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The Missing Link?

The New Persian of the 16th–18th Centuries
in Three Socio-Political Spheres

FOROGH HASHABEIKY



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ABSTRACT

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The period of the 16th–18th centuries, when the Safavids were one of the major political powers in the region, is an important era for Persian linguistic evolution. New Persian was the literary language and *lingua franca* of a vast area stretching from Anatolia to China and the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, and from Central Asia to present-day Afghanistan and Iran. The later political separation of post-Safavid Iran from Central Asia and Afghanistan led to the dialectal variations of New Persian. Yet, the New Persian of this period is extremely understudied. The purpose of this book is to provide a description of the New Persian of the 16th–18th centuries with a focus on a selected set of linguistic parameters that can provide us with clues for tracing the process of language change from late Classical New Persian to Modern New Persian and the further dialectal developments. The corpus of this study is based on twelve works from three different regions: four historiographical works from Safavid Iran; three historiographical works and a *tazkira* ‘biographical work’ from the Khanate of Bukhara (Central Asia); and two historiographical works, an autobiographical work and a memoir from Mughal India. With the exception of one work, this study is based on the handwritten manuscripts of these works. The main method used in this study is “close reading” of at least seventy pages from each of the included works. Statistical tables are selectively provided for some parameters only as a supplementary method. The co-existence of alternative morpho-syntactic structures with the low frequency of classical forms in the present corpus indicates an ongoing language change moving towards its completion.

Keywords: New Persian 16th–18th centuries, Transitional Period, Dialectal Variations, Safavid Iran, Mughal India, The Khanate of Bukhara.

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*In memory of
my beloved parents
Zahra Mofidi Rochi (1941–2020)
Fazlollah Hashabeiky (1929–2021)*

Content

Tables.....	9
Abbreviations.....	11
Acknowledgments	13
1 Introduction.....	15
2 Presentation of the works.....	23
2.1 Safavid Iran (1501–1723).....	23
2.2 Mughal India (1526–1857).....	28
2.3 The Khanate of Bukhara (Central Asia) (1583–1745).....	35
3 Phonology and Ortography.....	43
3.1 Phonology	43
3.1.1 Vowels.....	44
3.1.2 Consonants	45
3.2 Orthography	46
3.2.1 Persian consonant letters	51
3.2.2 The interchangeable use of <ذ> and <د>.....	52
3.2.3 The consonant letter <س>.....	52
3.2.4 Initial/medial/final /ā/.....	53
3.2.5 Medial /u/.....	53
3.2.6 Medial /i/, /ī/.....	53
3.2.7 Attached and detached writing	54
3.2.8 Ezafe	61
3.2.9 Indefinite -ī.....	63
3.2.10 Final -a <ا/و>	64
3.2.11 Arabic words and phrases.....	65
3.2.12 Tashdid	65
4 Morphology	67
4.1 Nominal system.....	67
4.1.1 Nouns: some general remarks on case, number, and species	67
4.1.2 Adjectives	71
4.1.3 Adverbs.....	77
4.1.4 Pronouns	79

4.1.5 Adpositions.....	92
4.1.6 Cardinal and ordinal numbers.....	122
4.2 Verbal system.....	123
4.2.1 Verb forms based on the non-past stem.....	124
4.2.2 Verb forms based on the past stem.....	134
4.2.3 The defective verbs <i>būdan</i> and <i>dāshtan</i>	139
4.2.4 The evidential category	142
4.2.5 Possession.....	149
4.2.6 Impersonal constructions.....	152
4.2.7 Passive	155
4.2.8 Progressive	156
4.2.9 Simple and non-simple verbs	156
4.2.10 Causative verbs.....	158
4.2.11 Person and number agreement.....	160
5 Syntactic structures.....	163
5.1 Coordination.....	163
5.1.1 Participial clauses and clause-chaining structures	163
5.2 Subordination	167
5.2.1 Relative clauses	168
5.2.2 Conditional clauses.....	170
6 Stylistic features.....	175
6.1 Figurative language and rhymed prose	175
6.2 Arabic and [Chaghatay] Turkish influences.....	177
Summary.....	183
Bibliography	189

Tables

Table. 1 Vowel system	44
Table. 2 Consonants	45
Table. 3 Plural nouns	69
Table. 4 The morphosyntax of adjective comparison	71
Table. 5 New Persian personal pronouns	79
Table. 6 The use of <i>īshān</i> for singular and plural referents	84
Table. 7 New Persian pronominal clitics	87
Table. 8 New Persian reflexive pronouns	89
Table. 9 The use of reflexive pronouns	91
Table. 10 The postposition <i>rā</i>	122
Table. 11 New Persian aspecto-modal verbal affixes	123
Table. 12 Present-future with indicative value	126
Table. 13 Present future with subjunctive value and imperatives	133
Table. 14 Past imperfectives	137
Table. 15 Restrictive relative clauses	170

Abbreviations

Manuscripts (MS/S) and Critical Editions (CE)

SI	Safavid Iran
AaT	<i>Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh</i>
TAA	<i>Tārīkh-i ‘Ālamārā-yi ‘Abbāsī</i>
ZaT1	<i>Zubdat al-Tavārīkh 1</i>
ZaT2	<i>Zubdat al-Tavārīkh 2</i>
MI	Mughal India
VB	<i>Vāqi ‘āt-i Bāburī</i>
HN	<i>Humāyūn-nāma</i>
IQJ	<i>Iqbāl-nāma-yi Jahāngīrī</i>
PN	<i>Pādshāh-nāma</i>
KB	The Khanate of Bukhara
MA	<i>Muzakkir-i Aḥbāb</i>
MaB	<i>Musakḥkhir al-Bilād</i>
MaT	<i>Muḥīt al-Tavārīkh</i>
TRS	<i>Tārīkh-i Rāqim-i Samarqandī</i>
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
∅	zero morpheme
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
COMP	comparative degree
DEF	definite
ELT	elative
EZ	ezafe
IMPS	impersonal

INF1	full infinitive
INF2	shortened infinitive
N	noun
NEG	negation
PC	pronominal clitic
PL	plural
POS	positive degree
POSS	possessive
PP	past participle
PRO	pronoun
PRS	present
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
SBJV	subjunctive [value]
SG	singular
SUPR	superlative degree

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1 Introduction

[P]articular periods of political and social upheaval, characterised among other events by population movements, the promotion, destruction or neglect of particular cities and regions, and radical changes in ideology, can have direct effects on sociolinguistic phenomena and may accelerate or otherwise affect longer-term linguistic shifts. The greater Safavid period [...] was just such an era in the history of Iranian society and the Persian language. In particular, the political separation and ideological estrangement of post-Safavid Iran from Central Asia and Afghanistan anticipated the emergence of modern nation states using distinct varieties of Persian. (Perry 1996, p. 269)

The period of the 16th–18th centuries is in many ways an important era for Persian linguistic evolution. It is a transitional period that links the New Persian of the 13th–15th centuries with its modern variants¹ from the late 19th century onward. This period is coincident with the rise and fall of two significant Islamic dynasties in Iran and the Indian subcontinent, the Safavids and the Mughals, and two minor ones in Central Asia centered in Bukhara, the Shaybanids and Ashtarkhanids. The emergence of these dynasties and the political circumstances that were created after their establishment contributed to a new era of cultural and social development. During this period, New Persian was the literary language and *lingua franca* of a vast area stretching from Anatolia to China and the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, and from Central Asia to present-day Afghanistan and Iran.

The Safavid court's interest in Turkish, and the widespread use of Turkish at the court and among military officers and religious dignitaries, together with the fact that Persian was extensively written outside Iran by poets and authors at the court of the Mughal emperors of India and in close contact with Chaghatay Turkish, must have left a mark on many aspects of the New Persian of this period. The growing separation of post-Safavid Iran from Central Asia, which had already begun in the 16th century, not only caused Tajik to evolve independently of Persian, but also resulted in an independent literary development in that region (present-day Tajikistan).

¹ Henceforth, I use the terms Modern New Persian and Persian interchangeably for Modern Standard Persian, Tajik for Modern Standard Tajik, Dari for Modern Standard Dari.

The purpose of this book is to provide a description of the New Persian of the 16th–18th centuries with a focus on a certain set of linguistic parameters. A linguistic description of the New Persian of this period is of great importance, not only for understanding the diachronic processes of language change leading from late Classical New Persian to Modern New Persian, but also for synchronic studies of dialectal variations of the period and the language changes due to language contact. It is also of great importance for further manuscript studies and text edition projects pertaining to this period.

Regarding the history of New Persian, different periodization schemes have been suggested. These are mostly based on a combination of literary and linguistic premises, with the terms “Early New Persian” usually being employed for the New Persian of the 10th–12th centuries and “Classical Persian” for the New Persian of the 13th–19th centuries.² Whatever the periodization, I find the use of “Early” as opposed to “Classical” a bit problematic. I therefore choose to use the terms “early Classical New Persian” for the New Persian of the 10th–12th centuries³ and “late Classical New Persian” for the language of the 13th–15th centuries, both for practical reasons and for the sake of consistency, especially in terms of terminology. I refer to the language of the period under study only as the New Persian of the 16th–18th centuries, as in the title of the book.⁴ I am well aware that using the literary term “Classical” to designate a stage in the history of a language is not optimal,⁵ but it is at least less problematic than using different terms for different stages in the historical development of a language.

There are some comprehensive morphosyntactic studies of both early and late Classical New Persian, but most of these focus on one specific feature of the language, for instance, the verbal system (Lenenpveu-Hotz 2014; Telegdi 1955).⁶ General linguistic descriptions of earlier forms of New Persian are few in number. Examples include Bahar’s *Sabk-shināsī*, 3 vols. (1369/1990), Lazard’s *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane* (1963), Natel Khanlari’s *Tārīkh-i zabān-i fārsī*, 3 vols. (1366/1987) and *Dastūr-i*

² See for instance Lazard (1963, p. 24) and Windfuhr (2008, p. 447).

³ An exception to this rule is made whenever I refer to other works in which the term Early New Persian is used, for instance in 3.1.1.

⁴ Post-classical Persian is an alternative designation used by scholars for the language of this period.

⁵ In fact, Windfuhr (ibid.) uses “the so-called ‘Classical’ Persian” to indicate his reservation about employing a literary term in relation to the history of a language.

⁶ The list of works on one or a limited set of linguistic parameters of Classical New Persian is extremely long and it is impossible to mention even a small fraction of them. Ahadi (2002), for instance, lists 163 works on the historical linguistics of Persian up to 2001. See also Maggi and Orsatti (2018).

tārīkhī-yi zabān-i fārsī (1372/1993), Paul’s article on Early New Persian in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (2013), and Seddiqian’s *Vizhagihā-yi nahvī-yi zabān-i fārsī dar nathr-i qarn-i panjum va shishum-i hijrī* (1383/2004). However, none of these works contributes any information on the morphosyntactic structures of the New Persian of the 16th–18th centuries.

Lazard’s study deals with the period of the 10th–12th centuries. Natel Khanlari’s studies cover early Classical New Persian writings up to the early fourteenth century, while neither Paul’s nor Seddiqian’s studies, as indicated by their titles, go beyond the thirteenth century. Bahar’s study is the only one that devotes a chapter to the language of the 16th–18th centuries. However, like most writings on the language of this period, the focus is on the stylistic variations in poetry and prose and the general stagnation of the Persian language under the Safavids. Bahar begins by mentioning the stylistic features of some important prose works in the Safavid cultural sphere and India. He then briefly mentions some specific structures of the written Persian of this period, merely as evidence of “the decadence of Persian prose”. He also provides some brief notes on the orthography (1369/1990c, pp. 255, 306–8).

To provide a linguistic description of this period’s New Persian, one in which areal linguistic features can also be traced, demands a large and varying corpus. The corpus of this study is based on twelve works from three different regions: four historiographical works from Safavid Iran; three historiographical works and a *tazkira* ‘biographical work’ from the Khanate of Bukhara (Central Asia); and two historiographical works, an autobiographical work and a memoir from Mughal India. The memoir is a Persian translation of an original work in Chaghatay Turkish. With the exception of *Musakkhkir al-Bilād*,⁷ this study is based on the handwritten manuscripts of these works. Whenever necessary, I have compared the extracted examples with corresponding passages in the critical editions.

Most Persian historiographical works include several chapters of universal histories, mostly copied from other earlier histories. For instance, nine out of the ten chapters ‘bābs’ of *Muḥīt al-tavārīkh* are taken and cited from earlier written works. Only the final chapter, i.e. the tenth bāb, was composed by the author himself, in his home city of Bukhara. The pages investigated in the present study are carefully selected from those chapters that the authors wrote about their own time, and mostly in the author’s or scribe’s home region. In an entry on Early New Persian in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Paul (2013) correctly mentions dialectal features, the unknown dates of many of the manuscripts, and the long gap of about 100–200 years between the composition of many works and their extant manuscripts, as being among the factors that make the “linguistic value” of the manuscripts of Early New

⁷ I was unable to get access to any handwritten manuscript of this work.

Persian a bit problematic. He emphasizes that one must carefully consider these factors when attributing linguistic value to such texts and manuscripts. Fortunately, the linguistic value of manuscripts of the specific period studied here is less problematic, as most of the extant manuscripts are from the same century and region as the original work.

The main method used in this study is “close reading” of at least seventy pages from each of the included works.⁸ Statistical tables are selectively provided for some parameters only as a supplementary method to double-check the results already found by my “close reading”. These tables are based on 10–12 sample pages.⁹ No statistical tables are provided for parameters where the alternative uses occurring with very low frequency can be interpreted as remnants of earlier forms.

The audience of this book is assumed to be familiar with the Persian language and its basic morphosyntactic structures. For that reason, the book is not organized like an ordinary grammar dealing with all the basics of New Persian. The linguistic description is based on a carefully selected set of parameters that can provide us with clues for tracing the process of language change from late Classical New Persian to Modern New Persian and the further dialectal developments. Thus, the chapters and subchapters can also be read as independent articles on certain aspects of the New Persian of this period.

In the linguistic description of these works, my point of reference is Modern New Persian, with additional reference being made to Tajik and Dari when relevant. It feels almost superfluous to emphasize that by Modern New Persian I mean the standards of the formal written language. It is beyond the scope of this study to compare the linguistic features of these works with the standards of informal or colloquial Persian. Yet, whenever relevant, I mention some features of colloquial Persian. Reference will also be made to early Classical New Persian, as most observed divergences in the present corpus can be traced back to early Classical New Persian. Language contact will also be pointed out when relevant.

This book is organized into six chapters starting with the present introductory chapter followed by chapter two, which is devoted to the presentation of the included works.

Chapter three is devoted to phonology and orthography. For obvious reasons, limited space is devoted to the phonological description. The description is confined to some remarks on phonological differences between the New Persian of this period and its modern variants, Persian, Tajik, and Dari. The phonological description is mainly based on the peculiarities found

⁸ At least 12000 words from each work.

⁹ About 1600 words from each work.

in the orthography of the manuscripts, with brief reference being made to other studies.

More space is devoted to the orthographic description, as it is an important tool for manuscript studies and text edition projects. The orthographic description is based on manuscripts, with reference being made to earlier studies on the orthography of Classical New Persian manuscripts like those of Matini (1346/1967, 1347/1968), Mayel Heravi (1369/1990), Bahar, 3 vols. (1369/1990), and Fallahzadeh and Hashabeiky (2014).

The morphological and syntactic descriptions are presented in chapters four and five respectively. These have been done within the framework of a structural-functional approach. A certain set of morphosyntactic structures in the works are analyzed with an emphasis on the nominal and verbal systems, syntax, as well as pragmatic features wherever applicable.

The description of the nominal system will focus on both distributional and structural properties. One important issue within the nominal system of Persian is that of Differential Object Marking, and the shift in the function of the postposition *rā*, which in Classical New Persian primarily marks the indirect object, whereas, in Modern New Persian, it predominantly functions as the marker of the direct object. Other aspects under investigation include the plural ending *-hā*, which increasingly replaces the classical plural ending *-ān*: the varying use of 3SG plural *ū/vay* and 3PL pronoun *īshān*; the double pluralization of plural pronouns; the increasing use of *kh^vud* as the main reflexive pronoun; the pronominal clitics that very often function as indirect objects in Classical New Persian but only infrequently in Modern New Persian; the use of prepositions in notions other than those of Modern New Persian; the morphosyntax of adjectives; and the use and frequency of some adverbs of possibility.

The verbal system will be described alongside the special verbal categories of tense-aspect-mood (TAM), voice, person, and number. The semantic factors underlying the TAM categories are usually complex and difficult to get at, as a large number of closely related distinctions tend to overlap with each other in complex combinations (Dahl 1980). The verbal system of Modern New Persian is a good example of this complexity. Verb forms in Persian can cover many underlying semantic distinctions, and the overlapping of tense with aspect or mood causes considerable problems. Moreover, one can observe that some classical verb forms have almost completely disappeared from Modern New Persian, while other verb forms have either emerged or been revived in modern variants of New Persian. The change over time in the morphological marking of some TAM categories, such as present indicative, present subjunctive, preterit, and imperfect, is the main aspect under investigation in the present study. The defective verbs *būdan* and *dāshdan*, possession, impersonal constructions, passive,

progressive, simple and non-simple verbs, causative verbs, and person and number agreement are among the aspects that have been investigated. One topical issue in the verbal system of Persian and the present study is evidentiality, which is widely considered to be a result of language contact with Turkic languages.

As far as syntactic structures are concerned, several issues need to be explored, such as coordination and subordination, which include relative clauses, conditional clauses, participial clauses, and clause-chaining structures. Together with some lexical and morphological features, a number of these syntactic structures can be used to trace the language change due to contact with other languages like Turkic languages.

Chapter six is devoted to stylistic features like figurative language, the use of rhymed prose, long and complex sentences, and the Arabic and Turkish influences. The book ends with a summary and a bibliography.

Supplementary remarks

Apart from a few exceptions, I have tried to confine the number of examples of each morphosyntactic parameter to one example from each work. At the same time, it has been my ambition to include examples from all these works as far as possible. Whenever no example is presented from a particular work, it usually means that I have not been able to find any such example in the selected pages of that work. As far as possible, I have also tried to present examples that contain alternative uses of the same parameter, as a way to indicate the transitional nature of the New Persian of this period. In such examples the use in focus is underlined as (_____), and the alternative use as (.....).

Since in most cases, the number of examples given for each parameter is high, the results are usually summarized and presented before the examples as a way to make the reading of the examples easier. Whenever necessary, the examples are accompanied by further remarks.

I have chosen not to provide grammatical glossing of the examples unless more clarity is necessary. Even in such instances, the glossing is confined to the parameter in question in certain examples and is inserted in the translation. The advantages of presenting the examples in Persian and their original orthography outweigh the advantages of grammatical glossing based on transcribed examples because of the nature of the book, which covers a great number of orthographic and morphosyntactic parameters, and because of the audience to which the book is directed.

The extracted examples are generally marked with abbreviations for region and manuscript. Whenever an example is extracted from the critical edition of a work, the abbreviation “(CE)” is also added. Apart from the examples cited from the critical editions, all the extracted examples reflect the

original orthography in the manuscripts. The only exception to this rule concerns the Persian consonant /g/, which is consistently shown as <گ> in the manuscripts. I have chosen to show it as <گ> to make the reading of the examples easier for the readers. In the chapter on orthography, the letter <گ> is retained in the examples.

As for the translation of the given instances, I have taken advantage of the extant English translations of some of the works. I have sometimes modified the translations to give a more “word-for-word” rendition in order to highlight the grammatical features of a given example.¹⁰

The critical editions of the works are arranged according to the names of the editor/s in the bibliography, and all references to the critical editions are presented accordingly, except for the extracted examples.

¹⁰ See list of Translations in the Bibliography.

2 Presentation of the works

The corpus of this study consists of twelve works from three different regions: four historiographical works from Safavid Iran; two historiographical works, an autobiographical work and a memoir from Mughal India; and three historiographical works and a *tazkira* ‘biographical work’ from the Khanate of Bukhara (Central Asia).

2.1 Safavid Iran (1501–1723)

Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh (AaT)

Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh is a chronicle of the early Safavids in twelve volumes, of which only the eleventh and twelfth volumes are preserved. It starts in 1405 during the reign of Shāhrukh, son of Timur, and ends with the emergence of Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda. The author of the work is Ḥasan Bayg Rūmlū. He was born in Qom in 1531–2, but the date of his death is unknown. The work was completed at the end of Shāh Ismā‘īl II’s reign, in 1577. Ḥasan Bayg Rūmlū joined the Safavid army when he was very young and accompanied Shāh Ṭahmāsb on many of his expeditions. According to Navai (1357/1978, p. 24), volume twelve is the most important volume, as it is partly based on Rūmlū’s own observations and partly on information he obtained from reliable contemporary sources.

Aḥsan al-Tavārīkh was edited and translated into English by Charles Norman Seeton as *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawis: Being the ‘Aḥsanu’l-tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū* (1931–4); it was also edited by ‘Abd al-Huseyn Navai in 1357/1979. Five digitalized manuscripts of the twelfth volume of this work are available at Kitābkhāna, mūza, va markaz-i asnād-i majlis-i shawrā-yi islāmī ‘Library, Museum and Document Center of I. R. Iran’s Parliament’. This study is based on MS 7946,¹¹ written down by Badī‘ al-Zamān Kātib b. Muḥammad Kāzīm Khātūnābādī.¹² The manuscript does not provide us with

¹¹ https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/bibliographic/biblioFullView.jspx?_afPfm=183rx6zhzj

¹² According to Navai, MS 2266 kept in this library is the most complete and reliable one. This manuscript was written down about one hundred years after the original work. I have randomly compared the extracted examples from MS 7946 with those of MS 2266 and Navai’s critical

any information about the date of completion by the scribe. The manuscript lacks any kind of pagination. The page numbers supplied for examples are based on the digital pagination.



Figure 1: First two pages of AaT, MS 7946

Tārīkh-i ‘Ālamārā-yi ‘Abbāsī (TAA)

Tārīkh-i ‘Ālamārā-yi ‘Abbāsī is the chronicle of Shāh ‘Abbās I (r. 1588–1629) of the Safavids (1501–1723) in three volumes (ṣaḥīfas). The first volume contains the genealogy of Shāh ‘Abbās and the rise of the Safavids, as well as a description of the reigns of the first three Safavid kings. The second volume covers the first thirty years of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās I, and the third volume covers the rest of his reign. The author of the work is Iskandar Bayg Turkmān, with the *laqab* ‘title’ Munshī ‘secretary’. He was born in 1560 or a year later and probably died in 1633 when he was 73 years old. The culmination of his career was when he was appointed one of the royal secretaries of Shāh ‘Abbās I in 1592–3. He started composing the work in 1616 and finished it in 1629.

edition. Interestingly, the examples in Navai’s edition are closer to those of MS 7946 than those of MS 2266.

Twenty-two digitalized manuscripts of *Tārīkh-i ‘Ālamārā-yi ‘Abbāsī* are available at Kitābkhāna, mūza, va markaz-i asnād-i majlis-i shawrā-yi islāmī ‘Library, Museum and Document Center of I. R. Iran’s Parliament’ in Tehran. The work was edited by Rezvani in 1377/1978, mainly based on the 1314/1896 lithographical edition of the work. On the last page of Rezvani’s edition, the name of the scribe is given as Zayn al-‘Ābedīn b. Mīrzā Muḥammad Sharīf Qazvīnī. The work was translated into English in 1978 by Savory, R. as *History of Shah ‘Abbas the Great*. The present study is based on MS 881,¹³ a manuscript of the first volume that is incomplete but is the oldest of the manuscripts preserved at this Library.¹⁴ According to the library’s bibliographical records, it was written down in 1619.



Figure 2: First two pages of TAA, MS 881

¹³ ۸۸۸۱

¹⁴ https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/bibliographic/biblioFullView.jspx?_afpfm=183rx6zhzn

***Zubdat al-Tavārīkh* (ZaT1 and ZaT2)**

Like several other titles, e.g. *Mujmal al-Tavārīkh*, *Lubb al-Tavārīkh*, and *Khulāṣāt al-Tavarīkh*, the title *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh* has been used for several Persian historiographical works by different authors in different periods. Some of them are shorter versions of an original work. There are cases where the scribe of a shorter version has interfered in the text to such a degree that the two manuscripts cannot be considered two copies of one original work. This is the case with *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*, originally composed by Kamāl b. Jalāl Munajjim Yazdī. It is a universal history that begins with Adam's descent to earth and ends with Shāh Ṣafī II's accession to the throne after the death of Shāh 'Abbās II in 1666.

There are several manuscripts of this work, three of which are preserved at Kitābkhāna, mūza, va markaz-i asnād-i majlis-i shawrā-yi islāmī 'Library, Museum and Document Center of I. R. Iran's Parliament'. Although the contents of the three manuscripts are very much alike, the differences in wording are of a kind that one cannot consider them as just three copies of an original work.¹⁵ I have chosen to include two of them in this study, as I believe they can be treated as two separate manuscripts from that period.

***Zubdat al-Tavārīkh* (ZaT1)**, also cataloged as *Mujmal al-Tavārīkh* and *Lubb al-Tārīkh*¹⁶ in the bibliographical records of the Library. The manuscript number is 14135.¹⁷ On the first page, the author names himself as *Banda-yi aḥqar Kamāl b. Jalāl Munajjim* 'I, the most contemptible servant, *Kamāl b. Jalāl Munajjim*'. The manuscript is incomplete, covering the events until shortly before the death of the young Shāh 'Abbās II in 1666. The last pages are in a completely different form and are written in a different hand. Even the color of the paper in the first fifteen pages of this part is different from that of the rest of the manuscript. These fifteen pages seem to have been attached to this manuscript. The manuscript does not provide us with any information about the date of completion or the name of the scribe.

¹⁵ Compare for instance the following two paragraphs on the same event:

ZaT1: 87v و حسب الحكم جهانمطاع بنده كمترين ملا كمال منجم كه يكي از غلامزادهای قديم اين آستانست مقرر شد
كه بجهت خدمات نجومی خود را به سپهسالار رساننده بمرافقت او بگرجستان رود و عساكر نصرت مآثر...

ZaT2: 218 و حسب الحكم مقرر شد كه بنده كمترين كمال منجم بجهت خدمات نجومی خود را بسپهسالار رساند و در
سفر گرجستان همراه باشد [؟] و عساكر منصوره...

¹⁶ زبده التواريخ = مجمل التواريخ = لب التاريخ

¹⁷ https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/bibliographic/biblioFullView.jspx?_afPfm=183rx6zhzr



Figure 3: First two pages of ZaT1, MS 14135

Zubdat al-Tavārikh (ZaT2), also cataloged as *Tārīkh-i mukhtaṣar*, is complete and covers the events until 1079/1668, about ten years after Shāh Ṣafī II’s accession to the throne after the death of Shāh ‘Abbās II in 1666. The manuscript number is 9544.¹⁸ In contrast to MS 14135, there is no mention of the author’s name on the first page. The manuscript does provide us with information about the scribe and date of completion on the last page. The scribe is named as Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥasan Abū ’l-Mahdī Ni’ matalāhī, and he finished writing it down in 1678, only about ten years after Kamāl b. Jalāl Munajjim Yazdī finished his work.

The work was edited by Maḥdavi Ravanji in 1397/2018, based on three manuscripts, with MS 9544 as the main manuscript. Maḥdavi Ravanji (*ibid.*, p. 86) considers this MS to be the most complete of the three manuscripts he used for his edition.

¹⁸ https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/bibliographic/biblioFullView.jspx?_afPfm=183rx6zhzu



Figure 4: First two pages of ZaT2, MS 9544

2.2 Mughal India (1526–1857)

Vāqī ‘āt-i Bāburī (VB)

Vāqī ‘āt-i Bāburī consists of the memoirs of the Mughal Emperor *Zahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur* (r. 1526–30), originally written in Chaghatay Turkish and translated into Persian at his grandson Akbar’s request by *Mīrzā ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khānkhānān* in 1589. *Bābur* starts his memoir with his becoming king at the age of twelve in *Firghāna* in 1494, and ends it with the events of the year 1529–30. The language is simple and personal. As expected, it contains a good number of Chaghatay Turkish terms and constructions. The text is also interesting for its descriptions of geographical places, ethnic origins of peoples and their languages and lifestyles, as well as for *Bābur*’s interest in fruits and hunting.

A manuscript of this work, Or. 3714, is preserved at the British Library in London. It contains 143 illustrations, and according to the bibliographical records of the British Library, it must have been completed in 1590–93. *Thackston* has transcribed the original Chaghatay Turkish text, edited the Persian translation, and translated the work into English. In 1993, the collection of the Chaghatay Turkish text, the edited Persian translation, and

the English translation was published by Harvard University Press as *Baburnama* in three volumes. Leaving aside the literary quality of the Persian translation, Thackston (1993, p. xii) considers the Persian translation to be an extremely precise, careful, word-for-word rendition. The present study is based on MS Or. 3714.¹⁹



Figure 5: First page of VB, MS Or. 3714

¹⁹ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_3714

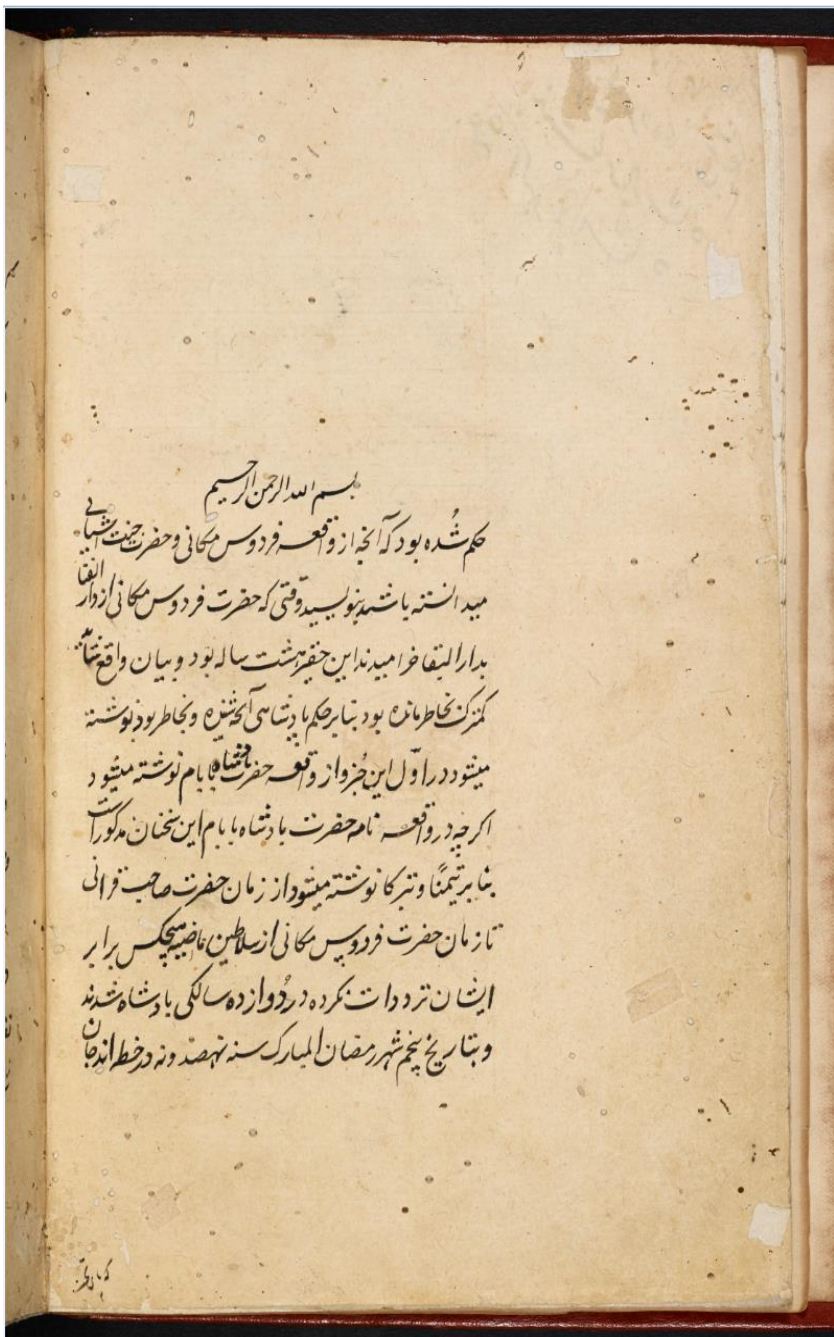
***Humāyūn-nāma* (HN)**

Humāyūn-nāma is an autobiographical account of the reigns of the Mughal Emperor Bābur and his son Humāyūn written by Bābur's daughter Gulbadan Baygum²⁰ at the request of Akbar Shāh, the grandson of Babūr Pādshāh. It begins with Gulbadan declaring that she was eight years old when she lost her father, and what she writes is based on the little she remembers and what she has heard from others. Gulbadan Baygum was born in 1523 and died in 1603, at the age of eighty. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first historiographical work in Persian written by a woman. It is written in an easy and personal style, with elements of spoken language.

The only known manuscript of this work is MS Or. 166, preserved at the British Library and cataloged as *Aḥvāl-i Humāyūn Pādshāh*. According to the bibliographical records of the British Library, this manuscript probably dates from the early 17th century. The manuscript is incomplete, ending abruptly with the blinding of Prince Kamrān in 1553. The book was translated into English by Annette S. Beveridge and published in 1902 as the *History of Humayun = Humayun-Nama*. The English translation is accompanied by an introduction, illustrations and a biographical appendix, as well as the reproduced Persian text. The biographical appendix provides the reader with a detailed biography of Gulbadan Baygum and other women mentioned in her book. The present study is based on the digitalized MS Or. 166.²¹

²⁰ Registered as Gulbadan Begam in the bibliographical records of the British Library and the book's English translation.

²¹ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Or_166



بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
حکم شده بود که آنجا از وقوع فردوس مکانی و حضرت جنت شبها
میدانسته باشند بویسید وقتی که حضرت فردوس مکانی از دار
بدر البقا فرامیدند این حقیقتش ساله بود و میان واقعیتها
کنزک خطمان بود بنابر حکم پادشاهی آتشین و بخاطر بود نوشته
میشود در اول این خرواز و وقع حضرت پادشاهی نام نوشته میشود
اگر چه در وقع نام حضرت پادشاهی با نام این سخن مگو را
بنابر تینا و تبرکات نوشته میشود از زمان حضرت صاحب فرانی
تا زمان حضرت فردوس مکانی از سلطین ناصر مجیکس برابر
ایشان تردوات کرده در دوازده سالگی پادشاه شدند
و بتاریخ پنجم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه نهصد و نه در خط انداختند

کتاب

Figure 6: First page of HN, MS Or.166

Iqbāl-nāma-yi Jahāngīrī (IQJ)

Iqbāl-nāma-yi Jahāngīrī is a historiographical work in three volumes written in 17th-century Mughal India. The first volume starts with an account of Jahāngīr Pādshāh's ancestors, focusing on the reign of Amīr Tīmūr Gūrkān (1396–1404), while the second and the third volumes focus on the reigns of Akbar Pādshāh (r. 1556–1605) and Jahāngīr Pādshāh (r. 1605–27) respectively.

The author is Muḥammad Sharīf b. Dūst-Muḥammad Nakhshabī²² with the laqab (title) Mu'tamid Khān (d. 1640). He was the private secretary of Jahāngīr, the Mughal ruler (r. 1605–27). Muḥammad Sharīf b. Dūst-Muḥammad began the composition of *Iqbāl-nāma-yi Jahāngīrī* in 1619 and presumably finished it in 1627 (Storey 1970, p. 560).

A large number of manuscripts of this work are preserved in libraries around India and in Iran. The work was first edited by Mawlavīs 'Abd al-Ḥaii and Aḥmad 'Alī, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta in 1865. This study is based on the digitalized MS 5-6995, available at Sāzmān-i asnād va kitābkhāna-yi millī-yi jumhūrī-yi islāmī 'National Library and Archives of I. R.' in Tehran.²³ The name of the scribe is not known, but the date of completion is given at the end of the manuscript as 9 Sha'bān 1083, corresponding to November 30, 1672. The first fifty pages of the manuscript are very scarcely paginated. The page numbers supplied for examples from these pages are calculated based on the paginated pages.

²² The name is presented as Bakhshī in the critical edition.

²³ <http://dl.nlai.ir/UI/8320d084-0c5e-487f-92dc-46856182b72d/Catalogue.aspx>

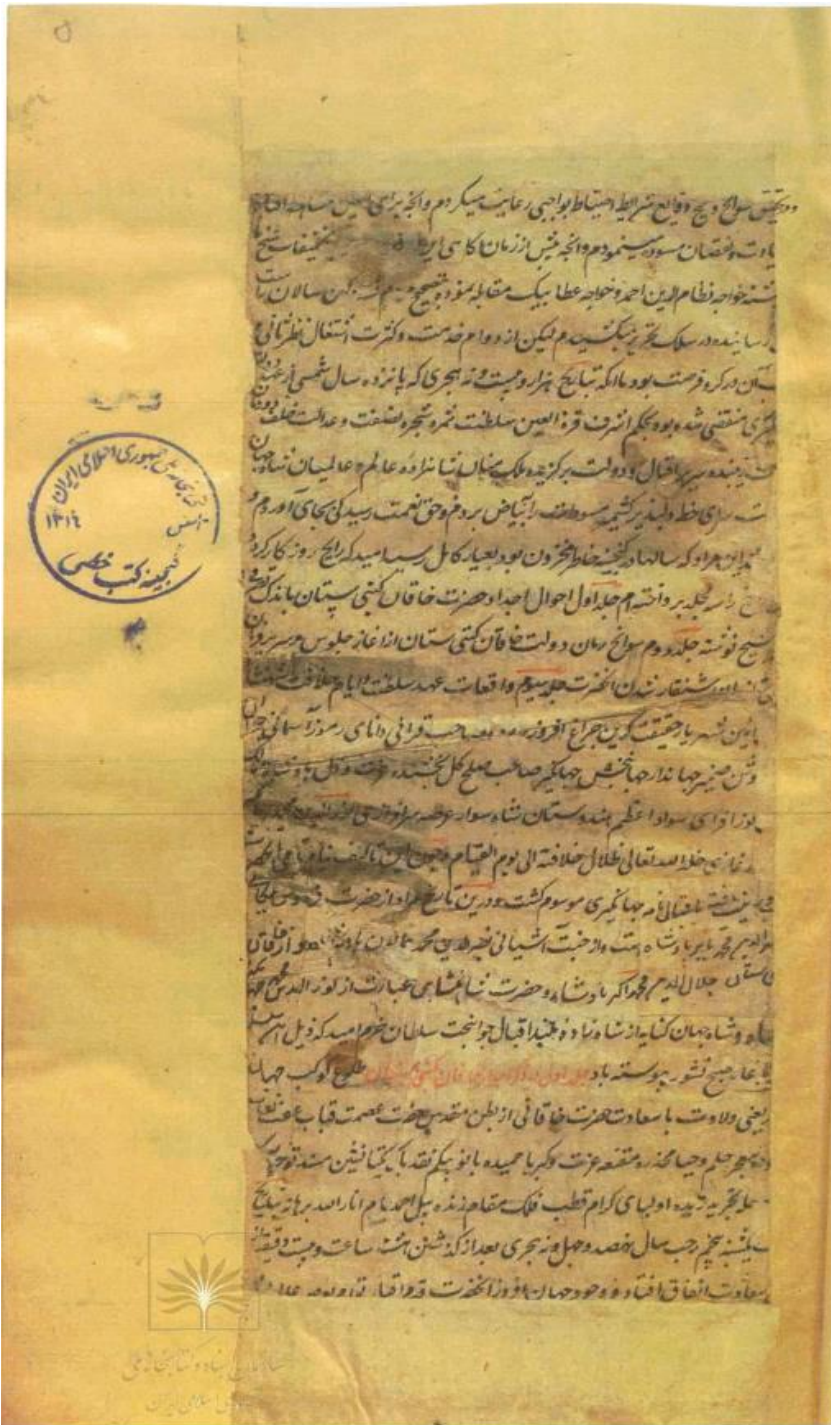


Figure 7: First available page of IQJ, MS 5-6995

***Pādshāh-nāma* (PN)**

Pādshāh-nāma, also known as *Shāhjahān-nāma*, is a chronicle of the first twenty years of the reign of the Mughal emperor, Muḥammad Shāh Jahān (1627–58). The work contains a concise account of Shāh Jahān’s ancestors, his actions before ascending to the throne, and a detailed account of his reign from 1627 to 1647. The author of the work, ‘Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhurī, completed it in 1648, six years before his death in 1654.

There are several manuscripts of the work, the finest of which is said to be the one written down by Muḥammad Sāliḥ Kambū, author of the ‘Amal-i Sāliḥ, and belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. There are several illustrated manuscripts of this work as well. One is the Windsor *Padshahnama*, preserved at the Royal Library at Windsor Castle in Berkshire. It contains 44 miniatures and several individual portraits. The work was first edited by Mawlavīs Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and ‘Abd al-Rahīm, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1868 in Calcutta. The present study is based on MS 4101 preserved at Kitābkhāna va mūza-yi millī-yi Malik ‘Malek National Library and Museum’. The scribe is Muḥammad Sāliḥ and the date of completion is recorded as the 17th century.



Figure 8: First two pages of PN, MS 4101

2.3 The Khanate of Bukhara (Central Asia) (1583–1745)

Muzakkir-i Aḥbāb (MA)

Muzakkir-i Aḥbāb is a *tazkira* ‘biographical work’ that presents the biographies of 292 poets, sultans, Sufī shaykhs, and learned men of Transoxiana in the 17th century. The author of the work is Sayyid Ḥasan Kh‘āja Naqīb al-Ashrāf Bukhārī, who went by the pen name Nisārī (d. circa 1597). He was born and lived in Bukhara. The work consists of a *dībācha* ‘preface’, in which the author also describes the structure of the work as consisting of a *maqāla* ‘treatise’ and four *bābs* ‘chapters’. The *maqāla*, is devoted to the biographies of the sultans, and the four *bābs* to the biographies of the poets, shaykhs, and learned men.

The work was edited by Najib Mayel Heravi in 1377/1998. Based on the manuscripts at his disposal, preserved at the British Museum, Mayel Heravi (ibid., p. 27) states that the first draft of the book may have been finished in 1567, but the author must have continued editing and expanding the book until his death around 1597. Mayel Heravi (ibid., pp. 40–42) mentions fifteen

manuscripts and a critical edition of the work edited by Muhammad Fazlallāh in India in 1969. The present study is based on MS 8836/7, preserved at Kitābkhāna, mūza, va markaz-i asnād-i majlis-i shawrā-yi islāmī ‘Library, Museum and Document Center of I. R. Iran’s Parliament’.²⁴ The manuscript is included in a *majmū‘a* ‘collection’ of several manuscripts,²⁵ and was written down in 1623.



Figure 9: First two pages of MA, MS 8836/7

²⁴ https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/universal/uniResultSearch.jspx?_afPfm=183rx6zi03

²⁵ Pages 769–821 in the collection.

***Musakkkhir al-Bilād* (MaB)**

Musakkkhir al-Bilād is a chronicle of the Shaybanids written during the reign of the Uzbek ruler ‘Abdallah Khān (1583–98). It begins with a genealogy of the Shaybanid kings, and focuses largely on the political relationship between Iranians and Uzbeks during the Safavid era. The author of the work is Muḥammad Yār b. ‘Arab Qaṭaghān. The work contains a *dībācha* ‘preface’, in which the author describes the structure of the work as consisting of a *muqaddama* ‘introduction’, eight *bābs* ‘chapters’, and a *khātima* ‘epilogue’.

Musakkkhir al-Bilād was edited by Nadereh Jalali in 1385/2006, based on two manuscripts: MS 1055 in Tashkent, and MS 465-57596 in St. Petersburg.²⁶ Jalali mentions that the last two chapters and the epilogue are missing from the two manuscripts, and thus also from Jalali’s edition. Jalali (*ibid.*, p. 20) distinguishes two different language styles in this work: a simple and flowing style in those parts where the author describes the Shaybanids’ genealogy, and a more complex and ornamental style when describing his own time. According to Jalali, he might have copied some of his information from other books, such as *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. The present study is solely based on Nadereh Jalali’s critical edition, as I did not manage to find any available manuscript of this work at libraries around the world.

Jalali provides no information about the date of completion of the work and the manuscripts. Judging from the historical events that it covers, it must have been completed in the late 16th–early 17th century.

²⁶ They are probably preserved at the same libraries as the MSS of *Muḥīṭ al-Tavārīkh*. Jalali provides no further information about the libraries to which these two MSS belong.



Figure 10: First page of MaB, MS S (Jalali, N. 1385/2006)

Muḥīṭ al-Tavārīkh (MaT)

Muḥīṭ al-Tavārīkh is a chronicle of the Ashtarkhanid Dynasty (1598–1786) written during the reign of Subḥān-Qulī Khān (1680–1701/2). It begins with the creation of the world and Adam and Eve, and ends with the history of

Bukhara under the Ashtarkhanids, in particular, Subhān Qulī Khān in 1698. The author of *Muḥiṭ al-Tavārikh* is Muḥammad-Amin b. Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān Bukhārī (Ṣūfīyānī). He was presumably born in Bukhara, probably in the 1630s, and his date of death is unknown. Based on the information in the manuscripts, he was still alive in 1702. The book is written in ten *bābs* ‘chapters.’ Nine of the ten chapters of the work are taken from earlier written works.²⁷ It is only the final, tenth, chapter that the author himself composed.

Five manuscripts of this work have been identified so far. It was edited by Mehrdad Fallahzadeh and Forogh Hashabeiky in 2014, and translated into English as *The Sea of Chronicles* in 2020. The present study is based on both this critical edition and the three manuscripts on which this edition is based:²⁸ MS supplément persan 1548, preserved at Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris; MSS 7351 and 835²⁹ preserved at Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk im. Aburaihon Birunii in Tashkent; and MS D89 (574agg), preserved at Institut Vostochnykh Rukopisei RAN (IBP RAN) in St. Petersburg.

²⁷ The author himself emphasizes that he has used and cited reliable sources (*kutub-i mu‘tabara*) to write his work (Fallahzadeh and Hashabeiky 2014, p. 11).

²⁸ The extracted orthographic examples from this work reflect the original orthography in the manuscripts. The remaining examples are given as presented in the critical edition.

²⁹ The manuscript is in two volumes.

ادا میگردند و پیشانی تکلف و سخنوری و غایب تصلف و مدح کسری
 مردم را آنروز مانند عید سعید بود و بسان ایام نوروز خرم و فیروز
 نمود و هر یک از شعرا زبان مدح دراز کرده میخواستند و جناب مولانا
 بلخی این قصیده در جلوس اعلیٰ نظم فرمود قصیده بدولت حضرت بیجا
 خان پوکرفت از شاه توران تحت و افسر فلک دسکه شاهی بنا مش
 خطیبان خطبه خوانند یکسر به بشریف قدوش خلق بستند از شاه
 شهر را این دیکر جو یوسف پوکرفت از صبر خرد ز لیمای عروس ملک بر
 عزیز مهرش نادید خوار می که چه بود خصم او برادر پد عروش کی تواند
 روبرو شد نه کینه نه هاش پاشد دلاوری من از پر خرد تاریخ حتم
 کفایت ای بلبل مست شاکر نه بگو تاریخ سال شاه پیش شد بلکه در آن
 سرور به با ————— دهم در جلوس مینت مانوس حضرت خان
 سیادت نشان شوکت دارا برادر نک فخره بخارا سباس بی قیاس
 دستایش بی آرایش پادشاهی بازید که بر تربیت قدرت کامله
 و ترتیب خلعت شاه آدم خاکی را با زمار گلزار بهارستان وجود کارستان
 ساخت و محمد بی حد و ثنای بی حد دشمنشاهی را سزا که چون عنایت

Figure 11: First page of chapter 10 of MaT, MS supplément persan 1548

***Tārīkh-i Rāqīm-i Samarqandī* (TRS)**

Tārīkh-i Rāqīm-i Samarqandī, also known as *Tārīkh-i Kathīrā* or *Tārīkh-i Rāqīmī*, is about the political events, political figures, and other eminent persons of Transoxiana and Khurāsān from the time of the Timurids to the Safavid era. It starts with the death of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, the last Chingizid sultan, and ends with an account of Abū ʿl-Khayr Khān's children. The author of the work is Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Rāqīm Samarqandī. We have no reliable information about the date of his birth or death. According to some information given by the author in the work, the work must have been finished no later than 1713.

There are fourteen manuscripts of this work in Paris, St. Petersburg, Tehran, Tashkent, etc. The work was edited by Sotudeh in 1380/2001. Sotudeh's critical edition is mainly based on the manuscript preserved at Aini Library in Dushanbe, which belongs to the early 20th century.³⁰ The present study is based on MS 14429 preserved and also cataloged as *Tārīkh-i Kathīrā*³¹ at Kitābkhāna, mūza, va markaz-i asnād-i majlis-i shawrā-yi islāmī 'Library, Museum and Document Center of I. R. Iran's Parliament' in Tehran.³² Unfortunately, the manuscript does not provide us with clear information about the scribe and the completion date of the manuscript. According to the library's bibliographical records, it belongs to the 18th century. The manuscript seems to lack some pages, because, in contrast to Sotudeh's edition, it ends with the account of the death of Ḥāzrat-i ʿĀlim Shaykh ʿAzīzān.

³⁰ According to Sotudeh, this manuscript is more reliable than that of the Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis. Judging from the chronological order of the events as they appear in Sotudeh's critical edition, one might need to reconsider the level of reliability of this manuscript.

³¹ تاریخ راقم سمرقندی = تاریخ کثیره

³² https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/fulltext/fulltextFullView.jspx?_afPfm=183rx6zi0k



Figure 12: First two available pages of TRS, MS 14429

3 Phonology and Ortography³³

3.1 Phonology

As was mentioned previously, limited space is devoted to the phonological description, which is mainly based on the orthographic variations in the manuscripts, together with some remarks on phonological differences between late CNP and MNP. As is known, the earliest audio recordings of Persian are from the 19th century. Our only sources for presenting a phonological description of earlier forms of New Persian are written materials and infrequent instances of vocalization in manuscripts, sporadic notes on phonemic differences between Persian and Arabic in earlier Arabic grammars, and works on prosody and rhyme in Persian poetry.³⁴

Pointing to the conservatism of orthography in general, Pisowicz (1985, pp. 65–6) maintains that written texts provide us with limited phonological information. He suggests using a combination of sources for a reconstruction of the pronunciation of the New Persian of the earlier centuries. Among these he mentions: pronunciation variations in MNP, pronunciation variations in different dialects of Persian in Iran, the pronunciation in “the Afghan Persian, so-called Dari”, transcriptions of Persian words in works written by Europeans, and dictionaries. Regarding the New Persian of the 17th–18th centuries, he takes advantage of data from grammars published in Europe in the 17th–18th centuries (*ibid.*, pp. 81–5).

Perry (1996, p. 270) uses European visitors’ transcriptions of Persian words in their writing “to hazard some guesses as to the state of the sound system” of the spoken New Persian of this period.

Both Pisowicz’s and Perry’s descriptions of the sound system of this period are focused on vowel variations and some colloquial pronunciations of words. The only consonant feature they mention that is relevant for the findings of this study is the post-vocalic /*δ*/.

³³ Henceforth, I use the abbreviations CNP for Classical New Persian and MNP for Modern New Persian.

³⁴ For a list of these works, see Natel Khanlari (1366/1987a, pp. 44–5).

3.1.1 Vowels

The eight-vowel system of Early New Persian (ENP) has been reduced to six vowels in both Persian and Tajik, though in different ways. What distinguishes Persian from Tajik and Dari is that in Persian, ENP *i/u* have shifted to *e/o*, and the *majhūl* vowels *ē/ō* have disappeared (Paul 2013; Perry 1996, p. 271; Pisowicz 1985, p. 81–2; Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 425). Windfuhr and Perry (*ibid.*, p. 534) summarize the diachronic development of the New Persian vowel system as follows:

Table. 1 Vowel system

Diachronic Development						
Tajik	i	e		u	ū	a o
	↑	↑		↑	↑	↑ ↑
	^			^		
ENP	i	ī	ē	u	ū	ō
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Dari	e	ī	ē	o	ū	ō
		v			v	
	↓	↓		↓	↓	
Persian	e	ī		o	ū	a ā

The alternative representations of some vowels and the sporadic vocalization of words in the studied works indicate that the vowel system of the New Persian of the 16th–18th centuries is more close to that of Tajik and Dari than Persian. Examples of the alternative representations of the medial vowels can be seen in words like *کرنش اکورنش*, *کرمک اکومک*, and *بنابیران ابنایرین*.³⁵ Khavari (1376/1997), and Rajayi Bukharayi (1375/1996, pp. 57–61) mention this alternative representation of these medial vowels in parallel examples as phonological peculiarities of the dialectal varieties *Hazāra-yī* and *Bukhārāyī* that are reflected in the orthography.

In addition to these, *ezafe* after consonants is sometimes displayed with <ی>, as in *شبی قیرگون* ‘coal black night’, while the indefinite <ی> is not displayed as in *جمع از* ‘a group of’.³⁶ Even if the frequency of these features is low, they cannot be explained merely as possible scribal errors. Windfuhr and Perry (2009, p. 431–2), Khavari (*ibid.*), and Rajayi Bukharayi (*ibid.*, pp. 52–6) mention that in Tajik, and the dialectal varieties *Hazāra-yī* and *Bukhārāyī*, *ezafe* is usually pronounced as /i/ and the indefinite <ی> as /i/; exactly the opposite of Persian. Presenting similar examples from early CNP texts, Natel Khanlari (1366/1987b, p. 163) maintains that such examples bear witness to the similar pronunciations of *ezafe* and the indefinite <ی>.

³⁵ For more examples, see 3.2.5 and 3.2.6.

³⁶ For more examples, see 3.2.8.3 and 3.2.9.2.

In some manuscripts, especially the manuscript of *Humāyūn-nāma*, some words are vocalized with < ُ >. This is mostly used as equivalent to /u/, and it seems that the scribe intends to guide the readers towards a “correct” pronunciation of the words. It is also used with consonants followed by a *vāv* showing the vowel /ū/: Here are some such words that have been vocalized with < ُ >:

شده، جزو، نوازده، سوار، سلطان، نمودند، برده، سیوم، خود، روی، بود، چون، مسعود،
خوب، داودی، ملغون

In the manuscript of *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh* 1, on the contrary, it is mostly used to show the vowel /ū/:

بود، هارون، مسموم، فرمودند، ابو مسلم، چون، مبعوث، منصوره، روزی، روم، ابو الخیر،
قل بابا

3.1.2 Consonants

A few consonants of New Persian have undergone some minor changes over time. There are also some dialectal divergences, as outlined in the table below by Windfuhr and Perry (2009, p. 426):

Table. 2 Consonants³⁷

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Uvular</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Stop/Affricates						
tense/voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>č</i> [tsh]	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i> (TAJ)	
lax/voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i> [dzh]	<i>g</i>	<i>q̣</i> (PERS)	
Fricatives						
tense/voiceless	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ṣ</i> (PERS)	<i>h</i>
lax/voiced	<i>v</i> (PERS) <i>ṽw</i> (TAJ)	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ɣ</i> (TAJ)		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				
Liquids/Glides		<i>l, r</i>	<i>y</i>			

~ = conditioned variations

However, neither the changes over time nor the dialectal divergences are reflected in the orthography of the studied works. In addition to the four Persian consonants, two more consonants are displayed with different letters in a few words. One is /z/ in words like *گذارش‌انگزارش*, *کارگذار* *کارگزار*, and *سپاسگذار* *سپاسگزار*. The other is /d/, which probably represents two different pronunciations, one as /d/ and one as /δ/ in a postvocalic position. Until the 13th century, postvocalic /d/ was usually written and pronounced as /δ/ in Persian words. From the 13th century onwards, it almost disappeared and shifted back to /d/ with a few exceptions (Paul 2013; Perry 1996, p. 272;

³⁷ It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the disputed phonemic value of some phonemes in Persian. It should also be noted that Tajik pronunciations, as outlined in the table above are shared by Dari as well.

Pisowicz 1985, pp. 107–8). This consonant is written both as <د> and <ذ> in a few specific words like خدمت\خدمت and گنبد\گنبد, mostly in the manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara, as well in a name, ندراندر, mostly in the manuscripts of Mughal India. The extremely low frequency of this interchangeable use of <د> and <ذ> confirms that the shift was completed by that time. It can be considered a relic of a dialectal feature.

In the manuscripts of Mughal India, the Persian word for *horse* is usually written as اسپ, not اسب, as in the manuscripts of the two other regions and in MNP.

In some manuscripts, especially those of the Khanate of Bukhara, final /nd/ is written as /n/, as in colloquial MNP, e.g. *guftan* instead of *guftand* ‘they said’; *jam* ‘*shudan* instead of *jam* ‘*shudand* ‘they gathered’.

3.2 Orthography

The Arab conquest of Iran in the 7th century and the spread of Islam affected many aspects of the Iranian lifestyle and culture. The Persian language was no exception. Many Arabic words entered Persian, many Middle Persian words became obsolete, and Arabic script replaced *Pahlavi* script, which had been the official script of Iranians from the middle of the Arsacid Empire. The details of this replacement are not yet sufficiently clear, but it can safely be said that it took place gradually. The oldest preserved, dated Persian manuscript written in the Arabic alphabet is *Al-abniya* ‘*an ḥaqā’iq al-adviya* by Abū Maṣṣūr Muvaffaq b. ‘Alī al-Hiravī, written down by Asadī Tūsī in 1055. However, scholars are of the opinion that New Persian must have been written in the Arabic alphabet much earlier than the date of *Al-abniya* ‘*an ḥaqā’iq al-adviya*.

The production of manuscripts on a large scale was a direct result of the introduction of the Arabic script as well as the introduction of paper to the Islamic world. In the beginning, manuscript writing was limited to the Koran, but it spread rapidly into other fields, and became a business of its own. The tradition of manuscript writing, which began sometime around the 9th or 10th century, has left us with a precious collection of manuscripts from different periods of Iranian history. Many of these are of special importance for linguistic studies.

One of the distinguishing features of these manuscripts is their orthographic variation. These variations are not, of course, limited only to manuscripts from different periods. Many times one may find variations in one and the same manuscript. In the manuscript of the *Al-abniya* ‘*an ḥaqā’iq al-adviya*, for example, four different ways of representing initial /ā/: آ | ا | ا | ا can be observed. The Persian sounds /p/ and /ch/ have been represented both

with one and with three dots as <ب\پ> and <ج\چ>, (Matini 1346/1967, pp. 166–72).

Whatever the reasons, there were no clear-cut instructions on the manner of presenting orthographic parameters. It was the spread of Persian outside Iran around the 16th century, especially in India and Asia Minor, which aroused an initial interest in establishing and presenting some general rules for orthography. Among the works that contain an account of Persian orthography, we can mention *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (1608) by Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan Īnjū Shīrāzī; *Farhang-e Rashīdī* (1653) by ‘Abd al-Rashīd b. ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-Madanī al-Tatavī; and *Burhān-i Qāṭi* (1651) by Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Khalaf Tabrīzī, using the pen name of Burhān. Large parts of the introductions of these three works are devoted to orthography and *imlā* ‘rules of spelling.’³⁸

The similarities between the orthographic conventions discussed in the three dictionaries, and the references to the issue of *imlā*’ as “the method formulated by the masters of this art”, make us consider the possibility that some handbooks existed on orthographic conventions.

³⁸ See *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (1359/1980, pp. 51–7); *Burhān-i Qāṭi* (1336/1957, pp. 3–18); and *Farhang-i Rashīdī* (1337/1958, pp. 34–42).



Figur 13: The first page of *Al-abniya 'an haqā'iq al-adviya* (Talbot, C. H. and Seligmann, F. R. 1972).

Although, the orthographic variation within manuscripts is extensive, orthographic analysis is still one of the tools for determining the approximate date and region to which a manuscript belongs. Most critical editions of Persian manuscripts include a brief orthographic description of the edited manuscripts, but there are not so many detailed studies of orthographic variations in Persian manuscripts. Matini has studied the orthography of Persian manuscripts in two separate papers. One is devoted to the eleventh

century and the other to the 12th–19th centuries. Matini (1347/1968, p. 136), recognizes three periods in the history of Persian orthography from the eleventh century onward. The first period is limited to the eleventh century, where the four Persian letters are written as <ژ, چ, پ, گ>, (= گ) >, and <که and چه> as <ک, کی, که, چ, چه, چی>. The second period begins in the early twelfth and ends around the sixteenth century. What is characteristic for the second period is the vast variation when it comes to the four Persian letters. The third period begins around the seventeenth century, and comprises the orthography used until the present day.

Matini limits his study of Persian orthography in the 13th–19th centuries to the following set of orthographic parameters: how to represent /p/, /ch/, /zh/ and /g/; Persian *zāl*;³⁹ *fā*’-e *’ajamī* فآء;⁴⁰ whether *که* is written attached to, or detached from, the next word. He then gives a comprehensive report on the above-defined orthographic parameters in the 200 manuscripts of the 13th–19th centuries. Regarding the orthography in the manuscripts of the 16th–18th centuries, Matini’s study can be summarized as follows:

- The four Persian consonants /p/, /ch/ and /zh/ are written as <ژ چ پ>, and /g/ is written as <ک>. There is only one manuscript in which /g/ is represented as <گ>, and one manuscript in which it is represented with three dots above it as <گ̣>.
- The Persian *zāl* is completely absent in the manuscripts of the sixteenth century onward.

Mayel Heravi (1369/1990, pp. 140–45) also recognizes three periods in the history of Persian orthography (though slightly different from those of Matini): the first period of the 10th–11th centuries, known as *rasm al-khaṭṭ-i qadīm* ‘old orthography’; the second period from the twelfth century until the late fourteenth century; and the third period from the fifteenth century until the nineteenth century. Mayel Heravi deals with other parameters such as the orthography of compound words, *ezafe*, the indefinite *-ī* and the derivative suffix *-ī*, without referring to specific manuscripts. Regarding the orthography in the manuscripts of the 16th–18th centuries, Mayel Heravi maintains that the main feature of the orthography of this period is a greater tendency towards attached writing (ibid., pp. 156–7) as follows:

³⁹ Even called *dāl-i manqūṭ* (dotted *dāl*) or *zāl-i ’ajamī* (non-Arabic *zāl*), and occurring only after a vowel.

⁴⁰ Natel Khanlari (1373/1995, p. 135) maintains that as the letter <و> in Arabic script was used for displaying the bilabial /w/, and as this sound did not exist in Persian, *fā*’-i *’ajamī* فآء was adopted in order to display the Persian labiodental /v/. He adds that it is probably this letter that Ibn-i Sīnā and Ḥamzah Iṣfahāhanī refer to as the letter between *bā*’ and *fā*’.

- Verbal prefixes like *mī-* and *hamī-* are generally written attached to the verb.
- Attached writing is employed with the comparative and superlative suffixes *-tar* and *-tarīn*.
- Demonstrative pronouns like این and آن are written attached to the following word.
- The only exception is که, which is written detached from the following word. In the manuscripts of the seventeenth century onward, a tendency to write که attached to the preceding rather than the following word can be observed.

According to Bahar (1369/1990c, pp. 307–8), it is from this period onward that <پ چ ژ> become the standard forms; some diacritics are applied to <ک> to show the Persian /g/; the so-called ‘Ajamī <ذ> is replaced by <د>; and کی چی بی نی are replaced by که چه به نه. Bahar also mentions that the orthography of Persian texts written in India reflects the following peculiarities: marking the final nasal /n/ after /ā/, and showing the so-called *yā-yi majhūl*, as in می /mē/. However, he does not present any concrete examples of the written form of the final nasal /n/.

The reasons for the vast orthographic variation in and between manuscripts are many. The absence of a general grammar of Persian, the absence of general rules of orthography, language change, carelessness, and the scribes’ different dialects, styles, and preferences are among the reasons that can be mentioned.

The orthography employed in the works included in the present study is slightly different from that used in contemporary Persian texts.⁴¹ This is partly a result of temporal factors and is partly related to regional factors. Some orthographic differences can be traced back to phonological peculiarities of the Indian and Central Asian variants of Persian.

The orthographic differences between the works studied here are relatively few in number. A general feature of all of them is a tendency to prefer what is known as “attached writing” to “detached writing”, in agreement with the results from Mayel Heravi’s investigation of the manuscripts of this period.⁴² However, detached writing is applied in a more flexible manner in these works than in contemporary Persian orthography, for instance in relation to the detached writing of verbal prefixes, short forms of the verb بودن, or derivational suffixes. Detached writing has usually been employed in longer compound words with several syllables. Other features to be mentioned are lack of punctuation and inconsistent application of

⁴¹ By contemporary Persian texts, I mean Persian texts published in Iran since 1990.

⁴² I use the expressions “attached” and “detached” writing as equivalents of the terms *payvasta-nivīsī* and *judā-nivīsī* in Persian.

orthographic rules, which are not so surprising considering the nature of Persian orthography and the fact that these are handwritten works.

This section starts by introducing some consonant and vowel letters as presented in these works. This is followed by parameters that are controlled by attached or detached writing, and other parameters like *ezafe*, and the orthography of Arabic phrases. The orthographic parameters are introduced by their grammatical designation wherever applicable. The orthography of all the examples cited in this section is kept exactly as it appears in the manuscripts. Exceptions have been made to this rule whenever dots seem to have been left out by mistake, e.g. *سيوم* written as *سوم*.

All deviations or differences are noted, even if they do not lead to any significant conclusions related to linguistic parameters, or non-linguistic parameters like the region and the date. This can be a useful guide for other researchers interested in Persian orthography or manuscript studies. For obvious reasons, page numbers are not given, and the extracted examples in this section are not translated into English unless the translation is necessary for clarifying certain orthographic peculiarities.

In cases where the examples include single words or combinations of two–three words, and the manuscripts of a certain region do not show significant differences, the extracted examples are marked only with the regional abbreviation, for instance, SI for Safavid Iran, and the examples are extracted from all the manuscripts at my disposal.

3.2.1 Persian consonant letters

The study of the manuscripts indicates that three of the four distinctly Persian consonant letters, i.e. <پ>, <چ>, <ژ>, had by that time stabilized in the script, but the consonant /g/ was still always written as <ک>, not as <گ>. The only exception in this respect is the manuscript of HN, in which some names are written with <گ>: گلچهره بيکم، گلرخ بيکم، گلبدن بيکم. The degree of stabilization varies somewhat between the manuscripts and regions.

The Persian consonant /zh/ is not so frequent, but when it does occur, it is written with <ژ>: هژبر، واژگون، هژده، ژاله، اژدها، ژيان، نژاد، مژگان، پژمرده. I have found only one example of /zh/ in IQJ, written with <ز>: هزيران.

The manuscripts of Safavid Iran show a higher degree of stabilization regarding the Persian consonants /p/ and /ch/, which are exclusively written with <پ> <چ> in these manuscripts. The only exception is the word *chun*, which sometimes is written as *چون*, only in AaT.

Among the manuscripts of Mughal India, PN, which belongs to a later date, shows a higher degree of stabilization and displays the Persian consonants /p/ and /ch/ exclusively as <پ> <چ>.

In the other three manuscripts of Mughal India and the Khanate of Bukhara, the Persian consonant /p/ is written with <پ>, except in a few words that are written with both <پ> and <ب> like پادشاه‌آبادشاه، پنج‌ابنج، پروانجی‌ایروانجی، امیر‌جویان، جویانیان like <ب>، پسر‌ایسر.

The Persian consonant /ch/ is mostly written with <چ>, but also with <ج>: چون‌اجون، چهار‌اچار، چنن‌انین، غنچه‌اغنجه، چی‌اجی، چند‌اجند، چهل‌اجهل، چهارده‌اجهارده.

The manuscript of IQJ is an exception, using <ج> and <ب> more frequently:

جون، کوج، جند، منوجهر، همجنین، جناجه، قورجیان، چهارم، بنجهزار، برهانپور، شاهپور

3.2.2 The interchangeable use of <ذ> and <د>

The letters <ذ>⁴³ and <د> are used interchangeably in a few specific words like خدمت‌آخدمت and کنبد‌آکنبد, especially in some manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara. Except for one instance of کنبد in ZaT1 and one in IQJ, these words are consistently written with <د> in the manuscripts of Safavid Iran and Mughal India.⁴⁴

Regarding the manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara, these words are consistently written as کنبد and خدمت in TRS, as کنبد and خدمت in MA, and interchangeably as خدمت‌آخدمت and کنبد‌آکنبد in MaT. This may also reflect a phonological feature in the texts from the Khanate of Bukhara.

3.2.3 The consonant letter <س>

In three manuscripts of Mughal India, namely VB, HN and PN, the consonant letter <س> is frequently but not consistently written with three dots under it, as پس. It occurs infrequently in IQJ, in two manuscripts of Safavid Iran (TAA and AaT), and one manuscript of the Khanate of Bukhara (TRS) as well. Bahār (1369/1990c, p. 307) mentions that one of the orthographic changes under the Safavids was to put three dots under the “*sīn-i kashīda*”, i.e. the letter *sin* written without dentations. However, there are instances of dotted *sin* with dentations too.

SI:	بی‌پسرانجام، پسر خواب، هوپس، مپسند نشین، کشور پستانی
MI:	پسپسترائی، کیتی‌پستان، جلوپس، مقدپس، دوازده پسالکی، پسرقتد، پسنه، وپسط
KB:	مپسند نشین

⁴³ See footnote 39.

⁴⁴ There is one name that appears with <د> in the manuscripts of Safavid Iran and the Khanate of Bukhara, but with <ذ> in some manuscripts of Mughal India, namely نذر محمد.

3.2.4 Initial/medial/final /ā/

In contemporary Persian orthography, initial /ā/ is always shown as <آ>, and medial /ā/ as <ا>. There are a few words in which /ā/ is in medial position at word level but in initial position at syllable level. These are usually shown with <آ>, e.g. مآثر، مآل، الآن، قرآن. As to the manuscripts, the initial /ā/ is mostly shown with <آ>, and the medial /ā/ is mostly shown with <ا>. There are instances in which initial /ā/ is written with <ا>, and medial and final /ā/ are written with <آ>. However, such instances are not frequent, and the manuscripts of Safavid Iran show a stronger tendency to show medial and final /ā/ with <ا>.

- SI: خجسته‌مآل، فرخنده‌مآل، امرآ، ارآده، ازان، اوآن، درانجا، انحضرت\آنحضرت
MI: کردون‌مآثر، نصرت‌مآل، اکبرآباد، در امد، انحضرت\آنحضرت
KB: آفتاب\افتاب، یآساء جنکیزی\ياساء جنکیزی، ان گروه، آبدار، می‌آید

3.2.5 Medial /u/⁴⁵

In a few words, this is sometimes shown with <و>, and often in three words: خورد، کورنش، کومک and کورنش، کومک and خرد، which are also written as خورد، کورنش and کومک, as is common in contemporary Persian orthography. This also reflects the phonological peculiarities of certain Central Asian variants of Persian.

- SI: کومک\کومک
MI: خورد، کورنش، خورسند، کومک\کومک، قوشون، هندستان\هندوستان
KB: قولی\قلی، خورده‌بین، خرده ریزه، کورنش\کورنش، کومک\کومک

3.2.6 Medial /i/, /ī/

- SI: مرزا\میرزا، لاهجان\لاهيجان، الله وردیخان\الله ویردیخان، بنابران\بنابراین
MI: مرزا\میرزا، بنابران\بنابراین، استاده
KB: سیمنائی\اسمنائی، نزدیک\نزدکان

⁴⁵ Persian vowels have traditionally been divided into two groups, short and long. Although in some cases duration is phonemic, it is the place of articulation – the back/front contrast – that is characteristically phonemic. I have used short/long contrast only because it is used more often in Persian linguistics.

As can be seen in the table above, medial /i/ and /ī/ are either shown with <ی> or are left out. However, this is confined to a specific set of words.

3.2.7 Attached and detached writing

Generally, the type of the letters and the number of the syllables control the choice between attached and detached writing. Some manuscripts show a higher tendency toward attached writing and some towards detached writing.⁴⁶ The preference may also vary from one orthographic parameter to another. The grammatical status of the morphemes does not play a decisive role in this preference. Attached writing, for instance, is consistently employed with both a free morpheme, like the preposition *bi*, and a bound morpheme, like the plural suffix *hā*. Except with the plural suffix *hā*, the preposition *bi*, and the pronominal clitics, none of the manuscripts employs one or the other form consistently, not even for a single parameter. The differences in this regard between the manuscripts of a certain region, or between the manuscripts of the different regions, are simply not of a kind to allow us to draw any certain conclusions. All we can say is that attached writing is preferred in these works. In this respect, the orthography of the manuscripts is much closer to that of older MNP than Contemporary Persian with a strong tendency towards the use of detached writing not only with free morphemes but also bound morphemes.⁴⁷ However, the scribes of these manuscripts show greater flexibility regarding some kinds of detached writing, which might be experienced as unusual in contemporary Persian orthography, like:

پیش‌واژ، خانمواده، وجه‌گرفته‌گی، شاکر ایم، پیش‌نهاد، به‌روزی، پای‌تخت، به‌بینیم

3.2.7.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Both attached and detached writing have been employed with both one-syllable and two-syllable demonstrative pronouns همان، همین، آن، این. Attached writing is more frequent regardless of the number of syllables in the pronouns or the head nouns. This is the opposite of contemporary Persian orthography, in which detached writing is the general rule and is recommended by the Persian Academy. Most instances of detached writing in the manuscripts occur with:

- I) two-syllable demonstrative pronouns, like
همان مسجد، همین شاه، همین کوه، همان تاریخ، همان ساعت
- II) head nouns with more than one syllable, like
این مقال، این معنی، آن حوالی

⁴⁶ *Muzakkir-i Ahbāb* shows the strongest tendency towards detached writing.

⁴⁷ See Hashabeiky (2005, p. 188) for a statistical presentation of attached and detached writing in contemporary Persian texts.

III) head nouns with the initial letter ن, like
آن نواحی

Among the studied manuscripts, *Muḥīt al-Tavārīkh* shows a higher tendency towards detached writing of این آن, particularly when the head noun contains more than one syllable: این حرف، این مثنوی، این مجموعه

The initial letter of the pronoun این is usually omitted wherever it is preceded by prepositions like در or از, as in درین، ازین، and the pronoun آن is usually written as ان، as in دران، ازان.

3.2.7.2 Preposition/Adverbializer به / ب

These two types of به / ب are almost always written as <ب> and attached to the following word, as was the general practice in most New Persian texts from the tenth century until recently.

- SI/AaT: جون فرستادگان او پرشت رسیدند و خبر ایشان بسمع شاه والا کهر رسید کوک
علی را باستقبال فرستاد.
- SI/TAA: حضرت خاتم الانبیا از آن مخدره کبری بوجود آمده...
- SI/ZaT1: خواستند که شاه را بمیان خود برند شاه اعراضی شده حکم بقتل تکلو فرمود و
بعضی از تکلو به بغداد رفته...
- SI/ZaT2: انحضرت ... از کیلان بعزم تسخیر ایران متوجه استارا شدند.
- MI/VB: دختر سیم عایشه سلطان بیکم بود و در پنج سالگی خود که ببیمرقند آمده بودم
بمن نامزد کرده بودند.
- MI/HN: باطراف و جوانب ولایتها فرمانهای بتاکید فرستادند که هرکس در ملازمت ما
بباید رعایتهای کلی خواهیم کرد.
- MI/IQJ: خان نیز ... بولایت خود بازگشت و انحضرت بقوت همت بلند و طالع ارجمند
مظفر و منصور شدند.
- MI/PN: اما خان زمان... خانجهان را بکمک راجه جیسنکه باز گذاشته بسرعت هرچه
تمامتر بمدد مبارز خان رسید.
- KB/MA: و اهل هرات را باجداد عظامش اعتقاد تمام داشته اند و بزیارت مقبره ایشان
رفته...
- KB/MaT: بعد از آن... روی بجانب بلخ نهادند و آتش فتنه بآب تیغ تیز فرونشاندند.
- KB/TRS: و بسرعت هرچه تمامتر بصوب مرو شتافت.

3.2.7.3 The verbal prefix ب / ذ

Attached writing is employed with these prefixes. Detached writing also occurs, but as is seen below, it is limited to a few instances in the manuscripts, and does not occur in all manuscripts.

SI/AaT & TAA:

نہیند، نہنگاری

MI/HN & PN:

بہیند، بہبینیم، بہرند، نہبودند، بہپیراید، بہخشد

KB/MaT:

بہیند، بہیچد، نہافتاد، نہبند

3.2.7.4 The verbal prefixes می and می

Both attached and detached writing are used with می. Attached writing is much more frequent and the frequency of detached writing varies between the manuscripts. However, as is seen from the examples below, it is very difficult to point out any linguistic or non-linguistic parameters, like region or the date, for this variation. I have found a few instances of می, all of which are in KB/MaT or KB/TRS, and these are written detached from the verb. The prefix می is almost always written detached from the verbs with the initial letters <ا> or <آ> می انداخت، می آمدم، می آید، می افکند:

SI: می کوشیدند، می کردانید، میریخت، می رسیدند، میزد، می داند، می درید، میبود، میشود
می بندد، می سراید، میفرمودند، می نمودند، می خواستند، میجستم

MI: می کرد، می گذاشت، می کشیدم، می کارند، می رود، می ریزد، می بست، می باشد، می پیوندد،
می پوشید، می پرسیدند، می شد، میشود، می شتافته، می نمودند، می نماید

KB: می کرد، می یافت، می تافت، می خورد، می بود، می داشت، می تافت، می کنند، می زد،
میداد، می گفته اند

3.2.7.5 The preposition/prefix بی

Both attached and detached writing are employed with this preposition/prefix, but detached writing is much more frequent with بی as a preposition meaning “without” and less frequent with بی as a prefix meaning “-less, in-, un-”.

SI: بیحد، بیشمار، بیباک، بیقدری، بیهوش، بیسامان، بی زیادت، بی سرانجام، بی تکلفات
منشیانه، بی شائبه، بی خبر، بی تعب

MI: بیدریغ، بیشمار، بیکناه، بیباکی، بی تاب، بی مراد، بی تکلف، بی نقصان، بی تدبیری،
بی طاقتی، بی طاعتی، بی مثال، بی نوا، بی راهه، بی شکار، بی کشتی، بی طعام، بی نظیر

KB: بیغایت، بیحساب، بی حد، بی عدد، بی قیاس، بی آرایش، بی برگ، بی توقف، بی عزت،
بیحد

3.2.7.6 The comparative/superlative suffix ترین / تر

There are a few instances of comparative/superlative adjectives in the manuscripts, and in most cases, attached writing is employed. The frequency of detached writing is higher in the manuscripts of Mughal India. In words

ending in <ت>, one <ت> is omitted, hence سخنتر instead of سخنتر or نزهترین instead of نزهترین.

- SI: کهنتر، بیشتر، کمتر، پیشتر، کلانتران، کوچکترین، تمامتر
 MI: کمتر، بیشتر، تمامتر، کلانتر، کمترین، بهتر، نزدیکتر، محالتر، پایان‌تر، پایین‌ترین، نشیب‌تر، آسان‌تر
 KB: فاضلترین، بیشتر، تمامتر، خراب‌تر، سخنتر، نزهترین

3.2.7.7 The postposition را

Both attached and detached writing are employed with را, as is common in most CNP and older MNP texts. In all the manuscripts, attached writing is employed more frequently with words ending in a final letter like <ن, ت, ه>.

It is usually written detached from the head noun of restrictive relative clauses. Detached writing is employed more frequently in the manuscripts of Safavid Iran and the Khanate of Bukhara, among which ATT and TRS employ detached writing more consistently and frequently.

- SI/AaT: رستم بیک ... قصد نمود که سلطان علی یادشاهرا شربت شهادت بچشاند.
 SI/TAA: برخی اوقات شریفرا بمهمات ارباب دولت مصروف ساختم.
 SI/ZaT1: آنحضرترا از آن بلقیس مکانی سه پسر حاصل شد.
 SI/ZaT2: و آنحضرترا از آن بلقیس مکانی سه پسر حاصل شد.
 MI/VB: یونیس خانرا که از نپل پسر دوم جنکیزخان جغتای اوست...
 MI/HN: حضرترا از استماع این خبر خوشحالی کلی روی نمود.
 MI/IQJ: محافظانرا غافل ساخته خود را بدریا انداخت... مخالفانرا مجال قرار نماند.
 MI/PN: قریب دو هزار آدمرا طعمه شمشیر ازدهاپیکر کردانید و جمعیرا باسیری گرفت.
 KB/MA: چند بار این سخنرا تکرار کرده و مبالغه نموده...
 KB/MaT: ستایش بی‌آلایش یادشاهیرا ازبید که... آدمخاکیرا بازهار کلزار بهارستان وجود نکارستان ساخت و حمد بی‌حد و ثنای بی‌عد شهنشاهیرا سزد که...
 KB/TRS: یکی از ملوک جماعتی را غضب کرده فرمود که ایشانرا بموضع بعید از عمارت ببرند.

3.2.7.8 The plural suffix ها

The plural suffix ها does not occur frequently in the manuscripts. The Arabic plural forms are usually preferred. Whenever ها is used, it is attached to the

main word. The final /a/, displayed as <ه/ا>, is omitted when the plural suffix ها is attached to the word as in *khāna-hā*, *ghuncha-hā*, *madrasa-hā*, etc.:

SI:	کتابتها، کلها، فرشها، حربها، اسبها
SI:	خانها، امیرزادها
MI:	کوهها، کتابها، رزمها، فرمانها
MI:	کارنامها، غنچهها، خزینها، پیادها
KB:	جنگها، سنانها، آسمانها، مصرعها، تاریخها
KB:	عنايت‌نامها، فتح‌نامها، مدرسهها، خانها

3.2.7.9 The short forms of the copula *būdan*

Both attached and detached writing are employed with the short forms of the copula verb اند. ام، ای، است، ایم، اید، اند. Detached writing occurs more frequently in the manuscripts of Mughal India and the Khanate of Bukhara. Detached writing of اند، اید، ایم، ای، ام after words ending in consonants is the opposite of the general tendency in contemporary Persian orthography.⁴⁸ However, it should be noted that the total number of detached short forms scarcely amounts to twenty, and the general frequency of the other short forms than the third person singular and third person plural (اند/است) is very low.

Attached writing of the third person singular است occurs more frequently after words ending in consonants and the vowels /ī/ as:

دهیست، شیروانست، آنست، واقعست، هندوستانست، آبشاریست چنکیزخانست، دورانست

SI/AaT:	قاعده مطاوعت و متابعت آنست که او را نزد رستم بیک فرستی با جمعی که رفیق اند.
SI/TAA:	مورخان بلاغت انتساب متفق اند که حضرت خاتم انبیا و آن حضرت کل کلزار خلیل الله نوباوه بوستان اسمعیل اند.
SI/ZaT1:	و آنحضرت مرید شیخ زاهد <u>جیلانی</u> اند.
SI/ZaT2:	و آنحضرت مرید شیخ زاهد <u>کیلانی</u> اند.
MI/VB:	مردم ولایت همه <u>ترک</u> اند.
MI/HN:	ما راضی و <u>شاکر</u> ایم.
MI/IQJ:	و اطبای حاذق در <u>ملازمت</u> اند.

⁴⁸ Some contemporary scholars of Persian orthography, referring to the orthographic style in CNP manuscripts, recommend detached writing of all short forms of the verb بودن.

- MI/PN: خان خانان بعرض درة التاج خلافت رسانید که درینوقت ستار مسوختکان بطرف دیگر مشغول اند.
- KB/MA: از آن جمله حمامی بنا کرده که همه بنایان عالم در تجیر اند.
- KB/MaT: من پرورده و بنده... بارکاه فلک اشتیاه ام.
- KB/TRS: لیکن آنچه مشهورند از این جماعه سربداران هفت تن اند.

The few cases of the second person short form of the verb بودن after the final <ه/ه> are written with <ء> as فرود آورده, افکنده, پنهان کرده, instead of پنهان کرده‌ای, exactly like the indefinite -ī after final <ه/ه>.

3.2.7.10 که The conjunction

As is known, که has several functions, and it should usually be written detached from the preceding word in most of its functions. Attached writing is mostly used when که functions as the conjunction of subordinate relative clauses, and after demonstrative pronouns. Even in these cases, detached writing is preferred in the studied manuscripts. However, a lower number of syllables in the preceding word provides a larger space for the application of attached writing.

The manuscripts of Mughal India employ detached writing more frequently and consistently than the manuscripts of the two other regions.

- SI/AaT: سلطانحسین بخاطر کز انید که بهر نوعی که تواند خاقان اسکندر نشان و ارکان دولت را دستگیر و اسیر بند و زنجیر کردند.
- SI/TAA: امروز کسی که رفع حجاب از نظر تو نموده... بجز عارف معارف ربانی شیخ ابراهیم زاهد کیلانی نیست که در کیلان قریب بولایت شما در لب دریا خلوتی دارد.
- SI/ZaT1: حضرت سلطان صدرالدین فرمودند که اسیران که از روم دارید بمن بخش.
- SI/ZaT2: حضرت شیخ صدرالدین فرمودند که اسیرانی که از روم با خود آورده بمن بخش.
- MI/VB: و در وقتی که من سمرقند و بخارا را کر فتم ...
- MI/HN: وقتی که حضرت فردوس مکانی از دار الفنا بدار البقا شتافتند...
- MI/IQJ: امری که در مخیله هیچکس خطور نکرده بود.
- MI/PN: هنکامی که بقصد مالش رانا امرسنکه در اودیپور اقامت داشتند...
- KB/MA: هر کلامی که بمنطق شیرین از کتم عدم قدم در بیدای وجود نهاد...
- KB/MaT: دراعه فقر یکه بغارت برند... کهنه‌واجی که از محتاجی بتاراج بریابند...
چوشنی که از وجه کدایان عربان سازند...

KB/TRS: پسرانش بنابر خوفیکه از او داشتند اتفاق کردند در روزی که در خانه تنها بوده قرآن مجید تلاوت میکرد محبوس کردند.

3.2.7.11 Pronominal clitics

There are a few instances of pronominal clitic (ام، ات، اش، مان، تان، شان) in the manuscripts, and they are always attached to the preceding word.

SI: معدلش، همایونش، مبارکش، حیاتش، ملازمانش

MI: مطلبش، پسرانش، منبعض، عدالتش، سخاوتش

KB: طالعش، صفحاتش، حکومتشان، برادرانش، دماغشان، بخدمتش

3.2.7.12 Compound words

Both attached and detached writing are used with compound words, and both forms occur in all the manuscripts. Compared to older MNP texts, the frequency of detached writing in all manuscripts is strikingly high. The frequency of each of the forms varies in the manuscripts, but the frequency of detached writing is higher in the manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara, Mughal India, and TAA from Safavid Iran.

SI/AaT: عالی‌گهر، به‌روزی، شاهزاده، سخندان، جوانبخت، سلطانحسین

SI/TAA: شاهراه، سپاس‌گذاری، عام‌فریب، فرمان‌ده، دل‌پذیر، پای‌بوس، عالی‌مقام، جمجاه

SI/ZaT1: سلطانحسین، سلطانمحمد، علیقلیخان، شاهزاده، صاحبقران

SI/ZaT2: دین‌پناه، پای‌بوس، شروانشاه، بساط‌بوس، شرابخانه، دولتخانه، پادشاهزاده

MI/VB: کوه‌پایه، کوه‌پایه، پای‌تخت، ملک‌گیری، جان‌بازیها

MI/HN: جان‌نثاری، جان‌سپاری، جهان‌بین، غم‌خوار، پنجشش

MI/IQJ: جهان‌بخش، شاهزاده، پای‌تخت، پیش‌نهاد، گناه‌کار، صاحب‌قران، کتابدار، جهانتاب، شاهزاده

MI/PN: فرح‌بخش، جهان‌پیما، رعیت‌پروری، رفنوردان، لبریز، سنگتراشان، افضلخان، پادشاهزاده

KB/MA: پادشاهزاده، نهنگ‌خوار، جمجاه، جهان‌پناه، کامیاب، عالی‌مقام

KB/MaT: سیادت‌نشان، شوکت‌دار، میمنت‌مأنوس، صاحب‌قرانی، عالمیکان

KB/TRS: جهان‌بین، پیش‌نهاد، فرمان‌روایی، گیتی‌ستان، صاحبقران، جمجاه

As mentioned, detached writing is recommended by the Persian Academy and is preferred in contemporary Persian orthography, especially in words with several syllables and words containing letters like <س> and <ش>.

3.2.7.13 Derived words

Quite contrary to MNP, The number of derived words is very low in the studied manuscripts. This is partly because of the type of texts chosen, and the static structures of the societies to which these texts belong. Whatever social changes that may have been taking place, they were simply not of a kind, or rapid enough, to trigger a need for the formation of new words using the existing mechanisms of the language. Attached writing of derived words is the main style in the manuscripts. There are a few instances where detached writing is used with such words.⁴⁹

- SI: سخنور، چاشتگاه، تاراجگر، گلزار، ارجمند
MI: کیتی‌ستان، ایلچی‌گری، جهانبانی، نشاط آکین، کوهستان
KB: پیش‌واز، خانه‌واده، دانش‌ور، جهان‌بانی، هوشمندان، آبگون، سخنور

3.2.8 Ezafe

3.2.8.1 Ezafe after final *-ā* <ا>

This is usually shown using <ی>, but sometimes with <ء>, most frequently in the manuscripts of the MI. Showing ezafe with <ء> after final /ā/ is not at all common in contemporary Persian orthography.

- SI: پیشکش‌ه‌اء لایق، امرای ترکمان، امراء عظام، در اثناء راه، میرزای هرات، ازدهای
پسنان
MI: امراء افغانه، باغچه‌اء او، رفقاء او، همای اوج بلندپروازی، ناشپاتیهای اندجان، امراء
دکنی
KB: یاساء جنکیزی، دریای نبرد، ابتدای دولتی، علمای عظام، همای سعادت

3.2.8.2 Ezafe after final *-a* <ه>

Ezafe after final <ه> has either been left out or represented with <ء>. The frequency of showing ezafe after final <ه> varies in the manuscripts from having been left out often, for instance in SI/ZaT2, to having been left out seldom, for instance in KB/TRS and SI/AaT. In contemporary Persian

⁴⁹ This is interesting, as there is a recent proposal to use detached writing with all derived words in Persian. This proposal is called *bī-fāšila-nivīsī*. In fact, the detached writing of derivational morphemes and of the short forms of the verb *būdan* in CNP texts has been a source of inspiration for this proposal. For a detailed presentation of this proposal, see Hashabeiky (2005, p. 129–34).

orthography, the use of <ی> instead of <ء> is preferred. The manual of the Persian Academy declares both forms acceptable.

- SI: داننده ذات، دایره عقول، قلعه قهقهه، نیزه خونریز، شاهزاده والاگهر، صبیبه خود، اراده مکه، صحیفه دویم
- MI: خانه او، بهره وافر، ضمیمه مراحم، یکانه عصر، غله او، خربوزه بخارا، بدرجه شهادت، خاله پادشاه
- KB: چهره من، جبهه خسروان، فالخره بخارا، شیرازه الفت، جاده عصیان، زمزمه نغمات، همه اوقات، مقبره ایشان

3.2.8.3 Ezafe after consonants

In MNP texts, the marker of ezafe after consonants < ِ >, which is also used for showing the vowel /i/, is normally left out in the texts. There are a few cases where ezafe after consonants is shown by <ی>, mostly in *Muḥīt al-Tavārīkh*. I have also found one example in *Humāyūn-nāma* and one in *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*. Showing ezafe after consonants with <ی> is not at all common in contemporary Persian orthography. It is found in CNP texts, where it reflects one of the phonological peculiarities of CNP, and can still be observed in certain Central Asian variants of New Persian.

SI/TAA:

صوفیان پاک اعتقاد ان دری برج ولایت را که ولی عهد برادر نامدار بود پوشیده و پنهان بشهر آورده...

‘Faithful Sufis secretly smuggled that pearl of the tower of holiness, who had been nominated as his brother’s heir, into the town...’

As is seen, ezafe is shown by <ی> in دری برج ولایت, while it is left out in ولی عهد برادر نامدار.

MI/HN:

همایون میرزا بیمار اند و حالی عجیبی دارند.

‘Humāyūn Mīrzā is sick and he is in an abnormal condition.’

KB/MaT

در آن شبی قیرکون

‘On that coal black night’

KB/MaT:

کلی خرمی از غنچه مقصود دمید.

‘The flower of cheerfulness expanded from the bud of desire.’

KB/MaT:

بحرفی بعضی از مردم بی عقل درآمد...

'He listened to the advice of some foolish people...'

Also here, ezafe is shown by <ی> in بحرفی بعضی, while it is left out in مردم بی عقل

KB/MaT:

برادر باقی دیوان یکی ترکمانرا همراهی دستخط روانه نمودند.

'His Majesty dispatched the brother of Bāqī Dīvān-baygī Turkamān, with an order.'

As in the above example, ezafe is shown by <ی> in همراهی دستخط, but is left out برادر باقی.

3.2.9 Indefinite -ī

3.2.9.1 The indefinite -ī after final -a <ا/ه>

This is either left out or shown by <ء> after final -a <ا/ه>. Showing indefinite -ī by <ء> was common practice in most CNP texts, but is not at all common in contemporary Persian texts. In contemporary Persian texts, it is shown as <ای>.

SI/AaT: دقیقه از دقیق خدمت نامرعی نکذاشت.

SI/TAA: شمه از مناقب و مفاخر جلالش در صحیفه دویم نکارش مییابد.

SI/ZaT1: غلبه مریدان و ازدحام خلایق در آستان ایشان بمرتبه رسید که جهان شاه که پادشاه آن عصر بود توهم نموده...

SI/ZaT2: غلبه مریدان و ازدحام خلایق در استان ایشان بمرتبه رسید که جهانشاه که پادشاه آن عصر بود توهم نموده...

MI/VB: این دریا چون از دامنیه کوه میگذرد تنگی عرض او بمرتبه شده است که...

MI/IQJ: ناپیره قتال بمرتبه اشتعال یافت که...

MI/HN: مانند تشنه که مهجور آب باشد...

MI/PN: درین دره رودخانه جاریست.

KB/MA: در حمام پیدا نیست... هر حلقه را که بکشند دری باز شود و قیه پیدا کرد.

KB/MaT: بخرده ریزه که از جیفه پیرزنی کیرند...

KB/TRS: و پاره در گرداب محیط فنا سرگردان ماندند.

As is seen in some of the above examples, <ء> has been used both for the indefinite \bar{t} and for ezafe.

3.2.9.2 The indefinite \bar{t} after consonants

The indefinite \bar{t} after consonants is shown with <ی>. There are a few instances where indefinite \bar{t} after a consonant is not shown. This might reflect regional phonological peculiarities of Persian at that time. This form does not occur in the manuscripts of Safavid Iran.

MI/HN:

در وقت که آفتاب در برج حوت بود متولد شدند.

‘He [His highness] was born when (lit. at the time when) the Sun was in the station of Pisces.’

KB/MaT:

از نزدیکان او جمع صورت مصلحت و نجات خود را به درگاه عالمپناه یافتند.

‘A number of people close to him deemed that they would only be safe if they turned to the court of the world-protecting khan.’

Normally, words like وقت in وقت که ‘when’ and جمع ‘a group’ in such sentences are marked with the indefinite <ی> and are written as جمع، در وقتی که.

3.2.10 Final $-a$ <ه/ه>

As in contemporary Persian orthography, whenever the final $-a$ / \langle ه/ه> is preceded by the plural suffix <ان> or the noun/adjective suffix <ی>, the hiatus /g/ displayed as <ک> is inserted between the two vowels. After the insertion of the hiatus /g/, the final <ه/ه> is omitted, as in خواجهان، بندکی.⁵⁰ There are instances in the manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara where this final <ه/ه> is kept in the script. This tendency is stronger in MaT.

SI: بندکان، نمکپوردکی، شکفتکی، شاهزادگان، فرستادگان، خانکی

MI: بندکی، بندکان، فرارپیشگان، کریختگان، یکبارکی، دوازده پسالکی

KB: وجهگرفتهکی، بخت برگشتهگان، خواجهان/خواجهگان، بندکی/بندهمکی، فرستادگان، برکزیدهگان، بتازمکی

⁵⁰ It must be noted that in more recent proposals for modifying Persian orthography, keeping the final <ه/ه> is strongly recommended, and there are plenty of texts where <ه/ه> in this position is kept.

3.2.11 Arabic words and phrases

The number of Arabic words is high in all the manuscripts independent of the region. The borrowed Arabic phrases are usually dates or phrases from Hadith or Koranic verses. This varies notably between the manuscripts. Phrases from Hadith or Koranic verses are most frequent in the manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara, followed by the manuscripts of Safavid Iran. Koranic verses are usually fully vocalized, and written in another style than the rest of the text.

3.2.11.1 The Arabic <ة> or *tā-ye marbūṭa*

This is normally written as <ت>, but it also occurs that the two forms are used interchangeably, especially in the manuscripts of Mughal India, and mostly in relation to few specific words: حضرة/حضرة; جماعت/جماعة; and جهة/جهة.

3.2.12 Tashdid

The degree of marking of Tashdid varies between the manuscripts of different regions as well as among the manuscripts of one and the same region:

- It is not normally marked in the manuscripts of Mughal India, except for HN.
- It is normally marked in the manuscripts of Safavid Iran, except for ZaT2.
- It is not normally marked in MaT and MA from the Khanate of Bukhara, but is marked in TRS from the same region.

4 Morphology

4.1 Nominal system

There is a set of parameters in the nominal system of New Persian that can contribute to our understanding of the process of language change leading from CNP to MNP. These parameters are as follows: number, especially the plural suffix *-hā* that increasingly has replaced the CNP plural suffix *-ān*; the postposition *rā*, which in early CNP primarily marks other complements of the verb than the direct object, whereas in MNP it predominantly marks the direct object; prepositions and their varying types and semantic functions; the alternative word order in attributive noun phrases; some adverbs; pronouns and the pronominal clitics that frequently function as the indirect object in CNP texts, but not so frequently in written MNP.

4.1.1 Nouns: some general remarks on case, number, and species

New Persian has lost most of its inflectional and synthetic constructions from earlier phases, and has moved towards a more agglutinative and analytic structure (Hashabeiky 2005, p. 71; Jeremiás 2003, p. 427). However, there are no sharp distinctions between these categories within morphological typology. According to Crystal (1997, p. 13, 195, 378) and Andersson (1987, p. 26), languages may show characteristics of inflection or agglutination, as well as of analyticity or synthesis, to greater or lesser degrees. In the case of Persian, Andersson (*ibid.*, p. 57) maintains that it is agglutinative, but also fairly analytic. It is agglutinative in the sense that words are constructed of a sequence of morphemes, and analytic in the sense that words are invariable. The generic nouns are usually in singular form and definiteness is normally unmarked.⁵¹ As was mentioned above, the description of the nominal system will focus on issues that indicate language change as well as dialectal variations due to language contact.

⁵¹ With the exception of the stressed definite marker *-i* in colloquial Persian. Nourzaei (forthcoming) traces this marker back to the late 19th century. Nadimi Harandi and Atayi Kachuyi (1397/2019, pp. 179–80) present instances of this marker in Qaem Maqam Farahani's *Mansha'āt* from the early 19th century. I have not found any instances of this definite article in the present corpus.

4.1.1.1 Singular and plural marking

Singular nouns in Persian go unmarked, but plural nouns are formed either with the two plural suffixes *-hā* and *-ān* or by taking the Arabic plural form. The plural suffix *-ān* is mainly used with animate nouns, but also with paired parts of the body and a specific set of inanimate nouns. It was already in use in Middle Persian⁵² and CNP. Stylistically, it belongs to the literary register in modern variants of New Persian and is more frequent in Tajik than in Persian (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 431).

The etymology of *-hā* goes back to the MP adverbial ending *-ihā* (Lazard 1963, p. 196; Natel Khanlari 1366/1987b, p. 84; Paul 2013). In all modern variants of New Persian, *-hā* is the dominant plural suffix, and it is universally used with both animate and inanimate nouns, as well as with Arabic nouns. It can be used with both countable and uncountable nouns, and it may express emphasis, amplification, or approximation rather than plurality (Lazard 1992, p. 65).

The number of plural nouns formed by the suffix *-hā* in the studied texts is generally low. Arabic regular and broken plural forms, Arabic dual forms, as well as plural nouns formed by the suffix *-ān*, dominate the texts. This is in contrast to both early CNP, in which Arabic plurals are infrequent (Natel Khanlari 1366/1987b, p. 99) and MNP, in which the general tendency is towards a universal and more frequent use of *-hā* and less use of Arabic plural forms, even going so far as to affix *-hā* to words of Arabic origin.

The plural suffix *-ān* is almost exclusively used with animate nouns: e.g., *shutur-ān* ‘camels’, *dilīr-ān* ‘brave men’, *khātūn-ān* ‘ladies’, *farzand-ān* ‘children’, *barādar-ān* ‘brothers’, *mubāriz-ān* ‘warriors’, *mukhālif-ān* ‘opponents’, *dilāvar-ān* ‘the bold ones’, *javān-ān* ‘young men’, *jārchī-ān* ‘town criers’, *palang-ān* ‘leopards’, *dānishmand-ān* ‘wise men’, *barguzīda-(g)ān* ‘the elites’, *bulandparvāz-ān* ‘the ambitious ones’. In words ending in silent /h/ (final *-a* displayed as <ه/و>), the hiatus /g/ is either inserted before the plural ending *-ān*, as in بندہگان *bandah-(g)ān* ‘subordinates’, or has replaced the letter for silent /h/, as in خواجهگان *khājā(g)ān* ‘masters’. It has also been used with a certain set of inanimate nouns: e.g., *hizār-ān* ‘thousands’, or *dirakht-ān* ‘trees’. The use of the suffix *-ān* for animate beings and a limited set of inanimate nouns is in line with MNP.

The plural suffix *-hā* is predominantly used for inanimate nouns: e.g., *jang-hā* ‘wars’, *khabar-hā* ‘news’, *kishtī-hā* ‘ships’, *sukhan-hā* ‘words’, *sinān-hā* ‘spears’, *khūd-hā* ‘helmets’, *alam-hā* ‘standards’, *mišrā-hā* ‘hemistichs’, *tārīkh-hā* ‘dates/histories’, *guhar-hā* ‘jewels’, *kuh-hā* ‘mountains’, *kitāb-hā* ‘books’, *khisht-hā* ‘bricks’, *jūy-hā* ‘streams’. A few exceptions to this general rule are a certain set of animate nouns ending in

⁵² As a plural oblique marker.

silent /h/ (final /a/ displayed as <A/o>): e.g., *khāla-hā* ‘aunts’, ‘*amma-hā* ‘aunts’, *hamshīra-hā* ‘sisters’, *pādshāhzāda-hā* ‘princes’, *shāhzāda-hā* ‘princes’, *amīrzāda-hā* ‘princes’, *banda-hā* ‘subordinates’, and some animals e.g. *khar-hā* ‘donkeys’, *mūrcha-hā* ‘ants’, and Arabic words e.g. *vālid-hā* ‘parents’, *hakīm-hā* ‘physicians’. Paul (2002, p. 31) has also observed the use of the plural suffix *-hā* together with some animate nouns in two works of the 16th–17th centuries.

Here follows the statistical table for different types of pluralization in the corpus:

Table. 3 Plural nouns

	<i>-hā</i> (inanimate)	<i>-hā</i> (animate)	<i>-ān</i>	Arabic plurals	TOTAL
SI	7	3	53	91	154
MI	33	16	37	60	146
KB	21	2	100	163	286
TOTAL	61	21	190	314	586

As the table shows, the frequency of *-hā*, both totally and with animate nouns, is much higher in the manuscripts of Mughal India. This might be due to the less formal language of these manuscripts, especially VB, which is a memoir and contains many descriptions of geographical places, plants, fruits, etc. Yet, the higher frequency of animate nouns with *-hā* should not automatically be interpreted as a significantly higher tendency to use *-hā* with animate nouns in the manuscripts of this region. Most of them are repeatedly used with a few words, for instance, seven times with *banda* in IQJ, and three times with *khāla* on only one page of HN.

The predominant use of *-hā* for inanimate nouns and the extensive use of the plural suffix *-ān* and Arabic plurals indicate that the use of *-hā* as a universal plural suffix, as in Modern New Persian, still was in an early phase. It is noteworthy that using *-hā* with animate nouns was not a common feature of early CNP. Seddiqian (1383/2004, p. 210), for instance, presents only three examples from the texts of the 12th–13th centuries⁵³ and labels them as instances of “non-ordinary” pluralizations.

As in MNP, the plural suffix *-hā* is used together with countable and uncountable nouns, and functions as an amplifier meaning “plenty of, lots of”, as in examples (1–4), or expresses extension or approximation together with temporal and local adverbials, as in example (5).

⁵³ All the three instances are *kas-hā* ‘Men/Persons/People’.

- (1) SI/AaT: 6v
هر یک از این جماعت مصلحتها می‌اندیشیدند.
'Each one of these people had a variety of ideas (idea-PL) about what was best to do.'
- (2) SI/ZaT1: 45r
تکلو جمعیت کرده مابین ایشان جنگها شد.
'The men of the Takkalū tribe got together and a long and intensive battle (battle-PL) broke out between them.'
- (3) MI/HN: f.22v
و چند روز شادیهها کردند.
'And they celebrated joyfully and intensively (lit. happiness-PL) in several days.'
- (4) KB/MaT (CE): 217
جوانان که از پی اعدا رفته بودند، جنگهای مردانه کرده مثل نعمت‌الله خواجه و معصوم بی حاجی.
'Some of the young warriors like Ni‘matallāh Kh‘āja and Ma‘šūm Bayg Ḥajjī chased the enemy and fought bravely (lit. manly fight-PL).'
- (5) MI/VB: f.20v
آخرها پیش عمر شیخ میرزا خیلی مقرب شده بود.
'At the end (end-PL), he had turned to a great confidant of Umar Shaykh Mīrzā.'

Nouns preceded by numerals and quantifiers are in singular form, e.g., *dah shutur* 'ten camels', *du dilāvar* 'Two valiant warriors', *chand rūz* 'a few days', *hasht pisar* 'eight sons', *du dukhtar* 'two daughters', *du asp* 'two horses', *sīšad sāl* 'three hundred years', *si māh* 'three months'. Using a plural noun after numeral or quantifiers is not common in Persian or Tajik, nor was it common in the New Persian of the earlier periods.⁵⁴ I have found just two instances of a plural noun preceded by a numeral, both with the Arabic plural noun *umarā*:⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Seddiqian (1383/2004, p. 211–12) mentions the use of a plural noun after numerals and quantifiers among the sporadically occurring features in the New Persian of the 12th–13th centuries.

⁵⁵ See also example (74).

- (6) MI/HN: 33r
 این سه امرا
 ‘These three commanders’

- (7) KB/Mat (CE): 212
 چهار امرای عظیم شأن
 ‘Four highly-ranked commanders’

Double pluralization of Arabic plural nouns is also used, especially with the plural noun *umarā* in HN:

- (8) MI/HN: 31r–31v
 امرایان حضرت بر سر آنجماعت تاختند و آنها گیر کردند و پاره را قتل کردند.
 ‘The royal amirs (amir.PL-PL) attacked that group of rabble, captured them, and killed a number of them.’

4.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in New Persian fall within three major categories: simple, derived, and compound adjectives. Adjectives have three degrees of comparison, positive, comparative, and superlative. The comparative degree is marked with the stressed suffix *-tar*, and the superlative degree with the stressed suffix *-tarīn*. In the attributive position, the positive and comparative normally follow the noun in an ezafe construction, whereas the superlative precedes the noun without an ezafe.

Table. 4 The morphosyntax of adjective comparison

Degree of comparison	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
	-Ø	- <i>tar</i>	- <i>tarīn</i>
Attributive	N=EZ POS	N=EZ COMP	SUPR N

In predicative position, comparatives are expressed with the preposition *az* ‘than’, and superlatives are usually expressed with the universal comparative *az hama* ‘than all’ (Lazard 1992, pp. 85–9; Windfuhr and Perry 2009, pp. 432–4). Apart from some specific features, especially with regard to the superlative degree, adjectives in the studied works behave as in CNP and MNP.

- (9) KB/MaT (CE): 314
 بلدة طيبة ماوراءالنهر... مرجع دانشوران فضیلت گستر است. خاکش از لطافت و پاکی چون آستین مریم، و سنگریزه های آبش در لطافت، خوشابتر از عقیق و لالی یم.
 ‘The pure region of Transoxania... is a center for excellent learned men. And its earth is as clean and pure as Mary [mother of Jesus],

and the elegance of the small stones of its creeks is brighter than the opals and pearls of the deepest seas.’

A prominent feature of some of these texts is their generous use of compound attributive adjectives, as in example (10). This is partly because most of these works deal with the lives and deeds of kings, sultans, khans and religious dignitaries, and partly because they are written in rhymed prose:

(10) KB/MaT (CE): 211

در جلوس میمنت‌مأنوس حضرت خان سیادت‌نشان شوکت‌دارا بر اورنگ فاخره بخارا
‘On the auspicious accession of his majesty the glorious and
sovereign khan to the throne of precious Bukhara. . .’

These compound adjectives are mostly made up of an adjective and a noun, like *rawshan-zamīr* ‘clear-minded’, two nouns, like *jannat-makān* ‘paradise-stationed’, a noun and shortened present participle, like *jahān-paymā* ‘world-traveler’, or a noun and a past participle, like *bakht-bargashta* ‘ill-fated’. Compound adjectives made up of a noun followed by a past participle or a noun followed by a shortened present participle occur frequently in the studied works.⁵⁶ These two types of compounds with a noun followed by a participle as an adjective might have been the source of inspiration for the development of compound adjectives made up of a noun followed by a simple adjective, e.g. *gardan-kuluft* ‘strong’ (lit. thick-necked) in informal Persian. I have found only one such example in VB: *kalla-khushk* ‘crazy’ (lit. dried-head) in predicative position, as in example (17).

(11) SI/TAA: 26, 35

‘The clear-minded Shaykh’

‘A proud and noble (lit. high-necked) king’

شیخ روشن‌ضمیر
خسروی گردن‌فراز

(12) SI/ZaT2: 207, 103

‘The heavenly (paradise-stationed) king’

‘The world-conqueror banner’

شاه جنت‌مکان
لوای جهانگشا

(13) MI/IQJ: 424v, 425r

‘The magnificent (Heavenly-magnificent) troops’

‘The kingdoms-conqueror king’

عساکر کیهان‌شکوه
شاه ممالک‌ستان

⁵⁶ For compounding with a noun followed by a shortened present participle, see Tabatabayi (1382/2004).

- (14) MI/PN: 567, 556
 ‘The fortunate (lit. of lucky star) prince’ پادشاهزاده نیکاختر
 ‘The world-traveler banners’ رایات جهان‌پیما
- (15) KB/MaT (CE): 250, 220
 ‘Unfortunate Ill-fated creature’ بدبخت بخت‌برگشته
 ‘The brave (lit. bravery-choosing) soldiers’ دلاوران شجاعت‌گزین
- (16) KB/TRS: 29, 201
 ‘The victorious (lit. with victorious power) سپاه نصرت‌دستگاه
 army’
 ‘Paradisiacal (lit. paradise-like) Samarqand’ سمرقند فر دوس‌مانند
- (17) MI/VB: f.11r
 در اوایل شراب بسیار میخورد آخرها در هفته یک مرتبه یا دو مرتبه صحبت میشد...
 در اواخر معجون بسیار اختیار میکرد و در معجونی‌گری کله‌خشک می‌شد.
 ‘Formerly, he drank a lot. Later he held drinking parties only once or twice a week. Later he grew rather fond of *ma jūn*, and under its influence, he would turn crazy (lit. dried-head).’

The use of preposed attributive adjectives is another noticeable feature of these works. In this regard, VB stands out for its frequent use of inverted word order in attributive noun phrases, as in example (18). Thackston (1993, p. xv) considers this reversed word order to be “retained Turkish word order”. This might be true in this text, but preposed attributive adjectives are not just an influence from Turkish. They were already common in early CNP and MP. Natel Khanlari (1366/1978b, p. 164) presents instances from both CNP, e.g. *furūmāya mardumān* (base people), *dalīr mardī* ‘a brave man’, *dīgar sāl* ‘next year’ and MP, e.g. *mastōg mard* ‘drunk/lustful man’ and *kēnvar mard* ‘hostile/vengeful man’.

- (18) MI/VB: f.4v
 بـسـرخ و سفید موج‌دار پـسـنگی از همین کوه
 ‘A stone with red and white variegation on this mountain’

However, the interesting feature regarding the use of adjectives in this corpus is that most superlative adjectives appear in two types of partitive constructions: (I) with a plural pronoun in a single-ezafē construction, as in (19), (20); and (II) with a plural noun in a double-ezafē construction,⁵⁷ as in (21), (22), (23), and (24).⁵⁸ Type II, with a plural noun, is more common in

⁵⁷ “Elliptic substantivized superlative”, according to Windfuhr and Perry (2009, p. 434).

Tajik (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 434). In the works of Safavid Iran and the Khanate of Bukhara, Type II is used in predicative position as equivalent to the universal comparative with *az hama* ‘than all’.

(19) KB/MaB (CE): 2

فاضل‌ترین ایشان انبیا و اولیا شدند.

‘The most learned of them (learned-SUPR=EZ PRO.PL) became prophets and saints.’

(20) KB/MaB (CE): 2

بهترین آنان پادشاهان و امرا گشتند.

The best of them (god-SUPR=EZ PRO.PL) became kings and amirs.’

(21) MI/IQJ: 8v

بزرگترین پسران حضرت گیتی‌ستان

‘The oldest son of His Majesty (old-SUPR=EZ son-PL=EZ his majesty=EZ), the world conqueror’

(22) MI/PN: 518

تخم لاله جو غاسو که بهترین اقسام آنست و دران سرزمین بغایت بالیده و سیررنگ می‌باشند می‌کارند.

‘They plant the seeds of *Jūghāsū tulip*, which is the best kind of tulip (Good-SUPR=EZ kind.PL=EZ PRO.3SG). They are dark red and grow very well in that area.’

(23) KB/MaT (CE): 334

ملا بهزاد: کامل‌ترین مصوّران دوران است.

‘Mullā Bihzād: He is the most perfect illustrator of the time (perfect-SUPR=EZ painter-PL=EZ time).’

(24) KB/TRS: 192

قریب چهل سال از روی فراغ بال با عز و اقبال در زمین دشت قبیجا که نزهت‌ترین اماکن آفاق است فرمان‌فرمای بود.

‘For nearly forty years, he ruled securely and magnificently in the Qibchāq desert, which is one of the most delightful places in the world (delightful-SUPR=EZ place.PL=EZ world).’

The Arabic relative adjective occurs in these works, especially in manuscripts with a generally stronger presence of Arabic elements. It is also used in a double-ezafe construction:

(25) SI/TAA: 16

عبدالمطلب نذر کرده بود که چون دهنده بی‌منت ده پسر بدو کرامت فرماید اعزّ اولاد خود را در راه خدا قربان نماید.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had vowed that, if God, the giver, blessed him with ten sons, he would sacrifice his [most] favorite (favorite.ELT=EZ son.PL=EZ himself) son to God.’

(26) MI/IQJ: 8v

انحضرت ارشد اولاد عمر شیخ میرزا ست.

‘His majesty is the eldest son of (old.ELT=EZ son.PL=EZ) ‘Umar Shaykh Mīrzā.’

(27) KB/MA: 19v

اشهر فضایل شیخ مذکور خوشنویسی است.

‘The most renowned excellence of the mentioned Shaykh (renowned.ELT=EZ excellence.PL=EZ mentioned Shaykh) is his calligraphy.’

Interestingly, the universal comparative construction is found in MI/VB, which is a Persian translation of an original Chaghatay Turkish text.

(28) MI/VB: f.12v–f.13r:

کلان‌ترین پسرانش من ظهیرالدین محمد بابر م... پسر دیگر جهانگیر میرزا بود از من دو سال خورد تر ... نام پسر دیگر ناصر میرزا بود... از من چهار سال خورد بود و از همه دختران کلانتر خانزاده بیگم همشیره زابیده من بود از من پنج سال کلان بود.

‘I, Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, am his oldest son (old-SUPR=EZ son-PL=PC.3SG)... Another son was Jahāngīr Mīrzā, who was two years younger (young-COMP) than I was... The name of his other son was Nāṣīr Mīrzā...who was four years younger (young-Ø) than I was and his oldest daughter (old-COMP than all=EZ daughter-PL) was Khānzāda Baygum, who was born from the same mother as me. She was five years older (old-Ø) than I was.’

(29) MI/VB: f.26r–f.26v

از همه خوردتر معصومه پهلطان بیگم بود.

‘The youngest (young-COMP than all) was Ma‘suma Sulṭān Baygum.’

Both in VB and HN, the comparative adjective in predicative position occurs with and without the comparative suffix *-tar*, as in example (29) above and example (30) below. This means that the positive adjective may be used in a

comparative sense, as in Turkish. This is common in colloquial Tajik (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 433), but not at all in Persian.

(30) MI/HN: f.4v

برنتوق بیگ و ذوالنون بیگ که امرای سلطان حسین میرزا بودند چنین گفتند که چون پادشاه از بدیع الزمان مرزا خوردند پانزده ساله مناسب چنان است که پادشاه زانورده دریابند.

‘Barantūq Bayg and Zū’l-Nūn Bayg, amirs of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, said that as His Majesty was fifteen years younger (**young-Ø**) than Badī’ al-Zamān Mīrzā, it was right that he should be the first to bow, and then they should embrace one another.’

The comparative and superlative degrees used for *khūb* are *bihtar* and *bihtarīn*, as in Persian, and not *khūbtar*, as in Tajik (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 433). I have not found any instances of the comparative and superlative formed on *khūb* in the studied works.

(31) MI/VB: f.6r

انار مرغینان بسیار بهتر است.

‘However, the pomegranates from Marghīnān are much better.’

(32) MI/PN: 523

نهری از آب لار که بهترین آبهای آن دیار است بعرض سه گز دران [باغ] جاریست.
‘A stream of the river of Lār, which is the best of all rivers of that region, three gaz wide, runs in that garden.’

(33) KB/MaB: 2

و قومی که به جاه و سلطنت و دولت و حشمت و اسباب کامرانی و تنعمات این جهانی رغبت داشتند، بهترین آنان پادشاهان و امرا گشتند.

‘And that group of people who desired dignity, authority, power, magnificence, and the means of worldly pleasures and prosperity, the best of them became kings and amirs.’

(34) KB/MaT (CE): 313

در این امر خطیر بهتر از ایشان، قاضی میر ناصر، کسی پیدا نبود.

‘For this difficult task, there was no better person than Īshān Qāzī Mīr Nāšir.’

4.1.3 Adverbs

Adverbs in Persian are of several types. Essentially, all adjectives and a large number of nouns, including nouns with inherent local and temporal meaning, can function as adverbs. Other types that should be mentioned are adverbs made up of the preposition *bi-* and an abstract noun; borrowed Arabic adverbs ending in *alef-tanvīn*;⁵⁹ reduplication of nouns, adjectives, and participles; and a set of invariable adverbs like *faqat* ‘only’, *hanūz* ‘yet’, *shāyad* ‘perhaps’, *magar* ‘perhaps, only if, unless’.

Like adjectives, adverbs have three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative with the suffix *-tar*,⁶⁰ and superlative with the suffix *-tarīn*. Local, temporal, and some invariable adverbs can take a plural form to express iteration, for instance *shab-hā kār mīkunad* ‘He works nights’, or approximation, for instance *ākhar-hā* ‘at the end’⁶¹ (Lazard 1992, pp. 90–95; Windfuhr and Perry 2009, pp. 444–5).

The adverbs in the present corpus are formed and used in the same way as in early CNP and MNP. Exceptions to this have to do with the low frequency of *shāyad*, and the frequency and function of *magar*.

In all the three modern variants of New Persian, the most common adverb of possibility is *shāyad*, which is derived from the modal verb of *shāyestan* ‘to be proper/to be worthy’. The frequency of *shāyad* as an adverb is still very low in the studied works. I have found a few instances of *shāyad* as an adverb of possibility in the manuscripts of Mughal India.⁶²

(35) MI/HN: f.22r

آکام... خوشحال بودند که شاید یکی ازینها پسر زاید.

‘My lady was happy, and kept saying: “Perhaps one of them will have a son.”’

Magar is also very infrequent in these works. I have found only a few instances of it in them. Three occur in verses that might be borrowed from other texts, and sometimes in senses that have almost disappeared from MNP, for instance in examples (37) and (38). This is in contrast to the CNP of the earlier periods.

In a paper on *magar* in *Tārīkh-i Biyhaqī*, Hashabeiky and Hassanabadi (2012, p. 104) have recognized 78 instances of *magar* used in several different

⁵⁹ Despite the large number of Arabic words, Arabic adverbs ending in *alef tanvīn* are not very frequent. The *alef tanvīn* <أ> in these adverbs is usually written as <ا>, e.g. اتفاقاً، اصلاً، مکرراً، ظاهراً، خصوصاً.

⁶⁰ See example (350).

⁶¹ See examples (5) and (17) for this use of *-hā* in the studied works.

⁶² See also examples (214) and (271).

senses in that work. The authors have also found instances of *magar* fulfilling a pragmatic function that fits with the theory of indirect speech acts. No such instances were found in the works included in the present study. Comparing the extremely low frequency of *magar* in these works with its frequency in *Tārīkh-i Biyhaqī* from the eleventh century, one can postulate a shift in the scope of its functions and subsequently in its frequency.

Magar meaning “unless”:

(36) MI/IQJ: 438r

طریق اینها بآئین کافران تبت نزدیک است بتی بصورت آدمی از طلا یا از سنگ ساخته
پرسنتش مینمایند و بیش از یک زن نمیکند مگر زن اول نازاد باشد.

‘Their customs are close to the customs of Tibet’s infidels. They make a statue of a man in gold or stone and worship it. They do not marry more than one wife unless the first wife is infertile.’

Magar meaning “perhaps”:

(37) KB/MaT: 244

مگر که نامیه قوت ز روح مانى یافت

‘Perhaps, the spirit of Mānī has blown into the vegetation’

This use of *magar* as the adverbial of possibility has been replaced by *shāyad* ‘perhaps’ in Persian.

Magar meaning “as if”:

(38) KB/MaT: 256

ز دریا مگر بر لب آمد حباب

‘It was as if bubbles had come up to the lips of the river’

This use of *magar* ‘as if’ has also been replaced by *ingār/ingārī* in Persian.

Magar meaning “only if”:

(39) KB/MaB (CE): 25

تو مگر دیده صفت بگذری از خودبینی ورنه هر فتنه که بینی همه از خود بینی

‘Only if you turn into eyes will you abandon self-conceit/Otherwise, you will confront calamities caused by you, yourself’

Magar meaning “except for”:

(40) KB/MaB (CE): 139

صغیر و کبیر و برنا و پیر آن بلده به تیغ و ضرب تیر مقتول شده و شربت شهادت نوشیدند مگر قراباقال که امرا او را بند کرده، به درگاه شاهی روان گردانیدند.

‘Children and adults, as well as the young and old of that realm, were all killed and martyred by swords and arrows, except for Qarābaqāl, whom the amirs chained and dispatched to the royal court.’

4.1.4 Pronouns

4.1.4.1 Personal pronouns

A full paradigm of personal pronouns in New Persian is as presented in the table below:

Table. 5 New Persian personal pronouns

	sg.	pl.
1 st	<i>man</i> ⁶³	<i>mā</i>
2 nd	<i>tu</i>	<i>shumā</i>
3 rd	<i>ū, vay, ān</i>	<i>ānhā, īshān</i>

Due to the predominantly historiographical nature of the works studied, the most frequent pronouns are the third person singular and plural pronouns او ‘*ū*’, وی ‘*vay*’, and ایشان ‘*īshān*’.

The plural pronoun ایشان ‘*īshān*’ refers to the third person plural, as well as to the third person singular to show respect. In this latter sense, *īshān* is used to refer to kings, sultans, and religious dignitaries who are considered to hold a higher position in the hierarchy of respect.

Using *īshān* together with the third person plural verb for referents higher in the respect hierarchy is a very strict code in MNP. The pronoun *īshān* is exclusively used for 3SG in MNP. As in MNP, the third person plural forms of verbs are also used for singular referents to show respect, but not as frequently as in MNP. The varying use of *īshān* and the third person plural verb for both singular and plural referents makes one consider this to be the transitional period for this hierarchical use of the language. Nevertheless, the most interesting finding of this study is what this varying use of *īshān* and the third person plural verb for singular referents tells us about the socio-political

⁶³ When followed by the postposition *rā*, the nasal /n/ might be dropped. It is then written as it is pronounced, i.e. مرا (*marā*) ‘me’. It occurs in the present corpus, as in examples (179), (280), and (383), and it is still commonly used in formal MNP.

atmosphere of this period. To highlight this, the glossing in this section is confined to plural pronouns and plural verbs used with singular referents.

Regarding the works of Safavid Iran, *īshān* is often used as a plural pronoun in AaT and TAA as in examples (41) and (42). In ZaT1 and ZaT2, it is used also as singular as in example (43), depending on the referent's position in the respect hierarchy, with religious dignitaries at the top of this hierarchy. Plural verb forms are used more frequently to refer to people higher in the period's respect hierarchy (43), but singular verb forms are also used, as in examples (41) and (42).

(41) SI/AaT: 5r

و سلطان علی پادشاه در برابر مخالفان صفآرا شده چون چشمش بر لوای ایشان افتاد مانند شیر خشمناک که از هیچ چیز ترس و باک نداشته باشد بدیشان حمله کرده صفوف بدان کثرت را برهمزده کارزاری نمود که داپستان رستم و اسفندیار منسوخ گردانید.
'And Sultān 'Ali Pādshāh arrayed [his forces] to confront the enemies, and when he saw their banners, he attacked them like a furious lion who does not fear anything and dispersed that numerous army and fought in a manner that surpassed the story of Rustam and Isfandiyār's battle.'

(42) SI/TAA: 25

این حضرت [شیخ صفی الدین] مشایخ فارس را وداع کرده از بواطن صافی ایشان استمداد همت نموده عزیمت وطن کرد.
'His holiness [Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn] said farewell to the shaykhs of Fārs. Asking for their spiritual help, he set out for his home.'

(43) SI/ZaT1: 53v

بعد از ظهر میرزا سلیمان که اعتماد الدوله بود بخدمت پریخان خانم همشیره شاه آمده حقیقت عرض مینماید ایشان میفرمایند که در از پاشنه برداشته باندرون روند.
'In the afternoon, Mīrzā Sulīymān, I'timād al-Dawla, comes to Parīkhān Khānum, the king's sister, and presents the state of affairs. She (PRO.3PL) orders (order-3PL) them to break down the door and go inside.'

In the works of the Khanate of Bukhara, *īshān* is used as both a plural pronoun (46) and (47) and a singular pronoun, as in example (44). The frequency of use of *īshān* and a plural verb for singular referents varies. It is higher in MA and MaT, and the plural verb forms are used to refer to people higher in the period's respect hierarchy, with the religious dignitaries at the top (44) and (45). In MaB and TRS, the pronoun *īshān* is used to refer to the third person plural, and the verb used for singular referents is almost always in singular form for non-religious dignitaries, regardless of who the referent is (46).

(44) KB/MA: 8r

خان سعادت نشان مخلص درویشان و معتقد ایشان بود و بصدق تمام در قید ارادت مرشد باکمال شیخ جلال می‌نمود و شیخ مذکور از مریدان حضرت مولانا شمس الدین محمد روجی بود و ایشان هم نبیره حضرت عارف نامی مولانا نورالدین عبدالرحمن جامی اند.

‘The fortunate khan was a devotee of dervishes and had faith in them. He was an utterly true devotee of the distinguished Murshid, Shaykh Jalāl. And that Shaykh was a disciple of his holiness Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūjī. And he (PRO.3PL), in his turn, is (be-3PL) the great-great-grandchild of the renowned mystic, his holiness Mawlānā Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī.’

(45) KB/MaT (CE): 317

این اشعار دلفریب از لفظ گهربار ایشان [قاضی لطف الله] است، جهت حضرت ایشان، محمد باقر خواجه جویباری، نوشته اند.

‘The following verses are eloquent words which he (PRO.3PL) [Qāzī Lutfallāh] composed (composed-3PL) for His (PRO.PL) Holiness, Muḥammad Bāqir Kh^vāja Jūybārī.’

(46) KB/MaB (CE): 226

و در اواسط این سال صاحبقران سکندر نشان... در موضع گوک گنبد با سلاطین تاشکند جنگ نموده، ایشان را شکست داد.

‘And in the middle of this year, the fortunate Alexander-like khan... went to war with Tashkent’s sultans, and defeated them.’

(47) KB/TRS: 236

جون لشکر از حصار بخارا دور گشتند حاکم آنجا تصور کرد که ایشان فرار نمودند.
‘When the army went far away from the fortress of Bukhara, the governor there supposed that they had run away.’

In the works of the Khanate of Bukhara, *ḥaẓrat-i īshān* ‘His Holiness’ is also used as an honorific to refer to religious dignitaries, as in examples (45), (48) and (49). This use of *īshān* is still common in Tajik, but its use as a singular pronoun to show respect has been transferred to *on-ho* (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 435).

(48) KB/TRS: 153

حضرت مخدومی مولانا عبدالرحمن جامی قدس سره در شأن حضرت ایشان می‌فرمایند:

...

‘His excellency Makhdūmī Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, may his soul be sanctified, pronounces (pronounce-3PL) the rank of His (PRO.3PL) Holiness as follows: ...’

(49) KB/MaT (CE): 306

حضرت ایشان، فضایل ردیف آخوند ملا محمد شریف که سالها در خانقاه کوی خود نشسته، به درس تفسیر و مشکاة قیام و اقدام می نمودند. و جمهور علما و مدرسان و طلبه بخارا همه شاگرد ایشان می بودند.

‘His (PRO.3PL) Holiness, the emblem of chastity, Ākhūnd Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf lived in the *khānqāh* on his street for many years and gave (gave-3PL) lectures on the interpretation of the Koran and explanation of the hadith. All the ulama, teachers, and disciples of Bukhara were his (PRO.3PL) pupils.’

In contrast to the other two regions, kings and princes occupy the top of the respect hierarchy in the works of Mughal India. No instances of *īshān* were found in PN, neither as a plural pronoun nor as a singular one. In PN, singular referents at the top of the hierarchy are usually referred to with titles like ‘the king of kings’, ‘His Majesty’, ‘*Ṣāhibqirān*’, and ‘His Highness’, as in example (50). The verbs, on the other hand, are exclusively in third person plural for referents at the top of the hierarchy of respect.

(50) MI/PN: 547

و ازان رو که مکان مزبور دلگشا و روح افزا بود اعلیحضرت سه روز مقام فرمودند.

‘Since the aforesaid place was pleasant and delightful, his highness stayed (stayed-3PL) there for three days.’

In VB, *īshān* is used for both the third person plural and singular. Accompanied by a plural verb, it is used once to refer to Shāh Ismā‘īl, once to refer to the narrator’s own mother, and once to refer to a religious dignitary, as in example (51):

(51) MI/VB: f.10v

[تیمورتاش] حنفی مذهب و پاکیزه اعتقاد مردی بود... و بحضرت خواجه عبدالله ارادت داشت و بصحبت ایشان بسیار مشرف شده بود و حضرت خواجه هم فرزند گفته بودند.

‘[Tīmūrtāsh] was a faithful Hanafī... and he was a devotee of Kh‘āja ‘Abdallah. He had met and conversed with him (PRO.3PL) many times, and His Holiness Kh‘āja called (called-3PL) him his son.’

In the other two works of Mughal India, namely HN and IQJ, *īshān* is more frequently used to refer to singular referents (52) and (53). The verbs are either in third person singular or plural, depending on the position of the referent in the respect hierarchy.

(52) MI/HN: f.20v

حضرت همایون پادشاه بتخت نشستند و پادشاهی ایشانرا همه عالم مبارک باد گفتند بعد از آن بدیدن مادران و خواهران و مردم خود آمده پرسش و دلداری داده نوازش و غمخواریها فرمودند.

‘His excellency Humāyūn Pādshāh, ascended (ascended-3PL) the throne and the whole world hailed him (PRO.3PL) as the king. After that, he came to see mothers, sisters, and his men. He inquired after their health and consoled (consoled-3PL) them.’

(53) MI/IQJ: 439v

خبر بیماری شاهزاده پرویز معروض گردید مرقوم بود که نخست درد قولنج قوی بهم رسیده و ایشانرا زمان ممتد بی شعور ساخت... اطبا بیماری ایشانرا صرع تشخیص نموده اند.

‘The report about Prince Parvīz’s illness was presented. There it was stated that he first had a severe seizure that made him (PRO.3PL) unconscious for a long while... The physicians have diagnosed his (PRO.3PL) disease as epilepsy.’

As was mentioned previously, the most interesting finding of this study is what this varying use of *īshān* and plural verb reflects. Example (54) is especially interesting with regard to the position of religious dignitaries. As is seen in this example, a singular pronoun and a singular verb are used for “the auspicious king Amīr Tīmūr”, but a plural pronoun and a plural verb are used for Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn. This is very expressive and reflects the shift in the political atmosphere, especially in Safavid Iran.

(54) SI/ZaT2: 97–8

سلاطین روزگار بخدمت شیخ صدر الدین آمده از برکات ایشان استمداد می نمودند از آن جمله پادشاه صاحبقران امیر تیمور بعد از مراجعت از روم بخدمت ایشان رسیده التماس نمود که از او چیزی طلب نمایند حضرت شیخ صدر الدین فرمودند که اسیرانی که از روم با خود آورده بمن بخش و امیر تیمور انجماعترا بانحضرت بخشید.

‘All sultans of the time used to go to see Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn and ask for his (PRO.3PL) blessings. Among others, the auspicious king Amīr Tīmūr, who was on his way back from Rome, visited (visited.3SG) him (PRO.3PL) and begged (begged.3SG) his holiness to ask (ask-3PL) him [Amīr Tīmūr] for a favor. His Holiness told (told-3PL) him: “Give me the captives you have brought from Rome!” And Amīr Tīmūr gave (gave.3SG) them to his holiness.’

Here follows the statistical table for the use of *īshān* with singular/plural referents:

Table. 6 The use of *īshān* for singular/plural referents

	<i>īshān</i> /plural	<i>īshān</i> /singular religious dignitaries	<i>īshān</i> /singular other than religious dignitaries	TOTAL
SI	26	7	9	42
MI	4	1	14	19
KB	18	24	3	45
TOTAL	48	32	26	106

As Table 6 shows, *īshān* is still used for both plural and singular referents. As a pronoun for singular referents, it is used infrequently for religious dignitaries in the manuscripts of Mughal India. Instances of *īshān* in the examples in other parts of this study confirm the same conclusions.

In two manuscripts, namely KB/MaB and MI/HN, the pronoun *īshān* in its plural sense has taken an additional plural suffix *-ān*, as *īshān-ān*, as in examples (55) and (56).

(55) KB/MaB (CE): 227

در اوایل سنه ۹۸۷ در لب آب چرچیق به بابا سلطان و سلاطین متفرقه سمرقند و حصار شادمان مقابل گشته، ایشانان را شکست داد.

‘At the beginning of the year 987, he confronted Bābā Sultān and several other sultans of Samarqand and the fortress of Shādmān along the shore of Chirchīq river and defeated them (PRO.3PL-PL).’

(56) MI/HN: f.31v–f.32r

خواص خان و پسر خود را فرستاد که بروید و گرهی را مضبوط بکنید ایشانان آمدند و گرهی را گرفتند.

‘He dispatched Khavās Khān and his son and commanded them to go and occupy Garahī. They (PRO.3PL-PL) came and occupied Garahī.’

To summarize, the pronoun *īshān* can be used to refer to both singular and plural referents. The higher the social standing of the referent, the more likely it is for the pronoun *īshān* to be used together with a plural verb. The specific use of *īshān* and plural verb for singular referents in some manuscripts of Safavid Iran and the Khanate of Bukhara also reflects the higher position of the religious dignitaries in the respect hierarchy of that period. Although the frequency of this hierarchical use of *īshān* and plural verb varies in the

manuscripts, the examples bear witness to this feature having become stabilized by this time.

Another interesting feature is the use of the third person singular pronoun او (*ū*) even for non-human and inanimate referents in the manuscripts of KB and MI, as in examples (57–60). The manuscript VB, which is a Persian translation of the original Turkish work, is completely consistent in using the pronoun *ū* for inanimates. Using *ū* for inanimates is not common in either Persian or Tajik. According to Seddiqian (1383/2004, p. 112), the use of *ū*, *vay*, and even *īshān* for non-human referents was so common in early CNP that one can doubt the existence of a sharp distinction between pronouns for human and non-human referents in that period.⁶⁴ Perry (1996, p. 275) describes the introduction of the demonstrative adjective *ān* (that) into the pronominal system of Persian for non-human and inanimate referents as an “innovation of Timurid times, well established in Safavid historiography.”

(57) MI/VB: f.2r

و این فرغانه مختصر ولایتیست اما میوه و غله او فراوانست و در اطراف او کوهستان
افتاده.

‘This Firghāna is a smallish province but its grains and fruits are plenty. All around it, there are mountains.’

(58) MI/PN: 525

و خربزه اگر آفتی بدو نرسد بسان خربزه خوب کابل است.

‘As to the watermelon, if it escapes the pests it will be as good as Kābul’s watermelon.’

(59) KB/MA: 6r

و سمرقند اعظم بلاد ماوراء النهر است... و درو علما و فضلا بسیار می بوده اند... و
مزارات متبرکه که درو بسیار است.

‘And Samarqand is the largest city of Transoxiana... and a great number of scholars and learned men lived there (lit. in it) ... and [in it] there are a great number of holy shrines.’

(60) KB/MaB (CE): 4

در ذکر بنای بلده بخارا و احادیثی که در شأن او وارد شده.

‘On the foundation of the city of Bukhara and the sayings about it.’

The alternative third person singular pronoun وی ‘*vay*’ occurs infrequently, and not in all the studied works. I have not found any instances of *vay* in the manuscripts of Mughal India, and its frequency is highest in the works from the Khanate of Bukhara (61–63). In MNP, *vay* is used with human referents

⁶⁴ See also Natel Khanlari (1366/1987b, pp. 178–81).

in literary and formal texts, while in Tajik it is used for inanimates (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 435). The use of this pronoun in the studied manuscripts is compatible with its use in MNP to refer to human referents. I have found only one instance of *vay* referring to an inanimate referent, as in example (64).

(61) SI/AaT: 12v

احمد بیگ بن اغرلو محمد بن حسن پادشاه... در اجرای احکام پیور غالات که سلاطین
ماضی بمردم انعام فرموده بودند مضایقه می کرد این شیوه بر وی مبارک نیامد و در
زمستان سنه مذکوره مقتول شد.

‘Aḥmad Bayg b. Ughurlū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Pādshāh ...
refrained from giving people the charity lands that past sultans had
bestowed upon them. This was not a fortunate way of acting for him,
and he was killed in the winter of the same year.’

(62) KB/MaT (CE): 250

جمع دیگر از خردمندان و اناقانش از او روی گردان شده، ولد او خدای داد سلطان را
توره برداشته، از پی او آمده، از پادشاهی وی را خلع کرده، میل در چشم او کشیدند.

‘A group of his wise men and servants turned him back, and
appointed his son Khudāyād Sultān as the *tura* [the successor to the
throne], then came after him, ousted him, and blinded him.’

(63) KB/MaB (CE): 6

چون اجل موعود بر وی رسید، متوجه آخرت شد.

‘When the hour of his death arrived, he set out toward the invisible
world.’

(64) KB/MaB (CE): 39

دو لشکر نگویم، دو بحر عمیق که در وی شدی ربع مسکون غریق

‘Two armies like two deep oceans/in which a quarter of the world
sank’

In some manuscripts of Mughal India, the first and second person plural pronouns ما (*mā*) and شما (*shumā*), as well as the third person plural ایشان (*īshān*), have also taken the plural suffix *-ān*, as مایان (*mā-y-ān*) in example (65), شمایان (*shumā-y-ān*) in example (66), and ایشانان (*īshān-ān*).⁶⁵ Seddiqian (1383/2004, p. 210) describes some examples of this from *Tārīkh-i Biyhaqī* and *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* as “unordinary pluralization with *-ān* and *-hā*” in early CNP. Lazard (1963, p. 224) also attests the occurrence of *shumā-y-ān* in early CNP texts. The pluralization of the first and the second person plural pronouns is also common in colloquial Persian, though with *-hā*, e.g. ماها ‘*mā-hā*’ and شماها ‘*shumā-hā*’ meaning “every one of us/we all” and “every one of you/you

⁶⁵ For examples of pluralization of *īshān* in HN and MaB, see examples (55) and (56).

all” respectively. Referring to an instance of *shumāyān* in *Baburnama*,⁶⁶ Thackston (1993, p. xv) describes it as a direct translation from the original Chaghatay text (*siz > sizlār*). According to him, pluralized forms of pronouns were very rare in the Persian of that period. He maintains:

Both *shumāyān* (“you all”) and *māyān* (“we all”) are attested in very early New Persian and are occasionally met with in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century texts—and they are still in use in the colloquial Persian of Kabul today—but they are striking in a literary text.

(65) MI/HN: f.18v–f.19r

اطبا و حکما جمع شده گفتند که کم طالعی مایان است که داروئی کارگر نمی‌شود.
‘Having gathered, the physicians and the wise men said: “It is because of our (PRO.1PL-PL) misfortune that no medicine has an effect.”’

(66) MI/HN: f.22r

هرکدام که از شمايان پسر بزايد يراق نيك را بان ميدهم.⁶⁷
‘Every one of you (PRO.2PL-PL) who gives birth to a boy, I will give her the finest galloon.’

4.1.4.2 Pronominal clitics

Pronominal clitics or enclitic pronouns in New Persian mainly function as possessive pronouns. The main hosts of pronominal clitics are nouns or adjectives in attributive noun phrases, but verbs and adverbs also can take them.

Table. 7 New Persian pronominal clitics

	sg.	pl.
1 st	= <i>am</i>	= <i>imān</i>
2 nd	= <i>at</i>	= <i>itān</i>
3 rd	= <i>ash</i>	= <i>ishān</i>

The most frequent pronominal clitic in the studied works is the third person singular, and it is mostly used to express possession, as in Persian and Tajik.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ The alternative title for *Vāqi ‘āt-i Bāburī*, used by Thackston.

⁶⁷ Note the omission of the subjunction *ki* in the subordinate clause. This is a feature of informal or colloquial language.

⁶⁸ See also examples (81), (126), (150), (157), (190), (197), (215), (219), (239), (243), (245), (246), (272), (275), (278), (284), and (329).

(67) SI/TAA: 26

[شیخ صفی الدین] شبی در خواب دید... چون کلاه از سر بر میدارد آفتابی از فرق
همایونش طالع میگردد.

‘One night Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn dreamt ... when he removed the hat, a brilliant light shone forth from the top of his (PC.POSS) fortunate head.’

(68) MI/PN: 527

در اثنای گلگشت نشیمنی بنظر والا درآمد که سقفش بی دیوار بچهار ستون برافراخته
بودند.

‘During his evening walk, His Majesty saw an orangery without walls, with its (PC.POSS) roof supported by four pillars.’

(69) KB/MA: 6v

درج دلش بی در بقا نبوده حقه لعل را بی گوهر فنا نمی‌گشود.

‘The closet of his (PC.POSS) heart was not without the pearl of eternity, and he did not open the box of jewels without the gem of mortality.’

The use of pronominal clitics as direct or indirect objects, as was common practice in early CNP texts,⁶⁹ occurs infrequently (70–73). It is interesting to note that pronominal clitics are commonly used as direct and indirect objects in MNP, especially colloquial Persian.⁷⁰

(70) SI/AaT: 7v

چه شکر گویمت ای کارساز بنده‌نواز

‘How can I praise you (PC.IO), who are so helpful and kind to your servants?’

(71) SI/AaT: 11v

آیبه سلطان فرصت غنیمت شمرده خود را بپادشاه رسانید و از اوج عزت بخاک مذلتش
افکنده...

‘Having found an opportunity, Āyiba Sultān betook himself to the king and threw him (PC.DO) from the zenith of power down into the dust of abjectness...’

(72) SI/ZAT1: 48v

ترکمانان بر بیزیش ریختند و بقتلش رساندند.

‘Turkmens attacked him and murdered him (PC.DO)’

⁶⁹ See Seddiqian (1383/2004, pp. 107–12) and Natel Khanlari (1366/1987b, pp. 185–6).

⁷⁰ For instance, *Zang-it mīzānam* ‘I’ll call you’ or *Dīdam-ish* ‘I saw it.’

(73) KB/MaT (CE): 222

خدای تعالی... از هر دو چشم جهان‌بینش جدا ساخت.

‘The high exalted God...deprived him (PC.DO) of his two eyes by which he could see the world.’

The third person pronominal clitic is also used non-possessively to indicate anaphoric definiteness in HN. This is also a common feature in colloquial Persian.⁷¹

(74) MI/HN: 19r–19v

حضرت پادشاهی... روز بروز ضعیف و نحیف میشدند و هر روز تشویش ایشان در تزیاید بود و چهره مبارک ایشان در تغیر که فرداش همه امرایان را طلبیده فرمودند که سالهای بود که در دل داشتیم که پادشاهی خود را بهمایون میرزا بدهم.

‘His Majesty... lost strength day by day and became more and more emaciated. His blessed countenance changed. The next day (lit. tomorrow-PC.DEF), he called his amirs together and said to them: “For years it has been in my heart to hand over my throne to Humayūn Mīrzā.’

(75) MI/HN: 29v–30r

چون معصومه سلطان بیگم نزدیکتر فروز⁷² آمده بودند بخانه ایشان تشریف آوردند ... و فرداش در خانه این حقیر تشریف فرمودند.

‘As [His Majesty] dismounted somewhat near Ma‘suma Sulṭān Baygum... The next day (lit. tomorrow-PC.DEF), he came to the tent of this lowly person.’

4.1.4.3 The reflexive pronouns

New Persian possesses three reflexive pronouns, as follows:⁷³

Table. 8 New Persian reflexive pronouns

<i>kh^vud</i>	خود
<i>kh^vtsh</i>	خویش
<i>kh^vtshstan</i>	خویشتن

According to MacKenzie (1971, p. 95), *kh^vud* was used as both ‘indeed’ and ‘self’ in MP. It took centuries for *kh^vud* to establish itself as the predominant

⁷¹ See Etebari (1399/2020, pp. 108–17) and Rasekh Mahand (1388/2010, p. 90) for the use of 3SG pronominal clitic to indicate anaphoric definiteness.

⁷² The word is repeatedly written as فروز and may reflect a dialectal pronunciation.

⁷³ See Lazard (1963, p. 230).

reflexive pronoun. In modern variants of New Persian, *kh^vud* has almost completely replaced *k^vīsh* and *kh^vīsh^{tan}* in their reflexive meanings. *Kh^vīsh^{tan}* occurs very infrequently, and is mostly used in poetry or as an equivalent to ‘self’ in the field of psychology. *K^vīsh* can still be used possessively in literary and formal registers, though infrequently.⁷⁴ The pronoun *kh^vud* can be used possessively, reflexively, and emphatically.⁷⁵

The forms خود ‘*kh^vud*’, خویش ‘*kh^vīsh*’⁷⁶ and خویش^{تن} ‘*kh^vīsh^{tan}*’ are all used in the studied works.

(76) SI/ZaT2: 99

و حسن پادشاه که در آنوقت والی دیاربکر بود... خواهر خود را در حباله نکاح ایشان در آورد.

‘And Ḥasan Pādshāh, who was the governor of Diyarbakir then, ... gave his sister (POSS) to be his wife.’

(77) MI/VB: f.10r

جامه را بسیار تنگ می پوشید چنانچه در بستن بند شکم خود را بدون کشیده می بست و بعد از بستن که خود را وامی گذاشت بسیار بود که بندها کنده می شد.

‘He wore his tunic so tight that in order to fasten the ties he had to hold his stomach (POSS) in. If he let himself (REFL) go after fastening the ties, it often happened that the ties broke.’

(78) MI/HN: 37v

حضرت پادشاه سلام نامه نوشته فرستادند به این مضمون که من دل نداشتم که ترا از خود جدا کنم.

‘His Majesty sent a compassionate answer: “I had no heart to separate you from myself” (REFL).’

(79) KB/TRS: 7

[سلطان] قره العین خویش سلطان حسین را بر مپند پادشاهی نشانیده خود راه آخرت در پیش گرفت.

‘[Sultan] made the light of his eyes (POSS), Sulṭān Ḥusayn, sit on the royal throne and then he himself (REFL) set out towards the invisible world.’

⁷⁴ Here follow only two of many similar examples that I have found on the Internet:

چین قادر شد ... جمعیت یک و نیم میلیاردی خویش را در مقابل ویروس کرونا محافظت نماید.

‘China succeeded ... protecting its one and half billion population against the Corona virus.’

آیا مردم ایران سرنوشت خویش را در دست می گیرند؟

‘Are the Iranian people taking control of their destiny?’

⁷⁵ See example (200).

⁷⁶ *Kh^vīsh* is also used as a noun meaning “relative”; see example (266).

(80) KB/MaT (CE): 252

که تا چند قتل مسلمان کنیم جدا خویشتن را ز ایمان کنیم
'How long should we kill Muslims?/And separate ourselves (REFL) from our faith?'

However, the frequency of *kh^vud* is overwhelmingly higher. It can be observed even in the examples presented in other parts of this study. In these examples, the possessive *kh^vīsh* occurs only one more time, in addition to example (79).⁷⁷

Table. 9 The use of reflexive pronouns

	<i>Kh^vīsh/Khvīshtan</i>	<i>Kh^vud</i> <i>Reflexivly</i>	<i>Kh^vud</i> <i>Possessivly</i>	TOTAL
SI	0	5	5	10
MI	0	4	9	13
KB	1	1	10	12
TOTAL	1	10	24	35

The predominant use of *kh^vud* and the infrequent use of *k^vīsh* and *kh^vīshtan* are completely in line with the use of these pronouns in Persian. One noticeable difference is the consistent use of *kh^vud* without a pronominal clitic. Considering the formal character of most of these texts, this should not be interpreted as a significant difference, as *kh^vud* together with a pronominal clitic in Persian mainly belongs to the informal register. Interestingly, our only example of *kh^vud* with a pronominal clitic is from VB, which is a memoir written in informal language.

(81) MI/VB: f.42v

خپروشاه خودش قندز را محکم نموده برادر خورد خوید ولی را بلشکر فرستاد.
'Khosraw Shāh fortified Qunduz himself (REFL-PC.3SG) and sent his (POSS) younger brother Valī to the army.'

In some of the studied works, the reflexive pronoun خود also takes the plural suffix *-hā*. It seems to be used as an alternative to خودشان (themselves/their own):

(82) MI/HN: 37v

چون میرزا متوجه لاهور شدند اکثر مردم از امرا و سوداگران و غیره هرکسی را استعداد بود کرایه کرده و اهل و عیال خودها را همراه میرزا کامران کوچانیده بلاهور بردند.

⁷⁷ See example (276).

‘When Mīrzā Kāmṛān set out towards Lahore, many people, amirs and traders and so on made preparations and let their (POSS-PL) wives and families march under his escort to Lahore.’

(83) KB/MaB (CE): 39

آخر الامر لشکر مخالفان به آن همه کثرت متوهم شده، ارايه‌ها و توره‌ها انداخته، به هزار حيله خودها را از کنار خندق که مکان ایشان بود به شهر وزير انداختند.
‘At last, the huge army of the opponents became terrified, abandoned their war carts, and with thousands of stratagems betook themselves (REFL-PL) into the Shahr-i Vazīr along the ditch where they were stationed.’

(84) KB/MaT: 301

امرا و خواجگان بلخ عجز و شکستگی خودها را در میان آوردند و کلمه الصلح خير را مطمح نظر گردانیدند.
‘The Balkhī amirs and *kh’ājagāns* broached the subjects of their (POSS-PL) weakness and their rout, placing emphasis on the words *settlement is best*.’

4.1.5 Adpositions

Adpositions in New Persian include prepositions, the postposition *rā*, and a few circumpositions.⁷⁸ Formally and functionally, the adpositions in New Persian have undergone noticeable changes over the centuries. The traces of this process are still observable in the multiple notions of some of New Persian’s prepositions, and its only postposition, *rā*. Together with the postposition *rā*, some of the existing prepositions compensate for case marking. The details of this process are outside the scope of this study.

4.1.5.1 Prepositions

Prepositions fall within two major categories of simple and compound prepositions.

The most frequent simple prepositions in the present corpus are: *bi* ‘to, with, by, for, in’, *az* ‘from’,⁷⁹ *dar* ‘in, on, at’, *bar* ‘on, upon’, *bā* ‘with’, *bī*

⁷⁸ Used almost exclusively in Classical Persian.

⁷⁹ I have found one instance of *از* in SI/AaT: 15r, which is used to express predicative genitive, equivalent to مال *‘māl-i’* in Persian. This use of *از* is common practice in Dari and some dialects of Persian:

تمامی ولایت آذربایجان و آران و دیار بکر از امیر الوند باشد و مملکت عراق و فارس و کرمان متعلق بپسپطانمراد باشد.
‘The entire provinces of Azarbaijan and Ārān and Diarbakir belong to Amīr Alvand, and the realms of ‘Irāq, Fārs and Kirmān belong to Sulṭān Murād.’

‘without’, and *zīr-i* ‘under’. Other simple and compound prepositions⁸⁰ like *andar* ‘in’, *barāyi* ‘for, to’, *rū-yi* ‘on, upon’, *az rū-yi* ‘over’, *darūn-i* ‘in, inside’, *az darūn-i* ‘from inside’, *andarun-i* ‘inside’ occur on a very limited scale, and not in all the manuscripts.

Most of the prepositions are used in the same sense as in MNP, but a certain set of them are more complex in function and indicate a transitional stage.

4.1.5.1.1 The preposition *bi* (بِ)

The preposition *bi* is the most intricate preposition in CNP and has a wide range of functions. In MNP it is used only as the preposition of direction, for building adverbs of manner, and for marking the indirect object. Traces of the complexity of this preposition can still be observed in the present corpus, where it is predominantly used as in MNP, but also in several other senses. In the following sections, I only present examples of *bi* used in other senses than those of MNP.

4.1.5.1.1.1 *As a purposive preposition, equivalent to barāyi ‘to, in order to’ in MNP:*⁸¹

(85) SI/AaT: 4v

کس باحضار شاهزادگان فرستاد.

‘He sent someone in order to bring the princes to his presence.’

(86) SI/TAA: 53

خاقان سلیمان‌شان که مدت اقامتش بشش سال و نیم رسیده بود... بخروج از ان مملکت عازم جازم گشته کارکیا میرزا را وداع نموده... روی توجه بمقصد آورد.

‘The Solomonic emperor, who had lived there [Gīlān] for six and a half years ... decided to leave that province. He said farewell to Kār Kiyā Mīrza and set out towards his goal.’

(87) SI/ZaT1: 64r

فرهاد خان را با بکرات میرزا بدختر خواستن بگرجستان فرستادند.

‘Together with Bakirāt Mīrzā, he sent Farhād Mīrzā to Georgia to woo [his daughter].’

⁸⁰ Ezafe prepositions.

⁸¹ Wherever the preposition is written attached to the main word, the preposition and the main word are both underlined.

(88) SI/ZaT2: 109

چون منوچهر گرجی بروم رفته کومک آورده بود شاه دین پناه دیوسلطانرا بدفع او فرستادند.

‘Since Manūchihir, the Georgian, had turned to Rome and brought help, the king, the defender of the faith, dispatched Div-Sultān to repel him.’

(89) MI/PN: 540

پادشاهزاده عالی قدر... جکراج و لهراسب و یکه تاز خان و چندی دیگر بیاسبانی اردو باز گذاشته.

‘The excellent prince... appointed Jakrāj, Luhrāsb, Yekketāz Khān, and several others to guard the camp.’

(90) KB/MaB (CE): 12

قاسم خان جناح مرحمت بر سر این دو شاهزاده عالی مرتبت گسترده، به امیری از امرای خود - تیمور بیگ - سپارش نمود که به محافظت ایشان قیام نموده...

‘Qāsim Khān opened his wings of mercy over the head of these two excellently ranked princes. He commanded one of his amirs – Tīmūr Bayg – to protect them.’

(91) KB/MaT (CE): 219

ذکر متوجه شدن انوشه ارگنجی مرتبه دویم به تسخیر فاخره بخارا.

‘On Anūsha Urginjī’s setting out for the second time towards precious Bukhara in order to capture it.’

4.1.5.1.1.2 *As a benefactive preposition, equivalent to barāyi ‘for, for the sake of, for the benefit of’ in MNP:*

(92) MI/VB: f.14v–f.15v

پیشتر ازین خواهر کلان یونیس خانرا الغ بیگ میرزا به عبدالعزیز میرزا گرفته بود... و خانرا از ایسن دولت بیگم پسه دختر شد کلان مهر نگار خانم بود و پسلطان ابوسعید میرزا به پسر کلان خود پسلطان احمد میرزا گرفت.

‘Earlier, Ulugh Bayg Mīrzā had taken Yūnes Khān’s eldest sister to be the wife of (lit. for) ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Mīrzā. And Aysan Dawlat Baygum gave birth to three daughters for the khan. The oldest one was Mihr Nigār Khānum, whom Sultān Abū Sa‘īd took to be the wife of (lit. for) his eldest son, Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā.’

(93) MI/HN: f.3r

عموی ایشان در خراسان بوده اند بایشان کومک نفرستادند.

‘His uncle seems to have been in Khurāsān, but he did not send (lit. for) him any help.’

(94) MI/IQJ: 427r

بمسامع جلال رسید که... خانزاد خان بسر مهابتخان با امرائی که بکومک او مقررند از شهر برآمده...

‘His Majesty was informed that... Khānzād Khān, son of Mahābat Khān, together with amirs that had been appointed to assist (lit. for assisting) him have come forth from the town...’

(95) KB/MA: 11r

و بحضرت مخدومی مولانا خواجگی قدس سره پاره زر برسم نیاز فرستاده بود.

‘And he had sent a piece of gold to (lit. for) his holiness Makhdūmī Mawlānā Kh^vājaki, may his soul be sanctified, as a gift.’

4.1.5.1.1.3 *As an instrumental preposition,⁸² equivalent to bā ‘with, by’ in MNP:*

(96) SI/AaT: 5r

آنحضرت گاه ببنیغ مصری سرها و گردنان را از بدن طاق میگردانید و گاه بپا نهنگ تیر تنهای دلاوران جفت می کرد.

‘His Majesty sometimes separated the heads and necks from the bodies with an Egyptian sword; sometimes he paired together the bodies of the fighters with a huge spear.’

(97) SI/TAA: 19

آن سلطان غزایشه بشعله تیغ آبدار ساحت آن ولایت را از نور اسلام روشن ساخته رسوم کفر و ظلم را برانداخت...

‘That infidel-fighting Sultān overthrew the forces of darkness and unbelief and brought the light of Islam to that region with sharp dazzling swords.’

(98) SI/ZaT1: 58r

دلّاک ملغون در اثنای بیخودی و بدمستی سلطان حمزه میرزا را بخنجر زده خود را بجنگل می اندازد.

‘In his state of intoxication and ecstasy, the barber devil stabs Sultān Ḥamza Mīrzā with a dagger and escapes into the forest.’

⁸² The instrumental *bā* is also used, but the instrumental *bi* is more frequent.

(99) SI/ZaT2: 150

اسب نواب اشرف را بتفنگ زدند.

‘They shot (lit. with a rifle) Navvāb Ashraf’s horse.’

(100) MI/VB: f.3v

به اشکنه یک قیرغاول چهار کس سیر شدند و تمام نتوانستند کرد.

‘With a stew made from just one pheasant, four people became full and could not finish eating it.’

(101) MI/HN: f.4v

[بادشاه] چند مرتبه بضرِب شمشیر فتح سمرقند کرده اند.

‘[His Majesty] has more than once taken Samarqand by/with the force of the sword.’

(102) MI/IQJ: 429r

فیلی که در بیش بود بزخم تیر و تفنگ از پا افتاد.

‘The leading elephant fell with arrows and gunshots.’

(103) MI/PN: 499

شهنشاه شیرشکار بکشتی از آب عبور نموده فیل سوار ببنخیرگاه درآمدند.

‘The lion-hunter king crossed the river with a ship, and riding on an elephant, he entered (lit. arrived in) the hunting ground.’

(104) KB/MA: 4r

حضرت خان عالیشان... باندک لشکری جیوش عظیم الشان سلاطین را منهزم ساخته محبوسان بخارا را از قفس اندوه و زاری نجات داد.

‘His majesty, the excellent khan, defeated the huge armies of the Sultans with a small army and liberated the imprisoned people of Bukhara from the cage of sorrow and misery.’

(105) KB/MaB (CE): 9

شهریار عالی‌مقدار از غایت اضطراب به قوت بازوی اقتدار به آن طایفه غدار کارزار کرد و به معاونت سرپنجه شیرشکار به مدافعه و ممانعه آن جماعه اشراخ خارج از حد شمار قیام نمود.

‘In an extreme state of distress, the excellent king fought powerfully (lit. with power) with that treacherous group, and with the aid of his lion-hunter claws, he acted to repulse and avert that group of countless wicked men.’

(106) KB/MaT (CE): 215

نیش نیزه و دم تیغ به خون اعدا آب می‌دادند.

‘They hardened the tips of spears and the blades of swords with the blood of their enemies.’

(107) KB/TRS: 22

حیدر قصاب در ولایت سبزوار در شهور ۷۵۶ بیگ تیغ سر او را از تن جدا کرد.
'Hydar Qaşşāb beheaded him with a sword in the year 756 in the province of Sabzivār.'

4.1.5.1.1.4 As a local and temporal preposition, equivalent to dar 'in, on, at, within' in MNP:

(108) SI/AaT: 20r

خبر آوردند که خرسی بمغاره وطن کرده بمیریم آزار میرساند.
'It was reported that a bear has settled in a cave and torments people there (lit. brought torment to people).'

(109) SI/TAA: 33-4

زام ناقه ارشاد را یکف کفایت فرزند بجان پیوند نهاد.
'[Khvāja 'Ali] left the rein of the caravan of spiritual guidance in the hands of his beloved son.'

(110) SI/ZaT1: 59r

عباس میرزا... بسعادت سعد بتخت سلطنت نشسته پادشاه شدند.
'Abbās Mīrzā... ascended the royal throne (lit. sat on the royal throne) at an auspicious hour.'

(111) SI/ZaT2: 136

اسکندر بیگ جوانی از شاملو بهفت روز خود را بشیراز رسانید.
'Iskandar Bayg, a young man from the Shāmlū tribe, betook himself to Shirāz in seven days.'

(112) MI/VB: f.26r

و در آخر ان بمیراهی شاه بیگم و مهر نگار خانم که بکاشغر افتاد.
'Later she ended up in Kāshghar together with Shāh Baygum and Mihr Niḡār Khānum.'

(113) MI/HN: f.2v

دیر دوازده سالگی پادشاه شدند و بتاریخ پنجم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه نهصد و نه
دیر خطه اندجان خطبه خوانده...
'His majesty became king at the age of twelve. On the fifth of the blessed Ramadan in the year nine hundred and nine in the province of Andijān, he was declared king.'

(114) MI/IQJ: 439r

بتاریخ سی و یکم اردیبهشت ماه عنبر حبشی در هشتادسالگی باجل طبیعی درگذشت.
'On the thirty-first of the month of Urdībihisht, 'Anbar Ḥabashi ('Anbar from Deccan) died a natural death.'

(115) MI/PN: 509

بیست و چهارم مطابق غره ماه خرداد بِسَاعَتِ مختار ارباب تنجیم از دار السلطنه رکضت فرمودند.

'On the twenty-fourth, corresponding to the beginning of the month of Khurdād, at the hour chosen by masters of astrology, His Majesty set out from the capital of the realm.'

(116) KB/MA: 9r

بدانکه مصافحه فقیر ناصرالدین محمد بن قوام‌الدین عبدالله بِجَنَابِ تقوی‌شعار معارف اثار مولانا نورالدین عبدالرحمن بن جناب مرحوم مغفور مولانا علاء‌الدین است بِه قریه زیارتگاه...

'You should know that the poor humble servant Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qavām al-Dīn 'Abdallāh's hand-shaking with his highness is planned in Ziyāratgāh village.'

(117) KB/MaB (CE): 5

نه قطره ماند بِه دریا نه ذره ماند بِه دشت

'Not a drop of water was left in the sea, not a particle of soil in the desert.'

(118) KB/MaT (CE): 214

حال این شاه چو صبح است بِه عالم روشن

'The state of this king is as clear as the morning in the world

(119) KB/MaT (CE): 242

به فصلی این‌چنین شاه جهان‌گیر برون آمد به عزم از بلخ چون تیر

'In a season like this, the world-conquering king/left Balkh resolute like a spear'

(120) KB/TRS: 233

در اینوقت خان صاحبقران عبیدالله خان بِکَشْتِی غیرت برنشسته از دریای سیحون چون موج بی‌توقف بِیَسَاجِلِ عبور نمود.

'At this time, the auspicious khan got onto the ship of honor, and like an unstoppable wave crossed the Jaxartes River to the river bank.'

As a local and temporal preposition, *bi* does not occur very frequently in the

manuscripts. The preposition *dar* ‘in, on’ is predominantly used in this function, as in MNP.

4.1.5.1.2 The preposition *bī* (بی)

The preposition *bī* is also used frequently in all the works.⁸³ In MNP, this preposition has largely been reduced to a nominal prefix and replaced by the Arabic compound preposition *bidūn-i* ‘without’, but it is still active in Tajik (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 441).

(121) SI/TAA: 10

وانچه اطلاعاتی از آن نداشتم ضرورتاً باقوال ناقلان اعتماد نموده بی تکلفات منشیانه در رشته تحریر کشیدم.

‘In matters on which I had no personal information, I was obliged to consult reputable authorities, and I have reported what they have said without wrapping it up as secretaries do.’

(122) SI/ZaT1: 49r

و عثمان پاشا بشهر زور آمده سرخاب کرد بی محاربه شهر زور را گذاشته رومیان بر آن دیار مستولی شدند.

‘And ‘Uṣmān Pāshā came to the city of Zūr. Surkhāb the Kurd abandoned the city of Zūr without any resistance, and the Romans seized that territory.’

(123) MI/VB: f.10v–f.11r

با وجود احتیاج ضبط آن اموال نموده... ورثه آنها را طلبیده و پسالم و بی نقصان بایشان سپرد.

‘Although he was in need, he guarded their possessions... summoned their heirs, and handed everything over completely without any deficiencies.’

(124) MI/IQJ: 439r

شبیفتگی آنحضرت درین شغل بجائی رسیده که در سفر و حضر یک روز بی شکار ممکن نیست.

‘His Majesty’s passion [for hunting] has come to a point where he can not imagine a single day without hunting, either at home or away.’

⁸³ This use of *bī* is found in all manuscripts. Only two examples from each region are presented here.

(125) KB/MaB (CE): 6

چه از جمله حکایات خردمندان است که مُلک بی سلطان، سقف بی بنیان است و جسم بی جان.

‘Among the words of the wise men, one saying is that a realm without a sultan is like a roof without pillars and a body without a soul.’

(126) KB/MaT (CE): 214

اجلال دستگاهی که خصم قوی چنگالش، بی کوشش مبارزان به ضعف هلاک مبتلا شده.
‘[The king] of the glorious power, whose most powerful enemies were destroyed without any effort from his fighters. . .’

4.1.5.1.3 The preposition *andar* (اندر)

This preposition occurs sporadically in Modern Persian poetry, but for the most part it has been replaced by *dar*. Bahar (1369/1990a, p. 338) maintains that the exclusive use of *andar* instead of *dar* in a text indicates that the text belongs to the 10th–11th centuries. He maintains that the process of replacing the preposition *andar* with *dar* had already begun during the reign of the Ghaznavids. I have only found two instances of *andar*, in two verses in chapter ten of MaT. This indicates that the shift of *andar* to *dar* was completed during the period under study.

(127) KB/MaT (CE): 236

بافتاد اندر قدمهای شاه

‘He fell down at the king’s feet.’

In the above example, *andar* does not mean “in/into”, but “at”.

(128) KB/MaT (CE): 277

هزاران روزن اندر خانه تن

‘Thousands of holes in the bodies’

4.1.5.2 The postposition *rā*

The postposition *rā* is undeniably one of the most intensively discussed morphemes in MNP. Historically, *rā* is developed from the OP *rādiy* ‘for the sake of, in account of’. What it marks, or what it should be called, has been the subject of many studies.⁸⁴ Yet, there is consensus about the shift in the

⁸⁴ See Samvelian (2018) and Windfuhr (1979, pp. 41–57) for previous research on this postposition.

main syntactic function of this morpheme from early CNP to MNP. The diachronic development of the syntax of *rā* can be summarized as follows:⁸⁵

OP>	MP>	CNP>	MNP
Oblique>	Oblique, IO, Possessor, DO>	IO, Possessor, DO>	DO

As is shown in the scheme above, in CNP, *rā* was mainly used to mark other complements of the verb than the direct object. It was used as the marker of the direct object too, but on a more limited scale. In fact, the direct object usually went unmarked in early CNP. It took several centuries for *rā* to develop into the marker of the direct object, but it does not behave like an accusative marker that automatically follows all instances of direct objects.

Bossong (1991) maintains that when a case system is reduced or disappears due to phonetic erosion, a need arises to mark some fundamental oppositions like subject/object in a transitive action. The more the object is like the subject, the more the need to mark the object. There are two different strategies for responding to this need: positional marking and grammemic marking. One source for a differential marking of the direct object (accusative marking) is the existing marker of the indirect object (dative marker). This process of using the old “dative” marker for a differential object marking is clearly observable in the diachrony of the Persian language.

Languages with an active DOM system employ selective object marking, which means that certain direct objects are marked, but not all of them as in a case system. Bossong (ibid.) arranges the semantic factors governing differential object marking according to three basic dimensions, which he calls the domains of *inherence*, *reference*, and *constituence*. We can roughly define the domain of *inherence* in terms of animacy hierarchy, the domain of *reference* in terms of definiteness, and the domain of *constituence* in terms of topic/comment opposition. While some languages show a greater tendency towards marking animacy, others are more inclined to mark definiteness. At any rate, this selective marking is usually complex and involves several parameters. After a comprehensive and informative review of a large number of earlier studies on *rā*, Samvelian (2018, p. 255) maintains that “the presence of =*rā* is determined by the interaction between several parameters” beyond binary features.⁸⁶ She adds: “Complex as it may seem, this situation is neither specific to Persian nor to DOM.” True as it may sound, this complexity should not hold us back from seeking a more *inclusive* explanation for the selective

⁸⁵ See Dabir Moghaddam (2006a, p. 43).

⁸⁶ A detailed analysis of the hierarchy of the factors governing the marked and unmarked direct objects is beyond the scope of this study. Brief mention will be made of some of these factors in the translations of examples of marked and unmarked direct objects.

use of *rā* in Persian, and a way out of the labyrinth of classifications and exceptions.

Emphasizing the close link between syntax and pragmatics, Dabir Moghaddam (2006a, pp. 37, 46) suggests that a sentence should be considered a pragma-syntactic unit. He asserts that the stabilization of the postposition *rā* as a marker of the direct object in syntax, “justifies its pragmatic/discourse function as a marker of secondary topicalization”, i.e. raising a constituent to the secondary topic of a sentence. Unmarked constituents remain as a part of the comment or the predicate. In other words, Dabir Moghaddam places Persian among the languages in which the domain of *constituence*, i.e. the topic/comment opposition, precedes the domains of *reference* and *inherence*.

The selective use of *rā* with direct objects in the present corpus bears witness to an almost complete DOM system in the New Persian of this period. It also indicates that Persian shows a greater tendency towards marking topic/comment opposition. This opposition seems to be a more *inclusive* domain for the differential marking of the direct object with *rā* in Persian. Within the topic/comment opposition, other governing factors like animacy, definiteness, high transitivity, concrete/abstract opposition, generic/non-generic, etc. can be included.⁸⁷ Yet, this does not mean that the topic/comment opposition explains all instances of *rā*. Nor does it mean that it is the only factor that triggers the *rā*-marking of direct objects.

Tabibzadeh (1385/2006, pp. 54–5) lists six possible syntactic complements (actants) for non-copula verbs in Persian: (1) subject; (2) object; (3) prepositional object; (4) ezafe object; (5) complement clause; (6) adverbial complement.⁸⁸ In Tabibzadeh’s presentation of verb complements, the term “object” is entirely equivalent to the commonly used term “direct object.”⁸⁹ Prepositional objects are objects that are realized with a preposition, and ezafe objects are objects that are realized with an ezafe construction.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Most descriptions of the use of *rā* for differential object marking contain far too many classifications and exceptions. Paul (2018, pp. 597–601) discusses, for instance, the use of *rā* with definite nouns (names, pronouns, nouns with clitic pronouns), generic objects, topicalization, special abstract nouns, special verbs, special nouns in the field of science, technology, etc., almost all of which have exceptions.

⁸⁸ 1) *fā’il*; 2) *maf’ūl*; 3) *maf’ūl-i ḥarf-i izāfi-t̄*; 4) *maf’ūl-i nishāna-yi izāfi-t̄*; 5) *band-i mutammamī*; 6) *mutammam-i qiydī*.

⁸⁹ Even Seddiqian (1383/2004, pp. 131–54) uses *maf’ūl* ‘object’ only for the direct object.

⁹⁰ Tabibzadeh (1385/2006, pp. 58–9) gives examples of three different kinds of verbs that demand ezafe objects:

- verbs that only take an ezafe object: *man muntaẓir-i Maryam shudam* ‘I waited for Maryam’.

The analysis of the instances of *rā* in the present corpus indicates that *rā* may mark any of the above-mentioned complements (actants) of the main verb. The main host of *rā* is the direct object, but it also functions as the marker of other objects, the marker of the non-canonical subjects in possession expressions, and as topicalizer in reverse ezafe constructions. Special uses of *rā*, like marking the subject, also occur, though very infrequently.

Specific examples of different uses of *rā* will be presented in the sections that follow. Before that, I wish to present three interesting examples to demonstrate the transitional nature of this period in the diachrony of object marking in New Persian. In the first example (129), *rā* is used as the marker of both the direct and the indirect object. In the second example (130), two direct objects and one indirect object are marked with *rā*, and two indirect objects with *bi*. The third example (131) contains three objects: one direct and one indirect object that are marked with *rā*, and one ezafe object.

(129) KB/MaT (CE): 298

حضرت خان قمررکاب، امرای رستجوآمان را فاتحه داده، توپخانه را همراه کرده، و جمع توپچیان و توپچیباشیان را نیز امر نمودند. همه به تعبیه لشکر و پوشیدن جوشن [و] مغفر قیام نمودند، عرابه‌های توپخانه را آورده، مقابل دروازه خیابان همراه توپچیان صف آراستند.

‘His majesty, the moon-escorted khan, having blessed the Rustam-like amirs, sent the artillery, and ordered gunners and commanders of gunners to accompany them. All [the amirs] began preparing the army for the battle, [by] putting on armor and wearing helmets. Having brought the artillery, they arranged them in battle array together with gunners in front of the Khiyābān Gate.’

(130) MI/VB: f.46r

بلخ را به بدیع الزمان میرزا داده ولایت ایستراباد را بمظفر حسین مرزا داد و هر دو را بجهت بلخ و ایستراباد در یک مجلس فرمود که زانو زدند.

‘He gave Balkh to Badi’ al-Zamān Mīrzā and the province of Astarābād to Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā. He commanded the two princes to kneel in homage for Balkh and Astarābād at the same assembly.’

-
- verbs that demand an ezafe object + *rā*: ‘*Ali ta’rīf-i shumā rā mīkard* ‘Ali spoke highly about you’.
 - verbs that can take either an ezafe object; *ū siḡārish-i ghaẓā dād* ‘He ordered food’ or an ezafe object + *rā*: *ū siḡārish-i ghaẓā rā dād* ‘He ordered the food’.

(131) KB/MaB (CE): 26

سلطان ابو سعید میرزا را امداد فرموده، ممالک ماوراء النهر را تسخیر نموده، تسلیم او⁹¹ کرد.

‘He assisted Sultān Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā, captured the provinces of Transoxiana, and handed them over to him.’

4.1.5.2.1 The postposition *rā* as the marker of direct object

As previously mentioned, the direct object was usually not marked in early CNP. Unmarked direct objects are similarly found in the present corpus, but the frequency of *rā*-marked direct objects is much higher than of unmarked ones. The *rā* marking includes both animate and inanimate, as well as definite, indefinite, and specific direct objects, a feature shared with MNP. Instances of unmarked specific, definite, and animate objects will be presented in the next section.

(132) SI/AaT: 5r

آیبه سلطان جمعی را که در کمین گذاشته خود متوجه میدان قتال و جدال گردید.

‘When Āyba Sultān had placed a group of his men ([+human/+specific]) in ambush, he himself set off for the battlefield.’

(133) SI/TAA:16

عبدالمطلب نذر کرده بود که ... اعزّ اولاد خود را در راه خدا قربان نماید... باتفاق پسر روی یقربانگاه مکه آورد قریش خیردار شده از عقب رفتند او را ازین امر مانع آمدند.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had vowed ... to sacrifice his oldest child ([+human/+definite]) to show his obedience to God... Together with his son, he set out for Mecca’s altar of sacrifice. Having heard of that, the people of Quraysh followed him and prevented him from performing that act.’

As is seen, the object of the verb *māni* ‘*āmadan* (*māni* ‘*shodan* in Persian) in example (133) is marked with *rā*. A similar sentence with the corresponding verb in Persian would have been realized with an ezafe construction as: *māni* ‘*i ū az īn amr shudand*.

⁹¹ Note the use of the ezafe object. The corresponding prepositional phrase would be: *bi ū taslīm kard*.

(134) SI/ZaT1: 52v

چون بعد از رحلت شاه عالمپناه امرآی استاجلو ارآده داشتند که سلطان حیدر میرزا را پادشاه کنند و سایر قزلباش اسمعیل میرزا را میخواستند سلطان حیدر میرزا را در میان جنگ شهید کردند.

‘After the death of the king, the defender of the world, the Istājilū amirs desired to make Sultān Hiydar Mīrzā ([+human/+definite]) their king. The other Qizilbāshs, who wanted Isma‘īl Mīrzā ([+human/+definite]), martyred Sultān Hiydar Mīrzā ([+human/+definite]) in the battle.’

(135) SI/ZaT2: 101

و یعقوب پادشاه که اینمعنی را معلوم کرد یکی از امرا را با لشکری گران باردیبل فرستاد تا سلطان علی پادشاه را با برادران گرفته بشیراز برده در قلعه اصطرخ مقید ساختند.

‘And when Ya‘qūb Pādshāh became aware of this ([-animate/+definite]), he sent one of his amirs ([+human/+specific]) with a huge army to Ardabīl in order to capture Sultān ‘Alī Pādshāh ([+human/+definite]) together with his brothers and transfer them to Shīrāz and imprisoned them in the fortress of Iṣṭarkh.’

(136) MI/VB: f.28v

یدر او را اولغ بیگ میرزا رعایت کرده بوده رای و تدبیر او خیلی خوب بود... قپوز را خوب می نواخته... در پسال اول که بعزیمت هندوپستان لشکر کشیده بودم سید یوسف را در کابل گذاشته بودم.

‘Ulugh Bayg Mīrzā had patronized his father ([+human/+definite]). His strategy and tactics were excellent... He played qopuz ([-animate/-definite]) well... The first year that the army marched to Hindūstān, I had stationed Sayyid Yūsif ([+human/+definite]) in Kabul.’

(137) MI/HN: f.6r

میرزا محمدحسین... از وهم جان خود را در مفرش انداخته خدمتکاری را گفت که بریند عاقبت الامر مردم بادشاهی خیردار شده میرزا محمد حسین را از مفرش برآورده پیش پادشاه آوردند عاقبت الامر حضرت بخاطر خالهای خود گناه میرزا محمد حسین را بخشیدند.

‘Fearing for his life ... Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn hid himself ([+human/+definite]) in a carpet and told a servant: “Tie the carpet.” Having been informed, the king’s men took Mīrzā Muḥammad Husayn ([+human/+definite]) out of the carpet and brought him ([+human/+definite]) to the king. The long and short of the matter [is that] His Majesty forgave Mīrzā Muḥammad Husayn’s sins ([-animate/+definite]) out of consideration for his aunts.’

In the above example, *khedmatkārī*, which is an indirect object, is marked with *rā*. Indirect objects of such verbs in MNP are realized with the preposition *bi*.

(138) MI/IQJ: 430v.

جون داراب جنين اداى نابسندیده بظهور آورده خود را مطعون و مطرود ازل و ابد ساخت عبدالله خان بسر جوان او را بقتل رسانیده خاطر را لختی سبکبار گردانید.

‘When Dārāb acted so dreadfully and made himself ([+human/+definite]) rebuked and rejected for all eternity, ‘Abdallāh Khān killed his [Dārāb’s] young son and relieved his mind from worries for a while.’

(139) MI/PN: 528–9

عادلخان... قلعه را بدست آورد و سیدی فرحان نامی را⁹² بنگاهبانی آن باز گذاشت.
‘Ādil Khān... seized the fortress ([-animate/+definite]) and appointed a person named Sayyidi Farhān ([+human/+specific]) to guard it.’

(140) KB/MA: 6r

خان مذکور... علم تاریخ را نیکو میدانست و از علم نجوم نیز وقوفی داشت ساعات مستوی لیل و نهار را تقسیم نموده بود و هر ساعتی کاری که مناسب آن بود میکرد.

‘The mentioned khan... knew the science of history ([-animate/+definite]) very well and he had some knowledge of astrology too. He had divided the hours of the day and night equally, and at each hour, he performed an activity that was appropriate for that certain hour.’

(141) KB/MaB (CE): 11–12

درویش حسین... پیوسته چون گلبن بهاری که گل غنچه را لیلأ و نهاراً پرورش داده، شاهزادگان را از سر دوش بر زمین نمی‌نهاد.

‘Like a rose bush in Spring, which nurtures and takes care of its rose buds ([-animate/+definite]), Darvīsh Husayn... never put the princes ([+human/+specific]) down from his shoulders.’

(142) KB/MaT (CE): 216

جوانان... از سپاه اعدا بخت برگشته‌ای⁹³ را گرفته، از پای درآورده.⁹⁴
‘The young fighters... captured an unfortunate man ([+human/+specific]) from the army of the enemy and killed him.’

⁹² Specific direct object marked with *rā*.

⁹³ Another specific direct object marked with *rā*.

⁹⁴ Note the use of the non-finite verb form as the final verb in the sentence.

(143) KB/TRS: 7

[سلطان] قرّة العین خویش سلطان حسین را بر مپند پادشاهی نشانیده خود راه آخرت در پیش گرفت.

‘[Sultan] made the light of his eyes, Sultān Husayn ([+human/+definite]), sit on the royal throne and then passed away (lit. he himself set out towards the invisible world).’

As is known *rā* can be used to topicalize the adverb of time and place of the intransitive verbs, and this is still common in Persian. In examples (144) and (145), the temporal adverbs are marked with *rā*, but these also happen to be objects of the transitive verb *guzarān(i)dan* ‘to spend’.

(144) MI/VB: f.42v

خپرو شاه خودش قندیز را محکم نموده برادر خورد خود ولی را بلشکر فرستاد و اکثر زمستانرا در کنار دریا گذراندند و گذشته نتوانستند.

‘Khosraw Shāh fortified Qunduz himself and sent his younger brother Valī to the army. These forces spent most of the winter ([-animate/+definite]) on the riverbank, unable to cross.’

(145) KB/MaB (CE): 16

[محمد خان شیبانی] منصور و مظفر به ولایت ترکستان متوجه گردید تا فصل تابستان را در آن ولایت گذرانید.

‘[Muḥammad Khān Shaybanī] triumphant and victorious, set out towards the province of Turkistān to spend the summer ([-animate/+definite]) there.’

In the examples below, the common object of the two verbs in each example is marked with *rā*. These common objects function as the direct objects of one of the verbs and the prepositional object of the other one. In example (146), the verb *nishānīdan* ‘to make sit’ takes a direct object which can only be marked with *rā*, while the verb *istiqbāl nimūdan* ‘to welcome’ takes a prepositional object, with the preposition *az* ‘of, from’. The postposition *rā* is used as equivalent to the ablative preposition *az* ‘of, from’ of the verb *istiqbāl nimūdan*. In example (147), the verb and *munhazim sākhtan* ‘to defeat’ takes a direct object which can only be marked with *rā*, while the verb *jang kardan* ‘to fight’ takes a prepositional object, with the comitative preposition *bā*. The postposition *rā* in this example is also used as equivalent to the comitative preposition *bā* ‘with’ of the verb *jang kardan*. In both cases, the prepositional objects are obligatory complements of the verbs in question.

(146) SI/AaT: 13v

امیرزاده الوند با معدودی چند بدیار بکر گریخت دایی قاسم که حاکم آنجا بود الوند بیگ
را استقبال نموده بر تخت سلطنت [نشانید].⁹⁵

‘Together with few other men, Amīrzāda Alvand fled to Diyarbakir, Dāyī Qāsim, who was the governor there, welcomed Alvand Bayg ([+human/+definite]) and made him ([+human/+definite]) sit on the royal throne.’

(147) KB/MaB (CE): 226

و در سنه ۹۸۳ دیگر بار سلاطین ترکستان و تاشکند و پادشاهان آن مملکت را جنگ کرده، منهزم ساخت.

‘And in the year 983, he fought and defeated the sultans of Turkistān and Tashkent and the kings of that land ([+human/+definite]).’

In some complex sentences containing several direct objects, only one of the objects is marked with *rā*, as in the example below. This seems to be a result of the general stylistic trend during this period of using longer complex sentences, with the omission of repeated elements.

(148) KB/MaT (CE): 239

حکم جهان مطاع نفاذ یافت که... دولت کیلدی و خواجه قولی را بند از بند جدا سازند و خواجه الماس و خواجه خدای بخش همراه دو سرایی دیگر در چهارسو از حلق آویزند.

‘His Majesty, obeyed by the world, issued the order that. . . Dawlat-kīldī and Kh^vāja Qulī ([+human/+definite]) were to be mutilated, and Kh^vāja Almās and Kh^vāja Khudāybakhsh, together with the other two servants, were to be hanged.’

4.1.5.2.2 Unmarked Direct Object

The frequency of unmarked direct objects in the studied text is much lower than that of the *rā*-marked ones. The absence of *rā* in the examples below fits well with both the theory of differential object marking, as presented by Bossong, and Dabir Moghaddam’s theory on *rā* as primarily marking the secondary topic of a sentence. The examples below show that definiteness, animacy, and high transitivity do not necessarily prevent a direct object from going unmarked. This again raises the topic/comment opposition to a higher position in the hierarchy of factors governing differential object marking in Persian.

⁹⁵ نشانید is missing in the manuscripts. It is added following Navai’s critical edition.

(149) SI/AaT: 4v-5r

سلطانعلی پادشاه بنور ولایت دانسته بود که از دست مخالفان شربت شهادت خواهد چشید تاج از سر خود برداشته بر سر خاقان سکندرشان نهاده او را روانه اردبیل گردانید.
'Through his holy insight, Sulṭān 'Ali Pādshāh had realized that he would soon become a martyr at the hands of his enemies. He took off the crown ([-animate/+definite]) from his head and put it on the head of the Alexander-like emperor, and dispatched him toward Ardabil.'

(150) SI/TAA: 52

در اوان نشو و نما گاهی بنشاط و شکار مشغول نموده در تمام و منزهات آن ولایت سیر میفرمودند و همیشه نقش جهانداری بر لوح ضمیرش نگاهشته شاهین بلندپرواز همت بقصد صید عقاب مملکت در پرواز می آورد.
'As he [Shāh Isma'īl] grew up, he used to indulge in the pleasure of the chase, and visited Sumām and other pleasant parts of the province. Having the sight of ruling an empire in his mind, he always let the falcon of his ambition⁹⁶ ([-animate/+definite]) fly high to capture the eagle of the empire.'

(151) SI/ ZaT1: 53v

شاه اسمعیل... قریب بسحر بخانه حلواچی اغلی آمده در اندرون خانه خوابیده در بروی خود می بندد... بعد از ظهر میرزا سلیمان که اعتماد الدوله بود بخدمت پریخان خانم همشیره شاه آمده حقیقت عرض مینماید ایشان میفرمایند که در از پاشنه برداشته باندرون روند.

'Shortly before dawn..., Shāh Isma'īl goes to the house of Ughlī, the confectioner. He enters a room, closes the door ([-animate/+definite]), and sleeps... In the afternoon, Mīrzā Sulīymān I'timād al-Dawla⁹⁷ comes to Parīkhān Khānum, the king's sister, and presents the situation ([-animate/+definite]). She orders them to break in (lit. break down the door and go inside).'

In an almost identical paragraph in ZaT2 below, the last of the non-marked direct objects in ZaT1 is marked with *rā* (152). Both forms are completely well-functioning and fit well with Dabir Moghaddam's theory. The non-marking vs. marking of the identical objects in these two examples affects the degree of topicality of the objects. In the example above, the non-marked *dar* 'door' functions as a part of the predicate/comment, and the whole sentence can be translated as: 'She orders them to break in' without any indication of

⁹⁶ The falcon is not glossed as +animate as it is used metaphorically.

⁹⁷ I'timād al-Dawla actually means vizier. I have kept it as it is in order to highlight the differences between the two manuscripts of *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*.

the ‘door’; whereas it turns into the secondary topic of the sentence in the example below and should be translated as ‘break down the door’.

(152) SI/ZaT2: 135

شاه اسمعیل... قریب بسحر بخانه حلواچی آمده در خانه میخوابد و در بروی خود می‌بندد... بعد از ظهر مرزا سلیمان وزیر بخدمت پریخان خانم عرض میکند و بفرموده ایشان در را از پاشنه برداشته باندرون میروند.

‘Shortly before dawn..., Shāh Isma‘īl goes to the house of the confectioner, closes the door ([+animate/+definite]) and sleeps... In the afternoon, Mīrzā Sulīymān, the vizier, informs Parīkhān Khānum. At her order, they break down the door ([+animate/+definite]) and go inside.’

(153) MI/VB: f.8v

بحاصل ولایت فرغانه اگر عدل بکنند سه چهار هزار کس می‌توان نگاه داشت.

‘The income of Firghāna province, if justly managed, will maintain three to four thousand men ([+human/-definite]).’

(154) MI/HN: f.17r

ما هم اگرچه فرزندان دیگر داریم اما هیچ فرزندی برابر همایون تو دوست نمی‌داریم.

‘Although I have other sons, I love none of them ([+human/+specific]) as I love your Humāyūn.’

(155) MI/IQJ: 438r

افسوس که این سفاک بی‌باک قدر چنین مردی نشناخت و بیهوده ضایع ساخت.

‘Ah! Alas, that this brazen, cruel man did not understand the value of such a man ([+human/+specific]) and destroyed him for no reason.’

(156) MI/PN: 499

شهنشاه شیرشکار... چهار شیر دوبر که در نهایت تناوری و قوت بودند و دو ماده به تفنک شکار فرمودند و یک شیر بچه را گرز برداران بفرمان والا زنده بدست آوردند.

‘The fierce king shot four lions ([+animate/-definite]), two male lions ([+animate/-definite]), which were extremely robust and vigorous, and two females ([+animate/-definite]). The mace bearers captured a lion cub ([+animate/+specific]) alive, as ordered by his highness.’

Note the non-marking of the inherently definite direct objects, namely proper names in examples (157) and (158), a possessed noun in example (159), and a noun together with a demonstrative in example (160). In MNP, inherently

definite direct objects are considered direct objects that cannot be used without *rā*.

(157) KB/MA: 5v

در سال نهصد و چهل خطبه سلطنت ماوراء النهر بنام همایونش خواندند.

In the year nine hundred forty, he was declared the blessed ruler of Transoxiana ([-animate/+definite]).

(158) KB/MaB (CE): 5

خان بزرگ ابو الخیر خان... در سن بیست و چهار سالگی ولایت خوارزم به فیروزی دولت و قوت جاه و حشمت از قیضه تصرف شاهرخ میرزا بن امیر تیمور گورکان استخلاص نموده، بر اوج تخت خاقانی و سریر جهانبانی تکیه فرمود.

‘The great khan, Abū ’l-Khayr Khān... victoriously and vigorously liberated (freed) the province of Kh̄vārazm ([-animate/+definite]) from the hands of Shāhrukh Mīrzā b. Amīr Tīmūr Gūrkan, and ascended the throne as the emperor and the king of the world.’

(159) KB/MaT (CE): 233

و حضرت خان ظفرنشان نصرت آثار نخست جناب رفعت ایاب دولت انتساب، جوهر شمشیر آیدار میرزا امین کتابدار، که به قوت ذهن دراک و به حدت فهم و ادراک گوی سبقت از اقران ر بوده بود، طلبیده.

‘And the fortunate and victorious khan first asked for the sharp pen of his highness, the noble, prosperous Mīrzā Amīn Kitābdār ([-animate/+definite]), who had outstripped all his contemporaries in intelligence and acuity.’

(160) KB/MaT (CE): 263

دانستند که آن قلعه آسمان کردار نمی توان گرفت.

‘They realized that it would be impossible to capture that sky-like fortress ([-animate/+definite]).’

Also, note the use of an unmarked direct object with the verb *bi qatl risānīdan* ‘to kill’ in example (161). Verbs like *bi qatl risānīdan* are also considered special verbs whose direct objects cannot be used without *rā* (Paul 2018, p. 599).

(161) KB/TRS: 10

گویند در سیاست او بنوعی مفرط بود که هزار کس بدست خود بقتل رسانیده بود.

‘It is said that he was so extreme in punishing that he had killed one thousand persons ([+human/-definite]) with his own hands.’

4.1.5.2.3 Other objects with *rā*

As was mentioned previously, in early CNP, the postposition *rā* was mainly used to mark other complements of the verb than the direct object. It was predominantly used to mark indirect objects that in MNP are canonically realized with prepositions like *bi* ‘to’, *bā* ‘with’, *az* ‘from, of’, *barāyi* ‘for, to’.⁹⁸ In fact, the earlier function of the postposition *rā* as an old “dative” marker, which automatically followed all instances of the indirect object, has been assigned to prepositions over time.

There are plenty of such instances of *rā* in the present corpus as well. However, the total frequency of them is at least four times lower than that of direct objects marked with *rā*, but much higher than in MNP. Here follow examples of *rā* used as the marker of different types of indirect objects:

4.1.5.2.3.1 *rā* as the marker of the addressee of the verb of speech

The addressee of the verb of speech is normally realized with the preposition *bi* in MNP. In colloquial Persian, the addressee of the verb of speech can be marked with *rā*.

(162) SI/AaT: 17v–18r

خاقان اسکندر شان ... جمعی دیگر را فرمود که از دو طرف جنگ کنند و خود نیز از در دیگر یورش نموده قلعه را مسخر کرد.

‘The Alexander-like emperor ... ordered another group to attack the fortress from both sides, while he himself invaded from another gate and captured the fortress.’

(163) SI/TAA: 28

[شیخ صفی الدین] در حین ارتحال برپیدان قدیس نشیان صیفویه را جمع آورده اصحاب و اولاد را باستقامت منهاج شریعت مطهره و طریقت مشایخ و بذل سفره و انعام و اکرام فقرا و مساکین وصیت فرموده...

‘When he was close to death, Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn called together the Safavid disciples and enjoined his companions and family to hold fast to the religious law, and to the mystical path of the Sufī shaykhs. He further enjoined them to continue offering hospitality and alms to the poor.’

⁹⁸ Prepositional objects in Persian used to be designated after their prepositions as: *maf'ūl-i bi-t*, *maf'ūl-i bā-t*, *maf'ūl-i az-t*, *maf'ūl-i barāy-t*. For practical reasons, the traditional terms ablative, locative, benefactive, instrumental, etc. are also used in this section.

4.1.5.2.3.2 *rā* as the marker of the recipient

The recipient of the verb *dādan* ‘to give’ is normally realized with the preposition *bi* in MNP. Marking the recipient with *rā* occurs in colloquial Persian as well.

(164) SI/ZaT1: 56v

حکم شد که جمیع لشکری را مواجب چندساله که مانده بود از خزینه بدهند.

‘It was commanded to pay all the men of the army their several years of delayed wages from the treasury.’

(165) SI/ZaT2: 146

مرتضی قلیخان ترکمانرا حکومت مشهد دادند.

‘[Shāh Ismā‘īl] awarded Murtezā Qulī Khān, the Turkmen, the governorship of Mashhad.’

4.1.5.2.3.3 *rā* as the marker of the goal

In examples (166) and (167) below, the postposition *rā* functions as the marker of the goal of the verb *tākhtan* ‘to invade’ that is normally realized with the preposition *bi* in MNP.

(166) SI/AaT: 18r

معلوم شد که یکی از اولاد میرزا جهانشاه موسوم بسطانحسین بارانی با جمعی مردمان فتنه‌انگیز در حدود کوه دنکیز نشسته بخار پندار بکاخ دماغ خود راه داده و اطراف آندیار را تاخته و جمعی را بخود متفق ساخته.

‘It became known that one of Mīrzā Jahānshāh’s sons, known as Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bārānī, who was residing around Kukja Dankīz, had developed a feverish imagination in his mind, and attacked the environs of that province and convinced a group of people to join forces with him.’

(167) MI/IQJ: 427r

باین قرارداد مینبار الیه را رخصت فرموده خلعت با شمشیر مرصع و اسب و فیل لطف نمودند ... بمسامع جلال رسید که بلنگتوش اوزبک سپهسالار ندر محمدخان اراده نمود که حوالی کابل و غزنین را بتازد.

‘Following this resolution, he dismissed the aforementioned [Amīn al-Dīn] and honored him with a mantle, a scimitar studded with gems, and horses and elephants... His Majesty was informed that Balangtūsh the Uzbek, chief commander of Nadar Muḥammad khan, was determined to attack the environs of Kabul and Ghazīn.’

As is observable in example (168), the goal object of a similar verb is marked with the preposition *bi*, and the recipient object is marked with *rā*.

(168) SI/TAA: 21

در ایام حیات آن امیر حمیده صفات یکی از حکام گرجی با فوجی از جنود کفره کوچ
علی الغفله بولایت اردهبیل تاخت آورده اهل اسلام را از ورود آن فقره ضلال آسیب
بسیار رسید.

‘During the lifetime of that praiseworthy amir, the governor of part
of Georgia, with a force of Georgian infidels, attacked without
warning the province of Ardabīl. Heavy suffering was brought to the
Islamic community at the hands of those evil invaders.’

The goal object can also be realized as an ezafe object, as in example (169).
This is a feature of MNP as well.

(169) SI/ZaT: 51r

ابوالخیرخان حاکم ابیورد... قسم یاد کرد که دیگر تاخت خراسان ننماید... اسکندر خان
حاکم بخارا اراده تاخت خراسان نموده...

‘Abū ’l-Kkayr Khān, the governor of Abīvard,... vowed not to
attack Khurāsān (attacking=EZ Khurāsān) any more... Iskandar
Khān, the governor of Bukhara, intended to attack Khurāsān...’

4.1.5.2.3.4 rā as the marker of the source of motion

The verbs *vidā kardan* and *pidrūd kardan* ‘to say farewell’ in examples (170–
171) are verbs with at least one obligatory complement apart from the subject.
This obligatory complement indicates the source of motion (ablative object)
and is usually realized with the preposition *az* in MNP.

(170) SI/TAA: 25

آن حضرت [شیخ صفی الدین] مشایخ فارس را وداع کرده از بواطن صافی ایشان
استمداد همت نموده عزیمت وطن کرد.

‘His holiness [Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn] said farewell to the shaykhs of
Fārs. Asking for their spiritual help, he set out for his home.’

(171) SI/TAA: 22

چون وقت ارتحال آن ستوده خصال رسید جواهر زواهر عرفان و ارشاد را ... بفرزند
دلبنده خود صالح سپرده عالم سفلی را وداع کرد.

‘When it was the time for that person of excellent disposition [Quṭb
al-Dīn] to depart this life, he transmitted the mystical knowledge and
office of spiritual ... to his beloved son, Ṣāliḥ, and he said farewell
to the inferior world.’

(172) KB/TRS: 230–31

خان تهمتن شاعر... در شهور ۹۱۶ ملک فانی دنیا را پرود کرده متوجه دارالملک باقی
آخرت گردید.

‘The valorous khan... left (lit. said farewell to) the world of mortality in the year nine hundred sixteen, and set out towards the invisible world of eternity.’

4.1.5.2.3.5 *rā* as the marker of the benefactive

The verbs *muhayyā sākhtan* ‘provide’ and *māndan* ‘to be left’ in examples (173–175) take an optional complement as well. This optional complement is a benefactive object, which is usually realized with the preposition *barāyi* in MNP.

(173) MI/IQJ: 16r

مخالفانرا مجال قرار نماند.

‘There was no room for the opponents to stay.’

(174) KB/MaB (CE): 16

امیر محمد مزید ترخان... مراسم استقبال بجای آورده، هریک از سلاطین نامدار را
منزل و مأوی و قنلقه و ساوری معد و مهیا ساخت.

‘Amir Muḥammad Mazid Tarkhan... welcomed them. For each of the renowned sultāns, he provided accommodation, food-stores, and gifts in homage.’

(175) KB/TRS: 37

جهانگیر میرزا را در زمان وفات ازین دیر پرافات از اولاد و احفاد یازده نفر یادگار
ماند.

‘For Jahāngīr Mīrzā, at the time of his departure from this world of calamities, eleven children and grandchildren were left behind.’

4.1.5.2.3.6 *rā* as the marker of the comitative object

The verb *jang karadn* in example (176) takes a comitative object, usually realized with the preposition *bā* in MNP.

(176) KB/MaB (CE): 226

و در سنه ۹۸۳ دیگر بار سلاطین ترکستان و تاشکند و پادشاهان آن مملکت را جنگ
کرده، منهزم ساخت.

‘And in the year 983, he fought [with] and defeated the sultans of Turkistān and Tashkent and the kings of that land.’

4.1.5.2.4 Non-canonical subjects with *rā* in expressions of possession

In CNP, possession was usually expressed by a copula construction, in which the possessor or the non-canonical subject was marked with *rā*. In MNP, this type of possession construction has been replaced by the possession expression with the verb *dāshtan*. Expressions of possession with non-canonical subjects are found in the present corpus (177–184), but infrequently, and not in all the works. For instance, I have not found any such possession constructions in SI/ZaT1, SI/ZaT2, or MI/VB. The results from the present study indicate that this process of language change had almost reached its completion by the time these works were composed.

(177) SI/AaT: 5v

اما مخالفان را گمان آن بود که صوفیان و مُريدان دودمان کرامت شاهزاده والا گهر را از اردبیل بیرون برده اند.

‘However, the opponents had their suspicions that the Sufis and the disciples of that excellent dynasty might have taken the noble prince out of Ardabīl.’

(178) SI/TAA: 30

امرا و اعیان مغول را اعتقاد عظیم بان گنجور خزاین ارشاد بود.

‘Mongol amirs and nobles had great trust in him, that treasurer of spiritual direction.’

(179) MI/HN: f.16v–f.17r

حضرت اکام گفتند که شما از فرزند من غافلید و پادشاه اید چه غم دارید و فرزندان دیگر نیز دارید مرا غم است که فرزند یگانه دارم.

‘Her Majesty, my aunt, said: “you are negligent towards my son. You are the king and you have other children. You do not need to be anxious. I am anxious, who have only one child.”’

(180) MI/IQJ: 442v

و حمید خان را زنی بود که ولد محتاله می‌بایست که شاگردی او کند... در ابتداء که نظام الملک مفتوح شراب و شیفته زنان شد این زنک بدرون حرم او راه یافته شراب مخفی که مردم بیرون را از آن آگاهی نباشد میرسانید.

‘And Hamīd Khān had a wife whom the father of any cunning woman needed to take lessons from... When Nizām al-Mulk became obsessed with women and wine, this woman soon found her way into his harem and provided his harem with wine out of view of people outside.’

(181) KB/MA: 6v

و خان عالیمکانرا بسادات بدخشان قرابتی هست.

‘And his excellency, the khan, shares kinship with the Sayyids of Badakhshān.’

(182) KB/MaB: 5

و آن حضرت را یازده پسر معدلتگستر بر این ترتیب بود....

‘And His Majesty had eleven righteous sons as follows...’

(183) KB/MaT (CE): 249

الحمدالله که پادشاه دین پناه ما را جمیع آن خصال حاصل است.

‘Praise be to God that all these qualities are gathered in our king, the defender of the faith.’

(184) KB/TRS: 7–8

جد ایشان [مظفریان] امیر غیاث الدین حاجیست و او از سجاوید خاف [سجاوند خواف] است پسه پسر داشت ابوبکر و محمد و منصور از ابوبکر و محمد نسل نماند و منصور را سه پسر بود.

‘Their (Muẓaffarids) ancestor is Amir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ḥājjī and he is a Sajāvand of the Kh^vāf’s. He had three sons, Abubakr, Muḥammad, and Manṣūr. No children were left behind by Abubakr and Muḥammad, but Manṣūr had three sons.’

4.1.5.2.5 The topicalizer *rā* in an ezafe construction

There are instances in the manuscripts where *rā* is inserted in a reverse ezafe construction⁹⁹ and functions as a topicalizer. Reverse ezafe constructions with a topicalizer *rā* occur in MNP too – mostly in colloquial Persian – but not so frequently.¹⁰⁰ In such instances, ezafe is replaced by a pronominal clitic.¹⁰¹ The examples (185–194) are clear instances of topicalizer *rā*, in most cases with the topic of the sentence also moved to the beginning of the sentence. The corresponding ezafe constructions supplied beneath each example are meant to highlight the process of topicalization.

⁹⁹ *Izāfa-yi maqlūb*.

¹⁰⁰ In Persian linguistic terminology, this topicalizer *rā* is called *rā-yi mubtadāsāz* or *rā-yi fakk-i izāfa* ‘ezafe-disjointing *rā*’.

¹⁰¹ Here follow one example taken from Dabir Moghaddam’s paper (2006b, p. 92):

partiqāl-u bāyad puss-ish-u kand ba’d khurd ‘As to the orange, one should first peel it and then eat it.’

(185) SI/AaT: 10r

یادشاه روم را سلطنت آذربایجان و عراق موافق مزاج افتاد احمد بیگ را با فوجی از رومیان سنگدل برفاقت حسن علی ترخانی روانه گردانید.

‘The idea of ruling over Āzarbāyjān and ‘Irāq pleased the king of Rome. Together with a huge army of cruel Romans, he dispatched Ahmad Bayg to accompany Hasan ‘ali Tarkhānī.’

[The corresponding ezafē construction would be: *movāfiq*=EZ *mizāj*=EZ *pādshāh*=EZ rūm.]

(186) SI/TAA: 25

هر چند برادرش اسباب تجمل و تمول برو عرض کرد آن حضرت را نظر قبول بر آنها نیفتاده...

‘However much money and luxury items his brother offered him, His Holiness refused them all.’

[The corresponding ezafē construction would be: *naẓar*=EZ *qabūl*=EZ *ān haẓrat*.]

(187) SI/ZaT1: 39v

سُلطان حیدر را هوای غزای چرکس بر سر افتاده با جمعی از صوفیان متوجه شیروان شد.

‘The idea of a raid against Circassia occupied the mind of Sultān Hiydar. Together with a group of Sufis, he set out towards Shīrvān.’

[The corresponding ezafē construction would be: *bar sar*=EZ *Sulṭān Hiydar*.]

(188) MI/VB: f.15v–f.16r

در زمان قیل کردن شیبانی خان ناصر میرزا را در قندهار من عزیمت لمغان کردم.
‘When Shaybānī Khān besieged Nāṣir Mīrzā in Kandahar, I set out for Laghmān.’

[The corresponding ezafē construction would be: *qibal kardan*=EZ *Nāṣir Mīrzā*.]

(189) MI/HN: f.23r

درین اثنا سُلطان محمد میرزا و نخوت سلطان میرزا را حکم شد که بچشم هر دو میل کشند.

‘Meanwhile, Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā and Nakhvat Sultān Mīrzā were both sentenced to be blinded.’

[The corresponding ezafē construction would be: *bi chishm*=EZ *Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā va Nakhvat Sulṭān Mīrzā har du*.]

(190) KB/MA: 6r

و خان منکور را بحسب خاصیت عدالت زمان خانیش از اخوان بیش و شوکت و ابهتش از اقران در پیش بوده.

‘Due to his justice, the rule of the mentioned khan lasted longer than that of his brothers, and his grandeur and power were greater than those of his peers.’

[The corresponding ezafe construction would be: *zamān*=EZ *khānī*=EZ *khan*=EZ *mazkūr*.]

(191) KB/MaB (CE): 15

محمد خان شیبانی را باز در خاطر خطیر این داعیه جایگیر شد که یک بار دیگر سر لشکر احمد خان رفته – مُتَوَكَلّاً علی الله – دستبردی رسانده شود.

‘Once again, the great mind of Muhammad Khān Shaybānī was occupied with a desire to attack the army of Aḥmad Khān and, trusting in God, plunder his army.’

[The corresponding ezafe construction would be: *dar khāṭir*=EZ *khaṭīr*=EZ *Muḥammad Khān Shaybānī*.]

(192) KB/TRS: 7

چون اجل موعود سلطان را فرارسید...

‘When the predestined death of the sultan arrived...’

[The corresponding ezafe construction would be: *ajal*=EZ *maw‘ūd*=EZ *sultan*.]

(193) KB/MaT (CE): 250

ذکر خلع کردن انوشه خان ارگنجی را از¹⁰² پادشاهی و میل کشیدن

‘On the dismissal of Anūsha Khān Urganjī from the throne and [the act of] blinding him’

[The corresponding ezafe construction would be: *zīkr*=EZ *khal‘ kardan*=EZ *Anūsha Khān Urganjī az*.]

(194) KB/MaT (CE): 222

القصه، انوشه خان را در سمرقند هوای ازدواج از خاطر نامبارک او سرزد.

‘At any rate, the idea of marriage struck Anūsha Khān’s evil mind in Samarqand.’

[The corresponding ezafe construction would be: *az khāṭir*=EZ *nāmubārak*=EZ *Anūsha Khān*.]

¹⁰² Note also the use of the postposition *rā* and the preposition *az* together.

4.1.5.2.6 Special cases of *rā*

Some uses of *rā* in the studied works do not fit any of its usual syntactic functions in MNP. One is its use together with the object of passive verbs, as in examples (195) and (196) below. The verbs in these examples, روشنی پذیرفتن and فرستاده شدن, are passive verbs that normally do not allow an object marked with *rā*. It is not clear how common these occurrences of *rā* were in CNP texts, but Natel Khanlari (1366/1987b, p. 391) presents instances of this use of *rā* extracted from early CNP texts.

(195) MI/VB: f.42r

سلطان علی میرزا... آتکه خود شیخ ذوالنون را در اوراتپه گذاشته بود از خجند گذشته از میان راه خلیفه را پیش شیخ ذوالنون بطریق رسالت فرستاده شد آن مردک بیهوش جواب شافی نداده و خلیفه را گیرانده کشتن فرمود.

‘Sultān ‘Ali Mīrzā had stationed his *ātaka*, Shaykh al-Zunūn, in Ūrā Tappa. From halfway between Khujand and Ūrā Tappa, Khalīfa was sent to Shaykh al-Zunūn as a messenger. That senseless fellow, instead of giving a satisfactory answer, had seized Khalīfa and ordered him to be executed.’

(196) KB/MaT (CE): 237–8

و چنانچه از پرتو خورشید چشم عالم را روشنی پذیرد، از غبار موکب خان با اقتدار، توتیای دیده افتخار اهل حصار گردید.

‘And as the eyes of the world were illuminated by the light of sunbeams, the eyes of the people of the fortress were honored by the dust from the horse of the powerful khan, like a medicine.’

Compare example (196) above with example (197) below:

(197) SI/TAA: 17

عالم ظلمانی از شعشعه جمال جهان آرایش روشنی پذیرفت.

‘The world of darkness was illuminated by his world-adoring beauty.’

Another is the use of *rā* together with a noun to build a sentence adverb, as in the examples below.¹⁰³ The sentence adverb in these examples is *qaṣā rā*, made up of a noun ‘destiny/chance’ + *rā*.¹⁰⁴ Seddiqian (1383/2004, p. 143) designates this kind of *rā* as adverbializer *rā*,¹⁰⁵ and maintains that it was

¹⁰³ See also example (201).

¹⁰⁴ Equivalent to *az qaṣā* in MNP.

¹⁰⁵ In Persian *rā-yi qiydsāz*.

commonly occurring in the early CNP texts. In my opinion, *rā* in this context is used in the same sense as the original *rādiy* in OP, to designate the cause.

(198) MI/IQJ: 432v

حکم شد که از قراولان هرکس بتفنگ زده بحضور بیارد بانصد رویه انعام میفرمایم
قضا را جمال خان قراول به بندوق زده بحضور اشرف آورده...

‘So it was declared [by his majesty]: “I will reward anyone who shoots [that pheasant] and brings it to me with five hundred Rupees.”
By chance, Jamāl Khān shot it with a musket and brought it to his highness.’

(199) KB/MaB (CE): 47

قضا را سلطان محمود خان همان شب از اخسی آمده، بی خبر به یک فرسخی تاشکند
نزول فرموده بود.

‘By chance, Sulṭān Maḥmūd khān had left Akhsī the same night and arrived at a place one *farsakh* from Bukhara.’

I have also found a few instances of subjects marked with *rā*. Natel Khanlari (1366/1987b, pp. 385–6) and Seddiqian (1383/2004, pp. 145–7) present some examples of this use of *rā* in early CNP texts. Natel Khanlari emphasizes that *rā*-marked subjects were not commonly occurring, and might be a dialectal feature.

(200) MI/IQJ: 16r¹⁰⁶

انحضرت میفرموده اند که وقت نازک بود بامید کسی نگذاشته ما را خود بایستی تعاقب
نمود.

‘His Majesty said: “We are in short of time. This cannot be left to others; I have to go after them personally.”’

(201) MI/IQJ: 443r

قیبیا را غیر از این دریاهاى مقرر مشهور که در بنگاله است ناله آبی بود که کشتی را
از آن جوی بایست گذشت.

‘Beside the known larger rivers of the Bingāla, there was a small river that the ship had to cross.’

¹⁰⁶ This example can also be considered an instance of topicalization in an ezafe construction. The corresponding ezafe construction would then be [*kh^vud=i mā*]. However, the use of the reflexive pronoun *kh^vud* in such an ezafe construction sounds more like an MNP construction. In CNP, *kh^vud* is usually used after the pronoun and without ezafe, i.e. *mā khvud*.

(202) KB/MA: 6v

راضی نماند که تکیه زند بر سریر ملک درویش را که پایه همت بلند بود
'The dervish who was high-minded / did not did not agree to ascend the throne.'

The analysis of the postposition *rā* in the present corpus shows that the number of direct objects marked with *rā* is more than three times greater than the sum of other complements marked with *rā*. This implies that the shift in the function of *rā* to be the syntactic marker of the direct object must have been almost complete by the time these works were composed. The statistical tables below confirm this conclusion. As can be seen, the frequency of other complements with *rā* is higher in the manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara and lower in the manuscripts of Mughal India. This might be due to the more formal language of the Khanate of Bukhara and the less formal language of Mughal India. The selective use of *rā* with the direct and indirect objects, and its use with other complements, also indicate that the primary pragmatic function of *rā* can be topicalization.

Table. 10 The postposition *rā*

	Direct object with <i>rā</i>	Other complements with <i>rā</i>	TOTAL
SI	119	15	134
MI	106	23	129
KB	100	35	135
TOTAL	325	73	398

4.1.6 Cardinal and ordinal numbers

Cardinal numbers are used in the same way as in MNP. For ordinal numbers, *avval* 'first' has been used exclusively except in compound ordinal numbers like *bīst u yakum* 'twenty-first'. In two manuscripts of Mughal India, IQJ and PN, *nakhost and nakhostīn* are also used; *duvvum* and *duyyum* 'second' are used interchangeably; and *sayyum*¹⁰⁷ 'third' is used exclusively, with the exception of ZaT1, in which *sivvum* is also used. It must be noted that while *avval* is not used in Tajik, *duyyum* and *sayyum* are still common in Tajik. *Duyyum* and *sayyum* (also pronounced and transcribed as *duyum* and *sayum*) have almost completely disappeared from Contemporary Persian.

¹⁰⁷ Written both as *سیوم* and *سیم*.

4.2 Verbal system

The verbal system is another significant area that marks the process of language change from CNP to MNP. Verbs in New Persian are inflected for tense, aspect, mood, person, and number. Tense is expressed by using the past and non-past stems. Aspect, mood, and negation are expressed with verbal affixes, while person and number are expressed with personal endings. The basic verbal categories (TAM categories) are made up of the two tenses, present-future and past, the two aspects, imperfective and perfective, and the four moods, indicative, subjunctive, imperative, and optative. The aspectual and modal marking of these categories in MNP is in most cases different from that of CNP. New Persian verbal affixes and their values are presented in Table 11.

Table. 11 New Persian aspecto-modal verbal affixes

<i>mī-</i> , <i>hamī-</i>	Indicative, imperfective (durative, iterative, habitual) in the present future context
<i>mī-</i> , <i>hamī-</i> , <i>-ī</i> ¹⁰⁸	Indicative, imperfective (durative, iterative, habitual), counterfactual and evidential in the past context
<i>bi-</i>	Subjunctive and imperative in the present future context
<i>bi-</i>	Resultative in the past and future context
<i>-ād</i>	Optative
<i>na-</i>	Negation
<i>na-/ma-</i>	Negation with imperative and optative

The formal and functional properties of the basic verbal categories is definitely the most important feature of the verb morphology for tracing the process of language change from CNP to MNP.

The modal opposition indicative/subjunctive is fully developed in MNP. With some exceptions, the main aspectual and modal distinctions are expressed by the prefixes *mī-* and *bi-*. The prefix *mī-* is the marker of present-future indicative and past imperfective verb forms, except with the verbs *būdan* ‘to be’ and *dāshtan* ‘to have’. The prefix *bi-* is the marker of present subjunctive, except with most compound verbs. The past perfective, also

¹⁰⁸ According to Seddiqian (1383/2004, pp. 80–82), the suffix *-ī* could carry a subjunctive value in early CNP. She presents examples of such verb forms from the New Persian texts of the 12th–13th centuries, for instance in the example below from *Tārikh-i Biyhaqī*:

سلطان مسعود داهی‌نر و بزرگتر و دریافته‌تر از آن بود که تا خواجه احمد بر جای بود، وزارت به کسی دیگر دادی.
 ‘Sultān Mas‘ud was wise, clever, and noble enough not to give the vizierate to anyone else as long as Kh‘āja Aḥmad was in life.’

called preterite, does not require any prefixes. In MNP, all verb forms are also negated with the prefix *na-*. The negation prefix *ma-* with imperative and optative is used very infrequently and mostly in poetic contexts. The situation was different in early CNP. The overlaps of the aspectual and modal affixes were many and the value of the verbal affixes was not stabilized. Marked verb forms with prefixes and suffixes or various combinations of verbal affixes, as well as unmarked verb forms, were used to express aspectual and modal distinctions.

All this indicates a shift in the morphological marking of the verb forms in the transition from CNP to MNP. Lenepveu-Hotz (2018, p. 421) states that the modal opposition indicative/subjunctive did not exist during the classical period (12th–19th centuries). However, the co-existence in the present corpus of the alternative morphological markings of the verb forms with the very low frequency of some classical forms bears witness to the ongoing development of the indicative/subjunctive modal opposition. Evidence of this co-existence and the ongoing development of the modal position can be observed in:

- The present-future verbs with indicative value being predominantly marked with *mī-* but also without *mī-*.
- The preterite being predominantly unmarked, but also marked with the prefix *bi-*.
- The past imperfective indicative being predominantly marked with the prefix *mī-*, but also with the suffix *-ī*, a combination of both, or with a combination of the prefix *bi-* and the suffix *-ī*.
- The present-future verbs with subjunctive value and imperative being predominantly unmarked, but also being marked with the prefix *bi-*.
- Negated imperatives with both *na-* and *ma-*.

In the following, I only highlight those aspects of the verbal system that are not completely shared with MNP or are of interest for issues like language contact and dialectal variation. I start this section with the presentation of verb forms based on non-past and past stem followed by the defective verbs of *būdan* and *dāshtan*, the evidential category, possession constructions, impersonal constructions, passive and progressive verb forms, simple and non-simple verbs, causative verbs, and person and number agreement.

4.2.1 Verb forms based on the non-past stem

4.2.1.1 Present-future indicative

Similar to all three modern variants of New Persian, in the present corpus present-future verbs with an indicative expression are usually marked with the prefix *mī-*, as in (203):

(203) SI/TAA: 26

[شیخ صفی الدین] شبی در خواب دید که شمشیری در میان و کلاه سموری در پسر دارد و چون کلاه از سر برمیدارد آفتابی از فرق همایونش طالع میگردد که عالم را روشنی میبخشد.

‘One night Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn dreamt that he is standing with a sword on his belt and a sable hat on his head. When he removes (*mī-*remove.PRS-3SG) the hat, a brilliant light shines (*mī-*shine.PRS-3SG) forth from the top of his head and illuminates (*mī-*illuminate.PRS-3SG) all the surrounding area.’

The verbal prefix *hamī-* is rarely found. I have found a few instances of *hamī*, only in verses in MaT or TRS. This indicates that *hamī*, which originally was an adverb, had been reduced to the verbal prefix *mī-* and become obsolete by this time. However, unmarked present-future forms can also be observed. This is a feature not found in MNP.

4.2.1.1.1 Unmarked present-future verbs with indicative value

The unmarked form of the present-future verbs with indicative value occurs very infrequently, mostly in future contexts, and in potential conditional clauses.¹⁰⁹ It can partly be due to the general low frequency of present-future verb forms in historiographical works. In VB, which is a memoir and predominantly narrated in present, the frequency of the *mī*-marked forms is much higher. The same is true for other works. Whenever the author narrates in present, the *mī*-marked verb form is dominating. On pages 427v–428r of IQJ, for instance, the author partly shifts the time of narration to present. On these two pages alone, I have found 23 instances of present verbs, of which only two are unmarked.¹¹⁰ Both occur in sentences with potential conditional clauses.

(204) SI/TAA: 27

[شیخ زاهد] گفت هر دو را آواز دهم تا شما رتبه و مقام هر یک را بدانید.

‘Shaykh Zāhid said: “I will call (*Ø*-call.PRS-1SG) them both, so that you may determine their relative ranks and stations.”’

¹⁰⁹ See also 5.2.2 Conditional clauses.

¹¹⁰ As is seen, the number of verbs in present on only two pages of IQJ is higher than all instances of this verb form in the 10–12 selected pages of the four manuscripts of the MI in Table 12. This means that selecting the pages from another part of a manuscript might have led to other results in the statistical tables.

(205) SI/TAA: 4–5

گاهی مؤدب عقل دوراندیش طپانچه بر رخسار طفل این آرزو میزد که تو هنوز
ابجدخوان دبستان دانشی با دانشوران روزگار چون لاف مشارکت و همسری زنی و
بیهوده چرا خود را مهزل ارباب استعداد سازی.

‘From time to time, my far-sighted intellect would deliver (*mī-deliver.PST.3SG*) an admonitory slap to the child of my ambition, saying: “You are still at the stage of learning the alphabet in the primary school of knowledge. How can you boast (*Ø-boast.PRS-2SG*) emulating the learned men of the time, and why do you vainly make (*Ø-make.PRS-2SG*) yourself the laughingstock of those who possess real talent?”’

Here follow the statistical tables for the marked and unmarked present-future verbs with indicative value in 10–12 sample pages of each work:

Table. 12 Present-future verbs with an indicative value

	<i>With the prefix mī-</i>	<i>Without the prefix mī-</i>	TOTAL
SI	5	0	5
MI	20	0	20
KB	17	7	24
TOTAL	42	7	49

As the table shows, the frequency of the *mī*-marked present-future verbs in the present corpus is clearly higher than that of unmarked forms. This frequency is significantly higher in the manuscripts of Mughal India. This may be due to the more personal and less formal language of the manuscripts of Mughal India.

4.2.1.2 Present-future subjunctive and imperative

In MNP, the present-future subjunctive and imperative of simple verbs are marked with the prefix *bi-*. It can be left out only with compound verbs. In this respect, the language of the studied works deviates from MNP. In the present corpus, the present-future verbs with subjunctive value and imperatives might be marked with the prefix *bi-*, as in (206) and (207), but the frequency of unmarked verbs is relatively high. Lenepveu-Hotz (2018, p. 433) states that the prefix *bi-* “does not express the subjunctive until the end of the nineteenth century.” Nevertheless, the value of the prefix *bi-* in the two examples below, and in several examples in other parts of this study,¹¹¹ cannot be interpreted as anything else than subjunctive and imperative.

¹¹¹ See examples (204), (219), (222), (233), (238), (310), (311).

(206) MI/IQJ: 424r-424v

چون خیر بشاه والا قدر رسید... حکم فرمودند که تا ممکن و مقدور باشد بدلاسا و مواسا او را زنده بیاورند و اگر میسر نشود سر او را بیارند.

‘When the information came to his excellency the king..., he commanded that they should use calming and consoling as much as [it is (be.SBJV-3sg)] possible and try to bring (*bi*-bring.PRS-3SG) him to his majesty alive. And if this does not work (NEG-work.PRS-3SG), they should just bring (*bi*-bring.PRS-3PL) him his head.’

(207) KB/MA:7r

روزی از حضرت شیخ جمال الدین سالی از معنی فنا سوال کرد و ایشان فرموده اند که فردا پیشین بیا تا جواب بشنوی.

‘One day, a questioner asked his majesty Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn about the meaning of mortality, and his majesty said (lit. has said): “Come (*bi*-come.PRS.2SG) tomorrow at the time of mid-day prayer to hear (\emptyset -hear.PRS-2SG) your answer!”’

4.2.1.2.1 Unmarked present-future verbs with subjunctive value and the imperative

As can be observed in the examples, in this respect the language of the studied works shows greater similarities to CNP and Tajik, where verbs with subjunctive value (208–216) and the imperative (217–221) usually go unmarked, both with simple and compound verbs (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 451).¹¹²

(208) SI/AaT: 10r

اگر رای عالی اقتضا فرماید احمد بیگ بن اغرلو محمد بن حسن پادشاه... با فوجی از سپاه ظفرپناه روانه اینجانب گردند.

‘If his excellency permits, Aḥmad Bayg b. Ughurlū Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Pādshāh, ... accompanied by a troop from the victorious army, ... will set out towards me.’

(209) SI/TAA: 16

کاهنه ایشانرا بسوی فدیہ راهنمایی کرده قرار داد که به عدد اولاد ده شتر فدیہ عبدالله داده میانہ شتر و او قرعه ز نند اگر بنام عبدالله بر آید ده شتر افزایند و قرعه ز نند تا وقتی که قرعه بر شتر افتد.

‘The soothsayer opted for the payment of blood money, and instructed them to prepare a ransom of ten camels, one for each of the sons [of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib]. They should then cast lots between the camels and ‘Abdallāh. If the lot fell on ‘Abdallāh, they should

¹¹² See 5.2.2 for more examples.

add ten camels, and again cast lots, until such time as the lot should fall on the camels.’

(210) SI/ZaT1: 58v

مقرر شد که عباس میرزا میرزای هرات باشد و شاه خدابنده را با خانه کوچ بشیراز ببرند.

‘It was commanded that ‘Abbās Mīrzā should stay as Herat’s governor, and Shāh Khudābanda, together with his family, should be moved to Shīrāz.’

(211) SI/ZaT2: 86

مقرر شد که امرای خراسان امداد او¹¹³ نموده او را بمکان خود رسانند.
‘Khurāsān’s amirs were commanded to help him to get to his home province.’

(212) MI/HN: f.5v–f.6r

حضرت بادشاه فرمانهای دلداری و دلأسای نوشته فرستادند که مردانه باشید ما هم آمدیم در بالای کوه بی بی ماه روی آتش خواهم انداخت و شما هم در بالای خزانه خانه آتش اندازید تا دانیم که از آمدن ما خبردار شده اید.

‘His majesty the king composed and sent letters of encouragement and consolation to them saying: “Be brave, I am also on my way. When I arrive, I will light a fire on the top of the Bībī Māhrūy mountain. You should also light a fire on the top of the treasure house so that I know that you are aware of my arrival.”’

(213) MI/HN: f.16r

درین اثنا عرضه داشت مولانا محمد فرغری¹¹⁴ از دهلی آمد نوشته بود که همایون میرزا بیمار اند و حالی عجیبی دارند بشنیدن این خبر حضرت بیگم بزودی زود متوجه دهلی می باید شوند.

‘Meanwhile, Mawlāna Muḥammad Fargharlī’s appeal arrived from Delhi, where it was written: “Humāyūn Mīrzā is sick and he is in an abnormal condition.” Her Majesty Baygum should set out towards Delhi as soon as she hears this.’

¹¹³ Note the use of ezafe object. The corresponding prepositional phrase would be *bi ū imdād nimūda*.

¹¹⁴ The same name is listed as *مولا محمد فرغری* in 27v in the same manuscript.

(214) MI/IQJ: 424v

سید جعفر نزدیک آمده هر چند بمقدمات بیم و امید دلدهی نمود که شاید بدست تواند آورد
او تن در نداد.

‘Sayyid Ja‘far came to him, and however much he tried to assure him of [the safety of] his life, hoping to be able to convince him to follow, he did not agree.’

(215) KB/MaB (CE): 26

تیغ خارا شکاف محمد خان شبیبانی اگر بر فرق آید، از کمر شکست آرد و اگر سایه
نهنگ خنجرش به دریا افتد، موج صفت به اضطراب درآمده، خروش بر آورد.

‘If Muḥammad Khān Shaybanid’s stone-splitting arrow lands on one’s head, it will split him from the waist. And if the shadow of his sword falls on the sea, the sea will become stormy from anxiety and cry loudly.’

(216) KB/MaT (CE): 285

محمود بی جمعی را گرفته که از ظلال لوای خان کشورگشای گریخته، با آرنج خان
میخواستند بیوندند.

‘Maḥmūd Bī captured a group [of the amirs] who had fled from the shade of the banner of the land-conquering khan and intended to join Ārang Khān.’

(217) SI/TAA: 26

شیخ زاهد ... خادمی را فرمود که امروز از حق طلبان روزگار مهمانی رسیده در
صومعه نماز میگذارد بعد از فراغ او را نزد من آر!

Shaykh Zāhid... told a servant: “Today we have received a guest who is a true devotee of truth. He is praying in the monastery. Bring him to me when he has finished his prayer!”

(218) KB/MaT (CE): 295

رفته با محمود بی گوی...

‘Go and tell Maḥmūd Bī...’

(219) KB/Mat (CE): 234

برآ و به عزت رکابش بیوی!

Come out and kīṣṣ his stirrup with dignity!

(220) KB/TRS: 200

خادمانرا شیخ فرمودند که سفره آرید.

‘The Sheykh ordered his servants: “Lay the table!”’

(221) KB/TRS: 227–8

ترک این آئین کن و سالک جاده عصیان مباش و... از صراط مستقیم شریعت پای اطاعت بیرون منه... قول مخالفانرا عمل منمای و از راه راست... منحرف مگرد!
'Abandon this manner and do not be a traveler on the road of rebellion... and do not put the foot of obedience outside of the righteous path of Sharia... do not act according to the sayings of the opponents, and do not deviate from the right way!'

Alternative forms of subjunctive expressions are also found in the studied works. The first is a subjunctive made up of a modal verb followed by a short or long infinitive, as in (222–228) and (229) respectively. The second is made up of a *mī*-prefixed past participle plus the subjunctive form of the auxiliary verb, as in examples (230–232). However, this form is also used in a way corresponding to MNP present indicative in potential conditional clauses, as in (233) and (234). The third is made up of a past participle followed by a modal verb, as in (235), and (236). The former, called durative perfect subjunctive, was found only in the manuscripts of Mughal India, and it is still in use in Tajik. The other two forms also occur in Tajik and Dari, but not in Persian.

(222) SI/AaT: 22r

پادشاه گفت کاهلی ما را از کجا دانستی گفت در آنجا که میتوانی گفت که ده هزار دینار بمولانا بدهند و نمی گویی.

'The king said: "What made you believe that I am indolent?" He replied: "From the fact that you can tell (*mī*-can.PRS-2SG tell.INF2) your people to give (*bi*-give.PRS-3PL) me ten thousand *Dīnār* but you don't."

(223) SI/ZaT1:55v

بعد از کوشش و سعی بسیار که قلعه را نتوانستند گرفت و گذاشته متوجه هرات شدند.

'After much effort, when they could not capture (*NEG*-can.PST-3PL capture.INF2) the fortress, they gave up and set out towards Herat.'

(224) SI/ZaT2: 131

بسمع همایون رسید که جمعی اجلاف در تبریز خروج کرده اند و حاکم انجا از عهد ایشان بر نمی تواند آمد.

'His Majesty was informed that a group of the wretches of Tabriz have revolted and the governor of Tabriz cannot suppress (*NEG*-*mī*-can.PRS-3SG suppress.INF2) them.'

(225) MI/VB: f.29v–f.30r

ملک محمد میرزای پسر منوچهر میرزا که برادر کلان پسلطان ابوسعید میرزا باشد بدغدغه پسلطنت اوباش و لوند جند کپس را بخود همراه پساخته از اردو جدا شد و بیسمرقند آمده هیچ کاری هم نتوانست کرد و سبب کشته شدن خود و مردن جند بیگناه دیگر شد.
'Malik Muḥammad Mīrzay, son of Sultān Abū sa'id Mīrzā's elder brother Manūchihr, aspiring to rule, gathered himself some hooligans and scoundrels and left the camp. He went to Samarqand but could not do (NEG-can.PST.3SG do.INF2) anything, and he was the cause of his own death and that of several other innocents.'

(226) MI/IQJ: 424v

بشاهزاده پرویز و مهابتخان فرمان شد که خاطر از انتظام و استحکام صوبه دکن واپرداخته متوجه صوبه العباس و بهار شوند که اگر صاحب صوبه بنگاله پیش راه نتواند گرفت و مقاومت نیارد نمود آن فرزند با عساکر کیهان شکوه بتقابل شتابد.
'Prince Parvīz and Mahābt khān were ordered to stop focusing on governing and fortifying the province of Deccan and to set out instead towards the provinces of Ilabās and Bahār, so that in case the governor of Bingāla fails to stop (fail.PRS-3SG stop.INF2) them and fails to resist (fail.PRS-3SG resist.INF2), his majesty's son would be able to confront the enemy with his magnificent troops.'

(227) KB/MaB (CE): 8

این جماعت مکرراً اسباب جنگ و جدال و ادوات حرب و قتال مرتب ساخته، با لشکر بسیار بر سر شیخ حیدرخان آمدند و هر نوبت محاربه عظیم به وقوع پیوست و از عساکر و جنود طرفین لایعد و لایحصی به قتل رسید، اما هیچ نوبت نتوانستند کرد، بلکه مغلوب و شکسته و افگار و مجروح و دلخسته معاودت نمودند.
'This group repeatedly prepared for war, organized their arms and artillery, and attacked Shaykh Ḥiydar Khān. This always resulted in huge battles during which countless numbers of both sides' troops and armies were killed, but they failed to succeed (fail.PST-3PL succeed.INF2). They just returned defeated, miserable, wounded, and depressed.'

(228) KB/TRS: 17

در انشب از مستی قدم از سر فرق نمی توانست کرد.

'That night, he was so drunk that he could not distinguish (NEG-mī-can.PST.3SG distinguish.INF2) the feet from the head.'

(229) KB/MA: 11r

و انجا مورجهای بزرگی اند و از خوف آنان کس نمی تواند در آن مکان عبور کرد.
'And big ants are found there. Fearing them, no one dares to cross (NEG-mī-can.PRS-3SG cross.INF1) that place.'

Here follow three examples of durative perfect subjunctive forms, which are only found in the manuscripts of Mughal India. Example (230) is especially interesting for its expression of subjunctive twice with the prefix *bi-* and once with the durative subjunctive form.

(230) MI/HN: f.20v

شصت حافظ خوشخوان و خوش الحان قاری را مقرر فرمودند که پنج وقت نماز
جماعت بخوانند و ختم قرآن یکنند و فاتحه بارواح حضرت فردوس مکانی میخوانده
باشند.

‘[His majesty] appointed sixty skillful Koran reciters with beautiful voices to recite (*bi-recite.PRS-3PL*) and read (*bi-read.PRS-3PL*) the Koran from the beginning to the end at the five times of prayer, and offer (*mī-offer.PP be.SBJV-3PL*) prayers for the soul of His majesty, passed on to paradise.’

(231) MI/HN: f.21r

پنج لک از بیانه وقف مزار حضرت کردند که برای خرج علما و حفاظ و غیره که
تعلق مزار دارند صرف می شده باشد.

‘His majesty devoted five *lak* of Bayāna to be expended (*mī-expend-PP be.SBJV-3SG*) for the learned men and *huffāz* of the holy tomb.’

(232) MI/PN: 511–12

شهنشاه حقیقت آگاه... حکم فرمودند که سوای پادشاهزادهای کامگار و اسلام خان
میربخشی... دیگری در رکاب ظفر نباشد عقب اردوی معلی یمین الدوله آصفخان با
شایسته خان... از آن پس معتمدخان بخشی دوم با سایر منصبداران بفاصله یک منزل
می آمده باشند.

‘The truthful king... ordered that no one else than the auspicious princes and Islām Khān Bakhshī ... is allowed to accompany the victory procession. Yamīn al-Dawla Aṣif Khān, Shāyista Khān and... Mu’tamid Khān Bakhshī II and other officials should be following (*mī-follow-PP be.SBJV-3PL*) behind the exalted procession at a distance of a day’s journey.’

Examples (233) and (234) illustrate the use of the durative subjunctive form corresponding to MNP present indicative in potential conditional clauses. These would have been expressed with the verb forms *mīdānid* and *mīshināsīd* in MNP. According to Windfuhr and Perry (2009, p. 465), the durative perfect subjunctive “expresses conjecture, doubt, apprehension, regret, etc. in relation not only to progressive, habitual or iterated actions in the past but also to current or potential actions of a durative nature...”

(233) MI/HN: f.2v

حکم شده بود که آنچه از واقعه فردوس مکانی و حضرت جنت‌آشپانی میدانسته باشید بنویسید.

‘It was commanded of me: “Write down (bi-write.PRS-2PL) whatever you might know (mī-know-PP be.SBJV-2PL) about the life and battles of his Majesty, passed on to paradise.”’

(234) MI/IQJ: 438v

حکم شد که اگر او را می‌شناخته باشید نام و نشان او معروض دارید.

‘It was commanded: “If you know (mī-know.PP be.SBJV-2PL) him, report his name and whereabouts.”’

Examples (235) and (236) illustrate subjunctive expressions made up of a past participle followed by a modal verb:

(235) MI/VB: f.42v

خسروشاه ... برادر خورد خود ولی را بلشکر فرستاد و اکثر زمستانرا در کنار دریا گذراندند و گذشته نتوانستند.

‘Khosraw Shāh ... sent his younger brother Valī to the army. These forces spent most of the winter on the riverbank, but could not cross (cross.PP NEG-can.PST-3PL) the river.’

(236) MI/VB: f.16r

و در وقتی که من پسر قند و بخارا را گرفتم برآمده نتوانست و مانده بود.

‘When I took Samarqand and Bukhara, she could not leave (leave.PP NEG-can.PST.3SG) and stayed behind.’

Here follows the statistical table for the marked and unmarked present-future subjunctives:

Table. 13 Present-future verbs with subjunctive value and imperatives

	<i>With the prefix</i>	<i>Without the prefix</i>	<i>Other</i>	TOTAL
	<i>bi-</i>	<i>bi-</i>		
SI	0	16	1	17
MI	7	29	5	41
KB	10	23	1	34
TOTAL	17	68	7	92

As can be seen, the manuscripts of Mughal India show a greater tendency to mark the subjunctive expression in one or the other way. Again, this can be explained by the fact that the language of the manuscripts of this region is more personal and closer to the spoken language.

4.2.1.3 Present-future optative

Present-future optative with the suffix *-ād* has almost completely disappeared from MNP. The optative form of the verb *būdan* in a few fixed expressions is the only optative form in MNP. In this respect, the language of the studied works does not deviate from MNP. Here follow three examples of present-future optative found in the corpus.

(237) SI/TAA: 3

که ازو روزگار خرم باد تا ابد پادشاه عالم یاد
'May the time be cheerful because of him / may he be the King of
the world for all eternity!'

(238) MI/HN: f.8r

فکر این ولایت بکنید که میادا بدخشان از دست برود.
'Think of this province, so that Badakhshān may not be lost!'

(239) KM/MaT (CE): 212

الهی رایات نصرت و جلالت تا انقضای سبع شداد ماثور باد و آیات قدرت و کمالش
مانند سبع مثنائی، مشهور.
'May the standard of his victory and glory last until the termination
of the seven firmaments, and may the signs of his power and
perfection become as oft-recited as the seven verses of the first
chapter of the Koran.'

4.2.2 Verb forms based on the past stem

4.2.2.1 Past imperfective

4.2.2.1.1 Past imperfective marked with the prefix *mī-*

As in all the three modern variants of New Persian, past imperfective verb forms in the present corpus are normally and frequently marked with the prefix *mī-*, as in (240):

(240) KB/MaT (CE): 245

حضرت قمرکاب در آن بوستان پر سبزه و آب، ساعتی سواره سیر می کردند.
'His majesty, the moon-escorted, rode and enjoyed (*mī-enjoy.PST-*
3PL) the sight of that green and fresh garden for about an hour.'

Alternative marking of the past imperfective verb forms with the suffix *-ī* also occurs, although infrequently. The examples of alternative past imperfectives are presented in the section below.

4.2.2.1.2 Alternative past imperfective

There are instances of past imperfective forms that are marked with either the suffix *-ī* (241–247),¹¹⁵ or a combination of the prefix *mī-* and the suffix *-ī* as in (248), or a combination of the prefix *bi-* and the suffix *-ī* as in (249).

The past imperfective with the suffix *-ī* was found in some but not all of the studied works.

(241) SI/AaT: 12v

احمد بیگ بن اغرلو محمد بن حسن پادشاه ... مانع شرب خمر بود بحدی که امرا را [منع] نمودی و در تعظیم علما بغایت کوشیدی و در مجلس او مباحثه علمی واقع شدی.
'Aḥmad Bayg b. Ughurlū Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Pādshāh... was so much against drinking alcohol that he prohibited (prohibit.PST.3SG-ī) his amirs from drinking, he endeavored (endeavor.PST.3SG-ī) greatly to honor learned men, and at his lecture, scientific debates occurred (occur.PST.3SG-ī).'

(242) SI/TAA: 15

نقل است که هرگاه الیاس طوف خانه کعبه نمودی آواز تلبیه از صلب خود شنیدی و از ظهور این حال استعجاب نمودی.
'It is reported that whenever Iliyās made (make.PST.3SG-ī) the procession round the Ka'ba, he heard (hear.PST.3SG-ī) an inner voice saying: "I am here for you!" And this astonished (astonish.PST-ī) him.'

(243) MI/IQJ: 442v

و هرگاه آن زنک سوار شدی سران سپاه و عمدهای دولت بیاده در رکابش رفته عرض حوایج خود میپیمودند.
'And whenever that woman mounted (mount.PST.3SG-ī) the horse, the army commanders and the high officials went on foot beside the stirrup of her horse and did (mī-do.PST-3PL) present their requests.'

(244) MI/PN: 507

و دوهزار روپیه بشیخ که هرچه بدو رسیدی صرف اضیاف و فقرا نمودی عطا فرموده بدولتخانه والا مراجعت نمودند.
'His majesty gave two thousand Rupees to the Shaykh, who always spent (spend.PST.3SG-ī) whatever he received (receive.PST.3SG-ī) on the poor and infirm, and returned to the elevated palace.'

¹¹⁵ No instances of the suffix *-ī* with subjunctive value were found in the present corpus.

(245) KB/MA: 6r

و خان مذکور... حافظه قوی داشت چیزی که بسمع شریفش رسیدی یا منظور نظر کیمیا اثرش گشتی در خاطرش نشسته بزودی از صفحه ضمیر مهرتویرش محو نگشتی.
'And the mentioned khan... had a strong memory. Whatever information his excellency heard (hear.PST.3SG-ṭ), and whatever he observed (observe.PST.3SG-ṭ) with his alchemic sight, was registered in his mind and it did not disappear (NEG-disappear.PST.3SG-ṭ) from his enlightened mind.'

(246) KB/MaB (CE): 222-3

آن صاحبقران... در ایام رزم صدای کوس دولتش نفعه صور عدم به گوش اعدای مملکت رسانیدی و هنگام بزم نوای عمر دادی، مرحمتش حال اولیاء دولت را به تهیج، مسرور گردانیدی... از سهم گرز گران سنگش کیوان بر سپهر هفتم اضطراب نمودی و از بیم پیکان تیر خدنگش، چشم مریخ شبی بر بستر نغزودی.
'In times of war, the sound of the drum of the power of that auspicious king carried (carry.PST.3SG-ṭ) the breeze of the trumpet of annihilation to the ears of the kingdom's enemies, and in times of feasts, he promised (promise.PST.3SG-ṭ) long life. His benevolence, made (make.PST.3SG-ṭ) the nobles of the state excited and cheerful... Fearing his heavy mace, [the planet] Saturn became (become.PST.3SG-ṭ) anxious in the seventh heaven, and dreading the point of his arrow, which was made of poplar wood, the eyes of [the planet] Mars did not rest (NEG-rest.PST.3SG-ṭ) in his bed.'

(247) KB/MaT (CE): 213

شریعت انتباهی که... پیوسته طریقه نیکوکاری و شیوه زهد و کم‌آزاری، بضاعت آخرت ساختی.
'[He was] a man of obedience to the Sharia... who constantly made (make.PST.3SG-ṭ) benevolence, piety, and mild manners the capital of his future [kingdom] in the invisible world.'

Here follows an example of past imperfective made up of a combination of the prefix *bī-* and the suffix *-ṭ* (248), as well as an example made up of a combination of the prefix *mī-* and the suffix *-ṭ* (249):

(248) SI/TAA: 28

در حین مرض هرگاه از کثر و جمع و آلام بی‌آرام گشتی بموضعی که الحال مرقد منور معطر آن حضرتست شتافته لحظه در انجا بیاسودی.
'During his illness, whenever he was restless because of having many people around and from the pain, he used to go to the spot where his illuminated and perfumed tomb is now located and rested (bī-rest.PST.3SG-ṭ) there a while.'

(249) KB/TRS: 186

صاحب تقویم البلدان گوید که در قدیم الایام ولایت هرات چهار دروازه داشته¹¹⁶ یکی در شمال و آنرا دروازه بلخ گفتندی دیگری بجانب جنوب و آنرا دروازه سیستان می نامیدند و ثالث بطرف مشرق گنبدیه میشد او را دروازه غوری می گفتند رابع بسوی مغرب بوده و او را دروازه شیراز میخواندندی.

‘The writer of *Taqvīm al-Buldān* says that in ancient times Herat had (lit. has had) four gates. One in the north, which was called (call.PST-3PL-ī) Balkh gate, another in the south, which was named (*mī*-name.PST-3PL) Sīstān gate; the third one opened (*mī*-become.PST.3SG) towards the east and was called (*mī*-call.PST-3PL) Ghurī gate, and the fourth one was (lit. has been) towards the west, and it was called (*mī*-call.PST-3PL-ī) Shīrāz gate.’

Here follows the statistical table for the alternative forms of the past imperfective:

Table. 14 Past imperfectives

	<i>With the prefix mī-</i>	<i>With the suffix -ī</i>	<i>With both mī- and -ī</i>	<i>With the prefix -bi and -ī</i>	TOTAL
SI	52	15	0	0	67
MI	31	3	0	0	34
KB	91	19	1	0	111
TOTAL	174	37	1	0	212

Based on a corpus of eleven Classical Persian works from the 10th–16th centuries, Lenepveu-Hotz (2014b, p. 232) discerns a gradual replacement of the suffix *-ī* (*ē*) by the prefix *mī-* from the 15th century onward. She maintains that it did not entirely disappear until the 18th century, except in some regions, depending on the dialect. The results from the present study are in line with her conclusions. As the table shows, the frequency of past imperfectives with the suffix *-ī* is low in general, and much lower in the manuscripts of Mughal India in particular. It is worth mentioning that TAA stands for 12 of the 15 total instances of the past imperfective with the suffix *-ī* in the works of Safavid Iran, and MaB for 10 of the 19 instances in the works of the Khanate of Bukhara. These results indicate that the process of replacing the suffix *-ī* with the prefix *mī-* is nearing its completion.

¹¹⁶ Note the use of perfect form for marking distance from the source of information.

4.2.2.2 Past perfective

4.2.2.2.1 Preterite marked with the resultative prefix *bi-*

The preterite is normally unmarked in Persian and Tajik. Preterites marked with the resultative prefix *bi-* were widely used in earlier stages of New Persian up to the thirteenth century (Paul 2013) and Seddiqian (1383/2004, pp. 71–4). Several scholars analyze this prefix as an indicator of perfectivity or completion of action, both in MP¹¹⁷ and CNP.¹¹⁸ The few instances of preterite marked with this prefix in the present corpus (250–254) indicate completeness and the result of a single act as the main functions of this prefix. Instances of *bi-*-prefixed preterites were not found in all the studied works. The very low frequency of this form indicates that the shift of *bi-*-prefixed preterites to unmarked or plain preterites was almost complete by that time.

(250) SI/AaT: 24r

بعد از آن سر او را با جسد وصل کرده بسوختند.

‘Then, they put his head together with his body and burned (*bi-burn.PST-3PL*) it.’

(251) SI/TAA: 46

چون چندگاه از سلطنت بایسنغر بگذشت ایبه سلطان بحدود قلعه النجق رفته...

‘When a while [had] passed (*bi-pass.PST.3SG*) after Bāysunghur had been on the throne, Āyba Sultān went to the fortress of Alanjaq.’

(252) SI/ZaT1: 9r

عبدالملك بیست و یکسال حکومت کرده فوت شده ولید ولد او بجای پدر بنشست... ولید بعد از یکسال بمراد سلیمان بن عبدالملك بجای او نشست.

‘Abd al-Malik ruled for twenty-one years. Then he passed away and his son, Valīd, succeeded (*bi-succeed.PST.3SG*) him... Valīd died (*bi-die.PST.3SG*) after one year, and Sulimān b. ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded (*succeed.PST.3SG*) him.’

(253) KB/TRS: 17

عزت ملك خصیتین او را بیفشرد و ملك را بی عزت کرد.

‘Izzat Mulk pressed (*bi-press.PST.3SG*) his testicles and humiliated (*humiliate.PST.3SG*) the king.’

¹¹⁷ For *bi* in MP, see Josephson (1993), Jügel (2013), Skjærvø (2009).

¹¹⁸ Lenepveu-Hotz (2018, pp. 421, 437) argues against this prefix functioning as the marker of perfectivity or completion of an act. She considers this prefix to be a marker of rhematicity to underline the fundamental role of the verb in focus, with an intermediate stage of perfectivity. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the nuances and changes in the value of this prefix over time.

(254) KB/MaT (CE): 225

تیغ یمنی به سراندازی گرم گردیده، مرغ روح انسانی را از تنگنای قفس جسمانی برهانید.

‘[The warriors] let their Yemeni swords cut the heads of the enemy, and saw to it that the birds of their souls were released (*bi-release.PST.3SG*) from the graves of their bodies.’

4.2.2.2.2 Present perfect and past perfect

Present perfect and past perfect verbs in the studied works are identical to their counterparts in MNP, both in form and function. These are made up of a past participle combined with the present or past tense of the auxiliary verb *būdan*. Two extended forms under this category are the *mī*-prefixed present perfect and double perfect. These are also identical to their counterparts in MNP. What makes these verb forms especially interesting is their use for expressing evidentiality, which will be dealt with in 4.2.4.

4.2.3 The defective verbs *būdan* and *dāshtan*

The verbs *būdan* and *dāshtan* in MNP are “partially defective” verbs, as they do not exhibit all the typical forms of a verb. For instance, they do not normally take the prefix *mī*-, and their subjunctive forms are different from those of other verbs. Two exceptions to this rule are the use of *mī*- with *būdan* in its present form with *bāsh* as the present stem, and the use of *mī*- together with *dāshtan* as the light verb of some compound verbs. These exceptions are very infrequent, however.

The pattern is somewhat different in the studied works, where the present form with *bash*, as in (255) and (256), occurs more frequently than in MNP. The past imperfective form of *būdan* also occurs with the prefix *mī*- or the suffix *-ī*, as in (257–262). These past imperfective forms are not at all common in MNP. The *mī*-prefixed form may occur in Tajik in its counterfactual function.

(255) MI/VB: f.8v

در بعضی کتب نوشته اند که بیروح الصنم درین کوهپستان میباشند.

‘In some books, it is written that there are (*mī-be.PRS-3SG*) belladonna plants in these mountains.’

(256) KB/MaT (CE): 332

مولانا از جمله شاگردان آخوند حاجی یادگار میباشند.

‘Mawlānā is (*mī-be.PRS-3PL*) one of Ākhūnd Hājji Yādgār’s trainees.’

(257) SI/ZaT2: 97

اول کس از ینطبقه علیه که بولایت اردبیل نقل فرمودند سید فیرو [ز] شاه زرین کلا هست
که در آنجا بعبادت و ریاضت مشغول میبودند.

‘The first person from this exalted class who moved to the province of Ardabīl was Fīrūz Zarrīn-kulāh. There, he was (*mī-be.PST-3PL*) dedicated to divine worship and self-discipline.’

(258) MI/HN: f.21v

هرجا که دختر صاحب خُپن و جمال میبود در خدمت حضرت پادشاه می آوردند.

‘Wherever there was (*mī-be.PST.3SG*) an elegant and beautiful girl, they brought her to his majesty.’

(259) KB/MA: 7r

مدتی فقیر در جوار فیض آثار ایشان میبود.

‘This lowly servant was (*mī-be.PST.3SG*) under his bountiful protection for a while.’

(260) KB/MaB (CE): 19

و همچنین مقتدای حفاظ زمان، پیشوای قراء دوران، قاری کلام الله مجید، حافظ حمید،
در مجلس درس آن حضرت لایزال میبود.

‘And also the leader of all the *ḥuffāz* of the time, and the forerunner of all reciters, the reciter of the sacred word, the *ḥāfīz* of the Koran was (*mī-be.PST.3SG*) continuously present at his holiness’s lectures.’

(261) KB/MaT (CE): 263

حضرت قمررکاب هر دو ایلچی را از انعام وافر و از خلعت فاخر سرافراز گردانیده.
قریب یک سال در دارالسلام بخارا میبودند.¹¹⁹

‘His Majesty, the moon-escorted, honored both envoys with plenty of rewards and honorific mantles. They stayed (*mī-stay.PST-3PL*) in the capital city, Bukhara, for about one year.’

(262) KB/TRS: 235

پنج هزار نفر سوار خونخوار کینهگذار که نزد حمله ایشان کوه همچون کاه بریاید فنا
ریتی و آسمان را از نهیب صدمه ایشان بیم تزلزل بودی در خدمت خان روانه گشتند.

‘Five thousand vengeful and bloodthirsty horsemen before whose attack a mountain vanīshēd like a straw in the wind, and before the thunder of whose violence the sky could become shaky (*become.PST.3SG-ī*), set out in the khan’s company.’

¹¹⁹ In CNP *būdan* also means “to stay”, especially in its *mī-* form, as in this example (See Seddiqian 1383/2004, p. 59).

Instances of marked present and past imperfective of *dāshtan* with the prefix *mī-* are also found, but very infrequently (263–266), and not in all the studied works. This form has also disappeared from MNP, where it only occurs in poems and poetic prose,¹²⁰ but is more common in Tajik (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 460).

(263) SI/AaT: 20v

بدیع الزمان میرزا شهر را احاطه کرده طمع میداشت که بی جنگ مردان شهر را بدو دهند.

‘Badī’ al-Zamān had surrounded the city and expected (expectation *mī-have.PST.3SG*) the men to surrender the city to him without a fight.’

(264) SI/TAA: 17–18

ابوطالب پسر هفتم عبدالمطلب... درمیانه قبایل قریش شرف و منزلتی عظیم داشت حضرت خاتم الانبیا در حجله عطوفت و اشفاق آن عمّ عالیمقدار پرورش مییافت و تا سال دهم بعثت آن سرور در حیات بود و در معاونت آن حضرت مساعی جمیله مینول مییداشت.

‘Abū Ṭālib, the seventh son of ‘Abd al-Muṭallib... ḥaḍ (have.PST.3SG) very high prestige and rank among the Quraysh tribes. His holiness, the last prophet, was brought up under the fatherly affection and kindness of his high-minded uncle. That lord was alive until the tenth year of the prophet’s mission and devoted (devotion *mī-have.PST.3SG*)¹²¹ all his effort to helping his holiness.’

(265) KB/MaT (CE): 222

رزم و کوشش را چنان دوست مییداشتند که ...

‘They liked (liking *mī-have.PST-3PL*) fighting and struggling as much as . . .’

(266) MI/IQJ: 438r

اگر خواهند که بخانه دوستی و یا خویشی بروند از بالای بام یکدیگر تردد میکنند حصار شهر جز یک در نمییارد.

‘If they want to visit a friend or a relative, they go via each other’s rooftops. The fortification around the town has (NEG-*mī-have.PRS-3SG*) no more than one door.’

¹²⁰ It is also found in some dialectal varieties of Persian like the Yazdi, Isfahani and Shirazi dialects.

¹²¹ As a light verb, *dāshtan* does not always bear the meaning “to have”. It can also mean “to do”, as in this example. The word-for-word translation in the glossing aims to highlight the morphological structure.

4.2.4 The evidential category¹²²

One intensively discussed category in the verb system of New Persian is the evidential category. Regarding the basics of evidentiality Aikhenvald (2018, p. 1) writes:

In quite a few languages one has to specify the information source on which a statement is based—whether the speaker saw the event happen, didn't see it but heard it (or smelt it), made an inference about it based on visual traces or reasoning or general knowledge, or was told about it. This is the essence of evidentiality, or *grammatical marking of information source*...

According to Windfuhr and Perry (2009, pp. 419–20, 461), the evidential category was not found in the verb system of early CNP of the 10th–12th centuries. They consider it a grammatical innovation that emerged during the 19th century under the influence of the intense Turko-Iranian symbiosis during the rule of Turkic or Turko-Mongol dynasties in Iran from the late 10th to the 20th century. The *mī*-marked perfect, usually called perfect continuous,¹²³ and the double perfect¹²⁴ – which are used as evidential verb forms in MNP – are said to be revived forms of verbs that had already become obsolete in the 13th century. Regarding these verb forms, Utas (2000, p. 269) maintains that they were extremely rare in early CNP. However, other scholars like Bubenik and Ziamajidi (2020, p. 290), Lenepveu-Hotz (2014a, pp. 180–81), and Ziamajidi and Haqqbin (2019, p. 167–8) consider these issues to be open questions in need of further investigation.

Lazard (1999, p. 98–9) places Persian and Tajik among the languages in which speakers may choose between using neutral, unmarked forms that indicate nothing about the source of the information, or using evidential, marked forms, that refer to the source of the information without specifying it. When the speakers choose the unmarked forms, they are stating the facts directly, as they know them, but when they choose the marked forms, they are expressing them in a mediated way. They put some distance between themselves and what they are saying. He thus proposes the term “mediative” (*médiatif* in French) in the context of such languages. Regarding Persian, Lazard (2001, p. 363) writes:

In Persian, the evidential paradigm consists of a set of verb forms derived from the perfect, whose common *signifié* includes special meanings not conveyed by

¹²² In Persian *guvāhnamāyī* or *sākht-i guvāhnamā*.

¹²³ In Persian *māzī-yi naqlī-yi istimrārī*.

¹²⁴ In Persian *māzī-yi ab 'ad* or *kāmīl-i muzā 'af*. Perry (2000, p. 229) refers to it as a doubly compound past perfect.

other verb forms [...] this is indeed the reason for positing the existence of the category.

This set of verb forms primarily includes the *mī*-prefixed perfect, e.g. *mī-rafta ast*, and the double perfect, which is made up of the past participle of the main verb combined with the past participle of the auxiliary verb *būdan* followed by the present tense of the auxiliary verb, e.g. *rafta būda ast*. They convey special meanings regarding the source of information that are not automatically conveyed by perfect and past perfect verb forms. To these two verb forms should be added the perfect of the defective verbs *būdan* ‘to be’, the *mī*-prefixed present perfect of *būdan*, and the perfect form of *dāshdan* ‘to have’. To understand the evidential meaning of these verb forms, one must contrast them with their counterparts and ask why the authors have chosen these marked forms over the non-marked forms. Compare for instance the following two sets of examples with the verb *būdan*:

(267) SI/ZaT1: 22v

دو پسر او که یکی محمد امین نام داشت و دیگری امیر عبدالرزاق در خدمت سلطان
ابوسعید می‌بودند.

‘His two sons, one named Muḥammad Amīn and the other Amīr ‘Abd al-Razzāq, were (*mī*-be.PST-3PL) both at the service of Sulṭān Abū Sa‘īd.’

(268) KB/MA: 6r

و سمرقند اعظم بلاد ماوراء النهر است... و درو علما و فضلا بسیار می‌بوده اند.

‘And Samarqand is the largest city of Transoxiana... and a great number of scholars and learned men lived (*mī*-live.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) there [as is said].’

(269) MI/HN: f.2v

وقتی که حضرت فردوس مکانی از دارالفنا به دارالبقا خرامیدند این حقیر هشت ساله
بود.

‘When his majesty, resting in paradise, left the house of mortality for the house of eternity, I, this lowly one, was (be.PST.3SG) eight years old.’

(270) MI/HN: f.3r

دو نوبت بضر ب شمشیر فتح سمرقند کرده مرتبه اول حضرت بادشاه بابام دوازده ساله
بوده اند و مرتبه دویم نوزده ساله بوده اند.

‘[His majesty my father] has conquered Samarqand with the power of the sword two times. The first time, his majesty was (be.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) twelve years old, and the second time, he was (be.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) nineteen years old.’

While in examples (267) and (269), a fact is directly stated, in examples (268) and (270), the author conveys something about his/her relation to the source of information.

Lazard (1999, p. 99) argues that the scope of the special meanings conveyed by mediative forms in Persian does not only include the evidential meanings indicating hearsay and inference, but also “the experiential, i.e., a retrospective view of the past events, as distinct from resultative.” Concerning the differences between Persian and Tajik, both Lazard (ibid.) and Windfuhr and Perry (2009, p. 463) point out that, unlike in Tajik, the mirative is not clearly indicated in Persian.

The results of the present study indicate that, as early as the 16th century, systematic use was made of this set of verb forms to convey evidentiality. This motivates a reexamination of the idea that the evidential category in Persian and Tajik is a grammatical innovation of the 19th century. The higher frequency of evidential verb forms in some of the works in the present corpus also indicates that the evidential category is highly genre-sensitive.

The evidential verb forms are systematically used in most of the studied works, most frequently in MA, VB, and HN. The use and frequency of evidential verb forms in these manuscripts are directly related to the genre of the text and the author’s relation to the time she/he is writing about. Already on the first page of HN, for instance, Gulbadan Baygum clarifies that what she writes about her father is based on what she has heard from others:

(271) MI/HN: f.2v

حکم شده بود که آنچه از واقعه فردوس مکانی و حضرت جنت آشیانی میدانسته باشید بنویسید وقتی که حضرت فردوس مکانی از دار الفنا به دار البقا خرامیدند این حقیر هشت ساله بود و بیان واقع شاید کمترک بخاطر مانده بود بنا بر حکم پادشاهی آنچه شنیده و بخاطر بود نوشته میشود.

‘I was commanded: “Write down whatever you know of the doings of his majesty, passed on to paradise.” When his majesty, resting in paradise, left the house of mortality for the house of eternity, I, this lowly one, was eight years old, and I probably remember just a little of that time. However, in obedience to the royal command, I write down **what I have heard and remember.**’

This justifies the use and higher frequency of evidential verb forms in this manuscript, especially in those parts she is writing about the time of her father. The same is true for the other works. The frequency of evidential forms in the studied works is correlated with the aforementioned factors. The evidential forms are very infrequent in works where the author discusses his own time and his peers, for instance, in IQJ, AaT, and ZaT I & II, and in works where the factual historical events are in focus, for instance in TAA. The evidential

forms are frequent in works where the authors describe the past, and give a retrospective view of the past events, for instance in MA and TRS.

In New Persian, evidentiality can be expressed in three ways: (1) by means of special verb forms with no need for evidential lexical items, (2) by employing evidential lexical items, and (3) by using a combination of both. When evidentiality is expressed by evidential lexical items, any verb form in past can be used. All three types of evidential expressions are attested in the present corpus. The most frequently used evidential lexical items in the corpus are the verb of speech “say”¹²⁵ and some fixed reportative phrases that explicitly express evidentiality. Referring to the gradual development of a lexical verb of speech into a marker of reported evidentiality in several varieties of South American Spanish and Portuguese, Aikhenvald (2018, p. 4) mentions lexical verbs of speech as good material from which to develop an evidentiality system. In New Persian, the 2SG of the verb *gufīān* ‘say’ in present is already reduced to an evidential adverb *gūyī/gūyā* ‘as if, apparently’, as in the examples below:

(272) KB/MaT (CE): 212

گویا دولت و اقبالش آفتاب بود که انوار سعادت و بختیاری از مطلع جبین متین او می‌تافت.

It was as if (lit. as if [you] say.PRS-2SG-ā) his fortunate power was the sun, as rays of prosperity and luck shone from his firm forehead.

(273) KB/MaT (CE): 258

گویا جان رفته به تن باز آمد.

It was as if (lit. as if [you] say.PRS-2SG-ā) lost life was given back to their bodies.

Here follow instances of the three types of evidentiality expressions in the present corpus. The first group of examples exemplify evidentiality expressed by means of special verb forms without evidential lexical items (274–280):

(274) SI/ZaT1: 23r

چون حاکم بر سر ایشان کس فرستاد برو استیلا یافته حاکم را نیز کشته اند و می‌گفته اند که ما سر خود را بر سر دار دیده ایم ازینجهت بسربداران اشتهار یافته اند و مدتی حکومت کرده اند.

‘When the governor sent forces to compel them to submit, they defeated his forces and killed the governor. They said (mī-say.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL): “We have already seen our heads on the gallows”, which is why they are known as *sarbidārān* [Heads on gallows], and

¹²⁵ Nourzaei (2017, pp. 140–42) has also observed in her Balochi corpus a high frequency of using the verb “say” to indicate an evidential, non-eye-witnessed meaning.

they have been ruling for a while.’

(275) KB/MA: 19v

شیخ بایزید پورانی... از بزرگان معتبر و مقرر خراسان است و اهل هرات¹²⁶ را به اجداد عظامش اعتقاد تمام داشته اند و به زیارت مقبره ایشان رفته از روح پرفتوت ایشان مستفید می گردیده اند. و اشهر فضایل شیخ مذکور خوشنویسی است. هفت قلم را خوب می نوشته.

‘Shaykh Bāyazīd Pūrānī... is one of Khurāsān’s most respectable and unquestionable religious nobles. The inhabitants of Herat had (have.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) full faith in his great forefathers, and visited their graves, and profited (mī-profit.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) from their bountiful spirits. The most renowned attainment of the mentioned Shaykh is his calligraphy. He wrote (mī-write.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) seven modes of calligraphy skillfully.’

(276) KB/MaB (CE): 20–21

[موسی] میرزا به وعده خویش وفا ننمود. زیرا که امرای منغیت کلهم نزد موسی میرزا رفته، معروض داشتند که از قدیم الایم الی یومنا هذا امرای منغیت هر خانی را که برداشته اند اختیار ممالک را به تمامه به امرای منغیت می گذاشته و خلاف رأی مذکور در هیچ کاری مدخل نداشته اند.

‘[Mūsā] Mīrzā did not keep his promise. For that reason, all the Manghīt amirs went to Mūsā Mīrzā and said that since old times until now, whenever the Manghīt amirs have exalted (exalt.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) a khan, they have left (mī-leave.PP.AUX.PRS.3PL) the rule of the dominions totally in the hands of another Manghīt amir. And they have never acted (NEG-act.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) in any other way.’

(277) KB/MaB (CE): 22

و در زمان تلاقی فریقین برف به نوعی از جانب آسمان می آمد که مردان کارزار و اسبان راهوار را مجال چشم گشادن نبود. مجمل سخن آنکه دلاوران آن روز چشم پوشیده، داد حریف را می داده اند.

‘At the time of the confrontation of the two armies, it was snowing so heavily that the men on the battlefield and the ambling horses could not open their eyes. In brief, the bold men fight (mī-fight.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) the enemy with closed eyes.’

¹²⁶ In the critical edition of this work, it is listed without *rā* (Mayel Heravi 1377/1998, p. 97).

(278) KB/TRS: 43–4

شاه بیت دیوان غزل‌سرایان صوری و معنوی مولانا لطف‌الله نیشابوری در روزگار خاقان جہنشان صاحبقران امیر تیمور گورکان بوده و مداح امیرزاده میرانشاه نیز بود در فنون علوم جنان بوده که گوی معنی را بجوگان قلم از عرصه میدان سخن‌سرایان دوران ریوده بین الاقران و الامثال مشارالیه و در میان فضلا و ظرفا متفق علیه بوده اکثر طبع نادرکارش بگفتن شعر میل میکرده.

‘Mawlānā Luṭfallāh Nīshābūrī was (be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) the concluding verse of the *dīvān* (poem collection) of all distinguished poets, in form and content, of the time of the Jam-like emperor, Ṣāhib-Qirān Amīr Tīmūr Gūrkan. He also was Mīrānshāh’s panegyrist. In arts and sciences, he was (be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) so competent that he could win (win.PP) the ball of words with the mallet of the pen from all poets of his time. There was (be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) consensus about him among his contemporaries and equals as well as among learned men and artists. His excellent mind was inclined (*mī*-incline.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) to composing poems.’

No instances of evidential verb forms were found in chapter ten of MaT. The following two examples are from chapter nine of this work.

(279) KB/MaT (CE): 30

فوت مولانا جلال‌الدین محمود زاهد مرغابی در سنهٔ ثمان و سبعین و سبعمانه بود. ورزش شریعت و متابعت سنت از طریقهٔ اولیا آموخته، حظی کامل و نصیبی شامل یافته بوده و در تقوی و ورع جهد بلیغ می‌نموده.

‘Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zāhid Murghābī passed away in the year seven hundred seventy-eight [1376–7]. Having learned (learn.PP) the Sharia, and how to follow the tradition from saints, he had achieved (achieve.PP be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) the highest degree of perfection and accomplishment, and made (*mī*-make.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) every effort to act virtuously and abstain from sin.’

(280) KB/MaT (CE): 63–4

حضرت ایشان می‌فرموده اند: من یک ساله بوده‌ام، والد فقیر می‌خواستند که سر مرا تراشند.

‘His holiness said (*mī*-say.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL): “When I was (be.PP=AUX.PRS.1SG) one year old, my late father decided (*mī*-decide.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) to shave my head.”’

Here follow instances of evidentiality employing lexical items. The commonly occurring lexical items in the corpus are usually based on speech verbs like *gūyand/mīguyand* (lit. they say), and narrative verbs like *naql as/manqūl ast* (is narrated), *naql kardand* (lit. they narrated), *āmada* (it is

stated), and *bi-ikhtilāf-i rivāyāt* (according to different sayings/narratives). when the evidentiality is explicitly expressed through such lexical items, any verb form in the past can be used, as in examples (281) and (282):

(281) SI/TAA: 15

نقل است که هرگاه الیاس طوف خانه کعبه نمودی آواز تلبیه از صلب خود شنیدی و از ظهور این حال استعجاب نمودی.

'It is reported that whenever Iliyās made (make.PST.3SG-ī) the procession round the Ka'ba, he heard (hear.PST.3SG-ī) an inner voice saying: "I am here for you!" And this astonished (astonish.PST.3SG-ī) him.'

(282) MI/VB: f.3v

و قیر غاول او بسیار فربه میشود و چنانچه نقل کردند که به اشکنه یک قیر غاول چهار کس سیر شدند و تمام نتوانستند کرد.

'The pheasants there get extremely fat. It is said that with a stew made from just one pheasant, four people became (become.PST-3PL) full and could not (NEG-can.PST-3PL) finish eating it.'

Here follow instances of evidentiality expressed by a combination of evidential lexical items and special verb forms (283–286):

(283) MI/VB: f.24v–f.25r

[میرزا] بحضرت خواجه عبیدالله ارادت داشت حضرت خواجه مربی و مقوی او بوده بسیار مودب بود علی الخصوص در صحبت خواجه چنانچه میگویند که در مجلس خواجه تا آن زمان که می‌نشسته ازین زانو بزانوی دیگر نمی‌گشته یکمرتبه برخلاف عادت در صحبت خواجه از این زانو بزانوی دیگر تکیه کرده بوده... میگویند که در بعضی معرکها ازو اثر شجاعت ظاهر میشد تیر را خوب می‌انداخته تیر او اکثر بایلباسون میرسیده... در آخر که بسیار تنبل شده بوده قیر غاول و بودنده را به پیزی می‌انداخته و کم خطا میکرده...

'[Mirzā] was devoted to Kh'āja 'Ubaydallāh, who was (be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) his patron and protector. He was very polite, especially in the Kh'āja's company. As is said, sitting (mī-sit.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) in the Kh'āja's assembly he never shifted (NEG-mī-shift.PP. AUX.PRS.3SG) from one leg to the other. Only once did he, contrary to his custom, shift (shift.PP be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) his position... It is also said, that in frays, he usually showed courage. He shot (mī-shoot.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) arrow excellently and his arrows and shafts usually hit (mī-hit.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) the bullseye... Towards the end of his life, when he got (get.PP be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) fat, he hunted (mī-hunt.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) pheasant and quail with a flail, seldom missing (mī-miss.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG).'

(284) KB/MA: 5v

و ارم باغیست که شداد بن عاد... بنا کرده... باختلاف روایات در پانصد یا سیصد سال
باتمام رسیده... و چهل هزار قصر آنجا بوده... و خشتهای عمارتش از طلا و نقره
بوده و در جویها بجای سنگریزها جواهر ریخته بودند.¹²⁷

‘And Iram is a garden that Shaddād b. ‘Ād ... founded
(found.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG)... **According to different sayings**, it
was finished (finish.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) within five hundred years
or three hundred years respectively ... And there were
(be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) forty thousand palaces... and the bricks of
its building were (be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) made of gold and silver.
And in its stream, jewels were poured (pour.PP
be.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL) instead of gravel.’

(285) KB/MA: 10r

منقول است که خدمت شیخ در قریه شطری جوی جاری می‌کرده اند و سلطنت‌پناهی
سنگهایی بزرگ بسهولت میکنند ایشان گفته اند که این کو هکن ماست.

‘It is said that once in the presence of the Shaykh in Shaṭrī village,
some men were digging (mī-dig.PP.AUX.PRS.3PL) a canal. A
defender of the kingdom dug (mī-dig.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) in big
stones easily. His Majesty said (say.PP=AUX.PRS.3PL): “He is our
mountain digger [Farhād].”’

(286) KB/MA: 5r

در صور اقالیم آمده که بخارا دیواری داشته که قطره او دوازده فرسنگ بوده.

‘It is stated in *Šuvar-i aqālīm* that Bukhara had
(have.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) a wall whose width was
(be.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) twelve *farsang*.’

4.2.5 Possession

The main verb of possession in MNP is *dāshtan*. In CNP, especially early CNP, possession was expressed by copula constructions with non-canonical subjects. The verb *dāshtan* mainly indicated other senses than possession. Already in *Gulistān* by Sa‘dī (13th century), one finds the parallel use of copula constructions and the verb *dāshtan* to express possession. Expressions of possession using copula and non-canonical subjects are found in the present corpus too.¹²⁸ However, one can conclude with a high degree of certainty that *dāshtan* is the predominant verb of possession. In the statistical tables for the

¹²⁷ In the critical edition (Mayel Heravi 1377/1998, p. 25), it is listed as بوده اند. It sounds more correct, and is in harmony with the other verbs. I gloss the verb in accordance with the critical edition.

¹²⁸ See 4.1.5.2.4 for more examples of copula constructions.

use of the postposition *rā*, this category is included in the statistics for other complements with *rā*. The low frequency of other complements with *rā* in the studied works also bears witness to the very low frequency of copula constructions of possession. Here follow examples of possession with the verb *dāshstan* in the corpus (287–297).

(287) SI/AaT: 5v

شاه پاشا خاتون... از کیفیت حال شاهزاده عالیقدر اطلاع داشت.
 Shāh Pāshā Khātūn... had information about the state of mind of the noble prince.

(288) SI/TAA:15

[او] حسن صوتی بکمال داشت.
 [He] had a voice beautiful to the limit of perfection.

(289) SI/ZaT1: 62r

ایشان نیز گفتند ما آرزوی دیدن شاه داریم می‌آئیم.
 ‘Then they said: “We wish (lit. have the wish) to meet the King, so we follow you.”’

(290) SI/ZaT2: 101

نوبت پادشاهی برستم بیگ رسید شاهزادگانرا از قلعه بیرون آورده در اردو همراه خود داشت.
 ‘Now, it was Rustam Bayg’s turn to ascend the throne. He let the little princes come out of the fortress and accompany (lit. had in company) him in the royal camp.’

(291) MI/VB: f.10v

حنفی‌مذهب و پاکیزه‌اعتقاد مردی بود... بحضرت خواجه عبدالله ارادت داشت... پیواد روانی داشت... اگرچه طبع نظمی داشت اما بشعر پروا نمیکرد.
 ‘He was a Hanafī by sect and orthodox of belief... He was devoted (lit. had devotion) to Khvāja ‘Ubayallh...he was well-read and literate (lit. had high literacy) ... although he had poetic talent, he put no effort into composing poetry.’

(292) MI/HN: f.6r–f.6v

حضرت بخاطر خالهای خود گناه میرزا محمد حسین را بخشیدند ... کابل را از قبل میرزاخان خلاص ساخته خدای تعالی بایشان ارزانی داشت و در انوقت بیست و سه ساله بودند و هیچ فرزندی نداشتند.

‘His highness forgave Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn’s fault for the sake of his uncles... It was after the liberation of Kabul from Mīrzā Khān’s siege that the most-exalted God bestowed children upon

him. At that time, he was twenty-three years old and had no children.’

(293) MI/IQJ: 432v

و این پرهای سیاه براق دارد.

‘And this bird has shiny black feathers.’

(294) KB/MA: 4v–5r

بخارا شهر قدیم است و سواد عظیم دارد... و در صور اقالیم آمده که بخارا دیواری داشته که قطره او دوازده فرسنگ بوده.

‘Bukhara is an old city and it has many districts and environs... It is stated in *Šuvar-i aqālīm* that Bukhara had a wall whose width was twelve *farsang*.’

(295) KB/MaT (CE): 266

حضرت قمرکاب از آب عبور کرده، قدم در خانه چوبین نهادند که سقف در زیر و ستون بر زیر داشت.

‘The moon-escorted majesty crossed the water and stepped into the wooden house, which had its ceiling below and pillars above.’

(296) KB/MaB (CE): 205

آن خان سلیمان مکان پنج پسر فرخنده نشان داشت...

‘That Solomonic khan had five fortunate sons...’

(297) KB/MaB (CE): 8

قراچین بهادر که به محافظت محمد [خان] شیبانی و برادر او محمود سلطان مقرر شده بود، چون اعتقاد به دولت همایون و بخت روزافزون ایشان داشت، هر نوبت که اعدا لشکر کشید، به محاربه می آمدند، به مدافعه و مقاتله ایشانان¹²⁹ بیرون آمده، آثار شجاعت و دلاوری به نوعی به ظهور می رسانیدند که مزید بر آن متصور نباشد.

‘Qarāchīn Bahādur, who was appointed to protect Muḥammad [khān] Shaybanid and his brother Maḥmūd Sulṭān, had a strong faith in the auspicious power of the khan and his majesty’s ever-increasing fortune. Whenever the enemy mobilized for war, he confronted them, and he showed such unprecedented bravery.’

Here follow some interesting examples (298–301), in which alternative forms are used directly after each other. Most interesting is the first example, in which the subject *ahl-i hirāt* is marked with *rā* as a non-canonical subject of a copula-based expression of possession, while the verb is *dāshtan*.¹³⁰ These

¹²⁹ Note the use of *īshān* as a 3SG pronoun and *īshānān* as a 3PL pronoun in this example.

¹³⁰ *Ahl-i hirāt* is registered without *rā* in the critical edition of this work, but with no further indications in the footnote apparatus. See Mayel Heravi (1377/1998, p. 97).

examples, especially example (301), can indeed be considered as intermediary examples that illustrate the chronological path leading to the replacement of the copula-based expression of possession by the verb *dāshtan*.

(298) KB/MA: 19v

و اهل هرات را به اجداد عظامش اعتقاد تمام داشته اند.

‘The inhabitants of Herat had full faith in his great forefathers.

(299) MI/HN: f.16v–f.17r

حضرت آكام گفتند كه شما از فرزند من غافلید و پادشاه اید چه غم دارید و فرزندان دیگر نیز دارید مرا غم است كه فرزند بیگانه دارم.

‘Her Highness, my aunt, said: “You do not care about my child. Of course, Why should you worry (lit. do not have worries), you are the king and have other children too. I have to worry (lit. there are worries for me) who only have one child.”’

(300) KB/TRS: 7–8

مظفریان هفت تن اند... جد ایشان امیرغیاث الدین حاجیست و او از سجاوید خاف [سجاوید خواف] است پسه پسر داشت ابوبکر و محمد و منصور از ابوبکر و محمد نسل نماند و منصور را سه پسر بود.

‘The Muzaffarids are seven in number... their forefather is Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ḥājī and he is from Sajāvīd [Sajāvand] in Khāf. He had three sons, Abūbakr, Muḥammad, and Mansūr. Abūbakr and Muḥammad left no children behind, and Mānšūr had three sons (lit. there were ... for Mansūr).’

(301) KB/MA: 10r

و ایشانرا در اطراف و اکناف عالم مریدان وافی الاخلاص کافی الاختصاص بسیار اند و اکثر ایشان صیاحیب مقامات بلند و کرامات دلپسند اند.

‘And they have (lit. for them there are) many sincere and truthful followers throughout the world, and most of them are endowed with (lit. are the possessors of) eminent dignity and admirable miraculous powers.’

4.2.6 Impersonal constructions

According to Siewierska (2008, p. 116), impersonal constructions can be divided into two major groups based on structural or functional considerations. Whereas the former are subject-centered, the latter are agent-centered. The subject-centered impersonal constructions in New Persian are characterized by deviation from subject-verb agreement, clitic-marking of the formal subject, and dative-marking of the non-canonical subject. The agent-

centered impersonal constructions are characterized by the low referentiality of the subject, i.e. when the subject denotes a generic human or when the identity of the subject is not in focus, as well as agentless passive constructions.¹³¹

Among subject-centered impersonal constructions, in both MNP and the present corpus, mention should be made of modal impersonal constructions that are built up of a modal verb *tavānistān* ‘can, be able’, *shāyistān* ‘be possible, be worth’, and *bāyistān* ‘be necessary’ and a short or long infinitive. In such modal impersonal constructions, neither the modal verb nor the head verb agrees with an explicitly expressed subject. In fact, personal verb endings are totally absent, as in examples (302–305).

(302) MI/IQJ: 431v

در اثنای راه آبشار خوشی بنظر درآمد از اکثر آبشارهای کشمیر بهتر توان گفت.

‘In the middle of the road, they saw such a beautiful waterfall that one can say (can.IMPS say.INF2) it was much better than most of Kashmīr’s waterfalls.’

(303) KB/MaB (CE): 25

قبل از آنکه فلک غدار حادثه برانگیزد، رخت حیات را از ورطه خوف و هراس بر ساحل نجات می‌باید کشید.

‘One should take the horse of life out (mī-shall.IMPS take.out.INF2) of the whirlpool of fear and dread, and lead it to the shore of safety before perfidious destiny stirs up a disaster.’

(304) KB/TRS: 14

بباید دانست که جماعه سربداران اصل ایشان از موضع باشتین است

‘One should know (bi.shall.IMPS know.INF2) that the members of the Sarbidārān Order are originally from the village of Bashtīn.’

(305) MI/VB: f.5r

مرغنیان... قصبه خوبست انار و خوبانی او بسیار خوب میشود یک جنس انار میشود موسوم بدانکه کلان با وجود شیرینی از می‌خوشی هم چاشنی دارد بر انار سمنان تر جیح می‌توان کرد و یک جنین دیگر زردآلو می‌شود دانه او را برآورده بجای آن مغز بادام انداخته خشک می‌پسازند.

‘Marghniyān... is a nice township/village. Its pomegranate and apricot are very good. A kind of pomegranate grows there called *dāne kalān*, which is sweet with a touch of sour. One can prefer (mī-can.IMPS prefer.INF2) it to Simnān’s pomegranate. And a kind of apricot grows there which they pit, stuff with almond and then dry.’

¹³¹ See 4.2.7 passive verb forms.

Another common subject-centered impersonal construction in MNP is impersonal verbs with non-canonical subjects. In such constructions, the formal subject is marked with a pronominal clitic and the verb is invariably in the third person, for instance:

mā az ū kh'ush-imān mī-āy-ad
 We from her liking-PC.1PL *mī*-come.PRS-3SG
 ‘We like her.’

No instances of such impersonal verbs were found in these works. Either personal verb forms like *kh'ush kardan* ‘to like’ are used, as in examples (306) and (307), or verbs with *rā*-marked non-canonical subject, as in example (308). The absence of this type of impersonal verb in the present corpus might be due to the formal language of most of these works. At the same time, it raises the question of whether these impersonal verbs are a later innovation, and motivates further investigation of the subject.

(306) MI/VB: f.26r–f.26v

از همه خوردتر معصومه پهلطان بیگم بود... در وقتی که بخراسان رفتم او را دیده
خوش کردم خواستگاری کرده در کابل آورده گرفتم.

‘The youngest daughter was Ma‘suma Sultān Baygum... when I went to Khurāsān I saw her, liked her and asked for her hand. I had her brought to Kābul and married her.’

(307) MI/IQJ: 438r

اگر پدر زن پسر خود را خوش کرده بگیرد پسر در آن باب مضایقه نمی‌نماید.

‘If the father happened to desire to marry the wife of his son, the son will not refuse.’

(308) KB/MA: 12r

این سخن پادشاه را خوش آمد او را سبز و منور گردانیده...

‘These words pleased the king and made him fresh and bright.’

Among the agent-centered impersonal constructions with low referentiality, constructions with an active verb in 2SG or 3PL¹³² without an explicitly expressed personal pronoun can be mentioned. In such impersonal constructions, the referent of the subject is either a generic human or it is defocused and unimportant. These are common in modern variants of New

¹³² See also *mī-sāzand* in example (307) above.

Persian. Here follow examples of impersonal verbs in 3PL.¹³³ In all three examples (309–311), the identity of the referent is defocused and unimportant.

(309) ZaT1: 35v

یکی از اجداد ایشان بایندر نام داشت بآن اعتبار ایشانرا بایندری گویند.
'One of their forefathers was named Bāyandar. For that reason, they are called (Ø-call.PRS-3PL) Bāyandarids.'

(310) KB/MA: 7v

در حمام پیدا نیست... هر حلقه را که بکشند دری باز شود.
'The door of the bath is not visible... A door will open for each knocker that one draws (bi-draw.PRS-3PL).'

(311) MI/VB: f.8v

بحاصل ولایت فرغانه اگر عدل بکنند پسه چهار هزار کس می‌توان نگاه داشت.
'With the income of Firghāna province, if justly managed (bi-manage.PRS-3PL), three to four thousand men will be possible to maintain.

4.2.7 Passive

The passive verb form in MNP is usually made up of a past participle together with a form of the auxiliary verb *shudan*¹³⁴. Passive verb forms occur infrequently in the studied works. The main auxiliary verb of passive verb forms in the present corpus is *shudan* (312) and (313). Instances of passive with other auxiliary verbs as in early CNP are also found (314), but these are infrequent.

(312) MI/VB: 14v

جون این قدر تقریب شد از احوال خانان هم بطریق اجمال اندکی ذکر کرده شود.
'Since there is a chance here, a brief mention of the khans will also be given.'

(313) MI/IQJ: 431v¹³⁵

درین دو منزل شکوفه‌زارهای خوب سیر کرده شد.
'At these two places [for the royal camp], the fresh sight of gardens in bloom was seen and enjoyed [by his majesty].'

¹³³ For an example of impersonal use of verb in 2SG, see example (272).

¹³⁴ As is known, in early CNP, *shudan* was used as a verb of motion, meaning 'to go'. In MNP, it is used either as a copula verb, meaning 'to become' or as an auxiliary verb of passive constructions.

¹³⁵ Compare this with example (240).

(314) MI/IQJ: 431v

در کتب طبی خصوص ذخیره خوارزمشاهی نبشت افتاده که زعفران خنده می‌آرد.
'In the medical encyclopedia of *Zakhīra-yi Kh'ārazmshāhī*, it is written that saffron triggers laughter.'

4.2.8 Progressive

The progressive verb form with *dāshstan* 'to have' is a recent innovation in MNP. According to scholars, the grammaticalization of *dāshstan* as an auxiliary verb to build past and present progressive verb forms must have been completed in the early 20th century (Naghzguye Kohan 1378/2009, p. 9). Both Dari and Tajik build progressive forms with the help of the past participle and other auxiliary verbs than *dāshstan*. No instances were found in the studied works of the progressive verb form of the Persian type with *dāshstan*, or of the Dari or Tajik type using conjunct verb constructions with *raftan* 'go' and *īstoda* 'standing' (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 534; Yamin 1393/2014, p. 111). Ongoing events in the present or past are referred to with the *mī*-prefixed present or the past imperfective respectively.

4.2.9 Simple and non-simple verbs¹³⁶

Verbs in New Persian can be divided into two major groups of simple and non-simple verbs. Simple verbs are made up of a single word like *raftan* 'to go', whereas non-simple verbs are made up of a non-verbal component and a verbal component. However, the definition of non-simple verbs in Persian is not so clear-cut, and the terminology used is not entirely consistent.¹³⁷ As for the present study, I employ the term non-simple verbs¹³⁸ as an umbrella term for three types of verbs in Persian: preverbal verbs¹³⁹, nominal verbs,¹⁴⁰ and phrasal verbs.¹⁴¹ Preverbal verbs are verbs made up of a preverb and a verb,¹⁴² like *در رفتن* 'to run away' and nominal verbs are verbs made up of a nominal

¹³⁶ In Persian *fi 'lhā-yi basīt va fi 'lhā-yi ghiyr-i basīt*

¹³⁷ For a very useful and detailed account of inconsistencies in the definition of, and terminology used for, non-simple verbs, see Behnamfar, M. and Ebrahimzadeh, M. K. (1397/2018).

¹³⁸ Also called "Complex predicates", "Compound verbs", and "Periphrastic verbs" by scholars.

¹³⁹ Also called prefixed verbs, equivalent to the Persian term: *fi 'lhā-yi pishvandī*.

¹⁴⁰ I am aware that "nominal verbs" is not an optimal term.

¹⁴¹ In Persian *fi 'lhā-yi 'ibāratī or 'ibārathā-yi fi 'lī*.

¹⁴² It should be noted that verbs in preverbal verbs are not semantically bleached light verbs. The semantic value in preverbal verbs is carried by the verb.

element (noun/adjective/adverb) and a light verb,¹⁴³ like *kār kardan* ‘to work’. Phrasal verbs are verbs made up of at least three components, a preposition, a nominal element, and a verb like *bi sar burden* ‘spend’.

The number of simple verbs and preverbal verbs in New Persian has been continuously decreasing over time. In modern variants of New Persian, there are now only a few hundred simple verbs, and the preverbal verbs are even fewer in number. The frequency of such verbs in the present corpus is higher than in modern variants of New Persian, but the same trend toward reduction can be observed. The most common light verbs used to constitute nominal verbs are *shudan/gashtan* ‘to become’; *kardan/nimūdan/sākhtan/gardāndan/farmūdan/āvardan* ‘to do’; *dāshtan* ‘to have/to hold/to do’; *zadan* ‘to strike/to hit’; *khurdan* ‘to make/to be hit’. Phrasal verbs also occur, but not so frequently. Examples of phrasal verbs include *bi dast āvardan* ‘seize/to capture’ and *az dast dādan* ‘to lose’.

In a study of preverbal verbs in the New Persian prose of the 10th–11th centuries, Rezayati Kishekhaleh and Dayyan (2010, pp. 46–7) recognize 547 variants of such verbs made up of a verb and one of the following 15 preverbs: *bi, bā, bāz, bar, andar, dar, fā, far, farā, farāz, forū, forūd, vā, vāz, var*. However, they maintain that *bar, bāz, andar, dar, farā, forū, forūd*, and *vā* are the most frequently occurring preverbs in their studied texts. They also maintain that most of their 15 recognized preverbs have become obsolete in MNP, while those that do remain have a more limited scope of application. Windfuhr and Perry (2009, p. 448) also mention *bar, bāz, dar, farā, forū*, and *vā* as the most frequently occurring preverbs in Persian and Tajik.

The results from the present study are very much in accordance with Rezayati Kishekhaleh and Dayyan’s results regarding the reduction in the number of the preverbs and the limitation of the scope of their application in MNP. The most frequently occurring preverbs in the studied works are also *bar, bāz, andar, dar, farā, forū, forūd*, and *vā*. A number of commonly occurring preverbal and phrasal verbs in the studied works are *bāz dāshtan* ‘to stop/to hinder’, *bar dāshtan* ‘to pick up/to take’, *bar āmadan* ‘to rise/to arise’, *bar tāftan* ‘to turn away’, *bar bastan* ‘to shut or fasten’, *bar gushādan* ‘to open’, *bar afrākhtan/bar afrāshtan* ‘to raise’, *bar andākhtan* ‘to throw out or down’, *forū burdan* ‘to plunge’, *forū giriftan* ‘to seize’, *forūd āmadan* ‘to alight’, *dar uftādan* ‘to quarrel’, *dar kishīdan* ‘to draw in’, *dar yāftan* ‘to meet/to welcome’, *dar pūshīdan* ‘to wear clothes’, *vā nimūdan* ‘to demonstrate’, *vā pardākhtan* ‘to let go/to drop’, *bar pā kardan* ‘to raise/to set up’, *bar pā sākhtan* ‘to raise/to set up’, and *az pāy dar andākhtan* ‘to overthrow’.

¹⁴³ Also called “weak verbs” or “dummy verbs” in English and hamkard in Persian. Light verbs do not bear the main semantic value in a nominal verb.

With a few exceptions where the verbal prefixes *na-* and *mī-* are attached to the preverb (315–317), the verbal prefixes precede the core of the verb, for instance, بر نمی آیند. Attaching the verbal prefixes to the preverb does not occur in MNP. It is more common in Tajik, in which, according to Windfuhr and Perry (2009, p. 448), the preverbs *bar*, *dar*, *forū*, and *forūd* have become an inseparable part of the stem of the most common verbs of motion, and are normally preceded by the verbal prefixes *na-* and *mī-*.

(315) MI/VB: f.25r

گاهی بشراب خوردن می افتاد تا بیست سی روز می خورد و چون از شراب می پر آمد هم تا بیست پی روز نمی خورد.

‘Once he started drinking, he drank continually for twenty or thirty days, but when he stopped, he did not drink again for another twenty or thirty days.’

(316) MI/VB: f.3v

در ماوراء النهر غیر سمرقند و کیش هیچ قلعه بکلانی قلعه اندجان نیست و پسه دروازه دارد و ارگ بطرف جنوب شهر واقع شده نه جوی آب در قلعه می در آید و این عجیبست که همه از یکجا هم بر نمی آیند.¹⁴⁴

‘In all of Transoxiana, after the Samarqand and Kīsh fortresses, there is no larger fortress than the Andijān. It has three gates and the citadel is located on the south side. Nine water channels enter it. And amazingly, they do not all come out from one place.’

(317) KB/MaB (CE): 45

بمکن که آن شاهزاده خردسال است از عهده قلعه داری نه می آید.

‘Possibly, that very young prince will not be able to command the fort.’

4.2.10 Causative verbs

Derived causative verbs are usually made up of the present stem of transitive or intransitive verbs and the suffixes *-ānd/-ānīd*, as in *gardāndan/gardānīdan* ‘to turn’. They are very productive in Tajik, but not in Persian (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, p. 448). Causative verbs are frequently used in the studied works. In this respect, the studied works are more in accordance with Tajik than Persian. It is also worth noting that most causative verbs in the studied works are made up of the present stem and the suffix *-ānīd*, contrary to MNP, which uses the suffix *-ānd*. Verbs like *gardānīdan* ‘to turn, to rotate’, *tarsānīdan* ‘to frighten’, *resānīdan* ‘to drive, to bring’, *khurānīdan* ‘to feed’, *nishānīdan* ‘to

¹⁴⁴ The preverb بر is added to the original text in a different hand than the main hand in the text. Thackston (1993, p. 2) has registered it as نمی بر آیند.

cause to sit’, *chishānīdan* ‘to cause to taste’, *kh’ābānīdan* ‘to put to sleep’, *pūshānīdan* ‘to cover’, *guzarānīdan* ‘to cause to pass’, *davānīdan* ‘to cause to run’, *parānīdan* ‘to cause to fly’, *rahānīdan* ‘to release, to liberate’, *kūchānīdan* ‘to cause to march on’, *burānīdan* ‘to cause to cut’, *gūyānīdan* ‘to call/to name’, and *gurīzānīdan* ‘to put to flight, to cause to escape’ are a few examples of such verbs. A very interesting causative verb in HN is the verb *zānu zanānīdan* in example (318):

(318) MI/HN: 18v

هر دو عمه به دالان بردند صفا داده و بساطها انداخته ساعت را ملاحظه کرده نچه ماهم
هر دو سلطانان را زانو زانانیده به دامادی سرافراز بکنند.

‘Both aunts were conducted into the hall. Having raised an estrade and spread carpets and chosen a propitious hour, Māham’s *nanacha* made both sultans kneel in order to exalt them to the rank of sons-in-law.’

Here follows one example from each of the other two regions:

(319) SI/ZaT2: 157

یوسفی ملحد را پادشاه کردند و بعد از سه روز بقتل رسانیدند.

‘They proclaimed a heretical man named Yūsof king and murdered him after three days.’

(320) KB/MaT (CE): 260–61

روز دوشنبه پانزدهم شهر صفر [غایب نظری دیوان بیگی] آمده، حضرت را کرنش
کرده، یک طقوز قزلباش همراه تحفه های دیگر از نظر انور [همایون] گذرانید.

‘On Monday, the fifteenth of Šafar, Ghāyib Naẓar Bī Dīvān-baygī came, bowed before His Majesty, and presented for the splendid sight of His Majesty a group of nine captured Qizilbāsh and some other gifts.’

Non-derived verbs are also used causatively, (321) and (322), but they occur very infrequently. There seem to be traces of this feature in CNP texts before the 16th century. I have found a few such instances. Non-derived verb forms are rarely used causatively in both Persian and Tajik.

(321) KB/MaT (CE): 235

از شمول مرحمت حضرت امیدوارم که گناه این بنده را به دامن اغماض پوشند.

‘My hope now lies with His Majesty, that out of mercy he will ignore (lit. cover my sins under the skirt of neglect) my sins.’

(322) KB/TRS: 52

لسان الغیب... روزی شراب ناب می نوشید و قامت شاهد حقیقت را در پرده لباس مجاز
می پوشید.

‘Lisān al-Ghayb... was drinking pure wine one day, and put the clothes of metaphor on the beauty of truth.’

In the same work, i.e. AaT, the verb *sūxtan* ‘to burn’ is used causatively/transitively once in its non-derived form and once in its derived form in two almost identical sentences, as in examples (323) and (324). Yamin (1393/2014, p. 104) mentions it as a verb that is still used both transitively and intransitively in Dari. In MNP, *sūxtan* is only used intransitively. The transitive/causative action is expressed with the form *sūzāndan*.

(323) SI/AaT: 24r

بعد از آن سر او را با جسد وصل کرده بسوختند.

‘Then, they put his head together with his body and burned it.’

(324) SI/AaT: 25r

جسد او را بیرون آورده سوزانیدند.

‘They took out his body and burned it.’

4.2.11 Person and number agreement

The person and number agreement in the studied works is almost identical with MNP. However, there are a few instances of animate plural subjects (325) and personified inanimate plural subjects in agentive position (326) that are followed by singular verbs.¹⁴⁵ MNP prefers plural verbs in such cases.¹⁴⁶

(325) KB/MaB (CE): 46

برندوق خان مصلحت چنان دید که دو دختر خود را که در پرده عصمت پرورش یافته
بود، یکی به حباله نکاح محمود سلطان شیبانی و دیگری را به محمد تیمور سلطان عقد
کرده، سپارید.

‘Barandūq Khān regarded it as advisable to give his two daughters, who were brought up (bring.up.PP AUX-PST.3SG) in chastity, to Maḥmūd Sulṭān Shaybānīd and Muḥammad Tīmūr Sulṭān respectively, to be their wives.’

¹⁴⁵ Seddiqian (1383/2004, pp. 44–5) presents similar examples from early CNP texts.

¹⁴⁶ See Hashabeiky (2007).

(326) KB/MaT (CE): 244

و از آثار هوای روح افزا، اشجار قبابی بقا و خلعت حیات پوشید.
'And because of the life-prolonging weather, the trees donned
(don.PST.3SG) the clothes of survival and the mantles of life.'

In the above example, the trees have been personified and are described as entities that actively put on clothing.

5 Syntactic structures

5.1 Coordination

Clauses in Persian are usually coordinated through the use of simple and compound coordinating conjunctions like و (*va*), ولی (*valī*), اما (*ammā*), لیکن (*līkin*) بلکه (*balki*), هم...هم (*ham...ham*), نه...نه (*na ...na*) and so on. Persian also takes advantage of juxtaposition with finite verbs or with medial clauses on a limited scale. The coordination in the present corpus is very much similar to that of MNP, the only exception being the use and frequency of participial clauses in clause-chaining structures.

5.1.1 Participial clauses¹⁴⁷ and clause-chaining structures

The core of Persian participial clauses is the non-finite verb form, called the past participle. The past participle in Persian functions as either an adjective,¹⁴⁸ an adverbial,¹⁴⁹ or a medial verb¹⁵⁰ in clause-chaining structures to link two or more participial clauses. These coordinating participial clauses are also called medial clauses. In such medial clauses, all but the final verb form are surfaced as past participles¹⁵¹ (Lazard 1992, 169–70, 216; Windfuhr 1979: 74–5).

Below is an interesting example (327) that illustrates the multiple functions of the past participle. It includes four past participles with three different functions. The first one, *dil bar karam-i yazdān giraw karda*, is an embedded adverbial clause/converb; the second one, *nihāda*, stands for the finite last verb; the third one, *sipāh-i balkhī u bukhārī hama yik-dil shuda*, is also an embedded adverbial clause/converb; and the fourth one, *dast dar fītrāk-i rakhsh-marākīb-i tīz-ravān-i ān ḥazrat zada*, is a medial clause in a clause-chaining structure.

¹⁴⁷ *'ibārat-i vaṣfī*

¹⁴⁸ *ṣīfat-i maf'ūlī*

¹⁴⁹ Also called converb.

¹⁵⁰ *fi 'l-i vaṣfī or vajh-i vaṣfī*

¹⁵¹ Lazard (1992, p. 169) uses the term *gerund* for this use of past participles in Persian.

(327) KB/MaT (CE): 223

دل بر کرم یزدان گرو کرده، از بخارا روی به جانب کرمنه نهاده. سپاه بلخی و بخاری همه یکدل شده، دست در فتراک رخش مراکب تیزروان آن حضرت زده، رو به جانب اعدا آوردند.

‘Trusting (trust.PP) in God’s benevolence, [His Majesty] set off (set off.PP) from Bukhara towards Karmīna. Having been united (unite.PP), the Balkhī and Bukhārī armies followed (follow.PP) the swift horse of His Majesty, and set off (set off.PST-3PL) towards the enemy.’

According to Bahar (1369/1990b, p. 256), medial clauses rarely appear in early CNP. The few occurrences of medial clauses in early CNP texts, such as in *Kalīla va Dimna* by Abū al-Mu‘ālī from the 12th century, may, according to him be influenced from the later scribes of these works. Bahar (ibid., p. 255) briefly mentions the use of medial clauses in the prose of the 15th–17th centuries, especially clauses with non-identical subjects, as one of the many signs of the decay of Persian prose that had begun in the Timurid period.

This type of clause-chaining structure is very common in Tajik, but relatively marginal in contemporary Persian. It was more common in earlier MNP texts up to the 1980s. In fact, in recent editorial manuals, juxtaposition with finite verbs is recommended, and authors are advised against using medial clauses as far as possible. If authors employ medial clauses, they are strongly advised against using medial clauses with non-identical subjects; using more than one or two medial clauses in a sentence; and using the conjunction *va* between the last medial clause and the final finite verb (Nikubakht 1398/2019, pp. 67–8; Zolfaghari 1390/2011, pp. 241–3). Natel Khanlari (1363/1984, p. 338) considers the use of conjunction *va* between the last medial clause and the final finite verb in MNP as an “incorrect form” and a result of carelessness.

Medial clauses occur frequently in all the studied works. Using more than two medial clauses in a sentence is very common in these works (328–331). This might be due to the rhymed prose style of most of the works with long and complex sentences in which repeated elements are omitted.

(328) SI/TAA: 42

خاقان سلیمان شأن... آن نعش مطهر را از آن مکان بیرون آورده به دار الارشاد اردبیل نقل نموده در جنب مراقد منوره متبرکه اجداد بزرگوار دفن نمودند.

‘The Solomonic emperor exhumed (exhume.PP) the holy body of [Hiydar], moved it (move.PP) to Ardabīl, the dome of the right way, and reinterred (reinter.PST-3PL) it alongside the blessed and illuminated tombs of his ancestors.’

(329) SI/AaT: 5v

بعد از واقعه‌ی هایله سلطانعلی پادشاه و الدهاش علمشاه بیگم جسد مبارکش باستانه مقدسه آورده بتعزیه و سوکواری فرزند دلیند اشتعال داشته گریبان شکیبائی را بدست جزع و فزع پاره کرده خاک عدم اصطبار بر فرق سکون و قرار می‌افشاند.

‘After that horrible incident for Sultān ‘ali Pādshāh, his mother ‘Alamshāh Baygum brought (bring.PP) his blessed body to the holy shrine, mourning (mourn.PP) her beloved son, she tore (tear.PP) the breast of patience with the hand of crying and lamentation, [and] sprinkled (mī.sprinkle.PRS-3SG) the dust of impatience on the head of calm and patience.’

(330) SI/TAA: 42

خاقان سلیمان شأن... آن نعش مطهر را از آن مکان بیرون آورده به دار الارشاد اردبیل نقل نموده در جنب مراقد منوره متبرکه اجداد بزرگوار دفن نمودند.

‘The Solomonic emperor exhumed (exhume.PP) the holy body of [Hiydar], moved it (move.PP) to Ardabīl, the dome of the right way, and reinterred (reinter.PST-3PL) it alongside the blessed and illuminated tombs of his ancestors.’

(331) MI/HN: f.20v

حضرت همایون پادشاه بتخت نشستند ... بعد ازان بدیدن مادران و خواهران و مردم خود آمده پرسش و دلداری داده نوازش و غمخواریها فرمودند.

‘His excellency Humāyūn Pādshāh ascended the throne... After that, he came (come.PP) to see the mothers and sisters, as well as his men. He inquired (inquire.PP) after their health and consoled (console.PST-3PL) them.’

(332) MI/VB: f.18r

بعد از یکدو پسال در وقتی که ابراهیم بیگچاک نواحی اوپش را تاخته بود خدابیردی تیمورتاش از عقب او رفته باو جنگ کرده شکست خورده شهید شد.

‘A year or two later when Ibrāhīm Baygchāk¹⁵² was raiding the vicinity of Ūsh, Khudābīrdī Tīmūrtāsh went (go.PP) out in pursuit, fought (fight.PP), was defeated (defeat.PP) and killed (kill.PST.3SG).’

Clause-chaining structures with non-identical subjects (332) and with the conjunction *va* (333) also occur, though very infrequently.

¹⁵² Listed as Begchik by Thackston (1993, p. 25).

(333) SI/ZaT1: 44v-45r

و اینجمع [امرای شاملو] او را تعاقب نموده در در دولتخانه مابین ایشان جنگ شده حسینخان کشته شد و تکلو جمعیت کرده مابین ایشان جنگها شد.

‘**This group** [the amirs of the Shāmlū tribe] followed (follow.PP) him. A fight broke out (break out.PP) between **them** at Dawlatkhāna, and **Husayn Khān** was killed. The men of the Takkalū tribe got together (get together.PP) and a long and intensive battle broke out (break out.PST.3SG) between **them**.’

(334) KB/MaT (CE): 225

طایفه‌ای از دلاوران ... به لشکر اعدا رسیده، توسن منازعت در جلوه آورده، بر صف اعدا تاخت آورده، و به هر حمله مبارزی بر خاک هلاک انداختند.

‘A group of warriors . . . reached (reach.PP) the army of the enemy, let the horse of enmity enter (enter.PP) the scene and attacked (attack.PP) the army of the enemy, **and** with each blow brought (bring.PST-3PL) one of them down to the soil of annihilation.’

In juxtapositions, the non-finite past participle has also been used as the finite verb, as in example (334).¹⁵³ In this example, the final verb *gardāde* is used as equivalent to a preterite final verb. Using the past participle as the final verb of a sentence is confined neither to this example nor to this work. It is not clear whether it is a deliberate stylistic feature or just a result of the scribe’s carelessness. It should be noted that using the past participle as a finite verb is different from ellipsis, where the auxiliary *ast* in the third person singular present perfect is normally omitted, as in example (335).

(335) KB/MaT (CE): 222

چون صفت عفت‌پناه از کور اوتارجی خان ارگنجی شنید، به خواستگاری کس فرموده، بر طریقه عفت داماد گردیده.

‘When the khan of Urganj heard (hear.PST.3SG) from Kūrr Ūtārjī about the beauty of that virtuous maiden, he sent (send-PP) someone to woo her and compelled (compel.PP) her to marry.’

(336) KB/MaT (CE): 289

جمع قورمه عریضه به درگاه والجاه روان کردند که: ما بندگان بغیر از حضرت سلطنت‌نشان، توره دیگر نمی‌خواهیم و این فتنه بلیغ به سعی محمود اتالیق شده.

‘The group from the *Qūrma* sent a message to the royal court [saying]: “We servants do not want any *tūra* other than that of His Majesty, and this full-scale riot was started (start.PP.AUX.PRS.3SG) at Maḥmūd Atālīq’s instigation.”’

¹⁵³ See also example (327).

5.2 Subordination

Subordinate clauses can functionally be divided into three major categories: (1) attributive clauses, (2) adverbial clauses, and (3) object and subject complement clauses. Except for attributive relative clauses and adverbial clauses of condition or conditional clauses, subordinate clauses in the studied works do not exhibit any significant differences from modern variants of New Persian. The most common conjunction for all subordinate clauses except conditional clauses is *که* (*ki*), which has several meanings and functions. Example (336) illustrates some of the multiple functions of *که*.¹⁵⁴

(337) MI/HN: f.18r

حضرة پادشاه بابام ... می پرسیدند *که* هندال میرزا چه مقدار شده و به *که* مانند است چون میربردی بیگ جامه میرزا پوشیده بود نمود *که* این جامه شاهزاده است *که* به بنده عنایت فرموده اند حضرت بیشتر طلبیدند *که* به بینم قد و قامت هندال چه مقدار شده است و هر زمان و هر ساعت می گفتند *که* هزار دریغ *که* هندال را ندیدم هر کسی *که* می آمد می پرسیدند که هندال کی خواهد آمد.

‘His majesty, my father... asked: (*ki.colon*) “How much has Hindāl Mīrzā grown and who (*ki.who*) is he like?” As Mīr Bardī was wearing one of the Mīrzā’s dresses, he shows it **saying: (*ki.speech verb.colon*)** “This is a robe of the prince which (*ki.which*) he bestowed on his servant.” His Majesty called him nearer and **said: (*ki.speech verb.colon*)** “Let me see how tall and how big Hindāl has grown.” And all the time and every hour he said: (*ki.colon*) “Ah! Alas, that (*ki.that*) I have not seen Hindāl.” And whoever (*ki.who*) came in there, he asked him: (*ki.colon*) “When will Hindāl come?”’

As can be seen in the example above, *ki* is used as *who*, *which*, *that*, and the *colon* introduces direct speech with or without an explicit speech verb. In fact, it stands for not only the colon but also the speech verb. Here is another instance of *ki* introducing direct speech without an explicit speech verb:

(338) MI/HN: f.31v–f.32r

خواص خان و پسر خود را فرستاد *که* بروید و گرهی را مضبوط بکنید.
‘He dispatched Khavāṣ Khān and his son and **commanded** them: (*ki.speech verb.colon*) “Go and occupy Garahī!”’

¹⁵⁴ For more examples of the multiple function of *ki* see: *ki* as *who* (33, 41, 76, 85, 146, 325), *ki* as *when* (132, 135, 180), *ki* as *that* (25, 30, 41, 47, 53, 61, 352), *ki* as *which* (22, 24, 32), *ki* as *where* (83, 124, 248) and *ki* as *colon* in direct speech (35, 54, 65, 74, 78, 137, 198, 200, 289, 299, 335, 336, 353, 361, 362, 383).

For obvious reasons, the use of *ki* as *colon* has disappeared from written Persian, whereas *ki* as the verb of speech+colon is still in use in colloquial Persian.¹⁵⁵ It is worth mentioning that the use of *ki* as *colon* should not be mistaken for the optional *ki* in indirect speech with identical third person singular subjects in both the main and the subordinate clause. The optional *ki* in such indirect speech cannot be replaced by a colon, whereas the *ki* as a *colon* in direct speech can only be replaced by a colon. This *ki* is neither optional nor can it be translated into English as *that*.

5.2.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are modifying clauses that provide some information about the antecedent they modify. They are usually divided into non-restrictive (descriptive/appositional/parenthetical) and restrictive relative clauses. While the information that restrictive relative clauses provide is essential and cannot be removed, the information provided by non-restrictive clauses is usually considered non-essential, and can be removed without affecting the semantic functionality of the utterance. Restrictive relative clauses “modify a nominal whose semantic function consists in establishing a set of entities referred to as the domain of relativization [...] The RC identifies a certain subset of this domain.” (Nikolaeva 2006, p. 501). Here, the focus will be on restrictive relative clauses and the marking of the antecedent. However, it is worth noting that the information provided by descriptive relative clauses in historiographical works of this kind cannot categorically be considered non-essential. This explains the high frequency of non-restrictive clauses in the studied works.

Marking the antecedent of restrictive relative clauses with the link *-ī*¹⁵⁶ before *ki* is almost obligatory in MNP. Exceptions to this rule include relative clauses in which the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun like هرچه (whatever), هرکس\هرکه (whoever), آنچه (what), or demonstrative pronouns like این\این (this/that). In a diachronic study of restrictive relative clauses in the New Persian of the 10th–20th centuries, Jahani (2000, p. 49) observes an increase in the frequency of marked antecedents from the 16th century to the 20th century.

The marking of the antecedent of restrictive relative clauses with the link *-ī* in the present corpus commonly follows the MNP pattern. Instances of non-marked antecedents are found, but their frequency is very low, and they occur mostly in indefinite restrictive relative clauses in which the antecedent is

¹⁵⁵ For instance, *ūmad ʔaraf-i man ki “bā mādar-am chikār dāri”* ‘He came towards me asking: “What do you want from my mother?”’

¹⁵⁶ In Persian *yā-yi mawṣulī*.

preceded by *har* (341–343). This can be observed even with relative clauses in the examples presented in other parts of this study.

(339) SI/ZaT2: 98

حضرت شیخ صدر الدین فرمودند که اسیرانی که از روم با خود آورده بمن بخش.
'His Holiness told him: "Give me the captives you have brought from Rome!"'

(340) SI/AaT: 14r

هر مرغ تیری که از دست روشن‌ضمیری در پرواز آمد دری در فضای سینه امیری بگشود.
'Every single arrow that flew into the air, shot by the hand of an enlightened mind, opened a door in the breast of an amir.'

(341) MI/HN: f.18r

هر کسی که می‌آمد می‌پرسیدند که هندال کی خواهد آمد.
'Whoever came in there, he asked: "When will Hindāl come?"'

(342) MI/IQJ: 442v–443r

هر فیل که دران لشکر بود چه از خاصه عادلخان و چه از سرداران او همه را دستگیر ساخته...
'He captured every elephant-rider who was in that elephantry, from the noble 'Ādel khan to his commanders,...'

(343) KB/MA: 7v

در حمام پیدا نیست... هر حلقه را که بکشند دری باز شود.
'The door of the bath is not visible... A door will open for each knocker that one draws.'

The above relative clause occurs three times on the same page, twice with unmarked antecedents and once marked with the link *-r* as هر حلقه را که بکشند.

(344) KB/MaT (CE): 228

هر آفریده که از روی صدق و راستی قدم بر جاده خدمت‌کاری و طریقه چاکری و فرمان‌برداری پدر، ثابت و راسخ بود، روز به روز بر مدارج دولت و معارج سلطنت ترقی فرماید.
'Every creature who is honest and loyal, who firmly and steadily maintains the path of service, obedience, and deference to his father, will advance in power and come closer to the throne with each passing day.'

Here follows the statistical table for the marked and unmarked restrictive relative clauses:

Table. 15 Restrictive relative clauses

	<i>With the link -ī</i>	<i>Without the link -ī</i>	TOTAL
SI	10	0	10
MI	13	0	13
KB	10	3	13
TOTAL	33	3	36

Descriptive relative clauses

The frequency of descriptive relative clauses is relatively high in the present corpus. They are very often used to present important information about people and events. In example (344), for instance, both the reason behind Sulṭān Hiydar's dissatisfaction with Sulṭān Ya'qūb and the fact of their kinship are important information for the context. In example (345), the position of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Mīrzay Dūrmān, who kills the sultan, is also an important piece of information for the context.

(345) SI/TAA: 39

سلطان حیدر را که اجراء مئویات غزا بر طبیعت غالب بود سلوک سلطان یعقوب را که پسر خال آن حضرت بود بر وفق دلخواه مشاهده مینمود [نمینمود].

'Sulṭān Hiydar, whose thoughts were dominated by the desire for the rewards of raids against the infidel, did not consider the conduct of Sulṭān Ya'qūb, who was his cousin, to be everything that he could wish for.'

(346) KB/MaB: 207

[سلطان] به تاریخ ماه شعبان سنه ثلاث و تسعين و تسعمائة به زخم کارد عبدالرحيم ميرزای دورمان که یکی از مخصوصان و محرمان آن درگاه بود مجروح گشته، رخت سفر آخرت بر بست.

'In Sha'bān of the year nine hundred ninety-three, he [the sultan] was stabbed by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Mīrzay Dūrmān, who was among the intimate and trusted servants at his majesty's court, and moved to the invisible world.'

5.2.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses in New Persian are normally introduced by *agar* (if), *hargāh* (when, if), or *chunānchi* (in case of, if),¹⁵⁷ and they fall within three major categories of factual or real, counterfactual, and potential conditional

¹⁵⁷ An exception to this rule is conditional clauses without a conjunction in colloquial Persian.

clauses (Windfuhr and Perry 2009, 520). Lazard even mentions rhetorical conditional clauses containing no hypothesis (Lazard 1992, p. 252). Conditional clauses in the present corpus are almost exclusively introduced by *agar*. Few instances of clauses introduced by *hargāh* are also found. The most frequently occurring conditional clauses are potential conditional clauses of the type whose equivalents in Persian usually require a present subjunctive in the *agar* clause, followed by a present indicative in the main clause. In Tajik, both verbs are usually unmarked (Windfuhr and Perry, *ibid.*). In this respect, the present corpus shows more similarity to Tajik than Persian. Although potential conditional clauses with *bi*-prefixed verbs are also found, as in (347), (350), (354), and (357), the verbal prefixes *bi*- and *mī*- are absent from most potential conditional clauses in the present corpus. Periphrastic futures – made up of the auxiliary verb *kh'āstan* and the short infinitive of the main verb – also occur in the main clause, as in (347), (350) and (353), although infrequently.

(347) SI/AaT: 23r

شیروانشاه گفت اگر او بدینحدود آید آنچه پیدر او رسید بدو رسد.

‘If he comes to these dominions, he will meet the same destiny as his father did.’

(348) SI/AaT: 13v

ابولمحسن میرزا ... کس بنزد پدر فرستاده معروض داشت که اگر آنحضرت جرایم بنده را ببخشند و بطرف هرات روانه شود از سر قدم ساخته بخاکبوسی درگاه گیتی پناه خواهم آمد.

‘Abū'l-Muḥsin Mīrzā... sent a messenger to his father saying: “If His Majesty forgives my sins and sets out towards Herat, I will obediently come to kiss the dust of the court of His Majesty, the world-protector.

(349) SI/TAA: 13

اگر عمر وفا کند در مجلد ثالث تسوید یابد.

‘If I live long enough, these will be written in a third volume.’

(350) SI/ZaT1: 56v¹⁵⁸

اگر قزلباش بر سر شیروان آید عادلگرای خان تاتار بکومک ایشان آید.

‘If [when] the Qizilbāsh army reaches Shīrvān, [then] the Tartar ‘Ādelgarāy Khān will come to their help.’

¹⁵⁸ The sentence is exactly the same in ZaT2: 137–8.

(351) MI/VB: f.22r

اگر این خدمت در عهده من بکنید بهتر و آسان‌تر فیصل خواهد یافت.
'If you entrust this service to me, it will be executed better and more easily.'

(352) MI/HN: f.3r–f.3v

اگر خانزاده بیگم خواهر خود را بمن نسبت کنید میان ما و شما صلح شود.
'If [when] you let me marry your sister, Khānzāda Baygum, [then] there will be peace between us.'

(353) MI/IQJ: 431v

در کتب طبّی خصوص ذخیره خوارزمشاهی نیشفت افتاده که زعفران خنده می‌آورد و اگر بیشتر خورده شود انقدر خنده کند که بیم هلاک باشد.
'In the medical encyclopedia of *Zakhīra-yi Kh'ārazmshāhī*, it is written that saffron triggers laughter, and if one takes too much of it, he will laugh so much that he will die.'

(354) MI/PN: 528

عادلخان بقلعه‌دار مذکور پیغام داد که هرگاه لشکر پادشاهی این قلعه مسخر سازد جان و مال تو در معرض تلف خواهد بود اگر آنرا بتصرف من واگذاری مبلغی کرماند بتو میرسانم.
'Ādelkhān sent a message to the aforementioned governor of the fort, saying: "When (if) the royal army captures this fort, [then] your life and your properties will be on the brink of annihilation. If you leave it under my power, I will give you a generous sum of money."

(355) KB/MA: 7v

و اگر غیر حمامی کسی از پیش خود یکی ازین هفت در را بگشاید خود را در جامه‌خانه اول ببندد.
'And if anyone other than the bath attendant opens one of these seven doors, he will find himself in the first changing room.'

(356) KB/MaB (CE): 26

تیغ خارا شکاف محمد خان شیبانی اگر بر فرق سر آید، از کمر شکست آرد.
'If Muḥammad Khān Shaybanid's stone-splitting arrow lands on one's head, it will split him from the waist.'

(357) KB/MaT (CE): 269

اگر حضرت به زلال الطاف خسروانه، دفاتر زلات این بیچاره را به آب عفو فرو شویند...، بنده بر آستان عالمپناه رفته، دیده رمدیده را از خاک بارگاه سپهر اشتباه جلا دهم.
'If [when] His Majesty lets the pure water of the fountain of his benevolence and forgiveness clean the book of my errors, ... [then]

I will turn towards the court of His Majesty, the world protector, and let my sore eyes be cured by the dust of the heavenly court.’

(358) KB/MaT (CE): 268

اما محمودی بار دیگر عریضه‌ای به درگاه والجاه نوشت که: اگر محمدجان اتالیق و محمدسعید خواجه نقیب بیایند، بنده را بعضی سخنها هست.

But Maḥmūd Bī wrote another letter to His Majesty of heaven-like power, as follows: “If Muḥammad Jān Atālīq and Muḥammad Sa‘id come to me, I have som words to say.”

(359) KB/TRS: 234

اگر شاهد ظفر در آئینه مطلب روی نماید در جمیع مهمات دولت و در کل امور سلطنت از احکام شریعت تجاوز ننمایم و تمامی کارها را بر وجه شرع و فتوی اجرا گردانم.
‘If the idol of victory shows her face in the mirror of my desire, I will not break the rules of Sharia in all affairs of the state and the reign, and I will take care of them in accordance with Sharia and *fatwa*.’

Counterfactual conditional clauses in MNP have either past perfect or imperfective past in both the *agar* clause and the main clause. Some manuscripts contain counterfactual conditional clauses with imperfective past marked with the suffix *-ī* (359) instead of the MNP variant marked with the prefix *mī-*:

(360) KB/MaB (CE): 24

اگر رستم دستان دیدی، دست تحیر به دندان تفکر گزیدی و اگر افراسیاب مشاهده نمودی، به دعوی جلادت لب نگشودی.

‘If Rustam Dastān saw (see.PST.3SG-*ī*) that, he would be astonished (astonish.PST.3SG-*ī*). And if Afrāsiyāb witnessed (witness.PST.3SG-*ī*) that, he would not open (NEG-open.PST.3SG-*ī*) his mouth to claim bravery.’

Rhetorical conditional clauses in MNP have *mī-*prefixed imperfective past in both the *agar* clause and the main clause. Instances of rhetorical conditional clauses with the suffix *-ī* (360) are found in the studied works:

(361) KB/MA: 8r

و اگر از ملامت و انکار مردم ایشانرا غباری بر خاطر عاطر رسیدی دل مبارک ایشان از شغل مطلوب نکبیدی.

‘And even if peoples’ reproaches and denials afflicted (afflict.PST.3SG-*ī*) his excellency’s benevolent mind, his blessed heart never desisted (NEG-desist.PST.3SG-*ī*) from doing his duty well.

Instances of logical or quasi-conditional clauses of Tajik type with durative perfect subjunctive (Windfuhr and Perry, *ibid.*) are found in the works of Mughal India:

(362) MI/IQJ: 438v

حکم شد که اگر او را می‌شناخته باشید نام و نشان او معروض دارید.

‘It was commanded: “If you know (*mī*-know.PP be.SBJV-2PL) him, report (report.SBJV-2PL) his name and whereabouts.”’

The omission of *agar* in conditional clauses is a common feature of colloquial or informal Persian. It has also been attested in CNP works as a spoken or “sub-standard” feature (Orsatti 2015). Here is one such instance from MaT:

(363) KB/MaT (CE): 281–2

شجاعت نشانان، محمدعلی‌بی حاجی و شکر بی حاجی ترکمان... عریضه‌ای به درگاه نصرت‌پناه و خان عالی‌جاه روانه نمودند که [اگر] چندی از مبارزان عساکر فلک دستگاه را روانه نمایند، این دشمن را از میان توان برداشت.

‘The courageous Muḥammad ‘Alī Bī Ḥājji and Shukr Bī Ḥājji Turkṁān... sent a letter to the victorious court and the excellently ranked khan [saying]: “[If] you send some warriors of the sky-mighty troops, we will manage to defeat this enemy.”’

6 Stylistic features

6.1 Figurative language and rhymed prose

Safavid Iran

The stylistic features in the works of Safavid Iran vary considerably. The language in TAA and AaT is highly figurative. These two works are written in rhymed prose with poetic descriptions and metaphors, and they are ornamented with verses written by either the author or other poets. These two manuscripts contain plenty of chronograms, references to the Koran and Hadiths, long and complex sentences with frequent use of clause-chaining structures, and a great number of Arabic and Turkish words and expressions. The language in ZaT1 and ZaT2, on the other hand, is simple and mostly focuses on the core events.

(364) SI/TAA: 35

سُلطان جُنید شهبازی بود بلندپرواز و خسروی گردن‌فراز بدری از آسمان فتوت و ارشاد
و رخشنده آفتابی از سپهر خلافت ظاهر و باطن طالع گردیده چون بر مسند سروری و
سریر دین‌پروری متمکن گردیده خلاق را بعلم ارشاد و دین‌پناهی که مخبر از داعیه
سلطنت و پادشاهی بود آگاهی داد.

‘Sultān Junayd was a high-flying falcon and a proud and noble king, the full moon of the sky of bountifulness and the right path and shining sun that had risen from the firmament of the monarchy of the outer and inner spirituality. When he became established as leader and defender of the faith, he gave his people spiritual guidance in a way that gave clear evidence of his desire for temporal power and kingship.’

Mughal India

The language of the manuscripts of Mughal India, and especially of HN and VB, which are memoirs, is much simpler than the language of the other works and contains structures and expressions usually considered to be informal and colloquial. Note for instance the use of the verb *gereftan* meaning “take as wife/marry” and the combination of *yak* and the indefinite *-ī* (364), the use of evaluative *-ak* (365), and ellipsis, i.e. the omission of the auxiliary *ast* in the

third person singular present perfect in (366).¹⁵⁹ Moreover, the sentences are much shorter than those in the manuscripts from Safavid Iran and the Khanate of Bukhara.

(365) MI/VB: 26r

و دختر سیم عایشه پسلطان¹⁶⁰ بیگم بود و در پنج سالگی خود که بیسمرقند آمده بودم بمن نامزد کرده بودند بعد از ان قزاقیها بخجند آمده او را گرفتم در زمانی که نوبت دوم سمرقند را گرفتم یک دختری ازو شد.

‘The third daughter was Āyisha Sulṭān Baygum. When I was five years old and went to Samarqand, we were affianced. Later, during my military excursions, she came to Khujand and I took her as [my] wife. The second time I conquered Samarqand she gave birth to a girl.’

(366) MI/IQJ: 442v

در ابتداء که نظام الملک مفتوح شراب و شیفته زنان شد این زنک بدرون حرم او راه یافته شراب مخفی که مردم بیرون را از ان آگاهی نباشد میرسانید.

‘When Nizām al-Mulk became obsessed with women and wine, this woman soon found her way into his harem and provided his harem with wine out of view of people outside.’

(367) MI/VB: f.1v

ولایت فرغانه از اقلیم پنجم است و در کناره معموره عالم واقع شده [است].

‘The province of Firghana is in the fifth clime, suited on the edge of the civilized world.’

Another feature of the manuscripts of Mughal India is the use of specific administrative terminology not used in the manuscripts of the other two regions.

(368) MI/PN: 496

درین روز میمنت افروز بر منصب غلامی افضلخان که بنجهزاری ذات و سه هزار سوار بود هزاری ذات افزودند.

‘On that fortunate day, his majesty promoted Afzāl Khān from the [titular] commander of 5000 men, and in actual command of 3000 horsemen, to the commander of 6000.’

¹⁵⁹ For more examples of *-ak*, see (180), (195), and (243).

¹⁶⁰ The letter *sin* in this example is written with dentations in the manuscript, but is still dotted!

The Khanate of Bukhara

The language in the works of the Khanate of Bukhara is very much like that of TAA and AaT described above. Frequent use of chronograms, references to the Koran and Hadiths, and long and complex sentences with frequent use of clause-chaining structures are among the stylistic features of these manuscripts as well. They are also written in rhymed prose with poetic descriptions and metaphors. However, this feature is much more striking in these manuscripts, especially in MaT:

(369) KB/MaT (CE): 232

و روز دیگر خان نصرت اثر همراه عساکر ظفرثمر روی به حصار بلخ نهاده، خیمه و خرگاه، سراپرده و بارگاه بر اطراف بولی‌خانه تا دروه مهر و ماه برپا کرده، حضرت مانند باز تیزپرواز، به دولت و اقبال سرافراز، پا از رکاب تندرو خوش‌خرام ابلق سپهر و مرغ زرین‌جناح مهر خالی کرده و بهله عزت به دست گرفته، سرینجه شجاعت باز کرده و هر لحظه شنقار گردون‌شکار جلادت را طعمه از دل مخالفان داده، پیوسته صدای طبل مُلک‌گیری به گوش بی‌هوشان حصار بلخ می‌رسانید.

‘On the next day, the victorious khan, together with his victorious army, set off towards Balkh and let the tents and pavilion for their residence be raised up as high as the sun and the moon around the *bawli-khāna*.¹⁶¹ His majesty, like a swift hawk distinguished by power and glory, dismounted his fast, beautiful, mighty, bi-colored horse who was like the golden bird of the sun. And with the gloves of honor in his hands, he opened the claws of bravery and baited the royal falcon of severity with the hearts of his enemies and let the sound of the drums of conquest reach the ears of even the unconscious people in the fortress of Balkh.’

These texts are also frequently ornamented with verses. In MaT, for instance, the descriptions of many events are accompanied by shorter versified versions. In TRS, about two-thirds of the verses are written by the author, some of which he has marked with “المؤلفه” which means “by the author”. The number of chronograms is much higher in the manuscripts TRS and MA than in MaT and MaB, while dates are scarcely given. This is undoubtedly because of the texts’ genre, which focuses more on people than events.

6.2 Arabic and [Chaghatay] Turkish influences

In addition to certain morphosyntactic structures, Arabic and Turkish influence can be observed in the use of a great number of words and

¹⁶¹ A place for raising and keeping birds of prey.

expressions of Arabic and Turkish origin. The manuscripts of Mughal India, however, stand out with their higher frequency of Chaghatay Turkish words and lower frequency of words of Arabic origin.

All dates are given according to the Islamic lunar calendar. Years are given in either Arabic or Persian in the manuscripts of Safavid Iran and the Khanate of Bukhara, and in Persian in the manuscripts of Mughal India. In some manuscripts of Mughal India, the Arabic names of the months are accompanied by their names according to the *ilāhī* calendar, as in (369) and (370). The *ilāhī* calendar was established as the official calendar of Mughal India at Akbar Shā's order in the late 16th century. In some works of the Khanate of Bukhara, the name of the year is also given in Chaghatay Turkish, as in (374) and (375). The equivalents for 'year' and 'month' are given both in Persian, as *sāl*, and *māh*, and in Arabic, as *sana* and *shahr*. The temporal prepositions include two Persian prepositions, *dar* and *bi*, and one Arabic preposition, *fī*. Arabic *fī* is frequently used in ZaT1 and ZaT2, but less frequently in TAA and AaT. I have not found any instances of *fī* in the manuscripts of the Khanate of Bukhara and Mughal India.

(370) MI/IQJ: 436v & 332v

روز شنبه بیستم فروردین ماه الهی مطابق بیست و نهم جماد الثانی

'On Saturday, the twentieth of the Ilāhī month of Farvardīn, corresponding to the twenty-ninth of Jumādī II'

بتاریخ نوزدهم شهر محرم هزار و سی و پنج هجری

'On the nineteenth of the month Muḥarram in the year one thousand thirty-five Hijrī'

(371) MI/PN: 494

روز شنبه غره جمادی الثانیه پسنه هزار و چل و سه مطابق دوازدهم آذرماه

'On Saturday, the first of Jumādī II in the year one thousand forty-three, corresponding to the twelfth of the month Āzar'

(372) SI/TAA: 28 & 51

روز دوشنبه دوازدهم شهر محرم الحرام سنه خمس و تلتین و سبعمانه

'On Monday, the twelfth of the month Muḥarram in the year seven hundred thirty-five'

در روز سه‌شنبه بیست و پنجم شهر رجب سنه اثنی و تسعین و ثمانمانه

'On Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of the month Rajab in the year eight hundred ninety-two'

(373) SI/ZaT2: 103

روز دوشنبه بیست و چهارم شهر ذیحجه سنه ۹۰۹

'On Monday, the twenty-fourth of the month Zihjja in the year 909'

بعد از فتح بدار السلطنه تبریز نزول فرمود فی سنه ۹۰۷ و در سنه ۹۰۸ از تبریز بعزم تسخیر عراق بیرون آمد.

‘After the conquest, he alighted in Tabriz, the capital of the kingdom, in the year 907. In the year 908, he left Tabriz and set out towards ‘Irāq to capture it.’

In ZaT1, the equivalent Persian dates are given by letters either above or below the date in numeric format, but without the conjunction *va* (373), as is currently done in MNP. This seems to be an influence from Turkish:

(374) SI/ZaT1: 41r

بعد از فتح بدار السلطنه تبریز نزول نمودند فی سنه ۹۰۷ (نهصد هفت) و توجه شاه اسمعیل از تبریز بعزم تسخیر عراق فی سنه ۹۰۸ (نهصد هشت)

‘After the conquest, his majesty alighted in Tabriz, the capital of the kingdom, in the year 907 (nine hundred seven). And Shāh Isma‘īl’s setting out from Tabriz towards ‘Irāq in order to capture it in the year 908 (nine hundred eight)’

(375) KB/MaT (CE): 264 & 272

در تاریخ یکشنبه چهارم ماه جمادی الاول در سنه اربع و مائة و الف موافق تحاقونیل
‘On Saturday, the fourth of the month Jumādī I, in the year one thousand one hundred four, corresponding to the year of the rooster’
در تاریخ روز یکشنبه بیست و هفتم شهر شوال در سنه خمس و مائة و الف
‘On Saturday the twenty-seventh of the month Shavvāl in the year one thousand one hundred five’

(376) KB/MaB: 206 & 203

به تاریخ شهر رمضان سنه ۹۸۶
‘In (the month of) Ramazān of the year 986’
در تاریخ ماه شعبان سنه ثمان و ستین و تسمانه موافق نخاویل نیل
‘In (the month of) Sha‘bān in the year nine hundred seventy-eight, corresponding to the year of the rooster’

In most of the studied manuscripts, and strikingly so in the manuscripts of Mughal India, some verbs are used in senses that have become obsolete in MNP and Tajik. These are expressed with other equivalents, for instance: *Māndan* instead of *guzāshtan/guzārdan* ‘to put, to place, to bury’, *shudan* instead of *mutavallid shudan* ‘to be born/to come into the world’, *bākhtan* instead of *bāzī kardan* ‘to play’, *vāpardakhtan* instead of *rahā kardan* ‘to let go, to drop’, *shikam dāshtan* instead of *ḥāmila/bardār būdan* ‘to be pregnant’, *guftan* instead of *kh‘āndan*, *nāmīdan* ‘to name, to call’, *sarbulandī yāftan* instead of *muftakhar shudan*, *tarfti‘ yāftan* ‘honored, to be promoted’,

daryāftan instead of *istiqbāl kardan*, *bi pīshvāz raftan* ‘to welcome, to meet, to embrace’.

(377) MI/VB: f.26v

نام مادر بهمین دختر مانده شد.

‘This girl was named after her mother.’

(378) MI/HN: f.4r

در باغ نوروزی حضرت خانم را ماندند.

‘They buried her majesty in the Nawrūzī garden.’

(379) KB/MaT (CE): 256–7

سپاه خجسته مآب متوجه آب گشتند و بسرعت تمام، جمعی به کشتی و برخی سال بسته، از مرکز خاک قدم بر آب مانده، چون برق و باد گذشتند.

‘The auspicious army set off towards the river. A group of them [went] by boat and some of them on timber rafts, then they left the land for the water [lit. left the land and put their feet onto the water] and crossed the river hastily like thunder and wind.’

(380) MI/VB: f.26v

ازو یک دختر شده و در همان ایام بمرض زیچیه برحمت حق رفت.

‘She gave birth to a girl [lit. a girl was born by her], but she died in childbirth.’

(381) MI/VB: f.28r

درویش محمد ترخان... میسلمان و آدمی و درویش و ش مردی بود همیشه کتابت مصحف میکرد و شطرنج هم بسیار میبخت و خوب میبخت.

‘Darvish Muḥammad Tarkhān... was a good Muslim, humane and unassuming. He always copied Korans. He played chess a lot and he played well.’

(382) MI/HN: f.33v

و چاند بی بی که هفت ماهه شکم داشت.

‘And Chānd Bībi who was seven months pregnant.’

(383) MI/IQJ: 424v

بشاهزاده پرویز و مهابتخان فرمان شد که خاطر از انتظام و استحکام صوبه دکن و ایرداخته متوجه صوبه العباس و بهار شوند.

‘Prince Parvīz and Mahābt khān were ordered to stop focusing on governing and fortifying the province of Deccan and instead to set out towards the provinces of Ilabās and Bahār.’

(384) MI/HN: f.7r

در همان سال حضرت فردوپس مکانی خود را فرمودند به امرا و سایر الناس که مرا بابر بادشاه گویند والا اوایل قبل از تولد حضرت همایون بادشاه میرزا بابر موسوم و مرسوم بودند بلک همه بادشاهزادهای را میرزا می‌گفتند و در سال تولد ایشان خود را بابر بادشاه گویند.

‘His majesty, passed on to paradise, commanded his amirs and other people: “Call me Bābur Pādshāh.” Otherwise, in the beginning, and before the birth of his majesty Humāyūn Pādshāh, he was called Mīrzā Babur. In fact, it was customary to call all princes Mīrzā. It was first in the year of Humāyūn’s birth that his majesty called himself Babur Padshāh.’

(385) MI/PN: 507

عوض خان قاقشال... و... شادی بیگ ولد جانشن بهادر بمنصب ... سر بلندی یافتند.
‘Avāz Khān Qāqshāl... and... Shādī Bayg, the son and successor of Bahādūr, were promoted to the commander of...’

(386) MI/HN: f.4v

گفتند که چون بادشاه از بدیع الزمان مرزا خوردند پانزده ساله مناسب چنان است که پادشاه زانورده دریابند.

‘They said that as His Majesty was fifteen years younger than Badī al-Zamān Mīrzā, it was right that he should be the first to bow and then they should embrace one another.’

The manuscripts of Mughal India, and especially HN and VB, which are memoirs, contain certain words that are not used in MNP and Tajik or in other studied manuscripts. These include جشن وزن شمسی و قمری *the shamsī and qamarī weighing feast*¹⁶² مرض زاچه ‘calming and consoling’, دلاسا و مواسا ‘childbirth disease’, تقوز ‘gift offered to kings’, اکام ‘aunt’. Some are used in other than their original senses in these manuscripts. One such interesting expression is رسم پانداز or مراسم پانداز, which refers to a kind of welcoming ceremony that involves placing presents at the feet of a king or a great personage. In MNP, پانداز means ‘a pimp’ and پاندازی ‘acting as a pimp’. Some of these words are still in use in Dari, such as زینه ‘stairs, staircase’, نواسه ‘grand-child’, طوی اتوی کردن ‘to give a feast’.

¹⁶² The ceremony of weighing kings and princes on their birthdays according to the solar and lunar calendars.

Summary

New Persian has changed gradually and continually during the centuries. Yet the language in most early CNP texts is completely intelligible to any native speaker of Persian with a high school education. Traces of archaic morphosyntactic structures are also still present in Persian texts of a formal and poetic character. The sharpest break from CNP is observable in colloquial Persian. Other modern variants of New Persian, for instance Dari and Tajik, have gone through fewer changes and show greater similarity to the archaic language of CNP. Although the results of this study indicate some systematic differences, the language of the studied period cannot be considered strikingly different from standard, formal MNP. The basic grammatical structures are close to those of MNP. The presence of alternative morphosyntactic structures that are used in both CNP and MNP indicates ongoing language change. However, considering the low frequency of archaic forms in these works, one can conclude that the process of language change leading from CNP to MNP must have been near its completion by the time these works were composed.

Apart from some stylistic and lexical differences, the morphosyntactic structures used in the manuscripts of the three regions do not show any significant differences either. The only exceptions are the presence of some alternative verb forms expressing subjunctive and the use of the third person singular pronoun *u/vay* for non-humans, which occur in the manuscripts of Mughal India. These results indicate that the dialectal separation between the three variants of New Persian must have taken place much later. Here follows a summary of the specific features of the language of this period.

Phonology and orthography

As previously mentioned, the phonological description in the present study is based on, and limited to, some features of the orthography. These observed features – mainly at the level of vowels – reflect phonological peculiarities that are more in line with the phonological features of CNP and Central Asian variants of New Persian than those of MNP.

The orthography in the studied manuscripts shows that, except for the letter <گ>, which is consistently written as <ک>, the Persian consonant letters have stabilized and are written almost consistently as <چ ڄ څ>. Attached

writing is predominantly employed in the manuscripts independent of the grammatical status of the morphemes. This is in contrast to the preference for detached writing in contemporary Persian orthography, as recommended by the Academy of Persian Language and Literature.¹⁶³ Among the factors governing the choice between attached and detached writing, the number of syllables, space limitations in each line, aesthetic considerations, and the presence of identical letters at the end and beginning of the two morphemes can be mentioned. However, in contrast to the older modern Persian orthography of the 1950s–1970s, detached writing is employed with greater flexibility not only with compound words, but also with both derivational and inflectional prefixes and suffixes.

Nominal system

Regarding the nominal system, some clear differences from MNP are observed. One is the low frequency of the plural suffix *-hā* in general and with animate nouns in particular. The frequency is somewhat higher in the manuscripts of Mughal India, especially in HN and VB, which are written in a more informal or sub-standard language. The more formal the language of a manuscript, the higher the frequency of the Arabic plural nouns and plural nouns with the suffix *-ān*.

Another difference is the use of postposition *rā*, whose syntactic function as the marker of the direct object has stabilized in MNP. This does not exclude the sporadic and limited use of *rā* with other objects than the direct object in MNP. The results from the present study show that *rā* predominantly marks the direct object, but it may also mark any other complement of the main verb more frequently than is currently done in MNP. The divergent use of *rā* for marking all types of objects and canonical and non-canonical subjects, as well as in reverse *ezāfe* constructions, points to topicalization being a more *inclusive* function of this postposition.

Concerning the prepositions, mention should especially be made of the prepositions *bi* and *bī*. The preposition *bi* is predominantly used as in MNP, but also in several other senses than in MNP, for instance as a purposive, instrumental, benefactive, comitative, and temporal preposition. The use of the preposition *bī* indicates deviations from Persian but similarities to Tajik. In Persian, it has almost entirely been replaced by the Arabic *bidūn-i* ‘without’.

¹⁶³ It should be noted that the Academy of Persian Language and Literature recommends detached writing, especially with most inflectional prefixes and suffixes. See *Dastūr-i khaṭṭ-i fārsī: muṣavvab-i farhangistān-i zabān va adab-i fārsī*. 1385/2006. Academy of Persian Language and Literature, Tehran: Farhangistān-i zabān va adab-i fārsī.

The use of pronouns and pronominal clitics does not deviate significantly from MNP. Pluralization of the 1PI and 2PI personal pronouns with the plural suffix *-ān*, as in *māyan* and *shumāyān*, and the ever-increasing replacement of the reflexive-emphatic pronouns *x^vīsh* and *x^vīshtan* with *kh^vud* are among the deviations deserving of mention. An interesting finding of this study has to do with the use of the plural pronoun *īshān* for singular referents and what it can tell us about the shift in the socio-political atmosphere of this period, especially under the Safavids.

With a few exceptions and minor variations, the morphology and the use of adjectives, adverbs, and numerals are almost the same as in MNP. Among the exceptions that should be mentioned are the morphosyntax of the adjectives, especially the superlative adjective, which shows more similarity to Tajik than Persian, the low frequency of the adverb of possibility *shāyad*, and some functions of the adverb *magar*.

Verbal system

The co-existence of alternative morphological markings of the verb forms is observable in the present corpus. However, the low frequency of the archaic forms bears witness to an ongoing development of modal opposition. Evidence of this can be observed in:

- The indicative value being predominantly marked with *mī-*, but also without *mī-*.
- The subjunctive value and the imperative being predominantly unmarked, but also marked with the prefix *bi-*.
- The preterite being predominantly unmarked, but also infrequently marked with the prefix *bi-*.
- The past imperfective being predominantly marked with the prefix *mī-*, but also with the suffix *-ī* or a combination of both.
- The presence of alternative subjunctive verb forms of the Dari and Tajik types.

The main deviation from MNP is the non-marking of the present subjunctive and imperative of simple verbs. In this respect, the language of the studied works shows greater similarities to CNP and Tajik, where the imperative and verbs with subjunctive value usually go unmarked. In general, the modal opposition is much closer to MNP in the manuscripts of Mughal India than in those of the other two regions.

One significant feature of these works is the frequent use of the *mī*-marked present perfect verbs and the present perfect of the verbs *būdan* and *dāshtan* to express evidentiality. In fact, this does not indicate any deviation from modern variants of New Persian. What the findings of the present study indicate is that (1) the evidential category is not an innovation of the 19th

century as has been suggested, and (2) the evidential category is a highly genre-sensitive category. It occurs less frequently in works where factual historical events are in focus and where the author discusses his own time and his peers. The evidential forms are frequent in works of a less formal character, like memoirs and biographical works, where the authors describe the past. This means that earlier conclusions about the rarity of these verb forms might be due to the type of corpus studied. These results motivate an investigation of a large and diverse corpus of early CNP manuscripts to find out (1) how rare/frequent *mī*-prefixed perfect and double perfect are in early CNP, (2) in what contexts they are used, and (3) whether the evidential category can be traced back solely to the so-called Turkification process of New Persian.

Another significant difference between these works and MNP is the morphology and high frequency of the causative verbs ending in *-ānīdan* instead of MNP's *-āndan*. Even in this respect, the language of the studied works shows greater similarity to CNP and Tajik than to Persian.

The absence of the clitic-marked impersonal verbs and progressive forms indicates deviations from the verbal system of modern variants of New Persian. The findings of the present study indicate that impersonal verbs must be an innovation of a later period. Possession is mainly expressed with the verb *dāshtan*, as in MNP, but the alternative expressions of possession with copula and non-canonical subjects also occurs. The frequency of passive verb forms and expressions is very low in the present corpus. Regarding the distribution of simple and non-simple verbs, and person and number agreement, no significant deviation from MNP is observed. In general, the very low frequency of the deviations from MNP points to a language change nearing its completion.

Syntactic structures and stylistic features including spoken features

The syntactic differences are not so many in number and can be summarized in the frequent use of medial clauses, the occurrence of potential conditional clauses with non-marked verbs, the counterfactual conditional clauses with verbs marked with the suffix *-ī* instead of the prefix *mī*-, and restrictive relative clauses with non-marked antecedents.

Stylistically, the highly figurative language of these works, which are mostly written in rhymed prose and with long complex sentences and many clause-chaining structures, differs a great deal from MNP. These works also contain a large number of words of Arabic and Turkish origin. In these respects, the works from the Khanate of Bukhara occupy the first place followed by those from Safavid Iran. Scholars have attested spoken or “sub-standard” morphosyntactic features in CNP works. Among spoken features that occur in the studied corpus the following can be mentioned: the omission

of the subordinate conjunction in conditional clauses; the use of *ki* as a substitute for a speech verb; the omission of the auxiliary verb *ast* from the third person singular present perfect; the use of pronominal clitics in non-possessive functions; marking indefiniteness with both *yek* and *-ī*; and the use of the evaluative suffix *-ak*. The types and frequency of these features vary depending on the genre of the work. In general, in works from Mughal India, especially HN and VB, in which a more informal language is employed, these features occur more frequently.

The presence of alternative morphosyntactic structures with the low frequency of classical forms in the present corpus indicates that the New Persian of this period indeed is the missing link between CNP and modern variants of New Persian. These results, together with the absence in the present corpus of some morphosyntactic structures of modern variants of New Persian, point to an ongoing language change nearing its completion. This strongly motivates a detailed study of the New Persian of the late 18th–early 20th centuries to locate the final break between CNP and MNP. It is also of importance for identifying the time of the later dialectal separation of the three variants of New Persian. The greater similarity between the works of Mughal India and MNP also calls for a study based on a corpus of a less formal character.

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¹⁶⁴ This is a shorter English version of Dabir Moghaddam’s paper “Pīrāmūn-i rā dar zabān-i fārsī” in the same volume.

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