

Ela FILIPPONE University of the Tuscia, Viterbo

The Body and the Landscape

Metaphorical Strategies in the Lexicon of the Iranian Languages

1. Even if at a small extent, the speakers of a language concur to change their lexicon, which they have inherited as a whole. They are driven to do that by the necessity of naming something new or optimizing the onomasiological salience of already existing words, with a continuous changing in the way they express concepts. Needless to say, in order to avoid an overloading of the memory system, they are encouraged to recycle what is already existent. Through a small set of associative strategies, people relate a concept which has already been verbalized, with another one which has to be verbalized, producing lexical changes. Over time, however, the conceptual motivation which originated a particular designation becomes obscure to speakers. Large scale lexical surveys aid us in discovering recurrent (both universal and culturally bounded) schemas of designating a concept and recovering the relevant motivation for each designation, the 'iconym', as we might say, according to Mario Alinei's terminology.¹

In the general framework of cognitive onomasiology, I have outlined a project aimed at singling out the different 'pathways' through which natural physical concepts have been designated in the Ir. languages in order to get insight into the way Iranian speaking people have perceived and conceptualized the physical environment where they had to get their bearings and which they concurred to change with their constant activities.² To accomplish this work, I have started a few years ago gathering the relevant lexicon in the Ir. languages, using as sources mostly dictionaries and glossaries and also, for a few languages (mainly Persian and Baloči), information provided by native speakers. The corpus produced so far contains several thousands of words which appear to be of a remarkable interest.

There are several types of associative relations on which lexical innovation relies on; one of these is similarity. The best known process based on similarity is that of metaphor, a process through which we speak of a concept in terms of another, and whose main lines are similarity of shape, similarity of spatial configuration, functional similarity, etc. Since human beings perceive their bodies as an interface between themselves and the surrounding world, the body part lexicon overlaps in many points with those of other conceptual domains. First of all, the lexicon which is used to describe the environment. Metaphorical mappings involving human (or animal) body parts as a source, and elements of the landscape as a target, are commonly found in most languages.

¹ «Il termine scientifico che vorrei proporre è *iconimo*, che mi sembra adatto perché fonde apologicamente *icona* e *-onimo* 'nome', cioè 'nome-icona', 'nome motivante'», Alinei 1996: 9. Engl. *iconym* has been currently utilized, for example, by Joachim Grzega in his contributions to *Onomasiology Online*.

² This research is carried out within the frame of the *Ethnolinguistics of the Iranian area Project* (no. 9710425417), also drawing on lexical material from the *Comparative Etymological Balochi Dictionary Project* (no. MM10422399), both directed by Prof. Adriano V. Rossi and funded by the Italian Ministry of University at L'Orientale University, Naples.

While distinguishing idiosyncratic metaphorical expressions from the systematic ones, which reflect the metaphorical system structuring our actions and thoughts, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) write that the expression *the foot of a mountain* is to be considered as an idiosyncratic, unsystematic and isolated instance of a metaphorical concept, because, they say, «the foot of the mountain is the only used part of the metaphor A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON. In normal discourse we do not speak of the head, shoulder, or trunk of a mountain» (1980: 54-55). In their words, however, one notices the circular argumentation which characterizes many theoretical studies in which the metalanguage and the investigated language coincide, and this is, in most cases, English. If an English speaker cannot say ‘the head of a mountain’, for example, a Persian speaker can, and indeed he does. In fact, a Persian speaker can also think of shoulder, back, waist, neck, throat, breast, nose, etc. of the mountain. Besides, there is another point to stress here. Phonetical and lexical changes often obscure what in origin was transparent. For this reason, in order to understand processes of conceptualization, we cannot disregard diachronic lexicology. Only a diachronic cognitive onomasiology may account for the systematicity of a certain process.

Object of this paper will be a selection of Ir. terms for the head, or part of it, variously related to terms used to describe the landscape. The most common Ir. designations for the head belonging to the lexical set of Av. *sarah-*, MPrs. *sar*, Prs. *sar* etc. (the only ones having wide circulation in non-Iranological literature) are not included in the present work; I postpone a detailed treating of this to another occasion. Furthermore, no mention will be done of the different lexicalization patterns, such as derivation, composition, lexical syntagms etc., nor am I going to dwell upon problems of phonetic nature.³

The physical position of the head is responsible for a natural association of it with the topmost part of any object with a relevant vertical dimension; in a mountain, a hill, or a whatsoever relief the head represents the ‘top’, the ‘peak’. On the other side, the round shape of a head induces the creation of new words meaning ‘hill’, ‘hillock’, ‘knoll’, or small elevations through semantic and lexical changes in words originally meaning ‘head’.

2. Beside *sar*, a common Prs. designation for ‘head’ is *kalle*, which is the ‘head’ as a whole, but also the ‘skull’, in some local variants the ‘top of the head’ and the ‘brain’.⁴ Here should also belong Prs. *kalān* “crown of the head”, *kalāl* and *kalāk* “upper part of the forehead”.

Cognates of Prs. *kalle* have a very large diffusion, as is made clear by the repertoire collected in the BODY DOMAIN section of Table 1 below. They are found in both WIr. (with very few exceptions) and EIr.; scholars agree on the fact that the EIr. forms are Prs. loanwords.

Prs. *kalle* does not have a strong literary tradition, notwithstanding the few quotations from the classical poetry in Dehxodā. It is a ‘popular’ term, and its belonging to a specific register is often marked by the authors of lexical compilations, which tend to brand it as ‘impolite’, ‘colloquial’, etc. Perry (2003: 17, 20) mentions *sar* : *kalle* among the pairs of non-

³ All the Ir. words in this paper are quoted according to the transcription systems adopted in the original sources. For each Ir. language/dialect a main source reference is given in *Abbreviations* below; different sources are stated when necessary. Persian and Baloči words are quoted according to a broad phonemic transcription. The large amount of quotations from disparate sources inevitably leads to many inconsistencies in transcription.

⁴ Hence metonymically “intelligence” (Monteil 1954); cf. also Prs. *bākalle* “wise”, *bikalle* “foolish”.

cognate lexical units differentiating Formal Standard (FS) and Informal Standard (IS) Persian. In some areas, *kalle* is more frequent in speech than *sar*, as is explicitly stated by Eilers (1988: 323) with regard to Siv. *kalle*. This fact has favoured a grammaticalization process: cognates of Prs. *kalle* have come to serve grammatical functions (“on, above”). Even in IS Persian, *kalle* is used as a functional, which, apart from locative phrases such as *kalle-ye kuh* “on the top of the mountain” (besides “top of the mountain”), mainly occurs in temporal expressions, such as *kalle-ye sobh*, *kalle-ye sahar*, *kalle-ye āftāb* “early in the morning”; correspondingly, in SF Persian one finds *sar-e sobh*, *avval-e sahar* etc. Some outcomes of this grammaticalization process are collected in the LOCATIVE FUNCTION section of Table 1. However, since a convergence with other functional word sets, meaning “around”, “with” or “near”, with quite different etymons and iconyms (< ‘circularity’; < ‘side of the body’)⁵ may have happened,⁶ the items shown in the list are only indicative; for some of them, their being mentioned there may be questioned.

We cannot rule out the possibility that antecedents of Prs. *kalle* would have been in use in ancient times, but no occurrence of them has been found, to my knowledge, in Old and Middle Ir. texts. If they did exist, their ‘popular’ status might have blocked their usage in written texts. What is the iconym involved in their creation is still unclear.

The most accredited etymology for Prs. *kalle* connects it to Prs. *kal* “bald”. Eilers (1988: 323), for example, points to a (not only semantic) parallel with Lat. *calvus*, from which *calua* “skull” would originate; see also Pokorny, s.v. *k₂laŋo-*. However, there is not a general agreement on the origin of Lat. *calua*. According to Ernout-Meillet, for example, the fact that *calua* has been connected with *calvus* (and therefore used only as “bald head” by Marziale) rests on a folk etymology; originally *calua* should have meant something like “jug, jar”. This hypothesis has been rejected by André (1991: 28). Admittedly, the association between ‘head’ and ‘baldness’ is intriguing, but in many cases still controversial, at least as far as the direction of this associative process is concerned. I will confine myself to quoting here Prs. *tās*, “a kind of bowl; dice” and “bald” (also *kalle-ye tās*),⁷ largely diffused in Ir.; cf. SKurd. *tās* “copper basin; bald head”; Krm. *tās* “a big copper vessel; pieces at the backgammon; bald head”⁸; Šir. *tās* “large metal bowl; bald head”; Sist. *tās* “bald head; bowl” (Afšār Sistāni 1986); Rod. *tās* “bald”, Gil. *tās*, *tās-ə kal* “bald head” (Pāyande 1987, s.v. *kačal*); Māz. (Klr.) *tās* “bald” (s.v. *tās*); Ir.Āz. (Čāl.) *tās* “bald”; Sarik. *toz* “bald-headed”, Wx. *ṭaz* “bald”, etc. The first problem to solve is the following: should one consider Prs. *tās* as a polysemic word or should one speak of two (or more) homophonic words? Mo’in and Lazard, for example, distinguish two different headwords (*tās*¹ and *tās*²) in their dictionaries. Kieffer (1997: 387) compares (Afg.)Prs *kal-e tās*, *kal-e tāsī* («lit. chauve comme un *tās* [ṭās] bol de cuivre, allusion à un crâne luisant») to Fr. *chauve comme une boule de*

⁵ Cf. Yzd. *gal* “with” (Vahman-Asatrian 2002), Krm. *gel* “near; with” (Sarrāfi 1996); SKurd. *gal* “with”; Kuhpāye *gil* “um-herum” (Eilers 1990: 222); Lār. *gals* “with, together”; Bxt. *gal* “with”, *kel* “near, at the side of”, (Mann 1910) *g’ēl* “ringsum”, Semn. *gal* “near”, etc. Compare here also SKurd. *gird* “around”, etc.; Āvarzamāni *gard* “with” (Dehghan 1970: 267).

⁶ Such a convergence could have favoured the voicedness of the initial *k-*, as showed for example by Bxt. *gal* “on, above”, compared with Lo. *kall* “on the top of”.

⁷ The graphic variants with initial *te* (⤵) and initial *tā* (⤴) are both accepted. The latter, the more standardized one, is in fact a *mo’arrab* form of the original Ir. word; cf. Man.Prth. *tāst(ag)* “cup”; Phl. *tašt* “bowl”, *tās* “die”.

⁸ Purhoseyni 1991: 305; see also *tās* (graphic variant with *te*) “large copper basin generally used in the *hammām*” (*ibid*: 112).

billard. But elsewhere (p. 406) he leaves open the possibility of a different interpretation («*tās chauve. kalla-e tās tête chauve* [...]. Cf. arabe *ṭās coupe en métal* (comme français *tête* < latin *testa* pot), ou bien orthographe arabisée d'un mot **tās* ?»). Steblin-Kamenskij (1999: 371), also mentioning the several Turk.-Mong. forms of which Wx. *ṭaz* is considered to be an adaptation, points ultimately to Ar.-Prs. *tās* “bowl”. And if we accept, as I think we should, that Prs. *tās* is a polysemic word, would we assume a direct cognitive link ‘bowl’ → ‘baldness’, or would we rather presuppose intermediate steps,⁹ such as those attested by SBal. *sare tās(uk)* “the part of the head which is lower than the top and higher than the front” (Hashmi 2000; cf. *tās* “bowl”), Kurm. Kurd. *tasa serî* “crown of the head; parietal bone” (cf. *tas* “metal bowl”), Lsg. *tāsak-e-kalla* “skull”; Kuz. *tās* “fontanel”¹⁰?

Diachronically, Prs. *kalle* is the result of an *-*aka-* suffixation, a lexical process matching well with the alleged derivation (‘bald’ > ‘head’). But we cannot exclude other possible pathways in the formation of this word. Prs. *kalle* may derive from an original *kal* whose primary meaning could have been something different from “bald”. It is a Prs. *kal* that Morgenstierne (1974: 40) thinks of, when, with regard to the different Šyn. forms (*kāl, kīl, kol* etc.) speaks of an «ancient lw. < Prs. *kal(la)*». Gauthiot (1916: 264) links Yazg. *kal* to a «tâdjik montagnard *kal*», both meaning “head”; add here also Box. *kal-* in *kalpuš*, a variant of *kalapuš* “chapeau” (Bau 2003). In Ārān and Bidgol, at the border of the Kavir desert, *kal* is “head”. Let’s suppose then, that Prs. *kalle* derives from a form *kal* “head”, or perhaps “bald head”, according to a predictable semantic change from ‘skull’ in words of popular origin. Now, there is a universal, recurrent schema of designating the ‘skull’ through words for ‘recipients’, such as a drinking or a cooking-vessel, or any kind of cups, bowls, etc. Consider Prs. *kāse-ye sar*, but also Lat. *calua* (if one follows Ernout-Meillet), Engl. *skull* and the several instances listed in Buck 1949, s.v. *skull* and *head*, sharing the same iconym. To conclude our reasoning, we should look for words referring to vessels potentially connectible to Prs. *kal(le)*. We find them numerous in WIr. (mainly in the central dialects, Lori, Fārs and the coastal area); suffice to remind Šir., Buš., Farām., Bxt. etc. *kal*, designating an earthen (sometimes broken) vessel, generally used as a container for animals food. Worth noting is also Siv. *kalapošt, källepūšt* “turtle”; it seems hard to interpret it differently from *kāsepošt* and *lākpošt*, the Prs. names of the turtle referring to the shell (*kāse* “bowl”, *lāk* “wooden cup”) carried on the animal’s back¹¹; semantically, Siv. *kala* should somehow correspond to Prs. *kāse* and *lāk*.¹²

⁹ Metaphorical processes, starting from ‘bowl’ (and the etymological *tās*-group), gave rise to denominations of other body parts, such as ‘pubes’; cf. SKurd. *tāska*; Lo. *tāska*; *vartāsga*. Unvala (1958: 15 fn. 1) explains Lo. *war-e tāske* “part above the mount of Venus” as «*war* = prs. *bar* ‘above’, *tāske* = prs. *ṭāsak, ṭāsča* ‘little cup’».

¹⁰ On the regularity of this associative path see also below.

¹¹ Eilers (1988: 322) is inclined to associate this word to (Prs.?) *kāl* “stark” (see also p. 375), though he doesn’t neglect other possibilities («Evtl. zu *kälä* „Kopf“»).

¹² According to Vahman-Asatrian 1991: 108-109, the «semantical connection of *kāsa-* with *kāsa* ‘pan’» in Bxt. *kāsapušt* would be only a matter of ‘Volksetymologie’. In my opinion, however, it is irrelevant that many Ir. terms for ‘tortoise’ (Av. *kasiāpa-*, Sgd. *kyšf*, Khot. *khuyśaa-*, MPrs. *kašawag*, Prs. *kašaf, kašav*, PŠt. *kašap*, Bal. *kāsib/p* (Marw Bal. *kāsalunk*); Kurd. *kīso, kūsi, Zā. kese* etc.; see also Skt. *kaśyapa-*) have nothing to do with Prs. *kāse* “bowl”; the Prs. compound *kāsepošt* may have been ‘created’ intentionally (the strict assonance of *kāse* “bowl” [< Sem.; Maškur 1978] with Ir. words for ‘tortoise’ could have favoured the process), according to a recurrent onomasiological pattern (cf. also Lat. *testūdō*, from which It. *testuggine* etc. derive).

BODY DOMAIN ('head')

Prs. *kalle* "head; crown or hinder part of head (*kalle-ye sar*)"; *kalāl* "crown of the head"; Afg.Pr. *kala*; Tāj. *kalla* "head; skull"; *kalol* "crown of the head"; Brj. *kallā*; TurbHayd. *kella*; Nuq. *kella*; Sist. *kalla*; Bxt. *kala* (ČL *kalla*) "head, skull"; Lo. (BG) *kalla(i sar)*; (Mam.) *k'ala*; Šušt. *kalla*; Ark. *kalla*; Lak. *kaLa*; SKurd. *kala*; Krmnš. Kurd. *kala*; Mah. Kurd. *kalla*; Sul. Kurd. *kele*; Gur. *kalla* (Mokri 1966); Zā. *kele* "skull" (Todd 1985); Ir.Āz. (Alamut) *kalā*; (Čāl) *kalla*; (Xoy) *kalla*; Tāl. *kəllā*; Gil. *kallā*; (Māč.) *kalla*; Māz. (Sā.) *kalle*; (Klr.) *kal(l)e*; Srx. *kōlle*; Aft. *kalle*; Semn. *kalla*; Sangs. *kalle* (Sotude 1963); Ašt. *kalla*; Vfs. *kəllə*; Kah. *kalla*; Mei. *kala*; Ard. *kalle* (Bailey 1933-35); Ār.-Bidg. *kal*; Biāb. *kalla*; Krm. *kalle*; Xu. *kallo*, *gallo* "skull, head"; Vaĵg. *kalla*; Srj. *kale*; JPrs. (Esf.) *kalle*, (Krm., Yzd.) *kallo*; Nāi. *kale* (Lecoq 2002); Xuns. *kellā*, *killā* (Eilers 1976: 13); Yzd. *kala* "head, skull"; *sar i kala*, *kala i sar* "top of the head"; Qohr. *kalle*; Tār. *kalla*; Anr. *kalla*; Siv. *kalle*; Varz. *kella*; Šir. *kale*; Dav. *kalla*; *kalle-y ser* "top of the head"; Knd. *k'alla*; Gāv. *kalla*; Zarq. *kalle* (impolite); *kalle-ye sar* "top of the head"; Buš. *kale*; Rod. *kalla*; Fin. *kale*; Lār. *kalla*; Bast. *kāllā*; Pšt. *kala*; Par. *kal*, *kala* (Morgenstierne 1929); Išk. *kal(l)a* "head", *kal* "skull"; Sangl. *kal* "skull"; Wx. *kəl(l)ayi sar* "skull"; Sarik. *kol*; Mnj. *kāla*; Šyn. *kīl* "head"; Yazg. *kāl* "head; hair of the head"; Bart. *kāl*; Roš., Xuf. *kāl*, *kol*; Oroš. *k'āl*, *kāl*; Yġn. *kallā*; *sarkallā*, *sarkāllā*.

LANDSCAPE DOMAIN

Prs. *kalle* "top, summit"; *kalāl* "mountain top"¹³; *kalle-ye kuh* "id."; Afg.Pr. *kal(a)-e kō* "id." (Kieffer 1997: 394); Badxš. *kalapā* "sloping down, downhill"; Madgl. *kalapā* "downwards"; Tāj. (Karategin) *kalayri* "plough-land near the top of the mountain" (= *sariyri*) (Rozenfel'd 1982); Haz. *qawl* "height"; (Dulling 1973) *qalbala* "upstream", *qalšew* "downstream; down a valley"; TurbHayd. *kellepā*; Nuq. *kellepā* "downhill"; Bxt. *kala* "top"; Lo. (BG) *kall* "pass, defile"; Šušt. *kalla* "peak, top"; *kalla-e koh* "mountain top"; Ark. *kalla* "point" (*be kallae kuh rasid* "he arrived to the top of the mountain"); *gal* "top"; SKurd. *kal* "peak; hill; mountain; pass"; *qala popa* "mountain top"; Krmnš. Kurd. *kal*, Mah. Kurd. *kal* "mountain, hill"; Sul. Kurd. *kel* "top, peak"; Gur. (Gahw.) *kāl* "pass, defile"; Zā. (H) *gil* "peak, top"; (K) *qil* "hill, heap"; Ir.Āz. *kal* "pass, hill"; Vfs. *ku-kəllə* "top of a mountain"; Gil. (Māč.) *gal* "top"; Sangs. *kal* "mountain ridge"; Srj. *kale* "the topmost point"; *kale kardan* "to heap"; Nāi. *kala*, Qohr. *kalle*, *gal* "summit"; Buring. *kālā* "height"; Mās. *k'alle-y ko*, Kuz. *k'alla* "mountain top"; Išk. *kalapo* "downwards"; *kalapoyi* "slope"; Sangl. *kalapāy* "slope"; Wx. *kəlapo(i)*, (Badaxši 1960: 67) *kalapāsabk* "downhill"; Sarik. *kol* "top, peak"; Mnj. *kālāpo* "downwards"; *kālāpoyi* "slope"; Ydy. *kalāpo* "down"; Šyn. *kāl* (-*gāl*) "peak, summit; beginning"; *kālak* "summit; high part of the field"; *kalapōy* "downhill"; Yazg. *kāl* "top side; peak, extremity"; *kəlapə* "downhill; slope"; Roš.-Xuf. *kāl* (-*gāl* in composition) "peak, summit"; Oroš. *kəļəpōi* "upside down".

LOCATIVE FUNCTION

Prs. *kalle-ye kuh* "on the top of the mountain"; *kalle-ye sobh* "early in the morning"; Bxt. *gal* "on, above"; Lo. (BG) *kall* "on top of"; Šušt. *kall-e bun* "on the roof"; Ir.Āz. (Čāl.) *gal* "on, around"; Māz. (Vel.) *kalla* "up, above"; Srj. *kale-y sehar* "early in the morning"; Xuns. *gāl-e* "um, an, auf, über"; Gz. *gāl* "an, auf, über, um" (= *sar-e*); Yzd. *gal* (prep.) *gal-i draxt vānudvun* "to hang something on a tree"; Qohr. *gal* "above"; Tār. *kalla* "on"; *gāl* "on, above"; Buring. *kālā* "over"; Šyn. *gāl-ti* (*tāx-gāl-ti* "on the top of hill"; *žir-gāl-ti* "on the top of rock"; Yazg. *kāl* (postp.) "on, above"; Bart. *kāl* (postp.) "on".

Table 1. Prs. *kalle* and its cognates.

The similarity among vessels and skulls, all being round in shape, might have brought to a metaphorical association. Among the senses given for *kal* and *kalle* in Dehxodā, and for *kalle* in Mo'in, there is that of "everything round and plump"; Dehxodā gives *kal* and *kalle* as variants of *kol* and *kolle*, with which they have in common the sense of "curved". A confirmation of this is Nāi. *kalu*, Anr. *kalou* "everything curved" (Sohrābi 1994) and Brj. *kallā*, which besides "head" also means "curved, arched". Worth mentioning here is the fact

¹³ In Dehxodā, the sense "peak of mountain" is erroneously recorded s.v. *kalāl* "to get tired" and not s.v. *kalāl* "crown of the head".

that a similar base with very near senses also works in Semitic: cf. Akk. *kilīlum* “wreath”, Ar. *kallala* “to crown”, *iklīl* “crown, tonsure”, *mukallal* “crowned” etc., which Eilers refers to a base KL “rund, ganz” (1977: 161-63).

As the head is the top segment of a human body, the *kalle* is the top of any object with a relevant vertical dimension (as a mountain or a tree), or the most relevant (and rounded) extremity in objects like an eggplant (*kalle-ye bādemjān*), or a lettuce (*kalle-ye kāhu*).

Prs. *kalle* is then “top, summit” and *kalle-ye kuh* is the “top of the mountain”. The meaning of “top, summit”, alongside “head”, is explicitly recorded in the relevant lexicography for all the terms listed in the LANDSCAPE DOMAIN section of Table 1, like Ark. *kalla*, Aft. *kalle*, etc. There one also finds Ir. words, meaning “hill, mountain” or “pass of a mountain”, such as SKurd. *kal*, Zā. *qil*, etc., as well as lexical compounds, similar in structure to Prs. *sarpāyin(i)* “down-hill, slope, declivity” (such as IS Prs. *kallepā* “upside down”, Badxš. *kalapā* “sloping down, downhill”, Madgl. *kalapā* “downwards” etc., borrowed in the EIr. languages) and to Prs. *sarbālā* and *sarāšib* (such as Haz. *qalbala* “upstream; up a valley”; *qalšew* “downstream; down a valley”, differently interpreted in Dulling 1973: 73, where the first part of these compounds is referred to Turk. *qol* “valley”).

3. The BODY DOMAIN section of Table 2 below contains some Ir. words connected with MPrs. *čak* “top of the skull (of sheep)” (Nyberg 1974) and Sgd. *čakāt* “forehead”,¹⁴ all along well familiar in the Iranistic literature. They mostly denote a part of the head or the face, shifting from ‘top of the head’ (Gil. *čaku*) to ‘nape’ (WBal. *čakk*), from ‘forehead’ (Sgd. *čakāt*) to ‘temple’ (Wx. *čakka*) and from ‘cheek’ (Tāj. *čakka*, Lār. *čaak*) to ‘chin’ (Prs. *čak*, BoyAhm.-Kuhg. *čak*, *čake*, Gil. *čakan*). EIr. forms are mostly loanwords from Tājik (cf. Wx. *čakka*), or Turk.-Mong. languages (cf. Par. *čöqi*, Haz. *čayu*). I have already commented on this lexical set elsewhere (Filippone 1996: 300-301),¹⁵ in connection with Bal. *čakk*; I have suggested there to consider it as an areal lexical feature, grouping together IIr. and Turk.-Mong. languages. Bal. *čakk* is to my knowledge the only word of this group which has undergone a grammaticalization process (Bal. *čakkā* “on, above”) and therefore it appears alone in the third section of the Table.

In (mainly IS) Persian and other Ir. languages, there are a few compounds where a sequence *čak* occurs as their first component. They sound like the alliterative compounds of the type *Cak-(o-)C...*, where C represents any initial consonant of the second component; the first component is generally an echo structure devoid of meaning.¹⁶ This may be the case, for example, of Ham. *ček-e-čašm*, Qom. *čak-o-čašm* “sight”. But one can hardly forget the afore mentioned *čak*/‘chin’, when considering lexical items for the lower part of the face, such as (1) IS Prs. *čakk-o-čil*; Šir. *čak-o-čil*, Dav. *čak-o-če:l*, Buš. *čak-o-čil*; (2) IS Prs. *čakk-o-čāne*¹⁷; Šir. *čak-o-čōneh*; Dav. *čak-o-čuna*; Krmnš. Kurd. *ček-o-čana*; *ček-o-čenāva*; *čak-o-čanāka*; Delij. *čako čonae*; 3) Afg.Pr. *čak-u-pūz* (“figure, looks”); Šir. *čak-o-pôz*, Dašt. *ček-e puz*; Delij.

¹⁴ Though Sgd. *čakāt* and *tār* (see below § 4) seem to be practically synonyms, the former is better translated as “forehead” than “top of the head” (Sundermann 2002: 138 fn. 2).

¹⁵ See there for further references.

¹⁶ As far as I know, there is not a detailed analysis of this particular compounding pattern so far; it would certainly prove of great interest.

¹⁷ By semantic extension, *čakk-o-čāne* also means “hagging”.

čako pūz,¹⁸ or similarly forget the *čak*/'nape of the neck', when considering Gil. *čak-u-čanbar* "nape of the neck" (Mar'aši 1976) and Krmnš. Kurd. *čak-e-šan* "high part of the shoulder".

In the LANDSCAPE DOMAIN section of Table 2 there are terms for 'mountain peak', as MPrs. *čagād*, Prs. *čakād(e)*, with its *mo'arrab* variants *jakād* and *jahād*, or common terms for 'hill' and 'mountain', as pan-Kurd. *čiyā*, Bxt. *čagā* (Xasravi 1989), Lo. *čeqā* etc. Interestingly enough, these words for 'hill', with loss of the final *-d*, characterize a small compact area in Western Iran. Such a lexical areal compactness may be useful while reconstructing the dialectal background of authors of mss. of uncertain provenance, as is the case with the translator of the Book of Amos in Judeo-Persian, published by Carlsen (1984), where we find the forms *čyy'/čy'*. In the southern belt of Iran (including Fārs and Lārestān), stony parts of a mountain are referred to with *čak*, a word which plausibly also belongs here.

As Abaev has already pointed out, the meaning "northern side of a mountain" of Oss. *cægat* derive from the notion of 'back side' (for the motivation see the instances of *čak*/'nape of the neck'); the recurrent metaphorical association of 'front' and 'boundary, limit' (compare It. *fronte* vs. *frontiera*) accounts for the sense "border, side", acquired by Yyn. *čakka* (prob. < Tāj.) "front".

BODY DOMAIN

MPrs. *čak* "the top of the skull; of a sheep; the extremity of a head (the nose and the chin)"; Sgd. *čakāt* "forehead"; Prs. *čak* "the lower jaw and chin"; *čahād* "forehead"; *čakād*, *čakāde* "top, crown of head; top of forehead" (also *sabkād*, *sakād*, *sepkād*); Tāj. *čakka* "cheek"; *čakod(a)* "top of the head; top of the forehead"; (Box.) *čakka* "temple", *čakak* "chin, lower jaw"; Haz. *čayu* "temple" (Dulling 1973); Tāl. *čakud*, *čakut* "forehead"; Gil. *čaku* "forehead, top of the head"; *čakan* "lower jaw; chin"; *pase čak* "nape of the neck" (Mar'aši 1976); Māz. (Klr.) *čakan* "jaw"; Lsg. *čake* "jaw"; *čakone* "lower jaw"; Srx. *čokone* "lower jaw"; Semn. *čakone* "lower jaw"; Tāleqāni *čaken* "chin" (Adib Tusi 1963-64); Lo. (BoyAhm.-Kuhg.) *čak*, *čake* "chin"; Zor.Yzd. *čok* "jaw" (Adib Tusi 1963-64); Zor. Krm. *čog* "jaw"; Lār. *čaak* "cheek"; Farām. *rahé čak* "parting of the hair"; WBal. *čakk* (Nuški) "nape of the neck"; (Kalāt; Xārān) "collar-bone"; SBal. "face, cheek" (Hashmi 2000); Yyn. *čakká* "temple"; (Mirzāzāde-Qāsemi 1995) "forehead"; Par. *čōqi* "temple, cheek"; Wx. *čakka* "temple" (Morgenstierne 1938).

LANDSCAPE DOMAIN

MPrs. *čagād* "peak, summit"; Sgd. *čakāt* "peak"; Prs. *čahād*, *čakād(e)*, *sabkād*, *sakād*, *sepkād* "mountain peak"; *jakād* "summit of a mountain"; *jahād* "hard ground without vegetation"; Tāj. *čakod(a)* "top of the mountain"; JPrs. (Book of Amos) *čyy'/čy'*, (The Song of songs) *čy'd*, *jy'd*, *čy'th* "top, summit of mountain"; Gil. *čaku* "peak"; Kurd. *čiya* "mountain, hill"; Lak. *čeyā* "hill"; Bxt. *čagā*, (Pāgač) *čogā* "hill" (Kalaki 1973); Lo. *čeqā* "small hills"; (BG) *čayā* "hill"; Dezf. *čoyā* "hill" (Emām 2000); Xuns. *čiyā*, *čeyā* "mountain, hill"; Dav. *čak* "mountain path difficult to pass"; Lir.-Deyl. *čak* "mountain path difficult to pass" (Lirāvi 2001: 218); Lār. *čak* "part of a mountain with smooth and hard stones"; Fin. *čak* "smooth part of a mountain"; Yyn. *čakká* "border; side, place"; Oss. *cægat* "northern side of a mountain".

LOCATIVE FUNCTION

Bal. *čakkā* "on, above".

Table 2. Prs. *čak* and its cognates.

4. No less familiar to the Iranologists than the *čakād* group is that to which Prs. *tār* "top of the head" belongs, with Khot. *ttāri-* and Sgd. *tār* "top of the head"¹⁹ as Ir. recorded

¹⁸ For this last group, in any case, resorting to an alliterative compound is untenable, since the second element starts with a different consonant.

antecedents. In consideration of Oss. *tar* “breast”, also occurring in the dyadic compound *tār-nyx* (see below, § 6.1), Abaev suggests that OIr. **tāra-* may have denoted the ‘top of the head’, the ‘forehead’ and the ‘breast’.

What clearly emerges from the terms gathered in Table 3 below is the Eastern origin of this lexical base. Its presence in literary Persian (a consistent presence, indeed; suffice it to count the occurrences of *tārak* in the *Šāhnāme* of Ferdowsi), as well as in East. Prs. (see for ex. Tājik and Sistāni) may be due to the early development of the Prs. literature in Central Asia. Prs. *tār* is probably a Sgd. loanword.²⁰ The syntactic *ezāfe* construction in expressions recorded in EIr., such as Išk. *tā-i-sar* or Mnj. *toisār*, clearly points to Prs. loanwords; this does not mean, however, that all the other forms recorded in EIr. should be considered as loanwords.

Human beings conceptually associate the top of the head and the roof of the mouth. This is proved by how these parts of the body have been verbalized. In a number of languages the same terms denote both; in others, terms deriving from the same etymon refer to the roof of the mouth or to the top of the head.²¹ In consideration of the modern IA words quoted by Turner (1966) with reference to Skt. *tālu-* “palate”, most of which also, or only have the meaning “top of the head”, an etymological connection between OIA **tāl-* and OIr. **tār-* (a proposal which, to my knowledge, has never been advanced) should not be discarded. Note that Afg.Pr. and Xor. variants have a lateral [l] (*tālāq*; see also Haz. *talya* and Orm. *tâlâk*, likely a loanword). As far as Pšt. *tālū* and Bal. *tālo* (Mayer 1910) and *tārok* (Hashmi 2000) “palate” are concerned, they are in all likelihood borrowings from an IA language.²² The parallelism ‘top of the head’ : ‘roof of the mouth’ has favoured a further associative process, whereby Sarik. *tur* came to denote the ‘upper jaw’.

The rootedness of this lexical base in East. Prs. and EIr. accounts for the grammaticalization process which produced locative adpositions (see the third section of Table 3), in the same way as locative adpositions derived from *sar*, *kalle* and *čakk*. This confirms even more the regularity of such a grammatical pattern. A grammaticalization process is attested in Tājik, where *tor-i* (i.e., *tor* followed by the *ezāfe i*) means “on, above”, as in *tor-i in bom* “on this roof” (Ravāqi 2004: 101); consequently the expression *tor-i sar* has to be contextually disambiguated as “top of the head” or “on / above the head”. Here also could belong the Šyn. postposition *tīr* and Šyn. *ter* “top”; Morgenstierne (1974: 81) did not assume an etymological link between the two mentioned forms and Šyn. *tōr* “top, summit”, Sarik. *tur* “back of the head” (« prob. < Prs. *tār*»), Yazg. *tern* “crown of the head” (<**tārana-*, *ibid.*: 116), proposing for them a very doubtful derivation («from ***tara-*»). However, we cannot exclude the possibility that a contamination with a different lexical base has taken place; cf. SKurd. *tîra* “stature”; *tîraga* “high”; *tîraga šān* “top of the mountain”; Sul. Kurd.

¹⁹ That *ttāra-* in Bailey is wrong (being the word an *i*-stem) is pointed out by Emmerick (2002: 13-14), who also remarks that, though Khot. *ttāri-* has often been translated as “forehead”, «there is no evidence for any meaning other than ‘top of the head, crown’». Similarly, Sundermann (2002: 137 fn. 6) states that it is more appropriate to attribute to Sgd. *tār* the meaning “top of the head” (certain in most of its occurrences) than that of “forehead”, previously attributed to it (possible, but by no means certain in a few passages).

²⁰ See also Ravāqi 2004: *si-o-hašt*.

²¹ See also Filippone 1995: 25.

²² Cf. for example Sir. *tālo* and Si. *tāruṅ* “palate; crown of the head”.

tîreshan “spur”, Brj. *tir* “height” (*tir-e u = qadd-o-bālā-ye u*), having as antecedents Av. *taēra-*, MPrs. *tērag* “mountain peak, summit”.²³

The second section of Table 3 exhibits a few designations for landscape elements. We find, as normally expected, peaks of mountains, as Sgd. *γārē tār*, Tāj. *tor-i kuh* or Afg.Prs. *tālāq-i kūh*, but also denominations for small reliefs, as Prs. *tāre*; as a result of further associative processes, we find small reliefs delimiting fields (taxonomic subordination), as Par. *tōrek* and Mnj. *turāj* (Badaxši 1960: 207), or denominations for the high part of a village or a valley, as Yazg. *tern* and *tūr*.

BODY DOMAIN (‘top/crown of the head’)

Khot. *ttāri-*; Sgd. *tār*; Prs. *tār(e)*, *tārak*; Sist. *tār* (Afšār Sistāni 1986); Afg.Prs. *tālāq*; Tāj. *tor(ak)*, *tor-i sar* (Ravāqi 2004); (Badaxš.) *to-yi sar*, *tori*, (Vanji) *torčək* (Rozenfel’d 1982); Haz. *tolγa*, *tarγy*; Wx. *torək*; Orm. *tālāk*; Yyn. *sāre tork*; Sarik. *tur* “upper jaw”; *tur(eq)* (“top of the head”); Išk. *tā-i-sar*; Mnj. *toysār*; Yazg. *tern* (“temple, top of the head”); Oss. *tar (itaræ)* “breast”; EBal. *tālo*, *tārok* “palate”; Pšt. *tālū* “palate”.

LANDSCAPE DOMAIN

Sgd. *γārē tār* “mountain top” (*Dhyāna*); Prs. *tār(ak)* “top, summit”; *tāre* “dome; little hill, heap”; Afg.Prs. *tālāq-i kūh* “mountain top”; Tāj. *torak* “the top of anything”; (dial.) Tāj. *tor* “peak, top” (Ravāqi 2004, Rozenfel’d 1982); Haz. *tolaya* “crest; top of mountain” (Dulling 1973); Wx. *tor(ək)* “peak”; Par. *tōrek* (Š) “levée de terre délimitant une unité d’irrigation, un champ irrigué en une fois”; Yyn. *tor* “peak, summit”; Mnj. *turāj* [Prs. *band*] “headland”; Yazg. *tūr* “top part; high part of the valley (or the village)”; *torak* “the high part of a tjubetjka”; *patūr* “high part of the valley”; *tern* “high part of the village”; Šyn. *tīr*, *tōr*, Xuf., Roš. *tor*, Bart. *tōr*, Sarik. *ter* etc. “top, summit”, Sarik. *tur(eq)* “top, peak”.

LOCATIVE FUNCTION

(dial.) Tāj. *tor-i* “on, over”; Sarik. *ter* “on the top; on, above”; Yazg. *tūr* “on, above” (*tūr-zang* “upper jaw”; *tūr(i) dān* “upper teeth”); Šyn. *tīr*, Xuf., Roš. *tor*, Bart. *tōr* etc. “up, above, on the top of”.

Table 3. Prs. *tār* and its cognates.

5. Body parts and elements of the physical world may be designated by terms which are originally related each other, but not through a direct mental association. A perceived similarity in shape or other features, for example, may lead to choose the same iconym and the same etymon in naming referents belonging to different domains. We cannot speak in such cases of a source and a target since no real metaphorical mapping has occurred. This might be the case with the words gathered in Tables 4a and 4b below, all of them cognates of Prs. *tok*.

Prs. *tok* “beak of bird”, also “point of a spear, etc.”, is labelled as ‘familiar’ by Lazard (1990). In most lexical compilations where *tok* or its cognates have been recorded, they are given the meaning of “point (of anything)” and therefore they enter the body part lexicon in several ways, such as IS Prs. *tok-e pā*,²⁴ Ham. *tok-e pā* “the tip of the foot” (and by extension “the blow given with the tip of the foot”), Šahr. *tokepā* “the toes”; IS Prs. *tok-e angošt*, Mahall. *tôk* “tip of the finger”, Lsg. *tuk-e-juju* “nipple”, SKurd. *tunk* “nose” (cf. *tuk* “point of anything”), etc.

²³ The Khot. sequence *ttaira haraysä*, which Bailey translated as “the peak of Harā bərəz”, connecting *ttaira* to Av. *taēra-*, has been differently interpreted by Emmerick (2002: 12-15).

²⁴ See also *tok-e pā tok-e pā* “on tiptoes”.

The beak of the bird and the top of the head or its contiguous parts (in particular the forehead) are among the human and animal body parts which may be perceived as pointed. Table 4a shows how homogenous is the areal distribution of these two classes of meaning for the *tok*-series : in the first section there are all the words meaning “beak”, and by metaphorical association, also “human lips” and “mouth”. They are mainly found in Persian and in the Ir. varieties of North Iran (Māz. *tek*, Aft. *tok*, etc.). In the second section there are words for ‘head’, ‘top of the head’, ‘forehead’; they are mainly found in the Lori area (Bxt. *tig*, *tak* “forehead”),²⁵ in Fārs (Šir. *tok* “forepart of the head and brain”, Dav. *tek* “head”), in Lārestān and in Balochi (cf. SBal. *sare tok* “top of the head”, which I recorded in Turbat, Pakistāni Makrān). Since anyone’s fate is thought to be written down on one’s forehead, Xuns. *tok nevešt* “fate, destiny” (Alketābi 1983: 441) should also be added here. Exceptionally enough, in the dialect of the village of ‘Ali Ābād in Māzandārān, briefly described by Sotude (1962), we find *kalle tak* as “crown of the head”. Pšt. *ṭek* “temple” seems to be a form isolated in EIr.

‘BEAK OF BIRD’

Prs. *tok* “beak of bird; point”; Krmnš. Kurd. *tok* “point; beak”; Bxt. *tok* “point; beak”; Gil. *tuk* “point”; *tukə par* “part around the lips”; (Adib Tusi 1963-64) *tek* “lip”; (Pāyande 1987) *takə mačə / tukə mačə* “part around the mouth and the lips”; (Māč.) *tuk* “beak”; Tāl. *tik* “point; beak”; (Māsulei) *tək* “beak” (Lazard 1979); Māz. *tek* “lip and mouth; point”; *tukulum*, *tokulum* “beak”; Sangs. *tük* “lip” (Christensen 1935); Semn. *tik(a)* “muzzle; point; mouth”; Šahm. *tok* “muzzle; lip”; *tök* “point; mouth”; Srx. *tok* “point; mouth, lip”; Lsg. *tuk* “muzzle; point; mouth”; Aft. *tok* “lip”; (Morgenstierne 1960) “mouth”; Šahr. *tok* “lip”; Ir.Āz. *tek* “beak, point” (‘Abdoli 2001); Demāv. *tok* “mouth”; Naqus. *tek* “mouth”; Burb. *tok* “point of anything; beak”; Lār. *takal* “beak”.

‘HEAD’

Bxt. *tig* (Vahman-Asatrian 1987 *tak*)²⁶ “forehead”; Dezf. *tik* “forehead” (Unvala 1958: 14); Šuš. *tik* (also *piš tik*) “forehead; fate”; Māz. (‘AliĀb.) *kalle tak* “top of the head”; Mahall. *tûyûlâ* “skull”; Šir. *tok* “fore part of the head; head; brain; crown of the head; point/top of everything”; Sarv. *tok* “head; frontal part of the head”; *takolæ* “back part of the head”; Dav. *tek* “head”; Zarq. *tok* “brain”; Kāz. *tok* “fore part of the head; point of anything; brain; beak of bird”; Dašt. *tik* “crown of the head, hair parting”; Lār. *tûk* “skull”; SBal. *sare tok* “top of the head”; Pšt. *ṭek* “temple, the side of the head”.

Table 4a. Prs. *tok* “beak” and its cognates.

The notion of ‘point’ matches perfectly well with that of ‘mountain peak’ or ‘top of any object’. Therefore, Prs. *tok* “peak”, whose cognates are mainly recorded in North Iran, but also in Central Iran (Xuns. *toke kū*) and in Fārs (Dahl. *toy ko*), and here collected in Table 4b, are most likely lexical formations independent from those seen in Table 4a, though both the beak of bird and the head are good candidates as sources for metaphorical processes in naming ‘part of the mountain’ and the like.²⁷

²⁵ Bxt. *tok* “beak” (‘BEAK OF BIRD’ section) is possibly due to a Prs. influence.

²⁶ The ‘Prs.’ form *tik* (تیک) “before, near” in Steingass is most likely a dialectal word (if not unexisting at all).

²⁷ A further example of ‘crown of the head’ > ‘top of the mountain’, which by assonance reminds the group under discussion, is SKurd. *tawqa sar*, *tawqî sar* “crown of the head; the high part of everything” (Safizāde 2001); *tawqan(a)* “crown of the head” (Safizāde); the highest point” (Hažār 1990); *tawqata* “crown of the head” (Safizāde); “the top of a mountain, of a tree etc.” (Hažār), belonging to SKurd. *tawq* “collar; a curved jewel bound by the women around the head” (Safizāde), Krmnš. Kurd. *tâwq* “everything with a round shape”, Sul. Kurd. *tewq* “metal collar” (*tewq* “top” is given in a separate

‘PEAK’

Prs. *tok* “peak”; *toke* “little hill; eminence”; Bxt. *tok* “peak”; Aft. *tok* “peak”; Māz. *tək* “peak”; *tekele* “summit” (Samadi 1991); Gil. *tuk* (also *tuk(a)li*, *tukāli*, *tungulə* etc., Pāyande 1987), (Adib Tusi 1963-64) *tek* “mountain peak”; (Māč.) *tuk* “top of mountain, tree etc.”; Ir.Āz. *tekla* “summit” (‘Abdoli 2001); Sangs. *tiq* “mountain peak”; *tok-ε-sar* “mountain peak”; Demāv. *tokkol* “peak”; Delij. *tok bawn* “top of the roof”; Xuns. *toke kū* “top of the mountain” (Tasbihi 1975); Dahl. *toy ko* “top of the mountain”.

Table 4b. Prs. *tok* “peak” and its cognates.

6. What has been said till now may suggest some speculations on the groups of Ir. words which are going to be discussed in the present paragraph.

6.1. Oss. *nyx* (Iron *nix*), which we have already met above (§ 4) as the second part of the dyadic compound *tər-nyx*, means “forehead”, “frontal part”. It also belongs to the landscape lexicon as “scarcement, spur, headland”. Different etymological proposals have been advanced so far. Abaev points to an old form **anīka-*, the same as Av. *ainika-*, Kurd. *ānī*, Prs. *pišāni* etc., with the lost of the initial vowel; a connection to Av. *ainika-*, though indirect, is also suggested by Gershevitch (1959: 277-78). Quoting Oss. *tārnyx*, Bailey (1979: 126, s.v. *ttāra*-²⁸) analyzes it as *tara-* + *nahva-* “front”. Similarly, Martin Schwartz, intervening in the discussion of this paper at the SIE Ravenna Conference, stated that Oss. *nyx* regularly derives from **nax̣a-* < **naḥa-* (cf. MPrs. *naxwist*, Prs. *noxost* “first” etc.), being **naḥa-* an adjective in *-ya-* to *nāh-* < PIE **nās-* “nose”.

The Ir. base **nāh-* is very well attested in denominations for ‘nose’; see OPrs. *nāh-*; Av. *nāh-*; Man.Prth. *n’wc*.²⁹ Phl. *n’y*³⁰ could represent a dialectal form; see Farvi *nā*, Xu. *nāg*, Lo. *nūk* “nose”. Cognate words with a different derivative extension (**-ti-?*) are diffused in the Lori area and in Fārs (cf. Bxt. *neft*, *noft*,³¹ Gāvk. *noft*, etc.).

In East. Prs. varieties, one mostly finds the *nos*-type (cf. TurbHayd. *nos*, Sist. *nos* “nose” [Adib Tusi 1963-64]). East. Prs. *nos* “the circumference of the mouth”³² is likely borrowed from Sgd. (Man.) *nas*, (Budd.) *nans*³³; here Yyn. *nays*, *nəs*, *nis*³⁴ “nose” belongs. In Budd. Sgd. one also finds *nēč* “nose, nostril”; more or less close cognates are: Chor. *n’c*; Šyn. *nēž*, Xuf.,

headword in Wahby-Edmonds 1966), Prs. *tawq* “necklace, collar, ring, etc.” (in the Prs. body lexicon: *tawq-e dandān* “dental neck”; Afg.Pr. *tawqak* “collar bone”, Bau 2003), Ar. *ṭawq* “necklace, collar, circle etc.”. Most likely Ar. < Prs.; cf. also Eilers 1977: 165-66.

²⁸ *Recte ttari-*; see above fn. n. 19.

²⁹ The assumption of an *-ya-* extension to *nāh-* helps to overcome the doubts raised up by Sundermann («Weitere verwandte Formen, die aber auch den Übergang **nāhič* > *nāwič* nicht erklären, bei Bailey 1979.210 und Mayrh. 1992 ff. p. 30-31», 1997: 113).

³⁰ Vd. 3,14; 9,40 Anklesaria [*nāg*] 1949: 45, 249.

³¹ In my opinion, the connection suggested in Vahman-Asatrian 1987 of Kurd. *lūt* “nose” to Bxt. *noft* (referred to **nāh-*; «Perhaps from **nāštī-*») on the base of a *n/l* phonetic variation is challengeable.

³² In the traditional Prs. lexicography, *nos* is also recorded as “intellect, understanding”, a sense grounded on a ‘predictable’ metonymical association (‘nose’ > ‘intelligence’); see also Monchi-Zadeh 393. Prs. *nos* “vulva” might be a metaphorical extension (< ‘the circumference of the mouth’); according to Mo’in (1951-56), *nos* “genital organ (of a little girl)” is used in Arāk and Tehrān.

³³ See Henning 1939: 100.

³⁴ Differentiation is on a dialectal basis (West. *ay* = East. *e*); according to Mirzāzāde-Qāsemi 1995, the Eastern and Western variants are respectively *nes* and *nayš*.

Roš. *nēž*, Išk. *nic* etc.³⁵ Par. *nešt* “nose” comes out from a different derivation³⁶; Khot. *nešte* “nose (?)” or “end (?)” remains dubious.

To **nāh-/nās-* may be referred groups of Ir. denominations for ‘beak of bird’ or near senses, such as Khot. *pneha* (loc. sg.) “beak” (Bailey: **panāha-* < **pa-* + **nāh-*), Wx. *ныčк*, *нычк*,³⁷ Šyn. *nusk* “muzzle”, Xuf., Roš. *nusk* “lips” and several forms for ‘beak’ recorded in the Kermān area and eastwards (cf. Krm. *nešk*, Bast. *nešk*, Bšk. *nišk*³⁸). Worth noting is EBal. *naso* “a fowl’s beak”, occurring in a poem published in Dames 1907-II: 34 (XIV, l. 14),³⁹ most likely an IA borrowing.

Some outcomes of Ir. **nāh-* also developed locative implications, as is quite regular with words originally designating frontal body parts. This is mainly attested in some dialects of Fārs, in the Lori group and Lakki; cf. Dašt. *nā*, *nāhā*, *nohā* (*ney* when used as the head of a syntagm), Lo. *nehā*, (Mam.) *nuhā*, *nihā*, (Feyli) *nuvā* (Mann 1910), Lak. *nohā*, *novā* etc. “in front, ahead, before”. As far as EIr. is concerned, one may quote Oss. *nyxmæ* “facing, against”.⁴⁰ The spatial reference is also responsible for the creation of adjectives such as MPrs. *naxust*, Prs. *noxost* “first”, etc.

6.2. Bal. *nuk* is “palate” in SBal. and EBal. (where is regularly *nux*); it is both “top of the head” and “palate” in WBal.⁴¹ The parallelism ‘top of the head’ : ‘roof of the mouth’ has already been commented on above (§ 4). In a text published by Gilbertson (1923: 304), Bal. *nuk* is recorded as “headland” (*nuk bunā* “below the headland”). Possibly, this represents only a marginal EBal. usage, which I have found nowhere else. Given the scarcity of documentation on Bal. *nuk* “headland”, it should be handled with care but there is no reason to neglect it.

Bray (1934 s.v. *nuk*) and Eilers (1956: 192) associate Bal. *nuk* with Prs. *nag* “palate”, a word for which Dehxodā only gives lexicographical references. An early attestation of this word is in JPrs. (Tafsir of Ezekiel); cf. *ngy tw* [*nay-i tō*] “the roof of thy mouth” in MacKenzie 2003: 109. In fact, Prs. *nag* “palate”, together with its variant *nāk*, is to be considered as a dialectal form⁴²; compare Gil. *nāk*, Semn. *niyā*⁴³ as well as the relevant forms attested in

³⁵ Different opinions have been advanced on the derivation of single forms. As for Sgd. *nyc*, for example, Morgenstierne (1974: s.v. *nāj*) disagrees both with Meillet (< **nahya-čī-*) and with Gershevitch (< **nāhikā-*), suggesting a derivation < **nāh(y)-čī-*.

³⁶ < **nās-ti-* (with umlaut) according to Bailey 1955: 75 fn. 9; from a base **nast-* < Ir. **nāštī-* according to Morgenstierne (1929) and Kieffer (1979-81).

³⁷ See Steblin-Kamenskij 1999 s.v.

³⁸ This form was recorded during a fieldwork in the Bšk. area by Dr. Gerardo Barbera, who put at my disposal an unpublished ms. containing much linguistic material collected there; I warmly thank him for his kindness.

³⁹ Bal. *naso* is also quoted in Dames’ *Glossary of Rare and Obsolete Words* (*ibid.*), and is recorded in Hashmi 2000, with reference to Dames’ volume.

⁴⁰ Vahman and Asatrian (1987: 123) doubtfully suggest a possible connection of Bxt. *niyā* with the Yyn. postposition *nūt* “in, inside”.

⁴¹ In the Bal. lexicography only the sense of “roof of the mouth” has been recorded; the sense “top of the head” emerges from my large-scale investigation on body-part lexicon among Bal. speakers.

⁴² See references in Dehxodā; Mo’in (1963) points to Ir. dialects in which *nāk* would be in use (i.e., Māz., Xor., Yzd., Qazv., Dilm.) and signals that *nag* in Gonābādi is “tooth”. Should one also connect here Prs. *naǰ*, *noǰ* “inside of the mouth”, which according to Mo’in (1951-56), would be a misreading/mispeeling of *baǰ*?

⁴³ This word occurs in the *Nešāb-e Semnāni* of Moḥammad Bāqer Niri, explained by Prs. *nag*; I due this information to Dr. Daniele Guizzo, who published a translation of this work (2003). To him go my hearty thanks.

South-Eastern Iran, such as Lār. *novâ*. Metonymical associations produced designations for (1) ‘jaw’/‘chin’; cf. Prs. *nāk*, Gil. *nāk* etc., and possibly also Mnĵ. *nišōk* “jaw”, (Morgenstierne 1938) *nāšāk* “cheek”⁴⁴; (2) ‘gums’; cf. Ir.Āz. *nag*, Ĵir.- Kahn. *nok*; (3) ‘tooth’ (or a specific tooth); cf. Qāi. *nakk* “tooth; the whole of some teeth”, Sist. *nakk*, *natk* “tooth; canine tooth”, SBal. *nak* “misgrown tooth” (Hashmi 2000), Fin. *nok* “molar tooth”, etc. You will find in Table 5a below the outcomes of Ir. **nāh-/nās-* (*-ti- / -*ua-* / -*aka-* / etc.).

<p>‘NOSE’ OPrs. <i>nāh-</i>; Av. <i>nāh-</i>; Man.Prth. <i>n’wc</i>; Sgd. (Man.) <i>nas</i>, (Budd.) <i>nans</i>; <i>nyc</i>; Khwar. <i>n’c</i>; Phl. <i>n’y</i>; Farvi <i>nā</i> (Frye 1949); Xu. <i>nāg</i> (Faravaši 1976), <i>nok</i> (Ivanow 1926); Lo. (BG) <i>nūk</i>; Bxt. <i>neft</i>, <i>noft</i>; BoyAhm.- Kuhg., Mam. <i>noft</i>; Šuš. <i>neft</i>; Gāv. <i>noft</i>; Knd. <i>noft</i>; Xor. <i>nos</i> (“the circumference of the mouth”); Sabzāvar, TurbHayd. <i>nos</i>, Sist. <i>nos</i>; Yġn. <i>nays</i>, <i>nəs</i>, <i>nis</i>; Šġn. <i>nēž</i>, Xuf., Roš. <i>nēž</i>, Bart., Oroš. <i>nōj</i>, Sarik. <i>noj</i>, Yazg. <i>nej</i>; Išk. <i>nic</i>; Par. <i>nešt</i></p>
<p>‘BEAK’ Khot. <i>pneha</i>; Krm. <i>nešk</i>; Bard. <i>nešg</i>; Rāv. <i>nejg</i>; Zor. Yzd. <i>nešg</i> (Sorušiān 1981); Bast. <i>nešk</i>; Bšk. <i>nišk</i>; EBal. <i>naso</i>; Šġn. <i>nusk</i> (“muzzle”), Xuf., Roš. <i>nusk</i> (“lips”), Bart. <i>nusk</i> (“chin, lips, muzzle”); Wx. <i>нычк</i>, <i>нычк</i>.</p>
<p>‘FOREHEAD’ Oss. <i>nyx</i>.</p>
<p>‘TOP OF THE HEAD’ / ‘PALATE’ (‘Cheek’ / ‘Chin’ / ‘Gums’ / ‘Teeth’) Prs. <i>nag</i> “palate”; <i>nāg</i> “palate; jaw, chin”; JPrs. <i>ng</i> “palate”; Gil. <i>nāk</i> “palate; jaw, chin”; Māz. (Ām.) <i>nāk</i> “palate”; Semn. <i>niyā</i> “palate”; Lār. <i>novâ</i>, Bast. <i>nowâ</i>, Farām. <i>novā</i> “palate”; Tāti (Apšeron) <i>naxčənaq</i> “jaw” (Grjunberg 1963: 117); Ir.Āz. <i>nāk</i> “chin; double chin”; (‘Abdoli 2001) <i>nag</i> “gums”; Tāl. <i>nəy</i> (<i>nay</i>, <i>nī</i>, <i>na</i> ‘Abdoli 2001) “gums”; Yzd. <i>nak</i> “jaw” (Mazdāpur 1995, s.v. <i>ārvāre</i>); Bard. <i>niq</i>, <i>nik</i> “foreteeth”; Xor. (Qāi.) <i>nakk</i> “tooth; the whole of some teeth”, (Brĵ.) <i>nāk</i>, <i>nak</i> “foreteeth and canine teeth”, Sist. <i>nakk</i>, <i>natk</i> “(canine) tooth”; Ĵir.- Kahn. <i>nok</i> “gums”; Fin. <i>nok</i> “molar tooth”; S/EBal. <i>nuk</i> “palate”; WBal. “top of the head; palate”; SBal. <i>nak</i> “misgrown tooth”; Mnĵ. <i>nišōk</i> “jaw”, <i>nāšāk</i> “cheek”.</p>
<p>LOCATIVE FUNCTION (‘in front, before’) Dašt. <i>nā</i>, <i>nāhā</i>, <i>nohā</i>; Buš. <i>nehā</i>, <i>nohā</i>; Dav. <i>nāhā</i>; Bxt. <i>nehā</i> (Vahman-Astarian 1987 <i>niyā</i>), (ČL) <i>nuā</i>; Lo. <i>nehā</i>, (BG) <i>nahā</i>, (Mam.) <i>nuhā</i>, <i>nihā</i>, (Feyli) <i>nuvā</i>; Lak. <i>nohā</i>, <i>novā</i>; Oss. <i>nyxmæ</i> (“facing, against”).</p>

Table 5a. Outcomes of Ir. **nāh-/nās-*.

Seemingly, only two outcomes of the **nāh-/nās-* group found their way in the landscape lexicon; I have mentioned them above and recapitulated in Table 5b.

<p>BODY DOMAIN WBal. <i>nuk</i> “top of the head (also <i>sare nuk</i>); palate”; SBal. <i>nuk</i>, EBal. <i>nux</i> “palate”; Oss. <i>nyx</i> “forehead”.</p>
<p>LANDSCAPE DOMAIN EBal. <i>nuk</i> “headland”; Oss. <i>nyx</i> “scarcement, spur, headland”.</p>

Table 5b. Ir. **nāh-/nās-* in the landscape domain.

6.3. The alleged Bal. *nuk* : Prs. *nag* connection might tow another one, advanced by Mo‘in (1951-56), who associates Prs. *nag* to Prs. *nowk*. That Bal. *nuk* “palate” might belong to Prs.

⁴⁴ Badaxši (1960: 159) gives Mnĵ. *nušāk* “buttocks”; the association ‘cheek of the face’ : ‘cheek of the posterior’ is a universal.

nowk had already been incidentally hinted by Eilers (1956: 192). Differently from Prs. *tok* (cf. § 5 above), whose semantic range closely resembles that of Prs. *nowk*, *nok* (“point, tip, end; beak of bird”), the latter has antecedents or cognates attested in old times, in particular Sgd. *nūk*,⁴⁵ Chor. *nwk* and Khot. *nūha-* “top, point”.⁴⁶ Here also belongs Prs. *nul* “beak of bird; the environs of the mouth”, which is clearly an East. Prs. lexical feature; cf. Afg.Prs. *nūl* (Kabul *nol*) “beak”, Tāj. *nūl* “beak; outer part of the mouth; point”; Haz. *nul* “nose”. East.Prs. *nūl* has been borrowed in several EIr. languages; cf. Šyn. *nūl*, Išk. *nul*, Sangl. *nūl*, Orm. *nūl*, etc. Yγn. *nul* (“beak; muzzle”, < Tāj.), Xuf., Roš. *nūl* are also recorded as “peak, summit”. Without aiming at completeness, I have collected in Table 5c a few cognates of Prs. *nowk*, *nok* “beak of bird; point”. Most of these words refer to the upper extremity of anything; then in orography, to the peak of the mountain. The LANDSCAPE DOMAIN section contains a few expressions corresponding to Prs. *nowk-e kuh* which have been recorded in lexicography with an explicit reference to the mountain landscape.

‘BEAK, POINT’

Khot. *nūha-* “top, point”; Khwarez. *nwk*; Sgd. *nūk* “tip, point, beak”; Prs. *nowk*, *nok* “point, end; beak of bird”; Tāj. *nuk*, *nug*; Māz. (Klr.) *nok*; Lo. *nok* “beak”; Bxt. *nuⁱk*, *nuk* (Vahman-Asatrian 1991) “beak”, ČL *nok* “point; beak”; Lak. *nök* “beak”; Kurm. Kurd. *niḳul*, *nīḳul*, *nuḳil*, *nûk* “beak”; Gur. (Kand.) *nûk* “point”; Zā. *nək’əl* “beak” (Vahman-Asatrian 1990); Krm. *nok* “beak”; Vaĵg. *nok* “beak”; Siv. *nik*, *nek* “beak; point”; Šir. *nok* “point; beak of bird”; Dav. *nek* “point; a piece of anything”; Buring. *nök* “point”; EBal. *nok* “beak of bird” (Mayer 1910); Yγn. *nul* “beak; muzzle”.

LANDSCAPE DOMAIN

Prs. *nowk-e kuh* “mountain top”; Tāj. *nug* “peak”; Lo. *nok* “upper part of anything”; Bxt. (ČL) *noĳk-e ko* “top of mountain”; Lak. *nök* “upper part of anything”; *nöke köe* “top of mountain”; Krm. *nok* (name of a mountain in Kermān); Vaĵg. *nok* “summit”; JPrs. (Esf.) *nok* “peak”; Dav. *nek-e ko*: “top, crest of mountain”; Yγn. *nul* “peak, summit”.

Table 5c. Prs. *nowk* and its cognates.

Is there any etymological link between the word groups collected in Table 5a-b and c? While no real obstacle from a cognitive semantic point of view prevents us from assuming for all of them a same etymon with different subsequent morphological derivations, some scholars have excluded such a connection on the base of historical phonetic constraints. Bailey, for example, stated that Khot. *nūha-* cannot be referred to WIr. *naxva-* (Prs. *noxost*) since «-*ahva-* is kept in older *ahva-*, later *aha-* ‘noose’» and on account of Ydy. *nəvγo* pointed to a base **naba-*. I still think we must go into the matter more thoroughly.

7. If body parts, being basic cognitive concepts, commonly serve as a source in metaphorical processes, it may also happen that they work as the target. This means that between the body part and the landscape domains, the transfer of meaning is not necessarily unidirectional, as the following case study, involving Prs. *tappe* “hill” and its cognates, will make it clear.

⁴⁵ Henning (1939: 94-95) lists Prs. *nowk* among the Prs.-Sgd. homophones for which it is difficult to state whether they originated in one of the two languages and then borrowed into the other or whether they belong to a common inheritance.

⁴⁶ Here also belongs Khot. *naukyā*, *nauca*, *noca* “acme, top”.

Prs. *tappe* is commonly recognised as a Turk. loanword. Borrowings from Turkish are found not only in Ir., but in Semitic and in Caucasian as well; suffice it to look at the several forms collected by Doerfer (No. 872). While the Turk. origin of Prs. *tappe* has never been questioned, one should admit the existence of a ‘phonetic paradigm’ (*t/d-V-p/b*), iconically motivated and with a very broad areal diffusion, on which also Turk. *tāpā* seems to be modelled. For Oss. *typpyr* “knoll, hill”⁴⁷ Abaev resorts to the concept of ‘ideophonic group’. A good collection of similarly ‘related’ items in the Mediterranean area, Turkish and Dravidian is in Sereni 1981: 91-92 (n. 219); for IA, see Turner 1966: no. 5446 and *Addenda*.

All the Ir. *tappe*-forms are well integrated in the respective lexica and are able to generate new words through associative rules and lexical changes. Denominative verbs are frequently found; cf. Pšt. *tapal*, Ark. *tappondan* “to heap”, Rāv. *tepenē* “stacked”, IS Prs. *tapāndan* “to press something in order to staff it in a tight place”, etc. The first section of Table 6 lists a few cognates of Prs. *tappe* belonging to the landscape lexicon. In most cases they mean “hill” (as is the case of Prs. *tappe*); in some cases “heap” (IS Pers. *tappe*, SKurd. *tep*),⁴⁸ “the topmost surface” (Gil. *tappə*), or “top, peak” (Tāl. *tapa*). At bottom, the same section also contains Ir. words which are not adaptations of original Turk.-Mong. words, but may ultimately be associated here on account of the same phonetic paradigm, such as Oss. *typpyr*, Bal. *tump* “mound”, etc.⁴⁹

Turk. *tāpā* belongs both to the landscape lexicon (as “hill”, “peak”) and to the body part lexicon (as “parting of the hair/top of the head”). In some Turk. languages, the relevant forms have undergone a grammaticalization process and serve as locative adpositions; cf. New Uighur *töpä* “on, over”. A very rich documentation is in Doerfer (No. 872).

The BODY DOMAIN section of Table 6 contains the Ir. *tappe*-forms which refer to a part of the head, such as Kurm. Kurd. *tepiḳa serî*, SKurd. *tapil*, or Tāj. *teppai sar* “top of the head”. Even Wx. *tāpik* “forehead” (Morgenstierne 1938) could belong here, and not to a base **tap-* “to be flat”, as suggested by Bailey (1963: 83). However, this list makes it clear that the anatomical reference for the Ir. *tappe*-forms is mostly found in areas where the Turk. languages influence is stronger (i.e., in the Kurdish area, in Āzerbāijān and in Central Asia).

As far as Pšt. *ṭopal* “crown of the head” is concerned, nothing can be said with certainty. It also means “cap, hat”, the same meaning as Pšt. *ṭopāi*, a Si. loanword for which see Turner 1966: no. 5481 and *Addenda*, and is possibly to be detached from the following list.

⁴⁷ See s.v. and s.v. *tymbyl*. Add there also Oss. *typpo* “plumpy child with chubby cheeks” (childish); this word has been kindly provided to me by dr. Dziccōjtj in Ravenna during the SIE Conference.

⁴⁸ I suggest to include here the numerous forms like Prs. *tappāle*, Sist. *tappa*, Afg.Pr. *tapi*, SKurd. *tap*, Kurm. Kurd. *tepiḳ*, Krm. *tappe*, *tappāle*, *tepenē*, Nāi. *tapa*, Pšt. *ṭop*, etc. “dunghill” or the like, as well as the Ir. items referring to physical plumpness (generally “fat and short”), such as Prs. *topol*, Krm. *topol mopol*, Šir. *tapal*, *topol*, Semn. *tapala* (Sotude 1963), Lsg. *tapele*, Sist. *dappāl*, Oss. *typpo* (mentioned above, fn. 47), etc.

⁴⁹ Eilers (1956: 194-97) rightly points out that *tum*, occurring in several toponyms in South-Eastern Iran, corresponds to *tump* “mound” found in Makrān. However, I disagree with his suggestion of relating this word to *dum(b)* “tail” (with the following alleged semantic path: «von ‚Schwanz‘ zu ‚Berghalde‘ weiter zu ‚Schutthalde, Ruinenhügel’»); this is only one of the etymological proposals suggested by Eilers for *tum*.

LANDSCAPE DOMAIN ('hill')

Prs. *tappe* "hill; mound; heap"; Sist *tappa*; Xor. (Brj.) *tappə*; (Nuq.) *tappa*; Afg.Pr. *tapa*; Tāj. *teppa* "hill; crest"; *teppa-i kūh* "top of the mountain"; (Box.) *tippa*; Haz. *deba*; Bxt. (ČL) *tappa*; Lo. *tapa*; Lak. *tapa*; Gur. (Bāj.) *tapa*; SKurd. *tap* "hill, heap"; *tapa*, *tapik* "hill" *tapīla sar* "top of everything"; *tapolka*, *tapoka*, *tafonka* "hillock; heap; mountain pass"; *tapolkaî sar kêw* "mountain top"; Garr. Kurd. *täppä*; Sul. Kurd. *tep(e)* "heap", *tepl* "top"; *tepkə*, *tepole*, *tepolke* "hillock"; *tepleser* "summit"; Kurm. Kurd. *tepel* "summit"; Ir.Āz. *tapa*; Gil. *tappə* "topmost surface of everything"; Māz. (Sā.) *tappe* "heap"; (Klr.) *tappe*; Sangs. *tappe*; Srx. *tāppe*; Semn. *tappa* (Sotude 1963); Lsg. *tappa*; Šahm. *tappa*; Aft. *tappe* "hill; heap"; Tāl. *təpə* "hill; peak"; Āmor. *tapa*; Naqus. *tappa* ("high mound of earth"); JPrs. (Esf.) *tape*; (Yzd.) *tappe* ("mound of earth"), *tappo*; Xuns. *teppa* (Tasbihi 1975); Xu. *tupo* ("a small hill"); Burb. *tappa* ("raised ground"); Lār. *tappa*; Bšk. *tappa* "hillock"⁵⁰; Oroš. *tapālik* "mountain slope"; Mnj. *tipa* "hillock, prominence"; Yazg. *tepa* "small hill"; Ygn. *tepa*.

Bal. *tump* "(archaeological) mound"; Lār. *tomb*; Bast. *tonb* ("mound"); Farām. *tomp*⁵¹; Min. *tompa*⁵²; Ĵir.-Kahn. *tom*; Sarv. *tomp* "mound"; Krm. *tonb* "heap"; Siv. *tumb* (in toponyms) (Eilers 1988); Kurm. Kurd. *tūm* "hill, hillock"; *tūmik* "small hill; heap"; Haz. *top* "heap; small mountain"; Oss. *typpyr / tuppur* "knoll, hill"; Yazg. *tup* "heap, knoll"; Dzadr. *ṭopay*.

BODY DOMAIN ('top of the head')

Tāj. *teppai sar*; (Box.) *tippa* ("parting of the hair; top of the head"); Xor. (Far.) *tappa-yi sar*; Kurm. Kurd. *tepika serî*; SKurd. *tepil*; Tabriz *tapa* (Adib Tusi 1992); Tāl. *tāpā* "the bald part of the head" (Miller 1930); Wx. *tāpik* "forehead"; Ygn. *tapák*, *tappák* "hair of the head".

(?) Pšt. *ṭopal* "crown of the head".

Table 6. Prs. *tappe* and its cognates.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afg.Pr. s.	Afghan Persian (Afyāni Nevis 1956)
Aft.	Aftari (Homāyun 1992)
Akk.	Akkadian
Āmor.	Āmorei ('Ādelxāni 2000)
Anr.	Anāraki (Lecoq 2002)
Ar.	Arabic
Ār.-Bidg.	Ārāni-Bidgoli ('AliĴānzāde 1993)
Ard.	Ardestāni
Ark.	Arāki (Mahtāt n.d.)
Āšt.	Āštiāni (Moqaddam 1939)
Av.	Avestan (Bartholomae 1904)
Badxš.	Badaxšāni (Lorimer 1922)

⁵⁰ Cf. fn. 38 above.

⁵¹ See also Bast., Farām., Lār. *tombālak*, etc. "raised".

⁵² Skjærvø 1975: "hill"; Barbera 2004: "forma di rilievo più o meno tondeggiante che non supera i due metri di altezza".

Bal.	Baloči (Balochi Dictionary Archive); EBal. Eastern Bal.; SBal. Southern Bal.; WBal. Western Bal.
Bard.	Bardesir (Barumand Sa'id 1991)
Bart.	Bartangi (Sokolova 1960)
Bast.	Bastaki (Bastaki 1980)
Biāb.	Biābuneki (Morgenstierne 1960)
Box.	Boxārāi [Tājik] (Raĵāi Boxārāi 1996)
BoyAhm-Kuhg.	Boyer Ahmadi-Kuhgiluye (Lam'e 1970)
Brĵ.	Birĵandi (Rezāi 1994)
Bšk.	Baškardi
Burb.	Burbasse (Garakān dialect, Āštiān province; Ĵazve 1999)
Buring.	Buringuni [Fārs] (Mann 1909)
Buš.	Bušehri (Hamidi 2001)
Bxt.	Baxtiāri (Salehi 1990); ČL Čahār Lang dial. (Sarлак 2002)
Chor.	Choresmian (Benzing 1983)
Dahl.	Dahlei [Fārs] (Salāmi 2004)
Dav.	Davāni (Salāmi 2002)
Deliĵ.	Deliĵāni (Safari 1994)
Demāv.	Demāvandi (Timuri Far 1983)
Dezf.	Dezfuli
EBal.	see Bal.
EIr.	Eastern Iranian
Farām.	Farāmarzāni (Farāmarzi 1984)
Fin.	Fini (Naĵibi 2002)
Gāvĵ.	Gāvkošaki (Musavi 1993)
Gz.	Gazi (Eilers 1979)
Gil.	Gilaki (Sartippur 1990); Māč. Māčiāni (Farzpur 1964-1965)
Gur.	Gurāni; Kand. Kandulai, Gahw. Gahwārai (Hadank 1930); Bāĵ. Bāĵalāni (MacKenzie 1956)
Ham.	Hamedāni (Garusin 1981)
Haz.	Hazāragi (Tāriq Mālistāni 1993)
IA	Indo-Aryan
IIr.	Indo-Iranian
Ir.	Iranian
Ir.Āz.	Iranian Āzari (Tāti) (Adib Tusi 1992); (Čāl.) Čāli (Yarshater 2001); (Alam.) Alamuti (Ivanow 1931)
Išk.	Iškāšmi (Paxalina 1959)
Ĵir.-Kahn.	Ĵirofti-Kahnuĵi (Nik Nafas Dehqāni 1998)
JPrs.	Judeo-Persian; Esf. Esfahāni (Kalbāssi 1994); Krm. Kermāni (Lazard 1981); Yzd. Yazdi (Homāyun 2004)
Kah.	Kahaki (Moqaddam 1939)
Kāz.	Kāzeruni (Behruzi 2002)
Khot.	Khotanese (Bailey 1979)
Knd.	Kandei [Fārs] (Salāmi 2004)

Krm.	Kermāni (Purhoseyni 1991); Zor.Krm. Zoroastrian Kermāni (Sorušiān 1981)
Kurd.	Kurdish; Kurm. Kurmānĵi (Rizgar 1983); Krmnš. Kermānšāhi (Dervišiān 1996); Garr. Garrusi (Christensen – Barr 1939); Mah. Mahābādi (Kalbāssi 1983); SKurd. Southern Kurdish (Hažār 1990); Sul. Sulemāniye (Wahby – Edmonds 1966)
Kuz.	Kuzargi [Fārs] (Salāmi 2004)
Lak.	Lakki (Izadpanāh n.d.)
Lār.	Lārestāni (Eqtedāri 1955)
Lat.	Latin
Lir.-Deyl.	Lirāvi-Deylami
Lo.	Lori (Izadpanāh 1984); BG Bālā-Garivei (Amanolahi – Thackston 1986)
Lsg.	Lāsgerdi (Sotude 1963)
Madgl.	Madaglašti (Lorimer 1922)
Mahall.	Mahallāti (Hadank 1926)
Mam.	Mamasani (Salāmi 2004)
Man.MPrs.	Manichaeen Middle Persian
Man.Prth.	Manichaeen Parthian
Mās.	Māsarmi [Fārs] (Salāmi 2004)
Māz.	Māzendarāni (Naĵafzāde 1989); Ām. Āmoli (Partovi 1979); Sā. Sāri (Šokri 1996); Vel. Velatru (Lambton 1938); Klr. Kelārdašti (Kalbāssi 1997)
Mei.	Meimei (Lambton 1938)
Min.	Minābi
Mnĵ.	Munĵi (Grjunberg 1972)
MPrs.	Middle Persian (MacKenzie 1986)
Nāi.	Nāini (Sotude 1986)
Naqus.	Naqusāni (Darudiān 1986)
Nuq.	Nuqāni (Adib Tusi 1962)
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
OIr.	Old Iranian
OPrs.	Old Persian
Orm.	Ormuri (Morgenstierne 1929)
Oroš.	Orošori (Lentz 1933)
Oss.	Ossetian (Abaev 1958-1995)
Par.	Parāči (Kieffer 1979-81)
PIE	Proto-Indoeuropean
Prs.	Persian (Mo'in 1963; Dehxodā); IS Prs. Informal Standard Persian (Naĵafi 1999)
Prth.	Parthian
Pšt.	Pašto (Raverty 1860)
Qāi.	Qāini (Zomorrodīān 1989)
Qohr.	Qohrudi (Lecoq 2002)
Qom.	Qomi (Sādeqi 2001)
Rāv.	Rāvāri (Karbāssi 1986)
Rod.	Rodāni (Mo'tamadi 1991)

Roš.	Rošani (Sokolova 1959)
Sangl.	Sangleči (Morgenstierne 1938)
Sangs.	Sangesari (Azami – Windfuhr 1972)
Sarik.	Sarikoli (Paxalina 1971)
Sarv.	Sarvestāni (Homāyuni 1992)
SBal.	see Bal.
Sem.	Semitic
Semn.	Semnāni (Ahmadpanāhi 1996)
Sgd.	Sogdian (Man. Manichaeen, Budd. Buddhist; Gharib 1995)
Si.	Sindhi
Sir.	Siraiki
Sist.	Sistāni (Mohammadi Xomak 2000)
Siv.	Sivandi (Lecoq 1979)
Skt.	Sanskrit
SKurd.	see Kurd.
Srj.	Sirjāni (Mohseni 2002)
Srx.	Sorxei (Sotude 1963)
Šahm.	Šahmirzādi (Sotude 1963)
Šahr.	Šahrudi (Šariatzāde 1992)
Šyn.	Šuyuni (Zarubin 1960)
Šir.	Širāzi (Behruzi 1969)
Šušt.	Šuštari (Nirumand 1976)
Tāj.	Tājiki (Rahimi – Uspenskaja 1954)
Tāl.	Tāleši (Pirejko 1976)
Tār.	Tāri (Lecoq 2002)
TurbHayd.	Turbat Haydarie (Dānešgar 1995)
Turk.	Turkish
Vaĵg.	Vaĵguni (Guilani – Vazvani 1990)
Varz.	Varzenei (Lecoq 2002)
Vfs.	Vafsi (Stilo 2004)
WBal.	see Bal.
WIr.	Western Iranian
Wx.	Waxi (Grjunberg – Steblin-Kamenskij 1976)
Xor.	Xorāsāni (Šālči 1991)
Xu.	Xuri (Ivanow 1929)
Xuf.	Xufi (Sokolova 1959)
Xuns.	Xunsāri (Eilers 1976)
Ydy.	Yidya (Morgenstierne 1938)
Yyn.	Yaynobi (Andreev – Peščereva 1957)
Yzd.	Yazdi (Kešāvarz 1993)
Yzg.	Yazgulami (Edel'man 1971)
Zā.	Zāzā (Paul 1998)
Zarq.	Zarqāni [Fārs] (Malekzāde 2001)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- V. I. Abaev, *Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka* (I: Moskva-Leningrad 1958; III, Leningrad 1979; IV, Leningrad 1989; V Moskva 1995).
- ‘A. ‘Abdoli, *Farhang-e tatbiqi-ye tāleši - tāti - āzari* (Tehrān 1380/2001).
- H. ‘Adelxāni, *Farhang-e āmorei* (Arāk 1379/2000).
- M. A. Adib Tusi, “Loyāt-e Nuqāni (Mašhadi)”, *Našrie-ye dāneškade-ye adabiāt-e Tabriz* 4/1 (1341/1962), pp. 1-41.
- M. A. Adib Tusi, *Nemune-ye čand az loyat-e āzari*, in I. Afšār (ed.), *Zabān-e fārsi dar Āzerbāijān*, II (Tehrān 1371/1992), pp. 235-361 [repr. from *Našrie-ye dāneškade-ye adabiāt-e Tabriz* 8 (1335/1957), 9 (1336/1958)].
- M. A. Adib Tusi, “Farhang-e loyāt-e bāzyāfte (mostadrak)”, *Našrie-ye dāneškade-ye adabiāt-e Tabriz*, 15/3 (1342/1963), pp. 337-384; 15/4 (1342/1963), pp. 467-518; 16/1 (1343/1964), pp. 81-128; 16/2 (1343/1964), pp. 209-221; 16/3 (1343/1964), pp. 362-387.
- ‘A. Afyāni Nevis, *Loyāt-e ‘amiāne-ye fārsi-ye Afyānestān* (Kābul 1335/1956).
- I. Afšār Sistāni, *Vāženāme-ye sistāni* (Tehrān 1365/1986).
- M. Ahmadpanāhi Semnāni, *Adāb-o rosum-e mardom-e Semnān* (Tehrān 1374/1996).
- M. A. Alketābi, “Farhang-e xānsāri”, *Fravahr* 280 (1362/1983), pp. 438-447.
- H. ‘Alijānzāde, *Zabān-e Kavir. Tahqiq-e dar bāre-ye zabān-e Ārān va Bidgol* I (Tehrān 1372/1993).
- M. Alinei, “Aspetti teorici della motivazione”, *Quaderni di semantica* 17/1 (1996), pp. 7-17.
- S. Amanolahi – W. M. Thackston, *Tales from Luristan. Tales, Fables and Folk Poetry from the Lur of Bâlâ-Garîva* (Harvard 1986).
- J. André, *Le vocabulaire latin de l’anatomie* (Paris 1991).
- M. S. Andreev – E. M. Peščereva, *Jagnobskie teksty* (Moskva-Leningrad 1957).
- B. T. Anklesaria, *Pahlavi Vendidâd* (Bombay 1949).
- C. A. Azami – G. L. Windfuhr, *A Dictionary of Sangesari* (Tehran 1972).
- Š. ‘A. Badaxši, *Da Afyānistān da jīno žabo aw lahjo qāmūs* (Kābul 1339/1960).
- H. W. Bailey, “Iranian Studies IV”, *BSOS* 7 (1933-35), pp. 755-78.
- H. W. Bailey, “Indo-Iranian Studies-III”, *TPS* 1955, pp. 55-82.
- H. W. Bailey, “Arya IV”, *BSOAS* 26 (1963), pp. 69-91.
- H. W. Bailey, *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta* (Cambridge 1967).
- H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge 1979).
- G. Barbera, *Lingua e cultura a Minâb (Iran sud-orientale)* (tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale” 2004).
- C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1904).
- J. Barumand Sa‘id, *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Bardesir* (Tehrān 1370/1991).
- ‘A. A. Bastaki, *Farhang-e bastaki* (Tehrān 1980).
- P. Bau, *Dictionnaire Persan – Français Français – Persan* (Paris 2003).
- M. Bazin, *Le Tâlech*, II (Paris 1980).
- ‘A. Behruzi, *Vāzehā va masalhā-ye širāzi va kāzeruni* (Tehrān 1969).
- M. Ĵ. Behruzi, *Golhā-ye šahr-e sabz (aš‘āri be lahje-ye mahalli-ye kāzeruni)* (Tehrān 1381/2002).
- J. Benzing, *Chwaresmischer Wortindex* (Wiesbaden 1983).
- D. Bray, *The Brāhūi Language. Part II: The Brāhūi Problem. Part III: Etymological Vocabulary* (Delhi 1934; reprint 1979).

- C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages* (Chicago 1949; repr. 1988).
- B. H. Carlsen, “Amos in Judeo-Persian”, in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata* (Leiden 1984), pp. 73-112 [= AcIr 23].
- A. Christensen, *Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne: Dialects de la région de Sāmān* (København 1935).
- A. Christensen – K. Barr, *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass von F. C. Andreas, I: Sīvāndî, Yāzdî und Sôî* bearbeitet von Arthur Christensen. *Kurdische Dialekte*, bearbeitet von Kaj Barr (Berlin 1939).
- M. L. Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, 2 voll. (London 1907).
- A. Dānešgar, *Farhang-e vāžehā-ye rāyej-e Turbat Haydarie* (Mašhad 1374/1995).
- V. Darudiān, “Guyeš-e Naqusān”, *Farhang-e Irānzamin* 26 (1365/1986), pp. 78-108.
- I. Dehghan, “The Persian Dialect of Āvarzamān”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 (1970), pp. 259-72.
- A. A. Dehxodā, *Loyātnāme* (Tehrān 1958 ff.).
- ‘A. A. Dervišiān, *Farhang-e kordî-ye kermānšāhi. Kordî - fārsî* (Tehrān 1375/1996).
- G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen I-IV* (Wiesbaden I: 1963, II: 1965, III: 1967, IV: 1975).
- G. K. Dullig, *The Hazaragi Dialect of Afghan Persian* (London 1973).
- D. I. Edel’man, *Jazguljamsko-russkij slovar’* (Moskva 1971).
- W. Eilers, “Der Name Demawend. Zusatznoten”, *Archiv Orientální* 24 (1956), pp. 183-224.
- W. Eilers, *Die Mundart von Chunsar* (Wiesbaden 1976).
- W. Eilers, “Vom Reishut zur Kaiserkrone”, *AMI N.F* 10 (1977), pp. 153-68.
- W. Eilers, *Die Mundart von Gāz*, 2 voll. (Wiesbaden 1979).
- W. Eilers, *Die Mundart von Sīvānd* (Stuttgart 1988).
- W. Eilers, “Kūhpāye”, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute n.s.* 4 (1990), pp. 217-29 [= *Aspects of Iranian Culture. In honor of Richard Nelson Frye*].
- M. ‘A. Emām (Ahvāzi), *Čistān-nāme-ye dezfuli* (Tehrān 1379/2000).
- R. E. Emmerick, “Hunting the Hapax: Sir Harold W. Bailey (1899-1966)”, in N. Sims-Williams, *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Oxford 2002), pp. 1-17.
- A. Eqtedāri, *Farhang-e lārestāni* (Tehrān 1955).
- A. Ernout – A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, retirage de la quatrième édition augmentée d’additions et de corrections nouvelles par J. André (Paris 1994).
- H. Farāmarzi, *Farhang-e Farāmarzān* (Tehrān 1984).
- B. Faravaši, *Vāženāme-ye xuri* (Tehrān 2535/1976).
- M. Farzpur Māčīāni, “Zabān va farhang-e Māčīān”, *Našrie-ye dāneškade-ye adabiāt-e Tabriz* 16/3 (1343/1964), 177-296; 16/4 (1343/1964), 451-470; 17/1 (1344/1965), 109-128; 17/2 (1344/1965), 261-284.
- E. Filippone, *The “Pupil of the Eye” in the Iranian Languages* (Napoli 1995).
- E. Filippone, *Spatial models and locative expressions in Balochi* (Naples 1996).
- R. N. Frye, “Report on a trip to Iran in the summer of 1948”, *Oriens* 2 (1949), pp. 204-15.
- H. Garusin, *Vāženāme-ye hamadāni* (Hamedān 1370/1981).
- M. R. Gauthiot, “Notes sur le Yazgoulami, dialecte iranien des confins du Pamir”, *Journal Asiatique* (1916), pp. 239-70.
- I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge 1959; repr. 1967).

- G. W. Gilbertson, *The Balochi Language. A Grammar and Manual* (Hertford 1923).
- B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary* (Tehrān 1995).
- A. L. Grjunberg, *Jazyk severoazerbajdžanskix Tatov* (Leningrad 1963).
- A. L. Grjunberg, *Jazyki vostočnogo Gindukuša. Mundžanskij jazyk* (Leningrad 1972).
- A. L. Grjunberg – I. M. Steblin-Kamenskij, *Vaxanskij jazyk* (Moskva 1976).
- J. Š. Guilani – M. and Q. Vazvani, *Vajguni (the so-called Vazvāni) Dialect* (Nashville 1990).
- D. Guizzo, “*Nešāb-e vāžehā-ye semnāni. Un dizionario in versi del dialetto di Semnān*”, in R. Favaro – S. Cristoforetti – M. Compareti, *L’Onagro Maestro. Miscellanea di fuochi accesi per Gianroberto Scarcia in occasione del suo LXX sadé* (Venezia 2004), pp. 239-360.
- K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten von Khunsār, Mahallāt, Natānz, Nāyin, Sāmnān, Sīvānd und Sō-Kohrūd* (Berlin – Leipzig 1926).
- K. Hadank, *Mundarten der Gūrān, besonders das Kāndūlāi, Auramānī und Bādschālānī* (Berlin 1930).
- J. Hamidi, *Farhangnāme-ye Bušeher* (Tehrān 1380/2001).
- Sayad Hashmi, *Sayad Ganj* (Karachi 2000).
- Hažār, *Farhang-e kordi – fārsi* (Tehrān 1369/1990).
- W. B. Henning, “Sogdian Loan-words in New Persian”, *BSOS* 10 (1939), pp. 93-106 [repr. *Henning Selected Papers* I].
- H. Homāyun, *Guyeš-e aftari* (Tehrān 1371/1992).
- H. Homāyun, *Guyeš-e kalimiān-e Yazd* (Tehrān 1383/2004).
- S. Homāyuni, *Farhang-e Sarvestān* (Tehrān 1371/1992).
- W. Ivanow, “Two Dialects spoken in the Central Persian Desert”, *JRAS* (1926), pp. 405-31.
- W. Ivanow, “Notes on the Dialect of Khūr and Mihrjān”, *Acta Orientalia* 8 (1929), pp. 45-61.
- W. Ivanow, “The dialect of Gozārkhon in Alamut”, *Acta Orientalia* 9 (1931), pp. 352-69.
- H. Izadpanāh, *Farhang-e lori* (Tehrān 1984).
- H. Izadpanāh, *Farhang-e lakki* (n.p. n.d.).
- B. Kalaki, “Guyeš-e baxtiārihā: dehkade-ye Pāgāč”, *Honar-o mardom* 134 (1352/1973), pp. 44-47; 64-68.
- I. Kalbāssi, *Guyeš-e kordi-ye Mahābād* (Tehrān 1362/1983).
- I. Kalbāssi, *Guyeš-e Kelārdašt (Rudbārak)* (Tehrān 1376/1997).
- ‘A. Karbāssi (Rāvari), *Farhang-e mardom-e Rāvar* (Tehrān 1365/1986).
- K. Kešāvarz, *Farhang-e zartoštiān-e ostān-e Yazd* (Tehrān 1993).
- Ch. M. Kieffer, “Études parāči. Le lexique parāči: Glossaire”, *Studia Iranica* 8/1 (1979), pp. 67-106, 8/2 (1979), pp. 245-67; 9/1 (1980), pp. 99-119; 9/2 (1980), pp. 233-49; 10/2 (1981) pp. 283-306.
- Ch. M. Kieffer, “À propos des chauves et du cheveu à Caboul et dans le Lōgar”, *Journal Asiatique* 285/2 (1997), pp. 381-409.
- Ĵazve, *Vāženāme-ye burbasse*, ed. by I. Afšār, suppl. 5 of *Nāme-ye Farhangestān* (Tehrān 1377/1999).
- G. Lakoff – M. Johnson, *Metaphors we live by* (Chicago and London 1980).
- A. K. S. Lambton, *Three Persian dialects* (London 1938).
- M. Lam‘e, *Farhang-e ‘amiāne-ye ‘asāyer-e Boyer-Ahmadi va Kuhgiluye* (Tehrān 1349/1970).
- G. Lazard, “Glossaire Māsulei”, *Studia Iranica* 8/2 (1979), pp. 269-75.
- G. Lazard, “Le dialecte des Juifs de Kerman”, in *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne I*, *AcIr* 21 (Leiden 1981), pp. 333-46.
- G. Lazard, *Dictionnaire Persan-Français* (Leiden 1990).

- P. Lecoq, *Le dialect de Sivand* (Wiesbaden 1979).
- P. Lecoq, *Recherches sur les dialectes kermaniens* (Leuven 2002).
- W. Lentz, *Pamir-Dialekte I. Materialien zur Kenntniss der Schughni-Gruppe* (Göttingen 1933).
- A.. K. Lirāvi, *Guyeš va adabiāt. Farhang-e mardom-e lirāvi va Deylam* (Tehrān 1380/2001).
- D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian* (London 1922).
- D. N. MacKenzie, "Bājalānī", *BSOAS* 18/3 (1956), pp. 418-35.
- D. N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London 1986; first ed. 1971).
- D. N. MacKenzie, "The Missing Link", in L. Paul (ed.), *Persian Origins - Early Judaeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian* (Wiesbaden 2003), pp. 103-110.
- M. R. Mahtāt, *Simā-ye šahr-e Arāk* (np., n.d.).
- M. Ĵ. Malekzāde, *Farhang-e Zarqān. Vāženāme-ye lahje-ye fārsi-ye mardom-e Zarqān-e Fārs* (Tehrān 1380/2001).
- O. Mann, *Die Tājik Mundarten der Provinz Fārs* (Berlin 1909).
- O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme im südwestlichen Persien* (Berlin 1910).
- A. Mar'āši, *Farhang-e loyāt va estelāhāt va zarb-ol-masalhā-ye gilaki* (Tehrān 1355/1976).
- M. J. Maškur, *Farhang-e tatbiqi-ye 'arabi bā zabānhā-ye sāmi va irāni*, 2 voll. (Tehrān 1978).
- K. Mazdāpur, *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e behdinān-e šahr-e Yazd*, I (Tehrān 1374/1995).
- B. V. Miller, *Talyšskie teksty* (Moskva 1930).
- S. Mirzāzāde – M. Qāsemi, *Farhang-e zabān-e yaynābi* (Dušanbe 1374/1995).
- J. Mohammadi Xomak, *Vāženāme-ye sakzi (farhang-e loyāte sistāni)* (Tehrān 1379/2000).
- M. M. Mohseni, *Guyeš-e mardom-e Sirjān* (Kermān 1381/2002).
- M. Mo'in (ed.), *Borhān-e qāte'*, 4 voll. (Tehrān 1330-35/1951-56; first ed. 1938).
- M. Mo'in, *Farhang-e fārsi*, 6 voll. (Tehrān 1342/1963).
- M. Mokri, *La légende de Bīžan-u Manīja, version populaire du Sud du Kurdistan en langue gouranie* (Paris 1966).
- V. Monteil, *Le persan contemporain. Textes et vocabulaires* (Paris 1954).
- M. Moqaddam, *Guyešhā-ye Vafs va Āštiān va Tafreš* (Tehrān 1318/1939).
- G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I: Parachi and Ormuri* (Oslo 1929).
- G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II: Iranian Pamir Languages (Yidgha-Munji, Sanglechī-Ishkashmi and Wakhi)* (Oslo 1938).
- G. Morgenstierne, "Stray Notes on Persian Dialects", *NTS* 19 (1960), pp. 121-129.
- G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological Dictionary of the Shughni Group* (Wiesbaden 1974).
- 'A. Mo'tamadi, *Rodān behešt-e janub* (Bandar 'Abbās 1370/1991).
- S.H. Musavi, *Vāženāme va guyeš-e Gāvkošak* (Širāz 1372/1993).
- A. Naĵafi, *Farhang-e fārsi-ye 'āmiāne* (Tehrān 1378/1999).
- M. B. Naĵafzāde (-ye Bārforuš), *Vāženāme-ye māzandarāni* (Tehrān 1368/1989).
- B. Naĵibi Fini, *Barresi-ye guyeš-e fini* (Tehrān 1381/2002).
- H. S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi. Part II : Glossary* (Wiesbaden 1974).
- E. Nik Nafas Dehqāni, *Barresi-ye guyeš-e Ĵiroft va KahnuĴ* (Kermān 1377/1998).
- M.B. Nirumand, *Vāženāme-i az guyeš-e šuštari* (Tehrān 2535/1976).
- M. Partovi (-ye Āmoli), *Farhang-e 'avām-e Āmol* (Tehrān 1358/1979).
- M. Pāyande, *Farhang-e Gil-o-Dilam. Fārsi be gilaki* (Tehrān 1366/1987).
- L. Paul, *Zazaki* (Wiesbaden 1998).
- T. N. Paxalina, *Iškašimskij jazyk* (Moskva 1959).

- T. N. Paxalina, *Sarykol'sko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1971).
- J. Perry, "Persian as a Homoglossic Language", in B. Hourcade (ed.), *Iran. Questions et connaissances*, vol. III: *Cultures et sociétés contemporaines* (Paris 2003), pp. 11-28.
- L. A. Pirejko, *Talyško-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1976).
- J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Tübingen 1959; repr. 2002).
- A. Purhoseyni, *Farhang-e loyāt va estelāhāt-e mardom-e Kermān* (Tehrān 1991).
- M.V. Rahimi – L. V. Uspenskaja, *Tadžiksko-russkij slovar'* (Moskva 1954).
- H. 'A. Raǰāi Boxārāi, *Lahje-ye Boxārā* (Mašhad 1375/1996; first. ed. 1342/1963).
- 'A. Ravāqi, *Zabān-e fārsi-ye farārudi [tājiki]* (Tehrān 1383/2004).
- H. G. Raverty, *A Dictionary of the Puk'hto, Pus'hto or Language of the Afghāns* (Hertford 1860).
- J. Rezāi, *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Birjand* (Tehrān 1373/1994).
- B. Rizgar, *Kurdish-English, English-Kurdish Dictionary (Kurmancî)* (London 1993).
- A. Z. Rozenfel'd, *Tadžiksko-russkij dialektnyj slovar' (jugo-vostočnyj Tadžikistan)* (Leningrad 1982).
- A.A. Sādeqi, *Fārsi-ye qomi* (Tehrān 1380/2001).
- H. Safari, *Vāženāme-ye rāji. Guyeš-e Delijān* (Tehrān 1373/1994).
- S. Safizāde (Borakayi), *Farhang-e Borakai-e kordi – fārsi, I* (Tehrān 1380/2001).
- 'A. Salāmi, *Farhang-e guyeš-e davāni* (Tehrān 1381/2002).
- 'A. Salāmi, *Ganjīne-ye guyeššenās-e Fārs I* (Tehrān 1383/2004).
- S. Salehi, *Il-e bozorg-e baxtiāri (farhang-e vāžegān-e baxtiāri)* (Tehrān 1369/1990).
- H. Samadi, "Namunehā-yi az vāžehā-ye hamānand dar zabān-e mardom-e Gilān va Māzandarān", *Gilān Nāme* 3 (Rašt 1991), pp. 129-44.
- R. Sarlak, *Guyeš-e baxtiāri-ye Čahār Lang* (Tehrān 1381/2002).
- M. Sarrāfi, *Farhang-e guyeš-e kermāni* (Tehrān 1375/1996).
- J. Sartippur, *Vižegihā-ye dasturi va farhang-e vāžehā-ye gilaki* (Rašt 1369/1990).
- E. Sereni, *Terra nuova e buoi rossi* (Torino 1981).
- P. O. Skjærvø, "Notes on the dialects of Minab and Hormoz", *NTS* 29 (1975), pp. 113-28.
- A. Sohrābi Anāraki, *Vāženāme-ye anāraki* (Mašhad 1373/1994).
- V. S. Sokolova, *Rušanskije i xufskie teksty i slovar'* (Moskva – Leningrad 1959).
- V. S. Sokolova, *Bartangskie teksty i slovar'* (Moskva – Leningrad 1960).
- Ĵ. Soruš Sorušīān, *Farhang-e behdinān*, ed. by M. Sotude (Tehrān 1370/1981).
- M. Sotude, "Lahje-ye 'Ali Ābād-e Farim", *Farhang-e Irānzamin* 10 (1341/1962), pp. 437-70.
- M. Sotude, *Farhang-e semnāni, sorxei, lāsgerdi, sangesari, šahmirzādi* (Tehrān 1963).
- M. Sotude, *Farhang-e Nāini* (Tehrān 1986).
- I. M. Steblin-Kamenskij, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' vaxanskogo jazyka* (Sankt-Petersburg 1999).
- F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary* (London 1963⁵; first ed. 1892).
- D. L. Stilo, *Vafsi Folk Tales* (Wiesbaden 2004).
- W. Sundermann, *Der Sermon von der Seele* (Turnhout 1997).
- W. Sundermann, "'The book of the head' and 'The book of the limbs'. A Sogdian word list", in Ph. Huyse (ed.), *Iran. Questions et connaissances*, vol. I: *La période ancienne* (Paris 2002), pp. 135-61.
- A. Šālči, *Farhang-e guyeš-e Xorāsān-e bozorg* (Tehrān 1370/1991).
- 'A. A. Šariatzāde, *Farhang-e mardome Šāhrud* (Tehrān 1371/1992).
- G. Šokri, *Guyeš-e Sāri (Māzandarāni)* (Tehrān 1374/1996).
- A. H. Tāriq Mālistāni, *Farhang-e ebtedāi-ye melli-ye hazāra* (Koet̄ta 1372/1993).

- M. H. Tasbihi, *Guyeš-e xānsāri* (Rawalpindi 1975).
- A. Timuri Far, *Guyeš-e demāvandi* (Tehrān 1362/1983).
- T. L. Todd, *A Grammar of Dimili (also known as Zaza)* (PhD thesis, the University of Michigan 1985).
- R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (London 1966).
- J. M. Unvala, “Contribution to Modern Persian Dialectology. The Lurī and Dizfūlī Dialects”, *Indo-Iranica* 11/4 (1958), pp. 1-16 [for the whole paper see *ibid.* (1958) 11/3, pp. 11-16, 11/4, pp. 1-16; (1959) 12/1, pp. 1-16, 12/2, pp. 1-7].
- T. Wahby – C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish – English Dictionary* (Oxford 1966).
- F. Vahman – G. S. Asatrian, *West Iranian dialect materials from the Collection of D. L. Lorimer. Vol. I: Materials on the Ethnography of the Baxtiārīs* (Copenhagen 1987).
- F. Vahman – G. S. Asatrian, “Gleanings from Zāzā Vocabulary”, in: *Iranica Varia. Papers in Honor of Prof. Ehsan Yarshater* (Leiden 1990 [= AcIr 30]), pp. 267-75.
- F. Vahman – G. S. Asatrian, *West Iranian dialect materials from the Collection of D. L. Lorimer. Vol. II: Short-Stories of the Baxtiārīs* (Copenhagen 1991).
- F. Vahman – G. Asatrian, *Notes on the Language and Ethnography of the Zoroastrians of Yazd* (Copenhagen 2000).
- ‘A. Xasravi, *Farhang-e baxtiāri* (Tehrān 1368/1989).
- E. Yarshater, ““A Peasant Marriage”, a Poem in Chāli by Moḥammad-Bāqer ‘Āmeli”, *Studia Iranica* 30/2 (2001), pp. 245-89.
- I. I. Zarubin, *Šugnanskije teksty i slovar’* (Moskva – Leningrad 1960).
- R. Zomorrodīān, *Barresi-ye guyeš-e Qāin* (Mašhad 1368/1989).