl looks at the back of the neck of the one [running] before it’. In modern political discourse *Ŋémɔɔ/Ŋémaa* is part of such well-established terms as *jàmana Ŋémɔɔ/Ŋémaa* ‘national leader’ and *minisirijŊémɔɔ* ‘prime minister’.

*-tigi*. The noun *tigi* ‘owner, author’ can be regarded as a suffixoid, or a wordfinal segment that has characteristics of both free and bound morpheme. In this quality it very productive and is part of such terms as *jàma.tigi* crowd.owner ‘leader’, *sé.tigi* power.owner ‘influential person, wealthy person’, *kúma.tigi* speech.owner ‘mediator, host’, *kùn.tigi* head.owner ‘head, chief’, *jàmana kùntigi* ‘president’.

**Bèlebele.** *Bèlebele* is a very frequent morpheme with 1527 occurrences in the corpus. It usually functions as an adjective meaning 'big; obese; important'. As a noun meaning 'an important thing' it is much less frequent. Even less frequently it can be used in relation to people meaning 'an important figure' or 'a traditional leader'.

**Mògòba.** *Mògòba* (also *màa.ba*) is composed of *mògò* 'person' and the augmentative suffix *-ba*. It occurs on the Corpus 88 times. It is semantically very close to *bèlebele*, meaning 'an important figure' or 'leader'.

**Ŋána.** *Ŋána* 'hero, champion' has 2424 occurrences in the Corpus and is used in a vast variety of contexts. It may refer to traditional epic heroes, for instance, such as Sundiata, the legendary founder of the Empire of Mali, but also to champions in local rural contests and in sports (e. g., *ntòlatan ŋána* 'football champion') and to frond-rank workers or leaders of manufacture (e. g. *sèneke ŋána* 'leading farmer').

**Sánpiyɔn, sòdanso, wáané, kàlamene.** These words are less frequent and more doubtful candidates to continue the list.

*Sánpiyɔn* 'champion' is a borrowing from French *champion*, which can be occasionally used instead of *ŋána* in context of sports.

*Sò.dan.so* horse.stop.horse 'valiant horseman, champion' can also be used as a synonym of *ŋána*, e. g.:

*An be bi min na kòorisene yiriwara Mali kɔnɔ fo ka Mali kòrisenenaw ke farafinna sodansow ye.* 'As of today the cultivation of cotton developed so much in Mali, that Malian cotton cultivators became the **champions** of Africa.'

This usage may be explained by an extremely high prestige of horses as warfare and as property in West Africa.

*Wáané* 'expert' (cf. Son. *wáané* 'pretentious', cf. also Man. *wàna* 'expert, sage') may refer mostly to an experienced gambler.

*Kàlamene* is composed of *kàla* 'straw' and *méne* 'to set fire'. Its plain meaning is 'torch', but it may also mean 'torchbearer', and, in figurative meaning, 'leader'. In the early 1990s there existed in Mali a Bambara language newspaper called *Kalamene*.

### **Leader: The Persian Lexicon**

There are approximately thirty lexemes for the concept of *leader* in Modern Persian, among which, in addition to the original Iranian words, there are borrowings from Turkish and Arabic. For the same concept, the words in Middle Persian are incomparably less, only 4 (*parwānag*, *pēšār*, *pēšōbāy* and *sālār*).

**New Persian.** Although most of the words used for the term *leader* in Modern Persian are Arabic and Altaic borrowings, but there are also a number of words of Iranian origin, some of which are Middle Persian archeologisms with corresponding phonetic developments, and the another part-lexical neologisms, new semantic developments and compound word-formations, in general.

**Arabic loanwords.** Since one of the purposes of this article is to discuss the words of Iranian origin used in Persian for the concept of *leader*, we will confine ourselves here to a simple list of Arabic borrowings. A large number of Arabic borrowings contain Islamic religious terms, which are largely attested in the Qur'an and in the Šufi literature of the later period. Some of these words later became widely used in non-religious secular contexts as well. Among the words of Arabic origin used in Persian for the concept of *leader* are:



*qodve*, *moqtadā* 'leader, guide, a man who has a great influence' [11, s.v. 'moqtadā']<sup>4</sup>, *za'im* 'head, chieftain, tribe leader' [11, s.v. 'za'im'], *emām*<sup>5</sup> 'religious leader' [16, s.v. 'emām']<sup>6</sup>, *hādī* 'leader, chief, manager' [16, s.v. 'hādī']<sup>7</sup>, *amīr* 'commander, ruler, ader' [11, s.v. 'amīr'], *šeyx* 'tribal chief, chieftain, big boss, leader' [11; 16, s.v. 'šeyx'], *muršid* 'teacher, mentor, superior, spiritual guide' [11, s.v. 'moršed']<sup>8</sup>, *valī* 'guardian, supervisor, ruler, friend' [16, s.v. 'valī']<sup>9</sup>, *maxdūm* 'lord, governor, leader, a person whom serve' [11, s.v. 'maxdūm'], *amīd* 'chieftain, commander' [32, s.v. 'amīd'], *ra'is* 'head, superior, boss, chairman, chief' [11, s.v. 'ra'is'], *qāyed* 'leader, guide, commander, commandant' [32, s.v. 'qāyed'], *naqīb* 'big man, supervisor, chieftain, tribe leader' [11, s.v. 'naqīb'] etc.

**Altaic Loanwords.** In comparison to a large number of Arabic loanwords, Turkish borrowings, denoting 'leader', are incomparably less. A lexeme among the Turkish loans, i. e. *āqā* is of great interest.

*Āqā* 'caballero, esquire, monsieur, sir' [32; 16, s.v. 'āqā'], which apart from being used by the 'landowner, master'<sup>10</sup>, 'great', 'older brother'<sup>11</sup> [32, s.v. 'āqā'], 'lord'<sup>12</sup> meanings is an ordinary polite way to turn to men, i. e. *āqā-ye Mohammādī* 'mistr Mohammadi', *āqā-ye Rouhānī* 'mistr Rouhānī' etc., has usage as so called folk-epithet of the current supreme leader of Iran and means 'leader, chief', e. g. *āqā goftand* or *āqā farmūdand* 'The supreme leader said', "Alī Xāmeneī said" [33]. Moreover, the preliminary results of our field researches in Iran show that a direct pronunciation of the name of a current supreme leader, i. e. 'Alī Xāmeneī is almost existent neither in the speech of simple folk nor of officials. It

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *qīyādat* 'leadership' ('Amid, s.vv.), which is etimologically identical with *qodve* and *moqtadā*.

<sup>5</sup> The word *imām* denotes a person who stands or walks "in front" (cf. Modern Persian *pīšrow* and *pīšgām* in the same meaning). According Petrushevskiy, the term *imām* has gradually acquired a threefold meaning: 1) among the Sunnis, the *imām* is the head of the Muslim community and the Muslim state, the supreme bearer of spiritual and secular power; in this sense, the imam is the same as the caliph; the imam-caliph was designated by the term great *imām* (*al-imām al-kabīr*), 2) among the Shiites, the imam is hereditary, from the family of Muḥammad and his son-in-law 'Alī, the husband of his daughter Fāṭima, the head of the Muslim community and the Muslim state, to which the dignity of the *imām* is not assigned by people, but by divine command, 3) the *imām* of the mosque — the primate at the public prayer; this is a small *imām* (*al-imām al-ṣayīr*). The *imāms* of the cathedral mosques (Arab-Persian *imām jum'a* — 'Friday imam') are appointed from among the *faqīhs* who have a special spiritual education, while the *imāms* of district and village mosques can have even most elementary spiritual education [28, p. 94].

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also the term *imāma* denoting the 'supreme leadership' institution of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet [29].

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *hedāyat* 'management, direction, guidance' and *hedāyatgar* 'director, manager, ruler' from the same Arabic root.

<sup>8</sup> Literally means "one who gives right guidance". From the same root are derived also *rušd* and *iršād* in Arabic. In Sufi mystical parlance *muršid* is the spiritual director and initiator into the order (*tariqa*) of the novice or *murīd*, who is following the Sufi path. Synonyms are *bābā*, *pīr* and *šaykh*. As part of the guidance for the postulant, the *muršid* bestows various tokens of spiritual grace and attainment upon the seeker [30].

<sup>9</sup> One of the most common official epithets of 'Alī Xāmeneī current supreme leader of Iran is *valī-ye faqīh* 'the ruling jurist', which is directly related to the theocratical concept of Iranian state known as *velāyat-e faqīh*. For details see [31]. The word *valī* is also found in other compounds in Persian, e. g. *valīāhd* 'crown prince, dauphin, successor' [32, s.v. 'valīahd'], *valīāšr*; lit. 'the guardian of the time' [14, s.v. 'valīāšr'], one of epithets of Mahdi, who is an eschatological messianic figure in Shi'a Islam.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *x'āja(e)* in Classical and Modern Persian [35; 16, s.v. 'x'āja'].

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also *kākā* 'older brother' in Modern Persian [16, s.v. 'kākā'] and *kāk* 'older brother in Kurdish' [35, s.v. 'kāk'].

<sup>12</sup> The use of *āqā* in the sense of "lord" in a compound form *āqā-dār* is especially interesting. In the Gilan province of Iran there are sacred trees of a ritual significance, called *āqā-dār* 'lord tree', as well as *bozorgvār* 'eminent', or *pīr* 'spiritual master' [36].

seems it is taboo. Simple folk of towns and villages use the lexeme *āqā* instead of mentioning 'Alī Xāmanē's name directly, while officials, experts and the elite, in general, prefer the high style, using the words such as *rahbar* 'leader', *rahbar-e mo'azzam* 'supreme leader', *rahbar-e enqelāb* 'leader of the revolution', *maqām-e mo'azzam-e rahbarī* 'supreme leader', rarely also *ḥaḍrat-e āqā* 'excellence leader' etc.

Other lexemes of Altaic origin also have been used in NP to refer to the concept of 'leader', e. g. *atābak* (lit. father lord) 'local ruler, headman' [11, s.v. 'atābak'], *īlbīg* (lit. 'lord of tribe') 'chieftain, tribe leader' [14, s.v. 'īlbag'], *yabyū*<sup>13</sup> 'king, leader' [11, s.v. 'yabyū'], *bāšī* 'commander, leader of group' from Turkish *bāš* 'head, leader' [34, p. 375–376], *xān* 'leader' [11; 15, s.v. 'xān'], *xāqān* 'chieftain, tribe leader' [11; 15, s.v. 'xāqān'] etc.

**Words of Iranian origin.** The etymology of the lexemes of Iranian origin used for the concept of *leader* in Modern Persian (*pīšvā*, *pīšro*, *rahbar*, *rahnamā*, *sar*, *sarkarda*, *sarvar*, *sardār*, *xvāja*, *mehtar*, *bozorg* etc.) shows that they are mainly based on the following components:

*pīš* 'ahead, fore, forward, front, onward', e. g. *pīšvā* (see above MP *pēšōbāy*), *pīšro* (lit. going forward, *pīš+ro* (present stem of *raftan* 'to go')).

*rah* 'road, way', e. g. *rahbar* (lit. leading the way, *rah+bar* (present stem of *bordan* 'to carry, to convey, to gain, to lead'), *rahnamā* (lit. showing the way, *rah+namā* (present stem of *namūdan* 'to show, to look')).

*sar* 'head, skull', e. g. *sar* (lit. head, cf. Arab. *rās* 'leader', Turk. *bāš* 'leader', Russ. *glava* 'leader', Eng. head 'leader' etc.), *sarvar* (lit. *sar* + noun suffix *var*, cf. *honarvar* 'artificer, artist', *šenāvar* 'swimmer', *pīšavar* 'artisan, craftsman', *dīdvar* 'observer, looker-on', *tājvar* 'wearing a crown, crowned, worthy of a crown', *gūyešvar* 'native speaker, informant' etc.), *sardār* (lit. *sar*+ noun suffix *dār* (present stem of *dāštan* 'to own, to have'), cf. *šahrdār* 'mayor', *ostāndār* 'governor, eparch', *melkdār* 'landlord', *zamīndār* 'landowner' etc.), *sarkarda* (lit. *sar+karda*(?)<sup>14</sup>).

Usage words for the concept 'big, great', e. g. *mehtar* (*meh* 'big, great' + comparative suffix *-tar*), *bozorg* (< OI \**vazrka*-) etc.

## Conclusions

In this article we have discussed Bambara and Persian vocabularies dealing with the concepts of *charisma* and *leadership*. In both languages these vocabularies consist of layers of different origin: Soninke and Manding in Bambara, Iranian and Altaic in Persian, Arabic in both languages. Despite long histories of Islamization both languages, though influenced by Arabic, have kept their core vocabularies in what concerns *charisma* and *leadership*.

<sup>13</sup> Although Helmut Humbach [37, p. 24–28] and N. Sims-Williams [38, p. 255] consider that *yabyū* has passed to Turkish from the Chinese *xihou*, interpreting it as "allied prince", H. W. Bailey suggests two different Iranian etymologies, reconstructing the forms \**yam-uka*- 'leader' [39, p. 136] and \**yāvuka*- "troop-leader" [40, p. 32] In addition, Bactrian form *iabgo* is also in the Kushan period and there is also an assumption, that the title first has been brought to the Iranian world by the Kushans (see for details [41]).

<sup>14</sup> Considering the phonetic form of the second component, it can be assumed that *karda* may be the past stem of the verb *kardan* 'to do', but given the widespread use and the abundant evidence of *sarkarda* in Turkic-Mongolian languages, its Altaic origin is not excluded.

## Abbreviations

- OP — Old Persian  
NP — New Persian  
Man. — Maninka  
MP — Middle Persian  
Av. — Avestan language  
Prth. — Parthian language  
Son. — Soninke  
s.v. — sub verbo  
s.vv. — sub verbis

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Received: May 20, 2022

Accepted: September 15, 2022

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## Концепты харизмы и лидерства в бамбара и персидском\*

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Для цитирования: Davydov A. V., Tonoyan A. Concepts of Charisma and Leadership in Bambara and Persian // Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. Востоковедение и африканистика. 2022. Т. 14. Вып. 4. С. 635–647. <https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu13.2022.404>

С лингвистической точки зрения рассматриваются понятия харизмы и лидерства в двух незападных исламизированных культурах. Понятия харизмы и харизматического лидерства имеют давнюю традицию изучения в социологии, политологии и психологии со времен М. Вебера. Харизму можно определить как неотразимую привлекательность или обаяние, которые способны взывать к сердцам других людей. Когнаты этого греческого по происхождению слова встречаются в большинстве европейских языков. Английское по происхождению слово *leader* также было заимствовано множеством родственных и неродственных языков. Вопросы, которые рассматриваются в статье: как перевести слова «харизма» и «лидер» на бамбара и персидский? Какие слова языков персидского и бамбара можно перевести русскими словами «харизма» и «лидер»? Каково происхождение этих слов в бамбара и персидском? Как они функционируют в двух языках и культурах? Чтобы ответить на эти вопросы, авторы обращаются к широкому кругу лексикографических и текстовых источников. В той части статьи, которая относится к материалу языка бамбара, используются данные электронного корпуса языка бамбара и корпусный метод исследования. Авторы приходят к выводу, что соответствующие лексиконы в обоих языках состоят из пластов разного происхождения: сонинского и мандингского в бамбара, иранского и алтайского в персидском и арабского в обоих языках. Несмотря на долгую историю исламизации, оба языка, испытав сильное влияние арабского, сохранили свою основную лексику в том, что касается выражения понятий «харизма» и «лидерство».

*Ключевые слова:* харизма, лидер, концепт, манде, манден, бамбара, бамана, персидский, иранские языки.

Статья поступила в редакцию 20 мая 2022 г.,  
рекомендована к печати 15 сентября 2022 г.

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\* Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке РФФИ (проект 20-59-05006) и Комитета по науке Республики Армения (проект 20RF-189) в рамках совместной научной программы.