

E - ISSN: 2953-8203  
P - ISSN: 2953-819X

**YEREVAN STATE  
UNIVERSITY**

**JOURNAL OF  
IRANIAN LINGUISTICS**

volume 1 | issue 1



# **JOURNAL OF IRANIAN LINGUISTICS**

## **EDITOR-IN-CHIEF**

*Vardan Voskanian, Yerevan State University, Armenia*

Volume 1 | issue 1



**[ YEREVAN STATE  
UNIVERSITY ]  
PUBLISHING HOUSE**

## **ASSOCIATE EDITORS**

*Hakob Avchyan*, Yerevan State University, Armenia

*Artyom Tonoyan*, Yerevan State University, Armenia

## **EDITORIAL BOARD**

*Chiara Barbati*, University of Pisa, Italy

*Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst*, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

*Jila Ghomeshi*, University of Manitoba, Canada

*Geoffrey Haig*, University of Bamberg, Germany

*Arsalan Kahnemuyipour*, University of Toronto Mississauga, Canada

*Simin Karimi*, University of Arizona, USA

*Paola Orsatti*, Sapienza University of Rome, Italy

*Ludwig Paul*, Hamburg University, Germany

*Mohammad Rasekh-Mahand*, Bu-Ali Sina University, Iran

*Hassan Rezai Baghbidi*, Osaka University, Japan

*Pollet Samuelian*, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, France

*Jaffer Sheyholislami*, Carleton University, Canada

E - ISSN: 2953-8203

P - ISSN: 2953-819X

© YSU Publishing House, 2024

© Authors, 2024

**JOURNAL OF IRANIAN LINGUISTICS**  
**VOLUME 1 | ISSUE 1**

## **CONTENT**

**VARDAN VOSKANIAN**

*Foreword* **5-7**

**ENRICO MORANO**

*Where the Demons Fell: A Manichaean Sogdian  
Manuscript in Sogdian Script from Mani's Book of the Giants* **8-20**

**HASSAN REZAI BAGHBIDI**

*A New Possible Etymology for the Classical  
Persian Particle mar* **21-34**

**PAOLA ORSATTI**

*On the Syntax of the Persian Classical Narrative Poetry:  
Constructions with a Past Participle in the Shāhnāme* **35-65**

**SALMAN ALIYARI BABOLGHANI**

*About šekam and šotor: The Development of the  
Initial Vs/šC- in Middle and New Persian* **66-89**

**HABIB BORJIAN**

*The Khonji Dialect of Lārestān* **90-117**

**SONGÜL GÜNDOĞDU, ARSALAN KAHNEMUYIPOUR,  
MARCEL DEN DIKKEN**

*EZAFE IN THE CONTEXT OF CPS: Evidence from  
Three Iranian Languages* **118-141**

**MOHAMMAD RASEKH-MAHAND**

*Mirativity in Persian*

**142-162**

**MOHSEN MAHDAVI MAZDEH, SARAH NEHZATI**

*Low Vowel Dissimulation in Mazandarani*

**163-183**

## A New Possible Etymology for the Classical Persian Particle *mar*

Hassan Rezaï Baghbidi  
*Osaka University*

[doi.org/10.46991/jil/2024.01.02](https://doi.org/10.46991/jil/2024.01.02)

**Abstract:** The etymology of the Classical Persian particle *mar*, which is traditionally believed to have an emphatic or restrictive sense, has long been an enigma to scholars of Iranian philology and Persian linguistics, esp. because there is no trace of it in the extant Middle Persian texts. Different etymologies have so far been proposed for *mar*, but it is often compared with the Early Judaeo-Persian preposition *azmar* (*i*) “for” and therefore believed to have originated from the word *mar* “number; account”. The present paper reviews all previous studies and attempts to provide a new possible etymology, according to which *mar* is a focus marker derived through a grammaticalization process from the Bactrian word *μapo* [*mar*] “here”.

**Keywords:** Bactrian, Classical Persian, etymology, focus marker, grammaticalization

Hassan Rezaï Baghbidi  
E-mail: [rezai.hmt@osaka-u.ac.jp](mailto:rezai.hmt@osaka-u.ac.jp)

Received: 31.12.2023

Revised: 27.06.2024

Accepted: 30.06.2024



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License Introduction

According to Persian dictionaries and grammars, the Classical Persian particle *mar* serves to emphasize the subject, and is also used before the accusative (Jones 1771: 19), dative or genitive either pleonastically or in a restrictive sense (e.g., Steingass 1892: 1205; Platts 1894: 52; Phillott 1919: 57, 322; see also Darmesteter 1883: I/132, footnote 1; Horn 1898: 109-110; Gray 1937: 305; Lazard 1963: 382, 449-450). Enju Širāzi in his *Farhang-e Jahāngiri*, which he composed in India at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, considers *mar* a pleonastic word (*az kalamāt-e zāyede*) used for the beauty of speech (*az barāye hosn-e kalām*), which sometimes conveys a restrictive meaning (*efāde-ye ma'ni-ye hasr niz konad*) (ed. Afifi: I/1146). The same is repeated in the Persian dictionary *Borhān-e Qāte'* compiled by Moḥammad-Ḥosayn b. Ḳalaf Tabrizi in India in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (ed. Mo'in:

IV/1979). The compiler of the *Farhang-e Nezām*, the first Persian etymological dictionary, considered *mar* a pleonastic (*zāyed*) word used for decoration (*zinat*) and emphasis (*ta'kid*) (Dā'ī al-'Islām 1939: V/95). Similar definitions are given in other Persian dictionaries and grammars to the present day (e.g., Eṣfahāni 1872: 29; Eṣfahāni 1890: 26; Homāyunfarroḡ 1960: 1048; Maškur 1961: 190; Šafi'i 1964: 53; Nafisi 1976: V/3235-3236; Ḳatib-e Rahbar 1988: 374; Faršidvard 2003: 451).

The origin and etymology of the particle *mar* have long been a matter of controversy. An important point which needs clarification is that there is no trace of this particle in the extant Middle Persian texts, as rightly stated by Salemann (1895: 285) and Bahār (1976: I/401). Therefore, Šāhebi's (2018: 21) attempt to detect the particle *mar* in the following passage from the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* (Chapter 1.12-13) should be rejected. The Middle Persian word *mar* in this passage simply means "account" and has nothing to do with the particle *mar*.

*ud pas moy-mardān ud dastwarān ī dēn any būd hēnd, az ān mar andōhōmand ud purr-pīm būd hēnd*

"Thereafter, there were other magi and religious leaders (who) were sorrowful and full of pain **on that account**" (cf. Vahman 1986: 191; Agostini 2014: 59)

As shown above, the particle *mar* has long been confused with its homonym *mar* "number; account". For example, Rückert (1854: 262) equated the particle *mar* with the Sanskrit word *mātrā* "measure". Morgenstierne (1929: 53) proposed the probability of a connection between the particle *mar* and the Avestan root *mar* "to remember" (from the Old Iranian root *\*hmar* "to remember; to count", from the Indo-European root *\*smer* "to remember"; Cheung 2007: 137). Gray (1937: 305) tried to connect the particle *mar* with such Greek words as μέρος "share, portion" and μόρος "fate, destiny" (from the Indo-European root *\*smer*, Beekes 2010: II/922, 933). He then suggested that the primary meaning of the particle *mar* was "portion"; "that it was used first with the dative, and was later extended to the accusative; and that finally, coming to be felt as a mere intensive particle, it was employed even with the nominative of demonstrative pronouns as an 'empty' word" (Gray 1937: 306). Similarly, Benveniste (1938: 460) saw in the particle *mar* a specialized and quasi-prepositional function of the word *mar* "account"<sup>1</sup>. Gray's and Benveniste's proposals seem plausible at first sight, especially when compared with Middle Persian *az bahr ī*, Classical Persian *az bahr ī* "for" (from *bahr* "portion"), and Early Judaeo-Persian *azmar (i)* "for" (from *mar* "account").

The Early Judaeo-Persian preposition *azmar*, with or without the *ezāfe* particle *ī*, is sometimes used in the sense of "because of" (Gindin 2007:

<sup>1</sup> une fonction spécialisée et quasi prépositionnelle du mot *mar* "compte"

III/114). It can also mark both the indirect and the direct object (see also Paul 2013: 147, 158, 163):

*'zmr yšmw'l*

“for Šəmu'el” (Early Karaite Document 17; Paul 2013: 148)

*ps rw' hst ky gwyj ky gnd bwd 'zmr 'n zhwmt 'w*

“So you may say that it was stinking **because of** its stench”  
(Commentary to the Book of Ezekiel 134.15; Gindin 2007: III/114)

*(n)l'm(l') ... 'zmr't nbyštwm*

“I wrote (**for**) you a letter” (Private Letter 5.9; Paul 2013: 163)

*wby hly 'zmrš p' dš[t]*

“and you abandon it in a plain” (Early Argument B 13; MacKenzie 1968: 256)

Furthermore, Early Judaeo-Persian *azmar* may be complemented by the postposition *rā* to form a circumposition marking both the indirect and the direct object (cf. Shaked 2003: 210; Lazard 2009: 172):

*'zmr mn šmw'l r'*

“for me, Šəmu'el” (Early Karaite Document 4; Paul 2013: 150)

*'zmr 'yn mrdwm'n r' nby' hmy gwydš'n*

“to these people, the prophet tells them” (Commentary to the Book of Ezekiel 184.5; Gindin 2007: III/113)

*by d'dwm 'zmr kwn 'wr'*

“I gave his blood” (Commentary to the Book of Ezekiel 132.38-133.1; Gindin 2007: III/114)

Gignoux (2010: 24) regards *az mar ī* in Middle Persian legal documents as the equivalent of Early Judaeo-Persian compound preposition *azmar (i)* “for”. However, Macuch (2008: 266) has convincingly shown that *az mar ī* in Middle Persian legal documents is not a compound preposition but, rather, it simply means “from the account of, from the share of”:

*az mar ī man*

“from my **account/share**” (Berkeley, Document 139.8; cf. Gignoux 2010: 34)

*az mar ī mādar ī Farrozzād*

“from the **account/share of** Farrozzād's mother” (Berlin, Document 19.4-5; Weber 2008: 83)



Middle Persian *az bahr ī*, Classical Persian *az bahr i*, and Early Judaeo-Persian *azmar (i)* “for” are all necessary parts of the sentence and, therefore, cannot be omitted; whereas the Classical Persian particle *mar* can always be taken out of any sentence without making it ungrammatical. That is why Lazard (1963: 451) believes that *mar* does not have any function in the structure of the sentence; rather, it seems that it highlights the word it precedes.

As a matter of fact, Horn (1893: 217) was right when he doubted the etymological connection between the particle *mar* and its homonym *mar* “number; account”. Nevertheless, this hypothetical connection or the connection between the particle *mar* and the Early Judaeo-Persian preposition *azmar (i)* “for” (from *mar* “account”) is still being repeated in academic books and papers (e.g., Bossong 1985: 59; Mo’ayyedi and Lotfi 2013: 111; Šāhebi 2018: 22; Parizāde 2020: 237-238). Worse than that is Bahār’s (1976: I/401) attempt to trace the particle *mar* back to a mark of respect and reverence, similar to the word *mār* “Lord” in Syriac Christianity!

Before discussing my own proposal as to the etymology of the particle *mar*, let us have a look at some typical examples of the use of this particle in Classical Persian texts. As it can be seen in the following examples, *mar* is used before the subject (1), the direct object with the postposition *rā* (2, 3), the direct object without the postposition *rā* (4, 5, 6), and the indirect object (i.e., the dative) with the postposition *rā* (7, 8, 9). It can also appear before a word in the genitive case with the postposition *rā* (10, 11, 12), a word in the genitive case without the postposition *rā* (13), or any other word followed by the postposition *rā* in its original meaning, i.e., “for, for the sake of, because of” (14):

(1)

پس مر آن جفت ابداعی صورت ابداعی بوده است

*pas mar ān juft-i ibdā’ī sūrat-i ibdā’ī būda ast*

“Therefore, **that innovative couple** has been an innovative form”  
(*Jāmi’ al-Ḥikmatayn*, ed. Corbin and Mo’in 1953: 83)

(2)

خدای عزّ و جلّ مر آدم را از آن گل بیافرید

*xudāy ‘azza va jalla mar ādam rā az ān gil biyāfarīd*

“God – may He be honoured and glorified – created **Adam** from that clay” (*Tarjome-ye Tafsiṣ-e Tabari*, ed. Yağmā’i 1977: II/317)

(3)

به زلیفن کردن فرستیدیم مر ترا مر ناگرویدگان را به دوزخ

*bi zalīfan kardan firistidīm mar tu rā mar nāgiravīdagān rā  
ba dūzax*

“We sent **you** to warn **the unbelievers** to Hell” (*Tafsir-e Qor’ān-e Pāk*, ed. Minovi 1969: 85)

(4)

جاحظ مر این خبر به بعضی از کتبهای خود یاد کند  
*jāhiz mar ēn xabar bi ba’zī az kutubhā-yi x’ad yād kunad*  
 “Jāhiz has mentioned **this report** in some of his books”  
 (*Tāriḳnāme-ye Ṭabari*, ed. Rowšan 2001: IV/1098)

(5)

مر اندامش ایزد یکایک ستود  
*mar andām-š ēzad yakāyak sutūd*  
 “God extolled **his limbs** one by one” (*Garšāsb-Nāma*, ed. Yağmā’i 1938: 2)

(6)

مردی باشد بر ستوران تا مر ایشان از ددکان و درندگان نگاه دارد  
*mard-ē bāšad bar sutōrān tā mar ēšān az dadakān u darrandagān nigāh dārad*  
 “There is a man over the cattle to protect **them** from wild animals and predators” (*Vajh-e Din*, ed. Erāni 1924: 10)

(7)

بگوی یا محمد مر جهودان را و ترسان را  
*bigōy yā Muhammad mar juhūdān rā u tarsā ān rā*  
 “Say, O Mohammad, **to the Jews and the Christians**” (*Tafsir-e Qor’ān-e Pāk*, ed. Minovi 1969: 104)

(8)

ساقیا مر مرا از آن می ده  
*sāqiyā mar ma-rā az ān may dah*  
 “O wine-pourer! Give **me** from that wine!” (Abū Šakūr, in: Lazard 1982: II/80)

(9)

نزدیک آرند بهشت مر پرهیزگاران را  
*nazdik ārand bahišt mar parhēzgārān rā*  
 “They will bring Paradise nigh **for the righteous**” (*Tarjome-ye Qor’ān-e Muze-ye Pārs*, ed. Ravāqi 1976: 96)

(10)

سبب بیرونی مر گرمی را سه گونه بود  
*sabab-i bēronī mar garmī rā si gōna buvad*  
 “The external causes **of heat** are of three types” (*Ṭabi’iyyāt-e Dānešnāme-ye ‘Alā’i*, ed. Meškāt 1952: 26)

(11)

ما مر [این] دین را مخالف نباشیم

*mā mar [ēn] dēn rā muxālīf nabāšēm*

“We are not the opponents **of this religion**” (*Tāriḳ-e Bal’ami*, ed. Bahār 1974: I/312)

(12)

ز ریگ ار فزون مر شما را شمار

*zi rēg ar fuzōn mar šumā rā šumār*

“[even] if **your number** is more than the sand” (*Garšās-b-Nāma*, ed. Yağmā’i 1938: 88)

(13)

فلک محیط سطح مر وی

*falak-i muhīt-i sath-i mar vay*

“The firmament surrounding **its** surface” (*Kān al-’Iḳwān*, ed. Qavim 1959: 126)

(14)

من این کتاب مر آنرا ساختم که صقال دلها بود

*man ēn kitāb mar ān rā sāxtam ki saqqāl-i dilhā buvad*

“I composed this book **for that [reason]** that it be a polisher of hearts” (*Kašf al-Mahjūb*, ed. Žukovskij 1926: 5-6)

It is important to know that the particle *mar* is found abundantly in all Classical Persian texts from Transoxiana and the northeastern part of present-day Afghanistan, particularly in the works of Avicenna and Nāšir-i Ḳusraw. It is much less attested in texts written in present-day Iran and the southern and western parts of present-day Afghanistan. Therefore, it seems proper to believe that *mar* had originally been a dialect peculiarity (cf. Lazard 1963: 382-383; Nātel-e Ḳānlari 1986: III/390; Maggi and Orsatti 2018: 41).

The particle *mar* is attested in some of the Judaeo-Persian translations of the Bible, e.g., in a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France:

*wplyd krdyd mr zmyñ mn*

“and you defiled **my land**” (Jeremiah 2.7; Lagarde 1884: 64)

It is also attested in an Early New Persian manuscript in Syriac script discovered in Turfan. This manuscript is particularly valuable for the vocalization of the Persian words:

*bzw<sup>u</sup>rg kw<sup>u</sup>naδ xwδ<sup>h</sup> mr drwyešā<sup>h</sup> n rā<sup>h</sup>*

“The Lord makes great **the poor**” (folio II, recto 3-4; Sims-Williams 2011: 357)

The particle *mar* might have also been used in the fragmented Early New Persian versification of the tale of *Bilawhar wa Būdīsaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat) in Manichaean script discovered in Turfan:

*gw(f)[tyy] m[r mr']*

“you said **to me**” (folio A, recto 2; Henning 1962: 94)

In addition to Early New Persian, the particle *mar* is attested once in a Sogdian text written in the city of Xumdan (i.e., 西安: Xī'ān) in China. Here *mar* seems to emphasize the following adverb:

*rty 'nyh tmyh mr z'ry mrčh šw k'mt rty L' βyrt*

“And in another hell he yearns **pitifully** for his death, and does not get it” (folio XX, verso 1085-1086; Benveniste 1940: 51; cf. Gharib 1995: 215)

As it was said above, there is no trace of the Classical Persian particle *mar* in the extant Middle Persian texts, a fact that strengthens the probability of its being borrowed from a neighbouring language. Since the particle *mar* is abundant in all Classical Persian texts from Transoxiana and the northeastern part of present-day Afghanistan, the most appropriate candidate would be the Bactrian language, an Eastern Middle Iranian language spoken from about the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD in a wide area in and around ancient Bactria in northern Afghanistan. The Bactrian language is the only Iranian language whose writing system is based on the Greek alphabet. It was one of the least-known Iranian languages until 1990's, when the unexpected discovery of a wealth of manuscripts in Afghanistan contributed significantly to our knowledge of this language. These manuscripts, written on leather, cloth, and even on wooden sticks, consist of legal documents, economic documents, letters, and Buddhist texts.

In my opinion, the Classical Persian particle *mar* is a focus marker<sup>2</sup> (cf. Lenepveu-Hotz 2018: 94-97) which ultimately goes back to the Bactrian locative adverb *μapo* [*mar*]<sup>3</sup> “here”, a well-attested word in Bactrian documents:

<sup>2</sup> Focus is an attention-getting mechanism which in spoken language is recognizable by, for example, putting stress on a word. It is, therefore, “dependent upon discourse structure but does not make up part of the structure itself” (Radetzky 2002: 103).

<sup>3</sup> In the Bactrian documents written in the Greek alphabet, virtually every word ends with a vowel letter, usually -o (Sims-Williams 2000: 24; Sims-Williams 2007: 40).

στο αζο **μαρο** λρογγημο

“and I am healthy **here**” (document bh 7; Sims-Williams 2007: 67)

αγαδο **μαρο** ασο το χοηο πωστογο

“a letter came **here** from your lordship” (document cd 3-4; Sims-Williams 2007: 75)

ταδο αβο χοβανανο **μαρο** πισοαμαγο φοβτιο

“then send the shepherds **here** into my presence” (document ba 13; Sims-Williams 2007: 53)

οτανο **μαρο** αβο ρωβο αγαδινηο

“and they have come **here** to (the city of) Rōb” (document cl 5; Sims-Williams 2007: 89)

Bactrian *μαρο* [*mar*] “here” goes back to Old Iranian *\*imaθra*<sup>4</sup>, a combination of *\*ima* “this” and the suffix *\*-θra* which made locative adverbs<sup>5</sup>. The development of the Bactrian locative adverb *μαρο* [*mar*] into the Classical Persian focus marker *mar* can be easily compared with and explained by similar grammaticalization developments in other languages. The use of locative adverb as demonstrative, proximal or distal, is a well-known grammaticalization development attested in a number of languages from different language families (e.g., French, Hausa, Lingala, Ngbaka, Buang; see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 172-173, 294-295). On the other hand, the development from demonstrative to such grammatical items as definite article and focus marker is a common process in world languages (see, e.g., Diessel 1999: 155; Heine and Kuteva 2002: 109-112). It cannot, of course, be determined when exactly the development from locative adverb (*mar* “here”) to proximal demonstrative (*mar* “this”) and then to focus marker occurred in Classical Persian.

---

This final *-o*, at least in some instances, has no phonetic value (Sims-Williams 1989: 348).

<sup>4</sup> For the phonological development of *\*θr* to *r*, the loss of initial *\*i-*, and the loss of final *\*-a* in Bactrian, see Gholami 2014: 52, 58, 61.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Sanskrit suffix *-tra* and the Avestan suffix *-θra* with the same function (Whitney 1879: 358; Jackson 1892: I/201). Old Iranian *\*imaθra* is also reflected in Khotanese *mara* “here” (Bailey 1979: 324; Sims-Williams 2000: 203; Sims-Williams 2007: 231) and Sogdian *mrδ* [*marθ*] (Gershevitch 1954: 67; Gharib 1995: 216). Bactrian *μαρο* [*mar*] “here” from Old Iranian *\*imaθra* is comparable with Bactrian *μαλο* [*mal*] “here” from Old Iranian *\*imada* (Sims-Williams 2000: 202; Sims-Williams 2007: 230; Gholami 2014: 58), the latter Old Iranian form is also reflected in Sogdian [*maδ*], written in a variety of forms: *'mδ*, *'mδ'*, *mδ*, *mδh*, *mδy*, *mdy*, *mδyy* (Gharib 1995: 34, 210, 211). There is no clear distinction between the function of *μαρο* and *μαλο* in Bactrian (Gholami 2014: 160).

It seems that the Parāchi preposition *ma*, like the Classical Persian focus marker *mar*, has developed similarly, but independently, from the Bactrian locative adverb *μapo* [*mar*]. The Parāchi preposition *ma* is not only used in a local and temporal sense, but is also used before the specific direct object and the dative with “to give” and “to say”: *ma dur* “at the river”; *ma dōwās* “at 12 o’clock”, *ma bālō dhōr-um* “I saw **the boy**”, *ma puš-ē jarī* “he said **to his son**” (cf. Morgenstierne 1929: 52; Morgenstierne 1985: 524; Efimov 1999b: 263; Kieffer 2009: 699). A similar grammaticalization development is seen in the Logar dialect of the Ormuṛi language, where the specific direct object is sometimes preceded by *ku*: *towa ku-tsimi-m roxšawok* “The sun blinded **my eyes**”, *ku kitāb bu awīm* “I am reading **the book**” (Efimov 2011: 127; cf. Morgenstierne 1929: 343; Efimov 1999a: 284). This *ku*, like the Sogdian preposition (ə)kū<sup>6</sup> “to, towards”, ultimately goes back to the Old Iranian locative adverb \**ku* “where”<sup>7</sup> (see also Sims-Williams 1986: 118; Yoshida 2009: 293).

In conclusion, the Classical Persian particle *mar* is an optional focus marker which highlights the word it precedes. It ultimately goes back to the Bactrian locative adverb *μapo* [*mar*] “here” which, as a result of grammaticalization, developed into a demonstrative and then a focus marker. Therefore, it has no etymological connection with its homonym *mar* “number; account”, nor with the Early Judaeo-Persian preposition *azmar* (*i*) “for”. Grammaticalization of locative adverbs is a common process in world languages. It can also be seen in the two Iranian languages of Parāchi and Ormuṛi, where a locative adverb has developed into a marker of the specific direct object. In Classical Persian the function of marking the specific direct object was already assigned to the postposition *rā*<sup>8</sup>; therefore, the Bactrian locative adverb *μapo* [*mar*] which appeared as a loanword in the Persian dialects of Transoxiana and the northeastern part of present-day Afghanistan, assumed the function of a focus marker.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agostini, D. (2014), “Eschatological Seers and Otherworldly Travellers in Zoroastrianism”, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 302, pp. 47-73.  
 Bahār, M.-T. (1355/1976), *Sabkšenāsi*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 3 vols., Tehrān: Ketābhā-ye Parastu.

<sup>6</sup> Variouslly spelt as *k'w*, *'kw*, *k'w*, *kw*, *kuw*, *qw* (Gharib 1995: 31, 33, 187, 199, 202).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Old Avestan *kū* “where?”, *kudā* “whither?”, *kuθrā* “where?”, Young Avestan *kuua* “where?”, *kuθra* “where?”, *kudaṭ* “wherefrom?” (see also Sanskrit *ku-* in Mayrhofer 1956: I/217).

<sup>8</sup> From Middle Persian *rāy* (MacKenzie 1986: 71), from Old Persian *rādiy/rādī* “for the sake of” (Kent 1953: 205; Schmitt 2014: 236).

- Bailey, H. W. (1979), *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beekes, R. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols., Leiden: Brill.
- Benveniste, É. (1938), “Sur un fragment d’un psautier syro-persan”, *Journal asiatique*, vol. 230, pp. 458-462
- Benveniste, É. (1940), *Textes sogdiens: édités, traduits et commentés*, Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Bosson, G. (1985), *Empirische Universalienforschung: Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den neuiranischen Sprachen*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Cheung, J. (2007), *Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Verb*, Leiden: Brill.
- Dā’ī al-Islām, M.-‘A., *Farhang-e Neẓām*, 5 vols., Hyderabad (Deccan): A‘zam Steam Press/Šams al-Maṭābi‘ Machine Press, 1929-1932-1934-1938-1939.
- Darmesteter, J. (1883), *Études iraniennes*, 2 vols., Paris: F. Vieweg.
- Diessel, H. (1999), *Demonstratives: Form, Function, and Grammaticalization* (= Typological Studies in Language 42), Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Efimov, V. A. (1999a), “Ormuri jazyk”, in: *Jazyki mira: Iranske jazyki II: Severo-zapadnye iranske jazyki*, Moskva: Indrik, pp. 276-296.
- Efimov, V. A. (1999b), “Parači jazyk”, in: *Jazyki mira: Iranske jazyki II: Severo-zapadnye iranske jazyki*, Moskva: Indrik, pp. 257-275.
- Efimov, V. A. (2011), *The Ormuri Language in Past and Present*, ed. J. L. G. Baart, Islamabad: Forum for Language Initiatives.
- Enju Širāzi, M. J. Ḥ., *Farhang-e Jahāngiri*, ed. R. ‘Afifi, 3 vols., Mašhad: Dānešgāh-e Mašhad, 1351/1972.
- Eṣfahāni, Ḥ. (1289/1872), *Dastur-e Soḵan*, Iṣtānbul: Author.
- Eṣfahāni, Ḥ. (1308/1890), *Dabestān-e Pārsi*, Iṣtānbul: Čāpḵāne-ye Maḥmudbek.
- Faršidvard, Ḳ. (1382/2003), *Dastur-e Mofaṣṣal-e Emruz bar Pāye-ye Zabān-Šenāsi-ye Jadid*, Tehrān: Entešārāt-e Soḵan.
- Garšāsb-Nāma*, ed. Ḥ. Yağmā’i, Tehrān: Ketābforuši-ye Boruḳim, 1317/1938.
- Gershevitch, I. (1954), *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Gharib, B. (1995), *Sogdian Dictionary (Sogdian – Persian – English)*, Tehrān: Farhangān Publications.
- Gholami, S. (2014), *Selected Features of Bactrian Grammar*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Gignoux, Ph. (2010), “La collection de textes attribuables à Dādēn-vindād dans l’Archive pehlevie de Berkeley”, in: *Sources for the History of Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Iran* (= Res Orientales XIX), Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l’Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, pp. 11-134.

- Gindin, Th. E. (2007), *The Early Judaeo-Persian Tafsirs of Ezekiel: Text, Translation, Commentary*, 3 vols., Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Gray, L. H. (1937), "Notes on Modern Persian Morphology", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 69, part II, pp. 305-309.
- Heine, B., and Kuteva, T. (2002), *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Henning, W. B. (1962), "Persian Poetical Manuscripts from the Time of Rūdākī", *A Locust's Leg, Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd., 89-104.
- Homāyunfarroḡ, 'A. (1339/1960), *Dastur-e Jāme-'e Zabān-e Fārsi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Tehrān: Enteshārāt-e 'Elmi.
- Horn, P. (1893), *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
- Horn, P. (1898), "Neupersische Schriftsprache", in: *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Band I, 2. Abteilung, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, pp. 1-200.
- Jackson, A. V. W. (1892), *An Avesta Grammar in Comparison with Sanskrit (Part I: Phonology, Inflection, Word-Formation)*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Jāmi' al-Hikmatayn*, ed. H. Corbin and M. Mo'in, Tehrān: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1332/1953.
- Jones, W. (1771), *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, London: W. and J. Richardson.
- Kān al-'Ikwān*, ed. 'A. Qavim, Tehrān: Ketābkhāne-ye Bārāni, 1338/1959.
- Kāsf al-Mahjūb*, ed. V. A. Žukovskij, Leningrad: Gosudarstvennaja akademičeskaja tipografija, 1926.
- Kent, R. G. (1953), *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Ḳatib-e Rahbar, Ḳ. (1367/1988), *Dastur-e Zabān-e Fārsi: Ketāb-e Ḥoruf-e Ezāfe va Rabṭ*, Tehrān: Enteshārāt-e Sa'di.
- Kieffer, Ch. M. (2009), "Parachi", in: *The Iranian Languages*, ed. G. Windfuhr, London: Routledge, pp. 693-720.
- Lagarde, P. de (1884), *Persische Studien*, Göttingen: Abhandlungen der historisch-philologischen Classe der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen XXXI.2.
- Lazard, G. (1963), *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Lazard, G. (1982), *Les premiers poètes persans (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2 vols., Tehrān: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran.
- Lazard, G. (2009), "Qu'est devenue la préposition *ō*?", in: *Zarathushtra entre l'Inde et l'Iran: Études indo-iraniennes et indo-européennes offertes à Jean Kellens à l'occasion de son 65<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, ed. É. Pirart and X. Tremblay, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, pp. 169-176.



- Lenepveu-Hotz, A. (2018), "Specialization of an Ancient Object Marker in the New Persian of the Fifteenth Century", in: *Trends in Iranian and Persian Linguistics* (= Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs, vol. 313), ed. A. Korangy and C. Miller, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 81-100.
- MacKenzie, D. N. (1968), "An Early Jewish-Persian Argument", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 249-269.
- MacKenzie, D. N. (1986), *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: Oxford University Press.
- Macuch, M. (2008), "Anhang VI: Zur juristischen Terminologie der Berliner Pahlavi-Dokumente", in: *Berliner Pahlavi-Dokumente: Zeugnisse spätsassanidischer Brief- und Rechtskultur aus frühislamischer Zeit* (= Iranica 15), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 249-266.
- Maggi, M., and Orsatti, P. (2018), "From Old to New Persian", in: *The Oxford Handbook of Persian Linguistics*, ed. A. Sedighi and P. Shabani-Jadidi, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 7-51.
- Maškur, M.-J. (1340/1961), *Dastur-Nāme dar Šarf va Naḥv-e Zabān-e Pārsi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Tehrān: Mo'assese-ye Maṭbu'āti-ye Šarq.
- Mayrhofer, M. (1956-1976), *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, 3 vols., Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Mo'ayyedi, M., and Lotfī, 'A.-R. (1392/2013), "Barrasi-ye Sākt-e Do-Maf'uli dar Motun-e Adab-e Fārsi", *Paṣuhešhā-ye Zabān-Šenāsi*, year 5, no. 1, pp. 101-119.
- Moḥammad-Ḥosayn b. Kaḻaf Tabrizi, *Borhān-e Qāte'*, ed. M. Mo'in, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 4 vols., Tehrān: Ketābforuši-ye Ebn-e Sinā, 1342/1963.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1929-1967), *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. I: *Parachi and Ormuri* (1929), vol. II: *Iranian Pamir Languages (Yidgha-Munji, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi and Wakhi)* (1938), vol. III: *The Pashai Language*, 2. *Texts and Translations* (1944), Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard); vol. III: *The Pashai Language*, 1. *Grammar* (1967), Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Morgenstierne, G. (1985), "Parāčī", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. I, London/New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 522-525.
- Nafisi, 'A.-'A. (1355/1976), *Farhang-e Nafisi*, 5 vols., Tehrān: Ketābforuši-ye Kayyām.
- Nātel-e Kānlari, P. (1365/1986), *Tāriḻ-ye Zabān-e Fārsi*, revised ed., 3 vols., Tehrān: Našr-e Now.
- Parizāde, M. (1399/2020), "Dasturi-Šodegi-ye mar va Pirā-Ezāfe-ye mar ... rā dar Zabān-e Fārsi", *Paṣuhešhā-ye Zabān-Šenāsi-ye Taṭbiqi*, year 10, no. 20, pp. 221-242.
- Paul, L. (2013), *A Grammar of Early Judaeo-Persian*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Phyllott, D. C. (1919), *Higher Persian Grammar*, Calcutta: The University.
- Platts, J. T. (1894), *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, London: Williams and Norgate.

- Radetzky, P. K. (2002), *The Functions and Evolution of Topic and Focus Markers*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation in Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.
- Rückert, Fr. (1854), "Bemerkungen zu Mohl's Ausgabe des Firdusi, Band I", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 239-329.
- Şaḥebi, M. (1397/2018), "Vižegihā-ye Dasturi-ye Kamyāb va Barjaste dar Tarjome-ye Ad'īye-ye Daḳīrat al-'Āḳīrah", *Dastur*, no. 14, pp. 17-49.
- Salemann, C. (1895), "Mittelpersisch", in: *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Band I, 1. Abteilung, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, pp. 249-332.
- Schmitt, R. (2014), *Wörterbuch der altpersischen Königsinschriften*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Shaked, Sh. (2003), "Early Judaeo-Persian Texts with Notes on a Commentary to Genesis", in: *Persian Origins: Early Judaeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian*, ed. L. Paul, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 195-219.
- Sims-Williams, N. (1986), "Sogdian *kw* and Slavonic *kū*", *Peredneaziatskij sbornik* IV, pp. 116-121.
- Sims-Williams, N. (1989), "Bactrian Language", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. III, London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. 344-349.
- Sims-Williams, N. (2000), *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan, I: Legal and Economic Documents* (= Studies in the Khalili Collection, vol. III, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, part II, vol. VI), Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sims-Williams, N. (2007), *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan, II: Letters and Buddhist Texts* (= Studies in the Khalili Collection, vol. III, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, part II, vol. III), London: The Nour Foundation.
- Sims-Williams, N. (2011), "Early New Persian in Syriac Script: Two Texts from Turfan", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 74, no. 3, pp. 353-374.
- Steingass, F. J. (1892), *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited.
- Şafi'i, M. (1343/1964), *Şāhnāme va Dastur*, Tehrān: Entesārāt-e Nil.
- Ṭabī'īyyāt-e Dānešnāme-ye 'Alā'i*, ed. M. Meškāt, Tehrān: Anjoman-e Āṭār-e Melli, 1331/1952.
- Tafsīr-e Qor'ān-e Pāk*, ed. M. Minovi, Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, 1348/1969.
- Tārīk-e Bal'ami*, ed. M.-T. Bahār, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2 vols., Tehrān: Ketābforuši-ye Zavvār, 1353/1974.
- Tārīknāme-ye Ṭabari*, ed. M. Rowšan, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 5 vols., Tehrān: Entesārāt-e Soruš, 1380/2001.

- Tarjome-ye Qor'ān-e Muze-ye Pārs*, ed. A. Ravāqi, Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Irān, 1355/1976.
- Tarjome-ye Tafsir-e Ṭabari*, ed. H. Yağmā'i, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 7 vols., Tehrān: Enteshārāt-e Tus, 1356/1977.
- Vahman, F. (1986), *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag: The Iranian Divina Commedia*, London: Curzon Press.
- Vajh-e Din*, ed. T. Erāni, Berlin: Kaviani GmbH, 1343/1924.
- Weber, D. (2008), *Berliner Pahlavi-Dokumente: Zeugnisse spätsassanidischer Brief- und Rechtskultur aus frühislamischer Zeit* (= Iranica 15), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Whitney, W. D. (1879), *A Sanskrit Grammar*, Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel.
- Yoshida, Y. (2009), "Sogdian", in: *The Iranian Languages*, ed. G. Windfuhr, London: Routledge, pp. 279-335.