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Landscape Terminology in Western Iranian

Abstract

The paper investigates the geographical denominations of Western Iranian dialects, largely functioning also in the place-names, hydronyms, and oronyms of the area. The relevant lexical material, when taken together and approached as a system, opens larger possibilities for adequate analysis: the paradigm and internal ties of the constituent units become more visible and more clear revealing many otherwise unseen tendencies and peculiarities, particularly regarding the origin of given terms or groups of lexemes within the system. Moreover, as a mirror, it can detect various areal characteristics – first of all lexical and phonetic – of a language or language group in a particular territory. In other words, it can reveal not only the features of linguistic development in diachrony, i.e. in time, but also in diatopy, i.e. in space.

Keywords: Western Iranian Dialects, Landscape Terminology, Anatomical Terms

Indirect Designations

Landscape terms going back to anatomical terms

Anatomical terms are characterized by stability, high frequency of use and, as a result, a branched semantic structure. Anatomical vocabulary takes an active part in the language conceptualization of the world and society. The body and its structure serve not only as a starting point, but also as a universal model for constructing a system of concepts in both the language and culture, while covering such key categories as space, time, nature, society, etc.

The formation of landscape lexicon from anatomical terms has been fixed since ancient times; according to some scholars, the orientation values of somatisms are connected with the fundamental principle of the person's orientation in space through his own body. Human consciousness, anthropocentric in nature, creates an image of the world in which the centre of the system of orientational projections is the body itself.

However, according to E. Filippone, it is rather based on similarity [which] 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

– One of the obvious examples of this phenomenon is Semn. چکل [čokol] 'high mountain ridge'.²

Cf. Arm. ցալաւոյն [čakat] 'forehead' < EMP čakāt 'peak, top of the mountain; top, crown of the head; top of the forehead' < OIr. *čakāta-; Sogd. ck't/čakāt 'peak; forehead';³ NP čakād 'peak, top of the mountain; top, crown of the head; top of the forehead'; Tal. čakūd 'forehead'; Maz. čakās 'peak of the mountain'.⁴ Cf. Arm. ցալաւոյն [čalat] 'bald' < LMP čayād in analogy with Arm. ցալաւոյն [čakāt]. Cf. also the toponym Čoyā, name of village and castle, in Howmeh Rural District in the Central District of Shiraz County; Čuyā-bil,⁵ in the province of Isfahan, near the Borujerd; Čuyā-bil-ak in Kermanshah near Mahidasht. The first formant čuyā- or čiyā- 'hill, mountain' is widely attested in the toponyms of central and southern Iran, such as Čuyā, Čayād, Čayādak, Čuyāda, Čuyā-sabz ('green hill'), Čuyā-surx(a) 'red hill', Čiyā-bōr/-pōr (بۆر) [bōr] 'yellow, dark', cf. MP bōr 'id.' < OIr. *bau-ra-), Čuyā-siyāh ('black mountain'), etc. In contrast to central and southern Iran, in northwestern Iran this topoformant is rarely attested. The more archaic form of this formant is attested in the name of village Čakāda in Mazandaran, near Tonekabon (Shahsavar).

¹ E. Filippone, *The Body and the Landscape Metaphorical Strategies in the Lexicon of the Iranian Languages*, A. Panaino and R. Zipoli (eds.), "Societas Iranologica Europæa – Proceedings 2003" 2 (2006), pp. 351–375.

² Gh. Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, Tehran, Hazār-e Kermān Publishing House 2008, p. 145; G. Asatrian and G. Hakobian, *On *-d- > -l- and *-š- > -l- in Western New Iranian*, "Iran and the Caucasus", 22/3 (2018), p. 220.

³ W. Eilers, *Semiramis. Entstehung und Nachhall einer altorientalischen Sage*, Vienna-Graz-Köln 1971, p. 22; B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary. Sogdian – Persian – English*, Tehran 1995, p. 125.

⁴ The final -s, should be from sar, i.e. *čakād-sar > čakās, with the fall of the last syllable (see G. Asatrian, *Arxaičeskie (Substratnye) élementy v gidrotoponimii Kaspijskogo bassejna*, forthcoming).

⁵ The second formant of the toponym Čuyā-bil derives from OIr. *br̥da- 'high', *barz/d- 'highness; height'; cf. Av. bərəz-, IE *bhṛgh-, etc.

– Damavand dialect **کشه** [kaša] ‘hillside, slope’⁶

Cf. Alamut dialect of Qazvin province *keš* ‘mountain slope’, which probably derives from *OIr. *kaša-* ‘armpit, bosom, sinus’, attested in *vourukaša-*, mentioned in Avesta, which is explained as “Name eines grossen Sees, der in der Vorstellung mit dem Weltozean zusammenfloss”.⁷ The first component is **vouru-* ‘wide, broad’; cf. Skt. *urú-* ‘id.’. The second part **kaša-* apparently derives from OIr. **kart-* ‘cut’ (**kárta-* ‘cut’, Skt. *kárta-* ‘hole’).

We have several terms in Iranian, which derive from **kart-*: *kart(a)* ‘piece of land, furrow’, *kart-kart* ‘land divided in some pieces’, for instance, Dalijan dialect *kal* ‘furrow’; Aligudarz dialect *hīl* ‘id.’; Semn., Sang., Sorkh., Lasg. *kīl* ‘id.’, which are not ‘water’ terms, but concepts related to the land.

According to Asatrian, *-kaša-* (in *Vourukaša-*) is Av. *kaša-* ‘Achselhöhle’.⁸ It is possible that the author of Pazend Frax^v*kart* created *karta* from *-kaša-* based on the principle of hyper correction, in analogy with **aša-* / **arta-*.

OIr. **kaša-* is widely attested in Middle and New Iranian dialects: cf. MP /NP *kaš* ‘sinus, armpit, bosom’, Sogd. ‘pkš- /əpkaš- ‘id.’ (< **upa-kaša-*), Old Arm. հարսարս [harakaš] ‘friend’ (probably from **hadakaš* < OIr. **hada-kaša-*), Gil. *kaš* (*keš*), Maz. *kaše* (*kaše-hən*), Tal. *kaš(a)* (*kaša-hən*) ‘id.’, etc.

In the Caspian region, there are lot of cases of geographical terms, very similar to *Vourukaša-* (*Verkaš*), for instance, river *Varkaš* (ورکش) in Tabriz; river *Verkaš* (-čāy) in Ahar; village *Varkaš* in Alborz mountains, in the south-east of the river *Tāleyān*; mountain *Vārkaš* (وارکش), to the north from Karadj. The first formant of this names is *Var-* ‘lake, watern land’ (cf. Pahl. *var* ‘lake, bay’) or ‘chest; side’ (cf. Pahl. *var* ‘id.’). *Vār-* most probably derives from **war-* ‘to cover’, i.e. ‘covering; top’ (cf. Kurd. *wār-ga* ‘covered corral, summer camp’). Also we have names of villages *Kaš* (کش) and *Kaš-ābād* (کش آباد) in Taleqan and Qazvin.

– Kashmar dialect of Razavi Khorasan Province **سمب** [somb] ‘cave; house under the mountain’.⁹

Cf. Arm. սմբակ [smbak] ‘hoof’ < MP *sumb*, *sunb* ‘id.’; NP *sum*, *summ*, *sumb*, *sunb*; Kurd. *sim*; Pash. *sum*, *swa*; Oss. *sæftæg*; Av. *safa-*; Skt. *śapha-*.¹⁰

– Owrazan dialect of Alborz Province **شانه** [šāna] ‘mountain slope’.¹¹

Cf. NP *šāne* ‘shoulder’ < MP *šānag* ‘comb; pitchfork; shoulder blade’; Khot. *kṣāna-* ‘shoulder’.

⁶ Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, pp. 281–282.

⁷ Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, pp. 1429–1430.

⁸ Asatrian, *Arxaičeskie (Substratnye) élementy v gidrotoponimii Kaspijskogo bassejna*, forthcoming; Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, p. 461.

⁹ Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, p. 227.

¹⁰ H. Acharian, *Hayeren armatakan bařaran*, Yerevan, 1926, p. 233; Vasilij I. Abaev, *Istoriko-étimologičeskij slovar’ osetinskogo jazyka*, vol. 3, Leningrad, 1979, pp. 55, 56.

¹¹ Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, p. 237.

– Aligoudarz dialect of Lorestan Province **کفت** [keft] ‘mountain pass, col’.¹²

This lexeme is a result of metathesis from NP *ketf* ‘shoulder’ < Arab. *kitf*.

– Faramarzan dialect of Hormozgan Province **رخ** [rax] ‘edge of abyss; edge of mountain’.¹³

Here also Gerash dialect of Fars Province *rax* ‘hard rocky mountain pass’. Cf. Arm. երախ [erax] ‘mouth (of an animal), jaws, maw’; Arm. dialectal ռեխ [rex] ‘id.’ < MP *rax*; NP *rux* ‘cheek; face’; Skt. *srakva* ‘mouth (of an animal), jaws, maw’; Germ. *Rachen*.

Cf. also Arm. dialectal ձորի բերան [jori beran] ‘edge of the gorge’ (lit., ‘mouth of the gorge’).

– Khorramabad dialect of Lorestan Province **ملا** [melā] ‘mountain pass, col’.¹⁴

This word is probably attested in the toponym *Čiyā-mila* (چغامله) in Khuzestan Province (for the etymology of the first component see above), where the second component *mila* derives from OIr. **mṛdu-*, Av. *mərəzu-*. Cf. also Kurd. *mil* ‘neck’ with the meaning of ‘pass’.

Direct Designations

– Gilaki **بیه** [bīya] ‘river’.¹⁵

Cf. **وايه** [vāye] ‘waterfall’ in Rahimabad and Ashkurat dialects of Gilan. According to Henning, Tākistānī¹⁶ *vūye* ‘water’, which was primeval word, has disappeared from almost all Iranian languages, however, is preserved in some geographical names, such as *Biya-pīš* and *Biya-pas*, which, denote two parts of Gilan, separated by Sefidrud river (in Gilaki they have the meaning of ‘this part’ and ‘that part’ (the first includes the southern provinces with the centre in Lahijan, the second – the northern regions with the centre in Rasht)).¹⁷

According to Minorsky, *bīya* ‘water’ is cognate with Av. *vaday* ‘watercourse’.¹⁸ Av. **vaday-*: *vaidi-* ‘Wasserlauf, Bewässerungskanal’ derives from IE **ǵed-r/n-* ‘moisturise, humidify; water; flow’. Cf. Arm. գետ [get] ‘river’ (<**ǵedō-*); Skt. *udán-* ‘water’, *udanyāti* ‘moisturise’; Gr. *ὕδωρ* ‘id.’ (<**ud-ōr-*); Lat. *unda* ‘wave; sea; river’ (<**ud-n-*); Hitt. *uātar-/ūitēn-* ‘water’, etc.

Also in Bajestan dialect of Razavi Khorasan is attested **بلو** [belo] ‘small waterfall’, which can be derived from Av. **vaday-*: *vaidi-* with **-d-> -l-* phonetic transition.

¹² Ibid., p. 282.

¹³ Ibid., p. 196.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 364.

¹⁵ Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, p. 67.

¹⁶ One of the Iranian Azari (Southern Tati) dialects, spoken in Tākistān village, formerly known by the name of Siyah-dehān to the south-west of Qazvin.

¹⁷ W.B. Henning, *The Ancient Language of Azerbaijan*, “TPS” 53/1 (1954), p. 164.

¹⁸ V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam. The Regions of the World a Persian Geography, 372 a.h. 982 a.d.*, Cambridge, 1982, p. 388.

– Zazaki چم [čam, čam, cam] ‘river’.¹⁹

Most probably from OIr. *čjam- > *čam- ‘pace, step, run away’; IE *č(i)am- (?); NP čamīdan ‘to walk proudly, waving from side to side; to twist, turn, bend, curve’; Pth. č’m- ‘to come’.²⁰ Cf. also Gur. čam ‘river’; Kurm. čam, čam, č’am, čōm ‘id.’; Sor. čam, čōm ‘id.’; Lor. čam ‘river floodplain’; NP čam ‘duckweed, mud’; Laki čam ‘lowland, surrounded by hills’.²¹

– Shiraz and Evaz dialect of Fars province برم [barm] ‘pond, sluice, basin, pool’.²²

Here also Kurd. barm ‘lake, pond’, from MP varm ‘id.’ < OIr. *warma- (*war- ‘to cover’). Cf. Arm. վերմակ [vermak] ‘blanket’ (< Iranian *varmak), with -e- < -a- in the first syllable under the influence of Arm. վեր [ver] ‘on, above’.

– Tati زرییه [zeriya] ‘sea’.²³

To this group belong Bal. zirā ‘sea’, Sor. zeri ‘ocean’. All these lexemes derive from OIr. *zraya- (< IE *g̑rejos-); Av. zraiah-; OP drayah-; Skt. jráyas-; Tadj. daryo ‘river’; NP daryā ‘sea’. Cf. Kurd. zeribār ‘lake’ and the name of the lake Zrēbār (Zrēwār) (near the Marivan in the northern Kurdistan province) from OIr. *zraya-pāra- (cf. Pth. zrēh, Kurd. zirē ‘sea’; MP daryā-bār).

– Shushtar dialect of Khuzestan Province توف [tūf] ‘waterfall, cascade’.²⁴

Most probably derives from tāp- ‘to throw’. Cf. Kurd. tāf ‘waterfall’, tāvgah ‘id.’; Bakht. bedūf ‘id.’ < *wi-tapa-.

– Lahijani جنف [jalʃ] ‘deep; a ditch, pit; low-lying ground’.²⁵

From Av. *jafra- ‘deep’; Pth. jfr; NP. žarf; Pash. žawar. Here also Aft. jūl ‘deep; a ditch, pit; low-lying ground’; Maz. jūl ‘id.’; Damavand dialect jūl ‘id.’; Damghani jūl ‘id.’; Bardsiri jahr ‘id.’ with -fr->-l- and -fr->-hr- phonetic transitions.

– Bandar-e Anzali dialect of Gilan کولا [kulā] ‘earth, soil, low place’.²⁶

Here also Birjand dialect of Southern Khorasan kolō ‘cavity, hole’; Bal., Bashk., Jask dialect of Hormozgan Province, Bandarabbas dialect kal ‘id.’; NP kūl, kō/ūla ‘pool, pond, water-reservoir; low place; a hollow usually with stagnant water’, kō/ūl-āb ‘pool, pond; area with stagnant water’; as place-name (Kūlob in Tajikistan); also denom. verb کولیدن [kō/ūlīdan] ‘to dig, excavate’.

MMP kwl/kōl ‘pit; sink’; Kurd. k’ōl ‘pit; ditch, hollow; burrow’ (Cf. k’ōlā miškā(n) ‘mouse’s hole’), k’ūr ‘deep’, also denom. verb k’ōlāndin (k’ōlīn-) ‘to dig’, Lor. kūl ‘pond’,

¹⁹ Asatrian, *Arxaičeskie (Substratnye) élementy v gidrotoponimii Kaspijskogo bassejna*, forthcoming.

²⁰ A. Ghilain, *Essay sur la langue parthe, son système verbale d’après les textes manichéens du Turkestan Oriental*, Louvain 1939, p. 56; Boyce, *A Word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Leiden 1977, p. 31.

²¹ W. Eilers, *Geographische Namengebung in und um Iran: ein Überblick in Beispielen*, München 1982, p. 41; Vera S. Rastorgueva and Džoj I. Édel’man, *Étimologičeskij slovar’ iranskix jazykov*, Vol. 2, Moscow 2003, pp. 262–263; Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, p. 147.

²² Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, p. 48.

²³ Ibidem, p. 208.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 119.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 130.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 300.

Gur. *kūl* ‘deep’, Lari *kol* ‘hollow; pit’, Kurd. *k’ulak*, *k’ulānga* ‘round opening in the roof serving as window in the rural houses’, Oss. *kūl*, *kolā* ‘deep pond, deep water’ from OIr. **kau-ra-* (**kau-* ‘to form a hole’)? The change of the final *-r* to *-l* could have taken place under the influence of the suffixal element *-l-*, forming diminutives and adjectives, and probably for avoiding homonymy with *kōr* ‘blind’.

– Mazandarani لاس [lās] ‘stone, rock’.

Cf. Northern Tal. *lüassa* ‘top of the mountain’; Southern Tal. *lāssa* ‘cave, rock shelter, grotto’;²⁷ *lās(a)* ‘stone, rock, cliff’; Gil. *lāsa* ‘rock, cliff’; Galeshi *lāsa* ‘id.’, *lās* ‘stone’; Sang. *lās*²⁸ ‘flat stone as throwing object in games’; Asht. *lās* ‘flood silt’.

This lexeme is also widely attested in toponyms, hydronyms and oronyms of Caspian region. Cf. *Lüassa* (Lenkoran); *Lāsak*²⁹ (Fuman); *Lāsgird/Lāsĵird*³⁰ (Semnan), *Lāskūti*³¹ (Mazandaran), etc.³²

The etymology of this lexeme is unclear.

– Mazandarani تیل [tīl] ‘mud, clay, sludge, slime’.

Cf. Northern Tt. *tūl* ‘id.’; Gil. *tīl*, *tūl* ‘id.’; Tal. *tūl*, *təl*, *təlīn* ‘muddy, dirty’; Semn. *tōl(a)*, *tīl(a)*; Lasg., Sorkh. *tōl*, *tūl*; Sang. *tūl*; Southern Tt. *tīl*. This term can be found in hydronymy and toponymy of the region. Cf. *Tīl* (Ardabil), *Tūl* (Gilan), *Tūlčešme* (Gilan, Mazandaran, Gorgan), *Tīlābād* (Gorgan). According to Asatrian, lexemes in this group are a formation of the New Iranian linguistic period and can hardly be a substrate term or a Wanderwort, and most probably, are sound symbolic lexemes.³³ It is not related to Arm. *uḥḥū* [*tilm*] ‘mud’, which should be a loanword from Greek *τέλμα* ‘swamp, marsh, mire; dung’.

– Taleshi *lūl* (līl), *līr/l*, *līlov* ‘mud, clay, muddy water’.³⁴

Cf. Southern Tt. *līl* ‘id.’; Zaz. *ləya* ‘clay, loam’ (probably from **ləl-ka*); Laki *lel* ‘dirty water’; Sor. *līl* ‘id.’; Arm. dialectal [lɪ] [*lel*] ‘dirt’, [lɪnun] [*lel-ot*] ‘dirty’, [lɪ] [*lil*] ‘slime, sludge’. This should be also sound symbolic lexeme, attested in the toponymy of the region, for instance, **Tūlīr*³⁵ (Ardabil); *Līr* (*Līra*) (Mazandaran, Gorgan).

– Mazandarani لاش [laš] ‘watery land’.³⁶

Probably, here we have **d-* > *l-* phonetic transition. From MP **dašt* ‘plain, field, desert’; Sogd. *daxšt* ‘id.’; NP *dašt* ‘id.’; Kurd. *dāšt*; Arm. *դաշտ* [*dašt*].³⁷ This lexeme

²⁷ The final compound *-sa* in Tal. *lüassa/lāssa* comes from *sar* ‘head’, with the regular loss of final *-r* in Tal.

²⁸ With a common phonetic transition of *-ā-* > *-ō/-ū-* > *-ī-* in New Western Iranian.

²⁹ Minimising suffix *-ak* derives from **(a)ka-*.

³⁰ The suffix *-gird* (*-gerd*) derives from OIr. **krta-* (**kar-*) ‘to build, to do’. Cf. *Dastĵerd* < **dastakrta-*, *Malagerd* < **miθra-krta* etc. It is also widely attested in Armenian toponymy. Cf. *Stepanakert*, *Tigranakert*, etc.

³¹ The second formant of this toponym is Mazandarani *kūti/katī* ‘hill, height’.

³² M. Ghanbari, *A Note on South Caspian Lās(a) ‘Stone’*, “Iran and the Caucasus” 18 (2014), pp. 393–394.

³³ G. Asatrian, *A Caspian Term for ‘Mud, Clay, Slime’*, “Iran and the Caucasus” 18 (2014), pp. 389–392.

³⁴ L. Pirejko, *Talyšsko-russkij slovar’*, Moscow 1976, p. 133.

³⁵ From **Tūl-līr*. For the first compound see the lexeme *tīl*.

³⁶ Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, p. 340.

³⁷ G. Asatrian and G. Hakobian, *On *-d- > -l- and *-š- > -l- in Western New Iranian*, p. 220.

is attested widely in toponyms, like *Kordašt* (Iranian Azerbaijan); *Zarindašt* (Gilan); *Tusāvdašt* (Gilan); etc.

– Bandar-e Anzali dialect of Gilan Province **لهمه** [**lehme**] ‘stagnant water, bog, marsh’.³⁸

Cf. Tal. *laxma* ‘marsh, bog, swamp’, probably, from NP *daxma* ‘crypt, tomb, grave’ with *-d- > -l- phonetic transition. Cf. Av. *daxma-* ‘grave’, MP *daxmag*; BSogd. *δγμ’yl/ daxmē* ‘grave, burial’; Bactr. *λαχμιο* ‘grave’, *λαχμ(ο)* ‘tombstone, gravestone’; Gr. *θάπτω* (*ἐτάφη*) ‘bury’, *τάφος* ‘funeral, burial, grave, tomb’, *τάφος* ‘dig’; Tadj. *daxma* ‘grave, tomb’; Tt. *daxma* ‘hut, shack’; Arm. դամբան, դամբարան [*damban, dambaran*] ‘tomb, grave’.³⁹

Thus, landscape terminology, along with toponyms and hydronyms, is one of the oldest and the most stable strata of the lexical system of a given language. The discussion of the geographical denominations in Western Iranian shows that landscape terminology of the region is a fertile ground for identifying archaic (and possibly substrate) elements.

Abbreviations

Aft.	dialect of Aftar
Arab.	Arabic
Arm.	Armenian
Asht.	dialect of Āštiyān
Av.	Avestan
Bactr.	Bactrian
Bakht.	Lori dialect of Bakhtiari
Bal.	Balochi (= Baluchi)
Bashk.	Bashkardi (dialect of Baškard)
BSogd.	Sogdian in Buddhist texts
EMP	Early Middle Persian
IE	Indo-European
Germ.	German
Gil.	Gilaki
Gr.	(Ancient) Greek
Gur.	Gurani
Hitt.	Hittite
Khot.	Khotanese
Kurd.	Kurdish
Kurm.	Kurmanji Kurdish
Lasg.	dialect of Lāsgard
Lat.	Latin

³⁸ Azarli, *A Dictionary of Iranian Dialects*, p. 348.

³⁹ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern 1959, pp. 248–249; K. Hoffmann, *Av. daxma-*, “Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen” 79/3-4 (1965), p. 238; MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London–New York–Toronto 1971, p. 25; Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary*, p.139; Rastorgueva/ Ėdel’man, *Ėtimologičeskij slovar’ iranskix jazykov*, p. 282; G. Asastrian and G. Hakobian, *On *-d- > -l- and *-š- > -l- in Western New Iranian*, p. 217.

LMP	Late Middle Persian
Lor.	Lori
Maz.	Mazanderani
NP	New Persian
OIr.	Old Iranian
Oss.	Ossetic
Pahl.	Pahlavi
Pash.	Pashto
Pth.	Parthian
Sang.	dialect of Sangesar
Semn.	dialect of Semnān
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Sor.	Sorani Kurdish
Sorkh.	dialect of Sorxeh
Tadj.	Tadjiki
Tal.	Taleshi
Tt.	Tati
Zaz.	Zazaki

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