

[Text version of database, created 19/10/2011].

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

Languages included: Chechen [nah-che], Ingush [nah-ing], Batsbi (Bats) [nah-bcb].

Reconstruction: Proto-Nakh reconstruction available.

Data sources.

Chechen:

Matsiyev 1961 = Мациев, А. Г. Чеченско-русский словарь [A. G. Matsiyev. Chechen-Russian Dictionary]. Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей: Москва. // (*Large dictionary (20,000 entries) of the literary Chechen language.*)

Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978 = Карасаев, А. Т.; Мациев, А. Г. Русско-чеченский словарь [A. T. Karasayev; A. G. Matsiyev. Russian-Chechen Dictionary]. Издательство "Русский язык": Москва. // (*Large dictionary (40,000 entries) of the literary Chechen language.*)

Ingush:

Ozdoyev et al. 1962 = Оздоев, И. А.; Мациев, А. Г.; Джамалханов, З. Д. Ингушско-чеченско-русский словарь [I. A. Ozdoyev; A. G. Matsiyev; Z. D. Dzhamalkhanov. Ingush-Chechen-Russian Dictionary]. Грозный: Чечено-Ингушское книжное издательство. // *A brief, but informative, trilingual dictionary of the literary Nakh languages.*

Ozdoyev 1980 = Оздоев, И. А. Русско-ингушский словарь. Под редакцией Ф. Г. Оздоевой и А. С. Куркиева [I. A. Ozdoyev. Russian-Ingush Dictionary]. Москва: Издательство "Русский язык". // *Large dictionary (40,000 entries) of the literary Ingush language.*
 Kurkiyev 2005 = Куркиев, А. С. Ингушско-русский словарь [A. S. Kurkiyev. Ingush-Russian Dictionary]. Магас: Издательство "Сердало". // *One of the newer dictionaries of the Ingush language. Used mostly as an auxiliary source in dubious and debatable cases.*

Batsbi:

Kadagidze 1984 = Кадагидзе, Давид; Кадагидзе, Нико. Цова-тушинско-грузинско-русский словарь [Kadagidze, David & Niko. Tsova-Tush-Georgian-Russian Dictionary]. Тбилиси: Издательство "Мецниереба". // *A large trilingual dictionary, the major source of lexical information on Batsbi.*

Desheriyeu 1953 = Дешериев, Ю. Д. Бацбийский язык [Desheriyeu, Yu. The Batsbi Language]. Москва-Ленинград. // *A detailed description of the phonology and grammar of Batsbi; includes selected lists of nominal and verbal items and examples of texts.*

General:

NCED = Starostin, Sergei A.; Nikolayev, Sergei L. A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary. Moscow: Asterisk Publishers, 1994. Reprint in 3 vols.: Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2007. // *Monumental etymological dictionary of the North Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian, a.k.a. Northeast Caucasian + Abkhaz-Adyghe, a.k.a. Northwest Caucasian) language family. In addition to approximately 2000 roots, reliably or tentatively reconstructed for Proto-North Caucasian, also provides intermediate reconstructions for the protolanguages of the daughter branches: Nakh, Avar-Andian, Tsezian, Dargwa, Lezghian, Abkhaz-Adyghe. Tables of correspondences and detailed notes are given in the introduction, available online at <http://starling.rinet.ru/Texts/caucpref.pdf>. All etymologies also available online on the StarLing database server, at <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/main.cgi?flags=eygtmnl>.*

NED = Starostin, Sergei A.; Nikolayev, Sergei L. Nakh Etymological Database. // *Computerized version of the Proto-Nakh corpus, available at <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/main.cgi?flags=eygtmnl>. Includes some Proto-Nakh 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. Only numbers of etymologies are referenced, since the source lacks pagination.*

Imnayshvili 1977 = Имнайшвили, Д. С. Историко-сравнительный анализ фонетики нахских языков [D. S. Imnayshvili. A Historical-Comparative Analysis of the Phonetics of the Nakh Languages]. Тбилиси: Издательство "Мецниереба". // *Detailed comparative analysis of the synchronic systems and diachronic developments of the phonetic and phonological*

systems of the Nakh language group. Includes a large amount of unique dialectal data, making the work a primary source on Nakh reconstruction. Does not, however, contain the author's own version of the reconstructed Proto-Nakh phonological system.

Notes on transcription:

Chechen and Ingush data are given in UTS variants as well as official Cyrillic orthography. Batsbi data are given only in their UTS variants, since the language has no official orthography. Transliteration from Cyrillic characters for all three languages (Batsbi is also sometimes transcribed in Cyrillic, e. g. in [Desheriyev 1953]) is as follows:

а	a
аь	ä
е	e
и	i
о	o
оь	ö
оа	ɔ
у	u
уь	ü
п	p
б	b
пI	p'
ф	f
в	w
м	m
т	t
д	d
тI	t'
р	r
л	l
лъ	ɬ

й	y
ц	c
дз	ʒ
цI	c'
с	s
з	z
ч	č
дж	ǰ
чI	č'
ш	š
ж	ž
к	k
г	g
кI	k'
х	x
гI	ɣ
кх	q
къ	q'
'	ʔ
I	ʕ
хь	ħ
хI	h

It should be noted that usually, the back fricatives *x* (*x*), *ɣI* (*ɣ*) are realized phonetically as *uvular* rather than *velar* fricatives (i. e. *χ* and *ʁ*). However, since there is never any phonological contrast between uvular and velar fricatives in Nakh, nor is any such opposition reconstructible for the Proto-Nakh level, we transliterate them with the traditionally less "marked" velar fricative symbols, to indicate the lack of such an opposition.

Reconstruction notes: The only systematic published reconstruction of the Proto-Nakh phonological system and etymological corpus belongs to Sergei Nikolayev, although the reconstruction acknowledges its serious debt to [Imnayshvili 1977]. It was included in [NCED] and published electronically (as [NED]) on the StarLing database server. For the purposes of the reconstruction of the Swadesh wordlist for Proto-Nakh, only a few minor modifications to Nikolayev's reconstructions and etymologies have been proposed in the current proto-list by G. Starostin.

The basic table of consonantal correspondences for Nakh languages, proposed in [NCED: 92], is reproduced below for convenience. Transcription has been modified as per UTS standards. In [NCED], the slash sign stands for "understandable allophonic variation", the tilde sign denotes a "not well understood split of reflexation"; this marking has been retained in the table. Seriously questionable phonemes have been italicized (see notes below):

Proto-Nakh	Batsbi	Chechen	Ingush
*p	p	p	p
*b	b	b-, -0- ~ -w-	b-, -0- ~ -w-
*p'	p'	p'-, -b-	p'-, -b-
*f	w (~ h, ?)	h/w	f
*w	w	w-, -0- ~ -w-	w-, -0- ~ -w-
*m	m	m	m
*t	t	t	t
*d	d	d-, -0- ~ -y-	d-, -0- ~ -y-
*t'	t'	t'-, -d-	t'-, -d-
*r	r	r	r
*n	n, -(V̄)0	n-, -(V̄)0	n-, -(V̄)0
*c	c	c	c
*ʒ	ʒ-, -z-	z	z
*c'	c'	c'-, -z-	c'-, -z-
*s	s	s	s
*č	č	č	č
*ʒ̣	ʒ̣-, -ẓ̌-	ẓ̌	ẓ̌
*č̣	č̣	č̣-, -ẓ̌-	č̣-, -ẓ̌-

Proto-Nakh	Batsbi	Chechen	Ingush
*š	š	š	š
*y	y	y	y
*L	ʎ	l	l
*ɭ	ɭ	l	l
*l	l	l	l
*k	k	k	k
*k ^y	k	č	k
*g	g	g-, -0- ~ -y-	g-, -0- ~ -y-
*g ^y	g	ž	ž
*k'	k'	k'-, -g-	k'-, -g-
*k' ^y	k'	č'-, ž	k'-, -ž-
*q	q	q	q
*q'	q'	q'	q'
*x (= *χ)	x (= χ)	x (= χ)	x (= χ)
*ɣ (= *ʁ)	ɣ (= ʁ)	ɣ (= ʁ)	ɣ (= ʁ)
*ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
*h	h ~ ʔ	h	h/v
*ɦ	ɦ	ʔ	ʔ
*ɟ	ɟ	ɟ	ɟ
*ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ
*ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ

Notes:

1) The voiced lateral affricate (?) *L has been reconstructed for Proto-Nakh only on the evidence of somewhat conflicting variation between ʎ and l in some of the sources on Batsbi. This issue needs additional investigation based on careful fieldwork.

2) The six-laryngeal system, reconstructed for Proto-Nakh, may be slightly superfluous. Existing correspondences show that at least 5 distinct phonemes have to be set up for Proto-Nakh to account for the complex reflexation (no modern language distinguishes more than 4), but the need of a sixth one is debatable.

3) The palatal-velar series *k^y, *g^y, *k'^y, reconstructed on the basis of occasional palatalization of velars in Vainakh languages (Chechen, Ingush), is ultra-rare and

should rather be reinterpreted in terms of positional change, conditioned by certain vocalic contexts. This, however, has no bearing on the reconstruction of the Swadesh wordlist, since these hypothetical phonemes are not encountered in any of the particular etyma on this list in Proto-Nakh.

Proto-Nakh vocalism is reconstructed as a simple five-vowel system (*i, *e, *a, *o, *u) with the additional feature of vowel length also being of phonological value. However, the actual vowel correspondences between Nakh languages are quite complex; this is caused by various processes of "umlautization", i. e. vowels of the second syllable influencing the "coloring" of vowels in the first syllable. For a full description of these processes as well as secondary processes related to Proto-Nakh Ablaut (vowel gradation in verbal and nominal roots), please consult [NCED: 96-102], as well as notes on particular reconstructions in our database.

Database compiled and annotated by: G. Starostin (last revision: October 2011).

1. ALL

Chechen *d=err-ig* {*deppuz*} (1), Ingush *d=err-iga* {*deppuza*} (1), Batsbi *wum-a?* (2), Proto-Nakh **=arr-ik'*(1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 141; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 57. Initial *d=* is a detachable class prefix.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 60; Ozdoyev 1980: 67. Initial *d=* is a detachable class prefix.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 256; Desheriyev 1953: 319 (transcribed as *wama?*). Formally a derivative from *wum* 'something' [Kadagidze 1984: 256].

Proto-Nakh: NED # 1. Distribution: The original root *=arr-* is only preserved in Vainakh; no parallels in Batsbi. Replacements: Batsbi *wum-a?* is easily etymologized on internal grounds as a morphological derivative from the word 'something'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The stem is morphologically structured like a standard adjectival stem with the widespread Vainakh suffix **-ig(a)* = Batsbi *-ik'*.

2. ASHES

Chechen *yug'* {*юк'ъ*} (1), Ingush *yog'* {*юок'ъ*} (1), Batsbi *yop'q'* (1), Proto-Nakh **yobq'*(1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 531; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 190. Oblique stem: *owq'-ar-* {*ок'ар*}. This is the default word for 'hot ashes' ('Iye', Russian *э а а*). It is distinct from *čim* [Matsiyev 1961: 492; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 387] '(cold) ashes' (Russian *я я л*).

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 86; Ozdoyev 1980: 224. Oblique stem: *owq'-ar-* {*ок'ар*}. This is the default word for 'hot ashes' ('Iye', Russian *э а а*). It is distinct from *čil* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 188] '(cold) ashes' (Russian *я я л*).

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 319. Plural form: *ap'q'-ayr-i* [Kadagidze 1984: 41].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 681. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The cluster *-bq'* is reconstructed based on Batsbi *-p'q'* and the oblique stem: Chechen *owq'-ara-n* = Ingush *owq'-ar-o* = Batsbi *ap'q'-ayr-i* < Proto-Nakh **?abq'u-r-* (probably from an earlier **yabq'u-r-*). Vowel gradation in this root complies with the same model as 'earth' q.v.

3. BARK

Chechen *kewst-ig* {*кевстмуз*} (1), Ingush *kost* {*коаст*} (1), Batsbi *kerk* (-1), Proto-Nakh **ka:bst*(1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 214; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 229. The form is listed as the only equivalent for 'bark' in the latter source, but is clearly a diminutive derivative of *kowst* {*к о ст*} [Matsiyev 1961: 220] with vocalic assimilation (= Ingush *kost-ilg* 'little (piece of) bark').

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 92; Ozdoyev 1980: 276.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 611. Borrowed from Georgian *kerk-i*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 770. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch. Replacements: Replaced by a Georgian borrowing in Batsbi. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. Vowel length is reconstructed based on Ingush *ɔ* (phonetically *ɔ*). The final coronal cluster could alternately be reconstructed as **-st'* (diagnostic data from Batsbi are absent).

4. BELLY

Chechen *gay* ~ *ge*: {*zai* ~ *zē*} (1), Ingush *če*: {*ue*} (2), Batsbi *gaga-ž* (1), Proto-Nakh **gag-* (6).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 98, 100; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 154. Oblique stem: *gay-n-* {*zai*n-}. Distinct from *čo*: 'stomach' [Matsiyev 1961: 493] and *kiyra* [Matsiyev 1961: 217] 'womb; entrails'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 188; Ozdoyev 1980: 182. Vowel length is not indicated in either of these dictionaries (carried over from the notation in NCED). The former source gives the meaning as 'bosom' (Russian *мэ ы а*), but analysis of various texts shows that 'belly' is a more accurate translation. The latter source also quotes, as potential synonyms: (a) *giyg* (written as *čiyg*, clearly a misprint under the influence of the preceding *če*), actually "stomach" [Ozdoyev 1980: 47]; (b) *čuraš*, actually "chitterlings" [Ozdoyev 1980: 190].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 109; Desheriyev 1953: 143 (transcribed as *gaga*). Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 430. Distribution: Preserved in all the languages except for Ingush, where the semantic transition {'inside > belly'} seems to have operated on a more active scale than in Chechen. Replacements: The original root **gag-*, polysemous in the meanings 'belly' and 'stomach', has, in some dialects, begun to be replaced by **čVwV* ([NCED: 339]; vocalization is most likely **čuw-e* or **čuw-a*) 'internal organs', a derivative from the simple root **čuw* 'inside'. At least in some varieties of Ingush the original *giyg* has only been retained in the meaning 'stomach'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (**-g-* is always lost or lenited in Chechen), but the second vowel is hard to reconstruct (**gagi-?* **gaga-?*). Semantics and structure: The stem is occasionally encountered in "pure" form as well as with suffixal extensions, e. g. **gag-ik'* > Ingush *giy-g*, or cf. the variation between Batsbi *gaga* and *gaga-ž*.

5. BIG

Chechen *d=ooqqa* {*doκκxa*} (1), Ingush *d=ooqqa* {*doκκxa*} (1), Batsbi *d=aqqō* (1), Proto-Nakh **=aqqu-n* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 154; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 43. Polysemy: 'big / elder / important'. Initial *d=* is a detachable class prefix.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 65; Ozdoyev 1980: 51. Initial *d=* is a detachable class prefix.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 64; Desheriyev 1953: 319.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 610. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. Traces of stem-final *-n* are still seen in the nasalization of the final vowel in Batsbi.

6. BIRD

Chechen *olxazar* {*oλxazap*} (1), Ingush *olxazar* {*oalxazap*} (1), Batsbi *ħac'uk'* (2), Proto-Nakh **?a:lxazur* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 323; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 495.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 128; Ozdoyev 1980: 594.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 912; Desheriyev 1953: 313. The meaning is glossed as '(small) bird' in the former source and as 'sparrow / bird' in the latter.

Proto-Nakh: NED # 8. **Distribution:** Preserved in all Vainakh languages, but replaced or at least significantly pushed aside in Batsbi. **Replacements:** The word **ʔa:lxazur* is found in older Batsbi dictionaries: Matsiyev, in a 1932 edition, lists the form *alxazur* meaning 'bird', and A. Schiefner ("Versuch über die Thusch-Sprache", St. Petersburg, 1856) gives *alxazur* with the meaning 'eagle' ('Adler'). This implies reconstructibility of **ʔa:lxazur* as 'bird' or, at least, as 'large bird' on the Proto-Nakh level. Batsbi *hac'uk* 'bird', 'small bird', 'sparrow', on the other hand, is cognate with Chechen *hozza* 'sparrow' [Matsiyev 1961: 469], Ingush *haz-ilg* 'sparrow' (with a common diminutive suffix) [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 170] = Proto-Nakh **ha:c'u* [NCED: 525]. This presupposes one of two semantic scenarios: (a) a Proto-Nakh opposition between **ʔa:lxazur* 'big bird' and **ha:c'u* 'small bird'; (b) Proto-Nakh **ʔa:lxazur* as a generic term for (any) 'bird' vs. **ha:c'u* 'sparrow'. In either case, modern Batsbi comes out as semantically innovative, having either merged the opposition in (a) in favour of the former 'small bird', or generalized the older term for 'sparrow'. For typological reasons, the development {'sparrow' > 'bird'} is marginally preferable. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences are mostly regular, although vocalic reconstruction in such a complex trisyllabic form is somewhat ambiguous. One important exception is the lack of the expected regular development **-lx- > -tx-* in Batsbi (cf. 'meat', 'sun' etc.). This could either suggest that the word is not really a Proto-Nakh item, but was independently borrowed into both branches already after this phonetic tendency ceased to operate in Batsbi; or, more likely (since the source of borrowing is nowhere to be found), that the original shape was even longer, e. g., **ʔolaxazur*, with subsequent compression in both branches (and, perhaps, compensatory vowel lengthening in Vainakh?). **Semantics and structure:** The word formally looks like a derived nominal stem, but the primary stem has not yet been recovered in either Proto-Nakh or through external comparison with Daghestanian languages.

7. BITE

Chechen *cerg-aš y=oxka* {*цeрґауи үохака*} (1), Ingush *carg-aš y=oxka* {*царґауи үохака*} (1), Batsbi *cark' y=aʔ-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **qah-* # (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 477; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 241. Complex form, literally 'to stick (in) the teeth'. Said of people; for animals, the verb *le:ca* (originally 'to catch, seize') is used instead [Matsiyev 1961: 278].

Ingush: Ozdoyev 1980: 291. Complex form, lit. 'to stick (in) the teeth'. Said of both people and animals. This compound is listed as the equivalent to Russian intransitive *κ γα μ α* ('to bite' = 'to have a habit of biting'); the equivalent to Russian transitive *κ γα μ* ('to bite /someone/') is listed as *carg-aš etta*, lit. 'to hit (with) the teeth'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 721; Desheriyev 1953: 316. Literally 'to stick (in) the teeth'. The former source lists a synonymous, non-idiomatic form: *qah-ar* 'to bite' (terminative) [Kadagidze 1984: 831], which may be more archaic, but is not mentioned in [Desheriyev 1953] as the primary equivalent for 'to bite'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 625. **Distribution:** Most modern forms of Nakh languages form the meaning 'to bite' idiomatically, as a combination of **ca-r-ik* 'tooth' q.v. + different verbal stems (**=oxk-* 'to put in, stick in, insert' in Vainakh; *=aʔ-* 'to give' in Batsbi). Only in Batsbi one also finds a (seemingly) less frequently used verbal stem *qah-*, which Nikolayev and Starostin historically analyze as *q=ah-* (*q=* may, indeed, be a fossilized preverb in Nakh) and for which they find external parallels in Daghestanian languages. Considering that (1) the Batsbi form is unmotivated and does not find an internal Nakh etymology; (2) the idiomatic constructions for 'bite', used in modern Nakh languages, are not easily traced to a common Proto-Nakh idiom; (3) the incentive for the derivation {'tooth' > 'bite'} may have been triggered by Kartvelian influence (cf. Georgian *k'b-ena* 'to bite' vs. *k'b-il-* 'tooth'), the optimal scenario is to posit **qah-* (possibly < **q=ah-*) as the Proto-Nakh term for 'bite', only retained as an archaism in Batsbi. (A potential relic in Chechen may also be the derivative nominal stem *qah-am* 'a taste of (the quality of cornmeal)' [Matsiyev 1961: 237] < 'a bite'; etymology belongs to Oleg Mudrak). On the other hand, individual replacements in Vainakh and Batsbi, out of caution, are still counted together (in any way, the tradition itself of substituting the original 'bite' for 'tooth + vb.' may already date to the Common Nakh era). **Semantics and structure:** The stem **qah-* must have been perceived as a monolithic root already in Proto-Nakh. But in Batsbi, cf. also *lah-ar* 'to eat (smth.) together with (smth. else)' [Kadagidze 1984: 374], possibly reflecting the combination of the same root with a different preverb.

8. BLACK

Chechen *ṡārž-a* {Iaβpжа} (1), Ingush *ṡārž-a* {Iaβpжа} (1), Batsbi *ṡarč-ĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **ṡarč-i* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 555; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 693.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 208; Ozdoyev 1980: 789.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 930; Desheriyev 1953: 31 (transcribed as *ṡarč̣* ~ *ṡarč̣ē*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 556 (written as *ṡarč̣-i*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and mostly trivial, with the exception of the root vowel (where length is reconstructed based on dialectal data). It should be noted that the reconstrual notation given in [NCED] is incorrect: according to the system of correspondences on pp. 91-92, the initial laryngeal should have been written as *ʔ (since it yields the reflexion ʃ- in all three languages). Here, we correct that obvious mistake. Semantics and structure: Derivatives usually preserve the monovocalic variant **ṡarč̣-*, e. g. Chechen *ṡarž-dan* 'to blacken', etc.

9. BLOOD

Chechen *c'iy* {uIuü} (1), Ingush *c'iy* {uIuü} (1), Batsbi *c'eygĩ* ~ *c'i:gĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **c'eygi* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 485; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 236.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 185; Ozdoyev 1980: 285.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 760; Desheriyev 1953: 315 (transcribed as *c'ig*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 376. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The same stem also serves as the derivational basis for Proto-Nakh 'red' q.v.

10. BONE

Chechen *dāṡaxk* {ḃaβIaxκ} (1), Ingush *t'exk* {mIexκ} (1), Batsbi *ʒol* (-1), Proto-Nakh **dʔexk'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 133; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 232.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 185; Ozdoyev 1980: 280.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 751; Desheriyev 1953: 337. Borrowed from Georgian *ʒwal-i*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 528. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch, but replaced with a Georgian borrowing in Batsbi. Reconstruction shape: Due to lack of Batsbi data, the word-final cluster may be reconstructed either as **-xk'* or **-xk*. The former reconstruction, however, is preferable, since it helps explain the irregular glottalized reflexion *t'*- in Ingush. (Cf. a similar example, albeit without the laryngeal: Chechen *dāxka* 'belt, girdle' = Ingush *t'exkar* id. = Batsbi *duxk'ā* id. < Proto-Nakh **doxk'V* [NCED: 678]). Word-medial vocalism is somewhat uncertain; the reconstruction may be bisyllabic (**deʔexk'*).

11. BREAST

Chechen *na:qa* {*нāкха*} (1), Ingush *naqa* {*накха*} (1), Batsbi *aq'ar* (2), Proto-Nakh **na:qa* # (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 311; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 116. Distinct from *ma:mag* 'female breast' [Matsiyev 1961: 286], although *na:qa* is also frequently used to indicate the female breast (*ma:mag* is probably a "Lallwort").

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 124; Ozdoyev 1980: 136. No distinction between 'male breast (chest)' and 'female breast'.

Batsbi: Desheriyev 1953: 311. Strangely absent from Kadagidze's dictionary, but supposedly distinct from *t'ar* 'female breast, nipples' [Kadagidze 1984: 557].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 829. Distribution: Preserved only in Vainakh languages (if the selection is correct). Replacements: Obscure situation. Vainakh **na:qa* '(male) breast' may formally correspond to Batsbi *naq* 'throat, larynx' [Kadagidze 1984: 474], but the semantic match would be unusual unless both meanings were descended from some non-trivial anatomical term; without additional confirmation, we do not dare advance the connection. This makes **na:qa* a very good candidate for '(male) breast' in Proto-Nakh, but Batsbi *aq'ar* does not have an internal etymology either, and could also be archaic. The selection of **na:qa* is, therefore, somewhat dubious. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences between Chechen and Ingush are regular and trivial.

12. BURN TR.

Chechen *d=a:g-o:* {*ḍāzō*} (1), Ingush *d=ɔg-ade* {*ḍoaɣade*} (1), Batsbi *d=ak'-d-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **=a:k'-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 122; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 154. The corresponding intransitive stem is *d=a:g-a* [Matsiyev 1961: 120; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 111].

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 64; Ozdoyev 1980: 181. The corresponding intransitive stem is *d=ag-a* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 55; Ozdoyev 1980: 130].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 33. The corresponding intransitive stem is *ak'-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 32].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 633. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: All correspondences are regular. Semantics and structure: The etymon, already on the Proto-Nakh level, is reconstructible as a simple intransitive verbal base (**=ak'-*) and an extended transitive base (**=ak'-d-*).

13. CLAW (NAIL)

Chechen *mɣa:ra* ~ *maɣar* {*мIāpa* ~ *маIap*} (1), Ingush *mɣara* {*мIapa*} (1), Batsbi *mɣayrɨ* (1), Proto-Nakh **mɣa:ra* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 293, 310; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 322. Polysemy: 'nail / claw / hook'. The latter source only quotes the variant *mɣa:ra*, and its primacy is also confirmed by external data.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 124; Ozdoyev 1980: 390.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 461; Desheriyev 1953: 312 (transcribed as *mɬayr*). Polysemy: 'nail / claw'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 814. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. The oblique stem shows vowel gradation in the second syllable: **mʔa:re-* > Chechen *mɬe:ra-*, Ingush *mɬara-*, Batsbi *mɬare-*.

14. CLOUD

Chechen *marxa* {*марха*} (1), Ingush *morx* {*морх*} (1), Batsbi *doxk'* (2), Proto-Nakh **marxo* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 288; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 330.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 121; Ozdoyev 1980: 398.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 213; Desheriyev 1953: 32.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 795. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch only. Replacements: In Batsbi, replaced with *doxk'* = Chechen, Ingush *doxk* 'fog' < Proto-Nakh **doxk'* 'fog' [NCED: 947]. The meaning shift is more likely to have been {'fog' > 'cloud'} in Batsbi than the opposite, because the meaning 'fog' in that language has merged with the meaning 'smoke' (see under **k'ur*). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences in the Vainakh branch are fully regular.

15. COLD

Chechen *šiyła* {*шуйла*} (1), Ingush *šiyła* {*шуйла*} (1), Batsbi *pšel-ĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **pše-l-i(n)* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 514; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 682.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 195; Ozdoyev 1980: 777.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 596; Desheriyev 1953: 319 (transcribed as *pšeli*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 393. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, although the initial cluster **pš-* is ultra-rare (Batsbi preserves the more complex archaic articulation in this case, as in many others). Semantics and structure: The adjective is a regular derivative of Proto-Nakh **pše-l* 'cold (n.)' (Batsbi *pše-l*, also preserved in Chechen *še-l-dan* 'to cool', etc.), which, in turn, is derived from the oblique stem **pše:-* of Proto-Nakh **pša:* 'ice' (Chechen, Ingush *ša*; Batsbi *pša*). The derivation {'ice' > 'cold'} is typologically quite secure.

16. COME

Chechen *d=a:-n* {*д̄āн*} (1), Ingush *w=a* {*wa*} (1), Batsbi *d=aʔ-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **aʔ-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 126; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 462.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 37; Ozdoyev 1980: 558. The root is =*a* (cf. *d=a* 'to arrive (of an inanimate object)' with a different class marker). Also used in the complex form *ha=w=a* (with the preverb *ha=* 'to'). Ozdoyev [1980: 558] also lists the form *ha=qáč-a* as synonymous, but its preverb-less equivalent *qáč-a* is translated as 'to arrive' in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 97] = Chechen *qáč-a* id. [Matsiyev 1961: 237].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 72. Terminative stem; the corresponding durative is *d=ay-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 51].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1016. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Vowel length in Chechen may be compensatory, caused by the loss of word-medial laryngeal, or archaic, in which case the reconstruction should be changed to **=a:ʔ-*. Semantics and structure: A "class verb" (used only with class prefixes); the stem **=aʔ-* is the original terminative stem, from which, with vowel gradation, already in Proto-Nakh the durative stem **=eʔ-* (> Chechen *=eʔ-*, Batsbi *=eʔ-*) was formed.

17. DIE

Chechen *d=al-a* {*дала*} (1), Ingush *=al-a* {*дала, вала*} (1), Batsbi *d=al-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **=al-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 125; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 651. Distinct from *d=a:l-a* 'to finish, terminate' [Matsiyev 1961: 125], an entirely different root.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 38; Ozdoyev 1980: 748 (listed with different class prefixes). Distinct from *=al-a* 'to finish, terminate' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 38], a homophonous root (but with significantly differing morphological behaviour).

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 34.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 662 (written as **=aL-*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: In [NCED], the word-medial consonant is reconstructed as **-L-* (its phonetic interpretation as a voiced lateral affricate is arbitrary) based on controversial data from Batsbi dialects: *-l-* in Kadagidze's dictionary vs. *-ʔ-* in Matsiyev's earlier dictionary from 1932. However, this distinction between two dictionaries of the same language is too dubious to serve as the basis for the reconstruction of a special phonological opposition (the authors of [NCED] themselves add that "our suggestion requires a field verification" on p. 93). Additionally, in this particular case ('die') both Desheriyev [1953] and Schiefner ("Versuch über die Thusch-Sprache", St. Petersburg, 1856) steadily note forms with *-l-* in Batsbi. We feel justified to change the reconstruction to a simpler **=al-*.

18. DOG

Chechen *žǰäla* {*жIаьла*} (1), Ingush *žǰali* {*жIалу*} (1), Batsbi *pħu* (2), Proto-Nakh **pħu* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 186; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 575.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 78; Ozdoyev 1980: 677.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 502; Desheriyev 1953: 33. Plural form: *phar-č*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1074. Distribution: Preserved in the original meaning only in Batsbi. Replacements: Already in Proto-Vainakh, the original meaning of **pħu* was narrowed: {'dog' > 'male dog'} > Chechen *pħu*, oblique stem *phāra-* [Matsiyev 1961: 354], Ingush *pħu*, oblique stem *pharo-* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 137]. In the general meaning 'dog', Proto-Vainakh innovated the stem **žǰali*, of unclear origin (possibly a borrowing from Kartvelian, cf. Georgian *zayl-*, Megrel *žogor-* 'dog', but the correspondences are somewhat unclear, so that we currently refrain from counting the word as a borrowing). Traces of the original semantics are still seen in such archaic derivatives as Chechen *phar-cerg* 'fang' [Matsiyev 1961: 353], literally 'dog-tooth'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. The oblique stem is reconstructed as **phare-* (cf. the Batsbi pl. form and the Chechen and Ingush oblique stems quoted above).

19. DRINK

Chechen *miyl-a* {*миула*} (1), Ingush *mel-a* {*мела*} (1), Batsbi *meʔ-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **maʔ-*

(1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 300. Durative stem; in [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 403] for the meaning 'drink' (Russian durative *пи́т*) the authors quote the terminative stem *mala* 'to drink to the end' (Russian terminative *выпи́т*), which is not quite correct. Nevertheless, both forms obviously represent the same root.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 117; Ozdoyev 1980: 488. Both sources list as primary the terminative stem *mal-a* 'to drink to the end'; durative *mel-a* 'to drink, be drinking' is only found in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 119], without any specific indication of the semantic difference.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 433. Durative stem; the corresponding terminative stem is *mat-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 401].

Proto-Nakh: NED # 26. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular. Semantics and structure: The original verbal base is terminative: **mat-* 'to drink (to the end)'. The terminative stem in Proto-Nakh, reflecting regular vowel gradation, was **me:t-*; however, Chechen *miyl-* (= *mil-*) is better explained as a development from the (dialectal) infixed grammatical variant **me:[b]t-*.

20. DRY

Chechen *d=eq'-a* {*дек'ва*} (1), Ingush *d=eq'-a* {*дек'ва*} (1), Batsbi *d=aq'-i* (1), Proto-Nakh **=aq'-i(n)* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 137; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 607. Polysemy: 'dry / hard, tough'. The root is of verbal origin, cf. *d=aq'-o*: 'to dry (tr.)' [Matsiyev 1961: 125].

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 59; Ozdoyev 1980: 706.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 52. This primary source for Batsbi only lists the verbal stem *d=aq'-d-ar* 'to dry (tr.)'; the adjectival form *d=aq'-i* is listed in [Nikolayev & Starostin 1994: 631], where it must have been reproduced from one of the older Batsbi dictionaries (e. g. Matsiyev's from 1932), although this has not been verified.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 631. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. In Vainakh, **a > e* due to the influence of suffixal **-i-*; the original vocalism is still preserved in the "pure" verbal stem **=aq'-* 'to dry'.

Semantics and structure: The stem is originally verbal (**=aq'-* 'to dry').

21. EAR

Chechen *lerg* {*лерг*} (1), Ingush *lerg* {*лерг*} (1), Batsbi *larç* (1), Proto-Nakh **la-ri-k'*(1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 277; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 664.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 112; Ozdoyev 1980: 760.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 361; Desheriyev 1953: 312.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 756. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular; the shift **-a- > *-e-* in Vainakh is due to the influence of the vowel in the diminutive suffix **-ik'*. Semantics and structure: The original simple root *la-* is still preserved in such verbal formations as Chechen *la-diyga* 'to listen' (literally 'to ear-set'), etc. Already in Proto-Nakh, the main equivalent for 'ear' was a diminutive stem, formed from the old oblique base **la-ri-* + diminutive suffix **-k'* (for similar cases, see 'eye', 'tooth', etc.).

22. EARTH

Chechen *latta* {*лaтtа*} (1), Ingush *lätta* {*лаьтtа*} (1), Batsbi *yobst'* ~ *yobšt'* (2), Proto-Nakh **la:tte* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 272; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 188. Secondary synonym: *moxk* [Matsiyev 1961: 306], revealing the semantics of 'land, country' rather than 'ground, soil'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 222; Ozdoyev 1980: 760.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 319; Desheriyev 1953: 314 (transcribed as *yopst'*). Oblique stem: *abst'-ar-* [ibid.].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 750. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch. Replacements: For Batsbi, it makes sense to reconstruct the semantic shifts {'earth' > 'rubbish'} (since Vainakh **la:tte* etymologically = Batsbi *latt* 'rubbish' [Kadagidze 1984: 357]) and, consequently, {'loose earth' > 'earth'} (since Batsbi *yobst'* = Ingush *yost'* 'loose earth' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 86]). The reverse is less likely due to the improbability of the semantic shift from 'rubbish' to 'earth', and also due to the lack of any obvious alternate for the complex meaning 'loose earth' in Proto-Nakh. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences in the Vainakh branch are fully regular.

23. EAT

Chechen *d=aʔ-a* {*ɔaa*} (1), Ingush *d=aʔ-a* {*ɔaa*} (1), Batsbi *d=aq'-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **=aq' ~ *aʔ-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 120; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 150. If no specific object is present, the usual construction is *huma y=aʔa* 'to eat (food)' (*huma* = 'thing(s); food').

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 55; Ozdoyev 1980: 760. If no specific object is present, the usual construction is *hama d=aʔa* 'to eat (food)' (*hama* = 'thing(s); food'). In [Ozdoyev 1980: 177], the compound form *hama qalla* is also listed as synonymous, but in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 96] *qalla* is glossed as 'to take a bite' (Russian 'закусить'), and it seems to be a more specific expression.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 52; Desheriyev 1953: 159.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 559. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are somewhat irregular, since Batsbi *-q'* rarely, if ever, corresponds to Vainakh **-ʔ-*. Nevertheless, the roots are completely identical in every other respect (including morphological characteristics) and do not have alternate etymologies, so it is permissible to suggest an irregularity (possibly due to semantic contamination with some other lexical item) either in Batsbi or in Vainakh. The variant **=aq'* seems more archaic for several reasons: (a) it has better external connections in Daghestanian languages; (b) explanation in terms of loss of uvular focus is more economic than that of gaining an extra uvular focus; (c) Proto-Nakh **=aʔ-* to eat would have been homonymous with **=aʔ-* 'to come' q.v., i. e. a kind of homonymy between two very basic verbal stems that usually tends to be avoided.

24. EGG

Chechen *hoa* {*xloa*} (1), Ingush *fuʔ* {*фyʔ*} (1), Batsbi *gagã* (2), Proto-Nakh **gaga-n* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 473; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 718.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 222; Ozdoyev 1980: 818. Polysemy: 'egg / forage' (the two meanings are homonyms synchronically, since the words belong to different morphological classes). Oblique stem: *fuʔo-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 109; Desheriyev 1953: 140 (transcribed as *gaga*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 437. Distribution: Preserved only in Batsbi. Replacements: In the Vainakh branch, the meaning 'egg' merged with the meaning 'grain', formerly expressed by Proto-Nakh **foʔ* [NCED: 763], although the difference between the two continued to be upheld through morphological means ('grain' and 'egg' belong to different noun classes in Chechen and Ingush). The semantic shift ['grain' > 'egg'] is more likely than the reverse one both for typological reasons and also because of the more secure external connections of **gaga-n* as 'egg'. Reconstruction shape: The Batsbi form is isolated in Nakh, so the reconstruction shape is not very certain. Various assimilations at least were quite possible.

25. EYE

Chechen *bʕärg* {*бIaвpɜ*} (1), Ingush *bʕarg* {*бIaпɜ*} (1), Batsbi *bʕarɕ* (1), Proto-Nakh **bʕa-ri-k'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 80; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 106.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 36; Ozdoyev 1980: 124.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 104; Desheriyev 1953: 312.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 250. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The original simple root **bʕa-* is still preserved as the archaic Ingush form *bʕa* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 36] and is present in a few archaic compounds. However, already in Proto-Nakh, the main equivalent for 'eye' was a diminutive stem, formed from the old oblique base **bʕa-ri-* + diminutive suffix **-k'* (for similar cases, see 'ear', 'tooth', etc.).

26. FAT N.

Chechen *moh* {*мохв*} (1), Ingush *muh* {*мышв*} # (1), Batsbi *sacxim* (-1), Proto-Nakh **moh* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 307; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 155. Oblique stem: *maha-ra-*. Secondary synonym: *dätta* [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 155]; this root is, however, glossed as '*маа ð* ('butter / oil') in [Matsiyev 1961: 133], and, therefore, ineligible in comparison with *moh* (in [Matsiyev 1961] glossed as 'lard, (inner) fat').

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 123; Ozdoyev 1980: 646. Oblique stem: *maha-ro-*. Somewhat dubious. Both sources translate this word as 'inner fat, lard', but at least one newer source gives the equivalence 'fat; lard' [Kurkiyev 2005: 311]. A potential alternative is *dätta*, listed as one of two synonymous translations for 'fat (n.)' in [Ozdoyev 1980: 183] (the other synonym is *hoa-nal*, a "qualitative" derivate from *hoa* 'brain', translated as "state of being fat, level of fatness" /Russian *жирность* / in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 180]). It is used in a reliably diagnostic compound: *dulxa dätta* 'animal fat'. On the other hand, in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 58] the word is translated as 'butter, oil' (*маа ð*), i. e. with the same meaning as its counterpart in Chechen; the equivalent for 'fat' in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962] is listed on the same page as a derivate of *dätta*, namely, *dättel*. In [Kurkiyev 2005: 137] *dätta* is translated only as 'butter', and *dättel* as 'dregs' (from melted butter). In the light of external data, it is probably reasonable to distinguish between *muh* as '(generally) solid fat' and *dätta* as '(generally) liquid fat', although some dialectal confusion may be inevitable.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 535. Borrowed from Georgian *cxim-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 794. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch. Replacements: In Batsbi, Proto-Nakh **moh* was replaced by

a Georgian borrowing. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular.

27. FEATHER

Chechen *pe:lag* {*nēlaz*} (1), Ingush *bedar* {*bedap*} (2), Batsbi *bumbul* (-1), Proto-Nakh **pe:la-kʷ* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 339; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 400.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 27. Listed as *bedar-g*, with a diminutive suffix, in [Ozdoyev 1980: 484].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 98. Meaning glossed as 'feathers / down'. Borrowed from Georgian *bumbul*- 'down'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 879. Distribution: Preserved only in Chechen (and even in that language, the archaicity of the etymon is somewhat doubtful). Replacements: The Batsbi word is a transparent Georgian loan, and Ingush *bedar* has no internal or external etymology (the comparison with Chechen *bedar* 'clothes', suggested in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 27], is phonetically ideal, but semantically dubious; in any case, even if it is true, the direction of the shift could only have been from 'clothes' to 'feather', i. e. 'bird's clothing', rather than vice versa). This leaves only Chechen *pe:lag* as a potential candidate for Proto-Nakh status, although its antiquity is also questionable (word-initial *p-* before vowels is almost non-existent in Chechen words of Proto-Nakh origin).

28. FIRE

Chechen *c'e* {*u:le*} (1), Ingush *c'i* {*u:lu*} (1), Batsbi *c'e* (1), Proto-Nakh **c'e* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 483; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 343. Oblique stem: *c'e-ra-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 185; Ozdoyev 1980: 414. Oblique stem: *c'e-ro-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 757; Desheriyev 1953: 315. Oblique stem: *c'a-ri-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 354. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructible as **c'a-ri-*.

29. FISH

Chechen *č'a:ra* {*u:lāpa*} (1), Ingush *č'q'ära* {*u:kʷabpa*} (1), Batsbi *č'arě* ~ *č'a:r* (1), Proto-Nakh **č'fa:re* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 506; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 538.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 192; Ozdoyev 1980: 643.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 776; Desheriyev 1953: 315.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 385. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: All three forms clearly belong together, but the word-initial correspondence (Chechen *č'-* : Ingush *č'q'-* : Batsbi *č'-*) is unique, reflecting a special cluster with a laryngeal. We preserve the NCED notation of this cluster as **č'ʕ-*, but recognize its somewhat arbitrary character. The vocalic correspondences also follow a very rare pattern, so the vocalic reconstruction in NCED is approximate.

30. FLY V.

Chechen *le:l-a* {лѣла} (1), Ingush *lel-a* {лела} (1), Batsbi *lel-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **le:l-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 276; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 245. Chechen has no special verb to denote the process of 'flying'; for *le:la*, the polysemy 'move / walk / perambulate / fly (around)' is attested, and the directional meaning 'to fly (somewhere, in a particular direction)' may also be expressed by the verb *d=a-n* 'to come' q. v.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 111; Ozdoyev 1980: 298. Ingush has no special verb to denote the process of 'flying'; for *lela*, the polysemy 'walk / perambulate / fly (around)' is attested, and the directional meaning 'to fly (somewhere, in a particular direction)' may also be expressed by the verb *=a* 'to come' q. v.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 379. The situation here is the same as in Chechen and Ingush: the basic meaning of *lel-ar* is 'to walk', but in order to specifically distinguish the process of 'flying', the idiomatic expression *pʕanar lel-ar*, literally 'to walk on wings' (*pʕā* = 'wing'), may be used.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 422 (written as **=e:l-*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular. On the unreliability of NCED's Proto-Nakh **L* see discussion under 'die'; as in that case, we feel justified to change the reconstruction to simple **-l-*, despite the spelling *leʔ* in Matsiyev's earlier dictionary of Batsbi. Semantics and structure: The basic meaning of this root in Proto-Nakh, as well as in most of its descendants, is not 'fly', but rather 'move around, perambulate', applicable to various situations, including 'flying' and 'swimming' q.v. The stem is reconstructed with a durative meaning (hence the front vocalism **-e:-*); the corresponding terminative stem is preserved only in Batsbi (*lal-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 358]). NCED also suggests that initial *l-* goes back to a reduplicated segment or a former prefix; this is reasonable, but the stem is unsegmentable on the Proto-Nakh level.

31. FOOT

Chechen *kog* {кoɔ} (1), Ingush *kog* {кoɔ} (1), Batsbi *kok'* (1), Proto-Nakh **ko:k'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 220; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 322. Oblique stem: *ko:ga-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 92; Ozdoyev 1980: 389. No general semantic difference between 'leg' and 'foot', but for the latter meaning the more specific compound form *koga k'iyle* may be used [Ozdoyev 1980: 389]. Oblique stem: *koga-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 620; Desheriyev 1953: 312.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 720. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular. Vowel length is predictably shortened in the closed syllable of the direct stem, but still preserved in the oblique stem in Chechen (and probably remains unmarked in standard Ingush orthography). Semantics and structure: Final *-k'* is not detachable as a diminutive suffix.

32. FULL

Chechen *d=üz-na* ~ *d=üzz-ina* {дубьзна ~ дубьззина} (1), Ingush *d=izza* ~ *d=iza* {дицца ~ дица} (1), Batsbi *d=uc'-inö* (1), Proto-Nakh **=uc'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 166; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 432. Regular participial formation from *d=uz-a* 'to fill' [Matsiyev 1961:

159].

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 62; Ozdoyev 1980: 520.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 578. Derived from the verbal stem *=uc'* 'to fill' [ibid.].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 525. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (Vainakh **-z-* is the expected reflexation for Proto-Nakh **-c'*); front vocalism in Vainakh (Chechen *ü*, Ingush *i*) is due to the assimilative influence of the suffixal vocalism - the simple verbal stem in Chechen still preserves the original vowel. Semantics and structure: The complex stem 'full' is a participial formation (something like **uc'-in-*; no specially reconstructed form in [NCED]) from the simple verbal stem **=uc'* 'to be filled up, full, satiated'.

33. GIVE

Chechen *d=al-a* {*ḍalal*} (1), Ingush *d=al-a* {*ḍalal*} (1), Batsbi *d=ał-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ał-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 125; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 120.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 56; Ozdoyev 1980: 141.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 36; Desheriyev 1953: 159. Terminative stem; the durative is (with Ablaut) *t=eł-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 36].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 640. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial (the lateral fricative is unambiguously reconstructed based on Batsbi evidence). Semantics and structure: The stem **=ał-* is terminative; the corresponding durative, with front vocalism **-e-* and an additional preverb, is preserved in Batsbi and also reflected in Chechen *teł-a* 'to pay' [Matsiyev 1961: 397] < Proto-Nakh **t=eł-*.

34. GOOD

Chechen *dik-a* {*ḍuka*} (1), Ingush *dik-a* {*ḍuka*} (1), Batsbi *γaz-ē* (2), Proto-Nakh **dak-* ~ **dik-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 146; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 683. Initial *d-* is not a class prefix, but part of the root.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 62; Ozdoyev 1980: 777. Initial *d-* is not a class prefix, but part of the root.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 634. Polysemy: 'good / kind'. The older equivalent is *dakī* [Kadagidze 1984: 156]; it is explicitly stated in [Desheriyev 1953: 319] (where the word is transcribed as *dakin*) that it is no longer properly functional as an adjective, but is mainly used in an adverbial function (*dakin-da* 'well').

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 643. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, but with narrowed functions in Batsbi. Replacements: In Batsbi, the old word for 'good' is now mainly limited to adverbial functions; in the adjective function, it has merged with the former adjective for 'beautiful' {'beautiful' > 'good'} (cf. *γazar-d-ar* 'to make beautiful' [Kadagidze 1984: 634]; etymologically most likely related to Chechen *xaza* [Matsiyev 1961: 441], Ingush *xoza* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 167], although the initial consonant correspondence is irregular). Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial, but reconstruction of vocalism is uncertain. Most likely, the original stem **dak-in* influenced the root vocalism in Vainakh (Nakh **dak-in* > **dik-in* > **dik-a* with reduction of the suffix). Semantics and structure: External parallels show that *d=* in this stem may actually be a fossilized prefix (cf. also 'many'), but it is not detachable on the Proto-Nakh level.

35. GREEN

Chechen *bäcca-r-a* {бавуцара} (1), Ingush *bäcca-r-a* {бавуцара} (1), Batsbi *ap-ẽ* (2), Proto-Nakh **ʔap-* # (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 59; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 187.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 26; Ozdoyev 1980: 221.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 49.

Proto-Nakh: NED # 46. Distribution: Preserved only in Batsbi, but highly dubious even in that language. Replacements: Vainakh **bäcca-ra* 'green' is, in all likelihood, derived from Proto-Nakh **buc* 'grass' ([NCED: 1053] > Chechen, Ingush, Batsbi *buc*; oblique stem, with vowel gradation **baci-* > Chechen *be:ca-*, Ingush *bäco*) with expressive gemination of the affricate. The derivation ('grass' > 'green') is typologically common and precludes the form **bäcca-ra* from being judged as archaic. However, the primary, non-derivable, stem in Batsbi (*apẽ* 'green') is also somewhat dubious, since it has neither internal etymological Nakh parallels, nor external comparanda in Daghestanian languages. Its selection for the proto-item position is, therefore, rather formalistic.

36. HAIR

Chechen *mas* {mac} (1), Ingush *čo* {чо} (2), Batsbi *čo* (2), Proto-Nakh **čo* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 289; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 72. Polysemy: 'hair (of head) / down, feather'. Singular form; the regular plural formation is *mes-aš*. Distinct from *čo* [Matsiyev 1961: 492] '(body) hair; bristle'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 188; Ozdoyev 1980: 84. Polysemy: 'head hair / body hair'. Singular form; the regular plural formation is *čo-š*. In some contexts, the word *korta* 'head' q.v. can also be used in the meaning 'hair'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 695; Desheriyev 1953: 35. Polysemy: 'hair / wool'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 347. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, but with a narrowed meaning in Chechen. Replacements: In modern Chechen, some of the former functions of **čo* have switched over to *mas* (more precisely, in the collective meaning 'head hair', to its plural *mes-aš*) < Proto-Nakh **mos* 'down; tuft' (= Ingush *mos* 'tuft of hair' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 121]) [NCED: 805]. Semantic merger: ('down' > 'head hair'). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: Proto-Nakh **čo* should be reconstructed as polysemous, used for both 'head hair' and 'body hair' (cf. the semantics in modern Ingush and Batsbi). Modern Chechen and, to a lesser extent, Ingush dialects display variably successful attempts at overriding this polysemy.

37. HAND

Chechen *kü-g* {кyбг} (1), Ingush *ku-lg* {кyлг} (1), Batsbi *ko* (1), Proto-Nakh **ko* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 233; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 36. Distinct from *phars* 'arm' [Matsiyev 1961: 353].

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 95; Ozdoyev 1980: 642. Distinct from *phars* 'arm' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 136].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 616.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 706. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: According to [NCED], the original direct stem **ko* is still preserved in Batsbi and is also attested in Chechen as the archaic variant *ka* [Matsiyev 1961: 206] and in Ingush as *ka* 'hand; grip (n.)' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 87] and *ko* 'handle' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 91]. The vowel *-a* in these forms is due to analogy with the oblique stem **ka-r-*, which is also preserved in the Vainakh adverbial formation *ka-r-a* 'in one's hands' [Ozdoyev

et al. 1962: 88]. The present day Vainakh forms go back to diminutives: **ku-ʔik*' > Chechen *küg*, **ku-lik*' > Ingush *kulg*. Semantics and structure: Proto-Nakh **ko*, oblique stem **ka-r-* 'hand', opposed to Proto-Nakh **phars* 'arm' [NCED 885].

38. HEAD

Chechen *korta* {*kopma*} (1), Ingush *korta* {*kopma*} (1), Batsbi *kortö* ~ *kort* (1), Proto-Nakh **korta* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 228; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 109. Oblique stem: *kórta-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 94; Ozdoyev 1980: 128. Oblique stem: *kert-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 626; Desheriyev 1953: 312.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 695 (written as **ko:rtá*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. In [NCED], vowel length is apparently reconstructed based on non-trivial correspondences in the oblique stem; the pattern, however, does not match the correspondence tables on pp. 98-99, and it is perhaps preferable to explain the vowel gradation exclusively through the influence of the oblique stem vocalism *-i-* rather than its combination with vowel length. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructed as **korti-* (= **ko:rti* in [NCED: 695]).

39. HEAR

Chechen *xaz-a* {*xaza*} (1), Ingush *xaz-a* {*xaza*} (1), Batsbi *xac'-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **xac'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 441; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 570.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 164; Ozdoyev 1980: 673.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 802; Desheriyev 1953: 33. Polysemy: 'to hear / to understand'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1078. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular (Proto-Nakh **c*' > Vainakh **z*, see 'full').

40. HEART

Chechen *dog* {*ðoz*} (1), Ingush *dog* {*ðoz*} (1), Batsbi *dok'* (1), Proto-Nakh **dok'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 151; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 555. Oblique stem: *dega-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 65; Ozdoyev 1980: 660. Oblique stem: *deg-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 203; Desheriyev 1953: 312.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 678. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: Final **k'* is not detachable as a diminutive suffix. The oblique stem is reconstructed as **dak'i-*.

41. HORN

Chechen *maʎa* {*maʎa*} (1), Ingush *muʎa* {*myʎa*} (1), Batsbi *mʎaʔ-ö* (1), Proto-Nakh **muʎaʔ*

(1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 293; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 532. The word specifically denotes 'hollow horn' (of domestic cattle), as well as 'drinking horn', and is distinct as such from *kur* 'antler' (of deer and various wild ungulates); (metaphorically) > forelock' [Matsiyev 1961: 232]. According to formalized rules, 'hollow horn' is eligible in this context rather than the more complex, less stable meaning 'antler' (this is also justified by the fact that only *maʃa*, not *kur*, clearly goes back to a Proto-Nakh word meaning 'horn').

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 123; Ozdoyev 1980: 638.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 462; Desheriyev 1953: 30, 32 (transcribed, rather chaotically, as *mʃa* or *mʃaʔ*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 494 (written as **mʃaʔo*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The reconstruction **mʃaʔo* in [NCED] reflects a complex pattern of correspondences, but does not offer the optimal solution, since it resorts to a near-unique cluster with a voiced laryngeal (**ʃ*) that constitutes one of the most dubious elements of the Proto-Nakh reconstruction. A scenario can be offered that helps avoid postulating this unwanted extra entity. First, *-o* in Batsbi is a rather standard nominal suffix in that language and does not need to be reflected in the reconstruction (cf. Desheriyev's transcriptions without it). The remaining *mʃaʔ* can be the result of a regular reduction from **mVʃaʔ* (cf. the same process in 'liver'). Data from Sharo and Khildikharo dialects of Chechen, quoted in [NCED], namely, the variant *mʃaʔa*, also support a triconsonantal reconstruction with the structure **m(V)HVH*. In this structure, the first laryngeal is reflected as *ʃ* in all the dialects and thus satisfies the necessary conditions to be reconstructed as **ʔ* (see notes on **ʔa:ɾʃ(-i)* 'black'). The second laryngeal, where it is present, is always a basic glottal stop; it has probably disappeared in literary Chechen and Ingush due to dissimilation with the first one. For the vocalism, we can tentatively offer the scheme **muʔaʃ* (due to Ingush) with assimilation in Chechen, but other variants are not excluded. Note that the phonetic resemblance to **mʔa:ra* 'claw, nail' q.v. is, most likely, accidental (not only are the second syllables incompatible, but the semantic connection between 'horn' and 'nail' seems to be missing in the Caucasus altogether).

42. I

Chechen *so {co}* (1), Ingush *so {co}* (1), Batsbi *so* (1), Proto-Nakh **so*: (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 375; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 717. Genitive case: *sa-n*. Ergative case: *as*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 143; Ozdoyev 1980: 817. Ergative case: *az*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 542; Desheriyev 1953: 319. Oblique stem: *s-*; ergative case: *as*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1084. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Vowel length is reconstructed for "early" Proto-Nakh based on its preservation in certain case forms (e. g. dative **so:-nu* > Chechen *su:-na*). The oblique stem **s(a)-* and special ergative form **ʔa=s* (cf. 'thou' q.v. with a symmetric paradigm) are also reconstructible.

43. KILL

Chechen *d=e:-n {dēn}* (1), Ingush *d=e {de}* (1), Batsbi *d=ʃew-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ʔe:w-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 139; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 639.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 58; Ozdoyev 1980: 736.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 923; Desheriyev 1953: 159 (transcribed as *d=iw-ar* or *w=ʃew-ar* with a different class prefix).

Proto-Nakh: NED # 55 (written as **=ʃe:w-*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: As in 'horn'

q.v., it is possible to get rid of the rare and suspicious "extra" laryngeal *h*. Taking into consideration the fact that *ʔ is never reconstructed in [NCED] as a root-initial consonant in class verbs, one can easily suggest the regularity of the development "Proto-Nakh *=ʔ- > Proto-Vainakh *=ʔ- after class prefixes" and avoid postulating an extra phoneme. Otherwise, correspondences are perfectly regular. Semantics and structure: The stem *=ʔe:w- is, by default, terminative; a special durative stem with vowel gradation (*=ʔa:w-) was also preserved in Batsbi (*ʃaw-*).

44. KNEE

Chechen *go:-la* {ʒōla} (1), Ingush *go* {ʒo} (1), Batsbi *gawgǔ* (1), Proto-Nakh **gagu* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 104; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 221. Polysemy: 'knee / elbow / curve'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 47; Ozdoyev 1980: 266.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 117; Desheriyev 1953: 311 (transcribed as *gawg*). The latter source glosses the meaning as 'knee / elbow', but in [Kadagidze 1984] only the semantics of 'knee' is mentioned.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 443. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. Batsbi *gawg* < **gagu* (cf. the plural form *gagu-i*); Vainakh languages predictably drop the intervocalic voiced *-g- with subsequent vowel contraction. Semantics and structure: Chechen *go:-la* is a suffixal extension that can be correlated with Ingush *go-la* ~ *guo-la* 'elbow; turn (n.)' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 48]. This surmises relatively free variation between **go:* and **go:-la* in all three meanings ('knee / elbow / turn') on the Proto-Vainakh level.

45. KNOW

Chechen *xaʔ-a* {xaa} (1), Ingush *xa* {xa} (1), Batsbi *xaʔ-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **xaʔ-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 439; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 190.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 164; Ozdoyev 1980: 224.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 803; Desheriyev 1953: 59 (transcribed in the infinitive form, as *xa-ā*). Terminative stem; the corresponding durative is *xeʔ-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 808].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 646. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: All correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The stem **xaʔ-* is terminative; the corresponding durative stem is **xeʔ-*, still preserved in Batsbi.

46. LEAF

Chechen *ya* {ʒIa} (1), Ingush *ya* {ʒIa} (1), Batsbi *potol* (-1), Proto-Nakh **ya* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 109; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 248. Oblique stem: *ya-na-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 50; Ozdoyev 1980: 300. Oblique stem: *ya-n-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 589; Desheriyev 1953: 336. Borrowed from Georgian *potol-i*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 472. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch, replaced by a borrowing in Batsbi. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences in the Vainakh branch are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructed as **ya-na-*.

47. LIE

Chechen ɬ=ill-a {лулла} (1), Ingush all-a {алла} (1), Batsbi d=iš-ar (2), Proto-Nakh *=ill- (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 556. In [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 244] 'to lie' (state) is translated as $v=ižina$ *silla* (an idiomatic compound with *=iž- 'to lie down'), but only the second component expresses the meaning 'to lie' in most syntactic contexts (e. g. *lättah silla* 'to lie on the ground' etc.).

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 15. In [Ozdoyev 1980: 295] the meaning 'to lie' (state) is translated as $v=iža$ *all-a* (an idiomatic compound with *=iž- 'to lie down'), e. g. *bāca t'a viža alla* 'to lie / be lying on the grass'. This is, however, a specially marked construction; normally, the meaning is simply conveyed by the verbal stem *all-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 311. Meaning glossed as 'to lie / to lie down'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 278. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch. Replacements: The situation here is subtle, but, nevertheless, interpretable as a replacement. Proto-Nakh clearly distinguished between the static verbal stem *=ill- 'to lie, be placed on smth.' and the dynamic *=iž- ~ *=iš- 'to lie down' (the first variant is Common Vainakh, the second one is Batsbi; the consonantal correspondence is irregular, but the forms are still too similar, and too devoid of alternate etymologies, to be taken apart). This situation is still observed in modern Vainakh languages, although the basic semantics of *=ill- is generally shifting in the direction of a general 'to be, be located, be placed', so that the exact static meaning 'to lie (horizontally)' is frequently expressed through an idiom that combines both stems (i. e. 'to lie' literally becomes 'to be in the position of having lain down'). In Batsbi, however, *=ill- as an intransitive stem is no longer in use (only its transitive functions have survived), so that *=iš- has taken upon itself both the static and dynamic meanings in the process of the merger {'to lie' > 'to lie down'}. Reconstruction shape: Chechen and Ingush forms contain the same root, but in different morphological variants. Ingush *all-a* formally corresponds to Chechen d=all-a 'to be inside, be contained within smth.' [Matsiyev 1961: 126], whereas Chechen ɬ=ill-a is a special preverbal variant of *=ill- 'to put (smth. upon smth.), cover (smth. with smth.)' > Chechen, Ingush d=ill-a [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 63] (the likeliest solution is that this ɬ- is really a contracted form of ɬa- 'to sit' q.v. Furthermore, *=all- 'to be (put) inside smth.' and *=ill- 'to (be) (put) upon / on top of smth.' form a morphologically related pair connected by vowel gradation (a detailed explanation, with additional examples of related words, is provided in [NCED]). This means that we cannot, on formal grounds, postulate lexical replacement in between Chechen and Ingush, even if the Chechen form basically means 'to be upon smth.' and the Ingush form means 'to be inside smth.'.

48. LIVER

Chechen doɬax {долаx} (1), Ingush diyɬ-k {диүхк} (1), Batsbi dɬe? (1), Proto-Nakh *doɬax ~ *doɬex (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 158; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 401.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 62; Ozdoyev 1980: 486.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 218; Desheriyev 1953: 30 (transcribed as *dɬe*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 955 (written as *daHVx). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The relatively complex (and, therefore, unique) shape of the word in Proto-Nakh makes it difficult to reconstruct all the segments unequivocally. Chechen and Batsbi agree on a triconsonantal structure; Batsbi -? in this structure is, according to NCED, the result of a dissimilation from -x , and this is more likely than the opposite process in Vainakh (where, in some words, sequences like -ɬV? are quite permissible). The situation is further aggravated by the fact that in Ingush, the original stem *dV?Vx has been extended with the diminutive suffix *-ik' , with subsequent simplification of the now four-consonantal base (loss of laryngeal) and vocalic assimilation through the influence of -i- in the suffix. Discarding Ingush vocalism as innovative, we are left with Chechen and Batsbi

variants that do not really fit together well; we list both as possible phonetic equivalents of the Proto-Nakh item.

49. LONG

Chechen *d=e:x-a* {*ðexa*} (1), Ingush *d=ǎäxa* {*ðIavxa*} (1), Batsbi *d=axx-ě* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ǎa:x-in* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 142; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 133.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 75; Ozdoyev 1980: 156.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 61. Cf. the verbal stem: *d=ax-d-ar* ~ *d=axx-d-ar* 'to lengthen' [ibid.].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 550. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (including the "weak" laryngeal *ǎ, preserved in Ingush but not in Chechen or Batsbi), except for the gemination -xx- in Batsbi, which is attributed to "expressive" semantics in [NCED]. Front vocalism in Vainakh is due to assimilation with the vowel of the adjectival suffix **-in*; Chechen *=ax-dan* 'to lengthen' still preserves the original vowel. Semantics and structure: The original verbal stem is simply **=ǎa:x-* 'to be long'; **=ǎa:x-in* is the Proto-Nakh adjectival derivative.

50. LOUSE

Chechen *meza* {*меза*} (1), Ingush *maza* {*маза*} (1), Batsbi *mac'* (1), Proto-Nakh **mac'e* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 295; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 77.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 116; Ozdoyev 1980: 90.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 427; Desheriyev 1953: 315. Also alternatively quoted as *mac'a* in [Desheriyev 1953: 25].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 846. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: All correspondences match the ones indicated in [NCED], including the vocalic structure **CaCe* (Cheberlo dialect of Chechen preserves the most archaic shape: *maze*). Proto-Nakh **-c'-* regularly > Vainakh **-z-* (see 'full' et al.).

51. MAN

Chechen *stag* {*cmaz*} (1), Ingush *maǎa-sag* {*maIa caz*} (2), Batsbi *st'ak'* (1), Proto-Nakh **st'ak'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 378; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 270. Same word as 'person' q.v. In order to specifically denote a male human being, the compound *börša stag* may be used [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 270], where *börša* is an adjectival derivative from *borš* 'male; young bull' [Matsiyev 1961: 71, 72]. This is not, however, basic usage; the semantic opposition 'man / woman' is normally rendered in Chechen as *stag* vs. *zuda* q.v.

Ingush: Ozdoyev 1980: 328. A compound form: *maǎa* 'male' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 118] + *sag* 'person' q.v. The form *sag* may occasionally refer to 'man' (= 'male human being') per se, but the basic opposition between 'man' and 'woman' in Ingush is *maǎa-sag* vs. *qal-sag* q.v., meaning that the compound form should be lexicostatistically judged by the morpheme *maǎa* (no match with Chechen as a result, which is reasonable given that the two languages express this basic opposition in very different ways).

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 550; Desheriyev 1953: 311. Same word as 'person' q.v.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 579. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, but with a functional shift in Ingush. Replacements: In Proto-Nakh, the words for 'person' (= 'human being') and 'man' (= 'male human being') were basically the same, but, in order to specifically designate the semantics of 'not female', **st'ak*' could be used with different attributes denoting the male sex of certain domestic animals. One such extension may have been **borš* 'male bull' [NCED: 1043], still active in Chechen (and, to a lesser extent, in Ingush); another is reflected in Ingush *mafa*, which does not have any Chechen parallels and is left without an etymology in NED. O. Mudrak, in his database, suggests cognacy with Batsbi *mah* 'gelding'. This is phonetically acceptable (if Ingush *mafa-sag* < **maɬ-sag* < **mah-sag* with devoicing of the laryngeal within a cluster; also, for the same rare correspondence cf. Chechen, Ingush *baɬ* 'burdock' = Batsbi *bah* id. [NCED: 316]), but semantically acceptable - for obvious reasons! - only if the original meaning was 'stallion' (in general) rather than 'gelding'. Fortunately, that this was indeed the case is explicitly suggested by the symmetry with Ingush *qal-sag* 'woman' q.v., literally 'mare-person'. See notes on the Ingush form for the explanation why we count this as a replacement {'stallion' > 'man' (?)}, despite the continuous presence of the root *-sag* in the compound. Reconstruction shape: See notes under 'person'.

52. MANY

Chechen *duqa* {*duqxa*} (1), Ingush *duqa* {*duqxa*} (1), Batsbi *duq* (1), Proto-Nakh **duqa* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 160; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 265. Initial *d-* is not a detachable prefix.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 68; Ozdoyev 1980: 321. Initial *d-* is not a detachable prefix.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 217.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 754. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: If the initial consonant of **duqa* is a fossilized prefix, which may be suspected of several Nakh adjectival stems (cf. 'good' q.v.), one might think of a further etymological connection to **aqqu-n* 'big' q.v.; however, the vowel gradation pattern would also require explanation, since this is not a productive model.

53. MEAT

Chechen *žiži-g* {*жужуг*} (1), Ingush *dulx* {*duɬx*} (2), Batsbi *ditxǐ* (2), Proto-Nakh **dilxu* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 183; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 272. The former source also lists the morphologically simpler form *žiži*, marked as a 'Lallwort'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 68; Ozdoyev 1980: 330.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 201; Desheriyev 1953: 313 (transcribed as *ditx*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 945. Distribution: Preserved in Ingush and Batsbi, with a secondary semantic shift in Chechen. Replacements: In Chechen, the old basic term has become specialized: *dilxa* 'fleshy part (of body, applied to people and animals)'. Its replacement, *žiži* and the more widely used variant *žiži-g* (with the productive diminutive suffix), has no certain etymology; however, if it really represents a 'Lallwort', one might try to explain it as a reduplicated variant of *žiy* (< Proto-Vainakh **žiy*) 'sheep'. The semantic shift {'sheep' > 'meat'} would be quite natural, since mutton is one of the basic staples of Chechen diet. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are fully regular (**-lx-* > *-tx-* is the expected development in Batsbi, cf. 'sun' q.v.). Vocalic correspondences also satisfy the conditions for stem structure *CiCu* in [NCED: 99].

54. MOON

Chechen *butt* {*bymm*} (1), Ingush *butt* {*ōymm*} (1), Batsbi *butt* (1), Proto-Nakh **butt* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 76; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 250. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Oblique stem: *betta-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 35; Ozdoyev 1980: 304. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Oblique stem: *bett-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 97; Desheriyev 1953: 336. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Oblique stem: *batt-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1044. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructed as **batti-*, with vocalic assimilation in Proto-Vainakh (**batti-* > **bett-*).

55. MOUNTAIN

Chechen *lam* {*лам*} (1), Ingush *lɔm* {*лоам*} (1), Batsbi *lam* (1), Proto-Nakh **la:m* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 269; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 111. Oblique stem: *la:ma-na-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 114; Ozdoyev 1980: 129. Oblique stem: *lɔm-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 359; Desheriyev 1953: 315.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 834. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial. Length of the root vowel is reconstructed based on the oblique stem **la:mu-* > Ingush *lɔmo*, which also led to paradigm levelling in Ingush; in Chechen, on the other hand, the oblique stem followed the nominative case, but cf. Uslar's archaic notation of the form *lɔmu* 'up the mountain' [NCED: 834].

56. MOUTH

Chechen *baga* {*бaгa*} (1), Ingush *bage* {*бaгe*} (1), Batsbi *bak* (1), Proto-Nakh **bak'a* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 49; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 535.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 22; Ozdoyev 1980: 641.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 81; Desheriyev 1953: 312. Spelled almost everywhere consistently as *bak* (including A. Schiefner's old dictionary from 1856), but also with a glottalized velar as *bak'* in [Desheriyev 1953: 25]. Secondary synonym: *č'əč'* 'mouth' (of animals and humans) [Kadagidze 1984: 785]; in [Desheriyev 1953: 312], the word is said to be synonymous with the more archaic *bak*, but, apparently, not as strongly stylistically marked as in Chechen and Ingush, where it can only denote 'mouth' in a pejorative aspect. A possible case of transit synonymy.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 289. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for the second consonant are irregular: Batsbi must have *bak'* here, when, in fact, most sources, except for one sporadic context in [Desheriyev 1953: 25], only list *bak* without glottalization. No explanation is currently available; this could have been the result of some obscure semantic contamination (perhaps analogical influence of *zok* 'beak?'). All the other segments match perfectly with Vainakh data, so there is no major reason to separate the words into different etymologies.

57. NAME

Chechen *c'e* {*ц'e*} (1), Ingush *c'i* {*ц'и*} (1), Batsbi *c'e* (1), Proto-Nakh **c'e* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 483; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 200. Oblique stem: *c'e-ra-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 185; Ozdoyev 1980: 238. Oblique stem: *c'e-r-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 758; Desheriyev 1953: 315. Oblique stem: *c'a-ri-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1098. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial (in Ingush, there is a regular narrowing **-e > -i* at the end of monosyllabic words). Semantics and structure: The paradigm is reconstructed as direct stem **c'e*, oblique stem **c'a-ri-*.

58. NECK

Chechen *worta* {ворта} (-1), Ingush *fɔrt* {фоарт} (-1), Batsbi *sak'er* (1), Proto-Nakh **yaʔ* # (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 94; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 703. The latter source treats this as the general term, distinguished from *lag* [Matsiyev 1961: 267] 'front part of neck; throat' and *yāʕna* [Matsiyev 1961: 551] 'nape of neck'. However, [Matsiyev 1961] glosses *worta* as 'part of the neck below the back of the head; upper part of neck (of animals)' ('часть шеи ниже затылка; верхняя часть шеи (у животных)'). Still, considering also the existence of the adjectival derivative *wortanan* [ibid.] 'belonging to the neck; jugular, etc.', the word may safely be considered the primary entry for 'neck'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 163; Ozdoyev 1980: 800. The latter source adds *q'amarg* as a synonym, but the word is translated only as 'throat' in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 101], and this is clearly its primary meaning.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 523; Desheriyev 1953: 25. Similar to Georgian *k'iser-i* 'neck', but not analyzable as a straightforward borrowing (this would imply metathesis).

Proto-Nakh: No reference. Distribution: Lost everywhere except in Chechen, with a specialized meaning. Replacements: Extensive comment is necessary here. Chechen *worta* and Ingush *fɔrt* 'neck' do not correspond to each other regularly (if the word were Proto-Vainakh, **horta* would be expected in Chechen) and must be analyzed as relatively recent borrowings from Russian *vorotū* 'neck; collar'. Less clear is the status of Batsbi *sak'er*, which does not have any external cognates and is suspicious of representing a Kartvelian borrowing with metathesis (although the reasons behind such a metathesis would be unclear). This makes the very existence of a special word to denote the meaning 'neck' in Proto-Nakh somewhat dubious. The reason for this, and for the necessity of eventually borrowing the "missing" term from other languages, can still be seen from [Matsiyev 1961], where two distinct Chechen words of native origin are listed for 'front part of the neck = throat' (*lag*) and 'back part of the neck, nape of the neck' (*yāʕna*). It is interesting to note that in Chechen dictionaries from the XIXth century (P. Uslar; A. Schiefner) the Russian word 'neck' (*шея*) is consistently rendered by the word *yāʕni* (whereas the existence of *worta* is not even mentioned). The optimal solution here is that, in Proto-Nakh, the best equivalent for Swadesh's 'neck' was indeed the ancestor of *yāʕna* ~ *yāʕni* (whereas the ancestor of *lag* would be closer to the meaning 'throat'). These days, however, *worta* is the most generally quoted equivalent of 'neck' in Chechen (and **yaʔ* has not been preserved at all in Ingush). Reconstruction shape: Since the word is preserved only in Chechen, the reconstruction is problematic. The modern variant *yāʕna* is likely to represent a restructured variant of earlier **yaʕni*; since *-ni* is reconstructible as an old suffix in Nakh, the original root may be segmented out as **yaʔ*. Semantics and structure: The Proto-Nakh opposition may be plausibly represented as **yaʔ* 'neck; (more specifically) nape of the neck' vs. **lak'* 'front part of the neck, throat' [NCED: 502] (but distinct from **q'amʔar* 'inside part of the throat, larynx' [NCED: 473]).

59. NEW

Chechen *kerla* {керла} (1), Ingush *kerda* {керда} (1), Batsbi *c'inĩ* (2), Proto-Nakh **c'in-a* # (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 215; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 322. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'. Secondary synonym: *c'ina* [Matsiyev 1961: 486]. The latter form, as seen from attested textual examples, despite its archaic character, is mainly used today only in the meaning 'not used up, not worn out' (e. g. *c'ina kostüm* 'a new costume'), whereas in the required meaning 'newly made; having recently made its appearance' the basic form is *kerla*. (The two words form a square opposition with, respectively, *tiša* 'old' = 'used up, worn out' and *šira* = 'ancient; having existed for a long time').

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 90; Ozdoyev 1980: 389. The latter source adds *c'ena* as a secondary synonym. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'. The latter form, as seen from attested textual examples, despite its archaic character, is mainly used today in the meaning 'not used up, not worn out' (e. g. *c'ena kostüm* 'a new costume') and related figurative meanings (cf. the translation of *c'ena* as 'clean' in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 185]), whereas in the required meaning 'newly made; having recently made its appearance' the basic form is *kerda*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 764; Desheriyev 1953: 319 (transcribed as *c'in*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 357. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, but with a minor lexicostatistical shift in Vainakh. Replacements: Proto-Vainakh and both of its descendants discerned strictly between **kerla* 'new' = 'not used up' and **c'ina* 'new' = 'having recently appeared', whereas Batsbi, in both these meanings, employs **c'in-*. It is not excluded that Vainakh preserves the original state of affairs and that Batsbi has simply generalized **c'in-* in both meanings. However, there are arguments for the contrary: (a) Vainakh **kerla* itself may simply represent a slight semantic extension from 'fresh'; it is also more complex in form than **c'in-*, with a rare adjectival suffix **-la*; (b) more importantly, all external evidence points towards the lack of this semantic distinction between two types of 'new' in Proto-Northeast-Caucasian, and also indicates that Batsbi *c'inī* is, in fact, the archaic direct descendant of the main stem for 'new' in that language. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The stem is essentially verbal (cf. Chechen *c'in-d-an* 'to renew'); the Proto-Nakh derived adjective is **c'in-a*.

60. NIGHT

Chechen *büysa* {буйьса} (1), Ingush *biysa* {буйьса} (1), Batsbi *buysa* (1), Proto-Nakh **bus-ya* > **buysa* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 78; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 324.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 30; Ozdoyev 1980: 391.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 97; Desheriyev 1953: 314 (transcribed as *buyswa*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 319. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: All correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The original simple root is **bus*, preserved in adverbials: Chechen *bus-a*, Ingush *bus* 'at night' (Batsbi *buys* id. has been levelled by analogy with *buysa*). The nominal stem was formed with the addition of the productive Proto-Nakh suffix **-ya*, with subsequent metathesis **bus-ya* > **buysa*.

61. NOSE

Chechen *mara* {мара} (1), Ingush *mera-ž* {мераж} (1), Batsbi *marłö* (1), Proto-Nakh **marło* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 287; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 323. Oblique stem: *mera-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 119; Ozdoyev 1980: 391. Polysemy: 'nose / snot'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 406; Desheriyev 1953: 312 (transcribed as *mart*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1041. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The original shape of the root has been best preserved in Batsbi (*mart*-), with a regular simplification of the cluster in intervocalic form in Vainakh (the intermediate form *marhō*, still preserving traces of the former lateral fricative, is still preserved in Sharo and Itumkala dialects of Chechen).

The issue of Ingush *mera-ž* is quite complex. It can be analyzed as a secondary formation from the former oblique stem **marti-* > Vainakh **mera-*; but it should be noted that (a) this secondary formation is polysemous, denoting 'nose' as well as 'snot'; (b) it is formed with the suffix *-ž* that is not devoiced in word-final position and, therefore, has to go back to Proto-(Vai)nakh **-ž* and cannot have anything to do with the regular productive plural marker **-š*; (c) it cannot be separated from Chechen *marš*, also with polysemy: 'muzzle / snot'. The following scenario can be set up: (1) Proto-Vainakh had the simple stem **marho* (< **marho*), obl. stem **marhi-* 'nose' as well as the derived stem **marhi-ž*, possibly with a general semantics of 'smth. around the nose' (hence concretizations of 'muzzle' = 'nose-area' and 'snot' = 'stuff coming from the nose'); (2) Ingush later underwent the common semantic shift {'muzzle' > 'nose'}, although, formally, this does not count as a lexical replacement, since the root remains the same. The strange suffix **-ž* is somewhat questionable, but cf. a similar case in Chechen *bel-š* (Cheberlo dialect *bali-š*, Sharo dialect *beli-š*) = Ingush *bel-a-ž* 'shoulder' vs. Batsbi *bali* id. (no suffix) and Chechen *bola-m*, Ingush *bala-m* 'shoulder (from neck to arm)' (a different suffix) [NCED: 313]. Note: In NCED, Chechen *mara* 'nose' (p. 1041), *marš* 'muzzle' (p. 794), and *marš* 'snot' (p. 816) are all explained as reflexes of three different North Caucasian roots, contaminated in Nakh. For the meaning 'muzzle', this is highly unlikely (semantic fluctuation between the meanings 'nose', 'face', 'muzzle' are quite common); for the meaning 'snot', it could, indeed, serve as an alternate explanation (if only because the development of a single complex stem **marhi-ž* in two closely related languages into 'muzzle' and 'snot' respectively does look somewhat exotic).

62. NOT

Chechen *ca* {*ɥa*} (1), Ingush *ca* / =*c* {*ɥa* / -*ɥ*} (1), Batsbi *co* (1), Proto-Nakh **ca* ~ **co* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 476; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 296. This is the basic negative particle for the indicative mood, to be strictly distinguished from the prohibitive *ma* [Matsiyev 1961: 283]. The same root is also encountered as a verbal negative stem ('not to be / have'), in the form =*ac-* [Matsiyev 1961: 131], used instead of *ca* in the future tense.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 182; Ozdoyev 1980: 357. This is the basic particle for indicative negation, to be strictly distinguished from the prohibitive *ma* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 116]. The particle is proposed to non-indicative verbs and suffixed (as the shortened variant *-c*) to indicative ones [Nichols 1994: 109, 139].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 727; Desheriyev 1953: 320.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1101. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: The original vowel is unclear (Vainakh *a* does not normally correspond to Batsbi *o*), but the main focus should be on the alveolar affricate, preserved intact in all daughter languages. Semantics and structure: This negative morpheme, already in Proto-Nakh, could function both as a prefix and a suffix, depending on the context (see the distribution in Ingush).

63. ONE

Chechen *cha?* {*ɥxʋaʋ*} (1), Ingush *caʃ* {*ɥaI*} (1), Batsbi *cha* (1), Proto-Nakh **ča* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 481; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 344.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 183; Ozdoyev 1980: 415.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 742; Desheriyev 1953: 321.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 323. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Stem-final glottal stop is a regular fixture of all the numerals from 1 to 5 in Vainakh languages (but not in Batsbi) and is therefore detachable as a suffix. (The simple stem *cha* is still found in numerous suffixal formations both in Chechen and Ingush). According to NCED, Ingush *caʃ* < **cha-ʔ* with assimilation (and subsequent simplification of the word-initial cluster **ch-*), which is probably the easiest explanation for its odd choice of stem-final laryngeal. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is **cha-ni* (Batsbi *cha-yni*, Chechen *cha-nna*, etc.).

64. PERSON

Chechen *stag* {*cmaz*} (1), Ingush *sag* {*caʒ*} (1), Batsbi *st'ak'* (1), Proto-Nakh **st'-ak'*(1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 481; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 691. Same word as 'man' q.v. Oblique stem: *stega-*. In certain contexts the word has been replaced by the secondary synonym *adam* [Matsiyev 1961: 31], [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 691], an Arabic loanword, but the original Nakh word *stag* is still quite commonly employed to denote 'human being'. Suppletive plural form: *nax* 'people' [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 252].

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 139; Ozdoyev 1980: 787. Suppletive plural form: *nax* 'people' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 125].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 550; Desheriyev 1953: 311. Same word as 'man' q.v. Suppletive plural form: *nax* 'people' [Desheriyev 1953: 311].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 336, 579. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are completely regular (including the expected simplification **st'-* > *s-* in Ingush). Semantics and structure: The word may be segmented on the Proto-Nakh level as **st'-ak'*, where **st'-* is the original root and **-ak'* is a fairly common Nakh suffix, originally with diminutive semantics (cf. Chechen *ma:m-i* ~ *ma:m-ag* 'female breast, teat' etc.). The analysis of the second component as reflecting an original lexical root ('person'), descended from Proto-North Caucasian **Hir kvĚ* in [NCED: 579] is, therefore, quite dubious. Just as dubious is the attempt to relate the root **st'-* to Proto-Nakh **pst'u* 'bull' (> Chechen *stu*, Ingush *ust*, Batsbi *pst'u*) [NCED: 336]. Semantically, a development from 'bull' to 'person' (= 'human being') is questionable (it at least requires an intermediate stage in 'man = male human being'), but even worse is the fact that there is no reasonable basis behind the supposed irregular development **pst'-ak'* > **st'-ak'* already on the Proto-Nakh level (other than an ad hoc explanation by frequency of usage, etc.). It seems to be more appropriate to keep the two roots separate for the time being. Note also suppletivism: the plural form is easily reconstructible as **nax* [NCED: 840].

65. RAIN

Chechen *doya* {*ɔozIa*} (1), Ingush *doya* {*ɔozIa*} (1), Batsbi *q'ar* (2), Proto-Nakh **dayu* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 152; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 136.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 65; Ozdoyev 1980: 160.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 648; Desheriyev 1953: 186.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1010. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch. Replacements: Vainakh **doya* has no parallels in Batsbi. On the other hand, Batsbi *q'ar* 'rain' is a perfect phonetic correspondence to Chechen *q'ora* 'hail' [Matsiyev 1961: 255] (a connection already mentioned in [Desheriyev 1953: 338]). Since the latter form may well have been the default Proto-Nakh equivalent for 'hail' (Ingush has generalized *ša* 'ice' in this meaning), it is possible to suggest the semantic shift {'rain' > 'hailstorm' > 'hail'} for Batsbi. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are trivial. The Vainakh vocalic structure *CoCa*, according to the rules in [NCED], goes back to Proto-Nakh *CaCu*, hence **dayu*. Semantics and structure: This is a purely nominal stem in Nakh. The connection between it and

the verbal stem **=a:γ-* 'to come' (a suppletive variant of **=a?~ *a:?-* q.v.) is most likely accidental, despite the phonetic closeness of the two in such idioms as *doγa d=o:γ-u* 'it is raining', literally 'rain is coming' in Chechen [Matsiyev 1961: 152]. However, that does not ultimately preclude the possibility of segmenting the word as **d=aγu*, with a fossilized class prefix.

66. RED

Chechen *c'e:n* {*ц̣л̣̄н*} (1), Ingush *c'e* {*ц̣л̣̄*} (1), Batsbi *c'eg-ē* (1), Proto-Nakh **c'e:g-en* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 484; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 234.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 185; Ozdoyev 1980: 282.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 759; Desheriyev 1953: 315.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 376. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (including the expected loss of word-medial **-g-* in Vainakh). Semantics and structure: The word is an adjectival stem, formed with a productive suffix from the same root as in **c'e:gi* 'blood' q.v.; the semantic derivation {'blood' > 'red'} is typologically common.

67. ROAD

Chechen *neq'* {*некъ*} (1), Ingush *niq'* {*никъ*} (1), Batsbi *niq'* (1), Proto-Nakh **ni:q'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 314; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 141. Oblique stem: *ne:q'a-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 126; Ozdoyev 1980: 165. Oblique stem: *nāq'-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 477; Desheriyev 1953: 25. Oblique stem: *naq'i-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 604. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial. Vowel length is reconstructed based on its preservation in the oblique stem in Chechen; also, Chechen *neq'* is an irregular development by analogy with the oblique stem *ne:q'a-* (regularly < **na:q'i-*). Semantics and structure: Reconstructed with vowel gradation on the Proto-Nakh level: direct stem **ni:q'*, oblique stem **na:q'i-*.

68. ROOT

Chechen *o:ra-m* {*ōрам*} (1), Ingush *owla* {*овла*} (2), Batsbi *zir* (-1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 324; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 230.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 129; Ozdoyev 1980: 276.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 750; Desheriyev 1953: 336 (transcribed as *ziri*). Borrowed from Georgian *zir-*.

Proto-Nakh: Not reconstructible. Replacements: This is one of the most complicated items on the entire wordlist. (1) The Batsbi word is a transparent borrowing from Georgian and need not be considered further. (2) Chechen *o:ram* is completely isolated in this language; it may be segmented as *o:ra-m*, where *-m* is a fairly frequent derivational suffix (usually, but not always, forming noun stems out of verbs), but *o:ra-* is not encountered on its own. One weak, but not altogether impossible etymology is to view *o:ra-* as a contraction from *ohara* 'lower, below (adj.)' [Matsiyev 1961: 329], itself derived from the verbal prefix *oha=* 'down, below'. The semantic derivation {'below' > 'root'} is typologically perfect, but the contraction would be irregular, although it could be ascribed to the polysyllabic nature of the resulting stem. (3) Ingush *owla* is the only form here that has been offered an etymology in [NCED:

571], but a dubious one: it is compared with Chechen *ewla* 'village'. The comparison is unsatisfactory (a) from a phonetic point of view: the vocalism does not match, and there is no evidence in either case for any special oblique stems with vowel gradation; (b) from a semantic point of view: for Chechen, it requires a gigantic semantic leap from 'root' to 'ancestry' to 'kin, family' to 'village', something quite unlikely to have happened over the less than a thousand years of separate development from Ingush; (c) finally, because Chechen *ewla* is easily explained as a borrowing from Tatar *awil* 'village' (with the word-initial vowel "colored" by the front vocalism of the suffix, as it regularly happens in Chechen nouns). Furthermore, Ingush *owla* is very unusual from the phonotactic point of view, and is best viewed as a morphologically complex stem: *ow-* + *-la* (standard nominal suffix). This begs for a similar explanation, namely, that *ow-la* could be traced back to *oh-la* (with assimilation of the laryngeal to the following resonant) and, thus, to the same Proto-Nakh root **ʔahu* 'down; lower part' [NCED: 228] as Chechen *oha-*. However, this is based on an even bolder assumption than the Chechen scenario; for the moment, it is more prudent to keep the two stems apart (at the very least, they represent their own ways of independent development in the two languages, even if the root might - but is not guaranteed - to be etymologically the same).

In the light of all this (the Batsbi word is an identifiable loan, and Chechen and Ingush forms are new complex morphological formations) the original equivalent for the Swadesh meaning 'root' seems to be unrecoverable. It could have been one of these, or any other, derived variants of **ʔahu*, or of another root with a similar meaning: **ʔux* 'bottom, lower part' [NCED: 423] (frequently encountered in the figurative meaning 'beginning, foundation, root', which, typologically, is often derived from 'root (of plants)').

69. ROUND

Chechen *gorga* {zopza} (1), Ingush *gerga* {zepza} (1), Batsbi *gog-r-ĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **go:g-ra-n* ~ **go:g-ri-n* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 105; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 237.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 46; Ozdoyev 1980: 286.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 124.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 438. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial, except for an understandable metathesis in Vainakh (**go:g-r- > *go:rg-*). Vowel reflexation in the first syllable is influenced by the second syllable. Semantics and structure: This adjectival stem is a Proto-Nakh level derivative of *go:ga* 'circle' (> Chechen, Ingush *go*; Batsbi *gogō*).

70. SAND

Chechen *γum* {zIyM} (-1), Ingush *γum* {zIyM} (-1), Batsbi *kwiš* (-1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 118; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 401. Borrowed from Turkic **qum* 'sand'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 54; Ozdoyev 1980: 485. Borrowed from Turkic **qum* 'sand'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 613. Borrowed from Georgian *kviša*.

Proto-Nakh: Not reconstructible for Proto-Nakh (all known forms are borrowed either from Turkic or Georgian languages). Cf. **yobst* 'loose earth' (see notes to 'earth'): could this word possibly have the semantics of 'sand' in Proto-Nakh?

71. SAY

Chechen *a:l-a* {āλa} (1), Ingush *al-a* {aλa} (1), Batsbi *ał-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **la:l-* / **le:-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 34; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 109. Terminative stem, as opposed to durative *le:-n* [Matsiyev 1961: 277]; should also be distinguished from *d=iyc-a* [Matsiyev 1961: 145] 'speak, talk'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 15; Ozdoyev 1980: 663. Terminative stem, as opposed to durative *le* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 111].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 36; Desheriyev 1953: 32. Terminative stem, as opposed to durative *lev-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 376].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 572. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. The archaic lateral fricative *-l-* is preserved in Batsbi. Semantics and structure: The Proto-Nakh paradigm was **la:l-* (terminative: 'to say /smth./') vs. **le:-* (durative: 'to be saying, to speak'); both stems go back to the same root, since **l-* was not allowed in the initial position in Proto-Nakh.

72. SEE

Chechen *ga-n* {zаn} (1), Ingush *g-o* {zo} (1), Batsbi *d=ag-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ag-* / **gu=* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 99; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 61.

Ingush: Ozdoyev 1980: 72. Polysemy: 'see / understand'. The default form is listed as *błarga-g-o*, literally 'eye-see'; in actual use, however, the first part of the compound is frequently omitted (cf. *sona dika gu* 'I see well = I have good eye-sight').

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 25. The stem *=ag-* is terminative; cf. the corresponding durative stem *gu-* in *gu-ar* [Kadagidze 1984: 26]. Transcribed in the infinitive form as *d=ag-ā* in [Desheriyev 1953: 315].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 572. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The Proto-Nakh paradigm was terminative **=ag-* vs. durative **gu-* (cf. the same correlation of syllabic structures in 'say' q.v.). In [NCED] the loss of this opposition in Vainakh is attributed to the elision of word-medial **-g-* (so that **=ag-* would have to become **=a-* and phonetically merge with several other roots).

73. SEED

Chechen *hu* {xIy} (1), Ingush *gi* {zu} (2), Batsbi *huw* (1), Proto-Nakh **fuw* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 474; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 554. Oblique stem: *hū-na-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 47; Ozdoyev 1980: 658. Oblique stem: *giw-*. Secondary synonym: *fu* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 163], glossed in that source as 'seed; breed' (Russian 'семя; прѳд'а'). Although external evidence shows this to have been the original root for 'seed', synchronically Ozdoyev [1980] does not indicate it any longer as a convenient equivalent for Russian 'семя'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 862; Desheriyev 1953: 313.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1021. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, except for Ingush, where it is an archaism. Replacements: In Ingush, Common Nakh **fuw* is replaced by *gi*, whose origins are unclear. The word itself does not look like a borrowing, but, considering that *fu* is still present in the language in a more figurative use, is quite assuredly a replacement. The original meaning might have been a particular kind of seed or grain, but no evident parallels can be quoted from either Chechen or Batsbi. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

74. SIT

Chechen *xiʔ-na ʃan* {хиʔна Иан} (1), Ingush *v=ay-a* {вазIа} (2), Batsbi *ʃe=d=ay-ar ~ ʃa=d=ay-ar* (2), Proto-Nakh **=a:ɣ-* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 439; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 557. The simple verbal stem *ʃan* (durative, opposed to the terminative *ʃe-n* [Matsiyev 1961: 555]) is translated in [Matsiyev 1961] as 'to be in a state of rest' (Russian 'находиться в состоянии покоя'). This meaning is too broad to satisfy the requirements for the item 'sit'; the correct equivalent is, therefore, the composite expression *xiʔ-na ʃan*, where *xiʔ-na* is a participial form of *xaʔa* 'to sit down'. Cf. the example in [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 557]: *ɣanta tʃeh xiʔna ʃan* 'to sit on a chair'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 38; Ozdoyev 1980: 661. Distinguished from *ʃox-a* 'to sit down' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 211]; [Ozdoyev 1980: 660].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 930. A composite verbal stem, consisting of the original verbal root **=ay-* and a preverbal component that is, however, unattested outside of this stem. This is quite distinct from *xeʔ-ar* 'to sit down' [Kadagidze 1984: 808].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 275. Distribution: Preserved in the original meaning everywhere except in Chechen. Replacements: In Chechen, the original intransitive stem 'to sit' was lost (only the correlating transitive stem 'to set (up)' was retained), replaced by a periphrastic expression literally meaning 'to be in the state of having sat down'; in a simplified way, we could postulate semantic derivation {'to sit down' > 'to sit'}. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences between Ingush and Batsbi are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The basic root here, as is correctly described in [NCED], formed three different stems in Proto-Nakh: (a) intransitive **=ay-* 'to sit', preserved in Ingush and, with a further preverbal extension *ʃe=*, in Batsbi; (b) transitive terminative **=oy-* 'to set up, plant, erect' > Chechen *=oy-*, Ingush, Batsbi **=oy-*; (c) transitive durative **=e:ɣ-* > Chechen *=iɣ-*. It was also lexically different from the dynamic action verb **xaʔ-* 'to sit down' > Chechen, Batsbi *xaʔ-* id. [NCED: 647].

75. SKIN

Chechen *neʃ* {нeI} (1) / *c'o:ka* {цIōка} (2), Ingush *c'oka* {цIока} (2), Batsbi *qaqā* (3), Proto-Nakh **c'o:ka* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 315; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 221. The former source defines *neʃ* as 'skin, hide' (of people and animals); the latter - only as 'hide', whereas for the meaning 'human skin' it offers a different stem, *c'o:ka* [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 221]. This form, however, is only assigned the meaning 'hide (of animal)' in the earlier dictionary [Matsiyev 1961: 486]; the meaning 'skin' in that source is assigned to *č'q'or* 'human skin / layer / shell, cover' [Matsiyev 1961: 493] (sic!). This confusion most likely reflects a case of "transit synonymy"; the confusion is caused by the contamination of the meanings 'human skin' and 'animal skin', quite distinct in Proto-Nakh. We include the variants *neʃ* and *c'o:ka* as synonyms (but not *č'q'or*, since it is referred to as 'skin' or 'hide' only in one source).

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 186; Ozdoyev 1980: 265. Polysemy: 'skin / hide' (same stem, but assigned to different classes depending on the meaning). Secondary synonym: *nih* ('skin / кожа' in [Ozdoyev 1980: 265], but only 'hide / шкура' in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 126]).

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 831. Meaning glossed as 'hide' (Russian *шкура*), but textual examples confirm parallel usage in the meaning 'human skin'; it is also the main (and only) equivalent for 'skin' in A. Schiefner's dictionary from 1856. Transcribed as *qaqa* in [Desheriyevev 1953: 31]. Secondary synonym: *č'ar* 'skin / rind' [Kadagidze 1984: 776].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1091. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch (although already confused with a close synonym in both of its languages), but not in Batsbi. Replacements: (a) Proto-Nakh (or, at least, Proto-Vainakh) must have distinguished between **c'o:ka* 'human skin' and **neh* 'animal skin, hide' [NCED: 755], but the distinction was relatively weak, and continues to be violated in

modern dialects as well, with the gradual shift {'hide' > 'human skin'} going on in some forms of Chechen at least; (b) Batsbi *qaqā* regularly corresponds to Chechen, Ingush *qaqa* 'sheepskin' < Proto-Nakh **qaqa-n* [NCED: 455]; this must have been the original meaning in Proto-Nakh; (c) Batsbi *čar* regularly corresponds to Chechen *č'q'or*, Ingush *č'or* 'rind, peel, shell', which must have been its original meaning in Proto-Nakh; this root is reconstructed as **č'ʔo:r* in [NCED: 344], and the semantic shift {'shell / cover' > 'human skin'} is trivial. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for Vainakh **c'o:ka* are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: Quadruple opposition reconstructible: **c'o:ka* 'human skin' : **neh* 'animal skin (in general)' : **qaqa-n* 'sheep skin' : **č'ʔo:r* 'any natural cover or wrapping' in general.

76. SLEEP

Chechen *nab yan* {наб ян} (1), Ingush *nab ye* {наб е} (1), Batsbi *toĥ-ar* (2), Proto-Nakh **toĥ-* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 310; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 588. Compound form, lit. 'make sleep', from *nab* 'sleep (n.)'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 124; Ozdoyev 1980: 688. Compound form, lit. 'make sleep', from *nab* 'sleep (n.)'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 295.

Proto-Nakh: NED # 93. Distribution: Preserved in Batsbi, and with a slight semantic shift in the Vainakh branch. Replacements: The basic Vainakh equivalent for the static meaning 'to sleep' is a periphrastic construction, formed with the use of the Common Nakh nominal stem **nʎa:p* 'sleep (n.)' > Chechen, Ingush *nab*, Batsbi *nʎap* (reconstructed as **nʎa:p* in [NCED: 619]); thus, {'sleep (n.)' > 'sleep (vb.)'}. The original verbal stem is preserved in Batsbi (*toĥ-ar*); in Vainakh, it is recoverable in the morphologically complex stem **th-a-b-s-* (> Chechen, Ingush *thows-a*) 'to go to sleep; to lie down to sleep (for a while)'. The latter stem is analyzed in [NCED: 1037] as a compound, consisting of **th-* (< **toĥ-*) + an independent root **=abs-* (possibly = **=as-* with the old plural action infix). Analysis of **=abs-* as a separate root rather than a desemantized word-formative component is questionable, but **th-* may and, by all means, should be viewed as cognate with Batsbi *toĥ-*; Vainakh **th-abs-* 'to lie down to sleep' is, therefore, 'to sleep' + a grammatical component (some obsolete desiderative suffix?). Semantics and structure: For Proto-Nakh, the optimal solution is to assume the opposition **toĥ-* 'to sleep' : **=iž-* ~ **=iš-* 'to lie down, go to sleep' (see 'lie') : **nʎa:p* 'sleep (n.)'.

77. SMALL

Chechen *žima* {жима} (1), Ingush *zʎam-iga* {зламуза} (1), Batsbi *žom-ē* (1), Proto-Nakh **žʎom-in* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 183; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 253. Polysemy: 'small / young'. Suppletive plural form: *kegiy* [Matsiyev 1961: 214].

Ingush: Ozdoyev 1980: 308.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 508.

Proto-Nakh: NED # 95 (written as **žʎm-*). Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, but see notes below on reflexation in Ingush. Reconstruction shape: Batsbi and Chechen adjectival stems are easily reconcilable with each other: Chechen *-a* vs. Batsbi *-ē* goes back to **-in* (see 'long' for an identical example), and the expected Chechen reflexation **žūma* > *žima* due to an undesirable (usually avoided) phonetic sequence. The real trouble is with the Ingush form. The laryngeal may be included into the reconstruction as one of the cases in which, out of all three languages, only Ingush preserves the laryngeal (again, see 'long'), but the alveolar reflex *z-* and the vowel *-a-* are both quite irregular. The irregularities could be due to peculiar "expressive" changes or contamination with some unknown word; excluding the form from the etymology, in the light of undeniable phonetic similarity

and lack of alternate etymological explanations, however, would not be right.

78. SMOKE

Chechen *k'ur* {κIyp} (1), Ingush *k'ur* {κIyp} (1), Batsbi *k'ur* (1), Proto-Nakh **k'ur* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 265; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 147. Oblique stem: *k'ūra-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 108; Ozdoyev 1980: 173 (in the latter source, misprinted as *k'urg* in the main entry, but shown correctly as *k'ur* in the examples). Oblique stem: *k'ur-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 349; Desheriyev 1953: 315. Oblique stem: *k'uri-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 731. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructed as **k'ure-*.

79. STAND

Chechen *latt-a* {λamma} (1), Ingush *latt-a* {λamma} (1), Batsbi *latt-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **l=a:tt-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 272; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 601. Secondary synonym: *irah xila* [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 601], lit. 'to be standing up', apparently with specific emphasis on one's vertical position.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 110; Ozdoyev 1980: 700. Polysemy: 'to be (somewhere) / to stand'; this prompts for a more specific designation of the meaning 'to stand (vertically)' by the compound form *chan mette uralatta*, literally 'to stand in one place' [ibid.], but this is clearly not the default expression, cf. "the sentinel is standing": *časovoy latt* [ibid.], etc.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 357.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1025. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial; vowel length is reconstructed in [NCED] based on such verbal forms as Chechen present *lätta*, Ingush past *lättad*. Semantics and structure: It is well argued in [NCED] that **l=* should be analyzed as a fossilized preverb, since the stem **l=a:tt-* fits into a whole set of semantically close stems, differentiated through preverbs and vowel gradation: **h=itt-* 'to stand upon (smth.)' (> Chechen *h=itt-*), **ott-* ~ **h=ott-* 'to stand up, appear' (> Chechen *h=ott-*, Ingush, Batsbi *ott-*).

80. STAR

Chechen *se:da* {cēda} (1), Ingush *sedq'a* {ceδκʷa} (1), Batsbi *tʰeyr-ĩ* ~ *tʰi:r* (2), Proto-Nakh **tʰari* # (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 368; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 186.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 142; Ozdoyev 1980: 220.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 568; Desheriyev 1953: 62 (transcribed as *tʰir*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1098. Distribution: Preserved only in Batsbi. Replacements: The archaic nature of the Batsbi form is ascertained only through its external connections in Daghestanian languages, which the Vainakh form lacks. The Vainakh form itself

(reconstructed as *set'Ho* in [NED # 99]) is fairly unusual: the correspondence "Chechen *-d-* : Ingush *-dq'-*" is unique, and such Chechen dialectal variants as Cheberlo *sy:do*, Sharo *sy:to*, Khildikharo *sy:do* only complicate the picture. Furthermore, it is very hard to separate these forms from the Batsbi word for 'hail', transcribed as *set'q'* in [Desheriyev 1953: 338] and as *set'q'w* in A. Schiefner's dictionary from 1856 - but this word, on the other hand, is usually assumed to be a borrowing from Georgian *set'q'va* 'hail' [Desheriyev *ibid.*]! While the latter assumption may be correct (the form in Batsbi matches its Georgian equivalent very closely, and Batsbi is a well-known heavy borrower from Georgian), the Georgian word itself does not have a solid Kartvelian etymology; together with Vainakh **se:t'Ho*, or **se:dq'o*, they may go back to an old cultural "Wanderwort" with the general semantics of 'small round object falling from sky' (> 'hail' or > 'shooting star' > 'star' in general). Additional data are required to make the situation any clearer. Reconstruction shape: The Batsbi form looks rather archaic in form, although alternate schemes of vocalism are also possible.

81. STONE

Chechen *t'ulg* {*тӀулг*} (1), Ingush *qera* {*кхера*} (2), Batsbi *qer* (2), Proto-Nakh **qe:ra* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 428; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 211. Secondary synonym: *qera* {*кхѣра*} [Matsiyev 1961: 239] (apparently obsolete, with practically no derived forms; not listed at all in [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978]).

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 97; Ozdoyev 1980: 253.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 840; Desheriyev 1953: 27.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 467. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, but only as an archaism in Chechen. Replacements: The word *qe:ra* is no longer in active usage in Chechen; the replacement *t'ulg* has no immediate parallels outside Chechen. It could be segmented as **t'ul-g* < **t'ul-ik'* or as **t'u-lik'* (both of these are old productive diminutive suffixes), but this would probably bring on "umlautization" of the vowel (e. g. **t'ülg* rather than *t'ulg*); another possibility, judging by schemes of correspondences in [NCED], is **t'olu-k'*. Relations between this stem and Chechen *t'o* 'pebbles, small stones' [Matsiyev 1961: 427] are unclear. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for **qe:ra* are regular and trivial. Vowel length is still preserved in Chechen.

82. SUN

Chechen *malx* {*малх*} (1), Ingush *malx* {*малх*} (1), Batsbi *matx* (1), Proto-Nakh **ma:lx* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 286; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 581. Oblique stem: *mälxa-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 117; Ozdoyev 1980: 682. Oblique stem: *malx-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 393; Desheriyev 1953: 186.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 822. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, including the development **-lx-* > *-tx-* in Batsbi (cf. 'meat'). Vowel length reconstructed based on vocalic reflexation in the oblique stem. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructed as *ma:lx-*.

83. SWIM

Chechen *ne:ka dan* {*нѣка дан*} (1), Ingush *nek de* ~ *näk de* {*нек де ~ наьк де*} (1), Batsbi *ciri haq-ar* (-1), Proto-Nakh **na:ki* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 314; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 403. Lit. 'swimming-make', a compound form in which *ne:ka* is a noun.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 117; Ozdoyev 1980: 488. Lit. 'swimming-make', a compound form in which *nāk* (orthography according to [Ozdoyev 1980]) ~ *nek* (orthography according to [Ozdoyev et al. 1962]) is a noun.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 914. All of the expressions denoting the process of 'swimming' are formed in Batsbi with the aid of the stem *cur-*, borrowed from Georgian *cur-* 'to swim': *curbad-d=alar* 'to swim (about)', *curi haq-ar* (terminative), *curi heq-ar* (durative) 'to swim (in a given direction)'.
Proto-Nakh: NCED: 857. Distribution: Preserved only in the Vainakh branch (and may be an innovation even there). Replacements: In Batsbi, replaced with a Georgian borrowing. Vainakh **naki* 'swimming' is also suspectable of having been borrowed from Ossetic *nakā* id.; NCED's counter-argumentation (North Caucasian ancestry in the light of Urartian *nek-* 'to flow') is not very convincing, since the Ossetic word has a solid Indo-European etymology (< **snā-ka-* 'swimming'), whereas the Urartian connection is semantically more distant, and parallels in other North Caucasian languages are lacking. Nevertheless, the direction of the borrowing cannot be established definitively, so, for the moment, we do not mark the Vainakh forms as borrowings. Reconstruction shape: Within Vainakh, correspondences are regular. Semantics and structure: As in many other Caucasian languages, Nakh languages express the meaning 'to swim' as a periphrastic construction: 'to make swimming', where 'swimming' is a nominal stem (**naki*).

84. TAIL

Chechen *c'oga* {*ʉloza*} (1), Ingush *c'og* {*ʉloz*} (1), Batsbi *muy* (2), Proto-Nakh **muy* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 486; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 678.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 186; Ozdoyev 1980: 772.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 459; Desheriyev 1953: 141.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 801. Distribution: Preserved only in Batsbi. Replacements: Vainakh **c'agu* 'tail' goes back to Proto-Nakh **c'ak'u* [NCED: 739] = Batsbi *c'awk'ū* 'short tail' [Kadagidze 1984: 756]. The meaning in Batsbi is probably archaic, i.e. Vainakh languages have undergone the generalization {'short tail' > 'tail'}. This is confirmed by the Vainakh parallel to Batsbi *muy*: Chechen, Ingush *mulya* (< **muy-la*) = Batsbi *muyγ-lī* 'crupper', i.e. 'piece of harness passed under the horse's tail'. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The Proto-Nakh opposition **c'ak'u* : **muy* can be described as 'short tail' : 'tail (in general)' or 'short tail' (e. g. of sheep) : 'long tail' (e. g. of horse). Final decision would depend on a more precise study of the functions of both words in Batsbi. External Daghestanian evidence explicitly supports **muy* as the more archaic word for 'tail'.

85. THAT

Chechen *dʒa:-ra* {*ɔlāpa*} (1), Ingush *dʒa-ra* {*ɔlapa*} (1), Batsbi *o* (2), Proto-Nakh **ʔo* # (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 173. Quoted as *dʒora* in [Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 625]. The stem is used for far deixis; there is also an "intermediate" or "neutral" stem, *i ~ i-za* [Matsiyev 1961: 192-193], more frequently used to denote the 3rd p. personal pronoun and less clearly eligible for inclusion, since the basic deictic opposition 'this / that' is generally formed by the stem pairing of *dʒa:-* and *ha-q.v.*

Ingush: Ozdoyev 1980: 723. A derived stem; cf. the original simple stem in *dʒa* 'there' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 68].

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 487; Desheriyev 1953: 177. Polysemy: 'that / he'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 218. Distribution: Preserved only in Batsbi. Replacements: Nakh languages, like most other Caucasian

languages, have a wide variety of deictic stems, and precise semantic reconstruction of their main functions in the protolanguage is a very complicated task. In choosing between the two main morphemes that express the idea of "far deixis" in Nakh, it is preferable to note Batsbi *o* as the more archaic stem and Vainakh **dʒa:* as the more innovative one, for the following reason: Vainakh **dʒa:-ra* is formally derived (with the adjectival suffix *-ra*) from the adverbial form **dʒa:* 'there' [Matsiyev 1961: 169], which, as is noted in [NCED], corresponds to Batsbi *da-h ~ da-ha* 'there' [Kadagidze 1984: 159], i. e. is itself derived from an even simpler **da-*. Batsbi *ʔo*, on the other hand, has no obvious parallels in Vainakh languages, but cannot be explained away as a secondary formation. This does not exactly "prove" that the simple morpheme **da* could not be used in an adjectival, not only adverbial, function in Proto-Nakh, but at least there is no direct evidence for that. The optimal scenario is to reconstruct Proto-Nakh **ʔo* 'that' (adjective / pronoun) vs. **da(-ha)* 'there' (adverb), with morphological / semantic derivation in Vainakh: {'there' > 'that'} ('the one that is there').

86. THIS

Chechen *ha-ra* {*xIa-pa*} (1), Ingush *ye-r* {*ep*} (1), Batsbi *i ~ e* (2), Proto-Nakh **ʔi* # (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 472; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 715. The stem is used for near deixis. Oblique stem: *hoq-*. On the functions of the quasi-synonymous *i ~ i-za* see under 'that'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 76; Ozdoyev 1980: 815. Oblique stem: *uq-*. The latter source also quotes *i-z* as a synonym; this pronoun corresponds to Chechen *i(-za)* and has more or less the same functions (indication of intermediate deixis as well as 3rd p. pr. usage).

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 220, 302. The same source also lists morphologically complex variants: *e-h* and *i-h*. In [Desheriye 1953: 177], *i* is defined as generally indicating the 1st (nearest) degree of deixis, *e* is defined as indicating the 2nd degree, but the distinction is also said not to be strictly observed in actual speech. Kadagidze's dictionary treats both stems as complete synonyms; Nikolayev & Starostin, in their etymological notes, explicitly suggest that the two stems are simply "vacillating" phonetic variants.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 218. Distribution: Preserved in Batsbi and, with a slight semantic change, in Vainakh. Replacements: It is not clear whether for Proto-Nakh one should reconstruct two or three degrees of deixis: all the modern languages feature a three-degree system, but there are cardinal differences between Vainakh and Batsbi that do not allow to easily reconcile them. In addition, for 'this' even Chechen and Ingush are not in full agreement: similarities both between direct and indirect stems indicate common origin, but Chechen *h-* does not correspond to Ingush *y-* (or zero in the oblique stem). In [NCED] this is explained as a contamination between **ʔi* and **ha-*, which might be concretized as a development from an original complex form **ʔi-ha-ra*, obl. stem **ʔi-hoq-* 'this + here + adj. suffix' (with loss of word-medial weak laryngeal and contraction: > **ʔi-a-ra* / **ʔi-oq-* > *yer* / *uq-*). Were this right, one might have to count the Ingush compound as a lexicostatistical match with both Chechen and Batsbi, but the scenario is hard to prove, and, besides, the form **ʔi-ha-ra* is not formally traceable to Proto-Vainakh level.

By analogy with the far deixis stems **ʔo* 'that' (pronoun) and **da(-ha)* 'there' (adverb), it is reasonable to think of a symmetric opposition **ʔi* 'this' (pronoun) and **ha* 'here' (adverb; not preserved in this original function in any of the languages) for Proto-Nakh. Unlike **ʔo*, however, the stem **ʔi* did not vanish altogether in Vainakh, but shifted to indicate a 'neutral' degree of deixis; one of the reasons behind this may have been its frequent usage in the function of the 3rd p. sg. personal pronoun 'he, she, it' already in Proto-Nakh.

87. THOU

Chechen *ħo* {*xbo*} (1), Ingush *ħo* {*xbo*} (1), Batsbi *ħo* (1), Proto-Nakh **ħo:* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 468; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 636. Genitive case: *ha-n*. Ergative case: *ah*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 180; Ozdoyev 1980: 733. Oblique stem: *ha-*. Ergative case: *ħa*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 921; Desheriye 1953: 319. Oblique stem: *ha-*. Ergative case: *ah*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 483. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Vowel length is reconstructed in [NCED] based on such forms as Chechen dative *hu:na* < **ho:na*, but, formally, the nominative case must have been **ho* already in Proto-Nakh. Semantics and structure: The paradigm is reconstructed as follows: direct stem **ho*(:), oblique stem **ha-*, ergative case **ʔa=h* (Ingush *ʔa < ʔaʔ < ʔaʔ < ʔah*. The complex chain of assimilations and dissimilations was triggered by the voicing of the final laryngeal, cf. the same process in *az* 'I (ergative)' < **ʔas*.)

88. TONGUE

Chechen *mott* {*momm*} (1), Ingush *mott* {*momm*} (1), Batsbi *mot't* (1), Proto-Nakh **mott'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 302; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 718. Oblique stem: *metta-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 122; Ozdoyev 1980: 818. Oblique stem: *mett-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 447.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 802. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. The glottalized geminate **-t't-* is predictably deglottalized in Vainakh. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructed as **mat'ti-*.

89. TOOTH

Chechen *cerg* {*ʔepʔ*} (1), Ingush *carg* {*ʔapʔ*} (1), Batsbi *cark'* (1), Proto-Nakh **ca-ri-k'* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 477; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 191.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 183; Ozdoyev 1980: 225. The simple stem *ca* 'tooth' is also listed in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 183], but functions only as an archaism.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 720; Desheriyev 1953: 312.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 326. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular; the shift **-a-* > **-e-* in Vainakh is due to the influence of the vowel in the diminutive suffix **-ik'*. Semantics and structure: The stem is a diminutive formation along the same lines as **la-ri-k'* 'ear', **bʔa-ri-k'* 'eye' etc., from the oblique stem **ca-ri-* of the simple root **ca-*. The latter, on its own, is still preserved as an archaism in Ingush *ca* and, probably, in Chechen *ce* 'horse's tooth' [Matsiyev 1961: 477] (with vowel levelling by analogy with its oblique stem *cena-* and/or *cerg*).

90. TREE

Chechen *ditt* {*ɖumm*} (1), Ingush *ga* {*ʔa*} (2), Batsbi *xē* (3), Proto-Nakh **xe:n* (3).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 149; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 128. Polysemy: 'tree (gen.) / mulberry tree'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 44; Ozdoyev 1980: 150. Polysemy: 'tree / branch' (thus according to [Ozdoyev et al. 1962]; according to [Ozdoyev 1980: 67], the current main word for 'tree branch' is *tq'ovro*, whereas *ga* only functions as a figurative 'branch', e. g. in idioms such as *mašinnäq'a ga* 'railroad branch'). Secondary synonym: *xi* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 166], [Ozdoyev 1980: 150]; this item seems to be somewhat more archaic and is less frequently encountered in texts.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 806.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 854. Distribution: Preserved only in Batsbi, with independent semantic shifts in the two languages of the Vainakh branch. Replacements: (a) Chechen *ditt* means either 'tree' (in general) or 'mulberry tree' (specific); the latter is the word's only meaning in Ingush [NCED: 406]. The semantic generalization {'mulberry tree' > 'tree'} in Chechen is more probable than the reverse process for systemic reasons; (b) Ingush *ga* means either 'tree' or 'branch', with indications (see notes on the Ingush form) that the semantics of 'branch' is more archaic; it also exclusively means 'branch' in Chechen, and the Batsbi cognate *gag* means 'bunch (of grapes)' [NCED: 429]; hence, a metonymic shift: {'branch' > 'tree'}. In contrast, Batsbi *xē* corresponds to Vainakh **xēn* 'wood (material)' > Chechen *xen*, Ingush *xi* id., reflecting the typologically frequent shift {'tree' > 'wood'}. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for **xēn* are regular. Vowel length is reconstructed based on the oblique stem *xēna-* in Chechen. Semantics and structure: The abovementioned and other "tree-related" items may be summarized for Proto-Nakh as follows: **xēn* 'tree' (growing) : **dačē-k* 'wood (material)' (> Chechen *dēčig*, Ingush *daxčā*) [NCED: 401] : **dos* 'firewood' (> Batsbi, Ingush *dos* id.) [NCED: 946] : **hun* 'forest' [NCED: 425] : **gag* 'branch' : **ditt* 'mulberry tree'.

91. TWO

Chechen *šī?* {шув} (1), Ingush *šī?* {шув} (1), Batsbi *ši* (1), Proto-Nakh **šī* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 516; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 121.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 195; Ozdoyev 1980: 141.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 676; Desheriyev 1953: 321.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 845. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are fully regular. Stem-final glottal stop is a regular fixture of all the numerals from 1 to 5 in Vainakh languages (but not in Batsbi) and is therefore detachable as a suffix. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is **šī-na-* (> Chechen, Ingush *šina-*).

92. WALK (GO)

Chechen *d=ax-a* {daxa} (1), Ingush *d=ax-a* {daxa} (1), Batsbi *ix-ar* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ax-* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 129; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 193.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 57; Ozdoyev 1980: 227 (quoted with different class prefixes in the latter source: *d=ax-a*, *w=ax-a*, *y=ax-a*).

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 314. Meaning glossed as 'to walk / to flow' (Russian 'ходить; течь'), but this seems to be the default verb for the meaning 'to go (somewhere)' as well; cf., with a different Ablaut grade, also *d=ax-ar* 'to go away' [Kadagidze 1984: 56].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 664. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial, except for occasional confusion caused by different grades of Ablaut. Semantics and structure: As stated in [NCED], this verbal root had several Ablaut grades in Proto-Nakh, including **?ex-* ~ **=ix-* (cf. the Batsbi form as well as Chechen *ex-a* 'to go, walk, move' [Matsiyev 1961: 526]) and **=ax-*. The former stem must have been durative and the latter terminative, but usage has become blurred over time.

93. WARM (HOT)

Chechen *d=owx-a* {dovxa} (1), Ingush *d=ŕayx-a* {dlaüxa} (1), Batsbi *=apx-ē* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ŕa:bx-in* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 151; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 113. This is the default word for 'hot', distinct from 'warm / weak' = *mela* [Matsiyev 1961: 296].

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 43; Ozdoyev 1980: 132. This is the default word for 'hot', distinct from 'warm / weak' = *mela* [Ozdoyev 1980: 714].

Batsbi: The default source only lists the Ablaut verbal form *d=epx-d-ar* 'to heat' (tr.) [Kadagidze 1984: 232]; the adjectival form =*apx-ē* is quoted according to [Nikolayev & Starostin 1994: 563], where it must have been reproduced from one of the older Batsbi dictionaries (e. g. Matsiyev's from 1932). The word is distinct from 'warm' = *mal-ī* [Kadagidze 1984: 400].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 563. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, including the preservation of the "weak" laryngeal *ʃ in Ingush vs. its loss in Chechen and Batsbi; different paths of development of the cluster *-bx-; and its labializing influence on the vowel in Chechen. Semantics and structure: This is a verbal root ('to be hot'), represented in Nakh languages in several vowel grades (*=ʃo:bx- / *=ʃe:bx- / *=ʃa:bx-); a whole set of derived stems is found in Batsbi, all of them listed in [NCED: 563]. In Proto-Nakh, the root and its derivatives were differentiated from **mal-in* (reconstructed as **mhal-i(n)* in [NCED: 807]) 'warm' (also 'weak, loose').

94. WATER

Chechen *xi* {*xu*} (1), Ingush *xiy* {*xuū*} (1), Batsbi *xi* (1), Proto-Nakh **xi* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 449; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 67.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 166; Ozdoyev 1980: 78.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 809; Desheriyev 1953: 24. Polysemy: 'water / river / stream'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1060. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial.

95. WE₁

Chechen *txo* {*mxo*} (1), Ingush *txo* {*mxo*} (1), Batsbi *txo* (1), Proto-Nakh **txo*: (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 410; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 271. Exclusive pronoun. Genitive case: *txa-n*. Ergative case: *oxa*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 154; Ozdoyev 1980: 329. Exclusive pronoun. Ergative case: *oxa*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 300; Desheriyev 1953: 320. Exclusive pronoun. Ergative case: *a=txö*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 786. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Vowel length is reconstructed in [NCED] based on such forms as Chechen dative *txu:na* < **txo:nu*, but, formally, the nominative case must have been **txo*: already in Proto-Nakh. Semantics and structure: The Proto-Nakh paradigm for the 1st p. pl. exclusive pronoun was as follows: direct stem **txo*(:), indirect stem **txa-*, ergative case **?a:=xu* or **?a:=xo* (the first variant, suggested in [NCED], fits in better with its proposed series of vocalic correspondences, but the second one would be more expectable in the context of the entire paradigm; Batsbi *a=txö* is the result of secondary analogical levelling). The consonantal alternation *tx-* : *-x-* reflects this cluster's original provenance from a lateral affricate (on the Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian level).

95. WE₂

Chechen *way* {*baü*} (2), Ingush *way* {*baü*} (2), Batsbi *way* (2), Proto-Nakh **way* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 83; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 271. Inclusive pronoun.

Ingush: Ozdoyev 1980: 329. Inclusive pronoun.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 243; Desheriyev 1953: 320. Inclusive pronoun.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1014. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: This is the 1st p. pl. inclusive pronoun.

96. WHAT

Chechen *hun* {хIуh} (1), Ingush *fu* {фy} (1), Batsbi *wu-x* (1), Proto-Nakh **fu-n* / **fu-xa* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 475; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 697.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 163; Ozdoyev 1980: 794.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 257; Desheriyev 1953: 320.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 122. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages, although in different morphological settings. Reconstruction shape: Within the root morpheme **fu-*, all correspondences are regular. Semantics and structure: One of two most widespread interrogative morphemes (for the second one, see 'who'). The Vainakh forms go back to a common prototype **fu-n* and formally correspond to Batsbi *wū* 'why?' [Kadagidze 1984: 257]. Batsbi *wu-x* allegedly contains the same second element as Chechen *mu-xa* 'which?' [NCED: 1062], but the exact nature and function of this suffix are unclear. Nevertheless, the root morpheme is undeniably the same in all three languages.

97. WHITE

Chechen *k'ay-n* {κIaŷh} (1), Ingush *k'ay* {κIaŷ} (1), Batsbi *k'uy-ĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **k'ay-in* ~ **k'uy-in* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 258; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 34.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 105; Ozdoyev 1980: 42. A second quasi-synonym in [Ozdoyev 1980] is *siyrda*, actually 'bright' rather than 'white'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 347; Desheriyev 1953: 42 (transcribed as *k'uy*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 730. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular. The vocalism, however, is not: Batsbi *-u-* does not correspond to Vainakh *-a-*. Reasons for the irregularity are unknown; possibly some undetectable contamination. Semantics and structure: The stem **k'ay-in* ~ **k'uy-in* is adjectival; formally, the word could be viewed as derived from **k'ay* > Chechen, Ingush *k'ay* 'wall-eye, albugo' ([Matsiyev 1961: 258]; [Ozdoyev 1980: 42]; cf. 'red' derived from 'blood'). Ultimately, however, both are probably independent formations from the same verbal stem **k'ay-* (or **k'uy-*) 'to be white'.

98. WHO₁

Chechen *mi-la* {мила} (1), Ingush *ma-la* {мала} (1), Batsbi *mē* (1), Proto-Nakh **me-n* / **mi-*

la (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 300; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 239. Direct stem.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 117; Ozdoyev 1980: 288.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 435; Desheriyev 1953: 320 (transcribed as *me*). Direct stem.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 843. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular. Vocalic differentiation is caused by interference between the root vowel and various suffixes, making the original vocalism very hard to reconstruct convincingly. Semantics and structure: One of two most widespread interrogative morphemes (for the second one, see 'what'). Vainakh languages reflect the stem **mi-la* (with further assimilation to *ma-la* in Ingush); Batsbi *mē* < **me-n* (cf. Batsbi *wū* 'why?' < **wu-n*). The same stem is represented in various other question words, listed in [NCED], e. g. **mi-ča* 'where' > Chechen, Ingush *miča*, Batsbi *mič* ~ *miča* (this allows us to safely segment *mi-la*, *ma-la* even on the synchronic level).

98. WHO₂

Chechen *ħa* (2), Ingush *ħa* (2), Batsbi *ħa* (2), Proto-Nakh **ħa* (2).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 455. Ergative case.

Ingush: Ozdoyev 1980: 288. Ergative case.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 863; Desheriyev 1953: 320. Ergative case.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 491. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial. Semantics and structure: The Common Nakh paradigm of the pronoun 'who?' is suppletive, and the ergative case form may actually preserve the more archaic morpheme within the pairing **mV-* : **ħa*.

99. WOMAN

Chechen *zud-a* {зуда} (1), Ingush *qal-sag* {қалсаг} (2), Batsbi *ps'tuy-nō* (3), Proto-Nakh **ps'tuw* (3).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 191; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 153. Formally derived from *zud* 'bitch' (< 'female' in general).

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 96; Ozdoyev 1980: 181. Formally a compound form: *qal* 'mare' + *sag* 'person' q.v. Forms a binary opposition with *maħa-sag* 'man' q.v. Suppletive plural: *qal-nax* 'women'. Possible secondary synonym: *se-sag* [Ozdoyev 1980: 181], from *se* 'female' (= Chechen *ste*: id.) + *sag*; not equally well eligible because the word specifically denotes 'wife, married woman' as opposed to 'woman' in general.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 593; Desheriyev 1953: 311. Standard term to denote a 'married woman' (as opposed to *yoh* 'little girl / young girl'), formally derived from the shorter root stem *ps'tu* 'wife' [Kadagidze 1984: 591].

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 374. Distribution: Preserved only in Batsbi. Replacements: The word for 'woman' is notoriously unstable in Nakh. The original equivalent was replaced: (a) in Chechen, by *zud-a*, a Chechen-only derivate (earlier form **zud-an*, cf. the form *zudaŋ* in Uslar's dictionary) of Vainakh **zud* 'bitch' > Chechen, Ingush *zud* id. [NCED: 1094]; the semantic derivation {'bitch' > 'woman'} is typologically common; (b) in Ingush, by *qal-sag*, an Ingush-only derivate (literally 'mare-person'; cf. *maħa-sag* 'man' q.v., possibly 'stallion-person') from Proto-Nakh **qadela* 'mare' > Chechen *qe:la*, Ingush *qal*, Batsbi *qadal* [NED # 126]; the derivation {'mare' > woman'} is less common, but, in this case, undeniable. This leaves Batsbi *ps'tuy-nō* 'woman', a derivate of *ps'tu* 'wife', as the only

serious candidate for Proto-Nakh 'woman'; in modern Vainakh languages, it corresponds to Chechen *stu*, Ingush *suw* 'princess'. For the semantic shift {'woman' > 'wife' > 'princess'}, cf., e. g., English *queen* from Indo-European *g^w*en-* 'woman'. Semantics and structure: Batsbi may be preserving the most archaic situation, namely, the polysemy 'woman / wife'. In Vainakh, this has become a "polite" term to denote noble women, whereas the meaning 'wife' has begun to be expressed by the compound **ste-st'ak* > **se:sag*, literally 'female-person', from **ste-* 'female' ([NED # 915], dubiously written as **stVd-*) + **st'ak* 'person' q.v. (The etymology of **ste-st'ak* as a separate stem **se:sa-k*' in [NCED: 969] is hardly valid, since the word is perfectly well analyzable as a compound within Proto-Nakh. Reflexation *se:sag* in Chechen instead of the expected **ste:sag* is explained through an early simplification of **ste-st'ak* to **se:sag* already in Proto-Vainakh).

100. YELLOW

Chechen *mo:ž-a* {мѳжа} (1), Ingush *ŋaža-ŋa* {ӀажазӀа} (1), Batsbi *k'ap'raš* (2), Proto-Nakh **ma:ž-un* # (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 303; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 153.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 207; Ozdoyev 1980: 180.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 328; Desheriyev 1953: 32.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 820. Distribution: Preserved only in Chechen, and in Ingush with a slight semantic shift. Dubious. Replacements: (a) Ingush *ŋaža-ŋa* 'yellow' (with a productive adjectival suffix *-ŋa*) is compared in [NCED: 557] to Chechen *ŋo:ža* 'light-bay' (of horses). The resulting Proto-Vainakh adjective **ža:ž**u*, morphologically, would look like a perfect derivative of **ža:ž* 'apple' [NCED: 621] (> Chechen, Ingush *ŋaž*, cf. obl. bases in Chechen: *ŋe:ža-* 'apple', *ŋo:ža-* 'apple-tree'), but semantically the derivation of 'yellow' from 'apple' is somewhat questionable, unless the original meaning of the color term was not 'sun-yellow', but a different shade. (b) Batsbi *k'ap'raš* has no parallels in Vainakh languages and is shaped very unusually for an authentic Nakh item. Since the source of borrowing is unknown, we still include it in the calculations. (c) Chechen *mo:ž-a* corresponds to Ingush *məža* 'orange' [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 120], and, since the word has a credible "Nakh" shape, no obvious internal etymology, and the "yellowest" semantics of all, we tentatively project it onto Proto-Nakh level. Reconstruction shape: Since the Batsbi parallels are missing, the root may have been **ma:ž-* or **ma:ẓ̌-*.

101. FAR

Chechen *ge:na-ra* {генара} (1), Ingush *gäna-ra* {гавнара} (1), Batsbi *čaq-ĩ* (2), Proto-Nakh **ga:ni* # (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 100; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 119. Adjective derived from the adverbial form *ge:na* 'far (away)'.
Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 46; Ozdoyev 1980: 140. Adjective derived from the adverbial form *gäna* 'far (away)'.
Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 691.

Proto-Nakh: NED # 141. Distribution: Preserved in the Vainakh branch. Replacements: Batsbi *čaq-ĩ* is phonetically comparable to Chechen *čeq* [Matsiyev 1961: 489], Ingush *čaq* [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 187] 'through', 'to the (very) end', an adverbial that also functions as a verbal prefix. Semantically, this would imply a shift like {'thorough, final' > 'farthest' > 'far (away)'}, which is atypical, but not inconceivable. This leaves the Vainakh adverbial stem **ga:ni* as a slightly more reliable candidate for Proto-Nakh 'far'. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are trivial; vowel correspondences satisfy the conditions for the scheme **Ca:Ci* in [NCED: 99].

102. HEAVY

Chechen *d=ez-a* {*deza*} (1), Ingush *d=ez-a* {*deza*} (1), Batsbi *d=ac'-ĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ac'-in* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 135; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 638. Polysemy: 'heavy / expensive'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 59; Ozdoyev 1980: 735. Polysemy: 'heavy / expensive'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 55.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 525. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, including the development **-c'-* > **-z-* in Proto-Vainakh and the coloring of the root vowel by the front vocalism of suffixal **-in*. Semantics and structure: This is a verbal root (cf. Batsbi *=ac'-dar* 'to make heavy', etc.); in [NCED] it is proposed that it represents a different Ablaut grade of **=uc'-* 'to be filled; full' q.v., but this is not certain, since the semantic connection is unclear.

103. NEAR

Chechen *gerga-ra* {*repzapa*} (1), Ingush *garga-ra* {*zapzapa*} (1), Batsbi *garg-lẽ* (1), Proto-Nakh **garge* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 101; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 40. Adjective derived from the adverbial form *gerga* 'near'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 45; Ozdoyev 1980: 48. Adjective derived from the adverbial form *garga* 'near'.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 115; Desheriyev 1953: 29. Adjective derived from the adverbial form *garg* 'near'.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 518. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial. Vocalic correspondences fit the scheme proposed for root structure **CaC(C)e* in [NCED: 99]. Semantics and structure: The adverbial **garge* is the same in all three languages; the adjective 'near' is formed as **garge-ra* in Vainakh and as **garge-lin* in Batsbi.

104. SALT

Chechen *tüxa* {*mybxa*} (1), Ingush *tux* {*myx*} (1), Batsbi *tuyxĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **tuxe* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 410; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 581.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 154; Ozdoyev 1980: 682.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 296; Desheriyev 1953: 313 (transcribed as *tuyx*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 371. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial. Vocalic correspondences fit the scheme proposed for root structure **CuCe* in [NCED: 99].

105. SHORT

Chechen *d=o:ca* {*ðõça*} (1), Ingush *l=õca* {*loaça*} (1), Batsbi *d=acũ* (1), Proto-Nakh **=a:c-un* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 157; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 230.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 114; Ozdoyev 1980: 277.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 55; Desheriyev 1953: 319.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 1021. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial. Ingush *l=* is not quite clear, but most likely, of a fossilized prefixal nature. Vocalic correspondences fit the scheme proposed for root structure **Ca:Cu* in [NCED: 99]; vowel length is preserved in Chechen. Semantics and structure: The simple verbal root **=a:c-* 'to be short' may be seen in such forms as Chechen *=ac-dan*, Batsbi *=ac-dar* 'to shorten'.

106. SNAKE

Chechen *läħa* {*лӕвхъа*} (1), Ingush *bħexa-l* {*бӕхал*} (2), Batsbi *lah̄* (1), Proto-Nakh **lah̄i* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 274; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 189. Polysemy: 'snake / adder'. The latter source also quotes *te:qarg*, lit. 'crawling', as a synonym, but the form is marked as 'figurative' in Matsiyev 1961. Finally, of note is the word *bö:xa-lla* [Matsiyev 1961: 73], glossed as polysemic: 'dirt, impurity / snake'; the meaning 'snake' is also marked as 'figurative', but this time, external parallels in Ingush show that this figurative usage is somewhat archaic.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 37; Ozdoyev 1980: 223. The situation here is complicated. In [Ozdoyev et al. 1962] the word is marked as 'figurative' (exactly the way it is in Chechen). However, already in [Ozdoyev 1980] it is given as the only acceptable equivalent for 'snake', and is also simply translated 'snake', without any special notes, in [Kurkiyev 2005: 79]. The main word for 'snake' in [Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 113] is given as *leħa*, but both in [Ozdoyev 1980: 119] and in [Kurkiyev 2005: 281] (in this latter source it is given as *leh*, possibly a misprint or a dialectal variant) the only associated meaning is the specialized term 'adder' (Russian *зѡяка*). This indicates that the old figurative term for 'snake' may now have completely supplanted the old literal term.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 373; Desheriyev 1953: 315 (transcribed as *lah̄ä*).

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 787. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages (but possibly transformed into an archaism in Ingush at least). Replacements: Already in Proto-Vainakh, the meaning 'snake' must have acquired an expressive (figurative) synonym **bħe:xu-l* (> Chechen *bö:xalla*, Ingush *bħexal*), derived from **bħe:xu-* 'dirty'. (In [NCED: 1048] **bħe:xu-* and **bħe:xu-l* are considered to be two different roots that have contaminated with each other, but this suggestion is rather far-fetched: the derivation is quite transparent, and in Chechen, the derivate preserves both its original and figurative meanings). In modern Ingush, the new expressive term has all but ousted out the old word. The semantic derivation {'dirt' > 'snake'} is typologically not surprising (words for 'snake' are frequently formed from 'earth' and similar meanings in the world's languages). Reconstruction shape: Correspondences for **lah̄i* are quite regular; vocalic correspondences fit the scheme proposed for root structure **CaCi* in [NCED: 99].

107. THIN

Chechen *d=utq'-a* {*дӱмкъа*} (1), Ingush *d=itq'-a* {*дӱмкъа*} (1), Batsbi *d=ut'q'-ĩ* (1), Proto-Nakh **=ut'q'-in* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 162; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 623.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 63; Ozdoyev 1980: 720.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 575.

Proto-Nakh: NED # 136. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Consonantal correspondences are regular and trivial. Ingush =*t'q'*- reflects regular vowel assimilation under the influence of the suffix **-in*; lack of similar assimilation in Chechen suggests ultimate provenance from a slightly different morphological variant **=ut'q'-an*, but NED also lists such dialectal forms as Cheberlo =*ut'q'-i*, Sharo =*uyt'q'-i*, Akka =*üt'q'-a*, all of which regularly reflect the same old stem **=ut'q'-in*. Semantics and structure: The stem is originally verbal; cf. the "pure" root in Batsbi =*ut'q'-dar* 'to make (smth.) thin', etc.

108. WIND

Chechen *mox* {*моx*} (1), Ingush *mux* {*мyx*} (1), Batsbi *mox* (1), Proto-Nakh **mox* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 306; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 57. Oblique stem: *mexa-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 123; Ozdoyev 1980: 67. Polysemy: 'wind / whim, temper'. Oblique stem: *mix-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 451. Oblique stem: *maxi-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 590. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular (including the narrowing **-o- > -u-* in Ingush after labial consonants). Semantics and structure: The oblique stem, with vowel gradation, is reconstructed as **maxi-*.

109. WORM

Chechen *nġāna* {*нġаьна*} (1), Ingush *nġana* {*нġана*} (1), Batsbi *nġan* (1), Proto-Nakh **nġana* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 319; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 692. Term is applicable to both 'earth-' and 'tapeworms'.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 127; Ozdoyev 1980: 788.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 482; Desheriyev 1953: 30.

Proto-Nakh: NED # 138. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular and trivial except for a not quite clear narrowing of the vowel in Chechen (a specific development triggered by the laryngeal cluster?); cf. the Pharcho dialect variant *nġana* without this secondary change.

110. YEAR

Chechen *šo* {*шо*} (1), Ingush *šu* {*шy*} (1), Batsbi *šo* (1), Proto-Nakh **šo* (1).

References and notes:

Chechen: Matsiyev 1961: 516; Karasayev & Matsiyev 1978: 109. Oblique stem: *še-ra-*.

Ingush: Ozdoyev et al. 1962: 196; Ozdoyev 1980: 127. Oblique stem: *še-r-*.

Batsbi: Kadagidze 1984: 680; Desheriyev 1953: 314. Oblique stem: *ša-ri-*.

Proto-Nakh: NCED: 968. Distribution: Preserved in all daughter languages. Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular. Semantics and structure: The oblique stem is reconstructible, with vowel gradation, as **ša-ri-*.