Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Khinalug group (North Caucasian family).

Languages included: Khinalug [kjj].

DATA SOURCES

General


Khinalug


KhinEDb = S. A. Starostin. Khinalug Etymological Database. // Computerized version of the Proto-Khinalug corpus, available at http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/main.cgi?flags=eygttml. Includes some Proto-Khinalug etymologies (mostly basic lexicon items) that have not been included in [NCED] due to their lack of external cognates in other branches of North Caucasian.


Additional

Kerimov 1985 = К. Р. Керимов. Глагол хиналугского языка. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. Махачкала, 1985. // A study of the Khinalug verbal system.
NOTES

1. General.

The primary lexicographic sources on the Khinalug (Khinalugh, Xinalug) language is the dictionary [Ganieva 2002], plus the glossaries in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Kibrik et al. 1972]. Some forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Desheriev 1959; Kibrik 1994; Kerimov 1985]. Khinalug lexical data are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general unreliability.

Etymological portions of the notes with special references to the Lezgian data are based on S. Starostin's data in [NCED] and [KhinEDb] with certain additions and corrections when necessary.

2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Ganieva 2002]</th>
<th>[Kibrik et al. 1972]</th>
<th>[Kibrik &amp; Kodzasov 1990]</th>
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</table>
1. The phonological opposition between the lax and tense series of stops and affricates (as p / pː, ċ / čː, etc.) is secondary, and still remains marginal. Normal historical distribution is as follows: the tense series (pː, čː, etc.) occurs between vowels, the lax series (p, č, etc.) occurs elsewhere. In the modern language, however, the lax series (p, č, etc.) can occur intervocally at morpheme boundaries or even within a root [Kibrik et
al. 1972: 18 ff.]; this makes the lax / tense opposition phonemic.

2. The phonological opposition between the non-palatalized and palatalized consonant series (such as s / š, k / kʰ, etc.) is secondary, and still remains marginal. Normal historical distribution is as follows: the palatalized series (sʰ, kʰ, etc.) occurs before front vowels, the non-palatalized series (s, k, etc.) occurs elsewhere (e.g., before back vowels). In the modern language, however, due to some processes, e.g., at morpheme boundaries, the non-palatalized series (s, k, etc.) can occur before front vowels, and, vice versa, the palatalized series (sʰ, kʰ, etc.) may be encountered before back vowels. This makes the non-palatalized / palatalized opposition phonemic. In [Kibrik et al. 1972: 19], such an opposition is described for the labial (پʰ / پʰ, pʰ, vʰ: mʰ), dento-alveolar (dʰ tʰ: lʰ tʰ y zʰ sʰ nʰ rʰ lʰ vʰ), and velar (gʰ kʰ kʰ: kʰ kʰ vʰ xʰ) rows. Similarly in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], these items can be marked as velar before front vowels (e.g., the auxiliary verb -pʰi [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 52]). However, in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 346] it is reported that only the velars (gʰ kʰ kʰ: kʰ kʰ vʰ xʰ) and laterals (lʰ lʰ) demonstrate this phonological opposition in all the Khinalug idiolects, whereas palatalized variants of other consonants can either be phonologized or not. We follow [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and only introduce the palatalized velars (gʰ kʰ kʰ: kʰ kʰ vʰ xʰ) and laterals (lʰ lʰ) in our phonemic-oriented transcription.

3. As described in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 30, 41 f., 46], the phonological opposition between the plain and aspirated voiceless consonant series (as t / tʰ, č / čʰ, etc.) is only present in the intervocalic position or in the initial position before a vowel or a sonant. Elsewhere, this opposition is neutralized as follows: (a) in word-final position, only the aspirated series occurs (-tʰ#, -kʰ#, etc.); (b) after a fricative or a resonant segment before a vowel, only the plain series occurs (-nta-, -ska-, etc.). There is no opposition before obstruents: in [Kibrik et al. 1972; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the first segment in such a cluster is transcribed as aspirated, but we prefer to follow the Cyrillic orthography and transcribe these as non-aspirated (č, čʰ, ps, etc.). Finally, in the rare medial position before a resonant, only the aspirated series occurs (-tʰm-, etc.). It should be especially noted that the Cyrillic orthography is rather inconsistent in all the aforementioned cases.

4. There is a number of specific positional, i.e., non-phonemic variants such as š: r: gʰ fʰ ɣ ɣʰ and so on, discussed in [Kibrik et al. 1972]. These are not reflected in the traditional
orthography and in our GLD transcription. Additionally, it is noted in [Ganieva 2002: 471] that vowels adjacent to a pharyngeal (ʕ h) may become pharyngealized ([I] in the Cyrillic orthography).

5. The status of long vowels is unclear. These are systematically marked only in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

Database compiled and annotated by:

1. ALL
Khinalug bitʰin ~ bütʰүн [ðumuni] (-1).

References and notes:
Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 64, 367; Kibrik et al. 1972: 81. Polysemy: ‘all (omnis) / all (totus)’. Borrowed from Azerbaijani bütün ‘all (totus/omnis)’.

2. ASHES
Khinalug зăк' {забкъ} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug зăк' 'ashes' originates from North Caucasian *Hrimq:' [NCED: 606], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *риq:'m'ashes'.

3. BARK
Khinalug qобълкъ {къобугъ} (-1).

References and notes:


A second word for 'bark' is къабыгъ 'bark / peel / shell', quoted in [Ganieva 2002: 161, 391]: a more recent borrowing from literary Azerbaijani gabъgъ 'bark'.

4. BELLY
Khinalug шахь {шахь} (5).

References and notes:


Distinct from qурсъгъ [къурсагъ] 'animal stomach' [Ganieva 2002: 181], borrowed from Azerbaijani gursag 'abomasum; stomach, belly'.

Etymology: Khinalug шахь 'belly' originates from North Caucasian *чiwxːV 'a part of stomach or craw' vel sim. [NCED: 346], cognate with some scant Lezgian forms of similar semantics.

5. BIG
Khinalug чълъ {чхи} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 335, 365; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Kibrik et al. 1972: 318, 325. Polysemy: 'big / elder'. This is, apparently, the basic term for 'big', cf. the examples in [Ganieva 2002: 335]: "big building", "big tree", "big crown (of a tree)", "capital letter", "big deal". As proposed in [NCED: 386], borrowed from Lezgian (Literary, Quba) чълъ 'big / elder' with regular Khinalug deglottalization before a consonant.

Distinct from several more specific or marginal terms: зорба [зопъ], which, according to examples, means something like 'massive (Russian: крпмнлъй)' and 'huge' [Ganieva 2002: 124, 365] (borrowed from Azerbaijani zorba 'big, massive, huge'); такъa [такъa] 'big' with the only example "big boy" [Ganieva 2002: 136, 365] (borrowed from Azerbaijani
6. BIRD
Khinalug *qus* (*кумыу*) (-1).

References and notes:


**Etymology:** Theoretically, *qim-*ir 'sparrow' can represent the basic Proto-Khinalug term for 'small/middle bird (in general)' (cf. similar situation in Lezgian). It originates from Proto-North Caucasian *cʰːʷä*mä ʾeagle' [NCED: 370], cognate with some scant Lezgian forms of similar semantics.

7. BITE
Khinalug *kak’a-kʰ-iri* (*кхакла қыру*) (8).

References and notes:

**Khinalug:** Ganieva 2002: 190; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 160; Kibrik et al. 1972: 299, 332; Desheriev 1959: 85, 201. Polysemy: 'to bite / to bite off, take a bite'. A complex verb, with the auxiliary *kʰ-*iri / *kʰ-*wi 'to do'. The nucleus *kak’a* is quoted as a separate entry in [Ganieva 2002: 190] with the gloss 'a bite', but it is unclear if *kak’a* may function independently; in any case cf. the paronymous noun *kak’a*-l ‘piece’ [Ganieva 2002: 190].

A second candidate is *didniš-k-iri* (диимишьир) 'to bite' [Ganieva 2002: 100, 394; Kibrik et al. 1972: 289]. It must be noted that, according to Ganieva, it is the default Khinalug verb for 'to bite', cf. the examples: 'he is biting his nail', 'the wolf has bitten the sheep' [Ganieva 2002: 100]. A complex verb, with the Khinalug auxiliary *kʰ-*iri / *kʰ-*wi 'to do'. The nucleus *didniš* is a borrowing from the Azerbaijani perfect stem *did-mëš-* (infinitive *did-mëk*) 'to shred, pluck, scutch, pull about'.

Distinct from the complex verb *či-class-x-aw* [сийхыр] with polysemy: 'to hold / to seize / to catch / to bite' [Ganieva 2002: 343; Kibrik et al. 1972: 319] (*x-aw* is the auxiliary verb, not used independently). According to available examples, in the meaning 'to bite' it is only applicable to dogs, with the semantic derivation ['to seize' > 'to bite']: "When I was a kid, a dog bit me" [Kerimov 1985: 43]. "I have unleashed the dog so that it may bite [undesirable persons]" [Kerimov 1985: 90], "don’t enter the courtyard, the dog will bite you" [Kerimov 1985: 123], "let the dog not bite them" [Kerimov 1985: 153].

**Etymology:** The analytical construction *kak’a-kʰ-iri* 'to do a bite' looks like a recent introduction of areal origin (cf. similar patterns in Nuclear Lezgian). The Khinalug root *kak’a- 'a bite' lacks etymology.

8. BLACK
Khinalug *mič’ä* (*мичлай*) (1).

References and notes:


**Etymology:** Khinalug *mič’ä* 'black' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *mič’V* 'dark, a k. of dark color' [NCED: 819]. Khinalug *mič’ä* is cognate with the Proto-Lezgian root *mič[ä]-*, whose Proto-Lezgian meaning was apparently 'dark', yekä ~ ñkä 'big, large'; qə‘z’i [хызлы] 'massive (Russian: крупный)' [Ganieva 2002: 312, 365].
although in Udi it is indeed reflected as 'black' (seemingly, a case of homoplasy). Due to semantic difference between Khinalug and Nuclear Lezgian lects, there is no reason to treat the Khinalug form as a Lezgian loanword.

9. BLOOD
Khinalug p'i {nlu} (1).

References and notes:


A second, more marginal term for 'blood' is gan [къан] [Ganieva 2002: 167, 393], borrowed from Azerbaijani gan 'blood'.

Etymology: Khinalug p'i 'blood' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *pʰiV [NCED: 879], which competes with *hʷĕʔnV [NCED: 496] for the status of the Proto-North Caucasian term for 'blood'. Khinalug p'i is cognate to Proto-Lezgian *pʰi (−p’), whose meaning was either 'blood vessel' or even 'blood' per se (Lezgian *pʰi means 'blood' at least in Udi and Archi).

10. BONE
Khinalug ink' {въкI} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug ink' 'bone' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *hreƛːʷĕ (−i) 'bone' [NCED: 528], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ɣiřː 'bone'.

11. BREAST
Khinalug kʰoks’u ~ kʰoks’i {коксы} (-1).

References and notes:


12. BURN TR.
Khinalug CLASS=čk-kʰ-wi ~ CLASS=ük-kʰ-wi {йаьккири} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 139, 432; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 53, 95; Kibrik et al. 1972: 296, 329. Historically, this is a causative formation which includes the auxiliary verb kʰ-wi 'to do' from k-i- [imperf., perf.] / CLASS=čk-i-l [inv.] 'to burn (intrans.)' [Ganieva

Cf. the second verb for 'to burn (intrans.)', which is a close synonym to k-i: CLASS=ива i [тывү] [Ganieva 2002: 144; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94; Kibrik et al. 1972: 297, 328].

**Etymology:** Khinalug =-у- 'to burn' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *=oːgʷV [NCED: 860], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term ?о:к- 'to burn'.

13. CLAW (NAIL)
Khinalug ģʰim'i {чымы} (1).

**References and notes:**

Distinct from dɨrn'а {дырнагъ} with polysemy: 'claw / hoof' [Ganieva 2002: 105; Kibrik et al. 1972: 289, 331], borrowed from Azerbaijani dɨrnag 'fingernail, claw, hoof'.

**Etymology:** Khinalug ģim*i 'fingernail' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *mɦäːƛ [NCED: 814], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *mäːf: 'fingernail'.

14. CLOUD
Khinalug unk' {үнкъ} (5).

**References and notes:**

**Etymology:** Khinalug unk' 'cloud' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *rĕnɬ̱ (≈-ъ) 'a k. of cloud, fog' vel sim. [NCED: 947], without Lezgian cognates.

15. COLD
Khinalug qiː {къу} (2).

**References and notes:**

**Etymology:** Khinalug =-u- 'to get cold' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *=Hĭ ы: 'to get cold' [NCED: 568], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *ʔq̥áː 'to get cold'. The synchronic participle from this verb forms the basic terms for 'cold (adj.)' in Archi and Northern Tabasaran.

16. COME
Khinalug kʰaː=к-ːwi {какъу} (8) / kʰaː=к-i ~ kʰaː=CLASS=к-i (1).

**References and notes:**
Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 146, 423; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75; Kibrik et al. 1972: 297, 338. Suppletive paradigm: \( kʰa=ki-wi \) [imperf.] / \( kʰa=0=ki-i \), \( kʰa=\text{CLASS}=kw-i \) [perf.]. Vowel length (\( i \)) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988].

The stems are prefixed with the common spatial prefix \( kʰa= 'towards the speaker' [Kibrik et al. 1972: 226], and contain the suppletive verb \( k=ki-wi \) [imperf.], which forms a great number of prefixal and complex verbs of motion. Imperfective \( k=ki-wi \) is used independently as the imperfective stem \( k-wi 'to go' \) q.v., whereas perfective \( =i(\bar{i})=i \) is not attested in independent use. See notes on 'to go' for additional detail.

**Etymology:** No etymology for \( k= \), but perfective \( =i(\bar{i})=i \) is cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian verb "\( \text{ṭ}uq.\)" to go / to come' with imperfective function; see notes on 'to go'.

Imperative \( =i(\bar{i})=i \) apparently goes back to the Proto-North Caucasian verb of motion "\( \text{ʷ}V\text{ʷ}V(r) \) [NCED: 1016], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian verb "\( \text{ʔ}V\text{ʷ}V(r) \) 'to come' with perfective function.

Quite different in [NCED: 422], where the spatial prefix \( kʰa= \) is regarded as a verbal root with the meaning 'to come' (further to Proto-North Caucasian motion verb "\( \text{ʷ}x\text{ʷ}x: \)\( \bar{U} \)). We prefer to reject such an analysis.Perfective stem.

17. DIE
Khinalug \( kʰ-li \sim kʰ-\text{il}′i \) \{\text{ki\text{bl}au}\} (1) / \( \text{CLASS}=ikʰ-\text{i} \) (1).

**References and notes:**

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 196, 444; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 53, 170; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 342. Suppletive paradigm: \( kʰ-\text{il}′i \) [imperf.] / \( \text{CLASS}=ikʰ-\text{i} \) [perf.] / \( \text{CLASS}=\text{ib}-\text{i} \) [imv.]. Vowel length (\( i\)) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]; the root \( =\text{ib}- \) is also used in the verb \( \text{CLASS}=\text{ib}-\text{i} 'to kill' \) q.v. According to [Ganieva 2002: 196], \( kʰ-li / \text{CLASS}=ikʰ-\text{i} / \text{CLASS}=\text{ib}-\text{i} \) functions as a labile verb with polysemy: 'to die / to kill', although this is not the main verb for 'to kill' q.v.

**Etymology:** Khinalug \( ikʰ- \) 'to die' originates from Proto-North Caucasian "\( \text{ʷ}i\text{w}A˘E \) 'to die / to kill' [NCED: 661], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian labile verb "\( \text{ʔ}i\text{w}A˘ \) 'to die / to kill'.Perfective stem.

18. DOG
Khinalug \( p\text{χ}ra \) \{\text{nxp}a\} (1).

**References and notes:**


**Etymology:** Khinalug \( p\text{χ}ra 'dog' \) originates from Proto-North Caucasian "\( \text{ʷ}i\text{H}\text{ye} \) 'dog' [NCED: 1073] (in [NCED], reconstructed as "\( ʰ\text{χH}\text{ye} \), cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term "\( ʰ\text{χ}\text{ye} \) 'dog';

19. DRINK
Khinalug \( cʰu-\text{lǐ} \sim cʰu-\text{v}r′i \) \{\text{uəp}u\} (5).

**References and notes:**

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 323, 415; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157; Kibrik et al. 1972: 316, 336. Paradigm: \( cʰ-\text{u}-\text{lǐ} \sim cʰ-\text{u}-\text{v}r′i \) [imperf.] / \( cʰu-\text{i} \sim cʰu \) [perf.], \( cʰu-\text{a} \sim cʰu \) [imv.].

**Etymology:** No reliable etymology. Cf. [NCED: 1028], where it is supposed that \( cʰu(\text{t})- 'to dink' \) could be related to Khinalug \( ri=cʰ- 'to wash';
20. DRY
Khinalug q’ːi ~ CLASS=iq’ːi {къу} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 187, 439; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309, 341. Vowel length (iː) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. Applied to both objects and climate. The class inflection is retained: b=iq’ːi [class 3] / b=q’ːi [class 4]. The word is a perfective participle from the verb q’ːiz [imperf.] / CLASS=(i)q’ːi [perf.] with polysemy 'to dry (intrans.) / to pine (away) / to stop to give milk (of cow) / to bake' [Ganieva 2002: 187; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309].

Distinct from qur’ːaʁ {къурахъ} 'dry (of climate), drought' [Ganieva 2002: 181], borrowed from Azerbaijani gurag ‘drought; arid’.

Etymology: Khinalug (i)q’ː- 'to be dry' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *=iղ’ːʷĂr ‘(to be) dry’ [NCED: 631], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ʔiŋ’ːar- 'to be dry'.

21. EAR
Khinalug t’opʰ {млон} (3).

References and notes:


Etymology: the origin of Khinalug t’opʰ ‘ear’ is unclear.

22. EARTH
Khinalug inči {инччи} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug inči ‘soil’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *ъо̄ммɛV ‘earth, soil (?)’ [NCED: 684], cognate to Proto-Lezgian *ъо̄мɛV (~ ʔ-), which we prefer to reconstruct with the meaning ‘earth floor’, although in Nidzh Udi, it has shifted to the basic meaning ‘earth, soil’.

Khinalug antʰ ‘earth, ground, land, field’ can be compared to the Proto-Tsezian term for ‘dirt, mud’ < North Caucasian *ъантɛV (~ ʔ-), see [NCED: 201].

The origin of Khinalug tøo ‘Earth’ is unclear.

23. EAT
Khinalug q’ːan-dā {къандая} (4).
References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug q’an- ‘to eat’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *Hêm ėξ ‘to bite’ [NCED: 559], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *ʔeqi- ‘to bite’ q.v.; hence, the shift {'to bite’ > ’to eat’} in Khinalug.

24. EGG
Khinalug k’az {kLaż} (6).

References and notes:


Etymology: as proposed in [NCED: 259]. Khinalug k’az ‘egg’ can be deduced from Proto-North Caucasian *uł`ür ‘to roll, rotate’ with the meaning development [‘to roll’ > ‘round’ > ‘egg’].

25. EYE
Khinalug pʰiļ {puɭ} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug pʰiļ ‘eye’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *ʔiln ‘eye’ [NCED: 250], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ʔil ‘eye’.

26. FAT N.
Khinalug mi {mu} (2).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug mi ‘fat’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *mîh’V (~ -o-) ‘fat’ [NCED: 794], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *maɭ ‘fat’.

27. FEATHER
Khinalug lāɭäg {ləɭɭəɛ} (-1).
References and notes:


A second term for 'feather' is գալակ [Ganieva 2002: 140, 414], borrowed from Azerbaijani կաշ 'feather'.

Distinct from դուկ [tyuk] 'down / face hair' [Ganieva 2002: 281], borrowed from Azerbaijani դուկ 'hair, fur, down'.

28. FIRE

Khinalug չա (չա) (1).

References and notes:


Polysemy: 'fire / hell / fever / misfortune, trouble'.

Etymology: Khinalug չա 'fire' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *չէ' 'fire' [NCED: 354], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *չէ' 'fire'.

29. FISH

Khinalug բալɨʁ (բալյă) (-1).

References and notes:


Distinct from նաղ ‘large fish’ [Ganieva 2002: 230], borrowed from Azerbaijani նաղ / նաξ 'sheatfish'.

30. FLY V.

Khinalug ուչմիՇ-ի ~ ուչՇ-ի [չմիՇ-ի] (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 295, 395; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82; Kibrik et al. 1972: 319, 332. Complex verb that includes the auxiliary verbs հ-ի [imperf.] 'to do' & CLASS=i[i]-i [perf.] 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62, 129]; the nucleus ուչՇ-ի is borrowed from the Azerbaijani perfect stem ուչՇ- (infinitive ուչ-ի) 'to fly'.

31. FOOT

Khinalug անՇ (ան) (6).

References and notes:


There are two documented terms for 'foot' in Khinalug:

1) the borrowed form պաչՇ, which is quoted as a generic term for 'foot + leg' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30] (only
as 'foot' in earlier [Kibrik et al. 1972: 306, 334]). In [Ganieva 2002: 244, 407], it is glossed as Russian "нога", which can mean 'foot', 'leg' or 'foot + leg', but, according to Ganieva's examples, this frequent word denotes both 'foot' and 'leg' (with additional polysemy: 'foot / leg / paw / furniture leg / kick'). It should be noted that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Kibrik et al. 1972], as well as [Kerimov 1985: 91, 105, 108, 131], it is transcribed as pʰacʰa [пача], whereas in [Ganieva 2002: 244] the consistent transcription pʰačʰa {пача} is offered, which is either a late dissimilated variant or an error. Borrowed from Azerbaijani пача 'back of the thigh; shin, shank; animal leg (as food)';

2) the inherited form ankʰ, which is explained as 'foot + leg below the knee' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31]. In [Ganieva 2002: 244, 407; Kibrik et al. 1972: 284, 334] ankʰ is simply glossed as Russian "нога", but, according to Ganieva’s examples, this frequent term also denotes both ‘foot’ and ‘leg’ (with additional polysemy: ‘foot / leg / paw / furniture leg’).

It seems that pʰacʰa and ankʰ are used in the modern language on a more or less equal basis. Apparently, the inherited ankʰ is currently being superseded by the borrowing pʰačʰa.

**Etymology**: Khinalug ankʰ ‘foot, leg’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *HnĕːgV: 'a part of leg' [NCED: 594] (no Lezgian cognates).

32. FULL

Khinalug cʰi {үлу} (1).

**References and notes:**


**Etymology**: Khinalug (e)cʰ- 'to fill, (to be) full' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *=ɦoːcV' to fill, full' [NCED: 525], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ʔiːcːi- 'to fill, (to be) full'.

33. GIVE

Khinalug tʰä=CLASS=kʰ-wi {таьклуpu} (1).

**References and notes:**


A close paronymous synonym is tʰii=CLASS=kʰ-wi [тааklupu] 'to give' [Ganieva 2002: 206, 377; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Kibrik et al. 1972: 302, 328], which is specified in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] as 'to give, return'.

Initial tʰi- 'horizontally to' & li- 'horizontally from' are common spatial prefixes [Kibrik et al. 1972: 225 ff.].

**Etymology**: Khinalug kʰ- 'to give' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *ʔiːtV' to give' [NCED: 640], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ʔiːcːi- 'to give'.

33. GIVE

34. GOOD
Khinalug *ksan {κςαν} (-1).

References and notes:


Distinct from *q’ini {κ’ινι}, which is glossed as general ‘good’ in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 308, 343], but, according to [Ganieva 2002: 176], this one means specifically ‘kind, openhearted / in good order / comfortable, well-appointed’.

35. GREEN
Khinalug *sib {ςιβ} (6).

References and notes:


A second, more marginal candidate is *gɔg {ρ’ογ} with polysemy: ‘grass, greenery / green’ [Ganieva 2002: 77, 385], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gögg (> Modern göyy) ‘green / greenery / blue / sky’.

Etymology: No reliable etymology for Khinalug *sib ‘green’. It is tentatively proposed in [NCED: 973 f.] that the Khinalug word can be analyzed as *sib-i with the fossilized class 3 exponent -i; further to Proto-North Caucasian *sʰiːnV ‘a k. of color like green or blue’ [NCED: 973] (without cognates in Lezgian).

36. HAIR
Khinalug *pʰitʰ {νυμ} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 244; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Kibrik et al. 1972: 306, 326. Ergative: *pʰitʰ-i. Meaning ‘head hair’ (according to [Ganieva 2002], *pʰitʰ can also denote ‘a single hair’, although this is not certain).

Distinct from *cʰar {χαρ} ‘a single hair’ [Ganieva 2002: 340; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Kibrik et al. 1972: 318, 326]. According to [Ganieva 2002], however, the plural form *cʰar-Dir can also denote generic ‘hair, head hair’.


Etymology: Khinalug *pʰitʰ ‘hair’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *pʰitʰV ~ *bʰtʰV ‘a k. of hair or fur’ [NCED: 874], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *pʰiːr ‘a k. of long hair’.

Khinalug *cʰar ‘a hair’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *cʰh’ær ‘a k. of hair’ or general ‘hair’ [NCED: 378], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *cʰær ‘hair’.

37. HAND
Khinalug *kʰul {κυλ} (1).

References and notes:

There are two terms for 'hand' in Khinalug:
1) kʰul [Ganieva 2002: 196, 429; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 339]. This term is glossed with polysemy: 'hand / arm / sleeve / handle, grip / tributary (of river)'.

Browsing through textual examples in [Ganieva 2002] suggests that kʰul is the most frequent term for 'hand' in modern Khinalug. Cf. the following instances: "From the roof, reach a hand to the window!" [Ganieva 2002: 38], "Don't touch it with the hand, this wall may get ruined" [Ganieva 2002: 41], "Don't touch it with the hand, it's baddy!" [Ganieva 2002: 59], "Because of his tough skin, he's able to strike nails in a board by the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 89], "Rub my back with the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 116], "Pull the cord with the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 124], "to hit with the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 133], "to make a hand gesture" [Ganieva 2002: 135], "to have armor in the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 137], "I'll get the ashtray with ther hand" [Ganieva 2002: 202], "I have pushed him aside with the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 279], "to pass the hand over the forelock" [Ganieva 2002: 339], "Hold the scythe in the hand rightly" [Ganieva 2002: 98], "What's in my hand?" [Ganieva 2002: 341], "to hold in the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 343].

On the contrary, examples for kɨl with the meaning 'hand' are less numerous: "He can touch the ceiling with the hand" [Ganieva 2002: 48], "The child try to reach the hand from below" [Ganieva 2002: 166], "Give me bread, I'll reach the hand to it" [Ganieva 2002: 166].

Apparently, the Proto-Khinalug opposition was kʰul 'hand' / kɨl 'arm', but in the modern language kɨl has begun to acquire the polysemy 'hand / arm' under the influence of similar polysemy in Azerbaijani and Russian.

Etymology: Khinalug kʰul 'hand' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *kʷil ʡɨ 'hand' [NCED: 706], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *kʷil 'hand'.

Khinalug kɨl 'arm' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *HluƛːĔ 'arm' [NCED: 588], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *ƛːol 'shoulder-blade; foreleg (of animal)'.

38. HEAD
Khinalug mik'-ir {mukIup} (1).

References and notes:


A second, also commonly used, candidate is kʰal'i [ka.ala] with polysemy: 'head / top of mountain / top of tree / chief' [Ganieva 2002: 146, 375; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Kibrik et al. 1972: 297, 328]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani källä 'head' (ultimately from Persian kalla 'head').

Etymology: Khinalug mik'-ir 'head' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *wēnAV 'head' or 'a part of the head' [NCED: 1041], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *woł 'head'.

39. HEAR
Khinalug kʰ-li {ʔal} (2).

References and notes:

Distinct from \( t\text{op}^{h} \chi\text{a}n\text{-dä} \) 'to listen' [Ganieva 2002: 288; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Kibrik et al. 1972: 340], literally 'to do \( \chi\text{a}n \) with the ear (\( t\text{op}^{h} \))' with the verb \( \chi\text{a}n\text{-dä} \?'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], the verbal element is transcribed as \( \tilde{\chi}\text{a}\text{m} \).

**Etymology**: there is no obvious etymology for Khinalug (\( \tilde{\chi}\text{a} \))k\( ^{h} \) 'to hear'. It may originate from Proto-North Caucasian \( \approx^{i(r)}\text{Vl} \) 'to address, talk' [NCED: 650], cognate with the scantily attested Proto-Lezgian verb \( \tilde{\text{h}}\text{(r)}\text{k}\text{i(V)} \), which means 'to hear' in Archi and possibly in Northern Tabasaran.

### 40. HEART
Khinalug \textit{ung} \{\textit{ynz}\} (1).

**References and notes:**


**Etymology**: Khinalug \textit{ung} 'heart' originates from Proto-North Caucasian \( \textit{y}\text{rk} \) 'heart' [NCED: 678], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term \( \textit{yirk} \) 'heart'.

### 41. HORN
Khinalug \textit{vau}^{h} \{\textit{bavq}\} (5).

**References and notes:**


**Etymology**: the origin of Khinalug \textit{vau}^{h} 'horn' is unclear.

### 42. I\textsubscript{1}
Khinalug \textit{zi} \{\textit{btl}\} (1).

**References and notes:**


**Etymology**: Khinalug \textit{zi} 'I (abs.)' originates from Proto-North Caucasian \( \approx^{o} \text{w} \) 'I (abs.)' [NCED: 1084], cognate with Proto-Lezgian \( \approx^{o} \text{w} \text{-} \approx^{o} \text{w} \) 'I (abs.)'. As proposed in [NCED: 1084], Khinalug erg. \textit{yi} may go back to the Proto-North Caucasian suppletive form \( \tilde{\text{i}}\text{z(V)} \), Khinalug gen. \textit{ei} - to Proto-North Caucasian \( \tilde{\text{i}}\text{z(V)} \).

### 42. I\textsubscript{2}
Khinalug \textit{yâ} (1).

### 43. KILL
Khinalug \textit{CLASS=\text{i}b-i} \{\textit{uu\text{û}upu}\} (5).
References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 142, 443; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 171; Kibrik et al. 1972: 320, 342. Vowel length (iː) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]. The same root as in the imperative stem CLASS=‘iːb-i-l of the verb 'to die' q.v.

Additionally, according to [Ganieva 2002: 196], the suppletive verb k‘-li / CLASS=ik‘-i / CLASS=‘iːb-i-l ‘to die' may function as a labile verb with polysemy: 'to die / to kill'.

Etymology: the only external cognate of Khinalug iːb- 'to kill' is Lezgian *Vp, which is attested as the perfective stem p‘u-r (pːu-r) 'die/kill' in Udi-Caucasian Albanian (although apparently this is not the Proto-Lezgian perfective stem for these meanings).

44. KNEE
Khinalug nikʰ {пук} (6).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug nikʰ 'knee' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *näkʷ 'knee' [NCED: 844] (without Lezgian cognates).

45. KNOW
Khinalug m’ux-wi {мухьуи} (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 227; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 330. This is the perfective participle (‘knowing’); the imperfective and imperative forms are unattested or missing from the language.


46. LEAF
Khinalug yarp’ak {ӣарпагъ} (-1).

References and notes:


47. LIE
Khinalug ˈä=CLASS=č:u-ː-iri ~ ˈač:i-CLASS-ʊ-ri (9).

References and notes:

LIVER

Khinalug მიჩა biyar ლუზა ბიჰარ (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 63, 415; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 336. Literally 'black biyar', cf. xiric biyar 'lung', literally 'white biyar' [Ganieva 2002: 63]. This is the Azerbaijani analytical pattern 'black X = 'liver' vs. 'white X = 'lung' with inherited miča 'black' q.v. and xiric 'white' q.v. plus borrowed biyar, which ultimately goes back to a Turkic form cognate with literary Azerbaijani bûjir 'liver', although phonetic details are unclear (formally Khinalug biyar looks like a hybrid of two Azerbaijani terms for 'liver': inherited bûjir and Persian چیتا).

LONG

Khinalug CLASS=iχa ლუზა  bumps, iuxaV (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 72, 133, 378; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Kibrik et al. 1972: 320, 328. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal). The most common form is =iχa with the fossilized class 3 prefix, but plain iχa with the zero class 1-4 exponent is also used.

Etymology: Khinalug =iχa 'long' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *HaχaV / *HaχaV 'long' [NCED: 550], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *b'âx'a- 'long'.

LOUSE

Khinalug nînc' ლუჸა ნუაი (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug nînc' 'louse' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *nêmâz ( ~e) 'louse' [NCED: 846], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *nâc': 'louse'.

(q.v.). Paradigm: ʰâ=t=txaV- [class 1] / ʰâ=cuV < *ʰâ=z=txaV- [class 2]. In [Ganieva 2002], quoted as imperf. ʰâ=či+v-ri [არსაპი] with the full perfective paradigm: ʰa=či-v-i [class 1-4] / ʰa=či-V-i < ʰa=z=či-v-ri [class 2] / ʰa=či-b-i < *ʰa=či-b-v-ri [class 3]. Complex verb that includes the desemanticized auxiliary verb -v-ri. Initial ʰa= is not entirely clear: there is a verbal spatial prefix ʰa= 'up from' [Kibrik et al. 1972: 225 ff.], but its meaning does not fit the semantics of the whole verb. On etymological grounds, it is proposed in [NCED: 524] that the underlying Khinalug root is actually ʰâću-, implying reanalysis after the prefixal pattern (in such a case, the perfective class 3 form ʰâći-b-i < *ʰâči-CLASS-v-i is a morphological retention).

A second, more marginal expression for 'to lie' is 'antir-q-i' [Kibrik et al. 1972: 285, 332] (not documented in other sources), literally 'to be on the ground' with ant-ir - the locative form from ant 'earth, ground' q.v. - and the auxiliary verb k-ar [imperf.] / CLASS=(i)q-i [perf.] / CLASS=ar [imv.] 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: ].

Etymology: as proposed in [NCED: 524], Khinalug ʰâ=ću- 'to lie / to sleep' may originate from Proto-North Caucasian *'lmić=x' (night) (cognate to the basic Proto-Lezgian term *'lēk=x' (night')) with the semantic development 'night' > 'to spend the night' > 'to sleep' > 'to lie'.

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 50. LOUSE used. (temporal). The most common form is Khinalug: 50. LOUSE used. (temporal). The most common form is Khinalug: 50. LOUSE used. (temporal). The most common form is Khinalug: 50. LOUSE used. (temporal). The most common form is Khinalug: 50. LOUSE used. (temporal). The most common form is.
51. MAN
Khinalug lig’il-d {λγ’λδ} (4).

References and notes:


A second term for ‘male (n.)’ is inherited k’t with polysemy ‘ram / male’ [Ganieva 2002: 152; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Etymology: Khinalug lig-il ‘man’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *l’w’є ‘male’ [NCED: 749], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ƛːilV- ‘male’.

52. MANY
Khinalug iχ’er {иχеп} (3).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug iχer ‘many’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *h’aχE with the semantics of greatness [NCED: 511], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *ʔaχ ‘ː - probably the basic Proto-Lezgian term for ‘many’.

53. MEAT
Khinalug lik’a ~ lka {лыкка} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug l(k)ka ‘meat’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *rʌl’я ‘meat’ [NCED: 945], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ya ‘ː ‘meat’.

54. MOON
Khinalug vac’ {вау’л} (2).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug vac’ ‘moon’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *w mc’oх ‘moon’ [NCED: 1044], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *гау’л ‘moon’.
55. MOUNTAIN
Khinalug *mida ~ mda {мыда} (4).

References and notes:


**Etymology**: the origin of Khinalug *mida* ‘mountain’ is unclear.

56. MOUTH
Khinalug *əz‘i {агъзы} (-1).

References and notes:


57. NAME
Khinalug *c‘u: {uIy} (1).

References and notes:


**Etymology**: Khinalug *c‘u:/ ‘name’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *ʒːwɐ́h ‘name’ [NCED: 1098], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *c‘:ər ‘name’.

58. NECK
Khinalug *gard’an {зардан} (-1).

References and notes:


59. NEW
Khinalug *tʰaz’a {мaza} (-1).

References and notes:

60. NIGHT
Khinalug san {ca{n} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 252, 407; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Kibrik et al. 1972: 301, 334. San also functions as the temporal adverb 'at night'.

**Etymology:** Khinalug san 'night' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *sʷənʔ* 'yesterday' [NCED: 969] (cognate with Proto-Lezgian *sən* 'yesterday') with the meaning shift {'yesterday' > 'night'}.

61. NOSE
Khinalug k’itʰ-ir {к’ытыр} (8).

References and notes:


**Etymology:** as proposed in [NCED: 733], Khinalug k’itʰ- 'nose' may originate from Proto-North Caucasian *kʷentʰ* (~ -en) 'lip' (cognate with Proto-Lezgian *kʷentʰ* 'lip'), with dissimilative deglottalization and a non-standard meaning shift {'lip' > 'nose'(?)}.

62. NOT
Khinalug =’i- (3).

References and notes:


**Etymology:** as proposed in [NCED: 541], Khinalug negative =’i- may go back to Proto-North Caucasian *h’V* (without Lezgian cognates) - one of the several negative particles reconstructible for Proto-North Caucasian.

63. ONE
Khinalug sa {ca} (1).

References and notes:

64. PERSON

Khinalug ḥādm'i (xlaνəðmɯ) (-1).

References and notes:


65. RAIN

Khinalug q'uḷ'a (къула) (5).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug q'uḷ'a ‘rain’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *qHuV (~ -t-) ‘summer, rain season’ [NCED: 458] (in [NCED], reconstructed as *qHuV ~ -t; cognate with Proto-Lezgian *q'ok ‘summer’) with the meaning shift {‘rain season’ > ‘rain’}.

66. RED

Khinalug cim'a ~ стα (ццима) (4).

References and notes:


A second, more marginal term for ‘red’ is al [a] [Ganieva 2002: 34, 392], borrowed from Azerbaijani al ‘red, vermilion, purple’.

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug c(i)ma ‘red’ is unclear.

67. ROAD

Khinalug k'war (кIвap) (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug k'war ‘road’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian ‘Hremq'i’ ‘road’ [NCED: 603], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *r₄q' ‘road’.

68. ROOT
Khinalug $k^h ok^h \{k\k\}$ (-1).

References and notes:

Polysemy: 'root / stump, stub (of tree). Borrowed from Azerbaijani kik 'root'.

69. ROUND
Khinalug gongoz-ì ~ gongoz-ìu (1) / lomp'urt'um ~ lompurtum \{łomłypłłym\} (7).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug gongoz 'circle' originates from the phonetically very irregular Proto-North Caucasian root "$g\dgrg$"'V round' [NCED: 438], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *girg$\dgrg$'V round'.

70. SAND
Khinalug qum \{k\uym\} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 414; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Kibrik et al. 1972: 308, 336. Borrowed from Azerbaijani güm 'sand'. Since this is the only word quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], we presume that qum is the basic term for 'sand' in Khinalug.
Two other documented words are the inherited term šum \{śuym\}, which is specified as 'sand mixed with gravel' in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 312, 336], but glossed simply as 'sand' in [Ganieva 2002: 351, 414], and the borrowing pasuk \{p\asuk\} [Ganieva 2002: 142 sub śu\uym\u] (~ Russian p\'isok 'sand').

Etymology: the inherited šum may be posited as the Proto-Khinalug term for 'sand'. It originates from Proto-North Caucasian *$c\lmp$V 'sand, fine gravel' [NCED: 340], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *$s\dghm$ 'sand, fine gravel'.

71. SAY
Khinalug č'i'r'i \{łułpu\} (8) / l-i (9).

References and notes:


Etymology: no reliable etymology neither for imperfective ɛ- nor for perfective l- nor for imperative liš 'to say'. It is tentatively proposed in [NCED: 625], that l- may contain the fossilized spatial prefix l-, whereas the zero root goes back to Proto-North Caucasian *ɾeV 'to say' vel sim. (cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ɾeV- 'to say'). Perfective stem.

72. SEE

Khinalug daχ’-i  \( \{daxu\} \) (4) / z’a=CLASS=ʁ-i  \( \{zarw\} \) (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 95, 113, 368; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Kibrik et al. 1972: 322, 326. Suppletive paradigm: daχ’-i [imperf.] / z’a=CLASS=ʁ-i [perf.] / za=CLASS=(i)a=ʁ-i [imv.]. The perfective & imperative stems represent a problem, because the perfective one is consistently quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik et al. 1972] as a form that is not inflected in class, i.e., za=ʁ-i ~ za=ʁ-i (imperfective is missing from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik et al. 1972] at all), where za- is treated as a rare case of verbal CVC-root. Proceeding from this, the authors of NCED proposed a specific etymology for Khinalug za=ʁ- 'to see' [NCED: 547]. In fact, however, as follows from the data in [Ganieva 2002: 95, 113] and is confirmed, e.g., by the examples in [Kerimov 1985: 164], the morphological structure of the perfective and imperative stems is za=CLASS-(i)a=ʁ- (perf. 1-4 za=ʁ-i, 2 za=z=ʁ-i, 3 za=b=ʁ-i; imv. 1-4 za=ʁ-i, 2 za=ʁ=i-i-i, 3 za=b=ʁ=i-i-i).

One could analyse perfective za=CLASS=ʁ- as a complex with the auxiliary verb =ʁ-i and the meaningful root za-, but normally, the auxiliary =ʁ-i forms complex verbs with the semantics of motion (see notes on 'to go'), which is not the case here. Thus, the best solution is to postulate =ʁ- as a meaningful root and treat initial za= as a desemantized prefix (the synchronous meaning of the verbal prefix za= is something like 'from above' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 226]). Cf. numerous cases in Lezgian lects when the verb for 'to see' contains a fossilized spatial prefix.

As for imperfective daχ’-i, it is proposed in [NCED: 565] to analyze it in the same way: daχ’-i with the fossilized prefix d(a)=, although such a hypothetical prefix is not present in the synchronic spatial exponent system [Kibrik et al. 1972: 225 ff.].


Etymology: if we accept the prefixal pattern for the imperfective daχ’- to see, the root =χ- may go back to Proto-North Caucasian *=ʁHχ’V- 'to perceive in some way' [NCED: 565], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *ʁHχ’ː- 'to teach, learn'.

As for perfective =ʁ-, it is compared in [NCED: 547] to Proto-North Caucasian *=ʁHaxq’ːV(n) 'to look, see' vel sim. (cognate to Proto-Lezgian *ʁaq’ː-: to look') with the metathesis *VrCV > *rV.CV > Khinalug za=ʁ- that is not apt, especially due to the prefixal status of initial za=. One could preserve this connection, assuming the normal cluster simplification *ʁC > C in Khinalug (*=ʁHaxq’ːV > Khinalug =ʁ-), but, actually, the development North Caucasian qː > Khinalug =ʁ is not regular (cf. the only additional example *y[ʊː]ʁq’ː 'time, age; maturity' > Khinalug enw [NCED: 684]). Thus, the external connections of Khinalug =ʁ are vague. Perfective stem.

73. SEE

Khinalug tʰum  \( \{myx\.m\} \) (-1).

References and notes:

74. SIT
Khinalug č=u-v-iri ~ č=i-v-iri {чывыри} (3).

References and notes:

**Khinalug:** Ganieva 2002: 338, 432; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Kibrik et al. 1972: 317, 340. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to settle down, dwell'. Paradigm: č=u-v-iri ~ č=i-v-iri [imperf.] / č=e-CLASS-v-i [perf.] / č=e-CLASS [inv.]. Complex verb with the auxiliary verb -v-iri and probably with the fossilized desemanticized spatial preverb č=. As proposed in [NCED: 409], the preverb č= can be singled out by comparison with the parallel paronymous verb g=ũ-v-iri / g=e-CLASS-v-i [гывыри] 'to get on a horse, get into the car' [Ganieva 2002: 80; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Kibrik et al. 1972: 292].

**Etymology:** Khinalug =u- ~ =i- 'to sit' may originate from Proto-North Caucasian *=eʔ (ʷ)Vr 'to sit down' vel sim. [NCED: 409], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *ʔeʔ (ʷ)Vr-, which is attested as the basic verb for 'to sit' in Tsakhur and Tabasaran.

75. SKIN
Khinalug täs'Č {млвцу} (9).

References and notes:


A second, apparently more marginal term for 'human skin' is the loanword gabūx [каобүх] with polysemy: 'bark / peel / shell / skin' (see notes on 'bark'), borrowed from a dialectal variant of Azerbaijani gab 'bark; shell' [Ganieva 2002: 224; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 341].

**Etymology:** The origin of Khinalug täs'Č 'skin' is unclear. As for Khinalug kir 'hide', it originates from Proto-North Caucasian *kʰar(a) 'crust' vel sim. [NCED: 724] (in [NCED], reconstructed as *kʰar(a) -f-), cognate with Proto-Lezgian *kərə(a) 'crust' vel sim.

76. SLEEP
Khinalug ā=CLASS=č:u-v-iri ~ ā:č:i-CLASS-v-ri (7).

References and notes:

**Khinalug:** Ganieva 2002: 48; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Kibrik et al. 1972: 286, 341. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'; see notes on 'to lie'.

A second, more marginal expression for 'to sleep' is the complex verb miki-k-wi [Ganieva 2002: 224; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 341], used only in perfective form. Literally 'to do sleep' with miki 'sleep (n.) / bed' [Ganieva 2002: 224; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304] and the auxiliary verb kʰ-wi 'to do'.

**Etymology:** as proposed in [NCED: 524], Khinalug ā=klu- 'to lie / to sleep' may originate from Proto-North Caucasian *nič 'night' (cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *nič 'night') with the semantic development 'night' > 'to spend the night' > 'to sleep' > 'to lie'.
77. SMALL
Khinalug mis'i {мису} (9).

References and notes:

Distinct from the less frequent or more specific terms: čätʰ {чəт}, glossed as 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' in [Ganieva 2002: 340; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237], and cɨpːɨɬ {цыпълы} 'small' [Ganieva 2002: 327].

Etymology: Khinalug misi 'small' (if historically < m=isi with the fossilized class 3 exponent) originates from Proto-North Caucasian *HVnsʸːV 'small' vel sim. [NCED: 614], without Lezgian cognates.

78. SMOKE
Khinalug xim'i {хымы} (-1).

References and notes:


79. STAND
Khinalug t(o)=CLASS=χu-n-dā {ттохундаь} (6).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 285, 438; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Kibrik et al. 1972: 122. Applicable to animated and inanimate subj. As proposed in [NCED: 417], initial t(o)= is the fossilized desemanticized spatial prefix.

Etymology: Khinalug =χu- 'to stand' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *=erχːʷV 'to stay' vel sim. [NCED: 417], cognate with Proto-Lezgian ʔe(ʔ)χːʷа 'to stay' vel sim.

80. STAR
Khinalug pχunc' {пхунц} (4).

References and notes:


Etymology: the origin of Khinalug pχunc' 'star' is unclear.

81. STONE
Khinalug k'ačʰin {клачъин} (7) / ricʰin {рыциъин} (8).

References and notes:
Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 191, 388; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 331. There are two equivalent terms for 'stone (in general)' in the available sources: kəčˈɨn and rɨcˈɨn. We treat them as synonyms.

Distinct from dəlˈar 'big stone, cliff' [Ganieva 2002: 91; Kibrik et al. 1972: 288], ultimately borrowed from Persian dahər 'grotto, cavern, cleft in a mountain'.

Etymology: Khinalug rɨcˈɨn 'stone' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *hrəmcʰ k. of stone' [NCED: 495] (cognate with some scant Lezgian forms of similar semantics).


82. SUN
Khinalug inqˈ {ынкъ} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug inqˈ 'sun' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *wɨrəqˈ Ă 'sun' [NCED: 1051], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *wiraq 'sun'.

83. SWIM
Khinalug üzmiˈiš-qˈ-i {уьзмьиьшкьи} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 295, 416; Kibrik et al. 1972: 322, 336. Complex verb with the auxiliary verb k-wi [imperf.] / CLASS=iqˈ-i [perf.] / CLASS=ar [imv.] 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]; the nucleus üzmiş is borrowed from the Azerbaijani perfect stem üz-miş- (infinitive üz-mäk) 'to swim'.

84. TAIL
Khinalug qˈaž {къаж} (3).

References and notes:


Distinct from moqˈunč 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк); coccyx' [Ganieva 2002: 225; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26].

Etymology: Khinalug qˈaž 'tail' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *qʷ*axˈ Ă / *qʰaxˈ Ă 'a k. of tail' [NCED: 934], possibly cognate with scantily attested Proto-Lezgian *qʰ*Vćʰ- 'goat's tail'.

Origin of Khinalug moqˈunč 'fat tail of sheep' is unclear.

85. THAT
Khinalug hu {зъй} (6).
References and notes:

**Khinalug:** Kibrik et al. 1972: 75; Kibrik 1994: 383. Suppletive paradigm: class 1 *hu, 2-4 hā* [abs.] / 1-3-4 *hi-nā*, 2 *hu-nā* [obl.]

As noted in [Kibrik 1994: 382], the most commonly used demonstrative (deictic) pronouns are *du* 'this' / *hu* 'that' (both with suppletive paradigms, inflected for class and case). Being substantivized, *du* and *hu* can also function as personal pronouns of the 3rd p. 'he, she, it, they'.

Besides these, there is a full speaker-oriented system of demonstrative pronouns on two axis (horizontal and vertical) [Kibrik et al. 1972: 74 f.; Kibrik 1994: 382]: *kʰ*-based 'this' / *tʰ*-based 'that on the same level' / *q*-based 'that below' / *t*-based 'that above'.

**Etymology:** Khinalug *hu* 'that' originates from the Proto-North Caucasian deictic morpheme *ʔu~*hu [NCED: 222] (semantic reconstruction 'that' is possible), cognate with the scantily attested Proto-Lezgian deictic morpheme *ʔu- / *uV- 'there above'.

86. THIS

**Khinalug**

*du* {дү} (5) / *ǯi* {джи} (6).

References and notes:

**Khinalug:** Kibrik et al. 1972: 75; Kibrik 1994: 383. Suppletive paradigm: class 1 *du, 2-3 dā, 4 Ę [abs.] / 1-2 *wā ~ śā, 3-4 sā [obl.]. See notes on 'that'.

**Etymology:** Khinalug *du, dā* 'this' originates from the Proto-North Caucasian deictic morpheme *dV* [NCED: 404] (semantic reconstruction 'that' is possible), cognate with the scantily attested Proto-Lezgian deictic morpheme *dV- (Tabasaran *du* 'that', Archi *gǔ-du* 'that below', *su-dů* 'that above').

Origin of Khinalug *ǯi* 'this (class 4)' is unclear. Class 4 form.

87. THOU₁

**Khinalug**

*vī* {эу} (1).

References and notes:


**Etymology:** Khinalug *vī* 'thou' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *uː*: *thou* [NCED: 1014], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ʔo-n* 'thou (direct stem)'.

87. THOU₂

88. TONGUE

**Khinalug** *mic* {муул} (1).
References and notes:


**Etymology**: Khinalug *mic* ‘tongue’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *mêlc:i* ‘tongue’ [NCED: 802], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *melc* ‘tongue’.

89. TOOTH
Khinalug *čʰul’oz* {CULOZ} (1).

References and notes:


**Etymology**: Khinalug *čʰul* ‘tooth’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *čʰľːv* ‘tooth’ [NCED: 326], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *sil* ‘tooth’.

90. TREE
Khinalug *višă* {VIŠĂ} (9).

References and notes:


**Etymology**: Khinalug *višä* ‘tree’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *ʔʷɛrxɨ* ‘a k. of foliage tree’ [NCED: 230], cognate with the scantily attested Proto-Lezgian *ʔʷɛrɪ (- u-)* ‘asp, maple’.

91. TWO
Khinalug *k’u* {KY} (1).

References and notes:


**Etymology**: Khinalug *k’u* ‘two’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *qʷʔäːH* ‘two’ [NCED: 924] (in [NCED], reconstructed as *qH*‘w’), cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *qʷʔä* ‘two’.

92. WALK (GO)
Khinalug *k-wi* {KKYU} {CLASS=Χ-i {XU}} (8).

References and notes:
Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 160, 308; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 53, 74; Kibrik et al. 1972: 321, 330. Out of several Khinalug verbs of motion, this one is quoted as the basic verb for 'to go' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]. Suppletive paradigm: k-awi [imperf.] / CLASS=χ-i [perf.] / CLASS=χ-ii [invv.]. Imperfective k-awi, i.e., =k-awi is frequently used in prefixed motion verbs and as an auxiliary verb in complex verbs of motion. In some prefixed verbs, its perfective counterpart is the expected =χ-i, but much more frequently (e.g., always in complex verbs of motion) the perfective root =χ-i is used instead; see [Kibrik et al. 1972: 216, 228 ff.] for details and examples, e.g., the basic verb for 'to come' q.v. is formed according to such a prefixal pattern: kʰ=aː=k-awi [imperf.] / kʰ=aː=χ-i [perf.]. It is proposed in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 228] to treat =χ-i as an irregular voicing of =χ-i, but we prefer to follow [NCED: 572, 666] and regard two perfective roots with semantics of motion (=)χ-i and =χ-i as historically unrelated.

**Etymology:**
No appropriate external etymology for the imperfective root k-wi 'to go'. The perfective-imperative root χ- 'to go' originates from the Proto-North Caucasian motion verb *=iχːʷV (≈-q-)* [NCED: 666], cognate with the Proto-Lezgian motion verb *ʔiχːʷe*, which is attested in the imperative and infinitive stems of the suppletive verbs for 'to go' in Aghul (inf. χ-i / inv. yiχ) and Rutul (inv. =riχ).

As for perfective =χ-i, it is proposed in [NCED: 572] to derive it from the Proto-North Caucasian motion verb *=Him ɬːʷÈ*V, cognate to the Proto-Lezgian motion verb *ʔiqːʷä*-ä, which we reconstruct as the basic Proto-Lezgian imperfective root with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.

### 92. WALK (GO)

### 93. WARM (HOT)

Khinalug far'a {фапа} (6).

**References and notes:**


**Etymology:**
Khinalug fara 'warm' (if = fa-ra with a rare adjectival suffix) may originate from Proto-North Caucasian *=VxːʷÈ* to warm up vel sim. [NCED: 1036], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *ʔicː웨*-ä, which we reconstruct as the basic Proto-Lezgian imperfective root with polysemy: 'to go / to come'.

### 94. WATER

Khinalug xu {xьы} (1).

**References and notes:**

**Etymology:**
Khinalug xu 'water' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *xːәнä*:i 'water' [NCED: 1060], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *tәин: 'water'.

### 95. WE₁
Khinalug *yi-r (2).

References and notes:


Suppletive paradigm: *yir [abs., erg.] / *šir-'[obl.].

Etymology: As proposed in [NCED: 1089], both the direct stem *yir and the oblique stem *šir- 'we (excl.)' originate from Proto-Khinalug *ži-r, further to Proto-North Caucasian *ži 'we (excl.)', cgnate with the basic Proto-Lezgian pronoun *'zi-n 'we (excl.).'

95. WE2
Khinalug *kʰi-n (1).

References and notes:


Suppletive paradigm: *kʰin [abs., erg.] / *kʰir- [obl.].

Etymology: As proposed in [NCED: 786], both the direct stem *kʰi-n and the oblique stem *kʰi-r- 'we (incl.)' originate from Proto-North Caucasian *ži: 'we (incl.)', cgnate with the basic Proto-Lezgian pronoun *'ži-n 'we (incl.).'

96. WHAT
Khinalug *ya {йа} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug *ya 'what?' originates from the Proto-North Caucasian interrogative morpheme *hi- *hi-ŋV [NCED: 491] (semantic reconstruction 'what?' is possible), cgnate with the Proto-Lezgian oblique stem *hi- 'what?'.

97. WHITE
Khinalug xir'ic' {хьырыц} (5).

References and notes:


Etymology: the origin of Khinalug xir'ic 'white' is unclear.

98. WHO
Khinalug *kʰla {кла} (2).
99. WOMAN
Khinalug χινι’-mk’ir (χινιμκιλ’)</sup> (3).

References and notes:


Distinct from lɨcʰ’i ‘female’ [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220], quoted as lɨcː’i {лыццыи} ‘female (subst.)’ in [Ganieva 2002: 212].

Etymology: Khinalug χिन ‘woman’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *qʷänV ‘female’ vel sim. [NCED: 900], cognate with the Proto-Lezgian plural stem χon- ‘woman’.

Khinalug lɨc’i ‘female’ is related to Khinalug lacʰ ‘cow’, originating from Proto-North Caucasian *yəːmco ‘bull, ox’ [NCED: 680].

100. YELLOW
Khinalug k’ušk’ula (къушк’ыла) (9).

References and notes:


Etymology: the origin of Khinalug k’ušk’ula ‘yellow’ is unclear.

101. FAR
Khinalug uz’aχ (узах) (-1).

References and notes:


102. HEAVY
Khinalug gran ( espan) (-1).
References and notes:


103. NEAR
Khinalug miq'-el {микел} (3).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug miq'-el 'near' is the locative form (with the old locative suffix -el) of an unattested noun, which goes back to Proto-North Caucasian *w'eq'el 'place' [NCED: 1054], cognate with Proto-Lezgian *w'eq'el 'place', whose synchronic locative forms indeed mean 'near' in Kryts, Aghul and Lezgi.

104. SALT
Khinalug q'ä {къа} (1).

References and notes:


Etymology: Khinalug q'ä 'salt' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *q'älV (~ -I-) 'bitter' [NCED: 912], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *q'äl 'salt' (a clear Lezgian-Khinalug innovation).

105. SHORT
Khinalug gižä {гижа} (4).

References and notes:


A second, more marginal term for 'short (spatial)' is bat'a {батыра} [Ganieva 2002: 57; Kibrik et al. 1972: 287]. According to Ganieva's examples, its specific meaning is something like 'with short end, short-tailed'.

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug gižä and bata 'short' is unclear. The former resembles Azerbaijani qisa 'short' and related Turkic forms, although in the case of direct borrowing the Khinalug variant **qisa should be expected.

106. SNAKE
Khinalug k'az {клас} (2).
References and notes:


Distinct from mirdar [мирдар] with polysemy: 'unclean, dirty / mean, villainous, foul / snake' [Ganieva 2002: 229], borrowed from Azerbaijani mirdar 'unclean, forbidden, villainous'.

Etymology: Khinalug k'az 'snake' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *ᴌːăɦrV 'snake' [NCED: 787], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ƛːar 'snake'.

107. THIN
Khinalug k'ir [kIɪp] (1) / lok' [lɔkI] (3).

References and notes:


According to [Ganieva 2002; Kibrik et al. 1972], there are two adjectives with the meaning 'thin' in Khinalug: k'ir and lok'. In [Kibrik et al. 1972], both of them are glossed simply as 'thin', but in [Ganieva 2002], k'ir is explicitly specified as 'thin 2D' (in the examples, applied to lavash, paper, ice, dough) with polysemy: 'thin 2D / wiry, lean'. On the contrary, lok' displays the polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D / narrow', according to [Ganieva 2002] (in the examples, applied to lavash, log, thread). It should be noted that k'ir is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] as the only Khinalug term for 'thin' (with polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D').

It is likely that the original Khinalug opposition was k'ir 'thin 2D' / lok' 'thin 1D', which is currently being eliminated under the influence of Azerbaijani polysemy.

Etymology: Khinalug k'ir 'thin (2D?)' originates from Proto-North Caucasian *iƛiV '(to be) thin' [NCED: 639], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *ƛːa- 'thin 2D'.

Origin of Khinalug lok' 'thin (1D?)' is unclear. It is proposed in [NCED: 639] that one of the two Khinalug terms for 'thin' (k'ir, lok') may be a loanword, but without any further discussion.

108. WIND
Khinalug kʰul'ak [xulak] (-1).

References and notes:


109. WORM
Khinalug mokʰ [mok] (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 225, 448; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 343. In [Kibrik et al. 1972], transcribed as mok'. A generic term for 'worm', glossed with polysemy: 'worm / caterpillar' in [Kibrik et al. 1972], but only as 'worm' in [Ganieva 2002]. The full collocation for 'earthworm' is q'ula-ch(i) mokʰ [Ganieva 2002: 225; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304], literally 'rain worm' with the adjective q'ula-č(i) derived
from q’ula ‘rain’ q.v. Additionally, as noted in [Ganieva 2002: 188], simple substantivized q’ulačʰ can be used with the meaning ‘earthworm’. It must be noted that the Khinalug collocation ‘rain worm’ looks like a recent loan translation of Russian до ждев о й ‘earthworm’, literally ‘rain worm’.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88], q’ulačʰ mokʰ is quoted as a basic term for ‘worm (in general)’ and more widely as a generic name for any small creatures, plus a kind of linear measure. This is apparently an error.

Distinct from qumqum’a [къумкъума] ‘caterpillar’ [Ganieva 2002: 180, 377], borrowed from Azerbaijani gumguma ‘fruit tree pest’.

Etymology: Khinalug mokʰ ‘worm’ originates from Proto-North Caucasian *mHilaɢʷ / *ɢʷiHmalV (~ -ɫ-) ‘worm’ [NCED: 817], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term *mulaqʷ’worm’.

110. YEAR

Khinalug üs {yoc} (3).

References and notes:


Etymology: A difficult case. In [NCED: 968], Khinalug üs ‘year’ is derived from Proto-North Caucasian *sérho ~ -ŋ-(apparently via consonant metathesis). Such an etymology faces various difficulties. First, Proto-North Caucasian *r (if we proceed from the metathetical variant *r(h)ěsʰo) normally yields Khinalug r or z [NCED: 44], but not zero. Second, Proto-North Caucasian *sérho is indeed reflected as ‘year’ in some daughter languages, but it is more likely that the original meaning of *sérho was ‘old’, not ‘year’ (a more probable candidate for Proto-North Caucasian ‘year’ is *þän i [NCED: 975]). Particularly, in some Lezgian lects, Proto-North Caucasian *sérho ~ *r(h)ěsʰo yields forms with the meaning ‘year’, but, nevertheless, we prefer to reconstruct Proto-Lezgian *ýis as ‘old’ (the Proto-Lezgian term for ‘year’ is rather *sán < Proto-North Caucasian *þän i).

It would be tempting to treat Khinalug üs ‘year’ as a Lezgi loanword, cf. yus ‘year’ in the Samur dialectal group (Akhty dialect) of the Lezgi language, but in the dialects of the Quba group (adjacent to the Khinalug territory) as well as in Literary Lezgi, only the non-labilized form ýis ‘year’ seems to be attested.

Thus, the origin of Khinalug üs ‘year’ remains unclear.