

The Indo-European Verb **peh₂-* “to Protect, Guard, Pasture” in Native and Borrowed Layers of Armenian

Hrach Martirosyan

(University of Würzburg)

Varduhi Badalyan

(Higher Education and Science Committee of MESCS RA)

Abstract: The Indo-European verbal root **peh₂-* “to protect, guard; to graze, tend (livestock)” is represented in Armenian through native developments such as **ph₂-tēr* “father” > *hayr*, **h₃eu_i-peh₂-* “sheep-herder” > *hoviw* (instrumental *hovu-a-w*), **peh₂-iē-* > *hayim* “to look, gaze on, observe, watch”, and **peh₂-tro-* > *hawr-an* “flock, sheepfold”. It is also reflected in numerous words and personal names borrowed from Iranian sources, e.g. *apat* “inhabited/cultivated place”, *darapan* “porter, doorkeeper”, *hpatak* “subject, vassal”, *šahap* “vice-roy, governor, mayor”, *pa(r)hem* “to guard, preserve, keep”, *pahapan* “keeper, guard, watchman”, etc. This article attempts to present the corpus of such words in a concise form, supplemented with etymological notes. Special attention is devoted, on the one hand, to terms for *pahanord*,

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pahapan, *pahpanak*, *grapanak*—amulets or magical protective objects—and, on the other hand, to the etymology of *pay/payn*, the name of a protective spirit.

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1. The IE Verb **peh₂-* and Its Armenian Descendants

1.1. The Proto-Indo-European (PIE) verb **peh₂-* “to protect, guard, pasture, graze, keep, hold” is represented in practically all the branches of the Indo-European language family. Let us first observe the descendants of the root present form of the verb:

- Skt. *pāti* “to protect, guard”;
- Av. *pā-* “to protect”;
- CLuw. *pa-* “to protect” (see Yakubovich 2009, 92).

The root is also reflected in the well-known Armenian word *hoviw*, *a*-stem “shepherd” reflecting **h₃eui-peh₂-*, a compound with PIE **h₃eui-* “sheep”, CLuw. *hāui-*, Skt. *ávi-*, Gr. *óîç*, Argive *ōfīç*, Lat. *ovis*, Russ. *ов-ца*, Toch. B *ā(u)w* “ewe”, etc.; cf. Skt. *avi-pālā-* “shepherd”, note also *go-pā-* m. “herdsman”.¹

1.2. IE pres. **peh₂-s-*

- Hitt. *paḫš-* “to protect, guard, defend; to observe (agreements), keep (oaths or a secret), obey (commands); to seek protection with”;
- Lat. *pāstor* “shepherd”;
- OCS *pasti* “to pasture, herd, feed”.

1.3. IE pres. **p(e)h₂-ské-*

- Lat. *pāscō*, *-ere* “to feed, pasture”.

1.4. IE pres. **peh₂-je-*

- YAv. *ni.pāiiōiš* (Yašt 1.24) “you shall protect”, Khot. *pai-*;
- Sogdian (in both Sogdian and Manichaean script) *p’y* v.tr. “to guard, keep, watch over, protect” (Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2022, 159b);

¹ These and the other data from Indo-European languages are taken from: Pokorny 1959, 787; Mallory and Adams 1997, 198b, 200b, 416; LIV 460; Kloekhorst 2008, 611–613; de Vaan 2008, 448–449; Derksen 2008, 392; Beekes 2010, 2:1217. For the Indo-Iranian forms, see especially EWAia 2:112, 119, 121; ÈtimSlovIran 6:277–280, 284; Cheung 2007, 288–289. For data from Manichaean Parthian and Middle Persian, see Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 139a, 257b, 259–260, 274a. For the etymological material on Armenian, see Hübschmann 1897, HAB 1–4, and Ĵahukyan 2010, s.vv.; Ĵahukyan 1987 and Olsen 1999 *passim* (see indices); Martirosyan 2010, 401, 419–420.

• ManParth. and ManMPers. *pāy-* [*p'y-*] “to protect, guard; to keep (a fast)”, ManMPers. *pāy* [*p'y*] “protector(?)”;

• Arm. *hayim* “to look, gaze on, observe, watch”; according to one hypothesis, the word *hay* “Armenian” likewise derives from this source.²

For **pe/oh₂-i-u-*, see §4.3.

1.5. IE **peh₂-ter-* (with agent suffix **-ter-*) “protector”, **peh₂-tr-o-* “protection, container”

• Skt. *pātár-* m. “defender, protector”, *pātra-* “vessel, container, cup, goblet”;

• Av. *pātar-* “protector”, ManMPers. *pādār* [*p'd'r*] “protector”; **pā₂ra-* “protection”: YAv. *pā₂ra-uuant-* “granting protection”, ManMPers. *pāhr* [*p'hr*] “watch-post”;

• Arm. *hawran* “flock of sheep or goats; sheepfold” < “**pasturing*, a pasturing place”, a local noun with the suffix *-an*, cf. *kayan* “place to stand, station, stay” < *kam* “to stay, stand, halt, rest”.³

Most probably, also IE **ph₂tēr* “father” belongs here.⁴

TABLE 1. The Native Armenian Descendants of the Verbal Root **peh₂-* “to Protect, Guard, Watch, Pasture”

PIE	<i>*h₃eui-</i> “sheep”	<i>*h₃eui-peh₂-</i> “sheep-guard”	<i>*peh₂-</i> “to protect, guard, pasture”
Hittite/Luw.	CLuw. <i>hāyi-</i>		Hitt. <i>paḥš-</i> “to protect, guard”
Sanskrit	<i>ávi-</i>	<i>avi-pā-lá-</i> “shepherd”	<i>pā-ti</i> “to protect, guard”
Armenian	[<i>*howi-</i>]	<i>hoviv</i> , <i>a</i> -stem “shepherd”	<i>hayim</i> “to watch”, cf. <i>hawran</i> “flock”
Greek	<i>ōĩs</i> , <i>ōfiς</i>		<i>πο-μῆν</i> “herdsm.”
Latin	<i>ovis</i>		<i>pāscō</i> “to past.”, cf. <i>pāstor</i> “sheph.”
Slavic	Russ. <i>ов-ya</i>		<i>pasti</i> “pasture”
Tochar. B	<i>ā(u)w</i> “ewe”		

2. Iranian Loanwords

The root is also reflected in several Armenian words borrowed from Iranian derivatives or compounds.

2.1. Iranian **pā-* and **pā-ta-*

- *apat* “inhabited/cultivated place” < **ā-pā-ta-*, cf. Bactr. *αβαδο* adj. “cultivated”, NPers. *ābād* “cultivated, inhabited, prosperous (place, settlement)”;

² For a discussion of Arm. *hayim*, *hay*, and *hawran*, see Martirosyan 2010, 386–387, 401.

³ For the suffix, cf. Olsen 1999, 287–301, especially 295; Martirosyan 2010, 344, 401.

⁴ See, e.g., Clackson 2007, 70. For a detailed discussion of this and other interpretations of **ph₂tēr*, as well as other **-ter-*formations, see HAB 4:31–32; Tremblay 2003; Pinault 2005, 2007.

- *hpatak*, *a*-stem “subject; vassal, serf”, adj. “obeying, obedient; persistent” < **hu-pātaka*- “well-protected, well-guarded”, cf. Av. *hu-pāta*- adj. “well-guarded”, MPers. m. PN *Hu-pād* [*hwp’i*] “*Well-protected”,⁵
- *šahap* “vice-roy, governor, prefect, mayor” and m. PN *Šahap* < MPers. *šahrap* “satrap, the vice-roy or governor of a province”, Parth. *xšahrap* [*hštrp*], MPers. m. PN *Šahrab* [*štrp*] < OIran. **xšaθra-pā*-, as well as *Šahpan* and *Šahrapan* < **Xšaθra-pā-na*- (cf. Assy. m. PN *Satarpānu*, etc.; Martirosyan 2021, 275–276 № 541, 278–279 № 549, 280 № 551);
- *Šahpat*, m. PN in a seventeenth-century inscription from Čartar, Artsakh/Karabakh (Barxutareanc’ 1895, 116),⁶ most probably from OIran. **xšaθra-pāta*-.

2.2. Iranian **pā-θra(-ka)*-

- *pa(r)h*, *u*-stem⁷ “guard, watch, ward”, *pah-k’*, *o*-stem, pl. “abstinence, fasting” < **pāθra*- (cf. ManMPers. *pāhr* [*p’hr*] “watch-post”), whence the verb *pa(r)hem* “to guard, preserve, keep”, e.g. *pahesjik’ zawrēns/φυλάξεσθε τὸν νόμον* “you shall guard/preserve this law” in Exodus 13.10 (Zeyt’unyan 1992, 95), cf. *awrin-a-pah* “observing or keeping the law”.
- *pa(r)hak*, *a*-stem “keeper, guardian; garrison; fortress, fortified place” < **pāθra-ka*- (cf. ManParth. and ManMPers. *pahrag* [*phrg*] “watch-post, watch”).
- *pahaker*, *a*-stem “watchman, overseer, tutor” (gen.pl. *pahaker-a-c’* in Isaiah 33.18) < **pāθra-kara*-, cf. Sogd. *āpaš-karē* [’*pškr’k*] “chief of guards” (if from **ā-pāθra-kara*;⁸ for **ā-pāθra*- “protection”, cf. Elam. *Ab-bat-ra*, *Ha-bat-ra*, etc.; see Hinz 1975, 31, 190; Tavernier 2007, 107 §4.2.64; ÈtimSlovIran 6:286, 288).
- *Aparhayik*, var. lect. *Aparhac’i*, *Aparhik*, *Aparahik*, etc. “a Persian regiment, troop” is attested in Ełišē 5.⁹ The word must be of Iranian origin, though its source is not specified.¹⁰

Asatrian (1997, 179–180) explains the word as a loan from Iranian **apar-rah-īk* “chariot-rider, charioteer”, assuming a development into Arm. **aparahik* and subsequently, through metathesis, into *Aparhayik*. However, this interesting explanation is not entirely satisfactory for several reasons: (a) there is no direct evidence for such an Iranian form; (b)

⁵ For the names, see Gignoux 1986, 100 № 462.

⁶ The inscription does not exist anymore, see DivHayVim 5:163–164 № 569. For another attestation of this personal name, see AčaṙAnjn 4:171, s.v. *Šnorhawor* № 2.

⁷ For *u*-stem in this word and in other Iranian loanwords, see Olsen 1999, 860–861; Korn 2013, 80 and *passim*.

⁸ For the Sogdian word, see Gharib 1995, 9a № 222; ÈtimSlovIran 6:288. However, the title ’*pškr’k* is better explained as ’*p* + *škr’k*, “waterer” (Sims-Williams, pers. comm. referring to Livshits).

⁹ Tēr-Minasean 1957, 115 line 24; English translation: Thomson 1982, 168.

¹⁰ HAB 1:231–232; Ĵahukyan 1987, 565, in the discussion on the prefix *ap(a)*-, Ĵahukyan 2010, 68a. Thomson (1982, 168n10) translates “the people of Apar”.

a geminate *rr* would rather have produced Arm. *ř* (cf. Parth. *farr* > Arm. *p‘ar-k‘* “glory”); (c) the assumed metathesis is not very convincing.

A more plausible analysis is to view the word as composed of the aforementioned Iranian **ā-pāθra-* “protection” and the suffix **-īk-* > Arm. *-ik*, as in Arm. *matean* > *maten-ik gund* “elite/choice regiment, troop” (see HAB 3:268–269; Nyberg 1974, 128–129; Ĵahukyan 1987, 569; Garsoĳian 1989, 544–545). If so, the underlying meaning of **aparh(a)-* would have been “protecting/guardian regiment or troop, garrison”.

2.3. Iranian **pā-na(-ka)-*

(a) *-(a)pan* “guard, protector” < **pā-na-* in many such formations as *barapan* and *darapan* “porter, doorkeeper” (Bible+), cf. ManMPers. *darbān* [*drb’n*] “gatekeeper; guardian of the pass” (note the synonymous compound *dīn-apan* with inherited *duīn* “door”, Bible+); *grapan*, *a*-stem “hem of clothing, collar of a coat, edges of a garment; ephod; pocket” (Bible+; also *grapanak* in Philo, etc.) (cf. MPers. *grīwbān*, NPers. *girībān* “neck-guard, gorget” < **graiya-pāna-* “neck-holder, neck-protector”¹¹); *dastapan* “hilt of a sword” (with **dasta-* “hand, handle”, cf. NPers. *dastbān* “a type of strap or covering for the hand or forearm, a forearm guard, an iron piece worn on the forearm during battle”,¹² etc.); *marzpan* “governor of a march, governor of a border province” with *marz* “region, border province” (cf. ManMPers. *marzbān* “governor of a border district, margrave” with *marz* “boundary, border, march”¹³); etc. Note that in many cases when the first components are attested in Armenian also independently it is difficult to determine whether the word was formed on Armenian soil or represents a direct borrowing from an Iranian compound, later adapted with the productive connective vowel *-a-*.

(b) *-(a)panak* < **pāna-* (see the previous one) + **-ka-* (cf. ManParth. *pānag* [*p’ng*] “guardian, guard; shepherd”, ManMPers. *pānāg* [*p’n’g*] “protector, guard”) in, e.g.:

kšt-a-panak “side-bracelet, armlet for the right arm” (Bible+), with *kušt* “side, flank; belly” (cf. MPers. *kust* “side, direction; district”, NPers. *kušt* “belly”) as the first member of the compound (Gippert 1993, 1:110–114; Olsen 1999, 247, 888).

paštpan, *a*-stem “defender, protector, patron” (Bible+), *paštpanak* “defence” (T’ovma Arcruni), *p’uštipan*, *a*-stem “bodyguard, lifeguard” (P’awstos Buzand, Łazar P’arpec’i, etc.) and *p’štipan*, *a*-stem “bodyguard, lifeguard” (Elišē, Łewond, etc.) < **pršti-pān(a)-*, literally “back-supporter”, cf. YAv. *paršta-* m. “back, spine, support in the back”, *paršti* “back”, ManParth. and ManMPers. *pušt* [*pwšt*] “back; backing support, protection”, Skt. *prṣṭhá-* n. “back, mountain-ridge, top”, *prṣṭi-* f. “rib”, etc. The by-forms *paštpan* and *p’uštipan* are both attested since the Classical period. However, the latter is a relatively late loan from SWIran. **puštīpān* (cf. ManMPers. *puštībān* [*pwštīb’n*] “protector”), whereas the

¹¹ For the Iranian forms, see ÈtimSlovIran 3:291–292, 6:282.

¹² We are indebted to Anooshik Melikian for checking the meanings of the Persian word.

¹³ For the Iranian forms, see ÈtimSlovIran 5:258–260; Ciancaglini 2008, 209–210.

former, in view of its unaspirated initial *p*- and the following vowel *-a*-, should be regarded as an earlier borrowing from a NWIran. source (see especially Bolognesi 1960, 26–27).

varapanak “(military) cloak, cuirass” (Bible+) (also *varapan* in Afrahat, T’ovma Arcruni, etc.) < **varah-pāna-ka*- “breast-protector” (Hübschmann 1897, 244; HAB 4:315b; Ĵahukyan 1987, 545; Olsen 1999, 247, 323 with fn. 266, 909). Direct evidence for such an Iranian compound is in fact attested in Sogdian in Manichaean script: *w’rpn̄y* “breastplate”.¹⁴ Compare Arm. *srt-a-panak* “horse breast-cover”, with native Armenian *sirt* “heart” (HAB 4:220b).

Note also *lanĵ-a-pan* and *lanĵ-a-panak* “cuirass” (Alexander Romance and Yovhannēs Draxanakertc‘i) with the inherited root *lanĵ* “breast”.

These four homonymous words, each composed of a body-part term for “side/breast/back” and the component *-pan(ak)* “protector”, illustrate three different types of compounds:

- (a) *pašt̄pan* and *varapanak*: synchronically opaque (complete borrowings from Iranian since there are no independent Armenian words **pašt̄*- “back” and **var*- “breast”);
- (b) *lanĵ-a-panak*: an Armenian compound (native *lanĵ* “breast” + Iranian *panak*);
- (c) *kšt̄-a-panak*: a compound of two Iranian components, the first of which is also attested independently in Armenian. In such cases, it is difficult to determine whether the word was formed on Armenian soil or represents a direct borrowing from an Iranian compound, later adapted with the productive connective vowel *-a*-.

For *gr-a-panak*, see §3.5.

There are many more *-pan* and *-panak*-derivatives in old and young stages of Armenian literature, most of which are clearly Armenian formations, e.g., *sṛnapan* “leg/shank-armour, greaves” (Bible+) with native *srun-k* “shank”, in contrast with the synonymous *zank/gapan(ak)* “stocking, hose” (Bible+) < “shank-protector” with MPers. *zang* “ankle, shank”.¹⁵

Remarkable are *pahapan(ak)* “keeper, guard, watchman” and *pa(r)hakapan* “guard, garrison” (Bible+), which combine two of these formations, namely **pāḡra(-ka)*- and **pāna(-ka)*-, cf. MPers. *pās-bān*- “guardian, watcher; shepherd”, ManParth. *pahragbān* [*phrgb’n*] “keeper of a watch-post”; note also Iranian loanwords: Syriac *pahragbānā* [*phrgbn*] “the town guard”, Talm. Aram. *prhgbn* “tax collector”, etc.¹⁶ For *pahpanak*, see §3.3.

2.4. The component *-(a)pan(ak)* became highly productive in Armenian, and even more widespread are formations with *-pah*, which often appear interchangeably. The following

¹⁴ For the Sogdian form, see Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst 2022, 235a.

¹⁵ HAB s.vv.; Abelyan 1965, 276 §224; Ĵahukyan 1987, 569; Olsen 1999, 321–323, 627. For synchronically opaque examples from the dialects, cf. *t’umban* “drawers” (HayBrbBaṛ 2:143b) and *č’oban* “shepherd” (Ačārean 1902, 279).

¹⁶ For the Semitic forms, see Ciancaglini 2008, 228.

is a selection of both old and modern formations with *-(a)pan(ak)*, collected from reverse dictionaries (Grigoryan 1976 and Jungmann/Weitenberg 1993) as well as other standard dictionaries:

agarakapan “farmer” < *agarak* “farm”;
axorapan “groom” < *axor* “stall, stable”;
aygepan < **aygi-a-pan* “gardener” < *aygi* “vineyard, garden”;
bantapan “gaoler, keeper of a prison” < *bant/d* “prison”;
drogapan “cart-driver, drayman” < *drog* “a kind of wagon” (HayBrbBar 1:351b);
eramakapan “shepherd” < *eramak* “herd, flock”;
zinapan “guard of armour” < *zēn* “weapon, arm”;
xozapan “swine-herd” < *xoz* “pig, swine”;
kapanapan “gaoler, gaol-keeper” < *kapan* “tie, bond”;
karapan “coachman” < *kar-k* “coach, carriage, chariot”;
hnoc’apan “baker, oven-keeper” < *hnoc* “oven, furnace”;
jiapan “horse-boy, stable-boy” < *ji* “horse”;
pandokapan “tavern-keeper” < *pandok* “inn, tavern”;
partapan “debtor” < *part* “debt, duty”;
saylapan “cart-driver, drayman” < *sayl* “wagon”;
senekapan “chamberlain” < *seneak* “chamber”;
p’łapan “cornac, mahout, elephant-driver” < *p’it* “elephant”;
p’rnapan “baker, oven-keeper” < *p’urn* “oven, bake-house”.

3. Armenian *pa(r)h-/pan-* in Words for “Amulet, Phylactery”

Several derivatives and compounds with the Armenian root *pah* and *pan* often refer to “amulet, phylactery”.

3.1. The Classical Armenian word *pahanord* “guardian, watch” is later used in the meaning “amulet, phylactery”. Let us see one attestation for each meaning:

Եւ կացաք յաղօթս առ Տէր Աստուած մեր, և կացուցաք պահանորդս ի վերայ մեր ի տուէ և ի զիշերի առ ի յերեսաց թշնամեացն.

Ew kac’ak’ yałōt’s ar Tēr Astuac mer, ew kac’uc’ak’ pahanords i veray mer i tuē ew i gišeri ar i yeresac’ t’snameac’n.

“And we made prayer to our God and set guardians on us day and night, because of the enemies” (Nehemiah 4.9; Zōhrapean 1805, 2:435).

Արարիցք քեզ պահանորդս, զի մի՛ ականահարեցիս կամ ականահարիս յումնքէ.

Araric’ k’ez pahanords, zi mí aknaharesc’is kam aknaharis yumek’ē.

“I will make amulets for you so that you will not be struck by the Evil Eye from anyone” (H/Yaysmawurk’ 21 and 22 *apud* NHB 2:586c).

3.2. The aforementioned *pahapan* “keeper, guard, watchman” (§2.3) is also attested in the *Kanonagirk’ Hayoc’*, in contrast to its syncopated form *pahpan*, the latter denoting

“amulet, phylactery” and occurring alongside the synonymous *hmayeak* “amulet, talisman, phylactery”. The relevant passage reads (Hakobyan KH 1:237 lines 3–5):¹⁷

Չէ մարթ քահանայից եւ ուխտաւորաց մոզս եւ թովիչս եւ դիւթս եւ վիռուկս լինել կամ
առնել հմայեակս եւ պահպանս, որ ճշմարտութեամբ չեն պահապանք, այլ կապանք
հոգւոնցն նոցին:

Č'ē mart' k'ahanayic' ew uxtaworac' mogs ew t'ovič's ew diwt's ew vhuks linel kam arnel
hmayeaks ew pahpans (var. lect. pahapans, pahpanaks), or čšmartut'eamb č'en pahapanak',
ayl kapank' hogwoc'n noc'in.

“It is not permitted for priests and monks to be magicians, sorcerers, charmers, or witches,
nor to make enchantments or amulets, for these are not true protectors, but rather chains
upon their souls”.

3.3. One also finds *pahpanak* “guard, protector; armour” < implying OIran. **pāθra-pāna-*
ka-, attested, e.g., in Movsēs Xorenac'i 1.11 (1913=1991, 36 line 1):

ew pahpanaks barjic' ew bazkac'

“armor covered his legs and arms” (translation after Thomson 2006, 84).

This form too is found in Canon Law, in acc.pl. *pahpanaks hmayakans* “enchanting
phylacteries” (NHB 2:588c).

3.4. Further, we encounter *pahpanakan*, a derivative with the suffix *-akan*, used in
reference to “phylacteries” – objects that people tie to the arms and heads or necks of their
children and livestock (NHB 2:588c).

Գրեն ի քարտիսի եւ կապեն ի բազուկս եւ ի պարանոցս մանկանց իւրեանց եւ անասնոց
<...> եւ պահպանականս կոչեն (Canon Law *apud* NHB 2:588c).

Gren i k'artisi ew kapen i bazuks ew i paranoc's mankanč' iwreanc' ew anasnoc' ew
pahpanakans koč'en.

“They write on a slip of paper and tie it to the arms and necks of their children and livestock
and call them ‘protective charms’”.

Ի գիրս փոքունս գրել եւ կախել ի վերայ լանջացն, զոր պահպանականք կոչեին.¹⁸

I girs p'ok'uns greł ew kaxel i veray lanjac'n, zor pahpanakank' koč'ēin.

“They write in small books and hang them over the chest, which they called ‘protective
charms’”.

3.5. ClArm. *graparak* “amulet, phylactery” is attested in Matthew 23.5 (Zōhrapēan 1805,
4:51; Künzle 1984, 1:61a) rendering Greek *φυλακτήριον* “guarded post, fort, security;
amulet” (Künzle 1984, 2:172a).

The word *graparak* has been interpreted as *gir pahpanōt* “protecting writing” or *gir*
pahpanut'ean “writing of protection” by Mxit'ar Sebastac'i (1749, 197b). Hübschmann

¹⁷ For other attestations of the syncopated form *pahpan*, gen.pl. *pahpan-a-c'* see KH 1:322 line 2, 413
line 9.

¹⁸ Yovhannēs Erznkac'i Corcorec'i (Nersēs Šnorhali), “Commentary on Matthew” *apud* NHB 2:588c.

(1897, 132 № 153) treats it as a compound of Arm. *gir* “letter, script, writing” and *panak* “guard”, glossing it as “Schriftbewahrer”, and distinguishes it from the homonymous word *grapanak* “hem of clothing, ephod”, which is wholly an Iranian loanword, cf. MPers. *grīwbān* “neck-guard, gorget” (see §2.3). This interpretation has been widely accepted (Künzle 1984, 2:172a; Olsen 1999, 248n105, 873; Ĵahukyan 2010, 175b, but see 1987, 521, 568, 577; see also Ališan 1910, 411, 431; Abelyan 1965, 276 §224). Ačāryan (HAB 1:602–603, with literature), however, argues that in this case the primary meaning of *grapanak* “amulet” would have been “script-holder/container” rather than “guardian script”, and considers it identical with the Iranian loanword *grapan(ak)* “*neck-holder/protector”.

However, this is not a decisive counterargument since the component **panak* < Iranian **pāna-ka-* can also refer to “holding, containing”, cf., e.g., Choresm. *-βn(y)k* “storage, container, vessel” (ÈtimSlovIran 6:283). Besides, there is a considerable amount of ethnographic material from different regions of Armenia on amulets with written incantations, sewed in leather and hung from the neck of children and animals to keep evil away from them.¹⁹ One can therefore assume that *gr-a-panak* “*amulet that contains script (sewed on or hung from the neck)” is an independent formation on Armenian grounds, though a mutual interrelationship with the homonymous *grapan(ak)* < Iranian **graiya-pāna-* “neck-holder, neck-protector” is conceivable.

4. Armenian *pay*, *payn* “A Mythical Creature”

4.1. Arm. *pay*, *payn* “a mythical creature” is attested twice by Eznik Kołbac‘i (5th century) and in a few other sources. The evidence suggests that the more reliable form is *payn* (Mariès 1927). This is supported by dialectal forms, of which Ačāryan (HAB 4:16a) records only *tn-payn* “house-protecting (spirit)” in Agulis and *tn-pan* in Astapat, noting that the diphthong *ay* is regularly preserved intact in Agulis.

4.2. One also finds *pan* “a spirit dwelling in forests, whose presence deters people from urinating at the foot of trees” in the dialect of Evdokia (modern Tokat) (Gazančean 1899, 50). This form may likewise derive from the word *payn* under discussion, with the change *ay* > *a* being entirely regular in this dialect; cf. *ayl* > *al* “other”, *hayr* > *har* “father”, *jayn* > *jan* “sound, voice”, etc. (see Gazančean 1899, 13). By comparing the eastern dialectal sense “house-protecting (spirit)” in Agulis with the far western Evdokia meaning “forest-protecting (spirit)”, and by combining these dialectal data with the Classical testimony of Eznik Kołbac‘i, we can plausibly reconstruct an Old Armenian form *payn* meaning “protecting spirit or divinity”.

¹⁹ For a significant part of the data, we are grateful to Satenik Gharagyozyan. Here we present only a few of the many available data: Ačārean 1913, 378a; Vardanyan 2009, 98, 301 (Hamšen); Petoyan 1965, 496 (Sasun); Ter-Mkrtč‘yan 1970, 148–150 (Van); Mik‘ayelyan 1980, 142b (Nor Bayazet); Lisic‘yan 1969, 200, 309 (Syunik); Hovsep‘yan 2009, 1:213, 448 (Łaradał).

One might ask whether Evdokia *pan* could in fact reflect the Greek theonym *Πάν*. Although this interpretation does not appear very plausible, the possibility should not be excluded entirely and may merit consideration in future research.

4.3. This word has no generally accepted etymology. Although some attempts have been made to compare it with Iranian **pā(-na)-*, these have not gained acceptance due to uncertainties regarding its form and basic meaning (HAB 4:16a; Feydit 1987, cf. especially 318–319n4; Ĵahukyan 2010, 619a). More promising is Asatrian’s (2013, 16) cautious and passing comparison with MPers. *pāy* “protector”, which raises neither phonetic nor semantic difficulties. In our opinion, we are dealing here with a noun derived from the base **pe/oh₂i-u-s*, itself formed from the Indo-European root **peh₂-i-* discussed in this paper (§1.4), whose descendants include:

- Skt. *pāyú-* m. “guard, protector, protective spirit, protective god”;

- OAv. and YAv. *pāiiu-* m. “guardian, protector, shepherd” (cf. ManParth. and ManMPers. *pāy-* [p’y-] “to protect, guard; to keep (a fast)”; **Pāyu-ka-* > Assyr. m. PN *Paiukku* (Schmitt 2009, 118–119 № 100), Elam. *Ba-a-uk-ka₄*, etc. (Tavernier 2007, 274–275 §4.2.1302). Note also Oss. *fæjjaw* (*fijjaw*, *fyjjaw*) “shepherd” < prob. OIran. **pāiāua-* “protector” (Abaev IÈSOJa 1, 1958, 431–432; EWAia 2:121; Cheung 2002, 183; ÈtimSlovIran 6:277–284).

- Gr. *ποιμήν* m. “herdsman”, *πῶν*, *-εος* n. “flock of sheep”.

For the structure of **pe/oh₂i-ú-*, cf. Skt. *tāyú-* m. “thief” < **(s)teh₂-i-ú-* (Lubotsky 1988, 44–45).

The Middle Iranian noun **pāy(u)-*, descended from this form, could, like its Indo-Aryan cognate, have meant “protective spirit or deity”. From this form, the Armenian word *pay-n* could easily have been borrowed, with the additional *-n* (on which, see Weitenberg 1985). One may recall in this connection the synonym *čiwat* “a mythical creature”, alongside which a variant form *čuatn* is also attested (HAB 3:203a). On the other hand, the final nasal of the Armenian word may be compared with the nasal suffix of the theonym **peh₂us-(V)n-*, the name of the pastoral god and protector of animals, cf. Vedic *Pūśán-* and the Greek *Πάν*, *Πάων*, both usually derived from the same verbal root **peh₂-* (see Mallory and Adams 1997, 415; Oettinger 2000; West 2007, 281–283, 293, 302–303; Beekes 2010, 2:1149). In that case, the Armenian word *payn* may plausibly be regarded as a borrowing from Iranian **peh₂i-u-n-*.

4.4. Finally, there is a hapax, *pew* “demon”, found in a list of demonic designations in a text attributed to Nersēs the Great (Matenadaran MS 582). The text was published by Xaç’ikyan (1973, 41–42), but this word has remained outside the scope of scholarship. The existence of the word is confirmed by the Araratian dialect.²⁰ The form may tentatively be interpreted as a borrowing from Old Iranian **pāyu-a-* > Middle Iranian **pēw-*; for the

²⁰ For the dialectal form, see Amatuni 1912, 555b; Ačarean 1913, 906b.

formation, cf. Old Iranian **daiu-a-* > Middle Iranian **dēw-* > Armenian *dew* “demon”. On the other hand, one should also note the above-mentioned Old Iranian form *pāiāua-* “protector”. We hope to discuss this and other demonic terms occurring in that text in greater detail on another occasion.

5. Summary

The Indo-European verbal root **peh₂*- “to protect, guard; to graze, tend (livestock)” is represented in Armenian through native developments such as **ph₂-tēr* “father” > *hayr*, **h₃eui-peh₂*- “sheep-herder” (cf. Sanskrit *avi pā-lá* “shepherd”) > **howiwā-* > *hoviw* (instrumental *hovu-a-w*), **peh₂-je-* > *hayim* “to look, gaze on, observe, watch”, and **peh₂-tro-* > *hawr-an* “flock, sheepfold” (§1).

It is also reflected in numerous words and personal names borrowed from Iranian sources: *apat* “inhabited/cultivated place”, *barapan* “porter, doorkeeper”, *grapan* “hem of clothing”, *darapan* “porter, doorkeeper”, *hpatak* “subject, vassal”, *šahap* “vice-roy, governor, mayor”, *č’oban* “shepherd”, *pa(r)hak* “keeper, guardian, garrison”, *pa(r)hem* “to guard, preserve, keep”, *pahapan* “keeper, guard, watchman”, *Šahap*, *Šahpan*, *Šahrapan*, *Šahpat*, etc. (§2).

The pattern (“side/breast/back” + *-pan(ak)* “protector”) is represented in three different types of compounds:

- (a) *paštpan/p(u)štipan* and *varapanak*: synchronically opaque (complete borrowings from Iranian since there are no independent Armenian words **pašt-* “back” and **var-* “breast”);
- (b) *lanj-a-panak*: an Armenian compound (native *lanj* “breast” + Iranian *panak*);
- (c) *kšt-a-panak*: a compound of two Iranian components, the first of which is also attested independently in Armenian. In such cases, it is difficult to determine whether the word was formed on Armenian soil or represents a direct borrowing from an Iranian compound, later adapted with the productive connective vowel *-a-* (§2.3).

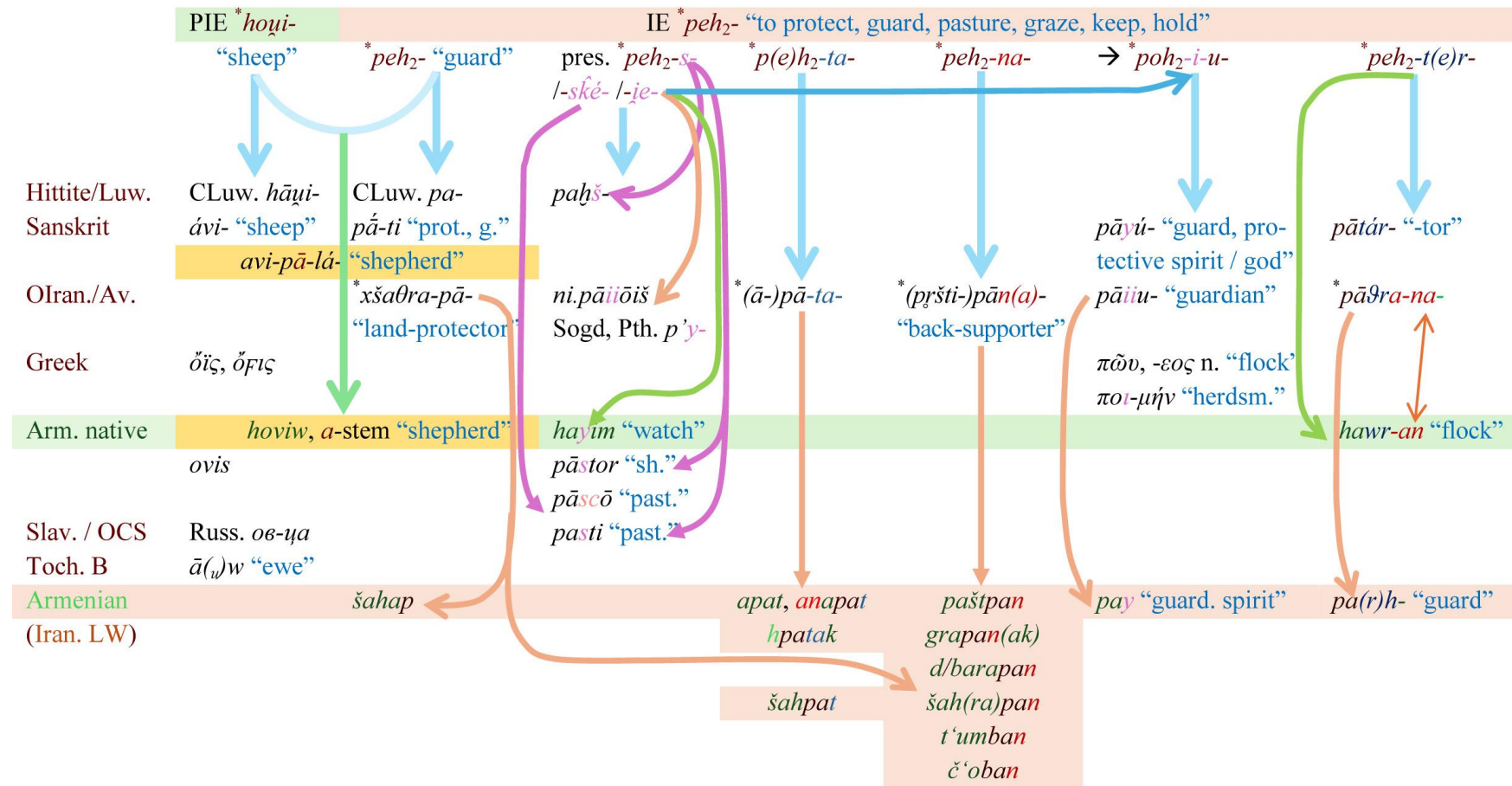
Some of these loanwords are notable for combining two such formations, e.g. *pahapan(ak)* “keeper, guard, watchman” and *pa(r)hakapan* “guard, garrison”, which reflect combinations of Iranian **pāθra(-ka)-* and **pāna(-ka)-*, cf. Middle Persian *pās-bān* “guardian, watcher; shepherd” and Manichaean Parthian *pahragbān* [*phrgb’n*] “keeper of a watch-post”. Since both components are also productive in Armenian, it is often difficult to determine whether these words are direct borrowings from Iranian compounds or were formed on Armenian soil (§2.3).

Special attention is devoted to several **pā*-derivatives and compounds whose primary meaning “guard, protector; armour” developed further to “magical protective object, amulet, phylactery”, such as *pahanord*, *pahapan*, *pahpanak*, and *grapanak*. Within the

broader issue of the interplay between the native and Iranian strata of the Armenian lexicon, particularly noteworthy is *grapan(ak)* “hem of clothing, ephod; pocket” < Iranian **graiya-pāna-* “neck-holder, neck-protector”, which was later contaminated with, or reinterpreted as, *gr-a-panak* “amulet containing script (sewn on or hung from the neck)”, a compound of Arm. *gir* “letter, script, writing” and *panak* “guard” (§3).

Arm. *pay*, *payn* “a mythical creature” is attested twice by Eznik Koṭbac‘i (5th century) and in a few other sources and has been preserved dialectally as Agulis *tn-payn* and Astapat *tn-pan* “house-protecting (spirit)”, and Evdokia *pan* “a spirit dwelling in forests, whose presence deters people from urinating at the foot of trees”. Based on these data, we can confidently reconstruct an Old Armenian form *payn* “protecting spirit or divinity”. This word was plausibly borrowed from Middle Iranian **pāy(u)-* “protective spirit or deity” which reflects IE **pe/oh₂i-u-s*: OAv. and YAv. *pāiiu-* m. “guardian, protector, shepherd”, MPers. *pāy* “protector”, Skt. *pāyú-* m. “guard, protector, protective spirit, protective god”, etc. For the Armenian by-form *pay-n*, cf. the synonymous *čuałn* from *čiwat* “a mythical creature”. On the other hand, the final nasal of the Armenian word may be compared with the nasal suffix of the theonym **peh₂us-(V)n-*, the name of the pastoral god and protector of animals, cf. Vedic *Pūṣán-* and the Greek *Πάων*, *Πάωνι*, both usually derived from the same verbal root **peh₂-* “to protect, guard, pasture, graze, keep, hold”. One also finds Arm. *pew* “demon”, which may be interpreted as a borrowing from Middle Iranian **pēw-* < Old Iranian *pāyu-a-* (§4).

TABLE 2. Summary of the Lexical Material Discussed in This Paper



Abbreviations

AčarAnjn: Hayoc‘ anjnanunneri bařaran [Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names]

Arm.: Armenian

Assyr.: Assyrian

Av.: Avestan

Bactr.: Bactrian

CIArm.: Classical Armenian

CLuw.: Cuneiform Luwian

Choresm.: Choresmian

DivHayVim: Divan hay vimagrut‘yan [Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions]

Elam.: Elamite

ÈtimSlovIran: Ètimologičeskij slovar’ iranskix jazykov [Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Languages]

ÈtimSlovIran 3: V.S. Rastorgueva, and D.I. Èdel’man 2007

ÈtimSlovIran 5: Èdel’man 2015

ÈtimSlovIran 6: Èdel’man 2020

EWAia: Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen, by Manfred Mayrhofer

Gr.: Greek

HAB: Hayerēn armatakan bařaran [Armenian Root Dictionary]

HAB 1: Ačarġan 1971

HAB 3: Ačarġan 1977

HAB 4: Ačarġan 1979

HayBrbBař: Hayoc‘ lezvi barbarayin bařaran [Armenian Dialectal Dictionary]

HayBrbBař 1: 2001

HayBrbBař 2: 2002

Hitt.: Hittite

IE: Indo-European

Iran. LW: Iranian Loanword

KH: Kanonagirk‘ Hayoc‘ [Armenian Book of Canons], by Vazgen Hakobyan

Khot.: Khotanese

Lat.: Latin

LIV: Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen, by Helmut Rix, Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp, and Brigitte Schirmer

Luw.: Luwian

ManParth.: Manichaeian Parthian

MPers.: Middle Persian

NHB: Nor baġirk‘ haykazean lezui [New Dictionary of the Armenian Language], by G. Siwrmēlean Awetik‘ean, and M.X. Awgerean.

NPers.: New Persian

NWIran.: North-West-Iranian

OAv.: Old Avestan

OCS: Old Church Slavonic

OIran.: Old Iranian

PIE: Proto-Indo-European

PN: Personal Name

Russ.: Russian

Skt.: Sanskrit

Slav.: Slavic

SWIran.: South-West-Iranian

Talm. Aram.: Talmud Aramaic

Toch. B: Tocharian B

YAv.: Young Avestan

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