

[Text version of database, created 12/09/2013].

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

Languages included: Khinalug [kjj].

DATA SOURCES

General

Comrie & Khalilov 2010 = Б. Комри, М. Халилов. *Словарь языков и диалектов народов Северного Кавказа. Сопоставление основной лексики. Лейпциг/Махачкала, 2010* [В. Comrie, М. Khalilov. *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/lids/> for on-line access and detail. The source is actually somewhat unreliable, with a considerable number of erroneous forms.*

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

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

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, Lezghian, Abkhaz-Adyghe. Tables of correspondences and detailed notes are given in the introduction, available online at <http://starling.rinet.ru/Texts/caucpref.pdf>. All etymologies also available online on the StarLing database server, at <http://starling.rinet.ru/cgi-bin/main.cgi?flags=eygtnnl>.

Khinalug

Desheriev 1959 = Ю. Д. Дешериев. *Грамматика хиналугского языка*. Москва, 1959. // *A descriptive grammar of the Khinalug language*.

Ganieva 2002 = Ф. А. Ганиева. *Хиналугско-русский словарь*. Махачкала, 2002. // *A Khinalug-Russian dictionary of ca. 8000 entries, supplemented with a grammar sketch*.

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

Kibrik 1994 = А. Е. Кибрик. Khinalug. In: R. Smeets. *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 4. Caravan Books, 1994. P. 367-406. // *A grammar sketch of the Khinalug language*.

Kibrik et al. 1972 = А. Е. Кибрик, С. В. Кодзасов, И. П. Оловянникова. *Фрагменты грамматики хиналугского языка*. Москва, 1972. // *A descriptive grammar of the Khinalug language supplemented with texts and glossary*.

Additional

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

NOTES

1. *General.*

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

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

2. *Transliteration.*

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Ganieva 2002]	[Kibrik et al. 1972]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	b (b. before front vowels), b. (b before front vowels)	b	b	b
III	p (p. before front vowels), p. (p before front vowels)	p̃	p:	p
III	p̄	p̄p̄	p:	p:
II	p ^h (p ^h before front vowels), p ^h (p ^h before front vowels)	p	p	p ^h
II	p' (p' before front vowels), p' (p' before front vowels)	p'	p'	p'
B	v (v. before front vowels), v. (v before front vowels)	v	w	v
BB	v̄ (v̄. before front vowels), v̄. (v̄ before front vowels)			v:
ф	f (f. before front vowels), f. (ff		f	f

[Ganieva 2002]	[Kibrik et al. 1972]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
	before front vowels)			
Д	d (d. before front vowels), d. (d before front vowels)	d	d	d
ТТ	t (t before front vowels), t̥ (t before front vowels)	t̥	t:	t
ТТ	t̄ (t̄ before front vowels), t̄ (t̄ before front vowels)	t̄t̄	t:	t:
Т	t ^h (t ^h before front vowels), t̥ ^h (t̥ ^h before front vowels)	t	t	t ^h
ТІ	t' (t' before front vowels), t' (t' before front vowels)	t'	t̚	t'
ЦЦ	ts	č̣	c:	c
ЦЦ	t̄s	č̄č̄	c:	c:
Ц	ts ^h	c	c	c ^h
ЦІ	ts'	c'	ç	c'
З	z (z. before front vowels), z. (z before front vowels)	z	z	z
С	s (s before front vowels), s. (s before front vowels)	s	s	s
ДЖ	dʒ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ
ЧЧ	tʃ	č̣	č̣:	č̣
ЧЧ	t̄ʃ	č̄č̄	č̣:	č̣:
Ч	tʃ ^h	č̣	č̣	č̣ ^h
ЧІ	tʃ'	č̣'	č̣'	č̣'
Ж	ʒ	ǰ̄	ǰ̄	ǰ̄
Ш	ʃ	ṣ̌	ṣ̌	ṣ̌
Г (ГЫ before front vowels)	g (g. before front vowels)	g (g _y before front vowels)	g	g (g before front vowels)
КК (ККЫ before front vowels)	k (k. before front vowels)	k̄ (k̄ _y before front vowels)	k:	k (k before front vowels)
КК	k̄ (k̄. before front vowels)	k̄k̄	k:	k:

[Ganieva 2002]	[Kibrik et al. 1972]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
(ккы before front vowels)		(кк _y before front vowels)		(k: before front vowels)
к (кы before front vowels)	k ^h (k ^h before front vowels)	k (k _y before front vowels)	k	k ^h (k ^h before front vowels)
кI (кIы before front vowels)	k' (k' before front vowels)	k' (k' _y before front vowels)	к̣	k' (k' before front vowels)
г	g (g before front vowels)	g (g _y before back vowels)	g	g (g ^y before back vowels)
кк	k (k before front vowels)	к̄ (к̄ _y before back vowels)	k:	k (k ^y before back vowels)
кк	к̄ (к̄ before front vowels)	к̄к̄ (к̄к̄ _y before back vowels)	k:	k: (k ^y before back vowels)
к	k ^h (k ^h before front vowels)	k (k _y before back vowels)	k	k ^h (k ^{hy} before back vowels)
кI	k' (k' before front vowels)	k' (k' _y before back vowels)	к̣	k' (k ^y before back vowels)
кхъ	kx	kx	kx	k ^x
гг	ɣ	ğ	ɣ	ɣ
хъ	x (x before front vowels)	x (x _y before front vowels)	x	x (x before front vowels)
хъ	x (x before front vowels)	x (x _y before back vowels)	x	x (x ^y before back vowels)
		G		ɠ
къ	q	q̃	q:	q
къ, къкъ	q̃	q̃q̃	q:	q:
хъ	qχ	q	q	q ^h
къ	q'	q'	q̣	q'
гъ	ʀ	R	ʀ	ʀ
х	χ	X	χ	χ
гI	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ	ɸ
xI	ħ	H	ħ	ħ

[Ganieva 2002]	[Kibrik et al. 1972]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гъ	h	h	h	h
м	m (m̄ before front vowels), m̄ (m before front vowels)	m	m	m
мм	m̄n̄	mm		m:
н	n (n̄ before front vowels), n̄ (n before front vowels)	n	n	n
р	r (r̄ before front vowels), r̄ (r before front vowels)	r	r	r
л	l (l̄ before front vowels)	l (l _y before front vowels)	l	l (t̄ before front vowels)
лл	l̄	ll (ll _y before front vowels)		l: (t̄ before front vowels)
л	l̄ (l̄ before front vowels)	l (l _y before back vowels)	l	l (l ^y before back vowels)
лл	l̄ (l̄ before front vowels)	ll (ll _y before back vowels)		l: (l ^y before back vowels)
у, Св	ɯ	w	^w , w	w
й	j	j	j	y
и	i	i	i	i
уь	y	ü	ü	ü
е, э	e	e	e	e
оь	ø	ö	ö	ö
а	a	a	a	a
аь	æ	ä	ä	ä
о	o	o	o	o
у	u	u	u	u
ы	ɯ	i	i	i
		V:		V:
ǂ	ǂ	ǂ	V	V

1. The phonological opposition between the lax and tense series of stops and affricates (as *p* / *p̄*, *č* / *č̄*, etc.) is secondary, and still remains marginal. Normal historical distribution is as follows: the tense series (*p̄*, *č̄*, etc.) occurs between vowels, the lax series (*p*, *č*, etc.) occurs elsewhere. In the modern language, however, the lax series (*p*, *č*, etc.) can occur intervocalically at morpheme boundaries or even within a root [Kibrik et

al. 1972: 18 ff.]; this makes the lax / tense opposition phonemic.

2. The phonological opposition between the non-palatalized and palatalized consonant series (such as s / s^y , k / k^y , etc.) is secondary, and still remains marginal. Normal historical distribution is as follows: the palatalized series (s^y , k^y , etc.) occurs before front vowels, the non-palatalized series (s , k , etc.) occurs elsewhere (e.g., before back vowels). In the modern language, however, due to some processes, e.g., at morpheme boundaries, the non-palatalized series (s , k , etc.) can occur before front vowels, and, vice versa, the palatalized series (s^y , k^y , etc.) may be encountered before back vowels. This makes the non-palatalized / palatalized opposition phonemic. In [Kibrik et al. 1972: 19], such an opposition is described for the labial ($p^y p^{hy} p^{vy} v^y v^{vy} f^y m^y$), dento-alveolar ($d^y t^y t^{vy} t^{hy} t^{vy} z^y s^y n^y r^y l^y l^{vy}$), and velar ($g^y k^y k^{vy} k^{hy} k^{vy} x^y$) rows. Similarly in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], these items can be marked as velar before front vowels (e.g., the auxiliary verb $-v^yi$ [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 52]). However, in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 346] it is reported that only the velars ($g^y k^y k^{vy} k^{hy} k^{vy} x^y$) and laterals ($l^y l^{vy}$) demonstrate this phonological opposition in all the Khinalug idiolects, whereas palatalized variants of other consonants can either be phonologized or not. We follow [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and only introduce the palatalized velars ($g^y k^y k^{vy} k^{hy} k^{vy} x^y$) and laterals ($l^y l^{vy}$) in our phonemic-oriented transcription.

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

4. There is a number of specific positional, i.e., non-phonemic variants such as $\check{s}: r: g^w \acute{h} \eta \eta^y \check{V}$ and so on, discussed in [Kibrik et al. 1972]. These are not reflected in the traditional

orthography and in our GLD transcription. Additionally, it is noted in [Ganieva 2002: 471] that vowels adjacent to a pharyngeal ($\{h\}$) may become pharyngealized ($\{I\}$ in the Cyrillic orthography).

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

Database compiled and annotated by:

Khinalug: A. Kassian, August 2013.

1. ALL

Khinalug *bit^hin ~ büt^hün* {бутиун} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 64, 367; Kibrik et al. 1972: 81. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *bütün* 'all (totus/omnis)'.

2. ASHES

Khinalug *zäk* {завкI} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 119, 386; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Kibrik et al. 1972: 323, 330.

Etymology: Khinalug *zäk* 'ashes' originates from North Caucasian **Hrimq*:^w ĩ [NCED: 606], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **riq*:^{ns} 'ashes'.

3. BARK

Khinalug *qob'uk* {къобугъ} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 177; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. Polysemy: 'bark / peel / shell / human skin', borrowed from a dialectal variant of Azerbaijani *gabig* (Quba dialect **gabuy*) 'bark; shell'.

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

4. BELLY

Khinalug *šax* {шахъ} (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 346, 382; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Kibrik et al. 1972: 311, 329. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. Paradigm: *šax* [abs.] / čx-i [erg.].

Distinct from the specific term for 'stomach': *mič'i* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36] ~ *mič^hi* {мичи} [Ganieva 2002: 224].

Distinct from *qurs'ak* {къурсагъ} 'animal stomach' [Ganieva 2002: 181], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gursag* 'abomasum; stomach, belly'.

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

5. BIG

Khinalug *čχi* {чху} (-1).

References and notes:

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

Distinct from several more specific or marginal terms: *zorba* {зорба}, which, according to examples, means something like 'massive (Russian: крупный)' and 'huge' [Ganieva 2002: 124, 365] (borrowed from Azerbaijani *zorba* 'big, massive, huge'); *yak^ha* {яака} 'big' with the only example "big boy" [Ganieva 2002: 136, 365] (borrowed from Azerbaijani

yekä ~ äkä 'big, large'); *q^haz'i* {хъазы} 'massive (Russian: крупный)' [Ganieva 2002: 312, 365].

6. BIRD

Khinalug *guš* {къуш} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 181, 425; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; Kibrik et al. 1972: 308, 338. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'.

Distinct from inherited *c'im-ir* {цимир} 'sparrow' [Ganieva 2002: 326; Kibrik et al. 1972: 316].

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

7. BITE

Khinalug *k'ak'a-k^h-iri* {кIакIа кIури} (8).

References and notes:

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

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

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

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

8. BLACK

Khinalug *mič'ä* {мичIав} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 224; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304.

Etymology: Khinalug *mič'ä* 'black' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **mi:čV* 'dark, a k. of dark color' [NCED: 819]. Khinalug *mič'ä* is cognate with the Proto-Lezgian root **mič[ä]*-, whose Proto-Lezgian meaning was apparently 'dark',

although in Udi it is indeed reflected as 'black' (seemingly, a case of homoplasy). Due to semantic difference between Khinalug and Nuclear Lezgian lects, there is no reason to treat the Khinalug form as a Lezgian loanword.

9. BLOOD

Khinalug *p'i* {*nlu*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 245, 393; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Kibrik et al. 1972: 307, 332. Paradigm: *p'i* [abs.] / *p'i-m-i* [erg.].

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

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

10. BONE

Khinalug *ink'* {*инкI*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 130, 392; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Kibrik et al. 1972: 295, 331. Polysemy: 'bone / stone of fruit'.

Etymology: Khinalug *ink'* 'bone' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **hreλ^wə* (~ *-i*) 'bone' [NCED: 528], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **yirλ^w*: 'bone'.

11. BREAST

Khinalug *k^hoks'u* ~ *k^hoks'i* {*коксЫ*} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 155, 376; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Kibrik et al. 1972: 298, 328. Applicable to both men and women. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *köks* 'breast, chest'.

Distinct from *maχ'ar* {*махар*} 'female breast' [Ganieva 2002: 214, 376; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23; Kibrik et al. 1972: 303, 328], borrowed from Kryts-Budukh *maχar* 'breast (in general)'.

12. BURN TR.

Khinalug *CLASS='ek-k^h-wi* ~ *CLASS='äk-k^h-wi* {*üабккүрү*} (1).

References and notes:

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

2002: 159; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94; Kibrik et al. 1972: 297, 328].

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

Etymology: Khinalug *=(e)k-* 'to burn' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **=o:g^wV* [NCED: 860], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **ʔok^wi-* 'to burn'.

13. CLAW (NAIL)

Khinalug *č^him'i* {чими} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 333, 407; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Kibrik et al. 1972: 318, 334.

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

Etymology: Khinalug *č^himi* 'fingernail' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **mfü:ää* (~ -ä) 'fingernail' [NCED: 814], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **m:äät:* 'fingernail'.

14. CLOUD

Khinalug *unk'* {ункI} (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 293, 408; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Kibrik et al. 1972: 319, 334. Polysemy: 'cloud / fog'.

Etymology: Khinalug *unk'* 'cloud' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **rēnλ^w* (̣ ~ -ä-) 'a k. of cloud, fog' *vel sim.* [NCED: 947], without Lezgian cognates.

15. COLD

Khinalug *qi:* {кѳи} (2).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 175, 447; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1972: 308, 343. Applied to both objects and weather. The word is a perfective participle from the verb *q-iz'i* [imperf.] / *q-i:* [perf.] / CLASS=*äq-il* [imv.] {кѳизи} 'to become cold' [Ganieva 2002: 175; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 97]. Vowel length (*i:*) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

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

16. COME

Khinalug *k^ha:=k:-wi* {каккѳу} (8) / *k^ha:=B-i* ~ *k^ha:=CLASS=iB-i* (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 146, 423; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75; Kibrik et al. 1972: 297, 338. Suppletive paradigm: $k^h a = k-wi$ [imperf.] / $k^h a = 0 = b-i$, $k^h a = CLASS = i b-i$ [perf.] / $k^h a = 0 = r$, $k^h a = CLASS = i r$ [imperf.]. Vowel length (a) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988].

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

Etymology: No etymology for $=k-$, but perfective $=i b-$ is cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian verb $*?iq:w\ddot{a}$ - 'to go / to come' with imperfective function; see notes on 'to go'.

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

Quite different in [NCED: 422], where the spatial prefix $k^h a =$ is regarded as a verbal root with the meaning 'to come' (further to Proto-North Caucasian motion verb $*=a\ddot{r}\lambda:\ddot{U}$). We prefer to reject such an analysis. Perfective stem.

17. DIE

Khinalug $k'-li \sim k'-il'i$ { $\kappa I b l u$ } (1) / CLASS= $ik'-i$ (1).

References and notes:

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

Etymology: Khinalug $(i)k'-$ 'to die' originates from Proto-North Caucasian $*=i v \lambda \ddot{E}$ 'to die / to kill' [NCED: 661], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian labile verb $*?i \lambda \ddot{e}$ 'to die / to kill'. Perfective stem.

18. DOG

Khinalug $p \chi r a$ { $n x p a$ } (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 242; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Kibrik et al. 1972: 306, 340.

Etymology: Khinalug $p \chi r a$ 'dog' originates from Proto-North Caucasian $*\chi:w\ddot{e}Hye$ 'dog' [NCED: 1073] (in [NCED], reconstructed as $*\chi:H\ddot{y}e$), cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term $*\chi:w\ddot{a}ya$ 'dog'.

19. DRINK

Khinalug $c^h u-l'i \sim c^h u v-r'i$ { $u y e p u$ } (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 323, 415; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157; Kibrik et al. 1972: 316, 336. Paradigm: $c^h u-l'i \sim c^h u v-r'i$ [imperf.] / $c^h u v-i \sim c^h u$ [perf.] / $c^h u v-a \sim c^h u$ [imv.].

Etymology: No reliable etymology. Cf. [NCED: 1028], where it is supposed that $c^h u(v)-$ 'to dink' could be related to Khinalug $r i = c^h-$ 'to wash'.

20. DRY

Khinalug *q'i:* ~ CLASS=*iq'i:* {кбу} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 187, 439; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309, 341. Vowel length (*i:*) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. Applied to both objects and climate. The class inflection is retained: *b=iq'i:* [class 3] / *0=q'i:* [class 4]. The word is a perfective participle from the verb *q'-iz'i* [imperf.] / CLASS=(*i*)*q'-i* [perf.] with polysemy 'to dry (intrans.) / to pine (away) / to stop to give milk (of cow) / to bake' [Ganieva 2002: 187; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309].

Distinct from *qur'ak* {къурагъ} 'dry (of climate), drought' [Ganieva 2002: 181], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gurag* 'drought; arid'.

Etymology: Khinalug (*i*)*q'-* '(to be) dry' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **=i ɕ'Ar* '(to be) dry' [NCED: 631], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **?iq':w-ar-* '(to be) dry'.

21. EAR

Khinalug *t'op^h* {mIon} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 288, 445; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Kibrik et al. 1972: 315, 343. Paradigm: *t'op^h* [abs.] / *t'up^h-i* [erg.]

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug *t'op^h* 'ear' is unclear.

22. EARTH

Khinalug *inč'i* {инчии} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 131, 385; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Kibrik et al. 1972: 295, 330. Meaning 'soil'.

Distinct from *t^hurp'ak* {турпагъ} 'earth, territory' [Ganieva 2002: 281, 385; Kibrik et al. 1972: 315, 330], borrowed from Azerbaijani *torpaq* 'earth (soil, plot, land, ground)'.

Distinct from *ant^h* {ант} with polysemy: 'field, steppe / earth, ground, land / floor / flat, even, plane' [Ganieva 2002: 41, 385; Kibrik et al. 1972: 284, 330].

Distinct from *twa* {тѡа} 'Earth' [Ganieva 2002: 284, 385; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199].

Etymology: Khinalug *inč'i* 'soil' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **yo:mɕV* 'earth, soil (?)' [NCED: 684], cognate to Proto-Lezgian **yo(m)čV* (~ ?-), which we prefer to reconstruct with the meaning 'earth floor', although in Nidzh Udi, it has shifted to the basic meaning 'earth, soil'.

Khinalug *ant^h* 'earth, ground, land, field' can be compared to the Proto-Tsezian term for 'dirt, mud' < North Caucasian **?antV* (~ -m-), see [NCED: 201].

The origin of Khinalug *twa* 'Earth' is unclear.

23. EAT

Khinalug *q'an-dä* {къандаь} (4).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 185; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 156; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309, 329. Ablaut paradigm: *q'an-dä* [imperf.] / *q'in-i* [perf.] / *q'in(-i)* [imv.]; the perfective & imperative root variant is quoted as *q'in-* in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988; Kibrik et al. 1972], but as *q'in-* in [Ganieva 2002: 185; Desheriev 1959: 176].

Etymology: Khinalug *q'an-* 'to eat' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **Həm cǎ* 'to bite' [NCED: 559], cognate with Proto-Lezgian **teq:i-* 'to bite' q.v.; hence, the shift {'to bite' > 'to eat'} in Khinalug.

24. EGG

Khinalug *k'az* {κIa3} (6).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 189, 451; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 344. Paradigm: *k'az* [abs.] / *k'ic'-i* [erg.]. Synchronic polysemy: 'egg / snake' (as proposed in [NCED: 259, 787], two different roots have coincided).

Etymology: as proposed in [NCED: 259], Khinalug *k'az* 'egg' can be deduced from Proto-North Caucasian **ak'ūr* 'to roll, rotate' with the meaning development {'to roll' > 'round' > 'egg'}.

25. EYE

Khinalug *p^hil* {nuλ} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 240, 374; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Kibrik et al. 1972: 306, 327. Paradigm: *p^hil* [abs.] / *p^ht-i* [erg.].

Etymology: Khinalug *p^hil* 'eye' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **z^wil?i* 'eye' [NCED: 250], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **z^wil* 'eye'.

26. FAT N.

Khinalug *mi* {mu} (2).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 220, 382; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122; Kibrik et al. 1972: 303, 329. A generic term.

Distinct from the more marginal term *yavli* {йавлы} 'fat (n.) / fat (adj.)' [Ganieva 2002: 136], borrowed from Azerbaijani *yavli* 'fat (adj.)'.

Etymology: Khinalug *mi* 'fat' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **māh^wV* (~ -ǝ-) 'fat' [NCED: 794], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **ma^ʔ* 'fat'.

27. FEATHER

Khinalug *läl'äg* {лаьлавз} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 206, 414; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Kibrik et al. 1972: 302, 336. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *lälük* 'feather'.
A second term for 'feather' is *yäl'ük^h* {йәляльк} [Ganieva 2002: 140, 414], borrowed from Azerbaijani *yelük* 'feather'.
Distinct from *t^hük^h* {туьк} 'down / face hair' [Ganieva 2002: 281], borrowed from Azerbaijani *tük* 'hair, fur, down'.

28. FIRE

Khinalug *č'ä* {чIаь} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 341, 409; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Kibrik et al. 1972: 319, 335. Paradigm: *č'ä* [abs.] / *č'ič'-i* [erg.].
Polysemy: 'fire / hell / fever / misfortune, trouble'.

Etymology: Khinalug *č'ä* 'fire' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **c'äy* 'fire' [NCED: 354], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **c'ay* 'fire'.

29. FISH

Khinalug *bal'i^v* {балыгь} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 56, 429; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Kibrik et al. 1972: 287, 339. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *balig* 'fish'.
Distinct from *naq:a* {накъкъа} 'large fish' [Ganieva 2002: 230], borrowed from Azerbaijani *nagga* ~ *naxa* 'sheatfish'.

30. FLY V.

Khinalug *uč^hm'is̄-k-iri* ~ *uč^hm'uš-CLASS-q'-i* {учмышкыри} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 295, 395; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82; Kibrik et al. 1972: 319, 332. Complex verb that includes the auxiliary verbs *k^h-ir'i* [imperf.] 'to do' & CLASS=(i)q'-i [perf.] 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62, 129]; the nucleus *uč^hmuš* ~ *uč^hmiš* is borrowed from the Azerbaijani perfect stem *uç-muš-* (infinitive *uç-mag*) 'to fly'.

31. FOOT

Khinalug *ank^h* {аьк} (6).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 40, 407; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31; Kibrik et al. 1972: 284, 334. Paradigm: *ank^h* [abs.] / *ink^h-am-i* ~ *ink-i* [erg.].

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

1) the borrowed form *p^hac^ha*, which is quoted as a generic term for 'foot + leg' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30] (only

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

2) the inherited form *ank^h*, which is explained as 'foot + leg below the knee' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31]. In [Ganieva 2002: 40, 407; Kibrik et al. 1972: 284, 334] *ank^h* is simply glossed as Russian "нога", but, according to Ganieva's examples, this frequent term also denotes both 'foot' and 'leg' (with additional polysemy: 'foot / leg / paw / furniture leg').

It seems that *p^hač^ha* and *ank^h* are used in the modern language on a more or less equal basis. Apparently, the inherited *ank^h* is currently being superseded by the borrowing *p^hač^ha*.

Etymology: Khinalug *ank^h* 'foot, leg' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **HnëgV*: 'a part of leg' [NCED: 594] (no Lezgian cognates).

32. FULL

Khinalug *c'i* {*ɥlu*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 188, 212. Attested in such examples as "the jug full of water got broken" [Ganieva 2002: 188], "full of meat" [Ganieva 2002: 212] and so on. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], quoted as *c'i*: 'satiated'. It is the perfective participle from the verb *c'-il'i* [imperf.] / CLASS=(*e*)*c'-i* [perf.] with polysemy: 'to fill / to sow / to plough / to load (a gun) / to finish, complete' [Ganieva 2002: 325; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101; Kibrik et al. 1972: 316].

Etymology: Khinalug (*e*)*c'-* 'to fill, (to be) full' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **ñöcV* 'to fill, full' [NCED: 525], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **h'ac'i-* '(to be) full'.

33. GIVE

Khinalug *t^hä=CLASS=k'-wi* {*maβkIupu*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 272, 377; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Kibrik et al. 1972: 314, 328. Quoted as the basic verb for 'to give' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988].

A close paronymous synonym is *l'ä=CLASS=k'-wi* {*лаькIури*} 'to give' [Ganieva 2002: 206, 377; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Kibrik et al. 1972: 302, 328], which is specified in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] as 'to give, return'.

Initial *t^hä=* 'horizontally to' & *l'ä=* 'horizontally from' are common spatial prefixes [Kibrik et al. 1972: 225 ff.].

Etymology: Khinalug =*k'-* 'to give' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **ĩLV* 'to give' [NCED: 640], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **ʔil'i-* 'to give'.

33. GIVE

34. GOOD

Khinalug *ksan* {ксан} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 156, 447; Kibrik et al. 1972: 298, 343. According to Ganieva's examples, a widely applicable term. Borrowed from Lezgi *qsa-n* 'good'.

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

35. GREEN

Khinalug *sib* {суб} (6).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 261, 385; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Kibrik et al. 1972: 311, 330. Polysemy: 'green / green color / green yarn / green crops'.

A second, more marginal candidate is *gog* {гор} with polysemy: 'grass, greenery / green' [Ganieva 2002: 77, 385], borrowed from Azerbaijani **gög* (> Modern *göy*) 'green / greenery / blue / sky'.

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

36. HAIR

Khinalug *p^hit^h* {пым} (3).

References and notes:

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

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

Distinct from *t^hük^h* {тук} 'down / face hair' [Ganieva 2002: 281] (in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 315] glossed as simple 'hair'), borrowed from Azerbaijani *tük* 'hair, fur, down'.

Etymology: Khinalug *p^hit^h* 'hair' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **p^hi^ht^hV* ~ **b^hit^hV* 'a k. of hair or fur' [NCED: 874], cognate with Proto-Lezgian **put*(:) 'a k. of long hair'.

Khinalug *čar* 'a hair' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **c^harə* 'a k. of hair' or general 'hair' [NCED: 378], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **čar* 'hair'.

37. HAND

Khinalug *k^hul* {кул} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 156, 429; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27; Kibrik et al. 1972: 299, 339. Polysemy: 'hand / chunk (of bread)'. Paradigm: *k^hul* [abs.] / *k^hut^h-i* [erg.]. The oblique stem is quoted as *k^hut^h-V* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Kibrik et al. 1972], but consistently as *k^hut^h-V* {кутти} in [Ganieva 2002].

There are two terms for 'hand' in Khinalug:

- 1) *k^hul*, quoted above, which is specifically explained as 'hand' in the available source;
- 2) *k'il* {кЫЛ} [Ganieva 2002: 196, 429; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 339]. This term is glossed with polysemy: 'hand / arm / sleeve / handle, grip / tributary (of river)'.

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

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

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

Etymology: Khinalug *k^hul* 'hand' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **k^w:lɨi* 'hand' [NCED: 706], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **k^w:il* 'hand'.

Khinalug *k'il* 'arm' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **Hluλ:Ě* 'arm' [NCED: 588], cognate with Proto-Lezgian **λ:ol* 'shoulder-blade; foreleg (of animal)'.

38. HEAD

Khinalug *mik'-ir* {мик'ир} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 221, 375; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 328. Final *-ir* looks like a fossilized plural exponent. Ergative sg.: *mik'-i*. Polysemy: 'head / top of mountain / end of rope / river head'.

A second, also commonly used, candidate is *k^hal'a* {калла} with polysemy: 'head / top of mountain / top of tree / chief' [Ganieva 2002: 146, 375; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Kibrik et al. 1972: 297, 328]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head' (ultimately from Persian *kalla* 'head').

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

39. HEAR

Khinalug *k^h-li* {кли} (2).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 154, 433; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172; Kibrik et al. 1972: 298, 340. Polysemy: 'to hear / to obey'. Paradigm: *k^h-li* [imperf.] / *k^h-i* [perf.] / CLASS=*ük^h-i-l* ~ CLASS=*ek^h-i-l* [imv.].

Distinct from *t'op^h čaχin-dä* 'to listen' [Ganieva 2002: 288; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Kibrik et al. 1972: 340], literally 'to do *čaχin* with the ear (*t'op^h*) with the verb *čaχin-dä* '?'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], the verbal element is transcribed as *č^haχin-*.

Etymology: there is no obvious etymology for Khinalug (*ä*)*k^h* 'to hear'. It may originate from Proto-North Caucasian **=i(r)kVl* 'to address, talk' [NCED: 650], cognate with the scantily attested Proto-Lezgian verb **?i(r)ki(r)-*, which means 'to hear' in Archi and possibly in Northern Tabasaran.

40. HEART

Khinalug *ung* {yHɜ} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 292, 432; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Kibrik et al. 1972: 319, 340.

Etymology: Khinalug *ung* 'heart' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **yěrk^wi* 'heart' [NCED: 678], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **yirk^w* 'heart'.

41. HORN

Khinalug *väč^h* {bavɥ} (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 71, 429; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Kibrik et al. 1972: 320, 339. Paradigm: *väč^h* [abs.] / *vič^h-i* ~ *väč^h-i* [erg.].

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug *väč^h* 'horn' is unclear.

42. I₁

Khinalug *zi* {ɜvl} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Kibrik et al. 1972: 73; Kibrik 1994: 382; Desheriev 1959: 128. Suppletive paradigm: *zi* [abs.] / *yä* [erg.] / *as* ~ *'as-ir* [dat.] / *i* [gen.-1] / *e* [gen.-2].

Etymology: Khinalug *zi* 'I (abs.)' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **so*: 'I (abs.)' [NCED: 1084], cognate with Proto-Lezgian **zo-n* ~ **zo* 'I (abs.)'. As proposed in [NCED: 1084], Khinalug erg. *yä* may go back to the Proto-North Caucasian suppletive form **?ez(V)*, Khinalug gen. *eli* - to Proto-North Caucasian **?iz(V)*.

42. I₂

Khinalug *yä* (1).

43. KILL

Khinalug *CLASS='i:b-i* {üubupu} (5).

References and notes:

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

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

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

44. KNEE

Khinalug *nik^h* {*ник*} (6).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 233, 390; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Kibrik et al. 1972: 305, 331. Paradigm: *nik^h* [abs.] / *nik^{h-i}* [erg.].

Etymology: Khinalug *nik^h* 'knee' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **näk^w* 'knee' [NCED: 844] (without Lezgian cognates).

45. KNOW

Khinalug *m'ux-wi* {*мухъуи*} (5).

References and notes:

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

Etymology: Khinalug *mux-* 'to know' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **mēt:V* (~ *-t̄*, *-x-*) 'study, knowledge' [NCED: 803] (without Lezgian cognates).

46. LEAF

Khinalug *yarp'aκ* {*ӡарпагъ*} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 138, 395; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Kibrik et al. 1972: 296, 332. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *yarpag* 'leaf'.

47. LIE

Khinalug *'ä=CLASS=č:u-v-iri* ~ *'ač:i-CLASS-v-ri* (9).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 48, 395; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Kibrik et al. 1972: 286, 332. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep

(q.v.). Paradigm: $\ddot{a}=0=\ddot{c}u-v-$ [class 1] / $\ddot{a}=c:u-v-$ < $*\ddot{a}=z=\ddot{c}u-v-$ [class 2]. In [Ganieva 2002], quoted as imperf. $\ddot{a}=\ddot{c}i-v-ri$ {аччыври} with the full perfective paradigm: $a=\ddot{c}i-v-i$ [class 1-4] / $a=c:i-v-i$ < $*a=z=\ddot{c}i-v-i$ [class 2] / $a=\ddot{c}i-b-i$ < $*a=\ddot{c}i-b-v-i$ [class 3]. Complex verb that includes the desemantized auxiliary verb $-v-iri$. Initial $\ddot{a}=a=$ is not entirely clear: there is a verbal spatial prefix $a=/\ddot{a}='up from'$ [Kibrik et al. 1972: 225 ff.], but its meaning does not fit the semantics of the whole verb. On etymological grounds, it is proposed in [NCED: 524] that the underlying Khinalug root is actually $\ddot{a}\ddot{c}u-$, implying reanalysis after the prefixal pattern (in such a case, the perfective class 3 form $a\ddot{c}i-b-i$ < $*a\ddot{c}i-CLASS-v-i$ is a morphological retention).

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

Etymology: as proposed in [NCED: 524], Khinalug $\ddot{a}(=\ddot{c})u-$ 'to lie / to sleep' may originate from Proto-North Caucasian $*hnic^{:w}$ 'night' (cognate to the basic Proto-Lezgian term $*\dot{z}i\ddot{s}^{:w}$ 'night') with the semantic development 'night' > 'to spend the night' > 'to sleep' > 'to lie'.

48. LIVER

Khinalug $mi\ddot{c}\ddot{a} biy'ar$ {мицIаб биIар} (-1).

References and notes:

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

49. LONG

Khinalug $CLASS=i\chi'\ddot{a}$ {вухаб, ухав} (3).

References and notes:

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

Etymology: Khinalug $=i\chi'\ddot{a}$ 'long' originates from Proto-North Caucasian $*Ha:\chi utV$ / $*Ha:!\chi V$ 'long' [NCED: 550], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term $*h'al\chi\ddot{a}$ 'long'.

50. LOUSE

Khinalug $nimc'$ {нимцI} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 233, 370; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94; Kibrik et al. 1972: 305, 327.

Etymology: Khinalug $nimc'$ 'louse' originates from Proto-North Caucasian $*n\ddot{e}m\dot{z}i$ (~ - \ddot{e}) 'louse' [NCED: 846], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term $*n\ddot{a}c'$ 'louse'.

51. MAN

Khinalug *liḡ'il-d* {лыгылд} (4).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 211, 399; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Kibrik et al. 1972: 303, 333. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Final *-d* looks like a unique (?) singulative suffix in the light of the plural form *liḡ'il-ir* 'men'. On historical grounds, one can further analyse it as suffixed or reduplicated *liḡ-il*.

Distinct from other, more marginal terms: *p'ap'aχ-k'iḡidu* {пIапIахкIиду} 'man', literally 'the one who wears papakha' [Ganieva 2002: 245, 399] and *erkeḡ* {эркeḡ} with polysemy: 'male (n.) / man' [Ganieva 2002: 357, 399], borrowed from Azerbaijani *erkäk* 'male (n.), man'.

A second term for 'male (n.)' is inherited *k'i* with polysemy 'ram / male' [Ganieva 2002: 152; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Etymology: Khinalug *liḡ-il* 'man' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **liw Ē / *iwl ʼ* 'male' *vel sim.* [NCED: 749], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **λ:ilV-* 'male'.

52. MANY

Khinalug *iχ'er* {uxep} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 133, 398; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Kibrik et al. 1972: 333. Polysemy: 'many / much / very'.

Etymology: Khinalug *iχ'er* 'many' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **hāχE* with the semantics of greatness [NCED: 511], cognate with Proto-Lezgian **ʔaχ'i-* - probably the basic Proto-Lezgian term for 'many'.

53. MEAT

Khinalug *lik'a ~ lka* {лыкка} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 212, 400; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Kibrik et al. 1972: 303, 333. The non-epenthetic form *lka* is from [Kibrik et al. 1972].

Etymology: Khinalug *l(i)ka* 'meat' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **rāλ'i-* 'meat' [NCED: 945], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **yaλ:* 'meat'.

54. MOON

Khinalug *vac'* {вацI} (2).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 70, 396; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Kibrik et al. 1972: 320, 332. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Etymology: Khinalug *vac'* 'moon' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **w inc:ō* 'moon' [NCED: 1044], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **wac:* 'moon'.

55. MOUNTAIN

Khinalug *mɨd'a* ~ *mda* {мѳɨɔa} (4).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 228, 375; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 328.

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug *m(i)da* 'mountain' is unclear.

56. MOUTH

Khinalug *axz'i* {axʁɔʁɨ} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 29, 429; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Kibrik et al. 1972: 286, 339. Polysemy: 'mouth / fast (abstinence from food) / opening, entrance'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *axiz*, possessed *axz-i* 'mouth'.

57. NAME

Khinalug *c'u:* {uɨy} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 327, 387; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Kibrik et al. 1972: 316, 330. Vowel length (*u:*) is only noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. Paradigm: *c'u:* [abs.] / *c'uv-i* [erg.].

Etymology: Khinalug *c'u(:)* 'name' originates from Proto-North Caucasian * ζ :^w*erh* 'name' [NCED: 1098], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term * ζ :^w*er* 'name'.

58. NECK

Khinalug *gard'an* {zaxɔan} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 73, 449; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Kibrik et al. 1972: 291, 344. Polysemy: 'neck / coachman's seat (front part of vehicle)'. Ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

59. NEW

Khinalug *t^haz'a* {maza} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 263, 407; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1972: 314, 334. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tüzü* 'new'.

60. NIGHT

Khinalug *san* {*caH*} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 252, 407; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Kibrik et al. 1972: 310, 334. *San* also functions as the temporal adverb 'at night'.

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

61. NOSE

Khinalug *k'it^h-ir* {*κIɪmɪp*} (8).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 197, 407; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Kibrik et al. 1972: 301, 334. Final *-ir* looks like a fossilized plural exponent.

Etymology: as proposed in [NCED: 733], Khinalug *k'it^h-* 'nose' may originate from Proto-North Caucasian **k^we:mt'i:* (~-o:) 'lip' (cognate with Proto-Lezgian **k^went'* 'lip'), with dissimilative deglottalization and a non-standard meaning shift {'lip' > 'nose(?)}'.

62. NOT

Khinalug *=i-* (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik 1994: 390; Kibrik et al. 1972: 102; Desheriev 1959: 116; Ganieva 2002: 484; Kerimov 1985: 118. Negation of assertion is expressed by the stressed affix *-i-* inserted into the copula complex -COPULA=CLASS=*i-(šä)-mä*, which enclitically attaches to a finite form. Participles are negated with the suffix *-(o)ndä* [Kibrik 1994: 394; Desheriev 1959: 116].

Prohibitive is expressed with the suffixes *-yi* (1st p.), *-(Vn)-k^hwi* (2nd p.), *-(Vn)-si* (3rd p.) [Kibrik 1994: 393; Kibrik et al. 1972: 110]

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

63. ONE

Khinalug *sa* {*ca*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 480; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Kibrik et al. 1972: 310; Desheriev 1959: 131.

Etymology: Khinalug *sa* 'one' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **cH:* 'one' [NCED: 323], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **s:a* 'one'.

64. PERSON

Khinalug *hädmi* {*xIabðmu*} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 318, 448; Kibrik et al. 1972: 294, 343. A second, more marginal term for 'person' is *insan* {инсан} [Ganieva 2002: 131, 448]. Both represent the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) words for 'person, human being'.

65. RAIN

Khinalug *q'ul'a* {*кбула*} (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 188, 379; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Kibrik et al. 1972: 310, 328.

Etymology: Khinalug *q'ula* 'rain' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **o:HlnV* (~ *-t-*) 'summer, rain season' [NCED: 458] (in [NCED], reconstructed as **ðH:lnV* ~ *-t-*; cognate with Proto-Lezgian **q:ol:* 'summer') with the meaning shift {'rain season' > 'rain'}.

66. RED

Khinalug *cim'a* ~ *cta* {*ццима*} (4).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 324, 392; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Kibrik et al. 1972: 316, 332.

A second, more marginal term for 'red' is *al* {ал} [Ganieva 2002: 34, 392], borrowed from Azerbaijani *al* 'red, vermilion, purple'.

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug *c(i)ma* 'red' is unclear.

67. ROAD

Khinalug *k'war* {*кIвар*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 191, 379; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 329. Paradigm: *k'war* [abs.] / *k'ur-i* [erg.].

Etymology: Khinalug *k'war* 'road' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **Hre:mq:i* 'road' [NCED: 603], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **räq:* 'road'.

68. ROOT

Khinalug *k^hok^h* {κoκ} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 155, 391; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Kibrik et al. 1972: 298, 331. Paradigm: *k^hok^h* [abs.] / *k^hok^h-i* [erg.]. Polysemy: 'root / stump, stub (of tree)'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *kök* 'root'.

69. ROUND

Khinalug *gongoz-l'i* ~ *gongoz-l'u* (1) / *lomp'urt'um* ~ *lompurtum* {ломпуртум} (7).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 77, 393; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Kibrik et al. 1972: 291, 332. Transcribed as *gongw'azl'i* in [Kibrik et al. 1972], *gongazl'i* in [Ganieva 2002]. Derived from the substantive 'circle': *g'ongwaz* [Kibrik et al. 1972: 291] ~ *gong'oc* [Ganieva 2002: 77]. Such a derivation should imply the specific meaning 'round 2D' for *gongoz-li*, but the only available example "round pebble" [Ganieva 2002: 77] points to the meaning 'round 3D'.

A second term for 'round' is *lomp'urt'um* {ломпуртум} [Ganieva 2002: 210, 393] ~ *lompurtum* [Kibrik et al. 1972: 302, 332] (not quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]). Its textual examples are more numerous; all of them indicate the meaning 'round 3D': "round head", "round stone", "round ball" [Ganieva 2002: 210], "round like a plum" [Ganieva 2002: 73], "round like a pumpkin" [Ganieva 2002: 160], "round bonbon" [Ganieva 2002: 237].

Etymology: Khinalug *gongwaz* 'circle' originates from the phonetically very irregular Proto-North Caucasian root **girg^wV* 'round' [NCED: 438], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **girg^wV* 'round'.

Origin of Khinalug *lomp'urt'um* 'round' is unclear. Ganieva 2002: 210, 393; Kibrik et al. 1972: 302, 332.

70. SAND

Khinalug *qum* {квум} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 414; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Kibrik et al. 1972: 308, 336. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'. Since this is the only word quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], we presume that *qum* is the basic term for 'sand' in Khinalug.

Two other documented words are the inherited term *šum* {шум}, which is specified as 'sand mixed with gravel' in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 312, 336], but glossed simply as 'sand' in [Ganieva 2002: 351, 414], and the borrowing *pasuk* {пасук} [Ganieva 2002: 142 sub йеиИри] (< Russian *p'is'ok* 'sand').

Etymology: the inherited *šum* may be posited as the Proto-Khinalug term for 'sand'. It originates from Proto-North Caucasian **č'āmpV* 'sand, fine gravel' [NCED: 340], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **š'ām* 'sand, fine gravel'.

71. SAY

Khinalug *č'-ir'i* {чИпу} (8) / *l-i* (9).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 342, 375; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 53, 148; Kibrik et al. 1972: 302, 319, 328. Suppletive paradigm: *č'-ir'i*

[imperf.] / *l-i* [perf.] / *liš* [imv.].

Distinct from *č^hik-iri* {чыкыри} 'to speak, talk' [Ganieva 2002: 336, 375; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 149] (the verb is possibly complex: *č^hik-*).

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

72. SEE

Khinalug *daχ-i* {*даху*} (4) / *z'a=CLASS=ɸ-i* {*загбу*} (5).

References and notes:

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

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

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

Distinct from the suppletive complex verb *l=äk(i)-š-iri* [imperf.] / *l=äk(i)-š-i* ~ *l'e-š-i* [perf.] / *l=äk-i-š* ~ *l'e-š* [imv.] 'to look' [Ganieva 2002: 206; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174; Kibrik et al. 1972: 302].

Etymology: if we accept the prefixal pattern for the imperfective *da=χ-* 'to see', the root *=χ-* may go back to Proto-North Caucasian **=Həχ:Vr-* 'to perceive in some way' [NCED: 565], cognate with Proto-Lezgian **ʔaχ:ä-* 'to teach, learn'.

As for perfective *=ɸ-*, it is compared in [NCED: 547] to Proto-North Caucasian **=Harq:V(n)* 'to look, see' *vel sim.* (cognate to Proto-Lezgian **ʔarq:ä-* 'to look') with the metathesis **VrCV > *rVVC > Khinalug zab-* that is not apt, especially due to the prefixal status of initial *za=*. One could preserve this connection, assuming the normal cluster simplification **rC > C* in Khinalug (**=Harq:V > Khinalug =ɸ-*), but, actually, the development North Caucasian *q: > Khinalug ɸ* is not regular (cf. the only additional example **y[o:rq:i* 'time, age; maturity' > Khinalug *enɸ* [NCED: 684]). Thus, the external connections of Khinalug *=ɸ-* are vague. Perfective stem.

73. SEED

Khinalug *t^hum* {*тум*} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 281, 431; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111; Kibrik et al. 1972: 315, 340. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed

(botanic); posterity'.

74. SIT

Khinalug č=¹u-v-iri ~ č=¹i-v-iri {ччувыри} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 338, 432; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Kibrik et al. 1972: 317, 340. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to settle down, dwell'. Paradigm: č=¹u-v-iri ~ č=¹i-v-iri [imperf.] / č=¹e-CLASS-v-i [perf.] / č=¹e-CLASS [inv.]. Complex verb with the auxiliary verb -v-iri and probably with the fossilized desemantized spatial preverb č=. As proposed in [NCED: 409], the preverb č= can be singled out by comparison with the parallel paronymous verb g=¹ü-v-iri / g=¹e-CLASS-v-i {гүвьыри} 'to get on a horse, get into the car' [Ganieva 2002: 80; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Kibrik et al. 1972: 292].

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

75. SKIN

Khinalug t'äs'i {mlavcu} (9).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 288, 390; Kibrik et al. 1972: 315, 331. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide'.

A second, apparently more marginal term for 'human skin' is the loanword qob'uv {кьобугъ} with polysemy: 'bark / peel / shell / skin' (see notes on 'bark'), borrowed from a dialectal variant of Azerbaijani *gabig* (Quba dialect ^{*}gabuy) 'bark; shell'.

Distinct from *k'ir* {к'ир} 'animal hide' [Ganieva 2002: 193, 390; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300]

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug *t'äs'i* 'skin' is unclear. As for Khinalug *k'ir* 'hide', it originates from Proto-North Caucasian ^{*}k:ħri (~ -f-) 'a k. of surface like crust, shell' [NCED: 724] (in [NCED], reconstructed as ^{*}k:ħri ~ -f-), cognate with Proto-Lezgian ^{*}kar(a) 'crust' *vel sim.*

76. SLEEP

Khinalug ä(=)č:u-v-iri ~ 'ač:i-CLASS-v-ri (7).

References and notes:

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

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

Etymology: as proposed in [NCED: 524], Khinalug ä(=)č:u- 'to lie / to sleep' may originate from Proto-North Caucasian ^{*}fmic^{y:w} 'night' (cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term ^{*}ʔiš:w 'night') with the semantic development 'night' > 'to spend the night' > 'to sleep' > 'to lie'.

77. SMALL

Khinalug *mis'i* {*мису*} (9).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 222, 396; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 333. Polysemy: 'small / younger'.

Distinct from the less frequent or more specific terms: *č'a:tʰ* {*чат*}, glossed as 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' in [Ganieva 2002: 340; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237], and *c'ip:il'i* {*цӀыппыллы*} 'small' [Ganieva 2002: 327].

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

78. SMOKE

Khinalug *xim'i* {*хьими*} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 313, 380; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Kibrik et al. 1972: 321, 329. Borrowed from the South Lezgian lects (Alyk Kryts *ximi*, Budukh *xim* 'smoke').

79. STAND

Khinalug *t'o=CLASS=χu-n-dä* {*ттохундаь*} (6).

References and notes:

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

Etymology: Khinalug *=χu-* 'to stand' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **=erχ:ᵛV* 'to stay' *vel sim.* [NCED: 417], cognate with Proto-Lezgian **ʔe(r)χ:ᵛa* 'to stay' *vel sim.*

80. STAR

Khinalug *pχunc'* {*пхунцI*} (4).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 242, 385; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Kibrik et al. 1972: 306, 330.

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

81. STONE

Khinalug *k'ač'in* {*кIачIын*} (7) / *rič'in* {*рыцIын*} (8).

References and notes:

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

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

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

Origin of Khinalug *k'ač'in* 'stone' is unclear. Ganieva 2002: 248, 388; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Kibrik et al. 1972: 310.

82. SUN

Khinalug *inq'* {*внкв*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 351, 435; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Kibrik et al. 1972: 320, 341.

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

83. SWIM

Khinalug *üz̄m'üš-q'-i* {*убэмубшкби*} (-1).

References and notes:

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

84. TAIL

Khinalug *q'až* {*квж*} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 183, 446; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309, 343. Paradigm: *q'až* [abs.] / *q'ač'-i* [erg.]. Polysemy: 'tail / confederate'. Apparently borrowed as Alyk Kryts *qač* 'long, lean tail containing bones' q.v., although the normal direction of borrowing is Lezgian > Khinalugh.

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

Etymology: Khinalug *q'až* 'tail' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **q^wA:c'Ä* / **c'Äq^wA*: 'a k. of tail' [NCED: 934], possibly cognate with scantily attested Proto-Lezgian **q^wVc-* 'goat's tail'.

Origin of Khinalug *moq'unč* 'fat tail of sheep' is unclear.

85. THAT

Khinalug *hu* {*звү*} (6).

References and notes:

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

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

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

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

86. THIS

Khinalug *du* {*ɔy*} (5) / *ʒi* {*ɔʒu*} (6).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik et al. 1972: 75; Kibrik 1994: 383. Suppletive paradigm: class 1 *du*, 2-3 *dä*, 4 *ʒi* [abs.] / 1-2 *vo* ~ *vä*, 3-4 *sä* [obl.]. See notes on 'that'.

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

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

87. THOU₁

Khinalug *vi* {*βvi*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Kibrik et al. 1972: 73; Kibrik 1994: 382; Desheriev 1959: 128. Suppletive paradigm: *vi* [abs.] / *va* [erg.] / *oχ* ~ *oχ-ir* [dat.] / *v-i* [gen.-1] / *v-e* [gen.-2].

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

87. THOU₂

88. TONGUE

Khinalug *mic'* {*muɯI*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 223, 451; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 344. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

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

89. TOOTH

Khinalug *c^hul'oz* {*цyлoз*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 323, 386; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Kibrik et al. 1972: 316, 330. Historically = *c^hul-oz* with the fossilized plural suffix. Polysemy: 'tooth / fang / tooth of a tool'.

Etymology: Khinalug *c^hul-* 'tooth' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **c^hilV*: 'tooth' [NCED: 326], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **sīl*: 'tooth'.

90. TREE

Khinalug *viš'ä* {*вишав*} (9).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 72, 378; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Kibrik et al. 1972: 320, 328.

Distinct from *ud'un* 'log, firewood' [Ganieva 2002: 290; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162], borrowed from Azerbaijani *odun* 'firewood', and from *maša* 'forest' [Ganieva 2002: 215; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95], borrowed from Azerbaijani *mešä* 'forest'.

Etymology: Khinalug *viš'ä* 'tree' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **^ʔerxi* 'a k. of foliage tree' [NCED: 230], cognate with the scantily attested Proto-Lezgian **^ʔer^t* (~ *w-*) 'asp, maple'.

91. TWO

Khinalug *k'u* {*κIy*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 480; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300; Desheriev 1959: 131.

Etymology: Khinalug *k'u* 'two' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **q^wä:H* 'two' [NCED: 924] (in [NCED], reconstructed as **q^Hw'ä*), cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **q^wä-* 'two'.

92. WALK (GO)

Khinalug *k-wi* {*κκyυ*} (7) / *CLASS=χ-i* {*xu*} (8).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 160, 308; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 53, 74; Kibrik et al. 1972: 321, 330. Out of several Khinalug verbs of motion, this one is quoted as the basic verb for 'to go' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]. Suppletive paradigm: *k-wi* [imperf.] / CLASS= χ -*i* [perf.] / CLASS= χ -*ä* [imv.]. Imperfective *k-wi*, i.e., $=k$ -*wi* is frequently used in prefixed motion verbs and as an auxiliary verb in complex verbs of motion. In some prefixed verbs, its perfective counterpart is the expected $=\chi$ -*i*, but much more frequently (e.g., always in complex verbs of motion) the perfective root $=i$)-*ä*-*i* is used instead; see [Kibrik et al. 1972: 216, 228 ff.] for details and examples, e.g., the basic verb for 'to come' q.v. is formed according to such a prefixal pattern: k^h)-*a*:=*k*-*wi* [imperf.] / k^h)-*a*:=*ä*-*i*, k^h)-*a*:=CLASS=*i*)-*ä*-*i* [perf.].

It is proposed in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 228] to treat $=i$)-*ä*-*i* as an irregular voicing of $=\chi$ -*i*, but we prefer to follow [NCED: 572, 666] and regard two perfective roots with semantics of motion ($=$) χ -*i* and $=i$)-*ä*-*i* as historically unrelated.

Etymology: No appropriate external etymology for the imperfective root *k*- / $=k$ - 'to go'.

The perfective-imperative root χ - 'to go' originates from the Proto-North Caucasian motion verb $*=i\chi$:- ^{w}V (\sim -*q*-) [NCED: 666], cognate with the Proto-Lezgian motion verb $*?i\chi$ (:)-*e*, which is attested in the imperative and infinitive stems of the suppletive verbs for 'to go' in Aghul (inf. χ -*i*- / imv. *y* $i\chi$) and Rutul (imv. $=ri\chi$).

As for perfective $=i$)-*ä*-, it is proposed in [NCED: 572] to derive it from the Proto-North Caucasian motion verb $*=Him$ g^wV , cognate to the Proto-Lezgian motion verb $*?iq$:- $^{w}ä$ -, which we reconstruct as the basic Proto-Lezgian imperfective root with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.

92. WALK (GO)

93. WARM (HOT)

Khinalug *far'a* {*фара*} (6).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 298; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1972: 290. Meaning 'warm', applied to both objects and weather.

Distinct from *maχ'a* {*маха*} 'hot' [Ganieva 2002: 214, 376; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1972: 303], and from the more specific loanword *qizä'in* {*кызгын*} 'very hot, scorching' [Ganieva 2002: 182] (< Azerbaijani *gizyin* 'hot').

Etymology: Khinalug *fara* 'warm' (if = *fa-ra* with a rare adjectival suffix) may originate from Proto-North Caucasian $*=V$:- $^{w}ä$:- ^{w}Er 'to warm up' *vel sim*. [NCED: 1036], cognate with Proto-Lezgian $*?et$ (:)- ^{w}Vr - 'to get heated'.

The origin of Khinalug *maχ'a* 'hot' is unclear.

94. WATER

Khinalug *xu* {*xyy*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 314, 369; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Kibrik et al. 1972: 321, 326. Paradigm: *xu* [abs.] / *xin-i* [erg.]

Etymology: Khinalug *xu* 'water' originates from Proto-North Caucasian $*x$:- $ä$ *nfi* 'water' [NCED: 1060], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term $*t$:- $ä$ *n*: 'water'.

95. WE₁

Khinalug *yi-r* (2).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Kibrik et al. 1972: 73; Kibrik 1994: 382; Desheriev 1959: 128. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Suppletive paradigm: *yir* [abs., erg.] / *šir-* [obl.].

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

95. WE₂Khinalug *k^hi-n* (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Kibrik et al. 1972: 73; Kibrik 1994: 382; Desheriev 1959: 128. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Suppletive paradigm: *k^hin* [abs., erg.] / *k^hir-* [obl.].

Etymology: As proposed in [NCED: 786], both the direct stem *k^hi-n* and the oblique stem *k^hir-* 'we (incl.)' originate from Proto-North Caucasian **Lä:* 'we (incl.)', cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian pronoun **ä-n* 'we (incl.)'.

96. WHAT

Khinalug *ya* {*üa*} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Kibrik et al. 1972: 80; Kibrik 1994: 385. Suppletive paradigm: *ya* ~ *ya:-za* [abs.] / *č^hin-i* [erg.].

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

97. WHITE

Khinalug *xir'ic'* {*хъырѳѳI*} (5).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 315, 362; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Kibrik et al. 1972: 321, 325.

Distinct from the loanword *аѳ* {аръ} 'white fabric' [Ganieva 2002: 29], which is inaccurately glossed as 'white' in [Kibrik et al. 1972: 286, 325] (< Azerbaijani *ağ* 'white').

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

98. WHO

Khinalug *k^hla* {*κλα*} (2).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Kibrik et al. 1972: 80; Kibrik 1994: 385. Suppletive paradigm: *k^hla* [abs.] / *kš-i* [erg.].

Etymology: Khinalug *k^h-la, k-š-i* (< **k^h-š-i*) 'who?' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **k^wi* 'which?' *vel sim.* [NCED: 709], cognate with the Proto-Lezgian interrogative **k^wi*, which is indeed attested as the direct stem 'who?' in Archi, but nevertheless, it can hardly be reconstructed as the Proto-Lezgian pronoun 'who?'.

99. WOMAN

Khinalug *χin'i-mk'ir* {*хинимкIур*} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 310, 382; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Kibrik et al. 1972: 321, 329. Paradigm: *χin'i-mk'ir* [sg.] / *χin'i-bir* [pl.], the singulative element *-mk'ir* is unclear. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Distinct from *lic^hi* 'female (adj.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220], quoted as *lic:i* {*лицыи*} 'female (subst.)' in [Ganieva 2002: 212].

Etymology: Khinalug *χini-* 'woman' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **q^wānV* 'female' *vel sim.* [NCED: 900], cognate with the Proto-Lezgian plural stem **χon-p:V* 'woman'.

Khinalug *lic^hi* 'female' is related to Khinalug *lac^h* 'cow', originating from Proto-North Caucasian **γa:mco*: 'bull, ox' [NCED: 680].

100. YELLOW

Khinalug *k'ušk'ula* {*кIушкIула*} (9).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 195, 382; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 329. Polysemy: 'yellow / pale (of human skin)'.

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug *k'ušk'ula* 'yellow' is unclear.

101. FAR

Khinalug *uz'aχ* {*узax*} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 290, 377; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Kibrik et al. 1972: 319. Functions both as an adjective and an adverb. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *uzag* 'far (adj., adv.)'.

102. HEAVY

Khinalug *gran* {*гран*} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 78, 443; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult / offensive, slighting / close, stuffy'. Ultimately borrowed from Persian *gara:n* ~ *gira:n* 'heavy'.

103. NEAR

Khinalug *miq'-el* {миквел} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 221, 364; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 232; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 325. Functions both as an adjective and a postposition.

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

104. SALT

Khinalug *q'ä* {квав} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 185, 435; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309, 341. Regular paradigm: *q'ä* [abs.] / *q'-i* [erg.]. Cf. the historically paronymous adjectives *q'il'-ez* 'salty' [Ganieva 2002: 187; Kibrik et al. 1972: 309] and *q'al* 'bitter' [Ganieva 2002: 184; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235].

Etymology: Khinalug *q'ä* 'salt' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **q'ēfilV* (~ *-t-*) 'bitter' [NCED: 912], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **q'äl* 'salt' (a clear Lezgian-Khinalug innovation).

105. SHORT

Khinalug *giž'ä* {жужав} (4).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 76, 391; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Kibrik et al. 1972: 291, 331. Polysemy: 'short (spatial) / short (temporal)'.

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

Etymology: the origin of Khinalug *giž'ä* and *bat'a* 'short' is unclear. The former resembles Azerbaijani *gisa* 'short' and related Turkic forms, although in the case of direct borrowing the Khinalug variant ***q'isa* should be expected.

106. SNAKE

Khinalug *k'az* {κIаз} (2).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 189, 386; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Kibrik et al. 1972: 300, 330. Paradigm: *k'az* [abs.] / *k'ic'-i* [erg.]. Synchronic polysemy: 'egg / snake' (as proposed in [NCED: 259, 787], two different roots have coincided).

Distinct from *mird'ar* {мырдар} with polysemy: 'unclean, dirty / mean, villainous, foul / snake' [Ganieva 2002: 229], borrowed from Azerbaijani *murdar* 'unclean, forbidden, villainous'.

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

107. THIN

Khinalug *k'ir* {κIыр} (1) / *lok'* {λокI} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 196, 441; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Kibrik et al. 1972: 301, 342.

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

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

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

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

108. WIND

Khinalug *k^hul'ak^h* {кулак} (-1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 157, 368; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Kibrik et al. 1972: 299, 326. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

Distinct from the marginal term *fir-fir* {фыр-фыр} 'wind' [Ganieva 2002: 302, 368] of onomatopoeic origin.

109. WORM

Khinalug *mok^h* {мок} (1).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 225, 448; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304, 343. In [Kibrik et al. 1972], transcribed as *mok^x*. A generic term for 'worm', glossed with polysemy: 'worm / caterpillar' in [Kibrik et al. 1972], but only as 'worm' in [Ganieva 2002]. The full collocation for 'earthworm' is *q'ul'ač^h(i) mok^h* [Ganieva 2002: 225; Kibrik et al. 1972: 304], literally 'rain worm' with the adjective *q'ula-č^h(i)* derived

from *q'ula* 'rain' q.v. Additionally, as noted in [Ganieva 2002: 188], simple substantivized *q'ulač^h* can be used with the meaning 'earthworm'. It must be noted that the Khinalug collocation 'rain worm' looks like a recent loan translation of Russian *дождевой червь* 'earthworm', literally 'rain worm'.

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

Distinct from *qumqum'a* {къумкъума} 'caterpillar' [Ganieva 2002: 180, 377], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gumguma* 'fruit tree pest'.

Etymology: Khinalug *mok^h* 'worm' originates from Proto-North Caucasian **mHila čV / *čiHmalV* (~ -t-) 'worm' [NCED: 817], cognate with the basic Proto-Lezgian term **mulaq^{mf}* 'worm'.

110. YEAR

Khinalug *üs* {ybc} (3).

References and notes:

Khinalug: Ganieva 2002: 296, 375; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Kibrik et al. 1972: 322, 328.

Distinct from *yaš* {йаш} 'age, years' [Ganieva 2002: 139; Kibrik et al. 1972: 296], borrowed from Azerbaijani *yaš* 'age, years'.

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

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

Thus, the origin of Khinalug *üs* 'year' remains unclear.