

[Text version of database, created 25/04/2015].

### **ANNOTATED Swadesh wordlists for the Tsezic group (North Caucasian family).**

Languages included: Hunzib (proper) [tsz-huz], Bezhta proper [tsz-bez], Khoshar-Khota Bezhta [tsz-bek], Tlyadal Bezhta [tsz-bet], Hinukh [tsz-gin], Kidero Dido [tsz-ddo], Sagada Dido [tsz-dds], Khwarshi proper [tsz-khv], Inkhokwari Khwarshi [tsz-khi].

#### Data sources.

##### **General:**

Bokarev 1959 = Е. А. Бокарев. *Цезские (дидойские) языки Дагестана*. Москва, 1959. // *Individual grammar sketches of the Tsezic languages*.

Comrie & Khalilov 2010 = Б. Комри, М. Халилов. *Словарь языков и диалектов народов Северного Кавказа. Сопоставление основной лексики*. Лейпциг/Махачкала, 2010 [B. Comrie, M. Khalilov. *The dictionary of languages and dialects of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus. Comparison of the basic lexicon*. Leipzig/Makhachkala, 2010] // *A thematic glossary of East Caucasian and some neighbouring languages*. See <http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/> for on-line access and detail. The source is actually somewhat unreliable, with a considerable number of erroneous forms.

Dirr 1909 = А. М. Дирр. *Материалы для изучения языков и наречий андо-дидойской группы*. In: *Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа*, вып. 40. // *Short grammar sketches and a comparative glossary of some Andian and Tsezic languages*.

Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988 = А. Е. Кибрик, С. В. Кодзасов. *Сопоставительное изучение дагестанских языков: Глагол*. Москва, 1988. // *A thematic glossary of verbs of East Caucasian languages. Supplemented by short sketches of the verb system of individual languages*.

Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990 = А. Е. Кибрик, С. В. Кодзасов. *Сопоставительное изучение дагестанских языков: Имя, фонетика*. Москва, 1990. // *A thematic glossary of nouns of East Caucasian languages. Supplemented by short sketches of the phonetic and nominal systems of individual languages*.

Koryakov 2006 = Ю. Б. Коряков. *Атлас кавказских языков. С приложением полного реестра языков.* Москва, 2006. // *Detailed color maps of the modern areas of North East Caucasian, North West Caucasian and Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages with excourses in history.*

NCED = S. L. Nikolayev, S. A. Starostin. *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, Lezgian, 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=eygtnnl>.*

TsezEDb = S. A. Starostin. *Tsezian Etymological Database.* // *Computerized version of the Proto-Tsezic corpus, available at <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/main.cgi?flags=eygtnnl>. Includes some Proto-Tsezic 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.*

### **I. Hunzib (proper):**

Bokarev 1961 = Е. А. Бокарев. *Материалы к словарю гунзибского языка.* In: *Вопросы изучения иберийско-кавказских языков.* Москва, 1961. P. 147-182. // *Hunzib-Russian and Russian-Hunzib glossary, based on the Hunzib proper dialect.*

Isakov & Khalilov 2001 = И. А. Исаков, М. Ш. Халилов. *Гунзибско-русский словарь.* Москва, 2001. // *Hunzib-Russian dictionary based on the Hunzib proper dialect with specific Garbutli and Naxada words quoted. Ca. 7000 entries. Supplemented with a grammar sketch.*

Isakov & Khalilov 2012 = И. А. Исаков, М. Ш. Халилов. *Гунзибский язык. Фонетика, морфология, словообразование, лексика, тексты.* Махачкала, 2012. // *Descriptive grammar of the Hunzib language, based on the Hunzib proper dialect.*

van den Berg 1995 = H. van den Berg. *A grammar of Hunzib. With texts and lexicon.* Leiden, 1995 (also published under the same title as: München & Newcastle: Lincom Europe, 1995). // *Descriptive grammar of the Hunzib language, based on the Hunzib proper dialect. Supplemented with texts and a glossary.*

## **II. Bezhta (Bezhta proper, Khoshar-Khota, Tlyadal)**

Khalilov 1995 = М. Ш. Халилов. *Бежтинско-русский словарь.* Махачкала, 1995. // *A Bezhta-Russian dictionary (ca. 7000 entries), based on the Bezhta proper dialect with specific words from other dialects quoted. Supplemented with a Russian-Bezhta index and a grammar sketch.*

Kibrik & Testelelets 2004 = A. E. Kibrik & Ya. G. Testelelets. Bezhta. In: M. Job (ed.). *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 3, part 1. Caravan Books, 2004. P. 217-295. // *A grammar sketch of Bezhta, based on the Tlyadal dialect.*

Madieva 1965 = Г. И. Мадиева. *Грамматический очерк бежтинского языка (по данным говора с. Бежта).* Махачкала, 1965. // *A descriptive grammar of the Bezhta language, based on the Bezhta proper dialect. Supplemented with a glossary. Transcription of the Bezhta forms is not very reliable.*

## **III. Hinukh**

Forker 2013 = D. Forker. *A Grammar of Hinuq.* Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013. // *Descriptive grammar of the Hinukh language.*

Isakov & Khalilov 2004 = I. A. Isakov & M. Š. Xalilov. Hinukh. In: M. Job (ed.). *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 3, part 1. Caravan Books, 2004. P. 167-214. // *A grammar sketch of the Hinukh language.*

Khalilov & Isakov 2005 = М. Ш. Халилов, И. А. Исаков. *Гинухско-русский словарь.* Махачкала, 2005. // *Hinukh-Russian dictionary, ca. 7500 entries. Supplemented with a grammar sketch.*

Lomtadze 1963 = Э. А. Ломтадзе. *Гинухский диалект дидойского языка.* Тбилиси, 1963. // *Descriptive grammar of the Hinukh language.*

## IV. Dido (Kidero, Sagada)

### Main sources

Abdulaev 2014 = Unpublished field records of the Sagada dialect of Dido by Arsen Abdulaev, February 2014.

Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004 = M. E. Alekseev & R. N. Radžabov. Tsez. In: M. Job (ed.). *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 3, part 1. Caravan Books, 2004. P. 115-163. // *A grammar sketch of the Dido language, based mostly on the Kidero dialect.*

Imnaishvili 1963 = Д. С. Имнайшвили. Дидойский язык в сравнении с гинухским и хваршийским языками. Тбилиси, 1963. // *Descriptive grammar of the West Tsezic languages: Dido, Hinukh, Khvarshi.*

Khalilov 1999 = М. Ш. Халилов. Цезско-русский словарь. Москва, 1999. // *Dido-Russian dictionary based on the Kidero dialect with specific forms of other dialects sporadically quoted. Ca. 7500 entries. Supplemented with a grammar sketch.*

### Additional sources

Comrie 2007 = B. Comrie. Tsez (Dido) Morphology. In: Alan S. Kaye (ed.). *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*. Eisenbrauns, 2007. P. 1193-1204.

Comrie et al. 1998 = B. Comrie, M. Polinsky, R. Rajabov. Tsezian languages. Unpubl. ms, 1998, available at: <http://scholar.harvard.edu/mpolinsky/publications>

Maddieson et al. 1996 = I. Maddieson, R. Rajabov, A. Sonnenschein. The main features of Tsez phonetics. In: *UCLA WPP 93: Fieldwork Studies of Targeted Languages IV*. 1996. P. 94-110.

## V. Khwarshi (proper, Inkhokwari)

Karimova 2014 = Unpublished field records of three Khwarshi dialects (Khwarshi proper, Inkhokwari, Kwantlada) by Raisat Karimova, February 2014.

Khalilova 2009 = A Grammar of Khwarshi. Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van

Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, 17 december 2009. // *Descriptive grammar of the Kwantlada dialect of the Khwarshi language.*

Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961 = Р. Шарафутдинова, Р. Левина. Хваршинский язык (предварительное сообщение). In: *Вопросы изучения иберийско-кавказских языков.* Москва, 1961. Р. 89-122. // *Grammar sketch of Khwarshi proper.*

## NOTES

### I. Hunzib (proper)

#### I.1. General.

The Hunzib (Gunzib) language consists of three dialects: Hunzib proper, Garbutli, Naxada. The three are very close to each other, see [van den Berg 1995: 348 f.; Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 337 ff.] for the main discrepancies. It seems, however, that there are several mismatches between Hunzib proper and Naxada or Garbutli within the 110-item wordlist: see ‘mouth’, ‘red’, ‘yellow’ and possibly ‘to come’.

The available linguistic sources are based on Hunzib proper. The primary lexicographic source for Hunzib proper is the dictionary [Isakov & Khalilov 2001], plus the glossaries in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; van den Berg 1995; Bokarev 1961]. Some forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Isakov & Khalilov 2012; van den Berg 1995; Bokarev 1959: 14-65]. Hunzib lexical data are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general unreliability.

#### I.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Isakov & Khalilov 2001]	[van den Berg 1995]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	b	b	b	b
п	p	p	p	p
п̄	p'	p'	ṗ	p'

[Isakov & Khalilov 2001]	[van den Berg 1995]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
д	d	d	d	d
т	t	t	t	t
тІ	t'	t'	ṭ	t'
ц	c	c	c	c
цІ	c'	c'	ç	c'
з	z	z	z	z
с	s	s	s	s
ч	č	č	č	č
чІ	č'	č'	č̣	č'
ж	ž	ž	ž	ž
ш	š	š	š	š
лІ	ɭ	L	ɭ	ɭ
кь	ɭ'	L'	ɭ'	ɭ'
лѣ	ɭ	ɫ	ɭ	ɫ
г	g	g	g	g
к	k	k	k	k
кІ	k'	k'	ḳ	k'
хѣ	χ	x	x	x
хѣ	q	q	q	q
кѣ	q'	q'	q̣	q'
гѣ	ʁ	R	ʁ	ʁ
х	x	X	χ	χ

[Isakov & Khalilov 2001]	[van den Berg 1995]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
гІ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ
хІ	ħ	H	ħ	ħ
ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гъ	h	h	h	h
м	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n
р	r	r	r	r
л	l	l	l	l
в	w	w	w	w
й	j	j	j	y
CC	CC	CC	CC	C:
и	i	i	i	i
е, э	e	e	e	e
а	a	a	a	a
о	o	o	o	o
у	u	u	u	u
ǎ	ɑ	ə	ɔ	ɑ
ə	ə	ə	ə	ə
ы	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ
V <sub>н</sub>	Ṽ	Ṽ	Ṽ	Ṽ
Ṽ	VV	V:	Ṽ	V:

1. We treat geminated consonants as single long units (e.g., *t c' s: l* and so on) instead of bi-phonemic clusters (*tt c'c' ss ll* and so on) in other sources. The geminates only occur in the intervocalic position in adjectives and more rarely in adverbs [van den Berg 1995: 25]; these originate from the consonant clusters with the adjective suffix *-y-*; note that

the available sources are rather inconsistent in their transcription of geminates and plain variants.

2. Voiceless stops and affricates ( $t$ ,  $\check{c}$  and so on) as actually aspirated ( $t^h$ ,  $\check{c}^h$  and so on).

3. Velar  $x$  and pharyngeal  $\text{ʕ}$   $h$  are restricted to loanwords.

4. The vowels  $a$   $\text{ə}$   $i$  are retracted, see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 332] for details.

5. Nasalized vowels tend to denasalize in the speech of younger generations.

## **II. Bezhta (Bezhta proper, Khoshar-Khota, Tlyadal)**

### *II.1. General.*

The Bezhta language consists of three dialects: Bezhta proper, Khoshar-Khota (Khochar-khotin), Tlyadal (Tlyadaly, Tliadal). All three are quite close to each other.

The primary sources on Bezhta proper is the dictionary [Khalilov 1995] and the grammar [Madieva 1965]. Khoshar-Khota Bezhta vocabulary is available in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. The main sources on Tlyadal Bezhta are the glossaries [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and two grammar sketches: [Bokarev 1959: 66-109; Kibrik & Testelets 2004].

Bezhta lexical data are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]: Bezhta proper, Khoshar-Khota, Tlyadal and additionally the Karauzek sub-dialect of Tlyadal. Since Madzhid Khalilov is a Bezhta native speaker, we sometimes resort to [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] as an additional source, despite the general unreliability of this dictionary.

The following slots remain empty due to scarcity of available linguistic documentation. Khoshar-Khota & Tlyadal: ‘person’, ‘to swim’; only Khoshar-Khota: ‘all’, ‘good’, ‘not’, ‘that’, ‘this’.

### *II.2. Transliteration.*

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Khalilov 1995]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	b	b	b
п	p	p	p
пІ	p'	p̣	p'
д	d	d	d
т	t	t	t
тІ	t'	ṭ	t'
ц	c	c	c
цІ	c'	c̣	c'
з	z	z	z
с	s	s	s
ч	č	č	č
чІ	č'	č̣	č'
ж	ž	ž	ž
ш	š	š	š
лІ	L	λ	λ
кб	L'	λ'	λ'
лб	ɫ	λ	ɫ
г	g	g	g
к	k	k	k
кІ	k'	ḳ	k'
хб	q	q	q

[Khalilov 1995]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
къ	q'	q'	q'
гъ	R	ʁ	ʁ
х	X	χ	χ
гІ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ
хІ	H	ħ	ħ
ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гъ	h	h	h
м	m	m	m
н	n	n	n
р	r	r	r
л	l	l	l
в	w	w	w
й	j	j	y
сс	сс	сс	C:
и	i	i	i
е, э	e	e	e
а	a	a	a
аь	ä	ä	ä
о	o	o	o
оь	ö	ö	ö
у	u	u	u
уь	ü	ü	ü
V <sub>н</sub>	Ṽ	Ṽ	Ṽ
Ṽ	V:	Ṽ	V:

1. We treat geminated consonants as single long units (e.g., *t̃*: *š̃*: and so on) instead of

bi-phonemic clusters (*t't' cc šš* and so on) in other sources. In most cases, these geminates originate from contraction with suffixal *y*.

2. Voiceless stops and affricates (*t, č* and so on) are slightly aspirated (*t<sup>h</sup>, č<sup>h</sup>* and so on).

3. In [Kibrik & Testelefs 2004], the additional front vowel *æ* is listed as phonologically opposed to *e* and *ä*; all other sources, including our transcription, do not distinguish between *ä* and *æ*.

4. Kodzasov describes the Tlyadal prosodic system as tonal [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 331] with several tones distinguished. Three are basic register tones: low ↓, mid ↱, high ↑. Four more are rare contour tones: low-mid ↱↓, mid-high ↱↑, high-mid ↑↓, mid-low ↓↑. These tones are only marked for Tlyadal in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (and also mentioned in [Kibrik & Testelefs 2004: 220 f.]), and, strictly speaking, it is not entirely clear whether the Tlyadal prosodic oppositions are indeed tonal or not. We do not quote the tonal transcription.

5. As reported by Kodzasov, in the Khoshar-Khota dialect, *ä ö ü* are epiglottalized vowels, causing automatic assimilation of adjacent *ʔ h > ɣ H* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 331]. Apparently the same is true for the Bezhta proper dialect, where, in addition, this assimilation also affects the uvulars (*q q' ɸ χ*). In [Khalilov 1995: 390], *ä ö ü* in combination with the uvulars (*q q' ɸ χ*) and the glottal stop (*ʔ*) are described as pharyngealized and sporadically (not always!) transcribed in Cyrillic orthography with the additional signs {'} for consonants and {I} for vowel: e.g., *qöqilö* 'rough, coarse, rude' is quoted as {хь'оИхьило} in [Khalilov 1995: 264], but as {хь'оИхьило} in [Khalilov 1995: 390]. Ya. Testelefs (p.c.) has pointed out, however, that historically an epiglottal or pharyngeal prosody or the pharyngeal fricatives should be primary in all these cases; particularly, *ä ö ü* secondarily originate from *a o u* in such a pharyngeal context. When Khalilov's notation with {'} or {I} is available, we quote the transcription with pharyngealization <sup>ʕ</sup> in the notes.

6. Following common practice, we do not note the initial glottal stop (*ʔ*), which has the status of an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset [Kibrik & Testelefs 2004: 221]. It should be noted that in the Bezhta proper dictionary [Khalilov 1995], vocalic onset can be explicitly written as {ɽV-} (not simple {V-}); this is usual for initial front vowels or onomatopoeic forms.

7. For vowel and consonant harmony, see [Kibrik & Testeleets 2004: 221 ff.; NCED: 113].

### III. Hinukh

#### III.1. *General.*

The primary sources on Hinukh are the dictionaries [Khalilov & Isakov 2005; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and the grammars [Forker 2013; Lomtadze 1963; Imnaishvili 1963], plus the grammar sketches [Isakov & Khalilov 2004; Bokarev 1959: 110-142].

Hinukh lexical data are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general unreliability.

#### III.2. *Transliteration.*

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Isakov & Khalilov 2004]	[Forker 2013]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
ბ	b	b	b	b
პ	p	p	p	p
პი	p'	p'	p̣'	p'
	f			f
დ	d	d	d	d
ტ	t	t	t	t
ტი	t'	t'	ṭ'	t'
ც	c	c	c	c
ცი	c'	c'	ç	c'

[Isakov & Khalilov 2004]	[Forker 2013]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
З	z	z	z	z
С	s	s	s	s
Ч	č	č	č	č
ЧІ	č̣	č̣	č̣	č̣
Ж	ž	ž	ž	ž
Ш	š	š	š	š
ЛІ	ɭ	ɭ	ɭ	ɭ
КЪ	ɭ'	ɭ'	ɭ'	ɭ'
ЛЪ	ɭ̣	ɭ̣	ɭ̣	ɭ̣
Г	g	g	g	g
К	k	k	k	k
КІ	k'	k'	ḳ	k'
ГВ	g <sup>w</sup>	g <sub>o</sub>	g <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>
КВ	k <sup>w</sup>	k <sub>o</sub>	k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>
КІВ	k <sup>w</sup> '	k <sub>o</sub> '	k <sup>w</sup> ̣	k <sup>w</sup> '
ХЪ	q	q	q	q
КЪ	q'	q'	q̣'	q'
ХЪВ	q <sup>w</sup>	q <sub>o</sub>	q <sup>w</sup>	q <sup>w</sup>
КЪВ	q <sup>w</sup> '	q <sub>o</sub> '	q̣ <sup>w</sup> '	q <sup>w</sup> '
ГЪ	x	ʀ	ʁ	ʁ
Х	ɣ	ʁ	ɣ	ɣ
ГЪВ	x <sup>w</sup>	ʀ <sub>o</sub>	ʁ <sup>w</sup>	ʁ <sup>w</sup>

[Isakov & Khalilov 2004]	[Forker 2013]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
XB	ɣ <sup>w</sup>	X <sub>o</sub>	χ <sup>w</sup>	χ <sup>w</sup>
ГІ	ʔ	ɣ (ʔ)	ɣ	ʔ
хІ	ħ	H	ħ	ħ
Ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ГЪ	h	h	h	h
М	m	m	m	m
Н	n	n	n	n
Р	r	r	r	r
Л	l	l	l	l
В	w	w	w	w
Й	y	j	j	y
CC	CC	CC	CC	C:
И	i	i	i	i
е, э	e	e	e	e
а	a	a	a	a
о	o	o	o	o
у	u	u	u	u
й	ü	ü	ü	ü
Ṽ	V:	V:	Ṽ	V:
І	ʔ	І	І	ʔ

1. We treat geminated consonants as single long units (e.g., *t': c: š:* and so on) instead of bi-phonemic clusters (*t't' cc šš* and so on) as is done in other sources. In most cases, these geminates originate from contraction with a suffixal consonant (normally *y*).

2. Voiceless stops and affricates (*t, č* and so on) are slightly aspirated (*t<sup>h</sup>, č<sup>h</sup>* and so on) [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 329; Forker 2013: 28].

3. The uvular stops (*q* etc.) are in fact affricates (*qʰ* etc.) [Forker 2013: 28; Isakov & Khalilov 2004: 168].
4. Fricative *f* is restricted to recent Russian loanwords.
5. Following common practice, we do not note the initial glottal-stop (ʔ), which is an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset [Forker 2013: 30].
6. It is reported in [Forker 2013: 23 f.] that the vowels *i ü u o* possess lax and tense variants (lax *ɪ ʏ ʊ ɔ* vs. tense *i ü u o*), but the same source states that this opposition is not phonemic.
7. The vowel *ü* is restricted to the speech of the older generation; younger speakers replace it with *i* (or very occasionally with *u*) [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 330; Forker 2013: 24].
8. The prosodic feature of pharyngealization is realized as epiglottalization (for the sake of convenience we transcribe it as pharyngealization <sup>ʕ</sup>); it is residually observed in several words [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 330], see the discussion in [Forker 2013: 26 f.].

#### **IV. Dido (Kidero, Sagada)**

##### *IV.1. General.*

The Dido (Tsez, Cez) language consists of several dialects: Kidero, Asakh, Mokok, Shaytl, Shapikh and Sagada (Sahada). Out of these, Sagada is the most distinct one, so that it is sometimes stated that Dido consists of just two dialects - Dido proper (with the aforementioned sub-dialects) and Sagada.

Available lexicographic data are sufficient for the compilation of two lists for two main dialects: Kidero and Sagada.

The main sources on Kidero are the dictionaries [Khalilov 1999; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and the grammatical descriptions [Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004; Imnaishvili 1963; Bokarev 1959: 175-221].

The main source on Sagada is the 110-item wordlist [Abdulaev 2014], compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic specifications. This list was recorded by Arsen Abdulaev in Makhachkala, February 2014 from one informant. Name: Khizri Makhmudov (Хизри Махмудов), male, born in Sagada village (Tsuntinsky district, Dagestan, Russia) in 1972, lives in Yurkovka village (Tarumovsky district, Dagestan), high education, Sagada native speaker, also speaks Russian, Avar, Chamalal. Some Sagada forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Imnaishvili 1963; Khalilov 1999].

For other dialects, cf. the Asakh grammar sketch [Comrie et al. 1998] and the Mokok grammar sketch [Comrie 2007]. When dialect material is available, we quote it in the notes.

Dido lexical data (Mokok, Sagada) are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general unreliability.

#### IV.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Khalilov 1999]	[Maddieson et al. 1996]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	b	b	b	b
п	p	p	p	p
п̄	p'	p'	p̣	p'
д	d	d	d	d
т	t	t	t	t
т̄	t'	t'	ṭ	t'
ц	ts	c	c	c
ц̄	ts'	c'	ç	c'
з	z	z	z	z
с	s	s	s	s

[Khalilov 1999]	[Maddieson et al. 1996]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
ч	tʃ	č	č	č
чІ	tʃ	č̣	č̣	č̣
ж	ʒ	ž	ž	ž
ш	ʃ	š	š	š
лІ	tɬ	L	ɬ	ɬ
кб	tɬ'	L'	ɬ'	ɬ'
лб	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ
г	g	g	g	g
к	k	k	k	k
кІ	k'	k'	ḳ	k'
хб	q	q	q	q
кб	q'	q'	q̣'	q'
гб	ʁ	R	ʁ	ʁ
х	χ	X	χ	χ
гІ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
хІ	h	H	ḥ	ḥ
ь	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гб	h	h	h	h
м	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n
р	r	r	r	r
л	l	l	l	l
в	w	w	w	w

[Khalilov 1999]	[Maddieson et al. 1996]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
й	j	j	j	y
Св	C <sup>w</sup>	C <sub>o</sub>	C <sup>w</sup>	C <sup>w</sup>
CC	CC	CC	CC	C:
и	i	i	i	i
е, э	e	e	e	e
а	a	a	a	a
аь		ä	ä	ä
о	o	o	o	o
у	u	u	u	u
Ṽ	V:	V:	Ṽ	V:
l	l̥	l	l	l̥

1. We treat geminated consonants as single long units (e.g., *t': c: š:* and so on) instead of bi-phonemic clusters (*t't' cc šš* and so on) in other sources. In most cases, these geminates originate from contraction with a suffixal consonant (normally *y*).

2. Voiceless stops and affricates (*t, č* and so on) are slightly aspirated (*t<sup>h</sup>, č<sup>h</sup>* and so on) [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 329; Forker 2013: 28].

3. In inherited words, *ʔ* and *ʔ̣* are restricted to the initial position, where *ʔ̣* is an allophone of *ʔ* in pharyngealized (see below) forms. Following common practice, we do not note such an automatic initial *ʔ*.

4. Pharyngealization <sup>̣</sup> is a prosodic feature which spreads over the whole phonetic word. If there are no uvular obstruents in a phonetic word, pharyngealization is transcribed for the first vowel. Otherwise, pharyngealization is noted after the first uvular obstruent (*q q̣: χ ʙ̣*).

5. Labialization <sup>w</sup> is restricted to velar and uvular obstruents in the prevocalic position (*k<sup>w</sup>V, q<sup>w</sup>V* and so on).

6. The vowel *ä* is described in [Khalilov 1999; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Imnaishvili 1963; Bokarev 1959], but specific forms with *ä* do not coincide between these sources (a wordform with *ä* in one source can correspond to a wordform with *a* or *e* in another). On the contrary, in [Maddieson et al. 1996; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004], the phoneme *ä* is not identified at all.

## **V. Khwarshi (proper, Inkhokwari)**

### *V.1. General.*

The Khwarshi (Khvarshi, Xvarshi) language consists of five dialects: Khwarshi proper, Inkhokwari, Kwantlada, Santlada, Khwayni. Out of these, Kwantlada, Santlada and Khwayni are very close to each other, and they all are close to Inkhokwari as opposed to distinct Khwarshi proper (see [Khalilova 2009: 4] for detail). Frequently Khwarshi proper and Inkhokwari (with Kwantlada, Santlada, Khwayni) are treated as two separate languages, referred to respectively as simply Khwarshi and Inkhokwari.

The available lexicographical data are sufficient for compiling three lists: Khwarshi proper, Inkhokwari Khwarshi and Kwantlada Khwarshi. Actually, no lexicostatistical mismatches between the Inkhokwari and Kwantlada 110-item wordlists have been revealed, so we prefer to allocate Kwantlada data within the notes section on Inkhokwari rather than offer a separate wordlist for Kwantlada.

The main source for Khwarshi proper is the 110-item wordlist [Karimova 2014], compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic specifications. This list was recorded by Raisat Karimova in Oktyabrskoe village, Khasavyurtovsky district, Dagestan, Russia, February 2014 from one informant. Name: Zaynap Magomedova (Зайнап Магомедова), female, born 1962, lives in Oktyabrskoe (before marriage, lived in Mutsalaul village, Khasavyurtovsky district), high education, Khwarshi proper native speaker, also speaks Kwantlada Khwarshi (her husband is Kwantlada native speaker), Avar and Russian. Some Khwarshi proper forms and grammatical information have been taken from grammar sketches [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961; Imnaishvili 1963]. An additional source is [NCED], whose authors use lexical data collected by the Tsezic enthusiast Ramazan Radzhabov (incorrectly named as Radzhibov in [NCED: 6] and Nadzhipov in [NCED: 11]). Khwarshi proper lexical data are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general

unreliability.

The main sources for Inkhokwari Khwarshi are the noun glossary [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] plus the 110-item wordlist [Karimova 2014], compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic specifications. This list was recorded by Raisat Karimova in Oktyabrskoe village, Khasavyurtovsky district, Dagestan, Russia, February 2014 from one informant. Name: Dzhamilya Mirzoeva (ДЖАМИЛЯ Мирзоева), female, born 1973, lives in Oktyabrskoe, higher education, works as a school teacher, Inkhokwari native speaker, also speaks Avar and Russian. Some Inkhokwari forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Imnaishvili 1963; Bokarev 1959: 143-174]. Inkhokwari Khwarshi lexical data are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general unreliability.

The main source for Kwantlada Khwarshi is the 110-item wordlist [Karimova 2014], compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic specifications. This list was recorded by Raisat Karimova in Oktyabrskoe village, Khasavyurtovsky district, Dagestan, Russia, February 2014 from one informant. Name: Khalizha Magomedova (Халижа Магомедова), female, born 1970, lives in Oktyabrskoe, higher education, works as a school teacher, Kwantlada Khwarshi native speaker, also speaks Russian. Many Kwantlada forms and grammatical information have been taken from the grammar description [Khalilova 2009].

## V.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961; Karimova 2014]	[Khalilova 2009]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	b	b	b	b
п	p	p	p	p
пI	p'	p'	p̣'	p'
ф			f	f
д	d	d	d	d

[Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961; Karimova 2014]	[Khalilova 2009]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
Т	t	t	t	t
ТІ	t'	t'	t̥	t'
Ц	c	c	c	c
ЦІ	c'	c'	ç	c'
З	z	z	z	z
С	s	s	s	s
Ч	č	č	č	č
ЧІ	č'	č'	č̥	č'
Ж	ž	ž	ž	ž
Ш	š	š	š	š
ЛІ	l	L	l̥	l̥
КЪ	l'	L'	l̥'	l̥'
ЛЪ	ɫ	ɫ	l	ɫ
Г	g	g	g	g
К	k	k	k	k
КІ	k'	k'	k̥	k'
	χ			x
ХЪ	q	q	q	q
КЪ	q'	q'	q̥	q'
ГЪ	ɣ	R	ʁ	ʁ
Х	x	X	χ	χ
ГІ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ

[Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961; Karimova 2014]	[Khalilova 2009]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
хИ	ħ	H	ħ	ħ
Ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гЪ	h	h	h	h
М	m	m	m	m
Н	n	n	n	n
р	r	r	r	r
л	l	l	l	l
л'	lʲ	l	l	lʲ
В	w	w	w	w
Й	j	j	j	y
Св	C <sub>o</sub>	C <sub>o</sub>	C <sup>w</sup>	C <sup>w</sup>
С, СС	CC	CC	CC	C:
и	i	i	i	i
е, э	e	e	e	e
а	a	a	a	a
аь	ä	ä	ä	ä
о	o	o	o	o
у	u	u	u	u
ы	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ
Ṽ	V:	V:	Ṽ	V:
Ṽ, V <sup>h</sup>	V <sup>n</sup>	Ṽ	Ṽ	Ṽ
I	ɪ	I, V	I	ɪ

1. We treat geminated consonants as single long units (e.g., *t': c: š:* and so on) instead of bi-phonemic clusters (*t't' cc šš* and so on) in other sources. In most cases, these geminates originate from contraction with a suffixal consonant (normally *y*).

2. Voiceless stops and affricates (*t, č* and so on) are slightly aspirated (*t<sup>h</sup>, č<sup>h</sup>* and so on) [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 327].

3. Some consonant phonemes are normally or totally restricted to Tindi, Avar and Russian loanwords: *f, w, x, ʃ, h*, labialized sibilants.

4. Following common practice, we do not note the initial glottal-stop (ʔ), which is an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset [Forker 2013: 30].

5. Pharyngealization (which is characteristic of non-Khwarshi proper dialects) <sup>ʕ</sup> is a prosodic feature which spreads over the entire phonetic word. If there are no uvular obstruents in the phonetic word, pharyngealization is transcribed for the first vowel. Otherwise, pharyngealization is noted after the first uvular obstruent (*q q: χ ʁ*).

6. Palatalized *lʲ* is characteristic of non-Khwarshi proper dialects. In most cases, it is an automatic variant of *l*. The shift *l > lʲ* occurs after *e*, after *i* or in pharyngealized forms [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 327; Khalilova 2009: 19 f.]. Nevertheless, there is a small number of instances of *lʲ* in other contexts [Khalilova 2009: 20] that makes *lʲ* phonemic.

7. Kodzasov describes the Inkhokwari prosodic system as tonal [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 327] with several tones distinguished. These tones are not mentioned in other Khwarshi sources, and, strictly speaking, it is not entirely clear whether the Inkhokwari prosodic oppositions are indeed tonal or not. We do not quote the tonal transcription.

8. As follows from the field records in [Karimova 2014], modern speakers tend to drop pharyngealization and nasalization of vowels, as well as labialization of consonants.

## **VI. Proto-Tsezic**

### *VI.1. General.*

The only systematic published reconstruction of the Proto-Tsezic phonological system and etymological corpus belongs to Sergei Nikolaev (Nikolayev), although, of course, the reconstruction acknowledges its debt to previous research, conducted by some preceding Caucasologists, of which E. A. Bokarev deserves primary mention. S. Nikolaev's reconstruction was included in [NCED] and published electronically as *Tsezic Etymological Database* [TsezEDb] on the StarLing database server. It must be noted that [TsezEDb] only includes those Proto-Tsezic morphemes for which external North

Caucasian etymology has been proposed by the authors of [NCED], and the Swadesh words of individual languages (even if these lack external North Caucasian *comparanda*). Some further corrections and additions to Proto-Tsezic vowel reconstruction were proposed by Ya. Testelets.

In reconstructing the Swadesh wordlist for Proto-Tsezic, we generally follow [NCED] and [TsezEDb], although in some cases we revise and, occasionally, even reject Nikolaev's specific etymologies (this mostly has to do with new Tsezic data that have been published since the mid-1990s). The optional letters *A* or *B* after a Proto-Tsezic form denote a specific prosodic class [NCED: 75 f., 113 f.]. Due to unclear reasons, Nikolaev tends not to project pharyngealization onto Proto-Tsezic forms when this prosodic feature is attested in ancestral forms in daughter languages. We reconstruct Proto-Tsezic pharyngealization in such cases. The threefold opposition  $*t / *t̥ / *l$ , postulated in [NCED: 110], is typologically rather problematic, but we provisionally leave it as is.

The main phylogenetic methods (Neighbor joining, UPGMA, Bayesian MCMC, Maximum parsimony) propose a twofold division into East Tsezic and West Tsezic, but differ in the topology of the West Tsezic cluster: some of the methods suggest a Hinukh-Dido unity opposed to Khwarshi (MP, UPGMA), others suggest a Dido-Khwarshi unity opposed to Hinukh (MCMC, NJ).

Below we examine the reverse lexicostatistical distances for two East Tsezic lects (Hunzib proper, Bezhta proper) and three West Tsezic lects (Hinukh, Kidero Dido, Khwarshi proper), higher percentage of the shared basic vocabulary meaning greater closeness.

	Hunzib proper (ETs)	Bezhta proper (ETs)	Kidero Dido (WTs)	Khwarshi proper (WTs)
Hinukh (WTs)	62.9%	63.6%	76.4%	69.6%
Hunzib proper (ETs)	-	86.8%	55.3%	55.4%
Bezhta proper (ETs)	-	-	54.3%	55.9%
Kidero Dido (WTs)	-	-	-	76.2%

If we exclude Hinukh, the lexicostatistical distances between the four remaining lects fulfil the condition of additivity: two East Tsezic lects are close to each other (86.8%),

two West Tsezic lects are close to each other (76.2%), whereas any East Tsezic lect is equally remote from any West Tsezic lect (*ca.* 55%).

The configuration gets abnormal, however, when Hinukh is introduced.

First, distances between three West Tsezic lects do not fulfil the condition of additivity: Kidero Dido is equally close to Khwarshi and Hinukh (76.2% ~ 76.4%), whereas Khwarshi and Hinukh are remote from each other (69.6%). It means that there should be a number of parasitic, i.e., secondary matches either between Kidero Dido & Khwarshi or between Kidero Dido & Hinukh. Geographical distribution and a high number of specific cultural words, shared by Kidero Dido and Hinukh (Ya. Testelet, p.c.), suggest that this pair is expected to have secondary contacts. Since Sagada Dido (which is not adjacent to the Hinukh territory) demonstrates the same closeness to Hinukh as Kidero Dido does (76.2% ~ 76.4%), it is more likely that the normal direction of the influence is Kidero Dido > Hinukh rather than vice versa.

Second, comparison with East Tsezic lects also demonstrates irregular ratios. Four sets of three languages can be analyzed.

1) Hunzib proper (ETs) / Bezhta proper (ETs) / Hinukh (WTs). The configuration is normal: two East Tsezic lects are close to each other (86.8%) and equally remote from the West Tsezic lect (62.9% ~ 63.6%).

2) Hunzib proper (ETs) / Bezhta proper (ETs) / Kidero Dido (WTs). The configuration is normal: two East Tsezic lects are close to each other (86.8%) and equally remote from the West Tsezic lect (54.3% ~ 55.3%).

3) Hinukh (WTs) / Kidero Dido (WTs) / Hunzib proper (ETs). The configuration is not quite normal: two West Tsezic lects are indeed close to each other (76.4%), but not equally remote from the East Tsezic lect: Hinukh / Hunzib = 62.9%, whereas Kidero Dido / Hunzib = only 55.3% (the difference is 7.6).

4) Hinukh (WTs) / Kidero Dido (WTs) / Bezhta proper (ETs). The configuration is even more abnormal: two West Tsezic lects are indeed close to each other (76.4%), but not equally remote from the East Tsezic lect: Hinukh / Bezhta = 63.6%, whereas Kidero Dido / Bezhta = only 54.3% (the difference is 9.3).

As follows from this analysis, the lexicostatistical distances between two West Tsezic and one East Tsezic lects do not satisfy the condition of additivity. Hinukh demonstrates abnormal closeness to East Tsezic lects, both to Bezhta and Hunzib. Such a closeness should be treated as secondary, i.e., we assume a number of secondary lexical matches between Proto-Hinukh and Proto-East Tsezic. This can be explained as a result of serious influence in between Proto-Hinukh and Proto-East Tsezic, although the default direction of influence, Proto-East Tsezic > Proto-Hinukh or vice versa, cannot be established by means of such a formal analysis.

Thus, we could suppose two stages in the history of Hinukh. Initially, Hinukh entered into close contact with Proto-East Tsezic and subsequently Bezhta (the direction of influence is not entirely clear). Later, Hinukh was influenced by the neighboring Dido (especially Kidero Dido). Cf. a similar statement by Forker: “there has been and there still is extensive contact between Hinuq speakers and speakers of two other Tsezic languages, Bezhta and Tsez” [Forker 2013: 12]. Forker also attributes Hinukh-Dido contacts to the present time: “Many Hinuq men marry Tsez women, who then move to the village of Hinuq. These women often do not fully acquire the Hinuq language and sometimes simply continue to speak Tsez, at least at home” [Forker 2013: 16].

Database compiled and annotated by:

**Hunzib (proper):** A. Kassian, October 2013 / revised November 2013 (minor corrections) / revised July 2014 (minor corrections). We are thankful to Yakov Testelelets (Moscow) for a number of valuable remarks on Hunzib data.

**Bezhta (Bezhta proper, Khoshar-Khota, Tlyadal):** A. Kassian, November 2013 / revised January 2014 (minor corrections) / revised July 2014 (minor corrections) / revised April 2015 (several lexical additions and corrections). We are thankful to Yakov Testelelets (Moscow) & Madzhid Khalilov (Makhachkala) for a number of valuable remarks on Bezhta data.

**Hinukh:** A. Kassian, December 2013 / revised July 2014 (minor corrections).

**Dido (Kidero):** A. Kassian, January 2014 / revised July 2014 (minor corrections).

**Dido (Sagada):** A. Kassian, April 2014 (using field records by Arsen Abdullaev) / revised July 2014 (minor corrections).

**Khwarshi (Khwarshi proper, Inkhokwari):** A. Kassian, April 2014 (using field records by Raisat Karimova) / revised July 2014 (minor corrections).

**Proto-Tsezic:** A. Kassian, July 2014 / revised April 2015 (minor corrections).

## 1. ALL

Hunzib (proper) *li-der-ar* ~ *li-der-ol* (1) / *seh* ~ *set'* {*ceɣb*, *ceml*} (2), Bezhta (proper) *q'ac':-o* {*к̄̈ʷaɪ̄l̄ɪo*} (3), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *q'ac':-o* (3), Tlyadal Bezhta *gäl:-ö* (4), Hinukh *č'ek':-u* {*ч̄̈lek̄̈l̄ɪy*} (5), Kidero Dido *c'ik'-y-u* {*ɪ̄l̄uk̄̈l̄ɪy*} (5), Sagada Dido *c'ik'-a-w* {*ɪ̄l̄uk̄̈l̄ab*} (5), Khwarshi (proper) *goyta-č* ~ *goyta* {*ɔ̄ɪ̄l̄b̄aɪ*, *ɔ̄ɪ̄l̄b̄a*} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *gol<sup>h</sup>:u-č* {*ɔ̄ɪ̄l̄l̄ɪy*} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*g=ɔɬ-y-* (4).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 161; Bokarev 1961: 173.

There are two documented expressions for 'all':

1) *li-der-(u)* [class 1, 2, 4] / *lo-der-(u)* [3, 5], which is quoted as the only equivalent for 'all (omnis)' in [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 161; Bokarev 1961: 173]. The plural forms 'all (omnis)' are given as regular *li-der-ar* [human pl.] / *lo-der-ar* [non-human pl.] in [Isakov & Khalilov 2012], but as *li-der-ol* in [Bokarev 1961]. This is the present participle in *-der* of the generic verb 'to be' [van den Berg 1995: 99 ff.], i.e., 'all' as 'whoever/whatever' being'. It should be noted that in [van den Berg 1995: 314], *li-der-u* is translated as 'every, each'.

2) *seh* / *set'* (with unclear distribution of variants), which is quoted for 'all (omnis / totus)' in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 148; van den Berg 1995: 332]. The examples are: "She made them take off all their upper clothes" [van den Berg 1995: 246], "All the animals have come" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 148].

We have to treat *li-der-* and *seh* as synonyms. Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 148; van den Berg 1995: 332.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 153, 401; Madieva 1965: 168.

Several terms for 'all' are listed in [Khalilov 1995: 300, 401]. Out of them, the adjective *q'ac':-o* is the most frequently used one, as follows from browsing through [Khalilov 1995]. Cf. the examples for attributive use: "to find out all the circumstances" [Khalilov 1995: 31], "In summer, the cattle are all in the mountains", "All the books are mine" [Khalilov 1995: 153]. Non-attributive use: "There was room for all (of them)" [Khalilov 1995: 118], "All (i.e., everybody) have got their shares" [Khalilov 1995: 215], "All (i.e., everything) will be all right" [Khalilov 1995: 217].

A second candidate is the non-inflected form *set'* {*ceɪl*} [Khalilov 1995: 228] with the following examples quoted in the main entry: "All the children have come", "All (i.e., everybody) are singing the song", "All (i.e., everybody) have stopped talking".

A third candidate is the adjective *gäh-iy-o* {*г̄а̄х̄ийо*} [Khalilov 1995: 59, 401; Madieva 1965: 103], but normally it is used in non-attributive function: "All (of them) have gone to the cinema", "All (of them) have books" [Khalilov 1995: 59]. *gäh-iy-o* is derived from *gäh-iy-o* 'existing' [Khalilov 1995: 58] with the iterative infix *-a-* (*gäh-iy-o* is the participle from the auxiliary present stem *gey* 'to be' [Khalilov 1995: 59], although the vowel change *e ~ ä* is abnormal).

Distinct from *siyo-nazu* 'everything, each' [Khalilov 1995: 229], *suk'o-nazu* 'everybody, each' [Khalilov 1995: 233] with interrogative *siyo* 'what', *suk'o* 'who' q.v. and the special generalizing element *-na-zu*.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. The second Khoshar-Khota term for 'all' reported by Khalilov is *seh* / *set'* (with unclear distribution of variants), but we prefer to treat it as a more marginal expression, following the Bezhta proper and Tlyadal descriptions.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 249; Khalilov 1995: 58. In [Khalilov 1995], treated as a synonym of Bezhta proper *q'ac':-o* 'all'. Participle with the *-y-* suffix (*l*: < \**ly*) from the auxiliary present stem *gel* 'to be' [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 255], although the vowel change *e ~ ä* is irregular.

Other candidates are *seh* 'all' [Khalilov 1995: 228] and *q'ac':-o* 'all' [M. Khalilov, p.c.], but these forms are apparently more marginal than *gäl:-ö*, because *seh* and *q'ac':-o* are not mentioned in [Kibrik & Testelets 2004].

Distinct from *suk'o-nazu* 'each, every' [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 249] with interrogative *suk'o* 'who' q.v. and the special generalizing element *-na-zu*.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 396, 583; Forker 2013: 408. Morphologically, an adjective with *k*: < \**k'-y*. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus) / completely, entirely'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 277, 312, 440. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Browsing through available sources suggests that the adjective *c'ik'-y-u* is the most frequent and generic expression for 'all'.

A second, apparently more marginal candidate is *na:si-n* {*н̄асин*} 'all (omnis) / all (totus)' [Khalilov 1999: 197, 312, 440];

Imnaishvili 1963: 130], derived from the interrogative pronoun *nasi* 'which (one)?' [Khalilov 1999: 197] with the particle *-n* (for which cf. [Imnaishvili 1963: 265]).

Borrowed pronouns are used as well: *kina-w-ni* 'all' [Khalilov 1999: 140, 312; Imnaishvili 1963: 133] < Avar *kina-w-go* 'all'; *šina-w* 'every, all' [Khalilov 1999: 291; Imnaishvili 1963: 133] < Avar *š:ina-w* 'every, all'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Asakh *c'ik'-i-y* [цИкИий] 'all' [Khalilov 1999: 277; Imnaishvili 1963: 130]; Mokok *c'ik'-i-w* [цИкИив] 'all' [Khalilov 1999: 277; Imnaishvili 1963: 130].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 131; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 116. Consists of the present participle *goyta* (< \**got-y-a*) [Imnaishvili 1963: 223] from the auxiliary present stem *got-e* 'to be' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 118] plus the suffix *-č*, which forms collective numerals [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 112]. In [Karimova 2014], the form *goyta-yab* [гойлъяб] 'all' is also quoted.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 131. Consists of the present participle *gol(°):u* (< \**gol-y-u*) [Imnaishvili 1963: 223] from the auxiliary present stem *gol-i* 'to be' [Bokarev 1959: 169] plus the suffix *-č*.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *gol:u-č* [голлуч] 'all' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 165]. Consists of the present participle *gol:u* (< \**gol-y-u*) from the auxiliary present stem *gol-i* 'to be' [Khalilova 2009: 182] plus the polyfunctional suffix *-č*, which, in particular, forms collective numerals [Khalilova 2009: 177].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 278. **Distribution:** An unstable word. The formal match between Tlyadal Bezhta *gäl:-ö* (East Tsezic) and Khwarshi *goyta*, *gol°:u-č* (West Tsezic) allows us to reconstruct the Proto-Tsezic quantifier 'all' as the *y*-participle from the prefixal auxiliary verb \**g=ɔkV* 'to be' [NCED: 278]. Bezhta proper *gey* 'to be', *gäh-iy-o* 'existing', *gäh-iy-o* 'all' apparently represent the same protoforms, although \**k* > *h* instead of expected *l* is irregular. In TsezEDb: #149, a distinct Proto-Tsezic root \**guyk(:)*- is reconstructed for the discussed words for 'all'; we find this unnecessary. The match between Hinukh *č'ek'-u* and Kidero Dido *c'ik'-y-u* (that should imply Proto-Tsezic \**c'ek'-y-u* ~ *-i* ~ *-ɔ*) is therefore secondary and contact-driven.

**Replacements:** {'to be' > 'all'} (Bezhta proper, Tlyadal Bezhta, Khwarshi).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for some vowel fluctuation.

**Semantics and structure:** Verbal participle.

## 2. ASHES

Hunzib (proper) *yãλu* {ÿã<sup>u</sup>λy} (1), Bezhta (proper) *yãλo* {ÿã<sup>u</sup>λo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *yaλo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *yãλo* (1), Hinukh *yoλu* {ÿoλy} (1), Kidero Dido *no<sup>f</sup>λu* {no<sup>f</sup>λy} (1), Sagada Dido *no<sup>f</sup>λu* {no<sup>f</sup>λy} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *yũλu* {ÿy<sup>u</sup>λy} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *yõλu* {ÿo<sup>u</sup>λy} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**yõ<sup>f</sup>λu A* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 86, 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; van den Berg 1995: 342; Bokarev 1961: 156, 175. In [Isakov & Khalilov 2001; Bokarev 1961], only the innovative denasalized form *yãλu* {ÿãλy} is quoted.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 112, 308; Madieva 1965: 196.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 190, 447, 488; Lomtadze 1963: 71; Forker 2013: 522.

Distinct from *č'eč'a* {ч'еч'а} 'soot; thin crust of ice over snow' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 396].

Quite differently in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207], where *č'eč'a* is proposed as the basic word for 'ashes', whereas *noλu* (sic!) is specified as 'fine ashes (пепел)'. Apparently a mass of errors.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 200, 328; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *yõλu* {ÿo<sup>u</sup>λy} 'ashes' [Karimova 2014].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 681. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular, except for the occasional shift of nasalization between the

vowel and the initial glide.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

### 3. BARK

Hunzib (proper) *r=ič-ul* {ричул} (1), Bezhta (proper) *y=ic-al-o* {йицало} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *λ'eq'a* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *λ'eq'ä* (2) / *qar* (3), Hinukh *q<sup>w</sup>il ~ q<sup>u</sup>l* {къвил} (4), Kidero Dido *q<sup>f</sup>ul* {къвИл} (4), Sagada Dido *q<sup>wof</sup>il* {къвиЛ} (4), Khwarshi (proper) *q<sup>w</sup>el* {къвел} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *q<sup>wof</sup>el ~ q<sup>w</sup>el* {къвел} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*q<sup>w</sup>elA* (4).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 144, 207; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; van den Berg 1995: 330; Bokarev 1961: 164, 176. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the form is transcribed as *ričul* - a typo (the original field notes have *ričul*. - Ya. Testele, p.c.). Polysemy: 'bark / crust'. Apparently an old deverbative *r=ič-ul* from the verb CLASS=*iče* {бича} 'to peel, skin' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 41], although such a suffixal pattern is very rare, if not unique.

Distinct from *qal* {хъал} 'peel, bark' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 166, 207; Bokarev 1961: 167], borrowed from Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

Distinct from *q'eq'el-ba* {къкъелба} 'birch bark' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 98, 190], final *-ba* is the plural exponent; it must be noted that in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 101] the dialectal variant *λ'eq'el-ba* {къкъелба} (village Garbutl) is quoted, which seems to be a graphical corruption (Cyrillic Ъ for {ъ}).

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 123, 311. Apparently an old deverbative (*y=ic-al-o*) from the verb CLASS=*iče* {йицал} 'to peel (trans.)' [Khalilov 1995: 123] (*č > c* due to word harmony). For the suffix *-alo* / *-älö*, cf. *bä?-älö* {баъ-аьлоъ} 'sheep dung' ←? *bä* {бааъ} 'sound of bleating', iterative *bä-d-ä* {бäдäдäл} 'to bleat' [Khalilov 1995: 42]; *böχ-älö ~ böχ-älä* {боъхаьлоъ, боъхаьлаь} 'cup for dog food' [Khalilov 1995: 51] ← *böχV* {боъхаьл} 'to gather'; *kuc-alo* {куцало} 'face' ← *kuc* {куц} 'shape, pattern; face' (< Avar *kuc* 'shape, pattern; face') [Khalilov 1995: 150]; *q'ät-älö* {къаьтаьлоъ} 'ankle, anklebone' [Khalilov 1995: 154] ← *q'ät ~ q'öt* {къаьт, къоьт} 'protuberance, projection'; *muq-alo ~ muq-ala* {мукъало, мукъала} 'big needle' ← *muq* {мукъ} 'stake, picket' [Khalilov 1995: 199]; *λ'aq-alo* {къаьқало} 'hat' [Khalilov 1995: 161] (all examples by M. Khalilov, p.c.).

There are three documented terms for 'bark':

1) derived term *y=ic-al-o*;

2) primary stem *beš* {беш} with polysemy: 'bark / shell / skin' [Khalilov 1995: 45, 311; Madieva 1965: 150];

3) borrowed term *qal* {хъал} with polysemy: 'bark / peel / skin' [Khalilov 1995: 259, 311; Madieva 1965: 190] < Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

Provisionally we choose *y=ic-al-o* as the basic Bezhta proper term, because there are two textual examples for it: "dry bark", "to peel bark from tree" [Khalilov 1995: 123]. Only one example is available for *qal*: "thin bark" [Khalilov 1995: 259], and no examples for *beš*. It should be noted that *beš* is the basic term for 'human skin' q.v.

Distinct from *λ'eq'a* {къкъа} 'patch (a piece of cloth)' [Khalilov 1995: 163].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; M. Khalilov, p.c.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412], *ricalo* is also quoted as one of the Khoshar-Khota terms for 'bark' (directly corresponds to Bezhta proper *y=ic-al-o*).

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

There are two Tlyadal terms for 'bark', quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] as synonyms: *λ'eq'ä* and *qar*. Additionally, M. Khalilov (p.c.) quotes the Avar loanword *qal* 'bark'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. Theoretically *qar* could be a corruption of Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

**Common Bezhta:** The stem *λ'eq'a* should be considered the Proto-Bezhta term for 'bark'.

Distinct from the Common Bezhta term for 'birch bark': Bezhta proper, Khoshar-Khota *q'eq'el-ba*, Tlyadal *q'eq'el-bä* [Khalilov 1995: 155; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97] (apparently *-ba* is the fossilized plural exponent).

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 214, 456; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. Polysemy: 'bark / peel / shell / dandruff'.

A second term is the borrowing *qal* {хъал} with polysemy: 'bark / peel / layer, coat / skin' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 358, 456] < Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

Distinct from *λ'iq'in* {къикъин} 'birch bark' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 228; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 154, 334; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. Polysemy: 'bark / peel / shell / end of loaf (горбушка)'.  
 Distinct from the borrowed term *qal* {хъал} with polysemy: 'bark / peel / layer, coat / skin' [Khalilov 1999: 251, 334] < Avar *q:al* 'peel, bark'.  
 Distinct from the more specific term *meču* {мечу} 'birch bark' [Khalilov 1999: 189, 334].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. A second term for 'bark', quoted in [Abdulaev 2014], is the Avar loanword *qal* {хъал}.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 146. Differently in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97], where the word for 'bark' is quoted as *qal* (borrowing from Avar *q:al* 'peel, bark').  
 Distinct from the more specific term *č'ita* 'birch bark' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *q<sup>w</sup>el<sup>y</sup>* {къвел} 'bark' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16, 68].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 931. Distribution: *\*q<sup>w</sup>el* A is attested as the basic term for 'bark' in all West Tsezic lects and can be safely reconstructed at least as the Proto-West Tsezic word for this meaning. As proposed in [NCED: 931], this root is retained in East Tsezic as the reduplicated stem *q'eq'el-* 'birch bark'.  
 'Bark' is a less stable item in East Tsezic. The match between Hunzib *r=ič-ul* and Bezhta proper *y=ic-al-o* plus Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *r=ic-al-o*, derived from the verb 'to peel' (< Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=ič- 'to peel, take off skin' [NCED: 265]) with the non-productive *l*-suffix, suggests that this deverbative should be the Proto-East stem for 'bark'. In the Khoshar-Khota-Tlyadal cluster, it was superseded with *\*λ'eqV*, whose original Proto-Bezhta meaning was 'patch' (as follows from the Bezhta proper data). Further to the suffixed Hinukh stem *λ'iq'i-n* 'birch bark'. No East Caucasian etymology. In many lects, inherited forms tend to be superseded with the Avar loanword (Hunzib proper, Bezhta proper, Hinukh, Kidero Dido, Sagada Dido, Inkhokwari Khwarshi).  
Replacements: {'bark' > 'crust'} (Hunzib proper), {'to peel' > 'bark'} (Hunzib proper, Bezhta proper, Khoshar-Khota Bezhta), {'skin' > 'bark'} (Bezhta proper), {'patch' > 'bark'} (Khoshar-Khota Bezhta, Tlyadal Bezhta).  
Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem quite regular.  
Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

#### 4. BELLY

Hunzib (proper) *ãχ* ~ *aχ* {*a<sup>n</sup>x*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *õχ* {*o<sup>n</sup>x*} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *oχ* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *õχ* (2), Hinukh *aχ* {*ax*} (1), Kidero Dido *aχ* {*ax*} (1), Sagada Dido *aχ* {*ax*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ãχ* {*a<sup>n</sup>x*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ãχ* {*a<sup>n</sup>x*} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*?ãχ*: (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 27, 200; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; van den Berg 1995: 284; Bokarev 1961: 150, 174. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. According to [Isakov & Khalilov 2001], however, *ãχ* means only 'belly', whereas 'stomach' is expressed by the collocation *q'am-is* *ãχ*, literally 'head of belly'. In [van den Berg 1995; Bokarev 1961], there is a different polysemy, glossed as 'belly / food'; it is not confirmed by other sources.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 213, 306; Madieva 1965: 180.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36.

**Common Bezhta:** Distinct from the Common Bezhta term for 'stomach': Bezhta proper, Tlyadal *ãχ* {*a<sup>n</sup>x*}, Khoshar-Khota *aχ* [Khalilov 1995: 35, 306; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 46, 440; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach', applied to both humans and animals.  
 Distinct from *č'ili* ~ *č'üli* {лъили, лъйли} with polysemy: 'belly / stomach / bosom (as in "in one's bosom")' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 248, 440], which is applicable specifically to humans and seems to be more rare than *aχ*.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 32, 324; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach', applied to both humans and animals.  
 Distinct from *łara* {лъара} with polysemy: 'belly / bosom (as in "in one's bosom")' [Khalilov 1999: 171, 324], which is applicable specifically to humans and seems to be used more rarely than *aχ*.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36.

Distinct from *bač<sup>m</sup>a-hala* 'stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *āχ* ~ *āχ<sup>f</sup>* {a<sup>m</sup>x} 'belly' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16]. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. The variant *āχ<sup>f</sup>* is from [Khalilova 2009].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 598. **Distribution:** Retained in all lects, usually with polysemy: 'belly / stomach', except for Proto-Bezhta, where *\*?āχ*: was superseded by *\*?āχ*: (~ *β*) in the meaning 'belly', although still retained in the meaning 'stomach'.

The root *\*?āχ*: (~ *β*), attested as the Common Bezhta term for 'belly', seems isolated in Tsezic; for possible external *comparanda* see [NCED: 676].

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root with polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

## 5. BIG

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=iq'-u* ~ *CLASS=iq':-u* {бѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=uq'-o* {ѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=üq'-ö* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=üq'-ö* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=e<sup>f</sup>zi*: ~ *CLASS=e<sup>f</sup>zi-y* {бѳѳѳѳѳѳ, бѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (2), Kidero Dido *CLASS=e<sup>f</sup>že* {бѳѳѳѳѳѳ, эѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (2), Sagada Dido *CLASS=eže* {бѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *CLASS=uq':-u* ~ *CLASS=uq'-u* {лѳѳѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *CLASS=uq':-u* ~ *CLASS=uq<sup>f</sup>-u* {лѳѳѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=uq<sup>f</sup>V*(1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 47, 190; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; van den Berg 1995: 308; Bokarev 1961: 170, 172.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 136, 296; Madieva 1965: 187. Polysemy: 'big / great / elder'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 78, 415; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. With the zero class exponent: *žezi*: < *\*?e<sup>f</sup>zi-y*.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 51, 305; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. With the zero class exponent: *žeže* < *\*?e<sup>f</sup>že*. Polysemy: 'big / elder / elderly', widely applicable.

Distinct from the more specific term *iχ-y-u* {иχѳѳѳѳѳѳ} 'large, massive' [Khalilov 1999: 130].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

Distinct from the more specific term *iχ-a-w* {иχѳѳѳѳѳѳ} 'large, massive' [Abdulaev 2014].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 93.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Bokarev 1959: 159.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *CLASS=uq':-u* ~ *CLASS=uq<sup>f</sup>-u* {лѳѳѳѳѳѳѳѳ} 'big' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 594. **Distribution:** Retained as the basic adjective for 'big' in all lects, except for Hinukh and Dido. In Dido, *\*CLASS=uq<sup>f</sup>V* shifted to the meaning 'many' q.v., having been lost in Hinukh.

In Hinukh and Dido, *\*CLASS=uq<sup>f</sup>V* was superseded with *\*CLASS=ižV* ~ *-ž*: B [NCED: 653], whose original meaning was something like 'many, numerous' *vel sim.*, cf. sub 'many'. Apparently, parallel contact-driven introductions in Hinukh and Dido may be suspected.

**Replacements:** {'big' > 'many'} (Kidero Dido, Sagada Dido).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for the root vowel in Hunzib.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary adjective root.

## 6. BIRD

Hunzib (proper) *čeq* {чѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mihna* {мигѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *mihna* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *mi:nä* (2), Hinukh *mihna* {мигѳѳѳѳѳѳ} (2), Kidero Dido *avi*

{агъу} (3), Sagada Dido *ави* {агъу} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *k'eca* {κΙεца, κΙэца} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *k'ica* ~ *k'ica* {κΙица} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*mih̄nV* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 179, 227; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; van den Berg 1995: 293; Bokarev 1961: 169, 179.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 195, 331; Madieva 1965: 176.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86. Polysemy: 'small bird / young of animal' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 219]. No generic terms for 'bird' or 'large bird'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 266, 506; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86. Polysemy: 'small bird / young of animal'. No generic terms for 'bird' or 'large bird'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 24, 366; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 85. In [Khalilov 1999], glossed as generic 'bird'; in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], as 'small bird'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** Mokok Dido *le'u* {лету} 'bird' [Khalilov 1999: 170, 366]; it is not clear from Khalilov's gloss whether this is a generic Mokok term for 'bird' or a specific one for 'a k. of bird'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 7; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 90.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 7; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 85; Bokarev 1959: 147. The variant *k'ica* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Bokarev 1959].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *k'uca* ~ *k'ica* {κΙуца} 'bird' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 7]. In [Karimova 2014], only *k'uca* is quoted.

**Proto-Tsezic: Distribution:** At least several of the attested Tsezic languages display the lexical opposition between a term for 'small/middle bird (in general)' and various terms for specific kinds of large (predatory) birds. It is very likely that such a system is to be projected onto the Proto-Tsezic level.

The formal match between Bezhta *mih̄na* 'bird' and Hinukh *mih̄na* 'small bird / young of animal' makes *\*mih̄nV* the main candidate for the status of Proto-Tsezic. In Hunzib, this stem is reflected as *mina* 'young of animal (incl. nestling)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 123]. Probably one should reconstruct *\*mih̄nV* with Proto-Tsezic polysemy: 'small bird / young of animal', retained in Hinukh, but eliminated in different ways in Bezhta and Hunzib. No North Caucasian external etymology for Proto-Tsezic *\*mih̄nV* is available. It must be noted that theoretically *\*mih̄nV* with the meaning '(small) bird' can only be an East Tsezic feature, whereas Hinukh *mih̄na* 'small bird / young of animal' arose under the influence of East Tsezic.

In other languages, three different forms for '(small) bird' are used; each of them seems to be isolated in Tsezic:

1) Hunzib *č'eq* < Proto-Tsezic *\*č'eq* < North Caucasian 'a kind of small bird' [NCED: 1105].

2) Dido *ави* with a very weak external (Avar) *comparandum* [NCED: 511]; *pace* [NCED: 511], Hunzib *āχ* 'bird' does not exist.

3) Khwarshi *k'eca* < Proto-Tsezic *\*k'ica* (~ *-i-*) < North Caucasian 'a kind of small bird' [NCED: 442].

Replacements: {'a kind of small bird' > 'bird'} (Hunzib, Khwarshi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root with polysemy: 'small bird / young of animal'.

## 7. BITE

Hunzib (proper) *silə n=iya:* (1), Bezhta (proper) *sila gul* {сила гулал} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *sila gul* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *sila r=аво* (1), Hinukh *hil-* {гъила} (2), Kidero Dido *han* {хІана} (2), Sagada Dido *хан* {хана} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *han* {хІа<sup>н</sup>на} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *han* {гъа<sup>н</sup>на} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*he'n-* ~ *\*he'l-* (2).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 148 sub *sinlo*; van den Berg 1995: 332. Applied to both humans and animals (e.g., a dog). Literally 'to beat the tooth to/for smth.' with *silo* 'tooth' q.v. and CLASS=*iya*: 'to beat' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 190; van den Berg 1995: 307] (for denasalization CLASS= $\tilde{V}$ ... > CLASS=V... see [van den Berg 1995: 31]).

Distinct from *gāžu y=ahu* 'to bite', applied specifically to dogs [van den Berg 1995: 297], literally 'to take away the fang' with *gāžu* 'animal fang' and CLASS=*ahu* 'to take away, take off, seize' [van den Berg 1995: 284].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 230, 313; Madieva 1965: 185. Literally 'to put the tooth' with *sila* 'tooth' q.v. and *gVI* 'to put, set' [Khalilov 1995: 64].

Cf. the parallel expression *sila y=awo* {сила йагъал} 'to bite off' [Khalilov 1995: 230], literally 'to take out the tooth' with CLASS=*awo* 'to take out' [Khalilov 1995: 105].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159. Literally 'to put the tooth' with *sila* 'tooth' q.v. and *gVI* 'to put' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 89].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159. Literally 'to take away the tooth' with *sila* 'tooth' q.v. and CLASS=*awo* 'to take away' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 70].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 143, 459. Polysemy: 'to bite / to bite off / to sting'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 263, 389. Polysemy: 'to bite / to bite off'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** Asakh Dido *хан* {хана} 'to bite' [Khalilov 1999: 263].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 116. Applied to both humans and animals (e.g., a dog).

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *han* {гъа^на} 'to bite' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 255]. Applied to both humans and animals (e.g., a dog).

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 625. Distribution: Retained as the basic term in West Tsezic (Hinukh, Dido, Khwarshi), but lost in East Tsezic (Hunzib, Bezhta). In East Tsezic, this verb was superseded by descriptive constructions with *\*s:il* 'tooth' q.v. and the verbs 'to beat' and 'to put', which are apparently secondary.

Replacements: {'to beat the tooth to/for smth.' > 'to bite'} (Hunzib); {'to put the tooth' > 'to bite'} (Bezhta).

Reconstruction shape: The irregular correspondence *-n* (Dido, Khwarshi) ~ *-l* (Hinukh) remains inexplicable, although there is little doubt that the attested West Tsezic forms are related to each other. If the external etymology proposed in [NCED: 625] is correct (< North Caucasian *\*=i<sup>2</sup>VI*), *\*he<sup>l</sup>*- is the original Proto-Tsezic variant retained in Hinukh, although it is actually *\*he<sup>n</sup>*- that shows a broader distribution (Dido, Khwarshi).

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem.

## 8. BLACK

Hunzib (proper) *c'adi-l-u* {ц'адилу} (1), Bezhta (proper) *c'odo-l-o* {ц'одоло} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *c'odo-l-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *c'odo-l-o* (1), Hinukh *kaba-d:-u* {кабадду} (2), Kidero Dido *q'aba* {х'аб'а} (2), Sagada Dido *q'aba* {х'аб'а} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *kaba* {каба} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ka<sup>l</sup>ba* {кал'ба} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*c'ədV-l* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 175; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; van den Berg 1995: 291, 349; Bokarev 1961: 169, 182. Final *-l* is a historical suffix.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 273, 346; Madieva 1965: 192.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

**Common Bezhta:** Final *-l* is a historical suffix.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 191, 547; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Forker 2013: 172. Historically *\*kaba-diy-u*, cf. the synonymical adjective *kaba-du-ka* 'black' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 191], for the adjective suffixes *-diy-u* / *-duk'a* see [Forker 2013: 183].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 252, 395; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 112; Khalilova 2009: 8.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ka'ba* {kaI6a} 'black' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 8].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 379. **Distribution:** Two forms enter into competition:

1) \**c'adV-l-* [NCED: 379], meaning 'black' in East Tsezic (Hunzib, Bezhta), lost in West Tsezic;

2) \**ka'ba*, meaning 'black' in West Tsezic (Hinukh, Dido, Khwarshi), lost in East Tsezic.

Since \**c'adV-l-* has promising external *comparanda* (Andian 'blackberry', Dargi 'black'), whereas \**ka'ba* has no North Caucasian etymology, \**c'adV-l-* can be postulated with more probability as the Proto-Tsezic term for 'black'.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Adjective stem with the common *l-* suffix.

## 9. BLOOD

Hunzib (proper) *hāy* {zba<sup>u</sup>ū} (1), Bezhta (proper) *hē* {zbe<sup>u</sup>} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *hē* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *hē* (1), Hinukh *i*: {ū} (1), Kidero Dido *e* {ə} (1), Sagada Dido *iyo* {uūo} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ĩq<sup>w</sup>a* ~ *iq<sup>w</sup>a* {u<sup>u</sup>κ<sup>o</sup>βα} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ēq<sup>o</sup>* {ə<sup>u</sup>κ<sup>o</sup>βo} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**hōy* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 63, 208; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; van den Berg 1995: 301; Bokarev 1961: 153, 176.

Paradigm: *hāy* [abs.] / *hāya-s* [gen.].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 81, 312; Madieva 1965: 157. Paradigm: *hē* [abs.] / *hēya-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48. Paradigm: *hē* [abs.] / *hēya-s* [gen.].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48. Paradigm: *hē* [abs.] / *hēyθ-š* [gen.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 188, 458; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48. Paradigm: *i*: [abs.] / *i:-š* ~ *iya-s* [gen.].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 295, 336; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48. Paradigm: *e* [abs.] / *eyo-s* [gen.].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** Mokok Dido *iyo* {uūo} 'blood' [Khalilov 1999: 295, 336].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 89; Khalilova 2009: 5.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Bokarev 1959: 160.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ēq<sup>o</sup>* ~ *ēq<sup>o</sup>* {ə<sup>u</sup>κ<sup>o</sup>βo} 'blood' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5, 16]. The variant *ēq<sup>o</sup>* is from [Khalilova 2009].

**Common Khwarshi:** Historically *ĩ-q<sup>w</sup>a*, *ē-q<sup>o</sup>*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 496. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for the unclear element *-q<sup>w</sup>a* ~ *-q<sup>o</sup>* in Khwarshi, which is either a unique suffix or an unknown root, compounded with \**hōy*.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is \**hēya-*.

## 10. BONE

Hunzib (proper) *lōra* {lIo<sup>u</sup>pa} (1), Bezhta (proper) *lōwä* {lIo<sup>u</sup>βav} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *lōrā* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *lōrā* (1), Hinukh *λuzey* {λIy<sup>u</sup>jeū} (1), Kidero Dido *q<sup>o</sup>aq<sup>u</sup>* ~ *q<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>u</sup>* {κ<sup>o</sup>βαIκ<sup>u</sup>βyI} (2), Sagada Dido *λurza* {λIypza} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *λazal* {λIazal} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *λozol* {λIo<sup>o</sup>zol} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**l<sup>u</sup>irVB* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 115, 207; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38; van den Berg 1995: 316.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 187, 312; Madieva 1965: 174. Paradigm: *lōwä* [abs.] / *lōy-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38.

**Common Bezhta:** The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 254, 457; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38.

A second candidate is *q<sup>w</sup>aq'u* {кѡвакѡу} 'bone' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 213, 457]; the difference between *λužey* and *q<sup>w</sup>aq'u* is unclear, but the latter seems more marginal, because it is missing from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. The same word with loss of labialization is documented as *q'aq'u* {кѡакѡу}, which is glossed as 'collarbone' in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 211] and as 'round end of bone' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 147, 335; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38. In [Khalilov 1999], quoted as *q<sup>č</sup>aq'u*, a generic term with polysemy: 'bone / cabbage stalk' (the generic semantics follows from such textual examples as "phalanx", "forearm bone", "The dog gnaws at a bone"). In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], quoted as *q<sup>w</sup>aq'u* and specified as 'non-tubular bone in general'.

Distinct from *λuza*, obl. *λuza-* {луза}, glossed in [Khalilov 1999: 180] as generic 'bone', but marked as rarely used; on the contrary, in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38], *λuza* is quoted as a generic term for 'tubular bone'.

It is likely that the analysis in [Khalilov 1999] is more correct, implying that in Proto-Dido, *λuza* was the basic term for 'bone', but currently it is being superseded by *q<sup>(w)</sup>aq'u*.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 38.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *λozol* {лОзол} 'bone' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 528. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects, although in Kidero Dido it is obsolete, being superseded by *\*q<sup>w</sup>āq'u* [NCED: 907], whose original Proto-Tsezic meaning was 'a kind of bone', perhaps 'tubular bone (in general)'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the consonant metathesis in the oblique stem.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *\*λ<sup>w</sup>irV-zV-*, which was eliminated, i.e., levelled after the direct stem in East Tsezic (Hunzib, Bezhta). In West Tsezic (Hinukh, Dido, Khwarshi), oblique *\*λ<sup>w</sup>irV-zV-* was metathesized > *\*λ<sup>w</sup>izV-rV-*, whereupon the direct stems in individual lects were levelled: Hinukh *λužey*, Kidero Dido *λuza* are back-formations; Khwarshi proper *λazal*, Inkhokwari Khwarshi *λozol* continue oblique *\*λ<sup>w</sup>izV-rV-*. It is interesting that due to the Sagada Dido direct stem *λurza*, which directly goes back to oblique *\*λ<sup>w</sup>irV-zV-*, this metathesis in the oblique stem *\*λ<sup>w</sup>irV-zV-* > *\*λ<sup>w</sup>izV-rV-* cannot be projected onto the Proto-West Tsezic level - more likely, we are dealing with late contact-driven rebuildings of the paradigm in individual West Tsezic lects. Cf. similar rebuildings of the original paradigm in the words for 'eye', 'hand' q.v.

## 11. BREAST

Hunzib (proper) *βeru* {гѡβery} (1), Bezhta (proper) *βeyo* {гѡβейо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *βero* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *βerö* (1), Hinukh *χema* ~ *χema-rok<sup>w</sup>e* {χема-рокIβe} (2), Kidero Dido *hamori* ~ *hamo-rok'u* {xIамори, xIаморокIу} (2), Sagada Dido *hamo-rok'u* {xIаморокIу} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *hele-lok<sup>w</sup>a* {xIелелокIβa} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *humay-lok'o* {гѡу<sup>u</sup>майлокIо} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*χimV* ~ *\*χimV-rV* (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 59, 197; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; van den Berg 1995: 300; Bokarev 1961: 154, 174. Meaning 'male breast'.

Distinct from the nursery word *nene* {нене} with polysemy: 'female breast / udder' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 132, 197; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; van den Berg 1995: 321; Bokarev 1961: 162].

Distinct from *χimər* {хымәр} 'brisket' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 165; van den Berg 1995: 341].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 68, 302; Madiëva 1965: 155.

Distinct from the more rare term *χoma*: {χомā}, glossed as 'breast, thoracic cage' in [Khalilov 1995: 256], not quoted in [Madiëva 1965].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22.

**Common Bezhta:** The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.].

Distinct from Common Bezhta *nene* with polysemy: 'female breast / udder' [Khalilov 1995: 205; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 349, 432; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22. The simple form *χema* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], whereas the compound *χema-rok<sup>w</sup>e ~ χema-rok'e ~ χomo-rok<sup>w</sup>e* (with polysemy: 'breast / brisket') is quoted in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005], literally 'chest-heart' with *rok<sup>w</sup>e* 'heart' q.v.

Distinct from *t'um* 'female breast' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 340, 432; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 262, 263, 317; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22.

Distinct from the nursery word *kiki* {кики} 'female breast' [Khalilov 1999: 139, 317; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** The compound *hamo-rok'u* literally means 'breast-heart'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

Distinct from nursery *kaka* 'female breast' [Bokarev 1959: 147].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Bokarev 1959: 149], only the loanword *nixi* 'breast' is quoted (<Tindi *nixi* 'breast').

Distinct from the nursery word *koko* 'female breast / nipple' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Bokarev 1959: 147, 149, 151].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *humo-lok'o* {гьумолок'о} 'breast' [Karimova 2014].

**Common Khwarshi:** The second element of the compounds (*-lok<sup>w</sup>a, -lok'o*) means 'heart' q.v.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 829. Distribution: Attested with or without the *r-*suffix as the basic term in all West Tsezic lects, except for Khwarshi proper. Normally 'breast' is expressed by synchronic compounds of *\*χimV(-rV)* and the word for 'heart', although plain *\*χimV(-rV)* is also attested in West Tsezic (the compound pattern looks like a late West Tsezic areal isogloss). This stem is also present in East Tsezic as Hunzib proper *χimər* 'brisket' and Bezhta proper *χoma*: 'thoracic cage'. It is unclear whether *χimər* and *χoma*: represent borrowings from West Tsezic or inherited forms. Initial *χ* speaks in favor of borrowed origin, because normally Proto-Tsezic *\*χ* > Proto-East Tsezic *\*ɣ* [NCED: 112]. On the other hand, no compatible West Tsezic forms that could be the source of hypothetical borrowing are attested, whereas the vowels of East Tsezic *χimər* and *χoma*: suggest an inherited origin (this is especially true of *i* in *χimər*).

Additionally, in Hinukh, the form *vomō* 'udder' is attested [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 131]; it is probably related to the discussed forms and therefore could represent borrowing in the opposite direction: Bezhta > Hinukh (although no such forms are attested in Bezhta).

A second candidate for Proto-Tsezic 'breast' is *\*χeru* A [NCED: 465], which means 'breast' in all East Tsezic lects (can be safely postulated as the Proto-East Tsezic term for this meaning) and in one of the West Tsezic lects, namely Khwarshi proper, where the compound *hele-lok<sup>w</sup>a*, literally *\*χeru*-heart' is used. At first sight, *\*χeru* has the advantage over *\*χimV(-rV)* from the distributional point of view, but in fact it is hard to suppose that *\*χeru* was the Proto-West Tsezic term for 'breast', which only survived in Khwarshi proper, having been superseded in the rest of the lects.

Since *\*χimV(-rV)* possesses very good external North Caucasian *comparanda* with the meaning 'breast' [NCED: 829], we fill the Proto-Tsezic slot with *\*χimV(-rV)*. The Proto-Tsezic or at least Proto-West Tsezic meaning of the competing term *\*χeru* is unclear. Its 'non-breast' semantics is attested in Dido proper (*hiro* 'shoulder'); on the other hand, external North Caucasian *comparanda* point to a meaning like 'udder' [NCED: 465]. The use of *\*χeru* in the Khwarshi proper compound for 'breast' remains inexplicable, but we suppose that it is a secondary phenomenon.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, optionally modified with the suffix *-rV*.

## 12. BURN TR.

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=ek'e-k'* {бекIekIa} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=ek'e-l* {үекIелал} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=ek'e-l* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=ek'e-l* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=ek<sup>w</sup>e-r* {бекIвepa} (1), Kidero Dido *CLASS=ik'u-r* {үүкIypa} (1), Sagada Dido *CLASS=ik'u-r* {пукIypa} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *CLASS=ak<sup>w</sup> ~ CLASS=ak<sup>w</sup>a-χ* {лакIва, лакIваха} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *CLASS=ok' ~ CLASS=ok'-χ* {локIa, локIxa} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=ek<sup>w</sup>V ~ \*CLASS=ek<sup>w</sup>V-IB* (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 35, 200; van den Berg 1995: 295; Bokarev 1961: 170, 174. Causative from CLASS=*ek'e* {бекIа} 'to burn (intrans.)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 35, 197; van den Berg 1995: 295; Bokarev 1961: 170, 173].

Cf. the more specific verb *tehe* {лъегъа} 'to burn (intrans.)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 197; van den Berg 1995: 315; Bokarev 1961: 160, 173], application is unknown.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 115, 306; Madieva 1965: 160. Polysemy: 'to burn (trans.) / to warm, heat (trans.)'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95.

**Common Bezhta:** Regular causative from the Common Bezhta verb CLASS=*ek'e* 'to burn (intr.)' [Khalilov 1995: 115; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 68, 440. Regular causative from CLASS=*ek'w'e* {бекIва} 'to burn (intr.)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 68].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 105 sub *лам*. Found in only one example: "to burn charcoal".

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** Regular causative from Kidero CLASS=*ik'u*, Asakh CLASS=*ik'wV* {бикIа, бикIва} 'to burn (intr.)' [Khalilov 1999: 57].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117; Bokarev 1959: 166.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS=*ok'* ~ CLASS=*ok'-χ* {локIа, локIха} 'to burn' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 85, 246, 275, 338].

**Common Khwarshi:** Simple =*ak'w*, =*ok'* are labile verbs with polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'. The parallel stems in -(*a*)χ are regular causative formations 'to burn (trans.)'; for the causative suffix -χ see [Khalilova 2009: 272].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 632. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in the meaning 'to burn (intrans.)' in all Tsezic lects. The transitive meaning is expressed by synchronic causative forms (with different causative suffixes in individual lects), although in Khwarshi dialects plain \*CLASS=*ek'wV* additionally functions as a labile verb.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Either the labile verbs \*CLASS=*ek'wV*, with polysemy 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)' already in Proto-Tsezic, or the causative \*CLASS=*ek'wV-l* is to be reconstructed for Proto-Tsezic (later, the Proto-Tsezic causative exponent -*l* was replaced by synchronic causative suffixes in Hunzib and Khwarshi).

## 13. CLAW (NAIL)

Hunzib (proper) *malu* {мáлу} (1), Bezhta (proper) *miʔo* {милʔо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *miʔo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *miʔo* (1), Hinukh *moʔu* {молʔу} (1), Kidero Dido *moʔtu* {моIʔу} (1), Sagada Dido *moʔtu* {молʔу} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *muʔtu* {мулʔу} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *monu* {мону} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**mɔʔʔu* A (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 117; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; van den Berg 1995: 319; Bokarev 1961: 161, 178. Paradigm: *malu* [abs.] / *mila-s* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'nail / claw / hoof'. In [Isakov & Khalilov 2001; Bokarev 1961], quoted as *malu* {мáлу}.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 320; Madieva 1965: 176.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33. Polysemy: 'fingernail / hoof'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33. Polysemy: 'fingernail / hoof'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 268, 477; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33. Polysemy: 'fingernail / claw / hook / fishing rod / (dinner) fork'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 192, 348; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33. Polysemy: 'fingernail / heel (of rooster) / hook / fishing rod'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Bokarev 1959: 150, 151.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *munu* {муну} 'fingernail' [Karimova 2014].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 814. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the nasal assimilation  $l > n$  in Inkhokwari Khwarshi and the vowel  $i$  in Bezhta due to influence of the oblique stem.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *\*miʔza* A.

## 14. CLOUD

Hunzib (proper) *has* ~ *has-mus* {звас, звасмыс} (1), Bezhta (proper) *has-mus* {звас-мыс} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *has-mus* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *has-mus* (1), Hinukh *as* {ac} (1), Kidero Dido *as* {ac} (1), Sagada Dido *as* {ac} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *as* {ac} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *as* {ac} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*has*: (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 63, 217; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; van den Berg 1995: 301; Bokarev 1961: 153. Apparently, *has* with polysemy: 'sky / cloud / fog'; *has-mus* with polysemy: 'cloud / fog'. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], *has* means 'sky / fog', whereas *has-mus* is a specific term for 'cloud'. In [van den Berg 1995], *has-mus* is glossed as 'horizon'. The second element *mus* is unattested outside this compound (its original meaning was 'a k. of smoke' *vel sim.*, see [NCED: 836]).

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 321; M. Khalilov, p.c. However, in the main section of the dictionary [Khalilov 1995: 74] *has-mus* is glossed with polysemy: 'universe / fog'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205.

**Common Bezhta:** Polysemy: 'cloud / fog' in all the dialect. The form *has-mus* is a compound of Common Bezhta *has* 'sky' (in Bezhta proper polysemy 'sky / fog') [Khalilov 1995: 74; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197] + *mus* 'smoke with soot' (see sub 'smoke').

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 44, 479; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. Polysemy: 'sky / cloud / fog / walleye'.

Distinct from the specific term *zami* {жангыи} 'fog' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 166, 535].

Cf. also *kuʔi*, which is glossed with polysemy 'fog / smoke' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205], but only as 'smoke' in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 208].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 30; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. Polysemy: 'sky / cloud / fog / walleye'. Cf. the attested example: "[He is like] a white cloud before the sun" [Khalilov 1999: 298].

Cf. also *guʔ*, which is glossed with polysemy 'fog / smoke' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205], but only as 'smoke' in [Khalilov 1999: 87].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** Mokok Dido *as-kot'u* 'cloud' [Khalilov 1999: 30], literally 'sky beard / sky tow', a compound with *koʔu* 'long beard / tow prepared for spinning (кудель)' [Khalilov 1999: 141].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. Polysemy: 'cloud / fog'.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *as* {ac} with polysemy: 'cloud / sky' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 110, 265].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 243. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 15. COLD

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=ačʔ:-u* {б̄ачIуIy} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=äčʔ:-ö* {üabчIуIob} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *äčʔ-iy-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=äčʔ:-ö* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=očʔ:-u* {б̄очIуIy} (1), Kidero Dido *CLASS=očʔ-y-u* {б̄очIüy} (1), Sagada Dido *CLASS=očʔ-a-w* {б̄очIaө} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *CLASS=uyçʔ-a* {лыӱчIa} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *CLASS=ucʔ:-u* {лычIуIy} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=ɬčʔ-y-A* (1).

## References and notes:

- Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 34, 242; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; van den Berg 1995: 284; Bokarev 1961: 149, 182. Applied to both objects and weather.
- Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 111, 345. Applied to both objects and weather. Also functions as a nominalized lexeme:  $y=\ddot{a}\ddot{c}:-\ddot{o}$  'cold (subst.)' [Khalilov 1995: 111; Madieva 1965: 196].
- Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Class inflection is not noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].
- Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.
- Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 103, 544; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Applied to both objects and weather.
- Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 70, 393; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Applied to both objects and weather.
- Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.
- Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Asakh CLASS= $o\ddot{c}-i-y$  {бочИий} 'cold' [Khalilov 1999: 70], Mokok CLASS= $o\ddot{c}-i-w$  {бочИив} 'cold' [Khalilov 1999: 70].
- Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.
- Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Bokarev 1959: 158, 159.
- Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS= $uc:-u$  {лупИцИу} 'cold' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 104, 301]. Applied to both objects and weather.
- Common Khwarshi:**  $-yc'-, -c':- < *c'-y-$ . Past participle in  $-y-$  from the verb that is documented as Kwantlada Khwarshi CLASS= $uc'$  'to be(come) cold' [Khalilova 2009: 321].
- Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 393. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic stems, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.
- Reconstruction shape: Some phonetic outcomes are irregular:  $\ddot{c}$  instead of expected  $c'$  in Hinukh,  $c'$  instead of expected  $\ddot{c}$  in Khwarshi.
- Semantics and structure: Participle with the regular  $y-$  suffix from the stative verb  $*CLASS=\ddot{c}(V)-$  'to be cold, become cold', which is retained as a synchronic verb at least in Kwantlada Khwarshi.

## 16. COME

Hunzib (proper) CLASS= $\ddot{a}q'e$  {макѳа} (1), Bezhta (proper) CLASS= $\ddot{o}q'o$  {йо<sup>н</sup>кѳал} (1) / *goh* {говал} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS= $oq'o$  (1) / *go:* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS= $\ddot{o}q'o$  (1), Hinukh CLASS= $aq'e$  {бакѳа} (1) / *noχ* {ноха} (3), Kidero Dido CLASS= $ayi$  {байа} (1) / *neχ* {неха} (3), Sagada Dido CLASS= $aq'i$  {бакѳа} (1), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS= $at'iq'$  {амИикѳа} (4) / CLASS= $iχ^w$  {лухѳа} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS= $ot'q'$  {омИкѳа} (4) / CLASS= $uχ$  {уха} (3), Proto-Tsezic  $*CLASS=\ddot{a}q'V$  (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 117; van den Berg 1995: 284; Bokarev 1961: 150, 179. Polysemy: 'to come / to arrive / to ripen (of fruit) / to go to smb.'s head (of alcohol)'. According to numerous examples found in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001], this is the basic verb for 'to come' at least in the Hunzib proper dialect.

Distinct from  $n=x$ : [class 1] /  $n=i$ : [2] /  $n=u$ : [4, pl.] {нѳа, ниа, нѳа} 'to come (here)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 226; van den Berg 1995: 33, 78, 322, 353; Bokarev 1961: 162, 179]. Originates from something like  $*nV=CLASS=x$ ; initial  $n=$  is a fossilized directional prefix [van den Berg 1995: 353].

Semantic or pragmatic difference between CLASS= $\ddot{a}q'e$  and  $n=x$  is unclear, the latter seems to be missing from the main section of [Isakov & Khalilov 2001].

Cf. with another directional prefix:  $g=x$ : [1] /  $g=i$ : [2] /  $g=u$ : [4, pl.] {гѳа} 'to come down (of precipitation)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 56; van den Berg 1995: 299, 353];  $< *gV=CLASS=x$ ;  $g=$  is a fossilized directional prefix 'down' [van den Berg 1995: 353]. It should be noted that for the Naxada dialect,  $g=x$  is glossed as generic 'to come (here)' [van den Berg 1995: 299, 353].

Distinct from the imperative  $t=as$  [1] /  $t=is$  [2] /  $t=us$  [4, pl.] 'come with me! / come to me!' [van den Berg 1995: 336, 353;

Bokarev 1961: 165] with another fossilized directional prefix, *t=*.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 329; M. Khalilov, p.c.; Madieva 1965: 180. Polysemy: 'to come / to bring / to marry'. It should be noted that in the main section of the dictionary [Khalilov 1995: 133], the meaning 'to come' is not quoted.

There are two verbs for 'to go' quoted in [Khalilov 1995: 329]:  $=\tilde{o}q'o$  and  $g=Vh$ . We treat them as synonyms. Khalilov 1995: 62, 329. Synchronously, with an ablaut paradigm: prs.  $g=o:-s$  [class 1] /  $g=i:-s$  [2] /  $g=u:-s$  [3]; inv.  $g=oh$  [1] /  $g=ih$  [2] /  $g=uh$  [3]. Originates from something like  $*g(V)=CLASS=oh$ ; initial  $g=$  is a fossilized directional prefix.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Polysemy: 'to go / to come / to reach, get to / to flow'. Morphophonologically  $=\tilde{o}q'o$ , for old nasalization cf. the class 3 form  $m=oq'o-$  <  $*b=\tilde{o}q'o-$ .

There are two verbs for 'to go' quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]:  $=oq'o$  and  $g=V$ . We treat them as synonyms. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Synchronously, with an ablaut paradigm:  $g=o:-$  [class 1] /  $g=i:-$  [2, 5] /  $g=u:-$  [3, 4]. Originates from something like  $*gV=CLASS=o$ ; initial  $g=$  is a fossilized directional prefix.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Polysemy: 'to come / to reach, get to / to get, receive'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 54, 503.

There are two verbs for 'to come' quoted in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 503]:  $CLASS=aq'e$  and  $no\chi$ . The exact difference between them is unknown; browsing through available sources confirms that both are used quite frequently. We are obliged to treat them as synonyms. Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 281, 503. Polysemy: 'to come / to fly here'. Historically  $n=o\chi$ , where initial  $n=$  is a fossilized directional prefix.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 36, 364.

A second candidate, found in [Khalilov 1999], is  $ne\chi$  'to come'. We treat both verbs as synonyms. Khalilov 1999: 198, 364. Polysemy: 'to come / to fly here'. Historically  $n=e\chi$ , where initial  $n=$  is a fossilized directional prefix.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 95, 96, 101, 103, 104, 106, 113. Cf. the examples: "The woman has come" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 95]; "With the woman, her daughter has come" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 101]; "He has returned from the city" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 103].

The difference between two documented verbs for 'to come',  $=at'iq'$  &  $=i\chi^w$ , is unclear; we have to treat them as synonyms. Karimova 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 26.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014. The difference between two documented verbs for 'to come',  $=ot'q'$  &  $=u\chi$ , is unclear; we have to treat them as synonyms.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:**  $CLASS=ot'q'$  {откъа} 'to come' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 181]. As in other Khwarshi varieties, there are two known verbs for 'to come':  $CLASS=ot'q'$  and  $CLASS=u\chi \sim CLASS=u\chi^f$  {yxa} [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 32, 43]. Browsing through textual examples in [Khalilova 2009] suggests that (1)  $=ot'q'$  and  $=u\chi$  are complete or almost complete synonyms in the meaning 'to come'; (2)  $=ot'q'$  is used much more frequently than  $=u\chi$ .

Cf. an example in which two verbs are used in parallel constructions: "...the Bagwalals came ( $=ot'q'$ ), the Echedas came ( $=ot'q'$ ), other people also came ( $=u\chi$ ) from around from other villages ..." [Khalilova 2009: 95].

Other attested examples for  $=ot'q'$  'to come' are: e.g., "That man came to our village" [Khalilova 2009: 42]; "My children came" [Khalilova 2009: 44]; "The manual machine gunner who was in Manchuria came back having hurt his legs" [Khalilova 2009: 75]; "The giant came there while they were sitting under the tree" [Khalilova 2009: 77]; "The wolf came near the apple tree" [Khalilova 2009: 87]; "When he came near the house, and before going inside, he ..." [Khalilova 2009: 90]; "The eldest (girl) came" [Khalilova 2009: 99]; "There, the man who sells watermelon came" [Khalilova 2009: 116].

On the contrary, available examples for  $=u\chi$  'to come' are rather scant; cf. "Hey people, come, there is something in my eye, take it out" [Khalilova 2009: 73], "Put the food over there, I will come to eat" [Khalilova 2009: 116], "Then the wolf went from there to the donkey" [Khalilova 2009: 118], "When (donkey) went from uphill down the hill, (donkey) met a horse" [Khalilova 2009: 120]. Karimova 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 26; Bokarev 1959: 163, 167.

**Common Khwarshi:** The morphological structure of  $=Vt(i)q'$  'to come' is unclear.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 611. Distribution: Retained in the basic meaning 'to come' in all Tsezic lects except for the Khwarshi dialects, where  $*CLASS=\tilde{a}qV$  was superseded by the verb  $CLASS=Vt(i)q'$ , which is unclear both morphologically and etymologically.

Apparently, already in Proto-East Tsezic  $*CLASS=\tilde{a}qV$  started to compete with the non-standard verb  $*DIR=CLASS=VH$  [NCED: 1016], where  $*DIR=$  is a directional prefix. In modern East Tsezic lects both verbs for 'to come' function as synonyms with unclear distribution, although  $*CLASS=\tilde{a}qV-$  seems to be more common. In West Tsezic,  $*=VH$  is not attested; the original Proto-Tsezic meaning of  $*=VH$  is unclear.

A similar situation is observed in the West Tsezic group. Apparently, already in Proto-West Tsezic  $*CLASS=\tilde{a}qV-$  began to compete with the verb  $*CLASS=u\chi^w$ - B [NCED: 666], which is sometimes attested with the fossilized directional  $n$ -prefix (Hinukh, Dido). In modern West Tsezic lects, both verbs for 'to come' function as synonyms with unclear distribution, although  $*CLASS=\tilde{a}qV-$  seems to be more common. In East Tsezic,  $*=u\chi^w-$  is not attested; the original Proto-

Tsezic meaning of  $*=u\chi^w$  is unclear.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for some vocalic peculiarities.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

## 17. DIE

Hunzib (proper) CLASS= $uhu$  ~ CLASS= $uh$  { $\delta yzba$ } (1), Bezhta (proper) CLASS= $u\kappa o$  { $\dot{u}yzba\lambda$ } (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS= $u\kappa o$  (1), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS= $u\kappa o$  (1), Hinukh CLASS= $uhe$  { $\delta yzba$ } (1), Kidero Dido CLASS= $e\chi u$  { $\delta exa$ } (1), Sagada Dido CLASS= $e\chi u$  ~ CLASS= $e\chi^w$  { $\delta exba$ } (1), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS= $ih$  { $\delta uzb a$ } (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS= $uh$  { $yzb a$ } (1), Proto-Tsezic  $*CLASS=i\chi^w V$  (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 44, 240; van den Berg 1995: 337; Bokarev 1961: 166, 181. Polysemy: 'to die / to get spoilt', applied to humans, animals and objects.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 135, 343; Madieva 1965: 187. Polysemy: 'to die / to get spoiled / to get finished', applied to humans, animals, objects, time periods.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169. Polysemy: 'to die / to get spoiled'.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 104, 539. Polysemy: 'to die / to get spoilt'.

Distinct from euphemistic CLASS= $ik'e-t$  { $\text{бик'ел'ъа}$ } with polysemy: 'to get lost, disappear / to die' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 84].

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 48, 390. Polysemy: 'to die / to get spoilt'.

Distinct from rarer, stylistically marked synonyms: rude  $geg$  { $\text{rera}$ } with polysemy: 'to get squashed / to get broken / to die' [Khalilov 1999: 81], rude  $\dot{t}iqu$  { $\text{л'их'ъа}$ } with polysemy: 'to dry (intrans.) / to die' [Khalilov 1999: 175], rude  $\kappa ut'$  { $\text{г'ут'ла}$ } 'to die (only of animals?)' [Khalilov 1999: 94], polite  $kec$  { $\text{кеца}$ } with polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep / to die' [Khalilov 1999: 138].

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido**: The same in other dialects: Asakh Dido CLASS= $e\chi^w V$  { $\delta exba$ } 'to die' [Khalilov 1999: 48].

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 105, 115; Khalilova 2009: 6.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 163.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: CLASS= $uh$  { $\text{ут'ъа}$ } 'to die' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 6, 26].

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 635. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic verbs, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Replacements: {'to die' > 'to get spoilt'} (Hunzib proper, Bezhta proper, Tlyadal Bezhta, Hinukh, Kidero Dido); {'to die' > 'to get finished'} (Bezhta proper).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verb; polysemy: 'to die / to get spoilt' can be reconstructed for Proto-Tsezic.

## 18. DOG

Hunzib (proper)  $w\delta$  { $\delta\delta$ } (1), Bezhta (proper)  $w\theta$  { $\delta\theta$ } (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta  $w\theta$  (1), Tlyadal Bezhta  $w\theta$  (1), Hinukh  $\kappa^w e$  { $\text{г'в'е}$ } (1), Kidero Dido  $\kappa^w ay$  { $\text{г'в'аl'ü}$ } (1), Sagada Dido  $\kappa^w ay$  { $\text{г'в'аl'ü}$ } (1), Khwarshi (proper)  $\kappa^w e$  { $\text{г'в'е}$ } (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi  $\kappa^w e \sim \kappa^w \tilde{e}$  { $\text{г'в'еl}$ } (1), Proto-Tsezic  $*\kappa^w \tilde{e} y$  (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 53, 233; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; van den Berg 1995: 339; Bokarev 1961: 152, 180.

Paradigm: *wə* [abs.] / *wəy-s* [gen.].

Distinct from the loanword *bahli* {бахли} 'hunting dog' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 33; van den Berg 1995: 286; Bokarev 1961: 150], borrowed from Avar *bahri* 'stray dog'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 56, 337; Madieva 1965: 153. Paradigm: *wə* [abs.] / *wəy-* [obl.].

Distinct from the loanword *bāhri* {баъри} 'stray dog' [Khalilov 1995: 42], borrowed from Avar *bahri* 'stray dog'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73. Paradigm: *wə* [abs.] / *wəy-s* [gen.].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73. Paradigm: *wə* [abs.] / *wəy-s* [gen.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 127, 523; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73. Paradigm: *w<sup>ve</sup>* [abs.] / *w<sup>ve</sup>y(i)-š* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'dog / prickly burdock flowerhead that clings to animals and clothes'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 90, 377; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73.

Distinct from the loanword *bahri* {бахри} 'hunting dog / stray dog / vagrant' [Khalilov 1999: 40], borrowed from Avar *bahri* 'stray dog'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 96.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Bokarev 1959: 146. The nasalized variant is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *w<sup>ve</sup>* {гъве} 'dog' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1073. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 19. DRINK

Hunzib (proper) *χu-λ* {χyλa} (1), Bezhta (proper) *χu-λo-* {χyλaλ} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *χu-λo-* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *χu-λo-* (1), Hinukh *ga:* {gāz} (2), Kidero Dido *ha-λu* {xIaλa} (1), Sagada Dido *ha-λu* {xIaλba} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *χi-λa* {xulIa} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *χu-λ* {χyλa} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**χ:ʷi-λV*(1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 164, 221; van den Berg 1995: 341; Bokarev 1961: 167, 178. Polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke', with both transitive and intransitive usage. Historically, a compound *χu-λ*, where the second element *λ* is a *verbum dicendi* \**ʔiλV-* (> Hunzib proper *iλe* 'to call, cry' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 202; van den Berg 1995: 306]). Cf. the paronymous suffixed verb *χu-ra:* 'to drink (alcohol), get drunk' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 164; van den Berg 1995: 341]. See [van den Berg 1995: 111] for several Hunzib verbal roots with the "mouth" (or rather "sound") semantics, from which two stems are attested: in *-λ* and in *-ra:*.

Distinct from the compound *sō-λe* {co:λa} 'to sip' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 149].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 258, 325; Madieva 1965: 190. Polysemy: 'to drink / to smoke', with both transitive and intransitive usage.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157.

**Common Bezhta:** Historically, a compound *χu-λo*, where the second element *λo* is a *verbum dicendi* \**ʔiλV-* (> Bezhta proper *iλe* 'to call, cry' [Khalilov 1995: 307; Madieva 1965: 163]). For Bezhta complex verbs in *-λo/-λe* denoting sounds, see [Kibrik & Testelefs 2004: 273].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 116, 490. Polysemy: 'to drink / to sip'.

A synonym is found in the compound verb *hi-λ* {гилIa} 'to drink / to sip' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 143, 490], marked by Khalilov & Isakov as a rarely used form. Historically, a compound: *hi-λ*, where the second element *λ* is the *verbum dicendi* \**ʔiλV-* (> Hinukh *eλi* 'to call, cry / to say' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 405]). For Hinukh complex verbs in *-λe* denoting sounds, see [Forker 2013: 322]. Note the morphological difficulty with the final vowel: the independent verb is *eλi*, the second element of sound denoting verbs is *-λe*, the second element of the aforementioned verb 'to drink' is *-λ*.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 262, 357.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Asakh *ha-λu* {xлaлBa} 'to drink' [Khalilov 1999: 262].

Historically, a compound verb: *ha-λu*, where the second element *λu* is a *verbum dicendi* \*ʔiλV- (> Kidero Dido *eλi* 'to say' q.v.). For Dido complex verbs in *-λi ~ -λa* denoting sounds, see [Bokarev 1959: 204; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 147]. Note the morphological difficulty with the final vowel: the independent verb is *eλi*, the second element of sound-denoting verbs is *-λi ~ -λa*, the second element of the aforementioned verb 'to drink' is *-λu*.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 148. The stem is *χi-λa*, cf. the diagnostic present form *χi-λa-ha* [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117]. Apparently, this is the basic verb for 'to drink' in Khwarshi proper; cf. two attested instances: "The rich man begun to drink water" [Imnaishvili 1963: 249]; "The horses came to the river to drink water ... But they failed to drink water" [Imnaishvili 1963: 298].

A second candidate is *c'od* {цЮда} 'to drink' [Karimova 2014] without examples.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 145, 148, 167. The stem is *χu-λ*, not *χu-λV*, cf. the diagnostic present form *χu-λ-e* < \**χu-λ-še* [Bokarev 1959: 164].

A second Inkhokwari candidate is *c'od* {цЮда} 'to drink' [Karimova 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 187, 240]. No textual instances were found either for *χu-λ* or for *c'od*, but, through analogy with other Khwarshi dialects, we suppose that *χu-λ* is the basic verb.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *χu-λ* {хулa} 'to drink' [Karimova 2014]. The stem is *χu-λ*, not *χu-λV*, cf. the diagnostic present form *χu-λ-še* [Khalilova 2009: 184]. Browsing through [Khalilova 2009] proves that *χu-λ* is the most generic and frequently used verb for 'to drink'. Cf. the attested examples: "The mother is drinking tea now" [Khalilova 2009: 184], "The father usually drinks tea in the morning" [Khalilova 2009: 187], "Children usually drink milk" [Khalilova 2009: 189], "Don't let him drink my juice" [Khalilova 2009: 252], "Can I drink the milk?" [Khalilova 2009: 361], "Father bought beer to drink" [Khalilova 2009: 418].

A second Kwantlada candidate is *c'od* {цЮда} [Karimova 2014], but examples from [Khalilova 2009] suggest that its real meanings are more specific, e. g. 'to drink alcohol' etc. Cf. the examples: "When everybody smoked (*c'od*) the cigarettes, this devil began to choke" [Khalilova 2009: 165], "Our neighbor had been drinking year after year" [Khalilova 2009: 201], "The doctor made the mother make the boy drink the medicine" [Khalilova 2009: 347], "the horses went to the river to drink water" [Khalilova 2009: 401], "Once they were drinking and eating" [Khalilova 2009: 449], "There was nothing. What, did we go there for drinking?" [Khalilova 2009: 457].

**Common Khwarshi:** Historically, a compound: *χu-λ(a)*, where the second element *λ(a)* is a *verbum dicendi* \*ʔiλV- (> Khwarshi *iλ* 'to say' q.v.). For Khwarshi complex verbs in *-λ(V)* denoting sounds, see [Khalilova 2009: 267]. It should be noted that in Khwarshi proper, the stem for 'to drink' is *χi-λa*, whereas 'to say' is *iλ*, not \*\**iλa* (in other dialects, the CVC pattern was generalized and we have *χu-λ* and *iλ*).

The competing verb *c'od* might be an Andian loanword, cf. Andi *c'adi* 'to drink', Tindi *ca-* (< \**c'ad-*) 'to drink', although the vowel *-o-* in Khwarshi is unclear.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 221. Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects, although in Hinukh, the form is obsolete, superseded by the unclear verb *ga*.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the Dido form with irregular *h-* (which is a normal outcome of \**χ*, not \**χ*:) and *-a-*. Despite this, the Dido verb can hardly be separated from other Tsezic forms.

Semantics and structure: Originally a compound of \**χ*:<sup>m</sup>*i-* '?' and the *verbum dicendi* \*ʔiλV (cf. sub 'to say'). Strictly speaking, the original meaning of \**χ*:<sup>m</sup>*i-* remains unclear. Outside of this compound, the suffixed root \**χ*:<sup>m</sup>*i-* is attested at least in Hunzib with the meaning 'to drink (alcohol), get drunk' that should point to Proto-Tsezic meaning 'to drink'. On the other hand, the Tsezic compound pattern of *-λV* is characteristic just for sound denoting ("ideophonic") verbs; \**χ*:<sup>m</sup>*i-λV* 'to drink' is the main exception from this semantic group.

## 20. DRY

Hunzib (proper) *qoqo-r-u* {xʁoxʁopy} (1), Bezhta (proper) *qoqo:* ~ *qoqo-y-o* {xʁoxʁō, xʁoxʁōyō} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *qoqo-r-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *qoqo-r-o* (1), Hinukh *quqe-s* {xʁyxʁec} (1), Kidero Dido *quq-ä-si* ~ *quqi-r-ä-si* {xʁyxʁabɕi, xʁyxʁupabɕi} (1), Sagada Dido *quq-a-w* {xʁyxʁab} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *quq-a* {xʁyxʁa} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *quq:-u* {xʁyxʁxʁy} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**qoqVA* (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 168, 236; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; van den Berg 1995: 327; Bokarev 1961: 167. Regular past participle from the verb *qoqo* {хъохъа} 'to get dry' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 168, 236; van den Berg 1995: 327].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 264, 339; Madieva 1965: 190. Contraction *qoqo*: < *qoqo-y-o*.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242.

**Common Bezhta:** Regular past participle in *-r-* from the verb (Bezhta proper) *qoqo* {хъохъал} 'to get dry' [Khalilov 1995: 263]. The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 365, 530; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242. Polysemy: 'dry / withered (of arm etc.)'. Past participle from the verb *quqe* {хъухъа} with polysemy: 'to get dry / to be hungry' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 365].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 258, 382; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], apparently erroneously transcribed as *quq:-ä-si*. Past participles from the simple verb *quqi* {хъухъа} 'to get dry / to thirst' and the causative *quqi-r* {хъухъира} 'to dry (trans.)' [Khalilov 1999: 258].

A second, apparently less common candidate is *tiq-a-si* {лхьихъāси} with polysemy: 'dry / dead (of animal)' [Khalilov 1999: 175], past participle from *tiq* {лхьихъа} 'to dry (intrans.) / to die (rude)' [Khalilov 1999: 175].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *quq:-u* {хъухъхъу} 'dry' [Karimova 2014].

**Common Khwarshi:** Past participles from the verb 'to dry (intrans.)', documented as Kwantlada Khwarshi *quq* [Khalilova 2009: 27].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 631. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic stems, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** *\*qoqV* is the verb 'to be(come) dry', the adjectival meaning 'dry' in modern lects is expressed by various synchronic participles.

## 21. EAR

Hunzib (proper) *āba* {a<sup>u</sup>ɽba} (1), Bezhta (proper) *āvā* (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *āvā* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *āvā* (1), Hinukh *aχ:a* {axxa} (1), Kidero Dido *ahya* {axIüa} (1), Sagada Dido *aħa* {axIa} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *āhi* {a<sup>u</sup>ɽbu} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *āha* ~ *ā<sup>h</sup>ha* {a<sup>u</sup>ɽba} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*ʔāχa* (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 25, 241; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; van den Berg 1995: 283; Bokarev 1961: 150, 181.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 290, 344; Madieva 1965: 148. Transcribed as pharyngealized in [Khalilov 1995]: *āb<sup>h</sup>a* {ʔ<sup>h</sup>al<sup>h</sup>ɽ<sup>h</sup>al}. Polysemy: 'ear / eye of needle'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 47, 542; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 32, 391; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Bokarev 1959: 145. The pharyngealized variant *ā<sup>h</sup>ha* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *āha* ~ *ā<sup>h</sup>ha* {a<sup>u</sup>ɽba} 'ear' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16, 17]. The pharyngealized variant *ā<sup>h</sup>ha* is from [Khalilova 2009].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 239. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root; the West Tsezic forms go back to *\*ʔāχi-ya* with a fossilized plural

suffix. External North Caucasian comparison suggests that the Proto-Tsezic root is to be analyzed as *\*ʔā-χa*, where final *-χa* is apparently a fossilized plural exponent.

## 22. EARTH

Hunzib (proper) *mizə* {мышэ} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mizo* {мизо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *mizo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *mizo* (1), Hinukh *čodi* {чИоду} (2), Kidero Dido *čedo* {чIедо} (2), Sagada Dido *čedo* {чIедо} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *čida* {чИуда} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *čido* {чИудо} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*čüdV* (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 128, 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; van den Berg 1995: 320; Bokarev 1961: 162, 175. Polysemy: 'soil / clay'.

Distinct from the more marginal *čabar* {чIабар} with polysemy: 'soil / clay / earth floor' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 178, 202], borrowed from Avar *čab'ar* 'earth floor'.

Distinct from *dunyal* ~ *duniyal* {дунйал} 'world, universe' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 76; van den Berg 1995: 295], borrowed from Avar *dun'iyal* 'world / life / weather', ultimately from Arabic *dunya*: 'earth, world'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 195, 308; Madieva 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'soil / clay'. Oblique stem: *miza-*.

Distinct from *mäče* {мъаче} 'earth, land / plot of land' [Khalilov 1995: 193; Madieva 1965: 176].

Distinct from two loanwords: *dun:al* ~ *duniyal* {дуннал} 'world, universe / weather' [Khalilov 1995: 93] (< Avar *dun'iyal* 'world / life / weather', ultimately from Arabic *dunya*: 'earth, world'); *rał* {ракъ} 'earth, dry land / country' [Khalilov 1995: 222; Madieva 1965: 183] (< Avar *rał*: 'earth, soil, land').

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Oblique stem: *miza-*.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Oblique stem: *miza-*.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 398, 446; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Polysemy: 'soil / clay'.

Distinct from *moči* {мочи} 'earth, plot of land' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 269].

Distinct from two loanwords: *duniyal* ~ *dunyal* {дунийал, дунйал} 'world, universe / weather' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 165] (< Avar *dun'iyal* 'world / life / weather', ultimately from Arabic *dunya*: 'earth, world'); *rał* {ракъ} 'earth, dry land / country' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 299] (< Avar *rał*: 'earth, soil, land').

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 286, 327; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], transcribed as *če'do* - probably an error. Polysemy: 'soil / clay'.

Distinct from *moči* {мочи} 'earth, plot of land / place' [Khalilov 1999: 192].

Distinct from two loanwords: *dunyal* {дунйал} 'world, universe / weather' [Khalilov 1999: 116] (< Avar *dun'iyal* 'world / life / weather', ultimately from Arabic *dunya*: 'earth, world'); *rał* {ракъ} 'earth, dry land / country' [Khalilov 1999: 213] (< Avar *rał*: 'earth, soil, land').

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 108. Cf. the example: "Father's brother is digging the earth" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 108].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Bokarev 1959: 156. Polysemy: 'soil / ground / soil' (the meaning 'soil' is quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 457]). Cf. the relevant example: "in the earth" [Bokarev 1959: 156].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *čido* {чИдо} with polysemy: 'soil / ground / territory' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 93, 396]. Cf. the example: "When they could not bear the hunger, they began to eat the earth" [Khalilova 2009: 396].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 385. Distribution: Two roots enter into competition:

1) East Tsezic *\*misV* [NCED: 1055] with polysemy: 'soil / clay'; lost in West Tsezic. Its North Caucasian *comparanda* mean 'big stone, rock' (Andian), 'mountain pasture' (Lak), 'mountain, hill' (Dargi), 'mountain pasture; cattle-shed' (Lezgian).

2) West Tsezic *\*čüdV* [NCED: 385] with polysemy: 'soil / clay'; in East Tsezic this root is attested with the meaning 'soot' (Bezhta proper *čide* [Khalilov 1995: 271]). Its North Caucasian *comparanda* mean 'clay' (Andian), 'dirt, mud' (Dargi).

There is neither internal Tsezic nor external North Caucasian evidence for making a choice between the two. Provisionally we fill the Proto-Tsezic slot 'earth' with *\*čüdV*; in any case, neither choice would be relevant for further

lexicostatistical analysis.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 23. EAT

Hunzib (proper) CLASS= $\tilde{u}q$  {*мыхъа*} (1) / CLASS= $e\check{s}$  {*беуа*} (2), Bezhta (proper) CLASS= $\tilde{u}q$  {*үүб<sup>h</sup>хъавъл*} (1) / CLASS= $es$  {*үецал*} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS= $\tilde{u}q$  (1) / CLASS= $es$  (2), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS= $\tilde{u}q$  (1) / CLASS= $e\check{s}$  (2), Hinukh CLASS= $ac'$  {*бауIа*} (3) / CLASS= $i\check{s}i$  ~ CLASS= $\tilde{u}\check{s}i$  {*бууаа*, *бүүаа*} (2), Kidero Dido CLASS= $ac'$  {*бауIа*} (3) / CLASS= $i\check{s}$  {*бууаа*} (2), Sagada Dido CLASS= $ac'$  {*бауIа*} (3), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS= $ac'$  {*лауIа*} (3) / *kuka* {*кыка*} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS= $ac'$  {*лауIа*} (3) / *kok* ~ *kuk* {*кока*} (4), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS= $\tilde{u}q$  ~ \*CLASS= $\tilde{u}q^w$  (1) / \*CLASS= $e\check{s}$  A (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 200; van den Berg 1995: 338; Bokarev 1961: 166, 174.

There are two verbs for 'to eat' in Hunzib: transitive = $\tilde{u}q$  and objectless intransitive = $e\check{s}$ . We treat them as synonyms. Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 38, 200; van den Berg 1995: 296; Bokarev 1961: 170, 174.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 140, 305; Madieva 1965: 188. Khalilov 1995: 115, 305; Madieva 1965: 160. Polysemy: 'to eat / to graze (intrans.).'

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155. Morphophonologically = $\tilde{u}q$ , for old nasalization cf. the class 3 form  $m=\tilde{u}q-$  < \* $b=\tilde{u}q-$ . Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 156.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155. Morphophonologically = $\tilde{u}q$ , for old nasalization cf. the class 3 form  $m=\tilde{u}q-$  < \* $b=\tilde{u}q-$ . Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 156.

**Common Bezhta**: There are two verbs for 'to eat' in Bezhta (all dialects): transitive = $\tilde{u}q$  and objectless intransitive = $e\check{s}$ /= $es$ . We treat them as synonyms.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 61, 439.

There are two verbs for 'to eat' in Hinukh: transitive = $ac'$  and objectless intransitive = $i\check{s}i$ . We treat them as synonyms. Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 93, 439. Polysemy: 'to eat (intrans.) / to graze, pasture (intrans.).'

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 40, 322.

There are two verbs for 'to eat' in Kidero Dido: transitive = $ac'$  and objectless intransitive = $i\check{s}$ . We treat them as synonyms. Khalilov 1999: 64, 322. Polysemy: 'to eat (intrans.) / to graze, pasture (intrans.).'

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014. Surprisingly, according to Abdulaev's examples ("He is eating bread", "I need to eat and drink to stay alive", "When he lived there, he ate and drank plenty"), = $ac'$  is the only Sagada verb for 'to eat', used both transitively and intransitively.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014. Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 115, 117; Khalilova 2009: 6; Bokarev 1959: 172.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 145, 165.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: CLASS= $ac'$  {*лауIа*} 'to eat (trans.)' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 21, 26]. Cf. some examples: "The she-goat ate the grass" [Khalilova 2009: 69], "The robber had nothing to eat" [Khalilova 2009: 160], "Each ate one apple" [Khalilova 2009: 178], "I don't eat such dirty leaves" [Khalilova 2009: 202].

*kok* {*кока*} 'to eat (intrans.)' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 6, 182]. Cf. some examples: "Put the food over there, I will come to eat" [Khalilova 2009: 116], "One time the father of these girls was eating at one man's (place)" [Khalilova 2009: 146], "Aminat's son does not eat at all" [Khalilova 2009: 201]. Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 165, 168. The variant *kuk* is from [Bokarev 1959].

**Common Khwarshi**: There are two verbs for 'to eat' in Khwarshi dialects: transitive = $ac'$  and objectless intransitive *kuk(a)* ~ *kok*. We treat them as synonyms.

**Proto-Tsezic**:

NCED: 559. Distribution: All Tsezic lects, except for Sagada Dido, lexically discriminate between 'to eat (trans.)' and 'to eat (intrans.)'. The same opposition is to be reconstructed for Proto-Tsezic. The roots attested in the meaning 'to eat' in

modern Tsezic lects can be summarized in the following table:

'TO EAT'	Hunzib	Bezhta	Hinukh	Kidero Dido	Sagada Dido	Khwarshi
*CLASS= <i>ũq</i> ~ *CLASS= <i>ĩq<sup>w</sup></i> [NCED: 559]	trans.	trans.				
*CLASS= <i>ac</i> ' [NCED: 1017]			trans.	trans.	(in)trans.	trans.
*CLASS= <i>eš</i> A	intrans.	intrans.	intrans.	intrans.		
* <i>kUkV</i> A [NCED: 207]						intrans.

The verb \*CLASS=*eš* A (absent in [NCED; TsezEDb]) can be safely reconstructed as the Proto-Tsezic equivalent for 'to eat (intrans.)'. It was superseded by \**ac*' 'to eat (trans.)' in Sagada Dido and by \**kəV*'? in Khwarshi.

The original meaning of \**kUkV* A, only attested in Khwarshi as 'to eat (intrans.)', is unclear. *Pace* [NCED: 207], it must be separated from Hinukh *kiki* {кика} 'to feed / to rear, raise', *kikzi* {кикзи} 'rearing' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 202; Forker 2013: 334], Kidero Dido *kiki* {кика} 'to rear, raise' [Khalilov 1999: 139], Bezhta proper *kikzi* {кикзи} 'rearing' [Khalilov 1995: 146], which represent a borrowing from Avar *xixi*, inf. *xixi-ze* 'to feed / to rear, raise'.

Reconstruction of Proto-Tsezic 'to eat (trans.)' is more problematic, because there are two equal candidates for this proto-meaning:

- 1) East Tsezic \*CLASS=*ũq* ~ \*CLASS=*ĩq<sup>w</sup>*; lost in West Tsezic.
- 2) West Tsezic \*CLASS=*ac*'; lost in East Tsezic.

There is no internal evidence for making a choice, but external North Caucasian comparison speaks in favour of \**ũq* ~ \**ĩq<sup>w</sup>* (its external cognates mean 'to eat' or 'to bite', whereas the more scarce cognates of \**ac*' mean 'to drink').

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem, meaning 'to eat (trans.)'.

## 24. EGG

Hunzib (proper) *qõqla* ~ *qoqla* {хъохъла} (1), Bezhta (proper) *č'emuc'* {чІемуцІ} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *č'emuc'* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *č'emüč'* (2), Hinukh *q'imas'* {кЪимацІ} (2), Kidero Dido *k'eneč'* {кІенечІ} (2), Sagada Dido *k'epač'i* {кІеначІи} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *k'emeč'* {кІемечІ} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *k'imač'* {кІимачІ} (2), Proto-Tsezic \**qõq-IV*(1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 168, 245; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; van den Berg 1995: 327; Bokarev 1961: 167, 182.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 270, 348; Madieva 1965: 192.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123. In [Khalilov 1995: 281], transcribed as *č'emüč'* {чІемуцІ}.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 217, 552; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 162, 399; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123. Polysemy: 'egg / testicle / nit'.

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 96.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Bokarev 1959: 144.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *k'imač'* {кІимачІ} 'egg' Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 35, 57.

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 906. Distribution: A non-trivial case with two competing terms:

- 1) \**qõq-IV*, retained in Hunzib, but lost in the rest of lects;
- 2) *cVmVc' ~ čVmVč' ~ qVmVc' ~ kVmVč' ~ kVnVč'* in other languages. These forms are obviously related to each other, but phonetic correspondences are absolutely abnormal.

The latter has the clear advantage in terms of distribution, but in fact its phonetic irregularity and absence of external North Caucasian etymology could suggest that we deal with a late introduction, which spread as an interdialectal borrowing. The exact source of *cVmVc' ~ čVmVč' ~ qVmVc' ~ kVmVč' ~ kVnVč'* is obscure, but it resembles certain Andian words for 'egg', cf. Chamalal proper *č'ač'ā*, pl. *č'ač'a-me*, Gigatl Chamalal *kuč'an* pl. *kuč'a-mi*, Tindi *k'ek'ama*. The Tsezic

forms could be a distortion of some Andian words with metathesis and various consonant assimilations/dissimilations.

On the other hand, \*qōq-IV, which is only documented for one peripheral language, Hunzib, possesses important external *comparanda* with the same meaning 'egg' that speaks in favour of its antiquity. Consequently, we fill the Proto-Tsezic slot with \*qōq-IV.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root with the common *l*-suffix.

## 25. EYE

Hunzib (proper) *hare* {ɔbape} (1), Bezhta (proper) *häy* {ɔbavü} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *häre* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *häre* (1), Hinukh *ižey* ~ *üžey* {užeyü, üžeyü} (1), Kidero Dido *ozuri* {ozypu} (1), Sagada Dido *ozur* {ozyp} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ezal* {əzəl} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ezol* {əzəl} (1), Proto-Tsezic \***h̥ore** B (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 62, 196; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; van den Berg 1995: 301; Bokarev 1961: 153, 173. Paradigm: *hare* [abs.] / *ha-s* [gen.].

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 76, 301; Madieva 1965: 156. Paradigm: *häy* [abs.] / *hä-* ~ *häy-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11. Paradigm: *häre* [abs.] / *hä-š* ~ *häre-li-š* [gen.].

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11. Paradigm: *häre* [abs.] / *hä-š* [gen.].

**Common Bezhta**: The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.].

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 178, 429; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11. Paradigm: *ižey* [abs.] / *ižera-s* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'eye / window framing / headlight (of vehicle)'.  
**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 201, 315; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 119; Bokarev 1959: 185, 187. Paradigm: *ozuri* [abs.] / *oza-s* ~ *oze-s* ~ *ozura-s* ~ *ozure-s* [gen.]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11], erroneously quoted as *oziri* ~ *oziru* [abs.] / *oze-s* ~ *oziri-s* [gen.].

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92; Khalilova 2009: 5.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Bokarev 1959: 147, 150. Paradigm: *ezol* [abs.] / *ezala-s* [gen.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *ezol* [abs.] / *ezala-s* [gen.] {əzəl} 'eye' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5, 28, 50, 61]. The archaic oblique stem *ez-* is attested in the locative adverb *ez-e* 'in the eye' [Khalilova 2009: 113]. In the plural form, with polysemy: 'eye / glasses'.

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 250. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for secondary interactions between the direct and oblique stems in individual lects.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. Three oblique stems are reconstructible: \**h̥o-* (as follows from East Tsezic data) and \**h̥o-zV-*, \**h̥oV-zV-* (as follows from West Tsezic data). It remains unclear which one reflects the original Proto-Tsezic paradigm. It should be noted that the oblique stem \**h̥oV-zV-* has undergone metathesis > \**h̥ozV-rV-*, which has further spread into the direct stem in Dido and Khwarshi. Cf. similar rebuildings of the original paradigm in the words for 'bone', 'hand' q.v.

## 26. FAT N.

Hunzib (proper) *maʔa* {maʔa, maa} (1), Bezhta (proper) *coco* {ɔoɔo} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *coco* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *coco* (2), Hinukh *miʔi* ~ *müʔü* {mii, müü} (1), Kidero Dido *mo* {mo} (1), Sagada Dido *riʔ* {pυlʔ} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *mu* {my} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *mu* {my} (1), Proto-Tsezic \***m̥h̥VB** (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 116, 201; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; van den Berg 1995: 319. The word seems to be like a generic term.

Distinct from *cəcu* {цəцү} with polysemy: 'dissolved grease / bone marrow' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 173, 201; van den Berg 1995: 290]; in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121], *cəcu* is glossed as 'fat on meat'; in [Bokarev 1961: 168, 174], as generic 'fat'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 268, 306; Madieva 1965: 192. Glossed as generic 'fat' in both sources.

Distinct from the more specific term *mähä* {маьгъаь} 'internal fat' [Khalilov 1995: 192, 306; Madieva 1965: 175].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. According to Khalilov, this is the generic Khoshar-Khota term for 'fat', although in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121] *coco* is glossed as 'fat on meat'.

Distinct from *mähä*, which is glossed as generic 'fat' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121], but specified as 'internal fat' by M. Khalilov, p.c.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. According to Khalilov, this is the generic Tlyadal term for 'fat', although in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121] *coco* is glossed as 'fat on meat'.

Distinct from *mähä*, which is glossed as generic 'fat' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121], but specified as 'internal fat' by M. Khalilov, p.c.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 266; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121. Glossed as generic 'fat' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], but specified as 'visceral fat' in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the phonetic variant *mihi* is also quoted - apparently an error, influenced by *mihi* 'tail, fatty tail of sheep' q.v.

Distinct from the more specific or borrowed terms, listed in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 441]:

1) *čəčey* {чечей} 'butter / fat' (apparently 'dissolved fat' is mentioned) [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 390];

2) *q'ali* {къалы} 'horse's fat' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 211];

3) borrowed *bezent'i* {беэнт'и} 'fat / richness, fertility (of soil)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 78] < Avar *bezent'i* 'fat / richness, fertility (of soil)';

4) borrowed *ʔarati* {къарат'и} 'fatness / fat' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 224] < Avar *ʔarati* 'fatness / fat'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 191, 324; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121. Paradigm: *mo* [abs.] / *moye-* [obl.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the oblique stem is quoted as *mo-do-*). Glossed as generic 'fat' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], but specified as 'visceral fat' in [Khalilov 1999]. Synchronic polysemy 'fat / tear (*lacrima*)' is secondary from the etymological point of view.

Distinct from the more specific terms:

1) *q'ali* {къалы} 'horse's fat / fat' ('fat' in general?) [Khalilov 1999: 145];

2) *riʔ* {рилъ} 'butter / fat' (apparently 'dissolved fat' is meant) [Khalilov 1999: 218].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Bokarev 1959: 156, 174.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *mu* {му} 'fat' [Karimova 2014].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 794. Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects except for Bezhta and Sagada Dido.

In Bezhta, *\*mɔhV* shifted to the specific meaning 'internal fat', having been superseded by *\*cəc<sup>w</sup>i* (Hunzib *cəcu*, Bezhta *coco*, Hinukh *čəčey*), whose original meaning was probably 'dissolved fat'.

In Sagada Dido, *\*mɔhV* was superseded by *\*reʔ*: B 'butter' [NCED: 949].

Replacements: {'butter' > 'fat'} (Sagada Dido).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for some vocalic peculiarities.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 27. FEATHER

Hunzib (proper) *pode* {ноде} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mäč'ä* {маьч'аь} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *mač'a* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *pudo* (1), Hinukh *bumbuli* {бумбулу} (-1), Kidero Dido *bumbuli* {бумбулу} (-1), Sagada Dido *huli* {хИлу} (-1), Khwarshi (proper) *huli* {хИлу} (-1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *huli* {хИлу} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *\*pid<sup>w</sup>V* (1).

References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 138, 221; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; van den Berg 1995: 325; Bokarev 1961: 163, 178. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 193, 325; Madieva 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'feather / sabre'. Form of unclear origin.

Distinct from *pudo* {пудо} 'down (fine feathers)' [Khalilov 1995: 220, 331; Madieva 1965: 182].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c.

Distinct from *pudo* 'down (fine feathers)' [M. Khalilov, p.c.], despite the fact that *pudo* is glossed in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45] as generic 'feather'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; M. Khalilov, p.c. Expression for 'down' is not documented.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 107, 489; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. Borrowed from Georgian *bumbuli* 'down (fine feathers)'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 74, 356; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. Cf. the example: "peacock feather" [Khalilov 1999: 238]. Borrowed from Georgian *bumbuli* 'down (fine feathers)'.

A second, probably more marginal, candidate is the inherited term *lela* {лела} with polysemy: 'wing / feather' [Khalilov 1999: 169, 356]; missing from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

Distinct from borrowed *huli* {хули} 'down' [Khalilov 1999: 268] < Avar *huli* 'down / feather'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Borrowed from Avar *huli* 'down / feather'.

**Common Dido:** Mokok Dido *lel* {лел} with polysemy: 'wing / feather' [Khalilov 1999: 169; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 215, 216], an inherited word. A second documented Mokok term is the Avar loanword *huli* {хули} 'feather' [Khalilov 1999: 268].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014. The second, also borrowed, expression for 'feather' is *pirtin* {пиртин} [Karimova 2014] ~ *pirtin* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45], which ultimately goes back to Georgian *prta* 'wing / feather'.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *huli* {хули} 'feather' [Karimova 2014].

**Common Khwarshi:** Khwarshi *huli* 'feather' is borrowed from Avar *huli* 'down / feather'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 874. Distribution: Retained in East Tsezic, probably with polysemy: 'feather / down' at least on the Proto-East Tsezic level. In some Bezhta dialects, *\*pid<sup>w</sup>V* was superseded by the unclear form *măčă* ~ *mačă* 'feather', but retained in the meaning 'down'.

In West Tsezic, the only documented inherited form is Mokok Dido *lel* 'wing / feather'; in other West Tsezic lects, it only means 'wing' < *\*fir(V)* (~ *\*l-*, *-l-*) [NCED: 762]. The Mokok polysemy is a transparent innovation. In the rest of West Tsezic lects, 'feather' is expressed by Georgian and Avar loanwords.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 28. FIRE

Hunzib (proper) *c'ə* {ц'ə} (1), Bezhta (proper) *c'o* {ц'о} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *c'o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *c'o* (1), Hinukh *č'e* {ч'е} (1), Kidero Dido *c'i* {ц'и} (1), Sagada Dido *c'i* {ц'и} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *c'a* {ц'а} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *c'o* {ц'о} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*c'ə* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 175, 218; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; van den Berg 1995: 291; Bokarev 1961: 168, 178. Paradigm: *c'ə* [abs.] / *c'ə* ~ *c'əy(i)*- [obl.]. Polysemy: 'fire / fever'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 273, 321; Madieva 1965: 192. Paradigm: *c'o* [abs.] / *c'oy-* ~ *c'o-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'fire / fever'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *c'o* [abs.] / *c'oyi-s* [gen.].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *c'o* [abs.] / *c'oy-s* [gen.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 395, 481; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *č'e* [abs.] / *č'e-do-s* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'fire / spark / fever'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 276, 350; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *c'i* [abs.] / *c'iyō-s* ~ *c'i-do-s* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'fire / spark / fever'.

Sagada Dido: Abdulaev 2014.

Khwarshi (proper): Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 93.

Inkhokwari Khwarshi: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Bokarev 1959: 145.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *c'o* {uIo} 'fire' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 14].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 354. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 29. FISH

Hunzib (proper) *bisə* {бисə} (1), Bezhta (proper) *bisa* {биса} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *bisa* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *bisa* (1), Hinukh *besuro* ~ *besure* {бесуре} (1), Kidero Dido *besuro* {бесуро} (1), Sagada Dido *besuro* {бесуро} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *čufa* ~ *čoŋa* {чуга, чога} (-1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *čufa* {чуга} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *\*bis:ʷə* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 48, 230; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; van den Berg 1995: 288; Bokarev 1961: 152, 180.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 47, 334; Madieva 1965: 151.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 71, 515; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 47, 372; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 93, 103.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 145. A second, also non-inherited expression for 'fish' is *čʷa* {чва} [Karimova 2014] ~ *čʷā*: [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86], borrowed from Tindi dialectal *čʷaŋa* 'fish'.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *čufa* {чуга} 'fish' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 15].

**Common Khwarshi:** Khwarshi *čufa* 'fish' is borrowed from Avar *čufa* 'fish'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 319. **Distribution:** Retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects, except for Khwarshi, where it was superseded by an Avar loanword.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *\*bis:ʷə-ro-* A, as it can be reconstructed at least for Proto-West Tsezic (where the oblique stem has supplanted the direct one).

## 30. FLY V.

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=ek'eč'* {беклеула} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=ogic'* {юогуула} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=ok'ic'* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=ok'ic'* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=iλ'i* ~ *CLASS=üλ'i* {букба} (2), Kidero Dido *CLASS=ik'i* {букла} (3), Sagada Dido *boržizi* *CLASS=oqʷ* {боржузи бохъва} (-1), Khwarshi (proper) *etʷ* {эмва} (-1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *et* ~ *etʷ* {эма, эмва} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=Vkïč'* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 36, 210; van den Berg 1995: 295; Bokarev 1961: 170. In [Bokarev 1961], transcribed as *CLASS=ek'ic'*. Polysemy: 'to jump / to fly'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 127, 314; Madieva 1965: 179.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82.

**Common Bezhta:** Polysemy: 'to jump / to fly' in all the dialects. Of note is the occasional dissimilation  $k'-c' > g-c'$  in Bezhta proper.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 83. Apparently the verb CLASS= $i\lambda'i$  'to go' q.v. is the normal way to express the semantics of flying as applied to birds (thus polysemy: 'to go / to fly'). Cf. the examples with *asab=i\lambda'i*, literally 'to be going in the sky (*as*): "A bird flies in the sky" [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 44], "The crow flies (in the sky)" Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 129].

Another verb, which can be used in the same meaning, is  $k'o\lambda'(e)$  'to jump' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 235] (thus, with polysemy: 'to jump / to fly'). E.g., in combination with *hawa* 'air': *hawa-\lambda'o k'o\lambda'(e)* 'to fly', literally 'to jump in the air' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 132].

Cf. also the verb *no\chi* 'to come / to fly here' q.v.

Distinct from *boržizi* CLASS= $iq$  'to fly', applicable to aircraft, literally 'to become *boržizi*' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 99], borrowed from Avar  $b=orž-ize$  'to fly'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 57, 338. Apparently the verb CLASS= $ik'i$  'to go' q.v. with the optional locative form *hawa-\lambda'* 'in the air' is the normal way to express the semantics of flying as applied to birds (thus, with polysemy: 'to go / to fly'). Cf. the attested examples: "The bird is flying ( $b=ik'i-\chi$ ) low" [Khalilov 1999: 78], "The swallow flies (*hawa-\lambda' b=ik'i-\chi*)" [Khalilov 1999: 89], "The butterfly flies (*hawa-\lambda' b=ik'i-\chi*)" [Khalilov 1999: 156].

Cf. also the verb CLASS= $o\chi i$  {бo\chi a} 'to run away, go away' [Khalilov 1999: 69], used for the meaning 'to fly away' as in "The fledgeling, fly (away)!" [Khalilov 1999: 296], and the verb *ne\chi* 'to come / to fly here' q.v.

Additionally, the collocation CLASS= $et'u-n$   $k'o\lambda'i$  {бeтyнкoлIa} with polysemy: 'to jump / to fly' is quoted in [Khalilov 1999: 48], where  $et'u-n$  is the past tense form of CLASS= $et'u$  'to tear off (intrans.)' [Khalilov 1999: 47] and the inflected verb  $k'o\lambda'i$  {кoлIa} 'to run' [Khalilov 1999: 164]. Apparently  $et'u$  in the collocation for 'to fly' has nothing to do with Tindi  $et^w$  'to fly' and cognate verbs in other Andian languages.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Literally 'to become *boržizi*', borrowed from Avar  $b=orž-ize$  'to fly'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 90, 103, 104. Cf. the example: "Birds are flying across the sky" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 104].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 146, 164. The more archaic labialized form  $et^w$  is from [Bokarev 1959].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:**  $et^w$  {этвa} 'to fly' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 18, 181]. Cf. the example: "Now this boy turned into a pigeon, this boy flew away" [Khalilova 2009: 147].

**Common Khwarshi:** Khwarshi  $et^w$  'to fly' is very likely borrowed from Tindi  $et^w$  'to fly', although inherited Tsezic origin of this verb cannot be excluded either.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 717. Distribution: Retained in East Tsezic with polysemy 'to jump / to fly'; lost in West Tsezic.

In West Tsezic lects (Hinukh, Kidero Dido) 'to fly' is expressed by various verbs for 'to go' and 'to come', which differ between languages. Theoretically, one of these verbs for 'to go', namely \*CLASS= $\tilde{e}\lambda'$ - or \*CLASS= $\tilde{e}k'$ -, can be reconstructed with the additional meaning 'to fly' at the Proto-Tsezic level, but it is more likely that we deal with a late innovation 'to go' > 'to fly' in Hinukh, Kidero Dido.

In Sagada Dido and Khwarshi, inherited forms are superseded by Avar and Tindi loanwords.

Replacements: {'to go' > 'to fly'} (Hinukh, Kidero Dido).

Reconstruction shape: Occasional dissimilative deglottalization  $k' > g$  in Bezhta proper, irregular  $c'$  for expected  $\tilde{c}$  in Tlyadal Bezhta (or, if the protoform was \*CLASS= $Vk'ic'$ -, irregular  $\tilde{c}$  for expected  $c'$  in Hunzib).

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem; polysemy 'to jump / to fly' can be reconstructed at least for Proto-East Tsezic.

## 31. FOOT

Hunzib (proper) *hale* {гвaлe} (1), Bezhta (proper) *\chiäbä* {xäbäb} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *\chiäbä* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *\chiäbä* (2), Hinukh *rore* {pope} (1), Kidero Dido *rori* {popu} (1), Sagada Dido *\chiot'o* {xomIo} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *lola* {лoлa} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *lolo* {лoлo} (1), Proto-Tsezic \*~~l~~l~~o~~ A (1).

References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 64, 217; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; van den Berg 1995: 302; Bokarev 1961: 153.  
Paradigm: *hale* [abs.] / *ha-s* [gen.].

Distinct from *čumal* {чумал}, whose exact meaning is, however, uncertain: glossed as 'shin, leg' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 180], 'leg from knee till foot' in [van den Berg 1995: 293], generic 'leg' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30]; Russian 'нога', which can mean 'foot', 'leg' or 'foot + leg' in [Bokarev 1961: 169].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 252, 320; Madieva 1965: 188. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / step / support, prop'. Both the meanings 'foot' and 'leg' are definitely established based on examples in [Khalilov 1995: 252].

Distinct from specific *halo* {гъало} 'foot' [Khalilov 1995: 73], which is apparently rare and obsolete.

Distinct from *čamal* {чамал} with polysemy: 'shin / leg / stalk, stem' [Khalilov 1995: 279; Madieva 1965: 194].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30. Meaning specifically 'foot'.

Distinct from *čämäl* (a typo for *čämäl?*), which is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30] as a generic term ('foot + leg'), but actually seems to specifically denote 'leg'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30.

Distinct from *čämäl*, which is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30] as a generic term ('foot + leg'), but actually seems to specifically denote 'leg'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 307, 477; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30. Meaning 'foot'.

Distinct from *k'onč'u* {кюнчы} 'leg' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 236; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30], although in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005] this word is glossed as 'нога (всѧ)', i.e., 'leg + foot(?)'.

Distinct from other words, quoted in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005] with the non-specified gloss 'нога'.

1) *ok ~ o'k* {огъ, оГъ} [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 283] with polysemy 'leg / thigh, hip / trouser leg' (apparently not 'foot').

2) *hobo* {гъобо} 'foot' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 144], the specific meaning 'foot' is seen from the illustrative examples: "to kick with the foot", "to hit with the foot".

Distinct from *bula* {була} 'leg of animal / hoof' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 107].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 221, 348; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30. Polysemy: 'foot / sole (of the traditional footwear)'.

Distinct from *k'onč'u* {кюнчы} with polysemy: 'leg / furniture leg' [Khalilov 1999: 165; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30]; it should be noted that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], this word is glossed as generic 'foot + leg'.

Distinct from several more marginal or specific terms:

1) *žov* {гюгъ, гюГъ} (Asakh *o'k*) [Khalilov 1999: 110] with polysemy: 'leg / thigh, hip' (apparently not 'foot');

2) *vol* {гъол} 'foot' or 'leg', glossed as Russian 'нога' [Khalilov 1999: 92], rarely used;

3) *χof'o* {χот'о} with polysemy: 'foot / step / furniture leg' [Khalilov 1999: 249], cf. the compound *χof'o-re'ā* 'human extremities', literally 'foot + hand/arm' [Khalilov 1999: 250];

4) *q'ošo* {хъошо} 'heel (of human) / leg (of animal)' [Khalilov 1999: 257];

5) *bu'la ~ bula* {була, була} 'leg (of animal) / hoof' [Khalilov 1999: 73, 76].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92; Bokarev 1959: 151. Meaning specifically 'foot'.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Bokarev 1959: 151. Meaning specifically 'foot'.

Distinct from *k'äk'ä* 'leg' [Bokarev 1959: 144].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *lolo ~ l'ol'o* {лоло} with polysemy: 'foot / leg' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 20, 75, 77, 119, 123]. Distinct from the more specific term *k'äk'ä ~ k'ak'a* 'leg' [Khalilova 2009: 17, 46, 80].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 759. Distribution: Retained in its basic function in all Tsezic lects, except for Bezhta and Sagada Dido.

In all Bezhta dialects it was superseded by \**χob'o* A [NCED: 454] with polysemy 'foot / leg'. The original meaning of \**χob'o* is unclear, the only Hinukh cognate means 'foot', but it is not the basic Hinukh term for this meaning. In Bezhta proper, \**č'ob'o* is still documented as an obsolete word for 'foot'.

In Sagada Dido, the default term for 'foot' seems to be *χof'o* - a form of unclear origin, it is also attested in Kidero Dido with the same meaning 'foot', but it is not the basic Kidero term for this meaning.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, meaning specifically 'foot'.

## 32. FULL

Hunzib (proper) CLASS=*əc'ə-r-u* {-əuIəpy} (1), Bezhta (proper) CLASS=*oc'-iy-o* {üouIuüo} (1),

Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS=*oc'-ir-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS=*oc'-ir-o* (1), Hinukh

CLASS=*ic'*-*iš* {бичИуш} (1), Kidero Dido CLASS=*ic'*-*ä-si* {бичИавси} (1), Sagada Dido CLASS=*ec'*-*r-u* {реүІры} (1), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS=*yc'*-*a* {леүүІа} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS=*ec'*-*u* {леүІуІу} (1), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*əc'* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 44 sub *boco* 'moon', 76 sub *doki* 'jug'. Polysemy: 'full / satisfied'. Regular past participle from the verb CLASS=*əc'* 'to be filled, get filled' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 51; van den Berg 1995: 346; ; Bokarev 1961: 171].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 130, 327. Past participle from the verb CLASS=*oc'* with polysemy: 'to fill (intrans.) / to be sated' [Khalilov 1995: 130; Madieva 1965: 180].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612. Polysemy: 'full / satiated' (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], quoted for the latter meaning). Past participle from the verb CLASS=*oc'* 'to fill (intrans.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612. Polysemy: 'full / satiated' (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], quoted as 'satiated'). Past participle from the verb CLASS=*oc'* 'to fill (intrans.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 92, 495. Polysemy: 'full / satiated' (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], quoted with the meaning 'satiated'). Past participle from the verb CLASS=*ic'* {бичІа} 'to fill (intrans.) / to become satiated' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 92].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 63. Polysemy: 'full / satiated'. Cf. some examples: "a skirt full of smth." [Khalilov 1999: 28], "a tub full of milk" [Khalilov 1999: 69], "a room full of smoke" [Khalilov 1999: 87], "a hayloft full of hay" [Khalilov 1999: 98], "full bag" [Khalilov 1999: 130], "a chest full of wheat" [Khalilov 1999: 141] etc. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], quoted as CLASS=*ic'*-*ä-si* with the meaning 'satiated'. Past participle from the verb CLASS=*ic'* {бичІа} 'to fill (intrans.) / to become satiated' [Khalilov 1999: 63].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Final *-r-* is the participle exponent.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 145, 148, 158. Polysemy: 'full / satiated' (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], quoted with the meaning 'satiated').

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS=*ec'*-*u* {леүІуІу} 'full' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 21, 168].

**Common Khwarshi:** Past participle from the verb 'to fill (intrans.)': Kwantlada Khwarshi CLASS=*ec'* [Khalilova 2009: 21], with *yc'*, *c'* < \**c'*-*y*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 525. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic stems, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: The vocalic correspondence between Proto-East and Proto-West forms is irregular.

Semantics and structure: \*CLASS=*əc'*- is the verb 'to be(come) full'; the adjectival meaning 'full' in modern lects is expressed by various synchronic participles.

### 33. GIVE

Hunzib (proper) *niλ* {нылІа} (1), Bezhta (proper) *niλ* {нулІаλ} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *niλ* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *niλ* (1), Hinukh *neλ* {нелІа} (1) / *toλ* {толІа} (1), Kidero Dido *neλ* {нелІа} (1) / *teλ* {телІа} (1), Sagada Dido *neλ* {нелІа} (1) / *teλ* {телІа} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *iλ* {улІа} (1) / *tiλ* {тулІа} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *iλ* {улІа} (1) / *tiλ* {тулІа} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**ʔiλ* ~ \**DIR=iλ* A (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 134, 198; van den Berg 1995: 322; Bokarev 1961: 162, 174. Historically, a prefixal formation *n=iλ*, where initial *n=* is either a spatial/directional prefix, cf. [van den Berg 1995: 353], or a fossilized person exponent, thus in [NCED: 641].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 206, 303; Madieva 1965: 178.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 67. Two parallel present forms should be noted: *niλ-ca* and (with occasional assimilation) *nic-ca*.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 67.

**Common Bezhta:** Historically, a prefixal formation  $n=i\lambda$ , where initial  $n=$  is a fossilized directional prefix.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 276, 433.

The Hinukh verb for 'to give' is suppletive in respect of recipient person:  $ne\lambda$  is used with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> p. of the recipient 'to give to me, us, you' /  $to\lambda$  is used with 3<sup>rd</sup> p. of the recipient 'to give to him, her, it, them' [Forker 2013: 484 f.]. It must be noted that the distribution is not absolutely strict; browsing through [Forker 2013] provides some aberrant examples among a great number of regular instances: cf.  $ne\lambda$  in the constructions 'he to them' [Forker 2013: 319, 395], 'I to him' [Forker 2013: 250].

We treat  $ne\lambda$  and  $to\lambda$  as synonyms, although historically they represent paronymous formations  $n=e\lambda$  and  $t=o\lambda$  with fossilized directional prefixes. Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 330, 433.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 198, 318. Polysemy: 'to give / to give as a gift'.

The Kidero Dido verb for 'to give' is suppletive in respect to the recipient person:  $ne\lambda$  is used with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> p. of the recipient 'to give to me, us, you' /  $te\lambda$  is used with 3<sup>rd</sup> p. of the recipient 'to give to him, her, it, them'. We treat  $ne\lambda$  and  $te\lambda$  as synonyms, although historically they represent paronymous formations  $n=e\lambda$  and  $t=e\lambda$  with fossilized directional prefixes. Khalilov 1999: 234, 318. Polysemy: 'to give / to give as a gift'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Elicited in contexts with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> p. of the recipient: "The father is giving me a stone", "I am giving you a stone". Abdulaev 2014. Elicited in the context with 3<sup>rd</sup> p. of the recipient: "I am giving my father a stone".

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 105, 107 (2×). Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 106.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 147, 165, 169; Khalilova 2009: 25.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:**  $i\lambda$  {и́ла} 'to give' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 327] and  $ti\lambda \sim tu\lambda$  'to give' [Khalilova 2009: 327]. Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 146, 156, 164, 166, 167, 170. In [Bokarev 1959: 146, 156, 164, 166, 167], it is transcribed as  $ci\lambda$  {цы́ла} or even  $ce\lambda$  {це́ли} - apparently mistaken transcriptions of  $ti\lambda$ , whereas in [Bokarev 1959: 170] it is correctly quoted as  $ti\lambda$  {ти́ла}.

**Common Khwarshi:** It is claimed in [Khalilova 2009: 327] that the Kwantlada Khwarshi verb for 'to give' is suppletive in respect to the recipient person:  $i\lambda$  is used with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> p. of the recipient 'to give to me, us, you' /  $tV\lambda$  is used with 3<sup>rd</sup> p. of the recipient 'to give to him, her, it, them'.

[Khalilova 2009] contains multiple Kwantlada Khwarshi textual instances of  $i\lambda$  and  $ti\lambda$ . Thorough analysis shows that (1)  $i\lambda$  is more frequently used than  $tV\lambda$ ; (2)  $i\lambda$  is used independently of the recipient person, whereas  $tV\lambda$  is indeed restricted to 3<sup>rd</sup> p. of the recipient. Scant Khwarshi proper instances in [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961] demonstrate the same tendencies. Almost no relevant textual data from Inkhokwari Khwarshi are available.

We treat  $i\lambda$  and  $tV\lambda$  as synonyms, although historically they represent paronymous formations ( $t=V\lambda$  with a fossilized directional prefix).

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 640. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the strange alternation  $*i$  in the plain form vs.  $*i$  in the prefixed forms.

Semantics and structure: Primary verb. The plain root  $*i\lambda-$  is only retained in Khwarshi. Normally we find the prefixed stems  $*n=i\lambda-$  and  $*t=i\lambda-$  (in East Tsezic, only  $*n=i\lambda-$  is used).

In West Tsezic, the usual situation is the grammatical opposition between two stems in respect to the recipient person: stem-A with 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> p. vs. stem-B with 3<sup>rd</sup> p. In Hinukh-Dido, this opposition looks as follows:  $*n=i\lambda-$  /  $*t=i\lambda-$ . Somewhat differently in Khwarshi:  $*i\lambda-$  /  $*t=i\lambda-$ . Because of such a material difference, it is hard to project the described grammatical opposition onto the Proto-West Tsezic level. More likely, we deal with a later grammatical introduction that has affected neighboring West Tsezic lects.

We prefer to treat  $*n=$  and  $*t=$  as old directional prefixes (a normal pattern for the verb for 'to give'), which probably got desemantized and fossilized already in Proto-Tsezic. The competing reconstruction of  $*n=$  and  $*t=$  as unique recipient person exponents does not find additional confirmation.

## 34. GOOD

Hunzib (proper)  $k'ot'-u \sim k'ot':-u$  {κIomIy} (1), Bezhta (proper)  $k'et'-o$  {κIemIo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta  $k'et'-o$  (1), Tlyadal Bezhta  $k'et'-\ddot{o}$  (1), Hinukh  $CLASS=egi-y \sim CLASS=egi$ : {βezūū, βezū} (2), Kidero Dido  $CLASS=ig-u$  {βuzy} (2), Sagada Dido  $CLASS=ig-u$  {βuzy} (2), Khwarshi (proper)  $CLASS=ag-u$  {azy} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi  $CLASS=og-u$  {ozy} (2), Proto-Tsezic

*\*CLASS=igV ~ \*CLASS=əgV(2).*

**References and notes:**

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 108, 242; van den Berg 1995: 313; Bokarev 1961: 158, 182.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 171, 345; Madieva 1965: 172.

Distinct from adverbial *aχ-o* {axo} 'good, in the proper way / very' [Khalilov 1995: 30; Madieva 1965: 145, 148].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Ya. Testelets, p.c.; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715.

Distinct from adverbial *aχ-o* {axo} 'good, in the proper way / very' (Ya. Testelets, p.c.).

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 65, 544. Widely applicable.

Distinct from two more marginal words:

1) *zap'anaw* {запана́в} with polysemy: 'beautiful / good / lucky / strong' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 171], looks like an Avarism, but the source form has not been found;

2) *laz:ataw* {лаззата́в} 'pleasant, good, convenient' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 239] < Avar *lazata-w* 'pleasant / tasty'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 54, 393. Polysemy: 'good / beautiful', widely applicable.

Distinct from less common words:

1) *zap'ana* {запана́} 'beautiful / good' [Khalilov 1999: 121] (a loan?);

2) *lazatab* {лазата́б} 'pleasant, good' [Khalilov 1999: 167] < Avar *lazata-b* 'pleasant / tasty';

3) *c'ik'araw* {цик'ара́в} 'good / superfluous / numerous' [Khalilov 1999: 277] < Avar *c'ik'ara-w* 'elder / magnificent, outstanding'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92, 97; Khalilova 2009: 5.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 158.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS=og-u {ory} 'good' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5, 100]. Widely applicable.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 643. Distribution: Two roots enter into competition:

1) East Tsezic *\*kotV* [NCED: 724]; lost in West Tsezic;

2) West Tsezic *\*CLASS=igV (~ -ə)* [NCED: 643]; lost in East Tsezic.

There is no internal Tsezic evidence that would allow us to make a single choice. External comparison, however, clearly suggests that the Proto-Tsezic term for 'good' was *\*CLASS=igV*, its cognates mean 'good' or 'right' in Nakh, Avaro-Andian, Dargi, Lezgian. On the other hand, Tsezic *\*kotV* is either unetymologizable or originates from the meaning 'soft'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary adjectival stem.

## 35. GREEN

Hunzib (proper) *nič-d-u* {ничду} (1), Bezhta (proper) *nič-d-iy-o* {ничдийо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *nič-d-iy-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *nič-d-iy-ö* (1), Hinukh *iši-y-o-s ~ iš-y-o-s ~ iš:-o-s* {иши́нос, ишйос, ишшос} (2), Kidero Dido *eč-y-a-si* {эчйаси} (3), Sagada Dido *c'ic'i-r-a* {ц'иуц'ира} (4), Khwarshi (proper) *lib-la-yt-i* {либлайльи} (5), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *qayile ~ qayle* {хъайиле} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *\*ničV-* (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 133, 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; van den Berg 1995: 321; Bokarev 1961: 162, 175. Polysemy: 'green / blue / grey'. In [van den Berg 1995: 321], glossed as 'dark blue, dark green'. Final *-d-* is the adjectival suffix [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 236].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 208; Madieva 1965: 178. Cf. the attested examples: "green grass" [Khalilov 1995: 208], "green onion (i.e., spring onions)" [Khalilov 1995: 250].

A second term for 'green' is *heł-at-co-ɔs* {гьелпальцъос} [Khalilov 1995: 80], derived from the noun *heł-at-co* 'green

color', further to *hele* 'walnut (a fruit)'. Cf. the attested example: “green dye (paint)” [Khalilov 1995: 281]. This adjective is apparently more marginal than *nič-d-iy-o*, because *heλ-aλ-co-λos* is not quoted in [Madieva 1965].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

**Common Bezhta:** Polysemy: 'green / blue' for *nič-d-iy-o* in all the dialects.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 187, 446; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Forker 2013: 172. Derived from the substantive *iši ~ üšü* (gen. *iši-š*) 'apple / first spring coming-up (of grass)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 187; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 104] (*š*: < *šy*).

A second candidate is *nik-d-iy-u*, glossed in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234, 235] with polysemy: 'blue / green', but other sources only provide the meaning 'blue' for this adjective: [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 277; Forker 2013: 172].

Distinct from the loanword *žurčīnaw* {гурчинав} 'green (applied to plants)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 158] < Avar *šurčīna-w* 'green (of plants)'.  
Distinct from the loanword *žurčīnaw* {гурчинав} 'green (applied to plants)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 158] < Avar *šurčīna-w* 'green (of plants)'.  
Distinct from the loanword *žurčīnaw* {гурчинав} 'green (applied to plants)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 158] < Avar *šurčīna-w* 'green (of plants)'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 299, 327; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. A derived adjective in *-si* [Khalilov 1999: 437], although the starting noun is not documented.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Corresponds to Kidero Dido *c'ic'i-r-a* 'red, vermilion (алый)' [Khalilov 1999: 278]. Actually, Sagada *c'ic'i-r-a* with the meaning 'green' could be an error due to inaccurate question to a Sagada informant.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Derived from *λib* 'leaf' q.v. (*-la-* is the oblique stem exponent?) with the common adjectival suffixes *-t-* & *-y-* (*y* < \**t-y*).

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. Polysemy: 'green / blue'. Borrowed from Andian languages (Bagvalal, Chamalal *q:ayλ*: 'blue', Tindi *q:a:λ:a* 'blue' etc.).

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** the same loanword *qayle* {хъайлЕ} 'green' [Karimova 2014].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 592. Distribution: Retained only in East Tsezic with the standard adjectival suffixes; polysemy 'green / blue' is to be reconstructed at least for the Proto-East Tsezic level. *Pace* [NCED: 592], the root was apparently lost in West Tsezic. A possible external *comparandum* is the Nakh adjective 'unripe'.

In West Tsezic, expressions for 'green' normally represent various denominative stems (the attested starting nouns are 'first spring grass' and 'leaf'). Such adjectives should be regarded as relatively recent formations.

In Inkhokwari Khwarshi, an Andian loanword is attested.

Replacements: {'first spring grass' > 'green'} (Hinukh); {'leaf' > 'green'} (Khwarshi proper).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Probably a primary adjectival root.

## 36. HAIR

Hunzib (proper) *kerā* {кeрa} (1), Bezhta (proper) *kēyā* {кe<sup>n</sup>ūa<sup>n</sup>} (1) / *müč* {мyбчI} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *müč* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *müč* (2), Hinukh *mus-be* {мyсбe} (3), Kidero Dido *kodi* {кoдy} (4), Sagada Dido *kodi* {кoдy} (4), Khwarshi (proper) *čoda* {чoдa} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *kode* {кoдe} (4), Proto-Tsezic \**muč* B (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 91, 194; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; van den Berg 1995: 310; Bokarev 1961: 157, 173. Generic term with polysemy: 'head hair / body hair / a single hair'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 146, 299; Madieva 1965: 166. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair'. For the collective meaning 'head hair', see examples in [Khalilov 1995: 146] and additionally “There is hair around the forehead” [Madieva 1965: 76].

A second candidate is *müč* 'head hair', quoted in [Khalilov 1995], but missing from [Madieva 1965]. We treat *kēyā* and *müč* as synonyms. Khalilov 1995: 202, 299.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Specified as 'head hair'.

Distinct from *kerā* 'a single hair' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Specified as 'head hair'.

Distinct from *kerā* 'a single hair' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 271, 423; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Plural from the generic term *mus* 'a single hair'.

Distinct from the more marginal borrowed term *kočori* {кочори} 'head hair / forelock' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 206] <

Georgian *kočori* 'topknot, tuft of hair'.

Distinct from the specific term *čud* {чуд} 'mane / forelock, long head hair' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 392], which is, however, quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42] as the generic term for 'head hair'.

Distinct from specific *peh* {пехI} 'pubic hair' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 292].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 141, 311; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Denotes collective 'hair'.

Distinct from *mus* {мус} 'a single hair' [Khalilov 1999: 194, 311; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Elicited in the context "He pulled him by his hair".

Distinct from *mus* {мус} with polysemy: 'a single hair (of human or animal) / body hair (of human) / fur (of animal)' [Abdulaev 2014].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92. Denotes collective 'hair'.

Distinct from *ka* 'a single hair' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 113; Bokarev 1959: 147, 152, 156].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Denotes collective 'hair'.

Distinct from Inkhokwari *kō ~ ko* 'a single hair' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Bokarev 1959: 147, 148, 150, 152].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *kode* {коде} [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 34]. It denotes collective 'hair'. Cf. the attested examples: "The girl cut (her) hair by accident" [Khalilova 2009: 324], "As soon as the girl fell asleep, the neighbor tied her hair to the tree" [Khalilova 2009: 87, 403].

There are also two other Kwantlada terms: *ko* 'hair' [Khalilova 2009: 57, 263] and *mis ~ mus* 'hair' [Khalilova 2009: 64, 65, 135]. Their exact meanings are unknown, at least *ko* is expected to mean 'a single hair'. Cf. the found example for *mis ~ mus*: "When the man sat on the top of the yoke bending, (his) hair had fallen" [Khalilova 2009: 135].

#### Proto-Tsezic:

NCED: 805. Distribution: The relevant Tsezic forms can be summarized in the following table:

'HAIR'	Hunzib	Bezhta proper	Bezhta (other)	Hinukh	Dido	Khwarshi proper	Inkhokwari
* <i>kē</i> B [NCED: 697]	single hair / head hair	single hair / head hair	single hair			single hair	single hair
* <i>muč</i> B [NCED: 805]		head hair	head hair	neck	neck	neck	neck
* <i>mos</i> : (~ -u-, -s) [NCED: 805]				single hair / head hair (pl.)	single hair / body hair	hair (unspecified)	hair (unspecified)
* <i>kōdV</i> A [NCED: 705]					head hair	<i>čoda</i> head hair	head hair
* <i>čō</i> A [NCED: 347]		<i>čoy</i> hair in horse's tail		<i>čud</i> long head hair			<i>ču</i> mane

The Proto-East Tsezic system can be reconstructed as \**kē* 'a single hair' / \**muč* 'hair (collective), head hair'. In Hunzib, the system became simplified: \**muč* was eliminated and \**kē* acquired the polysemy 'head hair / body hair / a single hair'. In Bezhta proper, \**kē* acquired the polysemy 'head hair / a single hair' (perhaps independently from the same process in Hunzib).

The Proto-West Tsezic system can be reconstructed as \**kē* 'a single hair' / \**kōdV* 'head hair'. In Hinukh & Dido, \**kē* 'a single hair' got lost, having been superseded by \**mos*: (the original semantics of \**mos*: was 'a kind of hair'; more exact specification is difficult, but the proto-meaning 'body hair, fur' is very probable, cf. its meaning in Dido); such a replacement should be treated as contact-driven homoplasy between Hinukh & Dido. Additionally, in modern Hinukh, 'head hair' is secondarily expressed as the pl. form of \**mos*. In Khwarshi proper, \**kōdV* 'head hair' was phonetically influenced by \**čō* 'horsehair', having substituted initial *k-* for *č-* (the similar hybrid form *čud* is observed in Hinukh, but its meaning 'long head hair' suggests that we more probably deal with a reverse process, when \**čō* 'mane' > 'long head hair' was influenced by \**kōdV* 'head hair').

External comparison (first of all, the Andian *comparanda*) suggests that the East Tsezic system must be projected onto the Proto-Tsezic level: \**kē* 'a single hair' / \**muč* 'head hair'. In Proto-West Tsezic, \**muč* 'head hair' shifted to the meaning 'neck', having been superseded by \**kōdV* in the meaning 'head hair'. The original Proto-Tsezic semantics of \**kōdV* is unclear; its North Caucasian etymology (if correct!) suggests the meaning 'bush, crown of a tree'.

Replacements: {'a single hair' > 'head hair'} (Hunzib, Bezhta proper, Hinukh); {'head hair' > 'neck'} (Proto-West Tsezic).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 37. HAND

Hunzib (proper) *koro* {коро} (1), Bezhta (proper) *ko*: {кō} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *koro*

(1), Tlyadal Bezhta *koro* (1), Hinukh *k<sup>w</sup>ezeɣ* {квезей} (1), Kidero Dido *reλ'a* {рекба} (2), Sagada Dido *reλ'a* {рекба} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *leλ'a* {лекба} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *liλ'a ~ liλ'a* {ликба} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*k<sup>w</sup>irV*(1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 93, 230; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27; van den Berg 1995: 311; Bokarev 1961: 157, 180. Paradigm: *koro* [abs.] / *kā-s* [gen.]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27], the genitive form is quoted as denasalized *ka-s*.

Distinct from *bicu* {бьцу} 'arm' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 48; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; van den Berg 1995: 288; Bokarev 1961: 152, 180].

Distinct from specific *riλ'a* {рыкба} with polysemy: 'sleeve / front leg of animal' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 145; van den Berg 1995: 331].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 148; Madieva 1965: 167. Paradigm: *ko*: [abs.] / *ka-s ~ ko:-s* [gen.]. Meaning is specifically 'hand'. Cf. numerous textual examples in [Khalilov 1995]: "Give me the hand!" [Madieva 1965: 74], "The mother pats the son on the head with the hand" [Madieva 1965: 121], "When they touch (her) with the hand, the mother fell into the chimney of the mill" [Madieva 1965: 128], "The mother said, having put her hand on son's head" [Madieva 1965: 131].

Distinct from *bico* {бицо} 'arm' [Khalilov 1995: 48, 333; Madieva 1965: 151].

Distinct from specific *yiλ'a* {йикба} 'sleeve' [Khalilov 1995: 121].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27. Paradigm: *koro* [abs.] / *ka-s* [gen.]. Meaning specifically 'hand'.

Distinct from *bico* 'arm' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26].

Distinct from specific *riλ'a* with polysemy: 'sleeve / foreleg' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26, 130].

As noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26], there also exists a Khoshar-Khota generic term for 'hand + arm': the compound *bico-riλ'a*, literally 'arm' + 'sleeve'. Statistical difference between the more specific *koro* and the more generic *bico-riλ'a* is not described, but we may assume that the situation is the same as in Tlyadal Bezhta q.v.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27; Khalilov 1995: 148. Paradigm: *koro* [abs.] / *ka-s* [gen.]. Meaning specifically 'hand'.

Distinct from *bico* 'arm' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26].

Distinct from specific *riλ'a* 'sleeve' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 130].

According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26], there also exists a Tlyadal generic term for 'hand + arm': the compound *bico-riλ'a*, literally 'arm' + 'sleeve'. This one, however, seems more marginal in the meaning 'hand' than the more specific *koro*, because in all the found examples only *koro* is attested: "The dog licks the hand" [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 230], "Fire burnt the boy's hand" [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 231], "The boy burnt his hand with fire" [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 231], "Until it (a snake) bit him, his hand was healthy" [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 266], "His hands are long" [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 280].

**Common Bezhta:** The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* (*ko*) is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 197, 515; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26, 27. Paradigm: *k<sup>w</sup>ezeɣ* [abs.] / *k<sup>w</sup>eze-ɾa-* [obl.]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], specified as a generic term for 'hand + arm'; the same follows from the textual examples in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005].

Cf. the specific adverb *k<sup>w</sup>a*: {квā} 'in the hand(s)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 197].

Distinct from *mecu* {мецу} with polysemy: 'arm / sleeve / draft bar' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 265; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26].

Distinct from *qot* {хъот} with polysemy: 'paw / palm of hand / hand / palm slap' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 363].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 215, 372; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26, 27. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], specified as a generic term for 'hand + arm'.

Distinct from *mecu* {мецу} with polysemy: 'arm / draft bar' [Khalilov 1999: 188; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 104, 107. Meaning 'hand'.

Distinct from *geša* 'arm' [NCED: 448].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27; Bokarev 1959: 145, 147, 150. The variant *liλ'a* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Bokarev 1959]. Meaning 'hand'.

Distinct from *geša* 'arm' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Bokarev 1959: 150].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *liλ'a ~ luλ'a ~ liλ'a* {лыкба, лукба} with polysemy: 'hand / arm' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 45, 67, 79, 113]. The variants *liλ'a ~ luλ'a* are from [Karimova 2014]. In [Khalilova 2009], it is normally transcribed as *liλ'a*

and seldom as *liʕa*. Numerous textual instances for the meaning 'hand' are available in [Khalilova 2009], but no examples for 'arm' are known, however.

Distinct from Kwantlada *qot* 'palm of hand' [Khalilova 2009: 14, 32].

Distinct from *qeša* 'shoulder' [Khalilova 2009: 45].

**Proto-Tsezic:**

NCED: 706. Distribution: The relevant forms can be summarized in the following table:

'HAND'	Hunzib	Bezhta	Hinukh	Dido	Khwarshi (proper, Inkhokwari)	Kwantlada Khwarshi
* <i>k<sup>w</sup>irV</i> [NCED: 706]	hand	hand	hand			
* <i>bēu</i> A [NCED: 307]	arm	arm	arm / sleeve	arm		
* <i>riʕa</i> A [NCED: 779]	sleeve / foreleg	sleeve / foreleg		hand	hand	hand / arm
* <i>qʒa</i> (~ -e-, -š-) [NCED: 448]					arm	shoulder

Proto-Tsezic \**bēu* can be safely reconstructed with the meaning 'arm'; in Khwarshi, it was superseded by \**qʒa*, whose original meaning is unclear (its Kwantlada Khwarshi meaning and external etymology, if correct, could point to something like 'shoulder' [NCED: 448]).

Reconstruction of the Proto-Tsezic term for 'hand' is somewhat more problematic. Two stems enter into competition:

1) \**k<sup>w</sup>irV*, which can be posited at least as Proto-East Tsezic 'hand' (plus 'hand' in Hinukh, lost in the rest of West Tsezic lects);

2) \**riʕa*, which is attested as 'hand' in West Tsezic: Dido plus Khwarshi minus Hinukh. In East Tsezic, it means 'sleeve / foreleg'.

We posit \**k<sup>w</sup>irV* as the Proto-Tsezic term for 'hand'. In the Dido-Khwarshi cluster it was superseded by \**riʕa*.

Theoretically, however, the opposite solution is also possible: \**riʕa* was the Proto-Tsezic term for 'hand', which was superseded by \**k<sup>w</sup>irV* in Proto-East Tsezic and secondarily in Hinukh under the influence on the part of East Tsezic.

External comparison speaks in favour of Proto-Tsezic \**k<sup>w</sup>irV* 'hand' (its cognates mean 'hand' in Avar, Nakh, Lak, Lezgian, Khinalug [NCED: 706]). But, strictly speaking, we are in a situation of semantic criss-crossing, since external cognates of \**riʕa* mean 'hand' in Andian [NCED: 779].

From the geographical point of view, Proto-Andian \**riʕa* 'hand' / Dido-Khwarshi \**riʕa* 'hand' is an areal isogloss, which affects the Andian languages together with neighboring Dido & Khwarshi. Thus we suppose that \**riʕa* was the Proto-Andian term for 'hand' (an Andian introduction), which has later influenced the adjacent Tsezic lects (namely Dido & Khwarshi with all their dialects). The original Proto-Tsezic meaning of \**riʕa* is unknown (cf. its meanings 'sleeve / foreleg' in East Tsezic).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the consonant metathesis in the oblique stem.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, meaning specifically 'hand'. Two oblique stems can be reconstructed. The first one is \**k<sup>w</sup> V̄*, its antiquity is beyond doubt since it is retained in East Tsezic and adverbially in Hinukh. The second oblique stem is \**k<sup>w</sup>irV-zV-*, metathesized to \**k<sup>w</sup>izVra-*; this one is reflected in the Hinukh paradigm *k<sup>w</sup>ezeɣ* [abs.] / *k<sup>w</sup>eze-ra-* [obl.], where the abs. stem is a back formation. Apparently the oblique stem \**k<sup>w</sup>irV-zV-* is a secondary Proto-West Tsezic or even Proto-Hinukh introduction, cf. the same pattern in the words for 'bone', 'eye' q.v.

**38. HEAD**

Hunzib (proper) *q'am* {*квәм*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *q'äm* {*квәм*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *q'äm* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *q'äm* (1), Hinukh *q'imu* {*квуму*} (1), Kidero Dido *q'im* {*квум*} (1), Sagada Dido *q'im* {*квум*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *q'em* {*квем*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *q'em* {*квем*} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**q'əm* B (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 97, 196; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; van den Berg 1995: 327; Bokarev 1961: 158, 173. Polysemy: 'head / chief / top / river head'.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 154, 301; Madieva 1965: 168. Polysemy: 'head / chief / head of cattle / head of the bed / title'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 217, 430; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10. Polysemy: 'head / head of cattle / chief / head of the bed / end (of rope etc.)'.

Distinct from *oq'ru* {окъру} with polysemy: 'skull, cranium / head, noddle' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 283].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 150, 316; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the oblique stem is quoted as *q'eme-* instead of regular *q'ime-*, as in [Khalilov 1999]. Polysemy: 'head / head of cattle / chief / head of the bed'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 93, 97.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Bokarev 1959: 146, 150.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *q'em* {къем} 'head' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 494. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 39. HEAR

Hunzib (proper) *nid* {ныда} (1), Bezhta (proper) *tuq* {тухъал} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *tuq* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *tuq* (2), Hinukh *toq* {тохъа} (2), Kidero Dido *teq* {техъа} (2), Sagada Dido *teq<sup>w</sup>* {техъва} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *tiq-a-χ* {тихъаха} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *tuq* {тухъа} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*tuq<sup>w</sup>B* (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 134, 233; van den Berg 1995: 322; Bokarev 1961: 162, 180. The model: absolutive (sound) + dative (recipient). Theoretically can be analyzed as *\*n=id* or *\*n=id* with a fossilized directional prefix, for which see [van den Berg 1995: 353].

Distinct from the more marginal verb *tuq* {тухъа}, which is glossed as 'to hear' in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 155, 233] (with only one example: "He has heard the news") and as 'to listen' in [van den Berg 1995: 336].

Distinct from the analytic expressions for 'to listen': *āva-tuq-le*, *āva-tuq-ke* {ангъатухъла, ангъатухъкIа} [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 25, 233; van den Berg 1995: 283], literally 'to put the ear on' with *āva* 'ear' q.v. and *tuq-le*, *tuq-ke* 'to lean on, put on'. Additionally, the compound *āva-rev* {ангъарегъа} 'listen' in quoted in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 25, 233] with *rev* '?'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 241, 336; Madieva 1965: 186. Polysemy: 'to hear / to understand'. The model: absolutive (sound) + dative (recipient).

Distinct from *enekzi* CLASS=*aq* {энекизийахъал} with polysemy: 'to listen / to obey' [Khalilov 1995: 292, 336], literally 'to become *enekzi*', the latter is borrowed from Avar *enekize* 'to listen'. See [Madieva 1965: 114] for this complex verb pattern, typical of loanwords.

Distinct from *čoq* {чохъал} 'to hear of, be aware of' [Khalilov 1995: 277], *čač* {чIалъал} 'to hear that, be aware of' [Khalilov 1995: 279].

Distinct from *āvā-k-ā*: {ḡ'alḡḡ'aklāḡḡ} 'to hear out / to overhear' [Khalilov 1995: 290], derived from *āvā* 'ear' q.v. with the denominative (factive, causative) suffix *-k* [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 270; Madieva 1965: 113] and iterative *-ā*.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172.

Distinct from *āvā-k-d-ā*: 'to listen' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172], derived from *āvā* 'ear' q.v. with the denominative (factive) suffix *-k* and the durative suffix *-da* [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 270; Madieva 1965: 113] plus iterative *-ā*.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172.

Distinct from *enekzi* CLASS=*aq* 'to listen' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172], literally 'to become *enekzi*', the latter is borrowed from Avar *enekize* 'to listen'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 331, 521. The model: absolutive (sound) + dative (recipient).

Distinct from *zenekezi* CLASS=*iq* ~ *zenekizi* CLASS=*iq* {гIенекези, гIенекизи бихъа} with polysemy: 'to listen / to obey' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 155], literally 'to become *zenekezi*', the latter is borrowed from Avar *enekize* 'to listen'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 235, 376. Polysemy: 'to hear / to understand'. The model: absolutive (sound) + dative (recipient).

Distinct from the expressions for 'to listen':

1) *teq-er* {техъра} with polysemy: 'to listen / overhear' [Khalilov 1999: 235, 376], causative from *teq* 'to hear';

2) *ʒenekizi* CLASS=оq {ҕенекизи охъа} with polysemy: 'to listen / to obey' [Khalilov 1999: 108, 376], literally 'to become *ʒenekizi*', the latter is borrowed from Avar *ʒenekize* 'to listen'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Formally, a causative stem with the causative suffix -χ.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 146, 173. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. The model for the meaning 'to hear': absolutive (sound) + dative (recipient) [Bokarev 1959: 153].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *tuq* {тухъа} 'to hear' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 77, 82, 84, 190, 305]. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'. The model for the meaning 'to hear': absolutive (sound) + lative (recipient); the model for the meaning 'to listen': ergative (recipient) + absolutive (sound) [Khalilova 2009: 305].

**Proto-Tsezic: Distribution:** Retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects, although in Hunzib this word is obsolete, being superseded by *nid* (not attested elsewhere). Both *\*tuq<sup>w</sup>* and *\*n(=)id ~ \*n(=)id̄* lack external North Caucasian etymology.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary verbal stem, meaning 'to hear' with the model "absolutive (sound) + dative (recipient)".

## 40. HEART

Hunzib (proper) *rak'u* {pàkIy} (1), Bezhta (proper) *yak'o* {üakIo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *rak'o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *rak'o* (1), Hinukh *rok<sup>w</sup>e ~ rok'e* {pokIbe, pokIe} (1), Kidero Dido *rok'u* {pokIy} (1), Sagada Dido *rok'u* {pokIy} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *lok<sup>w</sup>a* {локIва} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *lok'o* {локIo} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*rɔk<sup>w</sup>ə* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 142, 232; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; van den Berg 1995: 329; Bokarev 1961: 163, 180.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 106, 335; Madieva 1965: 196. Polysemy: 'heart / soul / core'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34.

**Common Bezhta:** The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 305, 518; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34. Polysemy: 'heart / soul / core / root (of plant, tree)' (the synchronic polysemy with 'heart' is secondary from the historical point of view).

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 220, 374; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34. Polysemy: 'heart / core / soul'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 120.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Bokarev 1959: 144.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *lok'o* {локIo} 'heart' Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 45.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 678. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 41. HORN

Hunzib (proper) *šelu* {шелы} (1), Bezhta (proper) *šelo* {шелo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *šelo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *šelö* (1), Hinukh *tama ~ tami* {тама, таму} (2), Kidero Dido *šilu* {шилы} (1), Sagada Dido *šilu* {шилы} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *šeru* {шеры} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *šel<sup>y</sup>u* {шел'ы} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*šelu ~ \*š:elu* A (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 181, 230; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; van den Berg 1995: 334; Bokarev 1961: 169, 179. Polysemy: 'horn / callosity, corn'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 285, 333; Madieva 1965: 195.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 325, 514; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. *Pace* [NCED: 991 f.], word of unclear origin.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 292, 371; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 152; Khalilova 2009: 7.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45, 327; Bokarev 1959: 150.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *šelʷu* {шелʷy} 'horn' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 7, 20, 59].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 978. Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects, except for Hinukh, where it was superseded by *tama* ~ *tami* (*pace* [NCED: 991 f.], the Hinukh word is of unclear origin).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 42. I<sub>1</sub>

Hunzib (proper) *də* {də} (1), Bezhta (proper) *do* {dɔ} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *do* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *do* (1), Hinukh *de* {dɛ} (1), Kidero Dido *di* {dɪ} (1), Sagada Dido *di* (1), Khwarshi (proper) *da* {dɑ} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *do* {dɔ} (1), Proto-Tsezic \***də** (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 162; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; van den Berg 1995: 60; Bokarev 1959: 43. Paradigm: *do* [abs., erg.] / *di-* [obl.].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 399; Madieva 1965: 98. Paradigm: *do* [abs., erg.] / *di-*, *di-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221. Oblique forms are not documented.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 246; Bokarev 1959: 93. Paradigm: *do* [abs., erg.] / *di-*, *di-* [obl.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 581; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Forker 2013: 130; Lomtadze 1963: 109. Paradigm: *de* [abs., erg.] / *di-* [obl.].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 439; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 128; Imnaishvili 1963: 94; Bokarev 1959: 196. Paradigm: *di* [abs., erg.] / *dey* [gen.] / *dä-* [obl.].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 94. Paradigm: *di* [abs., erg.] / *dey* [gen.] / *di-* [obl.].

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Asakh *di* [abs., erg.] / *dey* [gen.] / *da-* [obl.] T; Mokok *di* [abs., erg.] / *dey* [gen.] / *dä-* [obl.] T; Shaytl *di* [abs., erg.] / *dey* [gen.] / *de-* [obl.] T; Shapikh *di* [abs., erg.] / *dey* [gen.] / *da-* [obl.] T [Imnaishvili 1963: 94].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 109. Paradigm: *da* [abs.] / *de* [erg.] / *di-* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Bokarev 1959: 159. Paradigm: *do* [abs.] / *de* [erg.] / *di-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *do* [abs.] / *de* [erg.] / *di-* [obl.] T [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 142].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1084. Distribution: Retained as the independent personal pronoun of the 1<sup>st</sup> p. in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal root. The oblique stem is \**di-*.

## 43. KILL

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=iʃ'e* {бикьа} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=iʃ'e* {йикьал} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=uβo-l* (2) / *CLASS=iʃ'e* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=iʃ'e* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=uhe-r* {бугьера} (2), Kidero Dido *CLASS=eχu-r* {бexyра} (2), Sagada Dido *CLASS=eχu-r*

{*бexypa*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS=*iyaχ* ~ CLASS=*ihaχ* {*ийаха, иъбаха*} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS=*o:χ* {*ōxa*} (3), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*iA*V(1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 39, 239; van den Berg 1995: 306; Bokarev 1961: 156, 181. Examples in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001] make it clear that this is the basic verb for 'to kill'.

Distinct from CLASS=*uh-k'e* {*бугъкIа*} 'to spoil / to kill', CLASS=*uh-le* {*бугъла*} 'to spoil / to destroy / to kill' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 45, 239; van den Berg 1995: 337; Bokarev 1961: 166, 181] - causatives from CLASS=*uhu* 'to die / to get spoilt' q.v.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 121, 342; Madieva 1965: 162. Polysemy: 'to kill / to throw, hurl / to shoot' (rather two homonymous verbs 'to kill' & 'to throw, to shoot').

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170. Regular causative from CLASS=*uvo* 'to die' q.v. The second synonym for 'to kill' is the primary verb CLASS=*iA'e*, quoted by M. Khalilov, p.c.M. Khalilov, p.c.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 104, 536. Polysemy: 'to kill / to spoil'. Regular causative from CLASS=*uhe* 'to die / to get spoilt' q.v.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 49, 387. Polysemy: 'to kill / to spoil'.

Distinct from the causatives from the more rare verbs for 'to die': *tiyi-r* {*лъийра*} with polysemy: 'to finish (trans.) / to kill' [Khalilov 1999: 175], *tiyu-r* {*лъихъура*} with polysemy: 'to dry (trans.) / to kill' [Khalilov 1999: 175], *ut'-er* {*гъутIра*} 'to kill' (only of animals?) [Khalilov 1999: 94].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** CLASS=*eχu-r* is a regular causative from CLASS=*eχu* 'to die / to get spoilt' q.v.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

A second equivalent for 'to kill' is CLASS=*iha-x* {*иъаха*} 'to kill' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 115] with the example "The wolf said: 'Should I kill you?'" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117] - regular causative from CLASS=*ih* 'to die' q.v.

Distinct from the more specific verb CLASS=*iχ<sup>w</sup>-ad* 'to slaughter' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 119; Bokarev 1959: 148].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014.

Distinct from the more specific Inkhokwari verb CLASS=*uχ-ad* 'to slaughter' [Bokarev 1959: 148].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS=*uvoχ* {*увоха*} 'to kill' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 70]. The contracted variant CLASS=*o:χ* is also attested [Khalilova 2009: 191]. Cf. some examples: "Having fallen, the post killed the man" [Khalilova 2009: 70]; "When they were killed in Finland, and when there was a treaty with them, ..." [Khalilova 2009: 191]; "He was going to kill her" [Khalilova 2009: 195]; "If you like, kill me" [Khalilova 2009: 414]; "Magomed killed Mesedo at the place where she was sleeping" [Khalilova 2009: 420]; "his raven had been killed" [Khalilova 2009: 422]; and so on.

A second Kwantlada candidate is the verb *a'h* (i.e., CLASS=*a'h?*), quoted with the gloss 'to kill' in [Khalilova 2009: 17], but no examples have been found.

Distinct from the more specific Kwantlada verb CLASS=*uχ-ad* ~ CLASS=*uχ<sup>f</sup>-ad* 'to slaughter' [Khalilova 2009: 307, 315, 393, 423].

**Common Khwarshi:** It is likely that =*iyaχ* (Khwarshi proper) / =*o:χ* (Inkhokwari) / =*uvoχ* (Kwantlada) represent the lengthened grade of the root *iχ<sup>w</sup>* (Khwarshi proper) / *uχ* (Inkhokwari, Kwantlada), attested in the suffixal stems 'to slaughter', quoted above (= *iχ<sup>w</sup>-ad* / = *uχ-ad*). Cf. similar, although not identical, root lengthening in general tense [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 116; Bokarev 1959: 166; Khalilova 2009: 185]. The main difficulty is that the Khwarshi proper form is =*iyaχ* 'to kill', not the expected labialized \*\*=*iyaχ<sup>w</sup>*, although in modern data, collected by Karimova, labialization is often lost.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 661. Distribution: Retained as the basic verb for 'to kill' only in East Tsezic, except for Khoshar-Khota Bezhta; lost in other lects.

In the majority of West Tsezic lects plus Khoshar-Khota Bezhta, the meaning 'to kill' is expressed by synchronic causative stems from the verb 'to die' q.v. (\*CLASS=*iχ<sup>w</sup>V* [NCED: 635]). In Hunzib, it coexists with \*CLASS=*iA*V.

In Khwarshi, 'to kill' is derived from the verb 'to slaughter' (\*CLASS=*iχ<sup>w</sup>V* A [NCED: 635], although the causative stem from 'to die' is also present.

External comparison definitely suggests that the Proto-Tsezic verb for 'to kill' was \*CLASS=*iA*V, whereas causative stems from 'to die' represent late introductions (formally, such a causative pattern can be reconstructed for the Proto-West Tsezic level, but it is clearly secondary in Khoshar-Khota Bezhta & Hunzib).

Replacements: {'to die' > 'to kill'} (Hunzib, Khoshar-Khota Bezhta, Hinukh, Dido); {'to slaughter' > 'to kill'} (Khwarshi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem.

#### 44. KNEE

Hunzib (proper) *mična* {мична} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mična* {мична} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *aga* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *āga* (2), Hinukh *bečnu* {бечну} (1), Kidero Dido *bečni* {бечни} (1), Sagada Dido *q<sup>o</sup>ntu* {къонту} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *q<sup>o</sup>ntu* {къонту} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *gurtu* {гурту} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*bičn V* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 124, 206; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; van den Berg 1995: 319; Bokarev 1961: 161, 176.

In [NCED: 594], Hunzib *āga* 'knee-cap' is quoted, not found in other sources.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 198. Not quoted in [Madieva 1965]. Cf. the examples in [Khalilov 1995: 198]: “to kneel (lit. to stand at the knees)”, “The knees hurt”.

Distinct from the more specific term *āga* {a<sup>o</sup>ra} 'knee-cap, patella' [Khalilov 1995: 34], which is quoted, however, in [Madieva 1965: 148] as the basic equivalent for 'knee'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32.

Distinct from *micna* 'shin (part of leg from knee to foot)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32.

Distinct from *mičnā* 'shin (part of leg from knee to foot)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].

**Hinukh**: [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 77, 454. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32], erroneously glossed as 'knee-cap, patella'.

Distinct from the more specific *q<sup>o</sup>ntu* {къонту} 'knee-cap, patella' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 220]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32], erroneously glossed as generic 'knee'.

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 50, 333.

Distinct from specific *q<sup>o</sup>ntu* {къонту} 'knee-cap, patella' [Khalilov 1999: 152], which is transcribed as *q<sup>o</sup>ntu* and erroneously glossed as generic 'knee' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32].

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido**: Asakh Dido *bečni* {бечни} 'knee' [Khalilov 1999: 50], *q<sup>o</sup>ntu* {къонту} 'knee-cap, patella' [Khalilov 1999: 152]. In Mokok Dido, cf. *ek<sup>o</sup>nak<sup>o</sup>* {экнак<sup>o</sup>} 'knee-cap, patella' [Khalilov 1999: 295] (the underlying meaning, attested in Kidero, is 'joint (anatomic)', ultimately from *ek<sup>o</sup>* 'to spin yarn with the spindle').

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 96.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32.

A second Inkhokwari term for 'knee' is *χehemu* {къеъему} [Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 145, 150]; according to [Karimova 2014], *gurtu* and *χehemu* are full synonyms, but the latter one is less frequently used.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *gurtu* {гурту} 'knee' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 14, 46].

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 1042. Distribution: In many lects the lexical opposition 'knee' (i.e., an external body part) / 'knee-cap' (i.e., a specific bone) is attested, and the same should be reconstructed for Proto-Tsezic. Unfortunately, these two concepts are sometimes not distinguished by field linguists, which is why we observe some confusion in the data listed above.

Nevertheless, *\*bičn V* [NCED: 1042] can be safely reconstructed as Proto-Tsezic 'knee'. It is retained in its basic meaning in some East Tsezic (Hunzib, Bezhta proper) and some West Tsezic (Hinukh, Kidero Dido) lects.

In Khoshar-Khota Bezhta & Tlyadal Bezhta, *\*bičn V* was superseded by *\*āg V*, having shifted in the meaning 'shin (part of leg from knee to foot)'. The original meaning of *\*āg V* [NCED: 594] is unclear, but it could be the Proto-East Tsezic term for 'knee-cap' (it means this in Bezhta proper).

In Sagada Dido and Khwarshi proper, the basic term for 'knee' was superseded by *\*q<sup>o</sup>ɔ(n)t V* (if the field records are correct). The original Proto-West Tsezic meaning of *\*q<sup>o</sup>ɔ(n)t V* was 'knee-cap', as it is retained in Hinukh and non-Sagada Dido. In any case, *\*q<sup>o</sup>ɔ(n)t V* with the generic meaning 'knee' is a secondary match between Sagada Dido and Khwarshi proper.

In Inkhokwari Khwarshi, the basic term for 'knee' was superseded by two unclear forms: *gurtu* (cf. [NCED: 434]) and

*λ'ehemu.*

Replacements: {'knee' > 'shin (part of leg from knee to foot)'} (Khoshar-Khota Bezhta, Tlyadal Bezhta).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the nasal assimilation *b-n > m-n* in East Tsezic.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 45. KNOW

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=iq'e* {бикъа} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=iq'e* {йикъал} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=iq'e* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=iq'e* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=eq'i* {бекъа} (1), Kidero Dido *CLASS=iya* ~ *CLASS=iy* {буйа} (1), Sagada Dido *CLASS=eq'i* {беIкъаI} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *CLASS=iq'e* {ликъа} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *CLASS=iq'* {ликъа} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=iq'V*(1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 39, 202; van den Berg 1995: 306; Bokarev 1961: 156, 175. Polysemy: 'to know / to be able'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 120, 308; Madieva 1965: 162.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 67, 446. Polysemy: 'to know / to feel (e.g., odor, cold)'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 55, 328. Polysemy: 'to know / to feel (e.g., cold)'.

Distinct from *čaʔ* {чIаʔ} 'to get to know' [Khalilov 1999: 285].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 109, 116, 117; Bokarev 1959: 164. Cf. the present form *CLASS=iq'e-he* [Bokarev 1959: 164].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 163, 164, 167. Cf. the present form *CLASS=iq'-še* [Bokarev 1959: 164].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *CLASS=iq'* {ликъа} 'to know' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 27, 152, 181]. Cf. the present form *CLASS=iq'-še* [Khalilova 2009: 152].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 646. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

## 46. LEAF

Hunzib (proper) *λibu* {λIубу} (1), Bezhta (proper) *λibo* {λIубо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *λibo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *λibö* (1), Hinukh *λebu* {λIебу} (1), Kidero Dido *λa<sup>h</sup>b* {λIаIб} (1), Sagada Dido *λe<sup>h</sup>b* {λIеIб} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *λib* {λIуб} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *λib* {λIуб} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*λi<sup>h</sup>b* ~ *\*λi<sup>h</sup>bu A* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 115, 210; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96; van den Berg 1995: 316; Bokarev 1961: 160, 176. Polysemy: 'leaf / sheet of paper'.

Distinct from the more specific term *λ'apa* {къапа} 'large leaf' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 101, 210].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 185, 314; Madieva 1965: 174. Polysemy: 'leaf / sheet of paper / document'.

Distinct from *λ'apa* {къапа}, which is glossed as 'leaf (of tree or plant)' [Khalilov 1995: 161, 314]; not quoted in [Madieva 1965]. Apparently *λ'apa* is a more marginal term than *λibo*, because all the attested examples for the meaning 'leaf' contain the word *λibo*: "to rustle the leaves" [Khalilov 1995: 37], "Leaves are stirring" [Khalilov 1995: 176], "Stirring

of leaves" [Khalilov 1995: 176], "tobacco leaf" [Khalilov 1995: 235], "maple leaves" [Khalilov 1995: 283], "There are a lot of leaves in the tree" Madieva 1965: 89], "Leaves have fallen from the tree" [Madieva 1965: 89].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 252, 461; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 177, 338; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 90, 99.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96; Bokarev 1959: 145, 150.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *λib* {лИб} 'leaf' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 14, 202, 479].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 571. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for *a* in Kidero Dido and loss of final *\*-u* in some West Tsezic lects.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 47. LIE

Hunzib (proper) CLASS=*ut'* {*б̄ymIa*} (1), Bezhta (proper) CLASS=*ut'* {*üymIaλ*} (1) / CLASS=*āko* CLASS=*ēλ'e* {*üa<sup>u</sup>ko üe<sup>u</sup>κβαλ*} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS=*ut'* (1) / CLASS=*ako* CLASS=*eλ'e* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS=*ut'* (1) / CLASS=*āko* CLASS=*eλ'e* (2), Hinukh CLASS=*ot'* {*б̄omIa*} (1), Kidero Dido CLASS=*a'λ'u* {*б̄aIκβα*} (3) / *kec* {*κευα*} (4), Sagada Dido *pur-λ'or c'ox<sup>w</sup>* {*nyрκβop uIoxβα*} (5), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS=*aq* {*ax'ba*} (6), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS=*aq<sup>f</sup>* ~ CLASS=*aq* {*aIx'baI, ax'ba*} (6), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*it<sup>w</sup>* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 46. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 136, 314; Madieva 1965: 188. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'. Also, as noted by M. Khalilov (p.c.), CLASS=*ut'* is rarely used as 'to sleep', it is not a basic verb for this meaning.

Two synonymous expressions for 'to lie' are quoted in [Khalilov 1995]: primary =*ut'* and complex =*āko* =*eλ'e*. Both with polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Khalilov 1995: 111, 314.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88.

Two synonymous expressions for 'to lie down' are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]: primary =*ut'* and complex =*ako* =*eλ'e*. We assume that both actually possess the polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'; the former one, =*ut'*, possesses the full polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88. Morphophonologically =*āko*; for old nasalization cf. the class 3 form *m=ako* < \**b=āko*.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88.

Two synonymous expressions for 'to lie down' are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]: primary =*ut'* and complex =*āko* =*eλ'e*. We assume that both actually possess the polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'; the former one, =*ut'*, possesses the full polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88.

**Common Bezhta:** The Common Bezhta collocation CLASS=*āko* CLASS=*ēλ'e* consists of the verb =*ēλ'e* 'to go' q.v., regularly inflected with TMA suffixes, and the uninflected element =*āko*, whose meaning is unknown, because =*āko* is not attested outside of this expression. Formally, =*āko* is an adjective.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 99, 460. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 42, 338. Polysemy: 'to lie / to fall (in general) / to go sprawling'.

Two synonymous expressions for 'to lie' are quoted in [Khalilov 1999] and illustrated with a number of textual examples: =*a'λ'u* (also means 'to fall') and *kec* (also means 'to sleep'). We have to treat them as synonyms. Khalilov 1999: 138, 338. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep / to die'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Elicited in the contexts "Man can stand, sit, or lie", "Why are you lying in bed?". Literally 'to stick in, being in the lateral position' with lative *pur-λ'or* from *pu*, obl. *pur-* 'side (anatomic)' and the verb *c'ox<sup>w</sup>*, which corresponds

to Kidero *c'ox* 'to get in, stick in' [Khalilov 1999: 279].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 164, 166, 170. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'. In [Bokarev 1959: 163], once transcribed as *=aq<sup>w</sup>* {ax'ba} (a typo).

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS=*aq<sup>f</sup>* {aIx'baI} with polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16, 180].

**Proto-Tsezic:**

NCED: 1035. Distribution: Tsezic verbs for 'to lie' and 'to sleep' can be summarized in the following table:

'LIE', 'SLEEP'	Hunzib	Bezhta	Hinukh	Kidero Dido	Sagada Dido	Khwarshi
*CLASS= <i>it<sup>w</sup></i> [NCED: 1035]	lie / sleep	lie / sleep	lie / sleep			
*CLASS= <i>ikV</i> [NCED: 644]		lie				
*CLASS= <i>a<sup>f</sup>AV</i>				lie / fall		
* <i>kic</i>				lie / sleep	sleep	
CLASS= <i>aq<sup>f</sup>(V)</i>						lie / sleep
?					'be in the lateral position' = lie	
?		CLASS= <i>üčä:</i> <i>χe</i> 'sleep'				
?						<i>AVs</i> 'sleep'

The verb \*CLASS=*it<sup>w</sup>* can be safely postulated as the Proto-East Tsezic basic term with polysemy 'to lie / to sleep'. The same meaning in Hinukh could theoretically be explained as the result of secondary influence from East Tsezic, but actually all other West Tsezic verbs for 'to lie' and 'to sleep' can be analyzed as later introductions in individual lects. Thus, the easiest solution is to reconstruct Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*it<sup>w</sup>* 'to lie / to sleep', which was retained in East Tsezic and Hinukh, having been superseded by various (sometimes obscure) verbs in the majority of West Tsezic lects.

It should be noted that Khwarshi *AVs* 'to sleep' is of unclear origin. The idea that it could be a compound of two verbs \**AV*- 'to sleep' [NCED: 619] and \*-*Vs* 'to sleep' [NCED: 1037] (both are not attested elsewhere in Tsezic, although both possess appropriate North Caucasian *comparanda*) does not look apt.

Replacements: {'to fall' > 'to lie'} (Kidero Dido); {'to be in the lateral position' > 'to lie'} (Sagada Dido).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem with polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.

## 48. LIVER

Hunzib (proper) *šebu* {ueōy} (1), Bezhta (proper) *šebo* {ueō} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *šebo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *šebö* (1), Hinukh *žubo* {жyōo} (1), Kidero Dido *žubi* {жyōu} (1), Sagada Dido *žubi* {жyōu} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *žuba* ~ *žiba* {жyōa} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *žubu* {жyōy} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**žebu* B (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 181, 221; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; van den Berg 1995: 334.

Distinct from *bac'ə* {bāuIə} 'spleen' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 34; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; van den Berg 1995: 287], erroneously glossed as 'liver' in [Bokarev 1961: 151, 178].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 285, 325; Madieva 1965: 195.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 168, 489; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34.

Distinct from *boc'e* {bouIe} 'spleen' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 102; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 120, 356; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 6. The variant *žiba* is from [Khalilova 2009].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34. In [Bokarev 1959: 146], an unclear form *čiq<sup>6</sup>i* 'liver' is quoted.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *žubu* {жубу} 'liver' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 6].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1106. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for the vowel metathesis in *e-u > u-e* in Proto-West Tsezic.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 49. LONG

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=iχal-u* {быхалы} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=iχal-o* {йухало} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=iχal-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=iχal-o* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=oχor-u* {бохоры} (1), Kidero Dido *CLASS=eχora* {бехора} (1), Sagada Dido *CLASS=eχ<sup>w</sup>ara* {бехвара} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *CLASS=eχola* {эхола} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *CLASS=iχala* ~ *CLASS=iχala* {лухала} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**CLASS=iχ:ɔIV* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 48, 198; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; van den Berg 1995: 308; Bokarev 1961: 170, 174. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal) / tall (of person)'.  
**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 123, 304; Madieva 1965: 165. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal)'.  
**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.  
**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.  
**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 101, 435; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal) / tall (of person)'.  
**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 48, 320; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal) / tall (of person)'.  
**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.  
**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 113.  
**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Bokarev 1959: 145, 158, 159. The variant *=iχala* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Bokarev 1959]. Polysemy: 'long / tall (of person)'.  
**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *CLASS=uχala* {лухала} 'long' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 99, 102, 251]. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal) / tall (of person)'.  
**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 550. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.  
**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for some vowel peculiarities.  
**Semantics and structure:** Primary adjective stem with polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal) / tall (of person)'.

## 50. LOUSE

Hunzib (proper) *насə* {нацə} (1), Bezhta (proper) *насo* {нацо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *насo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *насo* (1), Hinukh *носе* {ноце} (1), Kidero Dido *носи* {ноци} (1), Sagada Dido *носи* {ноци} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ниса* {нуца} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *носо* {ноцо} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**нсə* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 131, 194; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93; van den Berg 1995: 321; Bokarev 1961: 162, 173.  
**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 203, 299; Madieva 1965: 178.  
Distinct from *kākā* {каькаь}, enigmatically glossed as 'small louse' in [Khalilov 1995: 144] (a nursery word?).

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 281, 424; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93.

Distinct from *kaki* {какк}, enigmatically glossed as 'small louse' in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 192] (a nursery word?).

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 200, 312; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93.

Distinct from *hani* {хани}, enigmatically glossed as 'small louse' in [Khalilov 1999: 263].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Mokok *noca* {ноца} 'louse' [Khalilov 1999: 200].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93; Bokarev 1959: 149, 151.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *noca* {ноца} 'louse' [Karimova 2014].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 846. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 51. MAN

Hunzib (proper) *suk'u* {сук'у} (1), Bezhta (proper) *abo* {або} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *bixinči* (-1), Tlyadal Bezhta *bikinči* (-1), Hinukh *rek<sup>w</sup>e* {рек'е} (1), Kidero Dido *žek'u* {жек'у} (1), Sagada Dido *baħarči* {бахарчу} (-1), Khwarshi (proper) *žik<sup>w</sup>a* {жик'а} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hik'o* {вук'о} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *\*žik<sup>w</sup>ə ~ \*zik<sup>w</sup>ə* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 149; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; van den Berg 1995: 333.

Distinct from the adjective *buχ-d-u ~ buχ-t-u* 'male (n., adj.)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 46; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220; van den Berg 1995: 289].

Distinct from *bet'erhan* {бет'ерхан} with polysemy: 'master / husband / Lord' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 37; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; van den Berg 1995: 287], borrowed from Avar *bet'erhan* 'husband / Lord'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 24, 317. Polysemy: 'father / man'.

A second candidate is the loanword *bikinči* {бикинчи} with polysemy: 'man / brave man, fine young man' [Khalilov 1995: 46, 317]. This word seems more marginal in the meaning 'man' than the inherited form *abo*, because in almost all the attested examples for 'man', Bezhta uses *abo*: "Men have come to see us" [Khalilov 1995: 24], "brave man" [Khalilov 1995: 83], "The men talked until the midnight" [Khalilov 1995: 107], "Quarrel is not man's matter" [Khalilov 1995: 124], "The men were walking around" [Khalilov 1995: 172].

Distinct from borrowed *bikinab* {бикинаб} 'male' [Khalilov 1995: 46] and *bet'erhan* {бет'ерхан} with polysemy: 'master / husband / Lord' [Khalilov 1995: 44; Madieva 1965: 150].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. With *x*, not *χ*? A loanword.

Distinct from the borrowing *bikinab* 'male' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] and *bet'erhän* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59].

Distinct from the inherited form *abo* 'father' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 54].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59.

Distinct from the borrowing *bikināb* 'male' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] and *bet'erhan* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59].

Distinct from the inherited form *abo* 'father' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 54].

**Common Bezhta:** The Common Bezhta terms *bikinči* 'man', *bikinab* 'male', *bet'erhan* 'husband' represent borrowings from Avar *bixinči* 'man', *bixina-b* 'male', *bet'erhan* 'husband / Lord'. It should be noted that Avar *x* (missing from the Bezhta system) is replaced by Bezhta *k*, not by Bezhta *χ*.

The Bezhta proper meaning 'man' of the inherited form *abo* 'father' is not obligatorily a Proto-Bezhta feature. Polysemy 'father / man' can be a recent Bezhta proper introduction, as is the parallel case of Bezhta proper polysemy 'mother / woman' for Common Bezhta *iyo* 'mother' (see notes on 'woman').

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 302, 467; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. Suppletive paradigm: *rek<sup>w</sup>e* [sg.] / *χalq'i* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'person, human being / man'.

Cf. also the borrowing *bikinči* {бикинчи} with polysemy: 'man / brave man' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 82] (< Avar *bixinči* 'man').

Distinct from the borrowed term *bikinaw* 'male / brave' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 82; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] < Avar *bixina-b* 'male'.

Distinct from two terms for 'husband': inherited *χod:o* {ходдо} [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 354; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59], and borrowed *be'erhan* ~ *be'erhan* {бетерган, бетерхан} 'husband / brother-in-law (husband's brother) / Lord' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 73] (< Avar *be'erhan* 'husband / Lord').

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 118, 342; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. Polysemy: 'person, human being / man'.

There is also a borrowed term: *bikinči* {бикинчи} with polysemy: 'man / brave man' [Khalilov 1999: 56] (< Avar *bixinči* 'man').

Distinct from the inherited term *gulu-či* 'male' [Khalilov 1999: 86; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] and the borrowed term *bikinaw* 'male / brave' [Khalilov 1999: 56] < Avar *bixina-b* 'male'.

Distinct from two terms for 'husband': inherited *χediyu* ~ *χedyu* {хедийу} [Khalilov 1999: 246; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59] and borrowed *be'erhan* {бетерган} 'husband / master / Lord' [Khalilov 1999: 48] (< Avar *be'erhan* 'husband / Lord').

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Borrowed from Avar *baharči* 'brave man, daring fellow'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 89, 90. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Distinct from *χol* 'husband' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 95].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Khalilova 2009: 8. Polysemy: 'man / person'. We assume that Inkhokwari *hik'o* was borrowed from or at least phonetically influenced by Tindi *hek<sup>w</sup>a* 'man / person'.

Distinct from Inkhokwari *χol* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59]. It should be noted that in the only instance in [Bokarev 1959: 161], *χol* is used in the meaning 'man'.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *žik'o* {жик'о} 'man' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 8, 14, 42].

Distinct from Kwantlada *χol* 'husband' [Khalilova 2009: 15].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 336, 579. Distribution: Generally well preserved, although it tends to be superseded by various loanwords. Normally attested with polysemy 'man / person', which should be reconstructed for Proto-Tsezic.

In Bezhta proper, retained in the meaning 'person', but superseded by the inherited *\*ʔbu* A 'father' [NCED: 217] in the meaning 'man'.

Replacements: {'father' > 'man'} (Bezhta proper).

Reconstruction shape: Although all the forms are obviously related, reflexes of the initial consonant are quite irregular: *\*z-* in East Tsezic, *ž-* in West Tsezic, besides that, *r-* in Hinukh and *h-* in Inkhokwari Khwarshi (in the latter case, the laryngeal onset can be explained by Andian influence).

Semantics and structure: Perhaps a primary substantive root with polysemy: 'man / person'.

Differently in [NCED: 336, 579], where it is analyzed as a compound (*\*ž-ik<sup>w</sup>ə* ~ *\*z-ik<sup>w</sup>ə*), which consists of two words for 'man' (both with North Caucasian etymology). The root *\*ž-* ~ *\*z-* is not attested elsewhere in Tsezic, but according to [NCED: 579], Hinukh *rek<sup>w</sup>e* and Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hik'o* only reflect the second part of the compound < Proto-Tsezic *\*rik<sup>w</sup>ə* ~ *\*hik<sup>w</sup>ə* (< Pre-Proto-Tsezic *\*hirk<sup>w</sup>V*). However, such a scenario faces serious difficulties: besides strange phonetic development, it is unclear how plain *\*hik<sup>w</sup>ə* could survive in Inkhokwari Khwarshi, when other Khwarshi dialects have *\*žik<sup>w</sup>ə*; the same objection is applicable to *\*rik<sup>w</sup>ə* in Hinukh.

## 52. MANY

Hunzib (proper) *tel:i* {телли} (1) / *laχ:i* {лахху} (2), Bezhta (proper) *teli* {тели} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *teli* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS=*āt'ä* (3), Hinukh *aši* ~ *ʔaši* {ашу, ʔашу} (4), Kidero Dido CLASS=*aq<sup>f</sup>u* {баIк'бу} (5), Sagada Dido *ʔaši* {ʔашу} (4) / CLASS=*aq<sup>f</sup>u* {paIк'буI} (5), Khwarshi (proper) *ʒeɣzaʒan* ~ *ʒeziʒan* {ʒeɣzazʒan, ʒeɣzuzʒan} (6), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ʒezaʒan* ~ *ʒez:aʒan* ~ *ez:aʒan* {ʒeɣzazʒan} (6), Proto-Tsezic *\*teli* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 153, 213; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; van den Berg 1995: 335.

There are two synonymous adverbs in Hunzib, both with polysemy: 'many / much / often' - *te:li* and *laχ:i*.

Cf. the discovered examples for *te:li* 'many': "many errors" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 58], "Many goods were delivered in the store" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 153], "there were many people from Tladal" [van den Berg 1995: 180].

Cf. the discovered examples for *laχ:i* 'many': "there are many goats on our mountain" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 27], "there are many people" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 56], "We heard many songs" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 134], "They took many things in the warehouse" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 149].

We treat *te:li* and *laχ:i* as synonyms.

A third candidate is CLASS=*ižeq* with the same polysemy: 'much / many / often' [van den Berg 1995: 307; Bokarev 1961: 156], but this one seems more marginal. The only discovered example is "We don't often (*r=ižeq*) eat beet" [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 178]. Historically, *=ižeq* although the suffixal pattern is not entirely clear. Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 109, 213; van den Berg 1995: 314; Bokarev 1961: 159, 177.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 237, 316; Madieva 1965: 186. Polysemy: 'many / much / intensively, frequently'.

There are multiple Bezhta equivalents for the meanings 'many' or 'much' listed in [Khalilov 1995: 316]. Browsing through the source demonstrates that *te:li* is definitely the most frequent word for the meaning 'many'. Cf. some examples: "The woodcutter has chopped a lot of wood" [Khalilov 1995: 31], "There are many anxieties in the soul" [Khalilov 1995: 50], "People have a lot of cattle" [Khalilov 1995: 51], "There are many people in the railway station" [Khalilov 1995: 53], "a lot of clothes" [Khalilov 1995: 55], "a lot of smoke" [Khalilov 1995: 63], "to prepare many bundles of wood" [Khalilov 1995: 64], "There were many mistakes in the dictation" [Khalilov 1995: 66], "many pebbles" [Khalilov 1995: 67], "many children", "Many years have passed" [Khalilov 1995: 237], and so on.

Out of the other expressions for 'many', one should mention:

1) *älä-š* {аьлаьш} with polysemy: 'many / rural, of village' [Khalilov 1995: 32]; the examples: "many people", "many books"; derived from *äl* 'village, aul; many people, crowd', i.e. 'many' as 'crowd-like';

2) *öl-lö* {оьллоь} [Khalilov 1995: 212]; the examples: "I have a lot of books (lit.: There are a lot of books of mine)", "There is a lot of earth tilled with tractor"; regular past tense from *öl* 'to be sufficient' [Khalilov 1995: 211].

3) *ladi* {лади} [Khalilov 1995: 316; Madieva 1965: 173], missing from the main section of [Khalilov 1995].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Polysemy: 'many / much'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Khalilov 1995: 192. Polysemy: 'many / much'. According to M. Khalilov (p.c.), the form *te:li* 'many' is also used.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 49, 465; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Polysemy: 'many / much'.

Out of a substantial number of more specific or marginal Hinukh terms for 'many' and 'much' (both inherited and borrowed), one should also mention *raʔad* {раʔад} with polysemy: 'sea / many' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 299] (< Avar *raʔad* 'sea').

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 42, 341; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Polysemy: 'many / much'.

Distinct from more marginal or specific terms:

1) *ʔaʔo-s* {ʔаʔоs} with polysemy: 'many / rural, of village' [Khalilov 1999: 105], derived from *ʔaʔ* 'village, aul; many people, crowd', i.e. 'many' as 'crowd-like';

2) *χomi* {хоми} 'much' [Khalilov 1999: 249];

3) *ʔuraw* {пурав} with polysemy: 'enough / many' [Khalilov 1999: 111], borrowed from Avar dial. *ʔura-w* 'ripe'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Corresponds to Kidero Dido *ʔaʔi*, Asakh Dido *aʔi* 'thickly, densely' [Khalilov 1999: 107].

Two different Sagada words for 'many' are offered in [Abdulaev 2014]: *ʔaʔi* in the context "There are many stones on the ground" and CLASS=*aqʔu* in the context "I have many friends". We have to treat both forms as synonyms, although it should be noted that Abdulaev's *ʔaʔi* in the context "There are many stones on the ground" could actually express a concept of a *thick* layer of stones. Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 102, 108. Polysemy: 'many / much'.

A second, apparently more marginal, expression for 'many' is *daca-n* {дацан} [Karimova 2014], which is quoted as *daca-n* 'completely, in full' in [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 121].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Bokarev 1959: 159.

A second, apparently more marginal Inkhokwari expression for 'many' is *doco-n* {доцон} [Karimova 2014].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ʔezaʔan ~ ʔezeʔan ~ eʔaʔan* {ʔезаʔан, э́заа́н} 'many' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 132]. Polysemy: 'many / much'. Cf. the examples: "He did many things for his friend to stay" [Khalilova 2009: 418], "The boy became happy to get many presents" [Khalilova 2009: 468].

A second, apparently more marginal, Kwantlada expression for 'many' is *doco-n* {доцон} [Karimova 2014; Khalilova

2009: 283]. Cf. the example: "many mullahs from villages" [Khalilova 2009: 283].

**Common Khwarshi:** The Common Khwarshi form for 'many / much' originates from something like *\*eʹz-ya-ʔan*, although the suffix *-ʔan* is not entirely clear.

The competing adverb *dac-a-n*, *doco-n* is derived from the interrogative pronoun 'how many?': Khwarshi proper *dayci* (< *\*dac-yV*) [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 109], Kwantlada *doco* [Khalilova 2009: 153].

**Proto-Tsezic: Distribution:** An unstable word with many (quasi)-synonyms in individual lects.

In East Tsezic (Hunzib, Bezhta), 'many' is expressed by the form *\*teli*. Formally, *\*teli* can be reconstructed as the Proto-East Tsezic term for this meaning. It must be noted, however, that East Tsezic *\*teli* lacks any etymology and therefore represents a potential loanword. In Tlyadal Bezhta, *\*teli* was superseded by CLASS=*āt'ä* 'many', which looks inherited, but seems to lack any Tsezic etymology.

In Hinukh and the Dido dialects two words with the meaning 'many' occur in a "criss-crossed" interdialectal situation: CLASS=*aqʹu* and (ʔ)*aši*. In both cases, 'many' is a secondary meaning: CLASS=*aqʹu* originates from Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=uqʹV* 'big' q.v., (ʔ)*aši* < Proto-Tsezic *\*ʕaš:-* 'thick (2D)' [NCED: 608] (*\*ʕaš:-* retains the meaning 'thick', e.g. in Kidero Dido).

Topologically, the best candidate for the Proto-Tsezic status is *\*CLASS=iʹžV ~ \*-ž:-* B [NCED: 653], which is attested as the plain stem 'big' in Hinukh and Dido and as the suffixed stem 'many' in Khwarshi (*\*eʹz-ya-ʔan*) and Hunzib (CLASS=*iže-q*). But the fact that Khwarshi and Hunzib demonstrate different suffixal patterns suggests that we deal with late independent introductions in Khwarshi and Hunzib. The original meaning of *\*CLASS=iʹžV* remains unclear (Hinukh & Dido 'big' q.v. is likewise secondary).

From the external point of view, the best candidate for the Proto-Tsezic status is *\*laχ:i* (~ *-β-*), attested as isolated Hunzib *laχ:i* 'many', but having possible North Caucasian *comparanda* with the meaning 'many'. However, it is hard to suppose that *\*laχ:i* survived with its original meaning 'many' only in Hunzib.

Formally, we fill the Proto-Tsezic slot with East Tsezic *\*teli*, which lacks North Caucasian *comparanda*.

**Replacements:** {'village, crowd' > 'many'} (Bezhta proper, Kidero Dido); {'to be sufficient' > 'many'} (Bezhta proper); {'sea' > 'many'} (Hinukh); {'thick (2D)' > 'many'} (Hinukh, Sagada Dido); {'big' > 'many'} (Kidero Dido, Sagada Dido); {'how many?' > 'many'} (Khwarshi proper, Inkhokwari Khwarshi, Kwantlada Khwarshi).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Probably an adverb form.

## 53. MEAT

Hunzib (proper) *χo* {*xo*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *χo* {*xo*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *χo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *χo* (1), Hinukh *χu* {*xy*} (1), Kidero Dido *reλ* {*peλ*} (2), Sagada Dido *reλ* {*peλ*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *liλ* {*λuλ*} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *liλ* {*λuλ*} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*riλ ~ \*liλ* A (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 163, 214; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; van den Berg 1995: 341; Bokarev 1961: 167, 177.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 256, 317; Madieva 1965: 189.

Distinct from *cis* {*цис*} 'meat', specified as a nursery word in [Khalilov 1995: 267].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 356, 468; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 215, 343; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Bokarev 1959: 145, 158.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *liλ* {*лил*} 'meat' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 84].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 945. **Distribution:** Two forms enter into competition in this "criss-crossed" configuration:

1) *\*χ:o* A [NCED: 1081], meaning 'meat' in East Tsezic plus Hinukh (lost in other West Tsezic lects);

2) \**riλ* ~ \**liλ* A [NCED: 945], meaning 'meat' in West Tsezic except for Hinukh (lost in East Tsezic).

The stem \**χ:v* as a Proto-Tsezic term for 'meat' has an advantage in terms of distribution, since it is attested in both East Tsezic and West Tsezic branches. External comparison, however, clearly speaks in favor of the meaning 'meat' for Proto-Tsezic \**riλ*. Since some secondary contact-driven East Tsezic-Hinukh matches are expected, we prefer to reconstruct \**riλ* for Proto-Tsezic 'meat'.

In Proto-East Tsezic it was superseded by \**χ:v*, whose Proto-Tsezic semantics is unclear, although external North Caucasian comparison suggests the meaning 'a k. of fat' [NCED: 1081]. In Hinukh, \**χ:v* also acquired the meaning 'meat' under the influence on the part of East Tsezic.

Replacements: {'a k. of fat' > 'meat'} (Proto-East Tsezic).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 54. MOON

Hunzib (proper) *boco* {*ბოცო*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *boco* {*ბოცო*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *boco* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *boco* (1), Hinukh *buce* {*ბუყე*} (1), Kidero Dido *buci* {*ბუყი*} (1), Sagada Dido *buci* {*ბუყი*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *buca* {*ბუყა*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *bucu* {*ბუყყ*} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**bocVA* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 44, 211; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; van den Berg 1995: 288; Bokarev 1961: 151, 177. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Paradigm: *boco* [abs.] / *bico-s* [gen.].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 50, 314; Madieva 1965: 152. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Paradigm: *boco* [abs.] / *bico-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Regular paradigm.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Paradigm: *boco* [abs.] / *bico-s* [gen.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 111, 462; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Paradigm: *buce* [abs.] / *buce-* ~ *bece-* [obl.].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 75, 339; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Polysemy: 'moon / month / stain, spot'. Paradigm: *buci* [abs.] / *buce-* ~ *bece-* [obl.].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Bokarev 1959: 149.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *bucu* {*ბუყყ*} Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 50.

**Common Khwarshi:** Polysemy: 'moon / month' in all dialects.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1044. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is \**bicV-* A.

## 55. MOUNTAIN

Hunzib (proper) *maru* {*мары*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mā*: {*мāv<sup>u</sup>*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *mārö* (1) / *bizo* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *mārö* (1), Hinukh *χ<sup>w</sup>in* {*хвин*} (3), Kidero Dido *hon* {*хлон*} (3), Sagada Dido *hon* {*хлон*} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *hun* {*гьу<sup>u</sup>н, гьун*} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hun* {*гьу<sup>u</sup>н, гьун*} (3), Proto-Tsezic \**ma<sup>r</sup>ru* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 118, 197; van den Berg 1995: 318; Bokarev 1961: 161, 173.

Distinct from *bizu* ~ *bizo* {бизу} 'hill' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 46; van den Berg 1995: 288; Bokarev 1961: 152, 182]. However, in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191], *bizu* is quoted as the basic term for 'mountain' with polysemy: 'mountain / hill'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 194, 302; Madieva 1965: 175. Polysemy: 'mountain / alpine pasture used in summer'. Nasalization is due to nasal assimilation  $mVrV > mVyV > mV\ddot{y}V > mVIO$ .

Distinct from *bizo* {бизо}, glossed as 'mountain, small mountain' [Khalilov 1995: 46] and as 'hill' in [Madieva 1965: 150].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. According to Khalilov, there are two Khoshar-Khota words for 'mountain': *märö* and *bizo*. Note that only the latter is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191], but it is possible that we deal with a lexicographic flaw, cf. notes on Tlyadal Bezhta. We treat *märö* and *bizo* as synonyms.

Distinct from *güh* 'hill; heap' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192], borrowed from Avar *goh* 'hill'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Ya. Testelets, p.c.; M. Khalilov, p.c. The second Tlyadal term for 'mountain' is *bizo* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191; M. Khalilov, p.c.]. Note that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], *bizo* is quoted as the basic Tlyadal term with this meaning that is an error according to Testelets.

Distinct from *göh* ~ *güh* 'hill; heap' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192], borrowed from Avar *goh* 'hill'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 348, 430; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191. Polysemy: 'mountain / alpine pasture used in summer'.

Distinct from several terms for 'hill': inherited *gup* {гупI} [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 123], *guz* {гыз} [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 122], and borrowed *guh* {гухI} [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 124] (< Avar *goh* 'hill').

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 267, 316; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191. Polysemy: 'mountain / alpine pasture used in summer'. This is a very common term, cf. the attested examples: "a very big mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 53], "Friends may meet, but mountains never greet" [Khalilov 1999: 118], "to pass over the mountain", "on top of the mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 267], "A high mountain gets eroded by the wind to a greater degree" [Khalilov 1999: 172], "He has climbed the mountain with difficulty" [Khalilov 1999: 261], "They came from the other side of the mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 60], "top of mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 141], "flank of mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 160], "Riddle: what is the thing that has reached the mountain in a moment? Answer: smoke" [Khalilov 1999: 201], "close to the mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 65].

A second candidate is *ma'li* {мaЛли}, which is also glossed as generic 'mountain' in [Khalilov 1999: 185], but this term is more marginal, only two textual examples have been discovered: "... to another mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 185], "high mountain" [Khalilov 1999: 202].

Cf. also a compound of the two: *hon-ma'li* 'alpine pasture' [Khalilov 1999: 267]

Distinct from the terms for 'hill': inherited *šem* {шем} [Khalilov 1999: 393] and borrowed *guh* {гухI} [Khalilov 1999: 87] (< Avar *goh* 'hill').

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 96, 113.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191; Bokarev 1959: 150, 151. Polysemy: 'mountain / hill / heap'.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *hun* {гьун, гьун} 'mountain' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 38, 79].

Distinct from Kwantlada *ma'ne* 'cliff' [Khalilova 2009: 15, 17].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 834. Distribution: The Proto-East Tsezic system can be reconstructed as *\*ma'ru* 'mountain' [NCED: 834] / *\*bizu* 'hill' [NCED: 288]; in Bezhta dialects, *\*ma'ru* tends to be superseded by *\*bizu* in the meaning 'mountain', although this could be an error in the field records.

The Proto-West Tsezic term for 'mountain' is *\*χ<sup>w</sup>en* A [NCED: 425], retained in all lects (in East Tsezic it got lost). The stem *\*ma'ru*, however, is also present in West Tsezic with the meaning 'cliff' in Khwarshi and marginal 'mountain' in Dido; it is possible that *\*ma'ru* should be reconstructed with the Proto-West meaning 'cliff'.

It is impossible to choose between *\*ma'ru* and *\*χ<sup>w</sup>en* proceeding from the internal Tsezic data, but external comparison clearly speaks in favor of *\*ma'ru* (its cognates mean 'mountain' in Avar and Nakh). On the other hand, North Caucasian cognates of *\*χ<sup>w</sup>en* rather point to the original meaning 'northern slope of mountain' *vel sim*.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for assimilation  $m-r > m-n$  in Kwantlada Khwarshi.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. In all Tsezic lects, where *\*ma'ru* 'mountain' is retained, synchronic forms demonstrate the homonymy 'mountain' / 'nose' (q.v.). Since direct semantic shifts between these two meanings are typologically unlikely, we follow the solution in [NCED: 825, 834] and suppose that two different North Caucasian roots phonetically merged in Proto-Tsezic *\*ma'ru*, yielding the homonymy 'mountain' / 'nose' already on the Proto-Tsezic level.

Hunzib (proper) *šik'u* {шукIу} (1), Bezhta (proper) *sik'o* {сукIo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *sik'o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *šik'ö* (1), Hinukh *haqu* {ɖaxɖy} (2) / *hut'* {ɖbɣmI} (3), Kidero Dido *haqu* ~ *haqa* {ɖaxɖy} (2) / *hut'* {ɖbɣmI} (3), Sagada Dido *haqu* {ɖaxɖy} (2) / *hut'* {ɖbɣmI} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *hut'* ~ *hüt'* {ɖbɣmI} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *maʕ'u* ~ *maʕ'u* {макɸy} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*haqu* ~ *\*hāqu* (2) / *\*šik'u* ~ *\*š:ik'u* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 182, 230; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; van den Berg 1995: 334; Bokarev 1961: 170, 180. Polysemy: 'mouth / bottle-neck'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], *šik'u* is explained as 'external part of mouth' as opposed to *qašu* 'internal part of mouth'. Other sources, however, regard *šik'u* as the basic generic term 'mouth'. It should be noted that in the Garbutli dialect, *šik'u* means 'face' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 182] (a separate Garbutli word for 'mouth' is unknown).

Distinct from *qāšu* ~ *qašu* {xɸaʃu}, which is explained as 'internal part of mouth' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14], but as 'throat, maw, pharynx' in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 167; van den Berg 1995: 326] and 'palatum' [Bokarev 1961: 167]. In the Garbutli dialect, *qaša* (sic!) means 'mouth of animal' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 220].

Distinct from *poro* {пopo} 'mouth of animal', which is frequently used as a coarse expression for 'human mouth' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 139; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; van den Berg 1995: 325]. In the Garbutli dialect, *poro* means 'lip' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 139].

Distinct from *bil* {биI} 'lip' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 40; van den Berg 1995: 288].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 229, 333; Madieva 1965: 185.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 138, 514; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14. Applied to both humans and animals.

There are two Hinukh terms for 'mouth': *haqu* and *hut'*. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14], *haqu* denotes 'internal part of mouth', whereas *hut'* means 'external part of mouth'. As may be seen from the entries in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005], *haqu* is more frequently used than *hut'*. Nevertheless, we treat both words as synonyms.

Distinct from *ʕɸɸu* {кɸɸy} 'lip' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 226]. Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 148, 514; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14. Polysemy: 'mouth / brim (of bag etc.), mouth (of vessel) / toe (of sock etc.)'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 96, 371; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14.

There are two Kidero Dido terms for 'mouth': *haqu* and *hut'*. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14], *haqu* denotes 'internal part of mouth', whereas *hut'* means 'external part of mouth'. As may be seen from the entries in [Khalilov 1999], *haqu* is more frequently used than *hut'*. Nevertheless, we treat both words as synonyms.

Distinct from *ʕɸɸu* {кɸɸy} 'lip' [Khalilov 1999: 158]. Khalilov 1999: 102, 371; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14. Polysemy: 'mouth / lip / toe (of sock etc.)'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Two Sagada words for 'mouth' are offered in [Abdulaev 2014]: *haqu* and *hut'*; we treat them as synonyms. Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 94.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Bokarev 1959: 145, 146. Polysemy: 'mouth / lip / beak'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], *maʕ'u* is explained as 'external part of mouth' as opposed to *zize* 'internal part of mouth'. Actually, *zize* should be a locative adverb 'in the mouth', see notes on Kwantlada Khwarshi.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *maʕ'u* ~ *maʕ'u* {макɸy} 'mouth' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 14, 17].

Distinct from the Kwantlada locative adverb *ziz-e* ~ *zuz-e* 'in the mouth' [Khalilova 2009: 112, 113], derived from the lost noun *\*ziz(V)* with the specific suffix *-e*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 526. Distribution: West Tsezic lects demonstrate the lexical opposition 'internal part of mouth' / 'external part of mouth', although it is not clear whether the same opposition should be projected onto the Proto-Tsezic level.

The Proto-East Tsezic generic term for 'mouth' is *\*šik'u* (~ *\*š:-*) [NCED: 978]; in West Tsezic this root was lost.

The Proto-West Tsezic opposition can be reconstructed as *\*haqu* (~ *-ā-*) 'internal part of mouth' [NCED: 526] / *\*hüt'* 'external part of mouth' [NCED: 496]. Such a system is retained in Hinukh & Dido. In Khwarshi proper, *\*hüt'* became the only generic term for 'mouth'. In Inkhokwari Khwarshi & Kwantlada Khwarshi, both terms were superseded by *\*bōʕV A*, whose original Proto-Tsezic meaning was 'beak' [NCED: 1041].

West Tsezic *\*hüt'* 'external part of mouth' corresponds to the meanings 'wart, verruca' in East Tsezic (Hunzib *hüt'*

'wart, verruca' ~ *hut* 'nipple' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 68-69]) that implies the original Proto-Tsezic meaning 'wart, verruca' or 'excrescence' with the Proto-West Tsezic semantic development > 'lip' > 'external part of mouth'.

If we reconstruct the opposition 'internal part of mouth' / 'external part of mouth' for Proto-Tsezic, *\*haqu*, according to the 'leftover principle', can be posited as Proto-Tsezic 'internal part of mouth' (retained only in Hinukh & Dido), whereas *\*šik'u* - as Proto-Tsezic 'external part of mouth' (retained only in East Tsezic).

If we proceed from the single generic term 'mouth' in Proto-Tsezic, it is impossible to make a choice between *\*haqu* and *\*šik'u*, because external comparison does not provide any help here.

We prefer to fill the Proto-Tsezic slot with two roots.

Replacements: {'mouth' > 'face'} (Garbutli Hunzib); {'beak' > 'mouth'} (Inkhokwari Khwarshi); {'wart, verruca' > 'external part of mouth'} (Proto-West Tsezic).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, meaning 'internal part of mouth'. NCED: 978. Distribution: Retained in East Tsezic.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, meaning 'external part of mouth'.

## 57. NAME

Hunzib (proper) *cāru* {*ц̣ā<sup>n</sup>py*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *cā*: {*ц̣ā<sup>n</sup>*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *ca:ro* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *ca:ro* (1), Hinukh *ce* {*ц̣e*} (1), Kidero Dido *ci* {*ц̣u*} (1), Sagada Dido *ci* {*ц̣u*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ca* ~ *cā* {*ц̣a*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *co* ~ *cō* {*ц̣o*} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*c<sup>w</sup>ǝ A* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 172, 203; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; van den Berg 1995: 290. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], transcribed as *cāru*; additionally, in [van den Berg 1995] the variant *cār* is quoted.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 266, 309; Madieva 1965: 191.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212.

**Common Bezhta:** The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 376, 449; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212. Paradigm: *ce* [abs.] / *cero-* [obl.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the oblique stem is erroneously quoted as *ce-mo-*).

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 272, 329; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212. Paradigm: *ci* [abs.] / *ciro-* [obl.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the oblique stem is erroneously quoted as *cire-*).

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92, 102; Bokarev 1959: 147. Paradigm: *cā* [abs.] / *cā-do-* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Bokarev 1959: 147, 150. Paradigm: *cō* [abs.] / *cō- ~ cō-do-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *co* {*ц̣o*} 'name' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 14, 75].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1098. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *\*c<sup>w</sup>ǝrV-* (in Proto-East Tsezic, the direct stem was leveled after the oblique one).

## 58. NECK

Hunzib (proper) *bolo* {*боло*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *boʎo* {*бoлʎo*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *boʎo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *boʎo* (1), Hinukh *moc'* {*моц̣I*} (2), Kidero Dido *meč'* {*меч̣I*} (2), Sagada Dido *meč'* {*меч̣I*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *mič'* {*миц̣I*} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi

*muč* {мучI} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*božo* A (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 43, 244; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; van den Berg 1995: 289; Bokarev 1961: 151, 182. Polysemy: 'neck / collar'. Paradigm: *bolo* [abs.] / *biła-s* [gen.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], however, the oblique stem is quoted as regular *bola-*).

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 49, 347. Polysemy: 'neck / collar'. In [Madieva 1965: 151], however, glossed as 'occiput; collar'. Paradigm: *božo* [abs.] / *biža-* [obl.].

Distinct from the more specific term *k'iceri* {кИцери}, glossed as 'neck, thick neck' in [Khalilov 1995: 172], borrowed from Georgian *k'iseri* 'neck'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18. Polysemy: 'neck / collar'. Regular paradigm.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18. Polysemy: 'neck / collar'. Paradigm: *božo* [abs.] / *božo-li-s* ~ *biža-s* [gen.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 269, 549; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18. Polysemy: 'neck / collar'.

Distinct from *res* ~ *ris* {pec} with polysemy: 'throat, gullet / front part of neck' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 302, 549; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 189, 397; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18. Polysemy: 'neck / collar / neck of bottle'. Distinct from *buti* {бульи} 'bead necklace' [Khalilov 1999: 307].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92, 93.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Bokarev 1959: 145, 148.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *muč* {мучI} 'neck' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 83, 415]. Distinct from *bulu* 'beads' [Khalilova 2009: 23].

**Proto-Tsezic:** Distribution: Two terms enter into competition:

1) *\*božo* A [TsezEDb], which means 'neck' in East Tsezic and 'bead necklace' in West Tsezic;

2) *\*muč* B [NCED: 805], which means 'neck' in West Tsezic and 'head hair' in East Tsezic.

Since the shift 'neck' > 'necklace' is much more natural than in the opposite direction, whereas *\*muč* is the good candidate for the Proto-Tsezic meaning 'head hair' q.v., we can safely postulate *\*božo* as the Proto-Tsezic term for 'neck' despite the fact that *\*božo* seems to lack external North Caucasian etymology.

Replacements: {'neck' > 'necklace'} (Proto-West Tsezic); {'head hair' > 'neck'} (Proto-East Tsezic).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 59. NEW

Hunzib (proper) *ič̣:-u* {ычIуIуIу} (1), Bezhta (proper) *ič̣:-o* {уцIуIо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *ič̣'-iy-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *ič̣:-o* (1), Hinukh *ec'en-d-iy-u* {эцIендИИу} (1), Kidero Dido *ec'n-u* {эцIну} (1), Sagada Dido *ec'n-u* {эцIну} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ec'n-u* {эцIну} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *uc'n-u* ~ *ič̣'n-u* {уцIну} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*ič̣'n-* A (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 185, 217; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; van den Berg 1995: 308; Bokarev 1961: 170, 178. In [Isakov & Khalilov 2001], the innovative denasalized form *ič̣:-u* {ыцIуIу} is also quoted.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 104, 320; Madieva 1965: 163.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

**Common Bezhta:** Geminated *c̣*: < *c̣'-y*.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 408, 477; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Note the chain of adjective suffixes. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 299, 348; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], erroneously transcribed as *ec'no*.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 113.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *uc'n-u ~ ic'n-u* {уцӀну, ыцӀну} 'new' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 15, 28, 313].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 357. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for the metathesis *c'n > nc'* in Proto-East Tsezic.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary adjective root. In East Tsezic, modified with the common adjective suffix *-y-* (*c'-y > c'*).

## 60. NIGHT

Hunzib (proper) *niše* {нише} (1), Bezhta (proper) *niše mex* {нише мех} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *niše* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *niše* (1), Hinukh *nesa:-s zaman* {несӕ заман} (1), Kidero Dido *bogol* {богол} (-1), Sagada Dido *nešo-h* {нешохI} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *reṭa* {релъа} (-1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *reṭa* {релъа} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *niš'e* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 133; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; van den Berg 1995: 322; Bokarev 1961: 162, 178. Polysemy: 'night / at night'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 195, 320. Literally 'time at night' with *mex* 'time' and the adverb *niše* {нише} 'at night' [Khalilov 1995: 208]. In [Madieva 1965: 179], however, *niše* is simply glossed as 'night'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211. Listed in the meaning 'at night', but apparently with polysemy: 'night / at night'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211. Listed in the meaning 'at night', but apparently with polysemy: 'night / at night'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 170, 477. Literally 'evening time', consisting of *nesa:* {несӕ} 'evening / in the evening / at night', gen. *nesa:-s* {несӕс} 'of evening' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 276; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211] and the borrowed term *zaman* 'time' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 170] (< Avar *zaman* 'time').

Distinct from the paronymous temporal adverb *neši* {нешши} 'at night' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 277], inaccurately glossed as generic 'night' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211].

It is likely that *neši* was the original Hinukh word for 'night' with the regular essive form *nes-a:* 'at night' or 'in the evening' (the essive ending *-a:*), the latter, however, has spread across the paradigm and serves now as the direct and oblique stems.

Cf. also the borrowing *bogole* {боголе} 'late evening (10-12 p.m.)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 95] < Avar dial. *bogola* 'evening, supper time'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 66, 348. Borrowed from Avar dial. *bogola* 'evening, supper time'.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211], the Kidero word for 'night' is erroneously quoted as inherited *neširu*, which actually means 'in the evening' [Khalilov 1999: 199].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Final *-h* is the essive ending, thus the original meaning of *nešo-h* should be adverbial 'at night'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 112.

The inherited noun *nišV* is retained in the fossilized adessive form *nišo-ho* 'at night' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 119].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Bokarev 1959: 145, 149, 150.

The inherited Inkhokwari noun *nišV* is retained in the fossilized adessive form *nišo-ho* 'at night / in the evening' [Bokarev 1959: 160; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** the same loanword *reṭa* {релъа} 'night' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 10, 14, 160].

The inherited Kwantlada noun *nišV* is retained in the fossilized adessive form *nišo-ho* 'at night' [Khalilova 2009: 129, 145].

**Common Khwarshi:** Common Khwarshi *reṭa* 'night' is borrowed from Tindi *reṭa* 'night'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 524. **Distribution:** A rather stable stem, attested in almost all the lects, although in West Tsezic, it tends to be superseded by Avar or Tindi loanwords, although it is retained in the locative adverbialized forms 'at night'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive stem. At least for the Proto-East Tsezic level, the polysemy: 'night / at night' can be reconstructed.

## 61. NOSE

Hunzib (proper) *maru* {мару} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mā*: {мāв<sup>u</sup>} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *mārō* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *mārō* (1), Hinukh *malu* {малу} (1), Kidero Dido *ma<sup>l</sup>li* {маІли} (1), Sagada Dido *mali* {малу} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *mani* {ману} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *mane* ~ *ma<sup>l</sup>ne* {мане} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*ma<sup>l</sup>ru* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 118, 217; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; van den Berg 1995: 318; Bokarev 1961: 161, 178.

Distinct from *ʔošo* {кʔoшo} 'snout (of pig etc.)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 103].

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 194, 320; Madieva 1965: 175.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

**Common Bezhta**: The loss of Bezhta proper *-r-* is normal [Bokarev 1959: 71 ff.]; nasalization is due to nasal assimilation *mVrV* > *mVyV* > *mVjV* > *mVjO*.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 258, 477; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 185, 348; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 99.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Bokarev 1959: 146.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *mane* ~ *ma<sup>l</sup>ne* {мане} 'nose' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 15, 17].

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 825. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for assimilation *m-r* > *m-n* in Khwarshi.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. For the Proto-Tsezic and synchronic homonymy 'mountain' / 'nose', see notes on 'mountain'.

## 62. NOT

Hunzib (proper) *=at<sup>l</sup>* (1) / *=is* (2), Bezhta (proper) *=aʔa-s* ~ *=aʔa* ~ *=aʔ* (3) / *=aʔa=s* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *=aʔa* ~ *=aʔ* (3), Hinukh *=m-e* (4), Kidero Dido *a:nu* {āny} (5) / *=č<sup>l</sup>V* (6), Sagada Dido *ya:t<sup>l</sup>* (7) / *=a* (3), Khwarshi (proper) *=ate* (8) / *=ay* (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *=ate* (8) / *=bi* (9), Proto-Tsezic *\*=V* ~ *\*=ʔV* ~ *\*=Vʔ* (3) / *\*=č<sup>l</sup>* (6).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 210 ff.; van den Berg 1995: 77, 84-87, 89-92; Bokarev 1959: 60. The system of Hunzib verbal exponents of negation of assertion is complex. The suffix *-at<sup>l</sup>* is used for the present tense (both finite forms and participles) and finite intentional; the related suffix *-it<sup>l</sup>* is used for past gerund. The suffix *-is* is used for past tense (both finite forms and participles) and masdar; the related complex suffix *-o-ys* is used for finite aorist and finite future. We fill the slot with *-at<sup>l</sup>* and *-is*, treated as synonyms.

Additionally, the negative present copula *ga-č<sup>l</sup>* (in Garbutli and Naxada: *ga-č*) 'it is not' plus gerund, participle or infinitive can form a complex predicate with negative meaning.

Prohibitive is formed with the suffix *-a:q(o)* [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 211; van den Berg 1995: 87; Bokarev 1959: 60]. Additionally, in [van den Berg 1995: 99], the prohibitive suffix *-(V)dor* is mentioned.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 406; Madieva 1965: 132. As noted in [Khalilov 1995: 406; Madieva 1965: 132], negation of assertion is normally expressed with the suffixes *-aʔa-s ~ -aʔa ~ -aʔ* (present) and *-eʔe-š ~ -eʔe ~ -eʔ* (preterite). Statistical correlation between the full forms of the suffixes (in *-s/-š*) and the simple one is not described. Alternatively, negation can be expressed with the negative copula *gäʔä* [Khalilov 1995: 59, 414; Madieva 1965: 143]. Other than that, the past participle is negated with the suffix *-eč'e* [Khalilov 1995: 406; Madieva 1965: 134].

The prohibitive exponent is the suffix *-aq'a* [Khalilov 1995: 406; Madieva 1965: 126].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Not documented.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Bokarev 1959: 106; Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 258. Negation of assertion is normally expressed with the suffixes *-aʔa ~ -aʔ* (present) and *-eʔe ~ -eʔ* (past); alternately, negation can be expressed with the negative copulae: present *gäʔ(ä)* and preterit *zuq'eʔ* [Bokarev 1959: 106; Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 258]. Besides that, the past participle is negated with the suffix *-eč'e / -ec'e* [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 264; Bokarev 1959: 106].

The prohibitive exponent is the suffix *-aq'a* [Bokarev 1959: 106; Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 259].

**Hinukh:** Forker 2013: 195, 198; Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 585; Isakov & Khalilov 2004: 194; Lomtadze 1963: 154. Negation of assertion is expressed with the verbal suffix *-m-e* in general tense and simple past (in intentional future: *-m-i*). On the contrary, in simple present tense and various non-finite forms, an analytic construction with the negative copula *go-m* is used [Forker 2013: 199, 212; Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 585].

The prohibitive exponent is the same suffix *-m*, attached to the imperative suffix *-o* [Forker 2013: 230; Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 588; Lomtadze 1963: 154; Imnaishvili 1963: 202 f.].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 443; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 145; Bokarev 1959: 215 ff.; Imnaishvili 1963: 197 ff. As described in the aforementioned sources, negation of assertion can be expressed either synthetically or analytically (in some categories, synthetic and analytic forms may co-occur). In present and past non-evidential, the negative copula *anu* attached as a suffix or enclitic is used. In general tense, past evidential, future, either the suffix *-čV* (it has the free variant *-nčV*, which is probably more rare) or the negative suffixed copula *zow-č'u-s* are used. We treat *anu* and *-čV* as synonyms.

The prohibitive exponent is the suffix *-n/-no* [Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 143; Bokarev 1959: 216.]. Khalilov 1999: 443; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 145; Bokarev 1959: 215 ff.; Imnaishvili 1963: 197 ff.

**Sagada Dido:** Imnaishvili 1963: 201 f. As described by Imnaishvili, in the present tense, negation of assertion is expressed by the enclitic *ya:t* (instead of Kidero *anu*); this negative copula *ya:t* is related to the positive copula *yo:t* (historically *y=ot*) 'to be' [Imnaishvili 1963: 215]. In the general tense, the suffix *-a* is used; in the future, the suffix *-č'u*; in the past, either *-e:č'u* or *č'i*. We treat *ya:t*, *-a* and *-čV* as synonyms.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117-118; Bokarev 1959: 170-171. As described in [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117-118; Bokarev 1959: 170-171] (confirmed by [Karimova 2014]), negation of assertion is expressed synthetically with the help of several suffixes: present, general tense *-ate*; witnessed past *-ay*; unwitnessed past *-b-č'i*; in the future the negative copula *go-b-č'i* is used. We treat *-ate* and *-ay* as synonyms.

The prohibitive exponent is the suffix *-yu* [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117] (with sandhi *\*Cy > C*: or *yC*). Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117-118; Bokarev 1959: 170-171.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Bokarev 1959: 170-171.

As described in [Bokarev 1959: 170-171] (confirmed by [Karimova 2014]), negation of assertion is expressed synthetically with the help of several suffixes: present *-ate*; general, future *-bi*, witnessed past *-bu*; unwitnessed past *-ay*. We treat *-ate* and *-bi* as synonyms.

The prohibitive exponent is the suffix *-bo / -ba* [Bokarev 1959: 170].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** as described in [Khalilova 2009: 203] (confirmed by [Karimova 2014]), negation of assertion is expressed synthetically with the help of three suffixes: present *-ate*; general, future, witnessed past *-bi*; unwitnessed past *-ay*. The prohibitive exponent is the suffix *-bo* [Khalilova 2009: 247]. Bokarev 1959: 170-171.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 541. Distribution: The synchronic systems of negation exponents in the attested lects are rather well developed and complicated. Apparently, a similar complexity is to be supposed for the Proto-Tsezic system, which can hardly be revealed in all details. We can safely reconstruct at least two morphemes that functioned as primary negation exponents in Proto-Tsezic:

1) present *\*-V ~ \*-ʔV ~ \*-ʔV?* [NCED: 541]. In East Tsezic, it is used for present (Bezhta); in West Tsezic, for general tense (Dido).

2) preterit *\*-č'* [NCED: 1101]. In East Tsezic, it is used for the negative copula (Hunzib) or for past participle (Bezhta); in West Tsezic, for general tense (Dido), past (Dido, Khwarshi) or the negative copula (Dido, Khwarshi).

The Proto-Tsezic prohibitive exponent is likely to have been the suffix *-m*, retained as *-m* in Hinukh, but with unexplainable mutations *> -n* in Dido and *> -b* in Khwarshi; superseded by *\*-VqV* in East Tsezic. It should be noted that this prohibitive exponent also spreads to negation of assertion in Hinukh and Inkhokwari Khwarshi.

Reconstruction shape: The unspecified vowel *V* was most likely *a*.

Semantics and structure: Suffixal morpheme. NCED: 1101. Semantics and structure: Suffixal morpheme.

## 62. NOT

Sagada Dido =č̣V (6).

## 63. ONE

Hunzib (proper) *hās* {ɹbʰc} (1), Bezhta (proper) *hōs* {ɹbʰc} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *hōs* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *hōs* (1), Hinukh *hes* {ɹbec} (1), Kidero Dido *sis* {cuc} (1), Sagada Dido *sis* {cuc} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *has* {ɹbac} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hos* {ɹvoc} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*hās*: (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 152; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; van den Berg 1995: 69; Bokarev 1959: 44. Suppletive paradigm: *hās* [abs.] / *sīd* [obl.].

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 85, 402; Madieva 1965: 104. Suppletive paradigm: *hōs* [abs.] / *sīd(i)*- [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247. Paradigm is not documented.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247. Suppletive paradigm: *hōs* [abs.] / *sīd(i)*- [obl.] [Bokarev 1959: 97].

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 579; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Forker 2013: 395. Suppletive paradigm: *hes* [abs.] / *sede*- [obl.].

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 441; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 135; Imnaishvili 1963: 84. Suppletive paradigm: *sis* [abs.] / *sīda*- [obl.].

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 84, 87. Suppletive paradigm: *sis* [abs.] / *sīda*- [obl.].

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 111. Suppletive paradigm: *has* [abs.] / *hāda* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Bokarev 1959: 161. Suppletive paradigm: *hos* [abs.] / *hāda* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *hos* [abs.] / *hada* [obl.] 'one' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 169, 173].

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 323. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the onset *s*- instead of expected *h*- in Dido due to contamination with the oblique stem.

Semantics and structure: Primary numeral root. The oblique stem is *\*s:i-*.

## 64. PERSON

Hunzib (proper) *insan* {инсан} (-1), Bezhta (proper) *suk'o* {сук'о} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *suk'o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *suk'o* (1), Hinukh *rek'w'e* {рек'ве} (1), Kidero Dido *žek'u* {жек'у} (1), Sagada Dido *žek'u* {жек'у} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *žik'w'a* {жик'ва} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hik'o* {ɹbuk'о} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *\*žik'wə ~ \*zik'wə A* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 84, 243; van den Berg 1995: 306. The form *šadam* {шадам} 'person' is also attested [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 70; van den Berg 1995: 344]. Both terms represent diffused Oriental (originally Arabic) words for 'person, human being'.

Additionally, the inherited term *suk'u* 'man' q.v. can be glossed with polysemy: 'man / person' in some sources.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 233, 346; Madieva 1965: 185. In [Khalilov 1995: 233], the parallel variant *suq'o* {сук'о} is also quoted.

Other attested terms for 'person' represent the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) words: *ādām* {аьдаьм} [Khalilov 1995: 31; Madieva 1965: 146], *insan* {инсан} [Khalilov 1995: 102; Madieva 1965: 163].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. The second term for 'person' is *ādām* (M. Khalilov, p.c.).

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. The second term for 'person' is *ḡadam* (M. Khalilov, p.c.).

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 302, 546. Suppletive paradigm: *rek<sup>w</sup>e* [sg.] / *ḡalq'i* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'person, human being / man'.  
Additionally, two Oriental wandering words (originally Arabic) are used: *insan* {инсан} 'person (sg.)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 183], *ḡadam* {гьадам} 'person' (rarely), 'persons, people' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 149].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 118, 395. Historically, a compound: *ž-ek'u*. Polysemy: 'person, human being / man'.  
The Oriental Wanderwort (originally Arabic) *insan* {инсан} 'person' is also used [Khalilov 1999: 128].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 89, 90, 95, 102, 110, 113. Polysemy: 'man / person'.  
In [Karimova 2014], only the borrowing *hadam* {гьадам} 'person' is quoted.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Bokarev 1959: 144, 145, 149. Polysemy: 'man / person'. We assume that Inkhokwari *hik'o* was borrowed from or at least phonetically influenced by Tindi *hek<sup>w</sup>a* 'man / person'.  
In [Karimova 2014], only two wandering words for 'person' are quoted: *hadam* {гьадам}, *insan* {инсан}.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *hadam* ~ *ḡadam* {гьадам} [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 11]. In [Karimova 2014], the synonym *insan* {инсан} 'person' is also quoted.

**Common Khwarshi:** Original equivalents *žik<sup>w</sup>a* and *hik'o* tend to be superseded by the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) words *hadam* and *insan*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 336, 579. Distribution: Retained in the majority of lects, although the word tends to be superseded by various loanwords. Further see notes on 'man'.  
Semantics and structure: Perhaps a primary substantive root with polysemy: 'man / person'.

## 65. RAIN

Hunzib (proper) *wədə* {вəдə} (1), Bezhta (proper) *wodo* {wodo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *wodo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *wodo* (1), Hinukh *qema* {хьема} (2), Kidero Dido *qema* {хьема} (2), Sagada Dido *qema* {хьема} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *qema* {хьема} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *wodo* {гьодо} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**ʁ.ʷədə* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 53, 199; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; van den Berg 1995: 339; Bokarev 1961: 152, 174. Homonymy 'rain' / 'day', see notes on Proto-Tsezic.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 56, 304; Madieva 1965: 153.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203.

**Common Bezhta:** Homonymy 'rain' / 'day' in all dialects, see notes on Proto-Tsezic.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 361, 436; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 254, 320; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 97, 102.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197, 203; Bokarev 1959: 150, 151. Polysemy: 'rain / sky'. Phonetically distinct from *wode* 'yesterday' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 232] < \*'day', cf. notes on Proto-Tsezic.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *wodo* {гьодо} 'rain' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 46].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1010. Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning in East Tsezic and some West Tsezic lects (Inkhokwari Khwarshi, Kwantlada Khwarshi). The external North Caucasian data are in perfect agreement with this. In the rest of West Tsezic, namely Hinukh, Dido and Khwarshi proper, 'rain' is expressed by \**qima* A ~ \**qima* B [NCED: 737]. Such a replacement should be treated as an independent introduction in Hinukh, Dido and Khwarshi proper.

The original meaning of Proto-Tsezic \**qima* is not entirely clear. Its East Tsezic cognates point to the meaning 'cloudy, dull': the adjectives Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *qima-r-o* {хьимаро} = Bezhta proper *qima-y-o* ~ *qima*: {хьимайо, хьимā} 'cloudy,

dull' [M. Khalilov, p.c.], modified with the adjective/participle suffix *-r-*. Additionally, according to M. Khalilov, *qima-r-o* and *qima-y-o* can be substantivized with the meaning 'cloudiness, assemblage of clouds'. Unattested Bezhta *\*qima* (an adjective or substantive) served as the basis of inchoative and causative verbs: Bezhta proper *qima-t-* 'to gloom, be overcast', *qima-k-* 'to cause to gloom, cause to be overcast' [Khalilov 1995: 262] (for the verbal suffixes *-t* and *-k*, see [Madiëva 1965: 113]). It is likely that Bezhta retains the original substantival meaning 'cloudiness' or the adjectival meaning 'cloudy, dull', whereas in some West Tsezic lects, *\*qima* has shifted to 'cloudiness / cloudy' > 'rain'. This agrees with the external comparison [NCED: 737], which suggests something like 'a k. of cloudy or rainy weather, fog, etc.' for Proto-Tsezic *\*qima*.

Distinct from the homophonous Proto-Tsezic *\*x:<sup>w</sup>ada* 'day' [NCED: 481] (which causes the secondary homonymy 'rain' / 'cloud' in East Tsezic). That we are dealing with two different roots, which coincided in Proto-Tsezic *\*x:<sup>w</sup>ada*, is suggested by the fact that the semantic shifts between the meanings 'rain' and 'day' are typologically odd. Indeed, both meanings could originate from something like 'sky', but external comparison proves the antiquity of the meaning 'rain' for *\*x:<sup>w</sup>ada*.

Replacements: {'rain' > 'sky'} (Inkhokwari Khwarshi); {'cloudiness' > 'rain'} (Hinukh, Dido, Khwarshi proper).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Substantive stem, which represents a Pre-Proto-Tsezic deverbative from an extinct verb 'to rain'.

## 66. RED

Hunzib (proper) *c'un-d-u* {*цунду*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *c'ud:-o* {*цуддо*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *c'ud-iy-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *c'un-d-iy-o* (1), Hinukh *c'ud:-u* {*цудду*} (1), Kidero Dido *c'uda* ~ *c'uda-ni* {*цуда, цудани*} (1), Sagada Dido *c'uda* {*цуда*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ut'e-y* {*ymleü*} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ut'a-n-a* {*утана*} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*c'udV-* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 174, 208; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; van den Berg 1995: 291, 349; Bokarev 1961: 168, 176. Final *-d-* is an adjectival suffix [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 236].

Differently in the Garbutli dialect, where 'red' is expressed as *hak'a-s* {*гъакIас*} [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 61, 208], literally 'of flower, floral' from *hak* 'flower'. In Hunzib proper, *hak'a-s* means simply 'floral' and additionally either 'yellow' (thus [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 61], although the basic Hunzib proper expression for 'yellow' q.v. is an Avar loanword) or 'pink' (thus [van den Berg 1995: 300, 349]). In the Naxada dialect, *hak'a-s* means 'yellow' [van den Berg 1995: 300, 349].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 274, 312; Madiëva 1965: 193. Historically, *d* < *d-y*.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. For the suffix chain, cf., e.g., *nič-d-iy-ö* 'green' q.v.

**Common Bezhta:** All forms are obviously related; however, the Proto-Bezhta morphological reconstruction is not entirely clear.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 386, 457; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Forker 2013: 172. In [Forker 2013], quoted with a typo: *cu:u*.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 279, 335; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Distinct from more specific *c'ic'i-r-a* 'red, vermilion (алый)' [Khalilov 1999: 278].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 115.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Bokarev 1959: 158.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ut'a-n-a* {*утана*} 'red' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 34, 71, 100].

**Proto-Tsezic:** Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning in East Tsezic and some West Tsezic (Hinukh, Dido) lects.

In Khwarshi, *\*c'udV-* was superseded by *\*?utV-* (~ *\*h-*) [NCED: 541], whose original Proto-Tsezic meaning is unclear, since it is not preserved outside Khwarshi dialects.

It is interesting that *\*c'udV-* lacks a North Caucasian etymology, whereas *\*?utV-* has some very promising North Caucasian *comparanda*, meaning 'red' in Lak and Dargi. Unfortunately, distribution clearly prevents *\*?utV-* from being posited as the basic Proto-Tsezic term for 'red'.

Replacements: {'of flower, floral' > 'red'} (Garbutli Hunzib).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for medial *-n-* in some East Tsezic forms.

Semantics and structure: Primary adjectival stem. The only difficulty is *-n-*, which appears in this adjective in two adjacent lects: Hunzib proper *c'und-u*, Tlyadal Bezhta *c'und-iy-o*. It is possible that Hunzib *c'und-u* originates from *\*c'ud-du* with the occasional dissimilation *dd > nd*, where final *-du* is the well-known adjectival suffix. In turn, Tlyadal Bezhta *c'und-iy-o* can be explained in the same way < *\*c'ud-d-iy-o*. It is natural to suppose that such a dissimilation appeared in one of the lects, which further influenced its neighbor.

## 67. ROAD

Hunzib (proper) *huni* {гьуну} (1), Bezhta (proper) *hino* {гьино} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *hino* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *hino* (1), Hinukh *hune* {гьуне} (1), Kidero Dido *huni* {гьуну} (1), Sagada Dido *huni* {гьуну} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *huni* {гьуну} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hune* {гьуне} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*hunVA* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 68, 199; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; van den Berg 1995: 304; Bokarev 1961: 154, 174. In the Garbutli dialect: *hini* 'road' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 68].

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 82, 304; Madieva 1965: 158.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 147, 437; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189.

Distinct from the borrowing *šahra* {шагъра} 'highway, street' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 399] < Avar *šahr'a* 'highway'.

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 101, 321; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189.

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 99, 121; Khalilova 2009: 5.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Bokarev 1959: 145, 148, 156.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *hune* {гьуне} 'road' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5, 24, 88].

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 606. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the vowel metathesis *o-i > i-o* in Bezhta.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 68. ROOT

Hunzib (proper) *χитиχ* {хитиχ} (1), Bezhta (proper) *χетиχ* {хетих} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *χетиχ* (1) / *biva* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *χетüχ* (1), Hinukh *rok'e* {рок'е} (3), Kidero Dido *ʒarʁ'el* {җаркьел} (-1), Sagada Dido *rok'o* {рок'о} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *rok'<sup>va</sup>* {рок'ва} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *rok'o* {рок'о} (3), Proto-Tsezic *\*χ:етиχ: ~ \*ветиχ* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 164, 207; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; van den Berg 1995: 341; Bokarev 1961: 167, 176.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 253, 311; Madieva 1965: 189.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

Two Khoshar-Khota terms for 'root' are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]: original *χетиχ* and innovative *biva*. We treat them as synonyms. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. Polysemy: 'root / foundation, building base'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

**Common Bezhta**: The noun *biva* {бигъа} is the Common Bezhta term for 'foundation, building base' [Khalilov 1995: 45; Madieva

1965: 150; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 175]; it has secondarily acquired the meaning 'tree root' in Khoshar-Khota.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 307, 456; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. The synchronic polysemy: 'root / heart' is secondary from the historical point of view.

A second, more marginal candidate is *zarλ'el* {гПаркъел} 'root (of tree)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 153], borrowed from Avar *zarλ:el* 'branch' (sic).

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 106, 334. Polysemy: 'root / branch'; applied specifically to trees or represents a generic term. Borrowed from Avar *zarλ:el* 'branch'.

Distinct from the more specific inherited term *rok'o* {pokIo} 'root (of plant)' [Khalilov 1999: 220] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97], it is quoted as a basic word for 'root'). Cf. *rok'u* 'heart' q.v.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 93, 99. In [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961], consistently transcribed as *rok'o*.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *rok'o* {pokIo} 'root' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 63].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 827. **Distribution:** Two stems enter into competition:

- 1) \**χ:emuχ:* (~ *u-...-u*) [NCED: 827], meaning 'root' in East Tsezic, lost in West Tsezic;
- 2) \**rəkV* [NCED: 745], meaning 'root' in West Tsezic, lost in East Tsezic.

It is impossible to make a choice based only on Tsezic data itself. External comparison, if correct, suggests Lak and Dargi cognates with the meaning 'root' for \**χ:emuχ:* which makes \**χ:emuχ:* an overall better candidate.

In Hinukh and Dido, the word tends to be superseded by an Avar loanword.

**Replacements:** {'foundation, building base' > 'root'} (Khoshar-Khota Bezhta).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular, except for vocalic assimilation *e-u > u-u* in Hunzib.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 69. ROUND

Hunzib (proper) *ger-d-u* {гeрды} (1), Bezhta (proper) *gey-d-iy-o* {гeйдиyo} (1) / *gomor-d-iy-o* {гомордиyo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *ger-d-iy-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *ger-d-iy-ö* (1), Hinukh *gemer-d-iy-u* {гeмeрдиyy} (1), Kidero Dido *gelma-č'u* {гeлмачIy} (1), Sagada Dido *gurginaɔ* {гургинаɔ} (-1), Khwarshi (proper) *kork'olu* {κIopκIoly} (-1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *girma* ~ *girma* {гурма} (1), Proto-Tsezic \****gVr-***(1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 55; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; van den Berg 1995: 297; Bokarev 1961: 152, 176. Final *-d* is an adjectival suffix [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 236].

Apparently, *gerdu* is an inherited adjective, unrelated to Azerbaijani *girdä* 'round' and other Turkic forms, because, first, Hunzib *gerdu* has a reliable Tsezic etymology [NCED: 447], second, Turkic loanwords normally penetrate into Hunzib via Avar mediation [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 289 ff.], whereas, to the best of our knowledge, there are no similar forms in Avar.

**Bezhta (proper):** Madieva 1965: 153. Apparently with polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'. In [Khalilov 1995: 59], *gey-d-iy-o* is glossed as 'oval' (the example: "oval stone"). Khalilov 1995: 63, 312. This adjective is quoted in [Khalilov 1995] as the basic term for 'round' (examples show polysemy: '3D / 2D'). Because of *-r-*, it does not look like a normal Bezhta proper form. A more regular shape of this word is quoted in [Madieva 1965: 154] as *gomoy-d-iy-o*, glossed as 'round apple, grapes, bread, nuts, head, pumpkin, egg'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 118, 458; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D / oval / cylindrical'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 82, 336; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Polysemy: 'round / corpulent (of child)'. Attested examples hint at the specific meaning 'round 2D': "round face" [Khalilov 1999: 82], "round (official) stamp" [Khalilov 1999: 208], "round mirror" [Khalilov 1999: 286].

There are also two other documented terms for 'round':

1) *gugur-u* {гугуру} with polysemy: 'round / hilly, raised' [Khalilov 1999: 85], the only example is "round stone" [Khalilov 1999: 85];

2) *q'olho-rite* {къолхЮрилъе} 'round' [Khalilov 1999: 152], literally 'ball-like' from *q'olho* 'ball'; the only example is "round stone" [Khalilov 1999: 152].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Borrowed from Avar *gurgina-w* 'round'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Borrowed from Tindi *k'ork'alu* 'round'.

The inherited Khwarshi proper word for 'round' is quoted in [Khalilova 2009: 7]: *germa*, although its exact synchronic meaning is not explained.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Khalilova 2009: 7. The variant *girma* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *gurma* ~ *girma* {гурма, гърма} 'round' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 7].

**Common Khwarshi:** Apparently with polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D' in all the dialects.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 447. Distribution: This root is always modified with suffixes, which, however, differ among languages. For Proto-East Tsezic, we can reconstruct *\*ger-d-(iy)-u* 'round' with the common adjectival suffixes *\*-d-* and *\*-y-* (the stem in *-d-* is attested in all East Tsezic lects). For Proto-West Tsezic, we reconstruct *\*gir-ma* 'round' with a rare and non-productive *m-* suffix.

In Hinukh *gemer-d-iy-u* 'round', we see the synchronic root *gemer-*, which is to be explained via occasional metathesis < *\*gemr-* < *\*ger-m-* (the additional suffix chain *-d-iy-* is standard for Hinukh adjectives).

Bezhta proper *gomor-d-iy-o* 'round' looks like a borrowing from Hinukh (cf. especially the retention of *-r-* that is typical of recent loanwords). A more archaic loanword from the same source should be Bezhta proper *gomoy-d-iy-o* 'round object (apple, grapes, bread, etc.)' which penetrated into Bezhta before the shift *r > y*. The main obstacle for the Hinukh > Bezhta scenario is the vowel discrepancy between the Hinukh (*e-e*) and Bezhta (*o-o*) forms.

Replacements: {'ball' > 'round'} (Kidero Dido).

Reconstruction shape: Vocalic correspondences are irregular: East Tsezic data point to the root vowel *\*-e-*, West Tsezic to *\*-i-*. For the metathesis *rm > mr* in Hinukh, see above.

Semantics and structure: It is unclear which suffix should be reconstructed for this stem in Proto-Tsezic: *\*-d-* (as in East Tsezic) or *\*-m-* (as in West Tsezic). Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D' in Proto-Tsezic.

## 70. SAND

Hunzib (proper) *kebu* {кебы} (1), Bezhta (proper) *miso* {муцо} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *miso* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *miso* (2), Hinukh *mese* {меце} (2), Kidero Dido *gibu* {зубы} (1), Sagada Dido *gimu* {зумы} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *gebu* {зебы} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *gebu* {зебы} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*kebu* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 90, 221; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; van den Berg 1995: 310; Bokarev 1961: XXX, XXX.

A second, probably more marginal or specific, term is *misu* {мысу}, glossed with polysemy: 'sand / gravel' in [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 128, 221], but only as 'crushed stone, road metal' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; van den Berg 1995: 320]. In [Bokarev 1961: 162, 178], however, *misu* is glossed with the generic meaning 'sand'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 197, 325; Madieva 1965: 176.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 264, 489; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

Distinct from *gebu* 'dust' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 117].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 83, 356. Polysemy: 'dust / sand'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Corresponds to Kidero *gibu* 'sand', with medial *-m-* influenced by Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand', widespread among languages of Daghestan as a wandering word.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. In [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 102], the loanword *sel(V)* is translated as 'sand' (borrowed

from Tindi *selu* 'gravel, road metal').

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Bokarev 1959: 156, 158.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *gebu* {reby} 'road' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 51]. In [Khalilova 2009], transcribed as *gabi* - probably an error.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 713. Distribution: Two stems enter into competition:

1) *\*kebu* A [NCED: 713], which means 'sand' in East Tsezic (Hunzib proper) and West Tsezic (all lects except for Hinukh). In Hinukh, it means 'dust';

2) *\*mis:V* A [NCED: 794], which means 'sand' in East Tsezic (Bezhta) and West Tsezic (Hinukh). In Hunzib proper, it means 'gravel, road metal'.

Formally, this is a "criss-crossed" situation, but actually *\*mis:V*, which appears in the meaning 'sand' in two contacting lects, should be treated as an areal innovation. Apparently, *\*mis:V* acquired the meaning 'sand' in Proto-Bezhta (since it is present in all Bezhta dialects), then Bezhta influenced Hinukh, where *\*kebu* 'sand' subsequently shifted to the meaning 'dust'.

The original Proto-Tsezic meaning of *\*mis:V* can be 'gravel, road metal', as attested in Hunzib proper.

It is interesting that it is Proto-Tsezic *\*mis:V* which possesses external cognates with the meaning 'sand' (Chadakolob Avar), but unfortunately the principles of internal reconstruction do not permit us to postulate Proto-Tsezic *\*mis:V* 'sand'.

Replacements: {'sand' > 'dust'} (Kidero Dido, Hinukh).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the assimilative voicing *k-b* > *g-b* in Proto-West Tsezic.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 71. SAY

Hunzib (proper) *nisə* ~ *nis* {ныса} (1), Bezhta (proper) *niso* {нисал} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *niso* (1) / CLASS=*ek*' (2), Plyadal Bezhta *niso* (1), Hinukh *ese* {эса} (1), Kidero Dido *eʃi* {эла} (3), Sagada Dido *eʃi* {эла} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *iʃ* {улла} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *iʃ* {улла} (3), Proto-Tsezic *\*ʃiV* (3).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 134, 232; van den Berg 1995: 322; Bokarev 1961: 162, 180. Historically, *\*n=is(ə)* or *\*n=is(ə)* with the directional prefix *n=*, for which see [van den Berg 1995: 353].

Distinct from *āgaš* ~ *āgiš-l-a*: ~ *āgiš-l-a*: 'to talk, speak' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 25, 196; van den Berg 1995: 283; Bokarev 1961: 150]. The element *āgaš* ~ *āgiš* is morphologically unclear; in [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 323], it is explained as onomatopoeic, but this is not highly likely.

Distinct from *iʃe* {илла} 'to call, cry, ring' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 202; van den Berg 1995: 306].

Distinct from the particle *ʃe* {лѐ}, which serves as a quotative marker [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 224; van den Berg 1995: 134].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 207, 335; Madieva 1965: 178. Polysemy: 'to say / to give away, betray'.

A second verb for 'to say' is CLASS=*ek*' {йеклал} [Khalilov 1995: 115]. The semantic difference between *niso* and CLASS=*ek*' is unclear, but, as noted by M. Khalilov (p.c.), the latter is marginal (correspondingly, only *niso* is quoted in the glossary [Madieva 1965]).

Distinct from CLASS=*iqʷaše* {йикълашал} 'to speak' [Khalilov 1995: 120; Madieva 1965: 162], whose morphological structure is not entirely clear. Looks like the stem =*iqʷe-l* 'to get to know; to let know; to teach' [Khalilov 1995: 120] (regular causative from =*iqʷe* 'to know' q.v.) plus unique suffix *-aše*.

Distinct from *iʃe* {иллал} 'to call / to sing / to talk' [Khalilov 1995: 18, 307].

Distinct from the particle *ʃo* {лѐ}, which serves as a quotative marker [Khalilov 1995: 187, 409].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148. Two verbs, *niso* & =*ek*', are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] for 'to say'. We treat them as synonyms.

Distinct from CLASS=*iqʷaše* 'to speak' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148]; for morphology, see notes on Bezhta proper. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148.

Distinct from *wār-λō* 'to speak' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Khalilov 1995: 55]. Historically, a compound, where the second element *λō* is a *verbum dicendi* \**ʔiλV*- (> Bezhta proper *iλe* 'to call, cry' [Khalilov 1995: 307; Madieva 1965: 163]). For Bezhta complex verbs in *-λol/-λe* with the semantics of 'mouth', see [Kibrik & Testelefs 2004: 273].

**Common Bezhta:** Historically, \**n=iso* or \**n=iiso* with the fossilized directional prefix.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 406, 519.

Distinct from *eλi* {элIа} with polysemy: 'to call, cry / to say / to sing' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 405]; cf. the quoted examples with the meaning 'to say': "To say a word", "To say incorrectly", although it is not the default verb for this meaning.

Distinct from CLASS=*aλi* {бакъа} 'to talk' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 55, 430].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 296, 375. Polysemy: 'to say / to sing'.

Distinct from *esi* {эса} 'to say, report, inform' [Khalilov 1999: 297]; it is not the default verb for 'to say'. In Asakh Dido, the corresponding verb is *es<sup>w</sup>V* {эсва} [Khalilov 1999: 298] (apparently with the same meaning) that implies a Proto-Tsezic labialized sibilant.

Distinct from CLASS=*aλi* {бакъа} with polysemy: 'to talk / to abuse, swear / to gossip, tittle-tattle / to be mistaken in smth.' [Khalilov 1999: 36, 315].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 115; Bokarev 1959: 165. The present form: *iλ:-o* [Bokarev 1959: 165]. Cf. the found example: "The wolf said: 'Should I kill you?'" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117].

Distinct from *una* {уна} 'to speak, talk' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 115].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 164, 167. Cf. the attested examples: "He has said (it) to the woman" [Bokarev 1959: 157], "He has said (it) to this woman" [Bokarev 1959: 158], "He has said (it) them" [Bokarev 1959: 160], "The teacher said that tomorrow..." [Bokarev 1959: 174].

A second Inkhokwari candidate is the verb *is* {иса} 'to say (сказать)' [Bokarev 1959: 146, 164, 167, 169, 170, 171]. Its meaning seems to be very close to *iλ*, but since *is* is not attested in the available textual instances, it should be more marginal than common *iλ*.

A third Inkhokwari verb is *esa* {эса} 'to say (сказать)' [Bokarev 1959: 163], without any additional information. It is likely that *is* and *esa* represent different transcriptions of one Inkhokwari verb.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *iλ* {илIа} 'to say' [Karimova 2014]. This is the most generic and common verb for 'to say'. Cf. some of the numerous instances: "the (other) woman who was there said that the boy was born..." [Khalilova 2009: 44], "'Give this thing for four (rubles),' the tradesman said" [Khalilova 2009: 76], "They said to one man to put the head into the pit where the bear was" [Khalilova 2009: 78], "'You tell (*is*) me, where is your most tasty meat?' the wolf said (*iλ*)" [Khalilova 2009: 84], "'There is blood on your lip,' the witch said" [Khalilova 2009: 86], "The older one said to the younger one, 'What was written in the letter?'" [Khalilova 2009: 106], "He said nothing" [Khalilova 2009: 160], "If the girl had told (*iλ*), the boy would have thrown the ball from the roof" [Khalilova 2009: 194].

The second Kwantlada candidate is *is* 'to say' [Khalilova 2009: 29, 37], but it is less common and its meaning is closer to 'to tell'. Cf. some examples: "'You tell (*is*) me, where is your most tasty meat?' the wolf said (*iλ*)" [Khalilova 2009: 84], "He said right" [Khalilova 2009: 123], "If mother had said, the daughter would have milked the cow" [Khalilova 2009: 195], "Our father used to tell us riddles" [Khalilova 2009: 199], "This girl did not say to anyone that she had been left in the forest by this neighbor" [Khalilova 2009: 211].

Distinct from Kwantlada *un* 'to speak' in the example "The woman did not say a word, she did not speak (*un*)" [Khalilova 2009: 202].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 572. **Distribution:** A complicated case with two verbs entering into competition.

1) \**i<sub>s</sub>:<sup>w</sup>V* ~ \**i<sub>s</sub>:<sup>w</sup>V* (~ \**ʔ* ~ \**ʔ*) A [NCED: 642] (for the traces of a labialized sibilant, see notes on Kidero Dido). This one is attested as the basic verb 'to say' in all East Tsezic lects and can be safely reconstructed with this meaning for Proto-East Tsezic. Already in Proto-East Tsezic, it was linked with the fossilized directional prefix *n=*, a development unparalleled by West Tsezic data. This verb is also present in West Tsezic: as a basic term for 'to say' in Hinukh, and residually in the Dido and Khwarshi dialects, where it means 'to say', but does not function as the most basic expression for this meaning.

2) \**ʔiλV* [NCED: 572]. This one is attested as the basic verb 'to say' in some West Tsezic languages, namely Dido and Khwarshi (all dialects). Residually it is present in Hinukh, where it means 'to say', but does not function as a basic expression for this meaning. In East Tsezic, \**ʔiλV* normally means 'to call, cry' and 'to talk', but both in Hunzib and Bezhta, this root is also retained as a quotative clitic (typologically, 'to say' is the most natural source of a quotation exponent). In all Tsezic languages, \**ʔiλV* is used as the second element of complex verbs denoting sound (the pattern: sound + \**ʔiλV*, see notes on 'to drink') that additionally could speak in favor of the original meaning 'to say' for \**ʔiλV*.

From the formal distributive point of view, *\*is:<sup>w</sup>V* has some advantage over *\*ʔiʔV*. The situation changes if we look at external North Caucasian etymology. Proto-Tsezic *\*ʔiʔV* possesses very good *comparanda* with the basic meaning 'to say': Andian *\*hiʔ*:- 'to say', Nakh *\*ʔaʔ*:- 'to say' [NCED: 572]. On the other hand, the external cognates of Proto-Tsezic *\*is:<sup>w</sup>V* mean something like 'to tell' [NCED: 642]. Because of this, we prefer to posit *\*ʔiʔV* as the main Proto-Tsezic verb for 'to say', which was superseded in its basic function by *\*n=is:<sup>w</sup>V* in Proto-East Tsezic. In such a case, *\*is:<sup>w</sup>V* with the meaning 'to say' in Hinukh is either an independent introduction or a result of influence on the part of East Tsezic.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem.

## 72. SEE

Hunzib (proper) CLASS=*ãc'ə* {*мауIа*} (1), Bezhta (proper) CLASS=*ega*: {*üezāl*} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS=*egä*: (2), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS=*egäh* (2), Hinukh CLASS=*ike* ~ CLASS=*üke* {*бука, бүүка*} (2), Kidero Dido CLASS=*ika* {*букада*} (2), Sagada Dido CLASS=*uka* {*букада*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS=*ak<sup>w</sup>a* {*аква*} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS=*ak* ~ CLASS=*ak<sup>w</sup>* {*лака, баква*} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=eg<sub>1</sub>"a* A (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 119, 193; van den Berg 1995: 283; Bokarev 1961: 150, 173. Polysemy: 'to see / to be seen, visible'.

Distinct from the verbs for 'to look', which consist of the root =*ac'ə* and fossilized directional prefixes (without semantic difference between the resulting stems): *nV*=CLASS=*ac'ə*, *tV*=CLASS=*ac'ə*, and specifically in the Naxada dialect: *gV*=CLASS=*ac'ə* [van den Berg 1995: 299, 322, 336, 348, 353].

Cf. the mirroring set of verbs with the same root: *r*=CLASS=*ac'ə*, *t*=CLASS=*ac'ə*, *g*=CLASS=*ac'ə* 'to show up, emerge' [van den Berg 1995: 298, 331, 335, 353].

It is possible that =*ãc'ə* and =*ac'ə* are related, although the total denasalization in =*ac'ə* is not clear, because there are no regular denasalization after *g* (cf., e.g., *gãžu* 'animal fang') or after *t* (cf., e.g., *tãhe* 'water tube at the mill'), whereas the sequence *r-V̄* should yield *nV* as follows from the class prefix *n* = < *r* = [van den Berg 1995: 31].

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 114, 298; Madieva 1965: 160. Polysemy: 'to see / to be seen, visible'. The model: absolutive (object) + dative (recipient).

Distinct from *gV*=CLASS=*ac'o* {*говацIал*} 'to look' [Khalilov 1995: 62; Madieva 1965: 154].

Distinct from *g*=*Vc'Vq* {*гоцIохъал*} 'to look' [Khalilov 1995: 64]: *g*=*oc'oq* [class 1] / *g*=*ič'eq* [2] / *g*=*uc'oq* [3].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173.

Distinct from *gV*=CLASS=*ac'V* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174].

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173.

Distinct from *g*=*Vc'Vq* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174]: *g*=*oc'oq* [class 1] / *g*=*ič'eq* [2, 5] / *g*=*uc'oq* [3, 4].

**Common Bezhta**: Initial *g(V)*= in the verbs for 'to look' is a fossilized directional prefix. It is likely that *gV*=CLASS=*ac'V* 'to look' and *g*=*Vc'Vq* 'to look' are related, but final *-q* in the latter verb remains unclear.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 81, 420. Polysemy: 'to see / to be seen, visible'. The model: absolutive (object) + dative (recipient).

Distinct from CLASS=*eze* {*беза*} 'to look' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 66, 522].

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 56, 309. Polysemy: 'to see / to be seen, visible'. The model: absolutive (object) + dative (recipient).

Distinct from CLASS=*ezu* {*беза, эза*} 'to look' [Khalilov 1999: 45, 295, 377].

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido**: The same in other dialects: Asakh CLASS=*ik<sup>w</sup>a* {*биквада*} 'to see' [Khalilov 1999: 56], CLASS=*ezu* {*безва, эзва*} 'to look' [Khalilov 1999: 45, 295]. Mokok CLASS=*uka* {*букада*} 'to see' [Khalilov 1999: 56].

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 95, 120. Cf. the present form CLASS=*ak<sup>w</sup>a-ha* [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 95].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 145, 158, 163, 165, 168, 169.

Distinct from Inkhokwari *gic'* 'to look' [Bokarev 1959: 157].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: CLASS=*ak<sup>w</sup>* {*лаква*} 'to see' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 18, 79, 97].

Distinct from Kwantlada *gic' ~ guc'* 'to look' [Khalilova 2009: 84, 90].

**Common Khwarshi:** The model: absolutive (object) + lative (recipient).

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 255. Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning 'to be seen, to see' in all Tsezic lects except for Hunzib, where it was lost.

The original meaning of the verb \*CLASS=*āc*V [NCED: 262], which means 'to be seen, to see' in Hunzib, is unclear. It is not very likely that it is the same root as 'to look', attested in East West Tsezic (further see notes on Hunzib).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the first vowel *a* in Khwarshi (apparently an occasional assimilation: *e-a > a-a*). As proposed by S. Nikolaev, indexed \**d*<sub>1</sub> & \**g*<sub>1</sub> are specific Proto-Tsezic phonemes, which yield voiced reflexes in East Tsezic and voiceless ones in West Tsezic [NCED: 111].

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem, meaning 'to be seen'. The model absolutive (object) + dative (recipient), attested in the majority of modern lects, is to be reconstructed as the Proto-Tsezic pattern for 'to see'.

## 73. SEED

Hunzib (proper) *ĩžu* {*u<sup>h</sup>жy*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *ĩzo* {*u<sup>h</sup>зо*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *izo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *izö* (1), Hinukh *ak'* {*акI*} (2), Kidero Dido *ak'* {*акI*} (2), Sagada Dido *ak'* {*акI*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *λ'et'u* {*къемIy*} (-1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *iz'u* (1), Proto-Tsezic \**ĩž-u ~ \*ĩž:-u* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 85; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111; van den Berg 1995: 308; Bokarev 1961: 156, 180. Derived from the verb CLASS=*ĩže* ~ CLASS=*ĩža* {*мижа*} 'to sow' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 122; van den Berg 1995: 307]. Cf. also the paronymous substantive *ĩž* {*и<sup>h</sup>ж*} 'sieve' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 85; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 170; van den Berg 1995: 307].

The paronymous verb is CLASS=*ĩža* 'to sow / to sieve' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 122].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 104, 335; Madieva 1965: 162.

The paronymous verb is CLASS=*ĩze* {*и<sup>h</sup>зал*} 'to sow' [Khalilov 1995: 124].

Distinct from *hak'*, which is glossed as 'seeds' in [Khalilov 1995: 72] with the only example: "seeds of flower". The exact meaning of Bezhta proper *hak'* is unclear, but obviously it is not the basic term for 'seed' (in Tlyadal Bezhta and Hunzib, this word means 'flower').

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 39, 518. Polysemy: 'seed / stone of fruit'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111], the Hinukh word for 'seed (семя)' is erroneously quoted as *haq'u* {*гъакъy*}, which actually means 'family (семья)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 135].

Cf. the verb *ezi*: 'to sieve' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 405; Forker 2013: 189]. Since it does not attach class prefixes, whereas the etymologically expected Hinukh form should be with -*ž-*, not -*z-*, it is likely that *ezi*: represents a borrowing from Bezhta with the Hinukh vowel shifts.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 28, 374. Polysemy: 'seed / stone of fruit'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111], the Kidero word for 'seed' is quoted as *ʔeži*, not found in [Khalilov 1999]; the initial pharyngeal looks strange.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** Two terms are attested in other dialects: Asakh *ak<sup>h</sup>a* {*акIа*} 'seed' [Khalilov 1999: 28], Mokok *eži* {*эжи*} 'seed' [Khalilov 1999: 295].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

Cf. the verb CLASS=*ĩž* 'to sow' [Khalilova 2009: 5].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111.

A second Inkhokwari term for 'seed' is the non-inherited term *λ'et'u* {*къетIy*} [Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *λ'et'u* {*къетIy*} 'seed' [Karimova 2014]. Cf. the verb CLASS=*ēž* 'to sow' [Khalilova 2009: 5, 72, 347, 415].

**Common Khwarshi:** Common Khwarshi *λ'et'u* 'seed' is borrowed Tindi *λ'et'u* 'seed'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 279. Distribution: A non-trivial case. In the majority of the lects, the noun \**ĩž-u* 'seed' is used, derived from the

verb \*CLASS=*žV* (~ -ž-) 'to sow' (the verb itself is well-attested in Tsezic languages). Deverbatives with the suffix *-u* are not a productive pattern, although these are more or less scarcely attested in various Tsezic lects and such a morphological model can be reconstructed for the Proto-Tsezic level.

In Hinukh and many, although not all, Dido dialects, the meaning 'seed / stone of fruit' is expressed by the form \**hak<sup>w</sup>* [NCED: 508]. Its East Tsezic cognates are: Hunzib proper *hak* 'flower' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 61], Tlyadal Bezhta *hak* 'flower', Bezhta proper *hak* 'seeds' [Khalilov 1995: 72] (further connection to Khwarshi *ak* 'dough' is semantically unlikely). It is theoretically possible that \**hak<sup>w</sup>* is the Proto-Tsezic term for 'seed', retained in Hinukh and Dido, but superseded by independent new formations from 'to sow' in other lects (including Mokok Dido). However, since \**žž-u* demonstrates a non-productive morphological pattern and should be treated as an archaic stem, it is more likely that \**hak<sup>w</sup>* with the meaning 'seed' represents a late innovation of the central Tsezic area. The original Proto-Tsezic semantics of \**hak<sup>w</sup>* is unclear.

In Khwarshi dialects, the inherited forms tend to be superseded by the Tindi loanword.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the final *-i* instead of *-u* in Dido.

Semantics and structure: Nominal deverbative stem.

## 74. SIT

Hunzib (proper) *q'ere* CLASS=*eče* {*къере эча*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *q'ey* CLASS=*eče* {*къеѳ ѳеѳал*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *q'ere* CLASS=*eče* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *q'ere* CLASS=*eče* (1), Hinukh *q'idi* CLASS=*iči* {*къиду бича*} (1), Kidero Dido CLASS=*iči* {*бича*} (2), Sagada Dido *q'ida* CLASS=*iči* {*къида бича*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *q'udu* CLASS=*eč* {*къуду эча*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *q'udu* CLASS=*eč* {*къуду эча*} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**q<sup>f</sup>e-* CLASS=*ečV* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 37, 98, 232; van den Berg 1995: 68, 295. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Literally 'to be down' with *q'ere* 'down' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 98; van den Berg 1995: 68] and the generic verb CLASS=*eče* {*беча*} 'to be / to stand / to stay' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 37; van den Berg 1995: 295].

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 116, 155; Madieva 1965: 169. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87. Quoted in the entry 'to sit down', but apparently with polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87. Quoted in the entry 'to sit down', but apparently with polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

**Common Bezhta**: Literally 'to stay/stand down' with the local adverb *q'ere* (Bezhta proper regular *q'ey*) 'down to the ground, on the floor' and CLASS=*eče* 'to stand' q.v.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 91, 519. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Literally 'to be down' with the adverb *q'idi* ~ *q'üdü* 'down, on the ground / afoot' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 216; Forker 2013: 347] and the generic verb CLASS=*iči* 'to be / to stand / to stay' (see 'to stand').

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 63, 374. A generic verb with polysemy: 'to stand / to sit / to sit down / to stay, remain, dwell / to stop to do'.

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014. Literally 'to be down' with the adverb *q'ida* 'down' and the generic verb CLASS=*iči* 'to be'.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014. Cf. the attested example: "I am sitting near the spring water" [Bokarev 1959: 158].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *q'udu* CLASS=*eč* {*къуду эча*} with polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down' [Karimova 2014]. Cf. the attested examples: "He ... poured out the flour into the barrel and sat down" [Khalilova 2009: 87], "When (they) came to the waste land, (they) sat down under the pear tree" [Khalilova 2009: 124].

**Common Khwarshi**: In all the dialects, the basic expression for 'to sit' is the local adverb *q'udu* 'down' [Khalilova 2009: 124] plus the inflected copula CLASS=*eč* 'to be'. Cf. the similar construction for 'to stand'.

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 616, 1025. Distribution: In all the lects, except for Kidero Dido, 'to sit' is expressed analytically as the adverb \**q<sup>f</sup>e-* 'down' [NCED: 616] (modified with different suffixes, which possibly represent old spatial case endings: \**-re* in East Tsezic and \**-dV* in West Tsezic) plus the verb \*CLASS=*ečV* 'to be / to stand' [NCED: 1025].

In Kidero Dido, the adverb \**q<sup>f</sup>e-dV* was lost and \*CLASS=*ečV* acquired the polysemy 'to stand / to sit'.

Replacements: {'to be down' > 'to sit'} (Proto-Tsezic).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Analytical construction, literally 'to be down'.

## 75. SKIN

Hunzib (proper) *beš* {беш} (1), Bezhta (proper) *beš* {беш} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *bes* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *beš* (1), Hinukh *qal* {хъал} (-1), Sagada Dido *hoši* {xIoшuu} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *qoλu* {xъoλy} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *qoλu* ~ *q'oλu* {xъoλy} (3).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 38; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 41; van den Berg 1995: 287; Bokarev 1961: 151. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of large cattle'. The meaning 'human skin' is offered only in [van den Berg 1995].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 45, 311; Madieva 1965: 150. Polysemy: 'bark / shell / human skin / hide of large cattle'. Distinct from:

1) *vāše* {гъаше} 'hide of small cattle' [Khalilov 1995: 68, 311];

2) *tasma* {тасма} 'skin' or 'hide' (not specified) [Khalilov 1995: 236, 311] (a Turkic loanword?);

3) *qal* {хъал} with polysemy: 'bark / peel / skin or hide (not specified)' [Khalilov 1995: 259, 311; Madieva 1965: 190], borrowed from Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Ya. Testelets, p.c.; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 41. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of large cattle' (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], only the latter meaning is mentioned).

Distinct from: *vāše* 'hide of small cattle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40]; *lepa* {лепа} 'skin' or 'hide' (not specified) [Khalilov 1995: 178, 311].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Ya. Testelets, p.c.; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of large cattle' (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], only the latter meaning is mentioned).

Distinct from: *vāše* 'hide of sheep', *qāλō* 'hide of goat' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 358, 454. Polysemy: 'bark / peel / layer, coat / skin'. The only attested example for the meaning 'human skin' contains this word: "skin (*qal*) of the hands has chapped" [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 358]. Borrowed from Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

Distinct from several inherited terms:

1) *x<sup>w</sup>iši* ~ *xuši* {хвиши, хуши} 'hide of small cattle' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 349; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40];

2) *bik* {бик} 'hide of large cattle' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 81; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40];

3) *q'oλu* ~ *q'oλu* 'sheep hide' [Forker 2013: 32, 117; Lomtadze 1963: 41] (the etymologically expected variant *q'oλu* is from [Lomtadze 1963]), not found in other sources.

**Kidero Dido:** No expressions for 'human skin' have been found in the available sources. Apparently one of following words must be used for this meaning:

1) *hoši* {xIoшuu, xIoшuu} 'hide of small cattle' (including 'sheep hide') [Khalilov 1999: 268; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40];

2) *bik* {бик} 'hide of large cattle' [Khalilov 1999: 56; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40];

3) borrowed term *qal* {хъал} 'bark / peel / layer, coat / skin' [Khalilov 1999: 251], as in the examples "The skin got thin" [Khalilov 1999: 112], "to strip the skin off" [Khalilov 1999: 251]; < Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of large cattle / goat hide'.

Distinct from Inkhokwari *hēše* 'sheep hide' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *qoλu* {хъoλy} with polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 83].

**Common Khwarshi:** In all the dialects, 'human skin' can also be expressed as *qal* {хъал} [Karimova 2014], ultimately borrowed from Avar *qal* 'peel, bark'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** Not reconstructible.

Distribution: Various terms for 'human skin' normally display the polysemy 'human skin / a k. of animal hide' in attested Tsezic languages, and it seems that the meaning 'human skin' always represents a secondary development from 'a k. of hide' in any individual lect or a group of lects (e.g., \**beš*: 'hide of large cattle / human skin' can be formally

reconstructed for Proto-East Tsezic).

Replacements: {'animal hide' > 'human skin'} (passim in Tsezic).

## 76. SLEEP

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=ut'* {*ḡymIa*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=üčä:χe* {*üybyābχabλ*} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=ut'* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=ut'* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=ot'* {*ḡomIa*} (1), Kidero Dido *kec* {*κευα*} (3), Sagada Dido *kec* {*κευα*} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *λes* {*λIeca*} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *λis* {*λIuca*} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*CLASS=it'<sup>w</sup>* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 46; van den Berg 1995: 338. Polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.

*Pace* [Bokarev 1961: 162; NCED: 620], the Hunzib verb *CLASS=ñ(V)* 'to sleep' apparently does not exist. Bokarev's form *miλa* looks like a corruption of the adverb *miλa-t* 'in one's sleep' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 128] < *matu* [dir.] / *mita*-[obl.] with the locative exponent *-t* [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 120].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 137, 338; Madieva 1965: 188. Glossed as 'to sleep, to fall asleep'.

Also, as noted by M. Khalilov (p.c.), the verb *CLASS=ut'* 'to lie / to lie down' q.v. can be sporadically used for 'to sleep' (thus polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep').

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

Distinct from *CLASS=üčäχe* 'to fall asleep' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

Distinct from *CLASS=üčäχe* 'to fall asleep', *ʔüʔλe* 'to fall asleep', *χöčä-läh* 'to doze' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169].

**Common Bezhta:** Morphological structure of *CLASS=üčäχe*, *ʔüʔλe*, *χöčä-läh* is not entirely clear. *=üčäχe* looks like an old complex verb (*\*=üčV-äχe*), but details are unknown (in Bezhta proper *=üčä:χe*, long *ä:* can be due to contraction with the iterative infix *-a-*). *χöčä-läh* is formed with the iterative suffix *-läh* [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 273], but *χöčä* itself is not a very typical root shape for Tsezic. Finally, Tlyadal *ʔüʔ-λe* 'to fall asleep' / Bezhta proper *ʔüʔ-λö* 'to wake up' [Khalilov 1995: 184] is formally a complex verb, where *-AV* is the morpheme expressing the semantics of "sound" or "mouth" [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 273], although *ʔüʔ* as an onomatopoeic element looks strange (under such an analysis, one should expect an ergative model for *ʔüʔ-λe*).

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 99, 525. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 138, 379. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep / to die'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 115, 116; Bokarev 1959: 165, 169. Cf. the examples: "When the son is sleeping, there is no noise" [Bokarev 1959: 173], "Household sleeps abed, cattle sleeps outside" [Bokarev 1959: 174].

A second verb for 'to sleep' is *CLASS=aq* {*αλχβαI, αχβα*} with polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep' as follows from the example "I will sleep" in [Bokarev 1959: 168].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014.

The second Inkhokwari verb for 'to sleep' is *CLASS=aq<sup>f</sup> ~ CLASS=aq* {*αλχβαI, αχβα*} with polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep' as follows from the gloss 'to sleep' in [Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 166, 168, 169, 170, 171].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *λus ~ λis* {*λIyca*} 'to sleep' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 28, 33, 36, 43, 67, 204].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1035. Distribution: See notes on 'to lie'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem with polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.

## 77. SMALL

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=iʔe-r-u* {*ḡuvəpy*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *it'in-o* {*umIuno*} (-1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *it'in-o* (-1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=üwö-r-ö ~ CLASS=uwe-r-o* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=eg<sup>w</sup>e-y* {*ḡevəyü*} (2), Kidero Dido *CLASS=eβ<sup>e</sup> ~ CLASS=eβe* {*ḡeIṽe*} (3), Sagada Dido

CLASS=*eb<sup>w</sup>e* {peɣvbe} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *ak'eɣ* {akIeŷ} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *mic'ik'-i* {миц'ик'и} (5), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*ib<sup>w</sup>V* ~ \*CLASS=*ib<sup>w</sup>V*(3).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 41, 211; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; van den Berg 1995: 307; Bokarev 1961: 156, 177. In [Isakov & Khalilov 2001], transcribed as CLASS=*ieru* {биэру}. Historically, a participle in *-r-*, see notes on Bezhta proper. Widely applicable.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 103, 315; Madieva 1965: 163. Borrowed from Avar *hit'ina*-CLASS 'small'.

Distinct from inherited CLASS=*üwe-r-o* {йуъверо} 'younger' [Khalilov 1995: 137], past participle from the verb CLASS=*üwö* 'to lose, to sustain a defeat' [Khalilov 1995: 137], although the retention of *r* (instead of expected *y*) is unclear.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. Borrowed from Avar *hit'ina*-CLASS 'small'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Khalilov 1995: 224. Historically, a participle, see notes on Bezhta proper.

**Common Bezhta:** Distinct from the more specific adjective 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)': Bezhta proper, Tlyadal *nüš-ö* {нүшпшө}, Khoshar-Khota *nüš-iy-o* [Khalilov 1995: 210; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237] (with *š*: < *š-y*).

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 64, 463; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. Polysemy: 'small / younger'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 51, 340; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. Widely applicable.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 113, 120. Polysemy: 'small / a few'.

In [NCED: 573], also the adjective *iva(y)* 'small' is quoted.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Bokarev 1959: 158, 159], only the suffixal stem *mic'ka-re* ~ *mic'ki-ri* 'small' is quoted.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *mic'ik'-i* {миц'ик'и} 'small' [Karimova 2014].

Differently in [Khalilova 2009: 106, 415, 445], where only the Kwantlada form *ik'sew* with polysemy: 'small / younger' has been found. Cf. the best example: "Though the garden on the hen's neck was small, I went there to plough and sow" [Khalilova 2009: 415].

**Common Khwarshi:** All three attested forms, *ak'eɣ*, *mic'ik'-i* and *ik'sew*, are etymologically obscure. E.g., *mic'ik'*- directly coincides with Nidzh Udi *mic'ik*: {миц'ик'и} 'small', although the hypothetical common source of the borrowing is unclear.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 573. **Distribution:** For East Tsezic, \*CLASS=*ihV-r* [NCED: 256] can be reconstructed as the term for 'small'; it is a participle from a verb that is attested only in Bezhta with the meaning 'to lose, to sustain a defeat'; the root is apparently lost in West Tsezic (Hinukh *ehe-nmu*, quoted in [NCED: 257], does not exist).

In West Tsezic, several different terms are used, all of them with weak etymologies or even without any whatsoever. If Khwarshi proper *iva(y)* 'small' does indeed exist, its match with Dido CLASS=*eb<sup>e</sup>e* 'small' makes \*CLASS=*ib(:)<sup>w</sup>V* [NCED: 573] the best candidate for Proto-West Tsezic 'small'.

Provisionally we fill the Proto-Tsezic slot with \*CLASS=*ib(:)<sup>w</sup>V* (attested in West Tsezic), since the morphologically transparent participle \*CLASS=*ihV-r* (attested in East Tsezic) has a better chance to be a secondary formation.

In Bezhta dialects, the inherited term was superseded by the Avar loanword.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary adjective stem.

## 78. SMOKE

Hunzib (proper) *qo* {xʁo} (1), Bezhta (proper) *qo* {xʁo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *qo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *qo* (1), Hinukh *kut'i* {күм'и} (2), Kidero Dido *gut'* {zymI} (2), Sagada Dido *gut'* {zymI} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *gut'* {zymI} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *gut'* {zymI} (2), Proto-Tsezic \**q<sup>w</sup>i* ~ \**qo* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 168, 199; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; van den Berg 1995: 326; Bokarev 1961: 167, 174.

Oblique stem: *qo-y-*.

Distinct from *got'* {rotI} 'dust' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 56].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 263, 305; Madieva 1965: 190. Paradigm: *qo* [abs.] / *qoy-* [obl.]. Cf. the discovered examples for *qo* 'smoke': "The house is full of smoke" [Khalilov 1995: 58], "to fill the room with smoke" [Khalilov 1995: 130], "Smoke has made the room grey" [Khalilov 1995: 179], "to smother with smoke" [Khalilov 1995: 188], "smoke from fire", "smoky room", "to emit smoke", "Smoke is raised in the room", "The stove produces smoke" [Khalilov 1995: 263].

A second candidate is *got'* {rotI} with polysemy: 'dust / smoke' [Khalilov 1995: 63; Madieva 1965: 154]. This one seems more marginal in the meaning 'smoke' than *qo*, because, first of all, examples for *got'* 'smoke' are less numerous, second, they are not observed outside the main entry *got'* in [Khalilov 1995: 63] ("a lot of smoke", "The smoke has cleared", "to emit smoke", "The house is full of smoke").

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207. Paradigm: *qo* [abs.] / *qoyi-s* [gen.].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207. Paradigm: *qo* [abs.] / *qoʔi-s* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'smoke / fog'.

**Common Bezhta:** Distinct from the more specific term: Khoshar-Khota, Tlyadal *mus* 'smoke with soot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207] and Bezhta proper *mus* {myc}, which is glossed as 'smoke above the fire' in [Madieva 1965: 177], but simply as 'soot' in [Khalilov 1995: 200].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 208, 438; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205], with polysemy: 'fog / smoke', cf. sub 'cloud'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 87, 322; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207. According to [Khalilov 1999: 87], with polysemy: 'smoke / dust'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205, 207], glossed with polysemy 'smoke / fog' that is not confirmed in [Khalilov 1999]. Additionally, the compound *gut'-muši* 'smoke', literally 'dust + air' is used [Khalilov 1999: 87].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Bokarev 1959: 150.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *gut'* {ryTI} 'smoke' [Karimova 2014].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 738. **Distribution:** A non-trivial case with two terms entering into competition:

- 1)  $*q^{m_i} \sim *qo$  [NCED: 738], which represents the main term for 'smoke' in East Tsezic lects, lost in West Tsezic;
- 2)  $*got'(V)$  A [TsezEDb], which means 'smoke' in West Tsezic (with polysemy 'smoke / dust' in Kidero Dido), as well as in one East Tsezic lect: Bezhta proper with polysemy 'smoke / dust', although it is not the main Bezhta term for 'smoke'. In Hunzib, it means simply 'dust'.

Despite its narrower distribution, the root  $*q^{m_i} \sim *qo$  has very good external North Caucasian *comparanda* with the meaning 'smoke', which is why we prefer to posit it as the Proto-Tsezic term for this meaning.

On the other hand,  $*got'(V)$  lacks an external North Caucasian etymology. Its meaning 'dust', attested in both East and West Tsezic, suggests that  $*got'(V)$  can be reconstructed as the Proto-Tsezic term for 'dust', whereas the development 'dust' > 'smoke' is a late innovation, probably not even of Proto-West Tsezic age, since in Kidero Dido the compound 'dust (*gut'*) + air' is still used as a more rare expression for 'smoke'. It must be noted that Bezhta proper *got'* 'dust / smoke' cannot be a direct Hinukh loanword, because in Hinukh this root has the shape *kut'i* (with irregular *k-* instead of *g-*).

**Replacements:** {'dust' > 'smoke'} (Bezhta proper, Dido, Khwarshi); {'dust + air' > 'smoke'} (Bezhta proper).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 79. STAND

Hunzib (proper) CLASS=*eče* {*беча*} (1), Bezhta (proper) CLASS=*eco-λ'a* CLASS=*eče* {*ӡеуоква ӡеуал*} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS=*eče* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS=*eče-noc'* (1), Hinukh CLASS=*iči* ~ CLASS=*üči* {*буча, бӱча*} (1), Kidero Dido CLASS=*iči* {*буча*} (1), Sagada Dido *eč'ker* CLASS=*iči* {*эчкӡер буча*} (3), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS=*ah-a* CLASS=*eč* {*агва эча*} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS=*ah-a* CLASS=*eč* {*агва эча*} (4), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*ečV* (1).

References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 37, 236. Polysemy: 'to be / to stand / to stay'. In [van den Berg 1995: 295], CLASS=*eče* is only glossed as 'to stay, be, live', there is no expression for 'to stand' in this glossary. The expression for 'to sit' q.v. consists of CLASS=*eče* with a spatial adverb.

Distinct from CLASS=*arče* {барча} 'to stand up' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 31, 194; van den Berg 1995: 282]. This can additionally be modified by the adverb *λ'oq* 'up' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 102; van den Berg 1995: 68] (*λ'oq* is not attested outside this expression).

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 116, 339. The collocation consists of the adverb CLASS=*eco-λ'a* 'upright' [Khalilov 1995: 116] (*-λ'a* is the locative ending, which frequently modifies locative or spatial adverbs) and the verb CLASS=*eče* {йецап} 'to stop to move / to stop to do / to take one's stand / to stay, dwell' [Khalilov 1995: 116; Madieva 1965: 160]. Apparently, =*eco-λ'a* and =*eče* are etymological cognates (*c < č* due to word harmony).

Cf. the related verb CLASS=*eče-nVc* {йеченицап} 'to stop to move / to stop to do' [Khalilov 1995: 116]: ...-*noc*' [class 1] / ...-*nic*' [2] / ...-*nuc*' [3, 4].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86. Polysemy: 'to stand / to remain, stay'. According to M. Khalilov, p.c., there also exists the full collocation CLASS=*eco-λ'a* CLASS=*eče* 'to stand', which corresponds to the Bezhta proper expression.

Distinct from CLASS=*eče-noc* 'to stop to move' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86]; only the class 1 form *eče-noc* is documented.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86. Only the class 1 form *eče-noc* is documented. Apparently, with polysemy: 'to stop to move / to stand'. According to M. Khalilov, p.c., there also exists the collocation CLASS=*öčö-λ'a* CLASS=*eče* 'to stand', which corresponds to the Bezhta proper expression.

Cf. the plain stem CLASS=*eče* 'to remain, stay' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62].

**Common Bezhta:** CLASS=*eče* can be safely postulated as the Proto-Bezhta verb for 'to stand'. The semantic development towards abstract meanings in Bezhta dialects has conditioned the use of an additional adverb.

The element *-nVc* is unclear. It looks like a verbal root =*oc* '?' that has been modified with the fossilized directional prefix *n=*.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 90, 528. Polysemy: 'to be, become / to stand / to stand up / to stay / to stop to move / to stop to do'. The expression for 'to sit' q.v. consists of CLASS=*iči* with a spatial adverb.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 63. A generic verb with polysemy: 'to stand / to sit / to sit down / to stay, remain, dwell / to stop to do'. Additionally, the full collocation *hečker* CLASS=*iči* {гъечкер ича} 'to stand' is used [Khalilov 1999: 97, 381], which contains the spatial adverb *hečker ~ ečker* (Asakh *hečker*) {гъечкер, эчкер} 'vertically' [Khalilov 1999: 97].

Distinct from specific CLASS=*izi* {биза} 'to stand up / to raise' [Khalilov 1999: 54].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Literally 'to be vertically' with the adverb *ečker* 'vertically' and the generic verb CLASS=*iči* 'to be'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Apparently, the situation is the same as in Kwantlada Khwarshi (q.v.): the basic expression for 'to stand' is the infinitive CLASS=*ah-a* plus the inflected copula CLASS=*eč* 'to be'.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014. Apparently, the situation is the same as in Kwantlada Khwarshi (q.v.): the basic expression for 'to stand' is the infinitive CLASS=*ah-a* plus the inflected copula CLASS=*eč* 'to be'.

Simple CLASS=*ah* means 'to stand up' [Bokarev 1959: 163, 165] (according to Bokarev, this verb has the suppletive present stem *ay-*).

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS=*ah-a* CLASS=*eč* {агъа эча} with polysemy: 'to stand / stop' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 17]. This is the basic expression for 'to stand': the infinitive CLASS=*ah-a* plus the inflected copula CLASS=*eč* 'to be'. Cf. some examples: "The girl was standing (=ah-a) in the center of the street" [Khalilova 2009: 139], "People who are working are standing (=ah-a)" [Khalilova 2009: 213], "At night I had a dream that I and Musa, Saydula and their Xadi, who was standing (=ah-an), were trying to pen (drive in) the buffalo calves" [Khalilova 2009: 225], "You have reached that place, stop!" [Khalilova 2009: 231].

Without the copula =*eč*, the fully inflected CLASS=*ah* can be used in the meaning 'to stand up' as in "Malla-rasan got up (=ah-un) from the place where he was" [Khalilova 2009: 229], "The clever one got up (=ah-un) early in the morning hiding himself behind the door" [Khalilova 2009: 134]; in the meaning 'to become' as in "I became glad", "He became glad" [Khalilova 2009: 223]; or in the meaning 'to be, be situated' as in "He became ill there and was (=ah-) in bed for six months" [Khalilova 2009: 72].

**Common Khwarshi:** Cf. a similar construction for 'to sit'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1025. Distribution: \*CLASS=*ečV* is a Common Tsezic verb for 'to be'. The plain verb is also used as the basic expression for 'to stand' in East Tsezic and some West Tsezic languages (Hinukh, Dido) that allow us to reconstruct \*CLASS=*ečV* with the Proto-Tsezic polysemy 'to be / to stand'.

Sometimes, especially in Bezhta and Khwarshi, \*CLASS=*ečV* with the meaning 'to stand' is modified by various

adverbial additions, which are not entirely clear synchronically and do not coincide between languages diachronically (the underlying meaning of these should be something like 'vertically'). Such constructions ('to be vertically') mirror the Common Tsezic construction *\*q<sup>o</sup>e-CLASS=ečV* 'to sit' q.v., lit. 'to be down'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal stem with polysemy: 'to be / to stand'.

## 80. STAR

Hunzib (proper) *ca {ɥa}* (1), Bezhta (proper) *cā {ɥa<sup>o</sup>}* (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *ca* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *ca* (1), Hinukh *ca {ɥa}* (1), Kidero Dido *ca {ɥa}* (1), Sagada Dido *ca {ɥa}* (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ca {ɥa}* (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ca ~ cā {ɥa}* (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*cā* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 172, 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; van den Berg 1995: 290; Bokarev 1961: 168, 175. Oblique stem: *ca-ba-*.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 266, 307; Madieva 1965: 191. Polysemy: 'star / speck of light, patches of light'. Oblique stem: *cā-li-*.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Oblique stem: *ca-ba-(li-)*.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Oblique stem: *ca<sup>o</sup>i- ~ ca-li-*.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 374, 445; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Oblique stem: *ca- ~ ca-mo-*. The variant *c<sup>o</sup>a*, proposed in [NCED: 1099], is not confirmed by other sources. In [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 379], the phonetic variant *c'a* [ɥa] 'star' is also quoted, apparently the result of influence on the part of Avar *c<sup>o</sup>a* 'star'.

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 269, 327; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Oblique stem: *caye- ~ ca-dara-*. In [Khalilov 1999: 274], the phonetic variant *c'a* [ɥa], obl. *c'a-* 'star' is also quoted; this is apparently the result of influence on the part of Avar *c<sup>o</sup>a* 'star'.

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 96, 98, 119.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Bokarev 1959: 148, 150.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *ca* [ɥa] 'star' [Karimova 2014].

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 1098. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 81. STONE

Hunzib (proper) *λ'alu ~ λ'al* {κβαλυ} (1), Bezhta (proper) *λ'alo* {κβαλο} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *λ'alo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *λ'alo* (1), Hinukh *χemu* {xemy} (2), Kidero Dido *β<sup>o</sup>ul* {ɥbyɫ} (3), Sagada Dido *β<sup>o</sup>ul* {ɥbyɫ} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *βur* {ɥbyɫ} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *βur* {ɥbyɫ} (3), Proto-Tsezic *\*β:ur ~ \*βur ~ \*βor ~ \*βul* (3).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 101, 204; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; van den Berg 1995: 317; Bokarev 1961: 159, 175.

Another synonym is *gamač* {γαμαчI} 'stone' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 54, 204; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; van den Berg 1995: 297; Bokarev 1961: 152, 175], borrowed from Avar *gam'áč* 'stone'.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 161, 309; Madieva 1965: 170.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 350, 451; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201.

Distinct from the borrowed term *gamač* {γαμαчI}, glossed as generic 'stone' in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 115], but

specified as 'big stone' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201] (< Avar *gam'ač* 'stone').

Distinct from *himu* {гъиму} 'gravestone' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 144] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191], the word for 'gravestone' is quoted as *χemu* - an error?).

Distinct from *ʕ'al* {къал} 'stone throwing' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 224].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 94, 331; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201.

A more marginal synonym is the borrowed term *gamač* {гамачI} 'stone' [Khalilov 1999: 80] < Avar *gam'ač* 'stone'.

Distinct from *ahin* {ахин} 'boulder, big stone' [Khalilov 1999: 32], which is glossed as generic 'stone' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

Distinct from *ʕad* {лъад} 'cliff, rock' [Abdulaev 2014].

**Common Dido:** The same in the other dialects: Shapikh *ʕul* {гӀул} 'stone' [Khalilov 1999: 94].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 98, 109.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Bokarev 1959: 145.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ʕur* {гӀур} 'stone' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 15, 135, 351].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 467. Distribution: An unstable word with three competing roots:

1) *\*ʕVlu* [NCED: 773], which can be reconstructed as the Proto-East Tsezic term for 'stone'; in West Tsezic it means 'stone throwing' (Hinukh) and 'trap' (Dido, Khwarshi).

2) *\*χemu* A [NCED: 466], meaning 'stone' in Hinukh; in the rest of Tsezic lects it means 'gravestone' or 'boundary stone' (although details of the coexistence of two Hinukh variants: *χemu* 'stone', *himu* 'gravestone', are unclear);

3) *\*ʕur* (~ *ʕ-*, *-o-*, *-l*) [NCED: 467], which means 'stone' in Dido and Khwarshi, lost in the rest of languages.

Distribution-wise, *\*ʕVlu* is the best variant, since its Hinukh meaning 'stone throwing' could point to the generic meaning 'stone' in Proto-West Tsezic. On the other hand, this root means 'trap' in Dido and Khwarshi, which implies the original meaning 'flat stone, stone lid' *vel sim*. Such a meaning is in accordance with Avaro-Andian (closest relative of Tsezic) data, which also show the meaning 'lip' for the cognates of Tsezic *\*ʕVlu*. So it is likely that Tsezic *\*ʕVlu* originally meant 'flat stone, stone lid', having developed into the generic meaning 'stone' in Proto-East Tsezic; Hinukh *ʕ'al* 'stone throwing' is thus either borrowed or seriously influenced by East Tsezic.

The original meaning of *\*χemu* was apparently 'gravestone', as proven by the majority of languages; its meaning 'stone' in Hinukh is thus secondary.

Ultimately, the noun *\*ʕur*, retained only in Dido and Khwarshi, appears to be the best candidate for the status of Proto-Tsezic 'stone'. External etymology supports this solution: Nakh cognates of *\*ʕur* can be safely posited as the basic Proto-Nakh term for 'stone'.

Replacements: {'flat stone, stone lid' > 'stone'} (Hunzib, Bezhta); {'gravestone' > 'stone'} (Hinukh).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 82. SUN

Hunzib (proper) *boq* {бохъ} (1), Bezhta (proper) *boq* {бохъ} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *boq* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *boq* (1), Hinukh *buq* {бухъ} (1), Kidero Dido *buq* {бухъ} (1), Sagada Dido *buq* {бухъ} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *buq* {бухъ} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *biq* ~ *biq* {бухъ} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*boq* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 43, 234; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; van den Berg 1995: 289; Bokarev 1961: 151, 180. Paradigm: *boq* [abs.] / *biq-s* ~ *biq-a-s* [gen.].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 50, 337; Madieva 1965: 152. Paradigm: *boq* [abs.] / *biqo-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197. Regular paradigm.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197. Paradigm: *boq* [abs.] / *biqo-s* [gen.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 110, 524; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197. Paradigm: *buq* [abs.] / *beqe-s* [gen.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the oblique stem is quoted as *buq-mo-*).

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 75, 378; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197. Paradigm: *buq* [abs.] / *buqe-s ~ beqe-s* [gen.].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 99. Paradigm: *buq* [abs.] / *beqi-* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Bokarev 1959: 148, 152. The variant *biq* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Bokarev 1959]. Paradigm: *biq* [abs.] / *biqi-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *buq ~ buq<sup>f</sup> ~ biq<sup>f</sup>* {бухъ} 'sun' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 16, 130]. The unexpected pharyngealized variants *buq<sup>f</sup> ~ biq<sup>f</sup>* are from [Khalilova 2009].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1051. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular, except for the Inkhokwari Khwarshi vowel, influenced by the oblique stem.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *\*biqV-*.

## 83. SWIM

Bezhta (proper) *ʔi y=awo* {лби йагвал} (1) / *ẽxe y=awo* {э<sup>h</sup>хе йагвал} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *ẽxo y=awo* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *e xo r=awo* (2), Hinukh *ʔe r=iw* {лве ругва} (1) / *i xu y=iw* {иху йугва} (2), Kidero Dido *ʔi r=ow-* {лби рогва} (1), Sagada Dido *ʔesa-na* {эсанада} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *k<sup>w</sup>ani l=iw* {квани лугва} (-1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *k<sup>w</sup>ani l=iy* {квани лийа} (-1), Proto-Tsezic *\*ʔ:ĩ r=ɔw:V(1)*.

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Not reliably documented in the available sources and probably missing from the language (at least, as a separate lexical root). Cf. the collocation *ẽxu y=ahu* 'to swim across the river' with *ẽxu* 'river' and the verb CLASS=*ahu* 'to cross' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 33, 184]. In [van den Berg 1995: 296], *ẽxu y=ahu* and *ẽxu y=iʔe* (literally 'to kill the river?') are simply glossed as 'to swim', which looks like an inaccuracy.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 105, 180. Literally 'to take out/off the water' with *ʔi* 'water' q.v.

Distinct from *ʔi-yac* {лбийацлал} 'to bathe (intrans.)' [Khalilov 1995: 181; Madiewa 1965: 174]. Khalilov 1995: 293.

Literally 'to take out/off the river', where *ẽxe* = 'river'. This is a second equivalent for the meaning 'to swim' found in [Khalilov 1995]. In [Madiewa 1965: 195], another auxiliary verb is used: *ẽxe y=aʔel*, literally 'to hit the river'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. Literally 'to take out/off the river'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. Literally 'to take out/off the river'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 245, 490. Apparently the most neutral expressions for 'to swim' are *ʔe r=iw* and *i xu y=iw*, literally 'to take out/off the water' and 'to take out/off the river' with CLASS=*iw* 'to take out' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 79], *ʔe* 'water' q.v. and *i xu* 'river' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 185].

Another expression for 'to swim' is *pelu b=ik* {пелу бикла} [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 292, 490] with *b=ik* 'to hit' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 84] and *pelu* of unclear origin. Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 490.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 66, 174, 357. Literally 'to take out/off the water' with CLASS=*ow* 'to take out' [Khalilov 1999: 66] and *ʔi* 'water' q.v.

A second candidate is *esa-na* {эсанада} with polysemy: 'to wash (oneself) / to wash, launder / to bathe / to swim' [Khalilov 1999: 298]; *-na* is the iterative suffix.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Unexpected initial ʔ- can be a transcriptional error.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 103.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *k<sup>w</sup>ani l=iy* {квани лийа} 'to swim' [Karimova 2014].

**Common Khwarshi:** Literally 'to do *k<sup>w</sup>ani*' with auxiliary CLASS=*iw* ~ CLASS=*iy*. Borrowed from Tindi *k<sup>w</sup>ani-ih-* 'to swim', literally 'to do *k<sup>w</sup>ani*'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1060. **Distribution:** Barely reconstructible. For the most part, only analytic expressions for 'to swim' are attested in Tsezic languages; the main element that carries the lexical meaning is 'water', 'river' or the borrowed stem 'swimming'. A formal match between Bezhta, Hinukh and Dido allows us to posit *\*ʔ:ĩ r=ɔw:V* 'to take out/off the water' as the Proto-Tsezic expression for 'to swim'.

The coincidence between Bezhta proper  $\bar{e}\chi e y=awo$  'to swim' (literally 'to take out/off the river') and Hinukh  $i\chi u y=iB$  'to swim' (literally 'to take out/off the river') is therefore secondary.

Replacements: {'to take out/off the water' > 'to swim'} (Bezhta proper, Hinukh, Kidero Dido); {'to take out/off the river' > 'to swim'} (Bezhta proper, Hinukh); {'to bathe' > 'to swim'} (Sagada Dido).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Analytic expressions 'to take out/off the water'; \*r= is the class exponent, which agrees with \*t: ɪ 'water'.

## 84. TAIL

Hunzib (proper) *miv* {музв} (1), Bezhta (proper) *miv* {музв} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *miv* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *miv* (1), Hinukh *mih* {музбу} (1), Kidero Dido *mahi* {maxIu} (1), Sagada Dido *mahi* {maxIu} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *mih* ~ *mih̄* {музбу} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *mih̄e* ~ *mihe* {музбе} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**mih̄* ~ \**mih̄e* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 122, 242; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25; van den Berg 1995: 319; Bokarev 1961: 161, 182. Generic term with polysemy: 'tail / fatty tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle, grip / spades (in playing cards)'.  
Distinct from the specific term *rik'i* {рикИи} 'short tail (of goat)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 144, 242].

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 195, 345; Madieva 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'tail / fatty tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle, grip / spades (in playing cards)'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25. Polysemy: 'tail / fatty tail of sheep (курдюк) / plait (hair)'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25. Polysemy: 'tail / fatty tail of sheep (курдюк) / plait (hair)'.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 266, 543; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25. Polysemy: 'tail / fatty tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle, grip'.

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 184, 392; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25. Polysemy: 'tail / fatty tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle, grip'.

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper)**: Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 97. The variant *mih̄* is from [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961]; *mih* is from [Karimova 2014].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi**: Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25; Bokarev 1959: 149. The variant *mih̄e* is from [Karimova 2014].

Distinct from the Inkhokwari compound *k'ic'-mihe* 'fatty tail of sheep (курдюк)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25] (the first element *k'ic'* is not attested independently).

**Kwantlada Khwarshi**: *mih̄e* ~ *mih̄e* {мӣт̄е} 'tail' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 15]. In [Khalilova 2009: 27], an unclear form *k'užu* 'tail' is also quoted.

**Proto-Tsezic**: NCED: 801. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Replacements: {'tail' > 'handle, grip'} (passim in Tsezic).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 85. THAT

Hunzib (proper)  $\partial-g$  (1) /  $\partial=g$  (2), Bezhta (proper) *hu-gi* (1) / *hu=gi* (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *hu-gi* (1) / *hu=gi* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *hu-gi-* (1) / *hu=gi-* (2), Hinukh *iza=ha=go* ~ *iza=go* (2) / *iza=ha=w* ~ *iza=w* (3), Kidero Dido *že* ~ *žo* {же, жо} (4), Sagada Dido *ol=šo* {олшо} (4), Khwarshi (proper) *o=CLASS=žu* {овжу, овежу} (4) / *o-CLASS-žu* (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *o=CLASS=nu* {овну, овеу} (5) / *o-CLASS-nu* (1), Proto-Tsezic \**hV=gV* (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 159; van den Berg 1995: 60; Bokarev 1959: 43. Suppletive paradigm: *a-g* [abs. class 1, 3, 5] / *o-gu* [abs. 2, 4] / *o-tu* [obl.].

According to [van den Berg 1995: 60], the Hunzib system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: *bə-d*, *bo-du* 'this (near the speaker)' / *bə-l*, *bo-lu* 'this (near the addressee)' / *a-g*, *o-gu* 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. However, as noted in [van den Berg 1995: 60], the medial member *bə-l* [class 1, 3, 5], *bo-lu* [2, 4] is “used considerably less than the other two”, whereas in [Bokarev 1959: 43], *bə-l*, *bo-lu* is not quoted at all. Because of this, we regard the synchronic Hunzib system to be binary: *bə-d*, *bo-du* 'this' / *a-g*, *o-gu* 'that'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 399-400; Madieva 1965: 100. Suppletive paradigm: *hu-gi* [abs. class 1, 4] / *ho-go* [abs. 2, 3] / *ho-g-co* [obl. 1, 4] / *ho-g-λo-* [obl. 2, 3].

According to [Khalilov 1995: 399-400], the Bezhta proper system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: *hu-di* 'this (near the speaker)' / *hu-li* 'this (near the addressee)' / *hu-gi* 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'.

The parallel emphatic set is modified with the proclitic *wa=* and irregular vowel reduction: *wa=h-di* / *wa=h-li* / *wa=h-gi*.

It should be noted that *hu-li* 'this (near the addressee)' is not mentioned in [Madieva 1965: 100-103] at all. This should imply that *hu-li* is rarely used in the language, and, actually, the Bezhta proper system is binary: *hu-di* 'this' / *hu-gi* 'that'. Nevertheless M. Khalilov (p.c.) has informed me that in the modern language, *hu-li* is a full-fledged and normally used pronoun. Technically, we treat *hu-di* 'this (near the speaker)' and *hu-li* 'this (near the addressee)' as synonyms for the slot 'this'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. Khalilov (p.c.) preliminarily reports the binary opposition: *hu-di* 'this' / *hu-gi* 'that', although actually the whole system is expected to be ternary.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 247; Bokarev 1959: 95. Suppletive paradigm: *hu-gi-* [abs. class 1, 4, 5] / *ho-go-* [abs. 2, 3] / *ho-k-co-* [obl. 1, 4, 5] / *ho-k-λo-* [obl. 2, 3].

According to [Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 247], the Tlyadal system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: *hu-di-* 'this (near the speaker)' / *hu-ni-* 'this (near the addressee)' / *hu-gi-* 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'.

The parallel emphatic set is modified with the proclitic *wa=* and irregular vowel harmony: *wa=ha-di-* / *wa=ha-ni-* / *wa=ha-gi-*.

In [Bokarev 1959: 95], a similar picture is reported, although the author fails to describe the difference between *hu-di-* and *hu-ni-* (these function as close synonyms, according to Bokarev).

Technically, we treat *hu-di-* 'this (near the speaker)' and *hu-ni-* 'this (near the addressee)' as synonyms for the slot 'this'. It is possible, however, that *hu-ni-* 'this (near the addressee)' is actually a marginal pronoun and this word should be excluded from the list.

**Hinukh:** Forker 2013: 139; Lomtadze 1963: 106. Suppletive paradigm: *iza=(ha)=go* [abs. class 1] / *iza=(ha)=w* [abs. 2, 3] / *iza=(ha)=g* [abs. 4, 5, pl.] / *iza=(ha)=y=to-* [obl. 1] / *iza=(ha)=y=tu-* [obl. 2, 3, 4, 5] / *iza=(ha)=g-ze-* [obl. pl.].

As described in [Forker 2013: 132 ff.], the system of Hinukh demonstrative pronouns is very complex, despite the fact that the basic opposition is binary: *=do* 'this' / *=go* 'that'. Three binary series are distinguished in [Forker 2013], which mainly differ by prefixal elements. Out of them, *iza=(ha)=do* 'this' / *iza=(ha)=go* 'that' seems to satisfy the Swadesh list semantics, “[t]hese pronouns solely occur when directly pointing at some person or object, i.e. they serve only deictic functions” [Forker 2013: 139].

Two other series are: *ha=do* 'this' / *ha=go* 'that', which are “predominantly used as third person personal pronouns, as anaphoric pronouns, and as definite articles in noun phrases” [Forker 2013: 134]; and *hi=ba=(ha)=do* 'this' / *hi=ba=(ha)=go* 'that', which “occur only when the reference is immediately given” [Forker 2013: 136 f.]. All three series possess suppletive paradigms in respect to case and class. Class 2 & 3 form.

**Kidero Dido:** Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 130. Suppletive paradigm: *že* [abs.] / *ne-si* [obl. class 1] / *ne-t* [obl. class 2-4] / *že-di* [pl.].

The system of Kidero Dido demonstrative pronouns has not yet been properly described, but, according to [Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 129 f.], the basic opposition is binary: *=da* 'this' / *že* 'that'. Three paradigms of 'this' are distinguished in [Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004], which mainly differ by means of prefixal elements, and two paradigms of 'that'. Out of those, *ey=da* 'this' / *že* 'that' seem to suit the Swadesh list semantics; cf. Alekseev & Radzhabov's remark that *ey=da* is usually accompanied with a deictic gesture.

Other demonstratives are: *ye=da* 'this', *how=da* 'this', *how=že* 'that'. All paradigms are suppletive in respect to case and sometimes to class.

Differently in the previous studies: [Khalilov 1999: 439; Imnaishvili 1963: 101 ff.; Bokarev 1959: 198 f.], where three degrees of proximity are postulated.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Details are not documented.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 108. As shown in [Karimova 2014], the basic opposition is

binary:  $a=CLASS=(e)=du$  'this' /  $o=CLASS=(e)=\dot{z}u$  'that'.

Besides these, there are two additional pairs of demonstrative pronouns mentioned in [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 108]:  $i-du$  'this' /  $\dot{z}u$  'that';  $ho-bo-du$  'this' /  $ho-bo-\dot{z}u$  'that'.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 160. As shown in [Karimova 2014], the basic opposition is binary:  $a=CLASS=(e)=du$  'this' /  $o=CLASS=(e)=nu$  'that'.

A second demonstrative pair is  $i-du$  'this' /  $yu$  'that' [Bokarev 1959: 160]. See notes on the similar, if not completely identical, Kwantlada Khwarshi system, which is described in more detail.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:**  $o=CLASS=nu$  {OBHY} 'that' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 149]. Suppletive paradigm:  $o=CLASS=(e)=nu$  [abs.] /  $...=(e)=se$ ,  $...=(e)=so$ ,  $...=(e)=su-$  [obl. class 1] /  $...=(e)=te$  [obl. class 2-4].

It is not easy to properly understand the Kwantlada system based on [Khalilova 2009: 143-150], but in all likelihood, the basic opposition is binary:  $a=CLASS=(e)=du$  'this' /  $o=CLASS=(e)=nu$  'that' [Khalilova 2009: 147 ff.], both have suppletive oblique stems. The data in [Karimova 2014] suggest the same.

Besides these, there are also two other pairs of demonstrative pronouns. The first one is  $i-du$  'this' /  $i-nu$  'that' [Karimova 2014: 143, 146 f.]. The second pair is  $ho-bo-du$  'this' /  $ho-mo-nu$  (assimilated <  $*ho-bo-nu$ ) 'that' [Karimova 2014: 143, 149 f.].

Additionally, there are specific pronouns, whose function is probably anaphoric:  $\dot{z}u$  'that (sg.)',  $i-z(:)u$  'that (proximal, pl.)',  $\dot{z}i-du$  'that (distal, pl.)' [Karimova 2014: 143-146].

The aforementioned pairs suggest that in the absolutive case  $=du$  is the main exponent of the proximal deixis 'this', whereas  $=nu$  is the main exponent of the distal deixis 'that'. Nevertheless, in the oblique cases these suppletive pronouns are only discriminated by the initial vowel morphemes, e.g., ergative class 1:  $a=CLASS=(e)=se$  'this' /  $o=CLASS=(e)=se$  'that'. Because of this, we treat  $a=CLASS=(e)=du$  'this' and  $o=CLASS=(e)=nu$  'that' as compounds from a lexicostatistical point of view.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 442, 486. Distribution: In East Tsezic (Hinukh, Bezhta), the system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: 'this (near the speaker)' / 'this (near the addressee)' / 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. For West Tsezic, the binary system is characteristic: 'this' / 'that'. It remains unclear what kind of system is to be reconstructed for Proto-Tsezic: ternary or binary.

The Proto-Tsezic proximal deictic pronoun 'this' or 'this (near the speaker)' can be safely reconstructed as  $*hV-dV$  [NCED: 404, 486]. This compound is retained everywhere except for Hunzib (where the first element was replaced by  $*bV$  [NCED: 321]) and perhaps Kidero Dido (where the first element was either replaced or contracted).

The distal deictic pronoun 'that' or 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)' is less stable. The compound  $*hV-gV$  [NCED: 442] can be posited as the Proto-East Tsezic distal deictic pronoun. With the same function,  $*hV-gV$  is also attested in Hinukh, which formally allows us to reconstruct  $*hV-gV$  as the Proto-Tsezic pronoun with this basic meaning.

In the rest of the West Tsezic lects, different distal deictic pronouns are used. In Dido and Khwarshi proper, it is  $*zV$  [NCED: 1087] or the compound  $*hV-\dot{z}V$ . In Kwantlada Khwarshi,  $*hV-\dot{z}V$  was superseded by  $*hV-nV$  [NCED: 858].

Despite the fact that Hinukh  $*hV-gV$  can theoretically be a result of East Tsezic influence, we prefer to follow formal distribution and reconstruct the Proto-Tsezic distal deictic pronoun 'that' or 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)' as the compound  $*hV-gV$ .

In conclusion, we propose the following principal opposition for Proto-Tsezic:  $*hV-dV$  'this' or 'this (near the speaker)' /  $*hV-gV$  'that' or 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. The second elements  $*-dV$  and  $*-gV$  have to be treated as meaningful morphemes, whereas  $*hV-$  was apparently an auxiliary unit.

Reconstruction shape: Vocalic correspondences are irregular; loss of initial  $*h$  in Hunzib and Khwarshi is irregular.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal morphemes.

## 86. THIS

Hunzib (proper)  $b\partial-d$  (1) /  $b\partial=d$  (2), Bezhta (proper)  $hu-di$  (3) /  $hu=di$  (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta  $hu-di$  (3) /  $hu=di$  (2), Tlyadal Bezhta  $hu-di-$  (3) /  $hu=di-$  (2), Hinukh  $iza=ha=do \sim iza=do$  (2), Kidero Dido  $ey=da$  { $\partial\ddot{u}da$ } (2), Sagada Dido  $ehe=du$  { $\partial zvedy$ } (2), Khwarshi (proper)  $a=CLASS=du$  { $a\partial dy$ ,  $a\partial edy$ } (2) /  $a-CLASS-du$  (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi  $a=CLASS=du$  { $a\partial dy$ ,  $a\partial edy$ } (2) /  $a-CLASS-du$  (3), Proto-Tsezic  $*hV=dV$  (2).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 159; van den Berg 1995: 60; Bokarev 1959: 43. Suppletive paradigm: *bə-g* [abs. class 1, 3, 5] / *bo-gu* [abs. 2, 4] / *bo-tu* [obl.]. See 'that' for further notes.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 399-400; Madieva 1965: 100. Suppletive paradigm: *hu-di* [abs. class 1, 4] / *ho-do* [abs. 2, 3] / *ho-co-* [obl. 1, 4] / *ho-λo-* [obl. 2, 3]. Meaning 'this (near the speaker)'. See 'that' for further notes.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** M. Khalilov, p.c. See notes on 'that'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 247; Bokarev 1959: 95. Suppletive paradigm: *hu-di-* [abs. class 1, 4, 5] / *ho-do-* [abs. 2, 3] / *ho-co-* [obl. 1, 4, 5] / *ho-λo-* [obl. 2, 3]. Meaning 'this (near the speaker)'. See 'that' for further notes.

**Hinukh:** Forker 2013: 139; Lomtadze 1963: 106. Suppletive paradigm: *iza=(ha)=do* [abs. class 1] / *iza=(ha)=du* [abs. 2, 3] / *iza=(ha)=d* [abs. 4, 5, pl.] / *iza=(ha)=to-* [obl. 1] / *iza=(ha)=tu-* [obl. 2, 3, 4, 5] / *iza=(ha)=(d)-ze-* [obl. pl.]. Further see notes on 'that'.

**Kidero Dido:** Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 130. Suppletive paradigm: *ey=da* [abs.] / *ey=si* [obl. class 1] / *ey=t(a)* [obl. class 2-4] / *ey=zi-ri* [abs. pl.] / *ey=zi* [obl. pl. 1] / *ey=za* [obl. pl. 2-4]. Further see notes on 'that'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Details are not documented.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 108.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 160.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *a=CLASS=du* {авды} 'this' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 148]. Suppletive paradigm: *a=CLASS=(e)=du* [abs.] / *...=(e)=se*, *...=(e)=so*, *...=(e)=su-* [obl. class 1] / *...=(e)=te* [obl. class 2-4].

**Common Khwarshi:** See notes on 'that'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 404, 486. Distribution: See notes on 'that'.

Reconstruction shape: Vocalic correspondences are irregular; loss of initial \*h in Khwarshi is irregular.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal morphemes.

## 86. THIS

Bezhta (proper) *hu=li* (4), Tlyadal Bezhta *hu=ni-* (5).

## References and notes:

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 399-400. Suppletive paradigm: *hu-li* [abs., class 1, 4] / *ho-lo* [abs., 2, 3] / *ho-l-co-* [obl., 1, 4] / *ho-l-to-* [obl., 2, 3]. Meaning 'this (near the addressee)'. See 'that' for further notes.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 247; Bokarev 1959: 95. Suppletive paradigm: *hu-ni-* [abs., class 1, 4, 5] / *ho-no-* [abs., 2, 3] / *ho-n-co-* [obl., 1, 4, 5] / *ho-n-to-* [obl., 2, 3]. Meaning 'this (near the addressee)'. See 'that' for further notes.

## 87. THOU<sub>1</sub>

Hunzib (proper) *mə* {mə} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mi* {mu} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *mi* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *mi* (1), Hinukh *me* {me} (1), Kidero Dido *mi* {mu} (1), Sagada Dido *mi* {mu} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ma* {ma} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *mo* {mo} (1), Proto-Tsezic \**mə* (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 162; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; van den Berg 1995: 60; Bokarev 1959: 43. Suppletive paradigm: *mə* [abs., erg.] / *di-bə* [gen.] / *du-* [obl.].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 399; Madieva 1965: 98. Paradigm: *mi* [abs., erg.] / *di-bo* [gen.] / *du-*, *du-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222. Paradigm: *mi* [abs., erg.] / *di-bo* [gen.] / *du-* [obl.].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 246; Bokarev 1959: 93. Paradigm: *mi* [abs., erg.] / *di-bo* [gen.] / *du-*, *du-* [obl.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 581; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Forker 2013: 130; Lomtadze 1963: 109. Paradigm: *me* [abs., erg.] /

*de-be* [gen.].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 439; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 128; Imnaishvili 1963: 94; Bokarev 1959: 196. Paradigm: *mi* [abs., erg.] / *de-bi* [gen.] / *de-b-* [obl.].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 94. Paradigm: *mi* [abs., erg.] / *de-bi* [gen.] / *de-b-* [obl.].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 109. Paradigm: *ma* [abs.] / *mi* [erg.] / *de-b-* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Bokarev 1959: 159. Paradigm: *mo* [abs.] / *me* [erg.] / *du-b-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *mo* [abs.] / *me* [erg.] / *du-b-* [obl.] 'thou' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 142].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1014. **Distribution:** The Proto-Tsezic suppletive paradigm can be safely reconstructed as *\*mə* [abs., erg.] / *\*di-bə* A [gen.] / *\*du-* [obl.]. It is retained in East Tsezic, although perhaps already in Proto-West Tsezic, the oblique stem acquired the shape *\*di-b-* by analogy with the genitive form.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for *i* in Bezhta in *mi*.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary pronominal morphemes.

## 87. THOU<sub>2</sub>

Hunzib (proper) *di-bə* (2), Bezhta (proper) *di-bo* (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *di-bo* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *di-bo* (2), Hinukh *de-be* (2), Kidero Dido *de-bi* (2), Sagada Dido *de-bi* (2), Khwarshi (proper) *de-b-* (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *du-b-* (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*di-bə* A (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Genitive form.

**Bezhta (proper):** Genitive form.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Genitive form.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Genitive form.

**Hinukh:** Genitive form.

**Kidero Dido:** Genitive form.

**Sagada Dido:** Genitive form.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Oblique stem.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Oblique stem.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 402. **Semantics and structure:** Genitive form.

## 88. TONGUE

Hunzib (proper) *mic* {*мыц*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *mic* {*муц*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *mic* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *mic* (1), Hinukh *mec* {*мец*} (1), Kidero Dido *mec* {*мец*} (1), Sagada Dido *mec* {*мец*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *mec* {*мец*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *mic* ~ *mic* {*муц*} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*mic* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 129, 245; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; van den Berg 1995: 320; Bokarev 1961: 162, 182. Polysemy: 'tongue / language / slander'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 197, 348; Madieva 1965: 177. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 265, 552; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15. Polysemy: 'tongue / language / slander'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 188, 399; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15. Polysemy: 'tongue / language / slander'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92; Bokarev 1959: 151.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Bokarev 1959: 149. The variant *mic* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Bokarev 1959].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *muc ~ mic* {муц, мыц} with polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 61].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 802. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 89. TOOTH

Hunzib (proper) *silə* {сылə} (1), Bezhta (proper) *sila* {сила} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *sila* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *sila* (1), Hinukh *k'eču* {к'ечу} (2), Kidero Dido *k'icu* {к'иуц} (2), Sagada Dido *k'icu* {к'иуц} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *sel* {сел} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *sil ~ sil* {сил} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*sil ~ s:il* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 150, 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; van den Berg 1995: 332; Bokarev 1961: 164, 175. Generic term.

Distinct from *χavin* {хъгъин} 'molar' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 162, 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17; van den Berg 1995: 340; Bokarev 1961: 167, 175].

Distinct from *k'ācu ~ kacu* {к'лâ'цу} 'canine tooth' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 105; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; van den Berg 1995: 312] (the form *k'ācu* is from [Isakov & Khalilov 2001], where it is glossed as 'human canine tooth / animal fang').

Distinct from *gāžu* {гâ'жу} 'animal fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; van den Berg 1995: 297]. In light of the Dido cognate with a different meaning, *gāžu* looks like an inherited term (thus [NCED: 435]), not borrowed from Avar *gožo* 'fang'.

Distinct from *qavin* {хъгъин} 'animal fang' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 167] - not found in other sources; the form suspiciously resembles *χavin* {хъгъин}, discussed above.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 230, 308; Madieva 1965: 185. Polysemy: 'tooth / cog'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16.

**Common Bezhta:** Distinct from the specific terms for 'molar': Bezhta proper *hagna*, Khoshar-Khota *χag*, Tlyadal *χač* [Khalilov 1995: 71, 252; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Distinct from the Common Bezhta term *gāžö* 'fang' [Khalilov 1995: 58; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 234, 447; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16. Polysemy: 'tooth / cog'.

Distinct from the more specific term *gažu* {ражу} with polysemy: 'molar / fang' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 115; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 164, 328; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16.

Distinct from the specific term *gaži* {ражи} (Asakh *gižu ~ g<sup>m</sup>aži*, Mokok *gožu*) 'fang' [Khalilov 1999: 80] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17], this word is quoted as *gažu* 'molar').

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92; Khalilova 2009: 7.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Bokarev 1959: 147; Khalilova 2009: 7. The variant *sil* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Bokarev 1959].

Distinct from the specific terms *kožu* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16] and *b<sup>m</sup>lēs sil* 'molar', literally 'dog's tooth' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *sul ~ sil* {сул, сыл} 'tooth' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 7, 484].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 326. **Distribution:** Two terms enter into competition:

1) *\*sil* (~ s:-) A [NCED: 326], meaning 'tooth' in East Tsezic and some West Tsezic (Khwarshi) lects, lost in the rest of West Tsezic;

2) \**k'əcu* [NCED: 430], meaning 'tooth' in some West Tsezic lects (Hinukh, Dido) and 'canine tooth, fang' in some East Tsezic lects (Hunzib).

Inner Tsezic distribution as well as external etymology speak in favour of \**sil* (it goes back to the main candidate for the status of the Proto-North Caucasian term for 'tooth'). As for \**k'əcu*, external comparison clearly suggests that the meaning 'canine tooth, fang' (as attested in East Tsezic) should be primary for this stem.

The match between Hinukh *k'eč'u* / Dido *k'icu* 'tooth' is, however, to be treated as secondary.

Replacements: {'canine tooth, fang' > 'tooth'} (Hinukh, Dido).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is \**s(:)ila-*.

## 90. TREE

Hunzib (proper) *χōχe* {*χο<sup>h</sup>χε*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *χōχö* {*χобхоб*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *χōχö* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *χōχö* (1), Hinukh *aže* ~ *ažey* {*аже, ажей*} (2), Kidero Dido *βип* {*гьун*} (3), Sagada Dido *βип* {*гьун*} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *β<sup>w</sup>ан* {*гьван*} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *βон* {*гьон*} (3), Proto-Tsezic \**β:<sup>w</sup>əп* (3).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 164, 198; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; van den Berg 1995: 341; Bokarev 1961: 167, 174.

Distinct from *hūdu* {*гьуду*} 'firewood; timber' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 68, 199; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162; van den Berg 1995: 304; Bokarev 1961: 154].

Distinct from *han* {*гъан*} with polysemy: 'forest / board, plank' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 64; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; van den Berg 1995: 302; Bokarev 1961: 153].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 257, 303; Madieva 1965: 189. Polysemy: 'tree / bush, shrub'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95.

**Common Bezhta:** Distinct from two Common Bezhta terms:

1) *hudo* {*гьудо*} 'firewood' [Khalilov 1995: 86; Madieva 1965: 158; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162];

2) *wan* {*ван*} 'forest' [Khalilov 1995: 55; Madieva 1965: 152; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 36, 435; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95. Polysemy: 'tree / shrub / stalk (of plant) / plant tops (of root crop)'.

Distinct from *qaca* {*хъаца*} 'firewood' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 360; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162], *rede* {*реде*} 'firewood' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 301], and from *čeq* {*чехъ*} 'forest' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 390; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 93, 319. As may be seen from the entry in [Khalilov 1999], it is the basic word for 'tree' in Kidero Dido.

A second candidate is *ažu* {*ажу*} with polysemy: 'tree / shrub, bush / plant tops (of root crop)' [Khalilov 1999: 26], but this one is apparently more marginal in the meaning 'tree'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95], however, it is transcribed as *ažo* and quoted as the basic Kidero term for 'tree'.

Distinct from *qaca* {*хъаца*} 'firewood' [Khalilov 1999: 252; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162], *redu* {*реду*} 'firewood' [Khalilov 1999: 214], and from *ciq* {*цихъ*} 'forest' [Khalilov 1999: 273; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 89, 97. Polysemy: 'tree / forest' (for the meaning 'forest', see [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 104, 114]).

In [NCED: 549], also the word *aža* 'tree' is quoted, which is apparently a more marginal term for this meaning.

Distinct from *lida* 'firewood' [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Bokarev 1959: 145. Polysemy: 'tree / forest / pole'.

Distinct from Inkhokwari *lido* 'firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

Distinct from Inkhokwari *aža-n* 'shrub, bush' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *βон* {*гьон*} 'tree' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 23, 68].

Distinct from Kwantlada *ludo* ~ *lido* '(fire)wood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 74; Khalilova 2009: 36].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 483. Distribution: Three distributionally equiprobable terms enter into competition:

- 1) \*χ:δχ:ə (~ ɛ) [NCED: 887], meaning 'tree' in East Tsezic, lost in West Tsezic;
- 2) \*ʔaž<sup>w</sup>ə (~ h-, -ž<sup>w</sup>-) [NCED: 549], which means 'tree' or 'tree / shrub' in Hinukh, Dido and Khwarshi proper (but in the two latter varieties it is not the main term for 'tree') and 'shrub' in Inkhokwari Khwarshi; lost in East Tsezic.
- 3) \*ɛ:<sup>w</sup>ən [NCED: 483], which represents the basic word for 'tree' in Dido and Khwarshi (in Khwarshi with polysemy 'tree / forest'), meaning 'forest' in East Tsezic.

It is likely that \*ʔaž<sup>w</sup>ə can be reconstructed with the Proto-West Tsezic meaning 'bush, shrub', since this meaning is attested in all West Tsezic lects that are sufficiently documented (Hinukh, Kidero Dido, Inkhokwari Khwarshi). External Andian *comparanda* also suggest that 'bush, shrub' can be the original semantics. In modern West Tsezic lects, \*ʔaž<sup>w</sup>ə tends to acquire the additional meaning 'tree', even becoming the basic term for 'tree' in Hinukh.

If so, \*ɛ:<sup>w</sup>ən should be posited as the Proto-West Tsezic word for 'tree'. Its meaning 'forest' in East Tsezic and Khwarshi is thus a homoplastic match.

There is insufficient evidence to make a single choice between \*χ:δχ:ə ('tree' in East Tsezic) and \*ɛ:<sup>w</sup>ən ('tree' in West Tsezic). Provisionally we fill the Proto-Tsezic slot with \*ɛ:<sup>w</sup>ən.

Replacements: {'tree' > 'forest'} (Khwarshi); {'bush, shrub' > 'tree'} (Hinukh, Dido, Khwarshi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 91. TWO

Hunzib (proper) *q'ani* {къану} (1), Bezhta (proper) *q'ona* {къона} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *q'ona* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *q'ona* (1), Hinukh *q'ono* {къоно} (1), Kidero Dido *q'ano* {къаІно} (1), Sagada Dido *q'ano* {къаІно} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *q'uni* {къуни} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *q'une* {къуІне} (1), Proto-Tsezic \*q<sup>wf</sup>V-nVA (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 152; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; van den Berg 1995: 69; Bokarev 1959: 44. Paradigm: *q'ani* [abs.] / *q'an* [obl.]. The field notes on the Naxada dialect have the variant *q'ani* (Ya. Testelet, p.c.).

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 158, 402; Madieva 1965: 104.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 579; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Forker 2013: 395. Paradigm: *q'ono* [abs.] / *q<sup>wf</sup>ene-* [obl.]. Historically = *q'o-no*, cf. the same root with another unique suffix in *q'e-ḷa* ~ *q<sup>wf</sup>e-ḷa* (~ *q'u-ḷa*?) 'twin(s)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 215; Forker 2013: 111].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 147, 440; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 135; Imnaishvili 1963: 84. Paradigm: *q'ano* [abs.] / *q'una-* [obl.]. Historically = *q'a-no*, cf. the same root with another unique (?) suffix: *q'u-ḷa* 'twin(s)', *q'u-ḷa-la* 'ramified, branched', *q'u-ḷu* 'pitchfork / forking, branching' [Khalilov 1999: 154-155].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 84, 87. Paradigm: *q'ano* [abs.] / *q'una-* [obl.].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 111. Paradigm: *q'uni* [abs.] / *q<sup>wf</sup>ana* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Bokarev 1959: 161. Paradigm: *q'une* [abs.] / *q<sup>wf</sup>ana* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *q<sup>wf</sup>ene* ~ *q<sup>wf</sup>ine* [abs.] / *q<sup>wf</sup>ana* [obl.] {къвеІне} 'two' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 169, 173].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 924. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic stems, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Consonant correspondences are regular, although vowels can hardly be reconstructed.

Semantics and structure: Numeral stem. The suffix -nV seems unique, it can be singled out on the basis of the noun \*q<sup>wf</sup>V-ḷV 'twin(s)', attested in Hinukh and Dido.

## 92. WALK (GO)

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=ēḷ'e* {мекъа} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=ēḷ'e* {ūe<sup>n</sup>къаḷ} (1),

Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS=*eλ'e* (1) / CLASS=*oq'o* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS=*eλ'e* (1), Hinukh CLASS=*iλ'i* ~ CLASS=*üλ'i* {*δυκβα*} (1), Kidero Dido CLASS=*iki* {*δυκIa*} (3), Sagada Dido CLASS=*iλ'i* {*δυκβα*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS=*ĩλ'a* {*u<sup>u</sup>κβα*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS=*ōk'* {*o<sup>u</sup>κIa*} (3), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*ēλ'V*(1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 121, 203; van den Berg 1995: 76, 296; Bokarev 1961: 170. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 117, 308, 345; Madieva 1965: 161. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away'.

Distinct from the imperative forms *t=os* [1] / *t=is* [2] / *t=us* [3] / *tu=wa=s* [pl.] 'go!' [Khalilov 1995: 239] which contain the fossilized directional prefix *t=*.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away'. Morphophonologically = *eλ'e*; for old nasalization cf. the class 3 form *m=eλ'e* < \**b=ēλ'e*.

There are two verbs for 'to go' quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]: *eλ'e* and *oq'o*, both with additional polysemy. We treat them as synonyms. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73. Polysemy: 'to go / to come / to reach, get to / to flow'. Morphophonologically = *ōq'o*; for old nasalization cf. the class 3 form *m=oq'o* < \**b=ōq'o*.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73. Polysemy: 'to go / to flow'. Morphophonologically = *ēλ'e*; for old nasalization cf. the class 3 form *m=eλ'e* < \**b=ēλ'e*.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 83, 447; Lomtadze 1963: 26. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away / to fly / to flow'. The archaic labialized variant *=bλ'i* is from [Lomtadze 1963].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 57, 328. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away / to fly'. Besides inv. *iki*, the suppletive imperative form *hor* [гъор] 'go!' can be used as well [Khalilov 1999: 100].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 95, 114. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away'. Browsing through [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961] suggests that it is the most general and frequently used verb for 'to go'. Cf. the attested examples: "I'm going to the river with my friends" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 103], "The farmers go through the field" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 104], "I go towards the school" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 106], "I have followed (=ĩλ'a) the cow" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 108], "The schoolboy goes towards the school" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 102], "I go to bring the cow" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117], "The brother has gone away" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 95], "He has gone towards the village" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 106], "Today the shop manager has come to the village Vedeno to bring goods" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 119].

A second candidate is CLASS=*āk'a* {*a<sup>u</sup>κIa*} 'to go' [Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 94, 101]. This one, however, seems less frequent and its meaning is closer to the abstract 'to depart' or 'to arrive'. Cf. the attested examples: "Next year, I'll go to the village Botlikh" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 102], "We will not go to work today" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117], "I was caught in hail, when I went from the village Vedeno" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 104], "He took a hair from each of the three horses, and went home" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 113], "They have gone to the village Zirkhu" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 109], "The clever sons have gone to the forest to chop wood" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 114].

A third candidate is CLASS=*iχ* {*ixα*} 'to go', which is a marginal verb according to [Karimova 2014], only two textual examples have been found in the available source: "If you want, I'll go with you" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 117], "Get out of the house, the bear is coming (=iχ)!" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 116].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Bokarev 1959: 166. This verb is quoted as a basic one in [Karimova 2014]. Cf. two attested examples: "He has gone to trade two chicken heads for one ram head" [Bokarev 1959: 162], "He has taken it and gone away" [Bokarev 1959: 174].

A second Inkhokwari candidate is CLASS=*ēλ'* 'to go' [Bokarev 1959: 145, 148, 163, 164, 170], but without textual examples.

There is also a number of additional Inkhokwari verbs of going offered in [Bokarev 1959] (some of them can be the result of typos): CLASS=*e<sup>q</sup>'* 'to go' [Bokarev 1959: 147, 165], CLASS=*e<sup>q</sup>e* 'to go' [Bokarev 1959: 163], CLASS=*iχe* 'to go' [Bokarev 1959: 163], CLASS=*eχe* ~ CLASS=*ēχe* 'to walk' [Bokarev 1959: 163, 167, 168], CLASS=*iχ<sup>w</sup>* 'to go here' [Bokarev 1959: 166].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** CLASS=*ōk'* {*o<sup>u</sup>κIa*} 'to go' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 21, 30]. Browsing through [Khalilova 2009] suggests that CLASS=*ōk'* is the most common and generic verb for 'to go'. Examples are numerous, cf. some of them:

"Having done the rooms she went outside" [Khalilova 2009: 43], "The fox went to the wolf" [Khalilova 2009: 67], "The witch threw him into the pillow and began to go" [Khalilova 2009: 78], "At about eight o'clock you were to go to work as mullah" [Khalilova 2009: 76], "Forty-five men went to the army from our village" [Khalilova 2009: 79], "to go for hunting" [Khalilova 2009: 82], "The neighbor went to the grandmother and grandfather, asking ..." [Khalilova 2009: 82], "... now what will I do, I do not have money to go back to the village and I could not manage with this studying" [Khalilova 2009: 86], "This boy went near the father" [Khalilova 2009: 87], "You let us go through your road" [Khalilova 2009: 90], "I will not allow, if you go further" [Khalilova 2009: 120], "Go straight forward! (i.e. go straight on the line)" [Khalilova 2009: 124], "The wolf asked him, 'Where are you going to?'" [Khalilova 2009: 153].

A second Kwantlada candidate is CLASS= $\bar{e}\lambda$  'to go' [Khalilova 2009: 14, 30], but this one is more rarely used and in many instances its meaning differs from generic 'to go'. Cf. some examples: "Hey people, come, there is ( $=\bar{e}\lambda$ ) something in my eye, take it out" [Khalilova 2009: 73], "The grains went under the khan's leg" [Khalilova 2009: 77], "The woman and the boy went home" [Khalilova 2009: 119], "Then the son and the father went far away" [Khalilova 2009: 120], "They went down along the road" [Khalilova 2009: 121], "When they went, and the boy stayed behind" [Khalilova 2009: 123], "Breaking apart, the apple fell ( $=\bar{e}\lambda$ ) down" [Khalilova 2009: 124], "When (they) came to the waste land, they..." [Khalilova 2009: 124], "When some time passed, boy sent him again..." [Khalilova 2009: 128].

A third Kwantlada candidate is the rare verb CLASS= $e\chi e \sim \bar{e}\chi e$  [Khalilova 2009: 21], whose meaning could be closer to 'to walk', as can be seen from the only instance: "Go straight! (i.e. not shaking from side to side)" [Khalilova 2009: 124].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1026. Distribution: Retained in the basic meaning 'to go' in all East Tsezic and the majority of the West Tsezic lects, except for Kidero Dido.

In some West Tsezic lects, \*CLASS= $\bar{e}\lambda V$  tends to be superseded by \*CLASS= $\bar{e}k'V$  B [NCED: 267]. \*CLASS= $\bar{e}k'V$  became the basic expression for 'to go' in Kidero Dido, Inkhokwari Khwarshi and Kwantlada Khwarshi, although in Inkhokwari Khwarshi and Kwantlada Khwarshi \*CLASS= $\bar{e}\lambda V$  is still retained as a less common synonym for 'to go'. It is obvious that such a homoplastic replacement is an independent innovation in the Dido and Khwarshi dialects. The original Proto-Tsezic meaning of \*CLASS= $\bar{e}k'V$  B is unknown.

In Khoshar-Khota Bezhta, the verb \*CLASS= $\bar{a}qV$  'to come' also acquires the generic meaning 'to go'.

Replacements: {'to come' > 'to go'} (Khoshar-Khota Bezhta).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for some vocalic peculiarities.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

### 93. WARM (HOT)

Hunzib (proper) CLASS= $i\chi:-u$  {*pyixxy*} (1), Bezhta (proper) CLASS= $i\chi:-o$  {*üuxxo*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS= $i\chi-iy-o$  (1), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS= $i\chi:-o$  (1), Hinukh CLASS= $e\chi-\lambda'e-s$  {*бexквec*} (1), Kidero Dido *tata-n-u* {*mamany*} (2), Sagada Dido *tata-n-u* {*mamany*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) CLASS= $e\chi:-u$  {*lexxy*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi CLASS= $i\chi:-u \sim \bar{e}\chi:-u$  {*luxxy*} (1), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS= $i\chi:-y-A$  (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 145, 237; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; van den Berg 1995: 308; Bokarev 1961: 170, 181. Applied to both objects and weather. Cf. the paronymous verbs CLASS= $i\chi-le$  'to warm up (intrans.)', CLASS= $i\chi-k\bar{e}$  'to warm up (trans.)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 48].

Distinct from CLASS= $ek'e-r-u$  {*беклеpy*} 'hot' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 36; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; van den Berg 1995: 295] - a regular past participle from CLASS= $ek'e$  'to burn (intrans.)' q.v.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 123, 340; Madieva 1965: 163. Applied to both objects and weather.

Distinct from the term for 'hot': CLASS= $ek'e-y-o$  {*йеклейо*} [Khalilov 1995: 115, 302; Madieva 1965: 113], applied to both objects and weather; past participle from CLASS= $ek'e$  'to burn (intr.)' q.v.

Distinct from *huk-λo:-y-o* {*гуклбйо*} 'very warm, heated (of room)' [Khalilov 1995: 87].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Probably with polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Geminate  $\chi$ : <  $\chi-y$ . Probably with polysemy: 'warm / hot'.



Distinct from the nursery word *mama* {мама} 'water' [Khalilov 1999: 182].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 97, 108; Bokarev 1959: 147; Khalilova 2009: 5. Oblique stem: *ʔi-*.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Bokarev 1959: 145, 147. Oblique stem: *ʔē-*.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ʔo* {ʔʁo} 'water' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5, 49, 79]. Oblique stem: *ʔe-*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1060. Distribution: One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. It is not entirely clear how the oblique stem should be reconstructed (cf. the Khwarshi proper and Inkhokwari Khwarshi data).

## 95. WE<sub>1</sub>

Hunzib (proper) *ile* {иле} (1), Bezhta (proper) *ile* {иле} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *ile* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *ile* (1), Hinukh *eli* {эли} (1), Kidero Dido *eli* {эли} (1), Sagada Dido *eli* {эли} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ilʔa* ~ *ila* {илʔa} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ilʔo* {илʔo} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*ʔilVA* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 162; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; van den Berg 1995: 60; Bokarev 1959: 43. Paradigm: *ile* [abs., erg.] / *ilu-* [obl.]. No clusivity.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 399; Madieva 1965: 98. Paradigm: *ile* [abs., erg.] / *ilo-* [obl.]. No clusivity.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221. Paradigm: *ile* [abs., erg.] / *ilo-* [obl.]. No clusivity.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 246; Bokarev 1959: 93. Paradigm: *ile* [abs., erg.] / *ilö-* [obl.]. No clusivity.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 581; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Forker 2013: 130; Lomtadze 1963: 111. Paradigm: *eli* [abs., erg., gen.] / *elu-* [obl.]. No clusivity.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 439; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 128; Imnaishvili 1963: 95; Bokarev 1959: 197. Paradigm: *eli* [abs.] / *ela:* [erg.] / *elu-* [obl.]. No clusivity.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 95.

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Asakh *eli* [abs.] / *elu:* [erg.] / *elu-* [obl.] 'we' [Imnaishvili 1963: 95]. Mokok *eli* [abs.] / *ela:* [erg.] / *elu-* [obl.] 'we' [Imnaishvili 1963: 95]. Shaytl *eli* [abs.] / *elo:* [erg.] / *elu-* [obl.] 'we' [Imnaishvili 1963: 95]. Shapikh *eli* [abs.] / *ela:* [erg.] / *elu-* [obl.] 'we' [Imnaishvili 1963: 95].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 109. Paradigm: *ila* [abs.] / *ili* [erg.] / *ilu-* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Bokarev 1959: 159. Paradigm: *ilʔo* [abs.] / *ilʔe* [erg.] / *ilʔu-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ilʔo* [abs.] / *ilʔe* [erg.] / *ilʔu-* [obl.] {илʔo} 'we' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 142].

**Common Khwarshi:** No clusivity.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 786. Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the final vowel, where there is a discrepancy between East Tsezic and West Tsezic.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal stem, no clusivity. The oblique stem is *\*ʔilu-*.

## 96. WHAT

Hunzib (proper) *šiyö* {шүүö} (1), Bezhta (proper) *siyo* ~ *siyo-d* {сүүö} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *šiyö-d* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *šičö* ~ *šiyö* (1), Hinukh *se* {се} (1), Kidero Dido *šow* {шөө} (1), Sagada Dido *šew* {шеш} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *hiba* {гьуба} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hibo* {гьубо} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*šič-* ~ *šič-* A (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 163; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; van den Berg 1995: 62; Bokarev 1959: 44. Paradigm: *šiyō* [abs.] / *sin(i)-* [obl.]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the oblique stem is erroneously quoted as *sa(y)-*; this is actually the oblique stem of 'who' q.v.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 400; Madiëva 1965: 103. Suppletive paradigm: *siyo-(d)* [abs.] / *ṭini-* [obl.]. Final *-d* is the phrasal interrogative exponent.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. Suppletive paradigm: *šiyō-d* [abs.] / *ṭini-* [erg., obl.] / *ṭoy-d* [gen.]. Final *-d* is the phrasal interrogative exponent.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Kibrik & Testelets 2004: 248; Bokarev 1959: 95. Suppletive paradigm: *šizō ~ šiyō* [abs.] / *ṭini-* [obl.]. The parallel absolutive form *šiyō* is only quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

**Common Bezhta:** As proposed in [NCED: 986], Tlyadal *-ž-* in *šizō* is the result of the occasional assimilation *š-y > š-ž*. Bezhta proper *s* is due to word harmony.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 582; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Forker 2013: 147; Lomtadze 1963: 104. Paradigm: *se* [abs.] / *ṭine-* [obl.]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the paradigm is quoted with errors.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 292, 440; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Imnaishvili 1963: 128. Suppletive paradigm: *šow* [abs.] / *ṭina-* [obl.]. Somewhat differently in [Alekseev & Radzhabov 2004: 131; Bokarev 1959: 200]; in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the erroneous genitive form is quoted.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 128. Suppletive paradigm: *šew* [abs.] / *ṭina-* [obl.].

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects. Asakh *šebi* [abs.] / *ṭina-* [obl.] 'what?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128; Khalilov 1999: 292]. Mokok *šebi* [abs.] / *ṭina-* [obl.] 'what?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128]. Shaytl *šew* [abs.] / *ṭina-* [obl.] 'what?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128]. Shapikh *šebi* [abs.] / *ṭina-* [obl.] 'what?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128].

In the absolutive case, with polysemy: 'what? / who?'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 110. Suppletive paradigm: *hiba* [abs.] / *ṭini-* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. Suppletive paradigm: *hibo* [abs.] / *ṭene-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *hibo* [abs.] / *ṭene-* [obl.] {гъибо} 'what?' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 151].

**Common Khwarshi:** In the absolutive case, with polysemy: 'what? / who?'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 986. Distribution: Retained as the absolutive stem in all Tsezic lects except for Khwarshi. The suffixal modification differs across the languages: the standard adjectival exponent *\*-y-u* in East Tsezic, the bound pronominal morphemes *\*bV* [NCED: 321] or *\*wV* [NCED: 222] in Dido, plain *\*ši* in Hinukh.

In Khwarshi, the absolutive stem *\*ši-* was superseded by the scantily attested interrogative pronominal morpheme *\*hi-* [NCED: 491] + the bound pronominal morphemes *\*bV* [NCED: 321].

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal morpheme, used in the absolutive stem of the pronoun 'what?' (apparently with polysemy 'who / what' already in Proto-Tsezic). The oblique and ergative stem is *\*ṭi-nV-* ~ *ṭe-nV-* [NCED: 1062], retained in all lects except for Hunzib, where the interrogative morpheme *\*sV-* [NCED: 958] is used instead.

## 97. WHITE

Hunzib (proper) *hal-d-u* {гвалду} (1), Bezhta (proper) *hāl-d-iy-o* {гваблдиуо} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *hāl-d-iy-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *hāl-d-iy-ö* (1), Hinukh *al-d-iy-u* ~ *al-du-k'a* {алдиуу, алдук'а} (1), Kidero Dido *alu-k'a* {алук'а} (1), Sagada Dido *alu-k'a* {алук'а} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *alu-k'a* {алук'а} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *alu-k'a* {алук'а} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*hālu-* (1).

## References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 62, 190; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; van den Berg 1995: 301, 349; Bokarev 1961: 153, 172. Final *-d-* is the adjective suffix [Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 236].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 78, 295; Madiëva 1965: 156.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 40, 41, 413; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Forker 2013: 172. For the parallel adjective suffixes *-diyu* / *-duk'a*, see [Forker 2013: 183].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 28, 304; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Final *-k'a* is an adjectival suffix.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 121.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Bokarev 1959: 158.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *alu-k'a* {алук'а} 'white' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 100, 127, 405].

**Common Khwarshi:** Final *-k'a* is an adjective suffix.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: TsezEDb. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects, although lacking external North Caucasian etymology.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Always modified with the adjectival suffixes *\*-d* or *\*-k'a* (or the both).

## 98. WHO

Hunzib (proper) *suk'u* {сук'у} (1), Bezhta (proper) *suk'o* ~ *suk'o-d* {сук'о} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *suk'o-d* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *suk'o* (1), Hinukh *tu* {ту} (2), Kidero Dido *šow* {шов} (3), Sagada Dido *šew* {шеш} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *hiba* {гьуба} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *hibo* {гьубо} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*š'i- ~ š'i- A* (3).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2012: 163; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 227; van den Berg 1995: 62; Bokarev 1959: 44. Paradigm: *suk'u* [abs.] / *sa(y)-* [obl.]; in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the paradigm is listed as regular, with the oblique stem *suk'u-*: either this form has been levelled by analogy, or this is an error (looks like the oblique form of the homonymous *suk'u* 'man' q.v.).

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 233, 400; Madieva 1965: 103. In [Khalilov 1995: 233, 400], the parallel variant *suq'o-(d)* {сук'о} is also quoted. Suppletive paradigm: *suk'o-(d)* [abs.] / *to-, to-* [obl.]. Final *-d* is the phrasal interrogative exponent.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 227. Suppletive paradigm: *suk'o-d* [abs.] / *to-* [obl.]. Final *-d* is the phrasal interrogative exponent.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 227; Kibrik & Testeleets 2004: 248; Bokarev 1959: 95. Suppletive paradigm: *suk'o* [abs.] / *to-, to-* [obl.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 582; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 227; Forker 2013: 147; Lomtadze 1963: 104. Genitive: *ti* ~ *tu-s*. In [Khalilov & Isakov 2005], the paradigm is quoted with errors.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 292, 440; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 227; Imnaishvili 1963: 128. Suppletive paradigm: *šow* [abs.] / *tu-* [obl.]. Somewhat differently in [Aleksseev & Radzhabov 2004: 131; Bokarev 1959: 200].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014; Imnaishvili 1963: 128. Suppletive paradigm: *šew* [abs.] / *tu-* [obl.].

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects. Asakh *šebi* [abs.] / *tu* [erg.] / *ta-* [obl.] 'who?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128]. Mokok *šebi* [abs.] / *tu* [erg.] / *ta-* [obl.] 'who?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128]. Shaytl *šew* [abs.] / *tu:* [erg. class 1] / *to:* [erg. 2] / *to-* [obl.] 'who?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128]. Shapikh *šebi* [abs.] / *tu* [erg.] / *ta-* [obl.] 'who?' [Imnaishvili 1963: 128].

In the absolutive case, with polysemy: 'what? / who?'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 110. Suppletive paradigm: *hiba* [abs.] / *ti-ya* [gen.] / *tu-* [obl.].

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 227. Suppletive paradigm: *hibo* [abs.] / *ti-yo* [gen.] / *tu-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *hibo* [abs.] / *ti-yo* [gen.] / *tu-* [obl.] {гьубо} 'who?' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 151].

**Common Khwarshi:** In the absolutive case, with polysemy: 'what? / who?'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 986. **Distribution:** The absolutive stem of this pronoun is unstable in Tsezic. In East Tsezic, a strange form occurs, which synchronically coincides with the noun *\*zik<sup>wə</sup> A* 'man / person' q.v., although the semantic development 'person' > 'who' or vice versa does not seem likely. A somewhat dubious explanation is proposed in [NCED: 958], according to which the Proto-East Tsezic pronoun contains the rare interrogative morpheme *\*s:V-*, heavily influenced by the word for 'man / person'.

In Hinukh, the absolutive stem *tu* originates from the oblique one.

In Dido and Khwarshi, the absolutive stems of 'who' differ, but in both cases coincide with those of 'what' (q.v.): interrogative \*š(:)i- [NCED: 986] + the bound pronominal morphemes \*bV [NCED: 321] or \*wV [NCED: 222] in Dido; the scantily attested interrogative pronominal morpheme \*hi- [NCED: 491] + the bound pronominal morphemes \*bV in Khwarshi.

We suppose that Dido reflects the Proto-Tsezic situation with \*š(:)i- in the absolutive stem and \*tu- in the ergative and oblique stem. The main advantage of such a reconstruction is that the proposed paradigm etymologically coincides with the Avar suppletive paradigm for 'who?' (š*i*-CLASS [abs.] / t*i*- [erg., obl.]).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal morpheme, used in the absolutive stem of the pronoun 'who?' (with polysemy 'who / what' already in Proto-Tsezic). The rest of the paradigm can be reconstructed as tu- [erg., obl.] / t*i* [gen.], see [NCED: 1062]. The oblique and ergative stem tu- is retained in all the lects except for Hunzib, where the interrogative morpheme \*sV- [NCED: 958] is used instead. The specific genitive form \*t*i* can be reconstructed at least for Proto-West Tsezic (retained in Hinukh and Khwarshi); we prefer to project it onto the Proto-Tsezic level.

## 99. WOMAN

Hunzib (proper) *aqe* {axъe} (1), Bezhta (proper) *iyö* {ийö} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *aqo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *aqo* (1), Hinukh *aqi-li* {axъили} (1), Kidero Dido *в'ана-би* {гъаІнаби} (3), Sagada Dido *в'ана* {гъаІна} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *в'ини* {гъини} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *в'ине ~ в'ине* {гъине} (3), Proto-Tsezic \**ʔaqV* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper)**: Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 24, 200; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; van den Berg 1995: 282; Bokarev 1961: 149, 174. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Cf. the paronymous adjective *aq-u ~ aq-i* {axъy} 'female (n., adj.)' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 24; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220; van den Berg 1995: 282]. Another word for 'female (n.)' is *c'uyab* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220; van den Berg 1995: 291], borrowed from Avar *c':uyab* 'female (n.)'.

**Bezhta (proper)**: Khalilov 1995: 100, 306. Polysemy: 'woman / mother' (only as 'mother' in [Madieva 1965: 162]). Browsing through [Khalilov 1995] suggests that it is the basic term for 'woman'. Cf. some examples: "insane woman" [Khalilov 1995: 31], "this woman" [Khalilov 1995: 54], "to call women for help" [Khalilov 1995: 57], "The women were occupied in potato weeding" [Khalilov 1995: 58], "lean woman" [Khalilov 1995: 59], "weak woman" [Khalilov 1995: 96], "The women have finished their work" [Khalilov 1995: 101].

Distinct from *aqo* {axъo} 'wife' [Khalilov 1995: 30; Madieva 1965: 148].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60.

Distinct from *iyö* 'mother' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 54] and from *c'uyab* 'female' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] (borrowed from Avar *c':uyab-w* 'female').

**Tlyadal Bezhta**: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60.

Distinct from *iyö* 'mother' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 54] and from *c'uyab* 'female' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] (borrowed from Avar *c':uyab-b* 'female').

**Common Bezhta**: The Proto-Bezhta term for 'woman' was *aqo*. For the Bezhta proper polysemy of 'mother / woman', cf. *abo* 'father / man' q.v.

**Hinukh**: Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 48, 440; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60. However, the suffixal pattern is not entirely clear.

Distinct from *baru* {барy} 'wife' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 58, 440; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60] and from *c'uyaw* 'female' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] (borrowed from Avar *c':uyab-b* 'female').

**Kidero Dido**: Khalilov 1999: 89; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60. The sg. and pl. forms are not discriminated; final *-bi* is the plural exponent.

Distinct from *baru* {барy} 'wife' [Khalilov 1999: 38, 323; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60].

Distinct from *aq-y-u* {axъйy} 'female' [Khalilov 1999: 33; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

**Sagada Dido**: Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido**: The same in other dialects: Asakh *в'ана* {гъаІна} with polysemy: 'woman / wife' [Khalilov 1999: 89, 323].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92, 95.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Bokarev 1959: 145.

Distinct from *āq*-*u* 'female' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *vine* {гъине} 'woman' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 5, 44].

**Common Khwarshi:** In [Karimova 2014], parallel compound forms for 'woman' are also quoted: Khwarshi proper *vini-hadam* {гъинигъадам}, Inkhokwari, Kwantlada *vine-hadam* {гъинегъадам}, literally 'woman-person' with *hadam* 'person' q.v.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 530. **Distribution:** Two roots enter into competition:

1) *\*ʔaqV* [NCED: 530], which can be reconstructed as the Proto-East Tsezic word for 'woman' (in Bezhta proper it was superseded by *\*ʔiyV* 'mother' [NCED: 673]). This root, modified with the suffix *-l-*, also expresses the meaning 'woman' in Hinukh, which makes it a good candidate for the status of the Proto-Tsezic term for 'woman'. Cf. the paronymous adjective *\*ʔaq-y-* 'female' (with the common adjectival suffix), attested in East and West Tsezic.

2) *\*bʲimV* (~ *ɛˀ-*) [NCED: 900], which means 'woman' in Dido and Khwarshi, lost in the rest of the lects.

We follow the formal distribution and reconstruct *\*ʔaqV* as the Proto-Tsezic root for 'woman'; external comparison supports it (this root has the same basic status in Andian). In Dido-Khwarshi, it was superseded by *\*bʲimV*, whose original Proto-Tsezic meaning is unclear; external comparison suggests that *\*bʲimV* could mean 'women (pl.)'.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular, except for nasalized *ā* in Inkhokwari Khwarshi.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 100. YELLOW

Hunzib (proper) *mačʼab* {мачʼаб} (-1), Bezhta (proper) *uk-li-ʔis* {уклиʔис} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *hākʼārō* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *boχala-uko-s* (3) / *boχala=uko-s* (1), Hinukh *ičʼ-d-iy-u* ~ *ičʼ-du-kʼa* {ичʼдуийу, ичʼдукʼа} (4), Kidero Dido *ičʼ-y-u* {ичʼйу} (4), Sagada Dido *ičʼ-u* {ичʼу} (4), Khwarshi (proper) *čʼeyčʼ-u* {чʼейчʼу} (5), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ečʼu-kʼa* {эчʼукʼа} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*ʔečʼV-* ~ *hēčʼV-* (4).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 120, 200; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Bokarev 1961: 174. Borrowed from Avar dialectal *mʼačʼa-b* 'yellow'. In [van den Berg 1995: 318, 349], the Hunzib proper word for 'yellow' is quoted as *mačʼ-d-u* - either an adapted loanword or an error.

A second, inherited, Hunzib proper term for 'yellow' could be *hakʼa-s* {гъакʼас} [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 61], but in [van den Berg 1995: 300, 349], this is glossed as 'pink'. *hakʼa-s* means 'red' in the Garbutli dialect and 'yellow' in the Naxada dialect. Literally 'of flower, floral' from *hak* 'flower', see 'red' for further notes.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 247, 306; Madieva 1965: 187. Derived from *uk*, obl. *uk-li-* 'yellow color; a k. of grass' [Khalilov 1995: 247; Madieva 1965: 187].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. Derived from a noun, which corresponds to Bezhta proper *hak* 'seeds', Tlyadal Bezhta *hak* 'flower' [Khalilov 1995: 72]; etymologically corresponds to Hunzib *hakʼa-s* 'yellow' (q.v.).

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. A compound possessive adjective in *-s* with *boχa-la* from *boχ* 'grass / hay' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 100] and the second element *uk(o-)*, which corresponds to Bezhta proper *uk* 'yellow color; a k. of grass', *uk-li-ʔis* 'yellow'.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 186, 440; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Forker 2013: 172. For the parallel adjective suffixes *-diy* / *-dukʼa*, see [Forker 2013: 183].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 131, 323. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234], incorrectly quoted as *ičʼiw* (a Mokok form).

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Asakh *ičʼ-i-y* {ичʼий} 'yellow', Mokok *ičʼ-i-w* {ичʼив} 'yellow' [Khalilov 1999: 131].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Originates from *\*čʼečʼ-y-u*.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. Final *-kʼa* is an adjective suffix.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ečʼu-kʼa* {эчʼукʼа} 'yellow' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 100].

**Common Khwarshi:** Khwarshi proper *\*čʼečʼ-y-u* may be cognate to Inkhokwari-Kwantlada *ečʼu-kʼa*, if the initial *čʼ-* is the result of some kind of reduplication.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 557. Distribution: Retained in its basic meaning in West Tsezic lects (except for Khwarshi proper), lost in East Tsezic. In East Tsezic, 'yellow' is expressed by various new formations from 'hay', 'flower', 'a k. of grass' or by an Avar loanword.

Replacements: {'grass, hay' > 'yellow'} (Tlyadal Bezhta), {'flower' > 'yellow'} (Khoshar-Khota Bezhta), {'a k. of grass' > 'yellow'} (Bezhta proper).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Adjectival stem, frequently modified with adjective suffixes.

## 101. FAR

Hunzib (proper) *č'iχ:-u ~ č'iχ-u* {*uIuxxy*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *c'iχ-o* {*uIuxo*} (1) / *ata*: {*amā*} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *c'iχ-o* (1) / *ata*: (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *č'iχ-ö* (1) / *ata*: (2), Hinukh *meqi* {*мexъu*} (3) / *bito*: ~ *bito*:-zo {*бумō(зо)*} (2), Kidero Dido *maq'i* {*маIхъu*} (3), Sagada Dido *maq'i* {*маIхъu*} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *miqe* {*михъe*} (3), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *miqe* {*михъe*} (3), Proto-Tsezic *\*miq<sup>f</sup>V* (3).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 179, 198; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; van den Berg 1995: 67, 293; Bokarev 1961: 169, 174. Old adjective, used as adverb and postposition.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 272, 303; Madieva 1965: 192.

A second candidate is *ata*-, explained in [Khalilov 1995: 29] as 'far (but the object is visible)'. We treat *c'iχ-o* and *ata*:- as synonyms. Khalilov 1995: 29.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231. Two adverbs for the meaning 'far' are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]; we treat them as synonyms. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231. Two adverbs for the meaning 'far' are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]; we treat them as synonyms. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

**Common Bezhta:** Common Bezhta *c'iχ-o* / *č'iχ-ö* is an old adjective, used as adverb and postposition.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 264, 433; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Forker 2013: 349.

A second candidate is *bito*:-(*zo*), explained in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 87] as 'far (but the object is visible)'; derived from the adverb *bito* 'away' [Forker 2013: 349]. We treat *meqi* and *bito*:-(*zo*) as synonyms. Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 87, 433. Historically, apparently < *b=ito*:- with the fossilized class exponent *b=*. If the word corresponds to Bezhta *ata*-, the archaic labilized variant *\*\*būito*:- is expected.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 185, 318; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

A second candidate is *bita-y*-, explained in [Khalilov 1999: 60] as 'far (but the object is visible)'. We treat *maq'i* and *bita-y* as synonyms.

Distinct from specific *na:q'o* {*нāIхъo*} 'far behind (the object is visible)' [Khalilov 1999: 197], *ta:q'o* {*тāIхъo*} 'far ahead (the object is visible)' [Khalilov 1999: 234].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Мокoк *maq'i* {*маxъъиI*} 'far' [Khalilov 1999: 185].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 121. Cf. the attested example: "I'm far from the schoolhouse" [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 105].

In [Karimova 2014], also *λilo* {*лIло*} is quoted as the second expression for 'far', cf. notes on Kwantlada Khwarshi.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

In [Karimova 2014], *λilo* {*лIло*} is also quoted as a second expression for 'far', cf. notes on Kwantlada Khwarshi.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *miqe* {*миxъe*} 'far' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 112, 118, 120, 133]. In [Khalilova 2009], apparently erroneously transcribed as *miq'e* (with the gloss 'far away'). Cf. some examples: "The school where we are going now is far away" [Khalilova 2009: 214], "Then the son and the father went far away" [Khalilova 2009: 120].

Distinct from *λ'iħō ~ λ'iħo*, which is glossed as 'far away' in [Khalilova 2009: 14, 89, 118], although it actually means 'aside, sideward, down hill', as can be seen from [Khalilova 2009: 118, 120].

Cf. the adverb *λil'o* 'on the plains' [Khalilova 2009: 118]; in [Karimova 2014], this adverb is quoted as a second

expression for 'far'.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 644. **Distribution:** Two forms enter into competition:

- 1) \**c'iχ:-o* (~ -*ɸ-*) [NCED: 269], which means 'far' in East Tsezic (originally an adjective), lost in West Tsezic;
- 2) \**miq<sup>f</sup>V* [NCED: 644], meaning 'far' in West Tsezic, lost in East Tsezic.

There is no Tsezic evidence as such to make a single choice, but external comparison speaks in favour of \**miq<sup>f</sup>V*, since its cognates mean 'far' in Avar. On the other hand, the North Caucasian etymology of \**c'iχ:-o*, proposed in [NCED: 269], seems rather weak.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Either an adverbial or an adjectival stem.

## 102. HEAVY

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=oq<sup>z</sup>:-u* ~ *CLASS=oq<sup>z</sup>-u* {*βoκβy*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *CLASS=äq<sup>z</sup>:-ö* {*üabβκβob*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *CLASS=äq<sup>z</sup>-iy-o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *CLASS=äq<sup>z</sup>:-ö* (1), Hinukh *CLASS=oq<sup>z</sup>:-u* {*βoκβy*} (1), Kidero Dido *CLASS=oq<sup>z</sup>-y-u* {*βoIκβüy*} (1), Sagada Dido *CLASS=oq<sup>z</sup>-a-w* {*βoIκβab*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *CLASS=uyt<sup>z</sup>-u* {*lyümIy*} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *CLASS=it<sup>z</sup>:-u* ~ *CLASS=it<sup>z</sup>-u* {*lumImIy*} (2), Proto-Tsezic \**CLASS=ɔq<sup>z</sup>-y-u* A (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 42, 239; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; van den Berg 1995: 323. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 110, 342; Madieva 1965: 146. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 96, 536; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], transcribed with -*q<sup>z</sup>*. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.

A second, apparently, less common candidate is *bak<sup>z</sup>aw* {*βakIκab*} 'heavy / difficult' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 56], borrowed from Avar *b=ak<sup>z</sup>a-w* 'heavy / difficult'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 71, 387; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. With the zero class exponent: *ɔoq<sup>z</sup>-y-u* < \**ɔoq<sup>z</sup>-y-u*. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** The same in other dialects: Asakh *CLASS=oq<sup>z</sup>-i-y* {*βoIκβiIy*} 'heavy', Mokok *CLASS=oq<sup>z</sup>-i-w* {*βoIκβiIw*} 'heavy' [Khalilov 1999: 71].

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. The variant =*it<sup>z</sup>:-u* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *CLASS=ut<sup>z</sup>:-u* {*lytItIy*} 'heavy' [Karimova 2014].

**Common Khwarshi:** *yt<sup>z</sup>, t<sup>z</sup>* < \**t<sup>z</sup>-y*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 513. **Distribution:** Retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects except for Khwarshi, where it was superseded by unclear \**CLASS=Vt<sup>z</sup>-y-u* without further etymology.

**Replacements:** {'heavy' > 'burden'} (Proto-Tsezic).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular, except for the *o* instead of *a* in Hunzib.

**Semantics and structure:** Adjectival stem.

## 103. NEAR

Hunzib (proper) *ič<sup>z</sup>:o* ~ *ič<sup>z</sup>o* {*u<sup>n</sup>uo*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *hica* ~ *hīca* {*zβuuca*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *hica* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *hīč<sup>z</sup>:ä* (1), Hinukh *igo* ~ *ügo* {*uzo, üzo*} (2), Kidero Dido *igo* {*uzo*} (2), Sagada Dido *igo-λ<sup>z</sup>* {*uzoκβ*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *ago* {*azo*} (2),

Inkhokwari Khwarshi *oge* {*oze*} (2), Proto-Tsezic *\*ʔəgV ~ \*ʔigV* (2).

**References and notes:**

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 85; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; van den Berg 1995: 67, 307; Bokarev 1961: 156, 172. Adverb and postposition.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 82, 295; Madieva 1965: 158.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 176, 414; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Forker 2013: 353.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 125, 305; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231. Adverb and postposition.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Final *-ʔ* is the essive ending.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 120, 121.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *oge* {*ore*} 'near' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 118].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 518. **Distribution:** Two forms enter into competition:

1) *\*ʔič- ~ \*hīč-*, which means 'near' in East Tsezic and apparently lacks further etymology;

2) *\*ʔəgV (~ -i-)* [NCED: 518], meaning 'far' in West Tsezic, lost in East Tsezic.

Since *\*ʔəgV* possesses external cognates with the same basic meaning, it has an advantage over *\*ʔič- ~ \*hīč-*.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular, except for the *i-ü* instead of *e* in Hinukh.

**Semantics and structure:** Either an adverbial or an adjectival stem.

## 104. SALT

Hunzib (proper) *cā* {*ʔa<sup>n</sup>*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *cā* {*ʔa<sup>n</sup>*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *ca* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *ca* (1), Hinukh *čiyō ~ čüyō* {*ʔuüō, çüüō*} (1), Kidero Dido *ciyō* {*ʔuüō*} (1), Sagada Dido *ciyō* {*ʔuüō*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *ciyō* {*ʔuüō<sup>n</sup>*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *cīyō ~ ciyō ~ cīyō* {*ʔuüō<sup>n</sup>*} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*cš* (1).

**References and notes:**

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 172, 234; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; van den Berg 1995: 290; Bokarev 1961: 168, 180. Synchronically, a suppletive paradigm: *cā* [abs.] / *čiyō- ~ čüyō-* [obl.].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 266, 337; Madieva 1965: 191. Paradigm: *cā* [abs.] / *cīya-* [obl.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123. Paradigm: *ca* [abs.] / *caʔi-s* [gen.].

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123. Paradigm: *ca* [abs.] / *čiyä-š* [gen.].

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 390, 524; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 273, 378; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92, 93, 99.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Bokarev 1959: 150, 151.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *ciyō* {*ʔuüō<sup>n</sup>*} 'salt' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 263, 340].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 371. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *\*cīyō-* (in Proto-West Tsezic, the direct stem was levelled after the oblique one).

## 105. SHORT

Hunzib (proper) *CLASS=aš:-u ~ CLASS=aš:-u ~ CLASS=aš-ü* {*ʔaššuy*} (1), Bezhta (proper)

CLASS=*äš*:-*ö* {*üav<sup>u</sup>uшшob*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta CLASS=*äš*-*iy*-*o* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta CLASS=*äš*:-*ö* (1), Hinukh *k'ot*:-*u* ~ *k'ot*-*on*-*d*-*iy*-*u* {*κIomty, κIomIondiüy*} (2), Kidero Dido *k'ot'o*-*no* {*κIomIono*} (2), Sagada Dido *k'ot'o*-*no* {*κIomIono*} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *k'oyt*-*u* {*κIoüyty*} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *k'ot*:-*u* {*κIomty*} (2), Proto-Tsezic \*CLASS=*ṣš*:-*y*-*u* (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 121, 207; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; van den Berg 1995: 285. Polysemy: 'short (in general) / small in height (of person)'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 113, 312; Madieva 1965: 148. Polysemy: 'short (spatial) / short (temporal) / small in height (of person)'. The only found example for 'short (spatial)' is "short sleeves" [Khalilov 1995: 121].

Distinct from *k'at*:-*o*, which is glossed as generic 'short' with two examples: "short dress", "short tail" in [Khalilov 1995: 168]. Actually *k'at*:-*o* is a rare word, meaning specifically 'dock-tailed, short-tailed (Russian *κ ybiü*)' [M. Khalilov, p.c.].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 236, 237, 456; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Polysemy: 'short (spatial) / small in height (of person)'. Note the irregular deglottalization in *k'ot*:-*u* < \**k'ot*:-*y*-*u*.

A second candidate is the borrowed term *q'oq'aw* {*къокъав*} with polysemy: 'short (spatial) / short (temporal)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 219, 456] < Avar *q'oq'a-w* 'short (spatial) / short (temporal)'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 165, 334; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Polysemy: 'short / small in height (of person, tree)'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *k'ot*:-*u* {*κIotty*} 'short' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 100].

**Common Khwarshi:** *yt, t* < \**t*-*y*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1021. Distribution: Two forms enter into competition:

1) \*CLASS=*ṣš*:-*y*-*u* [NCED: 1021], meaning 'short' in East Tsezic, lost in West Tsezic (for dubious West Tsezic cognates see notes on 'thin');

2) \**k'ot*V- A [NCED: 690], meaning 'short' in West Tsezic and 'dock-tailed, short-tailed' in Bezhta.

Provisionally we suppose that \*CLASS=*ṣš*:-*y*-*u* had the Proto-Tsezic meaning 'short (in general)', whereas \**k'ot*V- meant 'dock-tailed, short-tailed' (this meaning is still retained in East Tsezic). It should be noted that both competing stems possess external cognates with the meaning 'short': \*CLASS=*ṣš*:-*y*-*u* in Andian and Nakh, \**k'ot*V- in Lak, Dargi and Lezgian.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Adjectival stem.

## 106. SNAKE

Hunzib (proper) *begala* {*бегала*} (1), Bezhta (proper) *bekela* {*бекела*} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *bekela* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *bekelä* (1), Hinukh *bikore* ~ *bükore* {*бикоре, бükоре*} (1), Kidero Dido *bikori* {*бикори*} (1), Sagada Dido *bikori* {*бикори*} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *bečola* {*бечола*} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *bekol* {*бекол*} (1), Proto-Tsezic \***bek**VIV A (1).

#### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 35, 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; van den Berg 1995: 287; Bokarev 1961: 151, 175.

Distinct from abusive *malʕun* {*малʕун*} with polysemy: 'damned, cursed / snake' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 117], borrowed from Avar *malʕun* 'damned, cursed; devil', dial. 'snake', ultimately from Arabic.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 43, 308; Madieva 1965: 150.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 82, 446; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. Polysemy: 'snake / bad person'.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 56, 328; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. Polysemy: 'snake / bad person'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 99; Khalilova 2009: 7.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Bokarev 1959: 158. Paradigm: *bekol* [abs.] / *bekala-* [obl.].

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *bekol* {бекол} [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 7, 430].

**Common Khwarshi:** Polysemy: 'snake / worm' in all dialects.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 1048. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

**Reconstruction shape:** Vowel correspondences in the non-first syllables are irregular; *č* instead of *k* in Khwarshi proper is due to the influence of Andian languages (Chamalal, Bagvalal *beča* 'snake / worm').

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root. May be formally analyzed as suffixed *\*bekV-IV* with the relatively common nominal affix *-IV*, if we treat Hinukh *bika* 'worm', Asakh Dido *biko* 'worm' (q.v.) as retentions of the plain root stem. However, further external comparison points out that *-IV* is an integral part of the stem, whereas Hinukh *bika* and Asakh Dido *biko* 'worm' look like Andian loanwords.

## 107. THIN

Hunzib (proper) *šũš:-u ~ šũš:-ũ* {шүшшүш} (1) / *λam-u ~ λam:-u* {лАмму} (2), Bezhta (proper) *šũš:-ö* {шүшьшюв} (1) / *λäm:-ö* {лАьммов} (2), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *šũš-iy-o* (1) / *λäm-iy-o* (2), Tlyadal Bezhta *šũš:-ö* (1) / *λäm:-ö* (2), Hinukh *dada-r-u* {дадару} (3) / *niš:-u* {нишшү} (4), Kidero Dido *dada-r-u* {дадару} (3) / *niš-y-u* {нишйү} (4), Sagada Dido *dada-r-u* {дадару} (3) / *niši-k'a* {нишикIа} (4), Khwarshi (proper) *zeyz-u* {зейзу} (5) / *niš:-u* {нишшү} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *ziz:-u* {зиззу} (5) / *niš:-u* {нишшү} (4), Proto-Tsezic *\*dada-r-* (3) / *\*λam-y-* (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 183, 238; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; van den Berg 1995: 334. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / shallow'. Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 114, 238; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; van den Berg 1995: 316; Bokarev 1961: 160, 181. Polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow'.

Distinct from *gam:-u ~ gam:-u* {гамму} 'thin, skinny' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 54; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 240; van den Berg 1995: 297].

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 287, 341. Glossed as 'thin' without semantic specification. The attested examples generally point to the meaning 'thin 2D': "thin peel" [Khalilov 1995: 45], "thin exercise book" [Khalilov 1995: 237], "thin layer", "thin leaf", "thin *khinkal*" [Khalilov 1995: 287]. But the example "thin fingers" [Khalilov 1995: 287] could also speak in favor of 'thin 1D'. Khalilov 1995: 185, 341; Madieva 1965: 174. Polysemy: 'thin / lean, skinny'. The attested examples generally point to the meaning 'thin 1D': "thin line" [Khalilov 1995: 201], "thin string" [Khalilov 1995: 221], "thin stick" [Khalilov 1995: 249], "thin twig" [Khalilov 1995: 272], "thin stalk" [Khalilov 1995: 279]. But the examples "thin book" [Khalilov 1995: 185], "thin bark" [Khalilov 1995: 259] also speak in favor of 'thin 2D'.

Additionally, the loanword *t'erenab* {тIеренаб} 'thin / lean' is attested [Khalilov 1995: 244] < Avar *t'erenab* 'thin 2D/1D'.

Bezhta *čemežab* {чIемежаб}, which is glossed as 'thin' with the only example being "thin thread" in [Khalilov 1995: 281], apparently means 'frail', since it was borrowed from Avar *čemežab* 'frail, fragile'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 1D'.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 1D'.

**Common Bezhta:** The Common Bezhta opposition *šũš-iy-o* 'thin 2D' / *λäm-iy-o* 'thin 1D' is partially corroded in Bezhta proper.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 160, 533; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 2D'.

Also cf. the borrowed and more marginal term *t'erenaw* {тIеренав} 'thin 2D / thin 1D / slender' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 337] < Avar *t'erenaw* 'thin 2D / thin 1D / slender'. Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 279, 533; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.

Polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow / lean, skinny / thin, sparse'. Historically \**n=iš-y-u* with a fossilized spatial (?) prefix.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 112, 385; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / shallow'.  
Cf. also the borrowed and more marginal form *t'erenaw* {т'еренав} 'thin / slender' [Khalilov 1999: 240] < Avar *t'erenaw* 'thin 2D / thin 1D / slender'. Khalilov 1999: 200, 385; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow / lean, skinny'.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Abdulaev 2014. Meaning 'thin 1D'.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Karimova 2014. Meaning 'thin 1D'.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 2D'.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *zuz:-u ~ ziz:-u* {зуззу, зыззу} 'thin 2D' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 106]; *niš:-u* {нишшу} 'thin 1D' [Karimova 2014]. Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow'.

**Common Khwarshi:** *yz, z* < \**z-y*.

**Proto-Tsezic:** TsezEDb. **Distribution:** For East Tsezic, the following opposition can be safely reconstructed:

- 1) \*š(:)ũš:-y-u 'thin 2D' [NCED: 1021], for etymological discussion, see below;
- 2) \*λam-y-u 'thin 1D' [NCED: 521], lost in West Tsezic.

The West Tsezic system was likely as follows:

- 1) \*dada-r-u 'thin 2D', without further etymology.
- 2) \*niš:-y-u ~ \*neš:-y-u 'thin 1D' [NCED: 1021], for etymological discussion, see below.

The relationship between \*š(:)ũš:-y-u 'thin 2D' (East Tsezic) and \*niš:-y-u ~ \*neš:-y-u 'thin 1D' (West Tsezic) is quite uncertain. It has been proposed in [NCED: 1021] that both contain the same root as the adjective \*CLASS=šš:-y-u 'short' *vel sim.* (q.v.). The authors of [NCED] imply that \*š(:)ũš:-y-u is some kind of reduplication; if so, \*niš:-y-u ~ \*neš:-y-u should contain the fossilized directional prefix *n=* (its function in such an adjective is unclear, however); the vocalic interchanges are inexplicable. The whole picture appears to be too complex and we prefer to treat \*š(:)ũš:-y-u, \*niš:-y-u ~ \*neš:-y-u and \*CLASS=šš:-y-u as three unrelated items. Out of these, \*CLASS=šš:-y-u finds an external etymology (see notes on 'short'), whereas \*š(:)ũš:-y-u and \*niš:-y-u ~ \*neš:-y-u are etymologically isolated.

The main candidate for the Proto-Tsezic meaning 'thin 1D' is \*λam-y-u (East Tsezic), since it possesses external *comparanda* with the same semantics.

As for Proto-Tsezic 'thin 2D', there is no evidence to help us choose between \*š(:)ũš:-y-u and \*dada-r-u. Only for the sake of symmetry, we fill the slot with \*dada-r-u, retained in West Tsezic.

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Adjectival stems 'thin 2D' (\*dada-r-u) and 'thin 1D' (\*λam-y-u), modified with the common adjective suffixes. NCED: 521.

## 108. WIND

Hunzib (proper) *zaλe* {залЕе} (1), Bezhta (proper) *zaλo* {залIo} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *zaλo* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *zaλo* (1), Hinukh *ʔaci* {лʔаццц} (2), Kidero Dido *ʔaci* {лʔаццц} (2), Sagada Dido *ʔaci* {лʔаццц} (2), Khwarshi (proper) *ʔaca* {лʔаццц} (2), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *haca* {лʔаццц} (2), Proto-Tsezic \*ʔ:acV (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 81, 193; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208; van den Berg 1995: 343; Bokarev 1961: 155, 173.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 97, 298; Madieva 1965: 162.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 244, 419; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 172, 309; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 97.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *haca* {гʔацц} 'wind' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 138].

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 767. Distribution: Two forms enter into competition:

- 1) \**zaλV*, which means 'wind' in East Tsezic and apparently lacks any further etymology;
- 2) \**ʔacV* [NCED: 767], meaning 'wind' in West Tsezic, lost in East Tsezic.

Since \**ʔacV* has an imperfect, but overall acceptable external etymology (its Andian *comparanda* mean 'voice, shout'), it has a formal advantage over the isolated \**zaλV*.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the unexplainable *h* instead of *ʔ* in Inkhokwari Khwarshi.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

## 109. WORM

Hunzib (proper) *bət'i* {бәтИу} (1), Bezhta (proper) *bet'ela* {бемИела} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *bet'ela* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *bet'elä* (1), Hinukh *bika* {бика} (-1), Kidero Dido *ʔumuli* {ʔумули} (2), Sagada Dido *acirow* {ацуро} (3), Khwarshi (proper) *bečola* {бечола} (4), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *bekol* {бекол} (4), Proto-Tsezic \**ʔ<sup>w</sup>imilV* ~ \**ʔ<sup>w</sup>imirV* (2).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 50, 243; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; van den Berg 1995: 290; Bokarev 1961: 152, 182. Polysemy: 'worm (in general) / helminth / caterpillar / insect, bug (in general)'. Paradigm: *bət'i* [abs.] / *bət'-lo-* [obl.]. In the absolutive form, used with additional polysemy: 'insect / snot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 51; van den Berg 1995: 290], although for the meaning 'snot' the secondary regular oblique stem *bət'o-* is used - perhaps a loan translation of Russian *kaz'lavka* 'snot', literally 'little bug'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 44, 346; Madieva 1965: 150. Polysemy: 'earthworm / silkworm / plant louse'. Distinct from:

- 1) *eʔel-ba* {эъэлба} 'tapeworm' [Khalilov 1995: 290] (final *-ba* is apparently the fossilized plural exponent);
- 2) *p'ep'ela* {пепИела} 'echinococcus (tapeworm)' [Khalilov 1995: 221; Madieva 1965: 183];
- 3) *hat'ola* {гәтИола} 'helminth' [Khalilov 1995: 74; Madieva 1965: 157];
- 4) *ʔoq'iyun* {кьокъийан} 'worm, which parasitizes mulberry' [Khalilov 1995: 165];
- 5) *balč'o* {балчИо}, glossed as 'small red worms' [Madieva 1965: 149], not found in [Khalilov 1995];
- 6) *ʔayal'ko* {гъайаько} 'worms in tree' (i.e., 'wood worms?') [Madieva 1965: 155], not found in [Khalilov 1995].

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 81, 546; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. A generic term. As noted in [Khalilov & Isakov 2005], the specific expression for 'earthworm' is *raʔ'-moʔes bika* (from *raʔ'* 'earth'). Apparently borrowed from Andian languages (Tindi *bekʔa* 'snake / worm', etc. [NCED: 1048]).

Distinct from:

- 1) *biržula* {биржула} 'worm (not specified) / big louse' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 86];
- 2) *hapara* {хIапара} 'worm (e.g., in apple)' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 371] < Avar *hapara* 'worm (in general)';
- 3) *hut'* {хIутИ} 'plant louse / worm (not specified) / silkworm' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 374] < Avar *hut'* 'plant louse / a k. of worms / silkworm';
- 4) *č'ima* {чИма} 'nit / flyblow / worms in meat' [Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 397].

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 93, 395; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], quoted as *ʔumeli*. A generic term, including 'earthworm'. Polysemy: 'worm / twisted branch (of tree) / clumsy, awkward person'.

A second, probably more marginal term for 'earthworm' is *acuryo* {ацурйо} [Khalilov 1999: 33].

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Common Dido:** Differently in the Asakh dialect: *biko* {бико} 'worm' [Khalilov 1999: 56], apparently an Andian loanword, see notes in Hinukh.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92. In [Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 92], erroneously transcribed as *bečolā*.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Bokarev 1959: 159.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *bekol* {бекол} [Karimova 2014].

**Common Khwarshi:** A generic term: 'worm', including 'earthworm'. Polysemy: 'snake / worm' in all dialects. Additionally, in

[Karimova 2014], the loanword *hapara* {xɫapapa} is quoted as a synonym for 'worm' in all dialects (< Avar *hapara* 'worm' (in general)).

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 817. **Distribution:** An unstable word with several Tsezic stems competing with each other:

1) *\*batV* (~ -ǝ-) [NCED: 290], meaning 'worm' in East Tsezic, lost in West Tsezic; the suffix *-IV* in Bezhta is apparently due to influence of *bekela* 'snake'; 2) *\*b<sup>w</sup>imilV* (~ *\*b<sup>w</sup>-, r*) [NCED: 817], only retained in Kidero Dido; 3) unclear forms *acuryo*, *aciro* in Dido dialects; 4) *\*bekVIV A* [NCED: 1048], which means 'snake' everywhere in Tsezic, also with polysemy 'snake / worm' in Khwarshi.

Any of these stems could represent the Proto-Tsezic term for '(earth)worm'. For example, the Andian cognates of Tsezic *\*bekVIV* have regular polysemy 'snake / worm' which implies that it is theoretically possible to reconstruct this stem with polysemy 'snake / worm' already on the Proto-Avar-Ando-Tsezic and correspondingly on the Proto-Tsezic levels (if so, Tsezic *\*bekVIV* independently lost its meaning 'worm' in Tsezic lects outside Khwarshi). On the other hand, it is equally or even more probable that the Proto-Tsezic meaning of *\*bekVIV* was just 'snake', whereas the Khwarshi polysemy 'snake / worm' is a late introduction under the influence of the same polysemy in neighboring Andian languages.

Since it is *\*b<sup>w</sup>imilV* that has the best and least questionable external North Caucasian *comparanda* with the meaning 'worm', we posit this stem as the Proto-Tsezic term for 'worm (in general, incl. earthworm)'.

The original meaning of *\*batV* (only retained as East Tsezic 'worm') remains unclear.

**Replacements:** {'snake' > 'worm'} (Khwarshi).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root.

## 110. YEAR

Hunzib (proper) *λi* {λIɪ} (1), Bezhta (proper) *λi* {λIu} (1), Khoshar-Khota Bezhta *λi* (1), Tlyadal Bezhta *λi* (1), Hinukh *λebu* {λeɔy} (1), Kidero Dido *λa<sup>b</sup>* {λIaIɔ} (1), Sagada Dido *λe<sup>b</sup>* {λIeIɔ} (1), Khwarshi (proper) *λib* {λIuɔ} (1), Inkhokwari Khwarshi *λib* {λIuɔ} (1), Proto-Tsezic *\*λ<sup>i</sup>A* (1).

### References and notes:

**Hunzib (proper):** Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 115, 196; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; van den Berg 1995: 316; Bokarev 1961: 160, 173.

A more rare synonym is *ʔaʔel* ~ *ʔaʔil* {λʔaʔel} 'year' [Isakov & Khalilov 2001: 111; Bokarev 1961: 160, 173], borrowed from Avar *ʔaʔel* 'year'.

**Bezhta (proper):** Khalilov 1995: 185, 301; Madieva 1965: 174. Oblique stem: *λi-*.

Additionally, the loanword *ʔaʔel* ~ *ʔaʔil* 'year' is used [Khalilov 1995: 180, 301; Madieva 1965: 173]; the source of borrowing is Avar *ʔaʔel* 'year'.

**Khoshar-Khota Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209. Oblique stem: *λiya-*.

**Tlyadal Bezhta:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209. Oblique stem: *λiya-*.

**Hinukh:** Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 252, 430; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209. Historically = *λe-bu* with the fossilized plural suffix.

**Kidero Dido:** Khalilov 1999: 177, 316; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209.

**Sagada Dido:** Abdulaev 2014.

**Khwarshi (proper):** Karimova 2014; Sharafutdinova & Levina 1961: 96.

**Inkhokwari Khwarshi:** Karimova 2014; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Bokarev 1959: 145.

**Kwantlada Khwarshi:** *λib* {λIuɔ} 'year' [Karimova 2014; Khalilova 2009: 80].

**Common Khwarshi:** Historically < *λi-b* with a fossilized plural suffix.

**Proto-Tsezic:** NCED: 591. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Proto-Tsezic roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Tsezic lects.

In Hunzib and Bezhta, tends to be superseded by the Avar loanword.

**Replacements:** {'year' > 'winter'} (Proto-Tsezic).

**Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular except for the *a* in Kidero Dido and *i* in Khwarshi.

**Semantics and structure:** Primary substantive root. The plural stem is *\*λ<sup>i</sup>-bV* (in Proto-West Tsezic, the sg. stem was superseded by the pl. one).